

LANDOWNERSHIP

An estate at Dovercourt bequeathed to Ethelred the Unready before 1018 was probably identical to the single manor at Dovercourt (Hall), granted after the Conquest to Aubrey de Vere and held by him in 1086. The de Vere family, later earls of Oxford, remained overlords throughout the Middle Ages. In the late 12th century, the demesne tenancy passed by marriage to the Bigod earls of Norfolk, with the settlement at Harwich created about the same time remaining part of the manor. The Bigod family remained lords of Dovercourt and Harwich until 1306, when the estate reverted to the Crown. In 1312 the manor of Dovercourt was granted by Edward II to his younger brother Thomas de Brotherton (d. 1338). It afterwards descended through Brotherton's daughter Margaret and, in turn, through her daughter Elizabeth, and their respective husbands, until it was inherited by Elizabeth's son, Thomas Mowbray, in 1399. In the 15th century the manor descended in the Mowbray family until the death of Anne Mowbray, wife of Richard duke of York, youngest son of Edward IV, without heirs in 1483. The dukedom and its estates then reverted to the Crown once more, afterwards being granted by Richard III to his leading supporter John Howard who held Dovercourt and Harwich until his death in 1485.

There were no other manors in the parish, but a substantial freehold estate called Martells, recorded from the early 14th century, was combined with a freehold called Panteries in the mid 15th century.

Dovercourt Hall

Brythnoth, earldorman of Essex, killed at the battle of Maldon in 991, was probably lord of Dovercourt, as his widow Ælflæd later bequeathed the manor to the king, probably Ethelred the Unready (d. 1018).¹ By 1066 Dovercourt was held by Wulfwine as a manor and six hides.² He was a substantial landholder across north Essex (14 estates), Cambridgeshire (nine estates) and Suffolk (four estates), as well as being overlord of two more Cambridgeshire estates and 26 in Suffolk held by sub-tenants. By 1086 the greater part of Wulfwine's lands had passed en bloc to Aubrey de Vere I (d. 1088), who held Dovercourt as well as nearby Great (or Little Bentley) and Beaumont in Tendring Hundred in his own demesne.³

Aubrey de Vere I was succeeded by his son Aubrey de Vere II (d. 1141), and he in turn by Aubrey de Vere III, Earl of Oxford and hereditary Master Chamberlain of England (d. 1194).⁴ The manor of Dovercourt formed part of the marriage portion of Juliana de Vere (d.1199/1200), daughter of Aubrey de Vere II and sister of Aubrey de Vere III, when she married Hugh Bigod I, 1st Earl of Norfolk (d.

1177).⁵ The de Vere family, earls of Oxford, remained overlords of Dovercourt throughout the Middle Ages, with the Bigods and later demesne tenants holding the manor from them as a single knight's fee.⁶

Demesne tenancy

From Hugh Bigod I the manor descended from father to son in the earls of Norfolk (2nd to 4th), being held successively by Roger Bigod II (d. 1221), Hugh Bigod II (d. 1225) and Roger Bigod III (d. 1270). Hugh Bigod II married Maud, the eldest daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, hereditary Master Marshal of the royal household, which important office subsequently passed to their son Roger Bigod III and his heirs.⁷ As Roger Bigod III died without issue, he was succeeded as 5th earl by his nephew Roger Bigod IV (d. 1306), son of his brother Hugh Bigod III and Joanna de Stuteville.⁸

Roger Bigod IV's first wife, Aline Basset, widow of Hugh le Despenser, died in 1281,⁹ and he took Alice, daughter of John de Avesnes, Count of Hainault and Earl of Bayonne, as his second wife in 1290. Her dower was guaranteed the following year by the surrender of estates, mainly in Norfolk and Suffolk but including Dovercourt, to Edward I as feoffee, who then jointly re-ensfeoffed Roger and Alice and their heirs in the property in August 1291.¹⁰ In May 1302, without legitimate heirs from either of his marriages, Roger surrendered his entire estate, the Earldom of Norfolk and the office of Marshal of England to Edward I. They were then re-granted to Roger and his heirs in fee tail with remainder to the king and his heirs, in return for which Roger received property worth £1,000 a year for life. Roger and Alice were to retain the estate for their lives, which was also to be returned to them if they produced an heir with the Crown receiving compensation.¹¹ Upon Roger's death in December 1306 his estates passed to his widow Alice of Hainault (d. 1317), with reversion to Edward I, and she did fealty for them to Edward II in February 1307.¹²

In 1310 Edward II gave joint custody of the former Bigod estate to his half-brothers Thomas de Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock for their support and maintenance. In 1312 Thomas obtained the Bigod estate, excepting lands that included Dovercourt, which Alice of Hainault held for life. He also received the revived earldom, as 1st Earl of Norfolk, in 1312 and the office of Marshal in 1316, while he received the final part of the earldom's estate, including Dovercourt, the following year upon the death of the dowager countess Alice.¹³ Thomas died in 1338, having married, first, Alice, daughter of Sir Roger Hales of Harwich (probably c.1320), and, second, Mary Brewes (or Braose), widow of Sir Ralph de Cobham, Lord Cobham. Thomas's only son, Edward, born of his first wife, died without issue in his father's lifetime, so upon Thomas's own death in 1338 his estates were divided between the two

daughters born of his second marriage, the elder called Margaret, wife of John Seagrave, 3rd Lord Seagrave, and the younger Alice, wife of Edward de Montagu.¹⁴ Agreement between the heirs led to Dovercourt being allocated to Margaret's portion; she and her husband took possession in December 1338.¹⁵ They continued to hold the manor jointly, in right of Margaret, until John Seagrave's death in 1353 when Elizabeth their daughter was named as heir.¹⁶ Since the death of her father, Margaret Brotherton claimed to be the Countess of Norfolk in her own right, and also claimed the hereditary office of Marshal, styling herself Countess Marshal.¹⁷

The wealthy soldier Walter Mauny, 1st Lord Mauny, married the Countess before December 1355. After Walter died in 1372 Margaret received seisin of lands including the manor of Dovercourt with Harwich, as Walter had only held them in her right as part of the earldom of Norfolk.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Margaret's daughter, Elizabeth Segrave had married John, Lord Mowbray (d. 1368), and their younger son, Thomas Mowbray, created Earl of Nottingham in 1383, became heir to the earldom of Norfolk. He was granted by charter the office of Marshal of England in tail male in 1386, and was one of the Lords Appellant who deposed some of Richard II's court favourites in 1387. He was created Duke of Norfolk on 29 September 1397, the same day that his grandmother Margaret was created Duchess of Norfolk for life.¹⁹ The duchess died in March 1399 and her grandson Thomas Mowbray, then in exile, in September of the same year. He was succeeded by his own son Thomas, then aged 14, from his second marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard (Fitzalan), Earl of Arundel, widow of Sir William de Montagu.²⁰ During Thomas Mowbray's minority, Richard II granted the manors of Dovercourt and Harwich to William, Lord Willoughby, a grant confirmed by Henry IV in November 1399.²¹ Willoughby held courts in October 1399 and June 1400.²²

Willoughby temporarily lost control of the manors when the Crown reallocated Dovercourt and other lands to the dower portion of Thomas's mother Elizabeth Fitzalan, Duchess of Norfolk, in July 1400.²³ She held a court for the manor in October 1400,²⁴ but in August 1401 the escheator was ordered to take the manors assigned to her in dower, by reason of the minority of her son, into the king's hands because 'contrary to her oath' Elizabeth had married Robert Gousill without the king's licence.²⁵ After obtaining a pardon from Henry IV the Essex manors, including Dovercourt, were restored to Robert and Elizabeth as of 10 July 1401. Yet, Lord Willoughby later successfully petitioned the Crown that only one-third of the manor should have been so assigned (as Elizabeth's dower), and that he had been unlawfully expelled from the remainder. As a result, in November 1401, the sheriff of Essex was ordered to reinstate Willoughby into two-thirds of the manor of Dovercourt with Harwich and its issues from 10 July 1401. The issue was still alive in 1402 when Elizabeth was called before the king, with further

discussion then confirming the division of the estate between Willoughby (2/3) and Elizabeth (1/3).²⁶ Indeed, on Robert Goushill's death in 1403 he held, as of his wife's dower, a third part of the manor of Dovercourt with Harwich,²⁷ and afterwards Elizabeth continued to hold that portion until her death in 1425.²⁸

Meanwhile, the other two-thirds of the manor held by Lord Willoughby passed to Elizabeth's son, Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Norfolk, once he obtained his majority; he held his first courts at Dovercourt in March 1402 and at Harwich in 11 June 1402.²⁹ The young earl rebelled against Henry IV in 1405 resulting in his execution at York alongside his co-conspirator Archbishop Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, leaving his brother John Mowbray, then aged 17, as his heir. Thomas was not attainted so his estates passed intact to his brother together with his titles as Earl of Norfolk, Earl of Nottingham, Earl Marshal and Lord Mowbray and Seagrave.³⁰ In 1414 John Grey, son of Reynald Grey, Lord of Ruthyn, and Constance his wife, presumably acting as feoffees, quitclaimed lands including the manor of Dovercourt, to John Mowbray.³¹ In 1425 Mowbray was restored to his father's title as Duke of Norfolk.³² He died in 1432, holding the manor of Dovercourt and the borough of Harwich in demesne, being succeeded by his son, also called John, aged 17.³³ Due to his minority, in February 1433 all of his late father's estate's, including Dovercourt and the borough of Harwich, were allocated to his widowed mother Katherine, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, in addition to her dower portion.³⁴

Upon obtaining his majority, John de Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, succeeded to the estate and subsequently had a prominent career in military and diplomatic service. During the Wars of the Roses, he abandoned the Lancastrian cause and fought for the Duke of York at Towton on 29 March 1461, but died in the November of the same year.³⁵ He was succeeded by his son, another John Mowbray, who in addition to gaining all his father's titles had been created Earl Surrey and Warenne in 1451. The new Duke of Norfolk was another prominent Yorkist supporter, with Edward IV confirming the lordship of Harwich and Dovercourt to him by charter in 1468. He subsequently fought for that king at Tewkesbury, 4 May 1471.³⁶ On his death in January 1476 the dukedom of Norfolk, and the earldoms of Nottingham, Marshal, and Surrey and Warenne became extinct, but his widow Elizabeth Talbot, daughter of John, Earl of Shrewsbury, received the manor in 1477 and may have held a dower portion in it until her death in 1506 or 1507.³⁷ John Mowbray was succeeded by his only daughter Anne, Countess of Norfolk and baroness Mowbray and Segrave, born in December 1472. Such was her political and landed significance that in 1478 she was married, aged just five years, to Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV 'for the maintenance of his high estate', who in contemplation of the match was also created Earl of Nottingham (1476), Earl Warenne and Duke of Norfolk (1477). The legal rights of Anne's co-heirs, the

cousins William, Lord Berkeley and John, Lord Howard, were set aside by two Acts of Parliament in favour of York. Anne died, a minor, in 1481, and the young duke was apparently murdered with his brother Edward V, probably in 1483. The Mowbray inheritance was then divided by Richard III between the previously disinherited co-heirs, with Howard receiving the East Anglian estates including Dovercourt and Harwich. Howard, a zealous Yorkist and a man of great military and diplomatic experience, was also created Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England in June 1483, and appointed Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine in the following July. He died fighting for Richard III at the battle of Bosworth, 22 August 1485, was subsequently attainted and his estates forfeited.³⁸

Overlordship

When Dovercourt was granted in marriage to the Bigod earls of Norfolk in the later 12th century, the de Vere family, earls of Oxford, remained overlords of the manor. In 1238–9 Roger Bigod III apparently challenged his overlord Hugh de Vere, 4th Earl of Oxford, over the customs and services which Hugh exacted from Roger for his estates in Colne and Dovercourt, rated as service from five knight's fees. After negotiation, it was agreed that Roger would do the services for two knights' fees and Hugh quitclaimed to Roger all the other services he exacted.³⁹ The agreement held, as on his death in 1270 Roger held the manor of Dovercourt with Harwich from the Earl of Oxford by service of one knight's fee.⁴⁰ Roger's nephew and heir, Roger Bigod IV, held the manor on the same terms in 1303 and 1306.⁴¹

When the manor reverted to the Crown in 1306, and was granted to Thomas de Brotherton and his heirs in 1312, the earls of Oxford remained overlords. At his death in 1353 John de Segrave held the manor of Dovercourt and Harwich jointly with his wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas de Brotherton, from the Earl of Oxford for service by a knight's fee.⁴² Both Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, and Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, similarly held the manor of Dovercourt of the Earl of Oxford for one knight's fee when they died, in May and September 1399 respectively.⁴³ Aubrey de Vere, 10th Earl of Oxford (d. 1400) held the overlordship as did his widow Alice as part of her dower in 1401.⁴⁴ The overlordship of the earls of Oxford was recorded again in 1425 and 1432.⁴⁵

Manor House

Dovercourt's medieval manor house was presumably located on Hall Lane where a 17th-century L-plan timber-framed manor house still stands, unless the manorial centre was relocated to that site after the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ Repairs to the buildings, gates and walls of what was a larger and more important

medieval house, including accommodation for the earl of Norfolk and his household, were recorded in a broken series of account rolls between 1267–68 and 1305–06. The house was apparently similar in scale to the Bigod's residential complex at Walton Old Hall located on the other side of the Orwell in Suffolk, details of which have been reconstructed from similar documentary evidence and from some excavated material and fieldwork studies.⁴⁷

The courtyard in which Dovercourt's manor house and ancillary buildings stood in the period 1267–1306 was walled and gated, with an interior gate, a farther gate and a south gate, suggesting that it was sufficiently defended to deter potential malefactors. The domestic accommodation comprised, at a minimum: porch, hall, earl's chamber, steward's chamber, chancellor's chamber, knights' chamber, external (forinsec') chamber and a new chamber. The knight's chamber had its own garderobe, so it is probable that some other chambers did so too. The services comprised a kitchen, butlery, saucery, larder, brewhouse and bakehouse. Other buildings probably standing close to the manor house included more than one stable, a strawhouse and a dovecot. There was also a house beyond the farther gate.⁴⁸ The chapel which had its roofing repaired in 1295–6 was probably part of the manor house rather than the chapel of St Nicholas in Harwich.⁴⁹

Relatively little information survives concerning the relationship between named structures, or their dimensions. Presumably the house took the standard form of a hall with private accommodation at one end and services at the other. In 1301–02 a wall, two perches (33ft) long, was built between the hall and the new chamber. In the same year a wall was repaired between the kitchen and the bakehouse, indicating the services stood close to each other as would be expected.⁵⁰ In 1294–5 the larder was described as a 'larder house', and its door had its own lock, while in 1300–01 three hooks and three hinges were bought for the door and window of the saucery.⁵¹ How the other additional chambers were arranged is unknown, but in 1287–8 there was a stable for the knights' chamber, possibly indicating that their accommodation lay separate from the hall range.⁵²

There was no record of major new building or rebuilding work in the surviving accounts, and therefore the form of construction of the house, notably of walls, remains largely unknowable without archaeological exploration. Although there is no direct mention of stone construction, at Walton Old Hall the principal buildings appear to have been stone-built, some of the material being taken from the former Roman Shore Fort (within which the Bigods had earlier constructed a castle).⁵³ Similarly, at Harwich, if Morant's later account is reliable, there were remains of a Roman fort and other Roman constructions which could have been pillaged for suitable stone.⁵⁴ In addition, septaria from Harwich's

Beacon cliff, or elsewhere along the Tendring coast, was accessible and commonly used for medieval churches in north-east Essex.⁵⁵

Yet, if the house was constructed of stone, the hall and various chambers do not appear to have had tiled roofs, as neither the employment of a tiler (*tegulator*) nor the purchase of tiles (*tegulae*) were recorded in the surviving accounts. Instead, the men employed on the roofs were described as a roofer or thatcher (*coopertor*) and many of the roofs appear to have had a crest or ridge (*cresta*). In 1287–8, for example, the knights' chamber was ridged, and the stable of the knights' chamber and the brewhouse were thatched, with straw being purchased for the thatch.⁵⁶ There are references to carpentry undertaken on various buildings, including the porch in 1267–68 and the knight's chamber in 1301–02, but the work could be related to either the walls or the roofs.⁵⁷ In 1294–5 two carpenters were employed to mend the carpentry and put right the posts of the bakehouse, which therefore must have been timber framed.⁵⁸ Walls appear to have been finished, whether internally or externally, by plastering; sometimes the context (as with the timber framed farm buildings) may imply the repair of wattle and daub, but in some cases plaster finish on a stone wall might be inferred. In 1300–01 the walls of the hall and the earl's room, presumably internally, were plastered with 'white lime' at a cost of 9*d.*⁵⁹ The house apparently had boarded rather than glass windows, for in 1281–2 boards, hooks, hinges and nails were brought to make a window above the knights' chamber.⁶⁰ When the kitchen was reconstructed in 1288–89 the foundations cost 1*s.* 11*d.*, the oven (*furnasium*) 8*d.*, and lead bought for repairing the plumbing 2*s.*⁶¹

The buildings of the manorial farmyard comprised a barn, stable, cart-house, byre (or ox-house), cow-house (equipped with stalls), granary (or corn-house), dairy and poultry house; probably all of them were of timber frame construction.⁶² The farmyard apparently lay adjacent to the courtyard, for in 1281–2 a wall was made between the chancellor's room and the cart-house. The material of the wall was not described, but it appears to have been roofed with a ridge, suggesting thatch perhaps over an earthen wall. In the same year a new thatched cart-house was constructed from timber cut down on the manor.⁶³ In 1304–05 separate wheat and barley barns were recorded.⁶⁴ There was also a second set of farm buildings, comprising a barn, byre and stable, located in the wood, probably Herboldes Wood; these would have been required to house and feed animals pastured or working there.⁶⁵

It is uncertain whether, after the estate was lost to the Bigod family towards the beginning of the 14th century, its new owners continued to maintain the large residential complex. An extent of 1353 did not record a residence,⁶⁶ but one was present in 1399 when a number of the domestic and farm buildings lay in poor repair: the great hall was valued at 10 marks, but its thatch and plaster were in disrepair,

similarly the barn needed repair to its roofing, plastering and carpentry (value lost), the bakehouse to its roofing and plastering (£1), the bailiff's chamber to its roofing (10s.), the 'long stable' and the 'Shepcote' (i.e. sheep-cote or bercaria) in roofing and plastering (values lost), while the houses called the 'Cows pene' (i.e. byre) and 'stottys stable' (stable for the work horses) lay totally ruined.⁶⁷ It seems possible, therefore, that the medieval building complex was later rebuilt or replaced, although whether by the surviving 17th-century building or an earlier (intermediate) replacement is not yet known.

The 'Long House' in Harwich

In the late 13th-century there was a building called the long house (*longa domo*) in Harwich. It was probably used as the centre of the earl's administration, or possibly a warehouse, in the port. In 1281–2 maintenance costs of £1 18s. 11¼d., comprised ridging of the roof by two men for 20 days, at a cost of 6s. 8d., clay bought for the same for 3s. 2d., in the carpentry of the porch 2s., the ridging of the roof of its solar (*solio*) 10d., with clay bought another 10d., and in 100 willows bought for planting around the courtyard of the earl's chamber, 12d.⁶⁸ In 1286–7 clay was bought for plastering the walls of the long house with a carter hired to carry it to Harwich, at a total cost of 2s. 11½d. The plastering itself cost 8d., while laths collected in Herboldes Wood and bought for the same purpose cost another 2s. 6d., perhaps indicating wattle and daub. One cask or butt (*busca*) was also bought for 4½d., for carrying off or collecting storm water, perhaps revealing one solution to obtaining a water supply in the medieval town.⁶⁹

Further work was recorded in 1292–3, although the entries were deleted by the auditors because the expenditure had taken place in the previous year. The house was roofed by agreement, costing 12s. 3d., but the nature of the roofing is uncertain. Clay was bought for the roof crest at 1s. 3½d, nails and rods were purchased and 'roofing material' gathered at a total cost of 1s. 6½d. Fittings included four locks (at a cost of 10d.), perhaps suggesting a security issue, and a trestle table was made up with nails bought for the same, costing 6½d. In the same year customary tenants' labour services were used to 'raise up' the site of the Harwich house 'on account of being flooded by the sea on the northern part'. Rather than raising the building itself, this may refer to a protective building-up of adjacent ground surfaces,⁷⁰ something that archaeological excavation has identified at Harwich in the 13th century and early 14th century.⁷¹ It is not yet known whether the 'long house' survived into later centuries. In the mid 1460s Sir John Howard acquired housing, land and quays in Dovercourt and Harwich, and in 1466 he paid for the construction of a new quay and defensive tower at Harwich. Although his investments at that time were

to further his maritime and business interests, as heir to the Mowbrays he was later to become lord of the manor, and Duke of Norfolk, in 1483.⁷²

Other Estates

Martells

A manor in Ardleigh was apparently owned by John Martell in 1317 and after him by William Martell,⁷³ with lands scattered through Tendring Hundred including at Dovercourt and Harwich. The latter were presumably the subject of a fine in 1317 when John Michel and Margaret his wife claimed one quarter of two messuages, 100 a. of land, one a. of meadow, 100 a. of marsh and 4*d.* rent in Dovercourt, Ramsey and Fulton, which Peter of Nailinghurst and Margery his wife had granted to William Martell. John and Margaret claimed that they held the whole of the aforesaid tenements, for the term of Margaret's life, of the inheritance of Alice, daughter of William Frank, and of the aforesaid Margery. Alice and Margery were the daughters and heirs of William Martel, and of John de Brokesbourn and William Martel, cousins and other heirs of William Martell. An agreement was reached, in consideration of 20 silver marks paid by William Martell to Peter of Nailinghurst and Margery, by which the latter acknowledged that the quarter part of the estate claimed by John and Margaret Michel would revert to William and his heirs after the death of Margaret; John and Margaret then did fealty to William.⁷⁴

Martells in Ardleigh and the lands at Dovecourt apparently descended in the Martell family into the first half of the 15th century. Since 1413 Thomas Martell (d. 1424) had been jointly enfeoffed in the estate with Alice his wife, Ralph Chamberleyn and John Pod, and held it in his demesne. The estate included lands, rents and services in Dovercourt and Harwich held of the Earl Marshal, and many other places in Tendring and Lexden hundreds, including Foulton, Ramsey, Ardleigh, Dedham and Elmstead. Thomas's heir was Ellis Doreward (d. 1426) who was succeeded by his son of the same name, a minor. The second Ellis perhaps died young, or without issue, as Morant records the children of his father as Elizabeth, Margaret and William. The latter died in 1438 under age and without issue.⁷⁵ The Dovercourt portion of the Doreward estate apparently passed to his sister Elizabeth (or Isabel) Doreward (d. 1452) who married David Mortimer. Their heir was Robert Mortimer who died in 1485 while his father David was still alive and then holding the manor of Martells by curtesy of England. The estate included lands in many north-east Essex parishes, including Ardleigh, Great Bromley, Tendring, Manningtree, Landermere Hall (Thorpe) and Ramsey, as well as 200 a. of land, wood, meadow and pasture in the

manor of Dovercourt worth £5 held of the Earl of Nottingham, and a messuage and 100 a. of land, wood, meadow and pasture in Dovercourt called Panteries worth four marks held of the same earl.⁷⁶ David Mortimer continued to hold the manor of Martells in Ardleigh and its outliers until his death in 1494, when he was succeeded by George Gylford, husband of his granddaughter Elizabeth (Robert Mortimer's daughter). At that date the estate included lands and tenements in Harwich and Dovercourt called Mortimers, presumably the lands earlier called Martells, worth £5, held of the said Earl of Lancaster, by service unknown.⁷⁷

Panteries

In 1418 Thomas House (Howse), husband of Joan the daughter of John Fillol of Thorpe-le-Soken, died holding a freehold tenement and 20 a. in Dovercourt called Panteries held of John Mowbray, the Earl Marshal. His son Walter House inherited the estate,⁷⁸ but the House family do not seem to have retained the estate, as it had been combined with Martells by 1485.⁷⁹

Improprate rectory

The rectory of Dovercourt was appropriated by Colne Priory after the gift of Dovercourt church by Aubrey de Vere I in 1088, confirmed by his son Aubrey de Vere II. It remained a possession of the priory until the Dissolution.⁸⁰

¹ ERO, T/P 86/4; C. Hart, *Early Charters of Essex* (1971), 19–20 (no. 34); D. Whitelock, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (1930), 38, 142.

² *Little Domesday Bk Essex*, 192 (77v.).

³ *Ibid.* 189–93 (76, 76v., 77, 77v., 107); *VCH Essex* I, 343; Taylor, 'Introduction', 21, in *Little Domesday Bk Essex*; <https://domesday.pase.ac.uk/Domesday?op=5&personkey=38846> (accessed 29 Nov. 2021).

⁴ *Complete Peerage*, X, 193–9.

⁵ *Ibid.* IX, 579–86 and 586 note (b); *Rot. de Dominabus*, P.R.S., 71; A.F. Wareham, 'Bigod, Hugh, first earl of Norfolk (d. 1176/7)', *ODNB* (accessed 23 Feb. 2022).

⁶ Below, this sect., Overlordship.

⁷ *Complete Peerage*, IX, 589–90; M. Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (2005), xviii (family tree), 26–31; R.C. Stacey, ‘Bigod, Roger, fourth earl of Norfolk (c. 1212–1270)’, *ODNB* (accessed 23 Feb. 2022).

⁸ *Complete Peerage*, IX, 593; Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, xviii (family tree), 102; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, I, 239–41.

⁹ Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, 105, 124.

¹⁰ This apparently superseded an earlier re-enfeoffment in the year of the marriage, with a member of the Bigod family as feoffee: *Cal. Pat.* 1281–92, 363–4, 441; Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, 138–9.

¹¹ *Cal. Chart.* 1300–26, 25; *Cal. Pat.* 1301–07, 31, 36, 223; *Cal. Close* 1296–1301, 529, 543. For discussions of the possible motivations that lay behind the deal: Morris, *Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, 171–83; M. Prestwich, ‘Bigod, Roger, fifth earl of Norfolk (c. 1245–1306)’, *ODNB* (accessed 23 Feb. 2022).

¹² *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, IV, 291; *Cal. Close*, 1302–07, 478, 523.

¹³ *Cal. Chart.* 1300–26, 205; *Cal. Close* 1307–13, 564, 584; *Cal. Close* 1313–18, 504; *Complete Peerage*, IX, 596–7; S.L. Waugh, ‘Thomas [Thomas of Brotherton], first earl of Norfolk (1300–1338)’, *ODNB* (accessed 23 Feb. 2022).

¹⁴ *Complete Peerage*, IX, 598–9; *Cal. Pat.* 1338–40, 177; Waugh, ‘Thomas [Thomas of Brotherton]’, *ODNB*.

¹⁵ *Rot. Orig.*, II, 125; *Cal. Fine* 1337–47, 111.

¹⁶ *Feudal Aids*, II, 153; *Rot. Orig.*, II, 221; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, X, 104.

¹⁷ See the discussion in *Complete Peerage*, IX, 599–600, esp. note (e); R.E. Archer, ‘Brotherton [Marshall], Margaret, *suo jure* duchess of Norfolk (c. 1320–1399)’, *ODNB* (accessed 23 Feb. 2022).

¹⁸ *Cal. Close* 1369–74, 376; *Complete Peerage*, VIII, 575–6; J. Sumption, ‘Mauny (Manny), Sir Walter (c. 1310–1372)’, *ODNB* (accessed 23 Feb. 2022).

¹⁹ *Complete Peerage*, IX, 600–01; C. Given-Wilson, ‘Mowbray, Thomas, first duke of Norfolk (1366–1399)’, *ODNB* (accessed 23 Feb. 2022).

²⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. IV*, XVIII, 72, 75, 78, 80; *Complete Peerage*, IX, 603–4; Given-Wilson, ‘Mowbray, Thomas’, *ODNB*.

²¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1396–99, 590; 1399–1401, 58.

²² BL, Add. Ch. 25750, mm. 1, 2.

²³ *Cal. Close* 1399–1402, 166.

²⁴ BL, Add. Ch. 25750, m. 5.

- ²⁵ *Cal. Fine* 1399–1405, 134.
- ²⁶ *Cal. Close* 1399–1402, 382–3, 432–3, 442–3; *Cal. Pat.* 1401–1405, 183.
- ²⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XVIII, 311–13; *Complete Peerage*, IX, 604.
- ²⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXII, 365–6, 374, 375.
- ²⁹ BL, Add. Ch. 25750, m. 5; ERO, D/B 4/38/4, m. 2.
- ³⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XIX, 101, 103; *Complete Peerage*, IX, 605;
<https://www.historytoday.com/archive/archbishop-scrope-and-thomas-mowbray-executed>
(accessed 5 Dec. 2021).
- ³¹ *Feet of F. Essex*, III, 261.
- ³² *Complete Peerage*, IX, 606; *Feudal Aids*, II, 217.
- ³³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXIV, 68, 80, 81, 83.
- ³⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1429–35, 204–5; *Complete Peerage*, IX, 606.
- ³⁵ *Complete Peerage*, IX, 607–8.
- ³⁶ *Cal. Chart.* 1427–1516, 233–4; *Complete Peerage*, IX, 608–09.
- ³⁷ *Complete Peerage*, IX, 609.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.* IX, 610–12; A. Crawford, ‘Howard, John, first duke of Norfolk (d. 1485)’, *ODNB*
(accessed 23 Feb. 2022).
- ³⁹ *Feet of F. Essex*, I, 122.
- ⁴⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, I, 239–41. See also: *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, IV, 296.
- ⁴¹ *Feudal Aids*, II, 129; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, IV, 291.
- ⁴² *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, X, 104.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.* XVIII, 75, 78, 80.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 61; *Cal. Close* 1399–1402, 251–2.
- ⁴⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXII, 375; *ibid.* XXIV, 83.
- ⁴⁶ <https://historicensland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1187898> (accessed 4 Dec. 2021).
Further research is needed on this point.
- ⁴⁷ J. Fairclough, ‘Bigods at Walton Hall and their Successors’, *PSIAH*, XLI (2008), 405–25.
- ⁴⁸ TNA, SC 6/840/1–13.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/9; below, this article, *Relig. Hist.*, Ch. of St Nicholas, Harwich.
- ⁵⁰ TNA, SC 6/840/11.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/8, 10.
- ⁵² *Ibid.* SC 6/840/5.
- ⁵³ Fairclough, ‘Bigods at Walton Hall’.
- ⁵⁴ Morant, *Essex*, I, 499.

- ⁵⁵ *VCH Essex* XII (pt 1), 44–5; J. Bettley and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Essex* (2nd edn, 2007), 5. I am grateful to D. Andrews for advice on this point.
- ⁵⁶ TNA, SC 6/840/5.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/1, 11.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/8.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/10.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/3.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/6.
- ⁶² *Ibid.* SC 6/840/1, 3–13.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/3.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/12.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/1, 3.
- ⁶⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, X, p. 110.
- ⁶⁷ BL, Add. Ch. 25750, m.1. The right-hand edge of the document is creased and damaged.
- ⁶⁸ TNA, SC 6/840/3.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/4.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.* SC 6/840/7.
- ⁷¹ D. Andrews, ‘Harwich: its archaeological potential as revealed in excavations at George Street and Church Street’, *EAH*, 3rd series, 21 (1990), 57–91, esp. 67, 69, 71.
- ⁷² A. Crawford, *The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1462–1471, 1481–1483* (1992), xxii, 172, 334, 336, 337, 339, 341, 344, 348, 454; above, this sect., Descent.
- ⁷³ Morant, *History*, I, 434.
- ⁷⁴ *Year Books, Edw. II, 1316–17* (Selden Soc., 54), 51–2; *Feet of F. Essex*, II, 173.
- ⁷⁵ Morant, *History*, I, 434; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXII, 342–3; *Cal. Close* 1422–29, 231.
- ⁷⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m., Hen. VII*, I, 41.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 433.
- ⁷⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XXV, 1. For the House family, see also: *VCH Essex* XII (pt 2), 106.
- ⁷⁹ Above, this sect., Martells.
- ⁸⁰ Below, this article, Religious Hist., The Par. Ch., Dovercourt.