

# THE HERALDIC GLASS IN ALSTON COURT, NAYLAND: WINDOWS ON GENTRY LIFE IN TUDOR EAST ANGLIA

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## INTRODUCTION

ONE OF THE GLORIES of the impressive medieval and Tudor merchant's house in Nayland that is now known as Alston Court (Fig. 15) is the rich collection of heraldic glass in its windows, a collection that has excited and intrigued antiquarians and historians for much of the two hundred years that have elapsed since it was first described in 1817. In that year the Revd David Thomas Powell (1771–1848), an artistic antiquary from Tottenham in Middlesex, who was 'devotedly attached to the study of heraldry and genealogy', noted excitedly that there were 'ancient arms in brilliant painted glass ... in the hall & other windows of a large old house standing in the town of Nayland in Suffolk a few yards to west of the church'.<sup>1</sup>

That 'old house' is a Grade 1 Listed Building that consists of a series of ranges set about an internal courtyard (Fig. 16), and the glass occurs mainly in the hall, which dates from c. 1410,



FIG. 15 – Alston Court, Nayland. Exterior view, from the north. The hall window is to the left of the door.



FIG. 16 – Alston Court. The interior courtyard from the south: the hall window is straight ahead and the bay window of the rear parlour is to the left.

and in the adjacent early sixteenth-century rear dining room or parlour, though there are some pieces in a window at the head of a staircase leading off the hall, and in the present drawing room. The current name of the house stems from its ownership by the Alstons, a family of lawyers who owned it from 1768 to 1968 – and it was a ‘Mr Alson [*sic*] an attorney’ who was living there when Powell visited in 1817. Research by Leigh Alston has, however, indicated that the property was named *Grooms* in the 1606 will of Andrew Parish, a wealthy clothier – a name that suggests a link with the family of William Groom of Nayland, who died in 1475. However there has been speculation that it might have been owned in the 1520s by one or other of the two wealthiest clothiers in Nayland at that time – John Payn (d. 1526) or John Abell (d. 1524). The heraldic glass offers intriguing, but also confusing, evidence to fuel this speculation!

Powell produced coloured drawings of twenty-three shields in the house that, though richly detailed, are not free from errors and were presumably worked up from rough sketches. His observations are, luckily, augmented, and often corrected, by detailed written descriptions, room by room, by two other observant antiquaries who both saw the

glass before the 1902–7 restoration carried out under the supervision of the architect Charles Blomfield, which repositioned some of the glass.<sup>2</sup> The first of these was David Elisha Davy (1769–1851) of Yoxford who visited in 1828. He was followed in 1900 by the Revd Edmund Farrer (1848–1935), rector of Hinderclay, who commented in 1912 that it was his ‘good fortune to see and examine it ... before the form and condition of the building “was adapted to the needs or ideas of the present day”’ – Farrer’s inverted commas clearly indicating his opinion of the new work.<sup>3</sup> More recently, the late Dr John Blatchly carried out additional research into the glass in connection with a visit by this Institute to Alston Court in 1989.<sup>4</sup>

#### LOCATING THE GLASS IN THE HOUSE

The sequence of shields in Powell’s drawings indicates that the glass in the north window of the hall was arranged as it is now (pieces 1–9 in the catalogue below), and this is confirmed by Davy’s and Farrer’s observations, though Davy was confused as to his orientation – he refers to the ‘E. window, looking to the street’ which is actually the north window, and the ‘W. window, looking into the courtyard’, which actually the south window.<sup>5</sup> The glass in the

south window was, however, in a slightly different order at its west end, with items 15–17 (as listed in the catalogue below) being in the order (left to right) of 17, 16, 15.

Two pieces, nos 18 and 19, are in the window at the top of the stairs to the east of the hall. Powell did not record them, but both Davy and Farrer saw them where they are now. Davy also recorded six pieces in ‘In a bedchamber, at the top of the stairs’ – he says it was to the west, but because of his confused orientation, he must have meant south. Farrer also saw this room and commented: ‘one bedroom ... was reached by a staircase from the hall. That retained all its ancient characteristics, which, with its very simple old furniture, decorations, and coloured glass in the window, has left a picture in my memory which will not easily fade away’. These six pieces can be identified as nos 26 (noted by both Davy and Farrer as ‘reversed’), 27, 28 (again both record it as ‘reversed’), 24, 30 and 22. These were moved in the 1902–7 restoration and are now in the rear dining room. Curiously, Powell recorded three of these (26, 22, 27 in that order), but inserted no. 23 (see below) between nos 26 and 22. After no. 27 Powell added a sketch of a shield (no. 33) that was not seen by Davy or Farrer and appears to have been lost.

Four pieces were, according to Davy, ‘In the window of the room over the refectory, or kitchen’ – these are now nos 23, 31, 25, 20 in the rear dining room, but were then arranged in that order. He states that coming into the hall ‘to the left is what is called the Refectory but now used as a Kitchen; this has the original fitting up, of wainscot, with carved cornices & beams’, which identifies it with what is now the rear dining room; this is confirmed by plans relating to the restoration of the house in 1902–7, which also mark the kitchen in that position. The room over the kitchen is described by Davy as ‘a large room, now used as a servants’ bed chamber, having a carved roof of chestnut’. Farrer also saw four shields in what he described as ‘the oak room’. This is now the principal bedroom and was originally a solar or great chamber.

Charles Blomfield, the architect of the restoration, described the window in what is now the rear dining room as having been ‘entirely covered on the outside with lath and plaster’ in 1902 and as being ‘fitted internally with a cupboard’. He adds that the ‘removal of the lath and plaster revealed not only the richly moulded mullions, carved transoms &c, but in some cases the lead glazing standing in the different lights’. This window now contains twelve pieces of armorial glass. Ten (nos 20, 22–28, 30 and 31) were clearly moved from the rooms described by Davy and Farrer (as above), but two (nos 21 and 29) were seen by neither Davy nor Farrer and were presumably found by Blomfield when he unblocked the window. Blomfield must have moved and rearranged the glass, for it can be clearly seen in one of the photographs in his article, but he does not provide any explanation of the move.

#### DIVIDING THE GLASS AND TECHNIQUES OF MANUFACTURE

With one exception, the heraldic glass at Alston Court falls into two distinct groups, both in stylistic terms and in the family relationships illustrated by the heraldry, which are here distinguished as SET 1 and SET 2. The exception is an isolated piece of armorial glass (no. 32) in the drawing room that belongs to neither set. In 1828 Davy described it as being ‘in the window of a bedchamber to the west of the last mentioned room’ (i.e. the ‘servants’ bed chamber’, formerly the solar, as above). This is a roundel bearing the arms of the Merchant Adventurers Company of London, and it comes from a very different workshop to the other glass. The colour in the glass comes mainly from ‘yellow stain’, a technique of using silver compounds to stain the glass various shades of yellow.<sup>6</sup> This technique was popular in Flanders and the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and this piece is very likely to have been made there.



FIG. 17 – Alston Court. Quarries with humorous images of birds in the south hall window.

The colour in the other glass was achieved by various combinations of clear, stained, painted, flashed and coloured glass. Nominally ‘clear’ or ‘white’ glass was used for heraldic *argent* (‘silver’), often embellished with painted grisaille patterns of swirling foliage (e.g. as in nos 11, 18, 20–24, 29). Heraldic *sable* (‘black’) was created by painting on a compound of metallic oxides mixed with a flux of powdered glass, which was then fused to the surface of the glass by firing.<sup>7</sup> This was also used to provide design details on backgrounds of other colours. As an applied paint it is the most vulnerable to erosion, either by the weather or through scratching. The heraldic colour *or* (‘gold’) was created by using the ‘yellow stain’ technique mentioned above. It was also used, supplemented with lines of the black enamel paint, to subtly decorate many of the quarries (the small lozenge-shaped panes of plain glass) in the south hall

window with humorous images of birds, which are not uncommon in glass of this period (Fig. 17).<sup>8</sup> Heraldic *gules* (‘red’) was achieved by two different methods. Firstly, and most simply, by using red ‘pot-metal’ glass (glass coloured by metal oxides in its molten state) and secondly by using ‘flashed’ glass – plain glass which had had a thin layer of molten red glass applied to it.<sup>9</sup> By using flashed glass, designs could be created by scratching away the red layer to reveal the plain glass beneath; further modifications could be achieved by applying yellow stain or paint (see nos 10, 11, 19, 24 and 25). *Azure* appears always to have been executed with blue pot-metal, occasionally enhanced with grisaille (as on nos 13, 15, and 16).

#### SET 1 – THE PAYN FAMILY, THEIR CIRCLE AND THE ABELL PUZZLE

SET 1 is the larger of the two sets and is potentially more interesting for the history of the house. It consists of twenty-seven shields (in the hall, in the rear parlour, on the staircase and one lost item) that illustrate the alliances of a family that is named, by original labels above the shields, as Payn. Detailed analysis of these alliances (given more fully in the catalogue below) makes it clear that this must be the Payn family of Roudham, near Thetford in Norfolk (Fig. 18). However the arms labelled Payn in the Alston Court windows (argent, three boars’ heads coupés gules) are not those usually attributed to this family.

Roudham is a Breckland parish and has the ‘best and most extensive example of a deserted medieval settlement in Norfolk’.<sup>10</sup> Its church is now a roofless ruin and unfortunately now contains no monuments or features with the Payn arms. The existing Roudham Hall, which was extensively rebuilt in the second half of the eighteenth century, lies to the south of an empty moat that is probably the site of the Payn family’s medieval house.<sup>11</sup> The family was of gentry status in the fifteenth century, but appears to have died out by the mid sixteenth century. Two families descended from them (Smallpece of Hockering and Smith of Carleton



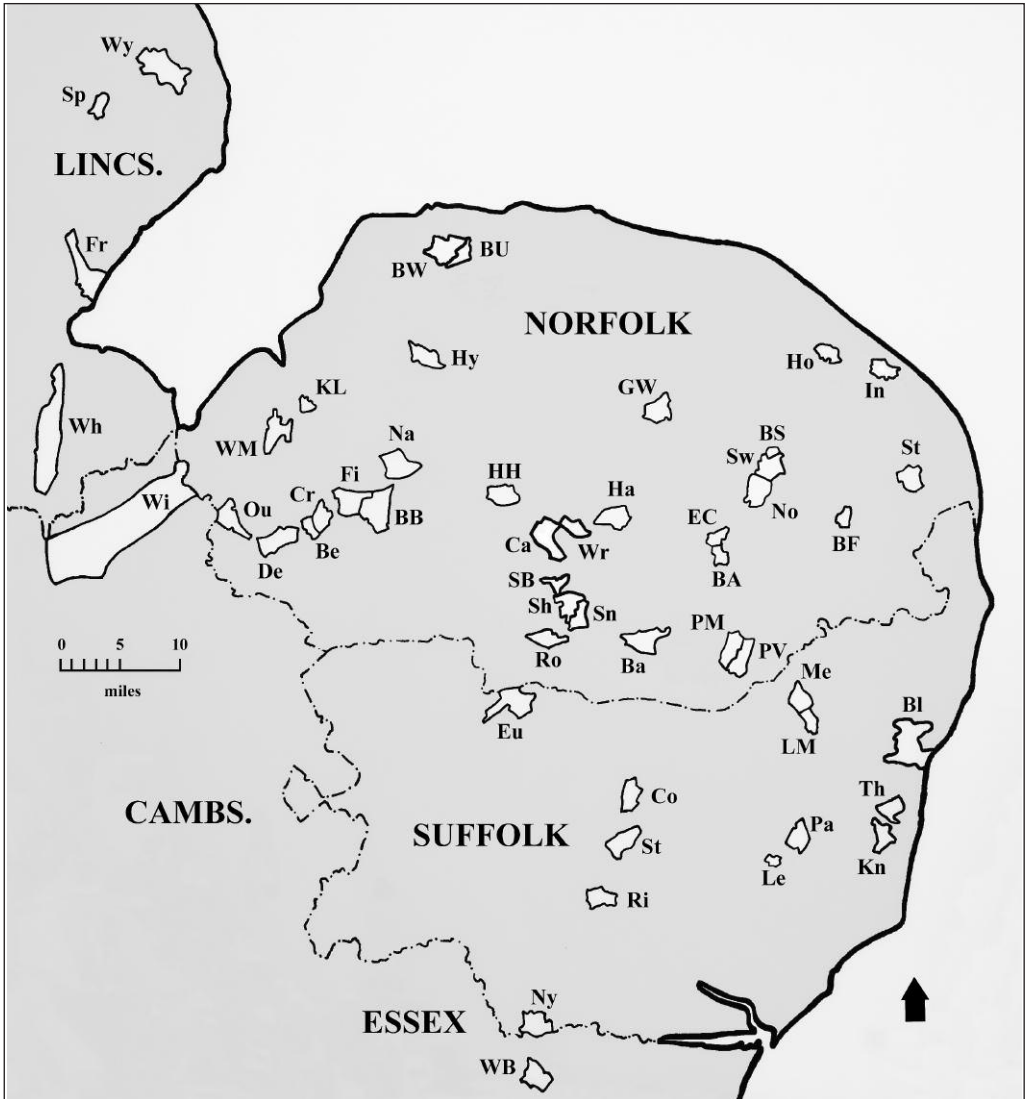


FIG. 18 – Map of the eastern counties, showing the places mentioned in the text.

The abbreviations are: Ba = Banham, BA = Bracon Ash, Be = Bexwell, BF = Buckenham Ferry, Bl = Blythburgh, BS = Beeston St Andrew, BU = Burnham Ulph, BW = Burnham Westgate, Ca = Carbrooke, Cr = Crimplesham, De = Denver, EC = East Carlton, Eu = Euston, Fi = Fincham, Fr = Frieston, GW = Great Witchingham, Ha = Hardingham, HH = Holm Hale, Ho = Honing, Hy = Harpley, In = Ingham, KL = King's Lynn, Kn = Knodishall, Le = Letheringham, LM = Linstead Magna, Me = Metfield, Na = Narborough, No = Norwich, Ny = Nayland, Ou = Outwell, Pa = Parham, PM = Pulham St Mary Magdalene, PV = Pulham St Mary Virgin, Ri = Ringshall, Ro = Roudham, SB = Stow Bedon, Sh = Shropham, Sn = Snetterton, Sp = Spilsby, St = Stokesby, Sw = Sproston, Th = Theberton, WB = West Bergholt, Wh = Whaplode, Wi = Wisbech, WM = Wiggenshall St Mary, Wr = Woodrising, Wy = Willoughby.

Rode) did, however, record their pedigrees at the heralds' visitation of Norfolk in 1613 and they, or the heralds, included blazons of the Payn of Roudham arms, which were said to be 'argent, on a fess gules between three martlets sable, as many mascles or' – in one case with the addition of fleur-de-lis gules (?as a cadency mark) in chief, and in the other of a fleur-de-lis in the middle point.<sup>12</sup> These arms, or ones with similarities, are also recorded for Payn families in Fulham in Middlesex, Petworth in Sussex and Market Bosworth in Leicestershire.<sup>13</sup> They also appear in four medieval and early Tudor rolls of arms, but without locations.<sup>14</sup> The existence of these early arms may have influenced the adoption of similar arms by other, possibly unrelated, Payn families. The unique version of the Payn arms at Alston Court is paralleled by an equally unique version there of the Pakenham family's arms (catalogue nos 23 and 31), suggesting that the makers of the glass had access to heraldic information that is now lost.

The shields of SET 1 are a distinctive shape with concave sides, some with a small notch called a *bouche* in the upper left corner that was intended as a lance rest. The tops and bottoms of the shields also have coloured borders resembling out-turned scrolls. In some cases (including all of those on the north side of the hall and nos 24, 25, 26, 30 and 31 in the rear parlour/dining room) each half of the border is subdivided into three sub-units which are shaded to resemble foliage, and can be coloured pink+blue+red, pink+green+red, red+green+red, red+blue+red etc – each half having a different combination of colours. The remainder have unshaded two-colour borders, with each half having a different colour – green+red, yellow+blue, red+blue etc. These simpler borders may be later substitutions.

The shape of the shields is characteristic of the period *c.* 1450 to *c.* 1550.<sup>15</sup> More precise parallels for similar-shaped shields with coloured foliage borders can also be cited. In Ayston church in Rutland there is a shield with impaled arms that dates from 1495–1501;<sup>16</sup> in Gloucester Cathedral cloisters there are the impaled arms of King Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, probably dating from *c.* 1520–30;<sup>17</sup> in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London there is a shield dated *c.* 1520 with the arms of the See of Ely that came from Barham Hall in Suffolk;<sup>18</sup> in Great Staughton church in Cambridgeshire (formerly Huntingdonshire) there is a shield with impaled arms dating from 1528–52;<sup>19</sup> and in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow there are shields that came from the great oriel window, dated *c.* 1537–42, of Fawsley Hall in Northamptonshire.<sup>20</sup> The Burrell Collection also has a version carved in wood on panelling of *c.* 1500 that originated in Harrington Hall in Lincolnshire, and it occurs, in stone, in the chantry chapel built by Thomas Wall in 1527 in Grundisburgh church.<sup>21</sup>

The SET 1 shields are also shown as suspended by a strap held by a hand issuing vertically from banks of clouds coloured yellow, red or blue. A hand issuing from clouds, often referred to as 'the hand of God' is not uncommon in medieval and Renaissance art.<sup>22</sup> A cloud-encircled hand, bearing a variety of objects, can also be found in a number of engravings of emblems that were published in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>23</sup> As an arm 'oute of a cloude' (implying divine intervention in medicine) it features on the arms of the Royal College of Physicians granted in 1546, and the symbol even gets a mention in Shakespeare's *Pericles* as 'an hand environed with clouds'.<sup>24</sup> But its use as a shield supporter seems to be much rarer and, so far, has only been observed in East Anglia. At East Barsham Manor in Norfolk the device is executed in brick on the inner side of the brick gatehouse that can be dated to 1526–33.<sup>25</sup> At Hengrave Hall, executed in stone with added golden rays of sunshine, it is used for the two shields that flank the royal arms on Sir Thomas Kyton's gatehouse of 1538 (Fig. 19). A variant of this device, with the hand horizontal, does, however, appear in the corner of a portrait of *c.* 1585 of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, which is attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the younger.<sup>26</sup> As a horizontal device, it appears on a carved and painted cornice to the Clopton Chantry Chapel (to John Clopton, d. 1497) in Long Melford church,

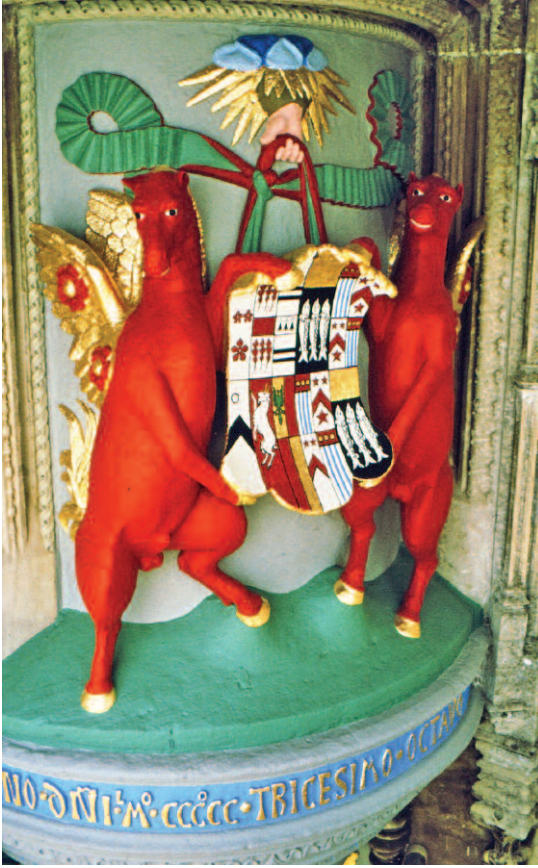


FIG. 19 – Hengrave Hall Gatehouse. Arms of Thomas, Lord Darcy, superimposed on an original achievement of the Merchant Adventurers Company of London dated 1538.

9 and 11) had six linked marriages each. The practice of landless younger sons marrying older but wealthy widows (as in nos 11 and 20) was very common at this period and was clearly seen as means of providing the men with a suitable estate for their life, even if their children, if any, were unlikely to succeed to it. In some cases, as with Joan Boys (commemorated in no. 4), abduction and ‘ravishment’ was employed to secure a marriage where there was resistance from the widow or her relatives to the proposal.<sup>29</sup> Of the nineteen families represented, ten are from Norfolk, five from Suffolk (but nearly all with Norfolk links), two can be described as from Norfolk and Suffolk, one as from Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, and one from Middlesex – the only family from outside eastern England. The latest marriage is that shown in no. 9, between William Payn and Elizabeth Rokewood, which probably took place between 1500 and 1510, making that the most likely date for the commissioning of the glass.

The families represented are not from the top level of society in Norfolk or Suffolk. Only four knights are represented – Sir John Jermy (a knight by 1428; no. 33), another Sir John Jermy (knight by 1489; no. 1), Sir Edmund Jenney (knighted 1501; no. 26) and Sir Robert Wingfield (knighted by 1509; no. 11). Four other families (Boys, Hemenhale, Mounteney and Wichingham) had knights in their male-line lineages, and a further four (Appleyard, Clere,

where the hand trails a long scroll with a poem by John Lydgate. In almost identical form, but unpainted, it also appears on the carved cornice in the Lady Chapel of 1496.<sup>27</sup> A horizontal arm and hand issuing from a cloud also features as an embellishment to a stone tablet dating from c. 1545–51, with the family motto of Sir Nicholas Bacon, that formerly stood over the entrance to Redgrave Hall.<sup>28</sup>

An early sixteenth century date for this set would agree with the family relationships displayed in the glass. A key shield in the rear parlour (no. 20) shows the arms of Payn impaled with those of the Parker family of Honing in Norfolk, indicating a marriage between those two families. That marriage, as is discussed more fully in the catalogue, is thought to have taken place around 1480 between Peter Payn and Alice Parker. The other shields record the marriages of their ancestors and relatives in a complex web of alliances (see Fig. 20, with the likely marriage dates indicated in red). The marriage alliances are very complex, as numerous remarriages are involved. Thirty of the people commemorated by the shields can be identified with reasonable certainty, but the combined total of all their marital partners is a staggering forty-eight. Two couples (nos

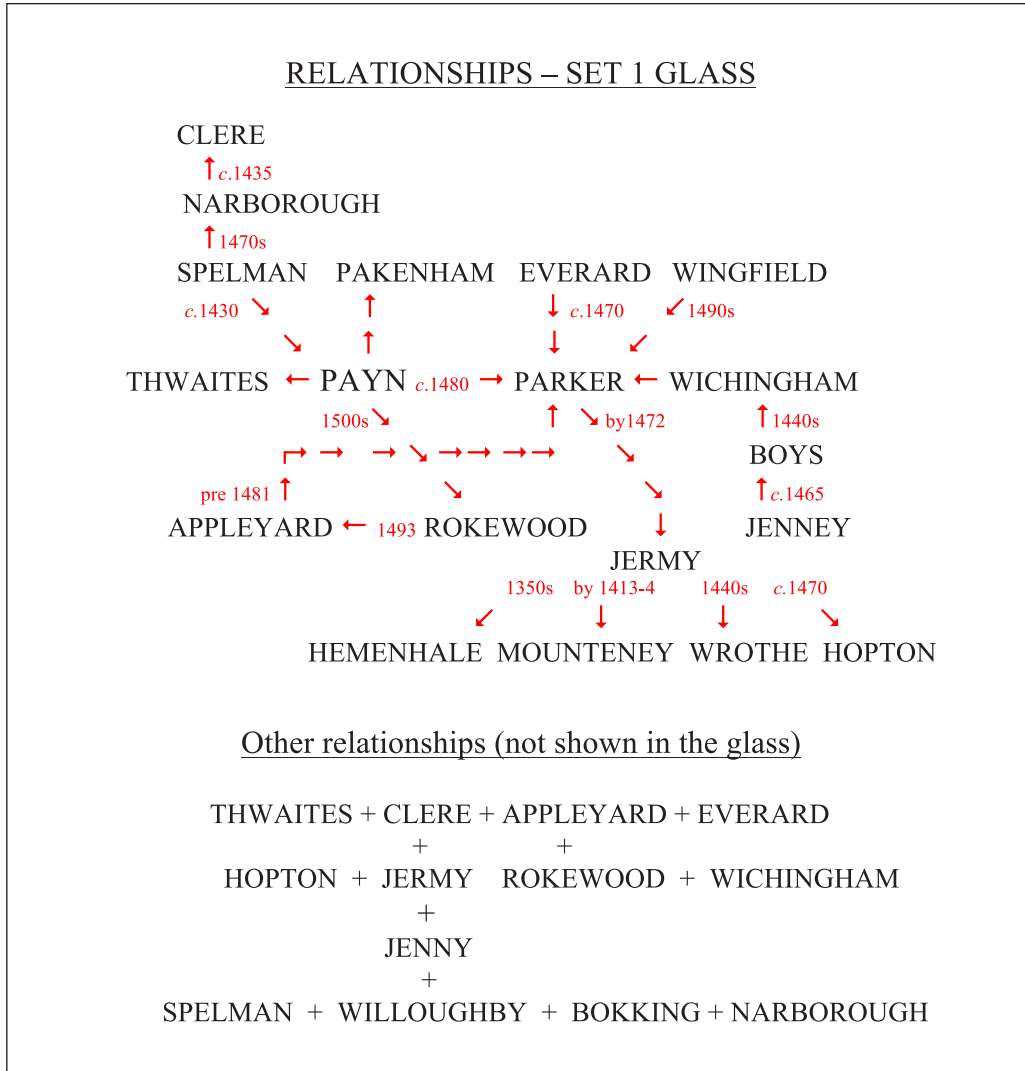


FIG. 20 – Table of relationships revealed by the Set 1 glass at Alston Court.  
The heads of the arrows point to the families of female marriage partners.

Hopton and Spelman) had knights among their male-line cousins. The rest are esquires, with the Payns trailing the field as they are only referred to as ‘gentlemen’ in contemporary documents – hence perhaps their need to emphasise their connections in their windows. Four of the families, Clere, Jenney, Spelman and Wichingham, had very strong links to the legal profession, and at least four others, Hopton, Rokewood, Thwaites and Wingfield, also had legal connections. The Jenney family are particularly notable as they dominated Lincoln’s Inn in the second half of the fifteenth century, with several members serving as governor or other posts.<sup>30</sup> Some families, like the Cleres, Payns and Spelmans, were involved with administrative tasks such as tax collecting. Five of the families (Appleton, Jenney, Parker, Rokewood and Spelman) had links through profession, marriage or residence with Norwich – the Appletons



having provided the first mayor of the city in 1403. This link probably points to Norwich for the workshop that produced the glass for the windows, for there was a significant stained-glass industry there at this period.<sup>31</sup>

Frustratingly, there is no apparent link between the Payns of Roudham and John Payne, clothmaker of Nayland, who made his will in 1526.<sup>32</sup> However the arms of the Payn family shown in the glass (argent, three boars' heads coupé gules) are almost identical (with the addition of a fess purpure) to those granted in 1573 to John Abell of West Bergholt in Essex, the grandson of John Abell, clothmaker of Nayland, who made his will in 1524. A sketch made in 1664 shows these arms (labelled as 'Abell') quartering arms labelled 'Payn' that are, in fact, identical to the arms of the Parker family of Honing, as shown in the Alston Court glass. The drawing bears a note that the Abell arms were granted 'To John Abell of West Barholt in Essex p[er] Cooke 16 Aprill 1573'.<sup>33</sup> The inescapable conclusion is that the Abells adopted a version of the Payn arms, either because they deemed themselves to be the blood heirs of that family, or because those arms were already displayed in their house in Nayland.

The presence of the Abells in Alston Court is further suggested by a carved wooden shield attached to the frieze above the window in the chamber above the rear parlour (Fig. 21). This bears a closed Tudor crown above the letter A (or possibly a combined TA monogram). This was recorded as being in the room in 1828 by Davy and is very similar to a shield with a closed Tudor crown above the Marian monogram on the outside sill of the window.<sup>34</sup> There are similarities to a graffito carved on the wall of a cell in Beauchamp's Tower in the Tower of London, where there is an 'A' carved on a bell with the word THOMAS above it, this being a rebus for 'Thomas Abell'. This was the Blessed Thomas Abell (beatified by the Catholic church in 1886), eldest son of John of Nayland, who was chaplain to Queen Katharine of Aragon, but suffered execution by Henry VIII in 1540.

John Abell of Nayland purchased the manor of West Bergholt in 1507–8 from the heirs of Sir Thomas Montgomery of Faulkbourne Hall in Essex, who had bought the property in 1491.<sup>35</sup> Montgomery had been a favourite of Edward IV and had more than survived under Henry VII, being named as one of the feoffees of the king's will in 1491, but he died in 1495. He makes an appearance, heraldically attired, in the glass of Long Melford church. At Abell's death in 1524, he left the manor to his wife Anne for life, with successive remainders to his five children: John the younger (d. 1558), Edmund, Agnes Alabaster, and Mary. John Abell the younger was succeeded by his son, a third John Abell (d. 1575) who, in turn, left the manor to his son Waldegrave Abell (d. 1613), who was succeeded by his son William. William died in 1628 leaving the manor to his wife Alice. At her death in 1641 the manor was sold to her brother, John Lynne, who bought out her son William Abell's interest in 1644.



FIG. 21 – Alston Court. Wooden shield with a crowned A or AT monogram, possibly commemorating the Abell family.

## SET 2 – THE HALTOFT, HOTOT AND WILLOUGHBY PUZZLES

SET 2 consists of five shields on the south side of the hall. These all have much simpler heater-shaped shields with relatively straight sides and rather curved bases that are not closely dateable. The shields are surrounded by displays of yellow/gold and white foliage patterns that appear to be set in laterally cut-down roundels, with additional sections of some sort of rectangular frame(s) added in as space fillers. They are clearly from a different workshop to SET 1.

The arms of four interrelated families are found in this set, with this arrangement, listing from left to right: Haltoft (by itself); Hotot impaling the arms of an unidentified family; Willoughby quartering Haltoft; Hotot (by itself); unidentified family (by itself); and Willoughby (quartered with Haltoft) impaling Hotoft. The sequence indicates the Willoughbys were the final inheritors of this chain of alliances.

These four families have no known links with Nayland and the presence of their arms in Alston Court is a mystery. The identification of the actual people commemorated by the arms is also a great mystery, despite extensive research.

*Haltoft or Haultoft*

The Haltoft (or Haultoft) arms are associated with two branches of a family that probably originated in Haltoft End in Freiston, Lincolnshire, but whose relationship, though clearly close, is never clearly stated and has caused considerable debate among antiquarians and historians. In view of this, there is a need to re-examine the evidence. In 1445 Sir Robert Hakebeche of Whaplode appointed both Gilbert and William Haltoft as executors of his will.<sup>36</sup> Gilbert is the better known of the two, as he was a lawyer (probably of Gray's Inn in London) who was involved in drainage works around Wisbech in Cambridgeshire, and was appointed as second Baron of the Exchequer in 1447 – a somewhat arcane title for a judicial official of the Court of the Exchequer dealing with administrative duties relating to the revenue.<sup>37</sup> He was of Outwell in 1458 when he made his will, in which he made provision for prayers for his soul and that of Sir Robert Hakebeche; he also appointed William Haltoft as one of his executors.<sup>38</sup> By his wife Margaret he had three daughters: 1) Margaret, who married, firstly, Thomas Kervill (d. 1476) of Wiggshall St Mary in Norfolk, and secondly, ... Hunston<sup>39</sup> 2) Alice, who married Thomas Dereham of Crimplesham, Norfolk, and 3) Eleanor, who married Simon Batchcroft of Bexwell, Norfolk (d. 1505).

Gilbert and his wife were buried in St Nicholas's Chapel at the east end of the north aisle of St Clement's church in Outwell, and Francis Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, recorded that in the eighteenth century there was 'a marble gravestone, with a brass plate' here commemorating Margaret Haultoft. This chapel continued to be used as a burial place and chantry by the Fincham family, who were the heirs to the Haltofts' property in Outwell through their daughter Alice. Blomefield also recorded a series of saints' images linked with nine heraldic shields connected with the family in the north windows of this chapel.<sup>40</sup> The marriage alliances commemorated relate to John Fincham and his wife Elizabeth Dereham, the granddaughter of Gilbert Haltoft, their ancestors and their children. John Fincham died in 1527 and requested burial in St Bride's church in Fleet Street 'in the suburbs of London', but Elizabeth, who died in 1528, requested burial in St Nicholas's Chapel.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, only one of those shields survives, but the stone corbels of the roof of the chapel bear angels supporting shields with the arms of the Fincham, Dereham and Haltoft families, and the same arms are represented on shields carved on the wooden cornice (Figs 22 and 23).<sup>42</sup> These suggest that John and Elizabeth were responsible for rebuilding the chapel. The surviving shield in the glass of the North Chapel bears the arms of Kervill impaling the quartered arms



FIG. 22 – Outwell Church, Norfolk. Stained glass in St Nicholas's Chapel with the arms of Kervill impaling the quartered arms of Finch and Haltoft, for Humphrey Kervill (d. 1524–26) and his wife Anne Fincham.



FIG. 23 – Outwell Church. Stone corbel in St Nicholas's Chapel with the Haltoft arms.

of Fincham and Haltoft, commemorating the marriage of Humfrey Kervill of Wiggenhall St Mary (the son of Thomas K. and Margaret Haltoft; he died 1524–26) to his cousin Anne Fincham (daughter of John Fincham and Elizabeth Dereham). The shield is borne by an angel and this, together with the association with saints' images and the family links, strongly suggest that it predates the Reformation. In shape, the shield is different to any of those of Nayland, having a concave, eared, top with a central nick, concave sides and a tri-lobed base. The Haltoft arms shown on this shield and on the stone corbels differ from those at Nayland by having four lozenges rather than three, but, to be different, the Haltoft arms on the cornice have three lozenges. A similar four-lozenge version of the Haltoft arms was recorded by Blomefield in the windows of the Kervills' home church of Wiggenhall St Mary.<sup>43</sup> There they formed part of a collection of about twelve shields showing similar alliances to those formerly at Outwell, and probably of the same date. Yet more shields showing alliances of the Kervills were observed by Blomefield in St Mary's church in Barton Bendish, Norfolk.<sup>44</sup> This set of about fifteen shields showed similar alliances to those at Outwell and Wiggenhall and was presumably of a similar date; here, though, the Haltoft arms only had three lozenges.

The other branch of the Haltoft family was seated at Whaplode in Lincolnshire. William Haltoft, the associate and possible brother of Gilbert, was formerly commemorated in the windows of Whaplode church, together with his three wives, Elizabeth, Agnes and Alice.<sup>45</sup> Recorded in the seventeenth century by Gervase Holles, the inscription also contained a plea for prayers for the soul of Gilbert Haltoft. In the church, Holles saw two versions of the Haltoft arms, one with two lozenges and one with three. William's second wife, Agnes, was the daughter and co-heiress of Richard Haugh (or Hawe) of Haugh in Lincolnshire and Kelvedon in Essex. He was in dispute in Chancery over her inheritance in 1486–93.<sup>46</sup> William was also involved in a dispute regarding trees in Whaplode churchyard in 1481.<sup>47</sup> William appears to have been succeeded by another William, who, by his wife Johane, had a son called Thomas. Thomas was of Whaplode when he was involved in the abduction of an heiress in 1493, but was dead by *c.* 1504–15, when his daughter and heir, Elizabeth, and her husband

Geoffrey Westwode were in dispute with his widow Custance over the deeds to lands in Whaplode and elsewhere in Lincolnshire.<sup>48</sup> By 1524 Elizabeth Westwode was a widow herself and that is the last we hear of her.<sup>49</sup> In 1540 Thomas Westwood, yeoman of Freston in Lincolnshire, described as kinsman and heir of Thomas Haltoft of Whaplode, esq., granted lands in Whaplode to Thomas Walpole, gent. of Whaplode, with a further sale in 1550 to Audry, the widow of Thomas Walpole.<sup>50</sup>

Despite Elizabeth being described twice as the daughter and heir of Thomas Haltoft, there is clear evidence that there were other heirs to the Whaplode branch of the Haltoft family in the early sixteenth century. The heralds in 1563 recorded that Henry Walpole (d. 1554) of Harpley, Norfolk, married 'Margaret da[ughter] and coh[eir] of ... Holtofte of Whaplod in co. Linc.'<sup>51</sup> The Walpoles certainly inherited property in Whaplode and are recorded as quartering a version of the Haltoft arms (ermine, three lozenges ermine within a bordure engrailed argent). The arms in Alston Court also indicate that a member of the Willoughby family also married a Haltoft heiress at about this time.

The origin(s) of the *Hotot* or *Hotoft* family are unclear and probably complex, the name forms could indicate either a place in Normandy (Hautot-l'Auvray, Hautot-le-Vatois or Hautot-sur-Seine, all in Seine Maritime, or Hotot-en-Auge in Calvados) or Huttoft in Lincolnshire. A Hotot or Hotoft family of Turvey, Bedfordshire, and Clapton, Northamptonshire, is recorded in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as bearing these arms: azure, a cross formy between four cinquefoils (or roses) or.<sup>52</sup> This family, however, appears to have died out with the death of Robert de Hotot in 1346. His daughter and heiress, Joan, married Richard Dudley.<sup>53</sup>

A 'Sir John Hotoft' of Leicestershire is also credited with these arms on some early sixteenth-century rolls of arms.<sup>54</sup> This seems to be a reference to John Hotoft (d. 1443) of Knebworth, Hertfordshire, treasurer of the king's household 1423–31, who was connected with the Hotoft family of Humberstone, Leicestershire, and who was often referred to by antiquarians, erroneously, as 'Sir John'.<sup>55</sup> However on his memorial in Knebworth church, and on his seal, his arms are shown as three pikes' (or dragons') heads erect and erased.<sup>56</sup>

A simpler version of the arms was also borne by a Hotot/Hotoft family seated at Columbine Hall in Stowupland, Suffolk. These arms are recorded as: azure, a cross moline (or formy) argent (or or).<sup>57</sup> This family is recorded there by the 1240s and died out in the male line with the death of John Hotot/Hotoft c. 1504. His two recorded daughters and co-heirs, Anne and Margaret, married, respectively, James Tyrell and Thomas Waller of Parham, Suffolk. Tyrell, who inherited Columbine Hall and died c. 1535–39, was the younger son of Sir James Tyrell of Gipping, Suffolk, the henchman of King Richard III.

There is a recorded Hotoft/Willoughby marriage, but of a female Willoughby to a male Hotoft, the opposite to the marriage indicated in the Alston Court glass. In 1464 a marriage was agreed between Alianore, the daughter of Robert Willoughby esq. of Parham Hall and John, the son of Robert Hotoft esq. of Columbine Hall.<sup>58</sup> On the death of Robert, sixth Lord Willoughby de Eresby in 1452, Parham and other Suffolk manors passed to his nephew Robert, as heir male of the family. Alianore is mentioned in the will of her brother, Sir Christopher Willoughby of Parham, in 1498 as his 'suster Hotofte'.<sup>59</sup> John and Alianore were the parents of the two heiresses, Anne and Margaret, mentioned above. Margaret's son, George Waller of Wortham, in his will of 1581, requested 'a little monumente or grave stone and the arms of my auncestors Waller and Huttofte ... to be graven in latten and fixed to the sayde gravestone for a remembraunce of suche manners landes tenementes and hereditamentes as weare my sayde auncestors intayled and yet not dyscended'.<sup>60</sup>



*Willoughby*

The Willoughby family, originally from Willoughby in the Marsh, Lincolnshire, inherited Eresby in Spilsby, Lincolnshire, by marriage with the heiress of the Beke family around 1300 and were summoned to parliament as the Lords Willoughby de Eresby from 1313. They assumed the Beke arms with a cross moline, as can be seen on the tomb of John, second Lord Willoughby (d. 1349) in Spilsby church. His son, John, third Lord Willoughby (d. 1372), married Cicely, the sister of William de Ufford, second earl of Suffolk, and his tomb at Spilsby has the Beke/Willoughby cross impaling Ufford. His son Robert, fourth Lord Willoughby (d. 1396), became the heir to the Ufford estates, including Parham in Suffolk, on the death of his uncle, the earl, in 1382. Robert's seal of 1376 bears only the Beke cross, but by the time of the death of his second wife in 1391 he had adopted as his arms the quartered arms of Ufford and Beke, as can be seen on her brass and on his own effigy in Spilsby church.<sup>61</sup> The person commemorated in the Alston Court glass, using the same arms, must therefore be among his descendants.

Unfortunately, despite being a well-documented peerage family, no trace has been found of a Willoughby/Haltoft marriage. However, through extensive searching a tentative link has been found between the two families. The fourth Lord Willoughby's 3xgreat-grandson, John Willoughby esq. of Denver in Norfolk (only 7 miles from Outwell) married, as his first wife, Eleanor, daughter of Humfrey Kervill of Wiggshall St Mary (son of Thomas Kervill and Margaret Haltoft) and Alice Fincham (daughter of John Fincham and Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Derham and Alice Haltoft). It must be due to this marriage that the arms of Willoughby were formerly to be found amongst the Kervill shields in the windows of Barton Bendish church.<sup>62</sup>

Eleanor Kervill was married firstly, in 1515, to Richard Neale of Wiggshall St Mary (who was dead by 1522–23) and secondly, by 1526, to John Willoughby.<sup>63</sup> The early Tudor east gable wall of Denver Hall bears the arms of Willoughby (in stone) and Kervill (in carved brick), with letters commemorating John and Eleanor in moulded brick panels (Fig. 24). Blomefield refers to a settlement, which he misdates to April 1511 but which must date to the 1540s, for the intended marriage between Elizabeth, the widow of Robert, the son and heir apparent of John Willoughby of Denver, and George, the son of Hugh Willoughby of Risley, Derbyshire.<sup>64</sup> George, who was born c. 1518, belonged to a completely unrelated Willoughby family, but Elizabeth, who was born c. 1516, was both John's daughter-in-law and his stepdaughter, being the daughter and heiress of Richard Neale, by Eleanor Kervill. She is mentioned in the will of her grandfather Humfrey Kervill in 1526, and in the will of Anne Kervill, her uncle Humfrey's widow, in April 1541, as her 'cousyn Elyzabeth Neale'; so her first marriage, to Robert Willoughby, must be later than that.<sup>65</sup> As it is very unlikely that Elizabeth would have been married to



FIG. 24 – Denver Hall, Norfolk: Arms of the Willoughby family on the gable wall of the Hall.

her half-brother, Robert must have been the son of John Willoughby by a previous marriage. That marriage is unrecorded, but given the proximity to Outwell and his later connection with the extended Haltoft family, it could well have been to a Haltoft.

If there had been such a marriage, the son, Robert, might have been able to quarter the Willoughby arms with those of Haltoft, as seen in the Alston Court glass, but, alas, it would not explain the apparent marriage alliance with a Hotot that is shown there; the arms of Robert's known wife, Elizabeth Neale, are different.<sup>66</sup> John Willoughby did have another son, William, but probably by his third wife, Mary Grenwold, for William was only four months old at his father's death in 1557.<sup>67</sup> However in 1559 the wardship of William was granted to Henry Seckford, whose wife Alice was the widow of Thomas Kervill, the brother of Eleanor.<sup>68</sup> William did not survive very long and the Denver property went to John's widow Mary. By yet another marital complexity, she remarried her former husband's servant, Thomas Gowsell – who just happened to be a nephew of Eleanor Kervill (his mother being Catherine Kervill) and the younger brother of the Richard Gowsell who had married John Willoughby's widowed mother. The heirs of Thomas and Mary Gowsell continued to own Denver Hall until the early eighteenth century, in which century much of the Hall was rebuilt.

The Willoughby family do have links with some of the families in the SET 1 glass, particularly the Jenney family. Sir Christopher Willoughby (c. 1453–1498) of Parham, Suffolk, a second cousin once removed of John Willoughby of Denver, was, with his short-lived older brother, a minor at his father's death in 1465, and his wardship was granted to Sir William Jenney.<sup>69</sup> In 1470 Jenney gave Christopher legal training by having him admitted to Lincoln's Inn, and about the same time he married Christopher to his daughter Margaret/Margery.<sup>70</sup> Sir Christopher made his brother-in-law Edmund Jenney an executor of his will and mentions this Edmund's son William as his godson.<sup>71</sup> Sir Christopher's younger son George was married firstly to Ann, the widow of Thomas Spelman (c. 1464–1499) of Great Ellingham, the eldest son of Henry (no. 7) by his first wife.<sup>72</sup> She was dead by 1503-4, and George then married yet another widow, Margaret Bokking.<sup>73</sup> Margaret's first husband, Richard Bokking, gent. of Longham, was probably a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn and had died in 1505. His father John had been clerk to Sir John Fastolf and appears frequently in the Paston Letters. He also belonged to the SET 1 circle, having married a daughter of William Narborough (no. 2) and was thus a brother-in-law of Henry Spelman.

#### CATALOGUE OF THE ARMORIAL GLASS

Farrer (1912) numbered the glass in two series and his number is given in brackets after this catalogue's numbers, with the addition of A for his first series and B for the second.

*HALL, north side – all SET 1 (Figs 25–27)*

1 (AI). Labelled: *Ger. / Hoptun*. Argent, a lion rampant guardant gules [JERMY of Metfield in Suffolk] *impaling*, quarterly, 1: Argent, a chevron azure, a label of three points ermine in chief [SWILLINGTON alias HOPTON of Westwood in Blythburgh, Suffolk], 2: Gules a griffin segreant argent [ROSS or ROYS of Wissett, Suffolk or WYSSETT,<sup>74</sup>] 3: Argent, on a bend gules three mascles or [PERTE of Yorkshire], 4: an unrelated decorative glass fragment. Powell draws it with an intact 4th quarter bearing ermine, on two bars sable, on each three mullets or [HOPTON, alternative arms], but Farrer records it just as 'made up of pieces'.

Sir John Jermy of Metfield Hall (son of the couple commemorated in no. 18) was born c. 1447 and married Isabel(la) the daughter of John Hopton esq. of Westwood in Blythburgh.<sup>75</sup> He is recorded as a knight in 1489 but died in 1504 and is commemorated by a mutilated brass in Metfield church.<sup>76</sup> The Hoptons were an illegitimate branch of the knightly Swillington family



TOP: FIG. 25 – Alston Court. Hall window, north side, shields 1–3.

CENTRE: FIG. 26 – Alston Court. Hall window, north side, shields 4–6.

BOTTOM: FIG. 27 – Alston Court. Hall window, north side, shields 7–9.

of Swillington, Yorkshire, hence the complication with the family's arms.<sup>77</sup>  
Duplicate of no. 24.

2 (AII). Labelled: *Nerbor / Clere*. Gules, a chief ermine [NARBOROUGH of Narborough in Norfolk] *impaling* Argent, on a fess azure three eagles displayed or, a crescent in chief for difference (indicating a second son) [CLERE of Stokesby in Norfolk]. Powell indicates patterned glass for the red field of Narborough arms, but this is now plain and he incorrectly draws cross-crosslets on the fess of the Clere arms instead of eagles.

William Narborough (or Narburgh) esq. of Narborough married Alice, daughter of Robert Clere esq. of Stokesby. William was born in 1411 in South Acre, Norfolk, and died in 1461, requesting burial beside his wife in the chancel of Narborough church.<sup>78</sup> For their daughter Ellen, see no. 7.

3 (AIII). Unlabelled. Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing in Norfolk] *impaling* Ermine, on a chief sable, three crosses paty argent [WICHINGHAM of Great Witchingham in Norfolk].

There is no recorded marriage between the Parker and the Wichingham families, but the Parkers lived in Honing (see no. 8) and Joan Wichingham (see no. 4) married Robert Boys who owned a manor in Honing.

4 (AIV). Labelled: *Boy / ...ham*. Argent, two bars and a canton gules, overall a bend sable charged with an annulet [BOYS of Honing in Norfolk] *impaling* Ermine, on a chief sable, three crosses paty argent [WICHINGHAM of Woodrising in Norfolk].

Robert Boys esq. of Holme Hale and Honing in Norfolk married Joan, daughter and co-heiress of Edmund Wichingham esq. of Woodrising (a junior branch of the family at Great Witchingham in Norfolk). Robert died in 1450: his will of 1439 appears to predate his marriage and names his mother Sibylle, Lady Boys, as his executrix.<sup>79</sup> Sibylle was a cultured lady, a patron of the poet John Lydgate, but also a lady of determination and spirit who was not always perceived as being totally honest.<sup>80</sup> She was accused in the Court of Chancery of forging Robert's will to gain control of his property.<sup>81</sup> More trouble came in May 1451 when Robert's young widow (who appears to have been courted by Richard Southwell, a servant of the duke of Norfolk) was abducted – as described in detail in one of the Paston letters – from Woodrising Hall by Robert Langstrother and a party of men from the nearby commandery of the Knights of St John at Carbrooke.<sup>82</sup> The preceptor of the commandery was Robert's near kinsman and probable brother, William Langstrother.<sup>83</sup> William was also the bailiff of the important commandery at Eagle in Lincolnshire, which is where Joan was taken, pausing only for a marriage ceremony between Robert and Joan at Wighenham St Mary in western Norfolk. In June 1451, Robert and William, and their followers, were indicted for felonious ravishment, first at Norwich and then before King's Bench at Westminster, but no significant punishments are recorded. In May 1452 Joan's father, Edmund, brought an appeal in King's Bench against Robert, in which it appeared that the 'ravishment' may have been more of an elopement. John Paston, in writing in sympathy to Richard Southwell, the unsuccessful suitor, commented that Joan spoke 'untrewly of her self' at the hearing, undermining the suit.<sup>84</sup> The result seems to be that Robert and William Langstrother were both pardoned in 1453.<sup>85</sup> Southwell was compensated by marriage to Amy, another of Edmund Wichingham's daughters, through whom he acquired the Woodrising estate. By the early 1460s reconciliation seems to have been achieved and both the Langstrothers and the Southwells were included in an estate settlement by Edmund Wichingham.<sup>86</sup> Robert Langstrother died in 1463 and requested burial in the priory church of the Knights of St John at Clerkenwell in



London. His widow Joan was the executrix of his will.<sup>87</sup> For Robert Boys's daughter Katherine see no. 26.

5 (AV). Labelled twice: at the top with [Pa]yn / [Th]wathatys (which belongs properly to no. [14]) and at the top of the sinister side of the shield with *Payn / Spyllman*. Argent, three boars' heads coupé gules [PAYN of Roudham in Norfolk] *impaling* Sable, eleven plates between two flanches argent [SPELMAN of Norfolk]. Powell draws this with a Payn / Spylman label.

William Payn of Roudham appears as a tax collector in Norfolk in 1440 and is probably the same-named man who was a tax collector in Norfolk in 1434 (then 'of Banham', about 5 miles east of Roudham), 1436, and 1463, and who was appointed a searcher of ships in the port of King's Lynn and adjacent ports and places in 1450. This William was named as the son of Alexander Payn in the 1429 will of Peter Payn of Banham, and both William and Alexander were executors of the will.<sup>88</sup> Peter Payn, *frankleyn* ('freeholder') of Banham, was also appears as a tax collector between 1416 and 1422.<sup>89</sup> William and Alexander are listed among the gentry of Norfolk in 1433.<sup>90</sup> William, as *gentyman* of Roudham, appointed Henry Spelman (see no. 7) as one of the executors of his will in 1466, and Spelman requested prayers for William's soul in his own will of 1496.<sup>91</sup> Spelman was a younger man, born c. 1430, but the two are likely to have had professional dealings, as Spelman was one of the tax assessors for Norfolk in 1463. However their paths probably crossed much earlier as Spelman came originally from Stow Bedon, not far from Roudham; his uncle Master Robert Spelman was rector of nearby Snetterton; and a Thomas Payn, vicar of Stow Bedon, had been a witness to Henry's grandmother's will in 1444.<sup>92</sup> The likelihood is that Payn's wife Christian was a Spelman, probably an aunt of Henry's and a daughter of an earlier Henry Spelman.<sup>93</sup> By coincidence (or perhaps not) the younger Henry Spelman's first wife was also called Christian, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Manning of Beachamwell. Payn requested burial in the chancel of Roudham church. For William's probable son Peter, see no. 20.

6 (AVI). Unlabelled now, but Powell records the top label (*wathatys*) to no. 5 here. Argent, three boars' heads coupé gules [PAYN of Roudham in Norfolk] *impaling* a lost coat, but formerly THWAITES and therefore a duplicate of no. 28. Powell draws the lost coat as argent, on a fess sable three bezants between three fleurs-de-lis gules [THWAITES of Hardingham in Norfolk]. Davy also records the arms of 'Payne imp. Thwaites' in this position. For a note of the Thwaites family, see no. 27.

7 (AVII). Labelled: *Spe...* (Powell read *Spylman*) / *Nerbowr*. Sable, eleven plates between two flanches argent [SPELMAN of Norfolk] *impaling* Gules, a chief ermine [NARBOROUGH of Narborough in Norfolk].

Henry Spelman married, as his second wife, Ellen, widow of Thomas Shouldham esq. (d. 1471/2) of Shouldham, Norfolk, and daughter and co-heiress of William Narborough of Narborough. Henry (c. 1430–1496) was a lawyer, a bencher of Gray's Inn in London, Recorder of Norwich 1481–96 and MP several times for the city.<sup>94</sup> He was named as a co-executor of the will of William Payn of Roudham (see no. 5) in 1466 and requested prayers for William's soul in his own will.<sup>95</sup> Henry is commemorated by a brass in Narborough church, which shows him in his recorder's robes beside Ellen his wife – as lady of the manor in her own right, she has pride of place on the left side of the brass.<sup>96</sup> Sir John Spelman (c. 1480–1546), Justice of King's Bench, was their son.

8 (AVIII). Labelled: *Park.. / Grme*. Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER

of Honing in Norfolk] *impaling* Argent, a lion rampant guardant gules [JERMY of Metfield in Suffolk].

Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century pedigrees state that Nicholas Parker of Honing married Margery the daughter of Sir John Jermy of Metfield.<sup>97</sup> The truth is more complex. Nicholas did have a wife named Margaret or Margery who was the widow of Robert Pakenham esq. of Shropham (d. 1464). In 1465 the king granted the keeping of Robert's estate and the wardship of his son and heir Henry to Sir Thomas Montgomery and Nicholas Parker.<sup>98</sup> Montgomery, with a seat at Faulkbourne Hall in Essex, was a powerful courtier and favourite of King Edward IV, but Parker has only a shadowy history before 1465, though he may be the Nicholas Parker who was MP for Dunwich in 1449.<sup>99</sup> By 1472 Parker had strengthened his involvement with the Pakenham estate by marrying the mother of his ward.<sup>100</sup> Significantly, the estate included a manor in Honing, and it is after 1465 that Nicholas is described as 'of Honing'. Nicholas's stepson Henry Pakenham came of age in 1468–69, indicating a birthdate of *c.* 1447–8;<sup>101</sup> his mother's birthdate can therefore be estimated as being *c.* 1420–30 (her first husband was born *c.* 1416). At Henry's untimely death in 1483 his manor of Honing was being held by Nicholas Parker, John Jermy the younger, Thomas Jermy the brother of John, and others at an annual rent of £10.<sup>102</sup> Parker also appears alongside John Jermy in a land deal of 1481.<sup>103</sup> There is reason therefore to suppose that Margaret/Margery Pakenham was the same person as Margery Jermy, who, according to the Visitation pedigrees, did have brothers named John and Thomas. Unfortunately, there is an age problem – John Jermy the younger (see no. 1) was born *c.* 1447, being aged 40 and more at his father's death in 1487, making him almost exactly the same age as his supposed nephew, Margaret/Margery's son Henry Pakenham.<sup>104</sup> This suggests that there has been a generation slip and that Margaret/Margery was not a daughter of John Jermy (d. 1487) and Elizabeth Wroth (see no. 18), but of Sir John Jermy and Margery Mounteney (see no. 33).

Margaret/Margery died in 1484 and by 1496 Nicholas Parker had remarried Agnes, whose parentage is unknown.<sup>105</sup> Nicholas died in 1497 and is portrayed as a knight in armour on his brass in Honing church. Blomefield noted the arms of 'Boys, Erpingham, Repps; also Boys and Gymingham' in connection with this brass, but they were not there when Cotman recorded it in 1815.<sup>106</sup> A combination of the first three is difficult to explain, but 'Boys and Gymingham' is a reference to Sir Roger de Boys (d. *c.* 1401–2) and his wife Margaret Gymingham, who held a manor in Honing but are buried in Ingham church where there is a monument with their effigies (they were the grandparents of the Robert Boys of no. 4). The relevance of a Boys connection to Parker is unknown.

Nicholas's son and heir, John Parker, appears with his father in a land transaction of 1479 and is named as a co-executor of the will of Peter Payn of Roudham in 1485, which suggests that his birth predates his father's marriage to Margaret/Margery Pakenham in the later 1460s.<sup>107</sup> This hints strongly that Nicholas had an unrecorded first wife. John's wife is also unknown and was probably dead when he made his will in 1527, describing himself as 'of Honing', but requesting burial in the parish church of St Giles without Cripplegate in London 'where I am now lying sike'.<sup>108</sup> His presence in London may have been connected with his brother Thomas, who was a citizen and tailor of London.<sup>109</sup>

Duplicate of nos 29 and 30.

9 (AIX). Labelled: *Payne / ..kewod*. Argent, three boars' heads coupéd gules [PAYN of Roudham in Norfolk] *impaling* Argent, three chess rooks sable [ROKEWOOD of Euston in Suffolk]. The Rokewoods of Coldham Hall in Stanningfield, Suffolk, bore arms with six chess rooks, but the Rokewoods of Euston bore a variant with three, as seen on the brass of Edmund Rokewood esq. in Euston church.<sup>110</sup>

This Edmund Rokewode married in 1493, as his first wife, Anne, the daughter of John Appleyard of Bracon Ash in Norfolk (see no. 27).<sup>111</sup> Anne's brother, Sir Nicholas Appleyard of Bracon Ash (d. c. 1518) married Agnes, the daughter of William Rokewode of Warham in Norfolk. Edmund married for a second time, c. 1510, Alice, the daughter of William London, Alderman of Norwich. Edmund died in 1524 and is commemorated by a brass that shows him in armour between his two wives (but only the figure of Anne survives) with shields with their impaled arms above them. Unfortunately, his will does not name all his children.<sup>112</sup> Three of his sons had a legal background – two in Lincoln's Inn and one in the Middle Temple.<sup>113</sup> His widow Alice remarried Sir Thomas Bedingfield (d. 1538) and Thomas Burgh, 3rd Lord Burgh (d. 1550) and died in 1558, having been drawn by Holbein c. 1541.

As discussed under no. 20, it is likely that the arms in no. 9 relate to the marriage of William Payn to a woman named Elizabeth who was very probably the daughter of this Edmund Rokewode. She remarried William Rammesbury esq. of Roudham in Norfolk and Edmund was a co-executor of his will, being described as William's 'very kynd frend'. Duplicate of no. 21.

*HALL, south side – all SET 1 unless otherwise stated (Figs 28–30)*

10 (AX). Labelled: ...*me / Helnalle*. Argent, a lion rampant guardant gules [JERMY of Metfield, Suffolk] *impaling* Or, on a fess gules between two chevrons gules, three escallops argent [HEMENHALE of Burnham Westgate, Burnham Ulph and Pulham in Norfolk, and Hempnall's Hall in Cotton and Ringshall in Suffolk].

Sir William Jermy of Metfield is stated to have married 'Elizabeth, da. of John Hunhall'.<sup>114</sup> Sir William was a knight by 1338, made his will in 1385 and requested burial in Metfield church.<sup>115</sup> The Isabella/Elizabeth whom he had married by 1353–54 can be identified as a member of the knightly de Hemenhale family, who took their name from Hempnall in Norfolk. Her father was probably Sir John de Hemenhale of Burnham etc. who died in 1347, most likely as a casualty of the siege of Calais.<sup>116</sup> She is probably the Elizabeth Jermyn who is mentioned in the 1375 will of her great-nephew Thomas de Hemenhale; she was still living in 1385.<sup>117</sup> The Katherine de Hemenhal who is named as a co-executrix of Sir William's will would be the widow of his brother-in-law Sir Ralph de Hemenhale (d. 1370). Sir William and Elizabeth were the parents of John (see no. 33) and the grandparents of another John (see no. 18).

11 (AXI). Labelled: *Wyng[feld] / Parkyr*. Argent, on a bend sinister gules, three pairs of wings argent [WINGFIELD of Suffolk, but with a bend sinister] *impaling* Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing]. Powell shows this as Parker *impaling* Wingfield, with the notch or *bouche* on the left, but the existing glass, with the *bouche* in its proper position on the left, is as blazoned above. Both Davy and Farrer also saw it as Wingfield *impaling* Parker.

A near duplicate of no. 19, but with a shorter strap.

This marriage is not explicitly recorded anywhere but there are pointers to it. Henry Noon esq. of Shelfhanger in Norfolk and Martlesham in Suffolk married a lady named Eleanor who is just recorded as 'Daughter to ... Darbye of Chesshyre' in a 1563 pedigree.<sup>118</sup> But in a pedigree by the Suffolk antiquary William Blois (1600–73), she is named as 'Eleanor filia Ramsbury'.<sup>119</sup> Confusingly, the 1563 pedigree gives Henry Noon's mother as 'Ursella Daughter ... Ramsburye' (his mother was actually called Elizabeth). Henry Noon died in 1487 and named his wife Alianore (Eleanor) as a co-executrix of his will.<sup>120</sup> She had a seven-year-old son in 1487, which suggests a birth date for her of c. 1460. She remarried William Lancastre esq. of Bressingham and was named as a co-executrix of his will in 1491.<sup>121</sup> She was married for a



TOP: FIG. 28 – Alston Court. Hall window, south side, shields 10–11.

CENTRE : FIG. 29 – Alston Court. Hall window, south side, shields 12–14.

BOTTOM: FIG. 30 – Alston Court. Hall window, south side, shields 15–17.



third time to the young Robert Wingfield (born *c.* 1470) the seventh son of Sir John Wingfield of Letheringham. His future career would lead to a knighthood, the posts of Marshal of Calais (1513–20) and Deputy of Calais (1526–31) and personal contact with kings and the Emperor Maximilian.<sup>122</sup> Eleanor would see none of this as she died in 1501. With the ‘sufferance and licence’ of her husband she made her will in 1500, in which she requested burial beside her first husband in Shelfhanger church.<sup>123</sup> She also mentions her ‘brother’ William Rambysbury and ‘my suster wyfe of the said William’. William Rammesbury was later to remarry the widowed Elizabeth Payn (see no. 11). The identity of William’s first wife is not documented, but the wording of Eleanor’s will raises the possibility that she was Eleanor’s blood sister, and that William was in fact her brother-in-law. If so, the arms in this piece of glass could refer to Eleanor and her marriage to Robert Wingfield, making both her and her unnamed sister Parkers, and, by their ages, probably daughters of Nicholas Parker (see no. 8) and sisters of John Parker (no. 8), Alice Payn (no. 20), Elizabeth Appleyard (no. 27) and Olive Everard (no. 25).

12 (BI). SET 2: Unlabelled. Sable, three lozenges ermine within a bordure engrailed ermine [HALTOFT or HAULTOFT of Whaplode in Lincolnshire and Outwell in Norfolk]. See the main text for a discussion of this family.

13 (BII). SET 2: Unlabelled. Azure, a cross formy<sup>124</sup> coupé ermine between four quatrefoil flowers, petals or, centre argent. [HOTOT/HOTOFT] *impaling* Azure, a cross flory argent and on a chief sable three lions’ heads erased or, langued argent [UNIDENTIFIED – see no. 16]. Powell only draws the bottom right flower on the Hotot arms (something he repeats the Hotot arms in nos 15 and 17) and shows the now missing lower limb of the cross on the other arms.

See the main text for a discussion of this family.

14 (BIII) SET 2: Unlabelled. Quarterly, 1 & 4: grand quarter 1: Gules, a cross moline argent [BEKE of Eresby, Lincolnshire], grand quarters 2 & 3: Sable a cross engrailed or [UFFORD, earls of Suffolk], grand quarter 4: Ufford and Beke [together these quartered arms represent the WILLOUGHBY family], ordinary quarters 2 & 3: Sable, three lozenges ermine within a bordure engrailed ermine [HALTOFT – see no. 12]. Powell draws the first grand quarter as Ufford quartering Beke.

See the main text for a discussion of this family.

15 (BVI). SET 2: Unlabelled. Azure, a cross formy coupé ermine between four quatrefoil flowers, petals or, centre argent [HOTOT – see above no. [13]].

16 (BV). SET 2: Unlabelled. Azure, a cross flory argent and on a chief sable three lions’ heads erased or, langued argent [UNIDENTIFIED]

This coat-of-arms has defied all previous commentators on this glass and it is still very much a mystery. The assembly of charges resembles those in the arms of the Molyns (Moleyns, Molins) family that had seats in Hampshire and Berkshire, but the colours of the field and cross (or and sable) are wrong, and in the case of the Berkshire branch, the charges on the chief are given as talbots’ heads.<sup>125</sup> No connection has, however, been found with this family and the others in the set.

17 (BIII). SET 2: Unlabelled. Quarterly, quarters 1 & 4: grand quarter 1 & 4: Gules, a cross moline argent [BEKE], grand quarter 2 & 3: Sable a cross engrailed or [UFFORD] – this grand

quarter representing WILLOUGHBY (see no. 14); quarters 2 & 3: Sable, three lozenges ermine within a bordure engrailed ermine [HALTOFT] *impaling* Azure, a cross formy coupé ermine between four quatrefoil flowers, petals or, centre argent [HOTOT – see no. 15]. Powell erroneously draws this as Haltoft *impaling* Hotot.

STAIRS – all SET 1 (Fig. 31)

18 (AXII). Labelled: *Germj / Worthē*. Argent, a lion rampant guardant gules [JERMY of Metfield] *impaling* Argent, on a bend sable three lions' heads erased argent, crowned or [WROTHE of Durance in Enfield, Middlesex, and Newton Wrothe, Somerset].

Labelled below: *E: DERhEY*

John Jermy esq., of Metfield in Suffolk and Buckenham Ferry in Norfolk, married, as his first wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of William Wrothe esq. of Enfield and Newton Wrothe (d. 1450).<sup>126</sup> John was the son of the Sir John commemorated in no. 33 and the grandson of the Sir William in no. 1; he had remarried a Margaret by 1471 and died in 1487.<sup>127</sup> Margaret remarried Thomas Jenney of Intwood (a lawyer cousin of the Sir Edmund in no. 26) and then Thomas Idley, gent., but was a widow again by 1511. John and his first wife Elizabeth were the parents of the John in no. 1 and, allegedly, the Margery in no. 8. Duplicate of no. 22.



FIG. 31 – Alston Court. Stairs, shields 18–19.

19 (AXIII). Labelled: *Wynghfeld / Parkyr*. Argent, on a bend sinister gules, three pairs of wings argent [WINGFIELD of Suffolk, but with the bend sinister instead of the normal dexter] *impaling* Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing].

A near duplicate of no. 11, but with a longer strap.

REAR PARLOUR/DINING ROOM – all SET 1 (Figs 32–33)

20 (AXXIII). Labelled: *Payn / Parkyr*. Argent, three boars' heads coupé gules [PAYN of Roudham] *impaling* Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing]. Graffiti on the Parker chevron: 'EA', 'CA', 'SA', 'CT' – the first three probably for the sons of George Alston of Alston Court: Revd Edward (1810–71, but a lunatic in Thomas Tomkin's Lunatic Asylum in Essex at the 1841 census, Charles James (1812–78, also a lunatic at Witham in 1841), and Samuel (1809–87) – see also nos 22 and 27.

This is perhaps the axial match of the set, but one that has proved extremely difficult to document – but by small steps a convincing case may be constructed. The William Payn mentioned under no. 5 named his son William as the executor of his will in 1466. However William disappeared and was succeeded by a Peter Payn who was probably his younger



FIG. 32 – Alston Court. Rear parlour, shields 20–22 (top) and 26–28 (bottom).



FIG. 33 – Alston Court. Rear parlour, shields 23–25 (top) and 29–31 (bottom).

brother or just conceivably his son. Peter was involved in a land transaction in 1470 and died in 1485.<sup>128</sup> His will, dated 1485, exists in two transcripts in the Norwich Consistory Court records – one, crossed out, among the 1485 wills, and another with a probate date of 20 Jan. 1508/9.<sup>129</sup> He requested burial in the chancel of Roudham church and he named as his executors his wife Alice, the prior of Westacre (from whom he held the manor of Trusbutt's or Newhall in Roudham), the rector of Larling, and John Parker of Honing (see no. 8) and it is Parker who is recorded as the active executor in 1508. Peter left two sons, William and Thomas, and unspecified daughters, who were all minors in 1485. One daughter, Anne, was in dispute with Parker, 1501–4, over the non-payment of her bequest, which indicates that Parker was acting as the executor well before 1508.<sup>130</sup> Her suit suggests that she had come of age and therefore had been born *c.* 1480. That further suggests that her mother Alice was born *c.* 1450–60. If Alice was a Parker, her age suggests that she might have been a daughter of Nicholas Parker and therefore a sister of John Parker.

Alice's son, William Payn, described as a gentleman 'formerly of Roudham' was in debt to a London mercer in 1502 and was being sued in the period 1504–15 by Parker for detention of deeds to land in Harling and *Melond*.<sup>131</sup> As *gentilman* of Roudham, William, was party to a land



transaction in 1509 in the company of Edmund Rokewood of Euston and William Spilman of Stow Bedon.<sup>132</sup> William appears to have died in 1511–12 and his widow Elizabeth remarried William Rammesbury esq. William, who had been appointed as a ‘searcher of ships in the port of Yarmouth’ in 1498, died in 1515. He made his will as of Roudham, requesting burial in the chancel of the church there.<sup>133</sup> He bequeathed to his wife the wardships of her son and daughter, John and Katherine Payn, which he ‘bought of Thomas Clerke, Prior of Westaker’. He also mentioned his own son Robert (a minor) and his daughter Martha, who may have been the children of his first marriage (possibly to an aunt of William Payn’s – see no. 11). Rammesbury named his second wife, Elizabeth, as the executrix of his will, ‘with the good helpe of my very kynd frend Edmond Rokewode of Ewston esquier [see no. 9] and Robert Say my servant’. Not long afterwards Elizabeth remarried William Pennington, a junior member of an important landowning family in Cumbria. And almost as quickly John Parker, in his continuing role as Peter Payn’s executor, was in dispute with them, and Edmund Rokewode, over the detention of deeds relating to the manor of Hethel.<sup>134</sup> Rokewode’s continued close connection with Elizabeth suggests that he was her father and the arms in nos 9 and 21 relate to her marriage with William Payn. Pennington was, or became, a follower of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. He accompanied Brandon in his invasion of France in 1523 and was knighted by him at Valenciennes.<sup>135</sup>

By 1526 Elizabeth was dead and Pennington had remarried Frances Palgrave. Frances was one of Brandon’s cousins and one of the ladies-in-waiting to his wife, Mary Tudor, Dowager Queen of France. Unfortunately for Pennington, a violent quarrel in 1532 outside the law courts in Westminster with Richard Southwell (grandson and heir of the Richard mentioned under no. 4) led to a challenge to violence. The two men and their followers regrouped to a place outside Westminster Abbey and a swordfight ensued between Pennington and Southwell. Pennington had Southwell on the ground and was ready to strike a fatal blow when Southwell’s brother Anthony struck Pennington on the head with his sword and killed him. The Southwells fled to the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey. Surprisingly, the Southwells were quickly pardoned of the murder, though a hefty fine was involved.<sup>136</sup> Southwell was, after all, part of the entourage of the duke of Norfolk and an associate of Thomas Cromwell, so wider politics were involved. Despite this hiccup, Southwell continued his rise as a royal councillor and administrator, was painted by Hans Holbein in 1537, was knighted in 1540, and died in peace in his Norfolk home in 1564.<sup>137</sup> Frances Pennington became a dependent of Brandon, living largely in his household, though she also leased Melford Hall from the abbot of Bury in 1535; her son William became one of Brandon’s henchmen.<sup>138</sup>

Among Pennington debts was one to his stepson, John Payn.<sup>139</sup> John married Alice, the daughter of Humphrey Smallpiece of Hockering in Norfolk, whose stepmother Anne just happened to be the sister of Frances Pennington.<sup>140</sup> The marriage was, however, brief, for John died in 1536, leaving all his lands to Alice, whom he named as his executrix, and requesting burial in the chancel of Roudham church.<sup>141</sup> Alice went on to marry four more husbands and ended up in Leicestershire.<sup>142</sup> However the manor of Trusbutt’s or Newhall in Roudham appears to have passed to John’s sister Katherine who married Bryan Holland esq. of Harleston and Wortwell, Norfolk.<sup>143</sup> Holland was involved in a conspiracy against the ‘Strangers’ settling in Norwich in 1570 and was imprisoned and attainted.<sup>144</sup> Luckily, the manor had already been settled on Bryan and Katherine’s son John, but he sold it in 1583 to Thomas Lovell of East Harling, ending the Payns’ association with Roudham.<sup>145</sup> The Lovells consolidated the two manors in Roudham and they became part of the Lovells’ larger East Harling estate. They sold the estate in the early eighteenth century to Thomas Wright esq., who mentions the manors of *Rowdham West Acre* and *New Hall* in his will of 1735.<sup>146</sup> William Faden’s *Map of Norfolk*, 1797, marks *Hall Farm* in Roudham, but names no owner, suggesting that by then it was just a farmhouse.



21 (not listed by Farrer). Labelled: *Payn / Rookewud*. Argent, three boars' heads coupé gules [PAYN of Roudham] *impaling* Argent, three chess rooks sable [ROKEWOOD of Euston]. Duplicate of no. 9.

22 (AXV). Labelled: *Germey / Worthie*. Argent, a lion rampant guardant gules [JERMY of Metfield] *impaling* Argent, on a bend sable three lions' heads erased argent, crowned or [WROTHER of Enfield]. Graffiti on the Wroth bend: 'E Alston 1841' [see no. 20] and 'HT'. Duplicate of no. 18.

23 (AXX). Labelled: *Paknon / Parkyr*. Gules, a garb or [PAKENHAM, but the arms do not fit with any recorded Pakenham arms] *impaling* Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing].

For Nicholas Parker's marriage to the widow of Robert Pakenham, see no. 8. Blomefield gives some account of the Pakenham family of Pakenham's Manor in Shropham, and states that their arms (quarterly or and gules, in the first quarter an eagle displayed vert – which are different, for an unknown reason, to the ones noted here) were to be seen in the windows of Shropham church.<sup>147</sup> Henry, the son and heir of Robert Pakenham came of age in 1468–69. In 1477 he was party to what appears to have been a marriage settlement between him and a woman named Anne Leedes who is otherwise unknown.<sup>148</sup> He died in 1481 leaving three daughters and co-heirs who were all wards of Richard Southwell (see no. 4) – Margaret (born 1475) who married John Dade of Witton in Norfolk; Elizabeth (born 1480) who married John Sturges, and Anne (born c. 1481) who died in 1493.<sup>149</sup> The birth-date of Margaret, given specifically as 4 Oct. 1475 at *Pakemans* in Shropham, in her proof of age in 1495, suggests that Anne Leedes may have been Henry's second wife. It is therefore possible that his first wife was a Parker. Alternatively, Robert Pakenham's younger brother William was still alive in 1477 and it is possible he who married a Parker.<sup>150</sup> Duplicate of no. 31.

24 (AXIX). Labelled: *Germey / Hopton*. Argent, a lion rampant guardant gules [JERMY of Metfield, Suffolk] *impaling*, quarterly, 1: Argent, a chevron azure, a label of three points ermine in chief [SWILLINGTON alias HOPTON of Westwood in Blythburgh, Suffolk], 2: Gules a griffin segreant argent [ROSS or ROYS of Wissett, Suffolk], 3: Argent, on a bend gules three mascles or [PERTE of Yorkshire], 4: Ermine, two bars sable, on each three mullets or [HOPTON, alternative arms]. Duplicate of no. 1.

25 (AXXII). Labelled: *Hev... / .....r*. Gules, on a fess argent between three estoiles argent, three mullets sable [EVERARD of Linstead Magna in Suffolk] *impaling* Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing]. Henry Everard, gent., of Pond Hall in Linstead Magna, married Olive, who is stated to have been the 'daughter of Wylliam Parker of Honyng in the counte of norff esquyre'.<sup>151</sup> Henry died in 1498 and requested burial in the church of [St Mary] Aldermary, London.<sup>152</sup> In his will he mentions his wife Olive, his sons Ralph, Henry and Robert, his daughter Ann married to Thomas Gavell of Kirby Cane, Norfolk, and Johane his unmarried daughter; among his executors was John Dade. A John Dade married a Pakenham (see no. 23) and his son, another John, married a daughter of Sir Nicholas Appleyard (see no. 27).<sup>153</sup> There is no William Parker of the right date in the pedigree of the family recorded at the heralds' visitation of Norfolk, and it is more likely that she was a daughter of Nicholas Parker (see no. 8).<sup>154</sup>

26 (AXIV). Unlabelled. Ermine, a bend gules cotised or [JENNEY of Knodishall in Suffolk] *impaling* Argent, two bars and a canton gules, overall a bend sable charged with an annulet or [BOYS of Holme Hale in Norfolk]. Powell erroneously shows the Jenney arms as having a fess rather than two bars.

Sir Edmund Jenney of Knodishall and Theberton married, c. 1465, Katherine, the daughter and heiress of Roger Boys esq. of Holme Hale (see no. 4). Sir Edmund was a lawyer, an important member of Lincoln's Inn, London, and was knighted in 1501. He died in 1522.<sup>155</sup> Katherine's wardship had been granted in 1458 to the influential Lancastrian Sir Edmund Hampden, but after his attainment following the Battle of Towton in 1461 it had passed to the lawyer William Jenney (later Sir William and Justice of King's Bench 1481–83). Shortly afterwards Jenney sued Edmund Blake esq. for the abduction of his ward.<sup>156</sup> Blake, who was Usher of the Chamber to Henry VI, doubtless thought he had a right to the heiress as he had acquired the manor of Holme Hale, had been a surety for the 1458 grant to Hampden, and had been granted the keeping of the Boys land in Honing in 1459.<sup>157</sup> The full outcome is not known, but Blake disappears from the record and Jenney recovered Katherine and promptly married her to his son Edmund.

27 (AXVI). Labelled: *Happel harde / Parkyr*. Azure, a chevron or between three owls argent [APPLEYARD of Norwich and Bracon Ash], a crescent for difference *impaling* Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing]. Duplicate of no. 31. Graffiti on the Parker chevron: scribbles and 'S Farthing April 1881', and on a mascle: 'C Alston 184–4', 'E Alston 1844' [for these see no. 20]. Caroline S. Farthing was a sixteen-year-old servant in the household at the time of the 1881 census and this piece of glass was then in a bedroom. William Appleyard of East Carlton in Norfolk married, according to the Visitation pedigree, 'Elizabeth da. to ... Parker of ...'.<sup>158</sup> William was the second son of Nicholas Appleyard of Norwich and died in 1481 and is buried in East Carlton church, where there was formerly a brass.<sup>159</sup> Elizabeth Parker was probably born in the 1450s and is likely to have been a daughter of Nicholas Parker (see no. 8) and a sister of the Olive who married Henry Everard (see no. 25). Appleyard's sister Anne married John Thwaites of Hardingham (d. 1506; see nos 6 and 28).<sup>160</sup> His niece Anne married Edmund Rokewood of Euston (see no. 9) and his nephew, Sir Nicholas Appleyard of Bracon Ash, married Agnes Rokewood of Warham.

28 (AXVIII). Unlabelled. Argent, three boars' heads coupéd gules [PAYN] *impaling* Argent, on a fess sable three bezants between three fleurs-de-lis gules [THWAITES of Hardingham in Norfolk].

Duplicate of no. 6.

29 (not listed by Farrer). Labelled: *Parkyr / Germe*. Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing] *impaling* Argent, a lion rampant guardant gules [JERMY of Metfield].

Duplicate of no. 8.

30 (AXVII). Unlabelled. Azure, a chevron or between three owls argent [APPLEYARD], a crescent for difference *impaling* Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing]

Duplicate of no. 27.

31 (AXXI). Labelled: *Paknon / Parkyr*. Gules, a garb or [PAKENHAM] *impaling* Argent, a chevron between three mascles sable [PARKER of Honing].

Duplicate of no. 23.

*GROUND FLOOR ROOM* (Fig. 34) 32. Arms of the Company of the Merchant Adventurers of London (founded *c.* 1296, granted a charter 1407, much reduced in the late seventeenth century but survived into the early nineteenth century). The colours here are yellow, white and grey, but the full blazon is: barry nebuly of six argent and azure, a chief quarterly gules and or, on the first and fourth quarters a lion passant guardant or, on the second and third two roses gules barbed vert. Supporters: two pegasi argent with wings indorsed, each charged on the wing with two (usually three) roses gules. Motto on a scroll: ELIGIT • FORTU[N]ET • QUE • FORTUNE • PONIMUS • OMNIPOTE[N]S. A Latinised approximation of the more usually quoted motto of ‘Dieu nous adventure donne bonne’.



FIG. 34 – Alston Court. Ground floor room, arms of the Merchant Adventurers of London.

#### LOST

33. (Sketched by Powell in 1817): Unlabelled. Argent, a lion rampant guardant gules [JERMY of Metfield] impaling Sable, an escutcheon between eleven martlets (3, 2, 3) argent. This is probably an error (either by Powell or the glassmaker) for the arms of the MOUNTENEY family: azure, a bend between six martlets or.

John Jermy of Metfield is stated to have married ‘Margery, da. of Arnold of Mounteney al’s Multney’. The son of Sir William (see no. 10), he is recorded in 1413–14 with a wife called Margaret in a lawsuit involving a William Mounteney.<sup>161</sup> The Mouteney or Munteney family gave name to Mountnessing in Essex (formerly *Ginge Mouteney*), but also had lands in Suffolk and Norfolk. Margery/Margaret’s father, Arnulph de Mouteney, was holding land in Beeston St Andrew, Sprowston and

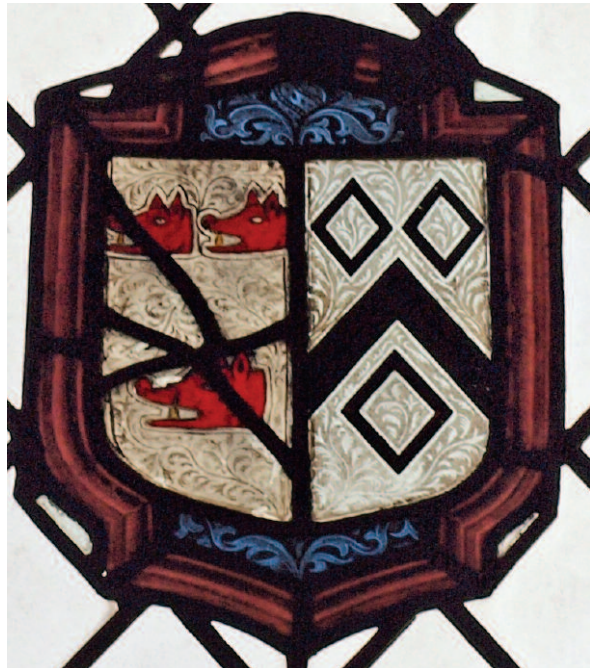


FIG. 35 – Nayland Church, south aisle. Impaled arms of Payn and Parker, formerly in Cook’s Hall, East Bergholt, Essex.

elsewhere in Norfolk in 1346 that Sir John Jermyn was holding in the right of his wife Margery in 1428.<sup>162</sup> Arnulph de Mounteney's seal of 1359 shows his arms as a bend between six martlets and the arms of Mounteney appear prominently among the Jermy quarterings recorded at the heralds' visitations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>163</sup> John is credited with the rebuilding of Metfield church, where he is commemorated by a mutilated brass.<sup>164</sup> For John and Margery's son John, see no. 18.

#### NAYLAND CHURCH

34. Single shield with the arms of ABELL (really PAYN) and PAYN (really PARKER) impaled, set into a window in the south aisle (Fig. 35). This is stylistically different to SET 1 and is from a later workshop. The glass was installed in the church in 1952 at the wish of Alan Charles Gore Lloyd (1879–1957), the retired Librarian of the South African Public Library in Cape Town. The glass had been in the staircase window of Polstead Hall, having been transferred there in 1919 from Cook's Hall in West Bergholt, Essex by Walter Mathews Cooke of Polstead Hall when he sold Cook's Hall. On Cooke's death in 1940 his nephew and heir, A.C.G. Lloyd, sold Polstead Hall and sent the glass to Nayland for installation in the church, but for unexplained 'certain good reasons' it was re-installed in Cook's Hall in 1950, before being taken out again and removed to Nayland in 1952.<sup>165</sup> Cook's Hall had been the seat of the Abell family from 1507–8 to 1641.<sup>166</sup>

#### KEY TO THE ARMS IN THE WINDOWS

##### *A. IMPALED ARMS indicating marriages (husband in capitals) – SET 2 are in italics*

APPLEYARD & Parker (nos 27 & 30)

Boys & JENNEY (no. 26)

BOYS & Wichingham (no. 4)

Clere & NARBOROUGH (no. 2)

EVERARD & Parker (no. 25)

Hemenhale & JERMY (no. 10)

Hopton/Swillington & JERMY (nos 1 & 24)

*HOTOT* & ??? (no. 15)

*Hotot* & WILLOUGHBY (no. 17)

JENNEY & Boys (no. 26)

JERMY & Hemenhale (no. 10)

JERMY & Hopton/Swillington (nos 1 & 24)

JERMY & Mounteney (no. 33)

JERMY & Wrothe (nos 18 & 22)

Jermy & PARKER (nos 8 & 29)

Mounteney & JERMY (no. 33)

NARBOROUGH & Clere (no. 2)

Narborough & SPELMAN (no. 7)

PAKENHAM & Parker (nos 23 & 31)

PARKER & Jermy (nos 8 & 29)

PARKER & Wichingham (no. 3)

Parker & APPLEYARD (nos 27 & 30)

Parker & EVERARD (no. 25)

Parker & PAKENHAM (nos 23 & 31)

Parker & PAYN (no. 20)

Parker & WINGFIELD (nos 11 & 19)



PAYN & Parker (nos 20 & 33)  
 PAYN & Rokewood (nos 9 & 21)  
 PAYN & Spelman (no. 5)  
 PAYN & Thwaites (nos 6 & 28)  
 Rokewood & PAYN (nos 9 & 21)  
 SPELMAN & Narborough (no. 7)  
 Spelman & PAYN (no. 5)  
 Swillington/Hopton & JERMY (nos 1 & 24)  
 Thwaites & PAYN (nos 6 & 28)  
 Wichingham & BOYS (no. 4)  
 Wichingham & PARKER (no. 3)  
 WILLOUGHBY & *Hotot* (no. 17)  
 WINGFIELD & Parker (nos 11 & 19)  
 Wrothe & JERMY (nos 18 & 22)  
 ??? & *HOTOT* (no. 15)

*B. UNIMPALED ARMS*  
 HALTOFT (no. 12)  
 HOTOT (no. 13)  
 ?? (no. 16)  
 WILLOUGHBY (no. 14)

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### NOTES

- 1 Copies in SROI, HA445:16699 Nayland. Powell's grandfather, Richard, was born in Hawstead in Suffolk in 1695 and later became a London merchant. His uncle Baden Powell (1731–1802) is the ancestor of Baden Powell, the founder of the Boy Scout movement.
- 2 Blomfield 1907.
- 3 BL Add. MS 19077: D.E. Davy, papers and collections relating to the history of Suffolk, Babergh Hundred, fols 180–81; Farrer 1912.
- 4 Blatchly 1990, 167–68; Blatchly's notes are now in SROI, HA445:16699 Nayland; and see: [www.thekingscandlesticks.com/webs/pedigrees/85.html](http://www.thekingscandlesticks.com/webs/pedigrees/85.html)
- 5 Davy was, however, confused as to his orientation – he refers to the 'E window, looking to the street' which is actually the north window, and the 'W window, looking into the courtyard', which actually the south window.
- 6 Crewe 1987, 23; Osborne 1993, 41–42; Cannon 1991, 70–74.
- 7 Archer 1985, 9.
- 8 Archer 1985, 17, and 19, pl. 17. Examples of decorated quarries can be seen in York Minster and Durham Cathedral.
- 9 Archer 1985, 6–7.
- 10 Norfolk Historic Environment Record no. 1057; Scheduled Monument no. 10039.
- 11 Blomefield and Parkin 1805, 434, records: 'The Church here [Roudham] consisted of one isle only, and a chancel, both which were thatched, having a square tower standing on the south side, which served both as a steeple and porch; it had two bells in it till 1714, and then there was a faculty passed to sell one of them. About two or three years since, as the workmen were repairing the lead on the top of the tower, one of them blew the ashes carelessly out of his pipe, which fell on the thatch, and not being seen in time, burned the church and chancel, so that the walls only are standing, in a ruinous condition, at this time.'

- 12 Rye 1891, 252–53.
- 13 Berry 1828, vol. 2, pt. 1, unpaginated; Burke 1884, 782.
- 14 Woodcock and Flower 2009, 487.
- 15 Grazebrook 1890, 37.
- 16 Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi inventory no. 019844 (see [www.cvma.ac.uk](http://www.cvma.ac.uk)). The shield has the impaled arms of Sir Robert Brudenell and his first wife Margaret Entwistle – married 1495, she died 1501, he remarried 1505. This shield is cited as having been originally in Ayston Hall, but it may have originated in the manor house at Stonton Wyville in Leicestershire where similar heraldry was recorded in 1791 (Nichols 1798, 804, 808).
- 17 Brought to Gloucester in 1931 from Prinknash Park, Glos., where they were in the drawing room window – see Bazeley 1882–83, pl. xxviii and pp. 275–76.
- 18 Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. C.796.1920.
- 19 Now in the E window of the N aisle of the church, but may have come from Place Hall in Great Staughton via Gaynes Hall in the same parish (Watson 1909, 42). It has the impaled arms of John Paulet, 1st marquess of Winchester, and his first wife Elizabeth Willoughby – married c. 1528, she died c. 1552, he remarried 1554.
- 20 The shields are connected with the marriage alliances of the Harwedon/Harrowden family, ancestors of the Knightleys of Fawsley – see Cannon 1991, 27, 80–81; Marks and Williamson 2003, 288–89.
- 21 Marks *et al.* 1984, 19.
- 22 Examples are the enamelled Namaan Plaque of c. 1150–60 (BM acc. no. 1884.0606.3); in painted form in *Images de la vie du Christ et des saints*, c. 1250–1300 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, NAF 16251, fol. 76r) and in a late thirteenth-century French Bible in The Morgan Library, New York (MS M.969, fol. 102v); and in glass of 1405–8 in the Great East Window of York Minster (Osborne 1993, pl. 20).
- 23 Examples in emblem books are: Paradin 1557, 7, 15, 27, 55, 56, 108; Paradin 1567, 108, 120, 156, 205; Whitney 1586, title page, 66, 111, 115, 143 (and for context, see Green 1866); Sadeler 1600, 2, 3, 5, 10; and D’Amboise 1621, 64.
- 24 Shakespeare, *Pericles*, Act II, Scene II: 5th knight.
- 25 One of the shields bears the arms of Fermor, with a label of three points, impaling Knyvet, for Sir William Fermor and his wife Catherine Knyvet. This shield, with a label indicating an eldest son during his father’s lifetime, firmly dates the gatehouse to a period between the marriage of William and Catherine in 1526 and the death of William’s father, Sir Henry, in 1533.
- 26 Burghley House PIC196; copies are also in Hatfield House and in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow.
- 27 Bettley and Pevsner 2015, 386–87.
- 28 Sandeen 1962, 16 and pls III–IV.
- 29 See also Dunn 2013.
- 30 Baildon 1897, 14, 17, 19, 21, 22, 27, 34, 35, 37, 40, 48, 50 and 71.
- 31 Woodforde 1950.
- 32 Will of John Payne, clothmaker of Nayland, will dated and proved 1526 PCC (PROB11/22/209). He was probably the ancestor of John Payne of Stoke-by-Nayland who was granted arms in 1615 (sable, a fess chequy or and azure between three leopards’ faces of the second – Rylands 1915, 193; Burke 1884, 782).
- 33 BL Harleian MS. 1085, fol. 9 – ‘Heraldical Book that contains, *inter alia*, the ‘Arms of the Essex Gentry, A.D. 1664, when the County was visited by S<sup>r</sup> Edward Byshe Clarenceux’. Sir Edward Bysse was Clarenceaux King of Arms 1650–58 and 1661–84. ‘Cooke’ was Robert Cooke, Clarenceaux King of Arms 1567–94. See also Rylands 1915, 1.
- 34 D.E. Davy, Collections for Babergh Hundred, BL Add. MS 19077, fol. 180v.
- 35 Cooper 2001, 27–30; ERO, D/DL1 T1.
- 36 [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/hakebeche-sir-robert-1445](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/hakebeche-sir-robert-1445)
- 37 Foss 1851, 322–23; Baker 2012, vol. 1, 809.
- 38 Will of Gilbert Haultoft of Outwell, dated 1457, proved 1458 PCC (PROB 11/4/260). Another copy of the will was at Rainthorpe Hall in Norfolk in a Household Book that once belonged to the Finchams of Outwell – see Jessopp 1879.
- 39 In 1557 William Hunston, the grandson of this marriage, had a ‘confirmation’ of arms (sable, four lozenges, one, two and one, ermine within a bordure engrailed or) that are clearly derived from those of his Haultoft ancestors (Berry 1828, vol. 2, pt. 1, unpaginated; Rylands 1915, 132). In 1613 these were blazoned slightly differently as: sable, three cushions ermine, tasselled or, within a bordure engrailed of the last (Rye 1891, 167).
- 40 Blomefield and Parkin 1807, 472–73.
- 41 Will of John Fyncham, *gentilman* of Outwell, dated and proved 1527 PCC (PROB11/22/333); will of Elizabeth Fyncham, dated and proved 1528 PCC (PROB11/22/522).

- 42 [www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/location.do?locationKey=703&mode=COUNTY](http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/location.do?locationKey=703&mode=COUNTY); Farrer 1889, 182–84.
- 43 Blomefield and Parkin 1808, 180–81.
- 44 Blomefield and Parkin 1807, 284.
- 45 Cole 1911, 177.
- 46 *List of Early Chancery Proceedings*, vol. III, London 1906, 38, Bdle. 85, no. 16. TNA, C 1/85/16: Bolles v Haltoft. TNA, C 1/372/64: Westwode v Haltoft.
- 47 Gough 1783, 95–100.
- 48 Stokes 1899–1900, 267–68.
- 49 NRO, NRS 11020, 25E1.
- 50 NRO, NRS 11036, 25E1 and NRS 11025, 25E1.
- 51 Dashwood *et al.*, 1878, 365 and 451; Rye 1891, 301.
- 52 Brault 1997, 426; Nicolas 1829, 34; Willement 1834, 47, no. 497.
- 53 Page 1912a, 109–17; Page 1930, 125–28; King 1983.
- 54 Woodcock and Flower 2009, 193.
- 55 [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/hotoft-john-1443](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/hotoft-john-1443)
- 56 Page 1912b, 117; Birch 1894, 121, no. 10,845.
- 57 Corder 1965, 259.
- 58 NRO, NRS 10787, 25D1.
- 59 Will of Christopher Willughby, Lord of Willughby and of Erisby, dated 1498, proved 1499 PCC (PROB 11/11/675).
- 60 Will of George Waller, gent. of Wortham, dated 1581, proved 1581 NCC (Moyses alias Spicer 345).
- 61 Birch 1894, pp. 674–75, no. 14,512.
- 62 Blomefield 1807, 284.
- 63 Dashwood *et al.*, 1878, 192, n. 3.
- 64 Blomefield and Parkin 1807, 317. The date is given as 22 Apr. 3 Henry VIII.
- 65 Will of Humfrey Karvile *th'elder* esq. of Wiggshall, dated 1524, proved 1526 PCC (PROB11/22/65); will of Ann Kervyle, widow of Wiggshall St Mary, dated and proved 1541 PCC (PROB/11/28/596).
- 66 As shown on the monument of Sir John Willoughby (the son of George and Elizabeth) in Wilne church, Derbyshire, the Neale arms were: gules, a lion passant argent, with a crescent for difference.
- 67 Blomefield and Parkin 1807, 318; will of John Willoughby esq. of Denver, dated and proved 1557 NCC (Jaggess 340).
- 68 *CPR Eliz. I, vol. I, 1558–1560*, 35.
- 69 *CFR 1461–71*, 159–60.
- 70 Baildon 1896, 17; Baildon 1897, 50.
- 71 Will of Christopher Willughby, Lord of Willughby and of Erisby, dated 1498, proved 1499 PCC: PROB 11/11/675.
- 72 TNA, C 142/17/54 and C 1/359/76.
- 73 Lincolnshire Archives, 2-ANC/3/A/29; TNA, C 142/69/90; Selby 1886, 45.
- 74 Farrer 1912, 52.
- 75 *CIPM, Henry VII, I.*, 140, no. 330; Richmond 1981, 143–44 and 249–50.
- 76 SROI, FC 91/L1/26; Blomefield and Parkin 1805, 386–87.
- 77 For details about John Hopton and his family, see Richmond 1981.
- 78 Will of William Narburgh esq. of Narborough, dated and proved 1461 NCC: Brosyard 246.
- 79 Will of Robert Boys, esq., dated 1439, proved 1450 NCC: Aleyn 46.
- 80 Bale 2009 and Richmond 1996, 8–11.
- 81 TNA, C 1/15/319.
- 82 Gairdner 1904, 261–62: letter from ?John Paston to Richard Southwell: ‘Thes be provis that Jane Boys was ravischig ageyn her wil, and not ber awn assent. One is that she, the tyme of her takyng, whan she was set upon her hors, she revyled Lancasterother and callid hym knave and wept, and kryid owte upon hym pitewly to her, and seid as shrewdly to hym as coud come to her mende, and fel doune of her hors unto that she was bound, and callid him fals t[r]aytor that browth her the rabbettes. Item, whan she was bounde she callid upon her modyer, wheche folwyd her as far as she myght on her feet, and whan the seid Jane sey she myght goo no farther, she kryid to her modyer and seid that what so ever fel of her, she shuld never be weddyd to that knave, to deye for it. Item, be the weye, at Shraggarys hous in Kokely Cley, and at Brychehamwell, and in all other place wher she myght see any people, she kryid owte upon hym, and lete people wete whos dowtyr she was, and how she was raveshid ayens her wyll, desyeryng the people to folwe her and reskew her. Item, Lancasterotherys prest of the Egle in Lyncolne shire, wheche shroff her, seid that she told hym in confession that she wold never be weddyd to hym, to deye for it; and the same prest seid

- he wold not wedde hem togedyr for M<sup>li</sup>. ... Item [if] she be of hes assent after the time she was in hes possession in Lyncoln shire, hit had be bett- [sentence left unfinished]’.
- 83 William was the older brother of Sir John Langstrother, who rose to become Grand Prior of the Order of St John in England and Treasurer of England in 1469. His strong support for the Lancastrian cause, however, led to his execution after the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. The family came from Crosthwaite in Westmorland. Robert, William and John were all buried in the priory church of the Order of St John at Clerkenwell: Stow 1603, 162.
- 84 Gairdner 1904, 260.
- 85 *CPR 1452–61*, 74.
- 86 Rye 1886, 429: 2 & 3 Edw. IV, no. 4.
- 87 Will of Robert Langstrother esq., dated and proved 1463 PCC: PROB11/5/17; indexed as *Longboother*.
- 88 Will of Peter Payn of Banham, dated and proved 1429 NCC: Surflete 45–46.
- 89 *CFR 1413–22*, 171, 220, 299 and 416; *CFR 1422–30*, 6; will of Peter Payn of Banham proved 1429 NCC: Surflete 45–46.
- 90 Rye 1883, 397.
- 91 Will of William Payn of Roudham St Andrew, *gentylman*, dated and proved 1466 NCC: Cobald 92.
- 92 Will of Isabella Spylman, widow of *Bekyrton* in Stow Bedon, dated 1444, proved 1444/5 NCC: Caston 171.
- 93 Will of Henry Spylman of *Bekyrton* in Stow Bedon, dated and proved 1432 NCC: Surflete 103–4.
- 94 Wedgwood and Holt 1936, 789; Baker 2012, 2, 1438–39.
- 95 Will of Henry Spilman of Narborough, dated 1496, proved 1496/7 PCC: PROB11/11/156.
- 96 Cotman 1838, pl. XLIII and p. 27.
- 97 Dashwood *et al.* 1878, 107; Rye 1891, 173, 213.
- 98 *CFR 1461–71*, 151–52; NRO: NCR Case 24h/1/3.
- 99 Wedgwood and Holt 1936, 605–6 and 660–61. Although described as ‘of Honyng ... alias of Norwich’ in 1496 (*CPR 1494–1509*, 36) he is a different man to the Nicholas Parker who was notary of the diocese of Norwich and then registrar and keeper of records of the court of Canterbury, and great-grandfather of Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504–75).
- 100 Wrottesley 1901, 179–80.
- 101 TNA, C 140/30/71.
- 102 TNA, C 141/3/34.
- 103 NRO, BL/O/L/24.
- 104 *CIPM, Henry VII, I*, 140, no. 330.
- 105 *CFR, vol. XX1, 1471–1485*, 261; *CPR 1494–1509*, 36.
- 106 Blomefield and Parkin 1810, 46; Cotman 1838, pl. XLIV and p. 27.
- 107 Will of Peter Payn of Roudham, dated 1485, proved 1508 NCC: Spyltymber 123–24; another version is N.P. 246 A. Caston.
- 108 Will of John Parker of Honing, esq., dated 1527, proved 1528 PCC: PROB 11/22/503.
- 109 TNA, CP 40/951, fol. 75.
- 110 Felgate 1978, pl. 22 and p. 79.
- 111 NRO, WLS XXXII/10/5.
- 112 Will of Edmund Rokewode esq. of Euston, dated 1523, proved 1524 NCC: Briggs 148–50.
- 113 Baker 2012, 2, 1218–19.
- 114 Rye 1891, 173. The Visitation pedigree gives a confused version of her family’s arms: ‘Argent, on a fesse cottised sable a chevronel of the field’.
- 115 *CPR, Edw. III, 4*, 91; will of William Germy, knight, dated and proved 1385 NCC: Harsyk 46.
- 116 *CIPM, Edw. III, IX, 7*, no. 18; Wrottesley 1897, 280.
- 117 Will of Thomas de Hemenhall, dated at Norwich in 1375, proved 1378 NCC: Heydon 151. Members of the Jermy family are often referred to as *Jermyn* at this period.
- 118 Corder 1984, 232.
- 119 SROI, GC17/755, pedigree volume fol. 109. The words ‘Martialis Calisia vf ye Ks Couert 29 H. 8 [1537–38]’ below that of Ramsbury is probably why the *ODNB* and *The History of Parliament* have identified her father as ‘Sir William Raynsford of Bradfield, Essex, a marshal of Calais’. He does not seem to exist and the Calais reference must be to Robert Wingfield.
- 120 Will of Henry Noon of Shelfhanger, dated 1487, proved 1487/8 NCC: Caston 334–37.
- 121 Will of William Lancastre esq., dated 1491 at Norwich, proved 1493 NCC: Types 74–75.
- 122 Biography in the *ODNB*.
- 123 Will of Alyanour Wyngfeld of Shelfhanger, dated 1500 at Shelfhanger, proved 1500/1 NCC: Cage 168.
- 124 This shape of cross is also called *formée*, *pattée* or *paty*.



- 125 Rylands 1913, 121: Molyns of Sandhall; Rylands 1907, 112: Molyns of Clapcott by Wallingford.
- 126 Wedgwood and Holt 1936, 973–74.
- 127 Will of John Jermy(e) senior, esq., of Buckenham Ferry, will 1487, proved 1487/8 NCC: Caston 332.
- 128 NRO, DUN 173, 108X2; *CFR 1485–1509*, 3.
- 129 Will of Peter Payn of Roudham, dated and recorded 1485 NCC: Caston 246; also proved 1508 NCC: Spyltymber 123–24.
- 130 TNA, C 241/275/225; C 1/345/46: Parker *v* Payn.
- 131 TNA, C 1/255/7; Payn *v* Parker
- 132 NRO, RQG 66 488X4.
- 133 *CFR 1485–1509*, 265; will of William Rammysbury *squier* of Roudham, dated 1515 [?], proved 1516 NCC: Briggs 18.
- 134 TNA, C 1/434/42: Parker *v* Penyngton. Dated to the period 1515–18.
- 135 Shaw 1906, 46.
- 136 Gunn 1988, 125; McSheffrey 2011.
- 137 Biography in the *ODNB*.
- 138 Boothman and Parker 2006, lxvii. Although described in one of Frances's own letters as 'my son', William's age of 14 years and 9 months at his father's death suggests a birth date *c.* 1517 and the strong possibility that his real mother was Elizabeth.
- 139 Foster 1878, 47.
- 140 He is named as '... Payn of Bowdham [sic]' in the Smallpiece Visitation pedigree (Rye 1891, 252), which also gives his arms as 'Argent, on a fess gules between three martlets sable as many mascles or, in chief a fleur-de-lis of the second'. See also Dashwood *et al.* 1878, 116 and Bulwer 1895, 25.
- 141 Will of John Payn of *Rowdham Holl*, dated and proved 1536 in the Archdeaconry of Norfolk Court: Liber 9 (Gillior) fol. 89.
- 142 Rye 1891, 252, records her husbands as: ... Wayte, Alexander Brett of Leicestershire, ... Bowles of Newbold in Leicestershire, and Christopher Beardsey of Leicestershire.
- 143 Rye 1891, 158. In the Holland pedigree she is described as being the 'daughter & heir of Peter Payne of Rowdham'.
- 144 Blomefield and Parkin 1806a, 284.
- 145 Blomefield and Parkin 1805, 434.
- 146 Will of Thomas Wright esq. of East Harling, dated 1735, proved 1735/6 PCC: PROB 11/675/413.
- 147 Blomefield and Parkin 1805, 455–57. These are the arms used by the Pakenham family of Pakenham in Suffolk, from whom the Shropham Pakenhams were descended.
- 148 *CPR 1476–85*, 56.
- 149 *CIPM, Henry VII*, I, nos 1137 and 1158; II, no. 38.
- 150 *CPR 1476–85*, 56.
- 151 Corder 1984, 319.
- 152 Will of Henry Everard of Suffolk dated 1498 (three versions the same day!), proved 1498, 1499, and 1499/1500 PCC: PROB 11/12/18 and PROB 11/11/511.
- 153 IPM John Dade, Suffolk, 1510–11: TNA, C142/25/54 and E150/613/3; Thomas Dade, Suffolk, 1619–20: TNA, C142/377/42.
- 154 Rye 1891, 213.
- 155 Wedgwood and Holt 1936, 498; Baker 2012, 2, 941; will of Sir Edmund Jenney of Knodishall proved 1522 NCC: Briggs 108–16.
- 156 *CFR, 1452–61*, 227; Wedgwood and Holt 1936, 413–14; TNA, King's Bench Plea Roll KB 27/798, *rot.* 66d.
- 157 Wedgwood and Holt 1936, 80–81; *CFR 1452–61*, 249.
- 158 Rye 1891, 6.
- 159 Blomefield and Parkin 1806b, 99–100.
- 160 Will of John Thwaites esq. of Hardingham, dated 1503 proved 1507 PCC: PROB 11/15/480.
- 161 Rye 1891, 173; Rye 1900, 283, 1 Hen. V no. 2.
- 162 *Feudal Aids*, III, London 1904, 546, 599; see also Blomefield and Parkin 1809, 403–4, 458.
- 163 Birch 1894, 292–93; Rye 1891, 172 (where the field is given as gules) and Rylands 1910, 115.
- 164 Blomefield and Parkin 1805, 386.
- 165 Notes by Charles Partridge in the *Essex Review*, 54 (1945), 84; 59 (1949), 140; and 61 (1952), 236.
- 166 Cooper 2001, 27–30.

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### *Abbreviations*

BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
CFM	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
ERO	Essex Record Office
IPM	Inquisition post mortem
NCC	Norwich Consistory Court – records in NRO
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury – records in TNA
SROI	Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich
TNA	The National Archives