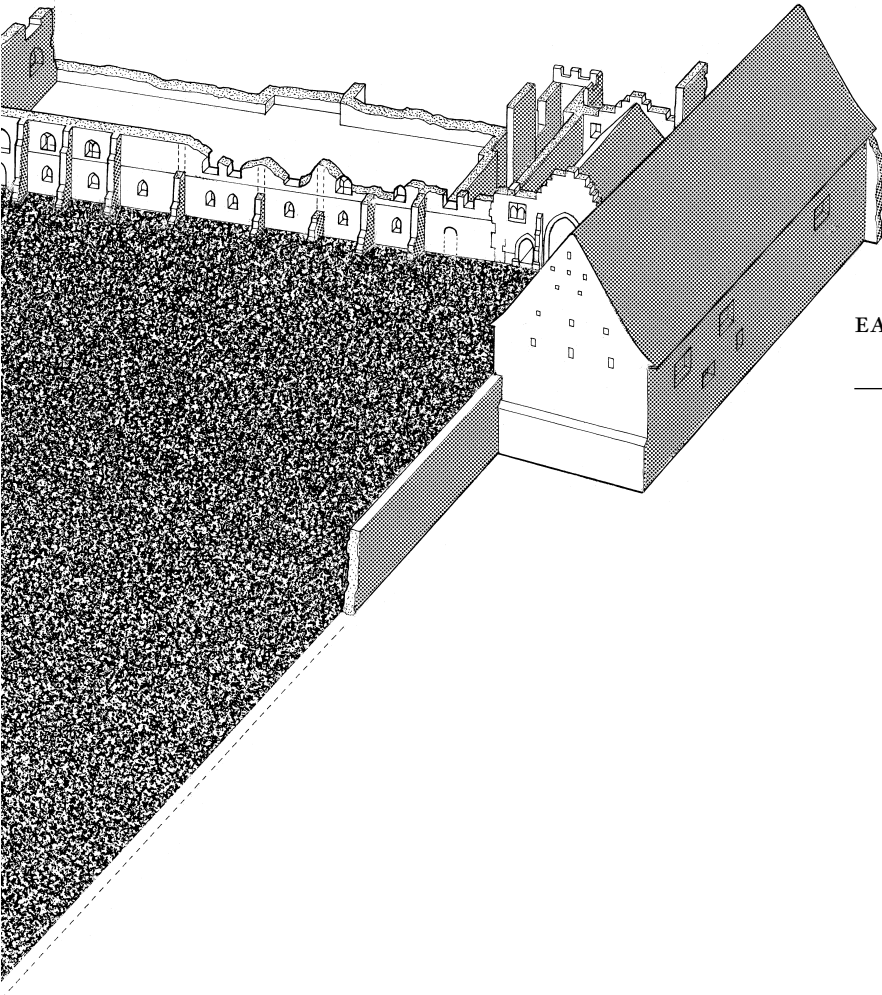

GREATER
MEDIEVAL
HOUSES OF
ENGLAND
AND WALES

1300–1500

Volume II

EAST ANGLIA, CENTRAL ENGLAND, AND WALES

ANTHONY EMERY



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EAST ANGLIA: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND



PLATE I King's Lynn: secular cup and cover, c.1340

EAST Anglia is the historical name for the early Anglo-Saxon kingdom encompassing Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeshire. More recently, the description has been extended to include most of Essex as it does here. These four counties encompass the most extensive area of lowland in England, bounded on the north and east by the North Sea and by drained fenland for much of its western edge north of Cambridge. It is a region of river valleys, occasionally interrupted by modest rising ground rather than low hills, with rivers separating Norfolk from Suffolk (Waveney and Little Ouse), Suffolk from Essex (Stour) and Essex from Kent (Thames). The bleak coastline was not such a military risk during the middle ages as in the south-east, but its considerable length facing north-west Europe encouraged the development of the local woollen and cloth trade which transformed East Anglia into the engine of the nation's prosperity during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The region is still primarily agricultural, densely farmed, and with few large towns. It is covered by a network of small dispersed villages, hamlets, and individual farms linked by narrow roads and green lanes. Though the region has a geographical, historical, and architectural unity, the medieval background of the counties warrants individual consideration to avoid smoothing out their richly textured development and complexity through broad generalisations.

NORFOLK

Norfolk is the fourth largest county in England and was the most densely populated during the later middle ages. It retains over 670 medieval churches, plus a further 250 that have been ruined or destroyed,¹ making it possible to see perhaps two or three towers from a single vantage point as you travel around the county. It has 700 villages and towns, 150 abandoned settlements, sixty-five monastic foundations, and over 400 greater or lesser estates and country houses from more recent times.² Yet of this considerable number of houses, only a handful or two show medieval evidence, all the more surprising in a still rural region.

Norfolk is a fertile, gently rolling, and relatively dry region – propitious conditions for arable farming, though the coastal lowland is frequently windswept and bitter in winter. The Fens hindered contact with the Midlands while the absence of any physical barrier southwards encouraged a stronger neighbourly link than usual. Norfolk and Suffolk have always formed an associated unit – historically as the kingdom (and later earldom) of the East Angles and, after the Conquest, as a single see based at Norwich.

By the late thirteenth century, Norfolk was one of the most prosperous regions in Britain. It supported a substantial population, on a strong agricultural base (notably arable), with a complex social

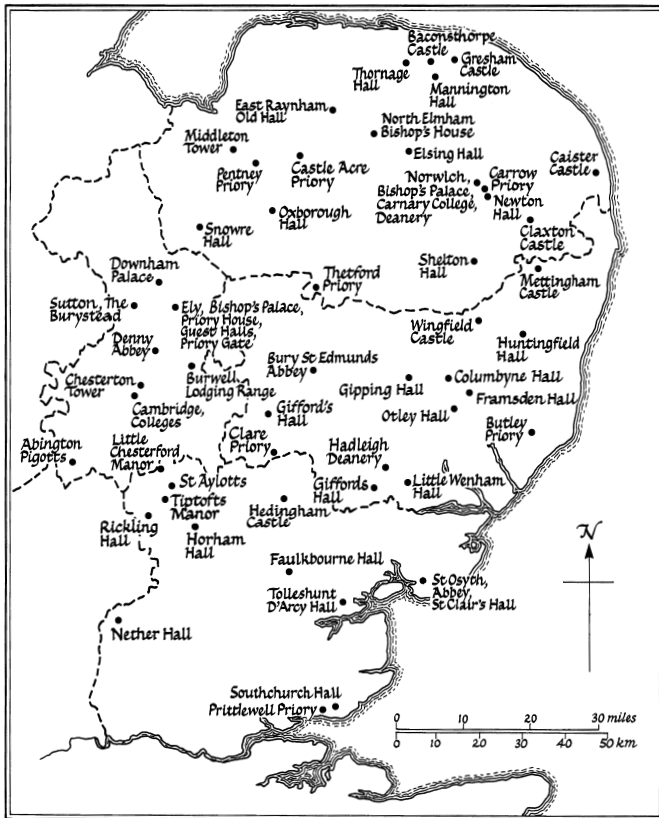


FIGURE 2 East Anglia: residences described in the text

and tenurial structure, and over 100 small towns and market communities. These settlements, most densely distributed in the centre, south and east of the county where the population was largest, had been stimulated by innovative agricultural practices and the development of worsted manufacture during the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly with the introduction of new skills after the arrival of Flemish weavers.³

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn were as prosperous and as populous as Norwich. Although navigational restrictions badly affected the subsequent fortunes of the two ports, there is considerable evidence that both Norwich and the county had recovered from the Black Death and a sequence of poor harvests before the close of the fourteenth century. This prosperity paid for the regional rebuilding or extension of Norwich's many churches, with a particular burst of activity between 1470 and 1530 which saw it become one of the five leading provincial towns in the kingdom. It was the largest walled town in England with forty towers and twelve gates, built between 1297 and 1344, and today encloses more medieval parish churches than any town in Europe with thirty-one still surviving out of fifty-six.⁴ Yet despite this widespread prosperity across the region, few early houses have survived. It has been estimated that there were at least 1,400 manor houses in Norfolk in 1316,⁵ though this impressive number begs the question as to their size, function, and standing. Yet only a dozen or so major residences pre-date the Tudor period with a similar number retaining less extensive structural evidence.

The reason for this paucity is often attributed to the dearth of quality building stone and recourse to timber as the alternative building material until the advent of brick in the mid-fifteenth century.⁶ Only the wealthiest magnates could afford to bring stone from Normandy – as William d'Albini did for his keep at Castle Rising – or stone from Barnack – as the monks did for Norwich cathedral priory, and the prior of Castle Acre for his lodging. Except for carstone near Hunstanton, flint and pebbles are the only available materials, particularly in north and central Norfolk, and this severely limited the range of workmanship and decoration. Yet this did not hinder the construction of the many hundreds of churches. The absence of larger-scale secular residences before the second quarter of the fifteenth century lies not in the absence of suitable building materials but in the physical character, the tenurial development, and the later prosperity of the region.

Norfolk is divided physically by a north–south line separating the slightly elevated chalk ridgeland of the west from the river valleys and lowland plateau of the Yare and Wensum and their tributaries to the east. This north–south watershed tends to delineate the area of water-retentive claylands in central and south-east Norfolk, with better drained soils in the north-east, and the area of lighter soils to the north and west. In historical terms, this division also separates the more populous river valleys and regions of open land, pastoral farming, and small landowners in the east from the area of more intensive arable activity, post-medieval enclosures, and large estates towards the west.

Domesday Book shows that Norfolk did not have the dominant manorial structure of the Midlands but a large number of free tenants, particularly in the centre and east, a dispersed pattern of settlement, and a poorly regulated open-field system.⁷ Pre-Conquest developments led to the later conditions of a particularly complex manorial pattern with the greater number of settlements fragmented between several owners and a multiplicity of manorial houses varying greatly in size.⁸ Many of them were isolated thereby making requests for a chaplain or a licence to hear mass in a house more understandable than in the south-east. The houses at Elsing, Shelton and Wingfield, for instance, are still half a mile or more from church or village. It was only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that substantial blocks of land were amassed in the hands of leading landowners to create the major estates of the north and west, and the much smaller ones in the east and south.⁹

The county lacked the regulated villages of the Midlands so that lordship was weak and dispersed, particularly on the central and south-east claylands. After the Conquest, the d'Albinis had settled at Buckenham and Castle Rising and the Warennes at Castle Acre, but the division of the Albini inheritance in 1243 and the preference of the Warenne earls of Surrey for their south-eastern estates and national politics meant intermittent or absentee lordship.¹⁰ The few large estates of medieval Norfolk were either in the hands of such absentees or were held by the church with its grip on a sixth of all the manors in the county. It was not until the fifteenth century that this pattern began to change with the rise of the gentry, the amalgamation of manors, and the abandonment of many earlier sites, particularly moated ones. Cutting across these long-term trends were more immediate political upheavals, dominated during the middle of the century by the struggle for local supremacy between the de la Pole dukes of Suffolk, as supporters of Henry VI, and the Mowbray dukes of Norfolk who joined the Yorkists in

1461.¹¹ All other major landowners were secondary such as Lord Scales at Middleton Tower near King's Lynn, and his son-in-law, Anthony Wydvill, Earl Rivers. Other peers – for example, the swift succession of holders of the Morley title or the briefly held Lord Bardolf, and knights such as Sir John Clinton and Sir Brian Stapleton – left little permanent mark, though Sir John Fastolf of Caister Castle was an outstanding exception. But what Norfolk possessed in abundance were gentlemen.

There is documentary evidence for a considerable number of gentry families as far back as the later thirteenth century. In an assessment based on the gentry list of 1433 given in Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England* (1662), it is considered that of the 400 people named, ten were knights, seventy-eight were esquires and sixty-eight were gentlemen.¹² A calculation for 1481 considered that there were at least 120 'gentlemen' (including esquires) in Norfolk, a figure 'that is certainly too low'¹³ while the estimate had risen to 180 by 1525.¹⁴ Residential evidence survives for five of the six most highly assessed landowners in this Tudor listing: Sir Roger Townshend (East Raynham Old Hall), Sir John Heydon (Baconsthorpe Castle), Sir William Paston (Caister Castle), Sir Thomas Bedingfield (Oxburgh Hall), and Sir John Shelton (Shelton Hall). Nor were the 180 gentlemen listed evenly distributed across the county but concentrated in the more fertile east and north-east, though earlier generations had been more prominent in the south-east.¹⁵

One economic factor cutting across this landowning pattern was the growth of the textile industry bringing considerable prosperity to the wool dealers (who lived in the rural areas) and even greater financial rewards to the merchants in the towns who sold the wool and cloth to the Netherlands. Yet, unlike in Wiltshire or Somerset, the cloth industry did not give rise to large houses obviously built on the profits of wool or cloth. Caister Castle and possibly Middleton Tower were raised on the fortunes of war, Baconsthorpe Castle, East Raynham Hall, Snowre Hall, and the properties of the Paston and Bacon families on the fruits of law, Felbrigg Hall, Kimberley Hall, and Oxburgh Hall on the rewards of royal service, while Elsing Hall was the consequence of a profitable marriage. The wool trade accounts for several of the eighteen elite houses identified so far in Norwich,¹⁶ but hardly any country mansions were similarly resourced. Sheep farming was secondary to Sir Thomas Lestrange at Hunstanton Hall and even more so to Sir Roger Townshend at East Raynham since his legal practice brought in the bulk of his income; however, sheep farming grew in importance under his son and was particularly significant to his contemporary, Sir John Heydon.¹⁷

As Norfolk's economic prosperity developed between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries through more intensive development of arable as well as pastoral practices, so rebuilding flourished in a more modish style. This coincided with the introduction of brick, an attractive, flexible, and rapidly fashionable material, which worked against the survival of earlier properties as at Middleton Tower and Hunstanton Hall in the mid to late fifteenth century and at Blickling Hall, Merton Hall, and Raynham Hall in the early seventeenth century. This latter period also witnessed the practice of earlier properties being swallowed up by larger estates. Fincham Hall (c.1510) was embraced by the Hares of Stow Bardolph in 1620, Barnham Broom (c.1510–30) by the Wodehouses of Kimberley in 1644, Mannington Hall (c.1460) by the Walpoles of Wolterton Hall



PLATE 2 Hunstanton Hall: gatehouse frontage

in 1736, and Snowre Hall (c.1480) and Denver Hall (c.1520) by the Pratts of Ryston Hall shortly afterwards. In such circumstances, smaller properties became tenanted farms or fell into disrepair.

The development of so many estates in Norfolk between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries inevitably led to the destruction of many earlier houses. Felbrigg has been rebuilt three times and Kimberley four times on as many different sites. The rebuilding of Kenninghall was begun in 1524 by Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk on a scale that vied with Wolsey's Hampton Court, while Heydon Hall (1581–4) was rebuilt by Henry Dynne on a site already occupied by his family for over 160 years. Early in the next century, Sir Henry Hobart cleared away most of the medieval dwelling at Blickling, just as Sir Roger Townshend did at Raynham and Thomas Windham at Felbrigg. There was no lessening in the rebuilding habits of later generations, even on smaller estates such as at Attleborough Hall, Claxton Castle, and Gissing Hall. In all these examples, early evidence survives, usually as cellars or re-used walling; at Raynham, however, the remains of the Old Hall stand close to the church. The Victorians usually preferred to incorporate a more visible reminder of a house's earlier origins in their

reconstruction programmes for example, at Ashwellthorpe (1831), St Mary's Hall, Wiggenhall St Mary (1864), and Ingham Old Hall (1904). Norfolk has also had more than its fair share of demolished or gutted properties including Gresham Castle (1318–1449) and Roydon Hall (c.1430–54), East Harling Hall (c.1490 to early nineteenth century), Hunstanton Hall (c.1480 burnt in 1853 and 1950), Beaupré Hall (c.1510 until 1966), Heydon's Hall near Holt (c.1520–1901), and the hall and kitchen at Oxburgh Hall pulled down in 1775.

SUFFOLK

The undemonstrative landscape of south Norfolk blends into that of north Suffolk, maintaining the unbroken pattern of numerous villages, dispersed settlements, and few large towns. Twentieth-century farming has converted much of its field pattern of quality arable land into prairie-like acres with diminishing evidence of the region's heaths, wetlands, and woodlands. Most of Suffolk is still a tangle of byways, frequently opening into greens and commons, marked by flint-towered churches and quietly reserved inhabitants.

Suffolk is primarily chalk country, too soft to be a viable building material, with London clay underlying the lower reaches of the rivers Orwell and Stour. The surface soils give Suffolk its threefold landscape division: the lighter soils and arid character of north-west Breckland giving way to the Fens, the more densely populated boulder clays of central Suffolk (High Suffolk) extending from the south-west to the north-east, and the sandy coastal belt with its unstable coastline.

The county is not generously endowed with building materials. There is virtually no freestone. Chalk can be converted into lime for mortar but it needs quality stone protection to be an adequate building material. If this is stripped away, it leaves crags of vacuous clunch as at Weeting 'castle' and the abbey church at Bury St Edmunds. Flint has been the characteristic building material throughout the centuries, usually random coursed for it needs to be knapped to give it character. Clay was occasionally extracted in the south for brick making (Little Wenham Hall c.1265–80) and was used for tiles rather than thatch in the most prestigious buildings. As in Norfolk, timber must have been used extensively for housing, including high quality buildings from as early as the mid-thirteenth century (Great Bricett Farm). Yet Suffolk was not as densely wooded in the later middle ages as might be imagined from its church roofs and fittings, barns, and timber-framed houses. It was less wooded than many counties, with the most of the woodland to be found in the south-west, so necessitating the importation of much housing timber.¹⁸

Suffolk was dominated throughout the twelfth and for most of the thirteenth centuries by the Bigod earls of Norfolk, until 1307 when the death of the 7th earl saw his estates being passed to the king. Seven years later, the powerful house of Clare came to an end with the death of the 7th earl of Gloucester, leaving the lordship of Clare in the hands of his powerful sister. There were no comparable political figures until the close of the century when Thomas, Lord Mowbray was elevated to the dukedom of Norfolk and the Bigod inheritance based on Framlingham and Bungay castles, while the Clare inheritance had descended to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and heir presumptive to the crown. They had been joined by an *arriviste* from Hull, Michael de la Pole, who had married the Wingfield heiress and whose family exercised an influence out of



PLATE 3 Wingfield Castle: gatehouse and south-west tower

proportion to their estates or power-base at Wingfield Castle. Though Pole fled the country in 1387, March died in 1398, and Mowbray was banished in 1399, it was their successors who dominated power-politics for most of the next century.

The Paston Letters painted a vivid picture of East Anglian life during the fifteenth century, one that has held sway as a reflection of a lawless society until relatively recently. However, the extent of the violence and social disorder and the imbalance created by putting too much credence on the Paston correspondence is being heavily questioned.¹⁹ There was little disorder in East Anglia during Henry VI's reign, while the influence of the duchy of Lancaster estates in Norfolk gave the crown stability, prestige, and support in the region and provided many of the county officials.²⁰ Henry and his successor turned to the magnates rather than the local gentry to support the maintenance of order, but though some of the officials could be tyrannical, East Anglian society was not markedly more violent during this period than elsewhere.²¹ Even so, William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, dominated regional politics between his return from France in 1432 and his execution in 1450, subverting the law to his own ends during the ineffectual rule of Henry VI. Pole's hold over the king and his position in Council allowed him and his supporters (such as John Heydon of Baconsthorpe and Lord Scales of Middleton) an overwhelming degree of regional control, usurping the rôle of the far greater Mowbray landowner at Framlingham Castle. The fierce rivalry between Pole and the younger John Mowbray, 3rd duke of Norfolk, and their followers threatened at times to sink into large-scale violence.²²

Pole's death in 1450 coincided with the rise of the earl of March, later duke of York, through the Mortimer house of Clare. Aristocratic feuding continued unabated, though it has not yet been established whether this reached a higher pitch immediately before the collapse of the Lancastrian dynasty than in the 1420s or the

1440s, particularly as violence was a vital factor in establishing a person's position in the social hierarchy of a region.²³ The question of how far such feuding affected the broader level of gentry and gentlemen lower down the social scale is currently the subject of much discussion, with the Pastons' voluble support for the duke of York redressed by Colin Richmond's study of the quietly independent country gentleman, John Hopton, from Blythburgh.²⁴

The very considerable wealth of late medieval Suffolk is far more obvious in its 500 churches than its surviving houses. The 1334 lay subsidy shows that Suffolk was not as prosperous or as income generating as Norfolk, though the poll tax return of 1377 puts Suffolk among the higher populated regions of the country,²⁵ rising to fourth equal with Essex by 1524. Before the Black Death, Suffolk was one of the most intensely farmed and economically advanced regions in England. From the late thirteenth century this position was enhanced further by the nascent cloth industry, which developed around the Stour valley and its tributaries. Whereas the Norwich-centred industry of fine worsted cloth reached its zenith in the late fourteenth century and was in decline for a time during the mid-fifteenth century, the Suffolk industry suffered less through its production of baize and kerseys. The county produced more cloth than any other region in England in the 1470s, peaking about half a century later, until its decline with the introduction of lighter cloths under Elizabeth I. It is in this manufacturing field and the prevalence of timber-framed houses that south Suffolk had the strongest links with the adjacent parts of Essex.

Until the fifteenth century, over three-quarters of Suffolk manors were in secular hands with the remainder held by the church, particularly the abbeys of Bury St Edmunds and Ely. Because 750 moated sites have been identified in Suffolk, it has been conjectured that there were over 1,000 manor houses in medieval Suffolk.²⁶ As in Norfolk, the number of major houses was far smaller, mainly sited away from settlements in the south and south-west with more towards the north-east. There were few houses of any size in the heathland towards Thetford or the coastal sandlings.

Few large houses were built in Suffolk during the first half of the fifteenth century and the situation only recovered during the third quarter. Lawlessness and feuding may have contributed to this era of uncertainty at the higher levels of society but it was more the result of reduced levels of wealth and depopulation throughout the region.²⁷ This was only reversed with the improved output of the cloth industry, particularly from about 1470 onwards, the re-invigoration of coastal and overseas trade, and the development of larger agricultural holdings.

As in Norfolk, many early homes were rebuilt or replaced during the affluent sixteenth century. Helmingham Hall is a rebuilding from c.1511 by Lionel Tollemache of the timber-framed hall of the Creke family. Hengrave Hall was new built in 1525 on the moated site of the Hemegraves. Moat Hall, Parham, the double-moated home of the Willoughbys from the fourteenth century was rebuilt in c.1530 as was Badmond'sfield Hall, Wickhambrook. Crow's Hall was a mid-sixteenth-century development within the earlier moated complex, while the late eighteenth-century mansion at Ickworth replaced a thirteenth-century manor house, extended from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.²⁸

Late medieval houses in Suffolk are not as numerous as those in Norfolk and are generally smaller. Helmingham compares with Oxburgh in area but not in scale or workmanship, neither in its

Tudor nor its mid-Georgian phases. However, even the most modest house may have formerly been one of greater substance. The rear of Rishangles Lodge near Thorndon incorporates early woodwork which may date back to after c.1421 when Edward Grimston moved from east Yorkshire to Suffolk as a retainer of the de la Poles. He was employed by the crown to negotiate with the Burgundians in the mid-1440s when his portrait was painted in Bruges by Petrus Christus, a leading follower of van Eyck.²⁹ This coolly cerebral portrait in a domestic setting is not only the earliest surviving portrait of an English gentleman, but it indicates an aspect of Grimston's standing and achievement that is no longer reflected in his house.

It is all too easy to attribute the bounty of magnificent late medieval churches across Suffolk to the cloth industry, helped by the visible contributions of the Sprynges at Lavenham, the Cloptons at Long Melford, and other clothiers between Clare and East Bergholt. Yet Needham Market was built under the aegis of a mid-fifteenth-century bishop of Ely, career soldiers from the Hundred Years' War contributed to Dennington, Stowlangtoft, and Westhorpe churches, while the coastal fishing and trading industry was responsible for those at Beccles, Blythburgh, Lowestoft, and Southwold. More research is needed to determine the economic basis for the larger houses of Suffolk. In the case of Sir John Howard, his income was derived in the 1460s from his estates, the wool from over a thousand sheep, and from his trading vessels. He was a substantial shipowner with at least ten recorded vessels compared, for instance, with the seventeen of William Canynge of Bristol. All these sources contributed to the upkeep of his substantial residence and household at Tendring Hall in the village of Stoke by Nayland. The house has gone but his financial memoranda have survived, an important survey of a major household covering all aspects of the family and his lifestyle between 1462–71 and 1481–3.³⁰

Sir John was a servant of Edward IV who was appointed Treasurer of the Household in the 1460s, created a baron in 1470, became a leading supporter of Richard III who created him duke of Norfolk, and was a casualty of Bosworth Field. Though gentry, he was one of the richest men in East Anglia with an income of £500 per annum in the 1460s (when he held twenty-two manors), and £700 per annum in the 1470s (when he held thirty-three manors).³¹ In 1465, the household numbered 110 members (only seven were women), a scale more appropriate to a baron than a knight. Tendring Hall was furnished with tapestries, some embroidered with the Norfolk badge, and one with the story of 'patient Griselda'. Beds and cushions were purchased for the family, new windows were inserted in the private quarters in 1465, and two new chimney pieces were shipped from London. When Howard went on an expedition to Scotland in 1481, he insisted on taking with him all his home comforts. Thus he took carpets, curtains, sheets, towels, napkins, tablecloths, featherbeds, bowls of silver and glass goblets. He also packed twelve books, light romances and chivalric stories, and his chessmen. Back at home he had choristers to sing in the chapel that he built in the 1480s, complete with an organ. There was a harpist in his household in 1465 and possibly a troupe of minstrels by 1482.³² Howard had a large family of six children by his first wife and a further daughter by his second who brought to Tendring her own three children and a step-daughter by previous marriages. Even so, much of the food for his family and household

came from his own estates round Stoke by Nayland, some near Giffords Hall which developed at this time on a scale comparable to Tendring and which still survives splendidly two miles away.

ESSEX

The landscape of Essex maintains the low relief of Norfolk and Suffolk. The rivers all drain in a south-easterly direction to the estuarine coast, with large areas of coastal marshland, some of it reclaimed in comparatively recent times. Most of central and north-west Essex lies on boulder clay, approximately divided by the line of the A12 road from the more impervious London clay of the south and south-east.

Far more than Suffolk, medieval Essex was heavily wooded with oak, ash, and lime, most densely in the south-west. It was only free of woodland towards the coast and the Thames estuary, and in the north-west where the open-field system of the Midlands was practised. Forest and marsh were major obstacles to economic development so that much of the middle ages is the story of the clearance of the one and the drainage of the other. The royal forest of Essex covered a huge area until 1301 when Edward I limited its boundaries and people began to speak of its constituent parts – the forest of Harlow, the forest of Epping, the forest of Waltham, and so on. Clearance had gone on throughout the thirteenth century but the practice escalated during the fourteenth. The imprint is still visible in the remains of Waltham and Hatfield forests and in the clearance pattern further north (with later enclosure) leading to a fertile landscape, isolated farmhouses, scattered settlements, and winding lanes.³³ The clearance of the Thames marshland and some of the coastal fringe, particularly by the monastic houses, created good pastureland for sheep.³⁴

During the second quarter of the fourteenth century, wool exports from north Essex and south-west Suffolk declined in favour of cloth manufacturing based on local centres such as Braintree, Coggeshall, Colchester (a staple town), Dedham, and Halstead in Essex, and East Bergholt, Sudbury, Lavenham, and Glemsford in Suffolk. Essex was eighteenth out of thirty-seven counties returning poll tax returns in 1377, with the majority of the population residing in central and northern parts of the county. This was a region of smallholders throughout the later middle ages.³⁵ Furthermore, the more densely populated area carried an unusually high proportion of wage labourers and rural craftsmen residing in the countryside compared with other parts of England.³⁶ Forest and marsh clearance, combined with the nascent cloth industry and the cutlery industry at Thaxted during the second half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century led to population growth, an expansion in farming, the development of local trade, and the establishment of small towns. By the close of the period, the rural-based cloth making industry of north-east Essex and south-west Suffolk had become the premier cloth making region of England. It continued to be a small-scale domestic activity rather than an entrepreneurial, large town or guild dominated one until the rise of some large-scale investors and entrepreneurs towards the close of the fifteenth century.³⁷

Oak from the forests was used in thousands of pre-Reformation and later houses that have survived to the present day. This makes the study of the development of timber-framed houses much more profitable in Essex than in any other part of the country. The heavy claylands of south Essex, though, were never populous, while the

spread of industrial and suburban London as far as Waltham Abbey, Loughton, Brentwood, and Rayleigh has all but extinguished the relatively modest domestic evidence that had survived until the nineteenth century.

Despite its proximity to Westminster, Essex was never greatly favoured by the crown. Nor, for that matter, was any part of East Anglia. By the mid-thirteenth century, the military value of the royal castle at Colchester had withered to the extent that it was used mainly as a gaol, as were the royal fortresses at Norwich, and later, at Cambridge. The octagonal-shaped castle begun by Hubert de Burgh at Hadleigh in 1230 and surrendered to the king nine years later similarly attracted little interest for 150 years. In 1360, it suddenly assumed some military value as a site capable of protecting the lower reaches of the Thames from French attack, as Queenborough guarded the opposite shore of the estuary. New towers, walls, and apartments were built, but it was not its defensive capabilities that appealed to the ageing Edward III but its situation not far from Westminster, its modest elevation on a bluff above the Thames with extensive coastal views, and the sequence of newly built apartments, though his successors preferred to let out the castle.

The crown held little other property in Essex, no more than a hunting lodge at Writtle near Chelmsford and a house at Havering, three miles north of Romford. Writtle was an early thirteenth-century timber-framed house within a quadrangular moat, repaired and visited by Henry III and Edward I³⁸ with new timber buildings erected in the mid-fifteenth century for the duke of Buckingham whose forebears had held it since 1306.³⁹ Havering remained in royal hands from the late eleventh century to 1638 with the early buildings reconstructed by Henry III and the great chapel rebuilt in 1374–7.⁴⁰ The house continued to be maintained and was considerably extended in 1576 for Elizabeth I. Destroyed by 1818, the site spread across and beyond the parish church of 1878 and the stables (now a riding school) of the former Havering Park.⁴¹

Outside the royal properties and forest, medieval Essex was dominated by two magnate houses: the Mandevilles and their successors the Bohuns, and the de Veres. Geoffrey Mandeville, created earl of Essex in 1140, had been awarded a quite exceptional central estate of 12,000 acres where he and his descendants established the *caput* of Pleshey. In 1228, his inheritance passed by marriage to the Bohun earls of Hereford (and now earls of Essex) until it was divided between coheirs in 1399. The de Veres were one of the few families who could claim under the Tudors to be descended in the male line from a companion of the Conqueror. Earls of Oxford since 1142 and always based at their *caput* at Hedingham, their political fortunes fluctuated, particularly during the late medieval period, though they were all-powerful in East Anglia under Henry VII.

Between these two peaks of the Bohun and de Vere families during the late fourteenth and late fifteenth centuries respectively, Essex, like so much of East Anglia, was increasingly governed by knights and high-status gentry through their rôle in local government. The commissioners who assessed the petition concerning the sheriffs of the county in 1397 included several monastic heads, the earl of Oxford, six knights, and eleven locally appointed men. It was these last two groups who increasingly carried the broad spread of judicial and administrative responsibilities in Essex.⁴² The path was developed by such men as John Wantone of Tiptofts (d.1348), John

Hevenyngham (d.1375) and members of the Coggeshale family. Sir Ralph Coggeshale (d.1305) had built up a substantial group of estates in central Essex during Edward I's reign and established Great Codham Hall in Wethersfield as the principal family house. It has an early fourteenth-century hall with crown post roof. The family also owned Sheering Hall in Shalford and Coggeshall Hall in Little Coggeshall. If the father had established a landed base for the family, his grandson participated in local affairs between 1330 and 1361 as sheriff, escheator, and parliamentary knight.⁴³ He was helped by his contacts at court and his relationship with the Burghersh and Bouchier families.⁴⁴ By the close of the century, the county gentry had become a close-knit community and were responsible for the major functions of local government, a rôle they maintained throughout the next century.⁴⁵

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT OF 1381

For two weeks during June 1381, East Anglia was plunged into a state of near anarchy, initiated by popular disturbances near Brentford in Essex which sparked the most serious and famous rebellion in English history. The so-called Peasants' Revolt was a complex sequence of violent episodes and incidents of confusing and multiple causation. The revolt barely lasted more than four weeks, involved townsmen as much as villagers, craftsmen and tradesmen as much as peasants, so that it became as much an artisans' as a peasants' protest. Three-quarters of the known rebels in Essex, Suffolk, and Kent had held positions of local responsibility such as reeves, bailiffs, jurors, or constables⁴⁶ so that it was far from being a neo-Marxist attempt by an oppressed peasantry against a reactionary landlord class. It was a more complex response, centred on the abolition of servile tenure, with a particular wave of hostility against justices of the peace for their zealous enforcement of the stringent labour laws of 1349 and 1351, and against an authoritarian church whose long-established estates held a far greater proportion of serfs than many secular holdings.⁴⁷

The revolt also occurred under the long shadow cast by the Black Death of 1348–9. The population had been severely reduced and labour shortages were acute, and while the estimates of economic recovery have been variously assessed, rising wages undoubtedly spurred the differing social aspirations of peasants and townspeople. The immediate cause was military failures in the war with France following the renewal of hostilities in 1369 and the imposition of three poll taxes in 1377, 1379, and 1381 to meet government insolvency and troop payment. With enforcement of the third and most inequitable of the taxes, smouldering resentment and unrest in Kent, Hertfordshire, Essex, and East Anglia flared into open rebellion.

The eye of the revolt centred on the storming of London by the men of Kent and Essex, ending with the assassination of their leader, Wat Tyler (15 June). The rising in East Anglia, the most widespread and dangerous of the regional insurrections, was led by two local people, the priest John Wrawe in Suffolk and Geoffrey Litster in Norfolk. Recent research has suggested that the rebels in East Anglia were rural and urban textile workers rather than agricultural labourers.⁴⁸ As present-day events in Europe and elsewhere remind us, peaceful demonstrations usually develop into violent attacks on property as people vent their anger and frustration. There was widespread pillaging, burning, and looting in London. House breaking and filleting churches were particularly prevalent

in Suffolk under John Wrawe, and disordered ruffianism in west Norfolk. Litster bullied members of the Norfolk gentry into joining his rebellion to give it an air of rectitude until it was vigorously put down by bishop Despencer of Norwich 'crushing their arrogance at its root'.⁴⁹ Despite the text of John Ball's sermon, 'gentlemen' as such were never the prime target of peasant hostility:⁵⁰ poll tax collectors, central government and monastic official were.

According to the well-informed *Anonimale Chronicle*, the rebels in East Anglia and in Kent "threw the buildings to the ground and set those ablaze who would not rise with them".⁵¹ No attempt has been made to evaluate the extent of such damage but presumably these were modest dwellings and tenements. The few magnate houses that were plundered, such as that of Lord Fitzwalter of Henham, Essex, and the many gentry houses, such as those of the escheator and the sheriff of Essex at Coggeshall, Hugh Fastolf at Yarmouth, and Michael de la Pole at Wingfield, were ransacked for the manorial court rolls and other legal documents they held. They were the record and statement of villein status, servile dues, and labour obligations that the insurgents sought to eradicate. Such attacks clearly gave the landowning class a fright, but their buildings and occupants were rarely at risk. The destruction that did occur was principally the consequence of targeting specific owners and the settlement of personal vendettas.

The sack of Cressing Temple Manor and the burning of Highbury Manor near London occurred because Sir Robert Hales was Treasurer of England and prior of the wealthy Hospitallers Order. Chester's Inn, the bishop of Lichfield's London residence, was attacked because it was being used by John Fordham, keeper of the privy seal, as his lodgings. The Savoy was burnt down (13 June) as the home and symbol of John of Gaunt who was held responsible for initiating the first poll tax and who was a popular scapegoat for recent government and military failures. His castle at Hertford and manor at Little Chesterford in Essex were similarly attacked, while Thomas Heseldene's manors in south Cambridgeshire and Kent were destroyed because he was controller of Gaunt's household.⁵² The doors, windows, and walls of Sir Richard Lyons' manor house at Overhall in north Essex were ruined (12 June) because he was a highly unpopular merchant-financier, subsequently executed by the rebels. Mettingham Castle, furnished but unoccupied, was an easy target for John Wrawe (18 June) and was taken on the same day that attacks were made on Yarmouth and Lowestoft. The townspeople at Cambridge, St Albans, and Bury St Edmunds vented their spleen on ecclesiastical corporations and their records. The sack of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (patronised by the dukes of Lancaster) and Barnwell Priory, and the abbeys at St Albans and Bury St Edmunds reflected local anti-clerical attitudes. The monks at Bury had long been at stormy odds with the townspeople so that the abbey was more severely damaged than any other religious house,⁵³ whereas both sides showed greater restraint at St Albans, and no more than estate records were taken and destroyed from the foundations at Binham, Bromholm, and St Benet of Hulme. The structural damage arising from the Peasants' Revolt was far less extensive than that of the more extended and all-embracing rebellion in Wales twenty years later under Owain Glyn Dŵr. Moreover, the long-term political impact and measurable social consequences resulting from the events of 1381 were arguably less significant than for those of 1400–15 in Wales.



PLATE 4 Bury St Edmunds: abbot's gateway from the north-west

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Geographically, Cambridgeshire can be divided into two halves. North of the city of Cambridge lie the Fens, primarily peatland and unsuitable for occupation except where the underlying clay emerges to form 'islands' large enough and stable enough to support villages, as at Thorney, March, and Ely. It was never an attractive region and there were no major landowners outside the cathedral priory of Ely. The bishop held almost palatinate authority which extended from his castle at Wisbech to the only dwellings of size – his palaces at Ely and Downham. It was the monastic houses – Ely, Thorney, and Ramsey – that exploited and dominated the fenlands throughout the middle ages.

South of the city of Cambridge lies undulating chalkland, barely above 200 feet, broken by relatively prosperous river valleys flowing towards the Fens with much clayland, formerly wooded, to the west and little populated chalkland to the south-east. There were few large estates in the county before the eighteenth century. The earl of Oxford held a substantial number of manors in the south based on Castle Camps with a holding which extended into north Essex centred on Hedingham, but otherwise the region was primarily one of modest landholdings and a broad spectrum of ownership from knights to wealthy local officials. Late medieval land ownership in the region has not yet found its analyst, but the moated manorial

site and timber gatehouse of Downhall Manor at Abington Pigotts on the heavy clayland in the south-west was typical of the many modest-sized homesteads scattered across the county. More prosperous lords erected deer parks for their pleasure as Thomas Burgh did at Burrough Green in 1330 or the bishop of Ely at Downham and Somersham.⁵⁴

Cambridgeshire was moderately populated throughout the middle ages, suffering from agrarian depression with the *nonarum inquisitiones* of 1342, particularly full for Cambridgeshire, revealing how much arable land had gone out of cultivation since the beginning of the century.⁵⁵ The Black Death and subsequent plague outbreaks exacerbated the situation with labour shrinkage forcing landlords to abandon the direct cultivation of their demesnes in favour of paid services or land leasing. A survey of the bishop of Ely's estates in 1356 reveals how the demesne lands of the episcopal manors had shrunk, receipts fallen, and buildings left in poor condition, as at Downham, Haddenham, and elsewhere.⁵⁶ The process continued unaffected by the Peasants' Revolt with all labour services commuted at Soham by 1390, at Chatteris by 1397, and at Wilburton by about 1415.⁵⁷ The decline in demesne farming was accompanied by the rise of a new class of yeoman farmers such as John Pygot, a wool merchant from Hitchin who acquired the manor of Abington in 1427.⁵⁸

Cambridgeshire was subject to an extended period of contraction from about 1300 to 1450, reflected in the modest scale of its houses as well as its churches. It was not until the more expansive succeeding period that larger residences were built, particularly by the bishops of Ely, though it is the colleges of the burgeoning university of Cambridge that offer the best local reflection of domestic development during the later middle ages.

LATE MEDIEVAL ART IN EAST ANGLIA

Reference has already been made to the cornucopia of local detail – politics, furnishings, tableware, foodstuffs, and books – revealed by the fortuitous survival of the letters and papers of the Paston and Howard families. It is also easier to glimpse the artistic heritage of East Anglia than that of most other regions of medieval England. This is partly because the area was one of the leading centres of prosperity and artistic creation in the later middle ages, and partly because it remained comparatively isolated until the twentieth century. It has also been a part of England with a sustained interest in medieval art, initially in private hands as at Holkham Hall and some of the Cambridge colleges, and later in more public collections such as that held by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The richness of the era has also been revealed by several exhibitions during the late twentieth century⁵⁹ revealing the breadth of secular patronage, local and further afield, by a wealthy and art-loving society during the later middle ages.

Geographically and economically, the region was subject to influences from across the North Sea, particularly Flanders and northern Europe. Such influences were not only architectural, encouraging the development of round church towers⁶⁰ and the use of brick, and possibly influencing the form of Caister Castle, but artistic, affecting manuscript illumination, books of hours, panel painting, and stained glass.

During the opening years of the fourteenth century, a Suffolk lady, Alice Reydon of Wherstead (d.1310) commissioned a devotional book of hours, probably from the Huntingdon–Lincolnshire

area,⁶¹ while several contemporary psalters seem to have been intended for secular patrons including the Howard Psalter made for Sir William Howard of East Winch, Norfolk, the Gorleston Psalter with its donor portrait of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk (d.1306) and numerous shields of arms of Norfolk families comparable to the display a generation later above the entrance to Butley Priory gatehouse, and the slightly later psalter for the St Omer family of Mulbarton near Norwich.⁶²

Striking wall paintings of the first quarter of the century have been revealed covering the solar walls at Longthorpe Tower near Peterborough, and a sequence of narrative scenes of c.1250, updated in the first half of the fifteenth century, have been found in the refectory at Horsham St Faith Priory that would not have been out of place in a domestic environment. Thatchers Hall, Hundon in Suffolk, a relatively small late fifteenth-century 'wealden-type' house, has a circular recess above the fireplace with a contemporary painting of the Agnus Dei.

The earliest piece of secular plate to survive in England (c.1340) and possibly in Europe is exhibited in the Town Hall at King's Lynn. The five sides of the so-called 'King John's Cup' have translucent enamel panels with elegantly mauve costumed figures on a green and mauve star diapered background, separated by silver-gilt architectural ornamentation (pl. 1). The cover and foot display animals associated with hunting, while the bowl interior has an enamel of a lady with a hawk.⁶³ This is probably English work of the highest quality and may be associated with Edward III's son-in-law, John, duke of Brittany (d.1399) who lived at Castle Rising during the last ten years of his life.⁶⁴

East Anglia seems to have been badly hit by the plague of 1348–9 and its aftermath. It affected some of the major building projects such as the lady chapel at Ely and Great Yarmouth church, but its impact is being reassessed. There seems to have been a downturn in the smaller arts for a time, but how much was due to labour shortages at the time and how much to subsequent decay and destruction is an open question. Quality art of the International Gothic period is not well represented in East Anglia outside a group of panel paintings centred on the Despencer retable in Norwich Cathedral associated with Henry Despencer, bishop of Norwich (d.1406), with the arms of six well-known Norfolk families. There is some evidence that this was a lay gift, executed by local craftsmen⁶⁵ in a style that can be compared with a group of ten contemporary manuscripts associated with the Bohun family, the leading patrons of English illumination during the second half of the fourteenth century.⁶⁶ More domestic are three manuscripts giving an insight into the type of reading matter an educated person might have had on his shelves, and which Despencer probably read at his house at North Elmham. They are two historical works, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and Matthew Paris' *Flores Historiarum*, and a group of poems including *Le Souenge Vert*.⁶⁷ And on his dining table might be a maplewood mazer bowl, such as that of c.1380 with its silver-gilt column or a drinking horn (c.1347) similar to those held at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge since at least 1384.

The more extensive holding of fifteenth-century art that survives is essentially drawn from a religious context – stained glass, panel and screen painting, and books of hours. It was of variable quality but subject to the growing influence of Flemish art through imported artifacts, with books enjoying particular popularity in East Anglia.⁶⁸ There is little doubt that the *ateliers* in Norwich and

elsewhere were similarly serving secular clients who were, in any case, the principal contributors at this time to the wave of church rebuilding and ecclesiastical art. Domestic glass, though, was usually for armorials or mottoes, but the labours of the month were also popular. Eight such roundels, made in Norwich in the late fifteenth century, were moved in Georgian times from a house in the city to Brandiston Hall.⁶⁹ Yet the evidence for glass or painting in a secular environment barely exists today. The church at Shelton or the additions to that at East Harling, for instance, survive complete with their glass with donor figures, but nothing of their near contemporary houses or their contents commissioned from the same artist. For this, it is necessary to turn to the Ashwellthorpe triptych of 1519⁷⁰ or the glass of c.1525–35 at Hengrave Hall to appreciate the richness and continental influence, which is now mainly limited to churches, the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, or museum holdings. Many such items would have graced the private apartments of a magnate's household or those of the wealthy upper classes in the region, and it is to their houses that we must now turn.

NOTES

- 1 *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, ed. P. Wade-Martins (1994) 60–1; N. Pevsner's two volumes on Norfolk buildings (1962); N. Batcock, *The Ruined and Disused Churches of Norfolk* (1991). Lincolnshire and Suffolk had nearly 600 medieval churches, and Essex about 410, *ibid.* 1.
- 2 K. J. Allison, *Norf. Arch.* 31 (1955) 116–62; *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk* (1994), 85; J. Kenworthy-Browne et al., *Burke's and Savills Guide to Country Houses*, III (1983) lists 416 houses and 120 estates.
- 3 *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk* (1994) 76–7; B. M. S. Campbell, *Agric. Hist. Rev.* 36 (1983), 26–46; J. Campbell, *Norwich: Historic Town Series* (1975), 10, 14–15.
- 4 B. Ayers, *Norwich* (1994), 63, 88–90; B. Green and R. Young, *Norwich, the Growth of a City* (1977), 13–20.
- 5 D. Yaxley and N. Virgoe, *The Manor House in Norfolk* (1978), 8.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 11, 14.
- 7 T. Williamson, *The Origins of Norfolk* (1993) 2, 176.
- 8 *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk* (1994), 52–3.
- 9 The Norfolk landscape has also been substantially affected by three man-made features. Medieval peat digging helped to create the Broads, the Fens were drained between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and mid-twentieth-century conifer plantations in the south-west created the forest of Breckland on previously open warren chalkland.
- 10 The title of earl (later duke) of Norfolk was held from 1140–1 to 1307 by the Bigod family whose properties were mainly in Suffolk. This remained so under the Mowbrays and then the Howards until they moved to Kenninghall in Norfolk in the 1520s. No separate earldom of Suffolk existed between 1075 and the elevation of the Uffords (1337–82) and de la Poles (1385–1513).
- 11 M. Sayer, *Norf. Arch.* 36 (1977), 305–21.
- 12 W. Blake, *Norf. Arch.* 32 (1961), 261–91.
- 13 R. Virgoe, 'The Benevolence of 1481', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 104 (1989), 42.
- 14 C. E. Moreton, *The Townshends and Their World* (1992) 203–9. For a summary of leading Norfolk landowners in Henry VIII's reign, see T. H. Swales, *Norf. Arch.* 34 (1969), 19–41.
- 15 Moreton, *The Townshends and Their World*, 51.
- 16 B. Ayers, *Norwich* (1994), 77–91.
- 17 Moreton, *The Townshends and Their World*, 115, 162. A map of over ninety medieval deer parks, suggestive of upper-class occupation, shows that they essentially occur east of the north–south watershed but did not extend to the rich soils and gravel of the coast. *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk* (1994), 54–5.
- 18 O. Rackham in *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk*, ed. D. Dymond and E. Martin (1989), 50–1.

- 19 P. C. Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia 1422–1442* (1992); H. Castor, ‘The Duchy of Lancaster and the rule of East Anglia 1399–1440: a prologue to the Paston Letters’ in *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R. E. Archer (1995), 53–78.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 57–72. Also G. E. Morey, ‘The administration of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk in the reign of Henry IV’, *BIHR* 19 (1942–3), 91–3.
- 21 Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*, 226, 233–4.
- 22 R. Virgoe, ‘The murder of James Andrew: Suffolk faction in the 1430s’. *Proc. SLA* 34, pt. 3 (1979), 263–8.
- 23 Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*, 232.
- 24 C. Richmond, *John Hopton, A Fifteenth-Century Suffolk Gentleman* (1981).
- 25 A higher density is given by R. A. Pelham in *An Historical Geography of England before AD 1800*, ed. H. C. Darby (1936) 232, than by A. R. H. Baker in *A New Historical Geography of England* (1973), 191.
- 26 D. Dymond in *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk*, ed. D. Dymond and E. Martin (1989) 86.
- 27 D. Dymond and R. Virgoe, ‘The reduced population and wealth of early fifteenth-century Suffolk’, *Proc. SLA* 36, pt. 2 (1986), 73–100.
- 28 W. Filmer-Sankey, ‘The excavations on the site of Ickworth Manor’, *Proc. SLA* 36, pt. 2 (1982), 65–72.
- 29 Earl of Verulam on loan to the National Portrait Gallery, London. *Archaeologia* 40 (1863) 451–82. The Grimstons remained at Rishangles until the early eighteenth century, *Proc. SLA* 35 (1984), 243.
- 30 *Howard Household Books*, intro. A. Crawford (1992). The family had lived at Tendring Hall, possibly rebuilt by Sir John Howard (d.1437), since the early fifteenth century.
- 31 A. Crawford, ‘The private life of John Howard: a study of a Yorkist lord, his family and household’, in *Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship and Law*, ed. P. W. Hammond (1986), 9. Sir John was the son of Margaret, daughter of Thomas, 1st duke of Norfolk. He succeeded in 1481 to part of the vast Mowbray estates and became the first of the great and powerful Howard dukes of Norfolk.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 10–24.
- 33 W. R. Fisher, *The Forest of Essex* (1887).
- 34 J. C. Ward in *An Essex Tribute*, ed. K. Neale (1987) 100–1.
- 35 L. P. Poos, *A Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex, 1350–1525* (1991), 20, 33–4.
- 36 R. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free* (1973), 171–5.
- 37 Poos, *A Rural Society*, 58–72.
- 38 P. A. Rahtz, *Excavations at King John’s Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex* (1969); *HKW*, II (1963) 1019–20.
- 39 Rahtz, *Excavations*. C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham 1394–1521* (1978) 47. It was a favoured residence of the first duke (d.1460) and his wife (d.1480).
- 40 *HKW*, II (1963), 959.
- 41 R. M. S. Matthews, S. T. Madell, D. Rowland, *Essex Journal* (Winter, 1984) 65–8; *ibid.* (Summer, 1986), 27–9. Their reconstruction pinpoints the position of the well-known plan of 1578 prepared by John Symonds for Lord Burleigh, showing the recently added west wing for the queen.
- 42 J. C. Ward, *The Essex Gentry and the County Community in the Fourteenth Century* (1991) 5–11.
- 43 J. C. Ward, ‘Sir John de Coggeshale, an Essex knight of the 14th century’, *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* 22 (1991) 61–6.
- 44 Sir John’s daughter married John, 2nd Lord Bouchier of Bouchier’s Hall, Tollesbury, a fourteenth-century aisled hall with crown post roof. For the military career of Lord Bouchier (d.1400), M. Jones, *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* 26. (1995), 145–61.
- 45 Ward, *The Essex Gentry*, 24. Sir Thomas Tyrell (d.1476) for instance, was one of the executors of the will of Ralph, Lord Cromwell. Only the moat and some post medieval barns survive of Heron Hall, the fifteenth century brick family home of the Tyrells at East Horndon. By the sixteenth century, the family also held Little Warley Hall (early Tudor two storeyed porch but single storey hall), Waltons at Bartlow End, and Gipping Hall, Suffolk.
- 46 C. Dyer, in *The English Rising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (1984), 7.
- 47 E. B. Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords in Later Medieval England* (1996), 11–12, 50–1.
- 48 Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free*, 170–4; R. B. Dobson, *The Peasants’ Revolt of 1381* (2nd ed. 1983) xxvi. E. Powell, *The Rising in East Anglia in 1381* (1896) has been superseded by more recent if isolated studies such as C. Dyer, *Proc. SLA* 36, pt. 4 (1988) 274–87.
- 49 Henry Knighton, *Chronicon*, II, ed. J. R. Lumby (1895), 141.
- 50 Dobson, *The Peasants’ Revolt of 1381*, 16.
- 51 *Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (1927), 135, 151.
- 52 Gaunt was a particular target for the rebels and would have lost his life had he been captured. N. Saul, *Richard II* (1997) 59; A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (1992) 78–84. Gaunt never rebuilt his mansion at the Savoy.
- 53 The prior and some monks were murdered, the abbey was sacked, and ‘the house was destroyed which the prior had built and constructed anew from its foundations’. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, ed. H. T. Riley (1864), 2. Other riots outside the home counties, essentially south-east of a line from York to Bristol, were sporadic and centred on long-standing quarrels rather than social grievances such as that at Bridgwater where Thomas Engilby ransacked the houses of John Sydenham at Sydenham and Bridgwater.
- 54 C. Taylor, *The Cambridgeshire Landscape* (1973) 124–30.
- 55 The rolls were a record of a grant of a ninth of grain, wool, and lands made by parliament to help Edward III in his wars. A. R. H. Baker, ‘Evidence in the “Nonarum Inquisitiones” of contracting arable lands in England during the early fourteenth century’, *Econ. Hist. Review* 19 (1966), 518–32.
- 56 VCH, *Cambridgeshire*, IV (1953), 91, 98, 111, 142.
- 57 *Ibid.*, II (1948), 72.
- 58 *Ibid.*, VIII (1982), 5.
- 59 *Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300–1520*, ed. P. Lasko and N. J. Morgan, Norwich Castle Museum, (1973); *Age of Chivalry*, ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski, Burlington House, London (1987–8); *Splendours of Flanders*, ed. A. Arnould and J. M. Massing, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (1993).
- 60 S. Heywood, for example, has argued that the 140 round towers of Norfolk and the forty of Suffolk were adopted from north Germany and particularly Schleswig Holstein. *Minsters and Parish Churches*, ed. J. Blair (1988); *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk* (1994), 56–7.
- 61 L. F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts: 1285–1385* (1986), 75–6; Lasko and Morgan (eds.), *Medieval Art in East Anglia*, 12–13.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 14–24.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 27–8.
- 64 Alexander and Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, 435–6.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 516.
- 66 M. R. James and E. G. Miller, *The Bobun Manuscripts* (1936); Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 149–54.
- 67 Lasko and Morgan (eds.), *Medieval Art in East Anglia*, 32.
- 68 Arnould and Massing (eds.), *Splendours of Flanders*, 113.
- 69 C. Woodforde, *The Norwich School of Glass Painting in the Fifteenth century* (1950), 150–2.
- 70 Christopher Knyvett (d.1520) and his wife from near Brussels, junior members of the family who had succeeded the Cliftons of Buckenham Castle in 1461, are celebrated in the triptych they commissioned in Flanders, now in Norwich Castle Museum. A. Martindale in *Early Tudor England*, ed. D. Williams (1989), 107–23.