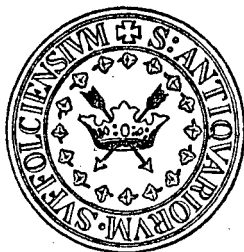


Proceedings of the
**SUFFOLK INSTITUTE
OF ARCHÆOLOGY**

For 1961



VOLUME XXIX, PART 1

(published 1962)

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
W. E. HARRISON & SONS, LTD., THE ANCIENT HOUSE, IPSWICH.

THE BUILDING OF REDGRAVE HALL, 1545-1554

By ERNEST R. SANDEEN, M.A., PH.D.

*When we mean to build,
We first survey the plot, then draw the model;
And when we see the figure of the house,
Then must we rate the cost of the erection;
Which if we find outweighs ability,
What do we then, but draw anew the model
In fewer offices, or, at least, desist
To build at all?*¹

Knowing Nicholas Bacon to be a shrewd man, he no doubt followed Lord Bardolph's advice when he began to think about building a home on his newly-purchased Redgrave manor. The year was 1545. His estimate of his ability must have proved correct, for he was able during the next ten years to lay out over 1200*li* for the construction of Redgrave Hall, Suffolk.

Bacon came into possession of Redgrave on April 21, 1545.² The choice was a natural one, for Suffolk was the country of his ancestors and his own youth.³ The land was fertile, the prosperity of the inhabitants growing and the aspect of the countryside, though not breathtaking, was quietly charming. Redgrave itself had early been selected by the Abbots of Bury, who controlled the land until the dissolution, as the location of a hunting lodge. The Abbot's lodge, parts of which were incorporated into the sixteenth-century house, overlooked a miniature valley through which ran a small stream.⁴

Redgrave was begun at a significant point in the history of English domestic architecture. Monastic spoils had just come on the market, providing excellent sites and ready-made materials.

¹ William Shakespeare, *Second Part of Henry IV*, Act I, Scene III.

² The University of Chicago Library, Bacon Collection MS 2442. The Bacon Collection contains the greater part of the muniments of Redgrave Hall consisting of court rolls, account rolls, muniments of title, miscellaneous manorial records and some two hundred private letters. Although the collection contains material stretching from the 13th to the 18th centuries, most of the MSS date from the Tudor-Stuart era.

³ G. S. Thompson, 'Three Suffolk Figures, Thomas Wolsey, Stephen Gardiner and Nicholas Bacon', *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.*, xxv (1952), 149.

⁴ This structure was described in a 'valor' prepared for the Court of Augmentations as a 'howse . . . in great ruine and decaye and nott worthye nor mete to be maynteyd or repayed to the Kings maiestes vse vnles yt shulde be newly reedyfyed' (Bacon Collection MS 882).

To describe these years as peaceable would be absurd, but domestic turbulence had subsided considerably. In Tudor times, when disturbances occurred, the ruled struggled against their rulers rather than the rulers with each other. The castle-homes in which the powerful had for centuries barricaded and fortified themselves no longer seemed appropriate. In this new situation, new ideas in domestic architecture were needed, and, fortunately, forthcoming. Through travel,⁵ pattern books⁶ and foreign craftsmen, concepts of comfort and design, theories of arrangement and ornament new to the English began to attract a few adventurous builders. During a considerable surge of building activity in the first few decades of the sixteenth century, some of the decorative devices and some of the feeling for symmetry inherent in the Renaissance found its way into such buildings as Hampton Court, Layer Marney, Hengrave Hall and Sutton Place. During the 1540's and 1550's, the concepts of classical design were more deeply studied, more directly sampled from French sources by a group of men surrounding the Duke of Somerset—the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Sharrington, Sir John Thynne, John Shute and William Cecil. The fruits of this study—especially Somerset House in the Strand—are now considered the purest examples of Renaissance architecture built in England before the advent of Inigo Jones.⁷

The building of Redgrave Hall falls into this important period in English domestic architecture. But it was not with a dash of classical ornament, nor with more significant pediments or columns that Bacon chose to construct his house in Suffolk. He had much contact with the men who built in this novel style and must have passed through the court of Somerset House dozens of times. In later years, at Gorhambury, his appreciation and knowledge of the niceties of Renaissance style was to be manifested—but not at Redgrave. And yet this was not a medieval house. To the Suffolk yeomen who passed it on the way to the market at Diss, it must have seemed as much a departure from their conception of a mansion house as did the early architectural achievements of Frank Lloyd Wright to twentieth-century Americans. But to us the changes may appear minute if not microscopic.

⁵ Sir Thomas Smith is an example of the influence of travel upon building (Mary Dewar, 'The Career and Writings of Sir Thomas Smith'; unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1956).

⁶ For a list of the most influential of these pattern books see Howard M. Colvin, 'Architectural History and Its Records', *Archives*, II (Michaelmas, 1955), 300-311.

⁷ Sir John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (London: Penguin Books, 1953), pp. 13ff.

Redgrave Hall was built of brick on a U-shaped plan; its elevations toward the courtyard were symmetrical, the gable-ends were crow-stepped, and the hall rank was topped with an octagonal turret.⁸ It is possible that some moulded brick ornamentation similar to that designed for Sutton Place or East Barsham Manor was incorporated, but nothing of that has survived. We have only faint clues concerning 'greate mulded bricks' in the accounts.⁹ The arrangement of the rooms within the house was traditional: the hall to the left opening off a screens passage, the kitchens and serving rooms to the right. The front doorway was also traditional—in the Gothic style (Plate III). The flamboyant chimneys, the ogee turret and crow-stepped gables as well as the mullioned and transomed windows had traditional antecedents but are more accurately seen as representative of mid-Tudor style. What was new was, first, the open court or U-shape.¹⁰ There are earlier examples of this design, such as Barrington Court (*ca.* 1530), but the idea was still fresh. Some of the early examples of open-court houses, such as Sutton Place and Ingatestone Hall, were originally built as quadrangles, later suffering the destruction of one side. Even more important than the open court was the introduction of completely symmetrical elevations facing the courtyard.¹¹ This again, though new, was not unique.¹²

Does this mean that Redgrave Hall is the product of the Renaissance? The answer is both 'Yes' and 'No'. There was a pervasive influence of the Renaissance that no one and no thing could escape in Tudor England. To live in the sixteenth century was to be affected by that enormous complex of ideas and forces called the Renaissance. But in architectural history, the study of

⁸ Some idea of the Hall as it appeared in 1554 can be obtained from Plate I, a photograph of a painting in the possession of Major John Wilson, the owner of the manor of Redgrave. The date of the painting is unknown, but, from the apparel worn by the figures pictured in the foreground, it seems to have been painted in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. It shows the Hall after the addition of two flanking wings. For my reconstruction of the front and rear elevations of the Hall see Figs. 1 and 2.

⁹ Bacon Collection MS 990, Redgrave Building Accounts, f. 76. This bound MS of over 400 pages is the most important source of information for Redgrave Hall.

¹⁰ Eric Mercer, 'Architecture and Interior Design', *The Tudor Period* (London: The Connoisseur, 1956), pp. 15ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Sutton Place, for instance was constructed in 1525 (Thomas Garner and Arthur Stratton, *The Domestic Architecture of England during the Tudor Period* [2d ed.; London: B. T. Batsford, 1929], I, 128). The attempt to produce a visual effect was seldom carried to the sides or rear of the house. These elevations were allowed to design themselves—a window or door being placed just where the floor plan dictated—and the result, though often pleasing, was completely accidental.

the invasion of classical ideas cannot and should not be so loosely defined. If everyone was somehow affected by the ferment of new ideas and scarcely a house was constructed without some mark of the new in the midst of the old, there were those who consciously adopted a new ideal which they attempted to incorporate completely into their buildings. Not a single idea, not just a new twist to an old problem, but a wholly different concept of design captured their imaginations. This seems to have happened to the members of Protector Somerset's circle and to Dr. John Caius. The results were not completely new, but the intent was.

On the other hand, there were artisans who had no realization that there was more than one way of building, who throughout the century continued to produce traditional houses. The buildings they constructed often displayed decorations in the classical manner, or reflected the absorption of one or other of the ideas which were a part of the classical idiom, but their conception of architecture was never basically altered. Such a generalization is not without its problems, I realize. Not very many of the houses of this period can be clearly placed in either the classical or traditional category. At Gorhambury Hall one sees the two conceptions of architecture mixed up in the same mansion. But I do feel that some such distinction must be made to bring order out of the chaos caused by labelling every house which in any way evidences the influence of classical ideas a Renaissance house. Compared with that very exotic and precocious strain of Renaissance influence epitomized and grandly summarized in Longleat, most of the domestic architecture of Tudor England was basically unaffected by the Renaissance. Although exponents of the traditional style, both builders and artisans, borrowed classical ideas with a free hand, their own creativity was not shrivelled nor crushed, but grew and developed during the century—an aspect of sixteenth-century architecture not often stressed enough.

As Redgrave typifies the architectural atmosphere of the time in which it was built, so too it reflects the position of the man who was building it. Over the front door, as a part of an elaborate carved tablet, Bacon displayed his motto, *Mediocria Firma*—moderate things endure (Plate IV). I hardly think Bacon meant this as a calculated understatement; the Hall was moderate in comparison with those of his social equals. The cost was not half that put out in the building of Hengrave Hall. The only explanation is that he did not have the capital for a bigger effort. His office in 1545 was Solicitor of the Court of Augmentations; within two years he had become the Attorney of the Court of Wards.¹³

¹³ 'Sir Nicholas Bacon', *DNB*, Vol. I.

Redgrave Hall reflects Bacon's high but not yet exalted position and stands as a measure against which to judge his economic and artistic development.

'When we mean to build, we first survey the plot, then draw the model'. This was the next step in the building of Redgrave. But who should survey the plot and draw the model? Today we would call upon an architect, but at this time no such person existed. 'It is foolish to look for a single "architect",' writes Sir John Summerson. 'Elizabethan [or Tudor] houses, with few exceptions, grew out of irregular discussions between owners and artificers, and possibly a surveyor or two thrown in, all of whom were ready to change their minds and their "platts" at any moment during erection'.¹⁴ Design was a partnership, a partnership at Redgrave consisting of three men or groups of men.

First, there was Bacon himself. He belongs to the first generation of those Englishmen with whom building became an avocation if not a consuming passion. His later proficiency and experience as an 'architect' I have discussed elsewhere. The question is, how much of a part was he able to play in the designing of this his first house? He must have been passing through an apprenticeship. Nevertheless, his hand can be seen in some details, such as the tablet above the door. He most certainly suggested its theme. He was also the only man, with the exception of one carter, who was associated with all ten years of building activity. His was the choice of the site, and his the final decision in all suggestions made by the artisans.

The second man involved in the designing of Redgrave was John Gybbon. During the first year, Bacon paid 20/- to this man for drawing the platt.¹⁵ What this looked like I cannot say since the platt has been lost, but it probably resembled the drawing of the water system (Fig. 4). No reference is made to the drawing of an elevation, but this is not surprising since builders usually did without this luxury. Problems were solved as they were met. Gybbon occurs again in the second, third, fourth and sixth years of building; there is only one other reference to the type of work which he might have been doing. In the second year, a carpenter was paid for 'felling of xl treys appoynted by Gybbon'.¹⁶ Several entries in the accounts record payments to three artisans who on separate occasions accompanied Gybbon to Redgrave,¹⁷ which would indicate that he had either employees or associates in his

¹⁴ Sir John Summerson, 'John Thorpe and the Thorpes of Kingscliffe', *The Architectural Review*, cvi (November, 1949), 293.

¹⁵ Redgrave Accounts, f. 3v.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 7v.

¹⁷ See, for instance, *ibid.*, f. 22.

work. There is no record of his actually helping in the building as opposed to giving advice. Most of the occurrences of his name in the accounts are merely the record of rewards paid to him, though I suppose that these were more fees which Gybbon had a right to expect than rewards. He was paid a total of at least 8*l* 10*s* during the first six years.

I cannot determine specifically for which features of the house Gybbon was responsible. Since he drew the platt, he probably suggested the open courtyard plan and the symmetrical placement of windows as well. Other than this, I can only suggest that his opinion must have been highly regarded and his expensive advice followed for the most important years of the building.

I have been able to discover more satisfying information concerning Gybbon's identity. He was a skilled mason, employed by the King as a stone setter at Westminster Hall in 1532 at a wage of 3/8 per week.¹⁸ His home was on the South Bank where in 1541 he was listed in the Lay Subsidy Return within St. Saviour's parish as an Englishman with a foreign servant named Hayes.¹⁹ It is interesting to speculate whether this Hayes was more than a domestic servant. He may have been an apprentice. Directly following Gybbon in the same Subsidy Return were John Gye and William Bennett, two London masons who were employed at Redgrave for a six-week period in 1551 at very high wages. Gybbon undoubtedly knew these men. Thus, in addition to providing architectural ideas for Redgrave Hall, he may also have suggested suitable craftsmen to Nicholas Bacon.

These craftsmen, particularly the masons were the third influence upon the design of Redgrave. Gybbon, himself, was no more than a mason acting in a special capacity. For every feature of the house—windows, fireplaces, wainscot, doorways, ceilings—there must have been a design. This design was often the creation of the craftsman, executed from his own or some traditional pattern rather than a pattern submitted by an architect. Bacon would have been consulted about these details, but would not have been able to suggest alternatives.

Redgrave Hall was provided with fresh running water from an interesting and complex water system. Although ample evidence exists in the building accounts to prove that Bacon paid for the installation of such a 'condyt' or pipe line, I have been fortunate enough to discover a contemporary drawing (Fig. 4) which has

¹⁸ Public Record Office, E. 36, Vol. CCLII.

¹⁹ R. E. G. Kirk and E. F. Kirk (eds.), *Huguenot Society Publications*, Vol. x, *Return of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London* (Aberdeen: The Huguenot Society, 1900), i, 37.

made a much more complete analysis of this system possible.²⁰ The volume in which this drawing is found once belonged to the Monastery of Bury St. Edmunds and contains rentals, customaries and charters connected with lands belonging to the monastery—lands which were purchased by Nicholas Bacon shortly after the dissolution. The book evidently came into Bacon's possession when he acquired the property, for two surveys dated 1562 and 1572, made for the Lord Keeper by his servants, appear on the last pages. The drawing of the water system is also located in the back of the book—on the last folio as a matter of fact—and is quite clearly Elizabethan in character. The British Museum catalogue describes this drawing as a part of the water system of the Monastery of Bury,²¹ but it is actually a sketch of the Redgrave Hall water system probably drawn about 1562 when changes in the system were being planned.

That the building delineated in the plan is Redgrave cannot be doubted. Every feature of the drawing agrees with the Hall; the plan has even enabled me to discover the location of windows and doors long obscured by the eighteenth-century remodelling of Capability Brown. The date of the drawing is more subject to dispute. The water system was installed and operating by 1552,²² but there are reasons for considering a later date. The sediment traps and breathing pipes along the pipe line are given specific topographic locations. This would have been difficult unless the pipe line were already laid down. We also know from the accounts²³ that as late as 1553 a door was closed up between the kitchen and the pastry and an oven built in that space—both of which are shown on the drawing. Thus it seems certain that the drawing is a representation of the Hall and its water system as they were built and not as they were planned. This point is very important, for the analysis of the Hall's appearance depends to a large extent upon this drawing; if it were considered to be a plan rather than a record of what was accomplished, the drawing's significance would be greatly altered and the validity of my reconstruction of the Hall considerably shaken.

Before examining the water system in detail, it might be well to ask how common this type of water supply had become by the sixteenth-century. In medieval times such a system was definitely

²⁰ British Museum, Additional MS 14850, f. 177.

²¹ 'Plan of water-pipes attached to the ancient monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, drawn temp. Eliz'. (*Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCXLI-MDCCCXLV* [London: George Woodfall and Son, 1850]), Ad. MS 14850.

²² Redgrave Accounts, f. 176.

²³ *Ibid.*, f. 207.

a rarity, only being enjoyed in monasteries, such as Canterbury and Bury St. Edmunds, and in a few great houses.²⁴ Although running water did not become common, I do not believe it was considered unusual for houses such as Redgrave to be so supplied. Ingatestone Hall had such a supply in combination with a much more elaborate drainage system.²⁵ Gorhambury was provided with running water at the time of its construction,²⁶ as was Sir Thomas Hoby's house at Bisham.²⁷

It is not difficult to determine how the Redgrave system was meant to operate. A spring was the source of the water; one of the first entries in the accounts records a payment to labourers who assisted the plumber when he surveyed the spring.²⁸ The conduit house was probably intended to protect this spring from obstruction or pollution. No indication is given in the accounts of any pump or other equipment being lodged therein. If no pump was used, it is difficult to understand how the water was moved through the pipes unless the force of the spring was in some way harnessed. The conduit house was built in 1552, for the accounts record the carriage of clay and brick to the spring²⁹ and the purchase of a lock for its door.³⁰

The exact location of the spring is not specified. When Redgrave was remodelled in the eighteenth century, a water system not unlike that of the sixteenth century was installed. The site of that spring can still be seen about three-quarters of a mile to the east of the Hall. The same spring may have supplied both the old and new Halls. This distance would seem to be somewhat great; but, on the other hand, the names on the settling tanks indicate that considerable distance was involved. In its course to the Hall, the pipe line crossed through a wood, passed by if not through a close, and then crossed at least a portion of the park. If some allowance is made for changes in the extent of the park, the pipe line pictured in Fig. 4 can be made to fit into the area east of the Hall through which the eighteenth-century pipe line is known to have been laid. I have been confirmed in this conjecture by the evidence recorded in the accounts concerning the digging of the trench in which the pipe was placed:

²⁴ Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 268.

²⁵ *Ingatestone in 1600* (Chelmsford: The Essex Education Committee, 1954), p. 1.

²⁶ John C. Rogers, 'The Manor and Houses of Gorhambury', *Transactions St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society* (1933), p. 50.

²⁷ 'A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of Me Thomas Hoby', *The Camden Miscellany* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902), x, 129.

²⁸ Redgrave Accounts, f. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 160v.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 185v.

Pd more to Antingham the xxij of Februarij in full payment
 For dyggyng the trenche From the Spryng to the place w^c
 is poles on hundred Fyue skore xvij at v^d the pole—xxxviij^s
 viij^d.³¹

Thus Antingham was paid for a trench from the spring to the Hall site ('the place') which measures 237 poles or 3,910-1/2 feet.³² This distance is exactly that between the eastern end of the Hall and the location of the existing conduit house.

We can see that at five places along the course of the pipe line 'cespiralls' were constructed and, at one place, a breathing pipe. None of the sources mention either the construction or use of these devices. Salzman—who examined and commented upon this drawing under the misapprehension that it described the monastic water system—feels that a 'suspirail' is technically a wind-vent, but what are pictured in this drawing are settling tanks with vent pipes attached. Medieval water systems customarily were provided with this type of device.³³

There were six direct outlets for the water. One branch carried water into the 'wette kytchen', another with three spigots provided water in the passageway between the house and garden, in the cellar 'buttry', and in the courtyard. A fifth stopcock was located in what was probably the orchard, while the sixth outlet emptied directly into the pond. The placement of these taps is not difficult to rationalize. Water for the household was undoubtedly taken from the courtyard and passageway, water for the culinary needs from the kitchen and buttery, while the gardeners were supplied from the orchard, and the excess flowed into the pond. Not so obvious is the solution of the puzzle which the brewery pipe presents. The 'brewe howse', according to the drawing, is attached to the main system in a fashion that defies common sense and is equipped—in distinction to the other outlets—with its own settling tank. The key to the difficulty is found in the accounts, which in 1550 recorded a payment to Field, the plumber, for 'souderinge the Cock to ye pype that servithe into ye browerie'.³⁴ Bacon had begun to board his workmen within the Hall in 1550, and with boarding came the need to brew a great deal of beer.

³¹ *Ibid.*, f. 191.

³² The 'hundred' in this case is equivalent to six score or 120. Antingham received three payments for digging this trench only one of which I have quoted. The total payment amounted to 98/9 which (figuring on the basis of 5d. per pole) provides a convenient double check on the obscure manner in which the clerk has chosen to record the distance of 237 poles.

³³ Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 270. [*Note by Editor.*—'Cespirall' is an archaic form of the word 'cesspool'; see *O.E.D.*, s.v. 'cesspool'.—L.D.].

³⁴ Redgrave Accounts, f. 93.

The main system was still far from completion, so Bacon must have ordered Field to fashion an independent system for the brewery, using the pond—probably dug during the first year³⁵—as a source. This would explain why the brewery was equipped with its own settling tank. When in 1552 the rest of the system was completed, the plumber must have felt it would be simpler to continue using that part of the pipe line already in operation. At the same time as the plumber was completing his pipe line, an entry in the materials account noted the purchase of ‘ffyue cokks wythe bosses . . . brought ffrom London’, which if one subtracts the brewery cock, is exactly the number used in the system.³⁶

We now turn to a description of Redgrave Hall. The reader might well imagine himself riding down the Bury-Diss road to about one-half mile past the village of Botesdale (Fig. 5). A gatehouse would have ordinarily been placed at the foot of the access road, near the highway, and it may be that this was the location of the monastic gatehouse which the accounts record as being repaired.³⁷ The approach to the Hall seems to have been made along a road leading north in a straight line from the highway.³⁸ As the rider turned off the highway into this lane, he would catch his first glimpse of Redgrave almost one-half mile away, straight down the tree-lined lane. As he rode on, the house would loom larger and more distinct until, at last, emerging from the trees, he would be able to take in the whole effect of the house and gardens. This manner of approach was one of the most familiar devices of the Tudor gardener but, due to landscaping changes, rarely survives even when the house remains intact.³⁹

We have become accustomed to thinking of the studied naturalism of Capability Brown’s landscapes in connection with the eighteenth-century Palladian style. The sense of the picturesque attaches as firmly to Tudor style. The approach to Redgrave Hall was picturesque, but the house no less so. Our eyes would be drawn first to the octagonal turret which surmounted the roof directly above the main entrance.⁴⁰ This type of turret, though it seems to breathe moorish influence, was, in fact, a typically Tudor obsession. It is difficult to name a house of this period

³⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 185v.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 14.

³⁸ If the monastic gatehouse was located at this point, Bacon would have only been utilizing the monastic road.

³⁹ Summerson, ‘The Building of Theobalds’, *Archæologia*, xcvi (1957).

⁴⁰ The picture (Plate I) is the only source for this turret, but there seems no reason to question its existence as a part of the 1554 house. Our sources do not disclose the color of this turret, but from the painting I would gather that the diaper pattern was gilt.

which did not boast such a turret, quite often covered with an ogee dome. Most builders failed to show Bacon's restraint proliferating them as though compelled by some biologic urge. In most houses such as Hengrave and Melford Hall which each had six, and Burghley Hall which had seven, the effect is quite exhilarating, but in the case of Richmond Palace which had more than a dozen, bewilderment is the most that is achieved.⁴¹ It is perhaps useless to seek for the source of this turret in any specific building. The form was current in the middle ages as well as in the Renaissance.⁴² But I wonder if Henry VIII's Nonsuch Palace with its two giant towers might not have influenced the exuberance of style shown in the Redgrave turret.

Looking more generally at the house itself, we can see that it consisted of a main east-west rank containing the hall, and two wings extending south from that rank about forty-four feet (see Figs. 1, 2 and 3). The roof line of Redgrave would have been very picturesque. Aside from the turret already mentioned, our eyes would be caught by the crow-stepped gables, the four dormers topped with finials and the six or more chimneys.⁴³ The stepped gable has been popularly associated with Dutch and Flemish influence, but the stepped gable was not limited to the Low Countries, being in general favour throughout medieval Europe.⁴⁴ Dormer windows (or lucarnes as they were then called) were not uncommon either. However, the sixteenth was the first century during which the chimney found general acceptance.⁴⁵ The 'hewing' of the Redgrave chimneys was the work of the London artisans associated with John Gybbon.⁴⁶ Although no details as to their appearance survive, we can be quite certain that they exhibited the peculiar flamboyance associated with the chimneys of this period.

The Hall contained three stories, or, perhaps more properly, two floors and an attic which seems to have been completely

⁴¹ These four buildings are examples of the use of octagonal ogee turrets, and many more could be added. If, however, we broaden the search to include round, square and hexagonal turrets (really an insignificant difference) or include in the census the early Tudor gate towers, such as were built at Layer Marney and Hampton Court, their number is legion.

⁴² Summerson, *Architecture in England*, p. 3.

⁴³ All of these features are visible in the painting (Plate I). The chimneys, more clearly shown on Figs. 1 and 2, can all be associated with fireplaces which receive documentation in the accounts, the drawing (Fig. 4) or personal observation at the site.

⁴⁴ C. L. Cudworth, 'Dutch Influence in East Anglian Architecture', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, xxxvii (October, 1935—October, 1936), 26.

⁴⁵ Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture*, p. 126.

⁴⁶ Redgrave Accounts, f. 150v.

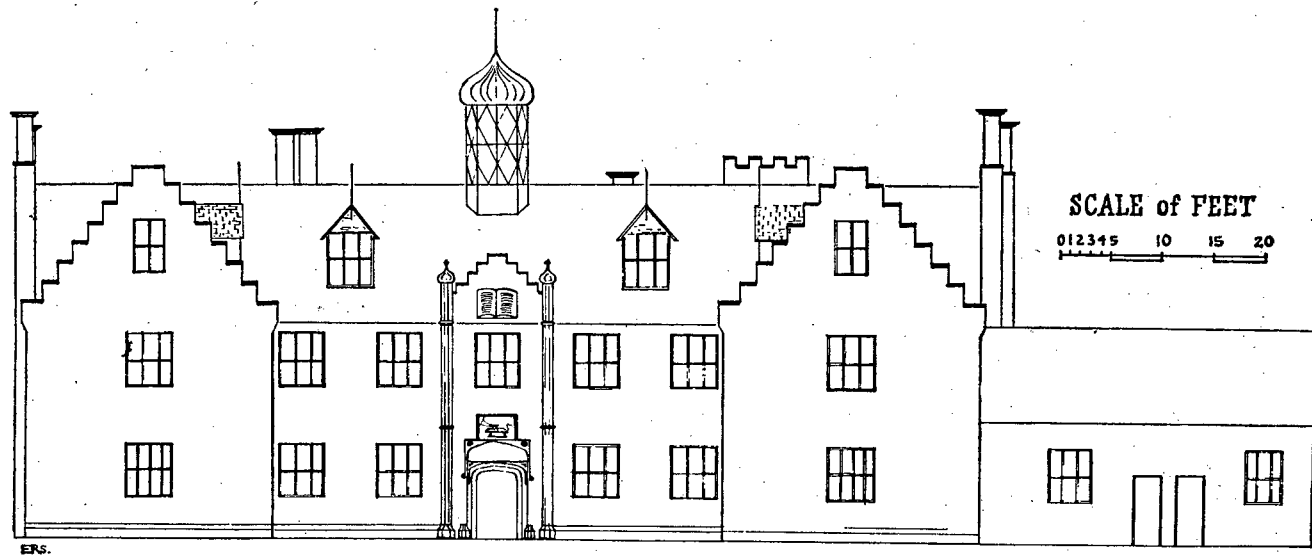


FIG. 1.—Redgrave Hall, reconstructed front elevation.

finished.⁴⁷ Aside from the roof line, the symmetrically placed mullioned and transomed windows dominated the front elevation.⁴⁸ A three-light window was most generally used, but windows of five lights face into the courtyard.⁴⁹ The gates which form so prominent a part of the painting (Plate I) were not probably a part of the 1554 Hall, since they appear to stand in so definite a relationship to the later wings. Gates of some sort did, however, exist, and it was through these gates that one approached the main entrance.

The decorative detail of the doorway has provided a puzzling problem. Close examination of the picture (Plate I), reveals a curious hall entrance. A porch is customary in this type of U-shaped house, and, at first glance, one seems to have been built at Redgrave. But the carved tablet above the doorway (Plate III) is visible in the painting. What had been constructed—by the seventeenth century at least—were two pilasters flanking the doorway and supporting what appears to have been a crow-stepped pediment. As is apparent from Plate II, no evidence of pilasters or pediment can now be seen. It is possible that this feature of the façade was added at a later date—the accounts do not mention it. I have included it in my reconstruction of the front elevation for two reasons. The pediment bears the device of an open book which probably carried a poem or other inscription. It was customary to place one's arms in such a place—if indeed one had a coat of arms to display. If the pilasters and pediment had been constructed later than the date of Bacon's knighting (1558), he probably would have exhibited his coat of arms in that place. The tablet immediately above the door took the place of the armorial bearings which Bacon had not yet received, and the occurrence of writing on the pediment lends weight to the view that it was also constructed before 1554. Second, the Redgrave entrance is really only a modification of the early Tudor octagonal entrance towers such as those at Oxburgh Hall or St. John's College, Cambridge. The west gate of Hampton Court is comprised of both flanking towers and pilasters. The whole treatment of the

⁴⁷ Plate I.

⁴⁸ Although it is possible to pick out most of the windows on the painting (Plate I), the impression of symmetry is not very strong. The whole hall rank still stands, however (see Plate II), and my own measurements have proved that the windows were placed as they are drawn in Fig. 1. In several instances, such as the second floor window above the pantry-kitchen passage, windows have been placed in extremely awkward positions in relation to the interior layout, in order that they might appear in the proper (i.e., symmetrical) place on the outside of the building.

⁴⁹ Figure 4.

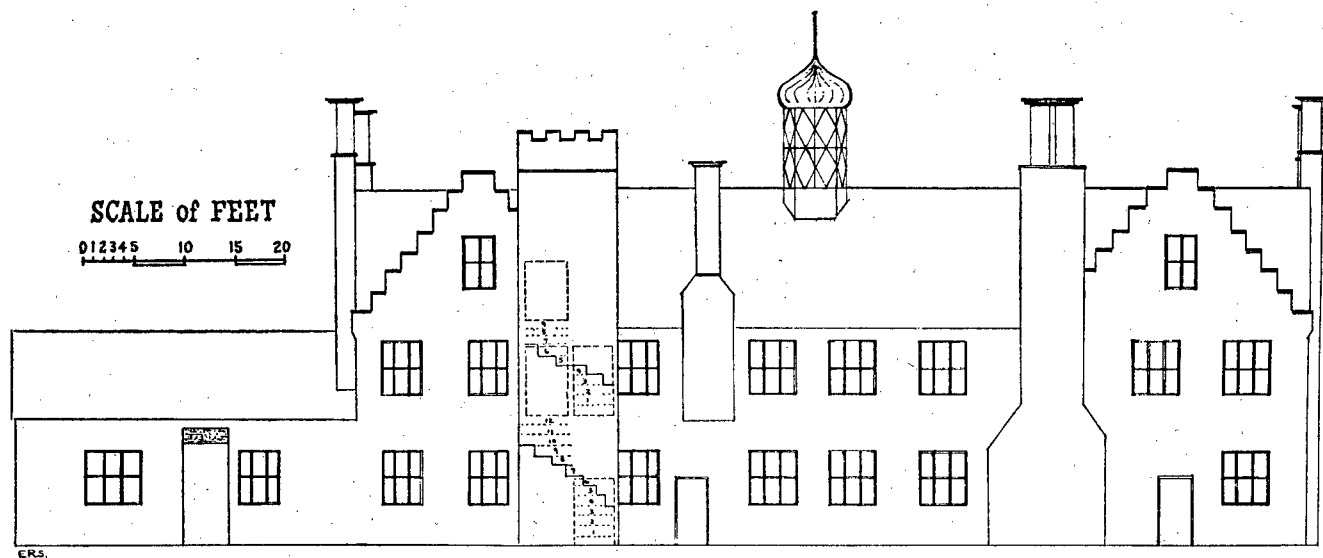


FIG. 2.—Redgrave Hall, reconstructed rear elevation.

entrance at Sutton Place, Surrey, is reminiscent of Redgrave.⁵⁰ The occurrence of the motif at both Sutton Place and Hampton Court very clearly marks it as a part of the Tudor idiom.

Before entering the house, we ought to look more closely at the doorway itself. The mouldings, though well-executed and well-preserved, are not at all unusual. The tablet above the door, however, is most noteworthy (Plate IV).⁵¹ Although quite foreign to modern tastes, this type of conceit enjoyed enormous vogue throughout Europe during the sixteenth century.⁵² Known as emblems, they were defined by Geoffrey Whitney, the editor of the best known English edition of printed emblems, as

. . . such figures or workes, as are wroughte in plate, or in stones in the pauementes, or on the waules, or suche like, for the adorning of the place: hauinge some wittie deuise expressed with cunning woorkemanship, somethinge obscure to be perceiued at the first, whereby, when with further consideration it is vnderstood, it maie the greater delichte the behoulder.⁵³

Here we find another expression of the Tudor temperament which can be related to the sense of the picturesque mentioned previously. The people of this age displayed these two facets of their characters in combination as close as the Redgrave turret and tablet—the picturesque and flamboyant in contrast with the symbolic and emblematic. The same compound of feeling can be seen in many of the portraits of Queen Elizabeth, where mixed with her evident forthrightness are a number of mysterious, allegorical allusions.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ I have found no documentary evidence which would relate Redgrave and Sutton Place, but the houses do bear interesting similarities. Sutton Place was built by Sir Richard Weston around a courtyard in the traditional quadrangular shape, but the south rank has been removed. Even with the south rank standing, the relationship between the two houses would have been apparent. Aside from the pilaster-entablature motif, Sutton Place is marked by crow-stepped gables, symmetrical courtyard elevations and the rather unusual use of two tiers of windows to illuminate the hall. The best photographs of Sutton Place are found in Thomas Garner and Arthur Stratton, *The Domestic Architecture of England during the Tudor Period*, (2d ed.; London: B. T. Batsford, 1929), 1, Plates LXXXVIII-XC.

⁵¹ Since the photograph (reproduced on Plate IV) was taken the tablet has suffered some damage; it is regrettable that no Suffolk museum has seen fit to give it the protection that it deserves.

⁵² Henry Green (ed.), *Whitney's 'Choice of Emblems', A Facsimile Reprint* (London: Lovell Reeve and Co., 1866), p. xxiii.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

⁵⁴ Three of the most famous of these are the portrait of Elizabeth before a background of the Armada (the Duke of Bedford), Elizabeth standing on the map of England (National Portrait Gallery) and the 'Pelican Portrait' (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool).

Since the emblem was one of the first parts of the house to be completed, a group of free masons named Gower, who were employed until 1551, were undoubtedly responsible for its creation. Bacon's motto, *Mediocria Firma*, is incised on the ribbon. The hand is meting out a span with tools characteristic of the free mason's trade.⁵⁵ In spite of Whitney's assurance and even after a great deal of 'further consideration', I find the Redgrave tablet remains 'obscure to be perceiued'. I would hazard a guess that the hand is meant to represent the hand of God measuring out to Bacon a modest span of time and fortune. His motto, which is certainly related to the emblem, would then represent his contented reflection: better to have less than some, if one can hold it longer than many. The 'hand environed with clouds'⁵⁶ was a very popular motif in emblems, being used in seven of Whitney's emblems.⁵⁷ One of these engravings bears a manifest similarity to the Redgrave tablet, and, interestingly, is not included among the emblems themselves, but is placed on the last page as the colophon of the printer, Christopher Plantyn (1514-1589) of Leyden. The emblem, which seems to have been used in all of his books,⁵⁸ shows a hand—extending through clouds—holding a compass and striking a circle. The motto is *Labore et Constantia*. The likeness between the two emblems, unfortunately, does not aid in the interpretation of either. Plantyn set up his press in 1546,⁵⁹ a date so close to the probable date of the Redgrave tablet that there would not seem to have been any connection between the two. That they may both have been derived from a common source unknown to me is, however, a distinct possibility.⁶⁰ Whitney's definition would indicate that sculptured emblems were quite common in his experience, but I have not found many other examples in Tudor architecture. Some type of device is very frequently placed above the door of the house,⁶¹ but only in the case of the little-known

⁵⁵ These tools are a square and compass, but, because of damage to the compass, it is somewhat difficult to identify in Plate IV.

⁵⁶ The phrase is Shakespeare's (*Pericles*, Act II, Scene II). Green has taken the trouble of pointing out Shakespearean allusions to emblems (Green, *Whitney's 'Choice of Emblems'*, pp. 293-312).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 111, 115, 139, 143, 166 and 231.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 267-69.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Out of 248 emblems illustrated by Whitney, Green shows that 225 were borrowed from earlier continental emblem books, while only 23 were originated by Whitney (*ibid.*, p. 252).

⁶¹ At Sutton Place there are twelve small panels containing amorini; at Cowdray, East Barsham and Compton Wynnyates there are armorial bearings (Garner and Stratton, *Domestic Architecture*, Plates LXXXVIII, XXIII, LXXXIII and LXXVI).

Arminghall, Norfolk, have I found another emblem. There a lion is pictured in the act of leaping upon a horse and rider.⁶²

Entering the house, we would find ourselves in the screens-passage, the hall opening to the left. Above the passage would be the minstrel's gallery. Although the separation was not complete, the house was virtually divided by this passage into an eastern section in which the servants worked and slept and a western section in which the family lived. The hall was twenty-one feet wide, about forty feet long and twenty-one feet high. The fireplace stood in the middle of the north wall; the dais undoubtedly occupied the far end of the hall; doors opened into the orchard on the north and into the great parlor on the south; the ceiling seems to have been flat, for there were chambers on the third floor. No evidence exists to indicate the nature of the hall's decoration though I would imagine that it was wainscoted as was customary. This description does little to conjure up an image of the hall of Bacon's day, for we lack the knowledge which would make the room live. This unfortunately, will be our experience with the whole of the house; we must be satisfied with the outlines.

Before we go further in our perambulation, it is necessary to spend some time explaining the reconstruction of the floor plan. The front elevation was relatively simple to reconstruct: sixty feet of the hall rank within the wings still stand today relatively unchanged from 1554' (see Plate II). For instance, all nine windows of the south façade can either still be seen or the newer masonry easily identified. We have, in addition, the invaluable painting shown on Plate I.⁶³ The floor plan has been more difficult, and my reconstruction should not be treated with the respect that one would give to a drawing such as Fig. 4. I have advanced from foot to foot, sometimes on rather tenuous evidence or supposition, and I wish to make this process very clear to any who might question some points of the reconstruction.

My primary documentation has come from the remarkable floor plan (Fig. 4) drawn to illustrate the water system and already fully described. As far as possible I have checked this drawing with the remaining portion of the Hall and have found it accurate. On the left-hand margin of the drawing, at the point at which the pantry should meet the screens-passage, the draftsman rather lazily extended his lines off the page without indicating what features he was omitting or obscuring. But having recognized this lapse, I have no qualms about the accuracy of the drawing.

⁶² John Sell Cotman, *Architectural Remains in Various Counties* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1838), Vol. II, Series 3, Plate I.

⁶³ In the British Museum, Ad. MS 36388, f. 191, there is another drawing of the hall rank hastily and inaccurately sketched in 1820 by Buckler.

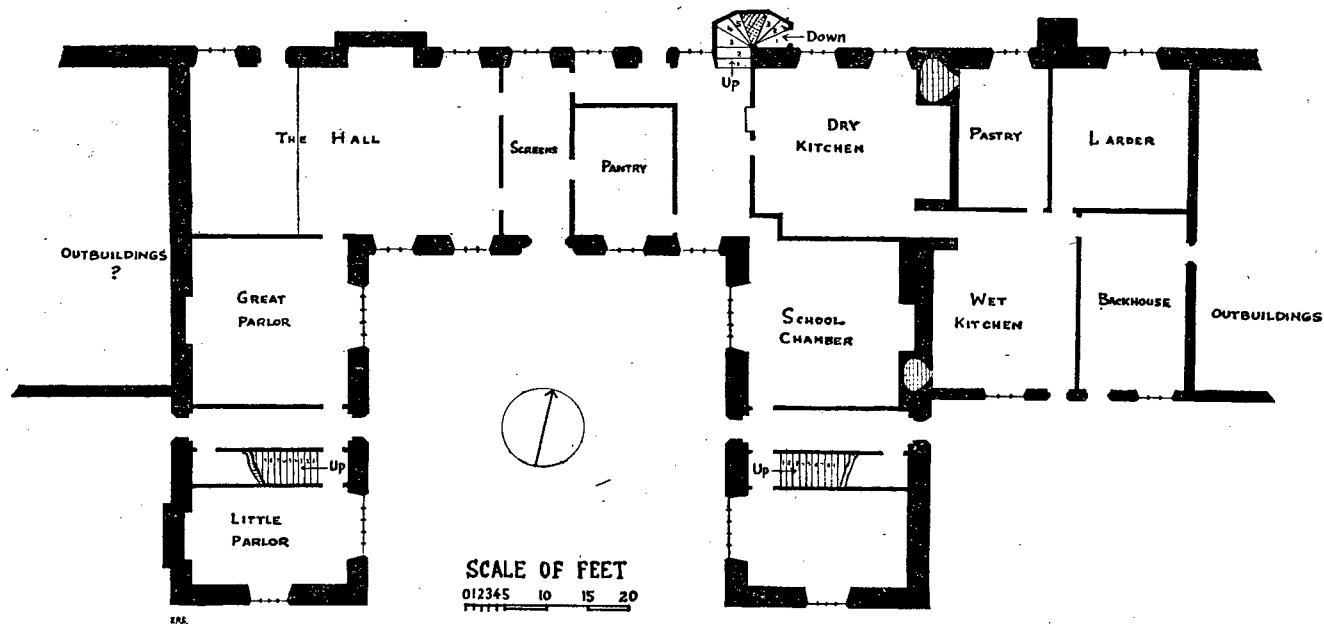


FIG. 3.—Reconstructed plan of 1554.

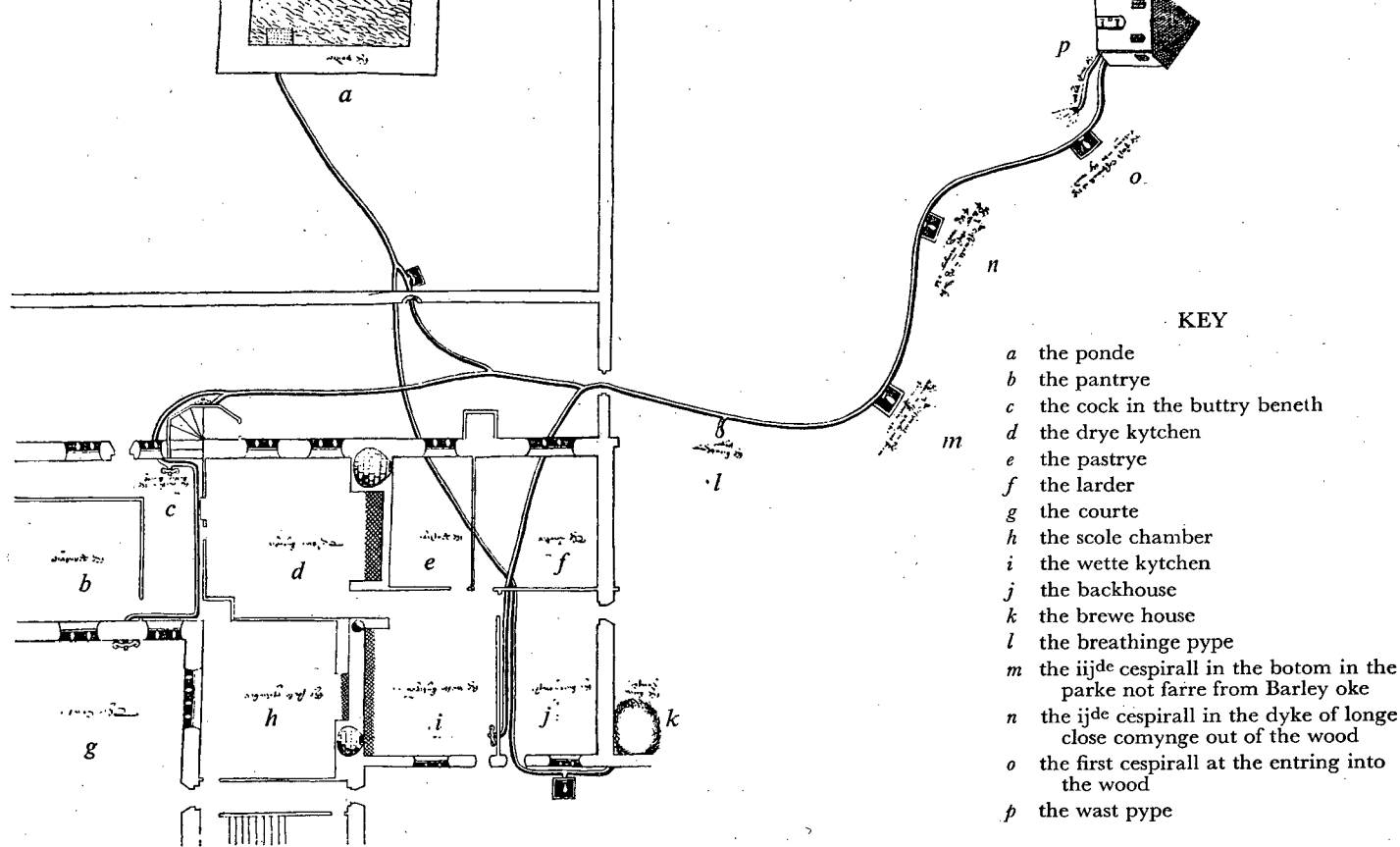


FIG. 4.—Water system, diagram from a drawing made *c.* 1562 (Add. MSS. 14850).
Diagram inverted to facilitate comparison with right hand half of Fig. 3, with which it corresponds.

It clearly shows almost one-half of the ground floor layout. Other sources I have used include the painting, a set of measured drawings of the Hall made by Walter E. Troke in 1937⁶⁴ and my own observations and measurements.

In reconstructing the wings, I have tended to favour a symmetrical and balanced design. The portions of the house which are known demonstrate a very strong predilection for symmetry. I feel that some irrationality must needs have characterized the builder who would not maintain the symmetry for which he had previously shown so much interest. It might well be argued that I have suddenly begun to take for granted what I am attempting to prove. But let me present my defence. It has been established that the front elevation of the Hall (both the east-west rank and the gable ends) illustrates perfect symmetry and balance. It can also be shown from Plate I that the east and west wings of the house are the same length. On examining Fig. 4, it is apparent that another room existed in the east wing to the south of the stair, since a window is shown opening into it on Plate I. Therefore, I have extended the east wing past the stair about fourteen feet so that the courtyard would form—as indeed it seems to do—a square of about forty-four feet. A glance at the room formed by this extension of the east wing reveals a very convenient and livable area about twelve by eighteen feet. It is obvious, moreover, that a window is required in the west wall of the room—not for the light it would provide, but simply because that much blank wall would have seemed absurd to any Tudor builder. If there was a window, I argue, why not a five-light window? This, admittedly, is sheer guesswork, but in a situation in which the builder has previously shown great eagerness to enforce symmetry, I do not feel rash in predicating this feature. It is, at any rate, a very small matter. In drawing the east wing, I have, I believe, made only two decisions which are not supported by evidence. In extending the wing southward, I chose to place the south wall forty-four feet from the east-west rank, and in placing a window in the room thus formed I have chosen to make it correspond to the ‘Scole Chamber’ window. Now let us turn to the west wing.

⁶⁴ National Buildings Record. The Hall which he measured was built in the eighteenth century by Capability Brown. Brown, of course, did not totally demolish the Tudor structure. There are many indications, such as blocked Tudor windows and doors, that the *whole* north or hall rank was incorporated into the eighteenth-century house. The east end of the hall and the pantry remain today. Troke's drawings show that the north wall of the kitchen was also retained intact. I have based my reconstruction of the north elevation of the west end of the hall on Troke's plans—assuming that the Tudor fabric was also retained there.

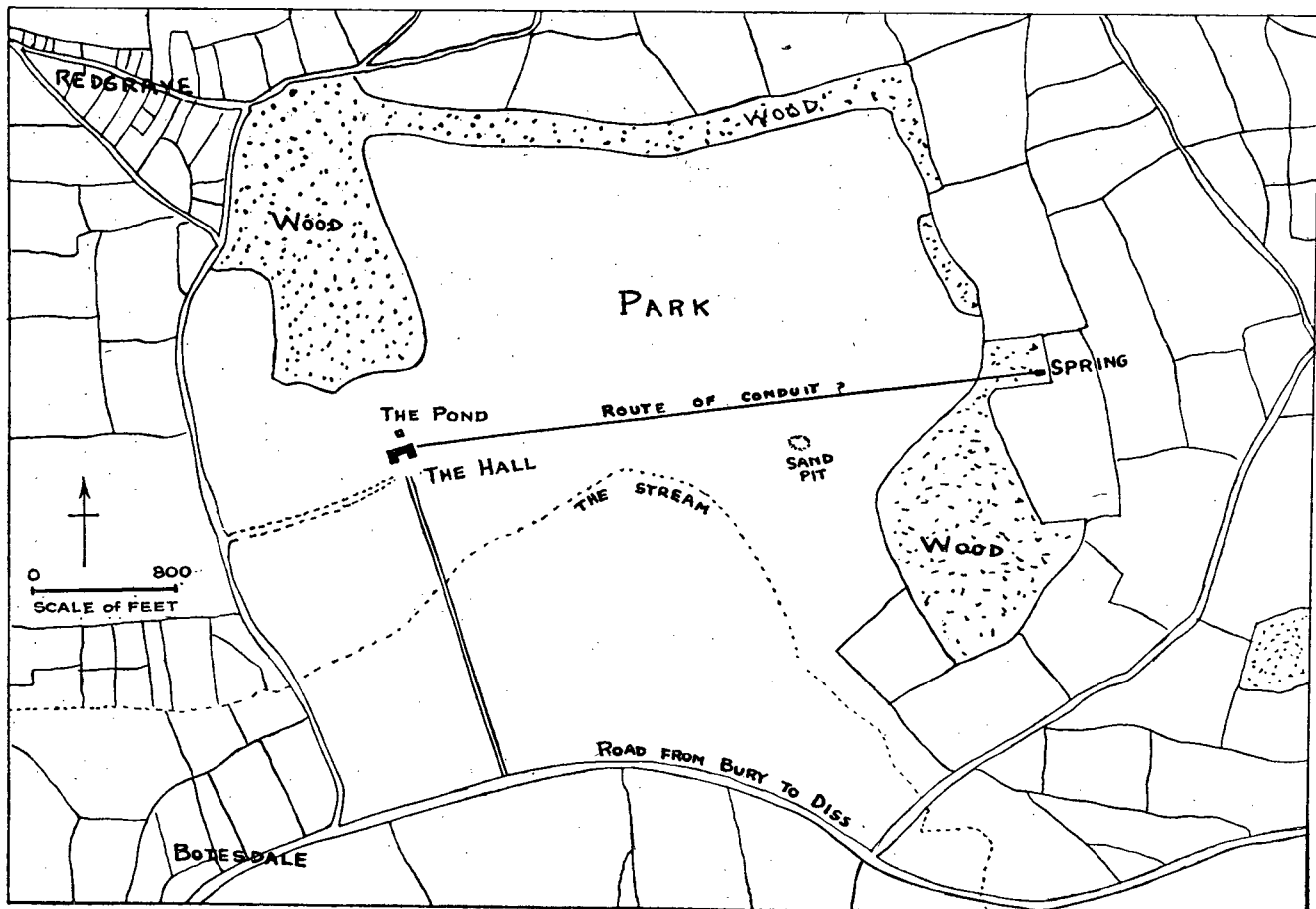
What is known about this part of the Hall? The painting (Plate I) shows a wing whose breadth and length correspond to the eastern wing. We may begin then by laying out the walls to enclose an area equivalent to the eastern wing. Since the hall cuts the house in two, a stairway is necessary, but its location is not indicated in any source. The character of English domestic life at this time produced remarkable conformity in the major features of the Tudor house plan. It is virtually impossible to discover a house which did not have the kitchen at one end of the hall and a parlor at the other.⁶⁵ Two parlors were occasionally advocated—one more brightly lit for the winter and another more sheltered from the sun for the summer.⁶⁶ Two parlors are mentioned in the Redgrave accounts, one called the little parlor.⁶⁷ In a 1649 inventory of Redgrave Hall, the men perambulating the house passed through the 'Great Parlour' and 'Little Parlour' immediately before entering the hall.⁶⁸ We can be quite certain from these references that two parlors occupied the ground floor of the west wing of the house, the one being enough larger than the other to substantiate the use of 'Great' and 'Little'. When the parlors are arranged as in Fig. 3, the one does obviously deserve to be called 'Great' and the other 'Little'. If, on the other hand, the stairway is removed (it is not impossible that the stair might have been lodged in a turret), the two parlors would be of almost exactly the same size. Similarly, if the stair is moved to the other side of the doorway, the parlors are again reduced to equal size. The only way in which all the elements of this wing can be made to harmonize, is to arrange them in a fashion which corresponds to the layout of the east wing. There is no evidence to suggest that the door into the court or the windows were placed in exactly the position I have chosen for them, but each of them is almost indispensable. Windows of some kind illuminated the rooms, and a door into the court would have been a practical convenience if not a necessity. Its absence would have required one to pass through the hall and great parlour in order to reach the second floor or the little parlor; and this (especially in the case of servants) would have caused a great deal of inconvenience. The door through the west wall may not have existed, but would have proved convenient for strolling in the garden into which it opened.

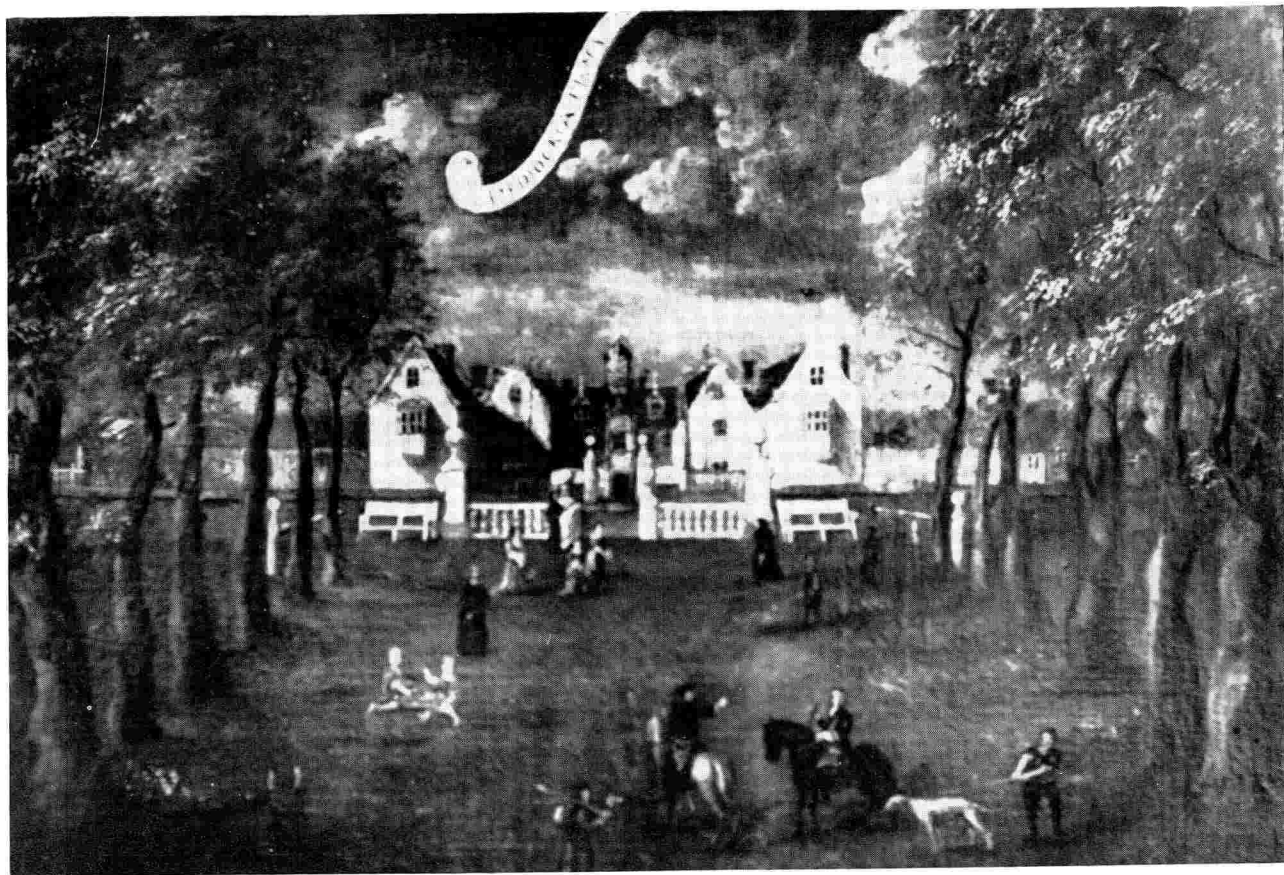
⁶⁵ Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture*, pp. 44ff.

⁶⁶ The most famous of these advocates was Francis Bacon. (Francis Bacon, 'Of Building', *Bacon's Essays*, ed. Richard Whately [2d ed.; New York: C. S. Francis and Co., 1857], p. 412).

⁶⁷ Redgrave Accounts, f. 89v and f. 132.

⁶⁸ Bacon Collection, MS 897.





Redgrave Hall, painted *c.* 1660

PLATE II

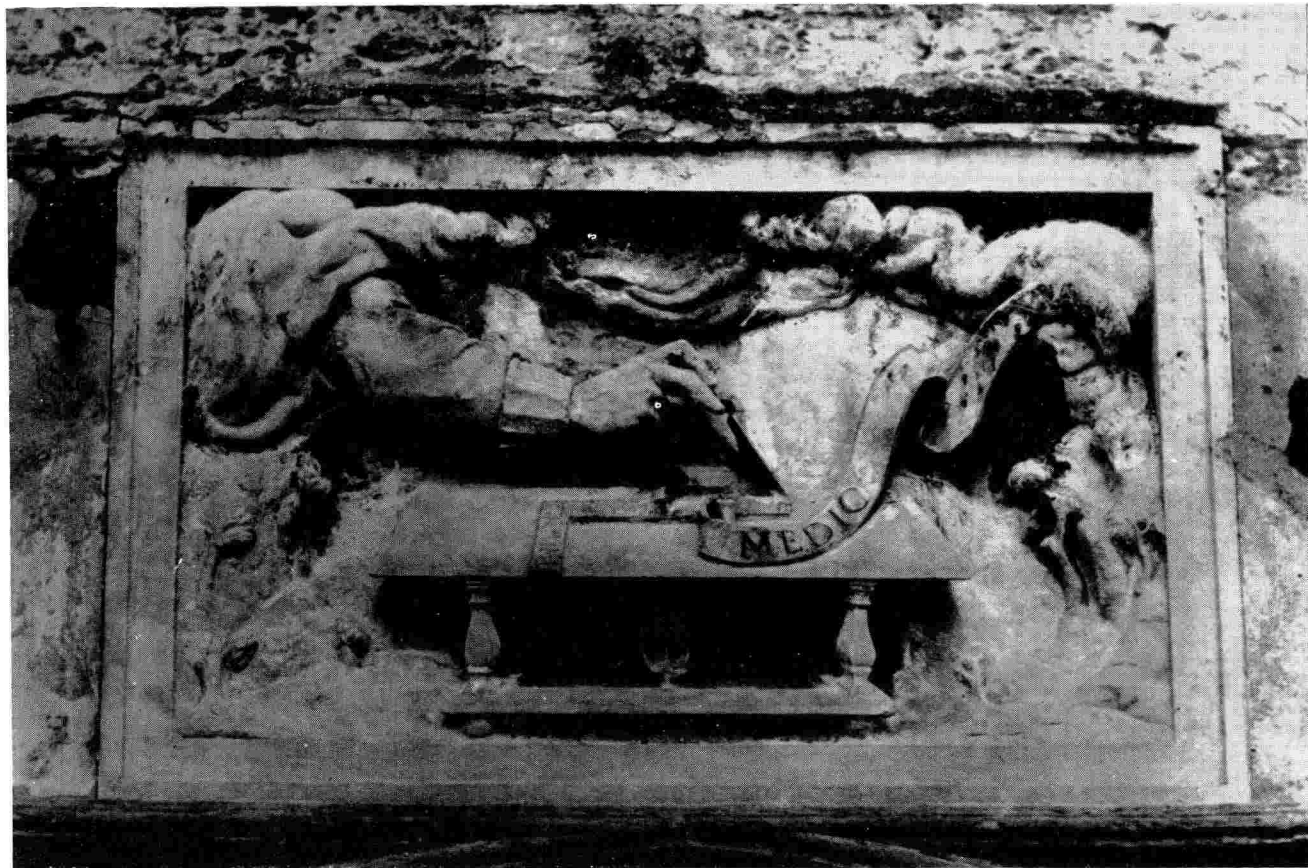


Redgrave Hall in March 1958

PLATE III



Redgrave Hall, main doorway



Redgrave Hall, tablet above main doorway

Having dealt with specific features in each of the wings, let us look at the floor plan as a whole. Did such a house exist? I have proceeded logically from point to point in the reconstruction, but does the house as I have drawn it, represent something which an early Tudor builder could and would have constructed? It most certainly does, for in Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich, built by Edmund Withypoll *ca.* 1548–50, we have in wood and brick a virtual replica of this layout.⁶⁹ Similarities in Tudor houses are quite easy to find, but, in this case, the degree of coincidence is so great that they can only have been the product of extensive collaboration. Not only does the circumstantial evidence drive us to this conclusion, but the complementary factual evidence in the Redgrave accounts supports the assumption.

Itm Gevyng to the Free Masons that came From Ipswyche From Master Wythepoll In Rewards_____	}	iij <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i> ⁷⁰
---	---	--

It is unfortunate that no building accounts of Christchurch Mansion have survived to enable us to document its construction. The reference from the Redgrave accounts may represent only one instance of a considerable exchange of information and workmen. Perhaps John Gybbon also worked at Christchurch Mansion. A personal connection between Bacon and Withypoll can be documented very interestingly from a letter written by the Lord Keeper, August 24, 1568.

Sonne, I haue desyered my frend Mr Wythepowld to come to Redgrave, to see my newe Ryver whom I haue enformed howe I wold haue that part of the Ryver made Over the which my Bridge shall go / And therefore loke what order soever he taketh in that matter, in any wise lett it be performed / ⁷¹

Whatever the nature of the connection between the builders and artisans at Redgrave and Christchurch, the similarity of the houses will brook no dispute.⁷² For the purposes of our discussion,

⁶⁹ Christchurch Mansion may have resembled Redgrave a great deal more than is now evident. A fire in the seventeenth century gutted the upper floors of the building and was responsible for the rebuilding of the third story gables in the later style. The information used here is published in a guide sold in the building (*Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich—Souvenir and Guide*, Ipswich: Ipswich Museum Committee, 1955).

⁷⁰ Redgrave Accounts, f. 45.

⁷¹ Sandeen, 'Correspondence of Nicholas Bacon' (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1955), p. 86.

⁷² See Arthur Oswald, 'Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich', *Country Life*, cxvi, 496; also J. S. Corder, *Christchurch or Withepole House* (Cowells, 1893), which has a plan. Very little else concerning the house has been published; it is maintained as a public museum by the borough of Ipswich.

the most important of the similarities are these: the house is built around an open court with doors opening from the middle of each rank into that court; each wing of the house is divided into two rooms separated by a passage and flight of straight wooden stairs; the exterior of the one wing exactly matches the other, feature for feature.

Having established the main form of the wings, we may now return to our perambulation of the rooms, coming now to the great parlor. This would have been the main sitting room for the family, and may have occasionally been used as a private dining room. The room was wainscoted.⁷³ Across the passage would have been the little parlor which was hung with tapestries in 1649 at least.⁷⁴ Up the stairs we would expect to find a somewhat similar arrangement of rooms; the chamber above the great parlor would customarily be the master's. Since the hall extended into the second story, there would be no other rooms on the second floor in this west half of the house. The third floor contained an unknown number of rooms, almost certainly all bedrooms.

If we were to cross into the east wing of the house, we would find much the same situation. On the second floor, the chamber above the pantry can still be examined. It was called the gallery chamber⁷⁵ because of the two small doors (still visible) through which one passed to enter the minstrel's gallery above the screens-passage. This room must have been used by one of the family, for special trouble has been taken to furnish it with a fireplace. There is no hearth on the ground floor as is the case in other upper rooms furnished with fireplaces. This was one reason for grouping many of the best rooms in the house above one another. Chimneys were much too expensive to think of providing them for all the chambers used by the family much less the servants. Aside from this room, we can only establish the location of the stairwell, which would have remained in the same location on each floor.

Our information is much more exact when we descend the stairs to the ground floor of the east wing, for all the chambers shown on the water system drawing (Fig. 4) are named. The room to the south at the foot of the stairs is not shown on the drawing, and we can only guess at its use—perhaps it was that manorial office known as the surveying place. Turning back, we would enter the school chamber. This would be a very pleasant location for the young pupils, situated as it was with one whole wall backed by a hearth and ovens, not to mention its own fireplace, and also so close to the kitchen with its tempting aromas.

⁷³ Redgrave Accounts, f. 159.

⁷⁴ Bacon Collection MS 897.

⁷⁵ Sandeen, 'The Correspondence of Nicholas Bacon', p. 112.

A tradition with almost the force of law seems to have dictated the placing of the pantry across the screens-passage from the hall, but also the building of a passage on one side of the pantry so that servants could enter the hall directly from the kitchen. This indicates, as do contemporary dietaries and serving manuals,⁷⁶ that the function of the pantry was somewhat different than that which its name suggests today. Bowls, trenchers, goblets, knives and spoons, and certain staples such as bread, cheese and fruit would be furnished from the pantry. It was in the room called the 'dry kytchen' that the main courses of soup, meat and fish were cooked. The wet kitchen could also be called the dairy and would be used for the pressing of cheese and churning of butter. I am puzzled, however, that the wet kitchen should have had such a large hearth and two ovens if this was the extent of the work carried on there. In the pastry would be produced all of the bread and baked foods required for the household, while the larder would serve as a storeroom. 'Backhouse' seems like a meaningless description—one that would be applied to a room whose function was no more clear to the builder than it is to us. Could the term have had a more specific and particular meaning than it now conveys to us?⁷⁷

To finish our tour, we should glance at the rear elevation of the Hall. Very little interpolation has been necessary to reconstruct its appearance (Fig. 2). From the stair turret to the hall chimney, the structure itself has been my source. The water system drawing (Fig. 4) contained data with which to complete the ground floor elevation east of the stair turret. The windows and door of the west gable and the windows of the second and third floors in the east gable are not derived from such valid documentation, though there is good reason to believe that the arrangement of the windows and doors in the eighteenth-century house (especially the east gable) is reflected in the Tudor plan. The most interesting feature of this elevation is the stair turret, the outline of which is shown in Fig. 4. Only that part of the stair leading to the cellar still remains. From Fig. 4 we learn that the buttery was located in this cellar. The entrance was very awkwardly designed: a butler, going to fetch a supply of beer or wine, would be forced to go outside through the doorway to the west of the turret, around the turret itself, and down the steep stairs to the cellar. The stairs which were entered from inside the house led to the second floor. This

⁷⁶ E.g., Hugh Rhodes, *The Boke of Nurture* (London: H. Jackson, 1577), reprinted in *Manners and Meals*, ed. J. F. Furnivall (London: Early English Text Society, 1868), pp. 66-68.

⁷⁷ [Note by Editor.—The backhouse or 'back-us' was the back kitchen or scullery, and is still so called by old Suffolk people. The odd-job boy was called the 'back-us boy'.—L.D.]

third stairway would have probably been designed primarily for use by the servants. At the second floor level (see Fig. 2), there were two doors opening into the turret, indicating that the stairway continued to the third floor.⁷⁸ The two doors were necessary because of the location of the turret. Being abutted against a flat wall rather than a corner, only half of the turret's diameter was available for use in the stair well. As a result, the entrance to the stair could never lie directly below the exit as in a circular stair, and the risers must needs be a good deal higher than in a circular turret in which more stairs could be laid out. The existence of stairs up to the third floor is important for the reconstruction of the rear elevation. In the interests of appearance and for the full utilization of the third floor, we would expect the roofs of both wings to be extended past the ridge of the hall roof into gables. The existence of the stair confirms this hypothesis. Without a gable, there would be no means of entering the third floor from the stair turret. Although the crenelated appearance of the top of the turret is not authenticated, this type of design was very familiar to the Tudor builder.⁷⁹ The only other real option, the use of an ogee dome, seems improbable in view of the fact that no glimpse of the turret can be seen in the painting (Plate I).

Such was the house which Nicholas Bacon completed in 1556. Although he may have been intrigued by the use of the newer style and design, and perhaps considered his house remarkably different from the moated mansion houses of the fifteenth century, he certainly would not have lost his way once inside the door. The newness adhered only to the exterior. In the arrangement of the rooms, Bacon's artisans do not seem to have felt any influence other than the heritage of the fifteenth century. Whether this was true of the interior decoration, the wainscoting and fireplaces, ceilings and cornices, we cannot say. On the whole it was a contemporary house, expressing the widespread interest in new ideas, but in no sense pioneering. It was a house of which a man of moderate reputation and resources might well be proud, but it was not a house suitable for the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. It proved, within a few years, insufficient for even the children of such a man.

⁷⁸ The hall leading to the stair turret was retained in the eighteenth-century house although the turret itself was removed. Walter E. Troke, in drawing this hall, noted a blocked door immediately above the door on the first floor. Although the second door to the right of this one was not noted in his drawing it must have existed, for otherwise there would have been no way of exit from the stair rising from the ground floor.

⁷⁹ An exactly parallel usage of stepped gables and crenelated stair turret is found at Ingatestone Hall.

Within four years of 1554, the date of Redgrave's completion, Nicholas Bacon had been created Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and assigned York House, the residence of the former Chancellor, Nicholas Heath, the Archbishop of York.⁸⁰ He had by 1554 married his second wife, Ann Cooke, daughter of Anthony Cooke,⁸¹ and their second child, Francis, was born at York House in 1561.⁸² Although there is no evidence of bad feeling or unfriendliness between the two halves of the family, Bacon did choose to maintain them in separate houses and estates perhaps as a part of the marriage settlement with Ann Cooke. At least by 1566 the Lord Keeper's eldest son, Nicholas, was serving as the lord of Redgrave manor and supervising a household which included, in addition to his wife, mother-in-law and children, some if not all of his younger brothers and sisters. His father wrote him on March 11, 1565/6, 'You shall doo well to cause soome care to be taken of your syster that she spend the day well and vertuusly, les elz whylst she seekez hure healthe she might marre hure manerz'.⁸³

Although Sir Nicholas lived at Redgrave only briefly and visited it rarely, his continued interest in the house is evident from his letters and from the improvements which these letters describe. He was an absentee lord; but nothing was done without his approval, and very little initiated without his incitement. The first work of which we have any record⁸⁴ involved changes in the river which flowed past the front of the house (see Fig. 5). I have previously quoted that portion of the letter in which Bacon informed his son that Edmund Withypoll was coming to Redgrave to supervise the work. 'My desyer,' he continued, 'is that the bridg may stand iuste in the mydest betwene both heedes [heads?] of that parte of the Ryver, that the bridg doth go over, and so shall the mydest of that water be iuste agaynst the mydest of my house, as the bridge is'.⁸⁵ Although the picture does not emerge clearly from Bacon's muddled diction, we can determine what he had in mind. The access road leading to the Hall crossed a small stream a few hundred yards south of the Hall. Not apparently content with the natural course of this stream, Bacon had ordered the channel dug anew in such a way that the road (and the bridge) would seem to bisect the newly dug

⁸⁰ 'Nicholas Bacon', *DNB*, Vol. 1.

⁸¹ Sandeen, 'Correspondence of Nicholas Bacon', p. 9.

⁸² 'Francis Bacon', *DNB*, Vol. 1.

⁸³ Sandeen, 'Correspondence of Nicholas Bacon', p. 78.

⁸⁴ Almost all material relating to Redgrave after 1554 is found in correspondence between Sir Nicholas and his son. These letters tell only a part of the story, but some of the bits of information are worth recording. The letters are in the Bacon Collection at the University of Chicago, but for convenience reference will be made, to my edition of the letters.

⁸⁵ Sandeen, 'Correspondence of Nicholas Bacon', p. 86.

section.⁸⁶ This, again, is evidence of the fascination which symmetry was beginning to exert over the Tudor mind.

Another improvement of much more interest was mentioned by the Lord Keeper a few months later.

Sonne I have appointed that this bearer Cure whoe is the workman that made my fowntayn and is nowe come downe to set it vp and his servauntes should be lodged and borded with you. I thinke he well end it in a fortnight or thre wekes at the furdest.⁸⁷

The workman mentioned here is almost certainly William Cure, a Dutch mason who was living in Southwark at this time.⁸⁸ Cure, besides being the only foreign craftsman known to have worked at Redgrave, was certainly one of the most renowned artisans of his day. He was brought to England by Henry VIII in about 1540 to work on Nonsuch Palace,⁸⁹ and, it is said, was responsible for the carving at Somerset House.⁹⁰ Of his activities from that date until the time he appeared at Redgrave, I can uncover nothing. He cannot have been idle, however, and, with two such magnificent commissions to his credit, must have commanded the highest wages. In 1574 the accounts of the Office of Works recorded a payment to Cure for 'drawinge the grounde playtes and vprightes for the Tombe . . . and for makinge letters and a Calender to knowe what is wroughte and what ys wantinge about the modell'.⁹¹ This was a model for the tomb of Henry VIII, but the project did not proceed further than this stage. Cure died in June, 1579, in Southwark where he had lived and worked. He divided between his son, Cornelius Cure, and his son-in-law, Henry Sturbye, 'all and singular my books, paternes, tooles and other necessaryes'.⁹²

⁸⁶ According to Major John Wilson, the present owner of Redgrave, the course of both the road and the stream became visible several years ago when the lake, which now covers the floor of the valley, dried up.

⁸⁷ Sandeen, 'Correspondence of Nicholas Bacon', p. 87. The letter is dated September 13, 1568.

⁸⁸ Kirk and Kirk, *Return of Aliens Dwelling in . . . London*, III, 370.

⁸⁹ From a search for aliens made in 1571, this entry was recorded in the parish of St. Thomas, Southwark: 'William Cure, of Holland, of age lvjty yeres, in England xxxty yeres, a carver in stone, sent for over hither when the Kinge did buyld Nonesutche, having to wif ane Englishewoman, and haith here vj children, all borne in England' (Kirk and Kirk, *Return of Aliens Dwelling in . . . London*, II, 114).

⁹⁰ This information was mentioned to me by Sir John Summerson during conversation with him in 1958.

⁹¹ Public Record Office, E 351/3209 as quoted by Erna Auerback, *The Tudor Artist, A Study of Painters in the Royal Service* (London: The University of London, 1954), p. 143.

⁹² His will was proved June 13, 1579 (Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, 29 Bacon).

Since William Cure is so important in the history of architecture, it is a great pity that not one trace remains of the fountain which he designed and constructed. The existence of one commission to such an artist, however, causes one to speculate whether Cure may not have been responsible for other work commissioned by Bacon. Although there is no substantiation for the suggestion, it would be wise not to forget William Cure when attempting to trace the artisan responsible for the Gorhambury porch or the Bacon tomb.

The river and fountain can be classified as landscaping improvements, but the last alterations of which the correspondence provides any record, involved at least two years of building construction. The Lord Keeper ordered 'the proceeding in my workes at Redgrave' in February, 1569/70, but did not mention what his intentions were, since they were undoubtedly well understood by his son.⁹³ Work was in progress in the summer of 1570, but the references—to the construction of a vault (probably a vaulted ceiling) and to a stair—give no real clue as to the scope of the project.⁹⁴ In August of the same year, the failure of his son to supply exact enough information—one of his besetting sins—caused Sir Nicholas to write in some heat, 'As touching the warraunt you writt of for money I meane to graunte no such warraunt vntill I be aduertised from you howe the same shalbe employed, which may easely be done bycause the bargaynes be made of great'.⁹⁵ He then proceeded to catalogue the classes of workmen who were being employed: bricklayers, free masons, labourers, carters, carpenters and joiners. In addition he mentioned expense for glass, iron, lead and wainscoting. It is apparent from this list that an addition was being made to the living quarters of the family and not simply to the manorial outbuildings or servant's quarters. Glass was only rarely used in outbuildings, and wainscoting and free masonry would not probably have been expended upon servants. The reference to the wainscoting is interesting.

I marvell that your wayneskottes should not be good, for they were chosen out of a great nomber. It cannot be but that he that chose them dyd deceyve me, or els he that telleth you so is deceyved.⁹⁶

Thus it seems that the panelling was chosen from ready-made stock and shipped to Redgrave from London. How much of the finished woodwork would have been prefabricated I do not know, but that it was done at all is a fact that I have not seen demonstrated before.

⁹³ Sandeen, 'Correspondence of Nicholas Bacon', p. 109.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

The last references to the construction furnish us with a date for their conclusion, but that is all.

As to the fynysshinge of my howse, I would that Iames showld provide some able workeman for the goynge forward and fynysshinge of the same without taryeng for any that is to be sente from hence [Gorhambury], because . . . the worke is so little that is to be done.⁹⁷

That letter was dated in April, 1571, and one final reference to the building in June, 1571, indicates that work dragged on into the summer.⁹⁸

An examination of the bailiffs' and receivers' accounts for the Bacon estates during these years reveals that about 200*li* was spent on 'reparations' at Redgrave during 1568-70, but also that 421*li* was spent in the years 1560-62.⁹⁹ Concerning this latter expenditure the correspondence is silent. Significantly, the building of Gorhambury occupied the years between 1563 and 1568. Perhaps this more important work claimed priority, and the Redgrave construction was interrupted for those five years. At any rate, we know that some construction was undertaken at Redgrave during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, and that this involved an extension of the house itself rather than the barns or outbuildings. From an examination of Plate I, we know that the wings flanking the 1554 structure represent the only significant alteration in the house after the accession of Elizabeth. The shape of the gables and the existence of the bay windows, if not establishing an Elizabethan date, certainly do not militate against it. Though not conclusively proved, it is most probable that these wings were added to Redgrave Hall between 1560 and 1570 when the number of its occupants and the fortunes of its owner were both growing rapidly.

The Bacon family retained Redgrave Hall throughout the seventeenth century although another house was built at Culford by the Lord Keeper's son, Nicholas, in the last decade of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Redgrave manor and Hall were sold in 1701 to Sir John Holt, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.¹⁰¹ In 1763 Rowland Holt retained Capability Brown to remodel the Bacon house. The resulting Palladian mansion retained only a

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁹⁹ Bacon Collection MSS 788, 789, 790, 795, 715 and 716.

¹⁰⁰ W. A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905), I, 283.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, III, 292 and I, 318.

small portion of the Tudor structure.¹⁰² Miss Stroud, on whose biography of Capability Brown I am drawing for these facts, does not credit Brown with the landscaping of the park, but this too was altered in the Brown manner. The house, as remodelled by Brown, stood until 1946 when it was razed save for the portion pictured in Plate II.¹⁰³

This article forms a part of a University of Chicago doctoral dissertation entitled 'The Building Activities of Sir Nicholas Bacon'. The study includes a fuller analysis of Redgrave Hall as well as studies of the building of Gorhambury Hall, Herts., Stiffkey Hall, Norfolk, and the chapel of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The material concerning Corpus Christi is published in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LV (1962).

APPENDIX I

A SUMMARY OF THE EXPENSES OF BUILDING REDGRAVE HALL

The entries in this table are extracted from the Redgrave Building Accounts and represent the arithmetic of the sixteenth-century clerks rather than my own. On a few entries I have discovered obvious mistakes on the part of the clerks and have indicated these entries by adding the correct figure in brackets above the incorrect figure. When two figures without brackets occur for the same trade in the same year, both figures have been taken from the accounts. In these instances there was simply more than one occurrence of the category in that year. The totals in the right-hand column are the product of my own figuring, no such analysis having been attempted by Bacon's clerks. In doing this addition I have used the corrected figures. The totals at the end of the table once again represent figures taken from the accounts.

¹⁰² Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown* (London: Country Life Ltd., 1950), p. 80. Miss Stroud mentions that Brown built around a core of Tudor and Jacobean work, but, in the absence of any documentation, I can only assume that she was generalizing from appearances.

¹⁰³ A complete file of photographs of the eighteenth-century house has been collected by the National Buildings Record.

<i>Categories</i>	<i>1545 1st Year</i>	<i>1546 2nd Year</i>	<i>1547 3rd Year</i>	<i>1548 4th Year</i>	<i>1549 5th Year</i>
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brickburners	0- 6- 8	24- 5- 8	21-12- 0	14- 0- 0	0-40- 8
Lime Burners	0-48- 0	12- 3- 8	22-13- 8	—	—
Lime Slakers	0-11-10	0-39- 8	—	—	—
Carpenters	0- 6- 3	9-18-10	25- 7- 8	10-15- 2	0-44-10½
Sawyers	0- 0- 5	11-13- 6	7- 8- 4	11- 0-15	5- 8- 3½
Labourers	6-15- 7	11-11- 5	37-13-10	16-13-10	6- 9- 7
Boarding	0- 0-36	11- 7- 7	32- 3- 9	9-12- 6½	0-25- 8
Materials	0-22- 4	0-46- 6½	10-19- 1	0-38- 5	0-15-10
Carriage	4- 7- 8	8-18- ½	0-33- 4 14-17- 7	8-16-10	4- 2-10
Rough masons	—	0-15- 9	23-14- 3	5-19- 7½	0-24- 3½
Free masons	—	—	10- 0- 6	0- 3- 4	—
Glasiers	—	—	0- 6- 8	3-19- 4	—
Plumbers	0- 3- 0	—	—	3- 3- 3	0- 3- 4
Lath ryvers	—	—	0-41- 8	0-10- 0	0-23- 3
Tilers	—	—	—	0-19- 5½	0-13- 8
Tile burners	—	—	6- 0-16	0-59- 0	0-24- 7½
Smith	—	—	3- 0-16½	0-36- 5	—
Joiners	—	—	—	0-40- 2½	0-29- 2½
Woodmakers	—	7-15-10	—	—	—
Millwrights	—	—	—	0- 0- 4	—
Brush makers	—	—	—	—	—
Palers	—	—	—	—	—
Thatchers	—	—	—	—	—
Lattice makers	—	—	—	0- 3- 4	—
Gardeners	—	—	—	—	—
Clocksmith	—	—	—	0- 4- 0	—
Daubers	—	—	0-35- 9	—	—
Pond fayers	—	—	—	—	—
Cooper	—	—	—	—	—
Boat maker	—	—	—	—	—
Window casting	—	—	—	—	—
Mr Fissher	—	—	7-12- 0	5-11- 1	—
Mr Jeffrey	—	—	—	0-15- 4	—
Free stone charges	—	—	—	—	—
Iron, glass and nails	—	—	23-16- 0	—	—
Mr Eyer and Mr Gybbon	—	0-16- 4	—	—	—
Paving stone	—	—	14- 0- 0	—	—
Miscellaneous	—	—	0-22- 4	—	—
Total	16-19- 5	103-12-10	268- 0-19	101- 2- 9	27-17- 1½

<i>1550</i> <i>6th Year</i>	<i>1551</i> <i>7th Year</i>	<i>1552</i> <i>8th Year</i>	<i>1553</i> <i>9th Year</i>	<i>1554</i> <i>10th Year</i>	<i>Total</i>
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
10-18-10	8- 6- 1	0-20- 4	16-18- 4	—	99- 8- 7
25- 0- 1	22-10- 6	7-16- 0	6-10- 0	8- 5- 0	107- 6-11
—	—	—	—	—	0-51- 6
14-13-10	15- 6-11½	0-34- 4½ 23-15- 8	16-15- 1½	0-18- 8 5-16- 5½	127-12-10½
7-15-11	14- 8- 3	15-15- 6	3- 8-11	0-41-11 0-21- 6	80- 3- 9½
31- 7- 8	39-11- 2¼	43-17- 4½	28- 8- 5	9- 4- 3½ 0-52- 7	234- 5- 9½
—	—	—	—	—	54-12- 6½
3-17-10	7- 3- 3	12- 7- 9½	4-11-11	—	45- 3- 0
20- 9- 4½	16- 3- 7	6-16- 7	6- 9- 4	0-50- 2	95- 5- 4
0- 4- 0 17- 9- 3	29- 7- 3½	8-16- 9	4- 6- 2	0- 2- 4 11-15- 7	103-15- 3½
11- 7-11	8- 8- 4	8-10- 9½	9- 8- 9	—	47-19- 8½
—	3- 7-10	4- 4- 2	0- 5- 5	—	12- 3- 5
0-21- 7	[0-49- 1] 0-48- 8	5-14- 7	0-23- 1	—	13-17-11
0-12- 9	0-18- 8	0-29- 9	[0- 8- 3] 0-11- 7	0- 4- 6	7- 8-10
0-34-10	0-19- 8	3- 9- 9½	0-22- 0	3- 5- 0	12- 4- 3
11- 0-17½	12- 9- 4	7-13- 8	6-14-10	0-56- 4	51- 0- 7
0- 5- 2	0-31- 8	—	—	—	6-14- 7½
4-14- 1	9-12- 8	17- 0-11	—	—	34-17- 1
—	—	—	—	—	7-15-10
4-12-11	—	—	—	—	4-13- 3
—	0-15- 1	—	—	—	0-15- 1
0-42- 3½	0- 4- 1	—	6- 8- 4½	0-16- 1½	9-10-10½
0- 3- 9	—	—	0- 2- 1	—	0- 5-10
0- 0-10	—	—	0- 5- 5	—	0- 9- 7
—	—	0-10-10	—	—	0-10-10
—	—	—	—	—	0- 4- 0
—	—	—	—	—	0-35- 9
—	5-17- 4	13- 7-11	—	—	19- 5- 3
—	—	0-32-10	—	—	0-32-10
—	—	0- 7- 0	—	—	0- 7- 0
—	—	—	—	4- 7- 1	4- 7- 1
—	—	—	—	—	13- 3- 1
—	—	—	—	—	0-15- 4
0-18- 5	—	—	—	—	0-18- 5
—	—	—	—	—	23-16- 0
—	—	—	—	—	0-16- 4
—	—	—	—	—	14- 0- 0
—	—	7-14- 4	—	—	8-16- 8
170-11- ½	199-10- 6¼	194-15-11½	113- 9-10	55- 1- 5	1253- 2- 5½