REPORT OF THE SUMMER MEETING OF THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AT IPSWICH, 1951

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF THE MEETING

The Summer Meeting of the Institute in 1951 was held at Ipswich from Monday, 16th July, to Friday, 20th July, in association with the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, the Ipswich Historical Society, and the Ipswich and District Natural History Society. The Officers and Council of the Institute wish to record their thanks to all who collaborated in the Meeting, and especially to the members of the Local Committee, namely, Mrs. M. E. Clegg, B.A., F.R.Hist.S., the Chairman, Mr. J. Chumley, Mr. Guy Maynard, F.R.A.I., Miss L. J. Redstone, M.B.E., B.A., Mr. D. Thompson, and Mr. Arthur Welford, A.R.I.B.A. A particular debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Leslie Dow, F.S.A., whose outstanding services as Hon. Secretary of the Meeting contributed so largely to its success.

The Patrons for the Meeting were the Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk (Commander the Right Hon. the Earl of Stradbroke, R.N., retd.), the Lord Bishop of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich (the Right Rev. R. Brook, D.D.), the Worshipful the Mayor of Ipswich (Alderman A. J. Colthorpe), the Most Hon. the Marquess of Bristol, M.V.O., the Right Hon. the Earl of Cranbrook, F.L.S., the late Sir John Tilley, P.C., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., the Hon. Andrew Vanneck, M.C., Mr. H. Munro Cautley, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., Mr. W. Rowley Elliston, M.A., the Rev. H. Tyrrell Green, M.A., F.S.A., the Rev. R. W. M. Lewis, M.A., F.S.A., and Mr. Charles Partridge, M.A., F.S.A.

The President of the Institute, Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., D.Litt., F.B.A., Dir.S.A., was present throughout, and there attended in all 150 persons, 83 being Members and their guests, 67 members and guests of the associated societies. The headquarters of the Meeting was at the Crown and Anchor Hotel, and the centre for information was at the Corporation Museum.

Members assembled at Christchurch Mansion and later visited buildings of interest in Ipswich. In the evening the Mayor and Mayoress of Ipswich received the company at the Town Hall. An interesting day was spent at Bury St. Edmunds visiting the Abbey and other buildings, and in the afternoon the late Sir John Tilley, President of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, welcomed members of this Institute to tea at the Athenaeum. A selection of records relating to St. Edmunds Abbey had been arranged by Miss L. J. Redstone, Archivist to the Borough, and formed a noteworthy exhibition.

The present Report of the proceedings of the Meeting follows the sequence of events given in the synopsis below published in the Programme. For ease of reference, however, descriptions of the buildings in Ipswich which were visited on Wednesday, 18th July, are here printed together with those inspected earlier in the week.

MONDAY, 16TH JULY. IPSWICH : Christchurch Mansion, Unitarian Chapel, St. Nicholas' Church, St. Mary-le-Tower Church, Pykenham's Gateway. Reception by the Worshipful the Mayor of Ipswich at the Town Hall.

TUESDAY, 17TH JULY. TOUR NORTH-EAST OF IPSWICH : Orford Church and Castle, Heveningham Hall, Framlingham Castle, Sutton Hoo.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH JULY. MORNING : IPSWICH : St. Margaret's Church, the Ancient or Sparrow House, Felaw's House, Wolsey Gateway, St. Peter's Church. AFTERNOON : TOUR NORTH-WEST OF IPSWICH : Saxtead Green Mill, Earl Stonham Church, Needham Market Church.

THURSDAY, 19TH JULY. MORNING : Ickworth House, Little Saxham Church. AFTERNOON : BURY ST. EDMUNDS : Moyse's Hall Museum, tour through the town, Unitarian Chapel, Abbey. Tea at the Athenaeum, St. Mary's Church, St. James's Church.

FRIDAY, 20TH JULY. TOUR SOUTH-WEST OF IPSWICH : Little Wenham Hall, Gifford's Hall, Lavenham Church and Guildhall, Long Melford Church.

Thanks are due to the guides and contributors, notably Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, B.A., F.S.A., Mr. H. Munro Cautley, F.S.A., Mr. J. L. Chumley, Mr. R. R. Clarke, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. Leslie Dow, F.S.A., Mr. A. R. Dufty, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., Dr. Joan Evans, D.Litt., D.Lit., V.-P.S.A., Mr. Walter H. Godfrey, C.B.E., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., Mr. H. R. Lingwood, Mr. R. W. McDowall, F.S.A., the Rev. R. W. Maitland, Mr. H. J. M. Maltby, Mr. Guy Maynard, Mr. W. M. Morfey, Mr. C. W. Phillips, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. E. A. R. Rahbula, O.B.E., M.C., A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., Miss L. J. Redstone, M.B.E., B.A., Mr. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, O.B.E., T.D., M.A., F.S.A., Mr. S. E. Rigold, Mr. J. T. Smith, B.A., Mr. S. D. T. Spittle, M.A., A.R.I.B.A., Mr. Rex Wailes, A.R.I.B.A., Mr. Geoffrey F. Webb, M.A., F.S.A., Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., D.Lit., F.B.A., Dir.S.A., Mr. A. B. Whittingham, A.R.I.B.A., Mr. H. E. Wilton, and Dr. Margaret Wood, M.A., F.S.A. The Institute is also indebted to the Lord Bishop of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich and the incumbents for permission to visit various churches ; to the late Most Hon. the Marquess of Bristol who received members at Ickworth House ; and to the Ministry of Works in respect of buildings in its ownership or guardianship. Similar thanks are also due to the proprietors and tenants of many houses and sites, namely, Mrs. J. L. Barton (Sutton Hoo) ; Major and Mrs. Trevor Binny (Little Wenham Hall) ; Mrs. C. G. Brocklebank (Gifford's Hall) ; Messrs. W. E. Harrison and Sons, Ltd. (the Ancient House, Ipswich) ; the Orford Town Trust (Orford Castle) ; Mr. L. Sullivan and the Ministry of Works (Saxtead Green Mill) ; and the Hon. Andrew Vanneck, M.C. (Heveningham Hall).

The first Annual Meeting in Suffolk was held in 1869 at Bury St. Edmunds (Report, *Arch. Journ.*, xxvi, 1869). During that Meeting a visit was paid to Ipswich, but it was not until thirty years later that the Institute met there in 1899 (Report, *Arch. Journ.*, lvi, 1899).

In conclusion the Editor wishes to record her thanks to those who have contributed to this Report and to acknowledge most gratefully the help which she has received from the Hon. Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, and from the Hon. Secretary of the Meeting.

PREFATORY NOTES ON SUFFOLK

PREHISTORIC AND ROMAN SUFFOLK

By ·R. R. CLARKE

The prehistoric monuments of Suffolk are unspectacular, consisting of numerous round barrows of no apparent distinction and a camp at Clare of uncertain date, while only the coastal fortress at Burgh Castle remains visible to represent the Roman period. Yet Suffolk has made notable contributions to British prehistory, especially in palaeolithic studies, chiefly owing to the labours of Reid Moir, to whom the archaeological collections in Ipswich Museum owe so much. Numerous finds of chipped flints regarded by many students as implements have been made beneath the Crag deposits of the Ipswich region, but these have not commanded universal assent. The best known sites are at Bramford,[1] Foxhall,[2] and Thorington Hall,[3] while a pebble industry from Darmsden has also been published.[4] At Hoxne in North Suffolk, John Frere in 1797 first recognized the great antiquity of palaeolithic implements in its lacustrine deposits, but the geology of this site requires further investigation despite several excavations for this purpose.[5] In Breckland advanced Clactonian tools have been found between two boulder clays at High Lodge, Mildenhall,[6] but the position here is also ambiguous. Upper Clactonian-Acheul flint tools have been found in a similar geological position during excavation at Elveden,[7] while a sequence of both cultures has been obtained from Barnham[8] near by. On the southern border of the county from Brundon, Sudbury, come Middle Levalloisian implements[9] probably dating from the last interglacial. From the Ipswich area[10] flint tools and even pottery have been assigned to the Upper Palaeolithic, but neither is above question, and none of the delicately worked flint blades claimed as Solutrian has been found in an undoubted Pleistocene deposit. Little attention has been given to the Mesolithic Age in the county where the only well-known site is on the borders of Lakenheath and Wangford[11] on the Breck Sands, and has yielded a rich flint industry with geometric microliths. Other flints of Mesolithic type have been noted at Bungay[12] in the Waveney Valley, at Lackford[13] in Breckland, and in the Orwell estuary,[13] but doubtless many sites await discovery.

In considering the Neolithic and subsequent cultures, the physiography of the county demands notice. Suffolk does not correspond with a natural region, for it straddles a belt of boulder clay from 15 to 30 miles in width and formerly afforested, separating the primary settlement areas of Breckland in the north-west from the East Suffolk Sandlings or Ipswich region in the south-east. Though linked by the Gipping-Lark valleys, the diverse occupation of these two areas is the key to the understanding of prehistoric Suffolk. From its geographical position Breckland received most of its seaborne invaders through the Wash and the Fenland rivers, while by land it impinges on West Norfolk and Cambridgeshire and is linked to them and to Southern England by the Icknield Way. The Ipswich Region on the other hand lay open to invaders from the continent through the estuaries of the Deben, Orwell and Stour, and by land from the Colchester area of north-east Essex. This duality is to-day reflected in the existence of two county councils

[1] *Proc. Prehist. Soc. East Anglia (P.P.S.E.A.)*, iii (1920–1), 413 ; *Ant. J.*, ix (1929), 239.

[2] *P.P.S.E.A.*, iii (1920–1), 390.

[3] *P.P.S.E.A.*, ii (1914–5), 12; iii (1920-1), 389.

[4] *P.P.S.E.A.*, ii (1915–6), 210 ; *Proc. Prehist. Soc. (P.P.S.)* i (1935), 93.

[5] *P.P.S.E.A.*, v (1926), 137 ; *P.P.S.*, vi (1940), 23.

[6] *P.P.S.E.A.*, iii (1920–1), 353 ; *P.P.S.*, iv (1938), 326.

[7] *P.P.S.*, vi (1940), 1.

[8] *P.P.S.*, iii (1937), 87 ; see also *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch. (P.S.I.A.)* xxv (1951), 207.

[9] *P.P.S.*, v (1939), 1.

[10] Kendrick and Hawkes, *Arch. in England and Wales* (1932), 35-37, with references ; *P.P.S.*, iii (1937), 438.

[11] Clark, *Mesolithic Age in Britain* (1932), 32 *et seq.*

[12] Clark, *op. cit.* (1932), 59.

[13] Unpublished in detail. Selection of finds in British Museum.

due to inadequate communications through the boulder-clay zone, and even the archaeo-logical exploration of the county has, for the same reason, been directed from the two centres of Cambridge and Ipswich.

Neither flint mines nor long barrows have been identified in Suffolk, and the remains of the Neolithic Age consist largely of prolific flint industries of Mesolithic tendencies principally in Breckland. Pottery is scarce owing to lack of exploration, but in north-west Suffolk Neolithic A ware has been recognized at Mildenhall,[1] Lakenheath,[2] and Barton Mere; Neolithic B ware at Icklingham[3] and Barnham[4] and Grooved Ware at Honington.[5] In the Ipswich Region Neolithic A and Grooved Ware have been found at Creeting St. Mary,[6] Neolithic A alone on a domestic site partly excavated at Kesteven Road, Ipswich,[7] and Neolithic B at Bramford Road, Ipswich.[8] It is with the Beaker cultures that the divergence between Breckland and the Ipswich Region becomes more marked, the former being mainly colonized by the AC group and the latter by the B group.[9] A Henge-monument has been located from the air near Stratford St. Mary.[10] Few barrows have been explored by modern technique, but one at Barton Mills[11] was completely excavated by Sir Cyril Fox and found to contain numerous cremations, while another on Martlesham Heath[12] destroyed for military purposes has also been recorded.

In the Late Bronze Age groups of invaders from the continent can be recognized in the Ipswich Region by cremations in bucket-urns arranged in urnfields, the use of all-over finger-printing decoration being a distinctive feature.[13] In Breckland, too, evidence for an intrusive element in the population can be detected at a site such as Mildenhall Fen[14] where pottery of native Middle Bronze Age tradition and ' Mildenhall Ware ' (perhaps due to belated Beaker influence) occur alongside wares allied to ' Deverel-Rimbury ' types. Lake-dwellings have also been detected at Barton Mere,[15] in Breckland, and suspected at Lound Run[16] in north-east Suffolk, but in default of modern excavation their cultural position is uncertain.

In the first phase of the Iron Age Breckland received immigrants of Rhenish origin in the 'A' stage of culture, but their known remains are not numerous. In the Ipswich area other newcomers with somewhat different equipment have been noted, and the presence of haematite ware at Darmsden[17] emphasises the southern connections of that district of Suffolk. Elsewhere in the county the other inhabited areas probably persisted in a Late Bronze Age state of culture. Iron Age ' B ' represented by chieftains and their retinue from the Marne area seems only to have affected initially the Fenland margins of Breckland, where an inhumation burial with horses at Mildenhall[18] recalls the charioteers. In the second phase of the age, the century from 50 B.C., Belgic influence from the Veru-lamium and Camulodunum areas became increasingly powerful. The Stour valley and possibly parts of south-east Suffolk were colonized shortly after the birth of Christ by the Belgae who created farms out of its waste land and left cremation cemeteries such as Boxford,[19] while beyond the actual area of colonization merchants penetrated among their less advanced neighbours. On the basis of coin distribution, the kingdom of the Iceni seems to have had its nucleus in Breckland, while the Ipswich region may well have formed part of the Trinovantian tribal area stretching into Essex.

The first penetration of Roman culture into Suffolk took place after the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43, and this initial Romanization was largely limited to the Ipswich

[1] Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc., xxxv (1934), 106.
[2] Briscoe, A History of Lakenheath (1951), 4.
[3] Arch. Journ., lxxxviii (1931), 125, 151.
[4] Unpublished. Norwich Museum.
[5] P.P.S., xv (1949), 126.
[6] Arch. Journ., lxxxviii (1931), 139, and P.S.I.A., xxv (1951), 209.
[7] P.S.I.A., xxv (1951), 212–3.
[8] Arch. Journ., lxxxviii (1931), 152.
[9] Antiquity, v (1931), 420–2.
[10] Arch. News-Letter (December, 1948), 7.
[11] Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc., xxvi (1925), 19–65.

[12] P.S.I.A., xxiv (1948), 36–57.
[13] E.g. Brantham, Moir, Antiquity of Man in East Anglia, 1927, Pl. XXIII, 1 ; Arch. News-Letter, May, 1948, 16.
[14] Ant. J., xvi (1936), 29–50.
[15] Dawkins, Early Man in Britain (1880), 352.
[16] P.S.I.A., xxiii (1940), 220.
[17] Arch. News-Letter (May, 1948), 17 ; Ipswich Museum.
[18] Arch. xxv (1834), 609 : Fox, Arch. Camb. Reg. (1923), 81.
[19] Arch. Journ., xcvi (1940), 52.

Region and the Stour Valley, outside the Iceni kingdom, and reflects the economic dominance of Camulodunum. It was cut short by the drastic repression of Boudicca's revolt which involved her southern neighbours in A.D. 61 and Romanization only became effective in the early 2nd century A.D. Even then it contained no town, for the area of the modern county did not then form a suitable administrative unit, Breckland being most accessible from Caistor-by-Norwich and the Ipswich Region from Colchester. Villas are not numerous and few have been excavated. On the margins of Breckland a large villa was examined at Stanton[1] from 1935 to 1940, but has not been published in detail. Near by at Ixworth[2] another villa has been examined on more than one occasion. On the Fenland side of this area, part of a villa with hypocaust, has been excavated at Mildenhall close to the site of the famous 4th-century silver hoard,[3] while in Breckland itself only one villa has been identified at Icklingham.[4] In the Ipswich Region villas have been explored at Castle Hill, Whitton,[5] and at Capel St. Mary,[6] but at both sites the picture is incomplete. Most of these villas seem to have been established in the early 2nd century and to have lasted to the middle or, in some cases, the late 4th century. Little is known of the structural features of the more numerous peasant settlements or of their relationship to the villa system, but recent work at Great Fakenham,[7] suggests that groups of circular huts (there about 15 feet in diameter) may have been common, though the excavation of a rectangular cottage at Lakenheath[8] emphasises the danger of premature generalization. Some of these rural settlements survived into the 5th century to judge from coin-hoards attributed to that period in the Icklingham area.[9]

The only impressive Roman structure to be seen in Suffolk is the late 3rd-4th-century coastguard fortress at Burgh Castle[10] where three walls with their bastions still survive. Another fortress of the same system is believed to have existed at Felixstowe, but this claim has recently been contested and cannot now be verified as the site lies under the sea. The probability of the existence of a series of signal stations linking these coastal forts has recently been suggested,[11] but more detailed investigation is required. Pottery kilns have been investigated in recent years at Wattisfield[12] and West Stow[13] among other sites.

Many problems demand a solution before the study of prehistoric and Roman Suffolk is established on that sound basis already existing in more favoured areas. The prime need is for the speedy publication of the many sites partly excavated in recent years through the energies of the Ipswich Museum staff and Cambridge archaeologists, and, secondly, for intensive field-work in the blank areas of the distribution maps, followed by carefully selected excavations to elucidate specific problems.

No recent general account of prehistoric Suffolk is available, but an introduction to the older material will be found in articles by W. A. Sturge and G. Clinch in *V.C.H.*, *Suffolk*, i (1911), and Sir Cyril Fox, The Distribution of Man in East Anglia, c. 2300 B.C.-A.D. 50 (*P.P.S.E.A.*, vii, 1934, 149–164) ; while more recent discoveries are included in R. R. Clarke, The Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk (*Arch. Journ.*, xcvi, 1940, 1–113), and G. Maynard, Recent Archaeological Field Work in Suffolk (*P.S.I.A.*, xxv, 1951, 205–216). Breckland sites are dealt with by Sir Cyril Fox in The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region (2nd edition, 1948), and those in the Ipswich Region by J. Reid Moir in The Antiquity of Man in East Anglia, 1927. For the Roman Age, G. E. Fox's article in *V.C.H.*, *Suffolk*, i, 1911, is supplemented by I. E. Moore's survey in *P.S.I.A.*, xxiv, 1949, 163–181.

[1] *J.R.S.*, xxx (1940), 172 (Fig. 15–plan) ; *P.S.I.A.*, xxv (1951), 214.

[2] *P.S.I.A.*, i (1853), 77 ; xxv (1951), 213.

[3] *The Mildenhall Treasure, A Provisional Handbook* (British Museum), 1947.

[4] *J.B.A.A.*, xxxiv (1878), 12.

[5] *P.S.I.A.*, xxi (1933), 240–62 ; xxv (1951), 212.

[6] *P.S.I.A.*, xxv (1951), 209.

[7] *Ibid.*, 211.

[8] Unpublished. Information from Lady G. Briscoe, F.S.A.

[9] *P.S.I.A.*, xxiv (1949), 175, 179.

[10] *P.S.I.A.*, xxiv (1949), 100–120.

[11] *Ibid.*, 102.

[12] *P.S.I.A.*, xxii (1936), 179–197.

[13] *P.S.I.A.*, xxv (1951), 215–6 (full report forthcoming).

ANGLO-SAXON SUFFOLK

By R. L. S. BRUCE-MITFORD

The early Saxon settlement of Suffolk, as revealed by finds from pagan graves and, in the east of the county, supported by place-name evidence, was concentrated in two areas. One, fairly densely settled, in the north-west, is indicated by a chain of cemeteries, notably in the region between Mildenhall and Bury St. Edmunds. It is here that Mr. T. C. Lethbridge has recently excavated a great cremation cemetery, at Lackford, five miles north-west of Bury. The other area, which has hitherto seemed to have been much more lightly settled, is the coastal region in the south-east of the county, served by the estuaries of Stour, Orwell, Deben and Alde. The first represents a body of settlers pressing eastward into Suffolk from the Fens, the second, an independent coastal settlement. These separate areas of settlement, like others throughout East Anglia, were in the second half of the 6th century and the first half of the 7th combined into a political unity by the Kings of the Wuffinga dynasty, the high point of East Anglian political influence being marked by the Bretwaldaship or Overlordship of Redwald in the period c. A.D. 610–625. In the first half of the 7th century we find all over Suffolk abundant signs of Kentish and Continental trade and some signs of cultural uniformity that correspond with these political facts.

Since the discovery on the Deben estuary in 1939 of Northern Europe's richest grave of the period, the now famous Sutton Hoo ship-burial, attention has been attracted to the coastal area in the south-east. It is clear that this area was more densely settled than has been supposed ; to the two solitary cemeteries at Ipswich and Snape, shown in Collingwood and Myres (maps vii, x) a sizeable mixed cemetery at Ufford on the Deben, and a cremation cemetery at Rendlesham, on the opposite bank, are known, and burial urns from Waldringfield and Kesgrave, in the same region, imply other cemeteries. Groups of tumuli at Martlesham, Sutton Hoo and Snape indicate aristocratic burials, another no doubt being indicated by the hanging-bowl and coptic bowl found at Badley near Needham Market. At least two habitation sites of the period are located near Butley ; and upon this may be superimposed a considerable list of interesting isolated finds. The indications are indeed such as to suggest that this part of Suffolk was the political centre of East Englia, and the *vicus regius* at Rendlesham one of the principal seats, if not the principal one, of the Wuffingas. Many of the tumuli scattered on the heathlands in this region may belong to the Saxon period.

One of the new and important facts in Saxon archaeology is the recognition of the fact that 7th-century Suffolk was the scene of a flourishing, distinctive and influential culture of its own. The brilliant Sutton Hoo jewellery was locally made, and with it can be associated other finds of cloisonné jewellery in the region. But in other ways, too, Suffolk archaeology is distinctive. ' Throughout my dealings with Early Anglo-Saxondom I have always felt that there was something in Suffolk that set it apart from other parts of East Anglia ', Mr. E. T. Leeds wrote to the writer recently ; and it is fascinating to see in the successive pages of Reginald Smith's account of Saxon Suffolk in the *Victoria County History* in 1911 constant references to affinities with the archaeology of Sweden. For the royal grave at Sutton Hoo contains undoubted Swedish pieces, and parallels to Swedish archaeology occur in many of the local East Anglian pieces, a parallel made stronger by the existence of a common custom in the two areas, unknown elsewhere in Europe at this date—boat burial. The meaning of this is as yet not clear, but the archaeological facts have given rise to the highly significant suggestion, made both here and in Sweden, that the East Anglian royal dynasty, the Wuffingas, may be of Swedish origin.

This will perhaps suffice to show of what absorbing interest the early Saxon period of Suffolk has become to-day, more or less by accident. There has been no systematic attempt to explore its Saxon sites ; yet in no county is intelligent, skilled and discriminating excavation likely to yield more important results for the early Saxon period.

Although pre-Conquest Suffolk was one of the three wealthiest and most populous counties in England, there is, so far, an extraordinary dearth of archaeological material for the Christian period and the Viking age in Suffolk. A late 7th-century whale-bone writing tablet from Blythburgh (in the British Museum) is a reminder of the flourishing Saxon monasteries in the coastal region, and a thickly-gilt pin-head disc with fine quality animal ornament in the British Museum from Ixworth is almost the only other late Saxon or Viking period object the county has produced. No earthworks of the period have been established. There are no Saxon churches, and practically the only Saxon sculpture in the county is to be seen in some fine carvings in St. Nicholas' Church, Ipswich. A fine small tympanum with a figure of a boar, strangely reminiscent of the boar-figures on the Sutton Hoo epaulettes, and a carving showing St. Michael and the dragon, show traces of Urnes style. Another late Saxon carving in St. Nicholas' shows figures of apostles (see p. 137).

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PROCEEDINGS

MONDAY, 16TH JULY

IPSWICH

By MISS L. J. REDSTONE

(*Town-plan*, Pl. XII)

The modern commercial and industrial town of Ipswich does not readily reveal its past even to the eye of the expert. Its large residential areas cover country which until the last century was farmland where the few scattered hamlets can chiefly be located by road names. Thus ' Bishop's Hill ' denotes the approach to the vanished manor house of the bishops of Norwich at Wykes Episcopi. Neither do any traces remain of the outlying medieval hospitals of St. Mary Magdalen, St. James, St. Leonard, or St. Edmund Pountney.

This district where the fresh waters of the Gipping meet the tidal estuary of the Orwell has, however, important evidence of early occupation. Brickfields in a valley leading down to the Gipping between the Henley and Norwich roads are celebrated as the source of the flaked flints claimed as ancestral to the palaeolithic implements by Professor Ray Lankester and the late Mr. J. Reid Moir, F.R.S. Palaeolithic hand-axes have come from several areas within the borough and a Neolithic living-site producing pottery, corn grinding-stones and worked flints has recently been investigated on the high ground near the railway station. Bronze Age tumuli are scattered over the heaths to the east of the town and a Roman villa settlement and burial ground have been located east of the Norwich road in the Whitton area, and an extensive Anglo-Saxon cemetery between the Hadleigh and London roads. In the centre of the town finds of human bones in widely-scattered districts possibly denote the constant overrunning of the settlement by the Danes. Many objects from these pre-Conquest sites in the borough and from the county are assembled in the Corporation Museum in High Street where they are available for study.

The walled medieval town based upon the river port was restricted to a comparatively small area the circuit of which can still be traced in the street plan and which remains the chief shopping, trading and business centre.   Scarcely any remnants of the earthen ramparts remain.   The gates of stone and brick were destroyed in 1781 to facilitate traffic.   The narrowness of these entries can be judged from the northern end of Northgate Street, where the gate blocked the entry just above the present Ipswich and Suffolk Club, which occupies the site of the residence of the medieval Archdeacon and still retains the gateway built by Archdeacon Pykenham (1471–1497).

The Royal Borough received grants of privileges from Henry I and its first formal charter in 1200 from King John.   This charter included a merchant gild whose hall with chapel and outer stairway stood on the south of the Cornhill, below the main corn market. One main street, the Old Butter Market, is named from the dairy market which originally occupied its western end while the eastern was the fish market.   Other street markets lined the narrow lanes in the town centre.   The chief shopping street, parallel with the Butter Market, is styled ' Tavern Street ' in that part which was the medieval Vintry. Here the boy John Chaucer, father of the poet Geoffrey Chaucer, inherited a tavern at the south-east corner of the present Tower Street.
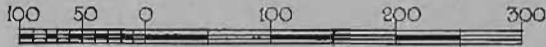
The chief relics of medieval Ipswich remain in the churches which are mostly of the 15th century, but in many cases drastically rebuilt or restored.   St. Peter's by the Quayside (p. 139), however, has a Norman font from Tournai, St. Nicholas (p. 136) contains Saxon carvings in stone from an earlier church of St. Michael, and the Norman doorway to St. Mary Elms (p. 139) has some very early ironwork.   The town had two Houses of Austin Canons, the older (St. Peter and St. Paul), adjacent to the parish church of St. Peter's, was destroyed for Cardinal Wolsey's College (p. 141), of which the only remnants are a short length of wall and a minor gateway of brick surmounted by the arms of Henry VIII.   The second Austin Priory (Holy Trinity) stood near the present Christchurch Mansion which was built within its precincts by Edmund Withipoll in 1548.   Of the three Friaries, a few traces remain of the Grey Friars, in the garden of No. 8 Friars Road near the Western ramparts and just beyond the parish church of St. Nicholas.   The White Friars occupied an extensive area on either side of the present Old Market Lane. The buildings of the great Dominican Priory lying just within the Eastern rampart were purchased by the Corporation in 1569 and converted into a hospital for the poor and into the town Grammar School, which had been absorbed into Wolsey's College and resumed again.   These buildings of the Black Friars between Foundation Street and Fore Street were pulled down, with the exception of a wall adjoining School Street, when the school was removed to new premises in 1851.   They are represented, however, in a drawing by Joshua Kirby of 1748.

Wolsey, the most notable of Ipswich natives, was probably born in the parish of St. Mary Elms and spent his childhood in the tavern and butchery of his father in the parish of St. Nicholas.   The chantry which he founded for Edmund Daundy was in the church of St. Lawrence.   In planning his College at Ipswich, he had at first intended to make use of the Lady Chapel at the head of Lady Lane, where was a famous image of the Virgin Mary visited by many pilgrims.
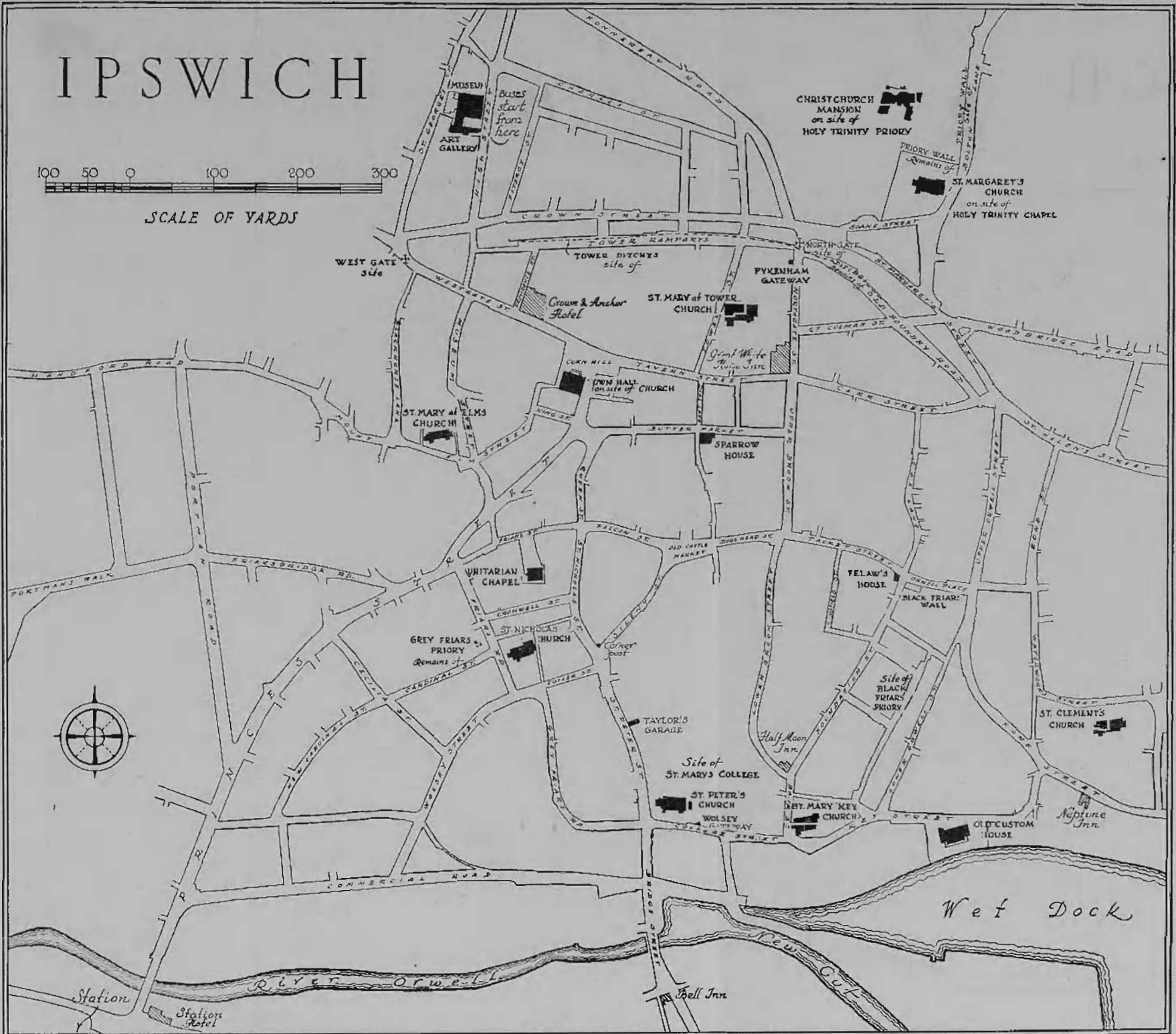
One or two Tudor houses of distinction, notably the 'Ancient ' or ' Sparrow ' House (p. 144) in Butter Market and the Neptune in Fore Street (p. 146), indicate what the town was like at the height of its prosperity as a 16th-century port for Suffolk cloth and farm-produce.   These remains of Tudor Ipswich with a number of shallow-carved beams and corner-posts belong to the period when Ipswich merchants were justified in thinking of their port as a second Antwerp.   Their prosperity ended with the slump in the cloth trade. The development of a strong Puritanical party in the borough has left its mark upon the church interiors and in the multitude of places of Nonconformist worship, notably the Unitarian Chapel (pp. 121, 137), which was built in 1700 for a Presbyterian congregation and still remains but little altered.

Georgian architecture in Ipswich is chiefly notable for its absence save in the few dwelling houses in Lower Orwell Street.   The town was at its lowest ebb in the 18th

PLATE XII

IPSWICH

SCALE OF YARDS

100 50 0 100 200 300

MUSEUM

Buses start from here

ART GALLERY

CHRIST CHURCH MANSION
on site of
HOLY TRINITY PRIORY

PRIORY WALL
Remains of

ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH
on site of
HOLY TRINITY CHAPEL

CROWN STREET

SOANE STREET

TOWER RAMPARTS

WEST GATE Site

TOWER DITCHES
site of

NORTH-GATE
site of

PYKENHAM GATEWAY

Crown & Anchor Hotel

ST. MARY at TOWER CHURCH

GT. COLMAN ST.

WOODBRIDGE ROAD

HANDFORD ROAD

CORN HILL

Great White Horse Inn

TAVERN STREET

TOWN HALL
on site of CHURCH

CARR STREET

ST. MARY at ELMS CHURCH

KING ST.

BUTTER MARKET

SPARROW HOUSE

ST. HELEN'S STREET

FRIARSBRIDGE RD.

FALCON ST.

OLD CASTLE MARKET

DOGS HEAD ST.

TACKET STREET

FELAW'S HOUSE

BLACK FRIARS WALL

PORTMAN'S WALK

FRIARS ST.

UNITARIAN CHAPEL

CROMWELL ST.

Site of
BLACK FRIARS PRIORY

GREY FRIARS PRIORY
Remains of

ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH

Corner post

TAYLOR'S GARAGE

ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH

Half Moon Inn

CARDINAL ST.

Site of
ST. MARY'S COLLEGE

ST. PETER'S CHURCH

WOLSEY GATEWAY

ST. MARY KEY CHURCH

OLD CUSTOM HOUSE

Neptune Inn

COLLEGE STREET

COMMERCIAL ROAD

Wet Dock

Station

Station Hotel

River Orwell

Bell Inn

New Cut

TOWN-PLAN OF IPSWICH

century and only recovered with the setting up of agricultural engineering works, first established in 1789, and with the remarkable development of the docks and of transport facilities in the last century.   Since then the widening of streets, the rebuilding of business premises, the construction of new centralized markets, and the clearing of the slum areas have all contributed to modernize the old town out of recognition.

Many pictorial records of the appearance of the streets and of old buildings since removed are preserved at the Christchurch Mansion (1548–1550) now maintained as a museum of domestic antiquities, period furniture and pictures.   There is also kept there an extensive collection of drawings made by Hamlet Watling (1818–1908) in the middle of the last century of the medieval wall-paintings, screen panels and window glass designs in Suffolk churches, many of which either now no longer exist or are scarcely distinguishable.   The collection also includes the famous Pownder brass from the now closed Ipswich church of St. Mary-at-Quay and other ecclesiological antiquities.

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THE CORPORATION MUSEUM, IPSWICH

By GUY MAYNARD

The Corporation Museum originated in collections organized by a voluntary society and was first opened in a building built for the purpose in 1847, and taken over by the Ipswich Corporation four years later.   It was moved to the present buildings in 1881. In addition to a natural history collection of general character there is a very important collection of the Pliocene and Pleistocene fossils of East Anglia, and the special Ogilvie collection of East Anglian shore and other British birds in nature settings.   The archaeological department contains extensive collections of Suffolk and East Anglian antiquities from the early Stone Age periods down to late medieval times.   Special sections are devoted to the flaked flints from beneath the Plio-Pleistocene Crag sands of Suffolk and Norfolk investigated by the late Mr. J. Reid Moir, F.R.S., the Grimes Graves flint-mines, Bronze and Iron Age pottery, the local Roman villa site and the Anglian cemetery at Hadleigh Road, Ipswich.   Specially important features are the Neolithic pottery bowls from a site recently investigated in Ipswich, at Kesteven Road ; the ' grooved-ware ' sherds from a site near Needham Market, the Solutrian flint leaf-shaped blades from below the Gipping flood plain gravels, and the Roman ceremonial bronze crowns from West Suffolk.

Exhibits illustrating the Sutton Hoo excavations of 1938 and 1939, which were conducted by the Curator of the Museum up to the time when the certainty that the deposits still remained *in situ* led to the decision to call in the British Museum specialists, are in a separate room on the ground floor.   This also contains the collection formed by the late Miss Nina F. Layard, F.S.A., a pioneer in prehistoric research in East Anglia. A special outline collection including some results from recent excavations is on view in the vestibule at the main entrance.

CHRISTCHURCH MANSION

By GUY MAYNARD

Built between 1548 and 1550 by Edmund Withipoll, a member of the wealthy Bristol and London merchant family, the Mansion adjoins the site of a priory of Secular Canons of the Augustinian Order, much of the stonework from which is incorporated in its walls. In 1642, the estate came to the family of Devereux, Viscounts Hereford, through marriage, and in 1732 was purchased by Claude Fonnereau, a London merchant of Huguenot extraction, whose descendants retained it until 1892. A little later, having been emptied of its contents and threatened with demolition by a syndicate who had acquired the estate, it was purchased and presented to the town by the late Mr. Felix T. Cobbold, M.P., who subsequently provided a generous endowment to enable the house to be re-equipped with furniture and works of art. Owing to a fire sometime before 1675 much of the panelling is of the late Stuart period, but there are several earlier oak panelled rooms, including those of a timber house of the early 16th century, re-erected as an additional wing at the back, and a room of the time of Henry VIII removed from the former Ipswich mansion of the Wingfield family. The furnished rooms, including the original kitchen, range from the Tudor to the Victorian period. There are a number of portraits of former owners, and the state bedroom in the wing built by Claude Fonnereau still has the original stencilled wall-paper of the 1730 period.

The celebrated Flemish memorial brass to Thomas Pownder of Ipswich, formerly in the war-damaged church of St. Mary-at-Quay, is preserved here, together with other ecclesiological antiquities and an important collection of drawings of wall-paintings, screen-panels, glass, etc., in East Anglian churches recorded by Hamlet Watling in the middle of the 19th century, the originals of which in many cases have either suffered serious deterioration or have disappeared. There is also part of one of the rare black limestone Tournai fonts found in the filling of the medieval town ditch.

Attached to the Mansion is the Cardinal Wolsey Memorial art gallery containing, in addition to a special Wolsey section, important works by Gainsborough and Constable, both natives of Suffolk, and by other leading East Anglian artists.

ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, IPSWICH

By A. R. DUFTY

The parish church of St. Nicholas is probably built on the site of a pre-Conquest church on the evidence of a number of carved stones of the first half of the 11th century reset in the north aisle ; no structural features demonstrably of the same period survive. The north and south arcades and the north and south aisles were added to an existing nave in the 14th century, and in the following century the aisles were lengthened eastward. The church contains a number of brasses, some 17th-century fittings and a bell with the chronogrammatic inscription ' Marlburio duce castra cano vastata inimicis ', the initial letters giving the date 1706. It has been suggested on extremely tenuous evidence that the fragment of a Tournai font now in Christchurch Mansion may be from this church.

The early to mid 11th-century carved stones are of importance ; they include a dedication-stone, hitherto called a tympanum, and a rectangular stone, perhaps a lintel, and some smaller fragments. The first two have inscriptions. The dedication-stone is cut in relief with the figure of a boar, and on the margin is the inscription, much decayed, which has been taken to read ' In dedicatione eclesie Omnium Sanctorum '. In the *Antiquary* for 1886 is briefly recorded the fact that on the back of the stone is ' a cross and two words in Latin and Greek ' ; for that reason tympanum is perhaps a misnomer. Dr. Zarnecki has called my attention to a comparable memorial-stone at Whitchurch in Hampshire. The lintel (36 ins. by 20 ins.) is carved in low relief with the winged figure of St. Michael, wearing a long full-skirted and padded gambeson and holding a sword and kite-shaped shield, opposed by Satan in the form of a winged serpent-like monster with wolf's head and three-pronged tongue ; between the figures is inscribed in capitals

IPSWICH, ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH   11th century

LAMBETH MS. 75   13th century

HOVERINGHAM   11th century

WELLCOME MS.   15th century

ST. MICHAEL AND THE DRAGON

(Photographs by permission of the Courtauld Institute, the National Buildings Record and the Warburg Institute)

PLATE XIII

PLATE XIV

IPSWICH: CARVINGS OF THE APOSTLES, ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH

' Her Sce Mihael feht id dane draca ' (Plate XIII). The beasts on both stones have Anglo-Scandinavian joint-spirals and something of Urnes design about their extremities ; the inscription on the dedication-stone includes square Cs.

The carving of the lintel may be compared with the lintel at Southwell and, more particularly, with the Hoveringham (Notts.) tympanum (Plate XIII). This particular disposition of the figures, with St. Michael with raised wings on the left and on the same level as the dragon, as opposed to being in a position above the dragon and thrusting downward with a lance, may be traced in different illustrative media over a considerable period of time. Keyser (op. cit.) illustrates four carvings similarly composed and a further two with only minor variations. Again MS. sources reveal more than coincidental similarity and two are illustrated here, the 13th-century Lambeth MS. 75 and the early 15th-century Wellcome MS. (Plate XIII). These two MSS. illustrate the Apocalypse cycle. Whether this is a clue to the context of the Ipswich carving, naive and over-simplified as it is, is impossible to say; against such a theory are the survival of a number of carvings of St. Michael and the dragon without attendant Apocalyptic scenes and, further, the self-sufficient iconographic content of the scene. On the other hand it may be noted, for what it is worth, that the dedication of the church is not to St. Michael and, moreover, at the risk of reading rather more into the carving than is capable of proof, the inscription seems to give the impression of being as it were a caption, possibly from a sequence of titled scenes. However that may be, it is clear that the composition derives from an early archetype and perhaps from the particular scene of Revelations xii, 7, in an Apocalypse cycle. It is interesting therefore to find recorded in Bede's Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow that Benedict Biscop brought back from Rome ' images of the visions of the Apocalypse of blessed John the Apostle ' for the north wall of his church of St. Peter ; thus we have the evidence of a cycle, a cycle as opposed to individual scenes, in existence in the 7th century. In France evidence survives of architectural treatment of the cycle in the 11th and 12th centuries, at St. Savin near Poitiers and the abbey church of Fleury on the Loire.

The remaining fragments consist of a full-length figure of an Apostle, about 20 ins. high, and parts of two more under round-headed arches on slender shafts ; the upper parts are much damaged, but it seems that the names were cut in the arch over each figure and ' [Ap]ostolus ' survives over one (Plate XIV). Other small fragments were found during a 19th-century restoration of the church which suggest that a series of these figures once existed ; C. E. Keyser has suggested that they may have flanked a central Majesty, and quotes a parallel in the carved stones in the cloisters at Lincoln Cathedral.

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UNITARIAN CHAPEL, IPSWICH*

By WALTER H. GODFREY

This chapel erected by the Presbyterians in 1700 is the oldest Nonconformist chapel in Suffolk. It is of timber rendered externally in plaster, with hipped tiled roof and level

* For a fuller description see Walter H. Godfrey, The Unitarian Chapels of Ipswich and Bury St. Edmunds, Arch Journ., cviii, pp. 121–126.

eaves throughout, the north, west and east having an elaborate eaves cornice. The windows show an interesting combination of mullioned windows and lunettes. The doors in the north and east walls have pedimental hoods on fine carved brackets. The interior, with pulpit against the south wall and galleries round the other three, is full of good woodwork of the period. The balustrades to pulpit and galleries should be noted and the enriched corbels to the ceiling beams.

ST. MARY-LE-TOWER CHURCH

By W. M. MORFEY

The present church was almost entirely rebuilt between 1860 and 1870 with the exception of the piers of the arcade. It contains, however, one or two noteworthy fittings—particularly the pulpit, very similar to that in the Unitarian Chapel; not quite so fine perhaps, but graced with a noble sounding board.

The acrostic monument to William Smart, 1599, contains a most interesting bird's-eye view of Tudor Ipswich. In the foreground (particularly to the left) can be seen the ramparts topped by a palisade of timber re-erected about that time. In front of his wife Alice, to the right of a church tower, appear the twin turrets of Curson House which once stood at the corner of Silent Street and Rose Lane, typical of the wealth and fashion which came to the town in the 16th century as one of the great ports for the cloth trade.

In the chancel of the church is a number of brasses, the most interesting to a notary, presumed to be William Long who died in 1501 and who carries at his belt the distinguishing ink-horn and penner.

ST. MATTHEW'S CHURCH

By W. M. MORFEY

This church has been disproportionately widened in the 19th century so that the fabric bears little relation to the medieval building. It does contain, however, two most noteworthy fittings—some painted panels from the 16th-century roodscreen, and a font with very fine carvings.

The paintings are representations of four bishops. The figure on the left wears what is almost certainly intended for the pall of an archbishop: probably St. Thomas of Canterbury, for the hand raised in benediction and the other clasping the crosier or cross-staff is specially obliterated. The second figure is exceptionally well painted in a cope of red cloth-of-gold. The third bishop bears no specific symbol, but the fourth seems to hold either the hammer of St. Eligius or the auger of St. Leger. It has been suggested, however, that the attribute is the axle of the windlass of St. Erasmus.

This has particular reference to the most interesting groups of donors that follow, for there was in the church a gild of St. Erasmus, and these lay figures are certainly the members of some fraternity. The women in their early 16th-century head-dresses are drawn conventionally, but the men appear to be depicted as portraits—almost as cari-catures. The foremost figure carries a merchant's purse and was probably the treasurer of the gild.

The font is of the finest 15th-century workmanship. After two foliage panels there follows the Baptism in Jordan and thereafter Five Joys of the Virgin, namely the Annun-ciation, Nativity, Assumption, Coronation and Enthronement. All these have double canopies, and there are little niched figures at the salient angles of the bowl. The shaft has the Evangelistic emblems, and angels as supporters. Most admiration, however, will probably be reserved for the various ingenious way in which the carver has managed to get so much fine detail into his narrative panels, as for instance in the one of the Nativity which shows the Virgin under a coverlet, the Child, the ox, the ass and the Magi (each with his gift), one removing his crown while making his oblation.

OTHER IPSWICH CHURCHES

By LESLIE DOW

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St. Mary Elms Church

A small flint and stone church and, like all the Ipswich churches, much altered and restored. The W. tower is of red Tudor brick and there is a good Norman S. door, but much defaced. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the ironwork on the S. door itself, which is very early. There is a rather dirty set of the arms of Charles II and a monument N. of chancel to William Acton, 1616. William Dowsing, the parliamentary iconoclast appointed by the Earl of Manchester, visited Ipswich in January, 1644 ; of St. Mary Elms he says : ' There was 4 iron Crosses on the Steeple, which they promised to take down that Day, or the next '.

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St. Mary-at-Quay Church

This fine church is, as its name implies, situated close to the docks, in what was undoubtedly the medieval commercial centre of the town, and it benefited by many bequests from the wealthy merchants of Ipswich. It seems that it was largely rebuilt in 1448, when money was left for the purpose by Richard Gowty. It has a good W. tower of flint and stone, 73 feet high. There is a fine double hammer-beam roof to the nave, which is clerestoried. The church was damaged by bombs during the recent war and since then has not been used ; it has been deconsecrated and some secular use for it is being sought. Some of the furniture and fittings have been removed to other churches in the diocese, including the Stuart pulpit which is now at Elmsett. The well-known Pownder brass has been moved to Christchurch Museum ; this commemorates Thomas Pownder ' merchant and sometime Bailee of Ipswich ' who died in 1525, and his wife ; it is probably of Flemish work and is one of the finest in the country. The octagonal ' East-Anglian ' font, with panels rather defaced, and an altar-tomb and brass commemorating Henry Tooley, d. 1551, remain in the church. Dowsing says he ' brake down 6 superstitious Pictures '. It is much to be hoped that some suitable use may yet be found for this fine building.

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St. Peter's Church

This church, also situated in the dock area, is only about a hundred yards from St. Mary-at-Quay. It is built on, or adjacent to, the site of the Austin Priory of SS. Peter and Paul, to which it was appropriated ; later it served as the chapel of Wolsey's short-lived College, the only remains of which, a gateway of red brick, are next to it. Externally, the main feature is the massive and well-proportioned 15th-century W. tower, about 94 feet high ; the finest medieval tower in the town. There is here a very large example of a ' Tournai ' font of black marble, 42½ inches square but somewhat mutilated. These fonts were imported from Belgium about the middle of the 12th century, and there are

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said to be only seven in England ; this example is similar to the one in Winchester Cathedral. Each side of the font consists of 3 panels carved with prowling lions. The central shaft supporting the bowl is of later workmanship. There is a 13th-century piscina next to the rood stair and a good brass in the S. chapel to John Knapp, 1604, and his wife. The church was much restored and enlarged in 1878, when the N. aisle was lengthened and a new E. window inserted. Dowsing, visiting here in January, 1644, says : 'At Peter's was on the Porch the Crown of Thorns, the Spunge and Nails and the Trinity in Stone ; and the Rails were there, which I gave order to break in pieces '.

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ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH

This is probably the finest and most imposing church in the town. Although, like most Ipswich churches, it has been much restored and altered, the work has been done with good taste ; the chancel remains poor. Appropriated to the Austin Canons of Holy Trinity Priory until the Dissolution, it was thereafter served by perpetual curates presented by the owners of Christchurch Mansion. The exterior is rich, with a beautiful embattled and elaborately ornamented clerestory of three-light windows, ten each side ; there is a simple flint and stone 15th-century porch with three canopied niches. Inside, of special interest is the magnificent late 15th-century double hammer-beam roof, painted in the time of William and Mary, whose initials can still be seen on one of the panels. The interesting font, also 15th century, has an angel in one of the panels holding a scroll inscribed ' Sal et Saliva ' ; this refers to the medieval rite of putting salt in the infant's mouth and anointing it with spittle. There is a fine set of the arms of Charles II over the tower arch, above which can be seen the sanctus bell window. In the vestry is a painting of the Prince of Wales' feathers, with the date 1660 ; a similar set, dated 1661, is in St. Stephen's. These are somewhat of a puzzle, but presumably refer to James, Duke of Monmouth, Charles II's bastard. There is a memorial slab with most noble incised Roman lettering to Edmund Withipoll, 1574, the builder of the adjacent Christchurch Mansion, and a canopied altar-tomb in the S. transept, believed to be that of Sir William Roskin, 1512 ; this latter is flanked by a piscina and an aumbry. In the nave and chancel hang nine funeral hatchments to the Edgar and Fonnereau families. William Dowsing says ' There was 12 Apostles in Stone taken down ; and between 20 and 30 superstitious Pictures to be taken down, which (a godly man) a Churchwarden promised to do '. The church was damaged by enemy action in 1940.

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PYKENHAM'S GATEWAY

By R. W. McDOWALL

The gateway stands in Northgate Street near the site of the demolished North Gate. It formed the entrance to the Palace built by William Pykenham, who was then Archdeacon of Suffolk and Dean of the College of Stoke Clare. He later became Rector of Hadleigh and Prebendary in St. Paul's Cathedral, in Lincoln and in Lichfield, and died in 1497. Kirby gives the date of the erection of the gateway as 1471. It is built of red Suffolk brick and has a four-centred arch of two orders towards the road, above which is a two light window with a similar four-centred arched head. The wall is carried up to a rebuilt stepped gable. On the inside the brick arch is replaced by a moulded wood bressumer with spandrel pieces under the ends carved with two shields, one bearing a fish and an animal of doubtful species, the other a mullet. The fish is no doubt meant

for a pike for a play on the name. The upper part is timber-framed on this side and projects with a plain but heavy corner post under the overhang at the south-west corner. This post is unusual in being only a little over four feet high and raised more than nine feet off the ground on the brickwork of the side of the gateway. There is a single room over the gate.

A little to the south of the main gateway is a smaller postern gate also of brick, but richly moulded.

WOLSEY'S GATEWAY

By W. M. MORFEY

The only surviving remains of the College founded by Cardinal Wolsey is a small gateway built in red brick. It has a moulded four-centred archway with a square moulded label ; above is a central stone panel carved with an achievement of Tudor arms flanked by trefoil headed niches under a band of sunk quatre-foil panels. The gateway has on each side an octagonal buttress. Prints of the late 18th century show that these buttresses were surmounted by twisted pinnacles, with a third pinnacle on a central pedestal and two smaller ones between, of which only the bases now remain. The gateway must have been built about 1528.

In 1527 Wolsey set in train his plans to found the Cardinal's College of St. Mary in Ipswich, incorporating therein the existing Grammar School (his old school presumably) and intending it to outshine the great colleges of Eton and Winchester. No doubt it was to be linked with his college of Christ Church, Oxford, in the way that Eton is associated with King's and Winchester with New College. Bulls from the Pope and licences from the King allowed him to suppress seven of the smaller monasteries in the Eastern Counties and to appropriate their lands, advowsons, rectories, manors and other properties as the original endowment of the College. The foundation consisted of a Dean, Sub-Dean, twelve Fellows, eight Singing Men, eight Choristers, twelve Bedesmen, a Master in Grammer, an Usher, a second Usher and fifty ' Grammar Children '.

The site (about six acres in extent) was provided by the dissolution of the Augustinian priory of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the monastic offices housed the establishment pending completion of the work. We know, for instance, that St. Peter's Church served as College Chapel, and doors at the east end of the chancel may be still seen, giving on to the old priory site. The foundation stone was laid on 15th June, 1528, by John Holte, titular Bishop of Lydda (it is preserved in the Chapter House at Christ Church, Oxford) and on 28th July the Charter gave the College its official birth. In December there were 37 free-masons engaged on the site, and by the following summer it was reported that work was going forward by day and by night, ' much of it above ground and very curious work '.

In the autumn of 1529 the School was flourishing, attended by boys not only from Ipswich, but from all parts of the kingdom ; but a few weeks later Wolsey's fall from grace sounded the death-knell of his Ipswich College—although the Dean managed to keep it continuing for another twelve months. The endowment passed into Henry's hands while the building stone (the King of France had given grant of a special quarry at Caen) went up by water to Galley Quay, London, to be used for additions to the royal palace of Whitehall. The King preserved the Grammar School itself and allowed it to return to Felaw's House (q.v.), fortified with a royal grant towards the salaries of Master and Usher.

It is clear from the quantities of Caen stone which came over that the main building was to be of that material ; which prompts one to suppose that this relatively small brick gateway of local work was probably only intended as a side entrance. Fuller says that ' King Henry took just offence, that the Cardinal set his own arms above the king's on the gate-house, at the entrance into the College '. Perhaps this was a garbled version of royal displeasure at finding his arms over a side gate, and the Cardinal's over the main one. There is also the curious fact that the royal arms here are apparently wrongly portrayed : for the greyhound is on the dexter and the dragon on the sinister side, whereas on all other known versions of Henry VIII's arms the supporters are reversed.

THE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF IPSWICH

By R. W. McDOWALL

Nothing remains to-day of the medieval fortifications of Ipswich. There was a Norman Castle, held by the Bigods, who also held the Castle of Framlingham, but it was pulled down on the orders of Henry II. The town used to be surrounded by ramparts and a ditch to which the earliest reference is in 1203. There were four gates at the principal entrances to the town. The West Gate was made into a gaol in the reign of Henry VI and was pulled down in 1780. It is the subject of an engraving by Grose. The North Gate was pulled down in 1794. The name St. Mary Tower is taken to indicate that the ramparts were strengthened by a tower on the north side. Otherwise the fortifications consisted only of a ditch, an earthen bank and a wooden palisade. The name Tower Ramparts is retained in the street running along the south side of the present car park. Speed's map of 1610 indicates ramparts from Westgate to Northgate and then south-eastwards on the line of Old Foundry Road. On the east side the line seems to have followed Upper and Lower Orwell Street ; from the representation of the town in the memorial to William Smart in St. Mary Tower church it appears that the town did not reach right down to the river bank, but a strip of open ground was left between the ramparts and the water.

In the later middle ages the principal dock area was in the parish of St. Clement, outside the ramparts, to the south-east, where a number of old merchants' houses still stand on the south side of Fore Street. Their warehouses ran down to the muddy river which served the town before the construction of the present wet dock in 1839–1841.

Within the ramparts were a number of religious houses, of which the principal remains still standing are a wall of the Refectory of the Black Friars. The Friary was founded in the 13th century, and the Friary Church was still standing in 1748 when Kirby published his Twelve Prints of Suffolk Antiquities. The buildings were used for various secular purposes after the Dissolution, as Grammar School, Christ's Hospital, Bridewell, etc. The Grammar School occupied the Chapel for a time but moved into the Refectory block in 1763 and remained there until 1842. Soon after that the building was demolished and the hammer-beam roof was re-erected over the parish church of Cholderton, Wilts. The stonework now remaining is the lower part of the east wall of the refectory building which was some 24 feet wide and 120 feet long. An account of excavations of the site by N. F. Layard were given in the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* for 1899. The remaining wall, built of flint rubble with freestone dressings, contains an irregular series of seven roughly two-centred arches.

Before the Grammar School moved into the Friary Church it was for a time accommodated in the house of Richard Felaw by the terms of his will, proved in 1483, by which his messuage ' beyng ageyn the gate of ye Freyers Prechers be ordeyned to be for ever a common Scole howse and dwelling place for a convenient scole master '. The school moved out in 1614, and it was probably then that Felaw's house, which still stands opposite the Black Friars on the west side of Foundation Street, was converted into tenements. The original overhang of the upper storey has disappeared with the rebuilding of the ground floor wall in brick, and the only original work now to be seen is some timber framing said to be exposed inside No. 18.

Ipswich has been very rich in good timber-framed buildings, which gave evidence of its importance and prosperity in the 15th and 16th centuries, when much of the cloth trade which brought fame to such places as Lavenham and Kersey flowed through its port. But during the 18th century the fortunes of Ipswich waned with the growing import of cotton goods and the movement of the wool manufacture to the north of England. There is only a little Georgian building in the town, and it was not until the industrial development of the 19th century that Ipswich lost its ancient character. But in spite of drastic works of demolition and structural alteration and the removal of the best of the internal fittings to new houses elsewhere, much that is of interest of the domestic architecture of the 15th and 16th centuries still remains.

Houses of this period show a variety of plans, most of them adapted to sites having a restricted frontage. Nos. 7 and 9 Northgate Street each have a long wing running back behind the front part of the house ; the Old Neptune Inn (p. 146) follows the medieval hall plan as far as space permits, but the upper end chambers are displaced to form a back wing behind the hall; Taylor's Garage in St. Peter's Street has two wings of unequal height running back from the front range through which a carriage entrance gives access to the yard between the wings, coming out under a charming oriel window.

The most striking features of the timber-framed houses in the town are the corner posts, introduced where the upper storey projects on two adjacent sides of a house. They carry the ends of the diagonal dragon beams which are necessary to carry the ends of joists running in two directions over one room, to give the overhang on two adjacent elevations.

A charming example of a 15th-century corner post is the only remaining ornament of the Old Half Moon in Foundation Street. This house once contained some fine panelling and overmantels which have been stripped out and conveyed elsewhere. The house now stands derelict. Inside, the only old features are a pair of blocked doorways with four-centred heads, and blocked windows. The corner post is largely plain but has, under a band of brattishing, carving showing a fox dressed as a cleric preaching from a pulpit to three geese, and round the corner of the post the fox is seen making off with one of the geese slung over his shoulder by the neck. Point is given to this particular satire by the close proximity on the other side of the street of the house of the Black Friars. The corner post swells out in a massive curve under the upper storey and supports small curved brackets under the overhang to each side.

A more elaborate example of a corner post is to be seen at the junction of Silent Street and St. Nicholas Street. Here the decoration takes the form of cusped panelling and tracery ; but part of the head of the post has been split off and is now replaced by a piece of reasonable modern imitation work in place of the incongruous scraps of ornament that an earlier generation had pinned on. This corner post is pure Gothic in design and may also be assigned to the 15th century.

An entirely different feeling is expressed in the corner post of No. 7 Northgate Street. The house presents the most striking timber-framed exterior in the town, but it has been very extensively restored, to show its timber work and the original arrangement of windows, which had been masked by plaster and later sashes. The design of the windows is typical, having ranges of small lights running along the tops of the walls forming an almost continuous band of glass between the main windows which are divided into two heights by a transom. A similar arrangement is to be seen at No. 9 next door, where some original panels of carved wooden tracery have been brought to light and have been extensively imitated in the very considerable ' restoration ' which has been carried out to the back wing. The design of the corner post of No. 7 is entirely renaissance in its decoration. On one face is carved the head of a man and on the other a smith working at his anvil ; below these is a pattern of scrolled foliage decoration illustrating the foreign renaissance influence that was making itself felt in the early part of the 16th century. But the other principal posts have carved on their faces buttresses from which rise small shafts under the curved brackets to the overhang which are entirely Gothic, imitating Gothic masonry in all their detail. The band of carved foliage and beasts along the bottom of the upper storey also shows the influence of the Low Countries.

Many corner posts have been removed from houses in the town, some of which are now preserved in the Christchurch Museum. They reached a high standard of carving only equalled in the corner posts of Bury St. Edmunds and Lavenham. Those at Bury included a representation of Henry VIII and one showing Vanity astride the Lusts of the Flesh.

The picturesque buildings at the junction of Soane Street and St. Margaret's Street have been heavily restored and the frontage to St. Margaret's Street drastically altered, but the Soane Street side retains some interesting timber arcading, originally open but now filled in with windows.

Carved bands of decoration to projections of upper storeys and to bargeboards dated in the second quarter of the 17th century are a noticeable feature in the town. The Old Neptune and several of the surrounding houses were evidently modernised at that time. No. 80 Fore Street has the date 1636, the Old Neptune itself 1639, Nos. 132–138 1629. The date 1631 on No. 79 Grimwade Street, close by, is more probably the date of original construction than of remodelling. All these dates are carved in association with scrolled foliage of almost uniform design. Another example of the same period survives opposite St. Margaret's church. Several of the same series of houses also have plaster ceilings of the same date, enriched with isolated fleurs-de-lis, roses, etc., with or without simple foliated borders.

Other interesting houses include ' The Ancient House ', described below, and No. 24 Fore Street, which has on the first floor of the street front a very fine range of windows with arched transoms, comparable to those dated 1676 in a house at Hadleigh.

The Ancient House (Pl. XV and fig. 1)

The house is of late 15th-century origin, but has been so much altered and extended that its early date was entirely lost sight of until a hammer-beam roof was uncovered early in the 19th century. Late in the 16th century the property passed from the Coppyn family to the Sparrows who remained in possession for some three centuries. The building is sometimes known as ' Sparrow's House '.

It consists of a main range fronting on to the Butter Market which may possibly have contained the Hall of a medieval house, but which was entirely remodelled or rebuilt in the 17th century, and the walls were covered with remarkable pargetting in the reign of Charles II. From the east end of this main range a wing projects to the south, built in two parts ; the northern is of 15th-century date, retaining its original hammer-beam roof, and may represent the medieval solar wing ; the southern part is probably of c. 1603. From the west end of the main range a narrower wing, added at the end of the 16th century, runs southward and returns to meet the eastern wing and to enclose a courtyard. The west frontage was extended southwards in the 17th century, and further additions were made between the southern ends of the east and west wings early in the 18th century.

The north elevation has a high plinth of modern brickwork above which the ground floor is divided into 14 bays by carved and shaped pilasters, above which enriched scroll brackets rise to the overhanging upper storey with festoons between them. The doors and windows between the pilasters have been much altered ; alternate bays were at one time filled with panelling ; the present decoration of the eastern bays is entirely modern work. The upper floor projects boldly and has four oriel windows flanked by pargetted pilasters and festoons of flowers, fruit, fish and game, except in the middle where there is an achievement of Royal Arms of Charles II. The workmanship of the Royal Arms is finer than that of the rest of the pargetting, having been made perhaps from a stock mould. Under the window of each oriel is the representation of a Continent. Europe is shown with a sceptre and a cornucopia with a church in the background ; Asia, under a palm tree, carries a staff with a mosque in the background ; Africa sits under an umbrella, on a crocodile, holding a spear ; America wears a feathered head-dress, and has a bow and arrow and a tobacco pipe with an animal crouching by. Also included in the pargetted decoration of this front are Neptune, a Pelican in her Piety, and vases of flowers. The dormer windows above have pargetted figures in the gables. The elaborate treatment of the north front is returned round on to the west end with one oriel and pargetting showing shepherds and sheep under a tree and Atlas holding up the World. The gable above has a mounted man wearing a helmet and brandishing a knife in the gable.

On the south elevation of the north range to the courtyard, the pargetting shows figures in a car drawn by two horses towards a tree laden with fruit. The west front of the west wing has the upper floor overhanging with exposed timber studwork. On the south and west sides of the court the ground floor consisted of open colonnades of which the south side has been filled in. These arcades are of two and three bays respectively, divided by fluted wooden columns carrying the upper storey. Midway between each pair of columns

are pendants linked to the columns by pairs of scrolled spandril pieces. The upper floor has a continuous range of wood-framed mullioned and transomed windows with the timber framing below them arranged to form decorative patterns.
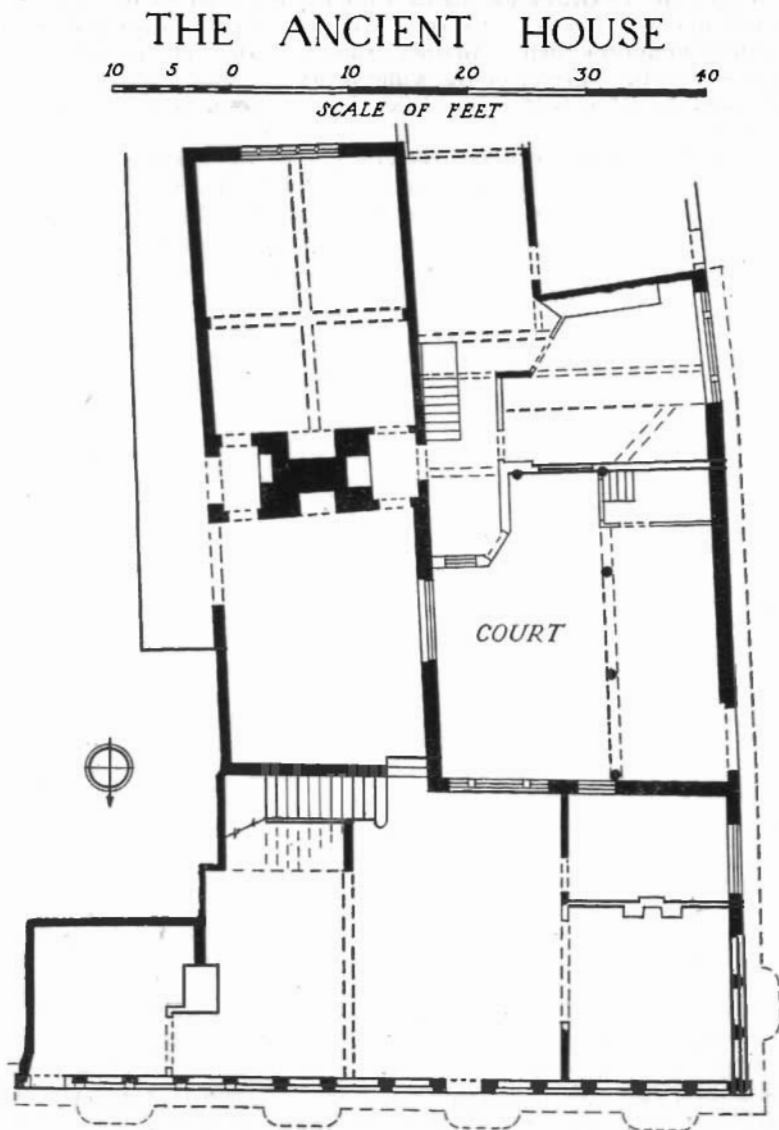
THE ANCIENT HOUSE

SCALE OF FEET

FIG 1.   PLAN OF THE ANCIENT HOUSE, IPSWICH

The east side of the courtyard was refaced with brick late in the 18th century, and the fenestration was completely altered in the 19th century. The south elevation has been partly refaced in brick and is partly masked by modern additions. On the east side other buildings abut on the house.

Inside the north range were partitions, now removed, which formerly divided the ground floor, but the centre part retains five frieze panels in plaster of 18th-century date showing scenes representing the Arts of Architecture, Sculpture, Music, Painting and Geometry. An 18th-century staircase with twisted balusters leads to the first floor, of which the main part in this range is taken up by one large room. This room has the ceiling divided into six bays by intersecting beams, plastered over and enriched on the soffits by a running thistle pattern, interrupted by roses at the intersections, and having scrolled cartouches in the angles between the beams. In each bay is an oval wreath of fruit. This plasterwork is contemporary with the external pargetting and, except for the running pattern on the beams, is in very bold relief and coarse in design. The panelling on the walls and the fireplace are entirely modern. A small room at the south end has plasterwork of a type used in the town in the sixteen-thirties, consisting of a vinescroll frieze, fleurs-de-lis in the corners, and central rose bosses each side of the ceiling beam.

In the south-west corner of the range a small staircase leads up to the attics. It has moulded and pierced balusters of early 17th-century date.

In the east wing the northern ground floor room is lined with mid-17th-century panelling in five heights. Around the fireplace in the south wall are fluted pilasters and entablature of Elizabethan date. Reset over a doorway to one side is a piece of wood carved with strap-work and the date 1567. The southern ground floor room is lined on three sides with late 16th- and early 17th-century panelling, largely reset and of varying design. The fireplace has an 18th-century marble surround with an oak border of the same date carved with oak leaves and a shield of arms of Sparrow : (argent) three roses and a chief (gules). The overmantel has enriched arched and inlaid panels with terminal figures between them and pilasters below bearing the date and initials 16SW03, for Sparrow and Wilding.

On the first floor the northern room has in the north wall exposed studwork and a doorway with wooden four-centred head of the 15th century. There is an early 17th-century plaster frieze of twining ornament repeated in each of the four bays of the ceiling. The walls are lined with 18th-century panelling in two heights. The south room has a segmental plaster ceiling enriched with roses, of the second half of the 17th century.

Over the north room the roof space is accessible from the north range. It is 18 feet wide divided into four bays by 15th-century hammer-beam trusses at 5 ft. 9 in. centres. The wall plates, hammer-beams, collars and purlins are moulded and embattled, the hammer posts are moulded, the principal rafters and the curved braces under the collars are hollow-chamfered. Braces under the hammer-beams have been removed to allow for the insertion of the floor.

THE OLD NEPTUNE

No. 86 Fore Street, formerly the Neptune Inn, is an interesting example of a hall house partly of 15th and partly of early 16th-century date, modernised in 1639. The house was evidently one of the principal merchants' houses associated with the medieval wharves which were centred in this area, and some medieval warehouse buildings remain in the immediate vicinity ; there is, for example, a long range with king-post roof trusses behind No. 80 Fore Street.

The Old Neptune consists of a 15th-century hall block running roughly east and west with a crosswing at the east end which has later additions on its south side. The solar wing, of early 16th-century date, runs southwards from the south side of the hall, while from the south-east corner of the east crosswing a long narrow building of the same date as the solar wing runs southwards forming the third side of a court open on the south side. This narrow range is of two storeys. The lower storey is said to have formed an open colonnade fronting on to a quay facing an inlet from the river, now filled up.

The hall was heightened and divided into two storeys in 1639 ; the date is recorded on a carved beam on the front. Some good linen-fold panelling was stripped out by a former owner. The present owner has considerably restored the east crosswing.

A. THE ANCIENT HOUSE, IPSWICH
(Photo: Messrs. W. E. Harrison and Sons, Ltd.)
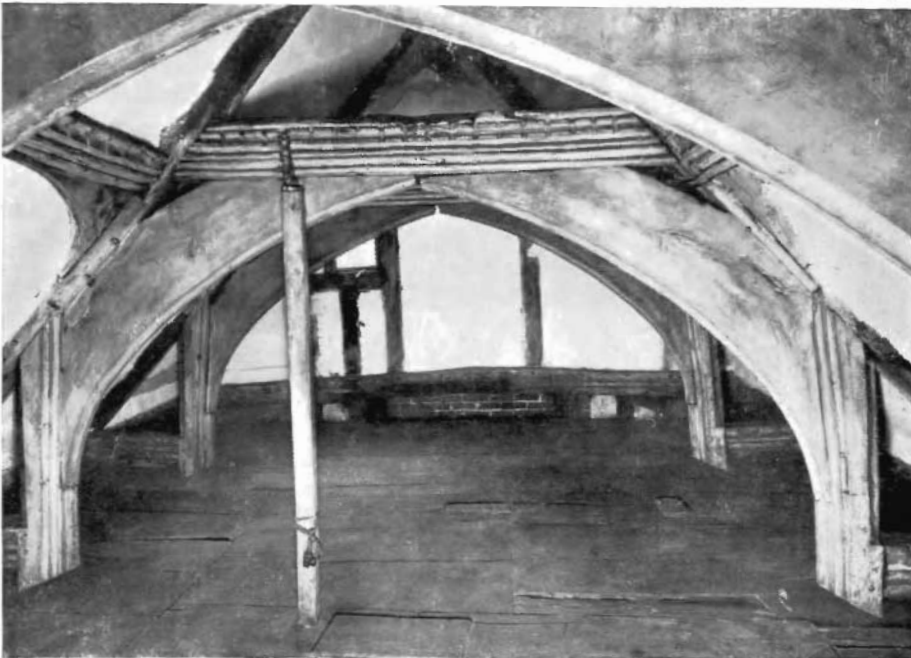
B. THE ANCIENT HOUSE, IPSWICH : HAMMERBEAM ROOF

PLATE XVI

A. ORFORD CHURCH : N. ARCADE OF CHANCEL
(*Photo : National Buildings Record*)

B. ORFORD CASTLE : AIR-VIEW
(*Photo : Aerofilms, Ltd.*)

On the north front the east crosswing projects on the upper floor only. At the east end of the hall the original entrance doorway leading to the screens passage has a four centred head and spandrils carved with a grotesque mask and a pelican. The wood-mullioned windows to the ground floor further west have been considerably altered. On the first floor are oriel windows of 1639 with smaller windows high up in the wall between them. On the south side of the crosswing additions now mask the original outside wall, but there is clear evidence that the upper storey projected, and there are remains of Gothic buttresses carved on the faces of the main posts to carry the brackets under the overhang. There are slight traces of similar buttresses on the north front.

THE OLD NEPTUNE

10 5 0 10 20 30

SCALE OF FEET

FIG. 2. PLAN OF THE OLD NEPTUNE, IPSWICH

The solar wing and the quayside wing have their upper storeys projecting towards the courtyard; the main posts carrying the brackets under the overhangs are carved, not with Gothic buttresses but with ornament of a Flemish renaissance character comparable with that on the corner post of No. 7 Northgate Street. One of the windows retains richly moulded wood mullions.

Inside, the east crosswing has been rearranged, but the original screens passage remains at the east end of the hall and retains the outline of two original doorways on the east side. The ground floor room formed out of the hall has a plaster ceiling decorated with foliated crosses, roses and fleurs-de-lis. The open fireplace has moulded stone jambs and four-centred head. On the first floor above, the main timbers of the walls are exposed, and the original eaves level and the extent of the 17th-century heightening are clearly discernible.

In the solar wing to the south the first floor room has the ceiling crossed by boldly cambered and moulded main beams ; the ceiling is sloped up to the middle from each side, each bay being divided by moulded beams into eight panels, four on each slope. The ground floor ceiling is flat, but is also divided by moulded beams into four bays subdivided by small moulded wooden ribs.

The roof over the east crosswing was of king post type, but only part of the original central purlin now remains. The roof over the solar wing is of simple collar-beam construction.

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TUESDAY, 17TH JULY

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S CHURCH, ORFORD

By E. A. R. RAHBULA

There appears to have been no church at Orford until the second half of the 12th century.   Orford was then part of the now adjoining parish of Sudbourne where there has been a church since before the Conquest, and the correct designation of the incumbency which the Rector of both parishes holds is ' *Ecclesia de Sudbourne cum capella de Orford* '.

The building of the Church—or Chapel—of Orford (Fig. 3) was commenced in 1166 by Wimar the Chaplain, the first Rector, and one of the agents employed by Henry II with the erection of the Castle.   It was—or was intended to be—built on a cruciform plan. Of that church there remains above ground two four-bay arcades of the aisled Chancel (Pl. XVIA), the two eastern piers of the Crossing—now partly embedded in later walls— and the East wall of the North Transept.

Excavation carried out about twenty years ago by the late Dr. Fairweather revealed that the side aisles were each five bays in length, that the central aisle projected one bay further East, and that all terminated in square East ends.   It was also found that in the 15th century the central aisle had been shortened by the building of a thick cross-wall in line with the East walls of the side aisles, and that the blocking of the easternmost bay of the South Arcade is of about the same date.

The remains are now considerably weather-beaten but retain what is generally considered to be some of the richest 12th-century work in the country.   Referring to this
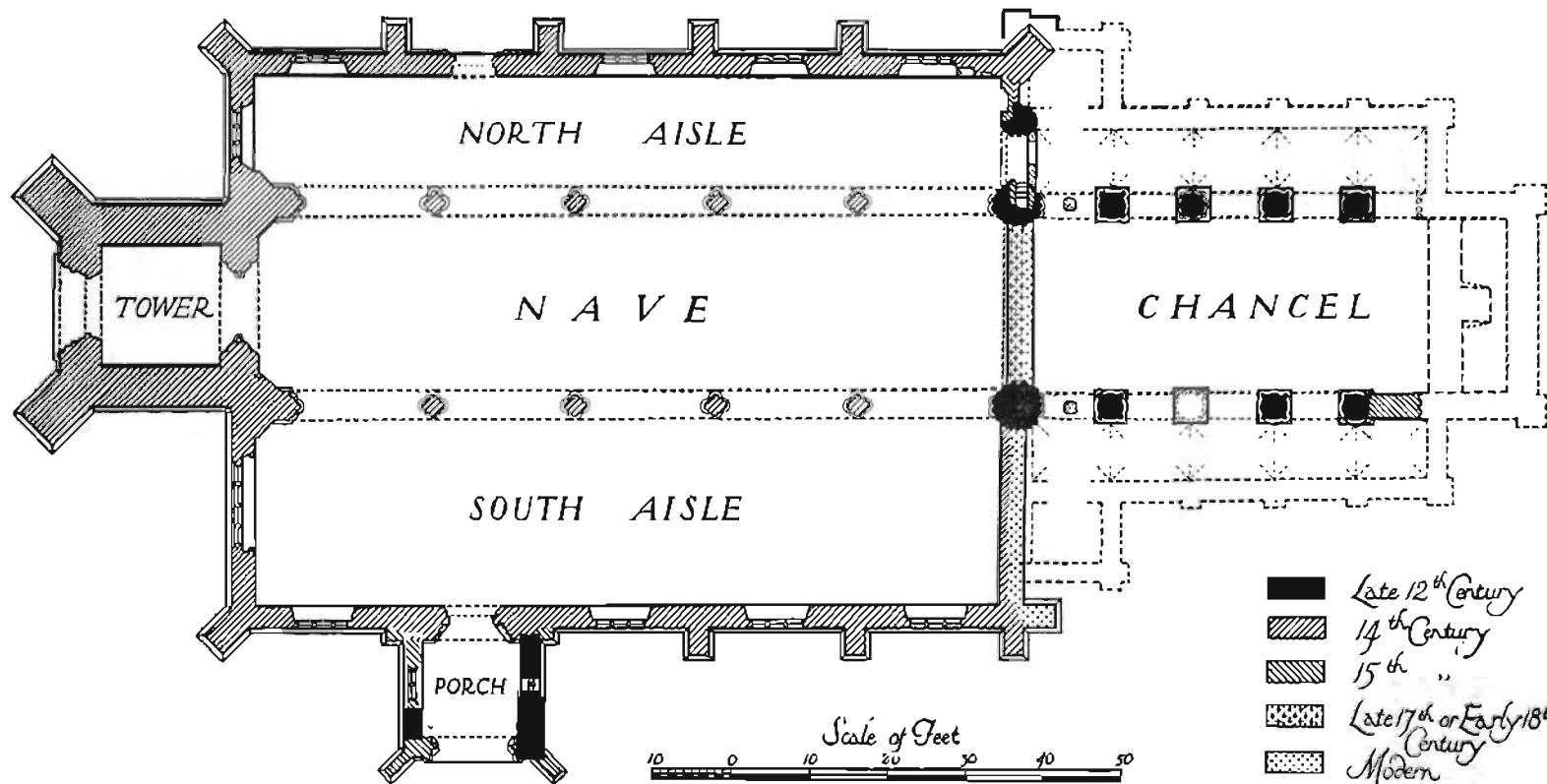
ORFORD CHURCH, SUFFOLK

NORTH AISLE

TOWER

N A V E

CHANCEL

SOUTH AISLE

PORCH

Scale of Feet

10 0 10 20 30 40 50

FIG. 3

Late 12th Century
14th Century
15th „
Late 17th or Early 18th Century
Modern

church in his *English Romanesque Architecture,* the late Sir Alfred Clapham writes : ' Though on a small scale it must have been a very complete example of almost pure Romanesque, only betraying its advanced date by the profiles of its mouldings '.

A detailed description of the Chancel and of the excavations is given in *Antiq. Journ.,* xiv, No. 2.

Whether or not the 12th-century church was ever completed is not known, but the whole building West of the Chancel was built or rebuilt early in the 14th century. It is of five aisled bays with a Clearstorey and a West Tower, and a South Porch added in the 15th century. The arcades are lofty and well proportioned, and the detailing throughout is remarkable for its beauty.

The Chancel had became neglected and ruinous, and was abandoned in the latter part of the 17th century when the Church assumed its present form.

The Tower collapsed in 1830 and the upper part remains a partial ruin.

Amongst the noteworthy fittings is a fine font of ' East Anglian ' type of *c.* 1400, the panelled sides of which are carved with a beautiful Pieta ; God the Father with the crucified Son ; shields of the Trinity and the Instruments of the Passion ; and the emblems of the four Evangelists. The step is inscribed ' *Orate pro aiabus Johis Cokerel et Katerine uxoris eius qui istam fontem in honore dei fecrut fieri* '.

There are several brasses but some have lost their inscriptions. They are all of civilians, women and children, and are generally of late 15th-and early 16th-century date, but two are of the early part of the 17th century.

The reset 16th-century screens on either side of the Sanctuary are of interest in showing Flemish influence in their design, and the Screen in front of the Organ-chamber is good work of its period ; it was given by Clement Corrance in 1712 and incorporates in its pediment the Royal Arms of William III.

Panelling from the former organ-case and gallery, erected by Francis, Earl of Hertford, in 1772, now encloses a Vestry at the West end of the North Aisle.

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ORFORD CASTLE

By P. K. BAILLIE REYNOLDS

Orford Castle is a royal foundation, built for coast defence. It stands on the river Ore (in its higher reaches known as the Alde) which now enters the sea some five miles south-west of Orford. In the 11th century, before the harbour silted up, Orford was a port of some considerable importance, on a stretch of coast vulnerable from Flanders. It is possible that an earth-and-timber castle was first built here soon after the Norman Conquest to guard the haven, for the existing building appears to stand on the lower part of a dismantled motte. The Keep (Pl. XVIb) which still stands was built by Henry II. The Pipe Rolls of 1165–6 record the expenditure of £256 4s. 9d. on Orford Castle, and there are yearly entries of various sums up to 1171–2. The Castle was continuously held for the King by Constables appointed by him. The Constable of John's reign, Hubert de Burgh, surrendered it to Louis the Dauphin. It was a post of some importance during the earlier stages of the Hundred Years War. The harbour appears to have silted up by the end of the 16th century and early in the 17th century the Castle was in the private possession of Sir Michael Stanhope. It remained in private hands till 1928 when Sir Arthur Churchman, M.P., bought it and presented it to the Orford Town Trust. The Keep is not unlike that of Conisborough, but its wall-chambers and passages are more ingeniously planned. It is cylindrical, with three projecting rectangular towers, at the south, north-west and north-east, and has a forebuilding in the angle of the latter. Nothing remains of the other buildings of the Castle.

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HEVENINGHAM HALL

By GEOFFREY F. WEBB

The existing house at Heveningham is in the main the work of two architects—Sir Robert Taylor and James Wyatt. Sir Robert Taylor's work was begun in 1778 for Sir Gerard Vanneck. It consisted of an almost complete remodelling of the earlier house built *c.* 1710 and the addition to it of two large wings, one to contain the main entertaining rooms and the other some smaller living rooms and the offices. A visitor in 1784 suggests that the building was largely complete both inside and out shortly before the end of the 18th century. However, James Wyatt gave the main state apartments their present character. This entailed much more than mere interior decoration and he profoundly altered the character of the rooms, especially Taylor's great hall. The gardens and park were laid out by Lancelot (Capability) Brown, one of whose drawings for the scheme is dated 1782.

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FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE

By P. K. BAILLIE REYNOLDS

The story that Framlingham Castle (Fig. 4) was originally a Saxon stronghold, and that St. Edmund was besieged there before his capture by the Danes, is not supported by any reliable evidence.

The first definite record of the site is that it was given by Henry I to Roger Bigod I in 1100–1. Roger Bigod erected the first buildings, a timber manor-house surrounded by a palisade and ditch, with an outer court protected in the same fashion on three sides and by an artificial mere on the fourth, the west. His son, Hugh Bigod, the first Earl of Norfolk, reconstructed the domestic buildings in stone between 1150 and 1160. Hugh Bigod twice rebelled against Henry II, and after the second occasion, in 1173, the King ordered Framlingham to be dismantled, but this seems only to have applied to the defences. Hugh's son Roger II, the second Earl, refortified the site, and converted it into a castle by constructing the stone curtain wall with its thirteen square towers, which still stands almost in its entirety. The walls seem to have been completed by about 1200. The earlier stone manor-house of Hugh Bigod was included within his son's enceinte, the west wall of which was built against the east walls of the Hall and Chapel. The wall of the Hall, with its two stone chimneys still stands incorporated in the later defensive wall. This Hall was, however, soon superseded by a new Hall on the west side, which was an integral part of Roger II's design. Only the outer wall of this Hall now survives, and forms the east wall of the Poorhouse. It includes three windows with pointed heads and semicircular rear-arches.

Roger V (1245–1306) was the last of the Bigods. As a result of his resistance to Edward I he was deprived of his estates in 1302, but he continued in possession till his death in 1306, when Framlingham passed to the Crown. Edward II gave it to his half-brother Thomas de Brotherton, whom he made Earl of Norfolk. From de Brotherton the estates passed through heiresses eventually to Thomas Mowbray, who in 1397 was created first Duke of Norfolk by Richard II. The fourth Mowbray Duke died in 1476 without male issue, and the estates passed through the female line to John Howard, who in 1483 was made the first Duke of Norfolk of that family by Richard III, and was killed at the battle of Bosworth in 1485. His son Thomas, the victor of Flodden, carried out considerable alterations at Framlingham. The existing gateway, with the Howard arms above it, is his work, and so, too, are the brick chimneys—many of them dummies—which crown the towers. His son lost the favour of Henry VIII, and Framlingham was forfeited to the Crown. Edward VI gave it to his half-sister Mary, and it was there that her supporters rallied to her in 1553 when the attempt was made to set Lady Jane
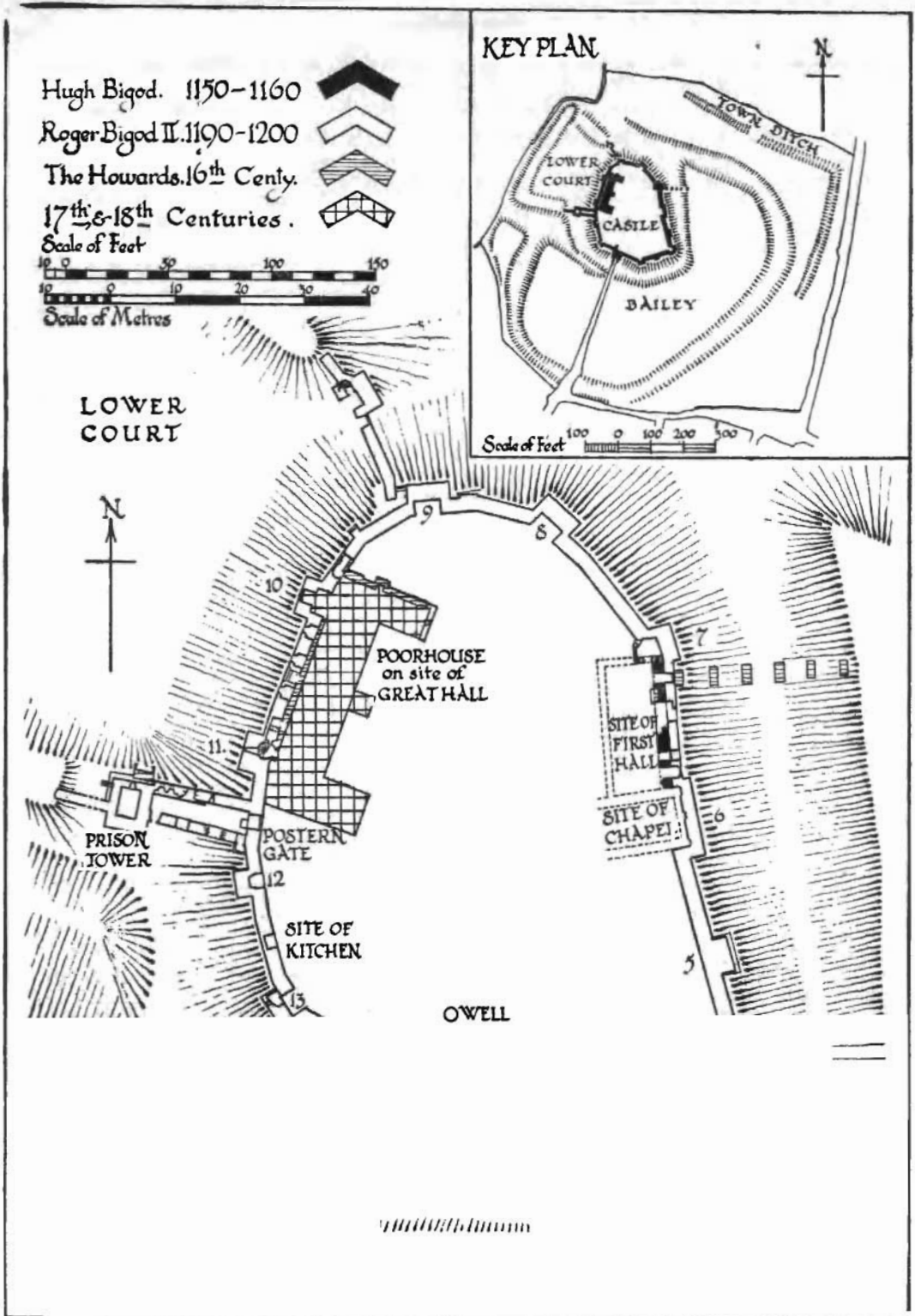
Hugh Bigod. 1150–1160
Roger Bigod II. 1190–1200
The Howards. 16th Centy.
17th & 18th Centuries.
Scale of Feet
Scale of Metres

KEY PLAN

N

TOWN DITCH

LOWER COURT

CASTLE

BAILEY

Scale of Feet

LOWER COURT

N

9

8

10

7

POORHOUSE
on site of
GREAT HALL

SITE OF
FIRST
HALL

11.

SITE OF
CHAPEL

6

PRISON TOWER

POSTERN GATE

12

5

SITE OF
KITCHEN

13

O WELL

FIG. 4

Grey on the throne. Mary restored his estates to the third Howard Duke, but he did not reside at Framlingham, and when his grandson, the fourth Duke, was executed by Elizabeth I for treason in 1572, the Norfolk estates were once more forfeited to the Crown. The castle was let to tenants, and allowed to fall into disrepair, and in the latter years of Elizabeth it was used as a prison for recusant priests.

In 1603 James I restored it to the Howards, but it was not again used as a residence, and in 1635 Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, sold it to Sir Robert Hitcham, who in the next year bequeathed it to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, directing that it should be pulled down, and that a Poorhouse should be built on the site. The outer walls were left standing, but all the internal buildings were demolished by degrees. The Great Hall probably continued to serve as the Poorhouse, for the existing building dates only from 1729. The north wing incorporates the only surviving fragments of castle buildings, of both the 13th and the 16th century : the south wing, now the custodian's residence, is of the 17th century, and was perhaps built by Pembroke Hall to house the Master of the Poorhouse. The Poorhouse ceased to be used as such in 1837. It contains a wooden gallery removed from the Parish Church when it was restored in 1887. In 1913 Pembroke College placed the castle in the guardianship of the then Office of Works.

SUTTON HOO

By C. W. PHILLIPS

The site of the East Anglian royal barrow cemetery at Sutton Hoo is at the north-east corner of the parish of Sutton on the east side of the river Deben opposite the town of Woodbridge. It is set on the western edge of the heath known as Sutton Walks close to the edge of the hundred-foot high escarpment which drops sharply westwards to the tidal flats. The National Grid reference is 62/288487.

Eleven mounds are visible to-day and fall roughly into three classes ranging from 100 to 50 feet in diameter and from 10 feet to 2 feet 6 inches in height. The site is flat and otherwise featureless. Four of the barrows were excavated in 1938–39 including the two largest examples. These are the ship barrow which stands nearest to the edge of the escarpment and the most northerly one which contained a disturbed boat burial. Of the other two excavated one contained the remains of two cremations with miscellaneous fire-damaged objects, while the other was empty and had probably been rifled. To-day the ship barrow can be easily distinguished by the great cut across its middle which was left when the outbreak of war in 1939 prevented the restoration of its original profile.

Two of the unexcavated barrows have depressions along their diameters from east to west. These may be the result of treasure-seeking or may be due to the collapse of planking placed over a buried boat as in the Vendel graves in Sweden.

The excavation of the ship barrow was carried out during the summer of 1939 and revealed a large clinker-built rowing boat nearly 80 feet in length with a beam of 14 feet and a draught of 5 feet. This had been set in a large trench dug in the old ground-surface. Amidships a burial chamber of timber very like a cabin had been erected and in this was placed a magnificent array of objects, some disposed on the bottom of the boat and others hung up. No actual burial was placed in the chamber although the grave goods were arranged in general as though one was present. The reason for the cenotaph character of this burial is still to seek. Evidence among the finds suggests that the date of the deposit is to be placed round about A.D. 655 or 660 by which time the conversion of East Anglia to Christianity might be regarded as virtually complete. The grave is undoubtedly royal and the names of Kings Anna and Aethelhere have been mentioned as persons who may have been commemorated in it.

The principal finds in the grave consisted of an enigmatic battle standard of iron, a great whetstone which was probably used as a sceptre, and an equipment of arms. This consisted of a sword-belt and sword with jewelled fittings which place it in a class by itself, an ornate helmet, an elaborately decorated shield, magnificent jewelled epaulettes

for a cuirass, spears of various types, an iron throwing-axe, and a coat of mail   The fittings of the sword-belt included an elaborately jewelled purse containing gold coinage of Merovingian Gaul which is of the greatest importance in dating the whole find.

Another aspect of the find was the Byzantine silver present in the form of a great silver dish, a smaller example, ten decorated silver bowls, and two silver spoons with the inscriptions ' Saulos ' and ' Paulos ' in Greek which may have been a christening gift.   A number of drinking-horns were also present one of which had the astonishing capacity of six quarts.   Hanging-bowls were represented by one magnificent example with unusual features and two smaller ones.   There was also a fine bronze Coptic bowl which contained not only the larger hanging-bowl but also the clearly recognizable remains of a small harp.   The tale of the deposit was completed by the remains of articles of clothing and footwear, several iron-bound wooden buckets, three bronze cauldrons, and tackle for suspending them over a fire.

Taken as a whole the burial is the richest one of its period ever found in Britain and probably in North-western Europe.   It is of the first importance not only in revealing the remarkable achievements of which local craftsmen were capable, but also as setting a typical Heptarchic royal family against the background of the whole contemporary world.   The occurrence of strong elements of contact with Sweden has raised the whole question of the relationship of the East Anglian royal house, the Uffings, with the ancient Swedish dynasty, and the consequences which may be expected to have flowed from this.

After the treasure had been declared not to be treasure trove by a coroner's jury the owner, Mrs. E. M. Pretty, with great generosity presented the whole find to the nation. The principal pieces may now be seen in the British Museum.

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WEDNESDAY, 18TH JULY

Morning

An account of the buildings in Ipswich visited during the morning is given above, pp. 140–148.

Afternoon

SAXTEAD GREEN MILL

By REX WAILES

The reduction in the numbers of working windmills from about 350 in 1919 to about 20 to-day can only emphasise the importance of the study of those that remain, even though they may be in a derelict condition.   A photographic survey which I made in 1926 showed that 37 working post mills remained in Suffolk.   To-day there are but three, all of them with two sails only, and the fate of the tower mills is similar.   The reason for this decline has its origin in the Industrial Revolution, and its latest factor in the scarcity of men who can or want to repair and work such mills.

In East Suffolk the post mill was brought to the highest pitch of perfection anywhere in the world, and though a few finer post mills than that at Saxtead Green have existed in East Suffolk, they were exceptional.   Saxtead Green is the best and only complete typical East Suffolk post mill now remaining.   The earliest records of the mill date from

1796, but it is by no means certain that the present mill stood on the site at that time. It has certainly been considerably rebuilt, probably in 1854, the date on the iron windshaft, which carries the sails. Some parts of the mill are from East Mill, Worlingworth, and it has been raised twice, so that now the brick 'roundhouse' below and the wooden 'buck' above are both 23 ft. high.

Post mills are so called because the buck or body of the mill is mounted on a suitably braced upright post, on which it can be turned round so that the sails may be kept square into the 'eye of the wind'. Originally this was effected by hand, but the introduction of the use of cast iron into millwork in the middle of the eighteenth century facilitated the invention of the 'fan-tail'. This improvement, which became characteristic of most East Suffolk post mills, consists of a wind wheel or fan behind the body of the mill, with its blades or vanes set at right angles to the sails of the mill. So long as the wind blows square on to the mill sails these vanes present only their edge to the wind. When the wind veers it strikes the vanes at an angle and turns the fan. This is connected by gearing to the wheels fixed to the bottom of the ladder which run on a track round the mill. These wheels are rotated and turn the mill body until the sails are once more square into the wind.

Sails were originally cloth spread. Later a number of hinged shutters in the sail frame took the place of the cloths. These shutters are all connected by means of rods and levers to a coupling at the centre where the four sails meet. This coupling is attached to a rod, which passes right through the windshaft carrying the sails. At the rear end of the rod is a geared rack engaging with a pinion mounted on a spindle common to a chain wheel. From this chain wheel an endless chain hangs down, and by manipulating this from the platform at the top of the ladder all the shutters can be opened or shut simultaneously, or can be held open or closed by hanging weights on to one side or other of the chain. The speed of the mill can be regulated by varying the weights, and once they are set the sails are self regulating. This type of sail, almost invariably used on East Suffolk mills, is known as the 'patent sail', and was the invention of Sir William Cubitt in 1807. Below the striking chain wheel is a very attractive bonnet-shaped porch, which adds much to the character of Saxtead Mill (Pl. XVIIA).

Inside the mill on the top floor mounted on the iron windshaft is a wooden 'brake wheel'. The teeth are of iron, cast in segments and bolted to the rim, on which a wooden brake acts. These teeth engage with those of an iron bevel wheel or 'wallower' on the 'stone floor' below. This wallower is fixed to an iron 'upright shaft' and mounted immediately below it is the iron 'great spur wheel'. This in turn drives two iron spur pinions called 'stone nuts'. mounted on iron vertical spindles or 'quants'. These quants drive the top stones or runners of the two pairs overdriven or 'over-drift' stones in the breast of the mill. The stones themselves are enclosed in octagonal close-fitting wooden casings and are fed with grain from bins on the floor above through spouts into wooden hoppers. These in turn feed the inclined troughs or 'shoes', which are held against the square iron quants by wooden springs, and are vibrated to shake the grain down into the eye of each stone.

After passing through the stones the grain emerges as meal and escapes through a hole and down a spout to the 'meal floor' below, where it is bagged up. Should the grain run low in either hopper, an ingenious arrangement allows a bell to fall against the arms of the wallower and its ringing warns the miller to replenish the hopper. The bins in the top floor are filled from sacks hauled up from the ground floor of the round-house through double flap trap doors by the sack hoist. This is driven by belt from a pulley on the windshaft. Normally the belt is slack, but by pulling a cord a tensioning device is brought into play, and if the miller is working the slack in the belt is taken up and the sack chain is wound up into a drum in the roof.

In the ceiling of the meal floor can be seen the governors and the stone spindles on which the runner stones are mounted. The governors are used to keep the fineness of grinding constant, irrespective of the speed of the mill, by raising and lowering the runner stones by a very small amount. On this floor, too, the upper part of the post is visible, socketting into the horizontal 'crown tree' upon which the whole structure of the buck

L

is built up. The crown tree has been fitted with a cast iron plate, which, with a cast iron ring on the top of the post acts as an additional bearing to take the weight of the mill.

In addition, the top 30 in. of the post is enclosed in a cast iron corset, on account of a split that developed. Two vertical iron rods tie the crown tree to the two ' sheers ' which run fore and aft on either side of the post and below the whole length of the meal floor. There are, in addition two other iron braces with strainers from the front corner posts to the crown tree.

The post passes down to the second floor of the round-house where it is supported by a substructure of two intersecting horizontal ' cross trees ' below its base, and four diagonal ' quarter-bars ' mortised into it just below the sheers and resting on the ends of the cross bars. These transfer the weight of the mill through the post and cross trees to four brick piers built up from the ground. The round-house, though it houses engine-driven stones, has no structural significance at all and acts as a store and as a protection to the substructure from the weather.

It may fairly be claimed that the beauty of this mill lies in its good proportions and the fitness of purpose of every part, and in this it may perhaps be compared to a well designed sailing ship or soaring glider, for, like them, it utilises that uncontrolled source of power—the wind.

Between the two wars attempts were made on the part of private persons in Suffolk and elsewhere to preserve certain windmills as landmarks. To-day taxation makes this course impossible, and it is to be hoped that the enterprise of the Essex County Council before the last war in preserving typical windmills will be followed by other County Councils beside that of East Suffolk. But the latest welcome development has been the interest shown by the Ancient Monuments Division of the Ministry of Works in the preservation of windmills, and the second example to be taken over is this very post mill at Saxtead Green.

EARL STONHAM CHURCH

By E. A. R. RAHBULA

The early history of the church of St. Mary, Earl Stonham (Fig. 5) is somewhat obscure.

The thickness of the nave walls may indicate a 12th-century origin, and the cruciform plan may indicate a former central tower.

Neither of these surmises can, however, be substantiated by other architectural evidence.

The chancel and transepts are of the 13th and 14th centuries, the earliest dateable feature being a small lancet window in the North wall of the former. The Porch is of the 14th century, and the West Tower, the clearstory and the nave roof are of the latter part of the 15th century : the main West window of the tower is of early 14th-century date reset in the later wall ; the traceried West door is contemporary with the tower.

Knapped flint panelling has been used on the base and parapet of the tower and on the South clearstory wall, but not on the North wall.

The main claim of the church to distinction is the magnificent nave roof, one of the most elaborate in a county of fine roofs. It is in ten bays. The principals, which are of single hammer-beam type with cambered and moulded collars supporting king-posts, have carved and traceried spandrils and rise off wall-posts carved with canopied niches containing small figures, all of which have been decapitated. The hammer-beams are carved with prone angels holding shields, and the alternate trusses have pseudo hammer-beams tenoned into side posts which terminate in carved pendants ; all these angels have lost their heads and most of the shields have been defaced, but one of the angels on the South side holds a mitre and another retains a shield carved with pincers and hammer.

Between the trusses are carved arched braces, two rows of angels, brattishing and bands of pierced tracery, while the moulded portions have brattishing on both sides and all the rafters are moulded.
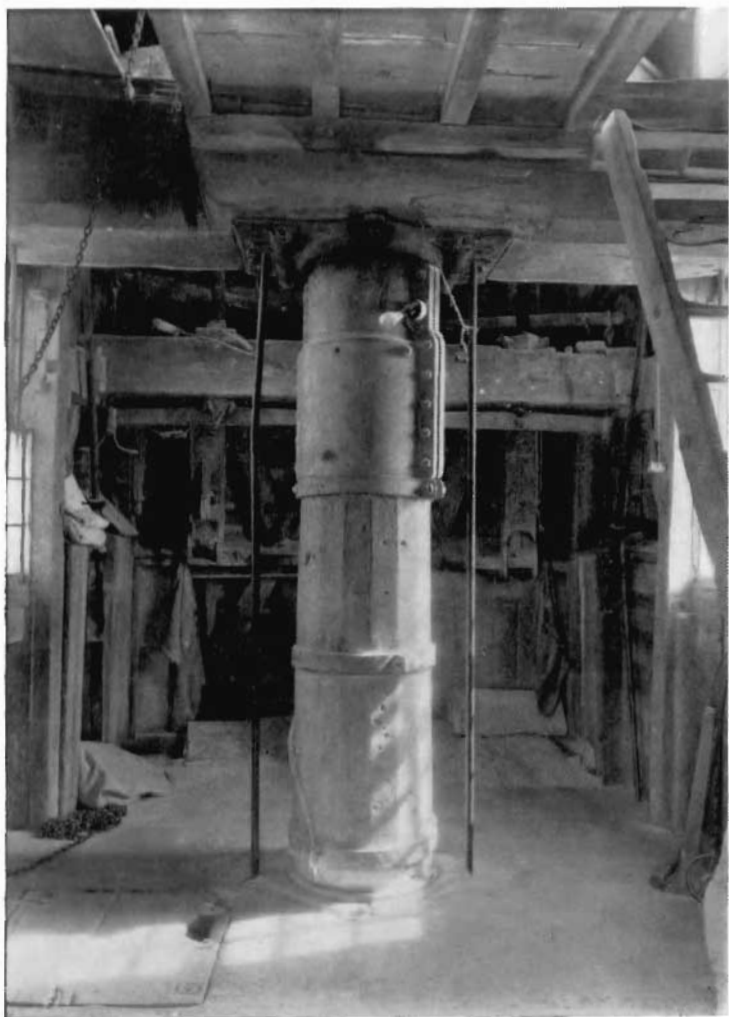
SAXTEAD MILL : INTERIOR
(*Photo : Rex Waites*)

SAXTEAD MILL : EXTERIOR
(*From the 62nd Annual Report
of the S.P.A.B. Committee, 1939*)

PLATE XVII

PLATE XVIII

A. HEVENINGHAM HALL: THE ORANGERY

B. ICKWORTH HOUSE: EXTERIOR
(*Photos: Dr. Margaret Wood*)

The roof of the chancel is also of hammer-beam type but is less ornate, and those of the transepts, though apparently incorporating old material, are largely modern.

Over the chancel arch a wall-painting of a Doom survives, and on the West wall of the South transept is another of St. George and the dragon. Others of the Martyrdom of St. Katherine and a Nativity with the Magi and Shepherds have now gone, but framed copies made by Hamlet Watling at the time of their discovery are preserved in the church.
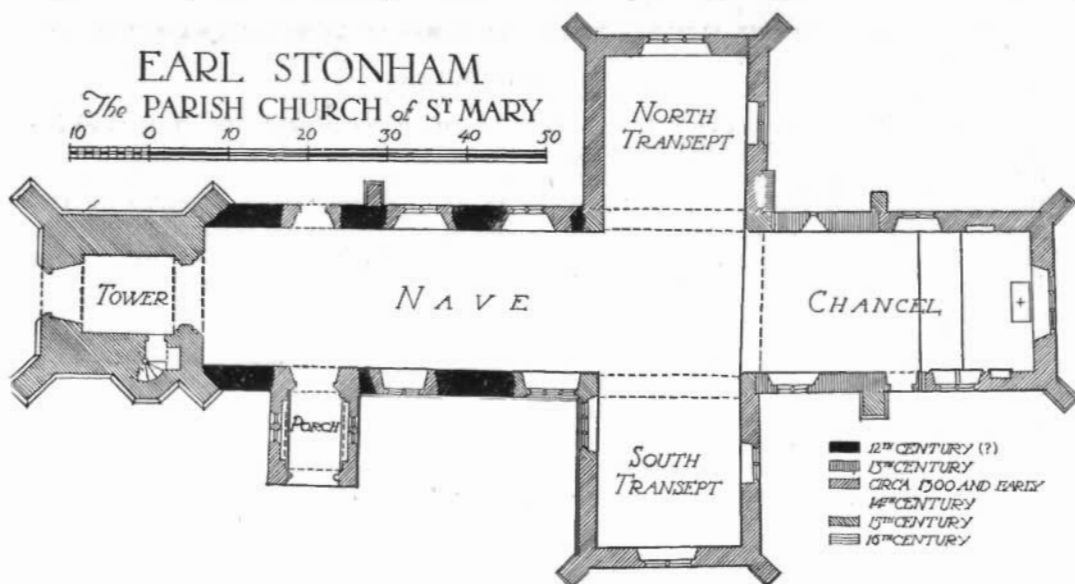

FIG. 5

There are two chests both of *c.* 1300, one enriched with chip carved roundels ; a Jacobean pulpit with its old hour-glasses ; an early 17th-century communion table ; two prayer desks to the front rows of the choir stalls with poppy-heads and sloped ends carved with a man with an axe, a man with a bag-pipe, a wodeman and a devil ; some old bench ends in the nave, one of which is inscribed ' ORATE PRO [ANIMA] NECOLAI HOUK '. The piscina, sedilia and 15th-century font are also of interest.

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NEEDHAM MARKET CHURCH

By WALTER H. GODFREY

Needham Market, formerly a Chapelry of Barking, has an unaisled 15th-century church which is famous for its roof. Mr. Munro Cautley calls it ' the culminating achievement of the medieval carpenter ' ; it is of elaborate hammer-beam construction, with free arched tie-beams which secure the rigidity of the structure. The whole springs from a bold cornice and the hammer-beams have angel terminals. There are black letter inscriptions on the external wall and buttresses, one of which refers to the builder of the church. In the south wall is a door bearing the arms of William Grey, bishop of Ely, 1458–1478. The porch has a clock and three bells which formerly hung in a wooden turret on the west gable.

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THURSDAY, 19TH JULY

ICKWORTH HOUSE

By GEOFFREY WEBB

WITH A NOTE ON THE PICTURES IN THE MARQUESS OF BRISTOL'S COLLECTION

By E. K. WATERHOUSE

The present house at Ickworth was begun on an unencumbered site about 1796 for the fourth Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry. The work was carried out under the superintendence of Francis Sandys who had previously built a house of similar character for the Earl Bishop at Ballyscullion in Northern Ireland and was also responsible for the Athenaeum at Bury St. Edmunds (p. 190). The plan of the house originally consisted of an oval central block (Pl. XVIIIB) containing the house proper and two large wings intended to form galleries for the Earl's collections of works of art. The building was unfinished at the time of his death in 1803 and was not completed and occupied until 1828. This later work, carried out for the Marquess of Bristol who had not inherited his father's collections involved drastic changes, especially in the wings which were no longer needed as galleries. The contents of the house is distinguished for its collection of portraits. At some distance from the house the walled gardens and outbuildings belonging to an earlier scheme have survived. These date from *c.* 1717.

The series of portraits of the Hervey family and their connections, which begin with the 16th century, is one of the great series of family portraits in the country. The main pictures have always been at Ickworth, but a certain number were hung, until the last war, at 6 St. James's Square. Lely, Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Zoffany, and Lawrence are especially well represented, and there is a catalogue of 171 portraits at Ickworth in 1905 in Rev. Edmund Farrer, *Portraits in Suffolk Houses* (*West*), 1908, pp. 199–230, in which some of the best are illustrated. Many minor local painters of the earlier 18th century are also represented, and these can be identified to an unusual degree from the accounts of the first Earl of Bristol, which have been printed in S.H.A.H(ervey), *The Diary of John Hervey, I'st Earl of Bristol, with extracts from his book of expenses 1688 to 1742*, Wells, 1894, where there is also a complete list of the known portraits of members of the Hervey family. Of the small collection of foreign painters the most noteworthy are Ribera's *Simeon* and two portraits from the entourage of Velazquez : there is also a *Magdalen* by Cigoli signed and dated 1598.

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LITTLE SAXHAM CHURCH

By E. A. R. RAHBULA

The church of St. Nicholas, Little Saxham (fig. 6), is interesting chiefly on account of its circular West Tower, a feature peculiar almost exclusively to non stone producing districts due, it is generally considered, to the absence of freestone for quoins.

The tower here is of early 12th-century date and rises without break from the ground to the bell-chamber in which are four round-headed windows, each of two lights, alternating with round arched wall-arcading. The lofty tower-arch, the small lights in the lower stage, and the South wall of the nave with its doorway, all appear to be of the same period. A round-headed recess South of the tower-arch is of reused material and may have been the former North doorway, reset in its present position when the North aisle was added and the arcade built in the 14th century ; its purpose is unknown.

The chancel was rebuilt in the 15th century, but the windows and those in the South wall of the nave are largely modern except for the splays and rear-arches.

The North chapel, dedicated to Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist, was added early in the 16th century by Thomas Lucas, Solicitor-General to Henry VII; he here erected a canopied table-tomb for himself between the chancel and the chapel. Upon his death in 1531 he was, however, buried in London, and shortly afterwards his estates in Little Saxham were sold to Sir John Crofts of West Stow; the chapel now houses monuments to members of the Crofts family.

LITTLE SAXHAM *The* PARISH CHURCH of S^T NICHOLAS
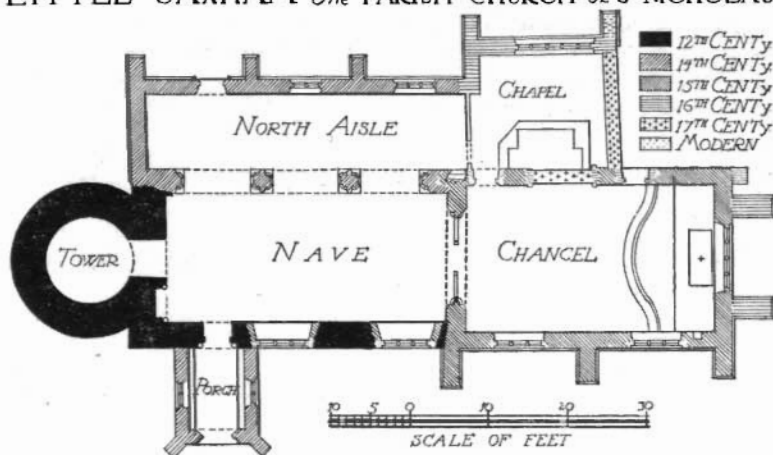
FIG. 6

The most remarkable is to William, Lord Crofts, *ob.* 1677, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber of Charles II, and his second wife Elizabeth Spencer, *ob.* 1672, a multicoloured marble monument with recumbent effigies, broken scrolled pediment and shields of arms; it is signed ' Storey fecit '. Its erection necessitated the blocking of the archway in which was set Lucas' tomb which was demolished and used in the blocking.

On the East wall is a tablet surmounted by a charming portrait-bust of Elizabeth, wife of Henry Crofts and third daughter of Elizabeth Countess of Devonshire by her first husband, Richard Worteley; she died in 1642.

There are other marble monuments to Anne, *ob.* 1727, widow of William Crofts and daughter of William Alington, by William Palmer; and to William Crofts who died in 1694. The chapel appears to have been shortened by rebuilding the original East wall further westward.

Other fittings of interest include several old bench-ends to pews in the nave; an early 17th-century communion table; a pulpit of the same period; and a 17th-century bier.

The 18th-century altar-rails were brought by the present incumbent, the Rev. W. W. Lillie, in recent years, from the demolished church of Little Livermere.

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BURY ST. EDMUNDS

By H. J. M. MALTBY

There is abundant evidence to prove that the site now occupied by Bury St. Edmunds was a place of human habitation in prehistoric times. The discovery in 1884 at Westley, three miles west of the town, of a human skull fragment, together with a number of flint implements and fossil animal remains, was a find of great importance. Flint implements of the old and the new Stone Ages have been found in various parts of the town.

Relics of the Bronze Age have been excavated from burial mounds or discovered accidentally in several parishes adjacent to the town. Evidence of late Iron Age occupation, in and near Bury St. Edmunds, is provided by a variety of ornaments, chiefly amulets and beads.

There is little or no evidence to prove that the Romans, after they invaded East Anglia, occupied the site of Bury St. Edmunds, but the discovery of Romano-British pottery, Roman coins, and bronze ornaments in nearby villages suggests that the Romans were at least in close proximity to Bury even if they did not settle there, as seems most improbable.

Coming down to Anglo-Saxon times we find ourselves on surer ground, for, although no such splendid finds of Anglo-Saxon ornaments have been found in Bury St. Edmunds as were discovered at West Stow Heath, about four miles north-west of the town, about a century ago, the ancient name of Bœdericesworthe, by which the place was known c. 633, when Sigebert, King of the East Angles, founded a church and monastery here, is sufficient proof of Saxon occupation.

There is no record of the monastic life of the place until A.D. 903, when the body of the martyred King Edmund was removed from its original burial place at Hoxne, and solemnly translated to a wooden church built for its reception at Bœdericesworthe. From this time the name of the town gradually began to change to St. Edmundsbury or Bury St. Edmunds, but it was not until the 18th century that its present name came into general use.

Bury St. Edmunds unquestionably owes its early celebrity and a long period of prominence in history to the posthumous fame of King Edmund and the remarkable stories of miracles performed in connection with the famous shrine which contained his remains. There can be no doubt that, after the foundation of the monastery in Bury in 1020, many, who had been attracted by the miracles performed at the shrine, found a stable source of livelihood in the work of providing for the necessities of the monks and the large number of pilgrims who flocked to the town.

It was the scene of an important event on St. Edmund's Day (20th November) in 1214, when the confederate Barons swore on the High Altar to wrest from King John, by force if need be, the confirmation of their liberties, thus paving the way for the sealing of Magna Carta in the following year.

With the growth of the Abbey in wealth and power, the town shared in the general prosperity. King Edward the Confessor gave the Abbot control over the eight and a half Hundreds, or the whole of West Suffolk. He also gave authority for minting coins. His influence led to the choice of his French physician, Baldwin, as Abbot, who brought many foreigners to the town, whose streets he laid out in continental fashion, at right-angles, so that the shopping centre of ' rows ' between the market and the Abbey became a ' grid ', which still remains.

The main street, or Cook's Row, now Abbeygate Street, was lined with busy cook shops, where pilgrims and townspeople could buy baked meats. The market itself, jealously guarded from rivals, became the trading centre for West Suffolk, as it is to-day.

The thousands who thus thronged the town made much business for its many inns or stayed within the guest house of the Abbey. Many Kings were entertained with their followers. Henry III gathered his council in Bury in 1267, when the Papal Legate excommunicated those rebels who were at bay in the Isle of Ely, and who made Bury St. Edmunds their market for loot seized in the surrounding countryside.

Edward I brought his Queen here in 1275 to fulfil a vow made in the Holy Land. Edward II spent Christmas in the Abbey in 1325 anxiously expecting invasion by his Queen, Isabelle, who, however, reached the Abbey only in the following autumn to lay hands on the treasure stored there for safety.

And so the tale of Royal visits continues until July, 1533, when the funeral procession of Mary Tudor, Dowager Queen of France and sister of Henry VIII, reached the monastery in great state. Her remains were removed from the Abbey at the Dissolution and re-interred in the Sanctuary of St. Mary's Church, where they still remain.

The monastic buildings of stone and flint rubble had grown until, at the Dissolution, it was one of the finest Abbeys in the country, with the possible exception of Glastonbury. When Henry VIII's agents were busy concocting their articles against the monks, they stripped the ' very cumbrous ' shrine which they found and the King's exchequer was enriched by some 12,000 ounces of gold and silver plate from the monastery. In November, 1539, the monks reaped the bitter fruits of their greed for power, when the last Abbot of Bury, John Reeve, with the prior and forty monks signed the surrender of their house, and Bury ceased to be a monastic borough.

Upon the fall of the Abbey, Sir Nicholas Bacon, son of its Sheepreeve, became Chief Bailiff of the Borough under the Crown. Not unnaturally he replied to the townspeople's petition for a charter that the Queen had granted too many to other Boroughs. After his death the townspeople contrived to purchase from James I a charter of incorporation in 1606, and, after the town had been partly destroyed by fire two years later, they obtained a grant in reversion of most of the monastic properties, including the markets. A third charter, from the same King in 1614, extended their privileges, which were confirmed by Charles II in 1668.

There is evidence of the town's continuing prosperity in the 18th century. According to Daniel Defoe, ' Bury was crowded with nobility and gentry, and all sorts of most agree-able company '. The fall of the Abbey had changed the town and the surrounding countryside. Fine new houses had been built by the new gentry, and Bury St. Edmunds became the social centre for the owners of large country mansions, who built themselves town houses in Bury. Trade increased and the shopkeepers, who benefited, enlarged their premises to meet the growing needs of the townspeople.

The illustration of the Market Hill looking north from Abbeygate Street (Pl. XIX) gives a good impression of this busy part of the town in the early part of the 18th century. It is reproduced from an oil painting on a wooden panel by an unknown artist, and was executed about the year 1700. It shows the Market Cross, Cupola House, the Meat Market and the Shambles. This painting is the property of the Museum and Libraries Committee of the Borough Council.

From the date of the first charter of James I until the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835, the Borough was governed by a close Corporation, consisting of an Alderman, twelve Chief Burgesses and twenty-four Burgesses. Under the Municipal Corporations Act the Borough was divided into three wards and placed under the government of a Mayor, a Recorder, six Aldermen and eighteen Councillors, and a Commission of the Peace, consisting of fifteen magistrates.

Under the Reform Act of 1832 the right of electing two Parliamentary representatives for the Borough was vested in male occupiers of houses in the Borough of the yearly value of £10 and upwards.

To-day the estimated population of the Borough is 20,000. There are five wards with the same number of Aldermen and Councillors, but the Borough now returns one member to Parliament instead of two. In 1936 a charter of William IV (1836) granted to the Borough a separate Quarter Sessions of the Peace.

Although Bury St. Edmunds still retains many of its old features and medieval remains, it is now essentially Georgian in character and possesses many fine houses of this period.

As the chief town in West Suffolk, and one unequalled in importance among the towns of East Anglia, it is a prosperous market town. Its modern industries are those

natural to an agricultural centre. The maltings and timber-yards, the engineering works, and more recently the beet sugar factory, have risen on the borders of the ancient ' banlieu ' and outside its limits. A fine new housing estate is gradually being developed to accommodate the growing number of workers who find employment in the Borough.

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A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TOWN-PLAN OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS

By J. T. SMITH

The street-plan of Bury (Fig. 7) is an instance of Norman development on gridiron or chessboard lines, partially obliterating the lay-out of the pre-Conquest settlement.[1] The Saxon town probably arose in the 10th century as a result of the fame of King Edmund's relics, which brought pilgrims to the abbey, but there is no literary evidence to suggest a deliberate policy of development by the abbots, nor is there, as at St. Albans, a recognisable pre-Conquest street-plan to prove an act of urban creation. At that time Northgate Street seems to have continued southward parallel to the river, past the west front of the abbey church, to join Sparrowhawk Lane and so enter St. Mary's Square, the former Horse Market.[2] Abbot Baldwin (1065–97) enlarged the town with streets laid out on a regular gridiron plan, where 342 houses had been built by 1086.

This type of plan is known elsewhere in the early Norman period, the best-known example being Ludlow, studied by Sir William St. J. Hope[3] and dated by him to the early 12th century. Southampton has another such plan which is assigned by Hughes and Lamborn to Cnut, though the Domesday evidence of French and English settlement rather suggests a post-Conquest date for so considerable a development.[4] Several other English towns show signs of having been laid out on similar lines, but documentary evidence to date the plan is either lacking or inconclusive.

This scarcity of dated or datable town-plans both in England and on the continent makes it difficult to indicate the source from which Abbot Baldwin and his contemporaries derived their ideas of planning. It has indeed been argued that the gridiron pattern is the obvious one on which to lay out a new settlement, but this view ignores the quite different street-plans sometimes adopted. An interesting English contrast to Bury is provided by another monastic town, St. Albans, laid out in the 10th century with a widened street terminating in a triangular market-place before the abbey gate.[5] Towns and villages in Hertfordshire continued to be laid out on this plan right into the 14th century, and indicate that both gridiron and triangular market-place methods of planning existed side by side

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[1] For a full account of the early history of Bury St. Edmunds, see M. D. Lobel, *The Borough of Bury St. Edmunds* (1935), from which all the information here given is taken.
[2] Plan of Bury by Alexander Downing (1740) ; Lobel, *op. cit.*, p. 8, n. 2.
[3] *Archaeologia* lxi (1909), 387.
[4] Hughes, T. W. and Lamborn, E. A. G.,

Towns and Town-Planning, Ancient and Modern (Oxford, 1923), 53 ; and D. Bk. ' After King William came into England, there settled in Hantone 65 men of French birth and 31 English ': *V.C.H., Hants.* i, 516.
[5] W. Page, The Towns and Villages of Hertfordshire, *Archaeologia* lxix (1920), 47–60.
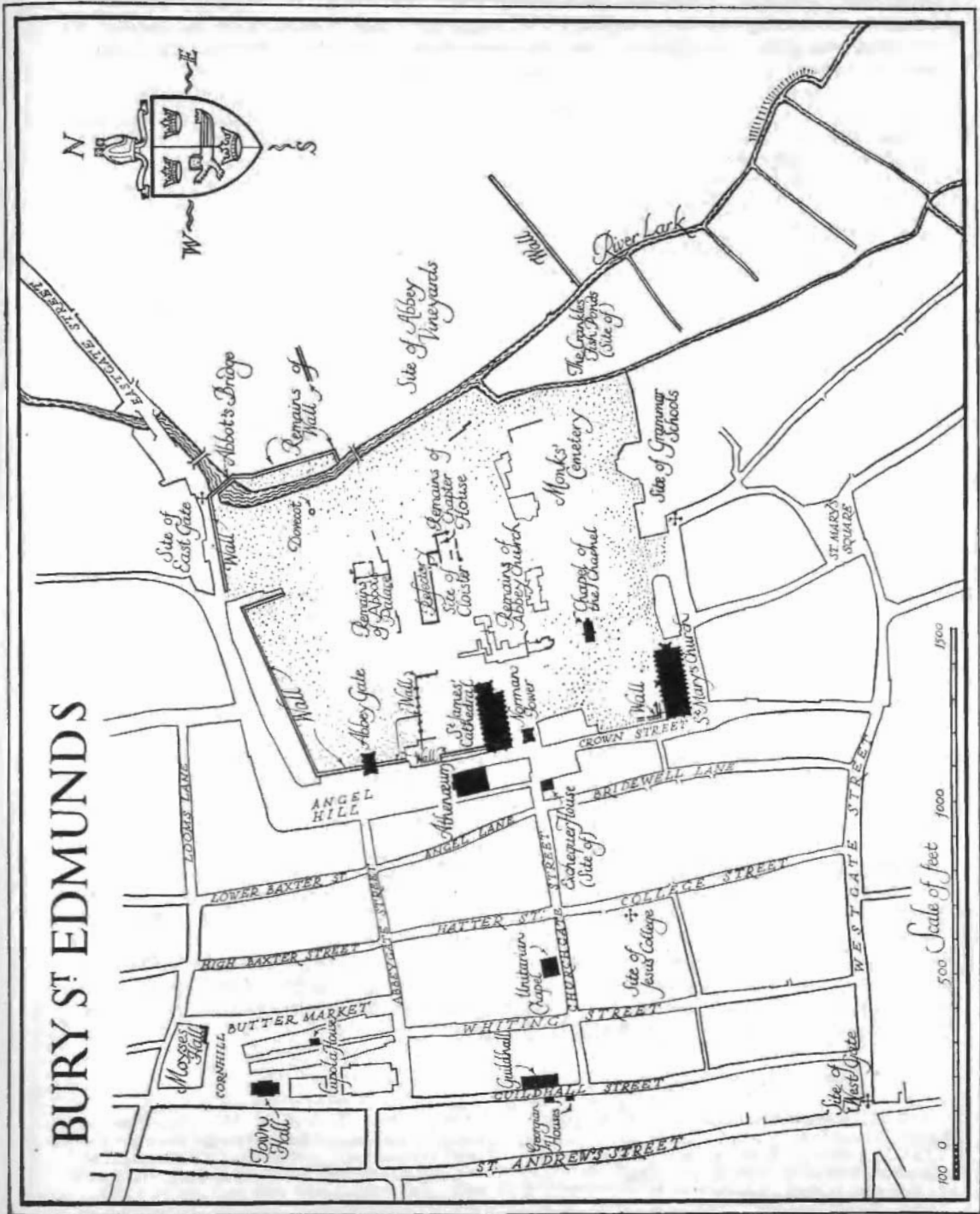
BURY ST EDMUNDS

FIG. 7. PLAN OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS

for several centuries. Therefore, even though the former may be a natural lay-out, it would be of interest to see from what beginnings it came gradually to be adopted in preference to other plans, until by the 13th century the builders of bastides seem to have used no other.

The earliest English example of the gridiron plan is probably Oxford, which Dr. H. E. Salter thought had been laid out before the Conquest[1] ; his principal argument was that ' When Robert d'Oilli built the castle, it is obvious that he diverted the line of [Castle Street] and made it run into St. Ebbe's Street ', thus deforming there the rectilinear lay-out to which the other streets conform. To date the plan precisely is perhaps impossible and would in any case require a full setting forth of the evidence which cannot be attempted here.   It is enough to say that it cannot be earlier than the 10th century, when, probably, the original wall or rampart was built.   Pierre Lavedan noted the striking regularity of Bedford's plan,[2] where settlements on both sides of the river are laid out on a gridiron pattern ; that on the south side he equated with the burh of 915. This does not necessarily mean that the present street-plan originated then, and it will be best for the present to regard Oxford as our earliest example.

The Normans brought their own architecture to England, and when we find Norman lords, both lay and ecclesiastical, building new towns to a uniform pattern, it is natural to look for continental models. Lavedan examined a large number of 18th-century cadastral plans of French towns, i.e., before their modern development began, and the earliest certain instances of regular lay-out that he found were of the second half of the 11th century.   Nogaro, founded by the Archbishop of Auch in 1060, and Mugron, founded in 1074, both contain elements of rectilinear planning,[3] though their main streets are curved as at Oxford.   He gives no examples of medieval towns founded by the Normans. From an examination of modern maps it seems that among medieval towns founded in Normandy only Argentan and Coutances show possible signs of a planned lay-out.   Much detailed research would be necessary to discover when such development is likely to have taken place but on general grounds it can hardly have been before the middle of the 10th century, and therefore probably not earlier than Oxford.

There is slight evidence of building regulations in towns in the 9th century,[4] but they do not suggest the deliberate setting-out of a whole town by some higher authority. Thetford, the only medieval town in this country to have been partially excavated, seems to have shown no sign of planning.[5]

Roman towns have been suggested as the model for the medieval builders of towns, but this was strenuously denied by Haverfield, who said that ' the cases are few in which survivals of Roman streets have conditioned the form of medieval . . . towns '.[6]   The difficulties of interpreting topographical evidence for the survival of Roman towns have been discussed by Mr. J. N. L. Myres,[7] who shows that there is no proved instance of the continued use of a Roman street-plan into the Middle Ages.

J. A. Parker long ago suggested[8] that Bazas was the model for the 13th-century bastides.   Not only is the date of its foundation and lay-out uncertain, but a glance at its plan (reproduced by Lavedan) is sufficient to dispel the idea.

To sum up, all that can be said until detailed studies of selected towns have been made, is that Bury St. Edmunds presents an early but not unparalleled instance of the most important type of medieval town-plan.   The date when the type first appeared is unknown, as is its connection, if any, with Roman town-plans.

[1] H. E. Salter, *Mediaeval Oxford* (Oxford, 1936), 7–12.
[2] P. Lavedan, *Histoire de l'Urbanisme ; Antiquité–Moyen Age* (Paris, n.d.), 388.
[3] Lavedan, *op. cit.*, 296–7.
[4] Sir F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn. Oxford, 1949), 519–20.

[5] *Arch. News Letter*, ii, 117–122 ; there is, however, no direct reference to the town-plan.
[6] F. J. Haverfield, *Ancient Town Planning*, 140.
[7] Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 429–431.
[8] Turner and Parker, *Domestic Architecture in England*, XIVth Century, 172.

MOYSE'S HALL

A DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDING

By MARGARET E. WOOD

Moyse's Hall, now the Borough Museum, was a Norman dwelling-house of ' first-floor hall-and-solar ' type, and a third apartment may have once existed. The house was built *c.* 1180, of flint with ashlar dressings. The two S. buttresses and the string-courses are original, but not the gables. A drastic restoration took place in 1858 at the hands of Sir Gilbert Scott, and the pseudo-Norman windows on the ground-floor were then inserted.

The divided basement has a Tudor arch now opening the mid-wall and a late medieval staircase. The smaller part has a groined vault in three oblong bays. The larger portion is divided into two aisles of three square bays by cylindrical piers. From these spring wide transverse and longitudinal bands supported by responds similar to those in the W. room. There were similar responds in the E. wall, but the latter was rebuilt and set back when the road here was widened.

Above, the hall or E. portion, has a pair of late Norman windows on the S. wall. These are interesting as an example of 12th-century rectangular lights, each within a round arch having roll and hollow mouldings, solid tympanum, and jamb-shafts with volute capitals. The rear-arches are semi-circular, keel-moulded, and there are window-seats, parallel to the splayed jambs ; string-courses remain inside and out.

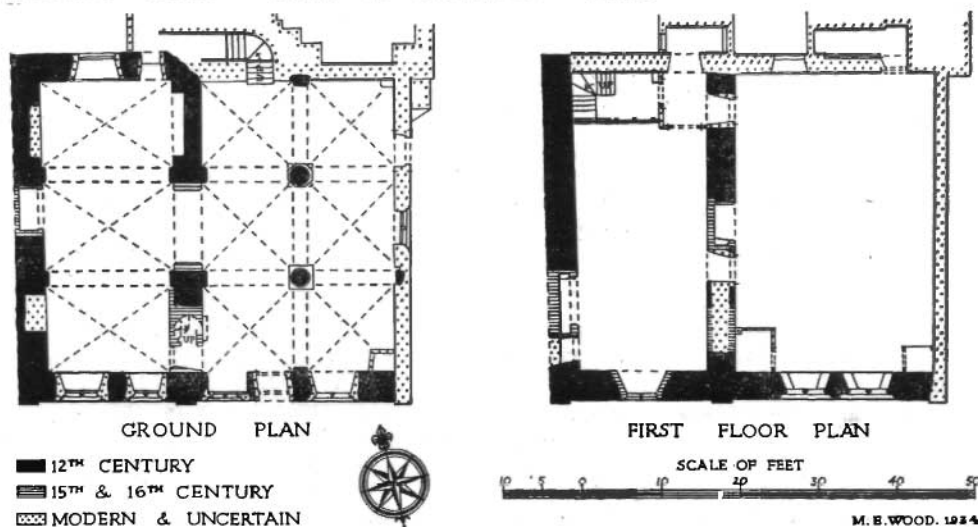
MOYSE'S HALL - BURY ST EDMUNDS - c1180

GROUND PLAN   FIRST FLOOR PLAN

■ 12ᵀᴴ CENTURY
≡ 15ᵀᴴ & 16ᵀᴴ CENTURY
▨ MODERN & UNCERTAIN

SCALE OF FEET

M. E. WOOD. 1934

FIG. 8

A HISTORY OF THE BUILDING AND THE MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

By H. J. M. MALTBY

Moyse's Hall by long-established tradition originated as a Synagogue or Jew's House or Hall, but in the absence of the deeds of the building there is no evidence to support this tradition. It has been suggested with considerable probability that this and other ' halls ' in the town were sometimes used as hostelries for pilgrims visiting the Abbey and unable to find accommodation in the Guest House.

The earliest known reference to Moyse's Hall by that name appears in Arnold's *Memorials of Bury St. Edmunds*, where he described the riots in 1328, when fugitives and outlaws came into Bury and by force seized the keys of all the gates of the town and none of the tradesmen resisting, the fugitives hurried off to breakfast at Moyse's Hall, and on their way killed Roger Pessenhall, a servant of the Abbey. The townsmen, rejoicing at their coming, celebrated this feast by the many gifts they made towards it.

In the absence of the deeds of the building reference has to be made to early wills for information regarding Moyse's Hall. In the will of Andrew Scarbot, dated 1474, it is mentioned as the tenement of Agnes King, but not as a corner house, but rather as part of the premises now known as the Castle Inn adjoining. This interesting statement and other evidence which has come to light suggests that Moyse's Hall in early times was a much larger building than it is at present. Reference to earlier wills supports these facts. Richard King, alias Baxter, mercer of Bury, mentions in his will dated 1441, his hostelry which he bequeathed with all the things belonging to the guest chamber and the utensils in the hall, chamber, butlery, kitchen, bakehouse and brewery to his wife Katherine. She left the premises in the Great Market which her husband assigned to her, to Edward, her son, who was probably the husband of Agnes King, mentioned in the will of Andrew Scarbot.

The Hall remained in the occupation of the King family for many years. In the 16th century it was the residence of Richard King, a benefactor to the town. It was at this period that many interior alterations were carried out for the comfort and convenience of the occupants.

In the early years of the 17th century part of the Hall was apparently used as a temporary Woolhall for the collection of tolls on wool, woollen cloths and linen cloths, being probably rented from the King family for that purpose.

About this time Moyse's Hall passed from the King family to Henry Collynge, of Bury St. Edmunds, an Alderman of the town in 1585, and who, on the 1st October, 1619, makes mention in his will of ' his messuage commonly known by the name of Moyse's Hall in the parish of St. James, with all houses, etc., in the occupation of Thomas Disborowe and divers other persons '.

On 27th January, 1626, the Hall was conveyed by Henry Collynge to the Guildhall Feoffees, who converted the building into a house of correction for the town. In 1721 the Hall was used as a hospital for 30 boys and girls, and on the consolidation of the parishes of St. James and St. Mary's for the government of the poor in 1740, the hospital was transferred to the workhouse.

A survey of the town made by Thomas Warren in 1741 mentions a messuage on the north side of the Hog Market called or known by the name of Castle Inn, occupied by John Fish, also the Bridewell adjoining thereto. At this time the House of Correction was known as the Bridewell. It would appear that part of the present Castle Inn constituted the gaol in the 17th century, and Warren's survey apparently supports the theory that the part of Moyse's Hall which was used as the Borough Gaol later formed part of the Castle Inn.

The Hall continued to be used as the Bridewell and later as the Police Station until 1892, when the Police took up headquarters in the new building in St. John's Street. From that time part of the building was used by the Great Eastern Railway Company as a parcels receiving and enquiry office. Ultimately the Hall was handed over to the Corporation by the Guildhall Feoffees under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners dated 22nd May, 1894, the Town Council thereby became Trustees of the building, and later, in 1898, they purchased the property for converting into a museum.

On the inception of the Museum in the following year, the collection of antiquarian and other objects belonging to the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History housed in the Athenaeum was transferred to Moyse's Hall as a nucleus to which the Town Council made additions by the purchase of the Ford collection of local antiquities, mostly from the vicinity of the Abbey ruins, and including coins, rings, seals, keys, books, pamphlets, maps, prints and drawings. The Dennis collection of geological specimens, birds and mammals, which had been stored in the Guildhall, were also transferred to Moyse's Hall.

Until 1933 the Museum was of a general and miscellaneous character in respect of the exhibits. A scheme of reorganization was at that time carried out and since then the scope of the collections has been confined to local archaeology, including bygones and natural history specimens.

Briefly, the exhibits now include specimens illustrating the geology of West Suffolk, prehistoric flint implements, bronze and Early Iron-Age remains, Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon, Medieval, Tudor and Stuart objects, comprising furniture, textiles, pottery, glassware and relics from the Abbey ruins.

Numerous local MSS. records which had accumulated were housed in the Museum at its inception to which additions were gradually made. These were eventually transferred to a specially-equipped muniment room when the new Borough Offices on Angel Hill were built and opened in 1937.

In 1921 Mr. G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum, a local antiquary, bequeathed to the town his library, consisting of 6,000 volumes chiefly topographical, historical and genealogical relating to East Anglia, the Suffolk section being particularly strong. The Library is housed in the School of Art Building, Cornhill.

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THE TOWN HALL AND THE GUILDHALL

By H. J. M. MALTBY

The Town Hall, Cornhill, stands on the site of the old Market Cross which was destroyed by the Great Fire of 1608. It was rebuilt in 1620 and consisted of a Cornstead below and a Clothier's Hall above. In 1734 it was converted for use as a playhouse where the Duke of Grafton's comedians performed ' Bury Fair ' and other plays. It continued as a playhouse until the new Theatre in Westgate Street was opened in 1819. In 1774 it was remodelled from designs by Robert Adam. The interior is modern.

The Guildhall, in Guildhall Street, although much modernized, has still enough antiquity to make it interesting. The porch is early Tudor, and the inner arch in the geometrical style was built about 1300. The front of the building was refronted with Woolpit brick in the early part of the last century. The building has two halls, the north hall being known as the Sessions or Court room, and the south hall, known as the banqueting room, which is now used as the Borough Council chamber. It contains a number of interesting portraits of persons previously connected with the affairs of the Borough. An oil painting of Augustus John, third Earl of Bristol, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., is worthy of special mention.

CUPOLA HOUSE, THE ATHENAEUM AND SOME GEORGIAN HOUSES IN BURY ST. EDMUNDS

By H. J. M. MALTBY

Cupola House, in the Traverse, takes its name from the cupola surmounting its roof. This fine building, bearing the date 1693, has bow windows on the ground floor and dormers in the roof. It was the residence of Cox Macro, the antiquary, who was an alderman of the Borough and a collector of manuscripts. The house contains panelled rooms and contemporary fittings. There is a tradition that Daniel Defoe lived here during his stay in Bury, but there is no evidence to confirm this belief.

The Athenaeum, standing on the spacious Angel Hill, originated as the New or White House early in the 18th century, according to a deed dated 1713. From 1742 it was known as the Assembly House, and is thus defined in a map of Bury St. Edmunds made by Thomas Warren in 1747. It was rebuilt in 1804 from designs by F. Sandys, the architect responsible for Ickworth House, at a cost of £5,000. Its charming entrance front with portico and cupola, and the fine Adam style ballroom compare favourably with any similar building in the country. As Bury St. Edmunds became the social centre of the owners of large country mansions and small town houses in Bury, the Assembly Room was frequently used for fashionable balls and other social events.

The Athenaeum was established in 1853, and in 1878 the Mechanics' Institute was incorporated with it. The building was eventually purchased from the shareholders of the Assembly Rooms, and later acquired by the Borough Council. Renovations were carried out in 1937 by a legacy from Lord Francis Hervey. During the war, it was used as a Services' Club, and from the profits made as such, the ballroom was redecorated in 1950. The entrance hall, staircase landing, and lounge, at present contain the ' John Greene ' collection of maps, plans and views of Bury St. Edmunds.

Although Bury St. Edmunds retains to a great extent its medieval street-plan and possesses a number of medieval buildings, it is now in its external aspect predominately Georgian in character, and contains many splendid specimens of the period. These were built near the centre of the town. Northgate Street is flanked by large Georgian residences, and Guildhall Street, Chequer Square, St. Mary's Square and Crown Street contain a number of exceptionally fine late 18th-and early 19th-century houses. Abbeygate Street, Cornhill, and the Buttermarket contain houses now converted into shops, with Georgian fronts, behind which the interiors are much older and contain oak-panelled rooms and carved ceiling beams. Very fine examples of Georgian fronts are to be seen in the premises of Oliver and Son, and Thomas Ridley and Son, in Abbeygate Street.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS ABBEY

THE PLAN, DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS

By A. B. WHITTINGHAM

' King's shrine, and cradle of the law ', royal grants from 945, when another Edmund gave Badericheswyrthe (later called Bury St. Edmunds) to the minster there, made Bury abbey one of the five richest Benedictine monasteries in England.[1]

The body of King Edmund, martyred by the Danes in 870, was brought here in c. 903 to the small monastery founded in c. 633 by King Sigebert, who had himself entered it for a while. In 1020 Canute substituted for secular priests 20 monks (from St. Bennet's, Hulme, Norfolk, and from Ely). After the defeat of Bishop Arfast's scheme to make this his cathedral in 1081, when the Conqueror confirmed the freedom of the abbey from episcopal control,[2] the monks were increased to 80. Burgesses attempting to free themselves from monastic control and to establish civic independence during the deposition of Edward II, burnt and looted the monastic buildings in 1327, slaying or imprisoning some of the monks. Recurrent disputes came to a head again in 1381 when rebels beheaded the escaping prior, but this was only one amongst several outbreaks in Suffolk at the time of the Peasants' Revolt. The central spire of the abbey church fell in 1210, and most of the W. tower in 1430–2. Both were rebuilt, though as the church was burnt out by accident in 1465, they can only have had a short life in their final form. After the Dissolution in 1539 when the abbey was sold by letters patent for £412 . 19 . 4, the Abbots' Palace survived as a house until pulled down in 1720.[3]

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[1] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 137 & 116 ; *V.C.H.*, *Suffolk*, ii, 69.

[2] Charter of W.I, Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 141.

[3] Yates, *B. St. E.*, 245.

PLATE XIX

VIEW OF MARKET HILL, BURY ST. EDMUNDS, FROM ABBEYGATE STREET, *c.* 1700,
SHOWING THE TOWN GAOL AND OLD HOUSES ON THE LEFT, THE MARKET CROSS IN THE CENTRE, THE SHAMBLES AND CUPOLA HOUSE ON THE RIGHT
(*Moyse's Hall Museum Coll.*)   (*Photo : H. I. Jarman*)

The buildings have been so extensively robbed of stonework that apart from the wall and bridge there remain two only in good preservation, the gateways, which are of some architectural importance, but more remarkable are the mutilated W. Front (Pl. XX) and Canute's destroyed Rotunda.   The rest mostly rises little above the ground, but its interest and the completeness of the plan (Pl. XXI) lying buried in debris would have a far wider appeal if more adequately displayed.   It could be unusually impressive if carefully combined with the public gardens which occupy the open spaces.   The church was amongst the few largest of its date in this country, where great Norman churches exceeded in dimensions their contemporaries abroad, it being 505 feet long or about 50 feet longer than Norwich cathedral and 10 feet wider.   The first of its kind in East Anglia, it exercised a strong influence in the development of the new style there.

The scanty remains, the intrusion of houses and gardens and ruthless stripping have created a problem so extensive and perplexing that no adequate plan has hitherto been made, and no one had ventured on a thorough reassessment of the site since Gordon Hills in 1865 ; while the wealth of documentary evidence to digest has added to the difficulty in the mass of material from which it has to be extracted.   The Institute meeting was felt to justify a fresh investigation long overdue.   The present writer had for years ignored the site as too unintelligible, while at the same time being too vast a subject for casual examination.   When in April, 1951, he first began his researches the only building whose precise location could be seen as unquestionable was the Chapter-House.   It would have been impossible to work out the plan without the ready help of many people connected with the site and its records and the efforts of previous investigators.   Noteworthy among these were the Town Council's excavation of the Prior's House and a corner of the Infirmary in 1933–4, M. R. James' excavation of the Chapter-House area in 1902–3[1] and the excavation of the E. end and buildings near the river in 1849,[2] recorded in a careful plan by John Darkin, clerk of works to St. James' restoration, which can be seen embodied in Hills' plan ; and M. R. James' collection of documentary references in 1895.[3]   F. Johnson's main purpose was architectural.   He was writing a thesis for the Royal Institute of British Architects, and had not the necessary knowledge of monastic planning or medieval detail to make a very constructive archaeological contribution, and he contented himself with summarising the opinions of others.   His plans are, however, useful, showing the extent of excavation at the beginning of 1933 (at the R.I.B.A.) and of 1934 (at Moyse's Hall), and the information given by Mr. Frost, the garden attendant, who helped with the excavation (and measuring the Abbey Gate and Abbots' Bridge), has been most useful.

A few items have led people astray, the tree which blocks Trayle, obscuring its continuity, and the two post-medieval walls, one blocking the return arm of Trayle and the other running diagonally across the Reredorter and built of reused ashlar.   Then, James overlooked King's postscript on the apsidal chapel in the S. transept, and Gordon Hills, through his inadequate examination and assessment of the W. transept, fills the bell-tower with a number of quite unwarranted subdivisions.   The interpretation of the Reredorter as an Infirmary Cloister and of the Little Parlour as the Vestry were both equally obstructive to any further understanding of the excavations.   In this account the writer has mostly kept to the necessary description and interpretation without digressing to refute previous errors.

The Abbey Church of St. Edmund

' In the time of Abbot Baldwin (1065–97), first Thurstan, afterwards Tolin, undertook the office of sacrist.   These two, in the time of the said abbot, when the ancient timber church had been levelled, laid the foundations of our church, erected walls, completed the presbytery in full, and arranged the translation of the blessed martyr.'[4]   The Annals state that ' after destroying St. Edmund's monastery church which glorious king Canute

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[1] H. Barker, *W. Suffolk Illustrated*, 48–72.
[2] Moyse's Hall card index ; *J.B.A.A.*, xxi, 128.
[3] *Camb. Ant. Soc.*, Octavo Publications, xxviii.
[4] *Gesta Sacrist.* ; Jas., 152.

and his queen Emma had founded (it had been built to a simple design, not so artificially as some are constructed nowadays), the venerable abbot Baldwin, on the advice of the senior king William, began a more cunning and lovely church after the foundations had been laid. . . . And when the structures of the presbytery were brought to completion, A.D. 1095, . . . the blessed martyr . . . was translated by bishop Walkelin of Winchester and by Ralph (Flambard), then royal chaplain, afterwards bishop of Durham, into the basilica prepared for him '.[1] Preparations must have begun soon after the Conqueror's charter of 1081. The stone came from Barnack,[2] being conveyed by boat from Gunwade. Not far from this, in Castorfield, two long stones could be seen called ' the stones of St. Edmund ' in ancient descriptions of adjoining fields. A mandate of the Conqueror enjoins the Abbot of Peterborough to permit the Abbot of St. Edmund to take stone to his church as hitherto, and without greater impediment in transporting his stone to the water than before.[3] The poet, John Lydgate, c. 1430, says some of Baldwin's work was built with

> ' Ston brought from Kane out of Normandye
> By the Se, and set up on the Strande
> At Ratylsdene, and carried forth be lande.'[4]

Baldwin's presbytery, four bays long, had an apse surrounded by an ambulatory with three projecting rounded chapels, the whole standing on a crypt. His bases remain on the E. side of an added fifth bay, where a pair of widely spaced semicolumns are flanked by angle shafts. The 17 windows in the presbytery which had candles on feast days,[5] and the 24 columns in the crypt,[6] mean a seven-bay apse and two rows of five shafts down the middle of the crypt, a plan nearly identical with St. Augustine's, Canterbury, except that the central and aisle bays were square and the chapels projected more. The crypt has lost its vaulting and went through some excavation at the end of the 18th century. Part of Lydgate's tomb was found.[7] An examination at two points in 1948 showed the mark of vaulting along the W. wall, but fallen masonry covered the springing of the apse. Excavation of the three chapels in 1849 disclosed tile paving in the N. chapel and a loculus below the altar[8] (and sedilia, adds Tymms). The N. side of the centre chapel can be identified in the fence where it joins the ambulatory.

Tolin was succeeded by Godfrey, a man large in body but larger in mind. He fully completed the refectory, chapter-house, house of the infirm and abbots' hall. He also procured a great bell at no small cost,[9] which implies that the central tower was nearly ready for it. Robert II, acting-abbot from 1102, died a month after his consecration in 1107. Meanwhile ' he caused the cloister, chapter-house, refectory, dormitory and his camera to be built '.[10] Between 1107, therefore, and the appointment of the next sacrist (in 1121 ?) Godfrey built the Infirmary (in use when the crypt was dedicated before 1114) followed by the transepts, the central tower to roof level, and two bays of the nave full height to support the tower and to house the choir. Raking down westwards three bays of the triforium would be required and four of the arcade. His work included a fifth bay to the presbytery to accommodate the crypt entrances and transept aisle. The walls become 6 inches thicker and the main span 2 foot wider in this bay, so that the arch on each side was a little askew. His bases remain on the W. where each of his two semicolumns is wider, more closely spaced and bolder than in the first work. This pier shows a 59 ft. crossing arch,[11] 19 ft. triforium, 26 ft. arcade, groined aisle vaulting, and the position of vaulting shafts. The crossing piers and also the N. wall and centre window of the transept which replaced the Saxon timber nave are the conspicuous parts standing. There are traces of the turret stair behind the N. respond of the transept arcade. The crypt entrances were found when the apsidal chapel in the end bay of both

[1] Marianus Scotus, Bodl., 297 ; Jas., 157.
[2] Gunton's *Peterborough*, 4.
[3] Battely, 49.
[4] Gillingwater, 113.
[5] Harl. 3977 ; Jas., 179.
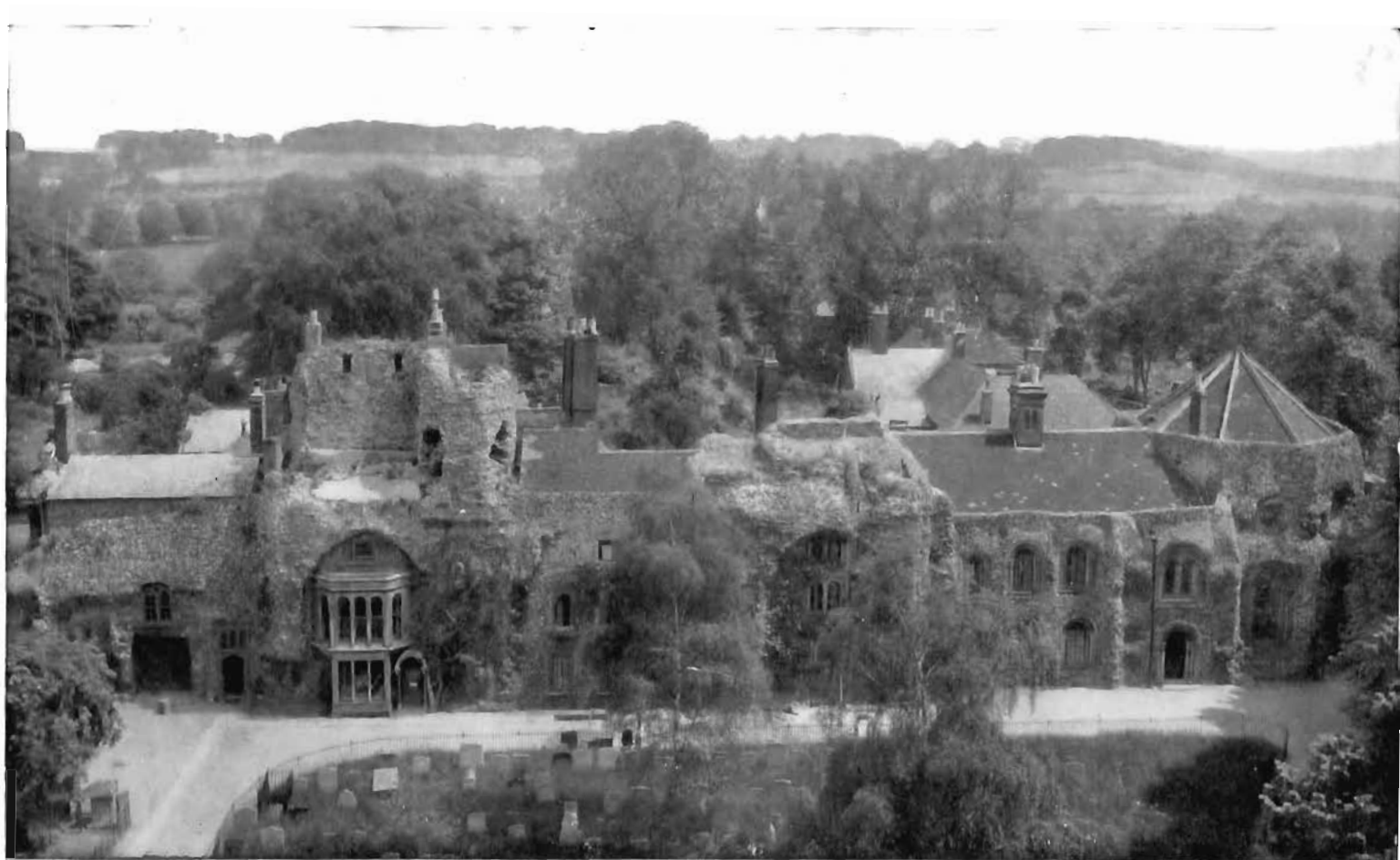[6] W. of Worcester, *Itinerarium* ; Jas., 164.
[7] *Archaeologia*, iv (1786), 119.
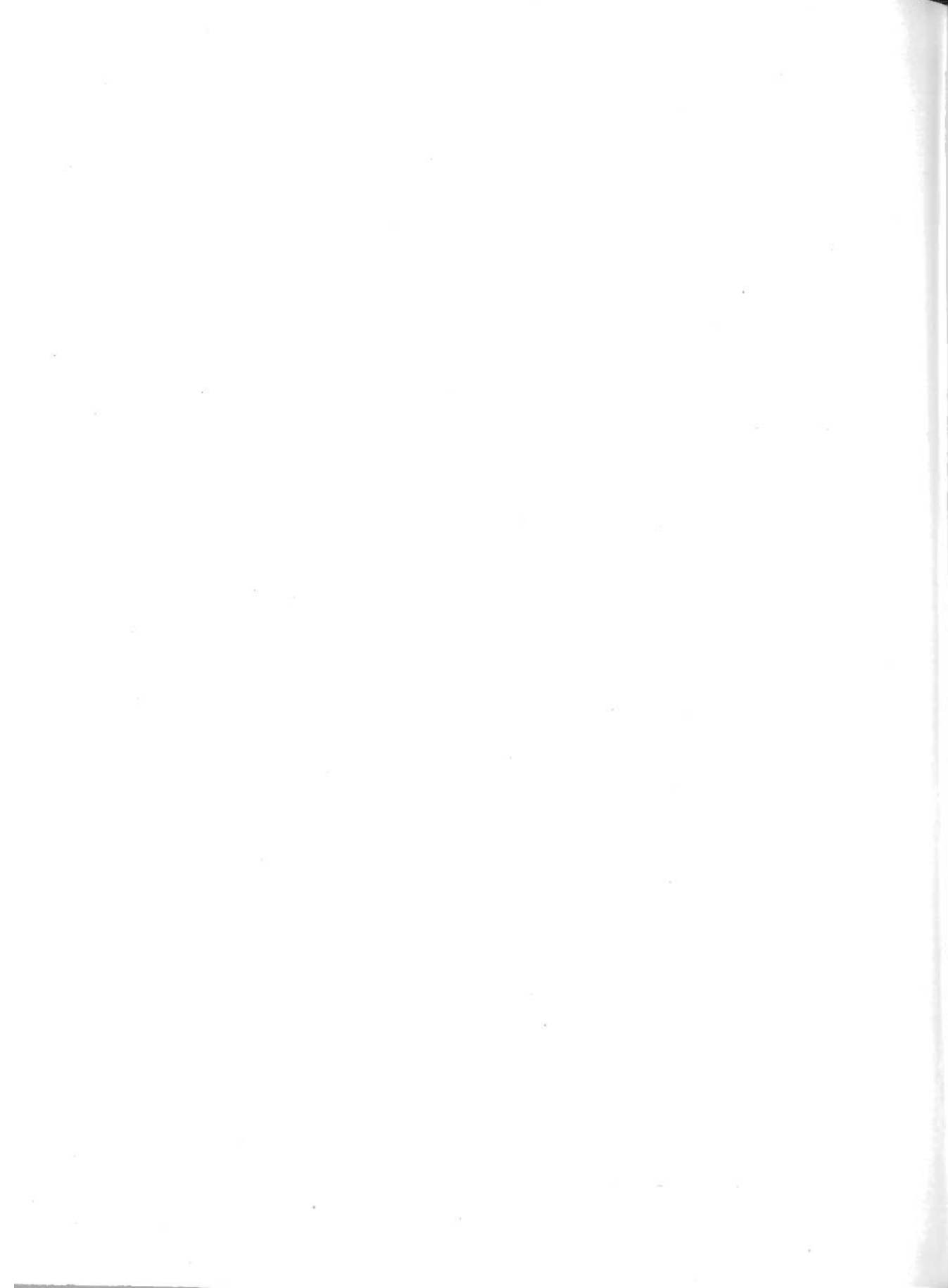[8] Card Index, Moyse's Hall.
[9] *Gesta Sacrist.* ; Jas., 153.
[10] *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, lxii & 356, Appendix B, notes in Marianus Scotus.
[11] Quinton's water-colour at Moyse's Hall.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS ABBEY : WEST FRONT FROM GATETOWER
(*Photo : H. I. Jarman*)

transepts was excavated (N. 1772, S. 1786).[1] Another apsidal chapel apparently in each third bay was supplanted by the Lady Chapel and by St. Botolph's before 1301.

' Two men of complete prudence followed him (Godfrey), Ralph and Hervey, sacrists in the time of Abbot Anselm (1120–48). They built the circuit of the walls round the forecourt of the church, the church of the Blessed Mary with its tower, the clocher (the central tower) and well-toned bells in it, and the tower of St. James, the double doors also in the *front of the church* wrought by the hand of master Hugo.'[2] They were of ' moulten metal ' or bronze.[3] Before his death in 1142 Bishop John of Rochester dedicated the apsidal flanking chapel or ' porticus of St. Faith . . . over the porticus of St. Denis '. This suggests that by that date, apart from the clerestory where Norman work ends at the break over the stair turret doors, the nave and W. transept were virtually complete though without the three towers. Anselm's front is marked by three deeply-recessed arches derived from Lincoln and inspiring Peterborough.[4] Their back wall, traces of which remain below the clerestory floor, in the roof at the crown of the centre arch and in a cupboard in the room below, contained the bronze doors below a (partly later ?) triforium passage visible at the N. angle of both chapels. The arches spring from the level of the triforium floor so as to have a band above of arcading level with the triforium roof. Hell from a Doom and an angel at Moyse's Hall from the Evangelists, identified by Zarnecki as St. Matthew's, probably formed jamb-shafts from the three doors. In the end-wall of the transept were two bays with an arch to both floors. One bay, visible from the S., shows the impress of an arch-mould (others are in the houses). Adjoining is a blocked circular stair at the angle of the transept (looking like a column where the enclosing wall has fallen), a narrow arch into the aisle and the first of three wall-arches round the apse of the flanking chapel, part of whose groined vaulting is visible. The triforium arches are low throughout the W. transept to avoid the roofs. In the Athenaeum is a drawing, 1681, showing on the E. of the S. transept a triforium arch, part of which survives. Un-moulded crowns and later narrowing argue undivided triforium arches. On the S. is evidence that the ground-storey piers still had a pair of semicolumns, and in the N. aisle a blank window abutted the apse. Perhaps at this date the W. front was finished with a gable to the chapel block on each side. The ground has risen about 7 feet.

The front, as completed under Abbot Samson, 1182–1211, had a ' major tower ' placed centrally over the W. transept and a lower octagonal ' great tower ' at each end, probably rising two stages above the clerestory, all three capped by leaded spires. It owed something to Ely where the transept is five bays long absorbing each flanking chapel and has also polygonal stair turrets. Bury added one of these turrets at each end of Anselm's front, enlarging them into octagonal towers, adding buttresses and placing the stairs in an intervening angle in front of a lobby to link up with the chapels. The S. lobby has a cross-vault carrying an unusual gallery 7 ft. above the aisle window-sills. The adjoining brick stair-well is modern, but occupies the site of Samson's stair. On the N., octagonal tower, lobby and stairs have gone, but the arch into the chapel and the three openings above from the gallery survive. The side-openings are narrow, one also being low to avoid the chapel vaulting. The highest wall surviving is part of the clerestory passage which has no openings into the N. transept except two little vents. It seems probable that, in a way followed by Lincoln in *c.* 1240, this clerestory or a lower passage in front was extended as a screen wall on to the octagonal towers, and faced with arcading on the W. Windows must have been restricted to the centre bay where the clerestory floor is 6 ft. lower and both inner angles have a later wide curve. At Peterborough the W. doors of 1193–1200 are placed to suit a front with 2-storey portico-arches, only as high as the transept windows, and side-arches half their present width, which would have meant a row of continuous clerestory arcading above, a scheme quickly abandoned for the present 3-storey arches. At Ely where Bishop Geoffrey Ridel (1174–89) ' nearly finished the new work towards the W. with the tower right to the summit ',[5] the tower has

[1] *Archaeologia*, iii, 315, letter by King and P.S.
[2] *Gesta Sacrist.* ; Jas., 153.
[3] Artifusoria, *Douai Reg.*, f. 7b ; Jas., 180.

[4] *Arch. Journ.*, ciii, 105, F. Saxl ; cvi, Sup., 113, G. F. Webb.
[5] Harl. 258 ; Bentham, *Ely*, ii, 58.

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lancet arches, but the three bays a side, the squat openings and the circles show the tradition of St. James' Norman tower at Bury. We may be sure therefore that Samson's tower was not unlike Ely. It had 11 ft. S. and W. walls and is set forward on to the front of the portico. There was a stair turret up both the front angles, the N. of which remains at clerestory level and has a doorway askew into a passage over the side arch of the portico. There are signs of a turret each side of the N. end of the transept, and on the W. the clerestory wall would have appeared above the front passage roof. Apparently the N. octagon was not begun until after the walls of the main tower were complete (c. 1190) and the masons finished the N. octagon before starting on the S. Instead of round windows, a photograph of 1845 shows marks of four wall-arches below window sills.

Samson, as subsacrist during the vacancy of the abbacy (1180–2) made a great draught of stone and sand for building the tower. When questioned he said that burgesses had privily given him money for building and finishing it.[1] He ' completed one storey in the major west tower '. His sacrist Hugo ' completed the great tower towards the west placing the roof and leading it, the lord Samson supplying the ceiling and beams and whatever woodwork there is there. Also he fully completed as to stonework the tower next the chapel of St. Faith, one storey being completed in the other tower next the chapel of St. Catherine '. His successor as sacrist, Walter de Banham (c. 1200–1211) ' fully completed the great tower which is next the chapel of St. Faith, placing the spire on it, which lord Hugo the sacrist had completed as to walling '.[2] Jocelin adds that Geoffrey Ridel requesting Samson to let him have oaks at Elmswell for use at Glemsford, Samson fearing to offend the bishop agreed, but straightway felled ' for the steeple (culmen) of the great tower ' the best oaks at Elmsett which Geoffrey had intended and had had secretly marked.[3] The competition between the two fronts is clear, each great tower rising during the same decade, but if Ely set the pace, Bury achieved the more imposing result with its arches, its wider spread of 246 feet and added octagons.

The *arrangement of the church* can be recovered largely from extracts published by M. R. James. The 13th-century Customary directs that when the abbot says mass, he and the prior cense first the High Altar, then ' the shrine of St. Edmund, the chest of relics and the altar of Sts. Botolph, Thomas and Jurmin and their shrines, the abbot on the S. and the prior on the N.'.[4] The three Saxon saints had been translated in 1095 to the relic chapel or feretory ' behind the High Altar '.[5] Here the altar of St. Thomas, built by order of his admirer Abbot Hugh (d. 1180),[6] seems to be the one called St. Botolph's in the candle lists.[7] As they return westward ' taking the censer from the hand of the abbot the subprior and the prior proceed as before and after censing the shrine of Abbot Baldwin and the altar in the choir ' proceed to cense the convent in the 80 or 90 stalls, for which the crossing and two bays W. would provide enough space. Baldwin was buried, evidently over the end of the crypt, ' next the wall behind the small altar in the choir ',[8] where the parapet would form a reredos with steps down about 3 feet on each side. In this fifth bay of the presbytery the upper doors of the choir, the ' green door ' apparently on the N., would lead to a flight of steps in the aisle down to the transepts.

' Note the casket with incense should be placed on the choir altar while the convent is censed ' where it would be ready to be taken out through the S. door into the aisle, up a few steps E. and round the ambulatory to the three apsidal chapels there. Therefore ' after the convent the altars are censed in the appointed manner, namely those of the Cross towards St. Edmund's feet, of the Martyrs, of St. Saba, and of the Blessed Mary '.[9] St. Saba's was the N. of the three, as Abbot Anselm had ' caused to be painted, within the church on the N. side, the chapel of St. Saba sometime his patron in Rome '.[10] At the beginning of mass the prior and subprior waited vested either in the Vestry or in front

[1] *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 217 ; Jocelin.
[2] *Gesta Sacrist.* ; Jas., 153.
[3] *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 275.
[4] *Lib. Alb.*, 104b ; Jas., 160.
[5] Annals of B. in Marianus Scotus, Bodl. 297 ; Jas., 157.

[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Lib. Alb.*, 215b ; Jas., 160, 179.
[8] *Douai Reg.*, f. 7b ; Jas., 180 & 133, where the wall puzzles him.
[9] *Lib. Alb.*, 104b ; Jas., 159.
[10] *Douai Reg.*, 7b ; Jas., 180.

of (the adjoining ?) St. Saba, or on some occasions after waiting in the Vestry they entered through the Green Door and passed straight up to the High Altar.[1]

The chapel of another equally foreign saint, the martyr St. Nicasius; where Samson instituted a subsacrist,[2] must be due to the preceding Abbot Albold, who had been prior of St. Nicaise at Meaux on the Seine below Paris.[3] This looks like the eastern chapel and known therefore as ' the Martyrs '. Such loose references are common. Hence the Altar of the Cross mentioned (a copy of the Cross of Lucca, by which William Rufus used to swear) was in fact ' the altar of St. Peter in the front of the church towards St. Edmund's feet ',[4] which evidently occupied the third apsidal chapel.

The story of the *chapels flanking the presbytery* is given by a 15th-century note among an early collection of inscriptions,[5] that from 1261 four indulgences were granted to worshippers at the ' rotunde chapel of St. Edmund in the cemetery of the monks on the N. side of the Presbytery, in which the body of St. Edmund rested before his translation ' ; but that it was pulled down in 1275 to make way for the chapel of the Virgin built by Abbot Simon (de Luton) ; it had been the Priors' Chapel and contained the bier of St. Edmund ; the bier was now transferred to the chapel of St. Stephen in the S. part of the monks' cemetery (reached through the S. door by processions)[6] as that chapel was assigned to the prior instead. It had been built in timber by Baldwin over bones disturbed by his new church, and was rebuilt nearby in stone by Anselm.[7] The chapel dedicated in 1276 to Sts. Stephen and Edmund was ' constructed ' by Abbot Simon de Luton.[8] Apparently it formed a substitute for these two and adjoined the Prior's House.

The *S. transept chapels* are named in the succeeding note ' that the cemetery of the monks of that time surrounded the whole presbytery in which St. Edmund now lies, that is from the door of the crypts on the N. where the chapel of S. Mary is now sited to the front of the chapel of St. Nicholas and of St. John the Evangelist on the S. where is now the chapel of S. Botulph and the feretrars' garden '. St. Botolph's chapel built by Abbot John de Norwold (1279–1301)[9] did not perhaps abut the transept, but the foundations of its E. wall indicated on Yates' plan show that it at least partly balanced the Lady Chapel, and more probably it was an enlargement of St. John's chapel and only known as St. Botolph's if (as seems likely) the saints' arm was kept there.[10] Scenes 'in windows round the chapel of St. John the Evangelist near the crypt door ' are described,[11] so of the two transeptal chapels this was the inner and placed in the third bay. The ' porticus ' or flanking ' chapel of St. Giles . . . above the altar of St. John the Evangelist ' was dedicated 1148–57.[12] One can infer from the other apses and the word ' porticus ' a projecting apsidal chapel. Count Alan of Brittany, founder of St. Mary's abbey, York, ' lies at the S. door in the church of St. Edmund, in front of the altar of St. Nicholas '.[13] The chapel of St. Nicholas evidently occupied the outermost apse.[14]

The chapel of the Black Hostry mentioned is likely to have been over the Cellarer's Gate, but before and after this reference are notes of verses ' concerning St. Martin '. Later on the verses on St. Martin are fully transcribed and headed ' in windows at (ad) the ancient chapel of the blessed virgin '. This must refer to the *N. Transept* for which the timber-framed Saxon church (or nave) was pulled down ; St. Bennet's register calls this the ' minster of St. Mary '.[15] In calling it the ' right arm of the new minster ' the Liber Albus is probably influenced by Christ and Mary on the choir rood.[16] The inner apse

[1] *Lib. Alb.*, 104b ; Jas., 160.
[2] Jocelin, *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 322 ; Jas., 156.
[3] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 155.
[4] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 161.
[5] Arundel MS. xxx, at Heralds' College ; Jas., 188.
[6] Rituale ; Jas., 186.
[7] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 162.
[8] *Lib. Alb.*, 215b ; Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 124 ; Jas., 162 & Arundel MS., Jas., 188.
[9] 15th cent. *Douai Reg.*, f. 3b ; Jas., 181.
[10] Jas., 141 ; where he is uncertain but does not get as far as this solution.

[11] Arundel MS., xxx, f. 209a ; Jas., 191.
[12] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 162.
[13] Leland, *Itinerary*, 1744, p. 153; Jas., 167 & 156.
[14] Edward King, *Archaeologia*, iii (1786), 315, besides the ways down to the crypt on each side of the campanile, mentions in a postscript seeing the chapel ' off the S. Transept ' ' corresponding to . . . N.' ' very lately discovered ' ' since this paper was printed '.
[15] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 135.
[16] f. 217b ; Jas., 161.

contained therefore the altar of ' the Blessed Mary ' which the abbot finally censed. The origin of the Lady Chapel on the N. is thus clear. It was an extension of the Norman Lady Chapel which occupied the site of the earliest church of St. Mary. The Round Chapel was ' in the cemetery ', detached therefore and accordingly not censed. It appears to have been the central round tower of Canute's church retained, while the surrounding aisle was pulled down which had linked it to the timber nave. It must have been the foundations of this aisle which were discovered when the Lady Chapel was built in 1275, when ' under the ground were found the walls of an ancient round church, which was much broader than the chapel and so built that the altar of the chapel was almost in the middle ; it was believed that this was the first building constructed in honour of St. Edmund '.[1] It was begun by Ailwin, bishop of the East Angles, in 1021,[2] and dedicated by Egelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1032, to Christ, St. Mary and St. Edmund.[3] In the end apse of the N. transept would have been the altar of St. Martin to which Lady Ela Sharde- lowe left 10/- in 1457 for the repair of ornaments.[4]

There were ' five altars on the vaults ',[5] i.e. in the triforium, of which St. Giles over St. John the Evangelist was dedicated *c.* 1150.[6] Below the presbytery in addition to a fair spring of water[7] which possibly determined the position of the Norman church, and may well have been on the line of the stream from Scurunstrete to the fountain of Scurun next Beoderic's mansion,[8] there was ' *St. Mary in the crypt* ' dedicated by 1114,[9] occupying the E. chapel into which Worcester measured.[10] There was also the chapel of ' St. Anne in the undercroftys ',[11] and the tomb of St. Robert, the boy slain by the Jews in 1180,[12] whose chapel had a chaplain[13] and was presumably in the third projection. The crypt was about 6 feet below the transept or nave floor, and a boat could be floated in it when the flood was leg high in the nave.[14]

In *the nave* was the ' altar of the Holy Cross behind the Choir ' dedicated when Anselm was in Rome,[15] also called the 'altar of the Holy Cross in the nave of the monastery church '.[16] It was backed by the ' pulpitum ' between which and the ' great door of the choir ' the penitent monk had to sit on the ' great step '.[17] There must have been a flight of steps rising perhaps two feet. If less blameworthy he had to sit on his ' upturned misericord in the choir '. Two abbots were buried in the N. aisle ' in front of the image of the B.V.M. before reaching the entranceway of the door towards the cloister ',[18] presum- ably in front of the fourteenth altar. Along this aisle, therefore, ' in windows of the image of the B.V.M.' were scenes from her life.[19] Dr. Rudde left £10 in 1506 for two ' blynde wyndowes . . . be syde Seynt Christopher '.[20] There would have been two blind windows backing on to the Parlour. The life of Christ was represented ' in windows at (ad) the altar of S. Nicholas and throughout the nave of the church on the S. side ', where twenty scenes were devoted to St. John the Baptist. The chapel of ' St John at the font ' must have been therefore the S.-W. flanking chapel below ' that of St. Catharine ' which Samson ' newly covered with lead ',[21] while the ' porticus of S. Faith . . . over the porticus of St. Denis '[22] was on the north. Baldwin, in memory of St. Denis, whose monk he had been, ' made a great and fair basilica, where no small group of clerks came together, and there he established the parish church of the town. . . . When this had been pulled down to extend the flanks of the nave-foundations belonging to the greater

[1] John of Oxenede's *Chronicle*, Rolls Ser., 216. See also Sir Alfred Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, 149.
[2] St. Bennet's Chronicle, B.M., Cotton. ; Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 135.
[3] Matt. Westmon. : Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 99.
[4] Tymm's, *Bury Wills* (1850), Camden Soc., 13 ; Jas., 168.
[5] *Lib. Alb.*, 69 ; Jas., 160.
[6] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 162.
[7] W. of Worcester ; Jas., 125.
[8] Jocelin ; *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 302 ; *Lib. Alb.*, 121.
[9] Jas., 161.

[10] Jas., 164.
[11] Will of Wm. Hawes, 1497 ; Hills, 108.
[12] Tymms, 31.
[13] Customary, temp. E.I, *V.C.H.*, *Suffolk* ii, 69.
[14] 1439, *Reg. Curteys*, f. 322.
[15] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 161.
[16] Will 1474–80 ; Sir J. B., 344.
[17] Rituale, f. 6b ; Jas., 178.
[18] *Douai Reg.*, f. 7b ; Jas., 181.
[19] Arundel MS. xxx, f. 10a ; Jas., 190.
[20] Tymms' *Wills* ; Jas., 168.
[21] Jocelin ; *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 296.
[22] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 161.

church, another flanking chapel was constructed practically in the same position '.[1] St. Denis' basilica had been constructed therefore on a line between the Saxon church and the later St. James' about the time of the Conquest.

The *later history* of the church has similarities to that of Norwich. The ambulatory plan with ' 14 altars '[2] was well suited to its purpose and little altered. In 1210[3] the central spire threatened ' the presbytery, choir and chapel of the blessed Mary ', but after tilting towards the E. it collapsed towards the N. doing little damage, ' the posts of the campanile however fell about in all directions '.[4] The ' relevation '[5] recorded was probably complete when Nicholas of Warwick (sacrist *c.* 1230–50) had ' the best bell in the choir ' made,[6] and John de Norwold (1279–1301) ' had the choir (stalls) made and painted '.[7] John Lavenham sacrist (after 1353–*c.* 1384),[8] ' within the space of 26 years had the new campanile made above the choir at a cost of £866. 13. 4.'. This undoubtedly included a timber spire as well as heightening the tower. A great bell costing £133. 6. 8., and weighing 3½ tons, was bought for it.[9] From 1369 there were legacies to making the new campanile.[10] Lavenham also carried out other improvements ; he made two transverse roofs from the Vestry to the ' Rakety ' door, which presumably led into the Lady Chapel (there was a collecting box ' at the door of the Raketeyn '),[11] paid £100 for the construction of the ceiling in the nave of the church with painting like the presbytery, . . . in windows contrived to a new form on the vaults round St. Edmund (i.e. in the triforium) together with glass ; in completing the work of the Great Gates (gateway of the Great Court ?) ; for an enclosure or parclose in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin £22 '.[12]

The *W. tower* also caused trouble. The S. side fell in 1430, the E. side in 1431. Next year the N. side was deliberately felled, the bells and frames having been already removed[13] on the advice of Thomas Mapilton, the King's Master Mason.[14] A papal bull granting indulgences for the repair of the ' clocher '[15] estimated the cost at 60,000 ducats, and in 1435 an indenture was made with John Wode, freemason of Colchester, for 5 years for its repair.[16] In 1439 water flooded the nave, the crypt, St. James' church, the abbots' cellar and the convent pantry ; in consequence the pavement below the W. campanile was raised 3 steps.[17] Now, if not earlier, the ends of the W. transept were walled up for strength, the three pointed wall-arches being added high on the N. triforium. One of these is inside the attic. A pointed arch into the S. chapel is also in a house. In 1457 a legacy is left for ' repairing the ornaments in the vestibule '.[18] Apparently the three arches of the W. front were being modernised ; they as well as other arches in this transept were made slightly pointed. The adjoining flintwork has had the Norman shafting stripped off, and the surviving core shows the impress of what looks more like tabernacle work and outer angles have been canted. Legacies for the repair of the bell-tower occur in 1441,–9,–52,–7, and in 1465 when there is one for ' the speedier repair of the campanile '.[19]

In that year, *1465*, the plumbers left a brazier burning on the W. tower during lunch, when the wind got up, and in consequence the whole church and refectory were burnt out, the ' great pinnacle ' or spire subsided into the crossing and the fleche of the Palace was burnt, also the Abbots' Chapel which collapsed.[20] The necessary repairs were extensive, and included fireproofing with a stone vault and W. spire. Prior Ryngstede had left £40 for the enlargement of the largest bronze portal, £40 to the fabric of the new campanile, and enough to repair ' each aisle (transept ?) of the church '. Abbot Boon (1453–69) was a great repairer. He restored the nave at a cost of £200 from his own

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Rituale, f. 11 ; Jas., 179.
[3] Florence of Worcester ii, 169 ; Jas., 159.
[4] Bodl., 240, p. 677, col. 1, line 24 ; Jas., 203.
[5] Hills.
[6] *Gesta Sacrist.* ; Jas., 154.
[7] *Reg. Douai*, 7b ; Jas., 181.
[8] *Mem. St. E. A.*, iii, 341 ; Sir J. B., 541.
[9] Leland ; Jas., 167.
[10] Sir J. B., 541, where he fails to distinguish the two towers and three occasions.

[11] Sir J. B., 539.
[12] *Douai Reg.*, 7b ; Jas., 182.
[13] Hills, 52 ; *Reg. Curteys*, 87b.
[14] John Harvey, *Henry Yevele* (1944), 73.
[15] Hills ; *Reg. Curteys*, 292b.
[16] Hills ; *Reg. Curteys*, 308.
[17] Sir J. B., 203 ; *Reg. Curteys*, 322.
[18] Jas., 168 ; Tymms, *Wills*, 13.
[19] Sir J. B., 541.
[20] Reg. Host., f. 190 ; Jas., 205.

pocket, gave £133 to the vaulting (*ad woltam*) of the church and £100 to the Lady Chapel, and left £33 to his successors for timber for the new choir (stalls).[1] There was another legacy for making and carving the choir (stalls) in 1471.[2] £10 was left in 1474 ' for making 2 new windows of Burwellstone round and next the shrine of St. Edmund '. In 1492 is another bequest ' to ye voughting ' and to the spire, ' to ye making of ye new stepyll at ye West dore of ye monastery '. Others occur in 1495, 1500,–2,–6,[3] so that the church was fully restored before the Dissolution. A stone central spire had perhaps been built in c. 1475.

The *claustral buildings* are due to Abbot Robert II. Though elected abbot in 1102, he was not consecrated till August, 1107, and died a month later. ' Meanwhile, he caused the Cloister, Chapter House, Refectory, Dormitory and his Camera to be built ', while acting as abbot.[4] The *Gesta* calls the last ' the Abbots' Hall ' and says these and the house of the infirm were the work of the sacrist Godfrey. He apparently continued in office till 1121. The surviving walls, as often happens, show little sign of the fire of c. 1150,[5] which burnt the ' abbots' hall, refectory, dormitory, and the old house of the infirm and the chapter-house ', or of the repairs by sacrist Helyas under Abbot Ording (1148–56)[6] which would be mainly re-roofing. Original facing with Barnack fragments in the Warming House is like that used under Abbot Anselm above the apse of St. Denis' chapel and in the adjoining blank arch in the N. aisle. The Cloister walks, 14 feet wide, rebuilt by prior John Gosford[7] (1381–post 1397)[8] have, however, disappeared. So also have the earlier labours of the months and the sun, moon and stars in the windows of Samson's marble lavatory which was carved with gilded images. The water for this was brought two miles in lead pipes underground from Horningsheath.[9]

Of the *W. range* the only part visible is two walls of the Outer ' *Parlour* ', one showing marks of round-headed arcading below window level in the aisle. The Parlour Court was entered by a narrow passage between its surviving W. wall and the octagonal tower which so greatly obstructed this court. The tunnelled head of the doorway can be detected undercut into the W. front. Adjoining lay a garden ' between the E. head of the chancel of St. James' church and part of the Frunte of the monastery '.[10] Over the Parlour was evidently the *chapel of St. Laurence* ' in le Courtyard'[11] or ' at the head of the Guest Hall'.[12] The position of the ' *Guest Hall* ' or Norman Abbots' House over the *Cellar* is confirmed by a detail of the Maundy Thursday ceremonial, when the convent after leaving the refectory took up positions between the ' door of the church ' and the ' door of the Abbots' Camera or of the Subcellary ' to wash the feet of the poor.[13] Here then was the second of four sites successively occupied by the abbots' household, and not a ' servants' dormitory ' as it is called even on James' plan, following the erroneous assumption that Benedictines had a lay-brothers' wing like the Cistercians, combined with Victorian ideas on sleeping accommodation. The monastic staff of course slept on the floor in the rooms where they worked, like other people, unless they were important. The use of the W. range is shown by the regulations for guests. The convent were responsible for religious (i.e. monastic) guests and their dependents, and the abbot for all others except during his absence, when the convent entertained all those with less than 14 horses.[14] To begin with, the religious no doubt dined in the Refectory, those with less than 14 horses in the Abbot's Hall, and the more important in the Abbot's Chamber. In the abbot's absence the cellarer would pay for catering in the Abbot's Hall (as still at Bardney in 1437–8)[15] where the external hostilar with a staff of six[16] looked after bedding and waiting at all times, while the abbot's servants

[1] *Mem. St. E. A.*, iii, 298 ; *Brevis Chronica*, 105b.
[2] Sir J. B., 544.
[3] Gage on Bell Tower, *Archaeologia*, xxiii, 327.
[4] *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 356 & lxii ; Marianus Scotus, Bodl., 297.
[5] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 103.
[6] *Gesta Sacrist.* ; *Mem. St. E. A.*, ii, 289.
[7] *Reg. Douai*, 7b ; Jas., 181.
[8] Sir J. B., 109 ; Reg. Cratfield, f. 55.

[9] Jas., 167, 199 ; Arundel MS. ; *Mem. St. E. A.*, ii, 292 ; *Gesta Sacrist.*
[10] Sir J. B., 544, *Reg. of Wills*, 1470.
[11] Sir J. B., 542 ; *Will*, 1390.
[12] Sir J. B., 544 ; *Reg. Vest.* ; 1327.
[13] *Rituale*, f. 36a ; Jas., 183.
[14] Charter, 1281, of division between abbot and convent : Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 158.
[15] *Arch. Journ.*, 19 (1922), 50.
[16] *Lib. Alb.*, 44 ; Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 159.

were responsible for the guests in the Abbot's Chamber.[1] One incident suggests that another Guest Hall had been built W. of the Refectory rather before 1180. When three knights were brought to the Cellarer in the ' Guest House ' for him to entertain, ' the abbot being then at home and staying in his Chamber ', the Cellarer took the knights ' straight into the Abbot's Hall ' and ' approaching the abbot ' complained. Three years earlier Abbot Hugh had in fact induced previous cellarers to entertain in the ' Guest House '. whether the abbot was present or not. On Hugh's death his servants stole everything ' in the Abbot's House except the stools and tables ', so that ' there was hardly left for the abbot his coverlet and two quilts '.[2] It seems that the abbot already slept in his Chamber, and was trying to reserve his Hall for superior guests only. Having failed, it became increasingly the Guest House and a new Abbot's House was needed.

Samson accordingly was responsible for several improvements. Having decided that he had spent too much time on his manors he said that he would stay more at home and ' construct buildings within the Court for necessary purposes, paying due regard to outward and inner considerations '.[3] The first improvement was before 1200 when sacrist Hugo ' fully completed the Guest Hall ', presumably the Black Hostry.[4] After this Jocelin as hostilar is delighted at the idea of better accommodation and at the demolition of the ' old Guest House, and now almost the whole has been thrown down '. The *Gesta* is presumably referring to this destruction of the Norman W. range and its rebuilding by sacrist Walter after 1200 when saying ' the ancient Hall of the lord Abbot having been destroyed he began and fully completed the new one '.[5]

Before this Samson must have built himself a new Abbot's House. Judging by the rooms provided as well as the keeled string-course and flat buttresses this should be identified with the ' Motehall '[6] (hence Mustow St.? which included Angel Hill as well as the road on the N. side of the Precinct)[7] or ' *Hall of Pleas* ' which they (the rioters) likewise burnt, together with 2 great solars and a kitchen and 2 chambers '.[8] Leland says the Hall of Pleas was built by Samson,[9] which accounts for its absence from the list of sacrist's works. The inside of the wall shows a house of the plan described—a hall between a solar wing and a gabled buttery wing with kitchen attached, all being of two storeys except the hall. Its name is evidently due to its being used, in place of the Guest Hall,[10] mainly as a court house by 1327, when another Abbot's House with its own hall on the fourth site had already been built some few decades previously. Samson's Kitchen has a door on the E. and his solar has one to ' a pentice for the distribution to the poor ' connecting with the Almonry. These as well as the hall door and two windows are nearly all blocked externally, but were renewals after 1327, when the house was given more buttresses and a new level parapet, and linked by a new curtain wall to the boundary. The other windows all looked away from the Great Court on to the ' Pallace Yard ', as it was sometimes called after the Dissolution.[11] Here would be outbuildings, including the stable for Samson's economy total of 26 horses,[12] and probably not the mint (in spite of Sir James Burrough), which is more likely to have been on the E. of the cemetery, with the rest of the workshops in charge of the sacrist. At the angle over the Kitchen the jamb of a shouldered arch leading to a projection, and its mixed facing of brick and reused ashlar, at first suggests a destroyed bridge and post-suppression patching. Closer inspection, however, shows it to be a square bay (to the upper room) of Tudor date flanked by a canted light each side. The same kind of brick as in the patchwork adjoins the one partly-remaining canted light. The bay is built against a diagonal buttress at the wall-angle.

[1] *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 243 ; Jocelin.
[2] *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 213–5 ; Jocelin.
[3] *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 296 : Jocelin.
[4] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 163 ; *Gesta Sacrist*.
[5] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 163.
[6] Sir J. B., 294 ; *Reg. Vestiarii*, 1328, crown pleas.
[7] Sir J. B., 431 ; *Reg. Lakenhethe*, 255b.

' Pulteresrowe in mostowe super Cornerium et contra portam Sti. Edmundi '.
[8] *Mem. St. E. A.*, ii, 330 ; *Reg. Host.*, f. 190.
[9] Vol. 4, appendix, p. 27 ; Hills, 135.
[10] Lobel, 21, 23, 37.
[11] S. Tymms, *Handbook of B. St. E.* (1885), p. 17.
[12] *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 209 ; Jocelin.

Here in the line of buildings occurred a recess of some size, across the back of which was a small building of sufficient importance to warrant the recess. It could well be a gate, and in this position can hardly be other than the ' Subcellarer's Gate with the chapel built above it '.[1]   The surviving fragment is appropriate, and if the walls look thin flint has probably been hacked from the inside.   There is part of a hollow-chamfered lancet in the W. wall of the chapel and in the room below for the ' janitor of the Cellarer's Gate '[2] a little S. lancet and the rear arch of a W. doorway.   Enough traffic passed the S.–W. angle to justify chamfering it off.   The position of the gate can only be due to an extension by that time of the Refectory wing, the most likely site for the Guest Hall mentioned above as added rather before 1180, or more definitely for the ' Black Hostry ' by 1200.[3]   The adjoining chapel would be ' the chapel of the Black Hostelry ',[4] or ' the chapel by the Cellarer's Solar '[5] or (?) ' St. John at the Gate '.[6]   Here monastic guests were entertained with their dependents by the ' internal Hosteller ' with one servant.[7]   The ' Cellarer's Stables ' were no doubt in the court S. of the Cellarer's Gate, for his two palfreys, his pack-horse and his cart-horse.[8]

On the N. of the Cloister all detail has been stripped from the walls of the ' Refectory ', three of which stand nearly as high as the window-sills.   Here Parliament met in 1446 to try Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, when he died suddenly at St. Saviour's, one of the five hospitals outside the town gates, on the day after his arrest.   A wide service-hatch on the N. and a blocked door indicate the direction of the ' Kitchen '.   The latter had a window towards the court at which many of the staff received their rations.[9]   A projection on the N. was probably one of the fireplaces.   This and the Cellarer's wing lie under a bank, but the foundations of the outer wall with an octagonal stair turret at the angle were recorded by Hills, who noted that the Porch had inner door-jambs with a moulding of c. 1240, which dates the wing.   The ' Subcellarer's ' as well as the ' Cellarer's Solar ' was burnt out in 1327.   The ' Selerer's great Chamber ' had a Tudor square-headed window of two lights with 4-centred heads showing St. Paul and Antichrist above two prophets. A copy of it made on the instruction of John Eyers ' att ye dissolucion of ye House ' is now in Moyse's Hall.[10]   E. of the Kitchen came the cook's ' Camera ' or office, the ' convent larder ', the ' pitancery ' and the ' precenter's camera ' apparently.[11]   Part of their N. wall, of Samson's date levelled up about every foot, abuts a Norman buttress of the Dormitory and, being slightly askew, shows that the kitchen was earlier.   To the E. the pitancer's ' house of the office or store below the dormitory towards the Kitchen ' evidently ended a larder court.[12]

On the E. of the Cloister was the ' Little Parlour ',[13] where monks could go from the cloister for necessary conversation.   E. of this therefore was Trayledore,[14] which led to the Infirmary[15] and to the chapel of St. Andrew[16] as well as to the Monks' Cemetery.   This Parlour was widened and the ' Chapter House ', where six abbots lie, was narrowed, lengthened and heavily buttressed by Richard de Neweport (1213–29)[17] who ' destroyed the old Chapter House and built the new from the foundations '.   The excavations of 1902–3[18] were due to Dr. Montagu R. James, provost of Eton College, who had discovered a description of the graves there.[19]   These were found as well as the side walls of the Norman Chapter House which was short and either apsidal or polygonal ended.   What looks like

[1] Reg. Host., 116 (1327) ; Mem. St. E. A., ii, 339.
[2] Dug. Mon., iii, 158 ; Reg. Kempe, 209b (14, E.I.).
[3] Dug. Mon., iii, 160 ; L. A., 66b.
[4] Arundel MS., 30, f. 209a ; Jas., 192.
[5] Sir J. B., 294 ; Reg. Vest. (1328).
[6] Distinct from ' St. J. at Hill ' and ' St. J. at the font ' in list of chaplains, Customary c. 1270, V.C.H.
[7] Dug. Mon., iii, 159 ; L. A., 44.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Lib. Alb., f. 44 ; Dug. Mon., iii, 159.
[10] See also Spelman's description, Jas., 171,

and Suff. Arch., 14 (1912), 275, with illustration.
[11] Mem. St. E. A., ii, 339 (1327).
[12] Reg. Croft. or pitancer's register, 1372 ; Sir J. B., 394.
[13] Customary, f. 2b ; Jas., 178.
[14] Op. cit.
[15] Reg. Host., f. 129, Election of J. Tymworth (1379) ; Jas., 204.
[16] Rituale, 3a ; Jas., 183.
[17] Gesta Sacrist. ; Jas., 154.
[18] H. Barker, W. Suffolk Illustrated.
[19] Reg. Douai, 7b ; Jas., 180 and Norfolk & Suffolk, 38.

an overlarge altar is the pulpitum. In the middle of the front edge is a socket for a metal dowel, and beside it in a broken aumbrey was part of an iron chain. In a recess was found a well-carved female head with blue eyes and red lips, the hair bound with a red fillet. In front was the since vanished semicircular ' step of the pulpitum ' raised a few inches above the floor. A patch of alternately blue and yellow tiles laid diagonally remains near the ' lectern ' which stood about half-way to the door next to Samson's grave. Against the N. wall is part of the surrounding stone bench. A quantity of coloured glass from the windows and carved fragments (1) of a Purbeck tomb, (2) of graceful clunch, and (3) of richly painted stone were dug up, but little of the Barnack bosses found elsewhere in the buildings.

The adjoining *dormitory stairs*, like others here, has been so robbed of ashlar that only the three containing walls are left. Beyond, a most unexpected *apse* with Norman bases is contrived, because of the long transept, to give access to the Warming House, whose wall is splayed for the purpose, as well as to the ' *Treasury* ' which has a pair of Norman courts protecting the windows and was raided next after the Chapter House.[1] There were traces of geometrical stencilling on the E. wall in red on white. To the N. ' many glazed tiles, chiefly plain green, yellow and purple were found, with a few bearing raised floral ornamentation and abundance of melted lead '. In the large court is a stone water-tank ' filled with puddled clay ' (probably silt). It drained through a channel across the narrow court which, having a sloped cobbled floor and a larger outlet (originally larger still and arched), seems intended for the disposal of waste water. The dormitory under-croft has signs of piers against the walls and down the centre. There was a doorway from the Warming House to the herb-garden outside its windows, but the adjoining window has an inserted blocked stairs perhaps leading to the Library across the garden.

The general *arrangement E. of the church* is given by Archbishop Arundel's route when visiting the monastery in 1400.[2] From the shrine he went with the Abbot and Prior ' through the Great Cemetery into the chapel of St. Andrew, then into the Vineyard, and thus coming back through the whole Infirmary he decided to look into the Prior's Hall and Chamber ; at length after returning through the Cloister he came into the Refectory, and thus about eleven by the bell entered the Palace '. The bridge into the Vineyard is shown on Buck's drawing, 1741, and its abutments remain faced with later brick. ' Trayledore ' in the ' Little Parlour ' N. of the transept leads straight to the Infirmary, passing through ' the little cloister (next the Chapel of the Infirmary) ' built by Prior John Gosford[3] (1381–post 1397), and between the Vestry and the Prior's House apparently. The latter thus developed in the normal position, E. of the Dormitory with access to it through the Reredorter. In 1327 rioters burnt ' the prior's Stables, with the Gates and the Hall and all its appendages '. Later they burnt ' the prior's Study (with the Buttery) and some part of the prior's Great Chamber (with the Pantry) and the Chamber of the prior's Chaplain '.

The *Prior's House* was remodelled by Prior John of Cambridge and repaired after damage when he was slain by the rebels in 1381.[4] It retains his moulded jambs to the Hall door. His too may be the extension, with a diagonal buttress, of the 1276 chapel which had a pair of stout buttresses at the angle, adjoining a later rood stair turret. The Hall, however, has a clasping buttress *c.* 1210, and maintains the earlier width of the Trayle before Chapter-House reconstruction allowed of its widening. A passage cut off on the E. of the Hall, and the pit of the garderobe over the Trayle show Tudor bricks and argue the insertion of an upper chamber of that date, perhaps approached by a wide stairs behind the dais. Because of the chapel the E. door of the screens is moved nearer the dais opposite a door to the Infirmary. Of the three rooms to the N. the first two were the Buttery (with cellar stairs found 1933) under the prior's Study, and the Pantry below

[1] Sir Alfred Clapham knew no parallel to this apse.
[2] *Lib. Alb.*, 14 ; Jas., 163, but more correctly in *Mem. St. E. A.*, iii, 187 from *Camb. Univ. Lib.*, Ff. 2, 29, p. 37, *Reg. Rubeum*.

[3] *Reg. Douai*, 7b ; Jas., 181.
[4] Hills, 130, says ' Yates ',=unpublished material in Egerton MSS. in B.M. mentioned by Sir E. Clarke ' Jocelin ', 203 ; MS. Egerton, 2375, says James, 98.

the Chaplain's Chamber. Here below the Great Chamber was the Kitchen, as a pit 8 feet from the E. wall (with an intruding projection) was filled with mussels. The cellar (unexcavated) lay below a W. wing which may have contained the prior's Scullery. The prior had bread, ale and fodder from the convent, but not service from the convent kitchen.[1] The little building placed at an angle nearer the river may have housed the prior's two esquires. Behind its fireplace, in the 15 foot well of brick carried on an oak curb, were found in 1934 the spoon and the two pots now in Moyse's Hall. The siting of the building is due to a cobbled roadway on the S.-W. side leading from the direction of the ' Abbot's Garden ' down presumably to the 'Prior's Gate',[2] by which through ' the gates of the Vineyard ' Henry VI ' had access to the open fields ' for hunting.[3] After spending Christmas, 1433, at the Abbot's Palace, he moved to the Prior's Chamber ' on account of its pleasant situation, close to the water, and the sweetness of the air and the odour of the vineyard '. A long building in Buck's view with a plinth, three lancets each side of a loft door and a buttress each end, looks like the ' Prior's Stables ' along the river. He had 4 horses for himself, his chaplain and his squires, and also a baggage horse. His total staff was 6, including three boys and a page.[4]

On the other side of the Prior's House the entrance court (the Lecture Yard ? of 1560) has an enigmatical building on the W. forming a sort of two-armed cloister, which may be the source of verses recorded as in ' the little Base School below the *Library* '. The verses pray St. Edmund, King Edward and St. Benedict to enlighten their monks.[5] The Library was built by Abbot Curteys (*c.* 1430) as a note records in the Bury copy of Isidore given by him and now in Bishop Cosin's library at Durham.[6] On 15 Jan., 1444–5, the Salisbury Chapter decided ' to have certain schools suitable for lectures together with a library for the safe keeping of books and the convenience of those who wish to study therein ',[7] and the conjunction of the library, school and apparently lecture yard at Bury is equally significant. Of Curteys' date may be the rounded angles here and in the circuitous passage connecting the garden outside the Warming House with the Prior's Court and Trayle. The S. wall of the School, of Norman coursed flint ending in a much-burnt hearth facing Trayle porch, may be part of the older Prior's Hospice, of extravagance in which Samson complained ; at least it formed the N. wall of a building destroyed to make way for the extended Chapter-House. The entrance to the School was evidently in the E. wing, and passed round a staircase up to the Library. The latter was perhaps built into and occupying the upper floor of a Transitional building 20 x 40 ft. which may be Samson's Bath-House of 1182–1200. A small room in the angle has a round-headed culvert-arch in a 3 in. recess for a sluice-door. On each side the recess ends, a little below the crown, in a stop to catch the haunches of the door and keep it level when lowered. The arch, tooled with a chisel, cannot be earlier than Samson. It passes through a thin wall into the unexcavated N. half of the building, and might be a device for flushing the drains when the stream from the W. was not flowing fast enough.

W. of the Prior's Hall and entered from his front court was a quiet garden whose wall abuts an enlarged shed built against the plinth of Trayle in one corner. One sump drains a small stone tank beyond Trayle porch, another with a domed top and keystone drained a pipe in the angle from three pentice roofs. The adjoining four bays of *Trayle* are no doubt Gosford's work, *c.* 1390, and show remains of semi-octagon shafts on bases consisting of an ogee above a round-edged splay, the shafts backed by chamfered wall-ribs all standing on a double plinth which with the base makes a neat design 18 in. high. The *Vestries* which open off the second bay and were found filled with charred debris, were separated from the Lady Chapel by a court drained under a connecting wing by a channel to a large rectangular sump further E. burnt like a furnace.

[1] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 159 ; Harl., 1005, f. 44.
[2] 1327 riots.
[3] Hills, 127 ; *Reg. Curteys*, 110.
[4] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 159.
[5] Sir J. B., 203 ; *Reg. Curteys.*

[6] Jas., 82.
[7] J. Willis Clark, ' *Care of Books* ' Camb. (1902), 115. The Library at Salisbury was then built along over the E. walk of the cloister.

The ' *Infirmary* ', 1107–c. 1110,[1] lies askew, hemmed in between the river and the monks' cemetery and therefore L-shaped. The N.–W. corner was excavated in 1934 but not identified. On one of the two lumps representing the *Infirmary Chapel* of St. Michael, dedicated by Archbishop W. Corbeuil (1123–36),[2] a Norman external string-course below former N. windows abuts an earlier wall. From the latter instead of a Norman cross-vault springs a barrel vault running, astonishingly, N. and S. across an aisled nave. Under its arches four abbots were buried, one on each side being described as ' on the N. (S.) side inwards between two columns before the altar of St. Benedict '.[3] This identifies the chapel, as, owing to the presence of the ' Old Infirmary ' on the S., its chancel, St. Michael's, is off centre evidently entered from the S. aisle, allowing space for St. Benedict's altar centrally. Two other abbots were buried, one ' outwards towards the W. on the N. side between two columns ', and the other ' outwards on the S. side between two columns '. Here we evidently have the *Saxon ' basilica of St. Benedict* ' whose dedication is commemorated in the calendar of the Vatican Psalter of c. 1050.[4] It must have been a centrally planned building with an 8 ft. barrel-vaulted aisle 12 ft. high surrounding a clerestoried nave measuring 14 ft. x 20 ft. The floor appears to be about 6 ft. below Trayle. The W. wall is doorless, so entrance must have been gained from the S. Adjoining was a W. ' tower ' with its wing,[5] which presumably developed into the ' Old Infirmary ' on the S. The basilica, a notable addition to our surviving Saxon buildings, must have been built as the abbot's chapel by Abbot Uvius (1020–44) who was buried there. The first Abbot's House lay apparently to the N. which would account for the Abbot's Garden beyond it. The early Chapter House stood in 1094, probably somewhat W. of the tower, on the site where the Cloister of the Infirm was built over thirty years later.[6]

That the ' *Old House of the Infirm* ' repaired after the fire of c. 1150[7] stretched S. is likely, as on Easter Tuesday ' all who are in the infirmary on the side towards the water (*ex parte aquae*) used to have a goose egg '.[8] On this side obviously was the garden. There is mention of ' a meadow between the Infirmary Garden and the Vineyard, which meadow belongs to the Watermill at (ad) the E. Gate '.[9] The Infirmary retains the N. respond of what was probably a row of piers down the middle. The respond with Norman tooling on its two orders is capped by flint from some later subdivision. The W. part has red tile-paving, worn and cracked in front of the former door. Outside is an impost moulding, now supporting a later plinth, showing that the floor inside was originally about 3 ft. below the red tiling or 5 ft. below Trayle. Just clear of the tiling and about equidistant from both walls is the sump in which the 14th-century carving of a man's head (now in Moyse's Hall) was found. From the far end (apparently excavated in 1849) a N. door into the crypt was visible in 1114, as well as that part of ' the Cemetery of the Brethren, near where St. Andrew's chapel now is '.[10]

W. of the Infirmary Chapel is a hall with a S. aisle. A Transitional circular base of c. 1180 with well-carved angle-spurs places this as the ' *New Infirmary* ' completed under Samson.[11] The Hall, perhaps three bays long, was presently curtailed by a double-stairs over a door and converted into a Vestibule by Prior Gosford (1381–97), witness the plinth mould (of a wall-arch?) next the entrance. This entrance and the adjoining stairs were the main approach to the Infirmary, the other stairs and door opposite doors into the Prior's Chapel and Hall must have been for his use. Two steps down were found by which he entered the Vestibule. The intervening small court was drained by a channel found

[1] See above under Godfrey's work in the church.

[2] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 162.

[3] *Reg. Host.*, 7b ; Jas., 180.

[4] April 7, Reginensis 12 ; see *Bradshaw Soc.*, 72. I am indebted to Mr. J. B. L. Tolhurst for giving me this reference before he knew its significance.

[5] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 162. ' Where now is the new house of the infirm I have seen a great tower . . . of St. B., next which . . . abbot

Baldwin had his chambers.' The builder placed an invalid son in the tower and *porticus*.

[6] Annals of Bury in Marianus Scotus ; Jas., 156.

[7] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 163 ; *Gesta Sacrist*.

[8] *Reg. Vest.*, 167 ; Sir J. B., 473.

[9] *Reg. Werketon* (c. 1400) ; Sir J. B., 447.

[10] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 161 ; Hills, 112. Dedication of ' crypt of St. M. V. within the church of St. E.', and confirmation by Bishop Ralph of Rochester. Battely 61.

[11] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 163 ; *Gesta Sacrist*.

crossing Trayle to a sump in the cemetery. The return length of Trayle, blocked by a thin modern wall, leaves a narrow area alongside the Infirmary, to light the lower floor, beginning with a large square pit. ' Two great solars of the chaplain of the Infirmary '· burnt in 1327 must have been next the Infirmary Chapel.

Under the tennis courts and miscalled the Prior's House when excavated in 1849[1] are two buildings which look like ' Bradfield Spanne ' built *c.* 1260 ' for the recreation of the convent ',[2] where monks after bloodletting frequently dined,[3] and next the river ' a solemn mansion called *Bradefeld* with hall, chambers and kitchen where the king (Edward II) often used to retire '.[4] Bradfield Hall seems to be the ' messuage, with the adjoining garden, now occupied by the Infirmarer ', originally the manor house of Beoderic, who gave his name to the town. The messuage was at one time occupied by the Cellarer and his barns and lay next Scurun's well. Beoderic's rustics held Averland[5] to the S. later apparently called Noman's Meadows between the rivers.[6] Schoolhall Street seems to be the original approach to the house from the Eldmarket (St. Mary's Square),[7] while the main road ran straight past the W. Front from the Square to Northgate Street, and has been diverted to Angel Hill by the Norman precincts. Bradfield Hall was evidently the Infirmarer's Camera, its kitchen being placed to serve three buildings. The well was found and a garderobe shoot with a cesspit outside the wall, also the wall-base with projections worn by the action of the river, or more probably of the Linnet banked up as a mill-stream. Beoderic's house may, however, be Holdernesse Barns.

Distinct from ' Bradefeldehall ' and the ' Black Hostry ' is ' Newhall ',[8] with ' the fair solar on the east of the new hall '.[9] It appears to be identical with the hall named *Bradfield Spanne* from its single-span in contrast with the other two Infirmary halls. A stair-turret was found at the N.-E. angle which could have led to the solar.

Trayle led on past these buildings to the ' *Sacrist's Camera* with chapel, wine-house and many other chambers there and with a tower '.[10] The chapel of St. Andrew was built and dedicated under Anselm in lieu of the earlier stone chapel ' next the hospice of the sacristy '.[11] The gable in the next garden must have belonged to these buildings. It forms part of a boundary wall shown in Buck's print as continuing to the S. boundary at the junction of the Norman and later work. Of a ground floor room on the inner side a square-headed window jamb remains, also a fireplace, behind which is part of the N. door into a two-storey wing projecting towards the river.

Bradfield Hall was separated in 1560 by four gardens from ' Walnut Tree Close ' within the precinct and containing 3 acres. The ' Sextry-Yard ' is mentioned in 1663. It and ' Walnut Tree Yard ' were ' neare unto the Shire House ' and, with Noman's Meadow separated by a ditch from the Pond-Yard on the N., ' lye together '[12] Here, then, adjoining the Sextry or Sacristy Yard were ' the mansion for the sacrist's household without the wall, namely, the hall, solars, chambers, brewhouse, bakehouse, kitchen, granary, and hay loft with stables ; the carpenter's shop, the subsacrist's buildings with the mint, and with other offices there '.[13] The sacrist had a staff of 24, of whom at least 6 were employed in the mint and 8 in the church. He and the Cellarer between them divided the responsibilities of administrator of the town and lord of the manor in the suburbs, but the sacrist was also in charge of all building operations of the monastery except on the abbot's buildings. E. of the former Norman S. gate of the cemetery taken down in 1760[14] was *St. Margaret's* church which became first the Grammar School and then the Shire Hall. The Medieval school and song-school were S. of this church and outside the precinct. In the great cemetery were two isolated chapels. The *Charnel House* S. of the front of the abbey church was founded by Abbot John de Norwold. Sanction was

[1] MS. note at Moyse's Hall and Hills, 128 & 133.
[2] *Gesta Sacrist., Mem. St. E. A.,* ii, 295.
[3] *Lib. Consuetudinarius* ; Hills, 133.
[4] *Mem. St. E. A.,* ii, 330 ; from *Reg. Host.,* 190.
[5] Jocelin; *Mem. St. E. A.,* i, 302; *Lib. Alb.,* 121.
[6] Settlement by Anne Yeend, 7/5/1663. Ipswich Public Library, E.S.C.C., 50/21/11.1, No. c7.

[7] Plan by V. Redstone in Lobel.
[8] *Reg. Vest.,* Crown Plea, 1, E. III, Sir J. B. 294.
[9] *Reg. Host.,* 190 ; *Mem. St. E. A.,* ii, 330.
[10] *Reg. Host.,* 190.
[11] *Lib. Alb.,* 217b ; Jas., 161.
[12] Settlement by Anne Yeend above.
[13] *Reg. Host.,* 190.
[14] Yates, ii., 47.

granted in 1300, on his payment of a fine, to assign lands in the abbey villages for 2 priests to serve in the chapel recently built called ' La Charnere '.[1]   The chapel stood on a vaulted crypt for bones, and has a triangular E. end.   The chapel of *St. John-at-Hill* was older, but has completely disappeared.   Its chaplain is mentioned in *c.* 1270.[2]   A position ' in St. Marie's church yard between ye said church and ye chappell of St. John at Hill ' is mentioned in 1517.[3]   Hill quotes a most interesting contract with John Heywood, carpenter of Ditton, Cambridgeshire, for its reroofing in 1439.[4]

The detached buttresses E. of the dormitory (shown in Godfrey's print 1779 as carrying an overhang)[5] formerly by a wild guess called the Infirmary Cloister, mark the N. side of the 13th-century *Reredorter*.[6]   One of a row of ashlar drainage shafts spaced about every 4 ft. is visible between the unevenly-spaced buttresses and the wall.   A later pit against the river end of the wall is shown on a Victorian drawing at Moyse's Hall.   Possibly Samson's waterworks, or the raising of the mill-stream, caused the rebuilding of the Norman reredorter, but the new plan with shafts instead of a channel gives a wider undercroft.   A fragment of its vaulting survives in the angle.   The rest of the dormitory undercroft, backing onto the Pitancer's Store, housed the *Chamberlain's department*. Samson ' constructed a new Larder for himself in the court and gave to the convent for the use of the Chamberlain the old larder which was indecently placed below the Dormitory '.[7]   One strongly suspects, although the point seems to have been overlooked, that the normal position for the Chambery was below the Reredorter and in the end of the Dormitory Undercroft where tanning-vats are sometimes found.   The Chamberlain was in charge of clothing, cobbling, washing and baths, and had a staff of seven, a tailor, a tanner, two cutters in the Black Solar according to custom, two men in the bath-house, and a washerman, the first two also paying subordinates of their own.[8]   The dormitory appears to have been separated from the wings to the E. by a narrow garden.[9]   The wing described above as likely to be Samson's bath-house is adjoining.

The '*Abbot's Palace*', on the fourth site to house him seems to have developed from the Abbot's Garden and Samson's Larder after some extension of the precinct.   In *c.* 1211 Samson's third sacrist, Robert de Graveley, ' bought the *Vineyard* (across the river from the Infirmary) and enclosed it with a stone wall for the comfort of invalids and friends '.[10] The S. wall with a depressed 14th-century gate-arch and the lower part of the buttressed E. wall mostly survive.   The *Abbot's Bridge* and the wall on each side enclosing the procession way ' leading from the E. gate to the S.' gate,[11] evidently followed soon afterwards.   The gables and flying-buttresses on the exterior cutwaters are a 14th-century addition to provide a public plank footbridge beside the ford.   The 1281 division of property between abbot and convent makes the sacrist especially responsible for ' all the buildings belonging to the abbot within the court except the Larder and other buildings towards the Garden, and all other buildings to be constructed in future ',[12] showing that building had recently taken place there and more was contemplated, so that by 1292 Samson's hall near the Almonry had become used primarily as the 'Hall of Pleas'.[13]   At the end of the dormitory the chamber placed to dominate the ' Pallaies Garden '[14] forms the main feature of this scheme, and is shown by its hexagonal turret to be one with the garden walls terminating in hexagonal *Dovecots*.   Of the two shown on Warren's 1747 plan one survives.   Its upper floor has a transomed square-headed window of two trefoil-headed lights whose shutter-rebates have been superseded by glazing grooves.   There is external corbelling for a door, blocked by later brick nesting-boxes.   Below are three

[1] Pat., 28, E.I., m. 13 ; *V.C.H., Suff.*, ii, 62.
[2] Customary ; *V.C.H.*, 69.
[3] *Reg. Hoode* ; Sir J. B., 539.
[4] *Reg. Werketon*, f. 304 ; Hills, 118.
[5] Spanton, *B. St. E.* (1928 ?), Pl. XIII.
[6] *Reg. Host.*, 190.   ' Great edifice sometime of brother John de Saham ' ?
[7] Jocelin ; *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 297.
[8] *Lib. Alb.*, 44 and *Reg. Kempe* (14, E.I.), 209b ; Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 159.

[9] Yates, *B. St. E.*, 245, abstract of grant 14/2/1560 by letters patent to John Eyer.   ' Two little gardens lying next the Chamberer's office ' ?
[10] *Gesta Sacrist.*, Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 163.
[11] *Reg. Lakynhethe*, 197b ; Sir J. B., 431.
[12] *Reg. of St. E.*, Duchy of Lancaster Office, f. 84 ; Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 157.
[13] Lobel, *Borough of B. St. E.*, 96, lawsuit.
[14] So-called 1560.

slits guarding the river northwards, remains of a fireplace, and externally the outlet of a stone culvert. In the wall nearby herring-bone tiling from the back of a blocked fireplace, and an oversailing course to cover its projection, prove that a wing of rooms flanked the garden.

The main block probably contained the ' *Queen's Chamber* ' (Great Chamber) over the Abbot's Larder (on the W.) and Wardrobe. These are associated in the 1327 description, when rebels raided the Abbot's Wardrobe, stealing his arms and furniture after breaking the beds in the monks' dormitory. Later they burnt the ' Queen's Chamber with the Abbot's Larder ', which latter is unlikely to have been moved far from its original site below the dormitory. This block was presumably used for the visits of Queen Eleanor and her daughters. But the seclusion of this well-protected site soon persuaded the abbot to extend the buildings, probably to accommodate King Edward I, who paid fifteen visits to the abbey.[1] The hall, chamber, buttery and bakehouse are mentioned in 1327, and the 1429 inventory adds the chapel, cellar, stable and brewhouse.[2] Warren's plan shows the buildings stretching to the N. boundary and closing in the E. side of the Great Court. The W. view of the Abbot's Palace reproduced by Battely[3] was drawn by Sir James Burrough in 1720, a few weeks before it was pulled down.[4] It shows the domestic hall or ' lower chamber '[5] raised on a cellar, and a chamber with an eleven-light transomed window in a low gable-end over the entrance and buttery. The short wing beyond looks like a Kitchen, originally open to the roof. It is uncertain how far any of the doors and windows shown are medieval, except the row of four-centred two-lights in the Great Chamber and continuing along the roofless dormitory. In the former a lower row of windows had been added to provide an intermediate storey, and the plan had been divided up into a corridor with two or three rooms on each side. The turret seems designed to give an outlook over the court, as the stairs would be in the N. projection. The pair of clerestory arcades shown by Burrough appear to be the remains of the ' *King's Hall* ' which Prior Ryngsted (d. 1465) converted into ' quite a good Granary,'[6] no doubt after destroying the aisles. ' Two little closes on the back side of the hall called the King's Hall ' are mentioned in 1560.[7] Burrough has, however, shown the arches too narrow, as Grose says they were 15 ft. span, the building being 70 ft. 5 in. long, with columns 2 ft. 1 in. diameter and 12 ft. high,[8] and this corresponds more with the blocked arches shown on the E. in a painting at Moyse's Hall and with the perspective from the N.–E. by R. Godfrey.[9] The low clerestory of single arches or panels shown by Burrough, and the octagonal columns of Godfrey which correspond to the shafts below the Queen's Chamber, might well be *c.* 1285. In fact, it looks as though Abbot Norwold obtained the charter of 1281 in order to be clear as to responsibilities before starting to build. There is no evidence whether the block next to the N. contained a King's Chamber over State Butteries and Kitchen, nor can one identify the ' varied structures and imposing edifices ' with which Abbot Curteys improved his dilapidated ' Palace ', setting eighty men to work when King Henry VI had given eight weeks' notice of his intention to spend Christmas 1433 there.[10] The *chapel*, prostrated by the 1465 fire, is probably the building in the garden whose broken N. wall shows the offset of a low buttress and the jamb-stone of a door worked with a shaft and base.

The wall further N. in the Great Court with thin buttresses and a door, forming the side of a modern house, is part of a wing rebuilt after 1327 when the ' abbot's bakehouse ' was burnt. The more patched section next the angle of the Court is older and has a plainer doorway. In this group, opening into the abbot's yard behind, we may place his ' *brewery*

[1] Sir Ernest Clarke, *Jocelin*, 196 (1907).
[2] *Reg. Curteys*, 11b ; Hills, 134.
[3] Plate III ; there are errors in the copy reproduced in Yates.
[4] Sir J. B., 625.
[5] *Mem. St. E. A.*, iii, 298 ; *Brevis Chronica*, f. 105b.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Patent Roll 14/2/1560; Gillingwater, *St. E.B.*

(1804), 156.
[8] Francis Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, Vol. iii (1808), 328.
[9] 1779, of 120 Long Acre ; reproduced in Grose who says it was from a drawing formerly in the collection of Lord Yarmouth ; W. S. Spanton, *B. St. E.* (1928 ?), Pl. XIII.
[10] Dug. *Mon.*, iii, 113 ; *Reg. Curteys*, f. 110.

and *bakery* and his *stables* '.[1] The latter in 1581 abutted on to the grounds of a house called the Tower, N. of the Great Court.[2] Nearer the river Tymms mentions a building pulled down *c.* 1735 N. of the dovecot, about 60 ft. square, on arches with many divisions.[3] He suggests that the river Linnet ran through it, but mistakenly calls it the bath-house. In Godfrey's print it is about 30 ft. square, buttressed in two bays, each with a gap for a low-arched window on the upper floor.[4] Quinton's sketch[5] shows the building standing on a terrace pierced by eight round arches on the S. with steps down to the E. Clearly this is 'the *Water-Mill* at the E. gate ',[6] part of which would be the '*abbot's Granary* next the Pool' burnt 1327.

The Mill argues a N. gate about in the modern position for access to the 'abbot's manor of Holdernesse Barns '[7] away to the N.–E. This would be one reason for the abbot having the E. gate of the town (Alselesegate, i.e. All Souls' gate)[8] under his control. The fireplace and stairs for the porter of the E. gate have left remains in the abbey wall. There is a 15th-century brick lobby adjoining to overlook from the abbot's grounds the approach to the gate. The intervening length of the Abbot's Wall has a magnificent range of chamfered buttresses. At the W. end of it is the oldest building in this area, having clasping buttresses *c.* 1180. Two bays survive with a square-headed loop on the upper floor, but it extended further westward. It looks more like a barn than a gate, but might have been the 'Abbot's Stables' or the 'house called the *Hay-house* to the said Stables adjoining ' in 1560, and could have had a back gateway through it. When first built the water would have formed an adequate boundary from this block along the E. of the abbey.

'All the buildings standing in the *Abbey Court* on the N. side, namely, the Stables, Brewhouse, Bakehouse and Granary ' were burnt in 1327,[9] ' as well as the Almonry buildings on the other side '. This gives the sequence of main buildings starting from the Great Gates. Another account adds more details in order of time and says 'they first burnt the great gates of the Abbey with the chamber of the porter, and of the stableman, and the common stables, the chambers (on the S. of the Court) of the cellarer and of his colleague and of the steward and of his clerk, the brewery, the cowhouse and piggery, the mill, the bakehouse and hay-house, the abbot's bakehouse '. It mentions the 'corn granary ' as burnt two days later. The *Granary* must have been the 'house called the Tower lying on the N. part of the Great Court . . . and two parcels of land between the walls there abutting on the Abbot's Stable and on the Mill House ' in 1581.[10] It was over 200 ft. long with unevenly-spaced stout buttresses and narrow lancets which have a very narrow chamfer dating from *c.* 1210. The 5 ft. 6 in. door to match in a narrow bay seems about central. Four lancets survive, three more have been widened, and a jamb can be seen next one of the two buttresses which have left traces E. of the door. Samson ' ordered that the stables and offices roundabout in the Court, which were formerly covered with reeds, should be reroofed and covered with tiles, under the direction of sacrist Hugo ', and the refronting of the Granary apparently followed after Jocelin had stopped writing in 1203.[11] A 7 ft. 6 in. door in the W. part of the granary with a depressed arch, and little inserted windows, show later subdivision.

To the W. of the Granary the *Mill* and *Bakery* have been rebuilt. The two little Norman squat loops further W. near a four-centred 7 ft. 6 in. archway may be part of the *Brewery*, no doubt one of the offices begun under Abbot Ording.

' The whole *Almonry* from the gates of the Great Court together with a pentice for the distribution for the poor as far as the Hall of Pleas ' was burnt in 1327. The hall was afterwards lit by the eight square-headed windows each of two ogeed lights shown on Buck's W. view, 1738. Below was apparently a basement and the porter's chamber

[1] 1429, *Reg. Curteys*, 11b ; Hills, 134.
[2] Yates, 247.
[3] S. Tymms, *Handbook of B. St. E.* (1885), 18.
[4] Spanton, *B. St. E.*, Pl. XIII.
[5] E. Gillingwater, *St. E. B.* (1804), 66.
[6] *Reg. Werketon* (before *c.* 1430), Sir J. B., 447.

[7] Sir J. B., 294 ; *Reg. Vest.*, 1328, Crown Pleas.
[8] Hills.
[9] *Reg. Pinchbeck*, Crown Plea, 1, E. III ; Sir J. B., 237.
[10] Yates, 247.
[11] Jocelin ; *Mem. St. E. A.*, i, 296.

with a door leading through into the gateway. The Almoner's Barns were outside the S. gate of the town.

Nowadays the monastery is at its most impressive seen from Angel Hill. The best part of the wall lies N. of the gateway where some of Anselm's buttresses support a heightening of after 1327. Formerly a dyke passed in front of the gate, running from near St. James' church and along the N. side of the precinct.[1] To prevent the ground under the wall being fouled Abbot Curteys enclosed it with a paling ' from the Great Gate of the Court to the stables of the said Reverend Father'.[2] Some remains of the N. wall are embedded in later buildings.

The ' Great Gate ' which still dominates the Court was probably always the most imposing building in it. Coats of arms in the entrance show that it was built after 1327 when Henry, the King's cousin, became Duke of Lancaster, and before 1346 when Edward III began to use the quartered coat. The upper parts were, however, finished by John Lavenham, sacrist after 1353—c. 1384.[3] It has lost the two octagonal turrets which capped the two stairs. It is planned with a Watch Room, in which the portcullis gear was worked, over the outer hall. Over the inner hall, which also has lost its vaulting, the room for the guards has large windows, a fireplace on the S. and on the N. a garderobe whose shute is backed by another for the stableman on the adjoining first floor. Below the main rooms, linking the stairs is a passage over the gate with slits commanding both halls. Externally the gateway combines provision for statuary, to display the ideal for which the abbey stood, with arrow-slits behind the statues should force again be needed to control the town, for the royal arm behind the abbey was strong enough to prevent the town acquiring self-government till after the abbey had been dissolved. Of the splendour of the abbey's many buildings, this gate now remains the best evidence.

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[1] An arched passage leading in the direction of the monastery, i.e. probably a culvert taking the stream from the W. to the dyke along Angel Hill and to the Reredorter, was found a few years before 1804 when digging a cellar below one of the properties which preceded the N. block of the Athenaeum. Gillingwater, 92.
[2] *Reg. Curteys* ; Sir J. B., 202.
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Plan of Bury, T. Warren, 1747 ; also in Spanton, *op. cit.*

Abbey from E. (showing mill arches), Quinton in Gillingwater, *op. cit.*, and water-colour at Moyse's Hall.

Abbey from E. (showing mill and prior's stable), Buck, 1741.

Abbey from W. (showing gate and Almonry windows), Buck, 1738.

Abbey church, E. side of W. Front, copy of sketch 16 July, 1681, in Athenaeum, B. St. E.

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ST. MARY'S CHURCH, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

By A. B. WHITTINGHAM

The parish church of St. Mary, or at least its eastern part, was ' constructed ' *c.* 1110–21 by Godfrey the sacrist[1] ' at the S. angle of the cemetery towards the W.' to replace the timber parish church of St. Mary which was pulled down to build the N. transept.[2] It was dedicated by Bishop John of Rochester by 1142,[3] and the *Gesta* says ' the church with its tower was made ', i.e. completed, under Anselm.[4] To the tower of the present church bequests were made in 1395 and 1403, whereas in 1393 a will adds ' if it shall be built '.[5] At that time the church was evidently narrower and did not extend W. of the abbey wall.

Reconstruction followed. In 1425 are several bequests ' to the fabric of the new church of St. M.' and in 1424, one.[6] While their church was ' in course of reconstruction ' the congregation were using the abbey church in 1430 when they narrowly escaped the fall of its W. tower.[7] In 1432 Thomas Brakenholm desired to be buried ' within the walls of the new church of St. M.'[8] Bequests in 1436 to the ' fabric of the new rood-loft ' (*solii crucifixi*), in 1437 for porches, in 1442 and–5 for the ' fabric of the new battlements ' mean that the building had been roofed in about ten years. On the richly-carved nave roof whose E. truss is painted, hammer-beams with angels in a procession alternate with arch-braced trusses formed with a concealed hammer-beam. There are saints on the wall-posts. In Norfolk the collars would have been omitted. The panelled wagon roof of the rather earlier chancel has figures carved in the cusps, while its cornice is painted with angels carrying the *Te Deum*. Shafts branch round the nave arches to form hood moulds in an ungrammatical way avoided in the later St. James' church. A pair of rood-stair turrets support the chancel-arch above which is a formerly 3-light window ; but most unusual is the cantilevered flat stone ceiling of the N. porch. It has fan tracery round a pierced pendant, inside which is a carving of God surrounded by angels. Over the arch is an inscription to John Notyngham, a grocer, who afterwards in 1437 left £20 for W. and S. porches. The latter was pulled down in 1731.[9]

[1] See discussion of his works under *Abbey Church*.

[2] *Lib. Alb.*, 217b ; Jas., 161.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Jas., 153.

[5] Sir J. B., 541 and Tymms, 11.

[6] Sir J. B., 541 ; Tymms.

[7] *Reg. Curteys*, 87b ; Hills, 110.

[8] Sir J. B., 541.

[9] Hills, 110.

N

The corpse on a tomb in the S. aisle represents John Barret. By his will, 1463–7, he desired to be interred 'by ye Awter of Saint Martyn named also our Ladyes Awter . . . under ye percloos of ye ritorne of ye Candilbeam before ye Image of the Saviour. . . . I will if there be maad an Ele where the vestry is on ye S. side of ye chancell as is on the tothir side ', if the window glass is moved, the arch to stand ' with all ye werk of ye Angelys on loft which I have doe maad for a remembrance of me and my friendys '. The roof is painted with his ' colers of silver of the King's Livery ' and with his motto ' God me guide, Grace me gouerne ', but his tomb has been moved from the arch to the wall.[1] The chancel-aisles and side-screens and, raised on a crypt, the projecting sanctuary with pulleys for the Lenten Veil, are of this date and incorporate the earlier E. windows reset, but the new vestry has been destroyed.

The ' two new Eles ' were built by John (Jankyn) Smith who left rents for their maintenance. His brass, 1481, is in the Lady chapel on the S., and his portrait hangs in the Guildhall.[2] He wanted to be buried ' in the N. aisle in front of the door of the altar of St. John '. This altar was ' at the going in to Jesus' aisle '.[3] A burial ' in the cemetery next the N. wall of St. Peter's altar ' must have been W. of the porch.[4] St. Wolstan's chapel W. of the tower served as an ecclesiastical court, which leaves St. Thomas and St. Edward the Confessor for each side of the S. porch next the ' little churchyard '.

Mary Tudor, Queen of France, buried in the abbey in 1533, now lies in the sanctuary, and Queen Victoria erected an excellent window to her. John Reeve, the last abbot, was buried here. The altar tombs of two Tudor knights have lost their canopies. The font, to the making of which £2 was left in 1506 and £1 in 1512, stands on a stem of *c.* 1400 carved with lions and saints.

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ST JAMES' CATHEDRAL CHURCH, BURY ST. EDMUNDS

By A. B. WHITTINGHAM

The parish church of St. James was founded by Abbot Anselm (1121–48), instead of making a pilgrimage to St. James at Compostella, to replace Abbot Baldwin's Basilica of St. Denis which was pulled down in extending the W. end of the abbey church[5] northwards. The Norman church dedicated by Archbishop William Corbeuil,[6] (1123–36) received many gifts for a ' new chancel ', *c.* 1390, followed by ' choir ' (stalls), 1401, and painting the chancel, 1402.[7] This chancel had three windows a side and lasted till replaced by classic brickwork in 1711. Bequests followed for new windows, 1431–2, and lengthening the W. end towards the street, 1436.

The present nave and aisles were planned soon after 1500 with a floor about 3 ft. above the earlier level to avoid flooding. John Wastell the master mason (d. 1515) had come to live in Bury,[8] and the design and glass resemble his work at King's Chapel, Cambridge. In 1504 £10 is left ' to the newe werk at Seynt Jamys church ende ',[9] or more particularly

[1] Sir J. B., 544.
[2] Tymms.
[3] Sir J. B., 1512.
[4] Sir J. B., 541, *c.* 1420.
[5] L. A., 217b ; Jas., 162.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Sir J. B., 541.
[8] John H. Harvey, *Henry Yevele*, 74.
[9] Bury Wills, 95.

in 1511 after a contract had been made ' the new worke . . . at ye west end yt ye parish is charged with '. and next year it is ' to ye new work of St. J. wch my lord is charged with ', so the abbot seems to have been responsible for the rest. Apart from perhaps the W. bay, building seems hardly to have begun in 1512 when money is left ' to ye performance of Jesus chappell when ye church is edified, if they make a chappell of Jesus '. A will of 1509 says this chapel was ' proposed to be made between the church of St. James & ye steple ' and a bequest to ' ye building of ye new chappell of Jhu ' occurs as early as 1500, but the site was changed. By 1520 there is a bequest for glazing, and next year £10 is given ' to ye glazing of ye west window '. However, in 1525 Thomas Berewe gives £10 to glaze a window ' at ye west end when ye said church is roofed and finished ' though he gives £10 to another window without any qualification. By that time, therefore, the main walls and much of the roof were finished, as he also gives ' 15 Tun of stone to ye finishing of ye vice of St. J. church, ye Abbot & Convent to pay carriage according to covenants '. Perhaps this was the stairs to the ' Chapell of our Lady St. Mary in the porch '[1] on the S. There is a donation of £40 in 1526 ' to the finishing St. J. church ', but it was still incomplete when Edward VI ' gave to the finishing of this church C.C. ll.' (£200) possibly for battlements and furnishings to fulfil the convents' liability. Their share may well have been delayed by uncertainty about their future.

The arcades are better proportioned than at St. Mary's. The W. bay, built first, wider and forming the main entrance projecting beyond the abbey wall, receives most decoration, and whilst the S. side towards the cemetery is faced in ashlar, the N. side towards a yard is of rubble with reused Norman shafts built in. There was no N. or S. window in the W. bay, and of the original glass, that representing the story of Susanna and a Jesse-tree, came from a pair of windows on the N.[2] The aisle roofs remain, but the ornate flat roof over the nave was destroyed in 1777, the present steep hammer-beam roof of 1862–4 being designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, who also rebuilt the chancel, 1865–9. A good monument of 1738 shows James Reynolds seated as Chief Baron of the Exchequer Court. What the Norman bishops tried in vain to do was achieved in 1914 when this church became a cathedral.

The rich Norman tower, of 1120–48, was designed both as belfry to this church and gateway to the abbey church. It was called ' the tower of St. James '.[3] Like the central lantern tower of the abbey church which needed 12 candles,[4] it has three windows a side. The tympanum of the W. arch, shown in Davy's print[5] as carried on a segmental arch and carved with Christ in glory, supported by two angels,[6] was removed in 1789 to let hay-carts through. The large Norman carving of two devils thrusting a man into hell, once in a side-panel and now in Moyse's Hall, came probably from the abbey W. door jamb, being carved on two faces. The slab with matrices of two bells and two melting-pots on tripods, commemorating one of the Bury bell-founders, has been placed at the original ground level.

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[1] Sir J. B., 537.
[2] Gillingwater, 180.
[3] *Gesta Sacrist.* ; Jas., 153.

[4] Rituale, 11 ; Jas., 179.
[5] Spanton, *B. St. E.*
[6] Gillingwater, 90.

THE UNITARIAN CHAPEL [1]

By WALTER H. GODFREY

This distinguished brick building, in Churchgate Street, was built in 1710. The entrance is on the south side by a door with a brick door case with a cleft pediment beneath an oval window with four enriched key blocks. Arched windows flank the entrance and a sundial provides a central feature above the main cornice. The interior is surrounded by a gallery on three sides, the elaborate hexagonal pulpit with a circular stair and twisted balusters occupying the free north wall opposite the entrance. The pulpit has a domed sounding-board and two lunettes for light, one each side.

FRIDAY, 20TH JULY

LITTLE WENHAM HALL

By MARGARET E. WOOD

Little Wenham Hall is probably the best preserved of 13th-century houses and the earliest built in brick. Flint is used in the base of the walls and stone for buttresses and window dressings. Architectural details suggest a date *c.* 1270–80, and the manor-house may have been built by Sir John de Vallibus who died in 1287. Later owners included Roger de Holbrook, and the Debenham, Brewse and Thurston families.

The hall lies NS. and forms an L-plan, with the chapel projecting off the N. end of its E. wall. Both are raised on vaulted undercrofts ; there is a further room in the square tower above the chapel, and a turret staircase in the re-entrant angle. Judging from an uninterrupted string-course, the building seems to have been complete except towards the SW. angle. Here we know there was a 16th-century wing, now destroyed, and Mrs. Quennell suggests a previous garderobe block projecting off the S. wall near this corner. Elsewhere there are angle buttresses, the string-course passing over them at sill level of the first-floor windows. Owing to the slope of the ground, however, the E. window of the hall is at a lower level than those of the chapel, hence the string-course which has continued at chapel level round the stair turret, ends abruptly at the junction with the hall and begins again 15 in. lower, the plinth being likewise stepped down. A similar change is visible on the N. wall, and here a buttress marks the division between hall and chapel. The battlements were mostly rebuilt in the 16th century, the date also of the stepped gable of the fireplace buttress, and octagonal chimney on the W. wall.

The scroll-and-bead moulding of the late 13th century is prevalent, not only in the string-course, but also in the hoods of the windows, which have mask terminations. There are loops to the basements, and two-lights to hall and tower room, with lancets in the chapel, where the E. three-light window has especially been restored.

The W. half of the S. wall has been much disturbed ; the basement doorway is old, but the chamfered plinth turns down at an angle some 3 ft. E. of it. The string-course also stops 1 ft. 6 in. E. of the doorway and there are signs of disturbance above, under the modern balcony round the SW. corner of the building. The first-floor doorway is doubtful, certainly repaired, the SW. quoins rebuilt at all levels, and there are no angle buttresses. All these support Mrs. Quennell's suggestion of an original garderobe at this corner. However, the basement doorway has its door-check on the exterior.

The W. wall has also been disturbed as far as the hall window, the string-course starting again just S. of it. This marks the position of the vanished 16th-century wing, and above the basement doorway is the date 1569. The first-floor doorway is the original hall entrance, masked by external renewals of the 16th century.

The hall basement is of three bays with a quadripartite ribbed vault in brick ; the transverse, diagonal and wall ribs, of dressed stone, hollow-chamfered, supported on semi-octagonal responds with moulded capitals and double-roll bases. The chapel undercroft is similar, but of one square quadripartite bay.

[1] For a more detailed description of the building, see *The Unitarian Chapels of Ipswich and Bury St. Edmunds* by Walter H. Godfrey, *Arch. Journ.*, cviii, pp. 121–126.

The hall has a ' sitting-window ' on each wall ; these have two pointed trefoil lights and a quatrefoil in the head of the N. and S. windows, a trefoil in the E. and W. ; the N. and S. windows have in addition a scroll-and-bead-moulded hood with masks, as on the outside ; the fireplace was altered and widened in the 16th century ; it probably had a triangular hood at first. There is a fine 16th-century chestnut ceiling, under the wall-plate of which is the 13th-century scroll-and-bead moulding in stone, cambered in the end walls, and suggesting an original flat roof to the hall. The entrance was at the S. end of the W. wall ; it is lofty with a chamfered segmental head ; on the S. jamb is a door recess with round demi-arch. An early 15th-century recess with drain remains on the S. wall.

At the upper end of the hall is the chapel entrance, and flanking it small windows of two lancets divided by mid-shaft, with a sunk quatrefoil in the tympanum of the two-centred head. The chapel has a brick vault with stone ribs, moulded with scroll and roll-and-fillet, resting on carved corbels at the E. with stiff-leaf and scroll above human heads, but on simpler moulded corbels to the W. On the E. there are stone candle-brackets, but altar and steps are modern. Along the splayed jamb of the S. lancet is an arch of the piscina. This is irregular in plan, its two arches having pointed trefoil heads and two-centred moulded hoods, with jamb-shafts and central triple shaft with moulded capitals and bases.

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GIFFORD'S HALL, STOKE BY NAYLAND

BY GEOFFREY WEBB

Gifford's Hall was built for the Mannock family on the site of an earlier house in the first quarter of the 16th century. The property had been acquired by the family as early as 1428, but it seems unlikely that any important feature of the present building can be dated as early as that. The building consists of a courtyard entered by a brick gatehouse, an outstanding example of the brickwork of its time. The great hall entered through a brick porch appears to be of the same period and has a hammer-beam roof of exceptional magnificence. The courtyard is surrounded by ranges constructed in timber with brick infilling. Internally there are evidences of alterations of the mid-17th century and the fenestration has been much altered in the 18th century when a Venetian window was substituted for the original oriel of the hall. The house was restored on the whole with admirable discretion after its sale in 1888.

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LAVENHAM CHURCH

By JOAN EVANS

The church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Lavenham (Fig. 9) has long been recognized as a notably fine example of late Perpendicular style. Dr. Montagu James called it ' as good Perpendicular as can be seen '. It was fully drawn about 1790, and forty engravings after these drawings were published in 1796.

John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford, who died in 1513, and Thomas Spring II, ' the Rich Clothier of Lavenham ', who died in 1524, were the chief benefactors of the church. The devices of the Veres adorn the open battlements of the nave, and shields round the tower bear alternately the de Vere coat and the merchant's mark of Thomas Spring. By the time the top of the tower was reached Spring had become armigerous. The splendid tower rises 141 feet on walls that are seven feet thick at the base. The first bequest towards its erection dates from 1486. Its building was interrupted early in the 16th century, but a further legacy enabled it to be continued after 1517 ; and a yet larger benefaction in 1523 enabled it to be completed to the battlements, though the four corner turrets were never built.
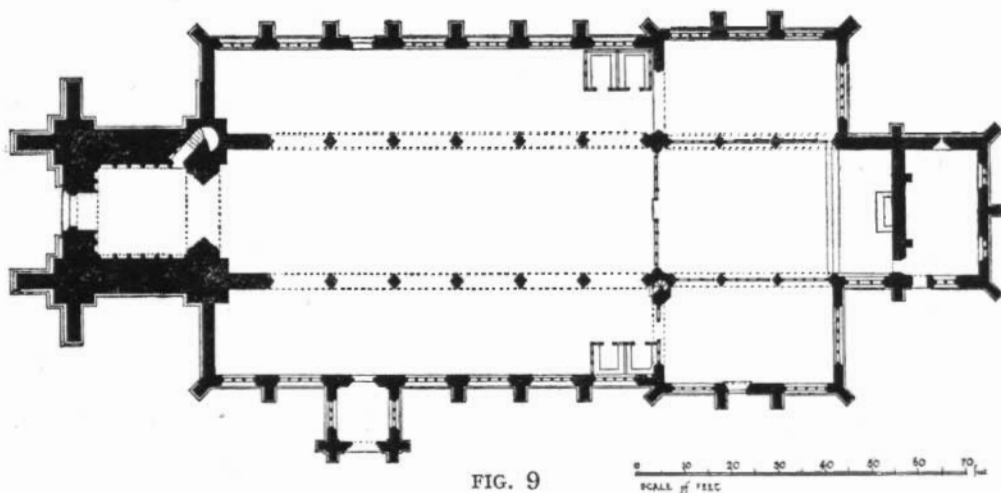
LAVENHAM PARISH CHURCH

FIG. 9

The chancel was built in the Decorated Style in the second half of the 14th century, and is small in proportion to the nave, which is 96 ft. long. The nave has a good wooden roof on figured corbels ; there are good screens and misericords.

The Spring chapel to the S. of the altar contained the font of Thomas Spring II ; the sculptures at the base of the roof are remarkable. His son, Thomas Spring III, was buried in front of the altar of St. Catherine in the N. aisle ; his tomb is surrounded by a remarkable oaken parclose of the early 16th century. A second parclose opposite is often ascribed to the tomb of a Vere, but there is no certain evidence. It now contains a tomb brought from outside the church.

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PLATE XXI

BURY ST. EDMUNDS ABBEY

PLAN BY A. B. WHITTINGHAM. 1952

Note : Walls are shown exaggerated in thickness
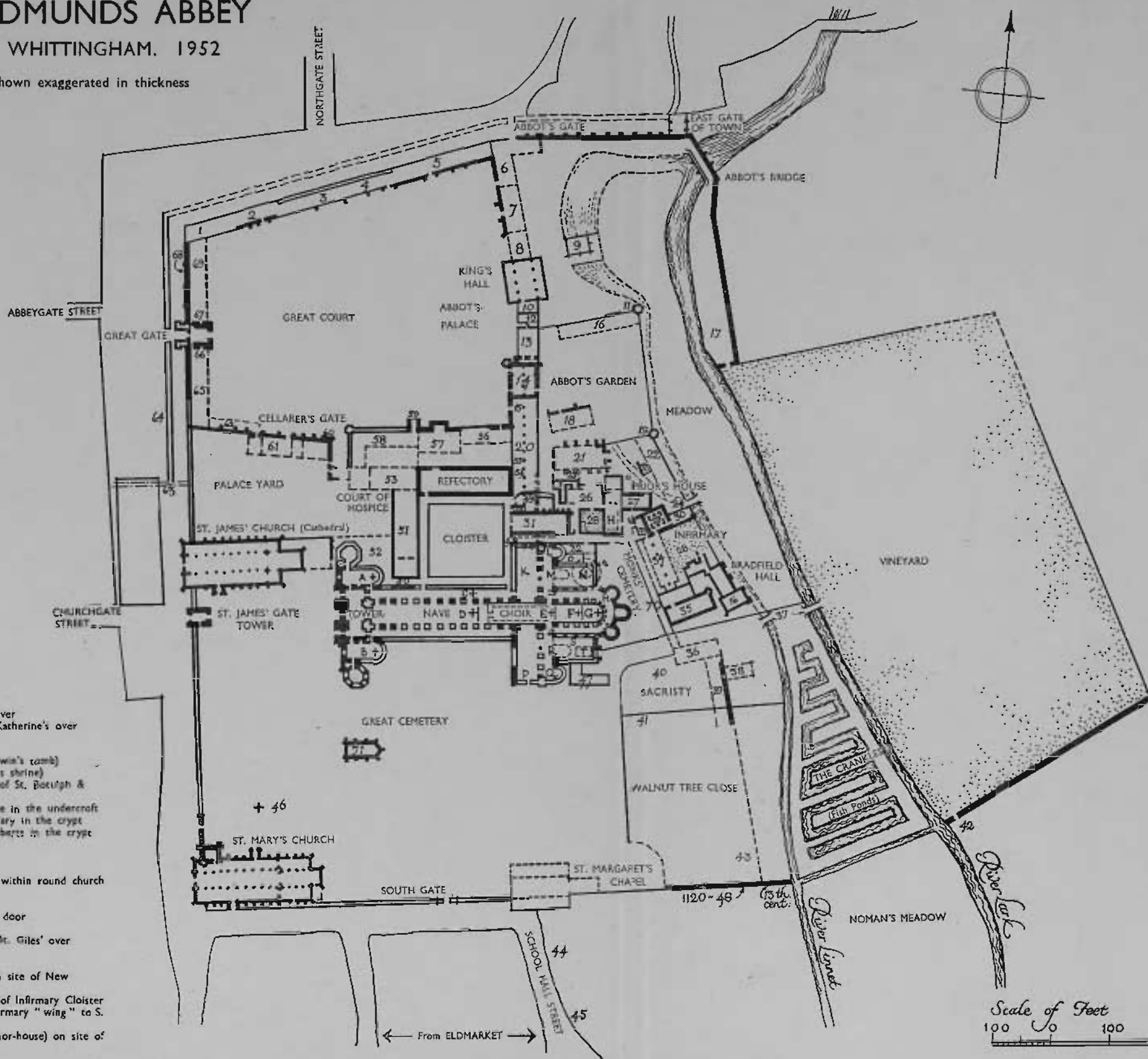
1. Cowshed
2. Brewery
3. Bakery
4. Mill
5. Granary
6. Abbot's Stable
7. Abbot's Bakery & Brewery
8. Chamber (?)
9. Watermill at East Gate & Granary (?) near Pond
10. Kitchen
11. Dovecot
12. Buttery
13. Abbot's Hall over Cellar
14. Queen's Chamber over Larder & Wardrobe
15. Chambery
16. Chambers
17. Procession-way to South Gate
18. Chapel
19. Former Dovecot
20. Dorter over
21. Reredorter
22. Stables
23. Squires (?)
24. Gate
25. Bath
26. Lecture Court
27. Chapel
28. Garden
29. St. Benedict's Basilica
30. St. Michael's Chapel
31. Chapter House
32. Vestry
33. New Hall
34. Old Hall
35. Spanne
36. St. Andrew's Chapel
37. Bridge
38. Sacrist's Camera
39. Sacrist's Staff House, Brewery, Bakery, Granary & Stable
40. Sextry Yard
41. Sub Sacrist's Workshops and Mint
42. Gate of Vineyard
43. Line of Norman Wall
44. School
45. Songschool
46. St. John at Hill
47. Feretrar's House
48. Inner Parlour
49. Treasury
50. Parlour
51. Great Hall over Cellar
52. Parlour Court
53. Black Hostry
54. Warming House
55. Pitancery
56. Larder
57. Kitchen
58. Cellarer
59. Porch
60. Bay
61. Hall of Pleas
62. Pentice
63. Culvert
64. Dyke
65. Almonry
66. Gate-porter
67. Master of the Horse
68. Buttressed Wall c. 1150, heightened after 1327
69. Common Stable
70. Trail
71. Charnel

A. St. Denis' Chapel; St. Faith's over
B. St. John Baptist's Chapel; St. Katherine's over
C. Image of St. Mary (Altar ?)
D. Altar of Holy Cross
E. Choir Altar (before Abbot Baldwin's tomb)
F. High Altar (before St. Edmund's shrine)
G. Altar of St. Thomas & shrines of St. Botulph & St. Jurmin
H. St. Saba's Chapel, over St. Anne in the undercroft
I. St. Nicasius Chapel, over St. Mary in the crypt
J. St. Peter's Chapel, over St. Roberts in the crypt
K. Saxon Church of St. Mary
L. St. Martin's Chapel
M. Norman chapel of St. Mary
N. Rotunde chapel of St. Edmund, within round church (1020-32)
O. Lady Chapel, 1275
P. Tomb of Count Alan, inside S. door
Q. St. Nicholas' Chapel
R. Chapel of St. John Evangelist; St. Giles' over
S. St. Botolph's Chapel, 1279-1301
T. St. Stephen's Norman chapel
Saxon tower of St. Benedict on site of New Infirmary Hall 33
Chapter House to W. on site of Infirmary Cloister
Abbot's Chambers to N. and Infirmary "wing" to S. on site of Old Hall
Cellarer's mansion (earlier manor-house) on site of Bradfield Hall

NORTHGATE STREET
ABBOT'S GATE
EAST GATE OF TOWN
ABBOT'S BRIDGE
ABBEYGATE STREET
GREAT GATE
GREAT COURT
KING'S HALL
ABBOT'S PALACE
ABBOT'S GARDEN
MEADOW
CELLARER'S GATE
PALACE YARD
ST. JAMES' CHURCH (Cathedral)
COURT OF HOSPICE
REFECTORY
CLOISTER
HUDE'S HOUSE
INFIRMARY
BRADFIELD HALL
VINEYARD
CHURCHGATE STREET
ST. JAMES' GATE TOWER
TOWER NAVE CHOIR
GREAT CEMETERY
SACRISTY
WALNUT TREE CLOSE
THE CRANK
Fish Ponds
ST. MARY'S CHURCH
SOUTH GATE
ST. MARGARET'S CHAPEL
NOMAN'S MEADOW
River Linnet
River Lark
SCHOOL HALL STREET
From ELDMARKET

Scale of Feet
100 0 100 500

THE GUILDHALL, LAVENHAM

By WALTER H. GODFREY

The chief monument of the cloth-making industry (of which Lavenham was an important centre) and of the trade guilds, in which the industry was organized, is the hall of the Guild of Corpus Christi known as the Guildhall. The Guild was founded in 1529 the date of a grant by John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and it is probable that the building itself was erected at that time. Not only is the whole of the framing of early 16th-century character, but the plan of the building conforms with this period. If the structure had been earlier it would no doubt have included a hall the height of which would have reached the roof, but here the assembly room of the Guild is on the ground floor, over which the first floor overhangs, both on the main north front and on the west, with a massive corner-post at the angle. This main room, which measures 30 x 17 feet, occupies rather more than two-thirds of the front, and since it is entered by an ample porch at its lower end, which is carried up to a gable at roof level, there is no attempt at symmetry. The room is ceiled with moulded beams, tranversely and in the centre, and with moulded posts. It has a recess projecting from the western half of the south side, where there may have been an original fireplace. The house was very much altered after the dissolution of the Guild, but there were two rooms east of the hall, with fireplaces, the southern being continued in a projecting wing, and the upper floor was reached by a broad flight of stairs, south of the hall, with solid oak treads, sawn diagonally. Under this stair are steps leading to a cellar beneath the hall.
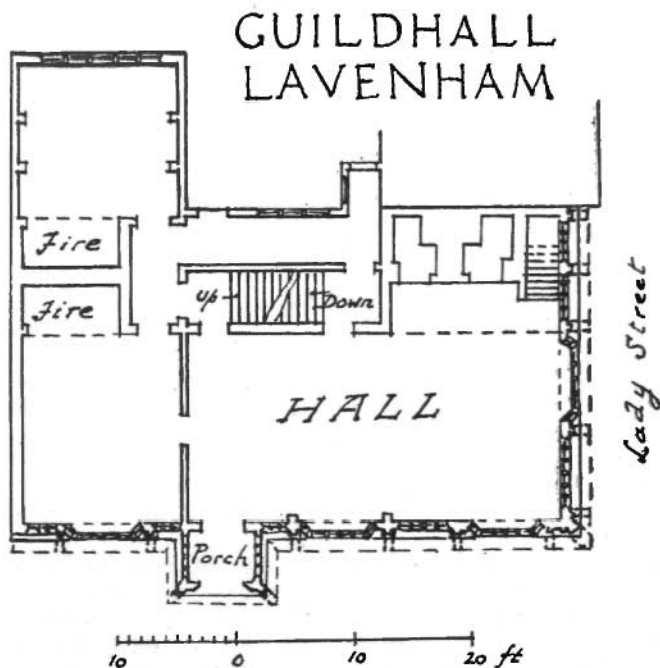

GUILDHALL LAVENHAM

FIG. 10

The architectural importance of the building lies chiefly in the characteristic handling of the oak frame and its deeply moulded and enriched members. The frame stands on a brick plinth, and the principal north front on the ground floor is divided into eight unequal bays, marked by miniature oak buttresses from which spring shafts with moulded

capitals supporting the brackets to the overhanging upper storey. The second, sixth and eighth bays are occupied by projecting windows, with four lights in front and single canted lights at the sides, divided in height by transoms. They are supported on deep moulded corbelled sills and have moulded heads, certain members in each being carved with a running ribbon or leaf pattern. The fourth bay is occupied by the porch, which has elaborate angle posts and carved brackets, the entrance being under a four-centred arch with carved spandrels beneath a band of ornament. The west front is similarly divided into four unequal bays, the second from the angle having a projecting window. Between the projecting windows, in the intervening bays, is a continuous line of lights, ranging with the transom-lights of the large windows. They may be a later insertion, but the horizontal beam that forms their sill is original, moulded and carved. The main angle post is an elaborate example of the East Anglian type, so frequent in Ipswich, and has a canopied niche with a figure reputed to be that of the Earl of Oxford. The porch angles are of a similar type.

The overhanging storey is of plain vertical timbers, spaced their own distance apart, with a regular uninterrupted projection, covering the porch as well as the north-west sides. It is marked by a moulded fascia with bold ribbon carving. Above this the western roof finishes in a fine north gable which is echoed by the porch gable. Both had elaborately moulded overhanging fascias and barge-boards, the larger gable having a second fascia at collar level. The windows on the first floor were mullioned and transomed and probably originally projected somewhat from the face.

The building has at different times been used as a Town Hall, a prison and a workhouse. It, and two adjoining houses of plainer construction, have been restored and are in the care of the Lavenham Preservation Society.

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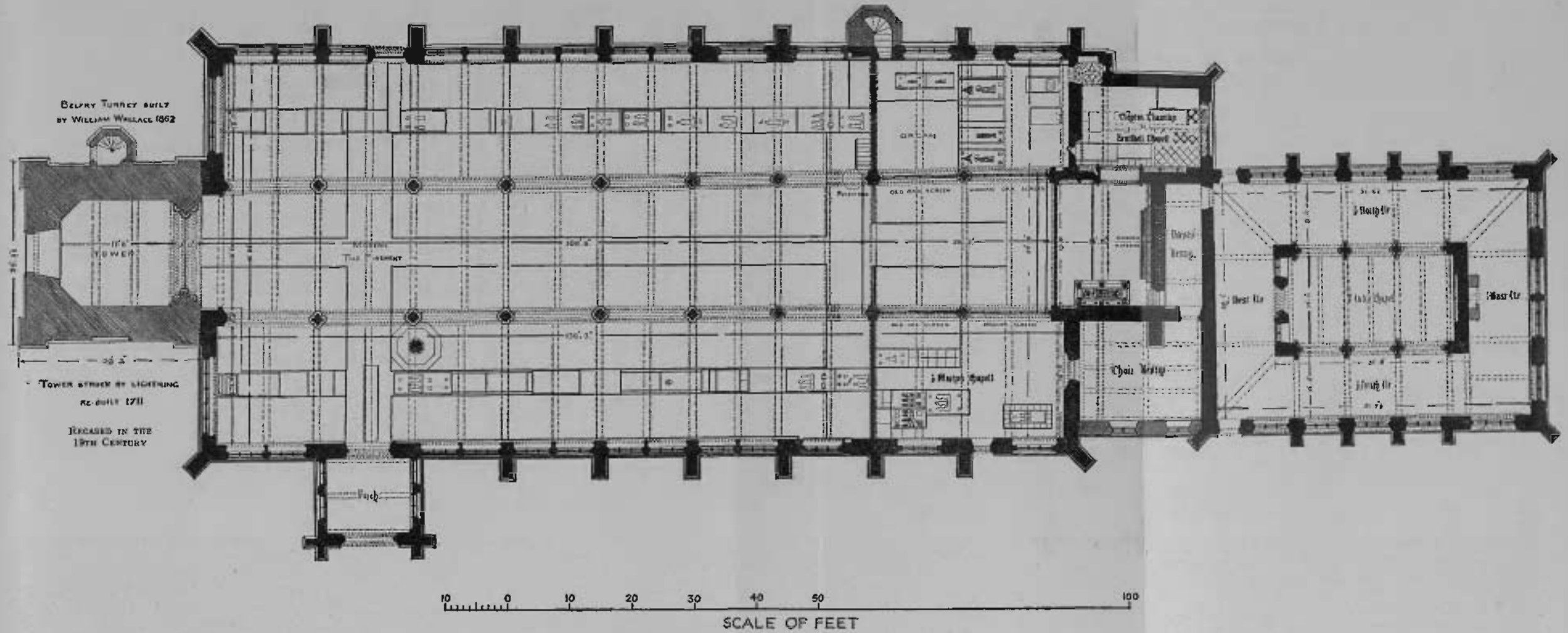
LONG MELFORD CHURCH

By JOAN EVANS

It might be said of Long Melford Church (plan, pl. XXII), as it was of Hardwicke Hall, that it is ' more glass than wall '. Nowhere can the fantastic elegance of English Perpendicular be better appreciated. The Hall windows, their height emphasized by their two-storied plan and by the continuation of their mullions in the panelling beneath the clerestory, give height as a perfect counterpoise to the great length of the nave ; and the Lady Chapel weighs down the end of the Church as no mere flat east end could do.

The manor and church of Long Melford belonged to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds in the 11th century, and a church seems to have existed there from that time. Nothing is known of it except that it had a Lady Chapel ; since it served a small village it was probably of modest size.

The growth and enrichment of the parish in the 15th century led to its rebuilding in Perpendicular style, with a nave and aisles of ten bays, a Clopton chapel at the end of the north aisle, a Sanctuary, and eastern Lady Chapel. The rebuilding seems to have begun about 1460 or very soon afterwards, and to have proceeded continuously. It is a splendid building in the repetitive Perpendicular characteristic of East Anglia. The roof may be compared with those at Southwold and Blythborough. It was restored in 1867–8 ; the tower dates from 1903. Conder has published adequate plans and elevations.

Long Melford is one of the best instances left in England of a church of which the entire building was given in order to secure prayers for the donor's good estate in life and for his soul after death. The exterior has long friezes of inscriptions which make the intention clear : the lower are cut in stone in letters about eight inches high, the upper are

SCALE OF FEET

PLAN OF LONG MELFORD CHURCH
(E. Lauriston Conder, *The Church of Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk*, 1887)

in letters of stone of larger size set in mortar faced with large flints, to harmonize with the dressed flint in flush stone surrounds of the rest of the building.

The inscription over the entrance porch reads :

' Pray for ye soulis of William Clopton Margery and Marg'y his wifes and for ye soule of Alice Clopton and for John Clopto' and for alle thoo soulis yt the seyd John is bo'nde to prey for.'

Over the lower windows running from the porch on the south side it continues :

' Pray for the sowle of Rog' Moriell, of whos goods yis arch was made. Pray for ye soull of John Keche and for his fad' and mod' of whos goods yis arche was made. Pray for ye soull of Thom's Elys and Jone his wife, & for ye good sped of Jone Elys make's h'of. Pray for the soull of John Pie and Alys his wyf, of whos goods yis arch was made and yes twey wy' dowys glasid . . .' More inscriptions continue over the lower windows of the Chancel and under the upper battlements of south side, where the repair of the six arches is dated to 1481, together with the gift of ' the tabill at the hye awtere '. The inscriptions continue on the north side and on the exterior of the Lady Chapel, where they record its erection by the Clopton family in 1496. The chancel is recorded to have been given by the rich clothiers named Martin, and is adorned with thirteen shields bearing their merchant's mark.

Nearly all the benefactors of the church seem to have been clothiers, except for a butler of John Clopton's. The chief of them was John Clopton of Kentwell Hall, a Lancastrian who rose to be High Sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk under Henry VI, and narrowly escaped execution in 1461. His tomb lies under an arch south of the altar of his Chantry Chapel ; as it was intended for use as an Easter Sepulchre it bore no effigy, but the portraits of John Clopton and his wife Alice Darcy and their family, together with the risen Christ, were painted on the underside of the arch above, under niches for the twelve apostles.

The roof of the Clopton chapel has a cornice with foliage and scrolls inscribed in black letter with a poem (transcribed by Parker, p. 131) in honour of the Name of Jesus, said to have been written by Lydgate, who was a monk of Bury. Other inscriptions covered the walls. The rafters were painted red, with white scrolls inscribed ' IHU mercy ' and 'And gramercy ', with armorial panels filling the space between. Clopton's father, William Clopton, who died in 1440, was buried on the north side of the Kentwell aisle, under a tomb that bears his effigy in armour and the shields of Clopton, Mylde (for his mother) and Drury and Franceys for his first two wives. His third wife has a brass to herself near the tomb. John Clopton's son, another William, lies under a slab near the altar with his wife, daughter of a Lord Mayor of London. This William's son, Francis, has a fine brass, as has his younger brother, a priest.

John Clopton filled the windows of the church he had done much to build with stained glass, and set the portraits and arms of his family and friends beneath the religious subjects that filled the central part of the windows. The glass was severely mutilated by Fyrmyn, the glazier of Sudbury, in 1579 ; an account of what survived about 1688 by Dr. Nathaniel Bisbee has formed the basis of an admirable study by Dr. Christopher Woodforde. He considers the glass to have been made in Norwich, or at least by a Norwich glass painter. Most of what survives has been gathered together into the great chancel window and the two western windows. The religious subjects include a Virgin of Pity ; St. Edmund with the Abbot of Bury at his feet ; two saints adored by a Benedictine monk and nun ; and (in the upper lights) scenes from the story of St. Osyth. The portraits include Sir William Howard ; Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, whose husband and son were beheaded in 1461, when Clopton escaped ; and a number of his Lancastrian friends and his Suffolk neighbours. A complete list of them may be found in the first volume of the 1561 *Visitation of Suffolk*. Two archangels are of peculiar beauty. A window over the door in the north aisle includes some fragments, among which Dr. Woodforde has identified the unusual subject of Christ crucified upon a lily plant, commemorating the fact that the medieval English Church held that the Crucifixion and Annunciation both took place on Lady Day.

The Martin chancel still holds several late brasses of the family. The church also possesses the rich alabaster tomb of Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls, who died in 1580, and a number of later monuments. Chantries were founded in the church by William Clopton and others, and the room between the church and the Lady Chapel seems to have been intended for the use of the chantry priests. The 1529 inventory (published by Parker) shows the church furniture to have been notably rich. The most important survival is the alabaster panel of the Virgin and Child with the Magi, which was first described by Craven Ord in 1794. It was then richly coloured and gilt.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the church is the Lady Chapel which is appended to its eastern end. It has an ambulatory all round the inner choir, clearly intended for processions, and suggesting that the choir itself may have held a relic of the Virgin. The roof has a cornice with foliage and scrolls like that of the Clopton Chapel, but there is no evidence that the scrolls were ever painted.

A recusant, Roger Martin, who died in 1615 at the age of 89 and remembered the church before the Reformation, left an account of it that is (on a smaller scale) as interesting as the *Rites of Durham* ; it has been published by Sir William Parker. He describes an elaborate relief of the Crucifixion in carved wood behind the High Altar, covered by painted shutters except on feast days ; many ' tabernacles ' with images of saints and of Our Lady of Pity ; and a screen, painted with the twelve Apostles, surmounted by a rood loft, from which a priest read the Passion at Easter.

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