

**John Darby (c.1553-1608/9) of Bramford, Suffolk,
Surveyor, Map-Maker and Artist**

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Abstract

This thesis uses the background, life story and work of John Darby (c.1553-1608/9), latterly of Bramford, Suffolk, as a contextualised case study to examine in depth the role and experiences of surveyors and mapmakers in late Elizabethan England. It re-assesses his remarkable maps, made between 1582 and 1594. It demonstrates how Darby's maps provide insights into their purposes as well as the uses of the environment by using images of people and animals existing and working in the landscape. It attributes to him a map of Alnesbourn and supports previous attributions to him of other maps (Southwold and Mousehold Heath). It examines the artistry of Darby to assess how unique he was as a mapmaker in using innovative and borrowed techniques and images from Netherlandish sources as well as other sources such as writing masters' manuals.

This thesis takes a biographical approach to assess the importance of family, marriage and networks to explain Darby's social and professional success and compare him to others in the field. It examines the training and experience of being a surveyor in England during a period when maps moved from being a novel development to a recognised tool for estate management. It explores the networks of surveyors in East Anglia to show how a few interconnected individuals, centred on experts and patrons such as Robert Doon and Thomas Seckford, could train surveyors and spread a new concept of map-mindedness. This study sheds a wider light on the role of surveyors in contributing to changing perceptions of land ownership and management at the period. It also evidences how the involvement of surveyors in the administration of sixteenth century manors frequently led to the loss of manorial records through surveyors' retention of them for their own profit or as leverage to obtain payment for their work.

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LIST OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	6
Abbreviations	10
Acknowledgements	11
Photographs of John Darby's Maps	12
<i>Introduction</i>	20
Chapters:	Pages
1. <i>Chapter One: The Sixteenth Century Context of Surveying and Map-making</i>	36
1.1. Introduction	36
1.2. The Work of Traditional Surveyors	38
1.3. Problems of Measurement	41
1.4. Accurate Land Measurement and the Development of Maps	43
1.5. Map-makers' Backgrounds and Occupations	52
1.6. Numbers of Sixteenth Century Surveyors	57
1.7. Conclusion	60
2. <i>Chapter Two: Being a Surveyor</i>	64
2.1. Introduction	64
2.2. 'Evill and Unprofitable': The Surveyors Dogged by Unpopularity	65
2.3. Being Paid and the Retention of Records as Leverage	77
2.4. Conclusion	84
3. <i>Chapter Three: John Darby: Family Background, Wealth and Social Status</i>	87
3.1. Introduction	87
3.2. Birth and Immediate Family Background	88
3.3. Mother's Influence	91

3.3.1. The Acquisition of Arms	94
3.3.2. Widows as Money-Lenders	96
3.3.3. The Darby Family Farm at Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk	97
3.4. Darby's Marriage and the Influence of his In-laws	100
3.5. John Darby's Land	105
3.5.1. Bramford and Whitton, Suffolk	107
3.5.2. The Old Bar Gates, Ipswich, Suffolk	109
3.5.3. Darby's Ipswich Town House	112
3.5.4. The Ancient House, or Sparrowe's House, Ipswich	113
3.5.5. Monks Eleigh	115
3.5.6. Brockford, Thwaite and Mendlesham, Suffolk	116
3.5.7. Trimley, Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk	118
3.5.8. Burnham Sutton and Burnham Westgate, Norfolk	122
3.6. Conclusion	122
4. <i>Chapter Four: Education, Professional Training and Artistry</i>	126
4.1. Introduction	126
4.2. The Education of John Darby	127
4.3. Training Surveyors: Robert Doon as a Case Study	131
4.4. Illustrated Surveys: A Comparison of Robert Doon's and John Darby's Work (1560 and 1589)	135
4.5. Calligraphic Decoration of Official Documents and Writing Masters' Manuals	141
4.6. Conclusion	152
5. <i>Chapter Five: Darby's Decorative Maps</i>	157
5.1. Introduction	157
5.2. Decorative Maps	159
5.3. Colour-Coding on Maps	163
5.4. Cartouches on Maps	168
5.5. Borders on Maps	170
5.6. Subverting Borders and Darby's Use of Images from Netherlandish Art	172
5.7. Animals and People in the Landscape	180
5.8. Conclusion	192

6. <i>Chapter Six: Coastal Erosion and a Map-Minded Town: John Darby's Map of Aldeburgh (1594)</i>	197
6.1. Introduction	197
6.2. Map-Mindedness	198
6.2.1. Brame's Maps of Aldeburgh (1568): Defence Maps in Support of a Market	199
6.2.2. Thomas Seckford's Map of Aldeburgh (1570-71)	202
6.2.3. Ananias Appleton's Maps of Aldeburgh (1581-82 and 1588)	203
6.3. Darby's Map and Coastal Erosion	208
6.4. Conclusion	217
<i>Conclusion</i>	220
<i>Appendices</i>	
1. John Darby's Family Chart	236
2. Transcript of Robert Doon's Contract for Surveying Work (1569)	237
3. Transcript of Case Documents, Robert Doon v. Thomas Clarke (1580)	239
4. Transcript of the Draft Report of Privy Council's Commissioners on the Town of Aldeburgh's Petition in Respect of the Near Approach of the Sea [1594]	244
5. John Darby's Map of Alnesbourn (1584)	249
6. The Attribution & Provenance of John Darby's Map of Mousehold Heath [c.1589]	257
7. Notes on John Darby's Map of Kirton and Falkenham (1591)	267
8. Quarrels in Ipswich	271
9. The Accuracy of John Darby's Maps	275
<i>Bibliography</i>	
Primary Sources	282
Secondary Sources	300

List of Illustrations

Tables	Page
Table 1: John Darby's lands held at his death in 1608/9	106
Figures	Page
1. Map of Smallburgh, Norfolk (1582) by John Darby	12
2. Map of Alnesbourn, Suffolk (1584) by John Darby	13
3. Cooke-A copy of map of Blakeney and Cley, Norfolk (1586) by John Darby	14
4. Long copy of map of Blakeney and Cley, Norfolk (1586) by John Darby	15
5. Map of Southwold, Suffolk (1588) by John Darby	16
6. Map of Mousehold Heath, Norfolk [c.1589] by John Darby	17
7. Map of Coles Farm in Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk (1591) by John Darby	18
8. Map of Aldeburgh, Suffolk (1594) by John Darby	19
9. Front cover of Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, <i>Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-making</i> (London: British Library, 1980)	27
10. Image of a surveyor being barked at by a large dog from John Darby's map of Mousehold Heath, Norfolk [c.1589]	27
11. Map showing surveyors who commenced working between 1546 and 1602, by county, from Sarah Bendall <i>Dictionary of Land Surveyors</i> (2007)	59
12. Detail from Laurence Nowell's map of England, Wales and Ireland (1564) showing the seated figure of the surveyor being barked at by a dog	76
13. Detail from John Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594), showing man with a pole fighting off an attacking dog	76
14. Arms of the Darby Family of Bury St Edmunds, by J.W. Darby, 1826	95
15. Warren's map of Bury St Edmunds (1748) showing Darby Lane	100
16. Witnesses to the will of George Jeffery otherwise Spooner, 1588	102
17. John Speed's map of Ipswich, 1610, showing Brook Street	111
18. Detail from John Speed's map of Ipswich, 1610, showing Brook Street	112
19. The Ancient House (formerly Sparrowe's House) in the Buttermarket, Ipswich [nineteenth century engraving]	115
20. John Darby's caricature of a turbaned man (1589)	119
21. Letter decoration in Robert Doon's Woodbridge late Priory Extent (1560)	138

22.	Letter decorations in John Darby's survey of Cleves in Burgh (1589)	138
23.	Letter decorations in Robert Doon's Woodbridge late Priory Extent (1560)	138
24.	Letter decorations in John Darby's survey of Grundisburgh (1589)	138
25.	Letter decorations in Robert Doon's Woodbridge late Priory Extent (1560)	139
26.	Letter decorations in Robert Doon's Woodbridge late Priory Extent (1560)	139
27.	Letter decoration in John Darby's survey of Burgh (1589)	139
28.	Letter decoration in John Darby's survey of Burgh (1589)	139
29.	Letter decoration in John Darby's survey of Grundisburgh (1589)	139
30.	Letter decoration in John Darby's survey of Grundisburgh (1589)	139
31.	Letter decorations in John Darby's survey of Burgh (1589)	140
32.	Detail of surveyor's face from John Darby's map of Household Heath (1589)	140
33.	Letter decoration in court roll from Great Barton, Suffolk (1555), Anon	140
34.	Letter decorations in John Darby's survey of Burgh (1589)	140
35.	Letter 'F' of John Scottowe's Alphabet Book (1592)	146
36.	Detail of capital letter 'S' from John Darby's survey of Cleves in Burgh (1589)	146
37.	Detail of capital letter 'S' from John Darby's survey of Burgh (1589)	146
38.	Letter 'S' from John Scottowe's Alphabet Book (1592)	148
39.	Detail of capital letter 'S' from John Darby's survey of Grundisburgh (1589)	148
40.	Wall-painting of a dragon from Wissington Church, Suffolk	149
41.	Detail from John Darby's map of Kirton and Falkenham (1591) showing colour-coding for land use	166
42.	Detail from John Norden's survey of Chillesford, Sudbourn, Orford, Gedgrave and part of Iken (1600-01) showing engrossment and colour-coding	167
43.	Detail from Ralph Treswell the Younger's map of the manors of Lawshall and Henifields, Suffolk (1611)	169
44.	Cartouche for southern compass point on Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582)	170
45.	Cartouche for eastern compass point on the Long copy of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley (1586)	170
46.	Detail from John Darby's map of Alnesbourne (1584)	174
47.	Detail of John Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582)	175
48.	Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 'Summer', engraved by Pieter van der Heyden and printed by Hieronymus Cock in <i>The Seasons</i> (1570)	176
49.	Darby's image of a drinking figure from the Cooke-A copy of his Blakeney and Cley map (1586)	178

50.	Darby's image of a drinking figure from the Long copy of his Blakeney and Cley map (1586)	178
51.	Darby's image of a drinking figure from his Aldeburgh map (1586)	177
52.	Darby's image of a drinking figure from his Kirton and Falkenham map (1586)	178
53.	Detail of man with dog duck-hunting from Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582)	183
54.	Detail from Thomas Clarke's map of Panworth in Ashill, Norfolk (1581)	184
55.	Photograph of Sir William Heydon's arms in a window in Baconsthorpe Church, Norfolk	186
56.	Sir William Heydon's arms on the Long copy of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley (1586)	186
57.	Sir William Heydon's arms on the Cooke-A copy of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley (1586)	186
58.	Sir William Heydon's arms from Farrer's Church Heraldry of Norfolk (1889)	186
59.	Detail of swan from John Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582)	186
60.	Detail from Thomas Waterman's map of Gressenhall, Norfolk (1624)	188
61.	Detail of man hunting from John Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594)	189
62.	Detail of man fighting off a dog from John Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594)	189
63.	Detail of man with pitchfork herding swine from John Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584)	190
64.	Detail of carriage and horses from John Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584)	190
65.	Detail of four horsemen from John Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584)	190
66.	Detail of cows from John Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594)	191
67.	Detail of cow from John Darby's map of Southwold (1588)	191
68.	Detail of cows and other animals from John Darby's map of Kirton and Falkenham (1591)	191
69.	Close-up detail of four horsemen from John Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584)	192
70.	Portrait of Thomas Seckford (died 1587)	192
71.	Portrait of William Cecil (c.1588) attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger	193
72.	Detail of Aldeburgh from 'A Coloured Chart of the Coast of Suffolk, from Bawdseye to Thorpe, including Orford and Aldeburgh' (c.1575-1580)	206
73.	Aldeburgh Museum's copy of Ananias Appleton's map of Aldeburgh (1588)	206
74.	Photograph of copy, [in private hands?] of Ananias Appleton's map of Aldeburgh (1588)	206
75.	British Library's copy of Ananias Appleton's map of Aldeburgh (1588)	206

76.	Detail from John Darby's map of Aldeburgh, Suffolk (1594) showing the two jetties	209
77.	Sales particulars map of the greater part of the Broke Hall Estate near Ipswich, Suffolk (1926)	251
78.	Man in red rowing a boat from map of Alnesbourn (1584)	253
79.	Man in red rowing a boat from John Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594)	253
80.	Detail of cow from Alnesbourn map (1584)	253
81.	Detail of dog from Alnesbourn map (1584)	253
82.	Detail of hunting dog from John Darby's Aldeburgh map (1594)	253
83.	Detail of pigs from Alnesbourn map	254
84.	Detail of pig, horse and sheep from John Darby's map of Kirton and Falkenham (1591)	254
85.	Dragon forming letter 'P' from Scottowe's Alphabet (1592)	261
86.	Dragon forming letter 'S' from Scottowe's Alphabet (1592)	261
87.	Dragon forming letter 'X' from Scottowe's Alphabet (1592)	261
88.	Detail of monkey on a man's back from John Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582)	262
89.	Close-up of monkey on a mans back from John Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582)	262
90.	Monkeys and small white dragons on a cartouche from John Darby's map of Household Heath [c.1589]	262
91.	Detail from John Darby map of Household Heath (c.1589) showing enclosures	266
92.	The same area as in Fig. 91, shown on Treswell's map of Household (1589)	266
93-97	Geo-referenced images of John Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594)	277-279
98-100	Geo-referenced images of John Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584)	279-280
101-103	Geo-referenced images of John Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582)	281-282

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
ERO	Essex Record Office
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office
IPM	Inquisition <i>post mortem</i>
PSIAH	<i>Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History</i>
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
SA(B)	Suffolk Archives (Ipswich)
SA(I)	Suffolk Archives (Bury St Edmunds)
TNA	The National Archives

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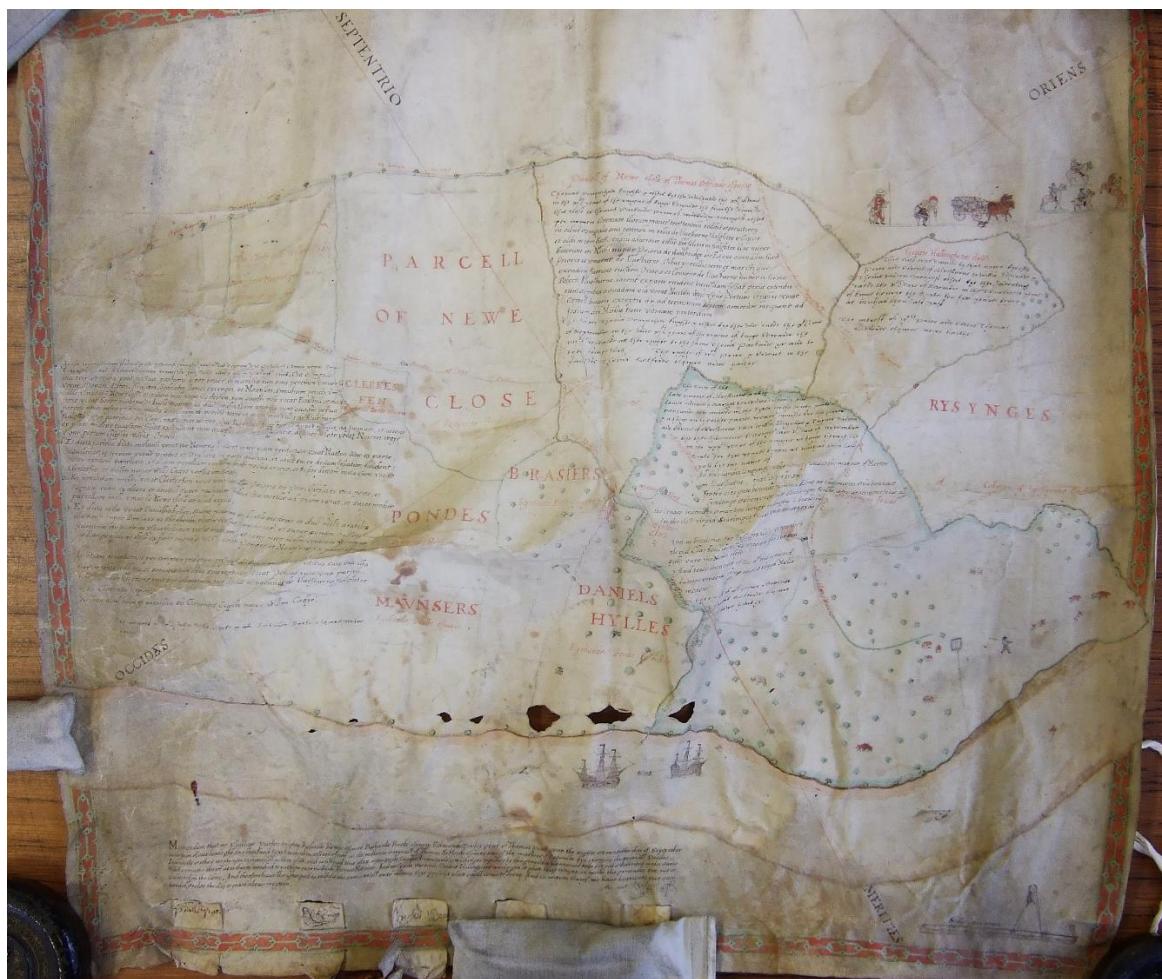
I could not have done this work at without the constant loving support of my family. To my sisters Margaret and Gill and above all to my husband Paul and son Ian, I say a very heart-felt thank you: this is for you.

Fig. 1: Map of Smallburgh, Norfolk (1582) by John Darby.¹



¹ Reproduced throughout by kind permission from British Library Collections: Maps Dep. 1741

Fig. 2: Map of Alnesbourn, Suffolk (1584) by John Darby.²



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Fig. 3: Cooke-A copy of map of Blakeney and Cley, Norfolk (1586) by John Darby.³



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Fig. 4: Long copy of map of Blakeney and Cley, Norfolk (1586) by John Darby.⁴



⁴ NRO, MC 2443/3, reproduced throughout by kind permission of NRO.

Fig. 5: Map of Southwold, Suffolk (1588) by John Darby.⁵



⁵ TNA, MPF 1/138, reproduced throughout by courtesy of The National Archives.

Fig. 6: Map of Household Heath, Norfolk [c.1589] by John Darby.⁶



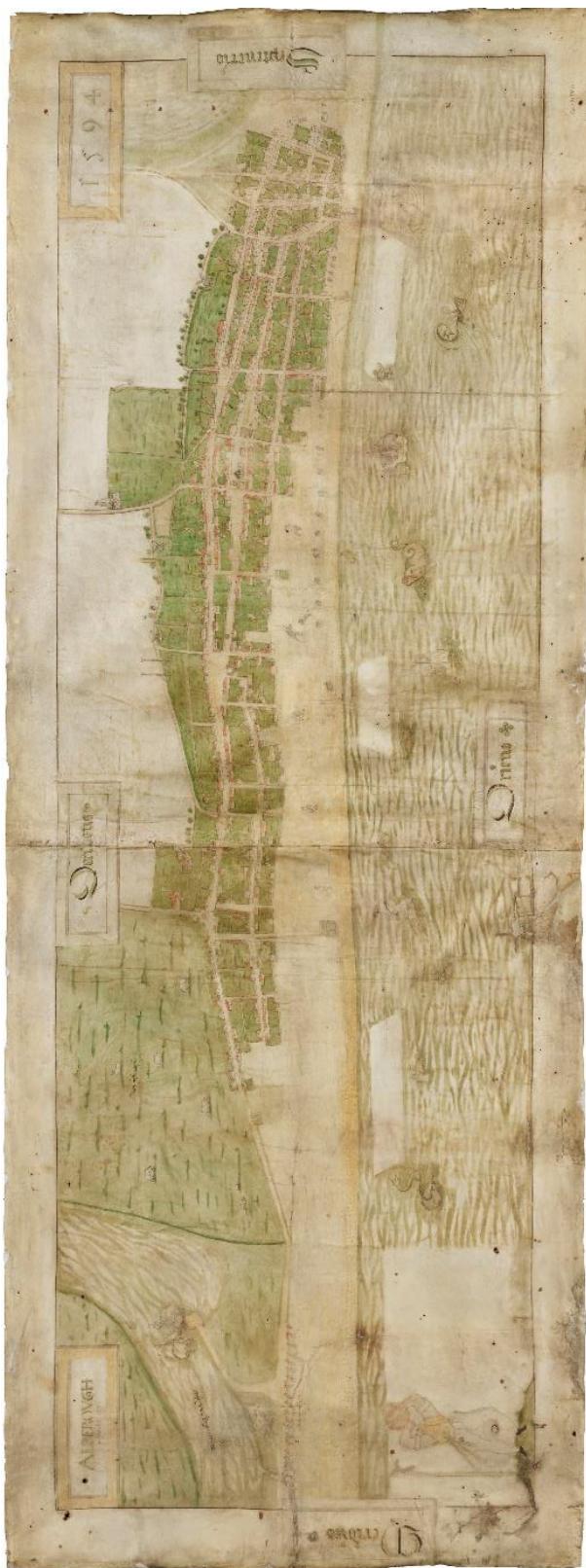
⁶ NRO, MC 3085/2, reproduced throughout by kind permission of NRO.

Fig. 7: Map of Coles Farm in Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk (1591) by John Darby.⁷



⁷ SA(I), C/3/10/8/1/2, reproduced throughout by permission of Ipswich Borough Council.

Fig. 8: Map of Aldeburgh, Suffolk (1594) by John Darby.⁸



⁸ EE 1/1/16/1, reproduced throughout by kind permission of Aldeburgh Museum Charitable Trust.

INTRODUCTION

The sixteenth century saw an explosion in the production and use of maps, and the growth of map-making as a new profession. Much has been written on the developments which helped to facilitate this growth: in instrument-making, Irish campaign mapping, continental artistic and cartographic output, the spread of ideas and mathematical skills and the interpretation of information on maps.¹ Relatively little has been done in depth, however, on the men on the ground who became surveyors and map-makers, their status, backgrounds and networks, not least because of the relative paucity of sources, as this introduction will show.

John Darby produced highly decorated manorial surveys of three Suffolk manors and a small number of maps of estates and towns in Suffolk and Norfolk, between 1582 and 1594, although he was still working as a surveyor in 1606. Little has been written about him. His work has tended to be known more by word of mouth by local historians and archive professionals. It has been occasionally ‘mined’ for book illustrations or noted for its ‘quaintness’ in local histories. His earthy image of a man with a bare backside and torn hose leaning on a barrel was even used to form the letter ‘S’ in the official logo of Suffolk Record Office in the 1980s and 1990s. But Darby is not widely known beyond these limits, although he deserves to be. The research on him and his work in this thesis will fill a gap in current knowledge, therefore.

What little has been written on Darby and his work has been limited in scope but still useful as a starting point.² Peter Barber, then British Library Curator of Maps, arranged the acquisition of Darby’s map of Smallburgh, Norfolk (1582) for the British Library in 2004. He acknowledged Darby’s pioneering skills at an early period in the production of estate mapping to a consistent scale in England.³ He noted that not only was Darby making his Smallburgh map within seven years of Agas and Sampson’s first scaled estate map (1575), but the scale he

¹ For a comprehensive overview, see Peter Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England, ca. 1470-1650’ in David Woodward (ed.), *History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 2* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), Chapter 54.

² Raymond Frostick, ‘A 16th Century East Anglian Surveyor and Pieter Bruegel’, *Journal of the International Map Collectors’ Society*, Issue 101 (Summer, 2005), pp. 33-39; Peter Barber, ‘John Darby’s Map of the Parish of Smallburgh in Norfolk, 1582’, *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 57, Part 1 (2005), pp. 55-58, corrected by Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art* (London: British Library, 2010), pp.138-9.

³ Barber, ‘John Darby’s Map of ... Smallburgh, 1582’ (2005), p.55; *Friends of the British Library Annual Report and Accounts, 2003/2004 and 2004/2005*.

used (12 perches to the inch) became a common standard for estate maps, as did his colour-coding scheme for land use, which was not codified in published surveying manuals for another 30 years. These are indications to suggest that John Darby was active, and possibly influential, at the forefront of the development of English estate mapping in the sixteenth century.

Barber also likened Darby's images stylistically to those found in the fourteenth century Luttrell Psalter.⁴ Whether Darby could have seen the Luttrell Psalter is unknown as its whereabouts in the late sixteenth century are unknown. There is certainly verve and artistic dynamism in Darby's images. On the basis of the research in this thesis, Darby was a man with natural talent, influenced by artistic trends and forms including the work of Netherlandish artists such as Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Hieronymus Bosch, which he presumably saw in contemporary prints. Other sources of inspiration were almost certainly the published work of contemporary map-makers as well as published and manuscript writing masters' manuals. This thesis has tried to determine elements of Darby's artistic inspiration, therefore, as well as any possible relationships between artists and map-makers. Some entries in Robert Tittler's 'Early Modern British Painters 1500-1640' database and some preliminary local research suggest that there may well be links between individual painters and surveyors in Suffolk, at least, besides Ralph Treswell's known proficiency as both painter and map-maker in London.⁵ Ralph Agas's well-known sneer at the supposed lack of technological skill of one of his contemporaries suggests that there might be some link more generally:

‘And in my com[m]ing to London, this last Tearme, I saw a plaine Table, man (mary he was a plumber, and had learned from a Painter) in lesse than an acre and halfe, of leuell marrish grounde taken by some foure, stations fel short at his cloase two perches at the least’.⁶

In terms of Darby himself, the only published article to attempt a full summary of Darby's work and details of this life was a short piece by Raymond Frostick in 2005.⁷ Frostick drew together all that was known about Darby's works then, although with some errors of fact.

⁴ Barber, 'John Darby's Map of ... Smallburgh, 1582' (2005), p.56.

⁵ Robert Tittler, 'Early Modern British Painters, c. 1500-1640' (2015), currently updated to Feb 2024, online at <https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/980096/> accessed 16 Mar 2024

⁶ Randolph [Ralph] Agas, 'A Preparative to Platting of Lands and Tenements for Surveygh. ...' (London: printed by Thomas Scarlet, 1596), p.[7, incorrectly printed as 11].

⁷ Frostick, 'A 16th Century East Anglian Surveyor', (2005), pp. 33-39.

However, he was the first to note the Dutch influence on some of Darby's illustrations: the level of Darby's artistry in decorating his work is unusually high, and shows the influence of Netherlandish art, notably the copying of imagery from the work of Peter Bruegel the Elder. Frostick also made some effort to research Darby's family background, but was unable to make much progress. This thesis has been able to go much further to establish Darby's family and networks to show his social rise and relationships with people who helped his career.

In the past decade, there has been some research on specific works, as maps, by Darby. Fred Corbett used Darby's map of Household Heath, Norfolk, in his recent MA study at UEA.⁸ Members of the Blakeney Area Historical Society have written comprehensively on the surviving copies of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley, Norfolk (1586).⁹ However, up to now there has been no systematic attempt to assess Darby's work in the context of other maps and surveys of the period, or to investigate Darby's life, training, work, professional or social networks, and place him within the context of contemporaries such as the Suffolk-based Ralph Agas, or Essex's Israel Amyce.

The intention of this research on John Darby is to discover more about not only his work, but about him as a map-maker and artist and to use him as a contextualised case study to illustrate issues of wider significance to the history of cartography. He was a surveyor and map-maker with considerable artistic flair at a time when by no means all surveyors made maps, and opportunities for artistic expression were limited in scope. He rose from being a carpenter's son to a gentleman, owning considerable property at his death. His children became, or married, merchants, gentlemen and clerics and so retained the social status he had managed to achieve. There are obvious questions to ask here about how he achieved this success. Was it due to his work as surveyor and map-maker, or did his social rise come from any of the other, more usual, means of the period such as marriage or patronage? Widening the context further, does his career show where surveyors sat in relation to the sweeping changes in agricultural change at the period, and especially to the legal framework surrounding title to land and the

⁸ Frederick J. Corbett, "... make a true and perfected platte": The early maps of Household Heath' (Dissertation in partial fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of Master of Arts in Landscape History, UEA, 2016).

⁹ See D.C. '1586 Map of Blakeney Haven and Port of Cley', Blakeney Area Historical Society's website at <https://www.bahs.uk/publications/online-publications/1586-map-of-blakeney-haven/>, accessed 28 March 2024. This online article on Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley (1586) includes links to other materials on the website relating to the map, including articles in *The Glaven Historian*, which cover most aspects of the history and interpretation of this map.

so-called ‘decay’ of manorialism? Did surveyors come from particular social or occupational backgrounds? From where did Darby get his artistic inspiration, and how common was such artistry in contemporary maps? In sum, how typical or unusual was his career in comparison to other surveyors, particularly map-makers, of the period and region?

This investigation of Darby will take a biographical approach, looking at him personally as well as his work and comparing him to his contemporaries in the field of surveying and map-making. The contribution of biographical research to history is far from new, although biographies have developed since the days when they tended to concentrate on elite ‘dead white males’. The study of the ‘DWM’ is now quite rightly dead and buried, although biography itself has never perished, and has even seen something of a resurgence in popularity and historiographical re-theorisation in the twenty-first century.¹⁰ The criticism of biography has always been implicit, however: it risks over-emphasising the contribution of individuals or particular groups and isolating their achievements. In an attempt (1980) to redress the contemporary lack of theorisation in the history of cartography, Blakemore and Harley assessed the contribution of biographies of map-makers to the field, pointing out the danger ‘in over-reacting to the charisma of prominent men who, once enshrined in the text books, emerge as folk-heroes of their discipline’.¹¹ On the other hand, they readily acknowledged the usefulness of biographical methodology, saying ‘We cannot know too much about the map-maker … no substitute exists for biography to assess the subjective element in cartography’.¹² For them, biographies of map-makers could help the discipline of cartography to formulate generalised theories relevant to wider historical studies by offering:

‘material for novel conclusions concerning the mobility of local cartographers, the spheres of surveying practice, the social and occupational status of surveyors, and their role in agrarian improvement or in the phases of proto-industrialisation which are common to many societies’.¹³

¹⁰ For a brief overview of the ‘new biography’ and some arguments surrounding it, see Lois W. Banner, ‘Biography as History’, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 114, No. 3, (June 2009), pp.579-586.

¹¹ M.J. Blakemore and J.B. Harley, ‘Concepts in the History of Cartography: A Review and Perspective’, *Cartographica*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Winter 1980), pp.36-37 See also Sarah Tyacke (ed.), *English Map-Making 1500-1650* (London: British Library, 1983).

¹² Blakemore and Harley, ‘Concepts in the History of Cartography’, (1980), p.33.

¹³ Blakemore and Harley, ‘Concepts in the History of Cartography’, (1980), p.37.

A biographical approach is therefore appropriate to answer some of the questions implicit in this study.

Darby himself was, for a sixteenth century non-elite individual, quite well-recorded, despite leaving no personal archives of his own apart from his work. Sources for him and his own maps and surveys are now scattered through a number of collections in various archive repositories and in the hands of private individuals. Standard sources familiar to every family or population historian have proved a rich source of material in the form of parish records and, in particular, wills. Darby himself and most of his nearest family members left detailed wills which yield much about the family's social status, property, inter-familial relationships and external networks. Likewise, wills of his patrons and social contacts say much about their circumstances and relationship networks. Property records such as deeds and manorial records are also useful in identifying his, his family's and patrons' properties and when they were acquired and sold. Inquisitions *post mortem* (IPMs) and records of taxation also give details of property owned, rents and allow a comparison of different valuations of that property, which is of particular interest when the tax assessors were personal friends or patrons and financial sharp practice is suspected.

However, sources are not always as rich as could be desired. Neil Younger, in his re-appraisal of Sir Christopher Hatton's importance to Elizabethan politics and the court, cites the lack of a personal archive as one reason why Hatton was neglected for so long by historians.¹⁴ Similarly, John Darby left no direct records in his own hands except his maps and surveys and certainly no personal archive. Even his 'original' will, held in Norfolk Record Office, which states it was written in his own hand, is a certified copy because his wife, also his executrix, kept hold of the real original.¹⁵ Likewise, his principal patron, Sir Philip Parker of Erwarton, Suffolk, left no discrete collection of personal archives: what survives of his family's archives in various archive repositories dates from later periods. I have attempted to read sources against the grain and, like Younger, 'sought to draw the best possible conclusions from the available evidence' and make it plain what is speculative and what is firmer evidence.¹⁶

¹⁴ Neil Younger, *Religion and Politics in Elizabethan England: The Life of Sir Christopher Hatton* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022), p.5.

¹⁵ NCC Original Wills, 1609: John Darby.

¹⁶ Younger, *Religion and Politics in Elizabethan England* (2022), p.7.

In using John Darby as a case study and comparing him to other surveyors of the period and area, there needs to be enough information available about other contemporary surveyors and map-makers and their works with which to compare him. The standard biographical dictionary for surveyors and map-makers is the best place to start, as it comprises brief, standard-format entries, such as Darby's own, for example:

‘†DARBY(E) (or DERBY), John; 158(2?)–94. ?will proved 16.xii.1609; NFK, SFK; estate, harbour, town, prob. author of maps and written surveys depicting a thirsty surveyor drinking after his labours and other drolleries; ?of Bramford SFK 1609; gent. ‘>*Acts PC 1587; Archive IV/pc/aldmh†; holk†; norfro(ndc)†; sufro(i)*’¹⁷

Besides such brief biographical dictionary entries, fuller biographies tend to be of the more well-known surveyors. Bearing in mind Blakemore and Harley's warning about 'the charisma of prominent men' it must be acknowledged that relatively few surveyors of the sixteenth century can be said to have been prominent, especially outwith their own field. Those who were tended to be the makers of printed maps or atlases or the authors of professional instruction books or advertisements. Published biographies of these individuals are therefore the main means currently extant for comparison with Darby, a relatively unknown surveyor. But there are problems in using them for comparison: can one effectively compare a surveyor wealthy or well-connected enough to write books or publish maps of international renown, with one who appears to have operated within a local sphere and produced only manuscript maps? To try to counter this discrepancy, this thesis has attempted to compare Darby, where possible, with lesser-known estate surveyors working or living in Eastern Counties.

Background biographical notes of these individuals have not, in the end, been included in this thesis, as was first intended. Compilation was not possible for some, owing to either paucity of sources or because they have such common names, they cannot be differentiated. William Hayward or Haiwarde is a good case in point, although he was a relatively prolific and competent map-maker and deserves attention. Other biographical notes relating to those mentioned in the text that have been researched proved to be too copious to practically include in this thesis. However, an attempt will be made to compare Darby with less prominent, 'ordinary', surveyors where they are met with in the text of this thesis, which it is hoped should help in understanding of the impact of the profession in greater depth than just studying the better-known individuals.

¹⁷ Sarah Bendall (ed.), *Dictionary of Land Surveyors* (1997), Vol. 2, p.132, entry D035.7

Respecting existing biographies of Darby's better-known contemporaries, it is worth assessing what exists currently in terms of published material about them. The most obviously pre-eminent, who has been researched most extensively by modern scholars, is Christopher Saxton (between 1542 and 1544 – 1610/11), an almost exact contemporary of Darby.¹⁸ His series of printed maps of English and Welsh counties in separate sheets (1574-8) and as an atlas (1579) marked a watershed in map-production in England. They provided a national standard which was highly influential in the development of printed maps of the country right up to the commencement of the Ordnance Survey in the eighteenth century. These maps largely created the market for maps which stimulated demand from the late 1570s onwards. P.D.A. Harvey cites their popularity as one of the most probable causes for the explosion in the numbers of estate maps which began then.¹⁹ The first serious biographical sketch of Saxton was written by Sir George Fordham in 1928, but most detailed and thorough research about Saxton commenced with the quartercentenary, 1979-1983, of the completion of his series of county maps (1579) and his wall-map of England and Wales (1983).²⁰ Ifor Evans and Heather Lawrence (1979) set the standard, building on David Marcombe's then recent work (1978) amongst others to give a more detailed picture of Saxton's life, work and influence. Their book also made a first attempt to list all his maps still in existence and provide numerous appendices of transcripts of relevant documents.²¹ This book confirmed Saxton as squarely in the forefront of not only English, but also European map-making, and sealed his place as the pre-eminent English map-maker of the sixteenth century. Subsequent articles have added to its list of works by Saxton in terms which refer back to it as the standard work on him.²² The British Library's quartercentenary exhibition, 'Christopher Saxton and Tudor

¹⁸ David Fletcher, 'Christopher Saxton (1542x4-1610/11)', *ODNB* (2004).

¹⁹ P.D.A. Harvey, 'Estate Surveyors and the Spread of the Scale-map in England 1550-80' *Landscape History*, Vol. 15, Part 1 (1993), p.45.

²⁰ Sir H. George Fordham, 'Christopher Saxton of Dunningley: his life and work', *Miscellanea IX*, Thoresby Society, 28 (1928), pp.356-84, 491; Heather Lawrence, 'New Saxton Discoveries', *Map Collector*, Vol. 17 (1981), pp.30-31; Heather Lawrence and Richard Hoyle, 'New Maps and Surveys by Christopher Saxton', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 53 (1981), pp. 51-56. Amongst the publications on Saxton between 1928 and 1979 are G.R. Batho, 'Two Newly Discovered Manuscript Maps by Christopher Saxton' *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 125 (1959), pp. 70-74 and P.D.A. Harvey, 'A Manuscript Estate Map by Christopher Saxton', *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. 23 (1960/61), pp. 65-67; R.A. Skelton (with A.D. Baxter and S.T.M. Newman) edited by J.B. Harley, *Saxton's survey of England and Wales. With a facsimile of Saxton's wall-map of 1583*, Supplement VI to *Imago Mundi* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1974).

²¹ Ifor M. Evans and Heather Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton: Elizabethan Map-maker* (Wakefield and London: Wakefield Historical Publications and The Holland Press, 1979); David Marcombe, 'Saxton's Apprenticeship: John Rudd, A Yorkshire Cartographer', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 50 (1978), pp.171-175.

²² David I. Bower, 'Saxton Manuscript Maps and Surveys Not Described by Evans and Lawrence', *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 62, No. 2 (2010), pp.191-204; J.H. Andrews, 'A Saxton Miscellany', *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 65,

'Map-making' was extremely informatively accompanied by a book of the same title by Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy in 1980. This included much contextual information on the development of surveying in the British Isles, as well as details around Saxton's pursuance of his national survey.²³ It is perhaps a pertinent footnote to this thesis that the front cover of Tyacke and Huddy's book shows part of Saxton's map of south-west Wales, upon which is superimposed, as a typical figure, John Darby's image of a surveyor carrying his measuring-rod and other equipment and being barked at by a large dog (see Figs 9 and 10 below).²⁴ This might well be one of the earliest (if not *the* earliest) pictorial representations in existence of a working surveyor in England, and Darby provides it. Saxton too may well have trudged across fields in just such a weary posture, his leggings tied with string to keep them clear of his muddy boots. However, it is telling of the gaps which remain in our knowledge of contemporary surveying techniques that there is still debate about the exact methods Saxton employed to complete his national survey so quickly.²⁵

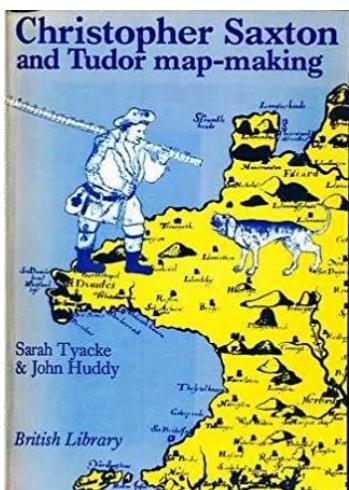


Fig. 9 (left): Front cover of Tyacke and Huddy's book with figure of a working surveyor superimposed.²⁶

Fig. 10 (right) The original image from Darby's map of Mousehold Heath, Norfolk [c.1580s].²⁷

No.1 (2013), pp.87-96; David I. Bower, 'Further Light on the Lives of Christopher and Robert Saxton', *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (2015), pp.81-89.

²³ Sarah Tyacke & John Huddy, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-making* (London: British Library, 1980).

²⁴ NRO, MC 3085/2.

²⁵ Many attempts have been made to answer this question, and a concise overview of the arguments was made by William Ravenhill, who sided with the proponents of triangulation, based upon Saxton's use of the beacon system [William Ravenhill, 'Christopher Saxton's Surveying: An Enigma', in Tyacke, *English Map-Making 1500-1650* (1983), pp. 112-119].

²⁶ Tyacke and Huddy, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-making* (1980), reproduced courtesy of the BL.

²⁷ NRO, MC 3085/2.

Saxton worked all over England and Wales for his county maps project although he also produced estate maps in a number of counties subsequently, including one of the manor of Hinton in Blythburgh, Suffolk (1594), which will be mentioned in Chapter Two.²⁸

Saxton's contemporary pre-eminence apart, another East Anglian surveyor springs to mind as prominent within the field, largely as a result of his self-advertisement: Ralph Agas of Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk. Until recently, his fame rested largely on maps he did not actually produce: the so-called 'Agas Map' of London, and a map of Cambridge (1592), neither of which are now thought to have been made by him.²⁹ He was a genuine pioneer in other respects, however. As Harvey has pointed out, Agas's map of West Lexham, Norfolk, made together with George Sampson in 1575, is one of the earliest scaled English estate maps.³⁰ Thanks to (now the Rev. Professor Sir) Diarmaid MacCulloch, we even know something of Agas's prickly character, religious beliefs and physical disability.³¹ Agas was a confident self-publicist, publishing *A preparative to platting of landes and tenements for surveigh* in 1596 and printed advertisements in 1596 and 1606 in which he extolled his own skills and experience as a surveyor since about 1566.³² Most of what is known about Agas comes from his own publications and that of later researchers, beginning with W.H. Overall, Librarian at the Guildhall Library, London. This was added to by the clergyman and local historian of Agas's home parish, the Rev. Charles Martin Torlesse, as well as the rather more inspiring article by MacCulloch in 1975.³³

Peter Eden's article on Peter Kempe (surveyor to William Cecil), his servant Thomas Clerke or Clarke and Clerke's servant Thomas Langdon details their professional work as well as their relationships, giving an idea of the method of training and interpersonal contacts

²⁸ SA(I), HA 30: 378/1.

²⁹ Sarah Bendall, 'Agas, Radulph (c.1540–1621)', *ODNB* (2004).

³⁰ P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (London: Public Record Office and The British Library, 1993), pp.80-81; Peter Barber, 'Mapmaking in England' (2007), Chapter 54, p.1645.

³¹ D. MacCulloch, 'Radulph Agas: Virtue Unrewarded', *PSIAH*, Vol. 33 (1973–5), pp.275–84: sources quoted on pp.275–6, 278–9 say that Agas was 'an impotent and lame man' [TNA, STAC 5/A33/6] and 'a poor man that God hath visited with want of his limbs' [John Roche Dasent (ed.) *Acts of the Privy Council of England: New Series*, Vol.21, 1591 (London: HMSO, 1900), p.91].

³² Sarah Bendall, 'Agas, Radulph (c.1540–1621)', *ODNB* (2004).

³³ W.H. Overall, 'Some particulars as to the early maps of London, and more especially as to the map attributed to R. Agas, from the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, December 11, 1873', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, Vol. vi, No 81, pp.1-18; Charles Martin Torlesse, *Some Account of Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1877), pp.66-67; MacCulloch, 'Radulph Agas: Virtue Unrewarded' (1973–5)].

between surveyors at the time. This thesis will look further at Thomas Clerke in respect of his possible further training in Chapter Four.

Other surveyors of the period published professional guides as well as maps and have been the subject of scholarly investigation. John Norden (c.1547-1625) produced some county maps for his uncompleted project, the *Speculum Britanniae* in the 1590s, as well as working as an estate surveyor for the Crown, Duchy of Cornwall, courtiers and businessmen.³⁴ Some of his county maps were published in the 6th edition (1607) of William Camden's *Britannia* and in John Speed's county map atlas the *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611). Norden also wrote devotional literature, and a guide to the practice of surveying, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607), which ran to several editions. His life and career were the subject of a PhD study by Frank Kitchen in 1992, some of which was distilled into an article by Kitchen in 1997.³⁵ Netzloff's detailed analytical introduction to the 3rd edition (1618) of *The Surveyor's Dialogue* discusses the book and Norden himself in the wider contexts of attitudes to agrarian, social and religious change and the place of surveyors within those contexts.³⁶

One of Norden's contemporaries as a Crown surveyor was Aaron Rathborne (b. 1571/2), another surveyor who published a professional guide, *The Surveyor in Foure Bookes* (1616), the importance of which was discussed in detail by J.A. Bennett (1991).³⁷ In an aside comparing Rathborne to surveyors of the period who were typically more versatile and who had more varied strings to their professional bows, Peter Eden suggested that Rathborne's book pointed the way to surveyors becoming more specialised and less versatile, suggesting that:

³⁴ For his work as a Crown surveyor, see H. Lawrence, 'John Norden and his colleagues: surveyors of crown lands', *Cartographic Journal*, 22 (1985), Part I, 54–6; and R. W. Hoyle (ed.), *The estates of the English crown 1558-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), especially Hoyle's chapter in that book, ‘‘Shearing the hog’: the reform of the estates c. 1598–1640’, pp.204–62.

³⁵ Frank Kitchen, 'John Norden (c.1547-1625), Cartographer', *ODNB*, (2008); F. Kitchen, 'Cosmo-choro-poly-grapher: an analytical account of the life and work of John Norden, 1547?–1625', (DPhil. Dissertation, University of Sussex, 1992); F. Kitchen, 'John Norden (c.1547–1625), estate surveyor, topographer, county mapmaker and devotional writer', *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 49 (1997), pp.43–61.

³⁶ Mark Netzloff, *John Norden's The Surveyor's Dialogue (1618): A Critical Edition* (London: Routledge, 2010).

³⁷ A. Rathborne, *The Surveyor in Foure Bookes* (London: printed by W. Stansby for W. Burre, 1616); J.A. Bennett, 'Geometry and Surveying in Early-Seventeenth-Century England', *Annals of Science*, 48:4 (1991), pp. 345–354; Sarah Bendall, 'Aaron Rathborne (b.1571/2), Land Surveyor and Author', *ODNB*, 2004.

‘he [*the surveyor*] should not pretend to be a lawyer. He should not even aspire to put his results into Latin ‘considering that a reasonable surveyor may be lame of that legge’. This [*Rathborne’s book*] was a blue print for the ‘mechanic’ of the future, without pretensions to gentility nor all-round education, but with the job at his fingertips’.³⁸

More directly pertinent to the present study, Rathborne actually surveyed some of John Darby’s widow’s land in Suffolk in 1613 as part of a manorial survey, which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

City of London estate surveyor and heraldic painter Ralph Treswell (c.1540-1616/7) the Elder was first investigated by John Schofield, then of the Museum of London, in the 1980s, although since then more work has been done on him.³⁹ As a Liveryman of the City’s Painter-Stainers’ Company, it is perhaps predictable that most of his surveying work seems to have been for City clients, especially institutions there such as City Livery Companies, St Bartholomew’s and Christ’s Hospitals, although he also worked for Magdalen and Christ Church Colleges, Oxford and private clients such as Sir Christopher Hatton.⁴⁰

Another surveyor and publisher of a surveying text was Edward Worsopp whose treatise in praise of mathematically-based surveying was published in 1582.⁴¹ Worsopp and his book were discussed in their mathematical context by Stephen Johnston of the Museum of the

³⁸ Peter Eden, ‘Three Elizabethan Estate Surveyors: Peter Kempe, Thomas Clerke and Thomas Langdon’, in Tyacke, *English Map-Making 1500-1650* (1983), p.78.

³⁹ John Schofield, ‘Ralph Treswell’s Surveys of London Houses, c.1612’ in Tyacke, *English Map-Making 1500-1650* (1983), pp.85-92; John Schofield (ed.), *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell* (London: The London Topographical Society, 1987); Judith Etherton, ‘New Evidence: Ralph Treswell’s Association with St Bartholomew’s Hospital’, *London Topographical Record*, 27, (1995), pp.103-117; Anon., ‘Ralph Treswell (c.1540-1616/17), Painter-Stainer and Surveyor’, *ODNB*, (2004); Dorian Gerhold, ‘New Light on Ralph Treswell’, *London Topographical Record*, Vol. 31 (2015), pp.45-49.

⁴⁰ His work for Christ’s Hospital and the Clothworkers’ Company in particular are covered by Schofield, and include remarkably detailed interior ground-plans of premises in the City, as well as some associated upper-floor rooms [Schofield (ed.), *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell* (1987)]; John Schofield ‘The Topography and Buildings of London, ca.1600’ and Lena Cowen Orlin, ‘Boundary Disputes in Early Modern London’ both in Lena Cowen Orlin, *Material London c.1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000)]. For some of his work for Hatton, see Mark Forrest (ed.) with Jenny Halling Barnard, Rose Mitchell and Martin Papworth, *Treswell’s Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (Dorchester: Dorset Record Society Vol. 19, 2017).

⁴¹ Edward Worsopp, *A discoverie of sundrie errors and faults daily committed by lande-meaters, ignorant of arithmeticke and geometrie, to the damage, and preiudice of many her Maiesties subiects...* (London: printed by Henrie Middleton for Gregorie Seton, 1582).

History of Science, Oxford in a 1991 article, but no biography of him has yet been published apart from the brief formulaic entry on him in Bendall's *Dictionary*.⁴²

Surveyors who did not publish maps, but who worked in a particular region, producing manuscript maps of various kinds, tend to have been researched (if they have been researched at all) by historians, historical geographers or cartographic historians with local interests or specialities. Essex Record Office was an early publisher of its map catalogue in 1947 as well as other cartographical publications. Its tradition of employing archivists with an interest in early maps helped towards the publication of an exemplary study of two Essex map-makers, father and son, both named John Walker.⁴³ A.C. Edwards and the late Ken Newton's 1984 book on the Walkers of Hanningfield set a high standard for a study of local mapmakers and their work, employing such features as diagrammatic analyses of buildings on Walker maps and many illustrations of the maps themselves.⁴⁴ Publication costs, which delayed its publication for over a decade even then, might preclude any such similar book being published today, but its value in terms of contextualising the Walkers as local estate and town map-makers (possibly trained by Israel Amyce, who worked for both the 17th Earl of Oxford and William Cecil, Lord Burghley), sets an aspirational standard for such works.⁴⁵ Like John Darby, the Walkers of Hanningfield produced very beautiful and highly accurate maps, although the Walkers were more sparsely elegant in style. Before Edwards and Newton, however, the Walkers would probably have been seen as mere local practitioners of a few quaint maps, rather as John Darby is considered currently. Essex has also fared better than other counties in its coverage of sixteenth century map-makers and their work more generally through the writings of A. Stuart Mason.⁴⁶

⁴² Stephen Johnston, 'Mathematical Practitioners and Instruments in Elizabethan England', *Annals of Science*, Vol. 48, No.4, (1991), pp. 319-344.

⁴³ F.G. Emmison, *Catalogue of Maps in the Essex Record Office 1566-1855* (Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1947).

⁴⁴ A.C. Edwards and K.C. Newton, *The Walkers of Hanningfield: Surveyors and Mapmakers Extraordinary* (London: Buckland Publications Ltd., 1984).

⁴⁵ Books concentrating on a particular area, survey, maps or map-maker which have been published more recently have been funded by record societies or other large organisations which have picked up the baton of publication: for example: June Palmer (ed.), foreword by Joe Bettey, *Three Tudor Surveys: The Manors of Okeford Pitzpaine, Durweston cum Knighton and Lytchett Minster, 1584-1585* (Dorchester: Dorset Record Society, Vol. 18, 2015); Emma Down and Adrian Webb, *Somerset Mapped: Cartography in the County Through the Ages* (Wellington, Somerset: Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society in association with Halsgrove Publishing, 2016); Stephanos Mastoris, *The Welbeck Atlas: William Senior's Maps of the Estates of William Cavendish Earl of Newcastle 1629-1640* (Nottinghamshire: The Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire, Vol. 47, 2017), and, lavishly illustrated and funded by the National Trust and the Heritage Lottery Fund, Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell's Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017).

⁴⁶ ERO, T/Z 438/2/1, A. Stuart Mason, 'An upstart art: early mapping in Essex,' (Unpublished typescript in the Essex Record Office and the British Library, 1996); A. Stuart Mason, 'A Measure of Essex

In exploring Darby's role, therefore, this thesis will commence in Chapter One by outlining the context of map-making in the sixteenth century, particularly in East Anglia (a hot-spot for surveyors in the period), which, for the purposes of this thesis, is taken to constitute the English counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. In this historiographical survey chapter, the work of F.M.L. Thompson, Paul Harvey, Peter Barber and Andrew McRae will be used to show how the role of surveyors changed from its medieval beginnings. The chapter will discuss the changes to the system of land-holding over the course of the sixteenth century from a customary to a more capitalistic system. The medieval manorial system was predicated on a personal relationship between loyal tenant and protective landlord. Rents and entry fines tended to be fixed and rarely altered. In a time of population growth, inflation and a burgeoning land market after the Dissolution, land valuations went up and so did rents. Lords of manors, including a great many who had made their money in trade or professions, became keener to make their land profitable. The personal and paternalistic elements of lordship gave way to a concern for maximising cash profits. At the same time, developments in knowledge and technology were facilitating the ability of surveyors to measure land geometrically and reduce it to immutable units with a cash price per acre attached. This chapter will discuss the surveyors' role in the economic changes around land-holding. The development of map-making will be investigated against this context of change, particularly the development of the estate map following the publication of Saxton's county maps in the 1570s.

Chapter Two will delve a little more deeply into the experience of what it was like to be a surveyor at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. Because of their role in the changes discussed in Chapter One, surveyors were an unpopular set of people. This chapter will look at the reasons for this unpopularity with reference to Hoyle's work on the Great Survey of Crown lands and McRae's use of John Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607). Examples of the extortionate behaviour of Ralph Agas as a Crown surveyor will be used to illustrate the kind of tactics employed by Crown surveyors which made them such figures of hatred to tenants whose tenure was threatened. It will also examine Darby's graphical expression of surveyors' unpopularity in his images on his maps of surveyors being attacked by dogs.

Cartography' in Kenneth Neale (ed.), *Essex, 'full of profitable things': Essays presented to Sir John Ruggles-Brise* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 1996), pp.253-268.

In its exploration of what it was like to be a late sixteenth century surveyor, Chapter Two will also look at rates of pay and what recourse surveyors had against clients who refused to pay them, which may have been a common occurrence. The chapter will examine some examples of surveyors using the tactic of with-holding records against non-payment of their bills and how that has implications for the survival of records today.

Chapter Three will detail Darby's personal life, family background and networks as well as examine the reasons for the change in his social status from carpenter's son to professional surveyor and finally gentleman. Darby was a man of substantial means in later life, owning considerable property in Norfolk and Suffolk and calling himself a gentleman. Virtually all this work will be from new research undertaken for this thesis. Comparisons will be drawn where appropriate with the family and social backgrounds of other surveyors and map-makers living and working in East Anglia. His background as a carpenter's son suggest a head-start in becoming a surveyor and he will be fitted into a context of skilled artisans becoming surveyors. His family circumstances make it clear that he was part of a family who also rose in status during the later sixteenth century, obtaining a coat of arms, dealing in property and marrying people of higher social status than themselves. This chapter will discuss the possible influence of Darby's mother as the author of her family's efforts to rise socially and as a role model for the opportunistic grasping of favourable opportunities. Her role as an independent widow of means will be investigated in the light of work on widows by Todd and Holderness. Chapter Three will also investigate the effect of Darby's marriage on his wealth and land holdings and look at the influence his networks might have had on the acquisition of his lands.

Chapter Four will explore the context of the training of surveyors in the late sixteenth century, including the possibilities of how Darby came by his education and training. It will begin with reference to Peter Eden's work on Peter Kempe (Cecil's employee at Burghley), his apprentice, Thomas Clarke and Clarke's apprentice, Thomas Langdon. In fresh research on training, this chapter will use a legal case between Robert Doon of Ipswich and his servant which gives much unwitting evidence of Doon as a trainer of surveyors. It will also suggest that the servant Doon prosecuted might be the same Thomas Clarke as the man who was Peter Kempe's apprentice. Doon's links to a number of East Anglian surveyors will be discussed,

although he did not make maps himself, but associated with map-makers such as Israel Amyce when maps were required by his clients.

The chapter will then take Doon's decorated written survey of the manor of Woodbridge late Priory (1560) and compare it to Darby's later decorated surveys of the manors of Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh, Suffolk (1589) to see if there is any evidence of Darby having copied or been inspired by anything in Doon's work. This might indicate that Doon trained Darby, or at least that Darby had somehow seen Doon's work. Other possible sources of artistic inspiration will be examined in this chapter by looking at writing masters' manuals and pattern books and traditions of decorated calligraphy in official and manorial documents. This is an area which has been relatively neglected. Anthony Wells-Cole refers to designs based on those of Vredeman de Vries being used on the printed county maps series of Christopher Saxton in the 1570s.⁴⁷ But no-one has specifically looked at the inspiration of printmakers and writing masters on Darby's or other maps or their influence on decorated surveys and other manorial records, as this thesis will attempt to do.

A thematic investigation of Darby's work will follow in Chapter Five, which will examine what made his work particularly distinctive. It will begin by contextualising decorative maps in the light of Harley's work to re-assess the meaningfulness of decorative maps. It will discuss Darby's work in the light of Harley's structures of meaning, indicating their symbolic features and codes. It will discuss colour-coding on his maps as well as features such as borders and cartouches. It will also investigate the depiction of animals and human figures in the landscape on his maps and his use of images from contemporary Netherlandish art, especially the figure of the drinking surveyor, taken from Pieter Bruegel the Elder's print of 'Summer' (1569). This copying and adaption of Netherlandish artistic figures is unusual in manuscript maps and is a particularly distinctive feature of his work. The chapter will compare features on Darby's maps with those of his contemporary map-makers to see whether there was, as Rose Michell suggests, some kind of common model for certain images on late sixteenth century maps.

⁴⁷ Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England 1558-1625* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp.74-5.

Chapter Six will be dedicated to a case study of his map of Aldeburgh, Suffolk (1594). This map has been virtually neglected in academic studies, although it is important in demonstrating Aldeburgh's sense of pride in its history and heritage as a maritime town. It will be investigated in the light of Aldeburgh's early adoption and development as a 'map-minded' town, taking Harvey's idea of map-mindedness as a context for this study. Its purpose as a map of measures to counter coastal erosion has never been discussed previously, so this thesis shows a new meaning of the map and a topical theme for today, not just to show the extent of erosion, but to see how sixteenth century people sought to fight it.

It is hoped that this work will show Darby in a new light, not just as a maker of decorative maps, but a serious map-maker who worked with the cartographic movers and shakers of the late sixteenth century and who innovated new and cutting-edge features of map-making.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONTEXT OF SURVEYING AND MAP-MAKING

1.1 *Introduction*

The sixteenth century, especially the last three decades of it, was a period when the role of surveyors was changing and demand was growing for maps and surveyors to make them. Not all surveyors became map-makers, however. In contextualising these changes, this chapter will begin by outlining the typical work and role of what I shall term as the traditional surveyor and the product of his work, the traditional, written survey, which had its roots in the medieval period. Paul Harvey and Mark Bailey have described the format, content and development of the written, unmeasured survey, as well as its usefulness to the historian.¹ My own work on Monks Eleigh, Suffolk, has looked at how such medieval surveys were made as well as some of the problematic aspects of interpreting periodic surveys.² The first section of this chapter will also discuss the vulnerability and increasing inadequacy of the unmeasured written survey as a tool for estate management as more rational concepts of land measurement began to be accepted. It will also introduce Harvey's memorably-phrased concept, which is not in dispute, of map-mindedness, an idea which will also be highlighted in Chapter Six.³

Using the work of Harvey, Peter Barber and F.M.L Thompson, the second and third sections of this chapter will then describe the introduction and development of land measurement and mapping in the sixteenth century. The second section will discuss the complications caused by customary variations in measurement and how this was dealt with by map-makers. The third will probe how and why most sixteenth century map-makers still continued to make traditional written surveys, even after maps became commonplace. Technical and

¹ P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records*, British Records Association Series Archives and the User no. 5 (London, 1984, revised 1999), pp. 16-18; Mark Bailey (ed.), *The English Manor c. 1200-c. 1500* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 23-4; Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), pp.79-80

² Vivienne Aldous (ed.), *Monks Eleigh Manorial Records, 1210-1683*, Suffolk Records Society Vol. 65 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2022), pp.xlvii-li, 77, 183, 200-1, 214-6, 221.

³ P.D.A. Harvey, 'Manorial Records' in Margaret L. Faull, *Medieval Manorial Records* (Leeds: Medieval Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1983), p.4, where he wrote that 'the Middle Ages were not map-minded'. Barber uses the term 'map-conscious' with the same meaning [Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1608].

mathematical innovations as discussed by Thompson and J.A. Bennett were background factors in why map-making suddenly burgeoned in the late sixteenth century. But it is generally agreed, as expressed by Thompson, Barber and Harvey, that a demand-led market for maps proved to be the main reason for the explosion in their use. A major factor in stimulating that demand was Christopher Saxton's series of county maps which brought maps into every gentleman's library during the 1570s and in turn prompted a demand for estate maps.

Many factors came together in the second half of the sixteenth century to stimulate the demand for estate maps in particular. The land market rapidly expanded after the Dissolution released a large quantity of land. Much was purchased by existing elite and gentry landowners, but land also became obtainable by humbler self-made men who were socially ambitious and became a new breed of gentlemen. Estate maps flattered both types of client as prestigious display objects as well as serving as a new format for estate management. Measuring land accurately and mapping it brought a new way of 'seeing' land based on the idea that the map was objective, scientific and unchallengeable and so the work of surveyors tended to support the new landlords in their push to modernise and make estate management more economically efficient. This did not happen everywhere to the same degree or at the same time. But surveyors were at the heart of these changes, which altered the relationship between landlord and tenant and turned a system of landholding from one based on custom and precedence to one that was monetarised and capitalistic.

In the fourth section, the process of contextualising Darby and his fellow-surveyors narrows down to the surveyors themselves and the kind of backgrounds from which they came. Surveying was frequently an occupation undertaken by people with a skilled artisanal background involving measurement, such as masonry or carpentry (like Darby). Others came from a range of occupations and many continued to practice their other occupations whilst also working as surveyors. This feeds into the biographical approach to research on Darby and contemporaries and helps to demonstrate the importance of individuals and their lives to a wider investigation of the profession.

In the final section, using the work Sarah Bendall, I will concentrate on a more local, regional context against which to set Darby and his professional contemporaries. It will describe how many surveyors and map-makers flourished in East Anglia in particular during the sixteenth

century. The relatively small numbers allow for a more detailed and personalised approach to researching them. The relatively small number of them in East Anglia also infers that their networks were close and probably overlapped.

1.2 The Work of Traditional Surveyors

Even by the end of the sixteenth century, not all surveyors had become map-makers, and even those who did make maps, like Darby, also continued with the traditional duties of the old, non-map-making surveyor as well. This was partly due to an inherent conservatism at the heart of English land management. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there might have been a precious few of the new-fangled maps, but surveyors and their work were of long-standing, and surveyors worked as they had for centuries as officers the Crown, central government, but more typically of manorial lords, to assist from time to time with the process of estate management. Medieval surveyors remain somewhat shadowy figures, but it is possible, as Harvey suggests, that some individuals were developing specialist skills in measuring land from the thirteenth century, and that they might have formed a class of proto-professionals which blossomed in the sixteenth.⁴

As Harvey and Bailey make clear, the traditional written surveys which surveyors had been making since at least the thirteenth century were management tools in the administration of an estate.⁵ They could take several forms depending on specific function, date and trends in estate management. The sixteenth century surveyor was heir to these formats, and a client might employ a surveyor to make any one of a number of different kinds of ‘surveys’ (be they called custumals, extents, rentals, surveys, terriers, draggs or views) depending on the function required for land management.⁶ But the one thing these surveys had in common until the later sixteenth century was that they did not involve the accurate measurement of the land they surveyed.

⁴ Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), pp.79-80.

⁵ P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records*, British Records Association Series Archives and the User no. 5 (London, 1984, revised 1999), pp. 16-18 and Mark Bailey (ed.), *The English Manor c. 1200–c. 1500* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 23-4.

⁶ P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records*, British Records Association Series Archives and the User no. 5 (London, 1984, revised 1999), pp. 16-18 and Mark Bailey (ed.), *The English Manor c. 1200–c. 1500* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 23-4.

The earliest of the published guides to the process of surveying in the sixteenth century, John Fitzherbert's *Boke of Surveyeng* (1523) made no mention of how to accurately measure land by geometrical principles, let alone make maps, although it does supply a formulary for the documentation found in manorial records and instruct the surveyor in what he should do to undertake a survey:

- 'Than it wolde be knownen, howe a surveyour shulde ouerse[e] & suruey a towne or a lordeshyppe ... if a man shall view a close or a pasture, he maye nat loke ouer the hedge and go his waye, but he must outhir ryde or go ouer, & se euery parcell therof, and to knowe howe many acres it co[n]teyneth, & howe moche therof was medowe grounde, howe moche pasture grou[n]de, howe moche wode grounde, or busshe grou[n]de, heythe, lyng or suche other.'⁷

Thus the surveyor, perhaps with a previous written survey as a basis for his new one, would systematically walk over the estate he was surveying together with a jury chosen from the oldest and most respected men amongst the tenantry, who would supply sworn evidence as to who held what land and for what rents or services. The surveyor then produced a written description of the property which provided a snapshot of the state of the manor or estate at the time the survey was made. This was the process in Monks Eleigh, Suffolk, in 1379-80, when the making of a new rental (a form of survey) took several men ninety-four days, costing 13s. 8d. (3s. 8d. for the men's expenses and 10s. for the surveyor who made the written rental).⁸

These written surveys formed, with other manorial records, an archive of manorial custom. Copies of court roll entries recording a tenant's admission to an unfree messuage had legal status as proof of copyhold tenure. Freeholders showed their charters and had their admissions to free land recorded in the court rolls. Surveys and custumals recorded tenants' holdings, tenures and rights over their land. Over time, changes in tenants or tenures meant that it was common for written surveys to be annotated with updates by the full-time manorial officials such as bailiff or reeve, before a new survey was called for. This might be years or perhaps even a decade or two after the previous survey, or when an estate changed hands. The new

⁷ John Fitzherbert, *Here begynneth a right frutefull mater: and hath to name the boke of surueyeng and improueme[n]tes*, (London: 'In fletestrete by Rycharde Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace', 1523), fol. 34r-v.

⁸ Vivienne Aldous (ed.), *Monks Eleigh Manorial Records, 1210-1683*, Suffolk Records Society Vol. 65 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2022), p.77.

survey would clarify things all over again and re-inforce the customary nature and memory of the manorial community.⁹ These updates, or fading over time could make the survey itself unintelligible by the time it was renewed so that information might be mangled or lost: well might the late sixteenth century copyist of a 1525 rental of Monks Eleigh complain:

‘There is more in the rentall but the letters beinge worne owte no more canne be redde.’¹⁰

As written documents, they were also vulnerable to the vicissitudes of storage over time: rodents, damp, fire, loss or deliberate destruction. Their loss could de-rail the continuity of manorial custom and impact the people who lived on the manor. Andy Wood highlighted this in his study of Petworth, Sussex. The loss there of a written custumal in the late 1550s allowed the landlords, the Earls of Northumberland, to ‘increase fines, cut down woodland, restrict copyholders’ remaining rights and lease the mineral rights’: in short, to capitalise the manor at the expense of the tenantry and effectively destroy the morale of a previously assertive tenantry and their ability to resist impoverishment.¹¹

Written surveys, of whatever kind, were important written records of the manor and of its history. To landlord and tenants alike, their conception of the manor’s, and their own, history was formed by memory and custom as remembered by them and as recorded in records such as surveys and custumals. The surveyor of c.1500, then, was not an accurate land-measurer as such, but a recorder or remembrancer of the assets of an estate based on customary and collective estimation, based on the sworn evidence of the longest-living tenants. The resulting written survey was the result of a communal, customary and largely oral process and provided a reference point at a given point in time of information about the estate to be used as a benchmark in its management.

But in the Middle Ages virtually none of the documents produced in the making of surveys was a map. Medieval estate management and land-holding were hierarchical, patriarchal,

⁹ For a series of such surveys for a single manor, and the difficulties which ensue in interpreting them given their copyings from earlier surveys, see Aldous (ed.), *Monks Eleigh Manorial Records* (2022) pp.xlvii-li, 183, 200-1, 214-6, 221.

¹⁰ Aldous, *Monks Eleigh Manorial Records* (2022), p.214.

¹¹ Andy Wood, “‘Some Banglyng about the Customes’: Popular Memory and the Experience of Defeat in a Sussex Village, 1549–1640”, *Rural History*, Vol. 25 (2014), p.9.

based on custom and precedent, and able to remain so because of a stable feudal land-holding system. Even in the case of boundary disputes, for example, it was not a system which called for the making of maps, even had the technology for making accurate ones existed, as Thompson made clear:

‘...there were no techniques of land surveying capable of providing accurate estate maps; and the reason for this was that there were no incentives to develop such techniques ... territorial frictions and uncertainties in medieval society were irksome, time consuming, and profligate of oaths, but they were not sufficiently burdensome to justify a diversion of extremely scarce skilled resources into contriving their more permanent solution.’¹²

Harvey puts it more simply:

‘A survey ... is not a map, and no maps were ever produced as the end-product of estate surveys in medieval England. The Middle Ages were not map-minded.’¹³

Conversely, maps, once they do begin to be made and used, rarely register customary rights, such as those relating to timber, woods, or minerals. They are not the ideal format to do so, being much more useful to the requirements of the new capitalistic outlook on land-ownership, based around the visual representations of physical boundaries.¹⁴ Maps not only recorded the change in viewpoint over land-ownership, but helped to facilitate it too.

1.3 Problems of Measurement

For the medieval surveyor, working in an environment determined by custom and precedent, there was no problem in not accurately measuring the land. A customary ‘Ten-acre Field’

¹² F.M.L. Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors: The Growth of a Profession* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), pp.4-5.

¹³ P.D.A. Harvey, ‘Manorial Records’ in Margaret L. Faull, *Medieval Manorial Records* (Leeds: Medieval Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1983), p.4.

¹⁴ This may explain the multiple maps prepared for the legal case concerning customary rights over Household Heath in the 1580s, none of which (including Darby’s) satisfactorily illustrate the deposition evidence of the witnesses (see Appendix Six, esp. p.266). It may also explain why it took over 400 years to determine the purpose for which Darby’s map of Blakeney and Cley was made: manorial rights over wreck are hard to display on a map (see Chapter 5, section 5.7, n.66) for further details).

might actually be more or less than a geometrically measured ten acres, but when the customary manorial rent and entry fine had been fixed for centuries and custom limited the rights of the landlord to change them or evict the tenant on a whim, the actual measurement was relatively meaningless.

When accurate measurement became the norm in the sixteenth century, however, customary variations in measurements could still continue to trip up the unwary surveyor and cause confusion. Units of measurement such as acres, rods, poles or perches could be variable depending on local custom, or the measurements customarily used for different types of land. This remained so even into the seventeenth century. John Norden, in his book, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607) refers to customary measurements of a pole in various parts of the country being 24, 20 or 18 feet, despite the fact that 'the Statute alloweth onely 16½ foote' and that woodlands were 'allwayes measured with the Pole of 18 foote'.¹⁵

Heather Lawrence points out that one of the questions put to tenants of royal manors by surveyors as part of James I's Great Survey (1608-9) was 'how many feet constituted the customary perch in that manor'. The answers match those in Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue*:

'in manors in Denbighshire it was 24 feet, and in four manors in Devon we find as many different lengths, 16½, 17 and 18 feet, with the reply from Buckfastleigh that 'the measure of their Hundred for land is sixteen foot and a half one inch and one barley corn square to make a perch'.¹⁶

But Lawrence also tellingly points out that any maps which were made by the surveyors conducting work on these royal manors used a perch measuring the standard statute-based 16½ feet. They were working to national standard measurements for their maps even when presented by the juries on those manors with customary variations. The customary approach to land holding was therefore effectively under attack by this simple adoption of standard measurements for all land. The map-makers, by standardising those customary variations in

¹⁵ John Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (London: printed for Hugh Astley dwelling at St Magnus Corner, 1607), p.180.

¹⁶ Lawrence, 'John Norden and his colleagues' (1985), p.55, citing 'CLRO, R.C.E. 114D' [an incomplete reference, probably now an item within LMA, CLA/044/03, Royal Contract Estates, Surveys and Rentals]

measurement, were making it much easier to value land at a universally applicable ‘so much per acre’ and were thus facilitating the rationalisation and capitalisation of estate management.

Converting a customary pole or perch to a statute one would not have given the surveyor much trouble, although there would always have been room for errors in arithmetic and disagreements with tenants. But the surveyors themselves did not always understand older systems of measurements. Acres were a case in point, as there could be variations in what was meant by the term. An acre might be a measured acre or a customary acre or a fiscal acre, each with different origins, purposes and measurements. Even so experienced a surveyor as Norden had to admit that he did not understand the fiscal acre or *acre ware*, although he knew it was of ancient origin (‘the true sence being lost by time’).¹⁷ In fact, the *acre ware*, an early medieval innovation, was measured according to the ability of the land to pay *geld* (or tax): for example, two acres of poor land might be valued for the same amount of tax as one acre of more fertile land.¹⁸ The multiplier (and thus the fiscal acreage) would depend on how poor or fertile the land in question was. Norden felt that the *acre ware* was abused by tenants who ‘make it like a finger of waxe, to drawe it more or lesse, as will beste serve their purpose’.¹⁹ It may be that the tenants themselves no longer understood the concept (or used it duplicitously, as Norden inferred), but they still maintained a memory of *ware* land being differently ‘measured’ according to custom, even though the knowledge of why it was different might have been lost. The ‘measurement’ of land, therefore, could be a relative concept and not a fixed absolute. For the medieval surveyor, working in a customary context, this did not present a problem. But once surveyors who measured lands according to geometrical principles began to survey and make maps of the land, the fact that even statutory measurements were subject to customary variation helped to exacerbate the divisions between tenants who defined their land holdings and rights by custom and surveyors working for landlords who wanted to define it purely by standard measurements and corresponding market rents.

¹⁷ Norden, *The Surveyor’s Dialogue* (1607), p.182.

¹⁸ R.H.C. Davis (ed.), *Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds* (London, 1954), pp. xxxiii, xxxvii, 71; Bailey, *The English Manor* (2002), p. 24; Rosamond Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London and Washington, 1997), p. 91, and ‘Social Theory and Agrarian Practice in Early Medieval England: The Land without *Polyptyques*’, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 90, issue 2 (2012), p. 305; David Pratt, ‘Demesne Exemption from Royal Taxation in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England’, *EHR* 128, no. 530 (February 2013), p.10. The most thorough investigations into *acres ware* and warland amongst these are by Faith (1997) and Pratt.

¹⁹ Norden, *The Surveyor’s Dialogue* (1607), p.182.

1.4 Accurate Land Measurement and the Development of Maps

Richard Benese's book, *The maner of measuryng al maner of land* (1537) was the first to instruct surveyors in geometrical techniques for measuring land and it may be no accident that its publication coincided with the dissolution of the English monasteries by King Henry VIII, which created a sudden and vast new market for land to change hands.²⁰ Benese himself had been an Augustinian canon at Merton Priory, and he later became a surveyor of works for the king's royal palaces, but he did not make maps himself, nor did his book instruct surveyors how to make them.²¹

Map-makers themselves continued to make traditional written surveys long after maps became common in the late sixteenth century, however, whether or not they were accompanied by maps. John Darby produced written surveys of lands in the manors of Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk (after 1579), Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh, Suffolk (1589) although no maps are known of these estates at that time.²² When Ralph Agas surveyed the property belonging to Sir Thomas Revett in his home village of Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk, in 1580 and made a written survey, he probably had to hand an earlier rental of 1545 (the compiler of which certainly *did* have a still earlier written exemplar for comparison), but Agas made a map from his, whereas his predecessors did not.²³

Most late sixteenth and early seventeenth century surveyors continued to make traditional (even if by then measured) written surveys, because maps remained a rather specialist niche market, even in a period of rapid development and adoption of them such as the later sixteenth century. Increasing numbers of surveyors, even in an expanding market, meant that there must have been some increased competition for work as both map-maker and surveyor in a period when demand for both was being stimulated and instruction manuals were opening up the secrets of the profession. On the other hand, even in a competitive market, there was still more work for traditional surveyors producing written surveys, compared to the making

²⁰ Thomas Paynell (ed.), Richard Benese, *This boke sheweth the maner of measuryng of all maner of lande as well of woodlande, as of lande in the felde, and comptynge the true nombre of acres of the-same [sic]. Newlye inuented and compylyed by Syr Rycharde Benese Chanon of Marton Abbay besyde Lond on [sic]* (London: 'prynted in Southwarke in Saynt Thomas hospital, by me Iames Nicolson' [1537]).

²¹ Peter Barber, 'England I: Pageantry, Defense, and Government: Maps at Court to 1550', in Buisseret, *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps* (1992), p.39.

²² Holkham Estate Archives, DD/Bu/79; SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12; HB 9 51/2/26; HB 9: 51/2/35 respectively.

²³ SA(I), HA 246/A10/11; HA 108, Acc. 10,515, Box 19, Item 7.

of new-fangled maps, which required the acquisition of new skills and equipment and were expensive to produce. It might well have been seen as a more secure career path to remain a competent traditional surveyor, therefore, even given the increased competition by the end of the century.

It might be significant that later writers of published professional guides which advocated making maps as well as instructing practitioners in surveying, such as John Norden and Aaron Rathborne, occupied positions surveying crown estates. Norden was appointed surveyor of crown woods and forests in southern England in 1600 and surveyor of the duchy of Cornwall in 1605, whilst Rathborne also served as a surveyor of crown estates in the early Jacobean period.²⁴ This may have afforded them some measure of financial security, although Norden also wrote devotional literature when times were lean, and both continued to undertake traditional survey work as well as make maps. Norden's more speculative map-making dream, the *Speculum Britanniae*, was not fulfilled, however, so relying on map-making alone could prove to be risky. Once again, Thompson puts it most pithily:

‘...cartography ... was an elegant by-product of the technical skill of the leading surveyors; they could not live by county maps alone, nor yet by estate maps alone.’²⁵

So just what did lead to the increasing production and use of maps in the later sixteenth century?²⁶ Certainly there were innovations and developments in instrument-making at the time which accompanied the rediscovery of classical mathematical and geometrical texts. These enabled surveyors to acquire technical skills which helped to professionalise the practice of surveying in this period. J.A. Bennett discusses the agenda of mathematical pioneers who wished to do for surveying what they had done to navigation: they had:

²⁴ Sarah Bendall, ‘Aaron Rathborne (b.1571/2), Land Surveyor and Author’, *ODNB* (2004); Frank Kitchen, ‘John Norden (c.1547-1625), Cartographer’, *ODNB* (2008).

²⁵ Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors* (1968), p.16.

²⁶ For a very brief summary of the arguments cited here, see David Buisseret (ed.), *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1992), pp.1-2. The whole question of why maps developed in the sixteenth century in particular is implicit throughout Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993).

‘a grand vision of an integrated domain of subjects all linked in their common dependence on geometry and arithmetic, and together vital to economic, commercial, political and colonial development.’²⁷

The trouble was that most surveyors were unwilling to follow the theoreticians all the way into a highly technological future. As Bennett points out, there is little evidence of the actual use of geometrical quadrants or cross-staves replacing the traditional surveyor’s pole and ropes, even though they are represented in published guides: Christopher Saxton’s 1579 *Atlas* has an illustration of a cross staff on the frontispiece, but whether he actually used one is unknown. Many surveyors did accept the simple theodolite, but the more complex invented instruments such as Digges’s version of the altazimuth theodolite or Arthur Hopton’s ‘geodetical staff’ are significantly rare in museum collections of scientific instruments of the period and may have been ignored. Indeed, working surveyors came up with their own, simpler to understand and use, versions of new technology: the plane table and the circumferator, a kind of surveying compass. Aaron Rathborne, author of *The Surveyor* (1616) and Ralph Agas, both advertising their skills as scientific pioneers in accurate surveying, were scathing of the plane table and its users. Agas relates in his pamphlet *A Preparative to Platting* (1596) how he had been using theodolite and mariner’s compass some twenty years before (i.e. c.1576).²⁸ He scoffs at the plane table users:

‘And in my coming to London, this last Tearme, I saw a plaine Table, man (mary he was a plumber, and had learned from a Painter) in lesse than an acre and halfe, of leuell marrish grounde taken by some foure, stations fel short at his cloase two pearches at the least. And an ancient country measurer at the same time, a man highly regarded among his neighbors, for his vndoubted skill: differed in one hundred & ten akers, two and twenty at the least, in two seuerall measures, taken and set downe onely by himselfe.’²⁹

²⁷ J.A. Bennett, ‘Geometry and Surveying in early-seventeenth-century England’, *Annals of Science*, Vol. 48, No.4, (1991), p.345.

²⁸ Ralph Agas, ‘A Preparative to Platting of Lands and Tenements for Surveyor...’ (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1596), p.16.

²⁹ Agas, ‘A Preparative to Platting’ (1596), pp.[7]-8. Barber surmised that the ‘plane table man’ comment might have been a dig at Ralph Treswell the Elder, but he was a painter himself, not a plumber [Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), p.1644].

The title page of Rathborne's *The Surveyor* shows the expert ('*Artifex*') using proper instruments and literally treading on unskilled or fraudulent non-mathematically trained surveyors, dressed in clowns' costumes: as Netzloff points out, these are the men who use the plane table with 'masterly inactivity' ('*inertia strenua*').³⁰ And yet, as Bennett notes, Rathborne has to include instructions for the use of the plane table, however grudgingly, as it was clearly in such widespread use.³¹ Even Agas had to concede that the plane table was easy to use, saying that a boy of twelve could learn as much in three hours as some practitioners managed to do in practice.³²

Although there is no absolute proof, it seems most likely that John Darby was one of the many surveyors of his age who was scorned by Ralph Agas as 'a plaine table man'. As discussed above, some of Darby's contemporaries such as Agas and Rathborne used the theodolite if not other more technically developed equipment. But Darby's illustrations of surveyors on his maps show surveyors and their assistants carrying simple equipment more associated with the plane table, such as the plumb bob, surveyor's pole (often incorporating the map scale) and dividers, although there are no circumferentors shown.³³ Given the ubiquitous use of the plane table and the limited range of equipment shown by Darby in his illustrations, it seems most likely that he used the plane table himself.

Other factors led to the increase and normalisation of maps during the sixteenth century. Military campaigns in Ireland and Europe gave an impetus to British surveyors to use in practical ways and develop the new skills being promulgated in the early sixteenth century.³⁴ Continental artistic and cartographic output provided a context which was grasped by cultural trend-setters in Britain. The acquisition of former Church property by an emerging class of

³⁰ Aaron Rathborne, *The Surveyor in Foure Bookes* (London: printed by W. Stansby for W. Burre, 1616), title page, online via EEBO and see Mark Netzloff (ed.), *John Norden's The Surveyor's Dialogue* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2010), pp.xiii-xv on Rathborne's title page.

³¹ Bennett, 'Geometry and Surveying in early-seventeenth-century England' (1991), pp.348-352.

³² Agas, 'A Preparative to Platting' (1596), p.8.

³³ Darby shows surveyors and assistants carrying equipment on his maps of Smallburgh (dividers and pole), Blakeney and Cley, Mousehold Heath and Kirton and Falkenham (plumb bob, dividers and pole on all three) and Aldeburgh (plumb bob and dividers). A purse on the surveyor's belt on his Household Heath map could have held a compass or circumferentor although the use of a pitchfork on his Blakeney and Cley map is more of a mystery.

³⁴ Peter Barber, 'England I: Pageantry, Defense, and Government: Maps at Court to 1550', esp. pp.33-37 and Peter Barber, 'England II: Monarchs, Ministers and Maps, 1550-1625', esp. pp.61-62 and p.88, n.31, covering the work to that date on Crown mapping of Ireland by Robert Dunlop, J.H. Andrews and Gerard Hayes-McCoy, all in Buisseret, *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps* (1992); John Hale, 'Warfare and Cartography, c. 1450 to ca. 1640' in Woodward, *Cartography in the European Renaissance* (2007), Part I, pp.719-737.

newly rich landowners seeking gentry status led to the use of the scaled survey to define their holdings in a new light, and maps were used to display their new acquisitions, status and power. But it was ultimately demand rather than the ability to supply which tipped the scales into making maps commonplace. This demand had little to do with intellectual, aesthetic or academic motives or the rediscoveries of classical skills implicit in the Renaissance, and more to do with practical economics. To quote Thompson:

‘the spur to [surveyors’] activities was not the joy of intellectual rediscovery but the gain to be made out of a changing economic and social situation’.³⁵

Harvey also agreed that demand was more important, acknowledging that

‘Cartographic techniques were substantially in advance of the market in Tudor England, ready to be put to use when demand arose. What mattered was the spread of demand, and how map-makers created and fostered this demand for their products. Certain map-makers played a crucial role in this, but no less crucial was the role of their customers. Every map had two parents, the map-maker who drew it and the customer or patron who commissioned it and paid for it’.³⁶

Different factors created this demand for maps. The purposes for which maps were made gradually changed over the sixteenth century, as did the type of patron and practitioner. According to Barber, maps of fortifications and harbours made up to 60% of maps before 1550, but reduced to comprise only 30% between 1550 and 1603.³⁷ Conversely, local maps increased from 25% before 1550 to 40% after it. Crown-commissioned maps dropped following the death of Henry VIII (a highly map-minded king) in 1547 from 65% to 16%, although this relates only to directly-commissioned maps. In the more impoverished Crown context of 1588, Elizabeth’s ministers encouraged private individuals to produce maps for defence against the Armada (such as Edmund York’s of Great Yarmouth in 1588), rather than commissioning their own servants to do so directly.³⁸

³⁵ Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors* (1968), p.2.

³⁶ Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), pp.16-17.

³⁷ Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), p.1609, based on his own analysis of figures given in Bendall, *Dictionary of Land Surveyors*, Vol. I (1997), pp.59-65.

³⁸ Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), p.1611; Bendall, *Dictionary of Land Surveyors*, Vol. I (1997), pp.17, 20.

Perhaps the biggest spur to stimulating demand for maps, however, came with Christopher Saxton's county maps (1574-1579) and atlas (1583) which boosted knowledge of maps generally amongst the literate public, particularly the land-owning gentry. Harvey emphasises the importance of Saxton's county maps to the rise of estate mapping very explicitly, stating that, 'but for Saxton's county maps in the 1570s, there would have been no estate maps in the 1580s'.³⁹ He also notes that none of the estate maps he discussed were 'older than Saxton's map of the relevant county'.⁴⁰ Once more, Saxton's was a project paid for privately, although having an advantage to the state. William Cecil, Lord Burghley certainly saw proofs of the plans and corrected them, but the initial patronage belonged to Cecil's friend Thomas Seckford of Woodbridge, Suffolk, Master of the Court of Requests and subsequently Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries, whose arms appear on Saxton's earliest maps. Such map-minded men saw the usefulness of maps for the state. They also saw maps as new tools of estate administration for their own manors, and it was estate maps as a genre which increased most in the second half of the sixteenth century: some 40% of late sixteenth century surveyors (Darby included) made them.⁴¹

The increase in estate mapping was also due to a combination of factors, largely to do with economic change and the expanding land market. The dissolution of the monasteries and sale of religious guilds' and chantry lands caused a sudden and major expansion in the land market from mid-century onwards. As a result, self-made men saw the opportunity to purchase their own estates and become gentlemen, whilst those already in the ranks of the gentry or aristocracy snatched the opportunity for further land purchases and profit. For many of the newly enriched particularly, surveys were an obvious way to 'know one's own' property.⁴² A map, however, aside from its use as an estate management tool, was also a clear visual statement which could be used to display a person's wealth and power to all who saw it, as will be discussed further in Chapter Five. The enormous wall-mounted map, comprising many skins of parchment and beautifully coloured and decorated, made by Essex map-maker Israel

³⁹ P.D.A. Harvey, 'Estate Surveyors and the Spread of the Scale-map in England 1550-80' reprinted in P. D. A. Harvey, *Manors and Maps in Rural England, from the Tenth Century to the Seventeenth*. (Farnham, UK and Burlington, USA: Ashgate, Variorum Collected Studies Series 950, 2010, originally published in *Landscape History*, Vol. 15, Part 1 (1993), pp. 37-49), Section XV, p.15.

⁴⁰ Harvey, 'Estate Surveyors and the Spread of the Scale-map' (1993, reprinted 2010), Section XV, p.15, n.30.

⁴¹ Bendall, *Dictionary of Land Surveyors*, Vol. I (1997), pp.20-24.

⁴² John Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (London: printed for Hugh Astley dwelling at St Magnus Corner, 1607), p.4, and cited in Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England 1500-1660* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.178.

Amyce for Sir William Cordell of Long Melford Hall, Suffolk, is still on display in the house there, and is a good example of such a map.

Estate ownership could, and often did, lead to disputes, however, and maps were increasingly used in lawsuits concerning land as the sixteenth century progressed. Eden explains their growing use as symptomatic of a number of other innovations which were occurring in the royal courts, especially under the rapidly-developing equity jurisdiction under Elizabeth I, equating map use to what Eden describes as:

‘the displacement of oral evidence by written submissions and of Latin by the English language, even of obsolete specialised handwritings by the new-fangled italic. These were practical reforms, and the map, which permitted court officials operating at a distance from the local contention to appreciate the terrain, falls easily into context.’⁴³

It was not just the law-courts who saw the practicality of maps as conveyors of detailed information for the viewer at a distance, in time or space. Ralph Agas, claimed the eureka moment for him came in about 1576, when he realised how useful a map could be in the future to show land ownership of estates by accurately mapping their boundaries using the latest technological methods:

‘About twenty yeares since, in the controuersie for a sheeps course or walke, my hap was to be employed for laying out of the mariners compasse, which directed the circuit & bounds of the same course, by measures of pearches, & the points of that instrument: I tracted the same by my Theodolite, in such sort, as I fitted the booke, found truly the bounds, & lighted vpon the dooles, that were sunke two or three foot into the ground, wherby I considered of what force a bounder by plat might be in time to come, which carrieth the hedges at a haire breadth by a circular diuision of infinite parts.’⁴⁴

This statement occurs in an advertisement for his services, it is true, but his description of the boundary markers (‘dooles’), possibly large stones, having sunk into the ground and vanished from view shows an example of the way in which customary memorialisation of land ownership could easily disappear over time and how a map could replace it. Having a

⁴³ Eden, ‘Three Elizabethan Estate Surveyors’ (1983), p.77.

⁴⁴ Agas, ‘A Preparative to Platting’ (1596), p.16.

‘bounder by plat’ was to have a checkable, measureable, reproducible representation of land ownership, committed to paper or parchment and not dependent on the oaths of lifelong inhabitants, who might have their own axes to grind. Agas reveals a characteristically cynical attitude towards the motivations of the tenantry (as does Norden in his comments about the *acre ware*), accusing them of

‘blemishing and plucking vp of bounders and meres, besides altering and changing the names of furlongs, waies, chases and pathes, yea and taking away the vse of the same, notwithstanding their auncient and faire bookes, for the abbuttals thereof’.

He claimed that maps, on the other hand formed permanent and immutable legal records:

‘the surueigh by plat suffereth no such inconuenience, but shall be for continuall euidence, and perpetuall preseruation of all Landes and tenements … that are contained and set downe in the same.’⁴⁵

For Agas and surveyors like him, maps helped to prevent fraud and ushered in a new, legalistic view of land-holding which increasingly changed the way in which land was viewed. In Thompson’s words:

‘…the concept of landed property as a bundle of assorted rights over different bits of territory gave way to the idea that property lay in definable pieces of soil, that every field ought to belong to someone, an idea that cried aloud for commitment to paper’.⁴⁶

Maps, then, represented much more than a mere change in or addition to format in the documents a surveyor produced. The spread of maps mirrored a change in attitudes within society relating to land ownership and the relationship between landlord and tenant. The feudal idea of the protective lord and loyal tenant was probably always something of an unfulfilled ideal, but it was at heart a customary and oral system, which depended on a common understanding of land ownership, use and occupation. A court of survey, administered by the manorial surveyor, was a formal procedure based on the witness of previous ages and practices by older members of the community. A tenant’s inheritance of his land was on the custom of the manor, which, in theory, was sacrosanct, the lord having no

⁴⁵ Agas, ‘A Preparative to Platting’ (1596), p.15.

⁴⁶ Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors* (1968), p.10.

power to alter custom according to his own whim. Likewise, the tenant was expected to uphold his part of the bargain, attending the lord's manorial court and giving services as laid down by the same custom for lands or rights which stayed in the minds of their contemporaries, who might be called upon in periodic courts of survey to recite ancient custom, practice and occupation of particular lands. It was a strongly paternalistic and hierarchical system, memorialised orally according to custom and long practice, with written records following the form of this custom and tradition.

During the sixteenth century, this traditional structure was gradually replaced by an increasingly capitalist system, in which the value of the land market increasingly dictated the relationship between landlord and tenant in monetary terms. As McRae states:

‘Landownership is figured as reducible to facts and figures: a conception which inevitably undermines the matrix of duties and responsibilities which had previously been seen to define the manorial community. In the perception of the surveyor, the land is defined as property, as the landlord's 'own'.⁴⁷

It is no coincidence that the erosion of custom in manorial land-holding and the socio-economic changes such as enclosure and the commercialisation of land-holding which characterised the period went hand-in-hand with the rise of the professionalization of the surveyor, who played a key part in valuing and measuring lands which had previously formed part of a customarily memorialised landscape.⁴⁸ As we shall see in Chapter Two, the involvement of surveyors in this kind of process meant that they became figures to be feared as creatures of grasping landlords and disliked by tenants of manors experiencing change. Darby was well aware of this and expressed it graphically on his maps, as we shall see.

1.5 Map-makers' Backgrounds and Occupations

Surveyors had a long history as Crown and manorial officials, often being of gentry status. But the measuring surveyors who became map-makers in the late sixteenth century were a more mixed cohort. Although Darby's training remains a mystery, he did have something in common with the kind of men who made Henry VIII's maps of fortifications earlier in the

⁴⁷ McRae, *God Speed the Plough* (1996), p.178.

⁴⁸ Andrew McRae, 'To Know One's Own: Estate Surveying and the Representation of Land in Early Modern England', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 4, (Autumn 1993), p.333.

century. Barber points out that many Henrician maps were produced by men trained as artisans in trades requiring some skills in measurement: he estimates that some twenty per cent of English map-makers before 1550 were gunners or masons, indicating the importance of these professions to the acquisition of map-making skills for the earliest English map-makers.⁴⁹ Such men were:

‘humble-born Englishmen with no formal professional engineering or cartographic training. ... Masons like Richard Lee and John Rogers would have been familiar with measured architectural plans, and surveyor-administrators like the Suffolk squire Richard Cavendish (Caundish) (the father of the circumnavigator Thomas Cavendish and an expert in gunnery) probably had some form of mathematical training.’⁵⁰

Darby was the son of a carpenter, so, like the masons Lee and Rogers, he would have been familiar with the practical importance of the measurement of length and angles from boyhood. Darby can be directly compared, therefore, not only to them, but more directly to his contemporary, the surveyor and map-maker John Walker the Elder of Hanningfield, Essex, known also as ‘the Architector’, a term more used for house designers and builders. Walker had links with the Essex surveyor Israel Amyce as well as Ralph Agas of Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk, although, as with Darby, there is no explicit information as to where or by whom Walker was actually trained as a map-maker. As Brian Smith points out, Walker’s house-building, in the period of the popularly-termed ‘great rebuilding’ in England, might well have informed his detailed depiction of houses on his exquisite maps.⁵¹ If Darby’s father also built houses (and the vernacular building style in Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, where John Darby grew up also involved timber-framed buildings as it did in Essex), the same might also be said of Darby.

There were many late sixteenth century surveyors who must have found that, in Thompson’s phrase, ‘they could not live by county maps alone, nor yet by estate maps alone’. Christopher Saxton was probably in a minority in having no other known strings to his surveying and map-making bow, although he must have found the financial rewards of a ten-year licence to

⁴⁹ Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), p.1616.

⁵⁰ Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), p.1607.

⁵¹ A.C. Edwards and K.C. Newton, *The Walkers of Hanningfield: Surveyors and Mapmakers Extraordinary* (London: Buckland Publications Ltd., 1984), p. 23, citing Brian Smith, ‘The Walker Family of West Hanningfield’ (typescript, 1965).

reproduce his maps and the royal grant of a manor a welcome addition to his income.⁵² Sarah Tyacke cites Eden's precursor to Bendall's *Dictionary* in saying that:

‘the estate surveyors who drew maps were also schoolmasters, instrument-makers, mathematical practitioners, masons, manorial stewards and engineers.’⁵³

Others chose, or were obliged, to do other jobs to supplement their income from surveying, which Bendall points out was common up to the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ Ralph Agas, who was more of a full-time professional surveyor and map-maker than most, was also rector of Gressenhall, Norfolk 1578-1583, although he had been working as a surveyor since about 1566.⁵⁵ He also held a sinecure as a sub-sacristan at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from 1588, after having been sacked as the College's surveyor in 1583.⁵⁶ Thomas Waterman the Elder was another clergyman map-maker, being rector of Great Ryburgh, Norfolk, 1576-1624 whilst making maps and surveys throughout his incumbency. Like Agas, he seems to have been a prickly character and had a difficult relationship with the patron of his living (see Chapter 4).⁵⁷ William Bredon (fl. 1590s-1638) of East Tuddenham, Norfolk, later of Thornton, Buckinghamshire, was a clergyman, schoolmaster and astrologer, eventually serving as domestic chaplain to Sir Christopher Heydon (1561-1623) and assisting him in the writing of his book, *A Defence of Judiciall Astrologie* (1603). Tobias Gentleman of Great Yarmouth was the son of a fisherman and another writer: he urged the adoption of Dutch ship designs and techniques to improve herring fisheries, publishing *England's way to win wealth, and to employ ships and mariners* in 1614.

Ralph Treswell the Elder was a Citizen and Painter Stainer of London, probably specialising in heraldic painting, whilst William Smith was a herald at the College of Arms, serving as Rouge Dragon Pursuivant 1597-1618, although he was also a Citizen and Haberdasher of London, playwright, innkeeper, merchant and traveller at various times in his life.⁵⁸ Although

⁵² David Fletcher, ‘Christopher Saxton (1542x4-1610/11)’, *ODNB* (2004).

⁵³ Tyacke, *English Map-Making 1500-1650* (1983), p.14.

⁵⁴ Bendall, *Maps, land and society* (2009), pp.114-9.

⁵⁵ Sarah Bendall, ‘Agas, Radulph [Ralph] (c. 1540–1621), land surveyor’ *ODNB*, (2004).

⁵⁶ Thomas Fowler, *The History of Corpus Christi College with Lists of its Members* (Oxford: Clarendon Press for the Oxford Historical Society, 1893), p.426 (though the entry for Agas as sub-sacristan is not indexed); C.M. Woolgar, ‘Some Draft Estate Maps of the Early Seventeenth Century’, *The Cartographic Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 2, (Dec 1985), p.136.

⁵⁷ Bendall, *Dictionary of Land Surveyors*, Vol. II (1997), entry W 135; J. Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses ... 1261-1900* (1922-1954).

⁵⁸ John Schofield, ‘Treswell, Ralph (c. 1540–1616/17), painter–stainer and surveyor’, *ODNB* (2004); David Kathman, ‘Smith, William (c. 1550–1618), herald and playwright’, *ODNB* (2004).

John Darby came from a family background of carpentry, there is no evidence that Darby ever worked as a carpenter, although he may well have worked as some kind of manorial or estate official for others until his personal circumstances changed and allowed him to live the life of a gentleman (see Chapter Three).

Being a gentleman did not preclude working as a surveyor. Like the army, the law and the Church, it was considered to be an appropriate profession to practice without incurring loss of status. Indeed, it could be seen as a reflection of a gentleman's education and a necessary pre-requisite of the management of his estate. The gentlemanly map-maker and circumnavigator Thomas Cavendish of Trimley St Mary, Suffolk may have benefitted from training in mathematics and in geometrical principles such as triangulation, as published by Gemma Frisius in his edition of Apianus's *Cosmographia* (1533), later explained in English in William Cunningham's *The Cosmographical Glasse* (1559) which used his native Norwich as his model.⁵⁹ Henry Peacham's later guide to being *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) had a chapter on geometry, in which he notes that 'in briefe, the vse you shall haue of Geometry, will be in suruaying your lands'.⁶⁰ Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland imprisoned in the Tower 1605-21, wrote advice for his son in 1609 including guidance on estate management so that he could be sure his estate manager and servants were not cheating him:

'The first of these (principles) I have so explained and laboured by books of surveys, plots of manors and records, that the fault will be your own, if you understand them not in a very short time better than any servant you have. They are not difficult now they are done, they are easy and yet cost me much time and much expense to reduce them into order; by them shall you direct and see when your causes proceed well or evill, slowly or swiftly [...]. For you to sit at the helm of your estate, to direct well with expedition and ease, will be a means of upholding your honour with a good report, without the dislike of your neighbours, whose goods otherwise necessity will cause you to covet.'⁶¹

⁵⁹ Bennett, 'Geometry and Surveying in early-seventeenth-century England' (1991), p.346; Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps* (1999), p58-59.

⁶⁰ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (Imprinted at London by John Legat for Francis Constable and are to bee sold at his shop at the white lion in Paules Churchyard, 1622), p.77.

⁶¹ Bendall, *Dictionary of Land Surveyors*, Vol. I (1997), p.29, citing G.B. Harrison (ed.), *Advice to his son by Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland* (1609), (London: E. Benn Limited, 1930), p.77.

Other gentlemen undertook surveys and made maps themselves, either for their own purposes, or for other people's. The Suffolk gentleman John Hunt (or le Huntte) of Little Bradley made a map of Sturmer Mere, Essex in 1571 for a legal case in which he was involved as a commissioner.⁶² He also worked professionally as a surveyor for Sir Nicholas Bacon.⁶³ George Sampson of Harkstead, Suffolk was the gentleman whose name appeared before that of Ralph Agas on their map of West Lexham, Norfolk (1575).⁶⁴ George Sawer of Cawston, Norfolk, also served as an extremely conscientious parish officer and was, in Susan Dwyer Amussen's terms, 'a perfect example of the 'rising gentry'.⁶⁵ William Humberstone (variously spelt) was MP for Dunwich and, like Norden and Rathborne, worked for the Crown, being surveyor for the Duchy of Lancaster from the late 1550s and surveyor of Crown lands in Norfolk and Suffolk.⁶⁶ He also surveyed lands confiscated from various noblemen implicated in the Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy in 1572.⁶⁷

Some gentlemen acted as manorial stewards, another role which was not seen as beneath their status. The chorographer Robert Ryece, of Preston, Suffolk, was steward of Canterbury Cathedral's manor of Monks Eleigh, Suffolk although he is not known to have made any maps.⁶⁸ Others may have claimed their gentlemanly status through their profession as surveyors, as might have been the case for John Hollond of Bramford, Suffolk, gentleman, a neighbour of John Darby, who was steward of Eton College's manor of Creeting, Suffolk, in 1606 and in 1592 had made a written survey of the College's manor of Blakenham nearby, together with a map.⁶⁹ Darby defined himself as a gentleman in later life and part of his status might have come from his surveying work, but even if it came through the acquisition of riches through other means, this did not stop him making maps and surveys. Thomas Seckford

⁶² TNA, MPC 1/33, with related papers at TNA, DL 4/13/5, illustrated and discussed in Rose Mitchell and Andrew Janes, *Maps: Their Untold Stories: Map Treasures from The National Archives* (London: TNA, 2014), pp.36-37.

⁶³ Tony Campbell's Index to Manuscript Maps and Plans in the British Library, p.177 (Norfolk), citing BL, Add MS 14850; Diarmaid MacCulloch (ed.), *Letters from Redgrave Hall: The Bacon Family 1340-1744*, Suffolk Records Society, Volume 50 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008 [paperback, first published 2007]), pp: 32, 45-8, 54-5, 114, 146.

⁶⁴ Original map at Holkham Hall Estate Archives M/92; photographic copies at BL, Cartographic Items 188.n.1 (10) and NRO, MS 21128, 179X4 (4 sheets, part of the Norwich Public Library Manuscript Collection).

⁶⁵ Susan Dwyer Amussen, 'A Norfolk Village: Cawston, 1595-1605' *History Today*, Vol. 46, Issue 4 (Apr. 1986), p.16; Susan D. Amussen, 'Sawer, George (d.1627)' *ODNB* (2008).

⁶⁶ M.N. 'Humberston, William (d.1574), of Dunwich, Suff.', in P.W. Hasler (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1981).

⁶⁷ Lawrence, 'John Norden and his colleagues' (1985), p.54; TNA, E 164/37-38.

⁶⁸ Aldous, *Monks Eleigh Manorial Records* (2022), pp.272-3.

⁶⁹ Eton College Archives, ECR 32 153 (Court Baron, 27 March 1606); ECR 29 157; ECR 51 001.

of Woodbridge, Suffolk, Master of the Court of Requests and commissioner of Christopher Saxton's county maps also seems to have had a personal working knowledge of surveying, as shown in a letter to William Smart, one of the bailiffs (joint mayors) of Ipswich in 1569 by the surveyor Robert Doon. In a boundary dispute, Doon refers to a fortuitously found documentary source which disproved Seckford's own findings:

‘sance I was there by happ hathe com[m]ed to my hand p[ro]bable evidence of King Henry the [iiijth] or viijth] his days to dasprove the [buttell?] that the Master of the Requests redd upon the grounde [there?].⁷⁰

Seckford, it seems, was capable of surveying, even though in this case, his work was contradicted by Doon.

Surveyors could be drawn from a number of different occupations and backgrounds, therefore. What all had to have in common was literacy and a reasonable level of education. Numeracy was useful and some also had spatial skills from skilled artisanal backgrounds. It is impossible to impute motivations, but the occupations found so far hint at them also being intellectually curious men who took advantage of their opportunities. Above all the majority were either gentlemen, or aspired to become gentlemen.

1.6 Numbers of Sixteenth Century Surveyors

When John Darby was born, around 1553, maps were still relatively rare although continental map-making influences were beginning to be felt in Britain.⁷¹ Darby, a Suffolk carpenter's son, was unlikely to have seen a map in his youth, although he was to become one of the increasing number of English surveyors who made maps by the 1580s. Exact numbers are difficult to estimate. There are many reasons for this, not least because we simply do not know how much surveyors' work, both as written surveys or maps, has been lost over the centuries. It is also difficult to differentiate between traditional surveyors, involved in estate management and only making written surveys of land, and those who *did* make maps as well, since maps may not have survived for the latter.

⁷⁰ SA(I), HD 36/A/37.

⁷¹ Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), pp.1595-1608.

The numbers of surveyors listed in the standard reference work, Bendall's *Dictionary*, gives an idea of their increase during the sixteenth century: for the whole country, the number of surveyors and map-makers commencing their careers increases from 28 for the period 1513-1545 to 235 for 1546-1602.⁷² Their spread, county by county across the country, is shown graphically by Bendall in the map reproduced below (Fig. 11).⁷³ It shows that Suffolk and Norfolk are two of the counties (almost all of them south-east of the Severn/Wash line) where the highest proportion of surveyors were living and working in the second half of the sixteenth century. Indeed, for the whole of the sixteenth century, the number of those working or living in Suffolk alone is 37 according to Bendall's *Dictionary*: more than the number working over the whole country in the first half of the century. This is the locational context within which Darby worked.

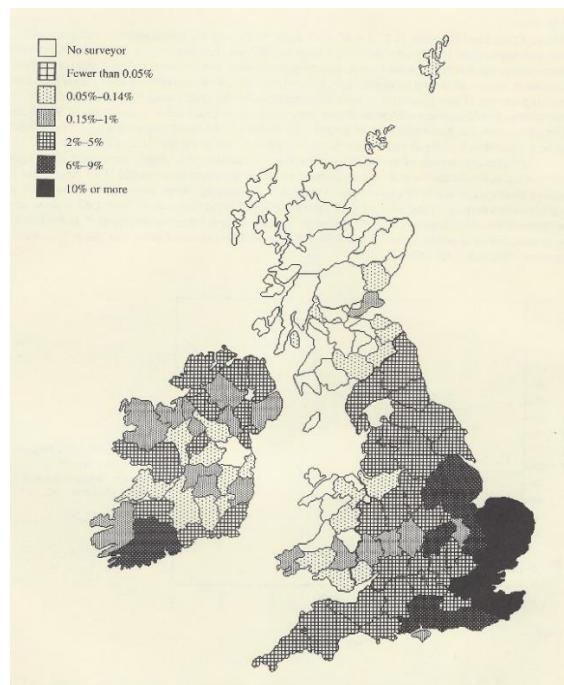


Fig. 11. Surveyors who commenced working between 1546 and 1602, by county.⁷⁴

⁷² Bendall, *Dictionary of Land Surveyors*, Vol. I (1997), p.10 and p.18, Fig.10. Her criteria for inclusion by date are each surveyor's first appearance in records or, if birth dates are known, when the surveyor reached 20 years of age. First appearance in records might have changed since compilation of her lists if subsequent examples of work have been discovered since 1997 (as with Darby, for example), but not so widely as to skew these results in a major way.

⁷³ Sarah Bendall (ed.), *Dictionary of Land Surveyors* (1997) Vol. I, p.18, Fig. 10. In earlier editions of the *Dictionary of Land Surveyors* (Peter Eden's, 1975, 1976 and 1979) a similar map shows surveying and mapping in England and Wales 1470-1640, with only Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex and Sussex having more than 3 surveyors per 100,000 acres.

⁷⁴ Sarah Bendall (ed.), *Dictionary of Land Surveyors* (1997) Vol. I, p.18, Fig. 10, reproduced with the author's kind permission.

A comparison of figures for other counties also suggests that more surveyors were employed in Suffolk and Norfolk than in most counties of England. Bendall's cartobibliography of Cambridgeshire covers only estate maps and their makers and does not pre-date c.1600, but she notes 20 Cambridgeshire estate surveyors starting their careers between 1600 and 1700, when numbers had presumably increased since the previous century on the basis of Bendall's *Dictionary* analysis. She compares this number with other researchers' figures of 18 for Warwickshire in the seventeenth century, 50 practising in Essex before 1700 and 60 in Kent.⁷⁵ Of the 340 Norfolk surveyors of all kinds 1550-1850 cited by Eden, only 25 operated there before 1625.⁷⁶ Norfolk and especially Suffolk appear to be something of a hot-spot for surveyors in the sixteenth century, therefore, so John Darby is useful as a case study in an area rich with surveyors.

Several factors contributed to the relatively high concentration of map-making surveyors in East Anglia and other counties of southern and eastern England at the time. Firstly, there were earlier precedents, despite the relative paucity of maps in the medieval period. As Delano-Smith and Kain point out, most surviving English medieval maps come from south-east of a line between the Wash and the head of the Severn estuary, which had the highest density of population, enjoyed greater economic activity and wealth, and was home to a number of Benedictine monastic scriptoria where one might find the expertise and motivation to make them.⁷⁷ The southern and eastern counties were also those parts of England facing continental Europe, and relatively easy sea links facilitated the importation of books, maps, prints, works of art and other cultural artifacts as well as new ideas, including new Protestant religious thinking. The first few years of Elizabeth's reign saw the publication of the Protestant *Geneva Bible* (1560), which contained maps for the first time, and those who could afford them could buy sheet maps from France, Germany, Italy and the Low Countries, or atlases such as

⁷⁵ A. Sarah Bendall, *Maps, land and society: a history, with a carto-bibliography of Cambridgeshire estate maps, c.1600-1836* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, first published 1992), p.81.

⁷⁶ Peter Eden, 'Land surveyors in Norfolk 1550-1850, pt. I: the Estate Surveyors', *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxv, iv, (1973), p.474; Peter Eden, 'Land surveyors in Norfolk 1550-1850, pt. II: the Surveyors of Enclosure', *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxvi, ii, (1975), esp. pp.128-146. This number is certainly too low: Eden's list does not include John Darby (then unknown), for example, and probably others.

⁷⁷ Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger Kain, *English Maps* (London: British Library, 1999), pp.28-29 and 44-46 respecting the maps produced by Matthew Paris (d.1259) a monk of the Benedictine house of St Albans in his *Chronica maiora* and *Historia Angorum*.

Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) or Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572) to adorn their study walls or library shelves.⁷⁸

The southern and eastern counties were also the parts of England most at risk from the possibility of foreign invasion in times of war, prompting state-commissioned maps of coastal defences, notably in Henry VIII's reign as well as later in Elizabeth's, particularly under the threat from the Spanish Armada.⁷⁹ Henry VIII's high military expenditure on defensive fortifications between 1539 and 1547 is mirrored by the maps made of those areas as well as the fortifications themselves.⁸⁰ Sir Richard Cavendish mapped the mouth of the Thames reaching up to the southern Suffolk coast in 1540, and made a chart of the Essex and Suffolk Coasts between the Naze and Bawdsey between about 1539 and 1544.⁸¹ The latter of these, plus another, anonymous, chart of the coast of Suffolk from Orwell Haven to Gorleston [c.1539] show the earliest known visual representations of the town of Ipswich, although it is not on the coastline as such.⁸²

It is unlikely that John Darby saw, or even knew of, these Henrician maps, but the local gentry who were his patrons and who had local militia responsibilities might well have had access to particular maps for the defence of the region, as well as printed sheet maps or atlases in their libraries which might have inspired a young jobbing surveyor with artistic talents to spread his wings into map-making as well.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the late sixteenth century surveyor was a different breed to his predecessor from the beginning of the century. In 1500, surveyors' work was steeped in the medieval precedents that had defined their occupation for centuries. The traditional written surveys they produced followed a long-standing format and reflected a customary social and landholding system. Landlord and tenant were theoretically linked by the act of fealty into a personal bond of loyalty and protection. The written surveys that traditional surveyors

⁷⁸ Delano-Smith and Kain, *English Maps* (1999), p.49; Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1608.

⁷⁹ Both monarchs also engaged in military campaigns in Ireland, leading to higher proportions of map-production there, discussed in the publications of the most specialist scholar in this area, J.H. Andrews.

⁸⁰ Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1604.

⁸¹ BL, Cotton MSS. Aug. I.i.53; Cotton MSS. Aug. I.i.57.

⁸² BL, Cotton MSS. Aug. I.i.58.

produced were documents which faced two ways. To the tenants, they were a means of preserving the memories of the senior members of the tenantry who walked around the estate with the surveyor and contributed to its contents about the holdings, services and customs of the manor. To the landlord, it was a periodic re-clarification of his rents and income and represented a snap-shot of the state of his or her manor. The surveyor was a periodic recorder of the customary situation of the estate. But as Harvey demonstrates, this was not a ‘map-minded’ age and maps remained rare because there was little point in making them.

As this chapter has shown, surveyors’ work changed as the sixteenth century progressed. Different factors caused or facilitated change. By mid-century, the value of measured surveys and maps began to be felt in the field of military fortifications. Surveying manuals began to include instructions for using geometric principles to measure land. Technical instrumentation developed, but even measuring surveyors did not always use them all. As the Westminster law courts increasingly demanded maps to make judgements about the increasing number of lawsuits over land ownership or boundaries, they became more accepted.

The expanding land market after the Dissolution and sale of religious guild and chantry land increased conveyances and not all of them were to existing landowners. Men who had made fortunes through trade or the law, for example, could buy estates and live like gentlemen. Such new men were inclined to see customary estate management as presenting obstacles to economic efficiency, especially in a time of inflation and a rising population. Landlords, and the new breed of surveyors who worked for them, were less sympathetic to a customary landholding system with strange kinds of tenure and non-standard and inconsistent measurements. For the measuring surveyors such as Agas and Norden, maps represented a modern, scientific, legally accepted view of the land which was immutable and proof against fraud and secrecy.

This chapter has demonstrated that it was mainly demand for maps which led to their rapid growth from the 1570s and this was almost wholly due to the influence of Christopher Saxton’s county maps, published between 1574 and 1579. These found their way into every gentleman’s library and inspired in the same gentlemen the desire to have estate maps of their own lands. These objects of desire had practical uses but were also used as projections of the landlord’s ownership of the land and his knowledge of it even if he were an absentee landlord. Map-makers in the late sixteenth century were therefore people who gave clients what they

wanted to have: objects of utility which were also objects projecting power, taste, ownership over land and the people who lived on it.

Map-making went hand-in-hand with the expansion in the land-market and changing attitudes to the dominance of custom in landholding. Agas and Norden expressed this new way of seeing and controlling land based on the map as scientific, objective and unchallengeable. In working for the Crown, both men were part of an efficiency drive to make the Crown's estates profitable so had similar principles. If 'Ten-Acre Field' was measured and mapped as eleven acres, at so much an acre, then the tenant's rent had to be increased, never mind that he and his ancestors had paid the same 8d. a year rent for the past century or more and served as the manorial hayward. If the tenant claimed the right to take timber from his hedgerows, but the evidence did not appear in any written form, then there was no such right. If it were written down, then a landlord might conveniently 'lose' the document. Sharp practice could aggravate the effects of the changeover to a capitalised system. Maps allowed landlords to reduce estate administration to a monetarised system based purely on financial transactions. As will be shown in Chapter Two, their role in the new move to make land pay made them highly unpopular, and not without reason.

In a change of scale, this chapter has also provided narrower contexts for this study of surveyors. The first has investigated their backgrounds and the occupations from which some of them sprang or which they maintained alongside their surveying or map-making. As might be expected, those with spatially skilled backgrounds are present, through the work of Darby himself and carpenters such as the Walkers in Essex. A good standard of literacy and education were also prerequisites for surveyors who nonetheless undertook a number of occupations as well as surveying. The pool of occupations includes clergymen, an astrologer, fisherman, professional painters, herald and parish officer. Surveying was also seen as a gentlemanly accomplishment which a gentleman could do, and be paid for, without loss of status as suggested in Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622). Surveying was a useful skill for the administration of a gentleman's estates, and one which he needed to ensure his steward was not cheating him. For those who were not born as gentlemen, like Darby and Sawer, it could be a means to achieve gentlemanly status and so was a profession with attractive prospects.

Finally this chapter has shown a more local, East Anglian context for surveying, concentrating on a part of the country rich in surveyors, where Darby did all his work. This will help to contextualise him as a case study. Nationally, the number of surveyors beginning their careers in the second half of the sixteenth century compared to the first half increased by almost ten times. A considerably large proportion lived or worked in Norfolk and Suffolk in the later sixteenth century. And yet the numbers were still quite small. Only 25 surveyors worked in Norfolk before 1625 and only 37 in Suffolk during the whole of the sixteenth century. This suggests that their networks must have been quite small and that they had a potentially large impact for their small number.

Surveying was an occupation which lent itself to being a part-time occupation for many and a gentlemanly pursuit with a practical purpose for those with estates to manage. Some used it as a stepping stone to gentility, in status if not so much in assets, whilst for others it was a full-time profession, but for most, it could be a precarious living on its own. For Darby, the profession may well have begun his social rise, but did he became as rich as he did from his surveying and map-making alone? In the next chapter we will investigate the experience of being a surveyor, how much they might expect to be paid, or not, as the case may be, and how disliked they were as a profession.

CHAPTER TWO

BEING A SURVEYOR

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore some aspects of what it was like to be a surveyor in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, particularly with respect to their unpopularity and their payment. Without many detailed personal sources such as diaries or letters, it is impossible to be comprehensive about any one surveyor's life. But it is possible to attempt to put together some common features and extrapolate those elements to give an impression of what surveyors's lives were like and how they were perceived more generally.

The chapter will begin by looking at surveyors' axiomatic unpopularity through the lens of John Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607). Andrew McRae has used Norden's work to illustrate the role of surveyors in the changing attitudes to land ownership and social cohesion in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.¹ He argues that surveyors' work to use measurement to achieve a 'perfect knowledge' of an estate empowered landlords at the expense of the tenants and contributed to the erosion of custom and the rise of the capitalisation of estates. Knowledge and ownership have different meanings to landlord and tenant. Each believes they 'own' the land, the landlord because of his legal right under a feudally-based landholding system, the tenant because he lives on and works the land. In a custom-based estate management system, the tenant's holding of land was reasonably secure as custom constrained the lord from behaving unreasonably, just as it defined the role of the tenant to pay his rent and provide any services laid down by his tenure. But, especially with the economical efficiencies attempted in the Great Survey of Crown estates in the early years of King James's reign, described by Richard Hoyle and others, tenure became a financial

¹ See Andrew McRae, 'To Know One's Own: Estate Surveying and the Representation of Land in Early Modern England', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 4, (Autumn 1993), pp.333-357 and his *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England 1500-1660* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

transaction, custom became an obstruction to be got rid of and the personal relationship between lord and tenant was severed.²

This chapter will examine examples of these changing attitudes in the activities of Ralph Agas, a surveyor of Crown lands during the Great Survey, in 1600 and c.1604, extorting payments out of the tenants of Pulham and subverting their customary rights. His challenge to the security of their tenure was an existential threat and it is not hard to see why the tenants protested by petition to the Lord Treasurer. This fear of tenants of losing their land is examined further in this chapter through a record-keeping lens too. Hoyle's work on the Great Survey points out the dispute between various officials about record-keeping, and existing gaps in the records of manors where surveyors worked will be explored, with particular reference to John Darby's widow.³ Darby's use of images of surveyors being attacked by dogs as a marker of their unpopularity will also be discussed.

In the chapter's second section, missing records will be picked up and further explored in the context of leverage for the payment of surveyor's bills. Surveyors' variable rates of pay have been discussed by several authors, including Sarah Bendall, Heather Lawrence, Heather Falvey and Frank Kitchen. Using their findings as historiographical context, payment of surveyors will be further examined in this chapter by looking at the case of Robert Doon of Ipswich, Suffolk. A contract (1569) survives for his surveying work as well as some bills of the same year, whilst some of his unpaid bills were recited in his will of 1593. John Hollond of Claydon also retained documents from his client in an effort to obtain his fee in 1599/1600. Both cases will be discussed with reference to the ensuing absence from archives of records of places where surveyors are known to have worked.

2.2 'Evill and Unprofitable': The Surveyors Dogged by Unpopularity

Sixteenth and early seventeenth century surveyors were not always well-regarded. The Everyman figure of Farmer in the opening lines of John Norden's famous treatise on surveying, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607) expressed a common opinion of surveyors:

² Richard Hoyle, "Shearing the Hog" (1992), p.228.

³ Richard Hoyle, "Shearing the Hog" (1992), p.215.

‘I have heard much evill of the Profession, and to tell you my conceit plainly, I thinke the same both evill and unprofitable.’⁴

A number of factors combined together to form a perfect storm against surveyors’ reputations. The growth of geometrical measurement and the making of maps by surveyors co-incided with changes in agricultural practice (particularly enclosure), and the capitalisation of the land market in a period of high inflation. Surveyors’ involvement in these processes meant they were blamed for the worst aspects of the changes taking place: they facilitated changes seen as landlordly oppression and were perceived as either untrained or duplicitous, cheating people under the pretence of supplying their services. Unpopular surveyors formed a recognised stereotype in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century with regard especially to enclosure. Donald Lupton lambasted them in terms of the implicit violence and deceit practiced on innocent tenants:

‘The Surueyor is [the land-lord’s] Quartermaster, which goes like a Beare with a Chaine at his side, his two or three of the Parishoners, who walk with him, and helpe him to vndoe themselues.’⁵

Norden’s Farmer has further criticisms of the defensive Surveyor in his book:

‘... you pry into men’s titles and estates, under the name (forsooth) of surveyors, whereby you bring men and matter in question oftentimes, that would (as long time they have) lye without question. And oftentimes you are the cause that men lose their land: and sometimes they are abridged of such liberties as they have long used in manors: and customes are altered, broken and sometimes perverted or taken away by your means: And above all, you look into the values of men’s lands, whereby the lords of manors doe racke their tennants to a higher rent and rate than ever before: and therefore not onely I, but many poore tennants else have good cause to speake against the profession.’⁶

⁴ Norden, *The Surveyor’s Dialogue* (1607), p.1.

⁵ Donald Lupton, *London and the country carbonadoed and quartred into seuerall characters* (London, Nicholas Okes, 1632), p.106.

⁶ Norden, *Surveyor’s Dialogue*, pp.3-4, marginally glossed by Norden as ‘The pretended [i.e. claimed] causes why surveyors are condemned’.

Not all tenants complied naively with surveyors to ‘undo themselves’. Norden’s readers may well have known of the popular feeling which led to the violent Midland Rising of the spring and summer of 1607, the year that Norden’s book was published.⁷ Several weeks of rioting and disorder in Leicestershire, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire against the enclosure of commons (no doubt measured and divided up by surveyors) ended in bloodshed when two local justices of the peace, Sir Edward Montague of Boughton and Sir Anthony Mildmay of Apethorpe, attacked and slaughtered dozens of rioters at Newton, Northamptonshire, early in June 1607. Involvement by surveyors in the process of enclosure in this period contributed to the unpopular reputation surveyors had at that time.

But there is some justification in the Farmer’s accusation against the Surveyor that:

‘ ... by your means rents are raysed, and lands knowne to the uttermost acre, fines inhaunced farre higher than ever before measuring of land and surveying came in ...’⁸

Norden himself was one of a large number of surveyors (Heather Lawrence’s ‘rough count’ numbered 125) who were employed in surveying Crown lands in the early years of the reign of James I in the so-called Great Survey.⁹ James had realised that the Crown could not ‘live of its own’, and that crown estates were vastly undervalued and had been sold at knock-down prices during the reign of Elizabeth, due to a long-standing mixture of mis-management and corruption.¹⁰ Lord Treasurer Buckhurst took on a review of the Crown estates, employing surveyors to survey them from 1604 and his work was continued and expanded by Robert Cecil when he took over as Lord Treasurer in 1608. Surveyors were key to this attempted change from customary rents and fines to ones based on land valuations based on measurement and commercial rents, on private estates as well as Crown manors. The exercise, which was never completed, to a large extent failed to accomplish the intended reforms on Crown estates of economically-valued rents and increased entry fines, but these two features in particular are amongst those complained of by Norden’s farmer and where they were

⁷ Norden, *Surveyor’s Dialogue*, p.5.

⁸ Norden, *Surveyor’s Dialogue*, p.6.

⁹ Lawrence, ‘John Norden and his colleagues’ (1985), p.54.

¹⁰ McRae, *God Speed the Plough* (1996), p.175.

imposed, on some Crown and private estates, they had consequences.¹¹ As Richard Hoyle has argued:

‘The shift from ancient rent to value in the calculation of fines was a crucial moment in the reshaping of the lord-tenant relationship, and the survey was the means by which the appropriate information was supplied.’¹²

Two cameos from Norfolk illustrate the impact of such re-valuing surveys in this period. Both relate to complaints by the tenants of Crown manors about the Suffolk surveyor Ralph Agas, who had been engaged to survey the manors in question. Diarmaid MacCulloch’s vibrant picture of Agas and his controversies against the Suffolk establishment in the 1590s portrays him as a prickly man, always in dispute with someone.¹³ His adventures in Norfolk confirm this picture.

The first we hear of these complaints is an instruction (10 April 1600) from Lord Treasurer Buckhurst to Nathaniel Bacon, then sheriff of Norfolk and steward of the Crown’s manor of Pulham, and three of his fellow Norfolk justices to investigate a petition of complaint from ‘a great number of tenautes’ of the royal manor of Pulham [Pulham Market], Norfolk.¹⁴ The tenants explained that they had, ‘tyme out of mynde’ held their copyhold and customaryhold lands according to particular customs of the manor, which included a limit in the size of entry fines based on acreage as well as the right to cut timber growing on their own holdings freely. However, they complained that the surveyor Ralph Agas had, with a commission from the Court of Exchequer, arrived to survey the manor, and in his courts of survey had:

‘enforced manie of the Tenautes to shew and deliver in their Copies and free Deedes, and for the inrolmentes of them (as he termeth yt) hath exacted great sommes of money att their handes, and with most hard and threatening speeches doth terrefie the said pore Tenautes, that he will take awaie the overplus of their Contentes of landes, Destroy their Customes for fynes and felling downe of Tymber, and that he will also

¹¹ See Hoyle (ed.), *The estates of the English crown 1558-1640* (1992), especially Chapter 9, Hoyle, “Shearing the Hog” (1992), pp. 204-262.

¹² Richard Hoyle, “Shearing the Hog” (1992), p.228.

¹³ MacCulloch, ‘Radulph Agas: Virtue Unrewarded’ (1973-5), esp. p.275.

¹⁴ NRO, NNAS S2/17/8; NRO, NNAS S2/17/10, calendared in Morgan et al, (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. IV, 1596-1602* (2000), pp. 121-123. The quotations of the documents herein are my transcripts of the original letters unless otherwise stated, however.

take awaie and and improve parte of their Comons, that Leases maie be taken of them, to the great discomfort and vexacon of all her Majesty's said Tenauntes within the said Mannour.¹⁵

Agas's behaviour seems to mirror Norden's Farmer's complaint against surveyors so closely, one wonders if Norden was criticising Agas in particular in his book. Agas's treatment of the tenants also echoes what McRae marks as the change in attitudes from paternalism to suspicion of tenants and customary rights and tenures displayed by some of those involved in the Great Survey (as both Agas and Norden were).¹⁶ McRae cites the MP and surveyor Robert Johnson, later also involved in the Great Survey himself, who supported reform of the Crown estates, but showed a marked antagonistic stance towards the tenants, who, he said, 'obscure ancient customs and pervert them to private profit'.¹⁷ Agas might have been taking his cue from such men's opinions. Or he might simply have been obnoxious and well-suited to carrying out instructions.

In time-honoured fashion, the justices' investigation of the Pulham inhabitants' petition included hearing the sworn evidence of old men, in this case Robert Browne (aged 95) and John Crane (aged 65). Both men affirmed that it had been the custom for tenants to take timber growing on their holdings, 'and on the common at their gates ... and against their groundes [*i.e. in boundaries*] at their pleasures', and stated that they had never known entry fines exceed 6d. an acre.¹⁸ The Justices reported back to Buckhurst that they had sent for Ralph Agas, who had, however, failed to appear and could not be found. Whilst it is possible that Bacon (who employed Agas himself subsequently) had forewarned him to lie low for a while, Agas had also no doubt learned that discretion was the better part of valour from his experiences in legal proceedings against the Waldegraves in Suffolk in the 1590s.¹⁹ Whatever Bacon's relationship with Agas at this time, his investigation confirmed that Agas had indeed charged the tenants for showing him their title deeds: 12d. (1s.) from each copyhold tenant for each copy court roll and 4d. from each freeholder for each of their evidences of title, although he had not been consistent even here, also taking 'of some 6d. and some 12d.'. Agas had also

¹⁵ NRO, NNAS S2/17/10.

¹⁶ McRae, *God Speed the Plough* (1996), p.175.

¹⁷ McRae, *God Speed the Plough* (1996), p.175.

¹⁸ NRO, NNAS S2/17/11.

¹⁹ As detailed in MacCulloch, 'Radulph Agas: Virtue Unrewarded' (1973–5).

seized some tenants' holdings and subverted the appointment of manorial officials to ensure his measures were accomplished, having:

‘urged them to abbuttell out [*i.e. prove the boundaries of, by detailing all the lands abutting theirs*] all their Coppiedhold landes vpon payne of forfeiture therof, And awarded a seizure of the landes of 2 of the principall Town, by name Richard Crane & Thomas Woodes for not shewing their Coppies, wheras Crane had no Coppies to shew and Woodes had offred him the sight of his Coppies vnto the said Aggas. Also against the vse of former tymes, (their being already 2 of the tenantes called haiwardes appoynted to that office) he appoynted and sware a new bailiff to make seizures and levie thestreates [*the estreats*] within the manor.’

To add insult to injury (and this seems to have been the final straw to the tenants), he had also ‘persuaded’ a jury of the manor to agree to set a rate on the tenants to pay for his board and lodging (‘his charge of diet’) whilst undertaking the survey, ‘alleging to them the example of Forncett tenantes their naghbers wher he had £20 given him’. It does seem that Agas was heavy-handed in Pulham, if not guilty of actual extortion there. Although somewhat earlier (before 1593) Robert Doon’s charges for his whole survey of ‘the Towne of Walberswicke’, Suffolk only amounted to £10. Doon also claimed only £44 for his ‘travell all my paynes and learninge spent’ for him and his clerk in undertaking surveys of nearly 50 of manors in several counties in the Latimer v. Wingfield legal suit in the 1570s.²⁰ Even allowing for inflation and the employment of a clerk, Agas’s £20 for board and lodging seems like a very large sum.

The outcome of the Pulham case seems to have been settled in favour of the tenants. Bacon was steward of the manor, so perhaps had a vested interest in quashing Agas so his actions did not reflect badly on his own stewardship. He certainly reported to Buckhurst about the justices’ investigation of the matter in terms which supported the tenants’ side of the case. Bacon stated that entry fines were indeed accustomed to be 6d. or 8d. an acre, which Agas had tried to alter by instructing Bacon (steward of the manor) not to admit any new tenants until this had been set. Being given instructions by a social inferior must have seemed insultingly high-handed to Bacon. Agas (who never styled himself a gentleman) was not

²⁰ TNA, PROB 11/82/569; TNA, C 4/144/60.

known for his diplomacy. Bacon also confirmed that the tenants had indeed customarily had the right to take timber as they had claimed. He finished by recommending that

‘... thus much wee haue thought good to notify your Lordship in their [*the tenants’*] behalf, praying your Lordship’s favour towardeſ them, whome wee knowe be honest & dutifull in the service of hir Ma[jes]tie & their Contry.’²¹

His decision was typical of many stewards of Crown manors during the reign of James I when successive Lord Treasurers tried to implement measures intended to increase Crown revenue from reforms of rents and fines, especially the imposition of arbitrarily increased fines. As Hoyle pithily put it: ‘... the policy adopted was to shout loudly about the Crown’s rights and then confirm the tenants’ custom’.²² If this were indeed the case, then Norden’s farmer was perhaps complaining about *attempts* (successful or otherwise) to increase fines on Crown lands in certain instances, or maybe such measures were more successful on non-Crown lands. Whichever is the case, the Farmer’s complaints about the actions of surveyors do seem to be based in reality and confirm Everyman’s perceived fears as real ones.

The second cameo from Norfolk dates from c.1604 and relates to a number of Crown manors in North Norfolk (East Dereham, Terrington, Walpole, West Walton, Walsoken, Emneth and Tilney) which James I had decided to sell. Buckhurst wrote to Nathaniel Bacon, steward of these manors, on 15 February 1603/4, asking him to avoid granting any new tenancies for the time being and requesting details of conditions of tenancies, customs, entry fines, rents and land values.²³ But Bacon responded that the copyhold rents could not be given,

‘by reason that Raphe Agas, who was joined with G. Waking [*Gilbert Wakering*] in a comission of survey hath gotten the ancient rentalles & bookeſ into his handes which should sett out the said rentes, neither do the tenanteſ knowe how to come by the same agayne’.²⁴

²¹ NRO, NNAS S2/17/9.

²² Richard Hoyle, “Shearing the Hog” (1992), p.251.

²³ Morgan et al, (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. V, 1603-1607* (2010), pp. 72-73.

²⁴ Morgan et al, (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. V, 1603-1607* (2010), pp. 79-80.

A later letter from Bacon's deputy steward of these manors says that he had sent all the court rolls and manorial records in his custody to Hugh Sexey, Treasury Auditor in 1606.²⁵ He also elaborates further about Agas's earlier retention of other records:

‘And ffor the Rentalls and Survey booke, their was in the late Quenes tyme a Commission of Survey granted to Gilbert Wakering Esquire, Raph Agas and others to Survey all hir majesties manors in Norffolk. By vertue wherof the said Raph Agas got into his handes divers of the best booke which layd out the Rentes, belonging to the said manors. And haue ever since detayned the same, Notwithstanding their were divers peticons preferred to the late Lord Treasurer, for the getting of them agayne, ffor want wherof ther Can not be any exact Rentall so presently made of the Copyhould Rentes: But the Tenantes are Endevoureing themselues to make newe booke, wherin shalle sett downe everye Tenantes severall parcells of land, And the Rent which he payeth for the same which is a worke of some labor and requireth longer tyme then was lymitted by the direccions sent vnto me. But as soone as they shall haue perfected the same: I will send them vp into your Office.’²⁶

Diligent searches of The National Archives catalogue (including the Manorial Documents Register (MDR), which is complete for known surviving Norfolk and Suffolk manorial records) reveal no such records: if the tenants did manage to reconstitute them, they have not survived. Not for the first time, we see a gap in the records consequent on the involvement of a surveyor.

One systemic factor affecting the survival of these particular manorial records may be at play here too. The measures to reform Crown lands in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign and throughout that of James I encouraged professional disagreements between old style, sinecured surveyors in the Lord Treasurer's employment, with the new style, technically accomplished, professional 'new' surveyors. The latter's work brought them into conflict with the Exchequer auditors, who felt their oversight of manorial income was being slighted by the new surveyors. We have seen already that Nathaniel Bacon sent court rolls and other manorial records to the Treasury Auditor Hugh Sexey or Saxy in response to a centralised request.

²⁵ NRO, NNAS, S2/17/15; and see J.H. Bettey, 'Hugh Sexey (d.1619)', *ODNB*, (2006, rev. 2008).

²⁶ NRO, NNAS, S2/17/15.

However, according to Hoyle, there was a dispute between the auditors and other Exchequer officials about the possession of such records, leading to an order in 1616 (probably ignored) to pass them to the King's Remembrancer and Clerk of the Pipe.²⁷ Small wonder that records went missing under a confused and evolving system of attempted reforms which set officials against each other.

Fear of losing one's title deeds to an extortionate surveyor such as Ralph Agas was likely to make tenants, particularly copyhold tenants, uncooperative with surveys. This might also have added to the dearth of records as manorial officials squirrelled away both tenants' and the manors' records to hide them from an interloping surveyor. Mason's statement about 182 tenants of the Crown Liberty of Havering being charged with holding illegal land titles in 1619 shows that it was no idle fear.²⁸ Many tenants might be naïve or inexperienced in such matters and have handed their title documents over to the in-coming surveyor. But John Darby's widow Elizabeth was probably working from experience in refusing to allow Aaron Rathborne to see her title deeds when he surveyed the Crown manor of Walton cum Trimley with Felixstowe Priory, Suffolk, in 1613.²⁹ Rathborne was, like Norden and Agas, a Crown surveyor as well as being the author of another well-known treatise on surveying, *The Surveyor in Foure Bookes* (1616). His survey of the manor of Walton is a tour de force, running to several hundred pages in a well-preserved paper book. He was no fly-by-night, but a well-respected and professional surveyor, and there is no evidence found so far that he used Agas's tactics. But John Darby *had* worked with Ralph Agas in 1606, so Darby's widow may have been all too aware of Agas's unsavoury practices.³⁰ She certainly had a vested interest in not cooperating with the survey, since Rathborne's revaluation of her lands was very considerably higher than the rent she was paying. Rathborne valued her Falkenham holdings at £57 11s. 9½d. a year, but she was paying only £1 4s. 3d. a year in rent.³¹

²⁷ Richard Hoyle, "Shearing the Hog" (1992), p.215.

²⁸ Mason, "An upstart art" (1996), p.35.

²⁹ SA(I), HB 8/1/201, p.343.

³⁰ The two were jointly employed in 1606 by Nathaniel Bacon, who clearly did not hold Agas's behaviour against him in 1600 and 1604. Bacon brought Agas in as a 'fixer' after Darby had failed to accomplish a survey in particularly tricky inheritance dispute between Edmund and his brother Anthony Penning. The case went to Parliament in 1604. [Morgan et al, (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. V, 1603-1607* (2010), pp.227-228, 239-44, 255, 261-2].

³¹ SRO(I), HB 8/1/201, p.351. Rathborne's valuation contrasts even more sharply with John Darby's IPM valuations (see Chapter 3).

Given surveyors' general disrepute, it is small wonder that surveyors such as Lawrence Nowell, who worked for William Cecil, and John Darby show surveyors being attacked by dogs on their maps (see Figs 10, 12-13). It must have been an occupational hazard, whether by accident or the design of suspicious tenants. Darby shows the unpopularity of surveyors through graphical images of them being attacked by dogs, part of his self-deprecating humour. His Aldeburgh map (1594) shows a surveyor on the beach, beating off a dog with his surveyor's pole.³² Such a dog might even have ripped the hose of the semi-naked surveyor shown in the initial letter of Darby's written survey of the manor of Cleves in Burgh, Suffolk (1589) (see Fig. 36).³³ The clearest image, however, is on Darby's map of Household Heath, Norfolk [c.1589], which shows a weary surveyor carrying his equipment and being barked at by a mastiff (see Fig. 10).³⁴ This may well be the earliest image of a *working* surveyor from an English source. Lawrence Nowell's image of himself as the impecunious map-maker showing his empty purse and being barked at by a dog on Cecil's pocket book map of England, Wales and Ireland (1564) is very much better dressed and carries none of the accoutrements of his profession (see Fig. 12).³⁵ Darby's image from the 1580s shows a much more workaday representation, with leggings tied up with string to keep them away from his muddy, workmanlike boots. The dog image in both is similar, comprising an obviously male mastiff in a lifelike aggressive posture. This is clearly no lap-dog and it represents a serious physical challenge offering real violence to the surveyor. The image may well represent the surveyor's weakness as a lone individual in the face of determined opposition, from worried tenants, perhaps, fearing dispossession or vastly increased rents. Or perhaps there is a hint here of dogs barking at someone who is suspicious, unreliable, or simply trespassing on the dog's home territory, as many a surveyor must have done. As is often the case, Shakespeare provides an example of what was almost certainly a common trope of dogs barking at intrinsically suspicious characters: in *Richard III*'s famous opening monologue by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, expressing his own innate evil character (in the play, if not in real life), he complains 'that dogs bark at me as I halt by them'.³⁶

³² SA(I), EE 1/1/16/1. Not all dogs on Darby's maps are shown being aggressive, however. A hunting dog is also shown hunting alongside a man with a long gun on Aldeburgh beach in this map, and a swimming dog assists a huntsman fowling in Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582) [BL, Maps Dep. 1741].

³³ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/35, fol. 6r.

³⁴ NRO, MC 3085/2.

³⁵ BL, Add. MS 62540. William Cecil, Lord Burghley reputedly always kept this little book about him.

³⁶ William Shakespeare, *The Life and Death of Richard III*, Act 1, Scene 1.



Figs 12-13: Dogs barking at surveyors (see also Fig.10).

Fig. 12 (left): Detail from Laurence Nowell's map of England, Wales and Ireland (1564) showing the seated figure of the surveyor being barked at by a dog;³⁷ **Fig. 13** (right): Detail from John Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594), showing man with a pole fighting off an attacking dog.³⁸

The farmer in Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue* is not intended by Norden to win his arguments. He is an agent for arguments to be knocked down by the all-wise surveyor, who is, of course, Norden himself, simultaneously marketing his skills and heightening his professional reputation. But the fact that Norden allows such strong, and well-recognised (at that time) arguments to be aired at all is telling. It allows his winning counter-arguments to appear much stronger – the farmer changes his views, after all – but it also allows Norden to position himself, as a surveyor, further away from any sharp practices by the way he also disagrees with them. For us, it also allows us to see, perhaps more than Norden realised or intended, that the argument between the farmer and the surveyor is fundamental to two different world-views in the changing relationships between tenant and lord in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Norden writes off the farmer's repeated complaints about surveyors being the facilitators of unaffordable new rents and entry fines with the marginal note 'Frivolous objections against the survey of lands'. He then goes on to say:

‘Surveyor: I perceive that the force of your strongest argument is, as before I said, your feare and unwillingnesse that the lord of the mannor, under whom, and in whose land you dwell, should know his owne: and that you thinke it better for you, that he should continue still ignorant of what he hath, and that your estates should bee

³⁷ Reproduced by permission from the British Library Collection: BL, Add. MS 62540, ff.3v-4r.

³⁸ SRO(I), EE 1/1/16/1.

always hidden, and what injury you do should be concealed, then that he should be acquainted with what you hold, and your abuses, incroachments, usurpations, intentions and wrongs discovered.

Farmer: Syr, we acknowledge that the lord ought to have his rent, and that is all, and our services to his courts, but the land we have, is our owne.

Surveyor: Howsoever you may account them yours, yet the lord hath such an interest and propertie in them, as he may also call them his ...'

As McRae says of this passage,

'The argument turns on the verb 'to know'. The farmer is worried about the consequences of land being '*knowne* to the uttermost Acre', whereas the surveyors argues that the landlord has the right to '*know* his owne'.³⁹

The passage also highlights a fundamental attitude about views of ownership. The lord considers the land 'his owne' and relies on surveys to 'know' it, but the Farmer, whilst acknowledging the lord has his rights to rents, some services and the tenants' attendance at manorial courts, also argues that 'the land we have, is our owne'. The Farmer, grounded in ancient manorial oral custom and tradition, sees the land he farms as customarily 'his owne', from which the lord could not, by custom, evict him arbitrarily, or alter the custom in respect of the amounts of rents and entry fines for admissions of tenants or the customary rights which the tenants exercised. But the lord was embracing a changed world, where the quest for economic rents and 'knowing his own' had become a new norm. As McRae points out, that 'knowledge itself becomes another form of property, which serves to reinforce the landlord's economic power'.⁴⁰ Thus surveyors were caught in the middle of a wide-ranging argument about who actually 'owned' land, and what 'ownership' meant. Because surveyors were

³⁹ McRae, *God Speed the Plough* (1996), p.178.

⁴⁰ McRae, *God Speed the Plough* (1996), p.179.

principally employed by landlords, they were seen by many, especially those who were tenants, as the facilitators of oppression, and were hated because of it.

2.3 Being Paid and the Retention of Records as Leverage

Rates of pay for surveyors and map-makers varied enormously during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Working for the Crown in the early years of James I's reign was regular work for surveyors such as Norden and Rathborne. Frank Kitchen notes that Norden's appointment as surveyor to the Duchy of Cornwall carried a salary of twenty marks a year, but that it was:

‘... no great sum although a suitable stipend for a gentleman. But no-one was expected to live on the salary of such an office; it was a base on which a structure of perks was to be erected.’⁴¹

The acquisition of such perks could well have been the ostensible excuse for Agas's behaviour in Pulham (above).

Heather Lawrence states that for surveyors working as part of the James I's Great Survey in the early years of his reign:

‘the usual daily rate was 15/- [15 shillings] whilst “in the field” surveying woods, 4/- during the period of writing up the surveys and drawing maps, and 4/- whilst attending about the return of the commission’.⁴²

However, as Heather Falvey points out, these payments comprised an advance, with the remainder payable on completion of the project, and surveyors had to pay their clerks and assistants out of their fee.⁴³ Even for those in regular employment, payments might be intermittent and highly variable in amount: Frank Kitchen describes how John Norden received ‘£5 on one occasion, £150 on another’.⁴⁴ In the 1650s, surveyors for the

⁴¹ Kitchen, ‘John Norden (c.1547-1625): Estate Surveyor’ (1997), p.52.

⁴² Lawrence, ‘John Norden and his colleagues’ (1985), p.55.

⁴³ Heather Falvey, ‘Marking the boundaries: William Jordan’s 1633 pre-enclosure survey of Duffield Frith (Derbyshire)’, *Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 61, Part 1 (2013), pp.5-6.

⁴⁴ Kitchen, ‘John Norden (c.1547-1625): Estate Surveyor’ (1997), p.55.

Commonwealth were still being paid the same rates of pay as in the early 1600s, although by then, their fee did not include the wages of their assistants, which were set at 5s. a day for clerks, 3s. a day for messengers and 1s. 6d. a day for labourers carrying equipment.⁴⁵

For surveyors not employed by the Crown, remuneration could be less generous and more precarious, with payment only being made on completion of the work. Employers might be tardy in paying or might simply not have paid the surveyor at all. In 1569 the Ipswich surveyor Robert Doon submitted his bill to William Smart of Ipswich, requesting prompt payment for work he had done for the town as a manorial bailiff and surveyor, ‘for I haue moche dett of myne to be distcharged att [Christ?]mas next if god will’.⁴⁶ A slightly later note detailed Doon’s work and fees: 6s. 8d. a day for eighteen days surveying Ipswich’s town lands in Bramford, Suffolk, as well as £6 for twelve days’ work surveying the town’s manors of Sackvilles and Ulveston Hall in Debenham, Suffolk, two days’ work keeping court at Ulveston and three days’ work at Claydon, Suffolk, settling a dispute over lands in the manor.⁴⁷ Doon’s contract (transcribed at Appendix 2) to make a survey of Sir Owen Hopton’s manor of Westleton, Suffolk (1569) stated that Doon’s fee of twenty marks [£13 6s. 8d.] was to be paid as five marks [£3 6s. 8d.] in cash and the remaining £10 was to be offset against debts owed by Doon to Hopton and set against Doon’s future rent to Hopton for lands in the manor.⁴⁸ In addition, however, Doon was to receive 12d. a day for his board, 8d. a day for ‘one of his Clerkes’ (implying he had more than one) and 8d. a day to pay to Hopton’s bailiff for assisting him.

Doon’s 6s. 8d. a day for surveying in Bramford matches exactly what Christopher Saxton was paid in 1590 by St Thomas’ Hospital.⁴⁹ But it was less than the 10s. a day or 3d-4d. an acre paid to Arthur Robins c.1580 and much more than the surprisingly low payment of between 2s. 6d. and 4s. a day paid to the experienced Thomas Langdon by All Souls College, Oxford c.1595.⁵⁰ Bendall points out that whilst the income of a surveyor in the seventeenth century was about ten times as much as a labourer, it did not match the salary of an estate steward,

⁴⁵ Falvey, ‘Marking the boundaries’ (2013), p.6.

⁴⁶ SA(I), HD 36/A/37.

⁴⁷ SA(I), HD 36/A/44; William H. Richardson (ed.), Nathaniel Bacon, *The Annals of Ipswich: The Lawes, Customes and Government of the Same, collected out of ye records, bookees and writings of that towne, 1654* (Ipswich: S.H. Cowell, 1884), p.284.

⁴⁸ SA(I), HA 30/312/422.

⁴⁹ Evans and Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton* (1979), p.78; and see Chapter 8 of the same for details of payments to him for multiple commissions.

⁵⁰ Bendall, *Maps, land and society* (2009)), pp.104, 110.

which, in 1679, might be £100 a year and enough to enable him to live like a gentleman.⁵¹ She concludes that surveyors could make a comfortable living from the profession, but were unlikely to grow rich from it. The situation in the late sixteenth century was probably relatively similar in terms of status and proportion, if not actual pay.

Doon was a traditional surveyor and did not make maps himself. When he needed to work on a project which required maps as well as written surveys, he worked in partnership with a map-maker. As an independent surveyor, he appears not to have been paid for several projects he undertook and so he retained the records of his survey work from his employer as a means to try to compel payment. This does not seem to have worked in every case. His will of 1593 includes a litany of complaint about unpaid bills by clients and his consequent retention of documents generated by his work.⁵² Doon had kept in his own custody the engrossed copy of a survey of the manor of Westleton, Suffolk for which he claimed he was owed £29 9s. 8d. If this was the one he contracted to do for Sir Owen Hopton in 1569 (see above), then his memory seems to have been at fault as he contracted for less than half this sum. His will stated that he had also retained nine books of survey of the manor of South Elmham, for which John North, esquire, son and heir of Lord Edward North, owed Doon £59.⁵³ Anthony Felton of Playford, Suffolk, esquire, still owed £14 for a rental of the lordship of Shotley, which Doon still had in his possession at his death. Felton also owed Doon £4 for an incomplete survey of the manor of Kirton, as well as £13 for keeping manorial courts and engrossing court rolls, which Doon had also kept. The executors of Thomas Feltham of Halesworth had Doon's survey of the town of Walberswick, however, although they had not paid the £10 still owing to Doon for making it. The £129 9s. 8d. total of these sums is considerable, but if these were outstanding sums still owing to him at his death in 1593, one would expect them to be a minority of his total work. Putting the outstanding debts in his will would have given his executors legal evidence and authority to try to recover them after his death, even though some must have been twenty years old by then: clearly their non-payment still rankled with Doon at his death, perhaps as much for the slight to his professional integrity as well as the economic loss.

⁵¹ Bendall, *Maps, land and society* (2009), pp.112-4.

⁵² TNA, PROB 11/82/569.

⁵³ Doon did other work for the North family. His survey of the manor of Kirtling, Cambridgeshire, made in 1587-1588 for Roger (1530-1600), Lord North, Baron of Kirtling is held at Cambridge University Library [CUL, MS Add. 8132].

Doon's attempts at leveraging payment by the retention of documents might not have worked in the sense that he was not paid before his death. We would not know about them at all without his recitation of them at length in his will, so we cannot extrapolate how common such non-payment of surveyors might have been. But if it were a common event, even if only involving a small proportion of their surveying work, then the retention of documents by surveyors might help to explain the repeated phenomenon of the lack of manorial records in manors where surveyors were known to have worked. Again and again, in researching this thesis, this has been a marked feature: finding references to a surveyor working in particular manors, but documentary evidence being missing from the manorial archive. A search of the MDR shows this with respect to Doon's complaints. The fragments of a 1570 survey of the manor of Westleton which do happen to survive might be Doon's rough copy of the fair copy he retained.⁵⁴ But there are no surviving surveys for any of the three South Elmham manors. There are no rentals before 1594 (Doon died in 1593) in either of the two Shotley manors in Suffolk. There are no surviving surveys of the manor of Kirton and no court rolls between 1541 and 1595. There is a draft survey (no date, but sixteenth century) of the manor of Blythburgh with Walberswick for which Doon was receiver of rents in 1553-4, which might be the one which Thomas Feltham's executors possessed but had not paid for.⁵⁵ The evidence tends to confirm the truth of Doon's testamentary statements.

On a much larger scale, Doon also tried to retain the books of survey he made under a commission of the Court of Chancery in a legal dispute in c.1572-1574. The case was over lands in many counties held in co-parceny by Sir Robert Wingfield and John Nevill, Lord Latimer: this was clearly a large and wide-ranging commission.⁵⁶ The Court of Chancery was apparently concerned that the surveys of them, by Doon and one Richard Newdigate esquire, should be seen to be impartial: Doon's will states that they were 'not only to survey all the said possessions in co-parceny between them, but also to take account of their officers that it might appear that neither should do the other wrong'.⁵⁷ Doon's will describes how Sir Robert Wingfield accordingly

⁵⁴ SA(I), HA 30: 50/22/11.13.

⁵⁵ SA(I), HA 30/312/101

⁵⁶ Possibly TNA, C 4/144/60; or C 3/132/19.

⁵⁷ TNA, PROB 11/82/569.

‘made earnest suit to me the said Robert Doon to take the execution of the said commission in charge, promising me so much money for the execution of the same as any man of worship would give me for the like’.

Doon accepted Wingfield’s offer of payment and consequently he

‘did ride with one George Sampson,⁵⁸ gent, my clerk, to every one of the said Lordships and possessions as they did lie divided in sundry shires and counties, viz. in the county of Northampton etc. and did make large books of survey of every manor and kept courts upon the same and engrossed the court rolls of all the said manors.

And after that, I, the said Robert Doon without the help of the said Richard Newdigate or any other did engross the said survey of the manors valued, and likewise did engross the books of account taken in that survey and thereupon did deliver them so engrossed into the High Court of Chancery. And after that, the said Sir Robert caused me the said Robert Doon by writ of *Adducias tecum*⁵⁹ to bring into the Court all the large books made of the said survey and the court rolls engrossed where they yet remain.⁶⁰ And I the said Robert have demanded the sum of £44 for my travail, all my pains and learning spent therein: whereof I have yet received never a penny’.⁶¹

If the records really were still held by the Court of Chancery when Doon died, in 1593, then Wingfield did not get possession of them. One wonders where they are now.

It may be that Sir Robert Wingfield was keen to employ Doon to emphasise his impartiality, since Doon had already worked for Nevill previously. In this work, Doon worked with the map-maker and surveyor Israel Amyce, agent and surveyor to Sir Robert Cecil. The two men together executed a deed of 21 September 15 Eliz [1573] relating to property in Sir John Nevill, Lord Latimer’s manors of Awre and Etloe in Gloucestershire.⁶² On a very much larger scale again, the two of them worked together to equally divide the estates of Sir John Neville,

⁵⁸ Probably George Sampson of Harkstead, where he was Lord of the Manor of Netherhall, who died in 1580 [TNA, PROB 11/62/361]. He partnered Ralph Agas in making their map of West Lexham, Norfolk (1575), thought to be the first English estate map made to a consistent scale [Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), p.1645].

⁵⁹ From the opening words of the writ commencing the legal action, literally ‘bring with you’.

⁶⁰ The case relating to the detention of records is at TNA, C 3/197/97.

⁶¹ TNA, PROB 11/82/569.

⁶² GRO, D2156.

Lord Latimer following his death in 1577 amongst his four daughters and co-heiresses and their husbands.⁶³ This wide-ranging work (it covered land in seventeen different English counties) proves that Doon was much more than just a local surveyor. He also seems to have worked as a discoverer of concealed lands, some for Thomas, 2nd Lord Wentworth after 1570, which also took him across England and must have been done on a large scale over several years. Although Doon was firmly a traditional surveyor, therefore, he could work far and wide, and when he needed maps, he could work in partnership with a map-maker such as Israel Amyce. He might even have known Christopher Saxton, whose own manor of Griston, in and around Stratford St Andrew, Suffolk (granted by the Queen on a 21-year lease in 1573 or 1574), was close to Doon's manor of Hinton in Blythburgh, which Saxton surveyed and mapped in 1594, after Doon's death, possibly for a sale of the manor by Doon's son, or at the end of the lease.⁶⁴

Another example of the detention of records in a payment dispute comes in 1599/1600, and concerns John Hollond, then of Claydon, Suffolk, gentleman surveyor and map-maker, and later a neighbour of Darby's in nearby Bramford. Hollond was taken to court by Samuel Aylmer, lord of the nearby manors of Akenham and Claydon. According to Aylmer, Hollond had been his manorial steward and, had taken the manorial records and refused to give them up to Aylmer. He also claimed that Hollond had failed to make a map which he had promised to make. The case is interesting because it gives a cameo of what could happen when employer and employee had no definite contract or predetermined understanding of what the terms of that employment might be. It also shows again how detention of documents or working circumstances could lead to gaps in the manor's records. Aylmer claimed that

⁶³ His four daughters were Catherine (married to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland), Dorothy (married to Sir Thomas Cecil, eldest son of William Cecil, Lord Burghley), Lucy, married to William Cornwallis, esquire) and Elizabeth (married to Sir John Danvers, knight). The Cornwallis archives in Suffolk contain Doon and Amyce's volume of valuations of all Lord Latimer's properties (whether held solely or in co-parcenary) in 17 counties in southern England (1577) [SA(I), HA 411/1/2/3/3]. Besides written valuations, the volume includes 16 plans, made by Amyce, noting which properties passed to which heirs. Doon and Amyce also made an extent in 1577 of the manor of Bromham, one of Lord Latimer's Bedfordshire lands divided between two of his sons-in-law, Sir Thomas Cecil and Sir William Cornwallis, which seem to be part of the same project [Bedfordshire Record Office, TW 790]. A number of surveys of the lands of Lord Bergavenny in various counties held amongst the Nevill archives at East Sussex Record Office in Lewes might also be part of this work [ESRO, ABE ACC 560/6]. I thank Stephen Podd for alerting me to the last two references.

⁶⁴ SA(I), HA 30: 50/22/12.3, 12.6, HA 30/378/1. The annual rents for Griston in 1598 (later than Saxton's lease) were valued at £10. 1s. 3½d. [SA(I), HA 49/F1/5: section on the manor of Griston, fols 156r-v, 178r]. Copinger typically fails to note lessees, and therefore does not note Saxton as holding the manor [W.A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk: Notes on their History and Devolution: Vol. 5, The Hundreds of Lothingland and Mutford, Plomesgate and Risbridge* (Manchester: Privately printed and sold through Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co. Ltd., 1909), pp.174-6].

Hollond had asked to be made manorial steward of Aylmer's manors more for the credit to his reputation than any monetary recompense.⁶⁵ Aylmer also claimed that there was never an agreement for regular pay, but that Hollond had worked for him and 'relyed ... vpon the good wil and reasonable consideration' of Aylmer, who 'gave vnto the sayd Holland at sundry tymes the Sum of Ten poundes or theraboutes'. According to Aylmer, the two had then fallen into dispute, Hollond demanding 'sufficient recompense and satisfaccon for his paynes and travail' and threatening to sue Aylmer for it, whilst he retained and refused to give up 'Rentalles, inrolmentes, estreats and other writings and munimentes' relating to the manors.

Hollond's response was that he had been employed by Aylmer about five or six years previously to survey and map the demesnes of both manors and to become his manorial steward, and about two or three years previously, to survey the copyhold lands in Akenham.⁶⁶ He had done the survey work and made the maps, 'in parchment or velom distinguished by dyvers colours', in about 40 days, and claimed that he had retained them only until Aylmer had paid him. The legal documents are mutilated, but it also seems that Aylmer had asked him about two years before to make copies of these maps for the Court of Exchequer, presumably for a legal suit: as we shall see, making two copies of a map for a lawsuit was not uncommon. Hollond claimed that all he had ever received from Aylmer in payment was £6 15s. 8d. in total and denied having any of the other manorial court records which Aylmer accused him of retaining.⁶⁷ It is possible that John Hollond's gentlemanly status might have precluded him receiving anything so vulgar as a fixed salary either in his own, or in Aylmer's, understanding. But at the heart of the case is the retention of documents to force the payment of a surveyor's fees, even though in this case, the MDR does show a few late sixteenth century records surviving for these manors.⁶⁸ Perhaps Hollond never had them after all or gave them back if he had. Ralph Agas was also responsible for gaps in the manorial records, although in his case, high-handedness if not actual duplicity and extortion seem to have been the motive. Agas's retention of documents had nothing to do with not being paid.

As we shall see in Chapter Four, surveyors themselves were not the only ones to remove records as a form of leverage in a dispute. In 1580, Robert Doon's assistant, Thomas Clarke,

⁶⁵ TNA, C 2/Eliz/A9/48, part 1

⁶⁶ TNA, C 2/Eliz/A9/48, part 2.

⁶⁷ TNA, C 2/Eliz/A9/48, parts 2-3.

⁶⁸ NRO, BL/T 13/16-25; BL, Add MS 41307 A-B; SA(I), HB 8/1/320-322.

retained (if not actually stole) Sir Charles Framlingham's manorial records of Debenham and elsewhere in Suffolk in a dispute about his tuition as a surveyor by Doon. The MDR duly notes that before 1605, the only surviving manorial documents relating to the manor of Crows Hall, Debenham (Sir Charles' chief seat and manor there) are a few estreats from 1521.

Manorial records are, however, notorious for variable survival, so not all lacunae are due to surveyors. There could be many other reasons. They tend to survive if a manor continued to be administered directly over substantial periods of time by a single family with a secure muniment room and a vested interest in retaining archives for evidential purposes. But records of small manors, or those which were leased to different lessees for fairly short periods were easily lost: lessees in particular had no interest in keeping records once the term of the lease had ended. There are no surviving records for the manor of Griston, Suffolk for the period of the royal grant of a lease of the manor to map-maker Christopher Saxton, for example.⁶⁹

Sometimes too, manorial records did not change hands when the manor changed hands. When William Sherman sold his manor of Horham Jernegans (otherwise Horham Shermans) in Suffolk to Sir Edward Coke in 1609, he was presented in the manorial court for having retained 'divers rolls, extents, rentals and books of survey, [called] in English 'Survey book[es]' and 'Dragg[es]''. The subsequent court rolls make no further mention of the matter, but today, only a single survey, from 1567, survives from Sherman's ownership of the manor (1571-1609).⁷⁰ Whether this is due to loss over time or Sherman refusing to surrender the surveys to Coke is unknown. This is perhaps an area ripe for further research, in that it affects both the role of surveyors in the loss of records as well as reasons why they might have retained them.

2.4 Conclusion

In looking at the experience of what it might have meant to be a surveyor in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it would be fair to say that he needed to have a thick skin. The criticisms of the farmer in Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue* are reflections of the general unpopularity of surveyors in the period. The reasons for this unpopularity, as McRae

⁶⁹ D. Fletcher, 'Saxton, Christopher (1542x4–1610/11), map maker', *ODNB* (2004).

⁷⁰ SA(I), HA 68/484/88, m. 3r. I thank Val Dudley for this reference.

describes, were due to the role surveyors played in the economic changes of the period. In their attempts to accurately measure and value land, they uncovered concealed lands and sought to overcome what they saw as the obstructiveness of tenants arguing to retain their customary rights and practices.

The actions of Ralph Agas in Norfolk in 1600 and shortly afterwards appear to be symptomatic of the actions of surveyors working on Crown lands in this respect. He may well have been complying with instructions to create a ‘hostile environment’ intended by those who furthered reform of the Crown estates and wanted to remove the obstruction of custom and promote the capitalisation of the estates. Indeed, Agas himself might well have inspired some of the farmer’s specific criticism in Norden’s *Surveyor’s Dialogue*. The similarity of his behaviour at Pulham to one of the farmer’s complaints in Norden’s *Surveyor’s Dialogue* hints at this. Norden, also a Crown surveyor who almost certainly knew Agas, may have cited the farmer’s criticism here in order to counter it and thus try to distance himself from what he saw as the reprehensible side of surveyors’ behaviour. In the end, the Great Survey failed, but the reputation of surveyors had been set in public perception by then and the change from customary to capitalist estate management was increasingly becoming the norm. The measurement of land had created a new way of ‘seeing’ it and views of ‘ownership’ had changed, as McRae demonstrates.

The second part of this investigation of what it was like to be a surveyor focused on the remuneration they received. The work of various authors on the topic of surveyors’ fees highlights their variability. Two cases illustrate the topic in more detail, both being local to the Ipswich area of Suffolk. The case of Robert Doon’s contract and bills confirms that payment itself was indeed variable over time and between surveyors. They also add to the wider context of the how far surveyors travelled for work, what kind of work they did and what they were paid. Doon was clearly better-known in his own day than since, and once more, this may be due to the fact that he left no archive of his own. Although an Ipswich surveyor, he travelled the whole country surveying for various clients, showing that he was not merely a parochial surveyor. The fact that he, as a traditional surveyor, worked with Israel Amyce when maps were required, also cuts the distinctions between map-making and non-map-making surveyors too.

Doon's actions in retaining records to leverage payment also show that non-payment might have been an occupational hazard for surveyors which also affected document survival rates. John Hollond of Claydon, another Suffolk surveyor, did similarly following work he did for Samuel Aylmer on his estates in Akenham and Claydon, Suffolk. Both cases show how verbal agreements, loosely configured, could lead to misunderstanding and antagonism over fees. Once more, there is probably further research which could be done on surveyors' contracts and legal cases based around non-payment of their fees to examine the working practices in the period.

In the next chapter, we will look in detail at the case study of John Darby himself to see how far his life illustrates the wider context of being a surveyor in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

CHAPTER THREE:

JOHN DARBY: FAMILY BACKGROUND, WEALTH AND SOCIAL STATUS

3.1 Introduction

John Darby, gentleman, map-maker and surveyor, died in Bramford, Suffolk on 15 January 1608/9 and was buried there two days later.¹ He was then probably about 55 years old and left a family of young children. His widow, Elizabeth, was pregnant with their youngest child, although he was unaware of this when he died.² During his lifetime, he had acquired land, wealth, patronage and a measure of well-deserved professional prestige as a surveyor and map-maker. His striking maps and surveys will be discussed in the following chapters. They are still known to relatively few, and no-one has looked in depth at his family background and networks to shed further light on his work and his role as an example of a surveyor in the period. In dying a gentleman of means, he had achieved more than usual success for a man who had been born a carpenter's son. He was therefore one of those men who rose considerably in status and wealth in the later sixteenth century. This begs the question, first posed by Raymond Frostick, as to whether it was his work or his family relationships (especially his marriage) or some other factor which led to his success.³ In addition, can light be shed on sixteenth century map-making by comparing Darby's life and career with those of some of his other local contemporaries and using him as a case-study? In this chapter, Darby's family background, wealth and social status will be examined and contextualised to try to answer these and other questions and begin to fulfil the injunction implicit in Blakemore and Harley's statement that 'We cannot know too much about the map-maker'.⁴

This chapter will outline a personal biography of John Darby and focus on him as a case study as a typical (or atypical) surveyor of his time and region. In doing this, information will be taken from the various primary sources which survive for him, even though he left no archives of his own. Sources include the usual parish registers for dates of baptism, marriage

¹ TNA, WARD 7/35/23; SA(I), FB 6/D1/1.

² SA(B), IC/500/1/66/45.

³ Frostick, 'A 16th Century East Anglian Surveyor', (2005), p. 38.

⁴ Blakemore and Harley, 'Concepts in the History of Cartography', (1980), p.33.

and burial of Darby himself and his family. There are also a number of wills and no fewer than three inquisitions *post mortem* (IPMs) for Darby which are a rich source for family relationships and his property-holding. With close reading, the wills also yield insights into likely personality traits of some individuals, such as Darby's mother and wife, both of whom appear to have been assertive women.

This life history puts him into several wider contexts. As a surveyor, being born the son of a carpenter and grandson of a wheelwright was a starting advantage. As Barber and Edwards and Newton show, Darby was typical of the surveyors from a skilled artisanal background who joined the profession in the late sixteenth century. This chapter will also investigate his family circumstances as the second son in a family where the father died young and the mother never remarried. The repercussions of her long widowhood, control of her family and ambitions for their status will be investigated in the light of Holderness's work on widows, especially as money-lenders, Amussen on social status and Gwynn-Jones on the acquisition of arms, painters of arms and corrupt heralds.

One way in which people rose socially during the late sixteenth century was marriage, so Darby's marriage will be investigated in this chapter. His in-laws will also be discussed in terms of the influence they may have had on his life and career and how typical they were of their class and status as urban and rural men and women of means. Personal networks were important to success and so investigating Darby's family networks in this chapter will demonstrate how he fitted into a social circle which could bring him work.

This chapter will then move on to discuss Darby's land-holding, which was the main source of his wealth and status as a gentleman. Again, the main sources for this will be wills and IPMs as well as certificates of residence which also included tax assessments. These will be used, together with a single surviving survey covering some of Darby's lands, to try to give an impression of his actual wealth, although IPMs have been seen as 'notoriously unreliable' as Matthew Holford's work discusses.

3.2 Birth and Immediate Family Background

Darby's siblings and children became, or married, gentlemen and although Darby himself ended life as a gentleman, he was not born a gentleman.⁵ However, neither was he born poor.

⁵ For a family chart and vital events details of all his immediate family members, see Appendix 1.

His family was rather of what would be known in later ages as the ‘middling sort’, a description which included skilled artisans or yeomen whose status was higher than ordinary waged workers in town or country and who made the most of opportunities for economic and social improvement in the sixteenth century. Darby was regularly called ‘gentleman’ from his marriage in 1591, having by then acquired substantial land holdings and wealth. In this respect, he has a parallel in his contemporary, the surveyor and parish officer George Sawer of Cawston, Norfolk. Susan Dwyer Amussen discusses his social rise in his home parish, where she remarks that he, having ‘accumulated land and money, wreaked havoc with the theory’ that social status in his village was fixed.⁶

John Darby was the second son of Edmund Darby (d. 1576) of Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, carpenter, and his wife Joan (d. 1609, daughter of John Humphrey the Elder (d. 1556) of Stowlangtoft, Suffolk, wheelwright, and his wife Annes or Agnes, (died after 1556)).⁷ Darby’s approximate year of birth can be inferred from an extremely full series of family wills and the pattern of his siblings’ baptisms, although no record of his own baptism has been found so far and probably pre-dates surviving parish registers in his birth-place. In 1555, when John Darby’s maternal grandfather John Humphrey the Elder made his will, only the eldest three children of Edmund and Joan Darby were mentioned as alive, suggesting they were then small children: Charles (the eldest son), John himself, and Mary.⁸ Based on the periods between baptisms of his younger siblings at St James’s, Bury St Edmunds between 1558 (the date of the earliest parish register) and 1564 at intervals of between 13 and 18 months, a period of c.1550-1555 for the births of the eldest three children therefore seems likely.⁹ A date of c.1553, therefore, or a year (or two at the most) either side, would probably therefore not be far off the mark for John’s birth.

His family circumstances had an effect on how his future career developed in several ways. As the son of a carpenter and grandson of a wheelwright he had an early opportunity to acquire the skills also required for surveying and map-making. In this respect, Darby was of a

⁶ Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993; 1st published Oxford and New York: B. Blackwell, 1988), p.138

⁷ SA(B), IC/500/1/16 (97; IC/500/1/37/93; IC/500/1/66/45; Walter C. Metcalfe (ed.), *The Visitations of Suffolk, made by Hervey, Clarenceux, 1561, Cooke, Clarenceux, 1577 and Raven, Richmond Herald, 1612, with notes and an appendix of additional Suffolk pedigrees* (Exeter: Privately printed for the editor by William Pollard, 1882), p.133, [1612], Darby of Bury St Edmunds.

⁸ SA(B), IC/500/1/16 (97).

⁹ For John Darby’s family tree and full baptismal details of John Darby’s siblings, see Appendix 1.

similar social and working background to, as well as a close contemporary of, the Essex surveyor and map-maker John Walker the Elder (died 1626) of Hanningfield, who was also the son of a carpenter and house-builder.¹⁰ As Brian Smith discusses in relation to Walker, a family background in skilled woodworking would have meant that the young John Darby, like John Walker, would have been familiar from an early age with the importance of accurate measurement, scale and basic geometry. Together with good spatial awareness, all would have been skills as useful for a surveyor and map-maker as for a carpenter and joiner. It is not known whether Edmund Darby was also a house-builder, like John Walker the Elder (who also called himself an ‘architector’) and his father, although given the local vernacular architecture of timber-framed buildings around Bury St Edmunds at that period, it is likely that he was. They were not the only map-makers who came from such a skilled artisan background. Although more ‘architector’ than map-maker himself (although he did make some in the early seventeenth century), John Smithson or Smythson (1575-1634) was also the son of an architect and mason and was part of a well-known architectural dynasty working on numerous projects for the Cavendish family, mainly in Nottinghamshire.¹¹ Peter Barber also makes reference to skilled masons’ contribution to the development of map-making in England earlier in the sixteenth century.¹²

The peculiarities of Darby’s parents’ wills and his mother’s longevity (she outlived him, if only by a few months, and must have been about 80 when she died) meant that he and most of his siblings inherited little from their parents or grandparents, although their mother was able to help them financially during her lifetime, as we shall see. Whilst John Darby’s maternal grandfather had property interests in and around Stowupland and Langham, Suffolk, these lands went to John Humfrey’s own sons after the death of his widow, and did not pass to Darby, his mother or siblings. Darby’s father, Edmund, also had property, but in his will of 1559, he left only 20 shillings each to his four children alive at that time (Henry had joined the growing family between 1555 and 1558), as well as to his then unborn child (Joan) and to

¹⁰ Edwards and Newton, *The Walkers of Hanningfield* (1984), p.23.

¹¹ Adrian Woodhouse, ‘Setting the Scenes: The Pre-Civil War Building Works of William Cavendish in Context’, in Peter Edwards, Elspeth Graham (eds), *Authority, Authorship and Aristocratic Identity in Seventeenth-Century England: William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle, and His Political, Social and Cultural Connections*, Rulers and Elites, Vol. 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp.41-59; Adrian Woodhouse, ‘A Newly-Identified Estate Plan by John Smithson, 1608’, *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, Vol. 103 (1999), pp.125-129. For the percentages of map-makers coming from the ranks of masons, gentlemen and aristocracy through the sixteenth century, see Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), p.1616.

¹² Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), p.1607.

the poor of Bury. All Edmund's real property, comprising the house in which he lived in Bury St Edmunds, and 'all [his] other houses and tenements' (locations unspecified), both freehold and copyhold, he left to his widow, Joan Darby, absolutely.

It was unusual at that period for property-owning testators to leave all their real property absolutely to their widow if there were children of the marriage. The usual procedure would have been to leave the widow a life interest in any property, and then specify which child should inherit what particular property after the widow's death, as John Humfrey the Elder did just a few years before his son-in-law. In leaving everything to Joan outright, Edmund Darby was taking a risk that his property would indeed eventually go to his children, for if Joan were to remarry, all Edmund's property left to her would belong to her new husband, who might well chose to leave it to his own children, either by Joan or previous or subsequent wives, or sell it. This could imply that Edmund was expressing a very clear trust and strong confidence in his wife and her management for the benefit of his children, or that he was not used to the legal forms of leaving property (which one might expect if he were of an artisan background) or even that he might have been somewhat naive. It might alternatively have been the case that some or all of the property might have originally come to Edmund as Joan's dowry, and he was merely returning it to her, although this too would still have been relatively unusual if there were children of the marriage. There might well have been elements of all of these motives in leaving everything to Joan. In making his will in 1559, when his family was still growing, but without making provision for any children beyond 'the chylde that my wyfe is now Impregnant with', he also made his younger children, born in the years after the will was made, hostages to fortune, for he did not die for another 17 years. Perhaps this will were made in haste, due to some serious and sudden illness, and never renewed later, after Edmund's recovery. If Edmund's motivation was trust in his wife, it was well-placed, as she proved a canny manager of their assets for herself and her children after his death, and never remarried.

3.3 A Mother's Influence

In inheriting everything from her husband, Joan Darby became the absolute owner of Edmund Darby's lands, to do with as she wished. It put her firmly in control of her and her children's lives. In this respect her experience matched that of the widows Barbara Todd studied in Long

Wittenham, Oxfordshire, where a custom of what Todd terms ‘strong freebench’ prevailed, although this was only a life interest for the widow. But in the same way as those freebench widows, Joan’s control over her late husband’s property allowed her to act ‘as head of her family in the hiatus between male generations’.¹³

Joan Darby seems to have been an instrumental force in moulding her children’s futures. By the time John Darby’s father Edmund actually died in 1576, Edmund and Joan Darby had six children surviving out of at least eight or nine (possibly more) who had been born, and Joan Darby spent her remaining 33 years of widowhood in possession of the lands Edmund had left her in his will. Joan’s own will of 1609 shows that she kept a very tight control on her substantial assets and had a keen oversight over her monetary transactions. She was clearly able to assist her children materially during her lifetime, although one gains the impression that she never let anyone forget what they owed. She bequeathed substantial sums of money to her individual children, although the fact that much of this money was payable from debts owed to her by her other children suggests that some of the bequests involved were more in the nature of credits than actual cash. When she died she was owed £200 by her son Charles (£100 of which was bequeathed to her son Henry), £140 by her son Henry (£100 of which she bequeathed to him, thus cancelling part of the debt), and her son-in-law Henry Gipps had £76 of hers ‘in his hands’, which Joan bequeathed to her daughter Mary Gipps, Henry’s wife, together with a further £24 to make the bequest to Mary up to £100.

On top of this, Joan Darby’s will tells us that John Darby’s widow, Elizabeth, was once more pregnant at the time of John’s death in 1608/9, although he had not known it at the time. Joan left this posthumous grandchild £100, but noted in her will that ‘this sum is now due and owing unto me by the said Elizabeth Darby my daughter in law as executrix of the testament and last will of my said sonne John Darby her late husband’. John Darby’s will left no such specific cash legacy to his mother, so this £100 must have been a debt or unrepaid loan which he did not mention in making his will. This represents substantial help for Darby from his mother during her lifetime and is one of a number of hints that his widow, Elizabeth Darby might have been either a less capable manager of money than her mother-in-law or even rather acquisitive. John’s posthumous child, Mary, survived. But Elizabeth Darby had still not

¹³ Barbara Todd, ‘Freebench and free enterprise: widows and their property in two Berkshire villages’, in John Chartes and David Hey (eds), *English rural society, 1500-1800: essays in honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1990), p.76.

discharged Joan Darby's son and executor, Henry Darby, of the £100 by the time Joan's eldest son, Charles Darby, made his will in 1618. Because of this, Henry still stood liable for its collection from her in order to fully execute Joan's will. Charles therefore left property to his brother Henry for so long a time as it took to repay this money from the rents and profits of the land, implying that the family had accepted that Henry was never going to get the money from Elizabeth Darby.

There are other examples of Elizabeth Darby's neglect or possible sharp practice concerning family financial matters. After John Darby's death, she mortgaged to her brother-in-law Edward Darby of Bury St Edmunds for £200 a tenement in the parish of St Mary Tower in Ipswich, which John had bequeathed her. She never repaid the £200, so Edward re-possessed it. In 1631, Edward bequeathed his interest in the property to John and Elizabeth's son Edmund, although he specified that if Elizabeth paid her son Edmund the £200 within a year, he was to accept this in lieu of the actual property.¹⁴ Perhaps forewarned by this of her likely behaviour, even Elizabeth's own son Edmund, with whom she was living in old age in Norwich in 1647, stipulated in his will that his mother 'shall in no wise imbeasell [embezzle] his personal estate'.¹⁵ The family also mortgaged and transferred amongst themselves their Norfolk lands, in and around Burnham Sutton and Burnham Westgate, after the deaths of John Darby himself in 1608/9 and of his son Henry, who died under the age of 21 in 1625.¹⁶ This kind of internecine lending of money and transferring of property within the family appears to have been the norm amongst the Darbys, as it probably was amongst many families of sufficient means at the period.

Joan Darby also seems to have been socially ambitious for her children. One means of advancement for those who could afford it for their children was a university education. Although there is no evidence that John Darby went to university, the Edward Darby who matriculated sizar from Jesus College, Cambridge, at Michaelmas, 1578, and obtained his B.A. in 1581/2 was of an age to have been his younger brother, baptised in 1562.¹⁷ Certainly other members of John Darby's family were at Jesus College later, which is suggestive that

¹⁴ TNA, PROB 11/160/540.

¹⁵ NRO, NCC Barker 52.

¹⁶ Deeds covering these transactions are in NRO, Walpole of Wolterton Estate Papers, at references (in date order): WAL 768, 280X4; WAL 1495, 291X1; WAL 770/5, 280X5; WAL 796/1-2, WAL 801, WAL 796/3-7, all 281X4; WAL 846, 282X1, 1631-1688..

¹⁷ *Venn and Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses ... 1261-1900* (1922-1954), <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/> accessed 10 March 2015.

Edward might have been a trailblazer. John Darby's grandson Charles, (Rector of Kedington, also known as Ketton, Suffolk, 1664-1709) was admitted at Jesus in 1652, where he took his B.A. in 1655/6, M.A. in 1659, and was a Fellow 1657-1666. Charles' sons, Charles and Edward, also attended Jesus, although both died there and were buried in the College Chapel: Edward in 1693, less than a year after arriving, and Charles in 1702, having been a Fellow since 1692. John Darby's eldest son, Luke, however, matriculated from St John's at Easter, 1612, and was admitted at Emmanuel on 4 June 1612, although there is no record of his having taken his degree.

3.3.1 *The Acquisition of Arms*

The Darbys of Bury St Edmunds even acquired a coat of arms, albeit probably corruptly, and almost certainly at Joan Darby's connivance. Joan Corder, the Suffolk heraldic expert, gives several versions of the Darby arms from different sources. All were variations on arms described as 'Vert, a chevron between three garbs Or/Argent/Sable' (see Fig. 14 below).¹⁸



Fig. 14: Arms of the Darby Family of Bury St Edmunds, drawn by John Wareyn Darby, 1826.¹⁹

Corder describes them as having been granted to Darby of Bury St Edmunds and Darby of Tuddenham 'by Cooke, 20 June 1588', which accounts for the Darby family's pedigree appearing in the 1612 herald's visitation of Suffolk, when it had not appeared in those of 1561 or 1577.²⁰ The person who actually acquired the Darby arms in 1588 is problematic. The arms

¹⁸ Joan Corder, *A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms*, Suffolk Records Society, Vol. VII (Ipswich: W.S. Cowell Ltd, 1965), p.173.

¹⁹ SA(I), Local Studies 929.72, John Wareyn Darby, *Suffolk Arms: Nobility, Baronets, Lords of Manors, Gentry*, Vol. 2 (The Author's MS, 1826): a manuscript volume of hand-coloured arms of Suffolk, opening 101 (Darby of Bury St Edmunds). Reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives.

²⁰ Walter C. Metcalfe (ed.) *The Visitations of Suffolk, 1561, 1577 and 1612* (Exeter, 1882), p.133 ('Darby of Bury St Edmond's').

were supposedly granted to an Edmund Darby, but John Darby's father Edmund had died in 1576, and his son, a younger Edmund (baptised in 1561) had died in 1566.²¹ The Darby in possession of the family's property in Bury St Edmunds in 1588 was John Darby's mother, Joan, although Charles Darby (died 1634), John Darby's eldest brother, was then the head of the family in armigerous terms. The pedigree in the 1612 herald's visitation begins with Edmund Darby, John Darby's father, and concentrates on the direct heirs who actually inherited the mantle of head of the family and inheritor of its arms: for the Darbys, this status passed from Edmund to his eldest son Charles (a Feoffee of the Bury St Edmunds Town Lands 1606-1624²²) and then to Edmund's third son, Henry (Corder's 'Darby of Tuddenham'), since John Darby, Edmund's second son, was dead by 1612 when the herald's visitation and pedigree were made.²³ On balance, Joan Darby is the likeliest person to have actually obtained (most likely, purchased) the grant of arms retrospectively from Robert Cooke (died 1593), Clarenceux King of Arms, in her late husband's name.²⁴

Joan Darby's efforts to further her family's social interests by the acquisition of arms, even if corruptly, were ethically questionable but not unusual at that time. Even in his own day, Cooke's fellow heralds criticised his corrupt practices, which were blatant and on an unprecedented scale. Shortly after Cooke's death in 1593, Garter King of Arms William Segar (d.1633) accused him of having granted arms 'without number to base and unworthy persons for his private gain only without the knowledge of the Earl Marshall'.²⁵ Ralph Brooke (d.1625), York Herald, numbered these grants at five hundred. More recently, Day has proposed that the figure is very much higher, whilst Peter Gwynn-Jones suggests Brooke might have left a zero off the end of the number and that Cooke might well have been responsible for between three and five thousand grants of arms over his thirty year career as a

²¹ SA(B), FL 541/4/1, Bury St Edmunds, St James Parish Register of Baptisms, 1558-1664, Marriages and Burials 1562-1564, transcribed in [S.H.A. Hervey] (ed.), *Bury St Edmunds St James Parish Registers: Burials 1562-1800* (Suffolk Green Books, Vol. XVII, Part 3 (Bury St Edmunds, 1916), p.5.

²² Margaret Statham (ed.), *Accounts of the Feoffees of the Town Lands of Bury St Edmunds, 1569-1622*, Suffolk Records Society Vol. 46 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), p.354.

²³ Henry was John Darby's next younger brother, who had married in 1585 and lived in both Culpho and Tuddenham, just north of Ipswich, at various times in the years after his marriage [SA(I), Vincent Burrough Redstone, *Extracts from the Borough Records, 1272-1841*, Vol. XII: Full extracts of all entries upon the Rolls, temp. Elizabeth, of Ipswich Borough Records: Doggett Roll 44 Eliz – 1 Jas [1602-3], Bailiffs R. Cutler and J. Sicklemore, Entry XXXVI.12. The original record is at SA(I), C/2/10/1/48].

²⁴ Peter Gwynn-Jones, 'Tudor Enigmas', *The Coat of Arms: The Journal of the Heraldry Society*, Third Series, Vol. I, Part 2, No. 210 (Autumn 2005), p.82.

²⁵ J. F. R. Day, 'Cooke, Robert (d. 1593), herald', *ODNB* (2004), citing 'Lant's Observations' BL, Harley MS 6591, 'Officers and offices of armes', fol. 68v; Gwynn-Jones, 'Tudor Enigmas' (2005), p.77 and n.16, citing College of Arms Ms Arundel 40 (Lant's Observations), fol. 29/123.

herald.²⁶ Defining and acquiring gentlemanly status was a major preoccupation amongst the newly enriched self-made men of the sixteenth century and acquiring arms, by fair means or foul, was a good way of claiming it. Inheriting arms would have been seen as much more prestigious than obtaining an original grant of arms for oneself, so Joan Darby may well have corruptly acquired back-dated arms for the Darbys and impressed upon her children the need to acquire such other trappings of gentility as a university education and perhaps such gentlemanly pursuits as surveying and limning, as we shall see respecting John Darby's career.²⁷

Other humbly-born surveyors and map-makers also laid claim to old gentility and arms whilst having apparently humbler parents. The Cheshire-born map-maker, playwright, merchant, traveller and innkeeper William Smith (c.1546-1618) claimed descent from the Smiths of Cuerdley, Lancashire, who rather conveniently died out just before he adopted their arms without differentiation.²⁸ He might well have been related to this family, but probably as a poor relation. His father described himself in his will as a yeoman, his inventory making clear his status as a farmer who was by no means wealthy.²⁹ Smith may well have used his position as a herald at the College of Arms to inflate his social status and make himself heir to an armigerous family. George Sawer (d.1627) of Cawston, Norfolk, who made several maps of estates in Norfolk 1590s-1610s was another. Susan Dwyer Amussen has described him as 'a perfect example of the 'rising gentry', his son being knighted and his descendants holding high Government offices.³⁰

3.3.2 Widows as Money-Lenders

The fact that John Darby's father Edmund Darby had 'houses and tenements' to leave implies that he was a prosperous enough carpenter to have invested in real property to farm for himself and let out for an income. As a widow of means Joan Darby might also have found extra income by lending money, which was not uncommon amongst widows at the time. Holderness points out that widows as money-lenders supplied 'part at least of the credit which

²⁶ Gwynn-Jones, 'Tudor Enigmas' (2005), p.77 & n.17, 82-3, citing BL Ms Cotton Faustina E.1, fol. 141.

²⁷ For drawing and painting as a gentlemanly accomplishment, see Katherine Coombs, 'A Kind of Gentle Painting': Limning in 16th-Century England', pp.77-84 in Kim Sloan (ed.), *European Visions: American Voices* (British Museum, 2009).

²⁸ David Kathman, 'Smith, William (c. 1550–1618), herald and playwright', *ODNB* (2006)

²⁹ Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, WS 1584.

³⁰ Amussen, 'A Norfolk Village: Cawston, 1595-1605' (1986), p.16.

peasant and small-town societies needed so extensively' and tended to prioritise kin, as Joan Darby appears to have done.³¹ He also states that:

‘The most prominent economic function of the widow in English rural society between 1500 and 1900 was money lending’.³²

When Bassingbourn Gawdy (d.1606) of West Harling, Norfolk was considering the purchase of Lymborne Manor in Suffolk in 1593, his kinsman John Nonne advised him to borrow the money to pay for it, and said he knew ‘a widow who would advance it “at reasonable reckoning”’.³³ Since Nonne and Charles Darby (Edmund and Joan’s eldest son) were both Feoffees of the Bury St Edmunds Town Lands, and so must have known each other, perhaps the widow that Nonne recommended might even have been Joan Darby: although speculation, it is a possibility.³⁴ As has been shown, Joan Darby’s will certainly implies that she was a woman who could account for every penny of her funds and she may well have made her assets work for her.

3.3.3 The Darby Family Farm in Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk

The real property which Edmund Darby left to his wife Joan passed to their eldest son Charles after Joan’s death in May 1609, just a few months after John Darby’s own death. Her will does not go into detail about the property, but Charles’ will (made 1618, proved 1624) and inquisition *post mortem* (IPM) (1624) do. He might have acquired more property after Joan’s death (some of it rented from the Bury Town Lands Feoffees), however, and there is no guarantee that all of it had once belonged to his father Edmund Darby.³⁵ Most of it was in Bury St Edmunds. The principal family dwelling appears to have been in Northgate Street, near the corner of the lane which was known until the nineteenth century as Darby (now Schoolhall) Lane (see Fig. 15), which would then have been on the northern outskirts of the

³¹ B. A. Holderness, ‘Widows in Pre-industrial Society: An Essay upon Their Economic Functions’, in R. M. Smith (ed.), *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.427-8, 440.

³² B. A. Holderness, ‘Widows in Pre-industrial Society’ (1985), p.435.

³³ Historical Manuscripts Commission *Report on the Manuscripts of the Family of Gawdy, formerly of Norfolk* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1885), p.38, letter 135, John Nonne to Bassingbourn Gawdy, 24 November 1593.

³⁴ Statham, *Accounts of the Bury Feoffees* (2003), p.354 (Charles Darby); p.359 (John Nunn).

³⁵ SRO(B), IC/500/1/66/45; Statham, *Accounts of the Bury Feoffees* (2003), pp.163, 167, 176-7, 184-5, 190, 196-7, 200, 208, 212, 218, 257, 263, 270, 305.

town. It was a farm, with meadows and an orchard.³⁶ There were other premises in Bury too: a close or garden called ‘Hastingesyard otherwise Cowlescrofte’; another garden and three tofts in Northgate Street; messuages in Southgate Street and ‘le Cookerowe’; a garden or orchard called ‘le Pondeyarde in Cottonslane’; messuages and closes (one called ‘le Towerclose’) in ‘le long Bracklande’ and ‘le shorte Bracklande’ and a close called ‘Lacyes’. In addition he held 40 acres in three closes of arable in Ipswich, Rushmere, Westerfield and Tuddenham, just to the north and east of Ipswich. All together, his IPM properties were valued at £4 15s. 6d. p.a., although IPM valuations might not reflect their actual market value, as we shall see. Some of the Bury properties were described in the IPM of 1624 as ‘*igne vastat quondam*’ (lately wasted by fire).³⁷ This might refer to the serious Bury St Edmunds fire of 1608, which is estimated to have destroyed 160 houses and caused £60,000 worth of damage, mostly in the parish of St James and the Market Place. If so, then it indicates that the enormous task of rebuilding a large part of the town had still not yet been completed sixteen years afterwards.³⁸ This bears out the prediction of the anonymous contemporary pamphleteer who recorded the fire that it did such ‘hurts as will not be made good in long time, nor without great summes of money’.³⁹ Charles Darby’s rental income must have been hit hard by these properties’ destruction, even if he seems to have had other property which remained intact and therefore valuable. Building materials were expensive, and in short supply locally due to increased demand, despite the gift of 500 loads of timber from the royal forest of Hitcham, granted in the Bury Charter of 1608.⁴⁰ Perhaps Charles’ losses in this fire and the fear it engendered explain the presence, in an inventory attached to his will, of quantities of timber ‘both old and new … fit and serviceable for repairing buildings’ as well as the leather buckets, presumably for water, noted as being with the wicker screen ‘to set before a fire’ in his house.⁴¹

³⁶ Statham, *Accounts of the Bury Feoffees* (2003), p.354; SA(B), IC/500/1/80/75a; TNA, C 142/733/13. The site and the lands around it (still fields) can be seen on Alexander Downing’s *A New and Accurate Plan of the Ancient Borough of Bury St Edmunds …* (1740) and Thomas Warren’s *Survey of the Borough of Bury St Edmunds* (1776) [both online via <http://www.stedmundsburychronicle.co.uk> accessed 1 Sep 2023].

³⁷ TNA, C 142/733/13.

³⁸ SA(B), IC/500/1/80/75a; TNA, C 142/733/13. Details of the Bury Fire, which destroyed a large part of the town, mostly in the parish of St James, in two days in April 1608 can be found in Statham, *Accounts of the Bury Feoffees* (2003), p.xlviii; [S.H.A. Hervey] (ed.), *Bury St Edmunds, St James Parish Registers, Marriages 1562-1800*, Suffolk Green Books Vol. XVII (Woodbridge: George Booth, 1916), pp.xv-xvi; and ‘The Woeful and Lamentable wast and spoile done by a suddaine Fire in S. Edmonds-bury in Suffolke, on Munday, the tenth of April, 1608’ (London: printed for Henrie Gosson, 1608, 1845).

³⁹ ‘The Woeful and Lamentable wast and spoile done by a suddaine Fire in S. Edmonds-bury’ (1608, reprinted 1845), p.12.

⁴⁰ Statham, *Accounts of the Bury Feoffees* (2003), p.xlviii.

⁴¹ SA(B), IC/500/1/80/75a.



Fig. 15: Warren's map of Bury St Edmunds (1748) showing Darby Lane (highlighted). North is to the left. Note Warren's use of animal figures to show land use, which is reminiscent of John Darby's maps.⁴²

In terms of inherited wealth and status, therefore, John Darby, the son of a carpenter and grandson of a wheelwright, inherited only 6s.8d. from his maternal grandfather in 1556 and 20s. from his father in 1576. His elder brother Charles inherited his parents' property in the first instance after the deaths of John himself in January 1608/9 and their mother in May 1609. Although John might well have benefitted from financial assistance from his parents (particularly his mother) during his lifetime, he inherited no property as such from them. Yet when he died on 15 January 1608/9, according to the three separate *inquisitions post mortem* (IPMs) on his property in Norfolk and Suffolk (discussed below, and see Table 1) as well as his own will, he possessed a substantial amount of property.⁴³ How did he achieve this?

⁴² Reproduced by kind permission of David Addy from his website at <http://www.stedmundsburychronicle.co.uk/warrenmap.htm>, accessed 28 Oct 2023.

⁴³ NRO, NCC Original Wills, 1609: John Darby and register copy (slightly different) of the same at NCC Will Register Turner 145; TNA, C 142/308/117 (Suffolk IPM); C 142/330/7 and WARD 7/35/23 (1st Norfolk IPM); C 142/327/109 and WARD 7/45/68 (2nd Norfolk IPM). His two Norfolk IPMs contain different information and it is likely that the second one was held because the first had omitted required information.

3.4 Darby's Marriage and the Influence of his In-laws

One of the ways he obtained much of this property was undoubtedly through his marriage to a wealthy heiress. Before discussing his property in detail, it is worth looking at this marriage, the contacts he had through it and the advantages it brought him. Making a good marriage was a conventional means of self-improvement for ambitious men of the period.

Previous researchers have been led astray regarding Darby's marriage, assuming she was née Bennett as Darby's mother-in-law, mentioned in his will, was Elizabeth Bennett.⁴⁴ Elizabeth Bennett's own will of 1599 confirms her identity, and refers to the Darby family in Bramford, with whom she was almost certainly living by then. In fact, John Darby's mother-in-law, Elizabeth Bennett, was twice a widow when she died in Bramford and was buried there on 9 July 1599.⁴⁵ John Darby's wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter, only child and heiress of her mother's first marriage to Luke Melton (d. 1591), an extremely wealthy Ipswich pewterer who served as one of the two Chamberlains of Ipswich for the year 1585-86.⁴⁶

Darby's in-laws and extended family are interesting in showing the interrelationships of the wealthier of Ipswich's 'middling sort' of people at the time. His marriage places him firmly in the context of urban burgesses who were investing their riches in landowning in this period. His other family relationships gave him potentially useful networking links, although we cannot know to what extent he might have exploited them as none of his personal archives survive. Darby might well have met his wife-to-be through her maternal grandfather, George Jeffery *alias* Spooner or Spomer (died 1588) of Debenham, Suffolk, yeoman and latterly of Ipswich. Darby certainly knew George several years before his marriage: Darby and his future father-in-law Luke Melton both signed George's will as witnesses in 1588 (one of the few surviving examples of Darby's signature, see Fig. 16).⁴⁷ It is perhaps interesting to note that

⁴⁴ Frostick does not conjecture as to Darby's wife's family, but merely cites his mother-in-law as Elizabeth Bennett [Frostick, 'A 16th Century East Anglian Surveyor', (2005), p.38]. Ames was taken in by her surname, however, or his informants were, since he cites 'Elizabeth, daughter of ... Bennett and Elizabeth his wife' as John Darby's wife [Reginald Ames, *Genealogical Memoranda of the Family of Ames* (London: Privately Printed, Mitchell and Hughes, 1889), p.10].

⁴⁵ SA(I), FB 6/D1/1, p.97.

⁴⁶ TNA, PROB 11/79/19; Glyn James, 'Suffolk Pewterers' in *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, Vol. XLI, Part I (2005), pp.63-78. Luke Melton was one of the two Chamberlains of Ipswich in 1585-6, his partner Chamberlain being John Humfrey, who might have been related to John Darby's mother Joan (née Humfrey).

⁴⁷ SA(I), IC/AA1/30/285. George was buried on 11 May 1588 at St Stephen's, Ipswich [SA(I), FB 107/D1/1, fol. 2r]. John Darby's other signatures occur on a letter from Darby, Paman and Osborne to Nathaniel

Luke Melton made his mark: despite being one of the wealthiest tradesmen in Ipswich, he was not literate. Melton's lack of literacy may hide a rise from humbler beginnings, with no formal education. Many of the sons of Ipswich burgesses went to Ipswich Grammar School, where Thomas Wolsey almost certainly received his early education, but Luke Melton was not a local man by birth and his family background might have been poor and even possibly rather radical and unsettled.⁴⁸

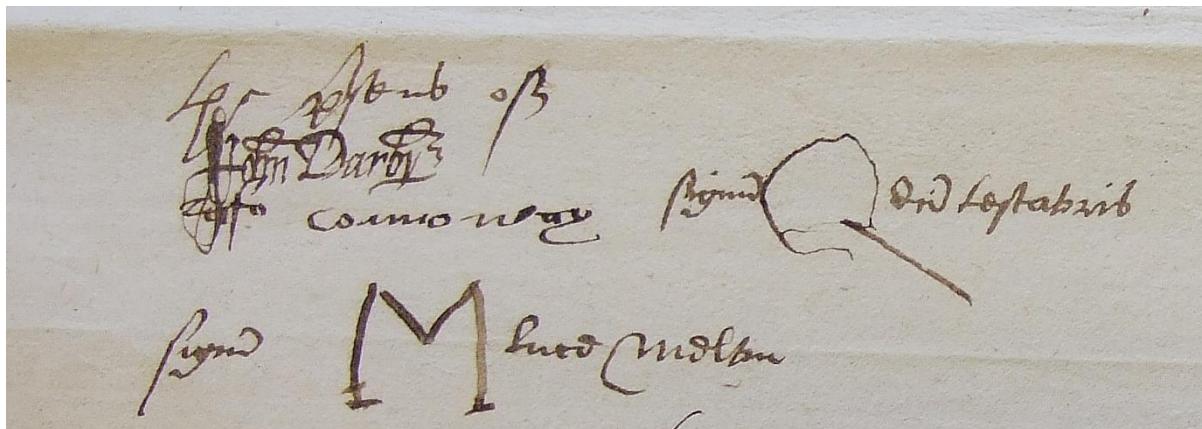


Fig. 16: Witnesses to the will of George Jeffery otherwise Spooner, 1588, including signature of John Darby (line 2) and mark of Luke Melton (at bottom).⁴⁹

John Darby wasted no time after Luke Melton's death before marrying his daughter. Melton must have died between making his will on 1 October 1591 (in which his daughter was described as unmarried) and its probate on 15 January 1591/2.⁵⁰ Therefore the marriage must have taken place some time between the extremes of 1 October 1591 and 19 November 1592 (when John and Elizabeth Darby's eldest daughter was baptised at Hasketon). Allowing for Elizabeth Darby's period of pregnancy with their daughter, the marriage probably occurred

Bacon in 1606 [Folger L.d.450, digital image available online (see list of primary sources for link); his map of Aldeburgh [SRO(I), EE 1/16/1] and on a terrier relating to some of Sir Philip Parker's land in Burnham Overy, Norfolk [between 1579 and 1604] [Holkham Estate Archives, DD/Bu/79].

⁴⁸ Luke Melton's will refers to his married sister, Jane or Jone Atkinson of Louth, Lincolnshire, who was still living there when Luke died in 1591: she had married John Atkinson in Louth in 1560 suggesting that the Melton family were established in the town for some time [Lincolnshire Archives: Louth St James, PAR/1/4, Louth Parish Registers: Marriages 1557-1646, fol. 3r]. If so, given the small size of Louth at the time, it is highly possible that Luke Melton was related in some way to Nicholas Melton, otherwise known as 'Captain Cobbler', the Louth shoemaker who was executed as one of the leaders of the Lincolnshire Rising of October 1536, the immediate precursor of the more famous Pilgrimage of Grace which erupted later the same month.

⁴⁹ SA(I), IC/AA1/30/285, reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives.

⁵⁰ If he were buried in St Mary Tower, Ipswich, the dearth of burial records for that parish before 1614 (see previous note) accounts for the lack of a burial date and place for him.

between October 1591 and February 1591/2, and almost certainly occurred in the bride's home parish of St Mary Tower, Ipswich, for which there are no surviving marriage records before 1614.⁵¹ Was this marriage long-planned or an act of rank opportunism on the part of John Darby? Elizabeth Melton was a good deal younger than him. Her parents had married in Debenham, Suffolk on 7 July 1567, and Luke Melton's will of 1591 left her money to be paid to her in instalments when she was nineteen and twenty years of age, so she was probably 18 at most, whereas Darby was about 38 when they married.⁵² Luke Melton did not change his will or add a codicil to acknowledge his daughter's marriage, so it probably took place very shortly after his death. The fact that it had not happened before he died could suggest he died relatively suddenly, or perhaps that he opposed the match or knew nothing of Darby's intentions. The advantages of the marriage to Darby were obvious, but the benefit to Elizabeth Melton of a match to an older jobbing surveyor without property of his own are less tangible. Perhaps Darby was seen to be an up-and-coming man, with advantageous links to the gentry through his profession. Perhaps it was a love-match or an elopement. There is simply no evidence. But the marriage gave the couple financial security and from then on, Darby styled himself as gentleman.

Luke Melton's widow Elizabeth re-married, also at Hasketon, on 21 November 1592, within a year of Luke's death and just two days after the baptism there of her first Darby grandchild, John and Elizabeth Darby's eldest daughter, another Elizabeth.⁵³ It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that John and Elizabeth Darby's first marital home was in Hasketon and that Elizabeth's mother, Elizabeth Melton, was living with them when she married her second husband, Thomas Bennett. The timing of Elizabeth Melton's re-marriage within a year of Luke Melton's death was not unusual at that time. In her study of Abingdon, Oxfordshire, Barbara Todd gives an interval between a husband's death and the re-marriage of his widow as between nine and eleven months in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁴ Although evidence is patchy, levels of re-marriage of widows seems to have been slightly higher in the sixteenth century than the seventeenth.⁵⁵ Holderness suggests a re-marriage rate of between

⁵¹ SA(I), FB 91/D1/1 is the first extant parish register for this parish.

⁵² SA(I), FC 47/D1/1.

⁵³ SA(I), FC 23/D1/1: the baptism of Elizabeth Darby on 19 November 1592 is the entry immediately before that of the second marriage of her maternal grandmother on 21 November 1592.

⁵⁴ Barbara Todd, 'The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Reconsidered', in Mary Prior (ed.) *Women in English Society, 1500-1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 1985), p.26.

⁵⁵ Jane Whittle, 'Inheritance, Marriage, Widowhood and Remarriage: A Comparative Perspective on Women and Landholding in North-East Norfolk, 1440-1580', *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 13, Part 1 (1998), p.62. For attempts to find patterns of re-marriage of widows, see also B. A. Holderness, 'Widows in Pre-

six and thirteen per cent for widows for the seventeenth century and that roughly one marriage in ten was a remarriage.⁵⁶ Todd gives a mid-sixteenth century figure of 30% for marriage partners who were widows or widowers.⁵⁷ Elizabeth Melton was also eligible. She may still only have been in her forties, if she had married Luke Melton in her early twenties in 1567. She had inherited, absolutely, without a mere life interest, Luke Melton's house in St Mary Tower, Ipswich, which was occupied by Leonard Caston, one of the town's leading lawyers, so it was presumably a substantial house.⁵⁸ She also inherited a life interest in Luke Melton's lands in Monks Eleigh, Bramford and Whitton, Suffolk.

Darby's new step-father-in-law, Thomas Bennett may also have been somewhat opportunistic in marrying the widowed Elizabeth Melton. Bennett also had form in marrying widows. His first wife, Cecilia, was the widow of John Dryver, from whom Thomas Bennett had purchased the manor of Capel Hall, Trimley. Dryver's widow had taken Bennett to court for her widow's dower out of the property after his purchase of it, and Thomas Bennett seems to have solved the problem by marrying the widow Dryver himself, although he then had to prove his ownership against a claim by Charles Cornwallis subsequently.⁵⁹ Many an ambitious sixteenth century man bettered himself by snapping up an heiress or wealthy widow as his wife. Thomas Bennett and John Darby had this in common: Bennett married the widowed Elizabeth Melton within a year of her husband Luke Melton's death, whilst Darby married Luke Melton's heiress and sole child within three months or even less of it. Both seem to have been men who would not let a good opportunity pass them by.

John Darby was not alone in his family in marrying a wealthy or socially superior woman.⁶⁰ In 1585, John's next youngest brother, Henry, married Ann, daughter of Edmund Withypoll (died 1582) of Christchurch, Ipswich and recent widow of Robert King or Kynge, a wealthy Portman of Ipswich with lands in Culpho, where Henry and Ann lived for a time in the late

industrial Society: An Essay upon Their Economic Functions', in R. M. Smith (ed.), *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.428-32.

⁵⁶ Holderness, 'Widows in Pre-industrial Society', pp.429-30.

⁵⁷ Barbara Todd, 'The Remarrying Widow', (1985), p.31.

⁵⁸ TNA: PROB 11/79/19.

⁵⁹ TNA, C 2/Eliz/B6/16.

⁶⁰ John's eldest brother Charles Darby also married a widow, Katheryn (possibly née Smith, from Norfolk), the widow of Christopher Platte of Bury St Edmunds, vintner. In this case, however, only Platte's debts followed the marriage, and Charles Darby found himself involved in a legal dispute with one John Tye (John Darby's wife's step-nephew) over a debt owed by Platte for which Platte's administratrix, his widow Katheryn, was liable [TNA, C 3/266/46].

1580s. King's son and heir, also Robert, sold (or possibly mortgaged) some cottages and lands in the High Street of St Clement's parish, Ipswich to John Darby in 1589, which adds to a picture of John Darby as something of a property dealer, as his brother Henry also seems to have been.⁶¹ Marrying the widow of so wealthy a burgess as Robert King would have been something of a practical coup for Henry Darby in terms of her accessible wealth, although some of it would have been tied up for the inheritance of King's children. But the Withypoll connection represented a more considerable social improvement, even if it were probably more prestigious than profitable to him. Anne's father Edmund Withypoll had at least 19 children of whom Anne was one of the youngest, so providing for them all had probably meant smaller dowries and less material help in life than might otherwise have been expected in such a high-status family.⁶² However, included with the prestige of his marriage, Henry could now claim the Withypolls and their extended gentry family as kin.

Apart from the family link through his brother Henry, John Darby was also a close neighbour of the Withypolls in Ipswich, as their Christchurch House was opposite the Northern end of Brook Street, where Darby had property at the Old Bar Gates in the 1590s and early 1600s. Darby and Withypoll also both held land in Bramford, the parish which was Darby's main residence from the mid-1590s, if not earlier. John Darby had a number of professional and personal contacts in common with the Withypolls, which he might have made through his brother.

The will of John Darby's mother-in-law, Elizabeth Bennett (formerly Melton, née Jeffery *alias* Spooner) also hints at wider family networks. Elizabeth's cousin was Christopher Burrough of East Bergholt, Suffolk, clothier, and both their wills mention cousins with the surname Hedge.⁶³ Burrough's own will mentions his uncle (his mother Anne's brother) Stephen Cardinall, who was the son of Stephen Cardinall (died 1573) of East Bergholt and nephew of William Cardinall (c.1509-1568), of Great Bromley, Essex, MP for Colchester, leading Puritan and sometime receiver-general of John de Vere, 16th Earl of Oxford. His

⁶¹ Vincent Burrough Redstone, *Extracts from the [Ipswich] Borough Records 1272-1841*, Volume XII, Rolls 9-45 Eliz-Jas I: entry XII.12, (Roll 31-32 Eliz, Bailiffs R Cutler and R Snelling), original document at SA(I), C/2/10/1/35).

⁶² See P.H. Reaney (rev.), G.C. Moore Smith, *The Family of Withypoll, with special reference to their Manor of Christchurch, Ipswich, and some notes on the allied families of Thorne, Harper, Lucar and Devereux* (Walthamstow: Walthamstow Antiquarian Society, Official Publication No. 34, 1936), family tree facing p.100 and pp.54, 63.

⁶³ NRO, NCC Will register Pecke, 191; TNA, PROB 11/109/425.

relationship with the Cardinall family did not prevent Christopher Burrough and a number of his fellow copy-holders of the manor of East Bergholt, Suffolk, from taking a legal case against William Cardinall of East Bergholt, lord of the manor, and his son William in Chancery in 1590 for ignoring the custom of the manor and extortionately raising admission fines.⁶⁴ Of more relevance to John Darby, is the link, however tenuous, this makes to the Earl of Oxford and through him, to the surveyor and map-maker Israel Amyce, who was a servant to the 17th Earl of Oxford and probably also related to the Cardinalls (although the visitation pedigrees are confusing as to the exact relationship). As we shall see, Israel Amyce had other links to Ipswich and was strongly linked to Robert Doon, who was training surveyors in the town in the 1580s and earlier (see Chapter Four). It is possible, although not provable, that Amyce might have trained Darby in map-making, therefore.

3.5 John Darby's Land

John Darby's landed property was the basis of his wealth and it lay wholly in Suffolk and Norfolk. Investigating how and from whom he acquired it illustrates how he gained his wealth and status, as well as indicating the networks which were most advantageous to him. Most, but not all, of the property he owned at death was detailed in his inquisitions *post mortem* (or IPMs, two for Norfolk and one for Suffolk), as briefly summarised in Table 1. These, and other properties disposed of before death or not mentioned in his will or IPMs are discussed separately in more detail in Table 1 (overleaf).

⁶⁴ TNA, C 2/Eliz/M7/54.

Table 1: Most of the properties John Darby held at his death in 1608/9, according to his Inquisitions *Post Mortem* (IPMs)

A. Properties (with acreages, parishes and manors, all held by free socage and suit of court unless otherwise stated)	B. Darby's sub- tenant(s)	C. Darby's manorial lord(s)	D. Rent paid by Darby (p.a.)	E. IPM Valuation (p.a.)
A messuage or tenement with lands (26 acres) in Bramford and Whitton, Suffolk, part of the manor of Bramford (John Darby's principal residence from 1593)	William Warner	The King	8s.	26s.8d.
2 separate tenements called the Oldbargates in Ipswich, Suffolk, held by free burgage	Thomas Witham & Robert Church	Town of Ipswich	14d.	6s.8d.
One messuage or tenement with 55 acres of land, pasture and woods in Brockford and Thwaite (manor of Brockford), Suffolk	Charles Whitman	Anthony Penninge, esquire	10s.	30s.
Certain lands, pastures and woods in Mendlesham (45 acres) (manor of Mendlesham), Suffolk	Charles Whitman	[blank] Eldred, gent.	4s.5d.	26s.8d.
2 messuages or tenements with lands (90 acres), in Trimley Falkenham & Kirton, Suffolk in three separate manors: - manor of Walton & Trimley; - manor of Falkenham Dodnash; - manor of Falkenham otherwise Russells or Bushells or Bosvills in Falkenham	[blank] Goslyn & [blank] Benze	Queen Anne; Anna Babington, widow Sir Robert Barker, kt.	5s.10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in total for all	45s. in total for all
Lands called Sutton Clappers and other lands and pastures in Burnham Sutton and Burnham Westgate, Norfolk (220 acres); Sutton Clapper Foldcourse and Muckledon Foldcourse in Burnham Sutton and Burnham Westgate (manor of Castleacre)	Sir Calthrop Parker, knight	Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter	Unknown to jurors in Suffolk and Norfolk IPMs	50s.
Totals			£1 9s. 5$\frac{1}{4}$d.	£9 5s. 0d.

3.5.1 Bramford and Whitton Suffolk

The first of these properties, and his principal residence at death, was in Bramford, Suffolk, immediately north-west of Ipswich.⁶⁵ Although he lived in Hasketon, Suffolk, in 1592-3 at least, and was 'of Ipswich' in 1589, he consistently described himself in documents from at least 1593 as 'of Bramford, gentleman', or occasionally as 'of Whitton' reflecting the fact that his Bramford estate also included lands in the adjacent parish of Whitton, across the valley of the River Gipping.⁶⁶ The fact that he held this property directly of the Crown would have necessitated the formal IPM process, which was designed to ensure that the Crown obtained all the feudal incidents, such as wardship of an underage heir and reliefs due when a holding changed hands on the death of a tenant-in-chief. Manorial rents were fixed by ancient custom and as the sixteenth century progressed, they became more and more out of kilter with commercial land values, which increased hugely as the century progressed. This is to some measure reflected in the difference between the rent of 8s. Darby paid to the lord of the manor (the King) for his Bramford and Whitton lands and the IPM valuation of the property at £1 6s. 8d. p.a. The latter valuation may still be far too low, however, as we shall see.

Darby held this property in right of his wife: it came to him from his father-in-law, Luke Melton, who left it to his widow, Elizabeth (subsequently Elizabeth Bennett, died 1599) for her lifetime and then to his daughter, Elizabeth, John Darby's wife.⁶⁷ Elizabeth Bennett's death and the transfer of this land after her death in 1599 to her daughter Elizabeth Darby is recorded in the manor of Bramford's court roll entry for 21 September 1599.⁶⁸ At subsequent manorial courts, John Darby was fined for non-attendance, before his own death was eventually reported to the court on 18 September 1610.⁶⁹ Since his son Luke Darby was fined for non-attendance at subsequent courts of 17 April and 6 October 1612, it seems that the

⁶⁵ TNA, C 142/308/1; C 142/330/7 and WARD 7/35/23; C 142/327/109 and WARD 7/45/68. IPMs would be held for tenants in chief of the Crown at death for each county in which they had property. John Darby probably had two for Norfolk as there was information missing from the first of them.

⁶⁶ TNA, E 115/119/56; SA(I), FC 23/D1/1: baptism of John Darby's daughter Elizabeth Darby on 19 November 1592 immediately before the entry recording the second marriage of her maternal grandmother, Elizabeth Melton to Thomas Bennett on 21 November 1592; SA(I), Vincent Burrough Redstone, *Extracts from the Borough Records, 1272-1841*, Vol XI, Calendar of Wills and Conveyances enrolled among the Ipswich Borough Records taken from the original rolls 1-3 Hen. VIII and the Register of Deeds and Willis 29 Hen VIII – 3 Eliz: XII.12-14; Vol. XIII: Enrolments of Deeds in the Ipswich Borough Courts, temp. James I: Doggett Roll 1606-1607, entry V.15.

⁶⁷ TNA, PROB 11/79/19.

⁶⁸ SA(I), HB 8/1/670: View of frankpledge, taken by Francis Colborne, gentleman, steward, 21 Sep 1599.

⁶⁹ SA(I), HB 8/1/671: General court, 18 Sep 1610.

custom of the manor took precedence over John Darby's will, which bequeathed this property to his wife for her lifetime (she died in 1647) with reversion to Luke.⁷⁰ Luke does not appear in the subsequent court roll entries up to 1634, however, and disappears from records after 1614.⁷¹

The IPMs do not tell the whole story, however. From 1598, John Darby also leased other lands in Bramford and Whitton, not included in his IPMs, comprising two closes and a pightle of land, which he held from the Borough of Ipswich as part of the Ipswich Grammar School endowment lands.⁷² The lease of this land was assigned to Darby by Sir Philip Parker, the borough's lessee for that land, 'although the said John Darby is noe freeman of this Town'. No doubt Parker's influence persuaded the town's authorities to bend the rules requiring all people holding town lands to be freemen in this case: Parker was Darby's principal patron for his map-making and surveying work, so this land must have been obtained due to his direct patronage. At the same time this grant was made (and presumably also at the instance of Parker), more of the town's Grammar School lands comprising a close of land or pasture in Whitton, 'somme time ffellowes, in Jefferies occupacon', was assigned by Jefferies (possibly a relation of Darby's mother-in-law) to John Darby.⁷³ In 1614, after Darby's death, his widow Elizabeth Darby was re-granted the lease of 'Mr ffelawe's lands in Whitton (late Laurences) for 11 yeres from the end of the former lease' at a rent of £5 p.a.⁷⁴ In 1627, when this land, described as 'late Mrs Darbyes', was re-leased to Samuel Hadlock for seven years, the rent had almost tripled, to £14 p.a., illustrating the rise in rents over a relatively short period of time.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ NRO, Original wills, 1609, John Darby and register copy (defective) at NCC Turner 145.

⁷¹ According to Venn, Luke Darby was admitted at Emmanuel College, Cambridge on 4 June 1612, matriculated pensioner from St John's at Easter, 1612, and was 'probably 1st son of John, of Bramford, Suffolk' [Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses ... 1261-1900* (1922-1954)]. In April 1614 Luke Darby was described as 'of Ipswich, merchant' and 'above 14 years' old (he was then 18, if his age is correctly given in John Darby's IPMs) when he transferred a property in St Mary Tower, Ipswich, to his mother, after which nothing further whatever is heard of him [SA(I), Vincent Burrough Redstone, *Extracts from the Borough Records, 1272-1841*, Vol. XIII: Enrolments of Deeds in the Ipswich Borough Courts, temp. James I: Doggett Roll 11-12 Jas I, entry VIII.3].

⁷² Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.395. These lands may have been omitted from his IPMs because leases were considered legally to be personal, not real, property.

⁷³ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals*, p.395-6. The Grammar School was in Richard Fellowe's former house in Fore Street, Ipswich and William Jefferies had leased the lands in Bramford since 1572 [Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.297].

⁷⁴ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.456.

⁷⁵ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), pp.482, 489.

3.5.2 *The Old Bar Gates, Ipswich*

A substantial proportion (but by no means all) of John Darby's other properties also came to him through his marriage to Elizabeth Melton, besides some of the property in Bramford above. The two tenements at and over the Old Bar Gates at the north end of Brook Street, Ipswich were bequeathed by Luke Melton to his daughter Elizabeth.⁷⁶ Following her marriage to John Darby, Darby held these in right of his wife and his will gave a life interest in the property back to his wife Elizabeth, with reversion to their son Edmund. However, Elizabeth Darby, with the consent of her sons Edmund and John, transferred the property to her son Charles, who sold them to one of his Hamby in-laws in 1636.⁷⁷ Although small properties in themselves, these properties link with more substantial ones owned by the Meltons and Darbys in the area. The area itself was also a key neighbourhood for Darby's family and professional networks, so it is worth looking at it in a little more detail.

Brook Street was appropriately named, as a natural stream ran down the middle of it, marked on John Speed's map of Ipswich of 1610 (Figs 17 and 18) as a thin wavy line from Dairy Lane (which ran parallel to the bottom end of the modern Fonnereau Road, within the boundaries of the park of Christchurch House) down to the docks. This brook, and the street named after it, marked the boundary between the parishes of St Mary Tower on the east side (where Luke Melton and John Darby's step-father-in-law Thomas Bennett had properties) and St Margaret on the west (where Sir Philip Parker had his town house, leased from Thomas Seckford). The brook itself was no mean watercourse and could be both beneficial and a nuisance. In 1573, the town Treasurer had to lay a timber barrier to prevent gravel from being washed into Brook Street from Dairy Lane by this stream.⁷⁸ One of the cases between Ipswich Borough and Edmund Withypoll in Star Chamber in 1567-8 involved him enclosing the conduit head in Dairy Lane from which this brook sprang and for clearing out his ponds and allowing them to flood down Brook Street.⁷⁹ The brook was no doubt subject to being polluted with rubbish and worse, like every urban watercourse, but was also a source of water for those living nearby, although the Borough authorities tried to control this and extract

⁷⁶ TNA, PROB 11/79/19.

⁷⁷ Vincent B Redstone (ed), 'Extracts from the [Ipswich] Borough Records 1272-1841', (MS, 25 vols, early 20th century), Vol. XIV, Enrolments of Deeds in the Ipswich Borough Courts, temp. Charles I: Enrolments 1635-36: Item X.19.

⁷⁸ Redstone (ed), 'Extracts ...', Vol. XVII, Ipswich Records Elizabeth 1558-1603: Headborough's Book, 1-15 Eliz, IV.29.

⁷⁹ Allen, *Ipswich Borough Archives* (2000), p.16; other documents relating to Withypoll's litigation against the borough are listed on pp.14-17.

payment from those who took it. One Vesy, a poldavis weaver, who lived at the Old Bar Gates in 1590, possibly as a tenant of Luke Melton, was allowed to take the ‘wast water’ from it at a rent to the town of 2s. p.a.⁸⁰ This rent was far larger than the 14d. (1s. 2d.) rent paid by Luke Melton for his ground rents at the Old Bar Gates.⁸¹ The site of the ‘Old Bar gate’ is approximately marked on Speed’s map (see Figs 17 and 18) as a feature marked ‘5’, although it is a little out of place. The gate, most probably just a movable horizontal bar, implied in the name, marked the northern gate through the town’s ancient defensive ramparts at the northern end of Brook Street, almost opposite the gates of Christchurch House, home of Edmund Withypoll. The two tenements, one on each side of Brook Street and vaulting over the street, appear to have been built by Luke Melton at some time during the 1580s, and were part of substantial pieces of the town’s common soil which Melton possessed against the town boundaries in this area.⁸² No images survive of the Old Bar Gates themselves.

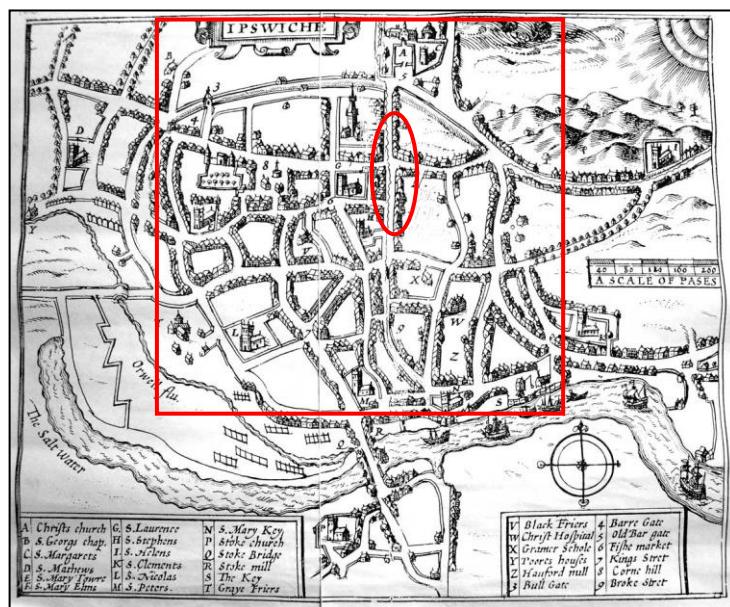


Fig. 17: John Speed’s map of Ipswich, 1610, showing Brook Street with the wavy line of the brook running down it (outlined) (and see Fig. 18).

⁸⁰ Richardson, *Bacon’s Annals* (1884), p.362 (‘One Vesy’); Redstone (ed), ‘Extracts ...’, Vol. XVII, Ipswich Records Elizabeth 1558-1603: Headborough’s Book 28 Eliz – 1 James I, V.14 (Redstone names him John Pavis, but the entry is clearly the same as the one in Richardson, *Bacon’s Annals* (1884)). Vesey and Pavis might be two mis-transcriptions of one man in the two sources. A John ffeysy witnessed Luke Melton’s will in 1590 [TNA, PROB 11/79/19, Will (1 Oct 1591) of Luke Melton of Ipswich, pewterer, proved, PCC, 15 Jan 1591/2], and John ffeysy of Ipswich mentioned in the will of Elizabeth Bennett might be the same man [NRO, NCC Pecke, 191].

⁸¹ Richardson, *Bacon’s Annals* (1884), pp. 352, 357.

⁸² SA(I), C/3/3/4/2, Ipswich Borough Archives: Petty Rental [1570?], fols. 7r, 9r.

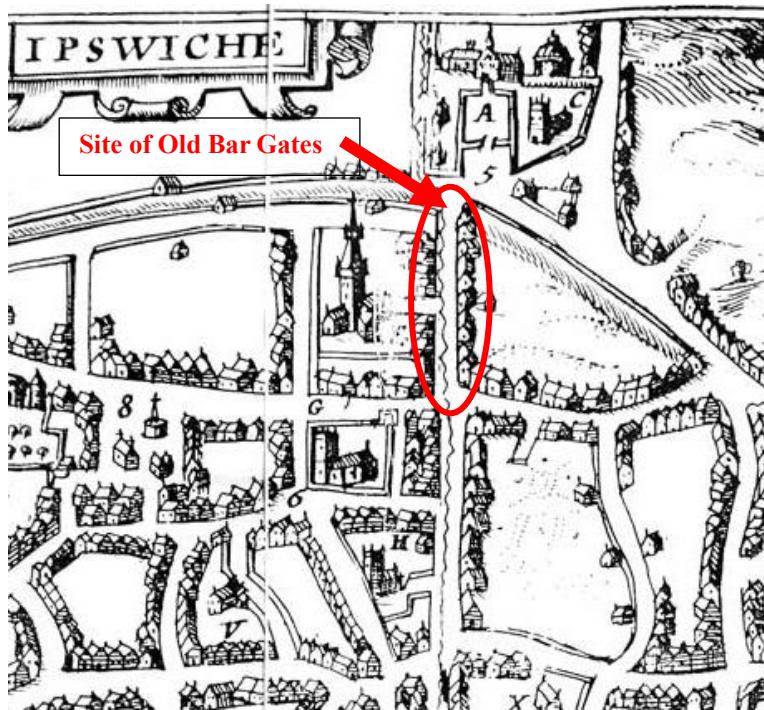


Fig. 18: Brook Street (outlined) showing site of Old Bar Gates which cut through the town ramparts at its northern end (Speed numbers them '5' which is slightly out of place. To the left of Brook Street is St Mary Tower Church. The Withypolls' mansion of Christchurch Park, just outside the Old Bar Gates, is marked by Speed's 'A'. St Margaret's Church is to the right of it, marked 'C'.

Luke Melton's acquisition and redevelopment of the Old Bar Gates illustrates the means of the expansion of the town at the period and the impunity with which land could be appropriated by those with influence, including the Darbies. Melton had first offered to build a house over the gates in 1584.⁸³ No answer being forthcoming from the town authorities, Melton occupied or built on some of the land there without it, as his encroachment 'uppon the way of ye old barr gates, by his pale [fence]' was approved retrospectively by the Ipswich Headboroughs in 1587, at a rent of 12d. p.a.⁸⁴ In 1588, he petitioned to be allowed to purchase the Old Barr Gates themselves.⁸⁵ Again, no formal resolution was passed to settle the matter, but again, it seems he acted on his own initiative, as the following year, he was allowed to 'have the common soile of the Towne whereuppon he hath built and inclosed the same at the Old Barr gates, at the yerely rent of 2^d, over and besides the rent of 7^d [sic] that he allready payeth'.⁸⁶ The 2d. rent added to the 12d. rent he already paid for the Old Bar Gates matches

⁸³ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.338.

⁸⁴ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.352.

⁸⁵ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.354.

⁸⁶ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.357. If the original record used Roman numerals, vii might have been mis-transcribed by Bacon or Richardson or mis-written or mis-printed for xii.

the 14d. rent paid by Darby for the two tenements there in his IPMs. Such encroachment without permission (whether stemming from civic irresolution or opportunism) followed by retrospective permission for a nominal rent seems to have been common in Ipswich at the period, at least for those with enough clout to get away with it. Melton had served as one of the borough's two Chamberlains in 1585-86, so his influence seems to have been decisive. In 1611, Melton's own daughter, by then John Darby's widow, did the same thing, when the Headboroughs allowed her encroachment of a stable she had built on the town soil 'nigh the way from [St] Math[ew's] parish to [St] Marg[aret]e's' (modern-day Crown and St Margaret's Streets) to continue, at a rent of 6d. p.a.⁸⁷ She extended her property in the area again in 1618, when she was allowed to have 'a parcell of ground at the east end of her yard, adjoining to the wall ditches, at 2d. rent'.⁸⁸ Both of these encroachments near or upon the northern town ramparts may have been close to the Old Bar Gates.

3.5.3 *Darby's Ipswich Town House*

Elizabeth Darby appears in deeds elsewhere after John Darby's death as 'of Bramford',⁸⁹ although a tax certificate of residence of 1621 states that she was then of Bramford, but had formerly been residing in Ipswich immediately before it.⁹⁰ Whilst she might have lived in a property at or close to the Old Bar Gates, there are other candidates for the Darbys' town house, which also does not appear in John Darby's IPMs although it also came from Luke Melton. It is possible that it was leased, in which case it would have been classed legally as personal, rather than real, property and so might not have been included in the IPMs. It was almost certainly the house in the parish of St Mary Tower bequeathed in Luke Melton's will to his wife for life and then to his daughter.⁹¹ It was then (1590) in the occupation of tenant Leonard Caston (died 1617), gentleman, a Portman of Ipswich, prominent local lawyer and the town's solicitor in the courts at Westminster.⁹² Melton's will mentions having his own 'household stuff' still in the house, so Caston seems to have rented it from him furnished.

⁸⁷ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.447. The location, beside what is now either Crown or St Margaret's Street, implies ground abutting on the town ramparts, so might have been next or near to the Old Barr Gates. Speed's map of the town in 1611 shows a few scattered buildings built up against the town's northern ramparts indicating the beginnings of the development of the area.

⁸⁸ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.466.

⁸⁹ e.g., SA(I), Vincent Burrough Redstone, *Extracts from the Borough Records, 1272-1841*, Vol. XIII: Enrolments of Deeds in the Ipswich Borough Courts, temp. James I: Doggett Roll 11-12 Jas I, entry VIII.3; NRO, WAL 768, 280X4 (1631).

⁹⁰ TNA, E 115/123/11.

⁹¹ TNA, PROB 11/79/19.

⁹² Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), pp.376, 386, 558, n.(a).

Luke Melton's ownership of it is also suggested by the requirement laid down in his will that William Sparrowe's payment to him of £400 for what is now the Ancient House in the Buttermarket in Ipswich, should be paid in the 'nowe mansion house of the saied Leonard Caston scituat in Ipswich' although this could alternatively imply that Caston was acting as his solicitor in the conveyance. It was almost certainly the house, 'wherein Richard Bateman dwells' bequeathed to Luke Darby by Luke Melton's widow, Elizabeth Bennett in 1599.⁹³ Luke Darby conveyed it to his mother in April 1614 when it was described as 'in the occupation of Henry Buckenham, draper, late in the occupation of Richard Bateman, deceased, in St Mary Tower, Ipswich'. This is the property which Elizabeth Darby mortgaged to her brother-in-law Edward Darby of Bury St Edmunds for £200 after John Darby's death, and never repaid him, leading to Edward taking possession of it. Edward Darby's will refers to it as 'a messuage or tenement in Ipswich ... wherein Henry Buckenham sometime and since Robert Coop[er] did dwell'.⁹⁴ Luke Darby's conveyance to his mother in 1614 was probably legally necessary to facilitate this mortgage as he had a residuary interest in it. According to deeds enrolled in the Ipswich doggett rolls, it was situated on the north side of 'the street from Cornhill towards St Helen's parish' (now Tavern Street).⁹⁵ This would place it just around the corner from Brook Street, probably a few doors east of Bennett's White Horse tenement although the precise location cannot be ascertained. Wherever it was exactly, Elizabeth Darby may have been in occupation of it in 1614 when she mortgaged it until she moved back to Bramford in 1621, when her brother-in-law presumably re-possessed it.

3.5.4 The Ancient House, or Sparrowe's House, Ipswich

Another Ipswich property not included in his IPMs but which might have been in Darby's hands for a time after his marriage and which had belonged to Luke Melton was the building now known as the Ancient House in the Buttermarket in the parishes of St Lawrence and St Stephen, Ipswich (see Fig. 19). It was known for three centuries after 1601 as Sparrow's

⁹³ SA(I), Vincent Burrough Redstone, *Extracts from the Borough Records, 1272-1841*, Vol. XIII: Enrolments of Deeds in the Ipswich Borough Courts, temp. James I: Doggett Roll 11-12 Jas I, entry VIII.3; NRO, NCC Pecke, 191.

⁹⁴ TNA, PROB 11/160/540 (original filed at SA(B), IC/500/1/87/91), also calendared in Nesta Evans (ed.), *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1630-1635*, Suffolk Records Society Vol. 29 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), pp.127-8.

⁹⁵ SA(I), Vincent Burrough Redstone, *Extracts from the Borough Records, 1272-1841*, Vol. XIII: Enrolments of Deeds in the Ipswich Borough Courts, temp. James I: Doggett Roll 11-12 Jas I, entries VIII.3 and XVII.28.

House after the family which owned it from then.⁹⁶ However, Luke Melton owned the Ancient House from 1585 until 1591.⁹⁷ He had purchased it, together with a number of other properties in Ipswich, from Margaret Copping, widow of George Copping, a wealthy draper and fishmonger, for only £80 in 1585. It is likely that Margaret Copping was selling to Melton in settlement of a debt, since Melton seems to have obtained it quite cheaply. When Melton died in 1591, he was still engaged in the sale of the Ancient House alone, without the other properties, to William Sparrowe of Ipswich, grocer, for £400 by a deed dated 11 September 1591. Payment had not been made, nor had completion of the deed taken place by the time Melton made his will on 1 October 1591, however. Indeed, John Darby and his wife Elizabeth (née Melton) quitclaimed the premises to Sparrowe on 25 April 1601, so it seems that the conveyance of the Ancient House was either still not actually completed until then, or perhaps Sparrowe requested some kind of confirmation of his title at that time for some reason.⁹⁸



Fig. 19. The Ancient House (formerly Sparrowe's House) in the Buttermarket, Ipswich, which still stands, a well-known local landmark. Luke Melton may have lived here 1585-1591, and John and Elizabeth Darby possibly in the mid-1590s. The elaborate pargetting, including representations of the four continents then known, was added in the 1660s.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ See the English Heritage Listed Building entry for the building at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1037756?section=official-list-entry>, accessed 10 June 2023.

⁹⁷ Vincent Burrough Redstone, *The Ancient House or Sparrowe House, Ipswich* (Ipswich: W.E. Harrison, Ancient House Press, 1912), pp.31-33, although Redstone's extract from Luke Melton's will on p.32 is far from an exact transcription, despite being in inverted commas.

⁹⁸ TNA, PROB 11/79/19. The Sparrowes owned the Ancient House, known for centuries as Sparrowe's House, from 1591 until the twentieth century, and the property continues to be a well-known local historical landmark, although the famous pargetting of the four continents on its outer walls is from the seventeenth century, so later than Melton's and Darby's day. Inside, however, antique-work wall paintings still survive from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century which Luke Melton or John Darby might have seen or even commissioned. None of them show any signs of being in John Darby's distinctive artistic style, however.

⁹⁹ John Glyde, *Illustrations of Old Ipswich* (Ipswich: The Author, 1889), Illustration facing p.11.

It is highly probable that Luke Melton was living at the Ancient House between 1585 and 1591, however, since he appears in tax lists and as overseer of the parish of St Lawrence between those dates. Melton's will also mentions Sparrowe, who bought it from him, his neighbour. Melton had paid tax in the parish of St Mary Tower immediately before implying that his main residence changed between those years.¹⁰⁰ We have already seen that Leonard Caston was renting Melton's house, furnished, in St Mary Tower in 1591, so perhaps Melton moved to more prestigious premises at the Ancient House because of his election as joint Chamberlain in 1585.¹⁰¹ Whether John and Elizabeth Darby actually lived in the house after their marriage is not clear. They might never have lived there at all: their quitclaim of the premises might simply have been a form of insurance of good title requested by Sparrowe or a sharp lawyer.¹⁰² They were living in Hasketon in at least 1592-93 and in Bramford from 1598, but in 1593 they moved from Hasketon to Ipswich, although it is not clear where precisely they lived in the town.¹⁰³ John Darby had recently become resident in the parish of St Lawrence in 1590, as his name was added to a tax assessment that year as a late addition, so perhaps he already had a town house of his own before marriage or took lodgings in the parish at that time.¹⁰⁴ The fact that there was a quitclaim at all to Sparrowe in 1601 could imply that John and Elizabeth *did* have an interest in the property having lived in it for a time. Their residence between 1593 and 1598 is something of a mystery, as the baptisms of the Darbys' eldest son, Luke (born in or near to July 1595, if his age in John Darby's IPM is correct), and another son, Edmund (who died as an infant and was buried at Bramford on 2 March 1597/8) have not been found so far.

3.5.5 Monks Eleigh

John Darby's Monks Eleigh land certainly came to him from his father-in-law. Under the wills of Luke Melton and his widow, Elizabeth Bennett, this property descended through life interests of Elizabeth Bennett and her daughter Elizabeth Darby to John Darby's son Luke Darby. John Darby's will (29 August 1606, with codicil, 12 September 1607) confirmed the

¹⁰⁰ SA(I), C/3/2/2/2: Luke Melton was occupying the house of Thomas Whitinge in St Mary Tower in 1573 (fol. 6r) and was living in that parish in 1574 (fol. 392v.), 1577 (fol. 405v.; as one of the collectors of poor relief, fol. 392v) 1578 (fol. 10r-v), 1583 (fol. 239v); he was parish overseer and taxed in St Lawrence in 1590 (fol. 105r.) and lived there in 1585 (fol. 251v, 297v).

¹⁰¹ SROI C/3/2/23, Ipswich Borough Archives: Chamberlains' Audited Accounts 1585-1586.

¹⁰² TNA, E 115/119/56; E 115/119/66; Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), p.395.

¹⁰³ TNA, E 115/119/56.

¹⁰⁴ SA(I), C/3/2/2/2, fol. 105v, 23 Aug 1590, Assessment for Poor Relief, St Lawrence's Parish.

life interest of his wife and bequest to his son Luke. However, this land does not appear in Darby's IPMs, possibly because it was held under lease and was therefore personal property or more likely because it was sold before Darby's death in January 1608/9: it is not property which turns up in Darby's family after his death. Unfortunately, there are no extant Monks Eleigh manorial court rolls to record any transfer of the land for the period. John Darby certainly had it in 1599 (in right of his wife), when his name appears in a Monks Eleigh manorial rental as holding a free messuage, 'Rushebrooks' (still standing), with an orchard and garden, a 4-acre meadow adjoining called 'Cowfenne' backing onto the river, an acre of pasture across the main street called the 'Teinter yarde', 5 acres of arable called Scott's Croft, 4 acres of 'certen Ruschey meadowes called gallettes meadowes' near the river and a messuage on the main street backing onto 'Cowfenne' formerly held by one Alice Cage.¹⁰⁵ There is no evidence that either the Meltons or the Darbys lived there, however, and it may have been the case that this property was a commercial investment, as many of the properties in the parish and manor of Monks Eleigh seem to have been at that time.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps the William Jeffereie *alias* Sponer (almost certainly a relation of Elizabeth Darby's mother), who was a pewterer of Monks Eleigh in 1607-8 when he sold a property in Ipswich, might have lived in Darby's property there as a tenant.¹⁰⁷

3.5.6 Brockford, Thwaite and Mendlesham, Suffolk

The 100 acres of land described in Darby's IPMs as in Brockford, Thwaite and Mendlesham might all have come from Luke Melton, although the evidence is circumstantial and there are other alternative sources. Darby's will is confusingly expressed respecting these lands.¹⁰⁸ He left his Brockford and Mendlesham lands (described as freehold, copyhold and lease lands) to his widow Elizabeth for her lifetime with reversion to their son Luke Darby. Elizabeth was

¹⁰⁵ CCA, CCA-U63/70455/2, pp.14-15, edited and published (with image of John Darby's holdings on p.14) in Aldous, *Monks Eleigh Manorial Records* (2022), pp.258-60 (incl. Pls 12 & 13). This land was not in either John Darby's or Luke Melton's hands in 1583 however, when the previous rental was made: it then belonged to one Henry Scynner [CCA, U15/15/17, fol. 13r; and see Aldous, *Monks Eleigh Manorial Records, 1210-1683*, pp.240-1].

¹⁰⁶ Aldous, *Monks Eleigh Manorial Records, 1210-1683*, pp.240-1, 258-60 (incl. Pls 12 & 13).

¹⁰⁷ SA(I), JBL, Local Studies 942.64 IPS, Vincent Burrough Redstone, 'Extracts from the Ipswich Borough Records, 1272-1841', Vol. XIII, Enrolments of Deeds in the Ipswich Borough Courts in the time of James I, Entry V.17 (Doggett Roll 1607-8).

¹⁰⁸ Confusion is possible here. Darby's enrolled will at NRO, NCC Turner 145 is defective at several points, repeating some sections and omitting others. The 'original' will at NRO, NCC Original Wills, 1609 is also a copy, however, having been made and certified in December 1609 by a notary public and Darby's son-in-law Henry Gipps because Elizabeth Darby had retained the original will.

also to receive the profits of his lease of lands in Brockford, but this is qualified by another statement saying she is to have his lease lands in Brockford for 30 years, if she should live so long, and then they were to go to Luke as well. There is no indication of when these lands were acquired, but the sub-tenancy of Charles Whitman hints that it might have been linked to Luke Melton's agency, since Melton's will left a legacy to a Charles Whytman, his late servant. No lands in these parishes appear in Luke Melton's will, however, so they were not inherited from him. Perhaps Darby was merely looking after an old family servant of his father-in-law by installing him as a tenant on lands Darby happened to have purchased.

Darby's landlords of these lands suggest another source, however. One of them was Anthony Penning, in whose inheritance dispute Darby was employed by Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Norfolk (originally commissioned to represent Anthony's brother Edmund), to survey lands in question in Parham, Bawdsey and elsewhere in Suffolk in 1606.¹⁰⁹ If Darby were already Penning's manorial tenant, perhaps Bacon employed him in order to gain the confidence of Anthony Penning. If not, one wonders whether a lease of the land followed the dispute's resolution as a gift or even a bribe to Darby from Anthony Penning, although Darby seems to have played a deliberately subordinate role to Ralph Agas in surveying the land in question, and a survey might not, in the end, have even taken place.¹¹⁰

The other landlord of Darby's lands in this area was one Eldred. The IPM jurors did not record his first name of 'Eldred', but according to Copinger, it was John Eldred of the City of London, the wealthy Levant merchant whose Suffolk estates were centred on Nutmeg Hall, Great Saxham, and who was lord of the Manor of Mendlesham until 1615.¹¹¹ Was it the Middle Eastern link through Eldred that inspired Darby's caricature turbaned figure in his 1589 survey of the manor of Burgh, near Woodbridge, Suffolk (Fig. 20), or was it a commonplace image found in contemporary books of prints?¹¹² This image is one of several which show Darby's skill as a caricaturist and manuscript illustrator in the surveys of the

¹⁰⁹ Morgan et al, (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. V, 1603-1607* (2010), pp.227-228, 239-44, 255, 261-2 (and see Chapters 2 and 8].

¹¹⁰ Morgan et al, (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. V, 1603-1607* (2010), pp.227-228, 239-44, 255, 261-2.

¹¹¹ W.A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk: Notes on Their History and Devolution, Vol. 3, The Hundreds of Carlford and Colneis, Cosford and Hartismere* (Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans and Co., 1909), p.280; R. C. D. Baldwin, 'Eldred, John (1552–1632)', *ODNB*, (2004). There are few surviving manorial records for the manor of Mendlesham for the period of Eldred's lordship and Darby's lifetime, and no court rolls or other landholding records as such for the period.

¹¹² SA(I), HB 9 51/2/26, Survey of the Manor of Burgh, 1589, fol. 7r.

manors of Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh which Darby made in 1589, as we shall see in Chapter Five.¹¹³



Fig. 20: John Darby caricature of a turbaned man in an initial letter 'T', from his survey of the manor of Burgh, Suffolk, 1589.¹¹⁴

3.5.7 Trimley, Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk

Darby's land holdings in Trimley, Falkenham and Kirton, Suffolk were in several parcels. His will adds a third sub-tenant (Smith) to those named in his IPMs (Goslyne and Benze). Darby's will left these lands to his wife Elizabeth for her lifetime and after her death, the parts occupied by tenants Goslyne and Smith were to revert to Darby's son Edmund and the parts occupied by Benze were to go to Darby's son John.

Of all Darby's lands, the Trimley, Falkenham and Kirton lands allow some estimation of just how inaccurate his IPM valuations could be. According to the IPMs, Darby paid manorial rents totalling 5s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for all the lands combined in the three different manors and the IPMs valued them together at 45s. (£2 5s.) p.a. After Darby's death in January 1608/9, his wife Elizabeth became the manorial tenant of these lands. In 1613, Aaron Rathborne, a well-respected surveyor and author of the popular surveying manual, *The Surveyor in Foure Bookes* (1616), made a detailed survey for the Crown of its manor of Walton cum Trimley, including the lands held there then by Elizabeth Darby.¹¹⁵ The measured acreages and valuations given in Rathborne's survey were considerably larger than those in John Darby's IPMs. Instead of 90 acres of land across three separate manors, Rathborne measured the

¹¹³ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12; HB 9 51/2/26; HB 9: 51/2/35 respectively.

¹¹⁴ SA(I), HB 9 51/2/26 (reproduced throughout by kind permission of Suffolk Archives), fol. 7r.

¹¹⁵ SA(I), HB 8/1/201.

acreage of Elizabeth Darby's lands in just this one manor as 146a. 2r. 8p.¹¹⁶ The IPMs value all the lands from all three manors at 45s. (£2 5s.) p.a., whilst Rathborne valued all Elizabeth Darby's holdings in just this one manor at £57 11s. 9½d. p.a., more than 25 times the value of the IPMs' totals for the three manors.

This discrepancy could be due to several factors. As we have seen above, Rathborne was a Crown surveyor and so was one of those men, like Norden and Agas, who was keen to make measured surveys which would give true market valuations for Crown lands. His survey of the manor of Walton cum Trimley writes down, for every tenant, the short-fall, as he saw it, between the rent the tenant was actually paying set against his market valuation for the same land. He would not have merely accepted customary acreages, which is what the '90 acres' of the IPMs might represent. The other possibility is that the IPM jury was making a poor guess from a position of ignorance, or merely accepting what they were told by Darby's family after his death.

Another possibility is that Elizabeth Darby might have purchased more land between John Darby's death in January 1608/9 and 1613 when the survey was made. But if so, she did not purchase it before 1611, according to the only manorial records surviving which cover land transfers in the manor at that period.¹¹⁷ But even if she had done so, the values and rents of the lands simply do not equate: the IPMs have 90 acres being valued at £2 5s. p.a., but in the survey, to pick just one example, we find Elizabeth Darby paying an annual rent of £2.10s. for just one arable close of 7 acres. The IPM valuations, appear much too low.

Historians have long been sceptical of the accuracy of IPM valuations for various reasons. Although describing the late medieval period, Matthew Holford gives a concise summary of some of the reasons put forward as to why 'the 'notorious unreliability' of IPM extents became something of a commonplace':

'the escheator ... had an interest in returning low valuations: smaller sums would be easier to collect and might allow for personal profit. For the same reason those hoping to be granted custody of wardships from the crown might influence officials to

¹¹⁶ SA(I), HB 8/1/201, pp.343-351.

¹¹⁷ SA(I), HB 8/1/168.

produce lower valuations. The jurors of IPMs were unlikely to be knowledgeable about estate finances. The crown had little interest in securing an accurate return, except perhaps where a lengthy minority was at hand and the estates were extensive, because the sums involved were so low. And finally the extent or valuation itself, since it was an estimate of average annual income, was inherently unreliable. Annual values could fluctuate from year to year...¹¹⁸

Whatever the reasons, Darby's IPMs' valuations indicate that we should be highly sceptical of the land valuations in them and infer that they may massively undervalue his actual wealth accordingly.

Undervaluation of Darby's assets was also a feature concerning his tax liability assessments, as summarised in his various certificates of residence. The first of these, on his move from Hasketon to Ipswich in December 1593 assesses him at £4 p.a. in goods but nothing in land.¹¹⁹ From 1599 until 1606, he was assessed at £4 p.a. in lands and nothing in goods, and for 1607 and 1608, at £5 p.a. in lands and nothing in goods.¹²⁰ Elizabeth Darby was assessed at £4 p.a. in lands in 1621.¹²¹ The total of the valuations of Darby's lands in his IPMs (see Table 1) is £9 5s. 0d. p.a. and we have seen that the IPMs do not include all his property and that the valuations in them are almost certainly undervalued to a large degree. This makes the very regular £4 and £5 valuations for his tax assessments highly suspect. The reason for this undervaluation is almost certainly due to Darby having the right connections. His chief client and patron, Sir Philip Parker, was one of the two assessors for his tax assessments 1593-1604 (when Parker died), whilst Sir Philip's son, Sir Calthrop or Calthorp Parker (Darby's tenant for his Norfolk lands) assessed that for 1606. Of the other tax assessments, Edmund Poley or Pooley esq. assessed him on five occasions. Pooley was also one of the signatories to the accuracy of Darby's map of Alnesbourn for Thomas Seckford in 1582. It seems clear that Darby's friends in high places connived at undervaluing his assets for tax avoidance purposes.

¹¹⁸ Matthew Holford "Notoriously Unreliable": The Valuations and Extents', in Michael Hicks (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century Inquisitions Post Mortem: A Companion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), pp.117-8.

¹¹⁹ TNA, E 115/119/56.

¹²⁰ TNA, E 115/119/66; E 115/119/106; E 115/116/128; E 115/119/4; E 115/120/77; E 115/121/150; E 115/117/28; E 115/117/27; E 115/117/17.

¹²¹ TNA, E 115/123/11.

Rathborne's survey of the manor of Walton cum Trimley was part of the wider attempt on the part of the Crown to re-value its property to make up for the inflation which had adversely affected income in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (see Chapter Two). Rathborne, like his fellow Crown surveyor and author John Norden, was well aware that manorial tenants viewed such surveys with suspicion, as we have seen. Even if Rathborne gave what he felt were fair valuations in the current land market-place, the results of his survey were likely to be viewed with dismay and hostility by the tenants of the manor. Indeed, he had problems in dealing with John Darby's widow Elizabeth. Rathborne was a well-respected surveyor, but he records in his survey that Elizabeth Darby 'never produced anie copies, deedes or evydences to shewe whereby she claymed to houlde' the lands listed as hers in the survey.¹²² He concluded that it was 'verie doubtfull that shee houldes of this Mannor greate parte of theise landes for little rent, & by lesse right'. But as Darby's widow, she probably knew of the kind of extortion exercised by Crown surveyors like Ralph Agas, (see Chapter Two) with whom Darby had worked in 1606.¹²³ She might well have felt she had good reason not to turn over her evidences of title, therefore. She almost certainly had another vested interest in not cooperating with the survey, since Rathborne's revaluation of her lands very considerably higher than the rent she was paying. Rathborne valued her Falkenham holdings at £57 11s. 9½d. a year, but she was paying only £1 4s. 3d. a year in rent.¹²⁴ She would likewise not surrender her original copy of Darby's will to the probate authorities either.¹²⁵ But once again, there is a hint that Elizabeth Darby was either a financial ingenu or all too aware of what surrendering her documents might lead to.

It seems most likely that Darby purchased the Trimley, Falkenham and Kirton lands rather than inheriting them from his father-in-law through his mother-in-law and wife or gaining them through patronage. His family networks might still have been the reason behind his acquisition of them, however. His fellow-tenants of the manor of Walton cum Trimley

¹²² SRO(I), HB 8/1/201, p.351.

¹²³ Victor Morgan, Elizabeth Rutledge, Barry Taylor (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. V, 1603-1607* (Bodmin and King's Lynn: MPG Books Group, Norfolk Record Society, Vol. LXXIV, 2010), pp.72-3; 79-80.

¹²⁴ SRO(I), HB 8/1/201, p.351. Rathborne's valuation contrasts even more sharply with John Darby's IPM valuations (3 copies, made 1609 (for his Suffolk lands) and two in 1612 (for his Norfolk lands)) that he held 90 acres in Trimley, Falkenham and Kirton of three separate manors, one being the manor of Walton and Trimley, for which he paid 5s.10½d rent at the time of his death [TNA, C 142/308/117; C 142/330/7; C 142/327/109]. For Walton and Trimley alone, no further land transactions added or subtracted from his widow Elizabeth's holding of the same land between his death and Rathborne's survey of 1613.

¹²⁵ NCC Original Wills, 1609: John Darby, and see also Introduction.

included his step-father-in-law, Thomas Bennett (himself lord of the nearby manor of Capel Hall, Trimley St Martin as well as being a notably wealthy Ipswich merchant) and the Town of Ipswich in their role as trustees of Smart's and Tooley's Charities. Darby made one of his most accomplished maps of one his neighbours' farms in Kirton and Falkenham: the land on this map subsequently came into the hands of Smart's trustees, and the map owes this fact to its survival in a portfolio in the Ipswich Borough Archives where it remains in excellent condition to this day (see Appendix Seven).

3.5.8 Burnham Sutton and Burnham Westgate, Norfolk

The final pieces of property owned by Darby and listed in both his will and his IPMs are those in Burnham Sutton and Burnham Westgate in Norfolk. The IPMs list Sutton Clappers, Sutton Clapper Foldcourse and Muckledon Foldcourse, all held from Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, eldest son of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Darby's will added 'Peercyes Lands' to the list and he bequeathed them all to his son Charles Darby. These lands comprised some 220 acres according to the IPMs and represent Darby's largest land holdings, although they seem to be an outlier in geographical terms when his other lands are considered. These lands were sub-let, at the time of Darby's death, to Sir Calthorpe Parker the son and heir of Darby's chief patron Sir Philip Parker who inherited land in the area from his mother, Elizabeth (née Calthorpe). Whether Darby bought or leased them from Sir Philip Parker is unknown, but Darby's interest was a long one: these lands remained in the Darby family until sold to the Thurlows in the 1660s-1680s.¹²⁶ They might, or might not, be separate to the lands also referred to in John Darby's will as 'the Mannor of Lathes and Crab-hall in Norffolk', which he held 'of his Ma[jes]tie by lease' and bequeathed to his youngest, and then newly-born, son, Henry, by his codicil of 12 September 1607.¹²⁷

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has described John Darby and placed him within a context of family and networks. His background in carpentry and wheelwrighting gave him spatial skills and

¹²⁶ Deeds covering these transactions are NRO, Walpole of Wolterton Estate Papers, at references (in date order): WAL 768, 280X4; WAL 1495, 291X1; WAL 770/5, 280X5; WAL 796/1-2, WAL 801, WAL 796/3-7, all 281X4; WAL 846, 282X1, 1631-1688.

¹²⁷ NRO, Original wills, 1609, John Darby; register copy at NCC Turner 145.

familiarity in measuring lengths and angles which no doubt helped him in becoming a surveyor. His family background was as a second son in a ‘middling sort’ of family. His expectations might have been to retain such status by apprenticeship to some kind of skilled artisan. But he made choices and took opportunities to become a surveyor instead and eventually did as many surveyors did and became a gentleman. This chapter suggests that he may have been encouraged in his ambitions by the influence of his mother, who outlived his father by over thirty years and outlived Darby himself, if only by a few months. The evidence indicates she was a capable and assertive woman with big ambitions for her family and her husband clearly trusted her completely with all his property, which she preserved for her eldest son. She sent one of her younger sons to Cambridge University and obtained (albeit corruptly) a coat of arms for her family. In the last, she was not alone in the period, as purchasing arms, especially from the notoriously corrupt Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms, was a common way of achieving the trappings of gentility. She helped all her children financially with substantial sums of money, so clearly found ways to make a good income. Whether this came from running her late husband’s business, renting property or lending money is unclear, but all are possibilities.

This chapter demonstrates that Darby’s chief source of wealth came from his marriage. Again, this suggests an opportunistic streak, as he married the teenaged only child of one of the wealthiest men in Ipswich, Suffolk, within a few months of the death of her father, the pewterer Luke Melton. It was certainly not uncommon for ambitious men to do this at the time, but perhaps the marriage was less mercenary than it appeared. Although Darby was thirty-eight when he married, he had never married previously, which might suggest he was discerning in his choice of partner. There is no way to know for sure. He certainly knew his wife’s family beforehand and his wife was highly eligible, as was his mother-in-law, who remarried quite quickly as many widows did at the time. Her relations gave her connections to the wealthy clothiers of the Stour Valley, such as Christopher Burrough and William Cardinall of East Bergholt. The chapter shows that Darby’s in-laws moved Darby upwards socially into the orbit of the wealthier urban burgesses of Ipswich such as Thomas Bennett, also lord of the manor of Capel Hall, Trimley St Mary, Suffolk, and William Smarte the locally well-respected philanthropist whose almshouses still exist in Ipswich. Darby’s brother Henry ‘married up’ too, as his wife was the widow of a wealthy Ipswich portman and daughter of the volatile member of the local gentry, Edmund Withypoll of Christchurch

House, Ipswich, Collinson's memorably-titled 'irritant within the gates' (and see Appendix Eight).¹²⁸

The chapter's investigation of Darby's land-holdings from his will and IPMs gives a good case study of the property holdings of a rising gentleman of the day. All of it was in East Anglia, mostly within a 15-mile radius of Ipswich, Suffolk, but some was in the Burnhams in North Norfolk which probably came to him through the patronage of Sir Philip Parker, his chief client for his maps. One feature of his land-holdings is how scattered they were, ranging from Monks Eleigh in the south of Suffolk across to Mendlesham further west, Kirton and Falkenham (where he also made a map) in the east and in the town of Ipswich. Much of this depended on how he acquired it, with some coming through his marriage from his father-in-law, Luke Melton. But most was in Bramford, Suffolk, his main residence from 1593 and the Burnhams, which largely came through Sir Philip Parker. He clearly lived on his lands in Bramford and probably farmed there as a minor gentleman. The remainder of his land seems to have been let out to tenants so was held for investment purposes to yield an income.

This chapter has shown how his income from land was undervalued for the purposes of tax assessment and his IPMs, almost certainly due to the connivance of the assessor, his patron Sir Philip Parker. Comparison to medieval IPMs and their reputation for unreliability may be relevant here, although in a time of high inflation, the rents he paid as a tenant on customary-administered manors would be expected to be undervalued. Once more, records in those manors are largely missing, but Aaron Rathborne's survey of the manor of Walton cum Trimley shows the enormous difference between what Darby's widow was paying in rent and what Rathborne's revaluation gave as their worth. An ordinary tenant might fear for the security of their tenure or at least a hike in rent after such a survey. But Elizabeth Darby refused to co-operate with Rathborne's survey, retaining her title deeds. She may well have known of Ralph Agas's extortionate behaviour in surveys of Crown lands, as at Pulham, discussed in Chapter Two. She probably sub-let these lands, although we have no idea of the rent she charged her sub-tenant. If they paid anything like the market value according to Rathborne, she was making a good income from her lands.

¹²⁸ Patrick Collinson, *The birthpangs of Protestant England: religious and social change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988 [reprinted 1991, 1992]), pp.33-34, although he mistakenly calls Edmund 'Peter Withipoll', possibly confusing him with his father, Paul.

In the next chapter, we will investigate the possibilities for Darby's education and training and set those possibilities against what is known elsewhere. We will also begin to investigate some possible sources for his artistic inspiration and begin to look at his work, in the form of his decorated surveys of three manors in Suffolk (1589).

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION, PROFESSIONAL TRAINING AND ARTISTRY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the possibilities for Darby's education and training as a surveyor. It will also begin to investigate his artistic inspiration and introduce his work, concentrating in this chapter on his illustrated surveys. His maps will be discussed in the next chapter. His maps and surveys show that he was well-educated and Latinate, so the chapter will begin by considering what options he had for schooling in Bury St Edmunds and what advantages it might have given him. Thompson argued that surveyors in Elizabeth's reign tried to challenge the dominance of lawyers in estate management, although they ultimately failed in doing this. Darby's understanding of Latin title deeds and other documents suggest he was trained as a traditional surveyor, but he might also have been an estate steward and therefore fit with Thompson's figure of the surveyor as estate administrator. This chapter will also investigate the context of other surveyors' training, as discussed by Peter Eden with regard to Cecil's surveyor Peter Kempe, his apprentice Thomas Clarke and his apprentice in turn, Thomas Langdon.

The chapter will further discuss Robert Doon as a trainer of other surveyors. It will suggest that the assistant he took to court over his training might have been the same man as Kempe's apprentice, Thomas Clarke. The court bills and answers will be used to show how surveyors were trained by Doon and how misunderstandings caused by unclear verbal contracts could lead to problems, for Doon and others. It will also discuss what the implications of his networks were.

Doon was also responsible for producing an illustrated survey in 1560 of the manor of Woodbridge late Priory. This chapter will demonstrate that this was a document Darby might have seen and by which he might have been inspired to illustrate his own surveys of Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh, Suffolk (1589).¹ These surveys will be examined

¹ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12; HB 9 51/2/26; HB 9: 51/2/35 respectively.

in the light of the tradition of ornamental penwork on government documents as discussed by Elizabeth Danbury, Kathleen Scott and Erna Auerbach.

This chapter will suggest that writing masters' manuals and copy books may have inspired Darby's penwork illustrations on his 1589 surveys as well as the work of other surveyors. These include printed manuals such as Beauchesne and Baildon's influential *Booke containing Divers Sortes of Hands* (1570), at least one copy of which was circulating in Ipswich in the late sixteenth century. Other printed manuals include Jodocus Hondius's compilation of many contributors, *Theatrum artis scribendi* (Amsterdam, 1594) and Clement Perret's *Exercitatio alphabetica nova et utilissima* (1569). Manuscript manuals such as John Scottowe's *Alphabet Books* and Thomas Fella's *Booke of diveirs devises* will also be examined for comparison with Darby's artistic images.

The chapter will conclude with reference to Robert Tittler, Anne Thackray and Anthony Wells-Cole's work on early prints and their use as pattern-books for embroideries, paintings, carvings in England. It will also discuss the work of heralds and heraldic painters, including Robert Ryece of Preston, Suffolk, steward of the manor of Monks Eleigh where Darby held some of his lands.

4.2 The Education of John Darby

When his first extant map was produced, in 1582, Darby was almost 30 years old, by which time he had somehow acquired enough education to be literate in English and Latin, have some knowledge of land law and manorial administration, and be trained as a surveyor and map-maker. He seems to fit into the category of the ambitious 'new' surveyors who, Thompson argues, tried to challenge the dominance of lawyers in administering the estates of their employers, although, as Thompson concludes, this was a competition that surveyors ultimately lost.² Whilst this challenge was ultimately a lost cause, lawyers were a group worth emulating. Going into the law was a long-established career path to financial and social success for those not privileged to have been born to it, as the Pastons in Norfolk proved, moving from villeinage to gentry in a few generations in the fifteenth century. For surveyors from humble backgrounds who could not afford a full university or legal education, becoming

² Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors* (1968), pp.16-8.

a surveyor and learning just enough of the law and administrative forms to be able to run an estate was a cheaper path to potential success.

Darby did know Latin, some land law and administrative procedures, so he presumably had some kind of training as a traditional surveyor before making maps. He was clearly well-educated more generally, being able to write in both English and Latin in a neat Elizabethan secretary script as well as a fine italic hand. When it came to being proficient in Latin, Darby was not one of Aaron Rathborne's 'reasonable surveyor[s] [who] may be lame of that leg', being quite capable of producing traditional written Latin surveys such as those of the manors of Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh, Suffolk (1589) as well as comprehending and appropriately using Latin title deeds such as those relating to the estate at Alnesbourn, Suffolk, on his map of 1584.³

Darby's abilities in Latin suggest an education at least to grammar school level or by a private tutor. The latter is unlikely for a provincial town carpenter's son but Bury St Edmunds Grammar School (now the King Edward VI Grammar School) is a strong probability, since Darby grew up in the town. The earliest records of the school from 1550 are incomplete. Hervey, in a list of pupils totalling about 3,654 pupils between 1550 and 1900, estimated there were 64 boys in attendance between 1550 and 1600, but he also stated that he had probably found the names of only half the boys who attended the school.⁴ There is no reference to John Darby's own attendance there, although some of the Darbys who attended the school in subsequent centuries (particularly the seventeenth) were later members of John Darby's family.⁵ Ipswich Grammar School is another alternative, although records of sixteenth century pupils there are also incomplete and the presence of a grammar school in Bury would make Darby's attendance at Ipswich much less likely. There is no evidence that Darby (or, for that matter, Ralph Agas, despite Lynam's statement that he was a 'university man'⁶) attended a

³ Rathborne, *The Surveyor in Foure Bookes* (1616), p.218; SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12; HB 9: 51/2/26; HB 9: 51/2/35; SA(I), HA 93/12/122.

⁴ [S.H.A. Hervey] (ed.), *Biographical List of Boys Educated at King Edward VI Free Grammar School, Bury St Edmunds, from 1550 to 1900* (Bury St Edmunds: Paul and Mathew, Suffolk Green Books, No. XIII, 1908) p.xi.

⁵ [Hervey], *Biographical List ...* (1908), p.106, although Hervey has muddled the Darby family relationships and is quite wrong about the paternity and ancestry of the Edmund Darby listed there (for the correct family relationships, see Appendix 1).

⁶ Edward Lynam, 'English Maps and Map-Makers of the Sixteenth Century', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 116, No. 1/3 (Jul – Sep 1950), p.11. Lynam's other 'educated men, including University men' included William Hayward, Israel Amyce and Thomas Marshall.

university or one of the Inns of Court, places as useful for making fruitful future contacts as for gaining an education or legal training. What knowledge Darby had of surveying, map-making and the law must have been picked up through an apprenticeship or on-the-job training with one or a number of masters.

Having said this, if Darby attended Bury St Edmunds Grammar School, he would have been there under its first known headmaster, William Waterman. Waterman is an interesting figure as he might have been related to Darby's contemporary map-maker, Thomas Waterman and perhaps been involved in the training of both men as surveyors. He also had an interest in the wider world. Waterman's dates as headmaster of Bury Grammar School are unclear in most sources, although John Venn states unambiguously that he held that office 1553-1583, which would more than cover the period when John Darby was of an age to be a pupil there.⁷ Venn is also unequivocal in identifying William Waterman as both headmaster at Bury and the man of those names who graduated with an MA from Cambridge University, having matriculated pensioner at Gonville Hall (Gonville and Caius College from 1557) in May 1549.⁸ Also according to Venn, Waterman wrote and published Latin verses,⁹ as well as an English translation from the French of Johann Boemus' *Omnium Gentium Mores, Leges et Ritus* (1520), published as *A Fardle of Factions: conteining the aunciente maners, customes and laws, of the peoples inhabiting the two partes of the earth, called Affricke and Asie* (1555). The Coopers add that Waterman, besides being a bachelor of canon law at Cambridge, 'would seem to have been a native of the West of England and to have studied also at Oxford' having published English verses to Thomas Camell (1547) in which he called himself 'Westerne Will'.¹⁰ Waterman was clearly a highly erudite man, but might his expertise have been broader still, and encompassed surveying or maps? His work in *A Fardle of Factions* suggests that he was intellectually curious about the wider world and interested in contemporary efforts to explore and understand it. His world-view might well have involved mapping that expanding world and looking at it in different ways. If so, might he have inspired John Darby to become a map-maker?

⁷ In John Venn, *A Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, 1349-1897, Vol. I, Admissions 1349-1713*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), p. 35.

⁸ Venn, *A Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, Vol. I, (1897), p.35, with details of the status of pensioners and the links between Gonville Hall and the monks of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in particular on pp.xvi-xvii.

⁹ Namely, on the death of Queen Jane Seymour and on the deaths of the two Dukes of Suffolk (1551).

¹⁰ Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, Vol. I (1500-1585) (Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co. and Macmillan & Co.; London: Bell and Daldy, Fleet Street, 1858), p.155.

Was William Waterman related to Darby's contemporary map-maker Thomas Waterman the Elder (d.1624) who was a 'university man', having attended Christ's College, Cambridge?¹¹ If so, this might have implications for the map-making training of both men. There is some slight circumstantial evidence that William and Thomas Waterman might have been related. One of William Waterman's contemporaries at Gonville Hall in 1547 was Thomas Buttes, patron of the living of Great Ryburgh, Norfolk and it was Buttes who granted the clerical living of Great Ryburgh to Thomas Waterman the Elder, who was rector there from 1576 until his death in 1624, during which time he also made maps.¹² The relationship between Buttes and Thomas Waterman the Elder broke down quite quickly after the latter's appointment as rector, resulting in a legal case in the Court of Chancery, amongst a number of other legal suits which commenced as a result of Thomas Waterman's high-handed behaviour in the parish.¹³ In the evidence cited in his legal suit, Buttes stated that he had appointed Thomas Waterman rector at the behest of William Heydon. The appointment was not, therefore, a favour to his old college contemporary William Waterman, which would have strengthened the circumstantial evidence for a familial relationship between William and Thomas Waterman. It is possible that William Waterman might have asked Heydon to use his influence to secure Thomas's appointment. However, the coincidence of both William Waterman and Thomas Buttes attending Gonville Hall at the same period and of Buttes appointing Thomas Waterman to the living at Great Ryburgh might hint at a familial link between William and Thomas Waterman, although this has to remain conjectural without further evidence.

The patronage of Heydon for Thomas Waterman's appointment as rector by Buttes is, however, interesting in hinting at some indirect links to Darby. William Heydon was the half-

¹¹ Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses ... 1261-1900* (1922-1954).

¹² Venn, *A Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, Vol. I, (1897), p.35; Thomas Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505-1905 and of the Earlier Foundation, God's Hose, 1448-1505* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), p.108.

¹³ Peter Trent, 'Thomas Buttes and his troublesome rector', St Andrew's Church Great Ryburgh website at <https://www.standrewsgreatryburgh.org.uk/a-cruciform-church-with-a-round-tower/church-history/thomas-buttes-and-his-troublesome-rector.php>, accessed 3 Mar 2024, which transcribes BL Add MS 39227, Wodehouse Papers, Vol. X, Papers relating to Great and Little Ryburgh, Norfolk ... (c) to the Chancery suit Waterman v. Buttes 1579-1581, ff.73-98. One particular cameo is memorable: when collecting his tithes, Waterman apparently was not content to take just any sheaf of corn but would take hold of each sheaf by its binding and test its weight before taking the heaviest sheaf as his tithe. His quarrelsome relationships with his parishioners echo those of Ralph Agas with his neighbours and tenants in the manors in which he worked, as discussed in Chapter 2.

brother-in-law of John Darby's chief patron Sir Philip Parker.¹⁴ Later on, Heydon commissioned Darby's map of Blakeney Haven and Cley (1586). Darby almost certainly owed Heydon's patronage over the Blakeney and Cley map to his links with Sir Philip Parker rather than through William Waterman. However, it does hint at a larger interlinking network across East Anglia which included gentry and surveyors.

4.3 Training Surveyors: Robert Doon as a Case Study

Although nothing is known for certain about Darby's professional training, for most country surveyors of his day, whether traditional or map-making, it would have comprised practical 'on the job' training under a more experienced practitioner, with or without a formal apprenticeship indenture or contract. The nature of the job meant that some kind of assistant would have been the norm, to help carry equipment and take measurements, so entry into the profession by starting as a surveyor's trainee would have been an obvious way in. Of all the contexts of a sixteenth century surveyor's or map-maker's life, training was probably the one which depended most on family and networks. Parents could pay an apprenticeship premium to an experienced master, but the initial introduction would depend on the recommendation of trusted friends or family. A family link to an existing practitioner could facilitate training, whether by formal apprenticeship or a looser arrangement within family parameters. Peter Eden describes a training 'genealogy' of master map-makers and their successive trainees over the period of about a century in his article about Peter Kempe (d.1576/7) who trained Thomas Clerke or Clarke (d.1592), who then trained Thomas Langdon (d.1638), all three of whom worked for various Oxford University colleges amongst other patrons during their careers.¹⁵ What Eden does not pick up is the possibility that Kempe and Clarke might have been related to each other, even if only through marriage. The evidence is circumstantial, but suggestive. Thomas Clarke's wife, Ann, was the sister of Thomas Dandy (died 1607) of Ringshall, Suffolk.¹⁶ One of Dandy's three will supervisors was his 'Cosen Robert Kempe of Gyssing esquire'.¹⁷ Peter Kempe's origins are obscure, but if he were related to the Kempe

¹⁴ For brief biographical details on Sir Philip Parker, see James P. Carley, 'Parker, Henry, eleventh Baron Morley (1531/2–1577), Roman Catholic exile', *ODNB* (2004).

¹⁵ Eden, 'Three Elizabethan Estate Surveyors' (1983), pp. 68–85.

¹⁶ TNA, PROB 11/110/265. The Dandy or Daundy family was locally eminent and well-connected: Thomas's great-grand-father, the Ipswich merchant Edmund Daundy, was Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's maternal uncle, and the man who probably paid for Wolsey's education.

¹⁷ TNA, PROB 11/110/265. The other two supervisors of Dandy's will show yet again overlapping networks of map-commissioners and users: they were Dandy's brother-in-law, Edmond Poolie or Pooly of Badley,

family of Gissing, Norfolk, it suggests a possible explanation for his professional introduction to Thomas Clarke and their relationship as master and apprentice.

Not all such master/pupil relationships were as happy as theirs, however. When Ipswich surveyor Robert Doon's trainee, Thomas Clarke, left his master without permission at Christmas 1579, Doon pursued him through the Court of Chancery for breach of contract and to recover a number of court rolls, books and surveys which he said Clarke had taken from him when he left.¹⁸ Their tit-for-tat statements in the court records reveal incidental details of the instruction contract, which did not include map-making. Doon stated that he had taken on Clarke 'to be his servaunt for one hole yeare then next ensuyinge to serve hym as his Clerke in Surveyinge and kepynge of Courtes' at a salary of 5 marks and two liveries [*coats or suits of clothes*] for the year. Clarke retorted that a three-year contract had been offered by Doon to 'instruct him in the perfect forme of kepinge of Courtes Surveyes and audittes', but that he had gone to live and work with Doon for a trial period only, during which time Clarke had not been satisfied with his board and lodging, or his level of instruction:

‘this defendaunt [Clarke] was contented to serve with the said plentife [Doon] a certaine time upon triall and liking onely, and upon liking had of his service to have continued a longer tyme as they should afterward have agreed uppon and not otherwise in which tyme this defendaunt found the actes and promeses of the said complainant so farre asunder aswell in his meat and drincke as other necessaries in howse and also in instructing this defendaunte in the trade of kepinge of Courtes Surveyes and Audittes as that he nether did at any time instruct him therin nor yet would permitt or suffer this defendaunt to be any ways instructed by his owne endeavour butasmuche as in him ley sought to hinder him therin so muche that if the said defendant hadd by his owne endeavour procured any good president [*precedent*] to write for his better instruction of the said plentife might have any intelligence therof he would rather take it from the said defendant nether benefit nor knowledge’.¹⁹

esquire (1544-1613) and nephew, Anthony Penning of Ipswich esquire, both of whom were involved in commissioning surveying or map-making work from John Darby. Pooley was one of the certifiers of Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584), made for Thomas Seckford [SA(I), HA 93/12/122]; Nathaniel Bacon asked Darby and a number of other surveyors, including Ralph Agas, to survey the Penning family lands in a dispute between Anthony Penning and his brother Edward over their inheritance [Morgan et al, (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. V, 1603-1607* (2010), pp. 134-135, 221-222, 225-227 (& n.623), 228, 239-243, 255-256, 261-263].

¹⁸ TNA, C 2/Eliz/D3/11.

¹⁹ TNA, C 2/Eliz/D3/11.

Doon had clearly trained others previously, since his response was that Clarke had been ‘very well instructed’ and that Doon had taken ‘more paynes with him in instructing him duringe that tyme than ever he did before with any other in that behalf’ and that Clarke had had ‘convenient and sufficient meate and drinke fytt for a man of better calling that he is of duringe all the tyme that he was with [Doon]’. Although we do not know the results of this case, it gives a snapshot view of one surveyor’s arrangements for training assistants, and what could go wrong.²⁰ It also shows that the training Doon offered was firmly based in the administration of manorial estates. There is no evidence that Doon trained Darby, although he was a trainer of surveyors in a place and time which would have made it quite possible and Doon was well-connected, as we shall see.

The date of Doon’s lawsuit (April 1580) against Thomas Clarke makes it a chronological possibility that Clarke was the same man as surveyor Peter Kempe’s apprentice, the surveyor and map-maker Thomas Clarke.²¹ Kempe died in December or January 1576/7 after only four years of Clarke’s apprenticeship and Clarke’s period of service with Doon lasted from October until Christmas 1579.²² Kempe and Clarke both worked for Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Kempe being based in Stamford throughout his service, although Clarke moved there only after 1586. Eden describes Kempe as ‘a land steward of the old type, more concerned with the manor court than with topographical realities’. In working for Doon, Clarke might well have been seeking completion of his training, possibly including land measurement, or some post-apprenticeship polish. Eden admits that Clarke’s training in land measurement is otherwise unknown and there is a gap in Clarke’s timeline between Kempe’s death in 1576/7 and Clarke’s first map, of the Panworth Hall estate in Ashill, Norfolk, in 1581, so it is possible he might have sought training from Robert Doon.²³

²⁰ Unfortunately, the records of the verdict in this Court of Chancery case do not survive to give the outcome of the case, although Doon might not have won: the manorial records of the Manor of Crows Hall, Debenham belonging to Sir Charles Framlingham, which were included in the records Doon claimed to have been removed by Clarke, do not survive today. For a discussion of lacunae amongst manorial records possibly being due to the activities of surveyors, see Chapter Two.

²¹ TNA, C 2/Eliz/D3/11.

²² Eden, ‘Three Elizabethan Estate Surveyors’ (1983), p.70.

²³ Eden, ‘Three Elizabethan Estate Surveyors’ (1983), p.70; Holkham Archives, M/1; M/2; copies of both at NRO, MS 20927, 47B4 and MS 21123, 179X4, these last two being reproduced and cited in Patricia A.W. Dallas, ‘Elite Landscapes in Late Medieval and Early Modern East Anglia: Families, Residences and the Development of Exclusivity’ (PhD Thesis, UEA, 2013), pp.72-73.

The identification of Thomas Clarke as both Doon's and Kempe's apprentice is also a geographical possibility. Clarke's brother-in-law Thomas Dandy (mentioned above) gives Clarke a Suffolk connection, Dandy's seat at Ringshall being only about 9 miles (14.5 km) from Ipswich where Doon was based, and Clarke did not move to Stamford permanently until about 1586. Rather intriguingly, Clarke's map of Panworth is the only known map of his which includes depictions of animals typical of specific land use (stags on a park, cattle and horses on a common, for example: see Fig. 54): Darby's first known map, of Smallburgh (1582) also uses animals in this way, as do all his later maps (see Chapter Five). Might Clarke and Darby have met through both of them training with or knowing Doon?

Doon trained or employed others, too, since he stated in his response to Clarke's legal suit that he had taken 'more paynes with [Clarke] in instructing him duringe that tyme than ever he did before with any other in that behalf'. One of these others was George Sampson, gentleman, who had worked as Doon's clerk during Doon's work for Sir Robert Wingfield in many different counties in the 1570s (see Chapter Two).²⁴ Sampson is better-known for working together with Ralph Agas in producing a map of West Lexham, Norfolk in the mid-1570s, thought to be the first English estate map made to a consistent scale.²⁵ Sampson's name was written before Agas's on this map, which might reflect their relative social status (Sampson was a gentleman, Agas was not) or their relative professional status, with Agas as the clerk or junior partner in the venture. The links between Sampson and Agas and Sampson and Doon introduce the possibility of Doon as a trainer, or at least employer, of both Sampson and Agas. Although Agas himself claimed to have been working as a surveyor from c. 1566, having seen the potential advantages of maps for estate surveyors in about 1576 (when he had first 'considered of what force a bounder by plat might be in time to come...'), he was certainly in Ipswich in 1574 when his eldest son was baptised at St Lawrence's church there.²⁶ He could have met George Sampson then, when Sampson was working as clerk to Doon. Agas himself might even have been working with or for Doon, who would have been busy with his multi-county surveying work for Wingfield at that time (see Chapter Two). There is perhaps some reason to conjecture that Doon's work made Ipswich something of a local

²⁴ TNA, PROB 11/82/569. Sampson was almost certainly George Sampson of Harkstead, Suffolk, Lord of the manor of Netherhall in Harkstead, who died in 1580 [TNA, PROB 11/62/361].

²⁵ Holkham Archives, M/92; Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1645.

²⁶ BL, Lansdowne MS 165/4, fol. 95, in which he describes himself as 'Practised in Survey more than 40 yeeres'; Agas, 'A Preparative to Platting' (1596), p.16. SA(I), FB 106/D1/1: baptism of Robert Agas, 25 April 1574.

centre for training surveyors in the first half of Elizabeth's reign and that this might have been a contributing factor to the high number of East Anglian surveyors noted above (see Chapter One).

If Doon was training surveyors in Ipswich during the 1570s, *did* he train Darby? If so, he almost certainly did not train him as a map-maker, but rather as a traditional surveyor. Doon himself knew how to measure land for his written surveys, but he is not known to have made maps. When he was associated directly with map-making, it was as the partner of a map-maker who made whatever accompanying maps were deemed necessary, such as Israel Amyce in their joint work for the legal suit between Lord Latimer and Sir Robert Wingfield (see Chapter Two). At least one record of this partnership survives, despite Doon's own actions to withhold from Wingfield the large books of survey he made for this lawsuit on the grounds that Wingfield would not pay him.²⁷ This volume contains a number of written surveys of properties in numerous counties of England by Doon, accompanied by inserted maps of specific properties made by Amyce.²⁸ Both men are named in the preamble and it looks as if Doon made his fair copy of the written surveys first, in five loose paper gatherings, inserting the individual paper maps by Amyce (some large and folded to fit, some smaller than the survey pages) where appropriate with the written survey before the final binding of the whole. It is therefore possible that whilst Doon might have trained Darby in the skills of traditional surveying, Amyce or one of Doon's other connections might have trained the young Darby in map-making through their mutual contact with Doon.

4.4 Illustrated Surveys: A Comparison of Doon's and Darby's Work (1560 and 1589)

There is one document which hints, circumstantially, that Doon might have trained Darby in the non-map-making aspects of surveying. It also impinges on Darby's artistic inspiration and possibly development. The document in question is an illustrated survey or extent of the manor of Woodbridge late Priory in Suffolk, made in July 1560 by Robert Doon.²⁹ As always

²⁷ Doon was forced to surrender these volumes to the court when Sir Robert sued him for them. Wingfield had still not paid Doon in 1593, when Doon's will bewailed the still outstanding debt and recited the circumstances [TNA, PROB 11/82/569].

²⁸ SA(I), HA 411/1/2/3/3.

²⁹ SA(I), HB 54/B1/1, transcribed and published in Anthony Breen (ed.), *The Extent of Woodbridge Priory, 1560* (Ipswich: Suffolk Family History Society, 2003), although Breen mis-transcribed the name of the

with surveys and maps, knowing the client for whom the extent was made can shed light on the reason for making it at a particular time. The client's status might also hint at the reason for decorating it: if for a high-status manorial lord, a more prestigious-looking document might have been produced, which would also showcase and help advertise the surveyor's work. The manor of Woodbridge late Priory in 1560 was in the hands of Dorothy Wingfield, widow of John Wingfield. She was elderly by then and may have relied on her husband's cousin, Thomas Seckford, Master of the Court of Requests, who lived nearby at Seckford Hall, just outside Woodbridge, to help her with the administration of her estate, which was granted to Seckford in 1564.³⁰ Seckford might well have been familiar with the estate before this, however, and might even have commissioned the 1560 survey, perhaps with a view to gauging the value of the estate in advance of him being granted it. His taste for ornamentation (discussed in Chapter Five) might have prompted Doon to decorate the survey, although it has to be admitted that his decorations show very limited artistic skill. The Wingfield link with the manor also connects the 1560 extent with Doon's work for Sir Robert Wingfield a decade later: Sir Robert was John Wingfield's brother.

Some features of Doon's decorated 1560 extent of the manor of Woodbridge late Priory resonate visually with those in the surveys made by John Darby in 1589 of the nearby manors of Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh.³¹ This raises the possibility that Darby's artistic inspiration in decorating those surveys might conceivably have come from either seeing the extent or having been trained by Doon, or that both derived inspiration from a common source, which might be writing masters' manuals, as we shall see. Darby was too young to have illustrated the 1560 extent himself as a trainee. The 1560 illustrations are very raw work compared to Darby's own surveys of 1589, but show some similarities in types of illustration and where they were placed within the letter forms.

For example, compare the profile 'man-in-the-moon' faces drawn in the inner curves of the letters in Figs 21-25 and 33. Darby's are the more accomplished drawings, but the placing of these faces and their format are the same. There is at least one other similar example, from 1555, of this 'man-in-the-moon' face in another manorial record in Suffolk, a court roll from

surveyor as Robert Doue (Dove or Dowe) rather than 'Don[n]e', (as it appears in the document) one of the many variant spellings Robert Doon was accustomed to use.

³⁰ W.A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk: Notes on their History and Devolution, Vol. 4: Hundreds of Hoxne, Lackford and Loes* (Taylor, Garnett, Evans, & Co., Ltd., Manchester 1909), p.325.

³¹ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12; HB 9 51/2/26; HB 9: 51/2/35 respectively.

the manor of Great Barton near Bury St Edmunds, although the writer of this document is unknown (see Fig. 33). The caricatures of rather thuggish-looking male profiles in the inner curves of letters in Doon's 1560 in Figs 21 and 26 also resemble and are in the same type of position as Darby's in Fig. 22. Again, here, Darby's figure is much more accomplished and makes full use of the curve of the letter as does the image of Darby's moustachioed man in Fig. 29 and the turbaned man in Fig. 34. The fanciful birds and animals in Figs 25-28 are less similar but again show more proficiency in drawing in Darby's 1589 work. One of the grotesque faces in Fig. 31 also shows a similarity in style to the face of the surveyor in Darby's map of Household Heath [c.1589] in Fig. 32.



Fig. 21: Letter decoration in Robert Doon's Woodbridge late Priory extent, 1560.³²



Fig. 22: Letter decorations in John Darby's survey of Cleves in Burgh, 1589.³³



Fig. 23: Letter decorations in Robert Doon's Woodbridge late Priory extent, 1560.³⁴



Fig. 24: Letter decorations in John Darby's survey of Grundisburgh, 1589.³⁵

³² SA(I), HB 54/B1/1 (reproduced throughout by kind permission of Watkins, Stewart and Ross), fol. 7r.

³³ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/35 (reproduced throughout by kind permission of Suffolk Archives), fol. 6r.

³⁴ SA(I), HB 54/B1/1, fol. 82r.

³⁵ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12 (reproduced throughout by kind permission of Suffolk Archives), fol. 11r.



Fig. 25: Letter decorations in Robert Doon's Woodbridge late Priory extent, 1560.³⁶



Fig. 26: Letter decorations in Robert Doon's Woodbridge late Priory extent, 1560.³⁷



Fig. 27: Letter decoration in John Darby's survey of the manor of Burgh, 1589.³⁸



Fig. 28: Letter decoration in John Darby's survey of the manor of Burgh, 1589.³⁹



Fig. 29: Letter decoration in John Darby's survey of the manor of Grundisburgh, 1589.⁴⁰

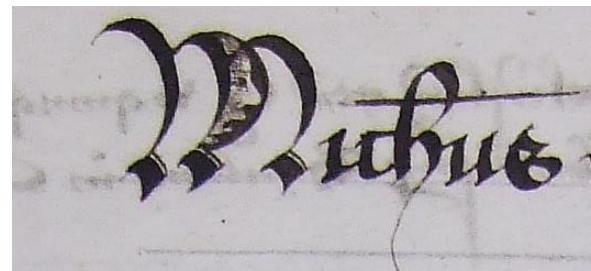


Fig. 30: Letter decoration in John Darby's survey of the manor of Grundisburgh, 1589.⁴¹

³⁶ SA(I), HB 54/B1/1, fol. 68v.

³⁷ SA(I), HB 54/B1/1, fol. 67v.

³⁸ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/26 (reproduced throughout by kind permission of Suffolk Archives), fol. 10v.

³⁹ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/26, fol. 13r.

⁴⁰ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12, fol. 14v.

⁴¹ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12, fol. 20v.



Fig. 31: Letter decorations in John Darby's survey of the manor of Burgh, 1589.⁴²



Fig. 32: Detail of surveyor's face from John Darby's map of Household Heath, [c.1589]



Fig. 33: Letter decoration in Great Barton court roll, 1555, by unknown scribe.⁴³



Fig. 34: Letter decorations in John Darby's survey of Burgh, 1589.⁴⁴

If Doon kept the 1560 extent in his own hands (and he is known to have retained records until paid for his work, as discussed in Chapter Two) and if Darby were ever his clerk, apprentice or assistant, then Darby could have seen it in Doon's custody. However, the normal custodial practice for such manorial records would have been to keep them together and pass them on to the new lord of the manor if and when the manor changed hands, as seems to have been the case with the manor of Woodbridge late Priory.⁴⁵ Thomas Seckford, Master of the Court of Requests, was lord of the manor of Woodbridge late Priory from 1564 until his death in 1587 and Darby *did* have a proven link with Seckford through his commissioning of Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584).

⁴² SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/26, fol. 20r.

⁴³ SA(B), E 18/151/4, reproduced courtesy of Sir Michael Bunbury. I thank Roger Curtis for drawing my attention to this item.

⁴⁴ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/26, fol. 7r.

⁴⁵ The provenance of the archives shows that this has been the case with these surveys. The records forming HB 54 in Suffolk Archives (Ipswich) are listed as the 'Records of the Rouse Family, Steward Family and Others'. They were deposited in the archive by an Ipswich solicitor's firm, Steward, Vulliamy and Aldous, of which an earlier iteration was Steward and Rouse (c.1868). HB 54/B comprises records of the Rouse estate and family, whilst HB 54/B3 covers 'other Suffolk estates', including Hasketon, Grundisburgh and Burgh. Copinger confirms that the manor was sold to William Rouse of Hasketon in 1834 and passed to his son Rolla Rouse 'of Fernhill, JP and DL, the well-known conveyancer and law author' and presumably a partner in the law firm which eventually deposited the records in Suffolk Archives [Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk: Vol. 4: Hoxne, Lackford and Loes* (1909), p.326]. In this case, the manorial records were clearly kept together over time.

In addition, the manor of Alnesbourn was linked to that of Woodbridge late Priory: the tiny Priory of Alnesbourn had been a daughter house to Woodbridge Priory and the two were merged in the mid-fifteenth century, together with their temporalities. Indeed, the manor of Alnesbourn was included specifically in Doon's 1560 survey of Woodbridge late Priory as a sub-manor. Doon must have been copying from an earlier survey at this point, since he states that the sub-manor of Alnesbourn was held by Thomas Alvard of Ipswich, Cardinal Wolsey's old servant (who had died in 1535) under a 99-year lease from 1530 from the Prior and Convent of Woodbridge.⁴⁶ Seckford had clearly acquired the manor of Alnesbourn by 1584: Darby's Alnesbourn map states clearly that 'the interest of [the] Prior and Co[n]vent, Thomas Sekforde esquire nowe haithe'.⁴⁷ Darby might well have seen the 1560 extent when working for Seckford on the Alnesbourn map.

There is even a possibility that Darby might even have held a more formal role as an estate manager, surveyor or bailiff for Thomas Seckford before his death in 1587 and/or for his nephew and heir Charles Seckford after that. Thomas Seckford did not leave any archives to prove this, but in 1592-1593 at least, Darby was living at Hasketon near Woodbridge, the parish adjacent to both Great Bealings (where Seckford's chief seat, Seckford Hall, was) and Woodbridge. Darby, formerly of Ipswich and described as a gentleman, and his whole household and family were certified in December 1593 for tax purposes as having lived in Hasketon 'for the most p[ar]te of the yere before'. In addition, Darby's first child, Elizabeth, was baptised and his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Melton, married to her second husband, Thomas Bennett on 19 and 21 November respectively at Hasketon.⁴⁸ It is possible that Darby could have re-located from Ipswich to Hasketon in order to be closer to the Seckford family as an established employee.

If Darby were living in Hasketon in 1592-3 (the residence certificate is intended to cover only one year in arrears) then he could well have been living there earlier too, in 1589. The size and make-up of the three volumes of surveys of Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh (all 1589), indicates they were all made at the same time.⁴⁹ Handwriting, layout and decorations are all of a piece, stylistically and in format, so it is probable that they were made

⁴⁶ Breen, *The Extent of Woodbridge Priory, 1560* (2003), pp.114-115; HB 54/B1/1, folio 81r. Elsewhere, Doon correctly refers to lands held, in 1560, by the heirs of Thomas Alvard.

⁴⁷ SA(I), HA 93/12/122 and see Appendix Five.

⁴⁸ TNA, E 115/119/56; SA(I), FC 23/D1/1.

⁴⁹ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12; HB 9 51/2/26; HB 9: 51/2/35 respectively.

at one time for a local lord of all three manors, although they are incomplete in places and no lord or maker is named in them. Copinger suggests that the lord of all three manors at the time the surveys were made was Anthony Gosnold, his title to the manors' transfers being made by levying fines, a secure title backed up by being recorded in a royal court.⁵⁰ Gosnold's principal residence was Otley Hall, a few miles away, north of Ipswich, so Darby might well have been seen as a local surveyor who knew the area and came with the endorsement of the Seckford name.

4.5 Calligraphic Decoration of Official Documents and Writing Masters' Manuals

Darby's illustrations in the three 1589 surveys of the manors of Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh, Suffolk were more than mere doodles and show considerable sophistication in the way he uses images to fit the particular letter forms in which the illustrations sit. They are much more accomplished than the rather amateur drawings which appear in Doon's 1560 survey, although that extent might have been an inspiration for decorating Darby's surveys later. It was certainly not unknown for manorial documents and other official documents to have been decorated in various ways at the time Darby was working, and the tradition for doing so was long-standing.

Such decorated lettering was not uncommon in a range of official, especially court, documents at the time, although more has been written on the medieval context of such decoration, before 1509. In a central government context, Elizabeth Danbury and Kathleen Scott have described the ornamented headings and letters on records of the Court of Common Pleas, or 'Common Bench' dealing with civil pleas between 1422 and 1509.⁵¹ The scribes of these documents show a predilection for dragons and dogs and both also appear in Darby's work as we shall see. Erna Auerbach has looked at the decorations on records of the Court of King's Bench for the slightly later period of 1509-1603, which covers most of Darby's working life. The illustrations of the crown above the seated monarch in the King's Bench Plea Rolls continue into the reign of Elizabeth I and show her seated, with orb and sceptre,

⁵⁰ Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk: Vol. 3, Carlford and Colneis, Cosford and Hartismere* (1909), pp.20, 22, 47.

⁵¹ Elizabeth Danbury and Kathleen L. Scott, 'The Plea Rolls of the Court of Common Pleas: An Unused Source for the Art and History of Later Medieval England, 1422-1509', *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 85 (2015), pp.157-210.

within the strapwork ‘P’ of the first word, ‘*Placita*’ (Pleas), at the beginning of each roll.⁵² There are some, but fewer, similar embellished initial letters at the beginnings of the Common Pleas Plea Rolls by the reign of Elizabeth.⁵³ A lawyer with recourse to official court documents would have been familiar with such illustrations, and many gentlemen trained in the law might have carried that knowledge further afield. Antiquarians with letters of introduction to the relevant government clerks might also have seen such illustrated and illuminated documents at Westminster. Danbury has also looked at decoration on English medieval royal charters before 1509, which adapted and developed over time and continued to be used (as it still is).⁵⁴ It is not known whether Darby might have seen such documents, which were kept at Westminster. All of his known work was in Norfolk or Suffolk, so he might not have centred himself in or worked from London as some of his local contemporaries such as Ralph Agas did. But there was a long-standing practice of decorating the capital letters of official documents, so Darby’s decoration of the letters in his three 1589 surveys was part of a wider tradition.

What Darby (and Doon) probably did have easier access to were writing masters’ manuals, and here we can identify some particular features which appear in Darby’s work in more or less similar form. These manuals helped people to learn to write by supplying books of alphabets for students to copy, including decorated initial capital letters and different types of handwriting (secretary hand, italics and court hands among them). A significant number of these were printed and published in the sixteenth century, beginning in Europe in the second decade of the century, though the first English manual, *A Booke containing Divers Sortes of hands*, by Jean de Beauchesne and John Baildon, was not published until 1570.⁵⁵ By pure chance, the version of Beauchesne and Baildon’s *Booke*, dated 1571, which is available

⁵² Erna Auerbach, *Tudor Artists: A Study of Painters in the Royal Service and of Portraiture on Illuminated Documents from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Elizabeth I* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1954), pp.119-132.

⁵³ Elizabethan examples of both may be seen on the AALT (Anglo-American Legal Tradition) website under Common Pleas Plea Rolls (CP 40) and King’s Bench Plea Rolls (KB 27), via <http://aalt.law.uh.edu/Eliz.html>, accessed 10 Feb 2023.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Danbury, ‘The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England, 1250-1509: An Introduction’, Chapter 9 in Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (eds), *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais* (London and Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1989), pp. 157-179.

⁵⁵ Jean de Beauchesne and John Baildon, *A booke containing diuers sortes of hands as well the English as French secretarie with the Italian, Roman, chancery and court hands. Also the true and iust proportio[n] of the capitall Romae set forth by Iohn de Beau Chesne. P. and M. Iohn. Baildon* (London: ‘by Thomas Vautrouillier dwelling in the blacke-frieres’, 1571); Janet Backhouse (ed.), *John Scottowe’s Alphabet Books* (Printed for the Roxburghe Club at the Scolar Press, 1974), p.5.

digitally via *Early English Books Online*, happens to have a manuscript owner's inscription on its title page: '[N?] Levett, hys boke, Ipswich' in a secretary hand, which places the signature in the sixteenth or very early seventeenth century.⁵⁶ Levett has so far eluded identification, although there were Levetts in Wherstead, just outside Ipswich and in Bury St Edmunds in the later sixteenth century. Whether Darby saw Levett's copy or not, it does show that at least one copy of the book was in Ipswich around Darby's time, so it is possible that he might have seen it.

Other published writing masters' copy books were available in Darby's lifetime, such as Clement Perret's *Exercitatio alphabetica nova et utilissima* (1569) and Jodocus Hondius's compilation of many contributors, *Theatrum artis scribendi* (Amsterdam, 1594). Peter Bales (1547 - ?1610), author of *The Writing Schoolemaster* (1590) also contributed a plate to the latter.⁵⁷ Famous for the incredible neatness of his scripts, Bales was also famous for very tiny writing, which represented something of a fashion in the late Elizabethan period. He gifted Queen Elizabeth a ring bearing his tiny transcriptions of texts including the ten commandments and the Lord's prayer in 1575 and in the 1580s – 1590s he apparently wrote a copy of the Bible small enough to fit into 'an English Wallnut [no] bigger then a hennes egge' although the report should probably be treated with some scepticism.⁵⁸ In 1606, Ralph Agas, in an advertisement for his many talents, also claimed to be able to write small enough to copy the Bible seven times onto a single parchment skin, a skill which he said could enable him to draw small, portable maps.⁵⁹ Whilst he might have got this idea from Bales, he might alternatively have seen (or perhaps even written) a survey of Gressenhall, where he served as rector 1578-83, written, as the Norfolk Record Office catalogue correctly states, in 'writing too small to be legible'.⁶⁰

Manuscript writing masters' manuals also existed alongside printed ones at a more local level. Although few examples now survive, again, East Anglia seems to have been a hot spot for them. The Macclesfield Alphabet Book is mainly a fifteenth century compilation, thought to

⁵⁶ This 1571 edition of the work is held by the British Library, (STC (2nd ed.) 6446) and is available online at EEBO via www.proquest.com/eebo, accessed 20 Oct 2024.

⁵⁷ Backhouse, *John Scottowe's Alphabet Books* (1974), p.8; L Peltz, 'Bales, Peter (bap. 1547, d. 1610?), writing-master and calligrapher', *ODNB* (2012).

⁵⁸ L Peltz, 'Bales, Peter (bap. 1547, d. 1610?), writing-master and calligrapher', *ODNB* (2012); BL, Harley MS 530, A note describing a Bible manuscript that could fit inside a walnut written by Peter Bales, 1586/7, f. 14v.

⁵⁹ British Library, Add MS 12497, fol. 342.

⁶⁰ NRO, MR 62, 241X1.

have been first compiled by a monk or friar of Thetford, Norfolk, Roger Baldry, although it also contains some sixteenth century alphabets and decorations. Thomas Fella of Halesworth, Suffolk wrote another, *A booke of diveirs devises* (1592-8, with additions made up to 1622), which was expertly edited by John Blatchly and Martin Sandford in 2012, before the images were made available online.⁶¹ Blatchly and Sandford discovered, to their surprise, that a great many of Fella's images were copied from elsewhere even though they were all drawn in his own hand in the book.

John Scottowe (c.1545-1607) of Norwich, an almost exact contemporary of John Darby, produced two manuscript alphabet books (one dated 1592) and a copy book belonging to his pupil, Wiman Ramsey (1595).⁶² Janet Backhouse notes that Scottowe's style is in some respects very close to late fifteenth century decorative manuscripts made for the Burgundian court, which rather echoes Barber's likening of Darby's images on his maps to those in the Luttrell Psalter.⁶³ She suggests that Scottowe might even have seen such manuscripts as the links between Norwich and the Low Countries were close and the city had a substantial immigrant population from the area in the late sixteenth century. Scottowe certainly had a copy of Beauchesne and Baildon's *Booke containing Divers Sortes of hands* as he actually traced an image from it into his own manuscript alphabet book, as Backhouse discovered.⁶⁴

The survival of Wiman Ramsey's copybook shows clearly how Scottowe and other writing masters instructed their charges, providing examples for their students to copy. Darby must have learned his craft in just such a way and there are some intriguing similarities between Scottowe's style and Darby's which suggest Darby might have seen Scottowe's work (compare Figs 35-39 below).

⁶¹ Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a.311, Thomas Fella, *A booke of diveirs devises and sortes of pictures, with the alphabete of letters, devised and drawne with the pen* (1592-1622), online via <https://digitalcollections.folger.edu/bib243917-309011>, accessed 29 March 2024; facsimile edited and published in John M. Blatchly and Martin Sanford (eds), *Thomas Fella of Halesworth, Suffolk, Draper and Writing Master: His Booke of Divers Devices and Sorts of Pictures: Compiled Between 1592 and 1598 with Additions Made at Dunwich in July 1622 with His Setting Up of the Robert Launce Charity in 1611* (Privately published by J.M. Blatchly and Martin Sanford, printed in Dorchester by Henry Ling Ltd, The Dorset Press, 2012).

⁶² BL, Harley MS 3885; Newberry Library, Wing MS ZW 545 .S431, digital images online via <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/4.18.html>, accessed 22 Jan 2022. All of the former, with a few images from the latter, are edited and published in Janet Backhouse (ed.), *John Scottowe's Alphabet Books* (Printed for the Roxburghe Club at the Scolar Press, 1974); Bodleian Library MS. Rawl. D. 649, Copybook of John Scottowe's pen initials with copies by Wiman Ramsey, 1595.

⁶³ Backhouse, *John Scottowe's Alphabet Books* (1974), p.12.

⁶⁴ Backhouse, *John Scottowe's Alphabet Books* (1974), p.13. The tracing is of a writing cherub on the title page of Beauchesne and Baildon's book which Scottowe included, in exactly the same size and dimensions, in his decorations for the letter 'S' on plate 18 of Backhouse's edition of BL, Harley MS 3885.



Figs 35-37. Comparison of details of branch scars and serpents' heads.

Fig. 35 (left): Detail from the letter 'F' from John Scottowe's Alphabet Book (1592); **Fig. 36** (centre): John Darby's letter 'S' from his survey of the manor of Cleves in Burgh, Suffolk (1589); **Fig. 37** (right): Darby's letter 'S' from his survey of the manor of Burgh (1589).⁶⁵

Darby's illustrations of torn-off branches are characteristic in his surveys of Cleves and Burgh (1589) (Figs 36-37) and may reflect the state of trees in the countryside at the time. Darby's drawings including the tails of bark formed by the tearing off of branches, as the man in the Burgh survey capital 'S' is doing, show a detail familiar to anyone who has done a bad job of pruning a tree. Scottowe shows it too (Fig. 35). The tail is not apparent in Fella, however, although the depiction of pruned trees is.⁶⁶ Blatchly and Sanford's edition of Fella points out that the image of the town, meant to be Jerusalem, in Fella's book might be an impression, if not an actual image, of Dunwich, Suffolk.⁶⁷ Blatchly also states that the denuded trees would probably have been a reality in the Suffolk countryside at the time as wood was virtually the only common fuel and timber was a very profitable commodity.⁶⁸ Many wills of the period enjoin their heirs not to commit 'strip or waste' or limit the taking of timber for necessary repairs only. This did not prevent opportunistic exploitation of the resource, though and there must have been consequences regarding the appearance of the countryside as well as to the value of estates. Towards the end of Robert Doon's twenty-year lease of the manor of Hinton in Blythburgh, and in the last year of Robert's life, his son John Doon stripped the manor of

⁶⁵ Newberry Library, Wing MS ZW 545 .S431, letter 'F', digital image online (open access, reproduced with permission) via <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/book/f.html>, accessed 2 Mar 2024; SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/35, fol. 6r; HB 9: 51/2/26, fol. 7r, respectively.

⁶⁶ Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a.311, fols 23v, 46r, online images via <https://digitalcollections.folger.edu/bib243917-309011>, accessed 29 March 2024; Blatchly and Sanford (eds), *Thomas Fella of Halesworth, Suffolk, Draper and Writing Master: His Booke of Divers Devices* (2012), pp.11, 20.

⁶⁷ Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a.311, fol. 46r; Blatchly and Sanford (eds), *Thomas Fella of Halesworth, Suffolk, Draper and Writing Master: His Booke of Divers Devices* (2012), p.20.

⁶⁸ Personal communication from Dr John Blatchly.

much of its timber and underwood between Easter 1593 and April 1594, to the disgust of the lord of the manor, Sir Owen Hopton, as noted by Christopher Saxton.⁶⁹

Darby's serpents emerging from the ends of the branches in his Cleves survey (Fig. 36) are similar to Scottowe's snake in his letter 'F' of his alphabet (Fig. 35). The Macclesfield Alphabet Book also contains an image of a dragon emerging from a hollow branch, suggesting that this might have been a common image.⁷⁰

Dragons (and dogs for that matter) were long-established as decorative additions to official records such as the records of the royal courts. Danbury and Scott point out that from 1456, the Plea Rolls of the Court of Common Pleas include illustrations such as dragons to fill up the line at the end of the heading and that features of them were commonplace:

‘The concept of a dragon suited to an oblong space at the end of a sentence is not new in English book art ... The looped tail was not an innovation in the fifteenth century among English artists, and it was consistently used in contemporary manuscripts. This dragon is the precursor to others in the Common Plea rolls, some standing on four feet, others prostrate on their bellies, worm- or snake-like.’⁷¹

Dragons were also common images for writing masters. Like Scottowe, instead of drawing the outlines of a letter, Darby chose something sinuous enough to be used as a complete replacement for the capital letter 'S' at the beginning of his Grundisburgh survey. Scottowe's image of a dragon as a letter 'S' shows some similarities with Darby's here (see Figs 38-39). The stroke showing the twisting of the neck, the pointed ears and snout and the tail curling itself into a knot are common to both, although Darby's image is more alive than Scottowe's creature, the style of the wings of which suggest a heraldic origin. There are even similarities to the carving of King Francis I of France's personal emblem of a salamander adorning a capital letter 'F', which may have been taken from a manuscript model.⁷² Using a writhing

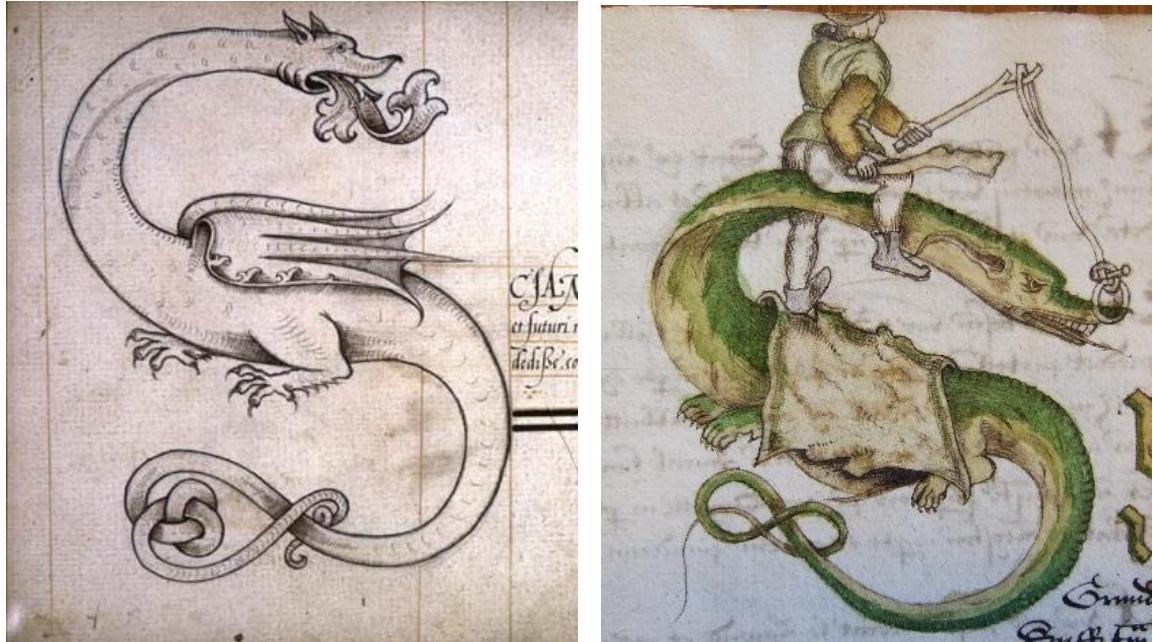
⁶⁹ SA(I), HA 30: 50/22/12.3.

⁷⁰ BL, Add MS 88887, Macclesfield Alphabet Book, 15th – 16th cents, fol. 9v. Digital images of the Macclesfield Alphabet Book were available via the British Library's website up until the computer ransomware attack of October 2023 which obliterated the Library's digital presence. At the time of writing, its digital gallery is still not back online.

⁷¹ Danbury and Scott, 'The Plea Rolls of the Court of Common Pleas' (2015), p.166 and Fig. 5, citing TNA CP40/781, (Easter Term, 1456).

⁷² Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession No. 51.139.1, image online at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/201364>, accessed 29 March 2024.

dragon or similar as a letter ‘S’ was not uncommon: the scribe of the late Duke of Norfolk’s receiver-general’s accounts uses just such a beast as a letter ‘S’ (for *Summa* (‘total’)) in a lavishly-decorated set of accounts from the 1580s.⁷³



Figs 38-39: Dragons used as the letter ‘S’

Fig. 38 (left): Letter ‘S’ from John Scottowe’s Alphabet Book (1592); **Fig. 39** (right): Capital ‘S’ from John Darby’s survey of Grundisburgh (1589).⁷⁴

The pose of the dragon as a letter ‘S’ makes the most of the physicality of the animal and is a not untypical pose. The dragon’s head twists back over its body, whilst its tail ends in a typical calligraphic knot. Peter Bishop in his book on the history of Grundisburgh, calls it a crocodile, although Darby’s dragon is far more sinuous: its long snout and sharp teeth are reminiscent, however. The figure of the dragon twisting its head back across its body with a knotted tail (although the opposite way round to a letter ‘S’) also appears in a quite remarkable fifteenth century wall-painting on the north wall of Wissington (or Wiston) Church, on the southern border of Suffolk, on the River Stour between Bures and Nayland in

⁷³ Arundel Castle Archives: A 1063, fol. 229r. It has been deemed a sterile exercise to try to define dragons, wyverns, cockatrices or griffins by their particular attributes in this context: there are very many definitions, ancient and modern, including an online guide by the Portable Antiquities Scheme to assist identification of them on small artifacts, but the inventiveness of Darby and other scribes and writing masters mentioned here suggest they did not strictly adhere to such definitions.

⁷⁴ Newberry Library, Wing MS ZW 545 .S431, letter ‘F’, digital image online (open access, reproduced with permission) at <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/book/s.html>, accessed 29 Mar 2024; SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12, respectively.

Suffolk (see Fig. 40). There are local legends of a ‘cockadrill’ (crocodile), dragon or wyrm which terrorised local people along the Stour Valley between Suffolk and Essex during the Middle Ages.⁷⁵ The only written evidence that the story was told in the Middle Ages appears in a chronicle by two monks from St Albans Abbey, John de Trokelowe and Henry de Blaneforde (1405) and refers to a dragon which killed livestock in the area around Bures on the Stour but was eventually chased into a mere and never seen again.⁷⁶



Fig. 40: Wall-painting of dragon on interior north wall of Wissington Church, Suffolk (15th cent.).⁷⁷

The image at Wissington is faded, and at first glance does not look much like Darby’s dragon. However, both dragons have long tails tapering to a fine end in a knot. Both dragons have heads and necks turning back over their bodies. The Grundisburgh dragon has a snake-like body, but it also has four rather flat-looking clawed feet, not long legs like the Wissington dragon. But perhaps the most interesting comparison is that the Grundisburgh dragon has no visible wings, as the rider is standing on a rather grubby cloth which looks as if it covers a saddle. The Wissington dragon’s right wing is viewed side-on as if in flight, and its pale batwing segments look from a distance very like the shape and pallor of the white trapezium of Darby’s dragon’s saddle-cloth. The Wiston dragon today is faded with age, although the

⁷⁵ Janet Cooper (ed.), *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 10: Lexden Hundred (Part) including Dedham, Earls Colne and Wivenhoe* (London: Victoria County History, 2001), pp. 295-299.

⁷⁶ Henry Thomas Riley, *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde, monachorum S. Albani, necnon quorundam anonymorum, Chronica et annales regnantis Henrico Tertio, Edwardo Primo, Edwardo Secundo, Ricardo Secundo, et Henrico Quarto : A.D. 1259-96; 1307-1324; 1392-1406*, Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages series, (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866), p.402. The version of the tale which has a crocodile escaping from King Richard I’s menagerie at the Tower of London and rampaging around Wormingford, Essex until slain is unsubstantiated and may be a modern attempt to account for the story told by Trokelowe. In origin, it could be a story invented to explain the place-name of Wormingford, Essex (also on the Stour), which was first recorded in its modern form in 1254.

⁷⁷ Photo: V. Aldous (2014), by kind permission of Parochial Church Council St Mary’s Church, Wissington.

limewash which used to cover it has been cleaned off. But might Darby have seen it, grinning through the limewash which presumably covered it from the Reformation onwards? Might it even have remained uncovered for a time, when other, more overtly Roman Catholic, church wall-paintings were ordered to be painted over in the mid-sixteenth century? The image of the dragon as a metaphor for Satan to terrify people from sin might have sat more comfortably with a Protestant state and Puritan-leaning parish (of which there was a cluster in the Stour Valley, home of the Dedham Classis or Conference in the 1580s) than images of saints. Was the Grundisburgh dragon therefore Darby's interpretation of an image he might have seen at Wissington Church, which was only a few miles from Ralph Agas's home at Stoke by Nayland? There can be no certainty, so this must remain conjectural, but it is an intriguing possibility.

The antecedents of Darby using a dragon as a textual illustration were therefore longstanding and not unusual in the context of official documentary ornamentation and local myth, but the form of Darby's dragon appears to have been most closely inspired by the image in Scottowe's manuscript copy book.

This begs the question whether Darby could reasonably have seen Scottowe's book, which was in manuscript, therefore not as accessible as the printed volumes such as the Ipswich-owned copy of Beauchesne and Baildon's *A Booke containing Divers Sortes of hands* (1571). There is some evidence, if only conjectural. The British Library's Alphabet Book by Scottowe has the names of John Dawtrey and Elizabeth Dawtrey on the first page.⁷⁸ Backhouse considers them to have been early, but unidentified, owners of the book, possibly from a gentry family in Sussex.⁷⁹ But there were Dawtrys in Suffolk too, including the family of George Dawtry being baptised and buried in Bramford, Suffolk in the 1580s to the 1620s, where they were fellow-parishioners of John Darby. More work needs to be done on this.

Darby's artistic inspiration could have come from a number of sources in the later sixteenth century, therefore. He could have seen paintings and prints on the walls of his clients' gentlemanly residences or volumes of prints or maps in their libraries. Robert Tittler and Anne Thackray point out that a concentration of research on London-centric collections of

⁷⁸ BL, Harleian MS 3885.

⁷⁹ Backhouse, *John Scottowe's Alphabet Books* (1974), p.5.

prints by the like of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) and John Evelyn (1620-1706) have left earlier print collection in England a relatively neglected topic and that the later, more famous, collections:

‘overshadow evidence of such activity outside the London metropolis, or amongst those below the ranks of the aristocracy and court circle, or at an earlier time.’⁸⁰

They add that the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries:

‘remain something of a dark corner in the history of English print production and collection. This is even more true for the provincial scene than for London, and for the middling rather than the upper ranks of society.’⁸¹

They also cite Anthony Wells-Cole to state that:

‘English embroideries, painted cloths for walls, decorative carvings, and even portraits reveal the familiarity of their makers with continental prints. These men must have owned print collections, or had access to them. Yet the collections, and the identity of their collectors (below the very conspicuous ranks of the aristocracy and outside the London metropolis) remain elusive.’⁸²

This must have been the case with Thomas Fella’s *Boke of Diveirs Devices*, as Blatchly and Sandford (who also list the books owned or borrowed by Fella) show. Wells-Cole’s statement might be extended to include makers of maps too, such as John Darby, as he clearly had some access to prints. For example, his images of the drinking surveyor on his maps of Blakeney and Cley (1586, known only from nineteenth century copies), Kirton and Falkenham (1591) and Aldeburgh (1594) come from a published source.⁸³ Darby might have acquired the print himself. Ipswich had strong links to continental Europe and books and prints may well have

⁸⁰ Robert Tittler and Anne Thackray, ‘Print Collecting in Provincial England prior to 1650: The Randle Holme Album’, *The British Art Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Autumn 2008), p.3.

⁸¹ Tittler and Thackray, ‘Print Collecting in Provincial England’ (2008), p.3.

⁸² Tittler and Thackray, ‘Print Collecting in Provincial England’ (2008), p.3, citing Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England 1558-1625* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).

⁸³ ‘Aestas’ (‘Summer’) by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c.1525-1569), engraved by Pieter van der Heyden and published by Hieronymus Cock in his set of four prints, the *Four Seasons* (1570)

been more available there than in other provincial centres with less direct links to print-making centres in the Netherlands and elsewhere. Alternatively, his patrons might have been sources for prints or paintings. Sir Philip Parker, as Darby's principal client, is a strong candidate, with his family links to Queen Elizabeth and others connected to the royal court as well as local gentry contacts. Thomas Seckford, Master of the Court of Requests and the commissioner of Darby's map of Alnesbourn, is another. Both men had houses in Ipswich quite close to Darby's, as well as their country seats.

Family links might also have led Darby into circles where art was very much in evidence. His brother, Henry Darby, married Anne, a daughter of Edmund Withypoll, the builder of Christchurch Mansion in Ipswich. Edmund's father, Paul Withypoll, was a famous London merchant and commissioned the Withypool Triptych in about 1514 from the Italian painter Antonio Solario (active 1502-1514).⁸⁴ The triptych itself might not have been on display in Christchurch Mansion by the time Henry married Anne in 1585. It was, after all, a particularly Catholic object, showing the donor, Paul Withypoll and a plea to the Virgin Mary to pray for him. Paul's son Edmund Withypoll was a noted Protestant, so the triptych would probably not have been prominent in his house. However, the fact that Paul Withypoll commissioned such a work from a continental artist probably means that it was not the only artistic work he owned, and which would have been inherited by his son and heir Edmund. Original works of art and prints would have been accessible to Darby through his family and professional links. In addition, the Suffolk map-maker Ralph Agas's brother, Edward, was a printer and member of the Stationers' Company in London as well as a publisher of his own French translations. Agas himself had broadsides and pamphlets printed in London and is known to have worked with Darby (albeit later in the early 1600s) so the purchase and perusal of prints would not have been unusual in Darby's circles.

Artistic expression was also to be found in the work of heraldic painters. The numbers of these increased during the sixteenth century for a number of reasons, mainly linked to the demand for arms and the increasing workload of the heralds of the College of Arms. Men who had grown rich from humble circumstances sought confirmation of their new-found

⁸⁴ The central panel of the triptych is held by Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery [see National Inventory of Continental European Paintings via <https://vads.ac.uk/digital/collection/NIRP/id/30411>, accessed 29 Jan 2023] and the two side panels are held by The National Gallery, London [see <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/antonio-de-solario-saint-ursula>, accessed 29 Jan 2023].

social status as would-be gentry by obtaining a coat of arms. The College of Arms allowed a certain number of members of the Painter Stainers' Company of London to undertake heraldic painting when necessary, but they were fighting a losing battle to prevent provincial painters from painting arms willy-nilly, even if it meant they invented them for arms-hungry clients.⁸⁵ Ralph Treswell the Elder was a map-maker and painter-stainer. One notable local heraldic painter and chorographer was Robert Ryece of Preston, near Sudbury, Suffolk, John Darby's fellow tenant in the manor of Monks Eleigh. Ryece was responsible for the still-extant arms of Queen Elizabeth I and decalogue boards in St Mary's Church at Preston. Some historians have been somewhat dismissive of whether Ryece painted them himself or merely commissioned them. His will records his bequest to William Mills of 'Lanham' [Lavenham] Suffolk, painter and glazier of 40 shillings plus

‘all my boxes of painting colours with desire that soe long as he shall lyve and bee able to worke that he doe from tyme to tyme keepe renue and amend as need shall require the decayes of colours, word[es], letters, compartments and forms of those tables writings and inscriptions which hee hath att any tyme made for mee as they are fixed in the Parrish Church or Chansell of Preston’.⁸⁶

The fact that Mills was a painter and glazier might suggest that he had made the paintings in the church as a commission by Ryece, but Ryece would hardly have left ‘boxes of painting colours’ unless he also painted himself.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that John Darby's education was most probably at Bury St Edmunds Grammar School. This gave him a grounding in Latin which his contemporary surveyor Aaron Rathborne commented that not all surveyors had. In being Latinate, and having some understanding of land law, Darby was equipped to be an estate manager as well

⁸⁵ Robert Tittler, ‘Rural Society and the Painters’ Trade in Post-Reformation England’, *Rural History*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2017) p.12.

⁸⁶ TNA, PROB 11/179/385, transcribed in Isaac Appleton Jewett, *Memorial of Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, Massachusetts with Genealogical Notices of Some of his Descendants* (Boston, 1850), pp.73-82 (the bequest of his boxes of painting colours appears on fol. 271r of the original register and on p.77 of the published transcript).

as a surveyor. This fits him into Thompson's context of surveyors who tried to poach the role of lawyers as estate administrators in the late sixteenth century.

This chapter has suggested the twin possibilities that Darby might have been inspired to be a map-maker initially by his headmaster at Bury Grammar School, William Waterman, and that Waterman might have been related in some way to Darby's contemporary map-maker, Thomas Waterman the Elder. William Waterman's translation of *A Fardle of Factions* (1555) implies that he was a man curious about the wider world, which Europeans were beginning to explore. The coincidence of Waterman attending Gonville Hall, Cambridge at the same time as Thomas Buttes, who appointed Thomas Waterman to the living of Great Ryburgh, Norfolk, might just be that: pure coincidence. But if it is not, it might show one strand of a network of surveyors which incorporated both Darby and Thomas Waterman. Whilst the evidence is circumstantial and remains unproven, this remains an intriguing possibility.

In investigating the training of surveyors, this chapter has used Peter Eden's work about the training interrelationships of Peter Kempe, Thomas Clarke and Thomas Langdon, for a 'genealogy' of trainers and trainees. It adds to Eden's work on Thomas Clarke by showing the possible family relationship between Clarke and Kempe. This shows once more the importance of family networking in obtaining training opportunities.

This chapter has also re-introduced us to Robert Doon in the context of training surveyors and used his dispute with his trainee, Thomas Clarke, to investigate the nature of that training. Doon trained Clarke as a traditional surveyor and estate administrator. This training comprised using exemplars of manorial court records, such as court rolls, surveys and accounts to learn their format and how to administer the necessary processes of each. The relationship broke down acrimoniously with Clarke claiming that Doon would neither teach him, nor allow him to teach himself. The accusation here of Doon with-holding knowledge from Clarke is an interesting one and harks back to the importance of 'knowledge' in the work of surveyors covered in Chapters 1 and 2. In putting forward the hypothesis that Thomas Clarke, Doon's trainee was the same man as the Thomas Clarke who was Peter Kempe's apprentice, which timings and geographical linkages support, this chapter suggests an explanation for the dispute. Doon may have been a very busy man who took on Clarke hoping more for a helpful assistant than a trainee and thinking that in Clarke, who had already been Kempe's assistant until Kempe died, might be that man. Clarke, although he had some

experience with Kempe, might have expected some kind of completion of the apprenticeship training he had had with Kempe.

This chapter draws together other networking strands through Doon, who also trained or employed George Sampson who worked with Ralph Agas in the 1570s. Agas was in Ipswich in 1574, when his eldest son was baptised there, so his link with Sampson hints at a possible link with Doon too, who was busy at that time travelling the country in his work for Wingfield and the Latimer heiresses. We have already seen, in Chapter 2, that Doon worked in the 1570s with the map-maker Israel Amyce, so there is a possibility that Agas might have been part of that network, or was even trained by Amyce in map-making, despite his later claim of his ‘eureka moment’ of realising the possibilities of making a ‘bounder by plat’ independently in about 1576.⁸⁷ Whilst there is no evidence that Doon trained Darby, he was in the right place at the right time to have done so, so this has to be a possibility.

This possibility is further explored as the chapter then turns to Darby’s artistic inspiration and his production of decorated written surveys. Doon certainly did produce a decorated written survey, of the manor of Woodbridge late Priory in 1560. The chapter has demonstrated a strong possibility that Thomas Seckford, a man with a taste for ornament, might have been behind this survey’s commissioning, and its decoration, which Doon attempted, although not with any great skill. This chapter has clearly demonstrated that in a comparison with Darby’s surveys of nearby Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh (1589), there are similarities in form, but that Darby’s artistry is of a much higher order.

This chapter makes a new argument, that Darby worked for Thomas Seckford (died 1587) and his nephew and heir Charles Seckford as an estate administrator of some kind in the 1580s, having made the Alnesbourn map for Thomas Seckford in 1582, and living in nearby Hasketon in 1592-3 if not before. This was almost certainly where he saw Doon’s illustrated survey of 1560. His 1589 surveys may have been made for one of the Seckfords’ near neighbours, Anthony Gosnold of Otley Hall using the 1560 survey as part of his inspiration. This link with Seckford is an important one in terms of fitting Darby in with a wider context of innovation in map-making and will be explored further in the next chapter.

⁸⁷ Agas, ‘A Preparative to Platting’ (1596), p.16.

In turning to Darby's artistic inspiration, the chapter has placed his work on his written surveys in a wider context of decorated official documents. As demonstrated by the work of Danbury, Scott and Auerbach, there was already a long-standing tradition of decorating initial letters of documents generated by the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. Lawyers and antiquarians who used these records would have been familiar with them, therefore.

Artistic inspiration is difficult to prove, but this chapter has argued that one major source for Darby's written surveys (if not also for his maps, as discussed in the following chapter) was the genre of writing masters' manuals and copy books. At least one of these, the 1571 edition of the popular *Booke containing Divers Sortes of hands*, by Jean de Beauchesne and John Baildon (1570), was certainly in Ipswich in the late sixteenth century. Other writing manuals may have influenced surveyors more widely. Peter Bales, author of *The Writing Schoolmaster* (1590) may have influenced Ralph Agas's boast to be able to write in minute handwriting, which Agas might have attempted in a survey of Gressenhall, where he served as rector 1578-83.

This chapter shows that manuscript writing manuals might have been even more influential on Darby's work, if not also other surveyors. A number of these appear to have been made in East Anglia particularly in the late sixteenth century and it is possible that Darby might have seen one or more of them in circulation, if not as a pupil. Thomas Fella's *Booke of diveirs devises* dates in its present form to the 1590s, but might have been begun earlier. More pertinent are the copies of John Scottowe of Norwich's Alphabet Books, of which two survive, plus a pupil's copybook. This implies that there might have been more copies which have not survived. Backhouse's view that the images in his work echo Burgundian court documents takes us back to Barber's comments about Darby's work being redolent of those in the Luttrell Psalter (see Introduction). This chapter argues that Darby either saw Scottowe's work, or was even instructed by him in writing and that the similarities between Scottowe's Alphabet Books and Darby's images (particularly the dragon in his Grundisburgh survey) are too close to be co- incidental. The possibility that the British Library's copy of Scottowe's Alphabet belonged to one of Darby's neighbours in Bramford is an intriguing possibility, but unproven. More work is being undertaken on this.

The chapter has concluded with a discussion on the availability of artistic models to copy for various purposes. Prints and pattern books of all kinds influenced the makers of embroideries,

painting, household art such as painted cloths, calligraphers, carvers and, as this chapter shows, surveyors and map-makers. As Tittler, Thackray and Wells-Cole point out, however, there is more work to do on the availability of such prints and pattern-books in the sixteenth century, and most work has been done for the period of the seventeenth century and later.

Darby's profession of surveyor and his family links brought him into contact with the kind of people who had libraries full of books and prints which might have inspired a map-maker with an artistic streak. The Withypolls of Ipswich had been commissioners of artwork and Sir Philip Parker, as close neighbour in Ipswich and client of Darby's maps, would have had a gentleman's library. Heraldic painters were another source of inspiration, and included Darby's fellow map-maker Ralph Treswell the Elder and his neighbour in Monks Eleigh, Robert Ryece, chorographer and painter of the decalogue boards in Preston Church, Suffolk. There was plenty of scope for an artistic map-maker to be inspired, and once more, we see Darby grasping those opportunities.

CHAPTER FIVE

DARBY'S DECORATIVE MAPS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has introduced Darby's artistry and inspiration and shown the influence of writing masters in particular on his work to decorate written surveys. Darby also made decorated maps, and it is to them that we now turn. This chapter will examine thematically some of the features common to many of Darby's maps. Many of these features, especially his artistic images, make his work particularly distinctive or unique in comparison with what other map-makers and surveyors were doing at the time. Others are more typical of contemporary map-making conventions.

In introducing decorative maps, this chapter will begin with their development from picture maps as described by Harvey. It will show that Darby's maps straddle the divide between picture maps and accurate plans by the inclusion of his characteristic images of people, animals and buildings. However, as Harvey points out, these figures and images also convey meaning. Darby's maps will therefore be discussed in terms of them being decorative maps, bearing in mind the work of J.B. Harley, who successfully disrupted old attitudes to decorative maps in the 1980s. He argued with established scholars such as Lynam and Skelton who wrote off ornamentation and decoration on maps as ephemeral and superfluous. Harley's views are now mainstream, and this chapter agrees with the view that decoration on maps contains all kinds of codified and symbolic information which is meaningful to the purpose of the map.

This chapter will discuss decorative maps, including Darby's, in the light of Harley's structure of the levels of meaning on maps, including symbolic meanings (reflecting, for example, pride in ownership, rank, authority, attitudes to landscape and nature) and social functions (such as maintaining social divisions and the structure of land-holding as well as the development of an appreciation of the beauties of nature). This chapter will use the work of Barber and the contemporary comments of Ralph Agas to describe how such decorative maps

served as prestige items to the clients who demanded them as reflections of their status, power and taste.

In its thematic treatment of the features of Darby's maps, this chapter will begin with a discussion of his use of colour-coding within the contemporary context of colour-coding on maps. Darby's use of it was precocious but reflects later usage recommended in William Folkingham's *Feudographia* (1610). This chapter will also discuss the use and availability of colours as laid down in treatise *The Art of Limming* (1573). This chapter will describe Darby's use of colour-coding in various maps and compare it with usage by other map-makers such as Norden, Saxton, Clarke and Ralph Treswell the Elder.

This chapter will then discuss the theme of cartouches on maps, using Folkingham and comparing manuscript maps with printed ones. In this section and the following one on borders, this chapter will refer back to the writing masters' manuals discussed in Chapter 4 to throw light on the use and development of cartouches and borders on maps. Darby's maps will be discussed in comparison with the work of other map-makers in these respects and in the light of Rose Mitchell's suggestion of the development of generic similarities between maps during the late sixteenth century.

Following on from this, the chapter will discuss Darby's well-known propensity to adapt images from Netherlandish art and use them on his maps, particularly Pieter Bruegel the Elder's image of the squatting harvester from his print of 'Summer' (1570). Nadine Orenstein's work on Bruegel's subversion of the border of this print will form part of the ensuing discussion of Darby's use of this image and his use of border subversion on his maps more generally.

Darby's use of Bruegel's image of the harvester is part of his habit of including an image of a surveyor on each of his maps, frequently in a humorous or self-deprecatory way. This is linked to a discussion of Darby's use of figures which hide faces, and his greater skill in drawing caricature faces than real ones. The question of the meaning of such images on Darby's maps will be investigated.

This chapter will also investigate the use of animals and people shown on maps in the period. Barber notes that Darby's use of them to indicate land use rather than time of year is unusual,

and this will be investigated in more depth, comparing his work in this respect to that of other map-makers such as Thomas Clarke, Ralph Treswell the Elder, Thomas Pope, Thomas Waterman the Elder and John Norden. The possibility that map-makers were using each other's maps as models for their own is also discussed.

The chapter will conclude with a discussion of Thomas Seckford's portrait on Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584).

5.2 *Decorative maps*

Paul Harvey describes how maps in England developed from being picture maps or bird's eye perspectives (whether to scale or not) in the earlier Tudor period to being true vertical scaled plans by the end of the sixteenth century.¹ This is a particularly important point, as Harvey points out:

‘because there was no other English genre of landscape drawing in the sixteenth century ... Effectively it is the pictorial maps of Tudor England that give us our first glimpse of what England actually looked like in the past, and this they do extraordinarily well.’²

The same could be said about John Darby's maps, most of which straddle the dividing line between bird's-eye picture map and accurate plan. They contain images of sea-creatures, birds, farm animals and human figures doing things that would be natural for their contexts, whether shooting duck on a mere, turning a capstan on a beach, or riding a horse on a road. His map of Aldeburgh, Suffolk (1594) is really a bird's eye view of the town from the sea in the East. But it is accurate and its image of Aldeburgh Church is a correct and realistic perspective view of the building as can still be seen today. Arguably picture-maps may represent artistic self-expression by the map-maker as artist: he might have been commissioned to make a map for a particular functional purpose, but there was no reason it should not be beautiful or be peopled. Harvey further argues that such representative figures in maps of the period not only enliven the map and show typical or characteristic actions for

¹ Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), pp.17-25.

² Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), p.21.

that landscape, but also show the map-maker's own perception (and therefore interpretation) of that landscape.³ Harvey also notes that that perceptions could differ between different map-makers mapping the same area, a point which is also pertinent to Darby's map of Household Heath, just outside Norwich, Norfolk (c.1589), which was one of at least three made of the Heath at that time for a legal case about commoning rights there. His map contains features not on the other two, and vice versa, although they were almost certainly made for the same purpose.

The corpus of Darby's work represents several different types of map, although the purposes for which they were originally made do not always match the purposes for which they have been used since. However, the artistic embellishments on all of them suggest that one of the functions they all served, either primarily or secondarily, was display. We should not dismiss decorative maps as being 'merely' decorative or think that decoration was extraneous ornament and not part of the purpose of the map.⁴ This was, until the 1980s, a commonly-held point of view. But in 1983, J.B. Harley attacked Edward Lynam's earlier criticism of Saxton's county maps as 'almost an example of decoration for decoration's sake, for scientific cartography had still far to go'.⁵ In fact, Christopher Saxton's maps were highly accurate and sophisticated, and the decoration on his county maps was almost certainly added by the financier of the project, Thomas Seckford. Seckford may well have been inspired by Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570), perhaps on the instructions of William Cecil, Lord Burghley.⁶ Saxton's estate maps, on the other hand, which were not part of the county map series and outwith Seckford's influence, show an almost total absence of ornamentation, being extremely sparse in style. But Seckford and Burghley had an interest in using Saxton's maps as a showcase for a burgeoning national pride and to glorify England in a format to challenge European atlases. The decorative elements on Saxton's maps express this, forming a visual representation of royal power and sovereignty, and a country busy with mercantile activity, capable of the most up-to-date advances in cartographical technology and the most modern displays of aesthetic good taste.⁷ The decoration on the maps tells as much of a story as the content of the map images themselves.

³ Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), pp.21-23.

⁴ Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), p.24.

⁵ J.B. Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography', in Sarah Tyacke (ed.), *English Map-Making 1500-1650* (London: British Library, 1983), p.36, citing Edward Lynam, *The Mapmaker's Art: Essays on the History of Maps* (London, 1953), p.95.

⁶ Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1629.

⁷ Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography' (1983), pp.36-7.

Harley also criticised R.A. Skelton for suggesting that the sixteenth century mapmaker's 'deficiencies of knowledge and technique' gave him scope instead 'to exercise his sense of fitness in design and patter, his ingenuity in ornament, and even his fancy.'⁸ This comment is particularly pertinent to Darby's maps since it reflects how Darby's maps have been viewed since by some commentators, despite the fact that he too was an accurate map-maker and showed no 'deficiencies of knowledge and technique' at all. Even Raymond Frostick, writing in 1993, glides over the decorative features of Darby's maps, describing them in terms such as 'delightful' and 'amusingly decorated' rather than seeking to interpret the images as part of the meaning of the map, as most map historians would attempt to do today. Harley was one of the first to argue against the disdain or neglect of decorative elements on a map, arguing that:

'It is surely high time that this superficial 'ornamental' view of decoration on Tudor maps is superannuated. It is an attitude based on the notion that decoration is a marginal exercise in aesthetics in contradistinction to the central map image, which is in the proper business of communicating 'hard' information.'

⁹

Maps have multiple meanings and decorative elements can carry many of them, as symbols or coded references, as Harley argued. His definitions of levels of meaning in sixteenth century maps can be applied to Darby's maps and for his map of Smallburgh, Norfolk (1582) in particular. On Harley's practical level, the Smallburgh map could be used (as indeed it later was) for administrative purposes, but its decorative features, including the coat of arms, have further symbolic meanings and social functions too.¹⁰ On a symbolic level, it represents 'seignural authority; proprietorship; class; pride, attitudes towards landscape and discovery of nature' whilst its social functions include the 'maintenance of social structure based on land' as well as the 'development of aesthetic consciousness'.¹¹ Harley might almost have been talking about the Smallburgh map too, when he says that estate maps

⁸ Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography' (1983), p.36, citing R.A. Skelton, *Decorative Printed Maps*, p.1 and 'Decoration and Design in Maps before 1700', *Graphis*, 7 (1951), 400-13.

⁹ Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography' (1983), p.36. This concentration on 'hard' information is demonstrated in the Civil Service attitudes of what was 'relevant', which led to virtually all decorative elements being omitted from the copy of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley (1586) published in the Tidal Harbours Commission report of 1846 [Tidal Harbours Commission, *2nd Report* (1846), Appendix B, Plate 13, between pp.472 and 473].

¹⁰ Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography' (1983), p.31.

¹¹ Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography' (1983), p.31.

‘were fostering an almost poetic sense of attachment to place while simultaneously reinforcing concepts of lordly power over the peasant communities where these estates extended.’¹²

The expression of power and pride in ownership was an important purpose of many decorative maps. Amongst Darby’s maps, those of Smallburgh, Norfolk (1582) and Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk (1591) in particular may have been intended primarily as prestige items made to describe, as John Norden stated in 1607, ‘the lively image of a Mannor’ so that the owner of the land on the map, ‘sitting in his chayre, may see what he hath … upon the suddaine view’.¹³ There is no doubt that such maps were used by land-owners to project their own status, both to themselves and external viewers. Norden himself made just such a set of maps for Sir Michael Stanhope of his estates around Orford in Suffolk which he adorned with a fine perspective view of Orford Castle and a multitude of ships off the coast and riding at anchor in the River Ore.¹⁴ But whereas Darby made his maps ‘lively’ by peopling them with human and animal figures, Norden mapped an empty landscape, reserving his limited descriptions of land use for his headings and limiting his artistic work to the painting of Orford Castle, falling into ruin, on the title page. For the newly enriched self-made men of the sixteenth century, such decorated maps were a physical and pictorial proof that they had ‘arrived’ in society and could live like gentlemen, from income derived from their own lands. For established landed families they were reflections of the family’s wealth and links to their ancestral lands, which in some cases their families had owned for centuries. As Barber says of these maps:

‘Hanging rolled or framed in their entrance halls, galleries, parlors, and great chambers, close to the family portraits, the maps were intended to impress visitors with the power, taste and knowledge of the person and family who had commissioned them.’¹⁵

These prestige maps were market-led commodities: in 1596, Ralph Agas spoke of the demand from clients for

¹² Harley, ‘Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography’ (1983), p.38.

¹³ John Norden, *The Surveyor’s Dialogue ...*, (London: printed for Hugh Astley, 1607), p.16

¹⁴ SA(I), EE 5/11/1; HD 88/4/1.

¹⁵ Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), pp.1662.

‘… velom maps, … a dozen or sixteen skinnes put together, which I haue in my time performed (for so wold the owner haue it) …’¹⁶

A competent map-maker would therefore make sure to supply the market and produce what the client wanted, such as the map of the manor of Melford, Suffolk, made for Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls and lord of the manor, by Israel Amyce in 1580. It still hangs in Long Melford Hall, Suffolk, comprising nine sheets of vellum and being just over 2.4 m high and 1.8 m wide (8 ft x 6 ft).¹⁷ Agas produced an even larger multi-sheet parchment map, of Toddington, Bedfordshire for Henry, Lord Cheney in 1581.¹⁸ It comprises twenty sheets of parchment and measures approximately 3.4 m x 2.5 m (11 ft 4” x 8 ft 6”).¹⁹ None of Darby’s known maps match these for size, but his use of features typical of such prestigious maps, such as the copious use of colour, elaborate cartouches and borders and coats of arms with numerous quarterings do appear, as well as other decorative features, which this chapter will explore.

5.3 Colour-Coding on Maps

One of the distinctive features of Darby’s maps highlighted by Barber is that Darby was an early user of a standard system of colour coding for land use which later became a recommended standard in William Folkingham’s *Feudographia* (1610).²⁰ Folkingham’s conventions include not only the types of land to be colour-coded, but also instructions for the pigments a map-maker should use in making these colours:

‘Arable for corne may be washed with a pale straw-colour compounded of yellow oker and white leade, or of pincke and verdigreece. Meddowes may be washed with a light greene by taking more verdigreece and lesse pincke. Heathes and fennes may be

¹⁶ Agas, ‘A Preparative to Platting’ (1596), p.13.

¹⁷ Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England …’, (2007), p.1614; illustrated in Peter Barber and Christopher Board (eds), *Tales from the Map Room: Fact and Fiction about Maps and their Makers*, (London: BBC Books, 1993), pp.94-5; facsimile and commentary published at David Dymond and Graham Johnston, *A map of the manor of Melford Hall, Suffolk, 1580, the property of Sir William Cordell, drawn by Israel Amyce*, Occasional Publication No. 1, (Long Melford: Long Melford Historical and Archaeological Society, 1987).

¹⁸ BL, Add MS 38065 H.

¹⁹ Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), pp.88-9 and Figs. 60-61; E.G.R. Taylor, ‘The Surveyor’, *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1947), p.132, n.1 is incorrect in stating it comprised only twelve sheets of parchment.

²⁰ Barber, ‘John Darby’s Map of … Smallburgh, 1582’ (2005), pp. 55-58.

distinguisht with deader greene derived from yellow and indico. Trees may have a sadder greene composed of white leade and verdigreece.²¹

We do not know whether these were the pigments Darby used, but earth-, metallic- and vegetable-based pigments would presumably have been obtainable at that time without too much difficulty, whether from local or other English sources or from imports.²² Ipswich was an important port trading with Europe and further afield and many local merchants were linked to London's far greater markets through personal or business connections. Some pigments might have been expensive but were certainly not unobtainable and the knowledge of how to use them was also in print. A list of ingredients for making colours is included in the instructions for doing so in the anonymous treatise sometimes called *The Art of Limming*, or just *Limming*, properly *A very proper treatise, wherein is briefly sett forthe the arte of Limming* (1573 and later editions), which states that 'all suche colours & other things, as are mencioned & contained in this prese[n]t booke of lymming, ... are for the moste parte ... sole at the Poticaries'.²³ The treatise is short (13 folios in the first edition of 1573) but contains comprehensive advice for the making and mixing of colours. It seems to have been popular, with six editions published between 1573 and 1605.²⁴

Darby's colour-coding scheme does not exactly match Folkingham's, which is somewhat vague in some respects and depends on the proportions of various mixed ingredients and definitions of 'deader' and 'sadder' greens, for example. Certainly, Darby's heaths and fens as defined by the names of the pieces of land on his Smallburgh map are different in colour to one another (see Fig. 1) for example. Barber cites unpublished work by William Ravenhill stating that colouring conventions were shared by map-makers fairly early on in the development of estate maps.²⁵ Darby also uses similar colour coding to the Smallburgh map for land use on his maps of Aldeburgh, Southwold and Kirton and Falkenham to define meadow, pasture and arable. The mid-nineteenth century Cooke-A and Long copies of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley, Norfolk (1586) also indicate some colour-coding of fields

²¹ William Folkingham, *Feudographia* (1610), p.57. 'Pincke' was a yellow colour.

²² For a summary on contemporary pigments, see Jo Kirby Atkinson (Scientific Dept, The National Gallery, London), 'Artists' Materials in Sixteenth-Century England: Import and Retail Trade', (2007-8).

²³ Anon, *A very proper treatise, wherein is briefly sett forthe the arte of Limming*..., (London: Richard Tottill, 1573), fol. xii recto.

²⁴ Annemie D.G. Leemans, 'Contextualizing Practical Knowledge in Early Modern Europe', (PhD Dissertation, University of Kent, UK and University of Porto, Portugal, 2016), p.148.

²⁵ Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), pp.1644-5 and footnote 409, citing BL Add MS 70953, an anonymous map of Chilton, Suffolk (1597), as an example of Folkingham's colour coding method.

but are not identical in their colouring of them. This inconsistency may imply copying errors or an ignorance of the purpose of the original colour-coding, or even a feeling on the part of one or both of the copyists that it was not important.²⁶

As with Smallburgh, arable on the Kirton and Falkenham map is a straw colour, with the direction of ploughing clearly indicated on enclosed arable fields, which have a corduroy-type pattern on them. On the Smallburgh map, the individual strips in open fields are shown, although Kirton and Falkenham shows a mostly enclosed landscape, each field separate with mature trees in the hedgerows dividing them, hinting at a long-enclosed landscape. However, three of the Kirton and Falkenham arable enclosures ('Little hownde', 'Washespringe' (arable) and 'Harpe closse *al[ia]s* Lampitts Closse' have what appear to be separate strips inside them (see Fig. 41).



Fig. 41. Detail from John Darby's map of Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk (1591) showing colour coding for land use and ploughing patterns in arable fields.²⁷

²⁶ The nineteenth century copyists of the Blakeney and Cley map change the meaning of this map in other ways too by manipulating features on it. The omission of ornament on the Tidal Commission copy of 1846 is one such feature. Another is the bowdlerisation of Catsarse Beacon to 'Calesan Beacon' (Long copy) and 'Gatefare Beacon' (Cooke-A copy). This could be simple mis-reading by the copyist of an indistinct or damaged original, but equally it could show the alteration of a term deemed unacceptable to the more prim tastes of the early Victorian period when the copies were made. These changes show how each age, as well as each individual viewer, can put a different interpretation on a map.

27 as each individual vi
SA(I), C/3/10/8/1/2.

This might show the end result of the engrossment of neighbouring strips in an earlier open field system, perhaps, where one tenant obtained several adjacent strips and enclosed them together. A snapshot of this process of engrossment may be clearly seen in Norden's maps of the Stanhope estates around Orford (1600-01).²⁸ There, the ghost outlines of former strips are shown clearly within newer enclosures (see Fig. 42). More likely, on Darby's Kirton and Falkenham map, what appear to be separate strips within enclosures might be ploughing blocks or stetches, with drainage ditches between them, which would make sense for a damp field, implied by the name 'Washspring', for example.



Fig. 42. Detail from John Norden's survey of Chillesford, Sudbourn, Orford, Gedgrave and part of Iken, Suffolk, made for Sir Michael Stanhope, 1600-01, showing a snap-shot of the process of engrossment and colour-coding by tenant.²⁹

Colour coding was used for purposes other than land use by many map-makers of the period, who realised the possibilities for differentiating types of tenure or different tenants' holdings by coding systems. For example, Norden's maps of the lands around Orford shows each tenant's holdings in a different colour (see Fig. 42), whilst Christopher Saxton's map of the manor of Hinton in Blythburgh, Suffolk (1594) defines different types of tenure as

²⁸ SA(I), EE 5/11/1.

²⁹ SA(I), EE 5/11/1. Reproduced by kind permission of the Orford Town Trust.

‘all the demanes are colored with yelowe, The Copyholdes Lyinge in Hynton are colored with red, and the confines left whit’

although Saxton never seems to have got around to outlining any copyhold lands in red on that map.³⁰ Rather interestingly, Thomas Clarke appears to have used the same colours for the same tenures although the proof is only in two nineteenth century copies of his map of Earl Stonham, Suffolk (1587).³¹

Somewhat less elegant and more highly coloured is Ralph Treswell the Younger’s map of the manors of Lawshall and Henifeilds (or Hanningfields), Suffolk (1611) in which he not only colour coded each tenant’s holdings, but also allocated to each tenant a symbol in the form of a letter, shape or what looks like an astronomical or alchemical symbol (see Fig. 43).³²

Clearly, Treswell learnt his craft from his father, as these symbols are characteristic (indeed, some of them are the same) as those used by Ralph Treswell the Elder, on, for example, his map of Langton Ellis in the Isle of Purbeck, Dorset, made for Sir Christopher Hatton in 1585-6.³³ The younger Treswell’s use of colour-coding on the Lawshall map shows quite clearly distinct blocks of colour (see Fig. 43) which indicate, at a glance, where individual tenants’ farms lay: most of the holdings of most of the tenants are in discrete blocks and not scattered throughout the manor. This could indicate enclosure of long-standing, with tenants having had the time and opportunity to acquire groups of fields together into relatively compact farm units.

Besides colour-coding, Treswell’s map includes a coat of arms, attractive title cartouche, scale-bar and border. These features make it, although unfinished, a suitable prestige display map for the lord of the manor, Sir Henry Lee as well as a tool of manorial administration.³⁴

³⁰ SA(I), HA 30: 378/1.

³¹ SA(I), HB 11/1/87-88.

³² SA(I), HA 93/12/44.

³³ Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell’s Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), p.118.

³⁴ There were a number of Sir Henry Lees alive at this time. The arms on the map identify him as Sir Henry Lee of Woodford, Essex (died 21 Jan 1619/20), the son of Sir Robert Lee or Leigh, Lord Mayor of London 1602-03. Sir Henry was a Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London and was elected Alderman of Queenhithe Ward in 1614, being immediately discharged on payment of a £500 fine. He is more likely to have been the Henry Lee, knighted on 30 May 1607 at Whitehall than the man of the same name knighted on 20 Dec 1611 at Theobalds, if only because the Lawsall map was made in 1611 and calls him Sir Henry then, whilst the 1611 knighthood was very late in that year [TNA, PROB 11/135/178; A.B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London* (1908, 1913); Vol. I: 193, 257, 345; Vol. II: 53, 175, 177; Shaw, *The Knights of England* II (1906), pp.142, 151; Corder, *A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms* (1965), p.326 (‘Argent a fesse between in

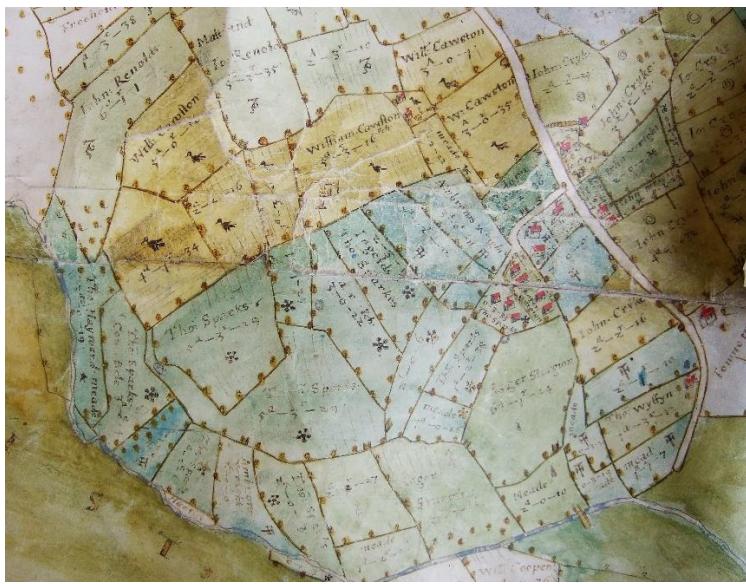


Fig. 43: Ralph Treswell the Younger's map of the manors of Lawshall and Henifields, Suffolk, 1611 showing colour-coding and the compactness of some tenants' holdings.³⁵

Darby did not use colour-coding to define tenures or the holdings of tenants, however. Indeed, his maps are not really concerned with tenants and deliberate administration of estates at all, for all that they are often classified as estate maps. Such usage came later, as his maps changed their uses over time, as many maps did.

5.4 Cartouches on Maps

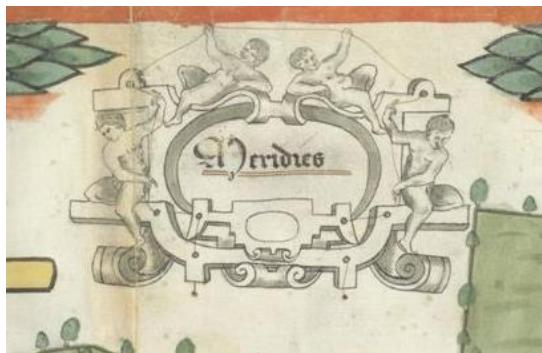
Folkingham also describes the use of cartouches or 'compartments' which he says:

'... are blankes or figures bordered with anticke boscage of crotesko [i.e. grotesque]-woorke, wherein evidences or other memorables may be abreviated ... [and] ... these compartments with the scale, carde and kalender must be bestowed in convenient spare and voide places.'³⁶

chief two roundels and in base a martlet, all Sable, LEE, LEIGH of Gt. Livermere, Lawshall, Essex, grant 20 December 1593'].

³⁵ SA(I), HA 93/12/44, reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives.

³⁶ William Folkingham, *Feudographia* (1610), p.58.



Figs 44 and 45: Similar cartouches used in John Darby's maps.

Fig. 44 (left): Cartouche for southern compass point on Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582) and **Fig. 45** (right): Similar cartouche for eastern compass point on the Long copy of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley (1586)

Again, these are things which John Darby was already doing thirty years earlier, as was Thomas Clarke who drew a coloured strapwork title cartouche in his map of Holkham, Norfolk (1590).³⁷ They are more common in printed maps, however, especially on Saxton's county maps where they were probably inserted at Seckford's behest. The cardinal point cartouche for east (*Oriens*) on the surviving copies of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley (1586) is identical to all the cardinal point cartouches on Darby's Smallburgh map (1582) (compare Figs 44-45).³⁸ This is additional evidence, if it were necessary, that the original Blakeney and Cley map was, indeed, by Darby. It also suggests that Darby must have had either a common model for the cartouches of both maps, or that he copied the ones from the Smallburgh map onto the Blakeney and Cley map. If the latter, he must still have had reference access to the Smallburgh map four years after it was made. The client for the Smallburgh map was Sir Philip Parker, Darby's main patron and client for much of his work, so it is possible that Darby saw the original cartouche design at Parker's house in Ipswich or his main seat at Erwarton, Suffolk and copied it for both maps. Alternatively, he could have referred to the Smallburgh map directly, as it was probably initially displayed in one of Parker's houses.

No original identical source has yet been found for these cartouches, however. They could be based on a design in one of the many printed pattern books of the period, published to supply motifs for copying by designers of pictures, prints, carving, tapestries and manuscripts, as

³⁷ Holkham Hall Estate Archive, M 64

³⁸ The North (*Septentrio*) cartouche of the Smallburgh map is illustrated as Fig. 3 in Barber, 'John Darby's Map of ... Smallburgh, 1582' (2005), p.57.

Barber suggests.³⁹ Designs for cartouches also appear in printed writing masters' manuals of the period, such as Jodocus Hondius's *Theatrum artis scribendi* (1594) or the earlier Clement Perret's *Exercitatio alphabetica nova et utilissima* (1569), a very popular writing manual displaying examples of calligraphy within elaborate borders of strapwork, grotesques, flowers, animals, fruits and putti, influenced by the work of Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527 – c. 1607), a Dutch architect, engineer and artist.⁴⁰ These did influence map-makers. John Speed used maps made between 1596-1610 in his published atlas, *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae* (Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain) (1611 or 1612) some of the maps in which included cartouches borrowed from de Vries' designs in Perret's *Exercitatio Alphabetica*.⁴¹ These cartouches might have been selected by Speed's engraver in Amsterdam, Jodocus Hondius, however. Some of Perret's designs for cartouches display some features in common with those on Darby's Smallburgh and Blakeney and Cley maps, such as putti guiding weighted strings through and around strapwork. But Darby's cartouches on these maps are much simpler in design than those in Perret's volume and adapted, like so many of his artistic features, to fit the theme of surveying. In Darby's cartouches, the cords handled by the putti look more like a surveyor's measuring cord or weighted plumb lines. Elsewhere, Darby drapes a plumb bob over the surveyor's measuring staff, which doubles as a scale bar (a common feature on his maps), on his map of Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk (1591) and over a pointed stake in the copies of his Blakeney and Cley map (1586).

5.5 Borders on Maps

On several of his maps, Darby uses a plain double-lined border with the four cardinal points for North, South, East and West named in Latin (*Septentrio*, *Meridies*, *Oriens* and *Occidens* respectively) within the double lines. This was a very common simple border used by many late sixteenth century map-makers. It appears on many maps in Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* and it occurs commonly in later manuscript maps too such as Thomas Clarke's maps of Panworth in Ashill (1581) and Holkham Hall (1590), both Norfolk, William Haiwarde's draft map of Longham, Norfolk (c.1595), John Lane's map of Methwold Warren, Norfolk

³⁹ Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1629.

⁴⁰ Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (1997), p.75. Clement Perret, *Exercitatio alphabetica nova et utilissima* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1569). Jodocus Hondius, *Theatrum artis scribendi* (Amsterdam, 1594) may be viewed online via <https://web.archive.org/web/20070928193507/http://www.jpad.biz/pdfs/tas.pdf>, accessed 21 Mar 2024.

⁴¹ Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (1997), p.75.

(1580) and an anonymous map (by ‘H.M.’) of part of Kessingland, Suffolk (1613) to pick but a few local East Anglian examples.⁴² Ralph Treswell the Elder uses this kind of border ubiquitously for his maps of Purbeck, Dorset (1585-6) made for Sir Christopher Hatton.⁴³ This plain style of border had the advantage of being quick and easy to draw and it imparted a sense of ordered control to the map contents.

Darby uses this plain double-lined border on his map of Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk. On the Cooke-A copy of his map of Blakeney and Cley, it is coloured yellow within two broad black lines, but only the cardinal point for west (*Occidens*) is placed within the border: he uses cartouches for the other three.⁴⁴ For his Aldeburgh map, there is a single line border for the whole map and the double-lined yellow-filled border is used for the two compartments enclosing the title (‘*Alberovgh per Joh[ann]em Darby descript*’) and the date (‘1594’). The cardinal points are also within plain uncoloured double-lined compartments. His Southwold map has a plain double-lined border in yellow, but the cardinal points are within rather delicate ‘half-cartouches’ comprising flourishes ending in final leaves or flowers across the top of the words, outwith the border itself. The yellow double-lined border also appears on his Household map with the cardinal points as cartouches at the relevant points along it.

These similarities might be part of a larger uniformity emerging in what we might call map apparatus in manuscript map production at the period, as with colour coding. Rose Mitchell points out the development of generic similarities between maps by the end of the sixteenth century which resulted in some maps being:

‘stylistically part of a map genre which is evident across mapmakers and maps of different areas of the country through the 1580s and 1590s.’⁴⁵

⁴² Holkham Hall Archives, M/1-2; M/64; M/94; TNA, MPC 1/75; BL, Add MS 42097, respectively.

⁴³ Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell’s Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), throughout.

⁴⁴ This might be an aberration caused by the fact that this map is copied, however. The West (*Occidens*) label is missing altogether from the Long copy of the Blakeney and Cley map and it might have been missing from the original when the copy was made in the mid-nineteenth century. The Cooke-A copy, although made at around the same time, does fill in features near the bottom and left of the map which it states were ‘awanting’ on the original, which may have been damaged. See the Blakeney and Cley map section below.

⁴⁵ Mitchell, ‘Saxton, Treswell and Hawstead’ in Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell’s Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), p.31.

She cites ‘areas of agreement’ between dividers over scale bars and cardinal points between John Lane’s map of Methwold Warren, Norfolk (1580) and Ralph Treswell the Elder’s maps of Sir Christopher Hatton’s estate in Dorset (1585-6). She also adds that John Hexham of Huntingdon’s map of the Fens between Wisbech and Peterborough (1590) shows similarities to Treswell’s work.

Darby used much more highly decorative borders on his maps of Smallburgh and Alnesbourn, his two earliest maps. In both cases, he might have been trying to impress a new client and put more work into the map to add refinement and advertise his abilities. Barber and Harper note that for prestige display maps in particular, their

‘creation was sometimes regarded as a career opportunity by their makers, particularly if the person commissioning them was in a position to offer further work or other favours’.⁴⁶

If the elaborate borders on Saxton’s county maps really were chosen by Seckford, then Darby might well have been pandering to his known tastes on the Alnesbourn map, which was made for Seckford (and see Appendix 5).⁴⁷ On this map, red and pale green are used to create a striking chain-work border (see Fig. 47), whilst on the Smallburgh map, two quite separate decorative borders are used, one inside the other: the outer border comprises overlapping green scales or leaves and the inner, a pole and ring border (see Fig. 47). The pole and ring border appears, with the rings very much closer together, on Humfrey Lhuyd’s map of Wales and on Marcus Jordanus’s map of Holstein in Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum*.⁴⁸

5.6 Subverting Borders and Darby’s Use of Images from Netherlandish Art

On his maps of Alnesbourn, Smallburgh and Household Heath, Darby also subverts those decorative borders, allowing the contents of the maps to spill out beyond the borders (see Figs 6, 46 and 47). Clearly, in all these cases, the map has been drawn first and the borders fitted

⁴⁶ Peter Barber and Tom Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art* (London: British Library, 2010), p.18.

⁴⁷ Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England ...’, (2007), p.1629; SA(I), HA 93/12/122.

⁴⁸ See Stanford University Libraries’ digital images of Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum* at <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/201273>, images 67 (Wales) and 177 (Holstein), accessed 3 Feb 2024.

around those areas where the map has extruded from the intended boundaries of the map. This might simply have been a misjudgement or a practical solution to the problem of not having enough space to fit the map onto the available parchment and having to fit in the border around the map accordingly. Or perhaps the borders were afterthoughts. But it might alternatively have been a deliberate artistic feature. The loss of a controlling border implies a loss of control over the contents in some way. Nadine Orenstein suggests that it indicates disruption or the breaking of norms with respect to Pieter Bruegel the Elder's harvester in his print 'Summer' (*Aestas*), engraved by Pieter van der Heyden and printed by Hieronymus Cock in his published series of prints, *The Seasons* (1570) (see Fig. 48). She notes the way that in this print (which Darby copies and adapts in his maps of Kirton and Falkenham, Aldeburgh and Blakeney and Cley), the scythe and bare foot of the drinking harvester have crossed over the border of the image.⁴⁹ She states that this is a deliberate strategy by Bruegel to portray 'the disorganised, unbridled and humorous character of the peasantry' and that



Fig. 46: Detail from John Darby's map of Alnesbourne (1584) showing decorative border being subverted by the map content (the River Orwell).

⁴⁹ Orenstein, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (2001), p.243.



Fig. 47: Detail of John Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582), showing ornate double border subverted by the map content, Sir Philip Parker's arms and the figure of a man leaning on a surveyor's pole with a monkey on his shoulders.

'This unprecedented and daring manipulation of details represents a literal depiction of an expression still in use in the Netherlands: *over de schreef gaan*, meaning to cross permitted borders or to go beyond all bounds'

with the connotation of 'extreme, excessive behaviour and drunkenness'.⁵⁰ In English one might describe such behaviour as being 'beyond the pale', indicating the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. To Orenstein the harvester's 'behaviour is strange, dangerous and disorganised, for he is working against the grain, that is, in the direction opposite that of the other peasants'.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Orenstein, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (2001), pp.243 and 245, footnote 4.

⁵¹ Orenstein, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints* (2001), p.234.



Fig. 48. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, ‘Summer’, engraved by Pieter van der Heyden and printed by Hieronymus Cock in *The Seasons* (1570)⁵²

Darby’s most direct copy of Bruegel’s squatting harvester appears on his map of Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk, adapted to be a surveyor with a surveyor’s pole replacing the harvester’s scythe, does not subvert the boundaries of that map, however, so perhaps Darby concentrated simply on the image of the figure on that occasion. But he might have kept the idea of subverting borders as something that he could do in his maps by analogy with the print. It made his maps particularly distinctive in this respect and, in Norden’s word, ‘lively’.⁵³ But whether Darby felt that his maps crossed borders in any intellectual sense is a moot point. The River Orwell disrupts the border on Darby’s Alnesbourn map and may represent the river as an unconfined channel to elsewhere, bringing the outside world past the mapped area. This might fit quite nicely with the idea of the map being centred on access to the jetty or boat-harbour accessed by a way down the central boundary of the map (see Appendix 5), from where ships could sail down the Orwell to anywhere on earth. Maps themselves were still crossing the border of being accepted and understood at the time, and they were changing perceptions of the land itself, but whether Darby felt sufficiently self-conscious about this to imply it through his maps is simply unknown.

⁵² Open access image from website of Metropolitan Museum, New York at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/338696>, accessed 3 Feb 2024.

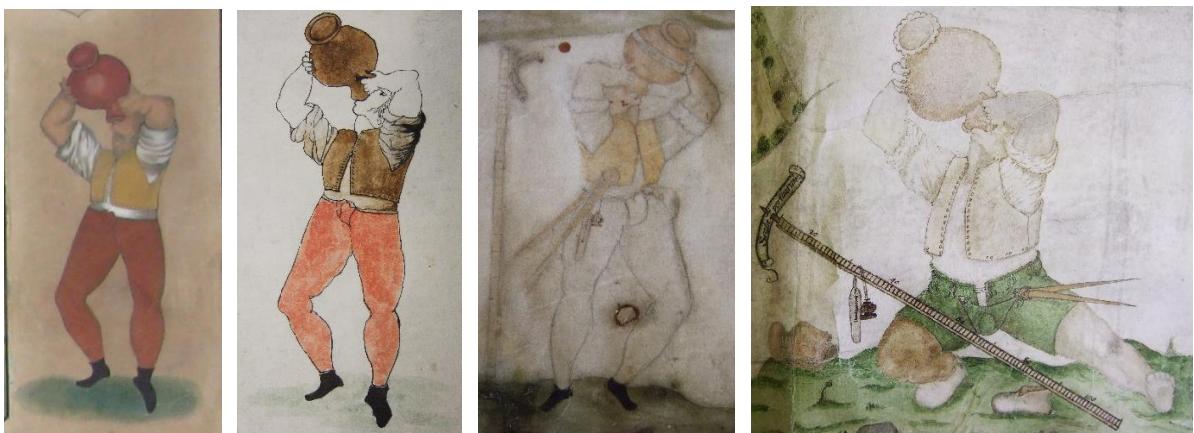
⁵³ John Norden, *The Surveyor’s Dialogue ...*, (London: printed for Hugh Astley, 1607), p.16

Darby's use of images from Netherlandish art, especially by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, on his maps does seem to be unique amongst late sixteenth century manuscript estate maps. As we have already noted above, Darby deliberately copied Bruegel's image of the harvester from his print 'Summer' ('*Aestas*') although he adapted it to make the harvester a surveyor, with dividers at his belt and using a surveyor's pole as a scale bar for the map instead of a scythe. The image appears as a virtually direct copy, with the harvester/surveyor in a semi-squatting pose, in Darby's map of Kirton and Falkenham. The shape and size of the figure fits the void outwith the map image quite well and this might be one obvious reason for its use. The animals clustered around the figure's feet and the title of the map written on the page of an open book help to keep the decorative elements of this map together and off the map image itself. No doubt the feeding animals here, as in other maps, serve to imply the good heart and fertility, and therefore also the value, of the farm. The image from Bruegel that Darby copied almost certainly came from Hieronymus Cock's published book of prints *The Seasons* (1570) (see Fig. 48). Paintings also survive of the subject, but they are not so detailed in features such as the harvester's belt-ties, and shorts rather than hose, which Darby also included in his image. He presumably faithfully copied his image from the print, therefore.

One difference Darby did make was to depict the pot from which the figure drinks as a frilly-bottomed tyg (see Fig. 52). Bruegel does not depict a frilly bottom to his pot in 'Summer', although he does show one in his painting 'The Peasant Dance' (1567).⁵⁴ Despite Bruegel's painting being a Netherlandish image, frilly-bottomed tygs were known in England too. A fragment of one was found on the site of the demolished Feathers Inn on the corner of Westgate Street and Lady Lane in Ipswich in the 1960s, a few hundred metres from the site of Darby's own town house in Northgate (then Brook) Street.⁵⁵ Darby's identification of the figure as a working surveyor implies a laborious task requiring copious drink to refresh the worker: it is also ironic that although surveying might have been a profession suitable for gentlemen, during a long, perhaps hot, day's work, a surveyor could drink like a peasant at the harvest. This would be typical of Darby's expression of a possibly self-deprecatory sense of humour.

⁵⁴ Viewable online via website of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna at www.khm.at/en/object/331/, accessed 25 Feb 2024.

⁵⁵ E.J. Owles and N. Smedley, 'Archaeology in Suffolk, 1967' *PSIAH*, Vol. 31 (1967) Part 1, p. 78.



Figs 49-52: Darby's use of a drinking figure adapted from Bruegel's reaper from the print 'Summer'
Fig. 49 (far left): from the Cooke-A copy of Darby's Blakeney and Cley map (1586); **Fig. 50** (second left): from the Long copy of the same map; **Fig. 51** (third left): from Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594); **Fig. 52** (right): from Darby's map of Kirton and Falkenham (1591).

Bruegel's image of the reaper converted into a surveyor is used by Darby in two other maps, but this time adapted to a standing position, still drinking from the same kind of vessel, although each has subtle variations and neither of these tygs has a frilly bottom (see Figs 49-51). In Darby's Aldeburgh map (1584), the figure stands on the left of an empty space intended for some kind of key or label, next to his upright surveyor's pole with his dividers and plumb line hanging from his belt, but the belt-loops are not present, the drinking vessel has a pale band around it and is not frilled and the surveyor's rolled-up sleeves have no detailed folds. The image (like the plan itself) is unfinished, so perhaps these were details he intended to add later. The other instances of the drinking man standing are on the nineteenth century copies of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley (1586). These figures carry no accoutrements of their profession, although otherwise, they are mirror image copies of the Aldeburgh figure, coloured and apparently finished. A comparison of the figures adds to the evidence (if it were needed) that the Blakeney and Cley map is indeed by Darby, whose name is on the Aldeburgh map.

Although the drinking man on the Blakeney and Cley copies is not portrayed as a surveyor, there is a surveyor elsewhere on this map: he is portrayed near the foot of the map, where a man in a horned mask, dividers tucked into his belt, holds aloft his surveyor's pole, apparently about to either stab it into the earth or beat off one of the two dogs barking at him. A separate surveyor's assistant, dressed in similarly-coloured clothes to the drinking figure, also appears,

carrying a short sword, pitch-fork and sharpened stake and plumb-bob. Some Bruegel-inspired dancers, a piper and a bag-piper appear above the cartouche for the southern compass point. These figures might inspire laughter at the expense of the masked surveyor being attacked by a dog – again, the surveyor, Darby, is being possibly self-deprecatory – but otherwise, they do not inspire a belly-laugh. Perhaps they are intended to be more subtly entertaining, evoking a recognition of Bruegel’s work by a knowledgeable client (Sir William Heydon) even if a wider audience might not have recognised the reference. The various figures here might also have invoked a common modern response, frequently encountered with Darby’s work, of mild surprise and a smiling appreciation at something whimsically unusual or quaint. Did sixteenth century viewers respond in a similar way to some modern audiences in this respect? It is impossible to know. There has certainly been art historical debate, unresolved, about how funny Netherlandish paintings and prints were, or were meant to be, to contemporaries.⁵⁶

Darby’s images of bagpipers in his survey of Grundisburgh (1589) and his map of Blakeney and Cley (1586) represent the use of a common motif at the time. The context of the Blakeney and Cley bagpiper, in a dance setting, suggests that its inspiration also came from Netherlandish paintings, such as Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s *Wedding Dance*. Darby’s Grundisburgh bagpiper’s context and appearance suggests an origin from a copy book by, for example, Fella, whose bagpiper is a direct copy from Beauchesne and Baildon or Scottowe’s rather more vulgar piper.⁵⁷ Other inspiration may have come from different Netherlandish artists. For example, the man with the ripped leggings leaning on a barrel in Darby’s survey of the manor of Cleves in Burgh (1589) shows similarities with Bosch’s image of the ‘The Pedlar’ (or ‘The Wayfarer’) (c.1500) with his torn trousers.⁵⁸ The skinny bagpiper, his ragged-

⁵⁶ For a summary of the arguments, see Peacock, ‘The Comedy of the Shrew: Theorizing Humor in Early Modern Netherlandish Art’ (2010), pp.667-713; Alpers, ‘Realism as a Comic Mode...’, (1975-1976), pp.115-144. For a more detailed art historical treatment, see also Walter S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2006).

⁵⁷ Newberry Library, Wing MS ZW 545 .S431, bagpiper after letter ‘Z’, digital images online (open access) at <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/book/alphabet.html>; Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a.311, Thomas Fella, *A booke of diveirs devises and sortes of pictures, with the alphabete of letters, deuised and drawne with the pen* (1592-1622), fol. 29r, online via <https://collections.folger.edu/detail/Fella-Thomas-A-booke-of-diveirs-devises-and-sortes-of-pictures-with-the-alphabete-of-letters-deuised-and-drawne-with-the-pen-.../54d6abd8-709d-4663-bf63-49108a1549da>, accessed 28 Feb 2024, fol. 68v; Blatchly and Sanford (eds), *Thomas Fella of Halesworth, Suffolk, Draper and Writing Master: His Booke of Divers Devices* (2012), p.13, copied from Beauchesne and Baildon, *A booke containing diuers sortes of hands* (1571), Letter ‘L’.

⁵⁸ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/12, fol. 11r; HB 9:51/2/35; ‘The Wayfarer’ online via the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, website at <https://www.boijmans.nl/en/collection/in-depth/jheronimus-bosch-the-devil-maker>, accessed 25 Feb 24.

trousered leg being bitten by a dog, in Pieter van der Heyden's print after Bruegel of *The Fat Kitchen* (1863) is yet another figure which suggests that Darby's man with the ripped trousers was something of an artistic trope at the time.⁵⁹

A key feature of all of Darby's human figures is how many of them are drawn with obscured faces, or whose faces are caricatures or grotesques. The adapted copies of Bruegel's harvester are all drinking from a large tyg which obscures their faces. The surveyor on the Blakeney and Cley map is wearing a goat mask, a pun on the importance on the map of a particular water-course, the local term for which was, and still is, a 'gote'.⁶⁰ The assistant carrying the surveying gear on the same map has a rather ill-defined face. This could, again, be down to the copyists, although the faces of the men on the capital 'S' of Darby's Burgh survey (1589) are similarly sketchy.⁶¹ Darby's dragon-rider in his Grundisburgh survey has his head turned away from the viewer, as does the bagpiper there and the man with ripped hose on his Cleves survey. It seems that Darby did not feel happy drawing realistic faces.

He was much more confident and adept at grotesques or caricature faces, such as the man in a turban and the sharp-faced woman on the title page of his Burgh survey, the moustachioed man in the same survey, the rough-shaven man in the leather cap in his Cleves survey, the trudging surveyor on his Household Heath map.⁶² This is not to say he could not draw real faces if he chose: on his Alnesbourn map, he makes a recognisable effort to copy a portrait of Thomas Seckford, in order to flatter his patron for that map, for instance. But generally speaking, Darby's images are not notable for realistic faces.

On his maps, most of Darby's human figures which seem to be inspired by Netherlandish art are made into surveyors or surveyor's assistants, although there are other figures which serve similar purposes to his animals, to show the use of particular pieces of land or to be travellers along a road, as on his Alnesbourn map, for example (see Fig. 2). All of these are decorative features. They tell a tale of land-use or advantageous logistics. They flatter a client (Seckford, if not also Parker, on his Alnesbourn map) by placing him in the map. Like Bruegel's peasant

⁵⁹ Metropolitan Museum, New York, Accession No. 28.4(12), *The Fat Kitchen*, Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, published by Hieronymus Cock (1563), digital image online via <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/392424>, accessed 3 Mar 2024.

⁶⁰ My thanks to Diana Cooke and Nicola Harrison for pointing this out to me.

⁶¹ SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/26, fol. 7r.

⁶² SA(I), HB 9: 51/2/26, fols 7r, 14v; HB 9:51/2/35, fol. 6r; NRO, MC 3085/2, respectively.

paintings they may also have prompted a humorous response, perhaps laughing at drunkards and people being barked at by dogs.

But some of their meaning is lost to us. The man on the Smallburgh map with the monkey on his shoulders might, or might not, after all, be Barber's originally suggested Catholic Lord Morley, who fled to the Continent and died there in 1577.⁶³ We might imagine, from Darby's use of the drinking man, and the register copy of his will, which left gold rings to relatives to be inscribed '*Vale in vinis*' ('Farewell in wine'), that alcohol loomed large in his life and his drinking surveyor images point a humorous finger at this. This could be true. But the '*Vale in vinis*' is not the motto in Darby's 'original' will filed by the probate registry (which is itself a certified copy): there the motto is a rather more anodyne '*vale dicit venis*' ('Farewell, he leads, you come'?). The fighting figures on the sands on his Blakeney and Cley map may symbolise the parties to, or local men who literally came to blows over the legal suit which caused the map to be made, but the dancers evade explanation in terms of a legal map.

5.7 Animals and People in the Landscape

Most of Darby's maps typically show animals and people undertaking activities appropriate to the landscapes shown on the maps. They thus inform the viewer of the varieties and uses of the landscape they inhabit. Barber argues that this is relatively unusual, as those few other map-makers of the period who also show people in the landscape tend to show seasonal rather than locational activities such as ploughing or harvesting, thus providing

‘a temporal element to the static geographical information in much the same way as in medieval psalters where calendars decorated with depictions of the typical activities of the months preceded the psalms’.⁶⁴

Darby does also hint at some seasonality in the occupations he portrays in the landscape too. Duck shooting, as portrayed on his Smallburgh and Aldeburgh maps, is usually a winter occupation (despite the trees being shown in full leaf in both).

⁶³ Barber, ‘John Darby’s Map of ... Smallburgh, 1582’ (2005), pp.56-7.

⁶⁴ Barber, ‘John Darby’s Map of ... Smallburgh, 1582’ (2005), p.56.

Figures in the landscape around Blakeney and Cley are engaging in activities appropriate to particular environments as well as the time of year and the legal case for which the map was probably made. Thornhams Eye abounds with rabbits being hunted by a man ferreting. On the sands of the West Meals, two women and a man are cockling. Ferreting and cockling could help to date the map, or the events portrayed on it, more precisely, since rabbits were usually trapped from October to February when they had put on fat and grown their winter fur to withstand cold conditions and cockles are more abundant between September and April. Both are occupations still pursued in similar ways today. The man ferreting on the map is holding a piece of string which goes down a rabbit-hole, and oral testimony describes the process as it was still undertaken in recent times:

‘Some [ferrets] were muzzled with string and sent down the burrows, making the rabbits bolt into the purse nets held over the holes. Others had a collar around their neck to which a line was attached, marked at two-yard intervals so that the warrener could judge how far into the system the ferret had gone, listen for sounds of the ferret confronting the rabbit and then dig to retrieve both!’⁶⁵

The long stick the man on the map holds could be a long narrow spade, badly-drawn because the person copying the map did not know what the tool was that they were copying. Both of these occupations, cockling and ferreting, and their seasonal timeframes would fit with the map having something to do with the wreck of the *Thomas* in February 1586.⁶⁶

Barber points out that the number and variety of animals, (including a heron, swan, ducks, geese, horses, sheep, cattle, pigs and goats) and the activities of the people (including a wildfowler with a gun and dog, boatmen on the broad and people feeding animals) mean that Darby’s Smallburgh map

⁶⁵ Liz Dittner (ed.), Anne Mason and James Parry, *The Warrens of Breckland: A Survey by the Breckland Society* (Thetford: The Breckland Society, 2010).

⁶⁶ Following this wreck, some of the *Thomas*’s cargo was salvaged by men from Stiffkey but then forcibly taken by men from Blakeney and Cley, leading to a legal suit in the Duchy of Lancaster Court between 1586 and 1589 over manorial rights of wreck. The wreck and its cargo were purchased afterwards from one of the owners by Sir William Heydon, lord of the manor of Cley, who commissioned Darby’s map to support his case. For details of the case and how the map relates to it, see Jonathan Hooton, ‘1586 Map of Blakeney Haven and Port of Cley: Part I’, *The Glaven Historian*, Issue 1 (June 1998), pp.3-7 and, respecting the details of the legal case, especially John Wright, ‘1586 Map of Blakeney Haven and Port of Cley: Part II’, *The Glaven Historian*, Issue 2 (June 1999), pp.3-8.

‘might be regarded as heir to one of the British Library’s best-known manuscripts, the Luttrell Psalter, famous for its depiction of medieval rural life in the margins’.⁶⁷



Fig. 53. Detail of man with dog duck-hunting on Darby’s map of Smallburgh (1582)

As in the Luttrell Psalter, Darby’s people and animals engaged in everyday activities certainly portray a sense of liveliness. Smallburgh’s duck-hunting man, his dog in the water and a duck flapping away, certainly have a freshness and sense of movement about them, for example. This spirited liveliness is also apparent in the prancing horses on Darby’s Alnesbourn map. Susan Owens tellingly writes about Darby’s Smallburgh map as a ‘drawing’ and sees it as a work of art, full of life and motion:

‘the impression we get is not so much of a static map: it is more as though Darby has whisked us up by magic to hover above this busy and prosperous estate, where we watch small human and animal dramas unfold before our eyes. They remind us that there was another dimension to the landscape that no amount of measuring and surveying could dispel, and that was its role as a place where people wandered and thought, sighed, loved, got lost and perhaps even found themselves again.’⁶⁸

Occupations in the landscape also convey different information to different viewers. For the estate manager, cows and a colour code representing water-meadows would assist with seasonal grazing plans or the valuation of land, as on Darby’s maps of Smallburgh, Southwold or Aldeburgh. But for an elite viewer, the portrayal of duck-hunting on the Smallburgh map shows in a readily understandable code the right of the owner to hunting rights over the land

⁶⁷ Barber, ‘John Darby’s Map of ... Smallburgh, 1582’ (2005), p.56.

⁶⁸ Owens, *Spirit of Place* (2020), pp.53-4.

and displays pride in the privilege of an elite pastime. We have already seen that Darby's Smallburgh map fits into Harley's pattern of codes and symbols as a display map, showing pride in ownership. On such maps, as Harley says, such 'hunting scenes represented a specific privilege of landowners'.⁶⁹ On Darby's Smallburgh map, only the lord, Sir Philip Parker, whose coat of arms is blazoned on the map, has the right to hunt on this land.

But Darby was not the first nor the only map-maker of the period to put animals on his maps. As with Smallburgh's pole and ring border, Darby's inspiration for using animals on his maps might have come from printed maps: Humfrey Lhuyd's map of Wales in Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570) depicts sheep grazing on the southern part of Ireland (*Hiberniae pars*).⁷⁰ William Smith's map of Bath and Brightstowe (1568) shows sheep grazing near Redcliffe Church.⁷¹ According to Emma Down and Adrian Webb these sheep symbolise the importance of wool to the economy of the area and the country at the period and the riches amassed by clothiers, which applied in East Anglia as it did to the West Country. The purpose of these animals was to show the fertility of land and the value which could accrue from its proper exploitation.



Fig. 54: Detail from Thomas Clarke's Map of Panworth in Ashill, Norfolk (1581) showing animals on Panworth Common and in the Park.⁷²

⁶⁹ Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography' (1983), p.37.

⁷⁰ See Stanford University Libraries' digital images of Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* at <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/201273> images 67 (Wales), accessed 3 Feb 2024.

⁷¹ Down and Webb, *Somerset Mapped* (2016), p.42.

⁷² Holkham Hall Estate Archives, M/1, reproduced by permission of the Earl of Leicester & the Trustees of the Holkham Estate.

Thomas Clarke's map of Panworth in Ashill, Norfolk (1581) is another example of animals on maps. It is slightly earlier than Darby's examples, although whether Darby knew of it is unknown and Clarke did not put animals on his other maps. Clarke's animals here, like Darby's, reflect their appropriateness to their particular environment. There are sheep on Panworth Common, where one might expect to find commoners' animals, but other animals, represented by a stag, cow, sheep, goat and horse, in Panworth Park (see Fig. 54). The stag presumably denotes that it is a deer-park and again, a lordly asset, although the other domesticated animals suggest a more prosaic farming use as well. Clarke's execution of the animals is naïve and hugely out of scale. Although Darby's animals are also not to the scale of the maps they adorn, Clarke's are enormous and not nearly so realistically executed as Darby's animals. Strikingly similar outsize animals appear on Ralph Treswell the Elder's key map of the Isle of Purbeck, made for Sir Christopher Hatton, where, as Rose Mitchell points out, one of the deer is five times bigger than the nearby cottage.⁷³ Treswell also included deer as well as a hunter with a dog and a crossbowman in earlier work on Hatton's Northamptonshire estates in 1580 and 1584.⁷⁴ As Mitchell notes, the animals on Treswell's map are locationally appropriate, suggesting that the deer and rabbits which appear on the map reflect Sir Christopher Hatton's rights to hunt deer and warren rabbits on the Crown manor.⁷⁵ The design of the outsized female deer on the Purbeck map and the fact that they are coloured with gold pigment is also a reference to Sir Christopher Hatton's armorial crest of a golden hind.⁷⁶

Another, slightly later, map-maker who used large, out of proportion animals on his maps reminiscent of Clarke's, but largely in hunting scenes like Treswell, was Thomas Pope who made several maps of estates in Essex and Suffolk in the early seventeenth century.⁷⁷ Mason wrote of Pope's 'flamboyant style of decoration' considering that 'all the painting is crude but done with great gusto' and that Pope's Essex maps 'seem to be the triumph of a fevered

⁷³ Mitchell, 'Saxton, Treswell and Hawstead' in Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell's Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), pp.39, [68-9].

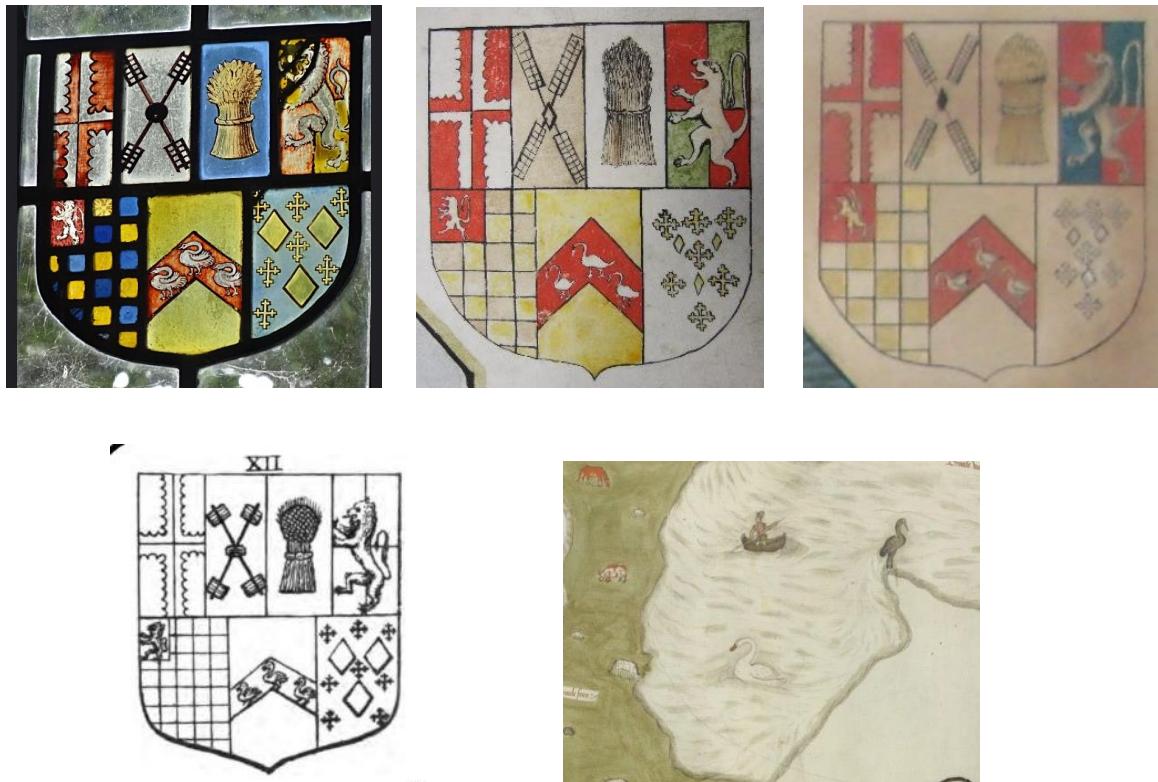
⁷⁴ Martin Papworth, 'The Archaeology and Historic Landscape Evidence within Ralph Treswell's Maps', in Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell's Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), p.10.

⁷⁵ Mitchell, 'Saxton, Treswell and Hawstead' in Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell's Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), pp.39, [68-9]; Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography' (1983), p.37.

⁷⁶ Mitchell, 'Saxton, Treswell and Hawstead' in Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell's Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), pp.39, 46 and [63].

⁷⁷ For example, see the stag being hunted by dogs on ERO, D/DLa P2, Map of Ramsdon Barrington, Essex, by Thomas Pope (1615), image freely available on ERO's online archive catalogue via <https://www.essexarchivesonline.co.uk/> Or the fox being chased by dogs on SA(I), K537/13.

imagination over technical skill'.⁷⁸ But again, this dismissal of decorative features, however badly drawn (though they bear some comparison with Treswell's hunting scenes) is to miss the point of them being on the map. They were indicating that sport was to be had by the landlord, who had presumably commissioned the map to display his rights over the land in question, just like the huntsman and his dog pursuing ducks on Darby's Smallburgh map.



Figs 55-59: (above): Swans in Sir William Heydon's arms and Darby's Smallburgh map (1582), for comparison.

Fig. 55: (top left): photograph of Sir William Heydon's arms in a stained-glass window now in Baconsthorpe Church (formerly in Baconsthorpe Castle) (© Jean McCreanor);⁷⁹ **Figs 56-57** (top centre and right): Heydon's arms on the Long copy [c.1846] and the Cooke-A copy [c.1846] respectively of John Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley (1586);⁸⁰ **Fig. 58:** line drawing of the same arms from Edmund Farrer's *Church Heraldry of Norfolk* (1889);⁸¹ **Fig. 59:** Detail of swan from John Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582).⁸²

⁷⁸ Mason, 'An upstart art' (1996), pp.33-4.

⁷⁹ Photographed by Jean McCreanor and reproduced here by her kind permission. The photograph is online at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/52219527@N00/12586481915/in/photostream/>, accessed 29 Mar 2024.

⁸⁰ NRO, MC 2443/3 (the Long copy) and the Cooke-A copy (in private hands) of Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley.

⁸¹ Rev. Edmund Farrer, FSA, *The Church Heraldry of Norfolk: A Description of all coats of arms on brasses, monuments, slabs, hatchments, &c., now to be found in the county, illustrated, with references to Blomefield's History of Norfolk and Burke's Armory, together with notes from the inscriptions attached*, Vol. II (Norwich: Agas H. Goose, 1889), facing page 10, 'Shields in the South windows of the Chancel' Baconsthorpe Church.

⁸² BL, Maps Dep. 1741.

Mitchell also puts forward an intriguing possibility that Treswell's animals on his Purbeck map might have come from a pattern book, pointing to the similarities between his rabbits and those on John Lane's Methwold Warren map.⁸³ In particular, she cites the similarities between the swans on Treswell's key map of Purbeck and those on John (le) Hunt's map of Sturmer Mere, Essex (1571) and one on a map of Hailes Abbey, Gloucestershire.⁸⁴ Pertinently for Darby, the swans she illustrates from these maps are identical in style to Darby's swans on his map of Smallburgh and to the swans in Sir William Heydon's arms in the window of Baconsthorpe Church (see Fig. 55) which Darby almost certainly copied onto his map of Blakeney and Cley (see Figs 55-59).

The surviving copies of the Blakeney and Cley map show the swans in slightly different poses to the one in the church window, which could be down to the nineteenth century copyists, but their use in a coat of arms suggests that perhaps Mitchell's supposed pattern book might have been a heraldic pattern book, or that the animals have been copied, like Hatton's golden hind, from heraldic exemplars? This seems very likely as Treswell was a heraldic painter.

Other similarities between figures on different map-makers' maps probably did not derive from the use of pattern-books, however, and one is tempted to think that they must have come from the maps being seen by other map-makers and elements copied. One of the figures on Treswell's map of Middlebere, Dorset, carrying a long pole is very similar to the warrener on Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley, for example.⁸⁵ And the standing boatmen in small boats on Darby's Smallburgh map strongly resemble the boatman in the lake in John Hunt's map of Sturmer Mere (1571).⁸⁶ It is perhaps interesting that all the boatmen in both maps are clearly shown punting with long poles, but their boats have the very curvaceous appearance of the kind of small rowing boats in Netherlandish paintings, common on many printed and manuscript maps, rather than the angular flat-bottomed punts we know today.

⁸³ Mitchell, 'Saxton, Treswell and Hawstead' in Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell's Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), p.39.

⁸⁴ Mitchell, 'Saxton, Treswell and Hawstead' in Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell's Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), pp. 29, 31, 39, 68, citing Dorset History Centre, D/BKL/E/A/3/1, Ralph Treswell's survey or Sir Christopher Hatton's lands and rights in Purbeck (1585-6), p.3; TNA, MPC 1/33; MF 1/59, Map of Hailes Abbey, Gloucs. (1587), extracted from E 178/910.

⁸⁵ Mitchell, 'Saxton, Treswell and Hawstead' in Forrest (ed.) et al. *Treswell's Survey of Purbeck 1585-6* (2017), pp.39 and [123].

⁸⁶ BL, Maps Dep. 1741; TNA, MPC 1/33 and see Mitchell and Janes, *Maps: Their Untold Stories* (2014), pp.36-7.

Another map-maker who, like Clarke and Darby, places animals where they might be most commonly encountered in the landscape is Thomas Waterman, although he does so only rarely and rather later than Darby, so perhaps he was inspired by Darby. It is conceivable that Waterman knew Darby if Waterman's father had indeed been Darby's teacher at Bury St Edmunds Grammar School (see Chapter Four), but there is no proof of this. Waterman's map of Gressenhall, Norfolk (1624) shows rather crudely-drawn cattle and horses grazing the Common of Gressenhalle Myllgate and more of them, together with a woman feeding geese, in Horsefrith otherwise Pinfoulde Moore (see Fig. 60).⁸⁷ The animals on Ralph Treswell the Younger's map of Lawshall and Henifeilds (1611) are also very roughly sketched, although the animals on that map are all shown on the lands in the cartographic void outwith the boundaries of the manors being mapped. If they were intended to be meaningful indicators of land use, perhaps Treswell was trying to imply that Sir Henry Lee's neighbours' beasts were scrawny creatures or the surrounding land was poor in an unspoken comparison with Lee's estates. There does appear to be a hint of disparagement here.

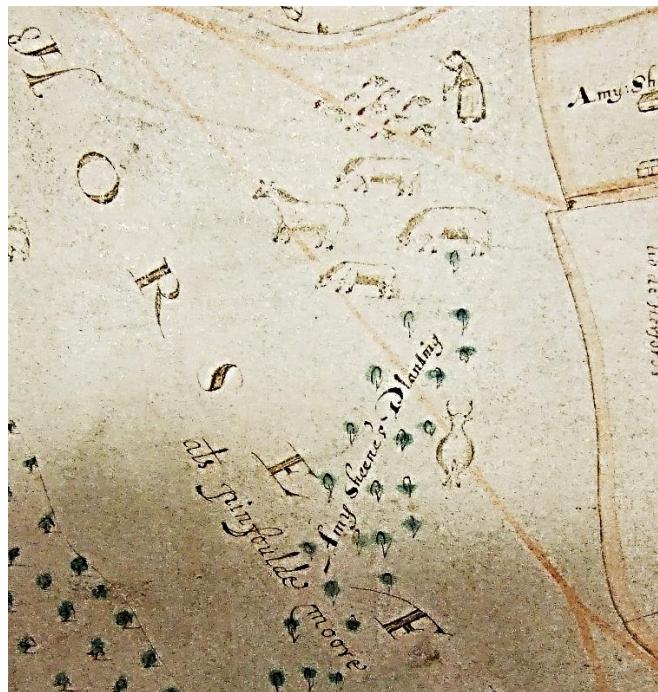


Fig. 60. Thomas Waterman's Map of Gressenhall, Norfolk (1624).⁸⁸

⁸⁷ NRO, Hayes & Storr Map 72.

⁸⁸ NRO, Hayes & Storr Map 72, reproduced by kind permission of NRO.

Not all map-makers used imagery symbolically as signals of power and pride, but stuck with tabulated or written legends, as Harley notes.⁸⁹ What Darby expresses graphically and symbolically through his duck-hunting image, Norden's maps of Sir Michael Stanhope's lands around Orford had to put into a wordy descriptive heading, for example:

‘Sudburne howse somtimes called Chapmans now netelie beautefyd and adorned with pleasant and delightful walks and shadowing trees. And plentyfullye stored with variety of all kinde of plantes of the rarest frutes Apples, peares plumbes Aprecocks and Cherries with other thinges delitefull and profitable fishe and fowle were the pondes and ffleete accordinglie respected and used. The woodes and grouse sene unto And the hawkers, hunters, snarers and gunners bannyshed without which, yow shalbe depriued both of your pleasure and profit’⁹⁰



Plates 61-62: Images of men on the beach, from John Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594).

Fig. 61 (left): a man with a gun hunts wild-fowl with this dog (compare this dog with the swine-herd's on his map of Alnesbourn, (1582) in Fig. 63 below).

Fig. 62 (right): a man with a (surveyor's?) pole defends himself from an attacking dog

⁸⁹ Harley, ‘Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography’ (1983), p.35.

⁹⁰ SA(I), EE 5/11/1, Section XV.



Fig. 63. Man with a pitch-fork herding swine with a dog (compare the dog to the one in Fig. 62 above)

Darby's figures generally are portrayed with a good awareness of body posture and the implication of movement. The man on Aldeburgh beach beating off an aggressive dog with a stick has the realistic posture of a man vigorously attacking the dog in self-defence. The horses pulling a covered carriage on his Alnesbourn map almost look as if they could leap off the surface of the map as do the nearby spirited mounts of the gentlemen (see Figs 64-65).



Fig. 64 (left): Detail of carriage and horses from John Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584); **Fig. 65** (right): Detail of four horsemen from the same map

Darby's depicts realistically the muscularity of his dragon-rider in his survey of Grundisburgh (1589) and shows an implied sense of menace in the dragon, which snarls and writhes very naturally into the required 'S' shape under the control of the rider, whose club implies a latent violence and the dangerousness of the dragon. Animals feed beneath the feet of Darby's copied image of Bruegel's harvester on his Kirton and Falkenham map (1591): rabbits, sheep, a pig, horse and cattle are depicted here, in the surroundings of the separated artistic image of the surveyor in Bruegel's borrowed pose, but they are not shown on the land on the map itself

on this map. Perhaps the client preferred to have map and artistic features to be kept strictly apart. This particular image of animals, particularly rabbits, on an artificial field in rather stylised poses is also reminiscent of those on a mille-fleurs tapestry such as the famous *Lady and the Unicorn* suite.⁹¹



Figs 66-68: Images of Cows from John Darby's Maps:

Fig. 66 (left): Aldeburgh (1594); **Fig. 67** (centre): Southwold (1588); **Fig. 68** (right): Kirton and Falkenham (1591)

It could be said that Darby's well-fed cattle are almost a diagnostic detail of his work. The cow shown in the Southwold map is one feature which suggests very strongly that Darby made that map too, by comparison to those who are shown chewing the cud with tails swishing over their backs in the Aldeburgh and Kirton and Falkenham maps in particular (see Figs 66-68 above). Darby's cows are also one element of his work which might have left a more lasting legacy. When Ray Frostick first brought Darby's work to a wider audience in his 2005 article, he noted what he thought was a draft sketch for Darby's map of Aldeburgh at the then Suffolk Record Office (now Suffolk Archives).⁹² But in fact, the archive catalogue would have told him that the provenance of the item made that impossible, as his 'draft sketch' is part of the Isaac Johnson Map Collection and is actually a copy of Darby's Aldeburgh map made by the Suffolk artist Isaac Johnson (died 1835). It is tempting to think that Johnson's style of painting cows owes something to Darby's Aldeburgh map, as shown, for example, on Johnson's painting of 'Framlingham Castle as seen over the Meer'.⁹³

In his depiction of animals and figures in the landscape, Darby also references his client, Thomas Seckford, in his map of Alnesbourn (1584), almost certainly in an effort to flatter

⁹¹ Images of 'The Lady and the Unicorn' tapestries are available via the website of the Musée de Cluny, Paris, at <https://www.musee-moyenage.fr/en/collection/the-lady-and-the-unicorn.html>, accessed 25 Feb 2024.

⁹² Frostick, 'A 16th Century East Anglian Surveyor', (2005), pp.37-38, footnote 14 and Fig. 9, SA(I), HD 11/475/786.

⁹³ This painting is used on the front cover of John Blatchly, *Isaac Johnson of Woodbridge: Georgian Surveyor and Artist* (Ipswich: J.M. Blatchly in association with the Suffolk Record Office, 2014). Images of the book cover are easily found online.

Seckford in the hope of further work (which might have paid off for Darby). The horseman in the left of the group on the map appears to copy the pose and banded hat of a contemporary portrait of Seckford which is still extant (see Figs 69-70) even though the face is indistinct (as is common with most of Darby's figures) on the map.



Fig. 69 (left): detail from John Darby's map of Alnesbourn (1584). **Fig. 70** (right): Portrait of Thomas Seckford (died 1587) (reproduced by courtesy of the Seckford Foundation, Woodbridge)

In addition, the figure on the mule or donkey at the centre of the group of horsemen might have been intended to be Darby himself, which would match what we know of his self-deprecating sense of humour, placing himself on a humble donkey whilst the surrounding gentlemen are riding spirited thoroughbred horses. Alternatively, the mule might be a nod towards Seckford's map-minded friend and colleague William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who was known for, and pictured as, riding a mule around his garden (Fig. 71). The portrait of Cecil on his mule was not reproduced during his lifetime, so if this were a reference to Cecil, it could feasibly have been mentioned by Seckford, who would have known about it personally.⁹⁴ The maker of the Alnesbourn map, who I argue *is* John Darby, was making a real effort to impress with this map. Its decorative border might also have been intended to pander to Seckford's known tastes in decoration (see Section 5.2, above). Darby might well have been hoping for more work from Seckford and perhaps even a recommendation to Cecil.

⁹⁴ See Bodleian Library catalogue and image at <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/293ceadb-cae0-4817-b232-2ee5f76c5f76/>, accessed 6 Mar 2024.



Fig. 71: Portrait of William Cecil (1520-1598), Baron Burghley riding a mule [c.1588], attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (1561/2 – 1635/6), © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.⁹⁵

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated decorative maps, principally concentrating thematically on those features of Darby's maps which make his work particularly distinctive. In using his work as case study, it has also compared and contrasted it with the work of some of his contemporaries. Darby's maps have a foot in the two camps of picture maps and measured plans. They are accurate plans but they also, as Harvey notes, provide a 'glimpse of what England actually looked like in the past'.⁹⁶ His map of Aldeburgh in particular shows correct and realistic perspective representations of the church and Moot Hall (then a recently erected building), which can still be seen.

This chapter confirms that decorative maps, as Harley theorised, were not merely frivolous, but contained levels of symbolic and coded meanings. Darby's maps fit this context as decorative maps and symbolise such things as, for example, pride in the ownership of land, exclusive power of hunting and the beauty and utility of the landscape. Harley's attack on Lynam's criticism of Saxton's county maps as 'decoration for decoration's sake' is a good example of how decoration held meaning.⁹⁷ The decorative embellishments on Saxton's maps

⁹⁵ Bodleian Library LP 38: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/293ceadb-cae0-4817-b232-2ee5f76c5f76/>, reproduced under Creative Commons licence <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>.

⁹⁶ Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), p.21.

⁹⁷ Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography' (1983), p.36.

were inserted by Thomas Seckford, Master of the Court of Requests and financier of the project, who intended these maps to reflect emerging national pride and maps made with the most up-to-date technical skills to rival any in Europe.⁹⁸ For the gentlemen who led the demand for prestige maps, map-makers like Agas, Amyce, Norden and Darby satisfied their requirements and produced maps of great beauty as well as utility, to show their status, power and taste.

The first of the themes covered in this chapter was colour coding, which was not formulated in print until 1610 in William Folkingham's *Feudographia*. This chapter has shown that colours could be easily obtained through apothecaries and the knowledge of how to make them was readily available, as published in *The Art of Limming* for example, which went through many editions from 1573. Darby and his late sixteenth century contemporary map-makers were precocious in using colour-coding to denote different types of land-use on their maps, although Darby's work does show some subtle differences to the strictures laid down by Folkingham later. This chapter shows that Darby was not alone in using colour to code maps although other map-makers used it differently. Saxton and Clarke, for example, both used the same colour coding to denote different kinds of land tenure. The Treswells used various symbols as well as colours to differentiate tenants.

Amongst the decorative features of prestige maps such as elaborate coats of arms were features such as cartouches and borders. As this chapter describes, not all manuscript map-makers bothered with elaborate cartouches, although Darby did, as did Clarke on one of his maps. They required a modicum of artistic talent (strapwork and putti were not easy to draw), so were more popular on printed maps. Darby did draw them, however, and used identical cartouches on his maps of Smallburgh (1582) and Blakeney and Cley (1586). No patterns have been identified for these cartouches, but the writing masters' manuals referred to in the previous chapters contain many patterns for cartouches which could have provided inspiration for printed, if not many manuscript, maps.

This chapter suggests that borders on maps might have been one of the similar generic features that Rose Mitchell suggests are to be found on maps of the period. Plain double-lined borders and compartments, some coloured yellow or gold, are common on many map-makers'

⁹⁸ Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1629.

maps. They had the advantage of being quick and easy to draw and they gave a sense of ordered control to the map itself.

This chapter shows that two of Darby's maps demonstrate a skill for more elaborate borders, however. These borders, on his Smallburgh (1582) and Alnesbourn (1584) maps resemble those on printed maps in such publications as Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrariorum* (1570) and strongly suggest Darby may have seen Ortelius's atlas. They are almost certainly attempts to impress his clients on these maps. Smallburgh is Darby's first known surviving map and may well have been the first he made for his chief patron from then on, Sir Philip Parker.

Alnesbourn was made for Thomas Seckford, who had known tastes for such decoration, having added such features to Saxton's county maps in the previous decade. Darby may well have been angling for further work from both men. He certainly got it from Parker and might well have obtained it from Seckford too, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Having drawn such elaborate borders on both maps, this chapter then shows that he subverted both borders, as well as the plain one on his map of Household Heath. This was probably an idea he got from Pieter Bruegel the Elder's print of 'Summer', showing a squatting harvester drinking from a large tyg with one leg through the border of the print. If the border represented order and control over the map's contents, the subverting the border implies a loss of control as Orenstein discusses with respect to the harvester in Bruegel's print. As this chapter suggests, the only map of Darby's to imply a deliberately intellectual symbolisation of this breaching of a border is his Alnesbourn map. There, it is the river which symbolises the outside world coming and going past the mapped area, breaching the controlling border at both ends. Perhaps Seckford (and perhaps Broke too) were using the jetty on this map down-river from the port of Ipswich proper to avoid paying Ipswich customs dues?

As shown in this chapter, Darby used the image of the harvester from Bruegel's 'Summer' in several of his maps, adapting and altering it to show a surveyor with his instruments, drinking. No doubt it carried meaning implying that surveying was thirsty work, but it might also have carried meaning for a viewer sufficiently sophisticated to recognise the print from the image or to show off Darby's taste and knowledge of continental prints. Other figures on Darby's Blakeney and Cley maps show dancers which appear to be based on Bruegel's peasant paintings and prints, but their meaning is unclear.

Another feature of Darby's maps is his skill in drawing caricatures or grotesque faces (as also covered in Chapter 4) but not real ones. This chapter shows that such grotesques are surely intended to amuse, as is the punning use of the goat ('gote') mask on his Blakeney and Cley map. Humour was certainly a feature of Darby's maps and he frequently portrays the surveyor on his maps in a way that suggests a self-deprecatory sense of humour in Darby himself.

This chapter confirms that Darby's use of animals and people shown on maps reflect activities appropriate to the particular environments in which they exist, as first postulated by Barber: travellers on a road, cows in a water-meadow, a duck-hunter on a mere. Darby is not unique in doing this, although it is relatively unusual amongst manuscript map-makers. It is commoner in published maps such as those by Humfrey Lhuyd (in Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570)) or William Smith (his map of Bath and Brightstowe (1568)). Those manuscript map-makers who did so include Thomas Clarke in his map of Panworth, Norfolk (1581) and Ralph Treswell the Elder, whose representation of deer reflect Sir Christopher Hatton's rights of chase as well as his personal heraldic crest of a golden hind. These, and Thomas Pope's representations of animals in appropriate landscapes, are wildly outsized and on the whole more poorly drawn than Darby's animals. But Treswell's swans hint at a heraldic pattern: he was, after all, a painter-stainer, so almost certainly painted heraldic shields. Also the swans on his Dorset maps for Sir Christopher Hatton bear a striking resemblance to those on the Heydon arms in Baconsthorpe Church and on Darby's map of Blakeney and Cley. Once more, this chapter confirms Rose Mitchell's suggestion of there being certain graphical conventions which different maps of the time tended to follow.

Darby does also hint that some of his figures and animals on his maps were not only undertaking locationally appropriate activities but also seasonally appropriate ones too. As this chapter shows, his images of cockling and ferreting on his Blakeney and Cley map represent winter activities in line with the winter date of the wreck of the ship the Thomas in February 1586 which prompted the map being made.⁹⁹

In discussing Darby's and his contemporaries drawings of animals on their maps, this chapter shows how much more artistically accomplished Darby's animals were. They have naturalistic postures and recognisable shapes and attributes and seem to move across the map

⁹⁹ See above, footnote 66.

in a very lifelike and lively fashion. His cows in particular (which this chapter suggests are diagnostic of his work, as shown by the attribution of the Southwold map to him) may have had an artistic legacy. They were certainly seen and copied by the Suffolk artist Isaac Johnson (died 1835), whose cows on existing works resemble Darby's.

Finally, this chapter confirms that the Alnesbourn map is by Darby and shows, convincingly, it is argued here, that Darby included an attempt at a portrait of his client, Thomas Seckford, on the map. On the same map, Darby may have portrayed himself, in typically self-deprecating fashion, on a donkey. The intention was certainly to flatter and amuse Seckford, but there may also have been an in-joke here if Darby intended his donkey-riding self to be a nod towards William Cecil's habit of riding an ass around his garden, a habit not publicly known, but which Seckford, as Cecil's friend, would have recognised.

In dealing thematically with Darby's maps in context, this chapter has given some new insights into his work. There is much more to say about all of them, in particular about their clients, provenances and purposes for which they were made. Space constraints has meant some of this information has had to be put into appendices, as listed in the contents. But one of them has been selected as a case study in the next chapter: his map of Aldeburgh (1594). This was his last map and has not previously been much mentioned in secondary literature. More relevantly, its purpose has also not been noted before. The chapter's discussion of the map and its contexts will attempt to explore new ideas about both the map and the town.

CHAPTER SIX

COASTAL EROSION AND A MAP-MINDED TOWN: JOHN DARBY'S MAP OF ALDEBURGH, SUFFOLK (1594)

6.1 Introduction

Darby's map of Aldeburgh (see Fig. 8) has been little mentioned in recent secondary literature despite being locally well-known and appreciated. The real reason for its production has not been noticed before either, so making this map a particular case study from amongst Darby's maps will break new ground. In investigating this map, this chapter will examine two separate themes: map-mindedness and how the sixteenth century inhabitants of Aldeburgh attempted to counter coastal erosion.

John Darby's Aldeburgh map is of a coastal town which reached its economic apex in the sixteenth century but it is much more than just a town map. Its near continuous display in the council chamber in Aldeburgh, the Moot Hall, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries at least has led to considerable fading and some pin-hole damage from attachment to a wall. But such was its importance to the town's sense of its history and cultural heritage that facsimiles are still displayed in exhibition boards at the town's museum in the Moot Hall. It was also used as the backdrop to an official photograph of Dr Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, pioneer woman doctor and famously the town's first female mayor, shown in her mayoral robes in the Moot Hall in the early years of the twentieth century. It has been used over the centuries as an artifact to display pride in the town. As such, the map fits into the genre of town maps described by Harvey which he says developed only in the late sixteenth century and were 'objects of pride to their inhabitants'.¹

The first part of the chapter will explore and extend Harvey's idea of 'map-mindedness' and investigate how Aldeburgh became a map-minded town. The chapter will then examine Aldeburgh's use of maps from 1568, when it first commissioned an Ipswich painter, William

¹ Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), p.67.

Brame to make a map. The ostensible reason for the making of the map will be balanced against the underlying concerns of the town in the light of Thomas Cogswell's work on Dunkirk pirates plaguing the town of Aldeburgh forty years later.

The chapter will then examine how Thomas Seckford, the most map-minded of government administrators, ordered another map of Aldeburgh in 1570 at the commencement of his long-standing connection with the town. The implications of this connection with respect to the town's map-mindedness will also be explored. The 1580s saw two more maps of Aldeburgh being made, both by local burgess Ananias Appleton, in 1581-82 and 1588, the latter probably as part of the preparations against the Spanish Armada.

The second half of the chapter will deal in particular with Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594) and the real reason for its making. As in 1568, this map was made to accompany a petition to the Privy Council, and, by analogy with 1568, it may also have been one of a pair, one sent to London and one retained in Aldeburgh. The petition requested money to make ten more groynes or jetties to add to the two already built and shown on the map, to prevent further coastal erosion of the town. Using recent work on historical coastal change on this part of the Suffolk coast by Mark Bailey, Peter Wain and David Sear as context, this chapter will investigate the effect they had on erosion which led to the petition being sent. It will also put Aldeburgh's jetties into context by comparing their construction with the more famous works on the seventh haven at Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, from where experts came to lead the building of Aldeburgh's jetties.

6.2 Map-mindedness

In this first section of the chapter, we will investigate how Darby's map and earlier maps of the town show Aldeburgh to have been, as Harvey put it, 'map-minded'.² Barber uses the term 'map consciousness' and he cites Harvey as noting that there were

'pockets, particularly around the Wash and the Fens, where mapmaking activity, and so, presumably, map consciousness, were greater than elsewhere'.³

² P.D.A. Harvey, 'Manorial Records' in Margaret L. Faull, *Medieval Manorial Records* (Leeds: Medieval Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1983), p.4.

³ Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1594, and see pp.1608-9, 1639.

If areas could be map-minded or map-conscious, so could people, and Barber also notes this as an earlier feature of local late-medieval legal maps, about which he said:

‘In certain localities, in the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, these plans may have helped to keep alive a flickering flame of map consciousness among the clerks and lawyers who formed the bedrock of Tudor society and administration.’⁴

Although he dismisses the possibility that these rough maps had any effect on ‘trend-setting elites’ at that time, there were certainly trend-setting elites in central government by Elizabeth’s reign. These were headed by her most senior minister, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, ably assisted by Thomas Seckford, one of the Masters of the Court of Requests, both highly map-minded administrators. Seckford, as we have already noted, was the man who commissioned and paid for Saxton’s county maps series and they were the major influence prompting the demand for and development of estate maps in England from the 1570s. Aldeburgh brings together a map-minded place, Aldeburgh, and a map-minded trend-setter, Thomas Seckford.

6.2.1 Brame’s Maps of Aldeburgh (1568): Defence Maps in Support of a Market

Aldeburgh was an early adopter of maps and the earliest reference to a map of the town is in the Aldeburgh Chamberlains’ accounts for 1566-67. A pair of maps was made then by one William Brame of Ipswich, who was paid 25s. ‘for drawyng of ij [2] platt[es] [maps] and for his paynes comynge to viewe this towne’.⁵ Robert Tittler notes Brame as one of a dynasty of painters in sixteenth and early seventeenth century Ipswich.⁶ Here, then, we also have an early link between painters and map-makers, although none of Brame’s maps are known to have survived and he is otherwise unknown as a surveyor. Brame seems to have been a foreigner (i.e. a non-freeman) and was living in the East Ward of Ipswich in September 1560, when he

⁴ Barber, ‘Mapmaking in England …’, (2007), p.1595.

⁵ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 4v.

⁶ Tittler, ‘Rural Society and the Painter’s Trade’, (2017), p.7 & note 26; Robert Tittler, *Early Modern British Painters, c. 1500-1640*, 7th edition (2022, first published 2015), citing SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, Aldeburgh Chamberlains’ Accounts 1566-1592, fol. 4v and C/3/2/1/1, Ipswich Chamberlains’ and Treasurers’ Accounts 1559-1588, fols 76r, 122r and 136r.

paid his assessment towards the town's complement of 20 soldiers to fight in Scotland.⁷ He also painted and gilded the southern end of Ipswich's flesh stalls, presumably in the town's market place, in 1575.⁸

Brame's two maps of Aldeburgh were made in support of a petition to the Privy Council for an additional weekly market in the town on Saturdays.⁹ The petition was successful, assisted no doubt by the support of the then lord of the manor, the Duke of Norfolk, and letters patent were granted by the Queen to the Duke to that effect in 1568.¹⁰ One of the pair of maps was presumably sent to London with the petition and the other probably retained in the town, although neither is now known to survive.¹¹ This is not the only known local example of making two contemporaneous duplicate maps. In 1612, Great Yarmouth possessed two copies of 'the plot of the sand and waters ... before Yermouth was built', one 'in velom' and another 'in p[ar]chment': from the description, this suggests two copies of the famous Yarmouth Hutch Map, of which only a single map survives today.¹² Brame's pair of maps set precedents for maps of Aldeburgh, therefore: they were a pair of duplicate maps and they were made to accompany a petition to the Privy Council.

The 1568 petition makes it clear that Brame's maps to support it were actually maps made to emphasise the town's importance for the nation's defence. The petition asks for the extra weekly market to give more opportunities for the townspeople, mostly fishermen and mariners, to obtain food to sustain themselves so that they could more effectively help to defend the nation. Linking a market to defence capability might seem like stretching a point. But it shows that the town knew which political concerns to emphasise in order to persuade the Privy Council to give a positive response and their efforts paid off in this instance. A

⁷ John Webb (ed.), *The Town Finances of Elizabethan Ipswich, Select Treasurers' and Chamberlains' Accounts* Suffolk Records Society Vol 38 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), p.22.

⁸ Robert Tittler, 'Early Modern British Painters, c. 1500-1640'.

⁹ SA(I), EE 1/B1/5.

¹⁰ SA(I), EE 1/B1/6.

¹¹ The British Library does, however, have a map of 'Parte of Aldebroughe' dated to the sixteenth century, which might be a copy of an earlier map [BL, Add MS 8987, fol.137]. However, it could be much later: in its attempt at reproducing a realistic street pattern, it echoes Darby's map and although it shows no 'jetties' as on Darby's, it does show a similar degree of coastal erosion and so might date from the 1590s or thereabouts. If the original of this map is not Brame's 1568 map, it might perhaps be Appleton's 1581 map (see below).

¹² NRO, Y/C/1/1, f.23r, 7 July 1612. The Yarmouth Hutch was a secure cupboard or chest in which the town's most important archives were kept. The Hutch Map, which shows the site of Great Yarmouth as a sand bar in the mouth of a confluence of rivers meeting the sea, supposedly about the year 1000, is now held at Norfolk Record Office, NRO, Y/C 37/1.

second food market would also be of convenience to service the town's defences, which were based on a daily grind by shifts of watchers, day and night, for seaborne enemies, especially Dunkirk privateers or pirates. As the petition itself states at length:

‘... And forasmuche as the saide Borrowghe standethe in the myddeste of A baye, more or lesse betwene two Nesses [*Orford Ness and Thorpe Ness*], where thennemye maye ride in saiefetye, ffrom Northe Northe easte wynde, to the Sowthe Sowthweste wynde w[i]thout any daunger, and are not to be seene by thy Subiectes saylinge alongste the Coaste there, vntill suche tyme as they shalbe in daunger of takinge and spoylinge of thennemyes (as by a platte therof made readye to be shewed vnto yo[ur] honoures more playnlie doth and maye appeare]. If it were not by reason that thenhabetaunt[es] of the saide Borrowghe, at their greate costes and charges in tyme of Warre, do keepe a Warde by daye, and a Watche by nighte in suche place, as yo[ur] saide Oratours maye well see where the saide Enemyes doo ryde and so gyve to hir highness subiect[es] there saylinge alongste the coaste A token or knowledge where thennemyes ryde, wherebye the subiectes doo beinge themselves w[i]thin the defence of the Ordynaunce of you[r] sayde oratours. And by that meanes are defended and pres[er]ved from the spoyle of the sayde enemyes’.¹³

This warning system probably explains the two high warning beacons shown at clifftop level which were still there in 1594 and are shown on Darby's map too. They were not primarily intended to warn areas further inland about invasion. They were intended to warn passing ships about lurking pirates hiding in their bay.

Thomas Cogswell discusses the problem of privateers operating out of Dunkirk in Flanders later, in the 1630s, and paints a vivid picture of the Aldeburgh inhabitants suffering increasing losses of ships and their crews, who were often captured if not killed in raids against shipping. He cites the words of Thomas Damet of Great Yarmouth in 1601 that English subjects in coastal ships had been 'spoyled, robbed, beaten, wounded, themselves taken, ransomed, fyned and some executed'.¹⁴ This was a problem in Elizabeth's reign too. In 1588-89, Aldeburgh

¹³ SA(I), EE 1/B 1/5.

¹⁴ Thomas Cogswell, 'Ten Demi-Culverins for Aldeburgh: Whitehall, the Dunkirkers, and a Suffolk Fishing Community, 1625-1630', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 58 (Apr 2019), p.320.

paid 2s. 6d. for ‘Mr Harbornes dyett when he came to towne about the Dunkyrkers’.¹⁵ However, what Cogswell terms a ‘scholarly indifference to the Dunkirkers’ in the 1620s owing to poor sources also applies to this earlier period.¹⁶

6.2.2 *Thomas Seckford’s Map of Aldeburgh, 1570-71*

The next map to be recorded in the Aldeburgh Chamberlains’ accounts was in 1570-71 and it brings together the town with a map-minded trendsetter. This is a more enigmatic entry in the accounts, and easily missed since it does not actually record payment for the map itself nor the name of the maker, being merely a second-hand entry for the expenses of the man who drew it:

‘It[e]m p[ai]d to John Coupper for [th]e M[aste]r of Request[es] man [th]at drue [th]e
plotte for him & his horse 3s. 4d.¹⁷

This is an important reference however, as it shows Thomas Seckford, Master of the Court of Requests, having a man drawing a map in Aldeburgh in 1570-71.¹⁸ The payment for the Master of Requests’ map-maker’s expenses at that time is immediately prefaced by payments for 9s. 4d. for ‘wyne when [th]e M[aste]r of Request[es] was here’ and 12d. ‘for 2 horse to [th]e M[aste]r of Request[es]’, so he was clearly visiting Aldeburgh at the time and these entries seem to mark the commencement of his association with the town. Aldeburgh first became a Parliamentary borough in 1571 and Seckford’s nephew, Charles Seckford became one of its MPs in 1572, so the family had interests there. Thomas Seckford’s subsequent involvement was probably as a lawyer, looking out for the town’s interests in London and the

¹⁵ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 273r. Harborne was probably William Harborne, Bailiff of Great Yarmouth in 1574, suggesting a conference between the two towns about what measures they could take against the Dunkirkers.

¹⁶ Cogswell, ‘Ten Demi-Culverins for Aldeburgh’, (2019), p.316.

¹⁷ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol.38r.

¹⁸ In 1570/1 there were two Masters in Ordinary of the Court of Requests: Walter Haddon (died 1571/2) and Thomas Seckford (died 1587). Only Seckford had links to Suffolk and specifically Aldeburgh [Roger Virgoe, ‘Haddon, Walter (1514/15-71), of London and St Mary Cray, Kent’, in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1982) and in P.W. Hasler (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1981); M.K. Dale, ‘Seckford (Sakford), Thomas (1515/6-87), of Gray’s Inn, London’ in S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1982) with a more detailed article at ‘Seckford, Thomas I (1515 or 1516-87), of Woodbridge and Ipswich, Suffolk and Clerkenwell, London’ in P.W. Hasler (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1981)].

Westminster law courts. This is borne out by references throughout the accounts after 1570-71 to the Master of Requests being paid an annual retainer of 26s. 8d. (£1 6s. 8d.), being given gifts of herrings, oysters and pigeons and having his own and his servants' horses paid for, as well as the carriage of goods and letters.¹⁹ One of these references, in 1583, is to the town's Bailiff and his brother riding to see the Master of Requests at Woodbridge, which clinches the identification of the Master of Requests with Seckford, who lived at Seckford Hall just outside Woodbridge, Suffolk.²⁰

Seckford's involvement with map-making in Aldeburgh is particularly interesting because he was one of the country's most map-minded administrators, as noted above and highly influential in the use and dissemination of maps in England in the late sixteenth century. The fact that Seckford was commissioning a man to draw a map of Aldeburgh in 1570-71, several years before he began to support Saxton's map-making project, is intriguing, and it may have re-inforced a tendency towards map-mindedness in the town after Brame's maps of two years earlier. It might even have triggered or re-inforced it in Seckford, who was clearly used to using maps before his involvement in Saxton's county maps project: a map was produced of land in Dedham for a legal case between Seckford and Robert Forth in a Duchy of Lancaster case in 1574.²¹ Seckford's man in Aldeburgh is not named, but one wonders if it might even have been Saxton, perhaps undertaking some kind of test of his skills as much as making a map for information purposes. Defence might also have been a good reason for the map to have been made. It would presumably have been on the minds of Elizabeth I's ministers in 1570-71, as at other times, especially given the recent Papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth and urging Catholics to depose her. Seckford was also one of Darby's patrons, commissioning his map of Alnesbourn in 1587.

6.2.3 Ananias Appleton's Maps of Aldeburgh, 1581-82 and 1588

Seckford's map of Aldeburgh in 1570-71 was not the last before Darby's in 1594: there were two more in the interim, re-inforcing Aldeburgh's reputation as a map-minded town. Both were drawn by Ananias Appleton, a rather elusive figure who appears to have been an

¹⁹ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fols 36v, 38r-v, 82v, 94v, 105r, 122r, 125r, 126r, 137v, 147v, 159r, 167v, 182v, 209r.

²⁰ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 182v.

²¹ ERO, T/Z 438/2/1, Mason, "An upstart art" (1996), p. 10, citing PRO, MPC 77 [now TNA, MPC 1/77/4-7].

Aldeburgh burgess. In 1581-82 he was paid 14s. 8d. ‘for makinge of the platte and for his manne for Rowing Downe in the hauen’.²² The reason for this map being made is not stated and there are no payments for lawsuits or petitions by the town in the accounts around the time which might explain its making. It has not been previously identified as surviving, but I venture to suggest that it might be an unattributed map of the Suffolk coast, including Aldeburgh, in the British Library.²³ It is dated in the BL catalogue to c.1575-1600, but the date was narrowed by J.A. Steers to c.1570-80, which would fit well with it being Appleton’s 1581-82 map. Steers suggested that this map, which he called the ‘Elizabethan map’ was subsequently copied by Ananias Appleton (see Figs 72-75) in 1588 as they are so similar, but similarity would be explicable, and perfectly natural, if Appleton drew both maps.²⁴ Curiously, this ‘Elizabethan map’ shows the Mere, the haven to the north of Aldeburgh, as does Darby’s map, whereas Appleton’s 1588 map does not show it at all.

The second Ananias Appleton map made in 1588 exists only in three nineteenth century copies (see Figs 73-75).²⁵ All the copies are annotated to the effect that in 1830, the original map was in the hands of the late Leveson Vernon, esq. (died 1831) of Aldeburgh but this original is not known to exist today.²⁶ Two of them bear a seal motif of a lion rampant surrounded by the name ‘Brook Pulham’, who is almost certainly the artist James Brook Pulham (1791-1860), a friend of John Constable and the copyist of the maps.²⁷

²² SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 164r.

²³ BL, Cotton MS, Aug. I.i.64. In the current (March 2024) continuing lack of online gallery resources from the BL due to the technology outage from late 2023, an online image of this map may be seen via www.oldmapsonline.org, (‘A Coloured Chart of the Coast of Suffolk, from Bawdseye to Thorpe, including Orford and Aldborough’).

²⁴ J.A. Steers, ‘Orford Ness: A Study in Coastal Physiography’, *Proceedings of the Geographical Association*, Vol. 37, p.314; *Orford Ness: A Selection of Maps mainly by John Norden, presented to James Alfred Steers, Professor of Geography in the University of Cambridge 1949-1966* (Cambridge: Heffer and Sons Ltd., 1966), Plates 3-4 show the earlier map (BL, Cottonian MSS, Aug. I.i.64), Plates 5-6 show Appleton’s 1588 map (BL, Add. MS 11802).

²⁵ BL, Add. MS 11802; SA(I), J 1/29/2; and one still owned by the Aldeburgh Museum Trustees.

²⁶ Leveson or Levison Vernon of Aldeburgh Lodge, Aldburgh died in 1831 and was buried in Aldeburgh. His very long will, with sixteen codicils, refers to numerous properties in Suffolk, Northamptonshire and elsewhere and although he makes rather vague references to heirlooms remaining in some of them, a search for the map would be a complex undertaking. He was a member of the Vernon-Wentworth family, copious archives of which are now held by Sheffield City Archives and the British Library.

²⁷ ‘Pulham, James Brook, 1791-1860’ on the *Suffolk Artists* webpage at <https://suffolkartists.co.uk/index.cgi?choice=painter&pid=510>, accessed 9 January 2024.



Figs. 72-75: Some late sixteenth century Maps of Aldeburgh:

Fig. 72 (top left): Detail of Aldeburgh from ‘A Coloured Chart of the Coast of Suffolk, from Bawdseye to Thorpe, including Orford and Aldeburgh’ (c.1575-1580), (Steers’ ‘Elizabethan map’), possibly by Ananias Appleton, 1580-81;²⁸ for comparison with:

Three different copies (made 1830) of Ananias Appleton’s map of Aldeburgh, 1588:

Fig. 73 (top right): Aldeburgh Museum’s copy;

Fig. 74 (bottom left): photograph of copy [in private hands?];²⁹

Fig. 75 (bottom right): copy at the British Library.³⁰

Payment for the original map appears in the Aldeburgh Chamberlains’ accounts for 1588-89, when Appleton was paid 40s. for a ‘plott for the haven’.³¹ At the same time, 8d. was paid to Thomas Jarmyne, joiner, for a wooden roller for a map, and 4s. to four men who rowed ‘Mr Bence and Mr Appleton downe to the haueness mouth’ shortly beforehand, presumably as part of the process of making it. The date suggests that this map might have been made as part of

²⁸ Reproduced by permission from the British Library Collection: Cotton Augustus I.i.f.64, online via <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/unvbrit/a/001cotaugi00001u00064000.html>, currently unavailable.

²⁹ SA(I), JA 1/29/2, reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives, although the original is untraceable.

³⁰ Reproduced by permission from the British Library Collection: Add MS 11802.

³¹ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fols 279r, 280r.

the preparations for defending the English coast against the Spanish Armada. Aldeburgh was not one of the East Anglian coastal towns mapped by order of the Privy Council for defence purposes by Captain Yorke in 1588, so perhaps Appleton's 1588 map fulfilled this role. Darby's map of Southwold may also have served the same purpose.

It helps to have an impression of what was going on in the area during the 1588 preparations for the Armada, although these do not reference any maps directly. Captain Yorke was busy in Aldeburgh in 1588, building defences on the orders of the Privy Council, some of which are shown on Darby's map and others, perhaps unexecuted, on Appleton's 1588 map. Reports and maps were being made of all the coasts of eastern and southern England at that time. The Privy Council had previously appointed a Captain Turner to report about the defensive provisions and vulnerabilities of the Suffolk coast and he made his report in December 1587.³² He was assisted in his work by the Deputy Lieutenants of the county, Sir Phillip Parker (Darby's chief patron), Sir Robert Jermyn, Sir Robert Wingfield and Sir John Heigham who assisted him and made their own report to the Privy Council the following month.³³ Turner wrote of Aldeburgh that it was:

‘... reasonably well furnished w[i]th ordynance w[hi]ch we entend to plant behind great baskett[es] filled w[i]th Earth w[hi]ch we thynke wilbe A matter of good defense.’³⁴

The Deputy Lieutenants backed him up with a request to the Privy Council to ‘move her majestie to a contribution of some £1,000’ to provide the necessary ordnance and fortifications for the Suffolk coast, even though they acknowledged that this sum would ‘not Defraye one

³² TNA, SP 12/206, fol. 53r-v, State Papers, Vol. CCVI, December 1587, ‘Survey of the coast of Suffolk; state of the fortifications; facilities for landing of an enemy; suggestions for strengthening the defences’, calendared in Robert Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Elizabeth, 1581-1590* (London: Longman, Green, Longmans, Roberts & Green, 1865), p.444, entry 32; TNA, PC 2/15, f.24v, Acts of the Privy Council, Eliz. I, Vol. 7, 1587 Nov 2-1589 May 26: Meeting at Greenwich, 26 Dec 1587, calendared in Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council* Vol. 15, 1587-1588 (1897), pp.296, 310-311, 313.

³³ TNA, SP 12/208, fols 26r-27v, State Papers, Vol. CCVIII, Jan-Feb 1588 [i.e. 1587/8], ‘The Deputy Lieutenants of Suffolk to the Council ...’, at Butley, 24 January 1587/8, calendared in Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581-1590* (1865), p.458, entry 23.

³⁴ TNA, SP 12/206, fol. 53r-v, State Papers, Vol. CCVI, December 1587, ‘Survey of the coast of Suffolk; state of the fortifications; facilities for landing of an enemy; suggestions for strengthening the defences’, calendared in Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581-1590* (1865), p.444, entry 32.

quart[er] of the Charge' and that the inhabitants would willingly contribute to it also.³⁵ With respect to Aldeburgh, they also added that:

‘Albourough being nowe a Towne rich in Shipping, and otherwise, is to be regarded with some cost of a little fforde, for their p[ar]ticuler Defence.’³⁶

Work to the town’s fortifications certainly followed. In January 1587/8, the town paid 2s. 2d. for two ‘Emptie Tarbarills for the Becons’ and 18d. for ‘trimming of the yron Cages for the Beackons’ (beacons which were still standing in 1594, as shown on Darby’s map of the town) and 3s. 8d. for the feathering of three and a half chests of arrows.³⁷ In February and March, men were paid for transporting barrels of gunpowder from London, and a glover was paid 3s. 6d. for ‘Bagges to putt in shott’.³⁸ One Blowers was also paid 3s. 4d. for ‘Calliver [*culverin?*] Charges’. In June 1588, Captain Yorke was paid 40s. by the town Chamberlains ‘which was commanded to be given’ to him.³⁹ Shortly afterwards, they paid 12s. 10d. ‘for Captayne Yorke’s dyett and those whiche were with hym’.⁴⁰ He seems to have supervised actual fortification work, since the town paid 18d. for ‘Bylettes to make stakes for to stake out the plot for the Skonce’, 2s. 11d. for ‘9 Mettes [measuring sticks?] to Nycholas the skepp maker’, and 22d. for providing beer ‘at the workeinge of the Bullworke’ in June 1588.⁴¹

Darby’s map certainly shows five cannon within an enclosure on the beach towards the southern end of the town, apparently surrounded by a fence made of palings, presumably the fencing erected as part of Captain Yorke’s fortification works in July 1588, when 42s. was paid to one Scrutton for ‘paleinge at the Bullworke’.⁴² The ground is shown as green, rather than the sandy-coloured beach surrounding it, so presumably the earth had been mounded up there as well, to allow for greater elevation of shot. But the accounts speak of ‘the Bullworke’ in the singular. There is no graphical sign on Darby’s map of the ‘great baskettes filled with Earth’, or gabions, nor do the Aldeburgh Chamberlain’s accounts detail the creation of such, although employment of a skep-maker suggests wicker-work for gabions. It sounds as if Yorke and his men were working on the single gun emplacement shown on Darby’s map on

³⁵ TNA, SP 12/208, fol. 27v.

³⁶ TNA, SP 12/208, fol. 26r.

³⁷ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 252v (January 1587/8).

³⁸ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 253r (February-March 1587/8).

³⁹ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 255r (3 June 1588).

⁴⁰ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 255v (June 1588).

⁴¹ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 255r (June 1588).

⁴² SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 255r (16 July 1588).

the beach towards the south end of the town. The 1588 Ananias Appleton map shows three large circular bulwarks, apparently stone-walled, topped by cannon spaced more or less equidistantly along the beach, but his earlier map of 1581 (if Steers' 'Elizabethan map' of c.1570-80 is by Appleton too) has only one, 'the mownte', sticking out into the sea to the south of the town, next to 'the base town' on the way south to Slaughden, as on Darby's map. Perhaps the 1588 map reflects a plan for three such bulwarks, even though only one was built? The two Appleton maps are drawn to a much more variable scale than Darby's and they show the bulwarks much more prominently than Darby does the one on his, suggesting a defensive purpose of his maps. Neither of the earlier, Appleton, maps show any jetties or groynes, but as the groynes were not built until later (see below), this is to be expected.

Despite it showing the bulwark and cannon, Darby's map is not primarily a map of military defences, although the draft report shows that it used the Privy Council's pre-occupation with defence as leverage for its request, as had been the case with the 1568 market petition. The Aldeburgh Chamberlains' accounts and the draft report tell the full story of the jetties and although the story *is* one of defence, is it defence against a much more relentless long-term enemy: coastal erosion.

6.3 Darby's Map and Coastal Erosion



Fig. 76: Detail from John Darby's map of Aldeburgh, Suffolk (1594) showing a seated man viewing the map or uncompleted compartment from a chair in front of the two 'jetties' at the north end of Aldeburgh beach.

Norden's image of a map being viewed by someone 'sitting in his chayre' is actually given visual form on Darby's Aldeburgh map (see Fig. 76), where a figure is shown sitting before a vacant compartment placed in the area covered by the sea.⁴³ This metaphorical figure is the viewer of the map as imagined by Darby, his hands raised in wonder or surprise. The map is unfinished, and the compartment before the sitter is empty, so we cannot know whether its proposed contents were to be the reason for his surprise or whether he was simply admiring the artistry of the work. What he is almost certainly *not* doing in this case, however, unlike Norden's viewer, is contemplating any ownership of the property on the map. The exact positioning of the compartment and the figure on the map are pertinent: both are immediately in front of a pair of timber groynes or, as the contemporary usage had it, 'jetties' (this contemporary term will be used here), on the beach at the northern end of the town.

In fact, this section of the map shows the original reason for it being made. The purpose of these jetties was to prevent further erosion of the town by the sea, which had recently washed away much of the town. The purpose of the map was to show this in graphic form to accompany a plea to the Privy Council for money for more jetties. This is made clear in a draft report of commissioners appointed by the Privy Council to look into the request. The draft report survives, in execrable handwriting with numerous crossings-out and annotations, amongst the archives of the borough of Aldeburgh.⁴⁴ This document (transcribed in Appendix Four) has even been published (in edited form) by a nineteenth century local historian, Nicholas Fenwick Hele, but he did not make the link between the report and Darby's map and no-one else seems to have done so either, although another local historian, Arthur Winn, suspected it.⁴⁵

A major reason for not making this connection is because of the lack of primary sources which would suggest or confirm it. There is a gap in The National Archives' series of Acts of the Privy Council between 26 August 1593 and 1 October 1595. This gap is only partially filled by a single volume abstract of Privy Council registers 1547-1611 now held in the British Library, but which does not include any references to the petition or the appointment

⁴³ Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607), p.16.

⁴⁴ SA(I), EE 1/P4/6.

⁴⁵ Nicholas Fenwick Hele, *Notes or jottings about Aldeburgh, Suffolk, relating to matters historical, antiquarian, ornithological and entomological* (Ipswich: S. & W.J. King, 2nd edition 1890 [1st published 1870]), pp.32-33; Note by T.C. Colchester, Aldeburgh Museum Trustee, 'The Origins and Purpose of the Appleton Map of Aldeburgh of 1588' (August, 1989) [correspondence held by Aldeburgh Museum].

of the commission or its report.⁴⁶ Aldeburgh's relevant series of municipal records are also incomplete for the period (1594) when the map would have been ordered and paid for: there are no surviving minutes of the town's ruling assembly before 1697 and no Chamberlains' accounts between 1592 and 1624. The Aldeburgh Chamberlains' accounts would have recorded a payment for Darby's map if they survived for 1594, since they include the references to the earlier maps being paid for, above.

Although not recorded well at that particular time, erosion by the sea was nevertheless a problem for Aldeburgh in the 1580s and 1590s. The sea has altered the East Anglian coastline constantly for millennia and the processes involved are not straightforward in their extent, effects or rate of transformation. Bailey, Wain and Sear, in writing about the Suffolk coast between Orford Ness and Bawdsey, just south of Aldeburgh, in the medieval and early modern periods give a succinct and up-to-date historical description of coastal changes there and some of the reasons for them.⁴⁷ The development of Orford Ness and the well-known historical erosion of the town of Dunwich, further north on the Suffolk coast both demonstrate clearly the effect that erosion and deposition have had on this shore over historical time. Indeed, the two are inextricably linked, since the usual longshore drift process along the coast of Suffolk during the late sixteenth century predominantly ran from north to south, stripping sand and shingle from northern beaches and soft cliffs and washing them gradually south along the coast.⁴⁸ As one recent commentator put it, 'along the Suffolk coast, one person's eroding cliff is another person's beach'.⁴⁹

As a village located along a shingle beach, Aldeburgh was particularly prone to damage especially by erosion in storms. In an echo of both the 1568 petition and Turner's report of 1587 the draft report describes it as a low-lying town,

⁴⁶ BL Add MS 11402 and see John Roche Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 25, 1595-1596* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1901), p.vii.

⁴⁷ Mark Bailey, Peter Wain and David Sear, 'The Transformation of the Suffolk Coast c.1200 to c.1600: from Orford Ness to Goseford', *PSIAH*, Vol. 45, Part 1 (2021), pp.86-111.

⁴⁸ Bailey, Wain and Sear, 'The Transformation of the Suffolk Coast' (2021), p.89 and Fig. 27 on p.91.

⁴⁹ Liz Ferretti, 'Suffolk's Changing Coast', p.21, available online at <https://coastandheaths-nl.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Suffolks-Changing-Coast.pdf>, accessed 24 Mar 2024.

‘… not defended from the rage and violence of the sea but by certen loose chessell or shingle wrought up with the violence and force of the sea which liethe up as a bancke between the town and the sea.’⁵⁰

The sea is shown thus as both threat and protector of the town, delivering the shingle to the beach that protects the town, but in times of storm, washing it away again. The authors of the report, and the ‘men of good skille and experience’ who accompanied them to give advice were clearly aware of the dangers of the town’s situation in relation to the sea, as well as the townspeople’s reliance on it for their livings such as fishing and trade.

The last two decades of the sixteenth century were notably stormy.⁵¹ At some point between 29 September 1588 and 16 November 1590, Aldeburgh’s council made an order against the townspeople removing sand or stone from the beach because that at that time, ‘the sea dailie wynneth of the land againste this Towne to the greate endawngeringe of the same’ and sand and stone was being wasted by the townspeople, or ‘ymploiede [*employed*] in vaine and needles[s] uses … where ells it might stande in stede for some defence againste the sea’.⁵² Householders breaking this ordinance were to be fined 3s. 4d. for each offence, whilst their servants or children could be imprisoned at the discretion of the current bailiffs.

The draft report describes how, within the past eight years (i.e. since 1586) more than 12 or 13 houses, mainly at the northern end of the town had been ‘with violence and rage of the sea overthrown’ and more were likely to follow if nothing were done quickly to protect the town.⁵³ The townspeople had already taken measures themselves,

⁵⁰ SA(I), EE 1/P4/6.

⁵¹ Bailey, Wain and Sear, ‘The Transformation of the Suffolk Coast’ (2021), p.91, Fig. 27.

⁵² SA(I), EE 1/E 1/1, folio 12r. The dating of the order is incongruous, however. It is dated, in a marginal note in a different secretary hand, as being in the time of the bailiffs Francis Johnson and John James, as well as in the year 1590 and in the 32nd regnal year of Queen Elizabeth I. 32 Eliz. I was 17 November 1589-16 November 1590, but the contemporary English calendar convention of beginning each new year on 25 March means that only the period 25 March – 16 November 1590 fits the limitations of being both ‘1590’ and ‘32 Elizabeth’. However, the two bailiffs named served Michaelmas 1588-Michaelmas 1589, which is over a year earlier than the beginning of 32 Elizabeth.

⁵³ Sear notes only two storms affecting the area in this period. One in 1591 affecting the East coast of England and one in 1592 affecting the English East coast, Holland and Germany [D.A. Sear, Southern East Coast North Sea Storms Database (2018) online at www.dunwich.org.uk accessed 25 Mar 2024]. There is little information about either in terms of how powerful or damaging they were, however. The other famous storms of the period which may have been damaging at Aldeburgh were those which scattered the Spanish Armada in August and September 1588, for which see Hubert Lamb, *Historic Storms of the North Sea, British Isles and Northwest Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.40-3.

‘for prevencion of further perill to make up two jetties which have notable repelled the sea and in that place hath againe gained grownde of the sea’.⁵⁴

These are the two jetties shown on Darby’s map. The southern one of the two appears to be more substantial than the northern one (Fig. 76), although it is unclear whether this was a matter of fact or representation: the southern jetty is better-drawn than the northern, with more detail visible. Both show details of their design very clearly and given that Darby’s map depicts existing buildings such as the Moot Hall and church accurately, there is every reason to suppose that the jetties are accurately portrayed too, especially as they are the key point of the map.⁵⁵ It is clear that piles had been driven into the shingle, and that the side faces, which appear to be lined by smooth planking, were buttressed by substantial timbers, angled for strength. In 1590-91, the sawyer was paid for at least 2000 planks and, with his servant, for more than three weeks’ work hewing and sawing timber for piles and planks.⁵⁶ Some of this timber came from Parham, about ten miles (16.5 km) inland from Aldeburgh.⁵⁷ Payments were also made to the pile-drivers for tallow, presumably to grease the tips when ramming them through the shingle.⁵⁸ The other notable feature is that the seaward quarter or so of each jetty was angled at approximately 45 degrees towards the north, and that each had an arrow-headed tip angled to match it. This presumably represents a knowledge on the part of the builders that the most damaging waves at that time were coming from the north-east and so the jetties were designed to counter them. This fits with the hypothesis that the prevailing damaging winds, waves and storm surges in the late sixteenth century came from the North East, due to a negative North Atlantic Oscillation (NAO) as plainly put by Bailey, Wain and Sear:

‘During negative NAO, storm tracks from the south generate north easterly gales with large waves, which transport shingle south along the Suffolk coast.’⁵⁹

The designer of the jetties may have felt that the arrow-head facing these prevailing waves would break their force and protect the structure of the jetty behind it. What the builders

⁵⁴ SA(I), EE 1/P4/6.

⁵⁵ For details respecting the accuracy of Darby’s map, see Appendix Nine.

⁵⁶ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 318r.

⁵⁷ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 314r.

⁵⁸ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 314r.

⁵⁹ Bailey, Wain and Sear, ‘The Transformation of the Suffolk Coast’ (2021), p.89, and see also p.91, Fig. 27.

probably did not realise when they built them was that these jetties, whilst they duly protected the northern part of the town by trapping shingle being washed there from further north, they also prevented that shingle from washing from there further south to protect the southern part of Aldeburgh. This is a process known as downdrift starvation.⁶⁰ As the draft report put it,

‘... the violence [of the sea] ys nowe the greater more Sowtherly vpon the Towne / And ther hath gained Twentie foote of grownd latelie in one Tide; And will in shorte tyme, we thinke worke more violente effecte there, then alredie it hath done vpon the Northe p[ar]t if it be not in due tyme p[re]vented.’⁶¹

By protecting one part of the town, they made the rest more vulnerable to erosion. A similar process operated in Great Yarmouth after the building of the piers on either side of the new 7th haven, cut in the 1560s, following which land to their south was eroded.⁶²

On the basis of the two jetties already built at Aldeburgh and their effect to halt erosion at the north end of the town, the draft report’s proposed solution was to build ten more jetties along the beach further south:

‘The experience therefore of the Two formere Jetties do move vs, and \those/ men of better knowledge in suche \Skill & experience associated to vs/Causes then we to thinke: that Tenne suche leke \like/ Jetteis / beinge builded alongeste that Towne Southerlie in places moste nedefull would be agood safitie to the Towne / and defend it / from the rage and violence of the Sea.’⁶³

This might have worked for their immediate area, but again, the vulnerability to erosion might have shifted still further south if these ten extra jetties had been built. There is no evidence that they ever were.

⁶⁰ This downdrift starvation effect is described in the final paragraph of Matt Salusbury’s blog interview with David Sear, Professor of Physical Geography at the University of Southampton and Trustee of Dunwich Museum, ‘Dunwich and Climate Change’ 31 Aug 2021, online at <https://mattsalusbury.blogspot.com/2021/08/dunwich-and-climate-change.html>, accessed 13 Jan 2024.

⁶¹ SA(I), EE 1/P4/6.

⁶² Mark Stiles Johnson, ‘Historic Timber-built Seacoast Piers of Eastern England: Technological, Environmental and Social Contexts’, 2 volumes (University of York PhD thesis in Archaeology, 2015), Vol. 1, p.189.

⁶³ SA(I), EE 1/P4/6.

The cost of ten more jetties was estimated as unaffordable by the town alone, hence the plea to the Privy Council leading to the draft report and Darby's map. Interestingly the draft alters the first estimate, £700-800, for these extra jetties to £1,300-1,400, although it is not clear whether this was a revision in the light of further estimates having been made or potential corruption. Stiles cites Swinden for the measurements and estimated costs of the very much larger double-piered entrance to Great Yarmouth haven built in 1567 at £5,510.⁶⁴ But those piers were to project into the sea and must have been very much more robust than Aldeburgh's jetties, which were groynes rather than piers. It is difficult to compare the costs of the two towns' works. It is also difficult to ascertain the actual costs of the first two Aldeburgh jetties since entries for payments noted as specifically for the jetties are mixed in with payments which might, or might not, be for other things. In the 1590-91 accounts for example, there are specific payments identifiable as for the jetties. The 4s. paid 'to the man that came from Yarmouth that shall make the Jetes' implies the beginning of the building process.⁶⁵ It is a fair assumption that many, if not most, of the entries in the accounts to sawyers and for timber relate to the jetties, but there are entries mixed in with them which clearly relate to other things. There are very many more labourers being paid 10d. a day in that year's accounts than in other years, including some paid specifically for 'heavinge up stones againste the Jettie' but in the midst of them is a payment 'for carrieinge of two lod[es] of planck to Mr baillie Blomes salting howse' which is clearly not related to building the jetties.⁶⁶ Working out exactly how much the two Aldeburgh jetties cost, therefore, is difficult.

The 'man that came from Yarmouth' to make the jetties was probably an expert in sea defences who had been employed in Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft, since various expenses were paid to bring him to Aldeburgh from both places in that year.⁶⁷ Great Yarmouth had long taken expert advice in such matters from their continental North Sea neighbours. Sir William Woodhouse, Vice-Admiral of England and first step-father of Phillip Parker, Darby's principal patron, had liaised between the Queen and Great Yarmouth on their proposed haven improvements in 1560 and reported that he had,

⁶⁴ Stiles Johnson, 'Historic Timber-built Seacoast Piers of Eastern England (2015), Vol. 1, p.54, citing Henry Swinden, *The History and Antiquities of the Ancient Burgh of Great Yarmouth ...* (Norwich: printed for the author by John Crouse, 1772), pp. 416-7. In the absence of the original Great Yarmouth records, Swinden's transcriptions of them are all that survives.

⁶⁵ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 313r.

⁶⁶ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 317v.

⁶⁷ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fols 313r, 314v.

‘confarrid wyth a very expert man in sea workes, who ys come from Emdon [*Emden, Lower Saxony*] ... and for X li [£10] and his chargis he wyll comme downe, and viewe your haven and gyve you hys advyse how you shall worke for the preserving of the same’.⁶⁸

In 1567, Yarmouth agreed to

‘send over sea for a conning [*i.e. knowledgable, experienced*] workman well knownen to be verrye skylfulle in such waterworks, as in Sealand [*Zealand*] and Holland diverse were well knownen. Whereupon the towne did send over for a man whose name was Joise Johnson of Midilburgh [Middleburg, *Zealand*], by whose advise the said haven was then begun to be wrought with great tymber, brushwood, iron, planks and stone to dryve yt into one certen course, and the corrante therof was forced to ronne into the sea betwene two great mayne peeres.’⁶⁹

The elements of the piers at Great Yarmouth, timber, brushwood, iron, planks and, to a lesser extent, stone, were the same as those used to build Aldeburgh’s jetties in 1590-91, although there is no evidence as to whether Joise Johnson was the man brought to Aldeburgh fourteen years after his work for Great Yarmouth.

The end of the building process for Aldeburgh’s two jetties is also marked by payments to the expert jetty builder near the end of the 1590-91 accounts in a section headed ‘A note for the Jettie mans wages’ specifying wages totalling £17.17s. 6d. ‘to him that \was/ the M[aster]

⁶⁸ Swinden, *History and Antiquities ... of Great Yarmouth* (1772), p.418.

⁶⁹ Swinden, *History and Antiquities ... of Great Yarmouth* (1772), p.412: Swinden here transcribes from ‘an old book, called the Haven book, beginning at the year 1567. Henry Manship, the early seventeenth century historian of Great Yarmouth, claimed that it was ‘by special means of Henry Manship (my father), a certain Dutchman, named Joas Johnson, a man of very rare knowledge and experience in works of that nature, was brought over from Yarmouth aforesaid; who, on the 5th day of May following [1567], did begin work on the north side of the haven ...’ [C.J. Palmer (ed.), *Henry Manship, The History of Great Yarmouth* (Great Yarmouth & London: Louis Alfred Meall & J. Russell Smith respectively, 1854), p.93]. Four Joise Jonsons appear in a list of aliens living in Great Yarmouth compiled in 1571: two were carpenters from Zealand, and had lived in Yarmouth for three years (i.e. since 1568), one with a wife called Margaret and two children, the other with a wife Mary and five children. Were they father and son, perhaps? The other two were also both from Zealand, although one was a cooper (with wife Mary and no children listed) and the other was a shoemaker (with wife [Nelk?] and one child) so they are unlikely to have been the pier builder. It seems the name was a very common one. There was a considerable community of fishermen and tradesmen from Zealand amongst the 104 households containing aliens in the town in 1571, a number of others of whom were also surnamed Jonson. [TNA, SP 12/78, fol.25, Brief declaration and certificate of all strangers and aliens dwelling within the borough and liberty of Great Yarmouth, 12 May 1571, entries 40 and 42].

Workman'.⁷⁰ The whole year's expenditure for 1590-91 for all of Aldeburgh's requirements amounted to £151 5s. If both jetties were built in that year, therefore, even the cheaper estimate in the draft report of £700-800 for ten more jetties would seem to be well in excess of the amount that could have been spent for the first two in 1590-91. The suspicion of potential corruption on someone's behalf looks as if it might be well-founded, although it is impossible to say who drafted the report.

It was almost certainly one or more of the commissioners appointed by the Privy Council, who were probably representatives of the local magistracy, gentry or nobility, rather than the townsmen. Given the involvement of his step-father with Great Yarmouth's plans for its haven in 1560, and the fact that he helped Captain Turner with his defensive survey of the Suffolk coast in 1587 as Deputy Lieutenant of Suffolk, Sir Philip Parker is a likely candidate for membership of the Privy Council's commission of inquiry. He certainly acted as such a local investigator for the Privy Council on other occasions. His presence as one of the authors of the draft report would also neatly explain why Darby drew the map in 1594, since Parker was Darby's long-standing patron for maps. Whoever the authors were, they were politically astute enough to cross out any references in the draft to the town's lack of means due to its existing 'dailie paiementes and sondrie impositions' by government, and to stress once more the value of Aldeburgh to the defence of the realm.

Towards the end of the report, the authors make reference to a map which is clearly Darby's and state that they:

‘have also herewith sente to your honors a platte [*map*] of that towne whereby the nearness of the sea to the towne and the two jetties and howe the same have gained upon the sea maie the better appere to your honors’.

The authors of the draft report are clearly, at this time, taking for granted the idea that a picture, or a map, is worth a thousand words, and will graphically show much more clearly the topographical features and jetties they are reporting. They are also, in the map-minded tradition of the town which had developed since their success in 1568, depending on the use of a map and a concern with defence by the Privy Council to make their case and carry the

⁷⁰ SA(I), EE 1/I 2/1, fol. 318r.

day. In 1594, if the report and map ever reached the Privy Council, they failed in their efforts to have the extra jetties funded by the Queen. Over time, the two which they had already built decayed and faded from remembrance. Darby's map had, in 1594, been readily accepted as a vital means of communicating a message, and it is perhaps ironic that the message it was designed to convey has since been lost due to the failure to recognise the link between the draft report and Darby's map. A map might be worth a thousand words, but a map alone might not tell the whole story.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has taken John Darby's map of Aldeburgh to use as a case study, partly because it is one of the lesser-examined of Darby's maps and partly because its purpose has never been noticed until now. This chapter has investigated two themes: Aldeburgh as a map-minded town and the purpose of the map, which resonates with modern concerns about coastal erosion and climate change.

The concept of map-mindedness (as Harvey puts it), or map-consciousness (as Barber calls it), is one which grew during the sixteenth century, having not been a feature of the medieval period. Harvey and Barber agree about this, but suggest that there might have been a few maps and the germs of map-mindedness in certain areas and amongst some clerks and lawyers, although not amongst a map-minded elite. But by the 1570s, as the chapter shows, there was a map-minded elite in government, headed by William Cecil, the Queen's chief minister, and Thomas Seckford, Master of the Court of Requests, the man behind Saxton's county maps.

The chapter shows that the first step in Aldeburgh's development as a map-minded town was in 1568 when William Brame of Ipswich made a pair of maps for the town. Brame was, according to Tittler, a painter, which is an interesting early association between painters and map-makers. The chapter describes how although Brame's maps were made to accompany a petition to the Privy Council for a second weekly market in the town, the map itself was made to highlight the town's concerns about defence against Dunkirk pirates. A close reading of the petition makes it clear that the town was not just defending itself, but also passing shipping, from pirates who hid in the bay between Orford Ness and Thorpe Ness, launching signals to

warn shipping in danger. As Thomas Cogswell notes in his work covering the 1620s and 1630s, Aldeburgh's problems with pirates has not been covered by the academic literature.

This chapter shows, for the first time, that the notably map-minded Thomas Seckford also had a map of Aldeburgh made in 1570-71 when he commenced working for the town, probably as its legal representative at the Westminster law courts. Whether his 'man' who made the map might have been Christopher Saxton, working for Seckford before he commenced his county maps, is unknown, but an intriguing question. Whether this map sparked map-mindedness in Seckford, or whether Seckford sparked it in Aldeburgh is unknown, however.

The Aldeburgh burgess Ananias Appleton then made two maps of the town. One in 1581-82, the other, better-known, in 1588. The latter map was probably part of the country's preparations against the Spanish Armada, as this chapter shows, and at least three copies were made of it in 1830. Defence was always at the forefront of Aldeburgh's fears and Appleton's maps showed the town's defensive measures, as did Darby's.

The second part of this chapter for the first time identifies Darby's map's purpose in showing the two groynes or jetties the town built to counter recent coastal erosion. It also links the map to the draft report of commissioners, possibly including Darby's patron, Sir Philip Parker, who had been appointed by the Privy Council to look into a petition the town had sent for money for more jetties. The format of a petition accompanied by a map followed what Aldeburgh had done successfully in 1568, although in 1594, they were not successful. But the report gives much information about the recent erosion which prompted the petition and Darby's map. Bailey, Wain and Sear's work on coastal changes in the medieval and early modern periods a little further down the coast shows that the 1590s were a stormy period with dominant wave action in storms which washed sediments from north to south. The jetty builders in Aldeburgh understood this to some extent, angling the ends of the jetties north-eastwards to break the initial force of the waves. And the jetties worked to stop erosion in the north of the town, where the jetties were. But the building of the jetties moved the problem of erosion southwards due to downdrift starvation and the town was once again eroded, leading to the request for more jetties further south. In the end, no money was forthcoming for more jetties and more erosion has occurred since then. The memory of why the map was made was forgotten. It still would be, but for a very rough draft report which is nearly illegible in places which has not been linked to the map before.

Darby's map since then has had other uses. It became a display map, a part of a wider story of the history of Aldeburgh and its pride in its past, the fitting backdrop to an official photograph of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson as mayor of the town. As a snapshot in time of the state of the Suffolk coast, it has also become a historical source to compare the effect of erosion between 1594 and today, as displayed in the exhibitions in Aldeburgh Museum. The difference in the position of the distinctive Moot Hall, then in the centre of the market place, now just a stone's throw from the beach, is a vivid comparison. Ralph Agas's map of Dunwich (1587) has also been used recently for similar purposes, in Dunwich Museum exhibitions and in academic archaeological and climatological research.⁷¹ It is perhaps again ironic that Darby's map is seen as the 'before', with today's coastline as the 'after' in terms of recent erosion comparison, when in fact the map actually records the after-effects of erosion for the town in 1594 and its ultimately unsuccessful efforts to prevent further losses to the sea.

⁷¹ For example, see David Sear, Andy Murdock, Tim LeBas, Paul Baggaley, Gemma Gubbins, 'Dunwich Project 5883 Final Report: Mapping and Assessing the Inundated Medieval Town' (English Heritage, 2012) online at http://www.dunwich.org.uk/resources/documents/dunwich_12_report.pdf, as well as the wider project coverage on the 'Dunwich: The Search for Britain's Atlantis' website via <http://www.dunwich.org.uk/>; D.A. Sear, S.R. Bacon, A. Murdock, G. Doneghan, P. Baggaley, C. Serra, T.P. LeBas, 'Cartographic, Geophysical and Diver Surveys of the Medieval Town Site at Dunwich, Suffolk, England', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, Vol. 40 (2011), Part 1, pp.113-132, doi: 10.1111/j.1095-9270.2010.00275.x and freely online at https://www.academia.edu/6610457/Cartographic_Geophysical_and_Diver_Surveys_of_the_Medieval_Town_Site_at_Dunwich_Suffolk_Englandi_jna_275_113..132, all accessed 10 Jan 2024.

CONCLUSION

‘We cannot know too much about the map-maker … no substitute exists for biography to assess the subjective element in cartography’.¹

This thesis has attempted to take Blakemore and Harley’s words above as an instruction and use John Darby as a case study to explore the wider context of surveying and surveyors in the late sixteenth century. He was an artistically talented and original map-maker who was not afraid to take advantage of every opportunity with which he was presented. In some ways, he was pioneering as a map-maker. But he did not work in a vacuum. He might have been the epitome of the late sixteenth century self-made man, but like self-made people of every age, he also depended on the support of others and favourable circumstances. He was influenced by the developments of the time in the profession within which he worked.

The wider historical context of surveying within which he worked is examined in the first chapter of this thesis in broad terms. This chapter describes the introduction of maps in the historiographical context of work by F.M.L. Thompson, Paul Harvey, Peter Barber and Andrew McRae. The profession of surveying had a long history in England, but medieval surveyors were not map-makers. Paul Harvey, as an authority on both maps and the medieval manor and its documents (including surveys) draws both topics together when he states that:

‘A survey … is not a map, and no maps were ever produced as the end-product of estate surveys in medieval England. The Middle Ages were not map-minded.’²

The medieval surveyor worked within a feudal, custom-based system of manorial land-holding and his work reflected both the administrative and social aspects of administering a manor. As McRae highlights, the bond between lord and tenant under this system was a personal one, as shown in the ceremonial rite of fealty and homage. The physicality of the ceremonies of fealty and seisin were highly symbolic of the relationship between lord and tenant in terms of holding land.³ In a generally pre-literate age, the public ‘seeing’ or

¹ Blakemore and Harley, ‘Concepts in the History of Cartography’, (1980), p.33.

² P.D.A. Harvey, ‘Manorial Records’ in Margaret L. Faull, *Medieval Manorial Records* (Leeds: Medieval Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1983), p.4.

³ McRae, ‘To Know One’s Own’ (1993), p.339.

witnessing by the neighbourhood community validated the active events of land-taking and so was important. As the written word came to be added to this validatory evidence, 'seeing' became a written surrogate, provided by the surveyor. Even the word itself was telling of the surveyor's role and loyalties, however. 'Surveyor', was, as Fitzherbert noted in his sixteenth century manual, a French word, 'and is as moche to say in Englysshe as an ouerseer'.⁴ The use of the French, rather than the English word shows that even in tramping across fields in the company of the senior tenantry to make inventories, descriptions or valuations of land (his surveys), the surveyor was always the lord's servant, not the tenants' advocate. Administratively surveyors 'oversaw' the manor on behalf of the lord of the manor and produced written descriptions of different kinds to show the lord the extents, values, tenants and other details of his estates.

In the sixteenth century, this changed fundamentally. Surveyors still surveyed land and produced written surveys, and continued to do so, even after maps became a generally accepted tool of estate administration. But the land-holding system within which surveyors worked changed, as McRae describes.⁵ Manorial courts lost business to the equity courts of Westminster over land disputes. The land market experienced a huge boost following the release of former ecclesiastical estates following the Dissolution of the monasteries, chantries and religious guilds. The demand for land increased as the ranks of those who had made their money in business or the law, or in other ways sought to cement themselves into a new role by joining the gentry and living like gentlemen on their own landed estates. These men, as well as many of the long-standing gentry landlords, tended to be, or become, more hard-nosed about the financial efficiency of their estates in a period of inflation in the later sixteenth century. Customary tenure became an obstruction to be removed wherever possible in favour of commercial, market-valued, cash rents. Processes such as the enclosure of open fields or commons led to changes in agricultural practices but also led to huge social distress and upheaval. In the gradual changes which led to the capitalisation of land-holding and estate management, surveyors remained the lords' servants, but the imperative for surveyors' work changed. 'New' men, absentee landlords, even long-established families of landowners now demanded 'knowledge' of their lands.⁶ The dominance of the old ways of communal 'seeing'

⁴ John Fitzherbert, *Here begynneth a right frutefull mater: and hath to name the boke of surueyeng and improume[n]tes*, (London: 'In fletestrete by Rycharde Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace', 1523), fol. 34r.

⁵ Andrew McRae, 'To Know One's Own' (1993), pp.339-40.

⁶ Andrew McRae, 'To Know One's Own' (1993), pp.339-42.

(what we might term ‘transparency’) in land transfers now gave way to the privatisation of that knowledge in the hands of the lords. As McRae says, ‘knowledge itself becomes another form of property, which serves to reinforce the landlord’s economic power’.⁷

Part of this demand for knowledge was provided by the way the surveyor’s work was changing in other ways through the sixteenth century. It was partly facilitated by the technological advances that enabled the geometrical measurement of land, as classical texts on mathematics and geometry percolated through Europe during the Renaissance. The value of geometry led to improvements in gunnery as true measurement aided the creation of military fortifications. It is probably no co-incidence that military mapping, especially under Henry VIII, was a feature which assisted the more general acceptance of maps. True measurement also facilitated the capitalisation of estate management, applying a rationalised framework for the valuation of land by the acre. True, customary measurements persisted for a considerable time and bedevilled efforts to ‘de-customarise’ land management, but surveyors learned to convert non-standard measurements in an eventually successful effort to standardise and rationalise land management. As Thompson put it,

‘...the concept of landed property as a bundle of assorted rights over different bits of territory gave way to the idea that property lay in definable pieces of soil, that every field ought to belong to someone, an idea that cried aloud for commitment to paper’.⁸

This ‘commitment to paper’ came in the form of written surveys still, but it also led to the realisation that maps were a way in which land could be represented and comprehended at a glance, if necessary at a distance, in a modern, technologically based and rational way. Men like Agas later claimed to have recognised the value of having a ‘bounder by plat’ in the 1570s.⁹ Whilst this might have been a boast in advertising puff, it shows how sudden the realisation could be that maps were worth having and making. Agas saw maps as a convenient and immutable evidential record.¹⁰ They certainly did away with the idea of community

⁷ Andrew McRae, ‘To Know One’s Own’ (1993), p.342.

⁸ Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors* (1968), p.10.

⁹ Agas, ‘A Preparative to Platting’ (1596), p.16.

¹⁰ Agas, ‘A Preparative to Platting’ (1596), p.15.

involvement by the tenantry and what Thompson terms as the profligacy of oaths needed to conduct a medieval survey.¹¹

Once the technical know-how and social and economic circumstances were in place for maps to flourish, it was actually demand which led their widespread acceptance and use, as Thompson and Harvey argued.¹² Courts increasingly requested maps in order to judge distant land-ownership disputes, for example.

But the biggest single spur to demand for maps, especially local and estate maps came from Christopher Saxton's series of county maps and his atlas (1574-9, 1583). These printed maps, financed and promoted by that most map-minded administrator, Thomas Seckford of Woodbridge, the proofs of which were passed to his friend and colleague William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Elizabeth I's chief minister, were game-changers in the understanding and acceptance of maps by a wider audience. They found their way into almost every gentlemans library and stimulated demand in those men for estate maps of their own. Surveyors stepped up to satisfy demand and map-making became a recognised specialism in the profession, even though written surveys persisted well into the seventeenth century and all sixteenth century map-makers continued to make them too.

This was the background and context into which Darby, as a surveyor, fitted. In a more local context, he was one of a relatively high number of surveyors living and working the surveying and map-making 'hot-spot' of East Anglia in the sixteenth century, as Bendall's work shows. These surveyors came from a wide range of backgrounds themselves. Darby himself, like the Walkers of Hanningfield, Essex, were carpenter's sons, presumably at an advantage in their facility from childhood with the concepts of measuring lengths and angles. Tyacke summarises the breadth of their occupations:

‘the estate surveyors who drew maps were also schoolmasters, instrument-makers, mathematical practitioners, masons, manorial stewards and engineers.’¹³

¹¹ F.M.L. Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors: The Growth of a Profession* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), pp.4-5.

¹² Thompson, *Chartered Surveyors* (1968), p.2; Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), pp.16-17

¹³ Tyacke, *English Map-Making 1500-1650* (1983), p.14.

To that list, this thesis can add the roles of clergymen, an astrologer, and a parish official as well as confirm the preponderance of gentlemen as surveyors. Surveying was considered a gentlemanly accomplishment as well as a profession a gentleman could undertake for others without loss of status. It required a good education. The proximity of surveyors to their property-owning clients also tended to draw the surveyors up to gentlemanly status, as it did with George Sawer of Cawston, Norfolk, as well, in part, as Darby himself.

As Chapter Two demonstrates, the sixteenth century social and economic developments described in Chapter One and summarised above, together with the ensuing changes to the role of the surveyor in them made them an unpopular group of people. Using the work of Richard Hoyle on the Great Survey of Crown estates in the early seventeenth century and McRae's work using John Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607), this chapter lays out the context for the surveyor of the late sixteenth century being seen as 'evill and unprofitable'.¹⁴ Against this context, the extortionate activities of the surveyor Ralph Agas in Pulham, Norfolk, have been examined and are put forward in this thesis as illustrative of the behaviour of surveyors which led to their unpopularity. Agas was, as Diarmaid MacCulloch demonstrated, a difficult man.¹⁵ The Pulham cameo confirms this, as well as portraying him as what we might term a proponent of a 'hostile environment' for tenants in the Crown's Great Survey. He may have taken his cue from the MP Robert Johnson's demonisation of tenants who, he said, 'obscure ancient customs and pervert them to private profit'.¹⁶ John Norden, another Great Survey surveyor, also mis-trusted the tenants, accusing them of the abuse of customary tenure to 'make it like a finger of waxe, to drawe it more or lesse, as will beste serve their purpose'.¹⁷ Both were Crown servants, but it is probably not too much to suggest that Agas took his hostility further than Norden, and that Norden (also a writer of religious tracts) wrote a none too subtle criticism of Agas's behaviour in order to distance himself from it, in his *Surveyor's Dialogue*.¹⁸ In this particular case, Agas went to ground and the tenants won their case, a typical example of Hoyle's summation that '... the policy adopted was to shout loudly about the Crown's rights and then confirm the tenants' custom'.¹⁹

¹⁴ Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607), p.1; Richard Hoyle, "Shearing the Hog" (1992); McRae, 'To Know One's Own' (1993); McRae, *God Speed the Plough* (1996).

¹⁵ MacCulloch, 'Radulph Agas: Virtue Unrewarded' (1973–5), esp. p.275.

¹⁶ McRae, *God Speed the Plough* (1996), p.175.

¹⁷ Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607), p.182.

¹⁸ Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, pp.3-4, marginally glossed by Norden as 'The pretended [i.e. claimed] causes why surveyors are condemned'; NRO, NNAS S2/17/10.

¹⁹ Richard Hoyle, "Shearing the Hog" (1992), p.251.

But Agas's antics at Pulham were not isolated, as he was also accused of having 'gotten the ancient rentalles & booke' of seven other manors in North Norfolk 'into his handes ... neither do the tenantes knowe how to come by the same agayne'.²⁰

John Darby himself was not a surveyor of Crown Lands and so far as is known, did not involve himself in contentious processes such as enclosure. But as this thesis shows, Darby did acknowledge the unpopularity of surveyors in graphical form in his images of surveyors being attacked by dogs. This was a common trope, perhaps. But it is a reminder too of Lawrence Nowell's image of the same thing in the pocket book map of Britain (c.1564) which he produced for William Cecil, which Cecil reputedly always carried with him.

The episode of Agas's activities in retaining manorial records in North Norfolk is symptomatic of the chaos in record-keeping at the time discussed by Hoyle.²¹ But it also reflects a habit, which appears to have been more widespread than has been noticed until now, of surveyors purloining or retaining records which they had borrowed from the manorial archive in order to work on their surveys, or the record of those surveys themselves. As part of its investigation into rates of pay and the unpopularity of surveyors, Chapter Two draws these two strands together to show this habit as a form of leverage by surveyors who had not been paid or who had a grievance against their employer. This thesis explores this further through the experiences of Robert Doon, an Ipswich surveyor and trainer of surveyors who has been unknown until now. His litany of complaints of debts due to him for unpaid wages for his surveying work, some going back decades, dominate his will. He also iterates his attempts to enforce payment by the with-holding of the resulting documents of his surveys. In one case, he was forced to give them up by court action. But overall, virtually none of the documents he details as having been retained by him in this exercise survives today. Ironically, his trainee, who this thesis argues was the same man as the Thomas Clarke who Eden discusses as Peter Kempe of Stamford's former apprentice, used the same tactic against Doon himself, whom he said had not trained him properly. The outcome of that case is unrecorded, but shows the same modern-day lack of the records he was accused by Doon of stealing. Another case of retention of records due to lack of pay was that between John Holland, a Suffolk surveyor who engaged to make maps for a client who subsequently took

²⁰ Morgan et al, (eds.), *The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Vol. V, 1603-1607* (2010), pp. 79-80.

²¹ Richard Hoyle, "Shearing the Hog" (1992), p.215.

him to court for not producing them. Once more, we do not know the court's judgement, but the records described in the case documents no longer survive.²² Although manorial records' rate of survival may be affected by all the usual factors which can lead to loss of archives such as fire, damp, rodents, loss or deliberate destruction, this deliberate retention of records as leverage is an interesting phenomenon and might have occurred more widely amongst surveyors. It may also have been another reason for surveyors having a dubious and unreliable reputation in the late sixteenth century, this time from the viewpoint of the employing landlords.

This thesis examines John Darby's family and the networks to which it gave him access in the third chapter. Much of what has been discovered about his family and networks in this thesis is new and throws light on the way Darby networked as well as how his family rose socially. His family circumstances, as the son of a carpenter, gave him an early advantage in becoming a surveyor, just as it did for the Walkers of Hanningfield, Essex. He therefore fitted into a context of the skilled artisan quickly appreciating and grasping the technical aspects of the new 'measuring turn' of the profession of surveying, like Lee and Rogers, the masons in Henry VIII's reign, as shown in Chapter One. Some of these men were only a generation or so from yeoman or skilled artisan origins. Men such as George Sawer of Cawston, Norfolk the parish officer, used their skills to better themselves and become 'a perfect example of the 'rising gentry' in Amussen's phrase.²³ The details of Darby's life, background and networks, explored in Chapter Three, place him in a the same context of social advancement.

This thesis argues that his family circumstances played a part in his professional and social success. Part of his success was due to being in the right place and time to take advantage of opportunities to become a map-maker. Being part of the 'first generation' of map-makers, he was in a good position to forge his own path in the profession. And his family circumstances dictated he *had* to make his own way in the world since, as a second son, he inherited little from his family. Being outlived by a mother who had inherited all his father's land also gave her a great deal of power over how her children led their lives. This was unusual in the period, when widows with children usually inherited only a life interest in their late husbands' properties. Work on widows is fraught with difficulties respecting sources, but Barbara Todd's

²² TNA, C 2/Eliz/A9/48.

²³ Susan Dwyer Amussen, 'A Norfolk Village: Cawston, 1595-1605' *History Today*, Vol. 46, Issue 4 (Apr. 1986), p.16; Susan D. Amussen, 'Sawer, George (d.1627)' *ODNB* (2008)

work on freebench widows in Oxfordshire notes that even having a life interest allowed a widow to act ‘as head of her family in the hiatus between male generations’.²⁴ John Darby’s mother Joan certainly did this. As her will shows, she was able to assist her children materially during their lifetimes, although she kept a firm control over what they owed her. Holderness’s work on widows as money-lenders suggests that Joan Darby was the kind of widow who would have put her assets to work in money-lending, as well as making an income from her inherited property, although evidence is only circumstantial that she did so. She was certainly instrumental in raising her family socially, however, by giving them the trappings of improved social status, sending one son to university and obtaining arms from the notoriously corrupt herald, Robert Cooke. The work of Gwynn-Jones on Cooke’s blatant profiteering from selling unauthorised rights to arms suggest that she was but one of thousands of social climbers who took advantage of the opportunity to style themselves gentry through the acquisition of arms. Darby may well have been moulded by her example in taking advantage of opportunities even if ethically dubious. This might well have also made him a typical surveyor.

One of the opportunities Darby did take advantage of was to marry Elizabeth Melton. As the teenage only child of a very rich Ipswich burgess, his marriage sealed his social rise if his profession had not already done so. The property the marriage brought him was enough to allow him to live like a gentleman from income from his own lands. He was also able to obtain more through the patronage of Sir Philip Parker of Erwarton, Suffolk, for whom Darby made the majority of his maps. Both Parker and Darby’s father-in-law used social clout to circumvent Ipswich Borough’s byelaws relating to property. Parker virtually instructed the borough to give Darby his lease of town lands in Bramford, ‘although the said John Darby is noe freeman of this Town’.²⁵ Melton built on Ipswich town lands at the Old Bar Gates in Ipswich without permission, relying on his clout as a former town Chamberlain to have retrospective permission and a rent granted. His daughter, when she was Darby’s widow, later did the same thing with other lands around the town’s northern ramparts. Parker’s patronage was also likely to have assisted Darby in the undervaluing of his assets for tax purposes, as Parker acted as assessor for most of them. Darby and his networks were opportunists.

²⁴ Barbara Todd, ‘Freebench and free enterprise: widows and their property in two Berkshire villages’, in John Chartes and David Hey (eds), *English rural society, 1500-1800: essays in honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1990), p.76.

²⁵ Richardson, *Bacon’s Annals* (1884), p.395.

In investigating the training of surveyors through the lens of John Darby, this thesis has not proved his particular mode of training, although it has investigated the training of others. There is a strong possibility that Darby himself was educated at Bury St Edmunds Grammar School under William Waterman, who might have been related to Darby's contemporary map-maker, Thomas Waterman, though the evidence is circumstantial. Training as a surveyor was likely to have been through apprenticeship to a recognised practitioner. Peter Eden's work on the 'training genealogy' of Peter Kempe, Thomas Clarke and Thomas Langdon shows this process through the experiences of the three men as masters and apprentices. This thesis proposes that Clarke, Peter Kempe's apprentice, was the same man as Robert Doon's disgruntled assistant, Thomas Clarke, who was looking to complete his training after the death of Kempe in 1576/7. Clarke's dispute with Doon shines a light on the training Clarke expected and received from Doon. Doon was a traditional surveyor although one who took up accurate measured surveys when they became a requirement. He worked with the map-maker Israel Amyce when maps were required for particular jobs.²⁶ His background, however, seems to have been as a manorial steward and auditor (much as Kempe's was) and the training he offered seems to have reflected this, being instruction 'in the perfect forme of kepinge of Courtes Surveyes and audittes'.²⁷ The books Clarke was accused of purloining from Doon, Clarke claimed were copies he had made for himself of such items as were 'good president [precedent] to write for his better instruction'.²⁸ This kind of copy-book training may explain why local archives contain more drafts and copies of manorial surveys than might be expected.

Chapter Four of this thesis demonstrates that Doon was a central figure in a network of other surveyors and their clients. He trained and employed Clarke and George Sampson of Harkstead the gentleman who worked with Ralph Agas on one of the earliest English estate maps drawn to scale, of West Lexham, Norfolk (1575).²⁹ The coincidence of Ralph Agas's presence in Ipswich in 1574 at a time when Doon and Sampson were working together on a nationwide survey of lands for Sir Robert Wingfield suggests that Agas might have met Sampson in Doon's employ. Doon also worked with the map-maker Israel Amyce during the

²⁶ SA(I), HA 411/1/2/3/3.

²⁷ TNA, C 2/Eliz/D3/11.

²⁸ TNA, C 2/Eliz/D3/11.

²⁹ Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1645

1570s too, so perhaps Agas learnt his map-making skills from Amyce, again through Doon. Training was arranged through personal connections and networks, so this is a possibility.

This thesis shows that there is a possibility that Doon might have been involved in the training of John Darby. If not, then Doon's work in making an illustrated survey of the manor of Woodbridge late Priory in 1560 may well have influenced Darby's own illustrated survey of three nearby manors in 1589. Through a comparison of these works in Chapter Four it is possible to investigate the possible origins of Darby's artistry. The 1560 survey may have been made for Thomas Seckford, whose tastes for ornament were apparent from his addition of borders, cartouches and decorative features to Saxton's county maps series.³⁰ Seckford was granted the lease of the manor in 1567 after his cousin's widow had it, and it was linked with the manor of Alnesbourn, which was also in his hands by 1584 when he commissioned Darby to map it. Darby might well have seen Doon's survey whilst working for Seckford on this project. Darby might even have worked for Seckford and his heir and nephew for some time in the 1580s and made the 1589 surveys of Grundisburgh, Burgh and Cleves in Burgh for one of the Seckfords' near neighbours, Anthony Gosnold. Once more, we see the importance of networks in finding work.

There were precedents for such decorated documents. The changing formats of decorative capitals and ornamented headings for the Westminster Courts of Common Pleas, 1422-1509 and King's Bench 1509-1603 have been studied by Elizabeth Danbury and Kathleen Scott and Erna Auerbach respectively.³¹ Their work shows no obvious models for Doon's or Darby's work, although Danbury and Scott show a trend to use dragons and dogs (which Darby also uses) as ornamentation in Common Pleas documents.

Other sources of inspiration for decorated written surveys also existed in the late sixteenth century as this thesis discusses. Amongst printed pattern books was the popular *Booke containing Divers Sortes of hands*, by Jean de Beauchesne and John Baildon (1570), a copy of the 1571 edition of which was in Ipswich in the late sixteenth century. Janet Backhouse has shown that the writing master John Scottowe of Norwich, who produced his own manuscript

³⁰ Barber, 'Mapmaking in England ...', (2007), p.1629.

³¹ Danbury and Scott, 'The Plea Rolls of the Court of Common Pleas' (2015), pp.157-210; Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (1954), pp.119-132.

writing manuals, traced into one of them the image of a writing cherub.³² Ralph Agas may have picked up on Peter Bales ability to write tiny script when he boasted of the same skill and perhaps tried to exercise it when he was rector of Gressenhall, Norfolk. Bales, author of *The Writing Schoolmaster* (1590), contributed a plate to another printed pattern book, Jodocus Hondius's *Theatrum artis scribendi* (1594). Clement Perret's *Exercitatio alphabetica nova et utilissima* (1569) was another popular pattern book for calligraphic decoration. Even if Darby did not use these sources as direct patterns for copying, there was plenty of inspiration in them for an artistic scribe and map-maker. However, there are hints that some of Scottowe's images might have been copied or adapted by Darby, as discussed in Chapter Four, such as his tree branches, wyrm-like serpents and especially his letter 'S' dragon in his 1589 surveys. Heraldic painters may have provided other models.

Whatever the original purposes of Darby's maps (and some did change their purposes over time), all were very decorative artifacts, so fall into a recognised genre of maps of the period. The sixteenth century did not see a differentiation between a map being beautiful as well as useful, as later ages did. The work of J.B. Harley is used in Chapter Five to show how modern cartographic theory changed in the 1980s to acknowledge this fact and appreciate that maps contained codified and symbolic meanings, often in their decorative features. The gentlemen who commissioned multi-sheet vellum maps to hang on their hall walls, often coloured and decorated with colour and coats of arms, would have understood such graphical symbolism. Darby's map of Smallburgh, for example, shows a man with a gun hunting duck by a mere. His dog is in the water snapping at a flapping duck, whilst other men float in punts nearby. Cattle and sheep graze on fertile fields. The image is one showing the richness of the natural world and Sir Philip Parker's estate. But this hunting image is more. As Harley describes such scenes, they represent the ownership, power and authority of the estate owner, who is the only one allowed to hunt there, as well as joy in the beauty of nature and the value of the estate. Ralph Treswell does something similar in his maps of the Dorset estates of Sir Christopher Hatton, in which the deer represent not only his hunting rights, but his heraldic crest of a golden hind. As a painter-stainer and heraldic painter, Treswell might have supplied some of the models for a wider common language of motifs on maps.

³² Backhouse, *John Scottowe's Alphabet Books* (1974), p.13 (Scottowe's letter 'S' on plate 18, from BL, Harley MS 3885).

Chapter Five of the thesis then discusses features of such decorative maps thematically, concentrating on those elements of Darby's maps which make them distinctive. Rose Mitchell's suggestion that there was a common language of images and stylistic features on maps quite early on is discussed in terms of borders and the style of swans resembling heraldic exemplars on the maps of Darby and Ralph Treswell the Elder, for example. Darby's own work displays elaborate borders in only two of his maps: Smallburgh (1582) and Alnesbourn (1584). Both of them were made early in his known career, when he was almost certainly trying to make an impression and obtain further work from the men for whom he was making them, Sir Philip Parker and Thomas Seckford. This thesis suggests that on the Alnesbourn map, Darby even manages to draw a tiny portrait of Seckford, which is recognisably similar to a still extant portrait of him despite the sketchiness of the face. He might even have been referencing William Cecil's habit of riding an ass in putting a figure, possibly intended to be Darby himself, on a donkey.

The activities of people and animals on Darby's maps are specific and appropriate to their place, as Barber notes, although Darby was not completely alone in doing this. Clarke added animals of the chase to Panworth Park and sheep and cattle to Panworth Common in his Panworth map of 1581. All kinds of livestock graze on Darby's maps in appropriate places. A swine-herd drives pigs through wood pasture in Alnesbourn. Darby's diagnostic cattle swish their tails as they munch the lush grass of water-meadows of Aldeburgh and Southwold. Of all Darby's work, his cows may have the longest direct artistic legacy, the style of them being copied by the nineteenth century Suffolk artist Isaac Johnson.

In the final chapter of this thesis, one of Darby's maps, that of Aldeburgh (1594) is used as a case study to link together the idea of Aldeburgh as a map-minded town and to prove the real reason the map was made, which concerns counter-measures against coastal erosion. Harvey's idea of map-mindedness was introduced in Chapter One, and in this final chapter, we return to it in an investigation of Aldeburgh's early and persistent habit of making maps. The earliest of these, in 1568, were made by an Ipswich painter and gilder, William Brame. This is an early example of a painter making a map and it is a pity we know nothing else about it. Although it accompanied a petition to the Privy Council for an additional weekly market, the real purpose of the map was to show the lie of the land (and sea) to show the importance of defence to the town, and by extension, to the nation. This defence was less to do with potential armies of foreign states and more to do with continual raids by Dunkirk pirates who were a scourge of

the North Sea coasts of several countries during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Thomas Cogswell, in noting how they have been neglected in academic literature, covers the 1620s and 1630s, but they were clearly active earlier too, and the petition (which was granted) refers to the town's night and day efforts to watch for them and warn passing ships of pirates concealed between the twin points of Orford and Thorpeness.

In its investigation of Aldeburgh's mapping activities this final chapter brings together a map-minded town with a map-minded administrator in the person of none other than Thomas Seckford, a recurrent figure throughout the various discussions in this thesis. His 'man' made a map of the town in 1570-71, but again, we know nothing about the map itself, merely the fact of its making. Seckford himself was retained by the town, probably for his legal services and advocacy in the Westminster courts from this time. It is impossible to know whether he was already planning the county maps series commenced by Saxton just a few years later. But it does show that his mind was on maps before then. These, and Ananias Appleton's maps of 1581-82 and 1588 show that the town was well used to maps by 1594 when Darby made his. The 1568 petition to the Privy Council accompanied by a map had succeeded in obtaining for the town its objective of a new market.

Darby's map accompanying another petition to the Privy Council in 1594 did not. But its purpose is highly topical today. The map is accurate because it had to be. In mapping the location of the two groynes or jetties and the exact townscape and its streets and buildings, Darby was showing how the town had already been eroded in recent storms and that the positioning of the jetties had helped to protect the northern part of the town. The map and draft report of the Privy Council's commissioners, who might have included Sir Philip Parker, make it clear that the town was desperate to prevent further erosion and wanted to erect ten more such jetties. They had managed to build two with help from an expert from Great Yarmouth who designed the jetties to break the force of the prevailing waves from the north-east. These had worked to save the north of the town but the south of the town was eroding more. They could not have realised that the erection of the two jetties might have made this worse through starving the southern beach of the shingle that would otherwise have washed down from the north. The work of Bailey, Wain and Sear shows that this part of the Suffolk coast has been subject to complex forces of change across centuries. The storminess of the 1580s and 1590s produced a series of calamitous erosion events for Aldeburgh which are only hinted at in the surviving records of the town from that period. There is no evidence the

requested ten more groynes were ever built and the Moot Hall, then at the centre of the town, now very much closer to the sea, shows how much more the town has eroded since. But far from being just a ‘then and now’ comparison of erosion, Darby’s map shows the efforts of a determined and resilient town to counter the forces of nature. The analysis of this map shows that a close investigation of individual maps together with their associated documents and provenance can yield a more complicated story than at first might appear.

Darby’s place amongst surveyors is not typical in some ways, although it is in others. His background, probable training and continuation of working on written surveys even after becoming a map-maker were typical of other surveyors of the time. But in terms of his place amongst the surveyors who, like Agas, Norden and Rathborne, were changing society’s notions of land-holding and the capitalisation of land and its administration, Darby’s seems to have been more of a bystander. Yet he, out of almost all map-makers in the late sixteenth century (Lawrence Nowell excepted), acknowledges surveyors’ unpopularity graphically by putting them on his maps. Sometimes they are being barked at by dogs and sometimes they are in comic poses. Darby may well have been self-deprecatingly humorous in doing so. His donkey riding gentleman on his Alnesbourn map (1584) may have been intended to be him, the humble surveyor, surrounded by all the gentlemen involved in commissioning or certifying the map. Two of the other horsemen on that map are almost certainly intended to be Thomas Seckford and Sir Philip Parker, I contend.

Darby may have been in a somewhat privileged position as a map-maker in having a principal client in Sir Philip Parker. He did most of his work for Parker or his family. He may even have been a regularly-employed manorial steward for both Thomas Seckford and Parker, but as there are no surviving archives of either man, this cannot be checked. But in working also for men like William Smart in making his map of Kirton and Falkenham in 1591 (see Appendix Seven), he worked for a man from his new, post-marriage environment of the Ipswich elite and burgesses amongst whom he could now take his place. Unlike the majority of working surveyors, after 1591, Darby no longer needed to work for a living, because his marriage to Elizabeth Melton brought him appreciable wealth: enough to make him a gentleman. It may have been the case that the profession of surveyor allowed him to rub shoulders with gentry such as Parker, and perhaps pick up enough polish to make him appear more eligible and help him to rise socially. He was certainly a man who did not let an opportunity pass him by, and his marriage was the largest example of this.

The largest factor in the differentiation of Darby's map-making work to other surveyors was, however, his use of artistic imagery on his maps. Others put animals and people on maps too, though to a lesser extent, such as Thomas Clarke and Ralph Treswell the Elder and even Thomas Waterman later on. Heraldic painting may have been a spur to Ralph Treswell the Elder, who comes closest to Darby's levels of artistry. All these other map-makers had the same sources of possible inspiration that Darby had in the emblem and pattern books and writing masters' copy books of the period. But they did not respond to them as Darby did. They did not take the opportunity to be inspired. No other map-maker's work was so evocative as Darby's, even though he could not paint certain features (like actual faces) well: his trudging surveyor in his Household map tells a story of muddy fields and wet boots and a long day in the countryside surveying as no amount of words would do. His images of landscape-appropriate activities, be they ferreting or cockling at Blakeney and Cley or wild-fowling on Aldeburgh beach or the mere in Smallburgh paint a picture of country life. As Harvey said of picture maps:

‘because there was no other English genre of landscape drawing in the sixteenth century ... Effectively it is the pictorial maps of Tudor England that give us our first glimpse of what England actually looked like in the past, and this they do extraordinarily well.’

And Darby also does this ‘extraordinarily well’ although he made his maps to scale too. Beauty and utility went hand-in-hand. This evocation of a peopled landscape in Darby's maps is perhaps best summed up by Susan Owens's comment about his Smallburgh map:

‘the impression we get is not so much of a static map: it is more as though Darby has whisked us up by magic to hover above this busy and prosperous estate, where we watch small human and animal dramas unfold before our eyes. They remind us that there was another dimension to the landscape that no amount of measuring and surveying could dispel, and that was its role as a place where people wandered and thought, sighed, loved, got lost and perhaps even found themselves again.’

John Darby was a surveyor, but he was an artist too.

Blakemore and Harley encouraged biographical research on map-makers, saying that ‘no substitute exists for biography to assess the subjective element in cartography’ in order to provide:

‘material for novel conclusions concerning the mobility of local cartographers, the spheres of surveying practice, the social and occupational status of surveyors, and their role in agrarian improvement or in the phases of proto-industrialisation which are common to many societies’.³³

This is ultimately what I have tried to do in this thesis using Darby as a case study and comparing him to his contemporaries working or living in East Anglia. In the end, trying to compile biographies of *all* of his contemporaries, even in such a discrete area and period, has not been possible due to constraints of time, space, and research difficulties. This is perhaps an area for further research. But for those I have found, comparison with Darby and his work has proved a fruitful exercise, I suggest, and agrees with Harvey and Blakemore’s statement that ‘we cannot know too much about the map-maker’.³⁴

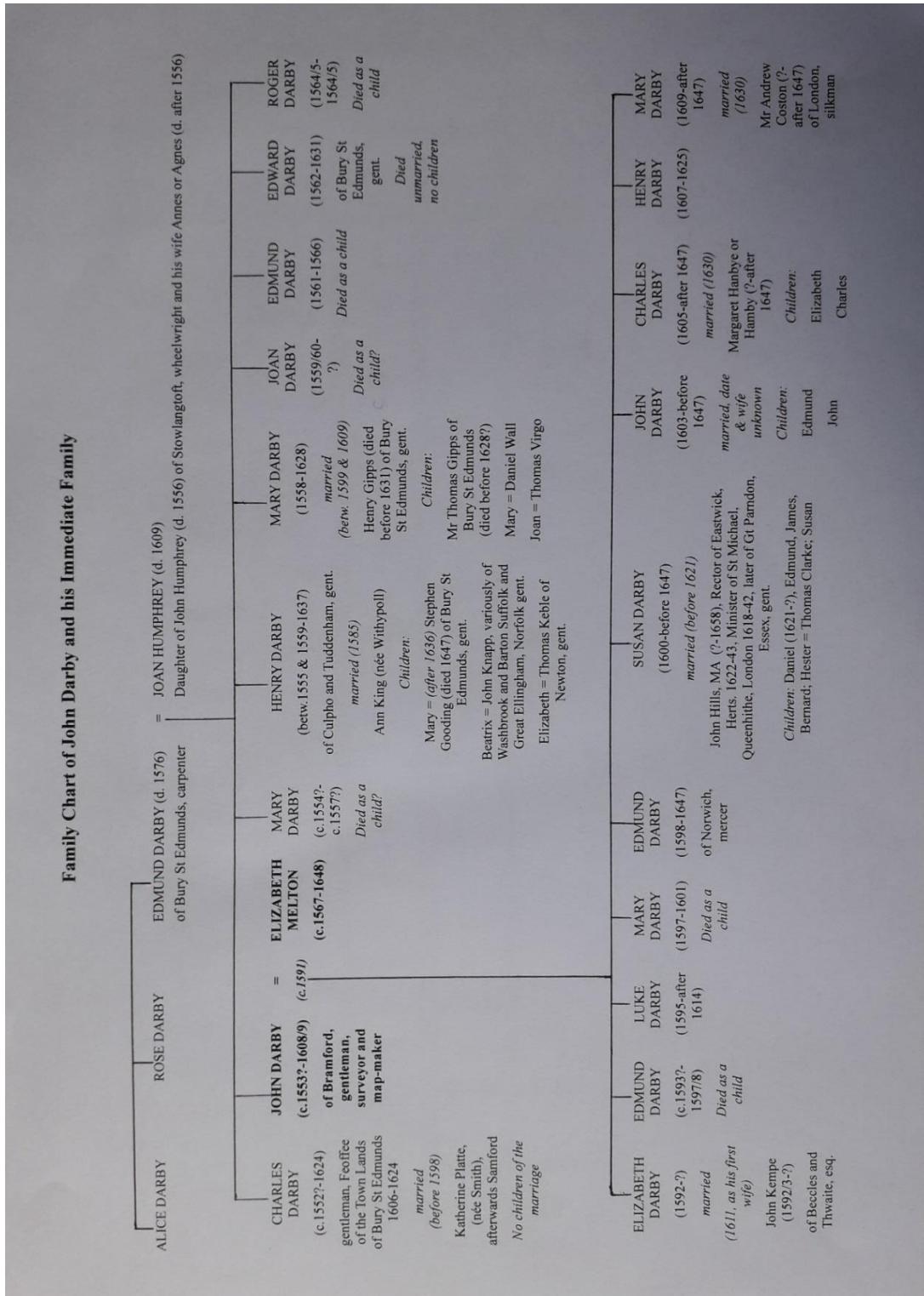
³³ Blakemore and Harley, ‘Concepts in the History of Cartography’, (1980), p.33, 37.

³⁴ Blakemore and Harley, ‘Concepts in the History of Cartography’, (1980), p.33.

APPENDIX ONE

FAMILY CHART OF JOHN DARBY

Family Chart of John Darby and his Immediate Family



APPENDIX TWO

TRANSCRIPT OF ROBERT DOON'S CONTRACT TO SURVEY THE MANOR OF WESTLETON, SUFFOLK, FOR SIR OWEN HOPTON (1569).¹

Extensions of abbreviations in square brackets

Editorial insertions in italics within square brackets

1569

Articles for the Surveye of the mano[ur] of westleton agreed vpon the xixth daye of August in anno vndecimo d[omi]ne Regine Elizabethe Betwe[e]n the Right worshipfull S[i]r Owen Hoopton of Yoxforde in the County of Suff[olk] knight of thone *[the one]* p[ar]te / And Rob[er]t Doon of Blyburghe in the said County Awdito[ur] of thother p[ar]te.

ffirst the said Rob[er]t Doon p[ro]miseth that he by god[es] p[er]mission before the last daye of September that shalbe in the yere of our lord god A Thowsande five hundred threscore and tenne, Shall deliu[er] vnto the said S[i]r Owen his heir[es] or assignes (reasonably demandinge the same) one Boke of Survey of his holle mano[ur] of westleton wherin shalbe conteyned aswell all those land[es] & Ten[emen]t[es] w[i]th ther rent[es] and s[er]uices w[hi]ch eyther be p[ar]cell of the said mano[ur] or holden therof w[i]th the names of all the Tenant[es] of the same made w[i]th so good delligence and Skill as the said Rob[er]t Conveniently can / So that the said S[i]r Owen shall not only deliu[er] to the said Rob[er]t w[i]thin twenty daies next after the makinge herof by bill Indented All such Extent[es] Corte Roll[es] terrars & other wrighting[es] of his as do app[er]teyne vnto the p[re]misses or to any p[ar]te or p[ar]cell therof. But allso shall cause all the tenant[es] of the said mano[ur] eu[er]y one at such tyme as ned shall require to attende vpon the said Rob[er]t w[i]th the said S[i]r Owens Baylif to aide and assiste him w[i]th ther knowledge and wrighting[es] in such sorte as Tenant[es] in like case ought to do for the better & exact p[er]fectinge of the said Survey. / All w[hi]ch said Extent[es] Cort roll[es] terrars and other wrighting[es] the said Rob[er]t p[ro]misseth for him his heir[es] executors and assignes to deliu[er] or cause to be deliu[er]ed

¹ SA(I), HA 30/312/422.

vnto the said S[i]r Owen his heir[es] or assignes at any tyme when he shall reasonably require the same So that he the said Rob[er]t shall not [*mutilated*] them at such tymes as he shall stand nedie of them for executing & finishinge of the said Survey /

In Consideracon wherof the said S[i]r Owen doth p[ro]mise that he his heir[es] or assignes shall not only paye the said Rob[er]t for all such paper & Ink as he shall occupye or spende about the said Surveye, But allso shall well and truly content and paye vnto the said Rob[er]t his Executors or assignes for his paynes travell and Study Susteyned about the said Survey Twenty m[ar]kes of lawfull money of England wherof five m[ar]kes to be paid to the said Rob[er]t or his assignes before the feast of All Sanck[es] [sic] next to come after the makinge herof And Tenne pownd[es] the residewe of the said Twenty m[ar]kes the said Sir Owen ys fully content that he the said Rob[er]te shall paye him self aswell of such money as he the said Rob[er]t at this p[re]sent doth owe vnto him the said S[i]r Owen And also of all such other Som[m]es of money as from henceforthe shall happen to be dewe vnto the said S[i]r Owen his heir[es] or exec[utors] from the said Rob[ert] Doon his executors or ass[igns] for rent of fearme of any Land[es] or Ten[ements] otherwise.

And as towchinge the Charg[es] and expenc[es] durante the tyme of the said Survey the said S[i]r Owen p[ro]miseth that he his heir[es] or executors shall well and truly paye the said Rob[er]t for his owne borde the day xijd. for one of his Clerkes viijd. And for the said S[i]r Owen his Baylif viijd. for eu[er]y day and so many dayes as they shalbe occupied about the p[re]miss[es]'. In wytnes wherof the p[ar]ties aboue said int[er]changably have Subscribed these p[resen]t[es] the daye &

Ex[aminatur] p[er] Rob[er]tu[m] Doon'

APPENDIX THREE

TRANSCRIPT OF BILL, ANSWER AND REPLICATION COURT OF CHANCERY

ROBERT DOON OF IPSWICH, GENT. v. THOMAS CLARKE (1580)¹

Extensions of abbreviations in square brackets

Editorial insertions in italics within square brackets

Latin text translated as ordinary text and original Latin follows in italics in round brackets

1. Robert Doon's Bill of Complaint (19 April 1580)

[Top left] 19 Aprilis 1580

West

To the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Bromley knyght Lord Chauncellour of Englaunde

In most humble wise complayninge sheweth vnto your Lordship your dayly Orator and Suppliant Robert Doonn of Ipsewiche in the Countye of Suffolk, gent. that wheareas your sayde Oratour about halfe a year past reteyned one Thomas Clerke to be his seruaunt for one hole yeare then next ensuyinge to serve hym as his Clerke in Surveyinge and kepynge of Courtes beinge the trade of lyvyng of your sayde Oratour which sayd Thomas Clerke should have had of your sayd Oratour for his wages and salarye for the sayd year the Some of v [5] markes in monye and ij [2] lyveries of which sayd wages the sayd Thomas Clerke had receyved of your sayd Oratour the Somme of xl [40]s. and too lyvereys within short tyme after his reteynour. So yt is yf yt may please your good Lordship that the sayde Thomas Clerke not regardinge his sayde retaynour and honest dutye in service that he ought to have done to your sayde Oratour neyther the hindrance and losse that your sayde Oratour doth now systeyne by the want of a Clerke to serve hym in his affayres did about Christmas tyme laste departe from the service of your sayde Oratour without his privytye or good wyll, And dyd carry awaye with hym of your sayde Oratour dyvers and sondry Court Rolls Court booke

¹ TNA, C 2/Eliz/D3/11.

some in parchment, some in paper and bookes of Survey parte whearof the sayde Thomas had in his handes or Custodye by the deliyvery of your sayd Oratour and part thearof he tooke with out any deliverye which sayde Rolls bookes and other thinges the sayd Thomas Clerke wyll not redelyver to your sayd Oratour though he hath been dyvers and sonndrye tymes ther vnto by your Oratour gently requyred to the great preiudice not only of your sayd Oratour but also of the Lordes of the Manours which the sayd Rolls concerne, and to the Copyholders of the same beinge in daunger of losse of thear Copyholdes by the want of ther Copyes. Now forasmuche as your sayd Oratour hath no remedye by the Common Lawes of this Realme for the recoverye of the sayd Court Rolls Court bookes and Bookes of Survey and other thinges before mencyoned at the handes of the sayde Clerke because he knoweth not the certayne nomber of them neyther wherin they are contayned so as he may have an accon' [*action*] of detynue or any other accon' at the Commen lawe for the recovery of the same. It may therfore please your good Lordshyp the premisses tenderly consydered to graunt to your sayd Oratour the Queenes Majesties most gratioues wrytt of Subpena to be directed to the sayd Thomas Clerke Commandynge hym by the same at a certayne day and under a certayne payne by your good Lordship to be lymited personally to appear before you in hir hyghnes most honorable Court of Chancery then and ther to answer to the premisses and further to stande to obaye and performe soch further order and direction hearin as to your good Lordship vpon the hearing of the sayde matter shall seme meet and Convenyent And your sayde Oratour shall daylye praye for your Lordships longe lyfe health and prosperetye.

Clenche

2. Answer of Thomas Clarke, Defendant

Sworn before me (*Jur[atus] coram me*) Humfre Walsond

The answer of Thomas Clerke defendant to the bill of complainte of Robbert Doone gentleman Compleynaunte

The said defendaunte saithe that the said Bill of complainte against him exhibited in this honorable Courte \is/ for the moest parte theof untrew uncertaine and insufficient in the law to be answered vnto sett furthe rather of malyce and displeasure and to thintent to put this defendaunt to costes and charges and expences in the lawe as he verilye thinkethe than vpon good cause or ground of sute the complainant hathe against this defendaunt Thadvantage of the insufficiency of which bill to this defendaunt now and att all times hereafter being soued for answere vnto the said in sufficient bill and playne declaracon of the truthe of the matters

therin conteyned he saie thet aboute A yere past the said compleaunt wrote his lettres unto this defendaunt to come vnto him and to serve him for three yeres promissinge the defendaunt that if he would so do he would not onely give vnto the said defendaunt the said summe of five markes and two coates yerely, but also would well vse and entreat him, and also instruct him in the perfect forme of kepinge of Courtes Surveyes and audittes vpon which lettres and fayre promises of the said compleynaunte the said defendaunt wrote his letter of answere vnto the said compleaunt promissinge him to come vnto him and that if those offers to him made by the plaintiff might be obserued he would be contented to serve him and theruppon aboute the tyme in the said bill mentioned he this defendaunte came to the plentifes howse accordingly and vpon conference and talke betweene the said plentife and this defendaunt than [*i.e. then*] had and vpon the fayer and large promises of the said plentife to this defendaunt made in forme aforesaid this defendaunt was contented to serve with the said plentife a certaine time uppon triall and liking onely, and vpon likinge had of his service to haue continued A longer tyme as the [*sic*] should afterward haue agreed vpon and not otherwise in which tyme this defendaunt found the actes and promeses of the said complainant so farre asonder aswell in his meat and drincke as other necessaries in howse and also in instructinge this defendaunte in the trade of kepinge of Courtes Surveyes and Audittes as that he nether did at any time instruct him therin nor yet would permitt or suffer this defendaunt to be any wayes instructed by his owne endeavour butasmuche as in him ley sought to hinder him therin in so muche that if the said defendant hadd by his owne endeavour procured any good president to write for his better instruction of the said plentife might have any intelligence therof he would rather take it from the said defendant than helpe him to any wherepon this defendaunt seinge the plentyfes dealing towards him and that he should but lose his tyme and reape nether benefitt nor knowledge by his service gave him warninge that he would no longer abyde with him nor would serve him vpon which warnynge so given the said plaintiff toke away certaine paper bookes of presidents which this defendaunt had Collected togeather and written at such times as he could gett leasure for the doinge of the same (parte of which bookes this defendant had written longe time before he came to the plentifes howse and parte he procured written by others and parte after the said defendaunt came to the said plentife) togeather with divers other papers written lettres and munymentes of this defendauntes, and also certaine apparell of this defendauntes and one cloke bagge wherin the said apparell bookes papers lettres and mynimentes were and remayned, the which cloke bagge he hathe delivered againe, but the bookes and other thinges he still deteynethe from your said orator contrary to all reason and equitie and to the great

losse and hinderence of this defendaunt wher vpon this defendaunt about the time in the bill mentioned departed from the howse of the said complenant and ~~at his departure to [two illegible words]~~ *[illegible word]* yt ys that this defendant hath in hys custody a/ certaine paper booke ~~of the [two illegible words]~~ *beinge [one or two illegible words]* ~~in his custody~~ *or wrytynges* whych thys defendant thynketh to be ye court rolls specyfyed in the sayd byll/ The which paper booke ~~he hath brought into this Cowrte and~~ *or wrytynges he/* is ready to deliver ~~the same~~ to the plentife *yf the same doo apperteyne vnto hym or to/ any other as this Courte shall awarde and at all times heretofore was and thathe bene ready to deliver the same to the compleynante so as he would have delivered suche thinges of this defendant as he had taken and dothe deteyne from him which thinges this defendaunt humbly prayethe that by order of this honorable Courte the said compleynant may be enioyned to deliver vnto him this defendant without further sute without that that [sic] this defendant for the salary and wages of five markes and two lyveries to his remembraunce was conteyned in service with this compleynaunte and did covenant to serve him for one whole year, or that this defendant as farre as he remembreth had or did receyve of the said complainant in parte of payment of the said wages of five markes by the year the some of fourty shillings in manner and fourme as in the said bill of complaint is vntrewly alledged or that there was *to your remembrance of thys defendant/ any certaine time appointed how longe the said defendant should serve the complainant other then for A time vpon likinge as aforesaid, And without that that [sic] any other matter or thinge in the said bill of complainte conteyned materiall to be answered vnto And not in this answere sufficiently answered vnto confessed and avoyded traversed or denied is trewe, All which matters this defendaunt is ready to Averre and prove as this honorable Court shall Award, And prayethe to be dismissed out of the same Court with his reasonable costes and expences by reason of this uniuste sute susteyned in that behest.**

Lewys

3. Replication of Robert Doon

The Replycation of Rob[er]te Doon gent. Compleynaunt
to the aunswere of Thomas Clarke def[endan]t

The said Compleynaunt replyeth and sayeth in all and eu[er]y thinge and matter as he before in his said Bill hathe saide and affirmed and dothe and will averre iustyfie and maynteyne all and eu[er]y clause article and sentence in the said byll of compleynante conteyned to be good and true in suche wyse manner and forme as the same therein we sett forthe and declared.

And sayeth that the same Byll of compleynt and the matters therein conteyned be not sett fourthe vpon malice and displeasure to thintent to put the said def[*endan*]t to wrongfull costes charges and expencis in the lawe as in the said aunswere is alledged but the same is vpon good and iust cause comensed and prosecuted And the said Compleynaunte also sayeth that the said aunswere is insuffycient in lawe to be Replyed vnto for diu[*er*]s causes therein specyfied chefely for that he dothe not in diuvers thing[*es*] aunswere the content[*es*] of the said Bill for whereas by the said Bill it is declared that the said Def[*endan*]t did take away from the house of the said Compleynaunte diu[*er*]se Courte books Courte roll[*es*] and other Wrighting[*es*] som[*m*]e in paper and some in parchment / he in his said aunswere answerethe nothinge to the Rolles and Wrighting[*es*] in p[*ar*]chment And furthermore the said Def[*endan*]t dothe well knowe that he hathe diu[*er*]s Courte roll[*es*] and Co[*ur*]te booke of the possessyons of diu[*er*]se gentlemen in the County of Suff[*olk*] namely of one Charles fframlingham Esquier of his manno[*ur*] of Debenham and of diu[*er*]s other his manno[*urs*] in the said Countye other then such as the said Def[*endan*]t confessethe in his said aunswere to have. And further the said Compleynaunt sayeth that the said Defendaunt was his retayned servaunte and toke such money liu[*er*]yes and interteynem[*en*]t of him as in his said Bill he hathe alledged is p[*ar*]tly by the p[*ro*]per hande wrytinge of the said Defend[*an*]t redy to be shewed to this honorable Courte dothe and shall appeare / And he also sayethe that the said Defend[*an*]t was for the tyme that he was w[*i*]th him very well instructed by the said Compleynaunte in the faculty of the said Compl[*ainant*] and the said Compl[*ainant*] did take more paynes with him in instructing him duringe that tyme then ever he did before with any other in that behalfe and that he the said Def[*endan*]t had convenient and suffycient meate and drinke fytte for a man of better calling that he is of duringe all the tyme that he was with the said Compl[*ainant*] without that the said Defendant did agree to serve the said Compl[*ainant*] vpon likeinge in the said aunswere is alledged And without that any other thinge or matter in the said aunswere conteyned materyall or effectuall to be replyed vnto and not in this Replycation suffycyently replyed vnto confessed and avoided denied or trau[*er*]sed is true All which matters the said Compl[*ainant*] is ready to aver and p[*ro*]ve.

Clenche

APPENDIX FOUR

COMPLAINT OR PETITION IN RESPECT OF YE [THE] NEAR APPROACH OF YE [THE] SEA¹

Report of [Commissioners to Privy Council] following visit to Aldeburgh [1594?]. John Darby's map of Aldeburgh (1594) was made to accompany the petition which led to this report.

Extensions of abbreviations in square brackets

Editorial insertions in italics within square brackets

Latin text translated as ordinary text and original Latin follows in italics in round brackets

Line	Text
Page 1, line 1	Our humble Duties to your honors remembred
2	Yt maie please the same to \be/ aduertised
3	That accordinge to the Commanndem[en]t conteyned
4	in yo[u]r ho[nou]rs L[ette]res, we whose names are
5	vnderwritten / Did repaire to Aldeburghe
6	In the Countie of Suff[olk], And did viewe
7	and Surveye bothe the Towne and havene
8	ther / And did associate vnto vs some
9	men of good Skille and experience the
10	better to aduise of bett the p[re]sente estate
11	of the havene and Towne / And vpon o[u]r
12	viewe ded \doe/ fynde, that the Towne of Aldeburgh
Page 2,	Dothe stand Lowe, and is not defended

¹ SA(I), EE 1 / P4 / 6,

Line	Text
line 13	
14	from the Rage and violence of the Sea
15	but by certen loose Chessell or shingle
16	wrought vp w[i]th the violence and force of
17	the Sea / whiche liethe vp as abancke between
18	the Towne & the Sea / whiche whene by
19	contrarie wynd[es], is in any place wrought
20	owt / Then the \haven standeth in p[er]ill to be [illeg.] [illeg.] & the/ howses adioyninge therunto
21	are w[i]th violence and rage of the Sea
22	overthrowene \& the haven like to be spoyled and her highnes subiect[es]/ or for better savitie enforced
23	to be pulled Downe / As xij or xiij \dwellinge/ howses
24	\& \& many other/ other houses occupied ?ther[?]/ w[i]thin this viij th yeres haue byne / and more
25	lekelie \likelie/, so to be yf the same be not tymelie
Page 3, line 26	p[re]vented / These Danngers fallinge owt moste
27	at the Northe ende of the Towne; did
28	Drawe the Inhabitaunt[es] for p[re]vencon of
29	further p[er]ill, to make vp Two Jetties w[hi]ch
30	haue notablie the repelled the Sea / And
31	in that place, hath againe gayned grownde
32	of the Sea / Althoughe the violence therof
33	ys nowe the greater more Sowtherly vpon
34	the Towne / And ther hath gained Twentie
35	foote of grownd latelie in one Tide; And

Line	Text
36	will in shorte tyme, we thinke worke more
37	violente effecte there, then alredie it hath
38	done vpon the Northe p[ar]t \if it be not in due tyme p[re]vented]/ The experience
39	therefore of the Two formere Jetties do move
40	vs, and \those/ men of better knowledge in suche \Skill & experience associated to vs/
Page 4, line 41	Causes then we to thinke: that Tenne suche
42	leke \like/ Jetteis / beinge builded alongeste that
43	Towne Southerlie in places moste nedefull
44	would be agood safitie to the Towne / and
45	defend it / from the rage and violence of the
46	Sea / The charge whereof amountinge to
47	Seavene or Eight \thretyen oer fouerty[n]e/ hundr[e]d pownd[es] is not to be
48	borne by the Inhabitaunt[es] them selves throughe
48a	/having bene already greatly charged & soe of the ?much
48b	pouerished by the rage of the sea are not able\
49	wannte of habilitie neithere in respecte of y[?]
49a	to beare. And yet it is very necessarie that
49b	/The said towne \being one of the [...cost] the ?p[ro]pe of Coast townes in all this Coun[try] for the ?shrong of hir [?] & the defence of this p[ar]te of ye [the] Realme / be by all good meanes defended\
50	Dailie paiem[en]t[es] and sondrie Imposicions & [ani?]
50a	/maintained both for the safety\
51	that charge be laid vpon this Countie, And

Line	Text
52	the[re]for we are humble Sutors vnto your
53	Ho[n]ors in ther behalfes to p[ro]cure her Ma[jes]tie
54	either to grannte vnto them suche reasonable
Page 5, 55	Sute as they will exhibite to her heighnes
56	for ther Releife herein / or otherwise of
57	her princely Liberalitie to geve them
58	suche aide / as her Ma[jes]t[es] Towne
59	beinge of greate \importance & furnished w[i]th many good [?consequente] shippes to the sea as fit for her ma[jes]ties s[er]vice and affording / Consequent manie
59a	/to her ma[jes]tie many good maryners as the sea maie\
60	be p[re]served / And thinhabitaunse therof
61	Defended from the Imenent Danger /
62	We have also herew[i]th sente to yo[u]r
63	Ho[n]ors a platte of that Towne whereby
64	the nearenes of the Sea to the Towne
65	and the Two Jetties and howe the
66	same haue gayned vpon the Sea maie
67	the better appere to yo[u]r Ho[n]ors And
68	so we verie humblie take o[ur] leaves
69	etc /
Dorse	[in 19 th cent. hand] Temp. Eliz [in contemporary hand, but paler brown ink than text] Complaint or Petition in respect of ye near Approach of ye Sea [in 19 th cent. hand] No. 21, JO, 1866

Line	Text
	<p><i>[in different contemporary hand, very cursive, illegible [code?]] ... [3 lines of writing]...</i></p> <p><i>[in 19th cent. hand] 194</i></p>

APPENDIX FIVE

JOHN DARBY'S MAP OF ALNESBOURNE, SUFFOLK (1584)

This appendix describes the Alnesbourn map and its making for Thomas Seckford and argues that it was drawn for Seckford by John Darby.

*1. Alnesbourn: A Map for Thomas Seckford.*¹

This map of Alnesbourn, an extra-parochial area between the east side of Ipswich and the parish of Nacton, is a previously unattributed map which has been completely overlooked by historians of all kinds for a very long time.² It is amongst the archives of the Broke family of Nacton, Suffolk (part of the larger De Saumarez family collection), where it has probably been since the Broke family acquired the property on the map in 1630, although its rather ragged condition and a series of regular holes in the parchment tells a tale of having been rolled up and nibbled by rodents for some period before it was deposited in an accredited archive repository. For local historians, it is the first in a chronological sequence of maps of the area covering its use as part of a larger agricultural estate, belonging for centuries to the Broke family of Nacton, to the creation and replacement of Ipswich Airport on the site and various housing and industrial estates in the twenty-first century. The two farms shown on Darby's Alnesbourn map of 1584 have almost the same boundaries as Pond Farm and Alnesbourn Priory Farm shown in the sales particulars map of 1926 (compare Fig. 2 and Fig. 77).³ For details relating to its accuracy, see Appendix Nine.

Cartographic historians might find it more interesting because it is a map of land belonging to Thomas Seckford, the Master of the Court of Requests who commissioned and paid for Christopher Saxton's county maps in the 1570s. As it is a map of Seckford's lands in Alnesbourn, it is reasonable to assume it was commissioned by him, which makes it a rare (if

¹ HA 93/12/122 and see Fig. 2.

² Its obscurity is probably due to the fact that it was mis-catalogued from first receipt into the former Suffolk Record Office. The catalogue entry comprises a pencil annotation, out of place in the back cover of one of volumes of the De Saumarez collection catalogue and the very brief entry mistakes the area covered by the plan as Foxhall, which is about three miles further north than Alnesbourn, still on the outskirts of Ipswich. I am grateful to the late Anthony Breen for bringing it to my attention.

³ SA(I), EL 1/3/94.

not the only?) surviving map commissioned by him outwith Saxton's series. The title of it is in the form of a memorandum or certificate of verification. It was signed and sealed by three local gentlemen out of the five who were asked by Seckford to verify his ownership of lands on the map by comparing it with deeds and other documents as well as what was on the ground. The title of the maps reads:

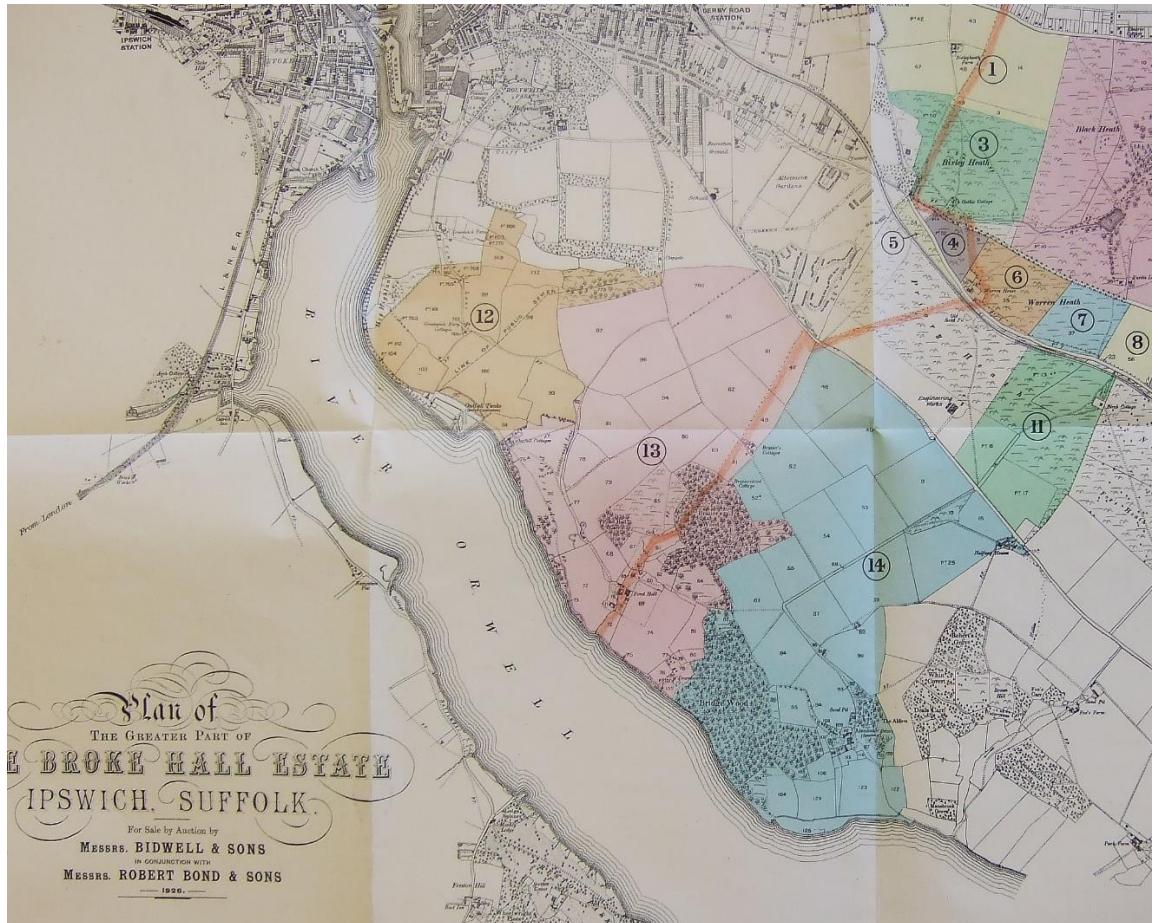


Fig. 77: Sales particulars map of the greater part of the Broke Hall Estate near Ipswich, Suffolk (1926) showing Pond Hall Farm (Plot 13, in pink) and Alnesbourn Priory Farm (Plot 14, in blue).⁴ Ipswich is just visible at the top left. North is at the top.⁵ Compare this map to Fig. 2.

'Memorandum that we Phillip Parker knighte Richarde Kempe esquire Richarde Broke esquire Edmunde Pooley gent & Thomas Pratt gent the eighte & twentethe day of Septembre in the yeare of our lorde god one thousand fyue hundred fourescore & foure at the instance & request of Thomas Sekforde esquire one of the masters of Requests dyd examyne the seuerall Deedes Indentures & other wrytynges mentioned

⁴ SA(I), EL 1/3/94, reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives.

⁵ SA(I), EL 1/3/94.

in this platt and conferred [sic] this plott & the saide Deedes Indentures & writynges together by the groundes mentioned to be set out & discribed in the same videl[ice]t so muche therof as is therin vouched to parteyne vnto the saide Thomas Sekforde. And we fynde the saide Deedes Indentures writings & platt to agree together with the groundes sett out & discribed in the same. And therfore haue thoughte good to testifie the same to all vnto whome thys present platt shall come to \be/ seene. And in witnes therof we haue hearunto put oure handes \&/ seales the day & yeare aboue wrytten.
[Seals and signatures of] Phill' Parker R Kempe Rychard Broke [no signatures or seals for the other two]'

Seckford was a particularly map-minded administrator and he was clearly keen to ensure the accuracy of this map compared to other written documents and what was on the ground to prove his title to the land in question. Richard Broke, one of the verifying gentlemen, also owned property in the area (as marked on the left-hand side of the map, which became Pond Hall Farm by the twentieth century). His successors purchased Seckford's lands on this map in 1630, and they remained in the Broke family's possession until the estate was broken up and sold in 1926 (see Fig. 77).⁶ Philip Parker was Darby's principal patron, so he may well have put forward Darby's name to Seckford. Parker's involvement supports the attribution of the map to Darby but there are other reasons, as we shall see.

2. Attribution to Darby on Stylistic Grounds

The possibilities that one of the four horsemen on the map represents an effort at a flattering portrait of Seckford and that the man on the donkey could be a nod to William Cecil's habit of riding an ass are discussed in Chapter Five (and see also Figs 69-71).

The attribution of the map to Darby apart from the circumstantial details above rests principally on style. There are several images on this map which closely resemble others in Darby's known, signed maps, but which do not resemble the work of any other map-maker of the time found so far. For example, on the Alnesbourn map, the man dressed in red rowing a boat in the River Orwell is very similar to the image of the rower, also dressed in red, in the sea, on Darby's map of Aldeburgh (compare Fig. 78 and Fig. 79).

⁶ Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk: Vol. 3, Carlford and Colneis, Cosford and Hartismere* (1909), pp.71-2; SA(I), EL 1/3/94: what had been Seckford's property was sold in 1926 as Lot 14, Alnesbourn Priory Farm.

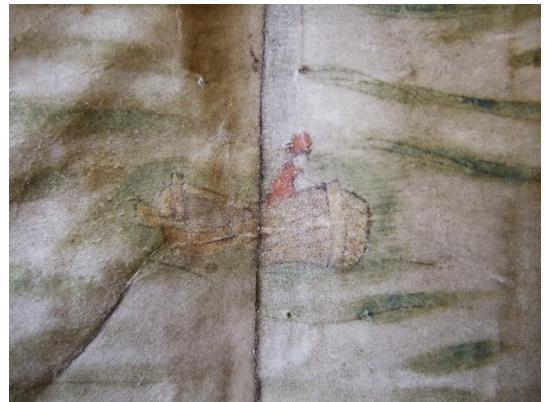


Fig. 78 (left): man in red rowing boat on Alnesbourn map (1584). **Fig. 79** (right): man in red rowing boat on Darby's Aldeburgh map.

The animals, particularly the cows, pigs and dogs, on the Alnesbourn map are also very similar in style to Darby's animals on his other maps (compare Figs 53, 66-68, 80-84).



Fig. 80: Cow from the Alnesbourn map (compare to Figs. 66-68 above).



Figs 81-82: John Darby's dogs, for comparison.

Fig. 81 (above left): Details of running dog herding pigs on Alnesbourn map. **Fig. 82** (above right): Unfinished sketch of a running dog with a hunter from Darby's Aldeburgh map.



Figs 83-84: Pigs for comparison.

Fig. 83 (left): Detail of pigs from Alnesbourn map. **Fig. 84** (right): Detail of pig with horse and sheep from Darby's Kirton and Falkenham map.

Another feature of Darby's maps which Alnesbourn also shows is his habit of subverting borders, which he also does on his Smallburgh and Household Heath maps (see Chapter Five, Section 5.6 and Figs 6, 46 and 47). This is not a feature which any other map-makers of the period were doing. On the Alnesbourn map, the River Orwell runs across the bottom of the map from left to right (west to east) and goes right through the right- and left-hand borders of the map. This gives an impression of movement and a strong sense of the importance of logistics to this map, just as the road does across the top of the map, running from west to east, left to right, with its motley collection of travellers: a man with a child, a man with a wooden leg, a covered carriage and the four horsemen. These figures on the road on the Alnesbourn map, in Harvey's words, 'people the landscape': in fact, they even resemble in style the men with a cart and packhorses on the startlingly evocative early sixteenth century picture-map of a winter scene of a road near Basingstoke, Hampshire, to which Harvey referred.⁷ The Alnesbourn horsemen are probably intended to be Seckford and the other verifying gentlemen if not Darby himself, but the travellers all together also evoke 'Everyman' figures, and the usefulness of the road, just as the ships just off the jetty in the Orwell emphasise access to an even wider world down the river to the sea and beyond. The subversion of the border by the river does indeed suggest a breaking of boundaries commensurate with the burgeoning maritime exploration of the age.

⁷ P.D.A. Harvey, 'The Documents of Landscape History: Snares and Delusions', in P. D. A. Harvey (ed.), *Manors and Maps in Rural England, from the Tenth Century to the Seventeenth* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, USA: Ashgate, Variorum Collected Studies Series 950, 2010, reprinted from *Landscape History*, Vol. 13 (1991), Section VIII, pp.47-52), p.8 and Plate III, which reproduces Winchester College Muniments, MS 3233. The map is also reproduced in Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993), pp.17, 21 and Fig. 8.

3. ‘Overlaid with too much text’?⁸ Title Deeds and a Possible Purpose for the Map

Excerpts from the ‘deedes, indentures and wrytyinges’ which were compared to the map and the properties on the ground are written on the relevant plots of Seckford’s land on the map. Sixteenth century copies of them also exist in the archive of which the map forms a part.⁹ They are there to prove Seckford’s title to each plot of land and give something of its history. Darby was not alone in annotating individual plots like this. Ralph Agas did something similar on his maps of Dunwich (1587) and Bawdsey (1589), both extant only in later copies.¹⁰ Rick Osborn, in talking about another such map of Worlingworth, Suffolk (probably c.1605 by Robert Morse) held the view that it was ‘a management information system’ storing ‘data important to the administration of the enterprise, the manor,’ although it had limitations, the worst being ‘its inflexibility when the data it stores needs to be updated’.¹¹ Such working or evidential information written on a map could be administratively useful for a map-minded landowner, mixing the visual and the written records of their holdings, but detract from its aesthetic appeal: Mason considers another two of Agas’s Essex maps – of the manor of Leaden Roding (1589) and of Great Burstead (1593) – to be ‘overlaid with too much Latin text’.¹² It is a moot point as to whether the text on such maps served merely to further the working purposes of the map for the client or to show off the map-maker’s erudition and skills in Latin and the understanding of title deeds. There might have been an element of both in some maps, but here, the evidential information seems to have been key to the purpose of the map, whilst the decorative elements, as elsewhere, help to supply context and add extra layers of meaning.

⁸ Mason, ‘A Measure of Essex Cartography’ (1996), p.259.

⁹ SA(I), HA 93/2/87. The map and contemporary copy deeds are in the De Saumarez family archive (SA(I), HA 93/...), specifically the sub-section of the archive which comprises the earlier Broke of Nacton family archive. The Broke family acquired Seckford’s interests in the property on the map in 1630.

¹⁰ SA(I), HA 93/12/122; EE6/16/2/3, Dunwich Borough Records, ‘A plan exhibiting the remains of the ancient city of Dunwich, AD 1587: also its river, part thereof is Southwold Haven with places of note bordering thereon (restored 1874 by J. Stagoll),’ also including ‘The Report of Dunwich by Radulph Agas, 1589’; BL, Add. MS 8987, fol. 136, Map of Bawdsey (1589) by Ralph Agas. Another copy of the nineteenth century copy of Agas’s map of Dunwich is exhibited at Dunwich Museum.

¹¹ SA(I), HD 417/33; Rick Osborn, ‘Maps, Surveys and Stewards (part 1): A study of developments in management information systems on a Suffolk manor between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Part 1: the three maps of Worlingworth Manor’, online via https://www.academia.edu/23714383/Maps_Surveys_and_Stewards_part_1_A_study_of_developments_in_management_information_systems_on_a_Suffolk_manor_between_the_middle_ages_and_the_early_modern_period. Part_1_the_three_maps_of_Worlingworth_Manor, accessed 8 February 2023.

¹² Mason, ‘A Measure of Essex Cartography’ (1996), p.259.

The emphasis on both proof of ownership by Seckford and the location and logistics of the land he owned on it may suggest the purpose of this map. It is unlikely to have been a map to advertise a sale, although the concentration on proving Seckford's title to land in the area would have made it useful for this purpose. If it had merely been a prestige map for Seckford to 'know his own', then why put all of his lands to only one side of the map and other people's, principally Broke's, on the other? In fact, the central feature of the map appears to be a boundary which divides the map approximately in half, left and right. It runs from the top of the map down to the river in roughly the centre of the map, just to the right of the un-annotated 'parcell of Newe Close', 'Brasiers' and 'Daniels Hylles'. It is represented as a woven wattle fence, or possibly a laid or dead hedge, marked along its length as 'The hedges and dytches extending from Nacton waie [*the modern Nacton Road*] vnto the port of Ipswich called Orwell', echoing the phraseology of some of the deeds copied onto some of the plots on the map. It ends at the jetty running out into the River Orwell, off which two exquisitely-drawn ships are riding at anchor. Other features on the map also echo phrases and names of particular landscape features found in the deeds copied onto it, such as Winter's Elm near the Shepherd's Plash gateway allowing a path alongside the main dividing boundary to cross another field boundary. These were clearly memorable boundary markers which had persisted since at least 1474.¹³

This main boundary could have represented the eastern boundary of Ipswich as it was then, although the modern boundary appears to be a little further to the west and roughly parallel with the one on the map only at its northern end; south of 'Braziers' on the map, the modern boundary runs down to the river in more or less a straight line, rather than zig-zagging to the right as on the map. But the boundary itself, at least from the north-east of Daniels Hills up to Nacton Way as shown on the map, was persistent. It survived a deliberate rationalisation of the fields and field roads of what was then the southern part of Harper's Farm called Alisborn or Osborn's of c.1770 and remained as the boundary between two farms, accompanied by a footpath along its length, until sale of the Broke estates in 1926.¹⁴ When the Gainsborough council housing estate was built in the 1930s, the footpath along the north-eastern end of the boundary became Maryon Road.

¹³ SA(I), HA 93/12/122; HA 93/2/87.

¹⁴ SA(I), HA 93/12/38: [Item 7:] Map and Key of Harper's Farm ("call[e]d Alisborn other[wi]s[e] Osborn's") surveyed 1770; SA(I), EL 1/3/94: Seckford's property was sold as Lot 14, Alnesbourn Priory Farm.

This boundary appears to be crossed by only one path, shown running from the top left almost diagonally down and to the right across the map labelled ‘the olde waie leadinge from Ippeswiche vnto the late Priorie of Alvesbourne [*an earlier version of Alnesbourn*]’. This is the modern Clapgate Lane at its Ipswich end. On the map, it peters out as a path as it nears the cluster of buildings and square enclosure (possibly a moat) where Alnesbourn Priory lay, although the Priory is not labelled on the map. As noted in Chapter Four, it was part of Thomas Seckford’s manor of Woodbridge late Priory in 1560. Alnesbourn Priory was long defunct by then, however, having been merged with Woodbridge Priory from about 1466, and it was apparently derelict by the early years of the sixteenth century. The name the ‘olde waie’ implies the path on the map retained some sense of long use, though perhaps it was less important a route than it had been previously due to the decline of the Priory.

The boundary and jetty may be the things that give Seckford’s property (in the eighteenth century known as ‘Allisborn’s or Osborne’s’ and in the twentieth, Alnesbourn Priory Farm) real value. Although not obviously shown as a direct track or way, there must have been access to the jetty to load and unload those waiting ships. Nacton Way was the other logistical means of access to Seckford’s property. The fact that the jetty was on the boundary between Seckford’s and Broke’s land implies that there was some kind of joint agreement for both of them to share access to it. It is interesting that the documents transcribed on the map refer to the boundary going ‘vnto the port of Ipswich called Orwell’. Despite being part of the Orwell, however, this jetty was down-river of the main quays of the town, so it would have been possible for ships to unload there out of sight of the customs officials in the town. As a quay for legitimate trade, or for smugglers, it was a valuable asset, therefore. A path from the jetty up to the Nacton Road, along the boundary or via other routes which criss-crossed the area, then as now, would give ready routes for cargoes to go to Seckford’s own house near Woodbridge or other roads to or around Ipswich, whether customs were paid or not. This map may therefore represent agreed rights between Seckford and Broke concerning access to the jetty and river and the definition of the boundary between their lands, whether or not the boundary was at that time the boundary between Ipswich and Alnesbourn (at that time an extra-parochial jurisdiction).

APPENDIX SIX

THE ATTRIBUTION AND PROVENANCE OF JOHN DARBY'S MAP OF MOUSEHOLD HEATH, NORFOLK [c.1589]

This map is one of a number of late sixteenth century maps which cover the area of Household Heath just to the north-east of the city of Norwich. At least two of them were definitely made for a lawsuit in the Court of Exchequer, 1586-9: one between 9 and 23 April 1589, by Israel Amyce who was also one of the commissioners appointed to the case in 1588, and the other, a copy by Ralph Treswell the Elder of Amyce's map completed on 22 December 1589.¹ These appear to be the source of the oft-cited 'Kirkpatrick map' of Household Heath, erroneously dated to 1585.² The western end of the Amyce/Treswell maps also inspired an eighteenth century copy map of the Pockthorpe boundaries by James Osborn.³ A map from a fresh survey was also made of the western part of Household Heath by Thomas Waterman in July 1624.⁴ The Amyce map is easy to provenance, as it was originally part of a series of documents relating to a legal case concerning rights over Household Heath from which it was only removed by The National Archives in the twentieth century for specialist map storage purposes. The Treswell map is clearly a close copy of Amyce's, probably made and retained locally after Amyce's map had been sent to London for the court case, just as Darby's Blakeney and Cley map may also have been. Whether the 'Darby' map of Household is actually by Darby and was also made for the same 1586-9 lawsuit are points which need to be confirmed, however.

The provenance of the map is a good place to start for both. Although now in the Norfolk Record Office, Darby's Household map was transferred there in recent years from Norwich Castle Museum, where it was deposited in 1903 by Charles Blackwell Foster (1861-1915), a

¹ TNA, MR 1/52, attributed to Israel Amyce by Rose Mitchell, Map Archivist, TNA [personal communication]; NRO, MC 3085/1. The papers from which Amyce's map was taken, TNA, E 178/7153, comprise legal documents, mainly interrogatories and depositions, in the case of the inhabitants of South Walsham v. Edward Paston and Miles Corbett, catalogued as dating to 1588-9, but at least one of the depositions is dated 1586.

² Corbett, "... make a true and perfected platte" (2016), Appendix 1, citing W. Hudson (ed.), John Kirkpatrick, *The Streets and Lanes of the City of Norwich* (Norwich: Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society, 1889). I thank Fred Corbett for access to his work and fruitful discussions.

³ NRO, MS 4546.

⁴ NRO, MC 3085/3.

solicitor and partner in the Norwich firm of Foster, Calvert and Marriott.⁵ The firm had been established in 1761 in Norwich by Foster's great-great-grandfather, William Foster I (c.1738-1810) and continues today, although Charles Blackwell Foster was the last of the family to be a partner.⁶ His great-grandfather, William Foster II (c.1760-1821), had inherited from Sir Lambert Blackwell, 3rd and last baronet of Sprowston, Norfolk '...all his estates, with his valuable collection of paintings, books, coins, &c.' on condition he paid certain small legacies and annuities.⁷ The two men must have been good friends, as William Foster II kept the Blackwell name for one of his sons Lambert Blackwell Foster and it persisted in the family to become the middle name of Charles Blackwell Foster. This inheritance explains why Charles was able to deposit the Household map in Norwich Castle Museum: it had descended to him with the records of the manor of Sprowston Hall via Sir Lambert Blackwell's bequest.

The descent of the manor and its records are relatively clear and support the identification of the commissioner of the map with Sir Miles Corbett (knighted 1596, died 1607) of Sprowston, one of the parishes bordering Household Heath. By the late sixteenth century, the two manors in Sprowston – Sprowston Hall or Mounteneys and Aslakes or Aslacks – were both in the possession of Miles Corbett who united them into the single manor of Sprowston or Sprowston Hall at some time before 1592. Miles' father John Corbett had purchased Mounteneys in 1545, whilst Miles had bought Aslacks (which had been a Calthorpe manor) from Sir Philip Parker, together with Sir Philip's house in Norwich, at an unspecified date.⁸ The Corbett family possessed the manor until Sir Thomas Corbett, the last Corbett baronet, sold it to Sir Thomas Adams in the seventeenth century. After several generations in the family, the Adamses sold it to Sir Lambert Blackwell, knight, of Sprowston Hall who was created 1st baronet in 1718. It was his grandson of the same name who bequeathed it, together with all his other estates, to William Foster in 1801, from whom it passed eventually to

⁵ NRO, MC 3085/2; NRO card index, also cited in Hooton, '1586 Map of Blakeney Haven and Port of Cley: Part I' (1998), p.7.

⁶ For details of the firm's history, see Foster's Solicitors' company history web-page at <https://www.fosters-solicitors.co.uk/downloads/fosters-history-timeline.pdf>, accessed 12 Mar 2024.

⁷ *Bury and Norwich Post*, Weds 20 May 1801, p.3, col. a. Artistic appreciation seems to have been a characteristic of Sir Lambert Blackwell and Charles Blackwell Foster as well as their ownership of the map. In addition, Foster's wife Emily (née Ray, 1863-1911) and her sister Eva (1861-1941) were amateur artists, so a recognition of the artistic aspects of Darby's Household map by a number of owners probably helped to ensure its preservation over time [See the entries for both women on the *Suffolk Artists* website via <https://suffolkartists.co.uk/>, accessed 11 Mar 2024.].

⁸ Blomefield and Parkin, ... *History of the County of Norfolk*: Vol. 10, (1809), pp. 458-464; TNA, PROB 11/110/497.

Charles Blackwell Foster.⁹ The provenance of the map seems clear, therefore, and the link to Miles Corbett helps explain the purpose of the map, as we shall see.

The attribution of this Household map to Darby is not accepted by all and its date might be problematic as we shall see, although Norfolk Record Office ascribe a date of c.1600, somewhat later than the 1586-9 lawsuit. The sale of the manor by Sir Philip Parker to Miles Corbett does help, however, to support the attribution of the map to John Darby, as Parker was Darby's principal patron and most of Darby's maps were made for Parker or his relations.¹⁰

Admittedly, the Household map does not, at first glance, look like a typical Darby map when compared to the careful delineation and precision of his Smallburgh map, for example. There are no grazing animals. But there are diagnostic features which identify Darby as the maker of this map. The first is the prominent image of the working surveyor being menaced by a barking dog. This trope is a commonplace on Darby's maps: the man in the beach on his Aldeburgh map fights off a dog with a pole, for example, and there are two dogs on his Blakeney and Cley map barking at the human figures of the surveyor and his assistant. The only other English map-maker using such an image of a surveyor and barking dog is, I believe, Lawrence Nowell, on his single map of the British Isles made for William Cecil (c.1564) (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2 and Fig. 12).¹¹ The figures of the trudging surveyor in his working clothes and the dog are very typical stylistically of Darby's work.

The fact that there is a surveyor carrying his tools about him on the map at all at this period is also unique to Darby, who includes an image of a surveyor in all his maps. It is also typical of Darby to include a surveyor's pole, which the surveyor on this map carries, to serve as the scale-bar for the map. The plumb-bob carried at the Household surveyor's belt is identical in design to the one draped over the scale-bar of Darby's Kirton and Falkenham map. The pole is shown in three dimensions, as is the one on Darby's Kirton and Falkenham map and the Cooke-B copy of his Blakeney and Cley map. The grotesque face of the surveyor on the Household map is also characteristic: Darby does not draw 'real' faces well, but his caricatures are superb, as shown in the faces in letters in his 1589 surveys (see Figs 20-32). The figures of the surveyor and the dog on the Household map are shown standing on green

⁹ Manorial records 1717-70 were deposited in Norfolk Record Office in 1969 by Charles Blackwell Foster's firm, by then Fosters of Norwich [NRO, FOS 330-331].

¹⁰ There is a tenuous family link: Miles Corbett's first wife was Catherine Heydon, the paternal aunt of Sir Philip's half-brother-in-law Sir William Heydon.

¹¹ BL, Additional MS 62540.

mounds, just like the figures of the surveyors on Darby's Aldeburgh, Kirton and Falkenham and both copies of his Blakeney and Cley maps. These are all features which are distinctive to Darby's maps and no-one else's at the period, although the three-dimensional scale-bar as such, in a different style and fixed in a rigid position under the open dividers (the latter being common in many maps of the period) is used by William Haiwarde.¹²

There are other similarities between this Household map and other maps by Darby which support the attribution of the map to Darby which have already been mentioned in Chapter Five namely the double-lined yellow border and the highly subverted border on the right-hand side of the Household map, features which occur also on Darby's signed or acknowledged maps of Smallburgh and Aldeburgh (see Chapter Five). The latter is not a feature used by any other estate map-makers of the period. The cartouches on the Household map contain features connected to Darby's other maps, such as the small sections of 'rods-and-washers' as used in one of the borders of Darby's Smallburgh map. The small white dragons curling around the Household cartouches (Fig. 90) are reminiscent of those in one version of Scottowe's *Alphabet Book* (1592) (see Figs 35, 85-87) which Darby may have known.¹³ The monkeys waving olive branches on the Household cartouches look very similar in pose and style to the monkey on the back of the man on Darby's Smallburgh map (see Figs 88-90).¹⁴



Figs 85-87: Dragons from the Newberry Library's Alphabet by John Scottowe, letters 'P', 'S' and 'X' respectively.¹⁵

¹² For example, Holkham Archives, M/95; M/112.

¹³ Newberry Wing MS 7, Letters P, S and X online (open access, reproduced by permission) at <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/book/p.html>, <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/book/s.html> and <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/book/x.html>, accessed 29 March 2024.

¹⁴ They also resemble the monkeys in Hondius's *Theatrum Artis Scribendi* (1594), see digital image online at <https://web.archive.org/web/20070928193507/http://www.jpad.biz/pdfs/tas.pdf>, plate 6 (image 12), accessed 10 Mar 2024.

¹⁵ Newberry Wing MS 7, Letters P, S and X online (open access, reproduced by permission) at <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/book/p.html>, <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/book/s.html> and



Figs 88 – 90 Monkeys, for comparison:

Figs 88-89 (left and centre): Detail and close-up of monkey on a man's back from Darby's Smallburgh map (1582). **Fig. 90** (right): Monkeys and small white dragons on cartouche on the Household map (compare to Figs 85-87 above).

The Household map is attributed to Darby by Raymond Frostick, who was the first to do so in print in 2005.¹⁶ And when Jonathan Hooton first attempted to identify the maker of the original Blakeney and Cley map, he recognised that it was in the same style in the Household map even though neither map was then attributed to Darby and he could not then make the attribution.¹⁷ The archivists at Norfolk Record Office, who have a number of maps of the period by various map-makers in their custody, are also confident enough of the attribution of the Household map to John Darby to catalogue it as a Darby map, without equivocation, although they give it a later date of c.1600.¹⁸

The Household map looks different in general terms to Darby's other maps in that the colouring is crudely applied in broad-brushed, heavily-coloured washes and many features appear indistinct. A large part of its rather messy appearance can be put down to it being the most unfinished of Darby's extant maps. Most of the right-hand side of the map is merely sketched out and uncoloured. Buildings in the uncoloured areas, especially around the edges of the map are shown in bare outline without windows or doors being drawn in. This suggests something of Darby's method of working, only adding such details when colour was applied. It is also worth noting that the surveyor and dog, the chief decorative features of the map, were clearly amongst the earliest features drawn as they are finished, which implies that

¹⁶ <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabethsengland/book/x.html>, accessed 29 March 2024.

¹⁷ Frostick, 'A 16th Century East Anglian Surveyor', (2005), p.36 and footnote 7.

¹⁸ Hooton, '1586 Map of Blakeney Haven and Port of Cley: Part I' (1998), p.7.

¹⁸ NRO catalogue and personal communications.

Darby prioritised decoration to the actual mapped content and emphasises the importance of decoration rather than making it an afterthought. He does detail the stonework and windows of Norwich Cathedral, but the image of it is from a northern perspective rather than the southern one which might be expected from the map viewer's position: the cloisters to the south are not shown and the proportions of the building fit a northern aspect but not a southern one.

His placing of the cardinal points is eccentric to say the least, although lines drawn between them from the centres of the cartouches do give a cross-over which is only slightly off being the required 90 degrees. It seems that on this map, the cardinal points are more impressionistic than exact and point to the problem Darby has made for himself by not orienting the map more conventionally, with a particular cardinal point at the top. The Amyce/Treswell maps put north at the top of their maps, but Darby makes the map view try to fit the shape of the area he is mapping, with the northern edge of the heath roughly parallel to the top edge of his membrane of parchment, which is a single sheep-skin, of which the front shoulder end is evident on the left. He does something similar with his Alnesbourn, Suffolk, map, where he makes the twin routes of Nacton Way and the River Orwell across the top and bottom of his map parallel with the top and bottom edge of the parchment. This also has the effect of skewing the cardinal points, but on the Alnesbourn map he adopts a more elegant and accurate strategy of drawing two lines across the whole map, crossing at right angles, and writing the cardinal points along the ends of the lines.

There is colour-coding on those parts of the Household map which have been coloured, especially in Thorpe and where there are green plots there, a space has been left white to carry the label on some of them, as on Darby's Smallburgh map. Household's Thorpe Fields show characteristic orange/beige stripes to indicate ploughed arable fields, just as on Darby's Kirton and Falkenham and Smallburgh maps, though here they more highly-coloured. It seems to me that there is more than enough evidence to attribute this Household map to John Darby, despite first impressions suggesting it to be untypical of his work. It is possible, perhaps, that the crudity of the colouring might be because that work was done by an apprentice of Darby's, and perhaps Darby never finished it in disgust at his apprentice's poor workmanship, despite himself having drawn the surveyor and dog already. Or perhaps, like so many maps, even those intended for display, it was simply never finished, for whatever reason.

Its purpose appears to be different to that of the Amyce/Treswell maps, although, as Nicola Whyte suggests, it is probably connected to the 1586-9 law-suit between local inhabitants and Edward Paston and Miles Corbett concerning various rights over Household Heath.¹⁹ It is clearly not a copy of the Amyce/Treswell maps, which match each other quite closely (Treswell's was intended as a copy of Amyce's). Indeed, the information on the Darby Household map is quite different in many respects. Darby notes sheep-walks and certain enclosures but not the doles or details of small subdivisions of larger enclosures which appear on the Amyce/Treswell maps. He has different paths, roads and ways in some places. He omits some features altogether, such as Kett's famous Oak of Reformation, and uses different names for others, such as 'Lodge' which the Treswell map labels as 'The Warren House' on Strowtes Hill just outside the city gates, a building which Waterman's map of 1624 omits entirely. 'New Pond' and 'Brente Mere' are both smaller and different shapes on Darby's map compared to Treswell's.

Some of these differences hint at a difference in date between Darby's map and the Amyce/Treswell maps. Darby's map has 'a close in Thorpe called Liddells'; Treswell's has the same enclosure as 'Reedings Close Mr Paston', for example. The change in minor place name here highlights a difference in ownership of this particular close and therefore a difference in date for the two maps, but it has not so far been possible to narrow down a date for the change or say which one might be the earlier. This is potentially problematic in confirming the link between Darby's map and the 1586-9 lawsuit: if the difference in date is more than the two or three years of the lawsuit, it might not have been involved in the legal case after all.

Darby's map, in the state we have it, does seem to be concerned particularly with ways, sheep-walks and enclosures, especially those of the Corbett family on the heath, which is to be expected if the map originated in the Sprowston manorial records of Miles Corbett. Despite its differences to the Amyce/Treswell maps, however, these differences do tend to support some link to the 1586-9 lawsuit. Darby's map has some information which Treswell's does not, such as 'Boskis pitte', which matches the 'Buskey pitt' referred to as a boundary point in the interrogatories made specifically on behalf of Corbett's case in the 1586-9

¹⁹ Nicola Whyte, 'Remembering Household Heath', in Carl J. Griffin and Briony McDonagh (eds.), *Remembering Protest in Britain Since 1500: Memory, Materiality and the Landscape* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p.30 and footnote 28.

lawsuit.²⁰ Besides ‘Boskis pitte’, Darby’s map highlights with a dark green colour and labels ‘Hall Wood’ in Sprowston, which also features in Miles Corbett’s case interrogatories. Darby’s map shows much more clearly ‘A close taken out of Musholde Heath by Myles Corbett’ coloured dark green on the map instead of the three individual doles, ‘Choppings Dole’, ‘Choppings other Dole’ and ‘The hospitall Dole’ and the narrow piece of land just south of ‘Mary feeld’ in Sprowston, marked on Treswell’s map merely with a hedge around all of them (compare Figs 91 and 92 below). On Treswell’s map, the enclosure is rather subtly expressed and might be missed if the viewer did not know it was there.

Darby’s map also colours in dark green two other Corbett closes, both marked ‘a close taken out of Mushold heath of John Corbett’ (Miles’s father). One is north-west of St William’s Chapel, where Treswell marks ‘Magdalen hill Dole’ but does not indicate any enclosure. The other lies just south of St William’s Chapel bisected by a line which Waterman describes in his 1624 map as the ‘Norwich Perambulation’. Waterman also helpfully describes the latter enclosures as ‘The Closes conteyning neere 100 acres wh[i]ch weare Inclosed about the first yeare of Queene Mary by John Corbett Esquire and doe lye in Thorpe’. The Amyce/Treswell maps do not show these enclosures at all, despite their age.

Other dark green coloured areas, presumably also enclosures if the colour-coding is consistent, appear further east on Darby’s map, including two marked ‘great Plumsted laying open into Musholde’ and ‘Little Plumsted lately laying open into Musholde’ on either side of the roadway from Sipater Lane in Rackheath down to Great Plumstead. These appear to approximate part of the area enclosed by earthworks or ditches (if that is what they are) around the area called ‘Black dyke’ on Treswell’s map, between ‘Ranworthe Way’ and ‘Walsh[a]m Way’. All these enclosures are marked very prominently on Darby’s map, but only subtly present, not labelled, or not present at all on Treswell’s. Presumably Treswell was not primarily interested in enclosures for the purposes of his map, but rather in the less tangible and less physically measurable customary rights described in the case depositions. Darby’s map is unfinished, so his apparent pre-occupation with Corbett’s enclosures and interests might simply reflect those parts of the map on the left covering Thorpe and Sprowston which are the most complete. But alternatively it could mean that Darby’s purpose in making his map was different and that he was not setting out to do what the

²⁰ TNA, E 178/7153: specifically ‘Interrogatories to be ministered on the parte and behalf of Myles Corbett Esquier defendaunte against John Boyvant, William Anger, Richard Vnderwood, William Gilly and Thomas Cobbe Complaynauntes’, interrogatories 12 and 13.

Amyce/Treswell maps did but rather to deliberately record the more tangible features such as the enclosures. If the Amyce/Treswell maps were official court records and omitted Corbett's enclosures, this might have been seen by Corbett as a threat to his interests. Did Corbett therefore commission Darby to map his enclosures to ensure their location was properly recorded and not forgotten, or worse still, disproved by an official map which left them out?



Fig. 91: Detail from John Darby's map of Household Heath (c.1589) showing enclosures



Fig. 92. The same area as in Fig. 91, shown on Treswell's map of Household (1589) [NRO, MC 3085/1, reproduced by kind permission of NRO]. Compare the enclosures, marked in green on Darby's map with the same areas on Treswell's.

The other possibility is that Darby's map was a first draft of the map ordered by the court to be made, but which was considered to be unsatisfactory, which might also explain its unfinished state. The orders to the commissioners hint at this. The case had clearly been gathering evidence for some time, since at least one of the deponents' responses was dated as 1586. But clearly the depositions so far when the order to the commissioners was made (11 November 1588) had not clarified things to the court's satisfaction and the order begins that:

‘It is ordered that for perfiting of a platt wch better distinguishing and setting forth the lymittes doles and boundes yet remayning vnperfitted The Commission is to procede to iiij^{or} persons heretofore nominated and tyme for retorne of the same tyll Easter terme nexte’.

The grammar makes the first sentence ambiguous: are the ‘lymittes, doles and boundes’ or the platt unperfected? To perfect a thing could simply mean to accomplish or finish it in the sixteenth century.²¹ But it could carry the implication that a thing could be improved upon or made better or more complete. Might Darby's map have been an unperfected map, lacking in the required detail of doles and boundaries which was subsequently abandoned in favour of Amyce's which was not made until 9-23 April 1589? This is conjectural, but it does seem to have been the case that Darby's map found its way into Corbett's archive of documents for the manor of Sprowston and remained with those records until deposited in Norwich Castle Museum in 1903.

²¹ ‘Perfect, v.’, *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, July 2023).

APPENDIX SEVEN

JOHN DARBY'S MAP OF KIRTON AND FALKENHAM (1591),¹

1. A Map made for William Smart's Map as Archival Proof of Ownership

Darby's map (see Fig. 7) of a farm in the neighbouring parishes of Kirton and Falkenham (1591) was almost certainly made for William Smart, a portman and sometime bailiff of Ipswich and then the tenant of the mapped lands, which he bequeathed in 1599 to his charitable foundation (still extant, as part of Tooley's and Smart's Foundation in Ipswich). The farm was part of the manor of Walton cum Trimley and Darby, as a fellow tenant of the manor, was one of Smart's neighbours in Kirton and Falkenham, having acquired his lands there by his marriage to Elizabeth Melton, which must have occurred in late 1591 or in the first few weeks of 1592. Elizabeth's father Luke Melton had served various Ipswich corporation posts and therefore had dealings with Smart through Ipswich Corporation, so Darby's mapping of Smart's lands almost certainly came through a recommendation from his in-laws. This map is finished, unlike his Smallburgh and Aldeburgh maps and is in such good condition because it has been kept in the dark, preserved as part of the archive of documents relating to Smart's Charity in Ipswich, and latterly within a portfolio of maps which was probably bound in 1751.² Its decorative features are discussed in Chapter Five.

In 1591 the manorial lord was presumably the Crown: in 1558, Elizabeth I had leased it for 30 years to one Thomas Lambe, whose lease was due to have expired in 1588.³ Copinger states that the manor was in the hands of the King in 1603 and of his Queen in 1611, although it must have been in her hands by 1609, when John Darby's first IPM named her as his manorial lady of that manor.⁴

¹ SA(I), C/3/10/8/1/2. And see Fig. 7.

² Allen, *Ipswich Borough Archives* (2000), pp.405-6.

³ Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk: Vol. 3, Carlford and Colneis, Cosford and Hartismere* (1909), p.116.

⁴ TNA, C 142/308/117.

Quite soon after the map was made, the farm itself (later known as Corporation Farm, Kirton) became part of a charitable bequest by William Smart, the wealthy Portman of Ipswich who quarrelled so seriously with Thomas Bennett, John Darby's step-father-in-law (see Appendix 8). Under Smart's will of 8 January 1598/9, he left his two tenements in Kirton and Falkenham, called Coles and Conyngtons, to trustees who were to transfer them, after his wife's death, to Ipswich Corporation for charitable purposes which he specified in his will.⁵ Smart died in 1599 and his widow Alice (by then Alice Scrivener, having remarried after Smart's death) died on 13 October 1600. From then on, Smart's charitable bequest was governed as a joint charity by Ipswich Borough's existing Tooley's Foundation trustees. The two charities still administer Tooley's and Smart's Almshouses in Foundation Street, Ipswich.

The map's title clarifies that it depicts Coles, rather than Conyngtons, in Smart's bequest:

‘A trewe description of a messuage, and of certeyne landes meadowes and pastures sometime Coles scituate lyinge and beinge in Kirton and Faltenham [*sic*] in the county of Suffolk] and late occupied together with other growndes by one Nicholas Byles.’⁶

A closer look at Smart's will gives more details, stating that Smart had purchased Coles and Conyngtons in Kirton and Falkenham from ‘Edmonde Smarte my late brother, ffrancis Pedgreve and John Stann[er]d’. Later in the will, he specifies from whom he purchased each of the several parts: ‘my part of one marsh, lately purchased of Francis Pedgreve; and Conyngton’s, late Stanerds’ comprised two of the three. The third, which he described as land ‘called or known by the name of Coles’, therefore, must have been purchased from William’s brother Edmond Smart. Edmond must have been dead by 1598 as William’s will describes him as ‘late’. When Edmund had purchased Coles and sold it to his brother is unknown.

Nicholas Byles, late occupier of the farm on the map, died between making his will on 21 February 1590/1 and its probate on 16 April 1591. The map title does not refer to him as ‘deceased’ so it is possible that Darby made the map in early 1591, before Byles died but after he had ceased to be tenant of the farm. The omission of the word ‘deceased’ is unlikely to have been a mistake, since John Darby certainly knew Nicholas Byles: Darby’s signature

⁵ TNA, PROB 11/94/340. There is a printed transcript of the whole of the will in *An Account of the Gifts and Legacies ... given ... to charitable uses in the Town of Ipswich ... (1819)*, pp.33-45.

⁶ SA(I), C/3/10/8/1/2.

appears as the first witness to Byles's will, suggesting his pre-eminence in status amongst the witnesses. The two men might have been friends and possibly neighbours, if Darby had acquired his own lands within the manor by that time.

Byles had certainly sold Coles by the time he made his will on 21 February 1590/1 as it states that Byles was then still in possession of his

‘Ten[emen]ts w[i]th the lands therunto belonging, the one liing in Trimlye Sa[n]ct Martyn the other lying near Kirton Church gat’,

which he left to his wife and executrix, Margery, for her lifetime and after her death, to his eldest son Edmund.⁷ Neither of these properties describe the farm on the map. The first can be dismissed as it was in the nearby parish of Trimley St Martin. The second looks more likely, but although the fields on the south-eastern edge of the farm on the map lie close to Kirton Church, they do not adjoin ‘Kirton Church gat’, assuming that to be the modern Church Lane, Kirton. Margery Byles was still in occupation of this latter tenement in Rathborne's survey of 1613, which describes her property as:

‘certaine land[es] with a Cottage and howse of [th]e Tenem[en]t Ryvett[es] late Nicholas Byles Rente p[er] ann[um] 2d. Particular. A messuage or cottage w[i]th a hemplande to the same adioyninge right opposite against [th]e Church on [th]e west syde of the highe waye or streete there containinge twoe rood[es] & sixe p[er]ches – 0a. 2r. 6p.’⁸

This land is far too small to be the farm called Coles on the map, and its location is on the west side of Church Lane, opposite the church, whereas the land on the map is to the east, north-east and south-east of Kirton Church. Therefore Byles must have sold his land on the map before he made his will, either directly to Edmond Smart or to someone who sold to Edmond Smart subsequently. Despite the coincidence of the map being made in the year of Byle's death, therefore, the two events do not seem to be directly linked. Edmond Smart could have purchased the farm at any time prior to 1591, although the fact that Byles is named as a

⁷ SA(I), IC/AA1/31/109.

⁸ SA(I), HB 8/1/201, p.442. Margery Byles paid 2d. p.a. rent for this property, although Rathborne valued it at 14s. p.a.

recent occupier in the title suggests that it was not very long before. However, it is odd that Darby refers on the map itself to Byles as the recent occupier but does not name the current occupier of the farm when he made the map. It seems unlikely that Darby made the map as a memento for his friend or neighbour Byles, who had sold the land before 1591. If the map had been made to advertise the sale of the farm, then it is unlikely to have been made for Byles, as he is named as the late occupier on it and in any case, this sale was made before 1591. It seems rather unlikely that Edmond Smart would have made it as an advertisement for his sale of it to his brother, as the two were already close and William Smart could have visited his brother at any time to see the property for himself. It is perhaps more likely that the map was made for William Smart, either as a prestige map of his land or perhaps with an eye to it being used evidentially and in the long term to delineate his future charitable bequest. Another possibility might be that Byles commissioned Darby to make the map for William Smart as a gift to guarantee Smart's future favour. Byles certainly knew and trusted William Smart as he appointed him as supervisor of his will and requested that if his widow were to remarry after his death, Smart should take bonds from her new husband to make sure Byles' will was properly executed. Most wills left money to supervisors and non-family executors to reward them for their pains, but Byles' will does not do this for Smart: perhaps he had already arranged for the map as a gift instead?

Whether the map were made with a view to being a decorative and prestigious artefact primarily, Darby's map of the Kirton and Falkenham map became an archival record of ownership by its purchasers from very soon after it was made. Kept with the title deeds and other evidences of Smart's Charity, it became, as Bendall states, one of the increasingly typical maps which '... formed essential parts of the proofs of ownership'.⁹ Today it still fulfils this evidential function but has also changed use. Like his map of Smallburgh, it has become an image for display as well as a document for historical and topographical research and, in this case, a popular illustration for several historical publications.¹⁰

⁹ Bendall, 'Enquire 'When the same Platte was made', (1995), p.42.

¹⁰ For example, on the back cover of Allen, *Ipswich Borough Archives* (2000); the back cover of Valerie Fenwick and Vic Harrup, *Untold Tales from the Suffolk Sandlings* (Woodbridge: Butley Research Group, 2009); the front cover of Edward Martin, and Max Satchell, 'Wheare Most Inclosures be' *East Anglian Fields: History, Morphology and Management*, East Anglian Archaeology 124, (Ipswich: Suffolk County Council, 2008).

APPENDIX EIGHT

QUARRELS IN IPSWICH

This appendix covers two quarrels in Ipswich which affected people within John Darby's networks. Although Darby was not personally involved in either of them, they give snap-shots of some aspects of relationships between senior burgesses and gentry in the town in the later sixteenth century and show how volatile such quarrels could be. These cameos are included to provide a more vivid context for John Darby's networks in the town.

1. Thomas Bennett's Quarrel with William Smarte, 1586

John Darby's step-father-in-law, Thomas Bennett, was a wealthy Ipswich burgess and merchant. He served as one of Ipswich's two Chamberlains, 1567-8, although he was fined 40s. for negligence (later remitted) and £10 (reduced later to £2) for not submitting his accounts in time.¹ This did not prevent him being elected town Treasurer in 1572 and one of the Governors of Christ's Hospital in Ipswich in 1578 and 1579.² He was also confident enough to make a complaint to the Privy Council against one of Ipswich's richest and most influential citizens, William Smarte, who stopped the shipment. The incident reveals something of Ipswich local politics and gives a different slant on William Smarte, who is otherwise remembered mainly for his charitable foundation and almshouses, (still in existence in Foundation Street Ipswich). Smarte was Darby's client for his map of Kirton and Falkenham, Suffolk (1591) (see Appendix Seven).

In 1586, Bennett was commissioned by the Earl of Leicester to ship a supply of bacon to London for the Earl's troops in the Low Countries. According to Bennett's complaint, Smarte boarded the ship laden with bacon in Ipswich docks and, having summoned 'a great number of the comon people together ... whom he had mutinouslie animated' against Bennett, 'made sale and distributed the same to the people'.

¹ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), pp.274, 282.

² Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), pp. 293,317, 320.

The Privy Council committed Smarte to prison at the Marshalsea pending investigation by Sir Robert Wingfield and Sir Philip Parker (John Darby's patron) who were instructed to make Smarte repay Bennett's losses over the bacon, ensure Bennett's safety and 'make knownen unto the comon people that Smarte in his doinges ... hathe don apparent wrong' to Bennett. Wingfield and Parker seem to have tried to wriggle out of their responsibilities, claiming that they had no authority to examine witnesses on both sides, but the Privy Council was not about to let them avoid the issue and promptly gave them that authority and beefed up their commission of investigation to include additionally Justice John Clenche and Sir John Higham'. Smarte was released from prison after a few days and the matter disappears from the records but is an interesting cameo of relations between two of the wealthiest men in the town and how they operated.

Bennett's narrative makes Smarte appear to be something of a populist rabble-rouser, stirring up the common people of the town to reclaim bacon heading to London for the Earl of Leicester's soldiers. It was in his interest to portray Smarte in a negative light to boost the legitimacy of his complaint. But this goes against what we know of Smarte from other contexts and there may be more here than meets the eye. Both men had held various municipal offices in the town and might have been at odds for some time. At some point before 1591, Bennett was involved in a lawsuit against the town for which Smarte was eventually disbursed £26 6s. 8d. in 1593 for defending.³ So was this a case of personal differences rising to the surface, populist agitation against a burgess loyal to the state or perhaps a spirited defence of the poor people of Ipswich against the removal of possibly scarce supplies for the military? There is no further evidence to allow a judgement, but it shows the two men as willing to resort to litigation and the Privy Council to solve their personal differences in the last resort, even if both had a tendency to personal confrontation and physical action in the first.

Bennett was the owner of the large tenement called 'the White Horse' in Ipswich, part of which now comprises the Great White Horse Hotel on the corner of Tacket and Northgate Streets. The White Horse was a substantial property, stretching northwards almost half-way along the length of Brook (now Northgate) Street on the St Mary Tower side of the street, and it has remained a well-known historic landmark in the town. Bennett was a merchant, as well

³ Richardson, *Bacon's Annals* (1884), pp.365, 373.

as the lord of the manor of Capel Hall, Trimley St Mary, Suffolk, which was left in his will of 1595 to his daughter and only child of his first marriage, Rose, the wife of Thomas Tye of Ipswich, and her children. His property there bordered some of John Darby's own land held of the manor of Walton with Trimley in Suffolk.⁴ It was also close to the land that Darby mapped in Kirton and Falkenham in 1591.

2. 'Irritants within the Gates'⁵: *The Volatile Withypolls*

John Darby's younger brother Henry's wife, Ann, was one of the youngest of the many children (possibly nineteen) of Edmund Withypoll of Christchurch Park, Ipswich. Edmund Withypoll had died by the time of their marriage, but had been an extremely well-connected member of the Suffolk gentry. He was the son of a wealthy City of London merchant and MP Paul Withypoll, who had purchased the site of the former Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity or Christchurch in Ipswich in 1545 before dying in 1547. Edmund had moved to Ipswich from Walthamstow, Essex, after having been pardoned for the manslaughter of his servant in Essex.⁶ He built what is now Christchurch Mansion, which still stands and now forms part of Colchester and Ipswich Museums.

Edmund Withypoll was the embodiment of the kind of gentry whom Patrick Collinson has described as 'the enemy, or at least the irritant within the gates'.⁷ In Withypoll's case, this was almost literally true, as his newly-built mansion house stood just outside the Old Bar Gates of the northern ramparts of Ipswich, but still within the liberties of the town. He was in constant litigation with the Ipswich town authorities over market rights and other matters and with the neighbouring St Margaret's Church (some of the graveyard of which he purloined) over their boundary with his new Christchurch House.⁸

⁴ SA(I), HB 8/1/201, pp.346-8, 390.

⁵ Patrick Collinson, *The birthpangs of Protestant England: religious and social change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988 [reprinted 1991, 1992]), pp.33-34, although he mistakenly calls Edmund Withypoll 'Peter Withipoll', possibly confusing him with his father, Paul.

⁶ Reaney (rev.), Moore Smith, *The Family of Withypoll* (1936), p.44.

⁷ Collinson, *The birthpangs of Protestant England* (1992), pp.33-34.

⁸ Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* (1992), p.34; David Allen, *Ipswich Borough Archives 1255-1835: A Catalogue*, Suffolk Records Society Vol. XLIII (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp.14-7.

By the time Henry Darby married Anne, her father Edmund Withypoll had died, and his son and heir Paul had predeceased him in 1579, leaving another Edmund Withypoll (Anne's nephew) as head of the family. Like his grandfather, who was pardoned for the manslaughter of his servant in Essex, the younger Edmund Withypoll was a provocative and volatile man. He was involved in a violent confrontation with his friend Anthony Felton in a quarrel about the precedence of their wives, which went as far as the Privy Council and Earl Marshall in 1598.

During a visit to Sir Philip Parker's house by Felton's and Withypoll's wives, 'Mrs. Withipole offered to goe before Mrs. Felton and for such presumption was repelled or thrust back by the olde Lady Grey grandmother to Mrs Felton.' A short while later, Withipoll met Felton in the street in Ipswich and struck him with a 'bastinado' or cudgel, inciting Felton to draw his sword. A full-scale fight was avoided, but the Earl Marshall recorded it, citing criteria for judging the relative status of gentlemen. Withipoll was forced to apologise and Felton appears to have been given precedence, reversing the two men's previous practice, in which 'the sayd ffelton did voluntarily yield precedence vnto Withipole as vnto a man of greater liuelyhood'.⁹ One suspects their former friendship was less warm thereafter.

The encounter demonstrates the typically prickly preoccupation of Elizabethan gentry and nobility over perceived disparagements to their personal honour. It also includes people who were within John Darby's networks. Sir Philip Parker (in whose house the precedent dispute began, during a visit by Felton's and Withypoll's wives) was Darby's chief patron and Edmund Withypoll was Darby's brother Henry's nephew by marriage.

⁹ Reaney (ed.), Moore Smith, *The Family of Withypoll* (1936), which quotes full transcripts from BL, Cotton MS Faustina C VIII, Papers relating to heraldry ... (early 17th cent.); TNA, PC 2/23, fols.218, 230-1, Privy Council Register Vol. 23, meetings, 11 and 17 April 1598 (calendared in John Roche Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, New Series. Vol. 28, 1597-1598, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), pp.391, 406).

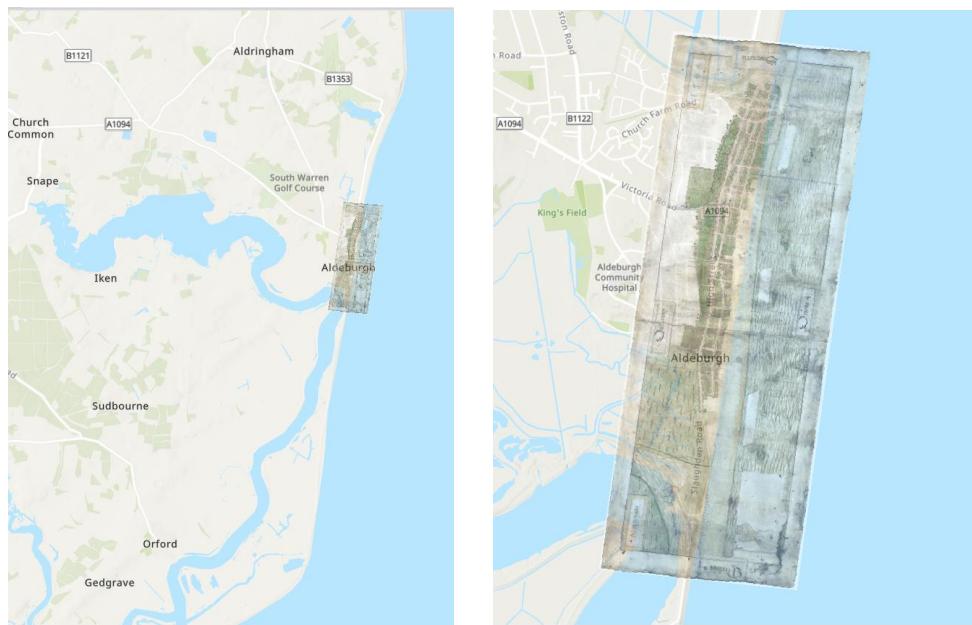
APPENDIX NINE

THE ACCURACY OF JOHN DARBY'S MAPS

It is not the intention of this thesis to investigate the accuracy of John Darby's maps in great technical detail. However, some indication of how accurate they were does give an impression of his skill as a surveyor in the early years of map-making in England. Given the simplicity of the equipment he probably used (see Chapter 1.4) and the newness of the surveying profession when he worked, he appears to have been competent, judging by comparisons of his maps with modern ones of the same areas.

This appendix takes his maps of Aldeburgh (1594) (see Chapter Six) and Alnesbourn (1584) (see Appendix Five), Suffolk and Smallburgh (1582), Norfolk as sample case studies in order to give an impression the overall accuracy of Darby's maps. It does so by overlaying (or geo-referencing) them onto modern mapping imagery.¹ It is in the format of images, each with a brief explanatory commentary.

Of all his maps, Darby's Aldeburgh map appears to be the most accurate, although more so in the centre of the town, where the most enduring points of comparison are (the church, Moot Hall, and a few of the street corners) than the periphery, a point common to all his maps. Further to the north and south of the town, there are fewer identifying points of comparison, but even so, the map shows graphically just how much of the town has been eroded by the sea since Darby's map was made in 1594.



Figs 93 and 94. Location (left) and coverage (right) of Darby's map of Aldeburgh, on the Suffolk coast (1594).

¹ All of the images herein were created using ArcGIS software using the following service layers: Esri Community Maps Contributors, Esri UK, Esri, TomTom, Garmin, Foursquare, GeoTechnologies, Inc., METI/NASA, USGS, Maxar, Microsoft.



Fig. 95. Darby's Aldeburgh map, with no transparency set, laid over hybrid satellite imagery of the area, with underlying modern street layout and street names showing through. Accuracy at the junction of the Rivers Alde (inland) and Ore (the estuary) near Slaughden, at the southern end of Darby's map is somewhat lower than the centre of the town, although erosion may have played a part in changing the riverbank as well as the coastline in the area (the coast further to the south is formed by the constantly changing shingle bank of Orford Ness).



Fig. 96. The central section of Darby's Aldeburgh map (at 50% transparency) overlaid onto a hybrid imagery landscape showing modern streets and street names and with five points of comparison shown. Note the closeness of the individual contact points (red and green) between the underlying landscape and Darby's map, particularly for the church (top left) and Moot Hall (top right) as well as the three street corners further south, indicating that Darby's map is highly accurate in this central section. Note also the area eroded between 1594 and now: the line of the modern Crag Path marks the embankment between town and beach today, and the Moot Hall is very close to this, although in 1594, it was well within the town, in the Market Place. The pale beige band shown running north to south through the centre of the map indicates the modern beach.



Fig. 97. The two jetties or groynes (the reason the map was made) are shown in this northern section of Darby's map towards the top of this image, just left of the white space in the sea (an incomplete label or legend). The beige area showing the modern beach shows through the transparency of Darby's map running north to south and clearly shows the area of the north end of the town lost to the sea since 1594. The sites of the jetties are now under the sea. This image confirms the contents of the petition (transcribed in Appendix Four), which states that the two jetties were then (1594) protecting the northern part of the town from the erosion which had occurred earlier at the southern end of the town, which is clear from Darby's map. Presumably, once the jetties fell apart, the northern end of the town gradually eroded as well, to form the coastline as it exists today.



Fig. 98. The map above shows John Darby's map of Alnesbourn, Suffolk (see Appendix Five), with no transparency, overlaid onto a hybrid imagery landscape just south-east of Ipswich (top left), mediated through the OS 1:2500 1st edition map (c.1880s, not shown). Darby's cardinal points, indicated by lines drawn across the map (more visible in Fig. 99), are accurate. From the left to the right sides of Darby's map represents a distance of approximately 2.2 miles (3.5 km), whilst top to bottom of the same covers approximately 1.5 miles (2.4 km).



Fig. 99. The above image shows seven points of comparison from what became Alnesbourn Farm (Thomas Seckford's property in 1584) on the right of Darby's map and the base layer (differentiated in green and red). Field boundaries for Alnesbourn Farm were more stable over the centuries than those on the left (later Pond Farm and the site of Ipswich Airport). Control points were therefore relatively easy to identify for the right-hand side of the map, which is shown as being reasonably accurate along the north-south boundary between the two farms (possibly the reason the map was made), shown by the four sets of contact points to the left. However, Darby's map shows Nacton Road a little further north than it should be .



Fig. 100. When an eighth contact point (the junction of Nacton Road and Clapgate Lane) is added to the left-hand side of the map near its north-easternmost edge, it skews and drags the top left-hand corner of Darby's map, and the northern bank of the River Orwell, northwards. The Orwell's northern bank matches the modern high-water mark at the bottom right hand edge of Darby's map, but on the left, the river-bank does not match. There are several possible reasons for this. The river-bank has changed since the sixteenth century owing to some reclamation and development, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (as also shown in the 1926 sales particulars map, based on the Ordnance Survey: see Fig. 77). It also seems that the left-hand side of the map is generally less accurately plotted than the right. This might indicate that Darby had more time and opportunity to map Alnesbourn Farm, on the right of the map (the property of Darby's patron, Thomas Seckford) than he did on the left (what became Pond Farm, then owned by Richard Broke). However, points of contact are more difficult to place on the left-hand side of the map as the field boundaries there changed more between Darby's map and the nineteenth century without any intermediate maps for comparison.



Fig. 101. The coverage of John Darby's map of the parish of Smallburgh, Norfolk (at 50% transparency), superimposed onto a modern OS-based map. Darby's map is upside down as south is at the top of the original map. Cardinal points are not quite accurate, but the parish boundaries match quite closely the modern ones.



Fig. 102. Detail from John Darby's map of Smallburgh (1582) overlaid onto 1st edition OS County Series 1:2500 map (c.1880s) of the area, focussing on the roads between and around the hamlets of Cats Common and Low Street, at the southern end of the parish. Darby's roadways are a little to the north and east of the OS's roads, but the routes are recognisably similar and quite close to the modern ones in most cases. The field boundaries along the southern parish boundary are also quite similar for the most part (and see Fig. 103).



Fig. 103. The western end of Darby's map of Smallburgh, overlaid onto 1st edition OS County Series 1:2500 map of the area (c.1880s). The western parish boundaries in particular are accurately plotted and retained in the arrangement of the nineteenth century field boundaries, many of which match those shown on Darby's map. The lower of the two roads running into the parish from the left is particularly accurately plotted on Darby's map, as is the modern Workhouse Lane, with a dog-leg bend, running north out of it within the parish.

It is not to be expected that any sixteenth century map should match the accuracy of modern Ordnance Survey or satellite mapping. But John Darby does a very good job of creating maps which bear comparison with modern counterparts and which are reasonably accurate (remarkably so in places), given the equipment and methods of the period.

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MPF 1/138 (formerly removed from SP 12/219, fol.156)	Map of Southwold [c.1588] [by John Darby]
MR 1/52 and	Map of Mousehold Heath (1589) [by Israel Amyce] extracted from
E 178/7153	Depositions and other court papers re Inhabitants of South Walsham v. Edward Paston and Miles Corbett ([1586], 1588-9)
PROB 11/39/368	PCC will of Anne of Cleves, proved 2 Sep 1557
PROB 11/79/19	PCC will of Luke Melton of Ipswich, pewterer, made 1 October 1591, proved 15 January 1591/2
PROB 11/62/361	PCC will of George Sampson of Harkstead, Suffolk, made 16 April 1578, proved 2 September 1580
PROB 11/82/569	PCC will of Robert Doon of Ipswich, gentleman, 28 October 1593, proved 4 December 1593
PROB 11/94/340	PCC will of William Smarte of Ipswich, made 8 Jan 1598/9, proved 2 Nov 1599
PROB 11/109/425	PCC will of Christopher Burrowe or Borough, of East Bergholt, Suffolk, clothier, made 3 Nov 1606, proved 16 May 1607
PROB 11/110/265	PCC will of Thomas Dandy of Ringshall, Suffolk, 1607
PROB 11/110/497	PCC Will of Sir Miles Corbett of Sprowston, Norfolk, made 22 Jan 1605/[6], proved 9 Dec 1607
PROB 11/135/178	PCC will of Sir Henry Lee of Woodford, Essex, made 28 Nov 1619, proved 14 Feb 1619/20

PROB 11/160/540	PCC will of Edward Darby of St Edmundsbury, Suffolk, gentleman, made 10 August 1631, proved 27 October 1631 (original filed at SA(B), IC/500/1/87/91)
PROB 11/179/385	PCC will of Roberti Rice [<i>sic</i>] of Preston, Suffolk, gentleman, made 7 February 1637/8, proved 16 February 1638/9
PROB 11/1858/259	PCC will of John Winn Thomlinson, made 5 May 1835, proved 29 February 1836
SP 1/153, fol. 122	Letter, Sir Anthony Wingfield to Thomas Cromwell respecting the marriage of Wingfield's son (26 Sep 1539)
SP 1/154, fol. 34	Letter, Sir Anthony Wingfield to Thomas Cromwell respecting the marriage of Wingfield's son (22 Oct 1539)
SP 10/2 fol. 87	Letter, Dorothy Wingfield, widow, to the Duchess of Somerset respecting the possible sale of her lands (?27 April 1548)
SP 12/78, fol. 25	Brief declaration and certificate of all strangers and aliens dwelling within the borough and liberty of Great Yarmouth, 12 May 1571
SP 12/206, fol. 53r-v	State Papers, Vol. CCVI, December 1587, 'Survey of the coast of Suffolk; state of the fortifications; facilities for landing of an enemy; suggestions for strengthening the defences', report of Captain Turner
SP 12/208 fol. 26r-27v	State Papers, Vol. CCVIII, Jan-Feb 1588 [i.e. 1587/8], 'The Deputy Lieutenants of Suffolk to the Council ...', at Butley, 24 January 1587/8, report respecting Captain Turner's survey of the Suffolk coastal defences
STAC 5/A33/6	Attorney General v. Ralph Agas, bills and answers, 38 Eliz.

Victoria and Albert Museum

Accession No. T.246-1927

The Calthorpe Purse (c.1540)

Documents in Private Hands or Personal Items

The Cooke-A copy of John Darby's 1586 map of Blakeney Haven and the Port of Cley (mid-19th cent.)

Photograph of Heydon arms in Baconsthorpe Church window by Jean McCreanor, online at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/52219527@N00/12586481915/in/photostream/> reproduced with her kind permission.

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