

# A HOUSE FIT FOR A QUEEN: WINGFIELD HOUSE IN TACKET STREET, IPSWICH AND ITS HERALDIC ROOM

by DIARMAID MACCULLOCH AND JOHN BLATCHLY

'At Ipswich the Queen lodged in the house lately built by Sir Humphrey Wingfield to be fit for any degree of wealth or rank whatsoever, as I believe, with the intention that the first-fruits of the presence of the most excellent queen in all Europe on the morrow of her victory might be a perpetual distinction to his son Robert Wingfield . . .'<sup>1</sup>

So wrote the Suffolk historian Robert Wingfield of Brantham, swelling with pride that he had been host at his Ipswich home to Queen Mary on the morrow of her successful *coup d'état* against the Duke of Northumberland in 1553.<sup>2</sup> All but a vestige of the original house has been demolished over the centuries, but fortunately what remains in 1992 is of great interest and significance. Substantial parts of the carved oak panelling from the principal room 'The Great Parlour' line the Wingfield Room in Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich, and other traces of its lost grandeur survive elsewhere, together with some documentary accounts. This room, which was the particular glory of the house, had some remarkable painted inscriptions which together with a richly ornate heraldic ceiling formed one of the most spectacular of such ensembles in Tudor East Anglia. It is the object of this paper to assess the dating and significance of what was displayed in the room and to establish the importance of one of Ipswich's almost vanished historic buildings.

## I THE SETTING: THE LOCATION OF HOUSE AND ROOM

There is a good deal of confusion about the exact positions and extents of the mansions of three eminent and wealthy Tudor worthies who lived as near neighbours in St Stephen's parish in Ipswich. We have done what we can to set the bounds of Sir Thomas Rush's town house and garden on the west side of Lower Brook Street (MacCulloch and Blatchly 1986, 101–14). Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, is said to have lived on the opposite side of the street where there was later a Coach and Horses Inn (whose coach houses may have been the last remaining parts of his house), and adjoining the possible Brandon property fronting Tacket Street was the town house built by Sir Humphrey Wingfield (VII, 12) of Brantham Hall, some four miles south of the town on the Suffolk–Essex border. Some complications arise from the use from 1738 of the eastern part of the premises for the Tankard Inn and the western part of the site for a Playhouse – David Garrick gave his first public performance here in July 1741, unless we are to believe that he came two years earlier under the assumed name Lyddal – and plans are few and lack detail. Luckily, Joshua Kirby made some notes and drawings of inscriptions on the walls and ceiling of the Tudor 'Great Parlour' for Thomas Martin of Palgrave, probably in the 1740s,<sup>3</sup> and the Essex antiquary the Revd David Thomas Powell copied the heraldry of the ceiling as it remained in November 1817 in a set of immaculate watercolour drawings;<sup>4</sup> these together form our main sources of information about the decoration of this room.

Henry Davy's engraving (Fig. 1) in Clarke's *History and Description of the Town of Ipswich* (1830) shows that the magnificent panelled ground floor room with even more elaborate ceiling decoration survived as a public room in the Tankard Inn. It did so until Henry Ringham, woodcarver and church furnisher, was in 1856 instructed to strip the room of its panelling, repair it and use most of it to line the walls of the study at John Cobbold's residence, Holy Wells. In 1929 the oak overmantel (Fig. 2) and wall panelling, some of it heraldic, was moved again to find a permanent home in the Wingfield Room at Christchurch Mansion.

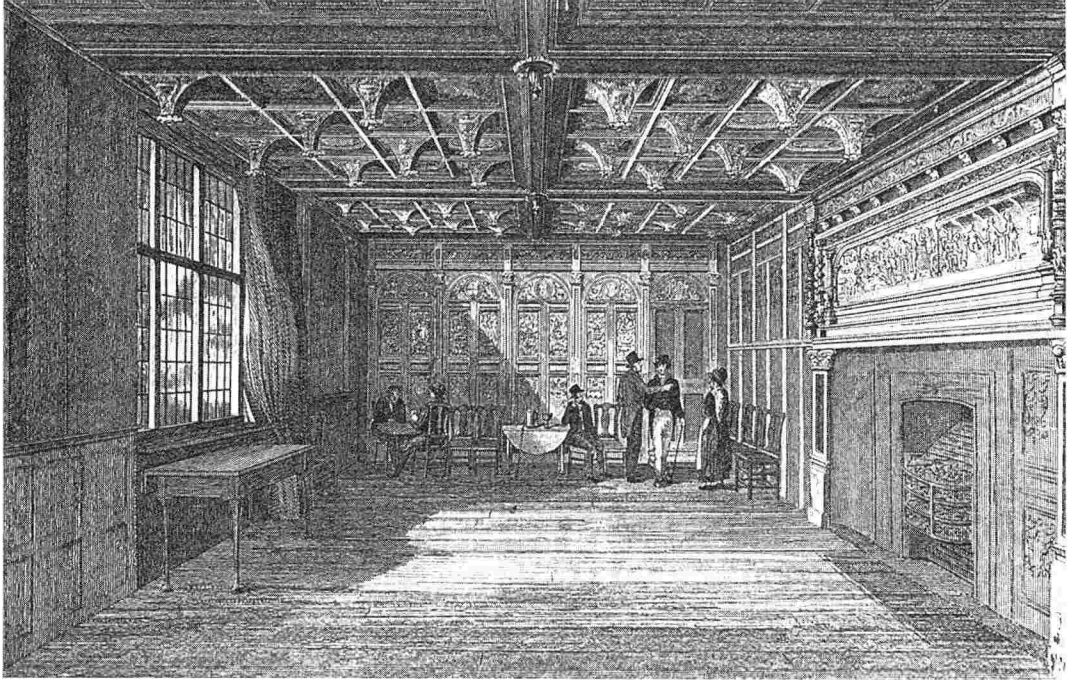
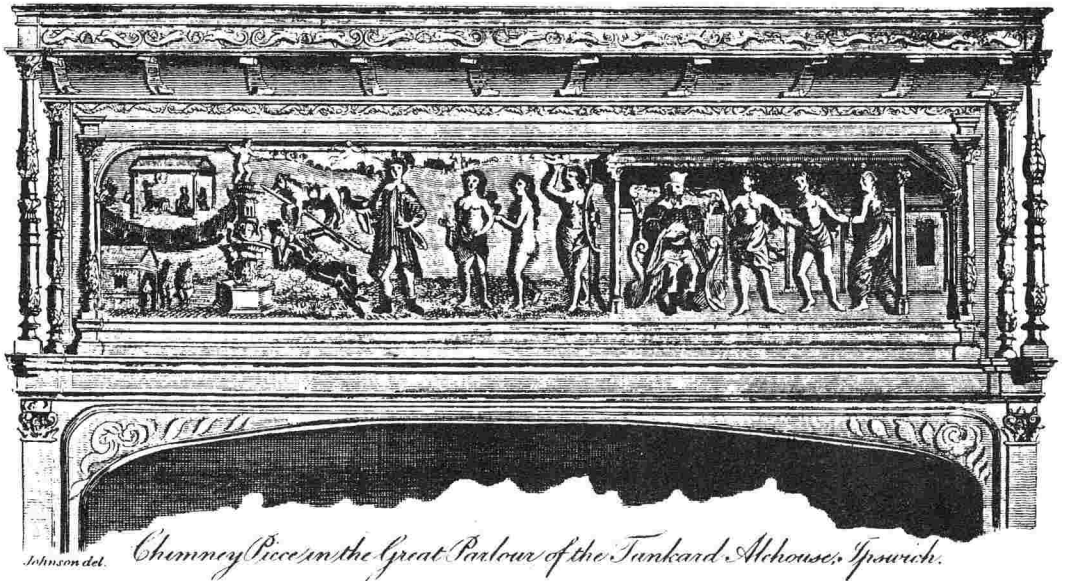


FIG. 1 – The Great Parlour in 1830 (engraving after Henry Davy).



*Johnson del.* Chimney Piece on the Great Parlour of the Turkard Alchouse, Ipswich.

FIG. 2 – Isaac Johnson's engraving of the overmantel illustrated a note by 'R.G.' in *Gent. Mag.*, 1796, Part II, p. 913, the earliest published suggestion that the carved scene represents the Judgement of Paris. Although Gough's *Camden's Britannia*, even the 1813 edition, has the Bosworth Field explanation, R.G. is almost certainly Richard Gough. It is interesting that the name 'Great Parlour' persisted 250 years after it was so called in Sir Humphrey's will of 1543.



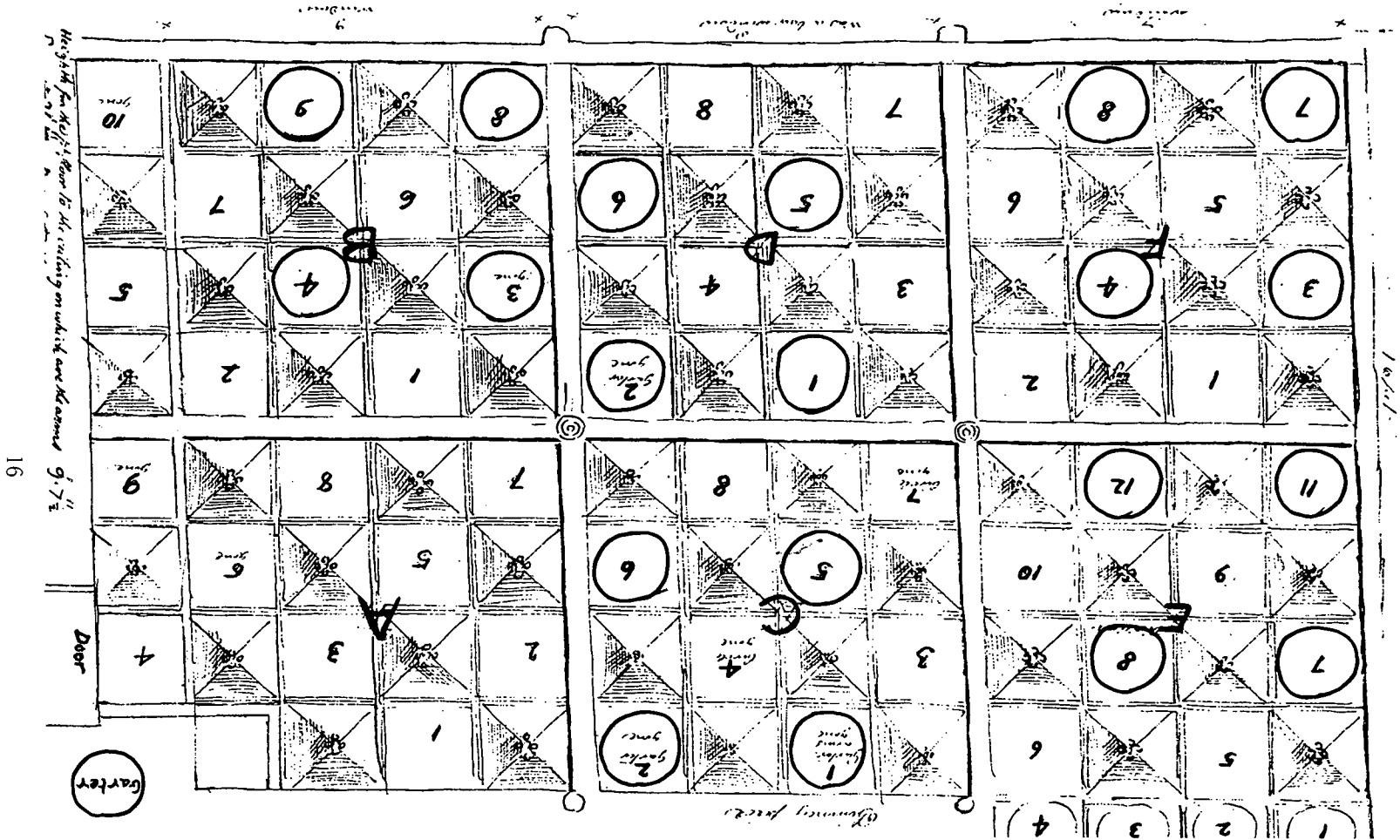


FIG. 3 - D.T. Powell's diagram of the ceiling made in 1817 and slightly modified so that the lettering of the divisions and the numbering of the heraldic panels accords with those used in the Description of the Heraldic Room (p. 22-23).

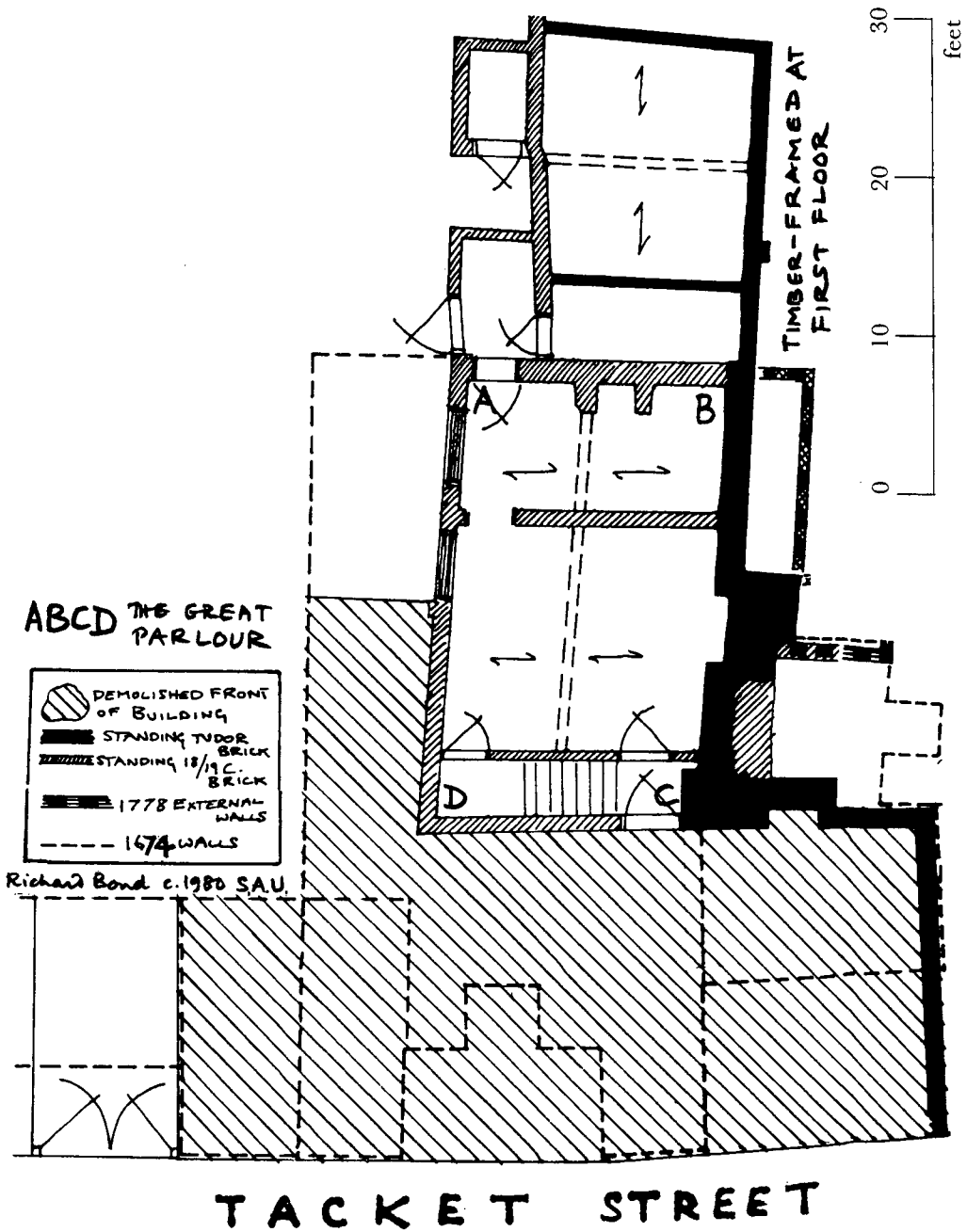


FIG. 4 - Site plan by Richard Bond, c. 1980.

there, the great chamber over the hall and the inner chamber 'unto the same, and the chambers aswell above as beneth the same and the Chamber where I myn selfe have comunly used to lye with all the newe buyldinges thereunto newly made towards the gardeyne there'. These were left to Robert, with remainder to Anne, Sir Humphrey's daughter who had married a Somerset gentleman, Alexander Newton; while the chamber in the house 'over the chamber sometyme called the scole howse there', where the Newtons were lodging, with the chamber over the backhouse there and all the chambers over the gatehouse there to the chamber where Robert was living and 'the saide Chamber sometyme called the scoolehowse with the little chamber annexed to the same', would descend immediately to the Newtons for term of their lives in survivorship, with remainder to Robert. Robert and Alexander would divide between them the remainder of the house: the garden, the hall, parlour, chapel, buttery, 'sellor', pantry, kitchen, larderhouse and backhouse.<sup>6</sup>

This fascinating description reveals a house of considerable complexity, which had been built in at least two different stages. First there was a property which Sir Humphrey had bought from his 'aunt Fastolf'. This must be Mary, the daughter of John Herbert *alias* Yaxley, a leading Suffolk lawyer of the 15th century; she married George Fastolf of London, Bexley and Ipswich, son of John Fastolf of Ipswich and Pond Hall, bordering the Orwell between Nacton and Ipswich. Exactly how she was Sir Humphrey's aunt has yet to be ascertained, although Sir Humphrey can be shown to have a whole network of relationships with the Yaxley circle, including an annuity from John Yaxley's nephew the priest Thomas Yaxley.<sup>7</sup> George seems to have died during 1515 or 1516, since in 1515 Mr 'Fastall' of Ipswich was given a doe from the Duke of Norfolk's deer park at Framlingham, but from 1517 to 1520 it was Mrs Fastolf of Ipswich who received this sign of favour; it is also noticeable that in 1518 Sir Humphrey Wingfield and Mrs Fastolf appear next to each other in the list of those given does, and they were probably at the Park on the same day.<sup>8</sup> It is likely, then, that Sir Humphrey was on friendly terms with Mrs Fastolf and bought the house from her in her widowhood, in the years between 1516 and 1520. It was likely already to have been a substantial building, since the Fastolfs were minor stars in the galaxy of gentry surrounding the Howard family.

To Mrs Fastolf's house, the will tells us that Sir Humphrey added new buildings facing on to the garden. How does this match up to what we can deduce from Ogilby's plan of the property in 1674 (Fig. 6)? It is difficult to be very precise, but Ogilby shows eastern and western groups of buildings separated by a gap where the gatehouse (listed below) may have been sited. We cannot

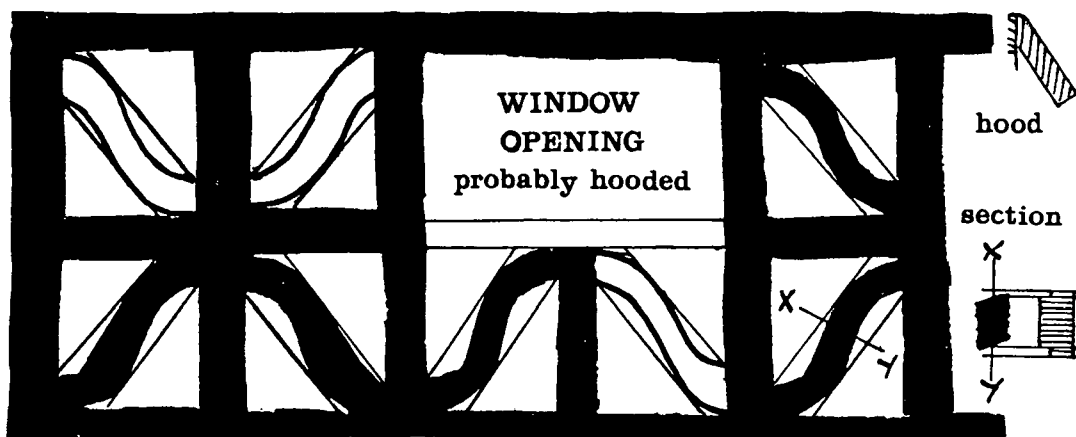


FIG. 5 – The timber framing from the east first-floor wall at the rear of the remaining building. The serpentine braces are made from straight-sided timbers with the surface cut away to provide fixings for laths and plaster.

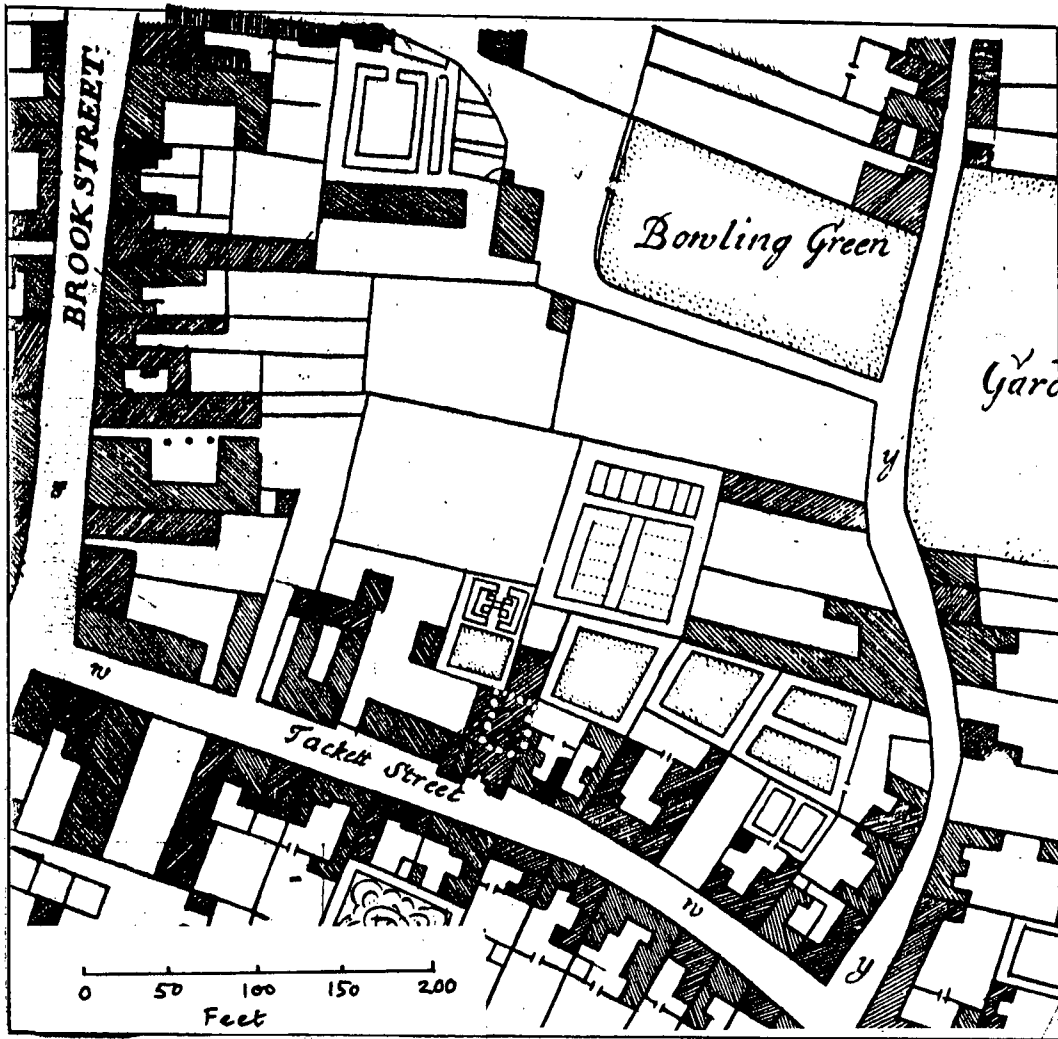


FIG. 6 – From John Ogilby’s map of Ipswich, surveyed 1674, published 1698, showing the Great Parlour in white dotted outline.

be sure that the buildings shown by Ogilby exactly corresponded to those of 130 years before, and in any case Ogilby himself does not give detail of interior arrangements, while Sir Humphrey’s will is not detailed enough to permit an independent reconstruction of his house’s layout. However, we can be confident that the general disposition of the property remained the same, so we know that the garden was at the rear, and that therefore the street frontage represented the earlier part of the building sold to Sir Humphrey by Mrs Fastolf. We have placed the heraldic room on Ogilby with certainty; its windows will have faced on to the garden to the west, an additional reason for supposing that it was one of Sir Humphrey’s additions.<sup>9</sup> It was in this area that his personal chambers were situated; the large chamber over the two existing rooms below may have been one.

Tabulating the rooms mentioned in the will, we can see the house divided by the following arrangements:

<i>Robert and Bridget Wingfield</i>	<i>Public space</i>
Chambers where Robert and Bridget lodge	Rest of house
	Garden
<i>Sir Humphrey, to become Robert and Bridget's</i>	Hall
Great study next the chapel	Parlour
Great Chamber over the Hall	Chapel
Inner chamber unto same	Buttery
Chambers above hall	Cellar
Chambers beneath them	Pantry
Chamber where he lies	Kitchen
All new buildings thereunto by garden	Larderhouse
	Backhouse
<i>Alexander and Anne Newton</i>	
Chamber over school house	
Chamber over backhouse	
All Chambers over gatehouse there to the chamber where Robert lives	
Schoolhouse with little chamber annexed	

It is important to suggest a location for the chapel, helped by the brief notes Peter Le Neve made on passing through Suffolk in August 1722.<sup>10</sup> 'The pedigree of Wingfeld in Mr [blank – probably Mr Benjamin Cocker's] House a boarding School. On the ceiling & sides the arms in paper pasted to the wainscot of the ceiling. The arms of Wingfeld in the wall of the house opposite. Mr Goodrich surgeon married the dau. and coheir. of Capt. Neve there.'

From the heraldic room, then, Le Neve saw Wingfield arms (so that he was looking along and not across the street) on a building in which he knew that a marriage had taken place. Surely this was Sir Humphrey's chapel, running, presumably, east-west and facing the garden. Ogilby shows an appropriate building across the north of the western quadrangle. John Milton's brother, Sir Christopher, the judge, lived there until his death in 1692. He had Catholic leanings and kept the chapel 'popish', something he could not have done had it not been discreetly situated. John Goodrich came of a family of recusants from around Wetherden, and the licence dated 17 December 1705 for his marriage with Mary Neave survives.<sup>11</sup> The site (which later housed the theatre) is still marked 'Chapel' on large scale O.S. maps.

Since after Robert and Bridget's chambers is mentioned 'the great study next to the chapel', they must have been housed around the western quadrangle. This leaves the Newtons in the eastern range but nearer the street than Sir Humphrey since they had 'all the chambers over the gatehouse' (meeting Robert's at its western side); whereas his faced the gardens.

Sir Humphrey thus ended up with a home capable of housing a widower and two different gentry couples in what sounds like reasonable harmony; to judge by the provisions of his will, Sir Humphrey did not envisage any future problem in the two sets of in-laws sharing the occupation of the whole property. Until 1543 the house had three clearly-defined suites of private lodgings with further public space shared by all: the areas for leisure in the open air, worship and eating which were last in Sir Humphrey's list. The 'schoolhouse' mentioned in the will is a reference to Sir Humphrey's particular interest in education; his household here and at his other home at Brantham were run as a humanist training centre for promising boys during the 1520s and 1530s, a scheme which may have represented Sir Humphrey's attempt to compensate for the failure of Cardinal Wolsey's grand plans for a humanist academy in Ipswich a few streets away in St Peter's parish (MacCulloch 1984, 184–85). The fact that the Newtons were occupying the room called the schoolhouse indicates that the education programme had lapsed by 1543; Sir Humphrey was probably too old to sustain it, and the two sets of in-laws may have crowded out



the young men. Indeed, the suite of rooms occupied by the Newtons probably represented the boys' accommodation in previous years.

Alexander Newton was something of an exotic in East Anglia. He was the son of Thomas Newton of Swell in Somerset, and still maintained the family house there at his death in 1569.<sup>12</sup> However, his move to East Anglia is easily explained; he was nephew to the great early Tudor Bishop of Norwich, Richard Nix, himself a Somerset man.<sup>13</sup> Much of Nix's career before his consecration to Norwich had been spent in his native county, where he had been Archdeacon of Wells, and had held the important and wealthy benefice of Chedzoy, half a dozen miles from Swell.<sup>14</sup> After becoming Bishop of Norwich, Nix became a firm friend of Sir Humphrey; the Bishop stood bond for the marriage indentures between Alexander Newton and Anne Wingfield, a kindness which later proved a headache to Robert Wingfield when, sixteen years after Nix's death, the Exchequer pursued an old debt technically owing to the Crown from his bond.<sup>15</sup> The old Bishop was probably something of a hero in the Wingfield and Newton household – Alexander Newton's shortlived son Richard was no doubt named after him – and veneration for his memory is ample reason to account for the strong religious conservatism of both Robert and Alexander. It may well be that Nix was accustomed to stay at Wingfield House on his visits to Ipswich. Certainly he kept a house furnished at Terling in Essex to break his journeys to London, and Terling was the home of Alexander Newton's sister Elizabeth, married to William Rochester, who produced another staunchly Catholic family to bear Nix's memory through the Reformation storms.<sup>16</sup> Newton may have moved out of Wingfield House by 1547, when he was churchwarden of Ipswich's civic church, St Mary-le-Tower; in his will of 1569 he mentions his house in St Mary, Ipswich, with a second house in St Margaret's parish, and he was buried in the little parish church of Braiseworth near Eye, where his monumental brass remains.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps without Sir Humphrey's powerful personality presiding over the household, coexistence between the Newtons and the Wingfields proved less easy. This would leave Robert Wingfield in sole occupation, which seems likely from his account of the hospitality which he gave Queen Mary at the house in July 1553. Robert was probably dead by 1561, when a list of Suffolk freeholders listed his son Humphrey as living at Brantham.<sup>18</sup> After that, Wingfield House seems to have continued in the possession of the Wingfields of Brantham until 1619, when Thomas Wingfield, great-grandson of Robert, with Dame Alice his wife, sold the house to Clippeby Gawdy. Interestingly the house then still had alternative names reflecting the dual occupation of seventy years before: Newton's Lodgings or Wingfield House. Its later ownership need not concern us here.<sup>19</sup>

We can rule out a connection suggested in some of the secondary literature between Wingfield House and Sir Anthony Wingfield of Letheringham K.G., who died in 1552, a nephew of Sir Humphrey, but probably only about ten years his junior. It is a natural mistake to connect a magnificent house of the Wingfield family with the head of the clan rather than with a twelfth son of the Wingfield brood; indeed, the *Dictionary of National Biography* in its article on Roger Ascham makes a similar confusion between Sir Humphrey and Sir Anthony in identifying the household where Ascham was educated. There is no evidence to link the Tacket Street mansion with the senior Letheringham branch of the family. It was at his residence Brokes-hall, about a mile north-east of Ipswich Cornhill on the Norwich Road, that Sir Anthony entertained Queen Katherine on her visit to Gracechurch in 1517. From an inventory of 1638 we learn that Sir Anthony's great-grandson and namesake, the first baronet, had died leaving a house in Brook Street, but in the parishes of St Mary-le-Tower and St Margaret rather than in St Stephen's parish. It too had a gatehouse and courtyard; on Ogilby's map it is just east of St Mary-le-Tower and marked 'W'.<sup>20</sup> Some of the heraldry in the heraldic room suggests a strong connection with Sir Anthony Wingfield, but as we will see, this need not mean that he was resident in the house.

Thus the most likely candidate for building the grand heraldic room on the ground floor of Wingfield House is Sir Humphrey Wingfield himself; the principal mural inscription recorded by Kirby supports this. The style of decoration looks too late for a date before 1516 when the

Fastolfs still owned the house, and in any case the room seems to have been sited in Sir Humphrey's phase of building on the property. The possibility remains that some of its decoration belongs to a phase of ownership in the later 16th century under Robert Wingfield and his descendants. Description and analysis of other inscriptions and the decorations on ceiling and walls may enable us to be more precise.

## II THE DESCRIPTION OF THE HERALDIC ROOM

From Richard Bond's ground plan (Fig. 4) and Powell's drawing of the ceiling layout (Fig. 3)<sup>21</sup> we see that the room was a slightly skewed rectangle; there was an intrusion in the corner by the door and a ceiling recess in the north-east corner. The room lay in the angle between two wings and certainly had other spaces to the north and south; it may have backed on others to the east.

In its long west wall, the room was lit by three windows, the centre apparently originally projecting, since Powell's note on the central bay on his plan reads 'was a bow window'. In the wall opposite the main bay window was a grand fireplace and overmantel centring on a panel depicting the Judgement of Paris (Fig. 2). Davy and Powell show that the ceiling was divided into six by a main central north-south beam and two east-west beams. Not surprisingly, since one side wall of the room at most remains, these beams have gone; it could be that the ceiling construction was rather theatrical and not intended to last as long as it did. The general scheme was that each division consisted of sixteen square panels, half, chequer-wise, decorated by pendants, the others by heraldry; however, because of the irregularities in the room plan the ceiling missed one panel in the extreme south-east, then had to accommodate a further line of seven panels on the south side by the door besides a set of four for a recess in the north-east corner. The heraldry was, according to Le Neve,<sup>22</sup> oil-painted on paper and glued to the ceiling; coats of arms, some encircled by but nowhere touching the Garter, took up half the heraldic spaces in a regular pattern which however did not take in the south-eastern division. The surviving descriptions are of 1817 and 1828 (respectively Powell and D.E. Davy), by which time the ceiling was already damaged; Powell peeled off some of the surviving oil-painted arms from the ceiling – they are still with his drawings – so that when Davy arrived to take notes, it is not surprising that he could record only fourteen coats, less than half the number that Powell had seen a decade earlier. The following scheme shows the arrangement from south to north, taking pairs of divisions at a time.

### A. South-east division

1. Wingfield quarterly with girdle and tassels, mullet difference: *Henry Wingfield, priest, d. 1500 (VII.3)*.
2. Wingfield quarterly impaling Woodville, crescent difference: *Sir Edward Wingfield (VII.2) and Anne, dau. of Richard Woodville, 1st Earl Rivers*.
3. Brewse impaling Wingfield quarterly: *Robert Brewse of Wenham Parva, d. 1513, and Katherine Wingfield, d. 1525 (VII.15)*.
4. Lost
5. Wingfield quarterly impaling Durward: *John Wingfield d. 1509 (VII.4) and Margaret, dau. of Richard Durward of Barking, Essex*.
6. Lost
7. Wingfield quarterly: *?Thomas, d.s.p. 1485, probably at Bosworth (VII.6)*.
8. Wingfield quarterly impaling Waldegrave, annulet difference: *Sir William Wingfield, d. 1491 (VII.5) and Joan, dau. of Sir Thomas Waldegrave*.
9. Lost

### B. South-west division

1. Wingfield quarterly impaling Macwilliam, rose or pierced 5-foil difference: *Walter Wingfield (VII.8) and his wife*.
2. Wingfield quarterly impaling Wentworth, cinquefoil difference: *Edmund Wingfield, d. 1530 (VII.10) and Margaret, dau. of Henry Wentworth*.
3. Garter: Lost

4. Garter: Wingfield quarterly, 8 point star difference: *Sir Richard Wingfield d. 1525, K.G. 1522 (VII.11).*
5. Wingfield quarterly imp. Wiltshire, 8 point star difference: *Sir Richard Wingfield d. 1525 (VII.11).*
6. Wingfield quarterly impaling Noone, 6 point estoile difference: *Lewis Wingfield (VII.9) and Margaret, dau. of Henry Noone of Martlesham.*
7. Wingfield quarterly impaling Wiseman, 5 point star difference: *Sir Humphrey Wingfield d. 1545 (VII.12) and Anne, dau. of Simon Wiseman of Great Canfield, Essex.*
8. Garter: Howard quarterly: *?Thomas 2nd Duke of Norfolk, K.G. 1510.*
9. Garter: Wingfield quarterly, 6 (not 8) point star difference: *Richard Wingfield d. 1525, (VII.11), K.G. 1522.*
10. Lost

C. Centre division east by fireplace

1. Garter: Lost
2. Garter: Lost
3. Wingfield quarterly impaling lost: *?Sir Humphrey Wingfield.*
4. 'Circle gone' (Powell): Lost
5. Garter and Circle drawn by Powell: Brandon quarterly: *Charles Brandon, K.G. 1513.*
6. Garter: Vere qu. Howard: *John, 15th Earl of Oxford, d. 1540, K.G. 1527.*
7. 'Circle gone'
8. Wingfield quarterly impaling Touchet: *Sir John Wingfield, d. 1509 (VII.1) and Anne, dau. of John Touchet, Baron Audley.*

D. Centre division west

1. Garter: Tudor rose
2. Garter: lost
3. France modern impaling France modern quartering England: *Louis XII and Mary.*
4. Wentworth of 6: *Thomas, 1st Lord Wentworth, d. 1551.*
5. Garter: France modern quartering England: *Henry VIII, K.G. 1495.*
6. Garter: Brandon quarterly: *Charles, Duke of Suffolk, K.G. 1513.*
7. Brandon quarterly imp. Willoughby of 6: *Charles, Duke of Suffolk, after 4th marriage to Katherine Willoughby 1534.*
8. Vere quarterly impaling Neville quarterly: *John 16th Earl of Oxford during 1st marriage to Dorothy Neville, 1536–47.*

E. North-east division

1. Newton impaling Wingfield quarterly, cinquefoil difference: *Alexander, son of Thomas Newton of Swell, Som., d. 1569 and Anne, dau. of Sir Humphrey Wingfield (VII.12).*
2. Tyrrell impaling Willoughby of 6: *Sir Thomas Tyrrell of Gipping, d. 1551, and Margaret, dau. of Christopher, Lord Willoughby.*
3. Wiseman: *Simon Wiseman, d. 1496, father of Anne, wife of Sir Humphrey Wingfield (VII.12).*
4. Glemham impaling Brandon: *John Glemham, d. 1535, and Eleanor his wife, dau. of Sir William Brandon.*
5. Wingfield quarterly impaling Pargiter: *Robert Wingfield, d. c. 1561, and his wife, dau. of Sir John Pargiter, Lord Mayor of London 1529–30.*
6. Brandon quarterly imp. Willoughby of 6: *Charles, Duke of Suffolk, after 4th marriage to Katherine Willoughby 1534.*
7. Garter: Wingfield quarterly: *Sir Anthony Wingfield, d. 1551, K.G. 1541 (VIII.1).*
8. Garter: France modern quartering England: *Henry VIII, K.G. 1495.*
9. Wingfield quarterly impaling Wiseman: *Sir Humphrey Wingfield, d. 1545 (VII.12) and Anne Wiseman his wife.*
10. Hopton quarterly impaling Owen quarterly: *Arthur, son of Sir George Hopton, d. c. 1556, and Anne, dau. of Sir David Owen of Cowdray, Sussex.*
11. Garter: Brandon quarterly: *Charles, Duke of Suffolk, K.G. 1513.*
12. Garter: England with a label: *?Mowbray Dukes of Norfolk.*

F. North-west division

1. Vere quarterly impaling Howard quarterly: *John, 14th Earl of Oxford, d. 1526, and Anne his wife, dau. of Thomas, 2nd Duke of Norfolk.*
2. Wingfield quarterly impaling Vere quarterly: *Sir Anthony Wingfield, d. 1551 (VIII.1 = IX.) K.G. 1541.*
3. Garter: St George.
4. Garter: Brandon quarterly: *Charles, Duke of Suffolk, K.G. 1513.*
5. Curzon: *Sir Robert, Lord Curzon, d. 1534.*
6. Vere quarterly impaling Scrope quarterly: *John, 13th Earl of Oxford, during 2nd marriage to Elizabeth Scrope, 1509–13.*
7. Garter: Wingfield quarterly: *Sir Anthony Wingfield, d. 1551, K.G. 1541 (VIII.1).*
8. Garter: France Modern quartering England: *Henry VIII, K.G. 1495.*

Additional heraldry

Both Powell and Davy recorded arms carved in oak on the walls, and some of them can be seen today (heights of shields in centimetres are listed below for those extant and panelling the

Wingfield Room at Christchurch Mansion). As usual, the records of antiquaries are somewhat confused, but the woodcarver certainly used the fleur-de-lys in chief point as the cadency mark for Sir Humphrey Wingfield.

Powell drew or made rubbings of the following:

- a. Wingfield impaling Vere quartering Howard: *Sir Anthony Wingfield, d. 1551* (11cm high).
- b. Wingfield quarterly with a fleur-de-lys: *Sir Humphrey Wingfield*.

Three coats on adjoining panels, from the left:

- c. Wingfield quarterly impaling Wiseman with male angel supporters: *Sir Humphrey Wingfield* (19cm) [penes F.A. Crisp in 1890].
- d. Garter: Wingfield quarterly with helm and crest, a winged 16 point star: *Sir Anthony Wingfield, K.G. 1541* (16cm).
- e. Wingfield impaling a plain sinister half shield with female angel supporters.
- f. Wingfield impaling Neville: *Humphrey Wingfield, son of Robert, d. 1578*.
- g. a plain quartered shield with the royal supporters, griffin and greyhound: ?*Henry VIII*.
- h. Brandon quarterly: *Charles, Duke of Suffolk*.
- i. Vere quartering Howard: *Sir George Vere, d. 1503, father-in-law to Sir Anthony Wingfield (VIII.1)*.
- j. Wingfield quarterly impaling Vere quartering Howard: *Sir Anthony Wingfield, d. 1551, and Elizabeth Vere his wife*.
- k. Quarterly Neville, Warren, Clare, Beauchamp: *Sir Thomas Neville of Old Holt, Essex, whose daughter Elizabeth married Humphrey Wingfield, d. 1578*.
- l. Wingfield impaling Noone: *Lewis Wingfield (VII.9), died between 1523 and 1527, m. Margaret dau. of Henry Noone (d. 1488)*.
- m. Wingfield with the fleur-de-lys: *Sir Humphrey Wingfield*.

D.E. Davy counted three on the north wall, two on the south wall and two north of the chimney piece on the east wall, as follows:

N. Wall: g. above.  
Gowsell qu. Bovile ?  
i. above.

S. Wall: k. above.  
l. above.

E. Wall: Wingfield with the fleur-de-lys impaling Wiseman: *Sir Humphrey Wingfield* (13cm).  
Wingfield with the fleur-de-lys: *ditto* m. above?

Two shields with Wiseman only, 16cm and 12cm, one Wingfield plain coat 13cm and a 12cm shield with a plain cross also remain at Christchurch Mansion. The initials H and A which occur stand, of course, for Humphrey and Anne Wingfield, not, as so many writers assert, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. The Henry Davy engraving of the room (Fig. 1) shows five semi-circular panels on the north wall; all are still in existence, and resemble in style and quality panels in the choir screen at King's College chapel where HR and AS must have regal significance. There the woodwork must have been made between 1533 and 1536, consistent with the dating of the Wingfield house panels to Sir Anthony's creation as Knight of the Garter in 1541. From the left the five panels probably showed:

1. A putto head.
2. Royal Arms with Garter.
3. Wingfield with the fleur-de-lys impaling Wiseman: *Sir Humphrey Wingfield*.
4. A plain shield 19cm in a circle.
5. An elaborate urn in a circle.

*The Inscriptions 'upon the wainscot, cieling &c'.*

Whether the inscription proving that Sir Humphrey Wingfield built the house (quoted above, p. 15) and those that follow were erased or painted over by 1817 we do not know, but only Joshua Kirby who visited the house with Thomas Martin and made notes for him which survive in Stowe MS 881 mentions them at all: 'Letters upon ye Cieling, in a House in Tankard Street, Ipswich formerly the Mansion of Sr Humphrey Wingfield, Knight of ye Garter' [*sic*].

Two inscriptions in rusticated Lombardics are placed alternately on the ceiling panels.

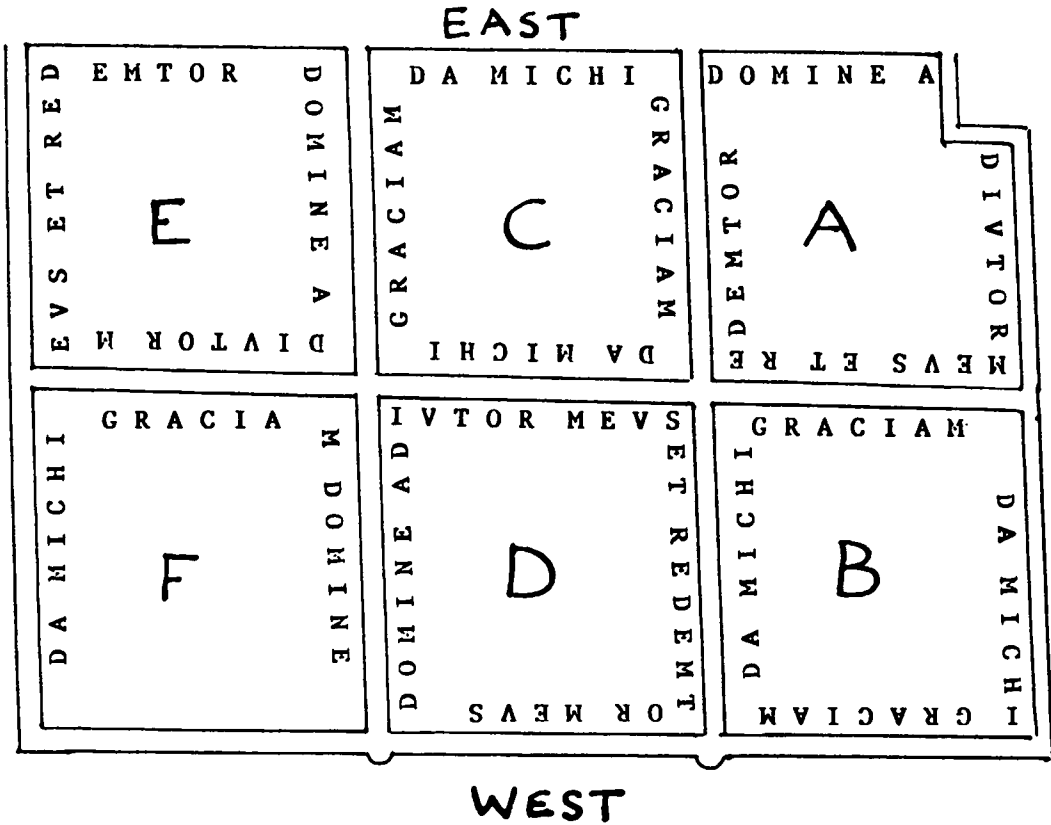


FIG. 7 – Joshua Kirby’s record of the ceiling inscriptions.

(The longer motto was one often used by Thomas Wolsey.)

We are not told where Kirby saw this eight-line poem in elegiacs:

QVI COHIBET [VIOLENTEM] ANIMI SERVATQVE DECORVM,  
 DICTIS ET FACTIS IS MODERATVS ERIT.  
 ERGO VT SIS TALIS, TECVM TVA VOTA REPENDAS:  
 [TV] BONA PERSEQVERE [ET,] CETERA MISSA FACE!  
 HIC LOCVS EST VENIAE, TANTVM DVM VESCIMVR AVRA,  
 IVS SVMMVM NOBIS ALTERA VITA FERET.  
 EST SATIVS PLACIDOS AD TEMPVS FERRE LABORES,  
 SVPPPLICIA ET[ER]NIS QVAM TOLERARE ROGIS.

(The man who keeps his violent feelings in check, and preserves a courteous manner,  
 will exercise self control in his words and actions.  
 Accordingly, to be sure that you turn out to be that sort of person,  
 weigh carefully in your heart your intentions.  
 Be sure that you carefully follow what is good, and let everything else go by.  
 Here, there is room for pardon only as long as you are alive;  
 the next life will bring us perfect justice.  
 It is better to do our work peacefully as the time allows,  
 rather than suffer punishment for ever beyond the grave.)

There is a clearer indication where the last recorded poem was situated: 'About ye Chimney Piece': IHS, the sacred monogram, [perhaps left over from an earlier scheme of decoration], and four lines from the Elegies of Propertius with one textual change in the second line: 'puras' for 'miras'.

QUICV[N]QVE ILLE FVIT, PVERV[M] QVI PINXIT AMOR[EM],  
 NONNE PVTAS PURAS HVNC HABVISSE MANVS?  
 IS PRIMVM VIDIT SINE SENSU VIVERE AMANTES,  
 ET LEVIBUS CVRIS MAGNA PERIRE BONA.

Whoever was the first to paint Love as a boy,  
 don't you think he had pure [clever] hands?  
 He first saw that lovers live thoughtless lives,  
 and they lose great blessings through trivial troubles.

The significance of these unexpected features will be discussed below.

### III ANALYSIS OF THE HERALDRY AND DECORATION

What is immediately striking about the heraldry of the ceiling is the unusual medium in which it is executed: oil-paint on paper glued to the ceiling structure. Powell's antiquarian vandalism showed how easy it was to remove the shields substantially intact, and it is surprising that they remained into his time to the extent that they did; very few such schemes can have survived, even in part, from 16th-century England. Why was this medium chosen? One explanation is that the whole scheme was intended to be easily altered. It was executed for one occasion, but there might be others when it could be replaced or modified with a different reference. We must therefore be alert to alterations made not simply through the passage of time – through slipshod replacement, for instance – but with a deliberate purpose in mind.

The scheme of heraldry as it stands seems untidy, but nevertheless an outline plan is clear: a threefold arrangement, with each of the three sections consisting of two divisions of the ceiling. The south section (AB) is given over to a display of the heraldry of the Wingfield children of Sir Humphrey Wingfield's generation, the sons and daughters of Sir John Wingfield of Letheringham and his wife Elizabeth FitzLewis: no fewer than sixteen strong, twelve sons and four daughters from a single mother, all of whom survived into adult life. The Wingfield family was clearly inordinately proud of this achievement, and celebrated it in heraldry not only here but on Sir John and Lady Elizabeth's tomb in Letheringham Priory Church, in a painting or stained glass window, copies of which still survive, and in a mid-16th-century family pedigree roll (for details of these other displays, see Appendix). The eight-line poem in elegiacs summarising the ethical traditions of the family seems to fit here. The centre section (CD) is dominated by royal and aristocratic heraldry, in which the main motif is the royal connection of Sir Humphrey's cousin Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, through his impulsive love-match with Mary the French Queen, sister to Henry VIII. The northern section (EF) seems more miscellaneous, but it is here that east Suffolk gentry appear who are neither close relatives of Humphrey nor great aristocrats.

What indications of date do we have? For section AB the significant fact is the lack of interest in Wingfield generations after the prodigy sixteen: the only intruder is a coat apparently for the second Duke of Norfolk. The generation of Robert Wingfield, Sir Humphrey's son, or Sir Anthony Wingfield, elsewhere prominently represented, is not present. The messages presented by section CD are confusing, but Brandon's royal marriage of 1515 is the most obvious theme. EF has the most significance. If we isolate the gentry there depicted who are neither aristocrats nor close relatives of Sir Humphrey, we find a cross-section of the east Suffolk justices most prominent in the 1510s and 1520s: Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Sir John Glemham, Sir Arthur Hopton, Sir Robert Curzon. Moreover, if we consider all the people who can be definitely identified in

section EF, we find that out of eleven, eight including the King are connected by their service in the military campaigns which took place in France in 1513, when Charles Brandon was marshal of the invading army. Of the seven apart from Henry VIII, five (Thomas Tyrrell, John Glemham, Anthony Wingfield, Arthur Hopton and John 14th Earl of Oxford) received their knighthoods as a result of the French campaign, while Charles Brandon had been made Knight of the Garter on the eve of it in April 1513; Curzon, already a knight and a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, served as a captain in France. In addition, John, 13th Earl of Oxford, whose coat also appears in this section, had been left to guard the Norfolk and Suffolk coast against French attacks during the 1513 campaign.<sup>23</sup> Amid the genealogical entanglements of east Suffolk, this group also stands out as the Duke of Suffolk's closer relatives. The Chronicler of Butley Priory noted the French Queen's hunting visits to Glemham and Wingfield in 1527 and 1528, while Tyrrell, Glemham, Wingfield and Hopton or their wives were among the most prominent mourners at the French Queen's burial at Bury Abbey in 1533. Tyrrell and various members of the Glemham and Wingfield families were members of the household of the Duke of Suffolk.<sup>24</sup> There are thus three distinct messages in the heraldry: the boast of Sir Humphrey's generation of the Wingfield family to prodigy status; a compliment to Charles Brandon, who by his marriage with the French Queen had brought himself into the English royal family; and a reminiscence of the time in 1513 when Brandon's friends and relatives among the east Suffolk gentry were also his comrades in arms. What might have united these themes, and justified the gathering of this heraldic ensemble?

The second decade of the century brought East Anglia a number of set-piece progresses by the great and the good. Queen Katherine of Aragon and Cardinal Wolsey both paid formal visits to Ipswich in 1517, drawn by a sensational miracle at the shrine of Our Lady of Grace in spring 1516 (MacCulloch 1986, 144–46). However, an equally sensational event in summer 1516, and one particularly near to Sir Humphrey Wingfield's heart, would have been the triumphal return of Charles Brandon to Suffolk with his new royal bride. The Duke had gone through some anxious moments after his secret marriage to Mary in February 1515; Henry VIII had been furious at the *fait accompli*, and Charles might well have been executed had it not been for Wolsey's intercession with the King (a kindness for which Charles showed scant gratitude later).<sup>25</sup> Restored precariously to favour – at considerable cost – he was allowed to celebrate his marriage publicly at Greenwich in May 1515, and the following year he made his first progress into his home territory of Suffolk with the French Queen.

The Duke still had plenty of anxieties, for the King's grudging restoration of favour had left him with massive financial burdens, but his return to Suffolk could not but be a local triumph. It is recorded in a variety of surviving sources; we catch glimpses of the Duke and the French Queen hunting at Framlingham, the Queen's presence softening the normally frosty relations between the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, and during June and July we see the couple making other visits to Butley Priory and the Abbot of Bury's country retreat at Elmswell.<sup>26</sup> What is not recorded is the Duke's visit to Ipswich, but given his East Anglian travels, such a visit would have been almost inevitable. Indeed, Ipswich may well have been the base for his travels round the county, but this might present problems of accommodation. It is likely that if the Duke did eventually acquire an Ipswich house in Brook Street near Wingfield House, he had not done so by 1516; when Queen Katherine came to Ipswich in 1517, she lodged with Lord Curzon, who would surely have yielded precedence to the Duke's lodging if it had been practicable. The Duke's embarrassing lack of an adequate home anywhere in Suffolk at this time may have driven him to call on Sir Humphrey Wingfield's hospitality during his first Ipswich visit.<sup>27</sup> (On the Duke's shortage of a home, see MacCulloch 1986, 60.) Wingfield had been Brandon's general attorney for some years, and at this difficult time he was certainly close to the Duke, testing the political atmosphere at Court for him during his absence in Norwich in January 1516; and in his letter from Elmswell of 13 July 1516, the Duke successfully solicited for Sir Humphrey the highest appointed permanent office within the county, that of *custos rotulorum*, president of the justices' Bench.<sup>28</sup>

How does this relate to the heraldic room at Wingfield House? 1516 was the first year in which Sir Humphrey had the chance to buy the Tacket Street house from Mrs Fastolf. If he bought the house as early as this, he may well have started extending the building straight away, and with the Duke's imminent progress in mind. One sign that the heraldic room was added to earlier buildings has already been noted: the slight irregularities in plan which may indicate that it was fitted into the angle between earlier wings. Perhaps the room was a rushed job, with a very particular purpose. Clearly the most important of the ceiling's three sections was in the centre (CD), the section which concentrated on Charles Brandon himself. If a viewer stood here, back to the window, above would be the coats of Louis XII, Henry VIII and Brandon, and the rose emblem for Mary, and in front, the great fireplace. Above the fireplace was carved the Judgement of Paris, the ultimate story of a young man's rejection of both power and wisdom in favour of love, and the lines of Propertius somewhere 'about ye Chimney Piece' made ironic reference to the lovers' troubles:

Whoever was the first to paint Love as a boy,  
don't you think he had pure hands?  
He first saw that lovers live thoughtless lives,  
and they lose great blessings through trivial troubles.

Surely all this was arranged for two particular viewers to see. They may have just arrived in Ipswich, to be welcomed at the new home of their cousin. They may have walked in from the courtyard if there was a central doorway in the west wall of the heraldic room: standing there, with perhaps the evening sunshine of summer flooding in from behind them and lighting up the scene before them, the Duke and his bride could take in the message of the Judgement of Paris and appreciate the delicacy of this classical allusion to their lovematch and their still uncertain situation. Perhaps they might hear an additional play on words in the subject of the relief: Brandon's choice of his royal bride had been a judgement of Paris in a different sense, for it had taken place in the French capital! They could then be taken through the heraldry of the flanking sections. On the right-hand side was the pride of the Wingfields, with perhaps as many as possible of the surviving members of Sir Humphrey's generation of the family gathered to greet their ducal cousin, together with Sir Humphrey's household and his three-year-old son Robert. On the left, the heraldic display recalled the happy memories of Brandon's military exploits three years before, with the reassurance of the good wishes of his former comrades in arms – they may well also have been standing there in the flesh to greet him. Perhaps the whole display was explained to them in a pageant, like a miniature version of those customary in royal entries and progresses of the period. It would not be surprising after such an extravagant but beautifully stage-managed compliment that Suffolk was anxious to show his gratitude by securing the custodship for his cousin.

On this reconstruction from a great deal of circumstantial evidence, the heraldic room represents a spectacular example of a *pièce d'occasion* commemorating a highly significant political event for the gentry of east Suffolk. Perhaps the room may be associated with a later formal visit by Brandon than his initial progress of 1516, but the need for such an elaborate commemoration would have been less, and the choice of the Judgement of Paris for the overmantel would have lost much of its resonance. Nor is there any reason to associate the room with the visits to Ipswich of Queen Katherine and Cardinal Wolsey in 1517; Katherine stayed down the road from Wingfield House with Lord Curzon, and the account of her reception in Ipswich does not even suggest that Brandon and the French Queen were present. In any case, the room's decoration has no obvious surviving reference to Katherine, and its secular and heraldic emphasis hardly seems appropriate for what was primarily a royal pilgrimage to Gracechurch.

However, one must face up to the considerable problems presented for this beguiling hypothesis by the heraldry of the ceiling as recorded in the nineteenth century and described above. Some of it is simply too late for a ceremonial welcome in 1516. Nearly every division of the ceiling causes problems:



- B4. Garter: Sir Richard Wingfield, made K.G. 1522.  
 B9. Garter: ?Sir Richard Wingfield, made K.G. 1522.  
 C6. Garter: John, 15th Earl of Oxford, made K.G. 1527.  
 D7. Charles, Duke of Suffolk, after 4th marriage to Katherine Willoughby, 1534–45, or his son Henry, second Duke (1535–51). NB no Garter shown.  
 D8. John, 16th Earl of Oxford, during 1st marriage to Dorothy Neville, 1536–48.  
 E1. Alexander Newton, d. 1569.  
 E6. Charles, Duke of Suffolk, after 4th marriage to Katherine Willoughby, 1534–45, or his son Henry, second Duke (1535–51). NB no Garter shown.  
 E7 and F7. Garter: Sir Anthony Wingfield, made K.G. 1541.

From the additional heraldry on the walls, one should note the prominence of reference to Sir Anthony Wingfield (a, d, i, j), also seen in E7 and F7; this seems odd in the house of another branch of the Wingfield family, and once more, shield d shows Sir Anthony's heraldry with the Garter, not conferred on him until 1541. Two additional shields (f, k) refer to Sir Humphrey's grandson, but this is hardly surprising, and easily accounted for as minor updating in a family addicted to its own heraldry and genealogy.

It will be seen that besides the curious emphasis on Sir Anthony Wingfield, there are three forms of anomaly involved: references to Knights of the Garter dubbed later than the second decade of the century, references to the fourth marriage of Brandon and references to later figures from Sir Humphrey Wingfield's family. The third category of anomaly is easily explained; it is the first and most numerous category, the Garter reference, which is the most troublesome. At first sight, this seems a devastating objection to the hypothesis of a 1516 date for the ceiling, since the distribution of Garters across the ceiling is in a regular and clearly deliberate pattern (Fig. 3). However, one notes that the pattern does not cover the whole ceiling; division A is unaffected by it, for the simple reason that none of the prodigy Wingfield generation achieved the honour of the Garter except Sir Richard (VII.11), in 1522. We then notice that he appears no fewer than three times in division B, twice with the Garter (B4, B9) and once without (B5), the only Wingfield to be repeated apart from Sir Humphrey and Sir Anthony.

There is a further anomaly in Sir Richard's heraldry. All the heraldry of the prodigy Wingfield generation in AB follows a consistent formula in blazoning: Wingfield quarterly impaling heraldry of spouse (the formula reversed in the case of Katherine Wingfield, A3). This is also the case for the 'stray' from the prodigy generation in division C, Sir John Wingfield (C8). The formula is followed in the display of Richard Wingfield *without* the Garter (B5), but is not followed in his display *with* the Garter (B4, B9). The conclusion must be that the Garter displays of Sir Richard were not painted at the same time as the rest of the Wingfield display in AB.

This provides the key to understanding what has happened to the heraldic display of the ceiling, if we remember that the shields were painted on paper and therefore could easily be altered. The Garter pattern has been imposed on the original scheme of the ceiling, which has had to be altered to accept it. Originally section AB of the ceiling, not counting the outer line of panels in the anomalous space at the south (A4, A9, B5, B10), provided sixteen squares for sixteen members of the prodigy Wingfield generation, and probably did so perfectly consistently according to the blazoning formula already noted. Now this must be modified to house the Garter pattern. Garters could not invade division A, since they would disrupt the Wingfield heraldry too much; however, they could invade division B on the strength of Sir Richard Wingfield K.G., who now appeared twice in two new shields with Garters, with his pre-Garter shield from the first phase of the ceiling moved into a side division (B5). Thomas, second Howard Duke of Norfolk, K.G. had to be imported into division B to provide another shield with the Garter (B8), and a further Garter shield at B3, now lost, was perhaps for someone else. This involved removing four Wingfield shields from the sixteen spaces to make room for the four intruders. This could be achieved by removing three out of the four Wingfield daughters and spouses from their positions, leaving only A3 and also removing Sir John Wingfield to a position of greater prominence in the 'royal' central section of the ceiling at C8.

Once this was done, and it was accepted that section A of the ceiling would have to remain entirely without Garters, a pattern could be imposed on the rest of the ceiling with reasonable ease. After all, in the original scheme there was a considerable number of men who were entitled to display the Garter by 1516 and may already have been thus depicted (B8, C5, D5, D6, E8, E11, F4, F8); these could be manipulated to create the pattern, with the aid of those more recently honoured (B4, B9, C6, E7, F7). If there were problems, these could be made up by using the Garter to frame appropriate symbols, like the Tudor rose (D1) or the Cross of St George (F3). One can imagine Sir Humphrey, with his cultivated interest in gentlemanly pursuits – or his antiquarian-minded son Robert – working out these alterations with great glee, perhaps with the aid of the resident pupils as an exercise in heraldic diplomacy.

What was the aim of all this ingenuity, and why the emphasis on the Garter? To understand this we need to remember the room's heraldic interest in Sir Anthony Wingfield, at first sight so puzzling in the house of his uncle Humphrey. On the ceiling this interest is particularly clear from the resiting of the arms of Sir John Wingfield (VII.1) from the Wingfield section of the ceiling AB to a position of honour in front of the fireplace in division C; Sir John was Sir Anthony's father. Sir Anthony was the only Wingfield of his generation to be honoured with the Garter. Even a glance at his entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* will make clear his eminence; with Thomas, Lord Wentworth, his cousin and close colleague, he was probably the most important political resident in Suffolk after the departure of his cousin the Duke of Suffolk for residence in Lincolnshire in 1537.<sup>29</sup> A leading Court official and member of the King's Council from 1542, he was four times elected knight of the shire for the county.

The occasion of Sir Anthony's receipt of the Garter in 1541 would be a particular cause for local rejoicing. It may have left one decorative trace in Suffolk in the home of the minor gentleman John Roser at Hacheston; in 1541 he built a new fireplace in which the initials and heraldic devices of Sir Anthony Wingfield and Elizabeth Vere his wife were given the place of honour, although without any direct reference to the Garter.<sup>30</sup> At Wingfield House we can envisage a somewhat similar ceremony to our hypothetical 1516 reception for Brandon and the French Queen when Wingfield returned in triumph from Windsor and the Court to his native county. The date of the reordering of the ceiling would thus be 1541; a further indication of this being the date of the alterations is provided by the heraldry of the Duke of Suffolk or his son at D7 and E6 and of the sixteenth Earl of Oxford at D8, which has reference to marriages lasting respectively 1534–45 and 1536–47. Once more we may speculate whether these gentlemen were among those present to pay their compliments to Sir Anthony when he made his entrance to the heraldic room.

To sum up: the hypothesis in this paper is that the vanished ceiling of the sumptuous reception room in Wingfield House successively both commemorated and formed the setting for two great ceremonial receptions which reflected glory on the Wingfield family; the first visit of the Duke of Suffolk and the French Queen may have sealed Sir Humphrey Wingfield's appointment as *custos rotulorum* for Suffolk, and in the second, the old lawyer would have been paying due tribute to the nephew who had managed to surpass even his own achievements as a county magnate. When Sir Humphrey's son entertained another Queen Mary in 1553 at a crucial moment in her assumption of royal power, Wingfield House in Tacket Street showed that it was the house most fit for a queen in Ipswich. It may already have proved this some four decades before.

## APPENDIX

### THE TWELVE WINGFIELDS AND THEIR HERALDIC CADENCY MARKS

Sir John Wingfield of Letheringham and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John FitzLewis, had twelve sons and four daughters, most of whom made good marriages. Three of the sons, at least,

achieved high offices of state at home and abroad: Robert, Richard and Humphrey. Henry, 'notwithstanding the fact that his fingers were crooked' had the Pope's dispensation in 1482 to take all orders, and his sister Elizabeth the elder became a nun.

The normal marks of heraldic cadency go no further than the ninth son, and there are none for daughters. In displays of the coats of arms of this large family of Wingfields some extension of the series was necessary. A pedigree roll of the family made about 1567, almost certainly by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, shows some, others painted on stone shields on the parents' monument at Letheringham were recorded by William Hervy, Clarenceux King of Arms, before they faded, and the oil paintings on board at Boughton and on canvas at Tickencote, which appear to have been painted in the late 16th century for the lineal descendants of Sir Henry Wingfield, Governor of Orford Castle (died 1494), a younger brother of Sir John the father of the sixteen Wingfields who fill the complete upper and lower levels of the composition, show the correct impaled coats for marriages where appropriate, but omit all cadency marks.

In the table which follows, the numbering again follows that in Joan Corder's Harleian Society edition of Hervy's 1561 *Visitation of Suffolk*.

	Sons of Gen. VII	Formal system	Glover Pedigree Roll	Wingfield House ceiling Ipswich
1	Sir John	(label while heir)	–	–
2	Sir Edward	crescent	crescent	crescent
3	Henry, priest	mullet	–	mullet (and on tomb)
4	Sir John	martlet	martlet	–
5	William	annulet	–	annulet
6	[?Sir] Thomas	fleur-de-lys	–	(trefoil slipped on tomb)
7	Sir Robert	rose	–	–
8	Walter	cross moline	–	rose or pierced 5-foil
9	Lewis	double 4-foil	estoile (8pt)	estoile (6pt)
10	Edmund	–	pierced 5-foil	–
11	Sir Richard K.G.	–	star (8pt)	star (8pt)
12	Sir Humphrey	–	5-foil	5-foil (f-d-1 on walls)

Sir Anthony K.G., eldest son of Sir John (1 above), on the evidence of the ceiling and other carved arms on the wall of the same room, used a sun or star with 12 or 16 points.

In using the fleur-de-lys for the carved arms on the panelling, was Sir Humphrey of Brantham (12 above) appropriating his dead brother Thomas's cadency mark? The arms of Robert, the son, and Anne, the daughter, of Sir Humphrey also included the cinquefoil in the display on the ceiling of the room formerly in Tacket Street.

#### *At Letheringham: the north chancel monument*

This canopied tomb chest (Fig. 8) was drawn for engraving by Isaac Johnson just before it was destroyed in 1789. From William Hervy's rough notebook on his Visitation tour in 1561 we learn that the four large and eight small shields accommodated the painted arms of the twelve sons of Sir John and Lady Elizabeth Wingfield comfortably, but with commendable fairness the daughters had places too, as did four female members of succeeding generations two of whom had to be content with sharing a niche.<sup>31</sup> The plain numbers on the illustration refer to generation VII.

The alliances in generation VII shown on the tomb heraldry are as follows:

13 Echyngham; 1 Audley; VIII.1 Vere; 2 Woodville; 14 none (nun); 3 none (priest); 4 Durward; 15 Brewse; 5 Waldegrave; 6 none (dsp); 7 none (Poynings daughter illegitimate); 8 MacWilliam; 9 Noone; 10 Wentworth; 12 Wiseman; 11 Wiltshire; 16 Hall.

It can be seen that on the tomb canopy strict seniority was observed in the main generation

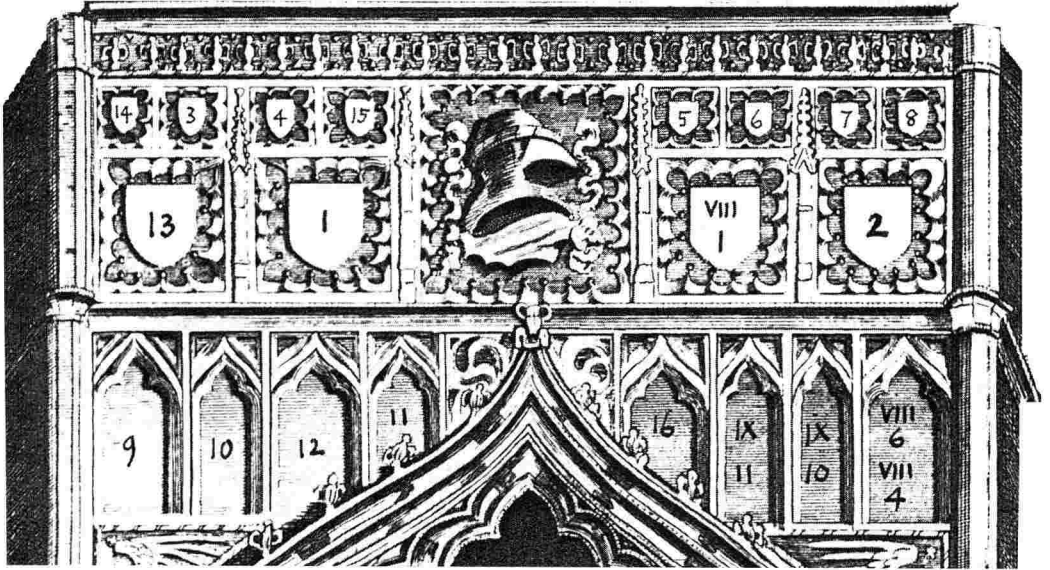


FIG. 8 – The upper part of the former north chancel tomb at Letheringham.

with the insertion of VIII.1 (Sir Anthony, K.G.) in the second best position, and giving the daughters their birth precedence until the 11th and 12th sons are reversed. If all the coats of this generation had been put up at once, the five most junior coats would surely have been placed symmetrically in the niches, leaving some space on the left and some on the right. But the later intruders in the display, four Wingfield daughters from generations VIII and IX, are all shown on the right. For this reason we suggest that either the whole series was put up at the same time and at the instance of one of these daughters (who else would have given girls equal status?), or that some repainting of the bottom row was done at the time the later members of the family added their coats. The four women in question were:

- VIII.4 Elizabeth, married Henry Noone, of Martlesham and Shelfhanger
- VIII.6 Margaret, married Thomas Seckford of Bealings
- IX.10 Elizabeth, married William Naunton of Alderton
- IX.11 Mary, married Arthur Rush of Sudbourne.

Of these the most likely to have planned all this was Elizabeth Naunton, who was granted the site of Letheringham Priory as William Naunton's widow on 7 June 1553 (*C.P.R.* Edw. VI, v, 58). The repainting here postulated throws doubt on the order of precedence of the last sons and daughter of generation VII as revealed by Hervy's notes.

#### *The Boughton and Tickencote Paintings*

The two paintings, identical in all important details, probably furnish the most reliable sequence for the children of John and Elizabeth Wingfield. As far as the ninth son Lewis the order is as on the parents' tomb at Letheringham. Then follows Sir Richard (VII.11), Elizabeth the younger who married Francis Hall (VII.16), Edmund (VII.10), and Sir Humphrey (VII.12). Coincidentally, it may be that we can learn more about these strange pictures from the Le Neve account of his 1722

journey through Suffolk already quoted,<sup>32</sup> for at Cockfield Hall in Yoxford, the house of Sir Charles Blois, he saw, amongst other paintings ‘on the staircase the picture of Sir Robert Wingfield his Lady & 7 or 8 sons & their matches by Robt. Cook Clarenceux’. As the left-hand large figure in the centre row is Sir Robert (V.1 = VI.) and so named, the inaccuracy of the description is perhaps explained. Cook[e], whose work as a painter is inconclusively discussed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, died in 1595, just fourteen years before the most junior Wingfield appearing in the display.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### NOTES

- 1 MacCulloch 1984, 269. All references to the *Vita* are to the English text of this edition. References to Latin numerals with sub-divisions are given for the generations of the Wingfield family as shown in Corder 1981 and 1984.
- 2 In the absence of any other mention of her sister Elizabeth staying here, we may safely disregard Candler’s assertion to that effect, B.L. Add. MS 15,520, f. 8v.
- 3 B.L. Stowe MS 881 which consists mainly of Thomas Martin’s collections for Ipswich.
- 4 Folder of miscellaneous drawings and manuscript material referring to Suffolk, formerly the property of Prince Frederick Dulecp Singh, now in private possession.
- 5 Christopher North, Historic Buildings Officer of the Suffolk Archaeological Unit, in an unpublished survey in 1992, has demonstrated the difficulty of drawing further conclusions from this fragment.
- 6 P.C.C., 23 Alen.
- 7 George Fastolf identified on Pardon Roll, *L.P.*, 1, nos 4389(3), 1948(7). Cf. Corder 1981, 139, 141; P.R.O., C.1/804/3 shows that George was first contracted to Jane Yaxley, another daughter, who died before the marriage was consummated. Annuity: P.R.O., REQ. 3, bundle 36, *Thomas Yaxley v. Richard Yaxley*.
- 8 B.L. Add. Charter 16,654, one entry for Mr Fastolf 1515, and Add. Roll 17,745, entries for 1517–20.
- 9 Ogilby is usually very accurate, but he seems to have drawn too wide a rectangle in the east–west dimension for the Parlour, apparently blocking the windows in the west wall.
- 10 C.U.L., Hengrave MS 8 *s.v.* Ipswich.
- 11 *D.N.B.* and Clarke 1830, 226; Gough’s *Camden* 1806, 166. Memorial inscription in Wetherden churchyard. S.R.O.I., IC/AA6/28, f. 87. Capt. William Neave, her father, was twice Bailiff of Ipswich.
- 12 Corder 1981, 130–31. On Swell, see Newton’s will, P.C.C. 20 Sheffield. Another member of the Newton family affinity to make an attempt to enter Ipswich society, this time unsuccessfully, was Thomas Tose, Alexander’s nephew, whose vain attempts to become Ipswich Town Clerk in 1562–63 are reflected in S.R.O.I., HD 36: 2672/33, 2781/124. There is a small brass for John Tose, probably Thomas’s father, in Swell church.
- 13 P.R.O., SP 1/114/27 (*L.P.*, XII pt i, no. 31), and cf. P.R.O., E. 315/128/85–7.
- 14 On Nix, see Emden 1957–59, II, 1381, *s.v.* Nix, Richard.
- 15 P.R.O., E. 315/128/85–7.
- 16 On the Rochesters, see Corder 1981, 130–31; on Nix’s connection with the Rochesters, see P.R.O., C1/833/55, and his house at Terling, P.R.O., E. 117/14/55. John Rochester, Elizabeth’s son and Alexander’s nephew, was one of Alexander’s coheirs: B.L. Harley MS 639, f. 157r. and cf. P.R.O., c.2 ELIZ R10/43.
- 17 Newton as churchwarden: cf. *East Anglian Notes and Queries*, New Ser. 1 (1885), 7.
- 18 B.L. Lansdowne MS 5/7.
- 19 Details given in Eyre 1889, 68.
- 20 Inventory printed in *East Anglian Miscellany*, nos 6939, 6945, 6950, 6957, 6960, 6968, 6973.
- 21 See note 4 above.

- 22 C.U.L., Hengrave MS 8 *s.v.* Ipswich.  
 23 Details of knighthoods throughout are taken from Shaw 1906. Vere: *L.P.*, I, no. 1602(38).  
 24 Dickens 1951, 52, 55; Ford 1882, 39; Gunn 1988, 46–49.  
 25 G.E.C., XII, 459. For Brandon's career in general, see Gunn 1988.  
 26 Framlingham: visit of French Queen, present to Duke's Groom of Chamber and visit of Duke with Lord Fitzwalter 1516 [N.B. arms of Fitzwalter also at Curson House in Ipswich]: B.L. Add. Roll 17,745. Butley Priory 13 Jun. 1516: Dickens 1951, 33–34; and cf. a letter addressed from Butley, P.R.O., S.P. 1/13/26 (*L.P.* II pt i, no. 1604). Elmswell 13 Jul. 1516: S.P. 1/13/251 (*L.P.*, II pt i, no. 2170). On relations between the two East Anglian Dukes, see Gunn 1988, esp. p. 98.  
 27 Queen's visit recorded in Ipswich Great Court book, B.L. Add. MS 24,435, f. 80.  
 28 Norwich letter: P.R.O., S.P. 1/12/69 (*L.P.*, II pt i, no. 1397). For Elmswell letter, see above. Cf. Gunn 1988, 39.  
 29 On local politics in Henrician and Edwardian Suffolk, see MacCulloch 1986, chs 2, 7.  
 30 Dow 1963, 345–47 and Pl. LVIII, although Dow did not realise the significance of the initials.  
 31 B.L. Add. MS 4969, ff. 66v–67v. The engraving by J. Basire from Gough 1786–99, II pt 2, Pl. XI\*, 27.  
 32 C.U.L. Hengrave MS 8 *s.v.* Ipswich.

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*Abbreviations*

- B.L. British Library.  
 C.P.R. *Calendars of Patent Rolls*.  
 C.U.L. Cambridge University Library.  
 D.N.B. *Dictionary of National Biography*.  
 G.E.C. G.E. C[ockayne], 1936. *The Complete Peerage*, ed. Doubleday, H.A. and Lord Howard de Walden. London.  
 L.P. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. Brewer, Gairdner and Brodie, 1930–32. H.M.S.O., London.  
 P.C.C. Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills.  
 P.R.O. Public Record Office.  
 S.R.O.I. Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch.