Architectural Planning and Behavioural Conventions in the Re-use of Spiritual Properties in Sixteenth-century London

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between architectural arrangements and behavioural conventions in the sixteenth century. It tests this relationship through the modifications that were made when London properties originally designed for spiritual purposes were transferred for secular use. Through an analysis of the modifications made to two church owned properties in London; a monastic house at the beginning of the century and an episcopal inn at its close, the priorities for spatial organisation are identified. In order to understand how successfully the resulting re-use of architectural space upheld and reinforced the social conventions of the period, a comparison is made between these London arrangements and the architectural spaces that the same owners enjoyed in the country, hence permitting wider social conclusions to be drawn. In highlighting the significance of certain characteristics of architectural planning, the culture of the society that demanded them is more easily understood.

The thesis commences by outlining the historical background behind the religious policies of the Tudor monarchy that affected property ownership. It goes on to establish the importance of domestic spatial planning and its link to behavioural conventions that were originally derived in the country, through the analysis of country house planning and in particular, the conversion of Leighs Priory, Essex. The attempts to re-create this country architectural form in London before and during the Reformation follows, with a close analysis of the first case study, the conversion of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield. The resulting architectural form is considered through an understanding of London society and the identification of cultural differences between urban and rural lifestyles. The country houses of the later sixteenth century, and in particular Kirby Hall and Holdenby are studied in search of any consequences from this London lifestyle and developments in country spatial planning are identified. A close examination of the second case study, the re-use of Ely Place, Holborn, is conducted in search of confirmation that the architectural innovations of the mid to late sixteenth-century country house were in their turn imported to London. These comparisons highlight the importance of the interplay between urban cultural developments and rural architectural planning and the reciprocal nature of the two throughout the century.

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Contents

List of Figures

Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London.
ERO	Essex Record Office, Chelmsford.
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission, part of The National Archive
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
Letters and Papers	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England,* ed. by Brewer, J.S., Gardener, J., and Brodie, R.H., 23 volumes (London: Longman, 1862–1932).
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, London, EC1R
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office, Northampton.
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
RCHME	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, London.

Introduction

Changes to architectural planning that occurred to accommodate developments in culture and society usually happened gradually, but during times of social upheaval more noticeable and overt changes took place. The social upheaval that is examined throughout this thesis resulted from changes in the religious policies of the Tudor monarchy. For almost 100 years, from the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509 to the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, London properties owned by the church or used for spiritual purposes were transferred to lay ownership under pressure from religious reform, changing the way in which London accommodated elite society.

The question of how the re-use of spiritual architectural form could be accomplished whilst at the same time maintaining the established principles of differentiation within the lay household has not previously been fully discussed or satisfactorily addressed. This thesis seeks to understand how architectural space, originally created and used for spiritual purposes, could be re-used to accommodate the lifestyle of the laity with due regard for the behavioural conventions of the period.

Given that architectural arrangements in the sixteenth century supported socially constructed behavioural patterns and were designed to accommodate and reinforce social and gendered differentiation, what changes were necessary to modify these properties to create acceptable houses for the aspirational classes? Were compromises made, and what effect did any compromise have on maintaining decorum within mixed status secular households? Understanding architectural change and adaption has the potential to inform us of the priorities for spatial organisation, highlight the significance of certain characteristics of architectural form, and thus throw light on the culture of the society that demanded them.

The research is conducted with the intention of bringing greater precision to existing accounts of early modern London in which the developments in architectural arrangements have not been historically specific, but instead have been presented in a generic manner within the general timeline of the sixteenth century. To achieve these objectives a close analysis of two specifically chosen London properties is undertaken in the form of case studies. The first, St Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, at the beginning of the period under consideration and the second, Ely Place, the London Inn of the Bishop's of Ely, at its close. These case studies century are discussed within the wider context of both social and architectural evolution.

To more fully appreciate the solutions adopted in converting these spaces in a constrained urban topography this thesis will compare, for the first time, the use, modifications and resulting form of these two London church properties with the architectural spaces that the same owners enjoyed when converting church property in the country, hence permitting wider social conclusions to be drawn. By conducting this comparison using examples of properties which were alienated from the church at the onset of the religious instabilities, aimed at dissolving the monasteries, and those that were alienated from the secular church, towards the close of the period, it will be possible to associate chronological architectural developments with social and cultural change, thus increasing our understanding of the interrelationship between the two. In addition, a comparison between the same owners' urban and rural settings will not only reflect on the diverse social environments of city and country and the similarities and differences between old and new architectural styles but it will also highlight new social patterns that necessitated architectural modifications in order to accommodation them.

The questions that need to be asked of buildings during this period centre on the use of architectural form and decoration as a mechanism to differentiate between the status of rooms and hence those using them. In what ways was architectural space and decoration used to create the opposing states of high and low status spaces, prominence and obscurity, public and private, and in support of traditional moral social purposes or pure aesthetic show? Is there a relationship between the need for these binary oppositions and the properties' location and hence the lifestyle they were intended to satisfy? Were these architectural mechanisms used in the same manner and to the same degree in town and country? Equal attention will be given to relationships internal and external to the household through the analyses performed. Biographical information relating to the occupants of the houses chosen for the case studies will be linked to the architectural developments wherever possible.

Thesis Structure

Behind the theories posed in this thesis lies a complex, interwoven, history of architectural, social and political influences. The architectural and social developments discussed here did not occur neatly in a seamless sequential timeline, however, the nature of the task undertaken recognises that the development is broadly chronological and therefore the arguments proposed are presented in a

chronological narrative in an attempt to simplify a complex and heterogeneous body of data and reflect the general chronological pattern.

This thesis is set out over seven chapters. Chapter One will discuss the effects on property ownership from the changes in monarchy from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I. The legislation that these monarchs promulgated in order to support their religious reforms stimulated the transfer of property from spiritual use to secular ownership and created uncertainty over a prolonged period. This chapter will provide the reader with the historical background in which to situate the social and architectural developments analysed and discussed in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Two will establish the importance of domestic spatial planning before and during the Reformation. To achieve this objective, it will use the country house model because the language of architectural planning has its origins in the country landed estate. Utilising conduct books of the period and biographical accounts of personal relationships, the ideal male and female characteristics will be examined together with the sixteenth-century concept of status, image and power. A typical early modern country house form will be identified and discussed in terms of its historical background and how its plan was intended to support these model types and was used to sustain social and gendered hierarchies and roles within the household. Shared characteristics will be identified that demonstrate that the behavioural conventions of the period were both accommodated and enforced by the architectural plan.

Having established the link between architectural space and socially constructed behavioural norms the chapter will discuss the use of varied mechanisms within the architectural plan to create and reinforce differentiation. The need for varying forms of differentiation within a mixed status household will be considered and illustrated through country house examples. The continued importance of this established house form will be strengthened through the identification of the modifications thought necessary during the early conversions of monastic properties in the country, where we find traditional house plans created from architectural spaces originally designed for spiritual communities. One country monastic property will be considered in more detail, namely Leighs Priory in Essex acquired by Sir Richard Rich, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations. This examination of an early country conversion is supported by examples from similar country monastic conversions, with the aim of uncovering sufficient specific details to enable a comparison with the case

study of St Bartholomew's Priory, an early monastic conversion in London subject of the following two chapters.

Chapters Three and Four will consider the attempts made to re-create country architectural forms in London before and during the Reformation. This was a society where differentiation was paramount in maintaining hierarchical and gendered roles and status, and architectural form was one of the means by which differentiation was conveyed and supported. These two chapters seek to firstly recognise the form of architectural space that was chosen by leading churchmen to uphold behavioural norms before the Reformation and then to identify what modifications would be made, if any, to re-establish or preserve the relationship between the architectural arrangements and behaviour when the new secular owners converted them.

Chapter Three will focus on the London environment before the Reformation. It will set out to create an impression of property ownership and elite accommodation in London in the early years of the sixteenth century in order for the reader to understand the impact of the changes to come. The available sources for two early sixteenth-century London building projects, the Prior's Lodgings at St. Bartholomew's Priory and Cromwell's house at the Austin Friary will be considered. This material will be used in a different way to the currently available accounts in order to illustrate the architectural plan that was chosen, and hence the behavioural conventions to which Tudor courtiers and leading church men subscribed before the transfer of spiritual properties to secular ownership took place, demonstrating the effect of traditional country planning in the urban environment.

The following chapter goes on to consider these aspects of urban planning during the Reformation. In Chapter Four the thesis will focus on conducting an in depth, close, analysis of one London monastic property in the form of a case study. St. Bartholomew's Priory, an Augustinian priory located just outside the city walls in Smithfield was chosen because it was modified by the resident Prior before the Reformation providing an insight into the architectural aspirations of ambitious church men, which is discussed in Chapter Three, before it was obtained by Richard Rich, whose conversion of Leighs Priory is examined in Chapter Two.

Using grants, surveys and the historical and archaeological findings of E. A. Webb[1] the original form and use of St Bartholomew's will be identified. The acceptability of the modifications made by the Prior will be discussed and the subsequent conversion by Rich will be suggested and compared and contrasted to the conversion Rich made at Leighs Priory. In so doing the similarities and differences of the resulting forms of both properties of the same owner will provide an insight into any changes in social and cultural norms between the two environments of town and country.

The subsequent lay owners of spiritual properties had very different requirements for these spaces and these requirements will be identified through the lifestyles that they led, traced through biographical histories, account books, and inventories located at the Guildhall Library, British Library and the National Archives at Kew.

Understanding the modifications thought necessary will inform us of the priorities for spatial organisation and hence the level of importance of certain characteristics of architectural form. This chapter will seek to identify any compromises made and examines them to determine whether the limitations of the London topography or the original architectural form impacted the solutions chosen, which resulted in an unconventional architectural layout. It will further question how the lifestyle in the city was supported by these architectural spaces and how social conventions could be upheld. Any different mechanisms employed to re-affirm social status in the urban environment will be identified and discussed.

Chapter five aims to identify the reasons why less conventional architectural arrangements could be tolerated in the city and seeks to achieve this objective through an understanding of London society and lifestyle. The London house was estranged from the land and those who worked it and hence the social obligations that were inherent with land ownership were not relevant in the city and, free from these restrictions, new behavioural customs could develop. Using biographical works together with inventories and household account books, the London lifestyle is uncovered and the uses that London property was put to are considered and related to the changes in social customs in the urban environment.

Armed with the knowledge that the London lifestyle and culture was different to that experienced in the country, together with an understanding that the landed gentry

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[1] E.A. Webb, *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield,* vols., 1 and 2 (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1921).

and nobility regularly vacated their country seat in favour of residence in London, Chapter Six will look to the country houses of the later sixteenth century in search of any consequences from these practices for the established, traditional country architectural form. This thesis argues that there is evidence of the impact of the London lifestyle on country manners and customs and hence the architectural form required to uphold them. Contemporary evidence of the loss of manorial customs is found within country house poetry of the 1600s and, using the examples of architectural change from this poetry, the chapter seeks to identify country houses displaying attributes that are no longer intended to uphold English traditional customs. Examples of houses built in the 1560s and 1570s offer sufficient confirmation to draw conclusions that social and behavioural conventions, affected in part by the London lifestyle, impacted the newer architectural arrangements in the country. Christopher Hatton's Holdenby and Kirby, both situated in Northamptonshire, together with supporting data from Burghley House in Lincolnshire are chosen to demonstrate the loss of the older architectural language and the extent of the architectural innovations possible in the country. This chapter discusses the innovations identified and demonstrates how they were associated with the changes in culture and socially constructed behavioural customs.

Chapter Seven makes one final journey to London in search of confirmation that the architectural innovation of the mid to late sixteenth-century country house were in their turn imported to London, not as one coherent architectural language but in the form of motifs and symbols intended to proclaim their owners' status in society. Here the thesis considers the second London case study, through an analysis of the co-ownership and eventual secularisation of Ely Place, the London episcopal inn of the Bishops of Ely. Primary sources have been identified including two seventeenth-century inventories, a survey, the Household Book of the Bishop of Ely, records of the shared occupancy with courtiers and the Ely Diocesan Records. These records have been used to provide an account of the form and use of the London episcopal home of the bishops of Ely and the lease, partial surrender and ultimate relinquishment to Sir Christopher Hatton. Felicity Heal has written extensively on the Bishops of Ely and the crisis faced in retaining their properties and her scholarship will be employed to establish the London lifestyle of the bishops and the use of their London home.

Historiography

As the research aims for this thesis are interdisciplinary the scholarship from which it developed and drew its inspiration is by necessity sourced from a variety of perspectives on the architectural plan of the sixteenth century. The primary sources of scholarship that stimulated the theories posed were derived from authors who identified a clear link between architectural arrangements and behavioural conventions. To this must be added the important work of authors who specialise in architectural space and social history in early modern London and also the significant research of those who have examined the monastic properties and their conversions. This present enquiry combines anew the multifaceted characteristics of society and architecture in the sixteenth century in an attempt to create a more complete and nuanced picture of their relationship. Whilst country houses have received the greatest attention, the body of scholarship relating to London houses in the early modern period has looked at changes in domestic planning in general terms as a result of historical events and cultural growth. Authors have largely examined the cause and effect in order to link widespread architectural development to social history. Many have collated examples of individual rooms taken from a wide source of properties to illustrate the effect of cultural changes. Rarely attempted is an analysis of a specific house, in its entirety, linking its architectural arrangements with its use and the lifestyle of its occupant to determine the relationship between architectural form and behavioural norms. Furthermore, there has been little attempt to compare analysis of the architectural spaces of the same owner's houses in rural and urban settings in order to better understand the interaction between society and architectural space in these different environments.

The early modern house evolved from the medieval hall house and was a communal environment that included, and made provision for, the wider community. It was a complex setting requiring codes of practice or conventions to establish boundaries and order within the extended household. As the early modern house evolved architectural planning became a key element employed in the construction and support of the behavioural norms that shaped society. When Mark Girouard published *Life in the English Country House* in 1978 with the aim of demonstrating that the purpose and use of architectural space shaped the internal arrangements of houses, social and cultural history became causally linked with structural and stylistic development for the first time.[2] Since this early beginning architectural historians

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[2] M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978).

have clearly established that the English elite in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries were highly conscious of, and responsive to, their architectural environment and that they understood houses as statements of personal identity reflecting the owners' intended image and contributing to it.[3] Furthermore, the material form of the early modern English country house was intimately associated with socially constructed behavioural norms and played a key role in accommodating the lifestyle of the nobility and gentry.[4]

Anthony Emery is one of many historians who have supported the long established view that the development of the architectural plan and its decoration, providing larger and more decorative displays, were primarily intended to impress those on the same social scale and induce awe from those of a lower social order.[5] Whilst our understanding of architectural space has greatly benefited from these works their focus has been primarily on the identification of the employment of architecture as an external statement of image, power and status. The connection between social status and architectural display has been repeatedly demonstrated through examinations of stylistic display used by patrons throughout the early modern period, and in particular the seventeenth century, to claim their social status through image. An awareness of the importance of material possessions and image in the seventeenth century is a useful guide during analysis of the preceding century's architectural arrangements because it provides direction as to where the developments are heading and therefore the work of historians on the seventeenth century is of real interest.[6]

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[3] See P. M. Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-building in Seventeenth-century Hertfordshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); M. Howard, *The Tudor Image* (London: Tate Gallery, 1995); L. Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor. Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[4] Examples where the association between architecture and lifestyle has been illustrated include J.M Sutton, *Materializing Space at an Early Modern Prodigy House* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), in which Sutton aims to demonstrate how the form and decoration of Theobalds was influenced by William Cecil's desire for his son Robert to be his political heir*;* E. Chew 'Si(gh)ting the Mistress of the House: Anne Clifford and Architectural Space' in *Women as Sites of Culture: Women's Role in Cultural Formation from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century,* ed. by S. Shifrin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), in which Chew identifies how a female head of house used the processional route through the house to claim authority; P.M. Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-building in Seventeenth-century Hertfordshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), with the aim of demonstrating that stylistic display was used to create social differentiation that patrons deliberately made their aesthetic choices to link themselves with a collective elite; A.T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England; Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1989) in which Friedman suggests that Wollaton Hall was planned to alleviate household tensions.

[5] A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, Volume III Southern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 2. and note 4.

[6] Similarly, the claim that sign symbols were encoded in the buildings of post-fire London to communicate a society's desire for privacy provides a view of the behavioural changes and cultural direction of the next century. C. Heyl 'We are not at Home: Protecting Privacy in Post-fire Middle Class London' *London Journal,* vol. 27, No.2, (2002), pp. 12-33.

The questions that have not hitherto been examined thoroughly are how the architectural plan reinforces differentiation within the household, and how the interaction between socially constructed behavioural developments and architectural planning evolved within mixed status houses and especially with the re-use of properties that were originally designed for spiritual communities having different demands on architectural space.

Rarely do historians attempt to perform a cultural or gendered reading of the architectural iterations of specific houses utilising the social and cultural history that is linked to their development. It is uncommon for architectural analysis to set out to offer an explanation as to why a particular configuration or alteration of a entire plan has been adopted making use of the evidence from biographical or historical social data; a situation that I will aspire to remedy in this thesis through linking the social and cultural needs for architectural change with the resulting architectural form. The analyses that will be performed in this thesis are targeted at producing interpretations that go beyond the basic desire of sixteenth-century society to create an elite image and for a display of wealth.

Of cultural significance during this period was the concept of hospitality. The moral code of the period and the basis of social order relied on the principles of benevolence to those of a lower social status. Defined patterns of behaviour and the duty of hospitality were fundamental moral obligations for the nobility and gentry and the setting where these obligations were played out was the household. Therefore, in addition to architecture's responsibility to create an elite image it must also be examined for its role in meeting the social obligations of an elite society and will be extensively studied during the analyses of houses in this thesis. The multifaceted model of hospitality in early modern England has been extensively discussed by Felicity Heal. Heal has charted the history and development of hospitality from the late Middle Ages to the end of the seventeenth century and is at pains to re-adjust our modern perceptions and emphasise how culturally central and integrated this duty was.[7]

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[7] F. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1990).

Heal considers the subject of hospitality through a variety of sources, one of those sources being architectural. She identifies the household as the centre of hospitality and outlines the relationship between architectural arrangements and the social status of those sharing the space; in so doing, Heal identifies the social significance of domestic architecture. More importantly it is Heal's study into the decline of open hospitality, and in particular commensality,[8] that has proved influential to the theories posed in this thesis. Here, this aspect of hospitality has been further examined in relation to the development of architectural space throughout the sixteenth century and in the comparison of the social differences between urban and rural settings.

Also of significant influence is the work of William Alexander McClung who considers changes in the custom of hospitality when he revisits the country-house poem genre.[9] He identifies in the poems the disdain for the deteriorating relationship between the long-established custom of hospitality and traditional manorial architecture. McClung devotes a considerable part of his work to the examination of a group of houses which can be aligned with either the time-honoured form, supportive of old customs, or the new, proud and ostentatious forms which shunned them. This concept of an ethical architectural form sympathetic to the customary behavioural conventions is one of the approaches that this thesis employs in the examination of both cultural changes and architectural developments when spiritual properties were converted for lay use in the sixteenth century. This thesis seeks to draw on the arguments posed by Heal and McClung and use them to challenge the modifications made in the chosen metropolitan and rural properties, thereby extending and broadening our understanding of the nature of the association between architectural space and the society that inhabited it.

Whilst the accounts by social and architectural historians are refreshing in looking to social and cultural history to more fully develop our understanding of its interrelationship with architectural form, most have presented their findings as gender neutral. Early modern conduct books characterised an ideal to which every male and female was to aspire and these behavioural standards would have needed to have been accommodated within the household arrangements. It is therefore important to

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[8] Commensality, the communal sharing of meals with all comers, has been discussed by Heal in the rural and urban settings. Ibid. pp. 23-90 & pp. 300-351, respectively.

[9] W.A. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1977). See also G.R .Hibbard 'The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* vol. 19, No. 1/2 (Jan – Jun., 1956), pp. 159-174.

consider gender dynamics in the analysis of architectural change, and although some of the sources used in this thesis did not lend themselves easily to a gendered reading of space, wherever possible gender dynamics will be considered.[10]

The question of how the architectural plan and decoration of the elite early modern English house both shaped and made provision for differentiation within mixed status households has received limited attention. In addition, such attention as there has been has rarely looked at using specific houses, in their entirety, to perform an in depth analysis in search of answers to the questions relating to socially constructed behavioural conventions and the architectural arrangements that supported and reinforced them.

Discussions on the topic of socially constructed architectural form largely focus on country house examples. Whilst country houses have received the greatest attention, the body of scholarship relating to London houses in the early modern period has looked at changes in domestic planning in general terms. John Schofield has looked at the gradual development of London's medieval housing in association with historical and cultural changes in the medieval and Tudor periods and has provided a comprehensive general architectural topography of the city.[11] Both Anthony Emery and Schofield have collated examples of individual rooms taken from a wide source of properties to illustrate the overall effect of cultural changes. This thesis does not seek to argue with the extant understanding of the general evolution of architectural form and cultural change but rather seeks to unpick its generalised nature and use additional methodologies in the conduct of analyses of London houses in their entirety and to link their internal arrangements and use with the lifestyle of their occupants.

An understanding of the changes occurring and the lifestyle lived in London during this period will be a key consideration of this thesis and of interest to it is the work of historians who have addressed the history of early to mid sixteenth-century London and those who have studied the issues of elite recourse to London.[12] Christopher

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[10] See P. Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces; Use and the Art of the Plan (*Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1990) for a discussion on the gendered identity of architectural space and J. Walters, 'A Woman's Place: Gendered Identities and the Architectural Plan in the Early Modern English Country House' (Unpublished MA thesis, Oxford Brookes University; 2005).

[11] J. Schofield, *Medieval London houses* (New Haven & London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1994).

[12] See V. Harding, 'Reconstructing London Before the Great Fire', *London Topographical Record,* vol. 25, (1985), pp. 1-12; 'Early Modern London 1550-1700', *London Journal,* vol. 20 No. 2, (1995), pp. 34-

Phillpotts looks to the new patterns of power that encircled Henry VIII and the relationship between the King's religious policies and the changes in how his courtiers were housed in London, resulting in new forms of domestic planning.[13] This thesis will examine this phenomenon further; going beyond general conclusions it will challenge the resulting forms from a different perspective, one that combines urban architectural planning with a social reading of the need for, and function of, London houses in the period.[14] It will attempt to offer an explanation as to why new forms of domestic planning were acceptable to the men who aspired to high office.

The use and function of London houses in the early modern period has been discussed by Caroline Barron. She suggests that rather than London leading architectural innovation in the first half of the sixteenth century, the town house was not considered to be very important and that the gentry did not expend as much on their London residence as they did in the country. These ideas have been persuasive during the analysis of the specific London properties chosen to test the theories of this thesis and reinforce the concept that the country house was the location of responsibility, the London house for business, trade and recreation. However, I argue that whilst London architecture took its direction from the country house, other, more specifically metropolitan, factors also affected the elite London house. A combination of the London topography, which was restricting country house replication, together with a London society that demanded a different kind of functional space resulted in a configuration that diverged from the traditional country house arrangement. The London lifestyle varied from the country house way of life and this change in culture had a reciprocal effect on country house planning as the century progressed.

The frequency and purpose of temporary residence in London has been researched by Ian Warren.[15] Although his work commences at the close of the sixteenth century,

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45; 'Reformation and Culture 1540-1700', *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain,* ed. by P. Clark*,* 3 volumes (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2000), ii, pp. 263-88.

[13] C. Phillpotts 'The Houses of Henry VIII's Courtiers in London' in D.R.M. Gaimster & R. Gilchrist, eds., *The Archaeology of Reformation c 1480-1580*, pp. 299-309. Phillpotts has established that a new form of domestic planning was created through the conversion of ecclesiastical properties. They were different because on one hand they aimed to emulate the established country house form whilst on the other hand they had need to alter the structure to prevent the religious orders from re-establishing.

[14] C. Barron 'Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Town House in London, 1200-1550', *The London Journal*, vol. 20, No. 1, (1995), pp. 1-16. Barron has considered the early modern London lifestyle from the perspective of use and function of London houses. The town house is portrayed as a useful location in which to obtain the luxuries imported through its ports for the decoration of the country seat.

[15] I. Warren, 'The gentry, the nobility, and London residence c. 1580-1680' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2007).

Warren's enquiry is nevertheless of interest because he considers the influence and impact of London residence on the country architecture of Hertfordshire and Worcestershire. Warren argued that traditional gentry identity was less influenced by London in those counties at a greater distance from it; Hertfordshire's proximity to London providing evidence of strong ties. Most of Hertfordshire's country houses built during the period were conventional in plan, that is, maintaining the manorial arrangement whereby the services and domestic chambers were sited at opposite ends of a central hall, but Warren asserts that they were also affected by London-derived architectural trends. This suggests a marked change in the role that London played in architectural innovation between Barron's first half of the sixteenth century and Warren's last decades of it. Whilst some authors, such as Warren and Phillpotts, argue that London planning varied, to some extent, from country architecture and hence had an impact on it, others like Emery asserts that metropolitan houses '[…] differed little in scale, layout, or appointment from their sister houses and palaces in the country'.[16] This research uncovers with more granularity the extent to which the topography of London, the re-use of older architectural forms and the lifestyle of the elite who dwelt there, necessitated modified attitudes to traditional domestic planning that in turn created a demand for changes to architectural arrangements in the country. The influence of the cultural movement away from country commensality to an urban civil society[17] was not entirely negligible on country house planning.

The current status of scholarship in architectural analysis of early modern London indicates that the in depth analytical work conducted in this thesis is required in order to understand the role played by the plan and decoration of the London house in the communication of differentiation, in all its forms. Understanding how decorum was maintained within mixed status and gender households in London, and the means by which it was achieved in comparison with the arrangements in the elite country house, will increase our awareness of the function of these houses and how they operated. In particular, understanding how domestic planning could maintain this decorum when church properties were re-used could more fully explain the developmental link between architectural form and cultural history.

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[16] Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales,* Volume III*, p. 217*.
[17] The ideals of civility, the honourable conduct and refinement of manners as opposed to country behaviour, is discussed in Heal's *Hospitality*, pp. 102-111.

In addition to the association between architectural form and behavioural conventions, the lifestyle and use of London houses and the developments in social culture, this thesis will consider the physical alterations necessary for monastic and episcopal properties to be able to be re-used and support the functional demands of a lay society. The dissolution of the monasteries of England and the re-use of their buildings tells a complex history of the acquisitiveness of kings and courtiers for both power and wealth. Current scholarship informs us of this phenomenon from a political, biographical and architectural perspective. Some accounts form generic histories with examples examined for illustration such as Maurice Howard's *The Early Tudor Country House*[18]*,* where a discussion of continuity and change in Tudor building practices includes examples of the monastic conversions undertaken by families who through their position at court were granted monastic lands in the country. Other accounts provide particular studies of the re-use of specific country monasteries as found in St John Hope's discussion on the re-use of Titchfield Abbey.[19]

Several scholars have discussed the conversion and re-use of monastic buildings and sites in London. John Schofield has considered the architectural development of London's monastic precincts and both Maurice Howard and Christopher Phillpotts have looked at how Henry VIII's religious innovations affected the manner in which his courtiers were housed in London.[20] Specific groups of monasteries have been researched as found in Marjorie Blanche Honeybourne's MA thesis on London religious houses[21] and Nick Holder's PhD Thesis on the medieval London Friaries.[22] All relate an account of the destruction of the fabric of the buildings and of the way of life of their inhabitants, and address the subsequent transfer to secular ownership. The conversion and re-use of these buildings has, however, not been subject to a close analysis of their resulting form from the perspective of accommodating behavioural conventions as those conventions altered with social developments over

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[18] M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House, Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (London: George Philip, 1987).

[19] W. H. St John Hope, 'The Making of Place House at Titchfield, near Southampton in 1538' *Archaeologia,* vol. 63, (1906)*,* pp. 231-242.

[20] J. Schofield, 'Building in Religious Precincts in London at the Dissolution and After', *Advances in Monastic Archaeology,* ed. by R. Gilchrist and H.C. Mytum,: British Archaeological Reports (British Series), vol. 227 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1993), pp. 29-41; M. Howard, 'The Domestic Building Patronage of the Courtiers of Henry VIII'*,* unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, (1985), pp. 36-37 and C. Phillpotts, 'The Houses of Henry VIII's Courtiers in London' in D.R.M. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist, ed. *The Archaeology of Reformation c 1480-1580 (*Leeds, Maney, 2003), pp. 299-309.

[21] M. B. Honeybourne, 'The Extent and Value of the Property in London and Southwark Occupied by the Religious Houses (including the Prebends of St. Paul and St. Martin le Grand) The Inns of the Bishops and Abbots and the Churches and Churchyards, before the dissolution of the Monasteries', unpublished MA thesis, University of London, (1929).

[22] N. Holder, 'The Medieval Friaries of London, A topographical and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, (2011).

the course of the sixteenth century. No sustained enquiry has been attempted to assess the significance of the link between this social upheaval and the developments in architectural planning through the interplay between the two culturally differing environments of London and the country, and the divergent lifestyles lived in each. The important work that has been referred to extensively during the analysis of the monastic conversion case study in London is E.A. Webb's historical account of the pre and post Reformation priory, church and parish of St Bartholomew's the Great.[23]

Methodology

This thesis uses correspondence, grants, inventories, household accounts, surveys and reconstructions of floor plans to examine the development of the relationship between architectural space and behavioural conventions in the differing settings of London and the country during the sixteenth century.

Historians have established through different methods and examples that behavioural needs and their architectural solutions are interlinked, one being dependant on the other. The methodology employed in this thesis derives from the work of authors such as John Bold and Patricia Waddy. Bold showed how the seventeenth-century architectural plan accommodated privacy.[24] Through a description of chosen floor plans he demonstrated that accidental encounters could be avoided through the use of corridors and stairways. He acknowledged that the creation of 'defensive devices' to accommodate privacy occurred in the preceding century but the focus of his essay is on the rhetoric of the seventeenth century in voicing its need and therefore its earlier origins are not discussed.

I have also drawn on the scholarship of Patricia Waddy who has questioned the role of architectural form in shaping gendered identities.[25] Waddy analysed female use of architectural space in a typical aristocratic setting in Rome, mapping the probable female domain through an understanding of the role performed by aristocratic women in the period. She demonstrated that society's demands on both men and women result in particular and different room usage and therefore the resulting architectural form is affected by gendered roles. This form of analysis had not been attempted for

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[23] E.A. Webb, *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield,* vol. 1 (London: The Centre for Metropolitan History, 1921).
[24] J. Bold, 'Privacy and the Plan', *English Architecture public and private: Essays for Kerry Downes,* ed. by E.J. Chaney, (London: Hambledon, 1993), pp. 107-19.
[25] Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*.

early modern English elite housing prior to my Master's dissertation 'A Woman's Place: Gendered Identities and the Architectural Plan in the Early Modern English Country House' (Oxford Brookes University, 2005) which demonstrated the architectural methods employed during the second half of the sixteenth century to accommodate gendered differentiation in the country. This methodology is employed again in this thesis where an attempt is made, within the limitations of the source materials, to examine architectural space in search of both male and female traditional use of it and suggest how these spiritual properties, through conversion, could make provision for such demands.

These social readings of architectural arrangements have been augmented with documentary evidence in the form of historical and biographical information relating to the owners and/or their houses. Documentary evidence, however, cannot provide a complete picture of a society and its culture because these documents were not intended to record a social history. In order to fully challenge the chosen case studies selected principles from additional methodologies will be employed. An exploration of the architectural plans using the interpretive methods from other groups of scholars, not fully adopted by mainstream architectural historians, will be included in the methodology with the aim of bringing a different perspective to the analyses. One such methodology is that of spatial analysis developed by Hillier and Hanson and more typically used by archaeologists to reconstruct the built environment.[26] Amanda Richardson and Chris King have demonstrated that this methodology can be used to show a relationship between the development of the architectural plan of medieval buildings and the changing activities of the inhabitants.[27] Neither author chooses to explore in depth the use of architectural space by mixed status occupants; status is addressed through the owner/visitor relationship only. This thesis employs the methods of both Richardson and King to conduct an analysis of architectural form through a more complex understanding of status and applies the principles to examine and illustrate specific, and very different, questions. Rather than apply this methodology in full, selected aspects of it will be used to assist in the decoding of the specific buildings in order to link architecture to cultural change; hence connecting

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[26] B. Hillier & J. Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); G. Fairclough, 'Meaningful Constructions – Spatial and Functional Analysis of Medieval Buildings' *Antiquity,* vol. 66, (1992), pp. 348-366.

[27] A. Richardson, 'Corridors of Power: A Case Study in Access Analysis from Medieval England', *Antiquity,* vol. 77, No. 296, (2003), pp.373-84; C. King, 'The Organization of Social Space in Late Medieval Manor Houses: An East Anglian Study', *Archaeological Journal,* vol. 160, (2003), pp. 104-24.

cultural phenomenon with architectural history.[28] The interpretation of 'depth', i.e. number of thresholds or distance from an entrance, is used throughout the analysis in this thesis to demonstrate that 'depth' is linked to high status or value due to privilege and privacy, and that the lower status house is shallower, reflecting on the need for commercial or service activities and the constraints of street frontage. It is this concept of a symbiotic relationship between architectural space and social conventions that this thesis examines further, using the same close analysis of the plan it performs a social reading of architectural space. In doing so, It seeks to understand how the organisation of architectural space, originally designed and used for spiritual purposes by male communities, could be transferred to lay use within mixed status households and searches for the origins of gendered space and those 'defensive devices'.

Due to the anticipated challenge of researching a destroyed environment, the analytical methods described will be applied to two selected sixteenth-century London houses, St. Bartholomew's Priory and Ely Place, in the form of case studies. These houses have been chosen for their potential to offer sufficient documentary evidence suitable for analysis and also for their date of transfer and modification which provides information at the start and close of the period under scrutiny and hence affords structure to the evolution uncovered.

The analysis conducted proved problematic in that there is limited information available on the form and extent of the modifications made to the buildings subject of this enquiry. In addition, a central source of material on early sixteenth-century London and re-use of church properties is lacking and in order to accomplish the task set in this thesis a wider scope of alienated spiritual properties has been researched to augment the information available for the specific case studies.[29] By including additional supportive evidence alongside the case studies a greater body of data is available to enable conclusions to be drawn. Through assembling the fragments of evidence identified and challenging them collectively, plausible explanations have

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[28] Richardson discusses spatial analysis and its use in understanding medieval society. She advocates a more reasoned and systematic use of this methodology to decode the language of medieval architecture. King also discusses the use of spatial analysis and its relationship between changing architectural form and society in the period. Both Richardson and King refer to Graham Fairclough's earlier paper that explores the use of spatial analysis, an archaeological methodology traditionally applied to prehistoric remains, for the analysis of medieval buildings. Fairclough, *Meaningful Constructions,* pp. 348-66.

[29] Vanessa Harding has published a bibliography for Early Modern London, covering a wide list of topics, see V. Harding, 'Early Modern London 1550-1700' *The London Journal,* vol. 20, No. 2, (Nov 1995), pp. 34-45.

emerged and, when viewed in context with the broader historical picture, connections and patterns have become visible. Through this forensic approach to the data available, the aim is to transpose supposition and circumstantial evidence into persuasive arguments.

This thesis is the first to investigate how architectural space in London, designed and used for spiritual purposes, could be re-used to accommodate the lifestyle of the laity and at the same time support the established behavioural conventions of the period. It will uncover how the restrictions of the London topography and the older architectural form of the original buildings impacted the architectural solutions adopted in conversion for lay use. It will examine the resulting architectural arrangements to offer a social reading of them and build on existing literature to explore further the mechanisms used, through architectural form, to convey differentiation. Through the detailed analysis of the two London case studies a suggestion as to the modifications made by their new lay owners has been possible, which has hitherto been unavailable.

This thesis is original in that it performs a comparison between the architectural space of a transferred London property with that of the same owner's property in the country with the objective of increasing our understanding of the differences in lifestyle, behavioural conventions and architectural solutions that may have been appropriate or tolerated in London throughout the course of the sixteenth century. Through this comparison, this thesis has identified the interplay between the social developments in London and architectural innovations in the country during the sixteenth century. It further asserts that the architectural devices, recognised and well characterised in the seventeenth century, which were intended to disconnect, rather than segregate, the servants from those of a high social status, had their origins in the social and architectural developments of the sixteenth century and came about as a result of this urban and rural interplay.

Chapter One
The Effects of the Monarchy 1508 -1603

During the sixteenth century four monarchs were crowned in short succession, each determined to enact the laws necessary to further their cause in the relationship between Crown, State and Church. The resulting social upheaval stemmed from the fact that each successive monarch opposed, to greater or lesser extent, key elements of the preceding monarch's religious policies, leaving pivotal players exposed with often fatal consequences. An examination of how these changes in policy, and hence laws, affected the ownership of property highlights the instability that the monarchs caused, particularly in London. Those whose properties were affected, and who were therefore obliged to join the political intrigue in an attempt to protect it, included the bishops within the regular church, abbots and priors of the monastic orders, the communities that formed the London Guilds, the rising nobility and the courtiers. With so many players and so frequent a change in strategy property ownership became complex and divisive. By the end of the century the majority of church owned dwellings had transferred into lay hands and the pattern of land ownership had permanently altered.[1]

In the early sixteenth century the real wealth of the country was firmly in the hands of the Crown and the land owning-nobility. The bishops within the secular church and the abbots and priors of the monastic orders similarly enjoyed wealth, of varying magnitude, from their spiritual and temporal incomes. The London property holdings of the religious communities were largely made up of the monastic precincts and their outlying properties, leased or rented to provide a source of income, and of the sizeable London houses of the bishops which belonged to each see and provided a London base while attending to Crown or Parliamentary duties and in addition for the significant role of hospitality.

Within the framework of this religious structure the London livery guilds co-existed.[2] Although by the sixteenth century trade was a key factor for their association, from

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[1] On the general subject see F. Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); W.G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder, The England of Henry VIII 1500-1547* (London & New York: Longman, 1976); J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII,* (London: Yale University Press, 1997); S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

[2] On the history of the Livery Guilds of London see D. Palfreyman, *London's Livery Companies: History, Law and Customs* (Olney: Oracle, 2010), I.G. Doolittle, *The City of London and its Livery Companies: a History of Survival* (London: Guildhall Library Publications, 2010), Sir E. Pooley, *The Guilds of the City of London* (London: W. Collins, 1945), W.C. Hazlitt, *The Livery Companies of the City of London: their*

their origins, as with all elements of sixteenth-century society, they assumed a religious nature. Before the establishment of their great halls the companies assembled in local churches or monasteries and arranged for masses and prayers to be said for the deliverance of their souls after death. These religious practices were believed to be a key benefit of their alliance and company members willed lump sums, the incomes from properties, or the properties themselves, to the guilds for the support of priests to perform these services.[3] In the sixteenth century the London guilds had built, or were building, their company halls and they had a portfolio of properties providing an income in much the same way as the monastic foundations.

Those who were ordained were the means by which the ordinary person believed that they could gain access to, and communicate with, God; putting mortal men in an elite position within the society that they served. The laity understood men of the church to be their betters, not only through their relationship with the spiritual world, administering the word of God, but also due to the fact that they were educated, hence elevating their position in society to one that was to be respected and admired. It was the fact that these men of religion were educated that qualified them to be appointed to serve at court or in Parliament. The secular clergy held a unique position as they lived and served within the structure of the temporal world. Their bishops, the spiritual lords, took seats in the House of Lords and often obtained office at court where they could gain favour with the King and elevate their status to rival that of the nobility. Those who removed themselves from general society to live according to a monastic rule lived within segregated communities in shared living space defined and protected by architectural boundaries, yet their heads of house could also be appointed to serve the King, as Prior Bolton of St Bartholomew's Priory, London was when he was appointed Clerk of the Works in 1504.[4]

The behaviour and lifestyle of the monastic and secular clergy was not especially deteriorating during the early sixteenth century, although no doubt specific cases could be identified. The abbots, priors and bishops continued to enjoy their liberties and in many cases their financial wealth gained from secular transactions. The monastic orders and the lay church alike benefited from the income earned from their ownership of temporal properties, and the bishops and priors enjoyed the power and status of holding office within court and Parliament. In fact the lifestyle of the religious

Origin, Character, Development, and Social and Political Importance (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1892).

[3] Pooley, *The Guilds of the City of London*, p.8.

[4] H.M. Colvin ed., *The History of the King's Works,* vol. III, part 1 (London: HMSO, 1975), p. 214.

men in England and Wales was little more than a reflection of the worldly desires of the secular lords and hence open to criticism and inviting correction.

The closure of monasteries was also not unknown; almost from their foundation certain religious houses could not survive due to the lack in number of their brethren or their economic condition. In the early sixteenth century many of the smaller, insignificant houses disappeared as both kings and prelates suppressed them and redirected their revenues to more worthy purposes, that of endowing colleges, schools or hospitals. This culling of dilapidated religious houses for the benefit of educational foundations was considered perfectly reasonable, befitting the social movement towards man's enlightenment. These actions were not taken without due consideration to God, and were supported and condoned by papal bulls hence setting a precedent on which less honourable motives could find future justification.[5] The loss of monastic foundations was therefore not extraordinary, their demise occurring on natural and cultural grounds. The precedent of dissolving undermanned religious houses was taken up with a new vigour by Cardinal Wolsey; overstepping the concept supported by Royal Decree and Papal Bulls, he suppressed twenty-two houses between 1524 and 1525 and a further eight between 1527 and 1528 to endow his college in Oxford and school in Ipswich.[6] History has documented Wolsey's increasing animosity towards the monasteries, his reforming activities as early as the 1520s, his growing wealth and his influence on the King, but the acceptability of confiscating monastic revenues for a more worthy cause was a principle set to find an entirely new protagonist.[7]

Felicity Heal comments that the fortunes of the secular church have not been subject to the same attention from historians as those of the monasteries and determines that this is because the predicament experienced by the secular church was less remarkable and was by way of taxation 'rather than for outright gifts of lands'.[8] But highly sought-after land was indeed confiscated from the secular church. Whilst Wolsey was scheming to acquire monastic wealth, his London property and those of his peers were gaining the attention of the Crown and courtiers. The episcopate's opulent houses, especially those along the Strand, were nothing short of palaces and

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[5] D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948-59) pp.13-14, and p. 157.
[6] For a list of the houses suppress by Wolsey see Knowles, *Religious Orders,* p. 470.
[7] See D.M. Loades, *Cardinal Wolsey 1472c-1530: Tudor Statesman and Chancellor,* (Oxford: Davenport Press, 2008).
[8] F. Heal, 'The Bishops and the Act of Exchange of 1559' *The Historical Journal,* vol. 17, No. 2, (1974), p. 227.

being conveniently situated between Westminster and the City were highly desirable. It was not uncommon for bishops to provide hospitality to royalty and courtiers and in some cases that hospitality led to permanent residence or outright grants. As early as 1525 Wolsey allowed Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, the King's illegitimate son to occupy Durham House near Charing Cross where he remained until Wolsey's downfall in 1529, after which the King arranged for the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father to have permanent possession. The new bishop, Tunstall, was housed in Coldharbour Lane.[9] Bath Inn, Carlisle House and the Inn of the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, all in the Strand, were appropriated between 1537 and 1539[10]. So whilst the bishops were condoning the suppression of dilapidated houses they were themselves at risk, not of the loss of their positions but the loss of their London properties and therefore their image and status.

The attitude towards all church men during this period can be gauged by reference to an anonymous document in the British Library that has been dated to the autumn of 1534. This document sets out a scheme to re-establish the financial position of the secular clergy and the houses of religious men and women by setting a maximum fixed income dependent on hierarchy, with all sums earned in excess of this limit to revert to the King.[11] It is of interest that the author starts the suggested financial controls by focusing on the secular church and in particular those in highest offices. The paper first sets income limits for the Archbishop of Canterbury, next the Archbishop of York followed by 'every bishop' and further defines the taxes (first fruits) from every spiritual benefice. The scheme then continues with the monasteries by including all those religious inhabitants of monastic communities, capping their income in a similar manner to that of the heads of the houses. The head of St John of Jerusalem was particularly singled out, limiting his income during his lifetime and after his death, 'the king's highness to have all the whole lands and possessions now appertaining to the said lord of St John's'. In the same manner was planned the fate of every foundation. The document has been headed in a different but contemporary hand 'Preparation for the Suppression'. It is interesting that the author addresses not only the abbots and priors but also the archbishops and bishops, indicating that all church men were considered to be living with excess wealth and should be made to live on more modest funds in keeping with their role and thus benefiting the Crown.

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[9] Raithby, J., ed., *The Statutes of the Realm* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, reprinted 1963), vol. 3, 28 Hen c.33 p. 687.

[10] See table in Appendix London Episcopal Inns and their Loss to Secular Ownership.

[11] BL, Cotton MS. Cleop. E IV, fos. 174-5, printed in L. Stone, *Bulletin of Institute of Historical Research,* vol. 24, (1951-2), pp. 9-11, and in J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries,* Historical Problems Series, 14 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), pp. 145-7.

Whether this document was submitted or reviewed by the King or his courtiers is unknown but its sentiment and intent was to gain ground in the coming years.

The split with Rome may have been the outcome initiated by Henry VIII's long battle with the Pope for a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, but failure to obtain that which he most wanted highlighted the lack of control that the King had in England and Wales over matters of canon law. Anger at papal interference and power drove the king to reinforce his authority within the church and claim that both church and state were within the governance of the King of England and free from foreign influence. Unease with papal intervention in the affairs of the English realm long proceeded Henry's cause. Richard II defended the right to appoint clergy to benefices without interference from Rome and enacted laws to protect the English courts from being usurped by papal canon law.[12]

The 1534 Act of Supremacy, confirming the King as the supreme head of the Church of England,[13] and its acceptance by the bishops did not mark the end of Catholicism because King Henry was orthodox in his faith and maintained the Catholic liturgy. This Act was about power and preventing the wealth of the land from benefiting a foreign cause. At this time many of the bishops believed that the King's intent was to keep foreign intervention at bay and keep the Church of England free from foreign power. The bishops, post Act of Supremacy, were divided by two differing sets of beliefs which determined their later fate. There were those who were orthodox and who held fast to the traditional view that the spiritual and temporal were governed independently and that the King had no jurisdiction in the spiritual. Opposing this group were the reformers who sympathised with the writings of Luther and viewed the ordination of priests to confer no special status other than administering the word of God. Supporters of the King's Supremacy could be found in both camps because they did not understand the intent of the Act to mean that the King intended to assume the office and remit of spiritual men. Now as head of the Church the King proceeded with the scheme to solve his economic problems and enrich the crown by convincing Parliament to initially support the dissolution of the smaller monasteries and ultimately the great houses and abbeys of England and Wales.[14] The Court of

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[12] C. Stephenson & F.G. Marcham eds. *Sources of English Constitutional History* (New York, Evanston & London: Harper & Row, 1937), Chapter 64, Statutes of the Realm, II, 85 f.

[13] *Statutes of the Realm,* vol. 3, p. 492, (26 Hen. VIII, c. 1).

[14] The disposal of monastic land in London has been discussed by M. B. Honeybourne, 'The Extent and Value of the Property in London and Southwark Occupied by the Religious Houses (Including the Prebends of St. Paul's and St. Martin's-le-Grand), the Inns of the Bishops and Abbots and the Churches

Augmentations was founded by Henry VIII in 1536 with the principal aim of managing the surrender of the lesser monastic houses and the subsequent monastic revenues on behalf of the Crown.[15]

It is interesting to note further that as a result of sale and re-sale of properties, largely benefiting the aspirational class and especially the officers of the Court of Augmentations, by the 1540s ex-monastic property could be found in the ownership of some of the guilds. In 1543 the Crown offered for sale the London house of the executed Thomas Cromwell, which has been built on the site that was once the house of the Augustine Friars, it was purchased by the Worshipful Company of Drapers.[16]

By the time of the death of Henry VIII in 1547 churchmen had suffered a considerable loss to their status. The monasteries, small and large, were dissolved and their lands and properties dispersed; some of the monastic precincts being torn down and their materials re-used, some converted into more appropriate accommodation to house their secular lords, but all of them altered with the aim of preventing the monastic communities from re-establishment. Many of the greatest of the bishop's palaces along the Strand were transferred to the courtiers and nobility who had pressed for them, their bishops housed in less prestigious structures and sites. The guilds, through their legacies however, were purchasing or acquiring properties which included ex-church land. The changes in property ownership had started, but the Church still preached a Catholic liturgy.

Henry's infant son was crowned Edward VI, and royal support now switched to the reformers guided by those in high office who had influence over the young King and who were led by Cranmer. The government was also in favour of church reform as they were concerned to protect the benefits that they had gained from the Crown during Henry's reign.[17] In the first year of his reign, Edward, guided by the Protector Somerset, revived in part an act that King Henry had drafted and had planned to

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and Churchyards, before the Dissolution of the Monasteries' unpublished MA thesis, University of London, (1929).

[15] See W.C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536-1554* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961).

[16] T. Girtin, *The Triple Crown: a Narrative History of the Drapers' Company, 1364-1964 (*London: Hutchinson, 1964), p.118; Hazlitt, *The Livery Companies of the City of London*, p. 208 and N. Holder, 'The Medieval Friaries of London, A Topographic and Archaeological History, Before and After the Dissolution' unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, (2011), p. 160.

[17] C. G. Mortimer and S.C. Barber, *The English Bishops and the Reformation 1530-1560 with a Table of Descent* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd, 1936), p. 24.

implement but had failed to promulgate due to his untimely death. The intention of the act was to continue to appropriate church lands through the confiscation of properties and endowments given for 'superstitious purposes'[18]. Although not as draconian as his father intended, the Act for the Dissolution of the Chantries declared that all revenues enjoyed for superstitious purposes, that is the praying for the souls of the dead to speed their passage through purgatory, would be better employed in more godly pursuits, that of developing schools and universities and assisting the poor, already a tried and tested cause accepted by the people. All properties and lands providing revenue for chantries were to be forfeited to the Crown effectively curtailing the practices of chantry priests. The guilds were indirectly participating in these 'superstitious practices' and were benefiting from the income from properties and endowments willed to them by their members. The guilds however were not the target of this act and were initially allowed to keep their lands and properties, only being required to pass on sums that would have maintained the chantry priests in the form of a rent to the Crown, but not through relinquishing the actual property that provided the means for which to pay for such services.[19] Thus for a further three years the guilds retained these properties, and hence the source of the income that they provided, and paid over to the Crown the sums that would have been paid to the chantry priests. By 1550 the Crown, in need of additional revenues, amended the requirement, claiming that these properties belonged to the King. The guilds were obliged to pay to the Crown the purchase price of such properties thus causing the sale of much of the guild's property holdings.

The debate on the Sacraments started in earnest during 1548 and by 1552 and the publication of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI the last traces of Catholicism were erased. One year later Edward VI died and Mary, daughter of the Catholic Catherine of Aragon, succeeded to the throne. Edward's short reign had secured further church properties for the Crown, courtiers and nobility, extending the effects of property legislation to the guilds. In addition, the loss of the bishop's London residences continued, Exeter House and the palace of the Bishop of Worcester, both on the Strand, were confiscated in 1549, Worcester being demolished by the Protector to make way for Somerset House.[20]

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[18] *Statues of the Realm*, vol. 3, 37 Henry VIII c. 4.
[19] *Statutes of the Realm,* vol. IV pt I, 1 Edward VI c. 14.
[20] See table in Appendix, London Episcopal Inns and their Loss to Secular Ownership.

With Mary on the throne, Cardinal Pole was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury on the execution of Cranmer, and began assisting Queen Mary in the reconciliation of the English church to the Holy See of Rome. In addition Mary resolved to reverse all the instruments that her father and half-brother had devised in their drive to alienate the English church and to this end her first statute of repeal was passed in 1553 reversing the liturgical changes made by Edward VI.[21] Mary was determined to restore to the church some its wealth and considered restoring impropriated lands, but to overturn the complicated pattern of ownership of these lands would have been virtually impossible and politically ill-advised. The Lords temporal, however accepting of a return to the Catholic liturgy, were fearful for the loss of their church lands. Their monastic lands had been possessed for upwards of twenty years and they had developed them into considerable properties consistent with their aspirations. However, in 1553 Mary appointed commissioners to investigate the legality for Edward VI to have deprived the Bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, Winchester and Durham and concluded that their deprivation was unlawful. Five bishops were re-instated with the added complication that they should be restored to their sees with the same estates that were in their possession when originally ordained. Hence all the lands lost to the sees when the protestant bishops surrendered them were now re-instated, and those who had been granted them, lost them.[22] The ensuing battles fought by the bishops in an attempt to physically recover their properties were not all successful, Lord Rich, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, maintained his possession of the Essex lands despite their legally belonging to the see of London.[23]

Since obedience to Rome was now to be promoted, and mindful of the animosity felt towards those who sought to deprive the nobility of their spoils, the Queen deferred to a higher authority, that of Pope Julius III, for a decision on how to resolve the wider issue of the confiscated monastic lands. The Pope sent his approval through Cardinal Pole for allowing the recipients of church properties and land to maintain their ownership but any further alienation of church lands ceased.[24] Pole's speech to Parliament was placatory and designed to assure them of his benevolence.

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[21] *Statutes of the Realm,* vol. IV pt I, 1 Mary I, session 2, c. 2
[22] N. L. Jones, 'Profiting from Religious Reform: The Land Rush of 1559' in *The Historical Journal,* 22 No 2 (1979), p. 280 quotes Patent Rolls, Phil & Mary I, 121.
[23] Jones, 'The Land Rush of 1559'*,* p. 284.
[24] Mortimer, *The English Bishops,* p. 36.

> I come not to destroy but to build. I come to reconcile not to condemn. I am not come to compel, but to call again. I am not come to call anything into question already done, but my commission is of grace and clemency to such as will receive it.[25]

When Mary's second statute of repeal was passed in 1555, all Acts and Provisions against Rome that had been passed since 1529 were listed and revoked with the exception of the 1536 Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries and the 1539 Act for the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries.[26] Alongside language suitably humble and repentant explicit permission is granted for persons who legally own monastic property and lands, to "without scruple of conscience enjoy them".[27] In October 1555 a bull from the Pope was read in the Commons assuring existing lay ownership of abbey lands. The impropriated monastic lands were therefore considered lawfully owned by the laity but because the episcopal lands were surrendered by reforming bishops whose consecration was considered invalid and furthermore usurped an illegally deprived bishop, lay ownership of this land was unlawful and therefore revoked.

Queen Mary, having relinquished receipt of the tax paid by the clergy, the First Fruits and Tenths, being the portion of the first year's revenue and ten percent of all subsequent years, and restored them to the Pope, was now anxious to re-establish monastic communities and despite the Pope's pardon desired the restoration of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions now in lay hands. Such was the strength of opposition that she determined to restore only those lands that were in her gift, which included Greenwich and Sheen, and by so doing hoped that the sacrifice made by the Crown, irrespective of the legal position, would represent the moral duty the Queen believed was incumbent on all who possessed such lands. In setting this example Mary implied an obligation to others to do likewise. Hence the payment of First Fruits and Tenths to the Crown ceased and the impropriated possessions of the religious houses free from subsequent lay interest were restored with a provision that such restoration released the Crown from associated financial obligations.[28] In 1555, and following the Queen's example, Lord Rich must have thought it wise to make the gesture of re-granting the church and cloister of St Bartholomew's Priory to Mary for the re-establishment of Dominican Friars. But, as we will see in the analysis of this

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[25] W. Cobbett, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England from the Norman Conquest, in 1066 to the Year 1066* (London: R. Bagshaw, 1806), p. 622. Oxford Digital Library, <http://www2.odl.ox.ac.uk/gsdl/cgi-bin/library>[accessed November 2009].
[26] *Statutes of the Realm,* 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, (1819), vol. iv, part, 1, p. 246.
[27] J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents, A.D. 1485-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) p.129.
[28] W. Cobbett, *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*, pp. 626-28. Oxford Digital Library, <http://www2.odl.ox.ac.uk/gsdl/cgi-bin/library>[accessed November 2009].

house in Chapter Four, Rich retained the prior's house and all those buildings making up the outer court where he had made his own London home and which had now been confirmed by the Pope as legally his to own.

The return of a Catholic monarch was short lived as Queen Mary died in 1558. Her brief reign did not have any significant impact on the distribution of alienated church property. Lord Rich may have granted the monastic buildings of St. Bartholomew's Priory back to the Crown but he tenaciously held in excess of fifty manors which remained in his possession on Queen Mary's death [29]

During the year of Queen Mary's death and up to the coronation of Elizabeth I an extraordinary number of bishops died, leaving nine sees vacant. Coincident with these events, and in anticipation of further vacancies when the Marian bishops refused to swear Elizabeth's oath of Supremacy, Parliament promulgated the Act of Exchange in 1559. This Act gave legal authority, during the vacancy of a see, for the Crown to exchange the remaining lands still in its possession that had been obtained from the dissolved monasteries, for temporal properties currently owned by the episcopate. The justification for such actions was that the Crown was restoring church property and lands to its rightful owners, but in so doing should not be deprived of revenues, therefore an exchange which re-established church property to the church and temporal properties to the Crown was considered appropriate.[30] The church lands that were available for restoration were of course of far lesser potential than the temporal lands that would form part of the exchange. The prime estates had long been granted or gifted and therefore the exchange was advantageous to the Crown only. By the end of 1559 sixteen bishops had been deprived for failing to take the Oath of Supremacy rendering a further sixteen sees vacant.[31] With twenty-five vacant sees the opportunity to appropriate desirable lands and properties was enormous. With the public Act of Exchange as a backdrop setting a precedent, those who had lost title to their episcopal lands and properties when Mary re-instated the orthodox bishops sought to reclaim them by private bill during the parliament of 1559.[32] Numerous private bills were successfully fought, once again stripping the

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[29] M.E. Coyle, 'Sir Richard Rich, First Baron Rich (1496?-1567), a Political Biography', unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard, (1967), p. 203.
[30] Heal, 'The Bishops and the Act of Exchange', p. 228.
[31] Mortimer, *The English Bishops,* pp. 83-4.
[32] Jones, 'The Land Rush of 1559', p.279.

bishops of the title to their landed wealth. Lord Rich, gained the assurance of his acquired lands from the bishop of London by one such private bill.[33]

Nine London houses belonging to the bishops were confiscated or exchanged during the years 1529 to 1558 demonstrating that the practice of alienating desirable properties from the secular church was well established long before the Act of Exchange. The Act of Exchange did however create an expectation that during a vacancy in a see, the imbalance of land ownership would be righted by restoring spiritual lands to the church and temporal lands to the Crown. Heal states that the 1559 Act of Exchange was the first piece of general legislation specifically directed against the property of the secular church and that the plunder of the bishoprics was controlled by the monarchy.[34] Until this act any estrangement was either specific to a see or specific to a property that a courtier desired or was otherwise estranged from the Bishop by Royal command or private act. In effect the public Act provided a blanket licence to continue to appropriate or regain Church property without the need for individuals to seek legality through individual private acts.

Desirable monastic properties had by now filtered into the general market, had changed hands time and again, had been destroyed or renovated, many to the point where their origins could no longer be known. On the contrary, some desirable episcopal properties remained in the possession of the bishops and were a continual source of prey for avaricious courtiers during Elizabeth's reign. The London house of the Bishop of Ely was a case in point, being finally alienated in 1567 to the benefit of Elizabeth's courtier, Sir Christopher Hatton, which is the subject of analysis in Chapter Seven.

The monarchy had had a fundamental effect on the transfer of Church property into lay hands. The different, and more integrated, relationship between the Crown and the regular clergy dictated a different approach to that inflicted upon the monasteries, but the intent was the same. The crown ultimately acquired, either for its own possession or for its use as a gift or sale, all the major and valuable church property in London. The losses of the monastic precincts were absolute; with the break up of the monastic communities their properties and lands transferred into lay hands and were traded continuously throughout the subsequent decades. The episcopal

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[33] Journal of House of Lords, IV, 31
[34] Heal, 'The Bishops and the Act of Exchange' p. 228.

properties faired differently, their fate was not as a result of the disbanding of the episcopate but rather a result of the containment of their power and status and hence re-confirming the hierarchy between the Crown and its ministers.

The large London properties originally owned by both the monasteries and the episcopate were a major contributor to the image and status of the heads of their houses and sees; the threat of their loss had became a weapon to be used by the Crown to restrain subjects when authority was to be displayed. Their acquisition was not prized solely as a financial gain by the Crown, but also for the authority and power that could be exercised in their control. The Crown could not only inflict harm by the confiscation of a property, but also could create indebtedness in the form of patronage when that property was gifted. A property was a most advantageous jewel to bestow on one's courtiers to ensure gratitude and loyalty.

Throughout the sixteenth century the episcopal lands had been insecurely owned and were an asset that could be readily alienated for the benefit of the Crown. It was not until the Act of 1604, An Act against the Diminution of the Possessions of Archbishops and Bishops, and for Avoiding of Dilapidations of Them, which prevented any further confiscation of episcopal lands that the Church could once again confidently hold their properties and re-commence their building programmes.[35]

Throughout the examination of properties in this thesis the authority and policies of the Crown can be readily identified.

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[35]'House of Commons Journal, Volume 1: 18 April 1604 (2nd scribe)', *Journal of the House of Commons,* vol. 1, 1547-1629 (London, 1802), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol1/18-april-1604-2nd-scribe [accessed 17 August 2014].

Chapter Two

The Importance of Domestic Spatial Planning in the Country 1500 -1550

As the sixteenth century dawned the landowning classes were already established and endowed with authority, power, and a political responsibility in their local districts through their role in local administration and justice and in the appointment of priests. This situation arose through a social development of the feudal system which had forged the relationship between lord and tenant with all the associated responsibilities and obligations. Similarly, high ranking men of the church were privileged with the right to occupy church-owned palaces and commanded authority and frequently a role within the royal court and Parliament. Land ownership conferred rights and was therefore the means to establish or maintain status and power. Land was the primary symbol of gentility.[1] But what is significant about land ownership before the Reformation is that it was largely inherited within secular society or bestowed on church men thought to be deserving of the honour. It was rarely purchased. It was this inheritance from a long established ancestral line that validated the position the family held in society.[2]

This chapter establishes the traditional country house plan, its role in accommodating and reinforcing behavioural conventions of the period and the importance of replicating its form when converting monastic properties in the country. It examines the spatial planning of two monastic conversions; Titchfield Abbey in Hampshire and Leighs Priory in Essex, to highlight this importance and investigate how the traditional architectural plan was used by their new owners to lay claim to elite society.

2.1 Country House Planning and Behavioural Conventions

The history leading to the dissolution of the monasteries and the transfer of almost one thousand monastic institutions to secular ownership has been covered in detail elsewhere but what is important to understand from it, relevant to the subject of this thesis, is that educated men from modest merchant backgrounds who aspired to gentry status achieved this status through acquisition and conversion of ex-monastic

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[1]Coyle, 'Sir Richard Rich', p. 192.
[2] On the general topic see Nicolas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480 - 1680* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

property in the country.[3] It was imperative for these 'new' men without a long established family inheritance to build a country seat with associated retainers and tenants and set up housekeeping to enable them to lay claim to the status and authority they coveted. Therefore, a country seat was generally established before ownership of property in London was undertaken. For example the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, Sir Richard Rich, developed Leighs (Leez) Priory in Essex soon after it was granted to him in 1536, three years before he gained part of the Austin Friary in London and four years before he re-located and commenced the developments at St. Bartholomew's Priory in Smithfield, London.[4] Sir William Petre, visitor of monasteries and Secretary of State to four Tudor monarchs, purchased Ingatestone in Essex in 1539 five years before he purchased his first property in London, a small tenement in Aldersgate Street.[5] Whilst it would appear that Thomas Audley defied this custom in that he was granted Holy Trinity in Aldgate, London in 1534 four years before he acquired Walden Abbey in Essex, he did in fact own a country house known as Hoxton in Essex at the time he was lobbying Cromwell for the London monastery and which he had need to sell to settle debts.[6] Major refurbishment at Holy Trinity took place in the years 1541-42, after the conversion of Walden Abbey. Despite the extensive conversion of Holy Trinity, Audley considered his country house at Walden as his 'chiefe and capital mansion house'.[7] In fact, ownership of property in London was not crucial to the making of the man, important noble men did not always own London properties but rented or leased in preference, a phenomenon that is illustrated through examples in Chapter Three. The country seat however was non-negotiable; without it the family would not have been considered part of elite society.

Before exploring specific examples of the relationship between the architectural plan and behavioural norms, it would be informative to first discuss those relationships in general to enable us to better understand the details that follow. Encoded within the

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[3] On the dissolution of the monasteries see Cardinal Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries,* (London, G. Bell & Sons Ltd, 1925); S.M. Harrison, *Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London: Macmillan Education, 1985); J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation of the English Speaking People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984); G.W.O. Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London: Pitkin Pictorials, 1972); J.A. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971). For a discussion on monastic conversions of the period see M. Howard, 'The Domestic Building Patronage of the Courtiers of Henry VIII', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, (1985).
[4] *Letters and Papers* , X, no. 1015(33); XII, part 2, no. 191(40); *Letters & Papers*, xiv (1), p. 588; *Letters and Papers,*   31 Hen VIII, vol. 14(1) p.75 no. 210 and p.138 no. 347, respectively.
[5] For the life of Sir William Petre see F.G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home (*Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press,1961).
[6] Howard, 'The Domestic Building Patronage of the Courtiers of Henry VIII', p.32.
[7] From Audley's will, The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/31/64 <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/audley-end-house-and-gardens/history/>[accessed May 2015].

traditional architectural layout and decoration of the country house before the Reformation was an architectural language that both accommodated and reinforced the socially constructed behavioural norms for elite society. It was this layout and language that was important for the socially mobile to replicate in order to provide the established environment in which the household could function. In so doing, the family could lay claim to membership of elite society and to the social position to which they aspired. It was the architectural layout and its decoration that enabled the social function of the building as a whole, situating its occupants within a setting according to status and hence establishing the traditional social order that was expected within elite groups.

These socially constructed norms adopted by elite society evolved from the architectural design that upheld the etiquette within royal palaces and accommodated the functions and processions of royal life; a life which all nobility aspired to emulate in order to present an elite identity. In this architectural model the public hall, great chamber and presence chamber gave way to less public privy chambers culminating in the relative privacy of the bedchamber and closets. This progression of public to private controlled through architectural space was reinforced through the roles that royal staff were assigned. It was Henry VII who aligned the roles performed by his attendants to the function of the chambers and in so doing mirrored the architectural separation of public and private, thus creating a hierarchy in his household arrangements. Those who served the King in a personal capacity were granted a higher status and had access to the more private, or rather less public,[8] architectural spaces, hence linking privacy and status.[9] This principle of a separation of architectural space into a communal space for public and ceremonial activities, followed by a less public chamber for a more selected and therefore privileged group and finally a more private suite of bedchamber and closet, was adopted in the great households of the nobility.[10] By the early sixteenth century the basic suite of rooms had increased in number to accommodate more specific functions, elaborate

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[8] Throughout this thesis, use of the term 'private' as an adjective to describe architectural space is intended to reflect the state of being removed from the general community, i.e. less public, and not the state of isolation as we understand the term in the twenty-first century. For discussions on the terms public and private see E. Longfellow, 'Public, Private, and the Household in Early Seventeenth-Century England' *Journal of British Studies,* vol. 45, No. 2, (April 2006), pp. 313-334; R. Huebert, 'The Gendering of Privacy' *The Seventeenth Century,* vol. 16, No. 1, (2001), pp. 37-67.

[9] D. Starkey, *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War,* 3rd edn, (London and New York: Longman, 1993), p. 73-4.

[10] For a discussion on the architectural plan, hierarchy and use of space see M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), N. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480 - 1680* (New Haven and London :Yale University Press, 1999) and M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House.*

decorative displays and the growing desire for the ability to remove oneself from the communal household. Royal precedent was again the incentive for the growth in the number of more private chambers. From 1530 Henry VIII's properties evidence the expansion of private chambers beyond the privy chamber including studies, libraries and closets.[11]

Establishing a country estate in the first half of the 1500s, therefore, necessitated building a house of traditional layout with a linear, single pile arrangement of rooms situated at one end of a central, communal hall with service rooms at its opposite end. The architectural arrangements of the period employed a linear plan in order to provide the form in which to stage the processions and displays that were integral to social customs of the period and reinforced the authority and power of the family. One route through a house, which does not permit bypassing a chamber, ensures that those progressing along the route are visible to the household at large and hence are honoured by the admiration that the human gaze proffers. In addition, a linear plan provided the element of depth to the space, depth being defined as the distance travelled, or thresholds crossed, from a main entrance, which informed visitors and inhabitants of the status and importance of the various architectural spaces. The greater the distance travelled from a main entrance the more exclusive and important the space and hence the more honoured the occupant.

The prime architectural space that determined the relationship, positioning and status of all other spaces within the house was the hall. The great hall remained the central public space within the household where communal dining for mixed status groups was ritualised in the culturally significant practice of hospitality.[12]

In the early modern period hospitality was a moral duty for those claiming elite status. The obligation for generous hospitality was a publically shared social value linked to the honour of the family. The great house effectively acted as an inn and was expected to offer hospitality to all comers; that hospitality took the form of food, drink and accommodation for visitors and strangers alike through an open house policy. Furthermore, the landed estate with its retainers and tenants were the responsibility of the head of household on whose land they toiled. Provision and protection for this

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[11] S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England, Architecture and Court Life 1460-1547* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p.135.
[12] For a full account of hospitality in the period see F. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, re-printed 1998), and K. Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250-1600, Good Governance and Politic Rule,* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).

wider household included the offer of a shared meal. Communal dining therefore formed part of the social responsibility that was inherent with land ownership and those landed gentry who evaded this responsibility risked a loss of honour. This responsibility could include a large number of people and was great indeed; in the early 1500s William Cecil, Lord Burghley claimed 'And in my household I do seldome feed less than an hundred persons'[13]

The communal nature of the lifestyle can be further understood from poets who were writing in the subsequent century and reflecting on an earlier culture. Ben Jonson's 'To Penshurst' published in 1616 praises the family in their communal religious education of the children and household

> '[…] Each morn and even they are taught to pray,
> With the whole household, [...]'[14]

The hall was the principal location where the social obligation for commensality was played out and therefore the hall was the only space in the great house that was shared simultaneously by all the ranks of the household, together with visitors and strangers.

Because the shared space of a medieval hall created unity, one architectural space accommodating all ranks of society, an architectural language was necessary that was able to inform those present of the position their status entitled them to occupy, hence providing the space with social order. The hall was a communal not a homogenous space. The image of gentility was dependant on public recognition and that recognition relied on a common understanding of the symbols intended to differentiate those sharing the space. The symbols of social differentiation included proximity to light and warmth, the level of luxury of the decoration, the majesty of an elevated position and association with the space occupied with other high status chambers. These symbols were typically manifested architecturally through the use of oriel windows, stained glass, decorative chimney pieces which were frequently placed off centre in favour of the upper end of the hall, the raised floor known as the dais and proximity to parlours, great staircase, great chambers and long galleries. Chambers to be read as intended for high status occupancy were frequently linked to

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[13] J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and establishment of religion, and other various occurrences in the Church of England*, vol. 3, part II (London: Tho. Edlin, 1728), p. 383.
[14] B. Johnson, *The Works of Ben Jonson* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Co., 1853) pp. 801-802.

the garden through the creation of vistas through the windows and removed to an elevated position on the first floor. These privileging associations and decorative features were always located towards, and off, the distal end of the hall, the high end, removed from the services which were architecturally unadorned and adjacent to the screens, the low end. The high and low ends of the hall with their associated ornate private chambers and plain service rooms respectively formed the basis of the spatial arrangements and created the differentiation necessary in a mixed status space.

The hall was not the only space in the house where architecture was employed to set apart those of eminence. Differentiation was also conveyed through the decoration of doorways. Decorative treatment of internal door jambs symbolised that one was passing from a notional 'outside' to the 'inside', informing those who crossed over this demarcation that they were entering the inner core of the house.[15] This treatment of access points from one internal space to another can often be found at the screens, staircases and long galleries denoting that internal spaces could be regarded from the owner's point of view as external to the house proper. This form of decorative communication when applied to the long gallery reinforced the function of the space as an external recreational area, but when applied to the access to the screens from the services, it also communicated to those whose function placed them in the service spaces that the place they inhabited was 'external' to the household. The form of the great house admitted all statuses within its walls but it was not an inclusive environment; each member of the household had their place and that place was communicated by the architectural language of the house.

The site of the hall, with its associated upper and lower ends, dictated the higher status from the lower status spatial arrangement throughout the whole house and therefore the choice for the positioning of the hall was fundamental to the arrangement of the whole. The orientation of the hall and screens always dictated which side of the house the services and offices would be positioned as the kitchens and services would have been adjacent to the screens, and the parlour, great chamber and private chambers adjacent to the opposite, upper, end of the hall. The choice for the orientation of the upper house was more commonly governed by distance from the entrance, the depth. The services would be sited nearer to the entrance enabling the private apartments to be placed at a distance from it and hence removed from everyday activities.

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[15] G. Fairclough, 'Meaningful Constructions – Spatial and Functional Analysis of Medieval Buildings' *Antiquity,* vol. 66 (Gloucester: Antiquity Publications, 1992), p. 354.

Leading from the upper end of the great hall was the parlour and above, via the great staircase, was the linear arrangement of rooms commencing with the most public space for elite groups, the great chamber. The great chamber was a large opulently decorated room. Its elevated position on the first floor communicated that it was not intended for general household use, but instead was for the reception of high class visitors and invited guests and a space in which the family could pass their leisure time. This great chamber performed the role of drawing the noble visitor deeper into the structure of the house and in so doing the guest was conferred with the identity of superior status and the host with honour in receiving high status company.[16] Typically beyond the great chamber would be found a suite of chambers comprising withdrawing chamber, bedchamber with closet and garderobe, each room becoming more exclusive as it became less accessible. The long gallery would usually be accessed independently from the enfilade of chambers as this space was more commonly used for recreation and exercise and therefore was required to be more readily accessible. Even when independently accessible the long gallery remained associated with, and forming part of, the pathway through the house. This linear route through the house has become known by historians as the processional, or ceremonial, route.[17]

The processional route was a single path along which the head of household travelled with important guests in order to display their wealth, position and authority to the wider household. This route commenced at the entrance or screens passing through the hall to the parlour, or went via the great staircase to the great chamber and beyond to the withdrawing chambers, bed chambers and gallery. Traditionally this was also the route along which the food was carried from the kitchens, through the buttery and screens into the hall where all those gathered would witness the magnificence of the display and hence the magnificence of the head of house who had provided it. As the desire for less communal dining developed following royal precedent, the Lord's food would pass beyond the hall into the parlour or up to the great chamber, whilst the household and uninvited visitors gathered in the hall would receive their "mess" for communal consumption.[18] If the master of the house was dining remotely in the parlour his retainers, servants and any visitors of a lower class,

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[16] Fairclough, 'Meaningful Constructions' p. 354.
[17] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 52.
[18] Ibid, p. 49.

would still have been present in the hall to witness the procession and share in the meal.[19]

The traditional arrangement of upper and lower house in relationship to the hall was ubiquitous and can be found in most late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century country houses. Horham Hall (Fig. 1), built in the early sixteenth century in Essex is conventionally arranged around a central hall with kitchen and service rooms adjacent to the screens, an oriel window and dais marking the opposite and upper end of the hall, and domestic chambers, staircase and access to the chapel leading off this high end. From the exterior, (Fig. 2) the upper house can be read from the relationship of the oriel window to the entrance porch thus denoting on which side of the screens the services are located. Similarly, Cowdray House in Sussex (Fig. 3) as originally built during the 1520s has the hall with parlour under a great chamber and withdrawing chamber (lobby) at its upper end with kitchen and service rooms off the screens at the lower end. A bay window associated with the raised dais provides the high status symbol at this upper end of the hall.

This was the architectural plan that upheld the social identities and relationships within the established English country houses before the Reformation; a plan that denoted a dynastic heritage.[20] When, in the late 1530s, the dissolution of the monasteries made available great tracts of the monastic lands and properties in the country, those Tudor courtiers in a position to profit from the spoils were eager to convert them into a form that would enable them to claim their place in society. However, the time-honoured processional customs, placement according to status and the hierarchy of architectural space were not the only elements of differentiation that needed to be considered.

Although the majority of the wider household was made up of male attendants who performed the bulk of the household and estate tasks,[21] the mistress of the house required gentlewomen to attend her and care for the children. The house was therefore required to accommodate the mistress, female members of the family and a small number of female attendants and servants within a predominantly male

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[19] The mistress of the household could take head of table whilst the master dined in private, for example in the Paget household books there is a reference to the fact that 'my lord supped in his chamber and the table furnish without' Greater London Record Office, Acc 446/4/13, fo. 38, quoted in Heal, *Hospitality,* p. 43.

[20] See J. Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997); Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*.

[21] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 27; Mertes, *The English Noble Household*, p. 57.

household. Regardless of the limited number of female occupants, the socially constructed doctrines defining the appropriate roles for men and women created a need for an architectural framework to reinforce gendered identities and provide an architectural solution in which to accommodate them. Gender was a key attribute by which power was articulated and, just as status was identified within the architectural language of the house to convey power, so too were gender divisions. Architecture was the means to highlight or foreground specific activities and therefore attribute importance to those who performed them whilst concealing other activities, reducing their significance and hence their power. Activities gendered male were considered to carry more value and would, as a general rule, be more public than activities gendered female.[22]

One means of gaining an insight into the norms governing the behaviour of men and women and shaping the social relations during the period is to consult the conduct books intended to instil order within the household and society at large. One such book is *Of Domesticall Duties* wherein William Gouge defined the roles that husbands and wives were expected to undertake within the household. Men were to apply themselves to the 'great and weighty' matters of supplying a house, providing income, keeping order and directing the religious affairs of the household. Women were to take responsibility for 'some less but very needful matters' such as providing for and instructing young children, ornamenting the house and managing the household supplies and maid servants.[23] In carrying out their expected duties noblewomen would naturally be focused on the home whilst in order for men to provide a house and an income their responsibilities would take them abroad into society and the public world. The ideal man was therefore valued for his external role; the ideal women by her internal role. Whilst the conduct books describe the ideal characteristics to which every man and women should aspire, reality was rarely ideal. However, women during the Tudor period were generally celebrated for their piety, introspection and diligence in their reading, sewing and copying from religious texts. These activities combined with the responsibilities of household management warranted an architectural form that provided spaces where females could be still,

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[22] The gendered identity of activities and household spaces did not preclude participation in that activity or space by a member of the opposite sex. A female could claim authority through using the traditional male spaces. Lady Anne Clifford fashioned an image of prestige and authority by her visibility in the use of the processional route through her inherited houses. E. Chew, 'Si(gh)ting the Mistress of the House: Anne Clifford and Architectural Space', *Women as Sites of Culture: Women's Roles in Cultural Formation from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century,* ed. by S. Shifrin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 167-182.

[23] W. Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London: W. Bladen, 1622, photo reprint Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976) p. 152.

without interruption and without observation by the general household in going about their business; in other words, spaces that provided seclusion, or in twenty-first century terms, privacy.

The concept of privacy in early modern England also needs to be considered if we are to read architectural space and apply meanings relevant to a sixteenth-century experience of it.[24] Good kinship and commonwealth within the community was a shared value throughout society. The role played by the great house was central to this concept. Through the public role that the head of household performed in the political and juridical oversight of the local community, its wellbeing was ensured. Public office and public duties were prized and valued and conferred authority, and this public role included the orderly running of the household. Order within a household signified an ordered society. The house itself was embedded in the daily lives of the wider community; it was an extension of the public space, with the great hall the most open to the local community. The members of a household could be considerable. The family, retainers and servants combined with visitors, strangers and the neighbouring community all shared the space to a greater or lesser degree. Lives were therefore conducted not only in sight of the general household but also within their hearing. The mistress of the house would be in the company of her family, her personal maids or the wider servant community and when at leisure would be accompanied by her husband, female attendants or religious instructor. The term private in the sixteenth century would best be described as not common to all men; private was less public. During the sixteenth century the term would be used to denote ownership as in private property; it could also refer to the inner self as in private prayer. In her diary Lady Margaret Hoby uses the term frequently; she informs us of her daily 'priuat praers' some of which are in the company of Mr Rhodes, her minister, whilst others are in her Closett[25]; her private prayers include self examination and meditation and are therefore private to her own conscience. She also writes of her private conversations with Mr Hoby, 'matters concerninge Conscience and our estates'[26], private due to their discourse being protected from unwelcomed ears. She uses the term again '[...] touchinge a priuatt agreement wth his Cosine Ewrie'[27], here indicating a matter between only two individuals. To be alone or secluded through choice would be better understood in the sixteenth century as

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[24] See note 8.

[25] J. Moody ed., *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady, The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605'* (Sutton Publishing, Gloucestershire: 2001), p. 17.

[26] Ibid. p. 10.

[27] Ibid. p. 139.

secrecy; when physically obscured by a locked closet or an item placed in a locked chest. The value system of early modern society associated this form of privacy with authority and hence it was more frequently enjoyed by high status men.

The long gallery was an architectural space which played a role in creating an environment of 'privacy' and in this capacity it served both male and female occupants by offering protection from being overheard. It was a space that was longer than it was wide and was often entirely visible along its length without many associated side chambers where one could secrete oneself and listen to the conversation of others.[28] The Long Gallery was of particular significance to female members of the house due to its association with light exercise and the garden. Invariably the Long Gallery would be situated in the south range overlooking the garden.

Accommodation for elite women in early modern English country houses typically made provision for chambers with direct access to gardens for participation in exercise, leisure activities and for the supervision of herb and flower gardens. Similarly, chambers intended for female occupation provided access to the service areas for management of the household in ways that did not necessitate traversing public spaces such as the hall. In addition, chambers where females may be isolated, or rather removed, from the public processional route, or screened from the public gaze can also be identified suggesting that architectural arrangements deliberately made provision for spaces that would obscure those persons or activities occupying them and hence construct a space suitable for female occupation.[29] These obscured spaces were gendered female. In order to assert authority a female head of house would need to be visible within the household and occupy public space, gendered male.[30]

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[28] L. Cowen Orlin, 'The Tudor Long Gallery in the History of Privacy', *Inform: The Journal of Architecture, Design and Material Culture,* vol. 2, (2001), p. 91-3.

[29] For discussions on how the architectural plan accommodated female inhabitants of the early modern house see P. Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces; Use and the Art of the Plan (*Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1990); R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999); L. Durning and R. Wrigley eds, *Gender and Architecture* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2000*); J. Walters, 'A Woman's Place: Gendered Identities and the Architectural Plan in the Early Modern English Country House' MA, Oxford Brookes University, (2005).

[30] See A. T. Friedman, 'Architecuture, Authority and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern Country House' *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by H. Hills (Aldershot UK and Burlington USA, Ashgate: 2003), pp. 332-341.

An illustration of architecturally obscured spaces early in the sixteenth century can be found at Compton Wynyates in Warwickshire. Built circa 1515 by Sir William Compton, who at the age of eleven became page to the two-year-old prince Henry, a house was constructed where obscured architectural space can be identified within the arrangements of the south range. (Fig. 4) The traditional route of access to the house was through the gatehouse and across the courtyard, entering the screens where a right-hand turn led through the hall into the parlour and beyond to the chamber before the chapel. However, there is an alternative access from the court which leads directly into the south range where a left turn takes one to the chapel bypassing the communal hall. Turning right provides access to the chamber marked 'NURSERY' on the plan, which in turn leads to a ground floor room beneath the White Chamber, suggested as being Compton's room.[31] This ground floor room is privileged with two small chambers or closets to its south and a fireplace. From this ground floor chamber access can also be gained to a stairway located behind the south wall of the 'NURSERY' which links the tower chambers on all floors and, from which, contrary to the plan in Fig. 4, access can also be gained to the ground floor tower chamber.[32] From the foot of the stairway a passage leads to the south gardens and, from the illustration of the south façade (Fig. 5), the location of this access lacks decoration and prominence. Returning to the ground floor room beneath the White Chamber access westward to an enfilade of two chambers with associated closets terminates at the gatehouse and prevents further travel along this west range at ground floor level.

These spaces are considered to be obscure because on entry through the gatehouse the direction of travel and sight is directly ahead, focused on the hall and porch entrance. Once inside the house the visitor who penetrates beyond the hall and parlour would be more likely to travel up the stairs to the great chamber bypassing the lower suite of rooms. The occupants of these ground floor chambers would be protected from unwanted visitors as non-through rooms would not normally form part of a processional route. The location of these west and south-facing chambers suggest they would be suitable for female occupancy due to this isolation and the fact that they have access to the south gardens.

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[31] Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House,* plan p. 81.
[32] I am extremely grateful to Lord Northampton of Compton Wynyates for his email correspondence and information relating to the layout of these chambers.

Another interesting example of obscured space can be identified in the plan of Sir
Thomas More's Chelsea house (Fig. 6). In the early 1520s More and his second wife
had moved into the large house that he had built with Thames frontage in Chelsea,
just two miles from the City of London which he could reach by river.[33] The plan
shows an element of symmetry to the entrance façade in that the porch (A) was
flanked either side by matching turrets (B1 & B2), one housing a spiral stair the other
an oriel window to the hall. The hall itself was of traditional form. The screens (C)
opened onto it with a dais (D) denoting the upper end and parlour beyond, and a
buttery (E) off the lower end. The hall is therefore wrapped in the conventional
architectural language of upper and lower house. However, beyond the lower end on
the other side of the buttery and off a hallway servicing the turret stairway were a
group of interlinked chambers comprising two rooms (F & G) with an inner closet (H).
These rooms all faced south, outwards over the entrance court, a common position
for male occupancy and yet they were isolated from the public route that passed
through the hall to the main staircase and onward to the great chamber. Their
isolation was achieved both by being situated on the lower end of the house adjacent
to the services that lay behind in the west range and by being a non-through route,
both attributes that demonstrate that they were not intended to be traversed as part
of the processional route. This isolation together with the fact that the two chambers
were both equipped with fireplaces suggests that they were intended for high status
use and were the private rooms of the family, intended for female occupation.

The More household was a pious one and the chapel (J) situated in the east range
(upper house) had an opening to the room above for the first floor occupants,
possibly female, to remotely and more privately participate in the services held. From
this east range an internal stair led onto a garden terrace. The architectural
arrangements identified in the plan of More's Chelsea house demonstrates that the
traditional language of upper and lower house has been maintained and, in addition,
it has been used to confer privacy on important spaces. Furthermore, a gendered
reading of the plan is possible suggesting that provision had been made to
appropriately accommodate the female presence.

These architectural features intended to accommodate and enforce gendered
identities would not have been considered in a monastic setting for an all male
community and thus if their form can be identified in converted monastic properties

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[33] W.H. Godfrey, *Survey of London: vol. 4, Chelsea, pt II* (London, 1913), pp. 18-27, *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol4/pt2> [accessed June 2016].

the social importance of gendered architectural differentiation would be underlined. Examination of converted monastic houses for evidence of gendered space is problematic because the level of detail available for examination is not always sufficient. Wherever evidence permits, a gendered reading of the architectural form will be made throughout this thesis.

Those aspiring to gentle status acquired their monastic properties in the 1530s and 1540s with the objective of converting them into the landed estates that were so necessary to endorse the elite status they claimed. How could these buildings, designed for all male communities, and intended for spiritual use, be re-configured to uphold the conventions of a society that they aimed to emulate? How could these structures be modified to provide for a processional route? How could they also make provision for a hall that was crucial for the demonstration of commensality and that could be read with high and low status orientation complete with symbols of differentiation within an overall mixed status space? Furthermore, how could they be modified to introduce architectural spaces suitable to accommodate the female presence with due regard for the traditional conventions of the period?

2.2 Re-use of Architectural Space in the Country

When converting a country property that had been alienated from the orders, the long established, traditional architectural arrangements differentiating between high and low ranking spaces became the model for the house plan in an attempt by the owner to lay claim to lineage and hence the authority that was a pre-requisite for elite status. Examples of this practice are readily available. We find that at Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire, founded as a nunnery of the Augustinian order and dissolved in 1539 (Fig. 7), Sir William Sharington converted the property following convention with the services located in the new stable court forming the entrance court whilst the upper house, including the newly built Sharington Tower, was situated at the furthest point south from this entrance court. Again, at Leighs Priory in Essex, dissolved in 1536 (Fig. 8), Sir Richard Rich chose the customary layout situating the kitchen and office range proximal to the inner gate, between the inner and outer courts, and hence central to the flow of traffic whilst the private apartments are situated at the furthest distance from this inner gate, across the inner court.

When confronted with the task of converting a monastic courtyard form into the traditional household plan of the late 1530s and 1540s, the new owners of the

monastic property had existing country models to refer to. One such model was Cowdray House (Fig. 3) built on the site of an older house that was pulled down to make way for the new house.[34] Here is an example of a 1520 new build of courtyard plan with an imposing four-turreted gatehouse. The overall layout is to the conventional linear arrangement of hall and screens passage separating upper and lower house together with symbols of differentiation used in the communal hall setting. The chapel is situated to the rear of the hall and appears to be sited in the typical position of a monastic chapter house, opposite the west range entrance of the monastic cloister. Such a model could be readily adapted and applied during a monastic conversion.

 In order to apply this model and create a differentiated architectural form out of a monastic layout, the location for the hall was the first decision that had to be made. From this decision the logical arrangement of domestic and service spaces flowed. On the whole we find two monastic spaces that most readily lend themselves to conversion to a lay hall, the Frater, originally intended as a communal dining hall, and the nave of the church, which was purposefully a large open, communal space. We observe in the majority of monastic conversions, where the information is available to us, that one or other of these spaces becomes the hall. The dorter where the monastic brethren took their rest is also possible for conversion but is less commonly found. At Netley Abbey in Hampshire Sir William Paulet utilised the nave for his hall.[35] At the nunnery of Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire Sir William Sharington created his hall from the frater (shown on the plan in Fig. 7 as CELLARS (Frater over)). Rather than utilise the nave of the church for his entrance in the same manner as Paulet; Sharington destroyed all but the north transept of the church and re-used the materials to build a new stable court north of the new hall turning the approach to the hall from the north. At Hinchingbrooke House in Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire we find the frater was chosen for conversion to provide a hall with the approach re-orientated northwards (Fig. 9), and William, Lord Sandys, again used the frater for his hall at Mottisfont Abbey in Hampshire.[36] At Titchfield Abbey in Hampshire Thomas Wriothesley[37]after some debate accepted the site of the monastic frater for the

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[34] W.H. St.John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex* (London: Hudson & Kearns Ltd, 1919) p. 90.

[35] Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House,* p.149.

[36] Ibid, p.151.

[37] Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton, became Lord Chancellor in 1544; M.A.R. Graves, 'Wriothesley, Thomas, first earl of Southampton (1505–1550)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30076>, [accessed June 2016]

location for his hall. Cutting through the nave of the church he built a tall gatehouse to provide a stately entrance on axis with the new hall, (Fig. 10).

It is from Titchfield Abbey that we learn of the importance of choosing the most appropriate location for the hall and hence the layout of the whole house. From letters written by the King's Commissioners in 1538 we are able to observe this process and come to understand that the decision on the positioning of the hall was not straightforward but was by necessity governed by cultural norms.[38] The differing opinions voiced in the letters offer us an insight into the reasoning behind that choice and provide evidence of the strong relationship between the architectural layout and the behavioural norms underpinning these arrangements. The original concept was devised by Wriothesley himself who, it seems, had not been on site when he drafted the plan. This original proposal is lost to us but the Commissioners' response to it informs us that the intended site for the hall was the dorter with entrance from the court placing the 'high desk', or dais, next to a dining parlour constructed from the north transept of the monastic church. This arrangement would by convention require the services to be sited in the north range, hitherto the frater, and the domestic chambers in the east and south ranges (late the chapter house, north transept, choir and nave). Wriothesley sets out his original plan to include the movement of the kitchens to the west end of the church. There is no explanation for this suggestion; possibly the height available at this location was considered favourable for a kitchen. The frater was to be remodelled into lodgings with large buttery, pantry, wine cellar and larder in the undercroft. The Commissioners agree that "you may have w^t reasonable charge an house for the Kings grace to bate and for any baron to kepe his hospitalitie in",[39] enlightening us on the two key functions that the country house was responsible for providing, namely, attracting the King's patronage and providing the appropriate setting in which the display of virtue through hospitality could take place.[40]

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[38] W. H. St John Hope, 'The Making of Place House at Titchfield, near Southampton in 1538' in *Archaeologia,* LXIII (63) 1906, p. 233.

[39] Ibid, p. 233.

[40] Competition to attract the King on progress was intense amongst courtiers and the size of their properties, opulence of their decoration and abundance of their entertainment was an important factor in the choice of house to lodge in when the court was on progress. Sammon, N.,'The Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-29*', The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Peity,* ed. by D. MacCulloch (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995). pp. 66.

Wriothesley's plan however did not materialise as originally intended. There was a major obstacle which was pointed out by the Commissioners, who took great exception to the proposal of moving the kitchen to the west end of the church.

> "all houses of offices sufficiently had w^{t}oute change now towards you was in vayne: if the church shuldbe altered as yo^u divise yo^u shall understand that the church is furthest south from al other lodgynge. Joynyng to the gardyng & orchard soe the kechyng ther & the synk must be allyed w^t yor Rosemary and Lavendre &c."[41]

The importance of the association of spaces is in evidence here, and an essential consideration was the relationship between the garden and the house. Placing the kitchen adjacent to the garden would have united a low status room with the high status garden, an unacceptable union which would have made the arrangement of the whole incoherent and offend decorum.

By the end of January 1538 a letter to Wriothesley informed him that the hall should be fashioned out of the Frater contrary to Commissioner Crayford's plan to site it in the Dorter. In April Crayford's letter suggests that the hall had indeed been re-sited as he describes the Dorter as:

> "[…]forty footes of the dortor wher thall was ys floured w^t Somers & giests, xxiiij fotes of the vault shall stonde, & yÕ willnot contrary, whr yÕ plo^r & great chamber & shalbe giested & borded upon the same […].[42]

The hall was finally instated in the most widely chosen monastic space, the Frater, on axis of the entrance from the outer court. The upper house is now defined and is situated in the east range and south quire and nave of the church whilst the services forming the lower house occupy the west range. The whole architectural space has been crafted to comply with, and uphold, the customs of the period; the linear processional route from kitchen through the hall to the parlour continues to support the practice of commensality; the great chamber is adjacent to the upper end of the hall and is situated above ground level overlooking the garden. A summer parlour, chapel, dining chamber, study and gallery together with several chambers and closets all formed the upper house separated by the hall and distinct from the pantry, buttery, cellars, kitchen and servants' lodgings at the low end.

This formula for the simultaneous creation of a distinction between high and low status spaces and a linear form to uphold the concept of commensality and

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[41] Hope, 'The Making of Place House', p. 233.
[42] Ibid, p. 237.

procession was the accepted architectural arrangement that can be found in most country houses of the period. Here we have contemporary evidence that the men of humble backgrounds converting country monastic properties sought to mirror these arrangements. This is indeed what we find at most converted country monasteries early in the period. At Ingatestone (Fig. 11) in Essex, Sir William Petre established his hall range to divide the outer and inner courts placing kitchens, larders, pastry, buttery and cellars to the south west of the screens passage whilst dining chamber and parlours are found adjacent to and north east of the hall. The most private chambers at the rear of the inner court, housing the gallery, chapel and Lord and Lady Petre's chambers, are situated on the first floor.

Richard Rich was granted the Priory of Little Leighs (or Leez) in Essex in 1536[43], four years before he was in residence at St Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, London, which is the subject of the first London case study in Chapter Four.[44] By examining the actions he took in converting this country monastery we can deduce whether Lord Rich set out to impose the long established country architectural conventions on the original monastic form. Did Rich follow his contemporaries and devise a traditional layout to lay claim to high status or did he allow the monastic form of the priory to dictate a less conventional approach to conversion?

There are few pictorial representations of Leighs Priory that allow scrutiny and comment on the use of the architectural plan, style and decoration. At our disposal is a plan dated 1550 with two insets showing the wider landscape in which the converted priory is set (Fig. 12).[45] Also available are two plans printed in the guide book, *Leez Priory 'The History'*[46] one dated 1550, believed to be taken from Chancellor with the insets removed (Fig. 8), the other undated. Lastly, A. W. Clapham has provided a ground plan of the precinct (Fig. 13), a plan of the house after conversion (Fig. 14) and the Bucks' view of the outer court (Fig. 15).[47]

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[43] Leighs Priory is believed to have been gifted to Rich by Henry VIII after which Rich purchased additional lands belonging to the former priory. Coyle, 'Sir Richard Rich', p.200. *Letters and Papers* , X, no. 1015(33); XII, part 2, no. 191(40).
[44] Webb, *St Bartholomew's*, vol. 1, p. 263.
[45] F. Chancellor, *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* vol. 5, pp. 44-48.
[46] N.C. Lamming, *A Brief History of the Buildings and People of Leez Priory, Hertford End, Essex*, 4th Edition (1998).
[47] The plans and Bucks' engraving can be found in A. W. Clapham 'The Augustinian Priory of Little Leez and the Mansion of Leez Priory' in *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* vol. 13, NS (1915), pp. 200- 217. Maurice Howard has produced a similar plan and re-produced the Bucks' engraving in *The Early Tudor Country House,* p. 148 and pp. 150-51.

In contrast to his actions at St. Bartholomew's Priory Rich quickly converted the whole priory of Leighs Priory into his main residence and family seat which is evidence of his fundamental need to create a landed estate to establish his position in society and his authority and power. After demolishing much of the monastic fabric, Rich retained the foundations and re-built on the original monastic footprint in fashionable brick.[48] Rich built a tall imposing tower gateway through the monastic west range to access the cloister which became his inner court. The hall was created from the nave of the monastic church with screens placed to the west of it and in so doing obliged the services, including the kitchen, to be positioned in the west end of the church and hence the domestic private chambers to the east where once the transepts, choir and chapter house had been situated.

If Rich had chosen a different plan, one that appears at first to be a more obvious choice, he would have been able to retain the site of the monastic kitchens north west of the frater for his own kitchens without disrupting the conventional plan. The gateway could have been carved through the nave of the church providing a more typical entrance on axis with the hall which then could have been sited in the frater opposite; a conversion that would have matched Wriothesley's design at Titchfield Abbey in Hampshire (Fig. 10). With the monastic kitchens situated north west of the frater, which becomes the hall, the lower end of the house is committed to the west of the inner court thereby requiring the domestic chambers to be placed in the east range, the placement matching that of Rich's actual arrangement. Historians have explained Rich's chosen configuration by contending that it was unusual and that Rich allowed the monastic plan to dictate the arrangements.[49] Was this actually the case? Rich clearly desired an established arrangement comprising a double courtyard and presumably the topography dictated to some extent the placing of the outer court. Looking at the wider plan (Fig. 12) it is clear that the river Ter curves around the site forming a natural boundary north and east of the property. Gardens were created from the land east of the monastery where the monastic fish ponds were sited and these gardens were asymmetrically created due to the curve of the river. By creation of services in the south range on the same side as the outer gatehouse Rich was able to turn his private chambers outward overlooking the gardens with their terraces and fountain and the river Ter itself. The deliberately created ninety degree turn from outer gate to inner and from inner gate to hall, widely

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[48] A. W. Clapham 'The Augustinian Priory of Little Leez and the Mansion of Leez Priory', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* vol. 13, NS (1915), p. 205. However, Howard states that Rich re-clad the stone walls in brick, Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House,* p.149.
[49] Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House,* p. 149.

viewed as unusual, had precedence in high status buildings. For example, Thornbury Castle (Fig. 16), in Crown ownership until 1554, required a ninety degree turn towards the east to enter the court quadrant after gaining access to the outer court from the north. Similarly, at Apethorpe (Fig. 17) in Northamptonshire the medieval hall range and gate tower were built circa 1480 and necessitate a ninety degree turn from gateway to hall. This is also the case at the Palace of Beaulieu built in fashionable brick in 1517 by King Henry VIII a few miles away from Leighs at Boreham, north-east of Chelmsford. Here after passing through the tower gateway a ninety degree turn was required to gain entrance to the hall. Rich not only emulated house plans belonging to powerful men but in so doing evoked a sense of the past, asserting lineal descent. Furthermore, in creating this arrangement at Leighs Rich was able to combine a sense of the past with the contemporary development towards an outward facing house. The profile of the external walls depicted on the plan in Fig. 8 suggests that an assortment of bay windows and turrets were used to adorn the private chambers in the east and north ranges that overlooked the gardens and river in a similar manner to those decorating the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham's apartments overlooking the privy gardens at Thornbury Castle (Fig. 16). This level of architectural embellishment was not applied to the external outward facing walls of the services even though this projection was the façade that greeted the visitor on arrival. The gatehouse was considered sufficient to impress the visitor. Rich was therefore using architectural decoration on the building facades together with the association between house and garden to differentiate between high and low status spaces within the property and to communicate this differentiation to the observer. The exterior of the house informed the viewer of the status of the spaces within; a traditional country architectural device.

Rich's choice of conversion suggests that the movement towards outward facing houses and the link between house and garden was well established by the early sixteenth century and highly desirable. While at first sight Rich's conversion appears unconventional and led by the original monastic form, on closer scrutiny we find that Rich was actually not deviating far from contemporary Tudor house conventions, conforming to the country house norms of his peers. It is not surprising to find that at Leighs Priory Sir Richard Rich converted the priory to the established pattern. We understand Rich to have been a ruthless, ambitious man, who was, even in the

highly political society of the sixteenth century, mistrusted for his treachery.[50] Rich would have needed a sense of belonging to his newly acquired class and would have used all possible means to create an image of high status in his drive for power. In his choices for the conversion of Leighs Priory Rich laid claim to a gentle heritage through two mechanisms, the use of the traditional architectural language combined with an association with noble and royal architectural precedent. But Rich did not follow convention in an unquestioning, passive manner, to the traditional language he introduces contemporary ideas demonstrating his knowledge and advanced tastes. In mixing a sense of the past with a notion of progressive creativity Rich was making a powerful statement about his status and authority.

The practice of open house to visitors remained an accepted norm in the country throughout the sixteenth century. Visitors called to view a house and even did so during the process of conversion and in the absence of the master. The King's commissioners at Titchfield Abbey informed Wriothesley that a group of neighbours from East Meon some fourteen miles distant had called to visit the house and '[…] view oʳ hospitalite wher as they hadd meate drink & lodging […]'[51] The moral and social responsibility of hospitality remained encoded in the architectural form of the landed country house through provision of communal dining spaces of the hall and more intimate guest dining rooms adjacent to guest accommodation.

At Leighs Priory Rich retained the architectural language of commensality through the communal shared space of the Hall which was supplemented with private dining rooms in the west range. The latter were associated with guest chambers, implying that these dining chambers were for dining with, or for use by, visitors to the house as they are separated from Lord Rich's private apartments in the opposite range. Other monastic conversions in the country take this form; at the monastic conversion of Titchfield Abbey (Fig.10) the dining parlour was also associated with lodgings, being situated on the first floor over the chapel ex-the north transept with two stories of lodgings adjacent and further chambers in the ex-chancel of the monastic church believed to be those of Wriothesley.[52] We have come to understand that segregation of personal chambers was a widely used mechanism to achieve differentiation for

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[50] For biographical information on Rich see P. R. N. Carter, 'Rich, Richard, first Baron Rich (1496/7–1567)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23491> [accessed February 2008]; Webb, *St Bartholomew's,* vol. 1; J. L. Campbell, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and the Keepers of the Great Seal of England* (London: John Murray, 1845) pp. 9-27; Coyle, 'Sir Richard Rich'.
[51] Hope, The Making of Place House, p. 235.
[52] Ibid, p. 238.

higher status spaces within a household, and both Rich and Wroithesley segregated their personal chambers from the guest chambers.

Another noticeable feature of these converted monastic properties was that when in use by the monastic community the ground floor spaces were invariably vaulted and used as stores, service rooms and warming rooms, with the main living accommodation above stairs. This pattern of elevated first floor living resounded with the men who sought to re-use the monastic properties and we read of private apartments, parlours, great chambers and galleries above cellars, armouries and general lodgings. Rich created his private apartments at Leighs above the transepts, crossing and chapter house and at Titchfield Abbey, Wriothesely's parlour and great chamber was sited above the wine cellar in the ex-monastic dorter where steps were provided for ease of access from these important chambers to the garden. Here it was suggested that the floor was lowered, reducing the headroom of the cellar to gain additional height for these high status rooms above.[53]

Even given the challenges posed by the need to convert monastic properties, these houses upheld the traditional layout in keeping with the behavioural norms of the period. The spaces that were created sustained the old manorial customs of commensality through a linear form for procession and continuance of the shared space of the hall with its associated architectural demarcations indicating placement according to status.

Accounts of the development of the English country house through the sixteenth century have largely focused on the development towards smaller chambers for the more private accommodation of the elite, the increase in the number of chambers intended for specific usage and the decline in communal dining in the great hall.[54] These changes to architectural planning were widespread and important to acknowledge. They reflect the cultural and social changes of the period and reinforce the common understanding that during the sixteenth century there was a movement by the rising gentry and nobility away from a public, communal mode of living in preference to a less public, more segregated lifestyle. Separate, informal, chambers can be identified in the layout of converted provisional monastic properties and they can also be found in non-monastic country houses. For example, the monastic conversions at Leighs Priory and Titchfield Abbey both evidence this development

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[53] Ibid. p. 237.
[54] Heal, *Hospitality;* Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*.

with smaller dining chambers for less ceremonial dining, and small, intimate parlours enjoying an outward prospect and linked to the wider countryside through their placement adjacent with the gardens. By the middle of the sixteenth century, at Cowdray (Fig. 3), a series of smaller chambers can be found beyond the parlour which leads off the high end of the hall all completed by the original builder Sir David Owen and subsequent owners Sir William FitzWilliam and Anthony Browne, Lord Montagu. The privacy that these chambers offered further differentiated and separated lord from household. The enjoyment of this separation resulted in the removal of the family from the hall and made way for the gradual demise of commensality. However, it is important to acknowledge that concurrent with this development the traditional spaces of screens, hall and parlour remained valued and were not eliminated from the plan or made obsolete by the new developments. These spaces continued to be used by the wider household and, on occasions, the older communal dining customs could be practiced.

2.3 Conclusion

Rich and his contemporaries used architecture in the country property to create and communicate the status of those living within their walls through the use of binary opposites. High and low status spaces were identifiable from the ornamentation of the façade and the level of decoration afforded to high status spaces. Public and less public, or secluded spaces were created through the control of access, use of the enfilade and position on, or in relation to, the processional route. Inward or outward prospects and the association between architectural space and the wider countryside and garden privileged the user of these spaces. The new owners of these conversions were establishing their personal identity, utilising the traditional language of agrarian architectural form to mark their status, authority and position in society.

This chapter has established the importance of traditional architectural arrangements in the country which were fundamental to the support of manorial social customs of the period. Manorial behavioural customs and the architectural arrangements that gave support to them were ingrained in country house form. In the early years of the Dissolution the men able to put spiritual properties to re-use in the provinces remained firmly tied to the traditional architectural principles in support of their claim to elite society.

The significance of the country house form and style was so great that one might expect that it would also be in evidence in the London properties enjoyed by leading ministers and church men before the monasteries were suppressed. It might also be expected that an attempt would have been made to replicate this country planning in the subsequent re-use of London spiritual properties after their dissolution, in the same manner as the monastic conversions in the country. Chapter Three and Four consider these hypotheses and an attempt is made to determine whether these customary architectural arrangements in the country house are those to which London urban planning and London monastic conversions referred.

Chapter Three

The Recreation of Country Architectural Forms in London before the Dissolution of the Monasteries 1500 -1536

This chapter establishes how the elite were housed in London in the decades leading up to the Tudor religious reforms of the 1530s and considers the form of the architectural plan that was chosen in the urban environment before the re-use of spiritual properties became widespread. It commences with a brief overview of property ownership in London and identifies the manner in which elite society was accommodated leading up to the dissolution of the monasteries. Having established the cultural background that gave rise to the developments of interest the chapter goes on to examine the architectural arrangements of two houses; one belonging to a secular minister and the other to a leading churchman. Both houses were new constructions on land within the curtilage of church-owned properties.

3.1 Residence in London Before the Dissolution

In the early 1500s the city of London was a tangle of streets bounded by the city walls that were crowded with secular buildings for civic and commercial activities and houses, or tenements, to accommodate both the permanent and transient inhabitant.[1] The streets of London were generally lined with small tenements or shop fronts with yards behind. The large private houses, inns and lodgings of the religious principals and secular elite typically lay behind the street frontages and most were of courtyard plan.

Outside the City and its suburbs lay a separate development comprising the Palace of Westminster and Whitehall Palace together with the substantial urban development that they generated. After the King had abandoned Westminster and had commenced the most ambitious of building projects at York Place to create the enormous complex that was Whitehall Palace, Westminster remained the centre of Parliament and home to the legal and administrative offices.[2] It was here in the Palace of Westminster, and St Margaret's Parish in general, that many of the officials

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[1] J. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven & London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 12-25.
[2] D. Souden, *The Royal Palaces of London*, (Merrell, London & New York; 2008), pp. 29-31 & 125-129.

and courtiers had their lodgings.[3] This separate settlement was not only linked to the city by the river but also a road, the Strand. This road became increasingly developed as the desire for temporary London lodgings flourished and it also became the street favoured by those with ambition who required ease of access to both the centre of government and the centre for trade. Along the Strand could be found the London Inns of some of the most valuable episcopal residences; the inns of the Bishops of Bath, Carlisle, Coventry and Lichfield, Durham, Exeter, Llandaff, Norwich and Worcester. At the turn of the sixteenth century twenty bishops had well established houses in London (see Appendix).

Royalty and the majority of leading church men and noblemen were not permanent residents in London; rather they travelled between London and their country palaces, sees or seats. Those whose residence in London was more permanent in nature were the brethren of the London monastic houses, ministers of parish churches, civic administrators and the London merchants.

Properties in London were in some cases used as a dwelling by their private owners but, more frequently, properties were owned by institutions and rented or leased as a source of income. Private owners included prominent merchants who supplied the royal household and the noblemen; distinctive civic officials; the ministers and the titled elite. The merchant Thomas Kytson or Kitson, for example, was a mercer who exported cloth and imported fustians, velvets and linens. His profits from this trade were healthy and enabled him to purchase land and properties, including Hengrave Hall in Suffolk, which he built, and, in 1525, a tenement in Milk Street London.[4] Ministers could also own property in London. Edmund Dudley, a financial minister of Henry VII and Speaker of the House of Commons, accumulated an enviable fortune in his service to the Crown. His large London house occupied the corner plot of Candlewick Street and Walbrook.[5] However, the aspirational young lawyers who sought high positions in the early decades of the sixteenth century more frequently rented lodgings or gained lodgings at Court or with their patrons through royal service

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[3] J.F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster, Abbey, Court and Community 1525-1640* (University Press, Manchester; 2005), p. 11.
[4] C. Welch & I.W. Archer, 'Kitson, Sir Thomas (1485–1540)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2014 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15833>, accessed July 2016].
[5] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* No. 45, p. 170.

rather than own their own properties. Even Wolsey lodged at Court well into middle age until he acquired York Place in 1514.[6]

The institutions who owned London property were the monastic houses, the secular church, the livery companies and the charitable foundations. Their portfolios of properties grew in size through bequests during the earlier centuries and in some cases the portfolios became very large. There are many accounts of guild members leaving their properties to their guild. For example, the Tennyspley, a property in Fenchurch Street owned by a tailor in 1481, appears in the Clothworkers' Company records in 1535, and in 1501 Richard Knyght, a fishmonger, bequeathed tenements in Lime Street to the Fishmongers' Company.[7] This practice of bequeathing properties to guild companies did not stop once the religious reforms were underway, Oliver Claymond, a master of the Clothworkers' Company bestowed properties in Mark Lane to the Company in 1541.[8]

Between 1532, the surrender of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, London, the first monastic surrender, and the death of King Henry VIII in 1547, more than thirteen hundred monastic institutions were dissolved in England and Wales. Of these over one hundred either owned property in London or gained an income from quitrents on property in London.[9] At the time of the dissolution the Church is estimated to have owned one third of London properties and Honeybourne writes that a better estimation would be to state that two thirds were in the hands of religious persons.[10] The London Inns and lodgings of the bishops, abbots and priors, were owned by the Church or the monastic house and were their London dwelling whilst the occupant retained his position. Lodgings in these substantial properties were commonly rented or leased out, with specific rooms reserved for use of the abbot or bishop when duties required their presence in London.[11] The smaller tenements in the ownership of the Church were rented as a source of income. A group of tenements in Bell Alley/

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[6] D. Loades, *Cardinal Wolsey 1472c-1530 Tudor Statesman and Chancellor* (Oxford: The Davenant Press, 2008), p. 25.

[7] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, No. 74, p.182; No. 123, p. 198; No. 122, p.198.

[8] Ibid. (133) p. 201.

[9] M.C. Rosenfield, 'The Disposal of the Property of London Monastic Houses, with a Special Study of Holy Trinity, Aldgate', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, (1961) p. 206; D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), pp. 359-65.

[10] M. B. Honeybourne, 'The Extent and Value of the Property in London and Southwark Occupied by the Religious Houses (including the Prebends of St. Paul and St. Martin le Grand) The Inns of the Bishops and Abbots and the Churches and Churchyards, before the dissolution of the Monasteries' unpublished MA thesis, University of London, (1929), p.8; C.M. Barron and M. Davies, eds., *Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History and Victoria County History, Institute of Historical Research, 2007) p.12.

[11] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, No. 80, p.183.

White's Alley, Smithfield, were owned by Rewley Abbey in Oxfordshire and gardens there were leased to a leather seller in 1528.[12] Much of the property in St Margaret's parish, Westminster was owned by Westminster Abbey, the Abbot being the principal landowner in the area until the 1530s, when the Crown surpassed the Abbot through the acquisition of vast amounts of land and properties by compulsory purchase, exchange or eviction in order to create the enormous complex of Whitehall Palace and its hunting parks.[13] At St. Bartholomew's Priory leases for properties within the close can be deduced from as early as the fourteen century, and these leases were made for both men of the church and lay subjects. Webb has recorded the most important inhabitants of the parish and they include 'gentlemen', church men, knights and men of the law demonstrating that it was normal practice for a monastic close to lease properties to lay subjects both before and after the Dissolution.[14] The residents of the close were all tenants of the Priory and therefore contributors to the Priory's material wealth.

An early tenant of the Carthusian monks was Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor. More was a Londoner, born in Milk Street, Cheapside.[15] Whilst studying law at Lincoln's Inn, More is said to have lodged with the Carthusians at the London Charterhouse, participating in their spiritual rituals.[16] On his marriage in 1505 he rented a part of the large hospital-owned house known as the Old Barge, Bucklersbury, a few streets from his place of birth, which had been subdivided into smaller tenancies.[17] In 1523 he purchased the great tenement of Crosby Place, Bishopsgate Street, which was on a lease from the nunnery of St. Helen Bishopsgate.[18] More sold Crosby Place within eight months of its purchase.

The London friaries also leased or rented chambers. The courtier, Lord Lisle, was lodging at Black Friars in 1533 as evidenced from a letter he wrote to the Bishop of Exeter, signing 'at my lodging at the Black Friars'.[19] Sir Thomas Cheney, administrator and diplomat, also lodged at Black Friars as he is listed in the tax survey of 1536.[20]

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[12] Ibid. No. 54, p. 177.
[13] Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster,* p. 11 & p. 26.
[14] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2, pp. 248-262.
[15] S. B. House, 'More, Sir Thomas (1478–1535)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19191> [accessed May 2016]
[16] P. Ackroyd, *The Life of Thomas More* (London: Chattos & Windus, 1998), p. 93.
[17] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* No. 30, p.164; No. 41, p.169.
[18] Ibid. No. 22, p.161.
[19] *Letters and Papers,* vol. 6, no. 237, 15th March 1533.
[20] TNA, SP1/25 ff. 35-6 Nos 222-3 and quoted in Holder, *The London Friaries,* p.73.

Sir Thomas Cromwell who was one of the most influential of courtiers, had moved from an abode in Fenchurch Street[21] to a rented house "besides the Augustynes Friars, in London" during the 1520s.[22] He was certainly renting accommodation at the Austin Friars by 1525 as evidenced by a letter he sent there to his wife.[23] A more descriptive address informs us that his residence was actually inside the friary precinct; "Right worshipful, within the gate of Friars Augustines in London".[24] The house was west of the churchyard and contained fourteen rooms over three storeys.[25] Cromwell had some of those in his service lodge with him, occupying some of the fourteen rooms; a letter from Henry Sadler to his son Ralph in 1531 was addressed to 'Raff Sadleyer, dwellyinge with Master Crumwell'.[26] Cromwell also sub-leased; in 1531 Thomas Paulet, believed to be the brother of William Paulet, the first Marquess of Winchester, leased part of the property at Austin Friars from Cromwell and built a house there.[27] By arrangement, Paulet's agents were also granted substantial parts of the precinct and after obtaining licence to alienate they sold these buildings and gardens to Paulet which enabled him to develop his London dwelling.[28] The whole town house was granted to him in 1539 after the Friary was dissolved.[29]

Commensurate with Cromwell's rise in social status through his position at Court, he also went on to purchase surrounding buildings, including two fronting the street, and by 1534 he had commenced the enlargement of his house and gardens which eventually covered an area of over two acres, increasing his house to over fifty rooms.[30] It wasn't until 1538 that the Austin Friars was dissolved and therefore for the majority of Cromwell's and Paulet's occupation, and during the period that they were expanding their ownership, they lived alongside the Prior and brethren.

In summary, prior to the dissolution of the London monasteries and the property upheaval that ensued, the ministers, courtiers and administrators were frequently found renting rooms or tenements held in monastic, church or livery company

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[21] H. Leithead, 'Cromwell, Thomas, earl of Essex (*b.* in or before 1485, *d.* 1540)', *ODNB*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6769> [accessed May 2016].

[22] *Letters and Papers*, vol. 4, no. 5944, 15 September 1529.

[23] Holder, *The London Friaries,* p. 160; R.B. Merriman, *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), i, p. 314.

[24] *Letters and Papers,* vol. 5, no. 533, 14 November 1531.

[25] Holder, *The London Friaries,* p. 161.

[26] *Letters and Papers,* vol. 5, no. 584, 16 December 1531.

[27] Holder, *The London Friaries,* p. 170.

[28] D. Loades, *The Life and Career of William Paulet (c.1475-1572) Lord Treasurer and First Marquis of Winchester* (Ashgate , Alershot 2008), p. 170.

[29] Ibid. p. 170.

[30] Holder, *The London* Friaries, p. 162-5.

ownership. They also lodged with the ministers they served or in lodgings at the Court or Parliament. Whether of humble or noble birth, the desire to attract the attention of the King and secure a position, either directly or indirectly, in his service, was paramount. Through the position gained social progress could be made and commensurate with social position was the size and importance of the house that one resided in. During the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, which formally commenced in 1536, the London houses were already leasing considerable parcels of land and property both within and without their precincts.[31]

What form did the London houses of these prominent ministers take before the Dissolution? Can we identify any common architectural plan between them and the leading church men who also resided in London before they surrendered their houses to the Crown? And can we recognise any architectural features in these London plans that demonstrate their reference to spatial planning in the country?

We have acknowledged that Thomas Cromwell was expanding his property at Austin Friars in the 1530s, but at the same time Prior William Bolton was creating a new lodging for himself at St Bartholomew's Priory. By considering the architectural developments made by both Cromwell and Bolton before their respective houses were suppressed we can gain an understanding of how architecture was used in an urban environment to support the aspirations of ambitious ministers and church men alike. With this information, in Chapter Four, we can further examine the later re-use of spiritual properties in the same environment and consider whether re-use demanded a different approach and how the resulting spatial form could uphold the behavioural conventions of a lay society.

3.2 Thomas Cromwell's House at Austin Friars

Nick Holder has reconstructed the plans of Thomas Cromwell's town house at Austin Friars in the 1520s and 1530s; here a social reading of those plans is attempted.[32] (Figs. 18, 19 & 20).

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[31] Although the legal process of dissolution commenced on the promulgation of The Suppression of Religious Houses Act of 1535 (27 Hen 8 c28) Wolsey had gained permission from Rome to suppress unsustainable houses in order to establish facilities for education as early as 1524. Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries,* pp. 18-19.

[32] Holder, *The Medieval Friaries,* Figs. 65, 68 & 69. I am grateful to Nick Holder for permission to re-produce these plans.

In the 1520s Cromwell's town house at Austin Friars was of simple plan (Fig. 18). The large hall was entered from the yard located to its north and under a gallery that overlooked both the yard and the gardens beyond. The services were orientated north/south and were situated to the northwest of the hall, forming a right angle to it. Two parlours that were separated by a narrow staircase were situated to the east of the hall on axis to it. This plan therefore made provision for an upper and lower house but the pure implementation of this architectural mechanism for differentiation was corrupted by the placement of the staircase, or the lack of more than one. The household staff would have been expected to inhabit the hall but the plan required them to traverse the parlour in order to access the staircase and thus the upper floors. The 'Old Parlour' was the most private space on the ground floor, being a no-through route to other chambers beyond. In addition, the formal gardens were offset to the north-west of the property which placed them on the side of the lower house behind the kitchen and larder. We learnt in Chapter Two, from the king's commissioners' advice to Wriothesley when converting Titchfield Abbey of the undesirable nature of joining the kitchen with the garden and orchard. This plan therefore would not have been considered desirable in a country setting. Here in the London environment, due to topographical constraints, namely Swanne Alley to the west of the kitchen and tenements to both west and east of the garden, this unconventional plan would have necessitated tolerance. Differentiation was communicated through the low and high status chambers' proximity to opposing ends of the hall. Although the architectural arrangements resulting from the topographical constraints and the communication of status that they conveyed appears to have been understood and accepted in the urban environment, it was still considered undesirable because when Cromwell gained additional space and developed his ambitious re-build such discrepancies were overcome.

When Cromwell re-developed the land at Austin Friars in the 1530s he chose to arrange the services, of which there were many, and the public spaces of hall and parlour such that they occupied the whole of the ground floor, placing the more prestigious chambers and bedchambers above stairs (Figs. 19 & 20). We can also recognise this form at Titchfield and other later country monastic conversions where primary chambers were placed on an elevated first floor over existing vaulted storage areas. We cannot know if Cromwell had pre-existing vaults that would have influenced his decision to elevate his principal chambers to the first floor but we can conclude that he refers to the model of monastic re-use in the country for his newly constructed urban house. Another potential influence may have been the precedent

for urban dwellings throughout Europe to be situated above ground floor shops and warehouses. Cromwell may have interpreted both monastic re-use and urban planning to result in the arrangements whereby his lower and upper house were distinguished by floor level.

A notable characteristic of the ground floor is two distinct and separate kitchens. Medieval rulers often ate food prepared in separate kitchens from the food provided to the general household, for security purposes.[33] Here at Austin Friars Cromwell built a large kitchen next to the street and a smaller kitchen under his private chambers, which might suggest that it was intended for preparation of food for his personal consumption and that of the King and high ranking courtiers as a security measure. A further noticeable feature is on the first floor; the interlinking corridor galleries that formed a promenade route from the top of the tower staircase (3) through what was most probably the Great Chamber (33) to the first of the galleries (34), along the north-facing gallery that overlooked the garden (44) and finally along the gallery that bordered the Cromwell family's private apartments in the west wing of the house (45-51). This promenade took advantage of not only a view of the main courtyard but also the formal gardens to the north. It is evident that at this date the route is not circular, in that it does not return to the tower staircase.

There is another very interesting feature at Cromwell's newly developed London house, a space that can be read as female space. Holder states room 35 is the Ladies' Parlour and although this term may be a seventeenth-century attribution, a gendered reading of the chambers 35, 40 and 41 can be made. The chambers were all segregated from the main processional route; they were warmed by the kitchens below and led to a private little stair that descended to the kitchen parlour; an early example of gendered space for female occupation, if a little compromised because the chapel was situated on the opposite extreme.

There was only a second floor on the street frontage range and here the guest and staff bedchambers were situated, noticeably accessed from the hall staircase and tower staircase, not the gallery staircase which led to the Ladies' Parlour. This suggestion that gendered space was a feature of early London architectural space deserves more research and an extension of this current enquiry would be profitable.

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[33] P. Freedman, 'Medieval and Modern Banquets: Commensality and Social Categorization' *Commensality from Everyday Food to Feast,* eds. S. Kerner, C. Chou, and M. Warmind (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp. 99-108.

Cromwell's ambitious development at Austin Friars may have benefited from the extra space gained but it was still constrained by the city streets and alleys and the surrounding properties that were not owned by Cromwell, yet the mansion house incorporated all the elements associated with a noble city lifestyle. There was a gatehouse with porter's lodge adjacent to the main gate on the street; there were courtyards, gardens and galleries; a chapel; private apartments above stairs with segregated gendered spaces and guest accommodation remote from the family apartments.   Differentiation between upper and lower house was achieved through the segregation over floors; the lower house on the ground floor and upper house above stairs.

There is one feature of the architectural arrangements, however, that was deliberately contrived and markedly deviated from the traditional manorial country plan. The hall on the ground floor did not have a screens passage with services to the lower end and a parlour and great stair to the upper; the traditional form. Instead Cromwell purposefully created an entrance with only one direction of travel, an enfilade arrangement of public hall, through a more discrete withdrawing/waiting room before the private parlour which is served from the end buttery. This was a configuration that had more in common with receiving audiences, in emulation of the royal audience, rather than accommodating the wider community in the manorial notion of commensality. Cromwell appears to have developed a town house for use as a space in which to hold political gatherings or meetings and accommodate his allies at Court.

3.3 Prior Bolton's Improved Lodgings at St Bartholomew's Priory

In emulation of these lay men of rising status, and of the Bishops within the lay Church who held positions in government and were in possession of large London properties, we find equally ambitious men of the religious orders. Priors and abbots endeavoured to develop their own accommodation within the confines of their spiritual properties to also signal their personal authority and claim similarly high status.

Prominent amongst the religious orders were the Augustinian canons. In London an Augustinian priory had been established at West Smithfield just outside the city walls to the north-west of Aldersgate: St. Bartholomew's Priory. This priory is examined in Chapter Four after it had been surrendered and transferred to lay use, but here we

consider the pre-Dissolution housing of the Prior, William Bolton, and we recognise his desire to develop his own lodgings. This broader enquiry enables us to illustrate a more encompassing idea of the culture leading up to the Dissolution. It shows that it was not only the secular society whose ambition led to the development of their properties to fashion their status and authority, but also the leading men of the religious orders.

The head of a monastic house performed the most public of monastic duties, including the welcoming of visitors. In London houses it was traditional for visitor's lodgings to be located in the west range of the cloister, which was typically closest to the street frontage. The northern two bays of this west range were usually designated as the outer parlour where guests would be welcomed and the cellarer could conduct business. By the end of the twelfth century, here too was the traditional site of the prior or abbot's lodgings. Originally eating and sleeping communally with his brethren, the abbot or prior gradually segregated himself and developed independent lodgings within the west range or west or south of it. Michael Thompson has categorised the placement of abbot or prior's lodgings and concludes that Augustinian houses favoured the west range.[34] As part of the prior's role was to welcome guests and provide hospitality it would seem most likely that at St Bartholomew's the Prior's Lodgings would have originally been adjacent to the guest quarters. Abbot or prior's accommodation being situated in the west range of the cloister not only afforded an easy proximity for hospitality and conducting business but also prevented the need for public access to penetrate any deeper into the heart of the monastery, containing guests within the western extreme of the monastic precinct. This arrangement for the prior's lodgings placed the head of the monastery at the core the monastic space and was considered to still be in keeping with the communal rule of monastic life.

The abbot or prior held a position of great authority within the monastery. The twelfth century customaries were written as a prescriptive guide intended to establish uniformity of interpretation of the monastic rule and consistency of practice at a local level. They were the instruction in how to live under the monastic rule and in them the role and responsibility of the abbot or prior is clear; he may not act or encourage anything against the rule or customary and must at all times uphold the dignity of his position by personal adherence, so that those who look to him are guided and

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[34] M Thompson, *Cloister, Abbot and Precinct in Medieval Monasteries* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing), p. 66 and p. 69.

instructed by his life and its example.[35] Conflict arose in that these men of learning were also appointed to perform secular roles at Court and had mixed freely with the elite and the aspirational gentry, all of whom eagerly displayed their status through their wealth, positions, dress, and possessions, and especially their houses. These outward signs of wealth were in strict contrast to the Rule which specifically forbade personal ownership.[36]

But within a society where image defined the man, the abbots and priors looked to emulate their secular peers by removing themselves completely from the communal and outward facing west range lodgings to a purpose built independent private house. Michael Thompson has identified abbots and priors who were building on an imposing scale in the years leading up to the dissolution and he suggests that they did so through a sense of self identity. The Renaissance affected behaviour which in turn influenced architecture.[37] This phenomenon occurred throughout Europe from the thirteenth century onwards, and therefore when Prior Bolton (Prior from 1505 until 1532) built his new lodgings in 1513 his actions cannot have been viewed as unexpected or unusual.

Prior Bolton had been appointed Master of the Works by Henry VII and had directed the work on the King's chapel at Westminster, continuing in this role when Henry VIII came to the throne in 1509.[38] Bolton did not restrict his building skills to works for royalty for in 1513 he began his large scale building projects at St Bartholomew's Priory which included the works for his personal benefit.[39]

The architectural arrangement at St Bartholomew's Priory sustained the daily routine of the monks, but Prior Bolton had been modifying his way of life gradually over the preceding decades in order to distance, and hence differentiate, himself from the brethren in the manner of secular society. With the desire for differentiation came the architectural forms to provide privacy and hence distance. The preference for segregation between the 'classes' had over time become a shared value in both monastic and secular households.

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[35] D. R. Reinke '"Austin's Labour": Patterns of Governance in Medieval Augustinian Monasticism' *Church History,* vol. 56, No. 2, (1987), p.162.
[36] J. McCann, *The Rule of St. Benedict* (London, Sheed and Ward, 1976), p. 245.
[37] Thompson, *Cloister, Abbot and Precinct,* p. 89.
[38] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* p. 224.
[39] Ibid. pp. 223-228.

Utilising Webb's plan of the Lady Chapel and Monastic Buildings which shows the internal arrangements of the Prior's house derived from Lord Henry Holland's Rental 1616 (Fig. 21) and evidence from remains uncovered in 1912 together with a planning diagram (Fig. 22), we find that for his new dwelling Bolton chose a site far removed from the west boundary range. He chose to build a separate Prior's lodging adjoining to the Church between the vestry and the Lady Chapel, east of the cloister at the ambulatory and at right angles to it, cutting off the canon's burial ground from the slype. The position of this new house removed the prior from the street to a more remote, private area well within the precinct.

The house faced eastward permitting access from the fairground without the need to enter or cross the monastic precinct; the prior's movements and those of his visitors could therefore be conducted independently of the monastic confines thus affording the Prior liberty in daily business. At the same time as he built his lodgings, Prior Bolton built a wall projecting towards the back of the Chapter House. This created an inner courtyard to the rear of his new house and effectively rendered the slype an access to his private accommodation; Middlesex Passage now being the primary means of access to the infirmary. This approach was also in line with the arrangements in lay London mansion houses in which the private apartments were sited behind and at a distance from the street frontage at the back of the courtyard. Bolton appears to have adopted certain elements of urban planning in the design of his new lodgings, as Cromwell did a decade later at Austin Friars. In emulating the architectural arrangements of the elite, Prior Bolton was laying claim to the same social position.

The Prior's new house in many respects conformed to the conventions of the day. It did not, however, conform to a typical courtyard plan whereby the entrance and screens leading to the hall were accessed from the courtyard; an inward facing hall house. Instead, Bolton turned his house outward, creating an entrance court to the east and building a range or wall projecting west to segregate his rear courtyard from the garden belonging to the house of the Master of the Farmery. This outward facing arrangement gave the Prior access to and egress from his house without the need to cross the cloister; his movements were therefore independent of the monastic routine, more in keeping with his perceived status and aspirational values. Webb places Bolton's stables on the north boundary of his entrance court suggesting that he used the West Gate and the Fairground as his means of access, bypassing the close. Webb informs us that Bolton demolished the curved east end of the south aisle and

extended the south wall eastward creating a rectangular termination. It was in this new south wall that he placed the doorway which carries his rebus, a bolt through a ton, leading to his new lodgings. In the storey above he built his gallery over the south external chapel.[40]

We understand that Bolton chose to build 'one faire hall'[41] and using the scale provided on Webb's plan we can estimate that this hall was sixty to seventy feet in length including the screens. Bolton's entrance led into a screens passage with hall to one side, the south (upper), and with kitchen and service rooms to the other side, the north (lower). Given that it is likely that Bolton's objective for building his new house lay in the desire to emulate his lay contemporaries and reinforce his status we would expect, but do not find, a parlour at the upper end of the hall as is traditional in manorial country house planning in this period. The space available between the church and the house of the Master of the Farmery would have influenced Bolton's design. With kitchen and services to the north of the hall there was no additional space between the church and the house of the Master of the Farmery to accommodate a parlour at the upper end of the hall, and a parlour was relinquished, relinquishing with it the linear procession to the private dining space. If we rely on Webb's plan it suggests that Bolton restricted the ground floor accommodation building an imposing hall with stair tower projecting into the entrance court to the south of the main entrance, with fireplace opposite and to its north. This choice meant that Bolton had to forego the 'private' parlour in preference for a hall of sufficient size to favour its owner. Whilst the loss of the parlour denoting the upper house appears to be a breach of the manorial architectural language, positioning a principal chamber on the first floor is nevertheless in keeping with urban planning, as we have seen at Cromwell's London house.

The return style stair led to a first floor chamber, which may have originally been used as the parlour, occupying a space where typically a great chamber was sited and where the Prior may have received and dined with guests. In the 1616 survey this room is described as the 'dyning room'.[42] Two chambers over the hall have direct access from this great chamber or dining room with a third chamber beyond occupying the upper floor over ground floor rooms belonging to the farmery. At the opposite end of the parlour or great chamber are two further small rooms

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[40] Ibid. p. 228.
[41] Ibid. p. 162.
[42] Ibid. p. 164.

circumvented by a corridor leading to the head of the back stairs that descend to the service rooms on the ground floor, and onwards through to a wide gallery built over the vestry. From the gallery Prior Bolton could access two private chapels which he built over the south aisle of the church, the first having an oriel window bearing his rebus, from which the Prior and guests could view the proceedings in the church. Also from the gallery a chamber could be accessed culminating at the east wall of the sacristy. It is likely that it was Bolton who built the gallery and chamber over the church vestry/south chapel utilising the available space and linking his lodging with the two chapels, which can be positively attributed to him by the presence of his rebus set in the oriel window.

The planning diagram (Fig. 22) shows clearly that the ground floor of the Prior's house was limited to communal hall and services, with the first floor, occupying a considerably larger area by the use of space over the south aisle and offices of the church, housing the more important and less public rooms. Prior Bolton had no need of private family rooms or rooms suitable for female occupation but he did have need for his own personal privacy, secrecy to conduct matters of governance for the priory and lodging rooms to offer personal hospitality. Private space was as important to Prior Bolton as it was to any noble household, for privacy was linked to status and secrecy to authority.

The lost parlour at the upper end of the hall was not the only unconventional arrangement in the Prior's house; the bay window in the hall traditionally denoting high status space was situated at the lower end of the hall and the accommodation on the first floor was placed at either end of the dining room/ great chamber. Both these architectural solutions confused the principles of high and low status spaces. Furthermore, the gallery had little association with the inner courtyards or wider landscape as the galleries had at More's and Cromwell's houses. Instead it was awkwardly located in a corner position between house and church. In this London setting the Prior was using an older form of corridor style gallery to provide a link between the high status first floor chamber and the Prior's chapel and private apartments, an arrangement resembling and possibly influenced by the Prior's Lodgings at Wenlock Priory built c.1500. [43] By virtue of its location, leading immediately to the Prior's private chambers, and its size the space was also

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[43] *Country Life,* 1st & 8th December 1960. For a history of the development and use of the Long Gallery see R. Coope 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration' in *Architectural History,* vol. 29 (1986), pp. 43-72.

appropriate for the reception of special visitors who were privileged by gaining access beyond the commonplace. It would appear that the Prior's gallery takes on a purpose more akin to that of a presence chamber than a recreational role for there is little prospect from its windows, with private chambers to its west end, stairs descending to the inner courtyard to its south and the church to its north. The only window of any significance was at its east end overlooking the entrance court and stables.

The reading of Bolton's plan thus made would suggest that the conventions of the period were not entirely upheld by the Prior in his new design. The principle of segregating higher status spaces from the service end of a house has not been observed throughout. Although Bolton may have elevated important spaces by placing them on the first floor, he chose to place his impressive fireplace, which serves both the hall and the upper parlour or great chamber, at the lower end of the rooms against the screens. His choice may have been affected by the presence of a range built westward and almost adjoining the Chapter House, effectively closing the inner court. Webb shows the south wall of this excavated range running east to west but with only a few feet of the north wall showing. Nevertheless, this could have been a range facing into the inner court which would have influenced the site of the chimney stack, throwing it northwards towards the service end and hence permitting the fenestration to be installed opposite the fair staircase.

Bolton chose to situate two lower status rooms, attributed in the 1616 survey as the Buttery and the Servants Dining Room, with direct access to the Great Chamber or Dining Room, the upper house. He also chose to situate additional servants' accommodation at the opposite end of the Great Chamber, at the head of the back stairs, the lower house. It is of course possible that these rooms detailed in the 1616 survey were not used for the same purposes during Bolton's occupancy; however, Webb asserts that the rooms and arrangements were not much altered from monastic times until the survey of 1616 because there was not sufficient time for extensive alterations between the suppression and Rich taking up residence.[44] Bolton's arrangements effectively produced two groups of rooms at either end of the Great Chamber, each comprising a lodging chamber with garrets chambers above in which to lodge servants. To reach one of these suites of rooms the room known as a servants' dining room has to be traversed in order to access steps over Middlesex

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[44] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2, p. 160.

passage and into the larger lodging chamber with garret rooms above. The existence of garret rooms confirms that servants were intended to occupy this 'upper' end of the first floor. These servants would have been those in attendance on Bolton's guests and so it appears that Bolton planned his first floor arrangements with guest accommodation at both ends of the space. If the first floor plan is considered further, a lodging chamber can be found at the far end of the gallery. This chamber is likely to have been the Prior's personal chamber. It is pleasingly situated at the furthest end of the gallery, its door in close proximity to the Prior's chapel, both rooms containing fireplaces denoting the high status of the intended occupant. Adjoining the chamber on its south eastern boundary and with entrance from the gallery, a closet can be found and direct access to the head of the stairs which descend externally into the inner rear court. The use attributed to this entire suite of rooms suggests they are for the personal enjoyment of the Prior.

Accepting this reading, it is now possible to offer an explanation of the planned arrangements. The entire ground floor is public, made up of the communal hall and services. The first floor range running north/south is restricted by the need to climb the staircase which would be performed by invitation only. Here in this range are two separate lodging areas with their accompanying servant accommodation for the comfort of guests and a grand chamber for receiving and entertaining those guests. Physically protected by a long passage and further made private by removal from the line of sight, and beyond the staircase returning to the lower end of the house, the Prior's personal rooms run east/west above the south aisle of the church and house in close proximity his chapels, chamber, closet and gallery with access to the inner court below. The differentiation achieved through segregation has, after all, been maintained and the location of principal chambers on the first floor does find precedence in urban planning of this period.

Using the techniques associated with spatial analysis, the Prior's new lodgings can be further explored to determine the 'depth' (number of paces or thresholds from an access point) within his internal arrangements and hence the areas where the greatest privacy was offered and therefore the greatest privilege and status attributed (Fig. 22). The hall was traditionally the most public space and is one threshold from the outer courtyard; any further progress from the hall into the depth of the house could only be made by ascending the stairs to the upper chamber which would only have occurred through invitation, a gating process conferring a certain honour and status to the recipient who was privileged to venture beyond the commonplace.

These gating points are encountered as penetration is made through the house; the more one is invited to pass through them the more privileged the guest. To progress beyond the upper chamber necessitated greater hospitality that bid the guest to venture into transitional spaces which led deeper into the structure of the house. By exception guests could be invited to travel along the passage to the Prior's gallery and ultimately into the personal space of the Prior's chapels and chamber, the furthest point of procession and, depending on the destination, in excess of five thresholds from the outer courtyard. The Prior's chapels and chambers are the 'deepest' and hence most private spaces in the Prior's house, supporting the attribution made earlier that these rooms were the personal rooms of Prior Bolton.

It appears that Bolton had created a house to manifest his status and authority and to offer hospitality to guests who he aimed to impress. His house separated and differentiated him from the brethren of the monastery, and in so doing claimed his place as equal to the heads of noble secular households.

3.4 Conclusion

Before the onset of the Dissolution and the property upheaval that ensued, merchants, civic administrators, royal ministers and church men alike could own, rent or lease properties and live side by side in the ever expanding population of London. In addition, the monastic houses were actively renting and selling land and properties, and ambitious men were developing that land before the house was suppressed.

We have seen through the examples of Cromwell and Bolton that housing became more elaborate proportionate to the office held. Even Sir Thomas More, who had claimed the desire for a simple life, and lived in modest accommodation in London, had attained an opulent house on the banks of the Thames within easy reach of the city by the time he had reached the pinnacle of his social status. This ambition for, and attainment of, an architectural symbol of social status was occurring long before the Dissolution.

Both Prior Bolton and Cromwell had created an architectural setting in which to live that referred to the traditional country house architectural language to imply gentle status, authority and power. In the topographically restricted environment of London, however, that language had to be adapted to fit the circumstances prevailing in a monastic setting and was applied in an incoherent manner through the application of

elements, but not the whole, of that architectural language, almost using those elements in the form of motifs. In addition, both men combined elements of urban planning into their designs, which may have masked the modified country form and rendered the unconventional plan more acceptable in the London setting.

It has been acknowledged that despite an unconventional architectural arrangement status could still be upheld through the principles and architectural mechanisms that conveyed differentiation. Elected isolation, and hence privacy, created by the availability of chambers at a distance from entrances and access points, elevated the status of those privileged to occupy them, regardless of the location at the notional high or low end of the property. Both Cromwell and Prior Bolton situated themselves in such an architectural setting to differentiate themselves from the community surrounding them and hence made visual the elevation of their status.

The importance of referring to country architectural forms when creating high status dwellings in London from properties alienated from the church, has been shown to date from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century. After the London houses were dissolved and the whole property was transferred to lay persons, would the same architectural mechanisms be employed to fashion accommodation in order to imply high social status and convey differentiation between the classes?

Chapter Four

The Recreation of Country Architectural Forms in London
Re-use of Monastic Properties 1500 -1550

This chapter considers the re-use of monastic properties through a close examination of one particular test case; St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, London; the same site at which, in Chapter Three, we examined Prior Bolton's creation of private lodgings. This chapter returns to St. Bartholomew's for several reasons. Firstly, whilst much archaeological work has been conducted the buildings have never been read in terms of their function and use as a secular town house. Secondly the records available, used in a different way, help us to understand this problematic site. Lastly and most importantly, its secular owner was Richard Rich. Having examined the actions taken by Lord Rich in converting Leighs Priory in Essex, which is discussed in Chapter Two, we can utilise the information gained to directly compare and contrast to that of his conversion of St Bartholomew's Priory in London. In so doing, the similarities and differences of the resulting forms can be uncovered with the aim of informing our understanding of any changes in social and cultural norms between the differing settings of London and country during the sixteenth century.

The effect that King Henry VIII's religious policies had on the monastic orders in the country was mirrored in London. Before the Suppression of Religious Houses Act of 1535[1] London's monastic houses had been the subject of dissolution; Holy Trinity Aldgate being suppressed as early as 1532.[2] By 1540 the London monasteries and nunneries had been dissolved leaving their buildings and properties to a varied destiny.

There is evidence that some London monastic sites were granted to courtiers in their entirety, as was common in the country, for example Eastminister Abbey, St. Mary Graces was obtained by Sir Thomas Seymour in 1538[3]. It was more common, however, for the London sites to be spilt between recipients and purchasers. Division of the monastic site occurred at Austin Friars where on dissolution in 1539 Sir Richard Rich, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, gained the Mansion House, its great hall, bakehouse, stable block and gardens, several other tenements, the

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[1] *Letters and Papers,* 27 Hen VIII c.28.
[2] J. Schofield & R, Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: an Archaeological Reconstruction and History* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005), p. 164
[3] *Letters & Papers*, xiii (1), p. 221.

cloister, the friary kitchen, the former chapter house and much of the northern part of the church,[4] whilst Sir William Paulet, Lord High Treasurer of England, obtained part of the site and an adjoining garden, and Roger More, the King's baker, purchased a house and tenement.[5] And at the London Charterhouse, also suppressed in 1539, the buildings were divided into three parcels, with the church and possibly the chapter house left in the care of a Dr. Cave, the cells were granted to Sir Arthur Darcy who was already living adjacent to the property, and the rest of the buildings retained by the Commissioners.[6] Another feature of the demise of London monastic sites is that the buildings once acquired did not remain in the original recipient's hands for long but were bought and sold, which often resulted in a unification of the buildings that made up the monastic precinct. In the two examples provided, the Mansion House of the Austin Friars was sold by Rich to Paulet in 1541[7] when the re-united buildings were converted to form Winchester House, and London Charterhouse, after various uses, was by 1545 sold to Sir Edward North.[8]

This situation raises interesting questions. What was the pattern of occupancy and the make up of the inhabitants of the new communities that re-used and shared the space within the monastic precincts? The previous community of monks were linked by membership to the monastic institution that they had joined and strong bonds were established by common values and obedience to a common rule. Would the community that replaced it show any signs of commonality or were they a disparate group sharing a common location? Was the existing architectural plan of the buildings that were designed to support a communal monastic life suitable to accommodate the requirements for the secular lifestyle that now took place within the old precincts? What changes, if any, were necessary to convert the architectural space that supported male monastic routines into dwellings which would sustain the secular behavioural conventions discussed in chapter two? And can we identify reference to the traditional manorial form of the country house, which was ubiquitous in country house planning, in the conversions in London?

In order to answer these questions, we need to begin by establishing the lineaments of a traditional monastic plan and identify how that layout reflected and supported monastic values, customs and practices within an all male community during the

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[4] *Letters & Papers*, xiv (1), p. 588.
[5] Holder, The Medieval Friaries, pp. 156 & 246.
[6] <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol1/pp159-169> [accessed June 2015].
[7] Holder, The Medieval Friaries, p. 171.
[8] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20300> [accessed July 2015].

early years of the sixteenth century. In doing so, any common features which the monastic plan shares with that of lay society may be highlighted. With these principles established a close examination of the type and extent of the modifications thought necessary by the new secular owners at one London site makes it possible to understand how they sought to be accommodated in London. By understanding the architectural plan that was chosen to support the urban lifestyle we can gain an insight into the social conventions thought appropriate in the London environment.

Understanding the architectural plan and the analysis of the spatial arrangements of the Priory before and after secularisation has been made possible by reference to a few primary sources and a later archaeological reconstruction. There are three main primary sources; the grant from Henry VIII to Sir Richard Rich 1544, the grant from Rich to Queen Mary 1555 and the re-grant from Queen Elizabeth to Rich 1559/60.[9] To these primary sources can be added the 1541 and 1582 London Subsidy Rolls Farringdon Ward Without[10] and a survey dated 1616 of the inheritance of Henry Rich.[11]

The main secondary source is E.A. Webb's historical account of the pre- and post-Reformation priory, church and parish of St Bartholomew's the Great, published in 1921. Webb has extensively researched the history and architecture of the Priory, re-constructing the fabric of the precinct from the rental held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the three grants between Rich and the monarchs and the survey of 1616. Webb's reconstructions of the ground plans are the main visual sources used throughout this case study.[12] The results of Webb's work, together with the additional sources described above, enable further analysis to be conducted here to satisfy a different objective. The interpretation of the architectural arrangements offered in this chapter is supported by generic guides to the use of monastic space. The Rule of St. Benedict, written in the sixth century, and The Observances of St. Giles and St.

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[9] LMA, P69/BAT3/D/032/MS 10693 English Translation of the Grant by Henry VIII to Sir Richard Riche, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, of the Dissolved Priory of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield, with Appurtenances Including St Bartholomew Close, St. Bartholomew Faire, The Rectory of St. Bartholomew the Great, etc., 1544 May 19, Translation made Third Quarter of the 18th Century; British Library MS Add 34768 Grant by Rich to Mary Close 2,3 P. & M; Re-grant by Elizabeth to Rich Pat. 2 Eliz., pt. 4, M. 17.
[10] British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=36112> no. 124 and <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=36138> no. 330 [accessed 3 June 2015].
[11] TNA, SC/12/11/39, A Survaie of the libertie of great st bartholmews and clothfiare there being part of the inheriteance of sr Henry Rich knight. Made and taken in November 1616 by Gilbert Thacker.
[12] The following discussions and subsequent analyses performed in this case study are based on Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2*,* plate XLIX opposite p. 77; Plate LXVIII opposite p. 131 and plate LXXXII opposite p. 199.

Andrew's at Barnwell, intended to govern the conduct at the monastery, are used for this purpose.[13]

Chapter Three recognised that the architectural plan that Prior Bolton sought to create for his personal lodgings within the precinct at St. Bartholomew's Priory before its suppression, was based on the traditional manorial model that was firmly established in the country. Here we seek to understand the wider monastic precinct. This analysis is intended to help us understand how secular ownership could utilise the same architectural space originally intended to support an all male monastic community whilst maintaining due regard to status and conduct within lay society. For approximately one century these monastic buildings were occupied by the elite as accommodation of convenience during their stay in London. Any form of reconfiguration identified, or indeed the contrary, the acceptability of its original form, should inform us of behavioural, hierarchal and gendered conventions of the period.

4.1 The Monastic Plan and its Support of the Monastic Lifestyle

The Augustinians prescribed a communal, austere lifestyle free from personal ownership and segregated from the secular world, yet they were also obligated to tend lands that lay outside the bounds of their monastic precinct in provision for the monastery. Furthermore, they were obligated to receive guests and offer unlimited hospitality to all visitors who called, in much the same way as the secular lord of a landed estate. There was therefore a need for an interface between the seclusion of the monastery and the lay community with which they were engaged.

The English monasteries of the Augustinian order conformed to a basic structure and layout: here we trace the structures within a typical precinct to establish the customary layout and consider how these spaces supported everyday monastic life (Fig. 23). The primary building in a typical Augustinian monastery was the church, marked on the plan of St. Bartholomew's as (1), which normally formed the northern boundary, unless the topography of the site precluded such a design.[14] The brethren passed many hours of their day here in the church, in prayer and song. The cloister

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[13] J. McCann, *The Rule of St. Benedict* (London, Sheed and Ward, 1976) and J.W. Clark, ed., *The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1897).

[14] This general outline has been applied to the monastic precinct of St. Bartholomew's Priory and is based on accounts of English monastic plans found in A. Thompson, *English Monasteries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913) and M. Thompson, *Cloister, Abbot and Precinct in Medieval Monasteries,* and D.B. Gallagher, 'The Planning of Augustinian Monasteries in Scotland' in *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretation of Buildings*, M. Locock, ed., (Aldershot: Avebury, 1994).

garth, surrounded on all four sides by a roofed and open arcade (2), was the heart of the monastery and it was most commonly situated on the south of the church to avoid the shadow cast from it. These four walks of the cloister were primarily used as corridors enabling access to the disparate buildings that comprised the spaces accommodating the daily life of the monks and hence the cloister played the key role of linking the individual parts to form a cohesive whole. They also served as the processional route for ceremonial occasions, leaving the church from the eastern doorway in the south nave and returning through the western doorway.[15] After the church the chapter house was the second most significant space on the processional route (3) and the refectory, or frater, was third (5). In addition to providing access to the monastic buildings and for procession the cloister offered a place for contemplation. It was the north alley that did not form part of the processional route that could therefore house a place for quiet study.

The chapter house (3) was a meeting room without aisles where the brethren gathered for instruction, confession and correction; it is here that chapters from the Rule were read, hence its name. The first floor dorter (4) was situated adjacent to the chapter house. The Rule required each monk to sleep in a separate bed with a light burning throughout the hours of darkness, and furthermore stated that they should all sleep in one place together with the seniors who had charge of them.[16] A large rectangular space was therefore the most appropriate form to accommodate this decree, with beds arranged on either side of a central corridor. The dorter was a space intended to be peaceful and 'private' but because it was communal space privacy was created not through architectural form but through regulation of behaviour. No brother ought to reside here without his face hidden in his hood nor to 'fix his eyes upon another',[17] and since silence was also required of the brethren, privacy was thus achieved. The dorter was for rest and sleep and no other recreation, it was to be alight continuously during darkness, preclude spatial privacy but be private through individual conduct, silence and inward focus.

Occupying the south walk of the cloister was the frater (5), usually entered from its east end. At the extreme west of this range on the opposite side of the entrance to the frater was located the kitchen with buttery and pantry (6). If visitors were permitted to dine in the frater during normal meal times they were not to sit amongst

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[15] Thompson, *English Monasteries*, p. 43.
[16] McCann, *The Rule of St Benedict*, pp. 200-2.
[17] Clark, *Observances*, p.165.

the brethren but at the ends of the table, hence preventing idle conversation of a non-spiritual kind. Guests were expressly excluded from the kitchens.[18]

Associated with the west range of the cloister, being the closest to the outer boundary, was the guest accommodation (7). Guest accommodation was not of the nature of the dormitory but for guests of the better sort was provided in individual private chambers, similar to tenements, suitably furnished and in direct contrast from the form of privacy enjoyed by the brethren.[19] The Rule of St Benedict makes it clear that all guests were to be welcomed into the monastery but McCann interprets his words to mean that the reception of guests was not intended to include women. If the occasional woman was in fact accommodated, the monastery was nevertheless intended and planned to accommodate an all male community.

This typical Augustinian arrangement of an assortment of buildings placed around the four walks of the cloister garth can be recognised at St. Bartholomew's Priory. Can we identify any architectural conventions that are similar between monastic and manorial planning that would suggest shared cultural principles between the two communities?

4.2 The Parallels Between Monastic and Secular Culture and Use of Architecture

The church (1) at St Bartholomew's formed the northern boundary between the precinct and St Bartholomew's Fair and followed the conventional east to west orientation in the form of a roman cross (Fig. 24). The equivalent space in the elite country house was the hall where the household gathered for communal prayers. The church, like the hall of the great house, formed the central and defining part of the plan and it was linked to the other monastic buildings by the cloister (2).

At St Bartholomew each range that made up the cloister was nine bays in length. The cloister conformed to the typical plan being situated on the south of the church, entered from the church's east processional doorway directly into the east walk. The return processional doorway into the church was located at the end of the west walk thus the Sunday procession bypassed the north walk. Enclosing the north walk was a frequent monastic mechanism to provide the inhabitants with a quite space for study

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[18] Ibid. p.187.
[19] G. Coppack, *Abbeys and Priories* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006), p. 113.

and contemplation.[20] This principle of quiet space being removed from the processional route was a shared mechanism that also applied in the secular great house; but in the secular environment it was used to create a space that was physically and visually removed from the main thoroughfares affording the occupant isolation rather than the quietness found in the monastic setting. In chapter two we came to understand that isolated space in the lay household was frequently intended for female occupancy.

The two processional doorways between church and cloister were usually treated with finer decoration on the cloister side. At St. Bartholomew's Priory the extant east doorway in the south nave had plain jambs and a round headed arch on the church side and a decorative capital at the springing of the arch on the cloister side. This decoration could be read in a similar manner to that of the symbolically decorative internal doorways in secular houses discussed in Chapter Two, where internal spaces such as the long gallery could be figuratively defined as outside space by the decoration on the doorways leading from them and thereby defined as external to the core of the house. In this monastic setting the church was the core of the monastery and movement between cloister and church was marked to denote movement to and from the central, key space of the monastery. Procession through architectural space and differentiation between 'internal' and 'external' space was therefore a common aspect of both religious and secular culture. Through these associations hierarchy was apportioned to spaces in both cultures.

The east walk at St. Bartholomew's housed the chapter house (3) and the first floor dorter or dormitory (4) that projected south beyond the southern walkway of the cloister into the close. Webb concludes that the undercroft housed a common room and a warming room separated by a passage which gave access to the farmery or infirmary (9).[21] Here at St. Bartholomew's Priory the dorter and farmery were the monastic spaces situated at the furthest point from the public west range, profiting from that distance to enjoy a more secluded and peaceful air.

A passage penetrated the first bay of the south range providing access from the cloister to the close and south gate (8), which was the main gate. Here in the south walk was located the frater (5) or refectory, entered from the cloister at its west end. There was no separate guest's dining room at St Bartholomew's Priory, only the

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[20] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2, p. 133.
[21] Ibid, p. 149.

frater or the Prior's Lodgings. However, two kitchens were provided, hence meals could have been prepared at any time of the day that a guest might arrive without disturbing the routine of the monastic day (6). Guests were expressly excluded from the kitchens, just as guests to elite houses would not have passed into the services and kitchens.

The movement of people and provisions through the monastic precinct was controlled by the position and function of the buildings and their communicating walkways, permitting or restricting access to specific areas. The public access points were via the main entrance door to the nave and the main south gate leading into the Close, both of which are located on the west, street frontage boundary. The west range of the cloister was therefore the outermost, public facing boundary. It was here in the west walk that the guest quarters were sited (10). As part of the Prior's role was to welcome guests and provide hospitality it would seem most likely that at St Bartholomew the Prior's original lodgings would have been adjacent to the guest quarters as seen at many Augustinian monasteries. Interestingly, where we have early plans that show these prior's lodgings a repeated arrangement can be seen whereby the Prior's chapel is positioned over the parlour. It is possible that a chapel was positioned here above the parlour at St Bartholomew. This arrangement in the west range, the public range, takes on the form of a traditional secular hall with parlour and solar or Prior's chapel over at the 'high' end and the kitchen and offices at the 'low' end of the entrance hall.

Daily life within the precinct was strictly regulated and consisted of prayer, labour and study or contemplation, all conducted in silence. The Rule claimed that idleness was the enemy of the soul[22] and that the seniors should patrol during the hours of reading to ensure no brother is slothful, and given to idleness.[23] The requirements for silence and industry are paralleled in secular society by the expectations of female conduct. As discussed in chapter two, the ideal female character was valued for her silence, her removal from the public arena, diligence in her labour, and for her piety and self examination or contemplation, encouraged to shun idleness by the reading, reciting and coping passages from religious works. The brethren of monastic orders subscribed to a similar ideology.

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[22] McCann, *The Rule of St. Benedict,* p. 304.
[23] Ibid. p. 315.

> 'Let women learn with silence, with all subjection. Let not a woman teach, neither usurp authority over the man, but be in silence'[24]

We have learnt that the monks would be watched during reading, they would be supervised as they slept by the aid of the constant light during darkness, and during instruction and prayer in the chapter house or church they would be scrutinised. The monastery was therefore a place of continuous observation. This element of monastic life explains why the architectural spaces of the monastery were open, communal spaces in that they were intended to permit constant surveillance. This requirement for constant surveillance of the brethren may also offer a potential reason for the provision made by Prior Bolton to incorporate a route from his lodgings through the house of the Master of the Farmery and into the church without venturing outside.[25]

Through this brief examination of St. Bartholomew's Priory prior to its suppression, and referring to the examination of manorial customs in Chapter Two, several parallels between monastic and secular culture have become apparent, but does this commonality suggest that the architecture designed for spiritual use was therefore acceptable for lay use? Both subscribed to a form of regulation in order to define and ensure conformity to expected behaviour, the monasteries subscribed to observances whilst manorial customs established household regulations. Both considered hospitality and commensality as an obligation and hence open spaces for shared use were necessary, and procession formed part of both secular and monastic culture leading to an architectural form that accommodated it. In addition, the concept of attributing value to architectural space that was distanced from the commonplace or public, and the use of symbolic representation of external space between internal connecting spaces, were also shared mechanisms used to communicate differentiation. Over time the preference for segregation between the 'classes' had become a shared value in both monastic and secular households. These shared principles demonstrate that in both cultures hierarchy of space was important. What is different is that within the monastery there was nothing outside of the self which was intended to be private; architectural space was not used to create spaces where the inhabitants could be secluded. Privacy was created by the individual's restriction of sight, for each novice was taught 'how to keep guard over

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[24] Lady Mildmay's letter to her granddaughter, L. Pollock, *With Faith and Physic, The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman Lady Grace Mildmay 1552-1620* (London: Collins & Brown Ltd., 1993), pp. 28-9. Also quoted in Jan Walters, 'A Women's Place', p.15.
[25] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2. p. 160 & p. 173.

his eyes'[26] and overhearing was regulated through the rule of silence. In addition, architectural space was not used in the monastic setting to attribute honour and glory to the privileged few.

Monks in the sixteenth century would not have been considered as subscribing to an existence that had been gendered female and yet the rule to which they were pledged dictated a lifestyle based on the principles of the ideal female type. Or, to look at it in another way, the ideal Tudor female characteristics were derived from the Observances of the holy monastic orders; women were expected to subscribe to the purest of lifestyles. It has been thought that provision for female space would not be necessary in an architectural setting intended for an all male community but if that male community were to live a lifestyle removed from the public, silent and contemplative, would the architectural space not draw parallels with secular female space?

The architectural plan at St Bartholomew's Priory, just described, outlines how the monastery was arranged and used before its suppression. The establishment of the Court of Augmentations and appointment of its central officers needs to be introduced here to allow the beneficiaries of St Bartholomew's Priory buildings to be placed in context. The Court of Augmentations was established by King Henry VIII in 1536 with the principle aim of managing the surrender of monastic houses and the subsequent monastic revenues. Sir Richard Rich was appointed its Chancellor. All senior officials of this Court, being best placed, were recipients of monastic lands either gifted or purchased for sums representing an agreed number of years' income, not the value of the property on the open market.[27]

St. Bartholomew's Priory was suppressed in October 1539. The deed of surrender granted the whole Priory site together with properties both spiritual and temporal owned by the Priory and all plate and jewels to the King. By February of the following year Sir Richard Rich was residing in the prior's house as evidenced by letters from here dated February and March 1540.[28] By May of that year Prior Fuller had been rewarded for his surrender of the priory and was in possession of a grant for life which included the monastic buildings of St Bartholomew except the 'chief messuage of the priory, which was then in the tenure of Sir Richard Rich'. The only other house,

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[26] Clark, *Observances*, p. 125.
[27] Walter C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations 1536-1554* (Louisiana State University Press, 1961), p.8.
[28] *Letters and Papers,* 31 Hen VIII, vol. 14, (1), p.75, no. 210 and p.138 no. 347.

apart from the prior's house, which could immediately provide adequate accommodation for Prior Fuller was the house of the Master of the Farmery, and this may have been where he took up residence. This grant for life was short-lived as Prior Fuller died in the autumn of the same year.[29]

The conversion of St Bartholomew's monastic buildings for secular use by Richard Rich can be discussed in three phases. The first phase covered the period from 1540 to 1544 when Rich was gifted the Prior's Lodgings and established his London home there. The second phase, from 1544 until 1553, accounts for the period when Rich purchased the remaining monastic buildings, originally granted to Prior Fuller, and was the sole occupant. Phase three commenced in 1553 when Rich granted a part of the monastic buildings to Queen Mary and resided alongside the re-established monastic community of Black Friars. This phase spans the period from Queen Mary's ascendency to the throne, her death in 1558 after which Queen Elizabeth re-granted the monastic buildings to Rich, and concludes at his death in 1567.

4.3 The Creation of a Secular London House from the Prior's Lodgings, 1540-1544

In this early phase of Rich's tenure of the buildings of St Bartholomew's Priory, we will first consider how he and his family may have lived in the restricted accommodation of the Prior's Lodgings, before he acquired the rest of the monastic buildings making up the monastic precinct.

Rich, like all the men who aspired to elite status, ruthlessly furthered his economic and political prominence by attaining positions in London close to the court. These positions in turn led to grants of land and property as the dissolution of the larger monastic houses gained momentum. Sir Richard Rich, at the time of St Bartholomew's dissolution, had already been granted the great mansion of the late house of the Austin Friars within the city walls and was residing there.[30] On receiving the King's gift of the Prior's Lodgings at St Bartholomew's Priory he immediately took up residence there. Why he did so is not clear but he quite possibly left the Austin Friars in preference for St Bartholomew's due to the prestige of the latter, for amongst religious houses in London it was ranked second in wealth.[31] It is also quite probable that he did so with the full intention of obtaining the whole property, for at

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[29] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 1. pp. 258-259.
[30] *Letters & Papers*, 31 Henry VIII, vol. 14(1) p. 588. The grant is dated July 1539.
[31] Coyle, Sir Richard Rich, p. 201.

the Austin Friars he held only a part of the precinct without the possibility of expanding his acquisition. At Austin Friars Thomas Paulet had already purchased a house there and after its suppression William Paulet was granted part of the northern cloister and garden and he was in the process of acquiring more properties with a plan to build a large house within the precinct.[32] A move to St. Bartholomew's would have given Rich the opportunity to do the same.

Once established in the Prior's Lodgings at St Bartholomew's Rich commenced the sale of the monastic properties outside the monastic precinct on behalf of the Crown. When Rich moved into the Priory in 1540 the church nave was pulled down and the choir converted into the parish church. Webb claims that Rich would have taken this action for two reasons; firstly, as one of the objectives of the dissolution was to increase the King's wealth, the stone and lead made available would have been sold or re-used by the crown. Secondly, Rich knew that he intended to remain dwelling in the Prior's Lodgings as his London accommodation. Establishing a suitable parish church for his parishioners was of great importance. Webb does not question why it was considered necessary to also lay in ruin the south transept, but given the monastic link between the choir and the dorter via the night stair a severance between the church and the intended new secular space may have been the driver (Fig. 25). Although there was no specific policy on disfigurement of monastic properties, it was common for them to be sufficiently destroyed to prevent the monastic community from re-assembling. In the south and east of England demolitions were more rapid than further north as good building material was in short supply and the population, and hence the demand, was growing.[33] Any destruction that took place at monasteries with productive lands focused on the prevention of the practice of religious doctrine but left the household in working order to gain from its productivity, hence the domestic quarters of monastic properties were often left intact until later improved, whilst the church and sacred spaces were pulled down.[34] However at St Bartholomew's only the nave and south transept were destroyed. Over the next fifteen years no further mutilation of the monastic arrangement can have been made, as it was possible for Queen Mary to establish the Black Friars here in 1555 as their own house in Blackfriars had been totally destroyed by re-use.[35] It was

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[32] Holder, The London Friaries, p. 170.
[33] J.C. Dickinson, 'The Buildings of the English Austin Canons after the Dissolution of the Monasteries', *British Archaeological Journal,* vol. 31, 1968, p. 64.
[34] Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, pp.138-139.
[35] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 1. p. 262; Holder, The London Friaries, Figure 16, p. 380.

the officers of the Court of Augmentations who, being in a position of control, were able to limit the amount of destruction to properties that interested them.

When Rich took possession of the Prior's Lodgings in 1540 he inherited the internal arrangements left by Prior Bolton previously discussed in Chapter Three. These arrangements had been designed to emulate those of the nobility enabling Bolton to assume the status of his lay contemporaries. We may expect therefore that Rich would have found the accommodation perfectly adequate and that he would have settled into the Prior's personal rooms without discomfort or offence to decorum.

It has been acknowledged, however, that the Prior had not implemented the full manorial architectural language due to the constraints of the monastic setting. In addition, the Prior was a single man; he had no need to accommodate a wife of high social status and an ever growing family. By the time Rich acquired the Prior's House he had been married to Elizabeth Jenkins, or Jenks, for about fourteen years and went on to have a large family. We understand that Rich's son Robert Rich, second baron Rich, was born circa 1537 and therefore can assume that St. Bartholomew's would have needed to accommodate this family.[36] It would not be implausible to assert that Elizabeth, Lady Rich, and the children spent significant amounts of time living in the ex-monastic Prior's Lodgings. This statement is supported based on our knowledge of Rich's position in the Court of Augmentations and his frequent presence at Court both requiring his regular attendance in London. In addition, his wife was born in London,[37] and we understand that she died at St Bartholomew's Priory. How could Rich's family be adequately housed during the years when they were restricted within the constraints of the Prior's Lodgings? We have come to understand that chambers were used for multiple functions and accommodated several beds or pallets for sleeping and therefore two lodging chambers for the children, should they have ventured into the city, may have sufficed. It is not possible to be certain where Elizabeth Rich's rooms were but using our understanding of how the architectural plan supported gendered patterns of behaviour, as discussed in Chapter Two, we can explore the possibilities. Although speculative in nature interesting alternatives as to how the Rich family may have used the ex-Prior's accommodation can be suggested, retaining some features and losing others. What follows is an exploratory assessment of the potential use of space which is not

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[36] G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage or a History of the House of Lords and all its Members from the Earliest Times,* vol. X (London: The St. Catherine Press, 1945) p. 776.

[37] Elizabeth Jenks was the daughter, and heir, of William Jenks, a London grocer, P. R. N. Carter, 'Rich, Richard, first Baron Rich (1496/7–1567)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23491>, [accessed 9 July 2016]

intended to prove how the Rich family lived in the Prior's Lodgings but rather to explore the possibilities through a forensic approach and informed speculation. The following assessment and discussion is made using the reconstruction from the 1616 survey printed by Webb notated for ease of review (Fig. 26).[38]

The accommodation, although not without fault, did offer the possibility of maintaining certain key principles for an elite family in London. Prior Bolton's lodgings appear appropriate for a woman at this time. Elizabeth would have commanded accommodation where she could be distanced from public spaces, which on first examination the southern-most chamber on the first floor appears to offer (A). The existence of this room would not have been obvious, being obscured from the great chamber or dining room (B) by the need to pass through the room known as the servants' dining room (C) and traverse steps over Middlesex Passage. The room enjoyed a westerly outlook away from the passage of general society arriving at the house, and, with direct access via a stairway into the farmery court, it offers several of the requirements needed suggesting it would be suitable for female occupation. However, discrete vacation of this chamber would not have been possible, for in order to access the great staircase (D) one would have needed to briefly enter the great chamber (B) and furthermore, there was no direct access to the backstairs (E) leading to the service rooms for management of the household. The routes available would be public indeed.

It is possible that the suite of rooms (F) to the north of the great chamber were more suitable for female occupation in that they offered more direct access to the service rooms below and, through use of the back stairs (E), would negate the need to traverse the length of the great chamber in order to reach their seclusion. The attic rooms above could have housed the lady's maids and the outlook was into the private rear court. The chamber was nonetheless immediately adjacent to the great chamber and at the head of the passage leading chosen guests to the gallery (G) and, although not an enfilade it was proximal to a thoroughfare with the associated risk of unplanned encounters and therefore more easily read as male space. An altogether more suitable space would have been the prior's personal suite of rooms (H) because they were, as has previously been discussed, the most secluded. From the chamber at the end of the gallery Elizabeth would have had easy access to the chapel (I); female piety being much praised. Beyond this chamber were two further

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[38] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2. Plate XLIX opposite page 77.

remote chambers (J) which could have accommodated the children. The gallery immediately before it, being protected by the dual mechanisms of two gating points at either end of the passage and removal from the line of sight was further separated from the more public great chamber or dining room (B) by being set at right angles to it. This arrangement would have provided protection when taking exercise during inclement weather. In addition, easy access is afforded to two stairways; the Prior's external staircase (K) would have provided a private means of access to the rear courtyard and the back stairs (E) would have provided access to the services without the need to traverse the more public spaces. If Elizabeth's needs resulted in Rich removing to the suite of rooms (F) adjacent to the great chamber how suitable and acceptable would this have been?

We have already considered these chambers as possible accommodation for Lady Rich and concluded that they are more easily read as male space. The rooms more adjacent to and therefore more closely associated with hospitality would not have been inappropriate for Rich, and the two gating points either end of the passage from the great chamber to the gallery (G) would have been under his control. With this arrangement all the spaces beyond the great chamber (B) towards the church would have been family rooms and guests to the gallery would have been invited and therefore privileged to pass into this space.

There are inconveniences with these arrangements in that the gallery (G) was configured such that it also performed the role of corridor from the great chamber/dining room (B) to the chapel (I) which overlooked the church and therefore would have been used by important visitors with the associated risk of unwanted encounters between the guests and the family. Additional inconveniences are evident in that the principle of upper/ lower house was confused by the services being caught between two ranges both housing upper status functions. These inconveniences may have proved tolerable because the Prior's arrangements offered space that largely accommodated the requirements for an elite family and a coherent manorial architectural language could be relinquished in the metropolitan environment. Not only had the Prior set out to build a house to emulate his lay peers but also to satisfy his own needs for differentiation from the wider monastic community. Male, elected segregation from the public domain created differentiation and attributed authority, whereas culturally imposed segregation defined the feminine. Bolton's desire for easy access to a private chapel from where he could oversee proceedings differentiated him from his brethren, an arrangement that also reflected an ideal

space for elite female occupation and which was useable by the family that replaced him.

4.4 Acquisition of the Monastic Buildings and Expansion 1544-1553

By 1544, Rich was enjoying high favour with the King and was appointed Treasurer of the King's wars in France and Scotland.[39] It was in the same year that Rich arranged the sale of the now vacant church of St Bartholomew the Great and the entire priory within the monastic walls to himself,[40] Prior Fuller having died in the autumn of 1540. The grant provides a detailed description of the extent of land and its boundaries that came into Rich's possession.[41] The details obtained can be viewed in context with the site of the monastic close using Webb's reconstruction of the close (Fig. 27).

The eastern and southern boundaries culminating at the great south gate (A) are described by reference to properties and those already residing in them and therefore we can determine the social disposition of St Bartholomew's Close by the tenants whom Rich had either gathered around him since 1540 or who were remaining as tenants after the Suppression. The London Subsidy Roll for Farringdon Ward Without provides further evidence of those residing in the Parish in 1541.[42]

What is interesting to learn from these sources is that the new community that had assembled in the four years after Rich had made the Prior's Lodgings his own was largely made up of officials of the Court of Augmentations. Richard Rich, being in a position to sell or lease monastic properties within the close at St Bartholomew's had done so to his colleagues in the Court of Augmentations. The inhabitants who originally shared the precinct were associated by a common lifestyle, that of the Augustinian community; they were now replaced in the wider close by a group similarly linked through a common lifestyle gained by virtue of the office they held at the Court of Augmentations. In choosing his neighbours from his associates Rich had increased his authority and power over them through their indebtedness.

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[39] Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors,* p.12.
[40] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 1. p. 264.
[41] Guildhall Library, MS 10693 Translation of Grant to Rich. Also partially translated in Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. I, pp. 267-273.
[42] London Subsidy Roll: Farringdon Ward Without 1541, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol29/pp75-87> [accessed 21 July 2007].

South of the vacant land next to Blackhorse Alley (B) was the house and garden of Robert Burgoyne (C), one of the commissioners of the Court of Augmentations appointed by Henry VIII to take surrenders of monasteries in Warwickshire.[43] Robert was no doubt assisted to this office by Richard Rich as Robert was Rich's ward and the man to whom he married his niece Catherine.[44] It is therefore extremely likely that Robert's residence in St Bartholomew's Close occurred after the suppression rather than his being a tenant of the Priory. South of Robert Burgoyne was the house and garden of his older brother Thomas Burgoyne (D), an auditor of the Court of Augmentations. Blackhorse Alley (B) provided a link to Aldersgate Street, where William Petre's London town house was situated. It was William Petre who had witnessed the Deed of Suppression of St. Bartholomew's Priory. The south-east boundary returning west towards the great south gate was the site of three houses. The first was that of Thomas Andrews (E), attorney of the Court of Augmentations; south of this was situated the house occupied by Richard Mody (F), Auditor of Purchased Lands during the original Court of Augmentations 1536-1547. To the west of Richard Mody was the house and garden of Dr Bartlett (G), the King's physician. All these inhabitants appear on the 1541 London Subsidy Roll for Farringdon Ward Without. In addition, although not shown on the plan by Webb, on the Roll can be found Richard Duke, Clerk of the Court of Augmentations.[45] By the time Rich had purchased St Bartholomew's Priory in 1544 he had not only secured dwellings for these members of the Court of Augmentations, but had rented further tenements in the close to Richard and Thomas Tyrell, Receiver of Wood Sales and Messenger of the Court respectively.

If we now turn our focus to the monastic buildings themselves which surrounded the cloister garth, that is the chapter house, dorter, frater and associated services, and guest houses and the farmery complex in the outer court, can we determine how these spaces were occupied after Rich acquired them?

The 'Particulars for the Grant' details the tenants within the precinct but does not specify the inhabitants of the monastic buildings themselves, and although Gormley states that Rich sold off the rest of the monastic buildings after the nave was pulled

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[43] P. Styles, ed., *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 3:* (1945), pp. 215-220.
[44] Coyle, Sir Richard Rich, p. 193.
[45] London Subsidy Roll: Farringdon Ward Without 1541 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol29/pp75-87> [accessed 21 July 2007].

down[46] he offers no evidence for this and a contrary conclusion can be drawn. It is possible that Rich did not sell them but retained them due to his intension to purchase the monastic property himself, and so did not negotiate a sale or lease of these spiritual buildings. This conclusion is supported by the details of the monastic buildings granted by Rich to Queen Mary in 1555 that would suggest that these buildings were owned by Rich and were indeed vacant, or made so and sufficiently unaltered for the grant to Mary to be of value for its intended use in re-establishing a monastic community. The grant to Queen Mary transferred the parish church and the cloister, specifically stating that '…all four sides of the same enclosure or ambulatory. And also all and singular the houses chambers places and erections above and beneath the said enclosure or ambulatory'.[47] Included in this description was the Sacristy, Chapter House, Stairs, Dorter, Misericord, Frater, the Library above the Frater, the Kitchens and Parlour adjoining the Frater and Cellars in the west walk, all highlighted in yellow on the plan Fig. 27. What plans might Rich have devised for these monastic buildings in the early years of his acquisition that encouraged him to maintain possession for nine years and to leave them intact, yet unoccupied, at a time when preventing the re-establishment of a monastic community was paramount? Why would he have remained settled in Prior Bolton's residence that he had been granted four years earlier, which we have acknowledged to be architecturally unconventional? Why instead did he not pull down the monastic buildings to create the space in which to build a conventionally planned mansion house, one that upheld the behavioural conventions of manorial lordship and publicised his rise in society? Failing this, why would he not have converted the whole monastery into one grand London palace in the same manner as he had fashioned his landed estate out of the nave and aisles of Leighs Priory? Did Rich vacate the Austin Friary in favour of St Bartholomew's Priory and leave its monastic buildings unscathed and unoccupied due to a plan for a similar conversion to his Essex Priory? Was his aim to convert all these monastic buildings into one grand London establishment to rival those of the Bishops' Inns, a plan which would have had to be abandoned on the unexpected death of Edward VI in 1553 and the prospect of a return to a Catholic monarchy?

The grant to Queen Mary makes no mention of the buildings forming the second or outer courtyard, namely the Prior's Lodgings and the farmery including the House of

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[46] M. Gormley, 'St Bartholomew-the-Great: Archaeology in the Cloisters', *London Archaeologist,* vol. 8, No. 1, (1996), pp. 18-24.
[47] BL, MS Add 34768, Lord Holland's Cartulary, f181.

the Master of the Farmery. We have sufficient evidence to conclude that Rich had been in residence in the Prior's house since 1540 and this explains why it was excluded from the Grant, but there is no mention of the farmery with its associated chapel, kitchen, woodhouse and house late of the Master of the Farmery, highlighted in green on the plan Fig. 27. This group of buildings in the outer court are also not detailed in the re-grant from Queen Elizabeth to Rich during the first year of her reign suggesting that these too remained in the possession of Lord Rich. This assumption is supported by the 1616 survey made for Lord Henry Rich in which it describes the tenements that had been created from the farmery as 'tenements part of the mansion house of Lord Rich'[48] If these buildings of the outer court had not been rented, nor granted to Queen Mary and therefore would not have been re-granted by Queen Elizabeth, and were in the possession of Rich from 1544, could Rich have claimed the Prior's Lodgings, the farmery and the House of the Master of the Farmery for his own? In other words, had Rich already converted the three separate properties into one substantial London house? It would seem perfectly reasonable for Rich to have moved his family into the farmery complex where they could enjoy a more secluded, self-contained arrangement, removed from the passage of and encounters with those whom Rich would have cultivated for personal gain.

Webb informs us that the rental made for Henry Rich states that the entrance to the farmery is through the vault under the dorter into a green court before the door to the House of the Master of the Farmery.[49] This access links the wider close containing the conduit with the green court and both the inner courtyard and outer courtyard, and offers an alternative route other than the main, formal entry to the house. The House of the Master of the Farmery together with the farmery itself were inward facing around a green court and was therefore relatively sheltered and distanced from the main entrance.

The Master of the Farmery's house was offset but adjoined to the south end of the Prior's mansion house and they were intentionally linked when Prior Bolton built his house. Webb, who claims that Prior Bolton could traverse from his house through the House of the Master of the Farmery, the farmery, dorter and the guest house and back via the church without going outside, clearly established that a link between these properties had been already created before Rich moved in.[50] The fact that this

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[48] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2. p. 174.
[49] Ibid. p. 174.
[50] Ibid. p. 160 & p. 173.

link exists is further supported in Malcolm's *Londinium* where it states that in the Prior's house '… at the top of the vast stairs is the "Fermery".'[51] Rich would have been aware of the link between the Prior's house and House of the Master of the Farmery, and although not available for his use whilst Prior Fuller was his immediate neighbour, it must have been clear after Prior Fuller's death that this link could have been re-instated. The connection between the two dwellings would have provided a means by which Rich could have realised a plausible ambition to convert, at least part of, the monastic precinct into one dwelling, in a similar manner to that which he had accomplished at Leighs Priory in Essex.

Amalgamating existing London buildings to form one larger town house was not a unique ambition. In 1544 William Petre, a close ally and colleague of Rich, had purchased a row of eight small houses on the west side of Aldersgate Street on the border of the precinct of St Bartholomew's Priory, four of which had been in the ownership of the Priory. It is thought that he bought this row of houses with a view of converting them into one house. Instead however, in 1549 he rented a much larger house in Aldersgate Street from the Draper's Company which he subsequently purchased in 1552, and two years later he purchased a further two adjoining tenements which were annexed to form an extension.[52] Rich would have been aware of Petre's ambitions for these properties and would have witnessed the annexing of the adjoining tenements to form a larger house. The house was substantial; in the 1571 inventory there are thirty-eight entries detailing chambers and services.[53]

During the nine years from the purchase of the monastic buildings to their partial grant to Queen Mary, Rich grew in power and, although he ultimately relinquished some of that power, by 1547 he was at the height of his influence and favour. With support from the Lord Protector, Rich was appointed Lord Chancellor,[54] and in the same year he was elevated to the peerage. Presented in biographical accounts as avaricious and ruthless, it would be credible to assert that Lord Rich, having reached this level of power, held a plan similar to his colleague Sir William Petre to create a large London mansion house befitting the position he had successfully achieved and the temperament it is claimed he possessed.

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[51] J.P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum; or, an antient history and modern description of London. Compiled from parochial records, archives of various foundations, the Harleian mss. and other authentic sources* (London: J. Nichols & Son, 1803-7), p. 290.
[52] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, p. 83.
[53] ERO, D/DP/F205, Inventory of London House in Aldersgate Strett, 1571.
[54] Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors,* p. 13.

I am firmly persuaded that Rich commenced his plan for the conversion of the whole monastic complex by combining the Prior's Lodgings with the House of the Master of the Farmery and the farmery itself, creating a U shaped house around the inner courtyard. The evidence is circumstantial but nevertheless when considered as a whole strongly points to Rich having amalgamated this group of buildings. The probability that Rich extended his dwelling beyond the Prior's Lodgings is emphasised when the evidence is considered in summary. There is a known link between the Prior's Lodgings and the House of the Master of the Farmery. None of these buildings are referenced in the grant from Rich to Queen Mary and therefore they are also absent from the re-grant from Queen Elizabeth to Rich after Queen Mary's death which indicates that they were retained in Rich's ownership. These buildings which are missing from both grants, Rich to Mary and Elizabeth back to Rich, form an outer courtyard and therefore their disposition lends itself to amalgamation into one dwelling. To these facts must be added the unlikely probability that an acquisitive Lord Chancellor would be content to live in a smaller London dwelling than one of his colleagues, who was actively acquiring and extending properties that bordered the Priory. Furthermore, in the 1616 survey made for Lord Henry Rich the later tenements created from the farmery are recorded as 'tenements part of the mansion house of Lord Rich' which reinforces the argument that Rich had already made the farmery buildings part of his London home.[55] In this second phase of Rich's occupation of the Priory, by re-utilising the connection between the farmery and the Prior's Lodgings on the first floor, he would have greatly increased his living space and added a garden and a small private courtyard. Rich would now have had ample capacity for the hospitality that we have come to assume he would have had to offer, as this was a prerequisite for elite society in the country.

With this arrangement, the prior's lodgings could have been wholly given over to guest accommodation and hospitality, with its associated servant's lodging in the attic rooms above. The wide gallery leading into the chapels which overlooked the church was an impressive suite of rooms with which to excite admiration. However, to now pass beyond the shared public spaces into the House of the Master of the Farmery required more than passing through a gating point and along a corridor. To reach these more exclusive chambers required either externally crossing the green courtyard to access the entrance of the house of the Master of the Farmery, (red route 1 on Fig. 28), or it required internally traversing the two first floor rooms beyond

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[55] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2. p. 174.

the great chamber, crossing over Middlesex Passage and through a second chamber to reach the first floor dining room, (blue route 2 on Fig. 28). Such an invitation to pass into the less public space would have bestowed great honour on the guest. On this side of the passage was the house of the Master of the Farmery which would have shielded and made private the farmery accommodation beyond and hence made the farmery space highly suitable for the Rich family; segregating them from the suggested public spaces of the prior's house. Taking the stairs and returning to the ground floor a 'little hall' could be found under the great chamber, suitable for more intimate meetings, with ground floor services to provide for these honoured guests.

If we accept that at some point after the death of Prior Fuller, Rich converted the farmery into accommodation fit for his family, can we find any further fragments of evidence in support of this theory from Webb's plan translated from the descriptions in the 1616 survey for Henry Rich and attempt to solve the problems that this building presents? (Fig. 26).

Some time after Rich's death the farmery itself became a self-contained house described in the survey as having a ground floor hall and kitchen and laundry all to the east of the staircase, marked on Fig. 26 (1). Webb deduces that these rooms were created out of the farmery, chapel and kitchens. Parlours, buttery and pantry were formed running in an enfilade arrangement to the west of the staircase (2). Above stairs and over the parlours was a repeat enfilade of chambers running west (3), with a great chamber or dining room to the east of the stairs over the hall (4) and a large lodging chamber with pallet chamber accessed from the stair head (5). From this stair head a further, smaller, stair led to a second storey above which housed one chamber for servants, a chamber for 'persons of better qualitie' and a study.[56] There appears to be no second storey above the west rooms housing the great chamber, large lodging chamber and pallet chamber suggesting that these western rooms were of greater height and therefore more likely to have been assigned to use of greater importance. We would not expect a family of the standing of the Richs to share a stair with servants yet the conversion of the farmery only makes provision for one staircase, leading to the conclusion that the house of the Master of the Farmery was indeed annexed to the farmery and hence two staircases made available.

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[56] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2. p. 178.

Although Webb's reconstruction does not show a link between the farmery and the House of the Master of the Farmery the records are available to us in which Bolton's circuitous route to the church through the farmery are described. It is unlikely that Bolton passed through the farmery kitchen, and as the access from his own house into the house of the Master of the Farmery was on the first floor it is more likely that the master's house was also linked to the farmery via the first floor reception rooms. However, the service rooms of both the house of the Master of the Farmery and the farmery itself were adjoining. We can be confident that these services were in this position during Rich's tenure because Webb deduces that the 1616 kitchen stood in the same location as the original farmery kitchen and therefore we may conclude that it remained in this place between these dates. Combining these service rooms into one larger complex of services would not only have been practical but, by the nature of the use of these rooms, could have been used to provided a full stop to the passage of elite visitors. From the public spaces of the late Prior's Lodgings the staircase of the house of the Master of the Farmery would be the furthest point south that any respectable visitor would care to travel, creating remote, secluded accommodation beyond, especially useful for housing a family. The staircase of the late farmery can now be read as used for lesser purposes and the staircase of the house of the Master of the Farmery can now be suggested as the significant staircase for family use. The fine lodging rooms created out of the height of the chapel would be warmed from the kitchens below and provide access to the distant enfilade of rooms with chamber for 'persons of better qualitie' and a study complete with associated servants' room.

This first floor arrangement now seems less problematic. The enfilade with set of rooms above are more easily accepted as those used by Lady Rich, her children and her maids, with secluded access via the lesser stairs to the services below for household management. This extension to the Rich family living space would have been an improvement over the restricted space of the Prior's Lodgings. The evidence does not permit a conclusive reading of the space but it is a suggested reading which upholds the conventions of the period, supports the traditional mechanisms for differentiation and respectability and maintains the necessary decorum. In addition, it provides a solution for elite lay society's re-use of space designed for monastic communities and therefore, although there is an element of speculation in this reconstruction, it nevertheless demonstrates the possibilities for creating habitable accommodation in keeping with the behavioural conventions expected.

The suggested conversion of the farmery would have created 'deep' space, in other words space at a greater distance from an entry point, protected by more intimate chambers on the first floor and the services on the ground floor. It is also clear that, although not without interruption, the rooms on the first floor of the linked Prior's Lodgings and the house of the Master of the Farmery were all accessible on this floor. The interruptions would have enhanced the status of those permitted to pass through them. But this was not the case with the first floor rooms of the newly converted farmery. To access these first floor rooms, one must have either descended to the ground floor and passed through the service rooms or exited into the green court and re-entered the ground floor of the farmery. The use of such architectural obstacles was not devised to increase desire or attribute the prestige of those permitted access; there would be no privilege presumed by those invited to negotiate the kitchens. These obstacles were real and intended to bar and make private the newly created space and hence support the interpretation offered here that these arrangements were made for female and family use.

Lord Rich held the office of Lord Chancellor for only four years. In 1551 caught up in the rivalry between Lord Seymour and Somerset, and in great fear of being implicated in Somerset's plot to regain the office of Protector to the young King Edward VI, Rich renounced the office of Lord Chancellor, handing over the seal at his house in St Bartholomew's, and fell into a period of elected obscurity.[57] Two years later, King Edward died and the Catholic Queen Mary ascended to the throne.

4.5 The Relinquishment of Architectural Ambition 1553 – 1567

Rich became a Privy Councillor during Queen Mary's reign and would have witnessed at close hand the Catholic Queen in her drive to reconcile the Church of England with the Holy See of Rome. He was an astute courtier who would have sensed the mood and understood the desires behind the statutes of repeal which overturned the instruments of law dividing the two churches. He would have suffered in the bitter battles and feared the loss of his Essex lands when the Catholic bishops were restored and lay ownership of episcopal land was announced unlawful. He would have been mindful of the Queen's desire to restore impropriated monastic lands despite the second statute of repeal excluding the Acts for the Dissolution of the Lesser and Greater Monasteries. Rich would have been fully aware that the

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[57] Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors,* pp. 24-27.

Queen believed that all who possessed monastic land had a moral duty to return it and support her in her quest to re-establish the monastic communities. He was too beholden to the Queen's good grace not to accept the obligation implied by her example when she relinquished her own monastic lands. And so, with the force of circumstances against him and despite any long term plans that he may have had for St Bartholomew's, in 1555 Lord Rich followed the Queen's example and made the gesture of re-granting the church and cloister of the Priory to Mary for the re-establishment of Dominican Friars under Prior Perrin. However, Rich retained the Prior's Lodgings and all those buildings making up the outer court where, as discussed, it is firmly believed he had made his own London home. Although the 1555 bull from Pope Julius III had made lawful Rich's ownership of the ex-monastic buildings, Rich also maintained possession of some of his impropriated episcopal properties in Essex, the ownership of which had been revoked due to their surrender by reforming bishops whose consecration was considered invalid. Rich may well have negotiated relinquishing the cloister buildings of St. Bartholomew's Priory for the continued ownership of his Essex manors.

From 1555 until the death of Queen Mary in 1558 Rich lived in the outer court of St Bartholomew's alongside the Black Friars who occupied the cloister buildings; a return to a pre-dissolution pattern of London living.[58] The re-established monasteries were, however, short-lived as the Queen died in 1558. Perhaps a longer reign may have altered the ownership of ex-church lands but the brief return to a Catholic Crown had little real impact on the distribution of alienated church property. Even Rich, who had theoretically lost his spoils in Essex because they were considered as having been gained unlawfully, resolutely refused to relinquish them. And even after he had re-granted St. Bartholomew's Priory to the Crown he still held in excess of fifty manors on Queen Mary's death.[59] At the close of the year in which the Queen died, Richard Rich's wife Elizabeth also died. The demand on the accommodation at St Bartholomew's would now alter.[60]

When Queen Elizabeth claimed the throne in 1558 the Black Friars must have known that their community would once again be suppressed. Prior Perrin, having died in

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[58] B. Sloane, 'Tenements in London's Monasteries c. 1450-1540', *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580, D.* Gaimster, R. Gilchrist, eds., (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 295-6. Sloane highlights three Tudor examples in London where monastic buildings were linked to the royal palaces providing exclusive access and he claims that the physical presence of the nobility in the leased houses adjacent to or within monastic precincts became an increasingly important aspect of the London religious house prior to the dissolution.

[59] Coyle, 'Sir Richard Rich', p. 203.

[60] Ibid. p. 194.

the same year as Queen Mary, was not replaced and many of the friars returned to the countries of their origin, leaving very few friars to be expelled in 1559.[61] The church of St Bartholomew reverted to a parish church once more and the monastic buildings were re-sold to Rich in 1560. [62]

Rich was now in his sixties and a widower. From the 1564 Subsidy Roll it appears that he sold some of the monastic buildings in the inner court, hence he abandoned any plan he may have held to convert the monastic buildings into one residence. In keeping with his early pattern of sale, the frater and cloister were sold to Sir Walter Mildmay, son of Sir Thomas Mildmay, who from 1545-1547 were both auditors for London at the Court of Augmentations. Webb has assembled indirect evidence of this sale; the date of Mildmay's occupancy can be concluded from a letter he wrote to Sir William Cecil dated 1560/1 from St Bartholomew's.[63] There is additional evidence through the 1616 Survey conducted for the inheritance of Henry Rich that Richard Rich sold this part of the monastic precinct; the properties are listed detailing the chain of tenants but the frater and cloister are not listed providing evidence that the property was no longer in the ownership of the Rich family.[64] Mildmay continues to appear on both the 1564 and 1582 Subsidy Rolls.

Sir Richard Rich died in 1567 and his passing denoted, or coincided with, a shift in the architectural ambitions at play at St Bartholomew's Priory. Where once a shared objective amongst courtiers had encouraged the merger of tenements, amalgamation of disparate monastic buildings and extension of guild properties to form sizeable town houses, these buildings had become too constrained by past usage to accommodate the cultural shifts emerging; and it is these cultural shifts that are discussed in later chapters. These rambling buildings became sub-divided once again to form smaller compact units. Robert Rich 2nd Baron Rich inherited St Bartholomew's Priory on his father's death and in turn on his death in 1581, St Bartholomew's was inherited by his son Robert, 3rd Baron Rich. Webb is silent relating to the architectural developments during these periods but he believes most of the conversion of the inner and outer courts are performed by this 3rd Baron Rich prior to the 1616 inheritance survey for his second son Henry Lord Holland.[65] However, the 1582 Subsidy Roll shows St. Bartholomew's divided into two separate

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[61] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 1. p. 285.
[62] Guildhall Library, MS 10693.
[63] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2. p. 137.
[64] TNA, E179/145/218, 1616 Survey.
[65] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2. p. 293.

areas, 'St Bartholomewes The Grete and The Libertye and Closse of Greate St
Barholomues'[66], suggesting a division between those residing in the precinct and
those residing in the monastic buildings. The names of those appearing against the
St Barholomewes The Grete, that is the inner and outer courts, number ten which
implies some form of conversion had taken place by 1582 in order to accommodate
this number of individual owners. Furthermore, the second entry on the Roll is that of
The Lorde Chefe Baron Sir Roger Manwood, a judge who had connections at court.
Manwood had therefore secured ownership of some part of the ex-monastic buildings
prior to the 1582 Subsidy Roll. He arranged a marriage between his daughter Anne
and Sir Percival Harte, and it is Sir Percival Harte who is listed in the 1616 Survey as
having taken up residence in St Bartholomew's Priory, dwelling in the converted Lady
Chapel. Since it was customary for properties to be inherited by children it would not
be unreasonable to conjecture that the Lady Chapel was therefore owned by
Manwood and thus conclude that the sub-division of St Bartholomew's Priory had
commenced before 1582. What we can say with certainty is that the partitioning and
creation of smaller parcels of accommodation was underway at St Bartholomew's
Priory by the 1580s.

This was a time when opulent houses were being developed along the Strand. The
ex-episcopal houses in the Strand had largely been built in the fifteenth century and
during the sixteenth had been transferred to the laity (see Appendix). Other grand
scale houses were also built or extended in the Strand, William Cecil developed Cecil
House in the 1560s[67] and Salisbury House was built in 1599.[68] Here, with a more
opulent original design than could be found in the monastic precincts and with a more
spatial setting, it would seem logical to expect that the country house manorial
principles could be re-created more readily than in ex-monastic properties.

4.6 Conclusion

Chapter Two established the importance of traditional architectural arrangements in
the country which were fundamental in the support of the social customs of the
period and were the customary arrangements to which London conversions referred.

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[66] R.D. Lang, ed., *Two Tudor Subsidy Assessment Rolls for the City of London: 1541 and 1582 (London: London Record Society, 1993), p.*
[67] J. Husselby and P. Henderson, 'Location, Location, Location' *Architectural History,* vol. 45 (2002), p. 159.
[68] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, No. 159, p. 212.

Richard Rich had achieved the creation of such a landed estate in Essex and all the significance that it endowed. He had further created a London house out of part of the monastic buildings forming an outer court at St Bartholomew's Priory and had successfully surrounded himself with his contemporaries, setting up a community of allies in the monastic precinct. It would appear from Rich's actions that a property in London required a different approach, one less concerned with obtaining the distinction and associated obligations that an investment in a traditional manorial landed estate could bestow but more with the creation of a local society of social equals.

Rich had inherited an unconventional architectural space when he moved into the Prior's Lodgings in 1540. The plan was based on the traditional manorial arrangements so important in the country but could not be expressed as one cohesive language due to the limitations of the Priory layout. In retaining the Prior's Lodgings in favour of its demolition and re-build, Rich was retaining the Prior's choices of those elements of traditional country house architectural language that were important to retain and those acceptable to lose. This action suggests that it was also acceptable for Rich to lose those elements of traditional country house planning and, on closer examination, it can be deduced that it was the architectural elements supporting the manorial behavioural conventions that were abandoned: the linear procession to the dining chamber; the demarcation of upper and lower status spaces in the hall and great chamber; and the association of gallery and the wider landscape. Rich retained an architectural language that was used in an incoherent manner through the application of elements, but not the whole, of that architectural language; using those elements in the form of motifs as Bolton had done before him. The confused arrangement in the hall range whereby the stairs and buttery had been incongruously placed in relationship to the hall and parlour is a feature of the London plan that we recognise from Cromwell's ambitious development at Austin Friars. In London, the behavioural conventions had become dislocated from the architecture that had once supported them.

The architectural design intended to support the manorial customs of commensality no longer remained relevant in the city setting and a re-creation of a landed estate in London was not necessary. Therefore, it is perhaps understandable that Rich found his acquired house acceptable with an architectural language displaced from the behaviour it was intended to shape; and yet the motifs of manorial lordship were still valued for their connection to the landed country estate and the image bestowed. A

fractured social attitude had developed whereby consideration and inclusion of the wider community had broken down through the disassociation of house and land within the city environment.

The house that Rich is believed to have crafted from the amalgamation of the Prior's Lodgings, the house of the Master of the Farmery and the farmery was also architecturally unconventional but nevertheless substantial. High and low status spaces had not only remained incoherently situated throughout the house but Rich appears to have deliberately retained this incoherence, making no attempt to resolve this apparent deficiency. The architectural language defining high and low status spaces continued to be understood by society in the same manner and therefore rather than the arrangements being random it may have been consciously used by Rich as an architectural tool. The lack of systemic delineation between the statuses throughout the house could have become a mechanism to control and prohibit movement, using low status spaces to prevent access to a high status spaces beyond; creating not only private spaces but remote locations intended to obscure those who inhabited them. Visitors would have read the placement of low status rooms as prohibitive for their passage which in turn formed inaccessible spaces beyond and created a depth to the house suitable to house a wife and family.

Rich may have created differentiation by separating the use made of the Prior's Lodgings to the use made of the combined house of Master of the Farmery and the farmery, the former being intended for the accommodation of invited guests and the latter private accommodation for his personal use and that of his family. In this respect the monastic layout may have been beneficial because the Prior chose an outward, more public arrangement to house and differentiate himself from his brethren which was recognisably masculine space, whilst the brethren were afforded inward, secluded space more akin to female space. The design solutions implemented reduced the risk of undesirable encounters between servants and the family, and guests and the family. This mechanism does not appear to have been employed at Leighs Priory, but in the more compact London environment a foolproof mechanism to ensure no one trespassed into Lady Rich's personal chambers would have been advantageous and desirable. At Leighs Priory, the family accommodation, guest accommodation and servants' quarters were contained in separate ranges arranged around the courtyard, made possible by the lack of restriction to the space available.

The property that Rich inherited at the Priory had several deficiencies. Apart from the incoherent use of service rooms and lack of a parlour at the high end of the hall previously discussed, there remained additional original features of the monastic property that Rich did not alter or replace yet which no longer supported the current country customs. The typical corridor gallery found in country palaces in the early sixteenth century was adapted by Prior Bolton to serve the same purpose but in a more confined environment of a London monastic setting. However acceptable this corridor gallery would have been in 1513 when Prior Bolton devised it, by the early 1540s when Rich inhabited the Prior's Lodgings the recreational long gallery enjoyed for perambulation and vistas of gardens and parks was more in evidence. We know that the Prior's corridor gallery was retained by Rich as it is described in the survey of the inheritance of Henry Rich made in 1616,[69] but we have no evidence to conclude that Rich constructed a long gallery, as we would have expected, when converting the house of the Master of the Farmery and the farmery. In addition, the property was not endowed with a tower gatehouse of any magnificence; there was no garden of any splendour or curiosity other than the courtyards, one of which was described as 'a little green court'[70] and therefore there was a lack of association between high status rooms, especially a gallery, and the wider landscape as was developing at this time in the country. The property did not flow in one organised plan throughout, supporting a processional route through the house, but rather appears to have remained two distinct properties connected at first floor level. Rich had provided all these conventional features at his country mansion of Leighs Priory but did not carry out the same conversion at St Bartholomew's Priory in London. It would appear from the plan of the original Prior's Lodgings and the subsequent enlargement through amalgamation conducted by Rich that, in London, it was more important to display the symbols of manorial lordship than it was to apply the full architectural principles that gave purpose to them.

Rich may have enlarged the Prior's Lodgings to accommodate his family but he did not attempt to convert the whole monastery into one grand palace. In London, monastic precincts and closes appear to have been divided by their lay owners into parcels of smaller dwelling spaces and rented or leased, rather than being converted into one great establishment for a single family, as was more common in the country. In fact, it would seem that the buildings that housed and supported the monastic

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[69] TNA, SC12/11/39
[70] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 2. p. 174.

communities continued to provide communal shelter post dissolution, but the communities were now formed by a secular society.

In choosing to leave the monastic buildings intact and uninhabited whilst he lived in irregular arrangements, Rich was behaving in a completely different way in this London setting to how he behaved in the country; and yet Lord Rich appears to have been content with the arrangements of his London house and could tolerate the irregular plan from that of his country estate because the relationships and patterns of behaviour in London differed from that of the country. In the country form and function were still symbiotically related but in London this relationship had broken down. The imported country architectural arrangements reflected on the owner's image but no longer upheld the behavioural conventions practised within its walls; those behavioural conventions had altered.

Chapter Five

The London Lifestyle and the London Architectural Plan 1540 -1580

Cultural norms that regulate individuals' behaviour in a society are themselves governed by the expectations and lifestyle of that society. In turn the architectural space in which those norms are played out, is configured to both accommodate and uphold them. To understand why the unconventional architectural arrangements that were identified and discussed in the previous chapter, were tolerated in the London environment we must look for a change in the behavioural conventions of London society during the mid-sixteenth century and we need to understand that society and the lifestyle that it led. This chapter sets out to recognise the metropolitan lifestyle that was led by the secular owners of the London ex-spiritual properties and hence the social patterns of that society. This information, revealing the multifaceted nature of the social order in sixteenth-century London, is compared and contrasted to that identified at the country landed estate, thus enriching our understanding of the symbiotic relationship between behavioural conventions and the architectural space that both reflected and supported them. Through understanding the relationship between lifestyle and architectural space in both country and city environments an explanation can be offered for the apparent break with traditional architectural planning of the period.

In order to recognise the lifestyle led in the city we must turn to the London household accounts and biographies of the courtiers. We study again Sir Richard Rich and his peers, Sir William Petre, principal Secretary of State and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, William Cecil, First Baron Burghley, Privy Councillor and Secretary of State[1] and Sir William Paget, Clerk of the Privy Council and Principle Secretary of State. [2]

The early sixteenth century witnessed an increase in the numbers of nobility and gentry who travelled to London. Historians agree that they were lured to the city by the presence of the monarch, by access to the lawyers and agents necessary to resolve disputes, to take pleasure in the leisure activities on offer and to enjoy the acquisition of the great diversity of goods being traded.[3] I would further suggest that

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[1] ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4983?docPos=1> [accessed 7th August 2015].
[2] ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21121?docPos=2> [accessed 7th August 2015].
[3] On elite recourse to London see Ian Warren 'The Gentry, the Nobility, and London Residence c. 1580-1680' unpublished PhD thesis, The Queen's College. University of Oxford, (2007); Heal, *Hospitality,* pp. 141-150. Barron, *Conspicuous Consumption,* p.9.

they found in London a place and society that freed them from the responsibilities and obligations that the landed estate forced upon them. In this new environment they formed social groups of equals who sought to be considered as members of polite society. The nobility and gentry knew that the lands that were being granted or sold were those of the crown and that their attendance at Court and devotion to various forms of service to the state, whilst at the same time socialising and befriending influential men, could advance their positions. They understood that their fortunes relied upon favour from the Crown in the form of office-holding, grants and gits of land, privileges and the bestowal of honours. Noble and gentle families sent their sons to the Inns of Court, grouped in the area around Holborn and Chancery Lane, for the education that was necessary for an heir to a landed estate. Here they learnt the basics of the law and the etiquette of polite society. This education would also place them in the company of prominent men whose patronage would in turn introduce them to the circles close to the monarch and ultimately into royal service. Two hundred scholars were admitted to Gray's Inn in the 1530s and this number rose sharply to seven hundred and ninety-nine by the 1590s.[4] To survive and prosper in the extravagant environment of the Court it was essential for the aspiring nobleman and successful courtier alike, to portray the proper image. That image necessitated the wearing of opulent and fashionable dress, adoption of alluring manners and speech, the provision of lavish entertainments for one's peers, and the upkeep of an abode within easy travelling distance of the Court, whether rented or owned. In short, he was to bear the carriage and countenance of a progressive gentleman of polite society and portray the outward appearance that upheld the position he claimed or aspired to. In contrast to life in the country, the focus for nobility in London was on the self in the continuing aim of social progression.[5] Ben Jonson noted that to be an accomplished gentleman of the age it was necessary to give up housekeeping in the country and live in the city '[…] amongst gallants where, at your first appearance, 'twere good you turned four or five acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparell'.[6] And yet Jonson admired those that valued their country estates and shunned the sycophantic conduct and pursuit for personal glorification in the city. In his poem 'To Sir Robert Wroth' he praises Wroth for his resolute country manners.

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[4] J. Foster, *Register of Admission to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889, together with the register of marriages in Gray's Inn Chapel, 1695-1754* (London: 1889) quoted in F. J. Fisher 'The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in *London and the English Economy 1500-1700'* P.J. Corfield and N.B. Harte eds., (London and Roncevate: The Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 105-118.

[5] On office holding and the Court see Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 385-504.

[6] C. Knight, ed., *London* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1851), p.378.

> […] How blest art thou, canst love the country, Wroth,
> Whether by choice, or fate, or both!
> And though so near the city, and the court,
> Art ta'en with neither's vice nor sport:
> That at great times, art no ambitious guest
> Of sheriff's dinner, or mayor's feast.
> Nor com'st to view the better cloth of state,
> The richer hangings, or crown-plate;
> Nor throng'st (when masquing is) to have a sight
> Of the short bravery of the night;
> To view the jewels, stuffs, the pains, the wit
> There wasted, some not paid for yet!
> But cans't at home, in thy securer rest,
> Live, with unbought provision blest;
> Free from proud porches, or their gilded roofs,
> 'Mongst lowing herds, and solid hoofs:[…][7]

Unlike the country house which was situated within its landed estate, the London house was not intrinsically part of the land, and therefore the social relationships that land provoked were superfluous in the city. Instead of his house being the central location for his business and political interests, as was the case in the country, Rich was frequently located at the Court and Westminster. In the 1540s Rich was a Privy Councillor and Lord Chancellor,[8] and by the time he had acquired the monastic buildings at St. Bartholomew's he was spending considerable time away from the property at Privy Council meetings.[9] As we have discovered in Chapter Four, from the date of the grant of the Prior's House in 1540 until Rich acquired the whole of the monastic buildings in 1544 he had directed the sale of the properties in the wider monastic precinct to his peers and contemporaries. Rich was under no duty of care to this community, they were not his tenants and they were not part of his household, they did not toil on his land for his personal gain. Their relationship differed to the relationships on his landed estate.

In addition to the group who Rich had deliberately assembled around him, another powerful colleague had moved into the area. William Petre, commissioner of the Court of Augmentations[10] had, after being appointed Secretary in 1544, taken up residence in Aldersgate Street. The Aldersgate Street house was ultimately to be extended into a very large mansion house through purchase of smaller houses, some once belonging to St. Bartholomew's Priory.[11] The house was situated on the north

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[7] B. Jonson, *The Works of Ben Jonson* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Co., 1853), p. 802
[8] ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23491?docPos=1> [accessed 7th August 2015]
[9] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's Priory,* vol. 1, pp. 289-97.
[10] ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22047?docPos=1> [accessed 7th August 2015]
[11] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary,* pp. 83.

east boundary of Rich's ex Priory.[12] The Priory wall formed the west boundary of Petre's London house and garden and its north boundary was formed by the passage that led to St Bartholomew's Close.[13] Petre's town house was, therefore, neighbouring this enclave of social equals and colleagues with whom he worked and socialised, a fact which further supports the concept that in London it was important for these men to be living in close association with an analogous group, presumably for political advantage. Success within the Tudor court was wholly dependant on personal relationships and shrewd political manoeuvring; there were few who could be completely relied upon and therefore political allegiances were crucial to ensure personal survival.

Alongside these external relationships the London household comprised both domestic and personal servants. Just as men like Rich and Petre were servants of the Crown, they in turn employed their own servants to assist them in their political role. Although called servants these men were personal staff who performed an administrative role in support of the office that their master held; today they would be known as civil servants. Their place of work was provided by their master and was most frequently the London house. Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, is said to have employed eighty servants in his London household during the height of his career,[14] these would have been a combination of purely domestic servants and those serving him in an administrative capacity. A further ten servants attended him at court.[15] Cecil appointed his first secretary, Francis Yaxley, in 1545 when he was just twenty-five years old and living in London.[16] From the 1570 accounts Lord and Lady Burghley appear to have maintained a large household in London, and when travelling to Theobalds in Cheshunt and Burghley House in Lincolnshire took a smaller retinue of thirty servants some of whom would have been domestic and some administrative.[17]

This pattern of living in London demanded a different form of commensality. The commensality practised in London was not based on a society fashioned out of an

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[12] Petre took the suppression of St. Bartholomew's Priory in 1539 and was a colleague of Rich, Webb, *St. Bartholomew's,* vol. 1, p. 253

[13] R. Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata* vol. 2 (London: Wilkinson, 1819).

[14] F. Peck, ed., *Desiderata Curiosa, a collection of divers scarce and curious pieces (relating chiefly to matters of English history* (London, 1732-35), p. 29.

[15] R. C. Barnett, *Place, Profit and Power, a Study of the Servants of William Cecil, Elizabethan Statesman* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), p.10

[16] S. Alford, *Burghley, William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2008), p. 30.

[17] Barnett, *Place, Profit and Power,* p. 10.

existence on land and therefore it was not inclusive of the wider, more disparate social classes and statuses found in this environment. Commensality for the elite in the city differed; it was based on a society in service to the Crown, either directly through attaining office or indirectly through support of those who had. Manorial commensality was an important marker of a Lord's identity within his landed estate; it denoted the Lord's largesse, requiring not just his care of lesser men but the inclusion of lesser men within the household's architectural plan. Country commensality assumed cohesion of disparate statuses in one chamber which created a need for the differing levels of those statuses to be acknowledged. This recognition of status was achieved through use of symbols within the architectural language and placement within architectural space. In London a new form of commensality was in evidence, one that created cohesion between social equals who had the potential to provide political support. This form of commensality created an identity through inclusion within or exclusion from a social group who shared the same good manners, culture and dress. London society allowed the head of house to relinquish those obligations and duties that were non-negotiable in the country.

If relationships were different in London then the behaviour and customs adopted would have also needed to differ, making redundant the architectural features of country house planning that sustained manorial social conduct. Social grouping was pivotal to the lifestyle led in London and smaller groups of invited guests or peers replaced the communal feasting of the wider household. These smaller groups brought with them a reduced number of servants; and in general smaller households resulted.

There were, of course, those in high office like Burghley who maintained large households in London but as a general observation London houses were staffed with fewer numbers. Whilst the country estate required a considerable number of indoor and outdoor servants and retainers to manage the agricultural function of the estate and maintain the house, the household in London did not require the positions associated with the management of land. In 1550 Sir William Petre maintained a household of servants at Ingatestone Hall in Essex of approximately twenty-five. In comparison the servants attached to his London house in Aldersgate Street in that same year were a reduced number of twelve, some of this number travelling from Ingatestone to London with Lord Petre, notably the chief steward John Kyme. Even though Kyme was not a permanent member of the London household his position

was senior enough to have had a chamber at Aldersgate Street which was identified as 'Mr Kymes Chambre' in the inventory of 1562.[18]

In examining the names of the servants from the 1550 expenses and accounts it can be determined that the housekeeper in London was not the same person as the housekeeper at Ingatestone so presumably the former servant was a permanent employee who remained in London.[19] Whilst the household accounts of Ingatestone provide evidence of the open house hospitality that included strangers and servants in the hall and social equals in the parlour or great chamber, there is no evidence of similar open house hospitality in the London house.[20] For Petre to maintain the manorial custom of hospitality in his absence a cook would need to remain at both of his properties, Ingatestone in Essex and Aldersgate, the London house. Absence of a permanent cook at Aldersgate would imply that such hospitality did not take place. In the records we find two different names listed as cook confirming that Thomas, the Ingatestone cook, had no need to accompany his master to London allowing him to provide hospitality at Ingatestone throughout the year; whereas Richard, the London cook, accompanied his master to Boulogne suggesting that the London house did not need a cook to remain in Petre's absence and therefore we can deduce that hospitality in London was not offered on the same basis as in the country.[21] Emmison draws the same conclusion from entries in the London accounts recording the payments for the servants' suppers when Petre dined away from home at the Lord Chancellor's. If the servants dined out in Petre's absence from the town house this fact was evidence that they were not keeping open house.[22]

Further evidence can be gained in support of the claim that dining practices had changed in London and that reduced numbers of a household attended their master and mistress whilst in the city. From an invitation from Rich to Sir Thomas Arundel, who was a commissioner for the suppression of the monasteries, we learn that Rich invited Arundel, his wife, maids and 'a couple of your servants'[23] to lodge at St Bartholomew's in October 1540. With smaller, more intimate groups of invited guests and the fragmentation of dining into smaller chambers of more intimate social groups, the ceremonial procession to, or through, the hall which was populated with the

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[18] ERO, D/DP F205.
[19] ERO, D/DP A4 and D/DP A11; Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, pp.152-153. The housekeeper at Ingatestone was a Mistress Percy whilst a Mistress Wells was recorded as the housekeeper at the London house in Aldersgate Street.
[20] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, p. 131 & p. 153.
[21] Ibid. pp. 152-3.
[22] Ibid. p. 153.
[23] *Letters and Papers, 32 Hen VIII,* vol. 16, no. 128.

assembled household, was made redundant. Furthermore, hospitality was no longer considered a daily requirement. For Rich, a dining parlour on the first floor, independent from the hall and lacking the means of a ceremonial procession was not the irregular, inconvenient space of first appearance but a suitable arrangement in which to dine with social equals that excluded the casual visitor and household servants and therefore dispensed with the formality of procession.

Elite townsmen frequently dined away from home when in London, either by invitation at the residence of their peers or in the company of their personal servants in taverns and cookhouses.[24] The country formality and theatre of the procession of food in serving the master of the household and the ceremony and ritual of placement of strangers and servants in the hall had no place in every day dining in London and here the custom was reserved for formal feasts and banquets. A divide was being established whereby the traditional manorial customs of commensality, once the norm for all meals in the country, were now used in London as scenery during ceremonial feasts such as guild or Court feasts to evoke a sense of formality and pageantry aimed at enhancing the festivities and creating an environment for the creation of relationships.[25] With pageantry more likely the preserve of banquets and Court, everyday dining in London was becoming a more intimate and informal event enjoyed with peers away from the hall in smaller, lavishly decorated chambers. William Petre's London house had no fewer than three 'Great Chambers', the Great Chamber over the Parlor, the Finer Great Chamber over the Great Parlor and the Great Chamber over the Hall.[26] A choice of smaller, more intimate dining chambers, which could be furnished and decorated in different ways and to different levels of opulence could then be chosen to suit the occasion and the status of the guests, and this architectural arrangement was now more important than the single vast, and relatively austere, spaces of a communal hall.

The wider community was not abandoned by the lord because of these London social customs but an obligation to provide daily sustenance for those living within the parish bounds was not fundamental to the London way of life as was the obligation to the wider household in the country. Rather than provide for the community of St Bartholomew's through his domestic hospitality Rich did so through

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[24] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, p. 153.
[25] G. Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England' *The Journal of British Studies,* vol. 33 No. 4, Vill, Guild, and Gentry: Forces of Community in Later Medieval England (Oct., 1994), pp. 430-446,
[26] ERO, D/DP/F205, Inventory of London House in Aldersgate Strett, 1571.

the donation of a parish church created from the choir of the monastic church of the Priory. It was this area of the church that Prior Bolton's oriel window had overlooked. Rich took over this viewing place and used it for a similar function, that of observation of proceedings, but in a paternalistic rather than authoritative capacity. This new parish church begun in about 1542 replaced the smaller parish church occupying the north transept of the monastic church which was subsequently demolished. Rich was concerned with providing for a local community that was outside the scope of his household and that did not involve him with the obligation for open house hospitality. Acts of generosity remained important in creating and maintaining the desirable image but they took on a different form in London where society was disconnected from the land.

Apart from dining, there would have been a need for other leisure activities at the London house that were suitable for the smaller, more intimate groups of peers and colleagues that formed the more regular social circle. Hunting was the high status sport of the landed estate and whilst coursing did take place in the royal parks[27] the lack of land associated with the London house necessitated other forms of entertainments and sports. The royal and episcopal palaces had long catered for competitive recreational sports such as bowling and tennis. King Henry VII had installed private sporting facilities at the royal court in 1492; Henry VIII had equipped Whitehall Palace with four indoor tennis courts within a leisure complex which included a bowling alley; Cardinal Wolsey had built indoor tennis and bowling facilities at Hampton Court by 1526 [28] and at Winchester Inn in Southwark the bishops had indoor tennis facilities by 1500 (Fig 29).[29] The Guilds also built facilities for their members; the Clothworker's Guild had tennis courts in Fenchurch Street in 1535, and the Pewterers' Company, Merchant Taylors' and Carpenters' all had bowling alleys in the sixteenth century.[30] Whilst bowling alleys are not uncommon in the London and country homes of the nobility and gentry, tennis courts are much more exceptional. In London, evidence that Essex House had a tennis court can be found in a record of monies won at play there in 1592.[31] These courts may have been built by the Bishop of Exeter and therefore have their origins in episcopal rather than lay ownership. However, a lay owner example can be found at Cecil House in

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[27] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary,* p. 222.
[28] R.J. Shephard, *An Illustrated History of Health and Fitness from Pre-history to our Post Modern World* (University of Toronto, Canada: Springer, 2015), p. 324.
[29] M. Carlin 'The Reconstruction of Winchester House, Southwark' *London Topographical Record,* vol. 25, 1985, p.36.
[30] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* p.91.
[31] C.L. Kingford, 'Essex House, Formerly Leicester House and Exeter Inn' *Archaeologica,* vol. 20, (1923), p. 20.

the Strand, built in 1562-7 by Sir William Cecil. The floor plan of the house evidences a leisure complex of tennis courts and bowling alley, portrayed in the finest detail (Fig. 30). Whilst the monarchs built tennis courts in the country,[32] evidence that lay owners constructed tennis facilities at their landed estates is lacking. William Cecil was not only a great patron of architecture but he was innovative in his building projects. At the same time as he was developing the Strand house with its leisure complex he was completing Burghley House in Northamptonshire and had started work on the extensive building project at Theobalds in Cheshunt. Theobalds was probably one of the most extravagant and influential country house of the sixteenth century.[33] Why then would Cecil incorporate tennis courts as part of his London house but not at either of his landed estates; Burghley House and the deliberately magnificent Theobalds that was designed with elaborate devices to entertain the monarch? It would seem that certain sports were more readily associated with urban society and this may be due to their commercialisation in the metropolitan environment. Parliamentary measures enacted in 1515 and reinforced in 1535, 1541 and 1547 were intended to curb these undesirable gambling practices within the lower classes and to ensure that young men from the poorer, working classes, focused instead on archery and hence could be of use to their country in battle. The measures prohibited, the 'common sort' from partaking in unlawful games outside Christmas and restricted the enjoyment of these games by the better sort to licensed houses thereby creating differentiation between the classes.[34]

The addition of sports facilities to the London house, and in particular the availability of tennis courts and bowling alleys, had multiple benefits. These facilities provided entertainment in a contained space and the opportunity for social bonding, and in so doing made a statement that the owner was from a class that was not prohibited from such entertainments. Sports complexes were another means to demonstrate status in the metropolitan environment and create differentiation in a crowded, mix status environment.

The Petres' Ingatestone and Aldersgate account books shed light on the difference in the nature of expenditure between the country and London and hence provide an

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[32] For example at Windsor tennis courts were built in 1576, Colvin, *History of the King's Works, vol. III, p. 326.*

[33] See J. Summerson, 'The Building of Theobalds, 1564-1585' *Archaeologia* vol. 97 (1959), pp. 107-26 and J.M. Sutton, *Materializing Space at an Early Modern Prodigy House, The Cecils at Theobalds*, 1564-1607' (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[34] A. Schattner, ''For the Recreation of Gentlemen and other Fit Persons of the Better Sort'; Tennis Courts and Bowling Greens as Early Leisure Venues in Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century London and Bath' *Sport in History,* vol. 34, No. 2, 2014, pp.198-222.

insight into the way of life experienced at both locations. As Emmison points out, the needs of Ingatestone Hall were generally for services for the maintenance of the house and activities on the estate. The craftsmen employed for these services made their implements from materials that were largely resourced from the estate.[35] Basic goods were bought from the fair or local shops but the costliest items and high end luxury goods were bought in London, the prime city of commercial importance where imported goods were readily available. William Cecil, Lord Burghley noted that "[…] I buy in London my bread, my drink, my achates, my fewel. And in the country I buy my grain, my beef, my mutton, and all achates: and for my stable, I buy my hay for the greatest part; my oats, my straw totally"[36] From London came the salt and spices, dried foods, fabrics, writing paper, books, jewels and plate and there is evidence that Petre's steward in London made payments for musical instruments and accessories. It was from London that the novel and quality items were purchased that were necessary to uphold the family's status in the social order. The ostentatious spending in London created a need for storage and the London house provided this, ready for onward shipment to the country house.[37] The nobleman's need to attain or maintain his status was, in part, achieved through the acquisition of copious amounts of possessions. The socially mobile, with their new wealth, avariciously collected around them the opulent and luxuriant goods imported into London.

Evidence that the London lifestyle included ostentatious spending and that London dwellings were used to store the merchandise is also found in the inventory of Paget Place 1552 where William Paget, first Lord Paget, who in 1543 held one of the two positions of Secretary of State,[38] used his London house to store commodities in the 'garderobe' there.[39] Here we find a list of items stored including pillows, blankets and printed cloths. Confirmation that this practice continued throughout the period is found in later inventories. A 1571 inventory of Sir William Petre's Aldersgate Street house records that the Wardrobe had two 'presse with two locks and one kye', one that contained needlework and carpet cushions and another full of richly worked materials, clothes, plate and luxury goods.[40] The London environment, with its ready access to an abundance of goods, affected the lifestyle led, encouraging a self-

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[35] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary,* p. 157.

[36] Strype, *Annals,* vol. 3, part 2, p. 383.

[37] Emmison, *Tudor Secretary,* p. 159 & 210.

[38] ODNB, H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison eds., vol. 42 pp. 376-81.

[39] LMA, ACC/0446/H1 An inventory of all maner of stuf remaining in Paget Place at London the yyth of February 1552.

[40] ERO, D/DP/F205.

indulgence culture that the London house had to accommodate in the form of storage for the plethora of opulent items obtained.

These London houses were not just used by the men who attended Court; their families frequently accompanied them and enjoyed the London lifestyle. The names of the rooms as recorded in the inventory give evidence that Lady Petre and the children and servants spent time here in London. Next to the nursery is 'The Chambre wheare the Gentylwomen dyd lye' and Sir William's only surviving son John had a room of his own next to the schoolhouse 'The Chamber wheare Mr John Petre dyd lye over the Cooks garden'. Apart from the extensive number of great chambers, there were a host of chambers for specific functions, for example, the bakehouse and wet and dry larders; and chambers for the staff, the horsekeeper, porter, the steward Kymes and general servants. [41] In the mid to late sixteenth century these London houses were substantial properties but they were not centred on an agrarian lifestyle.

The purpose of periodically living in London was twofold, to conduct or further one's career and to enjoy the social and fashionable aspects of city life that reflected one's social status. Both these reasons necessitated a public approach to living that was conducted outside the immediate household, in other words, a need to be seen. This public approach to lifestyle differed from the public responsibilities of the landed estate where obligation to the larger household and charitable conduct to the wider community was ingrained in the nobility's life of duty. Instead, the reduced household in London permitted a public lifestyle that was remote from obligation to the wider, inferior, community and was more focused on the display of the individual which could be achieved through social interaction and personal competition between peers. The location of one's residence was therefore of extreme importance to facilitate the desired social interaction. Before embarking on the building project in the Strand, Sir William Cecil and his family lived for long periods at his house in suburban Wimbledon, a location from which he could readily travel by boat to Court, and at Canon Row in Westminster. In 1555 he is recorded playing cards and visiting the Earl and Countess of Bedford at their house on the Strand; in 1556 he is engaged in archery with his son. In 1557 both William and Mildred deliberately kept good company and actively enjoyed the society of acquaintances of equal standing and those in powerful positions; their travels are recorded through the very many boat trips to places such as Greenwich, Kew, Whitefriars, Blackfriares Bedford House and

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[41] Ibid.

Lambeth.[42] Without the buffer of land one's social equals were living in a much closer proximity and therefore social contact with them was more readily accessible.

This need to be seen in society may explain why in 1576 Sir Christopher Hatton, gentlemen of the privy chamber, captain of the guard and one of Queen Elizabeth's favoured courtiers was content to lease from Bishop Cox the whole of the south facing area of Ely Place, London. This lease provided the courtier with an impressive, outward facing abode and the portion of the property closest to the street and behind the street frontage[43] (Fig 31). However, we have come to understand from manorial social and architectural practices that privacy and spaces furthest from the main access routes denoted privilege and afforded a higher status for the occupant. At Ely Place it was Hatton who was closest to the public spaces and Bishop Cox who was remote. In Chapter Seven this conventional anomaly is deemed acceptable and is explained and justified as "Hatton was to be seen, Bishop Cox was not". Why would it be different in London? Why would this arrangement not be understood to privilege the Bishop instead of Hatton? The answer must surely be further confirmation of the differing social environment and attitudes in London. In the metropolitan environment there was a need to be seen, to be included in the appropriate social group and to promote self-image through display to gain the social advancement so prized. Obscurity did not offer the arena for public display, and therefore in London the architectural spaces that were the most public were the most desirable; a complete reversal of the manorial architectural hierarchy.

Creation of a personal image was just as important in London as it was in the country but there was a particular aspect of that image, and the mechanisms that were employed to enhance it, that were peculiar to life in the city. Family lineage and gentility was claimed through the landed estate, but possession of the finest clothes, show of the latest wares, conduct of civil manners, and the display of progressive architectural motifs and the status to build and enjoy sporting facilities were all mechanisms that could be employed in London to claim status and differentiate oneself from the common sort. Large sums of money were spent on dress and luxury goods. It was the means by which the image was created and maintained that had to alter in London because the manorial tradition had no basis in the metropolitan social

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[42] Alford, *Burghley,* pp. 74-79.
[43] Cambridge University, MS, CC95550.

environment. The availability of quality and luxury goods supported this new mode of differentiation and replaced the old established agrarian model.[44]

How then did the move away from a society based on the household community towards a society based on the display of the individual express itself architecturally? We have seen how in the first half of the sixteenth century the London architectural arrangements attempted to re-create the established country structure but could not, in every case, utilise the language of high and low status in one coherent form. We have also come to understand that the need for this one coherent form was diminished in London and that the use that London properties were put to differed from that seen in the country. The combination of these changes over the course of the period led the architectural form in London to be used as one more tool in the creation of the personal image. If London society was primarily interested in promoting the self-image through external, public, display and social contacts then a cohesive manorial architectural plan was probably not necessary; individual architectural ornamentation and motifs would possibly be sufficient and these motifs would have been more easily incorporated into older architectural forms that were inherited from the spiritual communities.

The contemporary topographer John Norden who set out to record a narrative of the houses that lined the city streets chose the term 'curiouslye beautified' to describe William Cecil's house in the Strand. The term curious, to describe architecture in the sixteenth century denoted that the structure was artfully wrought; it was made with care and was elaborate, exquisite and skilfully decorative. Cecil's Strand house was evidently architecturally ornate and made use of decorative motifs.[45]

If the London town house was more about the possession and display of a specific attribute or object than the adoption of a complete architectural principle, this fact might well explain the lack of eulogistic correspondence complimenting the owner on the magnificence of his London house. Tributes to country architectural space usually praise the stateliness, magnificence or grandeur of the arrangements and their suitability for persons of high status. The long gallery at Sir William Petre's Ingatestone Hall was described by his surveyor as 'wholly one fayr and a stately

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[44] On aristocratic consumption in London see Caroline M. Barron 'Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Town House in London 1200-1500' *London Journal* vol. 20, No. 1, 1995, pp. 1-16.
[45] BL, Harleian, MS. 570 , I, fol.39r and quoted in J. Husselby and P. Henderson, 'Location, Location, Location', p. 172.

gallery or walke mete for any man of honor to come into […]'[46], and Burghley wrote to Hatton in admiration of Holdenby in Northamptonshire "I found no one thing of greater grace than your stately ascent from your hall to your great chamber".[47] This type of congratulatory language during the sixteenth century appears to be reserved for country house architecture and similar correspondence between the nobility in admiration of the splendour of the architectural arrangements of their London town house is noticeably lacking. With the exception of the coloured floor plan of Cecil House in the Strand (Fig. 30) we are also deficient in sixteenth-century visual records of London house spatial planning and must rely instead on inventories and surveys in order to re-create their layout.[48] We have seen that during this period London town houses were mostly created from conversions and amalgamations and shared space and renting space was common. The elite who lived in these unconventional spaces could not have expected a cohesive architectural plan or a façade to inspire awe; their country house was where they displayed their architectural magnificence. A question that can be asked, based on the current absence of records, is could the scarcity of sixteenth-century correspondence in praise of London architectural space and the similar lack of London house floor plans generated during this time be indicative of the attitude towards spatial planning in the city during this period?[49]

5.1 Conclusion

The London lifestyle for the aspirational elite was free from the obligations associated with land ownership and revolved around the development of political relationships with colleagues who were social equals. Manorial behavioural conventions and the architectural form that upheld them had little meaning within these households that were focused on service to the crown and personal political advancement, thus manorial commensality had little relevance in the London lifestyle.

Without the obligations of manorial commensality, the ceremonial procession of food from kitchen to hall or parlour beyond no longer carried meaning. In London, ceremonial dining was the preserve of Court or banqueting. The strict observation of high and low architectural space in association with the hall to ensure separation of

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[46] *Introduction to Ingatestone Hall.* Essex Record Office Publications, No. 20 (1953), pp. 6-7 and quoted in R. Coope 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration' in *Architectural History*, vol. 29 (1986), p 59.
[47] E.S. Hartshorne, *Memorials of Holdenby* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1868), p. 15.
[48] A plan of William Cecil's house in the Strand, London believed to date from c. 1562-67 is a rare visual record of a sixteenth-century London house. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Burghley Estates, M358.
[49] I would like to thank Dr Vanessa Harding for drawing my attention to this fact.

the classes no longer had purpose. The architectural language of the landed estate, having lost its function in supporting differentiation between mixed social classes, could nevertheless be maintained as a symbol of the patron's wealth, prestige and authority. These architectural symbols, having been displaced from the symbiotic relationship of the architectural plan and behavioural conventions, provided the link between the progressive London lifestyle and the all important landed estate and family lineage. Differentiation could now be understood and upheld through inclusion or exclusion of certain social groups and their associated pastimes, positions attained in service to the crown and the acquisition of opulent possessions.

Would this change of culture in the metropolitan environment have any effect on country society which remained firmly rooted in an agrarian way of life? Would the freedom from obligation to the wider community that was enjoyed in London and hence the developments in the architectural space in support of a different lifestyle, have any impact on the manorial architectural arrangements?

Chapter Six

The Impact of the London Lifestyle and Architectural Innovation in the Country 1560 -1590

6.1   The Impact of London Lifestyle on Country Life 1560-1570

The lifestyle led in the English countryside during this period remained based on an agrarian society of regional villages, each with their own local identity founded on the production and maintenance of crops and grazing land. The ownership of land under cultivation continued to obligate the head of the household to those who were inferior and who toiled on it, a situation that did not exist in London. In the capital, feasting, whether held at the Guild halls or the London homes of the elite, was used to honour or usurp one's social equals; there was little hospitality provided for one's social inferiors. In London, the accompanying personal servants of invited visitors were provided with accommodation and masters dined out with their own personal servants. But the general offering of open hospitality to the wider lower classes was reserved for country landed estates. This was largely due to the fact that the lower classes who worked the land did not travel to London with their masters. The approach to hospitality and social relationships in London changed because the social structure had changed in the metropolitan environment. In the absence of the wider community that formed part of the overall household, masters were at liberty to transfer their focus from the community as a whole to their own personal success.

In London the practice of dining with an elite group of social equals was found preferable to the ceremonial communal dining and this practice gradually found its way into country customs. Invited guests would be hosted in social groups whilst the household were excluded, being catered for as a separate assembly. As household commensality diminished, recreation and entertainments for the invited elite increased. In addition, the movement of the head of the household between countryside and the city, and the growing London population in need of produce from the countryside, opened these provincial communities to connections with London through improved transport and trade routes. Through these channels the lifestyle in the city, free from obligation to one's social inferiors, had a measured but profound corresponding impact on country life. The gradual erosion of the social relationships that land ownership prompted and the attrition of the concept of commensality was the outcome. The culture of inclusiveness found in country customs whereby the

poorer sort were not only taken care of by the land owning classes but included within the wider household, was giving way to condescension. This developing attitude of the wealthy individual fostered the desire for separation between them and those who served them. These wealthy individuals were regarded as self-centred; caring more for their personal image and social progress and seeking the society of those who could further their ambitions at the cost of the 'commonwealth'.

Contemporary texts inform us of the scale of the demise of an inclusive society. Barnabe Riche, in his farewell to a military profession published in 1581 mourned the change in social values that placed worth on men for their wealth and not their morals and the consequential loss of open hospitality.

> Such is the miserable condition of this our present time; this is the course of the world, but especially here in England, where there is no man thought to be wise but he that is wealthy, where no man is thought to speak a truth but such as can lie, flatter and dissemble, where there is no advice allowed for good but such as tendeth more for gain than for glory. […]
>
> […] How prodigal for a pound to be spent upon vanities and idle devices? What small recompence to soldiers that fight with foes for the country's quiet? How liberal to lawyers that set friends at defiance and disquiet a whole commonwealth? What fawning upon him whom fortune doth advance? What frowning upon him whom she hath brought low? What little care of the poor and such as be in want? What feasting of the rich, and such as be wealthy? What sumptuous houses built by men of mean estate? What little hospitality kept from high and low degree?[1]

Those sumptuous houses built to honour and glorify their owners were here considered to have been built by men of 'mean estate' because their doors were not open to all and the traditional obligations to those that served on the estate and to the poor were no longer upheld. The majority of the wealthy had abandoned their duties in pursuit of self gain. Commensality was no longer practised within the architectural form that was originally designed to cater for it.

The seventeenth-century poets, evoking the lost culture of a century earlier, made a similar point to Riche but they specifically blamed the architecture for this loss. These poems reminisce about the architecture which accommodated the customs of the great landed estates and romanticise their form by linking the history and fabric of the building with the agrarian way of life and the ancient moral code of the nobility. In one of the earliest country house poems, 'To Penshurst', written by Ben Jonson circa 1612, Jonson compares the older architectural appearance of Penshurst, 'an ancient

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[1] D. Beecher, 'Barnabe Riche, His Farewell to a Military Profession' *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies,* vol. 91 (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1992), p. 131.

pile' to the newer houses which he claims were 'built to envious show'.[2] Their symmetry, classical decoration and abundance of glass were perceived as being frivolous and removed from the natural order of society. The poem makes clear that the hospitality historically associated with the country estate was in the form of open house to all comers; all social classes were to be included within one social space.

> Thou art not, Penshurst, built to envious show,
> Of touch, or marble; nor canst boast a row
> Of polish'd pillars, or a roof of gold:
> Thou hast no lantern wherof tales are told;
> Or stair, or courts; but stand'st an ancient pile, […]
>
> […] whose liberal board doth flow
> With all that hospitality doth know;
> Where comes no guest, but is allow'd to eat,
> Without his fear, and of they lord's own meat:
> Where the same beer and bread, and selfsame wine,
> This is his lordship's, shall be also mine. […]
>
> […] Nor, when I take my lodging, need I pray
> For fire, or lights, or livery; all is there,
> As if thou then wert mine, or I reign'd here: […][3]

Jonson repeatedly stresses the house's permanence through its lineage and history; the tall tree 'which of a nut was set', its bark cut with names from its past and the copses named after those who had lived there. In this poem Jonson eulogises about the traditional customs that are inextricably interwoven with the older architectural form and agrarian lifestyle and he laments the passing of the old traditional way of life of which hospitality and charity were at its core.

> […] The lower land, that to the river bends,
> Thy sheep, thy bullocks, kine, and calves do feed;
> The middle grounds thy mares and horses breed. […]
> [..] And though thy walls be of the country stone,
> They're rear'd with no man's ruin, no man's groan;
> There's non that dwell about them, wish them down;
> But all come in, the farmer and the clown, […]

Jonson ends his poem by emphasising that the new houses built for glorification are but empty shells when devoid of the customs that satisfy the function of the landed estate within the community.

> [..] Now, Penshurst, they that will proportion thee
> With other edifices, when they see
> Those proud, ambitious heaps, and nothing else,

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[2] B. Johnson, *The Works of Ben Jonson,* pp. 801-802.
[3] Ibid.

May say, their lords have built, but thy lord dwells."[4]

Similarly, Thomas Carew in '*to my friend G.N. from Wrest*' written circa 1639, implies that the architectural decoration of the new houses is at odds with the custom of hospitality.

> […] This mansion with an usefull comelinesse,
> Devoide of Art, for here the Architect
> Did not with curious skill a Pile erect
> Of carved Marble, Touch, or Porpherie,
> But built a house for hospitalitie[…][5]

Carew and Jonson shared the view that the houses built after the continental manner with marble and touch decoration were at odds with traditional building and they associated the desire for these materials with the decline in the moral duties of the land owner and the social purpose of hospitality. In praise of houses like Penshurst and Wrest the poets emphasised the many time-honoured manorial customs. These customs were interwoven in the routine and husbandry of the communal household; the household that was at the very centre of the lives of the families that worked on its land and the customs that were understood to be central to the health of English society. The country house was at the centre of a self-contained, insular community; the London house was at the centre of the proprietor's self fashioned, self-promoting lifestyle.

It is significant that the poets, commenting on the loss of the time-honoured feudal customs of hospitality and household husbandry, laid the blame on the newer continental forms of architecture where symmetry and uniform opulent decoration were not intended to uphold English traditional customs, but instead were designed to honour and glorify the owner. In their opinion architecture which upheld traditional behavioural customs was natural and its passing was lamented. In the poets' eyes architecture itself was much to blame, for the new fashion for symmetry and uniformity could not convey the message of differentiation that was necessary when men from all social classes shared one physical location. If symmetry was the new goal, men of lesser consequence would have to be accommodated in a separate space.

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[4] For a full analysis of the country house poems see G. R. Hibbard 'The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century' in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* vol. 19 no. 1/2, (Jan – June., 1956) pp. 159-174 and W. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1977).

[5] T. Carew, *The Works of Thomas Carew, Sever in Ordinary to Charles the First,* Reprinted from the original edition of 1640 (Edinburgh: Printed for W. and C. Tait, 1824), pp. 106-110.

It is hard to accept that architecture itself compelled landowners to abandon the long established behavioural customs of the past. It would seem more plausible if it were the contrary; that elaborate architecture was the result of a society more focused on the self and the deliberate display of excess, in order to elevate and differentiate social position and excite envy in others. Just as manorial behaviour patterns had placed a demand on architectural arrangements so too did the newly constructed attitudes to the London lifestyle. The desire for pretentious display readily satisfied by the availability of luxury material goods, coupled with the release from traditional obligations and freedom to enjoy the exclusivity of an elite society whilst in London, affected the lifestyle that the elite chose on their return to their landed estates. The architecture selected to reinforce that lifestyle was therefore also affected. To this argument we must also introduce the importance of stylistic fashion which in its own way contributed to the self image of those who could afford to pursue it. It was to the country house that the luxury goods that were imported and purchased in London were taken. Here they could be displayed to great extent; a visual manifestation of their owner's self-image, their success and power. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, not only imported commodities such as leather and velvet chairs, but he also imported architectural objects such as marble pillars and a complete classical stone gallery.[6]

The use of these classical architectural structures in England came to symbolise the rejection of the traditional lifestyle in an attempt to claim a more progressive, educated identity that had been cultivated in the urban environment. During the sixteenth century architecture itself had become an academic discipline and a field of study, not only fitting for the noble classes to pursue, but also used by them to claim their status as gentlemen.[7] It was therefore a combination of the changes in social attitudes, the rise of the interest in architecture as a noble pursuit and the lure and availability of imported architectural fashions that hastened the demise of the traditional customs once associated with the country lifestyle and the landed estate, and thus the fragmentation of their associated architectural arrangements. And the poets grieved their passing.

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[6] J. Husselby 'The Politics of Pleasure: William Cecil and Burghley House' in P. Croft, ed. *Patronage Culture and Power, The Early Cecils 1558-1612* (New Haven, London: Published for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, The Yale Centre for British Art ; Yale University Press, 2002), p.27.
[7] Christy Anderson, 'Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance' Lucy Gent ed., *Albion's Classicism, The Visual Arts in Britain 1550-1660* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995), p.241.

6.2   Architectural Innovation in the Country 1570 – 1590

If the earlier culture of commensality fostered an architecture based on shared but delineated space in order to further the concept of service to the community, then it would be expected that a change in that culture, towards a more civil society, would be reflected in a change in architectural space, one based on satisfying the needs of the individual. Although London played a significant role in changing attitudes to the behavioural conventions of the past, the changes in society during the course of the sixteenth century cannot be causally linked to the growing taste for the London lifestyle alone. There was a new and significant influence on both conventions and architectural planning that exacerbated the effects of the London lifestyle, Queen Elizabeth I. The Queen was not renowned for her patronage of architecture which was aimed at increasing the magnificence of royal palaces. In place of building palaces herself she did, however, encourage her courtiers to build in an extravagant and opulent style, in the belief that their houses must reflect the honours she bestowed on them, and hence their status. In addition, the Queen desired the appropriate accommodation for herself and her train during her progresses through England. Ceremony and pageantry was being dispersed from Court into the homes of the courtiers. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was frequently visited by the Queen and endured the resulting pressure to extend and elaborate his houses.

> […] I mean by my house at Theobalds: which was begun by me with a mean mesure, but encrease by occasion of her majestys often coming: whom to please I never would omit to train my self to more charges than building is. And yet not without some special direction of her majesty upon fault found with the small mesure of her chamber, which was in good mesure for me, I was forced to enlarge a room for a larger chamber: which need not be envied of any for riches in it, more than the shew of old oaks, and such trees with painted leaves and fruit […] [8]

The importance of creating an impression of magnificence can be further illustrated by reference to a letter from Burghley to Sir Christopher Hatton dated 1579 after Lord Burghley had visited Holdenby before its completion.

> […] But approaching to the house, being led by a large, long, straight fairway, I found agreat magnificence in the front or front pieces of the house, and so every part answerable to other, to allure liking. I found no one thing of greater grace than your stately ascent from your hall to your great chamber; and your chamber answerable with largeness and lightsomeness, that truly a Momus could find no fault. I visited all your rooms, high and low, and only the contentation of mine eyes made me forget the infirmity of my legs […][9]

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[8] J Strype, *Annals,* 3 part 2, p. 381.
[9] E. Hartshorne, *Memorials of Holdenby*, p. 15.

Lord Burghley deliberately chose words that described the house in a manner that would flatter its owner, and those words without exception are intended to portray the house as grand, majestic, noble and even regal. It is important to note that by commenting on the fact that '[…] and so every part answerable to other, to allure liking […]' Burghley was using classicism as an index of magnificence. Hatton was no doubt satisfied with the impression that Holdenby had created for he built the house with the intent of attracting the Queen and to have Holdenby included in the rich list of houses that she visited on her progresses.

And so, to the existing developments caused by the combination of a London society voracious for extravagant display and the improvement of communication links between London and the provisional towns, we now must add a Queen demanding the building of ever greater houses in which to accommodate her and publicise her benevolence. The attitude and policies of Queen Elizabeth had become the catalyst which fuelled and hastened architectural innovation in the country. The gradual erosion of the functionality of the traditional architectural plan had been underway for decades yet the basic principles of it had persisted in the rural environment. Would this ancient architectural language finally be destroyed as a result of these social changes and what form of spatial planning would take its place? We must look to the Elizabethan 'prodigy houses' for it would be in these innovative grand country houses where we would be most likely to find the answer.[10]

Sir Christopher Hatton purchased Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire, now in partial ruins, in 1575 on the death of Sir Humphrey Stafford who had started the house in 1570. By the time of Hatton's purchase the courtyard at Kirby Hall was already built to Stafford's requirements and although it was a substantial house Hatton undertook to enlarge the property by the addition of a highly ostentatious state apartment block in the form of a double bay fronted wing over four storeys (Fig. 32). In addition to Kirby Hatton was in the process of building a new house of palace-like proportions at Holdenby, also in Northamptonshire and approximately 25 miles south of Kirby, which he began in 1571 (Fig. 33). The elevations of Holdenby are no longer extant and what we know of them is from an illustration made of the ruins of the house (Fig. 34). Sir William Cecil also owned a substantial house in Northamptonshire, now

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[10] The term 'prodigy house' was adopted by Summerson to distinguish between country houses of the gentry and those monumental country houses built or modified to accommodate Queen Elizabeth I. Sir John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, 9th ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1953 reprinted, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 63.

modern day Lincolnshire, Burghley House, and like his contemporaries he too began to substantially enlarge it in the 1570s (Fig. 35).

On examination of the spatial arrangements of Kirby Hall, Holdenby and Burghley House we find that the hall remained in its traditional position and orientation; furthermore, it still performed the role of differentiating between the upper and lower house. The screens passage remained at the lower end of the hall and separated the hall from the domestic chambers. The upper house was well defined at the distal end of the hall with the great staircase rising to the important first floor chambers. The range housing the guest accommodation was located where we would expect, adjacent to the services. All three properties appear to have retained the old manorial architectural arrangements that support traditional customs despite the fact that those customs had changed. We learn again from Barnabe Riche, a soldier and military critic, and distant relative of Lord Rich, that his master Sir Christopher Hatton maintained hospitality at Holdenby.

> 'And such worthy port and daily hospitality are kept that, although the owner himself useth not to come there once in two years, yet I dare undertake there is daily provision to be found convenient to entertain any nobleman with his whole train that should hap to call in of a sudden. And how many gentlemen and strangers that come but to see the house are there daily welcomed, feasted, and well lodged. From whence should he come, be he rich, be he poor, that should not there be entertained if it please him to call in. To be shor, Holdenby giveth daily relief to such as be in want for the space of six of seven miles' compass'[11]

Does this evidence suggest that there was no significant impact from the changes in society in part driven by the London lifestyle, and that the pressure to provide accommodation for the Queen and her train merely required the building of further, larger and more elaborate chambers in more prominent positions? On the contrary, whilst this evidence informs us of the immense importance of certain key elements of the manorial language of architecture in the sixteenth century, in returning to the plans of Kirby Hall, Holdenby and Burghley House there are other features that need examination which demonstrate the changes that were taking place to that traditional architectural language.

All three houses exhibited common attributes which are explored in greater detail in the sub-sections below. These common attributes co-exist with the traditional manorial arrangements and alter the manorial language. In summary, all three houses were adorned with flamboyant and elaborate classical architectural

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[11] Beecher, Barnabe Riche, p. 131.

decoration and all three houses were visually symmetrical. Their elevations included large windows of many lights which did not communicate the status of rooms that lay behind, that is, the upper and lower parts of the house could not be read from the exterior. All three houses had a strong link to the gardens and the wider countryside. At both Kirby Hall and Holdenby the façade associated with the upper house is more obviously outward facing and the façade associated with the lower house predominately inward facing. All three of these houses made provision for the isolation, rather than segregation, of household staff; and all three houses suggest that the architectural plan catered for gendered identities. Although the form of the hall signified its traditional manorial role and dictated upper and lower ends in these houses, the association between hall and private dining chambers had been disrupted signalling a change in its function. Furthermore, this disruption permitted the hall to be relegated to a more distanced location whilst other principal chambers were fore-grounded. The fore-grounding of principal chambers was another urban behavioural pattern that had been transferred to the country house, demonstrating the importance of public display and the diminishing role that the hall played in it. All these features were innovative and not seen on this scale in the architectural arrangements of the landed estate earlier in the century.

6.2.1   Classical motifs and symmetrical form that did not convey the architectural plan from the exterior of the house

The adoption of classical architectural forms and visual symmetry in sixteenth-century England is not the subject of this thesis. However, it must be recognised that classical forms, as distinct from classical architectural principles, were applied to buildings from as early as the 1540s. Sir William Sharington included a well carved ionic column in his new stable court at Lacock Abbey between 1540 and 1549, (Fig. 7). It may possibly have been the beginning of a classical architectural feature such as an arcade that was planned but not completed, but in its current form it appears divorced from any structural purpose. Nevertheless, it is a decorative motif that makes a statement that its owner was educated and an early adopter of the latest styles from continental Europe.[12] Although England had split from the Catholic see of Rome and hence had become remote from the direct influence of the Renaissance architectural movement, the classical architectural language was permeating throughout continental Europe and therefore through their travels and employment of

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[12] Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House,* p. 188

foreign masons, was visible to the English elite. More importantly, the Italian-born writer and theorist on architecture, Sebastiano Serlio, had published his treatise 'On the Five Styles of Buildings' in 1537, where in Book IV he established the rules of the Orders. The first architectural book to include lavish illustrations it was significant because it was written in Italian rather than Latin and hence it had been intended to be consulted by a wider, less exclusive readership. Serlio had left Italy to take up a post at the French court of Francois I; a position from where his theories had been more accessible to the English elite. Within five years of publication in Italian this treatise was available in French and consequently these classical images became highly influential in England.[13] By 1563 John Shute, a servant to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, had returned from his study of ancient architecture in Italy and he had published the first English language treatise on classical architecture in England, *The first and Chief Groundes of Architecture.* His patron, the Duke of Northumberland, was an associate of William Cecil and Christopher Hatton, and so whilst we can be convinced of the influence of Serlio on English architecture we can also be confident that through personal association Shute's publication was a source of the Italian forms used in the magnificent houses built by Hatton and Cecil.[14] Furthermore, Shute's illustrations on the title page of his treatise were copied for the panels on either side of the entrance of Kirby Hall (Fig. 36 & Fig. 37).[15]

With the transfer of a great deal of monastic and episcopal properties to the laity earlier in the century providing adequate scope for conversion, there had been a paucity of new house building which no doubt contributed to the slow and inconsistent adoption of classicism in England.[16] Later in the century antique ornamentation could be chosen to convey extravagant luxury for the ambitious courtier to utilise in his quest for glorification. During the mid to late century classical ornament was more frequently chosen to adorn the country house, often in combination with more traditional architectural styles and planning concepts. Columns, pillars, colonnades, porticos, pediments and loggias displaced the pure manorial language of architecture, but rarely replaced it. The adoption of these antique forms in isolation from the whole principle of the Renaissance architectural quest for Roman proportion and geometry, of which they formed a part, became a

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[13] On Sebastiano Serlio see V. Hart and P. Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture* (New Haven, London and Yale University Press; vol. 1, 1996 and vol. 2, 2001).
[14] ODNB, G. Beasley, 'Shute, John (d. 1563)', (Oxford University Press, 2004). <http://www.oxforddnb.com.oxfordbrookes.idm.oclc.org/view/article/25483>, [accessed 11 Jan 2016] and J. Shute, *First and Chiefe Groundes of Architecture* (London: 'Country Life' Ltd., 1912).
[15] Anderson*, Albion's Classism,* p. 241.
[16] M. Howard, 'Classicism and Civic Architecture in Renaissance England' *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, L. Gent ed. (Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1995), p. 29.

particular style of English decoration during this period. Here classical motifs and forms were more frequently used in combination with other styles of ornamentation such as strapwork and decorative gabling in a manner peculiar to the Elizabethan taste for the curious device and the metaphor.[17] This catalogue of styles could be utilised to provide architectural solutions either to resolve pre-existing older forms or to aid in the fusion of continental motifs and English manorial forms at new sites; vestiges of manorial form being valued and retained right through the century. It is significant, however, that classical motifs or forms were rarely excluded completely during new, extension or re-building activities during the later sixteenth century; their fashionable use as a visual declaration of the patrons' nobility, education and sophistication being too great to eschew.

We have already come to understand that in London the need for rigidly adhering to the architectural segregation of upper and lower house was no longer paramount due to the more frequent practice of dining with social equals. Prior Bolton and subsequently Lord Rich accepted the loss of the principles through which architectural features could communicate high and low status spaces. The positioning of decorative emblems once used to identify a privileged space within the household, such as an oriel window, was now less important in a smaller household of more personal staff and invited social equals where placement according to status was no longer a requirement. Of greater importance was the possession of luxury goods, display of magnificent architectural decoration, and the introduction of the curious device with which to tease and amuse. With these new cultural sentiments, it was the country house, free from topographical spatial restrictions, which could once again be the location where new innovative architectural forms could be created and classical motifs could replace the manorial language of architecture. It is the exterior of the country house where this innovation was most strikingly applied.

The men who had subordinated the hall and distanced themselves from mixed status shared social space acknowledged that decorative demarcation of status was superfluous in one architectural space and discarded the external communication of upper and lower household. These elevations, freed from the responsibility of identifying the status of the rooms within, were constructed to create a symmetrical impression with reference to the novel classical forms illustrated in Serlio's

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[17] A.T. Friedman, 'Did England have a Renaissance?' Classical and Anticlassical Themes in Elizabethan Culture', in S.J. Barnes and W.S. Melon, eds., *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1989), pp. 95-110.

Architectura and Shute's *The first and Chief Groundes of Architecture.* The coveted statement of monumental magnificence was thus achieved.

At Kirby Hall symmetry was chosen in the courtyard to convey that the patron was an educated man (Fig. 38 & Fig. 39). The entrance porch is centrally positioned flanked on each side by two sixteen light windows and one twenty light window, separated into bays by giant pilasters (Fig.40). At each corner of this hall range is a projecting bay with a window of thirty lights. This arrangement treats the lower, domestic rooms with the same magnitude of decoration as the upper hall and stairs; the kitchens being in receipt of one thirty light bay that matched the thirty light bay of the grand staircase (Fig. 41). Considerable attention was applied in order to gain the overall effect of symmetry; from within the court the south-west and north-east ranges mirror each other having a repeat pattern of doorway, window, pilaster, window, running the length of each (Fig. 39). The court is closed at the entrance range by a decorative loggia. The windows of the hall range are subtlety deceptive; to the upper house they freely rise through the double height of the hall whilst those of the lower house, having to extend through two storeys, have one row of glass lights blanked at first floor level. The overall visual symmetry was of greater importance than upholding the custom of defining the status of the room through its decorative treatment. At Kirby Hall high status iconography had been attached to low status functional spaces.

Magnificence was proclaimed at every opportunity and at Kirby Hall the porch, sited centrally in the hall range, claimed this honour (Fig. 40). A highly decorative architectural frontispiece of three storeys, it was embellished with the classical orders in a typically English manner that could not claim to have been created out of classical theory. The tower of orders from this date can also be found in the court at Burghley House, dated circa 1585, and at Gonville and Caius college, Cambridge on the Gate of Honour built in 1575. The architectural frontispiece symbolised the nature of the house that lay behind it and hence the image of the owner, in much the same way as the frontispiece of a book, usually in architectural form, conveyed the nature of the text that it fronted and attributed to the reader a familiarity with learning. The architectural frontispiece made a statement and aided the onlooker in interpreting the whole house in much the same way as fashionable clothes created an image of the person wearing them; informing the onlooker of the character and status the person wished to portray.

The decisions and choices at Kirby Hall were largely made to satisfy the requirements of Stafford prior to Hatton's purchase in circa 1575. However, Hatton

enlarged the property with a view to accommodate his Queen and added a state apartment block over four storeys (Figs 32 & Fig. 42). Hatton's choices did not entirely continue the symmetry that Stafford had begun. Although uniform in its own right with double bay windows rising through all storeys, Hatton sited the new state apartments at the upper end of the hall extending southwards beyond the line of the hall range without a complementary structure extending from the lower house. This decision upset the overall symmetry of the whole. By building a south-west wing in the absence of building a south-east wing which would have created visual balance, Hatton made clear that the language of the architecture was English, even when using classical forms. The low end of the house did not warrant such treatment when the house was not intended to be viewed from this perspective. Furthermore, the fact that Hatton extended these apartments from the upper end of the hall informs us of the continuing importance of the hierarchal location of chambers, where upper and lower house remained an important factor in design and functional use. The English laws of hierarchy overruled the antique concepts of symmetry.

Hatton's alterations at Kirby further disrupted the regularity of the external west façade by his placement of the Great Stair tower projecting outwards into the south west garden (Fig. 42). Although this decision interrupted Stafford's pattern created by the rhythm of windows and chimneys, Hatton nevertheless intended to fashion a harmonised façade and to this end he resurfaced the southern end of the west front to standardise the windows; the result was harmony not symmetry. To this appearance of regularisation Hatton added decorative gables, adorned with volutes and obelisks.[18] Hatton was not attempting to create a house in classical form; he was attempting to create magnificence. He deliberately broke the uniformity and rhythm of the west façade, chose non-classical gables to complete its ornament and did not attempt to provide balance to his state apartment extension by building a similar wing on the lower end of the house. Although the same level of architectural decoration could be applied to both upper and lower house and thus not provide visual differentiation to those spaces, the house, nevertheless could be left devoid of symmetry and decoration on a façade that was not intended to be viewed and admired. This informs us that architectural decoration was intended to impress those considered worthy and important, one's social equals. It was not to be squandered on persons of lesser consequence and therefore the 'back' of the house would be plain and unadorned. Architectural form and decoration was being used to create an

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[18] English Heritage Guide Book, *Kirby Hall*, 2015, p. 22.

impression and image of the owner. Whether a façade was richly decorated or not no longer related to the status of the space behind it but rather to whether a visitor or the family were intended to gaze upon it. The poorer sort who used or worked in the lower end of the house were becoming less accepted to share architectural spaces. Mixed status common space was in decline.

At Kirby, Hatton had to accept to a large extent the plan that Stafford had created, but at Holdenby he built a completely new house to rival all others and therefore we can be confident that the resulting form would have been Hatton's ideal arrangement. The plan of Holdenby is held in the Soane Museum, London and although it is printed in a book of John Thorpe's plans there is some debate as to whether Thorpe is the architect of Holdenby because it was built before Thorpe was believed to be active (Fig. 33).[19] The house was intended to be a palace in every sense. It is therefore interesting that in order to create a property of sufficient magnificence to accommodate the Queen; Hatton chose symmetrical facades with classical decoration. The facades presented a uniform, regular exterior that, on first appearance, did not convey the status of the chambers that lay behind them.

The house was arranged around two courts on an east/west axis with the hall range dividing one from the other. The first court was adorned with symmetrical bay windows to the internal south and north ranges; the high status chambers of the south range sharing the decorative fenestration with that of the lodgings in the north range. The entrance range was ornamented with an open loggia flanked on each side by two stair turrets, a similar arrangement to that found at Kirby Hall. These columns were echoed in the hall range opposite which was fronted by a full width porch or arcade of equally spaced columns before the entrance to the screens. In manorial iconography the screens divided the upper and lower house and yet here the screens entrance was flanked on both sides by three equally proportioned windows; the high status spaces behind the windows of the upper hall being treated in the same manner as the low status spaces behind the windows of the buttery and minor staircases. Similarly, in the second court the internal fenestration of the high status south range is mirrored in the low status service range to the north; the pattern of windows and doors reflected on both sides of the court. The hall range façade facing into the second court has a bay window at the upper hall end which is repeated on the low end of the screens to provide balance within the court itself.

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[19] J. Summerson, ed.,*The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum* (Glasgow: printed for the Walpole Society by Robert Maclehose, The University Press, 1966), plate 85.

Windows were not being used either at Holdenby or Kirby to communicate the status of the rooms behind them. Symmetry was more important.

On closer examination of John Thorpe's ground plan of Holdenby (Fig. 33), the internal bay windows to the south range have been depicted with decorative columns adorning the piers, highlighted on the plan for ease of reference. These decorative columns were not repeated on the opposite range of lodgings which were structurally their mirror image. Whilst their presence did not eradicate the overall symmetry of the first court they nevertheless could not have been intended to enhance that symmetry because they introduced an irregularity of ornament. The columns appear to have been included for the purpose of differentiation rather than to achieve balance and harmony, which contradicts the earlier statements that symmetry is more important than conveying status. This applied decoration to one façade implies that it remained imperative to provide symbols of differentiation in a social space where status was mixed. Here in the first court where accommodation was provided for guests and personal servants the embellishment of high status chambers would have conveyed a clear social message. Externally, a general, overall appearance of symmetry combined with classical symbols were sufficient to communicate the honour and authority of the owner, but these new decorative symbols could also be used to communicate an older, more established social message when hierarchies needed to be conveyed. However familiar the social message of differentiation may have been, it was now being expressed in a more restrained and subtle fashion than in the decades before.

William Cecil was an early adopter of symmetrical architecture and classical forms. At Theobalds in Hertfordshire he had built three classical loggias by the early 1570s, one supporting the Green Gallery facing Middle Court, the second forming the entrance to the hall range from Middle Court and the third spanning the hall range leading into the Conduit or Fountain Court (Fig. 43). By the end of the first phase of building in the mid 1560s, William Cecil's Burghley House enjoyed a south facing classical loggia along the length of the south range (Fig. 44). The courtyard was enclosed by pilastered arches and at its east end the hall range comprised a central four storied tower, the first two stages of which had coffered arches supporting a third stage bay window, flanked by pilastered niches and topped by four obelisks (Fig. 45). The classical frontispiece of staged orders found at Burghley can be recognised from the decorative porch discussed at Kirby Hall. Once again, the decoration chosen for the entrance at Burghley, far from being a pure implementation of the principles of classical architectural language, were imported and used as decorative symbols

remote from those principles and combined with the lingering English manorial architectural forms. This mixing of classical and vernacular forms created a hybrid language intended to portray the owners' magnificence rather than establish a pure classical representation. At Burghley House, by 1565 Cecil had also built twinned pavilions centred within the south and north ranges that flanked the courtyard and an integrated, outward facing classical loggia in the south range (Fig. 44).

In its second phase of building Burghley House was modified to incorporate yet more classical motifs and architectural forms. Modifications to architectural arrangements suggest where inadequacies were thought to exist in the original fabric of the property as its patron's fortunes improved and stylistic fashions altered. At Burghley House Cecil commenced the second phase of building in the early 1570s, embellishing the existing courtyard plan by enveloping it in an outer decorative skin. The alterations lead us to the conclusion that, although early classical and symmetrical forms had already been adopted, the house must have been considered to lack sufficient monumental form. A more opulent statement was deemed necessary. In order to achieve this Cecil chose classical architectural forms and repeated the idea of the existing south loggia on the exterior of the north range and extended the north pavilion through the range at its centre (Fig. 46 highlighted). The west entrance range was ornamented with corner towers and a turreted gatehouse; but it was the hall range that was most significantly modified. The single pile range was extended to double pile where a new kitchen and great hall was built behind the original. The hall was almost doubled in size and provided a grand ceremonial approach to the new magnificent staircase which was installed in the footprint of the old parlour, rising through the space that once housed the chapel. The country house could be modified to satisfy the growing need for magnificence. At Burghley, Cecil mixed the Elizabethan forms of turrets and strapwork with classical pilasters and loggias creating the uniquely English fusion of architectural style that communicated an overall elite status to the viewer.

The onlooker did not need to be informed which areas or chambers were reserved for functions of high status for all that lay behind was of magnificence; it was the whole house that was intended to elicit awe and envy not just a select array of chambers. Architectural spaces intended for modest functions were also encased by pretentious facades. The house, as a whole, was the emblem of success. Personal identity had always been intrinsically linked with the family seat. It was the landed estate that originally established the identity, authority and power of the owner, and

now that same landed estate was required to make an additional statement. Not satisfied with a mere declaration of lineage and hierarchy, the house was now responsible for bestowing magnificence on its owner, to attract the public gaze and elicit envy in order to advance social dominance. There was no longer a need to visually differentiate between high and low social areas because the classes were increasingly less likely to share a function, such as dining, within one architectural space. The lower classes were increasingly segregated from their social superiors.

6.2.2   Disruption of Traditional Relationship between the Hall and Adjacent Chambers

A few decades earlier, the farthest court from the entrance, being at a distance from the thoroughfare, had been where the most privileged space had been located; the further the distance one had to travel from the entrance the more private the space. Services and offices would have been sited in the first (base) court or proximal to the entrance, whereas private apartments would be found in the second, distanced from the public business of daily life. The London lifestyle had made it necessary for men with ambition to situate themselves in public space; they were to be seen, and furthermore, seen to be successful. Hence, in the urban environment these men were more likely to situate their personal space in a more social environment, closer to the architectural access points. Back at their country seats they desired to continue this display for the admiration and envy they could elicit from their social equals, not for the respect from their households and retainers. This change in social conduct necessitated a corresponding change in architectural planning, thus we frequently find personal and ceremonial spaces situated in the foreground of country houses rather than the more distanced areas that were once considered private spaces.

At Christopher Hatton's Holdenby we find that the locations for high status apartments and services had altered. As the next chapter will show, Hatton had occupied the front court at Ely Place in London, banishing the Bishop to obscurity; he now sited his high status great chamber and long gallery in the south range of the first court in full view of the lodgings opposite, and dismissed the services to the north range of the second court (Fig. 33). Where once the 'middle' range of a double courtyard plan would have housed the traditional hall and kitchen configuration with the important and private chambers in the most distanced range of the second court, at Hatton's Kirby Hall, the loggia had been fore grounded to this 'middle' range

position to create an impressive entry into a second court. The first court was now only delineated by walls and archways marking out a green forecourt before the main entry (Fig. 47) and the hall and kitchen configuration were located in the far north east corner, distanced from the entrance, a position that twenty years earlier would have been considered the most privileged (Fig. 38). Similarly, at William Cecil's Burghley House in the mid 1560s the west entrance range housed lodgings on ground and first floor levels with the important long gallery sited on the third floor; the kitchens were placed in the same position as at Kirby Hall, in the far north east corner removed from sight behind the northeast stair turret and at a distance from the entrance range (Fig. 44). The courtiers of the Elizabethan court and aspirational gentry were eager to follow the example of their monarch by living their lives in the public gaze. The functional purpose of the landed estate had changed.

We have acknowledged that William Cecil deemed his hall inadequate at Burghley House and that a new, more magnificent hall was built during the second phase of building during the 1570s. This action would appear to be contrary to the argument that commensality was in decline due to the social culture prompted by the London lifestyle. On further examination of the structure and association between the new hall and adjacent chambers we can identify a very different relationship between the new hall and the house to that of the more traditional hall form it replaced, which does in fact support the theories presented (Fig. 46).

The re-location of the hall positioned it at the farthest point from the entrance where it occupied the second row of chambers forming the new double pile arrangement with the re-located kitchens and service rooms placed in the traditional position adjacent to the screens passage and forming the lower house. This re-location freed the space that was originally the hall and parlour for use for other purposes and the parlour was in turn remodelled to form a stair chamber with a magnificent staircase rising to the state chambers on the first floor. Cecil had created a new spatial arrangement in the country house. Although traditional in its relationship with the services, the hall was no longer the first space encountered when entering the house. In place of a parlour at its upper end a grand stair chamber continued the flow of movement and visibility to the first floor. The hall was thus no longer the central space where the whole household gathered to share the hospitality of the master of the house; instead the hall was an impressive reception chamber linked to the grand staircase where those present could view and be viewed. From the hall those privileged to rise to the great chamber above would be highly visible and honoured.

Traditional spatial planning always necessitated passage through the hall, whether for access to the parlour or the great staircase, or in reverse back to the services. At Burghley House Cecil created an alternative route from the stair chamber that completely bypassed the hall. On entering the house, the visitor was provided with a choice of passageways. The first was directly ahead and up a flight of steps to the screens passage and hall; the second, by taking an immediate turn to the right led along the length of the arcade to the stair chamber; and the third, by taking the opposite turn to the left led along the arcade to the Roman Stair. This fragmentation of the old processional route meant that the hall was no longer the central space that had to be negotiated each time in order to gain access to the principal rooms. The hall was now a space that could be circumvented. Situating the hall on the margins of the overall house plan detached it from the everyday thoroughfare and distanced it from the commonplace which attributed to it a more exclusive atmosphere. Servants no longer needed to traverse the hall to go about their daily business. The hall was now a space where the servants could be excluded.

At Holdenby, Hatton took a similar approach. The hall was traditionally situated with screens passage dictating the low end of the house and hence the placing of the services, but the high end of the hall did not lead to the parlour (Fig. 33). Both Cecil and Hatton had removed the parlour from the high end of the hall, eradicating the linear route from the kitchens to the private dining chamber. This disrupted arrangement had been considered acceptable in London in the 1540s due to the lack of space coinciding with changes in behavioural norms; however, this arrangement had only found deliberate expression in country house planning decades later. This change in architectural form in the city translated into a deliberate design choice in late sixteenth-century country house arrangements.

Hatton had also made provision for the hall to be by-passed at Holdenby. A similar arcaded front elevation provided a passage to the upper or lower house without the need to enter the hall. Once again servants no longer needed to traverse the hall to carry out their duties; the hall could now be a space to gather for the glorification of those assembled, and if required, without interruption from the commonplace. The function of the hall had changed and that change marked a departure from the original tradition of commensality. Although the traditional screens passage remained in outline, the screen itself had been radically altered. Marking where it once would have stood Hatton endowed the hall with two obelisks in the latest fashion (Fig. 48). The old traditional hall arrangement had not been completely rejected in this new

build but it had been stripped of its functionality, remaining only as an emblem of authority and an acknowledgement of a convention that was so deeply embedded in rural life.

The provision to bypass the hall can be found in many of the great houses of the later sixteenth century. At Wollaton the hall is central to the architectural plan occupying the space where a courtyard would have been located (Fig. 49 labelled 3/5), the house being of compact style. On entering the screens passage (3/4) the visitor has the choice of a left-hand turn into the hall (3/5) or continuing to its end where either the "Garden" stair could be taken to descend to the south facing garden loggia (3/5a) or access to the south state staircase (3/SS) could be achieved via the dining parlour (3/6).

Walter Mildmay, who served as Chancellor under Queen Elizabeth I during the late 1500s, had acquired Apethorpe Hall in Northamptonshire in 1551. Prior to this date the previous owners, the Mountjoys, had built a passage at first floor level to link the north lodgings, believed to be used by them during the day, to the great chamber, providing a route through this chamber and beyond to their south-west lodgings which housed their bedchambers (Fig. 50). Whilst this modification was intended to link the north and south-west chambers without the need to descend to the ground floor because the void of the hall prevented access at first floor level, it also provided a means to bypass the hall. If this was also the intention, then it is an early example of those 'defensive devices'. The passage was built at first floor level with its outer wall supported on the screen wall and inner supported by wooden posts forming a covering for the existing way beneath, linking the kitchen with the cellars (Figs. 51 & 52).[20] Walter Mildmay modified this arrangement in 1560, extending the first floor passage to the south west lodgings, deliberately cutting through the former garderobe to extend the passage onwards towards the new great chamber in the south-west range (Figs. 53). Beneath this extended passage a route had been created that not only could avoid the hall but now could bypass all the principal ground floor chambers (Fig. 54).[21] The intent was clear, the hall was no longer the commonplace space where all social classes were accepted and accommodated, and servants were not welcomed in high status principal chambers. The ideology of

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[20] K.A. Morrison, E. Cole, N. Hill, J. Cattell and P. Smith, *Apethorpe The Story of an English Country House,* K. Morrison, ed. (New Haven and London: in association with Historic England, published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2016), p. 50.
[21] Heward & Taylor, *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire,* pp. 60-61.

the commonwealth was in decline and the desire for the separation of the social orders evident.

6.2.3   The move towards the segregation of Servants

We have identified from the ground plan of Holdenby (Fig. 33) that we can determine in the first court on the south range additional classical decoration flanking the two bay windows of the gallery that is not shown on the corresponding façade of the north range. This differentiation was subtle and did not detract from the overall impression of a symmetrically proportioned court. Architectural decoration of the first court at Holdenby remained an architectural tool used in the traditional manner to express the importance of the chambers. However, this means of differentiation was not repeated in the second court where one would expect the need for differentiation to be greater as the services were on the opposite side of the courtyard to these principal chambers. Of course, there could have been other forms of architectural decoration applied to the inner façade of the south range that was not defined on the plan, but nevertheless the second court had been treated with more simple, less extravagant features suggesting it was assigned with less importance, and it was on the north of this second court that the services were located.

On the south of this courtyard was a double pile arrangement of principal chambers, the largest of which were placed overlooking the gardens. Their fenestrated façade formed the mirror image to the range east of the chapel, creating one long symmetrical elevation intended to impress. Therefore, the second court contained chambers that could not be described as less important regardless of the fact that the services were located opposite. Just as low status spaces could be decorated in the same manner as high status spaces in order to preserve symmetry, it is possible that the reverse is true and simple treatment of high status rooms could have been acceptable in order to maintain a symmetrical appearance within this second court. The second court, containing the services and being at a distance from the more public first court, may not have been believed to warrant elaborate architectural decoration, regardless of the status of the rooms that lay behind, because the passage of those of significance would not take them into the second court that primarily gave access to the services. Their passage would take them internally to the principal chambers of the south ranges and the formal gardens beyond. In addition, this anomaly may also be attributed in some part to the emerging social development whereby the lower orders were considered to be unworthy of inclusion

to shared space. The older customs catered for different social status and authority inhabiting the same space whilst the architectural environment differentiated between them and this mechanism could still be used when high and middle ranks mixed. Those who were intended to occupy the lodgings in the north range of the first court would have been courtiers and personal staff who mixed within the household and would need to be made aware of the higher status of the south range. Hence, with the subtle additional decoration applied to the inner façade of the south range of the first court this information would have been communicated.

The servants, however, occupying the services in the north range of the second court had been removed from the household and were no longer expected to mix in a more sociable capacity as they were once at liberty to do when the hall provided commensality. We can determine that they no longer shared the space within the hall because Hatton had made provision for a servants' day room at the north end of the hall range, isolating them from the daily life of the inhabitants of Holdenby. Furthermore, as previously discussed, the arcade fronting the hall range provided a passage linking the servants' spaces with the south range that effectively bypassed the hall and safeguarded its occupants from unwanted intrusions from the lower orders. There would have been no need to communicate the status of the south range from within the second court because the servants were not expected to share any of these spaces.

Additional evidence that late sixteenth-century country architecture deliberately marginalised household servants and became less inclusive can be found by examining the treatment of the exterior façades of these 'prodigy' houses. At Holdenby, the impressive, repeat patterns of windows, corner turrets and pavilions, although not identical for each range, are nevertheless similar in their treatment and display a uniformity of decoration. The use of bay windows, regular fenestration with classical decoration in the form of columns and pillars can be found on three of the four external façades; the entrance façade on the east, the garden façade on the south and terrace façade of the west range. What is striking is that the exterior of the north ranges on both of the courts are devoid of decoration; no fenestration, no classical motifs and even the matching bay window arrangement of the servants' day room has been struck through on Thorpe's plan suggesting it was superfluous to requirements because the space it housed was not worthy of such decoration. The house effectively 'faces' south, its eyes look out over the south terraces and gardens whilst its along its back were the everyday functions of service and the garderobes of

the lodging block. It was from these southern terraces and gardens that the guests would have been able to gaze upon the magnificence of the house. The north-facing chambers however overlooked a spinney that bordered the farm. Any viewer of consequence would not have been situated in either of these locations and therefore was not intended to gaze at the north façade; this was the everyday working environment, the dirty side, where servants could enter and exit the kitchens and go about their toil without disturbing the harmony and decorum of the courts. For obvious reasons there is a tradition for south-facing architectural spaces to be used for recreation and leisure. The north cloister walk of a monastery that faces south was the space where the brethren would typically sit to read or write in order to benefit from the warm and light of the sun. The north aisle of a church is usually less favoured that the south where the porch was more commonly found. The laity developed this tradition, establishing their principal chambers and gardens to face south for a similar and obvious benefit.

Although equal decoration could be comfortably applied to the façade of a low status space in the pursuit of symmetry, this would only occur to a façade intended to be viewed and where the onlooker was expected to be of a suitable social status. Fine architectural decoration was not applied to elevations that were not intended to be viewed and admired. Kirby Hall had symmetrical decorative fenestration applied to both the high and low ends of the internal façade of the main hall range which was intended to be viewed from the courtyard. However, the external facades were not treated in an equal manner. Kirby, like Holdenby, faced south overlooking the impressive gardens. The south facades were highly ornate with two storeys of regular stone mullioned windows beneath dormer windows surrounded by volutes and topped with obelisks (Fig. 55).   With the addition of the four storey bay-fronted state apartment, the whole south facing elevation was planned to view, and be viewed, from the south garden. The west lodgings with long gallery above incorporated decorative fireplaces and contributed to the south façade's regular fenestration. However, the east lodgings adjoining the services were clearly intended to house those of lesser status; there was no provision for decoration to the external façade, no decorative dormer windows and no windows looking outwards to the north countryside (Fig. 56). Kirby was intended to be viewed from the internal courtyard and the south.

Holdenby and Kirby were not designed or intended to be admired in the round as one compact emblem of wealth and status as was the case at Wollaton. Wollaton Hall

stood on a natural hill which meant that the house could be viewed from any direction, lending itself to a compact design (Fig. 57). From first appearance it would seem that the lower house had received decoration in equal measure to that of the upper house, but whilst this is true of the chambers relating to senior service staff such as the pantry and butler's chamber and office, the more menial service spaces of kitchen and scullery had been removed to below stairs. Where the house could not make provision to obscure the menial services in a 'rear' portion of the plan they were now eliminated from sight altogether below stairs, after Palladio's ideas of decorum.

Andrea Palladio[22] in his *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* published in 1570 subscribed to the opinion that

> "Convenience will be provided for when each member is given its appropriate position, well situated, no less than dignity requires nor more than utility demands; each member will be correctly positioned when the loggias, halls, rooms, cellars and granaries are located in their appropriate places."[23]

He believed that some parts of the villa or house should be concealed because they were less elegant and less agreeable, yet without them the 'praiseworthy' parts would lose their 'dignity and beauty' and they were therefore necessary for its function and the comfort of those who resided in them. He explained this theory by reference to the human body, some parts of which were noble and beautiful, and some less so yet necessary for the health of man, and therefore hidden from view. He therefore placed the kitchens, larders, sculleries, wood stores and similar services partially underground in a basement at a distance from the prestigious chambers, thus creating harmony and decorum for the whole.[24]

Although the canon of architectural history understands that Inigo Jones pioneered Palladio's inspiring concepts in England in the early sixteen hundreds,[25] Wollaton, completed in 1588, clearly pre-dates Jones's first Italian trip in 1603. Wollaton was not alone during this period in integrating Palladio's concepts through the creation of

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[22] See Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, Translated by R. Tavernor and R. Schofield, (Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1997).
[23] Ibid, p.7
[24] Ibid. pp. 77-78.
[25] J. Summerson, *Inigo Jones* (New Haven & London: Paul Mellen Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 2000), p.1; D. Watkins, *English Architecture, a Concise History,* (London, Thames & Hudson, 2001), p. 96. See also C. Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambrdige University Press, 2010);. V. Hart, *Inigo Jones: The Architect of Kings* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2011); G. Worsley, *Inigo Jones and the European Classicist Tradition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007)

below stairs accommodation for the basic household functions. Although Kirby did not have basement accommodation prior to Hatton's re-modelling, a basement was created when the new wing was built circa 1575, intended to provide services to the new state apartments (Fig. 58). Below stairs accommodation for services is also found at Theobalds (Fig. 59) where an extensive basement provides wet and dry larders, various cellars, pantries and a 'great kytchyen', the upper part of which rises through to the ground floor. The convention that servants occupied a below stairs habitat had begun and throughout the next four centuries the exclusion of servants from the household was increasingly cemented by the development of the social class structures.

6.2.4   Connection between house, garden and the wider landscape

The planning of the later sixteenth-century house included the garden. Vistas were deliberately planned from principal rooms. The movement towards recreation and entertainment of social peers, and in some cases royalty, together with the growing desire to provide vistas of the garden and wider countryside, resulted in a demand for specific architectural structures in which to enjoy the gardens and parklands surrounding the house. In the later sixteenth century these innovative structures took form at the country house. There had always been an association between house and garden with long galleries providing the opportunity to enjoy the views of the gardens and vistas of the wider countryside. The long gallery had been an essential part of the elite country house that had been adopted in whichever form that was possible by those who established the London houses of the mid-century. The long gallery remained an important feature of the magnificent late sixteenth-century house and was the predecessor of the growing number of structures designed to unite the house and garden. The introduction of loggias has already been acknowledged and to this can be added banqueting houses, prospect rooms, and lead roof walks. All these features were intended to accommodate and entertain elite groups distinct from the household and these structures can be found at most country houses built or modified in the late sixteenth century. The fact that properties without these features were deliberately modified to include them emphasises their importance.

At Burghley, William Cecil's second phase of building deliberately created the recreational space associated with flat lead roofs by removing the dormer windows of the second storey and replacing them with a continuation of the façade, resulting in a

flat lead roof above that created a recreational space in which to enjoy the landscape and hence linking the house and countryside.[26]

The banquet house was often combined with the garden or situated on the roof lead to provide an entertaining prospect in association with the meal or the sweet course of a meal. Smythson's plan for Wollaton Hall in Nottinghamshire, completed 1588, shows banqueting houses in the four walls surrounding the garden.[27] William Cecil's banqueting houses at Theobalds in Hertfordshire were situated in the formal garden while those at Sir John Thynne's Longleat in Wiltshire were built in the late 1560s in the form of seven or eight turrets on the roof (Fig. 60).[28] The banqueting house at Holdenby was situated at the corner of the garden; Thorpe's drawing of a banquet house depicts a fanciful three storey E-shaped building that combined banquet house with prospect room as the two end towers make provision for turret rooms (Fig. 61).

Fine views of the formal gardens could also be enjoyed from the principal rooms of the south ranges of both courts at Holdenby; and it was in the first court south range where the long gallery was situated so as to benefit from the southerly aspect and garden frontage. Similarly, the gallery at Kirby Hall was positioned on the south to enjoy the gardens and it was to the south that Hatton chose to site the double bay state apartments. The formal garden at Kirby was designed in conjunction with the house, to ensure that from the windows of the principal chambers of the state apartment the occupier would benefit from the desired vistas (Fig. 62 & Fig. 63). The importance of a garden prospect from the principal rooms was so fundamental that it has not been possible to provide any examples in which lower status rooms or services are deliberately associated with a southerly, garden aspect.

Prospect rooms offered the scope for varied and innovative treatment. Towers had been a feature of country house architecture from early in the century; a development of the castle lookout originally intended for defensive purposes. What was different about these prospects at the latter part of the century was that their function had been augmented. The pleasure gained from the vista was now combined with recreation: overlooking sporting events, watching a pageant, walking on the leads or partaking in sweetmeats. Scholarship has linked the development of these structures

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[26] Husselby 'The Politics of Pleasure', p.30.
[27] T Mowl, and B Earnshaw, *Trumpet at a Distant Gate, The Lodge as Prelude to the Country House* (London: Waterstone, 1985), p. 6; Smythson's plan illustrated in R. Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), plate 26.
[28] M. Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture, its Rise and Fall,* p. 105.

to the age of Elizabethan glass,[29] which made it possible for the creation of large expanses of glass windows that supported spectatorship of outside events. The development of glass is no doubt a factor in the growth of prospect rooms and influenced their style; however, the cultural developments emanating from the London lifestyle necessitated innovative architectural spaces where the entertaining of social peers, or in some cases royalty, could be undertaken in splendour. Hence, these spaces grew evermore fanciful. At Wollaton Hall the prospect room sits atop the house. Its non-classical decoration of arched widows and castle-like turrets that embellish its four corners nostalgically look back to its origins as a look out and is in marked contrast to the pillar and niche decoration found on the body of the house (Fig. 57).

Wollaton Hall shares the contradictions of design with Holdenby and Burghley House in that they are both traditional and unconventional. The symbolism of the great hall and its role in the orientation of upper and lower house remained but the motifs associated with hierarchy and the conventional association of adjoining rooms have been rejected. However, the architectural plan of these monumental houses also makes provision for specific and deliberate associations that attribute spaces with a gendered identity.

6.2.5   Gendered identities

Men had long been privileged to occupy advantageous spaces reflecting their public roles and their authority whilst the limitations in the role of women in the great households frequently included spatial limitation. These social demands and limitations can be identified in the architectural plan and can be understood as space that was gendered female because of its association with areas intended for functions related to the female role or expected female behaviour. It has been possible to identify such provision for gendered differentiation early in the century, in both country and metropolitan environments. More's Chelsea house could be read as making provision for isolated space on both ground and first floor, and Cromwell's extended town house catered for female chambers removed from the common routes. Mildmay's extension of the first floor passage at Apethorpe was intended to provide a more direct route to access the new great chamber, but it also provided a means to circumvent the original great chamber, effectively turning it into a secluded

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[29] Ibid, p. 261.

space, remote from the route of travel and protected on its north wall by the void of the hall.

It is because women were discouraged from a public society that gardens became such an important female territory and an acceptable space in which to reside. The use of gardens as culturally significant female space and identity can be traced as far back as the Song of Solomon.[30] Roberta Gilchrist has established that the link between females and gardens can be traced to the thirteenth century,[31] and Dagmar Eichberger states that gardens and women are so inextricably linked that she questioned whether gardens can be considered a female metaphor in her study of the court of Savoy.[32] Passive female occupations, combined with the responsibilities of household management and child care, warranted an architectural form that provided spaces where women could remain without interruption or observation by the general household and could go about their tasks in the management of the house without the need to enter public spaces. An anonymous seventeenth-century Italian writer recommended that access be provided from women's apartments to enclosed gardens where they could remain 'at their ease, alone, without being seen'.[33] Discrete access from female space to enclosed gardens and passage ways that avoided crossing public spaces grew in importance, placing a demand on later sixteenth-century architecture. This type of planning, evident to some extent the early decades of the sixteenth century, became more commonplace and prominent in the innovative planning of the 'prodigy' houses of the late 1500s.

At Kirby Hall, the original plan shows little indication of gendered space, however, Hatton's modifications, intended to accommodate the Queen, made provision for a secondary, private, staircase to be accessed from the withdrawing chamber and bedchamber on both the ground and first floors which lead to a door that opens onto the west garden (Fig. 58 & Fig. 64). The Great Stair does not have the same access to the gardens, and the only other doorway providing access to the gardens opens from the Great Parlour, also built by Hatton. Hatton appears to have deliberately chosen to incorporate a private stairway to the gardens, an architectural feature frequently found associated with elite female accommodation as discussed in Chapter Two.

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[30] I would like to thank Dr Harry Mount for bringing this to my attention.

[31] R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past*, pp. 125-128.

[32] D. Eichberger, 'A Noble Residence for a Female Regent: Margaret of Austria and the 'Court of Savoy' in Mechelen' in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by H. Hills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 31-3.

[33] Waddy, *Seventeenth Century Roman Palaces,* pp. 29-30.

At Burghley House, Jill Husselby has claimed that Mildred Cecil occupied the suite of rooms in the east range that were immediately over the pantry. Although this information is not referenced to any source data, a reading of the architectural arrangements does suggest female occupancy. Husselby has indicated the processional route on the plan of Burghley House (Fig. 65).[34] This route follows the expected passage through the great hall, ascending the State Staircase, through the great chamber and privy chamber finally reaching the long gallery. The return route through the north range culminates at the head of the Roman Staircase and descends to the exit through the loggia. The processional route just described completely bypasses the only suite of rooms in the east range which are situated between the voids of the kitchen and great hall, a location that isolates them and removes them from the public thoroughfares. These rooms are very likely Mildred Cecil's domain; deliberately remote and segregated from society.

A gendered reading of the plan of Wollaton Hall identifies similar features that suggest female space (Fig. 49). Located, as would be expected, in the high status upper side of the house, the chambers marked 3/7 and 3/8 are within the south-east tower and are at a distance from the services, overlooking the east and south terraces. Immediately outside the door of chamber 3/7 is a relatively private stairway 3/5b that leads directly onto the east terrace. Chambers 3/7 and 3/9 are the only chambers associated with a stairway that gives access to the gardens. All the rooms in this east range are remote from the public route which after entering the house takes three ninety degree turns to reach the great hall and then ascends to the first floor via either great staircase 3/NS or 3/SS. Both the north and south state staircases rise to corresponding north and south great chambers and long gallery, however, the south state staircase differs from the north state staircase in that it also descends to the services in the basement. These two state staircases were deliberately intended for different purposes. The proximity of chamber 3/7, 3/8 and 3/9 to stairways enabling access to the services and the gardens remotely from the public routes of the house suggests that Wollaton Hall made provision for female gendered architectural space.[35]

The plans that are available for Holdenby are much more difficult to read for female space with any certainty. The chambers in the south-west corner are arranged to offer a more intimate space but those in the south-east are more secluded. These

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[34] Husselby, 'Politics of Pleasure', pp. 22-3.
[35] Walters, 'A Woman's Place', pp. 34-44.

chambers are set away from the direction of travel and line of sight when entering the court from the east gate and, by design, focussed on travelling directly ahead to the main entrance. From the plan, (Fig. 33), these south-east chambers appear to be associated with an elaborate staircase that rises directly to the long gallery above. They also appear to descend, and by deduction we can assume that they offer access to the south gardens.

6.3   Conclusion

Accounts of the development of the English country house through the sixteenth century have largely focused on the gradual proliferation of smaller chambers for the more private accommodation of the upper classes, the increase of chambers intended for specific usage and the demise of communal dining in the great hall where lord, retainers and servant once shared a communal space, and have been viewed as reflecting the cultural and social changes of the period.[36] Whilst this interpretation remains valid, the analysis performed in this chapter demonstrates that a simplistic interpretation of these developments underplays their complexity and masks the significance of the planning arrangements that were retained. How, and why, the old manorial architectural language could co-exist with the changing social behaviours and new planning concepts have been largely overlooked. Whilst social behavioural patterns were changing the values associated with manorial architectural form were deep rooted and hard to relinquish. Probably this was due, in part, to the ancestry that the old architectural form evoked. Lineage remained an important element on which an image was built and through architecture it could continue to form part of the personal display by which superiority and dominance was claimed.

If the social and cultural norms had changed to the extent that warranted new and innovative planning in the country, would the older architectural forms in London that had been so hard won in the preceding decades remain a satisfactory solution to elite accommodation in London as the century drew to a close?

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[36] See , Heal, *Hospitality ;* Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* p. 93.

Chapter Seven

**The Effect of Country Architectural Innovation on London Architecture
1570 – 1590**

This chapter uses eighteenth-century floor plans, surveys, inventories and correspondence relating to one episcopal London inn, Ely Place in Holborn, to examine the development of the relationship between architectural space and behavioural conventions in the later sixteenth century. Through an analysis of the division of the property that was carried out in order to accommodate dual ownership, and an investigation into the architectural modifications that were subsequently thought necessary, it is shown that the innovative architectural language that had developed in the late sixteenth-century country house to support changing cultural norms was being adopted in the London house.

The architectural plan and decoration of the late sixteenth-century country house developed in response to social and cultural changes and had furthermore been affected by the demands of the Queen and influenced by continental style. Once these innovations took form in the country how would it be possible to replicate them in the older architectural forms in London, as had occurred with the traditional manorial arrangements earlier in the century? Furthermore, would it be important to reproduce these new country arrangements in their entirety or would just an essence of their nature be sufficient in London? To explore these questions one episcopal London inn, an inn that was partially transferred to lay ownership in the latter part of the century, will be analysed in detail. The intent is to gain an understanding of how a change in the ownership and function of a late sixteenth-century London property demands architectural modification. Through an examination of the modifications made, modifications that were different to those made during the earlier transfer of London spiritual property discussed in the preceding chapters, we will be able to identify developments in culture leading into the seventeenth century.

The monumental country houses that were built, or transformed, by the Queen's ministers in the closing years of the sixteenth century, were in stark contrast to those that the courtiers had developed from monastic properties in the early 1500s. It would seem credible that by the second half of the century, those who were creating innovative country houses of immense proportions in the country would seek London accommodation where this innovative style could be replicated to some extent. Yet,

in the 1560s Sir Walter Mildmay, whilst updating Apethorpe Hall in Northamptonshire, purchased the frater, and cloister of St Bartholomew's Priory from Lord Rich.[1] This purchase suggests that whilst magnificence and progressive style was important in the country during this period, in London, the old monastic form was still considered as acceptable accommodation for great men. Monastic properties could still be changing hands some thirty years or more after the Dissolution.

However, there was another source of magnificent properties in London that were held by the episcopes that had not yet been alienated from the Church. The secular church did not suffer a catastrophic loss of property in the same manner as the religious orders lost their monasteries. At the dissolution the communities that inhabited the monasteries were disbanded and, together with the structural remodelling that was imposed upon their buildings, it became unlikely, even when the political situation altered, that those orders could re-gain their buildings and re-instate their communities. By contrast, there was no dissolution of the episcopacy. During the Reformation in England the episcopate, Dean and Chapter were expected to continue to function within their diocese and, as a useful tool to the Crown, were to be employed to further the religious reforms instigated by Henry VIII. Leading up to the Reformation, a bishop formed part of a small, privileged and powerful elite. At the start of the Reformation twenty-one bishops in England and Wales were in possession of one hundred and seventy-seven habitable houses.[2] Included in their property portfolios were the see palace, manor houses contributing to the revenue of the see and their London houses with additional houses strategically placed providing accommodation for their households on route to the city. The episcopal London houses were enjoyed by senior church men who aspired to the lifestyle and personal image of the nobility; hence their houses were frequently of a standard that was coveted by the very men they sought to emulate. When the London houses were lost to the church it was on an individual, political basis, the churchmen did not also lose their profession as did the members of the religious orders and, with political cunning, had the potential to re-gain their properties when the political climate changed.

The London residence of a bishop was inherited along with the diocese and its grandeur was usually commensurate with the value and prestige of the see. Palaces

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[1] Webb, *St. Bartholomew's*, vol. 2, pp. 130-142.

[2] P. Hembry, 'Episcopal Palaces, 1535 to 1660' *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S.T. Bind,* E.W. Ives, R.J. Knetch, J.J. Scarisbrick, eds., (London: Athlone Press, 1978), p. 146.

though they appeared to be, they were initially known as houses or inns because originally the name 'bishop's palace' denoted the residence adjacent to the cathedral of the see.[3]

Of the twenty-eight dioceses (six of which were created in 1540), all except St Asaph had a main London house to accommodate the bishop and his household and provide hospitality whilst meeting their obligations in the city.[4] Bishops were eager to gain favour with the Court and its courtiers, which they aimed to achieve through the bestowal of hospitality. In some cases, this hospitality extended to permitting nobility or royalty to occupy all or part of their London episcopal mansion houses. But this strategy on the part of the bishops was flawed because those who enjoyed residence did not want that residency to be temporary and at the gift of the bishop, and frequently sought to extricate the whole property permanently from the church. (see Appendix).

The contrast between the alienation of monastic property and the episcopates' tenuous ownership of their London properties is well illustrated through the example of Durham House, situated on the Thames at Charing Cross. This was the earliest recorded transitory occupation of an episcopal London house. Wolsey, when in 1525-6 the prince-bishop of Durham, permitted Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, the King's illegitimate son, to occupy his London house.[5] After Wolsey's death, the newly installed bishop, Cuthbert Tunstall, did not regain his London mansion house, but was instead provided with a house in Coldharbour Lane whilst the King arranged for the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, to hold permanent tenure of Durham House. In 1536; on the death of Anne Boleyn, Bishop Tunstall formally granted it to the King

> 'all that his capytall messuage comenly caled Durham Place, wyth all houses, buyldyngs, gardeyns orcheards pooles, fysshyngs stables and al other commodytes late in the occupacyon of the Right Hon Thomas Erle of Wyltshyre.[6]

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[3] E. Venables, *Episcopal Palaces of England* (London: Isbister and Company, 1895), p.1.
[4] Hembry, 'Episcopal Palaces', p. 151.
[5] Survey of London, vol. 18, St. Martin-in-the-Fields II: The Strand, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol18/pt2/pp84-98> [accessed 28 December 2014].
[6] F. Godwin, *A Catalogue of the Bishops of England since the first Planting of Christian Religion in this Island together with a Brief History of their Liues*, (London: T. Adams, 1615), p. 87.

The property thus alienated from the church was restored to the Diocese of Durham by Queen Mary in 1553.[7] Yet on Tunstall's death Queen Elizabeth took possession of the house and Sir Walter Raleigh resided there.

Throughout the period, episcopal London houses were alienated and restored to their sees, dependent upon the religious policy of the monarch and the conformity of the incumbent bishop to that policy. During Henry VIII's reign the sees of Durham, York, Coventry and Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Lincoln and Norwich lost their London Inns. During Edward VI's reign Llandaff, Worcester, Exeter and Winchester were deprived of their London houses and Ely and Salisbury, although already shared accommodation through informal leases, were finally alienated in part from their sees during Elizabeth's reign. Unsurprisingly London houses were not confiscated during Mary's reign.

Little attention has been given to the mechanisms by which London episcopal property was extricated from the Church and how these buildings, originally configured for institutional and spiritual purposes, could be re-used to accommodate the London lifestyle of the laity. This chapter investigates how the transfer of episcopal London property to lay ownership could be realised. It establishes the architectural layout and functional use of the property as a bishop's inn before identifying the extent of alienation and any subsequent impact to its architectural form and use of space necessary to accommodate the behavioural conventions of the late sixteenth-century laity. In addition, it examines the language used within the conveyance documents to drawn attention to the concerns of the parties involved in an attempt to understand the level of importance that certain spaces and rights of way held in the period. It questions what we can learn from a knowledge of that which was retained by the bishop and that which was transferred for secular use, and also asks whether secularisation conditioned architectural form. In choosing Ely Place, (Fig. 66), we are able to compare and contrast with the building works that Christopher Hatton undertook in the country and that have been discussed in earlier chapters. This comparison will highlight the significance of the modifications thought necessary and provide insight into what was acceptable accommodation in London at the close of the century.

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[7] G.H. Gater and E.P. Wheeler, *Survey of London*, part 18, The Strand (London; Published for the London County Council by Country Life, 1935-40), p. 88.

The difficulty of this undertaking lies in the fact that St Etheldreda's Chapel is the only part of the Bishop of Ely's London inn, Ely Place, which remains standing today. Understanding the architectural plan and the analysis of the spatial arrangements of the bishop's Inn before and after secularisation has therefore only been possible by reference to primary sources and later engravings. These primary sources are not plentiful.

In chronological order the first primary source is a letter addressed to Bishop Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely from 1559 until 1581; dated 1575, it was written by Lord Roger North and is published in the Historical Manuscripts Commission Calendar of the Salisbury Manuscripts.[8] North, who was married to Winifred the sixth daughter of Sir Richard Rich, was the only peer to be resident in Cambridgeshire, a fact which placed him in a powerful position in the county. He controlled much of the local politics and involved himself in local administration, investigating issues that were reported to him by the Privy Council. North also made himself available for services to Queen Elizabeth, and carried out diplomatic missions on her behalf.[9] North's letter to the Bishop related to Cox's refusal of the Queen's request to relinquish Ely Place. The letter was written in blunt terms. Cox had been sent a sobering account of exactly what he stood to lose and a harsh warning of the very real danger that lose it he will. The following year a lease on part of Ely Place had been signed by the Bishop.

The Lease, dated March 1576, was drawn up between the incumbent bishop, Bishop Cox, and Sir Christopher Hatton, one of Queen Elizabeth's favoured courtiers.[10] The Lease represents the final submission of the Bishop after considerable resistance to the many and varied attempts to deprive him of his London inn. The lease runs to nine pages, it is closely written in secretary script and is found within an episcopal household book now in the Cambridge University library. Presumably this lease is a copy transcribed and held together with other records of property and household matters. Although in form it is a traditional conveyance record that permits the tenant to make the rooms comfortable for his own use, its purpose is broader. It does not restrict itself to the identification of the areas and rooms that are subject to the arrangements being formalised, instead the document includes clear and

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[8] Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon, The Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., &c.: preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Part II (London: HMSO, 1888), pp. 120-1.
[9] ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20312> [accessed 26 July 2014].
[10] Cambridge University, MS. CC95550.

unambiguous language intended to exclude specific parts of the property. In addition, it sets out to protect certain rights of way through the alienated parcels of land for the spiritual Lord and his household.

In possession of the Lease, Hatton set about making the London inn comfortable for his own use and, with money largely borrowed from the Queen, he built a dwelling adjoining to its west within the orchard, known as Hatton House. Once built, Hatton claimed that the Lease represented considerable personal financial risk and lobbied the Queen to secure outright ownership for him.

The third primary source is a survey of this expenditure commissioned by the Queen in 1577 and intended to provide the evidence necessary to secure a grant for Hatton. The document is hand-written on parchment and laid out in ledger format with an entry for each material type e.g. Tymber. This document provides us with a view of the nature of the improvements made by Hatton.[11]

In the same year as Hatton's expenditure on the property was documented, the portion previously leased was transferred via a Grant to Her Majesty, her successors or assigns; language that enabled the Queen to release Ely Place to Christopher Hatton. The Grant is typical for a conveyance document of the period. It is closely written in secretary script on a large sheet of parchment with signatures and seals at its foot.[12] In it the Bishop describes the rooms and grounds that are to be granted until such time as the incumbent bishop re-pays the sums incurred by Hatton and in so doing may re-take possession of the whole. Once again this document seeks to record the protection of rights. A hand-written copy can also be found in the household book previously identified at Cambridge University library. This copy is written in the same hand as the copy of the Lease and has certain words and phrases underlined.[13]

There are no surviving inventories of Ely Place recorded during Bishop Cox or Christopher Hatton's residence but there are two inventories over fifty years later which list the rooms by the names in use in 1645 and 1655. Some of the room names link to the names used by Bishop Cox but the later inventory proves

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[11] NRO, FH1018.
[12] NRO, FH4283
[13] Cambridge University, MS. CC 95550, pp. 1-9.

problematic as the room names and order of recording them conflicts with the earlier documents.[14]

In an attempt to re-gain Ely Place for the enjoyment of the episcope, on the 29th October 1686 the incumbent Bishop of Ely, Francis Turner, wrote a letter of complaint to the Lord Chancellor, George Jefferyes detailing the extent of alienation of Ely Place and suggesting that it should be restored to the Church. The description of the extent of loss is almost a copy of the wording used on prior documents and appears to have been taken from the Lease.[15]

The visual records all date from a much later period. The ground plans were drawn during the late 1700s (between 1767 and 1772), after the Bishops had moved their residence to Dover Street and the neglected Ely Place was being assessed for conversion into an excise office. A plan dated 1767 shows the proposed alterations to the main hall range; the Chapel was still standing but the colonnade range and all the service block were not to be saved. The assessor found much decay and only thought the hall and three rooms adjoining to be suitable for repair, but advised against the expenditure[16] hence sealing the fate of Ely Place which in 1772 was pulled down, with only the Chapel surviving. Many of the plans show no more detail than the 1772 plan which has been published in E. Williams's *Early Holborn*; [17] however, there are two further plans in The National Archives at Kew. Both these plans are dated 1767 and were drawn after the land to the west of Ely Place had been built upon and had come to be known as Hatton Garden. One plan titled, 'Plan of Ely House with the grounds thereto belonging containing in the whole surrounds of two acres'[18] was neatly drawn and includes measurements of the boundaries. The west boundary of the "Grass Field" to the north and the "Garden" to the south are notated with the words "yards belonging to Houses in Hatton Garden". This plan has more detail than is depicted on the 1772 version; staircases are shown and the Coach Yard and stables are outlined. The second plan drawn that same year is of similar form without measurements.[19] There are no plans that show any additional

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[14] NRO, FH2759 and FH2456.
[15] NRO, FH764
[16] TNA, MPD 1/171 Plan of Ely House with ground showing proposed alterations coloured brown. Record T 1/459/20-21 is the letter accompanying the plans.
[17] E. Williams, Early *Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London: a Topographical Survey of the Beginnings of the District know as Holborn and the Inns of Court and of Chancery* (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1927), p. 365.
[18] TNA, MPD 1/170 Plan of Ely House with the grounds thereto belonging containing in the whole surrounds of two acres.
[19] TNA, MPD 1/71 Plan of Ely House.

buildings adjoining to the west that could be interpreted as Hatton House although the 'Plan of Ely House with grounds thereto belonging' depicts a curious outline, almost like a passage, from an opening in the outer wall of the extreme west room of the south range chambers running directly west towards Hatton Garden. Unfortunately there is no notation to enlighten the viewer as to its purpose.

Sketches and engravings have been collated into an album held by Historic England Archives in Swindon.[20] Many engravings in this collection are interior and exterior engravings of the chapel but some depict Ely Place, usually viewed from the north-east field. Most show the property as a ruin in the nineteenth century. Brewer's engraving of 1897 is particularly interesting; it is an aerial depiction of St Etheldreda Chapel during the sixteenth century and illustrates not only Ely Palace and gardens but a short distance of the street frontage and host of buildings between the street and the Chapel that formed the west boundary of the garden. It is these buildings that are questioned in this thesis and evidence is sought to support the proposal that they could represent the house referred to in some publications as "Hatton House". Although Brewer's artistic representations of historical buildings were based on considerable research they need to be treated with certain amount of caution because they are in effect artistic reconstructions of buildings that were no longer standing. Where his research proved lacking Brewer could have included elements of artistic licence, completing the scene in a manner in which he believed such buildings should have appeared.[21] Nevertheless this engraving is an interesting representation.

All the sources described above are discussed in some detail in this thesis and are used to support the analysis undertaken.

7.1 Ely Place before the Lease to Christopher Hatton

Ely Place, the London residence of the Bishops of Ely, was situated in Holborn in the parish of Saint Andrew and became attached to the see courtesy of Bishop John de Kyrkeby who on his death in 1290 bequeathed his London property to the see of Ely.[22] Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely 1373-1388 is said to have re-built the Inn,[23] which by the sixteenth century consisted of a parcel of land bounded on the south by Holborn, on the east by the Holborn river, on the north by Windmill Hill and walled on

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[20] Historic England Archive, AL0023, Album on religious houses in London.
[21] H.W. Brewer, *Old London Illustrated*, 9th edition (London: "The Builder" Ltd, 1962)
[22] For a full account of the early history of Ely Place see Williams, *Early Holborn,* pp. 336-348.
[23] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, (106), p. 191,

its western boundary by Leather Lane. By the sixteenth century, and with the exception of the London house Ely Place, all the properties of the diocese were situated in East Anglia. The bishops generally resided at the palace of Ely or the manor of Downham during the winter and Somersham during the summer. The journey to London was undertaken when commitments in the city required the presence of the bishop.[24]

The London residence of a bishop needed to satisfy several functions. The accommodation was to fulfil the personal needs of the bishop and his retinue when attending to state affairs in the capital and for the offering of hospitality to nobility, monarchy and foreign dignitaries as necessary. It was here that religious ceremonies including the ordination of priests took place. During his stay, the London house served as the location for the bishop's ecclesiastical court where matters of canon law were tried, and these houses frequently included prisons, often within the gatehouse. They served as centres for both administrations of the see and as centres for lavish entertainment, regularly staged for the monarchy, courtiers and institutional groups.[25] The functions which the rooms of the bishop's London residence were put to, being both administrative and ceremonial, necessitated a stately appearance and hence they were opulently decorated. This opulence in turn increased their desirability by those entertained within their walls. The Serjeants at Law held their feasts at Ely Place and in the November of 1531 a five-day banquet was held in the great hall during which eleven new Serjeants were appointed. King Henry VIII and Queen Catherine attended on one of the days accompanied by foreign ambassadors.[26] The London property would therefore need to provide lodgings for both the Bishop's staff and those attending the various functions and feasts. Due to the differing functional demands placed on the architectural form we would expect to find a hierarchy of spaces with attributes that suggest the status of the function intended to be performed in each.

A bishop's household was as large and as complex as that of a member of the lay elite. The work associated with exercising the spiritual responsibilities of the see together with the management of travel and hospitality created numerous posts within the household. When in London the bishop would require many of these household members to accompany him, in particular his Chancellor, who provided

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[24] F. Heal, 'The Bishops of Ely and their Diocese during the Reformation Period, ca. 1515-1600, (unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1973), p. 158.
[25] Hembry, *Episcopal Palaces,* p. 156.
[26] Murray, *A Notice of Ely Chapel, Holborn; with some Account of Ely Palace,* p.18.

legal counsel in matters of canon law, and his Registrar who maintained the official records of the see. Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely 1515 to 1533, maintained a 100 strong household and is reputed to have offered hospitality to 200 people each day.[27] In the 1535 Valor Ecclesiasticus, during the bishopric of Thomas Goodrich, Ely was recorded as the seventh wealthiest see in England.[28]

Improvement of houses in order to reinforce the status and authority of its owner was not restricted to the elite laity, for during the course of the fifteenth century and up to the eve of the Reformation, bishops extended and embellished their houses in the same way as the secular lords, and for the same reasons. Gatehouses, towers, great halls and extravagant new builds were commonplace.[29] In fact, up to the beginning of the sixteenth century episcopal residences were largely of a form and style in common with the secular elite. By virtue of their aspiration to imitate nobility the bishops had unwisely crafted their London residences such as to make them desirable and covetable by the very people they sought to emulate. Bishop's residences were often scheduled stops on the royal progresses and by this means many courtiers where introduced to the opulence and grandeur of the bishop's homes.

Ely Place has a history of being a shared space. In 1357 we understand that Edward the Black Prince and his retinue had lodgings here; Sir John Colville had privilege to rooms within the Inn in 1376 and was still in occupation in 1411; and in the same year of 1376 the gardener and warden of the Inn, Adam Vinour, rented the gatehouse with rooms over for one shilling per year.[30] Thomas Arundel, before being translated to Canterbury had been Bishop of Ely and when promoted to Archbishop of Canterbury had retained use of a suite of rooms in Ely Place, as did John of Gaunt who died there in 1399.

During the Reformation the attitude towards the bishop's tenure of a London property was intrinsically linked to the doctrinal position of the monarch, and the acceptance and subjection of the incumbent bishop to this position. Henry VIII and Edward VI

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[27] Godwin, *A Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, p. 280.

[28] F. Heal, 'The Tudors and Church Lands: Economic Problems of the Bishopric of Ely during the Sixteenth Century' *The Economic History Review,* 1973, p. 199.

[29] The great Bishop builders were Archbishop Bourchier (1404-1486) who created Knole from the humble beginings of a manor house, Bishop Alcock (1486-1500) who re-built his palace at Ely amongst other palaces, Bishop Waynflete (1475-1480) who built Esher Place and Cardinal Wolsey (1473-1530) who was responsible for Hampton Court. See Hembry, *Episcopal Palaces*, pp. 153-155, for a full discussion.

[30] E. Williams, *Early Holborn,* p. 349 and p. 352.

had appointed and maintained Thomas Goodrich (1534-1554) to the see. Goodrich had sworn the Oath of Supremacy and accepted that his bishopric was solely the gift of the King and not the Pope in Rome. [31] He understood that the source of his advancement lay through serving the King and those in the King's favour. Thomas Wriothesley, King Henry VIII's Chancellor who later became the Earl of Southampton, was residing in a suite of rooms at the Inn as evidenced from the letters he addressed from there dated from 1545 through to 1546.[32] There was, however, no formal lease drawn up with the Bishop, Thomas Goodrich, to document these arrangements as would have been expected.[33] This lack of a formal arrangement was not an issue for Wriothesley, who in 1547 felt secure enough in his tenure to exchange this accommodation at Ely Place for the Bishop of Lincoln's Inn owned by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who later became the Duke of Northumberland.[34] Warwick was in residence at Ely Place by 1548 as evidenced by letters addressed from Ely Place to both Somerset and Cecil, 4th and 14th June. [35]

Warwick's exchange of property in his ownership for an informal lease of an apartment within Ely Place needs consideration. Williams suggests that it was the first step in a plan by Warwick to obtain outright ownership of the inn,[36] but this would have been an uncertain outcome for such a bold step to be taken. Regardless of the aim behind this action it nevertheless indicates that Ely Place was considered a highly desirable residence. There may also be a political interpretation for this exchange because Wriothesley had lost his position as Chancellor at the hands of the Protector, Lord Somerset and in befriending Warwick he may have allied himself with the group who were plotting against Somerset. It was in these apartments in Ely Place that in October 1549 Warwick gathered the council who went on to conspire against Lord Somerset.[37]

Williams also informs us that many other chancellors apart from Wriothesley had chosen a suite of rooms in Ely Place, but does not provide the details of whom and

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[31] G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: the Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 227.

[32] A. Strahan, G.E. Eyrie, A. Spottiswoode, State Papers Published under the Authority of his Majesty's Commission, King Henry the Eighth, parts 1 and II, (London: J. Murray, 1830), pp. 830,836,838,840,864,880,882.

[33] Heal, 'The Bishops of Ely', p. 178.

[34] Williams, *Early Holborn,* p. 359.

[35] "Edward VI - Volume 4: June 1548', in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-80*, ed. Robert Lemon (London, 1856), pp. 7-8.

[36] Williams, *Early Holborn,* p. 359.

[37] H.B. Wheatley, London, Past and Present, its History, Associations, and Traditions (London: J. Murray, 1891), p. 10.

which rooms. This history of being sought after accommodation may be attributed to the desirability of the arrangements, their location just outside the city walls and more probably to the immense amount of land and gardens associated with the property that were famous in their day for producing strawberries and roses.[38] Such a prize garden close to the city was valuable indeed. The whole was sufficiently large to accommodate the tenants alongside the incumbent bishop without detracting from the desirability of the residence. Bishop Thomas Goodrich, it would seem, did not find leasing parts of his London Inn to be problematic, despite the fact that he was frequently resident in it. However, Heal informs us that during 1548 Bishop Goodrich was frequently in London[39] and we know from the date of his letters that Northumberland was also resident during this year; sharing his palace posed little difficulty for Goodrich as he supported the political aims of Northumberland and in 1552 was rewarded with the position of Lord Chancellor.[40] During this time the bishop lived like his lay contemporaries, entertaining generously and maintaining a household of 53 servants.[41]

Goodrich's successor Thomas Thirlby (1555 – 1559) was of conventional persuasion and appointed by the Catholic Queen Mary. Thirlby regained the whole of Ely Place after Northumberland's attainder for his support of Edward VI's devise for a Protestant succession through Lady Jane Grey, and no further alienation took place during Mary's reign. Thirlby had exclusive enjoyment of his whole London Inn. Richard Cox (1559-1581) was the final Tudor Bishop of Ely and the first of Elizabeth's reign. Exiled during Mary's reign, Cox was a formidable Protestant reformer who successfully drove the changes necessary to convert his diocese into a practising Protestant community.[42] Cox was an intense, passionate character, who held strong views on the office of prelate and the position of the Church in society. These passionately held beliefs were painfully tested when his monarch, Queen Elizabeth, sought to deprive him of his most prized properties.

Bishop Cox, like many of the clergy, had married when Edward VI was on the throne and in 1568 had re-married a considerably younger woman than his 70 years. Although Queen Elizabeth accepted clerical marriage she was wholly opposed to

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[38] Williams, *Early Holborn,* p. 357-58.
[39] Heal, 'The Bishops of Ely', p. 20.
[40] Heal, *Tudors and Church Lands,* p. 203.
[41] Heal, 'The Bishops of Ely', p. 188.
[42] For a full account of Cox's implementation of reform in the diocese of Ely see S. Wenig, 'The Reformation in the Diocese of Ely during the Episcopate of Richard Cox, 1559-77' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* vol. 33, no. 1 (Spring, 2002) pp. 151-180.

clerical scandal which some members of the clergy had brought upon the church by their poor choice of wife and indiscreet relationships.[43] Of the seventy-six bishops appointed during Elizabeth's reign fifty-eight were married.[44] It is clear from the letter that Cox wrote to William Cecil in defence of his wife's character that the Queen had shown great displeasure at this re-marriage. [45] It is this act that is thought to have harmed his relationship with the Queen and hardened her attitude towards him resulting in the personal attacks on his management of his diocese and ultimately the forceful demands on his London house and his prized Somersham estate in the diocese of Ely.[46] Cox therefore had had need to defend his lands and properties throughout his bishopric, battling in the vain attempt to maintain Ely Place in the rightful ownership of the Diocese. He continued to receive requests for leases of Ely Place which he stoutly resisted throughout his early tenure but after his ill-advised second marriage in 1568 which displeased the Queen so entirely, ever more pressing requests for leases materialised. Cecil urged him to allow the Spanish Ambassador to use Ely Place during his stay in London which after repeated resistance was eventually permitted after the Bishop of London's intervention.[47]

The Elizabethan bishops were increasingly expected to be resident in their diocese and to only remain in London when required on specific temporal or ecclesiastical duties. The secular role of bishops had been dwindling and the expectation of the Protestant monarch was for them to establish the mechanism for enforcement of the new settlement within their see, which naturally led to greater involvement in local affairs. After 1570 Cox was regularly resident in his diocese as evidenced by the letters addressed from there; his letters to Burghley and the Queen during 1575 and 1576 stress both the need of the Church for defence against predatory individuals and the duty of the Queen to support the clergy who had done so much to uphold her settlement of the true religion.[48] With the bishop spending the majority of his time in his see, Ely Place was managed in his absence by the keepers and officials belonging to his household. With no resident bishop it must have been a prime target for the courtier tenants who avariciously schemed for total ownership.

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[43] For a full discussion on clerical marriage during the reformation see Carlson, 'Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation' in Journal of British Studies vol. 31, no. 1, Jan 1992, pp. 1-31.
[44] Carlson, *Clerical Marriage,* p. 21.
[45] Ibid, p. 22.
[46] Heal, 'The Bishops of Ely', p. 35.
[47] Ibid, p. 252.
[48] Gonville & Caius, Cambridge MS 53/30 fo. 36v.

At this time, 1575, Roger, Lord North had his sights set on Somersham House in Huntingdon, Richard Cox's most prized manor house, and Cecil was pressing for a lease on Ely Place for Christopher Hatton.[49] Cox's resistance to both paved the way to a traumatic period instigated by North, who convinced the Queen that Cox's tenants in his diocese claimed mismanagement of local justice and administration. The Queen, already dissatisfied with the prelate due to his marriage and his repeated resistance of her demands for a lease of Ely Place for Christopher Hatton, set up an official enquiry into his activities in his role as bishop. Through North the common complaint that Cox kept livestock in sufficient numbers to not only provide for his household but to sell for the benefit of his family was uncovered. Cox was powerless to defend himself against such authority. The letter from North in November 1575 was intended to be personal and a shocking warning to the bishop who enjoyed a bishopric that was second only in prestige, powers and privileges to that of the bishopric of Durham. North warns Cox in brutal terms of his fragile position.

"Yowe remember howe tenderlye and hartelye her Maiestye wrote this summer unto yowe for a lease of Somersham for her selfe and she forgetteth not your aunswere. Being nowe in the Courte I understande her Maiestye did verye zelouslye recommende Mr Hatton to be the Keeper of your house in Holborne, a man much favored of her Highnes and much esteemed of the best and honest sorte of Englande. Beside her Maiestye requeste was quallefied with so reasonable conditions, both for your ease and honor, as it is more then marvellous to knowe with what face yowe coulde denye her. Well! This laste denyall beinge added to her former demandes, hath moved her Highnes to so greate dislykinge as she purposeth presentlye to send for yowe and to here what account yowe can render for this strange dealinge towards your gratiouse Soverayne. Moreover, she determineth to redresse the infinite injuryes which of longe tyme yowe have offered hir subjectes, for which purpose (to be playne with your Lordship) she hath given me order to harken to my neighboures grefes, which continuallye ringe in my eares against yowe, and likewise to prefer those complaints before hire Majestyes Prevy Councell, so that you may be called to aunswere and the parties satisfied. […]

[…] Suffer me, my Lord, I praye yow, to put yowe in minde who it is that yowe denye; is it our dread soverayne ladye, oure most gratiouse and bountifull Mistress, who hath abled yowe even from the meanest estate that maye be unto the best Byshopricke in Englande, a thinge worth three thousande pounde by yere. It is she unto whome yowe have done no espetiall service as yet, nor anye waye shewed your selfe speciallye thankfull for hir unspeakable goodnes to yowe. Ingratitude yowe knowe my Lord, is noted emongst the common parsons for a monstrouse vice and between the sujecte and soverayne a horrible monster."[50]

From the language chosen there could have been no misunderstanding by the recipient of the course of action that he must take. Reduced in spirit during the

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[49] Calendar of Patent Rolls 20 Eliz. I: Part II C.66/1165 2685 & 2686.
[50] HMCC, *The Marquis of Salisbury*, Part II, pp. 120-1.

dispute over Somersham, Cox yielded to the threat and consented to the request for the lease of Ely Place. Perhaps his declining visits to London made the sharing of his London inn more palatable than the loss of his cherished Somersham. In any event, reluctantly, on the twentieth day of March 1576 a lease was signed for twenty-one years.

One year later Hatton, using the material facts that he had expended great sums of money in improving the property and purchasing third party interests in the land surrounding the palace, claimed that the lease was ambiguous with regard to his rights of ownership and furthermore that he stood to lose not only those parts of the original property covered by the lease but also his investment in terms of the improvements made, the new construction known as Hatton House and lands acquired. In agreement the Queen supported Hatton's claim and demanded that the leased part of the property be granted to Her Majesty and re-assigned to Hatton until such time as the Bishops could repay Hatton or his heirs the sums expended, which were estimated to be £1,897.00.[51] Hatton had succeeded where all others had failed; he was now the owner of a substantial part of Ely Place.

Early accounts of Ely Place were restricted to historical explanations of the property's acquisition by the Church and stylistic descriptions of the major elements of the building.[52] It was not until Margaret Aston's study of Thomas Arundel in 1967, that the significance of this London house for the bishop was portrayed through an account of the social history and material culture of the period.[53] It is Felicity Heal who has extensively researched the diocese of Ely and to whom we owe the fullest account of its bishops during the Reformation. Since the objective of her work was to trace the economic and religious history of the diocese, the properties that formed the core of its economic stability are given adequate attention through their contribution to the story of decline.[54] However, the main concern of this current thesis focuses instead on the transfer of London properties from spiritual to lay ownership and the subsequent re-use of the spatial arrangements.

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[51] NRO, FH1018.
[52] Murray, *A notice of Ely Chapel*, pp. 1-47.
[53] M. Aston, *Thomas Arundel: a Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 262-284.
[54] Heal, 'Bishops of Ely', Cambridge University, 1973 and 'The Tudors and Church Lands: Economic Problems of the Bishopric of Ely during the Sixteenth Century' *The Economic History Review,* NS vol. 26, No. 2 (1973), pp. 198-217.

7.2 Ely Place: Function and use as a London residence of the Bishops of Ely

This chapter will now use the source documents described earlier, that is the 1576 Lease, 1577 Grant[55], a later inventory of 1645[56] and the floor plans held at The National Archives Kew, to consider the original internal arrangements of Ely Place during the period in which it functioned as a whole entity to meet the needs of the bishops, before the extent of alienation of the property is discovered. In exploring the Lease together with an analysis of the later engravings and plans, the division of Ely Place is identified. The significance of the spaces relinquished to Hatton are discussed. The illustrations provided are notated by the author for ease of review. The chapter asks, given the innovative architectural style that Hatton was building at Holdenby and Kirby, how the older architectural form of the bishop's Inn was employed? Can we identify any of the innovative features used in the country houses repeated in Hatton's modifications in London?

By conducting a spatial analysis of Ely Place (Fig. 67) together with a reading of the eighteen-century plans, (Fig. 66)[57] we can establish the spatial arrangements of the Inn that were originally planned to accommodate the incumbent bishop in his spiritual, legal and administrative duties. The Inn was of courtyard plan with a gatehouse that pierced a range of street front shops and tenements, giving access to the Inn which lay behind.[58] On the 'Holborne' could be found nine shops to the west of the gatehouse (A) and one or two to its east with tenements over belonging to the bishop's estate. The street front arrangement provided the barrier between the busy public highways and the Inn, disassociating the street from the elite private spaces behind. Screened and secluded Ely Place, with its extensive grounds, was a high status dwelling of great desirability to aspirational men. The double gates were hung under two separate arches flanked by two towers housing chambers with a postern to the east.[59] The gatehouse gave access to a rectangular outer courtyard (B) walled to its west to separate the court from the garden (C) and with a colonnaded range to its east (D). This eastern range of the outer courtyard was made up of a series of chambers individually and directly linked to the courtyard. The spatial analysis identifies that there is no depth to the chambers on the ground floor of this colonnade

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[55] NRO, FH4283.
[56] NRO, FH2759.
[57] TNA, MPD 1/71 1767. All ground floor plans viewed record the same floor arrangements, they only vary in the level of detail documented. See also TNA, MPD 1/171 and MPD 1/170; Historic England Archive, AL0023 and Williams, *Early Holborn*, p. 365.
[58] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* p. 34.
[59] Williams, *Early Holborn*, p. 349.

range; most of the chambers are one threshold from the public outer courtyard. Only one chamber is shown on the plan with two doorways allowing a through route, all others are accessed individually from the outer courtyard suggesting that the function of these ground floor chambers were intrinsically linked with this courtyard. They may have been the chambers utilised by the household managers and stewards. When analysing the Lease arrangements later, we discover that the bishop was most particular to stipulate that members of his household must be reserved rooms as near to the gatehouse as was practically possible, and these rooms would seem likely to have served this purpose. [60]

To the north of the outer court, and in the principal direction of travel, was the entrance porch which opened into a traditional screens passage with the seventy-two foot long hall (E) to its west, and beyond three units of chambers making up the south range (F, G & H). (F & G) are believed to be those described, before partitioning, as the three principal chambers in a survey of 1357.[61] The façade of the entrance porch, hall and principql rooms facing the outer court and garden were crenulated (Fig. 68), a self-promoting symbol used to claim high status. To the east of the screen passage, in the traditional site for the services, the buttery, pantry and kitchens were located, and although not marked as such on the plans, the presence of a kitchen (I) can be identified through a depiction of an oven drawn against the east wall to the north of the service rooms. This configuration would classify the hall range at Ely Place as a conventional plan with high and low chambers either side of the hall; a configuration that would have been the normal arrangement in the fourteenth century when Thomas Arundel is said to have re-built the Inn.[62]

Returning to the upper end of the hall, the three units of rooms (F.G & H), although immediately to the west of the hall are not accessed on axis from it, but instead access to them is gained by leaving the hall to its north and passing through a stair vestibule that forms a pivotal space linking on four sides, north the cloister (quadrangle), south the hall, west the main chambers and east to the field and stables. Because access could be gained to the Inn from either the stables on its north boundary or from the street via the hall, this stair vestibule, sited before the principal chambers, provides the opportunity to control access from the common public spaces to areas of increasingly private nature, denoted by their distance from

[60] Cambridge University, MS. 95550, p. 5.
[61] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, No. 106, p. 191.
[62] Ibid, No. 106, p. 191.

the hall. The stair vestibule was therefore a pivotal space where those permitted right of entry to the principal chambers beyond were differentiated from those who were not.

Given the nature of the ecclesiastical duties, both administrative and legal, these principal rooms (F & G) may have taken on a similar form to the state rooms found in royal palaces which provided an enfilade of rooms increasing in privacy and importance as they were permeated. The uniform pattern of the state apartment in England consisted of the great chamber, the main room for assembly of the court and a room restricted to out-of-livery attendants of nobles; the presence chamber, which was the King's public dining room and the main chamber of audience; the privy chamber, which was the King's private chamber reserved for the King's chosen companions; and the drawing room, a strictly controlled space forming part of the King's private suite leading to the bedchamber and closet beyond. Each space was more protected and of higher status as they were distanced from the public spaces.[63] Although unlike the enfilade arrangement of royal palaces, which offered the opportunity for procession, the cluster of spaces in the principal chambers of Ely Place endow the architectural space with no-through rooms and broken sight lines and therefore additional concealment and privacy. These arrangements were therefore not intended to support grand public display but by their design created a more intimate environment for consultation. In particular the room adjacent to the hall (F2) with window shown on the engraving of serliano type (Fig. 68) is a distance of three thresholds from the hall and does not give access to any further chambers, lending it an air of independence. Even more secluded is the final room which can be accessed from the stair vestibule (G2), four thresholds from the hall and appearing on the plan to be windowless. The final unit of rooms in this south range (H), although adjacent to the principal rooms (F & G) cannot be accessed from them, but must be reached by returning to the stair vestibule and travelling along the south cloister. We can deduce that by the deliberate division of this suite of rooms from the preceding suite, by the prevention of access between them, that their function is also separate and although adjacent they are intended to be non-communicating, for if two spaces are designed to have similar functions it is likely that the plan arrangement would allow access from one to the other. They form a collection of

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[63] For a discussion on the layout of state apartments in baroque palaces see H.M. Baillie 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces' *Archaeologia* (Second Series), vol. 101, January 1967, pp. 169-199.

interlinked spaces that make up the final unit of the south range and are the only rooms with direct access into the large walled garden to the south.

The spatial analysis confirms the separation of the first two units (F & G), making up the principal rooms, from unit (H). Room F1 can be seen to be the controlling space, isolating and protecting the deeper, impermeable chambers (F2, & G2) beyond. It further highlights how the third unit (H) within this south range forms part of an ambulatory route that leaves the Hall, along the south cloister walk, traverses the interlinked spaces in unit H, exits into the garden (C) through the 'coach yard' (J) and back into the courtyard (B), hence linking unit H with spaces of a public nature. This ambulatory route completely bypasses the principal rooms (F & G), effectively detaching them from the more communal spaces that surround them. The most private chambers with only one access point, in other words rooms at the ends of communicating routes, are rooms F2 and G2. Being connected, and therefore functionally associated with the control space chamber (F1), these chambers are deliberately differentiated because they are not through chambers. Chambers F2 and G2 are six and seven thresholds respectively from the outer courtyard and have multiple control spaces, namely the hall, stair vestibule and chamber F1, where passage may be inhibited and distance established from household activity. Privacy was not solely created by restricting personal encounters and establishing rooms which were impermeable but also by creating spaces where one could not be overheard. The seclusion offered by the arrangement of these principal rooms (F & G) was a statement of their intended function and bestowed importance and authority which linked the owner and selected visitors in a collective identity that elevated them from the rest of the household. These chambers (F & G) are read as high status rooms where privacy could be guarded and honour bestowed on visitors invited into their more exclusive environment. Spaces off the route commonly travelled maintained their singular ambience and prized status. Through this reading of the arrangement of these rooms it is suggested that they were the principal rooms used for important ecclesiastical matters, key ceremonial occasions or when hospitality was offered to important visitors.

The third unit (H), separated from the first two, was further linked via a corridor (K) to a series of irregular chambers forming the west range of the cloister that led to the steps of the chapel (L), which is entered from the customary south door. From the Accounts of the Keeper of the Palace for 1399 we understand that an oratory was situated next to the chapel which is most likely to have placed it in the west range

next to the steps leading to the chapel.[64] If this assumption is correct it would also be plausible to suggest that this west range was the administrative chambers, the 'pro secretis episcopi' mentioned in the 1357 survey, being distanced from the principal chambers and adjacent to the chapel. Above these rooms and in close proximity to the chapel would most likely be the private chambers of the bishop.

The north range of the cloister is largely formed by the chapel, with apartments over the cloister walk making up the remaining section of the range. From a plan, discovered in the library of the Society of Antiquaries (Fig. 69), the layout of the upper floors of Ely Place can be seen. The chambers in this north range (M1-4) are depicted as interconnecting and furthermore they connect with the enfilade arrangement over the west walk of the cloister (N1-3) suggested as being the private chambers of the bishop. The interconnection between these chambers would suggest that they were not part of the lodgings historically made available to those who were privileged to use rooms in the Inn. More likely would be the chambers over the east cloister walk (O) which could be bypassed by use of a corridor leading to the north chambers, hence segregating the occupants from the affairs of the bishop. This supposition is further supported by the fact that the chambers of the east range overlook the services, an association which is a common arrangement in early courtyard planning where guest chambers are situated in the first, or base, court alongside the services. The arrangement of all these buildings created the central cloister space which was ninety-five feet from west to east and seventy-three feet north to south surrounded by cloisters with apartments over.[65]

The Bishop's Inn as described conformed to the conventional idea of high and low status spaces determined by the function intended to be performed within that space and therefore which end of the hall it was placed, a configuration found in the large London houses of the lay nobility and ecclesiastical elite. The domestic services confined to the eastern end of the hall formed the lower house and were distanced from the clerical and ceremonial spaces that were grouped around the cloister garth forming the upper house; a spatial arrangement that upheld the hierarchal division of the manorial household. The whole layout of Ely Place compartmentalised the functions performed, grouping them into a series of distinct spaces, each with its own specific purposes clustered around a quadrangle. This configuration was similar to that of the monastic spaces surrounding the cloister garth where the frater, dorter

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[64] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* p. 191.
[65] Williams, *Early Holborn,* p. 343.

and chapter house catered for specific and different functions but were linked by the walks of the cloister. The chambers forming an eastern range (D) to the outer courtyard were remote from the inner functions of Ely Place being only linked to it via the entrance porch or service rooms and being in close proximity to the gatehouse and the street, and hence public spaces.

The bishops had impressive acreage, a hall in which to provide hospitality, private principal rooms for special administrative functions and privileged guests, religious spaces for prayer and administrative duties and service areas for the domestic wellbeing of the palace. Ely Place gave the Bishop in an opulent and high status architectural framework in which to operate, and one that reinforced his authority. This was the form of Ely Place at the time that the 1576 Lease was drawn up permitting Christopher Hatton to occupy a large portion of the Inn.

7.3 Ely Place after the Lease to Christopher Hatton

The analysis of the Lease and Grant that follows looks at the parts of the Inn that were let to Hatton and those areas that were important for the Bishop to retain. It further considers the Bishop's emphasis on his right of access through the spaces leased that were thought to be essential and therefore to be protected. Furthermore, it considers the significance of the divisions made and how the sharing of space between Hatton and the Bishop could be tolerated.

The records analysed proved problematic in that their descriptions of the chambers and relationships within the property did not always correlate with the floor plans. In addition, detailed or specific reference to 'Hatton House' was not made in the Grant and furthermore the later inventories of Hatton House clearly refer to chambers within Ely Place. These inconsistencies created difficulties in their interpretation. The discrepancies are discussed during the analysis that follows and any speculative conclusions drawn are supported by the circumstantial evidence that was identified.

Before looking in detail at the spaces Hatton acquired, an overview of the 1576 Lease indicates that Hatton not only gained absolute possession of defined spaces within Ely Place but also gained the right to occupy those parts specifically reserved for the Bishop and his household when they were not in residence. Hatton's possession included the gatehouse (A) with the exception of the small room used as a prison and the rooms used as the porter's lodge; the first, outer, courtyard (B)

including the whole of the colonnaded east range (D); the long stables or coach yard (J); the hall (E), the rooms forming the south range of the cloister (F, G & H) and certain chambers above; the barn, location unknown; the garden (C) and the orchard to the west of the property, (Fig. 31).[66] In receiving this lease Hatton undertook to repair his part of Ely Place and make it a suitable dwelling place, furthermore the lease obligated Hatton, at his own expense, to fit out a new wine cellar and to repair the stable and hayloft to the north of the property for the Bishop. The Bishop wrote into the lease that in his absence Hatton may use and occupy other rooms of the house reserved for the Bishop and his servants, namely all the rooms east of the dining room to the chapel (the west range); the chapel and its cellars (L); the cellar at the great stairs (P) leading to the dining room; the chambers in the south passage of the chapel to the narrow gallery in the east (M1-4 Fig. 31), and the new cellar that Hatton was required to build. Upon warning that the Bishop and his household were to occupy Ely Place, Hatton and those residing in rooms only to be used in the absence of the Bishop, were to remove their household belongings and 'quietly yield and give place to the said Lord Bishop'.[67] A situation, no doubt, that proved challenging for the rivals for Ely Place.

The Lease commences from the point of entry into the property, the gatehouse (A) (Fig. 31).

> ' [..] all the house thene comonly called the gatehouse with easments and roomes thereunto belonging. Except to the said Bishop and his successors two litle roomes therein with [...] to be the prison house, for the safe keeping of such persons as shalbe arrested or delivered in execution to the bayly of the liberties of the said lord Bishop […]. Saving also and excepting to the said Lord Bishop and his successors that nether rooms in the said gatehouse comonly called the porters lodge to be used and enjoyed by the officer or officers of the said lord Bishop and his successors at such time or times only as the said lord bishop or his succesors shalbe abyding […] or remaynyng with some portion of his or their household in or at the said palace.'[68]

The Lease is explicit in its description of the gatehouse; it is made most plain that the gatehouse is included with the exceptions clearly stated. There is nothing contradictory between anything in the text and the plans. The room used as a prison was not leased and the porter's lodge was reserved for use of the Bishop and his household. From the evidence on the ground plan there appears to be a fireplace shown in the south-east corner of the eastern side which is not duplicated on the west, suggesting this room is the porter's lodge. The gatehouse was therefore a

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[66] TNA, MPD 1/170.
[67] Cambridge University, MS. CC95550 p. 7.
[68] Ibid. p. 1.

shared space, some of it to be reclaimed for use when the bishop and his household were staying at the palace, but when not so occupied Christopher Hatton had licence to use these rooms. The importance of the gatehouse is therefore underlined by granting this liberty. For both occupants the gatehouse would not only be a symbol of status, the start of the processional route through which the demarcation between the street and the palace beyond was made, but it afforded a control point, the power of which both inhabitants would want to retain, enabling honour to be bestowed to those gaining access. Its occupancy provided the means by which this privilege could be granted and therefore the sharing of this space denotes the importance of retaining the means by which the creation of authority and image could be communicated and access controlled. The Gatehouse was an important interface between the ordinary, the street, and the extraordinary, Ely Place.

By commencing at the Gatehouse the reader is provided with a starting point and the Lease continues to provide direction by linking the gatehouse with the first courtyard (B). It is here that the first difficulty is encountered.

> '[…] all that first courtyard in the said palace from the entry of the said greate gatehouse to the long gallery that separates the said court yard from the second court yard in the said palace, and all that first long Gallery, and all the chambers and lodgings both above and beneath devidinge the said two courte yards, and the now voide place that is unbuilded between the said Galery and certayne chambers thereto adioyining […]'[69]

The ground plans available do not vary in the layout depicted, nor do any of them show a structure that in itself divides two courtyards. The description of this area found in Grose includes some offices on the right which are identified by being supported by a colonnade (D), a small garden on the left (C) and the hall immediately ahead (E) and this description perfectly matches the ground plans, but there is no mention of a gallery dividing two courtyards.[70] The plan discovered in the library of the Society of Antiquaries (Fig. 69)[71] is the only plan found to address the layout of the first floor. It depicts a structure with three bay windows overlooking the cloister garth and adjoining to the south range chambers (R) that would appear to be a long gallery above the south cloister walk (Q). It is this structure that I believe is the long gallery being described in the lease. From Bishop Cox's perspective what was

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[69] Ibid. pp. 1-2
[70] Historic England Archive, AL 0023 Grose Antiquities, p. 133
[71] Society of Antiquaries of London, George Gilbert Scott, *Remarks on Ely Palace, Holborn, Accompanying Some Original Drawings of the Same,* 1772.

important was to drawn a line between those spaces that were being relinquished and those remaining in his possession. The long gallery performed that function, forming a demarcation of a kind between the point where Hatton's territory ended and the Bishop's commenced. For the purposes of the Lease, the long gallery was the dividing structure that separated the first courtyard and the cloister garth, or second court yard. This cloister garth would match the description of being 'in the said palace'. Furthermore, the 'voide place' which has not been built upon between the long gallery and other chambers adjoining to it probably refers to the land north of the hall between the long gallery and the services.

This reading of the Lease would have transferred to Christopher Hatton the possession of all the chambers dividing the two courts; namely all the chambers forming the south range of the cloister (F, G & H) including the hall (E) and the colonnaded range (D), depriving the Bishop of his most important chambers.

> ' And also [….] the said Chambers as they lye to the saide now voide rooms of the southside and to the litle Dining Chamber of the northside, and also the nether rooms under the said   Chambers sometime called the greene plor (unto the deviding of an entry into the garden and Cloister of the northside) and also two other nether roomes adioyning hereto, […] and pccll of the voide room (betweene the said nether roomes and one greate bricke wall as farre as extendeth to the windowe of that place which is reserved for a new wine sellar for the said Bishop and his successors to be made at the end of his old wineseller, […] shalbe dressed and made fitt for that purpose, with lights p[ar]ticons and other necessaries at the Charges of the said Christopher his executors and assignes within one quarter of a yeare next ensuing the date hereof. And also that far larst seller behinde the saide greene Chamber now opening into the Cloyster in the saide palace. The dore whereof in the said Cloyster shall not be used by the   said Christopher or his assigns at any such time as the said Bishop or his successors shall lye at the said palace butt for that time remains shutt and closed upp.'[72]

The Lease only references the principal rooms forming the south range of the cloister together with the great hall in general terms, describing them as 'voide rooms to the southside'; believed to be rooms (F, G & H). This claim that the Lease was referring to the rooms in this south range can be supported by the demarcation between those spaces relinquished and those retained as these are addressed in more detail to ensure clarity. The rooms included stop at a Little Dining Chamber (H4) on the first floor but state that the chamber below it known as the Greene Parlore (H0), which later in the document is referred to as the Greene Chamber, is included and in addition further 'nether rooms' (H1-3). From this description the Green Chamber can

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[72] Cambridge University, MS. CC95550, p. 2.

be situated on the ground floor in the south range because it was described as under the Little Dining Chamber and 'unto the deviding of an entry into the garden and cloister of the northside'[73] The only range which can be described as having an entry to the garden and the cloister on its north side is the south range unit H. By the term 'voide rooms to the southside', the Lease is thought to be describing all the principal rooms to the south of the cloisters made vacant and to be relinquished to Hatton up to the point in the third unit of rooms (H) where the Little Dining Chamber on the first floor is excluded.

Included in the Lease are details of the work that is expected of Hatton, and at his cost, to create a new wine cellar for the Bishop in compensation for his loses. Furthermore, later in the Lease the Bishop takes pains to describe those chambers which are not included and these run from the east of the Little Dining Chamber (H4), westwards and northwards to the Chapel (L), which would confirm that the dining room itself was excluded from the Lease. This description further supports the placement of these chambers in the third unit (H) of the south range so as to form a cohesive link with the west and north range chambers retained by the Bishop.

> 'Except and always reserved unto the said Lord Bishop and his successors, all the Chambers from the east end of the foresaide litle Dyninge Chamber to the Chappell in the said palace, and all the other roomes and chambers alonge by the southside of the said Chappell unto a litle narrow gallery upon the east. And also all the said Chappell and all the vaults under the same and also the seller next to the greate stayres going up to the Dyninge Chambers in the said pallace and the foresaide new wine sellor at the end'[74]

The Lease has the need to define the limit of Hatton's possession on the first floor of the south range because there was access through all the chambers on this floor. In the later document, the Grant, the first floor rooms are described in a sequential manner suggesting that they may be accessed one from the other and from the plan of the upper floor (Fig. 70) we see that they are all interlinked with an enfilade through the rooms situated closest to the long gallery and running parallel to it. Hence the bishop has need to define the limit of Hatton's tenure as ceasing at the dining chamber. Similarly, the need to explicitly include the 'Greene Parlor' and 'nether rooms' found beneath the dining room may be due to the lack of access between them and the principal chambers (G & F) and because they form the boundary between Hatton's and the Bishop's domains.

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[73] Ibid. p.2
[74] Ibid. p 4

'[...] the whole barn wthin the said palace with it shalbe lawfull to and for the said Christopher Hatton his executors administrators and assns at all times during the terme hereafter menconed, to alter transpose bestowe and employe into any such frames or buildings as the said Christopher his executors or assigns shall thinke most neete therto be made.' [75]

It is very significant that the Lease included 'the whole barn' and documents that Christopher Hatton had the lawful right to modify it and make into any form of accommodation that he desired. The inclusion of this right suggests that Hatton had plans to convert this barn and therefore needed the Lease to be explicit that he had the authority to do so. As reference to the barn follows the description of the third unit of rooms in the south range (H) it may have formed the west boundary to the garden between the garden and the orchard (Fig. 70). Placing it here would be in line with the position where Hatton House is thought to have stood. Caveler informs us that the site Hatton chose to build his new house was the orchard and garden belonging to the Bishop's Palace.[76] It is possible that Hatton capitalised on this clause and converted the barn into an extension that, together with the chambers leased, became known as Hatton House to differentiate his portion from the Bishop's Ely Place. This conversion would explain why the barn is detailed in the Lease but is not mentioned in the Grant; instead reference is made to 'one house adjoining to the premises'[77] It may further explain why the ground floor of the third unit of rooms in the south range (H) was leased to Hatton when the dining room on the floor above was not. Possession of these rooms enabled a link to be created between Ely Place and the Barn, for which re-use had been granted and which could have become Hatton House to the west.

Included in Hatton's ownership was the Long Stable (J) next to the first courtyard. 'And all the long stable scituate and being in the said first court yarde.'[78] In addition, Hatton was also given possession of the garden; but the Bishop was eager to retain the right to enjoy these gardens that were famed for their beauty and the fine strawberries that grew there. To ensure that free access to them was preserved the Lease stipulated the Bishop's rights to access.

' [...] have granted unto the said Christopher Hatton the custodye and keeping of the the said gardens and orchards with the comodities thereof. Having alwayes to the

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[75] Ibid. p.3

[76] Historic England Archive, AL0023/015/01, W.M. Caveler, Article, 'Doorway on the South Side' in *Select Specimens of Gothic Architecture,* (1880-1920). Caveler states 'The site he built his house on was the orchard and garden belonging to the bishop's palace'

[77] NRO, FH4283.

[78] Cambridge University, MS. CC 95550, p. 3

said Lord Bishop and his successors and such his and there frends as the said lord bishop and his successors shall allowe […] free ingress and regresse at all times into and out of the said gardens and orchards to walk and take the pleasure in the same, and xxth bushells of roses yearly to distill for sweete water in convenient time of the year if there shalbe so many there growing.[79]

We must not underestimate the significance of the possession of a fine garden and orchard on the outskirts of London. During the sixteenth century the London streets were lined with properties of many storeys and behind them the land was developed to provide for the additional housing demanded. Open spaces were becoming rare and the city was expanding beyond the walls into the rural outskirts. To have ownership of a large garden, orchards and pastures within access of the city was a prized possession.

It is interesting to note the full extent of the rooms and areas of the palace that were explicitly denied to Hatton and the lengths to which the Bishop went in documenting those rights which were to be retained by him and his household. In fact, over half the Lease is dedicated to language intended to protect and preserve the rights of the Bishop, his household and his successors. Territorial issues were notoriously important. The Rolls of the Assize of Nuisance inform us of the boundary battles that were historically fought between neighbours, and frequently site access and privacy issues were the source of contention.[80] The Bishop was determined to document and hence protect his privileges, repeating his rights to access and emphasising the spaces reserved for his use.

The Lease, as interpreted, gave Hatton the rights over a share in the gatehouse, the first outer courtyard, the long stable and garden, the hall and, with the exception of the little dining chamber on the first floor and wine cellars, all the other rooms forming the south range. The Bishop retained all the rooms from the 'Little Dining Chamber' encompassing all the chambers making up the whole of the west and north ranges. The chapel and its undercroft were explicitly reserved for the Bishop and his household during his time in residence. Three chambers as close to the street as possible were to be reserved for the bishop's servants[81] and the stables on the north boundary were to be repaired and made fit for the Bishop within four months of the

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[79] Ibid, pp. 3-4.
[80] Chew, H. M. and W. Kellaway, *London Assize of Nuisance 1301-1431* (London Record Society, 10, 1973)
[81] Cambridge University, MS. CC 95550, p.5

Lease at Hatton's expense.[82] In addition Hatton was to build a new wine cellar beyond the 'Greene Parlore' and fit it out with necessary accoutrements exclusively for the Bishop's use.[83]

Access to the Bishop's chambers in the west and north ranges, post the Grant, appear to be restricted to the south walk of the cloister (Q) via the staircase (P). This access route would necessitate passage along the south cloister walk underneath the long gallery, and would explain why the Bishop would need to retain rights of access along this cloister walk and why the door leading from the cloister was not to be used by Hatton when the Bishop was in residence. The Bishop's eagerness to retain rights to traverse under the demised gallery for the transportation of household goods is understandable in light of the fact that access to his chambers required traversing land now in the possession of Hatton and rights of access and egress would need to be formalised.

The Bishop went to great pains to formally record that his entire household maintained the rights to access the property through the gatehouse and under the long gallery, as was customary. Loss of this right would deny him access to the chambers reserved for his use and would also harm the Bishop's image and status through the loss that the visual and hierarchal entrance to the palace bestowed. The Bishop was obviously concerned that he would be denied the access thought fitting if Hatton controlled the gatehouse, first courtyard and stables and therefore, unambiguously, he included in the language of the Lease his ongoing right to pass 'through the gates and wayes of old time used and accustomed to pass into the said palace'.

> 'Except and alwayes reserved to the said Lord Bishop and his successors for his and there officers kepers of the said house or palace and his assignes, servants and all other psons as shall from time to time have accesse or busynesse to or with the said Lord Bishop his officers key or servants or any of them remayning in or at the said pallace or any part thereof free ingresse or egresse, and also free carryinge and carriage with horse and cartes of the stuffe and necessarie provisions of the said Bishop […] in, to, by and through the gates and wayes of old time used and accustomed to passe into the said palace under the saide gatehouse and so into the first court yarde, and under the said demised Galley in such sufficient breadthe for the uses aforesaid under the said gallery as the household stuffe and provision of the Bishop and his successors with carts may have convenient pasage that waye.'[84]

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[82] Ibid. p. 6
[83] Ibid. p. 2
[84] Ibid. p. 3

The extent of Hatton's tenure of Ely Place acquired through the Lease is highlighted on the plan (Fig. 31). These chambers together with the additional spaces created with the building of 'Hatton House' gave Hatton an impressive, outward facing abode overlooking the garden and orchards, immediately behind the street tenements and imposing gatehouse. Hatton was to possess the whole of the south portion of Ely Place, closest to the street, and the most accessible spaces originally intended for hospitable or ceremonial purposes. He was to gain the social significance that architectural display could offer. The Bishop maintained the spiritual spaces and the more private cloister apartments. In London, the most prestigious chambers were now those in public view and not those in a secluded location. Possession of chambers closest to the street gave their occupants the most advantage and was the most desirable. Hatton was to be seen, Bishop Cox was not.

Bishop Cox had suffered the inconvenience of stabling on the north boundary of the property which inevitably re-directed his general passage to and from Ely Place away from the Holborn road and with it an accompanying loss of differentiation. The loss of the main, outward facing part of his London Inn was clearly uncomfortable for the Bishop. He was concerned not to lose his right to access the property from areas which promoted outwardly the status and importance of the occupant, namely the gatehouse, garden and orchards, the loss of which would not be socially trivial. He does not include any clause in the Lease to suggest that he had concern over the loss of the Hall, but its forfeiture may help us to understand why he ensured the little dining room was retained which no doubt performed a substitute role in whatever hospitality the Bishop continued to provide. Although there had been a long history of this London house being a shared space and Cox was accustomed to sharing it, previous tenants had not encroached to this extent and had not deprived him of its principal rooms and the ostentatious display of his status.

The parts of Ely Place that specifically go unmentioned in the Lease are the apartments in the east range and the service range with the bowling alley adjoining. These spaces are neither listed in order to define that which Cox relinquished nor for clarification of that which he sought to retain. The apartments in the east range may have already been leased, or at least in occupation, by a third party at the time of the Lease, as they had been historically.

It is presumed that the Bishop retained the services to provide for his own household and that Hatton had use of them in the Bishop's absence as was his right with all the

spaces that had been reserved for the Bishop. We learn later from the Grant that new services had been established, presumably by Hatton, and it is this information that suggests that the Bishop retained those to the lower end of the hall. Provision of leisure facilities within a bishop's Inn was not unusual. In emulation of royal palaces, bowling alleys and tennis courts were incorporated and examples can also be found at Winchester House and the Inn of the bishop of Bath and Wells. Although Hatton may not have gained explicit ownership of the bowling alley in the Lease, he had the right to use it when the bishop was not in residence.

Why Hatton should have developed the site once it had been leased to him is not recorded but clearly there was a political motive in that his intention was to own the property and by building his own edifice within the curtilage of Ely Place he made claim to the architectural space. Within a year of obtaining the lease and after the expenditure of a large sum of money in extending and acquiring the interest in associated land, Hatton, not content with this leasehold, persistently sought to gain the freehold. Once he had improved the property Hatton used the fact that he had increased the value of Ely Place at his own expense to persuade the Queen of the ambiguity of the Lease. He claimed that he was vulnerable and risked losing all the investment, of which much of the funding had been sourced from the Queen herself. The Queen, in support of her courtier, forced Bishop Cox to grant her the freehold which she re-granted to Hatton. The freehold could be regained by the bishops on payment of the sums incurred by Hatton to improve their property. On 30th June 1578 Hatton was granted a parcel of land with all the buildings on it that included the portion of Ely Place previously leased plus additional rooms that had been once reserved for the Bishop, along with other chambers leased to tenants neighbouring the gatehouse and 'one house adjoining to the premises to his great cost and charges',[85] believed to be the modification that Hatton made to the barn.

7.4 Exploration of the Modifications made by Christopher Hatton

This section now considers the architectural solutions chosen post-alienation, intended to accommodate both a secular and sacred lifestyle within one shared space. Although not straightforward, an attempt is made to define the extent of the modification made by Hatton and to suggest the form of the new build referred to as Hatton House. This attempt is made by reference to the information in the Lease that

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[85] NRO, FH4283.

documents the licence Hatton was granted to alter and modify parts of the Inn for his personal comfort. In addition, it references the Grant, the 1772 plan, later inventories of 1645 and 1665 and the Society of Antiquaries plan of Ely Place (Fig. 69), also made in 1772, showing the upper floor arrangements. This enquiry seeks to establish whether the changes in late sixteenth-century behavioural norms and their associated architectural arrangements that had developed in the country, and discussed in the preceding chapter, could be identified in the modifications made to older London architectural form, thus informing our understanding of the importance of certain new conventions.

Identification of the improvements made by Hatton is a challenging undertaking; however, through analysis of the Grant and comparison with the Lease together with scrutiny of the eighteenth-century engravings, it is possible to recognise features that strongly suggest the work of Hatton.

The Grant detail commences by describing the spaces that had already been leased to Hatton; those in the first courtyard from the gatehouse to the gallery (Figs. 69 & 70). Like the Lease, it also begins at the gatehouse (A), but instead of using the gallery to indicate a general demarcation line with all those spaces to its south leased to Hatton, the Grant instead details each room in turn either by reference to a name or by an association to other rooms.

After commencing with the gatehouse the Grant logically starts to describe the first chambers encountered in the outer courtyard; namely, the colonnaded range (D). The portrayal of this range matches the arrangements shown on the plan (Fig. 70). Reference is made to a 'Flowers Chamber' denoted again as 'next to the streete' (D0), with 'one faire higher chamber directly over the same' (D1), 'one faire longe Gallery lying north and south' (D3), and 'six chambers or roomes under the said Gallery'. This description of the colonnaded range being included within the first group of spaces defined and in association with those that were already leased supports the earlier supposition that this range had been included in the spaces leased to Hatton.

Returning to the engraving (Fig. 68) it is striking that the appearances of the colonnade range east of the courtyard is of entirely different style to the older form of the bishop's Inn. The engraving depicts this range decorated with evenly spaced columns on pedestals that support an entablature of classic design. The windows of

the floor above are again evenly spaced; they are not gothic in style as found in the Hall nor are they adorned with mouldings or filled with small diamond shaped leaded glass; instead, they conform to classic proportions. Despite the oriel window, the colonnade is reminiscent of the classical loggia found at Holdenby, Kirby and Burghley; the classical detailing in the frieze above would most certainly not have been in situ at the beginning of the century. Referring to the engraving of Ely Place in the sixteenth century by H W Brewer (Fig. 71) the same colonnaded range is depicted with dormer windows above piers that seem more closely aligned with a cloister walk than a classical loggia. Brewer's reconstruction may depict a form that the artist would have expected in a medieval London Inn rather than an accurate account of the original form, but whether it looked like this or not, the original form would not have been classical in nature. Of course it is also possible that the classical detailing was added in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries but the third Christopher Hatton was more interested in developing the land and by 1659 Hatton House had been demolished and foundations for the Hatton Garden had been laid.[86] It is unlikely that major expenditure would have been incurred to update this range at the same time as a considerable part of the house was being pulled down for land development.

There is another noticeable feature in the first courtyard that appears to be incongruous with the fourteenth-century building, the window of serliano, or venetian, form to the west of the hall facing into the garden (Fig. 68). This window overlooking the garden of the courtyard is a curious form for a fourteenth-century bishop's palace. The motif was first described in *L'architecttura* the work of Sebastiano Serlio in 1537 and is therefore inconceivable that it was incorporated when the Bishop of Ely, Thomas Arundel, is said to have re-built the Inn in the late 1300s.

Although it is not possible to assert that it was Hatton who replaced the windows of the colonnade range and created the classical loggia with long gallery above, and who inserted the serliano window in one of the principal chambers of the south range, from the visual evidence available and knowledge of Hatton's building works of the 1570s in Northamptonshire it would not be unreasonable to suggest that part of Hatton's £1,897.00 expenditure was allocated to updating this first court. The appearance of these classical features at Ely Place may be circumstantial evidence of Hatton's involvement but nevertheless the adoption of classical forms in the

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[86] J. Pudney, *Hatton Garden* (London: Chiswick Press, 1950?), p.4.

country at this time was of the moment. The first courtyard and garden had been Hatton's domain from the beginning of his tenure and in creating an imposing classical loggia here, in a similar fashion to those he had built in the country, Hatton would have been making the same statement in London as he had made at his country seat. It is significant that classical motifs were applied to update the entrance courtyard of the older architectural form at Ely Place. It was clearly important to fashion an entrance that laid claim to the progressive, educated image of its proprietor and this demonstrates that country practices could be replicated in the urban environment. I am persuaded that a man such as Hatton who was improving his London abode would have chosen classical motifs for that improvement as he had for his properties in the country and, if this was the case, we may claim that the innovative form of country decoration was transferred to London.

The Grant goes on to specify the rooms making up the south range and assists in attributing location and ownership to the rooms shown on the floor plan. The hall is named to the north of the first courtyard and gallery that lies north and south, i.e. the colonnaded range, and by description is associated with the great chamber. 'One hall beneath and one greate chamber above […]' (E & F1). Grose informs us that the hall was thirty feet high[87] and therefore it was possible that Hatton modified the hall; by utilising the height of the open hall and installing a floor he would have created a great chamber over. However, there is no suggestion on the eighteenth-century plan of the upper floor (Fig. 69), or in the narrative from Murray and Grose that a great chamber was created by flooring over the hall. It is more plausible to conclude that the chamber marked F1 is the "greate chamber above", it being at the top of the stairs leading from the hall.

The Grant, having taken us from the hall up the stairs to the great chamber on the first floor, now leads us through the first floor rooms of the south range, assigning names to each of the rooms.

> 'one little room called the lobbie adioyning unto the said greate chamber; one other little roome to lay in wait for the said great chamber; one chamber called the withdrawing chamber; one other chamber called the Bedchamber with a study and an inner Chamber thereonto; one other Chamber called the Dodges Chamber with a study and an inner Chamber theronto; and one Chamber called the wardrob; a chamber for the yeoman of the wardrob and a voyde roome neere thereunto, at a stayers head'

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[87] Historic England Archive, AL0023/002/01 *Groses Antiquities* (1772). p. 133

The withdrawing chamber is thought to be the same room as the 'great drawing room' described by Murray (F2), a window from which would have overlook the dais of the upper hall.

> 'Discovered under the wainscot and hangings of the great drawing room a large recess like a bow window neatly wainscoted with oak, which led merely to a little window looking into the great hall, at a considerable height from the ground and directly over the table at the upper end. It had long been stopped up and the recess itself was hidden between the wainscot of the room.'[88]

The upper floor plan is not thought to be detailed sufficiently to show the inner chambers described but they are probably partitioned within the main rooms in a similar manner as depicted in room F on the ground floor (Fig. 69). From the great chamber, just discussed, follows a suite of rooms that can be accessed one from the other in a circuitous route to its west. These interconnecting rooms are described as the Bedchamber with a study and an inner chamber (G2 &3) and the 'Dodges Chamber', also with a study and inner chamber thought to have been retained by the Bishop in the Lease and known as the Litle Dining Roome (H4 & 5).

These chambers ran parallel to the Gallery over the south cloister walk where another interesting feature is visible, namely the three symmetric bay windows (Fig. 69). These three bay windows to the first floor are of remarkably similar form to that of the line of three bay windows used repeatedly at Holdenby where they were found the north and south ranges of the first inner court and the hall range of the second court (Fig. 33). A description of Bishop Goodrich's gallery that stood on a arched cloister at Ely Place informs us that it was lighted by four light transomed windows facing north over the cloister and that in the centre was a projecting oriel.[89] This description of the gallery relates to the time Goodrich was bishop, between 1534 and 1554. This description of the windows of the gallery does not match the later plan showing three bay windows and therefore the windows to the gallery were modified after 1554. There is no hard evidence to support a claim that it was Hatton who modified these gallery windows at Ely Place but nevertheless they were modified in the second half of the sixteenth century and the resemblance of their modified form to a line of three bay windows, inwardly facing into a courtyard, is very suggestive of the work of Hatton at Holdenby.

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[88] Murray, *A Notice of Ely Chapel,* p. 18.
[89] Venables, *Episcopal Palaces of England*, pp. 141-143.

The rooms called the wardrobe and the chamber for the yeoman of the wardrobe are likely to be on a second floor above and a 'voide room' believed to be a passage leading to the stairs head probably those that return to the cloister (P).

The Grant then takes the reader down those stairs to a kitchen beneath and a pantrie (HHii) with pantler's chamber (HHiii) and cellars under located by a new hall (HHi).

> 'The surveying place, from the kitchen beneath and the pantry, with the pantlers chamber, by the said new hall; the seller under the said pantry; a faire lowe Chamber to the garden ward with a study and an inner Chamber being under the said Chamber called the bedchamber; one entry or passage between the saide lowe chamber and the said hall'

A new hall is thought to refer to the new build, that is to say, the improvements made by Hatton which, together with the chambers granted, became known as Hatton House. This new build is likely to have been added to the west of the principal rooms and this thesis has asserted that it was built on the location of the barn which Hatton had licence to modify. The location from the description in the Grant certainly places the new hall in association with the chamber facing the garden and underneath the bedchamber. In the copy of the Grant transposed into the Bishop's household book the word 'new' has been underlined, differentiating this hall from the main hall in the first courtyard. These new service rooms, the pantrie and pantler's chamber, are suggested as being located adjoining Ely Place with the new hall extending west.

The claim that Hatton converted this area of Ely Place is further underlined by the Grant's use of the term 'surveying place' in connection with the new kitchen and pantry. Hatton's Holdenby had a specifically created space adjacent to the servant's day room known as the 'Surveying Place'. This term is also found at Cecil's Theobalds and is also associated with the services. Use of a 'surveying place' has not been identified in documents and plans of a date prior to the 1560s. Therefore, when we encounter this term in the Grant of Ely Place 'The surveying place, from the kitchen beneath and the pantry, with the pantler's chamber, by the said new hall' it is a logical conclusion to draw that these rooms had been newly built in the 1570 improvements made by Hatton. The surveying place was a space that would not have been created when the original Inn was built and therefore can be confidently associated with Hatton's refurbishment. In identifying newly created spaces in a fourteenth-century Bishop's Inn in London that were specifically intended for domestic staff and that can be shown to be the same type of space as those created in the country houses of the same period suggests that Hatton had brought contemporary architectural form to the urban environment. In order to complete the

reference to the original Lease the Grant concludes this section of leased spaces by reference to the long stable and rooms associated (J).

There is a definite break in the flow of the description at this point. Bishop Cox repeats his name and position and his grant to the sovereign Queen Elizabeth, the reader senses that what follows is new, in need of separate detail and clarification. The description is thought to be of the third unit (H) forming the south range of the cloister. This range was described loosely in the Lease as the Greene Parlor and two other "nether rooms" adjoining with a voide room between them leased to Hatton with the Litle Dining Roome above retained by the Bishop. The Grant seeks to clarify that these spaces have changed their function and perhaps this is the reason for their explicit treatment in the Grant. It may have been necessary to lease these ground floor rooms, whilst above them the rooms were retained for the Bishop's use, so as to provide access from Ely Place to the extension to the west that became the new build. This arrangement would have proved awkward as the ground floor rooms were linked to the entry to the west range of Ely Place which was reserved for the Bishop. The Grant therefore needed to be specific for these spaces in Ely Place.

> " […] that is to saye, one roome or place latelye called the greene parlor, now ment to be the kithen […]; One other litle roome wch is ment to be a pasterye, and being on the south side of the said greene parlor […]; One other roome, and the east side of the saide roome mente to be a pastery [...]; one litle yarde or litle peece of grounde adioyning to the said last roome, and on the south side thereof […]"

We read again of the Greene Parlor which confirms the location of the chambers that have had their function altered. This parlour is described as 'now meant to be the kitchen' and is thought to be the same kitchen (H0) as that referenced at the bottom of the stairs (P). One of the nether rooms is now attributed by the use made of it, namely a pastry (H1) on the south side of the Green Parlor (now the kitchen); the other is described as another room east of the pastry (H2) with a yard adjoining to the south.[90]

What follows is a reference to a piece of ground described by its association to a gallery, but the gallery referenced cannot be the gallery in the colonnaded range in the first courtyard (D3) as its description was associated with the Pastrey and was

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[90] In the later 1645 inventory reference is made to a Greene Parlor in addition to a Greate Kitchine and a New Kitchine, the interpretation of which proves problematic in light of the descriptions in the Grant. We understand from Grose that Hatton House was pulled down whilst Bishop Wren was imprisoned (1641-1659) and this fact may account for the brief 1665 inventory that does not mention either the Greene Parlor or the new kitchen. Historic England Archive, AL 0023, *Grose Antiquities* , p. 134.

sandwiched between the details of the ground and first floor rooms of unit (H). Nor can it refer to the gallery over the south cloister walk because the cloister walk gallery was orientated west-east and the description of the gallery in question must have been orientated north-south because the Pastrey was adjoined to its north end. 'One fayre chamber over the said roome, (mente to be the Pastery) adioyning to the northend of the said Gallery'. We learn, therefore, that Hatton House was endowed with three galleries which can be verified by reference to the later inventories where we find listed; Matted Gallery, Long Gallery and Drawing Chamber with Gallery.[91]

The Grant talks of a piece of ground on the east side of the gallery from its southern-most end up to the little yard (O) and follows with a cellar next to the room that is meant to be the kitchen. It then climbs the stairs to a fair chamber over the pastry (H1) (Fig. 69) which adjoins to the north end of the gallery and states that there are two further rooms, one over the pastry and the second to its east. These last two rooms are therefore on a second floor. The hypothesis that the barn was converted into a hall with a gallery over that formed part of Hatton House and was attached to Ely Place at the west end of the south range of chambers appears to be supported by the description of these rooms within the Grant. The inclusion of these upper rooms in the third block is new because these upper rooms were reserved for the use of the Bishop in the Lease. In the Grant, however, Bishop Cox lost the fair chamber (H1), another chamber adjoining and two further chambers in a second floor above them likely to be the original wardrobe and yeoman of the wardrobe's chamber. This loss was no doubt attributed to the fact that Hatton had built onto this side of Ely Place and access was necessary from the Fair Chamber into the gallery. Hatton would have made use of these rooms in unit H during his tenure under the Lease and seem likely that he intricately linked them with his new build. The fact that the Bishop included these additional rooms in the Grant may reveal their intrinsic connection to Hatton House.

This group of rooms appears to have been contentious. Originally linked to, and therefore functionally associated with, the west range of Ely Place retained by the Bishop, it is suggested that they are now linked and therefore functionally associated with the new building created by Hatton and now known as Hatton House.
The earlier assumption that the Bishop retained the original kitchen and services east of the hall may explain why there was a need to create a new kitchen exclusively for

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[91] NRO, FH2759.

use by Hatton. The Grant confirms that the room known as the Greene Parlor was the space chosen for this conversion, as it states that the room lately called the Greene Parlor is now meant to be the kitchen, and that the function of one of the original 'nether roomes' had also been changed to a pastry. In addition, the Grant informs us that associated with the new kitchen was a pantry and pantler's chamber adjoining the new hall. Furthermore, in the 1645 Inventory there is reference to a Great Kitchen and a New Kitchen.[92] Effectively these modifications form a new service area at the west end of the south range. Creating a service area in the centre of Hatton's combined house at first appears unlikely but we have already come to understand that the third block of rooms in the south range shared no direct access with the other principal rooms to their east, and therefore no inconvenience was caused to the traditional division between high and low status rooms. Furthermore, the newly created service area deliberately separated the two architectural spaces, Ely Place and Hatton House, which were previously internally linked by communicating chambers, an architectural language which informed the visitor not to pass beyond.

The new build comprising of a new hall with newly created services to its north end and a long gallery above running north to south is in fact a similar arrangement to that found in the first courtyard of Ely Place, the colonnade range, and makes us less reluctant to dismiss the deduction made from the wording of the Grant. The arrangement of domestic buildings around several courtyards was a persistent architectural form in the sixteenth century and guides the assumption in this direction. Limitations to architectural development in the urban environment was a constant feature of sixteenth-century properties and Hatton House seems to have incorporated what appears to be an unconventional functional use of space due to limitations of the original, older architectural form and a shared space. The principal rooms of the south range did not communicate with the garden; in fact, the only room that gave access to the garden was the south room in unit H that led into the yard (O) and into the garden. Perhaps for this reason the new hall with gallery above, provided for by the new services, created that link between the house and the garden that was central to the new country house style, forming a type of banqueting house in the London setting.

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[92] Ibid.

When the costs of the materials and labour were estimated each was itemised against the category of the material.[93] From this document we can understand that the costs were incurred for building, repairing and amending the premises, 'and of and in one howse adioyninge to the premysses to his greate coste and charges'[94] There is one line item noted against 'Masons' for work done in the said building, however, there are eight line items listed against 'Brick' for sums paid to brick makers and brick layers. Mr. Ellyott, James Brobone and John Hill were paid for making and delivering bricks; Thomas Colet and Henry were paid for laying bricks and Thomas Merryman was listed for selling brick 'to and for the said building'. As Ely Palace was a stone building, this extensive use of brick would suggest that Hatton's amendments to the premises and the creation of a 'howse adioyninge' was completed in brick and not in stone to match the older building.

The connection between the country house and the landscape was widely in evidence by the 1570s but, with limited space and the imposition of the street, adoption of an integrated entity within the urban environment was problematic. Ely Place was however endowed with the luxury of a magnificent garden, one that was immortalised in Shakespeare's Richard III where the then Duke of Gloucester addressed the Bishop of Ely,

> My lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
> I saw good strawberries in your garden there;
> I do beseech you, send for some of them![95]

Ely Place was in possession of a garden within the first courtyard, a garden created in the midst of the cloister, a vineyard, kitchen garden, orchard and meadow.[96] Although sweeping views from strategic places within the house were more difficult to obtain within a metropolitan setting, three long galleries had been planned with views over the gardens. The colonnade gallery overlooked the garden, and the gallery on the first floor over the south cloister walk overlooked the cloister garth garden, but the new gallery over the new hall could have provided Hatton with the opportunity to build in the more extravagant style prevalent in the country and may have overlooked both the garden and the orchard. Could Hatton have deliberately created an ideal, ostentatious, space associated with the garden with the Queen in mind, in a similar manner to those new arrangements at Holdenby in the Northamptonshire countryside,

[93] NRO, FH1018
[94] Ibid.
[95] Shakespeare Richard III, quoted in Murray, *A Notice of Ely Chapel*, p. 16.
[96] Walter Thornbury, *Old and New London: Volume 2* (1878), pp. 514-526.

intended to accommodate Her Majesty? We understand that a long gallery was of significant importance to the Queen because, although she was reluctant to undertake building works, she built a stone gallery at Windsor Castle in the early 1580s to rectify an omission here.[97] We also have evidence that the Queen visited Hatton House; the church bells were rung on 28th May 1590 for the Queen's removal to the Lord Chancellor's newly erected mansion,[98] and again on 11th November 1591 nine days before Hatton's death.[99]

We understand that fewer servants would be housed in London and those who travelled would probably be more personal servants and therefore perhaps the need for their isolation from the household at large may not have been a great necessity in the city. Ely Place however was a shared space with Bishop Cox who had a sizeable household to accommodate at the London Inn. In the grant to Hatton Bishop Cox had gone to great lengths to secure his household's continued right of way through the gatehouse and under the long gallery towards his west range, as was customary for the transport of goods. The Bishop occupied the chambers to the north and west of the second court; it would not be unreasonable for him to access those rooms through the screens and hall and along the south cloister as we are aware that he maintained the right to use the main gate from the street and pass under the gallery. The old hall therefore may have been a common thoroughfare necessitating the new hall which could be protected for use as a grander, ceremonial space in a manner that the period was constructing in the country.

We have seen how the function of the hall had changed in the ostentatious building programmes of Elizabeth's courtiers at their country estates. Here at Hatton House, Hatton had chosen to build a second hall that relegated the old hall, its decoration and its function, to a past lifestyle. No doubt the new hall provided suitable scenery in which public display could be enacted. This scenery may well have dispensed with the traditional language of differentiation in favour of an architectural language of the English Renaissance, and yet still retained the hierarchy of upper and lower house, as used in the country house at Holdenby where obelisks marked the traditional screens passage.

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[97] Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery', p. 60.
[98] J. Nichols, *The progresses, and public processions, of Queen Elizabeth. : Among which are interspersed, other solemnities, public expenditures, and remarkable events, during the reign of that illustrious princess* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1805), p. 40.
[99] Ibid, p. 122.

The acquired spaces from the original Bishop's Inn have been consistently referred to as Ely Place and the new build as Hatton House. I am of the opinion that the combined architectural arrangements created by Hatton and in his ownership were collectively known as Hatton House but that those spaces to its north, that is to say, the rooms forming the west, north and east cloisters, remaining in the Bishop's tenure, were still known as Ely Place. This opinion is supported in part by the 1645 inventory, which is entitled, 'A inventory of the goods of the lady Elizabeth Hatton taken at Hatton House the 20th day of January 1645'[100] and includes rooms once acquired from Ely Place. However, the name of Hatton's dwelling in Holborn was interchangeable and both Hatton House and Ely Place were used. Reference to Hatton House and Ely House is made by Sir Edward Coke, Attorney General, in his letters to Robert Cecil in 1598 where on 4th March he signed from Ely House and four days later on 8th March he signed from Hatton House.[101]

7.5 Conclusion

The transfer of episcopal properties into the hands of the laity did not pose the same magnitude of architectural challenge for their new owners as had been experienced in converting monastic properties. This was largely due to the aspirations of the church men resulting in properties that emulated those of the secular elite and the fact that there was already a need to cater for the considerable size of episcopal households. Furthermore, the properties had originally been planned to accommodate a variety of functions; ceremonial, spiritual, administrative and domestic which were readily transferable to lay use. The courtyard plan was equally employed for institutional use and elite society. Episcopal palaces were characterised by their opulent public spaces and private apartments planned in a hierarchal sequence which translated readily into aristocratic residences and amply provided for notable public display and elected concealment. The expansion of Ely Place/Hatton House may have been driven in part by the continuing shared ownership of the space, but the modifications made support the argument that Hatton was not just converting the property to gain a suitable space in which to live but rather he was also updating it, introducing concepts from the innovative building programmes he had employed in the country.

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[100] NRO, FH2759.
[101] HMCC, The Marquis of Salisbury, Part IX, p. 90 and p.95.

Country house architectural developments in the closing decades of the sixteenth century were concerned with the use of classical features and symmetry, connecting the house with the wider landscape and disengaging the servants from the once inclusive daily functions of the household and hence making changes to the purpose and function of the hall. At Hatton House in London classical motifs and form had been used to update the colonnade range and the courtyard façade of the principal chambers, gracing the entrance courtyard from the street in order to impress. In this urban environment display to social equals was of prime importance. Occupying space immediately behind the street front, closer to the surrounding social milieu, had become privileged space. In updating this space with the latest country innovations Hatton would have created an architectural arrangement that reflected on, and reinforced, his status and his progressive image. In London, it remained important to be situated close to architectural access points, such as gatehouses and entrance ranges from the street so as to be seen by society.

The old hall with its gothic features had been subordinated to a newly built hall to the west of the garden; forming a certain element of symmetry, or rather balance, with the colonnade range opposite. In the same manner as encountered in the country, Hatton had maintained the association between the services and hall yet had created a different relationship between hall and principal chambers. The Grant does not describe a new parlour or chamber at the upper end of this new hall and therefore we can presume that Hatton altered the association between the new hall and principal chambers as he had done at Holdenby. In addition, the new hall with gallery over was located to capitalise on the close proximity of one of Ely Place's key attributes, the garden. Modifications to the spatial arrangements of Hatton House were not prompted out of a need to alter a functionally specific spiritual space for domestic use but rather by the need to adopt new house forms in the urban setting and in so doing to bestow a progressive cultural image on the owner.

It was here at Hatton House on the 20th November 1591 that Hatton died.

Conclusion

This thesis started from the premise that sixteenth-century architectural space both supported and re-enforced socially constructed behavioural conventions. It has examined how that relationship changed and developed through the political upheavals of the sixteenth century, and especially it has sought to understand how architectural space, originally created and used for spiritual purposes, could be re-used to accommodate the lifestyle of the laity with due regard to the prevailing behavioural norms of the period. In particular, it has analysed how architecture was used in this period as a means to convey differentiation between those sharing the space. The question of how the relationship between architecture and behaviour developed and altered during the course of the sixteenth century is an important question; in its understanding, we gain a greater and more nuanced appreciation of sixteenth-century society and culture.

This thesis has adopted the technique of a close analysis and social reading of space, more commonly used in the archaeological setting, and applied it in a different context, that of architectural analysis. The nature of this examination involved the consideration of many variables, such as the developments in architectural style; the status, wealth and lifestyle of the owner; the prevailing political environment; potential European influences and any differences between building locations in either rural or urban settings. These variables could have introduced an element of uncertainty whereby the results of the analysis could have been questioned. It was, therefore, important to establish some form of 'control' to permit a more robust argument to be made. For this reason the comparisons made between the rural and urban properties were restricted to those of the same owner and within the same timeframe, thus eliminating the variables associated with personal taste, wealth and status and any political influences specific to each of the decades. This approach was intentionally structured to avoid the creation of a collage of examples taken from selected aspects of many houses. Instead, an analysis has been performed of the entire house from a limited number of properties, in the form of case studies, with additional examples identified, where necessary, to provide support to the observations and conclusions drawn. This rigorous analysis of architectural space has been combined with an examination of documentation, records and correspondence enabling the social context in which the buildings were used to be taken into consideration, revealing the

extent to which the values of a society differed between the urban and rural environments.

Through this detailed characterisation of the relationship between sixteenth-century architectural arrangements and behavioural norms, this thesis has made visible the interplay that existed between the shifts in the behaviour of a society and the modifications made to architectural form; aligning the two in a broadly chronological timeframe. Through the detailed examination of conversion and re-use in the early and late century, it has been possible to identify those architectural forms that were important for a society to maintain and, conversely, those that could be relinquished.

As a result of the application of this analytical approach it has been possible to say something new about the relationship between architectural form and culture as they both developed in the differing rural and urban environments of sixteenth-century England.

This thesis has underlined the significance of the traditional English country house plan in the early decades of the sixteenth century and the extent to which it made provision for the behavioural norms of early sixteenth-century society. This traditional architectural form was fundamental to sustaining the cultural practices to which the wider community subscribed and conveyed an architectural language of differentiation that all social classes could understand. A close reading of the plans has identified the importance of the use of architecture to distinguish between the status of those who shared one communal space. It has shown that a linear form created not only the setting in which those of high status could display their power and authority through procession but it also created depth to an architectural space, privileging those whose social status permitted them to pass beyond the commonplace. In addition, this close social reading of the plans has identified obscured spaces deliberately created by being situated off axis from the main lines of sight and travel, which were ideal for female occupation.

This research has also shown the continuing importance of this established architectural layout by identifying that it was the form chosen when country monasteries were converted for lay use in the early half of the century. Through the analytical approach applied in this thesis it has been possible to show that making provision for the behavioural norms and customs of the period was a key consideration in the decisions made when converting these monastic properties to an

architectural form acceptable for lay use. In the rural environment, re-use of spiritual properties resulted in an architectural space that was deliberately crafted in a linear form to create a processional route and used the architectural language of upper and lower house found in the traditional landed estate to communicate differentiation and sustain the concepts of commensality. Furthermore, in broadening the scope for analysis to include the surrounding countryside it has been possible to show that rural conversions early in the period created outward facing high status apartments, purposefully linking them to the gardens and countryside beyond.

It has been confirmed that it was to this architectural form that the leading churchmen and ministers had referred when attempting to elevate or differentiate their status in London in the decades before the Dissolution. The country architectural arrangements and language were so ingrained in the culture of the society and so widely understood that their replication became the mechanism of choice when asserting privileged status. The value of the analytical methodologies employed in this thesis, in the interpretation of the arrangements within a whole house, is that less obvious adaptations of plan have been identified that would otherwise have gone unnoticed, enabling their significance to be considered. It has been shown that in the metropolitan environment the challenge posed by topographical restrictions, the need for a relationship with the street and older monastic architectural forms limited the extent to which the manorial language could be applied, resulting in its piecemeal adoption in an incoherent manner. Whilst this investigation has shown that the general principles of manorial planning remained valued, the distinction between high and low status spaces were not treated with as much importance as was found in the rural environment. The analysis performed has highlighted that a less rigorous implementation of traditional planning could be tolerated provided other mechanisms of differentiation were employed. Furthermore, in using this technique examples of obscured spaces in the urban setting have been identified, suggesting that provision was being made for female occupancy in London early in the century.

When these London monastic sites were alienated from the church at the Dissolution this research has found no evidence to suggest that it was important for their secular owners to convert them into one articulate traditional architectural arrangement, as had been attempted with their country monastic conversions. Through comparison between his rural and urban conversions it has been possible to assert that Richard Rich behaved differently in his building management at St. Bartholomew's Priory in London to the way that he had behaved at Leighs Priory in Essex. In London he

made little attempt to reconcile the displacement between the architectural form of the Prior's lodgings and the behavioural norms that it was intended to uphold. However, the symbols of manorial lordship continued to be valued in the London setting for their historic associations. Whilst the desire for traditional arrangements persisted, conversions, amalgamations and the sharing of space had led to a dislocation between the old established conventional spatial arrangements and the conduct that it supported, thus creating a less articulate experience of the architectural plan. However undesirable this situation would have been in the country, it was nevertheless tolerated in the London environment. This thesis asserts that whilst the London architecture took its direction from the country house, the language of London architectural planning was restricted in meaning in the absence of the landed estate in which it could be situated and fully expressed.

Through the detailed analysis of St. Bartholomew's Priory and investigation into the London lifestyles, this thesis has argued that the dislocation between the traditional architectural form and the behavioural norms that it supported was not problematic in London because the London household was not based on an agrarian model and the measure and performance of status was different in the London environment. Consideration and inclusion of the wider community, and hospitality in general, found no place in a city environment where the house had been disassociated from the landed estate. The relationship between rooms, and the plan itself, became less important than using the space to display a certain lifestyle, one more attentive to a union with social equals, and a cultivation of manners, speech and dress in order to differentiate and elevate the self. Social groups formed, living in close proximity to one another, reinforcing a collective membership of elite, civil society. The display of luxury possessions became a mechanism to assert a noble, educated image and the London house became central to the acquisition, storage and display of such possessions.

In turn, the new culture adopted in the city impacted the way of life conducted in the country. The older patterns of architectural space, intended to provide the setting in which to display and publically communicate the status and authority of the owner through the performance of commensality, were no longer valid due to the erosion of this form of lifestyle. The importance of the metropolitan civil society, whereby a collective elite would fashion themselves by their integrity of character, ultimately relegated country manners and traditions. Free from the spatial restrictions of the metropolis, it was in the country house where the changing culture could once again

be supported by architectural space and it was here that innovative solutions have been identified.

Through the application of the same methodology to the analysis of the country houses in the later decades of the sixteenth century, this thesis has demonstrated that as the culture and concepts of acceptable behaviour changed, so too did the architectural arrangements that supported them. The mechanisms used to communicate differentiation had altered because society had moved away from an inclusive environment where those of all social status were accommodated in one architectural space. The hall no longer needed to communicate to those present the position that their status entitled them to occupy because provision had been made in separate accommodation for those of low social class. The asymmetrical form that privileged the high end of the house could be relinquished and the regular rhythm of classical symmetry could be adopted in its place, further eroding the concepts of upper and lower house. Decoration that was once reserved for the upper house was now equally employed to embellish the whole façade in the quest for symmetry. But the older architectural forms of manorial lordship, for example the screens and its association with the hall, were not completely dispensed with by the owners of these ostentatious country houses. These features may have lost their original purpose and their intrinsic role at the centre of the way of life on a landed estate, but their symbolism lived on in altered form. Their value was worth retaining.

Through the forensic investigation of the re-use of a London episcopal inn, it has been possible to assert that these new architectural forms were, once again, imported piecemeal into the city as a mark of their culturally progressive inhabitants. The analysis of the Bishop's Inn, Ely Place has identified the extent of its alienation from the Church and the significance of the chambers relinquished to Christopher Hatton. The accommodation that he gained at the expense of the Bishop placed him in the more public setting, a position that would be valued in the metropolitan civil society for its opportunities for personal display. It further identifies that Hatton chose to modify his London house with decoration of classical form adapted from his country residences,

The interplay between architectural innovation travelling from country to London and cultural developments emanating from the London lifestyle impacting on country traditions, contributed to architectural style being driven to new heights of

ostentatious display and architectural planning to a widening divide between the classes.

The evidence uncovered reinforces the argument that a strong symbiotic relationship existed between the architectural plan and decoration of the sixteenth-century English house and the behavioural norms of the period. The political and religious upheavals in the early and mid-sixteenth century created the conditions where we find the reciprocity between social conventions and architectural planning evolving, reinforcing the persistent interaction between the two. The changes to behaviour and the social patterns that made up the London lifestyle had eroded the powerful language of upper and lower house. These developments were the precursor that gradually evolved into the 'Social House' that reached its zenith during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, influenced by the large balls and entertainments held in the cities, notably London and Bath, and so the interplay lived on well into the next two centuries.[1]

This research has contributed a level of clarity and greater precision to the homogeneous body of work currently available in this area through detailed analyses of sixteenth-century rural and metropolitan conversions. It has provided examples and illustrations in support of the hypotheses posed within a chronological timeframe. In so doing, one of the most important elements in the link between behavioural norms and architectural form, the architectural mechanisms used to convey differentiation, have been aligned with more granularity within that timescale. Furthermore, the question of how the re-use of spiritual architectural form could satisfy the established architectural principles of differentiation within the lay household has been more fully discussed and addressed. Although both the behaviour and the architectural language were changing and developing at different rates over the century, at no point did the architectural plan completely relinquish its responsibility to communicate differentiation between those who shared its arrangements.

With the aim of bringing a more nuanced understanding of the architectural plan and sixteenth-century society's demands on it, the houses showcased in this thesis have been subjected to a different form of analysis; a close social and, where possible, a gendered reading of their plans and these readings have been situated in their social

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[1] R. Wilson and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise, The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London & New York: Hambledon and London, 2000), p.p. 54-55.

context through use of contemporary documentation and correspondence. For the first time the use, modifications and the resulting form of two London converted church properties have been compared with the same owner's country landed estate. By conducting this comparison using examples of properties which were alienated from the church at the onset of the religious instabilities, aimed at dissolving the monasteries, and those towards the close of the period that were alienated from the secular church, it has been possible to link architectural developments with social and cultural change, thereby increasing our understanding of the interrelationship between the two. Through this comparison, this thesis has identified the interplay between the developments in urban society and the architectural innovations possible in the country. It also recognises that the architectural devices, aimed at disassociating the lower sort of person from those of higher status, devices that were fully developed in the seventeenth century, had their origins in this urban and rural interplay of the sixteenth century. It further identifies that the measure and performance of status in the sixteenth century was different in the diverse environments of rural and urban settings.

These findings confirm the value of analysing the architectural space of an entire property and situating it within its social setting through consideration of the lifestyles of those who shared its space. This more nuanced account of the relationship between customs and architectural space in the sixteenth century has permitted patterns to be identified, allowing interpretations which go beyond generalisations and enable broader social conclusions to be drawn. This more nuanced account may go some way to broadening our perceptions of this society and its culture.

The application of this methodology has been limited in scope in this thesis but could profitably be extended to include other sixteenth-century building types, for example re-use of guild owned properties. This under-researched area of architectural history was originally intended to be included in the scope of this thesis but could not be accommodated in the limitations of the word count. However, its pursuit would enrich the findings in this thesis and be a valuable extension to the research. The methodology could also be applied to any architectural research where interpretation of social organisation is an aim.

Appendix

See	London Inn	16th Century Loss to Secular Ownership
Bangor	151 Shoe Lane, Holborn.	May have been leased 1349[1]
Bath & Wells	Bath Inn/ Arundel House, Strand	1539 Earl of Southampton[2]
Canterbury	Lambeth Palace	Retained by the Church
Carlisle	Carlisle House/ Bedford House, Strand	1539 Lord Russell, Earl of Bedford[3]
Chichester	Land by New Temple	1422 Leased to apprentices of the law and became known as Lincoln's Inn. Freehold acquired by the Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1580.[4]
Coventry & Lichfield	Strand, by Strand bridge	1549 Demolished for Somerset House[5]
Durham	Durham House, Charing Cross, Strand	1536 Passed to the Crown[6]
Ely	Ely Place, Holborn	1567 Granted to Sir Christopher Hatton[7]
Exeter	Paget Place/ Leicester House/ Essex House, Strand	1549 Granted to William Paget. 1563 Earl of Leicester and 1656 Earl of Essex.[8]
Hereford	Ward of Queenhithe, west side of Old Fish Street, junction with Lombard St.	Post 1559, during the bishopric of Bishop Scory.[9]
Lincoln	Southampton House, Fleet Street	Earl of Southampton[10]
Llandaff	Strand, adjoining the Church of the Nativity	1549 Demolished to make way for Somerset House[11]
London	North West corner of old St. Pauls and Fulham Palace	Retained by the Church.
Norwich	Norwich Place/ York Place, Charing Cross, Strand	1536 Assured to the Duke of Suffolk. Purchased by Archbishop of York in 1557.[12]
Rochester	La Place, behind Lambeth Palace	1539 Bishop of Carlisle moved here on the loss of his Inn to Lord Russell. The Bishop of Rochester removed to Lord Russell's house in Chiswick.[13]
St Davids	North side of Bridewell, west of Temple Bar	Unknown
Salisbury	Salisbury Court, Fleet St, between St. Brides and Whitefriars	1564 Sold to Richard Sackville.[14]
Winchester	Winchester House, Southwark	1552-3 Held during Bishop Gardiner's imprisonment by William Parr, Marquess of Northampton.[15]
Worcester	Worcester House/ Somerset House, Strand	1549 Demolished by Protector and re-built as Somerset House.[16]
York	York Place/ Whitehall Palace	1529 taken by King Henry to develop Whitehall Palace.[17]

[1] Honeybourne, 'The Extent and Value of Property', pp. 306-11 and quoted in Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* p. 209 No. 151.
[2] Act passed 27 June 1539, *Letters and Papers,* xiv (1), p. 254.
[3] *Survey of London,* vol. 23, H. Roberts & W.H. Godfrey eds., pp. 75-76.
[4] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* p. 171, No. 47.
[5] J Stow, *Survey of London,* vol. 2, p. 93.
[6] Ibid, p. 212, No. 161.
[7] Cambridge University Library, MS CC95550.
[8] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* p. 210, No. 156.
[9] R.S. Rait, *English Episcopal Palaces*, p. 277.
[10] J. Stow, *Survey of London,* vol. 2, p. 87, ed. by C.L. Kingsford.
[11] J. Stow*, A Survey of London,* Vol. 2 p. 93, ed. by C.L., Kingsford.
[12] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses,* p. 212, No. 160.
[13] *Survey of London,* vol. 23, H. Roberts & W.H. Godfrey eds., pp. 75-76.
[14] J. Stow, *A Survey of London,* vol. 1, p. 70; vol. 2, p. 45.
[15] M. Carlin, 'The Reconstruction of Winchester House, p.53.
[16] J. Stow, *A Survey of London,* vol. 2, p. 91-97.
[17] Heal, *Tudors and Church Lands, p. ?*

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<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Front_of_Burghley_House_2009.jpg >

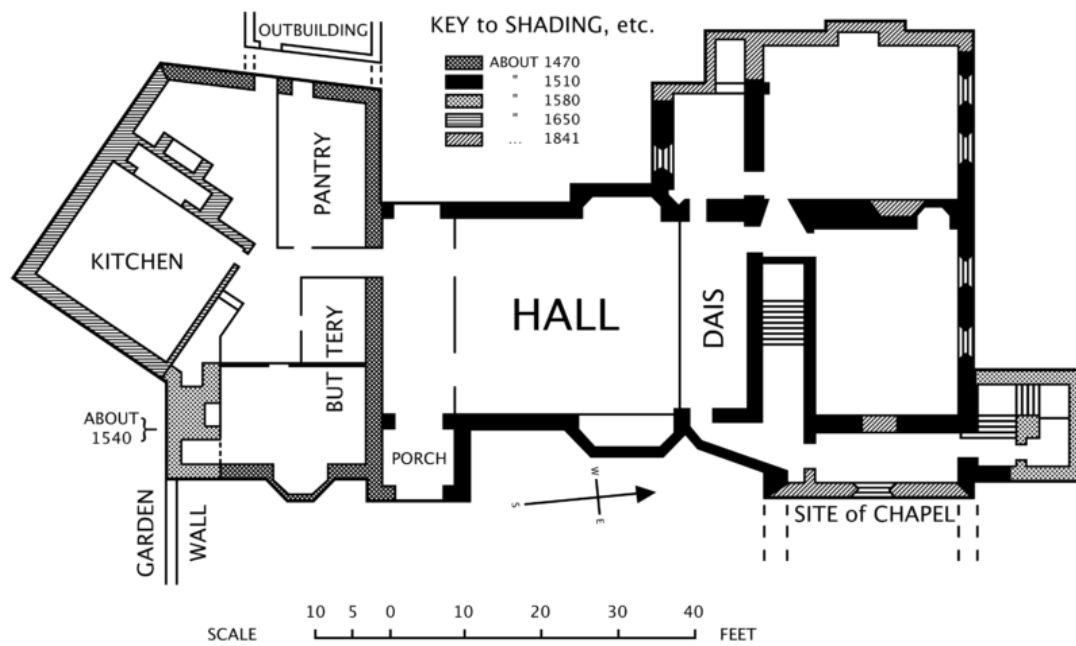Online *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*   <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

Figures

Fig. 1: Plan of Horham Hall, Essex
A traditional plan with hall separating upper and lower house

Gotch, J.A., Growth of the English Country House, Architectural Development (London: Batsford, 1928), Fig. 29, p. 95.

Fig. 2: Horham Hall entrance façade

Gotch, J.A., Growth of the English Country House, Architectural Development (London: Batsford, 1928)*,* Plate XXX.
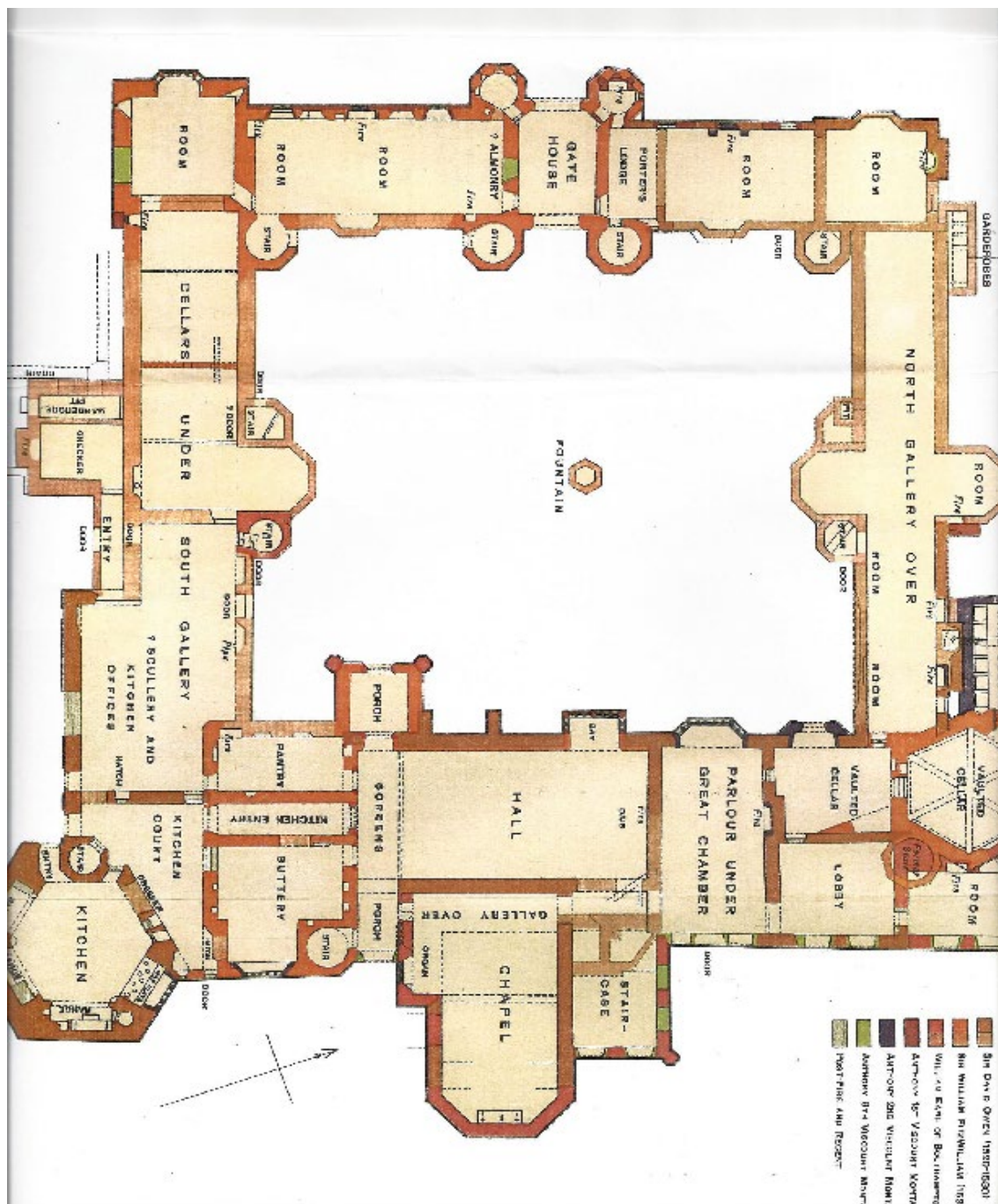
Fig. 3: Plan of Cowdray House, Sussex.

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IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 4: Plan of Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire.

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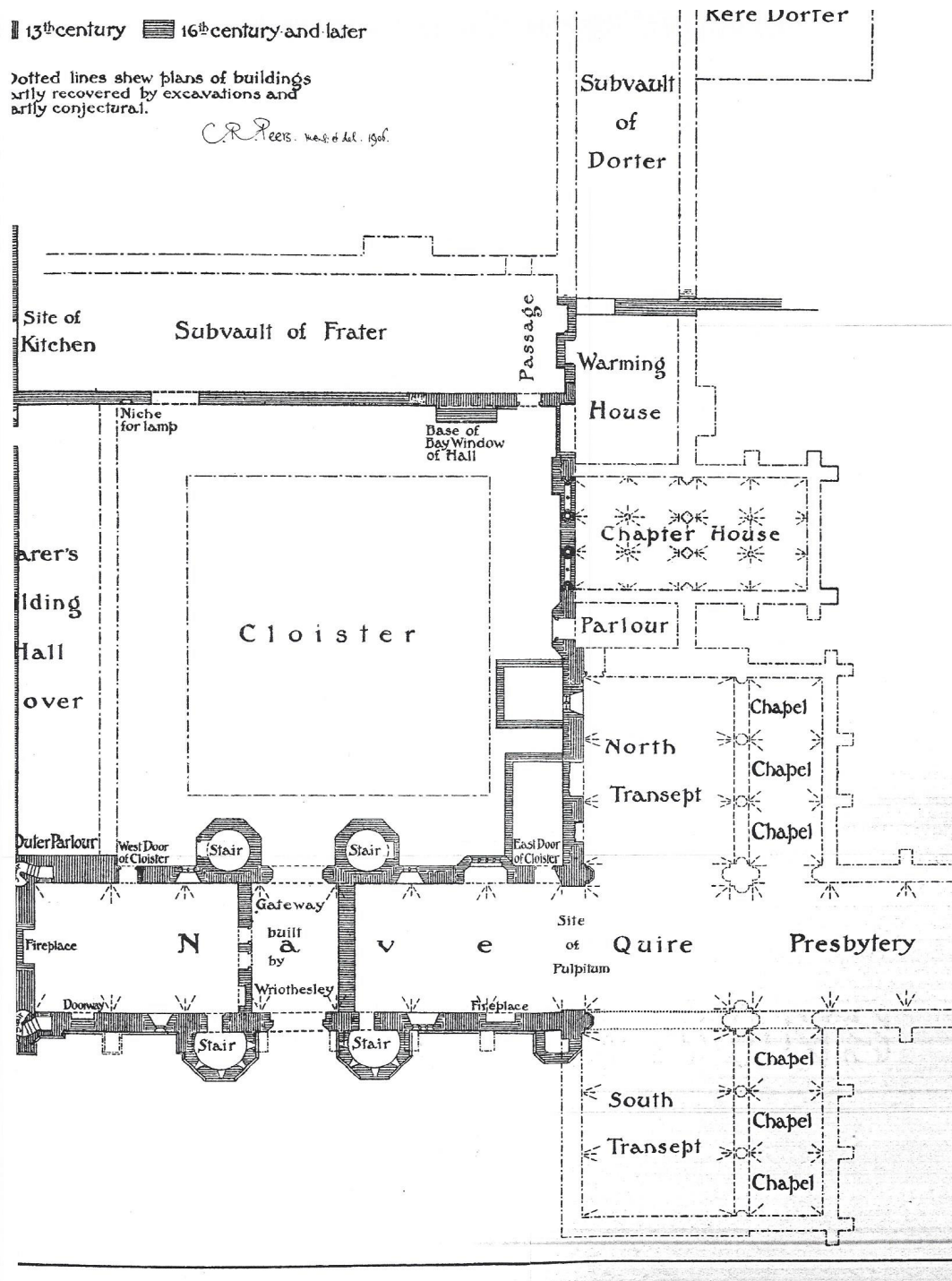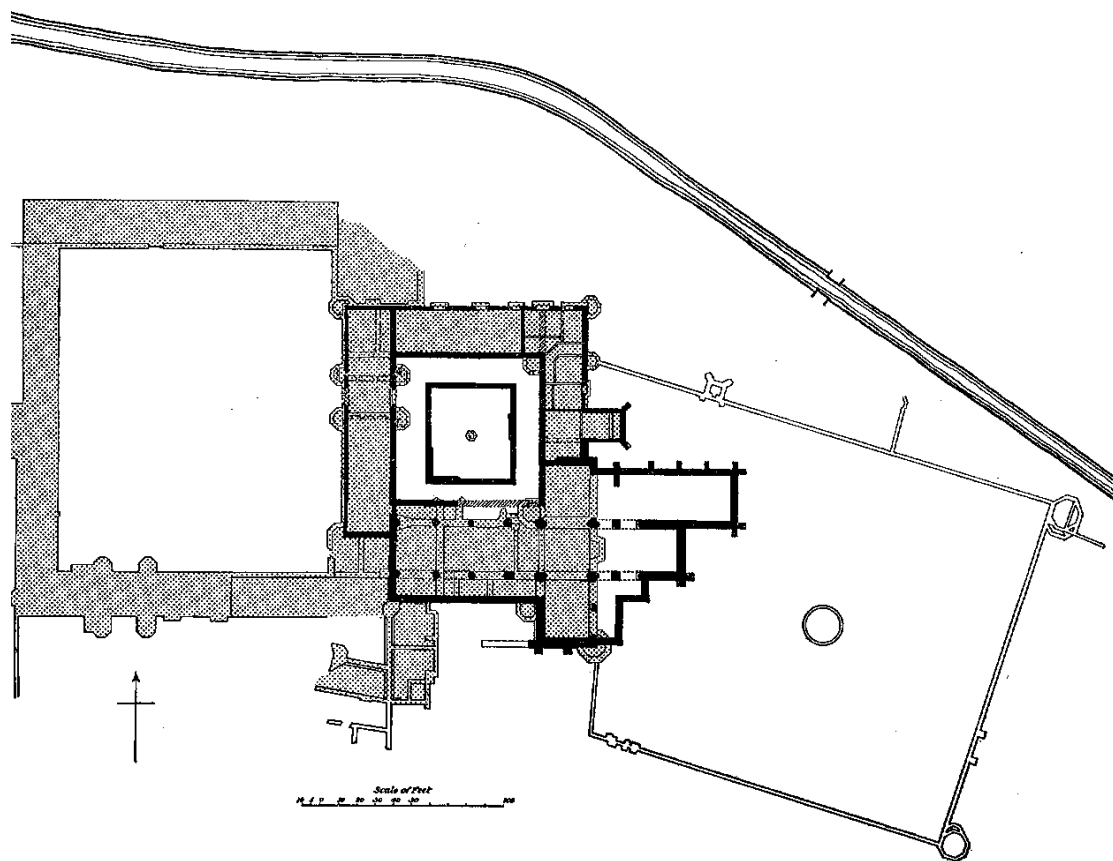IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig.5: South façade of Compton Wynyates

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Fig. 6: Plan of Thomas More's Chelsea house

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Fig. 7: Plan of Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire.

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Fig. 8: Plan of Leighs Priory, Essex.

Lamming, N.C., *A Brief History of the Buildings and People of Leez Priory, Hertford End, Essex*, 4th Edition (1998)*, p. 15.

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Fig. 9: Plan of Hinchingbrooke House, Cambridgeshire.

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Fig. 10: Plan of Titchfield Abbey, Hampshire.

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Fig. 11: Ingatestone Hall, ground and first floor plans

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Fig. 12: Leighs Priory with inset showing the wider location

Chancellor, F., 'Leez Priory', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* vol. 5. (1867), pp. 44-48.

LITTLE LEEZ PRIORY: GROUND PLAN OF PRECINCT.

Fig. 13: Leighs Priory superimposed on the ground plan of the precinct

Clapham, A.W., 'The Augustinian Priory of Little Leez and the Mansion of Leez Priory' *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* vol. 13, NS, (1915,), p. 203.
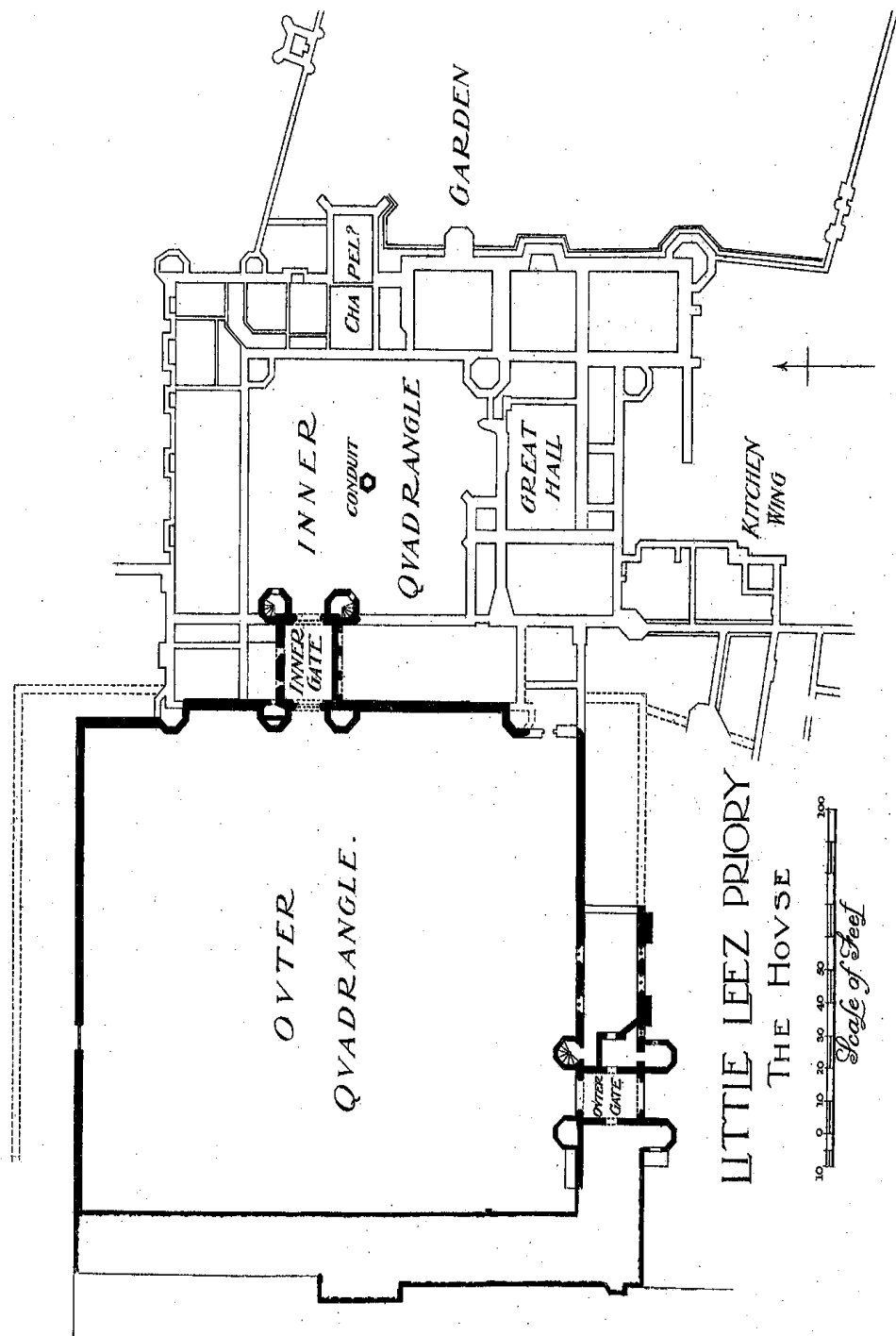
Fig. 14: Leighs Priory, plan after conversion

Fig. 15: Leighs Priory, Bucks' view of the outer court

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Fig. 16: Thornbury Castle showing the 90º turn from the gatehouse to the
entrance

Heal, F., *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1990), p. 45.

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Fig. 17: Apethorpe showing the 90˚ turn from the gatehouse to the entrance.

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Fig. 18: Plan of Cromwell's first house at Austin Friars

Holder, N., 'The Medieval Friaries of London, A topographical and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2011), Fig. 65.

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Fig. 19: Ground Floor Plan of Cromwell's mansion house at Austin Friars

Holder, N., 'The Medieval Friaries of London, A topographical and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2011), Fig. 68.

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Fig. 20: Simple plan of three floors of Cromwell's mansion house at Austin Friars.
Holder, N., 'The Medieval Friaries of London, A topographical and archaeological history, before and after the Dissolution', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2011), Fig. 69.

Ground Floor:	1 Main gate; 2 Main courtyard; 4 Office; 6 Scullery; 7 Main kitchen; 8 Pastry Kitchen 9 Kitchen Parlour; 11 Wine cellar; 12 Buttery & Pantry; 15 Porter's lodge; 16 Gatehouse; 17 Stable; 18 Yard; 19 Hall; 20 Chapel; 24 Yard; 25 Larder & Store; 26 Larder; 27 Kitchen; 30 Parlour; 31 Buttery.
First Floor:	33 & 42 First floor halls; 35 Ladies Parlour; 36 Parlour; 43 & 44 Galleries; 45 to 51 Family apartment.
Second Floor:	Bedchambers
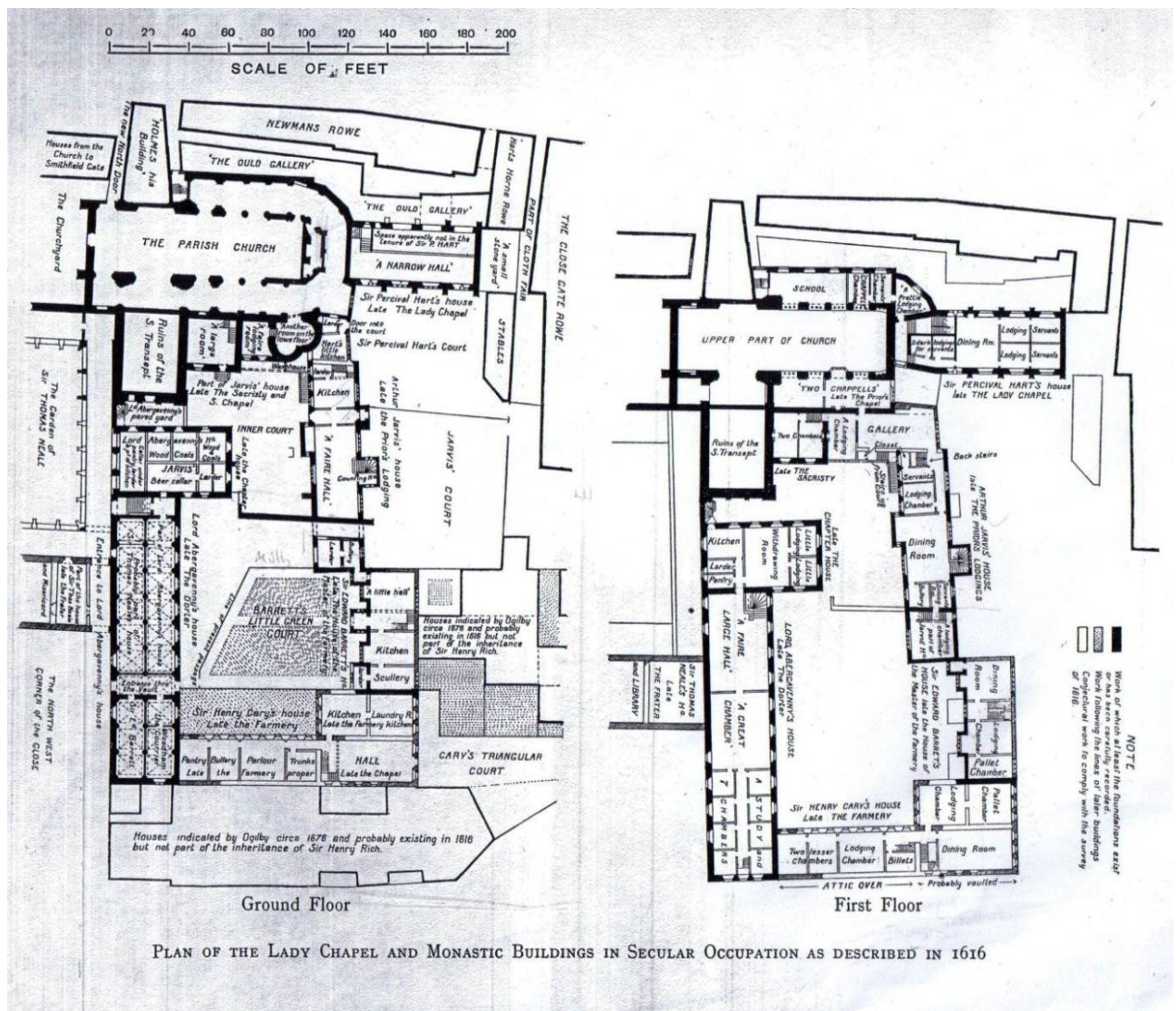
Fig. 21: Plan of St. Bartholomew's Lady Chapel and monastic buildings 1616

Webb, E.A., *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield,* vol. 2 (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1921), Plate XLIX p. 77.
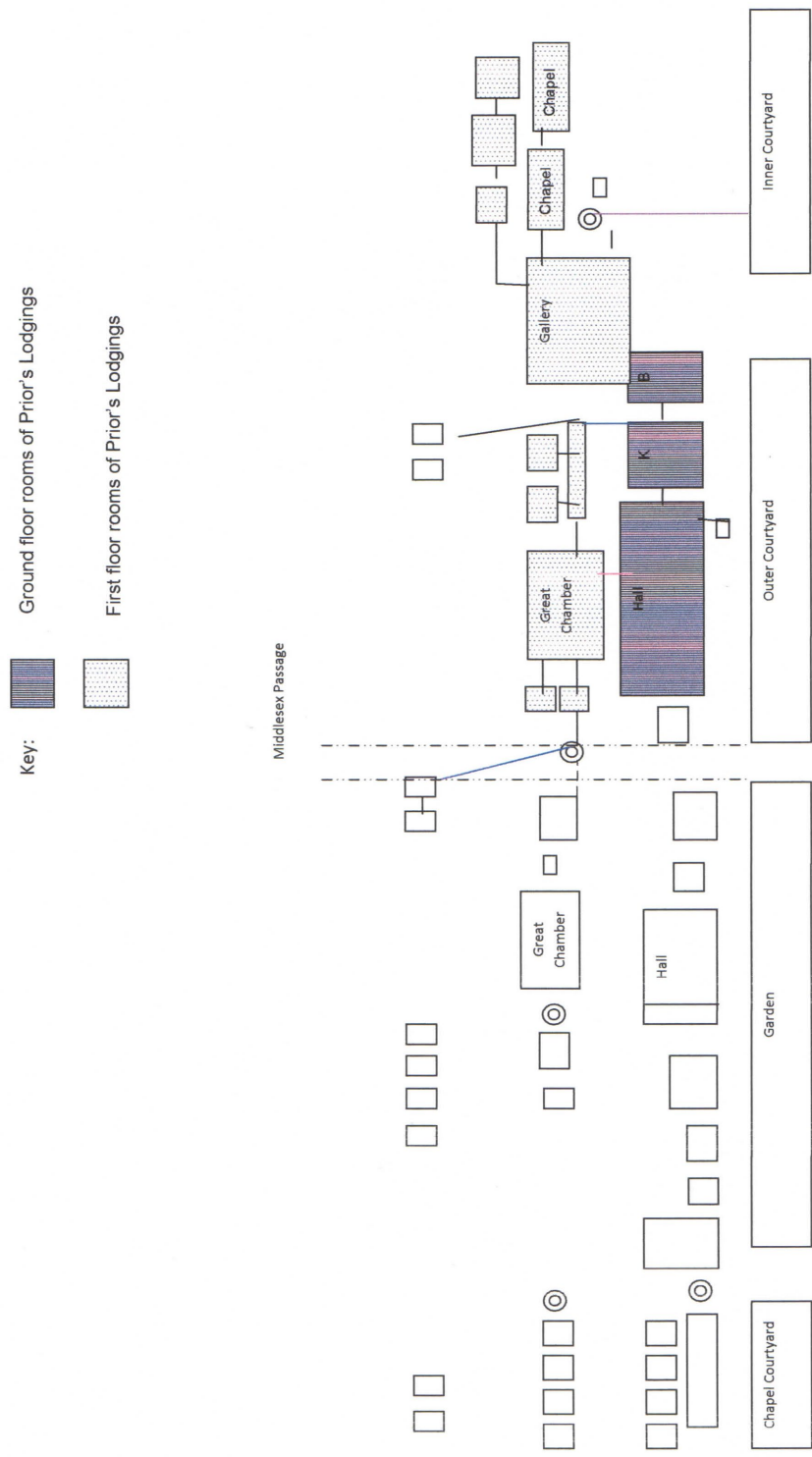
Fig. 22: Planning diagram of Prior's Lodgings at St. Bartholomew's
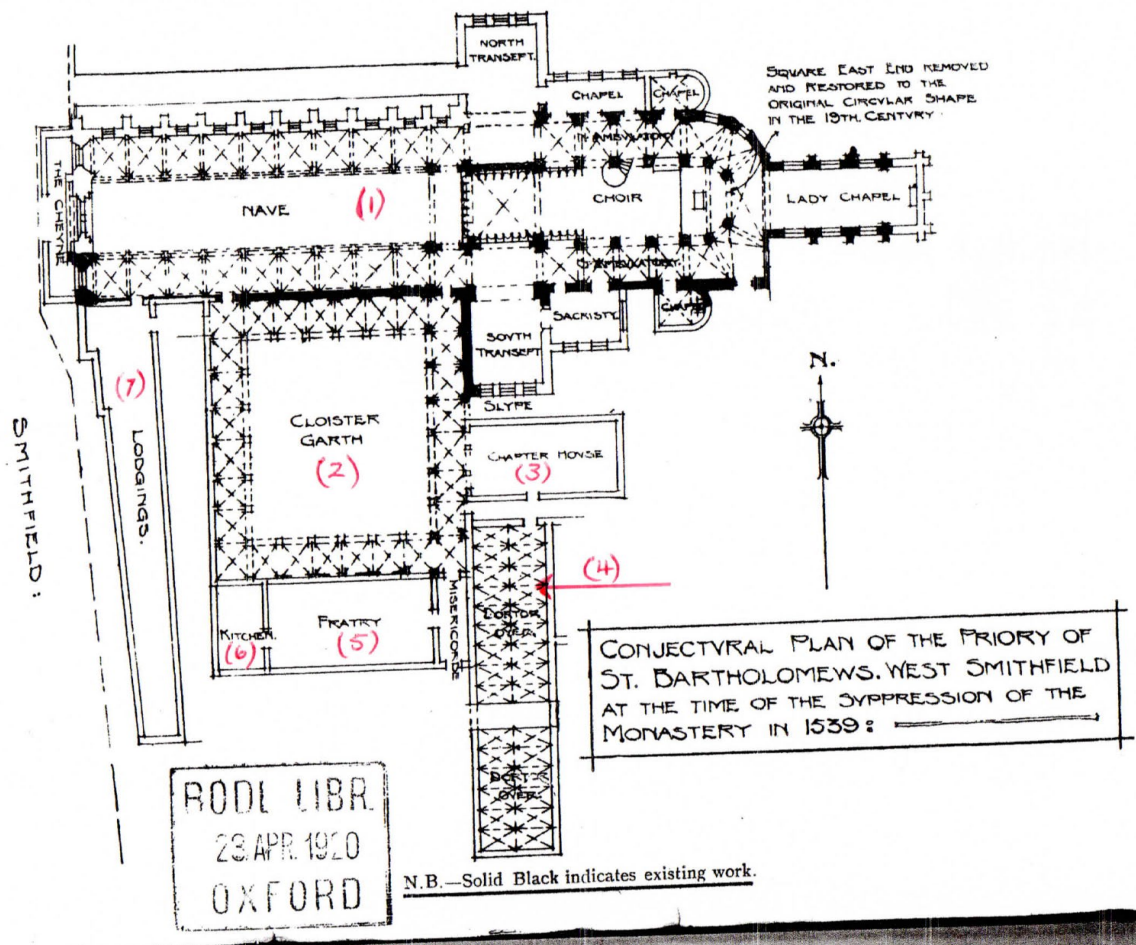
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Fig. 23: General monastic layout

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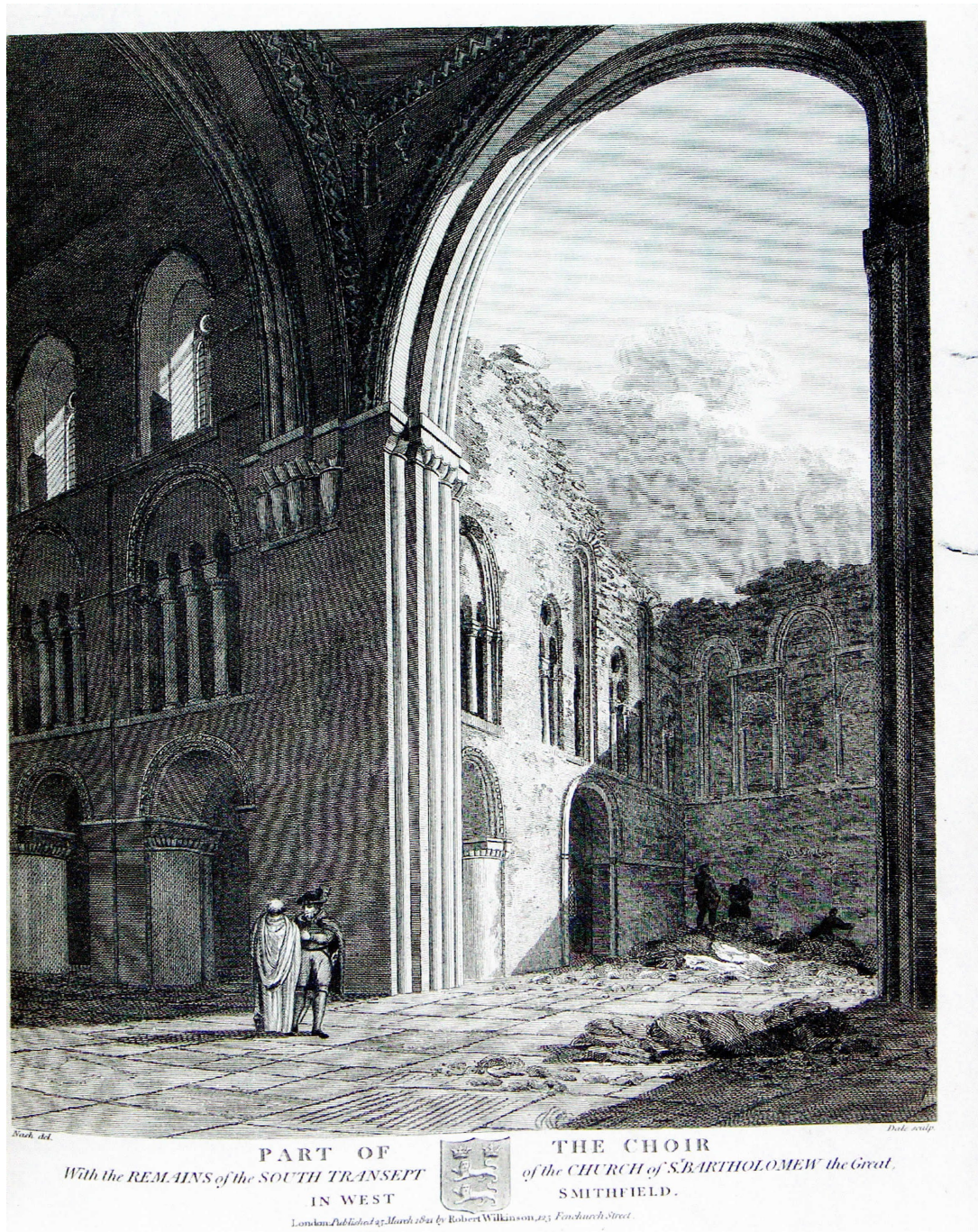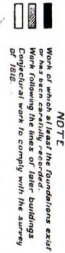
260

Fig. 24: St. Bartholomew's precinct

Webb, E.A., *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield,* vol. 2 (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1921), Plate LXVIII, facing p. 131

PART OF THE CHOIR
With the REMAINS of the SOUTH TRANSEPT of the CHURCH of S. BARTHOLOMEW the Great,
IN WEST SMITHFIELD.

London, Published 27. March 1811 by Robert Wilkinson, 125 Fenchurch Street.

Fig. 25: View of the choir and remains of the south transept in St. Bartholomew-the-Great

By kind permission of London Metropolitan Archives, Collage Record No. 904, F. Nash (artist),
T. Dale (engraver), (Robert Wilkinson: 1821).

PLATE XLIX

Fig. 26: Analysis of Rich's re-use of the Prior's Lodgings

Webb, E.A., *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield,* vol.2 (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1921), plate XLIX, facing p. 77.

Fig. 27: Inhabitants of the wider precinct and highlights of the extent of the Grant to Queen Mary

Webb, E.A., *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield,* vol. 2 (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1921), plate LXVIII, facing p. 131.

Fig. 28: Routes from the Prior's Lodgings to the house of the Master of the Farmery

Webb, E.A., *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield,* vol. 2 (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1921), plate XLIX, facing p. 77.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 29: Winchester House showing tennis courts south of the stables

M. Carlin, 'The Reconstruction of Winchester House, Southwark' in *London Topographical Record,* vol. 25, (1985), p. 36.
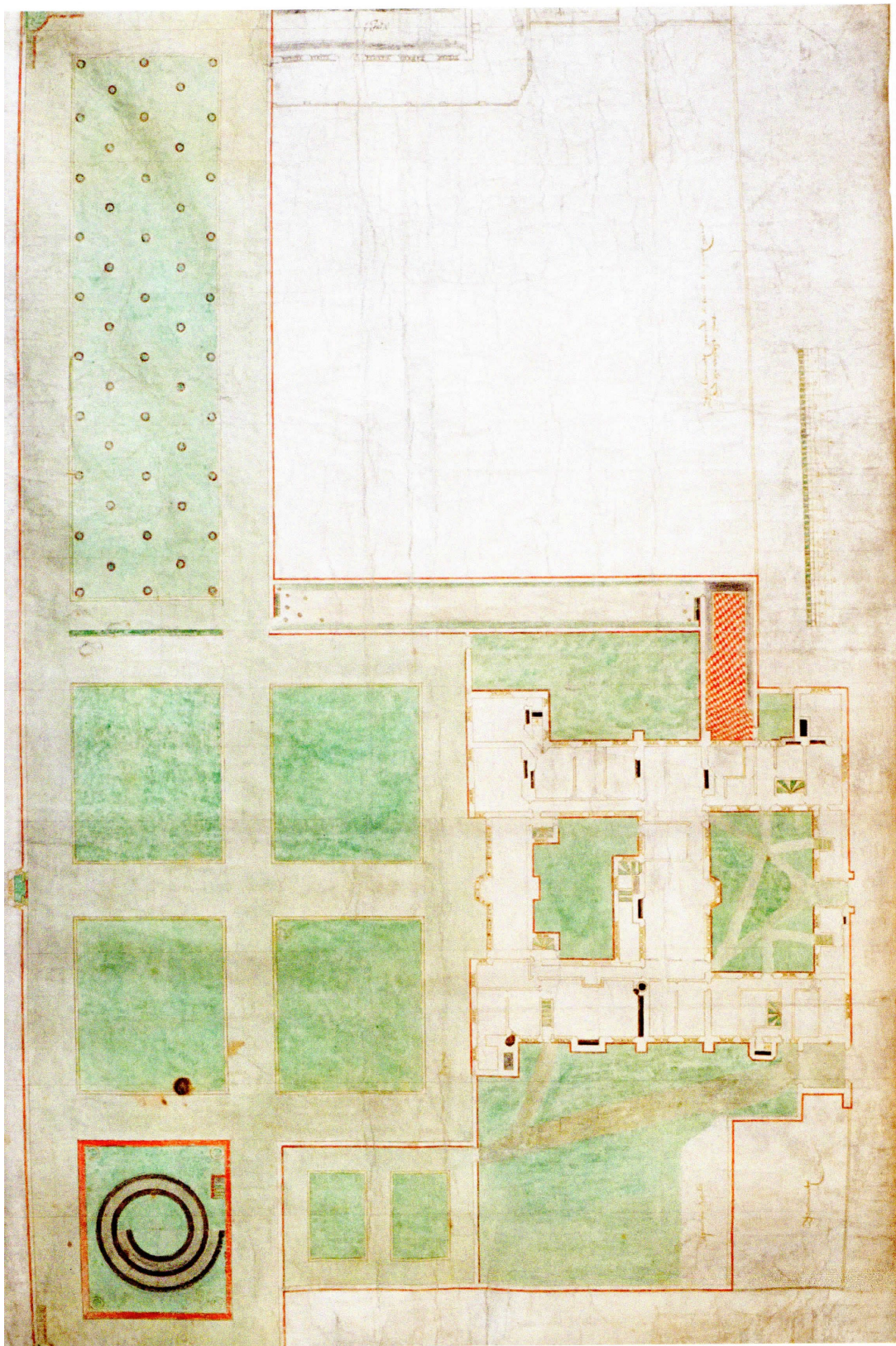
Fig. 30: Cecil House, The Strand, showing tiled flooring of the leisure facility, 1562-67.

Courtesy of the Trustees of the Burghley Estates, M358.

Fig. 31: Extent of Hatton's tenure at Ely Place.

By permission of The National Archives UK ref. MPD 1/170.

Fig. 32: Double bay of state apartment block, Kirby Hall.

Photo: Author.
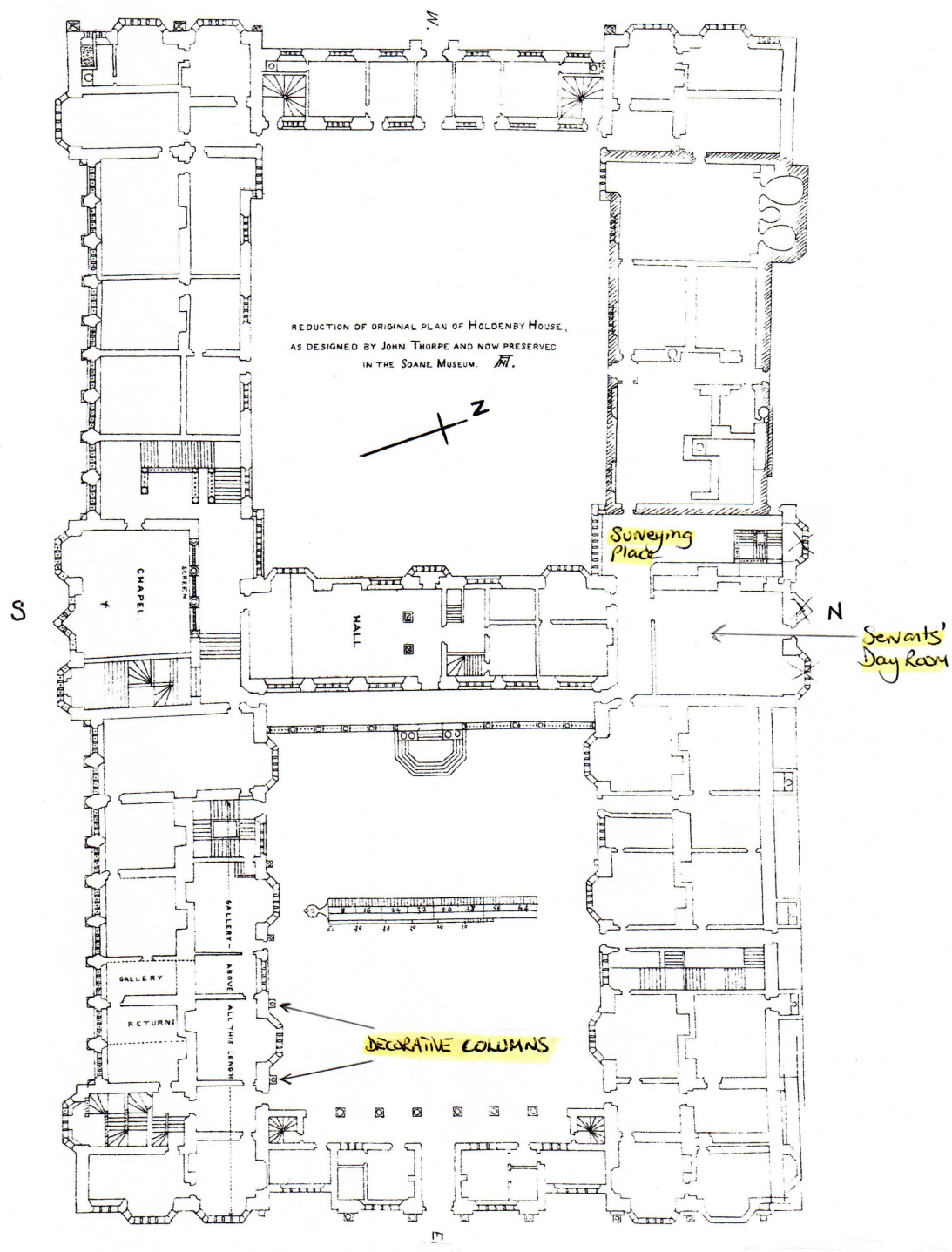
Fig. 33: Ground floor plan of Holdenby

Hartshorne, E.S., *Memorials of Holdenby* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1868), between pp. 12-13.
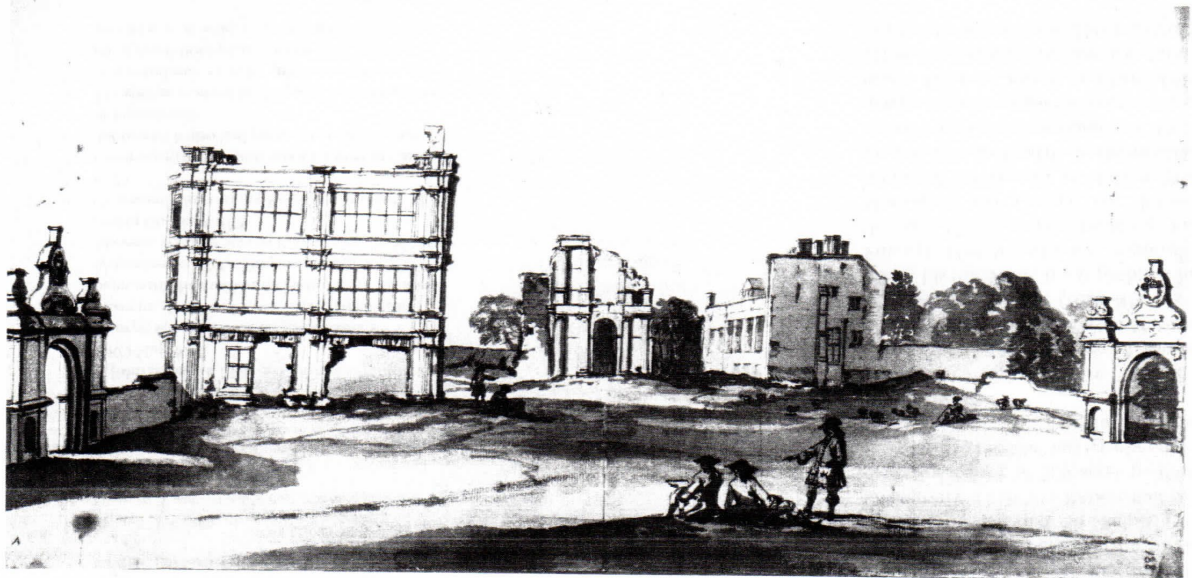
Figure 311 *Holdenby House. The ruins of the house from the E from the forecourt, drawn by P Tillemans, c 1720 (BL. Add MS 32467 fo 138; by permission of The British Library)*

Legend reads: Holdenby House. The ruins of the house from the east, from the forecourt, drawn by P Tillemans, c 1720 (BL. Add MS 32467 fo138; by permission of The British Library)

Fig. 34: Tilleman's sketch of the ruins of Holdenby House

Heward, J. & Taylor, R., *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire* (Swindon: RCHME, 1996), p. 237.

Fig. 35: Burghley House

Anthony Masi,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Front_of_Burghley_House_2009.jpg [accessed
9th September 2016]
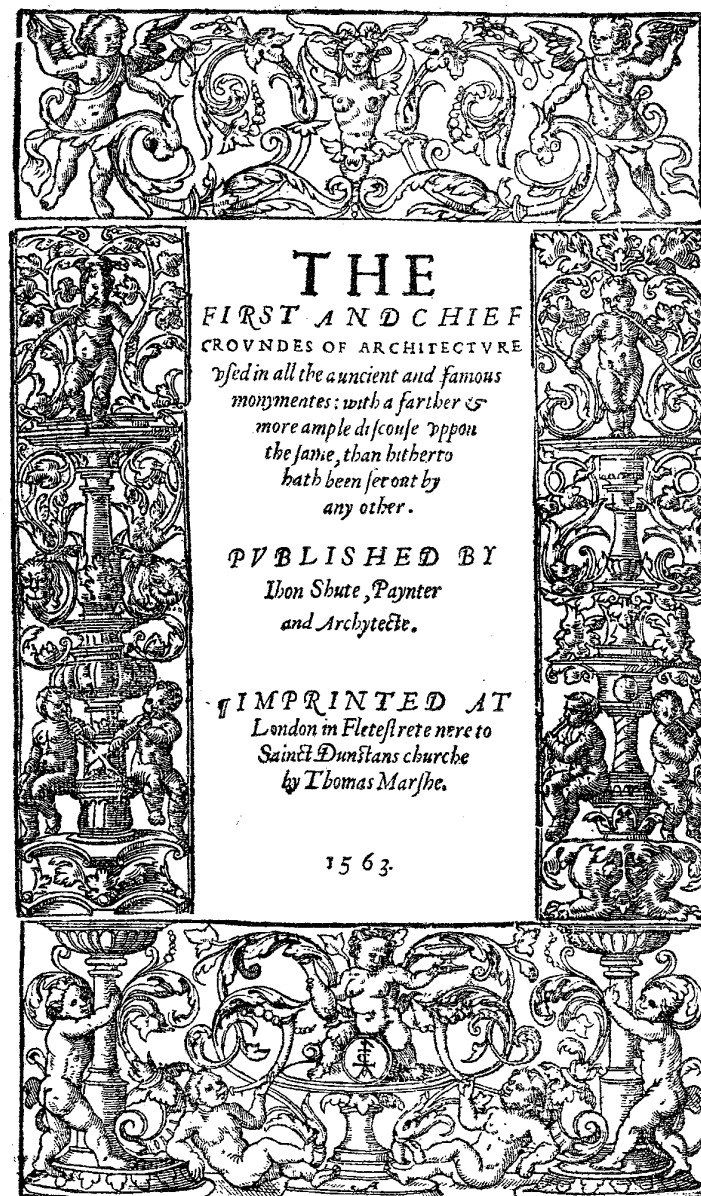
Fig. 36: Shute's title page

Shute, J., *The First & Chief Groundes of Architecture by John Shute, Paynter and Archytecte, first printed in 1563* (London: Country Life, 1912).

Fig. 37: Kirby Hall, panels on the entrance range

Photo: Author

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 38: Ground floor plan of Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire

Heward, J. & Taylor, R., *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire (Swindon: RCHME, 1996),* p. 246.

Fig. 39: Kirby Hall, south-west range of the inner courtyard.

Photo: Author

Fig. 40: Kirby Hall, hall range of Kirby Hall showing the giant pilasters and the tower of orders.
Photo: Author

Fig. 41: Kirby Hall, hall range showing the equal decorative treatment of the facade and to the services.

Photo: Author

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 42: Plan of Kirby Hall, showing the Great Stair built by Hatton breaking forward from the rhythm of the facade.

Kirby Hall, (London: English Heritage, 2015).

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 43: Ground floor plan of Theobalds, Hertfordshire.

Summerson, J., 'The Building of Theobalds, 1564-1585', *Archaeologia* vol. 97, (1959), Plate XXXIII.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 44: Burghley House, first phase, ground and first floor plans.

Husselby, J., 'The Politics of Pleasure: William Cecil and Burghley House', *Patronage Culture and Power, The Early Cecils 1558-1612,* ed. by P. Croft (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 26.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 45: Burghley House, entrance range tower of orders

Husselby, J., 'The Politics of Pleasure: William Cecil and Burghley House', *Patronage Culture and Power, The Early Cecils 1558-1612,* ed. by P. Croft (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 31.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 46: Burghley House, ground floor plan, second phase of building.

Husselby, J., 'The Politics of Pleasure: William Cecil and Burghley House', *Patronage Culture and Power, The Early Cecils 1558-1612,* ed. by P. Croft (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 22.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 47: Overall layout of Kirby Hall showing forecourt (basecourt).

Kirby Hall, (London: English Heritage, 2015).

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Legend reads: Figure 312 Holdenby House. The ruins of the house from the S. drawn by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck; the obelisk is one of two that stood in the great hall in place of a screen at the low end.

Fig. 48: Ruins of Holdenby showing use of obelisks to mark the screens passage.

Heward, J. & Taylor, R., *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire,* (Swindon: RCHME, 1996), p. 237

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 49: Ground floor plan of Wollaton Hall, Warwickshire.

Marshall, P., *Wollaton Hall, an Archaeological Survey* (Nottingham: Nottingham Civic Society, 1996), p. 18.

Fig. 50: Apethorpe, the matted passage leading to the Old Great Chamber

Photo: Author

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 51: Ground floor plan of Apethorpe, showing Mountjoy's modifications

Morrison, K.A., Cole, E., Hill, N., Cattell, J., and Smith, P., *Apethorpe The Story of an English Country House,* ed. by K. Morrison (New Haven and London: in association with Historic England, Yale University Press, 2016)*,* p. 24.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 52: First floor plan of Apethorpe, showing Mountjoy's passage built on the screen wall

Morrison, K.A., Cole, E., Hill, N., Cattell, J., and Smith, P., *Apethorpe The Story of an English Country House,* ed. by K. Morrison (New Haven and London: in association with Historic England, Yale University Press, 2016)*, p. 25.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 53: First floor plan of Apethorpe, showing Mildmay's extension to the passage that bypasses the Old Great Chamber

Morrison, K.A., Cole, E., Hill, N., Cattell, J., and Smith, P., *Apethorpe The Story of an English Country House,* ed. by K. Morrison (New Haven and London: in association with Historic England, Yale University Press, 2016)*, p. 63.

Fig. 54: Apethorpe, ground floor passage that bypasses the hall and parlour.

Photo: Author

Fig. 55: Kirby Hall, the south facade with regular fenestration and roofline decoration.

Photo: Author

Fig. 56: Kirby Hall, the plain north facade.

Photo: Author

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 57: Wollaton Hall
Intended to be viewed from all aspects and with the Prospect Room situated in a central tower.

L. Haywood, <http://www.boomsbeat.com/articles/7423/20140806/35-grand-photos-of-wollaton-hall-and-park-in-u-k.htm> [accessed 10July2016]

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 58: Plan of the four storeys of Kirby Hall showing the state
apartment basement plan at the bottom of the page

Heward, J. & Taylor, R.*, The Country Houses of Northamptonshire* (Swindon: RCHME, 1996),
p. 247.

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 59: Basement plan of Theobalds

Summerson, J., *The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum* (Glasgow: Printed for the Walpole Society by Robert Maclehose, the University Press, 1966), Plate 112, T243.

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Fig. 60: Longleat banqueting houses

Girouard, M., *Elizabethan Architecture, its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 105.

Fig. 61: Holdenby banqueting house
(Date of drawing unknown)

Summerson, J., *The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum* (Glasgow: Printed for the Walpole Society by Robert Maclehose, the University Press, 1966), Plate 84, T182.

Fig. 62: Kirby Hall, view of the garden from the great chamber.

Photo: Author

Fig. 63: Kirby Hall, view of the garden from the ground floor bedchamber.

Photo Author

Fig. 64: Kirby Hall, private stair to the doorway into the south gardens.

Photo: Author

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig. 65: Burghley House, second phase plan showing the ground floor processional route.

(Not a sixteenth-century engraving).

Husselby, J., 'The Politics of Pleasure: William Cecil and Burghley House', *Patronage Culture and Power, The Early Cecils 1558-1612,* ed. by P. Croft (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 22.
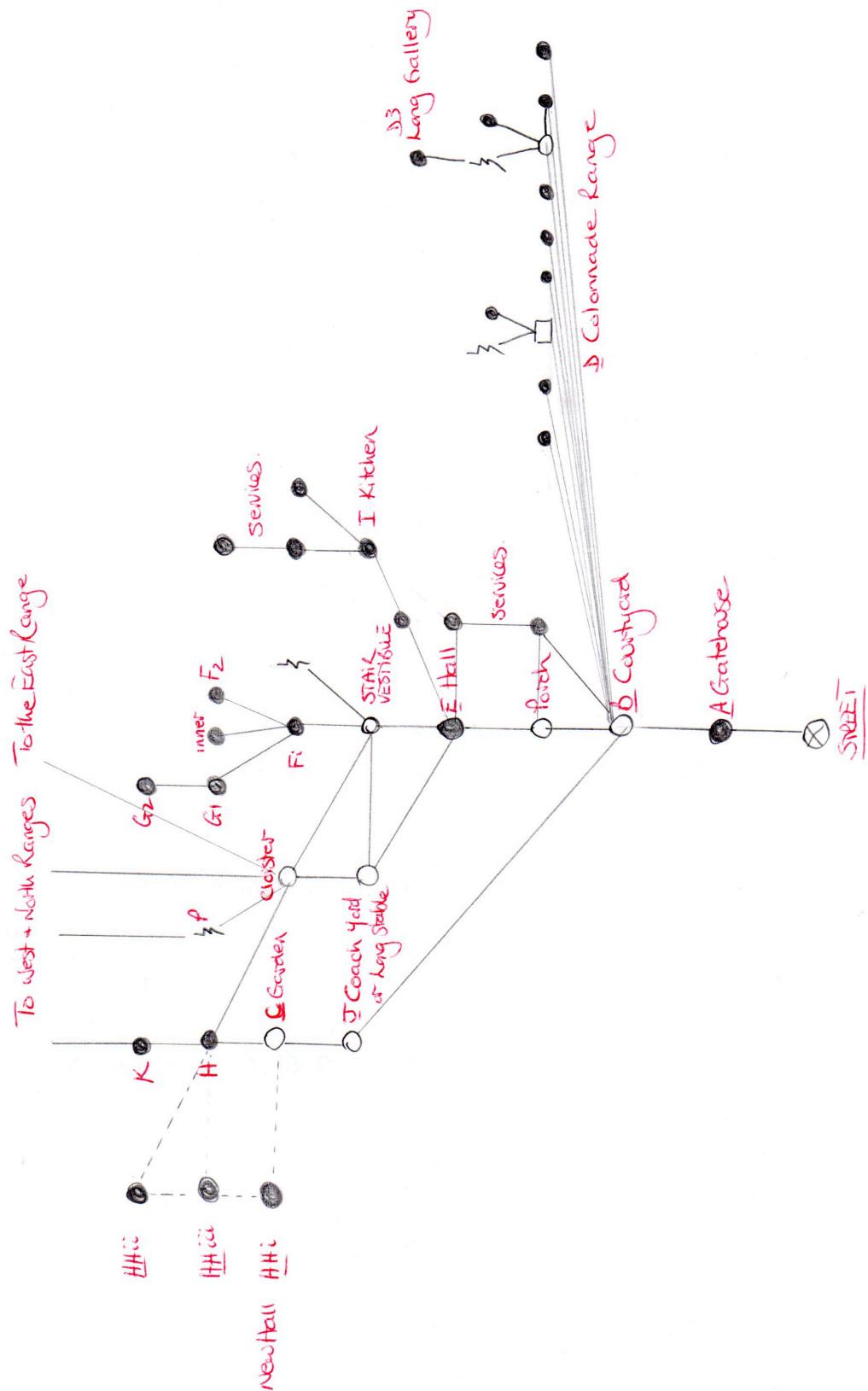
IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

Fig 66: Burghley House, second phase plan showing the first floor
processional route.

(Not a sixteenth-century engraving)

Husselby, J., 'The Politics of Pleasure: William Cecil and Burghley House', *Patronage Culture and Power, The Early Cecils 1558-1612,* ed. by P. Croft (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 23.

Fig. 67: Ely Place, general overview

The National Archives UK ref. MPD1/71 notated by Author

Fig. 68: Ely Place, spatial analysis

Author

ELY HOUSE, LONDON.

Fig. 69: Ely House from the courtyard.
Published by S. Hooper 1750-1772.

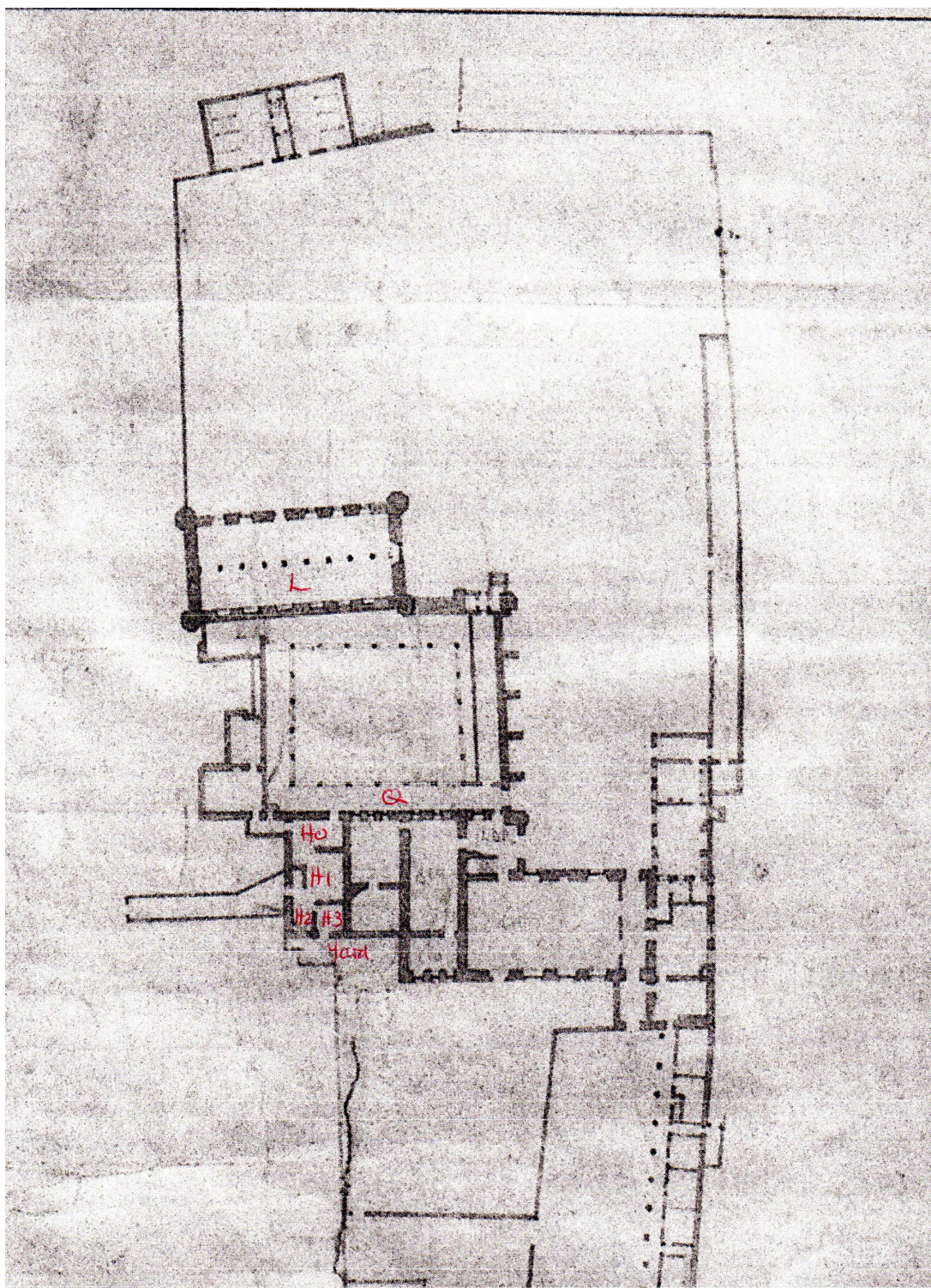AL0023/003/01, reproduced by permission of Historic England Archive.

Fig. 70: Ground Plan of Ely Palace, Holborn.

G.G. Scott, Remarks on Ely Palace, Holborn, 1772
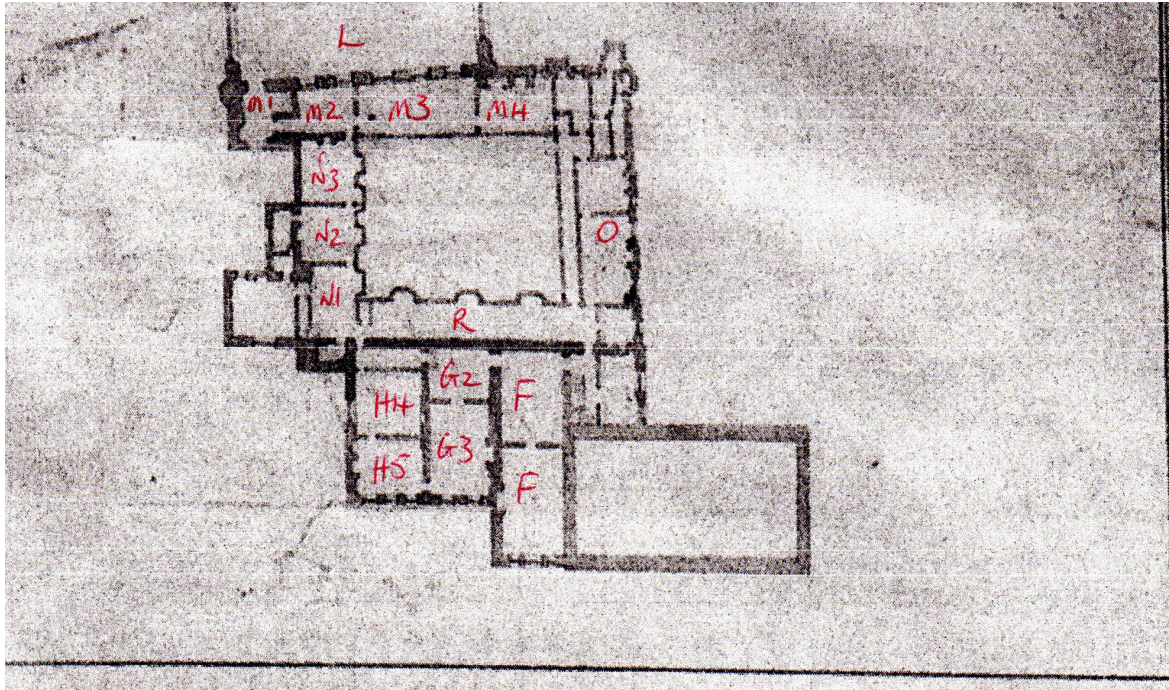By kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London

Fig. 71: First floor Plan of Ely Palace, Holborn.

G.G. Scott, Remarks on Ely Palace, Holborn, 1772
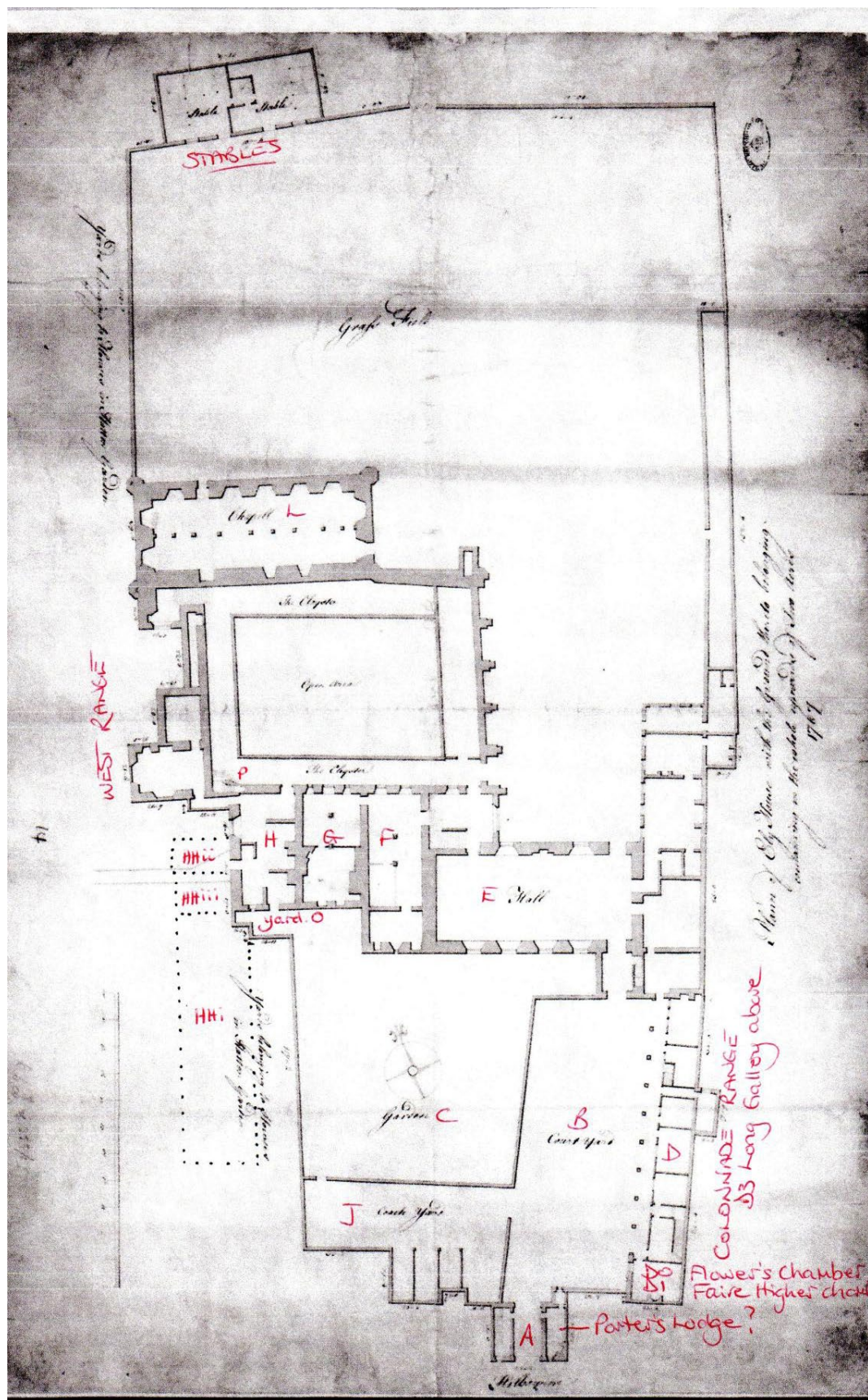By kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London

Fig. 72: Ely Place notated by author from the Grant
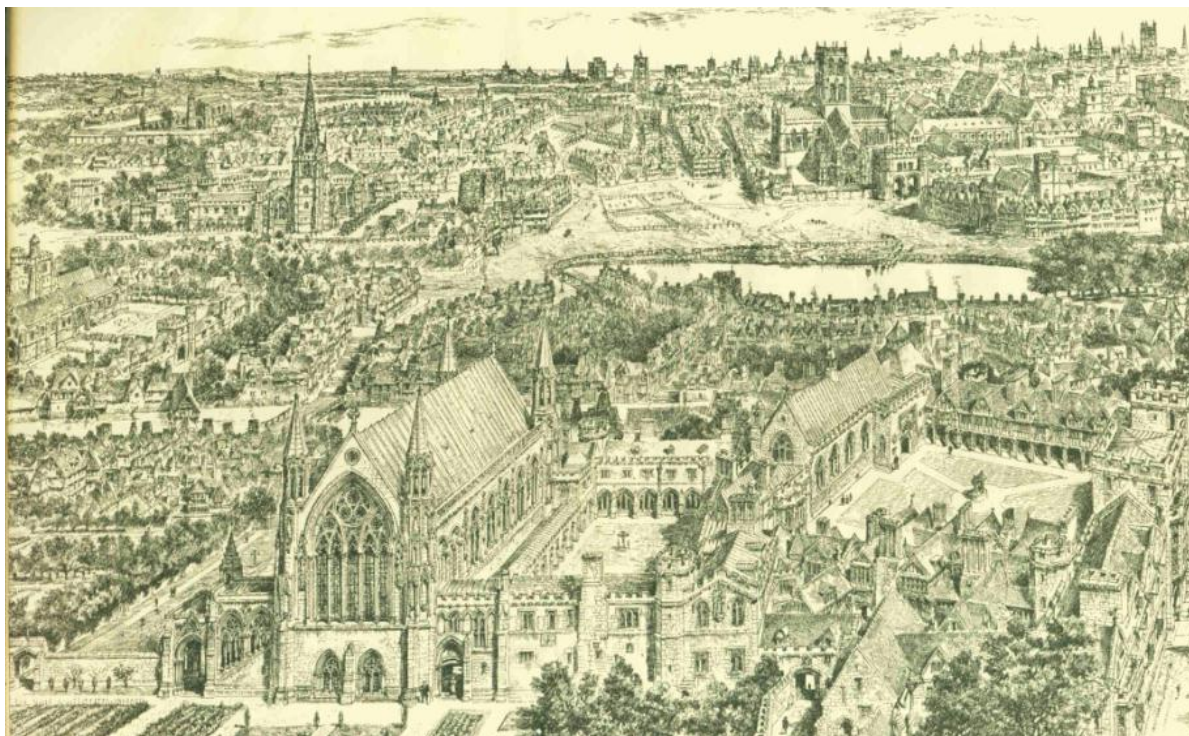
The National Archives UK ref. MPD 1/170

Fig. 73: Depiction of St. Etheldreda's Ely Place during the sixteenth century.
engraving by Brewer, 1897.
(Not a sixteenth-century engraving)

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