

Norbury Manor House, Derbyshire

by

MAXWELL CRAVEN

Norbury Manor House, Derbyshire, is well known for the attractiveness of its setting. Yet what looks like a Carolean house had an early Tudor core and a medieval east wing, long open to the public. It was acquired by the late Marcus Stapleton-Martin and extensively restored by him 1968-73 before coming to The National Trust on his death. In 2009 the Trust commissioned a re-assessment of the building for a projected new guide, a project that subsequently stalled. The Trust decided in 2014 to make the main house a holiday let. The medieval portion is open from April to October on Friday and Saturday afternoons. What follows is an edited version of the assessment upon which the as yet unpublished guide was based. Place names are Derbyshire unless indicated.

Norbury Manor House and the impressive adjacent church are first seen only as one enters the gates from Norbury Hollow (B5053) (Fig. 1). The scene appears timeless, yet in reality is anything but. Much of the turning circle in front of the churchyard covers the site of a large and un-memorable Victorian mansion which, from 1871 to 1960 blanked off any view of the old manor house except the east side facing the church yard (Fig. 2).¹ Yet the changes of the 20th century are only the most recent of a continual process of change which has brought us the present incomparable ensemble. The property is essentially in three parts: the old manor house, which is a National Trust property and tenanted, the medieval wing, to which access is limited, and the church in its churchyard, which is accessible at most times. Beyond these, the land is part of a separate private landed estate.

Norbury is at the western end of a ridge which falls sharply down to the Dove on the west side with an important river crossing beyond. At the time of the Domesday survey it was one of the 112 Derbyshire manors held by the Norman magnate Henry de Ferrers, in succession to the Anglo-Norse Siward, under whom it was held (with a small amount of land in neighbouring Snelston) by one Henry. The entry also confirms the existence of a church and a mill, the successor building of which, still working in 1953, is currently perilously close to dereliction.² By 1125 the Priory of Tutbury held Norbury, probably by gift of the sub-tenant.³ The Prior and Canons granted the manor in that year to William son of Herbert in fee for 100/- per annum rent, from which act stemmed more than 700 years continuous ownership of the lordship and indeed, most of the land contained within it.⁴ We can be sure that William lived at Norbury - although we have no information regarding the location of his hall - in confirmation of which, one or two

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Fig. 1
Norbury Manor, medieval wing and church, 2015.
Photograph, author



Fig. 2
Norbury Hall, Edwardian postcard.
Collection, author

charters do refer to the existence of a capital mansion at Norbury in the 12th century.⁵ Most probably its site underlies the present Restoration period manor house, facing south and in close proximity to the church, and quite possibly defended by outlying earthworks. A low berm to the west and along the south may represent vestiges of this.

Sir William FitzHerbert was appointed Sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in 1264, serving three years.⁶ He was also King's Sergeant and obtained a grant of free warren over the manor. He avoided getting caught up in the fall of his chief lord, Robert de Ferrers, 8th Earl of Derby in 1266 and was succeeded by his son Sir Henry around 1275.⁷ Henry succeeded to the trust reposed in his father, for he also served as Sheriff, was a knight banneret and served as Justice of Oyer and Terminer for Derbyshire in 1300. Before his death in 1315 he had begun the process of rebuilding his house. It is this house that forms the basis of the remaining medieval range.

Sir Henry took his first step in 1301 during his attendance in various Parliaments and just after his appointment as Justice. The spur was his inheritance the year before of substantial property. He therefore sought, at an inquisition, to close the road from Yaveley to Ellastone (Staffs.) which at that time appears to have run down the crown of the ridge upon which the church stands, past its south door and on the north side of his house.⁸ By closing the road, the way would be clear to expand the house to the north, as his plea stated. The jury raised no objection but it was not until 1305 that he managed to obtain a royal licence to bring this about, at a cost of 40 shillings plus an undertaking to divert the road through his own land 'equally commodious for travellers'.⁹

At this time, the house probably consisted of a great hall range, perhaps timber framed, with a gatehouse range to the south and the two other sides occupied by lodgings and offices forming a courtyard. Nothing less in terms of accommodation would have been fit for a knight of FitzHerbert's standing and the whole ensemble was by 1301 probably fairly mature. The desire to extend probably sprang from Sir Henry's perceived enhanced standing and perhaps a desire to emulate neighbours of similar status. His income was no doubt considerably augmented by the fruits of his appointments and this may also have been an encouragement to build. It is clear from the evidence that his intention was to expand around a second courtyard to the north. The re-positioning of the road, without doubt to its present alignment in a hollow way to the south of the manorial complex, utilising the southern defensive berm, forbade an expansion of the buildings in that direction, and it appears that later farm buildings erected there may represent the position of an earlier home farm.¹⁰

Sir Henry's second courtyard is today represented by the surviving medieval range, the north side of the later manor house, the wall separating the manor from the (expanded) church yard and the steps from the courtyard/herb garden into the gardens themselves. That the house was indeed once substantial is supported by the hearth tax returns for Norbury of 1664 in which the house was assessed at 18 hearths.¹¹ Derbyshire contained twenty-four houses of twenty hearths or over, and others with a similar number to Norbury were Bradley, Elvaston, Etwall, Norton and Walton-on-Trent Halls, which still puts them in the top echelon of gentry houses. None of these houses survives today as in 1670, and only the first two were certainly double courtyard houses prior to being rebuilt in a more compact form. Haddon, the best preserved double courtyard house

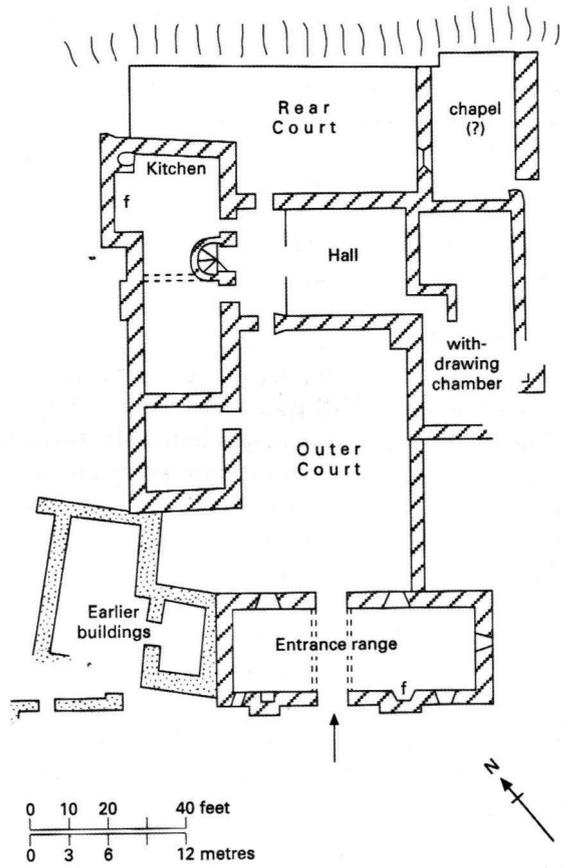


Fig. 3 (right)
Padley Hall, plan.
after Hadfield

Fig. 4 (below)
The church at Norbury from the south west showing the relationship of the 15th century tower and nave to the remaining wing of the ancient manor house.
Photograph, author



in the county, was assessed at a considerable forty-eight hearths, which rather puts Sir Henry FitzHerbert's house into perspective.¹²

Other evidence for the likely form taken by Norbury also relies on the study of comparable houses. Larger examples of similar period are Huntingfield Hall (Suff.) and Drayton (Northants.) of which the former has long been demolished and the latter rebuilt out of all recognition, although the courtyard footprint remains.¹³ More relevant, although thought by recent scholarship to be datable to a century later, is Padley Manor near Grindleford (Fig. 3), an important seat of the Eyre family ultimately inherited by the FitzHerberts of Norbury, subsequently demolished.¹⁴ Here the size and layout are instructive, nor need the dating be entirely a problem, for the Eyres, who undoubtedly rebuilt much of the house, may have been replacing in stone what they had found built of timber by their predecessors, the Padleys, bearing in mind that the Eyres were rich from the profits of the exploitation of lead and could afford to aggrandise the house.¹⁵ Here the gatehouse lies south of the great hall, which seems to have measured 46 by 22 feet (14 by 8.7 metres) but, in the place where the surviving part of Sir Henry's house is at Norbury, Padley had what was probably a chapel, the size of which has not been determined: in the 1930s an excavation ceased about mid-way across the inner courtyard.¹⁶

The existence of a domestic chapel at Padley is a reminder that there was always said to have been an ancient one within the house at Norbury too, but this is unlikely in view of the close proximity of the parish church (Fig. 4). The long-held belief that Norbury was so equipped is without doubt a memory of the recusancy of the FitzHerberts in the 16th century, when they certainly did have a (Catholic) chapel, converted from one of the rooms in the old house. Yet another old contention, that the manor connected with the west end of the church and the FitzHerbert chapel there, cannot be so lightly discarded. As if the veritable palimpsest of a north wall to the courtyard was not enough to convince the visitor that there was once a substantial range on the spot, a resistivity survey conducted at the writer's suggestion by the National Trust in 2010 has confirmed that it is highly likely that one did indeed exist.¹⁷ And whereas it might be difficult to envisage a link to the church looking at the north-east angle of the manor today (long since made good), the existence of a north range of the manor, aligned with the south-west section of the church, appears entirely convincing. At the time that the manor house was being expanded, in the first decade of the 14th century, the church's present chancel was being built, dated by the tracery to the first three decades of the 14th century and by the armory in the glass to no later than 1307.¹⁸

The size of the chancel, which shows signs that it was intended originally to have a vault, might suggest that the nave at that time was substantial enough for it not to look incongruous.¹⁹ Unfortunately we have no other clues as to its overall bulk nor to the extent of its footprint, but it could indeed have had a family chapel at the south-west corner connected to the lost north-east angle of Sir Henry's new manor house. However, the nave was later rebuilt by a succession of three generations of FitzHerberts to its present form: the nave, south tower and south-east chapel by Nicholas FitzHerbert, who died in 1473; the north aisle by his son Ralph, who died a decade after his father and the south-west chapel (now the vestry) by John FitzHerbert, which was completed in 1517, four years after his death.²⁰ Although a yard (91cm) shorter than the chancel, and lower (bar the

tower), the façade to the south looks strikingly secular, rather like a domestic gatehouse range of the same later 15th century period. The tower, most unusually for a church of this period, is positioned on the south side of the nave, presumably to accommodate the connection to the house. While the west end of the church is finished in fine ashlar, there is the vestige of a steep gabled roof cut into it where the flashings would have abutted the church wall which, by its size and height, might indeed suggest the former presence of a substantial range. Above it is a horizontal moulding which seems to lack obvious purpose. Furthermore, the exterior south-west buttress clearly has been altered or added, for it does not match the other three at this end, and is essentially rather crude. Finally, the Keuper Sandstone used in the church's construction in the upper part of the wall of the vestry is redder in colour, suggesting that it is from a different quarry (perhaps that at Hollington, Staffs., the stone from which appears pinkish when cut) and thus raising the possibility that the west end has indeed been rebuilt or substantially repaired (Fig. 5).²¹

When this might have happened and the actual way in which this putative link might have related to the manor house will be set out below. From what little evidence we have, there is indeed a possibility that the south-west chapel could formerly have interconnected with the house, even though such links are very rare in this part of England where the church is not an integrated domestic chapel, although a similar arrangement could well have pertained at Haddon before the 15th century alterations. There, although the chapel is largely early 15th century, along with the majority of the lower court, the church long predated it, and fragments of Norman work remain. The house would have linked with

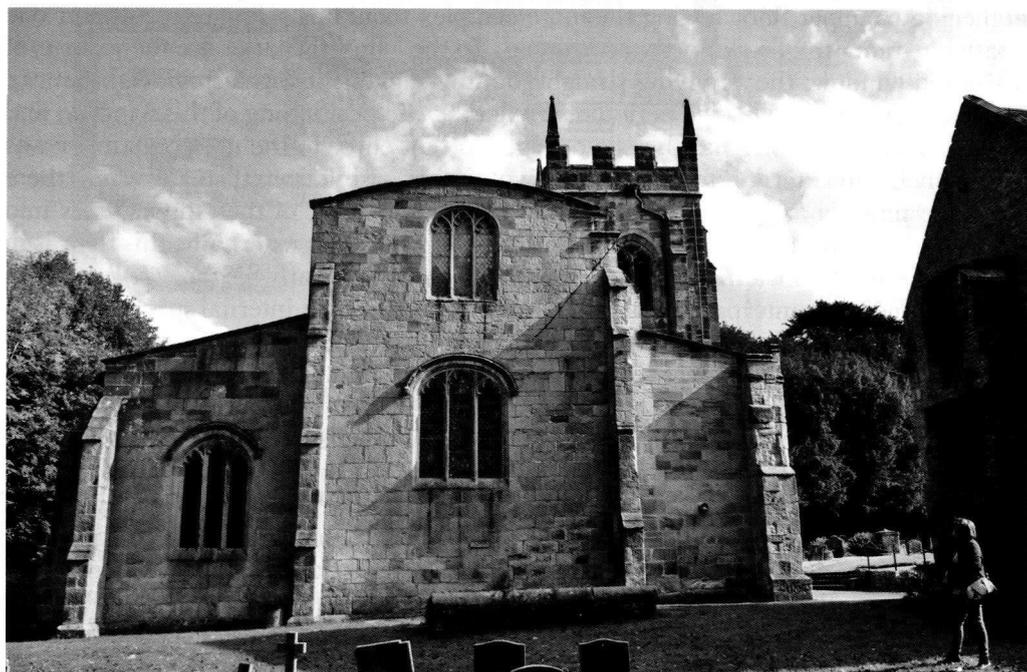


Fig. 5

Norbury church, west end, 2006, showing the end of the north aisle (of c.1480), the nave (of before 1473) and the south west chapel (of c.1500). Note the apparently anomalous vestige of a steeply gabled roof in the ashlar, rising from the lower of the two west windows. The buttress on the far right is anomalous and crude.

Photograph, author

it (as today) from the east.²² A link to a physically separate church is apparent in the East Midlands only at Goxhill Hall (Lincs.).²³

The ancient east range of what was undoubtedly a double courtyard house reconstructed from c.1305, is all that survives, largely bereft of context (Fig. 6). This consists of a stone two storey range that lies N-S to the east of the main manor house from which it is all but detached, and indeed seems always to have been largely free-standing. Anthony Emery calls it, with good reason, 'the chamber block to a hall range which no longer survives.'²⁴ It measures 55 by 25 feet (16.8 by 7.6 metres) and 52 by 22 feet (15.9 by 6.7 metres) internally, with an original entrance to the south and to the west a pair of fine two-light windows with trefoil heads, under a stopped hood mould and with window seats. This façade has seen many minor alterations and is supported by three later buttresses. Two ground floor doors on the same side are also later, and in between there runs a string course which is complete on this side but elsewhere fragmentary, although sufficient re-used fragments of it were recovered when the building was restored in the 1960s to suggest that it ran most of the way round. The north end is much rebuilt but centres on a vast chimney breast, while the east side, overlooking the churchyard, is plainer, again enlivened by a substantial chimney breast and lit on the first floor by a pair of plain three-light mullioned windows.

Entry now is via the south end, which is today encased in a later brick extension, with the original outside wall thus now an internal one. Two superimposed original doors survive, both segmentally headed with decorative mouldings, the one giving onto the higher status upper floor having the more complex moulding, although the lower one boasts the remains of a stopped hood-mould. To the left of the latter are the vestiges of a blocked window; the surviving straight jointing suggests it was a single-light lancet, which would accord with the period of the doors. The positioning of this window, and wear pattern to the original threshold, suggests that entry to the upper chamber was originally by an external stair (presumably of timber) rising from the east, where there are some possibly associated blocked wall-slots.²⁵ The lower of these doors leads into the south lower chamber. Although it reads as a ground floor externally, this floor is in reality slightly sunken, almost reminiscent of some over-sized early Saxon *grübenhaus*. This chamber and its counterpart at the northern end, occupies the internal space either side of the east chimney breast, which seems to have dictated the layout, suggesting that it is part of the original build. There is a consensus that the undercroft or semi-basement (as we may legitimately call it) originally had largely a service function.²⁶

Functions changed with the passage of time, however, for a later, 17th century door was inserted in the west face of the building, close to the north end. Franklin suggests the 15th century door was to allow entry and egress to the lower ground floor in lieu of the original entry, at the south end, which in the later 15th century was connected to a new (now lost) great hall (south) range by means of a brick extension. Thus from this period, entry to the older range would have been via the south range, where the manor house itself now stands. Franklin also supposes that staff would have needed separate entry into the undercroft to work the kitchen and use the other spaces, the southernmost of which may have been the servants' hall.²⁷ But this doorcase is far too showy for a staff entry, with its recessed moulding, entablature and tablet above (completely

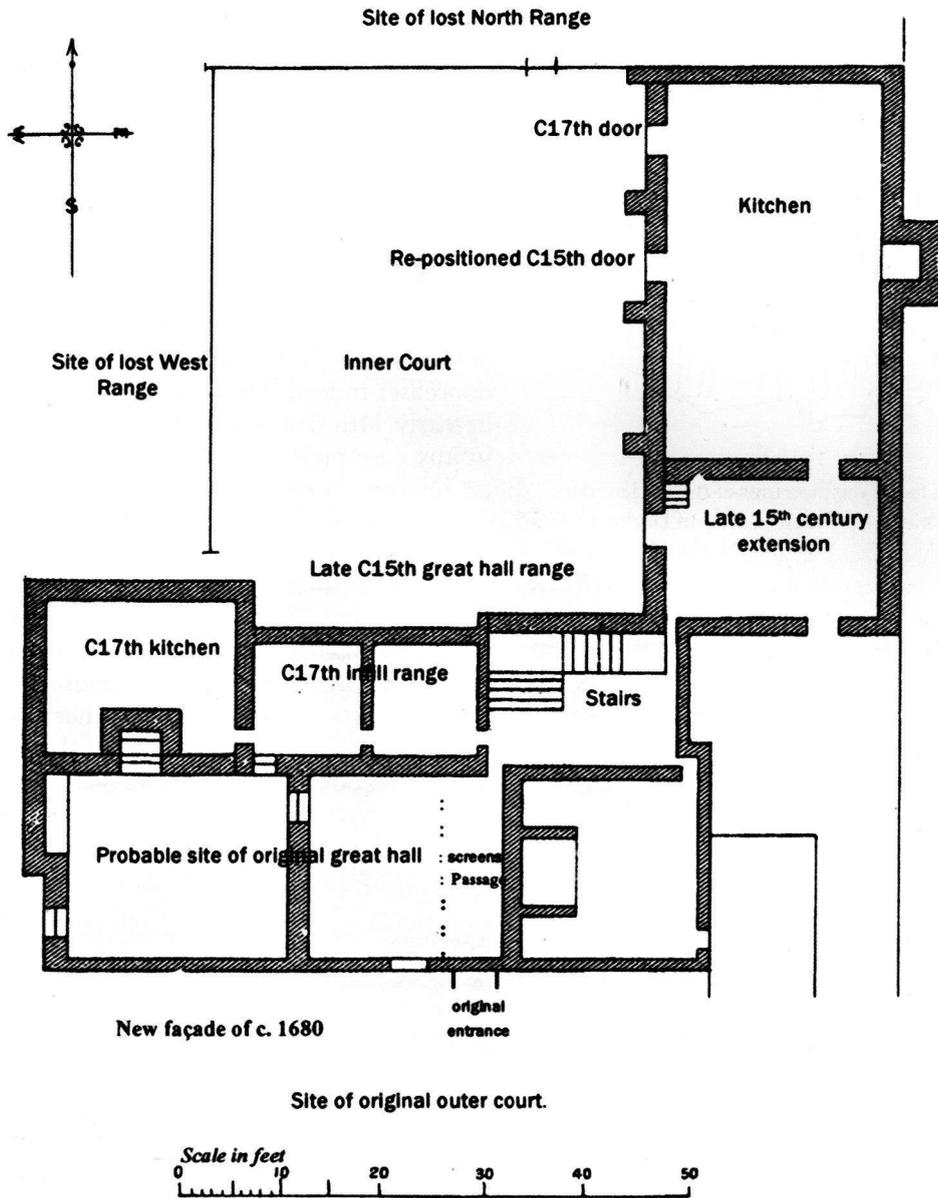


Fig. 6

Plan of the surviving residential buildings. Although not entirely accurate (it omits the north chimney breast and reduces the east one), it gives the general lay-out as it was in 1885 with some lost earlier features indicated.
after Cox, Norbury

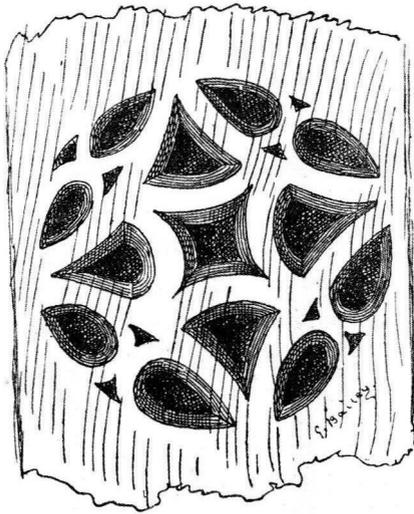


Fig. 7

One of the piercings of the ancient door,
drawn by George Bailey of Derby, 1885.
from Cox, Norbury

eroded but probably once bearing a shield of the FitzHerbert arms). But closer inspection reveals that it was installed slightly askew, with part of the moulded surround missing and the surrounding ashlar hacked away and replaced almost randomly, leading to the conclusion that the door has been re-positioned from elsewhere on the site, replacing an earlier, much plainer, affair. This is the aperture from which the Gothic door, now preserved near the entrance to the building, originally came. This, too, is not quite what it seems. It is tempting to suppose it always belonged to the doorcase from whence it came, but the Gothic piercing of two of its central planks looks older than the doorcase; indeed, Dr Cox supposed these to be early 14th century from their pattern and in any case piercings like these must betoken an internal door. Furthermore, the piercings are not positioned horizontally to one other and the entire door looks very much as if it was cobbled together from one or more old doors

to fit the re-positioned doorcase, the shaping of its top reflecting the skewed result of its re-insertion (Fig. 7).²⁸

The other, 17th century door with its nailhead ornament and segmental top, must have been inserted in order to enable the earlier entrance to change its function, for it must have been cut off from the kitchen and henceforth used either to enter the narrow central room (then probably an undivided space) or as an alternative way in to the southernmost chamber. The door itself had an inscription above, already worn when seen by Jones in 1828 and read by Cox sixty years later as 'R 1682 W'.²⁹ Since 'RW' makes no sense in context, the initials could more likely have read 'B 1682 W', for B[asil] and W[illiam] (FitzHerbert, father and eldest son), who indeed appear transacting deeds together at just this period.³⁰ The date is still just visible and appears to have been cut neatly; the space to the left of the stone tablet appears less than neat and indeed, it might have had its inscription scored out by irregular near-vertical lines (Fig. 8).

The east side of the range has no fenestration on the ground floor (nor



Fig. 8

The inscribed stone over the door into the kitchen.
Photograph, author

any discernible sign of any which may have existed) but at first floor level is pierced by a pair of entirely plain three light mullioned windows, both put in during the 1968-73 restoration, and both in positions where there were blocked windows. The northernmost also boasts a gauged stone lintel of probable 18th century date. Between them rises the stack, blind at ground floor level but affording a wide fireplace to heat the upper room. The chimney was replaced above eaves level in the restoration, and now ends in a fanciful gabled aperture facing south which, although no doubt taken from an impeccable source, seems impractical, being below the roof ridge and at an angle catching the prevailing wind and ensuring a draught. In 1968 C. Faulkner, the Historic Buildings inspector from the Ministry of Public Building and Works, advised a simpler form, considering the saddle-back top 'too Gothic', but was persuaded otherwise by Lawrence Bond, the restoring architect (Fig. 9).³¹

This east façade appears to have suffered much alteration, as with the stonework surrounding the kitchen door (not shown on the plan and thus conceivably post-1885), for almost the whole bay surrounding it is later, inferior quality. The ashlar above the missing string course at this point, over the door, appears to be of superior quality, and may be taken as original. To the south of the chimney breast, the lower ashlar work is also certainly original. Above it, the present window has been set in a large panel of brickwork, suggesting a later replacement of a bowed and unstable section or, less probably, the removal of a now-lost feature. The bricks are hand-made and relatively thin, so the date could be as early as the later 15th century the time when the south range was rebuilt. At the north end of this east front, immediately below the eaves, is a stone kneeler or corbel (matched by a similar one at the north-west angle), apparently original and apparently



Fig. 9

'Too Gothic' - the north-east angle and part of the east façade of the medieval range, showing Lawrence Bond's chimney, the replaced window and the late 18th century doorway to the church yard.

Photograph, author

without function. It may well be a vestige of the proposed connection between the lost north range and the south-west chapel of the church.

The south end of the medieval range was extended in a rebuilding undertaken towards the end of the 15th century which, from evidence surviving at the plinth course of the existing main house, must have involved the complete rebuilding of what we have postulated as the great hall range. This extension was, from evidence noted by Franklin, probably timber framed in the first instance - the ceiling beams appear to have survived *in situ* - but on a substantial stone plinth with vestigial quoins at the south-east angle.³² Probably the present (re-inserted) west doorcase was originally the main south entrance to the rebuilt great hall range; it must certainly have been ornate enough when intact (Figs. 10 and 11).

The interior of the upper room is the more impressive from being wonderfully austere, the only relieving detail being the traceried west windows in their deep two-centred arched reveals with their window seats, and the two 14th century doorcases, that on the north wall, however, having been blocked for many centuries. The fireplace is original, but there is no doubt that the present chimneypiece (stonework partly replaced) is a later insertion, as the ashlar work either side of it does not line up, suggesting a major alteration at some period. The mullioned east windows were replaced, like-for-like in the restoration of 1968-73, replacing long-blocked apertures. The surviving original heraldic glass is of late 15th century date and thus a century later than that of the chancel of the church. Slots in the walls have long been accepted as vestiges of fixings for partitions and panelling, although these are later than the original build, when tapestry hangings would have been the norm, the walls behind being limewashed. At a later date, this 'withdrawing chamber' as one might term it, was divided by a timber partition forming a room which ran east-west, terminating in the middle of the southernmost traceried window, itself by this date largely blocked with stone and supporting one of the four later buttresses, put in to prevent subsidence-induced bowing of the western façade.

The roof is of a king post variety which is extremely unlikely to have been original. Indeed most of the roof timbers, which from their various open mortices clearly originally were part of a roof, are re-used from elsewhere. The king post roof is something which only became common from the mid-17th century, although not in the form seen here.³³ The fact that it is effectively double braced, suggests that in its present form it is relatively recent and the product of a local builder. The original roof may have risen less high to its ridge and would undoubtedly have been stone slated. The moulded panels affixed to the undersides of the cross beams suggest a ceiled room, but with their decoration dating from the Tudor era, were probably transferred at the same late period, perhaps from the south range.³⁴

The north gable end of the range is puzzling and inchoate. The ashlar is disturbed and slightly to the left of the centre line rises a massive chimney breast. The flanking blocks have discontinuous courses and the string course vanishes once it reaches the chimney breast, suggesting that only this section is in anything like original condition. Of the chimney breast, only the bottom nine courses are in ashlar and thus original; the rest has been built up in brick, narrowing in three stages. As recently as a century ago this supported a chimney which protruded well above the roof ridge, whereas the eastern



Fig. 10

George Bailey's drawing of the west side of the east range showing the two inserted door cases, the four later buttresses and blocked early 14th century windows.

from Cox, Norbury



Fig. 11

The west side of the east range after the 1968-73 restoration.

Photograph, author

chimney breast was then just a stump. West of the chimney is the outline of the blocked door from the first floor chamber, with a straight joint running vertically downwards. It seems highly likely that the north range of the house joined the surviving range at this point, and that this lost range was also of stone, not of timber framing.³⁵ Nor, as we now know, was it confined to a small extension with garderobes. The presence of much re-used stonework and mouldings in the existing north (churchyard) wall suggests a substantial range here: resistivity surveying carried out in autumn 2009 confirms that such a wing was indeed present.³⁶

Dr. Cox considered that the north extension, clearly implied by the character of the stonework at the northern end of the east range, was built to allow access to the church, and that the north wall was built to close off the inner courtyard of the house; Franklin suggests that a first floor walkway led to the church.³⁷ This connection, which has been shown to be highly credible, cannot have come from the east range, simply because the north-east angle remained intact from the time of its building. Nor can it have been a simple walkway, if one allows for the fact that the roof line still visible on the wall of the vestry represents an element of this connection. The only plausible solution is that the north range continued in reduced form to the west end of the church, but although narrower (to allow for a gap between it and the north-east angle of the east range), it must still have been two storeys in height to allow for the roof line and what appears to be a blocked door at some height above the ground on the vestry wall; a walkway or pintle simply would not require either the height of the door or the substantial nature of the former roof. Nevertheless, this extension of the north range of the manor house must have met the structure of the church in a fundamentally complex way in order to explain the rake of the roof line; clearly a not inconsiderable element of the lost structure must have protruded south of the main façade of the church. Although the resistivity survey conducted in 2009 went close to the west end of the church, it was obliged to stop a few yards short of it. Nevertheless, there was sufficient resistivity near it to support the suggestion.³⁸

The house as rebuilt in the early 14th century may have been sufficient for the next few generations but by the later 15th century it clearly needed improvement. It may be that changes were made in the interim, but if so they are difficult to discern. After the death of Sir John FitzHerbert, the son of the Henry who rebuilt the house, the family went into the doldrums for three generations, with not one head of the family being made a knight. It was not until Nicholas FitzHerbert, the 11th Lord of Norbury came of age after 1426 that things began to improve. Nicholas served as High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and in the Parliaments of 1447 and 1452-53. His most important contribution to the future of Norbury was his acquisition of the freehold of the manor from the Prior and Canons of Tutbury in 1448. This, enacted in concert with his son and heir Ralph, effectively redeemed the rental along with all the other obligations paid since 1125, in exchange for lands elsewhere in the area.³⁹ Nicholas also rebuilt the nave, tower and south-east chapel of the church, prior to his death in 1473. This has inclined some commentators to assume that he must have rebuilt the manor house too, but this is by no means certain, bearing in mind the outlay required for the works to the church which, as a devout man, he doubtless considered more important.⁴⁰

His son Ralph is more likely to have undertaken the major part of these works, as although he does appear to have continued his father's rebuilding of the church, and died barely a decade later in March 1483/4, he appears to have made some modifications to the surviving east range, for it was around this time that the partitions in the ground floor were made to create a new room. The three-light mullioned window (until 1968 leaded and diamond paned) was also inserted to light the southernmost ground floor chamber, which certainly suggests that this room had a social function and it is difficult not to associate it with the 'newe Parlour' referred to in Ralph's will.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the insertion of the window left the surviving post – originally one of several supporting the upper chamber's floor – standing incongruously (and no doubt inconveniently) in front of it. The internal partition that remained in the great chamber above, even when Cox visited in 1885, could indeed have formed the contemporary 'chamber situated over the newe Parlour' in which Ralph kept 'the best bed', unless the entire undivided room was meant. Either way, it is an early reference to this impressive room and good evidence that it was not considered as a great hall or upper floor hall, for Ralph refers to it specifically as a chamber with a bed. It is important to add that this reference from the will (written in 1483) does not suggest that these rooms were otherwise unknown ones or part of the great hall range. Also, in referring to 'hangings in the chamber over the newe parlour' he confirms that the panelling suggested by the slots in the walls of the upper room had not then been installed, and that tapestry was still in use, as in the great hall, which the will also tells us had 'hangings' and an 'iron grate'.⁴²

Ralph's son John FitzHerbert, who had received a general pardon in 1496 (probably after becoming caught up in Perkin Warbeck's rebellion), lived on until 1531 and certainly finished the work on the main body of the church initiated by his grandfather.⁴³ Although Emery opines that either Nicholas or Ralph may have undertaken what appears to have been a major rebuild of the manor house, there is the equally valid likelihood that the work was continued by John on inheriting, although there is clear evidence that Ralph started the ball rolling. John's campaign of rebuilding seems to have centred on the complete re-modelling (or replacement) of the ancient great hall range which, in its original form, has been suggested as pre-dating the surviving east range. That being the case, he would surely have been the one to build the full-height link to join his new work to the east range, and he also rebuilt the north-east angle to accommodate the link to the west end of the church, unless this was done previously when that portion of the church was rebuilt; unfortunately, the chronology of the completion of the church is not yet fully understood.

Of the new great hall range, the remnants of the original stone plinth of this period remain beneath the fabric of the present manor house, and the early brickwork extant on its west side and elsewhere confirms that the building was of brick with stone dressings. That it sported 'a beye windowe in the hall where stood a cupboard...', possibly therefore a window of full height, is not in doubt as it is so described in Star Chamber proceedings of 1531; the surviving heraldic glass of this period is highly likely to have originally embellished it.⁴⁴ Its entrance would seem, from the evidence of the present plan, to have been at the east end (which therefore had its dais at the west end) and led to the usual screens passage with the buttery and offices in the east end and stairs serving a new

chamber floor, which included a panelled study at the north-west corner, behind.⁴⁵ The doorcase, now in the centre of the west side of the surviving medieval range, must surely have been that which framed the formal entry into this new building, with its moulded stone surround and armorial tablet above.

Dr Cox also mentions the fine close-studded timber-framed barn which was demolished in 1884, ascribing it to the early 14th century (Fig. 12). This had three carved beam terminals where it was supported on its substantial stone plinth and a fine tiled roof. It was comparable in size to the manor house's east range and latterly formed the westerly element in a three-sided agricultural or service range immediately to the south east of the manor, with the open side facing south. When built, this was only a single range running north-south, and so remains on a map of 1753.

As we have seen, the southern (linking) extension to the east range was without doubt done in timber framing, much of which survives internally (including a finely carved foliate boss), and is most unlikely to have been initiated by Ralph FitzHerbert in whose day the old great hall range would appear to have been un-connected with the south end of the east range. The addition would have made perfect sense once the connection was made in John FitzHerbert's time, with the staircase hall situated nearest to it in the south range complementing the new galleried access to the upper floor of the east range.

John's will, a lengthy, complex and in places vituperative document, quoted in full by Cox, contains an inventory, but like most inventories of the time only includes those rooms in which there was something worth assessing.⁴⁶ This includes the hall, with the cupboard in the bay window, a fireplace and iron grate, the over parlour, buttery, kitchen



Fig. 12

The Medieval barn seen in the early 1880s.
from Cox, Norbury

and offices, and the chamber above the hall. None of these rooms except possibly the kitchen, was in the east range. The great hall was in the south range; the over parlour was probably the room surviving as 'Sir Anthony's study' with the 15th century panelling and later biblical inscriptions, and the 'chambers above the hall' were the first floor rooms along the south front over the great hall which would have been ceiled. Indeed, the re-used decorative mouldings of this period now affixed to the underside of the cross members of the upper chamber roof in the east range quite possibly started off in the ceiling of John's great hall. As one might expect, the hall contained two large tables with supports and seating at the dais end. The buttery was immediately to the east of the great hall in the south-east angle of the present house with the staircase hall behind as today, containing all the household plate and napery. The 'chambers over the hall' included six beds, suggesting three rooms in all, as today, one doubling as John's library. Since he was a noted author, it was probably a fairly large one for the period, including 'all my books of Latin, French and English' mentioned in his will.⁴⁷ A notable set of six surviving stained glass roundels are likely to be part of his embellishments (Fig. 13). By the time John died, his son Nicholas was also long dead. Indeed, John's will was written as a result of losing his only son and heir. He therefore entailed the bulk of the estate onto his male heirs, his successor being his brother Anthony rather than the son of his daughter Lady Draycot, as would have been more likely a generation or so earlier.

Anthony FitzHerbert (1470-1538) had become an archetypical Tudor legal grandee. In 1521 he was appointed a Justice of the Common Pleas on account of his 'profound knowledge of English law, combined with a strong logical faculty and remarkable power of lucid expression' (Fig. 14).⁴⁸ In 1529 he replaced Cardinal Wolsey as Commissioner in Chancery and was present at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. After succeeding to Norbury he was still sitting, presiding over the trials of Fisher and Moore in 1535. In his will he



Fig. 13

Four seasons stained glass roundels, still at Norbury, but *ex-situ*.

Photograph, author



Fig. 14

Sir Anthony FitzHerbert, from a drawing of 1533.
Derby Local Studies Library

prudently advised his sons not to accept a grant of, or purchase any former monastic property. He is said to have re-fitted the great hall range of the house, and Cox quotes an 'undisputed' family tradition that his was the room on the first floor in the north-west corner, always known as 'Sir Anthony's Study'. The black letter script on the (earlier) panelling, though, is from the Clementine Vulgate, and more likely to have been part of a later improvement.⁴⁹ In short, it would be rash to ascribe any discernible changes to the house to the seven years of Sir Anthony's stewardship of the manor, nor really (with one crucial exception) to the long period of his son and heir, Sir Thomas FitzHerbert, born in 1517. Sir Thomas was not only possessed, in the right of his wife Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Arthur Eyre of the manor of Padley near Grindleford, but also was determined to adhere to the Catholic Church at a period when such a policy had become ever

more perilous. It is clear that in his recusant years at least, after 1558, Thomas resided mainly at Padley which, as we have seen, was a double courtyard house of similar plan to Norbury, but generally more modern than the oldest parts of his ancestral seat.⁵⁰ Its attraction was that it was very much out of the way, set on the southern slopes of Hathersage Moor and shielded by a surviving expanse of primaeval woodland, a fraction of which survives. Such a position made it easier to secrete the new outlaws of Elizabethan England: Catholic priests. Yet even Padley had its drawbacks, for it was uncomfortably close to the extensive estates and power-base of George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, the gaoler of Mary, Queen of Scots and the Queen's agent for rooting out Catholics in the East Midlands. The consequence was that, despite an earlier career which had seen him knighted as well as made Sheriff of Staffordshire twice - in the last year of Henry VIII and by Queen Mary I in 1555 - Thomas had fallen foul of the tightening anti-Catholic laws, being arrested and imprisoned in 1561, when, offered the opportunity of conforming but not having to receive Holy Communion, this 'very stiff man' refused point blank. He was thereafter fined continually for recusancy, although he was still assessed in 1577 as

a 'gentleman of great wealthe.' From 1561 he was in and out of prison for thirty years with only three brief intervals of freedom.

His brother John lived in his stead at Padley in these difficult years, but fell foul of Lord Shrewsbury's grasping agent, Topcliffe, when two Catholic priests, Nicholas Garlick and Robert Ludlam were found in a search there, with the result that both were executed at Derby in 1588 (along with Robert Simpson) and John himself died of fever in Derby Gaol not long afterwards, being followed to the grave by Sir Thomas (also still in gaol) in 1591.⁵¹ That he had a priest also at Norbury during this period emerges from a list of questions to be put to Sir Thomas, when a prisoner, one of which was: 'whether he has not for the space of these 16 years and more kept in his house at Norbury massing priests and now doth to say service there daily.'⁵²

During these calamities, another son of Sir Thomas, Richard (an equally keen Catholic), was residing at Norbury, except for a brief period of exile when things became really hot for the family in 1587, but later also was arrested and died in prison, as did numerous other members of the family. The only member of the family to survive this carnage was John's son Thomas, who conformed to the Church of England, was duped by the poisonous Topcliffe into betraying his uncle and having most of his brothers locked up along with their families. He succeeded to Norbury on his uncle's death despite Sir Thomas having disinherited him for his perceived perfidy, through the simple expedient of having his uncle's will stolen and destroyed, an act approved, it would seem, at the highest level.⁵³ This ensured that Sir Thomas died technically intestate, and his errant nephew inherited anyway.

During all these upheavals, it is unlikely that many significant alterations would have been made to the house at Norbury. Yet nothing is static, and the results of the Reformation and the decision of Sir Anthony's heirs to adhere to the Old Faith would have had two certain results. One was that we may date the demolition of the link to the church from the north range to this period. This probably occurred after the accession of Elizabeth I, as Sir Thomas FitzHerbert's career had flourished under her Catholic predecessor. At about the time of Sir Thomas's first incarceration in 1561 the cold realisation would have dawned upon him that neither he, nor (as he would have thought) his successors, were likely to be able to worship in the ancient church which had been largely erected through his ancestors' benevolence and piety. Therefore the connection would have been removed or severed and the relevant piece of building demolished.

The other change, consequent upon the first, would have been the provision of a domestic chapel within the house. There is no certainty as to where this was situated, although family tradition strongly supports its existence. As so much of the house has been lost, it is possible that it lay in one of the ranges that have gone, although in the 19th century at least it was said to have been in the medieval east range. Indeed, Dr. Cox reported that the entire range was known as 'the chapel' in his day.⁵⁴ If the tradition pointed to this part of the complex, the most likely room might have been Ralph FitzHerbert's 'newe parlour' – the most southerly ground floor chamber, with its relatively new west facing window. Bearing in mind the need to be exceedingly discreet about the practice of the Catholic rite in the 16th century, a more prominent room would have been unlikely. If this was the case, the door cut through the timber framing in its north wall may have

been to enable a priest to withdraw discreetly in the event of a raid.

There was just no scope for other improvements at Norbury: Padley had briefly taken over as the chief seat of the family and recusancy fines and repeated terms in gaol would have made anything of the sort impossible. Nor did Thomas long enjoy the fruits of his scheming for he died in the winter of 1610/11, being succeeded by another impoverished Catholic, his third brother Anthony FitzHerbert, who died not long afterwards in 1613, leaving an only son, John, then aged nine.⁵⁵ Once again, although improvements to the house were out of the question during his minority, it is thanks to him that the interior of the south range was re-panelled, partly with the unusual reticulated wainscot it retains (eg. in the Oak Parlour); the work would not have been put in hand until he came of age in 1625. As this date fits the generally accepted dating of this type of panelling (also found at Henry Mellor's fine house in Derby, dated the following year and later called Babington House), then we must attribute to this John a series of minor improvements to the old manor which can be ascribed to this period.⁵⁶ The lodge (now called Stone Cottage) which survives on the road to the south of the house is also of the same period and may represent an attempt to improve the approach.

By the time John had come into his inheritance, a more relaxed approach was well established, and a period of retrenchment under his trustees during his minority seems to have helped the family's finances to recover to some extent from the severe battering they had received previously. Unfortunately for John, the situation was not to last. In 1631 he married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Harpur of Breadsall, a house with much in common with Norbury, then as now.⁵⁷ But after seventeen years of life at Norbury, largely unmolested by recusancy fines or other upheavals, the Civil War broke out. The first act, following the King's raising his standard at Nottingham in 1642 was that Sir John Gell of Hopton, Bt. raised a regiment in the county for Parliament and seized Derby. A distinguished group of Royalist gentry took exception to this act of lawlessness, and addressed a remonstrance to Sir John over his presence in Derbyshire with troops under arms against the King, a gesture which received short shrift from the forthright Gell. One of the signatories was John FitzHerbert of Norbury who, shortly afterwards, was commissioned into the Royalist forces, swiftly rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel.⁵⁸ He managed to survive the Civil War, although in the process he re-encumbered his estate, with the loss of rents and the loans which he was obliged to take out to support his part in the fighting. He died on 13th January 1648/9 at Lichfield (Staffs.), seventeen days before the execution of the King, for whom he had given up so much. All the accounts of Sir John say he was killed fighting at Lichfield in the Royalist cause but, as fighting at Lichfield ended with the end of the siege in 1646, this cannot be true.⁵⁹ He probably succumbed to an illness. He was only forty-five and left no surviving children.

The estate then passed to the nearest male heir, a process aided by a settlement reached in 1648 between Sir John and his kinsman William FitzHerbert of Swynnerton (Staffs.).⁶⁰ Like his cousin, William was a Royalist and a Catholic. He had inherited from his grandfather in 1640 only to see his seat at Swynnerton destroyed on the orders of the Parliamentary Committee of Stafford on 27th February 1643/4, obliging him to live in Bledlow (Bucks.).⁶¹ Unfortunately, the depredations of the conflict led to his having to compound for this estate too, in 1647 for £200. He was still in dispute about this

eighteen months later when his cousin Sir John died and he inherited Norbury. That he immediately repaired to Norbury himself, along with his wife and family seems certain, Swynnerton having been destroyed. During the Commonwealth he spent much time and money trying to recover the Padley estate to help with his finances, but to no avail.⁶² Norbury must have seemed a little neglected, and may have been abused by passing Parliamentary soldiery, but the house was almost certainly habitable. Thus William saw out the Commonwealth there and was still in residence when the hearth tax return was made in 1664. At the Restoration, William started work in 1660 building a substantial new house at Swynnerton, on a new site to replace his old one.⁶³

At some stage after 1664 the FitzHerberts moved back to Staffordshire. It would appear that they then undertook to rationalise matters fairly drastically at Norbury, producing a much reduced ensemble, somewhat as we see it today. The major problem is to date the works. The only thing we have to go on is the possible date of 1682 on the northern of the two doorcases in the west façade of the surviving medieval range, which should represent the date of the building campaign. The architecture of the new house created out of the Tudor great hall range is certainly in harmony with such a date (Fig. 15).⁶⁴

The works involved removing the whole of the outer court and its buildings, along with the west and north ranges of the inner courtyard. The great hall range was then completely rebuilt, the hall being divided into two main rooms with the old entrance removed (along with the screens passage behind it) and its aedicule installed in the west front of the medieval range, albeit with a certain lack of finesse. A new, roughly central entrance was installed, creating a hall with a reception room to either side.⁶⁵ The recessed flanking portion to the west of the façade remained from the earlier build



Fig. 15

Norbury Manor, Restoration period façade, 2015.

Photograph, author

in Tudor brick, laid to English bond; the new work is in Flemish bond over two storeys, as before, with a hipped roof with attic dormers. The eight bay façade was probably the result of having to rebuild an existing structure (which, indeed, might also have had eight bays), so that the new main entrance is off-centre. The fenestration is of timber mullion and transom casements usual at this period, and there are stone dressings: quoins, plat band and cornice. Because of the eight bay façade, the use of three dormers to light the attics also results in a slight asymmetry. The whole façade is a delightful, mellow and vernacular version of the sort of house that ultimately derives from Inigo Jones's house for Lord Maltravers of 1638, of which the east front of Lyndon Hall (Rutd.), is a stone version in polite architecture.⁶⁶ Even closer is Bell Hall (Yorks.) of 1680, but Bell is much more architectonic with seven rather than eight bays.⁶⁷

The surviving medieval range became a service wing, initially no doubt to accommodate servants and storage. The upper chamber seems to have been sub-divided by partitioning, undoubtedly the reason for a number of full height slots in the ashlar walls. There may have been an element of familial piety at work too, if the chapel was really in this wing during the years of persecution. That there would probably have been some older panelling retained in the upper chamber, if only for insulation, is also highly likely. The partitioning (or re-partitioning) of the ground floor, more or less as we have it today, was without doubt the reason for the installation of what was surely the original moulded stone front door in the middle of the west side of the old range and the making of another door (which once bore the 1682 date) to its left. This is also the period in which the cellars were formed underneath this range, consisting of ale and wine cellars, the former being beneath the 'newe parlour' and the latter to the north of it but adjacent, although Franklin would have them dated a century later.⁶⁸ These were surely put in to replace above-ground facilities in one of the demolished ranges. At this time too, the old Gothic door was probably cobbled together for the west doorcase, the south extension of the east range was re-cased in brick to match the new part of the house and the north chimney breast was rebuilt (unless this was made good c.1561 after the demolition of the church link).

A plan of 1753, part of a survey made by Thomas Slaughter of all the FitzHerbert estates, shows the whole ensemble as it was some three generations after these very drastic alterations had been carried out (Fig. 16).⁶⁹ The omission of the medieval range probably reflects its lowly status as a service wing. The boundaries shown seem to approximate to the lost ranges, the original south range being marked by what was probably a screen of iron railings with a

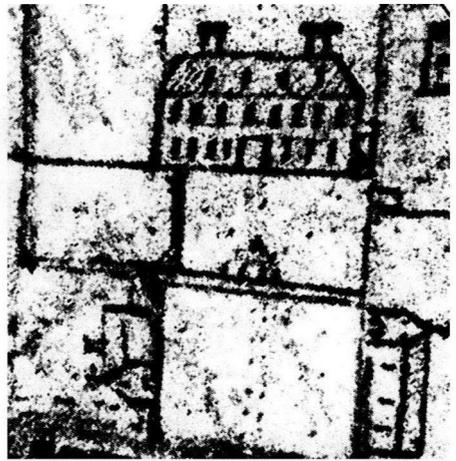


Fig. 16

Norbury Manor as seen on the plan of 1753 in the Staffordshire Archives (shown re-orientated). The roof sports an extra dormer which should be ignored. Note the screen across the south side of the courtyard, the extant early 17th century lodge (lower left) and medieval barn (lower right).

Staffordshire Archives. By kind permission of Rt. Hon. Lord Stafford

central wrought iron gate with an ornamental overthrow.⁷⁰ To the south east is the range including the medieval timber framed barn and, opposite, almost creating a second southern *cour d'honneur*, lies Stone Cottage with its range of stabling attached, the latter also since demolished. This addition to Stone Cottage probably replaced a lost element of the original Manor House complex. The gardens are represented by two enclosures to the west and what appears to be bocage (perhaps intended for an orchard) all the way down to the point where the 1304 road diversion crosses the Dove (not shown on the plan). Today the ground is cleared of shrubs all the way to the apparent berm, a hundred yards or more west of the house.

The presumption must be that all this was done when the family removed back to the new Swynnerton Hall. It may have been intended to be a secondary seat or as a dower house for William FitzHerbert's second wife, Eleanor, especially in view of the suggested wrought iron screen and other accoutrements of a genteel house; certainly it was clearly not intended as a farmhouse when it was being reconfigured and rebuilt. By 1702, however, Eleanor had died and the house was let to 'a London gentleman'.⁷¹ The house was still counted as a 'seat' of the family *c.*1714 (even if unoccupied) and was pressed into family service again in the period 1725-29 when Francis Smith of Warwick was undertaking a thorough-going rebuilding of Swynnerton Hall which would not have been habitable during much of this three and a half year period.⁷²

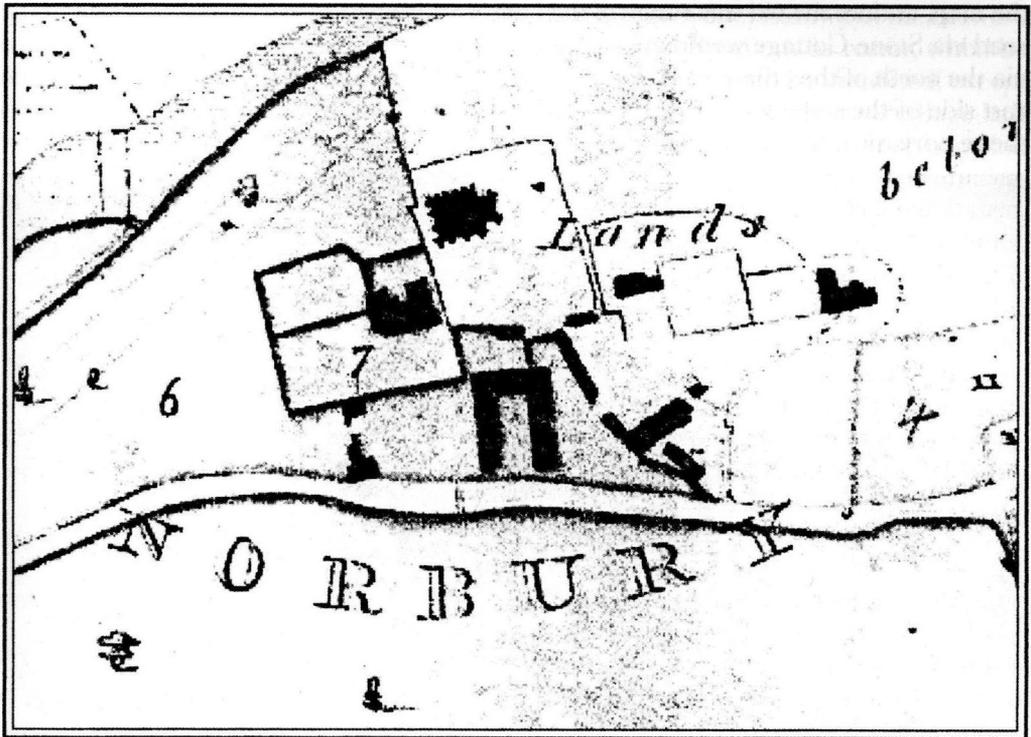


Fig. 17

Norbury Manor, map, 1818. The road is shown running left to right two-thirds down; the river cuts off the top left hand corner of the map diagonally. The manor house is marked just above the '7' with the church beyond. Below the '7' is a probable gazebo and beneath that, by the road, the existing 17th century lodge and the (vanished) stabling. The rectangular range open to the south is the farmyard.

The identification of the buildings to the right is uncertain.

After *c.*1729, there are no further hints that the house had a role as a seat, and by 1765 it was the home of John Maskery, yeoman farmer, tenant of the FitzHerberts, whose will was proved that year. He had married Margaret Millward at Norbury in May 1739, and may have been granted the tenancy in or after 1753 when the earliest map was drawn. The making of this survey may have been an element in the decision to convert the manor for farm use. This change of use included turning the larger section of the upper chamber of the east range of the house into a cheese-room – a use usually involving upper floor rooms – and the ‘newe parlour’ below into a brewhouse, with the north end ground floor room becoming stabling and a farrier’s workshop. The rebuilding of the fireplace in the northern room and the deletion of a bread oven there seems to support this, as does the creation of a new door on the east side (unless this was a later feature). The small fireplace (to burn coal) had probably been inserted within the ancient one in the upper chamber during its period as a service wing from 1682: after its period as a cheese-room this room seems to have become merely storage, the grate-less brick fireplace remaining, covered up, until 1968/73.⁷³

To turn the building into a farm, a farm-yard was required, and the Inclosure Award map of 1818 (Fig. 17) shows that a range parallel to the medieval barn range had been built with the latter range extended at both ends and joined to the former by a northern extension, making a spacious south-facing farm yard.⁷⁴ This shows up quite clearly on the map, as does the old east range of the house, omitted in 1753. The entrance from the road via Stone Cottage would appear to have been elided and replaced by an entrance via the north of the enlarged farm yard, more or less as today. The buildings lining the east side of the stone wall by the way to the church were glebe buildings belonging to the rectory, situated to the right of the plan.⁷⁵



Fig. 18

Norbury Manor, sporting several blocked windows, the medieval wing and church *c.*1904. This view is today largely obscured by bocage.

Collection, author

In 1871 the estate was sold to Samuel Clowes and an exchange of land was made in 1872 so that he could demolish the Georgian rectory (to the right on the map) and incorporate the 100 acres of glebe lands into his projected new pleasure grounds, the rectory being re-located near Roston in a converted farm house.⁷⁶ The erection of his new house, Norbury Hall, was completed in 1874, but over a decade was to pass before the removal of the 18th century farmyard and the medieval timber-framed cow house, as the secretary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) was still writing to Clowes about saving it (to no avail) in 1886, as part of a correspondence which began as a result of Dr. Cox's 1885 article, itself originally concerned with the saving of the medieval wing of the manor.⁷⁷ By this date the manor was being occupied by William Henry Oldham, the nephew of Thomas Maskery, as tenant of the Clowes family, and the ancient range had, as Thomas Bulmer reported in 1895, 'recently been restored and is intended for a museum,' although other reports stated that it was decaying although still in use as storage.⁷⁸ One suspects that Bulmer's report was perhaps a piece of Clowes family propaganda to keep SPAB at bay.

By the early years of the twentieth century, the Clowes family had ended farming at the manor, and the old house was thenceforth a servants' lodging for the hall, a fact reported in a directory of 1908, although Bowyer implies a date of *c.*1903 (Fig. 18).⁷⁹ The late Mrs. Robert Withington of Ewyas Harold, Herefordshire could remember growing up there in the years before World War 1 as the daughter of Sydney Samways, the Clowes's coachman.⁸⁰ This situation still pertained when Leonard Bowyer was rector, when he reported that: 'The bricked part of the Manor House continues to be inhabited, except for the two panelled rooms. The lower one of these was used, until the new village hall was built, for all kinds of parochial activities.'⁸¹ This in effect means that the two panelled rooms – Sir Anthony's Study and the Oak Room – were abandoned after the beginning of 1935, the date the village hall opened. The medieval range was 'rapidly falling into decay' according to the same source and by the time the late Marcus Stapleton-Martin purchased the site in 1964 the entire complex had been abandoned and become derelict, despite having been listed grade I.⁸²

The house was restored to a noble standard by and entirely at the expense of Marcus Stapleton-Martin (who had FitzHerbert ancestry) from 1968 to 1973 as a labour of love, and work on the gardens and setting continued almost until his death in 1987. The house then came to the National Trust which opens the medieval wing to the public on two afternoons per week in the season while the rest of the house serves as an impossibly grand holiday cottage.

Although Norbury has been widely praised for its charm, it has been quite forgotten that it was once a house of some presence and importance forming, with the surviving parish church, an impressive ensemble. It was the seat of a family of real regional consequence until the Reformation initiated both its ruin and the drastic reduction of the house. What was once a major two-courtyard manor house was over barely a century reduced to an antiquarian curiosity that ended up as the service wing of a delightful but unambitious replacement. It is to be hoped that further research might be encouraged into this interesting house in its delightful west Derbyshire setting.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

1. For the Victorian house see M. Craven & M. Stanley, *The Derbyshire Country House*, 3rd edition, 2 vols, (Ashbourne 2001), I, 160-61.
2. J. Morris (ed), *Domesday Book*, vol. 27 Derbyshire, (Chichester 1978), 6.53, 57; the mill was still working in 1953: L. J. Bowyer, *The Ancient Parish of Norbury* (Ashbourne 1953), 30.
3. A. Saltman (ed), *The Cartulary of Tutbury Priory*, (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, vol. 2, (London 1952), 8ff.
4. Saltman, *Tutbury*, No. 88, the actual document being in the FitzHerbert mss in Staffordshire Archives, William Salt Library, Stafford, D641/5/T/20/2.
5. eg. Staffs. Archives, D641/5/T/20/3, referring to John son of William FitzHerbert c. 1150.
6. The two counties shared a sheriff until the 16th century, a legacy of the post-Viking settlement which saw Derbyshire made subordinate to Nottinghamshire for certain military purposes. The arrangement endowed the shrievalty with considerably more power than most.
7. Letters patent dated 4/9/1252, confirmed before a jury at Derby 1330 (National Archives, Calendar of Charter Rolls, 4 Edw. III, No. 403). Sir William's date of death is elsewhere recorded as 1267: J. C. Cox, 'Norbury Manor House and the FitzHerberts', *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society*, VII (1885) 221-59. On the fall of Ferrers: *The Complete Peerage*, 2nd Edition, 14 vols. (London 1910-98), IV, 203.
8. National Archives, *Inquisitiones ad Quod Damnum*, C143/17/6.
9. National Archives, *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 33 Edw. I, No. 15.
10. J. C. Franklin, *Norbury Old Manor, Derbyshire*, Unpublished MA thesis (University of York, 2001), 57, Fig. 34.
11. D. G. Edwards (ed), *Derbyshire Hearth Tax Assessments 1662-1670*, Derbyshire Record Society, VII (Chesterfield 1982), 18.
12. Edwards *Hearth Tax*, xlix; comparable Derbyshire houses: *ibid.* 19 (Etwall), 29 (Bradley), 96 (Elvaston) 135 (Walton-on-Trent), 164 (Norton).
13. A. Emery, *The Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales*, 3 vols, (Cambridge 1996-2006), II, 116-17 & 234.
14. Emery *Medieval Houses*, III, 427-28.
15. Padley, when complete, probably covered a footprint of approximately 225 x 105 feet (68.6 by 32 metres) measured from the plan in C. M. Hadfield, 'Padley Manor', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, IV, 2 (1932-34), 265. On Eyre wealth, see R. Meredith, 'The Eyres of Hassop', *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society*, LXXXV, (1965), 44-91.
16. Hadfield, 'Padley', 267.
17. Allen Archaeology, *Earth Resistance Geophysical Survey at the Old Manor, Norbury*, Archaeological Evaluation report prepared for the National Trust (Branston, 2010), *passim*.
18. N. Pevsner & E. Williamson, *Derbyshire*, 2nd edn, (Harmondsworth 1978), 289, superseding J. C. Cox,

Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire. 4 vols, (Derby & London 1874-79), III, 232-33.

19. If it was so intended, it may owe its incomplete state to onset of the Black Death.
20. Pevsner & Williamson, *Derbyshire*, loc.cit.
21. Resistivity has established areas of high resistance close to the church here: Allen Archaeology *Old Manor*, 4-5); I am grateful to Michael Stanley FGS for assistance over the building stone and Hollington quarry.
22. Emery, *Medieval Houses*, II, 386-87 & Cox, *Notes on the Churches*, III, 88.
23. Emery, *Medieval Houses*, II, 250-51.
24. Emery, *Medieval Houses*, II, 425. Franklin, *Norbury*, 7-11, debates whether it was an upper storey hall, but declines to commit himself.
25. cf. Franklin, *Norbury*, 30
26. Franklin, *Norbury*, 69.
27. Franklin, *Norbury*, 17-18.
28. When drawn by George Bailey for Dr Cox in 1885, the piercings on at least one of the planks were intact. They are now somewhat decayed.
29. Cox, 'Norbury', 255.
30. As in a Norbury land sale: Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives, Birmingham, A1290, dated 21/6/1663.
31. L. H. Bond, 'Notes on a Discussion with Mr. Faulkner, Chief Architect, Historic Buildings Inspectorate, Ministry of Public Building and Works 19/2/1969', 2, National Trust collections, Clumber (Notts.); cf. L. H. Bond, 'Specification of Works for Contract 13/11/1968', 48, National Trust Archive, Clumber.
32. Franklin, *Norbury*, 27-28.
33. E. Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses*, (London, 1975), 109-11, citing their supposed Yorkshire origin and contradicting most of a report on the roof by F. W. B. Charles in 1970 at the National Trust's offices at Clumber.
34. Any later 18th and early 19th century alterations here were probably done by George Evans (1740-1830), 'carpenter, wheelwright and builder' at Roston in 1789, for many years the FitzHerbert estate foreman. He was also the novelist George Eliot's grandfather and, as she described the manor (thinly disguised as Old Hall Farm at Norbourne) in *Adam Bede*, she was familiar with the building from childhood. The so-called Adam Bede's Cottage on Roston Common is thought to have been George Evans's house. He was succeeded by his nephew, William Evans of Ellastone, joiner and builder (1797-1868): Derby Local Studies Library, *Ashbourne News* 2/8/1907.
35. Franklin, *Norbury*, 20.
36. Allen Archaeology, *Old Manor*, 4-5.
37. Cox, 'Norbury', 225; Franklin, *Norbury*, loc.cit.
38. Allen Archaeology, *Old Manor*, loc.cit.
39. Saltman, *Tutbury*, Nos. 39, 89. The year is given as 26 Hen. VI (ie.1447/8, not 1422, as Dr Cox, *Notes on the Churches*, III, 229).
40. See above; other commentators: eg. Emery, *Medieval Houses*, II, 426; Bowyer. *Ancient Parish*, 55; Cox, 'Norbury', 224.
41. Will quoted by Franklin, *Norbury*, 94.
42. G. Jackson-Stops, 'Norbury Manor, Derbyshire', *Country Life*, 3/5/1990, 152.
43. Pardon: Staffs. Archives, Stafford, FitzHerbert mss, D641/5/T/20/14; church: Cox *Notes on the Churches*, III, 233.
44. Window described in Jackson-Stops, 'Norbury Manor', 153. Much of the present heraldic glass was recreated for the 1968 restoration from a detailed blazon of them by Lawrence Bostock in 1581: British Library, Harleian ms 2133, f. 50.
45. See plan, Fig.6 above. Study: Cox, 'Norbury', 240-241; the inscriptions were recorded in full by Marcus Stapleton-Martin: M. Stapleton-Martin, 'Norbury Manor, History and Description', ms, 12/1979, (National Trust Records, Clumber), 17-23.
46. Cox, 'Norbury', 226; the inventory: 236-239.
47. He was the author of *The Boke of Surveying* (1523) and *The Boke of Husbandry* (1524):
48. *Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)*, compact edn, 2 vols (Oxford, 1975), I, 168.

49. Cox, 'Norbury', 240-41, a version of the Vulgate issued by Clement VII in 1592; for the identification, see Jackson-Stops, 'Norbury Manor', 154.
50. On Thomas's career: *DNB*, I, 171.
51. Topcliffe was rewarded by Lord Shrewsbury with a grant for life of Padley Manor into which he promptly moved; the FitzHerberts never managed to re-gain it.
52. Cox, 'Norbury', 258 (spelling modernised).
53. Archbishop Whitgift sanctioned the procedure: Cox, 'Norbury', 248.
54. Cox, 'Norbury', 223.
55. Death of the younger Thomas: Staffordshire Archives, Stafford mss D641/5/T/21/44; a deed in the Shakespeare Centre archives, Stratford-on-Avon (DR18/1/1881) has Anthony as 'of Norbury' in 1604, perhaps living there with his brother.
56. Babington House: M. Craven, *The Derby Town House* (Derby 1987), 36-38. Panelling of this type is also found at Browsholme Hall (Lancs., 1620, originally from Park Head, Whalley, also Lancs.) and Townley Hall (Lancs., dining room, 1626); the Townleys of Townley and the Kenyons of Park Head were also recusants: ex inf. Dr. John Martin Robinson. Could the craftsmen have been peripatetic Catholics?
57. Her brother, Sir John Harpur of Swarkestone, was a zealous Royalist in the Civil War.
58. B. Stone, *Derbyshire in the Civil War*, (Cromford 1992), 23. Sir John was knighted by the King at Oxford in 1644.
59. Bowyer, *Ancient Parish*, 59; Jackson-Stops, 'Norbury Manor', 154.
60. Settlement of 28/11/1648, Cambridgeshire Archives, Cambridge CON2/4/3/6-8.
61. J. M. Robinson, *The Staffords*, (Chichester 2002), 125.
62. Chester & Cheshire Archives, Chester, DDS/340/1843 of 1653; Sheffield Archives, Sheffield, SpSt/100/21 of 1657.
63. A. H. Gomme, *Francis Smith of Warwick*, (Stamford 1999), 172, 550.
64. William FitzHerbert obtained a licence to cut timber at Norbury in 1682, perhaps corroborative evidence for building work there that year (Staffordshire Archives, Stafford mss D641/5/T/14/89b).
65. That this entrance from c.1480 until c.1680 was on the north side of the great hall range seems unconvincing, *pace* Franklin (*Norbury*, 100); the weathering alone argues against it.
66. G. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, (New Haven & London 1995), 10 & 29.
67. Bell Hall: Worsley, *Classical Architecture*, 28-29.
68. Franklin, *Norbury*, 42-43. Yet he sees the pillar in the ale cellar as later 17th century while noting other features which he feels date from the 19th century.
69. Scale: 1 in. to 4.5 chains, Staffordshire Archives, Stafford mss D641/5/M/1/4.
70. Probably post-dating the alterations; 1682 is a little early for such a screen in Derbyshire.
71. Franklin, *Norbury*, 51, quoting Michael Jones.
72. W. Woolley, (C. Glover & P. Riden, eds) *History of Derbyshire*, Derbyshire Record Society, vol. VI, (Chesterfield 1981), 130; Gomme, *Smith of Warwick*, 550.
73. Franklin, *Norbury*, 15
74. Inclosure map, Staffordshire Archives, Stafford mss D641/5/TM/6.
75. Bowyer, *Ancient Parish* 50, although he is incorrect in saying that the old rectory was demolished to make way for the new hall in 1871; the rectory was replaced in that year, but the site was incorporated in the new landscaping undertaken by Wm. Barron Ltd: Bulmer, *Directory* 442; W. Barron & Sons, *Catalogue*, Nottingham, n.d. [c. 1932], 11.
76. Bowyer, *Ancient Parish*, 49; exchange: National Archives, MAF11/32. Extent of glebe: S. Bagshaw, *Directory of Derbyshire*, (Sheffield 1846), 363.
77. Letter, T. Turner of SPAB 23/11/1886 in reply to one from Clowes of 3./11/1886: National Trust, Clumber.
78. Bulmer, *Directory*, 441.
79. Kelly & Co., *Directory of Derbyshire*, (London 1908), 349; Bowyer, *Ancient Parish*, 59.
80. As told to the writer, 1977, by the late Mrs. Withington, born 1897 as Alice Amelia Smith Samways.
81. Bowyer, *loc.cit.*
82. Purchase by M. Stapleton-Martin from L. A. Clowes: Stapleton Martin, 'Norbury', 4.