

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Dorothy Dean Hagerty for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Family Resource Management presented on November 26, 1986.
Title: Architectural and Social Comparisons of English Manor Houses - 1260 - 1735

Redacted for privacy

Abstract approved: _____

Dr. Jeanette Brandt

This comparison study involved the exploration of architecture and social life of the thirteenth century Medieval, sixteenth century Tudor and eighteenth century Georgian periods. Within the architectural and social categories, the specific objective was to examine the changes in the five hundred year period. Three specific houses were chosen as examples from each time period as well as a general study of the architectural styles during the same time.

Considered in the architectural study were style, plan and its components, materials, cost, craftsmen, artisans and laborers, landscape, sanitation, water supply, architect, furnishings and owner. The comparison of social life involved business, entertainment, travel, education, food, clothing and religion. The comparison of the architecture and social life gave insight to understanding the forces which shaped the manor houses of each period. Materials, for instance, their availability and function, i.e., defense, pragmatism and status-giving qualities, were a determinate in the final appearance of

the houses.

The broad scope of sources for the study included original building and household records, oral history, current and historic printed material which revealed and reaffirmed the change from the uncomfortable medieval dwellings and the communal society of the thirteenth century; to the more accommodating and hospitable houses of the sixteenth century Tudor Renaissance period; to the grand edifices and privacy of the eighteenth century Georgian period. The social life changed similarly from the simple, communal life of the medieval household to the sixteenth century Tudor house with many rooms offering social and individual privacy. The eighteenth century Georgian house became a massive inhuman building where individual apartments and numerous rooms separated individuals as well as classes.

Architectural and Social Comparisons
of
English Manor Houses
1260 - 1735

by
Dorothy Dean Hagerty

A THESIS
submitted to
Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Completed November 26, 1986

Commencement June, 1987

APPROVED:

Redacted for privacy

Associate Professor of Family Resource Management in charge of
major

Redacted for privacy

Head of Department of Family Resource Management

Redacted for privacy

Dean of Graduate School

◁

Date thesis presented November 26, 1986

Typed by researcher for Dorothy Dean Hagerty

Acknowledgements

It is with both regret and relief that I terminate this project in its present form. It has been a privilege to indulge in the research required. Many people have helped and encouraged me and to them I am most grateful. Paramount among them is Dr. Jeanette Brandt, Associate Professor of Family Resource Management and my major professor, who with an eagle-eye, astute advice and moral support has spent hours reading and guiding the finished product.

Dr. John Young, professor of Cultural Anthropology, has willingly given of his time and has offered valuable suggestions and criticisms, all the while helping me to sustain my enthusiasm.

Dr. Paul Kopperman, Associate Professor of English History, has offered his extensive knowledge of English history and resources.

Dr. Geraldine Olson, Department Head of Family Resource Management, and Dr. David Andrews, Department Head of Human Development and Family Studies, were also on my committee and gave unfailing encouragement.

I owe a great deal to Trevor Potts of Canterbury, England. Trevor took valuable time from his work at the University of Kent to drive us to the three houses studied. He not only expedited the locating of the houses, but saved us energy by driving and piece of mind with his old-school English aplomb. Major Binney, current owner of Little Wenham Hall, was gracious and generous to show us the interior of the Great Hall and allowed us to take all the photos we wished. Sister Juliana at Hengrave Hall was helpful and encouraging in her enthusiasm for my project. She showed me all the pertinent

Information in books, pamphlets and papers at the hall and encouraged us to take as many photos as we wished while looking around. Mr. Baldwin, the estate manager at Houghton Hall, met us at the entrance to the hall and answered many questions. He regreted that the present owner forbade photographs of the interior. The manuscript department of the Cambridge University Library were most helpful in locating and microfilming original records, as were the Suffolk County Record Offices in Bury St. Edmunds and Ipswich.

Stanton and Alice Wallace did the great favor of proofing the initial manuscript.

My husband, Hal, family and friends have given me unfailing support of my self-indulgence for which I am grateful.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Thomas C. Hogg whose last words to me were to "go for it".

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I	
Introduction	1
Purpose	4
Chapter II	
Methodology	5
Chapter III	
The Thirteenth Century	11
Social Life	15
Business	17
Entertainment	18
Travel	22
Education	23
Food	25
Clothing	27
Religion	31
The Manor	33
Plan	34
Doors and Porches	36
Windows	39
Floors	42
Ceilings	44
Walls	45
Kitchen	45
Chapel	45
Fireplace	48
Staircases	49
Cost	50
Materials	50
Wood	51
Stone	52
Brick	52
Flint	54
Plaster	54
Craftsmen, Artisans, Laborers	54
Tools	58
Wages	59
Landscape	59
Sanitation	60
Water Supply	64
Architect	66
Furnishings	67
Owner	67
Background	67
Wealth - Position	69
Little Wenham Hall	73
Plan	74

Doors and Porches	80
Windows	81
Floors	83
Walls	84
Kitchen	85
Chapel	85
Solar	86
Fireplace	87
Ceilings	87
Cost	87
Materials	87
Brick	87
Stone	89
Wood	90
Lead	90
Plaster	90
Craftsmen, Artisans, Laborers	90
Landscape	93
Sanitation	94
Water Supply	94
Architect	94
Furnishings	95
Owner	96

Chapter IV

The Sixteenth Century	98
Social life	103
Business	104
Entertainment	106
Travel	108
Education	109
Food	110
Clothing	113
Religion	118
The Manor	119
Plan	120
Doors and Porches	122
Windows	124
Floors	125
Walls	125
Kitchen	126
Chapel	126
Fireplace	126
Chimneys	127
Staircases	128
Cost	130
Materials	130
Wood	130

Stone	130
Brick	130
Flint	131
Plaster	131
Craftsmen	131
Sanitation	132
Water Supply	133
Architect	134
Furnishings	134
Owner	135
Hengrave Hall	139
Plan	144
Doors and Porches	145
Windows	150
Floors	155
Walls	157
Kitchen	158
Chapel	158
Solar	159
Fireplace	159
Ceilings	159
Staircases	160
Cost	160
Materials	161
Brick	161
Stone	161
Wood	162
Flint	162
Lead	162
Plaster	163
Craftsmen	163
Artisans	163
Laborers	163
Landscape	163
Sanitation	166
Water Supply	166
Architect	167
Furnishings	167
Owner	169

Chapter V	
The Eighteenth Century	172
Social Life	176
Business	176
Entertainment	178
Travel	181
Education	181
Food	183

Clothing	185
Religion	189
The Manor	191
Plan	193
Doors and Porches	195
Windows	197
Floors	199
Ceilings	200
Walls	200
Kitchen	203
Chapel	203
Solar	203
Fireplace	203
Staircases	205
Cost	207
Materials	208
Wood	208
Stone	209
Brick	210
Flint	210
Plaster	211
Craftsmen, Artisans Laborers	211
Tools	212
Wages	213
Landscape	213
Sanitation	215
Water Supply	218
Architect	218
Furnishings	219
Owner	222
Houghton Hall	224
Plan	225
Doors and Porches	232
Windows	235
Floors	236
Walls	236
Kitchen	241
Chapel	241
Solar	241
Fireplace	241
Ceilings	241
Cost	243
Materials	243
Brick	243
Stone	244
Wood	244
Flint	244

Lead	245
Plaster	245
Craftsmen	245
Artisans	245
Laborers	245
Landscape	247
Sanitation	250
Water Supply	250
Architect	251
Furnishings	255
Owner	260
Chapter VI	
Summary	264
Glossary	281
Bibliography	286
Appendices	
Appendix A	293
Appendix B	304

List of Plates

Plate		Page
	1. Edward I (Smith p. 150)	11
	2. Gathering the harvest (Smith p. 93)	14
	3. Plan of manor (Ditchfield, p. 13)	15
	4. Plowing the field (Smith, p. 92)	16
	5. Hawking (Abram, p. 230)	19
	6. Wrestling (Harrison, p. 9)	20
	7. Bear bating (Girouard, p. 23)	20
	8. Musicians (Girouard, p. 23)	21
	9. Traveling on foot (Abram, p. 250)	22
	10. Common cart (Abram, p. 250)	22
	11. A state carriage (Abram, p. 250)	23
	12. Roasting game (Smith, p. 103)	25
	13. Preparing food (Abrams, p. 241)	25
	14. Preparing soup (Girouard, p. 36)	26
	15. Clothing (Brooke and Laver, p. 11)	28
	16. Clothing (Brooke and Laver, p. 9)	29
	17. Shoes (Abram, p. 157)	30
	18. Headcovering (Brooke and Laver, p. 12)	30
	19. Thirteenth century church (Abram, p. 241)	31
	20. Clergyman (Abram, p. 241)	32
	21. Medieval manor house (Wood, n.p.)	33
	22. Plan of medieval manor house (Wood, n.p.)	35
	23. Vaulting (Fletcher, p. 627)	36
	24. Great hall showing screens, floor, walls, doors, and central fireplace (Wilson, p. 36)	37
	25. Gothic arch (Fletcher, p. 59)	38
	26. Pointed Gothic arch with two jamb-shafts, three lights, quatrefoils, trefoils and window seat (Wood, p. 348)	40
	27. Tracieried Gothic windows with cusps, quatrefoils, and central jamb-shaft (Wood, n.p.)	41
	28. Medieval ceilings (Wood, p. 348)	44
	29. Floor plan showing chapel and solar (Lloyd, p. 22)	47
	30. Medieval fireplaces (Lloyd, n.p.)	48
	31. Exterior staircase (Wood, p. 329)	49
	32. Clearing the forest (Smith, p. 92)	51
	33. Bricks (Hammond, p. 31)	53

34. Masons building a wall (PLatt, p. 62)	55
35. Building a church (Smith, p. 123)	56
36. Medieval garden (Briggs, p. 103)	60
37. Bath tubs (Wood, p. 371)	62
38. Medieval garderobes or privies (Girouard, n.p.)	65
39. Water carrier (Abrams, p. 197)	66
40. Medieval stool (Oates, n.p.)	67
41. A landed gentleman at home (Smith, p. 112)	68
42. Medieval knight (Smith, p. 56)	69
43. Little Wenham Hall	73
44. Plan of Little Wenham hall (Lloyd, n.p.)	74
45. Little Wenham Hall before stairway restored (Ditchfield, p. 87)	77
46. Great Hall showing wall treatment, floor tiles, window seat, two-light trefoiled window	78
47. Cut-a-way of Little Wenham (Hoar, p. 15)	79
48. Exterior stairway , Tudor doorway	80
49. Exterior window of great hall	82
50. View of undercroft, floor, rough walls	83
51. Plastered walls, tile floors, current fireplace	84
52. Chapel window with shutter, (L) Gothic entrance to chapel with worn step, (N) turnpike stairs and chapel (Fletcher, p. 446)	85
53. Laver in chapel and iron bar (Wood, p. 90)	86
54. Brick and stone downspout	88
55. Stone, flint and brick in wall construction	89
56. Fine molding, metal work, brick and stone work, precision turning of the central jamb-shaft	91
57. Interior of great hall (Fletcher, p. 446)	95
58. Henry VII (Roberts and Roberts, p. 226)	98
59. Henry VIII (Roberts and Roberts, p. 238)	100
60. Tudor manor house (Fletcher, p. 45)	103
61. Commercial shipping	105
62. Woman with hawks (Abrams, p. 230)	106
63. Tennis	107
64. Travel on horseback (Briggs, n.p.)	108
65. Grammar school - Stratford up-on-Avon	110

66. Banqueting hall c.1500 (Girouard, n.p.)	112
67. Sixteenth century clothing (Brooke and Laver, p.120)	115
68. Sixteenth century family (Brooke and Laver, p. 121)	116
69. Sixteenth century headgear (Brooke and Laver, p. 119)	118
70. Henry VIII Nonsuch palace (Dunlop, p.167)	119
71. Plan Tudor manor house	121
72. Tudor doorway (Lloyd, p. 308)	122
73. Tudor arch (Godfrey, p. 19)	122
74. Interior Tudor doors (Godfrey, n.p.)	123
75. Oriel window (Godfrey, n.p.)	124
76. Mullioned window (West, p. 75)	124
77. Sixteenth century linenfold wall panelling (West, n.p.)	125
78. Simple Tudor fireplace (Lloyd, n.p.)	127
79. Sixteenth century chimneys (Lloyd, p. 348)	128
80. Newel post (Ison, p. 117)	128
81. Sixteenth century staircases (Lloyd, p. 451)	129
82. Carved oak panelling (Lloyd, p. 388-389)	132
83. Harington's water close. (Lloyd, n.p.)	133
84. Tudor interiors (Lloyd, p. 371)	135
85. Tudor family (Godfrey, p. 5)	137
86. Hengrave Hall	139
87. Entry gate to Hengrave Hall	141
88. Plan of ground floor (Wood, n.p.)	142
89. Plan of first floor (Wood, n.p.)	143
90. Hall corridor now used as library	145
91. Oriel over entrance showing ornate corbelling, heraldry, stone Tudor archway, windows	146
92. Large carriage entrance doors with smaller door	148
93. Hardware on entrance door	149
94. Strap hardware and metal studs on interior door	149
95. Square windowpanes with view to side garden	150
96. Three panelled window with fishmoner's crest, view of crenellations and oriel window on right	151

97. Deepset leaded window with iron bars	152
98. Interior elevation of oriel window in great hall (Boston book, n. p.)	153
99. Courtyard showing oriel window of great hall	154
100. Tile floor in service area	155
101. Inlaid oak flooring	156
102. Square stone tiles	156
103. Wainscot panelling in great hall	157
104. Round windows on walls on entrance corridor - shows Italian influence	158
105. Hammerbeam ceiling - plaster walls	160
106. Back staircase	161
107. Entry gate showing stone work and bench	162
108. Map of Hengrave from 1588 (Gage, p. 212)	164
109. South front of Hengrave - 1773 (Gage, p. 212)	165
110. Yew hedges and trees	166
111. Sir Thomas Kytson (Gage, n.p.)	170
112. George I	172
113. Dinner party (Girouard, p. 146)	173
114. Ship	177
115. Gazebo pastimes (Girouard, p. 165)	179
116. A ball (Girouard, p. 166)	180
117. Eighteenth century head coverings (Brooke and Laver, n.p.)	185
118. Eighteenth century clothing (Brooke and Laver, n.p.)	187
119. Eighteenth century couple (Brooke and Laver, n.p.)	188
120. Eighteenth century manor house (Lloyd, p. 258)	192
121. Plan of eighteenth century manor house (Girouard, p. 123)	194
122. Palladian doorway (Lloyd, p. 312)	195
123. Georgian or Palladian doorways (Lloyd, n.p.)	196
124. Window showing vertical mullions and horizontal transoms (Lloyd, p. 340)	197
125. Classical windows of the Georgian or Palladian style (Lloyd, p. 340)	198
126. Marble floors (Lloyd, p. 381)	200
127. Painted and carved ceilings (Cook, p. 186)	201

128. Carved stucco or plaster walls (Lloyd, p. 411)	202
129. Eighteenth century fireplaces (Lloyd, p. 443)	204
130. State-like stairway typical of 18c. (Girouard, n.p.)	206
131. Landscape (Girouard, n.p.)	214
132. Palladian interior (Lloyd, p. 384)	219
133. Houghton Hall, Norfolk	224
134. Campbell's plan of Houghton (Campbell, n.p.)	227
135. Campbell's second plan of Houghton (Campbell, n.p.)	228
136. Early plan of Houghton by Campbell (Campbell, n.p.)	229
137. Plan of Houghton by Campbell (Stutchbury)	230
138. Houghton as it was built (Stutchbury, p.75)	231
139. Plan of ground and attic floors by Campbell (Stutchbury, n.p.)	233
140. Saloon - mahogany door, Kent furniture	234
141. Service wing showing windows, precise stone work	235
142. Marble hall, inlaid floor, doors and fireplaces	237
143. State Room, hand-painted Chinese wallpaper	238
144. Embroidered bedchamber, tapestry on walls	239
145. Dining room, marble arch, ornate fireplace	240
146. The white drawing room - coffered and painted ceiling	242
147. The vista	247
148. Original landscape plan (Campbell, n.p.)	248
149. The west front - 1727 (Stutchbury, p. 74)	
150. Early plan of Houghton by Campbell (Stutchbury, p. 74)	251
151. Campbell's floor plan of Houghton	252
152. Plate from Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus	253
153. Plate from Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus	254
154. The tapestry dressing room	255
155. Settee by Kent	256
156. William Kent	257
157. Green velvet bedchamber by Kent	258
158. Stairwell with wall murals by Kent	259
159. Sir Robert Walpole	260
160. The new village seen from inside the main gate	263

Architectural and Social Comparisons of English Manor Houses

1260 - 1735

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The time period from the thirteenth through eighteenth centuries saw architectural changes in the English manor house and social life. The manor consisted of the houses, great and small, built by the gentry and nobility of England, as well as the land holdings adjacent to the house which were farmed and used as hunting and recreational grounds. Concurrent with the architectural change in housing, a change in social attitude also occurred which directly affected how the houses were planned, built, furnished and how they were lived in. The separation of classes was a direct result of the space planning dictated by social need and attitudes within three architectural styles. The period of communal living of the thirteenth century forced people to live in close proximity to each other. The sixteenth century found larger, more hospitable houses which led to the isolation of the servants, owners and other individuals in the large austere houses of the eighteenth century. The three time periods have been chosen for a comparison because of the great changes in architecture and social attitudes which occurred during the five hundred year period.

The decline of need for fortification and increased prosperity were paramount reasons for change. Other influences which effected the architectural style and social life included; the floor plan and the need which dictated their design; materials and their availability; the sophistication of architects and their education, whether foreign or domestic; the furnishings determined by the wish for comfort and the status they brought and the skill of the craftsmen and laborers.

The span of these centuries addresses the time from a primitive medieval structure of 1260 when architectural style was dictated by defensive characteristics and which resulted in an austere exterior and a sparsely furnished interior. This medieval period is the time between the classic Greek and Roman periods and the beginning of the Renaissance or of the Tudor reign in England.

The more refined Tudor-Gothic house of 1523 reflects the beginning of the Renaissance in England and the functional need for more privacy which demanded an expansion of the number of rooms for individual use. The architectural style of the Tudor period was transitional, retaining some of the Gothic characteristics of the moated fortress but incorporating the refinement of the Renaissance.

The house of 1735 was a Palladian mansion, built as much for a show of power and wealth as for occupancy. Palladio was an Italian Renaissance architect of the early fifteen hundreds who reinstated classical Roman architecture in Italy. The Palladian style was popular in England in the 1700's, gaining impetus after Colin Campbell, a Scottish architect, published a volume of architectural drawings by

Palladio as well as Campbell's contemporary English architects who designed in the Palladian style.

In 1260, defense and protection from armies or roving bandits were paramount when planning houses. They often appeared more like fortresses than residences. Comfort was secondary. They were primitive in all respects, sparsely furnished and occupied in a communal fashion by all who served the lord of the manor. The economics of the time, based primarily on agriculture and a growing wool trade, determined that few had the means to construct a significant house. Travel and transportation were primitive which prevented social interaction between communities, resulting in indigenous characteristics both in architecture and in society. The use of local building materials due to cost and difficulty of transportation, from other areas, created localized architectural styles and appearances.

The Tudor period began in 1485, when Henry VII gained the throne, and marked the end of the medieval period in England. It was a time when houses became larger and comfort was considered more essential. The Reformation, instigated and encouraged by Henry VIII, caused drastic changes in attitude, allowing for more freedom and individuality which were reflected in the architecture. The economy benefitted from the abolishment of the church holdings and the redistribution of land. New wealth was created as a result of the shipping trade and the continued flourishing of the wool and textile industry.

The wealth of the eighteenth century and the total lack of need for fortification allowed for great elaboration in housing as a power and status symbol. Gone was the communal hall. Instead there were private apartments within the manor house for the squire and his family and social rooms for entertaining and conducting of business. Servants had their own quarters and stairs and were seen and heard as little as possible. The expansion of world trade, the beginning of industry and the freedom of entrepreneurship in politics and business created many fortunes which were displayed by means of opulent houses, richly embellished with items collected on world tours.

Three specific manor houses were chosen, one from each period, as examples of architectural style and the social life indicative of the time. All three houses were built by wealthy men and are representative of their specific periods. There is adequate data regarding each house to reconstruct the major feature of social life and architecture. All three houses were accessible for on-site observation by the investigator.

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to determine the changes of architecture and social life during the three time periods of the thirteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The comparison of social life involved business, entertainment, travel, education, food, clothing and religion. The architectural comparison considered the style, plan and its components, materials, cost, craftsmen, artisans, laborers, landscape, sanitation, water supply, architect, furnishings and the owner.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Although there are hundreds of manor houses in England, each of the houses is unique. However, a general trend and attitude toward building and living during the five hundred year period under study has been characterized through the houses, three of which have been selected for this study.

All of the houses are in East Anglia, an area north and east of London. It is an area that has been relatively isolated throughout history and provides a consistent atmosphere and environment within which to study.

There are numerous books and journals for the social history of the periods involved. Bennett (1937) , Laslett (1965), Porter (1982) and Stone (1977) are examples of pertinent resources. Primarily, libraries, on-site observation of the houses and grounds as well as the topography, letters and oral history, when available, were the means by which the information has been gathered for the architectural aspect of the study.

The following is a description of the methodology regarding the three individual houses in the study.

Little Wenham Hall

Little Wenham Hall (1260) is a fortified, medieval house with a partial moat that is somewhat removed or distant from the house itself, but that encloses the gardens. It is the oldest brick house in England, which offers interest and stimulates further research. It is

not a vast castle, but a family dwelling of modest dimension. It is, however, complete with crenelations, or battlements, slits for the archers and a tower. There is a manor church that was built at the same time, by the same masons. Regrettably there are no existing primary records of the early days of the house. Medieval records of that era (1280) are rare.

The house is now owned by Major Binney who was kind enough to allow a visit to the house and permission to take photos. He showed further generosity and consideration by showing the interior of the great hall in its very beautifully restored and preserved state. He did not appear to be knowledgeable about the history of the house, except for the fact that it had been in his family for over one hundred years. He lives in a large timbered house on the same grounds as Wenham Castle, the name now used for the hall.

The libraries, Cambridge University included, had little to offer regarding Little Wenham. Oregon State Library offers several books which mention the hall, including those by Cook (1965), Fletcher (1965), Lloyd (1931), and Wood (1965). Other books were offered by friends in England who were aware of this research.

From the record office in Ipswich, Suffolk, in response to a letter of inquiry, there came copies from two sources. One was the report presented at a meeting of the local people who were interested in the preservation of the church and house, and the other from the record

office files.

The on-site observation and absorption of the atmosphere of the building and its surroundings has proven invaluable when reading the material which has been collected. The fact that the researcher was there has allowed a better interpretation and appraisal of the information. The photos, both prints and slides, attest to the beautiful condition of the building and portray its medieval charm.

Photos taken of the interior of Little Wenham show the ingenuity of Harold Hagerty, who took time shots through key holes, lanclets and windows.

Hengrave Hall

The manor of Hengrave was purchased by Sir Thomas Kytson in 1521. Shortly thereafter, he began to build the still existing hall. Henry VIII was king. Although Hengrave Hall had a moat and modified battlements, it was a social house where entertaining, the raising of a large family and intellectual pursuits were enjoyed.

Sister Juliana, the historian now residing at Hengrave, allowed a look at the limited amount of material at the hall and gave the researcher carte blanche regarding the perusing of the building itself. It was "modernized" in the 1700's, but much of the original architecture and details remains the same. Many photos were taken and the atmosphere and aura of Hengrave absorbed.

It is now owned by the Catholic Church and is used for conferences and retreats. There is a population of resident nuns, students and

lay-workers who maintain and manage the house.

Sister Juliana advised that the original building and household records of Hengrave were at the University Library at Cambridge. An afternoon was spent in the manuscript room at Cambridge, in awe, to see the magnificent leather bound volume --with large brass buckle--of the original building records. The dates started in 1523. The original household record book is there also. A microfilm was made of selected pages and mailed to the researcher.

There is a reasonable amount of data regarding Hengrave in various volumes. The most complete is the History of Hengrave by John Gage. It is a rare volume available at Hengrave Hall, but not available in the United States. Gage (1838) also did a History of the Manors of Suffolk in which there is considerable information regarding the history of Hengrave. Other sources are Cook (1974), Girouard (1978), Lloyd (1931), Wood (1965), and Wilson (1977). Sister Juliana offered a pamphlet about the house, but it only touches briefly on the history.

The Record Office of Suffolk County in Bury St. Edmunds had a number of original documents regarding Hengrave. They were extremely helpful, copying the material and mailing it. Books given to the researcher by a historian in Bury St. Edmunds have material on Hengrave.

There are many articles in current periodicals about the English manor houses. Most of them offer a detail or aspect not previously found, and are therefore valuable.

Houghton Hall

Houghton Hall was started in 1721 by Sir Robert Walpole, known as England's first prime minister. George I was king. Walpole made his fortune through his brilliance and canniness as a politician, and he spent it in the grand Augustan style of the time.

The house is a great stone pile in the Palladian style with acres of groomed grounds to set it off properly. By this time, a prestigious architect was a must, as well as a landscape designer, interior designer, artisans of note and a sophisticated staff to manage the estate.

The Dowager Marchioness of Cholmondeley now resides in Houghton. A letter to her son, the sixth Marquess of Cholmondeley, resulted in an answer from the administrator of the estate, Mr. P. A. Baldwin, with an invitation to come, but only on the one day of the week it is open to the public. An early arrival before the gates were open, resulted in an invitation to have tea with the gate-keeper. She resided in the gatehouse built at the same time of the hall itself. They were remodeling within the cottage and the thick interior walls of brick were exposed. It is presumed the great hall is of the same interior construction.

Mr. Baldwin met the researcher in the entrance to Houghton and answered many questions. No photos were allowed of the interior. It is overwhelming to visit a house of such magnitude, and can confuse and alter one's thinking. That, however, was the very reason for the

construction of such a house--to impress--and impress it does.

A letter to the Manuscript Department of Cambridge University Library resulted in a microfilm of early building records of Houghton Hall. Because Walpole is more prominent in English history than the owners of Little Wenham and Hengrave Hall, there is more information available in history books about Houghton Hall. The Palladian style of architecture was more prevalent, for various reasons, than the previous two styles, allowing for a greater reservoir of resources.

CHAPTER II

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Henry III and his son Edward I were kings during the thirteenth century. The Magna Carta had been signed in 1215, two hundred seventy years before Columbus was to think of his voyage across the Atlantic.

Marco Polo was traveling in China and Acre fell as the last Christian Bastion in the Holy land. It was a time of knights in armor, battlemented castles, enthusiastic religion and great tournaments on the continent where men such as Edward I learned the art of warring (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

The Roberts (1980) described the thirteenth century as the time when medieval civilization reached its maturity.



Plate I. Edward I.

Evans (1966) described this time period as The Flowering of the Middle Ages. Wilkinson (1969) referred to the thirteenth century as a "...period of great achievement..." (p. 387) when the country became united and passed from a feudal and agrarian economy to the "...conditions of a money economy and a territorial state..." (Wilkinson, 1969, p. 388), this being the greatest change in structure until the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. People were emerging from the dark ages and the thwarting of fertile minds ended. The people still relied on their feudal past and its traditions to provide norms and basic ideals from which to grow (Watkin, 1979). 'The law of England was a customary law, not written but based on precedent' (King, 1979, p. 1). Kings swore to follow the customs of their ancestors. The papacy was in control, men traveled and chivalry determined the life style of the knights. Philosophers proposed that faith could not overpower reason. Men, however, believed unquestionably in and were constantly reminded of their Christian faith (Roberts and Robers, 1980)

An incident of change was the use of the written word which was as much a threat to people as some now perceive the computer to be. The ability to utilize this new found skill was primarily restricted to the clergy and a few clerks trained in the art. It was a skill which changed the nature of government in that written records were meticulously kept (King, 1979).

There were two important influences in the governing of England at this time. The secular influence involved the kingly rule and all its

aspects, whereas, the ecclesiastical influence contained the religious life and the church rules and regulations. The two were in competition for "...revenue, loyalty and obedience..." (Wilkinson, 1969, p. 390).

The thirteenth century was a time when the Norman influence began to lessen. The importance of the Norman ancestry of France and French ways gave way to the changing of names to provincial English names and the development of English mannerisms. The French language and customs diminished as English nationalism evolved (Wilkinson, 1969).

England at this time was exceedingly rural (Wilkinson, 1969). It is doubtful that the citizens of the small East Anglian villages were aware of the worldly events taking place elsewhere in their kingdom. Few of them ever left the environs of the manor.

Communication was slow and travel equally so. There were few roads and those were impassable much of the winter season. Small paths connected village to manor and church. The rivers and streams proved the best and most efficient mode of transportation, especially for greater distances (Roberts and Roberts, 1980; Wilkinson, 1969).

Great forests and open fields covered the land where its people lived closest to nature. Agriculture provided a livelihood and at times a profit, aided and abetted by the advance in commercial development of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Wilkinson, 1969).

Society was hierarchical with the peasant population at the bottom of the pyramid and the king at the apex. Life was difficult and often threatened by militaristic aristocracy, a holdover from the

Norman Conquest (Wilkinson, 1969). It was an agrarian society composed of the vast majority of peasants that depended on crops of grain and some vegetables in the flatlands and animals in the hills (Roberts and Roberts, 1980). It was the agricultural community that determined the hierarchal society with all its strengths and weaknesses. "The culture and the refinements of life were confined to the privileged few" (Wilkinson, 1969, p. 389).



Plate 2. Gathering the harvest.

A typical village in East Anglia was nucleated with the manor house and chapel or church as the center. The villages took on various configurations, some following the road in an elongated pattern, others became round or rectangular. The topography, i.e., the hills, water, fields and forests, dictated the planning of the manor houses and the villages (King, 1979).

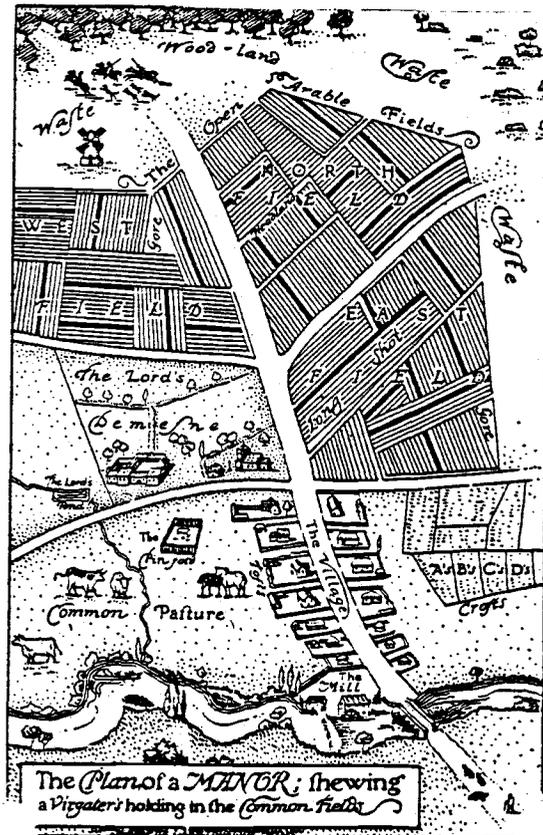


Plate 3. Plan of a medieval manor.

Social Life

The everyday life in a medieval household would be considered chaotic by today's standards. There were myriads of servants to fulfill the plans of the household; there was the immediate family and there were always numerous guests. Girouard (1978) specified the four main functions of the manor house administration, power, state and hospitality. The implementing of these operations took large numbers of people to accomplish. In a medieval house, they all mingled together in the great hall or adjoining service areas, making for often crowded and noisy conditions. The intermingling of the

various stratifications of the household and visitors acted as a leveling agent. Isaac (1982) contends, however, that the proximity of individuals and the common enjoyment of pastimes did not level social distinctions. The Lord of the manor, his family and friends were forced, because of the floor plan of the early manor houses, to come into close and everyday contact with the servants, all the children of various ages, visitors and craftsmen who were engaged to perform their skills. That exposure was bound to foster trust, bonding and friendship that would not have occurred without the closeness experienced during medieval life on a manor.

Houses varied in size, from the very small, dark one-room peasant hovels to the great fortified halls and castles. The great halls, or manor houses, varied in size also. In a large house, where the squire was very wealthy, the household was periodically moved from one house to another in the squire's domain, depending on the time of the year. There were seasonal residences. The summer house was perchance the major farm of the squire; the winter residence might be more accessible to London, or even in the city. The movement of a great household was a noisy and impressive sight and could involve hundreds of people. Daily life on the road was primitive, at best, and involved camping in tents set up in advance of the Lord's family and riding along poor roads in the countryside. Inns were few and far between as accommodation when traveling. The country houses of friends sometimes provided a refuge when on the travel route. Winter roads were often impassable mud trails; in summer deep ruts and dust.

bandits were an ever present threat (Girouard, 1978).

The lord of the manor surrounded himself with a circle of great noblemen or hunting cronies. He had staff to perform the mundane duties and usually the steward held sway at the manor court. A lesser squire like a knight, most likely, would not have the associates that a noble aristocrat would have, but he would have other knights and household personnel with whom to practice his skills. A lesser knight would assume more of the household decision-making and household responsibilities when he was not off fighting because it is likely he would not have a large staff (Girouard, 1978).

Business

The business of a medieval household varied but agriculture was still the basis of the economy and most households relied on crops, animals and rents paid by farming tenants. Girouard (1978) stated that the power in a medieval household was derived from man-power not money. The number of knights a great nobleman could afford to retain



Plate 4. Plowing the land.

was testament to his position. A knight's lot would be determined by

his retainer fee, his house and household. None-the-less, management of any estate was often an involved process. Efficient methods of running the farm, collecting the rents and services of the peasants took careful organization. The Lord who had only one manor and resided there could easily have orchestrated the business of the estate. Those who had vast acreages and more than one manor, possibly scattered all over England, had to rely on paid personnel to manage for them. The result of which was the evolution of a "...heirarchy of officials and minor servants..." (Bennett, 1937, p. 153). The steward was at the head of the Lord's estate business. He was usually a man of noble heritage, educated and trustworthy. In 1300 the steward of Berkhamsted received an annual fee of "...15 pounds 6s. 8d. and two robes with fur, as well as hay, litter and firewood at all his Lord's manors, with an additional 6s. 8d. for returning the king's writs..." (Bennett, 1937, p. 158). The reeve, or sheriff, on the other hand, received only "...5s. a year and an allowance of four shillings for his food during the busy autumn harvesting season" (Bennett, 1937, p. 158). The steward more than earned his fee by assuming the total responsibility of the manor, including the manor court.

Entertainment

Amusement is often the indicator of the temperament, manners and attitudes of the time period. It was one of the very few things in the thirteenth century where individuals had a choice.

Hawking is picturesquely associated with the color of the Middle Ages. People of that time period used trained hawks much as people

today use guns. Guns in the thirteenth century were crude and inaccurate, not capable of hitting a flying target, and bows and arrows were not efficient. Hawking was an expensive sport indulged in only by the wealthy aristocracy

(Abram, 1913). The yeoman used the goshawk and the clergyman, a sparrowhawk (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).



Plate 5. Hawking.

Hunting was another reserved for the well-to-do.

Great forests were maintained for the fostering

of deer herds. Rabbits, squirrels and birds, such as pheasants and quail, were hunted by both men and women. Poaching was a common practice by the peasants in spite of the severe penalties if caught (Abram, 1913).

Fishing was enjoyed by everyone although privileges were carefully controlled. Permission had to be gained before a commoner could indulge. The best areas were, of course, reserved for the gentry (Abram, 1913).

Tournaments held among the 500 to 1000 knights in England were staged, pitched battles, with two sides charging each other in a "...murderous melee" (Roberts and Roberts, 1980, p. 129).

Tournaments were the training ground for aspiring knights and

became great social occasions (Roberts and Roberts, 1980). They were often held in honor of a lady or ladies and were accompanied by much color and fanfare.

Wrestling was a competitive sport where the contestants could win a fair amount of money. Cities sponsored competitors and offered rewards for winning (Abram, 1913).



Plate 6. Wrestling.

Horse racing was primitive and conducted on the roads between towns or in fields. It was used as a training procedure for children, since swiftness on horseback was sometimes a prerequisite to survival (Abram, 1913).

Archery was a defensive skill and was also enjoyed in local competition. Women learned to shoot a bow and arrow and it was one of the first toys of little boys (Abram, 1913).

Bear baiting and cock-fighting were cruel amusements, bull baiting being encouraged by the authorities and cock fighting deemed illegal. Cock fighting, however, was popular at the schools.

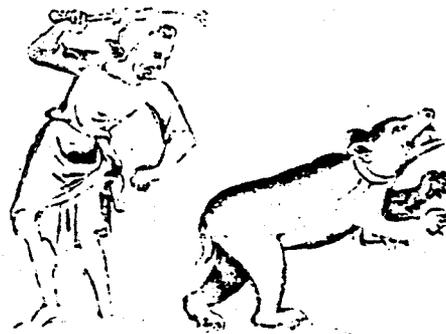


Plate 7. Bear baiting

The priests, who were the teachers, were given the dead birds at the

end of the competition.

Spinning tops, catching butterflies, playing ball, blind man's bluff and diving for apples in water were some of the games that still survive. Dancing, singing, "...harpyng and luting'..." were important winter-time diversions (Abram, 1913, p. 237). Chess, dice and backgammon were very old games and cards were enjoyed. Gambling was a pastime, then as now.

The gentry hired people to entertain them with humor or music and plays. Music played an important part in the lives of people in the thirteenth century.

There were various instruments played by minstrels which were enjoyed independently or used to accompany singing, dancing and poem reading. There were

acrobats, rope-walkers,

jugglers, conjurers, tumblers,

dancers and contortionists,

many of whom traveled

about the countryside
hoping to be hired by the

local squire or perhaps

the king himself. Per-

forming animals such as

dancing bears, a monkey

playing hand-bells and talking parrots, among others, toured the countryside (Abram, 1913).



Plate 8. Lute and pipe players.

Women enjoyed many of the less physical of the sports. They hunted, hawked, played ball and took part in the quieter games. Many whiled away hours in "...wevinge or embrouderie'..." (Abram, 1913, p. 245).

Travel

Medieval travel was difficult at best. Roads were very poor and unmaintained. During the rainy winters, many of them were impassable. The horse was the most luxurious means of transport over land. Carts and wagons

were used but sported no springs and were often worse than walking.

In the winter of 1294, it took nine days for 21 cartloads of treasure to be hauled from London



Plate 9. Travel on foot.

to Norwich, the port of departure for shipment overseas. By hiring extra help along the way an average of 12 miles a day was achieved. Water transport was the easiest where it was possible. Boats were prevalent in areas where they were usable. It was all slow and sometimes walking was faster.

Toll roads and bridges made long journeys expensive. The king charged toll on the

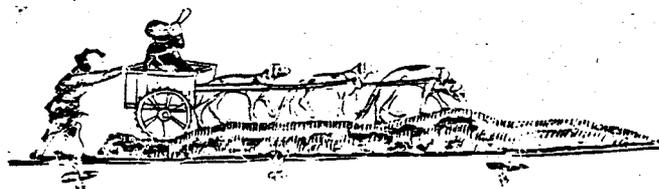


Plate 10. A common cart.

main roads; private individuals were allowed to charge a toll to cross

their property or perhaps a bridge. Towns sometimes charged toll at the entrance gates which were guarded (Stenton, 1951).

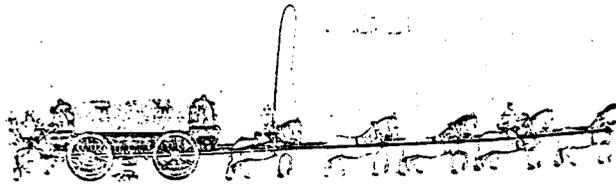


Plate 11. A state carriage.

Education

Education in the thirteenth century was religiously oriented as it was to be for many years following. Those who learned to write and read usually learned under the guidance of a religious teacher.

Two great universities emerged during the thirteenth century, Oxford and Cambridge. According to Roberts and Roberts (1980) "...there was little similarity to our modern day universities. There were few buildings, no student societies, no athletic programs and no board of trustees" (Roberts and Roberts, 1980, p. 146). Halls were hired as needed for classroom study and a member of a guild of masters of the arts acted as instructor. At the beginning of the universities, students were given a bad time by local citizens and contemporaries, but by the 1300's great respect had developed toward the scholars who were among the privileged.

The students came from varied backgrounds and were between the ages of 14 and 21. They became doctors, lawyers or monks, but four out of five became priests. The poor students earned their way by copying (writing) for others. The wealthy students lived more

luxuriously than their teachers and most fellow students. They were privileged to have a candle, a comfortable bed and elegant clothes. There were, then, the students who drifted, played too much and utilized the tavern facilities to the utmost (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

A degree of mastership of arts, which took six years, was needed to go on to study civil and canon law, medicine, philosophy or theology. Few reached this goal. To gain a doctorate required eight more years which even fewer attempted (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

There were grammar schools which primarily taught Latin, the language used for singing and all clerical and legal work. Medieval schools were of different grades. The very young attended the ABC schools; song schools were for those further advanced. Reading and writing schools also existed (Harrison, 1947). Discipline was severe and often brutal with frequent lashings and austere living conditions.

The children from lower and middle class society attended the grammar schools. Much free instruction was available so the poorer students wishing an education could attain it if proper connections could be devised (Abram, 1913).

Women were known to have learned to read and write and become knowledgeable in different languages. Their education was usually in conjunction with their brothers for whom a tutor was hired. The most common education for women was the skill of sewing and household management (Abram, 1913).

Generally speaking, education was a privilege of few but was

available to many with a desire to learn through the church teachings. Education varied from the broader curriculum of the universities to the narrow instruction in Latin of the church schools.

Food

Depending on their means, there was great quantity and variety of food available to thirteenth century citizens. It was an agricultural society wherein they grew, raised or caught their food. Preservation

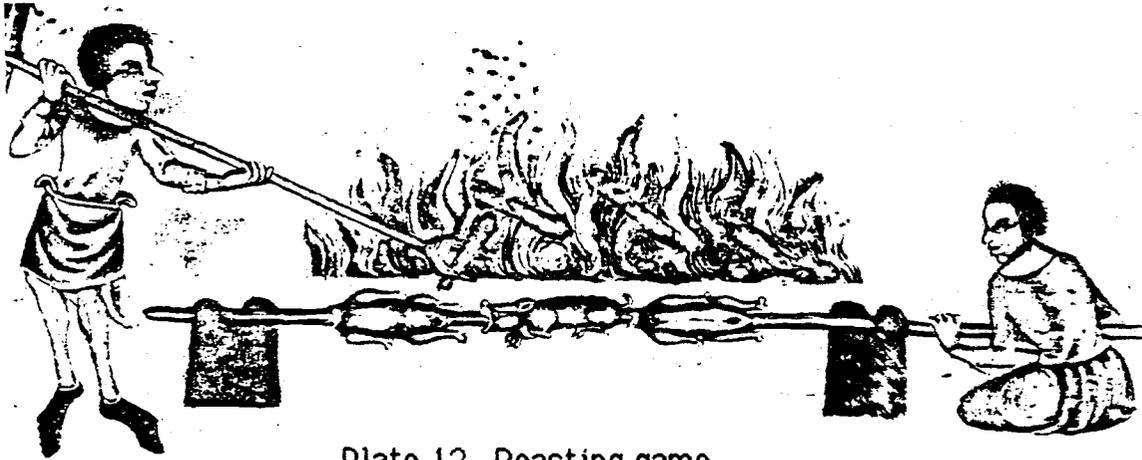


Plate 12. Roasting game.

was minimal, usually salt curing, or drying in the sun, making yearly production exceedingly important and the risk of a bad crop year potentially disastrous (Harrison, 1947).



Plate 13. Preparing food.

Cows, oxen, sheep and pigs were raised then as now, although meat was not the privilege of the poorer peasants except on holy days and the celebrations that went with births, marriages and deaths. Deer were hunted by the nobility and poached by the lesser citizens. Chickens, ducks and wild birds were in great abundance as were fish in the streams and coastal waters. Salmon, trout, herring, oysters, crabs and lobsters were among the fish available. Wild and cultivated fruit such as pears, plums, apples, peaches, grapes and cherries plus many wild berries were available to everyone (Harrison, 1947).

Cottage gardens where fresh vegetables such as peas, beans, leeks, cabbages, onions, turnips, beets, kale and parsnips were grown and maintained by even the lowliest peasants. Herbs played an important part in medieval cooking. Food was often highly seasoned to offset the bad taste of a vegetable or fowl meat or fish. The picking of herbs was done carefully by following legends and traditions of rituals and superstition. Mushrooms were gathered as well as nettles (Harrison, 1947; Rohde, 1922).

Soups and broths which were made with vegetables, grains, meat,



Plate 14. Preparing soup.

and highly seasoned with herbs seemed to be common. They had sweet foods much as we do. Honey was the primary sweetener with sweet fruit used also. Cheesecakes, pancakes and fritters were made with flour, batter and honey and sometimes apples and ale or figs. Eggs were used generously as was milk (Abram, 1913).

Feasts and meals varied from the great banquets of the noblemen to the plain fare of a peasant. The same reverence for food prevailed regardless of the scale.

Ale, beer and wine were drunk at all levels of society and all were homemade. They were drunk at breakfast as well as dinner and supper and sometimes in between. At a great banquet unbelievable quantities would be consumed.

Clothing

Utility was the criterion for the clothing of the thirteenth century. Cloth was expensive and lasted a long time. It was seldom laundered. It was not unusual for one garment to last three generations, being handed down from one to another. There was trade with the Continent and the East, but the majority of the population failed to be involved in its influence. The primary difference in style was the fabric used. A nobleman wore furs and velvets used in voluminous quantities. The women wore a tight-fitting garment covered by a surcoat. It was split at the sides and, being sleeveless, showed the sleeves of the undergarment. A girdle or belt and a pouch was worn either at the waist or a little lower. Aprons were worn by most people (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

For head covering the men wore a coif, a close-fitting bonnet tied



Plate 15. Thirteenth century clothing.



Plate 16. Thirteenth century family.

under the chin, which enclosed the hair and ears, and over which they wore a hat or bonnet. Drapery to cover heads was the norm rather than formal headdress (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

Men wore their hair long, to the shoulders. Women parted their hair in the center and wore it in plaits over the ears or in a chignon or net (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

Shoes were made with long pointed toes which projected far beyond the end of the foot. They were made of leather and at times were cut out, forming openings to allow their bright colored stockings to show (Abram, 1913).



Plate 17. Shoe

Peasants shoes and clothing were rough and coarse. Shoes were of heavy leather and thick soles and were worn by the men. Women often went barefoot, as did children. Clothes of both sexes were of the coarsest fabrics and were worn until they could no longer be mended (Bennett, 1937).



Plate 18. Thirteenth century headcoverings.

Religion

The lives of thirteenth century English citizens revolved around the church, its teaching, superstitions and comfort. Christianity and all its trappings meant more to medieval man than we can grasp. The church took a vital part in birth, marriage and death and dictated the rules and regulations of life in between. The church was in the center of the village and was a refuge and source of comfort in times of distress as well as celebration. Manor houses almost always incorporated a chapel in the plan for use by the immediate family.

Religion was not a Sunday outing in the thirteenth century, it was an on-going, round-the-clock aspect of life. It was all-consuming and was the ultimate authority in men's lives. It was Catholic and direction was given from Rome via the local church authorities (Bennett, 1937).



Plate 19. Medieval church.

There were constant reminders of the church presence in the form of shrines, crosses, the coming and going of pilgrims and wandering friars. The spire of the church was purposefully high so all could see it from wherever their vantage point. The church was aggressive in many ways. The tithe barn was ever-present, where taxes and rents in-kind were taken. The mortuary tithe was often the second best animal; the squire took the best. Collections at the services were expected. Punishment for misdeeds was dealt out by the church as part of its duty.

Macfarlane (1978) cited Max Weber as theorizing that it was the replacement by the church authority of the tribal and clan leaders of Medieval England that broke up the clan system, creating a situation where "...the family and kinship no longer dominate economic and social life" (Macfarlane, 1978, p. 50).



Plate 20. Clergyman.

E. H. Carr states that "...what we know as the facts of medieval history have almost all been selected for us by generations of chroniclers who were professionally occupied in the theory and practice of religion'..." (Elton, 1969, p. 237). The churches were also the centers of learning either by way of direct teaching, listening to sermons and lessons or by observing the stories portrayed in the stained glass windows and sculptures which adorned the buildings.

The Manor

A definition of a manor is:

...a certain circuit of ground granted by the king to some baron or man of worth as an inheritance for him and his heirs, with the exercise of such jurisdiction within the said compass as the king saw fit to grant, and subject to the performance of such services and yearly rents as were by the grant required (Scargill-Bird in Ditchfield, 1985, p.14).

The fortified castle of medieval days gave way to the manor house, or hall, as it came to be known. The term "manor" included the total land holding but paramount was the house itself.

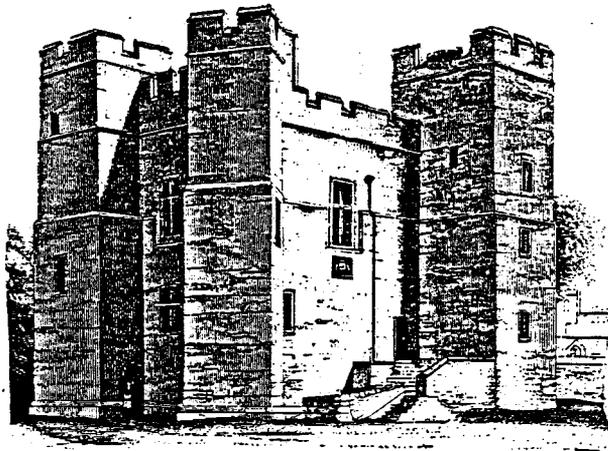


Plate 21. Medieval manor house.

Land became the all important factor when determining wealth and the country house built upon the land was the center of the private

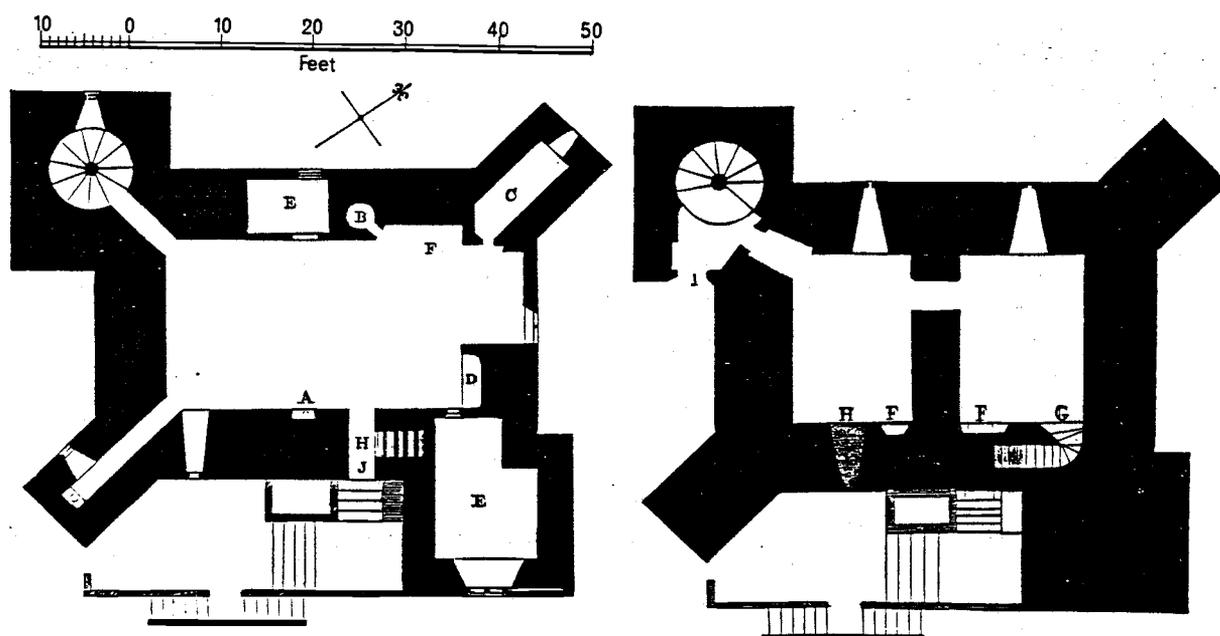
kingdom - it became a "power house" with the lord of the manor acting as the king (Girouard, 1978, p. 2). The land normally was not farmed for profit, but rented out to tenants. The land formed the setting for the country estate, where the lord of the manor could entertain, hunt and exhort his thoughts. "Land provided the fuel, a country house was the engine which made it effective" (Girouard, 1978,p.3). Some of the houses continued to be fortified well into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but there were those whose defensive measures had been greatly modified as early as the thirteenth century (Girouard, 1978).

Plan

The medieval manor house evolved from the hall, which was the main room. It "...developed from the barn-like structure of prehistoric and Saxon times, with a central hearth..." (Wood, 1965, p.xxxvii), much like the long-house constructed by Northwest Indians. Originally the kitchen, chapel, storage areas and working spaces were detached from the main building, but gradually these areas were incorporated into the house to form separate rooms around the hall (Girouard, 1978). The ground floor, or undercroft, was divided into bays to become storage area and sleeping space for the household staff. The first floor usually contained the hall, chapel, kitchen, servery, garderobe and a buttery. Above the chapel was the great chamber or solar, where the lord of the manor slept and where the women gathered during the day. The solar, derived from the sun rooms of the

Romans, was lighter and airier because of more windows (Wood, 1965).

It was safer to have the hall and living rooms raised to the first floor level, or what we refer to as the second floor, resulting in a "...hall and cellar..." (Wood, 1965., p.16). The first-floor hall is typical of a medieval Norman house.



Pl. 14 A and B. Dacre Castle; plan of middle storey (*left*) and basement. *Parker (1853)*.

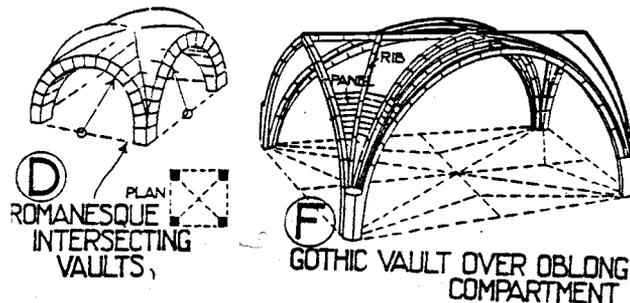
KEY:

A, drain	D, bed recess	G, H, stairs to and from basement
B, oven	E, bedroom	I, original entrance
C, pantry	F, fireplace	J, modern entrance

Plate 22. Plan of a medieval manor house.

The hall was raised on the basement or cellar by the use of vaulting usually of stone, but sometimes of wood timbers. The space created on the ground-floor level provided safe storage and housing

for household staff. By use of the vaulting, aisles were created forming areas which could be partitioned off for rooms which formed the beginning of available privacy (Wood, 1965).



The screens provided

an area of the manor

Plate 23. Vaulting.

house that evolved from the placement of a screen, usually moveable, at the entrance end of the great hall to alleviate drafts and create more privacy. The screens evolved into permanent partitions which formed an entry hallway from which the service areas or the great hall could be entered (Fletcher, 1961). In the upper end of the hall was a raised platform called the dais. It was often covered with a canopy of fabric or wood which was carved. It was either an elaborate area or could be simple and austere depending on the taste and status of the occupant. It was on this dais that the lord of the manor ate his meals, with and in view of his household. Household refers to all the people who lived and worked in the house, not only those related (Lloyd, 1931).

Doors and porches. The entrances to medieval houses were usually at one end creating a lower or entrance end into the screens area and a more remote upper end where the dais was placed. The entrances were often the best and most elaborate feature of a



Plate 24 Great hall showing screens, floor, doors, walls and central fireplace.

medieval house. They were ornamented more extensively than the rest of the house and so left a valid record of the artistic tastes of the period (Braun, 1967). They also provided opportunity to display the wealth of the owner.

Where the entrance was on the first floor, exterior stairways were used. Stairs were made of wood or of stone and replaced the ladder used in earlier days. The stairs were protected by a roof or by a more elaborate porch. They descended at right angles or parallel with the building. The early stone staircases appear to be without a bannister, whereas the wood stairs usually had a simple railing of some sort (Ditchfield, 1985).

A pointed Gothic arch was the norm in a thirteenth century doorway but

there are remnants of the round Norman arch. Jamb-shafts were used less than in the previous Norman houses and they

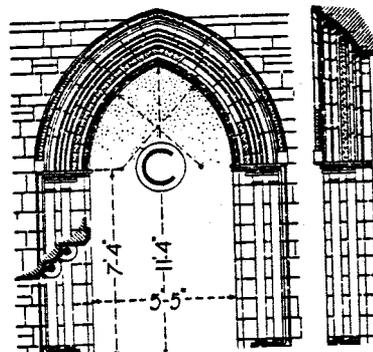


Plate 25. Gothic arch.

developed into an uninterrupted roll or keel molding which was continuous with the head (Wood, 1965).

In the late thirteenth century, doorways, when near an angle, had a recess into which the open door could be set back. Doors were heavy and thick and took up valuable space. The recess, besides giving space for the door to swing, allowed for a freer access through the door.

Barricading by use of a strong wood or iron bar was used to secure the door. Holes for the bar were in each jamb (Wood, 1965).

The entrance doorway was sometimes covered with a porch which allowed the door to be left open when an open hearth fire was burning. It thwarted the many drafts of the old houses. The porch symbolised hospitality and gave protection from the weather (Braun, 1967).

Windows. The windows in the hall varied but commonly were high and narrow, often incorporating some of the Gothic tracery found in the ecclesiastical architecture. Many of them followed the style of the Normans.

The external jamb-shaft declined in use, but the internal jamb-shaft remained popular. The single light, or window, was common, but the most popular was a two-light window which incorporated the mid-shaft. They were not deeply recessed and were finished with molding or were chamfered. The windows in the cellar level, if they existed, were slits, splayed to the interior or they were loops in a cruciform shape. There were pointed loops as opposed to rounded ones. They let in a minimum of light, functioning primarily as a defensive facility through which arrows could be fired (Wood, 1965).

As the thirteenth century progressed, the mullioned window became more prevalent. The mullions were treated differently, some

having a keel, chamfered or sometimes hollow chamfered. Mouldings were used around the windows usually following the design of the window heads (Wood, 1965).

Trefoiled single lights as well as the double were also used in living-rooms. Circular windows were used in the gables with

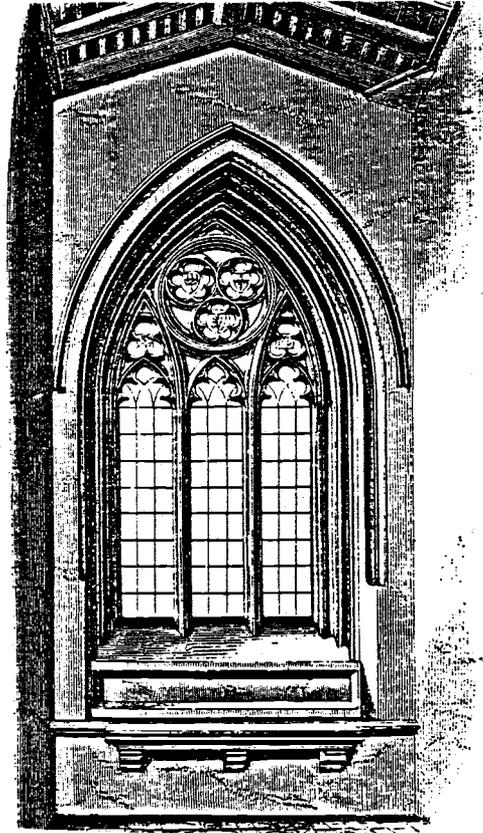


Plate 26. Pointed Gothic window arch with two jamb-shafts, three lights, quatrefoils, trefoils and window seat.

cusping becoming common. Quatrefoil was used in the points of the two-light window heads, but was not as common as the trefoil. Some two-light windows had no covering arch but had heads cut out of a

single piece of stone (Wood, 1965). In the early thirteenth century there was a prevalent use of the round-headed trefoil. As the century progressed it appears that the pointed trefoil head to the lights was more common. According to Wood (1965) the survival of the pointed trefoil head is due to the greater number of surviving houses from the later part of the thirteenth century.

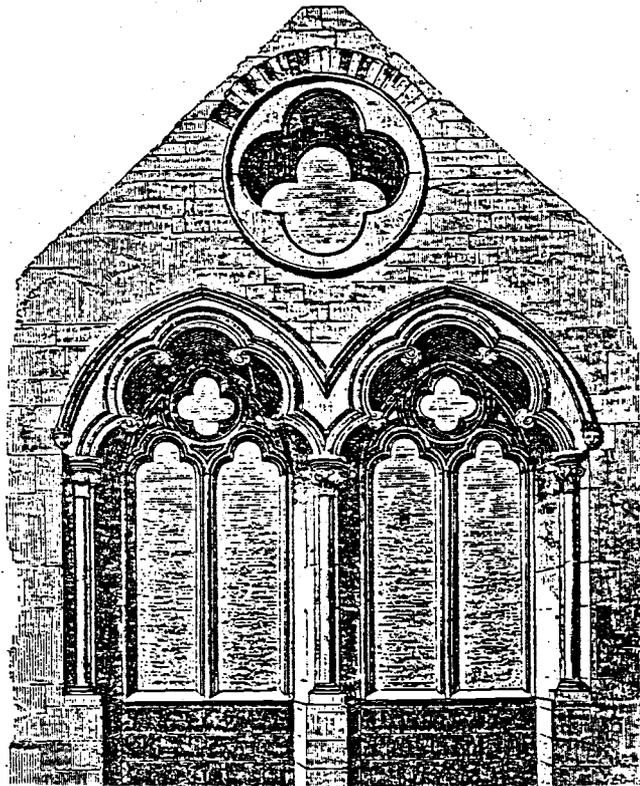


Plate 27. Traceried Gothic windows with cusps, quatrefoils and central jamb-shaft.

The more elaborate the house and greater the wealth of its owner the more windows there were. In the larger houses the windows were larger and five-light windows were often used (Wood, 1965).

Because of cost, glass was reserved for the use of the wealthy

and was not used commonly until the time of Elizabeth in the late fifteen hundreds (Litchfield, 1985). Examples of glass remain, however, from even Roman and Saxon times and from the Norman period, but its use was sparse. The quatrefoil in the head of a window was the first area of windows to be glazed with others done as could be afforded. Horn was used as an alternative. Shutters were the common closure and windows were designed so the shutters were recessed (Wood, 1965).

Windows were made to open and shut in some instances. Most all of them show evidence of iron bars on the exterior as part of the defensive function (Wood, 1965).

Sitting windows were mentioned by Henry III in his thirteenth century instructions for construction and were not an uncommon request. The seats were of stone or wood and were incorporated into the design of the window, either recessed, placed at right angles to the wall or parallel to the splayed jambs. Window seats gave the user the advantage of maximum available light from the windows and the comfort of the heat from the sun. Foot-rests were known to be used also (Wood, 1965).

Floors. The floor of the hall was of wood, paved with tile or stone or of the natural soil used on the ground floor. The soil was hauled in and "... rammed..." (Wood, 1965, p. 389) to compress it. Chalk, also used, was hard-beaten. In a royal chapel, in 1260, Henry III gave instructions to "... well earth the flooring..." (Wood, 1965, p.

389.) There were instances where the floor was boarded first, then overlaid with earth which was tampered down. Dirt formed an air-tight insulation, making a room more comfortable. A kitchen in 1260 had successive layers of clay and gravel. Plaster was used, but rarely.

The floor was strewn with rushes or straw and periodically cleaned out much as a stable might be. In addition to rushes, herbs such as basil, baulm, camomile, costmary, cowslip and paggles, daisies, sweet fennell, germander, hysop, lavender, lavender spike, lavender cotten, marjoram, maneline, pennyroyal, roses of all sorts, red mints, sage, tansey, violets and winter savory were used on the floor to counteract the obnoxious odors that developed (Wood, 1965).

As late as 1520, Erasmus gave a graphic description of the usual state of such floors. He says they "... were commonly of clay, stewn with rushes under which lies undisturbed an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats and everything that is nasty...." (Wilson, 1977, p.15). The floor was referred to as the "...marsh of the hall..." (Braun, 1967, p.161). The floor became very dirty with dogs, refuse from the table and fall-out from day to day living. The dais at the superior end of the hall was raised enough to be out of the mess that prevailed (Wood, 1965).

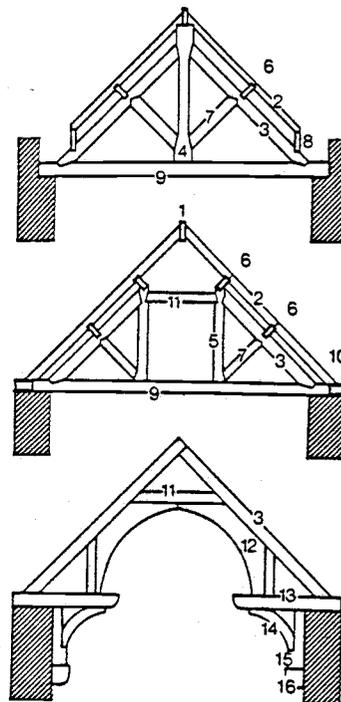
Carpets were used originally as table coverings and were rare until the following century. Edward I's wife, Eleanor of Castile, had one in 1255 (Wood, 1965).

Ceilings. Peaked or flat roof construction determined the interior ceiling treatment. In the thirteenth century there were three main types of open-timber roof; the king post, queen-post and hammer-beam construction. There were liberties taken with these basic styles to form a vast collection of plain and ornate ceilings. In the open ceilinged halls where the structure of the roof formed the ceiling, the character of the room was greatly affected by the style.

There exists in some of the older houses, blackened roof timbers as a remnant of the open hearth fires (Cook, 1974).

The flat roofed houses made use of long and large oak beams that spanned the width of the great hall. The beams were planked on the surface and then covered with tile, slate or lead.

The interior spaces between the beams were either left to show the timber planking or were



20 Elements of the three main types of timber roof, king-post (top), queen-post and hammer-beam. 1 ridge, 2 common rafter, 3 principal rafter, 4 king-post, 5 queen-post, 6 purlin, 7 strut, 8 sole plate, 9 tie-beam, 10 wall plate, 11 collar-beam, 12 arched brace, 13 hammer-beam, 14 brace, 15 wall-post, 16 corbel.

Plate 28. Medieval ceilings

plastered over to form a pattern of alternating beam and plaster (Wood, 1965).

Walls. The walls of a thirteenth century house were constructed of wood or stone. The more prestigious houses were of stone or brick. The interior finish was plastered and often painted with typical Gothic figures and motifs. The plaster was also marked off to form panels in which designs were painted. Due to the expense and rarity walls were rarely hung with fine fabric or tapestries. Wainscot was common in the greater houses; fir the most common wood used, was imported from Norway. It was applied as vertical boards and sometimes painted with scenes or in a plain color with spots of gold. Green appears to be a favorite color as it is requested frequently for the royal houses. Warm reds, probably sienna or madder, ochre, vermillion and gold are found, but blue is not used extensively. Tapestry was used, but sparingly, until the fourteenth century. Whitewashing with a lime mixture was the most common of interior finishes and was used throughout the houses, painted and untreated (Lloyd, 1931; Wood, 1965).

Kitchens. The early kitchens were often a detached building adjacent to the main hall, a concept utilized in large houses as well as in the more humble dwellings. They did not become intergral parts of the house until the 15th and 16th centuries. It is thought that fire prevention was a primary reason for their detachment which consistantly assured cold food. They were usually built of wood

and had thatched roofs. An excavation at Weoley Castle in Birmingham indicated that one such kitchen, as a result of fire, was rebuilt six times during the period of 1200-60. Another kitchen of 1300-50 was "...thirty feet square, with a central hearth and a post hole for a spit or a firehood; the western quadrant had a roughly tiled floor..." (Wood, 1965, p. 248).

Cooking was done in large open hearths, sometimes several in a kitchen, and baking was done in brick-lined ovens which at times were detached from the kitchen and at other times part of the interior plan (Girouard, 1978).

The larger kitchens were built with high roofs. The smells and smoke from the spit-roasting of meat was great, creating "...smoke, heat, smell and dirt..." (Girouard, 1978, p.34) which was ventilated through the opening in the roof. The architectural treatment of some of the larger kitchens was as elaborate, or more so, than that of the hall itself (Girouard, 1978).

Chapel. People were devoutly religious during the medieval period. Most all manor houses had a private chapel within the house, which was convenient to the great chamber and the high table which sat on the dais. The chapel was usually placed on the first floor at a right angle to the main hall, making an "L" shaped building but was found at most any location due to the haphazard manner in which rooms were added to the main hall. Because the private chapel was used only by the family, it was small but often elegant in

THE DOMESTIC CHAPEL

CHARNEY BASSET MANOR-HOUSE. c.1280

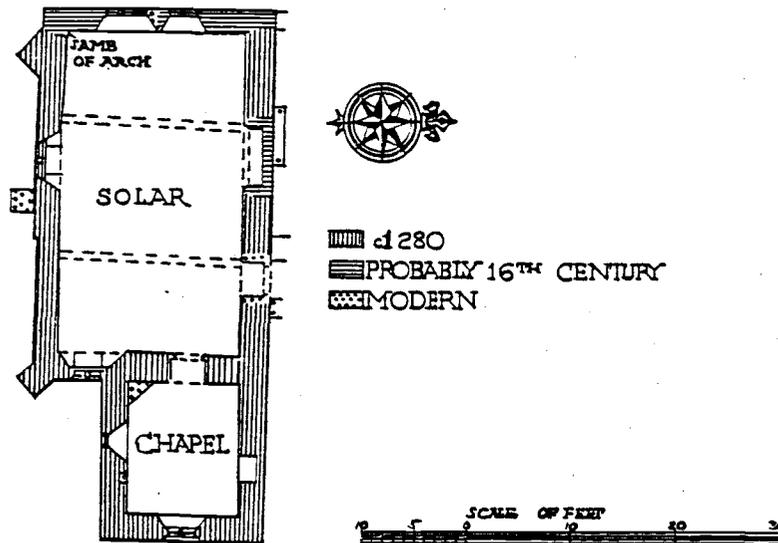


Figure 29. Floor plan showing chapel and solar.

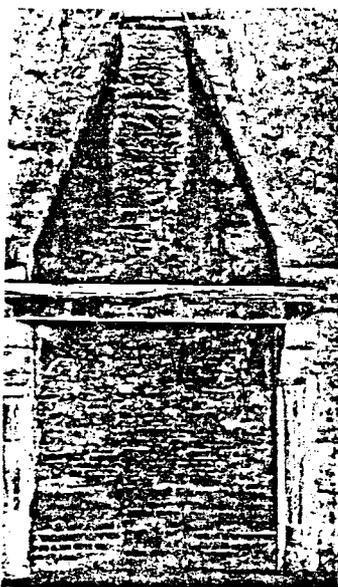
architectural detail. Stone was the common building material (Litchfield, 1985).

Vaulting was a common structural system used in thirteenth century chapels. Brick vaults with stone ribs have been found.

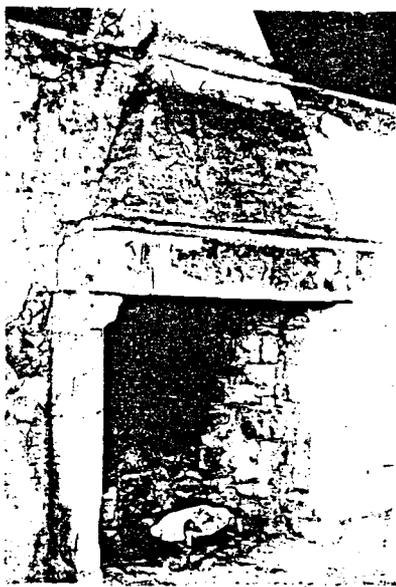
Glass was found in churches and chapels before it was in common use for the hall itself. The institution of the church at this time in history had great wealth which was spent on the edification of the church building. The church could afford glass windows (Wood, 1965).

Sculpture, if any was used, was found first in the chapel and was of religious motif. There were carved moldings and low-relief carvings over mantle pieces. Carved columns and capitals were also used (Lloyd, 1931).

Fireplaces. The hooded fireplace was the predominant type of fireplace in the thirteenth century. These replaced the central open fires of earlier days, where the smoke found its way up through an opening in the roof. The hood was pyramidal in shape, with a molded string-course and rested on a joggled lintel. The stones were stepped to prevent slipping. A hood discovered in 1957 displays a stone frame with wood and plaster. It was tall, tapering into a chimney in the wall. It had beautifully carved capitals which date it 1250-60. (Wood, 1965). Hoods of plaster were common but were usually incorporated with wood and stone in some manner.



King: Henry III.
763.—STOKESAY CASTLE, SHROPSHIRE.



c. 1250.
King: Henry III.
FIG. 764.—LUDESLOW MANOR, KENT.



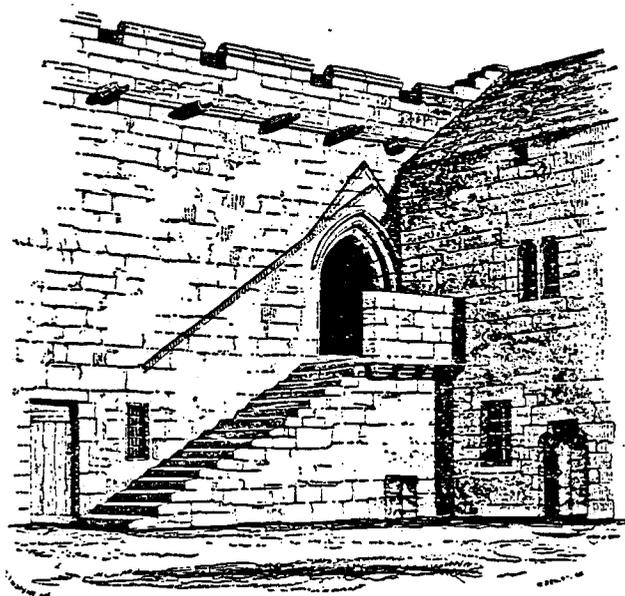
Late thirteenth century.
King: Edward I
FIG. 765.—ABINGDON ABBEY, BERKSHIRE.

Plate 30. Medieval fireplaces.

Records show that beginning in the thirteenth century, the addition of fireplaces to existing rooms was a common practice, verifying the interest in warmer, more comfortable living quarters. The addition of fireplaces also indicate the rough circumstance under

which people lived prior to the installation of a heating source (Lloyd, 1931).

Staircases. The interior spiral stairways common in later medieval houses wound around a center shaft or newel. It was usually of stone and was located at the dais end of the hall, often in a turret, just as commonly within the perimeter of the house itself (Litchfield, 1985). The stairs at this point in time were strictly functional and pragmatic, unlike the grand stage settings that were to come.



Aydon Castle, external staircase to hall.

Plate 31. Exterior staircase with Gothic doorway.

Exterior stairs replaced the ladder and trapdoor of the earlier part of the period. They were of wood or stone, simple in design and often without railing or bannister. They were sometimes protected by a roof of lead, tile, slate or thatch.

Cost

Few people in the thirteenth century were economically able to build great houses. The houses varied in size because of the high costs involved. Records exist of building and labor costs, but they refer primarily to the royal dwelling. Little exists regarding the smaller residential manor houses. From historical inferences, it is logical that only the wealthy could afford a manor house of any stature (Lloyd, 1931).

Above all, the remaining houses of the twelve hundreds reflect the conditions of the time and daily life of their occupants. The houses that remain are those of the upper socio-economic strata of England and, thus do not typify those of the common citizens whose houses were not built of durable materials such as stone and brick (Wood, 1965). In addition to the economic factor which dictated the type and scale of houses built, defense was another factor which dictated the building material. Since wood was easily burnable, stone, being both strong and fireproof, was used and used only by those financially able and who possessed something to defend, such as their land (Wilson, 1977).

Materials

Transportation was difficult and slow, therefore, indigenous materials were used to build the houses of the thirteenth century. The use of local material integrated the building with the local environment, giving it a sense of belonging (Litchfield, 1985). This also gave impetus to local eccentricities where the indigenous

materials were used, forming a local look with variations independent of the rest of the country. At a time when all walks of life were under the control of either the King, church, municipality, guild or the lord of the manor, it is refreshing to note that the masons and craftsmen did do original things with the material available to them.

Wood. Much of thirteenth century construction was of wood. The virgin forests and woodlands still covered Great Britain. Their content and concentration was determined by the soil and geology of the area. Wood was combined with brick and stone to form vaulted roofs, which evolved into the magnificent old hammer-beam roofs. It was also used for doors, stairways, panelling, framing and scaffolding (Atkinson, 1947).

Oak was the most used wood. It was strong, lasted a long time and was aesthetically pleasing as it aged and, at this point in time, it was in plentiful supply. Oak was expensive because of its hardness and because it was



Plate 32. Clearing the forest

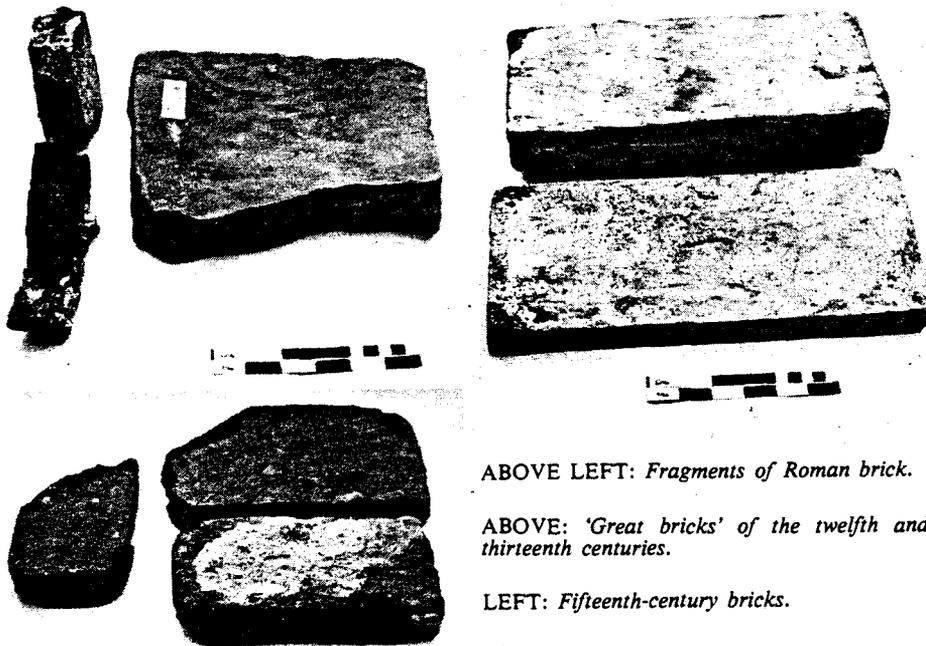
worked much as stone would be, often carved and pierced. Only the heart of the tree was used (Litchfield, 1985). Other wood was used

such as chestnut, fir, ash, birch and beech. Oak did not grow all over England, therefore, it became necessary to use the indigenous trees. The soft woods did not last as long as oak, there being few examples remaining of their use (Atkinson, 1947).

Stone. The influence of geology on architecture has had a direct effect because of the occurrence of building materials of different kinds in different areas. In the thirteenth century, stone that was indigenous was the stone that was used for most manor houses. There are incidents when stone was shipped by barge from Caen in France, but this occurred mainly when ecclesiastical construction was taking place, such as Canterbury Cathedral. For the local manor house, the local stone was usually used. If there was none, it occasionally was carted to the site if the distance was not too great. It is these great old stone piles that remain for us to research today. The fireproof stone was an asset to its building's occupants in the thirteenth century as well as treasure for us today (Atkinson, 1947).

Brick. Brick deserves a study of its own. It was the first fabricated building material used by man. The Romans are supposed to have introduced brick-making to England, but earlier brick loom weights made by the Celts have been found which date 100 B.C. The re-use of Roman brick was a common practice of the Saxons and Normans, the only identifying character being their size. Roman bricks were larger. The Roman bricks were made by kneading plastic earth, beating it into shape and burning it in kilns. The medieval bricks were

made in moulds as the Flemish bricks were. Flemish brick was imported as ballast in the ships from Flanders. In the thirteenth century, with the immigration of Flemish craftsmen, their method of making brick was adopted and brick-making became a common occupation in England by the fifteenth century. Flemish bricks were smaller than the Roman bricks and the English bricks were developed later (Lloyd, 1925).



ABOVE LEFT: *Fragments of Roman brick.*

ABOVE: *'Great bricks' of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.*

LEFT: *Fifteenth-century bricks.*

Plate 33. Bricks.

Bricks varied in color, according to the clay source from which they were made. The method, burning in an open flame or fired in a kiln, altered the color, also. The natural clays varied from saffron yellow, pale pink, reds and purples to browns (Lloyd, 1925).

Bricks were not in general use in the thirteenth century due to

cost when they were imported and lack of skilled craftsmen to make them (Lloyd, 1925). East Anglia is referred to as the original home of English brick work, no doubt because that is where the Flemish craftsmen first settled (Litchfield, 1985).

Flint. Flint, in the thirteenth century, was used with other building materials, such as stone and brick. It is a material not conducive to exclusive use, although there are those buildings constructed or finished with flint. It is brittle and irregular in form not being easily shaped as building stone might be (Litchfield, 1985). Knapped flint, or nodules which were broken in half, was used to face walls, the raw broken side exposed. The length of the stone, or nodule, was placed at right angles to the wall-face. The skill of knapping and constructing with flint became an important craft in the areas of the chalk beds where flint was to be found. Flint was found in a range of colors and was often used to form patterns (Litchfield, 1985).

Plaster. Plaster was made from a combination of lime, sand and hair mixed with some cow-dung and road scapings. It was a material easily worked and was often carved, an art called pargeting or parge-work. The English climate has not allowed much of the old plaster work to survive (Litchfield, 1985).

Craftsmen. Tradesmen who were skilled in their craft were the builders of thirteenth century manor houses. They were little better off than the serfs, the main difference being their freedom to travel about the country-side applying their skills.

The term journeyman was applied to those people designating a person who worked away from his native home or a person who received a daily wage (Lloyd, 1925). The term "mason" was applied to any tradesman who was involved with masonry construction. Masons were of varying grades of skill, performed entirely different operations and worked independently of each other (Braun, 1967).

The master-mason was in charge of construction, holding a position similar to a modern-day architect. The mason held a position far different from that of a brick layer, a comparison often made. He was the most important tradesman in the medieval



Plate 34. Masons building wall

economy. He acted as architect and contractor for the buildings which in some instances grew and developed from the basic great hall. The other craftsmen worked under his guidance (Lloyd, 1925). Numerous stone-cutters prepared the stones for him. They were of various grades of skill "...from the axe-men who cut plain blocks of walling-stone to the experienced dressers who can, under the master-mason's direction, prepare stones of any shape required" (Braun, 1967, p. 55). Masons working with stone were referred to as

"...white masons..." , the bricklayers were referred to as "...red masons..." (Braun, 1967, p.67).

East Anglia had its share of outstanding master-masons in John Meppershall, William Winford and William Ramsey who worked for the

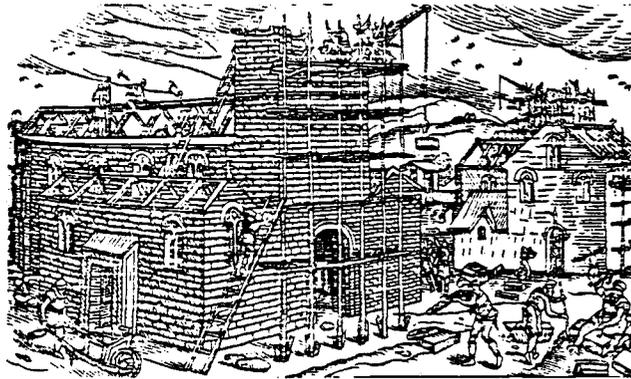


Plate 35. Building a church.

crown during much of the Edwardian era. These men could be compared with the more outstanding architects of today. The original designers of medieval buildings were usually amateurs whose plans would be inaugurated and completed by the master-masons and the craftsmen under him (Braun, 1967).

The carpenter's craft developed from the observation of the mason with various innovations of his own along the way. The "...wrights..." (Braun, 1967, p.59), as the carpenters were called, were second in importance and status to the mason. They tapped the great primieval oak forests of England. The resultant work they created with this wood was different than that found on the continent because of its hardness and irregularity of shape. Working the oak was more difficult than working the coniferous timber found across the Channel and North Sea. Only the heart of the tree was used for building, the sap wood being less durable (Braun, 1967).

The carpenter's skill developed from that of the mason's. The wright, or carpenter was the "...universal tradesman..." (Braun, 1967, p.68). He devised the engines which were used in the assault of fortifications and the scaffolds and pulley-wheels associated with building. The carpenter was the engineer.

Techniques of joining the moldings were the same in both wood and stone in the early thirteenth century. For instance, the lengths of wood were butted, as a mason might do, rather than mitering a corner as we take for granted today. Early on the moldings were carved from the solid block of the panel or door. Gradually the moldings were made separately and applied, but, the results lacked the elegance of the solid piece.

Artisans. The carver worked independently and created the elegant stone or wood moldings and headings found in thirteenth century manor houses. The turner formed the columns and slender shafts of stone by using a heavy stone lathe. Wood was easier to carve, but was not as durable or strong as stone, and was therefore not used as much (Braun, 1967).

Other artisans were the creators of the stained-glass windows which were prevalent in the chapels within the manor houses as well as in the small churches which were on the grounds of the manor. Painted glass, which required skill and expertise, but was less expensive than stained glass, was common, also.

Laborers. The common laborers were the villagers who lived in proximity to the manor house and worked in that environment for

their entire lives. There were various levels of skill and talent which placed them on the wage and responsibility scale. The journeymen specialists traveled from one job to another across the countryside. Some of them, a mason, for instance, developed particular expertise in the use of one type of stone and may have spent his entire life within the small area of the indigenous stone (Lloyd, 1931). The masons and journeymen were higher on the pay and social scale than the common laborer who did the menial, but necessary tasks of building and maintenance.

Tools. Tools, then as now, were important in achieving the result desired. Lloyd, (1931) lists some thirteenth century tools as: "...hachet, brade-ax, twybyl, ax, wimble, wedges and pins, celt, plane, mason's line, reule, hevy plomet..." (Beazeley, 1882-83 in Lloyd, 1931, p. 27). The most important was the axe referred to as the "tool of all work" (Lloyd, 1931, p. 27). The craftsman squared, smoothed and did all work with an axe that might be done with a plane today. The adze was used, but was a tool used long before the thirteenth century. Saws of various nature were used, but the men highly skilled in the use of the axe looked upon the saw as "...a contemptible innovation fit only for those unskillful in the handling of the nobler instrument..." (Beazeley, 1882-83, in Lloyd, 1931, p. 27). Masons used the chisel in the twelfth century, but the first mention made is by Wycliff in 1382 (Lloyd, 1931). The hammer and mallet, which surely must have been used, is not mentioned in the list.

Wages. Wages paid to tradesmen in the year 1292 were:

A day	
Mason	5d.
Apparitor or foreman.....	7d.
Rob, the carpenter.....	4 1/2 d
Two boys.....	2 1/2 d
William de Haspel.....	2 d
Jacob of Lensham, a smith.....	6d

A week	
Othersmiths.....	2s
"	1s 6d

(Antiq. Westr., p.77 in Lloyd, 1931, p.28).

These wages were paid without food, the cost of which would have been deducted from their wages at the rate of 1 1/2d. per diem. Food, or diet, was, however, often included in the benefits received by the workers due to the fact that the work site was usually distant from their homes. Wheat at this time, 1292, was 16 shillings a quarter, up from 6s. in 1289 because of inclement weather. Wages did not increase while the cost of living rose 140 per cent (Lloyd, 1931).

Landscape

In the literature there is little or no mention made of intentional use of plants and trees to beautify the medieval grounds. The main function of a medieval house was defense, the grounds surrounding the house were necessarily devoid of trees. Herb, flower and kitchen gardens were common as were the forest areas for hunting, but these



Plate 36. Medieval Garden.

were strictly utilitarian endeavors. Roses were one of the flowers cultivated with the hips used for tea and the flower petals for pomanders. The great, carefully thought out, planted parks were to come later.

Sanitation

Sanitation was extremely primitive in the thirteenth century but was emerging from the rebellion toward cleanliness that people advocated during the Dark Ages. It was a rebellion of the symbols associated with pagan Rome and the "...moral and spiritual corruption

which accompanied them..." (McLaughlin, 1923, p.4).

The body no doubt had been the spoilt child of imperial Rome, and a frequent fate of spoilt children was now to come to in the fore of neglect and humiliation. reaction from the Roman thermae, associated as in memory they were with the whole forum of Roman luxury, bodily cleanliness began; while also, in reaction from the Roman sumptuosities of food and clothing, the most meagre diet and the poorest dress were deemed the fittest for all men to adopt (Simon, 1890, in Winslow, 1923, p.4).

People were unaware of the threat to well-being provided by the careless and unsanitary way in which they lived. The floors were strewn with all sorts of refuse and cleaned only a few times a year. It made a haven for rodents which were in plentiful supply. Toilet facilities, known as privies or garderobes, varied with the fastidiousness and wealth of the owner.

Henry III was more fastidious about cleanliness than most, perhaps a trait adopted from his father, King John, who had a bath tub and William the bathman who traveled with him (Wood, 1965). An order by the king in 1256 directed an artisan to get finished with

"...pictorial decorations in the wardrobe at Westminster 'where the King is wont to wash his head'..." (Close Rolls, 1256, in Lloyd, 1931, p.32).



Plate 37. Medieval bath tub.

In 1260 The Treasurer of the Exchequer was ordered to pay for:

the conduit of water which is carried underground to the Kings lavatory (washing place), and to other places there, and for making a certain conduit (drain) through which the refuse of the King's kitchen at Westminster flows into the Thames; which conduit the King ordered to be made on account of the stink of the dirty water, which was carried through his halls, which was wont to affect the health of the people frequenting the same halls (Close Rolls in

Lloyd, 1931,p.32).

In 1246 the Close Rolls recorded a memo which read:

The King to Edward Fitz-Otho. Since the privy chamber in our wardrobe at London is situated in an undue and improper place, wherefore it smells badly, we command you on the faith and love by which you are bounden unto us, faith that you in no wise omit to cause another privy chamber to be made in the same wardrobe in such more fitting and proper place as you may select there, even though it should cost a hundred pounds. So that it may be made before the feast of the Translation of St. Edward, before we shall come thither. This however we leave to be done at your discretion (Close Rolls, 1246 in Lloyd,

1931, p. 32).

Garderobes took on different configurations due to the circumstances. Some were rather elegant and placed in closets or wardrobes. Many were projected from the upper story of the house so the effluent fell into a pit which was periodically cleaned out, or into the moat, directly or by way of a channel , which was not so often cleaned out or in the case of hill-top houses, where it was discharged onto the hillside. Instances occurred where the discharge

of the garderobe into the moat was on one side of the house and the household water supply was taken from the other side. Privies were sometimes grouped together, an example being Langley Castle in Northumberland. Three layers of parallel-vertical shafts are connected to three floors of privies. There are four privies in each tier; each privy is in an arched recess built over its respective shaft (Girouard, 1978, p. 247). Warm summer days had their indescribable effect on these conditions. In some large houses and castles the drains discharged into the cellars or dungeons. Case in point is the record of Edward II when a prisoner in the dungeon of Berkeley Castle wrote: "This dungeon where they keep me is the sink, wherein the filth of all the castle falls" (McLaughlin, 1923, p. 32). In the cities and larger villages "Human and animal dung and household rubbish all discharged into the streets and were left to find their own way to the river or the town ditch, were supplemented by the by-products of slaughtering and butchering" (McLaughlin, 1923, p.28). Rains were relied on to wash the streets clean. It was not adequate to flush the streets or gutters resulting in unbelievably filthy town ditches and streams.

Water Supply

Water was a key factor in the siting of a manor house. A stream, small or large, was an important element and a well within the confines of the immediate area of the house was primary. The stream, or supply, was tapped up-stream, the water then channeled to the house by way of stone or wood conduits. Lead was also used

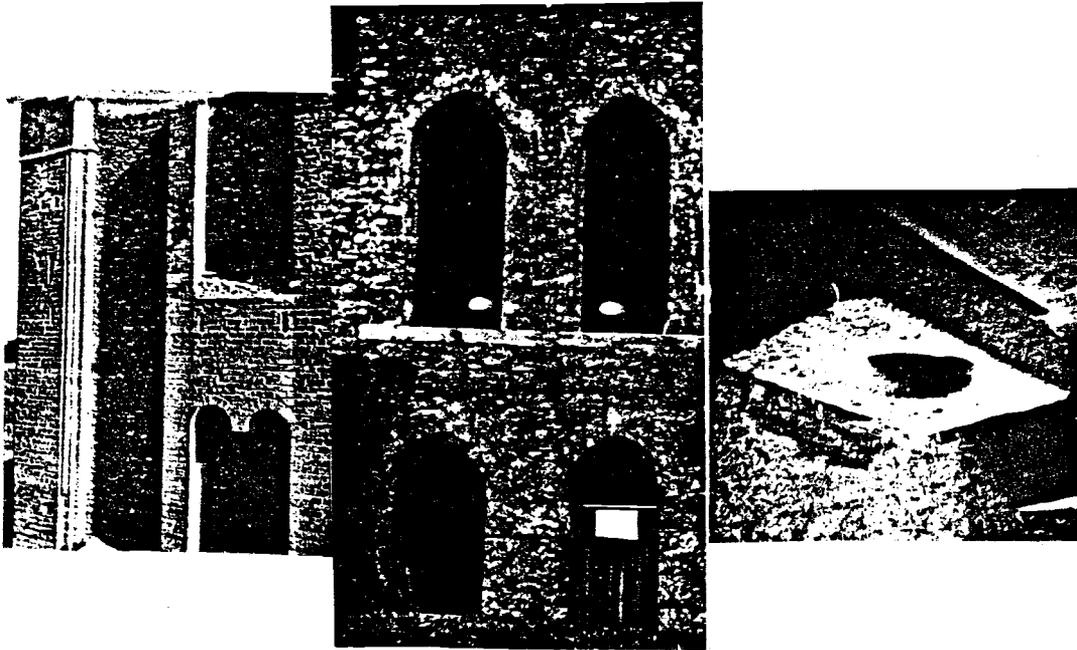


Plate 38. Medieval Garderobes.

as the Romans had done, but stone and wood were the more common English modes of transport. By 1169, the hall at the Palace of Westminster was supplied with water by lead conduits. By 1351-2 the royal bath was fitted with "...two large bronze taps to bring hot and cold water into the bath..." (King's Works, I, pp. 549-50 in Girouard, 1978, p. 246). Houses built on hill-tops relied on wells and the rain water gathered in cisterns. The monasteries were the first to have water supplies. Few noblemen could afford the cost of bringing running water into the manor house. Even where there were moats, supplied by a running stream, a well was the chief supply of water. In 1215 pipes placed underground, covering a distance of 570 yards supplied Waverly Abbey in Surrey. Lead pipes which ran for two miles accommodated the Abbey at Bury St. Edmunds in 1200 (Wood, 1965).

At Newcastle there is proof of water having been raised by wall pipes to the various floors of the keep (1171-5). We know that Dover Macpherson discovered there a similar arrangement, the water passing through lead piping in a least two directions from a small tank, of which traces remain, in a recess adjoining the high well-head on the second floor of the keep. The 'Harold's Well' is upwards of 242 feet in depth, stone lined for 172 feet of it, after which it narrows from 3 feet 3 inches to 2 feet 9 inches in diameter. There is, also on the second floor, a circular storage tank 3 feet 6 inches in diameter and 2 feet 6 inches deep probably to collect rain-water. The lead pipes (3 1/2 inches in diameter) are contemporary with the keep, being laid in the thickness of the wall in special arched conduits (Archaeological Journal, 1929, lxxxvli, p. 253-4, in Wood, 1965, p. 375).

Where there was no well or water supply in the village houses, water carriers delivered it in leather bottles, or in large tubs or pails with lids and handles, that were carried on the shoulder or in carts (Abram, 1913).

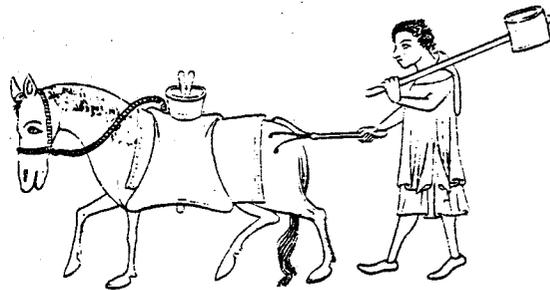


Plate 39. Water Carrier.

Architect

During the thirteenth century it was the mason who was in charge of construction and the execution of the design that had been

proposed to him. The builder, or owner, may have given him a drawing of some building he had seen in his travels, or together they may have drawn up the general plan for a house. It was the mason who inaugurated the implementation of the design and devised and manipulated the chosen building material to achieve it. A master mason of reputation and experience had significant prestige in the community and was often sought after by prospective builders.

Furnishings

The furnishings of a thirteenth century house were crude and sparse. Chairs were reserved for the nobility and the owner of the house. Stools, built-in window seats or benches around the walls were the common fare. Tables were slabs of wood, either rough hewn planks or half of a tree suspended on trestles.

Beds were crude affairs with rope mattresses, straw padding and usually curtained to contain heat and prevent drafts

Pads on the floor were

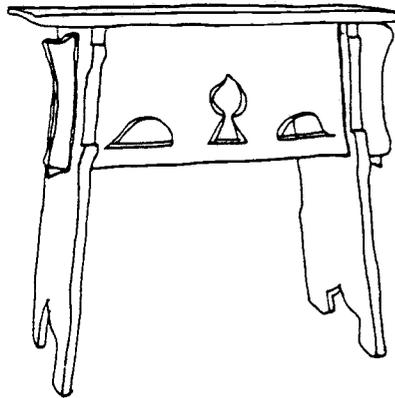


Plate 40. Medieval stool.

the usual fare of the servant population. Candelabra accommodated candles for light (Abram, 1913; Lloyd, 1966; Wood, 1965).

Owners

Background. The owners of the medieval manor houses came from varied backgrounds. It was a time when trade was flourishing and

great fortunes were accumulated - enough to build great houses.

The clergy were responsible for many houses, built to be their private domains. However, the nobility who were anxious to keep abreast of fashion were responsible for the majority of houses built. Merchantmen were able to rise socio-economically to the point where they could infiltrate society and/or the political and business world and not be distinguished from noble neighbors. They were all referred to as the squire or lord of the manor and other than the barons did not "...constitute a rigid class..." (Cook, 1974, p.10).

At the time of the Domesday Book (1086) the owners of large manors numbered only 200. Among them they could muster four thousand knights. The knights received land in return for military service and so began their slow ascent up the social ladder to become noblemen. There were those individuals who were financially able to



Plate 41. A landed gentleman at home with his servants.

buy their way out of military service and who became the legendary country gentlemen who were concerned with improving farming



Plate 42. Medieval Knight.

techniques and maintaining the peace in order to preserve what they had acquired. The rule of primogeniture, in which the eldest son inherited the estate in its entirety, forced the younger sons to seek other means of occupation, such as merchants, lawyers or adventurers. These men often returned home wealthier and built houses large and grander than their older brothers (Cook, 1974). If an aristocratic family continued to produce male heirs, the land and houses would stay within the family control and continue to grow, if managed with discretion. This situation produced some of the most powerful families in England (King, 1979).

Wealth and position. The phenomenon of the expanding villages of thirteenth century England attests to the fact of growth within the

kingdom. The growth was made possible by the expanding trade markets both in England and abroad. Great fortunes were made during that time and those men spent their money on grand fortified houses and luxuries such as deer parks (Platt, 1978).

The difference in the income of a nobleman and a knight in 1216 was great. An average baronial yearly fee, a retainer paid by the crown, was 100 pounds compared to a knight's of five. A manor could be quite small and still be powerful, depending on its location. If it was isolated and the squire a scurilous character, he could control and intimidate the country-side around him (King, 1979). The average landholding of a knight in the thirteenth century was 250 acres of demesne land with twenty-four or so tenants. His house was usually unfortified, or modestly so, with a hall, a kitchen and a private room for himself and his lady. Even a small castle afforded a knight the background for his life of chivalry and fighting (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

The accounts of two of the four manor owned by Sir John de Argentine, who died in 1318, are in existence and give insight to life-style and economics of the time. His rent, for instance, for the manor in Cambridgeshire netted him 45 pounds annually, the usual being 50. The average income of a priest was five pounds a year which made him a "...prosperous member of the community..." (King, 1979, p. 49). Some survived quite handsomely on half that amount.

Household. In medieval times the entire household was considered family whether blood related or not. The head of the family was the

lord of the manor. Under him were the noble gentlemen, yeomen, grooms and various household servants. A great noblemen had attendant knights and others of "gentle" birth. A knight and his wife had gentlemen and gentlewomen and attendants drawn from the squirarchy. Duties of the attendants varied, some acting as administrators, secretaries, bodyguards, companions and servants. At times one or two people would perform all of the tasks. The array of duties still exists today in the royal households (Girouard, 1978).

The thirteenth century household was close knit and acted as a unit to form a mutual aid society in which everyone worked for the good of everyone else. To wear the insignia of a powerful man meant status which stimulated pride in servitude. To work in a great household provided not only status, but security and a better standard of living than generally held. It gave opportunity for advancement and a broadening of scope by meeting travelers and other households. It was like an apprenticeship in that a household servant might have the chance to acquire experience in administration, defensive measures and sports, besides the opportunity to learn how to read. He might also be afforded the chance to travel with his master. A household servant might also find a wife of noble birth within the house and become a well-to-do land owner by way of her inheritance or by gifts from the lord and master (Girouard, 1978).

Ben Jonson referred to the system of the lesser-noble servitude as the "...nurseries of nobility..." (Stone, 1965, pp. 391-2, in Girouard,

1978, p. 17). It was common for the babies of one great household to be raised, trained and polished in another noble household. By serving at table and other household duties they learned social graces and often to read and write (Girouard, 1978).



Plate 43. Little Wenham Hall.

Little Wenham Hall

Little Wenham Hall is typical of the great halls which evolved from the early prehistoric and Saxon periods to form the first floor halls of medieval days. It is an important building of thirteenth century architecture because of its beautifully restored condition and because it is a jewel of simple, but elegant, design. The first-floor hall of Little Wenham is 39 by 18 feet, six inches (Wood, 1950). The attached chapel with the solar above is divided into very small rooms, but the undercroft, or ground level quarters,

is spacious with a vaulted system of brick. The house is fortified, but not too seriously, with crenelations, a defensive measure installed only by permission of the king. It is partially moated, and it is believed that it was walled as further protection (Wood, 1965). A wall still partially surrounds the grounds, it is not certain that it was built at the same time of the house and church. The extent of fortification of the house indicates they were not anticipating fending off a large army but were prepared to defend themselves against roving groups of bandits. It is apparent, by lack of evidence of attack, that Little Wenham's defensive capabilities were not tested (Ditchfield, 1985). According to Sparrow (1909) the tentative defenses of Little Wenham indicated that thirteenth century Englishmen did not wish to be safe, but instead invested fortunes in body-armour which they used within the house when defensive measures were needed.

Plan

LITTLE WENHAM HALL - SUFFOLK - c.1270-80

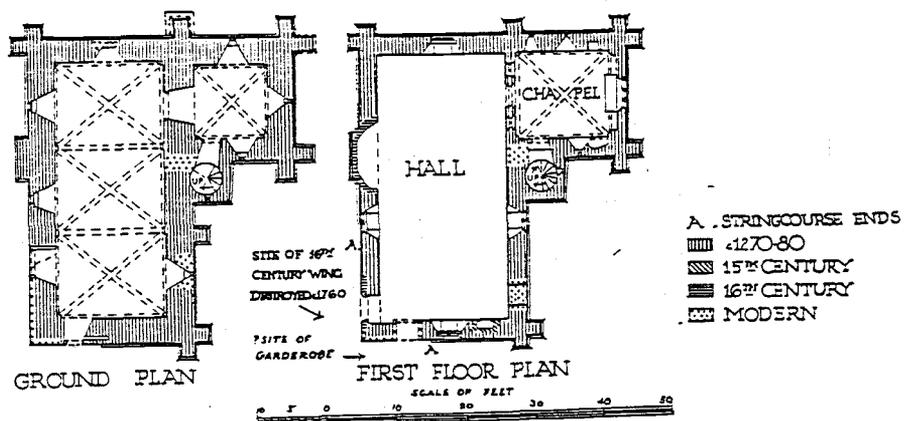


Plate 44. Plan of Little Wenham Hall.

Ditchfield (1985, p. 86-88) cited a description of Little Wenham as stated in Turner and Parker's (n.d.) Domestic Architecture.

The plan is a parallelogram, with a square tower at one angle; On the outside the scroll moulding is used as a string, and it is continued all round, showing that the house now is entire as originally built: at one angle, where the external staircase was originally placed, some other building seems to have been added at a later period, though since removed: of this additional structure an Elizabethan doorway remains, with an inscription built in above it. The ground floor is vaulted with a groined vault of brick, with stone ribs which are merely chamfered; they are carried on semi-octagon shafts with plainly moulded capitals. The windows of this lower room are small plain lancets, widely splayed internally. The upper room has a plain timber roof, and the fireplace is blocked up. The windows have seats in them; and at the end of the room near the door is a recess or niche forming a sort of cupboard. Both

house and tower are covered with flat leaden roofs, having brick battlements all round, with a coping formed of molded bricks or tiles, some of which are original, and others of the Elizabethan period. The tower is a story higher than the body of the house, and has a similar battlement and coping: The crenelles, which are at rather long intervals, are narrow, with wide merlons between them. In one corner of the tower is a turret with a newel staircase.

"On the upper story of the projecting square tower is a chapel, which opens into the large room or hall at one corner. It is small vaulted chamber: the east window is of three lights, with three foliated circles in the head, of early English character: the north and south windows are small lancets widely splayed within: in the east jamb of the south window is a very good piscina, with a detached shaft at the angle, the capital of which has good early English mouldings: The basin is destroyed. On the north side of the altar-piece is another

niche, like a piscina, but without any basin: it has a trefoil head and a bold scroll moulding for a hood terminated by masks. The vault is of a single bay, with good ribs, of early English character, springing from corbels, the two eastern being heads, the two western plain tongues (Ditchfield, 1985, pp.86-88)

The plan of Little Wenham Hall is a simple one, the hall being the only spacious accommodation. It was in the hall where all the activities of the household took place. The

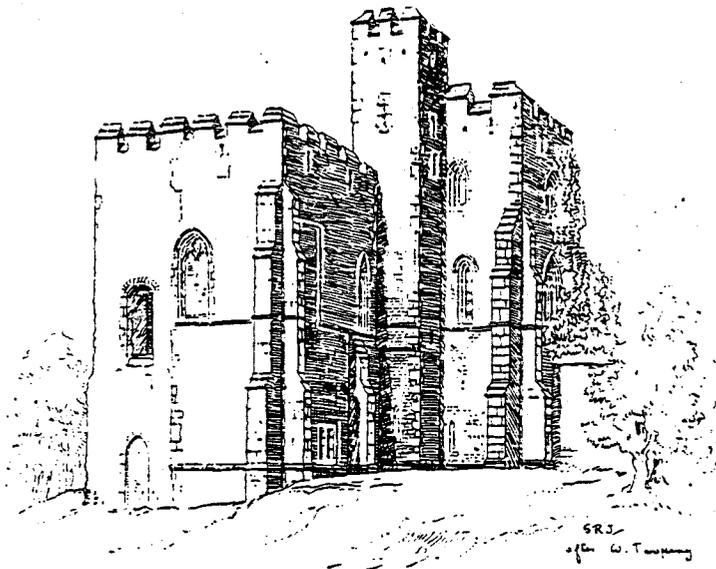


Plate 45 Little Wenham Hall before stairway was restored.

hall served as a dining room, activity room and meeting room by day and at night was covered with bed pallets, of various nature, which provided sleeping facilities for the serving population of the manor.



Plate 46 Great hall showing wall treatment, floor tiles, window seat, two-light, trefoiled window and seventeenth century furniture.

It fostered a communal type of life where the lord of the manor mingled, ate and slept in close proximity with all in his household, a term which meant not only blood relatives, but all who resided in and were involved with the manor. Little Wenham is a small castle

Little Wenham Hall built above an undercroft. Dating from the late 13th century, this is probably the earliest domestic brick building in England

- 1 Hall
- 2 Chapel
- 3 Stairs down to undercroft

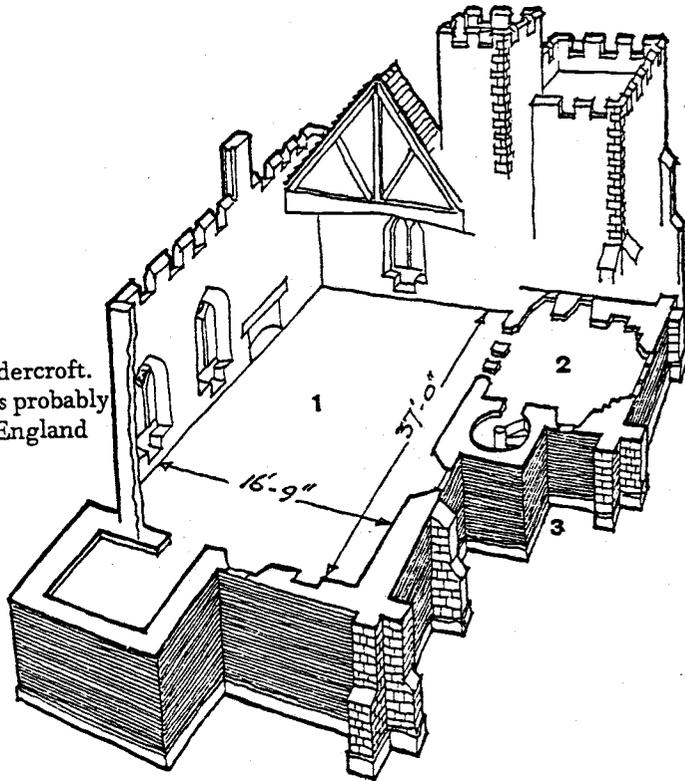


Plate 47 Cut-away plan of Little Wenham Hall.

which was conducive to even more intimate contact between the lord and his servants. There is evidence that alterations have been made to Little Wenham at different times. Doors have been changed and there appears to have been a room on the west side. On one of the buttresses there exists the lines of an old sundial. The now non-existent additions were possibly used as the kitchen, additional

living accommodations for the household, stables or various other uses. The windows remain original, but it appears that three of the four exterior doors have been altered.

Doors and porches. There are four exterior doors of four different styles and sizes at Little Wenham. One entry door has been altered from a pointed gothic arch, the shape discernable in the wall



Plate 48 Exterior stairway with Tudor door - original Gothic door can be seen above the Tudor arch. Elizabethan door is lower left.

above, to a flattened Tudor arch with a simple and elegant molding forming a hood pediment. The other exterior door on the hall level has a simple rounded arch. At one time this door was accessible only by ladder. The two ground floor doors are small, one appearing to be an original gothic entrance with a wood door which has obviously been replaced. The other door is of the Elizabethan era and is straight across the top, without molding or ornamentation. Above it is a stone plaque dating it 1569. The interior doors to the chapel, solar and to the stairway in the tower are of the original pointed gothic arch. They are small, with wooden doors and frames constructed of stone.

The only semblance of a porch is the landing of the now existing stairs. It is not covered and would not afford protection from the elements nor does it provide an unusually hospitable welcome.

The original stairs were possibly of stone and went straight up from the ground to the now existing door with the Tudor arch, as the stairs at Boothby-Pagnell.

Windows. The ground floor windows are lancet and are splayed to the interior to allow more light to enter and as part of the defensive mechanism of the house. The first floor windows are two-lights with mid-shaft and trefoils. The chapel has a three light window with a mid shaft and two trefoils. They are Gothic with tracery and are composed of small panes assembled with lead cames. The narrow slit windows probably had no covering originally but now have glass in them.



Plate 49 Exterior view of window of great hall showing central jamb-shaft, trefoil heading, keel molding around top and diamond leaded panes. The string molding passes from left to right at bottom of photo and the top of one of the modified flying buttresses is at lower left.

Floors. The floors of Little Wenham are paved with large red tiles approximately ten inches square (See plate 54). They are uneven and show signs of mortar, but much of it is gone. The undercroft has stone flooring.

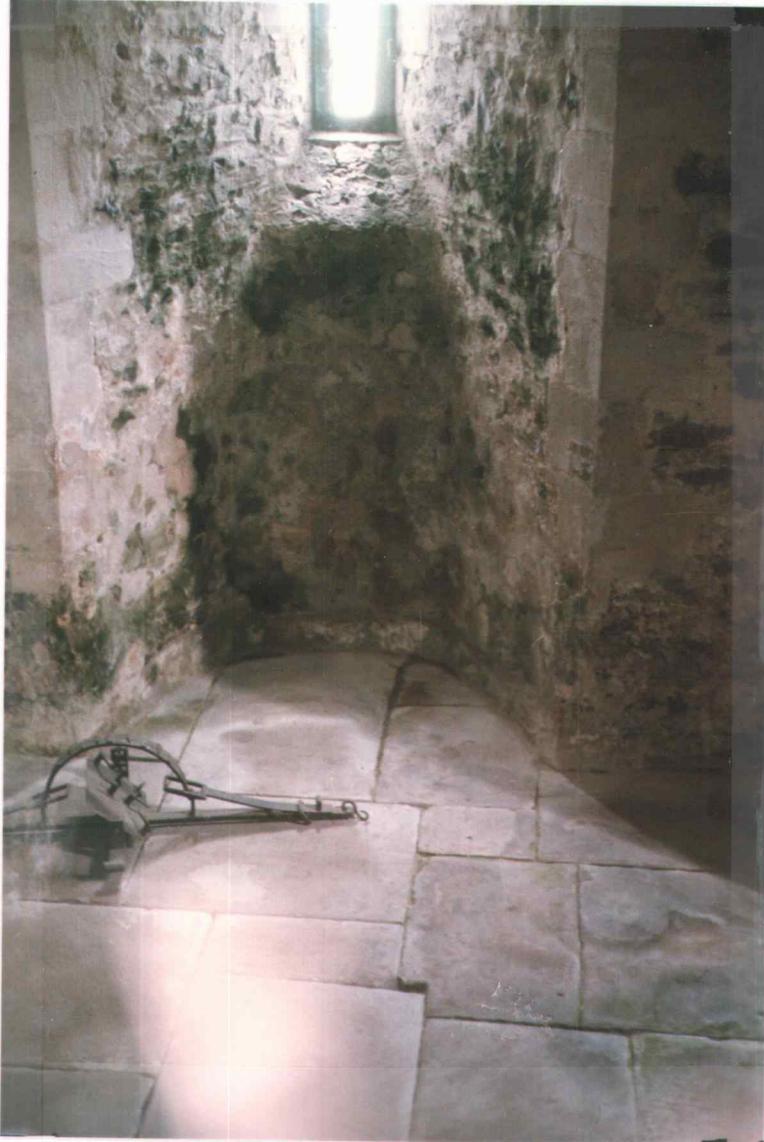


Plate 50 View of undercroft showing stone floor, rough walls and slit window.

Walls. The walls are constructed of brick and plastered over with lime-based plaster. The current texture is smooth.



Plate 51 Photo showing plastered walls (restored), tile floors and current fireplace.

Kitchen. There is no evidence of an interior kitchen in Little Wenham indicating that, typical of the time of construction, kitchens were a detached building. There is faint evidence on the exterior of the hall that rooms, perhaps of lean-to configuration, existed. It is conceivable that the kitchen could have been one of these.

Chapel. The chapel of Little Wenham forms an L-shaped plan at the superior end of the hall. There are ribbed vaults forming one bay. The chapel is very small accommodating only the immediate family. It

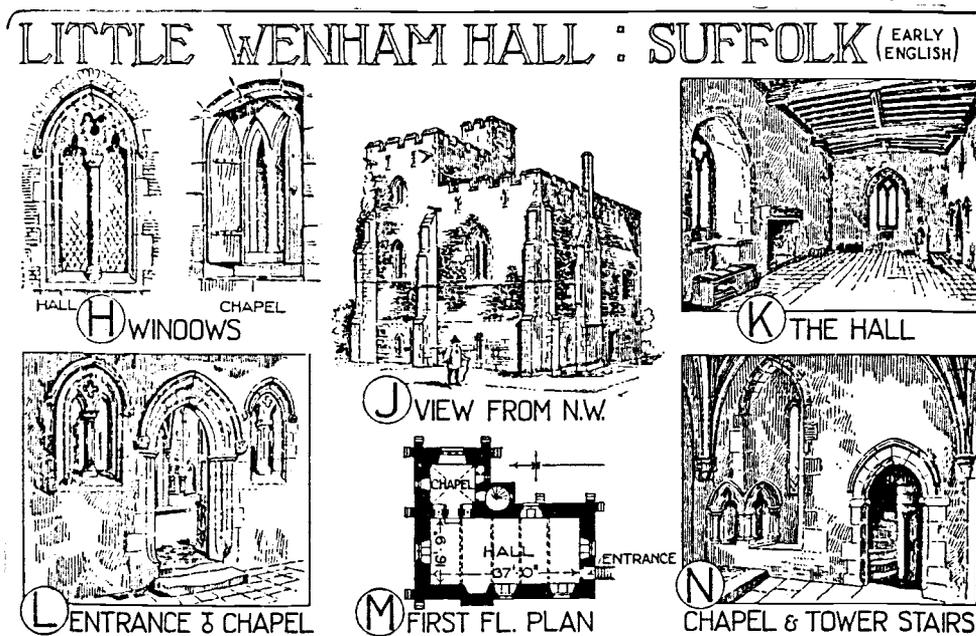


Plate 52 (H) Chapel window with shutter, (L) Gothic entrance to chapel with worn step, (N) Turnpike stairs to tower and chapel.

is the most elegant room in the house having a piscina (a built-in stone basin near the altar for washing the chalice) which "...is irregular in plan with two trefoil-headed arches with shafts and eight-petalled drain; one arch is set along the eastern jamb of the

southern window" (Wood, 1965, p. 368). A laver (a stone wash basin) in the chapel is of fifteenth century vintage "...with a drain in the back wall. It has sub-cusped cinquefoiled ogee arch with traceried panels in a square frame; the cornice has square flowers and battlements. From the head there hangs a slender iron bar which ends in a double circular twist" (Wood, 1965, p. 371). Speculation is that it was a towel holder or a

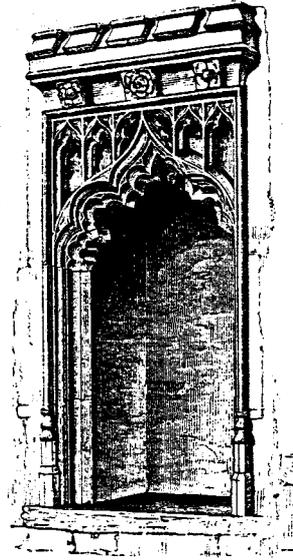


Plate 53 Laver in chapel and iron bar.

strengthening device for the lead pipe that provided water from an overhead tank. There is a doorway with two steps up, leading from the hall to the chapel that is a typical pointed Gothic arch with a hood molding. On either side is a two-light window with an unpierced quatrefoil which would, in most instances, contain glass. Behind the altar is a glazed, mullioned three light window with quatrefoils (Lloyd, 1931). There are brackets built into the wall on either side of the window for religious statuary.

Solar. The solar at Little Wenham is over the chapel and is accessible by the turnpike staircase in the tower. It is small, 13 feet 3 inches by 14 feet 8 inches (Wood, 1965).

Fireplaces. The original fireplace may have had a hood which angled up from the fireplace to the ceiling (Lloyd, 1931). This has been removed and replaced with an oak plank held in place with three large reinforcing bolts (See plate 50). It is the only fireplace in the house.

Ceilings. The ceiling in the main hall is of chestnut beams and decking dating from the sixteenth century. The exterior roof of the house is covered with lead.

Cost

The size of Little Wenham indicates a certain conservatism, however, for its time it was expensive. The use of brick, when it was a rare commodity, alludes to the desire for a house of stature and a creative spirit.

The location, in the rural fields of Suffolk, would not indicate expensive land. The land was and is farmable, grain crops being the most grown. Little Wenham is not a huge house compared to many of the fortified castles, but it was done with great dignity, quality and a desire for comfort as well as security.

Materials

Brick. Little Wenham is unique among the houses built during the thirteenth century. It is England's oldest brick house. It is thought that the brick was of Flemish origin, either imported for the specific purpose of building the hall, or that it arrived in England as ballast in one of the trading ships (Cook, 1974; Ditchfield, 1985; Lloyd, 1925). The color, which is indicative of brick from Flanders, is mainly cream

and muddy-yellow or beige with a few pinks and reds mixed in. Lloyd (1925) credited the color to the mud from the Sheldt region of Flanders

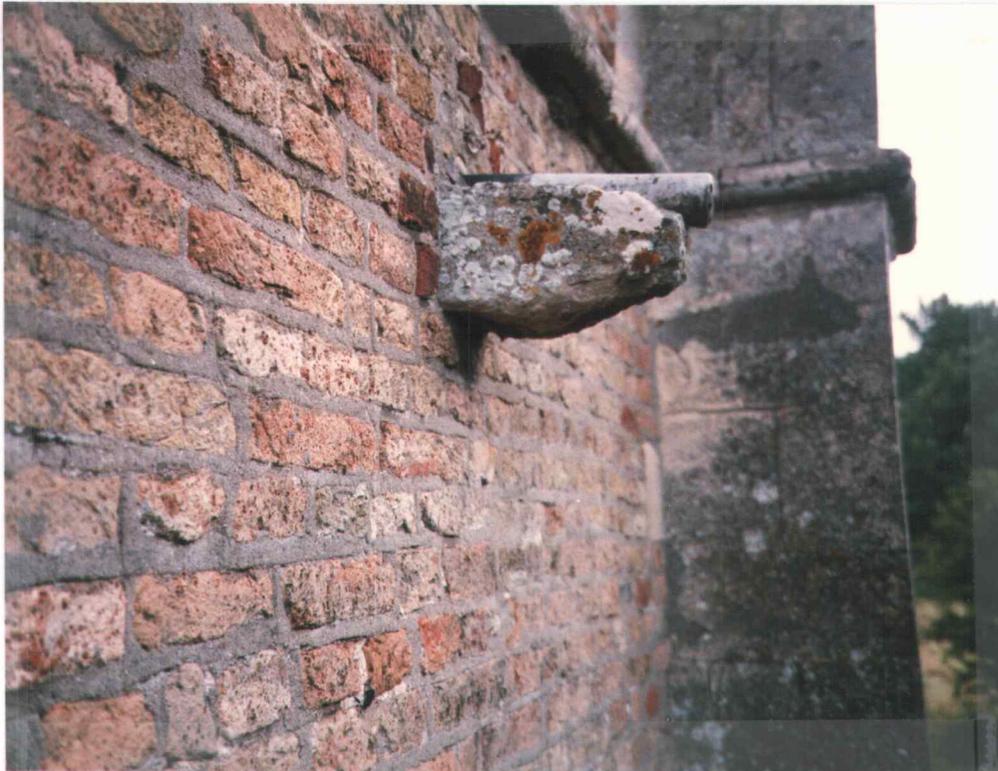


Plate 54 Flemish brick and downspout.

and a high chalk content for the yellowish tones. The repairs, renovations and restorations through the years have produced a conglomerate of brick colors. The size also indicates a true Flemish brick or one from the Low Country, measuring 9 by 4 1/2 inches and 2 1/2 inches thick. This is compared with the Roman bricks that were much larger (Lloyd, 1925). The coping of the crenellations is of molded terra cotta made from local clay (wood, 1965).

Stone. Local stone was used for the walls up to 5 or 6 feet together with large knapped flints that are indigenous in the local chalk beds. Ashlar, or worked stone, was used in the buttresses and around the lancet windows as well as a quoin treatment of the fireplace. Stone was used for the flooring of the undercroft.



Plate 55 Exterior view showing stone, flint and brick in wall construction, stone quoin treatment on fireplace and lancet window on right.

Wood. Chestnut or oak is the wood used in the ceiling beams in a restoration of the sixteenth century (Wood, 1965). The doors and exterior stairway are also of wood. It is safe to assume that those existing are replacements made during the various restorations the house has undergone.

Lead. Lead was used to surface the roof of the main hall and the tower of Little Wenham. Lead was at that time an ancient material and continued to be used due to its malleability and durability.

Plaster. Plaster was used to cover the walls within the hall. It was a typical lime-based material and was left white.

Craftsmen, Artisans and Laborers

Craftsmen. The men who built Little Wenham formed a conglomerate of skills and abilities. It is apparent, because of the excellence of construction that the mason in charge was extremely skilled and experienced. The church, which sits outside the existing wall of the grounds, and the house were obviously done by the same person. The use of stone, flint and brick with the expertise which is obvious, indicates great skill in construction as well as design.

Since brick was a new building material in England, it can be assumed that the brick layers were imported from Flanders or were among those Flemish immigrants who came to East Anglia during the thirteenth century along with the weavers for the wool trade.

A carpenter was also referred to as the "wright" who was the mainstay of the maintenance of the manor. He was a versatile individual who primarily worked in wood, but was able to do most of



Plate 56. View showing fine molding, metal work, brick and stone work and precision turning of the central jamb-shaft.

the tasks around the manor. His role in the construction of Little Wenham would have been the great beamed ceiling, for instance, and perhaps some furniture such as stools, chairs and tables. The ceiling, or roof, as it is referred to, would not have been a difficult task for a skilled carpenter as it is relatively simple.

Artisans. The artists who carved the mouldings and simple sculptures of Little Wenham may have been local people. They might also have been part of the roving group of artists who looked for commissions all over England. Some of these people were well known and sought for, others were simply hired to do the best they could. The mouldings on the doors and windows of Little Wenham are simple and elegant indicating a skilled carver.

Laborers. Common laborers were recruited from the village of the manor. They were perhaps tenants who worked for the squire a designated number of days per year, or perhaps they were freemen who were hired by the mason in charge.

In 1230 a medieval preacher issued a general warning to all workers, skilled or not. He stated that they:

should be true and trustworthy in their office,
whether they work by the day or the piece, as
many carpenters and masons do. When they
labour by the day, they should not stand all the
more idle that they may multiply the days at
their work. If thou labourest by the piece, then

thou shouldest not hasten too soon there from
that tho mayest be rid of the work as quickly
as possible and that the house may fall down
in a year or two: thou shouldest work at it
truly, even as if it were thine own (Lloyd, 1925, p.28).

The influx of the Flemish weavers to East Anglia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were cause for other craftsmen such as brick layers and makers to come. This gave impetus to the use of brick in England as a major building material. The natural clays present in English soils supplied the many new brick yards which developed. There are simple but elegant moldings used on the doors and windows of Little Wenham. They are of stone and indicate the work of a skilled stone carver. There are three different marks visible on the building. One is a "Z" running from right to left and from left to right or together. Another is a "W" with the final stroke converted into the figure "6" and the other is a triangle with the right side produced downwards. It can be assumed that these are masons' marks left as a signature of their work.

Landscape

It can be assumed that the landscape of Little Wenham was natural. There exists now a large deciduous grove of trees where the road enters the grounds of the house. The surrounding fields are cleared and farmed at present. It is not likely that

the farmland was as extensive in the thirteenth century. There was undoubtedly a vegetable and herb garden within the wall of the manor house grounds. It is possible that the wild flowers, such as roses, primroses and bluebells along with ferns and decorative grasses were encouraged wherever they grew. Wild fruit trees, such as apple and cherry, were cultivated but research has not indicated if they were transplanted.

Sanitation

The only indication of a garderobe (privy) is in the area where the exterior stairs are now positioned. It is obvious the brick in that area is of a newer vintage. If it was the privy, then it would have emptied into a pit, which would have been cleaned out periodically.

Water Supply

There is no obvious source of water at Little Wenham, other than the stream which runs through the property. If characteristic of manor houses of this time period, there was a well either within or somewhere in close proximity to the house.

Architect

It is obvious that the small church of the manor and the hall itself were done by the same master mason who served as the architect/designer. The work and materials are the same and the moldings are consistent. Nothing is known of the mason, but it can be

assumed he was excited, flattered and honored to use his expertise and creativity to utilize the Flemish brick that was new to England.

The mason and owner might have worked together to design Little Wenham. Its square towers, speak of Norman, but the windows and doorways with their pointed arches are Gothic. There is an exterior door, an addition at a later date, which has a flattened arch of early Tudor style, dating it 16th century. There is also a very plain rectangular doorway of Elizabethan style, dated 1569. The house is typical of a small medieval manor house in its simplicity of design and fortification, however, gentle.

Furnishings

The furnishings of Little Wenham, if typical of the time, were sparse and plain.

There are two stone window seats built into the design and structure of the windows. There

perchance was a large

treble table with one large chair with arms for the lord of the manor. Other seating consisted of stools and benches made of local wood. It is possible the lord had a crude bed, but others would have slept on pallets on the floor.

SUFFOLK (EARLY ENGLISH)

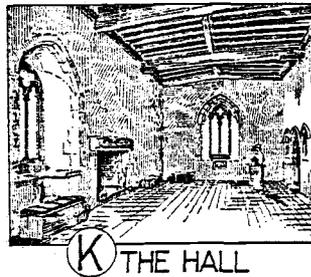


Plate 57 Interior of great hall.

Owner

There are conflicting data regarding the succession of ownership of Little Wenham which makes it difficult to be accurate and specific as to who built it. A chronological compilation taken from records of the Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, England, indicate the earliest records of ownership begins at the time when Edward the Confessor was king (1047). At that time the thane, or owner, was Auti. This means that Auti owned the land, but it was two hundred plus years before Little Wenham was built. In 1086, after the victory of William the Conqueror, and at the time of the Great Survey, the first census of land and manors, Robert, son of Corbution had ownership. Only two thanes retained their land after William I arrived in England, so it is not surprising that there was great change in ownership. There are no further records until 1267, when Robert de Brewse of London, with his wife, Emma, held the land. Emma was a co-heir of Roger de Holbroke. Sir John de Vallibus held the land in 1270 for one knight's fee. Vallibus is the Anglecised version of De Vaux, a French name. There were many French-Norman settlers who came with William the Conqueror and stayed. They eventually became more English than French. Considering his position and the date, he is probably the builder of Little Wenham Hall. It is a known fact, however, that the de Brewse family built a great many churches along with houses and there are indications in the church of Little Wenham that the de Brewse family either altered it to their liking, or built it along with the house.

It was the practice of Norman kings and their barons to establish their feudal tenants on their own estates, such as Little Wenham, which averaged 250 acres, the rent or ownership paid for by military service (Wood, 1965).

1272 finds Richard de Brewse and his wife, Alice in ownership. In 1276 Roger Holebroke claimed free warren of the property and sued several people for hunting in his free warren (Spottiswoode, 1894).

In 1296, John, son of William de "Holebrok" recovers ownership from John, son of Richard de Holebroke and three others, of 3 messuages (dwelling house with adjacent buildings and land for use of the major household), 2 carucates (the land one team can plow in a year and a day, i.e., 100 acres) of land, 15 acres of meadow, 20 acres of wood and 100 s. rent in Little Wenham, Brend Wenham, Holeton, Bergholt, Stratford, Raydon and Tattingstone. John, son of Richard, was mulched in 40 marks damage (Spottiswood, 1894; Suffolk Record Office).

In 1316 Petronilla de Holbroke held the manor. Her second husband was apparently William de Nerford, a Baron in Parliament. Petronilla's son and heir, John de Nerford, died in 1329 without children (Sharpe, 1906; Spottiswood, 1894; Suffolk Record Office).

In 1336, two de Brewse brothers, both parsons, were in charge of the churches of Little Wenham and Brent Wenham. The Advowson (income from) of Little Wenham church went to William de Holbroke

CHAPTER IV
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Tudor England is largely synonymous with the sixteenth century in England. The Tudor period actually began when Henry VII defeated Richard III in the thirty year War of the Roses in 1485 between the White Rose of York and the Red Rose of Lancaster, the two branches of the Plantanget line. That time, when Henry VII took over the throne, is considered by many historians as the end of the Middle Ages.

Henry VII was frugal and some say unreasonable, but he was far-sighted in many things and encouraged exploration of unknown worlds. An improvement in ship design made possible



Plate 58 Henry VII.

long exploratory ocean voyages as that of John Cabot. Cabot sailed on his first voyage four years after Columbus. The mariner's compass was developed making longer voyages safer and accurate charting possible (Roberts and Roberts, 1980). Savelle and Wax (1973, p. 31)

refer to the sixteenth century as "The Age of Exploration". There was great competition in the search for empire by England, France, Spain and Portugal.

The population of England in 1485 consisted of 2.2 million compared with 4.5 to 6 million prior to the black death which inundated the land from 1400 to 1430. It was a varied population that survived. The major difference was between those who owned land and those who did not (Bindoff, 1950).

"Among the landowners of England in 1500 there were some 50 noblemen, 500 knights, 800 esquires, and 5000 gentlemen...." (Roberts and Roberts, 1980, p. 215). 5 percent of the land was owned by the king. The church owned over 20 percent. Much of the land, however, was untouched by man and as a result of the plague, there were many vacant farms. There were small villages scattered over the land with crude connecting paths and roads. The great deciduous oak forests covered much of the countryside, but by the end of the Tudor period, due to the intense ship building and the smelters, there were few virgin forests left. "Timber was as indispensable to medieval civilization as coal and metal are to ours" (Bindoff, 1950, p.10). The bear, elk and lynx were, by 1500, already extinct in England. Sheep were well established in the English economy and contributed in no small way to the devastation of the natural grasslands and forests (Bindoff, 1950).

By 1485 the Renaissance with its renewal of art and architecture

was in full swing in Italy. Michelangelo created his masterpieces and Leonardo de Vinci, along with his art, was doing scientific experiments far ahead of the rest of the world. A thriving commerce brought about by peace and encouraged by Henry VII, provided new prosperity for England. The wool industry in the form of a multitude of cottage industries continued its importance in the economy. The cloth industry depended largely on foreign trade which, because of unreliable and competitive world markets, created an unstable situation allowing for the new phenomenon of unemployment (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

Henry VIII, inherited the throne in 1509. He had very different values and interests from his father. He preferred war to exploration and was a willful man who sought to satisfy himself rather than worry over the welfare of his country. His father had left full



Plate 59. Henry VIII.

coffers, a stable, centralized government, a rising population, a

prosperous wool trade, the beginnings of a navy, an emerging gentry, the printing press and an appreciation of learning for the population which was "...more secular, more peaceful, more individualistic..." (Roberts and Roberts, 1980, p.237). Henry VIII valued learning, the arts, continued to increase his navy and maintained a centralized government. He, however, made quick work of the coffers. He enjoyed war when the spoils were French territory or fuel for his ego. He was a bright, enthusiastic man blessed with a good mind, talent and a commanding stature. He did, however, have a ruthless, cruel side.

The 1500's represent the time when education departed from the vocational-medieval attitude to one of a more sophisticated approach - one which turned out gentlemen schooled in the art of serving themselves and the state (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

By way of judicious law enforcement and brilliant political maneuvering, stable order was achieved by the Tudor kings and Elizabeth. Learning, however, was one of their most valuable accomplishments, allowing it to become more and more secular as opposed to ecclesiastical. Scholars acquired the new learning of the Renaissance and the philosophical theologians and by way of the printing press, were able to spread their thinking to much of the population. The new learning was based on reason or logic, theology, and Plato. It was called humanism. Erasmus was among the greatest of the scholars of this time. He explained Biblical stories in a

humanistic manner, rather than the abstract way of the traditional scholars (Roberts and Roberts, 1980). Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, was one of the most outstanding philosophers of the Tudor reign and, along with Sir Thomas Wolsey and Sir Thomas Cromwell, was influential in the formation and stability of the English monarchy, only to lose their heads for their services (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

The written word had been a threat to some in the thirteenth century. It was now the interpretation of that word that was confusing to many and dangerous to some. The break with Rome, resulting from the desire by Henry VIII for a divorce, changed the world. The power of the papacy was challenged, opening the door to further challenges. The dissolution of the monasteries after Henry took over command of the church, allowed many to gain the much sought after land-holdings, through gifts and purchase.

The reigns of Edward and Mary, children of Henry VIII, were weak and filled with bloodshed and turmoil. It was under Elizabeth I, second daughter of Henry VIII and the last Tudor in direct line, that England blossomed as it never had before. Elizabeth was a domineering monarch who chose her council wisely. She claimed fame for her longevity (69), her often questioned, but long preserved virginity and her political genius (Bindoff, 1950). It was during Elizabeth's reign that Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe and defeated the Spanish Armada which assured England of world power. It was also

during her reign that the slow-starting Renaissance in England gained momentum.

Social Life

The chaos of a medieval house continued into the transitional period of the early 1500's. The manor houses were larger, required more servants, and entertaining was an on-going phenomenon. The function of the house continued as the center for administration, power, and hospitality but took on more importance as a status



Plate 60 Tudor manor house.

symbol and less as a bastion of defense. (Girouard, 1978). A large house for a successful individual was a must. The larger house allowed for more privacy. The servants had their own quarters and guests were usually provided with private bedrooms, although there is indication that pallets were used in the galleries and occasionally in the hall for sleeping, when there were many guests who often brought

their own servants (Lloyd, 1931). There were contacts between servants, family and guests, but discrete protocol developed. There was not the great comradeship of medieval days when servants were expected to keep their place, but were included in the household. The size of the sixteenth century manor houses and a changing attitude promoted more obvious stratification of social class. Land was the important symbol of wealth and it was not uncommon for the newly rich merchants, politicians and others to own several manors comprising several thousand acres and many houses. It was the one great house built to the lord's specification that became the symbol of his crowning achievement. A house was often built with the hope that the king or queen would someday visit. Most of these people maintained houses in London as a base from which to run their businesses and to enable them to enjoy the entertainment offered in the city (Dutton, 1962). Roads remained poor, but more attention was given to their maintenance. Transportation was slow, as always. There was more travel to the continent partly due to the increase in commerce, more comfortable and faster ships and the new strata of society made rich by that commerce.

There were knights whose status had changed from a fighting man to one who was outstandingly successful in his field as a merchantman, physician, lawyer or entrepreneur or that was in good favor with the king.

Business

There arose rather rapidly during the sixteenth century the new class of successful and very wealthy merchantmen who were in the business of commerce. The wool trade remained important. It tripled, between 1470 and 1510, due to the overseas market. It was not uncommon for a merchantman to own his own ships in which to transport his chosen commodity. There were, in fact, many fortunes made in the shipping industry which transported goods to the New World, Africa and the Continent (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).



Plate 61 Commercial ship.

The basis of the economy remained in agriculture where the country house served as the center of administration. Each house had the steward's room, audit room or business room where rents were received and recorded and a record room where the financial and legal documents were stored. It was in these rooms where the owner went over the books and kept a hand in the

management of his estate (Stone, 1984). The business of managing a large estate became more complex. A trained staff was a necessity. The household staff numbered possibly two hundred, all of whom slept within the house (Briggs, 1983). People with expertise in the over-all management as well as in specific areas were an invaluable asset to the success of manorial farming.

Entertainment

Hawking remained a popular pastime for the landed gentry.

Riding to the hounds began to gain in favor as a sport. Fishing and hunting, originally pursued to put meat on the table became entertainment. Hunting the stag



Plate 62 Woman with hawks.

on horseback fostered the breeding of better-suited horses which in itself stimulated new pride in elegant stables and breeding stock. Walking, then as now, was favored by the English (Stone, 1983)

Tennis, a game encouraged by Henry VIII, prompted the building of tennis courts on the wealthiest country estates. This, of course, required proper attire and accoutrements for the participant and observing crowd (Stone, 1983). In a large house with many parlors it was not uncommon to find a shovelboard parlor which would be the "...equivalent of a billiards or games room" (Girouard, 1978, p.104).



Plate 63 Tennis.

The Elizabethan period enjoyed the plays of Shakespeare and other dramatists. Theater groups toured the countryside to entertain at the great houses. Music was important to Henry VIII which fact served as impetuous to his followers. He wrote music and played instruments. Musicians were on the permanent staff of some manor houses where they composed, entertained and gave lessons to the children of the family (Briggs, 1983).

Libraries, made possible by the more sophisticated printing presses, were developed only by the wealthy, as books were still an expensive commodity. In 1556 one of the largest libraries belonged to Sir William More and consisted of 273 books, not many by modern standards, but impressive in the sixteenth century. Subject matters covered romances, poetry, song books, with the majority involved with instruction and edification (Girouard, 1978). Along with indoor pastimes like reading, cards was a favorite game (Stone, 1983).

Women continued to learn to sew and weave, but participated in

most of the sports and pastimes the men enjoyed. There was less and less demanded of the mistress and her ladies in the management of the house, giving them leisure hours to fill with whatever enjoyment they could.

Travel

Roads were little better in the sixteenth century than they were in the thirteenth. Henry VIII through utilization of revenues of the larger monasteries had promised highway maintenance, but he squandered the money elsewhere. Travel by carriage, cart or horse

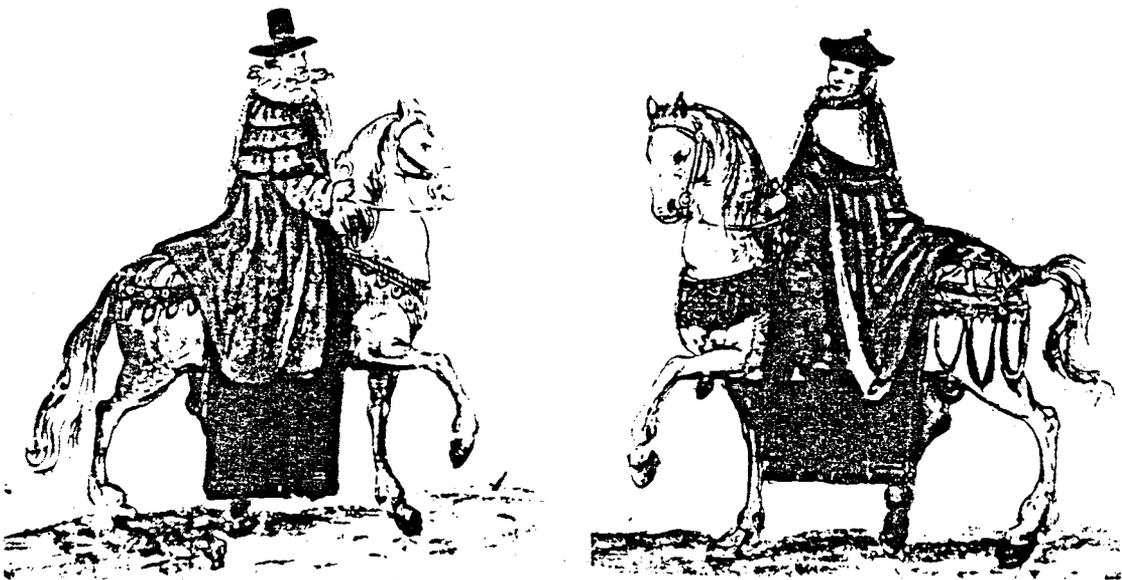


Plate 64 Travel on horseback.

was dirty and dusty or muddy. It took days to get from the London townhouses the gentry maintained to their country houses. Carriages had not yet been fitted with springs making an ordeal of a long journey. There were inns along the highways where food and rest were available. Camping was not uncommon. The great entourages of the

wealthy made for impressive sights (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

Travel by ship had improved greatly. It was faster, ships were larger and more comfortable and the lure of the treasures of the continent had begun. With increasing wealth, the landed gentry began to seek art and artifacts to fill their houses. This required travel to the Mediterranean countries as well as the north. This aspect of collecting did not reach its apex until the eighteenth century.

Education

Religion continued to be a major influence in education, however, it was Protestant and not Catholic after the Reformation. There was more latitude in teaching and interpretation making for more creative thought. The Tudors were well educated people and promoted education for all. According to Stone (1977) the nobility adopted the practice of educating their children at home. There were various reasons. They wished to avoid contact with people beneath their social rank and the harsh treatment often rendered in the public grammar schools. Tutors were hired who lived with the family to teach the young people of the household. Many children were sent to the houses of relatives not to return to their families for months or possibly years. They were instructed with the children of that house or perhaps not instructed at all. There was diverse attitude toward the education of young people. Boarding schools were popular for those children whose parents did not wish to be burdened by them or who felt that was the proper route to take.

Treatment of students both in grammar school and at the university level was often brutal. Some of the gentry allowed their children to be treated in such a manner thinking it the only way for



Plate 65 Grammar School at Stratford-upon-Avon.

them to learn both knowledge and behavior. Flogging was applied by the schoolmasters or in at least one recorded case by classmates at the command of the master. Colleges were built in the manner of monasteries with high walls, closed gates and strict monitoring (Stone, 1977). Latin and the classics were taught but with a humanistic approach which allowed for a more pragmatic education.

Food

The agrarian society of England allowed for continued diversity in food. There were still fish to catch and game to hunt. The

improvement or difference from the thirteenth century was in the faster, more efficient shipping which supplied English citizens with rare wines and delicacies from the Mediterranean and Africa. The basis of diets, however, remained the indigenous fruits, vegetables, grains, fish and game of the countryside. Most English diets in the sixteenth century were monotonous and except for the upper classes, often meagre, with little or no knowledge of nutrition as a benefit to ward off disease (Bindoff, 1950).

Norman custom had been two meals a day. In the fifteenth century four became the custom. "...a substantial breakfast at about seven, dinner at ten, supper at four, and "...liveries, a heavy culminating meal between eight and nine, eaten in bed" (Dutton, 1962, p.50). The highlight of a day was dinner, eaten in the hall with the lord and his retainers at the high table, family and friends below the salt. It became more a custom for the lord to eat in private dining chambers apart from his retainers something that was not generally appreciated. In Piers Plowman as quoted in Dutton (1962, p. 50): "Wretched is the hall where the lord and lady will not sit. Now have the rich a rule to eat by themselves." Sir William Cecil in 1553 ate in the parlor with his immediate family, his upper servants and his wife's gentlewomen but on special occasions dined in the great chamber (Girouard, 1978).

Quantity of food rather than quality was the norm. Fingers remained the usual tool for getting food to one's mouth. Whereas the average meal was reasonable, there were gluttonist feasts where



Plate. 66 Banqueting room in a tower (c. 1550).

unbelievable amounts of food were consumed over a lengthy period of time (Dutton, 1962). The Christmas holiday was the grand feast of the year. One such occasion consisted of the family, itself quite large, seven bishops, ten abbots, twenty-eight peers, an assortment of great ladies, fifty-nine knights and many judges, lawyers, clergy aldermen and esquires from around the country all of whom had their own attendants and retainers. The food consumed included "...113 oxen, 6 wild bulls, 1000 sheep, 2000 each of geese, pigs and chickens, 12 porpoises and 4000 cold venison pasties" (Girouard, 1978, p.25). Another great feast included "...104 oxen, 6 wild bulls, 1000 sheep, 304 calves, as many swine, 2000 pigs, 500 stags, bucks and roes, 204 kids, 22,512 fowl, 12 porpoises and seals, and, in addition, fish, pastries, tarts, custards and jellies, and 300 quarters of wheat. The drink comprised three tons of ale, a hundred tons of wine and a pipe of hippocras" (Dutton, 1962, p. 51).

Household gardens remained a necessity, but more and more the local market, held once a week in a designated town, supplied the manor with needed produce (Bindoff, 1950).

Clothing

Clothing styles changed during the Tudor period becoming more exotic and extreme during its progression. In the early fifteen hundreds the availability of silks, furs, velvets and elegant fabrics of gold and silver made it possible to create extravagant costumes. The necessary pragmatism of the thirteenth century was no longer such an

important factor. They took advantage of the situation and outdid each other. The men were more elegant than the women in their dress. The Duke of Buckingham, for instance, wore to a wedding "...a gowne wrought of needle worke and set upon cloth of tissue, furr'd with sables, the which gowne was valued at 1500 pounds" (Brooke and Laver, 1937, p.94). A knight wore "...a gowne of purple velvet dight with pieces of gold, so thick and massie that it was valued in golde besides the silke and fur a thousand pounde" (Brooke and Laver, 1937, p.94). Men took great liberty in innovation of their dress making it difficult to stipulate a particular style. They added sleeves, skirts, fronts and other spare parts. Basically there were five parts to their costume - the shirt, a doublet, a jerkin or coat, a gown or cloak and tights or hose and stocks. Shoes were flat soled and commonly of leather. Boots were also worn. There were shoes made from plaited straw or reeds which were worn by the poorer citizens (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

Women's dress was much simpler. It consisted of a shift, similar to a man's shirt, one or two petticoats which were covered by the gown which had a long trailing train.

Belts and girdles were used as decorative pieces and were hung with purses, books and other paraphernalia. Cord and chain were the most common material used for the belts and were of various composition such as silver, gold and silk braid.

Clothes were slashed, embroidered, furred and banded with



Plate 67 Sixteenth century clothing.



Plate 68 Sixteenth century family.

velvet (guarded). Ornamentation with stones, gold and silver was common. Rings were popular and were shown off by cutting the fingers of gloves at the knuckles (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

Head gear was a must. The men wore a birretta or a beret which had a brim that turned up. Women wore the Dutch coif or cap, or a gable head-dress which consisted of a total head covering with a point on the front. It was lavishly decorated with stones and embroidery. Unmarried girls wore snoods into which their hair was tucked (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

By the time of Elizabeth and at the end of her reign "...the century ends in a wild orgy of extravagance" (Brooke and Laver, 1937, p.164). The peasants even enjoyed fine fabrics and contrived to imitate the wealthy fashions. It was a time of vast inconsistencies in manners and elegance, a comical mixture. Brooke and Laver (1937, p. 164) quote a poem of unknown origin which describes a fashionable lady.

"Wear curled Periwigs and chalk their faces,
And still are gazing in their pocket glasses.
Tyred with pinned ruffles, fans and
partlet-strips,
With Buskes and Veringales about their hips.
And tread on Corked Stilts at Pris'nors pace,
And make their napkin for their spitting
place".

In keeping with the discovery of the New World and the spirit



Plate 69 Sixteenth century headgear.

of adventure the sixteenth century provided great excitement and innovation in clothing. The refinements in housing and manner of living, along with astute competition, formed the background for stage-like costume.

Religion

Religion was the most altered aspect of the sixteenth century. Population increase and inflation were the two other major changes. The upheaval created by Henry VIII when he abolished the Catholic Church changed the world. It is felt by some that the movement away from the Papacy was underway and that Henry simply finished something already started. The Reformation touched the lives of all citizens. Economically the country was drastically changed by the dissolution of the monasteries. That one act eradicated the aid to the poor, provided new lands for the already wealthy and gave the crown new annual income. A dissolution of the chantries, free chapels, colleges, hospitals, fraternities and guilds in the reign of Edward VI provided income for the establishment of grammar schools, hospitals and almshouses while abolishing the services they had provided before (Briggs, 1983).

The Manor

The sixteenth century manor retained the same definition as its thirteenth century counterpart. The main difference was that it had become a more intense business operation and show-place. England had become "...the most productive agricultural system in Europe, with the possible exception of Holland" (Stone, 1984, p.4). That aspect of the manor system provided marketable products for home and the continent.

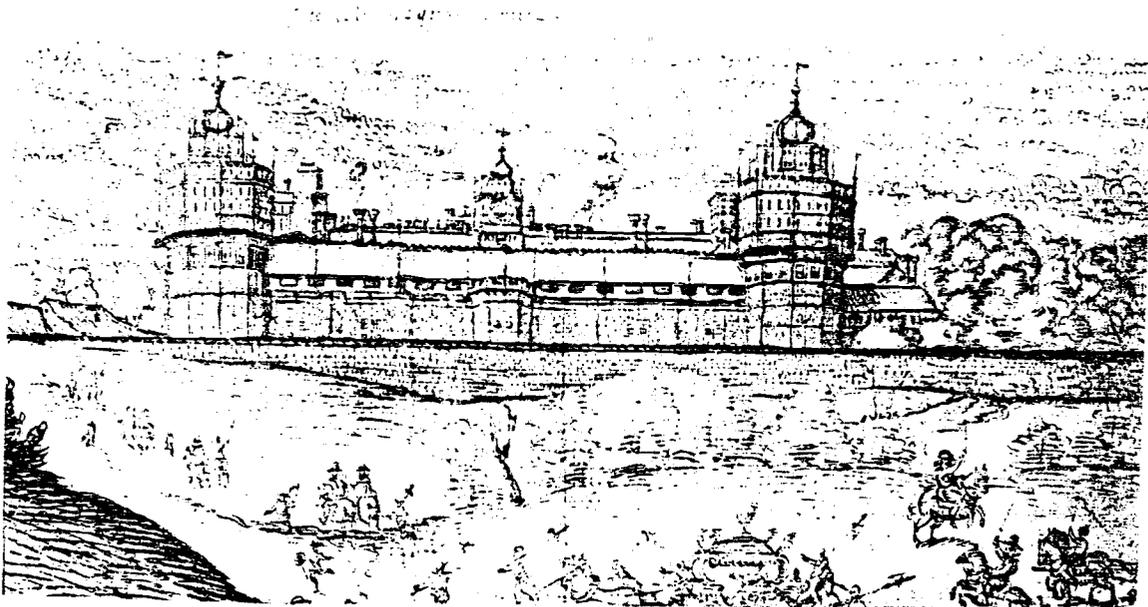


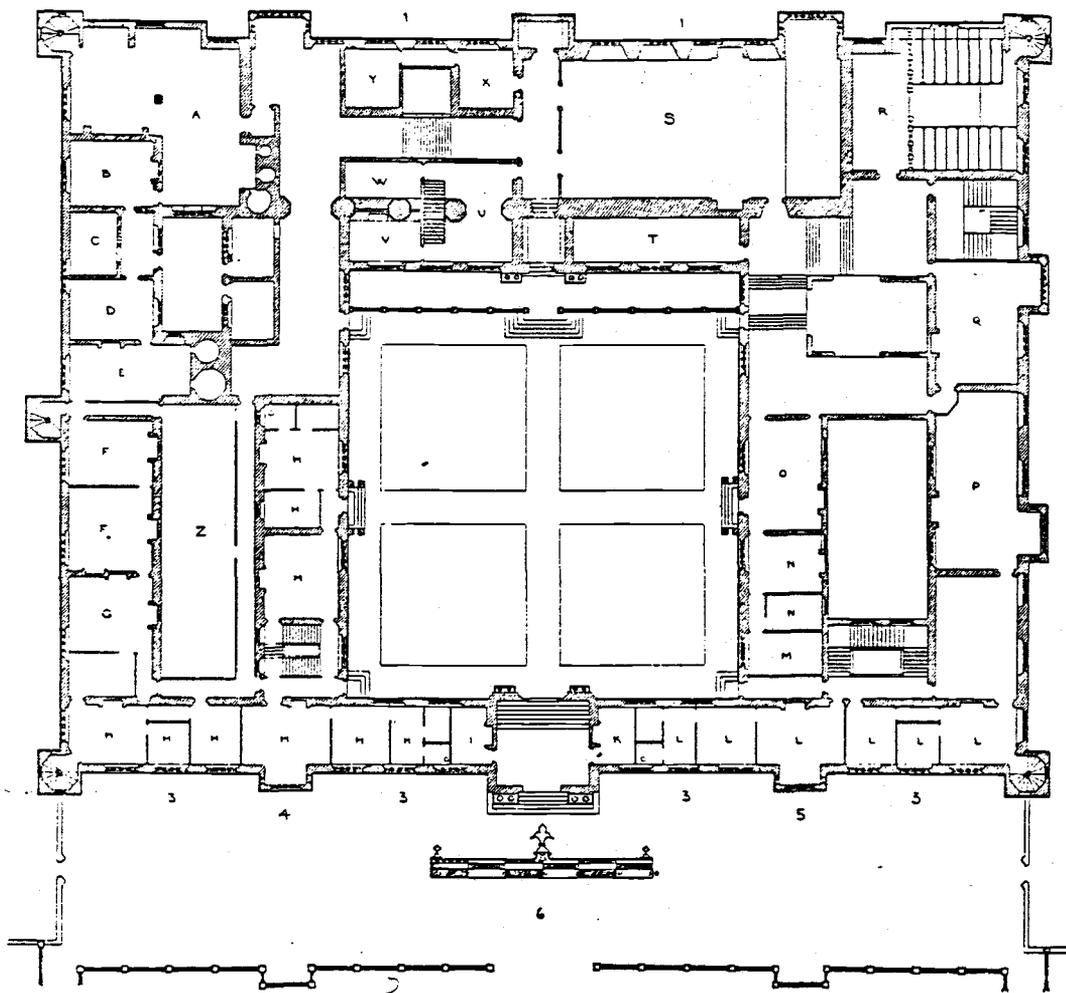
Plate 70 Henry VIII's Nonsuch Palace.

The need of fortification was nil, but the affectation of a fortified house with crenellations and moat were fashionable. The houses had a more comfortable configuration, with smaller, cozier rooms and fireplaces in most of them. Surrounding an interior

courtyard was a wide corridor-like hallway off of which the various rooms opened. The corridor made direct access to each room possible and the closing off of the rooms making them easier to heat. The houses became larger and more ostentatious, consistent with Girouard's description of a "...power house..." (1978, p. 2). They became functional as a dwelling to be lived in rather than the fortified fortresses of the thirteenth century.

Plan

The early sixteenth century house was more functional and complicated in floor plan based on a central courtyard which gradually became a simple quadrangular shape. Symmetry was considered in the overall plan as opposed to the random growth of a thirteenth century house. Privacy became an important factor and necessitated the addition of more rooms for sleeping, entertaining, business and various specific functions. The kitchen became an integral part of the house and dormitory-like sleeping quarters were provided for the servants, such as they were, in the garret and attic. The ground floor became the important level of daily living, as opposed to the first floor hall of a medieval house, which contained the hall, dining rooms, business and social rooms plus the chapel. The screens no longer existed as a removeable entity but evolved into permanent hallways. The dais remained in the great hall and continued to be used by the lord of the manor as a stage setting from which he held sway during banquets and the manor court (Blomfield, 1897; Wilson, 1977).



PLAN OF BUCKHURST HOUSE IN SUSSEX. (SOANE COLLECTION.)

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|---|
| A. Kytchen. | N N. A noblemans lodging. | v. Breakfast room. |
| B. Dry larder above wett under. | O. His ante camera. | w. Butlers lodging. |
| C. Scullery. | P. Parlour great chamber over. | x. Pantry. |
| D. Bolting. | Q. Wayters chamber. | y. Pantlers lodging. |
| E. Bakehouse. | R. This chapell is below. | z. A tennis court 65 fo. long. |
| F F. Lodgings heare. | [Note. The part figured R is probably the gallery, the chapel floor for the servants being below.] | I I. The garden and orchard syde. |
| G. Offices. | s. Hall. | 2. Wooyard heare, bakehouse, brewhouse, &c. |
| H H H. A noblemans lodging. | T. Wine cellar underneath terrace above throughout. | 3 3 3. The gallery over these lodgings. |
| H H H. A noblemans lodging. | U. Buttry. | 4. For my ladys syde. |
| H H H. A noblemans lodging. | | 5. For my lords syde. |
| I. Porters. | | 6. Terrace heare. |
| K. Lodg. | | 7. Garden house. |
| L L L. A noblemans lodging. | | |
| L L L. A noblemans lodging. | | |
| M. Servants lodging. | | |

Plate 71 Plan of Tudor manor house.

Doors and porches. Doors took on greater importance and increased in number in the sixteenth century. The entrance gate became the focal point of the exterior elevation.

Towers of the elaborate entrance were often a story higher than the rest of the building, making them three or four stories high.

An entry-way provided a waiting area consistent with a staging area for hospitality. A door allowed access from the interior of the entry way



Plate 72 Tudor doorway.

into a hallway or corridor of the house. Tudor doorways incorporated the flattened Tudor arch which was set within a rectangular frame often with a hooded molding at the top (Blomfield, 1897; Ditchfield, 1985).

Interior doors increased in number contributing to the comfort of the house by providing privacy and insulation from drafts. They were of wood and either had the Tudor arch or were flat across the top. There was not the need for security measures allowing for more

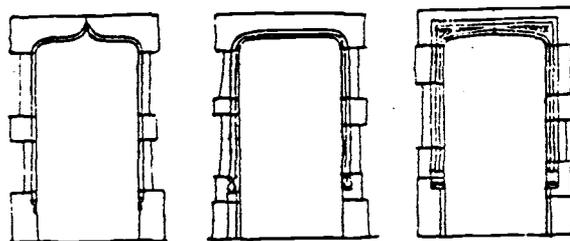


Plate 73 Tudor arch.

exterior doors, into the interior courtyard area and the exterior of the house (Bindoff, 1951; Ditchfield, 1985).

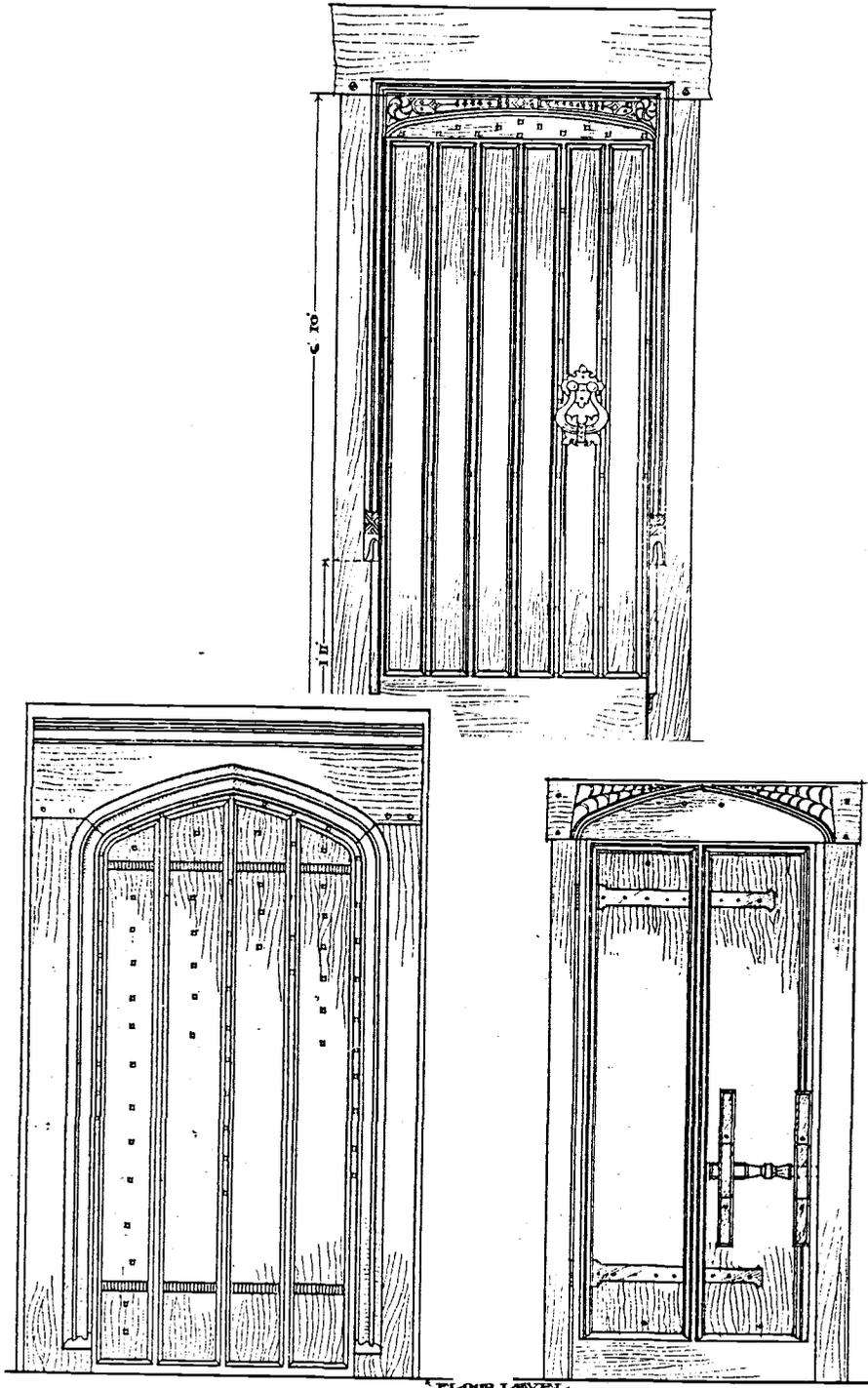


Plate 74 Interior Tudor doors.

Windows. A great change took place in the shape and quantity of windows. The many lighted oriel window in the shape of a bay was an innovation of the Tudor period. They were often two stories high, the height of the great hall where they were usually located.

The oriel windows frequently were corbelled out from the exterior wall of the building from the second floor. The glass was leaded and set in brick or stone mullions and transoms which were used during the

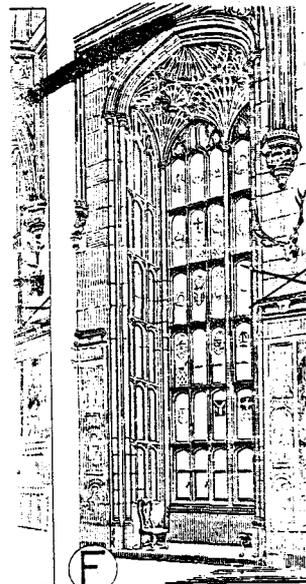


Plate 75 Oriel window

Tudor and Early Stuart times. There was less emphasis on heavy stone moldings than there was in the thirteenth century. Patterns of leaded glass were copied and passed on from one artisan to another. The common arrangement of windows was two lights, one above the other, with some having three. Glass became more affordable and plentiful and since people were becoming more affluent, it was used more frequently (Ditchfield, 1985). The result was a house much

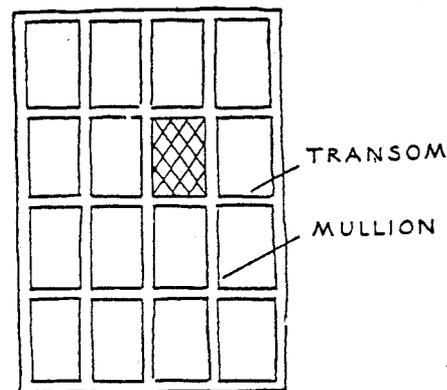


Plate 76 Mullioned window.

lighter and more enjoyable than its thirteenth century counterpart. Horn had been used for windows in early Tudor days. It was translucent but let in a diffused light while it provided insulation. Later Tudor houses used glass which prompted one poet to exclaim; "...Hardwick Hall, More glass than wall" (Ditchfield, 1985, p. 130). The use of painted glass, as opposed to stained, was a common practice. Heraldry and quotations were popular motifs with religious themes used in the chapels (Blomfield, 1897; Ditchfield, 1985).

Floors. The state of floors remained in question; however, cleanliness improved. The floors in the larger manor houses were usually made of tile, brick or stone, surfaces easily cleaned though the literature indicates cleaning was infrequent. Wood planks were also used occasionally. There still existed dirt and chalk floors in less prestigious houses.

Walls. Plaster was the common wall treatment, but there was an increased use of carved-wood panelling. The panelling insulated rooms



Plate 77 Sixteenth century linen-fold panelling.

making them warmer while at the same time creating beautiful walls. The carved linen-fold pattern of the late Gothic period was prevalent. The Tudor carpenters showed great skill in forming the square and rectangular panels which were often treated with a cusped molding and pegged (Ditchfield, 1985).

Kitchens. Kitchens became part of the house in few sixteenth century houses. Most remained a separate building or wing of the main house. Some kitchens were large and elaborate in order to accommodate the large groups which were entertained. Great open fireplaces and open fires with spits were used for the cooking as in previous years.

Chapel. Chapels remained one of the most elaborate rooms within the manor house, often incorporating painted or stained glass windows and wood panelling. The chapels were small, designed for the use of the immediate family. Although the Puritanical movement tended to simplify the religious surroundings, the chapel remained ornate and elegant. There were citizens who maintained their Catholic faith and the accoutrements associated with its practice.

Fireplaces. Fireplaces became more elaborate and numerous as comfort became an important factor of every day life in the sixteenth century. They also became a statement of grandeur reinforcing the social and economic position of the owner. Wood and stone remained the common construction materials with marble used only in the very large expensive houses. Columns with elaborate entablatures and

carvings along with the Tudor arch gave the fireplaces a semi-classical appearance. Blomfield (1897) blames the German pattern book, which was new on the market, for a repetition of design

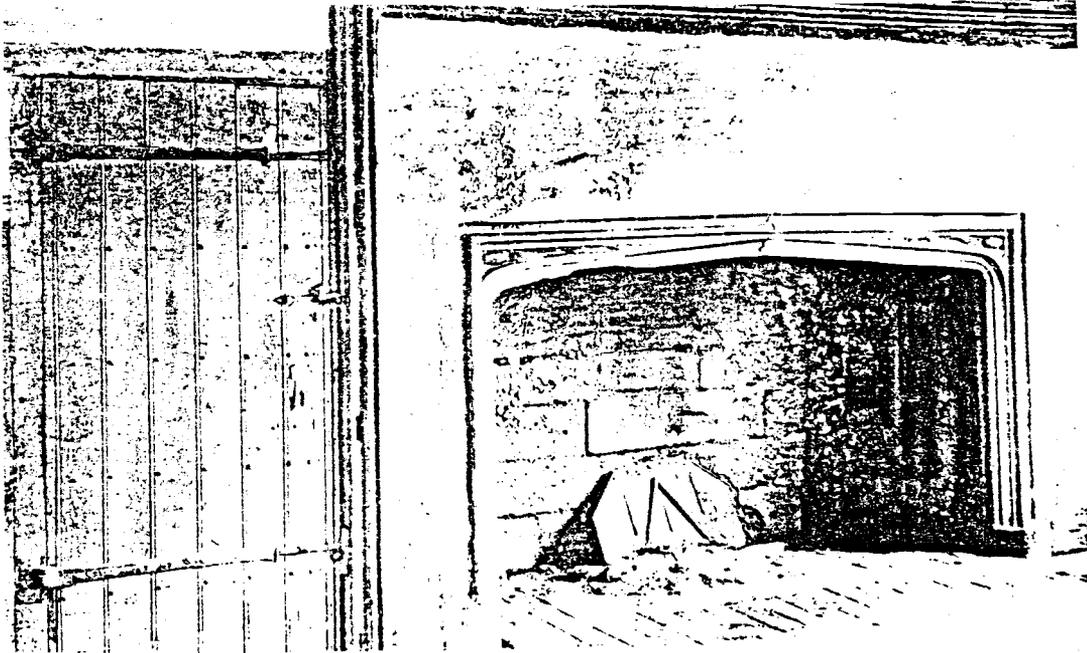


Plate 78 Simple Tudor fireplace.

indicative of a tradesman rather than the thought out design of the English designer. The advent of the fireplace as a decorative piece brought forth accessories such as firedogs to hold the logs and firebacks which reflected the heat (Wilson, 1977).

Chimneys. As the fireplaces became more numerous the additional chimneys became more elaborate, often made of molded brick in intricate shapes. They were tall to dissipate the acrid smoke from the coal-burning fireplaces. Where there was more than one fireplace in close proximity the chimneys were clustered making a grand statement of their presence (Ditchfield, 1985; Wilson, 1977).

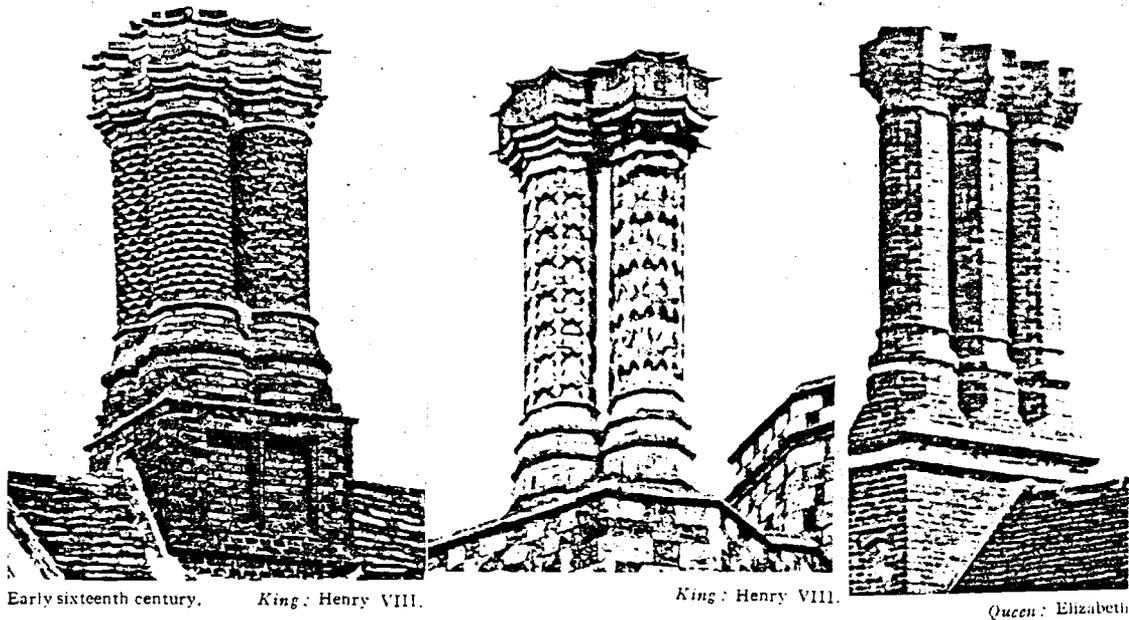


Plate 79 Sixteenth century chimneys.

Staircases. Staircases became wider, more elaborate with the availability of space. The risers were shorter and easier to ascend and descend. The narrow, corkscrew turret stairs which were confined in a tower and difficult to negotiate were abandoned. The newel posts became heavily carved and offered opportunity to exhibit sculpture. The balustrade became ornate while the rail was a heavy rolled molding. Oak was the usual material used but marble and stone are found (Ditchfield, 1985; Godfrey, 1928).

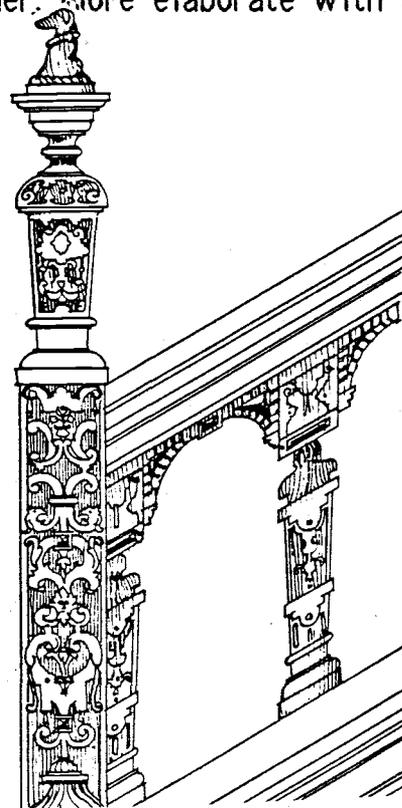
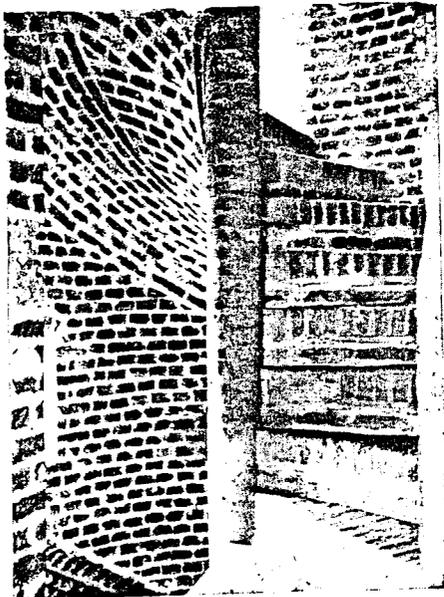


Plate 80 Newel Post.



c. 1494. *King: Henry VII.*
 —FAULKBOURNE HALL, ESSEX.



Early sixteenth century. *King: Henry VIII.*
 —ST. CROSS HOSPITAL,
 WINCHESTER.



Mid-sixteenth century. *Queen: Mary.*
 —LITTLE WOLFORD MANOR.



End of sixteenth century. *Queen: Elizabeth.*
 —OCKWELLS MANOR, BRAY,
 BERKSHIRE.

Plate 81 Sixteenth century staircases.

Cost

The cost of the large sixteenth century manor houses was enormous. The new wealth of the merchant class made possible the construction of many as a statement of their position.

Materials

Transportation did not improve greatly from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century. Ships were faster and larger, but land transport remained slow, tedious and expensive. Material which was indigenous, such as stone, or fabricated on the premises, such as brick, remained the practical manner of building.

Wood. Wood remained an important building material for panelling, staircases and framing. The great virgin forests of England were under attack by the smelters and shipbuilders greatly reducing the quantity available. Oak was the most used wood, although walnut and chestnut were extensively used in the panelling. Norway fir was imported for panelling also (Lloyd, 1931).

Stone. Stone was not used as extensively in the sixteenth century as it was in Norman times. Brick was the material of the time as was usually incorporated with stone. The transport of stone was an economic barrier due to poor roads, distance and the slowness of the horse-drawn wagons.

Brick. The sixteenth century was the time when brick came into its own. It became a status material used by the wealthy, not yet affordable by the general population. The bricklayer took over duties held formerly by the stone mason. The English established brick yards, but more commonly, brick was made on site for construction. The local clays of England lent themselves well to

the manufacture of quality brick, which in Tudor times were thinner than the medieval brick. Brick-makers became skilled in the art of casting and molding. Color was determined by the minerals in the clay source which varied from area to area (Ditchfield, 1985; Godfrey, 1928); Wilson, 1975).

Flint. Flint was used, but not as extensively as in the thirteenth century. It was limitedly incorporated with brick and stone mainly in the areas where it was indigenous. Flint was found in the chalk beds which striate across England more frequently in the eastern part of East Anglia and Kent.

Plaster. Plaster was used as an interior wall treatment in conjunction with wood panelling or by itself. Some ceilings were plastered and there was a hint of what was to come in the carving and molding (Ditchfield, 1985).

Craftsmen. Craftsmen became more specialized and capable as the demand increased for their talents. As a result the standard of living improved for the workmen. Detail became more important in all areas of house construction.

The master mason continued to be in charge of building, but more and more there appeared architects trained in the profession who designed the building and collaborated with the mason. Complete plans were necessary as opposed to the build-as-they-went approach of medieval days. As wood became more popular the carpenters as well as the carvers were more in demand and their

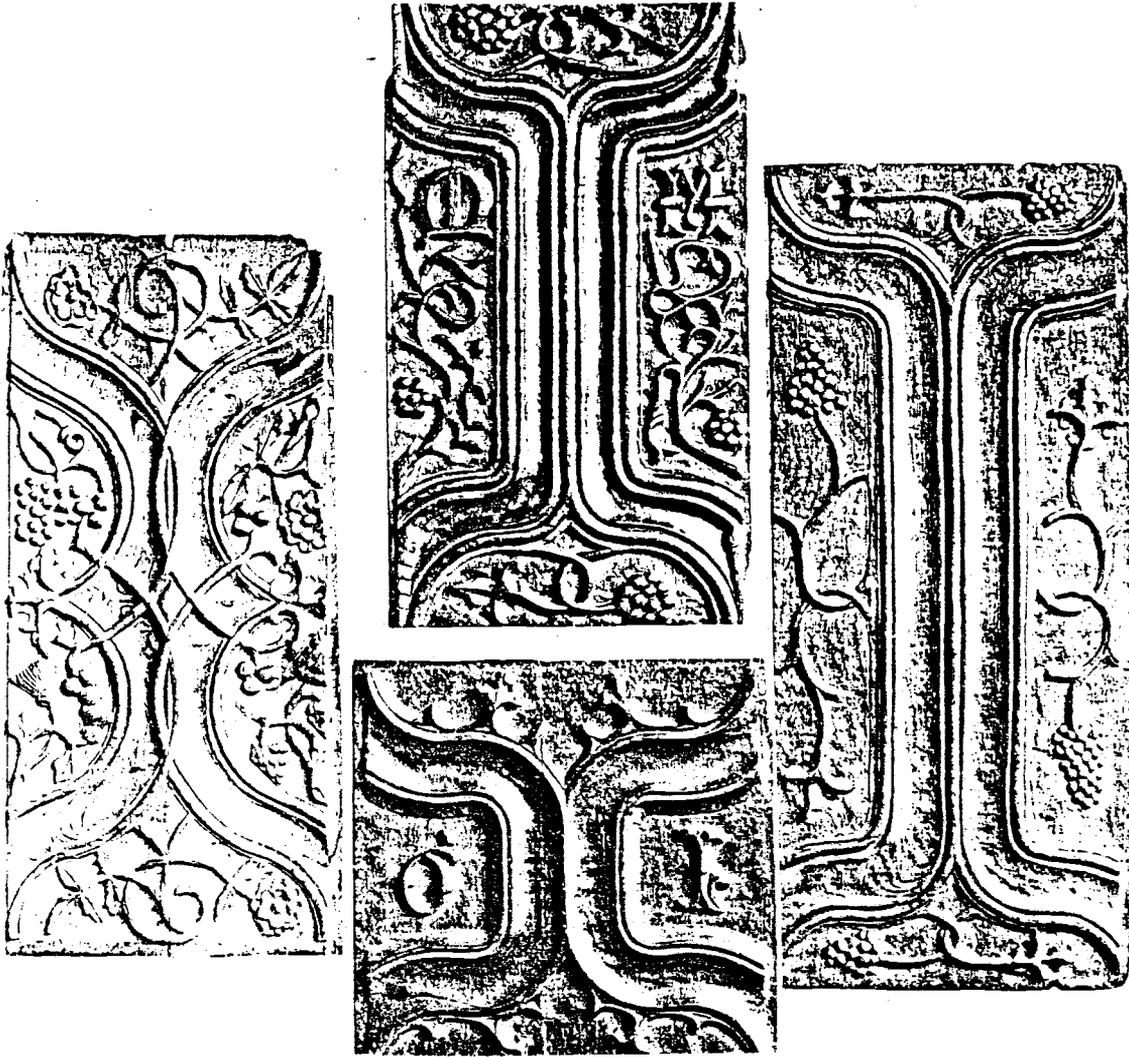


Plate 82. Carved oak molding.

skill increased accordingly.

Sanitation

Sanitation improved slightly over the thirteenth century. The population was not so hesitant to bathe, although their king, Henry VIII, seemed reluctant. There still was little knowledge of the value of cleanliness in relation to health, but greater care was taken with the water supply, which was often piped to the house from a distance.

Privies were incorporated into closets or wardrobes, which became elegant private rooms. There were usually several in a house, but the basic design and operation remained basically the same. There were garderobe towers which accommodated more than one

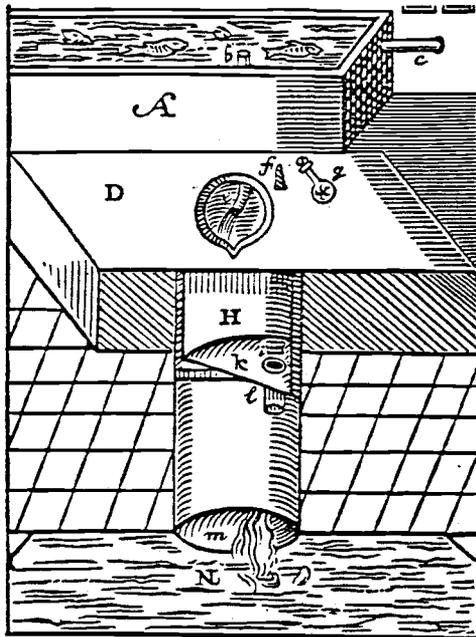


FIG. 40.—Sir John Harington's Water-closet.

KEY TO FIG. 40.

- "A, the cistern.
- b, the little washer.
- c, the waste pipe.
- D, the seat board.
- e, the pipe that comes from the cistern.
- f, the screw.
- g, the scallop shell, to cover it when it is shut down.
- H, the stool pot.
- i, the stopple.
- k, the current.
- l, the sluice.
- m, N, the vault into which it falls: always remember that at noon and at night empty it, and leave it half a foot deep in fair water."

Plate 83 Harington's water closet. It was not well accepted. individual at a time. Pits were the receptacle for the excrement which were cleaned out periodically. Cess pools were known, also. Separate buildings were sometimes built on the grounds for elaborate privies removing the problem of odor within the house but requiring individuals to exit the house (Girouard, 1982; Lloyd, 1931).

Water Supply. Water supply became more sophisticated but still primitive compared to modern standards. Wells, cisterns and

streams were the source. The manner of transporting it to the house improved through the use of pipes of wood or lead to a central outlet. Wells were on the premises, often in the courtyards, central to the house (Girouard, 1978).

Architect

Architects received training at the universities and abroad. The German pattern books had effect on their designs. As houses became more elaborate and the influence of the Renaissance made its presence known the need for comprehensive plans was imperative. There were a few designers who were well known but the status architect was yet to come. Greater importance was placed on the "...perfecting of house planning..." (Blomfield, 1897, p.67) and since there were few churches built during the sixteenth century, the emphasis was on the design and building of domestic dwellings and the renovation of former church properties for domestic use.

Furnishings

Furniture remained unrefined but increased in quantity over that of the thirteenth century. Early Tudor furniture was Gothic in nature, heavy and heavily carved, inlaid and on occasion painted. Chests, with multi-purpose uses for storage, seating and as tables, were the main pieces of furniture. Oak was the most used wood. Ash, elm, beech and other local woods were also used. The presence of chairs was perhaps the most obvious change. They were large with solid panel backs and sides and began to replace the stool

as the major piece of furniture. Benches were a much used piece of furniture, also (Wilson, 1977). The rough, wood beds of medieval

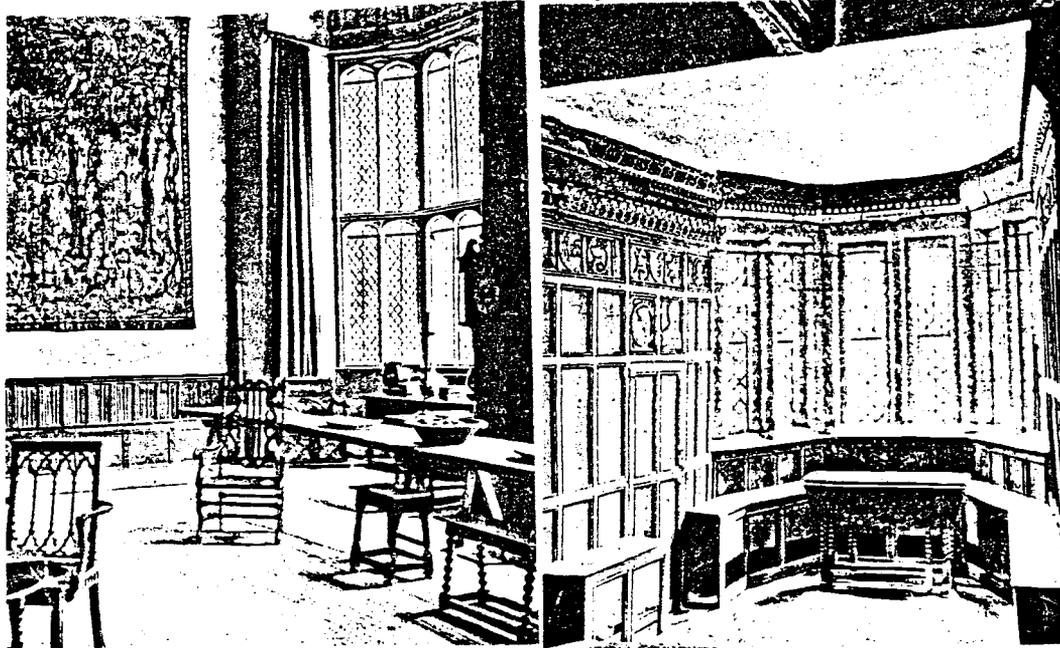


Plate 84 Tudor interior

times were replaced with the tester which was attached to the bed itself instead of a canopy suspended from the ceiling. The four high posts which supported the tester were heavily carved. The bed consisted of a mattress filled with rushes, wool or for the wealthy, feathers and down and the bedstead. Mattresses were an expensive item which were normally willed to a descendant. Cupboards were used in the dining rooms and for storage. Tables were a refinement of the trestle table with large sturdy legs (Wilson, 1977).

Owners

Background. The new wealth of sixteenth century England

allowed for a broader background of manor house builders. Many of them came from frugal backgrounds but with intelligence, luck, cunning and fortitude accumulated great fortunes.

Wealth and position. The rising wealth of the merchantmen, lawyers, doctors and entrepreneurs formed a strong new segment of the population, men who were eager to show their success to the world by building a house larger than that of their neighbor. Many were able to take advantage of the ecclesiastical properties confiscated during the Reformation and sold or given as gifts from the crown. The number of great houses escalated accordingly. Variance of income between classes became greater as free enterprise gained momentum. The greatest class distinction was between those who owned land and those who did not (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

In 1500 "...there were some 50 noblemen, 500 knights, 800 esquires, and 5000 gentlement..." (Roberts and Roberts, 1980, p. 215) who owned the land along with the king who owned 5 percent and the Church which owned 20 percent. The nobility had titles which set them off from the rest of society. The wealthiest peer in the country was the Duke of Buckingham whose income was 6000 pounds a year, the average income for a peer was about 1000 pounds (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

Most people lived in the countryside where in 1334 urban wealth formed 7% of the wealth of the country whereas in 1524 it

formed 15%. The cities rose accordingly, London being the richest city in the world in the 1500's (Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

Household. The Tudor household provided more privacy for the lord's family with the addition of more specifically functional rooms and with the privacy came an increasing isolation of individuals. It was not uncommon for husband and wife to keep separate households in different parts of the country and for children to be sent off to wet-nurses and servants to be raised. Comfort for



Plate 85 Tudor family.

the occupants was a major change in the household arrangement, even though an impersonalness began to show itself in the family structure. The family was held together by common economic interests in title, land and business, not necessarily by the bonding of affection one would find in a modern family (Stone, 1979).

The household referred to everyone within the house, servants and all. The servants by the sixteenth century were not the

integral part of the family that they had been in the thirteenth century partly due to larger houses where intermingling was not a necessary fact (Lloyd, 1931). There was a social hierarchy within the house that was little different from the thirteenth century, the main difference being increased numbers of people to deal with who had their own space provided by larger houses.



Plate 86 Hengrave Hall.

Hengrave Hall

The history of Hengrave goes back hundreds of years having passed through the ownership of monks, churches, dukes, sheriffs, knights and female heirs. The present Hengrave Hall was started in 1522 by Sir Thomas Kytson, a wealthy cloth merchant, who was knighted in 1533 in honor of Anne Boleyn's coronation. Hengrave Hall is a good example of an early Renaissance manor house built in the time of Henry VIII. The house was built near Bury St. Edmund in Norfolk, East Anglia, possibly on the site of the ancient hall of the family of DeHengrave. The grounds now consist of forty acres. It was originally moated with bridges decorated with polished flint-work to the entrance hall and the church yard (Cook, 1977; Gage, 1838; pamphlet,

n.d.).

The manor was honored by the visits of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth during their respective reigns. It was to Hengrave that Mary Tudor fled when Northumberland plotted to seize her and Elizabeth in order to make Lady Jane Grey Queen. Queen Elizabeth, in 1578, on her progress to and from Norwich, stopped with Leicester and the entire court at Hengrave "...where in very deed the fare and banquet did so far exceed a number of other places that it is worthy of mention. A show representing the fayries as well as might be was there seen, in which a riche jewell was presented to the Queen's Highness" (Nichols, 1823,v.II, p.215). Nichols further sites (v.II, p. 129):

The Sheriffe Sir William Spring, Sir Thomas Kidson, Sir Arthur Higham, and divers other of worship, kept great houses, and sundry eyther at the Queenes coming, or returne, solemnely feasted hir Highness; yea, and deffrayed the whole charges for a day or twayne, presented gifts, made suche truiumphes and devises, as indeed was most noble to beholde, and thankfully accepted.

It was on this occasion that the second Thomas Kytson was knighted.

The house was built around a typical quadrangular court which was surrounded by cloistered-like galleries forming corridors on

three sides, the fourth side occupied by the great hall. It has an elaborate entrance gate-house which enters into a gallery with exit



Plate 87 Entrance gate to Hengrave Hall.

doors into the inner courtyard. The banqueting hall, or great hall, is perhaps the most impressive room with its hammer-beam ceiling and carved oak panelling. It contained a screen, dais and long dais window, according to Wood (1977), the only harkening to the past in the design of the house. The great oriel window extends to the height of two stories and is of painted and leaded glass. There are doors on either end of the hall leading to the main stairway on one side and the kitchen, service area on the other. The hall contains a minstrels gallery of oak raised like a balcony above the screen on one end. Music played an important part of the life of Hengrave during the

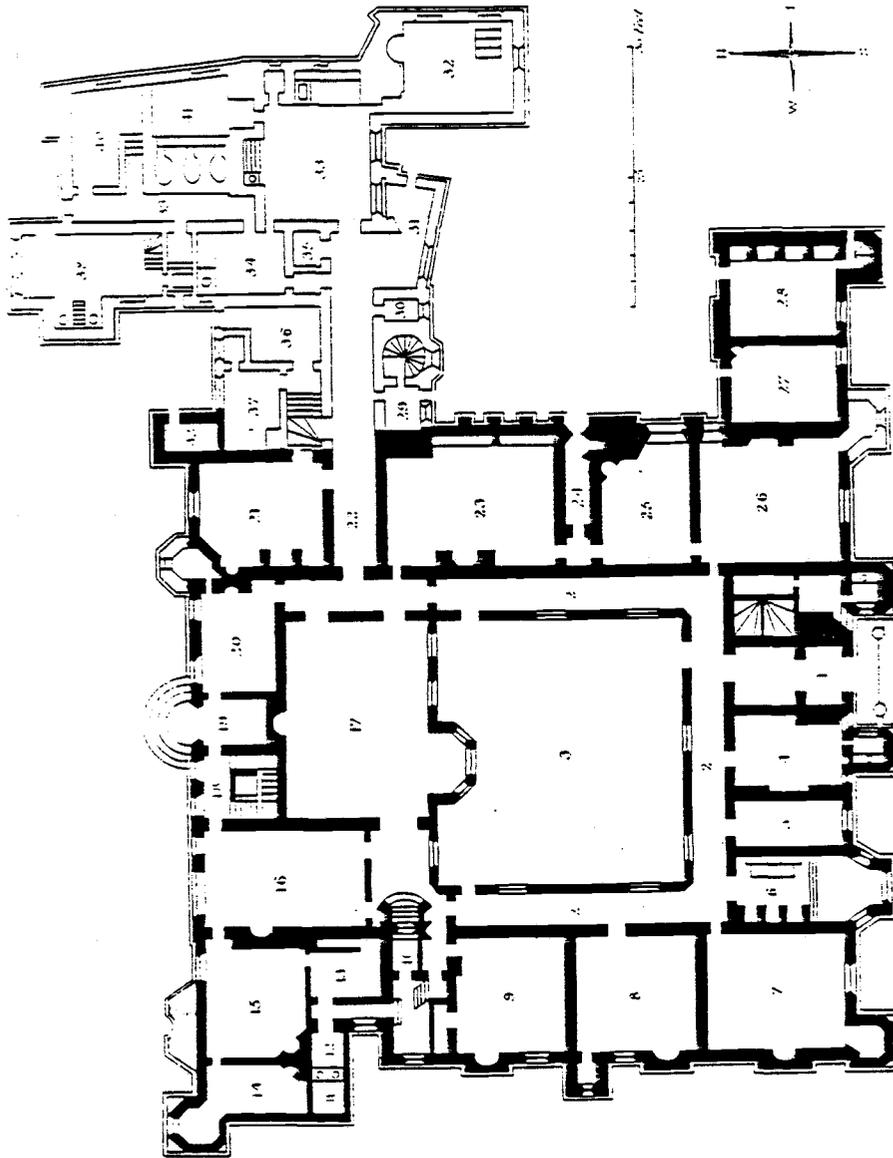


Plate 88. Plan of ground floor.

1428B.

AS SHOWN ON THE PLAN OF THE BUILDING AS IT WAS IN 1850.

- Vide-house 1. Chapel 2. Drawing room 3. China room 4. Chapel 5. Drawing room 6. Bed room 7. Bed room 8. Bed room 9. Bed room 10. Bed room 11. Bed room 12. Bed room 13. Bed room 14. Bed room 15. Bed room 16. Bed room 17. Bed room 18. Bed room 19. Bed room 20. Bed room 21. Bed room 22. Bed room 23. Bed room 24. Bed room 25. Bed room 26. Bed room 27. Bed room 28. Bed room 29. Bed room 30. Bed room 31. Bed room 32. Bed room 33. Bed room 34. Bed room 35. Bed room 36. Bed room 37. Bed room 38. Bed room 39. Bed room 40. Bed room 41. Bed room 42. Bed room

time Sir Thomas Kytson lived there. A madrigal composer-musician, John Wilbye, was a permanent resident. He was appointed Household Musician when he was nineteen and stayed until his death (Cook, 1974).

Plan

The extensive plan of Hengrave Hall included forty bedrooms in the original structure. One wing was torn down. In addition there were the kitchen offices, pastry-room, laundry, linen-room, chapel, meeting rooms, summer and winter parlors, studies, libraries, private dining-rooms, music rooms and still rooms plus others for specific uses (Fletcher, 1961).

The house shows great influence of the Gothic Revival in the twin towers which frame the entry gate-house and the symmetry by which it was planned. An extensive alteration in 1757 by Sir John Wood reduced the size of the house by one third and began the change of the gothic gables to battlements, a project never finished which gives the facade an asymmetrical appearance. The moat which surrounded the house was filled in at that time and extensive gardens were planted (Cook, 1974; Pamphlet, n.d.).

The greatest difference between Hengrave and its thirteenth century counterpart is obviously the size of the house which included rooms for specific uses, but also the privacy afforded by the corridors around the inner court off of which the various rooms are entered. The corridor theme is repeated on the second floor. The

rooms are smaller and cozier, most with a fireplace. Unique, also, is

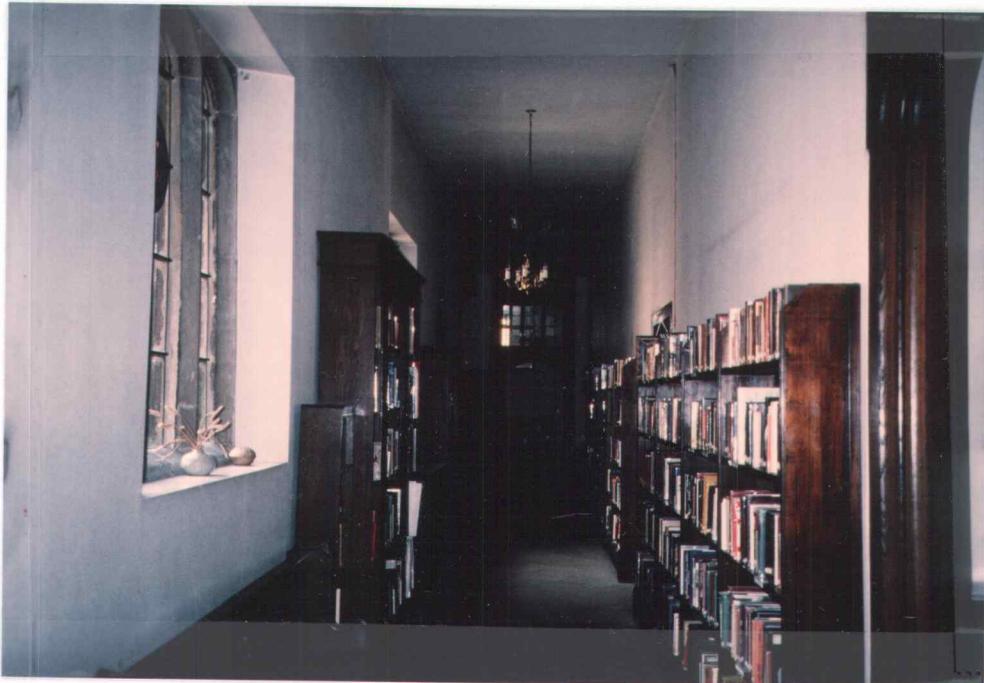


Plate 90 Hall corridor now used as library.

the fact that the great hall does not span the width of the house, but has rooms behind it (Cook, 1977; Lloyd, 1931).

Doors and Porches. The doors became more numerous in the sixteenth century, both interior and exterior. The doors in Hengrave are of oak with strap iron hardware and are designed with the flattened Tudor arch. The entrance which took the place of the exterior porch of a thirteenth century house, is described by Cook (1977, p.44) as "...an outrageously picturesque conceit, which in its zestful, unorthodox combination of Gothic and classical



Plate 91 Oriel over entrance showing ornate corbelling heraldry, stone Tudor archway and windows.

motifs heralds the achievements of the Elizabethans and such

excesses of the Gothic Revival...". Cook (1977, pp.44-45) goes on to say the facade:

was introduced by a flourish of piers with pepperpot caps. A stupendous oriel swells between short octagonal turrets topped by lanterns ornamented with traceried niches and crowned by pepperpot domes. The oriel is trefoil-shaped on plan, corbelled out from the wall on tiers of multiform mouldings of classical design. Below these mouldings, in the narrow space between them and the square frame of the entrance arch, pairs of boldly modelled cherubs, either nude or clad in Roman armour, support three heraldic shields, the middle one displaying the arms of the Fishmongers' Company. The three tall windows billow exuberantly above panels carved with the Royal Arms and they are crowned by battlements and extraordinary scaly, crocketed half-domes. Slender, clustered shafts divide the rounded forms, capped by crocketed finials and terminating below in pendants hanging like richly wrought lanterns between the corbel mouldings. The Fishmongers' arms commemorate the business

and allegiance of Hengrave's builder, Sir Thomas Kytson, a typical representative of the upstart nobility. The swagger of his house is characteristic of the man himself; and his braggart gusto declares itself not only in the flamboyance of the oriel but in the actual size of the house.

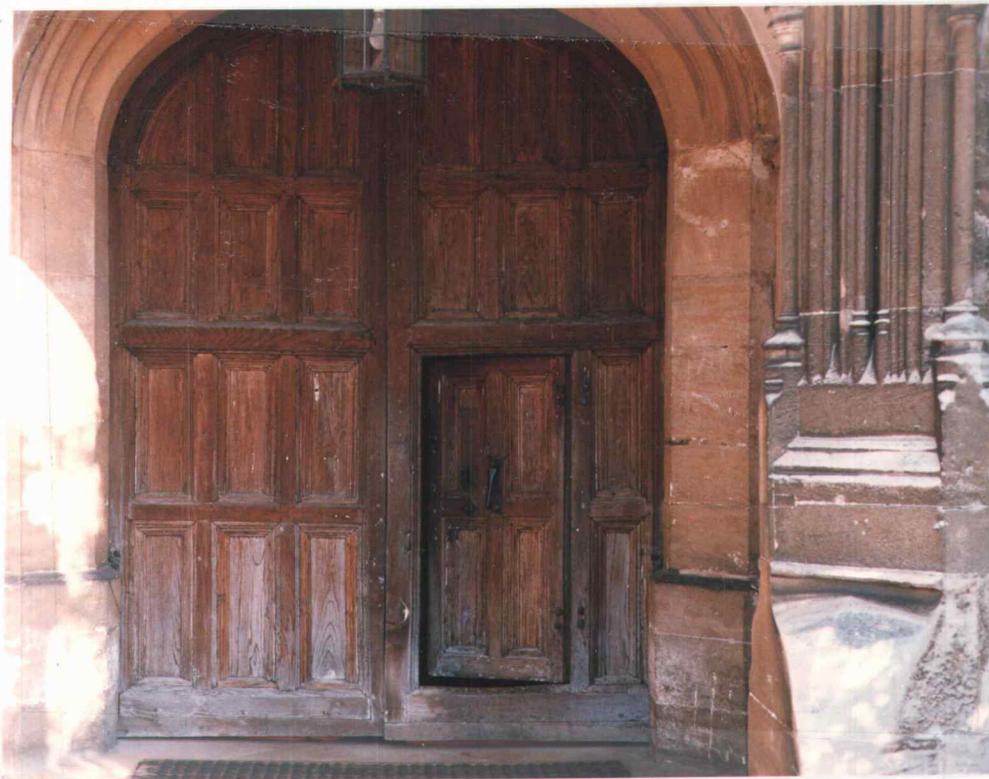


Plate 92 Large carriage-entrance doors with smaller door.



Plate 93 Hardware on entrance door.



Plate 94 Strap hardware and metal studs on interior door.

Windows. The windows of Hengrave are many and large compared to those of a thirteenth century house. The molding ceased to be the focal point being replaced with painted heraldic designs. Some of the windows are in series of three vertical shapes enclosed in rectangular stone molding with a hood typical of the Tudor period. Robert Wright was the glazier for Hengrave and received 4 pounds for the "...making of all the glasse windows of the Manour-place, with the sodar, and for xij scutchens with armes" (Household Records of Hengrave in Ditchfield, 1985, p. 175) The scutchens indicated the ownership of a specific family. Often the arms of friends and relatives were included in the windows. If the king or queen paid a visit, the royal arms would be added in a prominent place. Various patterns of lead glazing were used.



Plate 95 Square window panes with view to side garden.



Plate 96 Three panelled window with fishmonger's crest with view of crenellations and oriel window on right.



Plate 97 Deepset leaded window with iron bars.

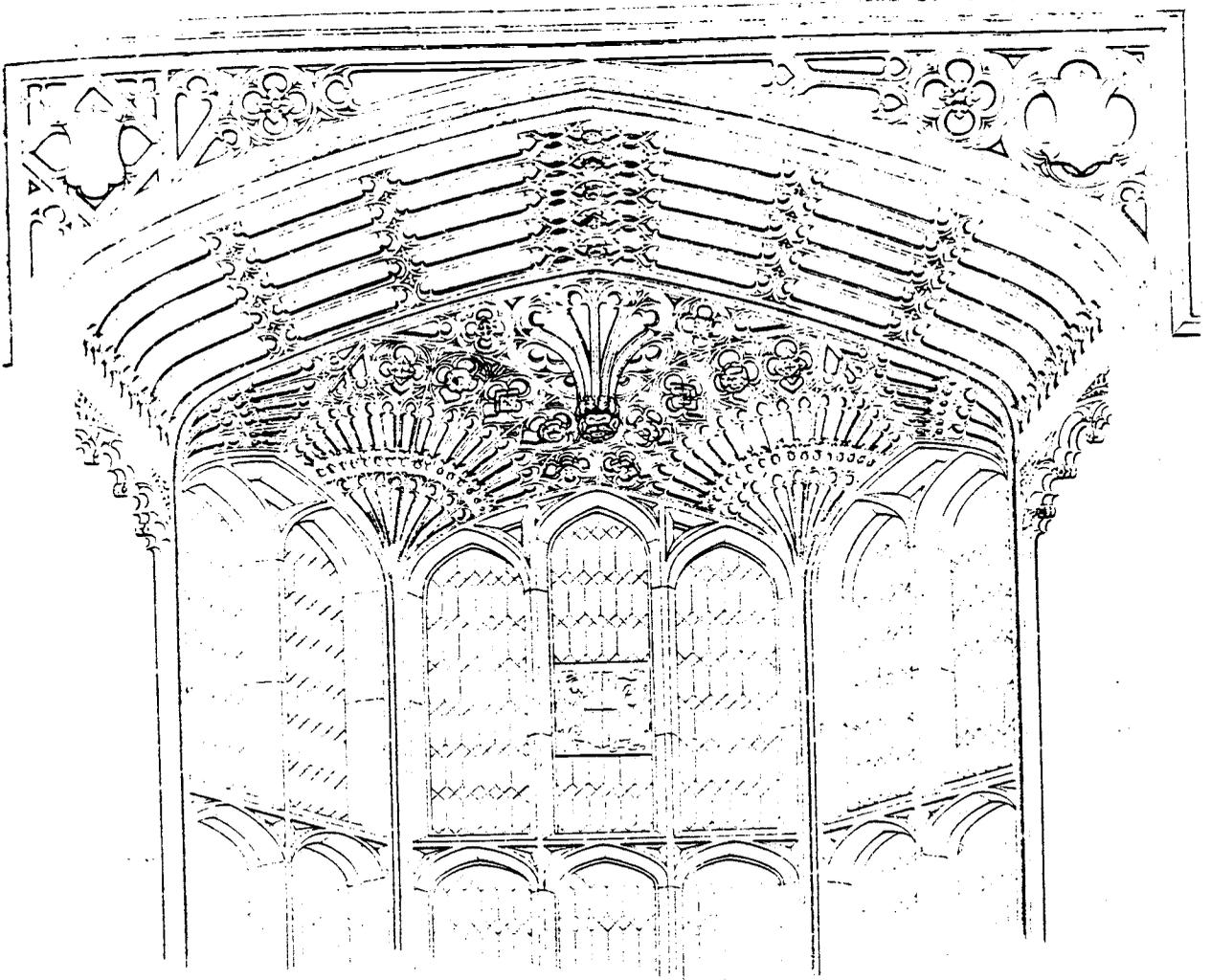


Plate 98 Interior elevation of oriel window in great hall.

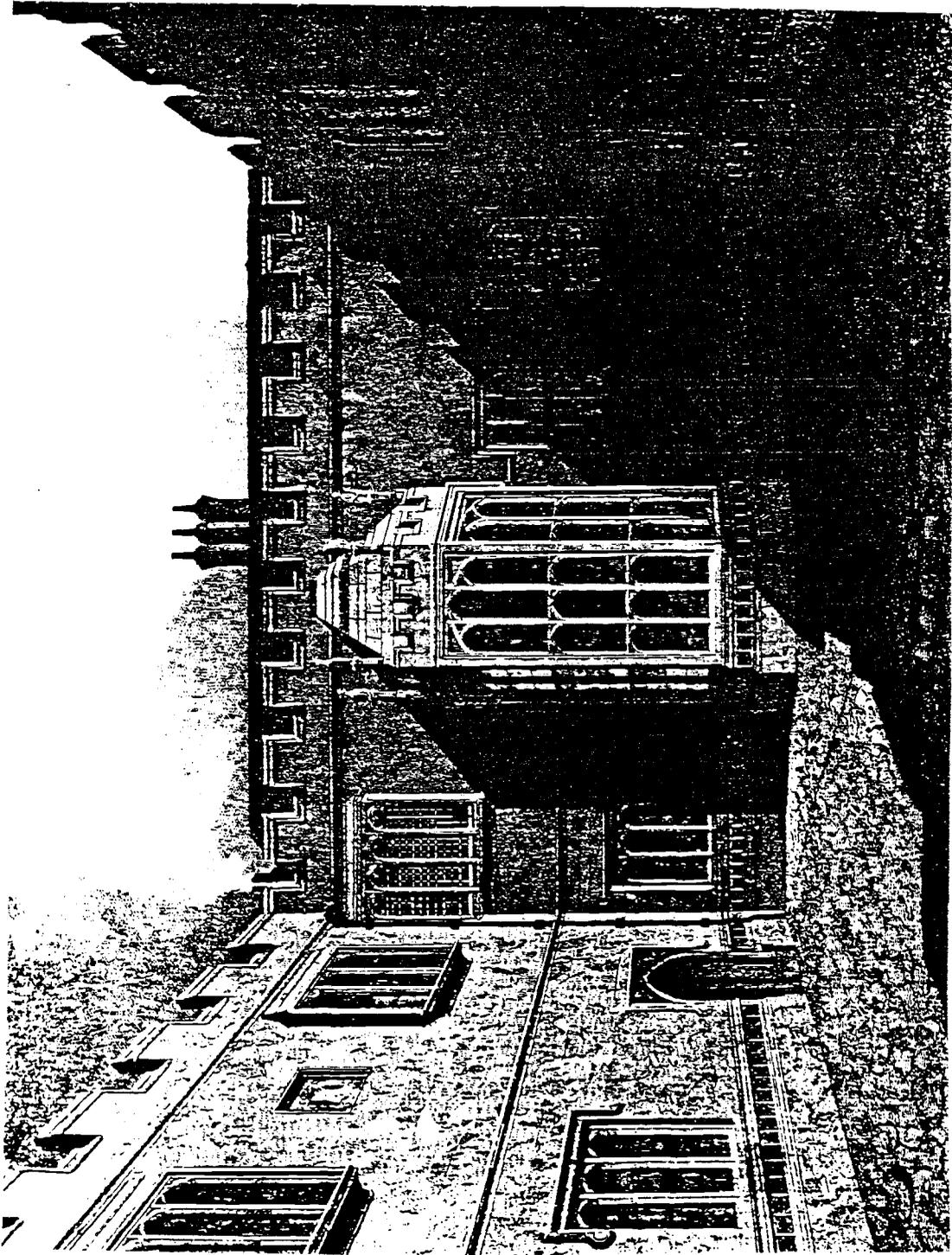


Plate 99 Courtyard showing oriel window of great hall, crenellations, hooded Tudor window on left, Gothic door on left, chimneys, band of flushwork around lower walls.

Floors. The floors of Hengrave vary. Some are black and terra cotta tile approximately ten inches square which form a checkerboard pattern and are used in the service area. Oak in an inlaid pattern is the most commonly used in the hall, corridors and various rooms. Rushes continued to be used. As late as 1573 the household accounts of Hengrave state "...For a houseload of rushes from Lackford to Hengrave, vjd", although as Lloyd speculates, these could be used for making rushlights and not for strewing on the floor (Gage, n.d., p. 194 in Lloyd, 1931, p. 80; on-site observation)



Plate 100 Tile flooring in service area.

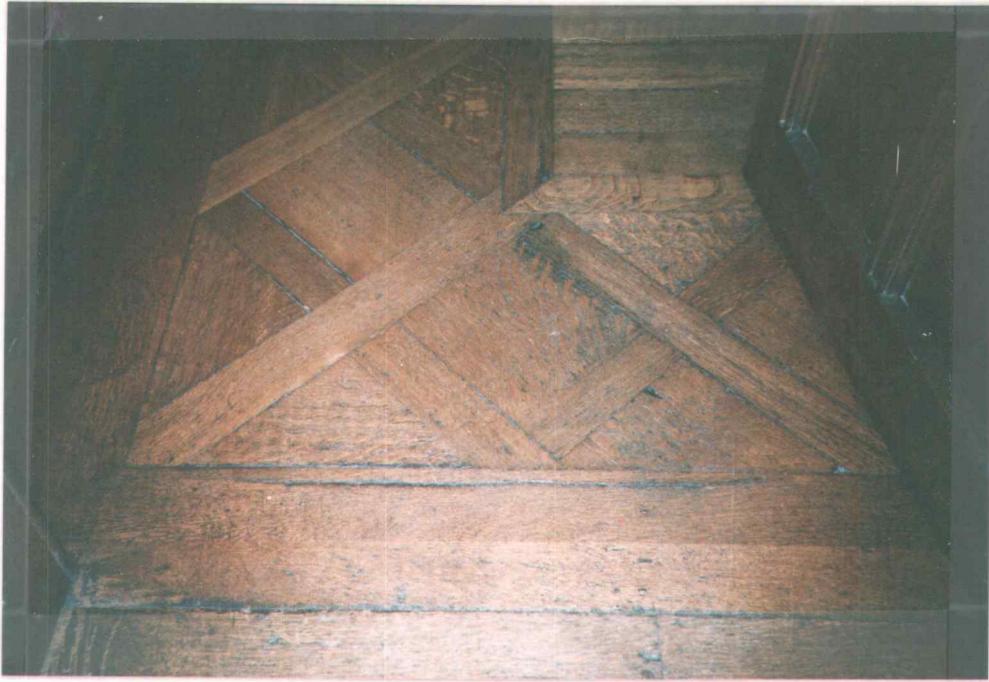


Plate 101 Inlaid oak flooring.



Plate 102 Square stone tiles.

Walls. The walls in the principal rooms are panelled, often carved with a foliage pattern, the others are covered with plaster. The walls



Plate 103 Wainscot panelling in great hall.



Plate 104 Round window treatment on wall of corridor in entrance - speaks of Italian influence.

of Hengrave remain simple, but were probably hung with tapestries and art work gathered by Sir Kitson in his travels.

Kitchen. The kitchen in the sixteenth century was seldom incorporated within the house. The kitchen at Hengrave was large with open fireplaces. Its capacity accommodated the great numbers of people who visited such as Queen Elizabeth and her entourage.

Chapel. The chapel at Hengrave is a beautiful room with outstanding painted glass windows done supposedly by a glazier from Champagne, whose work Kytson probably saw in Antwerp on one of his

visits there as a leading Merchant Adventurer. The glass fills three bays making twenty one lights in all, each with a scene in vibrant color. The building accounts of Hengrave mention in 1527 "...carying of iii gret chestes from Ipswich wch came from beyonde the seye'..." and a second payment to the Bury glazier Robert Wright, who had glazed the windows of the rest of the house, of 20p for 4 pounds of solder for the chapel, probably to mend loose panels. (Wayment, 1985, p. 11). The chapel also contains a nun's gallery with delicately carved screens and benches of oak.

Solar. The various parlors and meeting rooms replaced the need for a solar.

Fireplace. Fireplaces occur in most rooms of Hengrave. The one in the banqueting hall is large and framed in wood. There is at least one corner fireplace of stone which occurs in a bedroom. None of the fireplaces observed were elaborate, but they were more elegant than those of the thirteenth century (on site observation).

Ceilings. The ceiling of the banqueting or great hall at Hengrave is an elegant hammer-beam construction of oak. The ceilings in the rest of house are of plaster (Cook, 1977, Lloyd, 1931, on-site observation).



Plate 105 Hammerbeam ceiling in great hall with plaster wall above oak panelled wainscot (see plate 99).

Staircases. The stairways of Hengrave are of wood. The grand stairway leads from a foyer, adjacent to the great hall, to the first floor. There is a back stair used by the servants and a turnpike stair in one of the tower.

Cost

The cost of Hengrave Hall built by Sir Thomas Kytson, according to general opinion of historians, was approximately 3,000 pounds (Cook, 1974; Gage, 1838).



Plate 106 Back stairway

Materials

Brick. The brick was made at Hengrave with some coming from the kilns of the Abbot of Bury and other kilns in the area (Gage, 1838). It is a white brick which has mellowed to a soft beige that matches the freestone used extensively. Hengrave was one of the first large houses made primarily of brick. Hampton Court, built of brick by Sir Thomas Wolsey, gave impetus to the use of brick for large structures. Little Wenham was built of brick in 1260, but it did not become a fashionable building material until Tudor times.

Stone. Sir Thomas Kytson's men were sent to the quarry at King's Cliff in Northamptonshire. The stone was shipped both by land and

water, through Worlington and Brandon, to Hengrave. The dissolved abbeys of Ixworth, Bruwell and Thetford supplied the rest of the stone (Gage, 1838).



Plate 107 Inside entry gate showing stone work and bench.

Wood. Native oak supplied the carpenters with wood for the panelling, stairway and doors. Green pine, imported from Norway, was also used as panelling (Gage, 1838). (see plates 97,98,99).

Flint. Flint was used, but sparingly at Hengrave, and then in a more refined manner than generally seen. The original bridges were decorated with polished flint.

Lead. Lead was used for the downspouts and water supply and for the covering on the ogee-shaped roofs of the towers.

Plaster. Where wood panelling was not used, plaster was applied to the walls and ceiling. Over the door entering from the entry gate there are three round medallions of carved plaster in the Italian style. They perhaps were there originally or were added when Sir John Wood did his renovation in 1775.

Craftsmen

The masons and plasterers' contracts are in existence along with the disbursements. John Birch, from London, was the joiner and John Sparke executed the bay-windows and gate-house.

Artisans. Thomas Dyrich, from London, was the chief carver. Under him, undoubtedly were several others (Gage, 1838). The glaziers, already mentioned, were expert in their art, leaving behind outstanding examples of painted and leaded glass. Thomas Wright was the master glazier.

Laborers. The common laborers were from the surrounding villages and from the manor itself. There were, according to the building records, crews which were assembled by an individual and then contracted to the builder. There is also note of Scottish Highlanders brought to Hengrave to work.

Landscape

The landscape of Hengrave indicates the beginning of the elaborate gardens that were to come. It was carefully planned and laid out with view, comfort and practicality in mind. Ponds, orchards and walled gardens were incorporated in the overall plan. Yew hedges were particularly popular. The forty acres at Hengrave retain some of the old trees, ponds and walls, and a thornberry hedge planted in honor

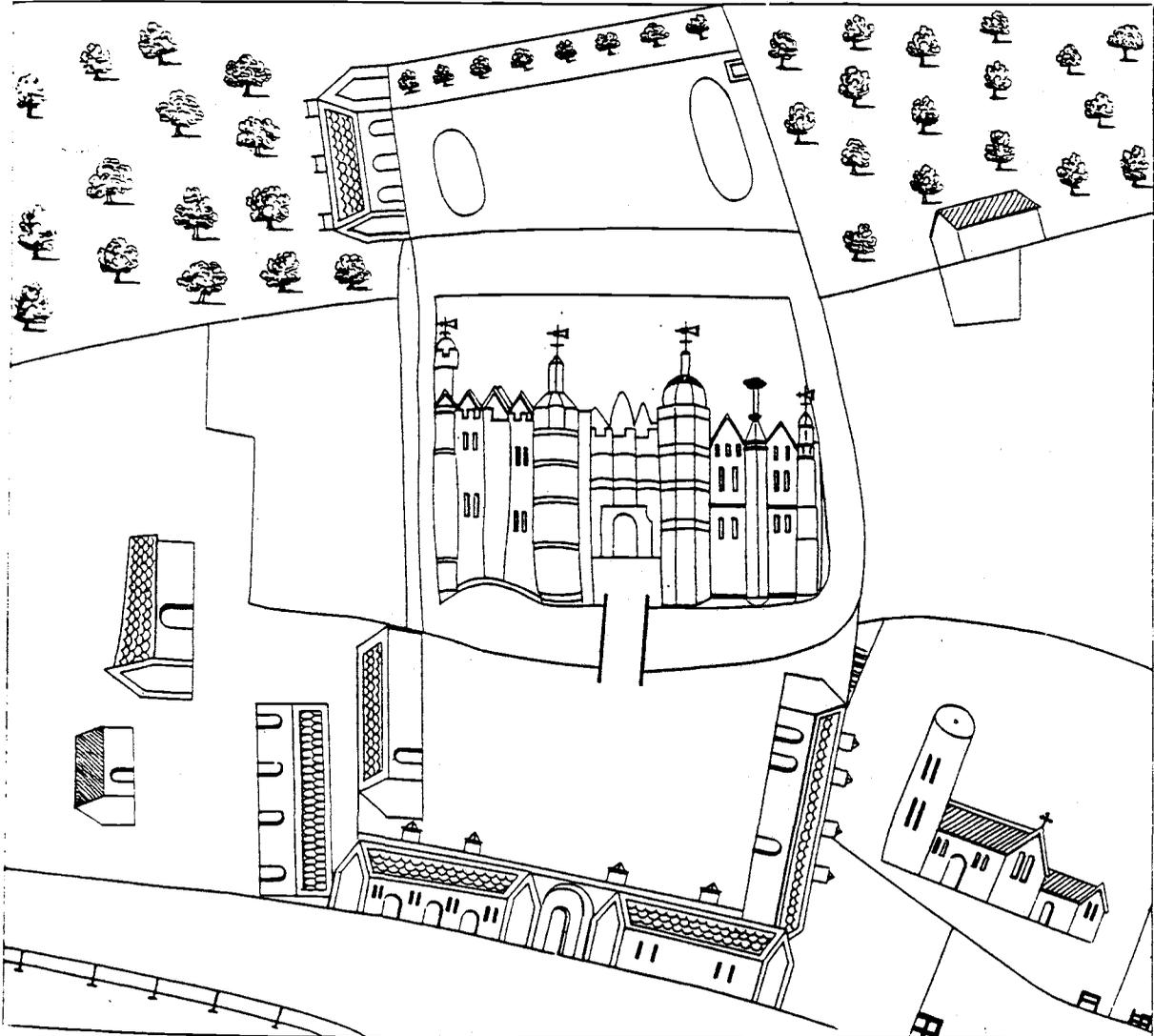


Plate 108 Map of Hengrave from 1588.

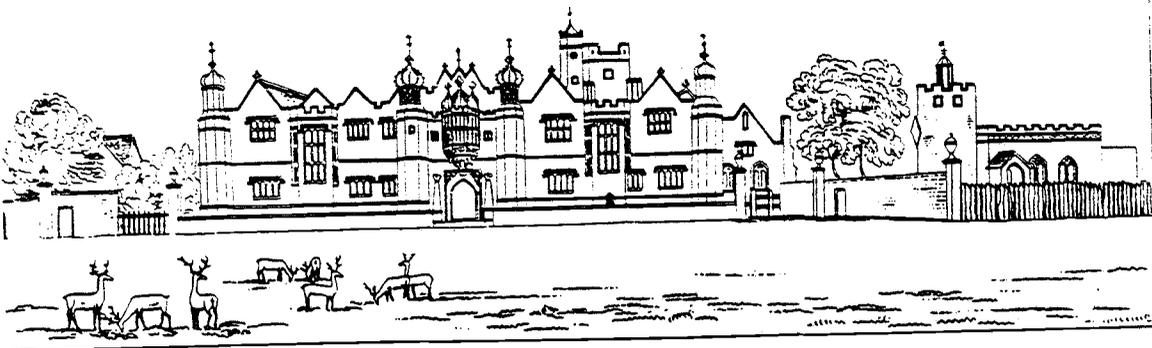


Plate 109 South front of Hengrave, 1773.

of Queen Elizabeth. The renovation by Sir John Wood eliminated the moat and bridges and with them some of the early charm (Godfrey, 1928). The approach to the hall way by way of a straight road with a triple row of trees which ended at a semi-circular pond forming an outer moat and over which a bridge led to the house itself. There was a great and a little park, a vineyard or orchard, kitchen gardens, a hop-ground for beer and ale, and hemp ground and fish ponds. A bowling alley was on the north side of the house. According to Gage (1883) the grounds were laid out in typical Dutch style (Gage, 1883).



Plate 110 Yew hedges and other trees.

Sanitation

Sanitation remained primitive in the sixteenth century. There were contrivances which made the situation more convenient and certainly less odorous; however, there is no indication that they were implemented at Hengrave. The architectural plans do not indicate the location or nature of privies. The floors remained unkempt by modern standards, but were an improvement over the thirteenth century.

Water Supply

The water-works, under the guidance of a plumber, were finished in

1583. There exists, in the inner courtyard, the indications of a well; but, the well head does not appear in early etchings of the courtyard. It was perhaps an addition by Wood and is only a decorative element. A stream runs through the property which provided water for the moat and ponds.

Architect

John Eastawe is considered the architect and according to a contract of 1523:

"...The said John must macke a house at Hengrave of all manor of mason's worck, brick laying and all other things concerning ye masondrie and bricklaying, as well as the laborers concerning the same, according to a frame which the said John has seen at Comby" (Cook, 1977, p. 45)

Furnishings

Furnishings became more comfortable and with growing affluence more elaborate. It is mentioned that in madrigalist John Wibye's room "...there were two curtains of green and white at the windows, a chair covered with a green cloth, a red and blue coverlet decked the large bed..." (Cook, 1977, p. 45). There were only four chairs in the Great Chamber at Hengrave and none in the hall. An inventory taken in 1603 includes:

(in the) Hall

Three square boards, with fast frames to them.

Two joyned coobards, made fast to the
wainskote.

One long table for a sholven borde, with a

fast frame to it.

One other longe table, with tressels to it.

One peice of wood craved with the Queen's arms.

Ten joyned formes for the square borde.

One long forme not of joyner's work.

One great branch of copper which hangs in the midst of the hall to serve for lights.

Four copper-plate canlesticks, iii of them being great and one little, which hangs upon the skreine by ye pantrye.

One cradle of iron for the chimnye to borne seacole with.

One fier sholve made like a grate to sift the seacole with.

One other fier sholve and one payer of tongues..

Two payr of tables.

In ye GREAT CHAMBER

Arras.

Carpets.

Cushions.

Thirty-two stools, joyned.

Four chayers.

Curtains.

One joyned coobard.

One square borde.

Longe joyned borde and extension piece.

Two longe footstools under above.

One payer of tables.

One sevenfold and one fourfold skreens.

One great copper sesteurne to stand at the
coobard.

Two payer andyrone.

Two payer creepers (small andirons placed
within the larger ones).

Four copper branches for lights.

Two fier sholves, two payer tonues and one fier
forke.

In ye GALLERY at ye TOWER

One billiarde borde with two staves to it of bone
and two of wood and 4 balls.

(Gage, n.d., p. 22 in Lloyd, 1931, p. 85)

Sir Thomas Kytson was one of the wealthiest cloth merchants in England making it probable that exotic and costly fabrics were used extensively throughout the house.

Owner

Sir Thomas Kytson was the son of Robert Kytson of Warton in Lancashire. He inherited half of the manor of Silverdale in Warton, which perhaps gave him his start in the Company of Merchant Adventurers where he made his vast fortune as a cloth merchant. Sir Thomas Kytson was known as the wealthiest merchant in England referred to as "...Thomas Kytson, citizen and mercer of London,



Plate 111 Sir Thomas Kytson.

otherwise called Kytson the Merchant" (Gage, 1838, p. 182). In 1533 he was sheriff of London (Gage, 1838). His mercantile dealings took him to Antwerp, Middleburg and elsewhere in Flanders. He purchased

estates in the counties of Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Nottingham and with the dissolution of the Abbey of St. Edmund, he extended his holding further by acquiring the manors of Risby, Sextens, Chevington, Hargrave, Fornham All Saints, Fornham St. Genevieve, Fornham St. Martin as well as the lordship of Fownham, the Priory in Fornham St. Genevieve with areas called Fresnels, Le Camping Close and the Slade, the Abbot's water mill, the ox pastures in Great Barton, all with an annual value of 3,710 pounds, 1 shilling, and 8 pence. For less than a year's income, Kitson built Hengrave.

The name of Sir Thomas Kytson's first wife is unknown but a daughter, Elizabeth was born to them. His second marriage was to Margaret Donnington by whom he had four daughters. Sir Thomas died on September 11, 1540, at fifty-five years of age. His wife was named in his will as the receiver of the estate.

CHAPTER V
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century Georgian period began in 1714 with the death of Queen Anne and the ascension of George I to the throne. "George I was coarse, sensual, unsocial, and not very bright. He spoke English poorly and cared so little for London that he wished to plant turnips in lovely St. James Park" (Roberts and Roberts, 1980, p. 428). Louis XV was king of France and Peter the Great was attempting to westernize Russia. The American colonies were gaining in wealth and stability, building toward the great push for independence yet to come. The colonies



Plate 112 George I

had increased from a population of 340,000 in 1700 to 1, 200,000 by 1760 (Plumb, 1950; Porter, 1982).

The eighteenth century in England is known as the "Age of Stability" (Roberts and Roberts, 1980, p. 429) due to the centralization of power in Parliament and a cabinet. The distribution of power enabled the wealthy and powerful to have direct participation and a one party government under the guidance of

Sir Robert Walpole. The fragmentation of the Tory party during the reign of Queen Anne made possible the undisputed power of the Whigs.



Plate 113 Dinner party.

The eighteenth century was the Augustan age of England, so called because of the reversion to the classical attitudes and interests and the literary achievements of the time. The newspaper, the pamphlet and the review offered great opportunity to express one's self in the form of eloquent prose. The first newspaper, The Daily Courant, began during the reign of Queen Anne. It was the political pamphlet and the review that provided the outlet for voicing one's opinion. The Augustan Age was a world of novels (Jane Austen, Horace Walpole),

balls, card parties, teas, assembly rooms and the London and Bath seasons (Plumb, 1950; Porter, 1982; Roberts and Roberts, 1980).

England was still rural and relatively empty during the eighteenth century, consisting of small villages which composed about 80 percent of the 5 million population. The majority of the population was in the south and in the growing industrial centers. People steadily immigrated into these towns to take advantage of the industrial employment only to find that often none existed. This caused a great increase in the numbers of homeless and destitute. The crowded living conditions in the towns caused many deaths, the population remained at a steady number only because of the continual influx from the countryside. Even with the advancing industrialization, the agricultural harvest was the basis of the economy, and that was controlled by the unpredictable weather which determined whether people ate or not, were happy and content or rioted. By 1700, however, contrary to medieval days, England was able to feed its own 5 million population and export some grain which had increased to four times its earlier volume. The agricultural revolution that occurred between 1560 and 1720 created farm practices such as rotation of crops and the introduction of the turnip for animal food that account for increased production. Most industry remained in the cottages with a very limited production (Plumb, 1961; Porter, 1952).

London was the only city and it grew rapidly to exceed a

half million in the eighteenth century. Populations in other towns such as Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Leeds, Halifax, Birmingham, and Coventry reached approximately 50,000. The country was divided into definite areas that grew, determined by industrialization: coastal areas versus inland and upland versus lowland. The population of East Anglia declined due to lack of industrialization.

There was great social stratification accentuated by the newly rich of the country who joined with the established landed gentry in slicing up the land and nation's wealth. Gregory King (Porter, 1982) estimated that the least a family could live on was 40 pounds a year while he guessed that a peer subsisted on 2,800 pounds a year, although Porter (1982) disagrees and thinks a peer's income was twice that. Most of the working servant class lived on much less than 40 pounds. The deplorable conditions of the majority of the population fostered the aged profession of robbery, both in the cities and towns as well as on the highways in the countryside. Life was cheap and often violent. The infliction of extreme punishments and the bearing of physical pain were facts of life (Plumb, 1961; Porter, 1982).

The size of estates and the houses built on them grew. A few families owned the greater part of England. New and exotic items to fill the houses and grounds were sought around the world. The weeping willow, acacia and fuchsia were among the many new

plants and trees introduced. Along with the grounds the interiors were embellished with collections from world travels (Plumb, 1961).

Social Life

The social life of the eighteenth century was robust and trying because of its demands and became a science of its own. To own a large house, meant playing the part of the host and hostess in tune with the customs of the times, which were lavish, and the maintenance of business enterprises to support it all. The houses became larger and rigidly formal with great collections within and vast gardens without. Entertaining acquired a more important meaning as forays of one and two weeks, sometimes even a month or two, to a country house to be entertained became the social custom. The ascending gentry, as they gained in power, provided a dilemma for the aristocracy. It caused breaks in great families and the creation of two parties, the court and country. The country party held the power, but it was the court party who determined the architectural style of the century (Girouard, 1978; Plumb, 1961; Porter, 1982).

Business

Plumb (1961, p. 21) quotes Daniel Defoe who wrote in 1728, that:

"Trade is the Wealth of the World; Trade makes the Difference as to Rich and Poor, between one Nation and another; Trade

nourishes Industry, Industry begets Trade; trade dispenses the natural Wealth of the World, and Trade raises new Species of Wealth, which Nature know nothing of; Trade has two Daughters, whose fruitful Progeny in Arts may be said to employ Mankind;"

Those daughters were manufacturing and navigation. England in the eighteenth century was fastly becoming expert in both areas. The industrial revolution was in its kindling days and navigation was

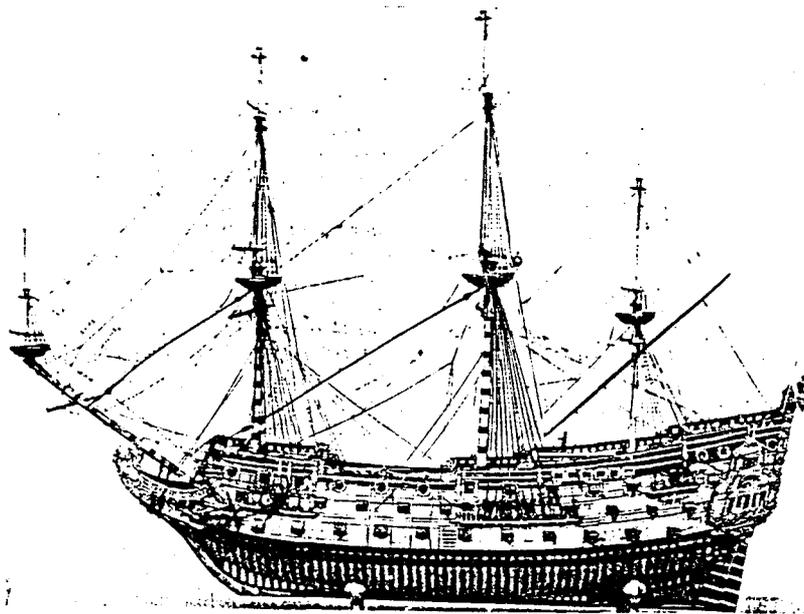


Plate 114 English ship

being fine tuned. The English replaced the Dutch as the leading merchants on the seas and became the richest country in the world (Plumb, 1961; Porter, 1982; Stone, 1984).

Compared to the thirteenth and sixteenth century counterparts

there was wealth beyond comprehension, an expanded world not known before and educated entrepreneurs who continued to increase the potential.

Entertainment

The great challenge of the eighteenth century for the very wealthy was filling their time. Business took a great deal of time for the owner who continued to work for expansion of his estate. There were innumerable parties and traveling from one house to another took time. Horse racing became popular, made profitable by the interest and success in breeding better stock. Dancing was enjoyed by the majority of the population as ball rooms opened. Great fairs were held to which people traveled. Coffeeshops, booksellers, French teachers, dancing teachers, doctors, dentists, attorneys were among the new expanding population of service people who catered to the elite. Hunting remained an important indulgence but there was more interest in the chase with large numbers of hounds than there was in deer stalking as in the past. Owners took pride and new interest in improving their agricultural practices and crops as well as the improvement of the breeds they were raising. New trees and plants were imported and horticulture became an important hobby for many consistent with the expansion of gardens and grounds. Music, the theater, and the arts were incorporated into everyday life with vast collections of art work from all over the world finding their way to the great manor houses. Literary pursuits created vast libraries,



Plate 115 Gazebo pastimes.

which had their influence in the plan of the houses, since a special room, or rooms, were needed to house the collections. Collections of most everything became important. Music, a pastime enjoyed in the past, most conspicuously in the time of Henry VIII, now demanded a room where the family could practice and entertainment was held. Women also stayed with and spent considerable time with their

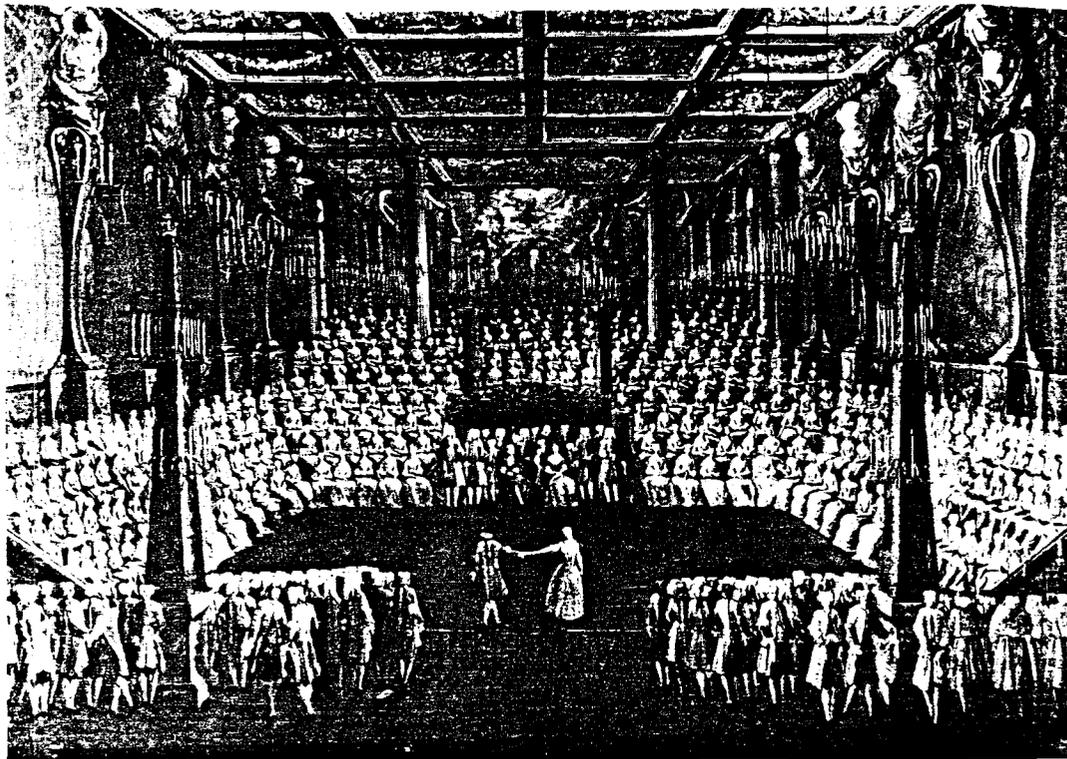


Plate 116 A ball (c 1730).

young children, sewed, took care of the household and generally did their "wifely duties". Hawking remained popular, as it had in medieval days and great pride was placed in the individual birds and their expertise. Games of cards were enjoyed by individuals and groups and became cause for gatherings of friends (Plumb, 1961;

Porter, 1982; Stone, 1984).

Travel

Travel remained primitive and slow, the horse being the fastest means of getting from one place to another. People walked a great deal. Carriage travel was enjoyed by some who would travel in the early morning out to a country house for a mid-day dinner and back home in the evening. The distance was limited, for such an outing, to nine or ten miles each way. The greatest change in travel was by ship. People ventured "abroad" for the grand tour and to see new and exciting places - and to collect for their houses back home. This also was time consuming, and unless a person could afford several months away, it was impossible (Plumb, 1950; Porter, 1982; Stone, 1984).

Poor transportation hindered the expansion of commerce within the country. Roads were repaired by the individual parishes, which meant they were seldom touched until they were impassable. Drownings were known in the pot-holes of the Great North Road. Armed robbers or highwaymen were a constant threat in the city but more so out in the countryside. The seacoast enjoyed the convenience of ships and barges, and there were a few rivers that were navigable. The result was the construction of canals and the deepening of streams for boats which carried both human, manufactured and cultivated cargo (Plumb, 1950).

Education

Education took on more importance, especially with the gentry,

as it was imperative that the sons learn the art of managing the great estates or that they be able to establish themselves in the business world. They entered the universities to learn logical reasoning, Latin, rhetoric, expertise in politics and general knowledge about the ever-expanding world. The university experience developed a network of friends and acquaintances that proved an invaluable source in the world of increasing patronage and "it's who you know" politics. Data shows that it was the younger sons who finished degrees in preparation for making it on their own, while the oldest sons often failed to finish or did not attend at all as they would inherit the estate. Legal education at an Inn of Court was a valuable tool for young gentlemen preparing to manage large enterprises (Plumb, 1961; Stone, 1984). While higher education, after a flourish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, declined, the charity schools of the eighteenth century made possible the education of vast numbers of the general population. Christian schools dominated by High Anglicans and Tories provided education for the children of artisans and shopkeepers. The teaching provided for the increasing demand for clerks and educated people needed in the growing industrial area. The basis of the education was Puritan, emphasizing "... godliness, industry, and thrift..." (Plumb, 1950, p. 31). The gentry, in their isolated country houses, hired tutors for their small children. The availability of quantities of newspapers, pamphlets and books and an increasingly literate population made for informed citizens who formed their own

opinions and did not hesitate to voice them in the forms of more printed materials and sometimes riots (Girouard, 1978; Plumb, 1950).

Food

England was not unique in thinking that the ability, financially and physically, to eat to excess was a symbol of success. Most societies at that time thought likewise. There was an abundance of homegrown produce, and animals and fish were readily available. Size - corpulence - was an accepted condition until the slim look of the Regency became the vogue. Gout was not choosey - men and women were both afflicted. Roast beef was the Englishman's "...sacramental meal..." (Plumb, 1961, p. 35). A Swedish visitor exclaimed that "The art of cooking as practiced by most Englishmen does not extend much beyond roast beef and plum pudding" (Porter, 1982, p. 234). With the availability and greater economic latitude the tastes of Englishmen expanded. More vegetables were consumed and more fruits were available. Spices, coffee, teas, fish and exotic foods were imported. Lemons were outrageously expensive but found their way to eighteenth century tables. Potatoes became a daily staple of the common people. The gentry ate more meat simply because they could afford it. There was great pride in indigenous cooking, French cooks were a rarity. "Patriotism in Haute cuisine meant loading your belly" (Porter, 1982, p 234). Ale was the common man's drink often consumed to wash down a half dozen oysters. Wine was made, imported and consumed in vast quantities by the gentry, who brewed their own beer

and ale on the premises (Girouard, 1978; Plumb, 1950; Porter, 1982).

Hospitality was judged by the food and drink, not so much the quality, but the quantity. At the great country house parties that sometimes lasted for a month, unbelievable quantities of food and drink were consumed.

Alcoholism was a common disease in the eighteenth century. Consumption was generally high. Liquor was cheap and dampened the hurt felt by many. It was a sign of conviviality and hospitality. Early in the eighteenth century the average consumption of an adult was seven gallons per year. It was the time of the Gin Craze, depicted literally by Hogarth in his paintings and lithographs (Plumb, 1950; Porter, 1982; Stone, 1977).

Cheaper prices made a diversity of food more available to all citizens. Sugar prices dropped and increased consumption from 200,000 pounds in 1690 to 5,000,000 in 1760. Tea cost half as much at the end of the same period.

The consumption of food had traditionally been ritualistic to some extent, but with the expansion of the dining room to become often the largest and most elaborate room in a house, the ritual of dining took on proportions difficult to understand. Footmen, butlers, pages and other servants served according to the established protocol. Toasts were an on-going custom, with glasses being refilled and sometimes washed between each salute. Music became a necessary accompaniment to most large banquets. Contrary to Continental custom, the women

retired to their own drawing room after dinner, leaving the men to "...drink, smoke and talk..." (Girouard, 1978, p. 204).

Tea and coffee became popular at the end of the seventeenth century and it was popular to serve either after dinner. It was normally brewed by the hostess in tea and coffee pots that became very elaborate (Girouard, 1978).

Clothing

The availability of exotic fabrics from India and the Orient made possible the creation of beautiful costumes, but hindered the market

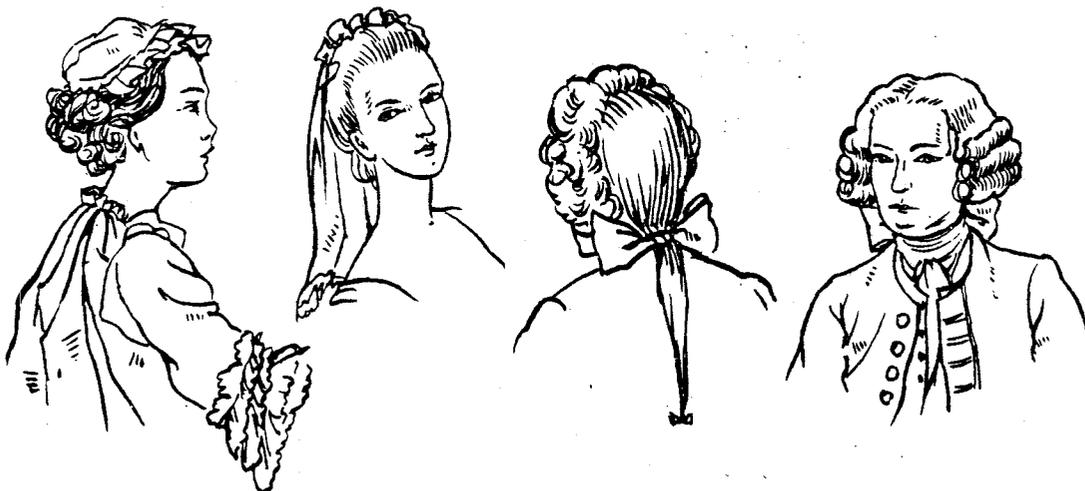


Plate 117 Eighteenth century head-coverings.

for English fabrics. Queen Anne and King George I each passed laws prohibiting the use of calicoes, silks and others from India, Persia and China. A greater variety of individual taste occurred in eighteenth century dress due to increased individuality and resource of different materials. Travel also expanded the tastes of style (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

Wigs continued to be worn by men who often carried a hat, but usually did not wear it. The hoop petticoat made its first appearance at the end of Queen Anne's reign. Men even stiffened the skirt of their coats with wire. Tight, whale-boned corsets were worn by the women which flattened their chests as well as pinched their waists (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

Women's head-dress styles changed the most. Gone was the high Elizabethan "commode" or Fontange head-dress in favor of a simple, close-to-the-head style of hair-do. Caps, simple as they were, continued to be worn (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

Cuffs were elaborate and large often heavily embroidered. Riding clothes became simpler because of need for practicality. A large over-dress came to be worn by the women. It hung loose from the shoulders and was fastened down the front with bows of ribbon. It was similar to a modern day peignoir and originally was worn in the morning, but was gradually worn during the whole day. It created a much less formal appearance and was typical of the trend taking place in clothing, toward more comfort (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

Shoes became more uncomfortable and less practical with the fashion of high heels for both men and women. The heels were made of wood and colored. In France, red heels were a sign of noble birth. The shoes were a clumsy shape, with the heels too small, placed toward the center of the shoe and most uncomfortable to wear. Women tended to wear slippers when at home (Brook and Laver, 1937).



Plate 118 Eighteenth century clothing.



Plate 119. Eighteenth century couple.

Diamonds in quantity were worn by the wealthy there having been an improvement in the cutting methods in Amsterdam which made the stones more brilliant. They were worn as necklaces and sewn to the garmets themselves. Men wore their decorations of office daily, such as the badge of the Knights of the Garter, which indicated a formality to the dress even though the regimentation of style was lessening (Brooke and Laver, 1937).

Religion

Religion in the eighteenth century became less an important component of every day life than in years previous. The patriarchal custom of the head of the household holding prayer meetings daily with his family changed to a once-a-week occurrence and then the duty was perhaps relegated to household staff.

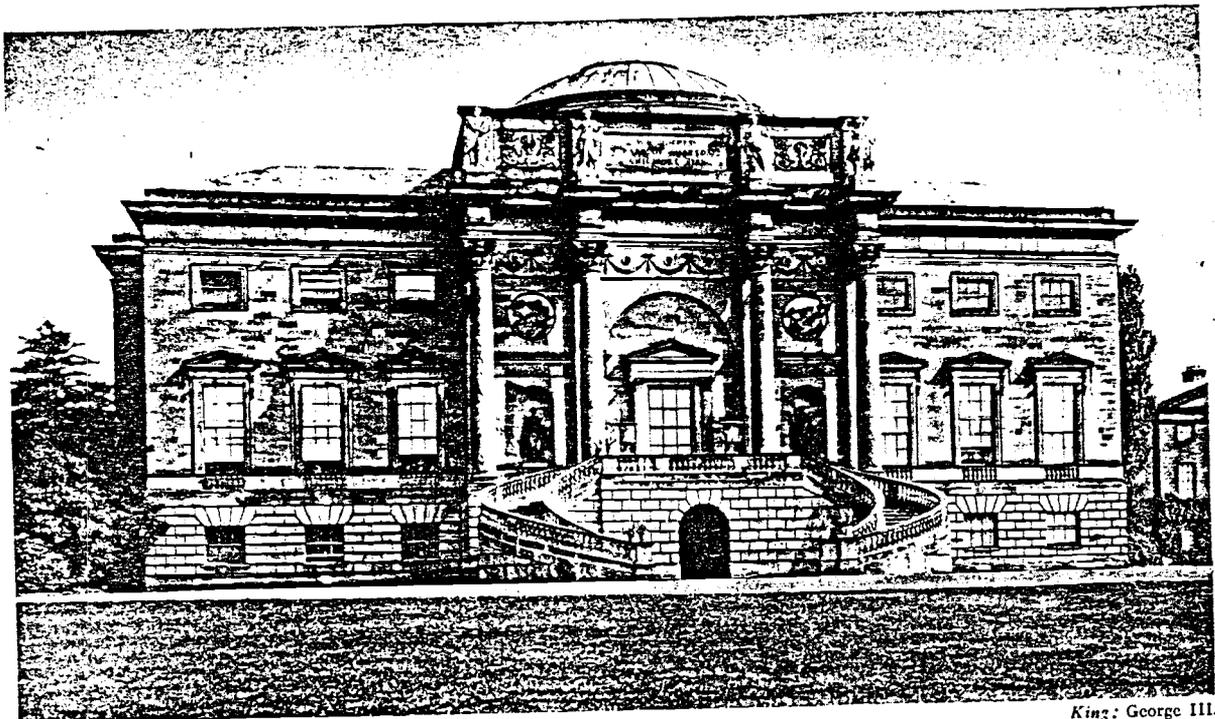
The basis of the Church of England with its Puritanical overtones, was the teaching of morality rather than theology which gave room to the deists, evangelicals and High-Churchmen alike. The elite Anglicans wanted a religion that was rational, moderate, comprehensive and practical. It was a comprehensive and reasonable religion. John Wesley established the Methodist church and through ardent preaching - 40,000 sermons in 52 years - "...awakened nonconformity to a vigorous life, won over a large part of the Church of England to serious religion, and profoundly affected the outlook of the governing classes" (Roberts and Roberts, 1980, pp. 478-479)(Plumb, 1961).

The clergy became more elitist and political, some of the bishoprics

covered thousands of miles. The fact that scientific rather than religious thought was beginning to dominate thinking made it difficult to "...reconcile reason with religion..." (Plumb, 1961, p. 29). The church leaders "...played down miracles, banishing the terrors of hell, mocking fervour, and stressing the reasonable nature of Christian ethics. God was depersonalized and became the primum mobile; whilst deism avoided the dark and irrational problems of evil and guilt" (Plumb, 1961, p. 29).

The Manor

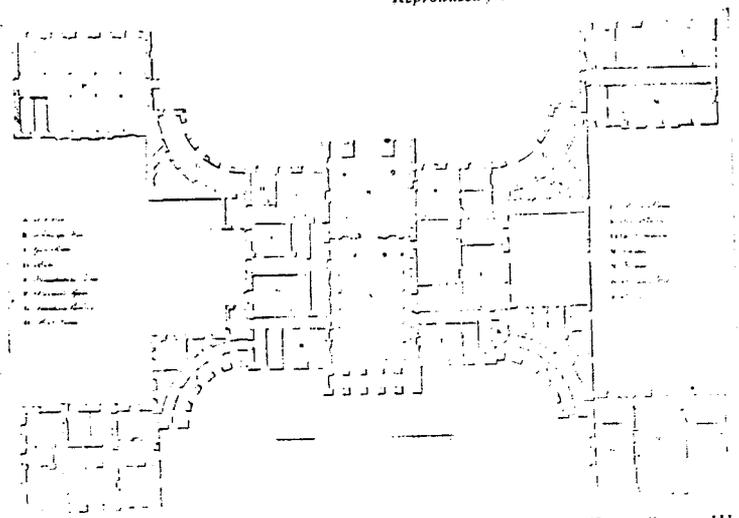
The eighteenth century social and political power of the titled aristocracy diminished in scope and was usurped by the wealthy upstarts in the business and political world. It was primarily the new rich that built the vast manor houses in the eighteenth century. They were social houses where entertainment and hospitality were on-going enterprises. The isolation of the island of Great Britain insured the continuing development of the national character of British architecture. The distance from Italy and the isolation caused by the Reformation delayed the adoption of classicism but when it did arrive by way of France and the Netherlands, it swept the country with large stone piles of carefully calculated design. The term "...power house..." (Girouard, 1978, p.1) described the Palladian mansions more than ever, for it was from them that the political and social power plays and struggles were launched and consummated. The land was farmed, and often profitably, but more space, perhaps thousands of acres, was delegated to the planned parks with proper accoutrements. The development of individuality and one's "...inherent right to the enjoyment of life..." (Fletcher, 1961, p. 865) stimulated the development of attitudes and interests apart from the church. Henry VIII had invited foreign artists to his court, but it was not until the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century that the wealth of talent from Italy and France flocked into England. The influence of the German Huguenot craftsmen was felt at this time, also. The country house was a unique entity of England and did not



c. 1767.

FIG. 258.—The south front of the centre block of KEDLESTON, DERBYSHIRE.
Robert Adam, *Architect.*

Reproduced from "Vitruvius Britannicus."



c. 1767.

FIG. 259.—Plan of KEDLESTON, DERBYSHIRE.

Plate 120. Eighteenth century manor.

occur elsewhere in the same configuration or function (Fletcher, 1961; Girouard, 1978; Stone, 1984).

Plan

The rituals involved with entertaining in the great country houses dictated the plan. There was a progression of rooms through which visitors traveled, and it depended on who they were as to how far into the innersanctom they penetrated. Important visitors were received in the private apartment of the Lord of the manor; others might progress as far as the saloon. Privacy also played an important part in the development of private apartments for individuals and the relative isolation of the household staff from the lord's family and friends. Servants quarters were often in a separate wing but most always in the attic and garret. The kitchen and storage areas were incorporated into the house or an attached wing and the chapel no longer was as important as it had been in earlier days. Most often a small church stood on the grounds at some distance from the house and there was no chapel in the house.

The extravagant style that was popular on the Continent did not infiltrate or make an impact on England until the eighteenth century. Even then the result was minimal. The styles progressed in a disciplined controlled manner and manifested themselves in the interior furnishings and decoration rather than the exteriors. The exterior was a reversion to the classical style with columns, entablatures, ballustrades and above all proper proportion. The

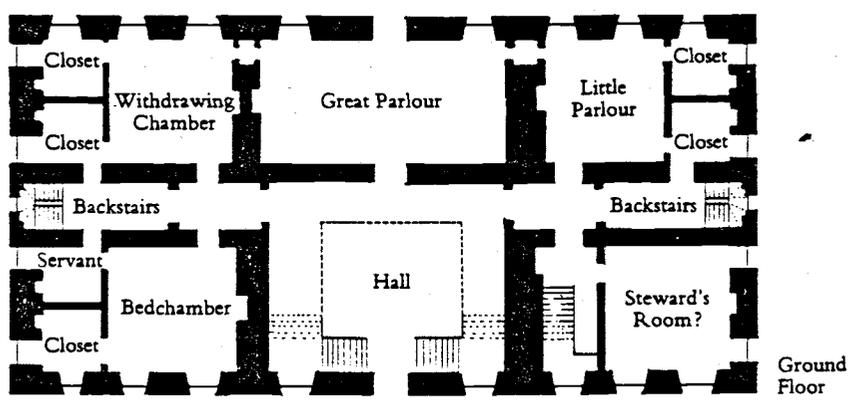
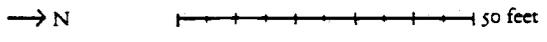
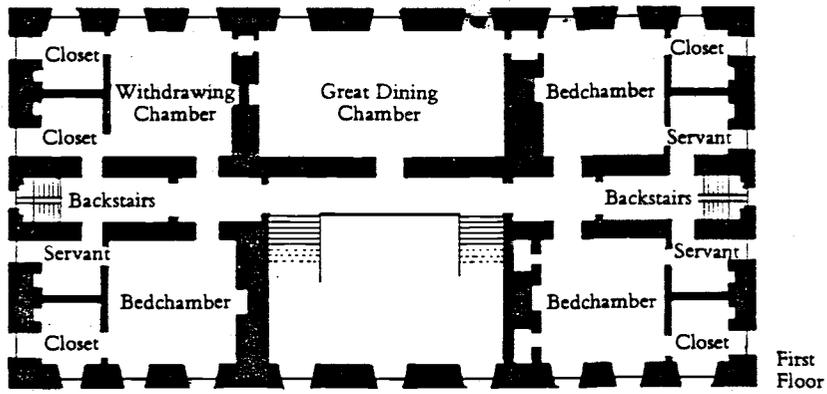


Plate 121). Plan of eighteenth century manor house.

interiors of these masculine Palladian houses became elegant and the pride of the owner with his vast collections and custom designed furnishings. For England, the baroque styles that did occur were extravagant for the English taste.

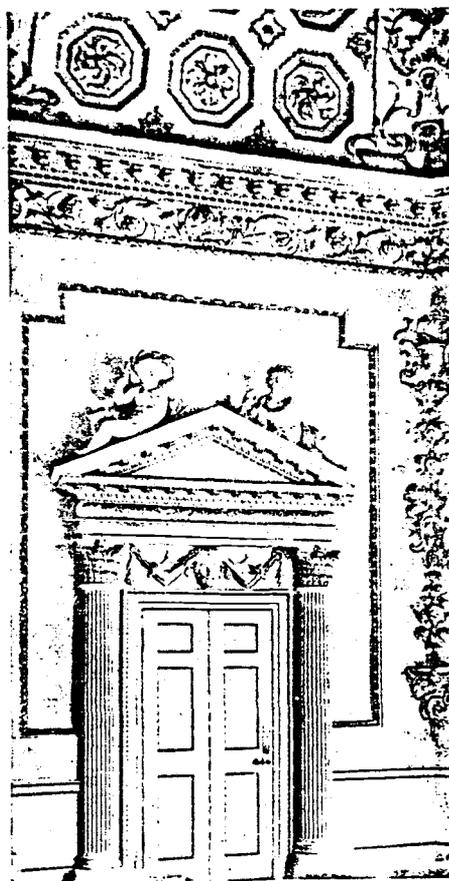
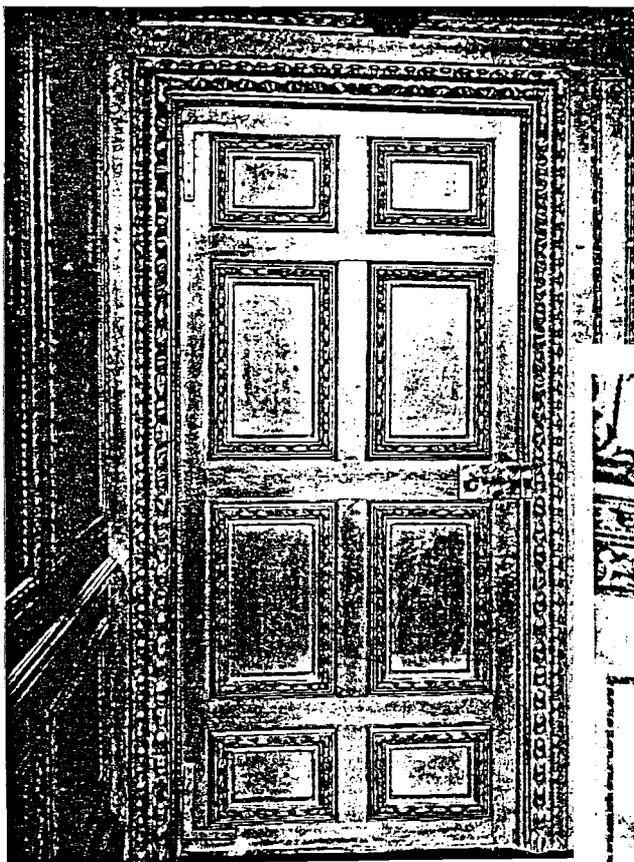
The shape of the country houses, after going through a sixteenth and seventeenth century period of "E" and "H" shape, evolved to a solid rectangle often with wings. (Fletcher, 1961; Girouard, 1978).

Doors and porches. The grand entrance with its twin stairways, classical columns, balustrades, arched arcades and monumental scale formed a porticoed stage-setting for the English country house of the eighteenth century. Although doorways have always been an important feature for domestic dwellings, the simple doorway of medieval times transformed to become the focal point of a Palladian edifice. The individual interior doors became large and

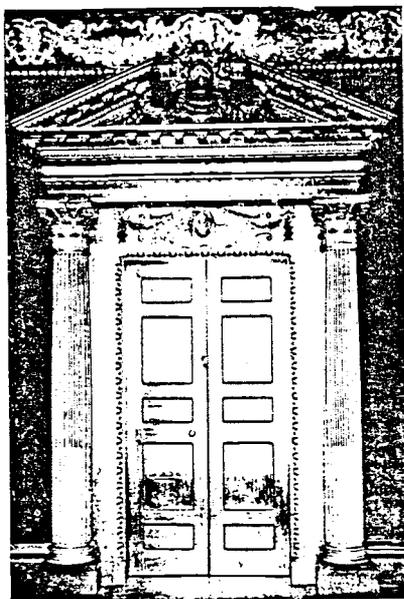


Plate 122. Palladian doorway.

important with panels, six being the most used design. Pediments - broken, triangular, segmented - were used over the doorways with sculpture and other ornamentation often added. Mahogany, though not used extensively at the beginning of the century, became favored by the middle of the century (Fletcher, 1961; Lloyd, 1931; Wilson, 1977).



King: George II.



c. 1723-25.

King: George I.

Plate 123. Georgian or Palladian doorways.

Windows. The oriel window with its many leaded panes of glass continued to be used as it had been in the sixteenth century. Windows in general were flattened, rather than arched because of the flattened ceilings of apartments. Vertical mullions and horizontal transoms, still used, were reminiscent of the Tudor period. Light was the key to the multitude and scale of windows used in these houses. The quantity of glazing which actually formed walls had to have been a hindrance to comfortable heating which was supplied by inefficient fireplaces and braziers (Fletcher,

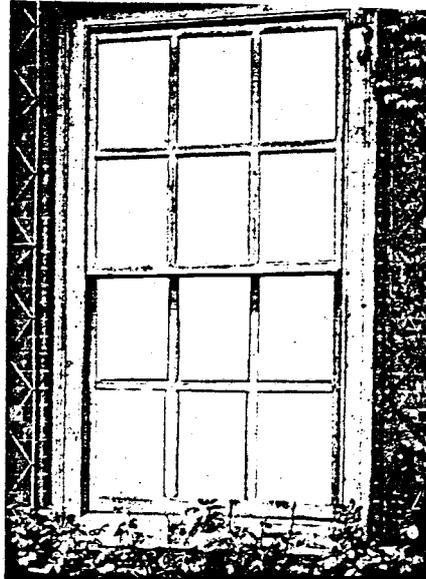
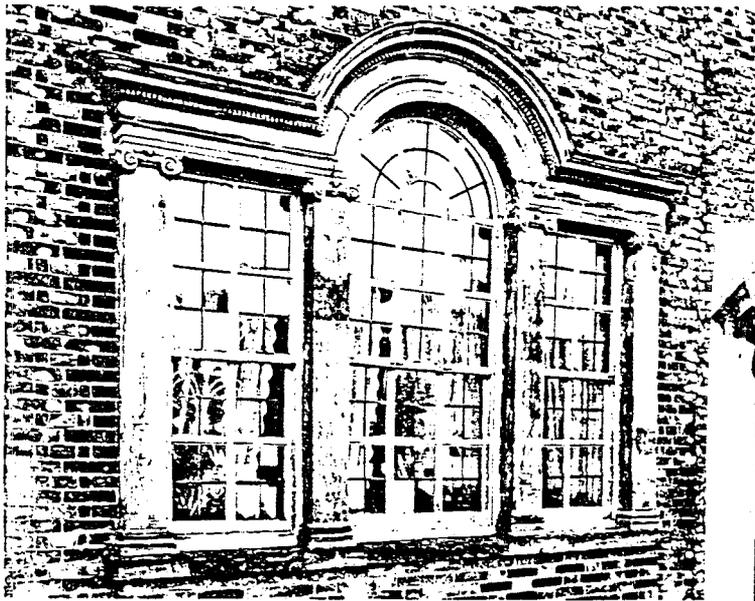


Plate 124. Window with vertical mullions and horizontal transoms

1961). Window frames were of wood or iron with the small (sometimes 5 inches or less) panes joined together with lead cames. Different patterns emerged with the diamond and rectangular shaped glass the most common. More often, however, the panes were larger (10 x 15) which simplified both interior and exterior appearance (Clifton-Taylor, 1962; Fletcher, 1961).

The greatest change in windows was the invention and application of the sliding sash window. It allowed windows to be opened vertically as opposed to the door-like hinging used earlier. The glass

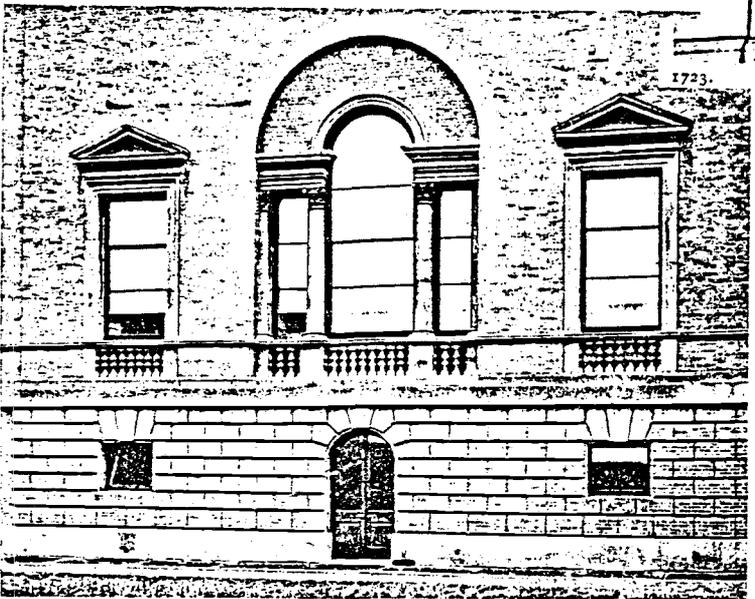


1731.

King: George



King: George I.



1723.

1734-61.

King: George II.

Plate 125. Classical windows of the Georgian or Palladian style.

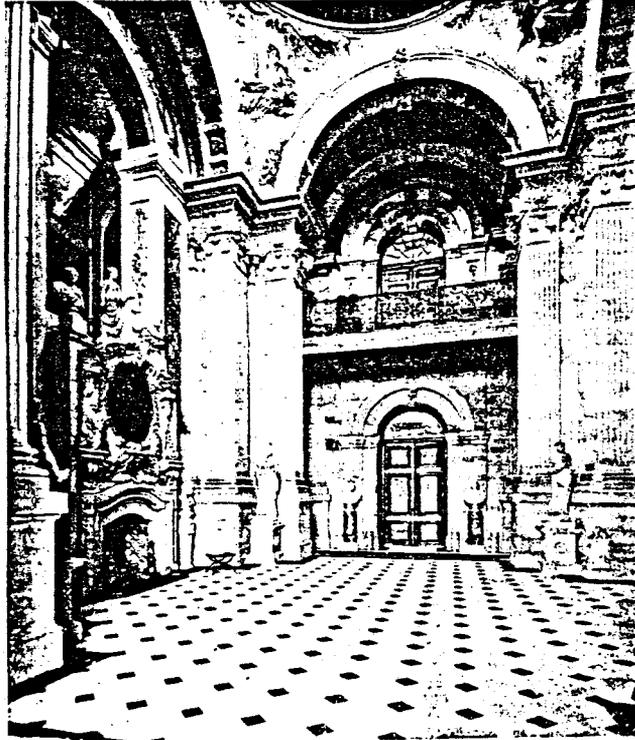
panes of a sash window were larger, removing some of the glitter produced by the smaller, jewel-like, leaded windows, but giving a smoother over-all look. A large sash window of 7 feet by 2 feet 6 inches required only 18 panes compared to 72 needed for a leaded casement window (Clifton-Taylor, 1962).

Glass-making became a perfected art in order to supply the builders with the large panes of glass needed for the sash windows. Large round disks of glass up to 5 feet in diameter were blown and then cut to specifications. In the eighteenth century, the bull's eye in, which the glass had been attached to the blowing iron, was discarded. The finished windows had a wavy, irregular pattern which gave them a provincial charm, and they were transparent allowing the entrance of volumes of light into the Georgian rooms. The glass panes were most often finished with a bevel, giving them an elegance enhanced by their size (Clifton-Taylor, 1962). Exterior moldings, as well as interior, were simple and classical in nature representing Roman forms, unlike the flamboyant treatments of the Gothic windows (Fletcher, 1961).

A window tax, inaugurated in 1695, continued into the eighteenth century. Lloyd (1931, p. 142) quotes from Tom Jones (Bk.vii, ch13) "Landlady of Inn _ 'For it is a dreadful thing to pay as we do. Why now there is above forty Shillings for Window lights, and yet we have stopped up all we could: we have almost blinded the house, I am sure".

Floors. The floors of the Georgian country houses became more

elegant than any preceding ones. Marble was a common surface, either in large slabs or in intricate inlaid patterns. Wood, also inlaid, was used extensively. The wood floors of a facility in Bath were stained brown with the use of soot and small beer. The floors were covered with wool and silk rugs imported from Persia and China, a luxury made possible



1702-14.

Plate 126. Marble floors.

by the world trading that was taking place. Stone and brick were used in the lesser quarters of the house such as the rustic ground floor and in areas such as the stable, with tile used in the service areas.

Ceilings. The ceilings of eighteenth century manor houses were often very elaborate. Italian and local carvers were employed to carve the plaster ceilings. Moldings, which gave depth to the high ceiling, were important and large. Painted scenes were executed by English as well as foreign artists (Fletcher, 1961).

Walls. Wainscot panelling of wood, either oak or painted pine, and

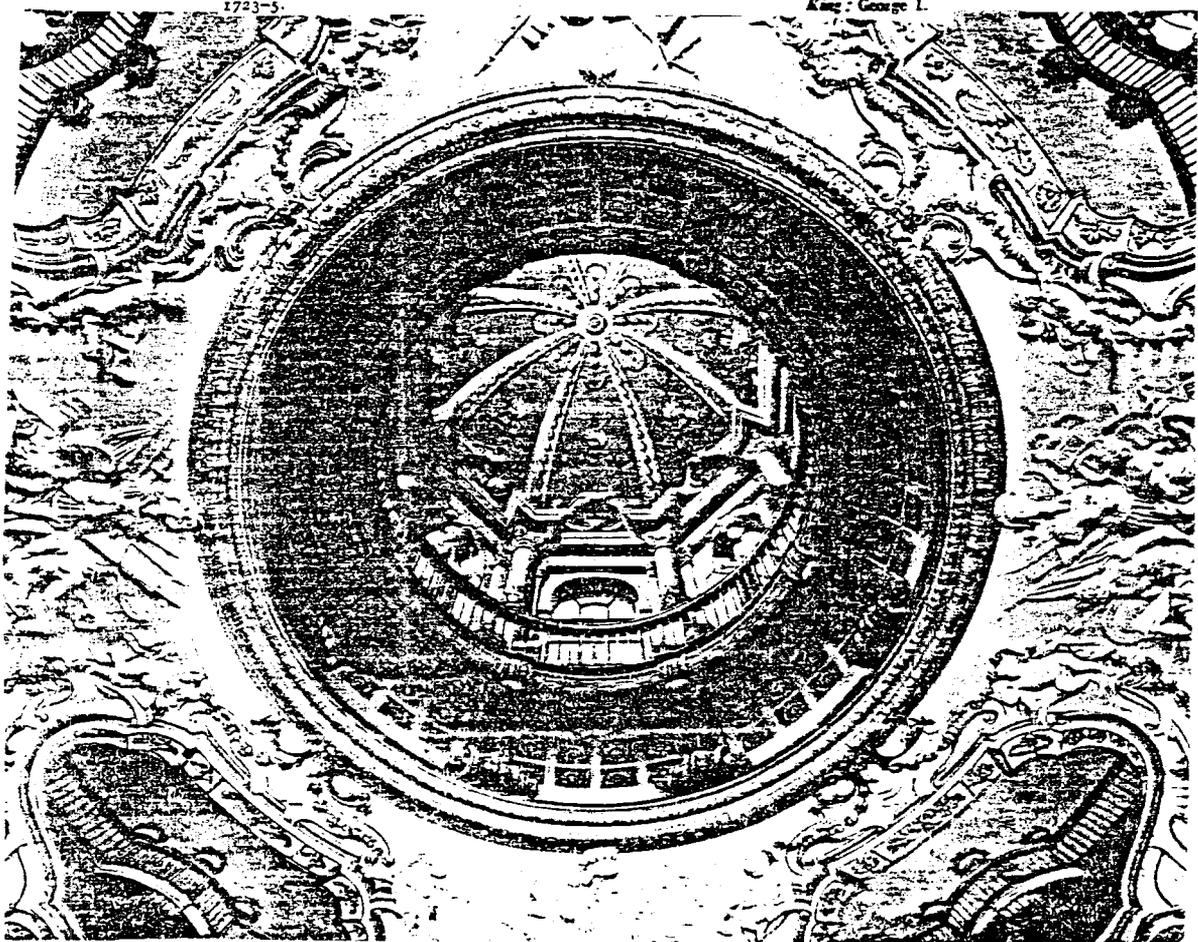
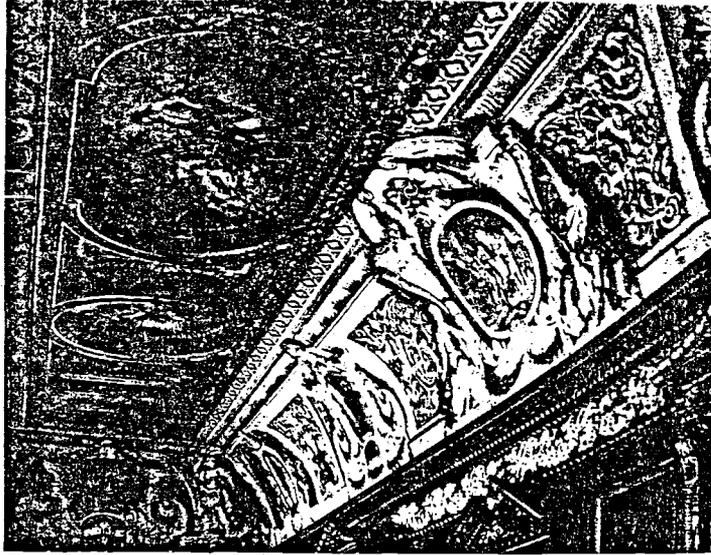
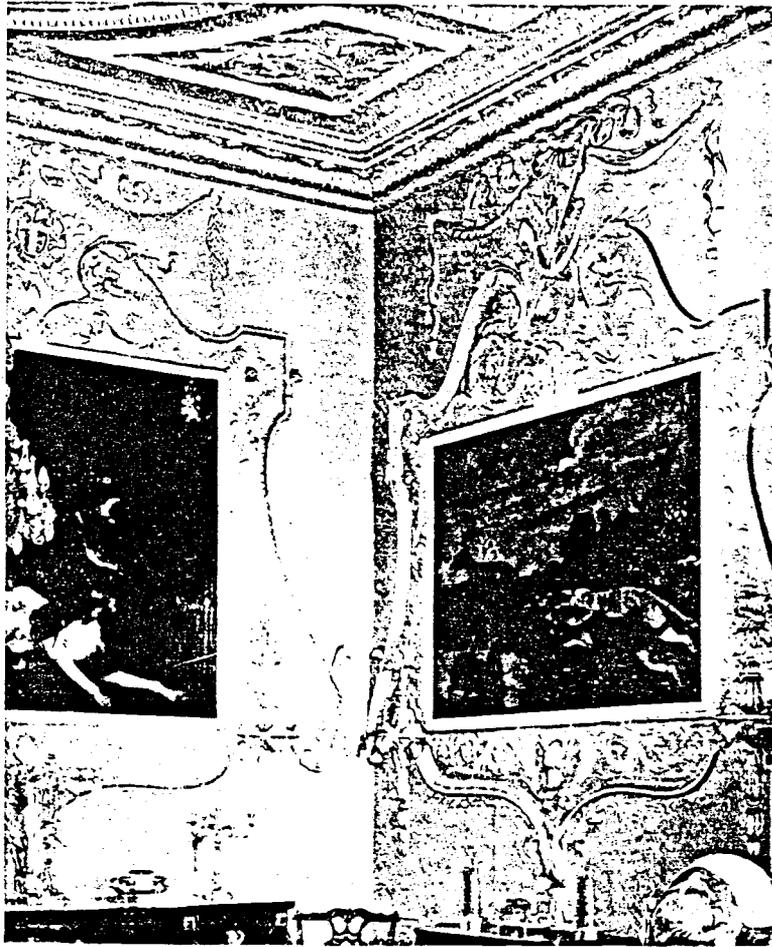


Plate 127. Ornately carved and painted ceilings.

plaster remained popular in the eighteenth century. Classical molding was used around the panelling. An innovative treatment was the importation of hand painted Chinese wallpaper which was expensive, beautiful and an immediate statement of wealth. Isaac Ware (1757) in Lloyd (1931, p. 138) suggests three kinds of decorations for the inside



1702-II.

Plate 128. Carved stucco or plaster walls.

of rooms. He cites:

"... stucco , to be wrought into ornaments, wainscot, and walls hung with paper, silk, tapestry, etc.. Of the three kinds we have named, the grandest is that in stucco; the neatest, that in wainscoat; and the most gaudy, that in hangings. For a noble Hall, nothing is as well as stucco; for a parlour, wainscot seems properest; and for the apartments of a lady, hangings".

Kitchen. Kitchens were usually planned in a wing or ground floor area referred to as the rustic. They were large, by necessity, to accommodate the numbers of guests often in residence. Open fireplaces and brick and tile stoves and ovens provided cooking facilities.

Chapel. The chapel receded in importance in eighteenth century houses but retained a small space in the plan of the house. A small church on the grounds, provided a place of worship for the family and household.

Solar. The solar, as such, was replaced by the great chamber and the various functional rooms of the house.

Fireplace. Chimney piece, mantle piece and fireplace are the various terms used to describe the heating facility. They became the focal point of many rooms and took on an architectural appearance with the overmantel an important decorative feature. Mirrors or paintings were often framed with heavy molding above the mantel.

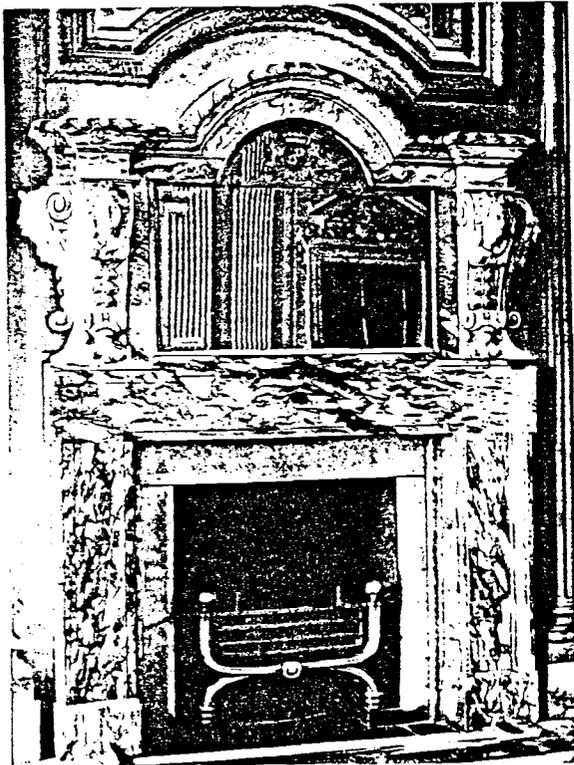


Plate 129 Eighteenth century fireplaces.

Fireplaces also became more plentiful in the eighteenth century, it not being uncommon for each room to have one. In the very large expensive houses, marble was a common material. Consistent with the Palladian revival, the five orders of columns (Tuscan, Roman Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Composite) were utilized as decor of the fireplace along with sculpture of classical origin. Italian artists of stature were imported to do the sculpting which maintained classical motifs of vegetation, animal and human forms as well as the columnar orders of the Italian Renaissance. All traces of the Gothic style disappeared as the French and Italian influences asserted themselves. The ornateness of the fireplaces contributed to the extravagant feminine look of the interior of Palladian houses. The moldings used around fireplaces gradually lost Gothic influence and became classically disciplined with the large ogee molding used extensively. The fireplace remained a heating and cooking device, but took on an extravagant decorative function in eighteenth century houses (Fletcher, 1961; Girouard, 1978).

Staircases. The staircases in an eighteenth century country house became a focal point of the house. They were wider, more elaborate and easier to navigate. With the positioning of most of the bedroom and living rooms on the second floor, the stairway was the center of circulation. It was normally positioned adjacent to the great or banqueting hall and toward the back of the house as opposed to near the entry hall in earlier houses. The placement of the stairs was

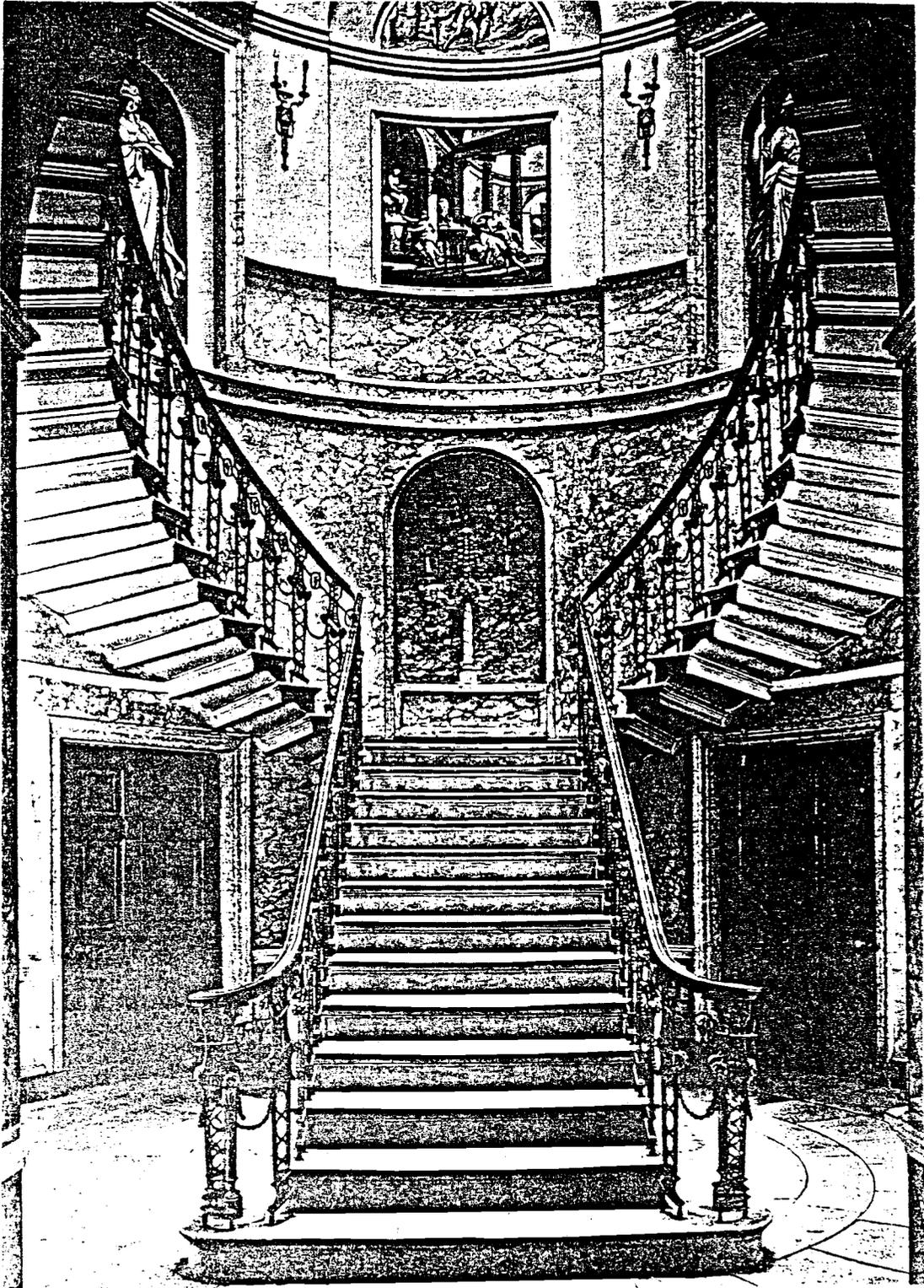


Plate 130 Stage-like stairway typical of eighteenth century.

partially due to the determination of the Palladian designers to maintain absolute symmetry in the entrance halls (Fletcher, 1961; Wilson, 1977).

Cost

The cost of the eighteenth century Palladian mansions was exorbitant. The siting alone demanded extensive grounds - thousands of acres to conform to the new desire for isolation of the country seat. It was not unknown for the local village to be razed in order that the view from the house not be cluttered. Hills provided better views, but other problems, such as water supply were complicated by such a site. The majority of the homes were sited on broad open, flat fields and the plantings and landscaping were designed to maximize the chosen location. The building of the house often took years and fortunes. The maintenance of them continued to tap fortunes. It was cheaper for the owner to live in London most of the year, as many of them did, and only use the country house for entertaining in the summer season (Fletcher, 1961; Stone, 1984).

Complaints prevailed then, as now, that architects underestimated the costs. Clients were advised to supply as much of the basic building material from their own estates as possible and not to change the plans once inaugurated. Cost over-runs were a common problem (Stone, 1984).

Unlike a medieval house that required little in the way of furnishings, the shell of an eighteenth century Palladian mansion was just the beginning of both design and cost. The exterior remained

austere and calculated, but the interior took on a carefully controlled eclectic appearance. The commissioning of name artists to decorate the increasingly elaborate interior added great amounts to the over-all costs. An example of costs is offered by Stone (1984, p. 354). Castle Howard was built in the late seventeenth century at a cost of "35,000 (pounds) for the mansion, 24,000 (pounds) for the extensive grounds, and 19,000 (pounds) for the Mausoleum". Considering that Hengrave cost approximately 3,000 pounds in the sixteenth century, the costs of construction in the eighteenth century, even allowing for inflation, were exorbitant. The maintenance of such an estate ruined more than one inheritor as well as many of the initial builders (Fletcher, 1961; Stone, 1984).

The style of extravagant, elaborate interiors and the extensive landscaping added greatly to the costs. For instance, Grinling Gibbons, the master of all woodcarvers, was paid 4,000 pounds for work done at Blenheim. In 1720, decoration at Moor Park, Herts. cost 3,500 pounds (Stone, 1984, p. 356). The plaster work, sculpture and painting, all custom work, were expensive in that sought after name-artists added prestige to the project.

Materials

Wood. Wood remained a much used material. Panelling in the eighteenth century was an important interior treatment. Oak was still used extensively for the linen-fold panels, furniture and molding. English oak was gnarled, tough and hard to work making it advantageous to import clearer grained oak from Germany. The taste

for timbered houses declined during the eighteenth century. Stone and brick became more popular and older timbered houses were often plastered over. Wood continued to be the basic material for roof and floor construction. Externally wood was used for decorative moldings, window frames, and pediments over doors.

Mahogany became the status wood in the eighteenth century. It was a hard, rich, dark wood that lent itself well to the huge doors used in the country houses. It was also used extensively in furniture. The softer pine and fir from the Scandinavian countries were imported more and more, in that they were easily carved and often painted (Clifton-Taylor, 1962; Lloyd, 1931).

Stone. Stone became the important building material in the eighteenth century in spite of the fact that brick making had become a highly refined art. The manor houses of the period are often referred to as great stone piles. Most of the stone was indigenous to England, but even so, had to be transported overland and by sea to the building site adding tremendously to the cost of the house. Much stone was reused from abandoned abbeys, churches and older houses.

Marble and alabaster were imported and represented the epitome of building and facing stone. They were used for chimney pieces (fireplaces), cornices, moldings stairways, tables and floors. A smooth, ashlared limestone or sandstone was used as an exterior facing material. Attempts were made to fabricate the look of stone during the Georgian period with the use of cement, stucco, plaster,

wood and brick. It was relatively successful, but in some instances disastrous.

Stone lacked the warmth and character of wood or brick. The result of the great stone push of the Georgian period is a collection of austere, formidable houses although grand in scale.

Brick. The Georgians perfected the art of brick making and increased production making them available to most budgets. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw great increase in the use of brick but its use waned in the eighteenth. Bricks were still used as a basic material but only to be faced with stone in a prestigious house. Bricks were made of the indigenous clays of the various areas of England making it possible to determine their origin by their color and texture. Some were more durable than others and have withstood the years handsomely, while others are leached and disfigured from erosion. The making of brick was an art; therefore, firing and aging varied, making some brick more desirable than others.

Flint. Flint was used more extensively in England than in any other country. It is a relatively pure form of silica, extremely hard and easily fractured. The irregular shape of flint made for a homely result unless combined skillfully with brick or stone. It was sometimes treated with black tar to standardize the color. "No material, lacking stone or brick dressings, is more unpicturesque than flint; none makes such utterly shapeless, unlovely ruins; no masonry, in decay, is more sternly rebarbative. Even when not in decay unknapped flint can look

unattractively porridgy..." (Clifton-Taylor, 1962, p. 195)

Plaster. Plaster was used more extensively in the eighteenth century than previously. The pargeting work on the exterior of houses and the carving done on the elaborate ceilings of the manor houses entailed quantities of high quality plaster. The finest was produced by burning gypsum (calcium sulphate and water) making a substance known as plaster of Paris due to the fact that the first used sources were near Montmartre. It was introduced into England by Henry III, who visited Paris in 1254, and was imported for a short time until the native deposits were discovered and exploited. It is a hard material and was used extensively for floors, some outlasting stone. During the eighteenth century, however, its main use was for walls and ceilings which were often carved, painted and gilded. Italian artists were imported to sculpt and carve the plaster moldings and decorations. Plaster was also used to reduce the danger of fire. Color was sometimes added to exterior plaster, as in the pink houses of Suffolk, giving regional character to the treatment (Clifton-Taylor, 1962).

Craftsmen

The refinement of the houses and the proliferation of knowledgeable architects of the eighteenth century demanded that the craftsmen perfect their trades. Specialists became the norm and artists were in great demand. Plans and specifications were explicit, and it was imperative that skilled craftsmen be able to follow directions. The master mason was no longer in charge of the over-all

project as in earlier days, but retained status due to the continued use of stone.

Artists were in great demand during the eighteenth century. Painted ceilings, panels, screens and walls called for skilled artists to execute them. Italian artists were the most sought after to duplicate work from the Italian Renaissance in the classical style of Palladio. Classical and allegorical scenes were the common themes, although heraldry displaying coats-of-arms and family crests were popular, also. Sculpture was used extensively both for interior and exterior decoration on the house and in the gardens. Classical motifs prevailed and in the travels of the owners Greek and Roman antiquities were sought. Prestigious artists from Italy and the Continent were commissioned to do pieces for the manor houses, some spending many years to execute the sculpting of statues, friezes and moldings for a particular house.

The laborers were recruited from the surrounding area as they had been for centuries. There developed a more skilled labor force in addition to the common laborers who did the menial work. Houses became more sophisticated, more refined; they were finished more completely and had accommodations not known previously, all requiring a more knowledgeable work force.

Tools. Tools remained primitive compared with modern day power tools. However, workmen became more skilled with the tools at their disposal.

Wages. The construction of a country seat brought prosperity to the area where it was sited. There were many and various tasks which required the employment of local citizens. The skilled laborers such as the carpenters, masons, carvers, bricklayers were at the top of the pay scale. Their monthly pay was equal or more to two years pay for a young girl who worked in the kitchen. The mason received the most of those mentioned. The men who hauled (carted) the stone from the quarry to the site were paid well, also (Original Building Records, Houghton Hall, 1728).

Landscape

Perhaps the greatest change in planning the isolated country seat was the attention to detail of the great parks and gardens which were developed. Capability Brown started the trend with the planting and design at Blenheim, paving the way for the vast acreages which were rearranged, planted, bridged and adorned with pavillions, pagodas, statuary, formal gardens, fountains, canals and lakes. Thousands of acres were often involved. The vista from the house was the prime goal. There was normally an ornamental garden near and surrounding the house with the vast park extending beyond. Water played an important part in the over-all atmosphere. Lakes large enough to accommodate boats were constructed. Landscape architects were a necessity and were paid very well for their efforts. They worked with the architect of the house in order to develop a coordinated whole (Lloyd, 1931; Stone, 1984).



Plate 131. Landscaped gardens and parks.

Plant life from all over the world was imported to adorn the fanciful gardens. Rare trees and flowers were cultivated with great pride by the owners. Weeping willow, acacia and fuscias were introduced at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The garden walls were demolished and sunken ha-has were installed. Ha-has were ditches not visible from the house so the "prospect" was not interrupted. They were contrived to keep out the deer, cattle and sheep which might be roaming the grounds.

Straight avenues created by careful planning were necessary for the fox hunt which had begun to replace the stag hunt. These avenues provided areas for easy riding or walking by the visiting and resident leisured class. The overall plan was based on a circular layout so that participants could drive the circuit which was broken up with temples, tea rooms and other contrivances already mentioned. Bath houses with cold baths, were often a destination as a healthful folly. There were normally two circuits, one near the house for walking and a more distant one for riding (Dutton, 1962; Girouard, 1978; Lloyd, 1931; Stone, 1984).

The eighteenth century gardens were generally informal, other than the small gardens immediately surrounding the houses which smacked of French influence. This is in direct opposition to the rigid formality of the Palladian houses which they complimented (Girouard, 1978; Stone, 1984; Wilson, 1977)

Sanitation

Cleanliness, as with privacy, remained a luxury. The use of chimneys reduced the abundance of soot in the houses and floors were maintained in a much better state than those of Tudor times. Rushes were no longer used on the elegant wood and marble inlaid floors, but they were swept clean and polished. Water, gravity fed into the houses from cisterns away from the houses, made bathing and washing easier. The stigma of earlier bathing disappeared and baths, comparable to the Roman baths, were built on the grounds of the great houses.

Sir John Harington developed a lavatory (privy) in the late 1500's with the use of running water. It was an expensive contrivance and was still not used extensively in the eighteenth century. The cesspool was the receptacle for household waste which was piped away from the house eliminating smells that had permeated houses for centuries. The chamber pots and chairs, emptied by the servants, remained in use in private rooms. For instance a chamber pot was stored in a cupboard of many large dining rooms for use by the men after the ladies had retreated to the drawing room. Privy chambers and closets were designed to hold the privy in large houses; however, it was rare that there was more than one "closet" in a great house. In William Kent's design of Holkham House he allowed for only one privy and it was tucked away in a corner. It had the dubious accommodation of seating two at a time. Robert Adam specified several in his designs with four called for when Luton Hoo was built. It

persisted, however, that only one, at the most two, were installed in a great house. In actuality, the water closet diminished in popularity and was replaced by the elaborate 'little house' out in the garden (Dutton, 1962; Girouard, 1978; Hodges, 1979; Lloyd, 1931).

Soap was a common commodity in the eighteenth century and was used extensively for clothing, cleaning and bathing. The English at this time had the reputation of being cleaner than anyone but the Dutch. Cesar de Sausure, a Frenchman, in the 1720's stated:

Though they are not slaves to cleanliness, like the Dutch, still they are remarkable for this virtue. Not a week passed by but well-kept houses are washed twice in the seven days, and that from top to bottom; and even every morning most kitchens, staircase, and entrance are scrubbed. All furniture, and especially all kitchen utensils, are kept with the greatest cleanliness. Even the large hammers and the locks on the door are rubbed and shine brightly. English women and men are very clean; not a day passes by without their washing their hands, arms, faces, necks and throats in cold water, and that in winter as well as in summer (Porter, 1982, p. 239).

On the other hand, Dr. Jonson commented that he could

remember that the people of England changed a shirt only once a week. Perhaps with less economic support the poorer people were forced to wear their clothes year round (Porter, 1982).

Water Supply

The use of pipes of lead and wood or conduits of stone allowed for water to be piped into eighteenth century houses and to a degree in towns and cities. The water was most often gravity fed from a source up a hill or a mounted cistern to which the water had been pumped. The containment of water supply hindered the spread of diseases so prevalent in earlier times. Hot and cold water within the house was not unheard of, but not common either. The installation of a water system was expensive and in a time when servants could easily carry water to their masters a decision to remain unplumbed prevailed (Dutton, 1962; Girouard, 1978; Porter, 1982).

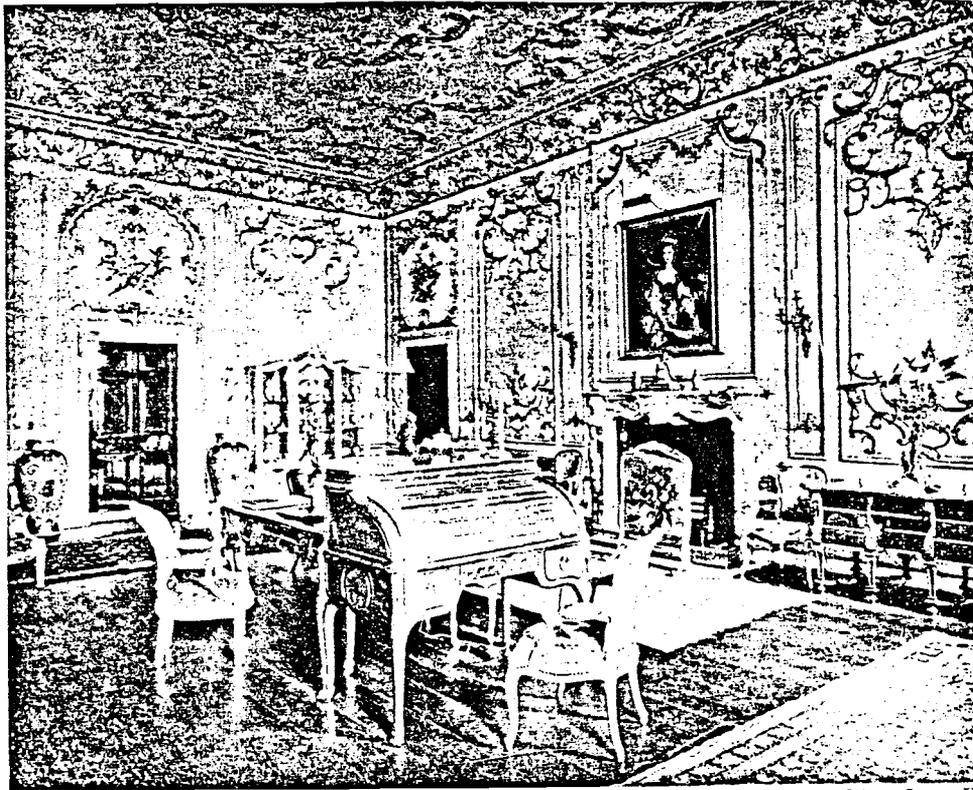
Architect

The eighteenth century saw the architect come into his own. The movement of hiring a status architect had been started by Inigo Jones during the Stuart period (1603 +), carried further by Christopher Wren and even further by men such as Vanbrugh, Ripley, Webb, Campbell and Kent. The eighteenth century architect was a victim of the Palladian severity and discipline and did not have the advantage of the free creativity of earlier designers. The Palladian architects took their designs from Palladio, an Italian designer of the sixteenth century. He, in turn, had utilized existing buildings and the excavations of

Roman ruins as his inspiration. They were innovative in the manner in which they put things together. Scale and grandeur were the key elements of their designs. Lord Burlington is reputed to have fostered the Palladian style in England by sponsoring architects, such as Kent, and delving into design himself (Cook, 1974; Dutton, 1962; Plumb, 1961).

Furnishings

The opulence of eighteenth century interiors was partly due to the creations of interior designers, an area pioneered by William Kent



1749.

King : George II.

Plate 132. Palladian interior.

who was an architect, painter, landscape architect, furniture designer and interior designer. The Palladian-classical influence was reflected in the furnishings as well as the house. Classical motifs proliferated in the furniture as well as the wall treatments and fabrics in the use of pilasters, columns, moldings of dentil, Greek key, Vitruvian scroll, egg-and-dart and animal and human figures. Designers were employed to fabricate and incorporate styles and objects that the owner had found and to, above all, 'outdo thy neighbor'. The furniture was on a grand scale, usually large, ornate and when upholstered, an impressive fabric was used such as silk, brocades and velvets. Embroidery was used extensively. There was a great proliferation of imported items, some collected on the Grand Tour and others purchased by people sent abroad to acquire proper art objects. Hand painted wallpaper and porcelain was imported from China, fabrics came from Italy, China, India and the Continent (Hussey, 1955; Wilson, 1977).

The console of marble or stone became fashionable and was usually adorned with a large mirror hung over it. The tables were often bulky and overly large, but with the mirrors they reflected the height of fashion. Furniture was usually made locally by skilled cabinet men. Pine was used when a piece was to be gilded or painted. Mahogany became popular for furniture not only because of its elegance, but because the supply of walnut had diminished from both the Continent and locally (Cook, 1974; Wilson, 1977).

Side tables, mirror frames and candlestands were some of the pieces inaugurated during this period. The side tables accommodated candlesticks or perfume burners which were an added relief when social occasions brought together many unwashed bodies (Wilson, 1977).

Beds became an extravagant production, hung with fine fabric drapes and canopies and made with carved wood posters and frames. They held an important place in the great chamber and rooms set aside for visiting dignitaries.

Tea drinking was very fashionable by the eighteenth century and called for specialized implements and hence tables on which to put them. The tea table was portable and small. The early ones were rectangular but evolved into a tripod type with claw and ball feet. The tops were carved from one piece of wood leaving a small rim around the edge which eventually evolved into a ballustraded edges (Girouard, 1978; Wilson, 1977).

The chest of drawers had evolved into elaborate pieces of furniture known as a bachelor's chest. The chest-on-chest, or tallboy, also made an appearance (Wilson, 1977).

The greatest innovation of the early eighteenth century was the development of the handmade metal screw. This made possible the production of stronger more intricate furniture (Wilson, 1977).

Owner

Background. The owner-builders of eighteenth century country houses came from diversified backgrounds. The eldest son of a landed family, through primogeniture, inherited the family estates. The newly rich merchants and professional men, on the other hand, purchased land and built. The inheritor either remodeled his house or tore it down and built a new one. The purchaser started anew. According to Stone (1984) the newly rich entrepreneur was more inclined to spend fortunes on a new edifice than the inheritor. He states that purchasers were two and one-half times more likely to build, which he attributes to their business acumen and energy. Education, whether by university or travel, was an important aspect of background (Stone, 1984).

Wealth - Position. The eighteenth century often found the aristocracy in a reduced role, both economically and socially and certainly in the business world where the energetic entrepreneurs accumulated vast fortunes - and spent them. There were those inheritors of noble families who continued to increase family fortune, but complacency was the condition of the majority. The over-ambitious, newly rich men were inclined to over-build and consequently over-extend themselves so that often their houses had to be sold to the delight of much of the aristocracy who looked down their titled noses at the gentry. Beau Nash made it his life's chore to

establish a general society where all people of rank and fortune mixed together, where the nobility and the gentry mixed together. There were the politically powerful men who worked their way through the ranks and received handsome titles for their endeavors (Girouard, 1978; Stone and Stone, 1984).

Genealogy. As already mentioned, the ancestry of the country house builder in the eighteenth century was varied - from a long line of titled aristocracy to the arrogant, newly rich gentry often with a humble background.



Plate 133. Houghton Hall, Norfolk.

Houghton Hall

Houghton Hall was started in 1723 by Sir Robert Walpole, England's first prime minister. It is located near Kings Lynn, Norfolk in East Anglia on the site of a Jacobean house. Its initial plan was conceived in 1721 by architect Colen Campbell, a Scotsman, who was encouraged by the Earl of Burlington; held Palladio as his god and Inigo Jones as his prophet. It is an important building as one of the finest examples of the Palladian stone mansions of the eighteenth century. It is an immense house, built to impress and in which to entertain. Both functions were thoroughly fulfilled. It impressed contemporaries with its plan to "...combine the requirements of a home and of magnificent entertaining" (Hussey, 1955, p.74). The earliest records of Houghton were destroyed, presumably by Walpole when he fell out of favor in

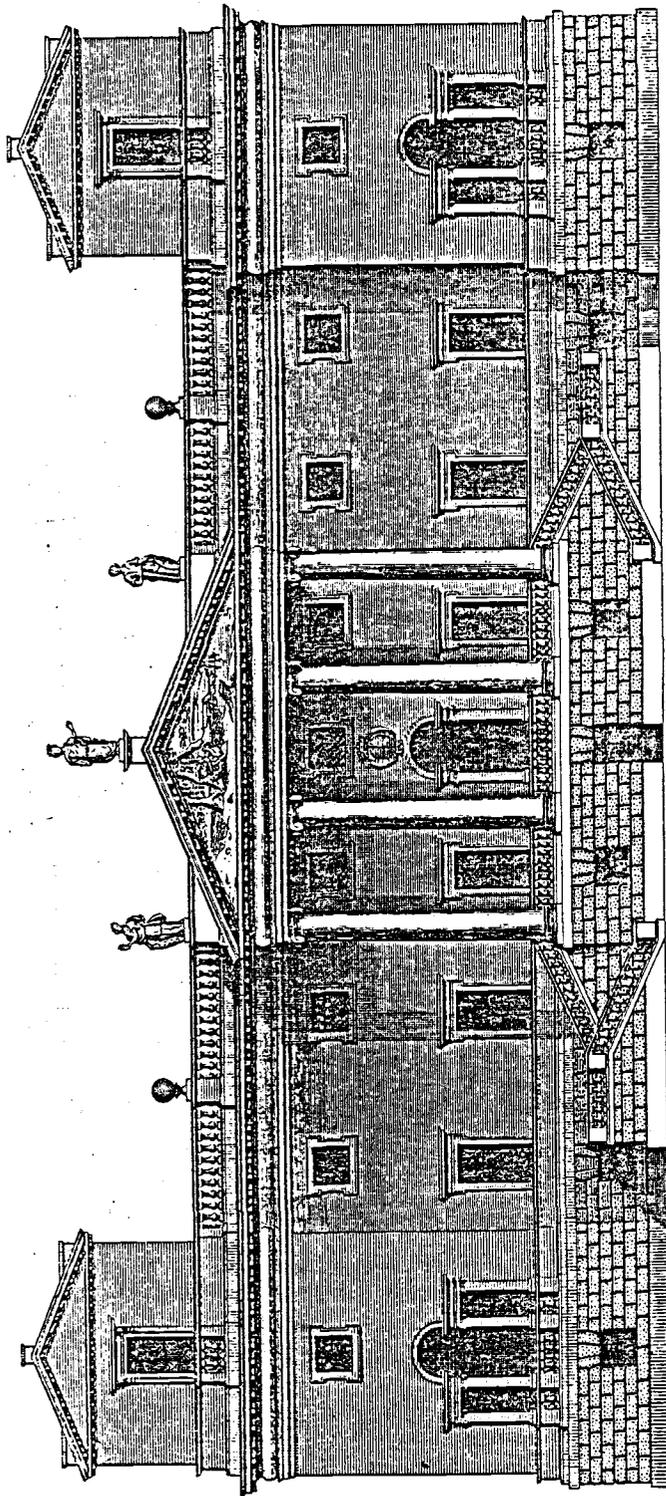
1742. Records of 1728 remain in excellent condition and offer insight into the everyday construction needs and costs (Cook, 1974; Dutton, 1962; Hussey, 1955).

Plan

The plan of Houghton is based on a symmetrical rectangle with wings curving out on either side. A letter from Colen Campbell, the initial architect, to Sir Robert Walpole, the builder-owner, describes the plans as presented:

In Norfolk, the Seat of the Right Honourable Robert Walpole, Esquire, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and first Commissionner of his Majesty's Treasury, of which I have made Two double, and Four single, Plates. In the First you have a Plan of the Gardens and Plantations, which are very large and beautiful. In the Subsequent are all the Designs of my Invention; First, the general Plan and Front of the House and Offices, extending 450 Feet. The First single Plate contains the Plans of the principal and Attick Story: The great Hall is a Cube of 40 Feet, the Salon 40 by 30 Feet, and 30 Feet high, and all the other Rooms in the Four great

Apartments, are 18 Feet high, the Attick Story 12 Feet, and the Rustick Story the same, all above Ground, under which is an intire Story of Cellars, all Arched. In the Second Plate I have given the Front to the great Entrance, extending 166 Feet, lying open to the Park. The Basement is rustick, and I have also rusticated the Windows and Door-Case in the principal Story; the Building is finished with Two Towers, dress'd with two rustick Venetian Windows. In the next Plate is the Front to the Garden, with a Regular Portico Tetrastile Ionick, the Columns 3 Feet 1/2 diameter. In this Front the Windows of the principal Story are dress'd without Rusticks. The last Plate is the Section of the great Hall, all in Stone, the most beautiful in England; the whole Building is Stone, and, without pretending to excuse any seeming or real Defects, I believe, it will be allowed to be a House of State and Conveniency, and, in



Elevation of the South front of Houghton in Norfolk, the Seat of the Right Honourable Robert Walpole Esq; Chancellor of Exr; and first Comr. of his Majesty's Treasury, &c.

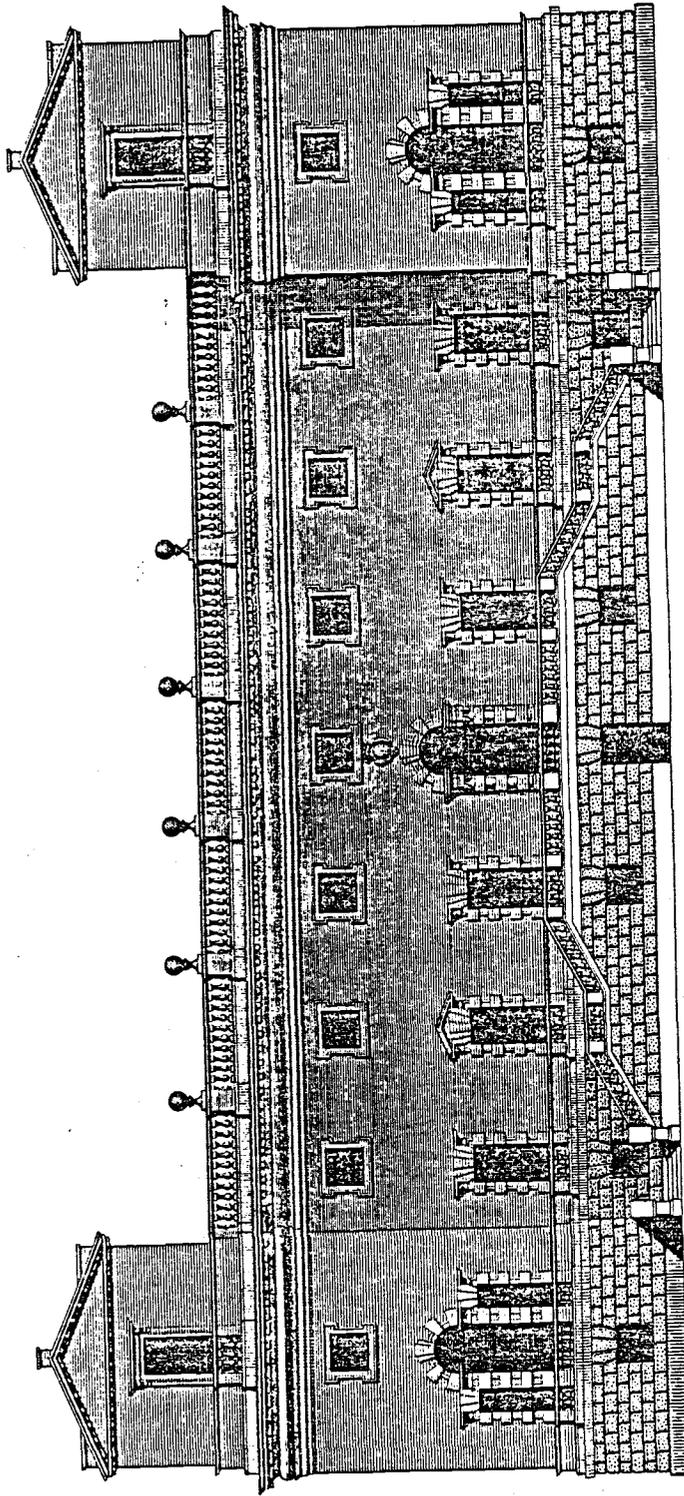
Broad Stone 1723. Designed by Colin Campbell Esq.



Col. Campbell Architect.

H. Wallbridge Sculp.

Plate 134 Campbell's plan of Houghton.
(front)



*Elevation of the North front of Houghton in Norfolk the Seat of the Right Honourable Robert Walpole Esq. Chancellor of Exch. and
 1st Duke of Newcastle. Erected Anno 1723. designed by John Campbell Esq.*



H. H. Houghton's Sculp.

Co. Campbell Architect.

Plate 135. Plan of Houghton by Campbell.

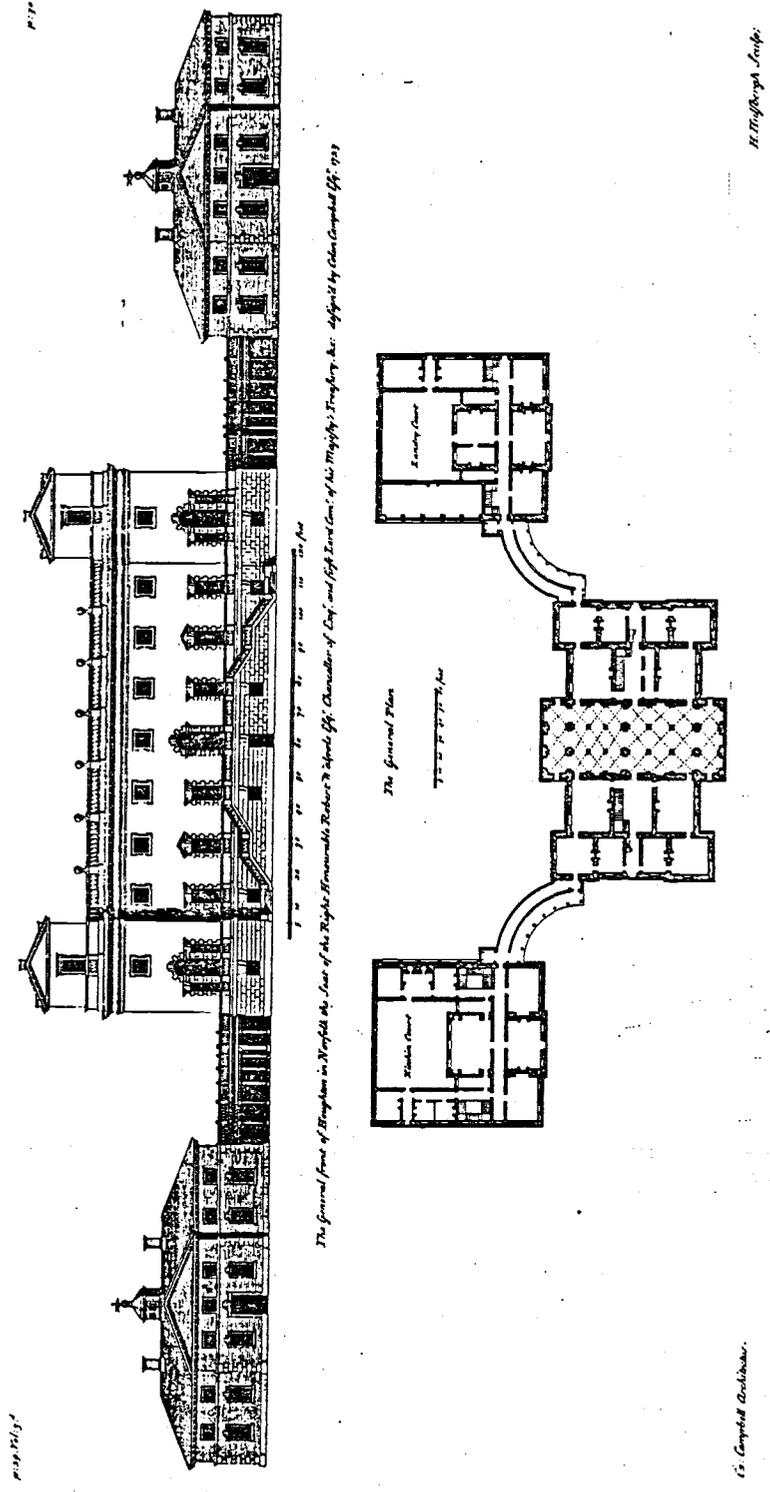


Plate 137 Plan of Houghton by Campbell.

some Degree, worthy of the great and generous Patron. Anno 1722 (Campbell, 1722, p. 8).

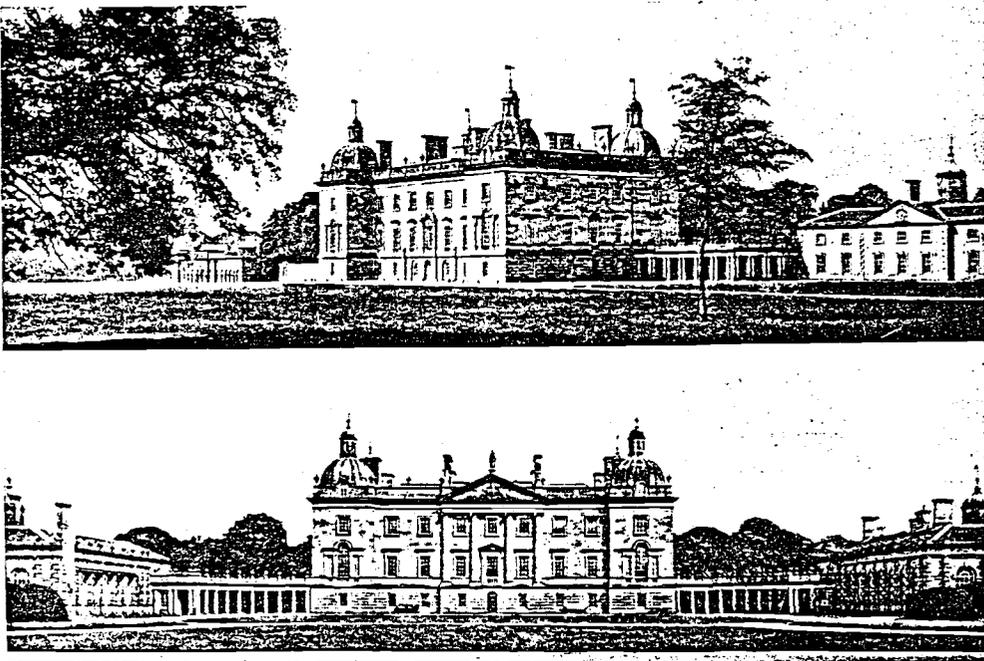
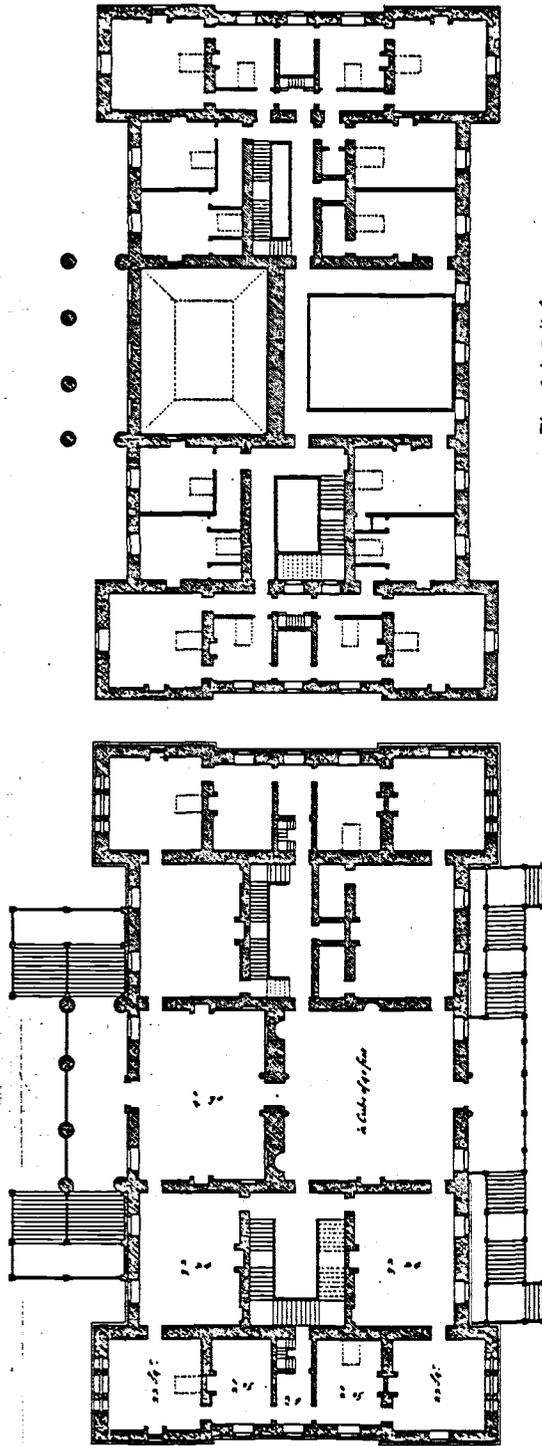


Plate 138. Houghton Hall as it was built.

As was often the case, many revisions and changes were made before, during and after Houghton's completion. There is obvious influence from the work of Inigo Jones who had studied Palladio in Italy during the early 1600's. The initial plan by Campbell was altered by Thomas Ripley, a protege of Walpole's and hired by him in

1721 to revise Campbell's design. Ripley was to take charge of construction as well as materials. The original records show that he authorized the payment of 105 pounds, 14 shillings, 8 pence (\$4,452) to Samuel Taylor for tending the quarry that furnished the Whitby stone for the house. Ripley reduced the garden front portico to a frontispiece and totally did away with the perron staircases, substituting a rustic pedimented main entrance doorway for Campbell's arch. He inverted the quadrant colonnades, modified the wings and changed the proportion of the mezzanine windows. The Third Earl removed the front entrance perron staircases entirely in 1778 rather than go to the expense of repairs. They were brilliantly and expertly reconstructed in memory of the 5th Earl of Cholmondeley by his widow who resides in the house (as of 1986). Campbell made changes himself, attested to by existing preliminary drawings. A most obvious change was by Ripley who specified domed-caps to the towers that Campbell had designed square. Stutchbury (1967) states, however, that the domes were added by Gibbs between 1725 and 1727. The Stone Hall remains relatively true to Campbell's design "...such as the pediment putti of the doorcases, the overmantel enrichments, the cove stuccoes and the balustrades of both gallery and grand staircase" (Campbell, 1715; Stutchbury, 1967, p. 52).

Doors and porches. The temple-like porticos were a distinguishing feature of a Palladian house. Campbell's designs had an Italianate classicism distilled from a mixture of Palladio and Inigo Jones. The



Plan of the Attic Story.

Plan of the principal story of Merchants in New York the Seat of the Right Honourable Robert Livingston Esq. Chancellor of the State and first Lord Com. of the Treasury. Erected Anno 1823 Designed by John Campbell Esq.

Scale of 1/8 inch = 1 foot
168 feet

C. Campbell Architect

H. Bradford Sculp.

Plate 139. Plan of ground and attic floors by Campbell.

porticos projected from the center of the main facade, and consisted of a huge classical pediment supported by a row of columns with a single or double row of steps leading up to the entrance at first floor level. The east entrance to Houghton was altered by Thomas Ripely

from an elegant arched doorway designed by Colin Campbell to a rusticated rectangular entry. The exterior doors are all framed in stone with large wooden doors. The west entrance is dramatized by perron stairs leading up from either side to a porch or landing area which then enters into the main hall from entrance.

It forms a dramatic, stage-like entrance.

The interior doors are a unique and outstanding feature of Houghton. They were



Plate 140. Saloon with mahogany door, Kent furniture.

designed by William Kent, a well-known designer of his day. The wood is Honduras mahogany which was just making its appearance in England, partially due to the fact that good walnut was diminishing in supply but largely due to the availability of the rare wood. The doors were immense, described by Lord Hervey as larger than Walpole himself who was of considerable girth. The doors were panelled with gilt molding surrounding each panel. Elaborate casings and pediments in marble adorned each door. The pediments offered space to place putti or other marble sculpture (Cook, 1978; Plumb, 1961; Strutchbury, 1967; Wilson, 1977).

Windows. The windows of Houghton Hall were comprised of rectangular panes with wood mullions and transoms. The panels



Plate 136. Service wing showing windows precise stone work.

were joined in larger panels to form large windows. The original records mention a John Bateman, glazier, who on April, 17, 1728, was paid 64 pounds, 13 shillings, ten pence (\$2,730). Whether or not this included the glass and his helpers is not indicated, but in comparison to other costs, it can be assumed that it does. A window tax, in force since medieval times, was still in existence. In April a land and window tax of twelve pounds, 9 shillings, 1 pence was paid. That is equivalent to approximately \$512 U.S. today. It was expensive to install windows and expensive to have them when a carpenter made approximately \$168 a month. The rooms of Houghton were well lit by the great windows which were shuttered with mahogany (Hussey, 1955; Original Building Records, 1728).

Floors. The floors of Houghton Hall were of wood and marble. Inlaid marble of black and white was used in the marble hall. All floors were covered with outstanding Oriental rugs, some covering the whole area, others covering only parts of the room. Rugs were collected by Walpole in his travels, and he commissioned people to purchase additional items for him.

Walls. The walls of Houghton Hall were perhaps one of its most interesting features. They were covered with a variety of materials. The library was totally panelled with mahogany, with moldings, bookcases, elegantly carved. The great Stone Hall is faced with marble which is then decorated with moldings, friezes, garlands, brackets, sculpture, elaborate doorways and chimney-pieces. The saloon was hung with silk and with wool cut velvet in an elaborate



Plate 142. Marble hall, inlaid floor, elegantly carved doors and fireplaces, Kent furniture, ballustrade around minstrels gallery.

brocade-like pattern. There is an extravagant entablature which was gilded, a column-framed and pedimented doorway and a disciplined chimney piece in the room. The walls of the great staircase are



Plate 143. Hand-painted Chinese wallpaper, mahogany door, Kent mirrors and furniture.

Painted in grisaille (tones of gray) by William Kent. Kent was restricted to this color-way by Walpole who did not trust him in the use of color. (After seeing these walls, it is obvious that Kent was not a master painter for they are quite weak.) The painting of walls with murals of classical and sometimes religious themes was popular

during this period. The walls of the embroidered bedchamber are hung with rare tapestries. The marble parlor, panelled with Carrara and mauve Plymouth marble, was converted into the state dining room by



Plate 144. Embroidered bedchamber, tapestry on walls.
Kent and Ripley by inserting marble arched service alcoves on either

side of Rysbrack's (an Italian sculptor) chimney-piece which has a



Plate 145. Dining room with marble arch, ornate marble fireplace. broken pediment with a sculpture and a large carved frieze for the over-mantel. Scrolls and classical moldings frame the upper and lower parts. The walls are panelled with marble and an elaborate

gilted entablature. A room referred to as The Cabinet was originally hung with green velvet which was replaced in about 1797 with outstanding Chinese hand-painted wallpaper in blue. It was the most colorful room in the house. The canopied bed in the room was embroidered in matching colors of blues, reds and greens. Ornate rococo mirrors were hung on the walls.

Kitchen. The kitchen was in the north wing of the house which made it customarily distant from the dining room. It was a commodious room to accommodate the large numbers of people entertained at Houghton.

Chapel. Congruant with the times and Sir Walpole's attitude there was no chapel incorporated in the plan for Houghton. There is a small church in the park-like setting with a burial grounds.

Solar. The solar was no longer needed, there being many rooms for specific purposes which usurped its function.

Fireplace. The fireplaces of Houghton were masterpieces of classical carving and design. They were elaborate productions of marble with closed and broken pediments adorned with sculpture of vegetation, putti, figures and objects. Every room had a fireplace which offered great opportunity to display artistic endeavors. Rysbrack, an Italian sculptor, did many of them under the guidance of William Kent. (see photos)

Ceilings. The ceilings of Houghton were elaborately done with painting, coffering, carving and panelling. They involved



Plate 146. The white drawing room - coffered and painted ceiling.

the use of heavy classical moldings and motifs of classical origin. The carved plaster ceiling of the green drawing-room is a copy of the old Houghton erected in 1660 by Sir Edward Walpole. William Kent painted Aurora on the ceiling of the green velvet bedchamber. The ceiling of the tapestry dressing-room is an extravaganza of gilded

moldings. The marble parlor has a coffered ceiling with elaborate gilded moldings.

Cost

Houghton Hall was among the more expensive houses built in the eighteenth century. The earliest original records of Walpole's were destroyed in 1742, leaving much room for speculation. In 1745 Sir Robert Walpole's son, Horace wrote: "It is certain he is dead very poor; his debts amount to 50,000 pounds, his estate a nominal 8,000 pounds a year, much mortgaged" (Hussey, 1955, p. 86). It is obvious the exorbitant cost of Houghton was too much for even his income, not an uncommon situation among the ambitious men of the time. Meticulous records kept by Anthony Hammond (see appendices) do exist from 1728 and 1729 which indicate the vast sums of money spent on the house. Walpole's successor, the 2nd Earl of Orford carried on, but the third Earl, his grandson did not have the expertise to do so and sold the vast collection of paintings, reputed to be the best in the world, to Catherine the Great of Russia. It was not until 1797 when the Cholmondeley heir, Walpole's sister's grandson, took over the property that it eventually was restored to its present grandeur (Hussey, 1955).

Materials

Brick. Brick, by the eighteenth century had become a common building material. It, perhaps, was too common for the impression the wealthy builders of the country houses of the time wished to

convey. It was used in Houghton as a filler or basis for the shell of the house which was faced with stone. In November, 1728, approximately \$7,518 was spent on brick. That included the salary of the bricklayers as well as the brickburners.

Stone. The stone used for Houghton was Aislaby sandstone quarried near Whitby to the north of the estate. It was the decision of Thomas Ripley who, as early as 1721, was making arrangements for facing stone from Whitby. He planned to use this more durable stone as opposed to the local Norfolk stone which was a soft carr stone quarried at Snettisham. At great expense the stone was shipped overland to the building site. In November, 1728, which was five years after the house construction began, about \$10,710 (254 pounds) was expended on the carriage of stone from Whitby. As stated, the shell of the house was of brick which was faced with the ashlarred Aislaby sandstone from Whitby. Marble, imported from the Carrara quarries in Italy and mauve Plymouth marble are used extensively in the interior (Clifton-Taylor, 1962; Cook, 1974; Hussey, 1955; Jarrold, 1983).

Wood. The use of Honduras mahogany throughout the house for doors, floors, panelling and some furniture make it unique. The doors are large with double panels, each surrounded with a gilt molding. Some of the furniture designed by Kent is made of pine and then painted (Cook, 1974; Girouard, 1978).

Flint. Even though flint was an indigeneous material in Norfolk, it

was not used in the building of Houghton Hall.

Lead. There is no indication of the use of lead in Houghton Hall, although, it could have been used in the water system and drains.

Plaster. Plaster was used extensively in Houghton Hall, primarily on the very elaborate ceilings which were carved and often gilded. Plaster was cast into shapes desired such as the dentil, acanthus and egg and dart moldings and then applied where needed. Italian artisans, skilled in the carving of plaster, such as Artari, were hired to execute themes put forth by the designers (Cook, 1974; Girouard, 1978; Hussey, 1955).

Craftsmen. The stone masons who built Houghton Hall were of the highest skill. Chris Cass was paid \$4,620 in November, 1728 for masonry work. It is probable that he supervised a crew of men of various skills. Although there is not the intricate tracery found in early Gothic buildings the simplicity of Palladian architecture demanded that precision be paramount. The use of marble on the interior finishes required still another skilled mason trained in the manipulation of marble. The carpenters were taxed to construct the grand staircase of mahogany with all of its turnings and moldings and to execute the massive doors that still swing freely with great ease. The need for artists in the construction of Houghton Hall was perhaps greater than ever before.

Artisans. The ornate ceilings required artists knowledgeable about carving and molding plaster. In addition to Artari, the Italian

artist hired to execute much of the plaster carving, James Richards appears to have been an important carver in the execution of Houghton's interior. He was paid \$2,520 for his endeavors in November, 1728. The time for which he was paid was not indicated. Paper hangers, executing a new process, hung hand-painted, irreplaceable imported papers. Fabrics were applied to the walls requiring yet another skill. The sculpturing of the chimney-piece and pediment figures called for a sculptor of great ability and was found in the person of Rysbrack, an Italian. Grinling Gibbons, an eminent artist of his day, did the wood carving for the chimney piece in the Common Parlor. William Kent was hired in 1727 to do the interior after Walpole was unexpectedly retained as Prime Minister under George II. Kent designed much of the furniture but Thomas Roberts, a cabinet maker, was owed 1,400 pounds in 1729 indicating he had done a large quantity of furniture for the house (Hussey, 1955; Jarrold, 1983; Original Building Records, 1728).

Laborers. Laborers were generally from the surrounding area and worked in crews under the supervision of one man. For instance Arthur Claxton and his company of laborers were paid 20 pounds or \$840 to be divided among them. There were numerous crews noted in the original records. Walter Johnson was paid 90 pounds (\$3,780) for thirty Scots for the New Park, and Mr. Ferguson was given nearly that amount for thirty Highlanders. The Scots were a source of cheap and capable labor. There were individuals also, such as John Gathercoale who did various

odd jobs like picking up stones in the park. Strange Gamble was paid 4 pounds (\$168) for killing 800 moles. A young girl was paid 5 pounds (\$210) for two years wages. She was probably a domestic who was furnished with room and board (Original Building Records, 1728).

Landscape

The vast gardens of Houghton Hall are in keeping with the park-like settings developed in the eighteenth century. To the west

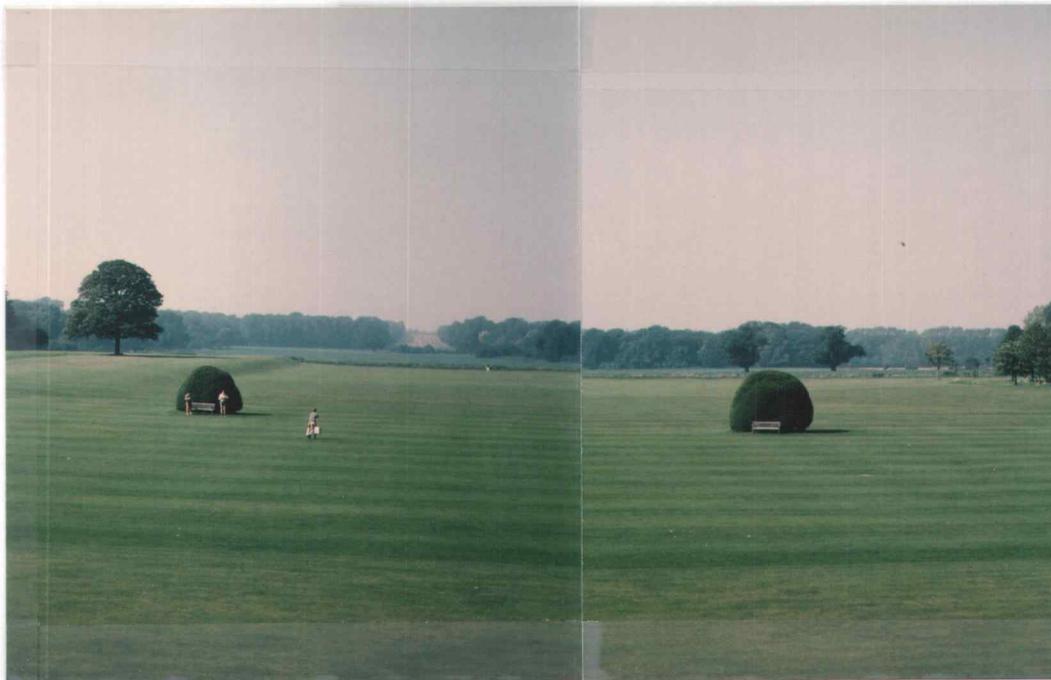


Plate 147. The vista.

of the house there are 40 acres "...in the semi-formal style of Bridgeman, but laid out by 'Mr Eyre, an imitator' , according to Horace Walpole" (Hussey, 1955, p. 72). In 1731, a Sir T. Robinson indicates that Bridgeman did the park layout. To accommodate the new grounds, the village was moved from its location near the old house to an area

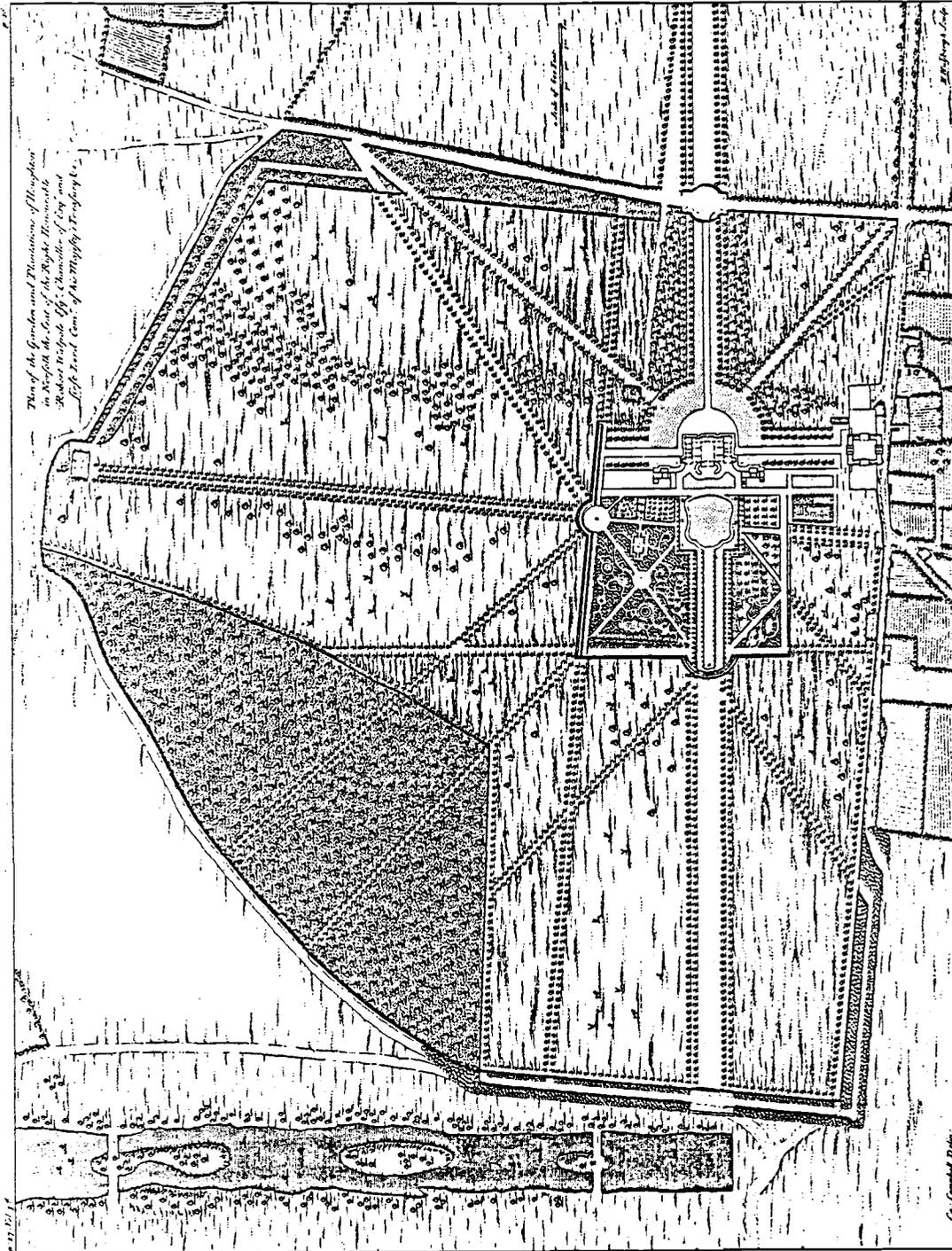


Plate 148. Original landscape plan.

on the south entrance to the park. There are also plans by Colen Campbell, the initial architect, for the grounds immediately around the house. The park-like setting was an important element in the leisure time of residents and guests who spent after-dining hours walking or riding around the grounds. Riding the circuit around the perimeter, which was layed out in a circular



Plate 149. The west front - 1727.

plan, and visiting the various temples, obelisks, seats, pagodas, rotundas or stopping for tea at a tea house, was a popular pastime made possible by the contrivance of the landscape. Water played an important part in the over-all landscape plan. Lakes were created upon which boats were launched and where guests could fish and then cook their catch in kitchens provided along side the water. Ponds, fountains and waterfalls were created as well as bridges of classical or Oriental influence. The more informal planning of the circular system softened the overall look of grounds as compared to the rigid axial planning a few years earlier. The original records indicate that Fulk Harold was in charge of the landscaping. He was regularly paid about \$546 for a fortnight or two weeks work. The records do not indicate what costs he was responsible for. Thomas

Brett was responsible for watering trees in the park. (Girouard, 1978; Hussey, 1955; Original Records, 1728).

Sanitation

Sanitation generally lagged behind all other accomplishments. Cess pools away from the houses into which effluent was piped was a definite improvement, but the general lack of facilities was a puzzle in the grand houses of the eighteenth century. Houghton Hall was no exception. Colin Campbell, the architect, makes no indication on the drawings of the house for privies or water closets but they must have occurred. Chamber pots, it can be assumed, were used extensively and emptied by servants.

Water Supply

The running water supply for Houghton was furnished in 1730 by a 100 foot deep well about a half mile from the house. "A wheel was turned by a horse -worked pump, and sent water up through a lead conduit into a great cistern in a nearby water-house in the park. It was an extremely elegant Palladian building designed by the Earl of Pembroke. Above the tank was a belvedere portico and two inspection rooms with hatches into the tank. From there the water was fed to the house by gravity" (Girouard, 1978, pp. 251-2). The works still exists and functioned until the 1920's. There are brass cocks piped to the wall which fed into cisterns from the shells of th marble tables in the dining room of Houghton. Daniel Pinnock collected 30 pounds (\$ 1,260) for a Mr. Devall, plumber. There is no indication of what the amount covered (Girouard, 1978; Original Building Records, 1728).

Architect

More than any time previously, the eighteenth century was the time of the architect. Who he was and what he did was important in the scheme of escalation of one's status. There was always competition between practicing architects and always ridicule by patrons. Colen Campbell was one of the most influential architects of the eighteenth century. Sir Robert Walpole, as was mentioned, engaged him in 1721 to plan his new Houghton Hall, which replaced

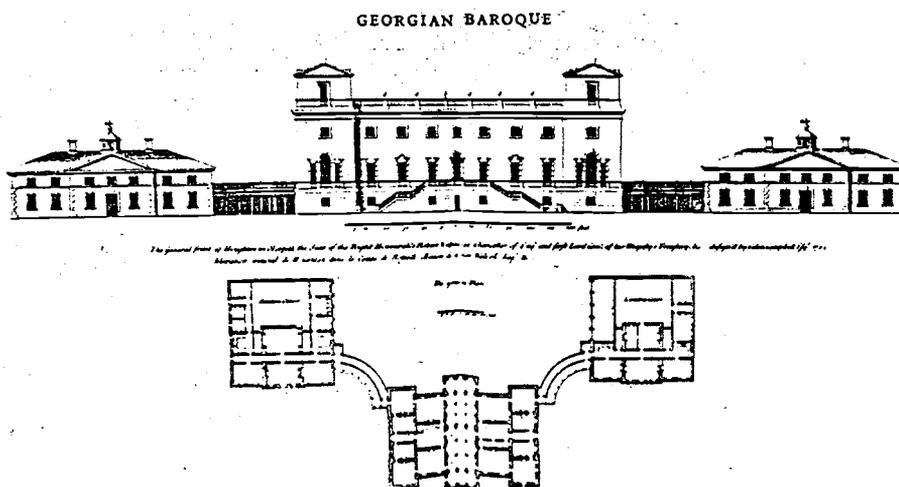
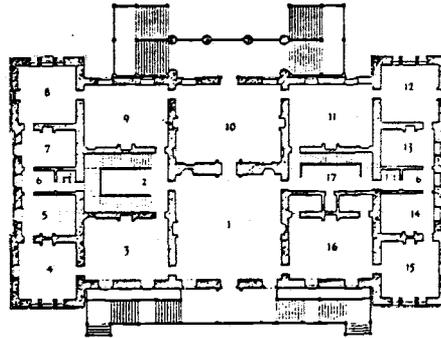


Plate 150 Early plan of Houghton by Campbell.

the older one built in the 1600's. His design was altered in the same year by a rival, Thomas Ripley, a capable designer but who obviously did not have the confidence of Walpole to inaugurate the initial plans for his house. Some say Ripley was responsible for the domes on the towers that Campbell had designed square, others claim it was the work of Gibbs. Campbell continued to supervise Houghton until his death in 1729.

Campbell is responsible for reviving the Palladianism introduced by Inigo Jones 100 years earlier. Campbell was a Scotsman



101. First Floor Plan as Designed (Top = West).

1. Stone Hall; 2. Great Staircase; 3. Parlour or Common Dining-room; 4. Library; 5. Sir Robert Walpole's chamber; 6. Service Staircase; 7. Dressing-room; 8. Blue Damask (Lady Walpole's) Bedchamber; 9. Green Drawing-room; 10. Saloon; 11. White Drawing-room; 12. Green State Bedchamber; 13. Gold Tapestry dressing-room; 14. Embroidered Bedchamber; 15. The Cabinet; 16. Marble Parlour; 17. Secondary Staircase.

Plate 151. Campbell's floor plan of Houghton.

whose early life is vague. It is presumed that he came to London in about 1711 when he began to collect drawings and measurements for his first volume of Vitruvius Britannicus. He depended on the support of his fellow architects to supply him with their drawings and on patrons to fund the project. He, therefore, had to sublimate any bias he may have had toward his peers, present and past. However, he represents Wren in only two drawings of St. Pauls and his rival Hawksmoor by only one. The men he presented in his volumes were Sir Christopher Wren, Sir William Bruce, Sir John Vanbrugh, Mr. Archer, Mr. Wren, Mr. Wynne, Mr. Talman, Mr. Hawksmoor and Mr. James and company. He worked in 1718 with William Benson, a successor of Sir Christopher Wren as Surveyor-general. He was made Chief Clerk of the King's Works and Deputy Surveyor but lost both positions. In the Earl of Burlington, an architect in his own right, he found support and enthusiasm for his abilities. He was employed to remodel Burlington House in Piccadilly in the Palladian style (Girouard, 1978; Hussey, 1955; Jarrold, 1983; Strutchbury, 1967).

To his most Sacred Majesty
 King George,
 Vitruvius Britannicus,
 OR THE
 British Architect
 is most humbly Inscriv'd, By
 Your Majesty
 Your most Faithfull & Obedient Subject
 Colin Campbell.

Plate 152 Plate from Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus.

VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS,

or

The British Architect,

*Containing*The Plans, ELEVATIONS, and Sections
of the Regular Buildings, both
PUBLICK and PRIVATE,

IN

GREAT BRITAIN,

*With Variety of New Designs; in 200 large Folio Plates, Engraven
by the best Hands; and Drawn either from the Buildings themselves,
or the Original Designs of the Architects;*

In II VOLUMES

VOL. I.

by Colon Campbell Esq.

VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS,

ou

L'Architecte Britannique,

Contenant

Les Plans, ELEVATIONS, & Sections
des Bâtimens Reguliers, tant
PARTICULIERS que PUBLICS*de la Grande Bretagne,**Compris en 200 grandes Planches gravees en taille douce par les
Meilleurs Maitres, et tous en desinez des Bâtimens memes, ou
copiez des Dessesins Originaux des Architectes:*

EN DEUX TOMES.

TOME I.

Par le Sieur Campbell.

CUM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

*Sold by the Author over against Douglas Coffee-house in St. Martins-lane. John Nicholson in
Little Britain. Andrew Bell at the Crois-Keys in Cornhill. W. Taylor in Pater-Noster-Row. Henry
Clements in St. Pauls Church-yard, And Jos. Smith in Exeter-Change. LONDON MDCCXV.
J. Sturt sculp.*

Plate 153 Plate from Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus.

The creation of Houghton caused great consternation for Walpole's brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, who until Houghton's completion had the largest, most impressive house in Norfolk. After Houghton's completion, Townshend would leave his country seat of Raynham Hall whenever Walpole was in residence. Such was the rivalry of eighteenth century building (Hussey, 1955; Jarrold, 1983; Strutchbury, 1967).

Furnishings

The austere Palladian exterior of Houghton Hall did not prepare one for the lavish Baroque interior, but such was the trend of the times. It has been referred to as a masculine exterior and feminine



Plate 154 The tapestry dressing room and furnishings.



Plate 155. Settee by Kent.

interior. Perhaps the greatest contrast in housing between Little Wenham, Hengrave and Houghton is the quantity of furniture and accessories used in the eighteenth century house. The rooms are full of chairs which in earlier times were only for the lord of the manor. There is a wealth of wall decor in the form of paintings, sculpture, hangings, wallpaper, moldings and panelling. The walls are covered with elegant fabrics; for example, the Saloon, which has silk and wool cut velvet. The Cabinet had hand-painted Chinese paper on the walls. Each room is of a different color scheme, the colors being clear and rich. Reds, blues, golds and greens are the principle colors. The State, or Green Velvet Bedchamber boasts of rare green Genoese wool velvet--used in great quantity. The floors of marble or wood are covered with rich Oriental rugs purchased on Grand Tours or from merchant dealers.

Sir Robert Walpole solicited the help of William Kent in 1727 to

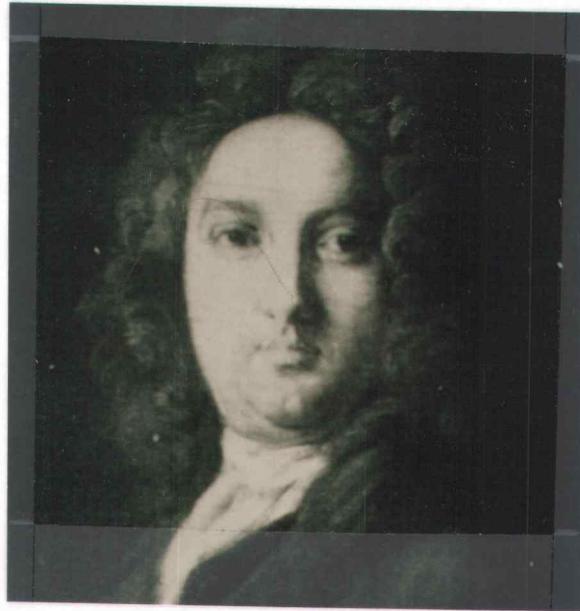


Plate 156. William Kent.

assist in the decoration of Houghton. He proceeded to plan surface treatments as well as design furniture for the State rooms. He designed and saw to the production of 96 pieces of furniture which were covered in wool and silk velvets. These pieces currently remain at Houghton and other than slight fading of color are in excellent condition. He oversaw the carving of the plaster and marble by Artari, the stuccoist from Venice, as well as the sculptured figures by Rysbrack, also from Italy. The jewel-like colors, rich mahogany, marble, gilt, carvings, tapestries, wallpaper, wall-paintings, rich fabrics and rugs made for an overwhelmingly rich interior in the English Baroque style (Hussey, 1955; Jerrold, 1983; Stutchbury, 1967; Wilson, 1977).



Plate 157 Green velvet bedchamber by Kent.



Plate 158. Mahogany stairwell with murals by Kent, Roman bronze copy of Greek Gladiator.

Owner

Sir Robert Walpole was typical of the politically successful elite of eighteenth century England. His family had lived at Houghton from about the twelfth century. There is a village in the fenlands called Walpole from which their name derived. Sir Edward Walpole,



Plate 159 Sir Robert Walpole.

K.B., was a distinguished member of parliament at the time of the Restoration. His son, Robert, died in 1700 leaving three sons: Sir Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford, the great Prime Minister; Horatio, a diplomat and one time Ambassador in Paris, who was raised to the peerage as Baron Walpole of Wolterton; and Gulfredus, a naval officer. Sir Robert had three sons, Robert who became the second Earl of Orford; Edward who died unmarried; and Horace, who was the scholar, diarist and the builder of another significant house, Strawberry Hill. There were two daughters, the oldest being Mary, Viscountess Malpas. Her son, the third Earl of Orford inherited Houghton from his father and the property fell into disarray,

The outstanding collection of paintings assembled by Sir Robert was sold to Catherine the Great of Russia. Horace then inherited the property but was too old to move and was comfortable at his own home, Strawberry Hill. Houghton then passed to the fourth Earl of Cholmondeley who subsequently became the Marquess of Cholmondeley. It remains in the Cholmondeley family being currently inhabited by the 93 year old mother of the sixth Earl who is Lord Great Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth II.

Sir Robert Walpole was the First Lord of the Treasury during the reigns of George I and George II.

In 1742 he was created Earl of Orford, having refused a peerage earlier so that he could remain in the House of Commons. He

was the first head of state to be called Prime Minister, and held this office for longer than any other statesman. He brought peace and prosperity to his country by skilful diplomacy and sound management. He was a man of great force of character and monumental industry, and his insight into human beings was profound. He devoted his great energies to creating a secure and stable government. Sir Robert has often been regarded as a bluff, down-to-earth Norfolk squire, but in fact he was a man of great culture with a passion of art and architecture. He assembled, in twenty years, the great collection of old masterpieces which now form the core of the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, for they were sold by his impecunious grandson to the Empress Catherine the Great of Russia, but many remain at Houghton. He gave the same personal attention to the building and furnishing of his house as he did to the purchase of his pictures, and, indeed, the house reflects the man. A

strong, powerful building, extremely functional for its time, yet every vista, every room, every chimneypiece and doorcase a delight to the eye. Rarely have strength and beauty been so nobly combined (Jarrold, 1983, p.1).



Plate 160 The new village seen from inside the main gate.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

Change is an interesting phenomenon which takes place in all facets of life. The houses we live in are a reflection of the attitudes of society. The purpose of this study was to determine the changes in architecture and social life of English manor houses during the thirteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. A general survey was made of houses and social life during those three time periods as well as a study of three specific houses.

The comparison of social life involved business, entertainment, travel, education, food, clothing and religion. The architectural comparison considered the style, plan and its components, materials, cost, craftsmen, artisans, laborers, landscape, sanitation, water supply, architect, furnishings and the owner.

The methodology involved the use of library resources and letters to the houses and record offices where the specific houses exist. On-site observation of each house and conversation with the residents provided pertinent information. Photographs were taken at each house.

The results are shown graphically in Table I. The symbols indicate the degree of importance of each category of a particular time period, i.e., the "+" indicates very important, the "0" indicates medium important and the "-" not important.

Discussion of the Results

Social Life

The social life changed with the progression of time. As the

pervading influence of the church diminished, people were better able to develop their individual thoughts, abilities and talents and acquired new-found economic affluence with which to execute their new ideas. Hengrave Hall and similar houses of the Tudor period, or sixteenth century, allowed the owners and their families the pleasure of live-in musicians and artists. Great parties or congresses were held in the eighteenth century in houses as they were in Houghton Hall, where private rooms accommodated guests for weeks. This arrangement would not have been possible in a thirteenth century medieval house like Little Wenham Hall, where guests who stayed for an extended period of time were not afforded their own quarters since there were none.

Business fortunes made in the thirteenth century were restricted to a few, primarily in the wool and shipping trade. The nobility, including knights and those on dole from the king, formed another group of affluent and elite individuals. The sixteenth century provided an arena for making fortunes in the wool, cloth and shipping industry and agriculture made progress toward being a profitable endeavor. By the eighteenth century the wealthy elite still existed but there arose a rapidly expanding, wealthy middle class consisting of astute businessmen who capitalized on the beginnings of the industrial revolution in ore and manufacturing. Politics became more important than previous centuries as a means of accumulating wealth. Agriculture in the eighteenth century became quite

sophisticated allowing those with vast acreages to turn a profit. Their affluence allowed them to indulge in entertainment and interests not possible or available in the thirteenth or sixteenth centuries.

Entertainment, as other aspects of social life, became more indulgent with time. The thirteenth century individual enjoyed hunting, fishing, hawking, music, dancing and the activities of the church, where the major part of his social life existed. The music of the thirteenth century was primarily religious. The sixteenth century, under the influence of Henry VIII, saw an escalation in the enjoyment of music and continued participation in hunting, fishing and hawking. The eighteenth century was known for elaborate masques and parties. The stage play formed an important part of entertainment. Reading, with more literacy and books available, became an important pastime and music, as always, was enjoyed.

Travel in the thirteenth century was local due to the few poor roads and the limitation to horses. Boat travel was very limited and was restricted to few who ventured to the Continent. The sixteenth century saw an expanded fleet of ships and adventures to the New World, but for most individuals local travel remained primitive, difficult and slow. Travel to the far corners of the world became feasible and investment in New World schemes were popular in the eighteenth century. The world had expanded for its inhabitants, and there were those who took advantage of it.

In the thirteenth century education was controlled by the church, was narrow in scope of curriculum and available to only a few. The sixteenth century under Henry VIII and Elizabeth I saw education encouraged, still primarily ecclesiastically oriented and made available to many. It expanded to include more than the medieval curriculum of Latin and religious subjects. By the end of the eighteenth century the study of law, medicine and business became an important aspect of life. For those of affluence, whether old or new wealth, education was imperative and had lost its religious overtones.

Compared to the thirteenth century, basic foods of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries changed little. Grains, dairy products, herbs, vegetables and fruits formed the foundation for all three centuries. However, the addition of variety by way of imports and the introduction of new crops in the local agriculture in the sixteenth and even more so in the eighteenth centuries, provided choices not known in the medieval days of the thirteenth century. In accordance with affluence, exotic food and drink made its way to eighteenth century tables in quantity as well as quality, and extravagance was in vogue.

The clothing changed in accordance with the individuality and extravagance of the times. From very mundane, practical fabrics and styles of the thirteenth century, the sixteenth century saw elegance and a competitive fashionableness. The high style of the eighteenth century incorporated the exotic imported fabrics from the far reaches

of the world.

Religion changed more than most aspects of social life, from the very strict Catholicism of the thirteenth century, under the power of the Pope, to the individualism of the Protestants started under Henry VIII of the sixteenth century and continued on under Elizabeth and further into the eighteenth century. As time progressed religion diminished as an all-consuming aspect of life for most people. The thirteenth century person was constantly reminded of his God and church by the frequent ringing of church bells, the high steeple of the village church and daily prayers. The sixteenth century individual in England found himself confronted with the abolishment of his centuries-old religion and the forced adoption of Protestantism. Some went along with the new regime, others secretly maintained their Catholicism. The Eighteenth century individual was freer to make choices of his own without the constant reminder of his destiny.

The Manor

Plan.The English manor evolved from a medieval fortress into a great business machine. It became a showplace from which the lord, or squire, made his bid for power in the business and political world. The plan of the house changed considerably from the thirteenth to the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. A large thirteenth century medieval house had few rooms, all open and accessible by going from one to another. Privacy was an unimportant and nonexistent commodity. The Tudor house improved on the situation with many

rooms for specific functions, and the eighteenth century house offered complete private apartments for its owner and guests augmenting the separation of the classes and the individuals within one class.

Doors in thirteenth century houses formed defensive barriers. There were few of them with the entrance and chapel doors the most elaborate and important. Interior doors were used more extensively in the sixteenth century a time when the entrance became a decorative element of the house. The eighteenth century saw both interior and exterior doors become works of art with exotic woods, gilt, sculptures and carved moldings.

Windows and doors in medieval houses, by necessity were small and part of the defensive scheme. They were often elaborate stone-framed traceried windows which became simplified with time. Sixteenth century Tudor houses saw an expanded number of windows and use of glass. The need for defense diminished and glass became less expensive than two hundred years earlier, but it remained a luxury. Eighteenth century Georgian houses used the now less expensive glass extensively until whole walls were opened up to let in the light.

Floors were a major change from the rush-strewn, dirty floors of the thirteenth century to beautifully inlaid wood, marble and stone floors of the eighteenth century Palladian mansions which were fastidiously maintained. Sixteenth century Tudor houses varied in floor treatment with remnants of the medieval untidiness along with

well maintained wood, tile and stone floors. Cleanliness was more of an issue in the eighteenth century though knowledge of healthy environments remained illusive. The preservation of elegant wood and marble floors demanded care which in turn resulted in more sanitary conditions.

The great wood hammer-beam roofs of thirteenth century medieval days remained in use throughout the sixteenth century Tudor period. These gave way to the fashion of the wealthy to install ornate plaster ceilings of the Georgian period which were painted, gilded and carved. Coffered ceilings of wood, also popular in the sixteenth century, were transposed into plaster, although wood was also used on occasion for ornately carved coffered ceilings of the eighteenth century Palladian houses.

The walls changed from rough plaster or stone of thirteenth century medieval times to elegantly carved panels of the sixteenth century and carved plaster, hand painted wallpaper and panelling of the eighteenth century. More elaborate design was incorporated in the walls of the later houses as well as more paintings, tapestries and ornamentation.

Kitchens became larger and more sophisticated as time progressed. Thirteenth century kitchens, or cooking facilities, were separate buildings with much being done over outside fires and in ovens constructed separately from the food preparation area. Cooking continued to be done in open hearths although stoves of primitive

nature were beginning to be used by the late sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, their location remained far from the dining room, as at Houghton. Often they were in a separate wing or in the undercroft, always assuring cold food.

Chapels were no longer important rooms in eighteenth century houses as they had been in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The early sixteenth century Tudor houses incorporated an elaborate chapel into each plan as did the large thirteenth century houses. In many of the eighteenth century houses a chapel is not included within the house in consistence with the lessening of importance of the church.

Solars in thirteenth century houses formed a multi-purpose room where the family of the owner spent time, slept and held meetings. They were replaced by the sixteenth century with specific rooms which served the individual functions the solar had performed. The great chamber, or bedroom, became the private room of the squire. In both sixteenth and eighteenth century houses there were sitting and meeting rooms, business and social rooms, all functions the solar had performed in a medieval house.

Fireplaces became numerous with time. The thirteenth century medieval house often had only one in the great hall. Sixteenth century houses had more but remained simple in design. The eighteenth century Palladian houses usually had a fireplace or heating device in each room which were artistic productions with sculpture, carvings,

paintings, gilt and general extravagance.

Staircases changed from the narrow, defensible turnpike stairs of a thirteenth century medieval house to the wider, more elaborate wood stairways of a Tudor house. By the eighteenth century the main staircase was a stage setting for the grand ascension to the main floor by the owners and guests. The back stairs for the servants remained simple and functional.

Cost. The cost of the houses escalated in accordance with the grandeur of the house. The artists and specialists, ostentation and grandeur of the eighteenth century Palladian mansion naturally cost more in comparison than the mason-built house of the thirteenth century or the sixteenth century Tudor mansions, but all manor houses were costly and took unusual wealth to build.

Materials. Many of the materials remained the same. The manipulation of them changed to reflect the status of the owner. The early thirteenth century fortress house was usually built of indigenous stone. The difference of the stone houses of the eighteenth century was in the refinement of finish, style and size, and lack of fortification. People were more refined and demanded refinement in their houses. The early thirteenth century houses were crude, the later ones finished finely and expertly. The sixteenth century Tudor period was characterized by the extensive use of brick, often combined with stone. Henry VIII used brick to build Nonsuch Palace, and Cardinal Wolsey built Hampton Court of brick which established a

fashion for brick building in England. Stone became the fashion in the eighteenth century since it commanded presence by its appearance and status because of its expense. Brick, still used in the eighteenth century, was a less expensive building material. Wood was used in all periods, becoming more elaborately and expertly carved as time progressed. Finer, harder, more precious woods, such as mahogany, were in demand in the eighteenth century and were another indication of the wealth of the owner. Plaster was also used throughout the five hundred years, but became finer and more a decorative element in the eighteenth century when it was elaborately carved by foreign artists or cast and gilded by local artisans.

Craftsmen, Artisans and Laborers. A great change in the craftsmen and artisans took place. From a few specialized skills in the thirteenth century there evolved quantities of capable artists, craftsmen and architects in the sixteenth century and even more in the eighteenth century. The refinement of the houses with the progression of time demanded trained mechanics to execute the plans drawn by astute architects and to finish and furnish them in the style demanded by the status of the owners. The common laborer was recruited from the unskilled population.

Although there were improvements, the advancement in tools was not as dramatic as the abilities of the workers. They were possibly used with greater skill and to better advantage in the eighteenth century compared to the thirteenth.

Wages were commensurate with the economy and the ability of the workers. The general condition of common laborers was better in the eighteenth century in that they could learn a skill without the restrictions of the guilds which controlled the numbers and types of apprenticeships. They could increase their earnings and improve their level of living. The construction of a Palladian house brought greater prosperity to the area of its location by providing additional work for the local population. Additional farmed land provided by augmented agriculture in the eighteenth century provided more work.

The workers were paid wages, however large or small, in the sixteenth and eighteenth century compared to the feudal system of the thirteenth century when labor was a mandatory portion of rent.

The landscape of the great estates escalated from the walled gardens of medieval times, which consisted of native trees, herbs, roses, vegetables and shrubs, to the carefully planned vast parks of the eighteenth century. The gardens of thirteenth century medieval houses were restricted by the surrounding walls. The sixteenth century houses incorporated great gardens, often in the formal French style along with natural hunting parks. The landscape of later eighteenth century Palladian houses was less formal than their sixteenth century Tudor counterpart, the casual, but carefully planned park with its great "vista", inaugurated by Capability Brown, being the vogue. Outbuildings, pagodas, tea rooms, pavillions, rare and imported trees and plants were a part of the eighteenth century

park.

Sanitation made slow progress. The innovations of individuals to improve water closets were not adopted by many and the inside privies continued to cause unwelcome odors. Outdoor privies in grand buildings were common on eighteenth century manors. Floors were cleaner in sixteenth and eighteenth century houses due to finer material used in the floors and a desire to maintain them. Personal hygiene was better, but rank body odors were the norm.

Water supplies improved greatly. Wells and streams which were often contaminated supplied thirteenth and sixteenth century houses. By the eighteenth century water was piped into the kitchens, closets and in some instances, dining rooms of the great houses. The fact that it was transported in pipes of lead, wood or stone and not contaminated by the waste from the house and animals made it safer and more palatable. The availability of water made cleanliness easier to achieve. There was not the aversion to bathing in the eighteenth century as there had been in the thirteenth century medieval days.

The early houses of the thirteenth century were constructed by the skilled master mason under the guidance of the owner. A great fortress told the world of the strength of its owner. Sixteenth century Tudor houses were more refined, and planning was completed by a skilled designer, often the master mason, before construction started. By the eighteenth century, the architect drew elaborate

plans according to the wishes of the owner perhaps, from a house he had seen or from one of the Dutch or German pattern books available in England.

Furnishings changed more drastically than other aspects of the manor during the five hundred years studied. Comfort, as well as improved style, was an important element of eighteenth century houses. A medieval house was sparsely furnished with few chairs, perhaps only one for the squire, and a few stools. The sixteenth century Tudor house had more furniture but it was still of wood and was sparse. Benches, stools and a few chairs accommodated occupants. Long, narrow trestle tables were used. The baroque furniture of the eighteenth century Palladian mansions offered elaborate upholstered seating for everyone as well as numerous tables on which to place things. Servants quarters were furnished more in keeping with the medieval style of sparseness and simplicity.

Owner. The owner-builders of the large houses of each period had in common the means - the great wealth - to build their houses. The difference was in the sources of their wealth. The early thirteenth century owner was perhaps a knight or nobleman honored by a gift from the king who owned most of the land, or he was from an old, wealthy, aristocratic family. The wealthy heirarchy of the medieval church also built great houses. By the sixteenth century the employment of fighting knights was no longer an income potential. There were, however, numerous wealthy men; those who had earned

great fortunes as merchantmen in the wool, cloth and shipping trade and the older, wealthy aristocratic families. The eighteenth century found more new wealth from business enterprises in industry and new foreign markets which allowed construction of grand houses from which to tout success. Wealth in some older aristocratic families diminished making it difficult for many of them to maintain their estates. Marriage of older aristocratic families into wealthy merchant families often saved the family lands. Stone (1984) indicates in his study that this was the manner in which a new elite arose in England. He disputes the assumption that the new rich became part of the aristocracy by ascension through the social stratas. It was only by marriage that aristocratic social status was gained. The new elite competed with the old noble families for power and position. It was the stature of their houses that stated their situation.

It is obvious from the accumulated information spanning the six hundred years that men became more materialistic, greedy, power hungry, self-centered and cunning. At the same time they became well educated, ambitious because it fostered success, innovative, individualistic in thoughts and material choices, worldly, and in some ways more concerned with their fellow men, even though the separation of classes became greater.

Research Potential

This study of architecture and social life in English manor houses

has brought together information that can be used to give new insights, for instance the marriage of aristocratic families with the new wealthy gentry which formed what Stone (1984) termed the open elite or the study of factors affecting the length of survival of a manor house might be of interest, where marriage would be one important factor.

The increase or diminution of brick as a building material within the confines of England or the whole world poses intriguing questions; such as, who used them and how they were used; who made them and how they were made; how their use was tied to fashion, cost, preference of architects, etc?

The increase in economic affluence affected social conditions which gave people increasing opportunities to develop tastes, styles and attitudes. Larger houses with private quarters caused a greater separation of social classes within the houses. The socio-psychological aspects changed regarding the relationships of household members to spacial planning and its effect on attitudes, such as happiness versus loneliness. An exploration of the concept of loneliness, i.e., when it was articulated, its tie to architectural planning and social life could be explored in the literature of the times.

This study takes a broad view of the many aspects of Manor house life over a six century period. However, any one of the aspects reviewed here could be pursued in depth in terms of its transformation over time and related causal factors.

Table I

Summary of Major Changes in Social Life and Manor Houses
Across Six Centuries

Important +

Medium Important 0

Not Important -

	Little Wenham 13c	Hengrave 16c	Houghton 18c
<u>SOCIAL LIFE</u>			
<u>Business</u>	<u>knight</u>	- <u>cloth, agric.</u>	+ <u>politics, trade</u> +
<u>Entertainment</u>	<u>elementary</u>	0 <u>music, plays</u>	+ <u>sophisticated</u> +
<u>Travel</u>	<u>local</u>	- <u>Continent</u>	0 <u>World</u> +
<u>Education</u>	<u>limited-relig.</u>	- <u>available</u>	0 <u>necessary</u> +
<u>Food</u>	<u>simple</u>	0 <u>elaborate</u>	+ <u>great variety</u> +
<u>Clothing</u>	<u>simple</u>	- <u>elaborate</u>	+ <u>elegant</u> +
<u>Religion</u>	<u>demanding</u>	+ <u>choice</u>	+ <u>less important</u> 0
<u>THE MANOR</u>	<u>simple</u>	<u>complex</u>	<u>complex</u>
<u>Plan</u>	<u>small</u>	- <u>extensive</u>	+ <u>apartments</u> +
<u>Doors</u>	<u>few-defens.</u>	0 <u>functional</u>	0 <u>ornate</u> +
<u>Windows</u>	<u>small-tracery</u>	- <u>many-elab.</u>	0 <u>many-sash</u> +
<u>Floors</u>	<u>unkept</u>	0 <u>stone, tile, wd.</u>	0 <u>elegant</u> +
<u>Ceilings</u>	<u>wood, ham, bm.</u>	- <u>coffered, plain</u>	0+ <u>elaborate</u> +
<u>Walls</u>	<u>simple</u>	- <u>panelled</u>	0 <u>elaborate</u> +
<u>Kitchen</u>	<u>detached</u>	+ <u>large, in house</u>	+ <u>large, in wing</u> -0
<u>Chapel</u>	<u>small, import.</u>	+ <u>med. elaborate</u>	- <u>often none</u> -
<u>Solar</u>	<u>great chamb.</u>	0 <u>none</u>	+ <u>none</u> +
<u>Fireplace</u>	<u>one, simple</u>	- <u>many, simple</u>	0 <u>many, elaborate</u> +
<u>Staircases</u>	<u>pragmatic</u>	+ <u>wider, wood</u>	+ <u>elaborate</u> +
<u>Cost</u>	<u>expensive</u>	<u>expensive</u>	<u>expensive</u>
<u>Materials</u>	<u>indigenous</u>	0 <u>selection</u>	+ <u>world selection</u> +
<u>Wood</u>	<u>doors, ceilings</u>	+ <u>extensive use</u>	0+ <u>doors, panelling</u> +
<u>Stone</u>	<u>framing</u>	+ <u>with brick</u>	+ <u>main material</u> 0
<u>Brick</u>	<u>primary</u>	0 <u>primary</u>	- <u>filler, stables</u> -
<u>Flint</u>	<u>facing</u>	0 <u>none</u>	0 <u>none</u> +
<u>Plaster</u>	<u>plain</u>	+ <u>some carved</u>	+ <u>elaborate, gilt</u> +

<u>Craftsmen</u>	<u>fundamental</u>	+	<u>skilled</u>	+	<u>more skilled</u>	+
<u>Artists</u>	<u>limited</u>	-	<u>used</u>	0	<u>used extensively</u>	+
<u>Tools</u>	<u>used</u>	+	<u>used</u>	+	<u>used</u>	+
<u>Wages</u>	<u>minimal</u>	-	<u>Increase</u>	0	<u>incr. with skill</u>	+
<u>Landscape</u>	<u>natural</u>	-	<u>formal</u>	0+	<u>planned parks</u>	0
<u>Sanitation</u>	<u>primitive</u>	-	<u>primitive</u>	0	<u>w.c., privies</u>	+
<u>Water Supply</u>	<u>well</u>	-	<u>well</u>	0+	<u>piped</u>	+
<u>Architect</u>	<u>mason</u>	-	<u>skilled mason</u>	0	<u>architect</u>	+
<u>Furnishings</u>	<u>sparse</u>	-	<u>basic</u>	0	<u>elaborate</u>	+
<u>Owner</u>	<u>knight, gift</u>	+	<u>merchant</u>	+	<u>politician</u>	
<u>Wealth</u>	<u>dole by king</u>		<u>self-made</u>		<u>self-made</u>	
<u>Position</u>	<u>knight</u>		<u>merchant</u>		<u>prime-minister</u>	

GLOSSARY

- Advowson - the right of presenting to a vacant benefice or living in the church.
- Agrarian - relating to agriculture; farming; land or its ownership.
- Aristocracy - the nobles or chief persons in a state; a privileged class or patrician order. Those who are regarded as superior to the rest of the community, as in rank, fortune or intellect.
- Arris - a sharp edge formed by the meeting of two surfaces.
- Battlemented - the solid upright parts and open spaces of a parapet in ancient fortifications. At first purely a military feature, afterwards copied for decorative purposes.
- Buttery - part of the manor house used for dairy products, storage, various household tasks.
- Cames - the metal, usually copper or lead, used to join pieces of stained glass windows.
- Carucate - the amount of land one team can plow in a year and a day.
- Chamfered - the diagonal cutting off of a point formed by two surfaces meeting at an angle.
- Cinquefoil - In tracery an arrangement of five foils or openings, terminating in cusps.
- Cistern - receptacle for storing water, usually a large tank.
- Coif - a close fitting hat covering the sides of the head.
- Corbel - a block of stone, often elaborately carved or moulded, projecting from a wall, supporting the beams of a roof, floor, vault or other feature
- Crenellations - an opening in the upper part of a parapet.

- Cusp - the point formed by the intersection of the foils in Gothic tracery.
- Dais - the raised portion at one end of the great hall of a manor house.
- Elite - a choice or select body as the successful individuals of England.
- Esquire - a title below knight but above gentlemen; originally a shield-bearer or attendant on a knight; land holder.
- Garderobe - privy, toilet
- Gentleman - a man well born; one of good family; one above the condition of a yeoman.
- Gentry - in England, those of education and good breeding between the nobility and the yeomanry.
- Grisaille - decorative painting in tones of gray; used for walls and glass during English Renaissance.
- Ha-ha - a sunk fence; a fence, wall or ditch not visible till one is close upon it.
- Hollow-chamfered - a hollow or convex shape formed by cutting off the points of a fluted column.
- Humanism - the revival of classical letters characteristic of the Renaissance; a doctrine or way of life centered on human interests or values.
- Jamb-shafts - the sides of doors or windows in the form of shafts or columns. Sometimes found in the center of windows as a division.
- Keel moulding - a moulding like the keel of a ship formed of two ogee curves meeting in a sharp arris or point.
- Knapped flint - a traditional East-Anglian craft of splitting flints, so

that they present a smooth black surface on a wallface.

Knight - a created position by the monarch where the individual takes oath to protect the distressed, maintain the right and live a stainless life; a soldier.

Lancet - a narrow window with a sharp-pointed arch; used in early English architecture.

Laver - a washing place; a vessel for washing.

Light - window pane as in a one or two light window.

Manor - The major residence and farm of the lord or nobleman.

Merlon - the upstanding part of an embattled parapet; between two crenelles or openings.

Messuages - a dwelling house, buildings and adjacent land for use of a household.

Mid-shaft - the division in the center of a window.

Mullion - vertical members dividing windows into different numbers of lights.

Newel - the central shaft of a circular staircase or sometimes the post into which the handrail is framed.

Nobleman - one who enjoys rank above a commoner, either by virtue of birth, by office or by patent.

Ogee - a moulding or arch made up of a convex and concave curve.

Oriel - a window corbelled out from the face of a wall.

Pargeting - external ornamental plasterwork, having raised, indented or tooled patterns; used from Tudor times onward chiefly in East Anglia and the south-east of England.

Parapet - the portion of wall above the roof-gutter, sometimes battlemented; found, breast-high on bridges, platforms and balconies.

Pediment - a triangular piece of wall above the entablature, door way, window; gable.

Piscina - a stone basin in a niche near the altar, to receive the water in which the priest rinses the chalice; tank or fountain in Roman baths.

Portico - a colonnaded space forming an entrance or vestibule, with a roof supported on at least one side by columns.

Premogeniture - the custom in England of the oldest son inheriting the entire family estate.

Quatrefoil - in tracery a panel divided by cusps into four openings.

Reeve - an officer, steward, bailiff or governor - used chiefly in compounds.

Rustics - the lower, rougher portion of Renaissance buildings; roughened stone work.

Screens - a partition of enclosure of iron, stone or wood, often carved; used to separate the entrance to the great hall from the hall itself.

Solar - a sunny place or balcony. A medieval term for a private chamber on the upper floor.

Steward - originally an employee to tend the domestic animals. Later a man employed in a large family, or on a large estate, to manage domestic concerns, supervise other servants, collect the rents or income, keep accounts and the like.

String course - a moulding or projecting course running horizontally

along the face of a building.

Surcoat - a garment worn over other clothes.

Thane - a dignitary under the Anglo Saxons and Danes in England; king's thanes attended court, held land of the king; ordinary thanes were lords of manors and had jurisdiction within their holdings.

Tithe barn - a barn where taxes (usually ten percent of production) were collected in kind (i.e., with produce of crops or animals).

Tracery - the ornamental pattern work in stone filling the upper part of a Gothic window.

Transom - the horizontal divisions or cross-bars of windows.

Trefoil - three leaves or shapes used in Gothic tracery.

Turret - small tower often with stairs, found in medieval buildings.

Undercroft - in Mediaval architecture, vaulted chambers upon which the principal rooms are sometimes raised.

Wainscot - the panelling used on the lower half of a wall.

Wright - a workman; a mechanic.

Yeoman - in England is considered next in order to the gentry; a freeholder; a man free born.

Bibliography

- Abram, A. (1913). English life and manors in the later middle ages. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.
- Abramovitz, A. (1979). People and spaces. New York: The Viking Press.
- Atkinson, T.D. (1947). Local style in English architecture. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd
- Ayers, J. (1981). The shell book of the home in Britain. London: Faber and Faber.
- Bennett, H.S. (1937). Life on an English manor. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Bindoff, S.T.(1951). Tudor England. Harmondsworth, England: C. Nicholls and Company.
- Blomfield, R. (1897). A history of renaissance architecture in England, 1500, 1800. London: George Bell and Sons.
- Braudel, F. (1967). Capitalism and material life. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Braun, H. (1967). An introduction to English medieval architecture. New York: Frederick a Praeger.
- Briggs, A. (1983). A social history of England. New York: The Viking Press.
- Brooke, I. and Laver, J. (1937). English costume from the fourteenth through the nineteenth century. New York: The MacMillan Company.
- Clifton-Taylor, A. (1962). The pattern of English building.

London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd.

Cook, O. (1974). The English country house. London: Thames and Hudson Limited.

Ditchfield, P.H. (1985). The manor houses of England. London: Bracken Books.

Dutton, R. (1962). The English country house. London: B.T. Batsford.

Elton, G.R. (1969). England, 1200-1640. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Evans, J, ed.. (1966). The flowering of the middle ages. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Fletcher, B. (1961). A History of architecture on the comparative method. New York: Scribners Sons.

Gage, J. (1838). The history and antiquities of Suffolk. London: Samuel Bentley.

Girouard, M. (1978). Life in the English country house. Harmondsworth, England: Yale University Press and Penguin Books.

Godfrey, W.H. (1928). The story of architecture in England. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers.

Gotch, J.A. (1918). The English home from George I to George IV. London: B.T. Batsford.

Hammond, M. (1981). Bricks and brickmaking. Aylesbury, England: Shire Publications Ltd.

Harrison, F. (1947). Medieval Man and his notions.

London: John Murray.

Hart, R. (1972). English life in the eighteenth century.
London: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Hoar, R. (1963). An introduction to English architecture.
London: Evans Brothers, Ltd.

Hodges, C.W. (1979) The battlement garden. New York:
Houghton Mifflin/Clarion Books.

Hussey, C. (1955). English country houses, early
Georgian, 1717-1760. London: Country Life Limited.

Isaac, R. (1982). The transformation of Virginia. Chapel
Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina
Press.

Ison, L. and Ison W. (1966). English architecture through the
ages. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc.

Jordan, F. (1969). A concise history of western
architecture. London: Thames and Hudson Limited.

Kidson P. and Murray P. (1963). A history of English
architecture. New York: Arco Publishing Co., Inc.

King, E. (1979). England 1175-1425. New York:
Charles Scribner's Sons.

Kirchner, W. (1968). Middle ages. New York: Barnes and
Noble, Inc.

Laslett, P. (1965). The world we have lost, England
before the industrial revolution.

Lloyd, N. (1925). A history of English brickwork.

London: H.Greville Montgomery.

Lloyd, N. (1931). A history of the English house.
London: The Architectural Press.

Mee, A. (1941). Arthur Mee's Suffolk. London: Hodder and
Stroughton.

Macfarlane, A. (1978). The origins of English individualism,
the family, property and social transition. New York:
Cambridge University Press.

Mc Laughlin, T. (1923). Dirt. New York: Stien and Day.

Myers, A. R. (1952). England in the late middle ages
(1307-1536). Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.

Oates, P. (1981). The story of western furniture. New York:
Harper and Row.

Platt, C. (1978). Medieval England. Longon: Routledge and
Kegan Paul.

Plumb, J.H. (1950). England in the eighteenth century-
1714-1815. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books.

Plumb, J.H. (1961). Sir Robert Walpole, the king's minister.
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Porter, R. (1982). English society in the eighteenth
century. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.

Roberts, C and Roberts, D. (1980). A history of
England, prehistory to 1714. Englewood Cliffs, New
Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

- Rohde, E. S. (1922). The old English herbals. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Saville M. and Wax D. (1973). A history of colonial America. Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden Press.
- Sitwell, S. (1960). British architects and craftsmen. London: Pan Books LTD.
- Smith, A.G. R. (1984). The emergence of a nation state. New York: Longman.
- Sparrow, W.S. (1909) The English house. New York: John Lane Company
- Stenton, D. M. (1951). English society in the early middle ages (1066-1307). Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Stone, L. (1977). The family, sex and marriage in England 1500-1800. New York: Harper Colophon Books.
- Stone, L. and Stone, J.C.F.(1984). An open elite? England 1540-1880. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Stutchbury, H. E. (1967). The architecture of Colen Campbell. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press.
- Watkin, D. (1979). English architecture. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Webling, A.F. (1945). Risby. Leicester, England: Edmund Ward.
- West, T.W. (1963). A history of architecture in England. New York: David McKay Company, Inc.

Wilkinson, B. (1969). The later middle ages in England, 1216-1485. London: Longman Group Limited.

Wilson, Michael I. (1977). The English country house and its furnishings. London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd..

Winslow, C.E.A., (1923) The evolution and significance of modern public health campaign. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Winslow, C.E.A. (1952). Man and epidemics. Princeton, New Jersey: Phoenix House.

Wood, M. (1965). The English mediaeval house. London: Phoenix House.

Primary Printed Sources:

Deputy Keeper of the Records. Vol. II. (1894). A descriptive catalogue of ancient deeds. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Lemon, R. ed. (1870). Calendar of state papers domestic, vol.6. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, Green.

Nichols, J. (1823). The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth. London: John Nichols and Son.

Sharp, J.E.E.S. ed. (1906). Calendar of inquisitions post mortem. London: Public Record Office.

Primary Sources:

Cholmondeley Records. (1739) Houghton Hall. Ms. Account Book 35/1. Cambridge University Library.

The Manor of Hengrave. (1527-9) Original building records. Ms. 80,
82. Cambridge University Library.

On-site observation.

Photos. Harold V. Hagerty, Dorothy D. Hagerty

Post cards. Highlight International Films Ltd., Printed by King's Lynn Press Limited.

APPENDICES

Appendix A
Hengrave Hall



 Item bought of Henry Clark of Stone
 Cantiffe for the sum of brick at 2 peny & 4 d.
 by C paid to me before the gauge in money 100 s.



 In totalis of all
 this costis of this
 present yere of o' lorde
 god an' is z > as apeth
 before W'righten S'm.





Wode for the Kilne

Item paid to Roger Burne for w^o of w^o }
 wode at 11 s 11 d t^o & 6 s 11 d of } my to my s^o 11
 Item paid to John Dunfry for w^o of wode }
 at 11 s 11 d t^o & 6 s 11 d in all } 11 s 11 d
 Item paid to Thomas Phismer for a q^o of grett wode }
 Item paid to John Dreyne for w^o of wode }
 at 11 s 11 d t^o & 6 s 11 d in all } 11 s 11 d
 Item paid to John Dinet of Scheworte for my w^o of }
 wode at 11 s 11 d t^o & 6 s 11 d } 11 s 11 d
 Item paid to John Dole of Carston for w^o of wode }
 at 11 s 11 d t^o & 6 s 11 d in all } 11 s 11 d
 Item paid to Thomas Doneyar for w^o of wode }
 6 s 11 d } 6 s 11 d

Item tot^o paid for w^o }
 wode for the kilne } 11 s 11 d

Bryck and bryckemakers

Item paid to William Byll for casting of w^o }
 for t^o brick 6 s 11 d } 6 s 11 d
 Item paid to William Gill in fevrecill at 11 }
 poundes t^omes for making of brick } 11 s 11 d
 Item paid to Gm in March at my t^omes }
 Item paid to Gm in April at my poundes t^omes }
 Item paid to Gm in May at 11 t^omes }
 Item paid to Gm in Junij at my poundes t^omes }
 Item paid to Gm in July at 11 t^omes }
 Item paid to Gm in August at 11 t^omes }
 Item paid to Gm in September at 11 t^omes }
 Item paid to Gm in October at my t^omes }
 11 s 11 d }

Olus Sequit^r.

Wode for the kilne
 Bryck and bryckemakers

Smythe

Item paid to Richard D'Almeida the 7th day of May
for James Bourch's Rent at divers times ———— 2/8

Item paid to him the 7th day of November
in part payment of a more sum for James ———— 1/8

Item paid to Thomas Talbot for a lock my
piece of gemmettes & 7th for James for 3 brassing of my
table in the gallery sum ————

sum ———— xxvii s vi d

Sum to be paid to
the Smythe ———— xxvii s vi d

Ordinary costs

Item paid for the board of of the duration
of the brick in May & and drunk for 120/8
to Wood street sum ————

Item paid to Walter Fletcher in part payment
for making of the dogs ———— 1/8

Item paid to the bailiff of the ground for
the fyre of the 2 John Moss's land ———— 1/8

Item paid to him for the fyre of the girdle — 1/2

Item paid to the bailiff for the fyre of fyre
of Richard Moss's 2nd house at Allington. 1/2

sum ———— xxviii s viii d

Sum to be paid for
ordinary costs ———— xxviii s viii d

Smythe

Ordinary costs

Carvears

Item paid to John Gull for setting of wood
 rods of timber at my & the lode ...
 Item paid to John Gull for wood darts ...
 Item paid to John Gull for setting of wood
 of plank boards at my & the lode ...

Sum to be paid to
 the Carvears. } m li xij s m d

Carpenters

Item paid to John Nettmay for planting
 of the stable in chambers & the haystacks ...

Sum to be paid to
 the Carpenters } m li s m d

Lumber and Board

Item paid to William Diamond of Watford for
 rods of boards ...
 Item paid to Diamond for the sparre & the copill ...
 Item paid to William Diamond for the lode of lats:
 one of sappe lats: & one of gatte lats: ...
 Item paid to John Watfey for my & the lode of boards ...
 Item paid to John Nettmay for the rods of timber ...
 Item paid to Robert Garpe for my bones: of lats: ...
 Item paid to William Selby for my bones: of lats: ...
 Item paid to Walter Mayo for the rods of timber ...
 Item paid to Thomas Giff for my & the lode
 for of galff yung: boards ...

Plus sequit

Carvears
 Carpenters
 Lumber and bord

Item paid to Willm Cole for pay direct to w^{ch} sit carth 777/1/8
 Item paid to him for carriage of 200 lb of bricks - 7/8
 Item paid to him for 200 lb of sand - 4/8
 Item paid to him for 200 lb of gravel - 7/8
 Item paid to Willm Cole for carriage - 777/1/8
 Item paid to Willm Vombellott for pay direct to w^{ch} sit carth 777/1/8
 Item paid to Willm Church for 200 lb of gravel - 7/8
 Item paid to John Sady for 200 lb of sand - 4/8
 Item paid to John Sady for carriage of gravel for 200 lb - 7/8
 Item paid to John Sady for carriage of gravel for 200 lb - 7/8

Sum to be paid for
 Carriage - 777/1/8

Plommer and Ledd

Item paid to Willm Borgee for my cart - 7/8
 Item paid to the Plommer for 200 lb of sand - 4/8
 Item paid to John Sponne for a pair of wheels - 7/8
 Item paid to Willm Freney for 200 lb of sand - 4/8
 Item paid to Willm Freney for 200 lb of sand - 4/8

Sum to be paid to
 the plommer - 777/1/8

Painter

Item paid to John Paynter for my cart - 7/8
 Item paid to John Paynter for 200 lb of sand - 4/8
 Item paid to him for 200 lb of gravel - 7/8
 Item paid for 200 lb of gravel - 7/8
 Item paid for 200 lb of gravel - 7/8

Sum to be paid to
 the painter - 777/1/8

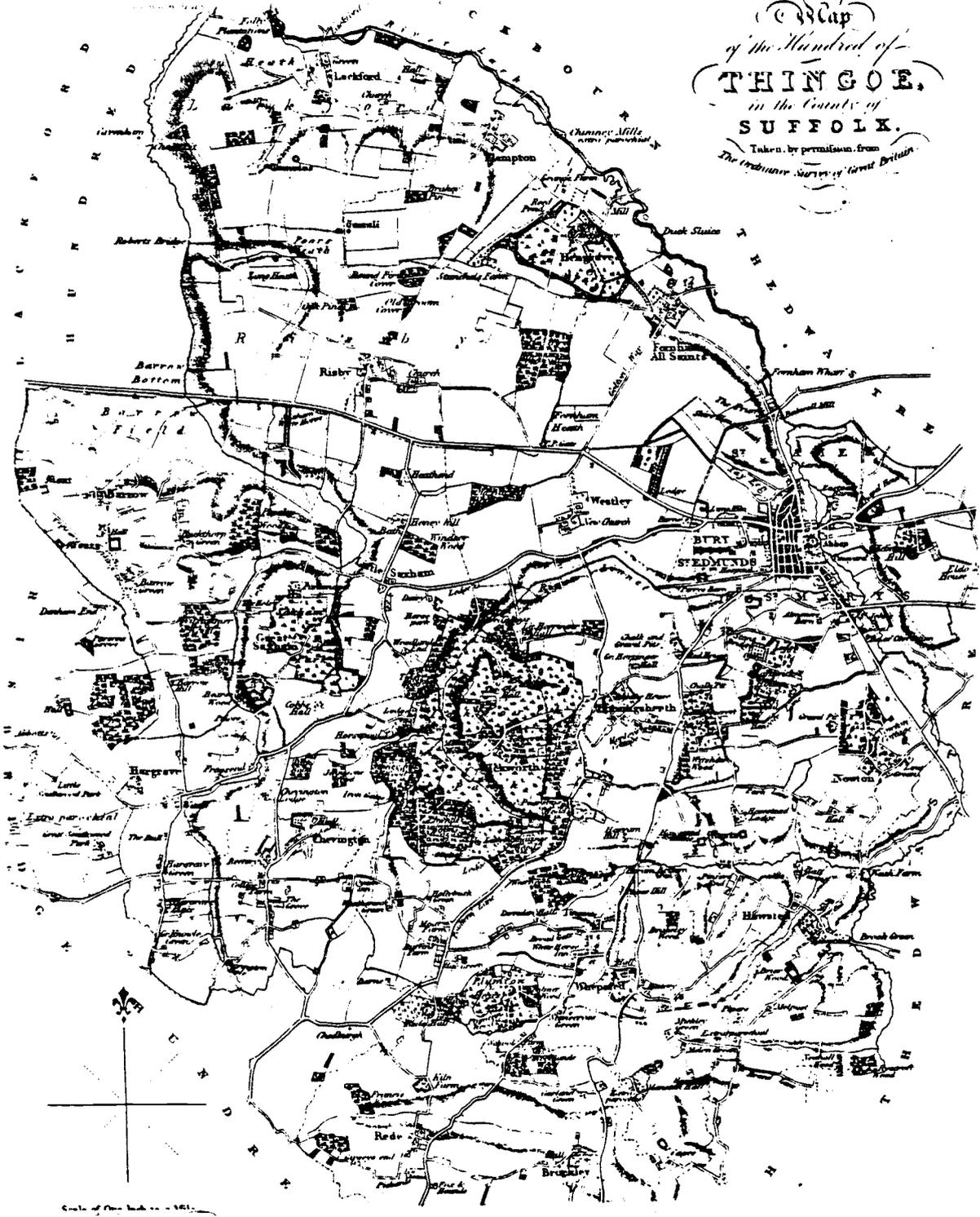
Plommer and Ledd
 Paynter

Implementte for Chambers

Item by fegerbedde / by netto c 1. old /
 Item by matter pte /
 Item by bolstare
 Item by pyllowes of downe
 Item by pyllowes of feygarde
 Item by pyllowes /
 Item by downelike bynd wth candles
 Item by daystare wth the cortynne of fye: red c green
 Item by a daystare wth the cortynne of fye: yelowe c daystare
 Item by a daystare wth the cortynne of fye: yelowe c redde
 Item by one daystare wth the cortynne of fye: conest. wth c gosselblisse col.
 Item by brusse fye c conest c 2. Tublong brusse
 Item by a grett looking glasse wth foleynge byndes
 Item by looking glasse rounde all wth yte /
 Item by looking glasse by oneword /
 Item by downelike for rounde bedde
 Item by downette for my porte table of C. in pte
 Item by my gentylls downette for cubbord
 Item by the porte downette of tuesday making
 Item by square downette of budge ptey blaw
 Item by longe downette of budge ptey y. grett c 1. small
 Item by longe downette of tuesday ptey y. grett c 1. small
 Item by grett downette of tuesday ptey, all budge ptey
 Item by gangynge of budge c bymen blaw for d. g. wth floure
 Item by fyre frame for a mans face
 Item by payre of bellows
 Item by byngendare bak. y. bak. of lath and board wth the
 Item by pyllowes bedde y. bak. of lath and board wth the
 Item by my gentylls
 Item by a fyre bedde c a byngendare

Implementte for Chambers

Map
of the Hundred of
THINGOE.
in the County of
SUFFOLK.
Taken by permission from
The Ordnance Survey of Great Britain



Scale of One Inch to a Mile

Appendix B
Houghton Hall

August 1728

to Tho. Burton for sack manifested Plasterer upon acct	05	02	00
to John Fodge & Company of Turnsey Men	14	00	00
to Will. Frye Black Smith	00	17	06
to Robt. Gardner Carpenter then Due	02	08	00
to Abraham Hack for John Jones Painter upon acct	10	10	00
to Edward Greene with River then Due	03	15	00
to Martin Seaton & Company of Labourers then Due	13	17	00
to Rich. Bacon Lawyer then Due	03	11	00
to Edward Cook Senr upon acct	02	00	00
to John Stephens Carpenter then Due	02	00	00
to Rich. Mitchellbrook Carpenter then Due	02	16	00
to John Belkinn Lawyer then Due	02	10	00
to Henry Tomerson for Chris Guss Mason upon acct	50	00	00
to James Rekinset for Freight of 10 Tuns Stone	12	16	00
to Rich. Nichol for Turnsoys & Carriages	44	07	02
to John Glendry & Company of Harvest Men	70	09	00
to John Tacker for John Lane Joiner upon acct	40	00	00
to Will. Day for James Richards Farmer upon acct	20	00	00
to Fulk Garrard Gardiner a fortnight Due then Due	12	01	09
to Joseph Haise Brickmaker upon acct	07	00	00
to Matt. Dickens Carpenter then Due	02	08	09
to James Large for Carriage then Due	04	07	03
to Edward Ketteringham for Timber from Maddingham	29	12	00
to Edward Ketteringham Carpenter for Work	08	16	02
	378	09	10
	777	19	09
The Charge	1346	09	08 1/2
The Discharge	1156	09	08 1/2
The Balance	190	00	00 1/2

Examined & allowed
 Orford
 August 31st 1743
 A. Hammond

Building records from Houghton Hall, 1728 signed by A. Hammond and Orford - Sir Robert Walpole.

		Sept ^r 1728	P ^r Contra	(A)	L	S	C
	2	To Will ^m Burge for Freight of Tals from London	P ^r Cobb		19	11	0
	3	to Will ^m Pratt Saddler seven Months Bill	P ^r D ^r		41	10	0
00		to John Eyre Esq ^r upon acct for Oak Timber			100	00	0
15	04	to Tho ^s Whaley for Wharfage of goods			02	12	0
	4	to Nat ^l Smallwood for Freight from London	P ^r D ^r		03	00	0
	6	to Chris ^t Green for Freight of Whitby Stone			12	16	0
00	00	to Will ^m Sease Bricklayer upon acct			60	00	0
		to Will ^m Sampson Knacker	P ^r Cobb		18	03	0
		to John Godnam Brickmaker upon acct	P ^r Neff		04	00	0
00	00	to Marshal Biggin for Freight of Whitby Stone			31	05	0
	9	to Henry Towerson for Christ ^s Pass Mason upon acct			100	00	0
10	00	to Alice Boston & Company of Women in Harvard	P ^r Cobb		04	19	0
	10	to Francis Brown Carter then Due	P ^r D ^r		01	13	0
		to Will ^m Thinn Carter then Due	P ^r D ^r		03	13	0
00	00	to Tho ^s Johnson Helper in Collett ^s Stable	P ^r Collett		01	13	0
74	04 1/2	to Thos ^s Haylett Helper in Jemson ^s Stable then Due	P ^r Jemson		01	01	0
		to Tho ^s Bell ^r Company of Horsem ⁿ then Due	P ^r Cobb		06	11	0
		to Will ^m Brown for carrying Water to the Brickkilns upon acct			03	00	0
		to M ^r Swanton for Thos ^s goods then Due	P ^r Wroth		23	16	0
		to Abraham Knott for John James Painter upon acct			21	00	0
		to Tho ^s Abde ^r Stone Smith then Due	P ^r Neff		04	14	0
		to Rich ^d Lockwood for mending of Kitchen sack			00	17	0
		to Mark Miselbrook Carpenter then Due			10	02	0
		to Rich ^d Dix Smith two Months Bill	P ^r Neff		12	10	0
		to James Reeves Dog man then Due	P ^r Jemson		03	12	0
		to Will ^m Day for M ^r Richard ^s Carver upon acct			10	10	0
		to John Seider Carpenter then Due	P ^r Miselbrook		04	05	0
		to Rich ^d Baily Helper in Collett ^s Stable then Due	P ^r Collett		01	13	0
		to Will ^m Garvice Lime Burner then Due	P ^r Neff		07	03	0
		to Marten Newbon & Company of Labourers then Due	P ^r D ^r		08	12	0
		to Edmund Secker Sen ^r upon acct	P ^r Neff		04	00	0
	11	to John Elgars Digger two years Bills	P ^r Cobb		44	08	0
		to John Lock Bricklayer	P ^r D ^r		12	06	0
		to Stephen Willm ^s for Old ^r then upon acct			00	00	0

July 1725 Y O n. 12 9

to Ac ^t Carter for carrying Coy to Nicholas Barn P ^r 600 ^s	04 08 00
to Henry Keye for Lay Barn floors then Due P ^r 9 ^o	07 01 00
to The Brek for carrying Water to the Brick kiln then Due P ^r 8 ^o	02 00 00
to John Potter for Brickm Land tax Due Midsummer last	02 03 00
to Jean Gardiner Carpen ^t then Due P ^r Miscbrook	01 10 00
to John Pett for Plowing in the Plantations then Due P ^r 600 ^s	07 06 00
to Edmond Scott sen ^r Carpen ^t then Due P ^r 8 ^o	03 13 00
to Edmond Scott jun ^r Carpen ^t then Due P ^r 600 ^s	00 15 00
to W ^m West for House hold expences	20 00 00
to John Staxton & Company of Labourers then Due P ^r 1 ^o	18 00 00
to Will ^m Stephens Carpen ^t then Due P ^r Miscbrook	07 13 00
to Matt ^r Vickers Carpen ^t then Due P ^r 9 ^o	04 04 00
to John Stiles Carpen ^t then Due P ^r 9 ^o	03 10 00
to Rich ^d Miscbrook Carpen ^t then Due P ^r 9 ^o	04 01 00
to Hugh Prescott Farmer then Due P ^r 8 ^o	04 06 00
to Samuel Robinson for Freight of Whilby Stone	12 01 00
to Rob ^t Burger for carriage of Stone	23 09 00
to John Stockton for Freight of Whilby Stone	21 11 00
to Tho ^s Simpson for Freight of Whilby Stone	11 00 00
to Two fatt Oxen when "You" was Down	23 00 00

184 12 06
785 16 04 1/2

The Charge _____ 2115 = 19 = 00

The Discharge _____ 970 = 08 = 11 1/2

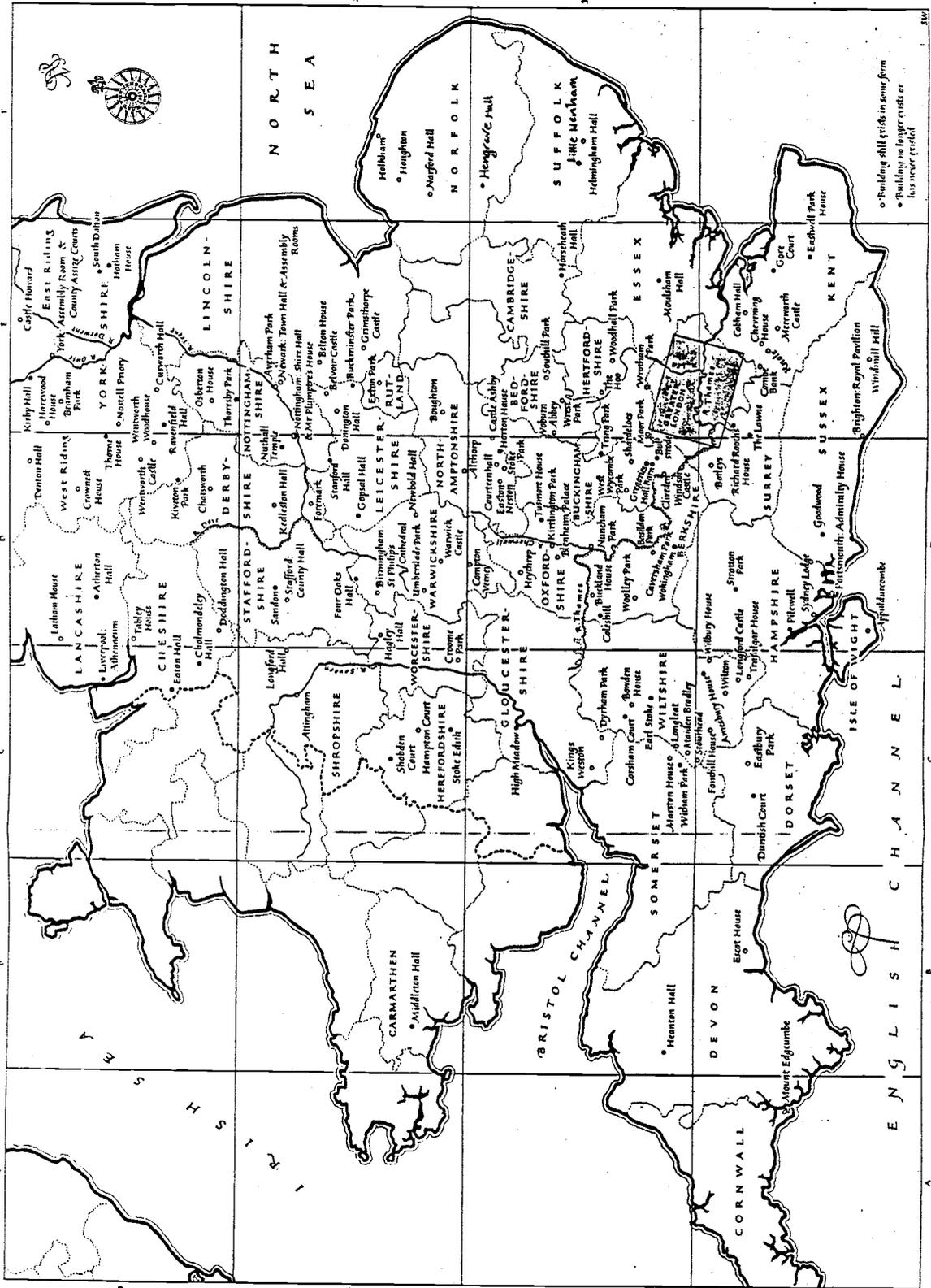
The Ballance _____ 1145 = 10 = 00 1/2

Dec. 31 1743

A. Hamond

Examined & approved

W. J. O. S.



South of England

