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A SURVEY AND INVESTIGATION OF THE MOATED HOUSE

Report by: Adam Menuge
Research by: Adam Menuge
Imogen Grundon
Kathryn Hilsden
Andrew Williams
Research date: 2001-5
Survey drawings by: Nigel Fradgley
Allan T Adams
Andrew Donald
Adam Menuge
Photography by: Patricia Payne
Steve Cole

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Comments or queries regarding the content of the report should be made to the author at:
ENGLISH HERITAGE, 37 TANNER ROW, YORK, YO1 6WP
Tel: 01904 601901 **Fax:** 01904 601999

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SUMMARY

Oxburgh Hall stands within a roughly square moat, in landscaped grounds south-west of the centre of the small village of Oxborough, in Norfolk. Dating from the mid to late 15th century, the Hall was built around a courtyard with a gatehouse roughly in the centre of the north range and a great hall (now lost) in the south range. The upper-end accommodation opened off the great hall to the east and the services to the west, the latter with good-quality guest apartments above them. The gatehouse provided a further suite of sumptuous guest lodgings, while the east and west ranges were mostly devoted to lodgings of lower status. The walls are of brick, richly decorated on the gatehouse with blind panels. Limestone dressings, where they survive, are used sparingly for external doorways and for the principal windows and a few other features of the gatehouse. The original roof coverings – a mixture of plain tiles and lead – have all been renewed. The present roofs are mostly of black-glazed pantiles dating from the late 1770s, but there are smaller areas of later lead, plain tiles and felt.

The date of Oxburgh Hall has long been a matter of debate. Most sources take the license to crenellate, granted by Edward IV on 3 July 1482 to Sir Edmund Bedingfeld (1443-96), a rising courtier, as the most reliable indicator, though some note that the license explicitly exonerated Bedingfeld for any building works he might already have undertaken since inheriting the property in 1476. Recent tree-ring dating has not settled the question unequivocally, but it suggests that the trusses of the west range roof date from the period 1437-63. There is evidence, however, that these trusses have been rearranged, and it is possible that they originated in another building either on the site of Oxburgh Hall or elsewhere. The surviving trusses of the east range are clearly from a different timber source, but have not yielded a tree-ring date, holding open the possibility that other parts of the Hall, as has generally been supposed, date from the late 1470s or the 1480s. Consistent wall thicknesses and details throughout the surviving ranges suggest that building was not unduly protracted.

The gatehouse is the least altered part of the complex. It was intended to provide lodgings for distinguished visitors, and according to tradition served this purpose on the occasion of Henry VII's visit, said to have occurred in 1487. On the ground floor it consists of a wide carriageway flanked by narrow chambers. The first and second floors each provide a lodging consisting of a large and lofty main chamber, a small octagonal inner room or closet, somewhat in the form of an oriel, and a garderobe. The brick newel stair gave access in addition to the roof, on which a dovecote and a viewing tower were placed. Elsewhere the evidence for the late 15th-century house is much harder to untangle as a result of later alterations and decorative schemes. The ranges are characterised by four-centred arched doorways and windows, though no windows have survived unaltered. Original arch-braced collar trusses survive in the west range and in the northern half of the east range, in both cases associated with elaborately moulded cornice beams. Former garderobes have been identified at the junction of the west and north ranges, and probably in the middle of the east range.

From the 1480s to the 1530s the Bedingfelds enjoyed royal favour, but following the Reformation of the Church in England they held resolutely to the Catholic faith. Thereafter, except during Mary's brief reign (1553-8), royal patronage was withdrawn and at times, particularly under Elizabeth, the family were treated with suspicion. To

varying degrees they suffered fiscal and political penalties throughout the late 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and this inevitably curtailed their building activity. The earliest substantial alteration to the fabric of the building has been dated by dendrochronology to the period 1551-79. The work involved re-roofing the north range east of the gatehouse to provide attics, possibly for a chapel. Other work may be contemporary, including a former overmantel which has left some traces above the King's Room fireplace.

During the Civil War the Bedingfelds took arms under the Royalist banner and were swiftly punished by Parliament, which sequestered their estates in 1642. During this period the southern half of the east range was gutted by fire. Although the Bedingfelds recovered their property at the Restoration in 1660 they were never reimbursed for their considerable financial losses in the Royalist cause. The Hall was partially refurbished in the late 17th century, probably in or around 1684, but resources were limited and the fire-damaged portion was abandoned. Instead attention focused on the north-west quarter of the complex, where two new stairs were provided, existing interiors remodelled and attic rooms created.

Works of improvement followed in the early and mid-18th century at the instigation of the 3rd Baronet. The creation of a new formal approach from the north, the New Road, can be dated to the period 1722-5 and may have formed part of a wider programme of works including a new bridge across the moat and possibly alterations to parts of the house. The bridge has traditionally been ascribed to Lord Burlington. The upper-end accommodation was modernised and cellars were created in the surviving northern half of the east range, followed around 1750 by the reinstatement of the southern half. A number of chimneypieces probably dating from the 1730s or 1740s suggest that the remodelling was more prolonged and extensive than now appears. Some money is said to have been expended on the great hall at about this time but in 1775 the 4th Baronet began demolishing it, along with the service rooms to the west and the family apartments to the east. The great hall was not replaced, but between 1775 and 1779 the architect John Tasker built matching pavilions at either end of it as well as carrying out other modifications. The pavilion lying to the south-east of the courtyard incorporated fragments of the upper end, as previously remodelled, and it was much altered again in the 19th century. The south-west pavilion, less altered subsequently, provided a large Saloon on the ground floor, fitted up in the neoclassical taste, and a suite comprising a bedroom (the Fetterlock Room) and dressing room above. Alterations on both floors of the west range included a new Drawing Room. Tasker also built the single-storeyed arcade which served as a corridor along the three surviving sides of the courtyard.

Following a period of straitened finances in the early 19th century, a timely inheritance prompted a major rebuilding of Oxburgh by the 6th Baronet. This commenced in 1830 under the direction, initially at least, of the Gothic revival architect, John Chessell Buckler. Buckler reversed a century and a half of 'modernisation', making extensive use of Gothic windows and chimneys supplied by the Costessey brickworks. He created the present Library in the west range, the Dining Room in the north range and the Boudoir on the first floor of the west range, and he added most of the parapets. He was probably also responsible for the re-roofing of the gatehouse. The bulk of this work was accomplished in the 1830s, but there was a further burst of activity around 1860, when the existing rooms in Tasker's south-east pavilion were extensively altered and the present south-east tower was raised above it. This work produced a distinct suite of family rooms set apart from the principal reception rooms along the west side of the

complex. A single-storeyed south range, filling the gap left by the great hall, followed in 1863, a year after the 7th Baronet inherited Oxburgh, providing a new formal entrance and connecting the family rooms more conveniently with the rest of the house. The Drawing Room was embellished, possibly by J. D. Crace, in the course of the 1860s as part of a wider remodelling embracing the external appearance of the south-west pavilion. The Billiard Room in the north range may have been added about the same time.

Early photographs show that after the mid-1860s there were few changes to the exterior appearance of Oxburgh. Alterations to the servants' quarters in the attics can probably be dated to the first decade of the 20th century. The Hall was given to the National Trust in 1952, and is currently divided between rooms presented as a visitor attraction, two family apartments, two staff flats, offices and other site amenities.

INTRODUCTION

Oxburgh Hall, Oxborough, a Grade I listed building, has been since the late 15th century the seat of the Bedingfeld family. The Bedingfelds continue to live in a portion of the house, ownership of which has been vested since 1952 in the National Trust.[1]

Location and setting

The village of Oxborough is situated in south-west Norfolk, approximately 11km (7 miles) south-west of Swaffham and 14km (9 miles) east of Downham Market. Lying about 250m south-west of the medieval parish church of St John, where the Bedingfeld Chantry Chapel contains many monuments to the family, Oxburgh Hall (see Figs 1-4) is surrounded by a moat and occupies a small area of landscaped grounds, the dominant character of which is early to mid 19th-century, with formal gardens on the east side and outbuildings to the north-east.[2] The wider estate was dispersed in 1951 when it comprised some 3,500 acres, including eight farms, a presbytery, a former school, the Bedingfeld Arms public house, 26 cottages, accommodation land, allotments and woodland. The Hall, which stands within a moat and consists of four ranges built around a courtyard, lies slightly aslant the cardinal compass points, but will be treated in the following report as though the range incorporating the gatehouse faced due north.

The need for survey

The legacy of Oxburgh Hall's protracted evolution is a building fabric of considerable complexity – lacking a number of its elements, and concealing or confusing many more beneath layer upon layer of accretions. Disentangling this complex body of evidence requires a range of skills and approaches, from the detailed investigation of building fabric to the careful analysis of documentary sources.

The Hall has suffered two catastrophic losses in a history stretching over more than 500 years. In the mid-17th century fire destroyed the southern half of the eastern range; the loss was not made good until about a century later. In 1775 the great hall was demolished, together with the lower-end accommodation, though fortunately not before a plan was prepared. There were periods in which the fortunes of the Bedingfelds, successful courtiers under the early Tudors, fell so low by virtue of their adherence to the Catholic faith that little in the house was altered for years at a time. Yet extensive alterations were made in different parts of the house in the late 17th, mid-18th, late 18th and mid-19th centuries, and more modest changes can be detected at a number of other periods, each supplanting or obscuring something of its predecessors. Nevertheless, a huge quantity of late 15th-century fabric survives at Oxburgh. The house thus has considerable potential to inform us about the way of life of its owners, their families, retinues and servants, and about the ways in which a late-medieval courtier house could be adapted to suit the different needs and fashions of later ages.

In the half-century of National Trust ownership numerous changes have been introduced to facilitate public access, improve safety, provide catering, retail and office facilities and accommodate staff. Such changes are the inevitable concomitants of managing a popular tourist attraction, but mitigating their effects remains a paramount concern. This report aims to present as full an understanding as possible of the original form and

functioning of Oxburgh Hall and of its subsequent evolution in order to provide a firm basis for future decisions concerning its management.

Documentary sources

The principal source for the study of Oxburgh Hall is the collection of Bedingfeld family papers. These have been calendared twice in reports by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, in 1872 and in 1956. The earlier report dwelt very largely on the Bedingfelds' relationship with the Crown, and in particular their service during Queen Mary's reign.[3] A much more generous selection of documents was described in 1956, but even this list omits some items of interest.[4] The documents are for the most part kept in four metal boxes (numbered I-IV) and one wooden box (known as Box W). A few other documents, albums, etc, were not in boxes at the time they were examined. Among the most useful sources for the purposes of this report are the building accounts of 1775-80 and a series of family letters contemporary with Buckler's work at Oxburgh. Only a minority of these letters could be examined closely in the time available and there is undoubtedly more to be gained from this source.

Of particular importance for an understanding of the late-medieval house are two inventories, dating from 1585 and 1598 respectively. These record the movable property in each room at Oxburgh, and date from a period in which the house probably remained nearly as built. As well as providing contemporary room names, ranging from the generic (e.g. Little Parlour) to the particular (e.g. Mrs Carye's chamber), they build up a comprehensive picture of the material life of the inhabitants. The earlier inventory, which assigns monetary values to all the items, must originate in the probate of Edmund Bedingfeld, who died in 1585.[5] The later inventory, which does not include a valuation, may relate to the minority of Edmund's grandson, Henry, who had succeeded to the estate in 1590 at the age of eight.[6]

Cartographic sources

The available large-scale cartographic sources are all of too late a date to shed light on the early history of the Hall, but they contain valuable information on a number of vanished structures and on some later developments.

The earliest map (Fig 1), made by Philip Wissiter in 1722, shows the parish of Oxborough, including the surrounding fields, and was probably associated with a scheme of enclosure enacted in 1724.[7] Buildings are indicated pictorially and exhibit some diversity, sufficient to suggest that some semblance of individual characteristics is conveyed. For the most part a brick-coloured wash denotes houses, while cross-hatching in black ink is used for farm buildings. However, neither technique is applied to the Church and the Hall, which are very lightly shaded in order to give greater prominence to architectural detail. Oxburgh Hall is depicted as a series of moatside elevations thrown back on themselves and consequently largely infilling the space within the moat. Unfortunately the elevations shown in this manner are the north, east and west, and these leave insufficient space to represent the south range, which is the only one not to have survived. Only some rather irregular shading suggests the presence of a fourth range here. The Hall is shown in enough detail to indicate fenestration on two storeys and attics, with dormer windows appearing on all three elevations. The fenestration on the main floors is entirely regular, but it is not clear how far this reflects contemporary actuality. The approach from the north is flanked by a large single-storeyed building on the west, which later sources identify as the barn, and a smaller

one, consisting of a single storey and attic, to the east, which probably incorporated the stables and dovehouse.

Fig 1. Detail of the Wissiter map of 1722, north to bottom. Oxburgh Hall appears centre right. (Norfolk Record Office/NMR BB032518)

Fig 2. Detail of de Wilstar's 1725 map, north to top. The demolished part of the east range is clearly indicated. (Norfolk Record Office/NMR BB032517)

A map of the Manor of Oxborough followed very shortly after the parish map. It exists in two states, one (Fig 2) dated 1725, the other undated and perhaps a draft or working copy.[8] The two are similar in most respects, but the dated map shows the results of the enclosure scheme, includes a larger number of field names and has a generally higher standard of finish. Both provide detailed depictions of the village, showing building footprints (not elevations) with sufficient precision to indicate the presence of buttresses on the hall porch, the church and (on the 1725 version only) the barn, and using coloured washes and other symbols to denote different types of land use. Oxburgh Hall is shown rising sheer from the moat on all sides, with the exception of the southern two-thirds of the eastern range, which appears to be grassed over following fire damage. The hall porch projects into the courtyard, with angle buttresses to the corners. The 1725 version appears to show brick garden walls by means of a thin red line, and uses the same notation to represent the brick revetments of the moat and the south and east walls of the fire-damaged portion of the Hall.[9] A third map consists largely of data extracted from the 1722 map, but includes some additional information.[10] It covers the area immediately around the Hall together with two fields – First Night Close and Second Night Close – on the opposite side of the Stoke Ferry to Swaffham road.

The 1725 map (Fig 2) is of particular interest for showing the 'New Road', approaching from the east and cut in a series of straight lengths to the north of the Swaffham road, before turning abruptly southwards directly opposite the gatehouse. The purpose of the road seems to have been to contrive a more imposing approach to the Hall, avoiding the need to pass between the straggling houses of the village street. This approach is associated with the present formal entrance, marked by gate piers, where the New Road crossed the old at right-angles and entered the park. Inside the park the Hall is shown fronted by a parterre. A buff-coloured wash denotes gravelled paths, arranged cross-

axially with an additional oval placed symmetrically across the division between the two southern quadrants. The western axis is terminated by a small, probably ornamental, building, and the eastern by a balancing projection at one end of a much larger building. This is apparently the same building as appeared on the earlier map, augmented by the projection overlooking the parterre, perhaps by another towards the rear, and possibly the 'Dove house' mentioned in the key to the extracted map. If the identification is correct the building must have consisted of more than just a dovehouse. Set back beyond the parterre on the western side, in its own yard and with its own entrance from the road, is a large barn, identified by the presence of 'Barne Close' immediately to its rear (or 'Oak Yard behind Barn' on the extracted plan). The barn is an elongated structure with what look like later extensions to the north and east and (on the 1725 version) buttresses at three of the original corners.

The earliest large-scale survey of the whole county of Norfolk, undertaken by Thomas Donald, Thomas Milne and assistants between 1790 and 1794, was engraved and published by William Faden in 1797 (see Fig 10).[11] At a scale of one inch to one mile Faden's map, as it has become known, is less detailed than those discussed above, but it is not without interest. The Hall is given as the seat of 'Sir Rich[d] Bedingfield Bar[t]'. The surrounding park, indicated by stippling and by a boundary symbol resembling a park pale, extends westwards as far as the road leading to the ferry over the Wissey at Oxburgh Hithe, and eastwards as far as the then course of Church Road (Oxborough to Foulden) and the eastern branch of the River Gadder, the braided channel of which is clearly depicted.

Two maps record schemes for road diversions in the second quarter of the 19th century, while at the same time shedding light on ancillary and garden buildings belonging to Oxburgh Hall. One map, deposited on 28 April 1837, concerns a diversion of Ferry Road, which branches south-westwards off the Oxborough to Stoke Ferry road.[12] This shows 'The Icehouse Plantation' immediately east of the old junction, on the south side of the main road. The diversion of Church Road is the subject of a survey drawn up by James Barham in 1844.[13] This shows how the old road, which departed from the Stoke Ferry to Swaffham road next to the west front of the church, was replaced by another, departing from the east end and rejoining the old road at the crossing of the eastern arm of the River Gadder. Just to the west of the elbow in the old road it shows 'Grotto Plantation'.

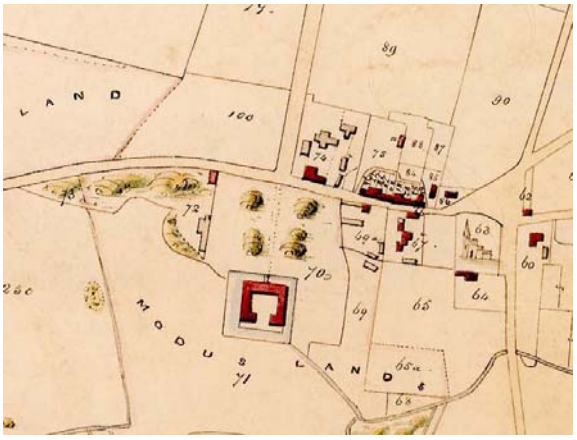


Fig 3. Detail from the Tithe Apportionment map of 1845-6, showing the breach in the south range. (Norfolk Record Office/NMR BB03250)

The Tithe Apportionment map of 1845-6 (Fig 3) is summary in its depiction of buildings, the main purpose being to establish acreages.[14] The Hall is shown with a substantial

gap in the middle of the south range, where the great hall had been demolished in the late 18th century. The map also shows the building stopping short of the south arm of the moat. The barn has been replaced by the chapel and the building which opposed it on the eastern side of the parterre has disappeared. The parterre seems to have been replaced by tree-planting, but the northern approach remained in use. Disconnected fragments of the New Road are also shown. Another mid-19th-century map, utilising the same parcel numbers, shows variations in the forms of buildings, including the chapel. Ordnance Survey map coverage at the scale of 1:2500 commences in 1883 (Fig 4),[15] but by this time the plan footprint of Oxburgh, with only minor exceptions, had already reached its final form.

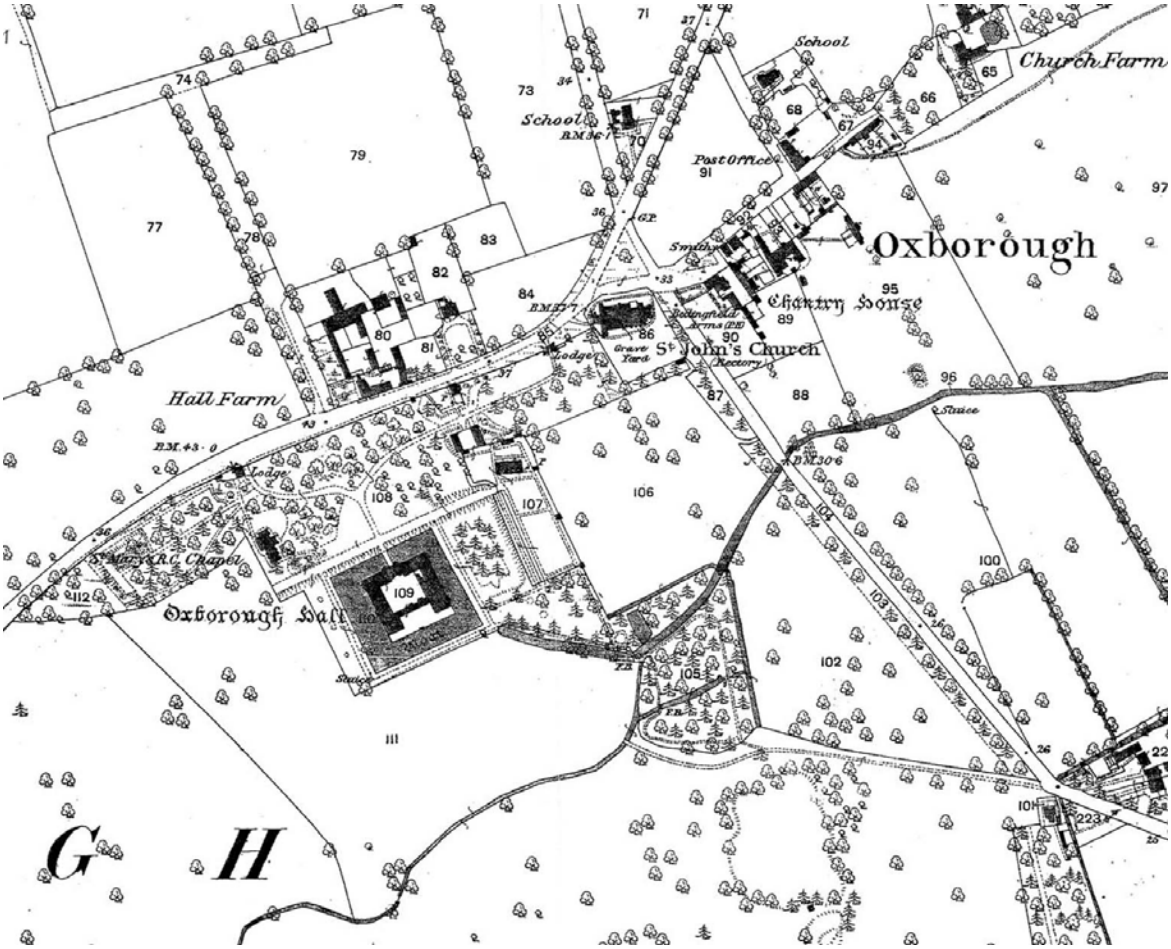


Fig 4.

Architectural and topographical drawings and views

Architectural drawings

Aside from the maps discussed above, no depictions of Oxburgh Hall prior to the late 18th century have been located. The earliest is the ground-floor plan (Fig 5) made just before the demolition of the great hall and the lower-end accommodation in 1775. This was re-drawn by Frederick Mackenzie (1787-1854) and engraved by John le Keux

(1783-1846) for use by the early 19th-century antiquarian John Britton in his *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*.[16] The original, which is now presumed lost, 'was drawn in 1774, and was communicated to the Author [i.e. Britton] by the Rev. Mr. Homfray'.[17] The published version has the appearance of a measured plan and provides a range of architectural details, including door, window and fireplace positions, though it is unclear how far its accuracy can be depended upon.[18] It is of particular importance for its depiction of the great hall and its associated service rooms, for which there is now no other substantial evidence, together with evidence of former partitions. It also provides, in the form of a numbered key, a nearly complete list of room uses for the ground floor, though as Britton observed, 'many of these apartments are of modern appropriation'.[19]

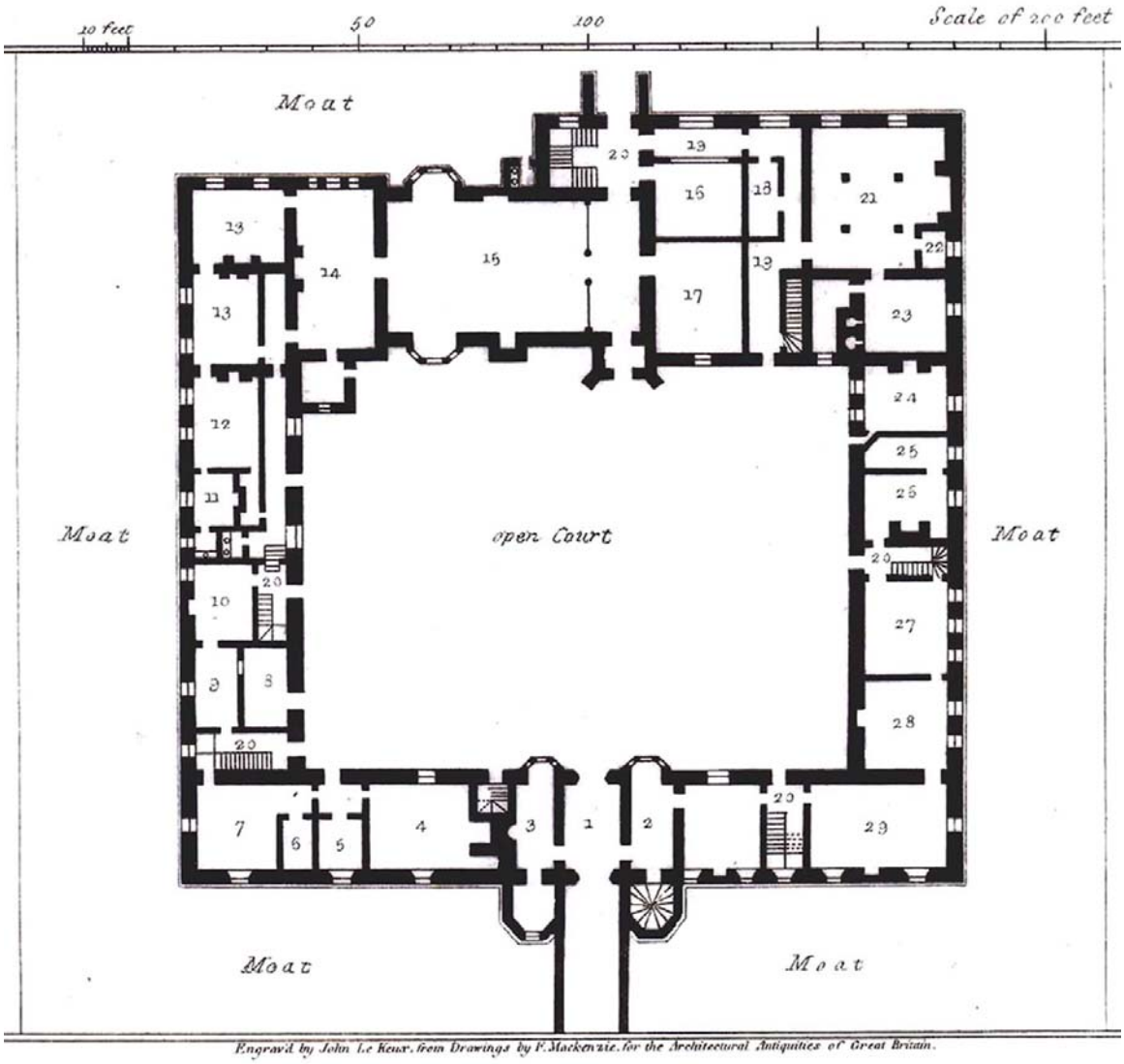


Fig 5. F Mackenzie's 1774 plan of Oxburgh Hall (north to bottom), as reproduced in John Britton, Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, vol. II (1809). (Syndics of Cambridge University Library)*
The room names given in the accompanying key are:
1) Arched gateway; 2, 3) Porters' lodges; 4) Laundry; 5) Dairy; 6) Woodhouse; 7) Wash-house; 8) Aviary; 9) Baths; 10) Room for persons unwell; 11) Dressing room; 12) Bedchamber; 13) Drawing room; 14) Dining room; 15) Hall; 16) China room; 17) Pantry; 18) Closet; 19) Passage; 20) Staircases; 21) Kitchen; 22) Larder; 23) Bakehouse; 24) Servants' hall; 25) Storeroom; 26) Housekeeper's room; 27) Breakfast room; 28) Bedchamber; 29) Library.

There is also at Oxburgh (in the present Tea Room) a set of transfer-printed Davenport plates and other tableware, the design of which is said to be a representation of Oxburgh before the demolition of the great hall (Fig 6). The view, if it is taken to be of Oxburgh, is from the south, and has water in the foreground – plausibly the River Gadder. Twin towers rise above the far side of the house in what might be taken as a simplified representation of the gatehouse turrets, but the main body of the gatehouse is over-fenestrated and the multi-gabled south front of the Hall is difficult to reconcile with the 1774 plan. In particular the manner in which the block forming the left-hand end of the elevation projects forward of the remainder by a number of window bays bears no relation to the plan. The tableware has no longstanding connection with Oxburgh Hall,[20] and it is likely that the limited resemblance between the building and the depiction is coincidental.

Fig 6. Davenport tableware purportedly depicting Oxburgh Hall. (NMR BB032509)

A notable series of measured elevations, plans and details of the gatehouse (see Fig 21) was published in January and December 1829 by the architectural draughtsman, Augustus Charles Pugin (1769-1832), who reproduced them in his *Examples of Gothic Architecture* (1831-8; second edition 1838-40). Pugin is credited with the direction of the work ('direx^{t}.'), the draughtsmanship of which was mostly executed by T. T. Bury and Francis Arundale.[21] E. J. Willson, who wrote the accompanying letterpress, described Oxburgh as 'an embattled mansion of the first class, a description of building which succeeded to the castles of earlier times, – being planned with more regard to internal space and convenience, but retaining sufficient strength to resist any casual assault of a hostile party'.[22] He also drew attention to the historical parallels with Queens College, Cambridge, Archdeacon Pykenham's gatehouse at Hadleigh, Suffolk, and Herstmonceux Castle in East Sussex.[23]

The only other architectural plan of note is an undated and untitled drawing showing the ground floor of the Hall (see Fig 92).[24] This would appear to date from some time between 1830 and 1860, and is discussed more fully below in connection with a series of elevations by J. C. Buckler. It divides the accommodation between reception rooms west of the gatehouse and service rooms to the east; as such, it pre-dates the intention, carried into effect in or by 1860, to establish a new suite of family rooms at the southern end of the east wing. It includes, however, a depiction of the south range, broadly as constructed in 1863, and also of a Long Gallery, replacing the arcade along the west range. This feature, never built, is represented in a watercolour in the possession of the Bedingfeld family.

Topographical views and interiors

Oxburgh Hall does not figure prominently in the work of topographical artists, perhaps because the relative flatness of the surrounding landscape did not suit the picturesque landscape conventions of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The relative obscurity of the Bedingfeld family in this period, often away from home and still debarred from full participation in the political and social life of the county, may have contributed to the neglect. Attracted by its scarcely altered exterior, such antiquarian attention as there was concentrated almost exclusively on the gatehouse in the early 19th century, and nearly always on its north elevation. Views of other parts of the Hall would have had to contend with the unpicturesque sashed elevations resulting from 18th-century alterations.

The earliest known view, made by Mackenzie in 1808, shows the gatehouse from the north-west (Fig 7). Engraved by Le Keux and published in 1809, it was included in the Norfolk section of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, co-authored by John Britton, the following year.[25] Another view by Mackenzie, looking straight across the bridge at the north elevation, was engraved by S. Rawle (1771-1860) for Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, and published by him on 1 July 1809.[26] The Norwich topographical artist, John Sell Cotman (1782-1842), visited Oxburgh in 1811, and etched his view for publication in 1813 (Fig 8).[27] John Preston Neale (1771-1847) published a further view in 1819,[28] and two by Joseph Nash, a pupil of A. C. Pugin, were lithographed in 1830.[29]

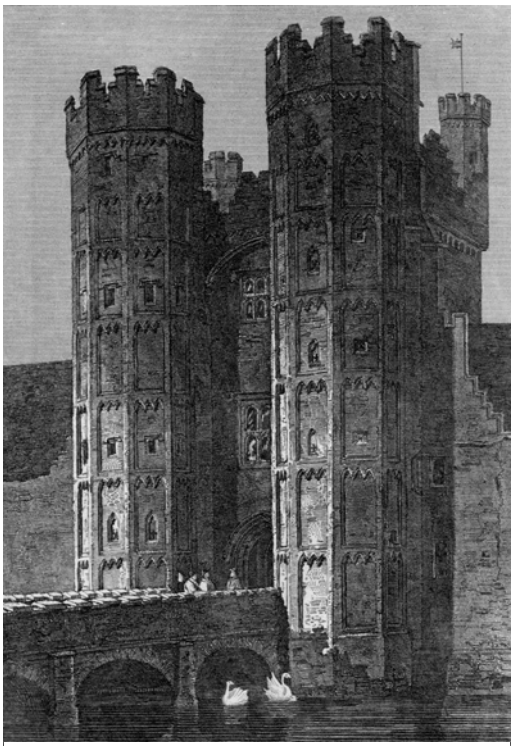


Fig 7. Mackenzie's view, 1808, as engraved by Le Keux in 1809. (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery)

Fig 8. Cotman's 1813 etching of his own view dated 1811. (Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery)

One further drawing of this period deserves mention, though unlike those discussed above it was never engraved for publication. John Chessell Buckler is the likely author of a pencil sketch dated 16 September 1820, long before his architectural commission at Oxburgh was forthcoming, depicting obliquely the whole of the north and east moatside

elevations (see Fig 48).[30] The sketch is part of a large collection of architectural drawings by three generations of Bucklers (John, John Chessell and Charles Alban), including designs produced by J. C. Buckler when he was engaged on remodelling the house (see Figs 88-91). The latter are of interest partly for their depiction of unexecuted features, and will be discussed in more detail at the appropriate point below.[31]

The views by Mackenzie, Cotman, Neale, Buckler and Nash all depict the building before the commencement of Buckler's works in 1830, though it is a source of some frustration that they concentrate on the part of the building least altered by Buckler. His own sketch takes the widest viewpoint but Cotman's and Neale's, to differing degrees, include parts of the north range to either side of the gatehouse.[32] All three provide valuable information on the form of 17th and 18th-century windows and other features which were replaced in the 1830s and later. The views by Mackenzie and Nash are more closely cropped. The two by Nash include one, unusually, showing the courtyard elevation of the gatehouse (see Fig 28), but their value as records is reduced by a degree of imaginative re-creation, anticipating some of the Gothic-style embellishments of the 1830s and beyond.[33]

A key source for the study of the main interiors at Oxburgh is a series of watercolours painted by Matilda Bedingfeld (d. 1906), younger daughter of the 6th Baronet (see Appendix 2).[34] Her painting of the Dining Room was exhibited and reviewed in the *Art Journal* in 1852,[35] and engravings based on two others – an exterior view from the north-west and an interior of the King's Room – were published in 1855.[36] Matilda married Captain George Nevill of Nevill Holt, Leicestershire, in the latter year,[37] and this would also suggest that the watercolours (mostly interiors, but including a handful of exterior views) date from no later than the first half of the 1850s, before the programme of works inaugurated by the 6th Baronet was concluded. They are characterised by great attention to detail and are an important guide to contemporary room layouts and decorative schemes (see Figs 84 & 103). The inclusion of human figures in some of them seems calculated to exaggerate the apparent proportions of the rooms (as in Joseph Nash's slightly earlier depictions of 'period' interiors at Levens Hall, Cumbria, and elsewhere), but in other respects they are an invaluable record.

Photographs

Fig 9. 'Oxburgh Castle' from the south-west, taken before the construction of the south range and published in Norfolk Photographically Illustrated *in 1865. Two surviving sash windows show on the ground floor of the west elevation. (NMR)*

The earliest photograph of Oxburgh is probably that published in 1865 (Fig 9).[38] It has the added virtue that it shows the Hall before the south range was added, before the south-west pavilion was Gothicised and before the 19th-century programme of refenestration was complete, as it shows two sashes still surviving on the west elevation. If the date ascribed to the south range is well-founded the photograph must date from no later than 1863. There is an important family collection of glass-plate negatives probably dating from around 1900, a selection of which has been copied by the National Trust.[39] These may have formed the basis for an album of photographs inscribed 'To Sir Henry & Lady Bedingfeld on their wedding day, 21st June, 1904' by 'JFP' of The Presbytery, Oxburgh.[40] The photographs taken for the early *Country Life* articles, mentioned below, are now in the National Monuments Record (NMR), Swindon. The NMR also holds significant photographs taken by W. Galsworthy Davie in the late 19th century,[41] J. G. Gotch in 1910, Nathaniel Lloyd in 1923 (for his *History of English Brickwork*), A. F. Kersting in 1953, Hallam Ashley between 1950 and 1970[42] and Steve Cole of the RCHME in 1994 (for the revised Pevsner volume), among others. For the most part, however, these repeat external views that have changed little since the 1860s or set-piece interiors such as the King's Room where the main changes have been to the contents and their arrangement rather than the architectural fabric.

Previous research

The earliest systematic account of Oxburgh appeared in the *Topographical History of Norfolk* begun by the Norfolk antiquarian, Francis Blomefield (1705-52), in the 1730s and continued by the Revd Charles Parkin (1689-1765), Rector of Oxborough. The first edition of this monumental work was published between 1739 and 1775.[43] It was presumably Parkin – 'To whom', as Blomefield acknowledged, 'I am obliged for his great Pains and Industry in the Account of this *Town, Hundred &c*' – who was chiefly responsible for the account of Oxborough first published in volume form in 1769 but probably written at some point between 1734 and 1752.[44] This contains the first extended description of the Hall:

> This antient SEAT, stands a little South West of the Church of *Oxburgh*, being built of Brick, it very much resembles *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*, built also in the same Reign; the present Entrance to it, is over a Bridge of *Brick*, with three great Arches, and embattled with Free Stone, (formerly over one of *Wood*, with its *Draw-bridge*,) thro' a grand Majestick *Tower*, the Arch whereof is about 22 Feet long and 13 broad[;] to this Tower adjoyn four Turrets, one at each Corner, of the same Materials with the Tower, Brick, coped also and embattled with Free Stone, Projecting and Octangular; the two in Front are about 80 Feet or more from the Foundation in the Moat to the Summit, and about 10 Feet above the great Tower. The *Court-yard*, (about which stands the House) is 118 Feet long and 92 broad; opposite to the *Great Tower* on the South Side of the *Court* stands the HALL, in length about 54 Feet, and 34 in breadth, between the two Bow-Windows, the Roof is of Oak, (in the same stile and Form with that of *Westminster*) equal in Height to the Length of it, and being lately very agreeably ornamented and improved, may be justly accounted one of the best old *Gothick Halls* in *England*. The outward Walls of the House, stand in the Moat, which is pure running Water, (fed by an adjoining Rivulet) about 270 Feet long, and 52 broad on every Side, and faced with Brick on the Side opposite to the House, and can be raised to the Depth of about 10 Feet of Water, or let out as occasion serves.[45]

This is the only detailed description of Oxburgh dating from before the loss of the medieval great hall. Its re-publication in a second edition in 1807 was quickly followed,

in 1809, by a new description in John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*.[46] Britton gives the earliest account of the King's Room, and is also the first writer to note 'a curious *hiding-place*, or hollow space, in the wall', now more familiar as the Priest Hole. Britton also co-authored the eleventh volume of *The Beauties of England and Wales*, which appeared in the following year. The account here has certain similarities with his earlier one, but contains additional information about the destruction of the great hall, which is dated, erroneously, to 1778.[47] Antiquarian interest flourished in the 19th century, when a number of mainly historical articles were published. Chief among these are papers by the Revd G. H. M'Gill, who transcribed and translated from Latin the 1482 license to crenellate, and Edward M. Beloe, FSA, who summarised the state of knowledge in 1890.[48]

Either Blomefield or Parkin had access to the family papers kept at Oxburgh and these have continued to offer a rich vein for those concerned with the history of the Bedingfelds and the families with whom they intermarried. Much work has been carried out by members of the families themselves, concerned as much with the intimate history of their forebears and their services to the Church as with their entanglement in the great affairs of state and their oppression, by token of their faith, after the Reformation. Important memoirs and selections from the letters and other documents were produced by Egerton Castle in 1896, Ernest Betham in 1905, Katherine Bedingfeld in 1912 and Katharine Paston-Bedingfeld in 1936.[49] An especially useful summary of family history, illustrated by extensive quotation from the family papers, was published by the Catholic Record Society in 1909.[50] More recently the Bedingfelds have figured prominently in a work charting the distinctive social history of England's major Catholic families.[51]

Oxburgh Hall has featured no less than four times in *Country Life*, commencing in 1897, the first year of the journal's existence. The articles published in 1897 and 1903 are evocative rather than incisive, and that of 1929 emphasises family history at the expense of architectural analysis, but they resulted in an important archive of large-format photography.[52] Two short illustrated articles published in *The Expert* in 1909 add little to the sum of knowledge.[53] Nathaniel Lloyd's pioneering study of English brickwork (1925) draws together many of Oxburgh's brick-built contemporaries, pointing in particular to the similarity of the gatehouse stair with that of Faulkbourne Hall, Essex.[54] Nikolaus Pevsner pointed to similarities between Oxburgh's gatehouse and that at Hadleigh, Suffolk, built by Archdeacon Pykenham *circa* 1495.[55] A more recent *Country Life* article by Clive Wainwright delves more deeply into the complex 19th-century 're-edification' of the Hall, which earlier writers were apt to gloss over. Wainwright emphasises its place in the history of the 'romantic interior', drawing on a thesis first presented in a book of the same name.[56]

The first guidebook, signed 'RF' (Robin Fedden), appeared when the National Trust opened parts of the Hall to the public, and went through a number of editions.[57] It was superseded by another written by Arthur Lumsden Bedingfeld in 1972.[58] These early guidebooks summarised the family history of the Bedingfelds but gave relatively scanty architectural information, partly because public access was initially limited to a small area of the building. Subsequent guidebooks have drawn more extensively on the family papers and dealt more amply with the architecture, setting and contents of the house.[59]

Other recent architectural accounts, including entries in the revised Pevsner volume and in Anthony Emery's conspectus, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales*, have been briefer.[60] It could be argued that Oxburgh suffers from its position on the cusp of

transition from the medieval to the post-medieval, figuring most commonly as an epilogue to one era or a prologue to the other and seldom forming the central matter. Among the wider studies making reference to Oxburgh those by Nicholas Cooper, Maurice Howard and M. W. Thompson are particularly noteworthy, though none deals with the house at length, while Simon Thurley's work on royal palaces has illuminated the standard to which courtiers aspired and Malcolm Airs has explored the complex nature of the building process.[61] Synoptic studies such as these establish the broader context of custom, innovation and display in the late medieval house, but detailed studies of single houses of comparable date and scale can also add considerably to our understanding of a house such as Oxburgh. Among the more substantial recent studies are those of Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire (1439-*c*1450), Gainsborough Old Hall, Lincolnshire (*c*1465-*c*1490), and The Vyne, Hampshire (largely 1524-6).[62]

Other elements of the Hall, its fixtures and fittings, have been the subject of specialist studies. The abundant heraldry at Oxburgh is described in a detailed guide by the 9th Baronet, upon which all observations in this report relating to heraldry have been based.[63] In the early 1980s an investigation into the cause of subsidence in the south-east tower revealed a roughly circular feature in the present drawing room which, following a small excavation in May 1983, was identified as a brick-lined well.[64] The fact that the bricks of which it was made were described as 'identical' to those of the gatehouse poses some interpretative problems, given that the feature is located in what was, in the 15th century, the upper-end accommodation. Possibly the well, if correctly identified, relates to a slightly earlier building on the same site, a suggestion for which some support can be found in the anomalous dendro-date of the west range roof timbers, for which a similar explanation is tentatively offered below. Some attention has also been paid to relatively recent aspects of the Hall. For example, fittings relating to the acetylene gas-lighting system employed in the Hall from *circa* 1903 to the mid-20th century have been briefly inventoried along with a handful of other items illustrating the evolution of country house technology.[65]

The Marian hangings, inherited by the 4th Baronet in 1761 from his relatives by marriage, the Brownes of Cowdray Park, West Sussex, and now loaned to Oxburgh Hall by the Victoria and Albert Museum, have also been the subject of detailed study and extensive conservation.[66] Remains of a suspected wall-painting were uncovered in 1998 when the Marian Hangings Room was being refurbished,[67] but on detailed examination proved to result from a 'differential distribution of microbiological growth, probably resulting from the presence of a leather hanging'. The same inspection also reported briefly on the fragment of wallpainting concealed behind painted leather hangings in the adjacent corridor (see Fig 16).[68] The leather hangings themselves, considered to be early 18th-century 'Spanish' leather of Netherlandish manufacture, acquired by the Bedingfelds in the 1830s, do not appear to have received detailed attention.[69] Furniture and furnishings, which are not referred to at length in this report, are discussed in Clive Wainwright's *Country Life* article and in the present National Trust guidebook.[70] The many portraits accumulated by the Bedingfelds over the centuries attracted the interest of at least one 18th-century enthusiast,[71] and were catalogued in the 1920s by Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, the son of the last Maharajah of Lahore.[72]

Further research has shed light upon the environs of the hall. The elaborate terracotta memorials to the Bedingfelds in the Chantry Chapel of the nearby Church of St John the Evangelist have long been recognised as important indicators of the adoption, by early 16th-century court society, of Renaissance motifs and associated technology from the

Continent.[73] A substantial number of individual terracotta pieces are stored in the turret room opening off the Porter's Lodge.[74] They were presumably acquired following the collapse of the steeple of St John's in 1948, which led to the destruction of the tower and south aisle and left the nave roofless, but since the Chantry Chapel escaped damage their original whereabouts is unclear. The separate Chapel built by the Bedingfelds to practise their Catholic faith in the mid-1830s has aroused a long controversy concerning the likelihood or otherwise that A. C. Pugin's son, the more celebrated A. W. N. Pugin (1812-52), may have been involved with its design or fitting out (see below, pp.151-3). The 16th-century Antwerp reredos, installed *circa* 1860, has also attracted particular attention.[75] Serious interest in the landscape setting of the Hall has arisen only relatively recently, with the completion of a research report for the National Trust in 1993[76] and an earthworks survey in 1999.[77]

A good deal of valuable information, concerning both the Hall and its estate, was gathered through a series of oral history interviews undertaken for the National Trust in 1986 and 1987.[78] The interviewees were either family members or former employees or tenants of the estate, and included domestic servants, gardeners and estate workers. The tape-recorded interviews are especially valuable for the glimpses they provide of the estate in the final two decades before it passed to the National Trust, but they also refer to events and circumstances as far back as the beginning of the 20th century.

The English Heritage survey

The scholarship which has accumulated around Oxburgh Hall from the mid-18th century onwards is considerable but has nevertheless left many questions unanswered, particularly where the evolution of the building is concerned. The Architectural Investigation Division of English Heritage was asked by the National Trust to carry out a detailed architectural survey of Oxburgh Hall, with the intention of informing the future management of the building and its presentation to the public. A project design was drawn up and agreed in August 2000.

At the National Trust's request the fieldwork was spread over three financial years, commencing with a brief inspection of limited areas in advance of fire prevention works in December 2000, resuming in earnest in February 2001 and continuing intermittently until July 2002. The bulk of the work was carried out in the winter months, while the house was closed to visitors, but for practical and aesthetic reasons some of the photography of key interiors could only be carried out when these were in their summer guise, presented for public view.

The survey was confined to the house, moat and bridge. There has been no detailed inspection of the gardens, outbuildings, chapel and estate buildings, though an integrated understanding of the whole is clearly desirable. In particular, attention should be drawn to the derelict state of the mid-19th-century Keeper's Lodge (not in National Trust ownership) at the former entrance from the Foulden Road.

The principal floor plans are based on external and selective internal REDM control,[79] which was also used for key external points on the main cross-sectional drawings. This technique was particularly valuable for obtaining measurements on inaccessible parts of the structure such as the moatside elevations, where the building rises sheer from the water. All other measurements were hand-surveyed using tapes, folding rods and telescopic height poles.

The documentary sources for the history of Oxburgh Hall and the Bedingfeld family are very extensive, and the majority remain in the family's possession. For the present survey only those sources bearing directly on the buildings and their setting have been examined. The history of the family, important for an understanding of the motives lying behind building work and its character, has been drawn principally from secondary sources, including works compiled by members of the family and the present National Trust guidebook.

Alongside the English Heritage survey, brief specialist reports have been commissioned by the National Trust on glass and wallpaintings. More recently, in 2003-4 the Trust commissioned Ian Tyers of Sheffield University to conduct a dendrochronological survey of the roof timbers in the east, west and north ranges, in the hope of obtaining more precise dates for elements of the building than could be provided by stylistic dating.[80] The exercise encountered difficulties with both the growth characteristics and present condition of timbers in a number of areas, and no absolute dates were forthcoming. The timbers in two areas (the north end of the east range and the north range west of the gatehouse) failed to yield dates for the primary construction phase. Results from the west range roof suggested that the timbers here were felled between 1437 and 1463 – an earlier period than has hitherto been thought probable. Elsewhere the tree-ring dates were broadly in line with those suggested by stylistic analysis. The evidence is discussed in more detail at the appropriate places below.

Note. In the remainder of the report room names which are warranted either by current or historic usage are given initial capitals while generic room names are in lower-case letters. For convenience the term 'great hall', which nowhere occurs in early documents, is used to distinguish the principal room of the medieval complex from the complex as a whole, for which 'the Hall' is the normal shorthand form. The manner in which the complex has been divided up and referred to will generally be self-explanatory, but attention is drawn to the following. Where reference is made to all the accommodation lying west of the gatehouse and west of the present south range, including the south-west pavilion or Saloon block, this is described, in accordance with documented practice, as the west wing. Similarly the rooms east of the gatehouse and south range, and including the south-east pavilion, are referred to as the east wing. Where the terms 'east range' and 'west range' are employed they refer strictly to the ranges forming respectively the east and west sides of the courtyard, excluding the pavilions. For other terms used in the report to describe particular parts of the building, see the block plan (Fig 11). A series of measured survey plans will be found at the end of the report.

OXBOROUGH AND THE BEDINGFELD FAMILY

Blomefield and Parkin's *History of Norfolk* states that medieval Oxborough was 'a Place of consequence, capable of great Reception'.[81] It benefited from its hythe, or wharf, on the navigable River Wissey, which connected it via the Fenland waterways with King's Lynn and Cambridge. A Tuesday market was granted to Ralph of Worcester in 1248-9. In 1273 the market was confirmed together with a fair on the vigil and feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Another deed, of 1284-5, confirms 'a fair of two days, viz. on the vigil and the feast of the Assumption, in Oxburgh; and another fair there for eight days, viz. on the vigil, the day, and the morrow of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, and five days after, and free warren in the said manors [of Oxburgh and Shippedene]'.[82] The fair is commemorated in Fair Close (south-west of the parish church) and Old Fair Close (west of Hall Farm), both shown on Wissiter's 1722 map (Fig 1). In Blomefield and Parkin's time there were said to be 'many old Ruins and Foundations' which suggested that the village stretched unbroken for a mile-and-a-half 'from the Closes nigh to *Goodestone*-Common, where the old Road laid to the Town, to the Entrance of the low Ground by *Oxburgh-Hithe*.'[83] A further hint of the substantial nature of the place is furnished by mention of two guildhalls bordering on the churchyard.[84]

In 1274 Oxborough passed from Ralph of Worcester to Nicholas de Weyland, whose family held it until 1434 when a cousin, Sir Thomas Tuddenham, acquired it. Following his execution for high treason in 1462 it passed to his sister Margaret (d.1476), who was the widow of Edmund Bedingfeld (d.1451). Thenceforth descent was through the Bedingfeld line. Margaret outlived her son, Thomas (d. 1453), and her two dozen estates passed accordingly to her grandson, Edmund (1443-96). The de Weylands and their successors were probably represented on their estates by a substantial house, but if so its whereabouts is not known. However, the topography of the village, and particularly the position of St John's Church, might suggest a manorial centre located, as now, somewhere in the south-west quadrant of the village, south of the Stoke Ferry road and west of the original course of Church Road. Tree-ring dates indicate that the timbers of the west range roof are from trees probably felled between 1437 and 1463 (see below), raising the possibility that they date from Thomas Tuddenham's ownership.

The Bedingfeld family originated in the village of Bedingfield, near Eye in Suffolk, but when Edmund Bedingfeld decided to build a large new house he elected to build it at Oxborough. License to crenellate was granted by Edward IV on 3 July 1482, signalling Bedingfeld's admittance to the ranks of those deemed worthy to fortify their homes.[85] While this has been accepted by most authors as dating the onset of building work the license specifically absolves Bedingfeld for any work that he might already have commenced.[86] This raises the possibility that parts of the Hall were already begun, though the phrasing of the document is in places merely conventional, as where it stipulates stone, lime and sand as materials without mention of brick. It has generally been considered unlikely that the Bedingfelds would have commenced work before Edmund inherited the property in 1476.

Edmund Bedingfeld had charted a circumspect course through the difficult years of the 1480s, shifting his allegiances with a nicety that few could have bettered. He obtained license to crenellate in 1482; he was made a Knight of the Bath by the usurper Richard

III the following year, avoided the taint of fighting on Richard's side at Bosworth Field in 1485, when Henry Tudor was victorious, but joined the newly crowned Henry VII in time to procure the higher honour of knight banneret in 1487.

A long though unsubstantiated tradition maintains that Henry VII and his consort Elizabeth of York paid Bedingfeld the honour of a royal visit to Oxburgh in 1487, and that this gave rise to the name of the King's and Queen's Rooms.[87] Edmund Bedingfeld's widow, Margaret, by her will dated 12 January 1513, caused the Bedingfeld Chapel to be built on the south side of the Church of St John the Evangelist. Here successive generations of the family were interred. Edmund's son and heir, Thomas, entered the king's service, initiating a pattern of royal service, often of an onerous nature, that was to endure for the lifetime of the Tudor dynasty. Thomas was knighted at Henry VIII's coronation in 1509, and was of sufficient standing to earn a place at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, near Calais, in 1520. On his death in 1539 he was succeeded briefly by his brother, Robert (d. 1540), then by another brother, Edmund (1480-1553).

Edmund had followed a career similar to that of his eldest brother. He was knighted in 1523 for bravery at the taking of Montdidier in the French Wars. Then in 1533, when Henry VIII discarded his Queen, Catherine of Aragon, in favour of Anne Boleyn, Edmund was appointed Steward and Comptroller of her household at Kimbolton Castle, Huntingdonshire, a post which he held until her death in 1536.

Sir Henry Bedingfeld (1511-83) succeeded to the estates in 1553.[88] He, too, had served the Tudor dynasty well – no easy task since by the middle of the 16th century the Tudors were practically at war with each other. In 1549 he helped put down Kett's Rebellion in Norwich. Two years later he was knighted, but when his patron, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, espoused the claim to the throne of Lady Jane Grey, Bedingfeld declared – wisely as it transpired – for the Catholic Queen Mary. He was appointed a privy councillor and helped to suppress Wyatt's Rebellion in 1554. Three years later he was required to provide 446 men from his own tenants, including skilled gunners and archers, for defence against the French, and to erect beacons along the Norfolk coast. In his other role as Constable of the Tower of London he was entrusted with examining, and sometimes putting to torture, a series of criminals, Protestants and others.[89] He also became jailer to the future Queen Elizabeth, when her personal popularity and the Protestantism for which she stood began to pose a threat to Mary's position. Bedingfeld removed Elizabeth to Woodstock in Oxfordshire, but the duty was a repugnant one and politically dangerous as well. In 1557 he was glad to be made Vice-Chamberlain of Queen Mary's Household, but on her death in the following year and the accession of Elizabeth he became *persona non grata* at the court and absented himself.

Blomefield and Parkin's *History* noted the existence of a manuscript indicating that as part of Queen Elizabeth's East Anglian progress of 1578 a visit to Oxburgh was contemplated.[90] The document survives among the Bedingfeld Papers, containing the brief entry: 'Thenne to Oxboroughe Sr henry Bedingefeilds thenne to ... [etc]'.[91] Recent research, however, has confirmed Blomefield and Parkin's suspicion ('It being unlikely she would then have designed him such an Honour')[92] that the itinerary was changed nearer to the appointed time and that Henry Bedingfeld was not called upon to entertain his sovereign.[93] The visit would, in any case, have been more of an imposition than a courtesy. Bedingfeld's obstinate Catholic faith, and his consequent refusal to sign the Act of Uniformity of 1559, had set him on a collision course with the increasingly intolerant Protestant spirit of Elizabeth's reign. Indeed it was during the royal progress of

1578 that he was summoned to Norwich on a charge of harbouring papists. Only his poor health earned him a reprieve,[94] and a peaceful death in 1583.[95] The only building project that can plausibly be associated with him is the creation of the attics in the north range east of the gatehouse, dated to the period 1551-79 by dendrochronology, and possibly explained by the desire to create a chapel for private devotion.

Sir Henry's son Edmund outlived him by a mere two years, and his grandson Thomas by just five, with the result that in 1590 the estates passed to his great-grandson, also named Henry (1582-1657). His long tenure of the family estates, initially under the guardianship of a relation of his mother's, Sir Henry Jerningham, coincided with the lowest ebb of the family's fortunes as royal disapproval was translated into crippling fines. There is a reference to Jerningham giving permission in 1597 to fell trees in the park at Oxburgh to repair 'all such decayed places there as doe neede present reparation of tymber work'.[96] From 1607 until 1610 Henry Bedingfeld travelled abroad in what was to become an increasingly common strategy for the family in pursuit of education, religious tolerance and domestic economy.

With the accession of Charles I, whose French consort Henrietta Maria was a Catholic, the family's position improved briefly, but the Civil War, in which the Bedingfelds took the Royalist side, brought further misfortunes. Henry Bedingfeld's loyalty provoked the sequestration of his Norfolk and Suffolk estates by Parliament in 1642. He fought for the king and is said to have been captured by Parliamentary forces at the siege of King's Lynn in September 1643.[97] By February 1645/6 he was incarcerated in the Tower of London, where he remained for – estimates vary – between a year-and-three-quarters and three years.[98] It is believed to have been about this time – one writer gives the date 1647 – that the southern half of the east range was gutted by fire.[99] In 1649 the estates were leased in order to raise £50,000 for Cromwell's war in Ireland. On 23 October 1652, 'by an Ordinance of the late Usurping Parliam^{t}' (as the Bedingfelds' subsequent petition to Charles II put it), the estates were sold by the trustees appointed by Parliament to William Holcroft, of Lowleighton, Essex, gentleman, and Geoffrey Northleigh, Esq., of London, for £9,977 18s 8¼d. A kinsman, Anthony Bedingfeld, was obliged to buy them back at a total cost of £47,194 18s 8d, inclusive of a £20,000 fine. The cost of the Manor of Oxburgh was £2,826.[100]

Henry was succeeded in 1657 by Thomas, the son of his first wife, Mary. Colonel Thomas Bedingfeld, another Royalist soldier, who had served the king until his wounding and capture at the siege of Lincoln in 1644, died childless in 1665. His half-brother, writing in 1676, recalled that 'He came downe from London to cutt downe Timber and rayse money, and it pleased God he fell sicke sudainly and died, the same day I engaged for 500^{lb} [*sic*] to redeeme the timber, and keepe the houses from beinge pulled downe'.[101] The estates then passed through the line of the second wife, Elizabeth, to her eldest son, also called Henry. The new Sir Henry Bedingfeld (1613-84) benefited from the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 and the revival of a Catholic court circle. He was made a baronet in 1661, but his petition for reimbursement of the £47,194 18s 8d lost in the Royalist cause was rejected. Henry was already middle-aged and although he spent £500 on his Oxburgh estate in 1665, he preferred to live at Beck Hall, near Billingford in Norfolk.

The 2nd Baronet, another Sir Henry (1636-1704), may have set about restoring Oxburgh even before he inherited it in 1684, and was certainly at work shortly afterwards. He wrote: 'my house being burnt gave my wife small encouragement to live here; so that, in

supplying ye house with furniture that was burnt & making the house habitable, it cost me 1000£ and 4000£ I laid out in purchases'.[102] He is almost certainly the author of the two grand staircases, one in the west range and one in the north, and of a series of other improvements in these parts of the house and probably elsewhere. With the overthrow of James II in 1688, however, the Catholic cause in England was plunged once again into disarray, and a regime of punitive taxes on Catholics may explain the failure to rebuild the burnt-out portion of the east wing.

The future 3rd Baronet, Henry Arundell Bedingfeld (1689-1760), received a Jesuit education on the Continent from 1699 onwards, accompanied by his tutor Thomas Marwood, who recorded their lives in a diary.[103] Schooling was followed by a Grand Tour, and Henry, who inherited the estates as a minor in 1704, did not return to Oxburgh until 1713. In 1719 he married Lady Elizabeth Boyle (d.1757), the sister of the celebrated architect Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753). Elizabeth Boyle and her family were Protestants, and it seems likely that the 3rd Baronet sought, through the alliance, some protection from the anti-Catholic regime that had driven him abroad in his youth and severely circumscribed his movements after his return to England.[104] It is possible that Lord Burlington advised on a range of building projects undertaken by the 3rd Baronet from the 1720s to about 1750, but there is no firm evidence. Probably taking advantage of the enclosure of Oxborough Common in 1724, the 3rd Baronet created the New Road, a new formal approach from the north, and it is likely that the present bridge over the moat, which family tradition ascribes to Burlington, was built at the same time. Cellars were created in the surviving portion of the east range, parts of the south range were remodelled and finally, in or shortly after 1748, the missing portion of the east range was reinstated.

Sir Richard Bedingfeld (1726-95), the 4th Baronet, succeeded in 1760, and in the following year married Mary Browne, daughter of Viscount Montagu of Cowdray, near Midhurst in West Sussex.[105] Among the possessions which Mary brought to Oxburgh were the famous hangings embroidered by Mary, Queen of Scots. Following his wife's early death in 1767 Sir Richard is said to have retired to Oxburgh except for annual visits to Cowdray and it is perhaps unsurprising that he should have set about modernising his Norfolk seat.[106] In 1771 his Memorandum Book records that he 'Burnt Bricks and built ye Garden Wall'.[107] In 1774 he recorded the purchase of '50,000 pan-tiles & 800 Ridge Tiles from Holland, to new cover the House, cost £313 – 9'. Then, on 24 April 1775, he 'Began pulling down ye old Hall, & making the Alterations to the House'.[108] The Catholic architect John Tasker (*c*1738-1816) was employed to build the south-west pavilion on the site of the medieval kitchen and service rooms, and a matching block on the site of the upper-end accommodation, as well as alterations to the Drawing Room and the construction of the arcade extending around the courtyard. The 4th Baronet was also responsible for a new pigeon house (1781) and hot-house (1788). By the latter half of the 18th century the discriminatory taxes of earlier periods had been discarded, although Catholics remained forbidden to erect chapels until the Catholic Dissenters Relief Act of 1791 and were still subject to political limitations until the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.[109] Following the 1791 Act 'a room under the roof, running eastwards from the towers' (i.e. the north range attic east of the gatehouse) was set aside for use as a chapel.[110]

Another Sir Richard Bedingfeld (1767-1829), the 5th Baronet, inherited Oxburgh in 1795. In the same year he married Charlotte Jerningham of Costessey (pronounced, and sometimes spelt, 'Cossey'), near Norwich, member of another Catholic Norfolk family of

baronets. Throughout the Napoleonic Wars they divided their time between Oxburgh and a villa at the rising sea-bathing resort of Great Yarmouth.[111] Economy, rather than sea air, was the principal attraction of Yarmouth. With the resumption of peace in 1815 they moved to Lovendighem near Ghent, leaving Oxburgh to someone of more ample means. The tenant was a Lord Mountjoy, who between 1808 and 1820 paid £500 per annum plus all taxes.[112] A later tenant was described in a letter of the future 6th Baronet's as 'a fashionable hatter in Bond Street', whose main interest was shooting game.[113]

In 1826 Sir Richard's eldest child, Henry, married Margaret Paston, wealthy heiress and last of the Pastons of Appleton, Norfolk, adding her surname and arms to his own to preserve them from extinction. The pair took up residence at Oxburgh, which in 1829, as Sir Henry Paston-Bedingfeld, he inherited on becoming the 6th Baronet. The previous September Margaret wrote: 'We decided on passing the winter at Oxburgh & endeavouring to repair the house etc. to the utmost of our power. Accordingly Henry went there a short time before me, to arrange a few rooms … which are in the servants wing, & may be made very comfortable'.[114] Sir Henry was of the generation that had grown up reading the poems and novels of Sir Walter Scott, with their evocations of chivalric medieval life. Doubtless he deplored the rash action of his grandfather in demolishing the great hall, but he was also short of money, complaining on 1 May 1830 that his expenses did 'not suit the shipwrecked Pockets of a shattered Baronet' and addressing his letters from 'The Ruin'.[115] But the sale of the Appleton estate allowed the settlement of some burdensome debts and he quickly set about recreating the 'Gothic' splendour of the original house. To this end, in 1830 he engaged as his architect John Chessell Buckler (1793-1894).

Buckler, son of the notable architect and draughtsman John Buckler (1770-1851), was a talented architect and draughtsman in his own right, who encouraged the appreciation and retention of medieval buildings, and also designed new buildings in Gothic and Elizabethan styles.[116] In 1836 his proposals for the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament came second only to Charles Barry's. Buckler came to Bedingfeld's attention through his recent (and still continuing) work for the Jerninghams at Costessey Hall from 1825 onwards. A letter written by Bedingfeld in May 1830 relates that 'Mr Buckler the Cossey Architect has been here & is going to send me a drawing of the front of the House'.[117] Five weeks later Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld could report that 'The plans arrived yesterday & I like them well enough'.[118] The work proceeded quickly and followed two main courses. On the one hand Buckler set about altering a series of windows and chimneys, using the moulded brick products (which he may have helped to design) of the Costessey brick and tile works.[119] On the other he initiated alterations to specific areas of the building, beginning with the conversion of the west end of the north range, proceeding to an extensive remodelling of the west range and culminating in the rebuilding of Tasker's south-east pavilion, upon the eastern half of which a tall Gothic tower was raised.

The 5th Baronet, shortly before his death, had expressed a wish to perpetuate the existing arrangements for upholding the Catholic faith in Oxburgh. These consisted of a makeshift chapel adjoining a cottage then occupied by a Mr Sanderson. The baronet doubted whether his son would show the same enthusiasm for the faith, and accordingly placed the cottage and chapel, and a sum of money, in trust, to ensure that that there were funds to engage a chaplain.[120] In the event the 6th Baronet exceeded his father's wishes, building a new chapel for family worship in 1835-6. For many years this has

been attributed to A. W. N. Pugin, whose tastes, like Buckler's, were Gothic (he drew Charles Barry's competition drawings for the Houses of Parliament), and who also had strong Catholic ties.[121] Although A. C. Pugin's association with Oxburgh is well-documented (see pp.10 & 152-3), and resulted in the preparation for him of a series of drawings, no confirmation has ever been found of his son's connection with the design of the chapel, and it is now generally assumed that he was not involved.[122]

The 7th Baronet, also Sir Henry Paston-Bedingfeld (1830-1902), married Augusta Clavering in 1859. She was heiress to Callaly Castle in Northumberland, a substantial house, also with medieval origins.[123] When the 7th Baronet came into his inheritance in 1862 he sold the Castle and used the proceeds to build a new south range at Oxburgh,[124] making some slight amends for the demolition of the great hall nearly a century previously. He is also thought to have commissioned the interior designer, J. D. Crace, to decorate the ceiling of the West Drawing Room. Although firm evidence for the attribution is lacking it is clear that other alterations, notably to the south-west pavilion, occurred at about the same time.

Sir Henry Edward Paston-Bedingfeld, the 8th Baronet (1860-1941), had an adventurous early career ranching in Wyoming in the 1880s and later saw service in the Boer War, returning to Oxburgh in 1902 and marrying Sybil Lyne-Stephens (1883-1985) of Lynford Hall, Norfolk, two years later. They probably undertook the modernisation of the servants' quarters in the attics but generally the scale of alterations in the early 20th century remained modest.

Sir Edmund Paston-Bedingfeld, the 9th Baronet (b. 1915), succeeded in 1941, having already set up home in the west wing of the Hall. He rose to the rank of Major in the Welsh Guards during the Second World War, seeing action at the D-Day Landings and serving in Palestine immediately after the war. On his return to Oxburgh he attempted to mend the estate's fortunes but was forced to sell up in 1951.[125] The house and estate were initially acquired by the Eagle Star Insurance Co., which passed them to a subsidiary, the Ashdale Property Co. At the sale on 3 October the only bid for the Hall came from a Brandon-based timber merchant, who proposed to sell it off in lots, demolishing the house for the value of the architectural salvage. Before this happened Sybil, Lady Bedingfeld (1883-1985), widow of the 8th Baronet, in conjunction with the latter's niece Violet Hartcup (d.1987) and his youngest daughter Mrs Greathead (b.1919), and aided by charitable donations from a number of sources including the Pilgrim Trust, raised enough money to buy back the house, presenting it to the National Trust in 1952. Sybil Bedingfeld, Mrs Greathead and Violet Hartcup subsequently lived in parts of the Hall, and following Sybil Bedingfeld's death in 1985 her grandson, Henry Paston-Bedingfeld (b.1943), took up residence with his family in the east wing.

THE LATE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSE

Setting

Oxburgh Hall lies a little to the north of the course of the River Gadder, a small south-westwards flowing tributary of the River Wissey or Stoke River, which in turn drains westwards into the Great Ouse. To the south and south-east there is an extensive tract of low-lying land, divided on Faden's 1797 map of Norfolk between Gooderstone Common and Foulden Fen (Figs 4 & 10). The Hall is situated where the flat, marshy land on either side of the Gadder meets the gently rising tongue of ground to the north, on which the village of Oxborough is built.

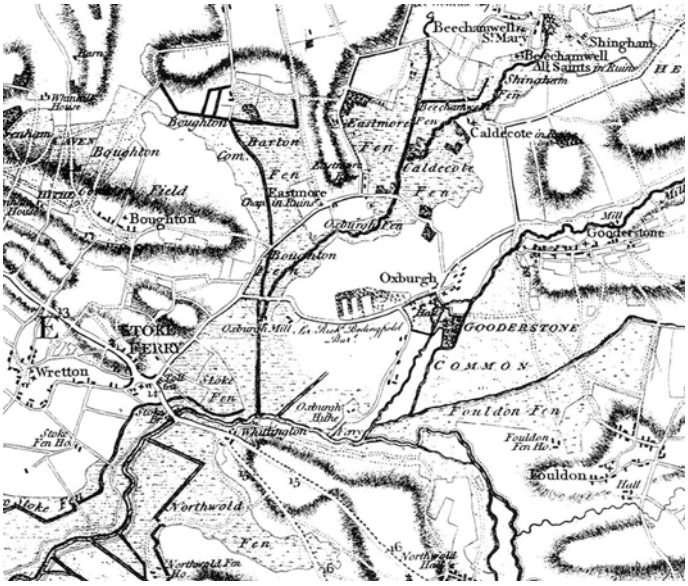


Fig 10. Extract from Faden's Norfolk map of 1797, showing Oxburgh Hall's relationship to local topography and settlement.

In an area of generally flat land, even slight variations in topography take on an added significance. At Oxburgh the choice of site was determined by the availability of water to fill the moat, but very flat surroundings tend to diminish the visual effect of a moated setting. By placing the moat, and the house within it, slightly to the north of the natural watercourse, the view of the house and moat when approaching down the slope from the north was subtly enhanced.

General layout

Oxburgh Hall was built on a courtyard plan, conventional for larger houses of the period (though the largest extended to two or even three courtyards), with a gatehouse forming the centrepiece of the north range and the great hall forming the principal component of the south range (Fig 11; Drawings 1-3). The upper-end accommodation – traditionally the family's private quarters – lay to the east of the hall in the south-eastern corner, while the kitchen and associated service rooms occupied the south-western corner of the courtyard. There is evidence that a suite of fine apartments was located above the service rooms. The greater part of the north, east and west ranges was taken up by lodgings either for lesser members of the household, including servants and functionaries, or for guests and their retinues, while the gatehouse formed a separate suite of lodging rooms suitable for guests of some dignity. The relative status of the

three ranges is probably reflected in their different widths: the east range is wider, averaging about 6.30m internally on the ground floor, while the west and north ranges average roughly 5.50m. The narrower ranges are likely to have housed the poorer lodgings – rooms described in late 16th-century inventories as Slovens' Inn and Paltocks' Inn – though there is some doubt whether the first-floor rooms may not have been of somewhat higher status. The courtyard complex did not meet all the needs of a late 15th-century gentry family, however. Beyond the moat, flanking the approach from the north, there were stables, a barn and perhaps other service buildings. These disappeared in the 19th century but are briefly discussed below.

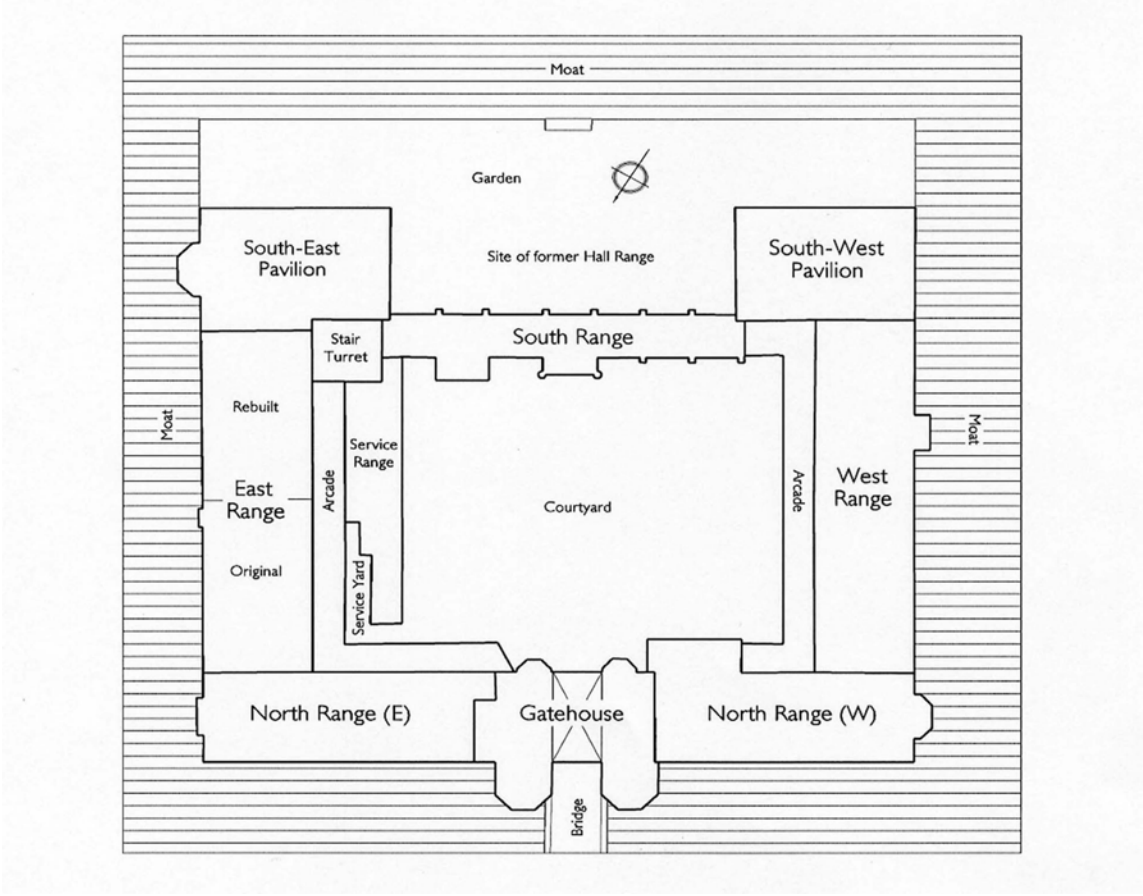


Fig 11. Block plan of Oxburgh Hall showing the terms adopted in the report.

The evidence of the 1585 and 1598 inventories

Though they post-date the building of Oxburgh Hall by a century and more the two extant late 16th-century inventories hold out the prospect of understanding in more detail the way in which the late 15th-century house functioned. Although the 1585 inventory at least was known to Blomefield and Parkin, who noted its mention of the Fetterlock Room,[126] neither it nor the later document has ever been fully analysed.

Inventories were compiled by a number of appraisers, who inspected each room of the house, noting its contents and, in cases of probate, estimating their value. Consequently the contents are often listed, as in these two examples, room by room, using whatever

room names seemed most appropriate to the appraisers. In many cases the rooms are listed in a more or less logical sequence, as determined by the circulation of the house, and some rooms are defined explicitly by their relationship to other rooms which are either horizontally or vertically adjacent. Thus they can be of considerable assistance in reconstructing the plan-form of buildings which have vanished, or which have been materially altered in later years. The existence of two inventories so close together in date improves the chances both of interpreting them correctly and relating them to the surviving fabric of the building. This expectation is increased at Oxburgh by the conclusion that relatively few alterations to the building fabric had occurred in the century since the 1480s. Even so, formidable problems remain.

Inventories are most likely to prove a reliable guide to plan arrangements where the appraisers have proceeded around the building in a rational manner, and where the positions of entrances, stairs and communicating doorways are to a large degree known. In these two inventories, unfortunately, the two conditions are not fully met. First, there is some reason to doubt that the appraisers moved in quite the way we might expect as they carried out their work, particularly in 1585, though it is necessary to appreciate that the 'logical' route around a building might be influenced by social precedence as much as by simple convenience. Second, our knowledge of the original entrances and stairs is subject to a number of caveats and we know with certainty very little about the internal circulation. It is true that to some extent arrangements can be predicted since the general pattern of late-medieval courtyard houses is well known. In particular, the order in which rooms were appraised is likely to have been dictated by the cellular nature of the accommodation of the late-medieval house, in which living quarters were divided into a sequence of distinct and non-communicating apartments. However, an exact and comprehensive matching of inventory evidence to the surviving building fabric is frequently not achievable.

The 1585 inventory begins in an unknown 'Chamber where the App[arr]ell is' – that is, where the clothing of the recently deceased Edmund Bedingfeld was found. It then follows the same path as the 1598 inventory for a little while, beginning with the Hall, and moving on to the upper-end accommodation, which included the Little and Great Parlours, the Great (or Best) Chamber and the Chapel. Thereafter the two inventories follow rather different paths. In 1585 the appraisers seem to have moved to the rooms over the lower-end accommodation, but the 'Chamber over the buttery' and 'Chamber over the larder' are intermixed with the Fetterlock, King's and Queen's Chambers, and are closely followed by 'Sloveyns ynne' and 'Paltocks ynne'. Inns were lodgings; the more specialised modern use associates them with public houses, but the older, more general application survives in the Inns of Court. Slovens' Inn and Paltocks' Inn are therefore terms which denote low-status lodgings for servants or retainers. Interestingly, the later sequential references to a 'Gatehouse chamber' and the 'Highest tower chamber' suggest that the rooms known in the 16th century as the King's and Queen's Chambers were not in the gatehouse – unless one is to read into these names an ironic riposte to royal disfavour during Elizabeth's reign.

The 1598 inventory proceeds from the upper end generally anti-clockwise around the courtyard, finishing with the Kitchen and its associated service rooms, but incorporating an excursus apparently taking in a number of outbuildings beyond the moat. The sequence seems more rational throughout: the rooms demonstrably in the upper end are followed by the Fetterlock Chamber and its 'inward chamber', then by a further series of rooms, most of which are clearly of some status. They include the Gatehouse Chamber

and Queen's Chamber, though these do not occur side by side, nor are they followed immediately by the Porter's Lodge and Messenger's Chamber, which can be placed with confidence on the ground floor of the gatehouse. Thereafter the rooms are mostly of lower status, including the Slovens' Inn, the Kitchen Boys' Chamber, the Fool's Chamber (recalling a close contemporary in Feste, the resident fool in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (*c*1601)) and a series of chambers assigned to individuals on whom the title 'Mr' is not bestowed. This sequence may suggest that the appraisers dealt with the generally superior first-floor rooms and lodgings before turning to the ground floor of the east, north and west ranges, but even so interpretative difficulties remain.

A number of points can be made nevertheless. First there are numerous rooms which are related to either an inner chamber or an adjoining 'little chamber'; the 1598 inventory refers additionally to a closet and to an 'old wardrobe' – probably a reference to a disused garderobe. In many cases, if not all, these references probably indicate lodgings of the pattern tentatively identified for the west range (see below) where on the first floor there appear to have been lodgings comprising a large chamber, a smaller inner room and a garderobe. This pattern probably extended to other parts of the Hall. In the late 16th century some apartments were still being used in this way – in 1585 a chamber was assigned to the late Mrs Sackford and next to it was an inner chamber, while in 1598 a Mrs Carye occupied a similar apartment. They may have been admitted to the extended household as kinswomen, perhaps widowed, or they may have been higher household servants, but the rooms may equally have been named in honour of more occasional visitors.[127]

The second feature of interest is the group of lodgings which are clearly of low status. In 1585 the Slovens' Inn and Paltocks' Inn are mentioned; the 1598 inventory records the Slovens' Inn and Kitchen Boys' Chamber – possibly an alternative name for the Paltocks' Inn. The Slovens' Inn is demonstrably on the ground floor, and the Paltocks' Inn may have been, as its contents were appraised immediately after those of the Slovens' Inn and immediately before those of the Green Chamber, another ground-floor room.[128]

The difficulty of placing the King's and Queen's Rooms is particularly frustrating. The earliest mention of these rooms occurs in the will of Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, who died in 1554. This refers to possessions in 'the chamber called the King's Chamber', in 'the inward chamber next into [unto?] the chamber called the Queen's chamber' and in 'the Queen's chamber' itself, but it does not appear to specify their location.[129] It is perhaps significant that Blomefield and Parkin make no mention of these rooms, which first surface in early 19th-century accounts. The sequence of rooms in the 1585 inventory – Mr Thomas Bedingfeld's chamber, Chamber over the entry at the stairs' head, Chamber over the buttery, Fetterlock Chamber, King's Chamber, Chamber over the Larder, Little chamber next to it and Queen's Chamber – suggests a further area of high-status accommodation, incorporating some or all of the rooms named here, above the lower end. This arrangement, though comparatively unusual, can be paralleled at Lord Cromwell's Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire, as built *c*1440, where an audience chamber and ante-chamber were placed above the buttery and pantry, and linked with further apartments on two floors.[130] It would also explain the presence on the 1774 plan of the most substantial of the stairs at Oxburgh. This must result from a later alteration, but it is likely that it replaces an original stair providing access to a major suite of rooms. It is perhaps significant, too, that among the rooms apparently in this area was the Fetterlock Room. This name was transferred to the principal bedroom above the Saloon when the

hall range was demolished and the south-west pavilion erected on the site of the former kitchen. The retention of the room name may imply rough continuity of location. It is possible also to demonstrate, albeit at a later date when the hierarchical disposition of rooms, though still strong, was waning, that apartments at the low end would not disgrace a royal visit, for James I was accommodated in just such quarters when he visited Shaw House, Newbury, Berkshire, his queen occupying the upper end apartment.[131]

The sequence cited above, in which the King's Chamber is placed unequivocally in the vicinity of rooms above the Buttery and Larder, can be compared with a later sequence in the same document, in which the Gatehouse Chamber, Highest Tower Chamber and Porters Lodge follow one after the other. The 1598 inventory makes no specific mention of the King's Chamber, while the 'Quenes chamber' is named, but three other rooms separate it from the 'Gatehouse chamber'. If the King's Chamber and Gatehouse Chamber are synonymous this sequence could be reconciled with the traditional placing of the King's and Queen's Chambers in the gatehouse by positing that the appraisers, on reaching the King's Chamber, next moved horizontally through part of the north range, before returning to ascend to the Queen's Chamber, but the evidence of the 1585 inventory seems more robust. On one point, however, the two documents agree: in both, the Queen's Chamber occurs immediately alongside the chamber above the Slovens' Inn.

The outer court

The surviving courtyard complex of Oxburgh Hall represents only the largest and most prestigious part of the late-medieval manorial complex, housing the domestic quarters and domestic services. Other functions were accommodated outside the moated area in what may have been termed the base, or outer, court, though the arrangement at Oxburgh never amounted to a second courtyard. These included the storage of arable crops either grown on the demesne or perhaps contributed in the form of tithes. The buildings do not survive, but there is some documentary and cartographic evidence for their position and form. They did not constitute a courtyard in the strict sense, but were more loosely disposed on either side of the approach to the Hall from the north.

The 1585 inventory lists a number of buildings or parts of buildings which can be placed with greater or lesser certainty outside the moat. The Stable, Corn Chamber, Barns, Storehouse and Workhouse are all likely candidates, and the Brewhouse, Moulding House, Kettle-mill Chamber, Dairy, Cheese Chamber and Fish Chamber may also have lain beyond the courtyard. The 1598 inventory has a similar list – Millhouse Chamber, Boulting Chamber, Moulding House, Brewhouse, Grooms' Chamber, Stables, Granary, Wheat and Malt Chambers, a Folding House and a Dairy (both with chambers above), and a Wash House – many, if not all, of which must have been outside the courtyard. When the Parliamentary Trustees sold Oxburgh in 1652 the indenture contained a brief account of the Hall and outbuildings, described as 'being large, square, and moated about; one wash-house, one slaughter-house, one bake-house, one brew-house, and one malting-house, with a kiln thereunto, being all under one roof, one large stable having several divisions, with a granary over the same'.[132]

The barn is clearly identified on maps of Oxburgh dating back to the early 18th century. It lay well to the west of the northern approach to the Hall, roughly on the site of the present chapel. It is depicted on Philip Wissiter's map of 1722 (Fig 1), and on the 1725

map of the Manor of Oxborough (Fig 2) it is shown with angle buttresses at three corners, a detail consistent with a late 15th-century date and unlikely to be later than the 16th century. The same map shows a pond lying immediately east of its southern end. The copy plan of the Oxburgh Modus Lands names the close to the west of the building as 'Oak Yard behind Barn',[133] but the other maps of this period simply call it 'Barne Close' or 'Home Pasture'. The barn appears to have survived until the early 1830s, when it was demolished to make way for the Chapel of Our Lady and St Margaret.

A range of other functions were probably housed in a smaller building, also shown on maps of the 1720s, facing the barn on its east side. Every major house required stabling for the daily use of the occupants and to accommodate the horses of guests, as well as a brewhouse for the preparation of beer. Philip Wissiter's 1722 map of Oxborough clearly shows a building with windows or other openings on two levels, the upper one perhaps an attic; on the eastern side lay a timber yard. There are a number of letters of the 1830s which refer to the clearing away of the brewhouse as part of the landscaping improvements to the north of the Hall. In April 1831 'the old Brewhouse &[c]' was described as 'fast disappearing', and the following February Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld noted that 'The remains of the old Brew house will soon be got rid of, as Henry has let the Eagle Hotel to a man who is most happy to take the Brewing machine'.[134] There are also contemporary, but less easily placed, references to the replacement of the carpenters' shop with another on a different site, and to alterations to the stable yard.[135]

The moat and bridge

Moats served a variety of purposes, both functional and aesthetic.[136] They had a defensive value, though this could be diminished if the water were shallow or if the house offered weak points, such as large, low or undefended windows on its exterior. They could flush away the discharge of garderobes, rendering the medieval house more salubrious. They could also be stocked with fish, serving as a vivarium or fish-pond, and they could be used to collect ice for culinary and other uses.[137] But it is clear that many moats were at least partly intended to create an effect, mirroring architectural forms, providing an attractive play of light and generally contributing to a pleasing prospect – particularly important when receiving distinguished visitors.[138]

Fig 12. The leat supplying Oxburgh's moat. (NMR BB032385)

Oxburgh stands on a nearly square plot averaging 51.5m from side to side but the surrounding moat is slightly trapezoidal on plan, the southern arm being slightly longer than the northern.[139] Water is diverted at a sluice on the River Gadder to the east and passes along an artificial channel to a further sluice, falling into the south-eastern corner of the moat (Fig 12). The overflow sluice is at the southern end of the western arm, where a culvert drains south-westwards back to the Gadder. The sides of the moat are revetted in brick which appears to be relatively late – probably 19th-century – in date, and this is in keeping with the suggestion that the brickwork was replaced by the 6th Baronet, probably during the 1830s.[140]

The moat, which was drained in 1903,[141] was drained again in the summer of 2003 to facilitate repairs to the overflow sluice, permitting a series of drains and other features to be identified.[142] Typically the drains have a stone surround incorporating an iron grille, restrained by an iron catch. One of these is found at the base of the garderobe turret on the east side of the gatehouse, but a corresponding feature was not identified at the base of the other known garderobes where the west and north ranges meet. A more convincingly original form is represented by a single example, now blocked, on the west elevation. This is positioned close to the south end of the west range and has a two-centred arch in brick, defining an opening 92cm wide, the jambs of which appear to have been obscured by later repairs. The considerable width of this feature suggests either that it drained the courtyard or that it was connected with the main service rooms of the lower end. Some of the smaller drains, a number of which continue in use with inserted piping, serve rooms which formerly handled wet processes, including the slightly sunken cupboard beneath the north stair where a water pump was installed in the 19th century.[143] At the western end of the south arm of the moat a buttress-like feature projects from what is now a revetment to the grassed area in front of the south range. This may perhaps be associated with the substantial structure of the original kitchen.

Fig 13. The bridge across the north arm of the moat. (NMR BB032392)

The original bridge does not survive, but it occupied the same position as the present structure (see below, pp.87-8), which dates from the early 18th century (Fig 13). Numerous early 19th-century depictions of Oxburgh interpreted the original bridge as having a lifting span adjacent to the gatehouse, following Blomefield and Parkin's 18th-century account, written within living memory of its replacement.[144] A second bridge, taken down in 1779 when it was described as a pedestrian bridge, spanned the southern

arm of the moat.[145] It is depicted on the 1725 map (Figs 2) but was almost certainly a secondary feature (see below, pp. 112-13).

The date of the house

As mentioned above (see p.18) most authors have taken Edward IV's license to crenellate, granted to Edmund Bedingfeld on 3 July 1482, to indicate the likely start of construction. Some, pointing to the exoneration it contains for works already executed, have pointed out that the license may simply have ratified existing works, and have suggested 1476, the date of Edmund Bedingfeld's inheritance, as an equally likely date. The recent tree-ring dating has cast some doubt on these interpretations. Although an absolute date was not obtained, the surviving hardwood/softwood boundary on roof timbers in the west range has been taken as the basis for a probable felling date between 1437 and 1463.[146] This would make Sir Thomas Tuddenham, not Edmund Bedingfeld, the likely author. Between Sir Thomas's execution for high treason in 1462 (which may have resulted in any building projects on which he was engaged being left incomplete) and Edmund Bedingfeld's inheritance in 1476 Oxburgh was held by Margaret, widow of Edmund's grandfather. It is not impossible that she might have embarked on an extravagant building programme but it is distinctly less likely. The stated date range is based on the probable number of lost sapwood rings, which cannot be predicted exactly. It is therefore possible, though on the tree-ring dating evidence alone it is considerably less likely, that the timbers could have been felled as late as the 1470s; it is still less likely that they relate to work commenced in or around 1482.

The results from the west range roof timbers should be compared with those from the timbers in the northern half of the east range which survived the 17th-century fire. These timbers failed to produce a tree-ring date but the results are nevertheless of interest. The timbers, like the majority of those in the west range roof, form arch-braced collar trusses, but the principal rafters, although of comparable scantling, contained only between 56 and 87 annual growth rings, compared with a range of 140-186 in the west range.[147] Only part of this discrepancy can be dismissed as the result of the poorer condition of timbers in the east range roof.

One further point needs to be made. While the surviving trusses of the east range form a numerical sequence, I-V, commencing at the southern end,[148] those in the west range, though clearly numbered, are out of sequence (see below for a detailed description). There are a number of periods in Oxburgh's history when a reconstruction of the roof might have occurred. The dendrochronological survey identified one common rafter with a likely felling date in the period 1574-1610, consistent with indications noted elsewhere of a campaign of repairs in the 1590s (though a result obtained from a single rafter needs to be treated with caution, as it may not be representative). It is also possible that a major refurbishment of the roof was required after the neglect during the Commonwealth, or in the 1770s when Oxburgh was pantiled, or from the 1830s when Buckler was engaged on a major programme of restoration. However, apart from the disrupted numerical sequence there is little to indicate that the trusses have been disturbed. Given that the growth characteristics of the principal rafters differ substantially from those of the east range truss timbers, it is reasonable to query whether they may have been re-used in the 1470s or 1480s from some relatively recently erected building – perhaps a casualty of Sir Thomas Tuddenham's fall from grace.

Form and materials

Oxburgh Hall exhibits a generally consistent series of mouldings and other features in its original phase of construction. The walls rising from the moat stand on a brick plinth,[149] which in turn rests on stepped footings. Above the plinth the walls are roughly 93 cm (3ft 0in) thick (including internal wall plaster) on the ground floor, while those facing the courtyard are consistently thinner, averaging 77cm (2ft 6in). This reflects in part the disposition of original fireplaces, most of which were placed in the thickness of the moat walls. The single exception to this rule is the west gable of the north range, which observes the same thickness on the ground floor but thins back (in a way that the east gable does not) on the first floor. This may be taken as an indication that there was originally no stack on the east gable. Otherwise there is no significant variation in the thickness of the exterior walls.

Fig 14. The doorway to the west stair. (NMR BB032484)

Fig 15. A blocked original window on the moatside elevation of the east range. (NMR AA026767)

A number of other features are, or were, repeated at Oxburgh. Four-centred arches are employed for all doors (Fig 14) and were probably also used for many of the windows. Evidence for a number of original window openings survives in the moatside walls. One, in the east elevation, is complete though blocked (Fig 15). It has a rough four-centred brick arch and probably contained a stone window of two or more lights. Fragments of another arch can be identified on the west elevation and the earliest views of Oxburgh confirm that others survived on the north elevation into the early 19th century. Cotman's etched view of 1813 (Fig 8), J. P. Neale's view, as engraved in 1819, and Buckler's 1820 sketch (Fig 48) all agree in depicting steeply pitched brick arches above the flat heads of later ground-floor windows east of the gatehouse, suggesting that these at least occupied medieval openings. So far as the surviving elements of the medieval building are concerned, parapets were confined to the gatehouse. However, gables at either end of the north range as well as two north-facing gables were crow-stepped with copings, probably of stone, and the same feature was applied to a buttress rising from the north range to the garderobe turret. These features may once have extended to other ranges. The moulding favoured for higher-status features, whether doors, fireplaces or beams, is a double (or reverse) ogee. Although the gatehouse exhibits a richer variety of mouldings on its windows and carriageway arches it also reproduces the double ogee form on the principal fireplaces and the main King's Room window.

Generally the consistency of wall thicknesses, arch forms and mouldings suggests that Oxburgh was conceived and built within a limited span of years.

The choice of brick as the principal building material of Oxburgh Hall reflects the growing popularity of this material among the nobility and gentry in the eastern counties of England during the 15th century. Brick had been used increasingly during the 14th century, and was at first valued for particular tasks, such as dressings, vault ribs and chimneys. By the last quarter of the century it was being used as the principal material in some building projects. Nearly a century later, when Oxburgh Hall was built, it could hardly be accounted a new material at the higher social levels, but because its structural and decorative capabilities were still to some extent unexplored it retained a degree of novelty in execution.

The bricks of this period are laid somewhat haphazardly, though on the gatehouse they adhere fairly strictly to English bond. They vary in size from 22.5 to 23.5cm in length, 10.5 to 12cm in width and 5.0 to 5.3cm in depth. They have numerous straw marks, some bear the impressions of other bricks (hack-marks) and some have areas of greenish vitrefaction caused by over-firing. Bluish burnt headers are used to form a single diaper at the eastern end of the north elevation. The absence of other diapers is striking, but does not appear to result from subsequent weathering away of the burnt face: Buckler's sketch of 1820 (Fig 48) concurs in singling out the same solitary example.[150] Most of the decoration, in the form of moulded openings, false machicolations, etc, is executed in brick that has been carved, sometimes *in situ*, rather than moulded. Such bricks were known to contemporaries as 'hewn bricks'.[151]

A fine shelly limestone, dressed to an ashlar finish, is used extremely sparingly for only the most prominent quoins, windows and hood moulds. It is similar in appearance to Barnack stone. It occurs mostly on the north front of the gatehouse, and even here its use is selective and the width of dressings is unusually narrow. A further range of features, including the many vault ribs of the gatehouse, both internally and over the carriageway, were executed in brick but covered in plaster to simulate the appearance of stone. Inside, clunch (chalk), which is less resistant to weathering than the limestone, was used to form the jambs of some openings.

Timber was used for a number of partitions and for some internal window heads (little of this work is now exposed) as well as for the construction of upper floors and roofs. The original roof covering for the greater part of the building seems to have consisted of plain tiles ('peg tiles'). Abundant finds of yellow and red plain tiles were made when the moat was drained in 2003, and similar tiles were found in a small-scale excavation in the south-east tower in 1983.[152] The gatehouse is likely to have had a lead roof, as now.

Internal decoration

The gatehouse has long been known for its painted brickwork, the original form of which has been obscured to some extent by over-painting and imitation in the 19th century.[153] Recent research in Suffolk has concluded that this form of decoration was once widespread, and continued at the level of vernacular housing throughout the 16th century and into the 17th.[154] At Oxburgh there is little doubt that this treatment represents an original intention, particularly on the gatehouse stair where the plastering over of the vault and handrail would have made it imperative. This makes the scheme about a generation earlier than those hitherto identified in vernacular contexts – as one

might expect, vernacular builders drew their inspiration from the techniques employed in the greater houses of the region. Similar techniques can be found elsewhere in the gatehouse and were doubtless more widespread once. On the mouldings of the principal fireplaces the mortar is carefully smoothed flush with the bricks. On the walls, by contrast, a simple bevelled finish to the mortar joints is normal, except where brick mouldings have been formed *in situ*, in which case the mortar is dressed back flush. This can be seen particularly clearly in the octagonal room opening off the Porter's Lodge in the Gatehouse.

Fig 16. Fragment of wallpainting on the first floor of the north range, depicting an elaborately costumed man.

Evidence for figurative decoration is confined to a single fragment of wallpainting (Fig 16). This is located on the south wall of the north range, west of the gatehouse, and is visible on the first floor where a modern access hatch has been made in late 17th-century panelling containing Spanish leather panels. It depicts the head, torso and arm of a man in an elaborate costume, and although it is the subject of a brief report it has not received detailed analysis.[155] The plaster on which it is painted has been applied directly to the brickwork. It is evidently part of a larger scheme, the extent and possible survival of which are currently unknown, but which is clearly cut on its west side by the present partition, probably of late 17th-century date, forming the east side of the adjacent stair bay. The painting is executed in a technique resembling grisaille, in which a white pigment is extensively used for highlights. The technique is rare though not unparalleled in England in the years to either side of 1500, but common in the late 16th century.[156]

The presence of a high-quality painting in this area of the house must increase the likelihood that other paintings once adorned the walls elsewhere. It is possible that some survive beneath later layers of paper, paint or plaster, or behind panelling. It is worth noting that the 1585 inventory refers to a 'Grene chamber'. This must have been on the ground floor since there is also mention of the 'Chamber over the grene chamber', but it does not figure in the 1598 inventory and its whereabouts are unknown. The date of any decorative scheme to which the name may refer is also, of course, unknown. Traces of whitewash were noted on the timbers of the west range roof.

Martial rhetoric and the badges of gentility

Oxburgh's towering gatehouse affects to announce a powerful fortress (Fig 17), but the reality is somewhat different. Oxburgh is secured against a rabble by its moat and gatehouse but affords no effective protection against a heavily armed and determined adversary. Its defences – crenellated parapets, machicolation and gun ports – are primarily rhetorical, and as much to do with the assertion of gentry status as with the practicalities of defence.[157] As such they form part of a wider vocabulary of gentility, encompassing the parade of wealth and the vaunting of armigerous status.

Fig 17. The north elevation. (Crown copyright. NMR BB94/2612)

The parade of wealth

The analysis in recent years of Hearth Tax evidence from the mid to late 17th century has demonstrated very clearly the disparity between the houses of rich and poor in terms of the number of hearths they possessed. Nearly two centuries earlier the contrast was almost certainly more extreme. Moreover the use of fireplaces and chimneys was still rare below the highest social levels, most houses having open hearths relying on one of a number of methods for venting smoke without the use of chimneys. Chimneys were thus a potent symbol of wealth, and one that could be seen from a great distance by the approaching guest or the passing traveller.

In 1664 Thomas Bedingfeld was assessed on 34 hearths in Oxborough, the vast majority of which must have been in the Hall and many of which probably dated from the first construction of the building.[158] Although the shafts of the chimneys at Oxburgh are all 19th-century replacements, it is clear that the Hall made extensive use of this device to advertise the wealth and assert the prestige of the Bedingfelds. Most of the stacks are placed on the moatside walls for maximum visibility, and they were probably of an ornate character. The gatehouse is particularly important as a focus for display. Ranged around the parapet are the remains of a series of chimneys. To east and west there are paired shafts serving fireplaces in the adjoining ranges. On the south side, overlooking the courtyard, two stacks containing two flues apiece are plainly treated because they are invisible from outside the courtyard. On the north wall, directly above the gate and raised on an arch above the machicoulis, are the bases for a pair of elaborate shafts which cannot have contained flues, and which are placed purely to impress an approaching visitor (Fig 18). The original form of the shafts is not recorded: the few which appear in views dating from before the 1830s are plain and may be later.[159] However, the existence of moulded bases suggests that some had more or less elaborate shafts, probably circular or octagonal in section, as at the Hadleigh gatehouse; these would certainly have been fashionable embellishments in the last quarter of the 15th century.[160]

Fig 18. Dummy chimney stacks supported on an arch above the machicoulis on the north front of the gatehouse. The nearer turret contains the stair; the turret beyond housed the dovecote. (NMR AA026768)

Armigerous devices

The right to bear arms was the single most telling way of distinguishing gentlefolk from commoners, the pictorial vocabulary of heraldry giving it extra weight in a society with low levels of literacy. Most of the elaborate heraldic devices at Oxburgh are of 19th-century date, but those portions of the late 15th-century house that survive relatively unaltered used plain shields extensively in key areas as a reminder of the status of the Bedingfeld family. They occur as bosses in the plastered brick ribs of a series of vaulted ceilings – in the gateway, in the ground-floor chambers to either side, and in the octagonal rooms opening northwards off the eastern bay of the gatehouse. The use of such motifs may have extended to parts of the building now lost or remodelled.

Defensive features

Oxburgh's defensive capabilities are slight even when compared with houses of similar date and status. Kirkby Muxloe Castle, near Leicester, was intended as a moated brick house like Oxburgh and its surviving elements are very nearly contemporary. Its builder, William, Lord Hastings (born *c*1430), obtained licensed to crenellate in 1474, and in 1480 commenced work on the gatehouse and corner towers, but work came to a halt shortly after his execution in 1483. Significantly, a series of round gun ports with separate sighting loops were built into the walls, some of them covering the approach across the bridge. Unlike Oxburgh, the plan also incorporated projecting corner towers, giving the ability to direct enfilading fire along the moat and moatside walls.[161] At Oxburgh there is comparatively little provision for the new military technology of firearms. The gun-ports (Fig 19) are cruciform with foiled terminals, the lower one formed more generously to accommodate the barrel and enlarge the field of fire, the others circular and essentially decorative.[162] In common with other English gun-ports of the period they lack smoke vents. Once the numerous 19th-century examples are discounted they are few in number. There is little recognition of the value of enfilading fire and there are, moreover, clear weaknesses in the structure, which incorporated large windows on the upper floors of the gatehouse and in the great hall.

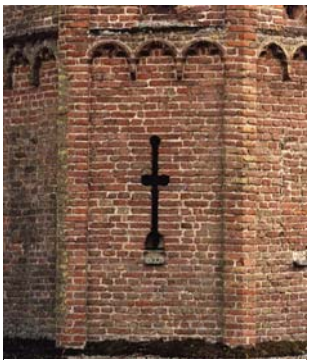


Fig 19. Gun-port in the lowest stage of the NE gatehouse turret. (NMR AA026773)

Oxburgh is a secure house nevertheless. The moat, besides its economic and aesthetic benefits, deterred an assault on the many-windowed exterior walls and if, as has long been believed, a lifting bridge barred access to the gatehouse this protection would have extended to the entire perimeter. The wooden gates are massively built and anyone seeking to breach them would be vulnerable to missiles or other matter hurled from the roof-top or dropped through the machicoulis.

Apotropaic devices

The traditional cosmology of the medieval and later periods called for a series of other defences, the occurrence and significance of which has often been overlooked by modern observers.[163] These are now most apparent in the gatehouse which, as the entry to the complex, would have formed a focus for such devices, although originally they may well have been distributed more widely. They take a number of forms. It will be argued below that a particular window form, used in two positions on the gatehouse stair, with tracery in the form of a curvilinear *triskele*, are symbolic of the Trinity and were deliberately adopted to confer a protective power. On the splay behind one of these windows a brick bears scratched overlapping letters which are interpreted as reading 'VM', an invocation of the Virgin Mary. On the approach to the gatehouse, on the left-hand side, another brick has been cut with a four-lobed device of intersecting arcs, which may also be apotropaic in intent. Many houses have 'taper burns' – flame-shaped burn-marks on exposed timbers, particularly those forming doorways or fireplace bressumers. Some may have accidental origins but many are thought to have marked points at which evil spirits could enter or move around a building and thus where protection was particularly needful. At Oxburgh Hall the prevalence of brick limits the opportunities for this kind of mark, but one first-floor fireplace lintel, apparently re-used, in the north range east of the gatehouse, has numerous burns of this type. Three others were noted on studs, about one metre above the present floor level, when the west wall of the Marian Hangings Room was exposed in 1997-8.[164] In their nature such marks are impossible to date precisely since the practices and beliefs to which they bear witness are likely to have been have been long-lasting.

The gatehouse

Gatehouses control access, channelling incoming and outgoing traffic through a closely monitored passage. They thus offer an unparalleled opportunity to communicate through the medium of architectural forms and decoration. For as long as curtain wall and courtyard plans remained in vogue, gatehouses were a key weapon in the rhetorical armoury. In the latter part of the 15th century they were increasingly magnificent, employing a more and more diverse vocabulary of signs and symbols. Even two centuries later, the architect and writer Roger North (?1653-1734) could describe Oxburgh's as 'The statlyest tower I have seen'.[165] Perhaps only the gatehouse at Layer Marney, Essex, built in the early 1520s,[166] surpasses Oxburgh's.

The exterior

Oxburgh's gatehouse impresses from a distance by its great height. Although it is just three storeys high beneath a roof shallow-pitched enough to be fully concealed behind a parapet, its internal storey heights are such that it towers above the two-storeyed ranges on either side, despite the fact that these have tall pitched roofs. The gatehouse, which consists of three bays, is offset slightly west of the centre of the north range. Its central bay incorporates the carriageway and, on the north (or entrance) front, the principal windows of the two main chambers, which occupy the full length of the gatehouse on the

upper floors. To the north the carriageway is flanked by projecting bays, rising as tall turrets, while on the south (or courtyard) front the same bays each incorporate a canted bay window rising through all three floors. The absence of south-facing windows in the central bay reflects the position of the fireplaces on the upper floors. Set back at the eastern end of the north elevation is the garderobe turret, which also incorporates a stack. It projects into the body of the north range and rises to a flattish roof concealed by a crenellated parapet. There are small north-facing windows on four levels; the upper three are 19th-century replacements, but the lowest, now blocked, is original.

Fig 20. The north elevation of the gatehouse. The turret rising against the east (left) face of the gatehouse houses the garderobes. Compare Fig 21. (NMR BB032391)

The north elevation

On the north front (Fig 20) the flanking bays of the gatehouse provide the main vertical accent. They project in the form of turrets with canted ends, and rise well clear of the roof level, where they assume an octagonal plan-form externally. The western turret, which is circular internally, contains the stair, while the eastern turret, which is octagonal internally, provides a small room on each level, including the roof level. Each turret is divided externally into six stages, each of which has a single chamfered sunk panel on each face. The panels have triple cinquefoil heads with chamfered sunk spandrels. In mid-panel the heads spring from brick corbels with an angle-roll moulding. The panels are of a constant height except at the highest stage, where they diminish. Above this the turrets rise for a similar distance in the main plane of the wall.

The marked variation in the fenestration of the two turrets reflects their different functions. On the east turret the openings (with one exception, described below) respect the storey heights. On the west turret, by contrast, they rise within each stage, following the ascent of the stair inside. The openings occur in four basic forms: gun ports, quatrefoil windows, four-centred arched windows and circular windows. The first three are executed in brick, while the last are in stone. The loops are cruciform with circular

foiled terminals to each arm except the lowest, which is broader and resembles an inverted shield, and is accompanied by a double-chamfered brick sill, the lower part of which projects. The loops are confined to the lowest stage of the east turret (forming part of the Porter's Lodge), where they may originally have occurred on all faces except the north-west, where Pugin shows a quatrefoil (Fig 21).[167] Of these, the north-east loop is unaltered, while the west example has been altered only by the replacement of the sill and the insertion of a recessed and plastered blocking, probably in the early 19th century. The north-west loop replaces the quatrefoil (the jambs incorporate bricks with diagonal hack-marks accompanied by a variation in the mortar), though the sill looks convincing enough. The north loop was subsequently widened to create a window, and then blocked, but it retains its sill. The presumed east example, which was similarly widened to create a window and appears thus in Cotman's sketch of 1811, has been blocked and no original external features remain.

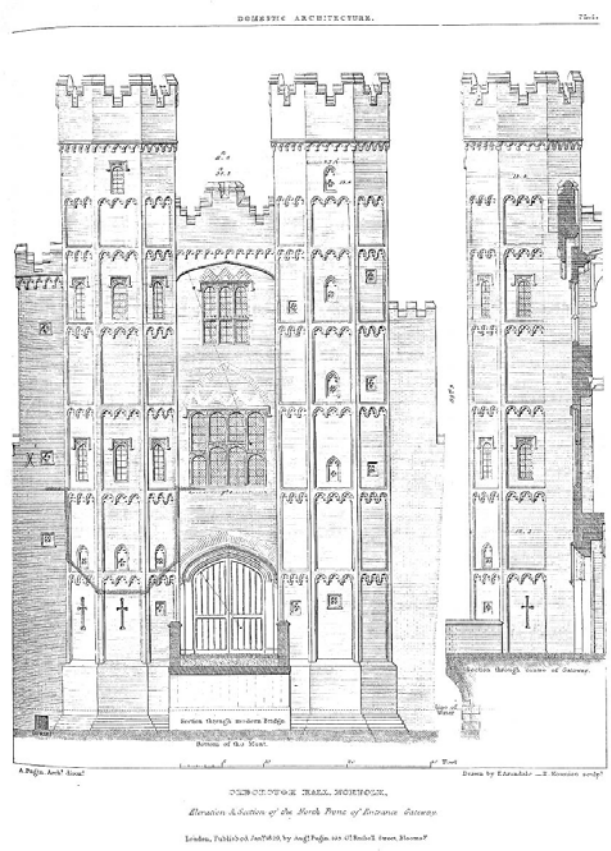


Fig 21. Francis Arundale's north elevation (and part return elevation) of the Gatehouse, dated 1829, as reproduced in Pugin's Examples of Gothic Architecture *(1831-8). Compare Fig 20. (Syndics of Cambridge University Library)*

The four-centred arched windows occupy all five faces of the third and fifth stages of the eastern turret, and also occur above the sixth stage, where they are confined to the north and east faces. They light the first- and second-floor turret rooms, which formed oriel-like chambers or closets off the main rooms, and the roof-top dovecote. They have a hollow-chamfer moulding and are set within square heads with sunk spandrels beneath a chamfered hood-mould with returned ends. The west first-floor window has had its north jamb rebuilt, but otherwise the openings appear unaltered. There is some irregularity in their setting out: a number are not central to the faces they occupy, with the result, for example, that the north-west windows on the two floors are not in alignment with each other. The dovecote windows, however, are both placed centrally.

Quatrefoils account for the majority of the windows on the stair turret (Fig 22), but just three examples on the east turret, where their setting is different. The quatrefoil is formed in all cases from four chamfered bricks, each incorporating a cusp in the centre of one long side. The bricks are placed together in such a way that only their corners touch, and in two distinct and alternating patterns. In one the bricks are placed horizontally and vertically, and the surround is completed by placing square bricks in the corners; this design produces quatrefoils set diagonally ('at cross-quarters'). In the other the bricks are set diagonally, so that the axes of the quatrefoil are horizontal and vertical, and the gaps are filled by triangular pieces of brick. The quatrefoils of the east turret are confined to the north, north-east and north-west faces at the base of the second stage, where they provide high-level illumination for the ground-floor chamber. The position of these windows does not appear to relate to considerations of security, but rather to a desire to cast light on the vaulted ceiling of the turret chamber, as will be discussed in more detail below. Each quatrefoil is set beneath a cinquefoil-headed blind tympanum incorporating a tile course, the whole set within a chamfered recess with a two-centred arched head. The smaller windows of the stair turret have chamfered square-headed recesses and incorporate projecting chamfered brick sills, the ends of which are (or were – most are damaged) canted back into the wall plane.

Fig 22. Arcaded panels and quatrefoil windows lighting the gatehouse stair turret. (NMR AA026775)

Fig 23. Triskele motif in window lighting gatehouse stair turret. (NMR AA026777)

The circular stone windows, which are set within chamfered and square-headed brick surrounds, are just two in number and both are in the stair turret. One occupies the east face of the first stage, while the other is placed low down in the west face of the second stage (Fig 23). They are each fashioned from a single square piece of limestone and consist of three curved spokes radiating from a central hub, with sunk spandrels to the square surround. The three-spoked motif is a variant of the triskelion or triskele, a device of Celtic origin a well-known example of which is the Manx emblem.[168] The east window has lost its hub and spokes, and has been blocked by fixing a re-used stone against the inside face, but the west window is unaltered. The fact that these two windows are in stone, in a building in which stone is employed so sparingly, draws attention to them – much more so their unusual form, which may allude to the conventional symbolism of the Trinity. The device can be paralleled at the Hadleigh gatehouse, where a blind triskele is prominently positioned high up on the front elevation of the gatehouse at the base of what appears to be an ornamental chimney.[169]

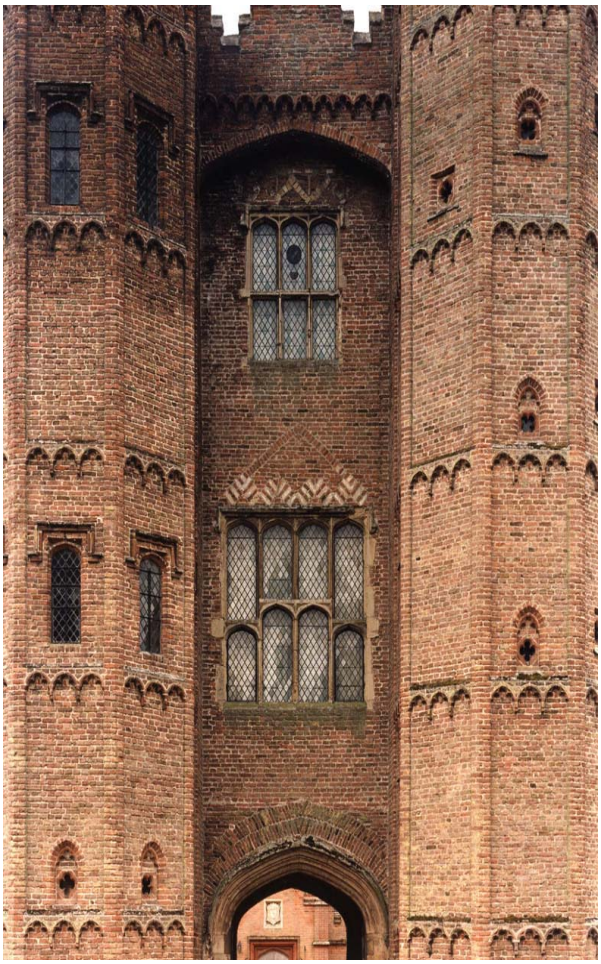


Fig 24. Detail of north elevation of gatehouse, showing the Queen's Room and King's Room windows, etc. (NMR BB032413)

Where the larger windows of the east turret emphasised the superior accommodation of the first and second floors, the north-facing fenestration of the central bay allows the spectator to distinguish more precisely the relative status of the principal chambers on these floors (Fig 24). Both windows have stone dressings, including hood-moulds, but the first-floor chamber, known as the King's Room, has the larger and more elaborate window of the two. It consists of four mullioned lights above and below a transom, in both cases rising to four-centred arches set within square heads with sunk spandrels. The transom, which steps up at the two central lights, is brattished, while the mullions are richly moulded. Above each light there is a steep relieving arch of alternating brick headers and small limestone blocks, and over all there is a triangular relieving arch – principally of brick, but incorporating some stone – which has a similar form. The second-floor window, lighting the Queen's Room, is of just three lights. It has a brattished transom, but in other respects the details are less ornate: the mullions are hollow-chamfered and only the lights above the transom have four-centred heads and sunk spandrels. Above the hood-mould triangular relieving arches are picked out over each light in what appears to be pale brick, but may be limestone, and set within a border above and to the sides. The effect is of blind arcading.

Above the Queen's Room window a stone four-centred arch is set forward from the main wall plane, spanning the entire width between the turrets. This creates the slot for the machicoulis, accessible from the roof-top. The moulded bases of a pair of dummy

chimney shafts rise from the parapet over the machicoulis, though from behind the parapet it can be seen that they rest principally on an arch bearing on the main wall of the gatehouse (see Fig 18). This arch is not constructed to accommodate flues running into the chimneys, the whole purpose of which was to create an architectural flourish.[170]

The carriageway

The carriageway, which runs through the centre of the ground floor, has a four-centred arch at either end, executed in stone on the entrance front, but wholly of brick on the courtyard elevation. The north entrance has an elaborate hooded moulding to the arch, dying into a very broad chamfer on the jambs, which descend to road level without stops. The arch as a whole is placed slightly west of centre in the interval between the projecting turrets, a fact which is made more apparent by the slender nature of the jamb stones, resulting in brickwork being exposed on the east side but not on the west. There is no ready explanation for this, and it would appear that an attempt was made at the outset to disguise the discrepancy by concealing the brickwork with plaster imitating the pale-coloured masonry. The stone stands very slightly proud of the brickwork, suggesting that the use of plaster in this way was envisaged from the outset.[171] The hood-mould terminated at carved stops; these have been defaced, but probably took the form of human heads, as on the other arch. Above the hood-mould there are two brick relieving arches above an arched make-up course containing a quantity of plain tiles. The rear-arch is in brick and has a hollow-chamfer moulding dying into chamfered jambs.

Fig 25. The double gates (and wicket gate) barring the entrance to the courtyard. (NMR BB032415)

The substantial double gates which close the north entrance appear to be original, and are hung in rebates on heavy iron pintles (Fig 25). The hinge straps are concealed except for short stubs (visible on the inner face) attached to the lower pair of pintles. The pegged hardwood frame of each gate consists of two stiles, a sill, a rail and a half-four-centred head, the resulting panels being divided by a series of muntins. The latter are housed, rather than morticed, at either end. All these timbers have a steep chamfer on the outside face. The muntins and the stiles are grooved to receive planks which present a bevelled face to the exterior. Behind these planks there is diagonal counter-boarding, the two layers of planks being separated by a void containing spacers at intervals. The diagonal boards would have braced the frames of the doors as well as providing an additional defensive layer. They are set in grooves in the same way at the stiles, but pass across the reverse face of the muntins, to which they are secured with large square-headed nails. They have a plain surface, but overlap each other at chamfered edges, so that each derives some strength from its neighbours. Chamfered ribs, in imitation of muntins, are nailed over the diagonal boards with large square-headed nails, but only below the rails, where their positions do not coincide with those of the muntins. Although these ribs are cut to accommodate the

slightly uneven profile of the diagonal boards, they appear to be an original feature. This is suggested by the form of the wicket gate in the western leaf, which has similarly chamfered timbers (though here they are true muntins rather than planted timbers) on the reverse face. Peg-hole evidence confirms that the wicket gate is an original feature. In other respects the wicket gate has the same form, and is hung on three miscellaneous hinges. The elaborate inset wooden case-lock appears to be a secondary feature, as it is cut into the surrounding boards.[172] The gates were originally secured using a draw-bar, for which rough sockets can be identified inside either jamb. A heavy iron strap provided additional reinforcement.

Fig 26. The carriageway passing through the gatehouse, with the 18th-century bridge beyond. The doorways to either side are 19th-century replacements. (NMR BB032414)

The carriageway (Fig 26) is now paved with a mixture of flat and edge-laid bricks and concrete vehicle tracks. The four-centred brick vault springs from a brattished cornice and is divided into seven by four compartments by decorative ribs of pointed cross-section. These are formed from brick but are plastered to imitate stone. At the intersections of the ribs there are small circular bosses, also plastered, which have blank shields set in sunk panels. Similar bosses are placed at the ends of the longitudinal ribs. The orientation of the shields is carefully managed. Along the centre-line of the vault they are placed so that they 'read' the right way up when approaching the courtyard from outside. Those to either side are the right way up when viewed from the opposite side of the carriageway. The vault has abundant traces of red and white paint simulating brick and mortar joints. This treatment, which is extensively deployed (and in many places repainted) inside the gatehouse, appears here to be an original one.

The arch facing the courtyard (Fig 27) is elaborately moulded in brick. The hood-mould has carved brick stops, of which the eastern example survives in the form of a human head; above the hood-mould there is only a single relieving arch. The moulding of the arch is stopped at the chamfered jambs, rather than dying into them as on the opposite elevation. Both jambs have been rebuilt, the western one almost entirely, in two phases, the first utilising bricks with diagonal hack marks, the second perhaps contemporary with repairs to the adjoining bay window, probably following the acquisition of the Hall by the National Trust in 1952.[173] The eastern jamb, on the other hand, has been rebuilt only towards the base, so that the relationship between the moulding and the chamfer has remained unaltered. The rear-arch has a hollow chamfer.

The side walls of the carriageway each incorporated a single doorway. These were rebuilt in the 19th century, possibly in imitation of the originals but with lower heads. The only other openings off the carriageway are three simple loops, taking the form of a single chamfered slot. There are two of these (one blocked) on the east side and one on the west.

The south (or courtyard) elevation

On the south front (Fig 27), facing the courtyard, the turrets are echoed on a smaller scale by three-storeyed semi-octagonal bay windows projecting on either side of the carriageway, while at either end of the machicolated wall-head a small octagonal turret projects diagonally – in the manner of a tourelle – on a richly moulded brick corbel. The bay windows lit all three floors, but unlike the turrets they rise to a band of false machicolation or trefoiled arcading topped by a crenellated parapet below the level of the main parapet.[174] The main parapet is similarly arcaded, and has small header-sized recesses within the centre of each trefoil. Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture* described these as 'no more than scaffold-holes, made for the use of the builders, but so placed as to be come ornamental'.[175] The single-light windows in the three main faces of the bays have wave-moulded limestone dressings, trefoil heads with sunk spandrels, and hood-moulds with returned ends. The western bay has been extensively rebuilt or re-faced on the ground floor, including the renewal of the window dressings, while its eastern twin has large patches of buff-coloured brickwork, uncharacteristic of the late 15th-century work, between the ground and first-floor windows in all three main faces. There has also been much patching of the stone dressings with cement.

Above the carriageway the central bay was originally unadorned (the late 17th-century heraldic cartouche occupies a secondary recess), except for the false machicolation forming the base of the main parapet, and perhaps the large sundial. This was restored in 1965,[176] but is clearly an early, if not original, feature: it appears in one of Joseph Nash's lithographs (Fig 28),[177] produced in 1830 before Buckler had set to work, while a photograph published in 1903 shows it in a severely decayed state.[178]

Fig 27. General view of courtyard elevation. (NMR BB032406)

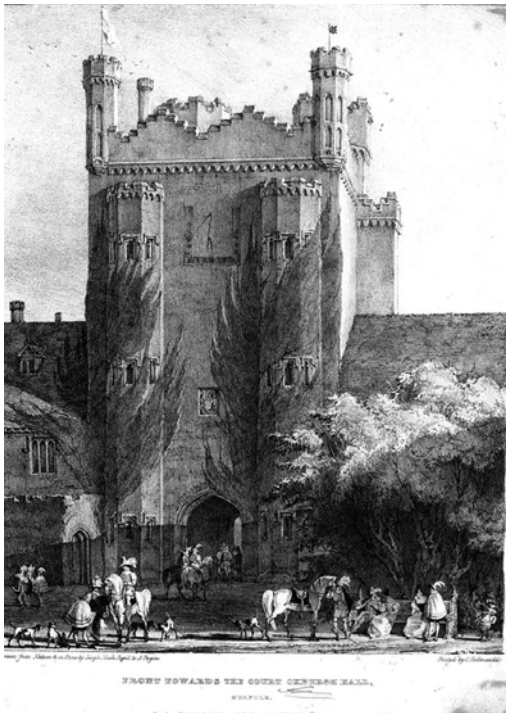


Fig 28. Nash's view of the courtyard elevation, 1830. (National Monuments Record, Red Boxes)

The interior

The gatehouse combined a number of distinct kinds of accommodation. On the ground floor it catered to the security needs of the house, providing a Porter's Lodge on the east side of the carriageway and an ante-room controlling access to the upper floor on the west. The first and second floors provided high-status lodgings and attendant facilities. The roof-top was intended as a recreational amenity, quite apart from any value it may have possessed as a look-out, but it also gave access to the dovecote, which was a valuable economic asset.

The Porter's Lodge and ante-room (now the Armoury)

By token of their position these rooms share a number of features. The entrances from the carriageway were placed opposite each other and, as mentioned already, have been rebuilt in stone. Pugin shows the entrance to the Porter's Lodge with a four-centred arch, apparently in brick, and with a narrower moulding than at present.[179] The great height of the two rooms, proportionate to their width, merely reflects the required headroom for the intervening carriageway. Both rooms have four-centred vaults springing from brattished cornices, as in the carriageway, and a grid of chamfered and limewashed brick ribs with circular bosses at the intersections incorporating shields. The bay windows at the south end are awkwardly offset in each case, their positions being determined by the desired arrangement on the more prestigious upper floors. Each bay has a separate vaulted ceiling, with ribs radiating from a boss of the standard pattern. The windows have the same form internally as externally, with a wave moulding and sunk spandrels. The lintels above them are chamfered, and in the Porter's Lodge the chamfer is accompanied by scroll stops (in the other bay the lintels are heavily overlaid with plaster). The loops overlooking the carriageway have distinctive brick-corbelled heads internally. They appear to have been unglazed.

The Porter's Lodge forms a characteristically self-contained unit, which originally did not communicate with any other part of the gatehouse or north range. It consisted of a narrow heated room (Fig 29) alongside the carriageway and a smaller, unheated octagonal room in the turret (Fig 30). Despite the humble status of this apartment it has a good decorative finish throughout. The main room was heated by a large fireplace which is placed flush on the east wall. The surround has a four-centred arch and is chamfered without stops. The raised hearth of edge-laid bricks may be original, but the front row of bricks, projecting into the room, is in a larger brick and overlies the present herringbone brick floor. The bay window has a four-centred rear-arch with a wave-moulded surround, set within a chamfer, again without stops. The western jamb of the rear-arch would be concealed but for the fact that the west wall is substantially thinned back below a line that rakes downwards from the window to close to the entrance. Even so, the outer chamfer is sacrificed. Although this extraordinary arrangement, apparently for aesthetic reasons, is crudely executed, with a struck chamfer at the window end and some patching in plaster to the overhang, it appears to be original.

At the north end of the main room a wide chamfered four-centred rear-arch, again without stops to the base of the jambs, frames the doorway to the turret room. The latter has a slightly higher floor level, currently laid lozenge-fashion with square floor-tiles or 'pamments'. The much narrower opening facing into the turret has a similar arch, the chamfer terminating in broach stops. The turret room has chamfered four-centred arched recesses in each face except that containing the doorway. The majority of these

were originally associated with cruciform loops, as described above, but those occupying the south-east and south-west faces were always blind.

Fig 29. Interior view of Porter's Lodge from the north, showing the asymmetrical positioning of the window. (NMR BB032420)

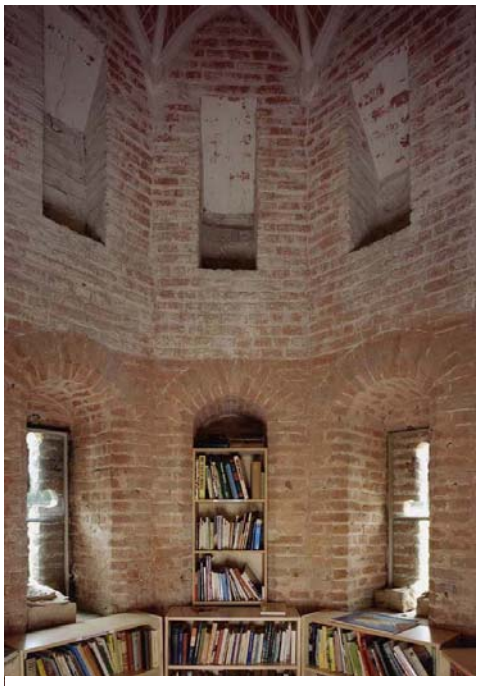


Fig 30. The turret room opening off the Porter's Lodge, showing the upper tier of windows formerly lighting the vaulted ceiling. (NMR AA026778)

The decorative treatment of the turret room was of a high order, and extended to decorative pointing, an overall paint scheme in dark red or ruddle, and an overpainting of the mortar joints in limewash. The fact that on the chamfered jambs of the recesses (though not the arched heads) the pointing is dressed back flush with the brick is an indication that these chamfers were struck *in situ*. This scheme of pointing and painting appears therefore to be original, and demonstrably pre-dates the blocking of a number of the recesses, as do the brick sills covered with plaster.[180] There is also evidence, less easy to date, for removed hinge pintles mounted on the inside face of the wall on both sides of the recesses, including those which were always blind.

Although the turret room incorporates a second tier of openings above the gun ports, there is no evidence that they served another floor level, since lost. Instead, the decorative form of the room included a ribbed star-vaulted ceiling with shield-like springers. Although the form of the ceiling is simpler than those encountered elsewhere, the chamfered ribs intersecting directly, without a boss, it has the same limewashed ribs and painted brickwork. Moreover, the upper windows, which are of quatrefoil form externally, are purposely adapted to illuminate the ceiling (Fig 30). To this end while the sills are flat in the normal way, the square heads are shelved steeply upwards towards the interior, so that light is cast up rather than down within the room. The same technique is employed in the stair turret.

The question naturally arises as to who would have been treated to the sight of this ceiling, the illumination of which was so carefully contrived. The heated room was evidently the porter's day room but the turret room provides the only viewpoint for observing approaching visitors. In part the form of the turret room is a necessary consequence of decisions taken elsewhere in the planning of the gatehouse, but the attention given to the placing of the windows suggests an intention to show off this interior – if only, perhaps, to visitors of relatively lowly status.

Fig 31. The Armoury from the north, showing the small fireplace beside the window. (NMR BB032422)

The corresponding room on the west side of the carriageway is currently known as the Armoury (Fig 31). This reflects the current presentation of the room to visitors rather than historic usage. Though architecturally similar to the Porter's Lodge it is functionally very different, originally forming an ante-room which was crossed en route to the main stair serving the lodgings on the upper floors, and as such, part of a processional route of considerable importance. In the circumstances, a higher degree of elaboration might be expected than in the Porter's Lodge. In fact such distinctions are quite limited. In the bay window the individual lights have chamfered sills. More significantly, the ceiling vault is embellished with shield springers, which occur in the turret room off the Porter's Lodge but are absent from the other bay window. On the other hand the rear-arch, though it has the same wave moulding, lacks the outer chamfer of the other, and dies into the walls rather than descending to floor level. One significant difference, perhaps, is the orientation of the shields on the bosses along the central axial rib. In the Porter's Lodge these 'read' correctly when emerging from the turret room; in the ante-room they are reversed, so that they are correct when approaching the stair.

There is a more marked contrast between the form and position of the fireplaces in the two rooms. In the ante-room the fireplace, which is on the east wall and abuts the rear-arch of the bay window, is much smaller. This position suggests a clear segregation of functions within a single space, the southern half of the room serving an attendant or retainer, while the northern half is reserved for circulation. The same inference may be drawn from the fact that there is just one loop facing the carriageway, where the Porter's Lodge has two, and that this is positioned in the southern half of the room, from which any monitoring of comings and goings would be conducted. The fireplace backs onto a relatively thin wall, and consequently it projects slightly into the room, unlike that in the Porter's Lodge. The chimney breast rising above it is respected by the brattished cornice. The opening has a three-centred arch (possibly deformed four-centred) and is chamfered, with a broach stop surviving on the north jamb. The jambs, which are just half a brick in width, are unusually narrow, though much of the depth of the fire opening is within the wall thickness. Externally (within the carriageway) a stress fracture has resulted in disturbance in the brickwork corresponding to the fireplace and flue. The

manner in which the flue is handled is unusual and might be taken to indicate insertion rather than an original feature: instead of being vented independently the flue is ducted into the side of the King's Room fireplace. Pugin's plan does not show the fireplace, but it also mistakenly reproduces here the thinning back of the wall which occurs only in the Porter's Lodge. Nevertheless, the weight of evidence – particularly the relationship to the cornice – seems to point to the fireplace being an original feature.

Other differences between the two rooms are probably less noteworthy. The rear-arch to the remodelled entrance from the carriageway can be distinguished only as a large plaster lens above the doorway, part of the original north jamb of which is also visible internally. The floor is of pamments laid square. The single loop is on the south side of the entrance. At the north end of the ante-room there is, as in the Porter's Lodge, a chamfered four-centred rear-arch without stops, which here leads to the stair. On the stair side this doorway has a smaller, unmoulded four-centred arch.

The stair

The vice stair occupying the western turret is a *tour-de-force* of 15th-century brickwork, designed to startle and impress by its virtuosity, its effects relying upon a combination of brickwork, plaster and paint (Fig 32). It rises anti-clockwise around a circular brick newel resting on a moulded base and an octagonal pedestal. The brick treads (partially re-laid in 2001) rise through approximately two revolutions at a constant gradient up to first-floor level, where the ascent steepens and the size of the treads diminishes, a single revolution bringing the stair nearly to the level of the second floor. The underside of the winders is smoothly plastered throughout and forms a helical vault. A moulded hand-rail is set into the external wall and is made up of a mixture of moulded and plain bricks, the irregularities being smoothed over with plaster.[181] The moulded bricks consist of alternating headers and stretchers.

Fig 32. The foot of the turret stair. (NMR BB032423)

The stair is lit at intervals by small windows, mostly of quatrefoil form, but including the two circular windows. These all have flat sills, and chamfered square heads formed of limestone.[182] There are windows corresponding to most of the external faces of the turret on each floor, but occasionally a window is omitted because the ascent of the stair would cause it to interrupt the external scheme of blind panels. Up to first-floor level the window heads shelve steeply upward, casting light on the vault, which is painted in the familiar red and white. Between the first and second floors the windows have only slight shelving, and thereafter the heads are flat, the reduced springing height of the vault effectively ruling this treatment out. A further revolution brings the stair to the foot of a short flight rising from it to roof level, but the main stair continues upwards to allow access to the flat roof of the stair turret. At night, illumination would have been provided by lamps placed in recesses with corbelled heads resembling those to the loops

overlooking the carriageway. One was placed at the foot of the stair, angled so as to cast lamp-light in the direction of the entrance from the carriageway.[183] A second occurs midway in the ascent to the first floor. Beyond the King's Room there is no specific provision for a lamp, though one could be placed in a window instead.

Fig 33. The doorway from the King's Room to the stair. (NMR BB032432)

Apart from the steepening of the ascent, and the necessary consequences of this, the stair is consistent in form almost to the top of the turret. Roughly midway between the stair to roof level and the top of the turret the internal wall sets back and assumes the octagonal form of the exterior. The moulded handrail ceases shortly afterwards and the last two windows incorporate re-used or discarded stone heads for multiple arched lights. There is also a chamfered brick jamb below one of these windows suggesting an earlier arrangement for access to the turret roof, or perhaps an intention that was discarded in the course of building. While the general standard of presentation of the stair is exceptionally high, the handling of the doorways opening off it suggests an inherent difficulty in the design. The openings, which are towards the south, are all narrow and unmoulded on the stair side, and they are served not by true landings, but by a single tread of more than normal width. This is a particular defect on the approach to the main lodgings on the first and second floors. The explanation appears to be straightforward, as any attempt to broaden the openings or create landings would have detracted from the smooth (and at first sight regular) progress of the helical vault.

The King's Room

The King's Room, on the first floor of the gatehouse (Drawing 2), which had acquired its present name by the beginning of the 19th century,[184] is the principal room of the more elaborate of the two apartments or suites of lodgings. Its pre-eminence is indicated on approach by the more generous proportions of the stair leading up to it and the greater width of the tread serving as the landing for the entrance. Within, the apartment is distinguished by its greater height, the greater elaboration of its features, and the superior arrangement of its component parts. The room is lit by a large window in the centre of the north wall and by bay windows at either end of the south wall, flanking the fireplace (Fig 34). The entrance is plain on the stair side, but has a chamfered four-centred head and plain arrisses facing the room (Fig 33). Two further entrances are sufficiently obscured by later work for there to be some doubt as to whether they are also original. They occupy opposing positions at the southern end of the east and west walls, providing access from the lower first-floor level of both portions of the north range. Both doorways are characterised by four-centred arched heads. Little of the original fabric of the western doorway is currently visible. The arched head can be seen in a tanked-off portion of the north range attic. At first-floor level the details are obscured by later panelling and plaster, but behind the panelling of the south jamb it is possible to make out struck bricks which may have formed the rebate of the original opening. Within the King's Room the opening can be discerned only faintly as cracking and

patching of plaster above the present 19th-century panelling. Such evidence frequently indicates settlement as a result of insertion.

The bay windows are framed by tall four-centred arched openings in the main wall plane. The arches have a rich series of cavetto mouldings, more extensive facing into the window than into the room. The west window, which faces the entrance from the stair, has one additional moulding on each face when compared with the east example. The mouldings die into the jambs, but on the room face there was formerly a brick roll-moulding on the arris of each window. This was later struck back to receive panelling, but about half of it survives on the east jamb of the east window. The mortar joints are smooth and flush with the brick, as on the fireplace moulding. In the west window the individual lights were divided by richly moulded mullions at the angles; only the upper portions of these survive, terminating abruptly just above the spandrels of the individual lights. To the east the arrangement may have been the same, but there are now plain mullions which do not project from the wall. The present raised floor level of the bay windows appears to be a secondary feature.

Fig 34. The King's Room from the north-west, showing the fireplace and flanking oriel windows. (NMR BB032425)

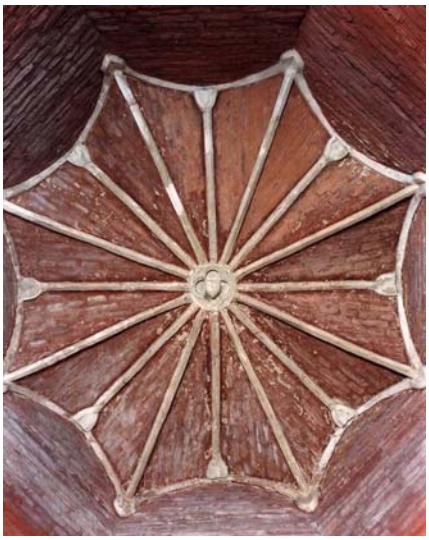
The fireplace occupies a broad but shallow projection into the room with chamfered ends. It has the familiar reverse-ogee moulding dying into chamfers on the lower parts of the jambs and terminating in broach stops. The cheeks are canted towards the rear and the back is set with herringbone brickwork.[185] Twin flues rake east and west, the west flue also receiving that of the ante-room fireplace. The large north window, facing the fireplace, has an internal treatment similar to that externally, including the brattishing of the transom. The large four-centred rear-arch has the same moulding as the fireplace, but doubled.

The original decoration of the King's Room is unclear. Above the 19th-century wainscot lining the walls there is now a painted scheme imitating brickwork, but on the east wall in particular this is poorly executed and difficult to reconcile with the status of the room. Moreover, one of Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours, depicting the room as it was in the 1850s, appears to show a more elaborate and probably figurative painted scheme, though this is much obscured by the hanging of paintings and tapestries.

The King's Room closet

A wide rear-arch frames the doorway leading to the room in the east turret. The jambs descend to floor level, and are infilled with bricks forming the steps up to the smaller room. The smaller opening facing into the turret has a similar arch and a chamfered surround terminating at flat stops. The door is possibly original, though the lower part has been renewed. It consists of a single skin of lap-jointed vertical boards, on the turret face of which cavetto-moulded ribs are nailed, rising to a four-centred head fitting that of the opening. The simple hinge straps appear to be secondary, as they occupy slots in the ribs respecting wider straps.

The interior of the room is partly obscured by a 20th-century cement-rendered finish, which rises to the height of the window heads except in the vicinity of the main doorway and the small fireplace (Fig 35). The latter has the same moulding as in the King's Room, but without stops. The flue rises to a now dismantled and capped-off stack in the re-entrant of the west wall of the turret. The five windows have fully chamfered surrounds and occupy chamfered recesses incorporating window seats, except in the north-facing example, where a seat has perhaps been removed. The vaulted ceiling is the most elaborate in the building, with shield springers to the pointed ribs and similar terminals to ribs in the crown of each sub-vault (Fig 36). The circular central boss has sunk spandrels and a shield set in a sunk quatrefoil.



Figs 35 (left) & 36 (right). The fireplace and vaulted ceiling of the King's Room closet (NMR BB032430 & BB032431).

Steps rise through a chamfered four-centred doorway in the south-east wall (with a 19th-century imitation of the door into the main chamber) towards the garderobe. Despite the narrowness and steepness of the steps this is arguably a more desirable arrangement than occurs in the Queen's Room, where the garderobe opens directly off the main chamber. The garderobe is described more fully below.

The Queen's Room

The Queen's Room, on the second floor of the gatehouse (Drawing 4), is less lofty than the King's Room, and there is a general diminution in the level of decorative detail (Fig 37). The only entrance is from the stair via a further short flight rising through a narrow vaulted passage. As below, the arrangement does not allow for decorative display on the first approach, but on leaving the room this arrangement is exploited for decorative effect as the eye is caught by receding chamfered orders in the sloping vault over the

passage. The doorway facing into the room has been altered and appears originally to have been taller and chamfered, with a four-centred arch. The fireplace is similar in form to that in the King's Room, but somewhat smaller. The two openings to the bay windows have rear-arches which are chamfered without stops. As on the floor below, there are indications that the mullions have been altered; they are now triangular in form and overhang the sills. The individual trefoil-headed lights, however, which have wave-moulded jambs and chamfered sunk spandrels, are unaltered. Each window has an irregular star vault, the ribs springing from shields and intersecting at a circular boss containing a quatrefoil which in turn encloses further motifs. The three-light north window has a hollow-chamfer moulding, a brattished transom and chamfered sunk spandrels. In contrast to the arrangement on the floor below, the garderobe is entered directly from the Queen's Room. A narrow four-centred arched doorway, chamfered with what appear to be run-out stops, opens off the north end of the east wall.

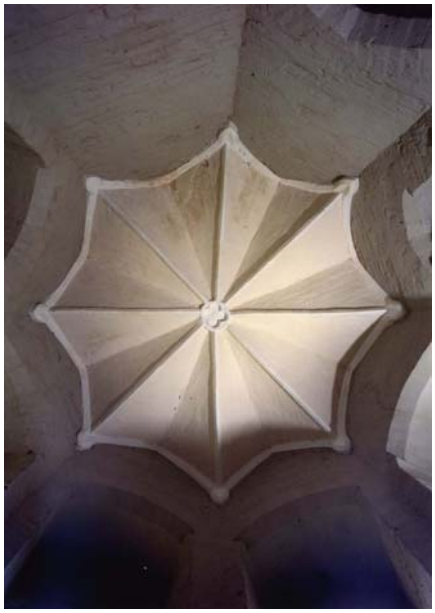
Fig 37. The Queen's Room from the north-west. (NMR BB032433)

The room was open to the roof timbers, as now, but the present timbers are replacements dating from Buckler's work in the 1830s. The original form of the roof is depicted in one of the drawings in Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*.[186] It had the same shallow pitch, the principal rafters of each truss carried on a short king-post and the tie-beam supported at either end on a wall-post assembly. The latter consisted of a post which was set on a corbel and rose to one end of a long timber bracket; a curved brace, the lower end of which was notched into the post, rose to the other end of the bracket, which was moulded. There was a single row of side purlins.

The Queen's Room closet

A short flight of 19th-century steps rises from the Queen's Room to the adjoining room in the east turret (Fig 38). The doorway has a four-centred rear-arch with a chamfered head facing the Queen's Room; a smaller doorway with a similar arched head is chamfered on the opposite face, with flat stops to the jambs. This room, unlike that beneath it, is unheated. The windows have chamfered four-centred rear-arches, but the chamfers terminate at flat stops set in slightly from the springing and the jambs have plain arrisses. The lights have lower four-centred heads and a hollow-chamfer moulding

all round, including the sills, with the exception of block bases at the junction of sill and jambs. Each has pintles on the left jamb for a former shutter. The south-west wall of the room, where the fireplace is positioned in the room below, is blind, but in the south-east wall there is a recess with the same form of rear-arch as the windows. The vault (Fig 39) has shield-shaped springers to the ribs, which meet at a ring enclosing a quatrefoil. The crown-ribs of the room below are absent.



Figs 38 (left). The entrances to the Queen's Room closet and garderobe. (NMR BB032434).

Fig 39 (right). The ceiling of the Queen's Room closet. (AA026781)

The garderobe turret

Lodgings of any standing in the medieval period and well into the 16th century were invariably equipped with garderobes (latrines).[187] On the gatehouse these are placed in a contemporary turret projecting from the north end of the east wall, where they occupy the re-entrant formed by a large stack serving the eastern half of the north range (Drawings 5-8). The turret is a complex feat of engineering, occupying nearly three-quarters of the width of the north range up to and including the present attic level, and then setting back sharply towards the north, to rise the final stage at little more than one-third the width of the range. It is roofed below the level of the main parapet, but is similarly decorated with false machicolations and a castellated parapet. The present shallow-pitched roof may respect the original arrangement and one of the Pugin drawings implies that it was leaded.[188] The set-back is concealed above the present attic ceiling. All but one of the small windows in the north wall were renewed during the 19th century: Cotman's view and Pugin's 1829 elevation (Figs 8 & 21) show them as quatrefoil openings in square surrounds like those on the stair turret. The exception, which is blocked, is at ground-floor level. The opening appears externally as a small loop with a pointed arch formed not with an arched head but by cutting bricks without varying the normal coursing. None of the early views notice this detail, and though its form might suggest a later insertion the chamfered and four-centred form of the rear arch argues for an early date.

The turret provides garderobes for the King's and Queen's Rooms, two for the adjoining first-floor chamber of the north range and probably a fifth chamber on the ground floor of the north range. They are contrived on a variety of plans, partly to ensure that the lower parts of the chutes descend in line in a compact shaft. Two chutes are visible on the ground floor of the northern range (Fig 40); the others are inferred. The base of the

shaft was flushed by the waters of the moat, which entered via an opening below water level in the north wall. This opening was not seen, but it appears in Pugin's elevation.

Fig 40. View looking up the garderobe chute. (NMR BB032438)

The existence of a ground-floor garderobe is suggested by the chamfered corner to the chutes descending from the upper levels. This defines what is probably a seat position at the western end of a large recess stretching some three metres east of the gatehouse wall and spanned by an unmoulded four-centred arch. Although this feature does not appear on the 1774 plan it is nevertheless likely to be original. Its length makes for convenient access from the adjoining room to the east, and it incorporates the small blocked window described above.

One garderobe opened off the first floor of the north range; placed against the north wall, it accounts for the northernmost chute and for the lowest quatrefoil window in Cotman's view. The chamber retains its L-shaped plan and vaulted ceiling (Fig 41). The second is identified only from the existence of a narrow blocked doorway, chamfered with a four-centred arch, which is visible on the landing of the vice stair (Fig 42). This appears to be the feature which the flue of the fireplace below rakes southwards to avoid. The chamber beyond the blocked doorway cannot extend northwards, as this space is required for the flue serving the north range; instead it must extend southwards to utilise the southernmost of the four chutes. It could not have been lit directly, but may have received borrowed light through piercings in the door, or conceivably via the stair to the south. The provision of two garderobes opening off a single room is unusual but perhaps explicable if the room functioned as common lodgings.

Fig 41 (left). The garderobe opening off the first floor of the north range. (NMR BB032443)

Fig 42 (right). The narrow blocked doorway serving the conjectured second garderobe on the first floor. The triangular timber immediately above is a fragment of one of the strings of the later attic stair. (NMR BB032442)

The King's Room garderobe, owing to the greater storey heights of the gatehouse, roughly corresponds to the attic level of the north range. It is reached via a narrow elbowed passage rising five steps from the turret room, slightly eased by an angled fillet

Fig 43. The King's Room garderobe. (NMR AA026779)

in the exterior brickwork of the re-entrant (Fig 43). The chamber is the most generously proportioned of the four, with a four-centred vault, a small north-facing window (renewed) and a square-headed shelved recess in addition to the four-centred arched recess for the seat. The latter has plain arrisses but a chamfered head. Between the two recesses is the Queen's Room chute. The King's Room chute is required to descend north-eastwards for a short distance in order to assume its correct position in-line to the south of the Queen's Room chute. This probably accounts for the shelving brick-work directly beneath the seat. The brick back of the recess, together with the seat, are secondary and will be discussed later.

The complex unlit area to the rear of the seat, which appears to have been adapted subsequently for use as a priest's hiding place (see below), is simply a void designed to lighten the load of the turret in an area where the space was not required either for chutes or for flues. It is essentially L-shaped on plan, with a variety of floor levels and three distinct vaults. It may also have enabled cleaning of the less than satisfactory sloping portion of the King's Room chute. The raised portion at the southern end probably respects the flue rising from the north range, which passes beneath it on its way to the east wall of the gatehouse, through which it then rises vertically. The recess on the west side lies between this flue and that rising, further to the north, from the Porter's Lodge.

The Queen's Room garderobe has a secondary floor and lath-and-plaster ceiling and no original features are apparent. The seat may have occupied the whole of the southern wall, but the chute descends from the east end of the wall.

The roof-top

The stair continues past the Queen's Room to the main roof-top, from which the dovecote and the two south turrets are reached, and beyond to the roof-top of the west turret (Figs 18 & 44; Drawing 4). The shallow-pitched roof was entirely rebuilt in the 1830s, though the essential form of the original was in all likelihood much the same. One of the drawings in the *Examples of Gothic Architecture* shows the rolled lead ridge and rolled joints, with gutters to north and south, as now.[189] The lead was renewed in 1953. The roof is concealed by a brick parapet with moulded limestone copings, except at inconspicuous junctions with turrets, where brick copings are employed. The limestone appears to be original, though in some cases re-set. The stones forming the base of each embrasure have slender cheeks extending to either side of the sloping outer face. The merlons rise in two stages, with additional rises concealing the tapering portion of the two southern stacks.

Fig 44. The gatehouse rooftop from the north-east. The stacks serving the King's and Queen's Rooms are to the left, capped with pantiles. (NMR AA026770)

The southern stacks (Fig 44), each housing one flue of both the King's and the Queen's Room fireplaces, have been extensively rebuilt and narrowed on one side, the rebuilding corresponding in each case with a short length of rough brick infill to the parapet; they are now capped with black-glazed pantiles and are not visible from the courtyard. Close to the base of the parapet a brick drip course projects on the inside. It is absent from the two southern stacks. In the centre of the east and west parapets there are paired stacks, which incorporate the drip course. With one exception they are octagonal as high up as the moulded bases of the shafts, which were removed, on pictorial evidence, before 1800. The north stack on the west parapet differs, however, in having a square base, though it is bonded with the parapet and incorporates the remains of a drip mould. In both cases these stacks serve rooms in the north range rather than the gatehouse. They were formerly covered by a roll-moulded coping, visible in a photograph published in 1929.[190] The twin north stacks, mentioned in the external description, are false, but slightly to the east of them are the capped-off remains of the stack serving the first-floor turret room. The date of the capping is not known, but occurred before 1929;[191] some scarring is evident on the turret wall above.

The two large turrets on the north side rise above the main roof to castellated parapets of their own, similarly corbelled on false brick machicolations. At the angles of the turrets small moulded limestone corbels (mostly renewed) support the projection of the parapet. As on the main parapet, the machicolations incorporate drains for the flat turret roofs. On each turret there is also a later lead rainwater head. The west example, which faces south-east, is a 20th-century replacement; the other, which faces south-west, has the applied characters 'H B | 15' apportioned between two conjoined saltires. The initials 'HB' are doubtless for Henry Bedingfeld – but for which one? The positions of the hoppers, facing inwards to the roof-top, imply that they were to be read in sequence from left to right (west to east), but their positions have been reversed, as early 20th-century photographs show.[192] Thus the present east hopper would have been read first, and the missing hopper, in its original position, may have had the same initials followed by the last two digits of the date. The style of the characters – particularly the 'lightning-strike' form of the '5' – is consistent with a date in the 16th century, but the proliferation of Henrys means that any date between 1553 and 1583, or from 1590 onwards, is possible.

Fig 45 (left). The dove-cote in the east turret. (NMR AA026782)

Fig 46 (right). One of the cruciform loops in the south-east bartizan. (NMR AA026783)

The east turret served as a dovecote (Fig 45). The entrance from the roof-top has a four-centred arch and is chamfered without stops. The limestone threshold, and the ledged plank door with applied chamfered ribs, are 19th-century or later replacements. The brick-floored interior is octagonal and is lit by windows in the north and east walls. They have a hollow-chamfer moulding, stepped brick sills and timber lintels to inclined heads, the latter serving to cast light upward as well as downward along the whole height of the walls. On each wall there are full-height tiers of nesting boxes, two boxes wide, with projecting brick courses forming ledges for the birds to alight on. The boxes are all now blocked and the lowest three ledges have been struck back. The timbers of the flat roof have mostly been renewed. The turret must have ceased to serve as a dovecote before 1829, since one of the drawings in the *Examples of Gothic Architecture* labels it a Guard Room – presumably an indication that the boxes had already been blocked up.[193] This may have occurred in 1781, when a new 'pigeon-house' was built elsewhere, or at some earlier date.[194]

Two small octagonal turrets or bartizans project from the south-east and south-west corners of the main parapet (Pugin published detailed drawings of the south-east turret).[195] They have the appearance of watch-towers, but since they overlook the courtyard rather than the approach to the house they must be regarded as essentially decorative. They are carried on corbels of cavetto, ovolo and ogee-moulded brick, and rise to false-machicolated and crenellated parapets. Each is entered from the roof-top by a narrow four-centred arched doorway, chamfered and rebated with pintles for a former door. Unusually, there is a chamfered plinth to the door jamb, but not elsewhere. Inside there are a series of small apertures (Fig 46). Just below the roof there are two square, rebated openings in each face. They emerge in the central foil of the trefoils forming the false machicolation. Below these there are quatrefoil loops in the five sides that face outwards from the roof-top. Above and below the loops there are apertures similar to, but smaller than, those just below roof level, but their distribution is uneven. The upper apertures occur in all five sides, but the lower examples occur only in the middle three. They correspond to upper and lower tiers of trefoil-headed blind panels on the exterior, the apertures piercing the central foil. There are only three panels to the

lower tier because this is set below the level of the parapet coping and the parapet intersects with two of the faces which are panelled in the upper tier. A further tier of trefoils, without the lower part of the panel, occur at the base of the same three faces, and are similarly pierced. E. J. Willson, in the letterpress accompanying the Pugin drawings, described these openings as 'no more than scaffold-holes, made for the use of the builders, but so placed as to become ornamental'.[196] Their distribution is restricted, however, and if the functional interpretation has any merit there must have been many more put-log holes which have been stopped up.

The hall range

The main focus of social life at Oxburgh, ceremonially if not day to day, was the great hall, which occupied the range forming the south side of the courtyard. It was pulled down, together with the Kitchen and other rooms to the west, in 1775. Our knowledge of its form derives principally from the plan prepared by the Revd John Homfray in 1774, shortly before it was demolished, from some descriptive notes which were compiled in the mid-18th century and first published in Blomefield and Parkin's *History of Norfolk* in 1769 (quoted above, p13), and from the evidence that can be pieced together from the two late 16th-century inventories.

The great hall

The 1774 plan (Fig 5) shows a conventional late-medieval hall on a substantial scale. Blomefield and Parkin related that it was 54 feet long and 54 feet high (presumably to the apex of the roof). From the plan as engraved by Le Keux an internal width of about 28 feet can be obtained.[197] This makes the room very close in size to the great hall at Gainsborough Old Hall (about 56ft by 28ft), but considerably smaller than the roughly contemporary royal hall at Eltham Palace, which has dimensions of 101ft 4in by 36ft, or even than that at the earlier Wingfield Manor (roughly 72ft by 37ft).[198] Oxburgh's great hall was placed a little east of centre within the south range, bringing the entrance at the western end nearly into line with the carriageway through the gatehouse. It was entered via a porch which, with its angle buttresses, looks convincingly original in plan. At the lower end there was a wide screens passage. The hall had a fireplace served by a projecting stack on the north wall. On the south wall, but not directly opposite, the plan shows a recess resembling a second fireplace. This feature does not correspond to a projection and may be secondary. The only windows shown are two opposed canted bays at the upper end of the hall,[199] though these may have been supplemented by windows placed high on the walls and perhaps therefore omitted from the plan. The plan shows a single central axis of communication, with doorways through the screen and at either end of the hall arranged in line, but the upper-end doorway or doorways are likely to have respected a dais originally and may have been to one side. Blomefield and Parkin described the roof as having a form reminiscent of that at Westminster Hall (1395-9), presumably an indication of hammer-beam construction.[200]

The upper end

Apart from the two late 16th-century inventories the earliest record of the upper-end accommodation is the 1774 plan. By the time it was made this part of the building had already been substantially remodelled once in the early 18th century and further modifications had occurred when the southern part of the east range was reinstated around 1750. The only portion of the exterior which appears to survive above plinth level is a small patch of ground-floor brickwork on the east elevation, immediately north of the large bay window. It is possible that other brickwork survives, however, notably in

the 78cm-thick spine wall (the courtyard walls of the north, east and west ranges average 77cm).

The upper end would have consisted of at least two storeys originally and given the presumption concerning the spine wall it is likely that it was roofed in two spans, with gables on the south elevation. The two inventories concur in placing a Great Parlour, Little Parlour and another chamber (used in 1598 as the School House) on the ground floor, the Great Parlour probably occupying the western block and the other two sharing the eastern block. A Great (or Best) Chamber was located on the first floor, again probably to the west, leaving the eastern half for the Chapel and one other chamber mentioned in 1585. The original stair, which is likely to have been a newel or vice stair as in the gatehouse, may have been in the turret, now lost, which the 1774 plan shows occupying the re-entrant of the east range. With internal dimensions of about 2.7m (9ft) square this is comparable to the gatehouse stair turret and generous by comparison with the stair serving the gatehouse from the north range.

The lower-end services

The lower-end accommodation, judging by the inventory evidence discussed above, was rather more diverse than is suggested by the 1774 plan, which shows only the ground floor. This comprised a large rectangular block of which a small portion, in the north-west corner, may have been roofed as part of the west range, while the remainder must have been roofed in several – perhaps three – spans. On the ground floor the accommodation was exclusively of a service nature, as is normal in this position. Two service rooms (the northern one still termed the Pantry on the plan) backed onto the screens passage, and by 1774 were wrapped on the south and west sides by an L-shaped passage. To the west the Kitchen occupied the south-west corner and a Bakehouse (so-named in 1774, but perhaps originally the Brewhouse)[201] opened off it to the north, possibly forming the southernmost room of the west range. The Kitchen is shown with four freestanding piers, suggesting a vaulted brick ceiling, and a very large stack on the west wall. There may originally have been a passage extending in a straight line from the screens passage to the Kitchen, for which some support can be found in the plan if the alignment of the doorways shown is taken to be approximate (it seems most unlikely that the Pantry did not communicate more directly with the Kitchen). Probably only a part of the L-shaped passage is an original feature: at its northern end it provides a valuable separate entrance for the Kitchen, off which a stair of unknown but probably later date rises. Further south its width is reduced by what in 1774 was described as a Closet, backing onto what was then the China Room, but was probably the Buttery originally. Here the passage and closet may occupy the Larder mentioned in 1585 and possibly an original feature of the plan. The east-west arm of the passage, returning along the south side of the Buttery, is probably an insertion. It leaves the Buttery with only a borrowed light – perhaps also functioning as a serving hatch – and at its east end opens onto the foot of the main stair, the form of which, rising in straight flights around an open well, indicates that it is no earlier than the 16th century.

The lower-end chambers

For the arrangement of the first floor we rely entirely on the late 16th-century inventories. The 1774 plan shows a substantial stair opening off the south end of the screens passage, but its open-well form points to origins no earlier than the late 16th century.[202] The stair as depicted may conceivably have been present by 1585, when there was a 'Chamber over the entry at the stayers head', possibly indicating a room enclosed (not

necessarily from the outset) above the screens passage. Even by this date, however, such stairs were very rare, and it is much more likely that it dates from either the very end of the century or some time in the 17th century. But there must have been a previous stair, perhaps in the same position since the only other stair shown on the plan is clearly associated with a service entrance. Two first-floor rooms are identified in 1585 only as being above the Buttery and Larder (presumably synonymous with the Buttery and Cellar of 1598) respectively, and these were clearly not the most prestigious chambers. The most favourable aspect was, and remains, towards the south-west corner, over the Kitchen and perhaps also the passage and Bakehouse or Brewhouse. Here the Fetterlock Chamber and apparently the original King's and Queen's Chambers were located. Some houses of the 15th century emphasised high-status lodgings by rearing them in the form of a tower, as Cromwell did at Tattershall in Lincolnshire. The fondness for tall gatehouses, as at Oxburgh, reflects a similar desire. Occasionally towers of this kind were placed at the low end of the hall, as at Cromwell's Wingfield manor, Derbyshire, Farnham Castle, Surrey, or another Norfolk House, East Barsham, dating from the 1520s, but the reference to the stair's head makes this less likely in the lower-end block at Oxburgh.[203] Placing good-quality rooms over the Kitchen was probably rendered more acceptable if the Kitchen was, as conjectured, vaulted, since this would reduce the penetration of noise and smells to the upper floor.

The east range

Fig 47. The northern half of the east range. (NMR BB032397)

Only the northern four bays of the east range survived the disastrous fire of the mid-17th century (Fig 47). On both elevations there is a clear structural break where the 15th-

century brickwork, which is considerably distorted both on plan and in cross-section, meets that of the 18th-century rebuilding. The evidence of the surviving original roof timbers indicates that these four bays formed a self-contained compartment on each floor, separated from the southern part of the range by an original brick cross-wall some 75cm thick. This wall probably accounts for their survival. It may also indicate a more abrupt change in status between the two halves of the range than occurs in the west range, where timber-framed partitions sufficed.

The ground floor

The original late-medieval form of the ground floor in this area has been obscured by the insertion of brick-vaulted cellars in the 18th century (Drawings 1, 9 & 10). This required lowering the ground level, the ground floor becoming a low-ceilinged mezzanine above inserted vaults. In the cellar there are remains of plaster which pre-dates the vaults. Like the floor above, the ground floor appears originally to have formed a single four-bay room. This is suggested by the nature of the transverse ceiling beams. The southern and central beams have a reverse-ogee moulding and run-out stops on both faces, and while the northern beam is largely concealed by plaster, part of its eastern end is exposed, and this is similarly moulded on the north face. There is thus no evidence for any partitions within this space, and they can be ruled out in connection with the southern and central beams.[204] The joists, judging by a single exposed example, are plain, roughly 15cm x 12cm, and laid flat. The entrance from the courtyard was probably in the second bay from the north, almost exactly opposite a corresponding doorway in the west range. It is currently blocked by plywood, the shape of which suggests an arched opening, and it is respected by a break in the plinth. The doorway was last used to provide access to a presumed cellar room which is now inaccessible.

One of the windows lighting the ground-floor room from the east can be identified externally in the third bay from the north (Figs 15 & 47). The most complete 15th-century window outside the gatehouse, it is blocked with bricks bearing diagonal hack-marks but retains an intact four-centred brick arch on the exterior and one splay remains visible, forming one side of a recess created when the window was blocked, on the raised ground floor. The width of the blocking suggests a two-light opening, which may have been executed in stone. Just to the north, and associated with the previous example by its common sill level, the blocked lower portion of a narrower, probably single-light window, depicted on Buckler's 1820 sketch (Fig 48), is visible externally beneath the sill of a two-light 19th-century window respecting the raised floor level. Both these openings, with their low sills, must pre-date the insertion of the vault. There are two further possible openings. To the north of the 19th-century window there is a recess internally, though the corresponding exterior brickwork does not indicate a blocking. Further to the north again, another blocking, once again forming the lower portion of an opening, here pierced by a later loop, is recognisable beneath a second 19th-century window, this time of a single light. Here the cellar vault is transverse, so it is possible that the opening is a later insertion, but Buckler's sketch does not show a window here, suggesting that it must already have been blocked by 1820; the bricks in the blocking have diagonal hack-marks. Buckler shows a third ground-floor window in the position of the later two-light oriel towards the southern end of the surviving 15th-century walling. Elsewhere on the ground floor the brickwork, though extensively re-pointed, does not seem to allow for any other openings, and although Buckler gives no indication of early form for the two windows he shows it is possible that they too perpetuated original openings. Together the openings identified (with varying degrees of confidence) suggest an irregular fenestration pattern consisting of windows of at least two sizes.

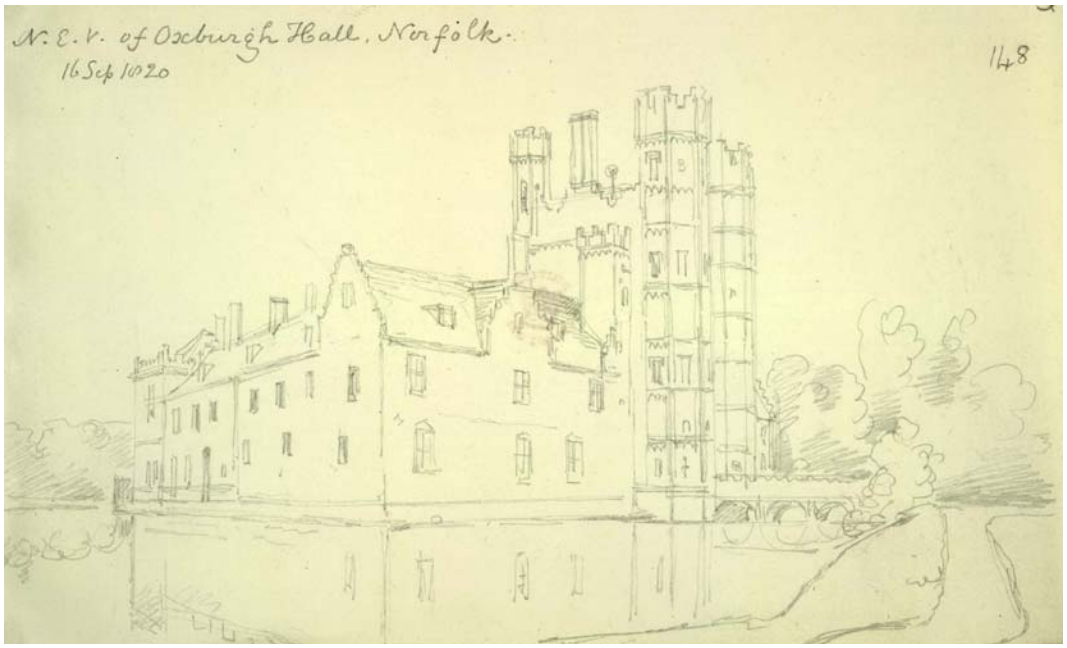


Fig 48. Buckler's 1820 view, showing the fenestration of the north and east ranges before the 19th-century alterations. Buckler also shows the single brick diaper at the left end of the north range. (British Library)

Inside the cellar, in the southernmost bay, two chamfered jambs of clunch are visible, rising from the original ground-floor level and disappearing behind the inserted vault where a lintel or arch is presumably concealed. These jambs may relate to a fireplace within the wall thickness, as seems to have been the original pattern elsewhere on the thick moat walls. There is now no chimney serving a fireplace here on either floor and the position, at one end of the room, is perhaps an unlikely one. It is apparently corroborated by the 1774 plan, however, which shows what appears to be a fireplace in about the same position. It is possible that the fireplace was served by a raking flue which was gathered somewhat to the south in the same manner that, on the north elevation flues were gathered into the eastern stack. Any such arrangement is likely to have been a casualty of the fire. Alternatively the evidence might indicate a walk-in window or oriel, placed at the upper end of a room which would then have some of the characteristics of a hall. However, there is no evidence for such a feature externally; on the contrary, the evidence suggests windows flanking the internal feature. A small stone quatrefoil, ventilating and dimly lighting the southern cellar, now pierces both the blocking and the rear wall of the presumed fireplace.

The first floor

On the first floor the large chamber was open to the roof, which has a series of arch-braced collar trusses (Fig 49; Drawings 3, 10 & 11)), including trusses against the brick walls at either end. The end trusses are moulded on one face only and demonstrate that both end walls are original. The roof timbers are considerably eroded and the southernmost truss bears traces of fire damage. The trusses incorporate stub ties which are tenoned into an elaborately moulded cornice beam from which ashlar-pieces rise to the principal rafters. Above the collar there is a king-post from which braces rise to the ridge-piece. There is a single set of butt purlins and no wind-braces. The most elaborate moulding occurs on the cornice beam, which survives entire along both sides of the range. It incorporates reverse-ogees, a large cavetto and other elements. The

various components of the cornice moulding are distributed among the other main roof timbers. The principals have, between the ashlar-pieces and the collar, a reverse-ogee,

Fig 49. The roof over the northern half of the east range, from the south. The attic floor is a later insertion. (NMR BB032463)

as do the purlins, while the collar repeats the remaining elements of the cornice moulding. The arch-braces have a simple hollow-chamfer, which is continued along the principals as far as the ashlar-pieces. Above the collar the principals and the king-post have a simple chamfer. The consistent form and mouldings of the trusses rule out any original partitioning of the four bays.

On the first floor the moat wall currently exhibits three 19th-century windows but there are signs of earlier openings. One original east window (Fig 50) can be identified with certainty, placed nearly above the ground-floor window with the intact head mentioned above. It is blocked externally, where a patch can be identified in the brickwork, and was until recently blocked flush with the inside wall face as well. In 2001 the blocking was removed, revealing splayed jambs, clunch quoins and a head formed from a single very large baulk of timber. There are indications, both externally and internally, of a blocked opening or other feature in the adjoining bay to the south. Externally there is a clearly defined blocking extending northwards from the southern 19th-century window, with both a higher sill and a lower head than its successor (the blocked window to the north observed similar heights). The reveal has the appearance of having been limewashed. On the south side of the present window there is some less well-defined disturbance which may be related. On the courtyard wall there are currently two 19th-century windows, and what appears to be a blocking against the re-entrant of the north range. The southern window is a 20th-century replacement, installed in the 1960s when a bathroom extension was dismantled.[205] Between the three windows the brickwork is less disturbed than on the moat wall and further openings can be ruled out, making it likely that some and perhaps all of the existing and blocked

Fig 50. The larger of the two recesses is a blocked window, exposed in 2001. (NMR BB032457)

openings occupy original window positions. The first-floor chamber may have been heated by a fireplace set between the northern and central windows in the moat wall, where a wide pier of brickwork has never been pierced by a window. However, neither the present fireplace nor the chimney exhibits any early features.

The west range

Fig 51. The northern half of the west range: the moatside (west) elevation. All the windows date from the 19th century in their present form. Replaced brickwork just to the right of the bay window is the result of patching consequent upon the discovery of garderobes at the junction of the two ranges. (NMR BB032405)

On the ground and first floors the west range (Figs 51-2; Drawings 1-3 & 12-13) has been comprehensively altered internally, and at the southern end it has been truncated by the construction of the south-west pavilion. The nine-bay roof has ten 15th-century trusses, because trusses are placed at or close to both end walls. A number of these trusses are associated with partitions either existing or removed; there is also evidence for a number of original windows and there are three chimneys on the moat wall all of which appear to be original. Since the roof is one of the principal survivals, and since the first-floor rooms were originally open to the roof, it is for the first floor that the surviving evidence is most complete. There are two main interpretative problems: the tree-ring date of 1437-63, derived from the truss timbers, which lies outside the generally accepted building chronology for Oxburgh Hall, and the non-sequential series of carpenter's marks, which suggest that the trusses originally stood, or were intended to stand, in a different order. Both problems disappear if the roof was originally made for an earlier house, but there are also episodes in the building's history when a reconstruction of the roof might have occurred. For a variety of reasons the present arrangement must have existed in essentials by 1774. There are also indications that it existed before the late 17th-century remodelling. Finally, as will be argued below, the layout deduced from the roof and other evidence is consistent with a late-medieval suite of first-floor lodgings.

Fig 52. The southern half of the west range: the moatside (west) elevation. In the 1770s the range was slightly truncated when Tasker's pavilion (right) replaced the former Kitchen and service rooms. Part of an original window head is visible above the window lighting the west stair (left). (NMR BB032404)

Unlike the east range, the west range was divided not by a brick cross-wall but by a series of timber-framed partitions corresponding to a number of the roof trusses. Two defined a narrow, probably full-height, unheated compartment corresponding to what is now the central roof bay (i.e. the fifth bay from the north, now housing the west stair). To the north of this compartment, on the first floor, there is evidence for a lodging consisting of a three-bay outer chamber and, to the north, a single-bay inner chamber, both of them probably heated. This apartment corresponds to the present Admiral's Room and Boudoir, though the partition dividing them was further to the north than now. Beyond the smaller chamber there was a garderobe which must have been at least partly within the thickness of the wall dividing the west and north ranges. A similar layout can be identified on the south side of the central compartment, corresponding to the present Yellow Room and adjoining kitchen and dining room, though here the evidence for a fireplace in the small inner chamber is more tenuous and the garderobe, if it existed, was lost in the truncation. Both lodgings are likely to have been reached by a stair occupying the central compartment and entered from the courtyard via one of three doorways. Despite doubts prompted by the disrupted numerical sequence of roof trusses, discussed in detail below, the apparently consistent and broadly symmetrical distribution of partitions, chimneys and windows suggests that the arrangement is original.

The layout of the ground floor seems to have been somewhat different. It is likely that access was independent of the central stair compartment, utilising instead the two doorways placed one bay from either end of the courtyard elevation. The positions of these doorways do not suggest the same arrangement of outer and inner chambers as

on the first floor, and the fact that ceiling beams have either been replaced or masked by later finishes means that the existence of any partitions cannot be confirmed.

Two stacks on the moat elevation can be confirmed as original from external evidence, though the shafts date from the 19th century. They occur in the third bay (extending a little way into the fourth) and seventh bay from the north. Each currently serves a single first-floor fireplace. That in the third bay is the larger of the two and has tumbled-in brickwork to the tapering portion rising from the wall-top. The other is less massive, and is positioned directly above the Drawing Room oriel, where any evidence for a ground-floor fireplace has probably been obliterated. In the roof-space it is respected by a trimmer which is morticed and pegged to a common rafter at its south end, but lapped over the principal rafter at the other. That this is an original feature is indicated by the absence of nail-marks for ashlar-pieces on the common rafters which are tenoned into the trimmer. Both stacks are large enough to have contained two flues formerly. On the same wall there is a further stack, not distinguished from the exterior brickwork, in the northernmost bay. This too serves a first-floor fireplace now, but it is much smaller than the other two and can only ever have accommodated a single flue. It is plastered inside the attic ashlaring, which it must therefore pre-date. It is therefore possible that it heated the first-floor closet suggested above. Comparable evidence at the other end of the roof is lacking, perhaps owing to the insertion of a dormer in this position. The evidence for fireplaces on the ground floor is particularly slight and it is possible that it was originally unheated.

The ground floor

Of the three original entrances from the courtyard one, which is precisely central, remains in use serving the west stair, while the other two, placed one bay from either end of the range, are now blocked. All three are respected by the plinth and they are of the same chamfered, four-centred form with hood-moulds; the central doorway has a chamfered and four-centred rear arch. The flanking entrances relate to the bay structure in the same way, though because the bays south of the stair are consistently shorter the positions of the doorways differ slightly, the southern example being rather closer to the central entrance than the other. These door positions are difficult to reconcile with the room layouts identified on the first floor. The present 19th-century ceilings in the Library and Drawing Room conceal any evidence that may survive for partitions, but if these rooms were originally subdivided the partitions are likely to have been adjacent to the doorways. This would produce a very different spatial hierarchy, in which the smaller rooms, though still reached via the larger rooms, would be much closer to the entrances.

The evidence for windows and fireplaces on the ground floor is limited owing to the extent of later alterations. As elsewhere, the lack of evidence for further windows must indicate that some of the existing openings perpetuate original positions. There is, however, a fragment of an arched window head, hard against the original south side of the stair compartment, where it is cut into by a segmental arch probably of the 18th century. This window position may imply a feature just to the south. Here the Drawing Room oriel is now placed directly beneath one of the original stacks, raising the possibility of a removed fireplace, although the stack, despite minor alterations on the south side appears only to have contained a single flue. The 1774 plan offers few clues to the position of original fireplaces. North of the stair it shows what appears to be a fireplace roughly in the position of the northern entrance from the courtyard. No fireplace is shown in the Breakfast Room, which corresponds to the southern part of the present Library, though it must have had one. Possibly the fireplace is mistakenly

represented as the central one of three windows, a position which would place it directly beneath the largest of the stacks on the moat wall; the external evidence suggests that there were only ever two windows in this area of the moat wall. South of the stair the plan shows axial stacks at either end but these are likely to be later features, since lateral stacks account for all the known original examples at Oxburgh.

The stair compartment

The central entrance described above opened onto an unheated compartment occupying a bay which is significantly shorter than all the others in the west range (1.97m, compared with a minimum elsewhere of 2.40m to the south and 2.90m to the north). It was lit by a window overlooking the moat, which can be identified externally by the springing for a brick arch next to the hood-mould at the north end of the present stair window. This corresponds to the haunch of a four-centred arch. Internally a cupboard on the half-landing between the first and attic floors conceals the blocked tympanum of the opening. Like the doorway, the window is offset north of centre within the present stair compartment, but this is because the latter has been enlarged on the south side, probably in the 1830s. The partition forming the north side was rebuilt below the collar at the same time that the southern partition was moved southwards. Peg-holes for the original studs of the northern partition indicate that they were at 30-35cm centres and that at the east end there was an interval wide enough for a doorway. The truss forming the original southern partition survives but the tie-beam was sawn through and only the western stub is now visible inside the cupboard of the upper half-landing.

The characteristics of the compartment, and its relationship to the first-floor chambers to north and south, suggest that it housed a stair from the outset, but the stair would have been different in form. It is likely to have been a winder stair, and as such would have had a square footprint, probably against the moat wall so as to leave a lobby next to the entrance.[206]

The first floor and roof

Fig 53. The king-post roof over the west range, seen above the later ceiling at collar level. (NMR BB032498)

The original internal arrangement of the first floor can be deduced primarily from the evidence of the roof structure (Fig 53; Drawings 3, 12 & 13). As in the east range the first-floor rooms were originally open to the roof and they incorporated an elaborately moulded cornice along the east and west walls.[207] Ten 15th-century roof trusses (dendro-dated to 1437-63)[208] survive – seven open trusses of arch-braced collar form, and three closed trusses incorporating a tie-beam – and these provide the basis for postulating a series of room divisions. Caution must be observed, however, since there is evidence which could be interpreted as indicating that the trusses have been rearranged. Carpenters' marks can be found on all the trusses, with the 'differs' (differential marks distinguishing one end of the truss from the other) marked along the east side. Although the trusses appear undisturbed the numbers are not sequential. From south to north they are: II, I, V, IIII, VI, VII, VIII, VIIII, X, XII; numbers III and XI, therefore, are missing.

The open trusses are similar to their counterparts in the east range, but they differ in a number of respects. In place of the ashlar-pieces in the east range the arch-braces are continued downwards to the cornice, creating a nearly semicircular arch. The moulding of the principal rafters is similarly extended down to the stub-ties. The quality of the carpentry is generally better, with mouldings returning much more neatly at the junctions of the collars and principals. The closed trusses omit the arch-braces in favour of a tie-beam, and have principals and king-posts of lighter scantling. The roof structure further consists of a single set of butt purlins and a square-set ridge. Throughout the roof, curved braces with housed mortice-and-tenon joints rise from the king-posts to the ridge, meeting in the middle of each bay to form longitudinal four-centred arches. The common rafters are pegged over the backs of the purlins and were originally ashlared. Some of the roof timbers retain traces of white pigment or limewash.

Two mouldings are encountered in the roof. The plainer variety – a simple hollow chamfer – is restricted to closed trusses I and X, and to the hidden face of another closed truss, II, which is placed against the south end wall. This moulding is also found on the ridge. The more elaborate moulding, consisting of a cavetto and an ogee, occurs (with a single exception, noted below) on the remaining trusses and on the other faces of trusses II and XII, and also on the purlins. The exception is the open truss XII, which has no moulding on its north face, where it backs onto the brick wall separating the west and north ranges. The principals of this truss are little more than half the thickness of the other open trusses (12cm, compared to a range of 16-21cm for the closed trusses and 23-25cm for the open trusses). These characteristics are sufficient to demonstrate that this truss was always placed against a wall, though the brickwork here dates from a 20th-century rebuilding.

Apart from their different structural form there are some other characteristics which serve to identify the closed trusses. The next truss to the south (X), which spans the area now occupied on the first floor by the Boudoir, is associated with fragmentary remains of wattle-and-daub infill, surviving only in the thickness of the inserted attic ceiling. The only other indications of infilling on the timbers of this truss are a number of roughly chiselled sockets in the soffit of the principals and a lap-joint – possibly a later feature – on the south face of the collar. This truss divides the area north of the stair into a single bay at the north end and a three-bay room to the south, spanned by two open trusses.

The trusses which formed either side of the central bay before it was enlarged enclosed the original stair compartment. They similarly lack arch-braces but are slightly thicker than the other closed trusses in order to receive the more elaborate moulding. On the north side of the stair the truss (VII) remains but the infill has been renewed with nailed studs and brick infill. The south partition has been repositioned further south, and the original tie-beam has been cut out,[209] but the other elements of the truss (VI) are still *in situ* and have remains of lath and plaster on their north face. Against the south face the position of a former stack can be identified, the insertion of which resulted in the removal of the ridge braces in this bay. The stack corresponds to one which the 1774 plan shows backing onto the south side of the stair compartment, and confirms that the stair has been widened subsequently.

The two trusses at the southern end of the roof both lack arch-braces and appear to have been closed. Thus the present southernmost truss (II), which has the more elaborate moulding on its north face, but a hollow chamfer to the south, does not mirror the northernmost truss. This is because the roof originally extended, probably for a

further two bays, as far as the north wall of the kitchen – as the mortices indicating the continuation of the ridge and purlins indicate. Towards the west end of the truss there is a single stud incorporated in the present attic ashlaring. It is well-squared in contrast to the waney studs used elsewhere in the ashlaring, and it shares the whitened appearance of the original timbers. To its west there is a slight notch in the soffit of the principal, apparently for another stud. The next truss to the north (I) is of the same basic form as truss II, but like truss X has a hollow-chamfer moulding on both faces. Together these two trusses defined a small chamber mirroring that at the northern end of the roof, separated from the stair by another three-bay chamber.

This pattern of open and closed trusses is symmetrical within the existing nine bays, and indicates single-bay compartments in the centre and at either end, with two chambers of three bays each between them. The single bays are of almost identical size (3.44m to the north, 3.54m to the south), and are appreciably longer than any of the other bays. North of the stair these are of approximately 2.95m, while to the south the two bays nearest the stair are 2.62m long and the third bay just 2.40m. The stair bay is smaller again, at 1.97m. The fact that the infill of the northernmost closed truss (X) survives only within the thickness of the present attic ceiling is an indication that this truss at least was the basis for a closure in its present position before the creation of the attics, which judging by the west stair occurred in the late 17th century. The end bays do not correspond to entrance positions on the ground floor. It would be wasteful to place a separate stair in each when a single central compartment can perform the same function. The dimensions of the central compartment are also more suggestive of a stair than the longer end bays and the evidence for heating, with all its problems, tends to the same conclusion. The end bays appear instead to be inner chambers or closets opening off larger three-bay outer chambers reached from a central stair. This was also the conclusion reached in an examination of the west range following the discovery of garderobes at the north end of the first floor in 1967.[210] While the stair compartment extended through both floors, it is unclear whether the other partitions did so as well.

The garderobes between the west and north ranges

As already mentioned, works carried out in April 1967 revealed the existence of a pair of first-floor garderobes in the wall dividing the north and west ranges. The evidence, which has since been covered up internally, was recorded at the time on plans, but they have not been located. A handful of exterior photographs were taken at the time and a brief summary of the findings is contained in a note dated 1972 in English Heritage files. Today the only evidence is a small blocked first-floor window on the west elevation and an irregular tier of rebuilt brick courses below it (see Fig 51).[211] Internally the wall separating the two ranges has been rebuilt at attic level; lower down the brickwork is concealed. It is likely that one of the garderobes served the lodging in the northern half of the west range, while the other served accommodation in the north range.

The north range

The north range extends east and west of the gatehouse, overlapping the east and west ranges at either end (Fig 11; Drawings 1 & 2). The portion east of the gatehouse is a little over two metres longer than that to the west. Both have been re-roofed at different dates, removing one valuable source of evidence for their original form.

Exterior

Fig 54. The North range east of the gatehouse: the moatside (north) elevation. (NMR BB032396)

Fig 55. The north range west of the gatehouse: the moatside (north) elevation. (NMR BB032394)

The north elevation of the north range presented a broadly (though not precisely) symmetrical appearance, accentuated by the presence of crow-stepped gables flanking the gatehouse (Figs 17 & 54-5). These both carried flues and it is unclear whether the small arched features shown in the gables by Cotman and others were original or later features, nor whether they were windows or blind. The eastern example was lost when Buckler created a large corbelled stack, the western when he placed an oriel in a similar position. Crow-steps were also used on two smaller sections of wall rising against the flanks of the gatehouse. On the west side this feature carried flues from the north range up to chimneys on the west side of the gatehouse parapet. The corresponding walling on the east side had no practical purpose, and must have been intended to maintain symmetry overall. Apart from the walls, few original external features have survived.

Part of the arch for a first-floor window in the north elevation survives immediately alongside the gatehouse, the west wall of which is cut back to respect the opening, now blocked. The views by Cotman, Neale and Buckler show arched heads to the ground-floor windows east of the gatehouse. These window positions were retained in the 19th-century remodelling but the heads, which suggested that they occupied original openings, were lost. Given the absence of blockings elsewhere it is likely that a number of other windows also occupy original openings, but some were altered in the 17th or 18th centuries (possibly both) as well as the 19th.

Interior west of the gatehouse

This section of the north range, currently roofed as eight bays, may originally have been entered from the courtyard via the present doorway opening onto the stair. The entrance has been remodelled, but is respected by the plinth in the normal manner. The stair compartment, however, which is here slightly more generous (2.31m wide) than the original dimensions of the one in the west range (1.97m), is enclosed to the east by a late 17th-century studwork partition (see pp.81-2). This partition is demonstrably secondary as it overlies the surviving fragment of wall-painting, now concealed by later panelling on the south wall (see p.34 & Fig 16). In addition, the rail forming the head of this partition at wall-plate level is only 11cm wide, suggesting that originally, as now, it did not coincide with a roof truss. The west partition, which does not coincide with any of the 17th-century trusses either, has been rebuilt in blockwork beneath a tie-beam whose dimensions (20 x 20cm), coupled with the evidence of pegged mortices on its upper and lower surfaces, show it to have formed part of a closed truss. The northern end of the beam can be examined on the landing (partly encroached upon by a 19th-century cupboard) between the first and attic floors. A single peg towards the beam's upper edge indicates the position of a stud infilling the roof truss, and there is a long (>37cm) double-pegged mortice, probably for a brace, in its soffit. To the north, visible inside the cupboard, there is an original (though altered) first-floor window with a roughly four-centred rear-arch. It is offset close against the west side of the present compartment, suggesting that any earlier stair position in this area may, assuming the window was placed roughly symmetrically within it, have been considerably more confined towards the east than at present – perhaps no more than about 145cm wide.

If this was indeed a stair position it would appear to have divided a larger ground-floor room to the west (now the Dining Room) from a smaller one to the east (now the Shop), and this pattern may have been repeated on the first floor. The west room was probably heated by a fireplace in the centre of the north wall, as now, since there is a large expanse of external brickwork in this position with no evidence for openings at any period. The two-flue stack on the west end of the gatehouse would appear to be available for rooms at the east end of the range from the outset, yet there is also evidence for a chimney being positioned on the moatside wall to the north. There was clearly a stack here by the late 17th century when the present roof was constructed, judging by the position of a trimmer low on the north roof slope in the second bay from the east, where it is tenoned at both ends into the principal rafters, and the irregular roof bays might suggest a need to accommodate a pre-existing chimney in this position.[212] On the first floor a feature of the gatehouse design suggests that a fireplace was provided here from the outset. This is because the west side of the stair turret is angled back at first-floor level to leave enough space for a window at the end of the north range. This strongly suggests, in turn, that the window had to be at the end of the wall because there was another feature immediately to its west, and a fireplace is the likeliest explanation.

Original internal features are not apparent, though it is possible that the structure of the first floor survives east of the stair. During the refurbishment of the Marian Hangings Room, at the eastern end of the first floor, unmoulded joists were revealed some 16cm below the present floorboards.[213]

Interior east of the gatehouse

East of the gatehouse there is rather more evidence for the original plan. This section is currently roofed as seven complete bays plus an irregular interval adjoining the gatehouse, into which the garderobe turret and associated stack intrude (Drawing 7). On the south side of the turret there is a roughly square compartment housing a vice stair. This compartment originally extended slightly less towards the east than at present: in the cupboard under the stair there is evidence on the north wall for an original brick wall, now removed, returning in line with the east face of the stack. The door into this space from the south appears to be original and is shown in one of Pugin's drawings, made before the 19th-century Gothic remodelling had commenced.[214] A pintle on the east jamb indicates a former door opening in the opposite direction to the present one, consistent with a stair rising clockwise, as shown on the 1774 plan, not anti-clockwise as now. The original space – just 133cm wide – is extremely confined for a stair, but it is difficult to see what other purpose it could have served. There was a south-facing window at first-floor level, judging by an area of disturbed external brickwork; it has been repositioned further to the west to respect the present stair.

The stair rose to an entrance to the King's Room. This four-centred arched doorway was unmoulded to the chamber (where it is now covered by 19th-century panelling), with a chamfered rear-arch facing the stair. The southern splay is more pronounced than the northern, on which the hinge pintles are mounted, facilitating access from a clockwise stair, and this is perhaps the most compelling evidence that this doorway is original.

Fig 56. Successively the Laundry (1774) and the Servants' Hall, and now part of the Tea Room, this room must always have performed a service function. The fireplace, though it has an outwardly late 15th-century form, is a reduction of an earlier large fireplace. The recess in the far corner provides access to the base of the gatehouse garderobe chutes. The supports for a first-floor fireplace (served by one of the flues of Buckler's corbelled stack) can be seen top right. (NMR BB032437)

In general terms the accommodation probably resembled that to the west of the gatehouse. There is an entrance from the courtyard a little to the west of the east range, and this opens onto a narrow compartment (2.43m wide) which appears on the 1774

plan and which has survived on both floors. This pattern closely resembles that of the stair bay on the other side of the gatehouse, though there is now no trace of a stair, nor is one depicted on the 1774 plan. There is possible evidence for a first-floor window on the moatside wall, as in the other stair bays, in the form of ragged joints and disturbed brickwork beneath the present corbelled stack.

To the west there was a large room (Fig 56) which, since it incorporated access to the base of the garderobes, is likely to have been of low status (in 1774 it was the Laundry). It is spanned by two transverse beams with chamfers terminating in stepped run-out stops which are visible only at the north end. It is possible that these beams are original, their plainness when compared with those in the east range reflecting the lower status of the room, but the style is not closely datable and they could be somewhat later. The original form of the room has been modified by extending the suggested stair compartment eastwards. It was heated by a large fireplace in the garderobe stack. This has been considerably reduced in size, but internal inspection reveals a larger hearth and a flue which rakes southwards to avoid a feature higher up. A patch in the external brickwork suggests that there was a north-facing window extending a little further east than the present opening.

The remainder of the range probably formed a single room. This interpretation is based not on surviving 15th-century features but on the likely disposition of windows in the north wall. There are two windows, both altered, on either side of a wide area of blind walling, which would appear to indicate an original stack position where the present 18th-century fireplace is located. Further evidence is derived from the window on the west side of the fireplace. The original rear-arch of this window is truncated slightly by the present cross-wall to the east, which therefore appears to be an insertion (it was present by 1774). Together, the evidence suggests a large room with a fireplace central to the north wall.

Fig 57. The first-floor room adjoining the gatehouse. The modern boxing and door (far left) conceal the original garderobe entrance. The ceiling dates from the 16th century and later. (NMR BB032444)

Of the first-floor rooms little can be said except that their layout may have repeated that on the ground floor, and that the western room (Fig 57) had access to a garderobe (Fig 41). This is entered via a chamfered four-centred arched doorway and consists of a

small vaulted chamber with a recess for a seat. Large pintles for a door survive inside the north jamb of the doorway. The western room has a large fireplace on the north wall. This has been much altered, but the herringbone back and parts of the east jamb are probably original. The cambered and chamfered lintel, which has numerous large taper burns, is re-set, as the stops do not coincide with the jambs. The flue now rakes eastwards to a large gabled stack, but in the attic there is an inaccessible area consistent with an earlier stack rising in line with the fireplace.

THE MID TO LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The fortunes of the Bedingfelds declined sharply on the death, in 1558, of Mary Tudor. Her half-sister, Elizabeth, who succeeded her, had bitter memories of being confined by Henry Bedingfeld in his capacity as Constable of the Tower of London. Elizabeth held to her father's reformation of the Church in England, while the Bedingfelds continued to uphold the Catholic faith. The Bedingfelds found themselves debarred from lucrative royal patronage and increasingly, as England found itself menaced by Catholic Spain, threatened with severer sanctions. In these circumstances the family are likely to have had neither the resources nor perhaps the will to invest heavily in building works. They may, however, have taken steps to uphold the performance of Catholic rites by creating a makeshift chapel and to secure a priest against discovery in the house by constructing a 'priest hole' in the substantial void inside the garderobe turret.

The creation of the first attics

As has been noted already, by the end of the 17th century all the ranges except perhaps the south (where the great hall probably remained open to the roof) contained attic accommodation. There is clear evidence in the surviving fabric, however, that the attics were created piecemeal. The first to be created were in the north range, east of the gatehouse. The fact that re-roofing was required to create attic rooms probably indicates that the original roof trusses, like those in the east and west ranges, lacked tie-beams except where they coincided with partitions. On purely stylistic grounds this work is difficult to date precisely, though a late 16th or early 17th century date might be conjectured. One detail which rules out a date much earlier than this is the form of the attic floor joists, which are 8 x 16cm and set vertically, contrary to earlier practice, and have unpegged mid-tenons. Joists set vertically are seldom encountered before the late 16th century, those at Lyveden New Bield, Northamptonshire (not extant but indicated by joist pockets), being very early examples. Tree-ring dates from this roof, however, suggest a likely felling date for the timbers between 1551 and 1579, a little earlier than fits comfortably with the joist evidence.[215] In a period when the Bedingfelds were generally disinclined to invest, fearing the consequences of royal displeasure, one possible motive for new work at Oxburgh was to provide a place where mass could be held discreetly. A similar course seems to have been followed by their kinsmen the Jerninghams at Costessey Hall, where there is said to have been a chapel in one of the attics from the late 16th century onwards.[216]

The new roof (Drawing 15) has eight trusses, including one placed against the east gable, giving seven bays in all, of which the easternmost is shorter than normal. In addition there is a short interval at the opposite end adjoining the gatehouse. The trusses are of clasped-purlin form, with chamfered tie-beams, diminished principal rafters and queen-struts receiving the inner ends of vestigial interrupted collars. A true collar appears to be set at a higher level, indicated by the lower level of the ceiling in the western bays; in the remainder of the attics this collar has been replaced by a higher nailed collar in order to create more headroom. All the original joints are of pegged mortice-and-tenon form except the feet of the queen-struts, which are not pegged. The queen-struts form the basis for the ashlared side walls of the attic, leaving an unobstructed space in between. All the tie-beams have short scarfed repairs at each end (Drawing 16). The principal rafters are not pegged where they meet, and the common rafters are laid flat over the backs of the single set of unmoulded purlins. The

associated ashlaring, where it has not been renewed, is consistent with the suggested date for the works. It consists of nailed studs, horizontal battens which are generally nailed but sometimes morticed, vertical wattles and daub, with a final coat of limewash. The sills overlie the boards, which are pieced around the queen-struts and fitted together with lapped joints. Some of the ashlaring has a later finish of hair plaster on laths.

The westernmost truss is closed, but is of the same basic form, with studs and rails forming the infill panels, which contain some wattles more than two metres in length. The truss differs from the others in that the tie-beam is not chamfered on the west face. Three studs forming the southern end of the first-floor partition on this line are lapped over the tie-beam with their flush face to the stair. Other closed trusses were not identified, but it is possible that the fourth truss from the west, which in part forms the basis for a partition, and of which very little is visible, was also closed.

The absence of joist mortices in the west face of the westernmost tie-beam respects the position of the stair compartment as widened on the ground floor to its present dimensions. On the ground floor the widening took the form of an L-shaped brick wall, abutting the garderobe turret at a straight joint, but higher up the new walls are of studwork, lath and plaster. Off this remodelled stair a short additional flight must have been constructed rising to the attic. On the first floor there is evidence for the lower portion of this stair, which just cleared the head of the blocked garderobe doorway. Here, attached to a plain axial ceiling beam, is the truncated end of the string (see Fig 42), while on the opposite side the other string is indicated by a plaster patch. The angle of ascent is consistent with a landing level with the base of the doorway into the King's Room. The upper part of the flight remains in use and consists of heavy oak boards or baulks. It leads to a framed-in doorway in the closed truss, identifiable from the higher position of the rail forming its head. Borrowed light for the upper part of the stair was provided by two windows in the partition, one above and one to the south of the doorway (Fig 58). These retain their early (possibly original) diamond-paned leaded glazing, faintly visible through later layers of newspaper, wallpaper and paint.

Fig 58. The doorway to the attics east of the gatehouse. Papered over borrowed lights can be seen above and to the right of the door. (NMR BB032445)

A by-product of the creation of attics was the remodelling of the first floor as a series of less lofty but more fashionably ceiled rooms. The new ceiling is divided by a series of tie-beams and by a single axial beam in each bay, giving large, roughly square compartments. These are chamfered without stops in the same way as the main beams (the rolls are 19th-century embellishments). The joists may have been exposed originally but they are not moulded; they are now underdrawn with plaster laid on reeds. As before, the likely arrangement is two rooms of three bays each flanking a single bay

which probably still contained a stair. The eastern room was slightly smaller. There is no indication of a fireplace position, but there is a single chimney on the east gable which, although 19th-century in its present form, may indicate an earlier flue. The question arises as to whether the stair adjoining the garderobe turret provided access to the western room, in addition to the more generously proportioned stair that is likely to have divided the two rooms. There is evidence that the vice stair was once partitioned off from the first floor. This takes the form of a plaster scar at the south end of the turret for a partition continuing the line of it eastwards.

The priest hole

The priest hole was discovered during the lifetime of the 5th Baronet, probably in the early 1790s, and has long been an object of fascination and speculation.[217] The first published account of it occurs in the second volume of John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, which appeared in 1809:

> In a turret projecting from the east tower, is a curious *hiding-place*, or hollow space, in the wall, measuring about 6 feet long, by 5 feet wide, and 7 in height. The entrance to this dark, and secret recess, is through a small arched closet, wherein is a trap-door, concealed in the pavement. The door is formed of a wooden frame, inclosing bricks, and its centre is fixed on an iron axle; by a forcible pressure on one side, the other end rises, and thus the solitary den, or cell, is disclosed: but the door is so constructed and situated, that it would never be found by accident. 'I apprehend,' observes lady Bedingfeld, 'this hiding-place to have been formed during the persecution of Catholic priests, as many such places of concealment are to be found in old Catholic mansions.' A similar secret recess is said to have been discovered beneath a fire-place, in taking down the buildings on the southern side of the court.[218]

In his *Examples of Gothic Architecture* A. C. Pugin described it as 'a secret recess or cell, just large enough for a man to stand up or lie down in it', and mentioned the entrance 'concealed by a trap-door in the pavement of a closet over it, so ingeniously contrived as not to be visible when shut'. He also repeated Britton's report that 'Another such secret closet is said to have been found under a chimney, when the rooms on the opposite side of the court were pulled down'.[219]

During the 19th century the priest hole was sometimes referred to as the 'dungeon'. Felix Bedingfeld, in a letter to his fiancée in 1848, wrote:

> The day before I came away I went into the dungeon. Over the great gate between the Towers is an enormous room hung with old tapestry and armour and with a bed of which the curtains and counterpane were worked by Mary Queen of Scots and Lady Shrewsbury under whose charge she was. From this room you go into a small octagon closet in one of the towers and thro' this into a small vaulted room. At one end a spring on being touched opens a cavity down which lies a narrow passage leading into a vaulted apartment without windows or light big enough to hold 6 or 7 people. It is coeval with the house and when opened by my father after being closed for years and years, some remains of straw and paper were found in it. Is it not romantic?[220]

The prolonged persecution of the Bedingfelds for their faith understandably bulks large in the histories written by family members, and may have encouraged a less than critical response to supposed evidence of priest holes. Katharine Paston-Bedingfeld, writing in

1936, noted that there was 'an underground passage under the terrace on the north side of the mansion and near the moat, but it is not known where it ends. It might have been constructed to enable a priest to escape from the pursuivants.'[221] She notes, too, that 'There were priests' "hiding-holes" in the hall [i.e. the former great hall] connecting the two wings (demonstrated by Sir Richard in 1790-5)'.[222] It is now impossible to assess the veracity of these claims, though it is worth observing that many so-called priest holes have much more mundane origins.

The essentially practical origins of this small unlit space as a means of lightening the load on lower portions of the garderobe turret are described above (see p.55). The only identifiable modification to the 15th-century structure is the wall dividing the chamber from the garderobe. This is one-and-a-half bricks thick and abuts the original fabric with straight joints. The bricks are not dissimilar, but are laid in a sandier mortar. The wall incorporates two small recesses and a larger one directly under the vault. It is supported on three well finished timbers, two of them chamfered to ease passage beneath the wall, the rear timber pit-sawn with rather crudely cut scroll stops. The garderobe seat consists of a single piece of oak, 76 x 45 x 12cm, built up with an overlying surface of brick set within iron flanges, and pivots within a frame of pegged mortice-and-tenon construction. The bricks are set in what looks like a cement-rich mortar and may have been re-set, but the iron flanges are more convincingly 16th-century.

Other mid to late 16th-century features

Another feature at Oxburgh that can perhaps be assigned to a similar period is a former overmantel for the King's Room fireplace. The chimney breast has a series of roughly square sockets, now blocked in brick. There are two pairs of them flanking the fireplace, and a row of seven extending across a slightly greater width a little over three metres above the floor. These seem to represent the sockets for attaching a substantial overmantel of the type that was popular at the higher social levels from the mid 16th to the early 17th century.[223] The evidence is supplemented by faint paint or plaster shadows on the brickwork. It is possible that the doorways entering the King's Room from east and west are contemporary alterations, and that the creation of the attics coincides with an upgrading and re-planning of the gatehouse lodgings in association with areas of the north range to either side.

Further corroboration for such an interpretation may lie in the form of the studwork partition forming the eastern side of the stair compartment west of the gatehouse. This can be dismissed as an original feature because it overlies the fragment of figurative wallpainting on the south wall. Two studs are exposed inside a later cupboard on the landing between first-floor and attic level, where they are associated with a plaster finish which the late 17th-century stair dado overlies. The refurbishment of the Marian Hangings Room revealed that the studs are 15cm (6in) wide at approximately 30cm (12in) centres and that the infill is of wattle and daub. The infill was limewashed while the studs appear to have been left exposed[224] Wattle and daub cannot be paralleled elsewhere in the Hall after the close of the 16th century, though daub was used in combination with reeds in the mid-18th century rebuilding of the east range.

THE CIVIL WAR AND FIRE

The circumstances leading up to the sequestration of the Bedingfeld estates by Parliament in 1643 have been described above (see Historical Background). Henry Bedingfeld (1582-1657) is said to have been captured by the Parliamentary forces in 1643 while fighting for the King at the siege of King's Lynn, and was imprisoned for a number of years in the Tower of London. Possibly in 1647 fire destroyed the southern half of the east wing of Oxburgh Hall. The effect of the fire is clearly depicted on de Wilstar's 1725 map of Oxborough (see Fig 2), where the damaged portion of the Hall appears as a grassed area, and the damage was not made good until the mid-18th century (see below).

The effects of the fire can also be seen inside the building today. The southernmost roof truss of the surviving northern half of the east range was scorched in the fire but not so badly damaged as to require replacement. The unmoulded southern face of the truss, which is built close to, but not hard against, a stack wall, is burnt in a number of places. These include the apex (visible through a hole broken through the later infilling of the next truss to the north), which has been reinforced with nailed collars of later date.

THE LATE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RENOVATION

Alterations by the 2nd Baronet in the latter part of the 17th century represent the first substantial modernisation of the house, following a prolonged period of neglect and the damage inflicted during the Commonwealth, which included the destruction of half of the east range. Evidence for this phase of work is concentrated in the north-west corner of the courtyard complex, though it may have extended to parts of the building which have subsequently been destroyed or remodelled. A more conventional scheme would almost certainly have seen modernisation concentrated in the first instance in the vicinity of the upper-end accommodation. However, the fire damage to the southern half of the east range had not been repaired, and in the still straitened circumstances of the family the upgrading of existing accommodation may have seemed preferable to the wholesale rebuilding of the damaged portion.

No window openings of this period survive in a recognisable form, but the regular array of windows which the 1774 plan (Fig 5) shows overlooking the moat may in part be the result of contemporary refenestration. The earliest views of Oxburgh provide firmer evidence. Cotman's pencil sketch of 1811 shows two mullion-and-transom 'cross' windows, one on each floor, on the moatside elevation just east of the gatehouse (the ground-floor window was eliminated in the etched version of 1813), and the same windows appear on J. P. Neale's view, as engraved in 1819, together with another window on each floor further to the east. Three of these windows were replaced in the 19th century while the fourth was blocked when Buckler created the large corbelled stack on the moatside elevation. Buckler's own 1820 sketch (Fig 48) shows, albeit less distinctly, a complete set of such windows (three on each floor) east of the gatehouse – indications of what may once have been a much more numerous window type. All three artists agree in depicting steeply pitched brick arches above the flat heads of the ground-floor windows, suggesting that these at least occupied medieval openings.

The survival into the 19th century of these windows east of the gatehouse reflects the low status of this part of the Hall, which made a fashionable appearance unnecessary. The main thrust of the internal remodelling, so far as it survives today, was west of the gatehouse, and it is scarcely probable that this would not have been accompanied by alterations to the fenestration. Early 19th-century views by Cotman and Neale show windows of 18th-century appearance on the north elevation west of the gatehouse, fitted with what appear to be small-paned sashes. The window lighting the north stair has a semicircular head while the others have flat heads. It is likely that some or all of these represent late 17th-century openings re-fashioned to take sashes in the 18th century.

The most visible tokens of the remodelling are two stairs, both probably occupying original (though subsequently altered) stair compartments, one in the west range and one in the north range west of the gatehouse. These appear to have been accompanied by the creation of attics in both ranges, though the evidence differs in each case. The positions of the stairs suggest that much or all of the accommodation north of the original services and west of the gatehouse was remodelled, and some confirmation of this can be drawn from the 1774 plan. Much of this presumed work, however, was swept away in later phases. External details, in particular, have suffered from subsequent remodellings, but one feature probably dates from this period. On the south face of the gatehouse, above the carriageway, a sunk panel has been cut into the original

brickwork. This is occupied by the Bedingfeld crest (a demi-eagle displayed), carved in limestone, and supported by putti.

The ground floor

On the ground floor doorways on both sides of each stair opened into substantial rooms. Of particular importance was a suite of three rooms extending northwards from the west stair, terminating at the present Dining Room in the north range, with doorways arranged *en enfilade* against the west wall. In 1774 these were described (from south to north) as a Breakfast Room, Bedchamber and Library, but the original uses may have differed. The room immediately to the south of the west stair was heated by a large stack that may have been inserted as part of this phase of work. It was removed in the 19th century when the stair compartment was widened on this side, but its position can be identified in the roof-space by the absence of a ridge-brace and the truncated ends of a pair of rafters. Another stack faced into the west range from its present south end. Both are shown on the 1774 plan, which preceded the building of the Saloon, and both project into the rooms from cross-walls, whereas the general pattern for original fireplaces is that they are in the thickness of the moatside walls.

The stairs

The two stairs were probably nearly identical originally, but while that in the north range has retained its dog-leg form, the other has been rebuilt as an open-well stair in a widened compartment (see below, p.129 & Fig 102). Even the north stair has been subject to considerable modification and embellishment and retains substantially its original form only above first-floor level (Figs 59 & 103).

Fig 59. The head of the north stair, from the north. This is the only portion of the two late 17th-century stairs to remain relatively unaltered. (NMR BB032507)

The north stair was contained within studwork partitions, one – to the east – contemporary with it, the other – to the west – retained from the medieval building. That the east partition is not medieval is demonstrated by the fact that at first-floor level it cuts across the early wallpainting on the south wall. Although it does not correspond to one of the trusses of the rebuilt late 17th-century roof it retains a fragment of panelling of this date (see below). The landing between the first floor and the attic cuts across, and resulted in the blocking of, the upper part of the north-facing first-floor window in this bay. The northern ends of both partitions can be examined on this landing, which has been encroached upon by a 19th-century cupboard. The west partition has been rebuilt in blockwork beneath the tie-beam, but a single peg towards the beam's upper edge indicates the position of one of the queen-struts in the roof, and there is a long double-pegged

mortice, probably for a brace, in its soffit. Of the east partition a short length of a rail at the same height as the tie-beam opposite, and two studs (one 11cm wide, with an interval of 32cm between them), are visible. The tie-beam is only 10cm thick and cannot be a tie-beam, unlike that to the west, which is 20cm thick.

On the landing, inside the later cupboard, an undisturbed fragment of the late 17th-century moulded dado survives attached to the east partition.[225] Here and on the attic landing the stair retains square-section newels with ball finials, a close string with a cyma recta moulding, a moulded handrail (mirroring the form of the dado-rail) and twisted balusters incorporating bulbous pedestals. All these timbers are of oak at this level, in contrast to the pine used in the later work, but the balusters appear to have been re-set. The lowest baluster has a vase instead of the twisted section, for which there is insufficient space.

The first floor

On the first floor the stairs are associated with contemporary passages along the courtyard side of both ranges. These opened directly off the stair, without doors. The passage in the west range was re-cast in Gothic form in the 19th century, and only the moulded architrave to the doorway at the north end survives from the earlier period. The passage in the north range, on the other hand, retains some late 17th-century elements east of the stair and vestiges of the same period to the west (Fig 60). To the east it has a moulded dado-rail above which there are painted leather panels while below the panels are bolection-moulded. The scheme is completed by a bold timber cornice originally consisting (from top to bottom) of a large cyma recta, a smaller cyma reversa, an overhanging fascia with a moulded rear edge and inverted pyramids to the soffit, and a small ovolo.[226] This series of mouldings was later extended by an added lower member, which partially overlies both the ovolo and the leather. The cornice respects the more easterly of two transverse chamfered beams spanning the passage, the cyma recta returning along it. The other beam is merely cosmetic and intended to divide the passage ceiling into a regular series of compartments. It does not align with the beam spanning the room to the north, and the cyma extending along it is a crude copy of the original form. This section of passage was lit from the courtyard by a single window, which was formerly either narrower or less widely splayed internally (the present window splays crudely cut the ends of the dado rail, and come right up against the panel mouldings).

Fig 60. The late 17th-century cornice on the first floor of the north range west of the gatehouse. The Gothic wallpaper dates from Buckler's 19th-century work. (NMR BB032506)

At the eastern end of the passage there is a short straight flight rising to the higher first-floor level of the King's Room. The dado rises in keeping with this stair, though the strings and treads are replacements. Headroom was maintained by inserting a large timber, lath and plaster cove above the stair, the structure of which is visible behind the ashlared sides of the attic above. Alterations to the Marian Hangings Room revealed a

small recess under the steps, roughly plastered on the south wall but unplastered to the east (i.e. on the west wall of the gatehouse).[227]

The Marian Hangings Room

The Marian Hangings Room was refurbished in 1997-8 for the display, in controlled conditions, of needlework panels made between 1569 and 1584 by Mary, Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick (Elizabeth Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury). The refurbishment allowed a number of hitherto concealed features to be examined by the National Trust.

The dado-rail in the passage respects the doorway to the room. However, the architrave, consisting of a large ovolo with egg-and-dart enrichment, appears to be re-set (there is a half-egg in the middle of the lintel where two lengths abut, and an outer fascia has also been added). The door has been assembled from disparate pieces and on the passage face incorporates twisted balusters over a cartouche. The partition dividing the room from the passage has been close-boarded over lath and plaster.

The west side of the room was formed by a studwork partition apparently inserted at some time during the 16th or early 17th century (see above). The transverse beam to the east, which continues the line of that in the passage, probably formed the eastern limit of the room, and two axial beams to its west are contemporary with it. If so, the room must have been extended eastwards at a relatively early date, when two short axial beams were also inserted. The western transverse beam is in fact three beams of composite nature (the chamfers are formed from applied timbers) designed to produce a more or less regular series of compartments within the enlarged room. The soffit rolls are 19th-century additions as, perhaps, are the composite beams; the cornice, which respects the enlarged room volume, may be a mixture of two phases, but is currently difficult to inspect closely owing to the present needlework display. The room was heated by a fireplace on the north wall, now concealed, but implied by the position of a ground-floor fireplace shown on the 1774 plan. The flues were carried across to the gatehouse where they were served by the two western stacks.

The present east wall, when exposed by the National Trust in 1997-8, proved to be plastered and to retain traces of old nails and fragments of textile and possibly leather.[228] Similar evidence was found on the earlier west wall.

The North Room and adjoining passage

West of the stair the wall finishes, including the cornice, are principally of the 19th century. However, the moulded dado-rail, which is more elaborate than that east of the stair, is oddly recessed in the present panelling, and probably survives from the late 17th-century scheme. The small window in the courtyard wall has a moulded sunk-panelled soffit respecting earlier, less pronounced splays. There is a bolection-moulded panel above the doorway opening off the west end, and both this doorway and another opening southwards have contemporary moulded architraves resting on plinth blocks. A relatively small room opened off the passage to the north, alongside the stair. Partly appropriated by the North Room and partly subdivided, this retains no features of the late 17th century. The present doorway has been moved westwards, judging by a pieced-in length of dado-rail on the passage side and a hollow-sounding patch edged by a plaster scar facing the room.

At the western end of the passage another doorway gave directly onto a room forming the western end of the north range, its eastern wall in line with the partition defining the passage in the west range, and thus leaving space for one passage to run into the other.

This eastern wall was later removed, with the exception of the short length incorporating the doorway off the passage, to create the present North Room (Fig 61). In the 19th century a lobby was created within the room in order to provide a new way into the adjoining Boudoir in the west range. While the room itself was remodelled to provide a consistent decorative scheme for the enlarged volume, the lobby retains two lengths of timber cornice matching that in the passage east of the stair. One length lines up with a ceiling scar spanning the North Room from north to south immediately east of the present fireplace and indicating the line of the removed wall. Characteristically for the period, the room was probably heated by a fireplace in the north-west corner. No trace of this remains within the room, where the ceiling plaster has been renewed along with the floor-boards towards the west end, but behind the ashlaring on the north side of the attic there are the remains of a smoke-blackened flue in this position, raking across to the stack on the west gable. The flue post-dates the west gable, but appears to be

Fig 61. The North Room viewed from the south-west. The ceiling scar parallel to, and just in front of, the bed indicates a removed wall. The bolection-moulded fireplace has been re-set and the overmantel is a composite of various dates, once placed in the Fetterlock Room. (NMR BB032504)

respected by the joists associated with the late 17th-century creation of the attics (see below). A corner fireplace position would have permitted windows to both the north and the west. The present bolection-moulded fireplace with scagliola decoration is of late 17th-century form, and may have been repositioned midway along the north wall when the room was enlarged towards the east in the 19th century. The carved wooden overmantel has the date 1522 on the central shield but 1658 on the cornice. It is a

composite of various dates, probably assembled in the early to mid-19th century, when it adorned a chimneypiece in the Fetterlock Room (see Fig 84). Matilda Bedingfeld's view of the North Room shows a mirror in its place.

Rooms in the west range

The first-floor rooms of the west range have no visible features of the late 17th century, though it is possible that some of the partitions – including those of the passage – are of this date. The northernmost room, fitted out as a boudoir in the 19th century with altered arrangements for access, was formerly entered from the passage, where a blocked doorway is identifiable as a plaster patch. The elongated room to the south was formerly two rooms, each with an entrance from the passage, the division being marked now by a full-width segmental arch. The relative proportions of the two rooms suggest a bedroom and adjacent dressing room, but their relative positions, with the dressing room closer to the stair, are at odds with the normal late 17th-century practice of placing dressing rooms beyond bedrooms, sometimes with service access from a back stair.

The attics

As already discussed, the north range attics east of the gatehouse appear to have been the first to be created, and no evidence was found to indicate that attics existed elsewhere at the same time. The attics in the west wing can be dated to the late 17th century because of their association with the two stairs of that date. Those in the east range appear to have been created only in the 18th century, and are discussed later.

The north range west of the gatehouse

The roof trusses west of the gatehouse are of clasped-purlin form, as in the earlier roof to the east, but there are significant differences between the two roofs. Seven trusses divide the roof into eight bays, dispensing with the end-trusses employed to the east, and disregarding the bay structure implied by the stair compartment. The trusses (Drawing 14) have rafters of the same depth as the common rafters, though greater in width, and they neither diminish, nor are they notched over the backs of the purlins. There are two sets of purlins, the lighter upper set clasped by a full collar while the heavier lower set are clasped by stubs tenoned into queen-struts – as to the east, though the stubs are a little longer. The common rafters are pegged to the purlins. The carpenters' marks are short and chiselled, rather than long and scratched, characteristics which suggest a post-medieval date; the differ-marks are consistently on the north slope but the numbering of the trusses is not consecutive. The floor is boarded across the full width, and there is some evidence (e.g. at the west end of the north roof slope) that the rafters were underdrawn in lath and plaster down to the wall-tops. The ashlar-pieces forming the side walls are tenoned and pegged at the rafters, however, and although they rest on sill-plates which overlie the boards it is likely that this is an early, if not original, arrangement, the structural details of which merely reflect the order of assembly. The ashlar-pieces are covered with lath and plaster throughout and there is no occurrence of wattle and daub.

The attic floor is carried by hardwood beams and joists, except in the westernmost bay where the joists have been replaced in softwood. West of the stair only, a second set of lighter joists carry the first-floor ceiling, giving it a fashionably beamless appearance below and also providing sound insulation between a suite of relatively high-status apartments and the lower-status attic rooms. The boards have been renewed towards the western end of the attics, but between these and the stair counter-boards overlie

what are probably the originals and some of these (approximately 30cm or 12in wide) are exposed behind the ashlaring. West of the stair the original boards are laid transversely, but to the east boards of similar width are laid axially in all but the easternmost bay. This reflects the structure of ceiling beams over what is now the Marian Hangings Room, which includes two axial beams. In the easternmost bay the pattern reverts to axial boards.

The attic accommodation consisted of two rooms west of the stair and one to the east. None of them was heated originally. The partitions defining the stair compartment and dividing the two rooms to the west appear to be undisturbed since the late 17th century. The three doorways all have a simple cyma reversa moulding set almost flush with the plaster on the side facing towards the stair and a plain rebate on the opposite face. Of the two doorways off the stair, that to the east retains its original door. This is of two cyma-reversa moulded sunk panels. The door to the western room, by contrast, is plainer, consisting of two plain sunk panels. Both are hung on undisturbed H-hinges with shaped terminals. In the room immediately west of the stair an original dormer position can be identified overlooking the courtyard, the evidence being an unpegged lap-joint on the principal rafter spanning the room, and an absence of mortices for ashlar-pieces on a series of common rafters to the east. There is also some lath and plaster left on the east face of the truss. In the room to the east of the stair, cracking in the plaster suggests either a large door-like blocking or a blocked recess in the centre of the wall formed by the gatehouse. Since the attic floor does not correspond to one of the storey levels within the gatehouse, the origin of this feature is unclear.

There is some evidence that the easternmost bay was floored at a later date than the rest of the attic. There is a break in the floorboards on the line of the attic floor beam defining this bay, and behind the ashlaring on the south side it is apparent that the joists in this bay are different in character from those further west. They vary considerably in scantling, and a number are re-used joists or studs. They have never been boarded over behind the southern ashlaring, the sills resting directly on the joists, which are deeper to compensate for the absence of boards. On the west face of the truss there are numerous nails suggesting the removal of a lath-and-plaster partition, though they are not apparent behind the ashlaring to the north, where the joists are boarded in the normal fashion. East of the truss the ashlar-pieces are generally not pegged at the rafters, though there are two exceptions to this rule, closest to the truss on the north side. One possibility is that the truss defines a stair compartment to the east, or perhaps just in the southern half of this bay. If so, it was still in use when the attics were created. This would be consistent with the existence of an entrance to the King's Room here prior to the late 17th-century alterations, and might explain the need for a substantial window in the north wall of this bay, and the pains taken in the construction of the gatehouse to avoid impairing it. Evidence from the ground floor may have been obscured by the current fitting out of this area (the former Billiard Room) as a shop.

The west range

Evidence for the creation of attics in the west range at this period is much scantier owing to the extent of later remodelling (see pp.150-51), though the form of the west stair presupposes their existence. Although the present ashlaring is of early 20th-century date the presence of many re-used studs hints at an earlier history. The original arch-braced open trusses constricted movement to some degree but were otherwise well-suited to the insertion of an attic floor.

THE EARLY TO MID EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Documentary evidence for a series of works in the early 18th century is scanty and the few allusions to it that have been identified are all much later in date. There is, however, ample – though in places fragmentary – evidence for a number of alterations which pre-date the better-documented work of the 1770s and which, on stylistic grounds, must post-date the late 17th-century campaign described above. The impetus for these changes is likely to have come from the marriage, in 1719, of the 3rd Baronet, Henry Arundell Bedingfeld (1689-1760), to Lady Elizabeth Boyle (d.1757), sister of the gentleman-architect Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), but the evidence suggests that change was episodic and prolonged over as much as three decades. The purpose of the changes was variously to produce a more impressive approach to the Hall, modernise the appearance of the principal rooms, improve the service accommodation, and make good the losses of the Interregnum. Though much of what was done was later swept away the collective impact of these changes was very considerable.

Between 1722 and 1725, judging by the maps of those dates, a new formal approach to the Hall was created, named the New Road. The final section of the New Road led southwards to the gatehouse, and it is likely to have been accompanied by the rebuilding of the bridge across the moat. Family tradition has long attributed the bridge to Lord Burlington, together with a small former building (perhaps a summerhouse) in My Lady's Wood, known as Lady Betty's Chapel.[229] Less easy to date are the cellars created in the surviving portion of the east range, though there are indications that they pre-date the reinstatement of the fire-damaged range around 1750. Alterations to the former upper-end accommodation have left only fragmentary remains *in situ* but can probably be associated with three re-set Palladian chimneypieces, which are likely to date from the 1730s or 1740s. One of the chimneypieces is likely to have originated in the great hall, which Blomefield and Parkin, writing probably around 1750, described as having been 'lately very agreeably ornamented and improved'.[230] A more extensive refitting of the principal rooms than is now apparent, including the fitting of sash windows, is suggested by early 19th-century views, which show them to have existed on the north elevation west of the gatehouse. Other elevations may have been treated similarly. Finally, tree-ring dating suggests that the missing southern bays of the east range were rebuilt in or shortly after 1748.

The bridge

The present brick bridge across the moat, leading through the gatehouse, dates from the first half of the 18th century and was probably built in the 1720s (Fig 62). The original bridge may have incorporated a lifting section, though not necessarily as portrayed in a number of romantic 19th-century depictions. The present fixed bridge is said to have been designed by Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), to whom it was attributed as early as the 1820s.[231]

Fig 62. The bridge traditionally attributed to Lord Burlington, from the north-west. (NMR BB032390)

The bridge consists of three segmental arches, turned in brick with narrow square shafts projecting between the arches. The shafts rise to a raised band above which there is a brick parapet with an oversailing limestone coping in the form of shallow crenellations. Piers at the northern ends of the parapets are also of brick but have limestone dressings in the form of a coping and vertical stone strips at each angle. Ramped abutments extend east and west of the piers. In essentials the bridge seems unaltered from that shown by Buckler in 1820, though there has been some repointing and possibly more extensive repairs.

The creation of the cellars

The creation of the cellars in the northern portion of the east range is difficult to date precisely. They were present by 1774 and there are some indications that they pre-date the rebuilding of the southern portion of the range *c*1750. Conceivably, the cellars are as early as the late 17th century, but this seems unlikely. Inserting cellars in a building surrounded by water posed particular problems. The full height of the cellars could not be obtained by excavating alone, so they were formed through a mixture of excavation and raising the level of the ground floor, with the result that the latter became little more than a mezzanine level, fit only for low-status uses. In the absence of good stylistic dating evidence, the supposition that the cellars pre-date the work of *c*1750 centres on the evidence for fireplaces in the brick cross-wall which divides the northern and southern portions of the range. To the north of this wall the positions of the fireplaces on both floors are offset towards the east to respect a stair compartment the principal function of which was originally to serve the southern portion of the range. On the ground floor, however, a recess to the west of the fireplace, now used as a cupboard, has the characteristics of an abandoned fireplace, and is placed centrally between the courtyard and moatside walls. This suggests that the ground floor had already been raised before the stair compartment was inserted.

The cellars (Drawings 9 & 10) would have provided cool, dark storage conditions for wine, beer and possibly other perishable items. The choice of position may have been influenced by the dilapidation and partial isolation of the remaining part of the east range after the fire, but may also have capitalised on its relative proximity to the reception rooms to the south. The cellars consist of three bays, the north and south bays vaulted transversely, the central bay vaulted axially to the east of a central axial division. The western half of this bay is currently inaccessible and its form can only be assumed to resemble that of the other cellar rooms, which have segmental brick vaults springing either from inserted brick walls or from brick skins applied to pre-existing walls. The southern bay forms by far the largest of the cellar rooms (Fig 63). It was entered from the courtyard via a doorway broken through the courtyard wall, the position of which

Fig 63. The large transverse cellar room from the south-west, showing the blocked fireplace (?) in the end wall. (NMR BB032446)

required the construction of a small separately vaulted lobby in the south-west corner of the cellar in order to provide sufficient headroom. The low brick walls lining the north, south and east sides of the room were probably for stillage. The only light was provided by a small window piercing the otherwise blocked-up fireplace in the moatside wall.

The small eastern cellar of the central bay has centrally placed doorways to north and south and similar evidence for stillage to either side. It is currently un-lit, but the doorway at the northern end, which has been narrowed, provides borrowed light. At the southern end there are indications of a former door frame.

The northern cellar has a floor level three steps higher than the cellars just discussed, and only three steps lower than the present ground-floor level of those parts of the east range unaffected by the cellars. It also stops about 1.6m short of the courtyard wall. This allowed for a former stair rising eastwards against the north wall from a doorway opening off the courtyard, as shown on the 1774 plan. The cellar was lit by a small window in the moatside wall. There is some evidence for a narrow blocked opening at the eastern end of the north wall, where the 1774 plan shows a doorway beneath the stair landing, communicating with the north range.

The presumed western cellar of the central bay was not seen. An original doorway in the courtyard wall is the likely point of access, and roughly coincides with an entrance shown on the 1774 plan (which at this point appears to show the cellar arrangement rather than the raised ground floor). An entrance here would have required a sub-vault to maintain headroom when descending from ground level if the cellar were vaulted axially as its twin to the east is; a transverse vault would make for a less constricted entrance, but the room is perhaps too wide for this arrangement. There is no evidence for internal communication with the other cellar rooms, a circumstance which renders it potentially secure enough to serve as a wine cellar.

The ground-floor rooms, which as a result of these changes were now raised above the cellars, were reached by a brick stair at the northern end of the east range. The stair was reached via an inserted doorway in the western wall and the 1774 plan shows it to have been positioned against the north range. At an unknown date it was replaced by another on the south side of the same compartment, which otherwise served as a lobby giving access to the northern cellar. This brick stair is now concealed but its form is recorded in an undated 20th-century photograph.[232] It has treads formed by bricks laid on edge and consists of a quarter winder turn followed by a short straight flight, and has a simple timber newel, hand-rail and string, probably of later date. The position of the stair links the use of the ground-floor rooms with that of the north range east of the gatehouse, and its brick construction – at this late date – confirms its service function.

The remodelled upper end and great hall

Visible evidence for a remodelling of the upper-end accommodation prior to the major works of the 1770s is confined to the eastern moatside elevation of what Tasker turned into the south-east pavilion (Fig 64). A portion of the north wall may also be of this date but it is concealed on both sides by internal finishes. This limited evidence can be amplified somewhat by reference to the 1774 plan.

The stratigraphy of the south-east pavilion, and of the tower which was raised in the 19th century on its eastern portion, is particularly complex. As already mentioned the pavilion

incorporates some 15th-century brickwork, although only a small area – on the east elevation immediately north of the 19th-century bay window – remains exposed. Tasker's two pavilions of the late 1770s are characterised by brickwork in Flemish bond but on the east elevation of the south-east pavilion this overlies earlier brickwork in English bond, which enfolds and post-dates the fragment of 15th-century work. English bond occurs on the upper stage of the plinth and rises some 60 courses above it – or a little higher than Tasker's plat-band. At the northern end of the elevation a further ten courses of the one-and-a-half brick thick north return are visible, defined to the south by the jamb of a former window, and topped by a fragment of contemporary plat-band four courses deep (Tasker's lower and more delicate plat-bands have just three courses). The English bond extends horizontally right across the east elevation of the pavilion and a ragged joint with Tasker's brickwork is still apparent at the southern extremity. At the northern end the brickwork continues beyond the upper wall of the pavilion for a distance of 98cm, ending with a neatly closed corner. This projection, which stops a little short of the 60 courses mentioned above, appears to have formed a buttress, and was necessitated by the absence, owing to fire, of the southern portion of the east range.

Fig 64. The junction between the south-east tower, as rebuilt in the 19th century, and the remainder of the east range, showing the surviving evidence for 18th-century sash windows to the right of the 19th-century bay window. (NMR BB032399)

The extent to which the former upper-end accommodation was remodelled in the early 18th century is unclear, though it seems likely that the exterior walls were substantially rebuilt. The 1774 plan shows two main blocks, the eastern one continuing the line of the east range and extending a little further north than the western block. The resulting stepped alignment of the north wall survives today. In the re-entrant a small square block with an entrance from the courtyard is shown. Only about 2.7m (9ft) square internally it apparently functioned as a porch and informal family entrance, obviating the need to pass through the great hall. The western block adjacent to the hall contained a single ground-floor room, described as the Dining Room in 1774. It was heated by a fireplace on the spine wall. To the east the ground floor was taken up by two Drawing Rooms, one south-facing, the other east-facing and backing onto a passage which was probably created only when the fire-damaged portion of the east range was reinstated around 1750. The Drawing Rooms were divided by a wall incorporating back-to-back

chimney breasts, an arrangement which was confirmed by the discovery of footings in the excavation of 1983.[233] The absence of a stair in this area of the house is striking and it is possible that one has been omitted from the plan. The nearest stairs shown are off the screens passage (requiring a gallery in the upper part of the great hall if it were to serve bedrooms in the former upper end) and in the northern portion of the east range, which was severed from the upper end until the southern portion was rebuilt. It is possible that the newel stair posited for the 15th-century phase continued in use; this, it was argued above, may have occupied the turret which the 1774 plan shows functioning as a porch.

Two window positions associated with the English bond brickwork can be identified in the east elevation, one on the ground floor and the other on the first floor. The former corresponds to the more northerly of two windows lighting the northern Drawing Room, which Buckler recorded in his 1820 sketch. This window was blocked (and its twin was lost) when the large bay window was inserted in 1860. The north jamb is neatly formed with queen-closers set back from the reveal, and at its top the angled springing for a former flat arch or lintel can be seen. The south jamb is more roughly formed: bricks with pronounced diagonal hack-marks are keyed into the surviving 15th-century brickwork, and there are no closers. A faint indication of the other springer suggests that the south jamb may result from a slight widening of the window in the later 18th or early 19th century. The tall, narrow proportions of the opening suggest that it was intended for a sash window. An ostensibly similar pair of south-facing windows is shown on the 1774 plan lighting the other Drawing Room. The Dining Room was also lit from the south but here a tripartite window form is indicated; given the suggested date it is likely that it had a Venetian form.[234]

The only first-floor window for which there is evidence, as already mentioned, is indicated by a straight joint at the northern end of the east elevation, against the north return. The placing of the window so close to the corner is surprising (it might be expected to align with the window below), as is its relationship to the plat-band, which is a third of the way up the jamb rather than at first-floor level. The south jamb and head were lost in Tasker's remodelling, which placed a single (probably taller) window in the centre of the elevation, as depicted by Buckler.

Three chimneypieces

Three high-quality chimneypieces at Oxburgh, all of them re-set, are likely to have originated in the south range. One is in the former Kitchen (now the Tea Room) at the eastern end of the north range; one is in the Drawing Room in the west range; and the third is in the Fetterlock Room on the first floor of the south-west pavilion. The first two are based on designs which were reproduced in influential pattern books published in the 1730s and 1740s while the third incorporates elements which can be paralleled less exactly in the same sources. Together they demonstrate the Palladian character of the mid-18th-century work at Oxburgh – a period which has received little attention in previous accounts of the house – and something of its quality and extent. It is tempting to associate them with Lord Burlington, in view of the association by marriage which the Bedingfelds enjoyed, but the patterns were widely imitated.

The large chimneypiece in the former Kitchen (Fig 65) is executed in clunch and is an amalgam, without the overmantel, of two designs, one believed in the 18th century to be by Inigo Jones (1573-1652), the other by William Kent (1685-1748). Both were published by Isaac Ware in 1733 and, with minor variations, by Batty Langley in 1745.

Fig 65. The present kitchen fireplace, probably originating in the great hall. (NMR BB032440)

Fig 66. A comparable but less ornate fireplace in the entrance hall at Lydiard Park, Swindon.

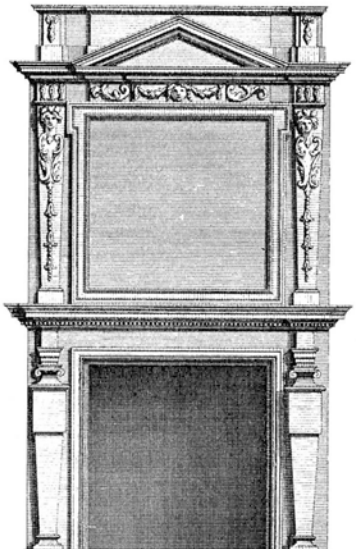


Fig 67 (above left). Chimneypiece design published by Isaac Ware (1733).

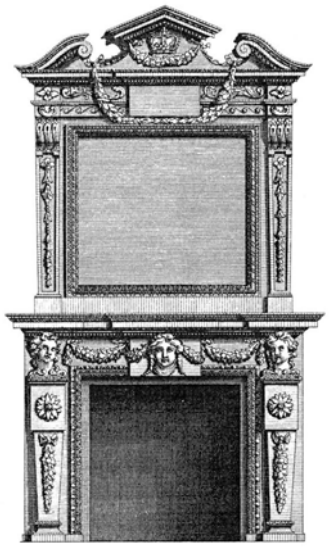


Fig 68 (above right). Chimneypiece design published by Isaac Ware (1733), after William Kent.

The design which Ware and Langley attributed to Jones (Figs 67 & 68) was in fact a sophisticated early 17th-century chimneypiece by the King's Sculptor, Maximilian Colt, for which Jones merely designed the overmantel when it was relocated in Somerset House.[235] It has Ionic terms each carrying a full Ionic entablature. As rendered by both Jones and his popularisers it is moulded without enrich-ment, except for the dentils of the cornice. A chimneypiece based on this design alone was used by Lord Burlington for a bedchamber at his villa in Chiswick (1726),[236] but another at Lydiard Park, Lydiard Tregoze, Swindon, dating from the 1740s, is located in the entrance hall and is accompanied by a pedimented overmantel (Fig 66). The Kent design (Fig 68) from which the Kitchen chimneypiece draws elements also has terms, but they have female heads, and both the tapering portion and the rectangular block which rests upon it are embellished with a floral drop and a floret respectively. A further female head adorns a raised central panel on the frieze and there are swags in the intervals between the heads. The cornice projects at all three heads.[237] Oxburgh's chimneypiece combines elements of both designs. The terms are without human attributes or volutes, the tapering shaft is panelled and the rectangular block is shorted to form a square, which is sunk-panelled and contains a floret on the front face. A series of enrichments are applied to the mouldings of the terms, including cross-banded bay-leaf to the imposts, bead-and-reel and egg-and-dart, but the cornice lacks even the

dentils of both originals. The cornice projects more strongly at the terms than at the central panel, which is adorned with a female head and scrolls of leaves terminating in rosettes. The Kitchen chimneypiece is the most substantial of the three discussed here. Both its overall scale (sufficient to accommodate a large late 19th-century cooking range with the loss of only the inner surround) and the relatively crude enrichments suggest that it was originally designed for a large room – probably the great hall.

Fig 69 (above). The Drawing Room fireplace. (NMR BB032483)

Fig 70 (right). A comparable chimneypiece in one of the bedrooms at Lydiard Park, Swindon.

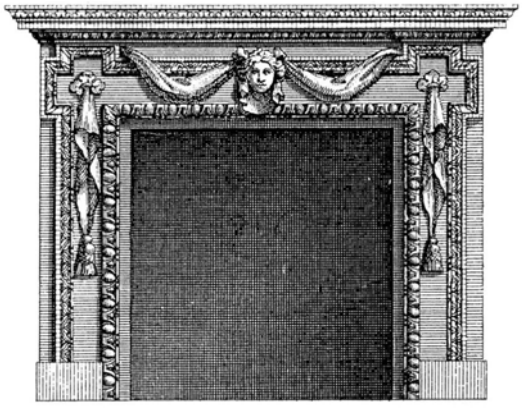


Fig 71. Chimneypiece design published by Isaac Ware (1733).

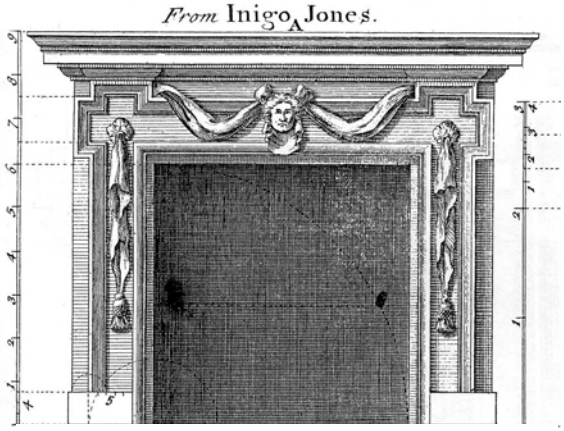


Fig 72. Chimneypiece design published by Batty Langley (1744).

The Drawing Room chimneypiece (Fig 69) is more appropriately re-used in its present setting, and may have originated in a similar room, though an almost identical chimneypiece at Lydiard Park (Fig 70) is found in one of the bedchambers. It has a shouldered surround, festoons and tasselled drops, and a woman's head in bold relief in

the centre of the frieze, and its origins lie in a design which Ware (Fig 71) and Langley (Fig 72) attributed to Inigo Jones.[238] It can also be paralleled at Lydiard Park, in one of the bedchambers, where the design, coupled with an overmantel the source for which lies elsewhere, is associated with a remodelling carried out between 1742 and 1746 under the direction (it is now believed) of the architect Roger Morris.[239] There is, however, no very close correlation with any of Jones's designs. The nearest, dated 1636, is a chimneypiece he copied from an unknown French designer.[240]

The third chimneypiece is found in the Fetterlock Room on the first floor of the south-west pavilion. It has large console brackets halfway up the sides and a bayleaf-enriched, cross-banded, pulvinated frieze beneath a dentilled cornice (see Fig 84). These features seem to have been re-set around a late 18th-century chimneypiece with simple sunk-panelled pilasters and a grey marble slip. The consoles can be paralleled in a design published by James Gibbs in 1732.[241]

The reinstatement of the east range, *c*1750

Comparison of early maps of Oxborough with the plan taken before the destruction of the great hall indicates that between 1725 and 1774 the fire-damaged southern portion of the east range was entirely rebuilt (Fig 73). As a result of the recent tree-ring dating of the roof timbers in this area the work can now be dated to 1748 or shortly afterwards,[242] placing the work towards the end of the life of the 3rd Baronet. Stylistic considerations, coupled with reasonable inferences about the way in which the building would have functioned as a result of the rebuilding, indicate that the reconstruction of the southern half was accompanied by modifications to the northern half. These included the provision of a stair occupying the south-west corner of the northern portion, the principal function of which was to serve the rebuilt southern portion of the range. Following not many years after the remodelling of the former upper end, this work increased the sleeping accommodation accessible from the same area of the house, and may be seen as an attempt to restore the social centre of gravity to its traditional focus. There may, however, have been a wider building campaign. Early 19th-century views of the north elevation by Cotman and Neale show, to the west of the gatehouse, sashed windows similar to those described below,

Fig 73. The moatside elevation of the rebuilt portion of the east range. The mullioned windows date from a the 19th-century remodelling. (NMR BB032398)

including a tall semicircular-headed window lighting the north stair. Some traces of these windows remain.[243]

The exterior

Of the mid-18th-century walls of the east range only the ground floor survived the 19th-century remodelling of Oxburgh largely intact. The external evidence for this phase is therefore confined largely to the moatside elevation, the courtyard wall being concealed by plaster inside the later arcade. In the 18th-century rebuilding any surviving 15th-century walls were reduced to the level of the plinth, and the new east and west walls, which are typically 49-52cm (1ft 8in) thick, were much thinner than those they replaced, resting at their base on a raised plinth of their own. The east wall, which is constructed in English bond, stops 98cm short of the south-east pavilion, where it abuts the earlier 18th-century buttress to the remodelled upper end. Five courses of paler-coloured brick at first-floor level suggest that it originally incorporated a plat-band, which oversailed a little more than half the projection of the suggested buttress, though Buckler's 1820 sketch does not record the feature.

The wall retains evidence for three original ground-floor windows overlooking the moat, all with the tall proportions indicative of sash windows. The two southern examples have flat brick arches. Of the two, that to the south is indicated only by the arch, a wider 19th-century window having taken its place. That to the north is blocked and in addition to the head both jambs can be seen, one of them cut into by a 19th-century cruciform loop. The next window to the north is taller; it has a semicircular brick arch and retains a later double-hung hornless sash with slender glazing bars. The base of the opening was originally below the top of the plinth. Close to the northern end of the rebuilt wall there is another 19th-century cruciform loop flanked by earlier jambs with brick closers, indicating the position of a small low window depicted on the 1774 plan. This lit a small cellar room, later the Boot Room. All four windows are differentiated in Buckler's sketch.

Serpentine tie-rod spreaders visible on the moatside elevation may date from the 19th-century rebuilding (others in a similar style are certainly 19th-century) but they indicate the presence of six concealed beams, including one at either end of the rebuilt portion. These beams may date from the mid-18th-century work though the suggested pattern of five structural bays is not reflected in the six-bay roof structure, described below. The new ground-floor ceiling was slightly higher than that in the surviving northern portion of the range, but the first-floor rooms were correspondingly less lofty. The spreaders are associated with a four-course band of paler brick which may indicate a removed plat-band. Above it the brickwork is of a browner colour, though repeating the English bond of the ground-floor brickwork. It has the appearance of dating from a later rebuilding, but the moulded brick Costessey windows are clearly insertions and the impression of phased development appears to be misleading.[244]

The ground floor

Few 18th-century features survive inside the ground floor, and the layout depicted on the 1774 plan has been largely swept away in 19th-century alterations. The plan shows a large Bedchamber at the southern end, corresponding to the two flat-arched windows, and a smaller Dressing Room to the north, served by the arched window, both linked by a passage along the west wall. The Bedchamber was heated by a fireplace on the south wall. This survives, with a later chimneypiece, but a doorway, placed against the moatside wall and linking this room to the Drawing Room on the south, is now blocked.

The wall dividing the Bedchamber from the Dressing Room, and another forming the west wall of the Dressing Room and incorporating a stack, have been removed, and are now apparent only as scars in the plaster ceiling. These confirm that the Dressing Room occupied only about half the width of the range. Behind it there was a passage providing service access. Throughout the length of the rebuilt portion a passage extended, as now, along the courtyard wall. The passage partition incorporates a joggle corresponding to a later subdivision of the Bedchamber and a southwards rise in floor level, but south of the joggle the partition is probably of 18th century date. The door and architrave are modern imitations of 18th-century style, however.

The northernmost bay of the rebuilt portion is shown on the 1774 plan divided into a number of very small spaces, of which the easternmost was reached from the Dressing Room. The north and west walls of this space are shown containing what appear to be a number of flues, as now.

The first floor

Access to the first floor was via a stair occupying the south-west corner of the surviving northern portion of the east range. A further stair may have occupied a turret-like projection on the north side of the original parlour, occupying much the same position, though on a smaller footprint, than the present main stair in this area. However, the 1774 plan does not show a stair here. The surviving stair to the north (Fig 74) has been altered in connection with the subsequent refurbishment of the first-floor rooms at this end of the range, where the first floor is at a lower level. It was originally of dog-leg form, rising northwards and returning towards the south via what was probably a half-landing. It has a close string, square-section newels with moulded caps running into the moulded handrail, and nailed Tuscan balusters incorporating a square knop over a vase. At the top of the risers there is a cavetto moulding under the nosing of the treads; this feature is absent from the present winders, which date from the alteration to the stair. When this occurred the associated newel was raised and the original balusters from the lower part of the return flight were re-used in the landing balustrade, where they can be identified from the presence of triangular inserts at the bases. The upper end of the return flight survives *in situ*, complete with cavetto mouldings but with a secondary newel at its foot, and links the different floor levels of the north and south portions of the east range.

Fig 74. The stair in the rebuilt portion of the east range, from the south-east. (NMR BB032452)

The original form of the stair underlines the fact that it was intended principally to serve first-floor rooms towards the south. Rooms to the north could be reached only circuitously, by passing first through the room to the east of the stair, and this must be an

Fig 75 (top). One of the first-floor bedrooms in the rebuilt east range, from the north-west. (NMR BB032460)

Fig 76 (centre). The passage along the west side of the east range, from the north. (NMR BB032459)

Fig 77 (bottom). The low-ceilinged room created by the insertion of the cellars in the northern half of the east range. (NMR BB032449)

indication that rooms to the north were of much lower status. The rooms to the south form a suite of three relatively modest bedchambers for family or guests, none of them with dressing rooms. A passage along the courtyard wall (Fig 76) provides access. It is possible that there were originally just two rooms – a large one to the north and a smaller one to the south – though all three have contemporary doors. These have two plain sunk panels to the room but four rather squat moulded sunk panels to the passage, and are hung on flush-fitted I-L hinges. However, the present north and south rooms share a number of features which are absent from the central room, suggesting that it may have been partitioned off at a later date. The other two retain beaded frames on which a simple cyma reversa moulding has been planted, but the central doorway has a 20th-century replacement and lacks an architrave inside the room. The north and south rooms both have fireplaces with distinctive heavy square imposts, key-block and bases (Fig 75), whereas the central room has a mid to late 19th-century corner fireplace. No features in the central room are demonstrably of 18th-century date except the cornice, which may have been reproduced in facsimile on the partition wall. The moulding of the cornice is the same in the central and northern rooms, suggesting that these were originally one. The cornice in the southern room is slightly different.

The construction of the new stair had an impact on rooms in the northern portion of the east range. The ground- and first-floor rooms immediately adjoining the stair were provided with small fireplaces on the south wall, roughly central to the reduced width of the rooms. These have lugged ovolo-

moulded surrounds. The first-floor room has the same applied cyma reversa moulding to both the doorway opening off the foot of the new stair, and another opening onto an angled passage leading north-westwards, forming the circuitous link referred to already.[245] The re-hung door in the latter position is of three sunk panels – two vertical panels above one horizontal panel. On the room face only a narrow channel separates them and the bottom panel is moulded. The orientation of this passage suggests another extending along the courtyard wall, and there is evidence that this returned westwards in the north range. The diagonal trend of the passage points to a former closet or cupboard closing the north-south passage at its south end, where it was blocked by the inserted stair.

The attic and roof

From the first floor a further straight flight rose northwards to attic level, emerging in the southernmost bay of the northern portion, which retains its late 15th-century roof. The flight is boxed in on the first floor, with a doorway incorporating an ovolo, fascia and angle-bead architrave. The stair and associated landing occupied the western half of the bay, and were formerly partitioned off against the east side of the stair, with a doorway opening into the room so formed from the head of the stair. This partition was later replaced by a balustrade, but the positions of the door-posts can be identified on the floor. Immediately north of this doorway there is a transverse partition, not corresponding to one of the original trusses but extending from one ashlared side to the other. The partition is built up on top of the attic floor-boards, in the normal manner, and incorporates a collar which is bird's-mouthed over the purlins. Studs below the collar may rest in shallow mortices on the floor (they do not appear to be nailed), but are lapped and nailed at the collar. The studs above the collar are skew-nailed at both ends. All the studs are of hardwood, and the original infill, which is largely intact, consists of daub on reeds, the reeds held in place by laths laid over them and nailed to the studs. The ashlaring northwards from the partition also has daub infill. The doorway in the partition, placed in line with the stair, has the same ovolo-fascia-bead architrave on its north face as occurs at the stair-foot.

The space to the north of the transverse partition, occupying about two-and-three-quarter bays of the original roof, appears to have been divided in two by a partition on the line of the second truss from the north. This partition has been removed, but the stud positions can be identified from a series of nailed lap-joints on the north face of the collar and from shallow mortices in the floor-boards. The spacing of the studs suggests a door position a little to the west of centre. In the bay to the north there is a substantial area of new floor-boards to the west and the common rafters on this side have been renewed in softwood. There is consequently no evidence for a former dormer position to the west, but to the east a roughly central dormer is suggested by two truncated common rafters, one of them pegged to the purlin, and some timbers forming the cheeks of the dormer. In the larger room to the south of the removed partition the two existing 19th-century dormers replace earlier dormers. That to the west is indicated by a surviving cheek and a truncated common rafter, pegged to the purlin (another truncated rafter has been spiked to the purlin). On the east side another truncated and pegged common rafter can be identified; the present dormer here appears to be an enlargement towards the south, and a similar sequence may explain the different treatment of the truncated rafter ends on the opposite side.

A further, axial, partition, now removed, extended southwards from a point immediately east of the doorway in the surviving partition, and probably ran as far as the brick cross-

wall dividing the original half of the east range from the rebuilt half. It too incorporated a doorway at its northern end, opening directly off the stair-head and indicated in the floor-boards by mortices for the door-posts. It created a landing around three sides of the stair trap, providing access to the attics beyond the brick cross-wall, whilst to its east it defined a small room. The room is likely to have been lit by an east-facing dormer, but there is currently nothing indicating its position. The present west-facing dormer dates from the 19th century, but it must replace an earlier dormer lighting the stair-head.

The roof of the rebuilt southern portion consists of six roughly equal bays. The softwood trusses, made of Baltic pine, are numbered I – VI from the north with chiselled markings, but the presumed 'I' is placed nearly back-to-back with the end-truss of the northern portion, and the number is inferred. The trusses, which are of pegged mortice-and-tenon construction, originally incorporated a low collar. There are two sets of staggered butt purlins. The common rafters are of halved softwood, retaining considerable quantities of bark. In the two southernmost bays crude plank-section wind-braces have been nailed to the rafters, and there is another of thicker section in the next bay. The ashlared side walls are contemporary with the roof. The ashlar-pieces are morticed at the sill-plate, and lapped and nailed at the rafters; they were covered with daub on reeds up to and across the roof slopes. Some fragments survive. Two original dormer positions can be identified, one on each side. To the west there is one in the third bay from the south, its trimmer still *in situ*, and with square tops to the ashlar-pieces for the former sill. To the east, in the second bay from the south, another can be identified from notches for a former trimmer on the principal to the south and one common rafter, and from a series of truncated common rafters.

The altered stair and passage

A number of first-floor alterations are associated with a passage extending northwards from the 18th-century stair in the east range and returning westwards through the north range as far as the newel stair next to the gatehouse, serving a suite of rooms which in the later 19th and early 20th centuries served as the Nursery. Within the east range the passage cannot pre-date the alteration of the 18th-century stair to facilitate access northwards (as described above), whilst in the north range it cannot pre-date the reversal in the direction of ascent of the newel stair. Equally, in the north range it must be earlier than the mid-19th-century refenestration, which is principally on the courtyard elevation, and would therefore have left the rooms behind the passage with insufficient light had the passage existed at the same time. This places the passage somewhere between about 1750 and about 1850. The passage survives in the east range but not in the north, and there is little surviving joinery to indicate a date more precisely, but there are two instances of cyma reversa moulded architraves suggesting a date before the end of the 18th century.

The newel stair at the west end of the passage incorporates a cranked tread specifically to ease access to it. Two steps rose through the wall of the stair compartment, where a plaster patch indicates the blocked doorway. The latter aligns with another blocked doorway, indicated by a slight joggle in both faces of the partition forming the other end of what is now the House Steward's sitting room. Elsewhere within this room evidence for the passage is confined to a plaster scarp in the eastern ceiling compartment. Two further blocked doorways are apparent between here and the return into the east range; the partitions which these doorways pierced are sufficiently modern to indicate that part of the passage in the north range remained in use until relatively recently. The former doorway between the present kitchen and bathroom is indicated on the bathroom side

by paint scarps and nail holes resulting from a nailed stud positioned against a deep set-back in the partition. Two phases of plaster in the kitchen ceiling do not form a straight line but hint at the removal of the passage. In bathroom, however, a clear scar in the plaster ceiling can be tracked across to the east wall, where the former door position is indicated by the cranked alignment of the partition. No 18th-century joinery survives *in situ* in this part of the passage, but the present door between the kitchen and the sitting room is of six moulded sunk panels and was formerly hung on H-hinges. It is possible that this door was formerly hung in the passage. It resembles the door between the sitting room and the stair, which retains a cyma recta, fascia and bead architrave.

Along the course of the passage through the north range there are a number of blocked or altered windows which would have provided light. There may have been just two rooms served by the passage in the north range, one corresponding to the present sitting room, and the other accounting for everything else.

Returning southwards, and passing through the thick brick wall of the north range into the east range, the passage was formerly unobstructed as far as the 18th-century stair (the present intermediate doorway is modern). The two-light 19th-century window lighting this part of the passage has a deflecting timber lintel and probably occupies an earlier window position. Variations in the external brickwork suggest a possible blocked window at the northern end of the passage, but this is not apparent inside. To the east the position of the fireplace in the moatside wall suggests that there was probably a single large room (another room lay to the east of the stair). This room has been divided in two, and both doorways off the passage have a cyma reversa, fascia and bead moulded architrave on plinth blocks, which are matched by a similar surround on the doorway into the north range. This pattern suggests that not all the architraves of this form are of 18th-century date.

ERASING THE PAST, 1775-9

The demolition of the great hall

Oxburgh's greatest loss is its late-medieval great hall, pulled down by the 4th Baronet in 1775 apparently because the cost of repairs would have been too great, and despite the fact that not long previously it was said to have been 'lately very agreeably ornamented and improved'.[246] With the great hall went the Kitchen and its associated service rooms and chambers over. Whatever the ostensible reason for the decision, demolition was rapidly followed by new building on a substantial, if not lavish, scale (Fig 78). The breach in the courtyard plan, however, was not made good, and Oxburgh remained open to the south until the 1860s, its circulation impaired and its presence greatly diminished.

Fig 78. Oxburgh Hall from the south-west, showing (centre & right) the two pavilions built by Tasker at either end of the former hall range. (NMR BB032384)

The loss was replaced by new work to designs by the Catholic architect, John Tasker (*c*1738-1816), who may have been assisted, or briefly preceded, by John Redgrave (*fl.* 1763-76). Neither has hitherto figured in accounts of Oxburgh. Tasker, who lived in London and worked mainly for Catholic clients, is best known for his interior work (now lost) at Lulworth Castle, Dorset, which was executed broadly in the Adam style in 1780-82. He is known as the author of a number of Catholic chapels, including one at Lulworth, and several London houses, and in the last years of his life worked in the new Greek Revival style at Spetchley Park in Worcestershire and Acton Burnell Hall in Shropshire.[247] Redgrave, who lived in Harleston, Suffolk, is a more shadowy figure, probably because much of his work took the form of acting as surveyor or assistant to other architects.[248]

The impact of the changes was dramatic. It was noted in 1810 that following the demolition of the south range, 'the distribution of almost every apartment has been successively changed. The offices are now on the east side, and the dining parlour, drawing-room, and library on the west'.[249] The alterations created two-storeyed pavilions at either end of the south elevation, both incorporating remnants of original brickwork behind new facings (Fig 78). These blocks are characterised by orange brickwork in Flemish bond on a chamfered plinth, and had tall sashed windows and a first-floor plat-band. A darker red brick is selected for the quoins and for the plat-band, which was interrupted at the corners, while less even-toned bricks are used in the plinth. The tall south-west pavilion to the west has kept substantially this form, despite refenestration in the 19th century which has left only a series of blind windows in their original form. This block also retains an original moulded brick cornice, incorporating cyma recta and dentilled elements. The balancing south-east pavilion, on the other hand, has been heavily disguised by 19th-century modifications, including the raising of a tall tower above the eastern half, and the replacement of most of the plat-band with flush brickwork.

The only known view of either pavilion before the commencement of the 19th-century modifications is the Buckler sketch of 1820 (see Fig 48), in which the south-east pavilion appears. Although it is seen distantly and obliquely (from the north-east), it is clearly represented with a first-floor plat band, a crenellated parapet and a hipped roof. The form of the parapet lends a superficially Gothic feel to the block, though this was probably not reflected in the interior. In the east elevation there are two ground-floor windows shown, the more northerly of which corresponds to the blocked window immediately north of the present oriel, and a single first-floor example.

Above the Saloon a large bedroom (known as the Fetterlock Room) and dressing room were provided. Behind the Saloon the southern half of the west range was remodelled to create a new Drawing Room, and above this additional bedrooms were refurbished. Alterations may have extended further northwards, but if so they have been entirely effaced by 19th-century work.

Fig 79. The now-infilled western arm of the arcade (left), together with the north return, largely remodelled to form a bay window. (NMR BB032412)

As a kind of recompense for the loss of the Hall a single-storeyed arcade or covered way was built (Figs 79 & 87), extending from the new south-west pavilion clockwise around the courtyard to the former upper-end accommodation, with a break at the gatehouse. Besides easing movement around the courtyard complex the arcade exerted a powerful influence over the design of contemporary and future elements of the building. Since it carried a good deal of service traffic it was no longer desirable to have windows opening onto the courtyard from the original ranges, which would

in any case receive less illumination now that they were shaded by the roof of the arcade. The small number of windows which the 1774 plan shows opening onto the courtyard before the construction of the arcade were all blocked with the exception of that lighting the Laundry in the north range, which was converted into a doorway. The dependence on the moatside elevations for light increased as a result and in the case of the new Drawing Room a stack was placed on the courtyard wall so as not to restrict the light obtained from the opposite side. In addition to the works described above, the existing courtyard ranges were re-roofed with pantiles.

The works just discussed are documented in a small notebook entitled 'Expenses of the New Buildings & alterations to y^{e} House began in 1775 finish'd in 1779'.[250] This 'contains the expenses in y^{e} alterations made to the House, including new tiling the whole and y^{e} new furniture', totalling £3,175 5s 5d. The first entry appears to identify the architect as 'Mr Redgrave', who on 24 April 1775 was paid £6 6s 0d 'for the Plan for the alterations, and coming over 7 times'. However, a later entry records the larger payment of £20 12s 0d 'To Mr Tasker for his Drawings, Plans, including his two Journeys from London'. The sums involved make it clear that Tasker took the lead in the new work, and his name recurs in the accounts as work progresses, notably in connection with the supply of windows and furniture. The fact that Redgrave was paid so early in the process, and not thereafter, may indicate either that he was employed solely to make surveys or estimates, or that he was found wanting as an architect.

The accounts for bricklayers' and carpenters' work commence on 24 April 1775, and were not closed until June 1780. They totalled £453 14s 0d and £506 respectively. Mr Nelson of [King's] Lynn supplied '50,000 Holland Tile' and '800 Ridge Tile' at a cost of £313 9s 3d including carriage and wastage.[251] Other contractors included Samuel Browne of [King's] Lynn, who provided timber to the value of £440 8s 0d as well as flagstones. A glazier named Womack, of Stoke [Ferry?], received £352 17s 0d for lead, painting and glazing, but repaid £104 3s 0d in respect of old lead. A Swaffham stonecutter named Fleming was paid £105 6s 0d 'for stone & work' and a Mr Fairchild charged £114 13s 0d for 168 chaldrons of lime. Mr James of Downham [Market], ironmonger, received £110 14s 0d 'for nails, Bath Stoves, door locks'. John Tasker, the architect, himself supplied ten pairs of sash frames, glazed, for £30 6s 10d, and another eighteen frames for £73 6s 8½d. A note at the end of the accounts makes clear that some timber for the building work was supplied from the Bedingfeld estates, while a reference to 'cleaning old brick' indicates that some materials were recycled from the demolished medieval fabric. At the end of the accounts the 7th Baronet added a melancholy postscript in 1871: 'Had this money been expended in the repairing of the House one of the finest old Halls in England would have been preserved, and many acts of vandalism been avoided'.

The Saloon

The most substantial elements of the new work were the two pavilions. The south-west pavilion, or Saloon block, replaced, on a reduced though still impressive scale, the original lower-end accommodation, its walls being set back well behind the southern and eastern limits of the earlier range. It is likely that in the very thick north wall, however, a substantial length of 15th-century brickwork survives, though this has been re-faced externally where it overlooks the courtyard and no early features are currently identifiable.

The south-west pavilion is significantly taller than the west range which it abuts, and consists of three window bays from east to west and two from north to south. All the windows were remodelled in the 19th century, but a number of blocked windows retain their original form, with gauged brick flat arches set in lime putty and incorporating raised limestone keys. These blocked windows occur in pairs on the ground floor of the east and west elevations, and there is a single first-floor example towards the east end of the north elevation. The blockings consist of bricks with diagonal hack-marks and are probably contemporary, there being no indication internally of windows in these positions. The walls rise to a dentilled eaves cornice, a feature which the south-east pavilion has lost. The same feature extends along the courtyard elevations of the west range and the north range west of the gatehouse, and Cotman's etching of 1813 suggests that it was probably present on the corresponding moatside elevations as well, perhaps as a result of the re-roofing implied by the order of pantiles.

Fig 80. The Saloon from the south-west. (NMR BB032476)

The four-bay hipped roof of the south-west pavilion is carried by hardwood trusses each consisting of a tie-beam, principal rafters rising to a notched apex, and queen-struts. They are of pegged mortice-and-tenon construction with the exception of the queen-struts, which are secured at either end by wrought-iron stirrups with keyed fixings. The queen-struts taper in one plane, reflecting the greater thickness of the tie-beams relative to the principals. The eastern truss is numbered 'III' (other numbers were not seen). There are two sets of staggered butt purlins, over which softwood common rafters are pegged. In both end bays there is a half-truss of similar form, and there are angle- and dragon-ties in the corners.

The Saloon (Figs 80-83) has the most complete late 18th-century interior at Oxburgh, in the neo-classical style popularised by Robert Adam. A Mr Mays of London, who is documented as receiving £95 2s 4½d for plasterwork, may have been responsible for the decorative elements.[252] It is a large and lofty room, lit by three south-facing windows and heated by a large fireplace in the centre of the north wall. Identical doorways at either end of this wall lead into the Drawing Room and the contemporary arcaded passage respectively, the latter providing independent service access. The doorways (Fig 81) have moulded architraves surmounted by a frieze and cornice, the frieze having relief decoration in the form of a central urn, swags passing beneath elliptical paterae, and flanking elliptical medallions depicting Hope leaning on an anchor and Contemplation leaning on a pedestal. The cornice is dentilled and enriched with pellets. The walls are plastered, with an elaborately moulded skirting, a moulded dado-rail the fascia of which incorporates carved rosettes, and a full entablature (Fig 83) which repeats some elements found on the doorways. The frieze utilises the same medallions (in fluted rather than pelleted borders), the same urns (with different scrolls at the bases) and the same paterae, but substitutes garlands of husks for the swags. The corners of the chimney-breast are enriched with banded reeding.

Fig 81 (above). The doorway linking Saloon and Drawing Room. (NMR BB032479)

Fig 82. The Saloon chimneypiece and grate. (NMR BB032478)

Fig 83. Part of the entablature in the Saloon. (NMR BB032480)

The chimneypiece, in a white marble, has Ionic pilasters, the Order being varied to incorporate an anthemion between the volutes (Fig 82). This must be the 'marble statuary Chimney Piece' (the only marble chimneypiece mentioned in the accounts) for which Mr Tyler of Vigne St, London, received £55 13s 0d. He is presumably the William Tyler, RA, stone-carver (d.1801), who supplied chimneypieces for Audley End, Essex, in 1763-4, and for Milton Hall near Peterborough in 1772, but who despite also acting as architect in a number of major commissions is better known for his funerary monuments.[253] The frieze has elliptical fan paterae and a central urn interspersed by

fluting, and the cornice is moulded and dentilled. The opening is fitted with 'a Polish'd Forest Grate' supplied by James Sharp of London for £14. It has a position for an adjusting lever in a chased central panel and chased floral side-pieces to the basket. The accounts also mention a fender. The Saloon probably also received a share of the '12 Pieces of Ornaments for two chimney pieces' ordered from Wedgwood for £12 19s 0d.[254] The 'Paper hangings' (wallpaper) for which Mr Bromwich received £14 19s 0d may also have been for the Saloon.[255] A Mr Cushing of Norwich[256] was paid £19 10s 0d 'for frames, gilding, carving, new silvering Lookinglasses' while Mr Maine of Swaffham was paid a further £5 10s 6d for gilding frames. These items, too, may have been mainly or wholly intended for the Saloon, where in the 19th century many of the family's most prized paintings were hung.

The building accounts also mention furnishings which, although their location is not specified, must have been acquired for the Saloon. They include mahogany dining tables, supplied by Tasker for £21, a Wilton carpet from Mr Air of London, and an oil cloth (to place under the table or sideboard to protect the carpet) from Mr Smith, also of London. Tasker also supplied a series of other mahogany items, among which a sideboard, twelve chairs and two 'table frames for Marble Slabs' were perhaps all destined for the Saloon.

The Drawing Room

The Saloon was conceived as part of a suite, of which the other main component was a new Drawing Room, made by throwing together a series of rooms in what remained of the southern half of the west range. In 1774 this area formed (from north to south) the Housekeeper's Room, entered from the west stair, an unheated Storeroom opening off it, and the Servants' Hall, which enjoyed separate access from the courtyard utilising one of the original doorways. The partition walls were taken down and the chimney breasts at either end of the resulting elongated room were removed. In their place a fireplace was inserted in the centre of the east wall, blocking the former entrance to the Servants' Hall. The way in from the stair was retained, and a new doorway was created, linking the Drawing Room with the Saloon to the south.

Enough has survived of the late 18th-century decorative scheme to show that it was in keeping with that of the Saloon. The skirting, which is simpler but belongs to the same family of mouldings, extends southwards along the moatside wall from the northernmost window (now an oriel), across the southern end of the room and returns northwards as far as the fireplace. Elsewhere it was replaced in the 19th century. The twin doorways at the north end of the room have architraves consisting of a cavetto with an astragal planted on the inside, and a broad and a narrow fascia separated by a tiny cyma reversa, and doors of six raised and fielded panels with a vertical flush bead to the centre. The western door has an entirely blank reverse face, as its purpose is entirely cosmetic: immediately behind it there is a smaller door of four moulded sunk panels, more in keeping with the scale of the understairs cupboard beyond. The moulded dado-rail, which shares a number of elements with that in the Saloon, appears to be contemporary, and there is no paint on the door architraves where it abuts them. At the opposite end of the room there is a single doorway giving onto the Saloon. This has an architrave of the same form, but enriched with pellets inside the astragal, and fluting alternating with rosettes on the outer fascia. The door is also the same, but for the addition of a raised inner moulding to the panels. It is repeated on the Saloon side of the opening, which pierces the thickness of the probable 15th-century wall. This double-

doored arrangement afforded good sound insulation, which would have served to preserve the female domain of the Drawing Room from the male after-dinner atmosphere of the Saloon. The chimneypiece in the centre of the east wall was retained from the mid-18th-century remodelling but it was provided with a new grate, mentioned in the accounts. Other payments include £20 to Mr Shackleton, upholsterer, for ten drawing room chairs.

Bedrooms over the Saloon

Further entries in the building accounts record the purchase of furnishings for as many as six bedrooms.[257] The first floor of the south-west pavilion was divided by a studwork partition into a larger east and a smaller west room reached via the passage leading southwards from the west stair. The passage incorporated a straight flight of steps at its southern end, rising to a small landing or lobby at the higher first-floor level over the Saloon. Both rooms now incorporate mid-20th-century subdivisions, but their original form can be identified from the surviving moulded cornices, which either extend, or can be seen to have extended formerly, inside a series of later cupboards and subdivisions. These cornices incorporate a number of elements, including a cove, which recur in cornices to the rooms above the Drawing Room.

The lobby, which was also extensively altered in the 20th century, intruded into the larger of the two rooms, which lay to the east. It is unclear whether this room was originally entered via a doorway in the south side of the lobby, which would have provided a better termination to views along the passage than a blank wall, or via one in the east wall as now. The present doorway makes an awkward junction with the skirting, and the architrave is set in fibreboard, so that at the very least it has been re-set. The re-hung door has six panels divided by a flush bead. To the lobby the panels are raised and fielded, while the room face has ovolo-moulded sunk panels. Its twin originally occupied the west side of the lobby, but has been re-hung as the door to a bathroom carved out of the smaller room in the 20th century. The fielded panels face into the bathroom.

Fig 84. Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolour of the Fetterlock Room. (Henry Paston-Bedingfeld – photo The National Trust)

The larger eastern room formed a bedchamber known as the Fetterlock Room (Fig 84). The name is first documented in the 1585 inventory, when it appears to have applied to a chamber above the lower-end accommodation (i.e. not far from its present position). It derives from the fetterlock, or fetter, badge of Edward IV which, according to long family tradition, he granted to the Bedingfelds.[258] The new Fetterlock Room became the principal bedroom; it enjoyed two windows in each of the south and east walls and a fireplace in the north wall. The chimneypiece has a grey marble slip and sunk-panelled pilasters (slightly inset in the late 18th-century manner), but the pulvinated frieze with bay-leaf enrichment and cross-banding, the bold dentilled cornice

and the large and elaborate consoles are re-used from a mid-18th-century chimneypiece (see above). They may explain a note in the accounts recording the amount that 'The stone cutter [Tyler] charged for cutting & polishing old marble for Chimney Pieces & Slabs'. They were present, together with an elaborate overmantel, part of which is now in the North Room, by the time Matilda Bedingfeld painted the room in the early 1850s.

The smaller western room was originally a simple rectangle occupying the full depth of the block. The entrance was on the west side of the lobby, and was removed when the latter was extended in the 20th century. The present doorway opening off the extended lobby has a re-set architrave, but the door is modern. The room had two west-facing windows and a single south-facing window, and must also have had a fireplace to the north, though this is no longer apparent. Two possible candidates for a communicating doorway suggest that it was probably intended as a dressing room. One, against the lobby partition, is blocked and is identifiable only as a hollow-sounding plaster patch with associated breaks in the skirting. Another, further south, retains an architrave of the same form as occurs on two of the windows in the Fetterlock Room, and was perhaps the original opening.

Bedrooms in the west range

The passage linking the west stair with the rooms above the Saloon also serves two bedrooms above the Drawing Room. Both retain elements of their late 18th-century form, indicating that they were of slightly lower status than the Fetterlock Room. The doorways off the passage have architraves of the same family as those above the Saloon, but slightly narrower. The six-panelled doors similarly represent a slightly reduced form, the panels observing the same distinction between the passage and the room faces, but without the flush bead to the passage.

The southern room (Fig 85), known in the 19th century as the Yellow Room on account of its wallpaper and now used as a sitting room, is the smaller of the two. It retains a contemporary chimneypiece, the original form of which has been disguised by later embellishments, on the south wall. This has sunk-panelled pilasters like those of the chimneypiece in the Fetterlock Room, a moulded and dentilled cornice and a marble slip. The present three-light window is a 19th-century insertion, probably occupying an earlier window position, while the smaller blocked opening to its north retains a moulded sunk-panelled soffit probably indicating a window here in the late 18th century. The doorway communicating with the room to the north appears to be a modern creation.

Fig 85. The southernmost first-floor bedroom (formerly the Yellow Room) in the west range, viewed from the north. (NMR BB032493)

The larger northern room, now a kitchen and dining room, retains its late 18th-century cornice and contemporary architraves both to the doorway onto the passage and to the two windows overlooking the moat. The chimneypiece is a 19th-century replacement.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that Tasker's remodelling extended north of the stair into what is now the staff common room. It may also have encompassed the present Boudoir to the north, but here any evidence has been masked or replaced by 19th-century work. A single large room, now known as the Admiral's Room,[259] lies between the stair and the Boudoir, heated by a fireplace (now blocked) on the moat wall. The walls are decorated with an elaborately moulded plaster cornice and a simple moulded skirting, both probably of late 18th-century date. There are currently two doorways opening into the room from the passage, reflecting a later subdivision which was reversed after 1951. Of the two doorways, that closer to the stair might seem the likelier door position in the late 18th century. It also has the same form of architrave as occurs in the passage south of the stair, and a six-panelled door with a central flush bead on both faces, raised and fielded panels to the passage and ovolo-moulded sunk panels to the room. However, it appears to interrupt a dado dating from the 1830s and the junction of the floor-boards within the doorway is ragged, suggesting an insertion. The architrave inside the room is of the late 19th or early 20th century. By contrast the doorway to the north has a late 18th-century architrave to the room face, which is repeated on the two windows.

The south-east pavilion

Fig 86. Tasker's south-east pavilion, which was extensively remodelled in the 19th century. (NMR BB023400)

The demolition of the Hall would inevitably have left the adjoining accommodation to the east scarred if it had been left unaltered, but it was almost entirely rebuilt at the same time as the Saloon block in the form of a matching two-storeyed pavilion (Fig 86). Only fragments of the early 18th-century remodelling of the former upper-end accommodation were retained, principally in the east wall. As rebuilt it mirrored the Saloon block and created a balanced and roughly symmetrical south elevation overall, although to the rear the south-east pavilion was less regular, retaining a stepped rear wall where it met the east range, while on the east elevation it retained some windows from the earlier phase. The balanced view from the south was upset in the 19th century when a tall tower was raised over part of the south-east pavilion, the ground

and first floors of which were also transformed by a series of internal and external alterations. The new pavilion, like its twin to the west, was set back from the previous southern limit of the building, leaving a narrow grass plot adjacent to the moat.

Evidence for late 18th-century blind or blocked windows similar to those in the south-west pavilion survives on both floors of the south-east pavilion at the southern end of the west elevation. On the south elevation three ground-floor windows can be identified. The central window was blocked in the 19th century and is now overlain by the pier supporting a first-floor oriel, but both jambs and the springers for the flat brick arch can be made out. Nineteenth-century windows occupy the approximate positions of the other two, but in both cases the outer jamb can be identified from the position of queen closers. The same goes for the corresponding first-floor windows, but here the central window position has been re-used by the oriel, covering up other evidence.

The first-floor plat-band survives on the west elevation and at the western end of the south elevation, but it can be traced across the remainder of the south elevation as a band of light-coloured replacement bricks. There is no sign that it returned along the east elevation, where the early 18th-century brickwork was retained up to and above the level of the band. Buckler clearly indicates a band here but also omits to show one on the rebuilt portion of the east range. The two ground-floor windows were also retained on the east elevation, but on the first floor Tasker blocked at least one existing window (which was set too low to serve the newly raised upper floor) and created a tall central opening. This window position implies the removal of the east-west stack wall which in 1774 divided the two Drawing Rooms and the chambers above them. Buckler recorded both the central window and the asymmetrical earlier fenestration of the ground floor in his 1820 sketch.

No demonstrably late 18th-century internal features survive. The principal internal division, a spine wall giving a larger room to the east and a smaller to the west on each floor, follows that depicted in 1774, and probably incorporates medieval brickwork. On the first floor the pavilion probably provided a bedroom and dressing room arrangement (as persisted into the 20th century) similar to that in the other pavilion.

The displaced Kitchen

Even before the medieval Kitchen was demolished it is possible that work was undertaken to provide alternative storage, preparation and cooking facilities. The present Kitchen (now used as a public tea-room) at the eastern end of the north range would seem to be the only candidate for this role, and was doubtless established at this time. Its position would have been recommended by the proximity of the cellars, and by the fact that the north-eastern quadrant of the complex had remained an area of lower-status accommodation throughout. In 1774 the area now occupied by the Kitchen was given over to a large Wash-house, into which a smaller Wood Store intruded. In the next bay to the west there was a lobby and a Dairy, and beyond them a large Laundry extending as far as the gatehouse.

The creation of the Kitchen involved the removal of the walls forming the Wood Store, and the creation, or re-opening, of a fireplace on the north wall. The position of the fireplace, which is offset towards the west end of the north wall, tends to suggest that an existing opening was adapted or re-opened. In other respects the interior is essentially a

19th-century creation, including perhaps the re-set 18th-century chimneypiece, into which a large 19th-century range has been inserted.

There are a number of references to the Kitchen in the building accounts. These include the '250 polish'd flag stones to lay the Kitchen' purchased from Samuel Browne of King's Lynn at a cost of £18 4s 0d including carriage. Mr Osland of London received £8 8s 0d 'for a Kitchen Jack wth a multiplying wheel', and the accounts also note the purchases of an 'Ash Kitchen Grate' and a pair of weighing scales for meat.

The arcade

The decision to demolish the great hall is the more remarkable in that it broke the perimeter of the courtyard, laying it open to the wind and disrupting the already fraught ground-floor circulation of the house. It was remedied in part by the construction of an arcaded passage, or covered way, extending right around the remaining courtyard elevations, except across the face of the gatehouse. This allowed the passage of servants, food and other quotidian necessities to be removed from the body of the house while providing some shelter from the elements. Although interrupted by the gatehouse, it allowed the high-status rooms established from the late 17th century onwards west of the gatehouse to be serviced with reasonable efficiency from service rooms now concentrated on the east side of the gatehouse.

Fig 87. Two bays of the arcade alongside the east range were restored in recent years. View from the south-west. (NMR BB032448)

Previous accounts, where they have mentioned the arcade at all, have placed it among the additions of the 1830s despite its stylistic and functional links with Tasker's pavilions. This belief has perhaps been strengthened by a letter of November 1832 apparently implying that the 'Cloister' (as it was often referred to in the 19th century) was newly built, but for reasons which are examined below this probably refers to the infilling of the arcade rather than its construction. At least one 19th-century view of the gatehouse from the courtyard further muddies the waters by omitting the arcade,[260] but this is in keeping with the tendency noted previously for views to filter out non-Gothic elements and even to invent some missing features, such as the draw-bridge. More persuasive in this regard is Joseph Nash's view, published in March 1830 shortly before Buckler was engaged, which adopts much the same viewpoint and clearly, though with the addition of some spurious Gothic features, shows the canted end of the arcade to the west of the gatehouse (the eastern arcade is concealed by a tree).[261] This can be corroborated by references to the arcade in family letters dating from as early as 1830, when work had scarcely begun (see p.126).

The arcade (Fig 87) consists of a series of keyed segmental arches springing from square brick piers with chamfered bases. Above the arcade a plain stone-coped parapet projects slightly, partially concealing the roof, which is pantiled and underdrawn. All the

arches were subsequently infilled, and the original arrangement has been further disrupted by later additions, but its form is generally clear. On the western side it is intact along the whole length, amounting to seven bays, which are spaced so as to allow for returns at either end. At the south end a single-bay return provided access to the service entrance of the Saloon. On the opposite side of the courtyard the arcade has been truncated at its southern end by the present stair block, but the positions of the piers are consistent with a similar seven-bay arrangement, though here the southern end probably abutted directly against the smaller precursor of the present stair hall, without a return. At their northern ends both arcades are returned, but the original form survives only on the eastern side of the gatehouse. Here there are three bays of arcading, terminating in a canted end incorporating a narrower arch. The canted end eases the approach to the narrow arch, which was close to the canted bay window of the gatehouse. West of the gatehouse the pattern was probably the same, but only the western bay survives, the remainder having been truncated by the addition of a large bay window to form the Billiard Room *circa* 1900.

The detailing of the arcade is consistent throughout. It is faced to the courtyard in a brownish brick, 21.5 to 22.5cm long, 10.5cm wide and 5.5cm deep, with numerous straw marks and diagonal hack-marks or creases. The arches are faced in a superior brick, more orange in colour, with an absence of creases, but on the rear the arches have a cream-coloured brick and the walling brick is more various in coloration. The arches have small limestone keys, which are raised and dropped on the front face, and spring from cyma recta moulded brick imposts on tile abaci. Inside the arcades parts of the original paving survive. This consisted of a smooth central flagged strip between rougher brick-paved borders, the strip broadening out to the full width of the arcade where doorways open off it. This pattern can be seen along the western range, returning into the northern, but has been removed or (more probably) overlain elsewhere.

The re-roofing of the north, east and west ranges

The black-glazed pantiles imported from Holland via King's Lynn were used not only for the new works but to re-roof the existing north, east and west ranges. The dentilled brick eaves cornice which survives on the south-west pavilion is paralleled on the courtyard elevations of the west range and the north range west of the gatehouse and serves to associate the two elements. Pugin's courtyard elevation of the gatehouse suggests that it continued to the east,[262] while Cotman's 1811 view implies that the moatside elevation of the north range was similarly treated. In both cases the eaves cornice was removed when the Gothic parapet was added in the 1830s. It seems likely, therefore, that the dentilled cornice once extended along both sides of all three courtyard ranges. The reconstruction of the eaves in this manner might have entailed the disturbance of the wall-plates and hence the re-setting of the trusses and the re-setting or replacement of the common rafters.

The south bridge

The date at which a bridge first spanned the southern arm of the moat is not known, but one was in existence as early as 1725. De Wilstar's map of that date shows it placed on roughly the same axis as the original bridge over the north arm, though it may perhaps have been offset to align with the south porch of the great hall.[263] It must have been intended primarily for the pleasure and convenience of the family in moving between the house and the gardens, since the hall range cut it off from the courtyard. The demolition

of the great hall in 1775 created the potential for a new approach from the south. On 9 May 1779 the 4th Baronet 'Began pulling down ye Old Back Bridge wh. Was only for foot Passengers & built a new one for carriages to go over'.[264] This reference probably explains a feature of the revetment wall on both sides of the moat, revealed when it was drained in 2003 and interpreted as bridge abutments. The width of these, at 6.45m, must indicate the vehicular bridge referred to, rather than the earlier structure.[265] The bridge appears to have been demolished by the mid-1840s, since it does not appear on the Oxborough Tithe Map.[266]

Alterations to the grounds

A number of documentary references point to a wider scheme – or perhaps more accurately a piecemeal series – of alterations affecting the surrounding landscape. Four years before the great hall was pulled down an entry in the 4th Baronet's Memorandum Book records that he 'Burnt Bricks and built ye Garden Wall'.[267] On 12 July 1779 'Mr Muckle came down from London to put up the Iron Palisades',[268] and an entry in the building accounts records the payment to Muckle of £132 11s 6d 'for Iron Gate & Pallisades [*sic*]'. That autumn, on 19 November, Bedingfeld noted: 'Planted some Beech Trees & Chestnuts I received from Cowdray'.[269] In the following year, on 1 September, he 'Got 43 Load of Gravel from Wretton Gravel Pit, to lay in the Court'. In 1781 he recorded the construction of a 'new Pigeon House' which in October of the following year he 'Stockt … with 300 young Pigeons killing off all the old ones in ye old house; there is 833 holes'.[270] The 'old house' may be the dovecote on the roof-top of the gatehouse. Then in June 1788 work began on building a hot-house ('Hote House').[271] On 1 August 1792 '300 yards of iron chain to fence round the moat' were bought in Norwich, but they were not used until the following August, when oak posts were set in the ground.[272]

RE-INVENTING THE PAST, 1830-*c*1865

In 1826 Henry Bedingfeld, the 6th Baronet, married Margaret Paston; two years later they settled at Oxburgh, determined, as Margaret wrote, on 'passing the winter at Oxburgh & endeavouring to repair the house etc to the utmost of our power. Accordingly Henry went there a short time before me, to arrange a few rooms … which are in the servants wing, and may be made very comfortable'.[273] In 1830 they set about transforming the external appearance of the house and effecting significant alterations to the services. Family correspondence refers to the architect, Buckler. Of the Buckler dynasty of draughtsmen and architects it is John Chessell Buckler (1793-1894) who was principally responsible for the works at Oxburgh, an association which was known to the 19th-century historian of the Gothic Revival, Charles Eastlake.[274] However, it is the initials of Buckler's son, Charles Alban (1825-1905), that appear on the only signed drawings among the Bedingfeld Papers.[275] It would appear, therefore, that while John Chessell Buckler commenced the works, his son probably assisted with, and perhaps even took over, later phases.

John Chessell Buckler's work was known to the Bedingfelds through his work for their Catholic relations, the Jerninghams, at Costessey Hall, a large brick house dating from *circa* 1564. Lady Jerningham was the sister of Richard Bedingfeld, the 6th Baronet. In 1825 George William Stafford Jerningham, 7th Baronet, became, by royal license, 8th Baron Stafford and the following year he employed Buckler to enlarge the house suitably, though it has recently become clear that Lady Stafford (d.1832) exerted a decisive influence on the design, basing it on her own research into medieval architectural precedents as well as Buckler's.[276] Work at Costessey ceased in 1836, when money for the ambitious scheme ran out, and although Buckler produced subsequent proposals they remained unexecuted. Eastlake nevertheless called his work at Costessey 'one of the most important and successful instances of the Revival in Domestic Architecture', in which many of the features adopted at Oxburgh can be paralleled. Costessey Hall, he wrote,

> is built of red and white brick, with stone dressings, and the style is Tudor, of the type adopted in Thornbury Castle.
>
> The general appearance of the building is that of an irregular but well grouped and interesting composition, in which stepped gables, angle turrets, and richly moulded chimney-shafts form picturesque features, and exhibit a knowledge of detail and proportion far in advance of contemporary work. In the centre of the block rises a solid square tower, crowned with machicolations and an embattled parapet.
>
> Internally the rooms are fitted up with great care, the carved ceilings, stone mantel-pieces, and carved panel-work being all of rich design, and in character with the external architecture; which is more than can be said for many of the so-called Gothic mansions of the day.[277]

Sadly, the contents of Costessey Hall were sold off in 1913 and the house was demolished in the 1920s.

Buckler's work at Oxburgh, as at Costessey, was protracted. The objectives were initially limited and when, after a brief period, they were enlarged, the work was still accomplished piecemeal. There were a series of campaigns in the 6th Baronet's lifetime and possibly some lesser alterations in between. The first campaign, from 1830 to 1832,

was concerned mainly with remodelling the north and west ranges. Work appears to have continued, or resumed, after 1832, but documentary references to this period have not so far been identified. This later work appears to have included repairs to the gatehouse, the remodelling of the two pavilions and the rebuilding of the first-floor walls of that portion of the east range which was reinstated around 1750. Outside the moat the later 1830s witnessed the construction of the new Chapel, north-west of the Hall, in 1835-6, the destruction of the last remnants of the outer court and a major transformation of the gardens. A *terminus ante quem* for many of these changes is provided by a series of watercolours painted by Matilda Bedingfeld probably in the early 1850s. There was a further phase of work commencing in or around 1860, centring on the south-east corner of the complex. Finally, following the succession of the 7th Baronet in 1862, a new south range was erected in 1863. Some elements of the work can be closely dated by documentary references but others can be dated only on the basis of reasonable inferences or stylistic criteria. Sometimes the room interiors appear to have evolved over a period of years.

The evidence of surviving drawings

Given John Chessell Buckler's accomplishment and industry as an architectural draughtsman it is likely that a full set of architectural plans and perspective views would have been drawn up in the course of the works. Only a handful of drawings have so far been traced. They relate largely to unexecuted elements of the scheme, but are nevertheless of considerable interest. They form a short series of watercolours and other sketches, pasted into a much larger collection of drawings, now in the British Library, by three generations of Bucklers.[278] None of the Oxburgh drawings is dated, and the titles are unilluminating. The main watercolours form two pairs, illustrating respectively a grander and a more modest scheme. The grander scheme, which envisaged the reinstatement of the south range and the re-creation of the great hall, must have been Buckler's preferred option, though he may prudently have offered his client a more economical alternative at the same time. Whether these drawings date from 1830 may be doubted, however, given the economical character of the works instituted at that time. They may perhaps belong a later and more ambitious scheme.

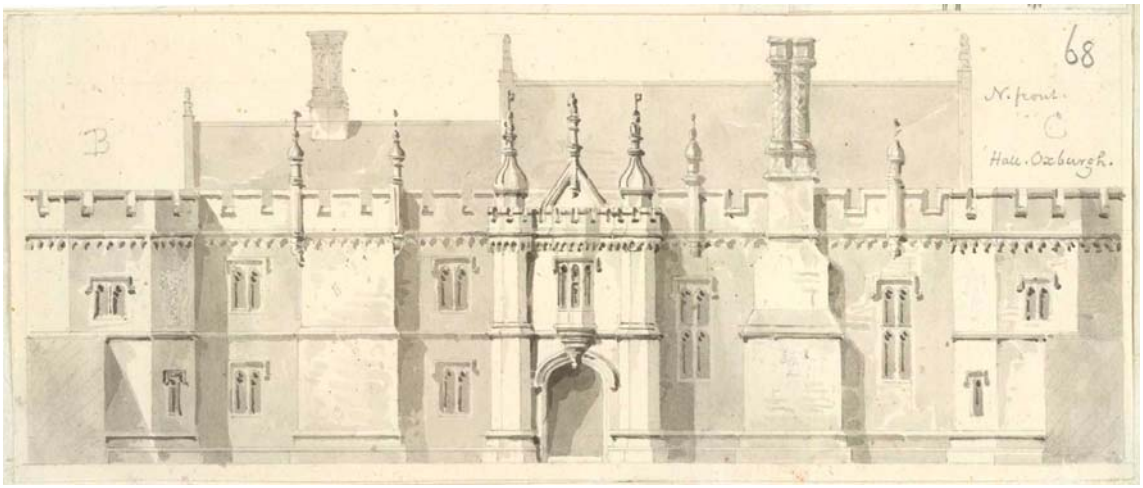


Fig 88. Buckler's 'grand scheme': the north elevation of the proposed new hall range. (British Library)

Buckler's grand scheme (Figs 88 & 89) would have given Oxburgh a magniloquence which, but for its gatehouse, it does not possess today. Nevertheless, he was

constrained by the manner in which the house had developed since the 15th century. His design, portrayed in a north and a south elevation, was intended to slot in between Tasker's twin pavilions, with new canted stair turrets overlapping the junctions.[279] The scheme would doubtless have required the Gothicising of the pavilions themselves as well. Significantly, Buckler did not promote an archaeological reconstruction of the demolished south range, though its ground plan was almost certainly known to him.[280] The development of the house from the late 17th century onwards had grouped the principal rooms along the western side of the courtyard, whereas the 15th-century house placed some of its best apartments off the eastern end of the great hall. Buckler accepted this change as a *fait accompli* and repositioned his entrance porch and screens passage to the opposite end of the hall, so that in proceeding to the main reception

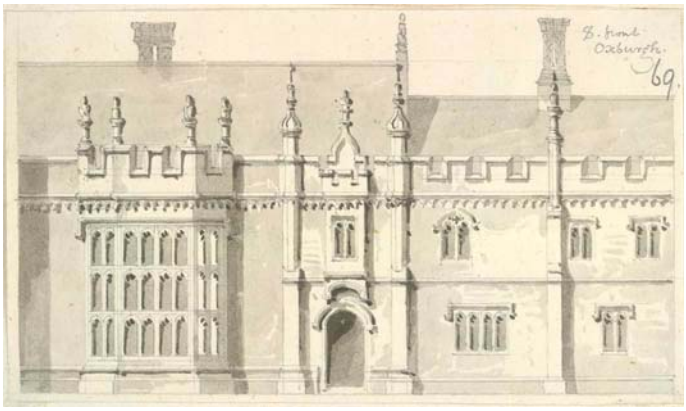


Fig 89. Buckler's 'grand scheme': the south elevation of the proposed hall range. (British Library)

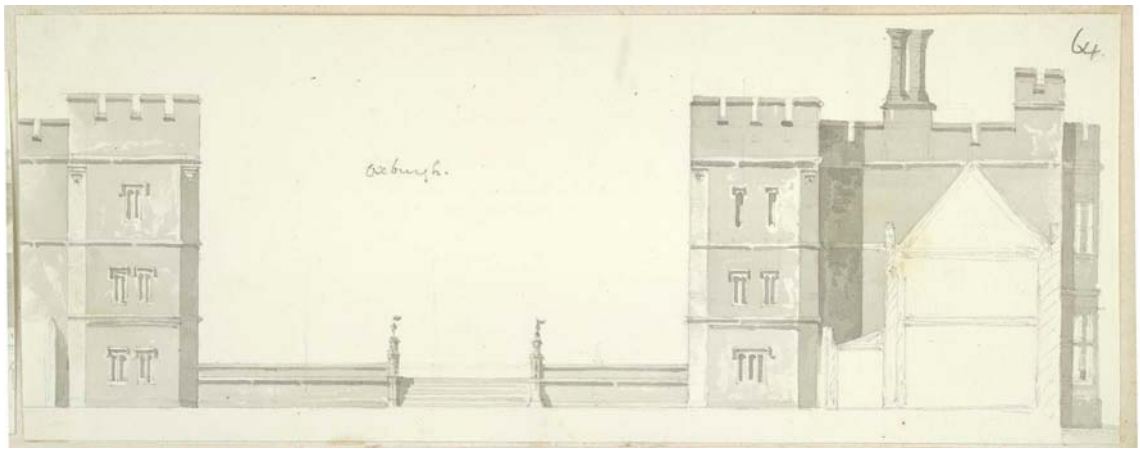


Fig 90. Buckler's lesser scheme proposed modest embellishments to Tasker's pavilions, linking them together with a simple terrace. (British Library)

rooms the visitor would feel the full ceremonial force of a grand open-roofed hall. This also had the result that the elaborate entrance porch would have been both central and more or less on the axis of the carriageway through the gatehouse – a feat which the 15th-century plan (characteristically for the period) failed to accomplish.

The south range, which was to consist of two storeys, was treated as two distinct units sharing a common eaves line, the hall occupying the western two-thirds of the whole. The hall's higher roof-line must indicate that it was intended to project on either one elevation or both, as well as clearly distinguishing it from the latter-day 'lower end' to its east. On the north elevation, facing the courtyard, the porch is shown with polygonal corner turrets rising to ogee-profile domes, and has an oriel window to the chamber above the entrance. The hall was lit from the north by relatively modest windows flanking a large projecting stack. The hall fireplace is shown served by paired tall shafts.

On the south elevation the porch is mirrored, but there is some variation in features and it does not project to the same depth. The elevation is dominated instead by a huge canted hall oriel with three tiers of cusped lights. The lower block to the east is much plainer. On the north elevation the hall stack is balanced by a full-height projection of similar scale, with pinnacles to the angles, but the feature is not associated with chimney shafts, which are mounted conventionally on the ridge.

In the more modest scheme (Fig 90) Buckler sought to integrate Tasker's pavilions with the Gothic flavour of his own work while battling with the absence of the south range. He considered adding turrets to the inner angle of each pavilion, encroaching on the courtyard, and a two-storeyed bay window to the west elevation of at least the south-west pavilion. The turrets both have broad chamfered angles over which the square-cornered parapet extends on moulded corbels. The windows are mostly mullioned and all have hood moulds, while the stack on the north wall of the south-west pavilion has a pair of tall shafts along the lines eventually adopted.[281] A further drawing in pencil (Fig 91), in which the west elevation of the south-west pavilion appears, shows three levels of fenestration – a gun port at basement level, a single light on a raised ground floor, and a tall first-floor window – as though Buckler wished to disguise the internal proportions and layout of Tasker's south-west pavilion.[282]

The various pencil drawings are more easily related to the campaign of 1830-32. The drawing just discussed combines features which were eventually adopted with others that were discarded. It shows a crenellated parapet running the length of the west range, and elaborate shafts rising from two moatside stacks, another atop the west gable of the north range and others on the south-west pavilion. It shows windows generally of mullioned or mullioned-and-transomed form with hood moulds and it shows a ground-floor bay window, as now, on the west end of the north range. But other features were not adopted: an elaborately corbelled oriel lighting the stair in the west range, fleches surmounting three attic dormers and a small opening piercing the larger of the moatside stacks. Among the features which it omits is the little oriel lighting the Boudoir, though this is the subject of two detail drawings.[283]

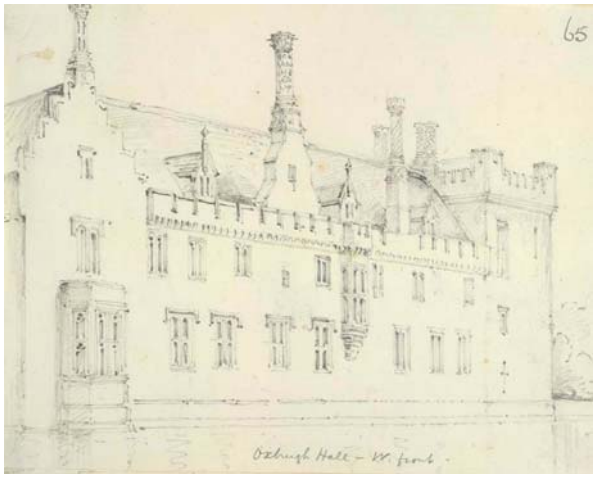


Fig 91. Buckler's perspective view of the west elevation mixes executed and unexecuted features. (British Library)

Three further drawings show parts of the north elevation of the north range.[284] Finally there exist both a plan of the Queen's Room[285] and a drawing of the south-west roof-top turret of the gatehouse, both areas where, for other reasons, Buckler's involvement may be suspected.[286]

In addition to these provenanced drawings a 19th-century plan survives, lacking title, date or signature, and encountered only as a black-and-white photocopy in the Bedingfeld Papers (Fig 92). This poses problems of interpretation which are complicated by the presence of annotations of more than one date. The plan post-dates

the initial intention of 1830 to abandon the eastern half of the house. It also appears to post-date the decision, made in 1831 or 1832, to create the present large Library in the west range (though Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld indicated that an earlier scheme had also envisaged a large library here). It certainly pre-dates the remodelling of the south-east tower in 1860. It shows the Hall neatly divided between reception rooms west of the gatehouse and service rooms to the east, in accordance with the revised intentions of 1831-2, but departs in a number of respects from the room uses described in the letters of the period. The Dining Room at the west end of the north range is variously labelled Writing Room, '2[n]d Library' and (in a clearly later hand) Billiard Room. To the east of the north stair the present Shop is labelled Study and has a bay window replacing the return of the arcade. The Saloon was originally so-called on the plan, but this was later altered to Dining Room. The Drawing Room and Library are shown in accordance with the plan arrived at by the end of 1832, but the Drawing Room fireplace is shown well to the south of its present location.[287]

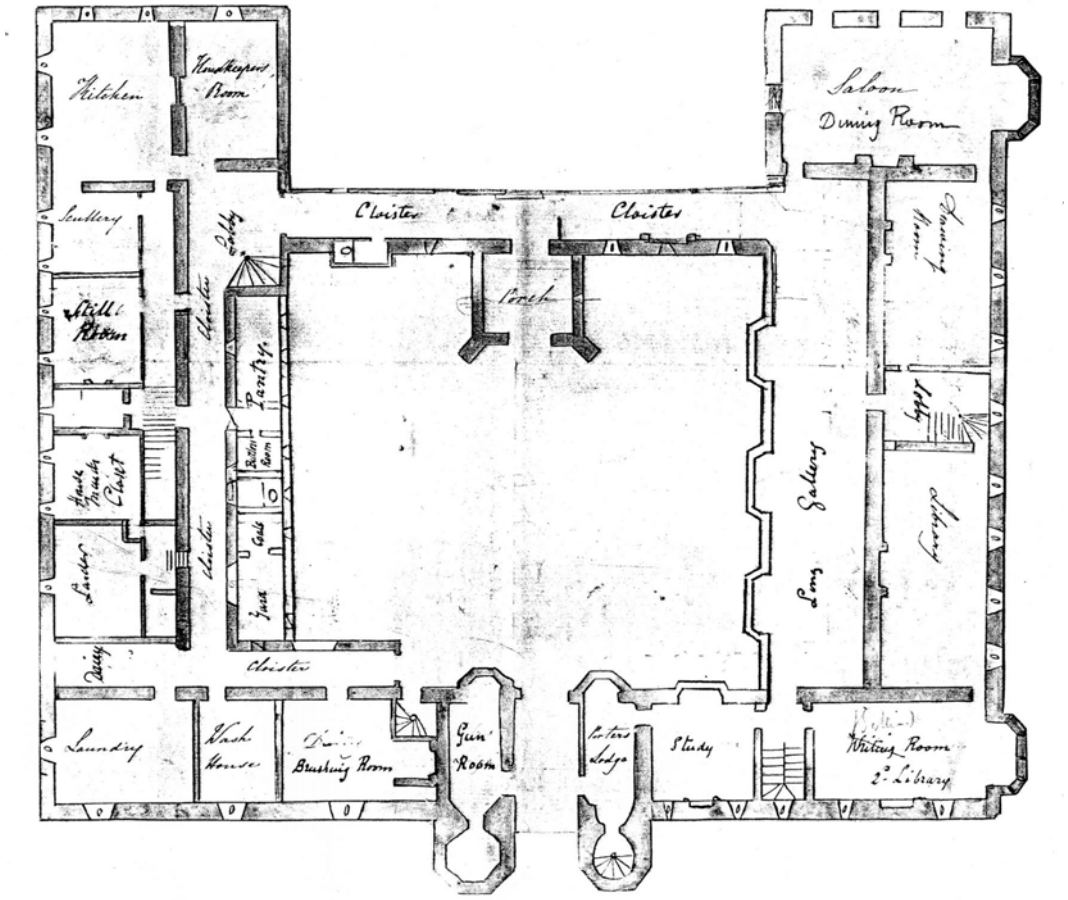


Fig 92. Undated, unsigned 19th-century plan. (Original untraced; copy in Bedingfeld Papers)

To the east of the gatehouse the room uses differ in every respect from those shown on the 1774 plan. In the south-east pavilion the larger east room is shown as a Kitchen, while the smaller west room is indicated as a Housekeeper's Room. North of the latter there is a stair hall, as now, marked 'Lobby'. North of the Kitchen, and moving northwards through the east range, the rooms are labelled Scullery, Still Room, a small unnamed room, House Maids Closet, Larder and Dairy; then in the north range, from

east to west, Laundry, Wash House and Dairy (later amended to Brushing Room), with a Porters Lodge (overwritten with Gun Room) in the east room of the gatehouse. On the west side of the east range arcade a number of smaller rooms are shown: from south to north, a Pantry, an unnamed lobby, a Butler's Room, an unnamed water closet or privy, Coals and a small Yard. These conform to the present flat-roofed range with the exception of the coal store, which has been swept away (both it and the yard are now partly occupied by modern toilets). Apart from the absence of the Brew House, which in August 1831 Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld stated was to be brought within the house (see above), they seem to conform to the revised intention of 1831-2 to concentrate all the service functions on the east side of the gatehouse.

It is less clear whether these intentions were carried fully into effect because the plan also incorporates some elements that were never built, and others which were not built until after 1860, by which time the function of the south-east pavilion had radically altered. In the latter category is a structure sufficiently resembling the present south range – complete with a central porch, projecting into the courtyard with angle buttresses to either side, and a water closet also projecting into the courtyard further east – to indicate that it represents an early stage in the evolution of the design. It is likely, too, that the stair hall at the east end of the south range was not built until the south-east pavilion was remodelled in 1860. The south range is labelled 'Cloister', as are the remaining lengths of the arcade, extending north of the stair hall and returning along the north range as far as a square (not canted) end just short of the gatehouse. West of the gatehouse, on the other hand, the Cloister has been rubbed out and replaced by a wider Long Gallery extending the length of the west range, and lit by three bay windows. Inspired by a similar gallery at Costessey Hall,[288] this was never built, though it is the subject of a watercolour in the family's possession, presumably contemporary with the plan. Another feature which was never built is a bay window or oriel on the west side of the Saloon, which would have balanced the Dining Room window at the other end of the west elevation. There is also shown what appears to be a doorway opening from the Saloon onto the lawned area within the moat. This too was never executed.

On the whole, the plan would seem to represent the maximum extent of the 6th Baronet's ambitions, at a point probably shortly after the revised scheme of 1831-2, and a refinement of the rather ad-hoc arrangements in place by that time. In particular it seeks to remedy the defect whereby food prepared at the east end of the north range had to be carried through the open air to the rear of the gatehouse in order to be served in the Dining Room at the western end. The proposed addition of a south range – really little more than a covered passage – allowed a different kitchen and dining room to be linked more conveniently while preserving the east-west division between service and reception rooms. The fact that this link was not added until 1863 makes it doubtful that the Kitchen and Dining Room were relocated as proposed, and without this element of the plan the distribution of the other service rooms would inevitably have been different. One is forced to conclude, therefore, that the plan is a blueprint for the eventual form of the Hall, as envisaged at some date between 1832 and 1860, but that much of the work was never executed as proposed.

The campaign of 1830-32

The thrust of John Chessell Buckler's remodelling of 1830-32 was an exuberant recreation of the late-medieval 'fortified' manor, which had been sadly patched and Georgianised in the preceding century. In this he relied heavily on the moulded brick

products of the Costessey Brickworks, which he had utilised already at Costessey Hall. More surprisingly, perhaps, Buckler combined his enthusiasm for the Gothic with a respect for the late 17th-century features concentrated in the north range west of the gatehouse, elements of which were imitated and complemented in an antiquarian spirit.

Documentary evidence

Buckler visited the Hall in May 1830 and had submitted plans by 24 June, returning to Oxburgh again on or before 1 July.[289] As early as 6 August Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld noted: 'Bricklayer arrived from Cossey to put in two mullion windows in the Family room where sir Henry was born'.[290] Buckler's initial plans may have been scaled down in the succeeding months. This at any rate appears to be the implication of a letter which Henry's wife, Margaret, wrote in October, in which the main internal alterations were described and the intention of abandoning the eastern half of the Hall was made clear:

> You will be surprised to hear we have made a new arrangement which is even began [*sic*]. It is to turn the present Library into a Kitchen, Henry's room to be divided into House[kee]pers room & Pantry, and the various closets adjoining to be converted into a small Servants Hall. We shall thus considerably diminish the house & hope to be a little more comfortable, for speaking trumpets & no bells will not do in the month of Nov[br]. I was partly against the plan at first, as I thought & still think it will spoil the house, but both Henry & Mr Blount agree in saying that for expence & Convenience it will be far preferable, as this house is writched [*sic*] without a large establishment, which we can't afford to keep. The other side of the House will be empty & totally unfurnished, as there is to be a sale of all the rubbish, which will include most of the furniture now in the rooms.[291]

By 27 November the work was described as 'going on rapidly':

> The ci devant Library, now Kitchen, is nearly finished, and most part of the floor paved, one of the new fashioned ranges has been sent from Town by Mr Blount & a small Scullery has been excavated under the Stairs. Henrys study is divided into a Pantry, H.B[s] room & Passage thus: [thumbnail sketch] and the various closets adjoining having been taken down, make a very pretty Gothic Servants Hall. The door which now opens under the Gate way, is to be locked, and there will consequently be no outlet except by passing close to the Kitchen.[292]

This account, together with the accompanying sketch plan, makes it clear that the Servants' Hall was located in the guard chamber on the west side of the gatehouse, which appears to have become cluttered with partitions since the 1774 plan was prepared. The existing arcade ('Passage' on the sketch) linked the Servants' Hall with 'H B['s] room' immediately adjoining, and the Pantry beyond it. The overall intention of the works was a drastic retrenchment of the accommodation, abandoning the eastern half of the house, and contriving a more compact arrangement of reception rooms and service rooms in the remaining half.

As work in the north range drew to an end attention moved to the adjoining part of the west range. The plan was to create a Dining Room adjoining the Kitchen, and a Library between it and the west stair. The same letter continues:

> The plan you proposed for the Dining Room is exactly the one we had fixed upon; the door into the Arcade is opened but malheureusement the chimney piece comes in the way, so the fire place is to be at the end of the room next the Kitchen. I had a great hole made in the partition yesterday. A vast space is lost there, it is so thick, &

> it is coming down entirely & will probably be rebuilt one brick thick. It will then give us a D. Room of 24 feet by 18, and a small Library still remain. We now live entirely in the Great Room [the Saloon?] & find it very warm.[293]

The 'door into the Arcade' probably refers to a reinstatement of the original doorway in the second bay from the north. The 1774 plan shows a fireplace in or near this position, which had perhaps been chosen to minimise the effort required to insert a flue in an existing wall. The vastly thick partition is a puzzle. A later reference suggests that this refers to the partition dividing the proposed Library and Dining Room, but the 1774 plan, which is generally reliable in its depiction of wall thicknesses, does not suggest that this one was especially thick. However, at first-floor level this wall was found, in 1967, to incorporate two garderobes, so it may be that the 1774 plan needs to be treated with caution.

A fireplace was indeed inserted, as described in the letter, at or close to the north-east corner of the Dining Room. This is apparent from the surviving flue, visible in the northernmost bay of the roof-space, and from a single chimney rising above the courtyard elevation.

In April 1831 the work was still unfinished, as 'we are waiting for Buckler, and cannot finish the Library before he arrives',[294] but by August new proposals had been adopted, reversing many of the changes effected over the past year. Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld explained the reasoning:

> The plan of making a Chapel in the House is given up, as henry has discovered at length that our present Offices are inconvenient in many respects, especially by their confined dimensions. The present Kitchen will therefore become a Dining Room, the two adjoining a Library, according to a former plan. We shall nevertheless diminish the size of our Offices, as we intend to have Brew House, &c all in the house.

Was the 'former plan' Buckler's original proposal, perhaps? Alterations to the Kitchen chimney were planned for September (when the family proposed to absent themselves on 'a little tour'), but otherwise it was decided that 'These alterations will not be made this winter, as the windows are not put in, on the left wing of the moat'.[295] The windows had been an enduring cause of complaint. 'Our windows prove a source of great annoyance to us,' Margaret lamented in the same letter, 'as we never can get our bricks from Cossey without delays; however those we have completed certainly repay us for our trouble, & look extremely handsome'. The 'left wing of the moat' presumably refers to either the east wing (on the left when viewed from in front of the gatehouse) or the whole of the Hall left of the gatehouse, since in this area, practically abandoned by the family, improvements were less pressing. Meanwhile it was discovered that 'the roof of the Tower [i.e. the gatehouse], from being perfect has become so decayed as to be quite dangerous. & it requires an entire new roof & new covering of lead'.[296]

In the event work progressed through the winter, though the plans remained liable to change and the erratic supply of moulded bricks led to delays. In December Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld wrote that 'The partition in the two rooms [i.e. those previously intended to serve as the Dining Room and Library] is again pulled down & it is decidedly to become the large Dining Room, with Sash windows'.[297] In the end, however, it became the Library, and in November 1832 the completion of 'all the carpenters work in the library' was anticipated 'in another fortnight'.[298] At the same time it was remarked that 'The cloister adds considerably to the comfort and warmth of the house'. This

implies that the arcade added by the 5th Baronet some fifty years previously, or at least part of it, had been recently enclosed.

The exterior

There is considerable surviving evidence, externally and internally, for the campaign of works executed between 1830 and 1832. On the exterior it accounts for the majority of the moulded windows and chimneys, mostly in brick but some in stone, the parapets, and the infilling of the western half of the arcade. Some, however, are later.

Windows

The windows occur in a number of forms (Fig 93), the distribution of which is far from straightforward, and is further complicated by the deliberate copying of mouldings in some instances.[299] The most numerous type (here referred to as Type 1) has an outer ogee moulding and an inner cavetto. It occurs principally in two-light mullioned forms, but there are also transomed examples lighting the north and west stairs, and a number of single-light windows. Together these account for all the windows of the north elevation, all the ground-floor windows of the west elevation and a number of others (the form is also imitated, with much smoother moulded bricks, on the later south-east tower and on the south range of 1863). Since the work of 1830-32 was concentrated in the west range, the western portion of the north range and the north elevation these windows can be assigned to the same period with some confidence. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the four windows lighting the Library occur in two different forms. The two northern windows are in moulded brick, while the other two are in stone. This would appear to be a relic of the earlier intention to utilise this area for two rooms rather than one. One other stone window on the west elevation is likely to be of this date. The canted bay window at the west end of the new Dining Room is set directly beneath a two-light first-floor window of the most numerous type, in such a way that the two are likely to have been created at the same time; internal evidence (see below) also suggests that the oriel is contemporary with the remodelling of 1830-32. The stone oriel and two moulded brick two-light windows lighting the Drawing Room towards the other end of the same elevation, however, date from no earlier than the 1860s, since they do not appear in a photography published in 1865.[300] They have the same moulding but differ in having four-centred heads.

A second common window type (Type 2) is just a little plainer, having the same inner cavetto but substituting a chamfer for the outer ogee. It occurs only in brick, and with one three-light exception the windows are all of two lights. It accounts for all the first-floor windows and the two attic dormers on the east elevation of the east range and the majority of the first-floor and attic windows overlooking the courtyard in the north, east and west ranges, but it is not encountered at all on the courtyard elevations. A number of these windows appear in the 1865 photograph.

The third major type (Type 3) is rather more elaborate. It consists of outer and inner cavettos, between which is a deep, three-quarter round cavetto. The main concentration of this type is on the south-west pavilion, where it accounts for all the south- and west-facing windows, but it also includes all the first-floor windows on the courtyard elevation of the east range (the central one is a modern copy) and one window each in the courtyard elevations of the north and west ranges, both at first-floor level. These courtyard windows all light passages. A further example occurs in the west elevation of the south-east pavilion, i.e. overlooking the Saloon.

Fig 93. The moatside elevation of the northern half of the west range, showing the diversity of window types employed by Buckler. (NMR BB032405)

The remaining window types are much less numerous. A simple cavetto moulding is used on the single light and the canted oriel lighting the Boudoir on the first floor of the west range, and for the attic window in the east gable of the north range. All these are in stone. The oriel has a moulded corbel and a castellated parapet, above which a crow-stepped stone dormer rises, incorporating a small chamfered single-light window, also in stone, and topped by a pinnacle. The other Boudoir window is a single light with an elaborate trefoiled head: all the foils are sub-cusped and the central foil is treated as an ogee arch. The complex spandrels are partly filled by quatrefoils. Two further examples of the cavetto moulding can be found facing the courtyard.[301] The Boudoir windows are illustrated in two undated Buckler drawings and one of Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours, indicating a date before the early 1850s. Another type, which has an outer chamfer and inner cavetto, but separates them with a rebate, is found only in stone. It occurs on the large Kitchen oriel and on two single-light cinquefoiled windows on the first floor of the west range, south of the Boudoir. The Kitchen oriel is depicted by Matilda Bedingfeld, but not the single lights, though these were present by the time of the 1865 photograph. One further type occurs as a single example on the east elevation, lighting the Study. It resembles the commonest type except that in the place of the simple ogee there is a quirked ogee. The single occurrence is surprising, and may indicate a trial or an afterthought.

Parapets

Machicolated and crenellated parapets extend along the east, west and north ranges except on the courtyard elevations of the west range and the north range west of the gatehouse. Beneath the machicolated projection the parapets are associated with five further courses of brickwork in the main plane of the wall, the eaves level of which was originally directly above the first-floor window heads (as it remains where no parapet was built). The parapet, which has merlons wider than the embrasures, steps up to form the gabled bases of a number of chimneys, and is coped in moulded brick. A break forward in the parapet on the east moatside elevation reflects the fact that the rebuilt southern section of wall is plumb whereas the 15th-century wall to the north leans inwards appreciably. There is, however, no appreciable variation in the form of the parapet at this point, nor on the opposite elevation, which implies (and similarities in the brickwork tend to confirm) that the first-floor walls of the southern section were rebuilt at the same time.

Dormers

Dormers are confined to the courtyard elevations of all three original ranges and the moatside elevations of the east and west ranges. Some of these dormers replaced earlier examples, a number of which have been noted earlier, though the evidence for others is now concealed. Dormers also existed formerly on the north elevation but were removed in the 19th century. Cotman shows one just east of the gatehouse (clearly depicted as a two-light window with a flat lead roof) and another towards the west gable, while Buckler shows another towards the east gable. These supplemented the small window in each of the crow-stepped gables of the north elevation, as shown by Cotman, Neale and Buckler. The majority of the existing dormers date from early in the 19th-century remodelling, but a number are clearly later. Unlike many of the ground and first-floor windows they do not have hood-moulds.

Fig 94. The courtyard elevation of the north range and gatehouse, showing the impact of Buckler's dormer windows. (NMR BB032407)

Three dormers facing into the courtyard on the east range (Fig 79) and two on the north range east of the gatehouse (Fig 94) share a common form and are contemporary with the parapets. They are relatively tall and narrow, with two arched and cinquefoiled lights beneath square heads overall and Type 1 mouldings. The cheeks of the dormers are corbelled in moulded brick to form kneelers for the moulded brick copings, which rise to a trefoil at the apex and support a moulded brick finial set above two courses of brick. In the gable of each dormer there is a small quatrefoil, and one cheek wall of each incorporates a hatch giving access to the parapet gutters. On the opposite side of the east range the two dormers differ in that the corbels consist of three courses rather than two, and the finials are placed directly on top of the copings. The windows also differ in having plain four-centred heads to the lights and Type 2 mouldings. Again they appear to be contemporary with the parapet to either side.

Another consistent pattern of dormers occurs on the courtyard elevations of the west range and the north range west of the gatehouse. Here the brickwork is of an even orange tone, the window jambs, unusually at Oxburgh, are keyed into the adjoining brickwork and the sills project. The quatrefoils in the gables are slightly larger and though the copings meet at the apex they do not incorporate a trefoil; instead they form a base for a finial which itself represents a further variant. The dormer roofs are plain-tiled instead of pantiled, a characteristic which associates them with the south range.

Two brick dormers on the moatside elevation of the west range introduce a further series of variations. They have corbels of three brick courses but the gable copings break at the apex; the trefoil is therefore omitted and the finials, which differ from each other and are shorter than those already described, rest directly on the brick. The more southerly dormer has the Type 1 moulding, and copings which have a hipped termination at the kneeler, while the other has the Type 2 moulding and more conventional gabled ends to the coping. The third west-facing dormer, towards the northern end of the north range, is highly individual. Executed entirely in stone, it forms part of Buckler's alterations for the Boudoir. The small single light is chamfered and the crow-stepped gable rises to an elaborate corbelled finial.

Chimneys

Oxburgh has a large number of elaborate moulded brick chimney shafts, arranged singly, in pairs and occasionally in more numerous groupings. All of them date from the 19th century, though they may span 35 years or more. Although the moulded bases of the gatehouse chimneys hint at more or less elaborate shafts their immediate precursors were the tall square shafts recorded by Cotman and others. The present shafts are circular and have octagonal moulded bases and caps, the latter crenellated. The styles adopted are such as emerged in the late 15th century though the majority of surviving examples are of 16th-century date. Where the shafts are paired the caps are joined for stability and the designs of the two shafts are invariably different.

The brick chimney shafts of the north and west ranges are mostly of 1830-32. One is demonstrably so: the single shaft rising from the north end of the courtyard elevation of the west range served a ground-floor fireplace which was abandoned in the revised scheme for the Library. The stacks are associated with the false-machicolated eaves and crenellated parapets of the north, east and west ranges, which are uniform in character and clearly distinguished from the corresponding features of the two pavilions and the south-east tower, which are in a later, more even-toned brick.

Fig 95. The moatside elevation of the north range east of the gatehouse. (NMR BB032396)

Fig 96. The moatside elevation of the north range west of the gatehouse. (NMR BB032394)

One of Buckler's principal concerns was to create an impressive approach from the north. Apart from entirely re-fenestrating the north range he wished to enhance the visual accents formed by the two gabled stacks, one on each side of the gatehouse

(Figs 95 & 96). As has been noted, drawings for this work survive. West of the gatehouse he provided an oriel lighting the north stair. The oriel roof rises into the crow-stepped gable supporting a pair of chimneys, the flues of which are raked across from the West Dining Room and North Room. The east chimney has a vertical chevron ornament, while the west has a roll-moulded lattice (this is repeated on the dummy stack on the east gable of the north range). East of the gatehouse there was a balancing gabled stack, but there was no corresponding staircase and the status of the rooms did not merit an oriel. Buckler's solution was to bring the stack forward on a deep moulded corbel, giving it something approaching similar weight in the composition. Beneath the corbel he placed a carved stone tablet bearing the falcon and fetterlock badge of Edward IV, and the date 1482 in self-consciously archaic characters. The corbel is executed in moulded brick or terracotta, some of it forming very large pieces. Above a weathering course there is a band of *fleur-de-lys* ornament. The upper stage is corbelled in brick. The paired shafts gather flues serving the former Kitchen on the ground floor to the east and the large first-floor room (now the House Steward's sitting room) to the west. The east shaft is decorated with a pattern of lozenges each containing a quatrefoil, while the west has a pattern of egg-like projections. Though they would seem to be of the same date as the shafts west of the gatehouse, the moulding of the caps differs.

On the west gable of the north range there is a single chimney which may post-date the early 1830s. Prominently positioned, and detailed accordingly, it serves a humble attic bedroom where the fireplace has a splay-cut moulding suggesting a date probably no earlier than the middle of the 19th century. The shaft has a roll-moulded motif half-way between chevron and reeding and the cap has a different moulding from those identified with the work of the early 1830s. The dummy shaft on the east gable, however, reproduces the roll-moulded lattice pattern described above, and it is perhaps likely that both chimneys would have been conceived together.

Three chimneys rise from the moatside elevation of the west range, and a fourth on the courtyard elevation. Beginning with the moatside elevation the southernmost, serving the former bedroom immediately north of the Yellow Room, has a scalloped shaft and rises from an earlier square base, while the middle one, set atop a medieval gabled stack and serving another first-floor room now known as the Admiral's Room, has *fleur-de-lys* ornament. The third chimney in the sequence serves the Boudoir. It is the only one at Oxburgh executed wholly in stone, and has a twisted shaft and an elaborate carved stone cowl. Sketches for it appear in the Buckler drawings and suggest that it is contemporary with the Boudoir windows.[302]

On the east range three chimneys are grouped in a triangular arrangement on the main brick cross-wall and there are single shafts rising from crow-stepped gables towards either end of the moatside elevation. The triple shafts have caps incorporating radiating spurs. Of the two single chimneys, the northern one has a twisted shaft, while the southern example has a strapwork design of interlaced circles.

At least one set of chimneys dates from after about 1865. The photograph (Fig 9) published by R. H. Mason in that year shows a substantial plain stack on the rear of the south-west pavilion, where four elaborate shafts are now grouped.[303]

The infilled arcade, or 'Cloister'

Family correspondence and the undated plan, referred to above, concur in indicating that the arcade, in keeping with the Gothic spirit of the remodelling, was rechristened the Cloister. In November 1832 Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld wrote:

> The cloister adds considerably to the comfort & warmth of the house. The door was put up the day you went away & there are very handsome hinges and nails for it, the latter are not yet put in. They promise to finish all the carpenters work in the library in another fortnight.[304]

The door is probably the present door to the west range of the arcade. Architectural evidence indicates that the arcade was infilled in two phases, distinguished by brickwork of different colour. To the west of the gatehouse the bricks range from pink to brown and resemble others used in the 1830s, whereas to the east they are a pale buff colour and presumably later. There is also some variation, both between and within the two sections of arcade, in the treatment of the windows incorporated within the infilled areas.

Fig 97. The interior of the enclosed arcade, or 'Cloister', east of the gatehouse. (NMR BB032436)

The west section of the arcade, which was later truncated by the bay window of the Billiard Room, has a roughly central entrance flanked by two-light windows, with single lights in the two outer bays at each end. The door is divided into four tall 'panels' by applied ribs, and has a square-headed frame and long hinge straps. The double lights have stone surrounds with arched heads and sunk spandrels, but the single lights are simple brick openings with segmental heads (the northernmost has been altered). The single-bay returns at either end of the arcade each incorporate a doorway and a narrow single light.

The east section of the arcade is now partly buried in the later service ranges encroaching on the courtyard, but the three northern bays survive within the present service yard. Further south the arcade wall is now internal and two bays of the infill have been removed. Three further bays of the arcade plus the canted end remain exposed alongside the north range (Fig 97).

The ground-floor interior of the west and north ranges

Given the repeated changes in plan, it is not surprising that there is no visible indication of the short-lived scheme for the Kitchen in what is now the Dining Room, nor of the equally ephemeral schemes for the rooms to the east (which were moreover altered again in the 20th century). These included the Servants' Hall in the gatehouse, which was entered via a pre-existing doorway (shown on the 1774 plan and now visible inside the gatehouse as a blocking) at the southern end of the west wall. The blocking of the doorway onto the carriageway, referred to above, accounts for its present rebuilt form, which is repeated on the doorway facing it across the carriageway. This was presumably blocked at the same time, and with a similar intention.

The West Dining Room

Fig 98. The West Dining Room, from the south-west. (NMR BB032500)

The new Dining Room (Fig 98), which by the early 1850s (if not before) was known as the West Dining Room,[305] retained the same volume and disposition of openings as the 18th-century Library, but its present appearance dates essentially from the remodelling of 1832, and is recorded in one of Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours. The fixtures are of a variety of sources and dates but all, including the west-facing oriel, appear to have been brought together at the same time. The fireplace commemorates Edward IV's grant of the license to crenellate, with the 'antique' legend 'Edwardus: IIII A.D: M:CCCC:VIII.II.' (i.e. 1482) and has the mottoes '*De Mieux La Pense En Mieux*' and '*Despicis Terrena*' in heraldic side-panels.[306] The tall bolection-moulded panelled wainscot, two panels high, belongs to the 1830s work (narrow panels on the east wall respect the position of the buffet) but incorporates a panel dated '1635'. Of the two north-facing windows, that to the east has shutters incorporating heraldic panels bearing the characters 'ANNO' and '1721'. The style of bolection-moulded panelling extends as far as the soffit of the opening to the oriel on the west wall, but in all other respects the oriel (the subject of another watercolour) is given a Gothic treatment, including a Gothic cornice, and doors to the shutter boxes incorporating cavetto-moulded sunk panels with cinquefoil heads. The floor boards continue into the oriel without interruption. Both doors into the Dining Room are jib doors, though the east door is expressed normally on the opposite face, and Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolour gives no indication of its existence. Inside the room it reproduces the panelling of the dado, but incorporates a carved hunting scene in the upper panel.

The Library

The Library (Fig 99) is also substantially as created in the early 1830s, including the fitted bookcases. The walls are papered (damaged parts of the wallpaper pattern have been reinstated in paint, particularly in the north-west corner) above a deep Gothic-style skirting. The skirting respects all the existing window openings, which are crowned by elaborate partly gilded pelmets. The ceiling is divided into four bays by a series of chamfered transverse beams augmented by soffit rolls; lighter roll-moulded beams, both axial and transverse, create a pattern of square compartments. Square floral bosses, in three designs (one a Tudor rose), mask the intersections of the lighter beams. The beams are grained.

The room was heated by a substantial fireplace in the centre of the east wall, above which a carved wooden overmantel is composed of medieval work, including figures from a Tree of Jesse (Fig 100). The Gothic-style chimneypiece is executed in pale limestone and has a frieze of quatrefoils incorporating coloured shields.[307] The splays, and the outer parts of the back of the fireplace, have two designs of tile arranged

chequer-fashion. One has the Bedingfeld spread-eagle in gold on a white ground, while the other has the monogram 'HB' in gold on a blue ground. The basket incorporates standards with the initials 'H' and 'B'. For a variety of reasons it is unlikely that the tiles date from earlier than 1848.[308] Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolour, probably of the early 1850s, which is precise in its depiction of the chimneypiece and overmantel, shows small blue and white tiles in place of the present heraldic scheme, and serves to push the date of the tiles later still.

Fig 99. The Library from the south-west. (NMR BB032487)

Fig 100. The Library chimneypiece. (NMR BB032489)

Fig 101. The concealed door from the Library to the Dining Room. (NMR BB032490)

At the south end of the room there is a matching pair of doorways, one (towards the east) opening onto the west stair, the other onto an under-stairs cupboard which communicates with the Drawing Room beyond. The doorways have chamfered frames with broach stops, and heavy doors divided vertically in three by cavetto-moulded ribs. Each has an elaborate brass or copper case lock. There are two further entrances in the form of jib doors. One is immediately north of the fireplace, and corresponds to the greater part of one of the original doorways off the courtyard; it is now blocked. The other is towards the west end of the north wall, and is disguised as a continuation of the adjoining bookcase (Fig 101). False book spines reinforce the illusion, and a number of the titles embody references (frequently tongue-in-cheek) to family history or contemporary family members.[309] Matilda Bedingfeld's two watercolours of the Library, which differ only in the arrangement of the furniture, collude with the disguise, as in the West Dining Room, giving no indication of a doorway. The bookcases overlie the Library skirting but are nevertheless likely to have been fitted at an early date, and reproduce the same skirting in a diminutive form. They have uprights with lancet-like sunk-panels, a moulded and coved cornice and Gothic cresting.

The west stair

A significant feature of the undated plan (see Fig 92) is its depiction of the west stair occupying a compartment that is clearly wider than that of the north stair. This appears to signal the enlargement of the west stair compartment southwards in conjunction with alterations to the Drawing Room, which lacks late 18th-century joinery details at the stair end. In the cupboard opening off the landing between the first floor and the attic the sawn-off western end of the original tie-beam can be seen, and in the roof-space there is a trimmed area indicating a stack formerly placed against the tie-beam. The new partition 98cm further south has light softwood studs and brick infill panels aligned beneath a common rafter couple.[310]

Fig 102. The west stair, as remodelled by Buckler, from the south-east. (NMR BB032485)

Much of the new work on the stair was in pine, stained to resemble oak (Fig 102). This includes some of the panelling, including the tall panels surrounding the entrance from the east, and the door architraves.[311] The principal exception is the door to the Library, which is of hardwood (divided by cavetto-moulded ribs into three vertical panels) within a double-chamfered hardwood frame. Some elements of the original stair, including the sunk-panelled newels and twisted balusters, which are of oak, were probably retained from the earlier stair, but others, including the handrail, are in pine. The newels (that on the ground floor surmounted by a finial in the form of a carved lion) are decorated with applied carving, and above the dado the walls are covered with leather set in panels. The dado is also of pine, but there

are sufficient anomalies in the disposition of panels to suggest that it is made from re-used elements. It is decorated with heraldic devices a number of which, on the first landing, have been removed. On the west side of the landing, facing the ascent, are some late 17th-century cartouches. The bolection-moulded dado continues only to the second landing; thereafter a skirting continues, ramped up to the attic floor. On the first-floor landing, however, the decoration falls into line with that of the Gothicised passage (see below), with a dado-rail and skirting of Gothic flavour and a dado of moulded sunk panels.[312] This work appears to have truncated the bolection-moulded dado, suggesting that the Gothic first-floor passage may post-date the reconfiguring of the stair.

The north stair

The remodelling of the north stair followed similar lines but the stair was further removed from the centre of gravity of the remodelled house and the alterations were accordingly less thoroughgoing. Two of Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours show the stair.[313] One (Fig 103) shows the lozenge pattern of the limestone floor on the ground floor and the strapwork pattern on the soffit of the stair, while the other shows a large female figure set on top of the first-floor newel and a number of twisted balusters.

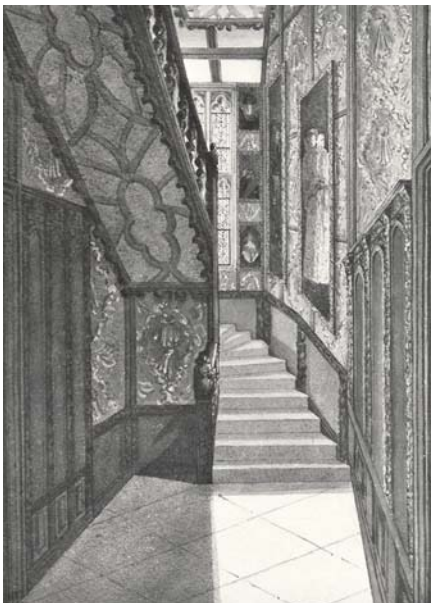


Fig 103. Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolour of the north stair. (Henry Paston-Bedingfeld – photo National Trust)

Fig 104. The first-floor passage along the courtyard side of the west range, seen from the higher floor level of the Saloon block. (NMR 032492)

The Kitchen

After the early indecision described above it seems likely that the Kitchen reverted to the position it had probably occupied since the 1770s at the eastern end of the north range. Here a double-height room, lit from the east by a tall stone oriel, was created, presumably by removing an existing first floor. The oriel appears in one of Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours. The kitchen was served by the large corbelled stack, described above, a design for which survives among the Buckler drawings.[314]

The re-set chimneypiece is probably of mid-18th-century date. It shows signs of having been re-set, and clearly it was intended for a room of much higher status (see pp.91-4). The retention of such a feature in such an incongruous setting suggests an antiquarian impulse most likely to have arisen during one of the 19th-century campaigns of Gothic remodelling. This in turn may suggest a likely origin in the former upper-end accommodation, which was first neglected, and then extensively altered in the mid-19th century. The chimneypiece is of clunch, with traces of paint, and incorporates a series of minor stonework repairs. The lintel, which has a cyma recta cornice, breaks forward at a carved female head.

Fig 106. The kitchen from the south-west, showing the re-set 18th-century chimneypiece. (NMR BB032439)

The present character of the Kitchen (Fig 106) is otherwise largely 19th century. The re-set chimneypiece contains a large and elaborate 'Eagle' range, probably of the 1880s, incorporating (as the abundant lettering indicates) 'Eagle patent ventilating canopy[,] draught regulator & hot closet'.[315] Against the west wall three segmental-arched recesses were placed beneath a rank of cupboards. Latterly at least, the recesses were occupied by (from south to north) a charcoal stove (Fig 107), a double-doored cupboard and an oven. The arrangement, later altered with the loss of the oven, is shown in photographs of November 1971.[316] The charcoal stove, which remains *in situ*, has a depressed four-centred arch and sunk spandrels.

Fig 107. The surviving charcoal range. (NMR BB032441)

The placing of the kitchen here makes it likely that the room adjoining the gatehouse to the west (forming the Laundry in 1774 and now forming a second Tea Room) was used as a servants' hall from this period onwards.

The first-floor interior of the west and north ranges

The moulding of the skirting serves to associate the remodelling of the Library with that of the first-floor passage extending the whole length of the west range (Fig 104). As mentioned in connection with the west stair, this has a Gothic-style dado which respects the present two-light window north of the stair but overlies two blocked windows in the same half of the passage. The Gothic dado extends north of the stair as far as the north range, but south of the stair it extends only as far as the first doorway off on the west

side, while on the east side there is just a skirting. The four-centred lath-and-plaster vault incorporates an axial rib intersecting with closely spaced transverse ribs at circular bosses containing shields. These reproduce one of the characteristic motifs of the late 15th-century gatehouse, as does the brattished cornice from which the vault springs. At its southern end the vault rises to accommodate the short stair ascending to the first floor of the south-west pavilion.

The Boudoir

The dado in the passage overlies, without disturbance, the blocked doorway into the Boudoir, indicating that the present entrance (from a lobby contrived in the north range) was in use by this time. This door position suggests that the Boudoir (Fig 105) formed the sitting room of a female occupant who slept in the North Room. The door incorporates a single large panel assembling disparate pieces of 17th-century carving, and is set in a large bolection-moulded architrave which resulted in minor alterations to the skirting. The mid-19th-century scheme includes a ceiling of reticulated plaster ribs framing Tudor rose and portcullis motifs. The fireplace on the west wall has a four-centred arched chimneypiece. It is chamfered, with broach stops, and has scagliola decoration akin to that on the North Room fireplace. The cast-iron fireplace has reeding, Greek-key and floral motifs and may be later. The windows have moulded surrounds in the form of two rolls planted within a cavetto. That on the south side of the fireplace is a canted oriel and has a ribbed star vault with moulded corbels.

Fig 105. The Boudoir from the south-east. (NMR BB032494)

Other first-floor rooms

Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours of the Yellow Room (the southernmost first-floor room in the west range), the Fetterlock Room (above the eastern two-thirds of the Saloon), the North Room and the 'Haunted Room' (now the Marian Hangings Room) show how these rooms were used by about 1850. All four are shown furnished as bedrooms. In the Yellow Room the three-light window is shown in its present form and the arched recess in the west wall houses a shelf for a basin and ewer. The view of the Fetterlock Room shows that it too continued in use as a bedroom, with a canopied bed against the west wall, opposite a large bookcase. The walls are papered and the chimney has an elaborate panelled overmantel, later removed. The cupboards flanking the chimneypiece are not apparent. The so-called 'Haunted Room' has a small canopied bed against the east wall, a chimneypiece on the north and the present door, with its twisted balusters above the lock-rail, opening onto the passage to the south.[317] The grid of ceiling beams is shown embellished with bosses, as in the Library.

The 're-edification' of the gatehouse

The gatehouse did not originally form part of Buckler's brief at Oxburgh when he commenced work in 1830. Then in August 1831 Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld wrote to Felix: 'We have discovered that the roof of the Tower, from being perfect has become so

decayed as to be quite dangerous. & it requires an entire new roof & new covering of lead'.[318] This probably both explains and dates the plan of the Queen's Room which survives among the Buckler drawings.[319] The inclusion in this drawing both of dimensions and of a detail of the fireplace moulding suggests that it was preparatory to working up a scheme, and that its depiction of a three-bay ceiling, incorporating trusses against the end walls, a ridge and a single set of purlins, illustrates the original form of the roof.[320] This in turn implies that the present roof is, at least in broad terms, a copy of the original. In fact the work extended beyond the mere re-roofing to include the reconstruction of the second floor. The precise date of the work is unclear. It may have commenced shortly after the problem was identified, but it is equally possible that the work was deferred, since the accommodation in the gatehouse was not needed for family occupation. The weathervane surmounting the small south-west turret appears in one of Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours and may date from the same phase of work.[321]

Other features probably attributable to this phase include the doorways opening off either side of the carriageway. Lenses of later brickwork, characterised by diagonal hack-marks, indicate the removal of the original door heads in the course of rebuilding (see Fig 26). Each new doorway has a limestone ashlar surround with a four-centred arched head. The limestone is of a more yellow colour than that used in the late 15th century. The jambs have a broad chamfer without stops while the arched head reproduces the reverse-ogee moulding set within narrow chamfers. The doors are boarded and nail-studded. The long hinge straps on the outer face have *fleur-de-lys* terminals, and a fourfold version of the same motif, arranged lozenge-fashion, forms the fixing plate of the latch ring.

*Fig 108. The Porter's Lodge as it appeared in 1929. (*Country Life/*NMR)*

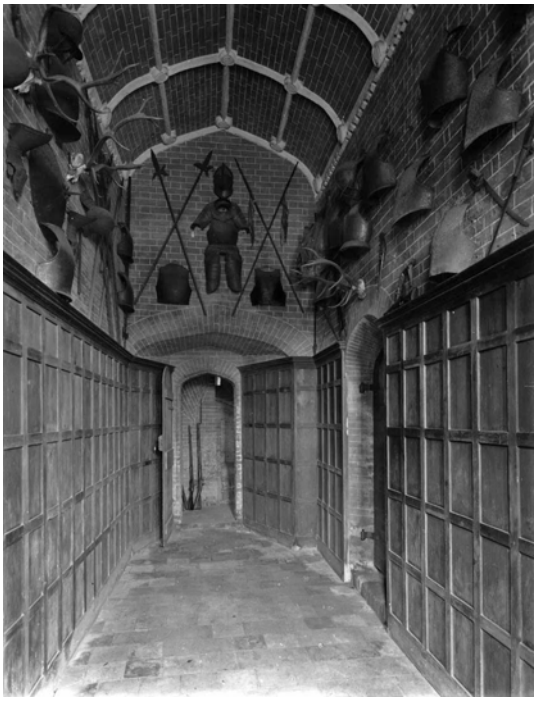


*Fig 109. A 1929 view of the Armoury. (*Country Life/*NMR)*

Works inside the gatehouse continued after the 1830s. Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolour of the King's Room shows panelling around the north-facing window, but papered or painted walls elsewhere. This is consistent with the suggestion that the panelling in the

King's Room was installed in 1863, after the 6th Baronet's death but in response to his stated wishes. It is described as of Belgian manufacture.[322] Panelled wainscots on the ground floor of the gatehouse may be contemporary. With the scheme for the Servants' Hall in the gatehouse abandoned the chamber west of the carriageway was available for another use from the early 1830s. It may have been at about this time that it came to be known as the Armoury, used to display arms and armour. A view by Matilda Bedingfeld is among the missing items in the album of watercolours. Photographs published in 1929 show the rooms on both sides of the carriageway fitted with high panelled wainscots (Figs 108 & 109).[323] In the Armoury there are five rows of panels between skirting and rail, and the individual panels are of square proportions, as though of the later 16th century. In the east room, by contrast, the full-height panels shown in another photograph are tall and narrow, and they close across the north end, incorporating a wooden door opening into the octagon room. The door has four panels of mid-19th-century or later proportions. Above the fireplace in the east room there are a series of shorter panels, each containing a heraldic device, and above these, centrally placed, a single horizontal panel also containing heraldic decoration. In both rooms the exposed wall surfaces and the vaults, except for the plastered ribs and bosses, are neatly painted in imitation of brickwork with crisp, regular mortar joints. That this treatment is a 19th-century pastiche is indicated by the adoption of Flemish bond. Neither the panelling, nor the paint scheme, survives in either room. The same treatment is apparent in the accompanying internal photograph of the east bay window in the Queen's Room.[324]

The remodelling of the south-east pavilion, 1860

Fig 110. The remodelled south-east pavilion with its tower added in two stages. (NMR BB032401)

Fig 111. The east elevation of the south-east pavilion and tower. (NMR BB032399)

The editor of the 1909 Catholic Record Society volume, who had access to the family papers as well as to the recollections of individuals still living, noted that it was 'just before his death' that the 6th Baronet 'built the present S.E. Tower, entirely from his own designs'.[325] The tall two-storey bay window on the east elevation of the south-east pavilion furnishes a date of 1860 for the work, which appears fresh and only just beginning to be colonised by creeper in the earliest photograph of Oxburgh, published in

1865 but probably taken *circa* 1862. The effect of the 6th Baronet's last campaign was to break down the formality of Tasker's pavilion, rendering it asymmetrical by building a tall tower over the eastern half, disguising its classical origins with a more substantial overlay of Gothic decoration, refurbishing the existing rooms in the pavilion and adding a new stair turret serving these rooms, two storeys of new bedrooms in the tower and existing rooms in the southern half of the east range. The result was a compact suite of rooms more appropriate for day-to-day family use than the state rooms in the west wing. The 6th Baronet died shortly afterwards in 1862 and the rooms have retained broadly the same functions down to the present day. Their character is now wholly mid-19th-century Gothic, and although both the stepped rear wall and the north-south spine wall are as shown on the 1774 plan, and the spine wall may be 15th-century in origin, no details attributable to Tasker seem to have survived. Whilst the bulk of what we see today dates from a single campaign in or around 1860 the fenestration is so various as to suggest either that some of the alterations occurred piecemeal or that an antiquarian impulse aimed to simulate the appearance of a protracted building evolution.

Previous authors have suggested that some work on the south-east pavilion dates from 1838,[326] and before going on to discuss the works of *circa* 1860 it is necessary to consider other evidence which might appear to lend weight to this date. The starting point is Buckler's view of 1820 (Fig 48), which clearly shows Tasker's south-east pavilion unchanged in essentials and consisting of just two storeys, with the eaves level of the hipped-roof pavilion meeting the roof of the east range roughly midway between the eaves and ridge level of the latter. This contrasts with Matilda Bedingfeld's distant view of Oxburgh from the former steeple of St John's Church (collapsed 1948), which for reasons given above is likely to date from before 1855 and which shows the south-east tower rising to just above the ridge-level of the east range, but well short of its present height.[327] However, this view clearly shows the two pavilions as being of equal height, and it would therefore appear that Matilda Bedingfeld exaggerated the height, as she did other verticals in her pictures. The third floor first appears in the photograph published in 1865 (Fig 9).[328] It is therefore surprising that the difference in the height of the tower as shown by Matilda Bedingfeld and by Buckler corresponds closely to a deep band of rough, irregularly bonded brickwork which is clearly distinguished both from Tasker's Flemish bond below and from the equally regular English bond brickwork of the tower's upper stage on the south, east and west elevations (Figs 110 & 111). The vertical extent of this rougher brickwork amounts to a little less than a full second floor: it stops short of the present second-floor window heads, and there are no openings which are demonstrably contemporary with it. Both internally and externally the fitting out of the second floor seems contemporary with that of the third floor, and both have stylistic features such as mouldings which can be matched on the ground and first floors, any variations being accounted for by the differing status of the various floors and rooms. Furthermore, the 1865 photograph shows no discrepancy between the brickwork at the level described. The difference is arguably too striking to result from the differential weathering of bricks from different firings, and may indicate either the use of bricks from a number of sources or an undocumented re-facing of the upper stage at a later date.

Further confirmation for the 1860 date comes from the appearance, in three places on the south-east pavilion, of the Grandison arms. The Barony of Grandison, created in 1299, had been in abeyance for want of male issue since 1369. In 1854 the 6th Baronet petitioned the House of Lords to grant his claim to the Barony, based on descent through the female line via Sir John Pateshull (d.1313) and Sir Robert Tuddenham (d.1361). In 1858 he was judged to have proved his descent, but not his precedence over other

potential claimants, and the Barony therefore remained in abeyance.[329] The inclusion of the Grandison arms on the bay window, dated 1860, celebrates the Baronet's moral victory and the two other occurrences of the arms – on a first-floor oriel on the south elevation and on a tablet set in the west gable – are doubtless contemporary.

There is nevertheless some reason to suppose that a number of alterations preceded the major campaign of 1860 or thereabouts. There are clear indications that this area of Oxburgh Hall, initially excluded from the 6th Baronet's plans, was brought back into consideration as his plans grew in ambition. In 1774, before Tasker created his two pavilions, this area of the ground floor provided a Dining Room to the west and two Drawing Rooms to the east, and Tasker preserved these uses, though he threw the two Drawing Rooms into one. The family correspondence of the early 1830s suggests that the former Library at the west end of the north range was initially to become the sole dining room in a house that had retreated from its more easterly apartments. As the plans became more ambitious, however, it is likely that there would have been a need for both a 'state' dining room and a private one for everyday use. Certainly by the early 1850s Matilda Bedingfeld was describing the room in the north range as the West Dining Room, with the clear implication that another existed elsewhere, though both watercolours show the room furnished with a modest-sized dining table, suggesting that it could indeed be used for family dining. The undated plan, described above (Fig 92), places a Housekeeper's Room in the present Dining Room and a Kitchen in the present Drawing Room, which would have left only the Saloon as an alternative dining room (as a later annotation labels it). Matilda's West Dining Room is labelled successively 'Writing Room' and '2^{d} Library' but if (as seems likely) these intentions were never carried into effect, 'West' is not a helpful way of distinguishing it from the Saloon. If the Dining Room in the south-east pavilion went out of use, therefore, the interval is likely to have been brief before it found a new use as a room for family dining. The fact that the subjects of Matilda Bedingfeld's interior watercolours are confined to the west wing, gatehouse and chapel suggests, however, that the interiors fell short in some respect in this period. The Revd M'Gill's brief description of contemporary arrangements at the Hall in 1855 likewise says nothing of higher-status rooms in the east wing, though it might be argued in both instances that rooms for the family's everyday use would not be regarded as such.[330] It is not impossible that some of the features described below – including one or more of the varied windows on the pavilion's south elevation – represent piecemeal improvements in advance of the 1860 work.

The exterior of the pavilion and tower

The principal external alterations to Tasker's pavilion were the remodelling of the western half, the raising of a tall tower, incorporating two new storeys, over the eastern half, and the provision of a series of new windows piercing Tasker's brickwork roughly in the positions of earlier windows (Figs 110 & 111).

The western half of the pavilion was altered to provide a crow-stepped west gable in place of Tasker's hipped end and the black-glazed pantiles were re-laid on the altered portion of the roof. At the same time Tasker's cornice and parapet were removed, and replaced by the present machicolated and crenellated parapet, which at its eastern end rises in a series of steps as though buttressing the tower. The new gable incorporates the Bedingfeld arms in stone beneath a hood mould (the eagle holding shields bearing the Paston and Grandison arms), and is surmounted by a weather-vane clasped by a griffin in the form of the Paston crest, standing on a short octagonal shaft with a moulded cap and base.

External alterations to Tasker's pavilion were otherwise confined to a series of windows. On the south elevation these vary in form, perhaps because they have been altered piecemeal, much as occurred on the moatside elevation of the west range, but perhaps also with the deliberately antiquarian intention of suggesting a phased evolution. On the ground floor there are two large, three-light transomed windows flanking the support (in the form of a shouldered buttress) to a first-floor oriel. Both windows interrupt the late 18th-century plat-band, most of which was removed, perhaps at the same time. Both three-light windows are square-headed overall with arched and cinquefoil-cusped lights, the arch having a shallow two-centred form; both have a limestone hood-mould terminating at carved stops, which on the east window take the form of a king's and a queen's head. They differ in that the east window (lighting the Drawing Room) is in limestone whilst the west (lighting the Dining Room) is in timber. The east window also has foliate spandrels and traces of dark red paint, as though intended to resemble the Costessey windows, while that to the west simply has incised spandrels. Internally both have similar moulded timber architraves.

The south-facing canted oriel on the first floor provides additional light for the bedroom over the New Drawing Room. Its position reflects the regular three-bay elevation of this block as it existed in the late 18th century, and sits rather awkwardly with the asymmetrical tower raised above it, but its roof extends high enough to demonstrate that the tower must have been raised above Tasker's eaves level by the time it was executed. Various factors, including the quality of the masonry and heraldic evidence, suggest that it belongs to the 1860 work. It is supported by a brick pier (the bricks with distinct horizontal hack-marks) incorporating stone shouldering in the manner of a buttress, and by a moulded stone corbel. Where the pier runs into the corbel it incorporates a panel carved with the arms of Grandison and there is a further carved panel below the sill level of the oriel proper. The 6th Baronet formally laid claim to the Grandison arms between 1854 and 1858, and displayed them on the 1860 bay window.[331] Above the lights there is a brattished cornice and a stone roof. The heads of the individual lights – one per face – most closely resemble that of the more northerly window lighting the Boudoir in the west range. In the bedroom the boarding of the floor breaks where it enters the oriel.

The oriel window is flanked by two windows of widely differing form. To the east a stone two-light window, also lighting the bedroom, has an overall square head and a hood-mould with returned ends rather than carved stops, but the individual cinquefoiled lights have shallow arches similar to those in the larger windows of the ground floor. The window to the west, on the other hand, has three square-headed lights, no hood-mould, slender and distinctly yellow terracotta mullions (as though to resemble limestone) and a transom set high to give top-lights, as distinct from the mid-height transom of the moulded brick windows to the stair turret and Saloon. Unlike the east window, which has a bolection-like moulding, it has a splay-cut architrave internally but this is in keeping with the joinery mouldings in the lesser rooms on the second and third floors, and is thus in keeping with its use in a dressing room. Towards the north end of the west return there is a single window on each of the ground and first floors, both with Costessey moulded brick surrounds. These are similar to a number of windows in the south-west pavilion, though the first-floor windows which face them have surrounds of a different type.

The bay window (Fig 111) is positioned symmetrically on the east elevation of the pavilion, and roughly balances the existing kitchen window at the opposite end of the east elevation. It rises from a moulded plinth and presents three mullioned and cinquefoil-headed lights to the east, and two on each of the canted faces. It incorporates elaborate carved friezes below ground-floor sill level and between ground and first-floor levels, both set between moulded string courses. The lower frieze has a serpentine band to each main face, flanked and interspersed by daggers. Within each loop of the band there is a shield. Most of these depict the arms of the 6th Baronet's children and their spouses, but they include those of the Baronet himself and of his wife Margaret, and in the final position their initials: 'h | M B ·| 1860'.[332] On the upper frieze each face forms a panel, subdivided to give two panels which are square on the broader east face but elongated vertically on the narrower canted faces. The square panels each incorporate a quatrefoil, within which cusps create a more complex figure, partly overlain by shields. The narrower panels are also cusped to form a less conventional figure with pointed foils, again partly overlain by a shield or other device.[333] The window is topped by a further moulded course and by a castellated parapet incorporating narrow embrasures and wider merlons, corresponding to the mullions and lights respectively. The merlons are decorated with quatrefoils set in lozenges except for the central merlon of the east face, which has a larger quatrefoil and no lozenge. At the angles of the bay the parapet steps up to taller merlons, each pierced by two cusped lancets.

The lower stage of the tower, up to a little short of the second-floor window heads, is in an irregular bond; higher up it is an even dark red colour and is laid in English bond. The two windows on the second floor, facing south and east, are of two lights in moulded brick, and are similar to those employed extensively from the campaign of 1830-32 onwards. On the third floor there are a series of small single lights in the same style – one facing south, and two each facing east and west. The parapet projects on a moulded brick corbel course in the form of false machicolation. The parapet is castellated, but in a pattern different from that of the south-west pavilion, with pairs of higher merlons at the end of each elevation emphasising the verticality of the tower. On all elevations except the south it is pierced by cruciform loops imitating the form encountered on the gatehouse. On the north and west sides stacks are carried up to moulded bases; the shafts (two to the north, four to the west) were dismantled around 1900.[334] The shallow-pitched roof has a ridge running east-west and is currently felted.

The stair turret exterior

The stair turret (Fig 112) is roughly square on plan, and occupies the re-entrant formed by the east range and the south-east pavilion. It replaced an earlier structure, also square on plan but smaller, which appears on the 1774 plan. This earlier structure had an external entrance and appears to have served as a porch providing alternative access to the family rooms in the former upper end. That the present turret pre-dates the south range is shown by the

Fig 112. The south-east pavilion, tower and stair turret as seen from the gatehouse roof. (NMR AA026766)

fact that when the latter was added in 1863 the stair had to be altered.

The stair turret is of a single constructional phase with brickwork of irregular bond. Rough brickwork incorporating a proportion of edge-laid brick and flint can be observed on the inconspicuous east elevation of the stair turret, where it rises above the west wall of the east range. The turret is fenestrated on two levels, one corresponding to the upper part of the stair hall, the other to a mezzanine floor above. The windows, which are all contemporary with the brickwork, are of moulded brick and are all single lights with the exception of one west-facing two-light window lighting the upper part of the stair hall. The mezzanine incorporates a regular array of three cruciform loops in the north elevation and two trefoil-headed single lights to the west. The parapet is corbelled out on moulded brick machicolations, and is crenellated with limestone copings. The brickwork of the parapet is a darker red colour and laid in regular English bond. A pair of circular brick chimney shafts stand on moulded bases against the north wall and rise to moulded and crenellated caps. The western shaft has a roll-moulded lattice while the eastern has the egg-like pattern. The roof material was not seen.

The interior

Fig 113. New Drawing Room from the north-east. (NMR BB032467)

Fig 114. The Dining Room from the south-west. (NMR BB032468)

There is a general consistency to the interior detailing of the ground and first floors of the south-east pavilion, the stair turret and the tower. Raised bolection-like mouldings, composed of ovolos, cavettos and cymas (or ogees) feature in a number of the better rooms, and like the work begun in the early 1830s in the west and north ranges they echo the style of the 2nd Baronet's late 17th-century renovation. Panels which are fielded but not raised also occur in a number of places. Sometimes they are found in combination with splay-cut mouldings, which proliferate among the uncompromisingly bold and plain Gothic details of the tower rooms.

The New Drawing Room

The New Drawing Room on the ground floor (Fig 113) has a compartmented ceiling of moulded beams, the timbers probably of softwood – as is the Gothic-style skirting, which incorporates a dust-chamfer, a quirked ogee, and two cavettos separated by a rebate. The door joinery, on the other hand, is of oak. The door has eight panels, arranged three over three over two, with raised Gothic mouldings consisting of rolls, ogees and cavettos, and is set in a similarly moulded architrave. A similar surround frames the more easterly of the two south windows, the soffit and shutters of which have bolection-moulded panels which are fielded but not raised. Each light incorporates a vertical sliding sash, the lower sashes rising behind the transom. The floor boards have been renewed following remedial action for subsidence in the 1980s, and the chimneypiece is also a 20th-century replacement.

The Dining Room

The Dining Room (Fig 114) is considerably smaller than the Drawing Room, and the equally tall ceiling appears very tall indeed as a result. It retains a Gothic skirting, simpler in form than that in the Drawing Room though sharing some common elements (dust-chamfer, ogee and cavetto) besides having a flush bead in the fascia, and is papered with a mid-19th-century Gothic design. The principal window is to the south, and is of the same style as the south window of the Drawing Room, which it balances, but executed in timber. In addition a moulded brick two-light mullion-and-transom window faces west. This must be nearly contemporary with the remodelling of the south-west pavilion, which it faces, and which incorporates similar windows. The west wall also incorporates a large splayed buffet recess with a four-centred head. The fireplace is on the opposite wall and has an elaborate Beaux-Arts style chimneypiece in oak, with an oak mantel closer in style to the buffet and a Beaux-Arts mirror above it. The arrangement would appear to be a later modification as the chimneypiece slightly overlies the wallpaper and there are slivers to make good gaps in the skirting. On either side of the fireplace are jib doors, the south giving access to the Drawing Room and the north to a cupboard. Both occupy door positions indicated on the 1774 plan and possibly of earlier origin. Both incorporate re-set 17th-century carving and appear to be respected by the wallpaper, though in the south-east corner of the room this has been patched and the north door appears to break the skirting.

The fireplace is offset north of centre within the room, respecting the central position of the Drawing Room fireplace, and is respected in turn by the arrangement of two ceiling beams, which flank it symmetrically but which are therefore also asymmetrically positioned within the room. The beams are chamfered and were originally stopped in the normal position, against the walls. At a later date, however, heraldic timber brackets were added to the soffits; the ends of the chamfers were covered and new stops created against the ends of the corbels.

The stair hall

The stair hall (Fig 115) has a floor of white marble and black tiles. The skirting resembles that in the Dining Room, but has a stepped fascia instead of the flush bead. It respects the position of a former stove against the north wall, the soot box for which is visible in the present kitchen to the north. Light was provided by a two-light window to the west and two single lights to the north, all high enough to clear the adjacent single-storeyed ranges. One of the single lights incorporates re-set fragments of stained glass.[335] The doorways all have splayed jambs and four-centred heads, but that to the

east lacks a frame and the tiling of the floor looks secondary. That to the north, opening onto the arcade, has a beaded frame and a door with applied ribs dividing it into three tall panels. That to the south is similar except that the frame is chamfered, with broach stops. The entrance from the south range, which is likely to have been inserted in 1863, has a Gothic door in a very different style, consisting of three-over-three narrow panels which are fielded but not raised. The ceiling is composed of a grid of beams, giving three compartments by three.

Fig 115. The Stair Hall from the south. (NMR BB032470)

The oak stair, in keeping with the north and west stairs, is in a late 17th-century style, with square, sunk-panelled newels incorporating carved vine-leaf decoration, a closed string with further carved decoration, a moulded hand-rail and twisted balusters. The lower part of the stair has been re-set and now rises by a tight 180-degree winder turn (the risers of which show some variation in height) followed by a single straight flight. It is possible that there was just a quarter turn originally, the stair being turned to allow a new doorway to be inserted in the west wall, leading into the south range (1863), though the tiled floor respects the present arrangement. The first-floor landing extends along the east wall, suggesting the possibility of a doorway opening directly into the pavilion at its southern end. However, the landing is at the first-floor level of the east wing, and is considerably below the equivalent level of the pavilion. Instead a doorway opens onto the passage in the east range, from which a short flight of eight steps rises into the pavilion.

The first floor and mezzanine

The bedroom above the New Drawing Room is much plainer, with a slightly reduced version of the latter's skirting, omitting the lower cavetto, and a plain plaster ceiling. It is entered via a small lobby intruding into the north-west corner of the room. This has a door of three vertical panels and a bolection-moulded surround incorporating splay-cut elements and resting on plinth blocks. The same form of surround occurs on the more easterly of the two south-facing windows, but the oriel lacks a surround and there is a break in the floor-boards where they extend into the oriel. The fireplace on the spine wall has been blocked. The smaller room to the west, subsequently subdivided, was intended as a dressing room, and could be entered either from a lobby off the north end, or directly from the bedroom. Both doorways have plinth blocks and an attenuated version of the moulding found in the bedroom. The six-panelled door to the passage has fielded panels on the passage face but steps down to moulded sunk panels on the room face. The doorway to the bedroom is now blocked, as is the fireplace, which is also cut by a mid-20th-century partition.

The suite of first-floor rooms was served by a bathroom and water closet in a mezzanine above the stair hall. This is reached via a short stair partitioned off to the north of the

dressing room. It is lit only by small windows and loops. The present partitions are modern and the doors various. There are two chimneys rising above the north wall, one of which is accounted for by the stove in the stair hall. The second must have served a fireplace in the mezzanine, probably heating a bathroom.

The tower rooms

The interiors of the two upper floors have low ceilings and a heavy, austere scheme of Gothic decoration in which simple splay-cut mouldings feature prominently (Drawing 17). From the first-floor passage in the east range a poorly lit stair rises in a single straight flight to a landing extending east-west across the whole width of the tower. The landing balustrade has a roll-moulded handrail, plain diamond-set balusters and a turned newel with a bulbous shaft and a ball finial. The timbers trimming the stair trap are chamfered, with an applied keel-moulding. A doorway off the landing opens onto a single large room (Fig 116), and has a door similar to that to the bedroom below, with applied mouldings giving three elongated 'panels'. The over-light is contemporary. The room was heated by a fireplace in the south-east corner, where there is a half-round cast-iron grate set in a simple chimneypiece with chamfered inner and outer edges and a plain mantel-shelf. The room is amply lit by two two-light windows, but the ceiling is low enough to cut directly across the tops of the windows and a single east-west beam, chamfered and keel-moulded, is exposed beneath this level. The windows are lined with sunk panels incorporating the splay-cut moulding.

A second flight, in the same style, and with a closed string, rises to the third floor, where there is a similar landing arrangement, but benefiting at this level from an east-facing stair window lighting the stair-head. The newel in this position has a turned pendant in addition to its finial. The remainder of the third floor is unequally divided into two rooms. Both doors resemble that on the floor below, but have a reduced form of architrave, omitting the splay-cut element. The beam spanning both rooms is boxed. The larger east room is heated by a corner fireplace, like that below. The smaller west room appears to have been unheated, though it would have derived some heat from the four flues passing through its west wall.

Fig 116. The second-floor tower room from the north-west. (NMR BB032473)

Alterations to the east and north ranges

A series of alterations, both external and internal, can be identified in the east range and the north range east of the gatehouse. Few of these are closely datable, but some seem to date from the early 1860s.

As noted above (see p.95) the southern half of the east range, which had been rebuilt in the mid-18th century to replace the fabric lost to the 17th-century fire, was itself remodelled in the 19th century (see Fig 73). The present view can be compared with

Buckler's 1820 drawing (Fig 49), which shows three first-floor windows – the northern example apparently with a higher sill than the others – and a single dormer. In their place three first-floor windows with moulded brick surrounds were provided, the southern having three lights and the other two having two lights. A two-light dormer of the same form was placed above and between the central and northern first-floor window, and was roughly balanced by a single chimney surmounting a crow-stepped gable above and between the other two. All four windows share the same 'Type 2' (see pp.121-2) moulding profile and four-centred arched heads and are characterised by moulded bricks of ordinary brick size on the outer chamfer, but larger moulded bricks to the inner cavetto. A mirroring pattern of three two-light windows to the first floor, and a two-light dormer and gabled chimney above the parapet, occur on the same elevation of the northern half of the east range, and is doubtless contemporary. The date cannot be established with any precision, but windows of the same type occur on the west range in the 1865 photograph (Fig 9). They may be as early as the later 1830s.

A stone two-light oriel, midway along the moatside elevation of the east range on the ground floor, however, has stylistic similarities with the 1860 bay window and is also absent from Matilda Bedingfeld's distant view of Oxburgh from the church spire. It serves the low, mezzanine-like room east of the 18th-century stair. This position suggests that it was primarily decorative in intention. It has the same rebated cavetto moulding as the larger window, and beneath the sill it has two square panels containing a form of quatrefoil in which the foils are pointed, resembling the pattern found in the canted faces of the upper frieze on the larger window. It projects only slightly on the moat elevation, resting on a moulded base supported by two quarter-round corbels, the interval between which is spanned by a blind cinquefoil motif. As on the larger window the individual lights have cinquefoiled heads which are essentially two-centred in form beneath a square head overall, but here the arches are slightly shallower and the spandrels, instead of being sunk, are carved. A moulded cornice forms the base for a series of simple crenellations, behind which tapers a battered stone roof.

In the north range east of the gatehouse a number of changes can be identified in the mid-19th century. The creation of the double-height Kitchen at the east end of the ground floor is likely to have interrupted the passage and led to the building of the brick wall forming its west end. Like the Kitchen itself, this rose through two floors, and it had the effect of creating a single-bay room between it and the present sitting room to the west. The alignment of this wall clips a probably earlier south-facing window, whilst Buckler's new chimney on the north elevation made the room impossible to light from the north. Instead a two-light window was inserted overlooking the courtyard, whilst a three-light window in the same wall lit the present sitting room and implies the removal of the passage.

The date at which the first floor was reinstated above the Kitchen is uncertain but it may have been as early as the 1860s, with the intention of creating a nursery. Both the Nursery and the present sitting room have applied Gothic rolls on the soffits of the beams, and in the Nursery there are splay-cut architraves and panel mouldings to the four-panelled doors. It is probably at this time that the large room at the north end of the east range was divided in two to create a bedroom (south) and a smaller dressing room (north). The doorway linking them (now blocked) has a splay-cut architrave and there are a number of doors with four moulded sunk panels. The bedroom chimneypiece – in timber, and in a free interpretation of an essentially early 19th-century design – has cheeks with blue and gold tiles depicting medieval musicians (similar tiles are found in a

plain stop-chamfered stone chimneypiece in one of the bedrooms further south in the east range).

The single-storeyed service range and yard

Built up against the east alley of the arcade is a range of small service rooms. Though much altered, these correspond broadly to those depicted on the undated plan (Fig 93), though they are somewhat wider, east to west, than the plan suggests.[336] This greater width enabled direct communication with the south range when it was added in 1863, and may have been planned with this in mind. The area corresponding on the plan to the Pantry, a small lobby opening off the arcade and a small Butler's Room has been incorporated into the present kitchen in recent years and extended into the arcade by removing the infill from two of the arches.

The west elevation of the service range is built in brick ranging in colour from orange to buff and laid in English bond. The windows are a mixture of single and paired lights, with a simple cavetto moulding and cinquefoil heads (trefoil in the case of the narrow northernmost example). Above the level of the window heads the bricks are uniformly orange, and from the fifth course upwards they project slightly to form a parapet topped by coping bricks.

Abutting the service range at a straight joint is a yard wall extending as far as the north alley of the arcade. It is built to match the earlier service range in essentials but the brick bond is irregular and the colouring less pronounced. Concealed from the courtyard against the east side of this wall are two outbuildings, marked WC and Coals on the undated plan. These survive largely as built, as has the Yard beyond them, apart from the encroachment of modern toilets. The yard was entered via a four-centred arched doorway at the northern end of the screen wall. Just inside this doorway is a restored timber structure from which the servants' bell is hung.

The south range, 1863

In 1862 Oxburgh was inherited by Sir Henry Paston-Bedingfeld, 7th Baronet. In 1859 he had made an advantageous marriage to Augusta Clavering, whose Northumberland seat, Callaly Castle, he is said to have sold in order to finance the building of a new south range, which was erected in 1863.[337] As has been discussed earlier, the south range fulfilled an intention of the 6th Baronet's, and may have been proposed first some thirty years previously. It also appears in essentials, though somewhat narrower, on the undated plan (Fig 93). The south range closed the breach resulting from the demolition of the great hall and simultaneously completed the circuit of the arcade, providing a much-needed

Fig 117. The courtyard elevation of the south range. (NMR BB032410)

improvement in the circulation and in particular linking the principal family rooms in the south-east corner with the grander reception rooms of the west range. Callaly Castle was a very substantial residence when set alongside the diminutive south range, and it is likely that the proceeds of the sale left the 7th Baronet plenty of scope for other improvements. These seem to have included employing J. D. Crace (1839-1919) to add further embellishments to a number of rooms (see below).

The single-storeyed south range is the same width internally as the bay of the arcade adjoining to the west. It is seven bays in length, the bay structure marked externally by shouldered buttresses. The central bay projects into the courtyard (rather less than is shown on the undated plan) to form a porch (Fig 117). The moulded brick entrance has a four-centred arch beneath a square head and hood-mould, and double doors with elaborate wrought-iron hinge straps. The gable above the entrance is crow-stepped and incorporates a shield bearing the arms of Bedingfeld and Paston quarterly with Clavering 'in pretence'. It is flanked by octagonal angle buttresses rising to stone terminals in the form of beasts supporting shields and standing upon short octagonal shafts with moulded caps and bases (similar to that on the added western gable of the south-east pavilion). The beasts are derived from the supporters used by the Pastons as Earls of Yarmouth: to the west an ostrich holding the Paston arms, and to the east a bear holding the Bedingfeld arms. Surmounting the gable, but not placed atop a shaft, is the Bedingfeld crest ('an eagle displayed *or*') on a tilting helmet.

A south-facing doorway is placed opposite the porch, without a projection (Fig 119). It has a chamfered two-centred arched surround and hood-mould, both in limestone, and is set beneath a gable incorporating another stone tablet, set lozenge-fashion and bearing a Tudor rose. The second bay from the east has a rectangular flat-roofed projection into the courtyard, accommodating a lavatory and water closet (the undated plan shows just a water closet). The bays on either side of this projection are rather longer than the others. Each bay except the porch bay has a single-light moulded brick window facing north and south, and there is a similar window in the east return of the water closet. The porch bay has opposed entrances, larger to the north than to the south, with four-centred arched heads. A fireplace, shown on the north wall west of the porch on the plan, is omitted. The parapet has clay copings while the roof is plain-tiled with a crested clay ridge, and incorporates gables facing north and south at the porch bay. The water closet has a lead roof.

Fig 118. The interior of the south range, from the east. (NMR BB032475)

At the eastern end of the south range there is a short return northwards, linking it with the service rooms built against the east alley of the arcade. The brickwork of the return oversails the south wall of the service rooms, which it clearly post-dates, and continues

the parapet of the south range though without the crenellations. The link enabled the reception rooms in the west wing to be reached from the service rooms in and adjoining the east range without the need to pass through the stair hall.

Fig 119. The south elevation of the south range, viewed across the moat. By setting the range back an area of private garden was left inside the moat. (NMR BB032402)

The interior of the south range (Fig 118) is characterised by a cement skirting, plain plastered walls interrupted at the bay divisions by chamfered four-centred arches and responds, a simple oak cornice consisting of a roll and a cove, and an exposed oak roof of plain coupled rafters. Plain oak detailing is also used for the joisted ceiling and stop-chamfered partition in the flat-roofed projection, and throughout for the doors, which have four-centred heads, false panelling and Gothic furniture. The range was essentially a corridor extending from the arcade outside the Saloon eastwards as far as the stair hall, but at the east end of the north wall a doorway, now blocked, allowed the stair hall to be by-passed.

The construction of the south range, as well as closing off the courtyard also enclosed a garden area stretching southwards to the moat, to which access was provided by a doorway opposite the porch. This is positioned on the same axis as a flight of steps descending from the garden area to the water of the moat. The steps appear on the Ordnance Survey map surveyed in 1883, and probably accompanied the construction of the south range.[338]

The remodelled south-west pavilion and Drawing Room, c1865

The photograph of Oxburgh published in 1865, but taken perhaps two or three years previously (Fig 9), shows that Tasker's south-west pavilion was externally little altered. The pavilion is largely obscured in the photograph by a large tree, but enough shows to identify the parapet as that built by Tasker and depicted (albeit on the other pavilion) by Buckler in 1820 (Fig 48), while glimpses through the dense foliage of the tree confirms the survival of at least one sash window on the south elevation. The creation of the south-east tower upset the symmetry of the late 18th-century south elevation, with its balancing pavilions; paradoxically it called for the remodelling of the south-west pavilion

(the Saloon block) along similarly asymmetrical lines. While the interior was only superficially altered at this time, the pavilion's external appearance was brought broadly into line by the replacement of the original windows with Gothic substitutes, and the replacement of the parapet. All the windows are of two mullioned lights. On the south elevation the new windows, which are in moulded brick, have an elaborate Gothic moulding consisting of outer and inner cavettos flanking a deep cove. The ground-floor windows incorporate a transom, dividing the opening equally in two, and are framed by hood-moulds with returned ends. The tops of the windows interrupt the original plat-band. On the first floor the windows are not as tall and the transom and hood-mould are omitted. On the west elevation the first-floor windows observe the same pattern, but to the east they vary in being of stone; the blind ground-floor windows were left unaltered in both cases. The parapet rests on the original eaves cornice. It is faced in a rather severe red brick and incorporates roll-moulded brick copings to the merlons and embrasures. The merlons step up in two stages, the central element being broader than those flanking it. This contrasts with the simpler alternation of broad merlon and narrow embrasure on the main ranges, which acquired their parapets in the 1830s.

Fig 120. The Drawing Room from the north-west. (NMR BB032482)

Probably shortly after 1865 the 7th Baronet (or his wife Augusta)[339] is thought to have employed the interior decorator John Dibblee Crace (1838-1919), of the distinguished family of interior designers, to decorate and re-furnish the Drawing Room in the west range and possibly the Saloon.[340] The principal internal alteration to the Drawing Room was the ceiling, which was given a Gothic appearance through the application of moulded timber ribs, forming a pattern of mostly square compartments interspersed with eight-pointed stars (Fig 120). The ceiling also incorporates a Gothic-style cornice with

square fleurons (two alternating designs, one of them a Tudor rose). Unlike the ceiling in the Library, the Drawing Room ceiling is underdrawn below the beams, giving a lighter effect and flatter modelling, more in keeping with the feminine influence deemed appropriate for drawing rooms. Delicate painted heraldic and floral decoration in some rows of panels includes the Falcon and Fetterlock badge, the Portcullis badge, the arms of Paston, Bedingfeld, Tuddenham and Clavering, the monogram of Henry Bedingfeld and the intertwined initials of Henry and Augusta Bedingfeld.[341] The Gothic fireplace basket may be contemporary, along with the hearth of glazed tiles of various colours. The Gothic surround to the cupboard at the north end of the west wall may be of the same date.

In addition the Drawing Room was refenestrated. This can be confirmed by comparing the present windows with the sashes shown in the photograph published in 1865. The southern and central openings were refitted with moulded brick two-light windows, while the northern was provided with a three-light rectangular oriel. This is set on heavy corbels composed of a series of quarter-rounds, and is capped by a roof of battered stone. The individual lights, in both the oriel and in the two other windows lighting the Drawing Room, have four-centred arched heads.

Crace's hand has also been identified in the redecoration of the Saloon. He is said to have supplied the red flock wallpaper (of which a modern copy is now seen) to a design by A. W. N. Pugin, who has also been suggested as the source for the pelmets to the remodelled windows, though without any implication that Pugin was directly involved.[342]

The Billiard Room

The Billiard Room, described as such in the 1951 Sale Particulars and now a National Trust shop, is situated on the ground floor of the north range, immediately west of the gatehouse. It projects slightly further into the courtyard than the bay of the arcade which it replaced, which with its canted end mirrored the first arcaded bay on the east side of the gatehouse (Fig 121). The projection took the form of a substantial rectangular bay window, necessary in the absence of top-lighting to provide adequate illumination. It is executed in stone and has a chamfered plinth and a crenellated parapet concealing a flat roof. The window has six cinquefoiled lights on the south elevation, divided into pairs by king-mullions, and two lights on the east return. The moulding consists of a chamfer, rebate and cavetto. The hood-mould is restricted to the vertical elements, which descend from the chamfered drip

Fig 121. The Billiard Room bay window from the south-east. (NMR BB032412)

mould at the base of the parapet, and the returned ends, which take an unusual octagonal form similar to those on the attic window in the east gable of the north range. Owing to the present use of this room as a shop, no internal features of interest are visible. The fireplace is likely to have been on the north wall where one was depicted in 1774.

The exact date of the Billiard Room is not known. The projection of the bay window, when compared with that of the arcade bay which it replaced, is too slight to register on the various editions of the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, and the interior is too heavily altered to offer useful aids to dating. The existence of a photograph showing the length of arcade which it replaced indicates that it is no earlier than the mid-19th century.[343] The resemblance of the label stops to those of the attic window in the east gable of the north range (shown minutely in one of Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours) suggests a date no later than the 1850s, though the motif could have been copied at a later date. Further support for a mid-19th-century date, albeit inconclusively, comes from the undated plan (Fig 93), which shows that some features of the present arrangement were already anticipated by the middle of the century. The Billiard Room is labelled 'Study', but it is shown with a bay window onto the courtyard instead of the arcade, which was to have been swept away along with the creation of a broader Long Gallery along the courtyard side of the west range. Another undated photograph, thought to date from *c*1900, shows the Billiard Room already heavily ivy-clad.[344] It seems most likely that the Billiard Room was added either in the last years of the 6th Baronet, or by the 7th Baronet shortly after he inherited. It is just possible, if the second photograph is a little later than has been believed, that it is connected with alterations to both the stack on the west wall of the gatehouse, described above, and to the flues in the roof-space on the north side of the attics above the Billiard Room. The latter appear to be dated by a graffito in a patch of cement mortar, reading 'S[-----] | Wilson | 1908'. This would make it the work of the 8th Baronet, who inherited Oxburgh in 1902 at the relatively young age of 42, but nothing of comparable scale or execution can be attributed to this period and on the whole it seems unlikely that the Billiard Room is his.

The 'romantic interior'

The architectural remodelling of Oxburgh was accompanied or, more plausibly, followed over a period of some years by the bringing in of a variety of antique fittings, including Flemish wood-carving, 'Spanish leather' panels and quantities of stained glass of various dates, besides furniture and other movable pieces. The collecting impulse was stimulated by a similar trend at Costessey Hall. In April 1831 Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld wrote that 'The Building [of Costessey Hall] is nearly finished, & will certainly be one of the finest things in England. I envy above all the quality of carved Oak they have collected & the painted glass they bought last Spring is very beautiful.'[345] Many of the items collected for Oxburgh, including the Spanish leather in the two stair compartments and on the first floor of the north range, can be identified in the watercolours painted by Matilda Bedingfeld in the early 1850s. A characteristic element of what Clive Wainwright has termed the 'romantic interior',[346] they reinforced the mood of antiquity and complemented the vaunting of heredity in numerous family portraits.

The fitting out of Oxburgh's interiors extended to areas of furnishing beyond the scope of this report, but some discussion of the more 'architectural' features is required. The stained glass, which is modest in both quantity and quality by comparison with that once at Costessey Hall, is a mixture of heraldic and pictorial pieces, leaded together in

pleasing but somewhat random arrangements. Small quantities of 15th-century English devotional glass are juxtaposed with 17th-century Netherlandish scenes, some of them religious but some decidedly secular in character and designed to be seen at close quarters in domestic settings (Fig 122). Some of the secular scenes are in the form of roundels, which would have been set off by 'architectural' frames, elements of which also survive. The notable glass-painter, Thomas Willement (1786-1871), is credited with the design, in 1838, of the heraldic west window in the Chapel,[347] and may have assisted in the collection of other pieces. However, by the early 19th century there was a brisk trade in such items, Norwich being a major centre owing to its proximity to the Low Countries, and the rather indiscriminate nature of the collection suggests that the Bedingfelds may have procured the glass themselves through dealers.[348] One of Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours shows heraldic glass in the window lighting the passage outside the Marian Hangings Room, where there is now just plain glass,[349] and some rearrangement of the pieces is also apparent since photographs were first published in 1903.[350]

Fig 122. Re-set pieces of 17th-century glass in one of the King's Room bay windows. (NMR BB032429)

Fig 123. The door to the Boudoir in the west range, incorporating re-set panels. (NMR BB032495)

The chapel and the gardens

The Chapel and gardens fall outside the remit of the present report, but a brief discussion of their evolution will help to place the architectural development of the Hall in context. When the 6th Baronet took possession of Oxburgh it had been rented for some years and he found the grounds in a neglected state:

> the ground surrounding the moat was used by cattle who came to drink, & cottages were dotted about in the Park. Sir Henry restored the outside wall of the moat, & with the assistance of a clever Scotch gardener, called Anderson, the present fine Terrace was made & the French garden on the east side of the mansion. … By dint of money payments & legal means Sir Henry got rid of the cottages in the Park & turned the Ferry Road further from the House.[351]

The gardens to the east of the Hall were created from the late 1830s onwards. They consisted of an elaborate parterre (Fig 124), laid out *circa* 1845 to a design by the French garden designer, Dezallier d'Argenville (1680-1765), and to its east a walled kitchen garden.[352] Elsewhere on the estate two lodges, one on the Stoke Road, the other at the Chinese Gate, are attributed to the last phase of the 6th Baronet's work, as are keeper's lodges in Oxburgh Wood and at Oxburgh Hythe.[353]

Fig 124. The moatside elevation of the east range, with the French garden in the foreground. (NMR BB32387)

The Grade II* listed Chapel of Our Lady and St Margaret stands some 80 metres west-north-west of the Hall and is disposed with the polygonal apse (ritual east) towards the north. It was begun on 6 August 1835 and opened on 10 July 1836, supplying a lack that had been keenly felt during periods of family residence since the building of Catholic chapels was formally legalised by the Catholic Relief Act of 1791.[354] Bedingfeld family tradition has long associated the chapel with the architect, A. W. N. Pugin (1812-52), who worked extensively for Catholic clients and like Buckler, though with much greater celebrity, championed the Gothic style.[355] Published sources have continued to associate Pugin's name with the chapel, though firm evidence has not been forthcoming and there are a number of reasons for doubting the attribution.[356]

Pugin's knowledge of Oxburgh is not in doubt. Whether or not he ever visited the Hall, he would have known intimately his father A. C. Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*

(1831-8), which he helped to see through the press. This work includes both measured drawings of the gatehouse undertaken in 1828-9 by his father's draughtsmen, and a letterpress by E. J. Willson enlarging *inter alia* upon the connections between Oxburgh and English Catholicism. Pugin's diary for 1838 mentions Sir Henry Bedingfeld's name twice, once giving his Tunbridge Wells address, suggesting either that they had met, or that Pugin anticipated a meeting.[357] A published Puginian source has been suggested as the inspiration for the pelmets in the Saloon at Oxburgh, but no contemporary evidence has come to light connecting Pugin with the design of either the Hall and its fittings, or the Chapel, despite ample surviving descriptions of both. There are a number of stylistic features – notably the use of rendered brickwork externally and plaster imitating ashlar internally – which are alien to Pugin's repertoire, and the date of the chapel verges on the implausible, as its commencement pre-dates by two years Pugin's earliest known Catholic commission. There seems, on balance, to be little to substantiate the attribution, the general Gothic flavour of the Chapel being well within Buckler's capabilities and the execution (see particularly the random brickwork of the south gable, said to use bricks salvaged from houses demolished in the village) causing one to question whether an architect superintended the work at all.

THE MODERN COUNTRY HOUSE, 1900-1952

Oxburgh entered the 20th century with its flamboyant Gothic display intact but its practical arrangements in some disarray. During the 20th century the Bedingfelds, in common with the owners of country houses across the nation, experienced generally static or declining revenues from their agricultural estates, and they were subject to an increasingly onerous fiscal burden on inheritance. The improvements carried out in this at Oxburgh are, not surprisingly, modest in both scope and execution.

Edwardian improvements

The 8th Baronet succeeded to the title and estates in 1902, and married Sybil Lyne-Stephens in 1904. Even before his marriage he set about remedying the principal deficiencies of the house, commencing with cleaning the moat in 1903 (an episode recorded in a contemporary photograph)[358] and the acquisition of an acetylene gas plant for lighting.[359] A further focus of this campaign of works was the provision of improved servants' accommodation and, probably, the construction of a new billiard room, both described more fully below. A number of minor changes can also be identified from a comparison of photographs, many of them published in *Country Life* in 1897, 1903 and 1929. A large stack the west wall of the gatehouse, serving a flue which raked across from the north elevation, is absent from the earliest photographs of Oxburgh (e.g. Fig 9). It appears in 1897, but by 1903 it had been dismantled to a level just below the machicolation of the gatehouse stair turret,[360] and by 1910 a length of stove-pipe carried the smoke clear of the parapet of the stair turret.[361] By 1929 the stack had been further reduced in height.[362] Similarly, four ornate Costessey brick chimney shafts, gathered on the stack rising against the west wall of the south-east tower, and a pair of similar shafts rising on the north wall, appeared in 1897 but had been removed by 1903.[363]

The west range attics

Fig 125. The southernmost attic bedroom in the west range, from the north. The ceiling hatch is for a ladder stair to the roof-space. (NMR BB032497)

Much of the new work was concentrated in the west range attics, which are said to have been devoted to female servants, with male servants occupying the east range attics.[364] In 1951 those west of the gatehouse comprised four 'large staff bedrooms', a Brushing Room, Work Room and Box Room.[365]

The west range incorporated four attic rooms, two on either side of the west stair, with the result that the further rooms could be reached only by passing

through the rooms adjoining the stair. Throughout the west range the ceiling (at collar level) and ashlaring were renewed in lath and plaster, re-using many of the old studs. The doors (one, opening southwards from the stair, replaced by a modern fire door) are of two plain sunk panels and have architraves (angled at one corner to accommodate the roof slope) with a moulding consisting of a cyma reversa, bead, fascia and angle-bead. The southernmost room was provided with a fireplace on the south wall (Fig 125). The ovolo-moulded architrave has bold egg-and-dart enrichment and a cast-iron surround. Both this room and the one adjoining to the north contain large fitted cupboards. The other rooms in the west range remained unheated, and perhaps accounted for some of the non-domestic rooms mentioned in 1951.

A number of graffiti may be associated with the work. Two on the lead-work of the north-east corner of the south-west pavilion roof read 'R. PALMER 1896' and 'E. T. CARTER 1900' and may simply relate to roofing repairs, while a third, on the dormer of the northernmost room, reads 'RW 1908', but may be the work of a servant rather than a building craftsman.

The last years of the country house, 1914-52

During the First World War, in 1917, Oxburgh Hall narrowly escaped serious damage when a bomb dropped from a German Zeppelin landed near the Wilderness, blowing in many windows of the west range and Chapel.[366] For some years afterwards a piece of the bomb casing was kept as a souvenir in the entrance hall.[367]

After the First World War the household at Oxburgh Hall was run on a relatively modest scale. The domestic servants typically numbered a housekeeper, a cook, a kitchen maid and three housemaids. Except briefly during the 1930s there was no butler as there had been in the 7th Baronet's day, and a chauffeur (resident at Stable Cottage) was dispensed with once Lady Bedingfeld learnt to drive. At the outset of the War two laundry maids worked and slept at what is now Red House, which was fitted out with a washing room and a double-height drying room as well as a store or pantry and a bedroom, but in the years that followed the laundry was sent out.[368] A head gardener and about two assistants cared for the grounds, which included greenhouses growing peaches, nectarines and grapes, a vegetable garden (on the opposite side of the road: now built over) and an orchard. The gardeners' duties included running the acetylene gas plant, which supplied the Hall, stables and laundry, and was located to the rear of the tack room. The gas, which was produced by mixing carbide and water, was stored in a nearby gasometer. A wood-yard incorporating a water-powered sawmill, located near Keeper's Cottage on the Foulden Road, continued to serve the estate but there was by this period no brickyard. Three cottages near the wood-yard provided accommodation for a carpenter, a carter and a tree-cutter.[369]

Mrs Greathead, youngest daughter of the 8th Baronet, recalls that he inherited the estate but no money, and that during the Depression of the 1930s even the income from farm rents dried up temporarily. The shooting on the estate was let to a Welsh syndicate, though as a courtesy the Baronet would be invited to participate in shoots. The tapestries in the King's Room, some Jacobean glasses and a number of Van Dykes were sold and the house was mortgaged for £5000. The 8th Baronet occupied the east wing and the west wing was furnished and cleaned, but not used except for shooting parties, until Sir Edmund, the future 9th Baronet, took up residence there with a separate establishment. The 9th Baronet recalls that between the wars Oxburgh was not a great

house for entertaining, but the family continued to dress for dinner and at Christmas the 'Misrule' tradition of waiting on the servants was observed.[370]

Fig 126. The former Boot Room where some Second World War graffiti survives. The arch carries a flying flue. (NMR BB032447)

During the Second World War Oxburgh Hall was home to about eight children evacuated from London, placing pressure on the available servants' bedrooms where they were accommodated. The cellars in the east range provided makeshift air-raid shelters. Between June and October 1940, following the evacuation of Dunkirk, the 4th Battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers was stationed at Oxburgh. The west side of the house was occupied by the Officers' Mess and Orderly Room and meals were taken in the Saloon. The Kitchen and Pantry were shared between the household servants and the servicemen, most of whom were encamped in My Lady's Wood. The demands of the wartime economy, coupled with the presence of numerous servicemen and their transports, occasioned a certain amount of wear and tear to the house, its contents and its grounds. The parkland beyond the immediate gardens was ploughed, some damage was done by the Battalion's Bren-gun carriers, and a number of paintings received the customary defacement by darts, but relations with the family remained cordial. Subsequently the Borderers were moved to more permanent quarters near King's Lynn and a secret unit known only as 'the Phantoms' took their place in the west wing. Wives of local servicemen were also accommodated.[371] In the cellar south of the brick cross-wall in the east range (used formerly for boots) a cupboard door bears the graffito: 'G. HAYTER. | 15/19 HUSSARS | MAY 1943' (Fig 126).

Following his discharge from the Welsh Guards the 9th Baronet occupied the west wing, creating a new kitchen in the former Billiard Room, a dining room in the former North Library and a sitting room in the Library. The estate was in a precarious financial state and the 9th Baronet made various attempts to remedy matters. There was briefly a finishing school at the Hall, to which foreign girls were admitted, but it folded after six or seven months. One consequence of the scheme was the sub-division of the first-floor dressing room in the south-east pavilion (over the present Dining Room) in order to create additional bedrooms. In another attempt to increase the revenue from the estate Church Farm and Calcott Farm were brought in hand and the stables next to the Hall were converted into cowhouses. Neither scheme yielded sufficient funds to avert a sale in 1951.[372]

The two sets of 1951 Sale Particulars give the final disposition of rooms during the family's ownership, though they appear to incorporate some errors in the naming of rooms. Some of the room names which are given may have been ephemeral and indeed some of the uses described may have been short-lived responses to changing family circumstances. The changes in the west wing reflect the 9th Baronet's brief residence here, commencing shortly after the Second World War. Many improvements take the form of sanitary fixtures, but they also include a Cocktail Bar which shared with

a photographic Dark Room the small, slightly sunken ground-floor room under the west staircase, previously used to store novels ('yellowbacks').[373] The Drawing Room is described as being 'used as a private cinema'.[374] By the time of the sale, the Saloon was serving as a billiard room, the former Billiard Room in the north range having been adapted to form 'a light and airy modern Kitchen' in conjunction with a larder, scullery, pantry and maid's sitting room, with a servants' entrance in the west wall of the gatehouse carriageway. The arrangement is strikingly reminiscent of that begun – and quickly abandoned – in 1830, and was necessitated by the fact that the east wing, with its Kitchen and service rooms, remained home to the 8th Baronet's widow, Sybil Bedingfeld. The Boudoir on the first floor was described in 1951 as a Smoking Room, the Yellow Room at the opposite end of the west range was called the Boudoir and the North Room was known as the Paston Room. Communicating with the North Room to the east (via a doorway inserted by the 9th Baronet)[375] there was a Bathroom, with a lobby providing service access from the passage; an inner Cistern Room opened off the lobby. This arrangement survives, though the door connecting the North Room and the Bathroom is now kept closed. The Marian Hangings Room was in use as the Housekeeper's Sitting Room, conveniently placed above the new Kitchen.[376]

On the opposite side of the courtyard, the east wing formed the 8th Baronet's quarters until his death in 1941, and thereafter remained home to his widow, Lady Sybil Bedingfeld. The principal rooms were in the south-east pavilion, but here the room names in the two sets of Sale Particulars are contradictory. One source gives them as Dining Room and Sitting Room, but reverses their current positions, while the other has Sitting Room and Morning Room. The latter name at least occurs frequently in taped reminiscences of Oxburgh during the inter-war years, and it is clear that the present Dining Room was used as such during the 1930s, but that during Lady Bedingfeld's occupancy it was used as a Morning Room. Moving northwards through the east range the small room opposite the entrance and stair hall is described in both as the Study (as it remains today), while the present sitting room to the north is listed variously as the School Dining Room (presumably a reference to the unsuccessful finishing school) and the Breakfast Room.[377] On the first floor the south-east tower is described as forming a single suite comprising the Tuttenham (i.e. Tuddenham) Room and two dressing rooms (i.e. the bedrooms created for the school), with bathrooms in the mezzanine over the stairs. There were four bedrooms in the east range (named, from south to north, the Clavering, Howard, Marney and Houghton Rooms – were these names invoked purely for the edification of the school's resident pupils?), then two further bedrooms for the 9th Baronet's young children. Beyond, at the eastern end of the north range, lay a Play Room (formerly the Night Nursery) and, in the next bay to the west, a Toy Room and Bathroom. Between these and the gatehouse lay the Day Nursery (now the house-steward's sitting room). The upper levels of the south-east tower contained the large Waldegrave Bedroom on the second floor and two staff bedrooms above. The attics east of the gatehouse comprised a flat (Sitting Room, Kitchen and Bedroom) in the north range and five further rooms in the east range.

The ground-floor service rooms, occupying the north range east of the gatehouse, and the northern half of the east range, included the main Kitchen, containing the 'Eagle' range, a Servants' Hall, Scullery, Larder, two Store Rooms, Butler's Pantry, Footman's Room, Servants' Bathroom, Housemaid's Cupboard, Boot Room, water closet and Cellars. The single-storeyed additions within the courtyard housed coal and wood stores. Further notes include mention of water supply to the east wing by means of 'a hydraulic ram installed on the bank of the moat, while an electric pump under the stair

performed the same function for the west wing. Electricity (for the village as well as the Hall) was laid on in 1946 or 1947 by the East Anglian Electricity Board, replacing the Hall's acetylene gas supply which had served for nearly half a century.[378] A mains water supply did not materialise until 1954.[379]

NATIONAL TRUST OWNERSHIP, 1952-2003

On 24 August 1951 the Oxborough Estate, including Oxburgh Hall, was advertised for sale in *Country Life* by the London estate agents, Curtis & Henson.[380] The auction was on 3 October 1951 at the Globe Hotel, King's Lynn. The Sale Particulars suggested that the Hall would be 'ideal for an institution or religious house',[381] but the eventual purchaser was a developer who proposed to demolish the Hall for architectural salvage. Shortly afterwards there was a sale at Oxburgh in which many of the contents of the Hall were dispersed.[382]

In 1952 Sybil Paston-Bedingfeld (1883-1985), widow of the 8th Baronet, alarmed at the likely fate of the Hall and assisted by the Baronet's niece Violet Hartcup, his daughter Mrs Frances Greathead and a number of charitable donations, repurchased it and presented it to the National Trust, which shortly afterwards embarked on a programme of roof repairs spanning four consecutive summers. Under the terms of the gift portions of the house were retained for the family's use. Some alterations ensued, notably on the first floor of the west wing, occupied since the 1950s by Mrs Greathead. A large airing cupboard or utility room was partitioned off on the west side of the Fetterlock Room, the Yellow Bedroom (which in 1951 was described as a Boudoir) was adopted as a sitting room, and a kitchen-cum-dining room was created in the next bedroom to the north, while on the north side of the west stair the former bedroom and dressing room were thrown together by the insertion of a wide arched opening.[383] Sybil Bedingfeld returned to live in the east wing (including the south-east tower) with a small household including a priest. Following her death in 1985 Henry Bedingfeld, eldest son of the 9th Baronet, took up residence here with his family.

The earliest guidebook issued by the National Trust dates from 1953, when only the gardens and the gatehouse were open to the public.[384] In 1964 the public were still assured that 'apart from the interior of the Great Tower [i.e. the gatehouse], and a seventeenth-century staircase' the interior of the Hall 'offers to-day little of historical or architectural interest having been largely redecorated in the 19th century'.[385] In the following year the large sundial, high on the southern elevation of the gatehouse, was renovated.[386] A new edition of the guidebook issued in 1972 listed, among 'Rooms recently opened to the Public', the Small Dining Room [i.e. the room at the western end of the north range], the Library, the Old Drawing Room and the Saloon.[387] Except in the gatehouse, access to the first floor was permitted only much later. Conservation work was under way in the North Room in 1985, and by 1990 it was included among the rooms open to the public, along with the 19th-century Boudoir and the room used to display the Marian Hangings. By this date the present shop had been established in the former Billiard Room, the original appearance of which had no doubt been compromised by its use latterly as a kitchen, and the ground floor east of the gatehouse had assumed its present tea-room function.[388]

The 1953 guidebook indicates that repairs to the gatehouse roof were then in progress, and the lead work of the roof has the following lettering: 'LEAD R[E]CAST | L. W. STA[-]LING | NEW.CO[S]TESSEY | NORWICH. | 1953'.[389] Some other works of repair and consolidation were clearly carried out by the Trust in the early years of its stewardship. The stack on the west side of the gatehouse, for example, was still present in a photograph dated 1950, but had been dismantled by some time in the 1960s. In 1967 works to the

moatside elevation where the north and the west ranges meet revealed the existence of a pair of garderobe shafts descending from the first floor.[390] Contemporary documents refer to a 'drawn survey of this range … on which was plotted all the surviving original details', but sadly the current whereabouts of the drawings are not known.[391] Probably in the same year a two-storeyed 19th-century sanitary annex, projecting on the courtyard elevation of the east range, was taken down to single-storey height, and the west elevation made good with a matching Costessey-style window.[392]

A major programme of structural repairs to the roof was under way in 1981, when the recently exposed original roof timbers in the northern half of the east range were photographed.[393] These works probably account for the many steel reinforcements that are apparent in roof-spaces. In the winter of 2000-2001 fire prevention measures were carried out. These principally involved the creation of fire-breaks in hitherto open roof-spaces, and the replacement of a number of first-floor and attic doors with fire-rated substitutes. The doors replaced ranged in date from the 18th to the 20th century. The substitutes follow a common pattern and do not resemble them, which would seem to fall short of the Trust's normal standards for work of this nature in a Grade I building. At about the same time the staff accommodation on the first and attic floors of the north range, east of the gatehouse, was refurbished. The first-floor flat extends into the northern end of the east range.

In the Bedingfeld apartments a number of changes have been made in recent years. The infilling of two bays of the arcade was removed in order to enlarge the kitchen. New moulded imposts, based on surviving examples elsewhere in the arcade, were restored to the piers (but without the tile abaci of the originals), and two skylights were inserted to improve the lighting within the former passage. In 2001 the southern first-floor room in the remaining 15th-century portion of the east range was refurbished for use as a bedroom. In the process, two blocked windows were uncovered in the wall overlooking the moat.

FUTURE WORK

A number of issues have proved impossible to resolve in the present work, either because they lay beyond its stated scope or because circumstances did not allow. They are briefly noted here in case opportunities arise in the future.

Documentary research

- The building careers (if any) of Thomas Tuddenham, his widow and his predecessors remain obscure. It is possible that Tuddenham was responsible for the roof timbers of the west range, and these may be an indication of a wider building campaign at Oxburgh, previously unrecognised.
- Probate inventories for the Bedingfelds (and the Tuddenhams) are likely to survive, but lie beyond the scope of the present report.

Investigation

- Detailed study of internal finishes, particularly painted brickwork; also detailed follow-up work on figurative wallpainting, as recommended in Tobit Curteis's initial report.
- Detailed study and inventory of carved woodwork.
- Below-ground archaeology: remote-sensing may clarify the development of known (and perhaps unknown) buildings and landscape features north of the moat, and of the hall range on the now grassed area between the south range and the moat. The drainage system of the Hall remains largely unknown – are the medieval drains still in use?
- Detailed investigation of the chapel, outbuildings and estate buildings (NT and non-NT).

In advance of proposed changes, or whenever opportunity arises

- Examination of concealed evidence in floor frames and sealed roof voids. Examination of the presumed walled-up cellar room.
- Evidence concealed by present wall finishes (paper, paint, panelling, plaster).
- Further study of Bedingfeld Papers, including letters. Clive Wainwright quotes from a diary of Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld, which was not seen in the present work. The present study allowed only a cursory inspection of many documents, and some, e.g. the 19th-century letters, have a great deal of further potential.
- Reappraisal of the existing designed landscape report in the light of the present report.

NOTES

[1] The spellings 'Oxburgh' and 'Oxborough' both occur interchangeably in historical sources, but in recent years the former has been preferred for the Hall, while the latter is the spelling adopted by local government and the Ordnance Survey for the village and civil parish. Equally, the spellings 'Bedingfeld' and 'Bedingfield' both have a long history, but the former has for long been the preferred spelling of the family, while the latter is used for the Suffolk village from which the family takes its name. Modern usage is observed in this report, except where quoting verbatim from historical sources.

[2] The gardens and surrounding parkland are entered in the *Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest* (Grade II). The following structures in and around the grounds are listed buildings in their own right: the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Margaret and the Park boundary wall including tower and gateway (both Grade II*), Chapel Lodge, the former Stables, Coach House and attached gate posts, the garden wall with towers, The Lodge, the pedestrian gateway 70m east of the Hall, and the bridge over the River Gadder on the Foulden Road (all Grade II).

[3] Alfred J. Horwood (ed.), 'The Manuscripts of Sir Henry Bedingfeld, Bart., at Oxburgh, Co. Norfolk', *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix to Third Report* (1872), 237-40.

[4] A. E. B. Owen (ed.), 'Bedingfeld MSS', Historical Manuscripts Commission typescript, 1956.

[5] 'A true and perfect inventory of all and singler the goodes & Catelles that late wert Edmond Bedingfeldes of Oxeburghe in the countie of Norff esq^{r} deceased made & pryced the first of September bye John Hoe gent Frauncis Moundeforde John Wace gent Philipp Drap[er] & Thom[a]s Burh[a]m Anno Dni 1585' (Bedingfeld Papers). We are grateful to Henry Paston-Bedingfeld for a copy of his transcription of this document.

[6] Inventories of Costessey Hall (1590) and Oxburgh Hall (1598), Norfolk Record Office (henceforth NRO), JER 269. The Oxburgh inventory, apparently compiled by the same 'Burham' as helped to appraise the 1585 inventory (but no others), is dated 27 November 1598 and headed, 'An inventory of all the goods howshold stuff ymplem^{ts} & Cattell there taken 41 Eliz'.

[7] 'An Exact Survey of the Parish of Oxburgh in the County of Norfolk … Survey'd Anno Domini 1722 by Philip Wissiter', scale 3 inches = 100 perches, NRO, BRA 2524/1. For the private Act of Enclosure (10 Geo I c7), see *An act for the draining, improving, and inclosing the common call'd Oxburgh Common in the parish of Oxburgh in the county of Norfolk* (London, 1724).

[8] The dated map is entitled 'The Mannor of Oxburgh in Y^{e} County of Norfolk, Belonging to S^{r} Henrÿ Bedingfeld Bar^{tt} … A^{o} Domini, MDCCXXV … Surveÿ'd: Be me I: I: de Wilstar Ingineer & Architecte' (NRO, BRA 2524/2); the undated version is untitled (NRO, BRA 2524/3).

[9] The 1722 map has some faded reddish lines suggesting a similar notation, but they are less extensive.

[10] 'A Copy from the map of the Parish of Oxburgh of all the Modus Lands', no date (NRO, MC62/21).

[11] *A Topographical Map of the County of Norfolk Surveyed and Measured in the Years 1790[,] 91, 92, 93 and 94, By Thos. Donald, Thos. Milne and Assistants[,] Planned from a Scale of one Inch to a Statute Mile, The Whole Executed and Published at the expence of the Proprietor William Faden, Geographer to His Majesty and to HRH the Prince of Wales* (London, 1797); reprinted in volume form, as *Faden's Map of Norfolk*, with an introduction by J. C. Barringer (Dereham, 1989), 19.

[12] 'Plan of a Road at Oxborough in Norfolk. intended to be diverted across Lands belonging to Sir H.P. Bedingfeld B^{t} … Surveyed and Drawn by J. Barham', scale 1 inch = 2 chains (1:1584) (NRO, C/SCE 2/16/2).

[13] 'Plan of a Road at Oxborough in Norfolk intended to be directed across Lands belonging to Sir H.P. Bedingfeld Bart.', 'Surveyed and Drawn by James Barham, Northwold', scale 1 inch = 2 chains (1:1584), considered at Sessions at Swaffham, July 1844 (NRO, DN/TA 864).

[14] 'The Parish of Oxborough. in the County of Norfolk.', dated 1845, scale 1 inch = 10 chains (1:7920) (NRO, PD 139/19 (H)); another copy is endorsed 'Ex^{d} W.A. | 24th Dec |18[--]' (final digits indecipherable) (NRO, BRA 2524/5).

[15] Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk Sheet LXX.11, surveyed 1883, published 1884.

[16] John Britton, *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, represented and illustrated in a series of views, elevations, plans, sections, and details, of various ancient English edifices: with historical and descriptive accounts of each* (5 vols., London, 1807-26). The drawing, which occupies the lower half of a plate interleaved between pages 96 & 97 of volume II (1809), is inscribed: 'Ground Plan of / OXBURGH HALL / Norfolk. / Engrav'd by John Le Keux, from Drawings by F. Mackenzie, for the Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain.' Here and elsewhere in the report, unless stated otherwise, the dates of artists and engravers are derived from Ronald Russell, *Guide to British Topographical Prints* (Newton Abbott, 1979), 195-216. The 1774 plan, or plans re-drawn from it, have appeared in a number of publications subsequently, including J. A. Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture in England* (London, 1901), 44, but the re-drawings should be treated with caution as they contain a number of inaccuracies.

[17] Britton (1807-26), II, 87n. Britton's wording does not assign authorship of the drawing to the Revd Homfray. Although a later document in the Bedingfeld Papers states unequivocally that the plan was 'taken in 1774 by Rev Mr Homfray', it is possible that the statement derives from a misreading of Britton ('The Catholic Pkt remembrances. 1828': single sheet of lined paper, folded to make 4 pages (perhaps transcribed from a publication (untraced) called *The Catholic Packet*), 'Bedingfeld Papers: various papers relating to Oxboro'': a collection of letters and documents in a green paper wrapper).

[18] The depiction of the plinth around the moatside (but not the courtyard) elevations inspires some confidence in the plan's accuracy, but the treatment of the plinth in relation to the privy against the south side of the great hall is clearly incorrect. It may indicate an error on the part of the engraver. In the east range the room divisions and probably the room uses conform to the basement level rather than the ground floor which was raised when the basement was created probably in the early 18th century. This may explain Britton's somewhat contorted commentary: 'The annexed GROUND-PLAN displays the shape, and arrangement of the *basement-floor*, which formed a square of about 170 feet, in the extreme. The moat was crossed by a bridge, which was flanked by two towers, and the following apartments constituted the *ground-storey*' (Britton (1807-26), II, 87n, with italics added).

[19] Britton (1807-26), II, 87n.

[20] Information kindly provided by Nino Strachey, National Trust curator.

[21] A. Pugin, A. W. Pugin & T. L. Walker, *Examples of Gothic Architecture; selected from Various Antient Edifices in England* (3 vols., London, 1831-8), I, 45-9 and interleaved Plates 1-5. Publication of the work was interrupted by the death of A. C. Pugin in 1832, and was continued by his son, A. W. N. Pugin, and other collaborators. Volume I (1831) is credited to A. Pugin, Volume II (1836) to A. and A. W. Pugin, and Volume III (1838) to A. W. Pugin and T. L. Walker, Volumes I and II additionally crediting 'the literary part' to E. J. Willson, FSA. In the 2nd edition, 'with corrected plates' (3 vols., London, 1838-40), the pagination is unaltered but the plates are given unique numbers (54-8) alongside the original numbers. Subsequent references are to this edition, but give both plate numbers. Plate 1 was drawn by F. Arundale, Plate 2 has no artist credited (it may perhaps have been drawn by A. C. Pugin himself), Plates 3 and 4 are by T. T. Bury and Plate 5 names E. Arundale [*sic*]. Colvin lists Talbot Bury and Francis Arundale among Pugin's pupils (Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600 – 1840*, 3rd edition (New Haven & London, 1995), 788); the reference to 'E. Arundale' may be an error. The engravers were E[dward] Kennion (1 & 2) and G. Gladwin (3-5). As individual productions Plates 1, 2 and 5 were published by A. C. Pugin in January 1829, the remainder following in December. Part of Plate 1 is reproduced in Margaret Wood, *The English Medieval House* (London, 1965), Plate 12. T. T. Bury's name also appears on an undated pencil drawing entitled 'Staircase in the North West Turrets Entrance Gateway Oxburgh Hall Norfolk' in Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery (NWHCM, 1951.235.B243: F), though on the reverse is written 'by Mackenzie'.

[22] Pugin (1838-40), I, 46.
[23] Pugin (1838-40), I, 46 & note, and II, 11-12.
[24] Original untraced; photocopy in Bedingfeld Papers.
[25] 'Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk', in Rev. J. Evans & J. Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, XI (1810), facing p.276. Mackenzie's original drawing is dated to 1808 on p.278n.
[26] This view, also entitled 'Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk', was included in Britton (1807-26), II (1809), facing p.87. Through the gateway a buttress from the porch of the demolished hall is represented.
[27] The pencil sketch is in Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery (NWHCM, 1966.749.5), on loan from Norfolk & Norwich Millennium Library, and is titled 'The Gateway of Oxborough Hall, Norfolk 1811' on a modern mount. The published version, which differs in some significant respects, carries the following inscription: 'Oxburgh Hall / To Sir Richard Bedingfeld Bart / This view of the venerable Seat of his Ancestors, in whose possession it has / been since the Reign of Edward the fourth, is most Respectfully inscribed by / his very humble S[ervan]t John S: Cotman / Drawn Etched & Published by John Sell Cotman. 1813.' A copy is included in an extra-illustrated copy of Blomefield & Parkin's *Norfolk* at Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery (NWHCM, 1954.138, p.121). The view is from the north-east, taking in the north range from its western end to the first bay or so east of the gatehouse. Cotman also sketched one of the terracotta Bedingfeld tombs in St John's Church (NWHCM, 1966.749.10).
[28] 'Oxburgh Hall / Norfolk', drawn by J. P. Neale, engraved by S. Lacey and inscribed 'London Pub. Sep. 1 1819, by J. P. Neale 16 Bennett S^{t}. Blackfriars Road & Sherwood Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row.' The engraving was reproduced in Neale's *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland* (6 vols., London, 1819-23), III, No. 15, along with two pages of unpaginated letterpress. A copy of the engraving marked 'Proof' is included in an extra-illustrated copy of Blomefield & Parkin's *Norfolk* held by Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery (NWHCM, 1954.138, p.120).
[29] The first, entitled 'North Front. Oxborough Hall', is a view of the gatehouse and bridge from the north-east, much as Cotman's was. The second, 'Front Towards the Court. Oxburgh Hall', unusually shows the courtyard elevation of the gatehouse, viewed from slightly east of south. Both are annotated 'Drawn from Nature & on Stone by Joseph Nash. Pupil to A: Pugin', and they were published by the latter in January and March 1830 respectively. Despite being 'Drawn from Nature' both depict figures in romanticised medieval costume and probably invent the form of a number of 15th-century-style windows (including a dormer!) in the north range, besides showing the 18th-century bridge in the first example and a suitably Gothicised portion of the arcaded passage in the second. Original copies of both are held by the National Monuments Record (NMR), Swindon (Red Boxes, Oxborough). In the same year Pugin published *A series of views, illustrative of Pugin's* Examples of Gothic Architecture*. Sketched from nature, and drawn on stone, by J. Nash. With letter-press descriptions by W. H. Leeds* (n.p., 1830), subsequently drawing attention to the work in the *Examples* (I, 46n).
[30] 'N. E. V[iew]. of Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. 16 Sep 1820', British Library, Add. 36371, f.148.
[31] British Library, Add. 36443, ff.63-71 & 101.
[32] Neale's view appears to be the basis for a pottery design produced by Ralph Stevenson shortly afterwards. An Oxburgh design was also produced at about the same time by Enoch Wood & Son (see A W Coysh & R K Henrywood, *The Dictionary of Blue & White Printed Pottery 1780-1880* (2 vols., Woodbridge, 1982), I, 270-71).
[33] Similar views of other houses were published by Nash in his *Mansions of England in the Olden Time* (4 vols., n.p., 1838-49).
[34] Bedingfeld Papers. The pictures are mounted in an album entitled 'Views and Interiors of Oxburgh Hall painted by Matilda Bedingfld.'
[35] Clive Wainwright, 'Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, a property of the National Trust and the home of Mr and Mrs Henry Paston-Bedingfeld', *Country Life*, 9 December 1993, 40-43, and 16 December 1993, 48-51, 49.
[36] The engraving of the interior is titled 'King's Room, Oxburgh Hall' and inscribed 'CWW del.' and 'Utting Isc.'. The exterior is entitled 'Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk'. Despite the inscription on the

interior view both are clearly based on watercolours by Matilda Bedingfeld. Both were reproduced in M'Gill (1855), facing pp.271 & 279.

[37] Sir Edmund Paston-Bedingfeld, Bt, *Heraldry at Oxburgh*, 2nd edn (n.p., 1989), 10.

[38] It was published in R. H. Mason, *Norfolk Photographically Illustrated* (London & Norwich, [1865]), unpaginated (copy in NMR). The Preface is dated November 1865.

[39] Bedingfeld Papers; copies at National Trust, East of England Region files, Westley Bottom Regional Office (henceforth NT, Westley Bottom).

[40] Bedingfeld Papers.

[41] The photographs survive in a five-volume set of albums (NMR Album 85/5; provenance (?) W. Galsworthy Davie) and are thought to date from between *c*1880 and 1900 (these dates fit the Oxburgh material). A number of the Oxburgh photographs are annotated 'neg. sold to B', i.e. Bedingfeld?

[42] Hallam Ashley (1900-87), FRPS, was based at New Costessey, near Norwich, and among other things took photographs for the National Buildings Record (now the NMR).

[43] Francis Blomefield & Charles Parkin, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (5 vols., Fersfield, Norfolk (vol. I), 1739, Norwich (vol. II), 1745 and [King's] Lynn (vols. III-V), 1769-75), III (1769), 474-95, with a fold-out pedigree of the Bedingfelds between pages 482 and 483. Although generally known as Blomefield's *History* about half the text was prepared, following Blomefield's death, by Charles Parkin (or Parkyn), who is credited on the title-page of volume III with continuing the text from page 678. The complicated history of the work's compilation and publication (initially from a press set up in Blomefield's house at Fersfield) is elucidated in David A Stoker (ed.), *The Correspondence of the Reverend Francis Blomefield (1705-52)*, Norfolk Record Society 55 for 1990 & the Bibliographical Society, 1992, esp. 46-60. Parkin collaborated with Blomefield from at least 1733 (see p.65). Blomefield acknowledged his 'Pains in Drawing up the whole Deanries of *Cranwich* and *Fincham*, besides many other great Assistances' (I, unpaginated introduction), but it is clear that Parkin's contribution to the work was greater than this, extending to the Hundreds of Grimeshoe, South Greenhoe (which contained Oxborough), Clacklose, Freebridge Marshland and Freebridge Lynn (Stoker (1992), 65n). Serial publication of individual parts for subscribers began in March 1736, in advance of publication in volumes. The first parts of Volume II began to appear in 1741 and the contents of Volume III were being issued by January 1747 though in 1752 they were interrupted by Blomefield's death. Parkin stepped in and seems to have completed the work by 1763, though further delays ensued before the final volumes were published. In the second edition (11 vols., London, 1805-10) the parish of Oxborough is described in Volume VI (1807), 168-97, with Oxburgh Hall and its owners occupying pages 168-79. The title-page of this (re-paginated) edition credits Parkin with writing Volume VI, page 463 onwards.

[44] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 493. Blomefield was gathering material in Oxborough in 1734 (Stoker (1992), 28-9) but the eventual account of it must owe much to Parkin. On the evidence of the title-page of Volume III (see previous note) it was prepared before Blomefield's death in 1752. Although based, in part at least, on materials gathered in the 1730s it is likely that it reflects changes in the succeeding decade since Parkin, a graduate of Pembroke College, Cambridge, who was presented to the living of Oxborough in 1717, would have been well placed to keep the account up to date. Parkin's memorial, on the north wall of the chancel in the Church of St John the Evangelist, Oxborough, has a Latin inscription celebrating his labours in the cause of Norfolk's history.

[45] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 481. The same account appears in the 2nd edition (VI (1807), 177) with only minor variations in spelling, punctuation and capitalisation, and without mentioning the loss, since the description first appeared, of the great hall.

[46] Britton (1807-26), II (1809), 87-8, with an engraving of the gatehouse, by S. Rawle after F. Mackenzie, facing p.87, and the 1774 plan of the hall reproduced between pages 96 and 97.

[47] Evans & Britton (1810), 276-8.

[48] Rev G. H. M'Gill, 'Oxburgh Hall', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 4 (1855), 271-85, with a woodcut of Matilda Bedingfeld's view from the north-west (re-creating the drawbridge) facing p.271, and a version of her watercolour interior of the King's Room facing p.279; Edward M. Beloe,

'Oxborough. Notes of an address prepared for the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society on their visit to Oxborough on 16th July, 1890', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 13 (1898), 343-57.

[49] Egerton Castle, ed., *The Jerningham Letters, 1780-1843. Being excerpts from the correspondence and diaries of ... Lady Jerningham and of her daughter Lady Bedingfeld* (2 vols., London, 1896); Ernest Betham, *A House of Letters: Being excerpts from the correspondence of Miss Charlotte Jerningham, the Honble. Lady Bedingfeld, Lady Jerningham, Coleridge, Lamb, Southey, Bernard and Lucy Barton, and others, with Matilda Betham* (London, 1905); Katherine Bedingfeld, *The Bedingfelds of Oxburgh* (privately printed, 1912); Katharine Paston-Bedingfeld, *Sir Henry Arundell Bedingfeld, 3rd Baronet of Oxburgh, 1689-1760* (Oxford, 1936). See also Anon., *Aristocratic women: the social political and cultural history of rich and powerful women, Part 2: The correspondence and diaries of Charlotte Georgiana, Lady Bedingfeld (formerly Jerningham)* c*1779-1833, together with the letters of Anna Seward,* c*1791-1804, and Lady Stafford,* c*1774-1837* (Marlborough, 1998).

[50] J. H. Pollen, ed., 'Bedingfeld Papers', *Catholic Record Society*, VI (1909), 1-245.

[51] Mark Bence-Jones, *The Catholic Families* (London, 1992).

[52] John Leyland, 'Country Homes: Oxburgh Hall', *Country Life*, 22 May 1897, 548-50, with photographs by H. N. King; Anon., 'Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, the seat of Sir Henry Paston-Bedingfeld', *Country Life*, 11 April 1903, 470-77, with photographs by Hudson & Kearns; H. Avray Tipping, 'Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, the seat of Sir Henry Paston-Bedingfeld, Bt.', *Country Life*, 10 August 1929, 194-202 and 17 August 1929, 224-32, with photographs by Country Life.

[53] 'The Antiquities of Oxburgh Hall', *The Expert*, March 1909, 74-77 and April 1909, 110-13. There is also a whimsical account in W. Outram Tristram, *Moated Houses* (London, 1910), 22-42.

[54] Nathaniel Lloyd, *A History of English Brickwork: with Examples and Notes of the Architectural Use and Manipulation of Brick from Medieval Times to the end of the Georgian Period* (London, 1925; rpt, [Woodbridge], 1983), 86, 120-22 & 370-71. See also Jane A. Wight, *Brick Building in England from the Middle Ages to 1550* (London, 1972), 342-4.

[55] Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk*, 2nd edn, rev. Enid Radcliffe (Harmondsworth, 1974), 244-5, where, together with the Gothic house of *circa* 1830 to which it is attached, it is called Deanery Tower. Nathaniel Lloyd refers to it as both Hadleigh Towers and Rectory Towers (Lloyd (1983), 91, 96, 124). Like Oxburgh's gatehouse it is of three storeys, with the best chamber on the first floor, over a four-centred arched gateway. The flanking towers are of six stages, enlivened with blind panels incorporating paired trefoil heads. As at Oxburgh the right-hand tower (on approach) incorporates the stair, and is pierced by a series of small quatrefoil windows in square surrounds. The original house associated with the gatehouse has gone.

[56] Clive Wainwright, 'Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, a property of the National Trust and the home of Mr and Mrs Henry Paston-Bedingfeld', *Country Life*, 9 December 1993, 40-43, and 16 December 1993, 48-51, with photographs by Mark Fiennes; idem, *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home 1750-1850* (New Haven & London, 1989), *passim*.

[57] R[obin] F[edden], *Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk*, London, 1953. A slightly expanded edition, incorporating information on the hangings in the King's Room, was issued in 1964 and there may have been other editions.

[58] [Arthur Lumsden Bedingfeld], *Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk*, London, 1972. This guidebook retained the section on hangings written by Robin Fedden.

[59] Henry Bedingfeld, *Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk: The first 500 years*, [London & Norwich], 1987; *Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk*, National Trust guidebook (London, 2000).

[60] Nikolaus Pevsner & Bill Wilson, *The Buildings of England: Norfolk 2: North-West and South*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth, 1999), 584-8; Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales. Vol. II: East Anglia, Central England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000), 138-40.

[61] Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480-1680* (New Haven & London, 1999); Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (London, 1987); M. W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge, 1987), especially 101-2;

Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: architecture and court life, 1460-1547* (New Haven & London, 1993); Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Great House: A Building History* (Stroud, 1995).

[62] Anthony Emery, 'Ralph, Lord Cromwell's Manor at Wingfield (1439-*c*.1450): its Construction, Design and Influence', *Archaeological Journal*, 142 (1985), 276-339; Phillip Lindley (ed.), *Gainsborough Old Hall*, Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 8 (Lincoln, 1991); Maurice Howard & Edward Wilson, *The Vyne: A Tudor House Revealed* (London, 2003).

[63] Paston-Bedingfeld (1989) (see note 37).

[64] Edwin J. Rose & Sarah Jennings, 'The excavation of a brick-lined shaft and its contents at Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 19 (1985), 35-47. See also Edwin J. Rose, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavation of a brick shaft at Oxborough Hall 24-26 May 1983' and other briefer file notes (Norfolk SMR, file no. 2627), and a photograph of the excavated well by John Maddison, dated March 1983 (NT, Westley Bottom).

[65] National Trust Country House Technology Survey of Oxburgh Hall, conducted by Paul Thomas on 5 July 1999 (NT, Westley Bottom).

[66] Margaret Swain, *The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots* (1973; reprinted Carlton, Beds., 1986); Anon., *The Oxburgh Hangings*, National Trust guide (London, 1989).

[67] The traces were photographed by RCHME on 16 March 1998 (NMR Neg nos. BB97/10582-88).

[68] Tobit Curteis, 'Examination of the plasterwork in the Marian Hanging Room', typescript dated 18 March 1998 (NT, Westley Bottom).

[69] NT Guidebook (2000), 13-14.

[70] Wainwright (1993); NT Guidebook (2000).

[71] Sir William Musgrave (1735-1800) visited Oxburgh in 1777 and 1780 (Arline Meyer, 'Sir William Musgrave's "Lists" of Portraits; with an account of head-hunting in the Eighteenth Century', *Walpole Society*, 54 (1988), 472).

[72] Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, *Portraits in Norfolk Houses*, ed. Revd Edmund Farrer (2 vols., Norwich, 1927-8), II, 106-34. Maharaj Duleep Singh renounced his throne, together with the Koh-i-Noor diamond, under pressure from the British in India. He accepted a pension and lived the rest of his life as a Norfolk squire at Elveden, near Thetford. Prince Frederick, his second son, developed antiquarian interests and endowed a museum in Thetford.

[73] A. P. Baggs, 'Sixteenth-Century Terra-Cotta Tombs in East Anglia', *Archaeological Journal*, CXXV (1968), 296-301. This article reproduces photographs taken by RCHME in 1965 (NMR Neg nos. AA78/436-7).

[74] A selection of these were photographed as part of the present survey.

[75] Kim Woods, 'Some sixteenth-century Antwerp carved wooden altar-pieces in England', *Burlington Magazine*, CXLI (1999), 144-55.

[76] Anthea Taigel, 'Oxburgh: A Report on the History of the Park and Gardens', incorporating an Earthwork Report by Dr T. Williamson, November 1993 (NT, Westley Bottom).

[77] Brian Cushion, 'Oxborough Hall Garden Earthworks', single-page report and survey plan (Norfolk SMR, site no. 2627).

[78] The interviews, recorded on magnetic-tape cassettes, are in the National Trust Sound Archive, Heelis, Kemble Drive, Swindon.

[79] Reflectorless electronic distance measurement.

[80] Ian Tyers, 'The Tree-Ring Analysis of Timbers from Oxburgh Hall, Oxborough, Norfolk', ARCUS Report 717L, 2004.

[81] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 476.

[82] Alfred J. Horwood (ed.), 'The Manuscripts of Sir Henry Bedingfeld, Bart., at Oxburgh, Co. Norfolk', in *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Appendix to Third Report* (1872), 237.

[83] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 476.

[84] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 495.

[85] The document and seal survive at Oxburgh, and are displayed in the King's Room.

[86] The relevant portion (translated from the original Latin) reads: 'Know ye that we, regarding with our special favour the good and gratuitous services which our beloved servant, Edmund Bedingfeld, Esq., has in various ways before these times performed for us, and every day

ceases not deservedly to perform, have granted and given license, … that he according to his own pleasure and will may build, and make, and construct walls and towers, with stone, lime, and gravel, around and below his manor of Oxburgh, in the county of Norfolk, and enclose that manor with walls and towers of this kind; also embattle, kernellate [i.e. crenellate], and machecollate those walls and towers…. And, moreover, of our abundant grace, we have pardoned, remitted, and relaxed to the aforesaid Edmund all transgressions, offences, misprisions, and contempts of every kind by the same Edmund, on the occasion of the enclosing of the walls and towers aforesaid, so embattled, kernellated and machecollated, built and constructed in and above the manor aforesaid, before these times in any way done or perpetrated' (quoted in M'Gill (1855), 276). Historians have been rightly cautious in interpreting this document. M. W. Thompson notes that licenses 'seem to have been sought after as conferring a certain prestige' and many were for relatively minor alterations rather than the commencement of new construction. By the 15th century many major 'fortified' houses were built without license (Thompson (1987), 18, 83).

[87] The tradition is first recorded in Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 480, and repeated in Britton (1807-26), II, 88; the names of the King's and Queen's Rooms occur in the 1585 inventory of Oxburgh. Doubt as to whether the royal visit ever took place was expressed as early as 1929 (Tipping (1929b), 224). Modern accounts of Henry VII's reign (e.g. S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (London, 1972), and Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *The First of the Tudors: A study of Henry VII and his reign* (London, 1980)) make no mention of a visit to Oxburgh.

[88] His career is examined in Ann Weikel, 'The Rise and Fall of a Marian Privy Councillor: Sir Henry Bedingfeld 1509/11-1585', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 40 (1989), 73-83.

[89] Historical Manuscripts Commission (1872), 238-9.

[90] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 481.

[91] 'Queen Elizabeth's Progress into Norfolk', Bedingfeld Papers, Box W.

[92] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 481.

[93] Zillah Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: The Queen's Journey into East Anglia, 1578* (Stroud, 1996), 17-18.

[94] Signed by Burghley among others (Historical Manuscripts Commission (1872), 240).

[95] Bedingfeld's tribulations at the hands of the Queen are related in Dovey (1996), 91-3.

[96] Quoted in NT Guidebook (2000), 38.

[97] J. H. Pollen, SJ (ed.), 'Bedingfeld Papers', *Catholic Record Society*, VI (1909), 2. This states that documentary evidence for the tradition is lacking, but judges the tradition credible.

[98] Pollen (1909), 4-5.

[99] The date 1647 is given in Emery (2000), 138, but no authority is given. M'Gill commented that 'the date of the occurrence is not accurately ascertained' (M'Gill (1855), 284). The evidence of fire-damaged roof timbers in the east range was first cited in Pollen (1909), 15.

[100] 'A Particular of the Sufferings of S^{r} Henry Bedingfeld Kn^{t} late of Oxburgh by the late Usurpers because he & his Family tooke up Armes in defence of the Crowne', undated MS, *c*1660 (Bedingfeld Papers).

[101] Pollen (1909), 5.

[102] Pollen (1909), 37.

[103] Information on the 3rd Baronet is gathered together in Katharine Paston-Bedingfeld, *Sir Henry Arundell Bedingfeld, 3rd Baronet of Oxburgh 1689 – 1760* (Oxford, 1936).

[104] Henry Bedingfeld was ordinarily 'confined to the usual plan of his abode, or within the compass of five miles from the same' ('License from the Justices Aug^{t} 10th 1713 for Sir H.B^{d} to go from home for a month', Bedingfeld Papers, Box W).

[105] Cowdray Castle, built in the early 16th century, suffered a disastrous fire in September 1793, but remains a substantial ruin.

[106] Pollen (1909), 198.

[107] 'Memorandum Book of Sir Richard Bedingfeld', Pollen (1909), 201.

[108] 'Memorandum Book', Pollen (1909), 202. An entry dated 9 January 1777 records the existence of a Grotto in the grounds of Oxburgh Hall (*ibid.*).

[109] The prohibition on chapel-building could be evaded. At the Bar Convent in York a chapel was concealed within buildings erected in 1766-9. The Bar Convent traces its origins to the work of Mary Ward (1584/5-1644/5). It was established (as the Institute of Religious Women) in 1678, and moved to its present site on Blossom Street in 1686. The first Mother Superior was Frances Bedingfeld, a former companion of Mary Ward (RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, Vol. III: South-West of the Ouse* (London, 1972), 40-47). The Bedingfelds' connection with York was resumed in the mid-18th century: Edward Bedingfeld (1730-1802), son of the 3rd Baronet, lived at 114 Micklegate from 1754 until his death, whereupon his widow moved to 109 The Mount (*ibid.*, 92, 66).

[110] Pollen (1909), 200.

[111] See, for example, a letter from Edward Jerningham to his brother Sir George Jerningham of Costessey Hall, dated 9 November [1810], in which he contrasts the wealth of the Jerninghams with the straitened circumstances of the Bedingfelds – who 'had run out their fortune and were retiring to Yarmouth' (quoted in Castle (1896), I, 377).

[112] 'Notes from Sir Richard's Day Book. 1820', 'Bedingfeld Papers: various papers relating to Oxboro'' (a collection of letters and documents in a green paper wrapper).

[113] Henry Bedingfeld to his mother, Lady Bedingfeld, Cossey (Costessey), 11 November 1821, printed in Castle (1896), II, 220.

[114] Quoted in NT Guidebook (2000), 44.

[115] Henry Paston-Bedingfeld (henceforth HPB), 6th Baronet, to Felix Bedingfeld (FB), 1 May 1830 (Bedingfeld Papers).

[116] Colvin (1995), 177-9.

[117] HPB to FB, 15 May [1830], Bedingfeld Papers. The year is not given, but the letter has been bound into one of two volumes of sequentially arranged letters (mainly to Felix Bedingfeld) as a letter of 1830.

[118] Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld (henceforth MPB) to FB, 24 [June] 1830.

[119] There is a brief history of the Costessey Brickworks, related by a descendant of the family that operated it, in Harry E. Gunton, 'Costessey Brickworks', *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, 41 (1968-9) 165-8; a fuller account appears in Robin Lucas, 'Neo-Gothic, Neo-Tudor, Neo-Renaissance: The Costessey Brickyard', *Victorian Society Annual* (1997), 25-37. According to Gunton, 'J. C. Buckler … produced all the intricate designs for cornices, doors, windows, pinnacles and chimneys' at Costessey Hall (1827-34) (p.165).

[120] Document 'Explanatory of the intentions of Sir Richard Bedingfeld Bar^{t} respecting the Gifts made by his last will to Sir George Jerningham[,] Edward Jerningham Esq^{r} and D^{r} Milner' (Bedingfeld Papers).

[121] The attribution to Pugin is recorded as early as 1909 (Pollen (1909), 245).

[122] It is therefore all the more surprising that the recently revised Pevsner volume attributes the design of the house to both Pugin and Buckler, though acknowledging that 'Pugin's hand cannot be easily detected' (Pevsner & Wilson (1999), 584). The account (pp.584-8) contains other inaccuracies, attributing the 1770s plan to Mackenzie (he merely copied it) and assuming that the south-west tower, depicted in a number of Buckler drawings, was in fact built.

[123] John Grundy, Grace McCombie, Peter Ryder, Humphrey Welfare & Nikolaus Pevsner, with Stafford Linsley, *The Buildings of England: Northumberland* (London, 1992), 207-10.

[124] NT Guidebook (2000), 46-7.

[125] 'The Oxborough Estate, Norfolk, for sale by auction on Wednesday, 3rd October, 1951' (henceforth Estate Sale Particulars (1951)) (Bedingfeld Papers).

[126] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 489.

[127] Cooper (1999), 296-7.

[128] The room listed after the Queen's Chamber is described as the 'Next chamber being over Sloveyns ynne'. The Green Chamber is similarly defined by mention of the 'Chamber over the grene chamber'.

[129] The will, among the Bedingfeld Papers, is quoted in Bedingfeld (1912), 21. The original has not been seen.

[130] Emery (1985), 294-301.

[131] Cooper (1999), 296.
[132] The text of the indenture is given in M'Gill (1855), 282-3; Anon. (1903), 477.
[133] 'A Copy from the map of the Parish of Oxburgh of all the Modus Lands', no date (NRO, MC62/21).
[134] MPB to FB, [Oxburgh], 'Friday evening' (postmarked 2 April 1831), and MPB to FB, Oxburgh, 19 February (postmarked 20 February 1832), Bedingfeld Papers, two quarter-leather bound volumes of letters, 1816-35, vol. I.
[135] MPB to FB, Oxburgh, 15 Feb 1831, and Charles Bedingfeld to FB, Oxburgh, 17 April (postmarked 19 April 1831).
[136] H. H. Jean Le Patourel & B. K. Roberts, 'The significance of moated sites', in F. A. Aberg, ed., *Medieval Moated Sites*, CBA Research Report 17 (London, 1978), 46-55.
[137] Servants at the Hall recall how the 8th Baronet use to fish for trout and eels in the moat, sometimes from his study window (NT Sound Archive, 202.EA: Mrs Marjorie Melton, 23 October 1987). Ice continued to be taken from the moat until the beginning of the 20th century; it was stored latterly in an icehouse located in The Wilderness (NT Sound Archive, 39: Mrs Greathead & Violet Hartcup, 1 September 1986).
[138] For a striking example see the analysis of the late 14th-century Bodiam Castle in Paul Everson, 'Bodiam Castle, East Sussex: castle and its designed landscape', *Chateau Gaillard*, 17 (1996), 79-84.
[139] The maximum length of the north arm is 82.36m while that of the south arm is 86.24m. The additional length of the south arm is distributed evenly to east and west, suggesting that it is a deliberate contrivance, counteracting perspective when viewed from the north approach. The variation in the lengths of the west arm (80.20m measured along the outer bank) and the east arm (80.42m) is trivial. The arms vary considerably in width, as follows (slight variations are averaged): north 13.90m; south 14.85m; east 12.39 to 13.74m; west 19.32 to 19.91m. The much greater width of the west arm may date from the 19th-century adoption of the west wing for the principal reception rooms. The Ordnance Survey calculated the area of the water as exactly one acre in extent (Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk Sheet LXX.11, revised 1904, published 1905).
[140] Pollen (1909), 245. In the 18th century only 'the Side opposite to the House' was 'faced with Brick' (Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 481).
[141] The date of the previous drainage work was given by Mrs Greathead, who also noted that the moat was found to be cut into chalk and that a selection of Roman coins and pottery were found in the outfall (NT Sound Archive, 70: Mrs Greathead, 16 July 1987).
[142] Information in this paragraph is based on notes and photographs supplied by Angus Wainwright, National Trust archaeologist, who inspected the lower courses of the walls while the moat was drained.
[143] The timber mount for the pump survives.
[144] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 481, quoted on p.13 of this report.
[145] Pollen (1909), 203.
[146] Tyers (2004), 5-6.
[147] Tyers (2004), 16-17.
[148] The numbering was first noted by Tyers (2004), 17.
[149] Brickwork in the plinth has been much repaired and rebuilt. I am grateful to Angus Wainwright for this observation, made when the moat was drained.
[150] British Library, Add. 36371, f.148.
[151] Nicholas J. Moore, 'Brick', in John Blair & Nigel Ramsay, eds., *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London & Rio Grande, 1991), 227-8.
[152] Notes provided by Angus Wainwright; Edwin Rose, file note dated 9 March 1983, Norfolk SMR (file 2627).
[153] See, for example, the 1903 *Country Life* photographs of the Armoury, Porter's Lodge and Queen's Room oriel, showing crisply painted brick courses and mortar joints – in Flemish bond!
[154] Timothy Easton, 'The internal decorative treatment of 16th- and 17th-century brick in Suffolk', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 20 (1986), 1-17; idem, 'The Disguise of Historic Brickwork

Rediscovered', *Material Culture in Medieval Europe*, Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference (Zellik, 1997), 485-95.

[155] I am indebted to Andrea Kirkham, wall-painting conservator, for sharing initial thoughts on this feature.

[156] Curteis (1998), 2, cites Eton College Chapel and the Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral as exemplars from the earlier period. I am grateful to Dr Kathryn Davies of English Heritage for discussing with me the late 16th-century context and possible indicators in the costume to support such a date. T B Norgate notes that in the attics of the north wing at Costessey (demolished) there was 'a curious black and white *drawing of a man and woman* of the Tudor period' (*Norfolk Archaeology*, 18 (1914), lv; italics in original).

[157] There is a large and expanding literature on this subject: see in particular Charles Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 132 (1979), 73-90, and Thompson (1987).

[158] By contrast, one house in the village (the clergyman's) was assessed on seven hearths, one on six and one on five, three on four hearths, eight on three hearths, eighteen on two hearths, and nineteen on just one hearth (M. S. Frankel & P. J. Seaman (eds.), 'Norfolk Hearth Tax Assessment Michaelmas 1664', *Norfolk Genealogy*, 15 (1983), 84). I am grateful to John Dean for tracing a copy of this source.

[159] Cotman's 1811 sketch shows paired shafts on the east wall of the gatehouse and single shafts on the west gable of the north range and on the crow-stepped gable west of the gatehouse. Neale's view of 1819 corroborates these observations, except that he erroneously shows a single shaft on the gatehouse; his wider angle of view also adds a corresponding shaft on the crow-stepped gable east of the gatehouse. Buckler shows two shafts on the gatehouse and further stacks are shown, somewhat indistinctly, on the east range.

[160] Moore (1991), 217-8.

[161] Thompson (1987), 94-6.

[162] In John Kenyon's typology of gun-ports Oxburgh's examples are classified as type J1 (see John R Kenyon, 'Early Artillery Fortifications in England and Wales', *Fort*, I (Spring 1976), 33-6, and idem., 'Early Gun-ports: A Gazetteer', *Fort*, 4 (Autumn 1977), 75-85. I am indebted to my colleague Roger J. C. Thomas for these references.

[163] For a discussion of some of these marks, in the context of timber-framed buildings, see Timothy Easton, 'Ritual Marks on Historic Timber', *Weald and Downland Open-Air Museum Journal* (Spring 1999), 22-30. The wider cosmography is discussed in Stephen Wilson, *The Magical Universe: Everyday Ritual and Magic in Pre-Modern Europe* (London & New York, 2000), esp. 3-10.

[164] Notes on the Marian Hangings Room supplied by Angus Wainwright, National Trust.

[165] Roger North, 'On planning a country house', in Howard Colvin & John Newman (eds.), *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture* (Oxford, 1981), 127. I am grateful to Ian Goodall for this reference.

[166] The date of the Layer Marney gatehouse is uncertain, but the appearance of terracotta ornament is generally taken as an indication that it was commenced no earlier than 1520, whilst other considerations make a date shortly before the death of either the 1st Lord Marney (d. 1523) or the 2nd Lord Marney (d. 1525) likely (Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Essex*, 2nd edn, rev. Enid Radcliffe (Harmondsworth, 1965), 263-5).

[167] Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 54 (1).

[168] For the origins of the device, see Ruth & Vincent Megaw, *Celtic Art from its beginnings to the Book of Kells* (London, 1989), *passim*.

[169] The elevation is illustrated in Lloyd (1983), 124.

[170] A single chimney is placed in an analogous position on the brick gatehouse at Hadleigh, Suffolk, built in the 1490s.

[171] Subsequently the intention was reversed, and plaster and stone alike were painted in a dark red ochre, apparently to harmonise with the surrounding brickwork. In a further phase the stone colour was restored in paint.

[172] At either end of the case lock there are two bands of chevron decoration to either side of a vertical line, set within scalloped borders.

[173] A date in the 1950s was suggested by Mrs Greathead.
[174] The roofs of the projecting bays drain through apertures in the centre of the machicolations.
[175] Pugin (1838-40), I, 47. They are too closely spaced to have a purely practical origin.
[176] NT Guidebook (2000), 8.
[177] 'Front Towards the Court. Oxburgh Hall', described as 'Drawn from Nature & on Stone by Joseph Nash. Pupil to A: Pugin' and published by the latter in March 1830 (NMR, Red Boxes, Oxborough).
[178] Anon (1903), 474.
[179] Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 56 (3).
[180] Later sills (of timber?), overlying the plaster, were cut into the brickwork on either side, but have been removed. In addition, all the recesses except for the east and north-east formerly contained shelves, which were cut into the brickwork of either jamb.
[181] A similar inset handrail in the gatehouse of the former Rye House, Stanstead Abbots, Hertfordshire, is illustrated in Wight (1972), plate 17. License to crenellate was granted in 1443 (*ibid.*, 277-8).
[182] Traces of paint indicate that the limestone was formerly concealed by the red-and-white paint scheme.
[183] The sill of this recess was subsequently lowered, and a door hung on small iron pintles, converting it into a narrow cupboard.
[184] Britton (1807-26), II, 88. The name, as mentioned above, appears in late 16th-century inventories, but apparently in connection with a different room.
[185] A 1923 photograph by Nathaniel Lloyd shows an elaborate cast-iron fire-back with what appears to be an inscription at the base (NMR neg. no. BB 008043 [Lloyd B.338]). This was presumably the 'embossed fireback' offered for sale in 1951 (*Oxburgh Hall, Oxborough, Norfolk: Catalogue of the remaining Furniture and Effects … which John D. Wood & Co. in conjunction with Charles Hawkins & Sons will sell by auction, on the premises, on … 31st October and 1st November, 1951* (henceforth Furniture & Effects Sale Particulars), 4, lot 29 (Bedingfeld Papers)).
[186] Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 56 (3), No. 1.
[187] Wood (1965), 377-88.
[188] Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 57 (4), No. 2.
[189] Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 57 (4), No. 2.
[190] Tipping (1929a), 198.
[191] Tipping (1929a), 197.
[192] Tipping (1929a), 197.
[193] Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 57 (4), No. 2. One of Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolours, titled 'The Guard Room', also appears to be of the dovecote.
[194] Pollen (1909), 204. The reason for supposing an earlier date is that the undated but probably *c*1725 copy plan of the Modus Lands of Oxborough has a key referring to 'The Mansion House[,] Dove house & Gardens', implying that the Dovehouse was a distinct building (NRO, MC62/21).
[195] Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 55 (2).
[196] Pugin (1838-40), I, 47.
[197] Scaling from the plan produces a length of roughly 55ft. The letterpress to Pugin's *Examples* states the dimensions as 56ft by 29ft (Pugin (1838-40), I, 45).
[198] See the comparison of 86 unaisled halls (13th to early 16th century) in Wood (1965), 62-6.
[199] Blomefield and Parkin mention 'two Bow-windows' (Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 481).
[200] For Westminster Hall (1394-1402), see RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, Vol. II: West London excluding Westminster Abbey* (London, 1925), 121-3 and Plates 174-6.
[201] No bakehouse is mentioned in either inventory, but in 1585 the Brewhouse was appraised directly after the Kitchen. The essential requirements of a bakehouse and a brewhouse were not dissimilar.

[202] Stairs of this type are unknown in the 15th century, when newel stairs composed of winders or more confined intramural stairs were nearly ubiquitous. The winder stair, normally placed in a turret, remained a standard feature throughout the first half of the 16th century and was not fully eclipsed at the level of gentry houses until the very end of the century. Well stairs of the type depicted opening off the screens passage at Oxburgh are scarcely encountered before the middle of the 16th century and were uncommon before the 17th century (Howard (1987), 83-8; Cooper (1999), 311-16).

[203] For a discussion of the examples, see Cooper (1999), 64-5 & 305-6.

[204] On the beams there are traces of a number of paint schemes of uncertain date.

[205] This window is directly under a truss. The splays are uneven and the beam spanning the rear is deflected, but whether these characteristics are attributable to 20th-century workmanship, to the load imposed by the truss on an inserted lintel, or by the accumulated stresses borne by a opening of longstanding, is not clear.

[206] This evidence can be set against that of former (mostly later) ground-floor windows on the moatside elevation. Remains of another probably original window head have been partially destroyed by a second, forming a segmental arch of brick headers, dating from the late 17th or 18th century. Both conflict with the present dimensions of the stair compartment, but are consistent with its original width. A third window, off which the jambs and sill remain distinct, has been blocked and replaced by a small 19th-century quatrefoil lighting the understairs cupboard. The earlier window is tall enough to conflict with the present stair window, which it must pre-date. It would also have been cut by the landing of the late 17th-century stair, an awkwardness which was sometimes tolerated in pursuit of a consistent fenestration pattern.

[207] Lengths of cornice beam are visible inside the cupboard off the upper half-landing of the west stair and in at least two other places inside the attic ashlaring: on the east side in the three northernmost bays and on the west side in the second bay from the north.

[208] Tyers 2004.

[209] The west end of the tie-beam can be seen inside the cupboard opening off the stair between first-floor and attic level.

[210] Historic Buildings Council for England notes, dated 8 December 1972, on grant application (English Heritage East of England Region files). This concluded that the original layout consisted of 'a smaller central stair and N & S lodgings. Each lodging had an open roofed great chamber and an inner chamber with window fireplace and gardrobe'.

[211] 'Green Photo Albums' (NT, Westley Bottom).

[212] The approximate lengths of the bays are (from east to west): 1.97m, 2.40m (incorporating trimmer), 2.08m, 2.42m, 2.38m, 2.84m, 1.94m and 1.68m.

[213] Notes on the Marian Hangings Room supplied by Angus Wainwright.

[214] Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 57 (4), No. 1.

[215] Tyers (2004), 7.

[216] The Old Chapel, as it was known, was replaced by a purpose-built Chapel of St Augustine at Costessey in 1809 (Norgate (1914), lv-lvi).

[217] There is an entertainingly garbled account of it in Granville Squiers, *Secret Hiding Places: The origins, histories and descriptions of English secret hiding places used by priests, cavaliers, Jacobites and smugglers* (London & Plymouth, 1934), 178-81. Angus Wainwright reports a graffito dating from the 1790s.

[218] Britton (1807-26), II, 88.

[219] Pugin (1838-40), I, 47.

[220] Felix Bedingfeld to his fiancée Mary Cleade (nicknamed 'Woodward'), [King's] Lynn, dated (in a later hand) 29 August 1848, Bedingfeld Papers, Box III.

[221] Paston-Bedingfeld (1936), 26.

[222] Paston-Bedingfeld (1936), 27-8.

[223] A series of smaller, less regular, cement-filled patches, which are distributed to either side of the arch and in a horizontal line above it, relate to a mantel shelf, presumably of later date.

[224] Notes on the Marian Hangings Room supplied by Angus Wainwright, National Trust.

[225] On the north wall of the stair bay the plaster scratch coat passes behind the east partition but not the skim coat. The skim coat occurs on the partition itself behind the fragment of late 17th-century panelling.
[226] The large cyma recta and the small cyma reversa can also be found on two lengths of cornice, incongruously re-used as parts of door architraves, on both sides of the first-floor door leading north from the west stair.
[227] Notes on the Marian Hangings Room supplied by Angus Wainwright, National Trust.
[228] Notes on the Marian Hangings Room supplied by Angus Wainwright, National Trust.
[229] Paston-Bedingfeld (1936), 21. In 1936 the 'small ruined building' was still identifiable. There are no other architectural references of note in this source.
[230] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 481.
[231] A transcript (apparently from a publication (untraced) called *The Catholic Packet*, 1828) in the Bedingfeld Papers, Box III, mentions the bridge, and a footnote adds: 'built by Ld Burlington to replace the old draw bridge'.
[232] Photograph at NT, Westley Bottom (labelled NFK 11 215R).
[233] Rose & Jennings (1985), 35-7.
[234] A number of loose variations on the Venetian form occur on the building depicted on the Davenport tableware referred to above (p.10 & Fig 6), one of them on the ground floor towards the east end of the elevation, though its position can hardly be said to correspond to that indicated much more convincingly in 1774.
[235] The original drawing, dated 1636, is reproduced in John Harris & Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (New York, 1989), 210-11. The re-used chimneypiece, which dated from 1611-12, and its Jonesian overmantel were installed in the Cross Gallery of Somerset House in London. Versions of the design appear in Isaac Ware, *Designs of Inigo Jones and others* [London, 1733], Plate 4, and B[atty] L[angley], *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs: Or the Art of Drawing and Working the Ornamental Parts of Architecture* (London, 1745), Plate LXXIV.
[236] John Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick* (London, 1994), 167.
[237] Ware (1733), Plate 27.
[238] Ware (1733), Plate 22; Langley (1745), Plate LXVI, A. I am grateful to Sir Howard Colvin for drawing my attention to the source for this design.
[239] Carole Fry, 'An architect for Lydiard House', *The Georgian Group Journal*, XIV (2004), 26-32; Richard Hewlings, 'Roger Morris and Lydiard Tregoze', *The Georgian Group Journal*, XIV (2004), 33-47. The chimneypiece is illustrated in Hewlings, Fig. 9. Morris was connected with the owner of Lydiard Park from 1735 to 1749. The master-mason Nathaniel Ireson oversaw the works.
[240] Harris & Higgott (1989), 206-9.
[241] James Gibbs, *The Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture*, London, 1732, plate XLVII.
[242] Tyers (2004), 7-8.
[243] The angle of Cotman's view allows him to show the western two-thirds of the north elevation west of the gatehouse, the remainder being obscured by the gatehouse stair turret. Cotman shows two windows on each floor plus the stair window. All five openings correspond to existing windows, all of which are associated with disturbed brickwork. The ground-floor window closest to the west gable has either been narrowed or shifted slightly to the west, the eastern jamb having been made up accordingly. The next window to the east, under the crow-stepped gable, has been narrowed on both sides; the closers on both sides of the earlier opening remain. On the first floor rebuilding in the 19th century seems to have been more extensive, as the flues were altered as well as the windows and the parapets were added.
[244] In all three cases the brickwork above the window heads interrupts the bond and tends towards a different coloration. There are also brick slivers against all the moulded brick jambs, though two closers are visible at the top of the left jamb of the northern window, suggesting that this jamb at least may correspond to that of the earlier window shown by Buckler. Comparison with the evidence of the ground-floor windows shows that the 18th-

century sashes were somewhat narrower than the two-light mullioned windows which replaced them in the 19th century, with the result that in most cases the original jambs were obliterated.

[245] The direction of the passage is indicated by one surviving partition and a parallel ceiling scar for the other.

[246] Blomefield & Parkin (1739-75), III (1769), 481.

[247] Colvin (1995), 954-5. Further details are contained in the first edition of Colvin's *Dictionary*. Between 1782 and 1814 he exhibited at the Royal Academy from an address in Mortimer St, Cavendish Square, London. As a subscriber to Richardson's *New Designs in Architecture* (1792) Tasker styled himself 'architect and builder' (H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840* (London, 1954), 594-5, citing *Country Life*, 8 July 1916 and 9 Jan. 1926, and the RIBA Library).

[248] John Redgrave, whose dates are not known, undertook alterations at Coopersale, Essex, for John Archer in 1763-4, and has been identified as the architect or surveyor for the rebuilding of Hallingbury Place, Essex, for Jacob Houblon (John Archer's son-in-law) in 1771-3. In 1776 the Angel Hotel, Bury St Edmunds, was rebuilt to his designs. He also submitted plans for rebuilding the tower at St Peter's Church, Thetford, but these were not acted upon (Colvin (1995), 796).

[249] Evans & Britton (1810), 277.

[250] Bedingfeld Papers, Box II.

[251] This order is also recorded in the 4th Baronet's Memorandum Book under 1774, where it is specified that the materials are 'to new cover the House' (Pollen (1909), 202).

[252] No plasterer of this name is listed in Geoffrey Beard, *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain* (London, 1975).

[253] Geoffrey Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660-1820* (London, 1981), 288; Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660–1851*, revised edn (London, n.d.), 403-4; Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530–1830*, 2nd edn, rev. John Physick (Harmondsworth, 1988), esp. 271-3; Colvin (1996), 999. Tyler began his career as a student of the French sculptor Louis François Roubiliac (?1705-62), who worked in England from about 1732. As an architect he designed the Ordnance Office, Old Palace Yard, Westminster (1779-80), an addition to the Kent County Gaol at Maidstone (1784), a new county gaol in Dorchester, Dorset (1784-5), the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen St, London (1786), Bridport Town Hall, Dorset (1786-7), extensions to the Pavilions at Hampton Court (1792-3, for the Duke of Gloucester) and the Villa Maria, Kensington (*c*1800, for the Duchess of Gloucester).

[254] These were presumably *garnitures de cheminée*, as they were known in 18th-century France, or 'suites' of chimney ornaments as they were sometimes called in contemporary England: busts, vases or other ornaments intended for placing on the mantelpiece (see Christopher Gilbert & Anthony Wells-Cole, *The Fashionable Fireplace 1660 · 1840*, Temple Newsam Country House Studies 2 (Leeds, 1985), 72-82).

[255] Probably Thomas Bromwich (*fl.* 1740-87), a successful London paper-stainer and paper-hanger whose clients included Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill and the 1st Earl of Mansfield at Kenwood (Beard (1981), 210, 248).

[256] Possibly Samuel Cushing, described as 'a church-carver of Norwich', whose son Joshua, a sculptor, was born in 1775 (Gunnis (n.d.), 119).

[257] They include 'six p[ai]r of winscoat chest of draws for Bed chambers' purchased from Tasker and 'six night tables for Bed chambers' supplied by Mr Coates of Swaffham.

[258] Though the grant is now judged to be apocryphal the right to the badge, now described as a fetter, was confirmed by the College of Arms in 1987 (Bedingfeld (1989), 6).

[259] The name is a recent one, and relates to family memorabilia displayed there. The room is used as a staff kitchen and common room.

[260] 'Oxburgh Hall', undated engraving, inscribed 'Engraver's proof – unfinished', showing the gatehouse from south-south-east (copy in NMR; also NMR neg. no. BB82/10553). The engraving appears to use crude shading to obscure the walls of the north range where they would be concealed by the arcade, thus obviating the need to invent spurious detail.

[261] 'Front Towards the Court. Oxburgh Hall', described as 'Drawn from Nature & on Stone by Joseph Nash. Pupil to A: Pugin' and published by the latter in March 1830 (NMR, Red Boxes, Oxborough). Neale's lithograph either omits classical features or translates them into Gothic substitutes. In the canted end he places a four-centred arched doorway, and he presents as blind the wall extending westwards. The whole is also given a crenellated parapet which it appears never to have had. Nevertheless, the essential form of the arcade is unmistakeable.

[262] Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 57 (4), No. 1.

[263] De Wilstar's map of the Manor of Oxburgh, 1725 (NRO, BRA 2524/2) and undated copy (NRO, BRA 2524/3).

[264] Pollen (1909), 203.

[265] Notes, supplied by Angus Wainwright, based on observations made while the moat was drained.

[266] NRO, PD 139/19 (H).

[267] Pollen (1909), 201.

[268] Pollen (1909), 203. The date of the entry may indicate a connection with the new south bridge.

[269] Pollen (1909), 203.

[270] Pollen (1909), 204.

[271] Pollen (1909), 206.

[272] Pollen (1909), 207.

[273] Quoted in Wainwright (1993), 42.

[274] Eastlake noted that in addition to his work at Costessey Hall and Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, Buckler 'restored Oxburgh Hall' (Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (London, 1872), 110.

[275] 'Bedingfeld Papers' [marked thus on modern brown paper wrapper]. Inside, a note by Henry Bedingfeld, dated 25 December 1977: '3 Heraldic drawings & paintings (one signed C.A. Buckler) found with these papers.' The 3 items are now the only contents of the wrapper: 1) Pencil & watercolour on paper. Headed 'Drawing Room – Oxburgh Towers, Norfolk'. Three designs headed 'paterae in cornice – '; below these 'Boss – intermediate Ribs.' and 'Boss at intersecn of main ribs:'. Most designs numbered, with dimensions (in inches?). Signed 'C.A. Buckler.' bottom right. 2) On card, cut and folded as though part may have been cut out. Single coloured heraldic design, with monochrome sketch of same bottom left. The coloured design marked 'Murray' to left and 'Azure' to right. Crown bottom right marked 'Edward IV crown'. 3) Ink (& a little pencil) on tracing paper, mounted on brown backing paper. The same heraldic design as in (2). Charles Alban Buckler was the architect for the remodelling of Arundel Castle, West Sussex, for the 15th Duke of Norfolk, 1879-*c*1890 (Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, revised edn (New Haven & London, 1979), 394).

[276] T B Norgate, in *Norfolk Archaeology*, 18 (1914), liv-lviii; Wainwright (1989), 282-4. For a recent reappraisal of Lady Stafford's influence, and some contemporary watercolour views, comparable to those of Oxburgh painted by Matilda Bedingfeld, see John Martin Robinson, 'How Lady Stafford Revived the Gothic', *Country Life*, 3 April 2003, 82-5. Places visited by Lady jerningham and Buckler, and sketched by Buckler, include the Manor House at East Barsham, Barsham, Norfolk; Thorpland Hall, Fakenham, Norfolk; Raglan Castle; Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire; the old Palace of Westminster; Hampton Court, Hope under Dinmore, Herefordshire; Christ Church College, Oxford; and Penshurst Place, Kent. Buckler also worked at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk.

[277] Eastlake (1872), 110.

[278] British Library, Add. 36443, ff. 63-71 & 101.

[279] Watercolour elevations entitled 'N. front. Hall. Oxburgh' (British Library, Add. 36443, f. 68) and 'S. front Oxburgh' (f. 69).

[280] A copy of the 1774 plan, together with a handwritten description of the gatehouse, is among the Buckler drawings in the British Library (Add. 37339, f. 69). The volume in which these items are pasted is inscribed 'Bequeathed by C. A. Buckler Esq, 1905' on the flyleaf, and 'Charles Buckler / 1843' on f.1. The description (reproducing the eccentric notation of feet and inches) reads:

From ye ground to the top of the angle turrets, on ye S. or inner side: 65,, 6. Extreme breadth of the Tower Gateway, on ye same side: 38,, 10.

The Bays on this side of the Gateway are very remarkable features of ye design. They in some sort answer to the Towers in front, but they are [of] considerably smaller diameter, & terminate below the parapet of ye Gateway, [several words obliterated] with an embattled parapet. The bays are exactly uniform, each containing three tiers of windows. Their external diameter is 8,, 0 feet. The space between them containing the archway: 12,, 0. The arch is 12,, 0 high, & 8,, 8 wide. The depth of the Gateway from N. to S, from the face of ye Towers to ye face of ye bays, 40,, 4. The towers project 12,, 6 – the bays 3,, 4. The Gateway is 24,, 6 deep, 13,, 0 wide, & 15,, 6 to the point of ye roof. There are 2 noble apartments over the gateways – the lower or principal room has a fire place between the bays on ye S. side & a broad window between the front Towers. The western Tower contains the staircase; ye other is groined and well lighted, & is a handsome / [verso] feature of the room. The ceiling is paneled in a plain manner. The length of ye room is 33,, 4, width 19,, 0, height 15,, 10, The breadth of the Tower gateway towards ye North is 38,, 10, The parapet was once adorned with double turrets – excepting these ornaments the design of this stately building is perfect. The bases remain – the shafts were 1-10 diameter: I am not acquainted with another example of double turrets. The leaden water spouts on ye gateway are very ancient & curious.

[281] British Library, Add. 36443, f.64. This is a watercolour north elevation of the SW pavilion, half of the SE pavilion, and of the intervening gap, shown walled across with steps up to a terrace flanked by elaborate piers topped by urns. The west range and arcade are sketchily shown in cross-section. The turrets are clearly intended to house stairs, as they incorporate three levels of fenestration rather than two. A related watercolour perspective view (f. 63), depicting the SW pavilion and part of the west range, shows only two storeys, however. This drawing shows the turret clasping the north-east angle of the pavilion. Both drawings are simply titled 'Oxburgh Hall'.

[282] Pencil perspective view entitled 'Oxburgh Hall – W. front', British Library, Add. 36443, f. 65.

[283] Neither detail drawing is titled. One is an ink sketch showing the oriel, a twisted chimney shaft, a dormer and a cusped first-floor window (British Library, Add. 36443, f. 66); the other is a watercolour elevation showing similar features but omitting the dormer (f. 67). A pencil perspective view ('Oxburgh') shows the oriel, twisted chimney shaft and dormer (f. 101).

[284] Two pencil sketches showing the north elevation, one (titled 'Oxburgh') west of the gatehouse (British Library, Add. 36443, f. 70), the other (untitled) east of the gatehouse (f. 71).

[285] 'Plan of Upper Chamber, Oxborough Hall, Norfolk', undated pencil plan, partly dimensioned, including a detail of the fireplace moulding (British Library, Add. 36443, f. 127).

[286] 'Gateway. Oxburgh Hall Norfolk', pencil sketch, partly overdrawn in ink, of the south-west turret of the gatehouse, viewed from the south-west, with sectional details of the parapet coping and corbels and a plan detail of a gun port (British Library, Add. 36443, f. 104v).

[287] It is difficult to see why this should be so. On the 1774 plan the two rooms corresponding to the present Drawing Room are heated by fireplaces at either end, not on the courtyard wall. In the approximate position of the fireplace as shown on the undated plan there are two windows on the 1774 plan. Other indications, such as the relative widths of doorways, indicate that the plan is not based on detailed measurements.

[288] For a contemporary view of the Costessey gallery, see Robinson 2003, 82, fig 1.

[289] Katherine Bedingfeld, *The Bedingfelds of Oxburgh* (2 vols., privately printed, 1915), II, 317.

[290] Margaret Paston-Bedingfeld, 6 August 1830, quoted in Wainwright (1993), 42 (originals not seen).

[291] MPB to FB, undated but postmarked 7 October 1830 (Bedingfeld Papers, bound volume of letters).

[292] MPB to FB, 27 November 1830 (Bedingfeld Papers).

[293] Ibid.

[294] MPB to FB, 'Friday evening', postmarked 2 April 1831 (Bedingfeld Papers).

[295] MPB to FB, 12 August, postmarked 15 August 1831 (Bedingfeld Papers).

[296] Ibid.

[297] MPB to FB, undated, postmarked 16 December 1831 (Bedingfeld Papers).
[298] MPB to FB, 'Saturday evening', postmarked 19 November 1832 (Bedingfeld Papers).
[299] The moulds, of course, would be retained by the brickworks for future use.
[300] Mason (1865), unpaginated. The southernmost Drawing Room window is obscured by a tree, and its similarity to the other two sashed openings is assumed.
[301] One is on the first floor of the north range, immediately alongside the gatehouse, and lights the newel stair there; the other lights the present kitchen in the single-storey service range. Both are in moulded brick.
[302] British Library, Add. 36443, ff. 66, 67 & 101.
[303] Mason (1865), unpaginated.
[304] MPB to FB, Oxburgh, 'Saturday evening', postmarked 19 November 1832 (Bedingfeld Papers).
[305] Matilda Bedingfeld's watercolour of the room is entitled 'West Dining Room'. It is also sometimes referred to as the North Dining Room.
[306] The motto 'Despicis Terrena' translates as 'Despise earthly things'; it is also found on a bowl in the Saloon, where it continues with 'Contemplate the sun' (Bedingfeld (1989), 12).
[307] The Gothic frieze can be compared with that of the Dining Room and Drawing Room chimneypieces at Costessey Hall, dating from the period 1826-36: see Robinson 2003, 83-4, figs 2 and 3.
[308] Clive Wainwright states that the heraldic tiles 'are clearly inspired by those designed by A. W. N. Pugin, who knew Buckler well, in the later 1840s for houses such as Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire. The patent for making these tiles was taken out only in 1848, so although the rest of the library may have been finished in the 1830s, the fireplace must date from after 1847' (Wainwright (1993), 50). See also NT Guidebook (2000), 15.
[309] The titles include *Edmund on the Art of Increasing the Pouch and Paunch* (2 vols.), *Popery Unveiled, Recordes of ye Towere* (2 vols.), *Rewardes for Sir H. Bedingfeld His Loyaltie* (3 vols.), *Gratitude of the Stewarts [sic] to the Cavaliers* (8 vols.), *Henry's Eccentric Gentleman* (3 vols.), *Margaret Essay on First Teeth* and *Felix on Diplomatic Ambiguity* (3 vols.) – an allusion to the career of Felix Bedingfeld, youngest son of the 4th Baronet, in colonial administration.
[310] Similar studwork with brick infill has been inserted on the north side of the stair compartment beneath the collar of the original truss.
[311] Above the entrance is a pair of pintles for suspending a curtain rod.
[312] The panels overlie traces of pale green paint.
[313] 'North Staircase' looks northwards towards the foot of the stair, while 'The Passage leading to the King's Room' captures it obliquely, looking eastwards along the first-floor passage.
[314] Untitled pencil sketch showing north elevation of north range, east of gatehouse, British Library, Add. 36443, f.71.
[315] Manufactured by the Eagle Range & Grate Co. of Catherine Street, Birmingham. There are similar examples at Chastleton House, Oxfordshire, installed 1888, and Cragside, Northumberland.
[316] Photographs in green photo album, NT files, Westley Bottom.
[317] 'The Haunted Room' (Bedingfeld Papers). The other face of the door appears in the watercolour simply entitled 'Passage'.
[318] MPB to FB, Oxburgh, 12 August, postmarked 15 August 1831 (Bedingfeld Papers).
[319] British Library, Add. 36435, f.127.
[320] Buckler's drawing can be compared with the cross-section drawn by T. T. Bury for Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture* (Pugin (1838-40), I, Plate 56 (3), No. 1).
[321] Watercolour entitled 'The Watch Tower' (Bedingfeld Papers). However, the depiction of the roof-ridge suggests that this shows the south-east turret. The weathervane also appears in a photograph published in 1897.
[322] NT Guidebook (2000), 22.
[323] Tipping (1929a), 199.
[324] Tipping (1929a), 199. The caption mistakenly states that it depicts the oriel at ground-floor level.

[325] Pollen (1909), 245. Whether the Baronet worked entirely without an architect is difficult to prove; he may have employed an architect of no great fame to work up his designs.

[326] Anthony Emery gives 1838 as the date of the remodelling of the south-east tower (Emery (2000), 138), as do Rose & Jennings (1985), 35. It is possible that this date is based on a document which has not been seen in the course of the present survey, though neither of the sources above mentions one.

[327] Bedingfeld Papers. The watercolour certainly dates from before 1860, as the tall bay window is absent from the south-east tower.

[328] Mason (1865), unpaginated.

[329] Paston-Bedingfeld, 1989, 7.

[330] M'Gill notes that 'the building now forms three sides of a quadrangle; having on the North, the entrance-tower, the Porter's Lodge (which has a vaulted brick roof and loopholes, very curious), and a modernized dining room; on the West, the library and saloon, with its ante-room; and on the East, the various offices attached to such a house' (M'Gill (1855), 279). Anthony Emery contends that the south-east tower was built in 1838, but offers no authority for the date (Emery (2000), 138).

[331] The Barony of Grandison, created in 1299, had been in abeyance for want of male issue since 1369. In 1854 the 6th Baronet petitioned the House of Lords to grant his claim to the Barony, based on descent through the female line via Sir John Pateshull (d.1313) and Sir Robert Tuddenham (d.1361). In 1858 he was judged to have proved his descent, but not his precedence over other potential claimants, and the Barony therefore remained in abeyance (Paston-Bedingfeld, 1989, 7).

[332] The arms are, from left to right, blank impaling Bedingfeld, for Mary Gabrielle, then unmarried, but later (1880) married to Ferdinand Eyre of Moreton Hall, Bury St Edmunds; Trafford impaling Bedingfeld, for Mary Geraldine, who married Edward Trafford of Wroxham, Norfolk, in 1867, when the previously blank half of the shield was presumably carved with his arms; Bedingfeld (with label) impaling Clavering, for Henry George, later 7th Baronet, and his wife Augusta Clavering of Callaly Castle, Northumberland, who he married in 1859; Bedingfeld impaling Paston, for the 6th Baronet and his wife Margaret (m.1826); Bedingfeld impaling blank, for Raoul, also then unmarried, who later (1897) married Katherine, widow of Henry Claremont Lyne-Stephens; Nevill impaling Bedingfeld, for Matilda and her husband Captain George Nevill of Nevill Holt, Leicestershire (m.1855); and the initials of the 6th Baronet and his wife.

[333] The panels represent, from left to right, the arms of Clavering, Tuddenham, and Grandison, the Falcon and Fetterlock badge, and the arms of Bedingfeld and Paston.

[334] The north stack incorporates, immediately below the weathering, a small stone tablet or mandorla with incised spandrels.

[335] The coloured glass is in the more easterly of the two.

[336] The plan shows, from north to south, a Yard, a shed for Coals, an unlabelled water closet or earth closet, and a small Butler's Room, divided by a lobby from a larger Pantry. The Yard was entered, as now, near the north-east corner of the courtyard and provided access to the coal shed. The closet was entered, like the present WC, from the arcade or 'Cloister', and the Butler's Room and Pantry both opened off the lobby.

[337] NT Guidebook (2000), 8. No primary source indicating this date has been identified. The south range does not appear on the photograph of Oxburgh Hall published in 1865 (Fig 9), but it is possible that the photograph was taken two or three years prior to publication.

[338] Ordnance Survey 1883.

[339] Mrs Greathead, interviewed on 1 Sept 1986, attributed the work to Augusta (NT Sound Archive, 39: Mrs Greathead & Violet Hartcup, 1 September 1986).

[340] The attribution was suggested by Clive Wainwright (Wainwright (1993), 51); see also NT Guidebook (2000), 11 and 46-7. Selected papers of the Crace family are held in the Victoria & Albert Museum's Archive of Art and Design, but no mentions of Oxburgh Hall have been noted (information kindly supplied by Eva White, Assistant Curator at the Archive of Art and Design). There is also no mention of Oxburgh in Megan Aldrich (ed.), *The Craces: Royal Decorators 1768-1899* (Brighton, 1990).

[341] Bedingfeld (1989), 12.
[342] NT Guidebook (2000), 10.
[343] Photograph in Bedingfeld Papers.
[344] Photograph in NMR Album 85/5, print number 355 (marked 'sold to B.').
[345] MPB to FB, [Oxburgh], 'Friday evening', postmarked 2 April 1831 (Bedingfeld Papers). For the Costessey stained glass, see Maurice Drake, *The Costessey collection of stained glass, formerly in the possession of George William Jerningham 8th Baron Stafford of Costessey in the County of Norfolk* (Exeter, 1920), and Norgate (1914), lvi-lviii.
[346] Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior: The British Collector at Home 1750-1850* (New Haven & London, 1989), *passim*.
[347] Pevsner & Wilson (1999), 584. See also Thomas Willement, *A Concise Account of the Principal Works in Stained Glass* (1840), 55. The British Library Manuscripts Collection holds a Willement Collection, which includes a four-volume guide.
[348] I am grateful to my colleague Sarah Brown for background to the early 19th-century trade in stained glass.
[349] 'Passage' (Bedingfeld Papers).
[350] Anon. (1903), 473.
[351] Pollen (1909), 245.
[352] Paul Miles, 'A French Parterre in Norfolk: The Garden of Oxburgh Hall', *Country Life*, 26 June 1980, 1480-82. The design of the parterre was published in d'Argenville's *La Théorie et la Practique du Gardinage*, which appeared in English translation as *The Theory and Practice of Gardening* in 1712.
[353] Pollen (1909), 245.
[354] The full dedication of the Chapel is the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Margaret of Scotland.
[355] This paragraph is indebted to an unpublished article by Dr Roderick O'Donnell, 'A.W. Pugin at Oxburgh Hall?' I am grateful to the author for making a copy available.
[356] The earliest published attribution to Pugin is in Pollen (1909), 244-5; it was repeated in the first edition of the Pevsner guide (Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North-West and South Norfolk* (Harmondsworth, 1962), 282), and by Clive Wainwright as late as 1993 (*Country Life*, 9 Dec 1993). It is still in the statutory list description of the Chapel.
[357] Clive Wainwright, 'The Chapel, Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk', single typed foolscap sheet, dated 28 February 1979, attached to undated Historic Buildings Council for England report on the 'Pugin Chapel' (English Heritage East of England Region files). Pugin's diary is in the Library of the Victoria & Albert Museum. One mention of Bedingfeld is dated 22 December; the Tunbridge Wells note is undated and occurs on one of the end-papers.
[358] The photograph is currently exhibited in the Boudoir. The date of the work (for which a tramway was built) was given by Mrs Greathead (NT Sound Archive, 70: Mrs Greathead, 16 July 1987).
[359] Fred Grief, gardener to the (9th Baronet) suggests a date of *c*1903 (NT Sound Archive, 40: Mrs Greathead, Violet Hartcup & Fred Grief, 1 September 1986).
[360] Leyland (1897), 548; Anon. (1903), 473.
[361] Photograph by J. G. Gotch, 1910 (NMR Neg. no. B44/1389).
[362] Tipping (1929a), 195 & 197.
[363] Leyland (1897), 548; Anon. (1903), 474. The group of four were replaced by humble cowled pots; in 1903, as now, the paired flues lacked even these.
[364] Information provided by Mrs Greathead. The Furniture & Effects Sale Particulars of 1951 describe the attics in the west range and the north range west of the gatehouse as Maids' Bedrooms. In the 1930s, however, when two households (the 8th Baronet's and the future 9th Baronet's) shared the Hall, maids slept in the north range attics east of the gatehouse (NT Sound Archive, 202.EA: Mrs Marjorie Melton, 23 October 1987).
[365] Estate Sale Particulars (1951), 11.
[366] NT Sound Archive, 43: Fred Grief, 11 September [1986]; *ibid.*, 61: Fred Grief, 2 October [1986]. Fred Grief's estimates of where the bomb fell vary somewhat, from 150 yards west of

the Hall, to 300 yards west or south-west. Sir Edmund Paston-Bedingfeld places it 150 yards from the Chapel (*ibid.*, 83: Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, 3 November 1987).

[367] NT Sound Archive, 70: Mrs Greathead, 16 July 1987.

[368] The Laundry was located in Red House (next to the Presbytery) before the First World War (NT Sound Archive, 39: Mrs Greathead & Violet Hartcup, 1 September 1986; *ibid.*, 84: Miss Ruth English, 3 November 1987).

[369] NT Sound Archive, 40: Mrs Greathead, Violet Hartcup & Fred Grief, 1 September 1986; *ibid.*, 40a: Fred Grief, September 1986; *ibid.*, 43: Fred Grief, 11 September [1986]; and *ibid.*, 44: Fred Grief, 1 September 1986, which include detailed accounts of the gas plant, sawmill and laundry by Fred Grief, gardener for the 9th Baronet from *c*1945 and latterly for the National Trust.

[370] NT Sound Archive, 202.EA: Mrs Marjorie Melton, 23 October 1987; *ibid.*, 83: Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, 3 November 1987.

[371] Information kindly provided by Henry Paston-Bedingfeld; NT Sound Archive, 84: Miss Ruth English, 3 November 1987; *ibid.*, 81: Henry Bedingfeld, 31 October 1987; *ibid.*, 43: Fred Grief, 11 September [1986]; *ibid.*, 83: Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, 3 November 1987; *ibid.*, 39: Mrs Greathead & Violet Hartcup, 1 September 1986.

[372] NT Sound Archive, 81: Henry Bedingfeld, 31 October 1987; *ibid.*, 83: Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, 3 November 1987. Fred Grief recalls that the stables contained pitch-pine partitions with iron heel-posts each bearing a horse's head (NT Sound Archive, 40a: Fred Grief, September 1986).

[373] NT Sound Archive, 39: Mrs Greathead, 1 September 1986.

[374] Estate Sale Particulars (1951), 11. From the wording of the Sale Particulars it might appear that the cinema was in the understairs cupboard, but it is difficult to see how this small room, already given over to a cocktail bar and a dark room, could have accommodated even a 'private viewing', let alone a cinema.

[375] NT Sound Archive, 39: Mrs Greathead, 1 September 1986.

[376] Estate Sale Particulars (1951), 11.

[377] Estate Sale Particulars (1951), 13; Furniture & Effects Sale Particulars (1951), 27-9. The School Dining Room can be related to the sale of 'A 1935 Bedford 2-Ton Van, 27 h.p., converted to a bus with seats' (Furniture & Effects Sale Particulars, 37, lot 809). Was Oxburgh providing a service for a local school lacking a dining room of its own?

[378] Estate Sale Particulars (1951), 13-14; NT Sound Archive, 202.EA: Mrs Marjorie Melton, 23 October 1987; *ibid.*, 83: Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, 3 November 1987.

[379] NT Sound Archive, 43: Fred Grief, 11 September [1986].

[380] *Country Life*, 24 August 1951, 543. The acreage was given as 3,546 in the advertisement, but 3,563½ in the Estate Sale Particulars.

[381] Estate Sale Particulars (1951), 7.

[382] Furniture & Effects Sale Particulars (1951), 3.

[383] All these rooms, together with the present Marian Hangings Room and North Room, were described as bedrooms in the 1951 Furniture & Effects Sale Particulars, with the exception of the dressing room immediately north of the west stair. The Yellow Bedroom was described as a Boudoir

[384] F. de Z[ulueta] & R[obin] F[edden], *Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk: A Property of the National Trust* (London, 1953), passim.

[385] *Ibid.*, 1964 edition, 13.

[386] NT Guidebook (2000), 8.

[387] [Arthur Bedingfeld & Robin Fedden], *Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk* (London, 1972), 20-22.

[388] *Ibid.*, 1990 edition, 15-18.

[389] Another lead sheet has the following inscription in raised letters: 'ROOF: RESTORED | OLIVER.STAINES | SWAFFHAM'.

[390] See two photographs by N. de B. Corbin, dated 17 March and 19 April 1967 (NT, Westley Bottom).

[391] Historic Buildings for England report on grant-aided repairs, dated 8 December 1972 (English Heritage East of England Region files).

[392] See the photograph, dated 12 January 1967, by N. de B. Corbin (NT, Westley Bottom). The annex occupied the width of the arcaded passage; the ground-floor water closet may have been extended through into the adjoining single-storeyed range to the west at the same time. A similar annex survives in the re-entrant formed by the west range and the Saloon block.

[393] There are 'before and after' photographs taken by Nicolette Hallett in July and October 1981 (NT East of England Region files, Westley Bottom).

APPENDIX 1: THE 1598 INVENTORY

Transcription of 1598 Inventory: Norfolk Record Office, JER 269

The document is a gathering of paper, recently conserved and bound into a modern cover. It contains an inventory of Oxburgh Hall dated 1598, and another of Costessey Hall, dated 1590. The leaves are not numbered, but are given conventional folio numbers below. The first folio [Fol. 1] is blank apart from the names of the two houses on the recto. On the Fol. 2 the text, after the initial heading, is arranged in two columns (indicated below). On Fol. 3 only a single column on the recto is required to complete the inventory. The arbitrary spelling, capitalisation and punctuation of the inventory, including the use of '=' as a hyphen, are reproduced below.

In the transcription which follows an asterisk indicates a number of superscript terminations which have not been deciphered. Editorial interpolations are in square brackets. Glosses of unfamiliar words or contractions are given where possible in italics against the right-hand margin.

[Fol. 2*r*]

Oxbrough 27 November 1598 by Burhm*

An Inventory of all the goods howshold stuff ymplem^{ts} & Cattell there taken 41 Eliz

[Column 1]

The hall

4 tables: 4 benches: 4 formes fastened
one lose forme. 2 plates & old hangings *i.e. loose*

Lytle plo^{r} *parlour*

A bench. a table. 2 Cobyrons, one Cupbord
2 old carpetts

Great plo^{r}

A long borde, a square borde a cupbord
2 skoles, an old carpet a Mappe a picture

Scoolehouse

A desk a chayer a fyer pan

Best chamber

i woollen blanket, a fustian blanket a bedd
A ffourlet [?] covering, silk curtayns, a bolster
2 pillowes, a tester of redd velvet A chayre
a lowe stoole a wyndow cusshion on y^{e} samicold [?]
9 pieces of hangings. one cupbord a carpet

a stoole a Cusshyn: 2 coverings for the Cusshyns
old Coverings for the windowes

outward chamber there — *i.e. an ante-chamber*
5 pieces of dornix, one piece in the window — *cloth made in Dornick (Tournai in French) and later (from* c*1550) in Norwich*
a table a carpet, a long forme

my ladies closet
A lyvery bedsted a fetherbed a blanket a
Coverlet, an old tester. a bolster. a payer — *i.e. pair*
of lytle Andyrons, tongs: old grene hangings
a Buffet stoole, a lowe stoole, a close stoole

ffetterlock chamb
A bedsted & bed, a payer of fustian blankets
a sylk twylt: 2 pillowes a bolster: 3 sylken — *twylt = quilt*
Curteyns: 6 peces of hangings a cupbord
a carpet. a tester. a brosen chayer, a lowe — *brosen = bursten; brasen?*
stoole a buffet stoole. a nedlework cusshin

thinward chamb — *i.e. the inward*
A bedsted a fetherbed a bolster 2 blankets
a coverlet a pece of a tester, a cownter
an old stoole

my ladies chamb
A bedsted a flockbed, fetherbed, bolster. 2 pillowes
2 woollen blankets: a Coverlet of tapestrye, a
Tester of red velvet & gould: 5 old sylk
curteyns. 4 peces of hangings a pece over the
Chymney. a lyvery cupbord, a flannell carpet
a square bord, a Settell, a chayre: 2 Andyrons
a fyerpan, a wyndowcloth of old saye

the Clockhouse
An yron chest: an old forme

the old wardrobe
an old Aumbrye. an old chest, an old presse

[Column 2]

M^{r} Willins [?] Chamber
A mat, a fetherbed, bolster. pillowe. 2 blanket[s] — *edge of text lost*
a Covering of tapestrye, 3 cusheyns all [?]
whyte saye: a tester satten embrodered — *saye = fine cloth resembling serge*
8 peces of hangings: an old fyrepan
tongs. Cupbord. a chayer: a grene carpet
a wyndow cloth: a cusshyn a stoole

M^rs Caryes chamb
5 peces of hanging: panel red & yellowe
flannell: a tester of flannell imbrodered
w^th red twyst: 3 curteyns red & yellow
A bord bedsted mat bolster: 2 blankets a
whyte rugge, a pillowe, a great chest
A Chayer Cupbord, a pece of dornix for a
carpet. a dressing bord, a buffet stoole
a lowe stoole. bellowes. 2 small cobyrons
fyerpan. tongs.

Thynner chamb *i.e. the inner*
A borded bedsted: a fetherbed bolster: 2
blanketts a stool & old table

the Gatehouse chamb
A bedsted, tester of saye. 2 cusheyns. 6 peces
of hangings redd & yellowe saye. a cupbord
a carpet, a lowe table w^th trestells: an old skole
an old chayer: a nedlework chayer

the Butlers chamber
A bedsted fetherbed 2 bolsters. 2 blanketts. a
coverlet of rugge, a tester a stoole a cupbord
a dornix carpet

M^r H Bed: chamber
A posted bedsted. a mat, fetherbed, bolster
2 blankets: a tapestry coverlet: curteyn of
red cloth: a trendlebed fetherbed bolster &
2 blankets a coverlet of tapestry: a lyvy cupbord *i.e. livery*
a carpet: a grene chayer a stoole: 6 hanging
of tapestry:

over Slovens ynne
a borded bedsted a table. 2 high trestles
2 windowes for ye owne [?] chamber

Quenes chamb
4 chests, one barred w^th yron: a lytle table
2 Cobyrons

M^r Davyes chamber
A trendle bed, matt. 2 fetherbedds 2 bolsters
2 blankets a red coverlet a red Canapie of
saye, a square table, 6 peces of hangings
w^th the wyndowe clothe

[Fol. 2*v*]

[Column 1]

[…] the Q chamb — *top left corner lost*
[…] trendlebedsted. a settell — *ditto*
[…] still [?] — *ditto*

the Nursery
A posted bedsted an old saye tester
2 cusheyns of saye, a blanket bolster
pillowe, a Coverlet black & yellowe
a trundlebedsted. mat. fetherbed: 2
blankets a Coverlet, a hanginge ov^{r}
the head a chayer: 2 Andyrons:
a Cupbord a stoole

M^{rs} chamber
A bedster [*sic*], tester red & grene in gold — *mistake for 'bedsted'*
5 curteyns rich taffeta: A matt, mattres
dowre bed: 2 fustin blankets a twilt — *quilt*
grene & red: 2 pillowes a lyv^{r}y bord
A mat mattres fetherbed a fustin blanket
a bolster. pillow. cannapie of taffeta
a Cupbord chayer. 2 Andyrons: Cupbord
cloth grene: 5 peces hangings dornix
a wyndow cloth dornix: a window curteyn

Dyning chamber
A table, 8 stoole. 5 cusshyns: 2 grene=
chayers: a waynskot chayer: 3 formes
a lytel chayer: 3 watchet carpetts: &
2 grene carpetts: Virginalle, a skrene
a Carving bord: cupbord, 2 small stooles
a payer of tables: 2 Andyrons: 5 peces
of hangings

The Harmonds [?] chamb
A bedsted mat fetherbed. 2 blankets
a bolster coverlet: a chayer: table
2 trestles a presse & old stooles

Porters lodge
A borded bedsted bolster $\wedge^{2}$ blankets cov^{r}let — *'2' inserted*
a forme a trestle fyerpan. 6 sheets of lead

Messengers chamb
A posted bedsted: mattress fetherbed bolster
Coverlet, 2 blankets: a tester, a square
bord a settell

Taffeta chamb
A bedsted, matt, fetherbed, Coverlet. 3 blankets
square table: 3 old grene hangings

Robynets [?] chamb
A borded bedsted fetherbed bolster, 2 blankets
a Coverlet, a table a settle

Slovens ynne
A borded bedsted: fetherbed bolster blanket
Coverlet. forme.

y^e^ fooles chamb
a borded bedsted: fetherbed a pillow bolster
2 blankets a coverlet an old stoole

[Column 2]

Michel Selfs chamb
A posted bedsted, fetherbed. 2 bolsters. 3 blankets
an old coverlet an old chayer

Robt Clerk chamb
A borded bedsted fetherbed 2 bolsters 2 blankets
a coverlet a table w^th^ trestle a stoole 2 shelves

Kytchin boyes chamb
A borded bedsted mattres bolster 2 peces of old
Coverlets a blanket a long bench

Plumbers chamb
A borded bedsted fetherbed bolster blanket cov^r^let

Monsons chamb
A posted bedsted an other bedsted borded: 2 fether=
bedds. 2 bolsters a mattres: 3 blankets. 2 cov^r^lets
an old tester 3 Curteyns dornix a table stoole
2 Andyrons

the buttry
i8 hoggsheads: 2 pewter potts: 2 voyders
voyder = a tray for removing dishes from the table[1]
a payle a little tub: a stone jugge, 4 bottells
a pewter salt. a isynal [?] stoole an other stoole
an old Ambry: a chest. Breadbing. Cupbord
lytle table dressing table. Con^r^ing [?] basket
6 dozen blenchers: 2 tallow boxes: candlechest
i8 Candlestycks

Sellar
6 hoggsheads: 2 dimi barrells: 3 small, wyne

vessells A pype: a table a latch kyllar [?] *kyllar = ? keeler (cooler), a shallow tub for cooling milk or wort*[2]

Mylhouse chamber
The kettlemyll

Boulting chamber
A boulting hutch. 2 boulting pokes, a semmin [?]*boulting poke (or 'bult poke') = sack or bag used as a sieve to produce fine meal*[3]
a Pyssing stoole

Moulding house *a room in which bread or pastry were fashioned*
A brake: a manchet fyllar: Minging trough*manchet = fine wheaten bread; minging = ? mixing*
a bedsted, an old fat a moulding borde *fat = vat*

Brewi house
A gylefat, a mashfat a cooler, jet. a ketle *gylefat = vat in which wort is left to ferment*
a seve. stick. 2 coppers. a brandled: fyerfork
wortfat, round tub: great soe: 3 lytle soes [?] *soe = a tub*
6 kyllars 3 hoggsheads. 2 pypes

Gromes chamb
2 borded bedsteds 2 fetherbeds 2 blankets
2 bolsters, an old covering, a wyndow *
2 bords 2 trestles a short forme. 2 tubs. a
borded window *

the stables
14 planks. 2 tubs. a payle:

the granary
wheat * A Pyssing stoole. a busshell
a sholve *= shovel*

wheat chamb
A Pyssing stoole a sholve

malt chamber
A Dansk rydle. 2 hamxs [?]. a hopsack*rydle = a coarse sieve for corn; hamxs = hammocks?*
a Pyssing stoole

[Fol. 3*r*]

[Column 1]

fowlding house
2 stoole: a long table a bench. 2 trestles: a
long skole a short skole a lytel chayer a flayfat [?]
a lytle bord: a tallowe trough: a lytle chopping skole

the Chamb thereover

A borded bedsted: a candle trough: 2 fallstoi= [?]
kyllars: 2 carpet. 2 old trestles

wash house

A chest presse a beating skole: a lytle gridyron
tongs. fyerpan. 2 candlesticks 2 ketles: an old
skyllet. 2 bucking tubbs. 3 rensing tubb: a wasshing *bucking tub = used for bleaching*[4]
kyllar 4 payles

the dayry

A salting tray: 3 Charnes: a lytle milk tub
7 killars. 5 pannes 2 bolts [?] 12 cheesefats: 9
chesebreds. a runnell pot: mylk tongs: 4
fyrkyns. an old fat. 3 tallow pannes. 4 bords
a firkin held 9 gallons of beer or 56lb of butter;
'fat' written 'bat', then corrected
a hanging shelf a stoole

Chamb therover

A lyvery bedsted 2 fetherbeds 2 bolsters: &
4 blankets. 2 coverlets A mantell: 2 peces
of Dornix a settill: a chese rack, a lytle table

Kytchen: first pewter

old vessell
A great charger. 5 other chargers
2 great platters: & one molte [?]

new vessell
8 depe platters: 9 lesser: 6 lesser then these
6 disshes: 6 lesser: 5 sallet disshes
7 pannes
12 brodevergal [?] platters: 11 lesser: 5 lesser
a pewter cullander & one of latten

Brasse *

A ketle: a cast pan called devills dy[?]s
a boyler: & one hanged
5 brasse potts: a great chafer: a skom*
a frying pan: A morter & pestle
a breadgrater
9 broches & one broken
2 dripping pannes: 2 grydyrons
2 cleavers. a chopping knyfe
a payer of pothooks. 2 bres [?] forks *brass?*
4 hakes: 2 great racks of yron *hake = a suspended wooden frame*
for holding cheeses, fish or plates
a fyer sholve, a colefyergrate }
2 yron barrs: }
An yron pele An oven tub
a salt boxe: mustard quernes
A payle

D[…] the stuffe of my chamb: & the lowe plo^{r} *parlour*
where M^{r} Philpot & M^{r} Augusst [?] did this

Notes to Appendix 1

[1] J.H. Wilson (ed.), *Wymondham Inventories* (corrected edn, Norwich, 1986), 40.
[2] Wilson (1986), 40.
[3] Wilson (1986), 37.
[4] A bucking tub is ‘a tub used to steep yarn, cloth or clothes in a lye of wood ashes in the old process of bleaching’ (Wilson (1986), 37).

APPENDIX 2: MATILDA BEDINGFELD WATERCOLOURS

The volume entitled 'Views and Interiors of Oxburgh Hall painted by Matilda Bedingfld.', (Bedingfeld Papers) is an ornate leather-bound album with brass corners, clasp, etc, into which a series of watercolours on paper have been pasted. They are titled in watercolour, and most are signed or initialled in ink by Matilda Bedingfeld, using various abbreviations, sometimes followed by 'pinxit'. For reasons given above, they probably date from *c*1850.

When the album was examined some of the watercolours were missing and others were loose. These are indicated in the list below. A number of the watercolours are hinged, and inscribed on the reverse in pencil (these additional titles are given in brackets). Photographic copies (mostly black-and-white) of those marked with an asterisk are held at the National Trust Regional Office, Westley Bottom, Bury St Edmunds. Where the original is marked as missing and a photographic copy is not noted, the watercolour has not been seen in the preparation of this report. A reference to '*Guide*' indicates that the picture is reproduced in the present National Trust guidebook, published in 2000.

The contents are as follows.

- Oxburgh – *missing*.
- Oxburgh Church from the Park* ('Oxburgh') – *loose*.
- The Towers – *missing*. Possibly the view from the steeple of St John's Church, of which there is a copy at NT, Westley Bottom.
- Garden Gate* ('Entrance to Terrace Walk | Oxburgh Hall | Nup [?] Bedingfeld') – *loose*.
- Tower Staircase*
- The Guard Room* – apparently the roof-top dovecote
- The Watch Tower*
- The Chapel* ('The Chapel Oxburgh Hall') – *loose*. *Guide*, p.31.
- The Armoury – *missing*.
- The Haunted Room* ('The Haunted Room') The Marian Hangings Room, viewed from the west. On the north wall, from left to right, one light of a traceried, leaded window, then a fireplace with overmantel portrait and cornice, then a four-centred arched recess for a door or window. Blind wall to east, with single four-poster against it. On the south wall a door with twisted balusters above the lock rail and diamond panels below. Ceiling formed from a grid of beams with gilt bosses at the intersections.
- The Ante Room* ('The Reading Room'). Three sides of the room are shown: no windows or fireplace, but a six-panelled door (with central bead, or double-leaf) and an architrave on the left wall. Relatively deep cornice with repeating reel-like motif in cove. Could be the room next to the North Room in west range, before remodelling (HB). White-painted dado and wallpaper above.
- The Library.* *Guide*, p.16. Viewed from south. Shows heraldic fireplace and overmantel (trees of Jesse to either upright), bookcases and pelmets; probably the same wallpaper as now. Bookcase on north wall is central and doesn't incorporate a jib door (furniture in front). Ceiling of transverse beams, lesser beams and gilt bosses. Note: there is a second version of this view (copy at NT, Westley Bottom).

- West Dining Room Window,* i.e. the oriel at the west end of the Dining Room beneath the North Room. Shows carved panels to dado, paired pilasters and panelled soffit.
- The Fetterlock Room.* *Guide*, p.4. This is the bedroom above the eastern half of the Saloon. The fireplace is shown white with grained surround, consoles, mantel, etc; also large ornate overmantel (part now relocated to the North Room). Projections to either side of recess papered. Grained or stone-coloured dado and cornice.
- The Yellow Room.* This is the southernmost first-floor room in the west range, viewed from the east. Fireplace on left wall (north) with cast-iron grate and timber surround (twisted motif to pilasters; mantel projecting over pilasters). Small moulded cornice; three-light cusped window at south end of W wall; cupboard with four-centred wooden arch and surround to its right; four-poster bed with twisted posts against north wall. No dado, but yellow paper throughout.
- North Room.* Showing bolection fireplace on north wall with Gothic cast-iron grate & mirror over (not the present composite of carved timber); moulded cornice; timber dado.
- Passage.* This is outside the Marian Hangings Room.
- North Staircase*. *Guide*, p.14 (mis-titled West Staircase).
- West Dining Room* (i.e. room under North Room). Viewed from the west: ornate fireplace to north; buffet on east wall; no sign of jib door; plain beamed ceiling.
- West Staircase – *missing*.
- The Passage Leading to the King's Room.* Viewed from just west of the North staircase. Shows female statue atop newel.
- Blank page.
- The Dungeon.
- The King's Room* ('Henry VII Room Oxburgh'). *Guide*, p.23. Fireplace and east bay have raised floors; panelled dado to north window. Grid of beams and plaster ceiling. Impression of present brick floor.
- 11 blank leaves.

Other watercolours exist besides those from the album. At the National Trust Regional Office, Westley Bottom, there is an alternative version of the view of the Library, a view of Oxburgh Hall from the steeple of St John's Church and a closer view from the north-west. The latter was used as the basis for the engraved view in M'Gill's 1855 article. There are also copies of paintings of Caistor Castle and Oxnead Hall.