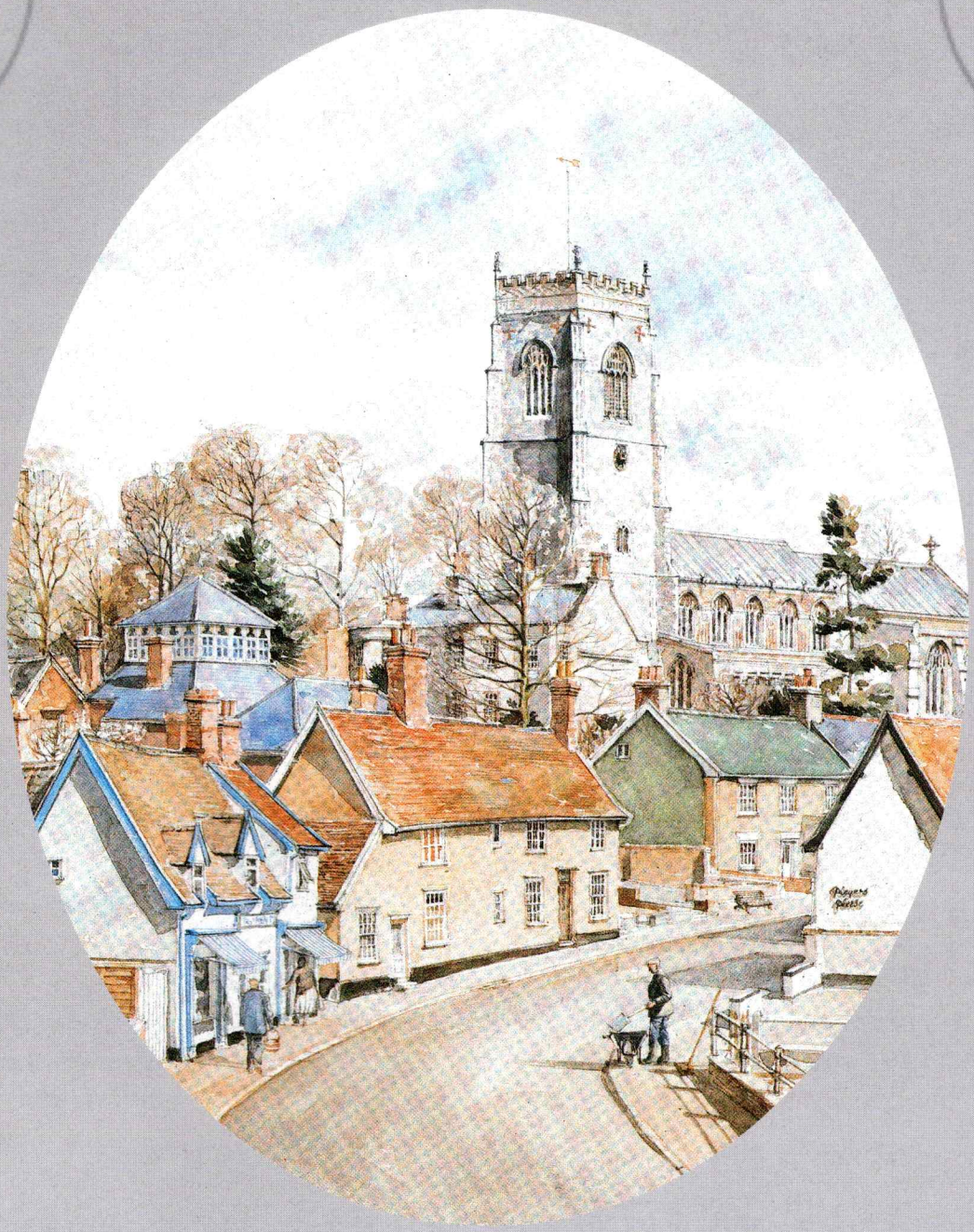

FRAM

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

Number 8 5th Series December 2007

Fram

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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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FRAM

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Editor: M. V. Roberts, 43 College Road, Framlingham

Back in May 2007, I helped to run a bookstall on behalf of the British Records Association at what has now become The National History Fair at Olympia. This is, in fact, a development from the Family History Fair, an annual event for several years at the Royal Horticultural Halls, where again the BRA had a presence. However, this time round, with sponsorship generated as a result of the very popular television series "Who do you think you are?", it was agreed that the Family History Fair should enlarge its remit to become a celebration of, and networking venue for, all aspects of British history.

Olympia is a huge venue, and it needed to be, in order to provide enough space for this particular event. The number of stalls and displays mounted by a varied range of stakeholders in national, local and family history, went very easily into three figures, and the District Line trains to and from Earl's Court were full to capacity (and beyond) on the Saturday morning and afternoon when I was working on the British Records Association stall. (Providentially, there are one or two large and efficient pubs in the vicinity of Olympia, which helped to relieve the intense pressure on the catering facilities at the venue itself!).

One large part of public area at Olympia for the three days of the Fair was specifically devoted to family history, in all its aspects. The BRA stall was (providentially again) placed in the hinterland between that space and the area where products, publications and services for the wider world of history were being purveyed and celebrated. The contrast between the two sections was illuminating: in the one – family history – so much congestion occurred that mere physical movement became extremely difficult; in the other, there was a steady flow of interested people – users, owners of material, practitioners, researchers – but plenty of time to stand, stare, and learn.

On the train back to Ipswich that evening, I had time to recover breath and also reflect. For a number of years, I have attended on behalf of the Lanman Museum, the Museums and Heritage Show, initially at the Design Centre and then at one of the Earl's Court Exhibition Halls. Neither venue is as large as Olympia itself, and on none of my visits to the Museums Show have I been crammed shoulder to shoulder with people eagerly trying to participate and generally see what was going on, as happened when I ventured into the family history section at Olympia in last May.

Thinking on from that, however, I was surprised to recall the contrast between the comparatively small number of family history articles published in *Fram*, and the burgeoning interest in the subject, "out there". Individual persons, places, objects, and events have demonstrably (with several honourable exceptions) filled more pages in our Third, Fourth and Fifth Series of *Fram* than papers concerned with family history, at least in its wider context.

We are privileged in Suffolk to have a county-wide Family History Society active in the field of research, publications, and outreach activities. Its Patron, Derek A. Palgrave, came to speak to our own Society's Committee when we were first contemplating the revival of this journal, *Fram*; and I was delighted to include Derek's article "Surnames of long standing in and around Framlingham" in the April 2007 issue of our journal.

The Suffolk Family History Society now has, Derek has recently told me, a number of local branches, the closest, I understand, in Saxmundham; and it would certainly not be the intention of our Society, and your Editor of *Fram*, to encroach upon the patch of the SFHS itself, or its constituent branches. Nevertheless, family history in a geographically local context is self-evidently, I feel, part of the business of a journal such as ours, and it would be nice to see that subject area have a more significant presence.

To judge from my experience last May at Olympia, there should be plenty of people with an interest in family history (Society members and others) eager to investigate our local sources, write up the results of their researches, and see them published in *Fram*.

We eagerly await.

RURAL UNREST IN SUFFOLK 1816 – 1834

By Jo Rothery

The factors contributing to the agricultural riots of 1816-1830 were complicated and varied, having roots in national and local, as well as economic and political measures in force at that time. Between 1793 and 1815, during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, British farmers had enjoyed a period of almost unprecedented prosperity, raising food production to supply the armed forces and the fast increasing population, the latter rising from 10.5 million to 16 million between 1801 and 1831.[1] In order to supply more food, farming had to become more efficient, thus leading to a rapid escalation in land enclosure, a measure to the detriment of the labouring classes.

One of the causes of rural unrest, according to some historians, were the Enclosure Acts that were considered

> ... fatal to three classes: the small farmer, the cottager, and the squatter ... their common rights [being] worth more than anything they received in return ... [2]

Small farmers, previously self-reliant, found their loss of grazing rights caused major problems, and parcels of land received in exchange were often insufficient to keep a team of horses, let alone the house cow. Associated legal costs and those of hedging and fencing, were often overwhelming and many farmers and smallholders were forced to sell up and become day labourers or emigrate. The Board of Agriculture Surveys (1790/1816) indicate that landowners tended to enclose lands to the detriment of the agricultural labourers

> ... before enclosure the cottager was a labourer with land, after enclosure he was a labourer without land ... [3]

Some, such as the radical William Cobbett, noted the benefits enjoyed by communities before enclosure[4], and others, including the poet, Oliver Goldsmith and the writers David Davies[5] and Arthur Young, all "... pointed out the evil effects of enclosure, but they went unheeded ..." [6].

Nationally, land enclosure had begun in the Middle Ages, but gained fresh impetus during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though varying considerably from area to area. In Northamptonshire, 1,500 acres out of a total of 2,800 acres were already enclosed by 1635[7] and in east Suffolk, mostly by agreement, enclosure had taken place from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century[8]. A need for increased food production during the Napoleonic Wars resulted in a flurry of enclosures, the large landowners benefiting greatly from the ability to farm more economically, thus producing much increased profits and yields.

The resulting effect on the agricultural worker and small farmer was ruinous. Between 1793-1815, at least two thousand Acts of Enclosure were mooted, and an unknown number of individual private agreements ratified,[9] 65,000 acres being enclosed between 1801-1833 in Suffolk alone, most of the enclosures taking place in west Suffolk. In contrast, the greater part of east Suffolk, apart from the area near the Norfolk border around Lowestoft, had already been enclosed prior to 1801. Cobbett's description of an one-hundred and fifty acre common before enclosure showed use by neighbouring farmers and thirty families, supporting no less than fifteen cows, sixty pigs, five hundred heads of poultry, not to mention the sheep and sundry other animals that grazed the land.[11] Enclosure signalled the end of such co-operation, and the close relationship between wealthy farmers, peasant smallholders

and rural labourers disappeared. Hardest hit were the poorest labourers, who lost their ability to climb the agricultural ladder, whilst the small farmer, "... a farmer one day of the week and labourer another ..."[12] was virtually squeezed out of existence. Allocated land was often insufficient to run economically as a farming unit, legal and fencing costs were frequently excessive, and the impact of the loss of fallow and stubble grazing rights was incalculable. Families once self-sufficient, found themselves landless and dependent on the landed members of the community for work and wages at a time of high unemployment, there being no alternative for the small man but to sell his land to a neighbouring farmer at a time when land values had fallen. Those whose lifestyles had been eroded deeply resented the workings of the enclosure acts and the land-grabbing of the gentry. Their only means of survival was to claim allowances through the Old Poor Law, a course denied them if they owned property or land. It was the start of the breakdown of the "... well ordered and hierarchical society ..."[13].

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In 1795, magistrates meeting at Speen in Berkshire seeking means to alleviate the abject poverty of their poor, adopted a scale of payments based on the price of bread and the size of family, wages being made up to an agreed subsistence level. Known as the Speenhamland System, it was adopted "... rapidly after 1795 ... [and] prevent[ed] utter destitution and starvation in the years of high prices ..."[14]. The effects of the allowance system led to farmers suppressing wages, in the knowledge that the shortfall would be made up to a subsistence level by the parish. This system was degrading, discriminating against honest workers, and eroding their incentive to work, as they received the same wage as the unemployed. As early as 1789, Metfield, Suffolk, had adopted a similar system based on the cost of bread that was expected to cover all expenses, a single man receiving 3/- a week and a married couple 4/6d.[15] Reverend David Davies, describing the standard of living of the labouring poor, calculated that on earnings of 1/2d per day with an additional 6d earned by a wife, the shortfall on income over expenditure was " ... almost a third of his total cost of living ..." [16]. Five years previously, in May 1790 at Earl Soham, William Goodwin describes another somewhat paternalistic system designed to help the poor of his village.

> ... Wheat being 30/ Pr. Comb The Gentlemen of this parish Subscrib'd 26£ of wh. with 7£ from the Trustees, we purchas'd Wheat and Sold to all the Poor belonging to Soham at 5/ pr. Bus. Allowing ½ a peck pr. Week for ye consumption of every individual. They took off 5 Combs pr. Week and it lasted till Septem'r ...[17]

With considerable tax burdens, ways had to be found to reduce the high costs of parish relief, and the Poor Law "... was a vital instrument of blatant labour discipline used by employers against their workforce ..."[18]. They manipulated it to further their own ends. Various experiments were made to provide the unemployed with work with varying degrees of success. One such scheme at Edgfield in Norfolk paying only 4/- per week

> ... not only served to confuse and demoralise the labourers ... but also made them more aware of the blatant opportunism of their employers ...[19].

In 1825 at Stradbroke, various attempts were made to provide everyone with work.

... Every occupier of land ... was obliged to employ men in proportion to [their] poor rate assessment as follows:

Land assessed for parish rates	@ £40:	1 full time labourer
" " " " "	@ £80:	2 full time labourers
" " " " "	@ £120:	3 full time labourers ...[20].

A farmer employing his quota was then entitled to the free services of one or more "classmen" (an unemployed labourer), who was in return paid the usual rate by the overseers with additional remuneration at the discretion of the farmers. The scheme was stopped and started according to the demand for labour, and appears to have provided work, but not relieved the tax burden on the farmers[21].

There were many different schemes for poor relief, but few stemmed the rising costs of administering the Poor Law.[22] By the turn of the century payments for clothes, fuel, nursing, burials, and shoes were being reduced and phased out, and by 1815 many areas had ceased payments almost altogether,[23] coinciding with high unemployment, exacerbated by men returning to their villages after the wars and finding no work available. Withdrawal of these services, coupled with inadequate poor rates, rendered the plight of the poor desperate indeed.

"... Work and wages, at the best of times, were barely adequate to sustain a labouring family or even a single unmarried man ..."[24] and by 1815 the Old Poor Law system was under considerable pressure because of the high cost of relief. Labourers found themselves working under short-term contracts, employers being reluctant to employ on an annual basis for fear of giving a man and his family "settlement", and thus adding to their own rate burdens. During the French Wars there had been considerable unrest associated with the administration of the 1601 Old Poor Law.[25] It was essentially a fair system, paying " ...'out relief' which consisted of money, clothing, fuel and medical assistance ..."[26] Based on parochial administration, the parish affairs were administered by "... unpaid, non-professional administrators ..." such as Justices of the Peace, overseers and vestrymen. The system had worked well "... and before about 1780 relief policy [had been] usually generous, flexible and humane ..."[27] During the war years

> prices soared ... the rates of increase [being] greater than in any previous price revolution ...[28]

and more and more families became dependent upon the parish. Parliament and the upper classes, mindful of the causes of the French Revolution, were fearful of the possibility of revolution at home.

Another cause of conflict between the classes was the Settlement Act of 1662,[29] which was one aspect of the 1601 Act, giving the poor the right to receive relief in a particular parish provided certain criteria were met. Initially the system had worked well, involving inter-village removal over short distances and providing an ultimate safety-net for someone falling on hard times, proof of "settlement" being treated "... much as a family heirloom ...".[30] But by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, it was considered that the Act was restricting the labour market. The unemployed were reluctant to remove to areas offering employment, and employers were reluctant to take on workers who were liable to become a burden on the parish. Many of the jobless without "settlement" found it impossible to obtain steady employment, their lives as a result, becoming unpredictable and unsettled.

Single young men had particular grievances. Until the late 1700s, it was customary for the single young agricultural worker to receive a wage and live in, but this system was gradually phased out for economic and social reasons, leaving many a young man homeless. Loopholes in the law providing outdoor relief for families, discriminated against the unemployed young male whose pride rejected the alternative of the workhouse. "... Rarely deemed deserving or respectable ...",[31] it was this group in particular that "... embarked on rural terrorism ...",[32] in the form of crime or poaching. One young man receiving wages of just 2/6d per week explained "... I don't live upon it ... I poach ..."[33], an occupation practised

by individuals and gangs having an "... economic or ... material gain for the criminal ..."[34]. For those without food it was essential.

Neither farmers nor labourers accepted the game laws, as they did not consider poaching a crime.[35] Shooting game was a privilege enjoyed by the gentry who guarded their own interests zealously, and to this end the Night Poaching Act 1816[35] was passed, imposing far greater penalties than before, a conviction attracting a sentence of seven years' transportation. The tightening of the laws, presided over by the gentry in their roles as magistrates, was deeply resented, and led to an escalation in violence, gangs of poachers determined whenever possible to resist arrest. Night poaching was one of many occasions when men had the opportunities to band together, and was probably a time for wider discussions. Violence between the perpetrators and the gamekeepers escalated, [36] and the gulf between the classes widened. Mantraps and spring-guns were considered acceptable at that time, but in 1827 were banned, their use being considered "... singularly unsuccessful ..."[37], killing more of the innocent than the guilty.

With the swelling numbers of out-of-work labourers came the threat to law and order and the perceived possibility of revolution. Farmers and parsons, fully aware of the costs of maintaining the poor, sought to manipulate the laws, offering "... allotments and premiums to those labourers who kept their families off the parish ...".[38] Although there were "... Abiding and Working Houses for the Poor ..."[39] established before 1722, it was The Workhouse Test Act of that year that enabled the formation of parish poorhouses, also allowing one or more parish to combine together in the running of such an institution.[40]

Between the years 1776-1815, Suffolk had 145 poorhouses (89 founded prior to 1776, 46 from 1776-1803, and 10 from 1803-1815), scattered throughout the county. Running counter to this trend in east Suffolk was the formation of Incorporated Hundreds and the setting up of "Houses of Industry". Between the years of 1756-1781, nine such incorporations were set up, and between the years 1824-31 they were considered to be 54% more economical than the workhouse system.[41] They were not universally accepted and were the cause of rioting in 1765,[42] and threatened incendiarism, in 1792.[43]

The running of these institutions was not without problems. Unpaid guardians and vestrymen determined the rate of outdoor and indoor relief, and at Metfield these meetings were accompanied by eating and drinking at the parish's expense, accounting for 1.3% of the rate income. This was not an isolated case, as the neighbouring village of Hoxne incurred expenses equal to 2.8% of their rate income.[44] Withdrawal of outdoor relief could be used as a sanction against neglectful parents, Daniel Knowls' mother having her "... pay ..." restored when the child regularly attended Sunday School.[45] The figures for Metfield illustrate how the Poor Law costs escalated. In 1785 the cost was £222, rising 1790-1791 to £280, and by 1802-3 to £514, the last figure maintaining *half* the paupers of 1790-91. There is evidence that by 1788 farm incomes were already falling into rate arrears, summonses being issued for non-payment.[46] By 1816 all but the very wealthy were suffering from the high taxes, and it was not unusual to petition parliament regarding the depressed state of agriculture.[47] Farmers, landowners and others from the Hundreds of Loes and Plomesgate followed this course.[48]

The passing of the 1815 Corn Law Act[49] was an attempt to protect agriculture against difficulties after the end of the Napoleonic Wars,[50] but whilst it benefited the farmers, it was to have a distressing effect on the poor, keeping the price of bread, their staple food, high. At the beginning of 1813, the average price of wheat had been 118/9d per quarter, but by January 1815 this price had dropped to 60/8d.[51] The effect of the Act was to

> ... impose a new range of duties on agricultural imports, with the 80/- figure selected as the cut-off point for wheat ... no foreign wheat [being] imported until the average home price reached [this] figure ... [52]

The Act was to have its supporters and detractors. An effort to change the "... cut-off points for imports ..."[53] replacing them with a sliding scale of duties, met with opposition from Wellington, who wanted a higher scale of duties, yet support from Huskisson who wanted a lower level, led to a compromise that reached the statute book in 1828.[54]

Other factors leading to the agrarian unrest were the mechanisation of farming practices. In particular, the introduction of the threshing machine was perceived to be the reason for the lack of winter employment, resulting in machine-breaking, destroying threshing machines, drills and ploughs, and the "Bread or Blood" riots of 1816.

These riots were far more prevalent in west Suffolk, where large tracts of land had recently been enclosed. Widespread riots occurred around Bury St. Edmunds, in villages to the east of the town, and in a pocket to the south-west around Clare. Rioting in east Suffolk was mostly confined to four villages in the north of the county.[55] In a bid to understand how and why the 1816 agricultural protest occurred in north Suffolk, a comparison has been made between the centres of unrest, and the dairying map of Arthur Young and John Theobald.[56] The north Suffolk riots centred around a hot-spot of discontent in the adjacent villages of Kenton and Monk Soham,[57] in the heart of the dairying area. The uprisings were so local and isolated, it may have been a personal vendetta, but whatever the reasons for the riot and machine-smashing, seven men were convicted and sentenced for periods of six to twelve months in January 1816.[58] Land enclosure had taken place in the area from medieval times, but by the early 1800s with increased farm rentals[59] and the demand for higher grain yields, the pattern of farming in the area was changing, moving away from dairying towards increased arable production, and by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, most farms in the north Suffolk area had two thirds of the land under the plough.[60] By 1804 the number of cows in the Debenham/Earl Soham area had fallen by about a thousand, and by 1819 the area was almost totally arable.[61] It is suggested that this shift was in part responsible for the extreme poverty and unemployment experienced in the region. Animals required daily attention, regardless of any economic situation, whereas growing corn did not.

In the light of all these problems, it is not surprising that the first signs of dissent appeared as early as February 1815, when nine men from Gosbeck, Suffolk, appeared before the magistrates accused of destroying threshing machines.[62] By the early summer of 1816, the disturbances escalated, and the East Anglian agricultural workers started to revolt, employing the

> ... entire arsenal of rural warfare ... open demonstrations ... riots and machine breaking ... arson, animal maiming and ... threatening letters ... [63]

Always the last to do so, "... it was a real indication of the deplorable conditions prevailing at the time ...".[64]

In the first instances, attacks were on property such as houses, barns and farm implements,[65] twelve men appearing at the Quarter Sessions accused of destroying threshing machines at Holbrook, being given sentences ranging from six months to one year.[66] Difficulty in obtaining employment was their reason for the destruction. At the time of the hearing 22 people were already in jail for breaking threshing machines, and others detained for offences associated with food for which the penalties were harsh. Woodrow and Palmer were sentenced to one month for stealing seven rabbits,[67] William Foster and Thos. Powling seven

years' transportation for stealing ducks,[68] J. Woods given six months for stealing one peck of wheat[69] and Joseph Dale six months at Botesdale Bridewell for poaching.[70] Malicious property fires, such as one at Helmingham[71] became the norm, with twenty-two fires occurring in Suffolk, compared with five in Norfolk (a trend reversed by 1833)[72].

Such was the effect on owners of destroyed property that they sought recompense through the Black Act, compensation being paid by the Hundred in which they resided.[73] In 1816, the *Suffolk Chronicle* published details of how to claim, and this method of compensation was used extensively until repeal in 1827.[74] Four years later, Edward Hancock of Exning, having lost by arson his house, barn, stable, cow-lodge and ten outhouses containing two mows of straw, a gig, two ploughs, a hundred other implements and five hundred articles of furniture to the value of £800,[75] used the system to claim against the Hundred of Lackford. Most attacks on persons and property were of a covert nature,[76] and the failure to look near home for the perpetrators meant that most attacks went undetected.[77] Richard Cobbold in his diary, recalled Bignold the Parish Clerk, on the introduction of threshing machines, drawing "... up a round robin to the employers threatening to lash [the workers] ...".[78] Bignold was the only man who could read and write, and had he been found out, transportation would have been his fate.

Initially property was the target in remote villages, but as the price of bread rose even higher,[79] the incidence of attacks included those upon the person, and moved to the large towns of the area – Bury St Edmunds, Brandon, Norwich, Downham Market and Littleport. At Brandon the rioters "... wanted their rights .. Cheap Bread, a Cheap Loaf and Provisions cheaper ..."[80], the local miller being held responsible for the high price of flour. Butchers and millers were broken into and food distributed amongst the crowd.[81] The "... superior orders ... sanctioned oppression ...",[82] in the hope that the events of the French Revolution would not be repeated in England. Had the poor been educated they could have found justification for their action in Paine's teachings

> ... When the rich plunder the poor of his rights, it becomes an example to the poor to plunder the rich of his property ... [83]

May 1816 was a month of much riotous activity, eighty or so people involved in the affray at Ely and Littleport being committed for trial at the Special Assizes.[84] Whilst the majority of those committed were labourers, either with or without property, the group also included a farmer, and other small tradesmen. Thirty-five of the eighty were described as married and eighteen (including one woman) single, with only eight men in receipt of a parish allowance. To qualify, those with possessions would have had to sell up.

In 1822, with a combination of agricultural depression and bad weather, incendiarism once again became "... a primary weapon in the protestor's arsenal ...",[85] over sixty fires being recorded in Suffolk, prompting John Constable to comment on the absence from his village, of the squire and rector for safety reasons.[86] The Fire Office Minute Books record on February 1st 1822, the rejection of a claim for a damaged threshing machine, and sanction a handbill offering an award of £100 for information to identify the "... Incendiary who set Fire to the Property of the Rev Hill of Buxhall".[87] As a result of the fires, some farmers agreed not to use threshing machines, and Suffolk experienced a decline in their use in the years leading up to the "Swing" riots.[88] In a two-month period, an estimated fifty-two machines were broken in forty parishes, over 250 constables were appointed, and the military and yeomanry assembled.[89] Sentences on agricultural rioters, many of whom were described as "... quiet, honest, respectable men ...",[90] tended towards leniency compared with sentences passed on others. In Suffolk, the outcome of the 1822 riots was an almost total decline in the

use of threshing machines,[91] and was probably one of the reasons why Suffolk was late joining the "Swing" riots.

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On 28 August 1830 at Lower Hardres, near Canterbury in Kent, many threshing machines were destroyed,[92] and it was during the following three months that the labourers' movement spread to "... over a score of counties ..."[93] from the south east and East Anglia to the west country, and from north to south. Nationally 1830 was a year of disturbances, with twenty-one counties receiving letters from "Captain Swing" threatening death and destruction.[94] Overall there were 416 recorded incidents of agricultural machine breaking, including 97 in Wiltshire, 52 in Hampshire, seventeen in Essex, 29 in Norfolk and just one in Suffolk. Similar figures for wages/tithes riots show Essex and Norfolk both with fourteen each and Suffolk 28, the arson figures being: Kent 61, Essex eight, Norfolk nineteen and Suffolk eight. Suffolk had experienced incendiary disturbances earlier in the century and many farmers had been forced off the land, but there was still a "...long-standing antagonism of farmers to tithes ..."[95] bringing farmers and labourers close together in a common cause,[96] and occasioning the remark that there was "... evidence of the farmers' use of the labourers' movement to promote their own ends by reducing tithes ...".[97] The landowners for their part were convinced that the riots were an orchestrated plot to overthrow them, a "... systematic and carefully planned campaign ... (amounting to Revolution) ..."[98] "... founded on fear rather than reality ...".[99]

Suffolk does not appear to have joined in the riots at the outset, the disturbances occurring almost three months after the initial machine-breaking in Kent, referred to above. The first recorded incident in Suffolk was on 13 November, at North Cove, Beccles,[100] and the last at Polstead on 13 January. Both were arson attacks.[101] (Archer reasons that the increase in incendiarism was due to the production of "Lucifer" matches, available in every village store from the 1830s onwards,[102] and considered "... an absolute boon to would-be incendiaries ...".)[103]

The 1830 riots in Suffolk are noted for their opposition to tithes and demands for higher wages. The tithe and wage riots in Norfolk extended southwards towards east Suffolk border, starting on 30 Novmeber with

> ... tumultuous ... [non-violent] meetings ... at Wortham, Cotton, Kettleborough, Bacton, Bramfield, Bungay, Harleston, Thrandeston and Wickham Skeith ...[104]

Farmers and workers colluded to obtain tithe reductions, and in east Suffolk it was the tithe owners rather than the farmers who became the riot victims. Discounts of up to 50% on tithes was not unknown, the reductions being passed on to workers as increased wages.

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There were many varied factors that led up to the agrarian riots in 1816, 1822 and 1830. The manipulation of the poor laws by the overseers, the severe effects of enclosure leading to the instability, unemployment, starvation and desperation of the workforce, and the consistently high price of food, all contributed to feelings of unrest and demoralisation in the agricultural community. The harsh game laws introduced to protect the interests of the gentry were resented, with starving, labouring families in a land of plenty facing severe penalties if caught poaching. The riots of 1816 and 1822 drew attention to the plight of small farmers, tradesmen and labourers, often drawing compassion from other members of society. General agreement not to use the threshing machine from 1822 may have been one of the reasons

why Suffolk did not participate in the "Swing" riots of 1830, and why the protest at that time was almost completely related to tithes and wages.

Notes

[Editor's interpolations enclosed in square brackets].

1. P. Gregg, *A Social and Economic History of Britain 1760-1980.* Rev. edit. (1982) p. 47.
2. B. A. Holderness & M. Turner (eds.), *Land, Labour and Agriculture 1700-1920* (1991) p. 49, (quoting J. L. Hammond and B. Hammond.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.* p. 51 (quoting W. Cobbett, *Political Register*).
5. D. Davies, "The Care of Labourers in Husbandry" *in* R. Cobbold, *The Biography of a Victorian village: Richard Cobbold's Account of Wortham* (1977) p. 34.
6. A. J. Peacock, *Bread or Blood* (1965) p. 15.
7. J. D. Chambers & G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880* (1966) p. 9.
8. D. Dymond & E. Martin, *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk* Revised edit. (1999) p. 104.
9. *Ibid.* p. 105.
10. W. E. Tate, *A Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards* (1978) pp. 242-3.
11. Holderness & Turner, *op. cit.* p. 50 (quoting J. L. Hammond and B. Hammond).
12. *Ibid.*
13. J. E. Archer, *By a flash and a scare* (1990) p. 165.
14. Chambers & Mingay, *op. cit.* p. 119.
15. *People, Poverty and Protest in Hoxne Hundred 1780-1880* (1982) p. 29.
16. Davies, *art. cit.* p. 36.
17. "William Goodwin's diaries 1785-1810" Ipswich Record Office [hereafter IRO] HD 365/1-3.
18. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 48.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *People, Poverty and Protest, op. cit.* p. 29.
21. *Ibid.*
22. K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor* (1985) p. 108.
23. *Ibid.* p. 109.
24. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 47.
25. [43 Eliz c2].
26. Dymond & Martin, *op. cit.* p. 96.
27. Snell, *op. cit.* p. 107.
28. D. H. Fischer, *The Great Wave* (1966) p. 152.
29. [14 Cha 2 c12].
30. W. E. Tate, *The Parish Chest* (1946) pp. 201-2.
31. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 46.
32. Dymond & Martin, *op. cit.* p. 124.
33. Gregg, *op. cit.* p. 31.
34. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 222.
35. [56 Geo 3 c130].
36. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 223.
37. *Ibid.* p. 224.
38. Chambers & Mingay, *op. cit.* p. 146.
39. Dymond & Martin, *op. cit.* p. 120.
40. [9 Geo 1 c7].
41. Dymond & Martin, *op. cit.* p. 122.
42. Snell, *op. cit.* p. 73.
43. "William Goodwin's Diaries 1785-1810" IRO HD 365/2.
44. *People, Poverty and Protest, op. cit.* p. 19.
45. *Ibid.* p. 20.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ipswich Journal*, February 3, 1816.
48. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1816.
49. [55 Geo 3 c26].
50. N. McCord, *British History 1815-1906* (1991) p. 25.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.* p. 38.
54. [9 Geo 4 c60].
55. Dymond & Martin, *op. cit.* pp. 124-5, but it may be that this record of centres of unrest is incomplete.
56. *Ibid.* pp. 134-5.
57. Peacock, *op. cit.* p. 70.
58. *Ibid.* p. 181
59. IRO FC102/C1/3; FB19/C4/1,2; FC90/C1/15-27; HA87/C8/1/1 (quoted in Dymond & Martin, *op. cit.* p. 211).
60. Dymond & Martin, *op. cit.* pp. 134-5.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Suffolk Chronicle*, February-March 1815.
63. Dymond & Martin, *op. cit.* p. 124.
64. Peacock, *op. cit.* p. 1.
65. *Ibid.* p. 11.
66. *Ipswich Journal*, January 13, 1816.
67. *Ibid.* January 20, 1816.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.* January 13, 1816.
71. *Ibid.* January 20, 1816.
72. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 70.
73. [56 Geo 3 c130].
74. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 72.
75. IRO 100/1/21 (37).
76. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 19.
77. *Ibid.* p. 165.
78. Cobbold, *op. cit.* p. 161.
79. Peacock, *op. cit.* p. 11.
80. *Ibid.* p. 14 (quoting from [Public Record Office] PRO TS/11/940/3381).
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.* p. 15.
83. *Ibid.* p. 16 (quoting Thomas Paine).
84. *Ibid.* p. 49.
85. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 72.
86. R. B. Beckett, *ed. John Constable's Correspondence* (1965) vol. IV, p. 203.
87. IRO HA 500/2/1-3. See Arthur Young, *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Suffolk* (1813) pp. 362-8 for Rev. Henry Hill's frequent correspondence with Young.
88. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 140.
89. *Ibid.* p. 83.
90. *Norwich Chronicle*, 16 March 1822.
91. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 85.
92. E. J. Hobsbawm & Rudé, *Captain Swing* (1985) p. 71.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 89.
95. Hobsbawm & Rudé, *op. cit.* p. 121.
96. PRO HO 40/27, fos. 162-3, 166-9.
97. PRO HO (letters 27, 30 November 1830).
98. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 165.
99. *Ibid.* p. 166.
100. Hobsbawm & Rudé, *op. cit.* p. 126.
101. *Ibid.*
102. Archer, *op. cit.* p. 73.
103. *Ibid.*
104. Hobsbawm & Rudé, *op. cit.* p. 128.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE BUILDING AND OPENING OF FRAMLINGHAM COLLEGE ON THE TOWN OF FRAMLINGHAM*

By J. Anthony Broster

In the middle of the nineteenth century it was proposed to build a middle class school in Framlingham as a memorial to Prince Albert. Pembroke College, Cambridge, offered the land, which it held on trust from Sir Robert Hitcham, a wealthy lawyer who died in 1646. Over the years, the college has been known by several names. The Royal Albert Middle Class School and College was the original name proposed[1], but was never used; then successively Middle Class College Suffolk, Framlingham Middle Class College, Albert Memorial College, Framlingham, and Framlingham College (as it is now known). Since that time, the two colleges (Pembroke and Framlingham) have controlled a great deal of land in and around Framlingham. The town has been an important local centre for education since then, with the (Thomas) Mills Grammar School for girls, and the Sir Robert Hitcham's Church or National junior school, in addition to the College. There were also a number of small private schools, both day and boarding.

There were long reports published as to why the college should be built, going into the gentry of Suffolk wanting to have long term memorial to Prince Albert, as well as the perceived lack of adequate training for children of middle class parents. These two objectives it was believed could be covered in this one project. Fundraising was started in March or April 1862 by Lady Kerrison and her husband, Sir Edward Clarence Kerrison. Agreement was reached with Pembroke College to provide a site for the building of the College.

> The said College [Pembroke] may grant and convey a piece or parcel of freehold land not exceeding fifteen acres, on such part of the estates situate in the parish of Framlingham belonging to the said Charity as may be best suited for the purpose, as and for a site for a School or College for the better education of the middle classes of the county of Suffolk, to be known as the Albert Memorial School or College. [2]

When sufficient funds had been received or promised, building work started on 27 May 1863. The site chosen for the project was North North West of the town on the top of rising ground across the Mere opposite the castle.

The College was only about a mile ("ten minutes walk" according to the first prospectus!) from Framlingham station, the terminus of the branch line which had opened on 1st June 1859, and which ran the last College special in March 1954,[3] two years after the line had been closed for regular passenger traffic. (There are several rumours in the town as to why the specials were stopped, but the most popular was the damage done to the carriages by a very small group of pupils.) The branch joined with others opened around that time, enabling connections to be made to London, Colchester, Ipswich, Great Yarmouth, Norwich and Cambridge. The turnpikes which had been opened at the end of the eighteenth century also enabled journeys to be made by road to Saxmundham or Yoxford, and from there North to Norfolk, South to Essex and London, and West to Bury St Edmunds, Newmarket and Cambridge.[4] It is supposed that the College would not have been built in Framlingham if the land and transport facilities, especially the railway line, had not been there.

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The College was built in just less than two years, work starting on 27th May 1863, and the College opening its doors to its first pupils on 10th April 1865. The College has kept fairly detailed records of the cost of construction, there being a record of the cost from the start of work up to 31st December 1864, subsequent to which there is the Private Ledger covering 1870 to 1908, which records further costs and contributions made, as well as full details of all income and expenditure. The work up to 31 December 1864 is summarised in Table 1 below.

Work Done	Contractor	£
Contractor	Lacy	7,500. 0s. 0d
Architect	Peck	537. 2s. 9d
Fittings	Hadden	400. 0s. 0d
Clerk of Works	Hart	171.16s. 0d
Clerk of Works	Howe	202. 6s. 6d
Brick Making	Turner	1,819. 7s. 2d
Various Charges		411. 7s. 2d
Various Expenses		536.14s. 3d
Costs Between June 1863 & 31 Dec 1864		£11,578.13s.10d

Table 1 **Summary of Building Costs Records to December 1864**

The names of the contractors have been compared with the names shown in Kelly's, White's and Harold's Trade Directories covering Framlingham from 1855 through to 1892, but there are no similarities. The main contractors are mentioned in several directories as being the Norwich based.

> J. W. Lacey, of Norwich, who was the main contractor for the building; M. Hart was clerk of the works; and W. A. Bishop was the builder's foreman. [5]

Lambert's Almanack records March 21 [1875] "Death of Mr. F. Peck, at Yoxford, architect of Albert College".[6] So it appears that he was living or working locally, Yoxford only being ten miles from Framlingham. The bricks used to construct the College were made at the bottom of the slope on which the College was built, using the brick clay dug from there.

> The whole of the bricks used in its erection were dug out, made, and burnt at the foot of the hill in front of the college ... where is an excellent vein of brick-earth.[7]

Wood, or most likely coal, to fire the bricks would have been brought to the town, and if it was coal, the branch from Wickham Market to Framlingham would have been used. A local coal merchant may well have been engaged. Certainly the carriage of the coal from the Station Goods depot would have given employment to local men. No record has been found to show further costs between December 1864 and the start of the Michaelmas Term in 1869; however the total costs recorded, including any capitalised interest, amounted to £22,604.5s.2d,[8] a further £11,025. 5s. 4d. The final fourteen weeks work would have included all the final fittings and furnishings, including the installation of gas lighting using the gas produced by the town's gas works. There was a further £3,070. 6s. 6d of building works and £770. 1s. 0d of interest added by the end of the Summer term of 1879.[9] The total cost of the College at the end of the summer term 1879 amounted to £26,444.12s. 8d.

According to Rev. A.C. Daymond

> The College building is well arranged and thoroughly suited for its purpose. It is adapted for the accommodation of 250 boys. **Each boy has a separate bed,** and the dormitories are spacious and airy.[10]

The highlighting here was that of the publishers, who wanted that emphasis to be made, as in some public schools, beds had to be shared. It must be remembered that

> Two books which appeared within a year of each other and which were both best-sellers have helped to popularise and fix the concept of the public school: one appearing in 1857, was ... *Tom Brown's Schooldays,* ... and the other published in 1858 was *Eric, or Little by Little.*[11]

These books written by ex-pupils illustrated the terrible conditions that applied in the older public schools, and, although the College had only four baths between the 250 pupils, this was much better than washing under the pump in the school yard. The college also had running hot water, supplied by a steam powered pump.

Things were not going all Framlingham's way, as a number of other schools had been opened in the previous twenty-five years: Cheltenham in 1841, Marlborough in 1842, Rossal in 1844, Wellington in 1859, and Clifton in 1860.[12] So despite the increasing demand for the new style schools from both parents living in Britain and full boarding facilities from parents based in the British Empire, the quality of the Headmaster and all the facilities really did matter.

Unfortunately no records have been traced to identify the individual workmen on the building site either as the craftsmen or labourers, but considering the reports for later years, it must be assumed that the majority were either Framlingham people, or, at the very least, lodged within the town.

> THE BUILDING TRADE has been in a brisk state in the town. The erection of New School Buildings together with the enlargement of Albert College has found employment of a good number of hands. The bricks have been manufactured from the splendid vein of brick-earth found at the foot of the hill in front of the college.[13]

During the period of construction two men are reported as having been killed "Two men were killed by accident during the erection of the College,"[14] and in 1877 another man was killed: "George Strowger, Framlingham, fell from the roof of Albert College Chapel."[15] The Minutes of the Petty Sessions covering Framlingham for the years 1862, 1864 and 1870 record changes to neither the drunk and disorderly nor bastardy cases,[16] which suggests either very strict control by the contractors of their men or, more likely, that they were largely using local men. Therefore, although it is not possible to quantify the wages paid to the construction workers, it would have been largely paid to and spent by local men and their families. An examination of the Plomesgate Union records[17] was made, but although it was possible to record the total numbers being given assistance before the construction work started which amounted to 1306, the records were not available covering the period of the main construction work.

The staff numbers of masters and ancillary staff are found from both census records (for staff living at the College), and College records, and here it is possible to quantify the salaries and wages paid. Masters and other senior staff (Medical Officer, Matron and Accountant) were paid on a termly basis. Here the surviving records are excellent even taking into account flood damage to some College records. (The College has several different records of staff from the record of payments made, the private ledger and statistical records). The census

shows thirteen teaching staff in residence on 2nd April 1871, but only eight on 3rd April 1881 and 5th April 1891, this compares with the Salaries records,[18] which show thirteen or fourteen staff, but these censuses were taken near the Easter vacation. The number of assistant masters was high, most of them either Church of England clergy or holders of Bachelors or Masters Degrees, from London University or Trinity College, Dublin, but there were also a sprinkling of Oxford and Cambridge graduates. Several who did not hold such qualifications were Fellows of the relevant Royal Society, and many of those who left the College went on to become headmasters of other schools. Almost all assistant masters had some teaching experience before joining the College staff, and certainly, compared with assistant masters in many schools, were very well qualified. In many other schools having similar ideals, the masters had no qualifications, not even from the recently opened teacher training colleges. A surprising number of the assistant masters in the 1870s and later were "Old Framlinghamians", that is old boys of the school. The salaries paid in 1870 to 1872 are summarised as follows:-

Term Start	Total £	Number
September 1870	461	13
January 1871	457	14
April 1871	455	13
September 1871	404	14
January 1872	464	13
April 1872	488	14

Table 2 Masters' Salaries September 1870 to Lent 1885. (AMCF 004)

The average payment per person is £100 per annum, the range being £10 to £127, but most of the teaching staff were living and taking their meals within the College, and the headmaster's wife and family are also reported as being at the College on census day. There were also a number of ancillary staff living and working at the College. The wages' records are not available, but numbers can be identified from the census reports which show the following figures:-

Census in April	Masters	Servants
1871	13	24
1881	8	31
1891	8	38

Table 3 Census numbers of Framlingham College Masters & Servants

The total annual payroll for both groups is recorded by the College with the following:-

Year to end of Summer Term	Masters £	Servants £
1870	1475	462
1871	1335	452
1872	1461	424
1873	1386	501
1874	1529	490
1875	1942	583

Table 4 Establishment Summaries[19]

This suggests that the servants were all paid about £37 a year, which was less than skilled craftsmen, but normal for unskilled servants with food and accommodation provided. The pay of both masters and servants was certainly partly spent within the town, and some of the money may have gone to their home to support the rest of their families.

The pupil count is just as important as the master count. The school was built to take 300 pupils eating in the dining room, but certainly in the first years the count does not seem to reach more than 278.[20] To start with the numbers were only 228:

> on Monday the 10th April, 1865, the school; was opened. .... There was no ceremony of any sort. On that day one hundred and forty-five boys presented themselves, and there followed just a week later by one hundred and twenty-three more, making a total of two hundred and twenty-eight, and filling the whole of the accommodation then available.[21]

The exact number of pupils (in some reports called scholars) varied; certainly the numbers dropped after the first years, but the appointment of a new headmaster brought back the numbers.

Date of Count	Boarders	Day Pupils	Total	Census Reports
Summer 1870	235	6	241	
April 1871				189
Summer 1871	203	4	207	
Summer 1872	151	5	156	
Summer 1873	179	4	183	
Summer 1874	226	9	235	
Summer 1875	264	14	278	
April 1881				185
April 1891				187

Table 5 **Pupil Counts** [22]

The variance in numbers between the Census and the end of year figures for statistical purposes is explained by the fact that (as noted above) the censuses were taken during the Easter period. The annual fees of between £25 and £35 per student depended on three things; the pupil's age, if the family was Suffolk based, and if they had an elder brother at the College. Limited information is available from the census records, and the list published by the College of students, the latter having the disadvantage that it covered forty years, from 1865 to 1905, and was in strict alphabetical order. However the establishment accounts[23] do clearly record the pupil fees and other income for each year, and then proceed to calculate a pence per pupil day for all income, expenditure and the surplus or deficit for each year. The recorded income from pupils ranged from £5,261 in 1872 to £8,134 in 1874, most of this income spent by the College at an average of 96% in the six years to 1875.[24]

There are also records of the time spent by the pupils in lessons, meals, and preparation. But they had two afternoons, Wednesday and Saturday, and all of Sunday free. The rules did not restrict them to the College, and therefore at least some of them would have spent time and maybe money within the town. The fact that the pupils were allowed out of the grounds was one of the features published in the first prospectus, and one of the punishments for misbehaviour was to be gated. The number of pupils from both census and school records varied as shown in figure 1 below. As can be seen, the number of pupils varied a great deal, and a lot of the reduced numbers in 1885 to 1888 are blamed on the headmaster Mr A.H. Scott-White who was the first lay headmaster; he resigned after only five years in post, and great care was taken in selecting his successor Rev. Dr O. D. Inskip, who lasted from 1887 to 1913, one of the two longest-serving heads. It is interesting to note that figures were published in *Framlingham College: the First Sixty Years* (1925), see figure 2 below. The one element that is not reported is the leavers, which must be why the total number of pupils dropped so much in Mr A.H. Scott-White's time and increased so much in Dr Inskip's time.

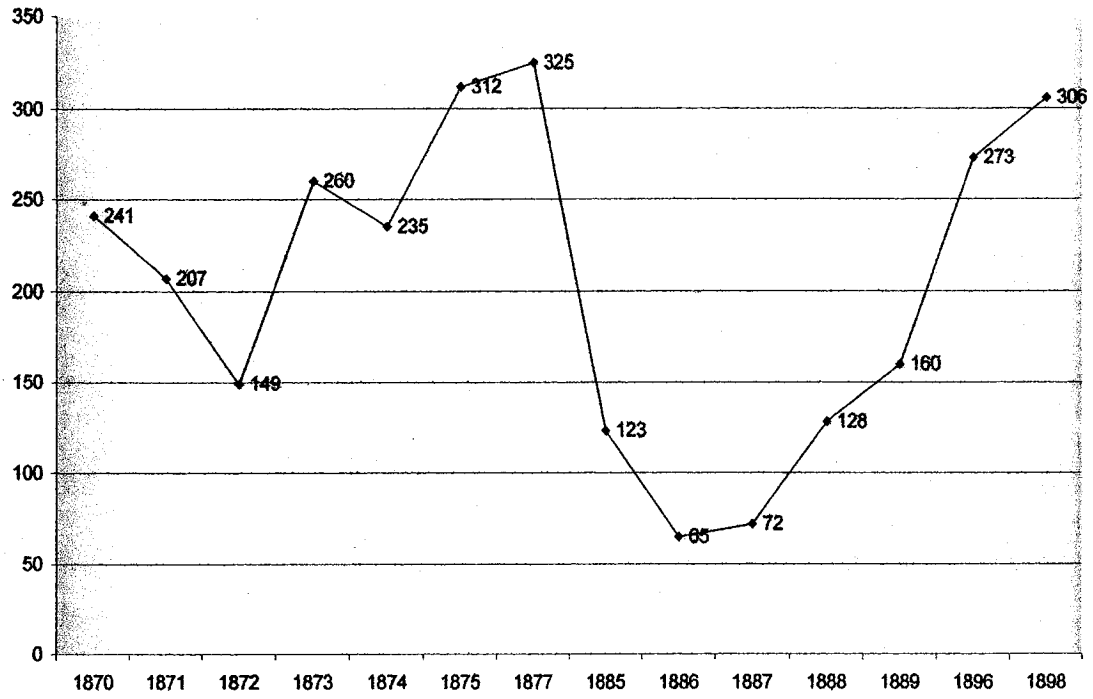

Figure 1 Pupil Numbers 1870 to 1896

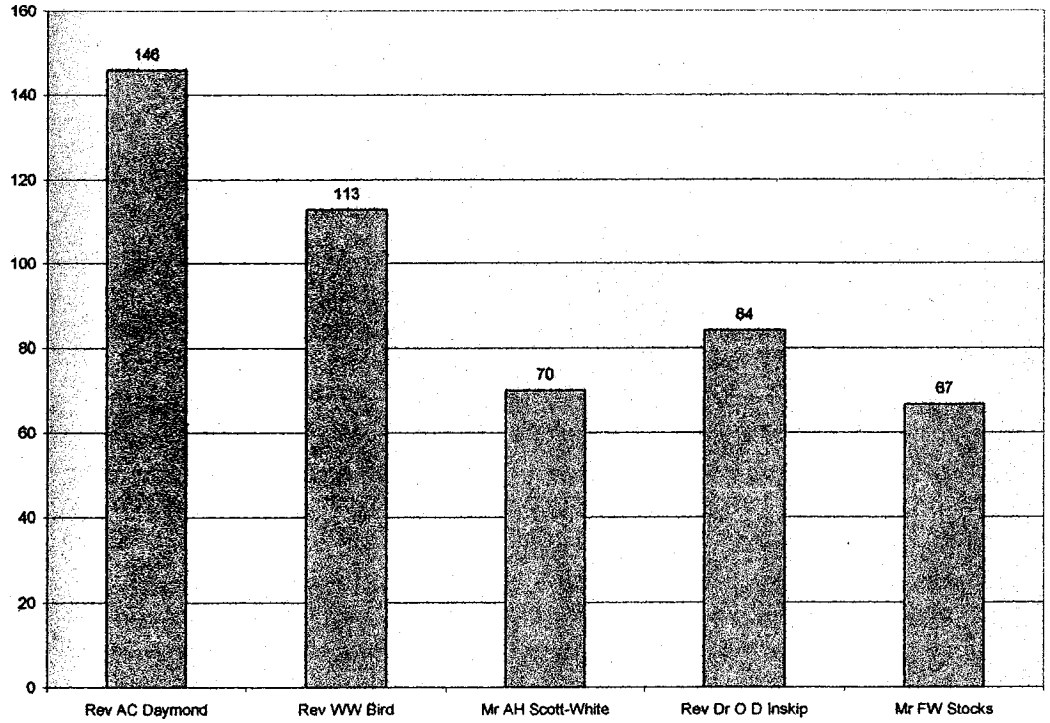

Figure 2 New pupils per head-master 1865 to 1923

Just before this time the public schools' curriculum was limited to classical Greek and Latin, with little or no mathematics, or science. This was just beginning to change, and certainly by the time Framlingham College was opened, several had introduced the latter subjects; the leaders of this movement were Samuel Butler (1774-1839) and Mathew Arnold (1822-88).[25] Framlingham College from the start taught a variety of subjects, but the curriculum covered the following : Religious Instruction per the Church of England; English, including reading, writing, spelling and grammar; arithmetic and mathematics; English History; Geography;

Latin, French, German; Surveying, Natural Sciences, Agricultural Chemistry, Engineering, Models and Agriculture.[26] Not all these were taught to all the pupils, some such as the modern languages were extras, but as can be seen, the aim was to instruct in subjects that would be useful to the boys in their future careers in business or farming, not just to have a good social education. Corporal punishment was used but sparingly for the time. One of the minor punishments was that of "walking up and down which is still used today".[27] This punishment is no longer used, but it is assumed that the pupils were made to walk up and down the steep slope to the south of the main building, down to the sight of the brick earth excavations. "Dr. Inskip punished with a crushing sarcasm".[28]

The College will have brought considerable business to the town,

> It had been debated whether such an institution could be a benefit to the town, but I put it to any reasonable man whether the food and necessaries for three hundred boys being purchased in the town - and I am happy to say all the contracts were taken in the town - can do otherwise than benefit the place.[29]

The detailed records kept show the exact cost and quantity of provisions acquired: in the sixteen weeks to 31st December 1901 they purchased 16,000lbs of beef, 3,000lbs of Mutton but only 143lbs of pork; the records then calculate the amount per head per day counting masters, pupils and servants.

	lbs	lbs per head day
Beef	15,953	0.541
Mutton	2850.5	0.097
Pork	142.75	0.005

Table 6 Weekly summary of stores of meat consumed

Families in addition to the pupils, must have brought business to the local shopkeepers, and the ancillary staff who lived in the town may have had money to spend which they did not have before. The railway line into Framlingham would also have gained trade, were it the movement of pupils at the start and end of the school terms, and the movement of the materials not readily available from within the town. During the early years the College ran many specials: "In July 1876 ... a dozen carriages were hired for a special to Lowestoft".[30] The College's continued use of the branch may have helped keep it open for longer than some other branch lines. Another important business within the town was the Framlingham Gas Light Company, which was formed on 11th September 1849. The Albert Memorial College was its second largest customer. The Directors' minutes of the Company record that in April 1864 Mr Garrett for the College asked the Company if they would accept 4s/6d per thousand cubic feet of gas supplied, the then rate charged to all customers being 6s/8d per thousand; the Directors turned this down, but after some bargaining on the 18th April 1865 (eight days after the College opened), they did agree to supply the gas and lay the mains, and also agreed to supply the gas for one of the two lights on the entry gates at no charge.[31] The Directors had already agreed to spend £350 for the laying of the gas main, and sixty £5 shares had been taken up to pay for this. The Directors' price for the gas was not reduced. The total gas purchased each year by the College can only be estimated as the reported figures are for gas for lighting and coal for heating, but assuming that the gas was only a quarter of the cost, then the gas purchased (based on the increased sales of the Gas Company after the College started) amounted to 13% of the total sales (including coke and lime) of the Company.

Accounting Year Ended	Income	Coal	Fram College Total Energy	Fram College 25%	Percentage of Total Sales
	£	£	£	£	%
31/03/1855	304	131			
31/03/1864	424				
31/03/1865	504				
31/03/1866	589	318			
31/03/1867	674	351			
31/03/1868	671	345			
31/03/1869	667	244			
31/03/1870	620	242	324	81	13%
31/03/1871	612	225	318	79	13%

Table 7 **Framlingham Gas Light Co. Financial Figures**

The College also contributed to Parish finances, as in 1869 the College was rated at £250 and paid £1. 0s. 10d in rates (a penny in the pound) which was 2.5% of the rates collected in that year.[32] This may not seem to be a large amount, but the Church wardens overspent by £16,800[33] in that year, and therefore every penny must have counted.

A review of the Trades Directories from 1855 to 1892 shows a decline in the number of traders over the period, but an increase in the variety of trades carried out. The numbers dropped from 230 to 153 but the variety increased from 39 to 61.[34] Some of these variances may be the result of the traders not wishing to advertise, and some, like the bicycle shop, were as a result of changing technology. In general the town seems to have been thriving, and although such businesses as dressmakers and milliners would not directly gain from the pupils, there would be both staff and visiting parents as potential customers.

On looking at the consequences of the building of the College in Framlingham, these appear to have been very significant, and even today the town is an educational centre, with both state and public schools of good reputation, with their staffs living in and around the town, now and probably then taking an active part in town life. The College now presents to the town a Christmas Tree every year, erected in the Market Place. It is interesting to note that based on the censuses, the total number of pupils and staff amounted to between 8.8% and 9.2% of the total population of the town in the later nineteenth century.[35] The town's population grew by 12% from 1861 to 1891 compared with Suffolk's growth of 8% over the same period. The county gentry had attempted to improve the education of boys about five years before the Education Act 1870, and had a long lasting influence on the town and its environs. Today there is continuing housing development, and only two or three small industrial estates. The majority of the local working population either commute to work, or are involved in the educational field.

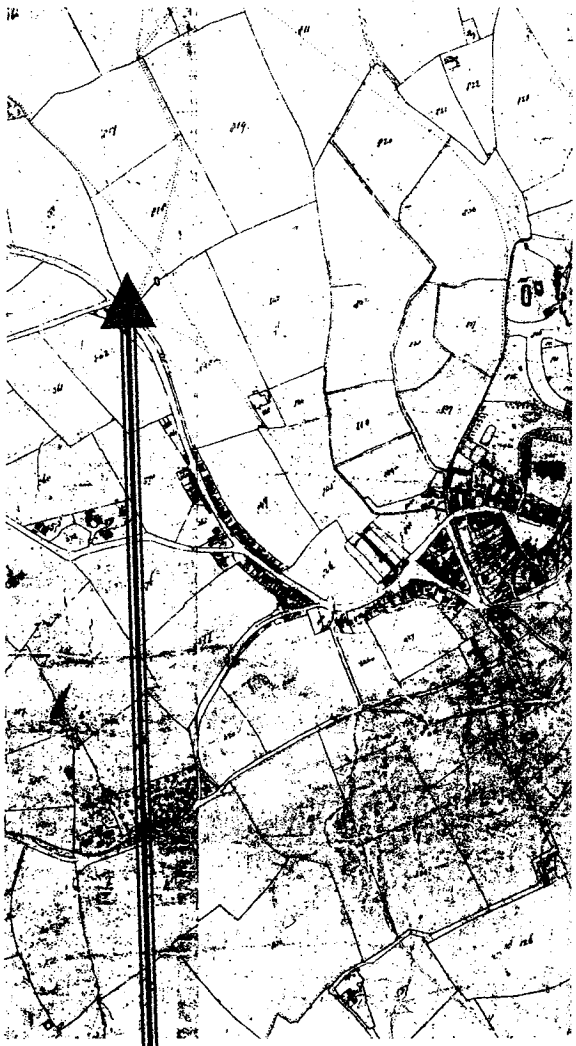

Figure 9 Framlingham Tithe Map 1842

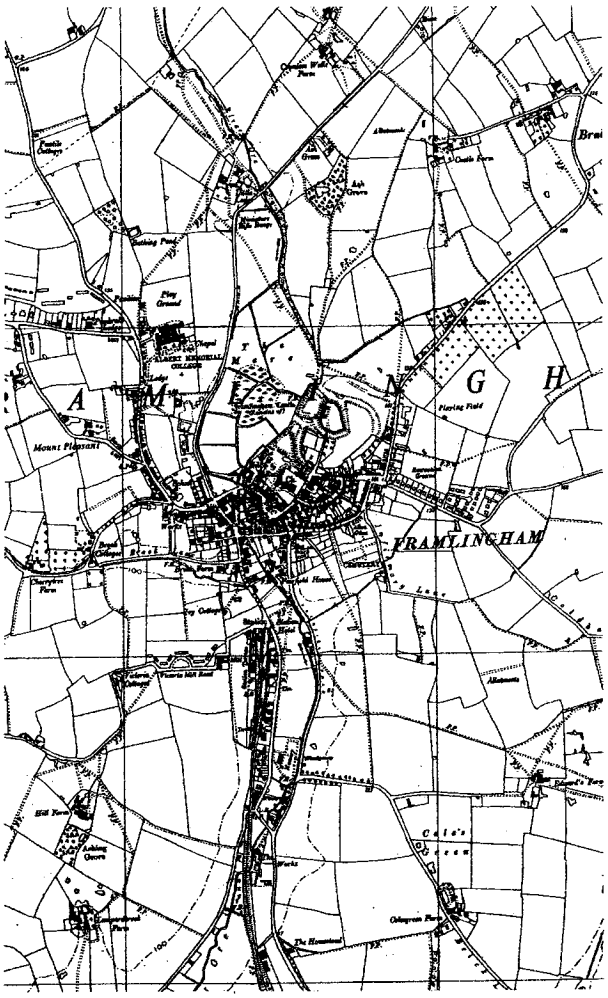

Figure 10 Ordnance Survey 6" Map 1957

Notes

[Editor's interpolations enclosed in square brackets]

1. J. Booth, *Framlingham College: the first sixty years* (1925) p. 14.
2. *Ibid.* p. 15 (Master and Fellows of Pembroke College revision of charity as submitted to Charity Commissions 1862).
3. D. Pitcher, *All change for Framlingham* (2002) [p. 14].
4. D. Dymond and E. Martin, *An Historical atlas of Suffolk* (1989) pp. 126-9.
5. Booth, *op. cit.* p. 16.
6. J. McEwan (editor), *Lambert's Framlingham 1871-1916* (2000) p. 230.
7. *Ibid.* p. 120.
8. Framlingham College, [hereafter FC], Private Ledger 1870 to 1911 (AMCF 006) fol. 1.
9. *Ibid.* fols. 1-10.
10. Booth, *op. cit.* p. 61.
11. T. L. Jarman, *Landmarks in the history of education* (1963) p. 228.
12. *Ibid.* p. 236.
13. McEwan, *op. cit.* p. 159.
14. *Ibid.* p. 120.
15. *Ibid.* p. 232.
16. Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich [hereafter SRO] BB5/1/1/2 (Framlingham Petty Sessions, Minutes of Proceedings).
17. SRO ADA6/AB1/8 (Plomesgate Union Board of Guardians, Minute Book 11.6.1860-25.8.1862).
18. FC AMCF 004 (Masters' Salaries September 1870 to Lent 1885).
19. *Ibid.* AMCF 002 (Establishment Summaries Summer 1870 to Summer 1875).
20. *Ibid.*
21. Booth, *op. cit.* pp. 22-3.
22. FC AMCF 002 *op. cit.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. H. C. Barnard, *A History of English education from 1760* (1961) pp. 72, 146.
26. Booth, *op. cit.* p. 6.
27. *Ibid.* p. 102.
28. *Ibid.* p. 103.
29. *Ibid.* p. 23, quoting H. Moseley, a solicitor practising in Framlingham, as part of his toast "Prosperity to the College".
30. *Pitcher, op. cit.* p. 14.
31. SRO IH1/6/1 (Framlingham Gas Light Company, Minutes of Directors *and* Minutes of General Meetings).
32. *Ibid.* FC101/E4/2 (Framlingham Parish Rate Book).
33. *Ibid.* FC101/E2/46 (St. Michael's Framlingham, Churchwardens' Accounts 1754-1877).
34. W. White, *History, gazetteer and directory of Suffolk* (1855) *and Ibid.* (1892).
35. SRO, RG10/1762 fiche (1871 Census), RG11/1885 reel 16 (1881 Census), RG12/1479 fiche 161 (1891 Census).

ALL SAINTS CHURCH, SAXTEAD

By Muriel L. Kilvert

This beautiful little Parish Church in the Bishop's Hundred of Hoxne stands on an incline, once wooded, to the north of the Dennington-Saxtead Green Road (A1120). It is approached through its well-defined "camping ground" with its Elizabethan poor-house on its south-eastern border.

Many East Anglian mediaeval churches had camping closes, and All Saints, Saxtead, has a particularly well-defined and well-preserved example, extant today, which is recorded in the Tithe map of 1838.[1] Camping grounds, camping closes, and game places, as they were named, were delineated areas of land, usually belonging and adjacent to the local church, and used by the parishioners for relaxation. Camping or campball was a rough, competitive and dangerous game played with a wooden ball, which could be kicked, thrown or carried, much as is practised in modern rugby. This occasionally resulted in the death of a player. The term "game place" was used to denote a circular open-air area as a place of entertainment within the camping ground, use of which raised monies for the church.[2]

It is possible that Saxtead may have been of some importance in its own right in Saxon times, for its local woods bear Saxon names, and there is evidence that there were dwellings, rights of way, and a green with stocks to the north east of the Church. The present Saxtead Green was its dependency, or *berwite*, while today Saxtead is linked to Framlingham as its *berwite*, and this has been so since the Bigods were established in Framlingham Castle.

The pleasing avenue of lime trees leads through the camping ground to the churchyard through a double gateway, set up in memory of Guy and Dorothy Wilson who walked Dogs for the blind here for many years. The south side of the Church may be seen with its flowering cherry trees and its magnificent porch.

This porch of flint and flushwork has an entrance arch with a hood moulding, an empty canopied basso relief niche supported by two deeply carved spandrels with a dragon to the left and a lion to the right. The porch has seating and an original window on either side. The original early solid oak door, with its spy-hole indicating that the Church was used as a sanctuary, is enriched with fleurons in its entry to the Church.

In a drawing from Hawes & Loder,[3] Saxtead Church is shown with the tile-covered chancel higher than the lead-covered nave roof. Today they are of equal height, and the drawing also shows the brick Tudor doorway in the chancel, with two windows in the decorated style and three decorated style windows in the nave, two to the east of the porch, and one to the west. Today there is no window to the west of the porch. The rectangular and castellated bell tower shown in that drawing fell on Monday 8 July 1805. Its building materials of flint and stone were used to rebuild the west end of the Church to roof level, complete with space for one of the three bells and a window to light the west end of the Church.

A walk around the east end of the Church reveals a fine three-light window with its original flowing tracery. Green reports that this reveals a rare mediaeval figure called a *Vesica Piscis*, which was related to the most sacred mysteries of religion.[4] The north wall of the Chancel has a lancet window in the Perpendicular style, and the nave has a square window which may have thrown light on the original three-decker pulpit, now removed. A small doorway near to the west end of the nave beyond the buttress is now unused.

All Saints Church, Saxtead, is likely to have been built in three stages. The original, possibly a Saxon church, probably thatched, was a single rectangle and measured *circa* forty-two feet by twenty and a half feet. This area now forms the nave to the present Church. Recently, wall paintings have been discovered on its south wall, near to the present chancel arch.

The paintings were applied, not to plaster as was customary, but directly onto the building materials of this early church. (Due to lack of funds, these paintings are to be professionally fully exposed and conserved at a later date).

The second building stage was probably carried out in the fourteenth century, following provision made in 1327 by Thomas de Brotherton, the Earl of Norfolk, occupant of Framlingham Castle and head of the Hundred of Loes.[5] This provision was for a chancel with a higher roof line, to be built on to the east end of the original church. Now the chancel is furnished with a distinguished two-sided piscine supported by a pillar. The altar rails, repositioned from the original Jacobean turned altar rails, span the chancel. There is a sixteenth-century consecration cross on the south wall, and eighteenth-century texts of the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer hang on the north and east walls. On the south wall hangs a Royal Coat of Arms (the Lion has a surprisingly human face!).

The third building stage may be assumed to have taken place in the early years of the sixteenth century, for monies have been recorded in various wills for this purpose and for a "boutresse" to be provided for All Saints Church.[6] This buttress supports the north wall, now raised by *circa* six to eight feet in order to accommodate the handsome oak hammer-beam roof, with its carved wall plates and cornices with antique heads to the corbels. This stands four feet higher, internally, than the current chancel roof. Further monies were, in 1529, provided for "the hallowing of the same Church of Saxtead", when it may be presumed this work was completed, apart from the handsome porch, for which in 1534 further monies were set aside.[7] We also know that there was a fifty-two feet rectangular and castellated flint and stone bell tower at the west end of the Church. It was the width of the nave and accommodated three bells, the oldest of which was inscribed "Anno C: P: 1:A: 1589"; another with a facsimile inscription as that of the fifth bell of St. Michael's, Framlingham; while the third bell is inscribed "John Darbie made me 1678". When the tower fell on Monday 8 July 1805 (see above), the materials were used to build up the west end of the Church it had accommodated. The 1678 bell was retained and hung in this belfry, while the other two bells were sold.

Restoration work in the 1920s included the removal of the pitch-pine box pews and the installation of choir stalls. In 1922, the present wooden floor of the Nave was laid. The sixteen benches were renewed and the sixteenth-century bench ends, with their delightfully carved poppy heads and their practical holes, for supporting candles, were raised and repaired. It is possible that remains of a rood screen furnishes the backs of the west end pews. The three-decker pulpit with its hexagonal tester was removed from the north wall and substituted with a pulpit erected on the south wall (believed to have come from Framlingham College Chapel). This, in turn, has recently been removed, revealing the original wall paintings. The second sixteenth-century consecration cross, discovered in the 1960s, may be seen on this wall.

The north wall has the outline of a doorway to the rood, while an organ obscures the small exterior doorway. The original octagonal freestone font with eight blank escutcheons and an oak cover stands to the east of the vestry, which occupies the base of the collapsed bell tower and has a nineteenth-century window to light the area.

The Arms of the Dukes of Norfolk and of Sir Robert Hitcham are displayed on two of the otherwise blank shields. Lorette Roberts has made these colour washes of the enigmatic corbels of the distinguished hammerbeam roof. This demonstrates the quality and work expended on this ancient little Church.

Notes

1. *Rural History* 1, 2 (1990) pp. 165-192.
2. D. Dymond and E Martin, *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk*. Revised edit. (1999) pp. 154-5.
3. R. Hawes, *The History of Framlingham ... with ... additions and notes by Robert Loder*. (1798) p. 323.
4. R. Green, *The History, topography, and antiquities of Framlingham and Saxsted* ... (1834) p. 242.
5. Hawes, *op. cit.* p. 323.
6. Information from P. Northeast.
7. *Ibid.*

Corbals of hammerbeam roof, drawn by Estelle Roberts

DEPARTURE POINT

Those who don't learn from history used to have to relive it, but only until those in power could find a way to convince everybody, including themselves, that history never happened, or happened in a way best serving their own purposes – or best of all that it doesn't matter anyway, except as some dumbed-down TV documentary cobbled together for an hour's entertainment.

From: Thomas Pyreton, "The Road to 1984", in *The Guardian*, 3 May 2003

"History is five minutes ago"

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