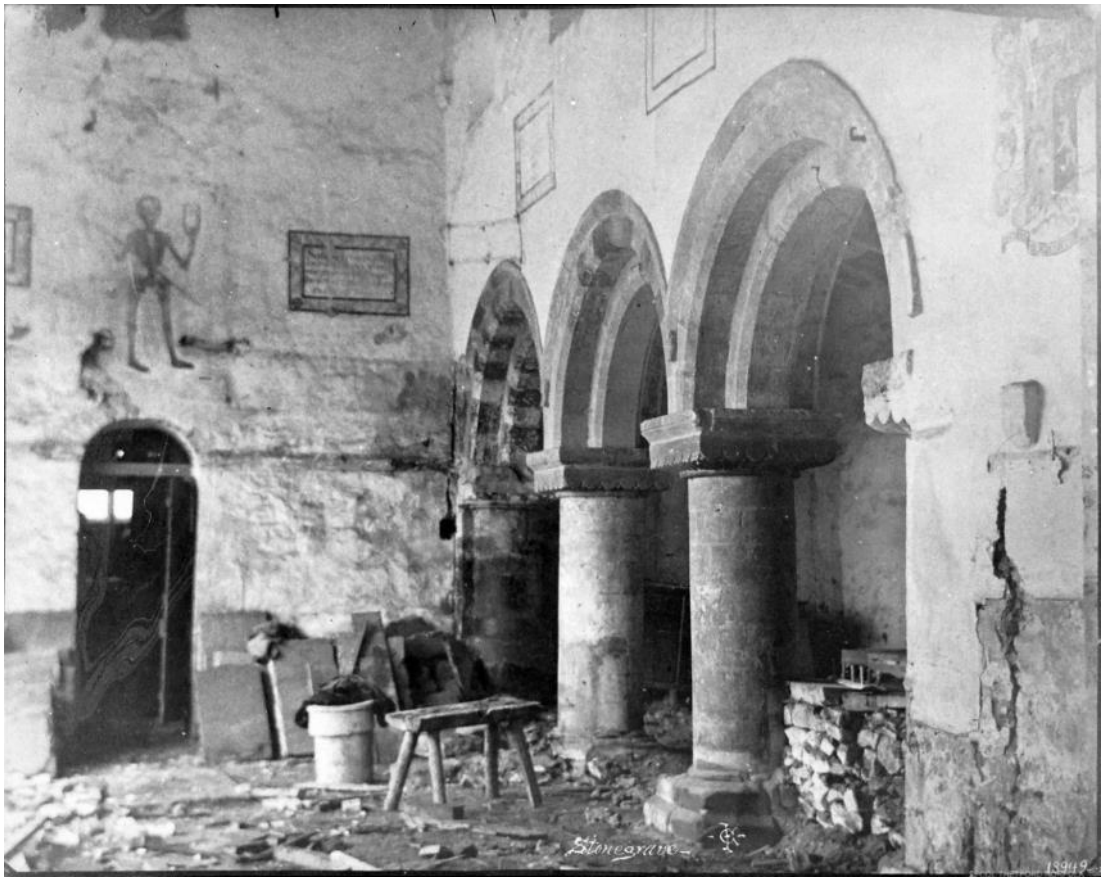
NOT ALL THOSE WHO WANDER ARE LOST:

Reconstructing the Post-Medieval Phase of Stonegrave Minster using a Buildings Archaeology Approach



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Abstract

Post-Medieval phases of Medieval parish churches are little studied due to a lack of extant physical evidence caused by widespread Victorian restoration. This research uses Stonegrave Minster as a case study in the reconstruction of lost Post-Medieval phases, demonstrating that such phases should be studied as part of the story of alteration and adaptation of parish churches. Using a multi-disciplinary buildings archaeology approach including archival research, stratigraphic and physical analysis, measured building survey, phased plans and sightline analysis, this research explores what the physical and documentary evidence can reveal about the form, fabric, use and experience of the Post-Medieval church.

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Photograph of the interior of Stonegrave Minster taken during the 1862-3 restoration, showing the Post-Medieval 'time and death' painting and scriptural texts (Source: NSM RPS 18949).

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List of Abbreviations

BHO British History Online

BIA Borthwick Institute for Archives

BL Bodleian Library

CBA Council for British Archaeology

CCS Cambridge Camden Society

DSLR Digital Single-Lens Reflex

EH English Heritage

HE Historic England

HEA Historic England Archives

IFoVA International Forum of Virtual Archaeology

LAB Looking at Buildings

NA The National Archives, Kew

NSM National Science and Media Museum

NYC North Yorkshire County Council Record Office

RCAHMW Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales

RPS Royal Photographic Society

SEE Survey and Engineering Environment

TST Total Station Theodolite

WM Whitby Museum

YAS Yorkshire Architectural Society

A Note on Usage

Post-Medieval

The term, Post-Medieval, used in this dissertation refers to the phase of the church after the Reformation (mid-sixteenth century) and prior to the Victorian restoration. At Stonegrave Minster, this period is therefore considered to range from the mid-sixteenth century through to the Victorian restoration of 1862-3. However, the Post-Medieval period focused on in this dissertation is the later Post-Medieval period, immediately prior to the restoration, and therefore dates roughly to the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. The terms 'pre-restoration' and 'pre-Reformation' are is also used to refer to the Post-Medieval phase of the church.

Restoration

The exact meaning of the term, 'restoration', has changed over time, but it is used in this dissertation to refer to the Victorian alterations made to churches in order to 're-medievalise' those that had been altered in the Late Medieval and Post-Medieval period (Smith 2014, 30, 104).

Stonegrave

Though there are 39 early spellings variations for Stonegrave, both in reference to the place and the de Stonegrave family, such as Stayngrave, Steyngreff and Staingriffe (PR/STV 13/3, 90), the now commonly used 'Stonegrave' is used throughout this dissertation for consistency.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

The nineteenth century saw a restoration craze sweep through Europe in an attempt to 're-medievalise' parish churches that had been altered in the Post-Medieval period (Smith 2014, 30, 104). Despite the efforts of the Anti-Scrape movement, many churches were subjected to such restoration (Lowenthal 1999; Jokilehto 2005, 7, 298), resulting in the alteration, adaptation or removal of Post-Medieval fabric, fittings and decoration. This left only a handful of Post-Medieval churches and phases intact (Chatfield 1989, 9; King and Sayer 2011, 3; Smith 2014, 30-4). The assumed irrevocable loss of Post-Medieval fabric has led to the misconception that there is too little remaining physical evidence for buildings archaeologists to study this phase of parish churches. This has contributed to a dearth of archaeological research into Post-Medieval phases of Medieval parish churches, further exacerbated by a general lack of scholarly interest from the archaeological community due to the seemingly more 'exciting' pursuits of the Medieval period.

In order to address this academic lacuna, this dissertation focuses on Stonegrave Minster as a case study of using an interdisciplinary buildings archaeology approach, drawing on architectural, archaeological, art historical and historical methods, to investigate the Post-Medieval iteration of Medieval churches prior to the widespread Victorian restoration. The GII* listed parish church of Holy Trinity Stonegrave, or Stonegrave Minster, is located in the hamlet of Stonegrave, Ryedale, North Yorkshire (Historic England 2019a). Though established as a Minster in the Anglo-Saxon period (Whitelock 1979, 764-5; Carr 2001, 124), it is now a parish church within the Deanery of Northern Ryedale in the Diocese of York. It saw multiple phases of alteration and adaptation before its restoration at the hands of George Fowler Jones in 1862-3, leaving only the Medieval nave and tower intact and removing the Post-Medieval structural fabric entirely. The restoration process was recorded by Jones in a series of photographs, providing a unique insight into the Post-Medieval interior prior to and during the Victorian restoration, such as the Post-Medieval painting scheme, including scriptural texts, a coat of arms and a 'time and death' painting (see Cover image; Field and Smith 2014, 268-9). These photographs, discovered during Field and Smith's (2014) research into the location of the grave of the scribe, Robert Thornton, are the inspiration for this study.

The relatively small number of surviving 'intact' Post-Medieval interiors have all experienced alteration, either conspicuous or inconspicuous, by the Victorians or later generations. The physical and documentary evidence for Stonegrave's interior, particularly its wall paintings, demonstrates the complexity of Post-Medieval changes to Medieval parish churches and provides evidence for a Post-Medieval interior untouched by Victorian hands. This offers a rich and more nuanced insight into the nature, use and experience of a Post-Medieval interior of a Medieval parish church. Though such a wealth of information is not always available for lost Post-Medieval phases of parish churches, even limited documentary and physical evidence can be combined to form an understanding of such a period of parish churches.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

This dissertation has been structured to answer the following research questions:

1) *What can the extant physical and documentary evidence reveal about the form and fabric of the Post-Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster prior to the Victorian restoration in 1862-3?*
2) *How does this interdisciplinary archaeological analysis of the church inform an understanding of the use and experience of space in the Post-Medieval church?*

In order to answer these questions, the following main research objectives will be fulfilled:

1) *To produce a detailed record and phasing of the existing church using measured building survey techniques and visual analysis to elucidate the Post-Medieval parish church.*
2) *To examine the form and nature of the Post-Medieval parish church through an analysis of the existing fabric and documentary evidence.*
3) *To consider how this informs our understanding of the use and experience of Medieval parish churches during the Post-Medieval period.*

The following dissertation aims to answer these research questions and fulfil the research objectives through: analysing the existing literature on archaeological approaches to parish churches and the various approaches to Post-Medieval parish churches (Chapter 2); explaining the interdisciplinary buildings archaeology methodology used (Chapter 3); providing a brief visual and stratigraphic analysis of Stonegrave Minster as it currently stands, reinforced with documentary evidence (Chapter 4); reconstructing the Post-Medieval church prior to its Victorian restoration using the visual and stratigraphic

analysis of extant Post-Medieval fabric and documentary sources (Chapter 5); a consideration of the use and experience of the Post-Medieval church (Chapter 6); contextualising the findings through a comparison of the Post-Medieval and Victorian phases of the church, a brief comparison with other Post-Medieval parish churches and a discussion of using a buildings archaeology approach to investigate such Post-Medieval phases (Chapter 7); and providing a summary of the conclusions and a consideration of future areas of study (Chapter 8).

Through a consideration of the Post-Medieval church of Stonegrave Minster, this study demonstrates that Post-Medieval iterations can and should be studied for their chapter in the story of alteration and adaptation of parish churches. Using an interdisciplinary buildings archaeology methodology, this dissertation reconstructs the rarely studied Post-Medieval phase of a parish church. It demonstrates that all phases of church architecture are nuanced, significant and worthy of study, both in and of themselves, and for what they communicate about use and experience by the parishioners and clergy of the Post-Medieval period. Though this dissertation only focuses on one church as a case study, it demonstrates that the methodology established by Smith (2014) can be used to reconstruct the Post-Medieval church. This study therefore acts as a foundation from which further studies can develop, demonstrating that what is so often considered to be lost, can now be found.

2 Research Context

This chapter will provide the research context for this study. The first section will critically examine the relevant literature, split into two main sections: archaeological approaches to the study of parish churches (Section 2.1.1); and, existing studies of Post-Medieval churches (Section 2.1.2). Following the literature review is a background of existing studies for, and a brief history of, Stonegrave Minster (Section 2.2). For a more detailed history, see Appendix A. These sections provide the relevant scholarly context in order to validate the rationale for the following research.

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Approaches to Parish Churches

The genesis of the study of parish churches can be traced to the church histories and notes on fabric prepared by twelfth-century chroniclers (Rodwell 2012, 16). Early antiquarian research, descriptions and drawings further developed into measured plans and drawings produced during the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries (Morris 1989, 2; Rodwell 2012, 18-21; Gilchrist 2014, 36). This work culminated in Rickman's (1817 [1862]) creation of church typologies, still used in current scholarship (Gerrard 2003, 38-9; Rodwell 2012, 21-22). Architectural historians, such as Taylor and Taylor (1965-78), continued this focus on architectural plans and typological trends. Early archaeological approaches to the study of parish churches in the mid-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries, likewise, concentrated on exposing Medieval church plans (Rodwell 2012, 21-25). Though many archaeological approaches have since been undertaken to the study of parish churches, only a consideration of the approaches relevant to this study will be discussed.

Church archaeologists developed more professional processual approaches in the 1970s, focusing on chronological development (Morris 1989, 2; Gerrard 2003, 142; Gilchrist 2014, 238, 242), as well as detailed analysis of fabric and recording (Addyman and Morris 1976; Parsons 1998; Roffey 2005; Rodwell 2012) and a critical assessment of written sources (Butler 1976, 18-21; Cramp 1976, 28-35; Rodwell and Rodwell 1976, 45-54). This formed the basis of interdisciplinary approaches which became common during the post-processual wave from the 1990s (Blair 1996, x), using architectural analyses, historical records, archaeology, art history and topographical analyses to investigate parochial organisation and church development (see Blair 1988; 1996; Rodwell 1989;

2012; Gerrard 2003, 142-143). Since then, this interdisciplinary approach has broadened, drawing on historical research through to petrographic analysis (e.g. Parsons and Sutherland 2013).

With the exception of Graves' (1989) analysis of the relationship between architecture and social space in Medieval churches, little progress was made with spatial analysis until Stocker and Everson (2006) and Gittos and Bradford Bedingfield's (2005) studies combining archaeological, architectural and historical evidence with spatial analysis. This resulted in interdisciplinary approaches to the spatial analysis of medieval churches and liturgy (Stocker and Everson 2006; Gittos and Bradford Bedingfield 2005; Gittos 2013). The use of sightlines, viewshed and access analyses, combined with systematic archaeological analysis of fabric, have progressed the study of the use of space in churches (Graves 2000; Roffey 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007).

Phenomenological approaches have extended spatial analyses to consider the multi-sensory environment of church interiors (Roffey 2006; Giles 2007; Graves 2008). Such approaches have been used to consider the impact of alterations to fabric and decoration on the complex multi-sensory experience of liturgy, ritual and worship (Giles 2007, 110-117; Graves 2008, 517). This affords an exploration of the use and experience of churches over time, though such an approach has tended to rely too heavily on vision and requires careful consideration of the context (Giles 2007, 107; Graves 2008).

Digital reconstruction has proven useful for understanding visual, physical and auditory relationships in churches (Masinton 2006; Giles, Masinton and Arnott 2010; 2012; Smith 2010; 2014). However, digital reconstruction is susceptible to oversimplification and conjecture due to insufficient evidence, resulting in erroneous interpretations (see London Charter 2009; IFoVA 2011). Aside from Smith's (2010; 2014) work on the Post-Medieval and Victorian phases of the 'Street Parish' churches, there have been few attempts at using three-dimensional reconstructions for Post-Medieval phases of parish churches.

Overall, these archaeological approaches to the study of parish churches demonstrate a focus on Medieval fabric, ignoring Post-Medieval phases; a recurring theme of the discipline.

2.1.2 Studies of Post-Medieval Churches

2.1.2.1 Architectural and Historical Approaches

Post-Medieval churches have been largely overlooked by historians and architectural historians alike. As noted by Arnold (2002, 2) and Smith (2010, 42-45), where they exist, studies tend to be architectural stylistic analyses of newly built churches (e.g. Whiffen 1947-8; Friedman 2011; Webster 2017), focus on the genius of influential architects (e.g. Jardine 2003 on Sir Christopher Wren) or are included in sweeping studies of fixtures and fittings (Cox 1923; Cox and Harvey 1973). Such studies tend to ignore Medieval churches adapted in the Post-Medieval period (Smith 2014, 43). This focus on style, aesthetics and architects, ignores the motivations behind alterations, use of space, buildings by less well-known architects and churches with complex phasing.

Where architectural studies focus on Post-Medieval churches prior to their Victorian restoration or unrestored Post-Medieval churches, they rely too heavily on architectural descriptions, such as Chatfield's (1989) work on the Post-Medieval churches that escaped Victorian restoration. In addition, where studies consider churches with complex Medieval and Post-Medieval fabric, they focus more on the Victorian restoration than the Post-Medieval predecessor (e.g. Brandwood 1987; 2002; Pickford 1994; 1998; 2000; 2001). Notably, Brandwood (1987; 2002) uses archival research to investigate the arrangement and condition of Post-Medieval churches in Leicestershire and Rutland, demonstrating that an aversion to Post-Medieval architecture, arrangements and worship, and nostalgia for Medieval architecture, drove Victorian restoration.

Historical research has considered the impact of the Reformation on the decoration of parish churches, such as conducted by Whiting (2010), Morel (2019) and Newham (2015). Newham's (2015) work, at present, only comprises a photographic catalogue of Post-Reformation wall paintings in English parish churches, leaving the research questions unanswered. Whiting (2010) combines documentary and physical evidence to consider the post-Reformation alterations made to parish churches, in terms of decoration, fixtures and fittings required for the differing ritualistic and liturgical needs. Morel (2019) analyses the impact of religious views on seventeenth-century English churches through a consideration of the devotional responses to churches. However, as Morel (2019) mainly uses consecration sermons as the primary sources, which comment more on symbology than architectural layout and reflect the preacher's theological and aesthetic views, the analysis is limited (Morel 2019, 143-4). Both Whiting (2010) and Morel (2019) provide little consideration of the impact of the reformed liturgies on the architectural

layout of the building, and are restricted to the early Post-Medieval period. Similarly, though focusing on Victorian churches, Whyte (2017, 22-23) uses a larger variety of written sources to consider the impact of theology on architecture and the multi-sensory Victorian experience of such churches. Nonetheless, such studies are valuable for their consideration of the decoration and experience of Post-Medieval churches.

Few historians have attempted an analysis of the use of space and its relationship to architectural setting in Post-Medieval churches, both in terms of liturgy and social use of space, such as Addleshaw and Etchells (1948) and Yates (1999; 2000; 2008). Yates (2000; 2008) combines an analysis of archival sources and extant Post-Medieval interiors to trace liturgical arrangements from the Reformation onwards, focusing on plans, fixtures and fittings. Unfortunately, Yates (2000; 2008) fails to address how this relates to architectural features or spatial analysis.

Although the existing architectural and historical research into Post-Medieval churches is valuable, such studies fail to consider a range of aspects simultaneously. Such studies also omit the palimpsest of Post-Medieval alterations to Medieval churches; comprehensive appraisal requires a buildings archaeology approach.

2.1.2.2 Archaeological Approaches

Systematic archaeological studies of Post-Medieval parish churches are limited in number, with the first appearing in the early twentieth century at *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580* conference (see Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003). This was followed by interdisciplinary archaeological approaches presented at the combined Church Archaeology and Post-Medieval Archaeology Conference in 2008 (Gaimster 2011, xv; King and Sayer 2011). The majority of the work on churches contained in the volumes produced from these conferences focus on non-conformist chapels and new churches constructed in the Post-Medieval period (Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003; King and Sayer 2011), aside from Roffey (2003; 2011). In an attempt to reconcile the gap in the literature on liturgy and use of space in Post-Medieval churches, Roffey (2003; 2011) explores the physical, social, symbolic and spatial impact of the Reformation and Victorian restoration on Medieval chantry chapels, primarily using a buildings archaeology approach. Stocker (2013) has also conducted a visual and stratigraphic analysis of the Post-Medieval changes to a Medieval chantry screen in Lincoln Cathedral, affording a renewed appreciation of the Post-Medieval use of the screen (Stocker 2013, 44). Such archaeological studies have allowed a reconsideration of elements of Post-Medieval phases of Medieval churches, but do not research the whole church.

Few buildings archaeologists have analysed an entire Post-Medieval church (Smith 2014, 28). While acknowledging the usefulness of detailed buildings archaeological analysis in unpicking the Post-Medieval phases of parish churches (King and Sayer 2011, 3) and recommending investigations involving historical research, building survey and detailed visual and stratigraphic analyses (e.g. Crossley 1990, 88; Gilchrist and Morris 1996, 112; Smith 2014, 257), much of this work has yet to be undertaken (King and Sayer 2011, 2; Smith 2014, 54). Smith (2014), utilises an interdisciplinary approach of the analysis of documentary evidence, metric recording, three-dimensional reconstructions and stratigraphic visual analysis of building fabric to compare the Medieval, Post-Medieval and Victorian phases of the 'Street Parish' churches in Ryedale, North Yorkshire. Smith's (2014, 244-6) findings demonstrate that the restorations show a return to the Medieval form and plan, effectively removing the Post-Medieval phases. Smith (2014, 247-50) also verifies that the churches reused the Medieval fabric in their restorations, but few or no fixtures and fittings of the Post-Medieval phases, as many of the latter were removed to reflect changing liturgical practices. However, this study represents only the beginning of detailed archaeological analyses of Victorian restorations of entire Post-Medieval parish churches.

2.2 Stonegrave Minster

2.2.1 Existing Studies

Stonegrave Minster has seen little serious academic study. Its pre-Conquest stone crosses, found during the 1862-3 restoration and now located in the south aisle (NYC PR/STV 2, 35-6; The York Herald 1863, 7), have been studied by antiquarians and archaeologists alike (e.g. Frank 1888, 89-91; Lang (Ed.) 1991, 215-20; Carr 2001, 137-140; Pickles 2018, 266). The church, however, has not been studied in its totality: primarily physical descriptions of the extant church (Pevsner 1966; Taylor and Taylor 1965; HE 2019a), poorly referenced histories (Wetherall n.d. in NYC PR/STV 13; Hazlehurst 1988) or archaeological watching briefs exist (Winterburn 2009). No scholarly works have analysed the whole church prior to the 1862-3 restoration, with only Field and Smith (2014, 257-272) considering the state of the north aisle prior to its restoration in order to locate Robert Thornton's burial place. As called for by Gilchrist and Morris (1996, 112) and King and Sayer (2011), a study of Stonegrave Minster as an example of Post-Medieval alterations to Medieval churches, using an interdisciplinary buildings archaeology approach, is warranted.

2.2.2 Brief Historical Background

Stonegrave Minster is thought to be England's first and smallest Minster, founded prior to AD 757 (Whitelock 1979, 184; Carr 2001, 124), and is also mentioned in the Domesday Book (NA E 31/2/2/4843; Page 1914, 561-6). The Saxon wheel cross and other carvings found during the Victorian restoration are the only visible remnants of the Anglo-Saxon Minster (NYC PR/STV 2, 35-6; The York Herald 1863, 7).

The first post-Conquest patrons of Stonegrave Minster were the de Stonegrave family, who likely commissioned the twelfth-century alterations (NYC PR/STV 13/1; Field and Smith 2014, 263). The patronage of the church eventually fell to the Thornton family of East Newton in the late fourteenth century (Torr's MSS in NYC PR/STV 13/3, 67; Field and Smith 2014, 263). Robert Thornton the Elder, the father of the scribe, Robert Thornton, known particularly for his alliterative *Morte Arthur*, funded alterations to the church in the early fifteenth century (Field and Smith 2015, 263-7).

In her autobiography, Alice Thornton (1875, 334; NYC PR/STV 13/3, 90-91) notes that a period of Puritanical fervour in the seventeenth century resulted in the removal of the roof of the north aisle over the Thornton tombs. Following this period of controversy, Dean Thomas Comber, as Rector of Stonegrave from 1669, wrote *A Companion to the Temple* (Comber 1684) in support of the Book of Common Prayer (Comber 1799, 442-3; Field and Smith 2014, 266-7). The seventeenth through to nineteenth centuries saw a range of Post-Reformation alterations which will be discussed in detail as the core of this dissertation.

In 1861, the vicar, Reverend A.W. Wetherall, commissioned George Fowler Jones, architect and amateur photographer, to design the restoration of the church, funded by voluntary subscriptions (BIA Fac. 1861/2). The church was reconstructed in 1862-3 and re-consecrated in 1863 (NYC PR/STV 3).

Since this major restoration work in 1862-3, the church has changed little in appearance, aside from minor repairs, conservation and installation of utilities (BIA Fac. 1951/1/39; BIA Fac. 1981/17; BIA Fac. 1983/84; BIA Fac. 1986/17; BIA Fac. 2000/101).

2.3 Conclusions

Post-Medieval phases of parish churches have received little study in comparison to their Medieval predecessors. Stonegrave Minster has been chosen for this study due to the wealth of surviving documentary evidence for its Post-Medieval phase and the lack of

previous detailed investigation into the church. Alterations, additions and destruction over time create a palimpsest (Giles 2007, 112, 115), where each phase should be viewed in the context of later alterations. Therefore, Post-Medieval phases of parish churches should be studied by buildings archaeologists in order to understand the stratigraphic relationships between the different phases. This dissertation is of value for its research into the understudied and undervalued Post-Medieval phase of parish churches.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The methodology utilised in this study follows on from Smith's (2014) established interdisciplinary approach to investigate the Victorian restoration of the Post-Medieval phase of Medieval churches, but with alterations to focus on the Post-Medieval church. Through the integration of documentary research, measured building survey, photography, visual analysis, phased plans and viewshed analysis, this research also follows on from such interdisciplinary buildings archaeology approaches to churches as developed by Rodwell (2012) and Gilchrist and Morris (1996). This investigation into Post-Medieval churches is conducted in an attempt to further fill the gap of integrated documentary and physical buildings archaeological investigation into Post-Medieval phases of churches identified by Gilchrist and Morris (1996, 112) and King and Sayer (2011, 2).

3.2 Documentary Research

Documentary and archival research was undertaken in order to provide a brief history of Stonegrave Minster (Section 2.3; Appendix A), support the findings of the stratigraphic and visual analysis (Chapter 4) and reconstruct the Post-Medieval church (Chapter 5). As Smith (2014, 64) highlights, the use of archival and documentary research into parish records is not novel to buildings archaeology (e.g. Gilchrist and Morris 1996, 118; Rodwell 2012, 54-56), but it is often overlooked in the study of Post-Medieval phases of parish churches.

The main archives visited include the Borthwick Institute for Archives and the North Yorkshire County Council Record Office. The records held by Stonegrave Minster and City of York Libraries and Archives were also consulted, in addition to online repositories, such the British Newspaper Archive and HE's archives. The main documentary sources consulted for this dissertation are the photographs by George Fowler Jones taken during the restoration in 1862-3 (NSM RPS 18949-18952), a photograph by A.W. Wetherall of the exterior (NYC PR/STV 3, 174), a drawing of the interior of the church in 1861 (NYC PR/STV 3, 174), and an early nineteenth-century drawing of the exterior prior to the restoration (Somerset and Wood 2016). The 1861 Faculty, which is the only pre-restoration Faculty to survive (BIA Fac. 1861/2), was consulted, along with Visitation Records and the post-restoration Faculties. The nineteenth-century 'Church Book' (NYC PR/STV 2) and Churchwarden's Accounts

(NYC PR/STV 3) were also consulted, along with newspaper articles, wills, autobiographies, plans, antiquarian accounts and historical maps, though the latter inaccurately portrayed the church plan and so were not utilised. Sir Stephen Glynne's comments on Stonegrave Minster were of limited value since he visited after the restoration (Glynne 1863 in Butler 2007, 395-6).

Following Smith's approach (2014, 64), this research was complemented by secondary sources such as church histories, Pevsner's *Buildings of England* (1966), HE's National List and Victoria County History (in BHO). This study critically engaged with a wide range of sources, in accordance with HE's (2016a, 10-11, 27) guidance.

3.3 Building Survey and Outputs

A Level 3 Analytical record according to HE's (2016a) building survey levels was chosen for this study to provide a detailed survey of the building, combining measured plans, photography and visual analysis to assist in understanding the church prior to and after its Victorian restoration. Site visits were undertaken on 31 March and 18 April 2019 for the visual survey, and on 2 and 29 July to capture the required data for the plans. A Risk Assessment was produced by the author, approved by the Department of Archaeology, and read and signed by all survey team members.

3.3.1 Measured Survey and Plans

3.3.1.1 Measured Survey

Architectural plans are a conventional and informative method of illustrating information (HE 2015a, 15; 2016b, 5). As the latest plan for the church dated to 1922, demonstrating inaccuracies and inexact phasing (Figure 1), a new plan was required. A measured building survey was conducted using a Leica Flexline TS06 Plus TST, following HE's guidelines (EH 2009; HE 2015b), in order to create detailed plans. Using a TST is an effective, accurate and flexible direct method of building recording, allowing the surveyor to choose the level of detail recorded, but accuracy is dependent on the skill of the surveyor (EH 2009, 21-22; HE 2015a, 16; 2016b, 3). The use of a TST enabled only the required data to be captured, including structural elements, openings, roofing structures and pre-Victorian fixtures and fittings.

Due to the nature of the site and the need for multiple site visits, the survey used an arbitrary open traverse with minimal floating stations. A witness diagram of the church was drawn in order to record the location of the stations, following HE's (2015b, 23)

guidance. The station locations shown in Plan 1 in Appendix C were chosen to optimise data capture and to reduce the number of stations to minimise potential errors (EH 2009, 7-8). The internal station locations were marked with soapstone to minimise impact to fabric (EH 2009, 8; 2015b, 27), whilst exterior stations were recorded with temporary survey anchor nails (EH 2015b, 27). Temporary non-marking adhesive targets were used to minimise impact to fabric (HE 2015b, 27) and were located in areas visible from both stations to locate the floating stations.

The plan of the church was taken above the standard datum at approximately two metres above ground level, allowing for the high windows to be included. During recording, the point data was recorded in separate strings, following Smith's (2014, 68) methodology, in order to process the data in LISCAD (Section 3.3.1.2). Features below and above the datum were recorded in separate strings. Points were taken using the reflectorless setting at midpoints and at corners of the building elements. Where elements were curved, at least four points were taken. Reference photographs were taken to aid the production of the plans.

A key limitation of using a TST is that the resultant plan is a section through the building showing only one horizontal plane, and therefore does not easily account for differences in the thickness of walls (Smith 2014, 68). Fortunately, the visual analysis confirmed that the walls were of uniform thickness. Using the reflectorless function of a TST leads to a decrease in accuracy over long ranges or oblique angles (EH 2009, 23). In order to mitigate such inaccuracies, distances and oblique recording were minimised and the same known locations were taken from multiple stations to correlate the data (EH 2009, 22-23).

3.3.1.2 Measured Plans

Following the site visit, the data was processed in LISCAD SEE version 11.0 to collate the strings and exported to AutoCAD 2019 to produce a wireframe model. This facilitated the production of the witness diagram, extant plan and phased plans in accordance with HE's drawing conventions (EH 2005; HE 2015b, 78; 2016a, 36-9). The visual analysis of the extant church (Chapter 4) and the reconstruction of the Post-Medieval church (Chapter 5) were consulted to create the colour-coded phased plans of the extant and Post-Medieval churches, following Smith's (2014, 70-1) methodology. The plans also show the location of the pre-Victorian monuments, fixtures and fittings in the extant church, as well as their location in the Post-Medieval church, adapted from Smith's (2014, 70-1) methodology.

3.3.2 Photographic Survey

Photographs were taken of the interiors and exteriors of the church using a Nikon D750 DSLR camera, fitted with a Nikon AF-S NIKKOR 24-120mm lens and adjustable tripod. Photographs were taken of the setting, exteriors, interiors and details of the church, in accordance with HE's guidelines for a Level 3 Analytical recording (HE 2015; 2016a, 19-20, 26). Photographs were taken as JPEGs for the visual analysis, whilst RAW photographs were taken for future conversion into TIFFs for archival purposes (HE 2016a, 17). For Health and Safety reasons, photographs of the interior of the belfry were not taken due to restricted access. Photographs were also taken to replicate the views of the historical photographs found to allow a comparison of the Post-Medieval and Victorian church.

3.4 Visual and Stratigraphic Analysis

3.4.1 Analysis of the Existing Church

A systematic visual and stratigraphic analysis was undertaken to identify the construction phases of the extant church, in accordance with HE's (2016a, 11) guidelines for a Level 3 Analytical survey. A detailed fabric analysis facilitated the investigation of phasing, architectural styles, decorative schemes, fixtures and fittings (HE 2016a, 11). Stylistic and stratigraphic dating of the church, complemented by documentary and archival research, facilitated an understanding of the surviving pre-Victorian fabric, following Smith's (2014, 70) methodology. The visual analysis was undertaken in accordance with the different spaces of the church, with the exteriors and interiors treated separately, including a description of the elements, complemented by photography and the phased plans. For simplicity, the location of the different elements of the church will be described in reference to liturgical east. Due to the complexity of the building and focus on the pre-Victorian elements, window glazing and moveable objects dating from and after the Victorian restoration were excluded from the analysis. A synthesis of this analysis, as well as the architectural phasing, is provided in Chapter 4.

3.4.2 Reconstruction of the Post-Medieval Church

The reconstruction of the Post-Medieval iteration of Stonegrave Minster drew on the visual and stratigraphic analysis of the existing form, fabric, fixtures and fittings of the church in addition to written and pictorial sources that demonstrated the nature of the church prior to the Victorian restoration. The configuration of each space prior to the 1862-3 restoration was systematically described, supplemented by inclusion of historical

sources and photographs of extant Post-Medieval fabric, following the order established in Chapter 4. Although a number of the Medieval elements analysed in Chapter 4 survived the 1862-3 restoration, such elements were not analysed in detail in Chapter 5; instead, Post-Medieval alterations to such fabric were considered. This was followed by a summary of the nature of the Post-Medieval church, with reference to the phased plan (Section 3.3.1). This reconstruction of the Post-Medieval church is provided in Chapter 5.

3.5 The Use and Experience of the Post-Medieval Church

Following the reconstruction of the Post-Medieval church a consideration of the use and experience of space in the Post-Medieval church was undertaken (Chapter 6). This was discussed in reference to the architectural plan and the arrangement of previous fabric, fixtures, fittings, furniture, decoration and monuments, as well as a consideration of liturgy, social changes and visual relationships. This was complemented by a viewshed analysis comprising sightlines to and from different spaces in the church, following Roffey's (2005; 2006) combination of stratigraphic and viewshed analysis in chantry chapels. Sightlines, or viewsheds, were added to the plan of the Post-Medieval church (Appendix C) to demonstrate the sightlines between the altar, seating, pulpit and Post-Medieval wall paintings in order to consider the visibility of elements from different locations. These sightlines aided the analysis of the use and experience of the Post-Medieval church. Although a full access analysis was outside the scope of this study, access was considered by analysing lines of access on the Post-Medieval plan (Appendix C).

3.6 Conclusion

The interdisciplinary methods of archival and documentary research, measured recording, photography, visual analysis, phased plans and viewshed analysis used in this study facilitated a reconstruction of the Post-Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster. This methodology has enabled the main objectives of the study outlined in Chapter 1 to be fulfilled, and has also allowed the research questions to be answered: this study has demonstrated the level of detail that can be revealed about the form and fabric of the Post-Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster using a combination of physical and documentary evidence and has also supported a consideration of the use and experience of space in the Post-Medieval church.

4 Visual and Stratigraphic Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises a brief visual and stratigraphic analysis of Stonegrave Minster, in order to identify the Medieval, Post-Medieval and Victorian fabric, fixtures and fittings. The Post-Medieval fabric will only be briefly mentioned in this chapter in order to allow a more thorough discussion of the Post-Medieval changes in Chapter 5.

4.2 Visual and Stratigraphic Analysis of the Present Church

4.2.1 Setting

The parish church of Stonegrave is located at the statutory address of Church of The Holy Trinity, Main Street (Figure 2; HE 2019a). The church and graveyard are bounded by a drystone wall, with dense foliage along the north-eastern boundary (Figure 3). The church is oriented along a north-west to south-east axis (Figure 3). Domestic properties lie to the south and east, including the GII listed Stonegrave House (Figure 4; HE 2019d; 2019e; 2019f). A scheduled earthwork lies along the northern and western sides of the churchyard, thought to be the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon monastery (Figure 4; Heritage Gateway 2012a; 2012b; HE 2019b).

4.2.2 Overview

Stonegrave Minster is a one-storey masonry church with a three-storey western tower, comprising seven bays along the east-west axis (Figure 5). The church also comprises a central nave with a clerestory (Figure 5), a structurally separate chancel (Figure 6), north aisle and vestry (Figure 7-Figure 8), south aisle and southern porch (Figure 5). The north and south aisles are flush to the eastern and western extents of the nave, aside from two buttresses at the western ends which flank the tower (Plan 2; Figure 5-Figure 9), while the vestry is located along the northern side of the chancel (Plan 2). The porch is at the western end of the south aisle (Figure 5). The current church is the product of an extensive restoration programme by architect George Fowler Jones between 1862 and 1863 (Figure 10-Figure 11; BIA Fac. 1861/2; YAS 1862, cxv). Medieval fabric was retained in only the nave and tower, and all structural Post-Medieval alterations were removed (Page 1914, 561-566), leaving only relocated Post-Medieval internal fixtures and fittings (Figure 12-Figure 13).

The Victorian reconstruction comprises predominantly rock-faced coursed ashlar oolitic limestone masonry with hammer-dressed chamfered plinths, smooth-faced soffits and dressed sandstone quoining at the corners, windows and doors (Figure 5-Figure 9). However, the western elevations of the aisles comprise randomly coursed rock-faced ashlar limestone masonry (Figure 9). The majority of the interior has been plastered and painted with 1970s gloss paint, apart from the exposed quoining around the 1862-3 openings and the Norman arcades (Figure 12).

The nave, chancel, vestry and southern porch have steeply-pitched single-gabled roofs, while the north and south aisles have skillion roofs. The tower roof was not accessible (Figure 5-Figure 9). Victorian Westmorland slate tiles cover the roof (HE 2019a), with a standard uniform pattern (Figure 5-Figure 8) aside from the chancel, which displays alternating bands of chamfered and rectangular slates in groups of three courses (Figure 5). Decorative Victorian cross finials are located on raised copings on the end gables of the chancel and porch. The nave finial is missing (Figure 5).

4.2.3 Nave

The nave is the most complex space in the church, with multiple phases of construction and alteration (Figure 12-Figure 13). Externally, only the steeply-pitched roof and four-bay clerestory is visible (Figure 5-Figure 9). The roof structure abuts the eastern face of the tower, with the top ridge partially covering the sill of the fifteenth-century window (see 4.2.8), indicating that the roof post-dates the tower (Figure 14, Figure 15 and Figure 16). The facing of the flanking buttresses at each end of the clerestory is not bonded to the clerestory wall, indicating the construction of a new 1862-3 core, or the retention of the earlier wall inside the new facing (Figure 5-Figure 8). The four windows on each side of the clerestory are composed of Victorian Gothic quatrefoils (Figure 16), which replaced the fifteenth-century Perpendicular windows despite the 1861 proposal specifying their retention (Figure 11; BIA Fac. 1861/2). Therefore, the stratigraphy, construction method, weathering and decoration, as well as contemporaneous historical evidence (The York Herald 1863, 7), indicate that whilst the clerestory was rebuilt during the restoration, it could contain earlier fabric.

Internally, the eastern and western ends of the nave are delineated by the chancel arch and the eastern wall of the tower, respectively. The interior of the nave is three bays long and one bay wide (Figure 12-Figure 13). However, the east-west bays are inconsistently distributed due to the varying sizes and locations of the arcades: three bays in the northern

arcade and two larger bays in the southern arcade (Figure 17-Figure 18). Both arcades were cut into the earlier eleventh-century walls of the nave for the addition of north and south aisles in the twelfth century (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 578; Field and Smith 2014, 267; HE 2019a). In accordance with A.W. Wetherall's findings during the Victorian restoration, it is likely that the earlier Saxo-Norman fabric of the nave survives above and surrounding the arcades (PR STV 13/3; Hazlehurst 1988, 2).

The northern arcade comprises three semi-circular double-chamfered Norman arches with chamfered labels, resting on two central free-standing columns and two flanking engaged columns (Figure 17). Above the two central columns are Saxo-Norman head-stops comprising animal heads (Figure 19-Figure 20). The columns display scalloped trumpet capitals, aside from the western engaged column, which displays a mixed waterleaf and trumpet capital (Figure 21, Figure 22, Figure 23 and Figure 24; Glynne 1863 in Butler 2007, 394). The capitals and short tooling indicate a c.1160-5 date (Figure 17-Figure 20; Peacock 1998, 29; LAB 2013). The capitals rest on ashlar stone columns with moulded bases (Figure 17 and Figure 25). A two-toned effect in the western arcades is created by alternating bands of sandstone and limestone, while the eastern arcade only uses limestone (Figure 17; Page 1914, 561-566; Hazlehurst 1988, 3). The arcades display evidence of 1862-3 repair (Figure 17, Figure 26 and Figure 27; BIA Fac. 1861/2), including staining of the western arches to recreate the contrasting effect.

The southern wall comprises two larger arches forming an arcade, with a quoined round-headed opening with a solid stone block sill in the eastern bay (Figure 12, Figure 18 and Figure 28). The crisp stonework, as well the 1862-3 photograph showing the opening with a flat arch (Figure 15), indicates that the opening was reconstructed in 1862-3 (Figure 28). The southern arcade comprises two Norman round-headed limestone double-chamfered arches with chamfered labels, meeting at a central rectangular pier with engaged columns (Figure 18, Figure 29 and Figure 30). A chamfered stringcourse connects the two arches on the northern wall (Figure 18; Page 1914, 561-566). The arches spring from waterleaf capitals in the eastern bay and scalloped trumpet capitals in the western bay (Figure 18, Figure 29-Figure 31), indicating a c.1165-70 date (LAB 2013; Peacock 1998, 29). The eastern arcade is likely older than the western arcade (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 578), but both were probably built after the northern arcade due to the use of larger arches and more mature decoration (Hazlehurst 1988, 3-4). It is possible that some of the original nave wall has survived within the central pillar (PR STV 13/3; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 578). The columns are made from ashlar masonry (Figure 29, Figure 30

and Figure 31) while the bases vary in design (Figure 32, Figure 33, Figure 34 and Figure 35). The stone is in good condition but shows evidence of Medieval alterations comprising horizontal cuts into the column shafts, likely for a Medieval parclose screen for the southern chapel (Figure 31).

A narrow round-arched doorway leads into the western tower, of early Norman or Saxo-Norman design, likely dating to the mid-eleventh century (Figure 36 and Figure 37; LAB 2013). The timber door dates prior to the 1862-3 restoration (Figure 27 and Figure 36) with an early twentieth-century timber-panelled transom (Figure 26 and Figure 37). Above this door on the eastern side is a timber panel painted with the 1801-1816 royal arms of King George III (Figure 38; Stevenson and Seton 1914, 396). Flanking the royal arms are two early nineteenth-century mural tablets (Figure 38). Above the royal arms is a timber surround and mesh screen covering the eastern side of the second stage tower doorway (Figure 38; see Section 4.2.8).

A four-bay clerestory rises above the arcades with an 1862-3 low-pitched trussed timber ceiling resting on reused fifteenth-century decorated corbels depicting human heads and shield-bearing angels (Figure 39, Figure 40 and Figure 41; BIA Fac. 1861/2; Hazlehurst 1988, 7; Field and Smith 2014, 268). As the clerestory walls were shortened in 1862-3, the top of the earlier clerestory was removed, but the fifteenth-century deeply sloping sills of the windows appear to have been retained in situ (Figure 13 and Figure 27). The corbels, however, were relocated during the restoration (Figure 27, Figure 40 and Figure 41).

The floor of the nave has been constructed from reused and 1862-3 stone slabs, with 1862-3 raised timber pew platforms (Figure 12 and Figure 13; BIA Fac. 1861/2; BIA Fac. Bk 5, 39-42). The relaying of the slabs is confirmed by an 1862-3 photograph showing the removal of the earlier flooring (Figure 25 and Figure 27). The reused slabs are weathered and have datable decoration and inscriptions, including a reused seventeenth-century Thornton grave slab at the north-west corner of the nave (Figure 42) and a tenth-century gravestone along the south arcade (Figure 43; Hazlehurst 1988, 4; Lang 1991, 219-220). Ventilation, with decorative brass plating, runs through the flooring from the porch, likely dating from 1862-3 (Figure 44).

The seventeenth-century pulpit is located at the north-eastern corner of the nave, set onto an 1862-3 ashlar limestone base (Figure 45 and Figure 46). The east-facing plain timber pews date to 1862-3, arranged to fit around the arcade columns and the aisle connecting

the south and north door (Figure 12, Figure 13 and Figure 26; BIA Fac. 1861/2). The southern pews extend into the south porch, unlike the 1861 proposal (Figure 10 and Figure 18; BIA Fac. 1861/2). At the south-eastern corner is an altered 1885 harmonium (NYC PR/STV 3), Victorian timber screen and benches on a raised timber platform (Figure 26, Figure 47 and Figure 48).

4.2.4 South Aisle

The south aisle is three bays long and one bay wide, with Victorian Middle Decorated Gothic pointed-arch windows in each bay (Figure 5, Figure 6 and Figure 9). All external components are a product of Jones's restoration, as physical and documentary evidence demonstrate full demolition of the former south aisle (Figure 15, Figure 16 and Figure 49; BIA Fac. 1861/2; Glynne 1863 in Butler 2007, 395). The south aisle is bonded to the nave and flanking buttresses, but abuts the chancel and western tower (Figure 50, Figure 51 and Figure 52).

Internally, the northern extent of the south aisle is delineated by the twelfth-century Norman arcade in the western and central bays and the 1862-3 round-headed opening in the western bay (Figure 53, Figure 54 and Figure 55). The southern front door in the western bay comprises a pointed Victorian arch (Figure 56). The western bay, used as a baptistry, contains a Victorian limestone 'square cut font' and is lined with painted 1885 geometric tiles (Figure 55 and Figure 57; The York Herald 1863, 7; NYC PR/STV 3, 182). Behind the font is a plain eighteenth-century tombstone for John Clark (Figure 58). Within the western bay are memorials ranging from a tenth-century Saxon cross to a thirteenth-century 'coffin lid' (Figure 53 and Figure 59; Pevsner 1966, 360; Lang (Ed.) 1991, 215-220). Three eighteenth-century mural tablets line the south wall (Figure 56, Figure 60 and Figure 61; BIA Fac. 1861/2). The eastern end of the aisle is now a chapel, reusing the seventeenth-century oak altar from the chancel (Figure 61; BIA Fac. 1960/2/11).

The 1862-3 ceiling comprises timber trusses on machine-cut Victorian corbels (Figure 62; Fac. 1861/2). The Victorian chandeliers were retrofitted for electricity and relocated to the south aisle in 1951 (Figure 63; BIA Fac. 1951/1/39). The flooring comprises 1862-3 stone slabs (Fac. 1861/2) and raised timber flooring for the Victorian pews and 1960s chapel dais, with Victorian geometric tiling in the western bay (Figure 56 and Figure 64).

4.2.5 Porch

The single-bayed gable-roofed porch has two Victorian lancet windows in the eastern and western elevations, with an Early English style pointed arch front door (Figure 65, Figure 66 and Figure 67; BIA Fac. 1861/2). The interior comprises a timber panelled roof, exposed stone walls and stone slab flooring (Figure 68, Figure 69, Figure 70, Figure 71 and Figure 72). All elements date to the 1862-3 restoration.

4.2.6 North Aisle

The north aisle was rebuilt in 1862-3, comprising four bays east-west and one bay north-south, with three nave bays and one chancel bay (Figure 73, Figure 74, Figure 75 and Figure 76; BIA 1861/2; Field and Smith 2014, 270). Externally, the north aisle is supported by a graduated buttress between the nave and chancel bays (Figure 75). The north aisle abuts the tower and the chancel (Figure 73 and Figure 76). The Saxo-Norman style windows and door in the northern and western elevations, and the Decorated Gothic window in the eastern elevation, were rebuilt during the Victorian restoration (Figure 74-Figure 76; BIA Fac. 1861/2).

The interior is bordered by a three-bay Norman arcade to the south (Figure 77). The chancel aisle, now the vestry, is bordered by Victorian double-chamfered pointed arches on the western and southern sides (Figure 78-Figure 79). The aisle contains a Victorian pew at the western end (Figure 80). In the central bay lies an early fourteenth-century effigy within a niche in the north wall, thought to be Roger de Stonegrave (Figure 81; Pevsner 1966, 360; Field and Smith 2014, 263). The pediment and niche appear Victorian due to the sharp finish and lack of deterioration (Figure 81). In between the central and eastern nave bays, resting under a ‘reused medieval canopy’ in the north wall, lies an early fifteenth-century effigy to Robert Thornton the Elder and his wife, Jane; the parents of the scribe Robert Thornton (Figure 82; Field and Smith 2014, 263, 271). The decoration and coat of arms on the Thornton effigy matching the reused corbels in the clerestory indicates that the Thorntons commissioned the fifteenth-century clerestory (Figure 40 and Figure 82; Page 1914, 561-6; Field and Smith 2014, 263). Within the eastern nave bay is a chair made from reused seventeenth-century panelling (Figure 83) and an 1885 mural tablet to the Dentons, replacing the broken eighteenth-century tablet (Figure 84; NYC PR/STV 3). The chancel bay houses furniture of various dates (Figure 85-Figure 86) with reused seventeenth-century screens separating the chancel bay from the chancel and nave bays of the north aisle (Figure 87-Figure 88).

The gabled timber-panelled ceiling of the nave bays (Figure 79) and the quadripartite timber ceiling of the vestry rest on limestone corbels (Figure 89). The flooring exhibits geometric tiling and stone slabs (Figure 90). These elements date to 1862-3, apparent due to their sharp machine-cut finishes, style, and documentary evidence (BIA Fac. 1861/2).

4.2.7 Chancel

The chancel is three bays long by one bay wide (Figure 91, Figure 92 and Figure 93). All elevations exhibit Victorian Middle Decorated Geometric pointed-arch windows (Figure 91-Figure 93). The central bay on the southern elevation has a Victorian Norman-style rounded-arched door (Figure 94). Their crisp finish and tooling indicates that these features date to 1862-3, confirming the documentary evidence demonstrating the demolition of the previous chancel (Figure 10-Figure 16, Figure 91-Figure 94; see NYC PR/STV 2; BIA Fac. 1861/2).

Internally, the chancel has scored plaster to replicate stone masonry (Figure 95). The double-chamfered pointed stone chancel arch at the western end dates to 1862-3, despite the proposed retention of the Post-Medieval arch (Figure 10, Figure 49 and Figure 96; BIA Fac. 1861/2). Below the chancel arch is the reused 1637 chancel screen (Figure 97-Figure 98; BIA Fac. 1861/2; Field and Smith 2014, 270). In the western bay of the chancel are two altered seventeenth-century timber screens, located under the arch into the vestry (Figure 87) and along the south wall (Figure 99). The central bay contains an eighteenth-century memorial to members of the Comber family on the north wall (Figure 95) and a painted seventeenth-century escutcheon to William Thornton above the south door (Figure 100-Figure 101). Between the central and eastern bays is a timber and wrought iron 1862-3 altar rail (Figure 102; Fac. 1861/2; The York Herald 1863, 7). The eastern bay contains the 1862-3 oak altar and a reredos underneath the eastern window comprising a reused a piece of seventeenth-century timberwork (Figure 102). Two re-mounted seventeenth-century memorial brasses are located on the north and south walls, with the latter next to an 1885 piscina (NYC PR/STV 3) and sedilia under the southern window (Figure 102, Figure 103 and Figure 104; BIA Fac. 1861/2). A Victorian Gothic reading desk is located next to the vestry arch (Figure 105; BIA Fac. 1861/2).

The chancel has a Victorian gabled gambrel ceiling supported on corbels (Figure 106). The floor comprises three limestone steps rising toward the altar and geometric tiles, all Victorian (Figure 107). In the western bay of the chancel, a late seventeenth-century (d.

AD 1699) black marble grave monument to Thomas Comber has been embedded in the Victorian flooring (Figure 108).

4.2.8 Tower

The three-stage tower is one bay square (Figure 109, Figure 110, Figure 111 and Figure 112; Glynne 1863 in Butler 2007, 395; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 577). The tower is constructed from coursed rough limestone rubble with dressed calcareous sandstone quoining (Figure 110-Figure 112). The first two stages exhibit matching quoining and coursed rubble masonry, and are therefore contemporaneous, but the quoining on each stage of the eastern wall does not align (Figure 113). This indicates that the first stage was built next to the already-extant western wall of the nave and the second stage was built above (Figure 113; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 578; HE 2019a). The first stage of the western elevation has a quoined doorway filled with rubble masonry with a fifteenth-century Decorated Gothic pointed arch window above (Figure 114; HE 2019a). The infill of the doorway is likely to be contemporary with the window. In the second stage on the south wall is a small sandstone Norman 'round-headed window' (Figure 113; HE 2019a; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 577). As the masonry surrounding the infilled doorway and the 'round-headed window' is undisturbed, they are contemporaneous with the tower (Figure 113-Figure 114; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 577). Based on the construction method and detailing, the first two stages of the tower are Norman, most likely early-twelfth century (Pevsner 1966, 359; Glynne 1863 in Butler 2007, 395).

The third stage, the belfry, also comprises generally undisturbed course rubble limestone masonry with sandstone quoining surrounding a central fifteenth-century Perpendicular louvred window on all four elevations, indicating that the belfry dates to the fifteenth century (Figure 115-Figure 116; NYC PR/STV 3; Pevsner 1966, 359; HE 2019a). The ashlar embattled parapet is topped with Victorian pinnacles based on fifteenth-century precursors (Figure 115-Figure 116; Glynne 1863 in Butler 2007, 395; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 577).

Internally, the walls of the first stage are lightly plastered with rubble limestone and painted dressed sandstone quoins (Figure 117, Figure 118 and Figure 119). The side walls of the first stage abut the eastern wall, confirming that the tower post-dates the nave (Figure 120; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 578; HE 2019a). On the northern wall of the first stage is an eighteenth-century benefactors' board (Figure 121), with an eighteenth-century memorial tablet (Figure 122) and seventeenth-century panelling on the floor

(Figure 118). The western window has a chamfered splay with a deep sill below, a result of the infilled door (Figure 118). In the corners are rubble and cantilevered platforms which post-date the construction of the tower (Figure 123, Figure 124, Figure 125 and Figure 126). The floor comprises rubble stone pavement (Figure 127), while the ceiling is comprised of the exposed timber platform of the second stage floor, rebuilt in 1885 (Figure 128; NYC PR/STV 3).

The second stage of the tower exhibits lightly plastered rubble masonry with obliquely-tooled dressed limestone quoins (Figure 129-Figure 130; Taylor and Taylor 1965, 578; HE 2019a). This stage exhibits the interior of the southern Norman window and the twelfth-century round-headed door in the eastern wall (Figure 131, Figure 132 and Figure 133; Peacock 1998, 29). Timber posts for the belfry above are located within this stage (Figure 132).

4.3 Phasing Analysis of Present Church

The current church is predominantly a result of the 1862-3 restoration, but Medieval fabric has been retained in the tower and nave (see Plan 2). Based on this analysis, the nave of the church dates to the eleventh century, some of the fabric of which is likely to be intact above and adjacent to the arcades (Plan 2). Following the construction of the nave, the first two stages of the tower were constructed in the early twelfth century, after which the northern and southern arcades and aisles were built in the mid-late twelfth century (c.1160-70). In the fifteenth century, the embattled third stage of the tower and the clerestory were constructed (Plan 2). All additional remaining structural fabric, including the chancel, aisles, porch and roofing, were rebuilt in 1862-3 (Plan 2). A number of seventeenth- to early nineteenth-century elements have been reused and relocated in the extant church (Plan 2). These will be discussed in Chapter 5.

5 The Post-Medieval Church

5.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on the visual and stratigraphic analysis of the existing features of Stonegrave Minster established in Chapter 4, in addition to written and pictorial sources, in order to reconstruct the Post-Medieval church. This chapter will systematically describe the most significant elements of each space of Stonegrave Minster prior to the 1862-3 restoration.

5.2 Reconstruction of the Post-Medieval Church

5.2.1 Overview

Despite the reconstruction of the aisles, chancel, porch and top of the clerestory, the plan of Stonegrave Minster changed little during the 1862-3 restoration (Figure 10-Figure 135, Figure 136-Figure 137, Figure 138-Figure 139, Figure 140; Plan 2 and 3). Both the written and pictorial sources demonstrate the Post-Medieval church comprised a nave with a clerestory, chancel, square western tower, south aisle and north aisle (Figure 10 and Figure 136; Whellan and Sheahan 1859, 886; YAS 1862, cxv; Fac. 1861/2). However, there is conflicting evidence as to the presence of a south porch immediately prior to the restoration (Figure 10 and Figure 141; see Section 5.2.4; Whellan and Sheahan 1859, 886; BIA Fac. 1861/2; YAS 1862, cxv). Written evidence indicates the Post-Medieval church was ancient but predominantly a mix of Decorated and Perpendicular Gothic (White 1840, 452; Lewis 1848, 224-9; Whellan and Sheahan 1859, 886), while pictorial and additional written sources demonstrate that the church was more complex (Figure 10 and Figure 136; YAS 1862, cxv). Such sources also describe the arcades and lower stages of the tower as Norman, with a Perpendicular Gothic clerestory and belfry (Whellan and Sheahan 1859, 886; YAS 1862, cxv), confirmed by the visual analysis in Chapter 4. Written and pictorial sources, as well as the visual analysis (Chapter 4), demonstrate the corpus of Medieval and Post-Medieval elements in the Post-Medieval church that were retained in the Victorian church (Figure 142-Figure 143, Figure 144-Figure 145 and Figure 146-Figure 147; Eastmead 1824, 187; Fac. 1861/2; YAS 1862, cxv).

5.2.2 Nave

5.2.2.1 Exterior

Clerestory

Externally, only the clerestory and the roof of the nave were visible, due to the aisles extending the full length of the nave (Figure 10-Figure 137). The clerestory comprised four bays along the east-west axis with one larger bay north-south (Figure 10, Figure 136 and Figure 138). The windows in each bay were square-headed two-light fifteenth-century Perpendicular windows with cusped heads and square hood-moulds ending in moulded label-stops (Figure 136 and Figure 148). The masonry surrounding the windows was not disturbed, indicating that the clerestory and windows were constructed contemporaneously (Figure 148). The clerestory displayed coursed rubble masonry with dressed quoins at each corner, with the quoining at the western end forming buttresses abutting the earlier tower (Figure 138). A horizontal building break between the clerestory and the southern arcade supports the clerestory's later date (Figure 148). The fifteenth-century clerestory was taller than its Victorian counterpart (Figure 138 and Figure 139; The York Herald 1863, 7). Prior to the restoration, the two western bays of the south elevation were obscured by a high-pitched slate roof above the south aisle (Figure 10; Section 5.2.3).

Roofing

By the Post-Medieval period, the clerestory had retained its low-pitched early fifteenth-century Perpendicular Gothic style roof (Figure 136; Smith 2014, 94). The churchwarden's records indicate it was re-leaded in the 1840s (NYC PR/STV 2). The eastern end of the clerestory exhibited a building break, indicating an earlier, marginally lower and higher-pitched fifteenth-century style roofline (Figure 136 and Figure 149). Although a corresponding horizontal building break is not discernible on the southern elevation due to the lead flashing obscuring the stonework, a fifteenth-century graduated capping on the south-western corner of the clerestory abutted the tower (Figure 138 and Figure 148). The earlier roofline would have been higher than the clerestory windows indicating that the windows were contemporary with the first roofline. Both rooflines date to the fifteenth century. The clerestory was commissioned in the early fifteenth century by Robert Thornton the Elder (Field and Smith 2014, 268).

5.2.2.2 Interior

The nave was the most stratigraphically complex space of the Post-Medieval church. Internally, the eastern and western ends of the nave were delineated by a chancel arch and the eastern wall of the tower, respectively (Figure 142 and Figure 144). The square-headed chancel arch was likely to have been a result of the partial infilling of the Medieval chancel arch, contemporary with the installation of the c.1637 oak chancel screen (Figure 142). The northern and southern extents of the nave were bounded by Norman arcades for the aisles, as they are today (see Section 4.2.3), in addition to a square-headed opening in the eastern bay of the southern wall (Figure 144-Figure 147). The square-headed door, although perhaps of twelfth-century origin (Hazlehurst 1988, 3), could date from the twelfth through to nineteenth centuries (Figure 142-Figure 143).

Three-Decker Pulpit

Both visual analysis and archival research demonstrate the existence of a three-decker pulpit in the north-eastern corner of the nave during the Post-Medieval period (Figure 142-Figure 145). Two sections of the chamfered label above the eastern column of the eastern bay of the northern arcade, as well as the removal of a section of the abacus and echinus of this capital, appear to have been undertaken in the Post-Medieval period (Figure 150). These elements, as well as the base of the column, were repaired during the Victorian restoration (Figure 151-Figure 152). The 1861 interior sketch shows a three-decker pulpit with its tester adjacent to this column in the north-eastern corner of the nave (Figure 142); it is likely that the sections of the arcade were removed to allow the pulpit and tester to be flush with the wall (Figure 150-Figure 152). This pulpit comprised the extant c.1637 oak hexagonal pulpit (YAS 1862, cxv), a now missing c.1637 hexagonal tester, and an eighteenth-century Georgian plain panelled reading desk and Clerk's desk (Figure 142 and Figure 153). This reuse of an extant pulpit in a three-decker pulpit was common in the late Post-Medieval period (Yates 2000, 34).

Box Pews

In the Post-Medieval period, the nave was filled with plain enclosed box pews along the northern and southern sides, separated by an east-west running aisle (Figure 142). Although no records provide a date for their installation, the simple Georgian design of the pews indicates an eighteenth-century date (Figure 142; Delderfield 1966, 39; Chatfield 1989, 154). A newspaper article mentions the 'old-fashioned pews' (The York Herald 1863, 7), while Eastmead (1824, 187-8) comments on the haphazard seating

arrangements. Pictorial evidence demonstrates that the box pews on either side of the nave were the same height, meeting the columns of the arcades at mid-height, with strapping between two rows of recessed plain panels (Figure 142). The western ends of the pews had wide panels in the upper row, with sets of three narrow vertical panels below (Figure 142). Despite the pews on the southern side appearing to have narrower panels than those on the north, the consistent strapping and height of both sides could indicate their contemporaneous installation. Due to the subjectivity of recording, the exact arrangement of the pews is unclear in the 1861 drawing (Figure 142). The northern pews appear to have extended into the northern arcade and to the eastern end of the nave, bordering the three-decker pulpit (Plan 3 and Figure 142). The southern pews also extended to the eastern end of the nave, but they appear to have had a north-south aligned break towards the eastern end (Figure 142 and Figure 154). The most probable arrangement for the southern pews comprises a box pew abutting the south-eastern square-headed door with a break in line with the eastern bay of the southern arcade (Plan 3). While the 1861 drawing shows that the southern box pews do not extend to the arcade (Figure 142), the north and south arcades exhibit vertical shadows on the eastern and western sides of the columns in Jones' photographs, likely caused by the box pews abutting the columns (Figure 150 and Figure 155). Additionally, the central pillar of the southern arcade demonstrated a horizontal notch in the bottom course of the eastern column and repaired notches in the north-eastern corner of the pillar, just above the height of the box pews (Figure 155-Figure 156). Such alterations are likely to be a result of the Post-Medieval installation of box pews.

Post-Medieval Painting Scheme

The 1860s pictorial evidence indicates that the walls of the Post-Medieval nave were whitewashed and decorated with painted scriptural texts within panels on all four walls, a 'time and death' painting on the western wall and a painted coat of arms on the northern wall behind the pulpit (Figure 142, Figure 150 and Figure 155). 'Time and death', comprising 'a skeleton holding a spear and hourglass', is a now rare Post-Medieval allegorical painting in churches (Field and Smith 2014, 269). The pictorial evidence suggests that there were two scriptural panels on the eastern wall above the chancel screen, flanking a decalogue below and an early nineteenth-century royal arms of George III above; the latter is now on the western wall of the nave (Figure 142 and Figure 157). There appear to have been two scriptural text panels flanking the 'time and death' painting on the western wall and the presence of two above the arcades on the northern wall

indicates that the southern wall also displayed a similar arrangement (Figure 144, Figure 146 and Figure 150). However, it is not possible to determine the excerpts of scripture used. The coat of arms on the northern wall adjacent to the pulpit appears to include the Thornton and Wandesford or Stonegrave arms (Figure 150 and Plan 3; Fac. 1960/2/11, 3; Smith 2000; Field and Smith 2014, 269). However, the motto below belongs to the Comber family: 'Sapiens dominabitur astris' (Burke 1852, 58-9; Field and Smith 2014, 67). The paint scheme has been dated to the early seventeenth century, contemporaneous with the timber screens and panelling (YAS 1862, cxv; Field and Smith 2014, 270), but the coat of arms or Comber motto could have been painted later. It is outside of the scope of this dissertation to determine the identity of the benefactor of the paint scheme, but it is likely to have been a member of the Thornton or Comber families. These painted scriptural texts, coat of arms and 'time and death' are likely to have been preserved under the existing paintwork.

Covering the 'Time and Death'

The 'time and death' painting was covered in the late Post-Medieval period; there appears to be two different shadows of the same shape as the 1728 benefactors' board surrounding the painting on the western wall of the nave in a c.1862-3 photograph (Figure 158, Figure 159 and Figure 160). Black dots in the photograph indicating fixing points to the wall support this interpretation (Figure 158). The base of the upper location for the board reaches the top of the shadow of the western gallery below, indicating that the 'time and death' painting would have been fully obscured after the installation of the board and gallery (Figure 160). A second matching shadow is located below the first, also resulting in the full concealment of the 'time and death' painting (Figure 159). As the first location of the benefactors' board would have left the feet of the 'time and death' exposed after the removal of the gallery, it is likely that the benefactors' board was moved down to cover the full length of the painting (Figure 159). Alternatively, the benefactors' board could have preceded the gallery; when the gallery was installed, the benefactors' board was raised. Regardless of the order, both locations for the benefactors' board would have resulted in full concealment of the 'time and death' painting,. showing the fleeting popularity of the 'time and death' motif.

Western Gallery

Documentary evidence confirms the presence of a western gallery in the Post-Medieval church. Hazlehurst (1988, 5) mentions ‘a whitewashed gallery for the musicians at the back against the west wall’, but the source is unknown. Eastmead (1824, 196) noted that John Clark’s 1728 donation was ‘recorded on his tomb-stone under the gallery’ (Figure 161). Shadows of the western gallery are shown in Jones’ 1862-3 photographs (Figure 150 and Figure 159). The gallery is likely to have been pitched downwards towards the east due to evidence of alterations to the western capital of the northern arcade (Figure 150). A shadow of a low-pitched fixture on the northern wall directly above the height of the gallery along the northern arcade could indicate its use for artificial lighting for those in the gallery (Figure 150). As there is no pictorial evidence of the gallery in situ, the date of the gallery cannot be confirmed.

Clerestory

There is only partial evidence for the clerestory interior, as the nineteenth-century images show only the bottom-half of the clerestory windows (Figure 142, Figure 144 and Figure 146). These images demonstrate the interior of the windows to have comprised plain rectangular openings with deeply sloping sills, which have been reused in situ in the existing clerestory (Figure 162-Figure 163; see Section 4.2.3). The roof structure was likely composed of timber trusses resting on the ten fifteenth-century corbels extant in the 1862-3 clerestory, perhaps with a plaster ceiling (Figure 162-Figure 163; see Section 4.2.3; Hazlehurst 1988, 7; Field and Smith 2014, 268). These corbels were positioned below the mid-height of the clerestory windows and depicted human heads and angels holding shields bearing crests, including the Thornton family crest (Figure 144, Figure 162-Figure 163).

5.2.3 South Aisle

5.2.3.1 Exterior

Construction

The south aisle of the Post-Medieval church comprised three bays running east-west and one bay north-south (Figure 10, Figure 136 and Figure 141). The aisle was constructed from coursed rubble masonry with quoined corners and a rubble core (Figure 10 and Figure 136). An 1862-3 photograph shows the western wall of the aisle abutting the tower and the scar from the demolition of the eastern wall shows minimal disturbance to the nave (Figure 136). This suggests that the south aisle was constructed after the nave and

tower, reinforcing a late twelfth-century date contemporary with the southern Norman arcade (see Section 4.2.3).

Windows and Doors

The south elevation displayed the front doorway in the western bay and windows in the central and eastern bays (Figure 10). The large round-headed arched front doorway and timber door are of uncertain date (Figure 10), but the doorway was possibly Norman or may have been altered in the Post-Medieval period. The two windows in the central and eastern bays of the south elevation appear to be late fifteenth-century Perpendicular two-light windows with pointed head tracery and segmental arched lintels, a transom and thick glazing bars or louvres (Figure 10). However, it is possible that the windows were partially altered in the eighteenth century. As the south aisle itself was contemporary with the late twelfth-century arcades, these windows were later alterations. A nineteenth-century sketch shows a two-light Decorated Geometric pointed-arched window with cusped heads and quatrefoil tracery on the eastern elevation of the south aisle (Figure 141), likely to date to the thirteenth century (LAB 2013). As Whellan and Sheahan (1859, 886) describe the south aisle as 'chiefly in the Decorated and Perpendicular styles', it is likely that the sketch displays an accurate depiction of the window. YAS (1862, cxv) mentions that the south aisle had 'good two-light windows east and west', indicating that the western elevation also had a two-light window, but further details are unknown.

Roofing

The roof of the eastern half of the south aisle comprised a low-pitched lead-lined roof, whilst the western half had been rebuilt with an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century steeply-pitched slate roof, which met the top of the fifteenth-century nave clerestory, blocking the two western-most clerestory windows (Figure 10 and Figure 141). However, due to its poor condition in the 1860s, the roof could have been installed earlier (Figure 10). The lack of disturbance to the masonry of the clerestory following the removal of this high-pitched roof (Figure 136) indicates that it abutted the clerestory, reinforcing its later date.

5.2.3.2 Interior

Historical photographs indicate that the interior of the south aisle comprised three bays, bordered to the north by the existing double-arched Norman arcade and an eastern square-headed opening (Figure 10; see Section 5.2.2). Although no pictorial records show the interior of the southern elevation, it would have been pierced by the front door and Perpendicular windows (Figure 10 and Figure 141). The interior of the thirteenth-century

Decorated Gothic pointed-arched window on the eastern elevation appears to have been altered with a rectangular surround, perhaps in the fifteenth-century (Figure 142).

Pews

The internal arrangement of the south aisle is unclear due to a lack of direct pictorial evidence or specific descriptions. As Eastmead (1824, 191) specifically notes that the north aisle is 'destitute of seats' but makes no reference to the south aisle, it is likely that the south aisle had seating. Due to the presence of the Georgian box pews in the nave, it is possible that similar pews were utilised. Graffiti showing the initials, 'I.S', on the southern side of the central pillar near the level of the nave box pews (Figure 142 and Figure 164). A section of repaired stone behind the graffiti could indicate a fixing for a pew, but it could also be for a screen due to the additional chisel marks on the southern side of the capital (Figure 164; Section 5.2.3). This could suggest that the pews in the south aisle were arranged along the southern arcade, with or without a screen behind. However, no further evidence of such fixings for the pews are located along the wall due to the 1862-3 restoration. The position of the graffiti could indicate that there were no additional seats behind this pew, so that no-one could have observed this act of vandalism, as the depth of the initials could indicate multiple passes over time. Therefore, this was likely to have been the western-most pew in the south aisle (Plan 3).

Paint Scheme

The interior of the south aisle exhibited whitewashed masonry, shown by the 1862-3 photographs (Figure 135 and Figure 146). A.W. Wetherall noted the discovery of hagiographical Medieval paintings beneath the whitewash on the south wall and central pillar during the demolition of the south wall (NYC PR/STV 2, 35). This indicates that at least some of the Medieval paint scheme was preserved under the post-Reformation whitewashing in the Post-Medieval church. There is no evidence for Post-Medieval paintings in the south aisle.

South Aisle Porch

The whitewashing of the western two bays of the southern elevation of the clerestory indicates that it was an interior area (Figure 136). Though the eastern corbels for the roof of the south aisle had already been removed during the demolition of the eastern half of the roof, the plain corbels remained on the western half, which could indicate that they had not been part of the roof structure when it was demolished. This could imply that the roof was double-height in this section due to the whitewashed walling (Figure 136). This

roof structure most likely dates to the eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century. As at Slingsby, the porch could have been located within the western bay of the south aisle (Smith 2014, 138), due to its previous demolition (see Section 5.2.4). In this case, the faint chisel marks on the south side of the central arcade pier could relate to the installation of a screen to encapsulate the western bay as a porch (Figure 164).

Baptismal Font

The previous location of the pre-Victorian font is unknown, but Wetherall noted that it 'was very plain and…possibly it was Saxon or early Norman' (NYC PR/STV 2, 37). While Anglican churches were expected use a stone baptismal font following Canon 81 of 1604, no location was enforced, but the most common arrangement was close to the porch in the 'west end of either the nave or one of the aisles' (Yates 2000, 34-5). Therefore, the font was most likely located in the western end of the nave or south aisle. Due to the demolition of the porch and western gallery prior to the restoration (see Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.4), and the use of the western bay of the south aisle as the porch, it is possible that the font had previously been moved to the western end of the nave.

5.2.4 Porch

5.2.4.1 Exterior

Demolished Porch

The porch appears to have been demolished prior to the 1862-3 restoration due to its absence in an 1861 photograph (Figure 10). However, Whellan and Sheahan (1859, 886) noted the presence of a porch, indicating that it was still extant at the time of their visit. It was therefore likely to have been demolished by c.1860. By 1861, only a shadow remained of the porch, with two thin set-back sloping buttresses flanking the front door, installed to support the wall following the porch's removal (Figure 10).

The Earlier Porch

An earlier nineteenth-century sketch shows the south porch to have had a gabled-roof set below the roof of the aisle and decorated with a finial (Figure 141). The 1861 photograph shows the flashing to outline a single-bay gabled roofline (Figure 10). Due to the lack of disturbance to the surrounding stonework, it appears that the porch abutted the south aisle and therefore post-dated the twelfth-century aisle. Based on the porch's form and the trend of porch construction in the Medieval period (Cunnington 1993, 64), it most likely dated to the fourteenth century.

5.2.4.2 Interior

No records exist for the interior layout, fixtures and fittings of the earlier porch, and therefore little can be postulated other than through a comparison with other churches, which is outside of the scope of this study.

5.2.5 North Aisle and Vestry

5.2.5.1 Exterior

Like the extant north aisle and vestry, the north aisle of the Post-Medieval church was four bays east-west and one bay north-south, with three bays to the north of the nave and one to the north of the chancel (Figure 165; Field and Smith 2014, 270). By the time of the Victorian restoration, the walling of the north aisle appears to have been in poor condition (Figure 149), which was likely exacerbated by the missing roof during the seventeenth century, as recorded by Alice Thornton (1875, 333-4).

Nave Bays

As the northern arcade was constructed during the mid-late twelfth century (see Section 4.2.3 and 5.2.2), the original three-bayed northern aisle would have been built simultaneously, and therefore, the north aisle during the Post-Medieval period likely retained the twelfth-century masonry. This is supported by YAS's (1862, cxv) pre-restoration description, which states that 'the north aisle had a Norman door in the north wall [and] two lancets'. The lancet windows and Norman door were likely contemporaneous with the twelfth-century north aisle. The Norman door was likely located in the same position as the existing round-headed Victorian door in the western bay with the two lancet windows in the eastern and central bays, and a blank western wall (Figure 166; Field and Smith 2014, 271).

Chancel Bay

The photographic evidence of the exterior of the north aisle shows only the eastern end; it appears to have been constructed with coursed rubble masonry, with an 1840s lead skillion roof (Figure 149; NYC PR/STV 2). Jones' photographs and YAS's (1862, cxv) description, demonstrate the eastern window to have been a fourteenth-century three-light Decorated Gothic window, as replicated in the extant Victorian window (Figure 149, Figure 167-Figure 168; Field and Smith 2014, 271). As the masonry surrounding this window appears undisturbed, the chancel bay of the north aisle was likely a fourteenth-century extension (Figure 149). Interpretation of the documentary and visual evidence

indicates that the northern window of the chancel bay was a four-light fifteenth-century Perpendicular window due to the symmetrical nature of Perpendicular Gothic (Figure 142, Figure 144 and Figure 167; YAS 1862, cxv; Field and Smith 2014, 271). This window was potentially contemporaneous with the fifteenth-century clerestory (see Sections 5.2.2).

5.2.5.2 Interior

Physical and documentary evidence demonstrate the interior of the Post-Medieval north aisle to have comprised three nave bays and one chancel bay (Figure 144 and Figure 167), likely with a low-pitched ceiled or exposed timber roof structure (NYC PR/STV 2).

Raised Burial Vault

The interior of the north aisle was described by Eastmead (1824, 191-2) as 'destitute of seats, and raised by vaults in it nearly to a level with the tops of the pews' for its use as 'the burial place of the…Combers, and… Thorntons'. The remnants of the raised platform still visible in the eastern nave bay in Jones' photographs (Figure 150; Field and Smith 2014, 271) reinforce Eastmead's (1824, 191) description. Frank (1888, 89) and Whellan and Sheahan (1859, 886) also described the north aisle as containing monuments, burials and recumbent effigies. This is supported by Alice Thornton's (1875, 333-4) request to be buried 'in the north alley belonging to my dear husband's family in the parish church of Stonegrave' in her will, dated 1705.

Access

Jones' photograph (Figure 167) and the c.1861 drawing (Figure 142) show the chancel bay to have been separated from the chancel and the nave bays of the north aisle by pointed-arched openings, which were likely contemporaneous with the fourteenth-century chancel bay. As the north arcade was blocked with box pews (Plan 3; Section 5.2.2), the only entrance to the north aisle was via stairs in the opening between the chancel and chancel bay, leading to the elevated floor level (Field and Smith 2014, 271). The location for the stairs has been suggested by Field and Smith (2014, 271) due to Eastmead's (1824, 191-2) description of Thornton memorials on the left and Denton memorials on the right at the top of the stairs in the chancel bay (Figure 167). The pre-Victorian Denton memorial was broken and replaced in 1885 (Figure 169; PR/STV 3). Prior to the Reformation, the chancel bay was used as the Chapel to St Leonard (Figure 170; Field and Smith 2014, 271) and its use for burials in the Post-Medieval period reinforces the post-Reformation redundancy of chapels (Yates 2000, 41). Eastmead

(1824, 195) also mentions ‘passing from the north aisle out of the church’, demonstrating the ability to use the northern Norman door in the north aisle, suggesting the presence of steps between the vault and the doorway.

Effigies

The Post-Medieval church contained more effigies than the existing church. YAS mentioned that ‘In the north wall is a recessed tomb, belonging to one of the family of Thornton of East Newton’ (YAS 1862, cxv); this is thought to refer to the fifteenth-century effigy to Robert Thornton the Elder and his wife, Jane, which was reincorporated into the Victorian north wall (Figure 82; Field and Smith 2014, 271). It is unclear if the extant medieval canopy above this tomb was the same as that used in the Post-Medieval period (Figure 82; Field and Smith 2014, 271). No other early nineteenth-century writers mention this effigy (e.g. Eastmead 1824), which indicates that by the end of the Post-Medieval period, it may have been within the vault or obscured by later monuments. Eastmead (1824, 191-2) mentioned three extant effigies represented Elizabeth Thornton (d.1604) and her daughter, Elizabeth (c.1668), and a ‘knight Templar’ with crossed legs. The female effigies are now lost, but the ‘knight Templar’ is likely to be the fourteenth-century civilian effigy (Pevsner 1966, 360), thought to be Roger de Stonegrave (Figure 81; Field and Smith 2014, 263). The arrangement of the effigies is unknown, but they were likely oriented east-west.

Memorials

Eastmead (1824, 194) also describes an ‘escutcheon, to the memory of William Thornton’ in the north aisle. This still extant escutcheon comprises a framed timber board with text below a coat of arms depicting the Thornton and Wandesford achievements (Figure 173; Smith 2000). This was commissioned by his wife, Alice Thornton (née Wandesford); the use of timber indicates that it was all she ‘could afford’ (Hazlehurst 1988, 5). Eastmead (1824, 195) also notes the presence of an eighteenth-century ‘marble monument’ to Thomas Jackson (d. 1702) immediately west of the Norman door, likely on the northern elevation of the western bay, but currently located in the south aisle (Figure 174; Field and Smith 2014, 271).

5.2.6 Chancel

5.2.6.1 Exterior

As the chancel was demolished in 1862-3 (BIA Fac. 1861/2; The York Herald 1863, 7), only documentary sources provide information for the earlier structural fabric. As today,

the Post-Medieval chancel was three bays in length by one bay wide, constructed from dressed coursed rubble masonry (Figure 10 and Figure 136). Photographs show the Post-Medieval chancel to have comprised a tall windowless southern wall with a central door and a single-gabled eastern elevation with a large pointed-arched y-tracery window (Figure 148-Figure 149).

Phasing

A building break between the chancel and the nave indicates that the chancel abutted the nave (Figure 148), reinforcing the late eleventh- or twelfth-century date indicated by its height and the round-headed door in the central bay of the southern elevation (YAS 1862, cxv; Field and Smith 2014, 268). It is likely that this door was contemporaneous with the chancel (Figure 10 and Figure 148). A corpus of ninth- to eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon sculpture was found reused in the foundations of the chancel during the 1862-3 demolition (NYC PR/STV 2, 35-6; The York Herald 1863, 7; Yorkshire Gazette 1863, 7), confirming the late eleventh-century terminus post quem for the chancel. However, the chancel had a Medieval fifteenth-century style low-pitched roof (see Smith 2014, 118), re-leaded in the 1840s (Figure 149; NYC PR/STV 2). To the east of the central door was a fifteenth-century graduated buttress, which could indicate the need for structural reinforcement following the roof alterations (Figure 10, Figure 148-Figure 149).

Shortening of the Chancel

The documentary evidence indicates that the chancel was shortened in the Post-Medieval period (YAS 1862, cxv). During the 1862-3 demolition of the chancel, Wetherall discovered a foundation seven metres to the east as well as infilled 'half' windows in both the northern and southern walls at the eastern end of the chancel, confirming its earlier foreshortening (NYC PR/STV 2, 36-7). Wetherall (NYC PR/STV 2, 36) provides no further information about the windows: their date and that of their infill is unclear. The infilling of these windows is not discernible in the photographs prior to the chancel's demolition (Figure 10 and Figure 148), indicating it had been partially re-faced, perhaps contemporaneous with the truncation of the chancel in order to mask the 'half window' (NYC PR/STV 2, 36). Wetherall conjectures that the chancel was truncated after Dean Thomas Comber's death in 1699 due to not finding his grave in 1862 (NYC PR/STV 2, 37), despite earlier reports of his burial in this area (NYC PR/STV 2, 36-7; Whellan and Sheahan 1859, 886). However, it is possible that Dean Comber was never buried in this area or that he was buried below the excavation level. The clear building break between

the chancel and its eastern wall, as well as the different coursing evident in the walls, support the foreshortening of the chancel (Figure 148 and Figure 149). The alternating-sized dressed stone courses on each side of the eastern window did not meet, though the masonry is undisturbed surrounding the window, indicating that the window and walls were constructed contemporaneously. The lack of building breaks, other than repairs (Figure 149; NYC PR/STV 2), indicated that the full elevation was constructed simultaneously. As the eastern window comprises a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century three-light intersecting y-tracery pointed arch window with a hood-mould and label-stops, similar to that at Slingsby (Figure 175; see Smith 2014, 140), it is possible that the eastern wall was reconstructed at this time. This eastern window displayed two distinct stone geologies due to the dark-stained sandstone tracery and the lighter limestone surrounds and mullions, suggesting repair (Figure 149). The eighteenth- to nineteenth-century window possibly reused the lower sections of an earlier window from the previous eastern wall with new upper portions. The nineteenth-century sketch of Stonegrave, however, shows this window to be a three-light Decorated Gothic window (Figure 141), while Whellan and Sheahan (1859, 886) described the chancel as predominantly 'Decorated and Perpendicular'. However, even if the eastern window was a reused Decorated Gothic window, the tracery cannot have been intact by the 1859 description (Figure 149). While the documentary sources disagree about the eastern window, it is likely that the window was a predominantly late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century window immediately prior to the Victorian restoration. Therefore, the most logical interpretation is the foreshortening of the chancel at this time, as chancels were typically demolished or truncated in the Post-Medieval period due to a lack of funds and the redundancy of the theology of benefactions expediating sanctification (Gilchrist and Morris 1996, 117).

5.2.6.2 Interior

As the chancel was rebuilt in 1862-3, archival sources can be combined with the extant furniture, fittings and memorials to reconstruct the Post-Medieval chancel interior. The interior is partially shown in one of Jones' 1862-3 photographs (Figure 167) and the 1861 drawing (Figure 142). Based on the exterior (Figure 10), the interior of the chancel was three bays long by one bay wide (Figure 142). The chancel was likely to have had a low-pitched ceiled or exposed timber roof structure, corresponding with the exterior (Figure 149). A fourteenth-century pointed-arched opening led into the north aisle chancel bay (Figure 167 and Figure 176; see Section 5.2.6.1).

Chancel Screen

Sources demonstrate that the extant 1637 three-bayed square-framed oak chancel screen was located underneath the square-headed chancel arch in the Post-Medieval church, forming a visually permeable, but symbolic, barrier between the nave and chancel (Figure 142, Figure 167 and Figure 177; Eastmead 1824, 187; The York Herald 1863, 7). The oak chancel screen comprises a decorative head with a recessed central bay resting on four turned and moulded shafts separating the bays (Figure 177-Figure 178). The head of the chancel screen is decorated with a floriated frieze below a moulded cornice and dentils, with hanging brandished decoration with trefoils and acorns (Figure 177-Figure 178). Prior to the restoration, the chancel screen had two timber panels in the southern bay, and likely, in the northern bay (Figure 142). Though the simple style of the panels indicates an eighteenth-century date, it is possible that details may have been omitted in the drawing, and that they were original to the 1637 chancel screen (Figure 142). These panels are likely to have been the height of the lower mouldings around the shafts, though there may have been additional decoration or panelling between the two mouldings (Figure 177-Figure 178). Although the extant chancel screen appears to be shorter than shown in the drawing from 1861, the height is likely to be an oversight made by the artist, as the chancel screen shows no signs of foreshortening (Figure 142, Figure 177-Figure 178).

Panelling

Documentary sources demonstrate that the Post-Medieval chancel was lined with timber panelling (Figure 142; Eastmead 1824, 187; The York Herald 1863, 7). The pictorial source for the panelling in situ shows that it covered the chancel walls to a height approximately level with the chancel screen but below the eastern window (Figure 142). The panelling on the southern elevation appears to comprise a continuous frieze and cornice above panelling, with a gap in the centre for the Norman door (Figure 142). The panelling on the eastern elevation is indistinguishable and is not visible on the northern elevation (Figure 142). From the visual analysis of the extant church (Chapter 4), seventeenth-century timber panelling has been reused along the eastern wall of the chancel (Figure 179), in the western bay of the chancel along the south wall (Figure 180), along the western and southern sides of the vestry (Figure 181, Figure 182, Figure 183 and Figure 184), in the north aisle as a chair (Figure 185) and in the tower (Figure 186). The majority of these screens and panelling display evidence of reuse, such as foreshortening, asymmetry, unused joints and missing elements (Figure 179-Figure 186).

The matching floriated friezes, moulded triglyphs and moulded cornice on multiple screens, indicate that they were carved contemporaneously and were part of the entablature for the same decorative panelling (Figure 180-Figure 184). The entablature would have run along the top of the chancel panelling, as shown in the 1861 drawing (Figure 142). The double-arched components of the panelling appear contemporaneous with the friezes and are likely to have run along the chancel walls below the entablature, with a dentilated stringcourse between them, as well as perhaps running along the side, as is apparent on the panelling along the south wall of the chancel and the chair (Figure 180 and Figure 185). It is likely that the base exhibited the floriated frieze and skirting visible in the western vestry screen (Figure 181). The panelling along the Post-Medieval chancel would have been taller than existing, demonstrated by pictorial evidence and physical evidence of foreshortening (Figure 142, Figure 180 to Figure 185). The panelling currently along the eastern wall of the chancel comprises only a horizontal component decorated with dentils and brandished hanging projections (Figure 179), matching the chancel screen. This panelling is likely to have comprised the top of the seventeenth-century reredos in the Post-Medieval period. The human-headed timber shafts of the southern screen of the vestry, as well as its central panel with a decorative round-headed arch, are likely to have comprised part of this reredos (Figure 184). The screen between the vestry and chancel is an amalgamation of different timber elements and was not originally intended for this position, as the frieze has been cut at the ends to fit, the bottom of the frieze shows evidence of earlier fixing points and the base has been constructed from mismatched pieces of timber (Figure 184).

Altar and Altar Rails

The altar rails are shown in the 1861 drawing as low baluster timber railings (Figure 142), but it is not clear if the railings ran straight across the chancel or if they were bowed in the centre. As Eastmead (1824, 189) mentions that Dean Thomas Comber's (d.1699) gravestone was located between the altar rails and the altar; based on the length of the gravestone and the width of the altar, the altar rails must have been located half-way along the chancel (Figure 187). The extant seventeenth-century altar, now located in the south chapel (Figure 188; Fac. 1960/2/11), would have been located behind the altar rails along the eastern wall. The seventeenth-century altar underwent 'repair and removal of the additions' in 1960 (Figure 188; Fac. 1960/2/11), but it is unclear as to the state and date of the additions. Therefore, the nature of the altar immediately prior to the restoration is unknown.

Monuments

The chancel contained a number of memorials, some of which remain. Eastmead (1824, 188) noted the presence of Thomas Comber's memorial on the north wall, which is a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century mural tablet currently on the north wall of the extant chancel (Figure 189). Eastmead (1824, 188-9) further notes that the memorials to Rev. William Comber (d.1810) and 'his wife Dorothy Comber' (d.1807), which were 'similar in size, and corresponding in…sculptural decorations' were located together on the southern wall of the chancel. These early nineteenth-century memorials are currently fixed to the western wall of the nave (Figure 190-Figure 191; Chapter 4). It is likely that these monuments were located above the timber panelling (Figure 142). Eastmead (1824, 189) locates the black marble gravestone to Dean Thomas Comber (d.1699) in the eastern end of the chancel, but is now in the western bay (Figure 187). Dean Thomas Comber's mother, Mary Burton, (d.1672) was buried on one side of this memorial, while his wife, Alice (d.1720), and son, Thomas (d.1702), were buried together on the other (Eastmead 1824, 189-90). The corresponding bronzes now fixed to nineteenth-century marble backing and flanking the eastern wall of the chancel were formerly fixed to grave-slabs in the flooring (Figure 192-Figure 193). Additionally, Eastmead (1824, 189) noted the presence of a 'triangular shaped stone' with an 'illegible' inscription located near the 'the altar rails''. Eastmead (1824, 189) presumed it was the monument for a 'former rector', but as the stone is no longer extant, this cannot be confirmed.

5.2.7 Tower

5.2.7.1 Exterior

Prior to the Victorian restoration of 1862-3, the church tower also comprised a one bay square three-stage western tower constructed from coursed rough limestone rubble with dressed sandstone quoining (Figure 10-Figure 141; Section 4.3.8). Written and photographic evidence confirm the tower's appearance prior to the restoration as little different to its current appearance, with its early twelfth-century Norman lower stages and its fifteenth-century Perpendicular third stage and parapet (Figure 10-Figure 135, Figure 148-Figure 149; Whellan and Sheahan 1859, 886; YAS 1862, cxv; Glynne 1863 in Butler 2007, 395). While the existing pinnacles date to c.1885 (Fac. 1861/2; NYC PR/STV 3), their antecedents were likely constructed in the fifteenth century along with the embattled parapet (Figure 115-Figure 116; Chapter 4). This is due to the pinnacle bases displaying the same stone and deterioration as the battlements, aside from later repairs (Figure 136-Figure 137; BIA Fac. 1983/84; NYC PR/STV 3). However, by the

Post-Medieval period, only stubs remained of these pinnacles on the corners and central battlements (Figure 10-Figure 141). The tower in 1861-3 also displayed evidence of repair to the mortar joints of the quoining, parapet and stonework surrounding the fourteenth-century western window (Figure 10 and Figure 138). An 1840 disbursement for 'John Buck's Bill bell roof' for 17 shillings in the Churchwarden's accounts indicates the re-roofing of the belfry (NYC PR/STV 2). Aside from repairs and an 1840s roof, the Post-Medieval tower was, therefore, little different to the extant tower.

5.2.7.2 Interior

No written documentary sources mention the interior of the tower prior to the restoration. An 1862-3 photograph shows a glimpse into the first stage of the tower from the nave, revealing the mid-eleventh-century Saxo-Norman door opening (LAB 2013) in the eastern wall, as well as the still extant pre-restoration square-headed timber door (Figure 144-Figure 145). Although the timber ceiling/flooring structures within the tower were rebuilt in 1885 (NYC PR/STV3), the pre-restoration flooring is likely to have been of a similar design, built in timber and likely using the same arrangement of beams due to a lack of disturbance in the stonework (Figure 196). However, it seems that the two central beams extant during the Post-Medieval period were larger than those existing due to built-up stonework surrounding the beam ends (Figure 196). The earlier structure may also have utilised the stone platforms in the corners of the tower, but the date and arrangement during the Post-Medieval period is unknown.

5.3 Conclusion

The above analysis demonstrates the complexity of the Post-Medieval configuration of the Medieval church. The architectural phasing, including the layout of the fixtures and fittings, of the Post-Medieval church immediately prior to the Victorian restoration is shown in Plan 3. Together, the documentary sources and visual analysis create a picture of a church filled with Post-Medieval decoration, fixtures, fittings, furniture and memorials. The structure, however, mostly retained its Medieval form, other than the Post-Medieval infilling of the chancel arch, shortening of the chancel, demolition of the porch and the high-pitched roof on the western end of the south aisle. The reconstruction of the Post-Medieval church demonstrates a palimpsest of Medieval and Post-Medieval alterations; its final iteration prior to the restoration represents a church that was the result of hundreds of years of alteration, adaptation and reuse.

6 Use and Experience

6.1 Introduction

The reconstruction undertaken in Chapter 5 demonstrates that the Post-Medieval fabric, decoration, fixtures, fittings and furniture influenced the internal layout of the church. This had a profound impact on the way the congregation and clergy experienced and used the space, as will be discussed. The themes of status, control, comfort, social hierarchy, liturgical functionality and sensory stimulation are interwoven throughout. The interdisciplinary archaeological analysis therefore provides a foundation on which to explore these ideas.

6.2 Use and Experience

6.2.1 Painting Scheme

The most striking element of the Post-Medieval church was the rare Post-Medieval painting scheme (see Newham 2015), including the seventeenth-century scriptural texts, 'time and death' and the coat of arms. Scriptural texts replaced earlier image-based medieval paint schemes following the Reformation, as a symbol of the reformed liturgy, theology and ideology (Chatfield 1989, 8; Whiting 2010, xvii). The retention of the scriptural texts would have enabled the congregation to read them, therefore providing a stimulus for reverence and a prompt for the focus on the Word of God (Figure 144; Whiting 2010, 120, 131). The height of the texts ensured that everyone in the nave could see them, even if their views were restricted by the box pews (Figure 142 and Plan 4). As such pews often resulted in people sitting sideways and even backwards, the location of the texts on all sides of the nave allowed everyone to see and be reminded of the scriptures, irrespective of their orientation (Plan 4). Even those in the south aisle would have been able to see at least some of the texts along the northern and western walls (Plan 4). The use of text also demonstrates growing literacy levels, or at least the expectation of such, from the seventeenth century and a desire for 'scriptural education' (Whiting 2010, 131). Though the texts in Stonegrave are unknown, similar textual panels have been found at a number of churches (Newham 2015), including St Ishow's Church, Partrishow, Wales, which displays painted decalogues, the Apostles' Creed and quotes from the Old Testament and New Testament (RCAHMW 2007). Other texts are known to include 'verses on the creation of the world, the coming of Christ and the final judgement' in addition to the 'beatitudes, the lord's prayer and the creed' (Whiting 2010, 131).

Stonegrave Minster is likely to have exhibited similar texts, acting as a reminder of the focus of worship, as well as perhaps supporting the performance of the liturgy.

In contrast, the location of the painted coat of arms, directly behind the pulpit, would only have been visible from the box pew at the south-eastern corner of the nave, as the pulpit and tester blocked views from the other seats (Figure 142 and Figure 144; Plan 5). This box pew was therefore likely reserved for the Thornton, and later, Comber, family. The positioning of the coat of arms was intentional as a visual acknowledgement of their benefaction and a demonstration of continuous manorial patronage from the Medieval to Post-Medieval period. Its position between the pulpit and the chancel is a message of patronage and power. In contrast, the allegorical 'time and death' painting on the western wall of the nave appears to have been intentionally placed so that all worshippers would see this painting as they left the church or when returning to their seats after communion (Plan 6), reinforcing obedience through fear of mortality, perhaps similar to that intended by Medieval 'Doom' paintings (see Whiting 2010, 119). Both paintings therefore appear to demonstrate a continuation of Medieval displays of patronage and stimuli for obedience into the Post-Medieval period.

This reveals that the Post-Medieval decoration scheme provided a visual and textual stimulus to reinforce the refocus on scripture and away from ceremonial rituals, as well as an acknowledgement of mortality and patronage, creating a different experience from that of the Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster, which was decorated with hagiographical paintings (see NYC PR/STV 2, 35-8).

6.2.2 Western Gallery

Western galleries in eighteenth-century churches were often installed for liturgical purposes or population growth (Yates 2000, 38, 64). In 1822, the population of Stonegrave hamlet was 177 (Baines 1822, 553), reaching 189 by 1842, with room in the church for 250 (Lawton and Ducarel 1842, 536). The population of Stonegrave parish was 408 in 1834, but had fallen to 327 by 1842 (Lawton and Ducarel 1842, 536). Therefore, during the nineteenth century, the overall population in the parish was declining. It is possible that the population of the parish was larger in the eighteenth century in order to require the installation of a western gallery, as eighteenth-century England experienced a population boom (Wrigley 2007, 35-8). Alternatively, the gallery could have been reserved for musicians and singers for the Anglican liturgy; services were likely to have included the musical accompaniment in the eighteenth century

(Gilchrist and Morris 1996, 120; Yates 2000, 38, 64). The removal of the gallery in the early nineteenth century could therefore reflect a declining population or could be related to early Ecclesiological influence (CCS 1842a, 11-2).

6.2.3 'Time and Death'

The removal of the gallery in the early nineteenth century would have exposed the feet of the 'time and death' painting below the benefactors' board (Section 5.2.2). Rather than exposing the painting, it appears that the benefactors' board was lowered to cover the full painting (Figure 158-Figure 159). The eighteenth and nineteenth century congregations therefore left the Post-Medieval scriptural paintings and coat of arms visible, but appear to have intentionally obscured the 'time and death' painting. The benefactors' board would have been seen as the visitor left the church or returned to their seats after communion (Plan 6), indicating that the later Post-Medieval church replaced inciting fear with an example of the outworking of faith through generosity. However, the placement of the benefactors' board also demonstrates a message of patronage, power and hierarchy, as only the wealthy could leave sufficient funds for the poor or to make improvements to the church (Figure 160). This demonstrates a shift in the experience of the church even during the Post-Medieval period.

6.2.4 Three-Decker Pulpit and Supervision

As noted in Chapter 5, a three-decker pulpit was located in the north-eastern corner of the nave (Figure 142). Three-decker pulpits became common in Anglican churches from the early seventeenth century following Canon 82 of 1604, which specified seating for ministers to conduct the service from in the nave or chancel entrance and the parish clerk for leading 'responses and sometimes the singing' (Yates 2000, 33-4). This demonstrates that the liturgical use of the Post-Medieval church focused on preaching, singing and responses (Yates 2000, 33-4). The location the three-decker pulpit indicates that Stonegrave Minster exhibited a 'traditional Anglican arrangement', implying potentially conservative ministers and benefactors throughout the Post-Medieval period (Plan 3; Yates 2000, 76, 192). The Post-Medieval church therefore set the scene for traditional Anglican post-Reformation worship. The location of the three-decker pulpit enabled the majority of parishioners in the nave and south aisle to see and be seen by the preacher and the clerk, allowing for supervision of the majority (Figure 136 and Figure 137; Plan 7). However, the location of the graffiti on the south side of the central pillar of the southern arcade has no direct views to the pulpit, and therefore anyone sitting behind this pillar

was not visible from the pulpit, providing an opportunity for graffiti (Figure 197; Plan 7). It also indicates that there was no-one behind these seats that could view this act of vandalism, indicating that the western bay of the south aisle was free of seating or even blocked by a screen for the porch (Section 5.2.3). Few other locations are likely to have been invisible from the pulpit other than perhaps the north aisle and the porch, the latter of which was demolished by the early nineteenth century (Section 5.2.4). The arrangement of the church was therefore conducive facilitated the running of services, as well as control and supervision.

6.2.5 Seating and Social Hierarchy

Box pews were installed in the Post-Medieval period for comfort and practicality, as they lessened the effects of draughts and provided comfort during lengthy sermons (Yates 2000, 36-7; Whiting 2010, 195). Their installation at Stonegrave was therefore a response to liturgical change. Box pews limited the views of parishioners, reinforcing the focus on the Word of God rather than the importance of being able to view sacred rituals, as in the Medieval church (see Giles 2007, 115). Box pews were also a physical demarcation of segregation of space, as the different sexes, classes and families had assigned seating (Yates 2000, 37), reinforcing their place in society. Although a Post-Medieval seating plan for Stonegrave has not survived, seats the landowners and wealthy would have been seated in close proximity to the 'pulpit in the largest and most comfortable pews', with 'the poor relegated to the least comfortable seats, frequently only rude benches' in unfavourable locations, with tradesmen and farmers somewhere between (Yates 2000, 37). The separation of what was likely the Thornton and Comber family pew at the south-eastern corner of the nave (Section 6.2.1) from the rest of the pews along the southern arcade reinforces this divide, as the 'leading landowner' tended to have the 'most prominent seating in most rural churches' (Figure 142 and Figure 144; Plan 3; Yates 2000, 39). As private eighteenth-century box pews of the landed gentry sometimes had separate entrances into the church from the churchyard (Yates 2000, 39-40), the square-headed door at the eastern end of the southern nave wall could have been appropriated for the personal use of this leading family to enter their own box pew from the south aisle, reinforcing their status (Figure 142 and Figure 148). The access past the poor who were possibly regulated to this aisle, however, is potentially problematic for this interpretation (Plan 6). At Stonegrave, those in the closest pews to the pulpit would have had high social status and wealth, whilst those in the rear pews and next to the south door, or in the south aisle, would have lacked these benefits (Plan 6). With more restricted views of the pulpit

or chancel, they would have also likely felt the effects of the cold air from the front door when it was opened. As a comparison, a 1793 pew plan for the nearby All Saints', Hovingham, shows open seats for women at the western end, indicating their low social status (Figure 198). It is therefore possible that the uncomfortable rear seats at Stonegrave were reserved for women and the poor (Plan 6). This suggests that the visitor's experience of the Post-Medieval church was dictated by their social status and highly controlled.

6.2.6 The Porch

As established in Section 5.2.4, the porch of Stonegrave Minster was removed in the nineteenth century. Likewise, a c.1840 etching of All Saints, Slingsby parish church prior to its 1867 Victorian restoration shows the loss of its porch (Smith 2014, 139). At Slingsby, this led to the rearrangement of the western bay of the south aisle as the porch (Figure 175; Smith 2014, 138). It can reasonably be postulated that the western bay of the south aisle at Stonegrave was also used as such following the demolition of the fourteenth-century porch (Figure 10; Plan 3). The late eighteenth or early nineteenth high-pitched roof over the western end of the south aisle, creating a double-height south aisle, was likely connected with the relocation of the porch into the south aisle (Figure 10 and Figure 138; Section 5.2.3). This negates the purpose of two- or three-storey porches as accommodation, educational or storage areas (Whiting 2010, xiv; Myers 2013, 111). The relocation of the porch at both churches could be a reaction to changes in liturgy, such as the move away from the ritualistic and towards a more social use of the porch (Myers 2013, 110), or simply a reaction to the poor condition of the fabric. The removal of the porch in the early nineteenth century would have exposed the rear pews and the south aisle more to the cold during the opening of the doors, resulting in an even less pleasant experience for those in the pews, and therefore, an increase in the social divide.

6.2.7 The Chancel

The Post-Medieval church obscured sightlines and views that were later re-opened in the Victorian restoration, such as the view of the eastern chancel window from the nave due to the square-headed infill of the chancel arch and installation of the 1637 chancel screen (Figure 142; Plan 8). Rather than restricting this view, the Post-Medieval chancel arch focused the view onto the altar and communion rails, rather than decorative elements such as the stained-glass windows or memorials (see Section 5.2.6). Only those in the nave would have been able to see the altar in the eastern end of the chancel, as those in the western gallery and south aisle were unlikely to have been able to see the altar (Plan 8).

The lowering of the chancel arch and the installation of the chancel screen therefore reinforced the use of the chancel and nave as discrete areas for the observance of different rituals: preaching in the nave; and communion in the chancel (Gilchrist and Morris 1996, 117; Yates 2000, 66, 71). This demonstrated 'the traditional arrangement favoured by conservative high churchmen' in the Post-Medieval period (Yates 2000, 66). The length of the chancel, despite its truncation in the Post-Medieval period and the communion rails halfway along the chancel, would have provided sufficient space for the communicants to queue for communion (Plan 6; Yates 2000, 71). The communion rails indicate that worshippers were going up into the chancel to receive communion, reinforcing a hierarchy of holiness in the church (Plan 6). The physical demarcation in the placement of the decalogue, scriptures and royal arms on top of the filled-in chancel arch promotes spiritual and political obedience before passing through to the chancel, effectively functioning as a reminder of spiritual and political authority before receiving communion (Plan 6; see Whiting 2010, 126-7). In addition, the royal arms above the chancel screen effectively replaced the head of the church with the King, as it is in the traditional location of the medieval 'Doom' painting, depicting Jesus at the 'Last Judgement', aimed to incite repentance through fear (Giles, Masinton and Arnott 2010; Whiting 2010, 119-20). The communicant therefore could not enter the chancel without acknowledging and submitting themselves to the authority of the King, the ten commandments and the key scriptures in order to receive communion. Even in the early nineteenth century, Eastmead (1824, 189-90) commented that: 'It is impossible to enter the walls of this church, - to pass its antique screen into the chancel, and to approach its altar, without a feeling of veneration and awe'. The seventeenth-century chancel screens and panelling are a product of the 'revival of decoration' during the reign of Charles I which 'encouraged increased ceremony and elaboration of furnishings' (Gilchrist and Morris 1996, 120). Therefore, the sightlines and physical demarcation of space were specifically designed to alter the ceremonial experience of the Post-Medieval congregation, reinforcing the importance of obedience and submission in order to attain sanctification and justification.

6.2.8 Lighting

Although a full light analysis is outside of the scope of this dissertation, the architectural form of the Post-Medieval church, combined with the interior drawing from 1861 prior to the restoration, can provide an indication of the lighting of the Post-Medieval church (Figure 142). In contrast to the existing dark interior of the present church, the nave of the Post-Medieval church would have been flooded with light from the four Perpendicular

windows along each side of the clerestory, as well as from the windows of the south aisle and chancel (Figure 138, Figure 141 and Figure 142). This would have allowed light to fall onto the pulpit and the scriptural texts on the nave walls, highlighting the importance of the Word (Figure 142). However, the installation of the high-pitched roof over the aisle would have reduced the light in the western end of the nave, emphasising the eastern end, and therefore, the pulpit and chancel. This could be related to an intensified focus on the Word of God, as read out by the readers and taught in long sermons by the rectors, in accordance with liturgical requirements (Yates 2000, 34-6). It is also possible that this was undertaken in accordance with the Ecclesiological desire for the 'interior [to be] dim with a blaze of light at the east end' (Brine 1990-1, 12), indicating that the Post-Medieval church reflected the Ecclesiology of the mid-nineteenth century. The sensory experience therefore shifted from a focus on images to an emphasis on scriptures in the Post-Medieval church (Whiting 2010, 120).

6.2.9 The Burial Vault

The Thornton, Comber and de Stonegrave tombs filled the nave bays of the north aisle of the Post-Medieval church, with the Dentons in the chancel bay (see Section 5.2.5). Eastmead (1824, 191-2) commented that this 'completely destroys the uniformity of [the church], and renders the north aisle an unsightly appendage' due to its elevation higher than the rest of the church. Although such an opinion is subjective, this demonstrates the power and control that the Thornton patronage had over Stonegrave, as a whole aisle was filled with their tombs, rather than providing additional seating for the laity. This corresponds with the common memorialisation of wealthy families as a symbol of status after the Reformation (Roffey 2011, 68-69). Additionally, due to the box pews along the northern arcade, the only entrance to the north aisle was likely through the chancel and up a set of stairs to reach the raised vault (Plan 6; Field and Smith 2014, 271), indicating their importance due to their elevation and complex access. This demonstrates that the north aisle could not be used or entered into during a service. There was thus similar hierarchy in the approach to the north aisle as there was to the eastern end of the chancel, reinforcing the power of patronage in the Post-Medieval church.

6.3 Conclusion

This demonstrates that the architectural layout, decoration and arrangement had a profound impact on the use and experience of the Post-Medieval church. As opposed to the existing solemn whitewashed Victorian interior and the austere interiors of the

Puritans following the Reformation (Gilchrist and Morris 1996, 120), the Post-Medieval church was filled with paintings, memorials, fixtures, fittings and furniture ranging from the seventeenth through to nineteenth centuries. The Post-Medieval church demonstrated a physically delineated experience where all parties knew their place and the individual experience of the worshipper depended on their sex, status, wealth and place in society. The Post-Medieval church was a product of liturgical and social segregation, but all parishioners were called into obedience, submission and humility to God and King. Some elements were relocated during this Post-Medieval period, resulting in temporal changes to the overall experience. This interdisciplinary archaeological analysis of the church informs a more nuanced understanding of the use and experience of space in the Post-Medieval church, demonstrating a complex picture of the Post-Medieval liturgical and social changes to parish churches. It also demonstrates the complex messages presented during this period, as the post-Reformation church embodied not only a transformation of the 'physical religious landscape' but also the 'cultural and ideological landscape' (King and Sayer 2011, 1).

7 Discussion

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters have demonstrated the information gained from an interdisciplinary buildings archaeology approach to the study of the Post-Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster. The following discussion contextualises this study through a comparison of the Post-Medieval and Victorian phases of Stonegrave Minster, a brief comparison with other Post-Medieval parish churches and a consideration of the use of a buildings archaeology approach to investigate these phases of parish churches.

7.2 The Post-Medieval and Victorian Church

The combined documentary and visual and stratigraphic analysis of the existing and Post-Medieval church has demonstrated that the overall plan of the church changed little between the Post-Medieval and Victorian phases (Plan 2 and 3). Despite the demolition of the chancel and aisles, the Victorian church was built reusing the footprint of the Post-Medieval church, virtually retaining the Medieval period plan, aside from the Post-Medieval foreshortening of the chancel and later removal of the porch (Plan 3; Sections 5.2.5 and 5.2.7). As the Victorian plan included the reconstruction of the south porch (Plan 2), but not of the full length of the Medieval chancel, this plan has been reconstructed to a half-way point between the Medieval and Post-Medieval phases, effectively retracing the eighteenth-century plan, rather than the Medieval church (Plan 2). In contrast, Smith (2014, 245) found that the Victorian restorations of the 'Street Parish' churches in nearby Ryedale resulted in the reconstruction of the Medieval plans. However, the Victorian restoration at Stonegrave clearly attempted to recreate the Medieval church, demonstrated by the replacement of the Late and Post-Medieval architectural forms and details with Decorated Gothic style counterparts (see Miele 1992, 252-4; Smith 2014, 34-5). Whilst the Norman arcades and tower were retained, the demolished Norman through to Decorated Gothic architectural elements in the chancel and aisles were rebuilt in a similar style. This demonstrates a complex 'negotiation between the fashionable Decorated Gothic style and the desire to reveal the original architectural style' (Smith 2014, 246). The Victorian restoration of Stonegrave Minster therefore generally corresponds with Smith's (2014, 245) findings that the Victorian restoration of the 'Street Parish' churches demonstrated the removal of Post-Medieval fabric and an attempted return to the Medieval church. This 're-medievalisation' corresponds with Brandwood's (1987; 2002) findings that a nostalgic view of the

Medieval church and an aversion to Post-Medieval architecture, arrangements and worship, and drove Victorian restoration.

Similar to the 'Street Parish' churches, Stonegrave Minster's restoration retained Medieval and Post-Medieval effigies and memorials (Plan 2 and 3; Smith 2014, 249). However, the retention of multiple Post-Medieval elements, such as the seventeenth-century pulpit, altar, memorials, royal arms, screens and panels, contrasts with Smith's (2014, 245) findings that the Victorian restoration of the 'Street Parish' churches removed the Post-Medieval fittings and fixtures in order to reconstruct Medieval liturgy (Plan 2 and 3; Chapter 5). The retention of these features indicates that the Post-Medieval and Victorian phases of Stonegrave exhibited the continuation of a 'traditional Anglican' arrangement with a conservative 'clergy and their landed patrons' (Yates 2000, 76, 192). In contrast, the loss of Post-Medieval features such as the clerk's and reading desks, gallery and box pews could indicate Ecclesiological influence, demonstrating the spatial separation of liturgical functions and a return to a more ceremonial liturgy (Yates 2000, 151-4).

A comparison of the two phases also indicates that the Post-Medieval church and extant Victorian church resulted in contrasting experiences. The Post-Medieval church obscured sightlines and limited access through features such as the blocked chancel arch, the box pews, altar rail and the raised Thornton burial vault. These elements were removed or relocated in the Victorian restoration, reinstating views and access (Plan 2). The retention of the fifteenth-century clerestory in the Post-Medieval church allowed more light into the nave than the extant quatrefoil windows (Figure 142-Figure 143). This would have allowed those in the nave to see the Post-Medieval wall paintings, as well as read their Bibles and prayer books (Whiting 2010, 136). The dim lighting in the nave of the restored church, as well as in the western end of the nave in the later Post-Medieval church due to the steeply-pitched roof blocking the clerestory windows, may have followed the Ecclesiological desire for the 'interior [to be] dim with a blaze of light at the east end' (Brine 1990-1, 12). As the later Post-Medieval church displayed evidence of Ecclesiological influence (Brine 1990-1, 12; Yates 2000, 152), the Victorian restoration, like the Post-Medieval church, demonstrates gradual shifts in theology and liturgy.

The Post-Medieval church had a similar architectural plan to existing, but the presence and layout of the Post-Medieval features had a major influence on the way that the congregation and clergy experienced and used the space. A comparison of the phases also

demonstrates a complex and nuanced approach to Victorian restoration, as well as theological and liturgical development.

7.3 A Comparison with Post-Medieval Parish Churches

The Post-Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster exhibited Post-Medieval features that survive in other churches throughout the United Kingdom. In England, however, only 2% of pre-Victorian churches display significant remnants of Post-Medieval interiors, including both purpose-built Post-Medieval and altered Medieval churches (Chatfield 1989, 9). Post-Medieval interiors are still extant at a small number of churches in Yorkshire, such as the whitewashed Georgian galleries, stained timber box pews, three-decker pulpit, decalogues and scriptural texts on timber panels at the originally Medieval church of St Mary's, Whitby (Figure 199; Chatfield 1989, 154). Though Stonegrave's layout is unlikely to have been this extreme, the presence of a whitewashed western gallery, box pews, pulpit, decalogues and scriptural texts is likely to have had a similar impact on the experience and use of the church. Though such Post-Medieval elements are extant at other Yorkshire churches, many exist in churches constructed in the Post-Medieval period, aside from the originally Medieval All Saints' Church, Skelton-in-Cleveland (Chatfield 1989, 149) and Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York (Figure 200). Box pews are extant at Holy Trinity (Figure 200), while Skelton has retained its box pews, three-decker pulpit and western gallery (Figure 202). However, despite the appearance of undisturbed Post-Medieval interiors, both Whitby and Holy Trinity, Goodramgate have lost their wall plaster and paint scheme (Figure 199 and Figure 200), while Skelton experienced neglect (Chatfield 1989, 148), as well as other alterations, since the Post-Medieval period. Thus, they are not true representations of Post-Medieval interiors.

Only 4% of pre-Victorian churches in England partially retain their Post-Medieval paint scheme, with only 9% of these churches located in the North (Newham 2015). Evidence of Stonegrave's Post-Medieval painting scheme, which may be extant beneath the existing plaster and paint, is therefore rare. Paintings of scriptural texts, though relatively common in the Post-Medieval period (Newham 2015), have few unaltered survivors due to the popularity of whitewashing or plaster scraping during Victorian restoration (Brandwood 1990, 73). The 'time and death' painting is rare, as the only other extant versions are at: Westborough, Lincolnshire; Yaxley, Huntingdonshire; Llangar, Denibighshire; and Patrishrow, Powys (Field and Smith 2014, 269). The most similar version to Stonegrave's painting appears to be at St Ishow's Church, Partrishow, Powys, which also displays painted Post-Medieval scriptural texts and a coat of arms (Figure 202

and Figure 203). However, even such churches as Powys have experienced alterations and repair since the Post-Medieval period (Figure 202; RCAHMW 2007).

This reconstruction of the Post-Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster is, unlike surviving Post-Medieval interiors, a more authentic version of the Post-Medieval interior. Surviving Post-Medieval interiors at other churches have undergone less noticeable Victorian and more recent changes; these perceived Post-Medieval churches are actually palimpsests of alterations. As noted by Smith (2014, 244), a parish church that has truly been missed by Victorian, and later, alterations, is exceedingly rare. Stonegrave Minster is therefore special for the insight it provides into the Post-Medieval interior due to the wealth of documentary sources which show the church immediately prior to and during the Victorian restoration, as well as the survival of a significant amount of its Post-Medieval fittings, fixtures and memorials. The physical and documentary evidence for Stonegrave's interior, and particularly its wall paintings, therefore provide evidence for a Post-Medieval interior untouched by Victorian hands, providing a rich insight into the nature, use and experience of a Post-Medieval interior in a Medieval parish church.

7.4 A Buildings Archaeology Approach

Despite numerous appeals for buildings archaeology investigations of Post-Medieval phases of parish churches (e.g. Crossley 1990, 88; Gilchrist and Morris 1996, 112; Rodwell 1996, 90), little progress has been made due to the misconception of the lack of physical and documentary evidence (see Chatfield 1989, 9). In contrast, this study has shown that even if physical fabric has been removed, reconstructing the Post-Medieval phase is possible through use of an interdisciplinary methodology. An understanding of the true nature of Post-Medieval phases of parish churches is therefore achievable. Rather than following an architectural approach of analysing style without reference to stratigraphy (see Friedman 2011; Webster 2017) or a historical approach using archival sources and remnant fittings without consideration of architecture (Whiting 2011; Morel 2019), this methodology combines full archival research with measured buildings survey, photographic survey, detailed visual and stratigraphic analysis, phased plans and sightline analysis to reconstruct the Post-Medieval church. The visual and stratigraphic analysis of the extant church provided a foundation on which to reconstruct the Post-Medieval church through revealing stratigraphic relationships. A full spectrum of archival sources was combined with the extant physical fabric to reveal the form and fabric of the Post-Medieval church, facilitating an examination of the form and nature of the Post-Medieval church. The combination of the measured building survey and visual analysis enabled the

production of phased detailed records of the extant and Post-Medieval churches. It also provided a basis on which to consider sightlines which facilitated an understanding of the use and experience of the Post-Medieval church. This interdisciplinary approach provided a renewed appreciation of the lived experience in these spaces during a period for which there is limited evidence, showing continuous alteration and adaptation during the Post-Medieval period, in response to tastes, liturgy and theological views. This demonstrates that even with little documentary evidence and extant fabric, the true form and fabric of a Post-Medieval phase of a parish church can be reconstructed, allowing the archaeologist to begin to understand how they were used and experienced.

7.5 Conclusion

This study has shown that it is possible to reconstruct the form and fabric of the Post-Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster prior to the Victorian restoration using an interdisciplinary buildings archaeology approach, which can inform a nuanced understanding of the use and experience of space in the Post-Medieval phase of a Medieval parish church. The Post-Medieval and Victorian periods are often seen as abrupt jumps in the story that hinder a comprehensive understanding of a Medieval parish church; instead, the Post-Medieval and Victorian alterations made to Stonegrave support Smith's (2014, 257) argument for considering all phases as one continuous story.

8 Conclusion

8.1 Conclusions

Although there have been multiple requests for buildings archaeology research into Post-Medieval phases of medieval parish churches (e.g. Crossley 1990, 88; Gilchrist and Morris 1996, 112; Smith 2014, 257), this has generally not been undertaken due to a misconception of the lack of evidence for this period of church architecture (see Chatfield 1989, 9). Where the Post-Medieval church is studied, this tends to be of newly-constructed churches (e.g. Friedman 2011; Webster 2017) or Post-Medieval churches as they appear today (Chatfield 1989). However, there are some notable exceptions, such as Smith's (2011; 2014) analysis of parish churches in Ryedale, as well as Stocker's (2013) work on Post-Medieval changes to chantry screens, which demonstrate the value of interdisciplinary buildings archaeology approaches to Post-Medieval phases of Medieval churches. Likewise, this study demonstrates that an interdisciplinary buildings archaeology approach combining documentary sources, measured building survey, photographic survey and a visual and stratigraphic analysis can be used to produce a detailed record and phasing of the existing church which can elucidate the reconstruction of the Post-Medieval parish church. An examination of the form and nature of the reconstructed Post-Medieval parish church, combined with phased plans and viewshed analyses, allows for an understanding of the use and experience of space in Medieval parish churches during this later period.

Stonegrave Minster is special for its ability to demonstrate the Post-Medieval church immediately before and during the Victorian restoration. It also demonstrates that an analysis of this lost phase provides a better understanding of the Post-Medieval configuration of parish churches than those which have retained more of their Post-Medieval fabric, as such churches have been subjected to both conspicuous or inconspicuous later alterations. Such churches are therefore not truly Post-Medieval churches preserved in a vacuum, but a palimpsest of later alterations. The visual and written evidence for the Post-Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster also demonstrates the retention of Post-Medieval fixtures and fittings, as well as the rare potential survival of a seventeenth-century paint scheme. Such elements of the Post-Medieval church have survived in a number of churches, but these are often fragmentary. The ability of this interdisciplinary approach to reveal the combination of all of these elements in one church provides a valuable insight into the Post-Medieval church. Such a revelation prompts

further questions, such as whether or not many Post-Medieval parish churches looked like this, but Victorian restoration had a homogenising effect, removing perceived disorderliness. This further allows archaeologists to study both lost and extant Post-Medieval phases differently and consider how they were experienced and used.

The analysis of the Post-Medieval configuration of Stonegrave Minster also reveals that it was constantly updated throughout this period; centuries of alterations resulted in disorderliness immediately prior to the Victorian restoration. This palimpsest of alterations reflected changes in liturgy and theology, as well as patronage, control and social hierarchy, creating a complex picture of the Post-Medieval church. This study demonstrates that the form and fabric of Post-Medieval phases of churches can be reconstructed and examined using an interdisciplinary buildings archaeology approach, resulting in a rich and nuanced insight into the use and experience of a Post-Medieval interior in a Medieval parish church. Post-Medieval phases can and should be studied for their part in the continuous story of alteration and adaptation of parish churches.

8.2 Future Directions

As this study represents an interdisciplinary buildings archaeology investigation of the Post-Medieval phase of only one parish church, it cannot hope to fill the academic lacuna, but represents a step in the right direction. This approach can be used to investigate the lost Post-Medieval phases of other Medieval parish churches, as well as those which appear Post-Medieval. Such an approach could also be used to reconstruct the earlier Post-Medieval periods of Stonegrave Minster and other parish churches, or even Medieval phases, if sufficient documentary and physical evidence survives.

The investigation of the Post-Medieval configurations of multiple parish churches using this interdisciplinary approach would create a corpus of churches which could be used to consider the multi-sensory experience of, and emotional responses to, Post-Medieval phases of a Medieval church, such as undertaken by Whyte (2017) for Victorian churches and Morel (2019) for seventeenth-century churches.

In order to better visualise the Post-Medieval church, a digital three-dimensional model of the church could be created. Such a model could be used for both academic study and for public interpretation, as three-dimensional models are useful for enhancing public understanding and research (Giles, Masinton and Arnott 2010). This would spur further questions of meaning, use and experience of space to be answered through combining the model with Roffey's (2005; 2006) viewshed analyses, as well as access analyses. As Giles

(2007, 115) notes that straight lines do not realistically reconstruct the experience of movement and views in a Medieval church, this is also true for the Post-Medieval church, with the added complexity of furniture, fixtures and fittings blocking views and access routes. In order to address this issue, a phenomenological approach could be combined with virtual reality to recreate liturgical movements, such as by Masinton (2006). The model could also be further developed with light analyses, acoustic modelling and airflow modelling to understand the multi-sensory experience of the church.

The research undertaken in this dissertation promotes a reassessment of the significance of Stonegrave Minster through a consideration of the part that the documentary record plays in the significance of a building. The renewed appreciation of the retained Post-Medieval interiors or the potential survival of the Post-Medieval paint scheme could alter the church's significance. A reassessment of the intangible significance of the church, such as its literary associations with Robert Thornton, Alice Thornton and Dean Thomas Comber, should also be considered. A reassessment of the aesthetic, evidential, historical and communal significance of the church should be undertaken in accordance with Historic England's (2008) guidelines. Such a reassessment should also follow any interdisciplinary buildings archaeology investigations into Post-Medieval phases of other churches in order to reconsider the significance of such undervalued phases in the story of parish churches.

9 Bibliography

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Fac. 1951/1/39	Stonegrave	Install electric lighting
Fac.1955/1/36	Stonegrave	Hang protrait [sic] of Dean Comber in north aisle
Fac. 1960/2/11	Stonegrave	To introduce a new altar, to construct a side chapel, to insert stained glass in the window of the proposed chapel, and introduce two oak candlesticks.
Fac. 1961/2/44	Stonegrave	Convert the existing heating system from solid fuel to oil burning.
Fac. 1964/2/27	Stonegrave	To fit Ellacombe chiming apparatus to three bells.
Fac. 1981/17	Stonegrave	Restoration to canvas (Heraldic painting)
Fac. 1983/84	Stonegrave, Holy Trinity	Repairs to tower.
Fac. 1986/17	Stonegrave	Re-wiring
Fac. 2000/101	Stonegrave	QI Repairs to Slates, lead gutters etc
Fac. Bk. 5 (1857-70)	Stonegrave	Restoration of church, pp. 39-42.

Consecration Deeds

BIA R IV K (CD) 343 Stonegrave Holy Trinity 1863 Consecration Deeds

Visitations

V 1662-3/CB.1	Stonegrave	Repair church.
V 1865/Ref	Stonegrave	Church rebuilt and re-consecrated.

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10 Appendix A – Historical Background of Stonegrave Minster

Stonegrave Minster is thought to be England's first and smallest Minster, founded prior to AD 757, evidence for which is a papal letter from Pope Paul I to Egbert, the Archbishop of York, and his brother Eadberht, the then King of Northumbria (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 578; Whitelock 1979, 184; Field and Smith 2014, 263). The letter mentions Stonegrave as one of three monasteries which was forcibly taken from Abbot Forthred and given to the patrician, Moll, thought to be Aethelwold Moll, who became King in AD 759 (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 578; Whitelock 1979, 184). Stonegrave is mentioned in the Domesday Book, with Ulf of Carlton noted as the lord in 1066 with the lands being transferred to the Church of St Peter, York, and the Archbishop of York, by 1086 (NA E 31/2/2/4843; Page 1914, 561-6; Powell-Smith, Palmer and Slater n.d.), though Ralph Paynel also owned some of the land in Stonegrave as well as a church by 1086, thought to be Stonegrave Minster (NA E 31/2/2/6128; Page 1914, 561-6; Powell-Smith, Palmer and Slater n.d., Carr 2001, 151). A Saxon wheel cross and other carvings found during the Victorian restoration are the only visible remnants of the Anglo-Saxon Minster (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 577; NYC PR/STV 2, 35-6; The York Herald 1863, 7; Yorkshire Gazette 1863, 7).

The first post-Conquest patrons of Stonegrave Minster were the de Stonegrave (also Steynegrave or Steingrave etc) family, who were likely to have commissioned the twelfth century extensions to the church (see Field and Smith 2014, 263). The church appears to have been claimed by Roger Bigod from Peter de Stonegrave in 1267 (BL Dodsworth MSS Vol. 28, Fol. 15 in NYC PR/STV 13/1), but the church remained in the hands of the de Stonegraves (BL Dodsworth MSS Vol. 28, Fol. 31 in NYC PR/STV 13/1) until the male line died out and the marriage of Isabella de Stonegrave to Simon de Pateshill resulted in its transfer to John de Pateshill in 1333 (BL MS Dodsworth MSS Vol. 28, Fol. 100 in NYC PR/STV 13/1). The patronage is said to have fallen to the Thornton family of East Newton in the late fourteenth-century based on the family's use of the north aisle as a family mausoleum (Field and Smith 2014, 263), but written parish registers suggest that Stonegrave Manor was transferred to the Grene family, followed by the Parr's by marriage (Torr's MSS in NYC PR/STV 13/3, 67). Under the patronage of Robert Thornton, whose effigy lies with his wife, Jane, in the north aisle of the church (Page 1914, 561-6; Pevsner 1966, 360), the building was altered in the early fifteenth-century (Field and Smith 2015, 263-4). This Robert Thornton was the father of the celebrated

scribe and copyist, Robert Thornton, known particularly for his alliterative *Morte Arthur* (Field and Smith 2015, 263-7). After a peaceful time of church history, during Nathanael Jackson's time as rector (1629-1662), the division between Puritan and High Church and political differences led to a civil war in 1642 and the establishment of the Commonwealth, leading to the ejection of Jackson, among 8000 others around the country, as the incumbent the church in 1644 (NYC PR/STV 13/3, 89). After a period of Puritanical fervour, administered by Mr John Hickes (1644-1647), Mr Paul Glisson (1647-50) and Samuel Brearcliffe (1654-1660), and Jackson's occasional visits for baptisms and burials, Jackson returned in 1660 only to conscientiously decline incumbency in 1662 against a new Act requiring a higher church liturgy than before the Commonwealth (NYC PR/STV 13/3, 89-91). Alice Thornton, who married a descendent of Robert Thornton's in the seventeenth-century, is celebrated for writing an autobiography and includes details of this period of controversy in church history (Thornton 1875; Field and Smith 2014, 266). She was also buried in the north Thornton aisle of the church alongside her husband (Thornton 1875; Field and Smith 2014, 266). Her daughter, also named Alice, married Thomas Comber, who became the Rector of Stonegrave in 1669, the Dean of Durham in 1691 and later, canon of York Minster (Field and Smith 2014, 266-7). Thomas Comber wrote a memoir published by his great-grandson, Thomas Comber, as well as many other titles, including *A Companion to the Temple* (Comber 1684) in support of the Book of Common Prayer and was buried in the chancel of Stonegrave after his death in 1699 (Comber 1799, 442-3; Field and Smith 2014, 266-7). In 1776, Stonegrave, along with West Ness and Nunnington, was enclosed (NYC PR/STV 6).

In 1861, the then vicar, Reverend A.W. Wetherall, along with the churchwardens Thomas Feetenby and Henry Wilson Dowher, commissioned George Fowler Jones, architect and amateur photographer, to design the 'restoration' of the church, funded solely by voluntary subscriptions (BIA Fac. 1861/2). The last service conducted prior to the restoration was Ash Wednesday 5 March 1862, following which, services were relocated to a 'large room over [the] Rectory Stable' (Wetherall 1862, 170 in NYC PR/STV 3). The 1861 proposed plan and elevation (BIA Fac. 1861/2), letter of notice (BIA Fac. 1861/2), the 1863 petition for consecration proceeding the works and the consecration deeds dating to 4 December 1863 and registered on 10 February 1964 (BIA R IV K (CD) 343) and the entry for this faculty in the 1857-1870 Book of Faculties (BIA Fac. Bk 5, 39-42), provide details of this work and the people involved. This documentary information will be described and analysed further in Section 4.3. The church was 'Re-consecrated by

William Archbishop of York December the 4th 1863', as noted by Wetherall in 1863 (NYC PR/STV 3).

Since this major restoration work in 1862-3, the church has changed little in appearance, aside from repairs and conservation to building fabric, fixtures and fittings (BIA Fac. 1981/17; BIA Fac. 1983/84; BIA Fac. 2000/101), the installation of electricity and subsequent re-wiring (BIA Fac. 1951/1/39; BIA Fac. 1986/17), conversion the heating system (BIA Fac. 1961/2/44), installation of a portrait of Dean Comber (BIA Fac. 1955/1/36), installation of a new chiming apparatus in the belfry (BIA Fac. 1964/2/27), the conversion of the south aisle as a chapel (BIA Fac. 1960/2/11) and the removal of the choir stalls in the later twentieth century. In 2008, the heating apparatus was replaced with a 'new boiler, oil storage tank and oil feed pipes' (Winterburn 2009, 1).

11 Appendix B – Figures

The figures below are grouped into the chapter they are first referenced to aid the reader. Note that some figures are repeated in different sections for ease of readability, as well as to show mark-ups on some of the images, whilst leaving the first occurrence of each picture unmarked to aid visibility.

11.1 Chapter 3 – Methodology

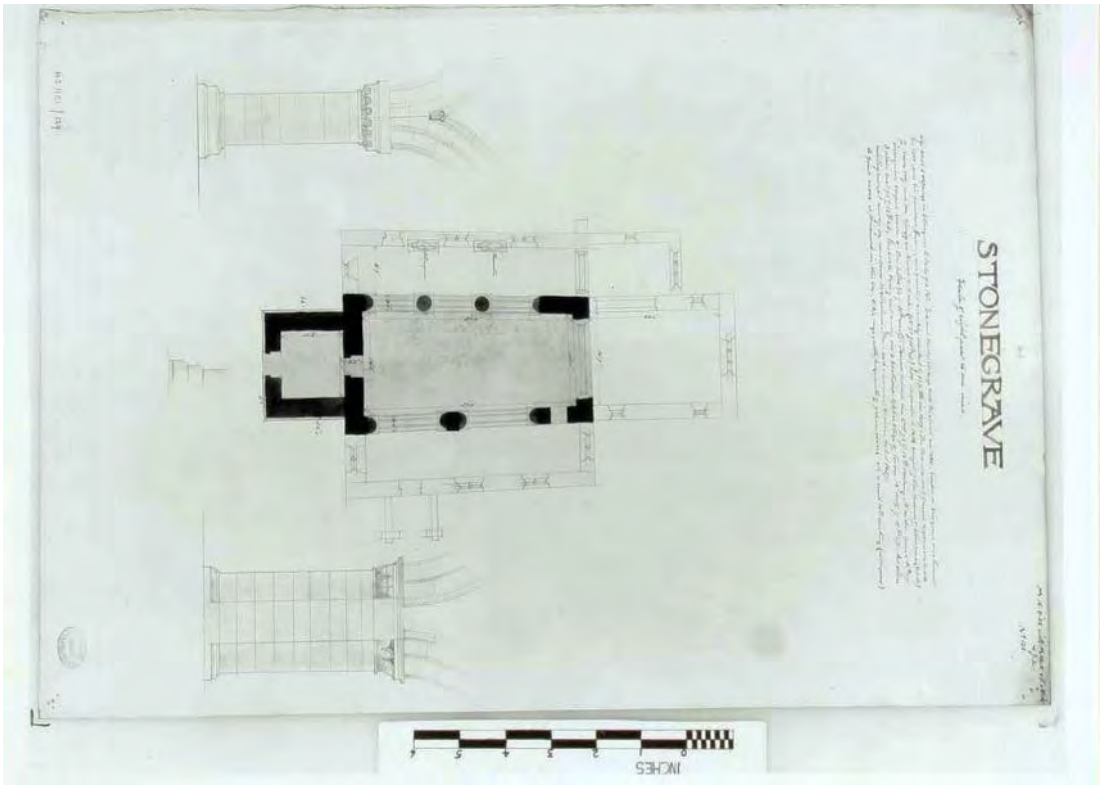


Figure 1: The most recent plan of the church dating from 1922, showing the medieval fabric in black and the Victorian fabric outlined only (Source: HEA 6433_051).

11.2Chapter 4 – Visual and Stratigraphic Analysis

Figure 2: Location of Stonegrave Minster within Stonegrave hamlet, the former marked by the cross (Source: Digimap 2019a).

Figure 3: Location of Stonegrave Minster within the churchyard and surrounds, marked by the cross (Source: Digimap 2019a).

Figure 4: Location of the listed buildings and scheduled monuments surrounding, and including, Stonegrave Minster (Source: HE 2019c).


Figure 5: The southern elevation of Stonegrave Minster (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 6: The eastern elevation of Stonegrave Minster from the south-east (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 7: The eastern elevation of Stonegrave Minster, from the north-east (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 8: The northern and western elevation of Stonegrave Minster from the north-west (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 9: The western elevation of Stonegrave Minster from the west (Source: Author 2019).

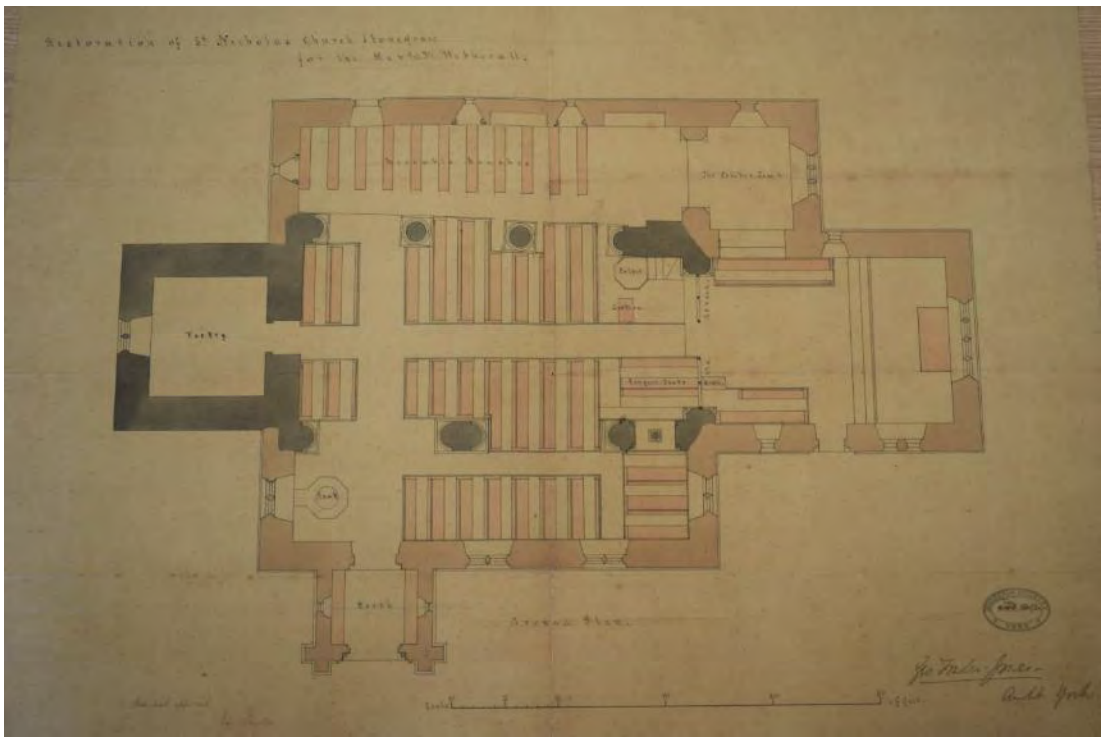


Figure 10: The 1861 plan of the proposed restoration of Stonegrave Minster by George Fowler Jones, showing the proposed retained fabric in grey and the proposed replaced fabric in cream. Note that though the plan is similar to the as built plan, there are some distinct differences, such as the removal of the Comber Tomb for the vestry and the replacement of the chancel arch in the as built church (Source: BIA Fac. 1861/2).

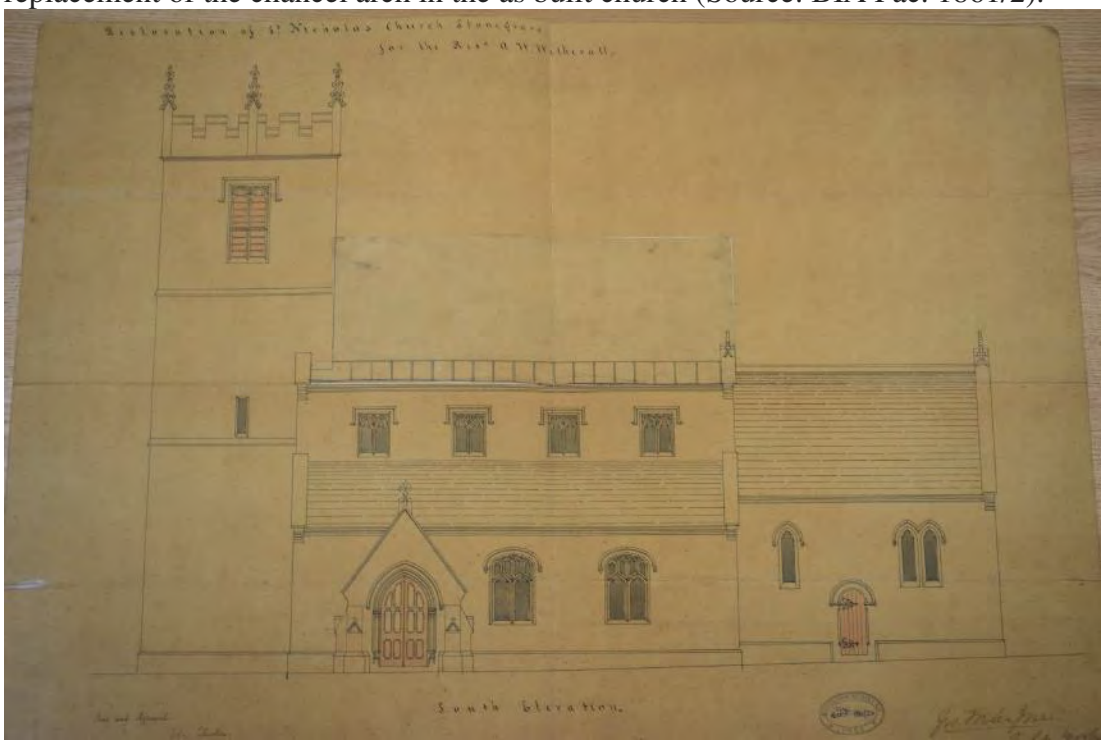


Figure 11: The south elevation of the 1861 proposed restoration of Stonegrave Minster by George Fowler Jones, showing the proposed retained fabric in grey and the proposed replaced fabric in cream. Note that the elevation is different from the as built plan, including the proposed use of square-headed Perpendicular windows in the vestry, the reversed window types in the chancel, the retention of the low-pitched roof of the nave, the three-pointed arched Perpendicular windows of the south aisle and architectural detailing of the porch (Source: BIA Fac. 1861/2).

Figure 12: The interior of Stonegrave Minster, taken from the entrance to the western tower and showing the retained medieval fabric of the arcades in the nave, as well as some of the retained Post-Medieval fixtures and fittings including the chancel screen (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 13: The interior of Stonegrave Minster, taken from the entrance to the chancel and showing the retained medieval fabric of the arcades in the nave and the entrance to the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 14: Photograph by George Fowler Jones during the 1862-3 restoration, showing the C15 roof structure of the chancel and nave, looking west. It also shows that the southern aisle was fully demolished (Source: NSM RPS 18950).

Figure 15: Photograph by George Fowler Jones during the 1862-3 restoration, showing the exterior of the church from the south-west. It shows the demolition of the southern aisle and evidence of the previous roofing in of the western end of the clerestory (Source: NSM RPS 18951).

Figure 16: Photograph by George Fowler Jones after the completion of the 1862-3 restoration, taken c.1885 (Source: NSM RPS 18852).

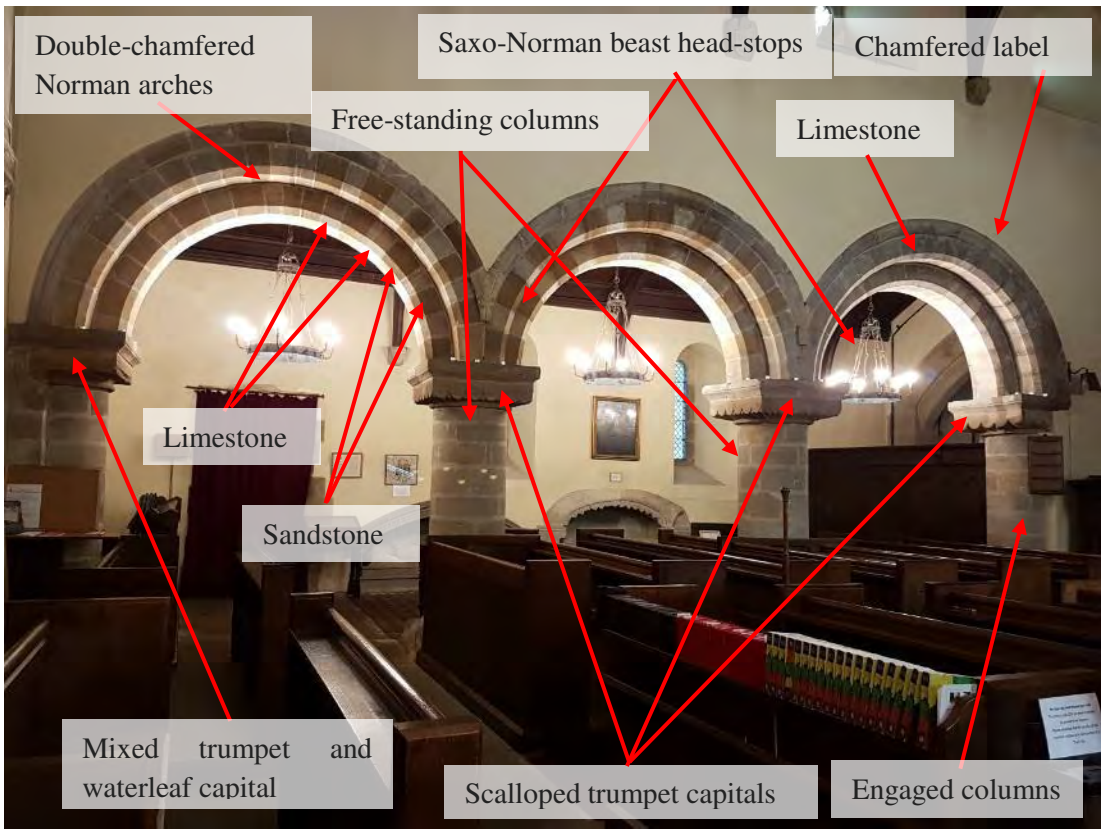


Figure 17: The northern arcade of the nave, showing three bays running east-west, looking north (Source: Author 2019).

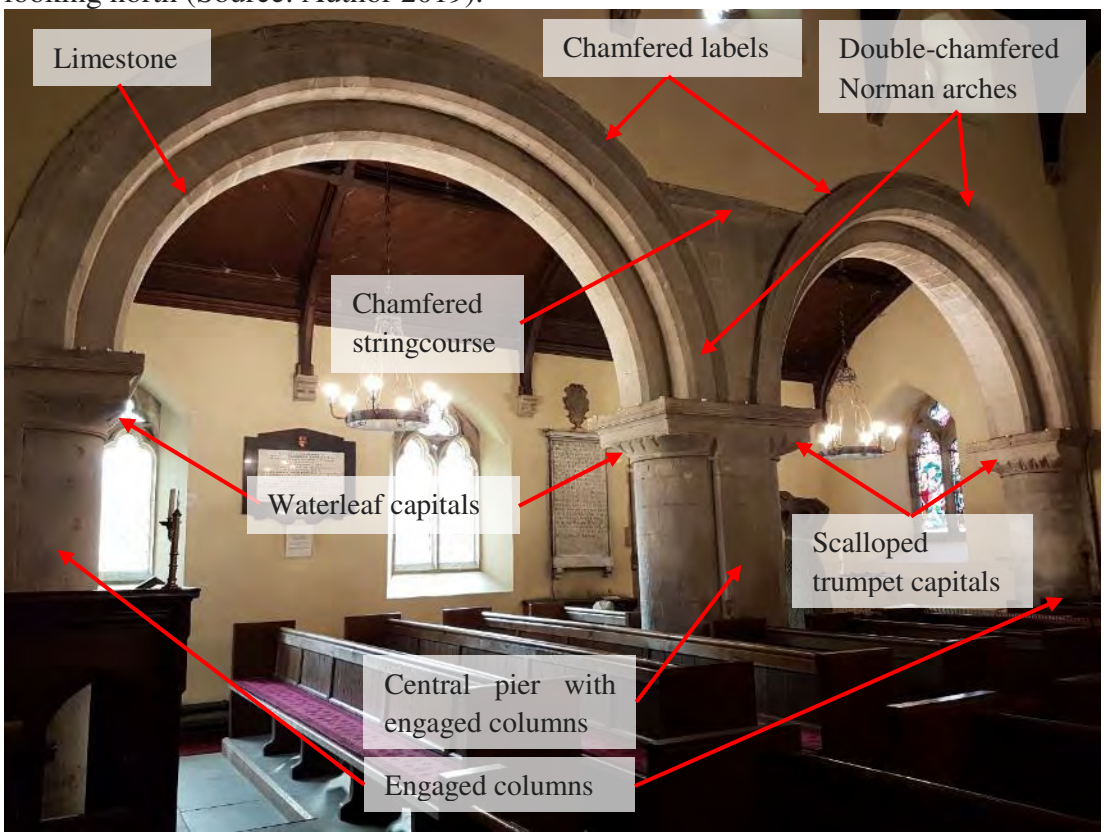


Figure 18: The southern arcade of the nave, showing two bays of the arcade running east-west, with a peep window into the chancel forming a third bay, just to the east of the arcade and out of the frame (Source: Author 2019).

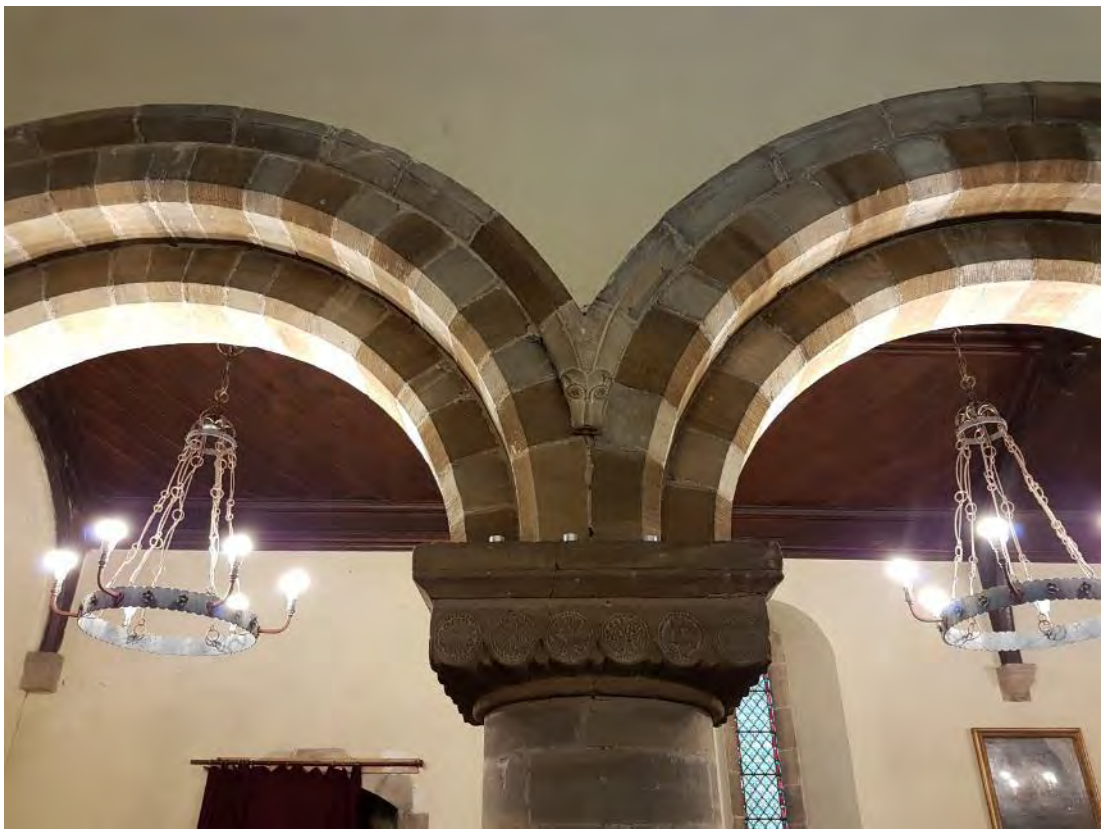


Figure 19: The head of the beast/animal above the eastern pillar of the western arch of the northern arcade (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 20: The head of the beast/animal above the eastern pillar of the eastern arch of the northern arcade (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 21: The capital of the eastern pillar of the eastern bay of the northern arcade, showing scalloped trumpets with no floral medallions (Source: Author 2019).

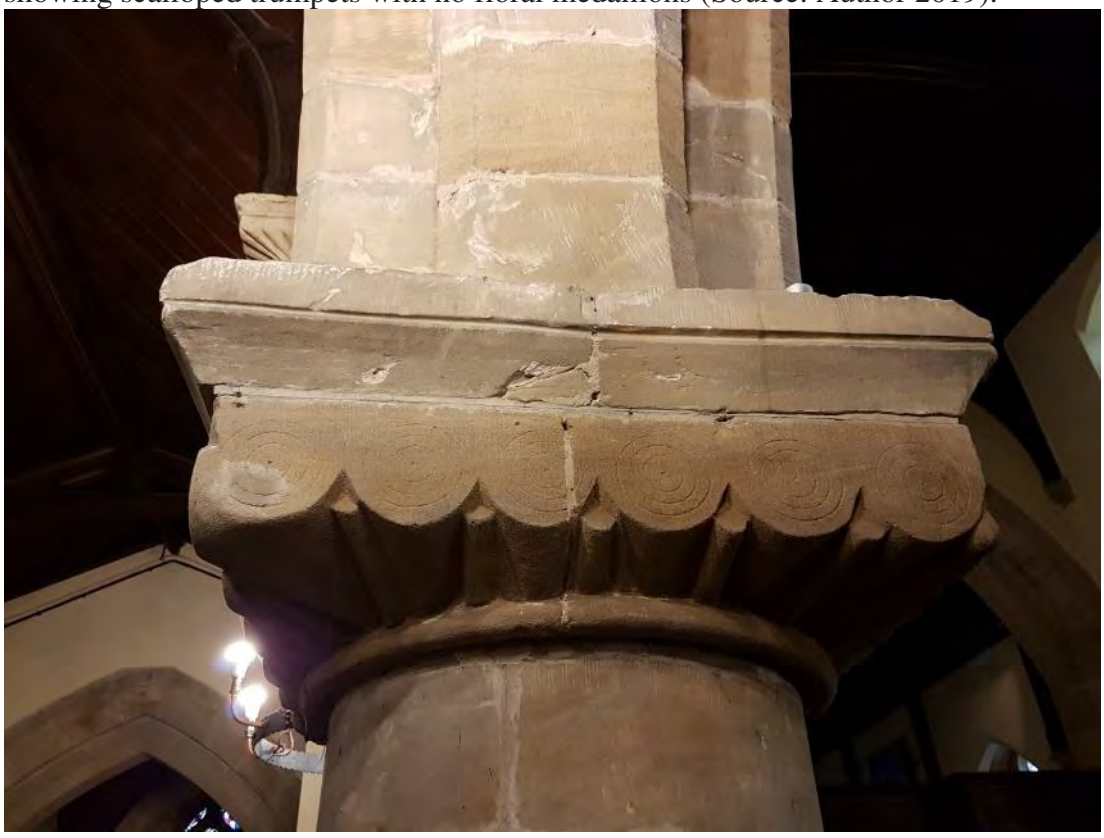


Figure 22: The capital of the eastern pillar of the central bay of the northern arcade, showing scalloped trumpets with incised medallions ready for decoration (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 23: The capital of the western pillar of the central bay of the northern arcade, showing scalloped trumpets with incomplete floral medallions (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 24: The capital of the western pillar of the western bay of the north arcade, between the western nave wall and the northern aisle, showing the use of two orders in the one capital: scalloped trumpets on the northern and eastern edges; and, a waterleaf capital on the eastern edge (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 25: The base of a typical column along the northern arcade, comprising a circular torus on top of a scotia, circular chamfered torus and a square base, on top of a square plinth (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 26: The chancel screen of Stonegrave Minster from the nave, showing the now missing choir stalls in 1949 and the Victorian organ in the foreground (Source: HEA 6433_080).

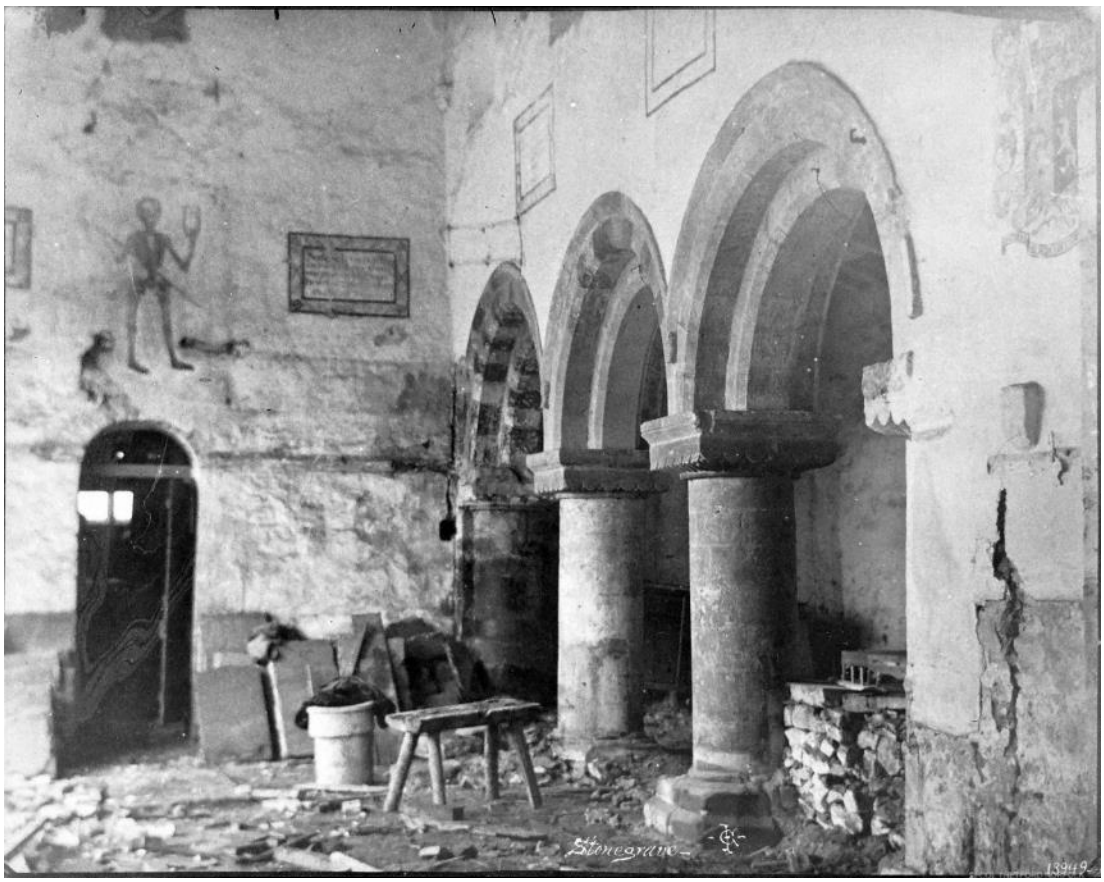


Figure 27: Photograph of the nave, showing the northern arcade and western wall of the nave, as well as the north aisle, taken by George Fowler Jones during the 1862-3 restoration (Source: NSM RPS 18949).

Figure 28: The eastern opening the southern wall of the nave, looking through to the altar in the south aisle, comprising a chamfered round-headed window using smooth-faced stone quoining and a solid stone block sill (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 29: The western column of the western bay of the arcade, showing the scalloped trumpet capital with nailhead decoration between the scallops (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 30: The central pier between the western and eastern bays of the southern arcade, showing the scalloped trumpet capital with nailhead decoration on the western column and waterleaf capitals on the eastern capital (Source: Author 2019).

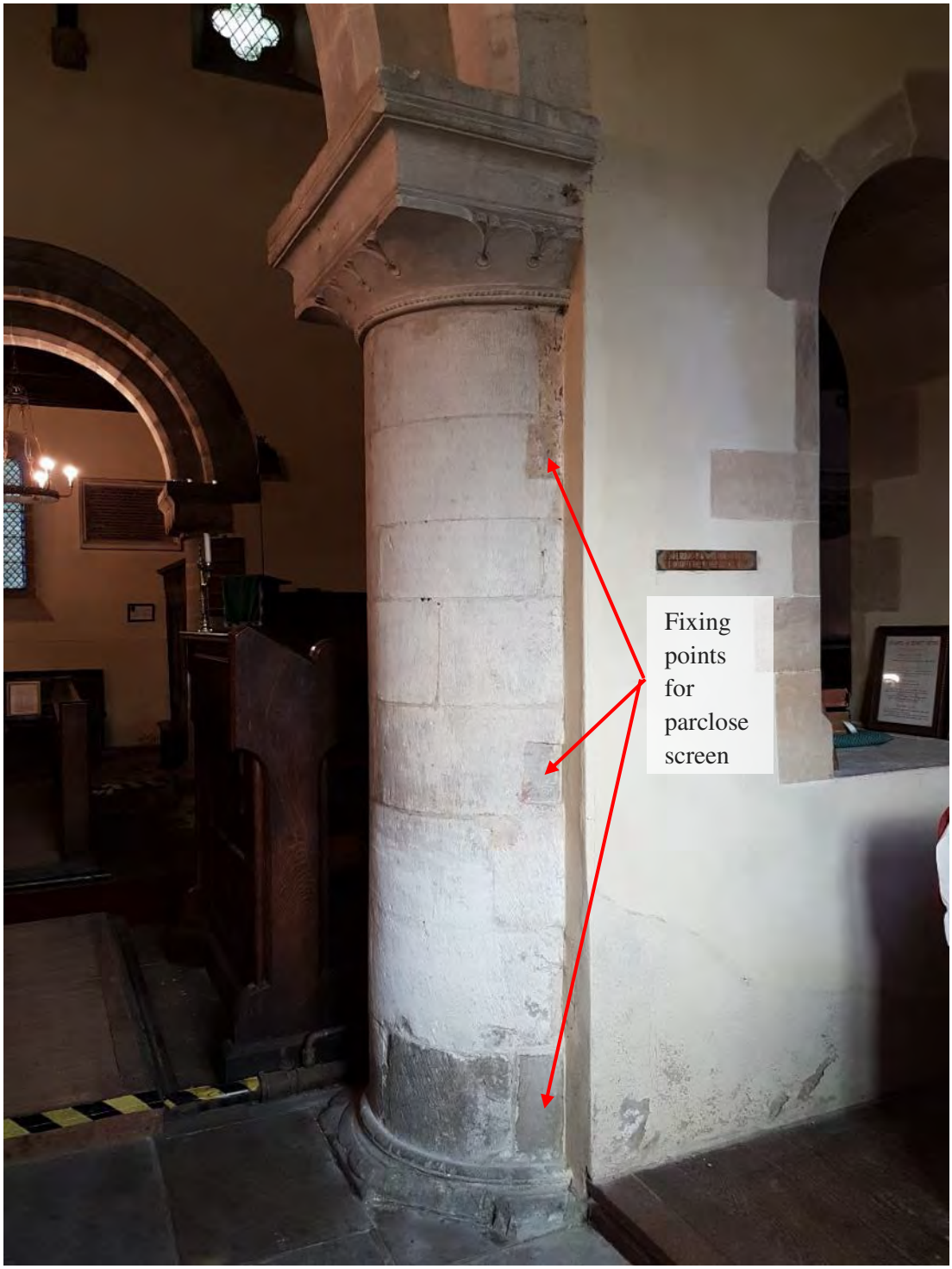


Figure 31: The eastern column of the eastern bay of the southern arcade, showing the waterleaf capital (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 32: The base of the eastern column of the eastern bay of the southern arcade (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 33: The base of the eastern column of the western bay of the southern arcade (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 34: The base of the western column of the eastern bay of the southern arcade (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 35: The base of the western column of the western bay of the southern arcade (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 36: The eastern wall of the tower (the western wall of the nave) from the eastern end of the nave (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 37: The western side of the Saxo-Norman door from inside the tower, looking east (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 38: The western wall of the nave and eastern side of the eastern wall of the tower, showing the top of the arched doorway, the two early C19 mural tablets flanking the coat of arms, the reused C15 corbels and the western side of the upper door in the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 39: The roof of the nave, showing timber beams resting on corbels, supporting a timber-boarded low-pitched ceiling (Source: Author 2019).

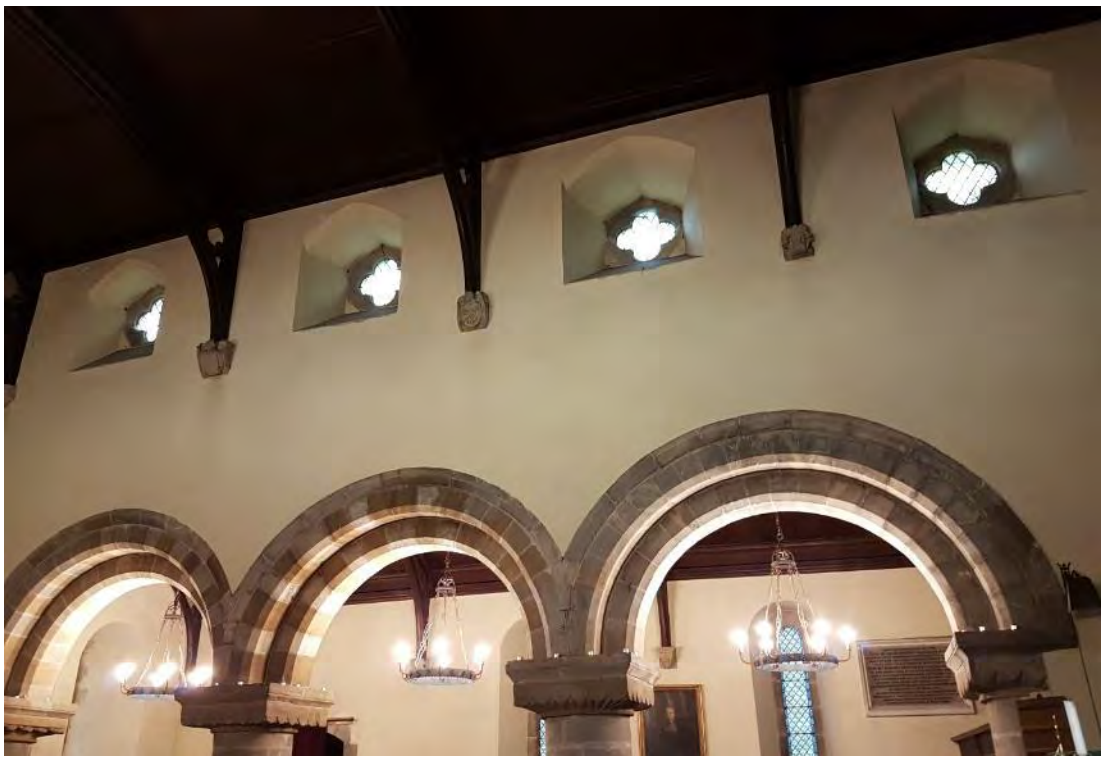


Figure 40: The C15 corbels along the north wall of the clerestory, decorated with family crests and human heads. The corbels are interspersed between clerestory windows of quatrefoil tracery set inside a chamfered segmental pointed arched surround and chamfered sill (Source: Author 2019).

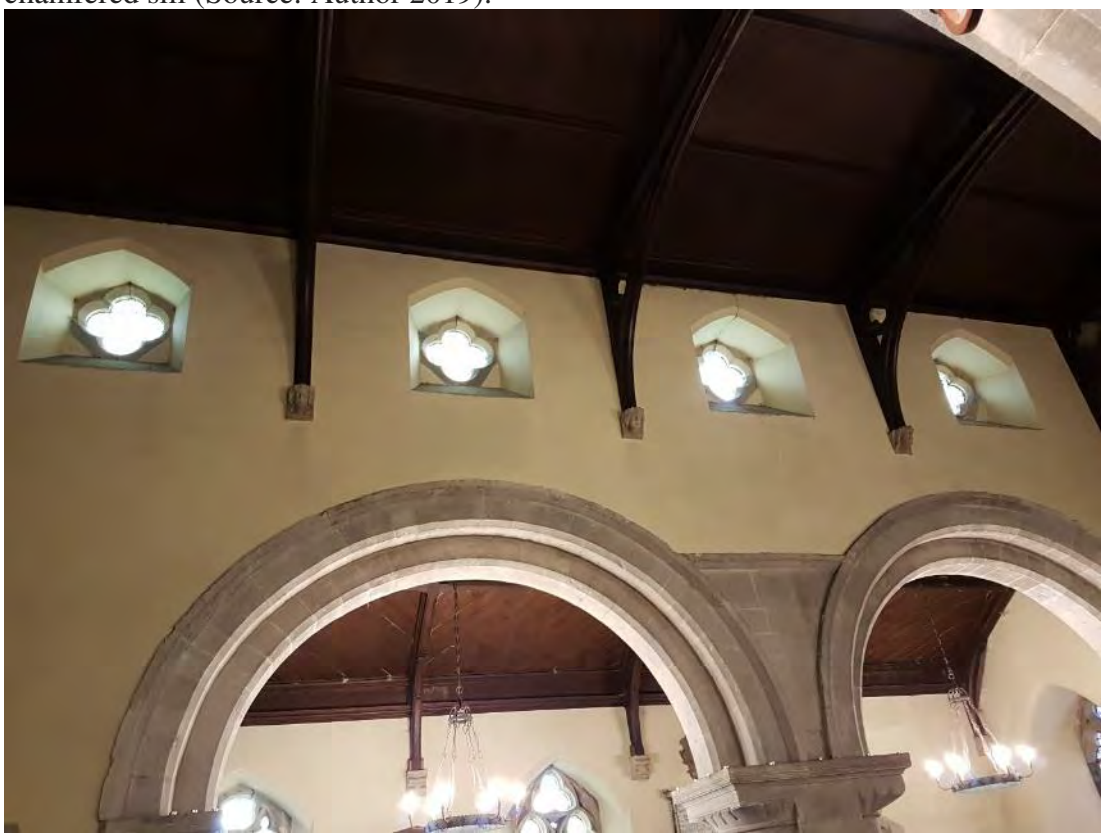


Figure 41: The C15 corbels along the south clerestory wall clerestory windows, displaying human heads, interspersed between windows of quatrefoil tracery set inside a chamfered segmental pointed arched surround and chamfered sill (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 42: A late seventeenth-century gravestone to a member of the Thornton family, reused as a floor slab of the nave, located immediately east of the western column of the western bay of the northern arcade (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 43: A Norman tombstone reused in the flooring of the south arcade, within the western bay (Source: Author 2019).

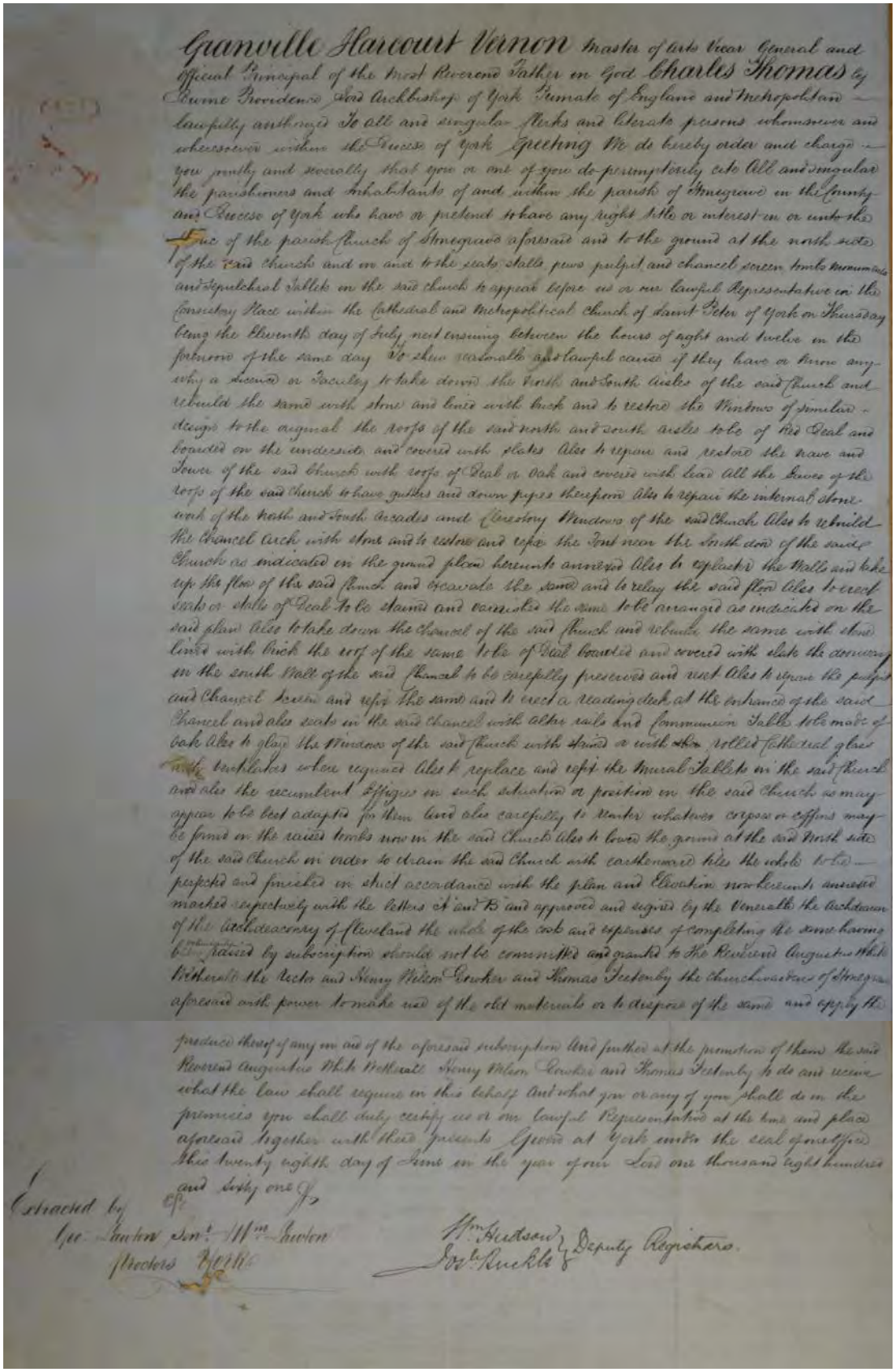
Figure 44: The line of the underfloor heating and ventilation surrounded by 1862-3 floor slabs, taken from the north (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 45: The pulpit at the north-eastern corner of the nave, showing the seventeenth-century pulpit to have been reused, set onto a 1862-3 sandstone base, taken from the south-west (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 46: The pulpit at the north-eastern corner of the nave, showing the seventeenth-century pulpit to have been reused, set onto a 1862-3 sandstone base, taken from the east (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 47: The Victorian organ, installed in 1885 (NYC PR/STV 3), and a timber screen with segmental pointed arches and seats on a raised timber threshold (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 48: The chancel of Stonegrave Minster from the nave, showing the extant chancel screen, pulpit, reading desk, rails, altar, a now missing hanging curtain, as well as the now missing choir stalls, c. 1914 (Source: HEA 6433_087).



Granville Harcourt Vernon Master of Arts Vicar General and Official Principal of the most Reverend Father in God Charles Thomas by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of York Primate of England and Metropolitan — lawfully authorized To all and singular Clerks and Literate persons whomsoever and wheresoever within the Diocese of York Greeting We do hereby order and charge — you jointly and severally that you or one of you do peremptorily cite All and singular the parishioners and inhabitants of and within the parish of Stonegrave in the County and Diocese of York who have or pretend to have any right title or interest in or unto the Nave of the parish Church of Stonegrave aforesaid and to the ground at the north side of the said Church and in and to the seats stalls pews pulpit and chancel screen tombs monumental and Sepulchral tablets in the said Church to appear before us or our lawful Representative in the Consistory Place within the Cathedral and Metropolitical Church of Saint Peter of York on Thursday being the Eleventh day of July next ensuing between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon of the same day To shew reasonable and lawful cause if they have or know any why a Licence or Faculty to take down the North and South Aisles of the said Church and rebuild the same with stone and lime with brick and to restore the Windows of similar design to the original the roofs of the said north and south aisles to be of Red Deal and boarded on the underside and covered with slates Also to repair and restore the Nave and Tower of the said Church with roofs of Deal or Oak and covered with lead All the Eaves of the roofs of the said Church to have gutters and down pipes therefrom Also to repair the internal Stone work of the North and South Arcades and Clerestory Windows of the said Church Also to rebuild the Chancel Arch with stone and to restore and refix the Font near the South door of the said Church as indicated on the ground plan hereunto annexed Also to replace the Walls and take up the floor of the said Church and excavate the same and to relay the said floor Also to erect seats or stalls of Deal to be stained and varnished the same to be arranged as indicated on the said plan Also to take down the Chancel of the said Church and rebuild the same with stone lime with brick the roof of the same to be of Red boarded and covered with slate the doorway in the South Wall of the said Chancel to be carefully preserved and reset Also to repair the pulpit and Chancel Screen and refix the same and to erect a reading desk at the entrance of the said Chancel and also seats in the said Chancel with other rails and Communion Table to be made of Oak Also to glaze the Windows of the said Church with stained or with other rolled Cathedral glass with leadlights where required Also to replace and refix the Mural Tablets in the said Church and also the recumbent Effigies in such situation or position in the said Church as may appear to be best adapted for them and also carefully to reinter whatever corpse or coffins may be found in the raised tombs now in the said Church Also to lower the ground at the said North side of the said Church in order to drain the said Church with earthenware tiles the whole to be — prepared and finished in strict accordance with the plan and Elevation now hereunto annexed marked respectively with the letters A and B and approved and signed by the Venerable the Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of Cleveland the whole of the cost and expenses of completing the same having been raised by subscription should not be committed and granted to the Reverend Augustus Web Wellesley the Rector and Henry Wilson Crocker and Thomas Scotney the Churchwardens of Stonegrave aforesaid with power to make use of the old materials or to dispose of the same and apply the produce thereof in or in aid of the aforesaid subscription And further at the promotion of them the said Reverend Augustus Web Wellesley Henry Wilson Crocker and Thomas Scotney to do and receive what the Law shall require in this behalf And what you or any of you shall do in the premises you shall duly certify us or our lawful Representative at the time and place aforesaid together with these presents Given at York under the seal of our Office this twenty eighth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty one

Extracted by
Geo. Lawton Jun.r Wm. Lawton
Proctors York

Wm. Hudson Deputy Registrars.
Jos.h Ruckle

Figure 49: The accompanying letter of intention to the proposed faculty, asking that if anyone believes the 1861 proposed restoration of Stonegrave Minster by George Fowler Jones should not be committed and granted, they should make it known to the Diocese (Source: BIA Fac. 1861/2).

Figure 50: The western elevation of the southern aisle, showing a Victorian Middle Decorated Gothic pointed window, comprising a two-light window with trefoil heads and a central quatrefoil above. The window has an alternating straight and hollow-chamfered surround comprised of stone quoining, with a chamfered sandstone sill. The rounded hood-moulds terminate in moulded label stops (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 51: The southern elevation of the southern aisle, showing a porch in the western bay and Victorian Middle Decorated Gothic pointed windows in the eastern two bays. Both windows comprise two-light windows with trefoil heads and alternating trefoil and quatrefoil geometrical tracery (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 52: The eastern elevation of the southern aisle, showing a two-light Victorian Middle Decorated Gothic pointed arch window with trefoil heads and quatrefoil geometrical tracery (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 53: The three bays of the northern side of the south aisle, showing the two arcades and the opening in the eastern chapel, with the north aisle in the background (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 54: The opening in the eastern chapel, with the nave in the background (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 55: The western end of the south aisle, showing from the left: the C18 memorial tablet; the front door (western bay of the south elevation); the western window with the C19 baptismal font below; the western bay of the southern arcade; and the C19 pews (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 56: The interior of the western bay of the south aisle, showing from the left: the Anglo-Saxon stone cross; the C18 memorial tablet to Thomas Jackson; the front door; the C19 baptismal font and C19 floor and painted wall tiles; and, a C20 table (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 57: 1945 photograph of the 1862-3 baptismal font on top of a plain stone plinth in the tiled baptistry, located in the western bay of the south aisle (Source: HEA 6433_066).

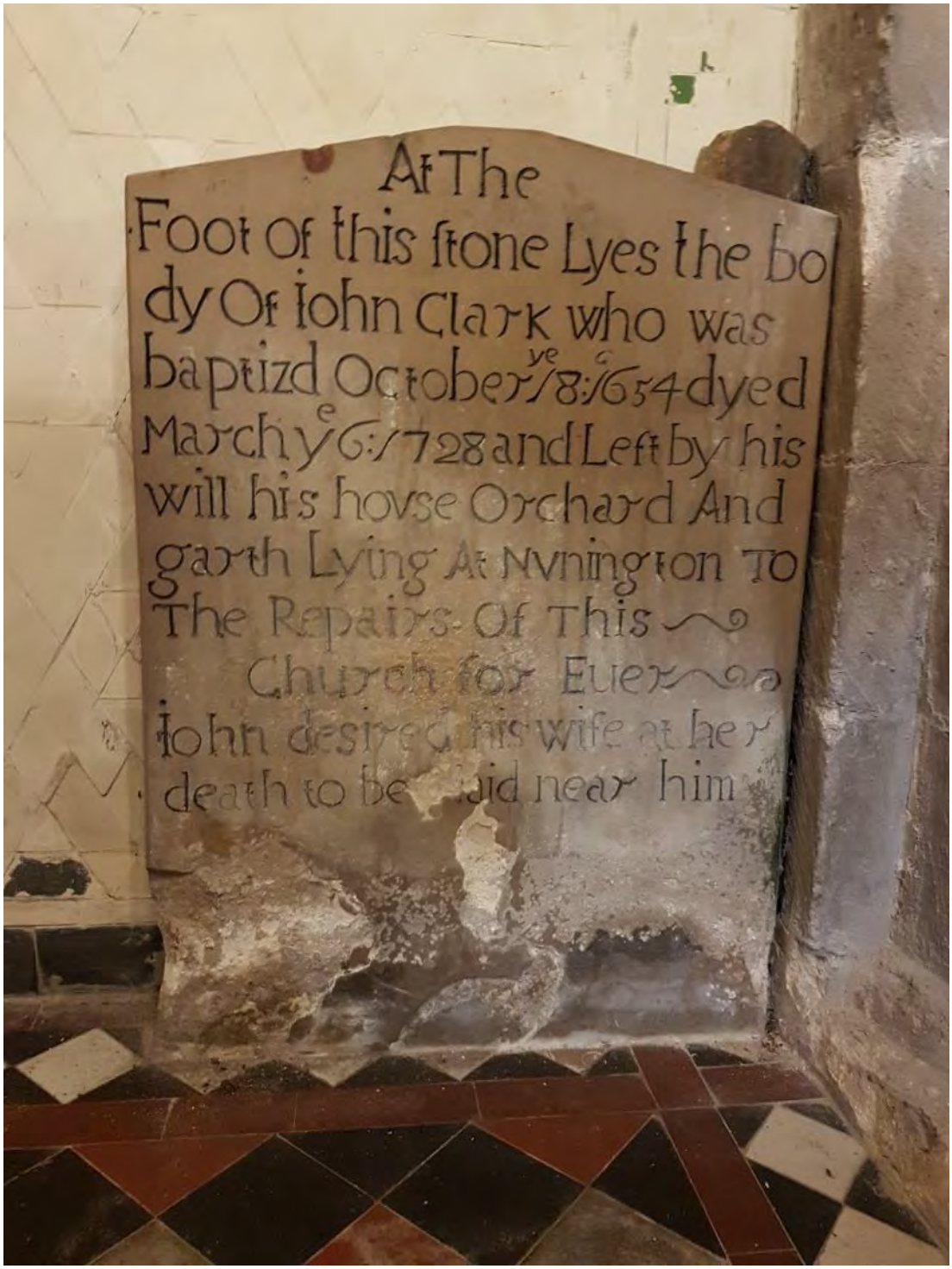


Figure 58: The western end of the south aisle, showing from the eighteenth-century tombstone of John Clark, who left his estate to the church to fund repairs (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 59: The south aisle, looking east towards the chapel, with the Anglo-Saxon stones to the front of the photograph (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 60: The eastern end of the south aisle, showing from the left: the C17 altar; a C19 memorial tablet; an 1862-3 Victorian Middle Gothic pointed arch window of the western bay; a C19 memorial tablet with a Victorian lamp retrofitted with electricity; an 1862-3 Victorian Middle Gothic pointed arch window of the middle bay; and, C19 pews below (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 61: The chapel in the eastern bay of the south aisle, showing from the left: the squint in the north wall between the nave and the chapel; the Victorian Middle Decorated Gothic pointed arch window of the western elevation; the reused C17 altar below; and, the C19 memorial on the southern wall (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 62: The roof of the south aisle, showing the 1862-3 timber trusses resting on 1862-3 corbels, with diagonal timber boards, looking west (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 63: 1945 photograph of the nave, chancel and eastern end of the south aisle, showing the east-facing pews in the south aisle prior to the 1960s conversion into a chapel, as well as the Victorian chandeliers with candles, prior to their retrofitting and relocation (Source: HEA 6433_066).

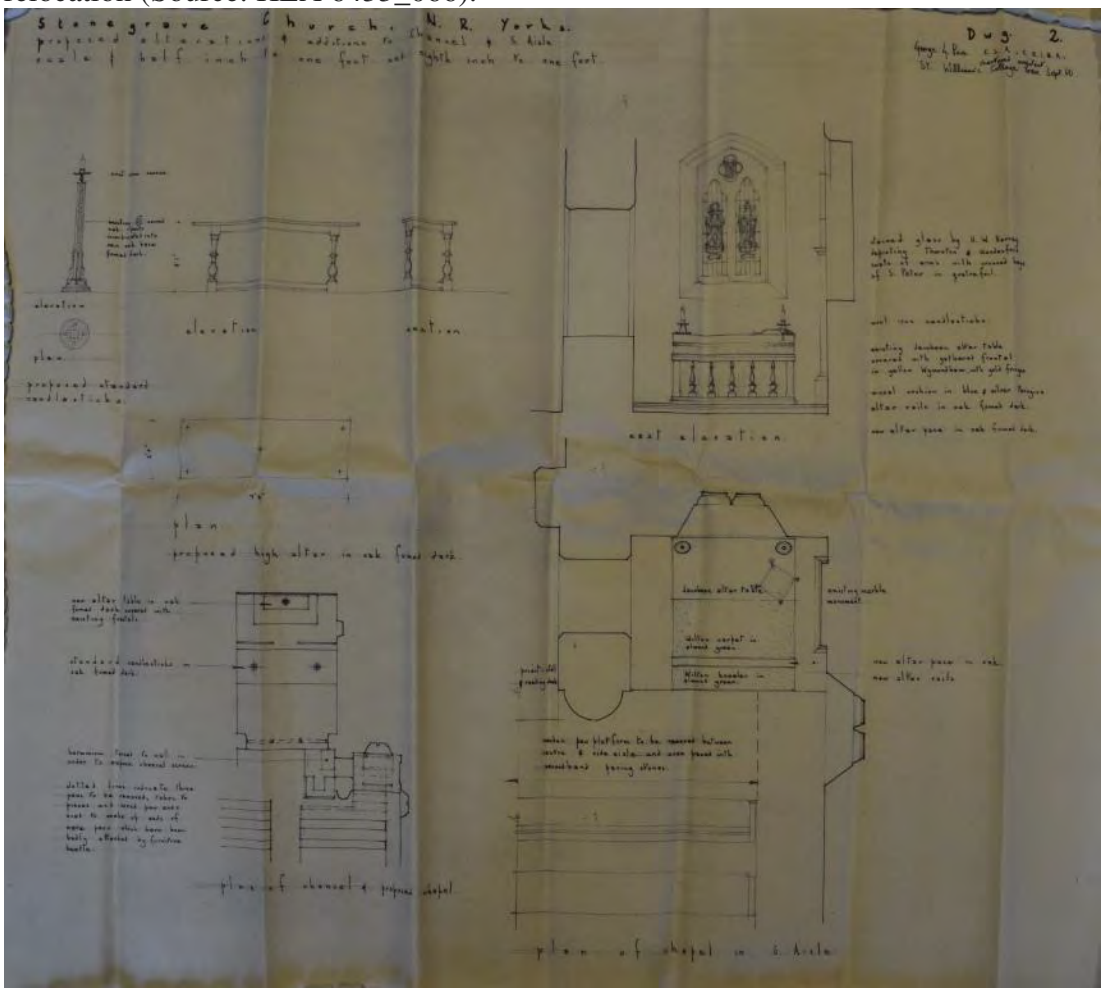


Figure 64: 1960 plans and elevations for the proposed conversion of the south aisle into a chapel, showing only the south aisle and, chancel and part of the nave (Source: BIA Fac. 1960/2/11).

Figure 65: The western elevation of the porch (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 66: The southern elevation of the porch (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 67: The eastern elevation of the porch (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 68: The northern internal elevation of the porch, showing the double-chamfered pointed arch door between the porch and south aisle, as well as the stone courses from the west and east walls not matching up with those of the north wall (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 69: The western internal elevation of the porch, showing the mixed tooling marks and mix of soldier and Flemish bonding, which is unusual for stonework. The interior of the lancet window can also be seen, displaying a segmental pointed arch on the interior face and a chamfered surround. The tooling on the stone coursing is coarse and irregular, with a mix of orientations, but mostly horizontal (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 70: The southern internal elevation of the porch, showing the rear of the front pointed-arch door, displaying a chamfered arch with a chamfered quoined surround with a pyramid stop at the base of the surround. The tooling on the stone coursing is coarse and irregular, with a mix of orientations, but mostly horizontal (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 71: The Victorian timber-boarded mansard ceiling of the porch (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 72: The limestone slabs of the flooring of the porch (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 73: The western elevation of the north aisle abutting the western tower, showing the one-light lancet window (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 74: The northern elevation of the three bays of the north aisle, showing the Victorian Norman style door and lancet windows, with the four-bayed clerestory above (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 75: The northern elevation of the vestry, or chancel bay of the north aisle, showing the one-light Victorian window and the graduated buttress between the nave and chancel bays (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 76: The eastern elevation of the north aisle, showing the three-light Victorian Decorated Geometric window, next to the northern elevation of the chancel (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 77: The view of the interior of the north aisle from the nave, showing the Norman arcade along the south of the aisle and the two lancet windows in the northern elevation (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 78: The Victorian double-chamfered pointed-arch southern arch between the chancel and vestry, or chancel bay of the north aisle, inset with an altered and reused seventeenth-century screen (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 79: The north aisle, looking east, showing the top of the double-chamfered pointed arch between the chancel bay/vestry and eastern nave bay of the north aisle, as well as the altered and reused seventeenth-century screen (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 80: The view of the western end of the north aisle from the eastern nave bay of the north aisle, showing the Victorian pews at the rear and the Medieval effigies along the northern wall (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 81: The early fourteenth-century effigy, thought to be Roger de Stonegrave, on a Victorian pediment and set within a Victorian niche in the north wall of the central bay of the north aisle (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 82: An early fifteenth-century effigy to Robert Thornton the Elder and his wife, Jane; the parents of the scribe Robert Thornton, located between the central and eastern nave bays of the north aisle, resting under a ‘reused medieval canopy’ in the north wall (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 83: A chair made from reused seventeenth-century panelling in the eastern nave bay of the north aisle (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 84: 1885 mural tablet to the Dentons, replacing the broken eighteenth-century tablet in the eastern nave bay of the north aisle (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 85: A nineteenth-century cupboard reusing earlier panelling along the northern wall of the chancel bay of the north aisle (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 86: The furniture of various dates in the chancel bay of the north aisle, looking east (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 87: The seventeenth-century screen/panelling separating the chancel bay and chancel (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 88: The reused seventeenth-century screen running between the eastern nave bay and chancel bay of the north aisle (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 89: The quadripartite timber ceiling of the vestry resting on limestone corbels (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 90: The floor of the vestry/chancel bay of the north aisle, showing the stone slab threshold within the arch with flanking geometric tiles and carpet (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 91: The southern elevation of the chancel, showing the cusped two-light Victorian Middle Decorated Geometric Gothic pointed arch window with quatrefoil tracery in the western bay, the Victorian Norman style door in the central bay and the a trefoil-headed one-light Victorian Middle Decorated Geometric Gothic pointed arch window with quatrefoil tracery in the eastern bay (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 92: The eastern elevation of the chancel, showing the three-light Victorian Middle Decorated Geometric Gothic pointed arch window with cusped heads and quatrefoil and trefoil tracery and rounded hood-moulds with head-stops, as well as a sandstone coping with a decorative cross finial and moulded kneelers (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 93: The northern elevation of the chancel and the chancel bay of the north aisle, showing the window on the northern elevation of the chancel to be a cusped one-light Geometric Decorated pointed arch window with quatrefoil tracery and rounded hood-moulds with head-stops (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 94: The Victorian interpretation of a Norman narrow rounded-arched door with chamfered quoining and a rounded hood-mould with floriate label-stops in the central bay of the southern elevation of the chancel (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 95: The northern interior wall of the chancel, showing the scored plasterwork, as well as the double-chamfered arch into the vestry in the eastern bay, the eighteenth-century memorial to members of the Comber family in the central bay, and the one-light Victorian Middle Decorated Gothic window in the eastern bay (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 96: The interior of the chancel from the nave, showing the Victorian double-chamfered pointed chancel arch, the 1637 chancel screen below, the altar and altar rails in the chancel and the flooring and ceiling of the chancel (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 97: The western side of the reused 1637 chancel screen under the chancel arch (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 98: The eastern side of the reused 1637 chancel screen under the chancel arch (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 99: The altered and reused seventeenth-century screen in the western bay of the chancel, along the south wall (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 100: The seventeenth-century painted timber escutcheon to William Thornton above the south door (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 101: The seventeenth-century painted timber escutcheon to William Thornton above the south door (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 102: The Victorian altar and altar rails at the eastern end of the chancel, showing the reused timber reredos along the eastern wall underneath the window (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 103: The northern wall of the eastern bay of the chancel, showing the location of the seventeenth-century memorial brass to Dean Thomas Comber's wife, Alice (d. 1720) and their son, William (d. 1702), re-mounted on black marble during the Victorian restoration (Source: Author 2019).

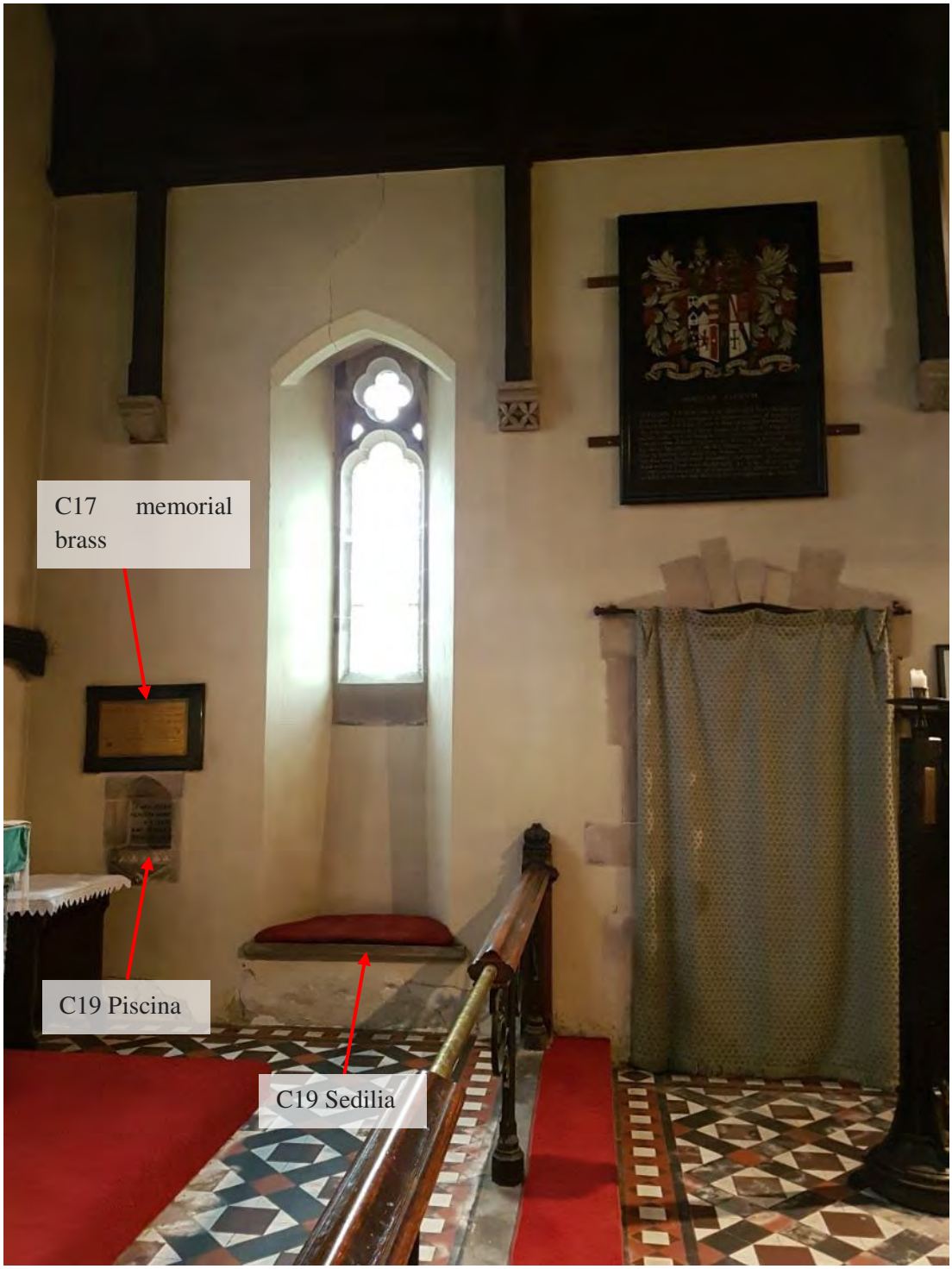


Figure 104: The eastern and central bays of the southern wall of the chancel, showing the remounted seventeenth-century brass memorial above a Victorian piscina, adjacent to a Victorian sedilia (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 105: The simple Victorian reading desk decorated with a Gothick Yorkshire rose within a carved quatrefoil, located in the chancel (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 106: The Victorian gabled gambrel ceiling with diagonally set timber boards, supported by four geometric gambrel trusses on a mix of floriate, geometric and crested corbels (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 107: The floor of the chancel is composed of three equally spaced steps rising up to the altar, with bare limestone slabs at each step but with the rest of the floor covered with geometric tiles, with Dean Thomas Comber's gravestone in the western bay (Source: Author 2019).

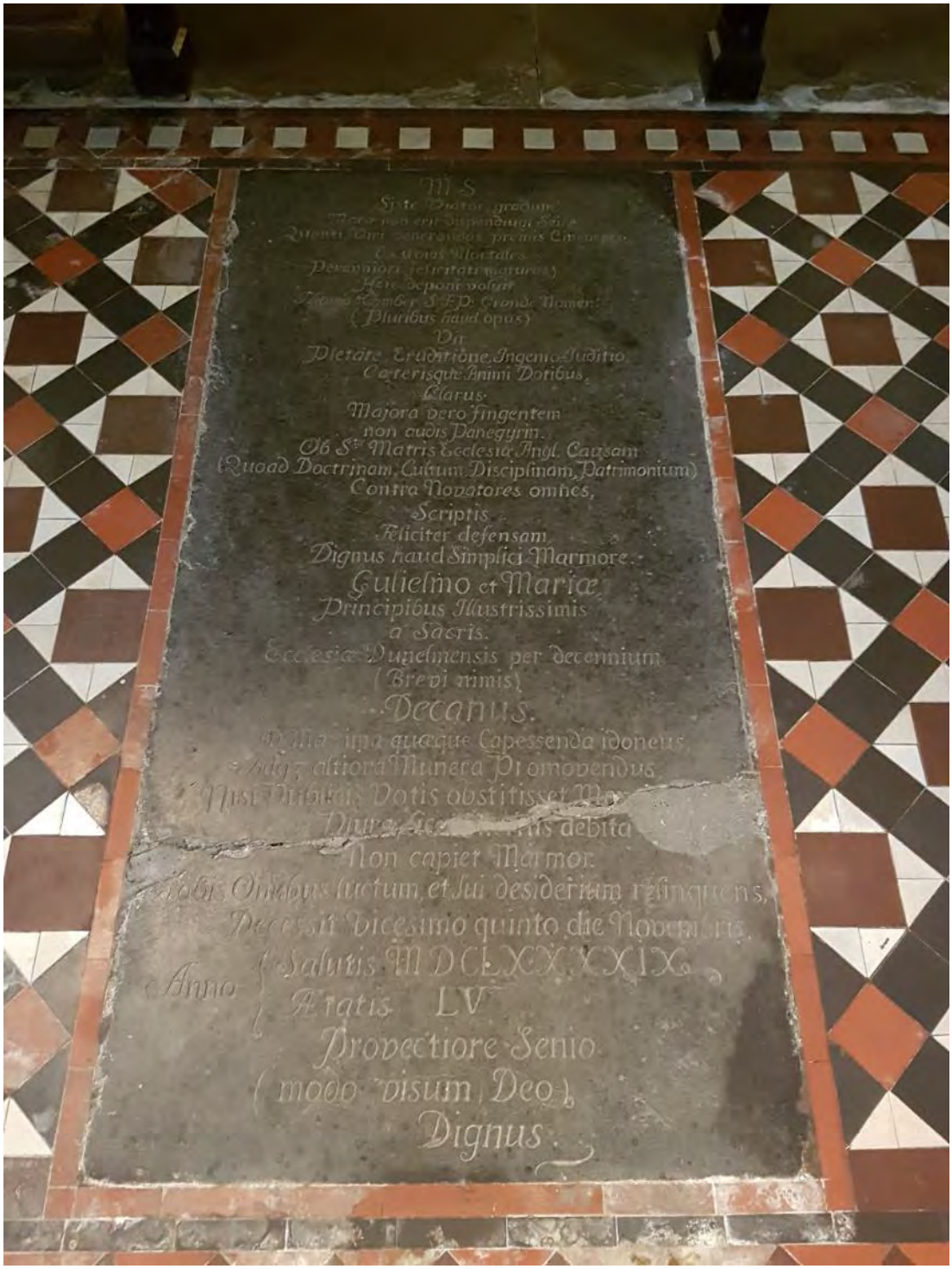


Figure 108: The late seventeenth-century (d. AD 1699) black marble grave monument to Thomas Comber has been reincorporated into the Victorian flooring in the western bay of the chancel (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 109: The northern elevation of the three-stage square tower, constructed from coursed rough limestone rubble with dressed calcareous sandstone quoining, with the first two Norman stages and the fifteenth-century Perpendicular belfry (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 110: The western elevation of the three-stage square tower, constructed from coursed rough limestone rubble with dressed calcareous sandstone quoining, showing the location of the fifteenth-century Perpendicular window blocking the head of the earlier twelfth-century door (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 111: The southern elevation of the three-stage square tower, constructed from coursed rough limestone rubble with dressed calcareous sandstone quoining, with the Norman window in the second stage (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 112: The eastern elevation of the three-stage square tower, constructed from coursed rough limestone rubble with dressed calcareous sandstone quoining, showing the fifteenth-century Perpendicular belfry (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 113: The first two stages of the tower exhibit matching quoining and coursed rubble masonry, and are therefore contemporaneous, but the quoining on each stage of the eastern wall does not align, indicating that the second stage was built over an earlier nave wall. The Norman round-headed window in the second stage is also shown (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 114: first stage of the western elevation has a twelfth-century quoined doorway filled with rubble masonry with a fifteenth-century Decorated Gothic pointed arch window above. The infill of the doorway is likely to be contemporary with the window (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 115: The southern and western elevations of the third stage of the tower, showing undisturbed course rubble limestone masonry with sandstone quoining surrounding a central fifteenth-century Perpendicular louvred window on the elevations, indicating that the belfry dates to the fifteenth century (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 116: The northern and eastern elevations of the third stage of the tower, showing fifteenth-century Perpendicular louvred windows and an embattled parapet topped with Victorian pinnacles based on fifteenth-century precursors (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 117: The northern interior wall of the first stage of the western tower, showing the eighteenth-century benefactors' board fixed to the wall, as well as the painted coursed rubble masonry (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 118: The interior of the first stage of the tower, looking west at the western wall, showing the seventeenth-century panelling and the C15 window (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 119: The interior of the first stage of the tower, looking south at the southern wall, showing the painted coursed rubble stone masonry (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 120: The interior of the first stage of the tower, looking north-east to the straight joint between the northern and eastern walls of the tower, showing that the north walls abuts the east wall (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 121: The eighteenth-century benefactors' board on the northern wall of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

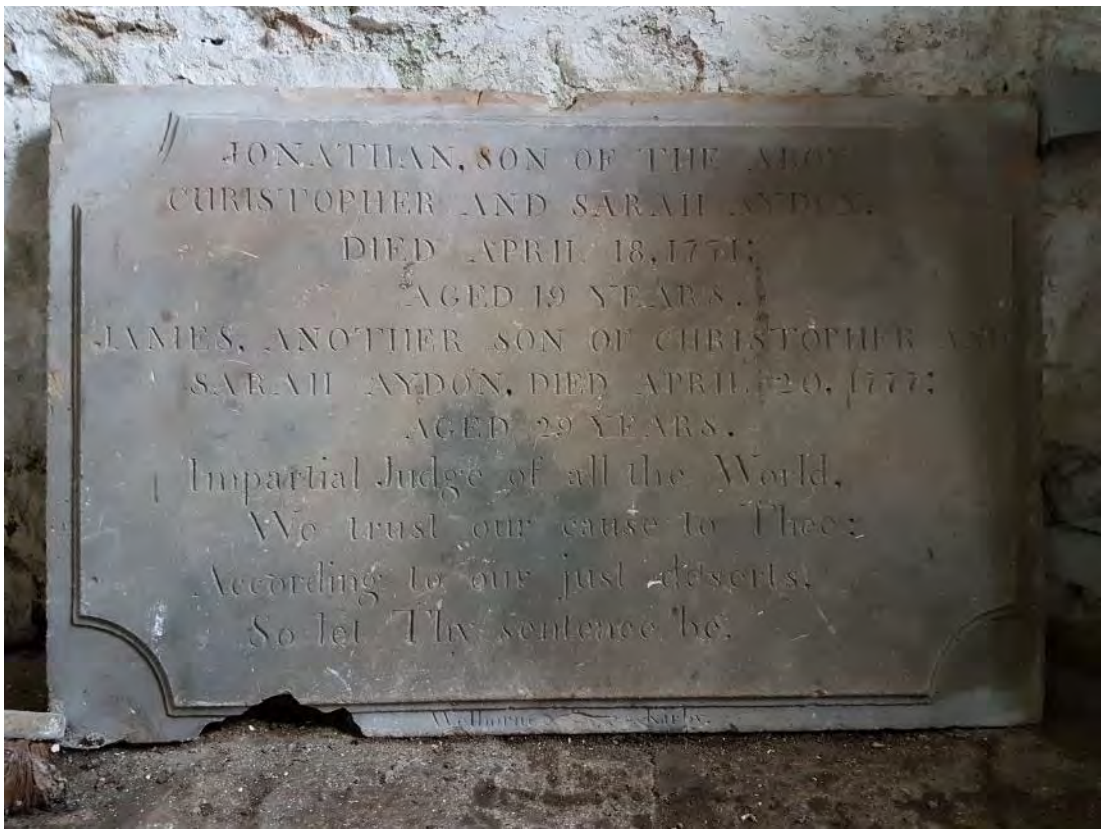


Figure 122: The eighteenth-century memorial tablet to Jonathon and James Aydon (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 123: The north-west platform in the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 124: The south-west tower platform (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 125: The south-east platform of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 126: The north-east platform of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 127: The stone and cementitious mortar flooring of the first stage of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 128: The 1885 timber platform for the second stage of the tower, taken from below in the first stage (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 129: The plastered coursed rubble stone masonry with exposed sandstone quoining in the second stage of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 130: The oblique twelfth-century tooling of the quoining in the second stage of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 131: The interior of the southern twelfth-century Norman window in the second stage of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 132: The twelfth-century Norman round-headed door in the eastern wall of the tower, showing the inserted timber door, with the timbers supporting the belfry above in the foreground (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 133: The twelfth-century oblique tooling in the surround for the Norman door in the eastern wall of the second stage of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

11.3Chapter 5 – The Post-Medieval Church

Figure 134: Photograph of the south elevation taken in April 1861, prior to the restoration (Source: NYC PR/STV 3, 174).

Figure 135: Photograph of the south elevation taken in 2019, from a location just to the north of the stone wall in the above photograph, due to the presence of dense foliage at the location of the wall (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 136: Photograph of the eastern elevation during the demolition in 1862-3, showing the C18/early C19 intersecting y-tracery of the eastern window, the C15 roof structure of the chancel and nave, looking west (Source: NSM RPS 18950).

Figure 137: Photograph of the eastern elevation in 2019, looking west (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 138: Photograph by G.F. Jones during the 1862-3 restoration, showing the exterior from the south-west; note the C12 arcades, square-headed door, C15 clerestory, C11/C12 chancel and whitewashed interior Source: NSM RPS 18951).

Figure 139: Photograph from 2019 showing the exterior of the church from the south-west, showing the retained tower but rebuilt aisles, chancel and roofing. The photograph has been taken north of the stone walls due to foliage growth obscuring the view from the location of the 1862-3 photograph (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 140: Photograph from the same location as the photograph above, showing the stone fence, stile and young trees in the foreground, with the chancel only partially visible behind the stile (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 141: Nineteenth century graphite sketch, looking west towards the eastern elevation of the church, showing the pre-restoration chancel, south aisle and porch, as well as the C15 low pitched roofing, the C13 Decorated Geometric window of the south aisle, the C18 intersecting y-tracery of the eastern window and the curious steep-pitched roof of the western section of the south aisle (Source: Somerset and Wood 2016).

Figure 142: Sketch of the interior, looking east towards the chancel, dating to April 1861, prior to the restoration (Source: NYC PR STV 3, 174).

Figure 143: Photograph of the nave, looking east to the chancel, taken in 2019, from the same location as the above sketch (Source: Author 2019).

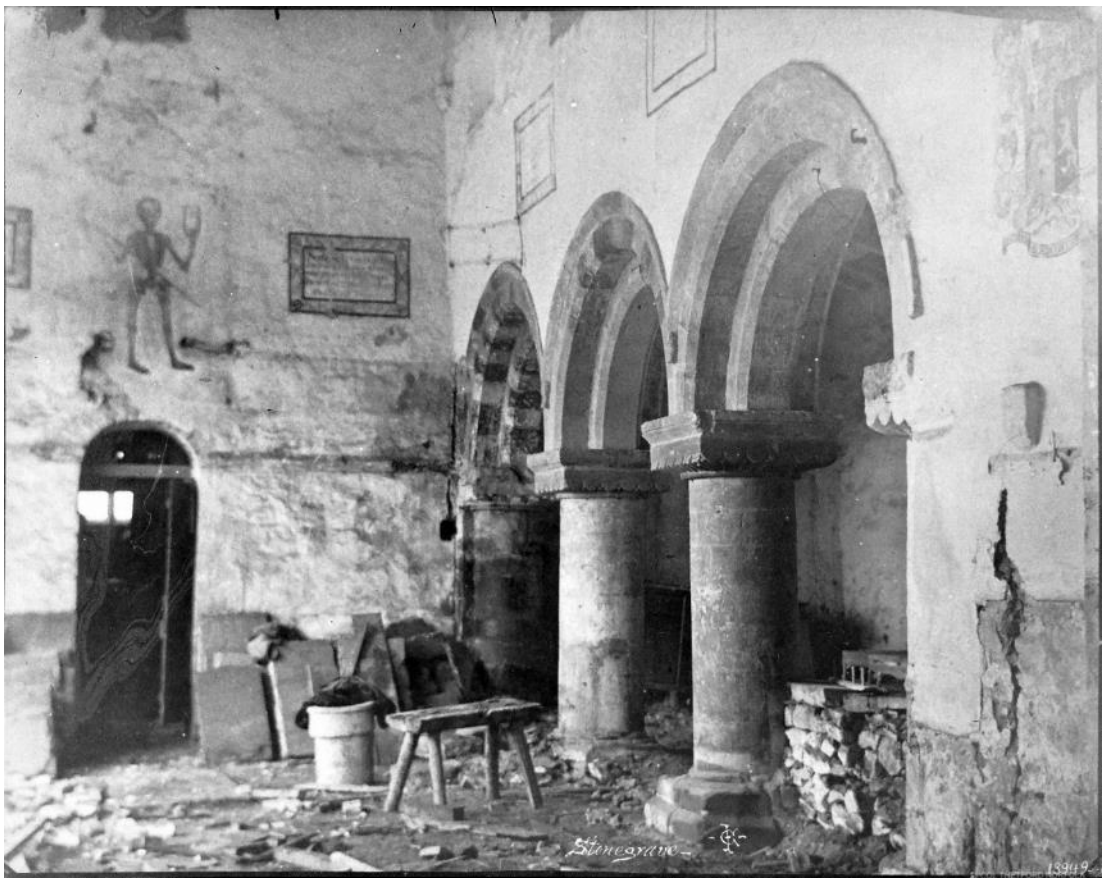


Figure 144: Photograph taken during the 1862-3 restoration, showing the interior, demonstrating the scriptural texts, the coat of arms above the pulpit, the 'time and death' painting and shadows of a western gallery (Source: NSM RPS 18949).

Figure 145: Photograph taken in 2019, showing the interior, demonstrating the plastered walls and the repair work to the arcade (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 146: 1862-3 photograph of the south arcade, taken from the chancel entrance (Source: NSM RPS 18952).

Figure 147: 2019 photograph of the south arcade, taken from the chancel entrance (Source: Author 2019).

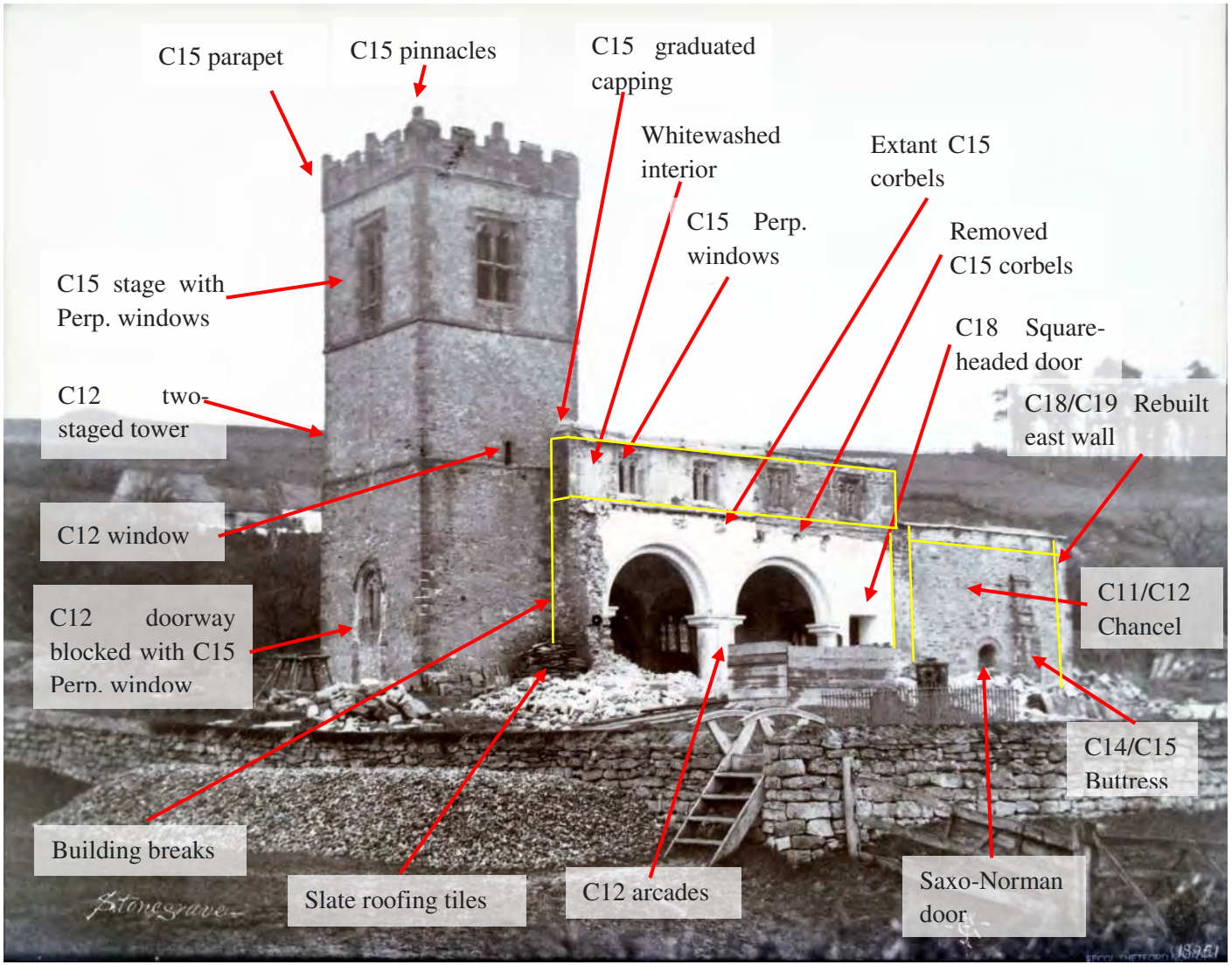


Figure 148: The marked-up south and western elevations during the restoration, with building breaks in yellow (Source: NSM RPS 18951).

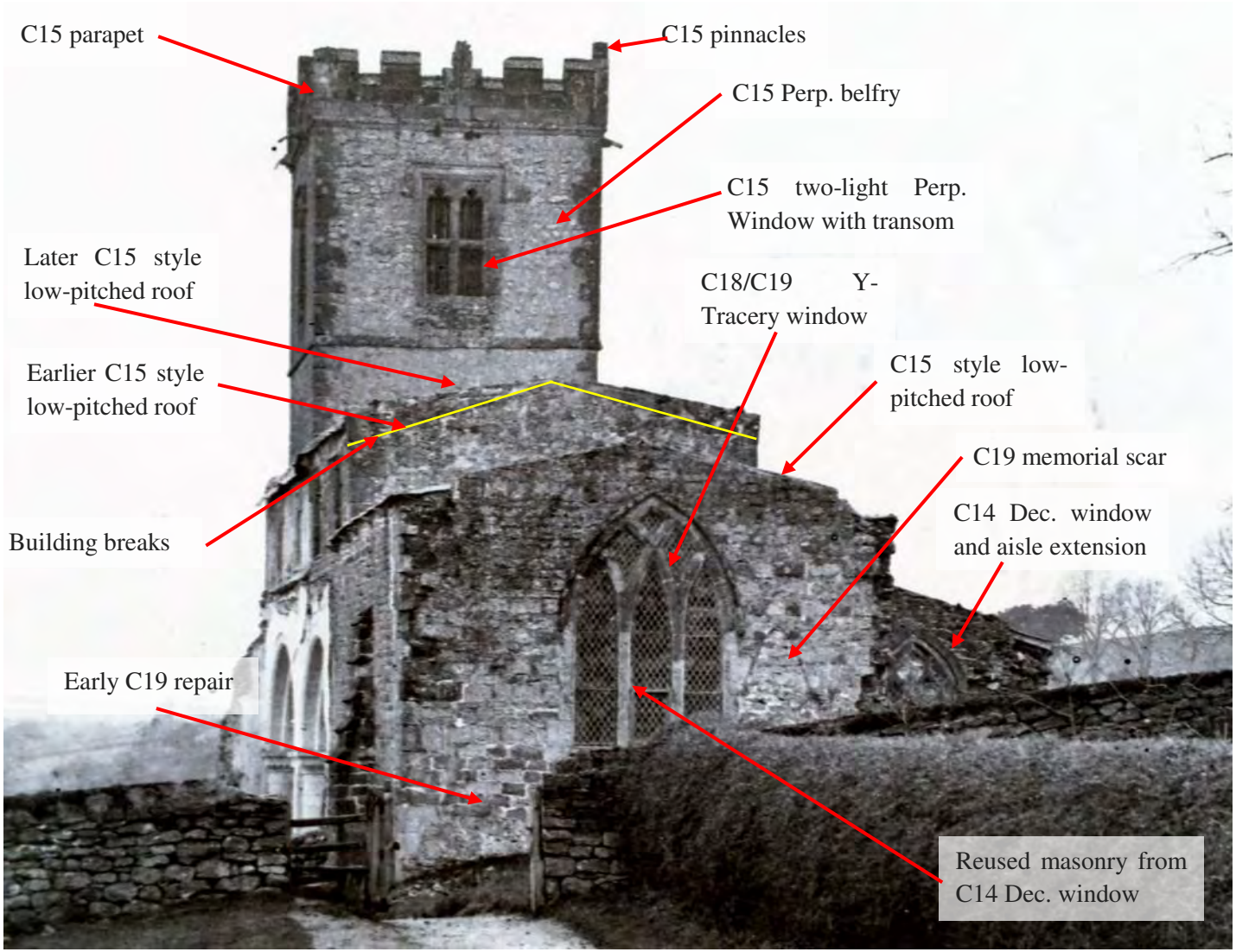


Figure 149: Marked-up photograph of the eastern elevation during the demolition in 1862-3 (Source: NSM RPS 18950).

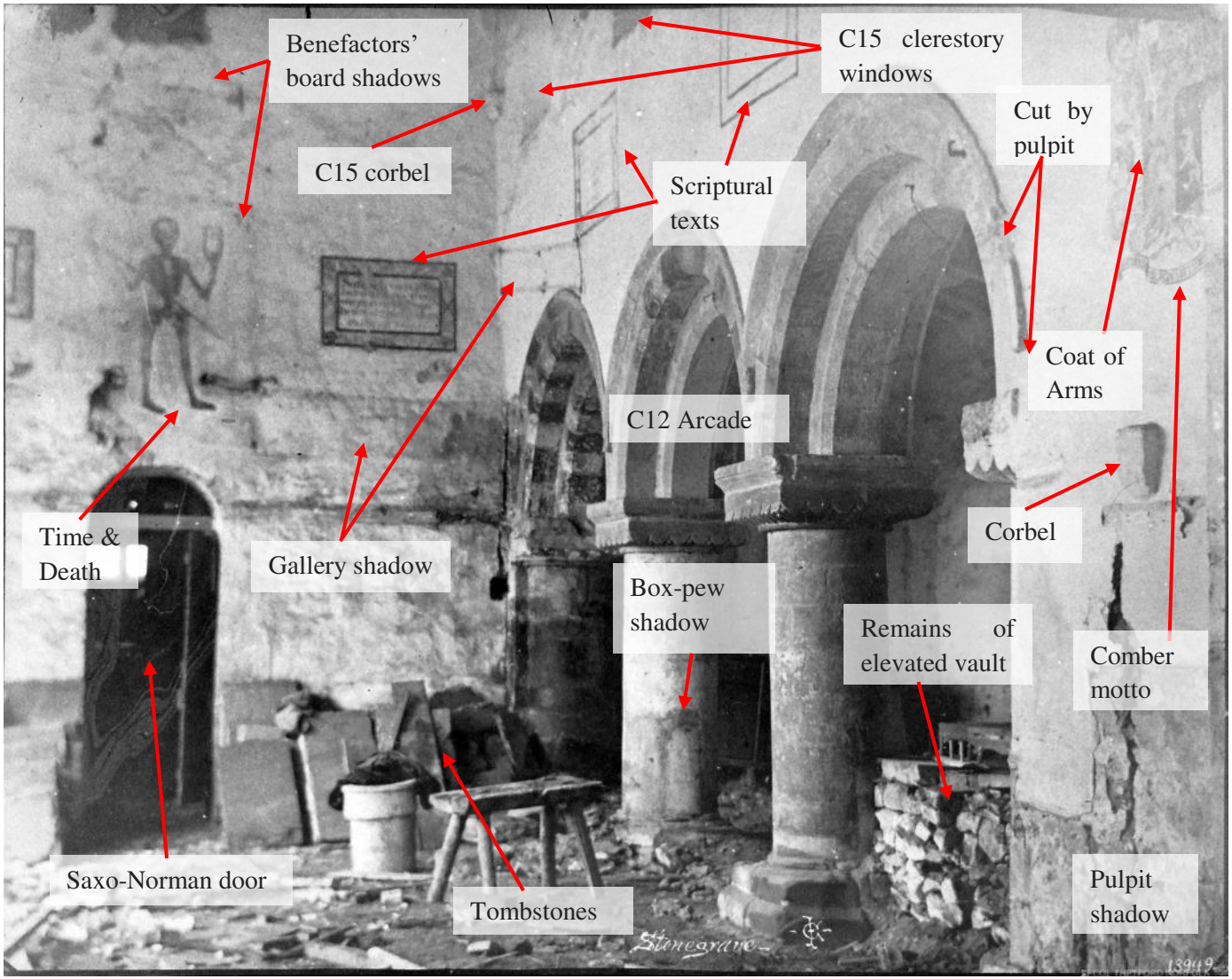


Figure 150: Marked-up 1862-3 photograph showing the northern arcade and western wall of the nave (Source: NSM RPS 18949).

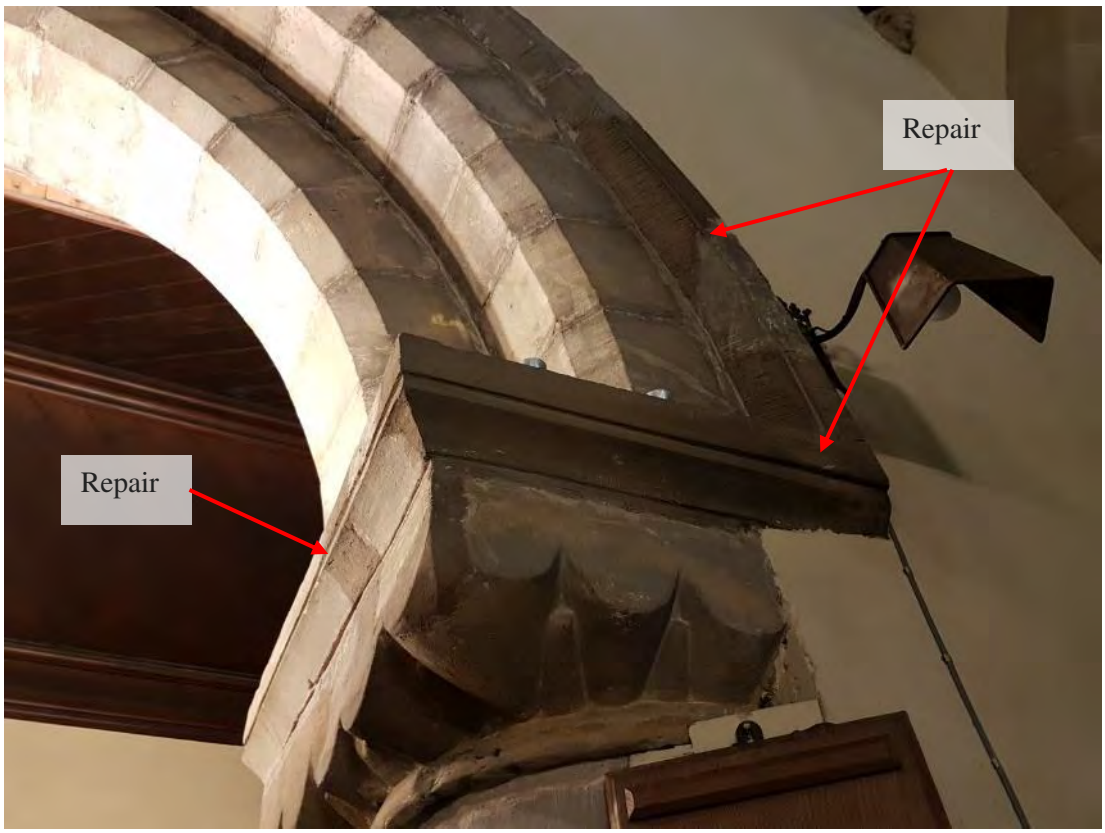


Figure 151: The eastern end of the northern arcade, showing the cementitious repair to the chamfered label and the capital (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 152: The eastern end of the northern arcade, showing the cementitious repair to the base of the eastern column, which may be evidence of the location of the three-decker pulpit (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 153: The extant pulpit at the north-eastern corner of the nave, showing the 1637 pulpit to reused and set onto an 1862-3 sandstone base (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 154: Repair from fixing of box pews to eastern column of southern arcade (Source: Author 2019).

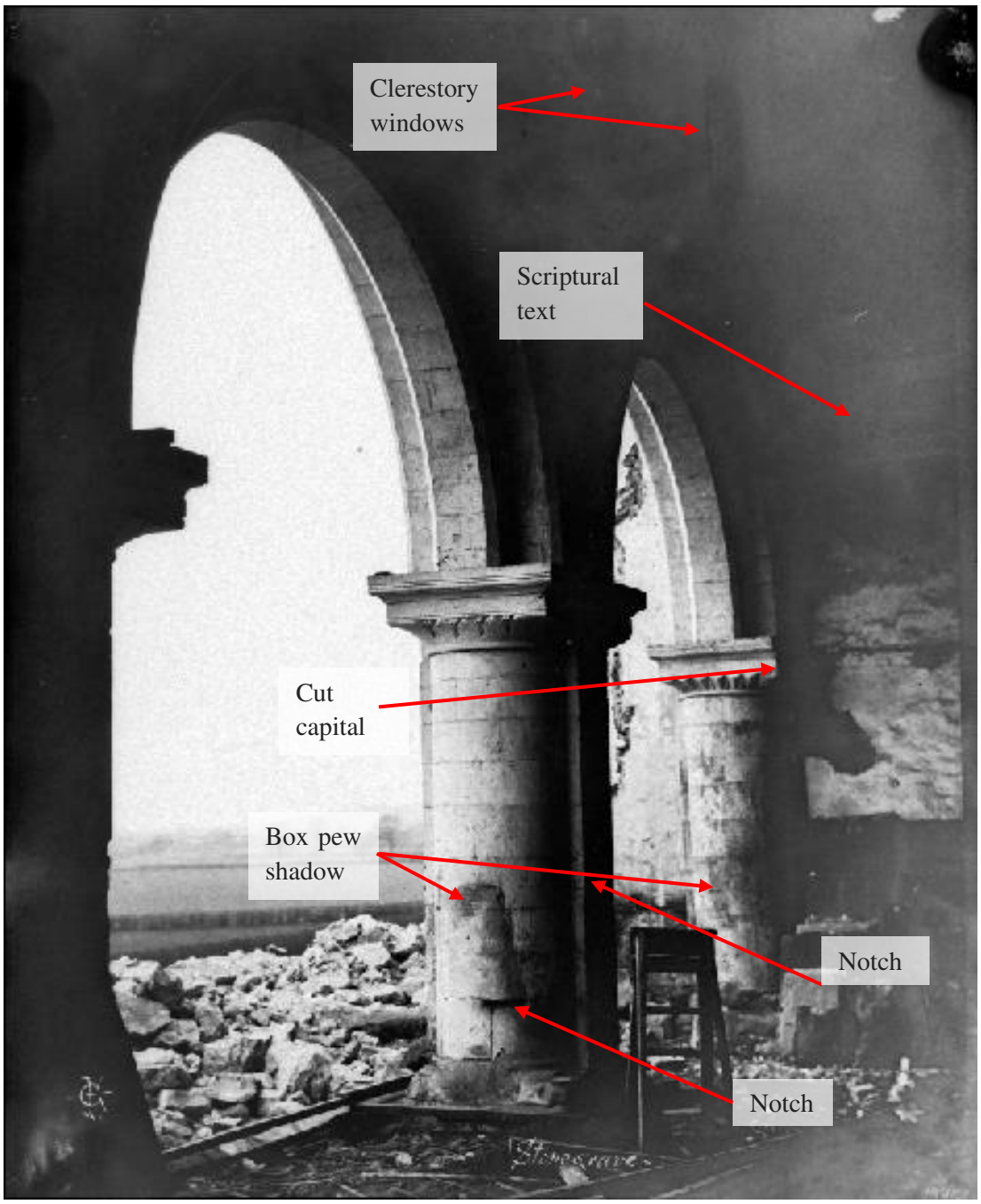


Figure 155: 1862-3 photograph of the south arcade, taken from the chancel entrance (Source: NSM RPS 18952).

Figure 156: The central pillar of the southern arcade, showing the repaired notches, possibly a result of the installation of the box pews (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 157: The coat of arms of George III, currently on the western wall of the nave, was hung on the eastern wall above the squared chancel arch prior to the 1862-3 restoration (Source: Author 2019).

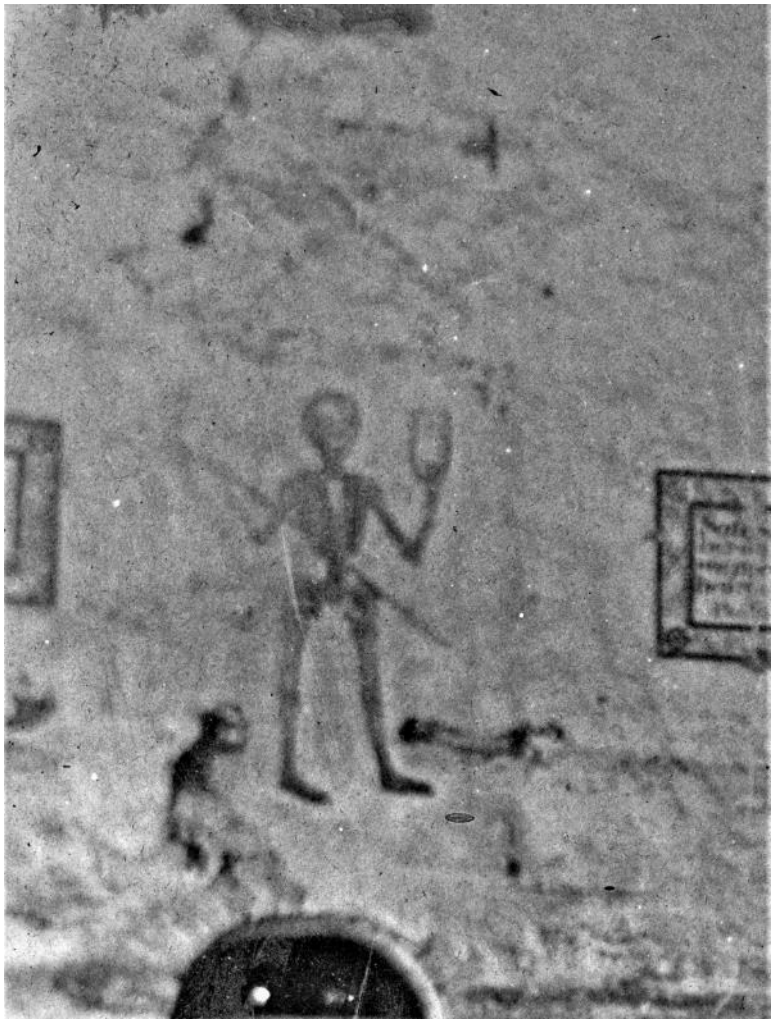


Figure 158: The ‘time and death’ painting (Source: NSM RPS 18949).

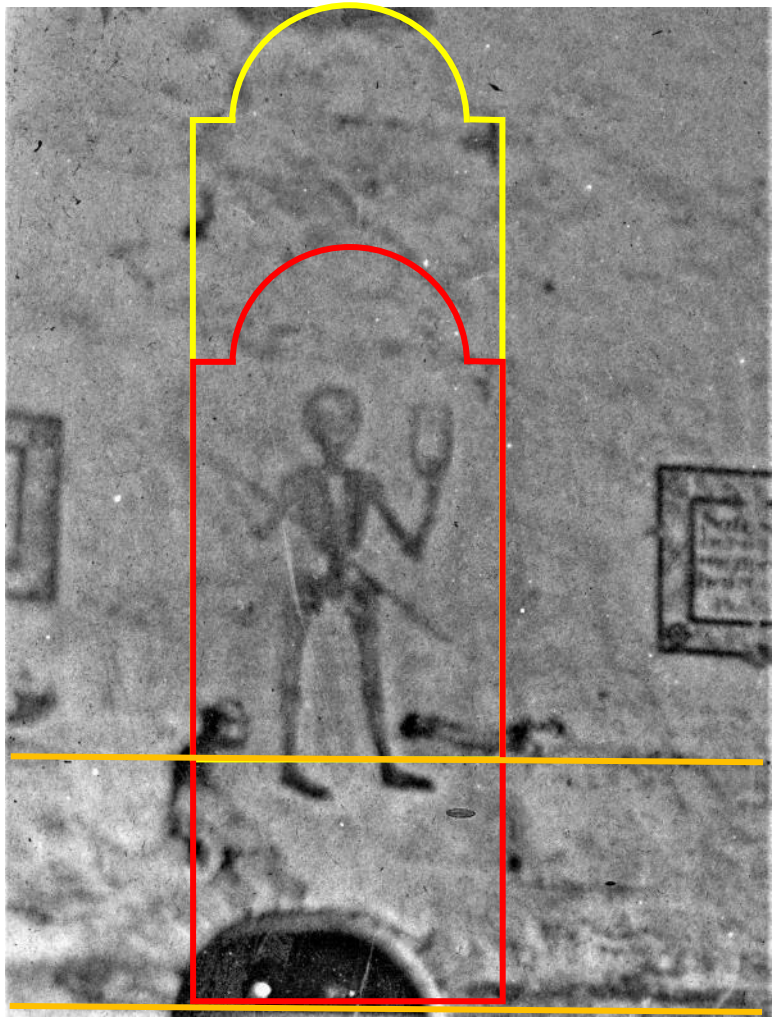


Figure 159: The benefactors’ board locations, with the yellow outlines showing its position above the gallery (orange) and the red outline representing the later position (Source: NSM RPS 18949).

Figure 160: The benefactors' board, currently fixed to the north wall of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

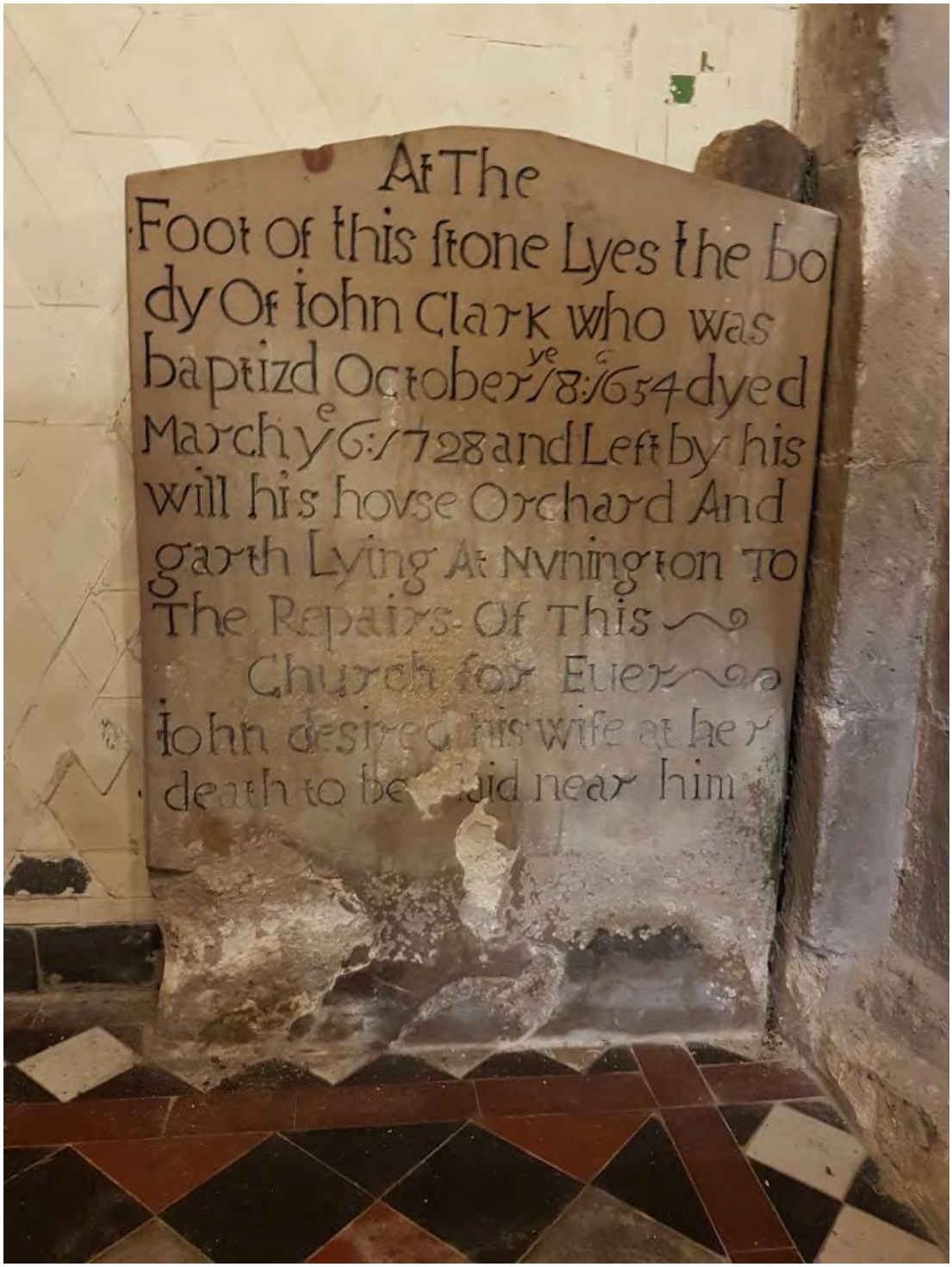


Figure 161: John Clark's 1728 tombstone now in the south aisle, previously said to have been beneath the gallery (Source: Author 2019).

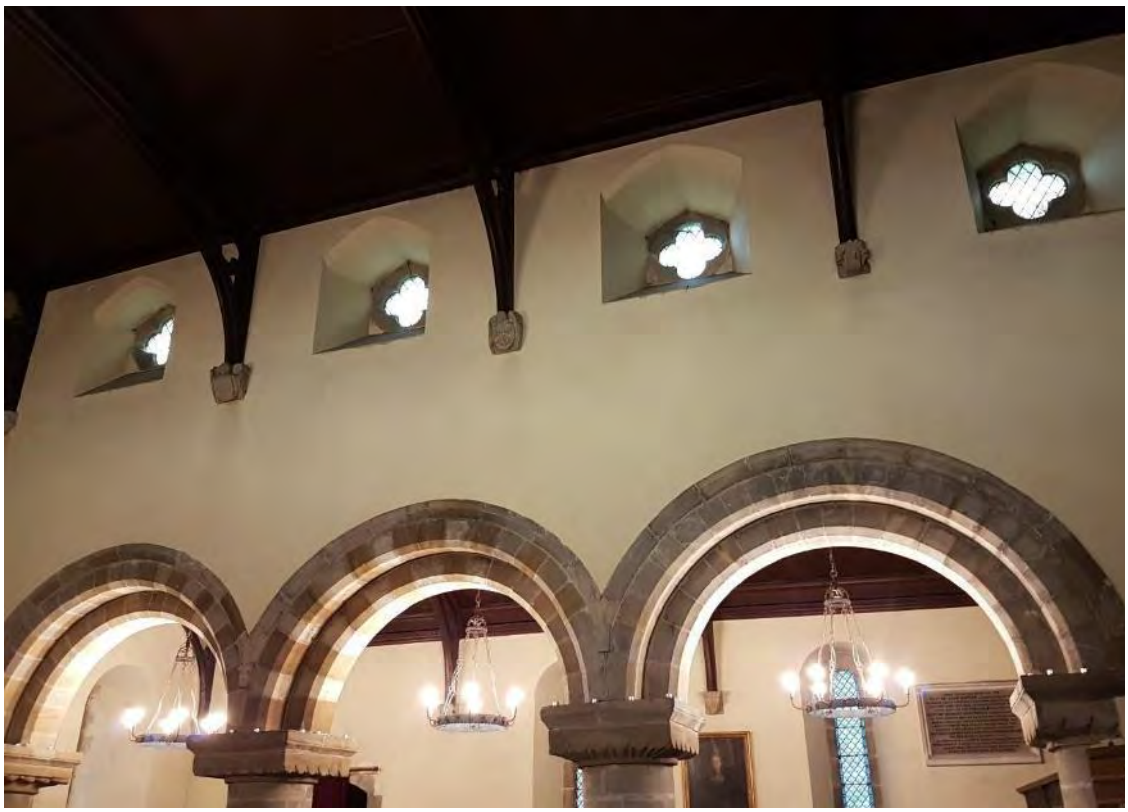


Figure 162: The reused C15 corbels along the north wall of the 1862-3 clerestory, decorated with family crests and human heads. The corbels have been reused at a lower height than for the C15 clerestory (Source: Author 2019).

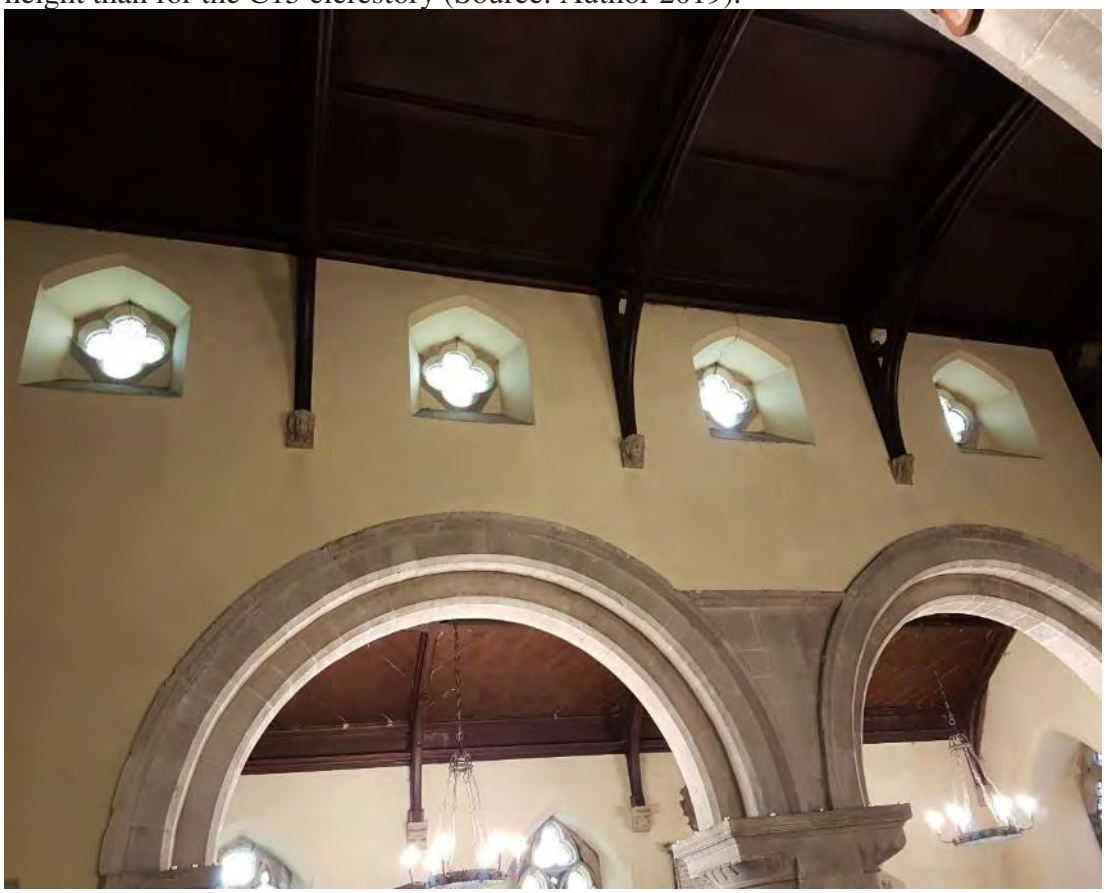


Figure 163: The extant clerestory windows in the south aisle, showing the reused, deeply sloping sills of the fifteenth-century clerestory in the same location as the previous windows, with the corbels at a lower height than their C15 location (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 164: The southern side of the central pillar for the southern arcade (i.e. the pillar between the eastern and central bays of the southern nave wall), showing graffiti (I.S) to the east and slightly higher than the repaired fixings to the pier for what is thought to have been a box pew or screens (Source: Author 2019).

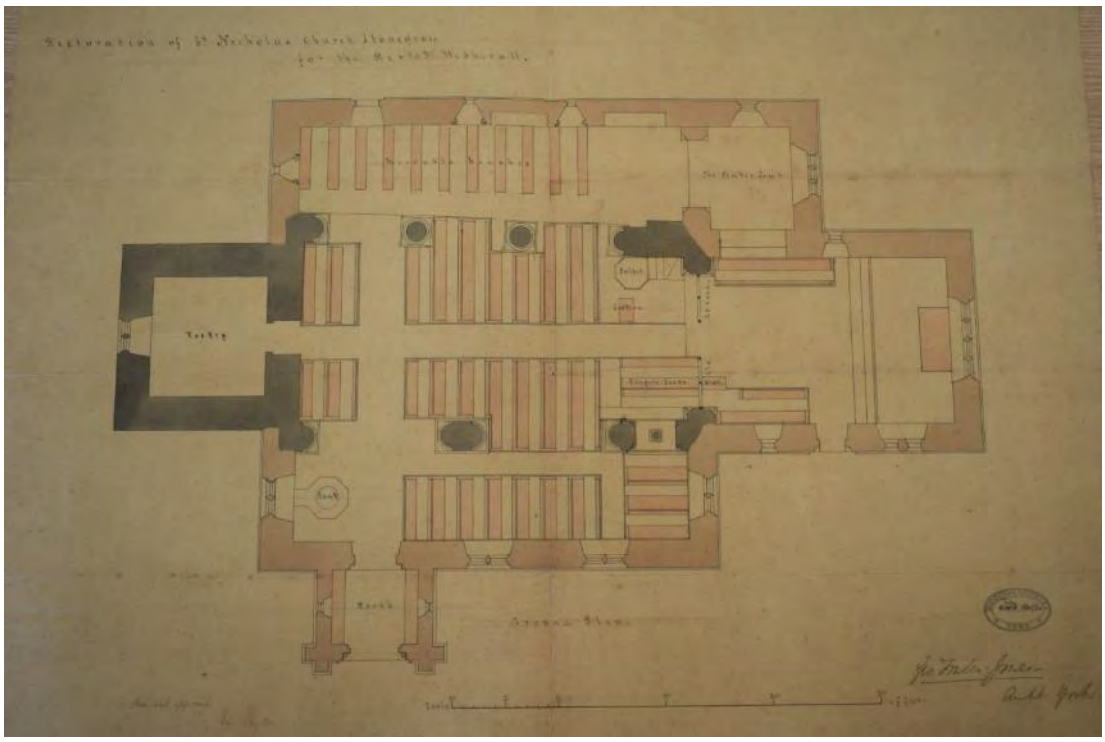


Figure 165: The 1861 plan of the proposed restoration of Stonegrave Minster by George Fowler Jones, showing the proposed retained fabric in grey and the proposed replaced fabric in cream (Source: BIA Fac. 1861/2).

Figure 166: The existing northern aisle, showing the Norman door in the western bay and lancet windows in the central and eastern bays of the nave aisle, with the chancel bays at the far left (Source: Author 2019).

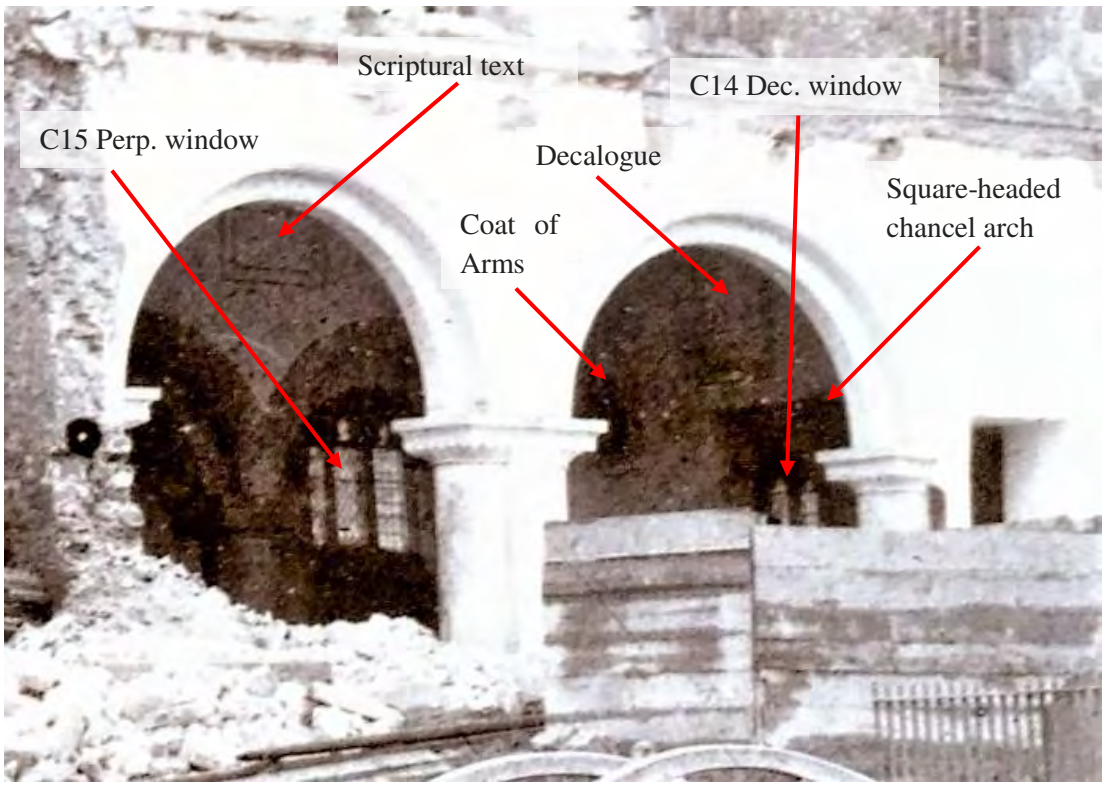


Figure 167: The marked-up northern walls of the north aisle and nave (Source: NSM RPS 18951).

Figure 168: The existing eastern elevation of the northern aisle, showing the extant Victorian reproduction of the earlier C14 three-light Decorated Gothic window (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 169:The 1885 replacement of the mural tablet for Rev. Mr. John (d.1708) and Rev. Mr. Robert Denton (d.1747), located in on the north wall of the eastern bay of the nave bay of the north aisle, previously in the chancel bay of the north aisle (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 170: A framed sign indicating the previous use of the current vestry, the chancel bay of the north aisle, as the chapel of St Leonard (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 171: The early fifteenth-century effigy of Robert Thornton the Elder and his wife, under a 'reused medieval canopy' (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 172: The fourteenth-century effigy of a civilian, thought to be Roger de Stonegrave (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 173: The seventeenth-century wall-mounted escutcheon to William Thornton, Alice Thornton's husband, now on the south wall of the chancel, showing the Thornton and Wandesford achievements (Source: Author 2019).

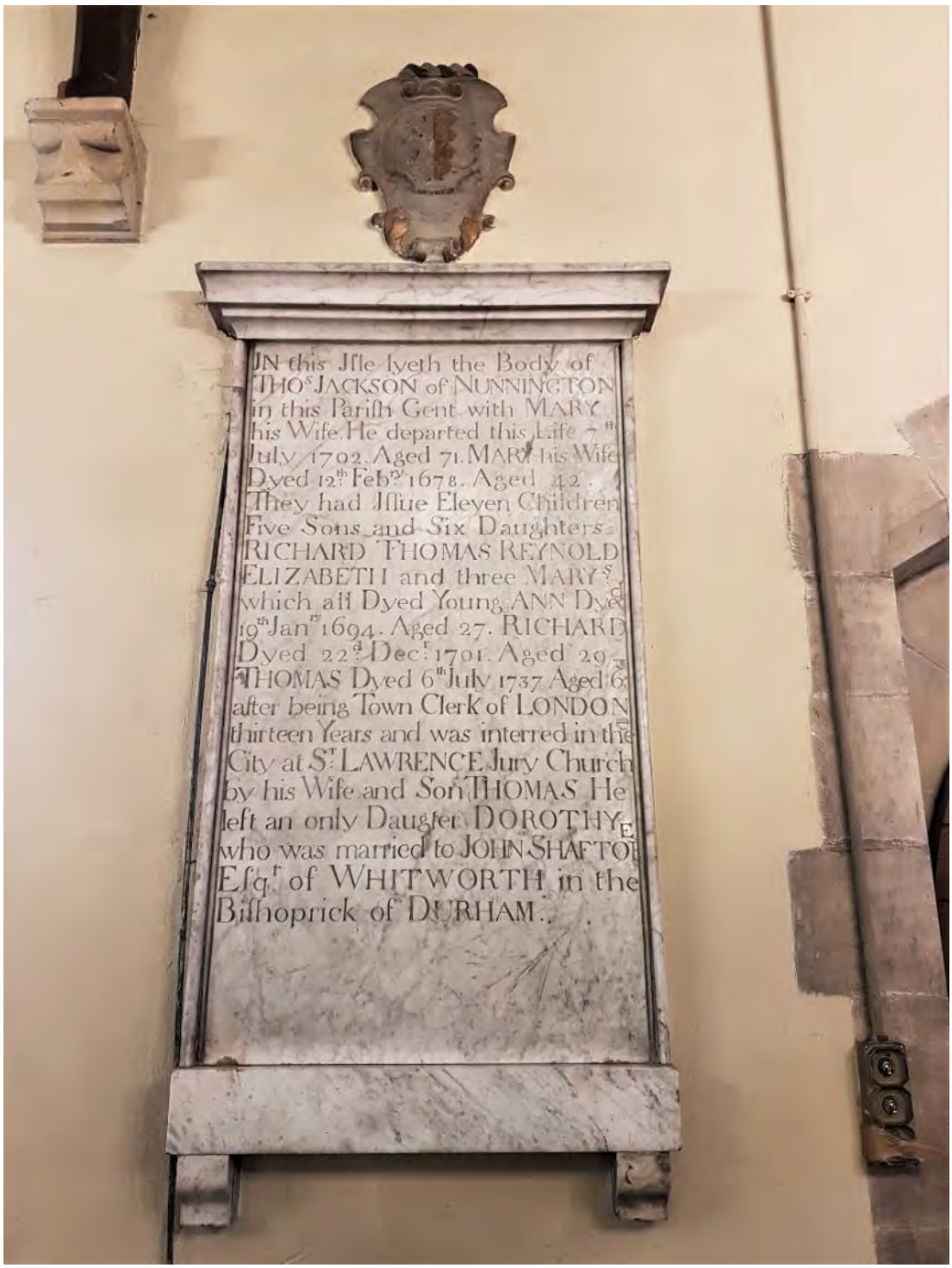


Figure 174:The eighteenth-century wall-mounted memorial tablet to Thomas Jackson and his family, currently in the south aisle (Source: Author 2019).

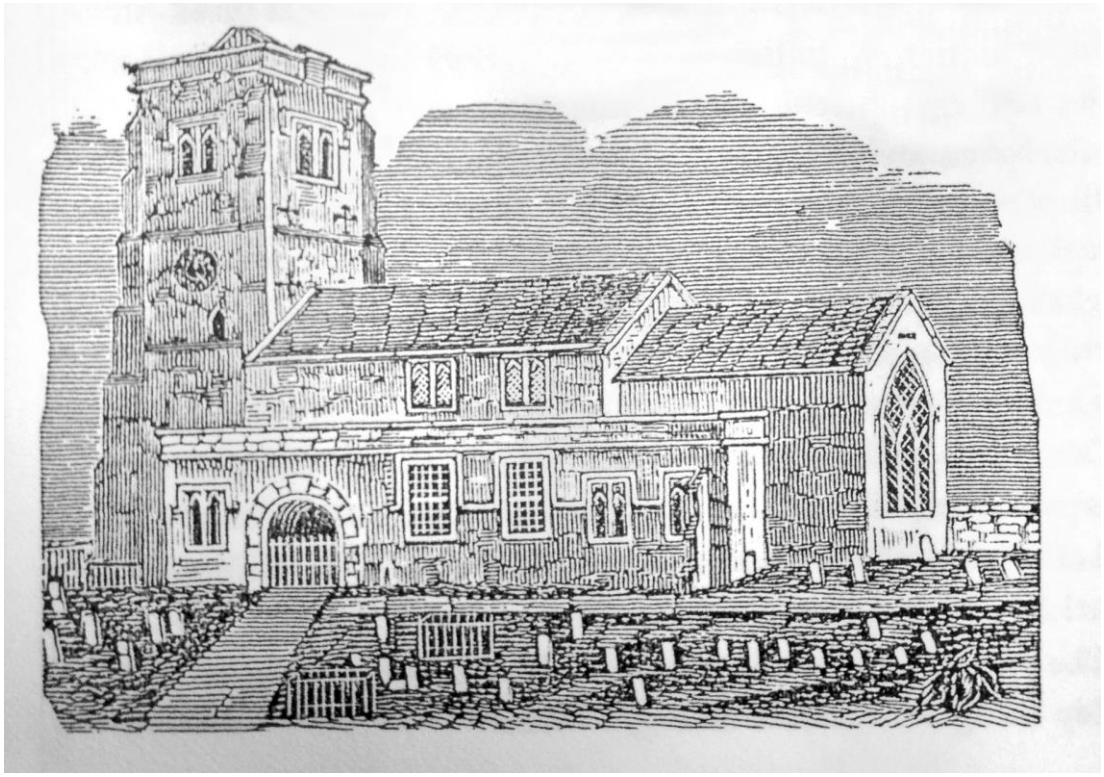


Figure 175: A c.1840 etching of All Saints Slingsby parish church prior to the Victorian reconstruction of 1867, showing the intersecting y-tracery of the eastern window and the loss of the porch; similar characteristics to Stonegrave Minster prior to its Victorian restoration (Source: Walker (1845) in Smith 2014, 393).

Figure 176: The existing north chancel wall, showing the extant arch into the chancel bay of the north aisle (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 177: The western side of the 1637 oak chancel screen from the nave, showing a head with a dated recessed central bay and a floriated frieze below a moulded cornice and dentils, resting on four turned and moulded shafts, with hanging brandished decoration with trefoils and acorns (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 178: The eastern side of the 1637 chancel screen from the nave (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 179: The extant part of the reused seventeenth-century timber reredos along the eastern wall of the chancel (Source: Author 2019).


Figure 180: The altered and reused seventeenth-century screen in the western bay of the chancel, along the south wall (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 181: The front of the reused seventeenth-century screen running between the eastern nave bay and chancel bay of the north aisle (Source: Author 2019).

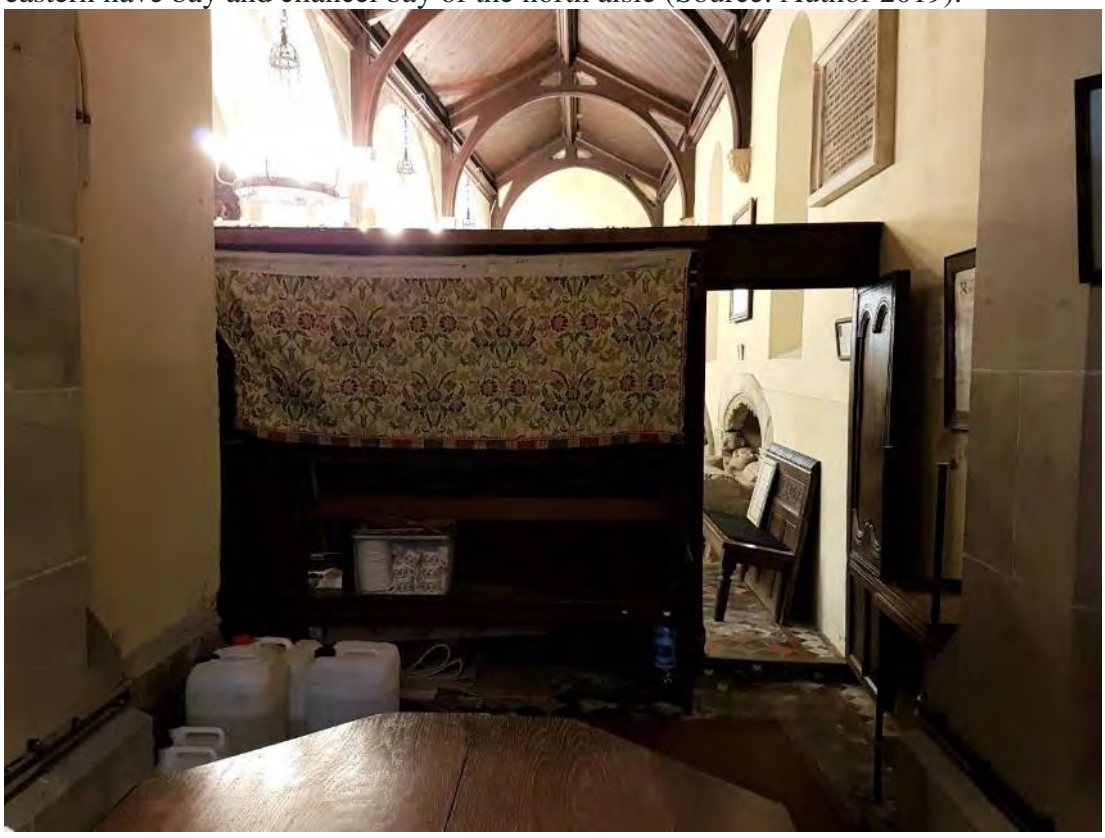


Figure 182: The back of the reused seventeenth-century screen running between the eastern nave bay and chancel bay of the north aisle, taken from the vestry (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 183: The back of the reused seventeenth-century screen running between the eastern nave bay and chancel bay of the north aisle, taken from the vestry, showing the reused floriated frieze above the door (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 184: The seventeenth-century screen/panelling separating the chancel bay and chancel, comprising the floriated frieze along the top, column shafts topped with heads, a central panel with a decorative arch and plain panelling at the base (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 185: A chair made from reused seventeenth-century panelling in the eastern nave bay of the north aisle, showing the dentilation, a simpler floriated frieze than the rest of the panelling and three plain panels below (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 186: A currently unmounted section of seventeenth-century panelling along the western wall of the tower, showing the double-arched panels, with later fixings along the top for hanging items (Source: Author 2019).

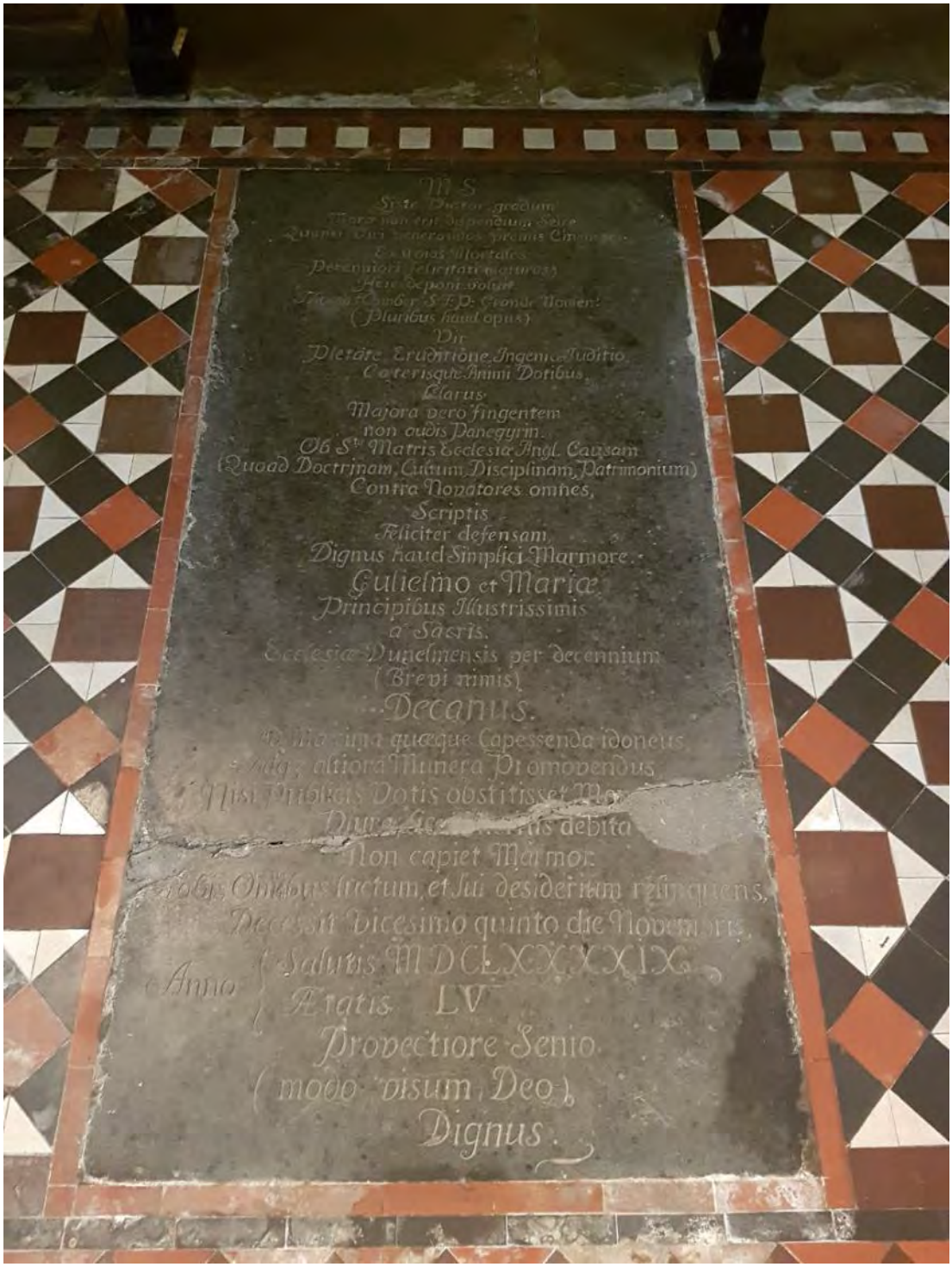


Figure 187: The black marble memorial to Dean Thomas Comber (d.1699), currently located in the western bay of the chancel, but originally was located in the eastern bay of the chancel (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 188: The seventeenth-century altar in the chapel of the south aisle, located in the chancel prior to the restoration (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 189: The late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century wall-mounted memorial tablet to Thomas Comber (d. 1763), father of William Comber, previously and currently located on the north wall of the chancel (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 190: The early nineteenth-century wall-mounted memorial tablet Rev. William Comber (d. 1810), son of Thomas Comber and grandson of Dean Thomas Comber, previously located on the south wall of the chancel and now on the west wall of the nave (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 191: The early nineteenth-century wall-mounted memorial tablet to Dorothy Comber (d. 1807), the wife of Rev. William Comber, previously located on the south wall of the chancel next to Rev. William Comber's tablet and now located on the west wall of the nave (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 192: The bronze memorial to Dean Thomas Comber's mother, Mary Burton (d. 1672), currently located on the southern wall of the eastern bay of the chancel but formerly on the floor between the altar and altar rails. The black marble backing is likely to date to the 1862-3 restoration (Source: Author 2019).

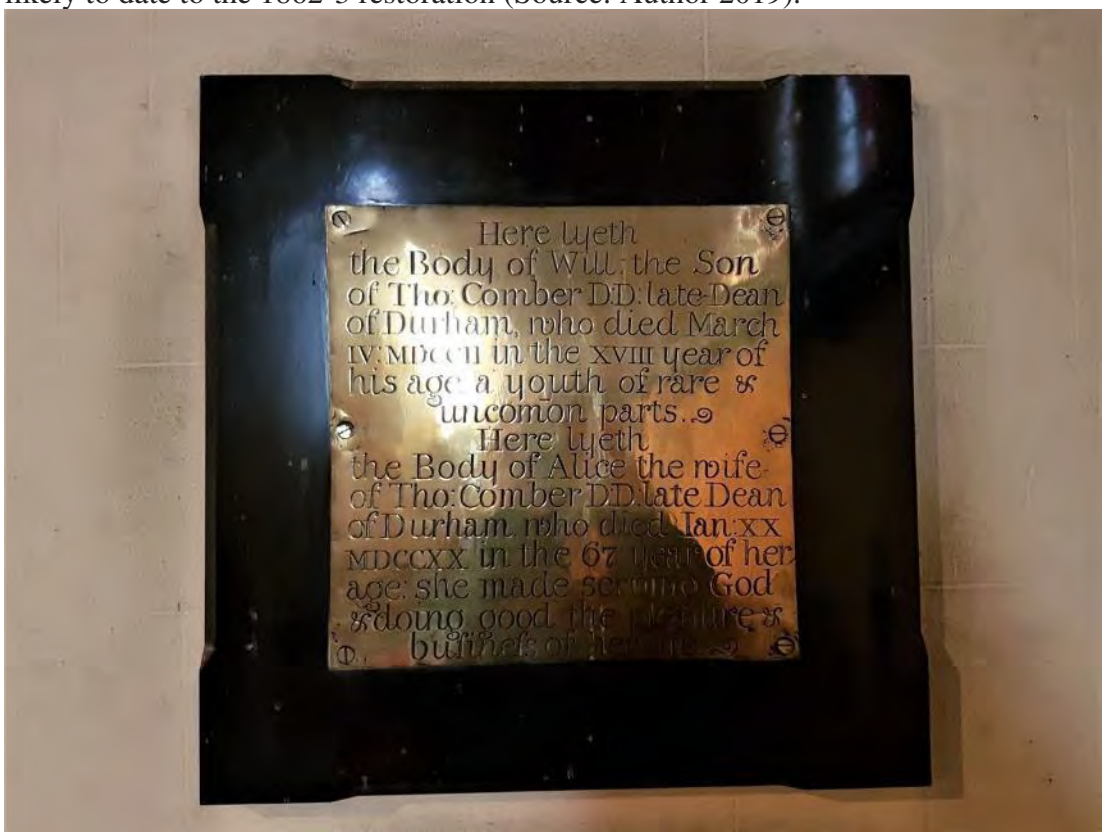


Figure 193: The bronze memorial to Dean Thomas Comber's wife, Alice (d. 1720) and their son, William (d. 1702), currently located on the southern wall of the eastern bay of the chancel but formerly on the floor between the altar and altar rails. The black marble backing is likely to date to the 1862-3 restoration (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 194: The southern and western elevations of the third stage of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 195: The northern and eastern elevations of the third stage of the tower (Source: Author 2019).

Figure 196: The exposed ceiling of the first stage of the tower, showing the built-up areas of stonework around the central beams outlined in red (Source: Author 2019).

11.4Chapter 6 – Use and Experience

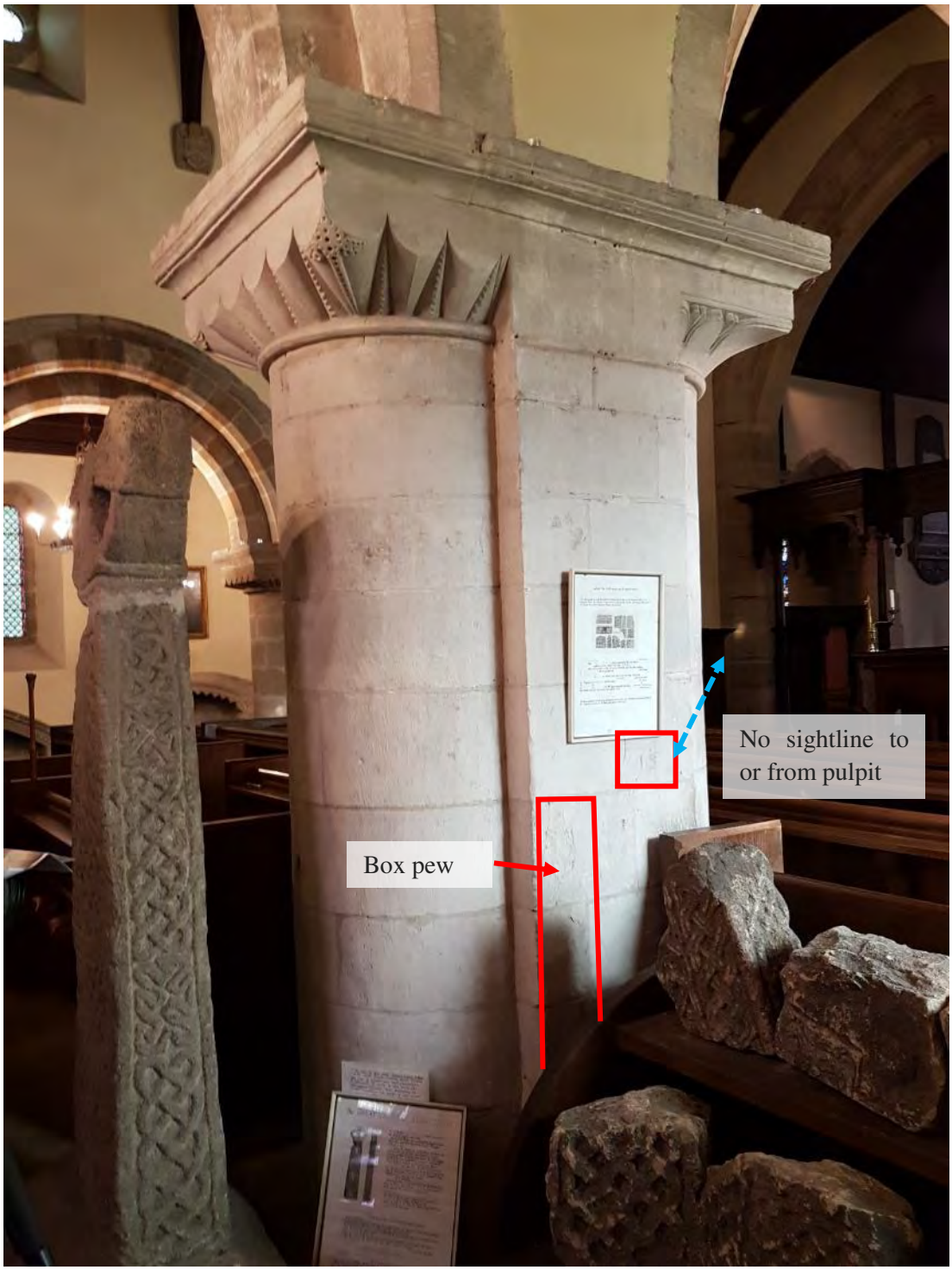


Figure 197: The southern side of the central pillar for the southern arcade (i.e. the pillar between the eastern and central bays of the southern nave wall), showing graffiti (I.S) to the east of the repaired fixings to the pier for what is thought to be a box pew (Source: Author 2019).

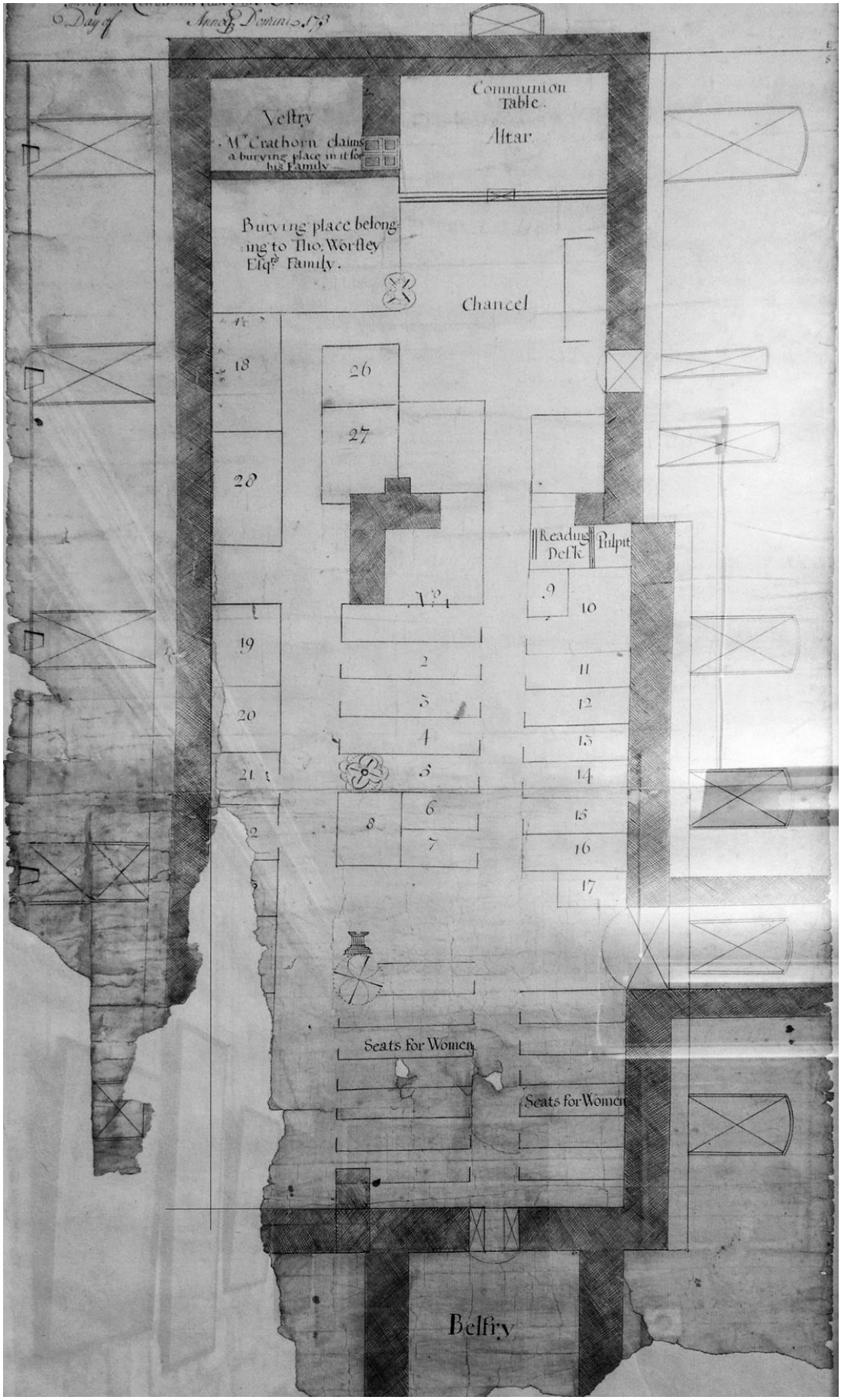


Figure 198: 1793 pew plan for nearby Hovingham church (Source: Worsley Archives ZON 17/3 in Smith 2014, 353).

11.5 Chapter 7 – Discussion

Figure 199: 1898 oil painting of the interior of St Mary's, Whitby, showing the galleries, box pews and three-decker pulpit, looking west (Source: WM WHITM:PEF248).

Figure 200: Photograph of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York, showing the box pews and double-decker pulpit, looking east (Source: Author 2019).

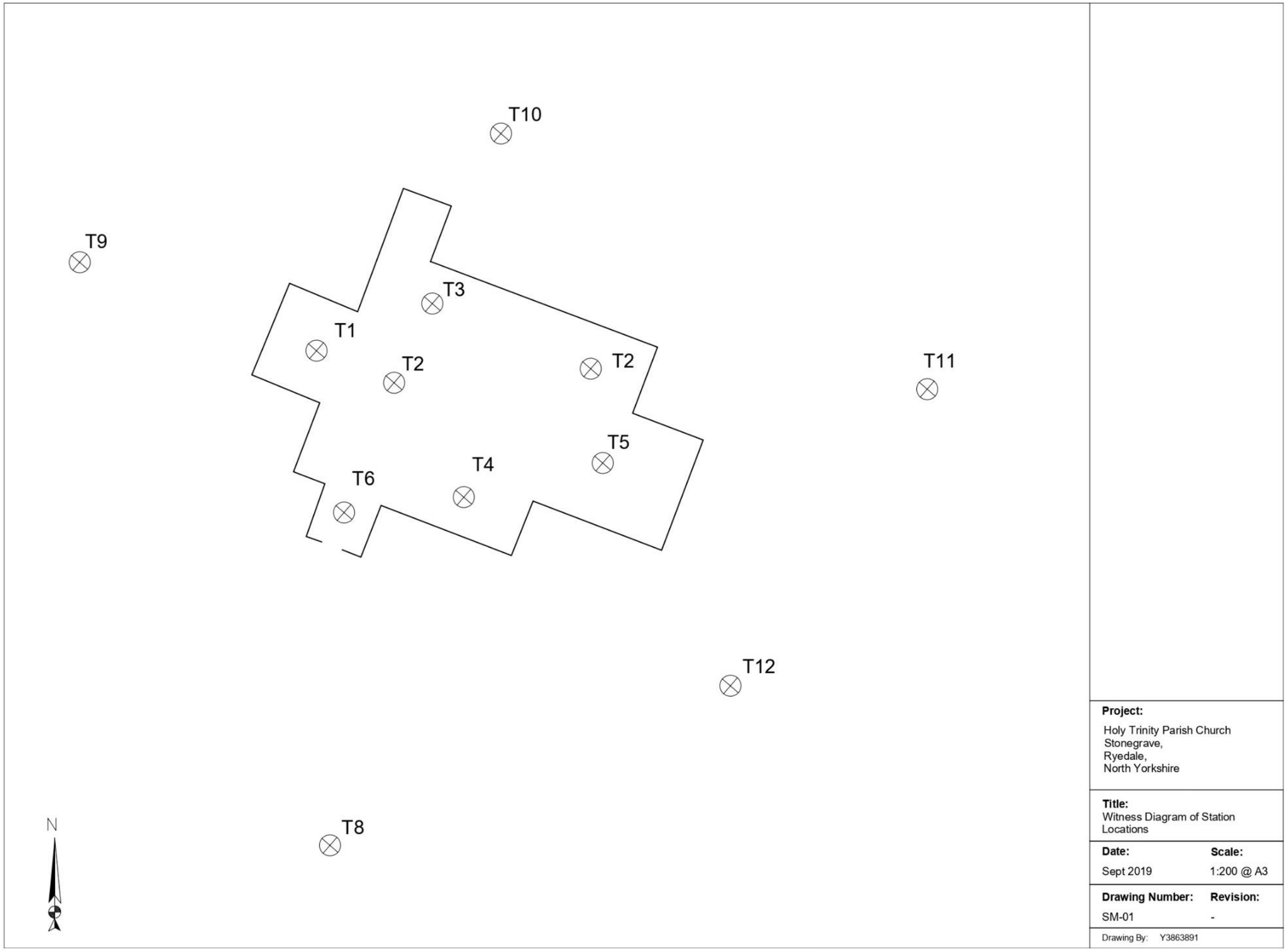
Figure 201: Photograph of the nave at Skelton Old Church, looking west, showing the c.1785 box pews, western gallery and three-decker pulpit with its tester (Source: Ross and Britain Express n.d.).

Figure 202: Photograph of the nave at St Ishow's Church, Partrishow, showing the scriptural texts and coat of arms (Source: Wright 2012a).

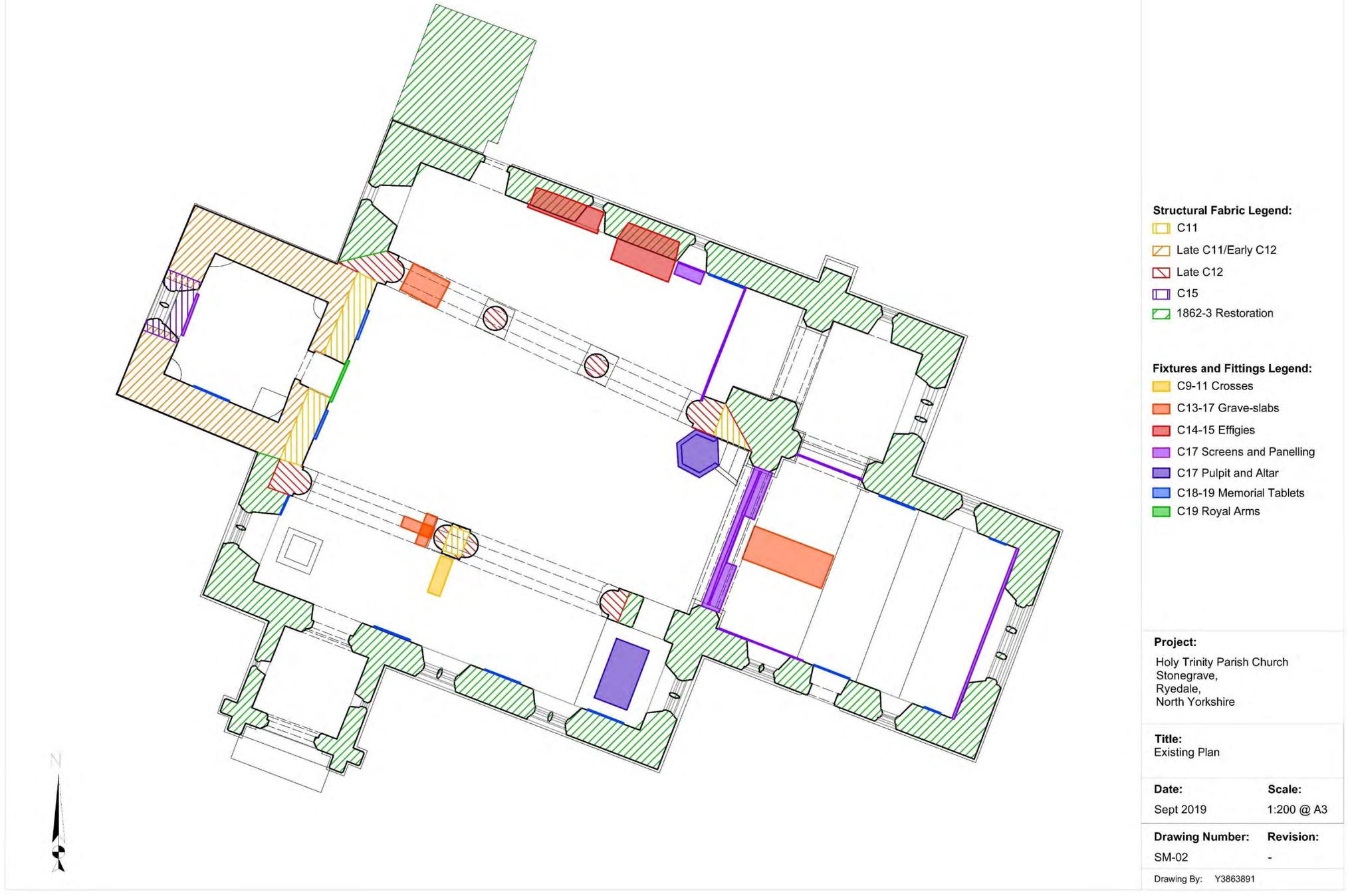
Figure 203: Photograph of the ‘time and death’ painting on the western wall of the nave at St Ishow's Church, Partrishow, holding an hourglass, spade and long knife (Source: Wright 2012b).

12 Appendix C – Plans

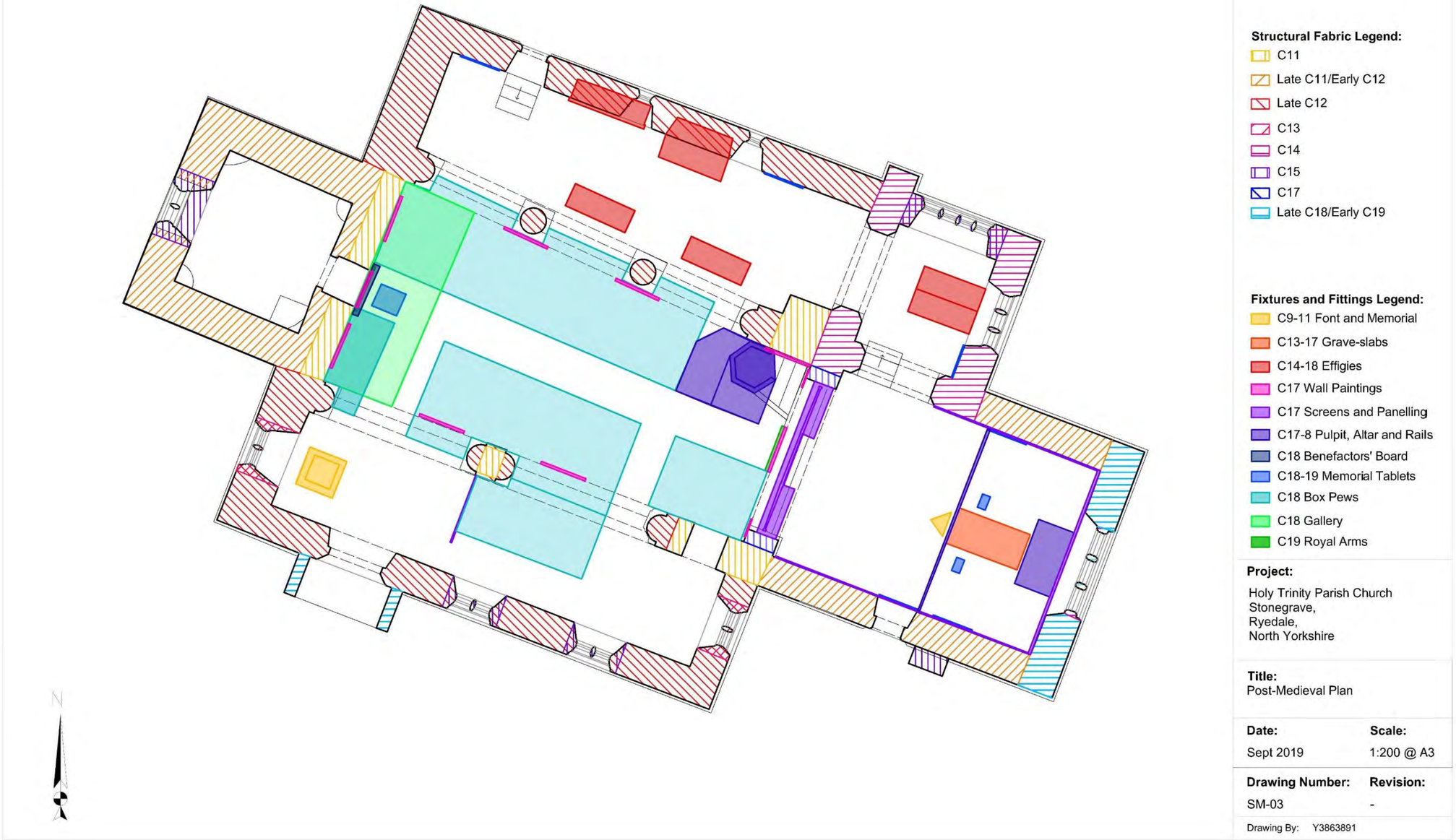
See Plans 1-8 on the proceeding pages.



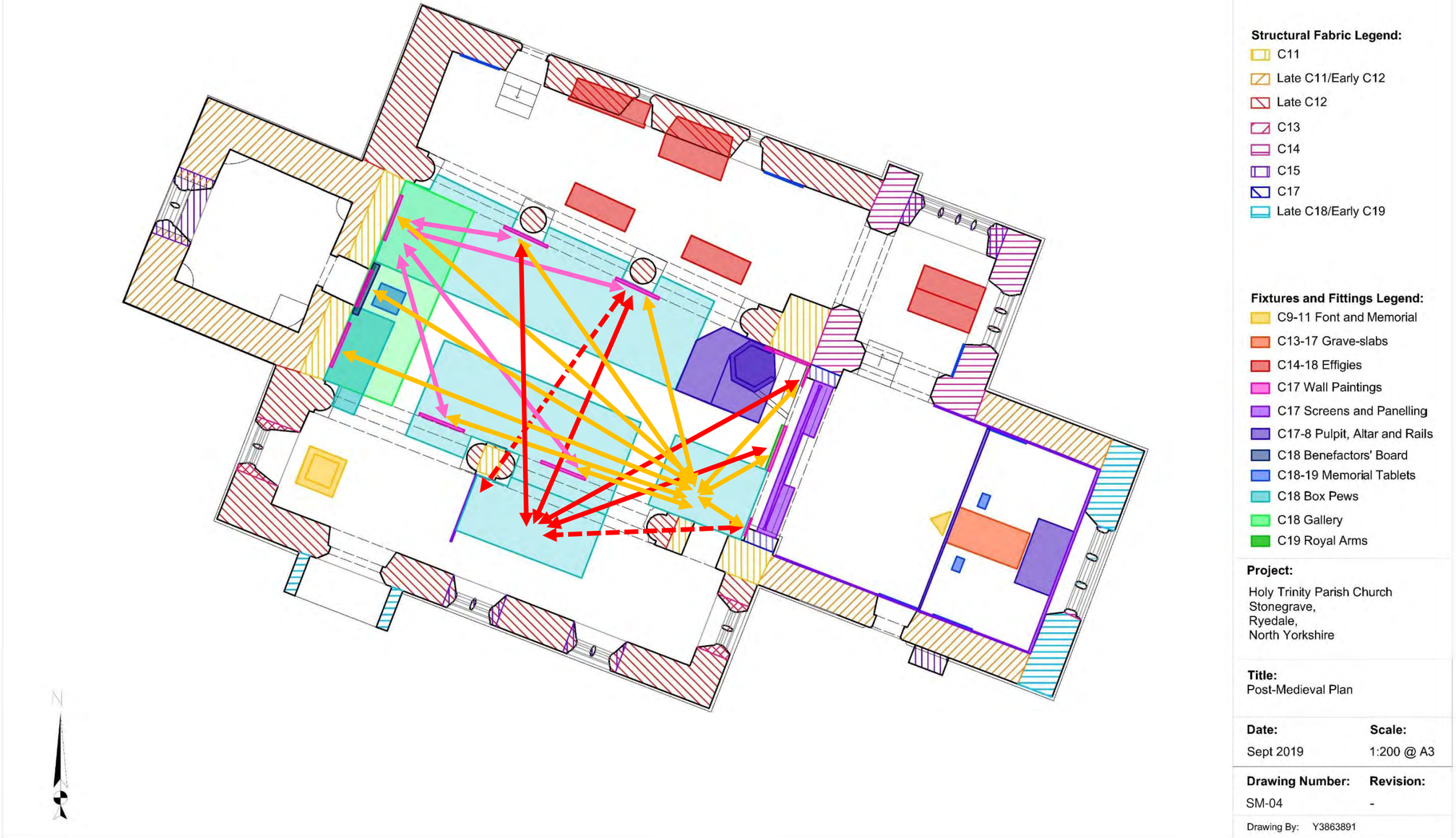
Plan 1: Witness diagram of Station Locations at Stonegrave Minster (Source: Author 2019).



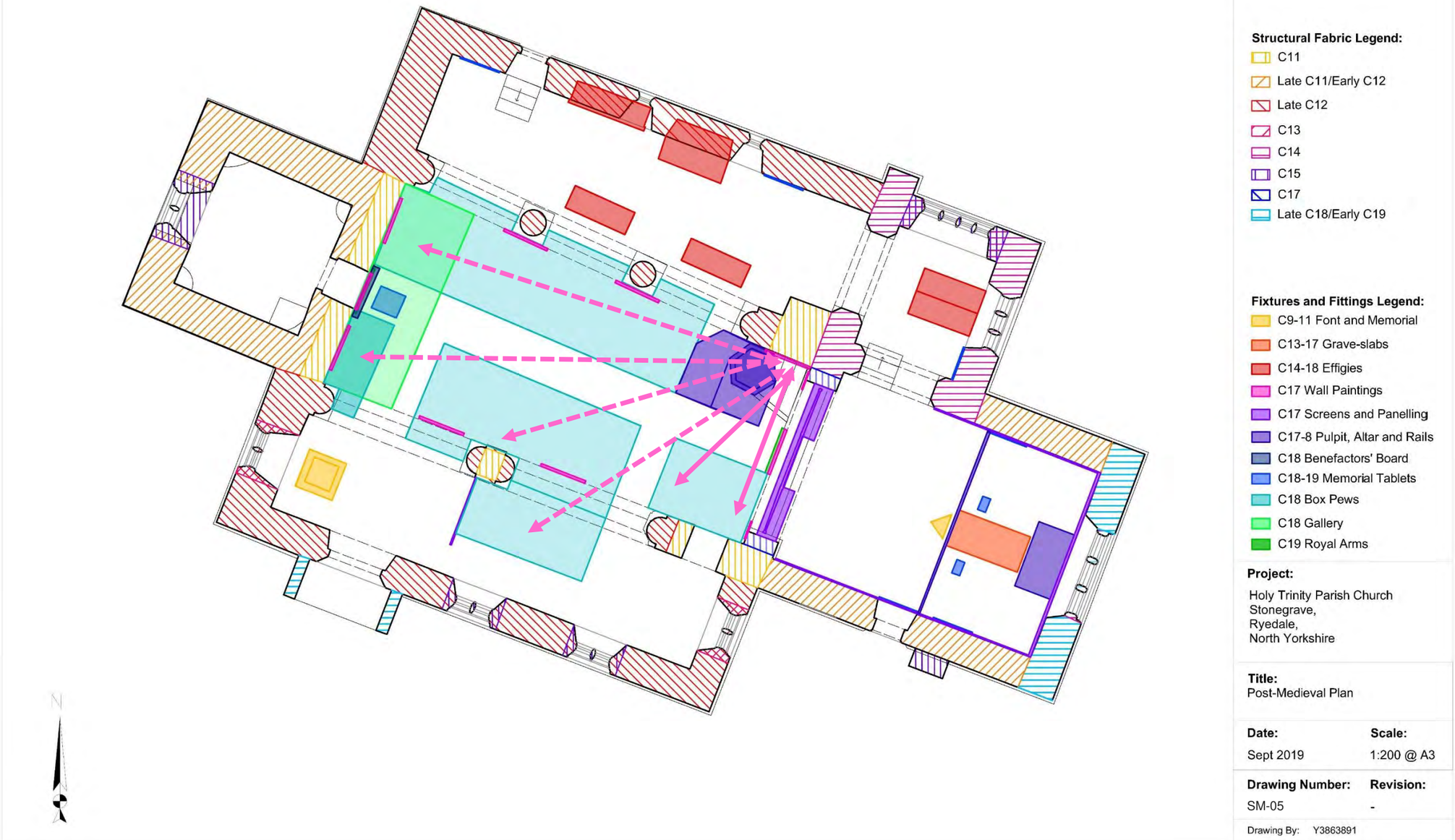
Plan 2: Phased plan of the extant church, showing structural fabric and retained fixtures. The Victorian fixtures, ceiling plan, clerestory and upper tower stages are excluded for clarity (Source: Author 2019).



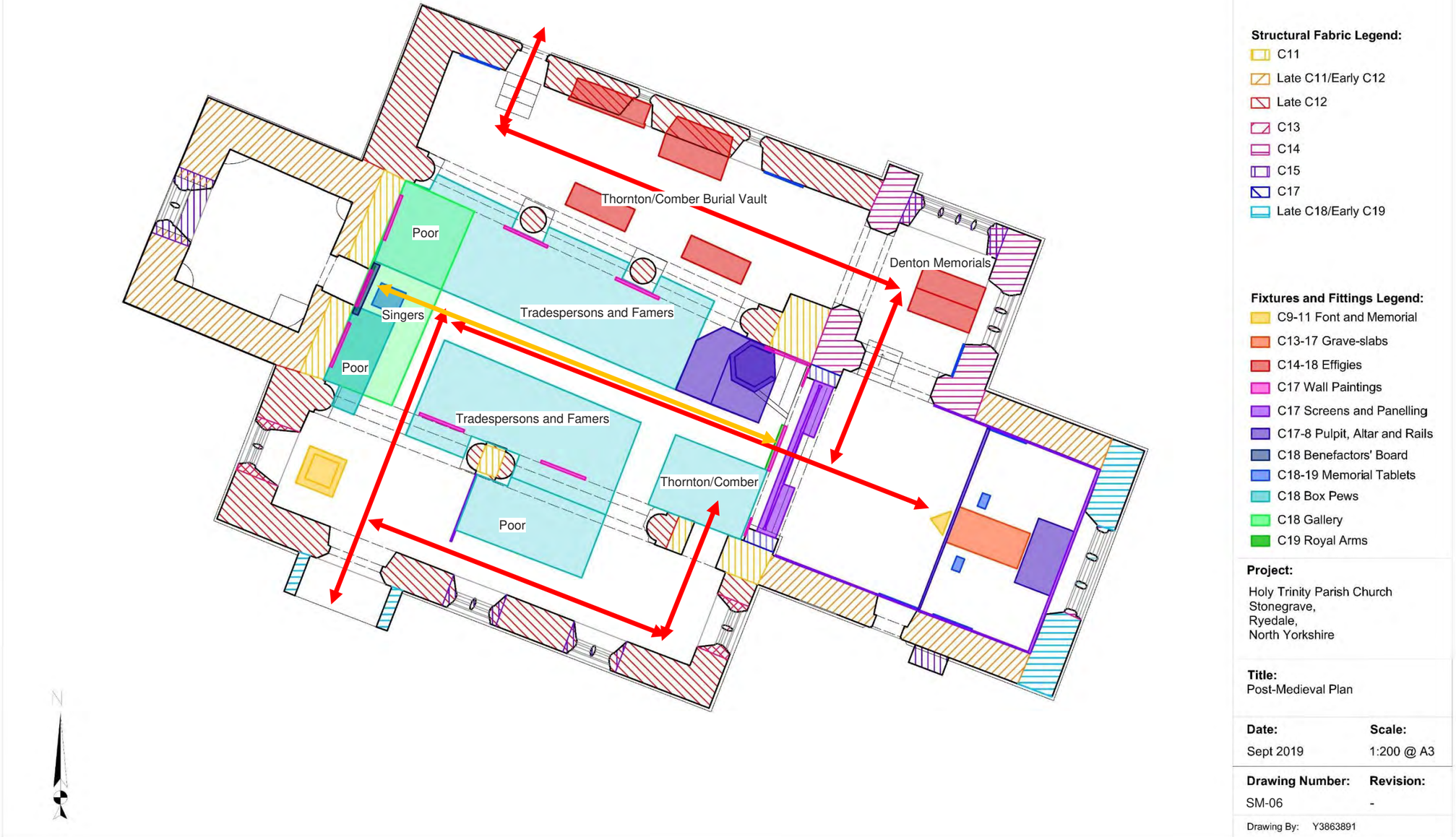
Plan 3: Phased plan of the Post-Medieval church, showing structural fabric, fixtures and fittings. The reflected ceiling plan, clerestory and upper stages of the tower are excluded for clarity (Source: Author 2019).



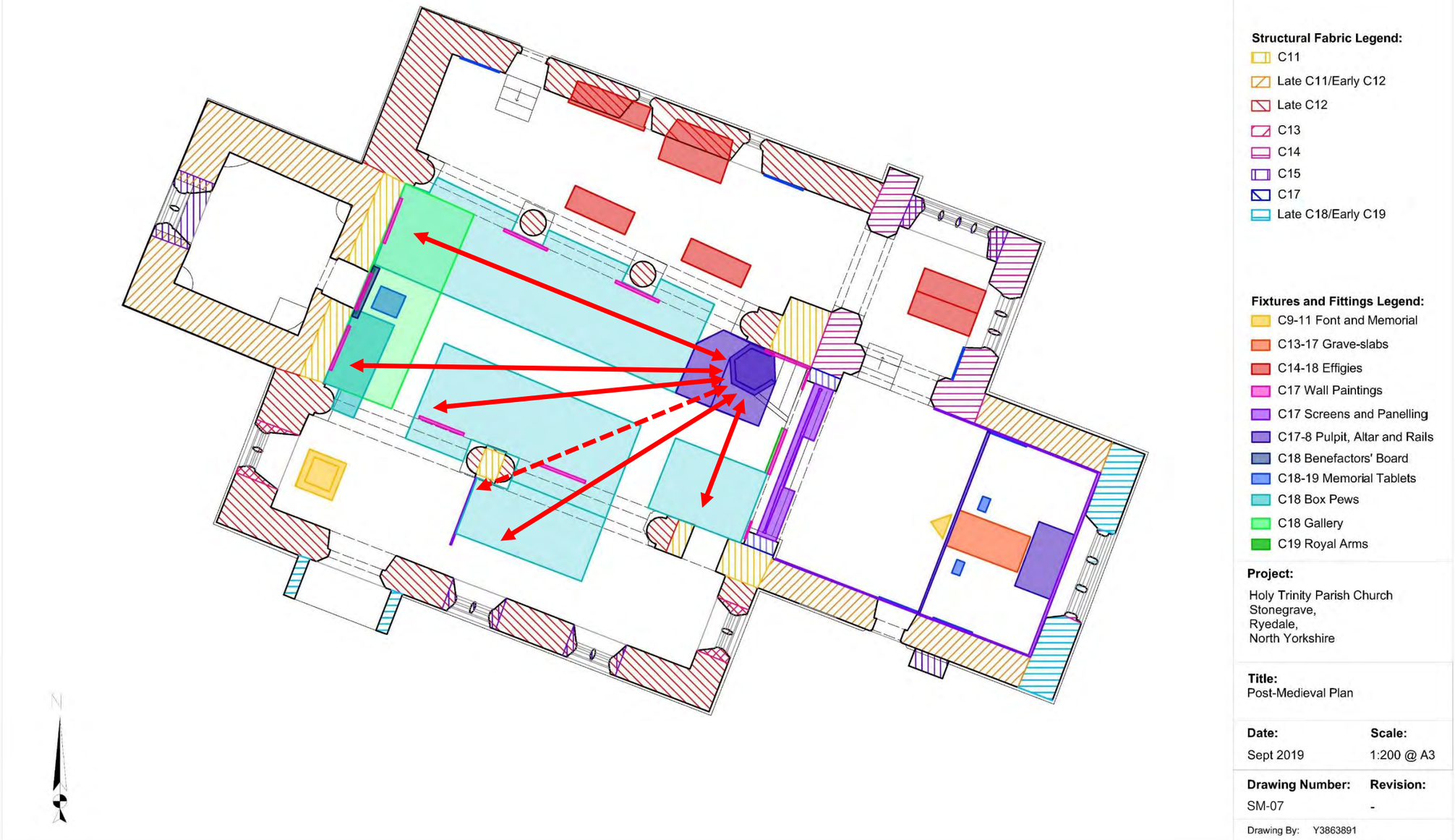
Plan 4: Sightlines from seating and Post-Medieval (C17) scriptural texts and decalogue: from the gallery (pink); Thornton pew (yellow); and south aisle (red). Obscured views are dashed (Source: Author 2019).



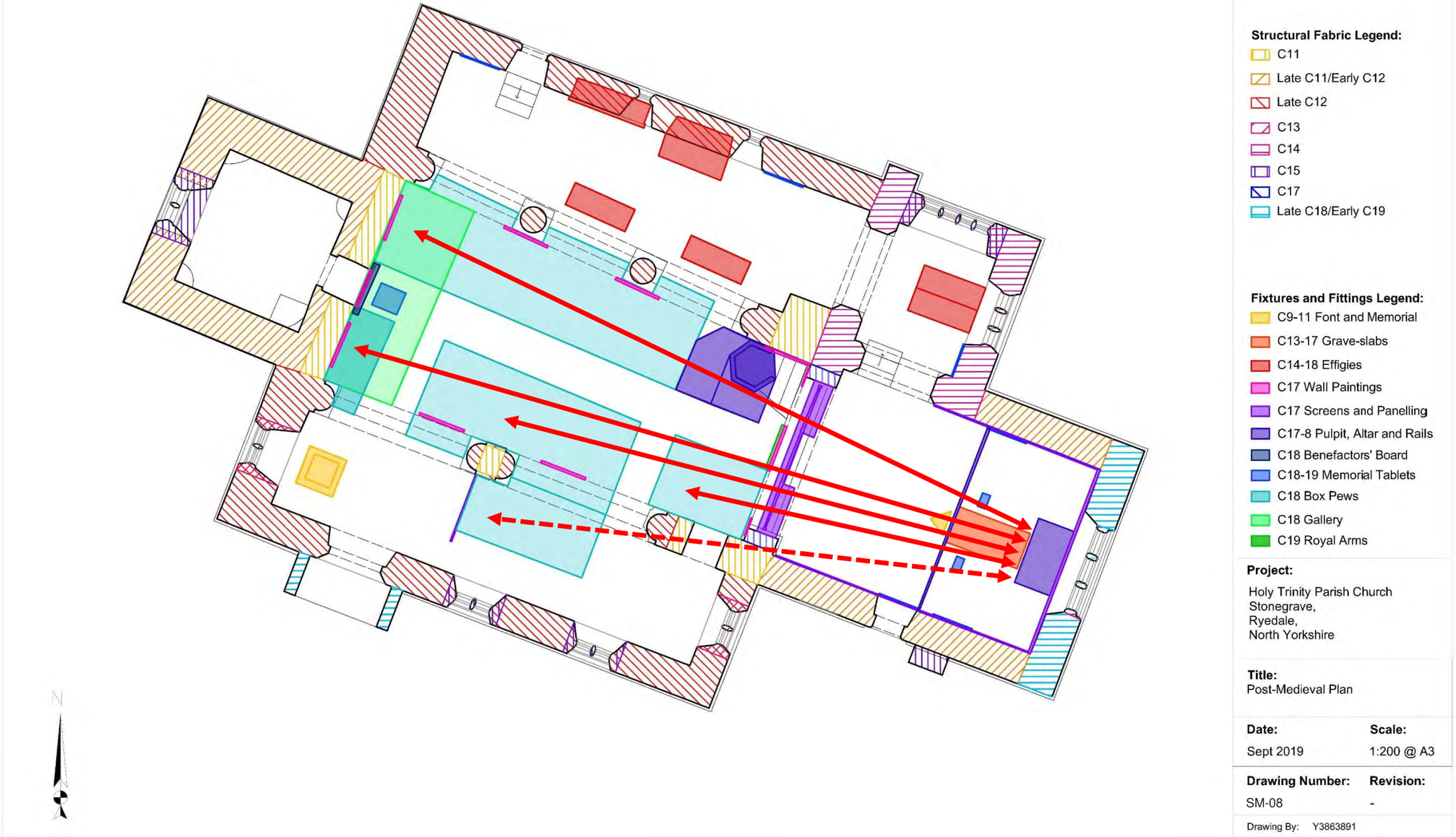
Plan 5: The Post-Medieval phase, showing sightlines between the seating and Thornton coat of arms (pink) in the north-eastern corner of the nave with obscured views dashed (Source: Author 2019).



Plan 6: Access routes (red) during access in the Post-Medieval church, as well as the view of the ‘time and death’ painting and, later, the benefactors’ board (yellow) (Source: Author 2019).



Plan 7: The Post-Medieval phase, showing sightlines between the seating and pulpit (red) with obscured views dashed, showing maximum supervision of the congregation (Source: Author 2019).



Plan 8: The Post-Medieval phase of Stonegrave Minster, showing sightlines between the seating and altar (red), with obscured views dashed (Source: Author 2019).