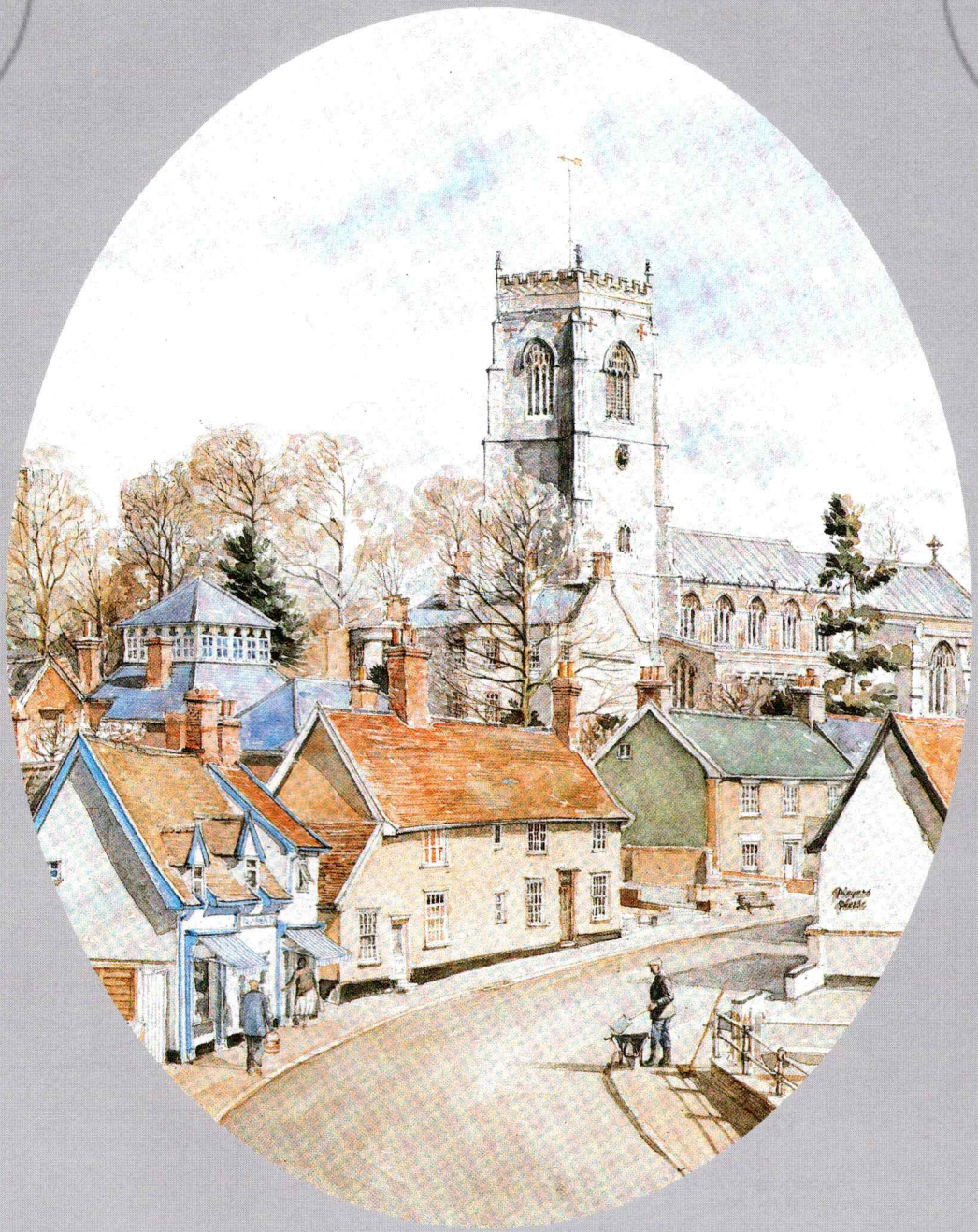

FRAM

The Journal of The Framlingham & District Local History & Preservation Society

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Heir of Antiquity! - fair castle Town,
Rare spot of beauty, grandeur, and renown,
Seat of East-Anglian kings! - proud child of fame,
Hallowed by time, illustrious Framlinghame!

From: *Framlingham: a Narrative of the Castle,*
by James Bird (1831)

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The picture on our journal's front cover is from the late John Western's Suffolk Calendar 1988© and is reproduced by kind permission of Mr. Gilbert Sills.

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FRAM

5th Series Number 7
August 2007
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Editor: M. V. Roberts, 43 College Road, Framlingham

At the Lanman Museum in Framlingham Castle, there is displayed a bound volume of the *Framlingham Weekly News* of a hundred years ago. Each Sunday morning, I go up to the Museum to open the display-case where it is housed, to turn over the pages, so that visitors to the Museum can see described in print events in Framlingham (give or take a day or two) a century ago.

The paper's contents are enlightening. To quote just one example, the number of fatal and serious-injury road accidents reported in the paper would challenge comparison with those occurring in the present day, despite the fact that road traffic in 1907 would have been minute in volume, compared to 2007.

But most engaging, though in a very different way, are the weekly reports of meetings of the Plomesgate Guardians and Council. This body had an onerous range of responsibilities – highways, paths, drains, public nuisances in the local area, to name but a few – but most important of all there was the management of the Union Workhouse at Wickham Market. Reading the reports of the Board's deliberations now in 2007, one feels a certain unease at the well-meaning condescension implicit there, towards the many paupers and itinerant vagrants whose only physical resource was the tender mercies of the "New Poor Law" of 1834.[1] (Older members of our Society may remember the late Gilbert Harding, a controversial TV personality of the 1950s and 1960s, whose parents, he recalled in memoirs[2], were Master and Mistress of a workhouse in the south of England between the Wars. In his childhood and youth, Harding remembered his parents' (again) well-meaning efforts to mediate between the harsh regime enjoined by the terms of the "New Poor Law" and basic humanity).

Doctor John Black, our Society's Minutes Secretary and Publicity Officer, has written in detail in this journal about the history of the English Poor Law[3], so there is no need for your Editor to repeat that information here, in a column intending to represent editorial musings rather than the outcomes of historical research. I would, however, like to share with members two widely different pieces, one on the "Old", the other on the "New Poor Law". The first comes from the 2006 Phillimore Lecture by Steve Hindle, delivered at the Annual Conference of the British Association for Local History, 3 June 2006, with the title "Technologies of identification under the Old Poor Law"[4]:

> The resonances between past and present debates about identifying poor migrants and relief claimants speak to more general long-term symmetries in welfare development and social policy as a whole. The not-so-hidden message is that the technology of identification is not the only issue in which current social policy-makers speak a language familiar to their seventeenth-century predecessors. The imperative to transform 'welfare to work'; the concern that poverty is an inherited, perhaps even a genetic, condition inculcated by 'feckless' parents; the fear of a self-perpetuating 'culture of dependency' in which households, or whole neighbourhoods, would rather accept handouts than shift for themselves – all these were no less characteristic of Stuart than of Blairite (to say nothing of Thatcherite) political culture, and have therefore constituted an integral component of the rhetoric and repertoire of rule in England since the early modern period.

My second extract is even more emotive. The novelist Charles Dickens' early life straddled the change from the "Old" to the "New Poor Law". His perception of this change is encapsulated in his second novel, *Oliver Twist*[5]:

> The members of this board were very sage, deep, philosophical men; and when they came to turn their attention to the workhouse, they found out at once, what ordinary folks would never have discovered – the poor people liked it! It was a regular place of public entertainment for the poorer classes; a tavern where there was nothing to pay; a public breakfast, dinner, tea, and supper all the year round; a brick and mortar Elysium, where it was all play and no work. "Oho!" said the board, looking very knowing; "we are the fellows to set this to rights; we'll stop it all, in no time." So, they established the rule, that all poor people should have the alternative (for they would compel nobody, not they), of being starved by a gradual process in the house, or by a quick one out of it ...
>
> For the first six months after Oliver Twist was removed, the system was in full operation. It was rather expensive at first, in consequence of the increase in the undertaker's bill, and the necessity of taking in the clothes of all the paupers, which fluttered loosely on their wasted, shrunken forms, after a week or two's gruel. But the number of workhouse inmates got thin as well as the paupers; and the board were in ecstasies.

I first read Dickens' coruscating indictment of the "New Poor Law" as a small child, but it still strikes a chord as a masterpiece of literary-historical invective.

Notes:

1. Poor Law Amendment Act (4 & 5 William 4 c. 76) 1834.
2. Harding was a regular weekly columnist in the Sunday national paper *The People* at this time, and referred there to his experiences as (in effect!) a child in the workhouse.
3. J. Black, *ed.* "The Bulcamp riots" *in Fram: the Journal of the Framlingham & District Local History & Preservation Society* 3rd series, no. 4 (August 1998) pp. 10-15; "The Care of the Poor in Suffolk" *in ibid.* 5th series, no. 2 (December 2005) pp. 9-16.
4. Subsequently published in *The Local Historian* vol. 36, no. 4 (November 2006) pp. 220-236 (The extract quoted here is at p. 233 of the article as published).
5. Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist; or, The Parish boy's progress* (1838) chapter II.

THE PLACE OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT IN THE STORY OF ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, FRAMLINGHAM

By David and Helen Pitcher

For many years the restoration of our churches, by the Victorians, tended to be denigrated by lovers of church architecture. In the nineteenth century, many mediaeval churches were over restored, over gothicised, and treasures were lost, but it is easy to forget that little restoration work had been done between 1750 and 1850. Without the Victorians, many more churches might have been entirely lost.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, two movements were taking place, one being the Tractarian movement as it rediscovered the sacramental tradition of the Church. It meant a looking back at the origins of the 1662 Prayer Book and the ways of worship that the 1549 Prayer Book had intended to reform and preserve from before the Reformation. There also followed a new appreciation of the best Gothic architecture in the building of new churches in urban areas in the Gothic tradition.

In the world of arts and crafts, William Morris and his friends were also looking back as they sought to retain and promote the ideal of individual craftsmanship in contrast to the systems of mass production, as the Industrial Revolution quickly transformed the aims and methods of work throughout the country.

By the 1880s, St. Michael's was in a very poor state of repair and in urgent need of attention. In 1884, Edward Bickersteth was appointed rector by the patrons, Pembroke College, Cambridge.[1] He was a fellow of the college, and we will read how important Cambridge was to be in our own story.

In 1885, Edward Bickersteth appointed Edward S. Prior as architect for a proposed restoration programme. He was a young architect, a Cambridge graduate, at the start of his career, and was later also involved in work at Pembroke College.[2] Prior drew up specifications for the work, and he wished to remain as true as possible to the original building, while including whatever wood and stone was reusable in the cleaning and restoring of the whole fabric.

His plan was to divide the church in half with a temporary wall across the building to separate the chancel from the rest of the building. The work was to be completed, one half at a time, as and when the necessary money was made available, and the responsibility for fund-raising fell on the shoulders of Canon Hulme-Pilkington, who was Edward Bickersteth's successor little over a year after the latter's first arrival.

As it happened, the nave was the first part to be restored. It had been a clutter of box pews, reaching into the chancel and looking to the three-decker pulpit for the preaching of the Word. Prior's specification for the nave and tower appears to have been followed. Existing materials were re-used in the panelling round the walls from the wood of the box pews, which makes a finishing touch after the repairs to the walls and the re-glazing of the windows.

The details of the oak floor and the "Cathedral" glass both follow a similar geometric pattern. The delicate shades of green and gold glass let in a wonderfully gentle light, while the grain

of the oak floor patterns attract the eye and feel good underfoot. The lead cresting round the outside of the nave roof also dates from this time.

Edward Prior was a disciple of William Morris, adopting much of the philosophy of Morris and his associates. He was a founder member of the Art Workers Guild, which developed into the Arts and Crafts Movement with its use of light, texture and geometry. He had a great sensitivity for everyday buildings, homes, barns, sheds, etc., and the use of vernacular design and materials to match the environment. He appreciated what was already beautiful in St. Michael's and worked with it, rather than trying to change everything. Some of his first ideas were not put into practice, such as applying encaustic tiles in the sanctuary, concreting the chancel floor, and placing wrought iron railings round the sanctuary and the tombs.

After the work on the nave had been completed there was a pause while the necessary funds for the chancel were raised by Hulme-Pilkington and his team of volunteers, who must have felt they had a very heavy task on their hands. It was on St. Michael's Day, September 29th 1909, that a Service of Thanksgiving and Dedication took place to mark the completion of the work. This occasion was reported in full in the *Framlingham Weekly News*[3], but in that fund-raising pause the influence of what was going on in Cambridge had a great bearing on what followed at St. Michael's, including the appointment of another architect to oversee the second stage, whose name was John Morley,[4] and who was referred to in the *FWN*.

Another significant name in the second phase of restoration at St. Michael's was that of Leach and Son of Cambridge, who were responsible for the surviving stencilled decorative work on the chancel walls. Little of the rest of this work is now visible except the decoration on the East-facing wall of the chancel's South aisle. The idea had been to recapture something of the colour of mediaeval churches, but by the end of the Second World War it was clear that the work was suffering from dampness in the outside walls, where it was peeling and severely damaged.

F R Leach had also been involved in the new building of All Saints Church in Jesus Lane, Cambridge, and although it is now in the hands of the Churches Conservation Trust, it remains known as the Arts and Crafts Church. Construction of the fabric was completed in 1871 and the interior stencilling was finished in 1914. Opposite this church is Jesus College, where William Morris and F R Leach had worked together on the chancel roof, and where the windows are brilliantly glazed in the Arts and Crafts tradition. Leach himself was responsible for all the stencilling in All Saints Church under another great Victorian architect, G R Bodley, who also brought together several well-known Pre-Raphaelite artists and C F Kempe for the windows.

John Morley, then made responsible for finishing the work at St Michael's, was a member of the congregation at All Saints Church, Jesus Lane, and was one of this talented group of artists, architects and craftsmen. Although it was nearly twenty years between the start of the building of All Saints and the second phase of work at St. Michael's, the same inspiration applied in both places, making some of the work contemporaneous.

The work in the chancel and sanctuary at St. Michael's involved completing the present Communion rails, and the organ was moved to the position now occupied by the chamber organ, and choir stalls were specially designed and built to complete the furnishing required for full choral worship according to the popular fashion of the time. The floors were completed by Italian craftsmen who were responsible for the sanctuary. The rest of the chancel flooring, apart from that which is around the Howard tombs, is in ebnerite.

The windows in the South aisle of the chancel combine the Tudor rose with ancient traditional symbols of the twelve apostles, as also portrayed round the nearby Howard tomb, together with the St. Michael Cross, and the connection with Pembroke College. The Bishop's mitres refer to the fact that Framlingham was in the Norwich diocese until 1914, when the present diocese of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich was formed from parts of Ely and Norwich dioceses.

A few of the furnishings of the Victorian restoration of St. Michael's have not survived, but what we are justly proud of, from that restoration, are the windows, floors, wall stencils, the chancel ceiling and the cresting round the outside of the nave roof. The Communion rails and the side screens into the chancel are further examples of re-using materials from the furnishing that existed before the restoration.

Editor's Notes

1 Edward Bickersteff (1850-97) was admitted, Pensioner, at Pembroke June 21 1869. He was son and heir of Edward Henry (Pembroke 1842), a noted hymn-writer. Edward junior had appointments in Hampstead and India, before serving as Rector of St. Michael's 1884-85. He was subsequently Bishop of Tokyo 1886-97. (J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* ... (1940) part II, vol. I, p. 256).

2 Edward Schröder Prior (1852-1932) was admitted at Caius College October 1 1870. His many architectural commissions included the new Medical School, Cambridge, and he wrote extensively on medieval art and architecture (Venn, *op. cit.* part II, vol. V, p. 202).

3 *Framlingham Weekly News* 30 September 1909; reported also in *Lambert's Family Almanack* (1910) "Church and Chapel Retrospect".

4 John Morley (1849-1937). Obituary in *The Builder*, vol. 153 (16 July 1937) p. 100.

FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE – AN APPRECIATION

By Andrew A Lovejoy

The Coat of Arms of the Second Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard (Motto: Solar Virtus Invicta – *Virtue Unconquered) lies, now somewhat defaced, over the main gateway to Framlingham Castle, quartered with the arms of the houses of Howard, de Brotherton, Mowbray, Warenne, Segrave and Brews. They go a long way to confirming that the Castle has a history worth the telling. Framlingham Castle in its day was one of the main seats of influence in the East of England, and even England as a whole. This story proves that, between about 1100 and 1635, all roads led to Framlingham. This short treatment is by way of a humble thanks offering from someone who has lived in Framlingham for over thirty years.*

Framlingham Castle has been described as amongst the finest medieval landscapes in Suffolk[1]. True, the presence of eight ornate chimney pots, dilutes the purity of this medieval landscape[2]. For all that, we have at Framlingham a castle in a remarkable state of preservation, so that a detailed study can be made of a very important military structure. The physical characteristics of the Castle are adequately described in the Department of the Environment's handbook to the Castle[3]:-

> The Castle consists of an outer court or bailey and an inner court, the Castle proper, with a third enclosure known as the Lower Court on its western side. The outer and inner courts are still surrounded by the ditches dug by the first Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk early in the 12th Century. The circuit of wall with its thirteen towers is that erected by the second Roger Bigod (1177-1220) in about 1190, and the Lower Court is of the same date.
>
> The entrance gateway was rebuilt by the third Howard Duke of Norfolk (in about 1530) and the bridge is contemporary with it. The ornamental brick chimneys on the towers are additions of the same period.
>
> On the northeast side of the inner court are the remains of Hugh Bigod (1120-1169), first stone hall and chapel, erected about 1140-1160, which can be seen incorporated in the wall of 1190. Those remains consist of the outer wall of the hall with two chimneys and the east end of the chapel, which was at right angles to the hall. All the rest of the buildings have disappeared but traces can still be seen of alterations effected to the chapel roof in the fifteenth century by the Mowbray Dukes of Norfolk. On the opposite side stands Sir Robert Hitcham's poor house on the site of the Great Hall of Roger Bigod's castle. Between the Great Hall and the chapel there were a range of buildings extending across the court, but this and all the buildings, which abutted against the curtain wall, all the way round, were gradually destroyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
>
> The Lower Court has earthworks on three sides connected with the Castle by short lengths of stone wall. That on the south side constituted an elaborately defended approach to the postern gate, and had at its foot a tower, the basement of which was a dungeon. The area of the inner court of the Castle amounts to one acre, five roods and eleven perches.[4]

Castles are one of the most potent symbols of our medieval past[5]. Between 1066 and 1215, 946 castles were built in England, of which 741 castles were of motte and bailey design (tower castles)[6], and 205 were of the enclosure (curtain wall castles)[6]. Framlingham is a curtain wall castle. The architectural statistics of the Castle are simple. There are thirteen towers at intervals of ten to twenty yards[7]. The walls above ground are forty feet high[8] and extend fourteen feet into the ground. The walls of the Castle are eight feet thick.

Enclosure castles were built from at least the date of the Norman Conquest (see William's castle built at Pevensey in 1066)[9]. Most of those early enclosure castles, such as the first Framlingham Castle (1100-1101) were very quickly built with earthworks and timber (it took eight days to build York Castle in 1067 and Dover Castle in 1068)[10]. What was novel about the second Framlingham Castle is that it was entirely built of stone. There were precedents: Exeter Castle, a tower castle, was built of stone in 1068[11], and of course Colchester Castle. Nevertheless there was a transition in the later twelfth century from castles constructed with earthworks to stone castles[12]. Orford Castle built between 1165 and 1172 led the way in these parts[13]. Framlingham followed in 1190-1210.

The Castle was built of local materials – flint and septaria – from Suffolk. The other materials used, Caen rock from Normandy, Ketton rock from Rutlandshire and Barnock rag from Northamptonshire[14] came from further afield. Building material was very costly to transport[15], doubling the original cost of the material within a short distance of travelling overland. In the eighteenth century an anchor was found in the nearby mere. It remains to be proved by archaeologists whether stone was transported by barge along the River Ore and thence to the Mere at the foot of the Castle earthworks[16].

Framlingham Castle would have taken years to build and was from the start a private venture. Clearly, its owner was wealthy. Indeed, the Bigod Earls of Norfolk were in 1166 the fifth richest family in England[17]. The cost of building the Castle was huge. Orford Castle, built between 1165 and 1173 by Henry II may be unique in that the costs of that building are recorded in the Pipe Rolls[18]; Orford Castle cost £1,413-10s-10d to build. The total annual revenue of the central government between 1165 and 1174 has been estimated as £18,500[19]. No records as to architect's plans, costs, licence to build, etc. for the Castle have survived[20]. We do know that on completion of Framlingham Castle, the monarch of the day, John (1199-1216), came to Frramlingham Castle in 1213.

Newly-built castles of the calibre of Orford (in its day perhaps the strongest castle in England), Framlingham, Beaumaris, Conway and Harlech were not only built of stone and massive, but they were also so constructed as to form almost impregnable military bastions. One commentator has suggested that the Saracens in the Holy Land, from the eleventh century onwards were able to penetrate easily the tower castles built by the Crusaders (a tunnel would be excavated at the corners of the tower castles, the tunnel would be filled with wood and the whole excavation would be set on fire, whereupon the corners of the castle would collapse; the Saracens' invading army would then easily enter a Crusader castle)[21]. Curtain wall castles were an answer to the fact that square towered castles were vulnerable at their corners[22]. The foundations of the curtain wall castles extended many feet into the ground. Framlingham Castle was no exception.

In short, Framlingham Castle as it is today, amounted to a stronghold maintained by a private owner who wished to put his seal on his influence and power in East Anglia. As it happens, the king of the day, Henry II (1154-1189) realised that his response to the Bigod power was timely in having built Orford Castle.

The Castle remains a perfect example for studying the military qualities of such a conception. With its thirteen towers, it required a military complement of fifty-two men, four per tower[23]. One of the few statements we have of the actual numbers of soldiers in the garrison date to 1216, when on Saturday 12 March 1216, King John besieged the Castle. The garrison then consisted of twenty-six knights, twenty sergeants, seven balisterii (crossbowmen), a chaplain and three miscellaneous persons. On that occasion, Framlingham Castle quickly capitulated,

and John put Framlingham into the hands of two of his henchmen, Elyas de Beauchamp and William de Harecourt[24].

John's siege of the Castle is the only instance we have of military activity at the Castle. Castles, until very recently, have nearly always been seen in military terms. In fact, as Allen Brown has pointed out, castles are domestic residences, as well[25]. Framlingham Castle's military history constitutes a minor detail compared with the use to which it was put by the Bigods, Mowbrays, and above all the Howards. Much information is available in central records for royal castles, but not so much for baronial castles[26]. Documentary history for Framlingham as a whole begins in about 1250. Unfortunately there are few records locally for the Bigods, who died out in 1306[27]. Nevertheless, the Bigods are exceptional in being mentioned quite regularly in central government records. Such must have been their influence in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries[28].

Castles were built to impress as high status private residences and estate centres. They attracted an exceptionally large and varied human concourse[29]. The impact of the Castle in Framlingham's medieval times must have been profound. Framlingham Castle, both architecturally and militarily plays a part in the story of castles in England. But for a true insight into its overall influence, a study of its owners and residents is a necessity.

In 1055, Robert Bigod was granted land in Normandy by William, Duke of Normandy. The Bigods got their surname from a famous encounter between Charles, King of France[30] and Rollo of Normandy. Charles requested that Rollo kiss Charles' extended foot. Rollo refused and said *Ne se biget* – No by God – hence the name Bigod. Robert's son Roger, cousin of William I, fought alongside William at the Battle of Hastings. He was granted 117 estates in Suffolk, including the largest manor in Framlingham, of 56 acres[31]. He initially settled on his manor at Kelsale but moved to Framlingham in about 1101[32]. He was given permission by Henry I (1100-1135) to build a motte and bailey castle on the site of the present Framlingham Castle. That was done. In 1104, he built the Cluniac Priory of Black Canons at Thetford, and he died in 1107. His successor, his eldest son Arthur, died in 1120 when, with many other courtiers, he perished in the White Ship disaster in the North Sea. His younger brother, Hugh, succeeded to the Bigod estates.

Hugh Bigod is one of those characters of whom we would like to have a portrait and full biography. He appears to have been a man with decided views, a highly independent and resolute being who was so powerful in East Anglia that the very Crown of England had to take him into their calculations when administering the country. The Bigods are dimly remembered for their walk-on parts in the great drama of England's constitutional history[33].

Hugh became a friend of Henry I and mediated in the problems of Maud and Stephen's reign (1135-1154), when civil war took hold of England[34]. In 1141, Stephen decorated Hugh with the title of Earl of Norfolk, and in 1146 Hugh became Earl Marshal of England[35]. Hugh's aim clearly was to build up his power-base. To that end he maintained a highly independent line (especially of the Crown) and followed a marriage policy which brought him wealth, military significance and power. In 1150, Hugh had four castles – Framlingham, Walton, Bungay and Thetford. The king of the day, Stephen, only had Haganet (Haughley) and Eye in Suffolk[36]. Henry II, his successor, saw every reason for breaking the power of Hugh Bigod[37]. There followed a period of very bad relations between the Crown and the Bigods. In 1157, Henry took Hugh's land away from him and in 1165 Hugh paid a large fine to obtain the return of Framlingham and Bungay Castles, but not Walton Castle, which was retained by the Crown. In 1173 Hugh completely miscalculated and eventually fought the King at the Battle of Fornham, 17 October 1173, near Bury St Edmunds. In alliance with the Earl of Leicester,

Henry's son, Henry won and Hugh escaped, but came back to Suffolk with 12,000 Flemish troops. Hugh took Norwich Castle on 18 June 1174[37]. The king retaliated and so it was that in 1174-75 Framlingham Castle was pulled down on the orders of the King, by Alnoth the Engineer for £14-15s-11d. The Castle ditches cost 36s-1d to be filled. Hugh escaped abroad and went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On returning, he died in 1177[38].

It can all be summed up in Marc Morris's words[39] on the Bigods, when he states

> The imperfections of Angevin Kingship and the inadequacies of the Charter as a remedy continued to be a problem for Roger and his descendants.

Hugh's son, Roger II, was not allowed to take up the titles of his father and was, of course, not then in ownership of the Bigod Suffolk estates and castles; the motte and bailey castle at Framlingham had been pulled down and Walton Castle had been permanently confiscated. However, Roger II had fought on the side of Henry II at the Battle of Fornham and fell in quietly with Henry II for the rest of the latter's reign. Henry II died in 1189 and it was Richard I (1189-1199) who gave Roger II back his lands for a fine of 1,000 marks. Roger II was now again Earl of Norfolk, and in possession of his estate at Framlingham. It was at this time that Roger II built the present Castle, from 1190 onwards. The building took about twenty years to complete. The Bigods by the time John came to the throne in 1199, had again become one of the leading baronial families in England. Marriage had helped, for Roger married a royal ward, Ida Tosny. They had eight children – a resource they were to put to good effect (three daughters and four sons survived)[40]. The senior son, Hugh, married Maud, eldest daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, the greatest of the East Anglian magnates. The Bigods had clearly arrived again. For much of John's reign, Roger II was on good terms with the Crown.

In about 1214, Roger II fell in with the malcontents amongst the aristocracy, who began to resist John's method of kingship. Roger supported the malcontent northern barons in their opposition to John's dicta. In the early summer of 1215, prior to meeting the King at Runnymede, the malcontents met, in part, at Bury St Edmunds Abbey. Magna Carta, signed in 1215, is a key ingredient of England's constitutional history. Even with Magna Carta signed, the malcontents, including Roger and his son Hugh were not happy; civil war broke out. Framlingham Castle was besieged by John himself[41]. Within two days the Castle capitulated (the fullest account available of John's activities at that time in East Anglia is by a Fleming who wrote the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie*[42]). The story ends happily in 1217; the newly-arrived Henry III (1216-1272) granted Roger II his titles and estates.

The story of the Bigods in the thirteenth century is easier to define. Hugh and his successors Roger II and Roger IV, played a leading role in East Anglian social life. They continued the independent line in politics and, on two occasions at least, their behaviour underlined their part in the constitutional history of the thirteenth century. In 1258, Roger III led the march on Westminster and demanded that Henry III expel his alien kinsmen and reform his realm, and thereby put in place a revolutionary programme, which lasted until 1265[44]. Roger III's cousin, Roger IV (1269-1306) provides the subject of a famous encounter with Edward I (1272-1307). In 1297, Roger IV stated, on refusing to take an army, on Edward I's behalf, to Gascony

> Willingly I will go with you O King, proceeding before your face in the first line of battle as it belongs to me in hereditary right.
> By God, O earl, either you will go, or you will hang.
> By the same oath, O King, I will neither go or hang.[45]

The upshot of the meeting with Edward I in 1297 was that Roger IV left the inner circle of the Court. The last occasion he was seen at a national gathering was in 1302, which marked the end of his political career. At that gathering, a charter was signed at St John's Abbey, Colchester, when Roger IV surrendered his entire landed estate, surrendered his title of Marshal of England and his title of Earl of Norfolk. On 11 May 1302, Edward returned Roger IV his property and, in July, his titles. The King made Roger IV substantially richer by presenting him £1,000 worth of demesne rights, but on terms that if Roger IV produced an heir, his heir would have to pay an entry fee of £20,000. Otherwise on his death he would forfeit his entire estate to the Crown in escheat. The latter happened in 1306[46].

By 1166 the Bigods were the fifth richest family in England. Their high baronial status, based on a vast landed estate nevertheless was marked by many problems; at Michaelmas 1282 they owed the Crown £2,905[47]. Indeed they had money problems from 1100 to 1306, yet managed to keep afloat. Their contribution, playing as they did a leading role in baronial affairs, demands recognition.

As a brief digression, it is worth commenting on the value to its possessor of the title of earl. The word earl originally meant provincial governor. By Henry I's time power was exercised by the Crown through Sheriffs' justices and coroners who could be appointed and dismissed at will by the Crown. By the thirteenth century, the title earl conferred great prestige but almost no territorial rights or special benefits[48]. The power earls had, depended on how much land they controlled. The Bigods in that respect were well placed.

The history of Framlingham Castle in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be quickly related. The Bigods died out escheat in 1306. The Bigod lands came into the possession of Edward II (1307-1327), who conferred the Framlingham estates on his half-brother Thomas Brotherton (1300-1338). Little or nothing is known of Thomas Brotherton's life at Framlingham Castle[49]. It appears that in his time he ignored the Castle and in that period it may have been going through refurbishment. The only legacy of Thomas Brotherton's association with Framlingham is that in 1324 he granted a fair to the town, which was to be held on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of Whitsun week.[50]

Thomas Brotherton died in 1338 and his wife Mary in 1362. Their granddaughter, Joan de Montecute, married William of Ufford; he died in 1382, Joan having predeceased him. At that point Margaret, the only surviving co-heiress of Thomas Brotherton took possession of the Brotherton estates including Framlingham Castle. Margaret became Duchess of Norfolk in 1378[51].

Margaret Brotherton married Lord John Segrave and their daughter, Elizabeth married Lord John Mowbray. Their offspring Thomas Mowbray became the first Mowbray Duke of Norfolk in 1399. All the Framlingham estates were in the hands of the Mowbrays until the death of the last Mowbray, the infant Anne, who died in Framlingham Castle in 1481 at the age of eight[52].

The Mowbrays are another instance where there is an incomplete record of their connection with Framlingham Castle. True, we can trace in records the activities of the Mowbrays on a national scale, but there is no trace of their activities at Framlingham.

The 1st Mowbray Duke of Norfolk married Elizabeth, the daughter of the Earl of Arundel, in 1399 but was exiled to Venice in 1399, where he died shortly afterwards. His daughter, Margaret, married Lord Robert Howard, and their progeny included John Howard, born

1420/21, who came into the title of Howard Duke of Norfolk in 1483, and took over the Framlingham estates. It was the Howards who conferred great prestige on Framlingham Castle until they ceased using the Castle as a domestic dwelling in the 1530s[54].

Little may have been recorded of the Brothertons and the Mowbrays. Much has been written on the Howards, whose tenure of Framlingham Castle came at a time of great change in England's history, social, political and religious.

(In passing, it seems to be assumed that the Paston Letters were in part written in Framlingham Castle. They were written between 1420 and 1504, by members of the Paston family, who had their main residence in Norfolk. The letters deal with internicene affairs in the Wars of the Roses and are invaluable as historical material showing the violence and anarchy of the time[55]. However, the Paston letters were not written in Framlingham, though there were Pastons in occupations such as shopkeepers and innkeepers in Framlingham in the fourteenth century[56]. It is hoped that the Paston/Framlingham connection can now be laid to rest).

The Howards started their illustrious history when Sir William Howard of East Winch near Kings Lynn became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1297[57]. The Howards subsequently made use of all three major paths to noble status – the law, marriage and warfare. The path the 1st Howard Duke of Norfolk (1420-1485) took involved profitable marriages and high achievements in war[58]. The 1st Duke's connection with Framlingham Castle was slight. The Mowbray Dowager Duchess of Norfolk died in the Castle in 1507[59]. It was not until then that the son of the 1st Howard Duke, Thomas, the Earl of Surrey (1441-1524) took residence in the Castle, making it his main home, especially after his retirement from national politics on the death of the Duke of Buckingham, a close friend of his, in 1521[60].

Thomas, the 2nd Duke of Norfolk led a singular life in politics. His mother was Catherine Mollines, daughter of William Lord Mollines. He spent his childhood at Tendring Hall, Stoke by Nayland, Suffolk[61].

> The 2nd Duke's career is a classic demonstration of how it was possible to acquire power and riches in the late Middle Ages as a result of political sagacity, good marriages, fortunate accidents and proximity to the King's person[62].

Thomas Howard was a cousin of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk (died 1476) and also of the Earl of Oxford, the two greatest magnates in East Anglia. Educated at Ipswich Grammar School, he showed a great interest in literature. He served in the household of a great man, Edward IV (1442-1483), a Yorkist. His proximity to the monarch was to last four reigns. His education was highlighted by his service at Dijon, in the court of Charles the Bold, whose court was said to be the most civilised, extravagant and magnificent in Europe[63]. He returned to England to become an Esquire to the Body, Edward IV's personal bodyguard. Clearly he could look forward to no ordinary career. On 20 April 1472 he married Elizabeth Tilney (widow of Humphrey Bowhier). His history until 1485 involved becoming Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1474, MP for Norfolk (1478) and Knight of the Bath in 1478[64]. In 1483 his father John Howard (1420-1485) was created Duke of Norfolk, the first Howard to be so ennobled. At the same time, Thomas Howard (the future 2nd Duke) was created Earl of Surrey, Knight of the Garter and member of the Privy Council[65]. Those appointments were conferred by Richard III (1452-1485). It was at that point that Thomas Howard, a Yorkist, nearly made a fatal miscalculation. On 22 August 1485, the Yorkists were resoundingly beaten at the Battle of Bosworth Field, by Henry Tudor, the future Henry VII (1485-1509).

The first Duke, John, was killed and Thomas, the Earl of Surrey, injured. Thomas was in the Tower of London as a prisoner of the Crown until 1489. Freed in that year, he immediately sought a close proximity to the monarch. Clearly Henry VII was keen to continue his policy of amalgamating Yorkist interests with those of Lancaster. In January 1486 he married Elizabeth of York, to seal the union. Thomas Howard then again became Earl of Surrey in 1489[66]. His second wife Agnes Tilney's property was restored to him. He was now launched on a career which included becoming a leading figure in the North of England, Chief Justice in Eyre 1489, and in 1490 Vice Warden of the East and Middle Marches – the King's Lieutenant in the North[67]. In 1500 he returned to Court.

Thomas Howard, the future 2nd Howard Duke of Norfolk, was re-appointed to the Privy Council and appointed Lord Treasurer in 1500, a post he kept for twenty-one years. In effect he was one of that trio who were the chief executive officers of the Crown, the others being the Lord Chancellor and Lord Privy Seal[68].

Perhaps Thomas Howard is best remembered for his defeat of the Scots under James IV of Scotland in 1513, at the battle of Flodden Hill. It has been claimed that Thomas Howard was the best military brain in the country[69]. From an unpromising start for the English, Thomas conducted the English army in such a way that the Scots aristocracy were annihilated and left leaderless, James IV (1473-1513) being killed. Never again would the Scots as such pose a threat to England[70].

We have an insight into Thomas' character[71]. He was blunt and straightforward in all his dealings. He showed humanity in the field, but was little fitted for the chicanery of court life. His humanity in warfare was rare for the times and was to become rarer under the tigerish Tudors. He remained significantly modest; his imprisonment and early poverty may account for that.

We know little of Thomas' daily routine at Framlingham Castle, except that he made it his main home in 1507 and lived there modestly and yet in high pomp. The ordinariness of his life at Framlingham seems apparent when viewed from a study of his will, which was drawn up in 1520[72]. To his widow Agnes Tilney he bequeathed all manner of plate, jewels, garnished and ungarnished, with all household stuff, beddings, pillows, cushions, hangings, sheets, fustians, blankets, beds of gold and silk and all other stuff belonging to bedding and apparelling of chambers. His obsequies as described by John Martin Robinson are worth noting in full[73]:-

> The Duke died on 21 May 1524 aged eighty and was given a funeral which was the last of its kind. No nobleman was ever to be buried in such style again. The chamber of state, the Great Hall and chapel at Framlingham Castle were hung with black cloth and escutcheons of arms while the Duke's body lay in state for a month before the altar in the chapel which his grace had kept prince-like for he had great pleasure in the service of God. Three solemn masses were sung daily with nineteen mourners kneeling round the hearse, while every night it was watched by twelve gentlemen, twelve yeomen, two yeoman ushers and two gentleman ushers.
>
> On 22 June 1524 the Duke's coffin set out from Framlingham Castle on the journey to Thetford, the ancient burial place of the Earls and Dukes of Norfolk, Bigods, Mowbrays and now Howards; the coffin was placed in a chariot drawn by three horses bedecked with black trappings and gold escutcheons and was accompanied by nine hundred mourners including four hundred torchmen in black gowns. His helmet with crest [now in St. Michael's Church, Framlingham] was borne by Windsor Herald, and hatchments of arms were carried by the Carlisle Herald, Clarenceaux King of Arms and Garter King of Arms. On the journey to Thetford thousands benefited from the distribution of alms.

On arrival at the Priory of Black Canons at Thetford, the Duke's coffin was received at the church door by the Bishop of Ely, *in pontificalibus* (full vestments) and by the Abbots of Wymondham, Thetford, and the Prior of Butley, all wearing their mitres. The body was carried by six knights and six gentlemen to a fabulous catafalque in the middle of the black-draped choir of the abbey church. This unimaginable structure was an enormous heraldic fantasy of black and gold adorned with seven hundred lights, one hundred wax effigies of black-gowned bedesmen holding rosaries, eight bannerols showing the Duke's illustrious descent and marriages and no fewer than a hundred hatchments of his arms. There the Duke's body rested in state overnight.

The services of the funeral itself began at 5 o'clock in the morning with three consecutive masses of increasing grandeur, the first sung by the Prior of Butley, the second by the Abbot of Wymondham, the third and final one, a Pontifical High Mass of requiem, celebrated by the Bishop of Ely. They were followed by heraldic ceremonies which marked the obsequies of a dead duke including a procession of hatchments of arms carried by the Herald and presented to the Bishop. The high point, however, was the dramatic entry into the church of a knight dressed in the dead Duke's armour with visor closed, carrying his battleaxe head down, and mounted on a horse with cloth of gold trappings. This awesome apparition rode slowly up the nave of the church to the choir screen where it presented the dead Duke's axe, still head down, to the Bishop.

There followed a sermon of the same heroic character preached by Dr. Mackerell. It lasted an hour and the theme was "Behold the lion of the Tribe of Judah triumphs". So effective was this piece of oratory that the congregation fled from the church in terror. The Bishop consecrated the new burial vault. Finally the body was interred and at the same time the chief officers of the Duke's household broke their staves of office and threw the pieces into their master's tomb.

The death of the 2nd Duke of Norfolk in 1524 marks the beginning of the end of the Howard interest in Framlingham Castle. The 3rd Duke adopted Tendring Hall for the most part as his home, whilst awaiting the completion of his palace at Kenninghall near Diss in Norfolk[74]. That palace rivalled Hampton Court Palace in its extent and magnificence. Nevertheless, Framlingham Castle did play a small part in the considerations of the 3rd Duke. He put in hand the building of the bridge across the moat in the 1530s and introduced eight ornate chimney stacks to some of the towers. Why he tried to modernise the Castle is a question that has not been satisfactorily answered. Perhaps it was all a question of good housekeeping, and at the same time there was spare money in the coffers to spend.

In about 1535, Framlingham Castle was abandoned as a regular domestic dwelling by the Howards. A survey of 1547 showed that the fabric of the Castle's interior was in a decayed state (as also was St. Michael's Church)[75].

Framlingham Castle for the rest of the century was used by two different sets of people not related to the Howards, who nevertheless owned the Castle until 1635. Other than that, it became a void and empty property. Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII, and her followers were established at Framlingham Castle in 1553[76], and between 1580 and 1603, the Castle was a prison for Recusant priests[77].

Edward VI died on 6 July 1553. Mary Tudor was generally accepted as the heir for she was named as such by her father Henry VIII (1509-1547) in his will. Nevertheless, the country was plunged into a political crisis. Edward VI, in his will, named as his successor Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of Frances, the elder daughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary, who had married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The Duke of Northumberland's fifth son, Dudley, was already married to Lady Jane Grey[78].

The news of Edward's death was announced to Mary Tudor by Robert Raynes, a London goldsmith. Mary made her way to Hunsdon in Essex and then to the Duke of Norfolk's palace at Kenninghall, near Diss in Norfolk. During her stay there, Mary sent a servant to entreat with the Duke of Northumberland[79].

Whilst at Kenninghall, Mary sent out messengers in all directions. Sir Thomas Bedingfield, amongst others, advised Princess Mary that Kenninghall could not withstand a siege, so he advised Mary to go to Framlingham Castle. Mary arrived at Framlingham Castle at 8 p.m. on 12 July 1553[80].

Mary's stand at Framlingham represented the only occasion in Tudor times when a provincial uprising defeated the central government, then under the Duke of Northumberland. The uprising was seen to a considerable extent as the people's revenge on the aristocracy for the events of 1549, for in that year Kett's rebellion in Norfolk had been viciously put down. East Anglia rose in support of Mary including twenty-nine notable members of the gentry, twelve of whom were East Anglian, with names such as Robert Rochester, Henry Jermingham and Edward Waldegrave. On her arrival at Framlingham a crowd gathered with as many as possible of the local gentry, justices and country folk. Amongst them was Thomas Steyning, husband of the 3rd Duke's daughter-in-law, Francis, the widow of Sir Henry Howard (1517-1547), the 3rd Duke's deceased son[81]. More and more troops arrived in Framlingham, including those of the Earls of Sussex and Bath. On 17 July Lord Wentworth arrived with military reinforcements. In all 14,000 troops were stationed on Castle Meadows adjoining the Castle itself. A conspiracy to assassinate Mary Tudor only strengthened the resolve of those protecting her, and it was felt that she was now protected by forces of ample strength to the point that "she took sure hope for a future victory"[82]. The Duke of Northumberland's forces were stationed near Cambridge, and the Navy had five ships off Harwich, blocking Mary's possible escape to the Continent. All the crews of those five ships mutinied in Mary's favour. And so it happened that their commander, Robert Broke, came to Framlingham to proclaim to Mary their support[83].

On 19 July the Earl of Arundel arrived at Framlingham and informed Mary that the Lord Mayor of London, the Aldermen and all the common people had recognised and supported her accession. The Earl on 21 July went west and accompanied the Duke of Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey to the Tower of London; they having already been arrested by the men of Cambridge[84].

Framlingham, the Town and Castle, must have been an extraordinary place to alight on at that time. On one occasion Mary spent three hours in both the Deer Park and Castle Meadows, talking to her future subjects and reviewing her troops. All were in agreement that Mary was the rightful heir and that East Anglia was in full support[85].

Mary's daily round during her sojourn in Framlingham is only known for its highlights. There is a story, or even tradition, that she was lodged in a room next to the Chapel in the Castle grounds and whilst there she gave birth to a monster, which in a paroxysm of horror she instantly destroyed. The allusion was said to have been to the protestant religion, the destruction of which, as a monster in her eyes, she speedily accomplished[86].

On 24 July 1553 Mary set off for London. Her first stop was Ipswich, where she lodged with the youngest son of Sir John Wingfield Humphrey[87]. On 31 July she was in Essex, at the house of Henry VIII and Edward VI's secretary, Sir William Petre. On 31 July Princess Elizabeth joined them, and on 10 August Mary entered the Tower of London where she quickly met the 3rd Duke of Norfolk, who had been incarcerated there since 1547. He was instantly freed and his land and titles returned to him. The 3rd Duke lived until the next year, 1554, dying in his own bed at his palace of Kenninghall.

Mary's visit to Framlingham is one of those events in the town's history which is familiar to everyone. Her rebellion against the central government of the day sent shivers through the middle class population in particular. With the support of the gentry as a whole and particularly in East Anglia, her cause was secure. A plaque commemorating Mary's visit to Framlingham Castle was recently unveiled in the Great Hall of the Castle by the present Duke of Norfolk, when Earl of Surrey. It is a fitting reminder that Framlingham can boast a central place in the affairs of England in the mid-sixteenth century.

The story of the imprisonment of recusant priests in Framlingham Castle is little known[88]. Altogether there were forty inmates held in the prison tower. The Castle was transferred from ownership of the Howards in June 1572 to the Crown on the death by execution of Thomas Howard, the 4th Duke of Norfolk. In 1604 the Crown restored[89] the Castle and their lands to the Howards in the person of the 1st Earl of Suffolk, Thomas Howard (1561-1626). Framlingham Castle meanwhile was mouldering. In 1589 a survey reported that the buildings in the interior of the Castle were in a state of advanced disrepair[90]. Eventually in 1635, Theophilus, the 2nd Earl of Suffolk (1584-1630), decided that the Castle should be sold, and at that point Sir Robert Hitcham (1572-1636) steps into the story.

Sir Robert Hitcham, born in Levington near Ipswich in 1572, was a lawyer of the highest rank, being Attorney General to Anne of Denmark, James I's wife. He was also from 1616 Sergeant in Law to James I and Charles I[91]. Sir Robert was a leading man in East Anglia with a close connection with Pembroke Hall, Cambridge where he was a student of law. In 1635, he bought Framlingham Castle, the manor of Saxtead and the patronage of St. Michael's Church, Framlingham for £14,000 from the Howards. That was a great sum of money in those days. He died in 1636 and left a will which the citizens of Framlingham found difficult in interpretation[92]. The will involved certain provisions for the communities of Framlingham, Debenham and Coggeshall in Suffolk or nearby. The matter was taken to Parliament by the citizens of Framlingham for ratification. An ordinance was issued by order of the Lord Protector[93] on 20 March 1653. The Castle fell into further disrepair and almost all the stone buildings within the walls of the Castle were removed (Henry Sampson, the Rector of St. Michael's, arranged for 125 loads of stone to be removed from the Castle interior for £5-8s-8d[94]). It was indeed a sad ending to a long story. Fortunately the curtain exterior walls of the Castle remained almost intact and it is they we can so readily admire today.

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No description of Framlingham Castle would be complete without some note of its residents' daily life at the time when it was in full occupation by its segneurial persons. With over 900 castles built in England in the Middle Ages, it would be a surprise if no records survive of the daily round somewhere in England in those bygone years. One of the popular descriptions of life in a medieval castle runs in part as follows[95]:-

> The castle household would be astir at day break. The servants rose from their pallets in attics and cellars. Knights and men at arms clambered to the walls to relieve the night watch. In the great chamber the lord and lady awakened in their curtained bed. They slept naked and before rising put on linen undergarments. They washed in a basin of cold water and donned their outer garments. The colour of their tunics, mantles, hose and shoes were bright blues, yellows, crimson, purples and greens. The fabric of their clothes were usually wool. Occasionally they wore silks such as Samite. Camlet, imported from Cyprus, was sometimes used for winter clothes – that material was of camel or goat hair and therefore warm. Fur trimmings were also used. Embroidery, tassels and feathers were used as clothing decoration. On festive occasions belts of silk with gold and silver thread were worn. Men and women wore head coverings in or

out of doors. The lord usually wore a linen coif, tied by strings under the chin. Outdoor hoods and caps would be worn over the coif. Elegant gloves and jewellery completed the costume. Ladies wore cosmetics and used depilatory pastes much to the disapproval of preachers.

But what of life in Framlingham Castle itself? There are some recorded insights. In full operation, the castle was clearly full of activity. The 1st Howard Duke of Norfolk travelled round the country with an entourage of 130 horsemen[96], and had as his personal staff the following:- an Auditor, a Steward, Groom of the Horse, two chaplains, a private secretary and a full chapel establishment. The Duke also boasted an extravagance – two fools. However, to run the Castle would, it seems, have needed a full complement of officers. Richard Green[97] gives us a list of the officers working in the Castle over the years:-

1. Constable or Governor 1311 John Bottetourt
2. Chamberlain 1524 Sir William Gyndley Kt
3. Treasurer 1503 Samuel Bleverhasset
4. Auditor of Accounts 1530 Sir Thomas Bleverhasset
5. Wardrope Keeper 1402 Richard Pole
6. Yeomen of the Ewry
7. Armour Keeper 1611 Thomas Fuller
8. Clerk of the Kitchen 1402 John Ledes
9. Porter 1418 Richard Yool
10. Park Keeper 1347 John Parker
11. Falconer 1650 John Baldric
12. Steward Thomas Steyning of Woodbridge 1563 (married Frances de Vere, widow of Sir Henry Howard 1517-1547)
13. Bailiff 1404 John Parker (not part of the Household)

There were also the men at arms who made up the military complement of the Castle.

Clearly, the Castle occupants, when in full swing, mirrored the status of the Bigods, Mowbrays and Howards. Some detail can be gathered from looking at a day in the life of Sir Henry Howard.[98]

Sir Henry's day began with Mass at 6 a.m., followed by breakfast which he took in the nursery until he was five or six years old, then with his parents. A typical breakfast consisted of the following:-

Chine of beef
Joint of mutton
Buttermilk
6 eggs
Chicken

Mornings were spent with his tutor studying the classics etc. Dinner was taken at 12 noon and could consist of the following: roast capon, boiled beef or venison, a sweet course, rabbit, chicken, pasties, roast pork, fish, almond tarts and boiled apples. The afternoon was spent in lighter studies – music and foreign languages. Sir Henry would have attended evening prayers in the chapel at 3 p.m., which was followed by supper – a long and elaborate meal starting with appetisers of plums and grapes, gingerbread and jellies, oysters from Colchester, and on Fridays at least eight or nine different kinds of fish. Games and music took place after supper. At 9 p.m. everyone retired to bed.

We are clearly outlining the life of someone who today would be counted as one of the very privileged few. It should be remembered that the occupants of the Castle over the years were amongst the richest in the land, and at times second only to the Crown in their overall wealth.

The aristocracy were never sedentary; they were always on the move either between their various properties or further afield or even abroad. Only in his official retirement did the 2nd Duke of Norfolk settle down permanently in his Castle at Framlingham. Despite this the Castle, for the most part, maintained a full complement of staff. The spin-off for Framlingham must have been considerable in employment terms. The centre of the de Brotherton, Mowbray and Howard estates was Framlingham. Socially, Framlingham clearly was one of the high spots of East Anglia. Even going back to the Bigods, we learn that in 1152 a meeting between Hugh Bigod (1120-1177) and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Chichester took place at Framlingham Castle. King John (1199-1216) visited the Castle as a guest of honour in 1213[99], and of course Mary Tudor availed herself of the Castle's hospitality in July 1553.

To include a note about medieval food would surely not be out of place. Everyone in medieval times, with the possible exception of the aristocracy, ate to live rather than lived to eat. However, it can be said that our medieval forebears ate well[100], though the disparities were large. The daily need for sustenance was a common denominator[101]. Some medieval meals are still served (pears in red wine still appear at dinner parties)[102], but the stock food in medieval times was bread[103], the grain of which varied from place to place and according to one's income. The commonest bread was called maslin, which was of wheat and rye mixed.

The amount of money spent at the Castle on wine was prodigious. In 1385-6 De Wenland, the Hospice keeper at Framlingham Castle spent £137-5s-4d on Bordeaux Rouge, excluding transport costs, which in their turn must have been very considerable[104]. Such Gascon wine cost £6.00 per cask of 210 gallons. The average wage for a ploughman in the fourteenth century was twelve to thirteen shillings a year[105].

Food for a peasant at this time could have comprised some or all of the following: bread both of wheat and rye, plenty of peas pottage, herrings, cod, cheeses and an occasional goose. Ales were the staple beverage[106].

A typical recipe for the well-to-do would be blancmange, which consisted of chicken paste blended with rice and boiled in almond milk, garnished with fried almonds and anise, or another recipe could be morlines (fish or meat pounded), mixed with breadcrumbs, stock eggs, and poached, providing a kind of quenelle or dumpling[107]. Both meat and fish were converted into pies, pasties and fritters. Sauces such as fried parsley were made from herbs from the kitchen garden or, in the case of Framlingham, the Castle gardens.

Fish would have been eaten on half the days in the year, castles having fishponds of their own[108]. The peasants would eat dried cod (stockfish). The clergy observing the rule of St. Benedict[109], would have been forbidden to eat the meat of quadrupeds (beef, lamb etc), but could eat the flesh of two-footed animals (*i.e.* birds of any kind). Barnacle geese and puffins were identified as fish[110].

In an age when transport was difficult and the means of cooking primitive, it is astonishing that such variety marked medieval cooking. A receipt for concocting broiled venison or beef steaks is offered as a final taster:

> Stekys of venson or bef: Take Venyson or Bef, & Leche & gredyl it up broun; then take vynegre & a litel various, & a lytil Wyne, & putte pouder pepir ther-on and pouder Gyngere; & ate the dressoure straw on pouder Canelle y-now, that the stekys be all y-helid ther-wyth & but a little sawce & then serue it forth[111].

Another aspect of medieval Castle life, hunting, a major pastime of the aristocracy, had certainly begun in the Deer Park, which was created after 1101, when the Bigods moved from their manor at Kelsale to Framlingham.

> Deer Parks in general were the result of limits put on hunting, which in turn was certainly the result of diminishing numbers of animals going hand in hand with a reduction in habitat brought about by the expansion of agricultural land. Such a situation could also have been responsible for the introduction of conservation measures and the protection of stock by the establishment of preserves and parks[112].

The neighbourhood of Framlingham Castle boasted a number of woods – Oldfrith woods (576 acres), Bradley Wood, Bottenhall Wood, etc. Finally, there was the Deer Park of 600 acres and three miles in circumference as defined by a tall fence to the immediate north-west of the Castle. Access to it was by the Lower Court or the bridge next to Roger Bigod's Great Hall (built by Hugh Bigod). The Deer Park must have played a key part in the lives of at least the male population of the Castle. Hunting was in medieval times a consuming preoccupation of the medieval warrior class, where warfare (the accepted function), courtly love, and hunting with hounds and hawks were the order of the day[113]. The monarch led the way, and hunting proved to be a good training for war without the guilt and only 25% of the danger[114]. Medieval literature is full of allusions to hunting. Even the senior clergy participated, though strongly frowned on by the generality of the 2nd estate[115]. It was seen, not only as a training for war but also avoiding idleness. The popularity of the Deer Park at Framlingham Castle is borne out by the record kept by the Park Keeper for the Deer Park. In 1518 for instance the following activity in the Deer Park was recorded[116]:

> (Deer killed) 68 bucks
> (died for the Garget and the Rotte thys somore, 15 bucks, 6 sowers, 9 Souralleys, 4 Prickettis, 11 of dooges)
> (Losses of fawns in fawning time and this summer, 31 fawns)
> Does killed for various persons - 93
> Including
> Item for my Lorde of Norfolks grace to Lambeth afore the audite and senys xxx doys.
> Item the abbott of Bery sent to me for a doo upon sent johan's daye in Christismes, and I kyllyd hyr and delyveryd hyr to Johan Crispe and to Johan Chyrie.

The Deer Park would have been an attraction for a constant stream of visitors for a day or more of hunting. Such visitors to the Deer Park at Framlingham would surely not have been a surprise.

Enough has been said to identify Framlingham as a lively entity, which, as the centre of vast estates, attracted a great concourse of people in its heyday. The Castle, however, was part of a larger community, the town of Framlingham. In 1086, the population of Framlingham has been estimated as being 650 persons, and in the 1300s, it had reached 1000[117]. At that time definitely a town in medieval terms.

Framlingham Castle could never live completely separately from the town of Framlingham or the surrounding countryside; the various interests here in Framlingham Castle and its neighbourhood were mutually dependent.

The ability to produce an agricultural surplus was the key to enabling the engendering of communities like Framlingham. The axis of those communities was the abode of the three feudal estates, the monarch and aristocracy, the religious element and the commons. Here in Framlingham all three estates have co-existed in the town's history. The feudal - the Castle,

the religious – St. Michael's Church etc, and the commons, the remaining citizens of Framlingham. It is not too difficult to understand why in the medieval period Framlingham would have been a key place in East Anglia.

Today the 70,000 people who visit the Castle every year as guests of English Heritage are visiting a tangible monument which is exciting to explore and which exerts a powerful hold on the imagination of the children, students, the general public and academics alike[118]. Its preservation for over 800 years is significant. The Castle has a secure place in the annals of East Anglia, and especially Suffolk. The view of the Castle from below the grounds of Framlingham College reveals a vista that says it all. To walk the length of New Road can be described as delicious in its dictionary meaning[119] of affording exquisite pleasure. Framlingham Castle indeed is one of the finest sights in England[120].

Notes
[Editor's interpolations enclosed in square brackets].

1. J. Ridgard, *Medieval Framlingham* (1985) p. 1.
2. *Ibid.* p. 2.
3. F. J. E. Raby, *Framlingham Castle* (1959) pp. 6-7.
4. R. Green, *A History of Framlingham* (1834) p. 11.
5. R. Liddiard, *Castles in context* (2005) p. xi.
6. R. A. Brown, *English castles* (1976) p. 50.
7. D. E. Renn, "Defending Framlingham Castle", *in* Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, *Proceedings*, volume XXXII (1973) pt. 1, p. 58.
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120. As observed by Lord Whitelaw and the Right Honorable John Gummer on a visit to Framlingham Castle (personal communication from John Gummer).

CORRESPONDENCE

2 Tanyard Court
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25 April 2007

Dear Editor,

Thank you for returning my call.

The article I referred to was in *Fram* No. 5, December 2006, "The real beginnings of radar", by Nancy Wilkins.

Mrs Wilkins mentioned the TISART Committee, but this was actually the TIZARD Committee after Mr Henry Tizard – later Sir Henry.

I have enclosed a couple of pages [pp.323-4] from H. Montgomery Hyde's book *British Air Policy Between the Wars 1918-1939* [1976], not to be pedantic, but in the hope of adding a little beef to that most interesting and familiarly delightful article by Mrs Wilkins.

Since speaking to you today I have been able to call to mind the two (amongst many) contempories of Sir Henry – Sir Ben Lockspeiser and Sir Solly Zuckerman, but that is by the by.

Yours faithfully

James Smith

[A brief extract follows from the book referred to by our correspondent:–]

Henry Tizard was also consulted. Tizard, who now headed the Imperial College of Science and Technology in South Kensington, was also chairman of the Aeronautical Research Committee, the old established advisory body which had been set up by Lord Haldane before the First World War, and he had always kept in touch with Wimperis, as well as with Mr (later Sir) Ronald Watson-Watt, an energetic Scot who was in charge of the radio research laboratory at Slough. He was also on friendly terms with Brooke-Popham and also with Joubert de la Ferté, who had commanded the Fighting Area during the Air Exercises. Indeed at a meeting held at ADGB headquarters at Uxbridge about the end of October, at which Tizard and various officers and civil servants from the Air Ministry were present, Joubert was to recall that "one by one Tizard ruled out the death ray and various possibilities of early warning – the existing acoustic methods and supersonic means". According to Joubert, Tizard concluded by saying as he left the meeting, "That leaves only electrical methods – and I think we'll have something for you", or words to that effect. Londonderry and the Air Council approved the Wimperis proposals in principle and the necessary machinery was put in motion to set up what came to be known officially as the Committee for the Scientific Survey of Air Defence and colloquially as the Tizard Committee after Tizard had agreed to chair it on consulting Hill and Blackett and securing their agreement to co-operate without salary or retainer, which Tizard felt would make their position stronger. Thus it was to be a purely advisory committee, without executive power, and without staff.

DEPARTURE POINT

Doctor Hodges, meantime, returned to the grocer ...
"I must now take my leave, Mr. Bloundel", said Hodges. "I will be with you the first thing tomorrow, and have little doubt I shall find your son going on well. But you must not merely take care of him, but of yourself and your household ... If you ever smoke a pipe, I would advise you to do so now".
"I never smoke", replied Bloundel", and hold it as a filthy and mischievous habit, which nothing but necessity should induce me to practise".
"It is advisable now", returned Hodges, "and you should neglect no precaution. Take my word for it, Mr. Bloundel, the Plague is only beginning ...".

From: W. H. Ainsworth, *Old Saint Paul's* (1841)

"History is five minutes ago"

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