

BIGODS AT WALTON HALL AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

by JOHN FAIRCLOUGH

IN THE INSTITUTE'S PROCEEDINGS for 2000 Steven Plunkett and I published a group of drawings including one of Walton Manor House dated 1650. We explained that this shows the seventeenth century condition of the medieval building, the ruins of which are now known as Walton Old Hall at Felixstowe. Since then detailed study of Walton Old Hall has revealed more about its history. The study was part of a project funded by the Local Heritage Initiative carried out by Ipswich Archaeological Trust and Felixstowe History and Museum Society. Now Walton Old Hall is represented by a small fragment of masonry in a corner of the sports ground between Colneis Road and Dellwood Avenue in Felixstowe. This is the only visible reminder of a large complex of medieval stone buildings associated with the Bigods which was used briefly in the 14th century as a royal palace. It is in an elevated position, higher than most of Felixstowe, and the Ordnance Survey map of 1925 shows the highest spot height in Felixstowe of 68 feet nearby on Quintons Lane. It must have had extensive long distance views across the River Deben and, at least from the upper floors, it would have been possible to look out to sea.

The little that is now visible of the remains of the complex of buildings was exposed when Tom Felgate carried out a small excavation here in 1967-8¹. He revealed a stretch of wall standing up to 6 feet high which formed part of a room about 30 feet wide and over 54 feet long. Although much of the facing of the wall was local septaria, some of the dressed stone was imported from Caen. The Caen stone mouldings and stepped ridge tiles recovered during the excavation indicate late 13th century workmanship. Photographs were published in the Felixstowe Times for 20th September 1968 and the surviving remains were scheduled as an ancient monument. A photographic record and Felgate's diary of the excavations are held by Felixstowe Museum, and a complete transcript has now been made of Felgate's diary. In 2001 rubble and undergrowth were cleared by volunteers from Ipswich Archaeological Trust and from Felixstowe under the direction of Tom Loader of the Suffolk Archaeological Service, to prepare the surviving stonework for consolidation. All the visible stonework was drawn and photographed before being consolidated under the direction of Suffolk Coastal District Council and English Heritage in 2002. A geophysical survey, involving resistance and gradiometer surveys by GSB Prospection in 2003, of a large area of the Sports Ground south of the ruins failed to produce any significant results so it seems most likely that landscaping of the playing areas has removed any substantial remains of foundations. There are reports of patches of rubble being found in various places during work on the grounds but there is no evidence of any surviving structures. Our work was constrained by the site being a scheduled monument, so we could not explore the areas left unexcavated by Tom Felgate. Excavation was confined to small test pits which revealed that there was no cellar below the stone building and that the longest wall did not survive beyond the furthest point uncovered by Felgate. The stone steps observed by S D Wall north of the surviving ruin remain a mystery. They might have led to a cellar below another building to the north or they could be the base of a flight going to an upper floor.

During a survey of gardens in 2003 it was reported that substantial septaria footings of walls had been dug out from the back gardens of nos. 26 and 24 Colneis Road in the 1950s and much of the material used as the base for driveways and garden paths. Top soil had been brought in for the

gardens because there was so much stone. This may have happened in other neighbouring gardens which show little evidence today but have changed hands more than once since the 1950s. A certain amount of stone was noticed in the gardens of nos. 20 and 28 and across the road at nos. 15, 17 and 23. It may well be significant that a hole dug in the back garden of no 23 in search of a wasps' nest "hit something low down". Less certain are reports of parch marks in grass at 21 and 29A, and "a hollow sound" under part of the lawn at 29. There are visible humps and bumps of uncertain origin in the back gardens of 3, 12 and 14. Residents also reported that some of the fields had previously been used for growing mustard and that the site of 27 Colneis Road had been an orchard. Local residents had previously reported a wall under the front garden of no.23 Colneis Road in front of the garage and walls under the back garden of no.24, from which hundredweights of stone had been removed (a hundredweight is 112 pounds).

In 1936 S D Wall² photographed a large quantity of septaria stone from the ruins spread out as part of the foundations for Colneis Road which was then being constructed. At the same time he saw exposed by the water company men another part of the foundations and two massive buttresses as well as a flight of stone steps which he thought led down into a cellar. A photograph in one of S.D. Wall's albums shows septaria from walls (of "Old Hall") below ground level when Colneis Road was laid out in 1936 or 1937, and another marks the spot where the steps were found.

There is a report³ of finding foundations in 1961 below Colneis Road at TM30503566 where two parallel walls running NW/SE were discovered under the south side of the road during its construction. The NE wall opposite 23 Colneis Road had a wall-core of septaria and hard white mortar approximately 2ft. wide with all facing stones robbed out. The top of the wall survived 6 inches below the modern road surface and 2ft 6ins height of wall was observed but foundation depth was not reached. The SW wall opposite 21 Colneis Road had a core which was thought to be limestone and was definitely not septaria. It was about 3 feet 6 inches wide and the mortar was bright yellow. There was possibly more than one phase of construction as it seemed that after removal of facing stones from its south west face, the wall was widened a further 2 feet to the south west with septaria and hard white mortar, similar to that used in the north east wall. At least one facing stone of this addition survived. The top of the surviving wall lay 9 to 12 inches below the modern road surface. 2 feet height of wall was observed but workmen said a depth of more than 4 feet had been exposed and destroyed by mechanical excavator without reaching foundations. These two walls were estimated to be 70 feet apart although accurate measurement was not possible. Approximately 2 feet 6 inches below the modern road surface remains of a very well constructed curving feature were visible built in the south west wall. This was apparently a projecting feature of the 'yellow' wall, rather than part of the 'white' addition, but the relationship was not clear due to disturbance caused by the mechanical excavator. Workmen said the feature was complete when first discovered, and appeared 'like a narrow well-shaft'; they had not reached the bottom. It might have been a latrine shaft. The recorded depth of some of these walls observed under Colneis Road suggests the ground sloped downward in this direction from the visible remains in the sports ground, presumably as part of the natural slope towards the valley of The Grove. This was levelled up when the buildings were demolished and land turned to agricultural use. Other features may well have been concealed at the same time. It is clear that there was a complex of substantial stone buildings and the documentary evidence helps to explain this.

An entry in Domesday Book, compiled in 1086 twenty years after the Norman conquest of England, reveals that Walton was of special importance to Roger Bigod as it says⁴ "Over the whole of this land (Bigod's holdings in Colneis) St. Etheldreda (the abbey of Ely) has jurisdiction - *soke* - except for the hall - *halla* - and village - *villa* - of Walton". This means Ely had no authority over the manor from which Bigod could supervise his holdings in Colneis and in particular all proceeds of fines from the administration of justice in his court at Walton would be kept by Bigod and not passed to Ely. Walton was a manor of Roger Bigod which was formerly held by Norman so this may be a sheriff's holding, if this is the Norman who was sheriff before the conquest. We might wonder whether "Norman" is just a personal name or indicates a man distinguished as of Norman French

origin before William's conquest of England. Norman still held the manor under Roger, so perhaps Roger saw the value of keeping his predecessor as his own deputy. Roger held much of the Hundred of Colneis between the rivers Orwell and Deben. It needed its own administrative centre because of the distance from Roger's castle at Framlingham. The unity of Bigod's large holding of almost the entire peninsular is emphasised by the very unusual statement⁶ "In the hundred of Colneis there is a pasture common to all the men of the hundred". Unfortunately there seems no means of locating this pasture although one might expect it to be in a fairly central location to allow equal access for the animals from the different settlements. It is a reminder that there must have been a system of drove ways for moving animals to and from it. Presumably most of Colneis was taken up by enclosed arable fields so there was little land for grazing livestock.

According to Stenton⁶ this Roger Bigod (sometimes spelt Bigot) was a Norman first recorded in England after the conquest as the tenant in Norfolk of a manor under Stigand the Archbishop of Canterbury. He seems to have become powerful after the king defeated a rebellion in 1075 involving Ralf, Earl of East Anglia when the earldom was suppressed only to be revived over sixty years later for Roger's son Hugh. Roger Bigod emerges as sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk with extensive properties in both counties. Without an earl, the sheriff was the most powerful royal official in the region, although several important nobles had large estates here.

It seems that the Bigods did not originally have a castle inside the Roman walls of Walton Castle. Roger had granted property here to the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St. Andrew at Rochester at some time between 1086 and 1100 so that they could establish, as a cell under their jurisdiction, the Priory of St. Felix at Walton, which was often called Felixstowe Priory. Most probably this priory was established inside the stone walls of the Roman fort of Walton Castle, which were destroyed by the sea in the eighteenth century⁷. It might have used the existing church of an earlier monastery dedicated to St. Felix the first Bishop of East Anglia, if Walton Castle was indeed the Dommoc granted to Felix by Sigebert, King of East Anglia about 632 as the seat for his diocese.

Roger Bigod's son, Hugh, was a powerful figure in national politics. According to Allen Brown⁸ Hugh Bigod was created Earl of Norfolk (and Suffolk) in 1140 and had 160¼ knights' fees in 1166. In effect his title made him the equivalent of the powerful Earls of East Anglia who had governed the region on behalf of the king before and for a short time after the Norman Conquest of 1066. He added the manor and castle of Bungay to the family properties which enabled him to dominate the Waveney valley. In 1154 Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk & Suffolk, granted St. Felix Priory 48 acres of land and an area near the church of SS Peter and Paul called Bredinge or Breathing in place of land of their church where he built or strengthened his castle. This shows that from 1154 Bigod's castle at Walton was inside the walls of the Roman Saxon Shore fort, as were medieval castles at Portchester, Pevensey and Burgh Castle. Presumably it stood beside the priory and its church, but there is no suggestion that the manorial hall was, or ever had been, inside the Roman walls although there is nothing to say that it wasn't. The castle building comes after the events of 1153 when Hugh Bigod was besieged and defeated in Ipswich Castle by King Stephen in the last campaign of his civil war⁹. Ipswich Castle was almost certainly destroyed at this time, not as often claimed in 1176 for which there is no documentary evidence, and Bigod concentrated on Walton as a replacement in 1154. It offered him the site for an "instant" castle commanding the entry to both rivers. He was making the most of the uncertain times following the death of King Stephen. By a charter of 1155 Henry II, who became king in 1154, confirmed Hugh Bigod in his lands, possessions & earldom. However Hugh soon lost the new king's favour and in 1157 he had to surrender Walton Castle, along with his other castles, to Henry II and never received it back. He does seem to have recovered Bungay & Framlingham in 1165, which perhaps indicates how much importance the king attached to retaining Walton Castle in his own hand. Bigod certainly did not gain lasting benefit from his building work there. In fact Henry used it against him because from 1158 there was a royal garrison at Walton¹⁰. During the rebellion of 1173 this royal garrison held the castle against Bigod who attacked the castle for four days and failed to take it¹¹ which he must have found deeply infuriating. He had brought an

invading army from Flanders to land in the Orwell, but they left the royal forces in control of Walton and were finally defeated at Fornham St Genevieve near Bury St Edmunds. The fortifications that Bigod had built at great expense in Walton Castle were destroyed by royal command in 1176¹². Presumably Henry II was determined to leave nothing to rival his new coastal fortress at Orford, although at least part of the Roman walling was left standing.

Throughout this period the Bigods needed an administrative centre for their manors in Colneis and from the time of the Domesday Book, if not before, this may have been the function of the building later known as Walton Old Hall. Domestic stone buildings of the Middle Ages are uncommon in this region so even this fragment is a significant monument from the past. We have no evidence about any earlier use of the site. No significant Roman remains have been found here although there are reports of some Roman material being found in or near Colneis Road. However any evidence of Roman activity might possibly be deeply buried under the extensive medieval activity as this location lies between Walton Castle and the group of burials from the vicinity of Fairfield Avenue, which may mark a roadside cemetery on the edge of the Roman town. This remains speculation as the cemetery may be quite distinct from any activity in the vicinity of Walton Castle and relate to a settlement in the area near Walton church. However there is no doubt there was a Roman town, and presumably a port, at Felixstowe as well as the Shore Fort and a significant number of early Anglo-Saxon finds show some activity after the end of Roman government. Sadly the most likely location of these activities has been destroyed by coastal erosion.

The Hall is sited some distance from the present High Road which apparently follows the main Roman road to the port at Felixstowe. Perhaps it was built beside another Roman road parallel to High Road that continued past the parish church of SS Peter & Paul (Old Felixstowe church) to Walton Castle. If so this road was later closed off by creation of the Hall "Precinct" but would have survived as a spur from east of the point where the High Road from Walton to Felixstowe crosses the head of "The Grove" valley (the northern end of Garrison Lane). This spur presumably became superfluous once the Hall fell out of use some time after 1381 and before 1650. Its continuation eastward, surviving only as a footpath, could be marked by part of the "Quinton's Lane paths" through the White Horse, past SS Peter & Paul to an "old unused lane" and "an oulde lane or waye" apparently leading towards Walton Castle mentioned in a 17th century survey¹³. Charles Partridge writing about the ruins of the Old Hall in the East Anglian Daily Times in 1932¹⁴ said, "Separated from these ruins by a high paling runs the footpath that leads through still pleasant meadows and lanes, well known in one's boyhood, from the old parish church of Felixstowe to Walton Church." This footpath does appear on maps, approximately on the line now taken by Colneis Road, which shows its direct line is north of both churches so perhaps it once linked the original Priory of St Felix inside the walls of Walton Castle to the later site of the priory a few hundred yards north of Walton Church or perhaps it simply led from Walton village to Felixstowe Ferry and so across the Deben to Bawdsey. Certainly it headed directly by the best route, avoiding wet areas, from Walton to the former East End Farm, which is now the Golf Club House. It might have formed the eastern end of "Earl Bigod's Path" between Walton and Framlingham Castles. George Arnott says in his book *Suffolk Estuary* that this road was called 'highway de Bur', or 'Oldeway' or 'Erle Bygottes Path', going from Walton through Falkenham, Kirton, Newbourne, Woodbridge (the lane to Gazebo Farm) and on past 'Bredfield Castle' earthworks. There are stories of a headless horseman riding on it or of a ghostly coach and four. The name of the settlement recorded in Domesday Book as *Buregata* might refer to this 'Highway de Bur', as *gata* is Scandinavian for road, usually referring to a substantial roadway, as does the Anglo-Saxon equivalent *street*. However Rathborne's survey in 1613 places a 'Symonds Burgate Close' on the High Road between the house of John Symonds and that of Marian Thatcher (now 67 High Road), so perhaps High Road itself was once *Buregata*, as the road to the Roman port at Felixstowe (there is a reference to Burghstrete in 1420).

In June 1215 Hugh's son, Roger Bigod, second Earl of Norfolk, was a leader of the barons who opposed King John and signed Magna Carta, which restricted the arbitrary royal powers of the king. In 1225 the Manor of Walton under Hugh Bigod, the third earl had the high annual value of £65, second only to Framlingham at £105¹⁵. Walton Manor records for 1268 to 1303 were transferred to the Exchequer after the last Roger Bigod, 5th Earl of Norfolk & Suffolk and Earl Marshal of England died in 1306 and the manor passed into royal hands, so they are now in the National Archive (formerly the Public Record Office)¹⁶. These records reveal that Walton Manor was also the administrative and accounting centre for Bigod's holdings in Ipswich itself which were a quay and "his house on the quay". It is believed that they were prominently sited on the Ipswich waterfront on the east side of Foundry Lane which then gave access to a ford across the river. This quay was more recently part of Cranfield's Mill (the opposite side of Foundry Lane as far as Stoke Bridge was the Borough Corporation's "St Peter's Dock"). Presumably these limited holdings in Ipswich were combined with the Colneis properties for administrative convenience and to avoid conflict with the administration of the Borough of Ipswich where the Bigods were enrolled as "forinsec" (non-resident) burgesses to protect their trading interests, but it confirms the importance of this manorial centre. It is intriguing that the font in St Mary Quay church displays a lion rampant carved on one of its shields which looks like a reference to the heraldic badge of the Bigods. However the font is said to be one of the "East Anglian" type made no earlier than the late fourteenth century and the last Bigod earl died in 1306. Perhaps it recalled the family connection just as the Quay kept its name.

The Walton Court Rolls for 1291 record work on the 'Stone Chamber' and Vincent Redstone's article "Angulus Anglie"¹⁷ includes information that in 1292 there is "contemporary evidence" from Rochester that a supply of flints was brought by water from Gravesend for building work at Walton Hall¹⁸. Despite the proliferation of small flints in the local soils which could be incorporated in "rubble" walls or used in the core of walls behind ashlar facing, nodules of flint suitable in size and quality for facing walls are not available locally. Presumably the builders in 1292 wanted to use the sort of decorative flint flushwork seen in contemporary church building, so had to import flint suitable for such high quality work. The Romans apparently used local septaria for facing walls at Walton Castle as did the medieval builders of parts of the Hall and of the church of SS Peter & Paul. We can't be sure if any of the septaria in the hall is reused Roman material although some might well be. However it is almost certain that the blocks of tufa visible in the surviving walls of the Hall were recycled from the Roman fort. Tufa is a hard calcareous rock formed by deposition from hard water springs and used widely as a building stone by the Romans. It might have been brought here by sea from Kent where they used it extensively in the Roman naval fort at Dover¹⁹. S D Wall records some other entries from the Court Rolls found by W G Arnott including: 1273 herbage from the fosse in the bayl and the fosse at the castle sold for 6 shillings and sixpence (presumably these fosses were the ditches of Walton Castle); 1287 stones collected at the castle for 25 weeks at a cost of 45 shillings (perhaps these were for works at the Old Hall); 1288 herbage in the bayl and barbertane (presumably the bailey and barbican of the castle) sold for 39d.

The Walton manorial records²⁰ contain much other information about the building works between 1268 and 1303. They include instructions for those owing services to the manor to transport stone from Walton Castle to the Hall, which might have been how the tufa arrived at the Hall. They reveal that work was going on throughout the period. Existing stone and wooden buildings with thatched roofs were being repaired which confirms that some of these were built before the later thirteenth century and might have been very much older. In 1273²¹ a number of buildings were linked by walls presumably to enclose the complex if they joined up the back walls of the buildings named as the Earl's stable, the Chancellor's chamber, the knights' chamber, the dovecote, the garden, the Hall, the

chapel and the kitchen. This would have created a defended manor house, less grand than a castle but sufficient to exclude unwanted intruders²². As one length of wall is distinguished as being built of stone the others might have been earth and timber structures. Other buildings that are mentioned include the porch over the great gate, the Earl's chamber, the serjeant's stable, the dairy, the brewhouse, the bakehouse, the larder, the saucery, the pantry and the buttery as well as granges for corn and hay. A new wooden grange used timber from wrecks. Seven and a half acres of reed were cut to thatch it. A timber framed building was transported from Harwich to provide housing for servants, which adds another element to the group of structures in the complex. The Court Rolls for 1291 record work on the 'Stone Chamber' and a supply of chalk and coal was brought by water from Gravesend and a kiln was set up to produce lime. Two masons, Peter and his son, were paid two shillings weekly when laying stone and one shilling and sixpence during the winter. Caen Stone for regular squared limestone facings and fine carved mouldings, was imported from France. A large quantity of dressed stone was to be carried by ship to Walton from Bosham in Sussex, and this was probably Caen stone as Bosham was the Bigods' port on the south coast and a likely transfer point for imported stone. This order was issued in 1303, only three years before Roger Bigod died, so he was still adding to the buildings at that stage and this new building might well be the one to which the surviving ruins belonged. The use of high quality materials, and the few pieces of fine mouldings visible in the surviving stonework, as well as some preserved in Felixstowe Museum, reflect the status of this building. Rick Turner of Cadw has observed that the surviving moulding of the door stop is a type he has found to mark the work of a particular master mason, Ralph Gogan (or Gogun) of London, who worked for Roger Bigod at Chepstow Castle and died in 1293. He seems to have supervised much of Roger's building work as Rick Turner notes the same feature at the castles of Caerphilly, Castell Coch and Llangibby. We might note that the Walton accounts for 1282 include one shilling expenses for "a boy going to Wales on the Earl's business" and there is a record that Master Ralph the Mason travelled from Chepstow to Framlingham in 1291 to see the earl²³ perhaps to organise work on the "stone chamber" at Walton and to plan the completion of the Great Tower at Chepstow Castle. As well as being the fifth Earl of Norfolk from 1270 to 1306, Roger Bigod was also a Marcher Lord with a massive castle on the Welsh borders at Chepstow above the River Wye in addition to holding his East Anglian properties. This Roger had inherited Chepstow and the title Earl Marshal of England from his uncle, Roger the fourth earl, whose mother Maud (died 1248) the wife of Hugh the third earl was heiress of the Marshal family who had been lords of Chepstow since 1189. The fourth earl died in 1270 near Walton at Broke Hall, then known as Cowhaugh²⁴, in Nacton.

Roger the fifth earl was a very wealthy landowner who supported King Edward I by raising his own soldiers to assist in the conquest of Wales and in the king's wars in Scotland. He could expect up to forty knights to travel with him between his residences as well as maintaining a substantial force of soldiers. He fell out with Edward in 1297 when ordered to lead his own army to Gascony rather than serving with the king in Flanders. On this occasion it is said the king declared "By God, Sir Earl either go or hang" to which Roger replied "By the same oath, O king I will neither go nor hang". After this his relations with the king were uneasy as he tried to restrict royal authority to impose new taxes but he used his wealth in great building works at Chepstow. In the Lower Bailey high above the river Wye he built a splendid range of residential apartments, hall, chambers and kitchen, but he also enlarged the keep emphasising its military aspect and installing on its top four gigantic crossbows as well as building a wall round the town enclosing 130 acres. The dimensions of the Chepstow hall have been compared to the one at Walton but it is difficult to be sure as we do not know the actual length of the Walton Hall. However there is no doubt that he maintained a large household and lived in lavish

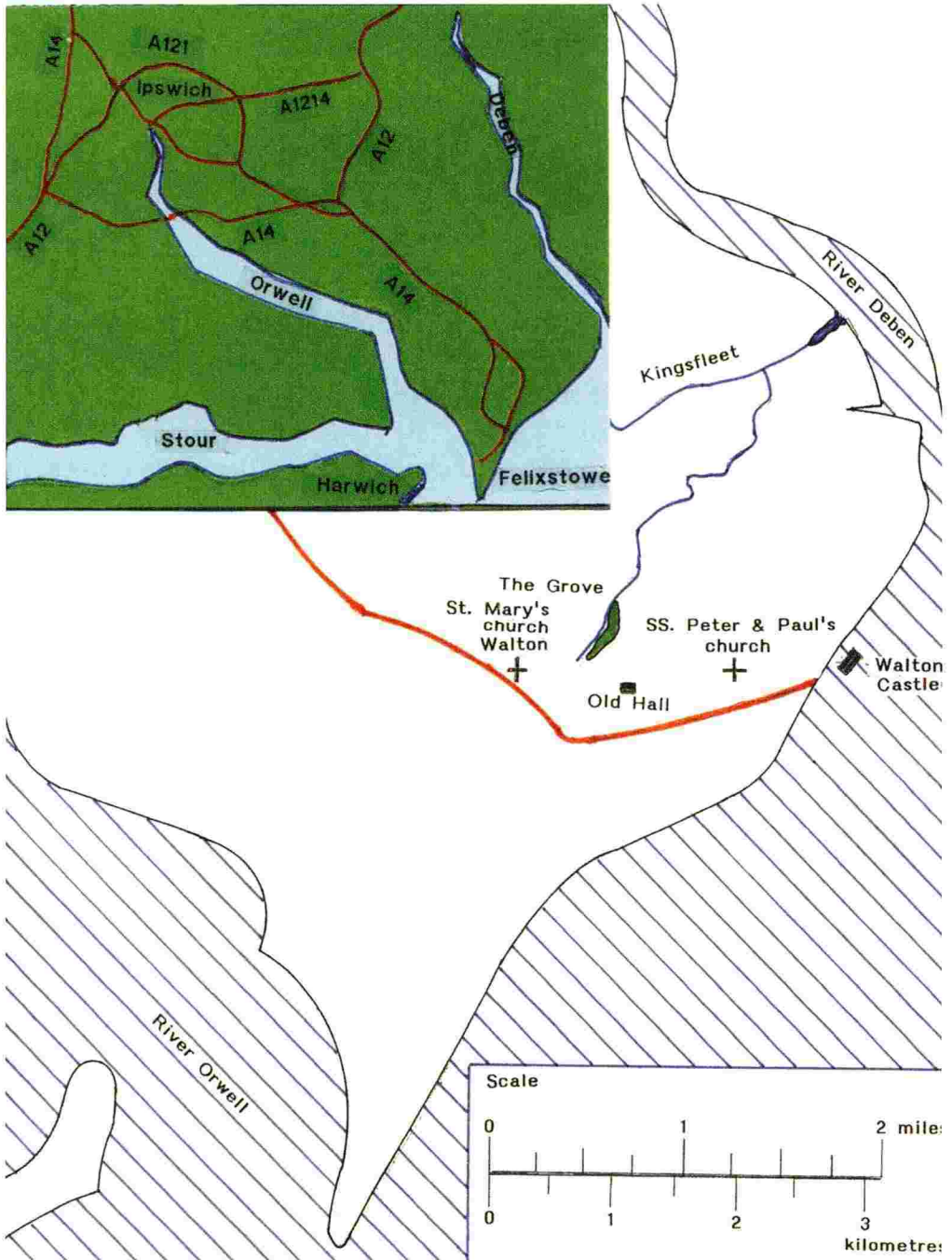


FIG. 110 – The Old Hall stood between the Rivers Deben and Orwell and some distance from both the ancient parish churches. The site of Walton Castle was lost to the sea in the 18th century.

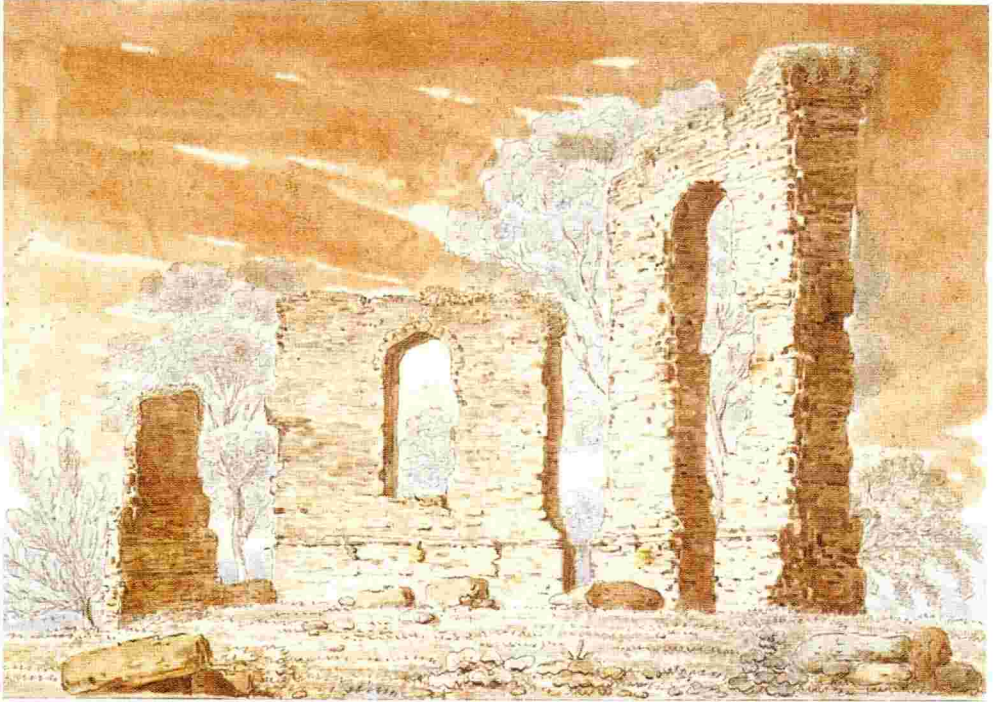


FIG. 111 – “Remains of the Manor House, Felixtow”. This 18th-century view of the ruins is in the collections of Felixstowe Town Council.



FIG. 112 – The remains of the north wall seen beyond the long east wall. At the right the solid base of the original doorway is overlapped by the start of the porch wall



FIG. 113 – The detailed mouldings in the doorway with the stone threshold in the foreground are still in place. At the right the later stonework of the porch overlaps the plinth of the hall. This is the distinctive detail that identifies the possible master mason.



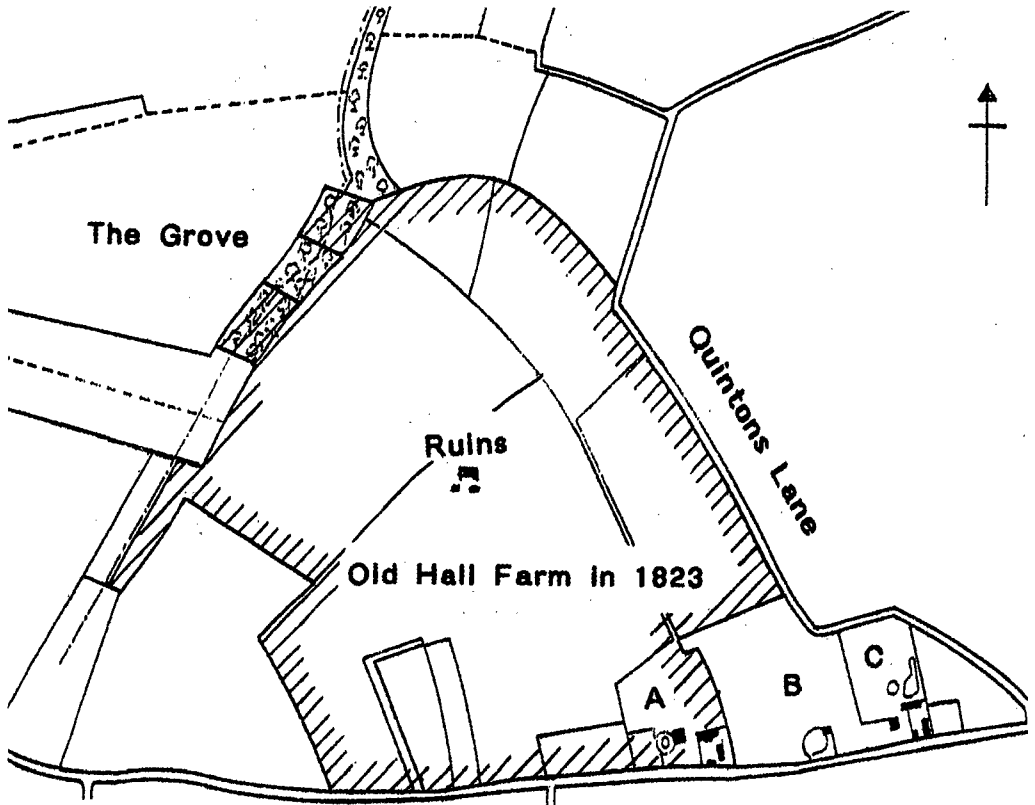
FIG. 114 – A deeply cut medieval moulding incorporated in a later field wall.



FIG. 115 - Blocks of tufa inside a window opening.



FIG. 116 - "Old Hall Farm" photographed by Charles Emeny in 1887. This is now Old Hall, 37 High Road, and still has the wall round the front garden incorporating stones from the medieval Old Hall.



Key:- A Old Hall 37 High Road
B 'John Symonds'
C Old Hall Farm 67 High Road Stream - - - - -

Scale
0 200 yards
0 200 metres

FIG. 117 - The boundary of Old Hall Farm might represent the precinct of the Hall. It is possible to relate the three houses shown here to the descriptions in Rathborne's survey of 1613.



FIG. 118 - The lion on the font in the church of St Mary at the Quay in Ipswich.

style²⁵. Rick Turner has drawn my attention to a hunting lodge at Cas Troggy in Monmouthshire built for Roger in 1302-3, in which a hall with attached towers formed one side of a walled enclosure, as a smaller example of the possible layout at Walton.

The picture that emerges from this evidence is of an enclosed complex of buildings suitable to accommodate the earl's household at the end of the thirteenth century. As a large defended manor house it made an appropriate centre for the administration of the Bigod estates in Colneis. It was a larger version of the type of complex that Edward Martin has recognised at Little Wenham where he interprets the surviving thirteenth century building as a semi-detached chamber block that has lost its hall²⁶. Elsewhere in the country at this period one can compare Stokesay in Shropshire or Markenfield in Yorkshire where "the modest stone defences are supplementary not critical". Anthony Emery's account of "Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300 – 1500"²⁷ gives a number of similar examples but one of the most notable is Aydon Hall (more recently called "Aydon Castle") near Corbridge in Northumberland. Remarkably this was developed just before or about 1300 by a new owner from Suffolk, Robert de Reymes son of Hugh de Reymes of Wherstead outside Ipswich whose father had obtained it for him from another Suffolk family the de Gosebecs. To an existing timber framed hall he added a two story chamber block and projecting latrine turret, as well as a stone range with a first floor hall reached by an external stone stair and a kitchen. By 1305 he had added a new two story kitchen wing with store rooms below, then with two short curtain walls created a small courtyard in front of the hall. In that year he obtained a licence to crenellate and added an outer enclosure with additional lodgings for staff. He certainly needed the defences as he petitioned the king in 1316 on the grounds that after taking part in all the Scottish Wars, he had been taken prisoner by the Scots, losing horses, armour and other goods to the value of 100 marks. However he lived until 1323 and passed on the property to his descendants. Is this development of the defended house a coincidence or did Robert take the idea north to create a smaller version of Bigod's Walton Hall complex? We might note that it might well have been a distant relative, Robert de Reymes son of William de Reymes of Higham, who developed Little Wenham as he certainly held it from 1307 until his death in 1312²⁸.

We do not know how many the Walton complex had to house although Marc Morris²⁹ suggests that Roger's normal retinue was probably between fifteen and twenty men, but when he went to war in 1294 he was accompanied by thirty three knights and a total group of about seventy men. John Ridgard has pointed out that there is more activity in this period at Walton than there was at Framlingham, reflecting the importance of the Walton complex at the end of the thirteenth century. He attended the wedding of the king's daughter Margaret in 1290 accompanied by forty eight knights in livery. We are not told how many attended him in Ipswich when he was present with Edward I at the wedding of the king's daughter Elizabeth in the Priory of St Peter and St Paul on January 8th 1297. The king had celebrated Christmas 1296 in the Ipswich priory, while Roger and his countess chose to stay in the Priory of Alnesbourne perhaps because, being closer than Walton to Ipswich, it gave easy access up the Orwell on the earl's great barge to the waterside in front of the priory at Ipswich. Should we imagine Roger and his lady arriving by state barge at his own Ipswich quay, just outside the priory gate, to be received by his liveried knights who had ridden over from Walton? The "Great Barge of the Lord Earl" had a crew of seventeen. Local water transport was important and at the end of the thirteenth century the manor maintained ferry boats at Goseford on the Deben and on the Orwell. The role of the latter probably included communication with the Bigod estates at Dovercourt on the far bank of the River Stour which were administered from Walton. In 1304 Roger spent £7. 7s on rebuilding his quay at Ipswich and £10 on Brokenwharf Quay in London.

Roger himself was certainly at Walton again in February 1302 when he issued a charter there. King Edward I insisted that on the death of Roger in 1306 his title and estates should be surrendered to the crown and not passed to his heirs, so he was the last Bigod to hold the title and control the Walton manor.

The early lords of the manor:-

<i>Roger Bigod</i>	<i>in Domesday Book, 1086</i>
<i>Hugh Bigod</i>	<i>1st Earl of Norfolk & Suffolk d. 1176</i>
<i>Roger Bigod</i>	<i>2nd Earl of Norfolk, signed Magna Carta in 1215</i>
<i>Hugh Bigod</i>	<i>3rd Earl of Norfolk d.1224/5</i>
<i>Roger Bigod</i>	<i>4th Earl of Norfolk d.1270</i>
<i>Roger Bigod</i>	<i>5th Earl of Norfolk d.1306</i>
<i>Thomas de Brotherton</i>	<i>Earl of Norfolk 1312, d.1338</i>
<i>Mary</i>	<i>Countess of Norfolk d.1362</i>
<i>Joan Montacute</i>	<i>Wife of William de Ufford</i>
<i>William de Ufford</i>	<i>Earl of Suffolk d.1382</i>
<i>Margaret</i>	<i>Countess of Norfolk (daughter of Thomas de Brotherton) d.1399</i>
<i>Thomas de Mowbray</i>	<i>1st Duke of Norfolk 1397-9 (grandson of Margaret, Countess of Norfolk)</i>
<i>John Mowbray</i>	<i>3rd Duke of Norfolk d.1461</i>
<i>John Mowbray</i>	<i>4th Duke of Norfolk d.1476</i>
<i>John Howard</i>	<i>1st Duke of Norfolk d.1485 (son of Lady Margaret Mowbray, daughter of the first Mowbray Duke)</i>
<i>Thomas Howard</i>	<i>2nd Duke of Norfolk d.1524</i>
<i>Thomas Howard</i>	<i>3rd Duke of Norfolk d.1554</i>

After the end of the Bigod family line the Walton manor was often granted by the Crown to later Earls or Dukes of Norfolk and in 1312 it was given, along with the titles of Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshal, to Thomas de Brotherton (1300-1338) half brother of King Edward II. So in the 1327 taxation (the "Lay Subsidy" granted to the King) the Earl Marshal paid the high figure of 12 shillings tax, presumably being taxed on his "moveable goods" in Walton Old Hall. The next highest in "Walton & Filchistow" was 4 shillings and sixpence for Alexander Pope who may be the origin of a holding called "Pope's" – there is also a "Biscop" – and I assume both are personal names. In 1324 building work or repairs were taking place at Walton because the Park Keeper at Framlingham Castle was paying the expenses for transporting timber (meremium) for the hall at Walton from the Great Park at Framlingham as far as Wilford. Presumably it was delivered to Wilford Bridge on the River Deben above Woodbridge for conveyance by water to Walton³⁰. This would take it through the Port of Goseford at the mouth of the Deben and Sam Newton has very plausibly suggested this was not a ford but a "Goose Fjord". He compares the equally unlikely idea that Orford had a ford, while it too was probably seen by Scandinavian immigrants as being located on a fjord. The open water of the Goose Fjord has been destroyed by artificial river walls that protect the drained marshes into which ran the stream known as the Kings Fleet. Another Scandinavian form "Kirk" for church is used in naming the village of Kirton beside the river while next to it lay Falkenham, listed in Domesday as an "outlier" (beruita) of Walton³¹. Its church has the unusual dedication to St Ethelbert, the East Anglian king executed by Offa in 794, suggesting an early foundation. These waters had early royal connections no doubt related to access from the sea to Rendlesham and Sutton Hoo.

In September 1326 Orwell Haven was used as base for assembly of a fleet of men-of-war³² and in about 1337 wool ships from London and Hull were piloted to Dordrecht via Orwell, Sluys and Middelburgh³³. On 24 Sept 1326 Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II, and Roger Mortimer, her lover,

apparently planned to land in the Orwell, but the king ordered his ships to blockade it. Mortimer's fleet with 1500 men, of whom about half were mercenaries from Hainault, was carried away by a storm which left them uncertain where they were when they reached the Suffolk coast but it was probably nearer to Aldeburgh that they landed. They were joined by the Earl of Norfolk, Edward's half brother, and many others in a successful rebellion to depose Edward II and install her son as Edward III. The landing succeeded despite royal orders for coastal watches and the erection of beacons, but it may be significant that the royal commission for Norfolk and Suffolk was given to Thomas, Earl of Norfolk.

In 1338 & 1339 King Edward III himself was at Walton Manor at the start of the Hundred Years War. He assembled his fleet for the attack on France in the rivers Orwell and Deben, including the Kingsfleet. The fleet was a mixture of oared galleys built specially for fighting with crews of expert rowers and merchant ships pressed into service for the campaign by royal command. They would need a period of intensive training in these sheltered waters under the King's eye in preparation to fight the French. The Walton Hall complex, in its dominant position between the two estuaries, must have been large enough to house the king and his court. Edward was at Walton and Ipswich in June and July 1338. On July 11th 1338 he issued from Walton "Notification that the king has revoked his late grant to the bailiffs and men of Herewicz (i.e Harwich) of a murage for four years at the said town and the port of Orewell as pertaining to the town, at the prosecution of the burgesses of Ipswich setting forth that the whole port of Orewell ought to belong, and has belonged in the past, to the town, and that none but their bailiffs and ministers ought to make distrains or attachments or levy toll or other custom there."³⁴ Ipswich was always careful to maintain its right to control the River Orwell all the way out to the open sea, as vital to the prosperity of its port. In 1340 Edward III celebrated Pentecost at Ipswich and on Thursday 22nd June sailed from the haven of Orwell for Flanders with 260 ships, leading to victory against the French fleet at the Battle of Sluys on July 24th 1340. Redstone tells us that the Wardrobe Accounts of Edward III give details of expenditure while the king was at Walton, presumably in 1338 to 1340. He says the king spent a day hunting while at Walton.

After its use as a royal palace in 1338-9 there appears to be no record about the use of the Hall, although presumably it was the manorial centre in 1381 during the Peasants' Revolt when a mob, led by John Battsiford parson of Bucklesham, attacked Walton Manor and destroyed the Manor Court rolls. Felixstowe Priory Manor Court rolls were also destroyed along with the warden's house. Clearly the rebels were determined to destroy the records that enabled the great landowners to control their tenants and administer the business of the manors. Manor Court Rolls and Books survive from 1382, starting with the first court held after the burning of the records³⁵. They are said to refer to the expenses of Sir Robert Wingfield in 1386 when superintending repairs to the Manor House, presumably required after the attack during the Peasants' Revolt. Business continued as usual because in 1385-6 the accounts of the Keeper of the Hospice at Framlingham Castle for Margaret, Countess of Norfolk, include receipt of rabbits and pheasants from the warren at Walton and payment for 25 quarters of corn (frumentum) from Walton and for wine bought in the port of Orwell³⁶.

It seems that at some stage in the later Middle Ages this large manorial centre went out of use as in 1514 the "Corte House in Felixstowe", presumably the Old Hall, was reportedly "ruinous". By the seventeenth century the Hall was certainly in ruins and the author of a Blois Manuscript of 1594-1670³⁷ says "I saw ye stone ruins of Felixstow Hall, as also of ye Priory too near ye sea". Presumably "Felixstow Hall" was the building we know as Walton Old Hall and "ye Priory too near ye sea" was Walton Castle with some ruins of the priory inside the surviving Roman walls. We have an interesting record of the state of the ruined Hall in 1650 as a drawing in Hamlet Watling's folio "Antiquities of Walton and Felixtow" is titled "Walton Manor Ho". It is signed "Wm. Redgrave, Gippswich" and dated 1650. This is probably the William Redgrave who was Rector of Waldringfield and Newbourne 1620-1645 and Rector of Rendlesham from 1645 until his death in 1652. It shows a complex group of stone buildings with large doorways and tall windows³⁸, all in ruinous state. In the foreground are

two fragmentary walls being nearer and further sides of an open hall which was apparently the equivalent of two stories high (confirmed by the window above the door) but we have no sign of the roof line or of an end wall for this building. The tall narrow lancet windows with rounded "Norman" style heads look 13th century at latest and might be earlier. The tall round headed arches of St. Botolph's Priory at Colchester are perhaps the closest parallel and that was built in the early 12th century re-using Roman bricks. The building behind to the left appears to be a separate unit two storeys high. Redgrave may be showing that the section with what might be remains of a first floor door is projecting forward from the wall with a ground floor door, as part of an L shaped or T shaped structure. There also appears to be an isolated piece of masonry that might be a corner which does not seem to belong to the other structures. To the extreme right is a tower that might be a distant view of the tower of the church of SS Peter and Paul.

In 1613 Aaron Rathborne carried out by royal command "A Survaye of the Manor or Mannors of Walton cum Trymley & Felixtowe Priorie in the Countie of Suff."³⁹ in which he included an arable field of 4 acres belonging to Marian Thatcher (she occupied what is now 67 High Road) called Stone work close which probably contained the stone ruins: it was adjoined on the east by her interestingly named Sculcroft pasture (11 acres), and on the west her old abbey ground (3 acre meadow) which presumably had belonged to St Felix Priory. Marian Thatcher, widow of John Thatcher, held several fields here although some nearer to High Road were held by Henry Boyton (he occupied what is now 37 High Road) and John Symonds who lived between the two. At some later time the holdings of Thatcher and Symonds were combined to form the farm called Porters which was by 1862 being worked as part of Old Hall Farm (Boyton's in 1613). Presumably the Old Hall ruins were already being used as a stone quarry in 1613, just as later the site of Walton Castle was known as Stoneworks early in the nineteenth century.

The ruins were obviously a handy source of stone for local building works so S.D. Wall noted in 1913 that "The low wall in front of the Old Hall Farm on the High Road and a stack yard wall on the adjoining farm are both built of stones brought from the ruins". In modern terms the "Old Hall" with a low wall in front is no 37 High Road, while the "adjoining farm" to which the name "Old Hall Farm" was transferred in the 1940s is no 67 High Road. No 37 appears to be "78 Philip Colman" on Isaac Johnson's map of 1784 which shows Colman as occupier of the area round the Old Hall ruins, and this property appears to be "Boyton's" in Rathborne's survey of 1613 and Boyton held land behind it. There appears no trace today of an adjoining property given in 1784 as "79 Hannah & Mary Gooday" and in 1613 as John Symonds. No 67 appears to be "80 James Samuel Lucas Esq" in 1784 and Marion Thatcher in 1613. The wall enclosing two sides of the "stackyard" is built from reused stones, presumably derived from the ruins of Walton Old Hall, and includes some blocks of limestone with deeply carved mouldings as well as septaria and tufa. The low wall in front of no 37 encloses a small area in front of the house⁴⁰. The stones include some large squared blocks of limestone which suggest the builders had the pick of the available material: there are also smaller blocks of limestone, much septaria and some large blocks of tufa. The low wall along the roadside boundary of this property also includes much recycled stone, at least one piece having a carved moulding.

A picture of the Old Hall ruins themselves by Isaac Johnson (1754-1835) which is in the Craven Ord Collection in the British Library⁴¹ might show in the left foreground one of Redgrave's tall windows but it is not clear how far this is a composition of "romantic ruins". Canning in 1764, in the second edition of Kirby's "Suffolk Traveller", calls the remains "very considerable Ruins of an ancient and magnificent Building, which goes under the Name of Old-Hall". Johnson wrote in 1834,

when much less was standing: "about 1789 the ruins being numerous were taken down and reduced to nearly their present state and the site thereof converted into tillage"⁴². Certainly much less was visible when Henry Davy produced his engraving of "Old Hall Felixtow" in 1839⁴³, as it only shows one complete window and a broken wall.

The Tithe Map of 1839 shows the ruins of Old Hall isolated in the corner of a field (Hall Field) in an area of open countryside divided into small fields. The area is bounded on the west by a stream running through the strip of woodland known as The Grove and on the east by a country lane, sometimes called Quintons Lane. The ruins are shown in a photograph of 1869⁴⁴ and what little was then standing is said to have come tumbling down during a great gale and snowstorm on 18th January 1881. It seems that after the collapse of the walls in 1881 much of the rubble was used for road stone.

The extent of the area of property immediately attached to the Old Hall under the Bigods may well be marked by the curving boundary of Old Hall Farm on the nineteenth century map of property for sale of E.P. Montagu Esq. in Felixtow - Porters and the Old Hall Farm 18 Aug. 1823⁴⁵. This marks "Hall Ruins" as an L shaped block in the north east corner of Hall Field. It shows the farm, with its southern edge on High Road, extending from the edge of the valley known as the Grove as far as the large area of land to the east marked by "Quinton's Lane" which might have originated as an enclosing bank and ditch. A bank and ditch running along the eastern side of the Grove valley seem most likely to be the remains of part of the deer proof boundary of a Deer Park as we know that Roger Bigod had a deer park at Walton in 1283⁴⁶ "Touching the persons who broke the parks of Roger le Bigot .. at .. Waleton ..hunted and carried away deer and hares" (13 parks listed) and it may have taken up the whole Felixstowe peninsula at one stage if the bank and ditch originally extended to the Orwell, perhaps along the line of Garrison Lane or the parish boundary marked by "Mellow Lane" on the maps by John Kirby (1740-41)⁴⁷ and Isaac Johnson (1784)⁴⁸. The "enclosure" marked by Quinton's Lane might have been designed to confine the deer herd in a smaller area for easier management.

Regarding the later history of the manor it was generally part of the holdings of the Dukes of Norfolk until Walton Manor with the Manor of Felixstowe Priory, itself suppressed for the purpose, was in 1528 vested in Cardinal Wolsey for the foundation of his College in Ipswich. Following the fall and death of Wolsey the College was closed and later the advowsons were held by Thomas Seckford. The manors were briefly returned to the Howard Dukes of Norfolk but were soon in royal hands again, being vested in the king in 1603 and the Queen in 1611. They were granted to Sir Henry Hobart (Chief Justice & Chancellor to the Prince of Wales) in 1619, but apparently with limitations shown in 1626 by a warrant issued for cutting down pollard trees growing "on the King's Walton-cum-Trimley Manor" required for dorts (? forts) in Essex and Suffolk. In a grant of 1628 the manor was leased to Edward Ditchfield and others, "Citizens of London", but specifically excluded the site of a fort (i.e. Landguard Fort) newly built near the sea. There is a gap in the Court Books for the manor between 1611 and 1636, though in 1635 it was held by Sir Robert Hitcham, who was in dispute with the Borough of Ipswich over a house on Bigod's Key (quay), presumably the one held by the Bigods in the 13th century. Sir John Barker junr. 2nd Baronet and Sheriff of Suffolk 1654-5 acquired the Walton cum Trimley and Felixstowe Priory Manors in time to hold his first Court Baron there on 9 April 1657. John Barker had obtained the manor of Grimston Hall with Morston in Trimley St. Martin in 1597, as well as Kirton, Russells in Falkenham and part of Trimley St. Mary. Kirby's illustrated map of Walton was prepared for Sir John Barker 6th Baronet in 1740.

Later Lords of the Manor:

- 1603 *The King*
 1611 *The Queen*
 1619 *Sir Henry Hobart, Chief Justice*
 1628 *Edward Ditchfield & others, "citizens of London"*
 1635 *Sir Robert Hitcham*
 1657 *Sir John Barker junior, 2nd baronet, of Ipswich & Trimley*
then several generations of the Barker family to:
 1740 *Sir John Barker, 6th baronet*
Sir John Fytch Barker, 7th baronet
 1766 *George Richard Savage Nassau*
 1830 *11th Duke of Hamilton*
12th Duke of Hamilton
 1867 *Colonel George Tomline*
 1889 *Captain Ernest George Pretymen*
 1931 *George Marcus Tomline Pretymen*

The Walton manorial lordships devolved by bequest from Sir John Fytch Barker 7th Baronet in 1766 to George Richard Savage Nassau for whom Isaac Johnson produced the map of 1784, and from Nassau it descended in 1830 to the 11th Duke of Hamilton. The estate was bought from the 12th Duke in 1867 by Colonel George Tomline of Orwell Park, Nacton. Tomline acquired so much land that he was said to own 90% of the land around Felixstowe when he died in 1889. The estate passed to his cousin Captain Ernest George Pretymen. A large estate map of 1886⁴⁹ shows Old Hall Farm was indeed part of the Orwell Park Estate (Nacton) of Colonel George Tomline. It seems that George Tomline purchased the Old Hall Farm at a sale after the death of its owner Edward Proudfoot Montagu in 1862 and two bundles of papers in the Pretymen archive reveal something of its history⁵⁰. The ownership of this property had been separated from the manor at some earlier date as it was clearly in different hands when Rathborne made his survey in 1613. Isaac Johnson's map of 1784 shows it in the hands of Philip Colman whose will of 1779 refers to his brother in law Edward Montagu. The Tithe Apportionment of 1839 showed Hall Field and most of those around it belonged to Old Hall Farm (this farmhouse is now 37 High Road which appears as it was in 1887 as photograph no 125 in C. Corker's "In & Around Victorian Felixstowe") and this was owned by Edward Proudfoot Montagu and occupied by Thomas Hyem. The adjoining farm (the house is now 67 High Road) was in the same ownership but occupied by Richard Hyem. The particulars for the sale in 1862 after the death of Captain Edward Proudfoot Montagu include both Old Hall Farm and its neighbour, formerly called "Porters Farm" (it seems to have been owned by John Porter before it was acquired by Montagu in 1825), both occupied by Mr Thomas Hyem⁵¹.

The Ordnance Survey map of 1881 (25th first edition) shows the ruins still isolated, with a triangulation point in the next field emphasising the wide views, and a footpath from Walton running straight towards the Old Hall, but then diverting along a field boundary before heading towards the lanes leading to the north door of SS Peter & Paul church and to Felixstowe Ferry (Bawdsey Ferry) via East End Farm. The only new development in this area is the school on the High Road, now Fairfield School, built on land which was owned and occupied by Charles Cordy in 1839⁵². The site of Walton Old Hall is now partly occupied by the town sports ground and partly by the houses and carriageway of Colneis Road. According to his obituary⁵³ it was George Tomline's cousin and heir E G Pretymen who created the sports ground for the town some time between 1890 and 1895, having "laid out the Recreation Ground at great cost he sold it to the Council for £1,000". Certainly the Ordnance Survey map of 1903 (25th 2nd edition) shows the ruins in the north east corner of the "Cricket and Football Ground" (he had also given to the town The Grove, land for the Town Hall and for both St John's and St. Andrew's Churches, contributing himself to the cost of constructing

the former in 1894-5: he also sold the foreshore rights to the town in 1902 which made possible construction of the Promenade). Another place for recreation was created in 1920 when a large area of fields north of the ruins, running east from the Grove across Quintons Lane, was opened up by removing several field boundaries and heavily landscaped for Eastward Ho Golf Links which had 18 holes spread over 127 acres. The 1928 Ordnance Survey map shows the Golf Club House at the west end of the course reached by what is now Beatrice Avenue, the southern section of which had been established as access to the "Cricket and Football Ground". This map also shows that Links Avenue had been laid out and the first seven houses built, while five new houses appear on the north side of the High Road west of Old Hall Farm (no. 37). This part of the town was beginning to grow. The footpath from Walton had been straightened to cut across the corner of the sports ground and now marked the approximate line to be followed later by Colneis Road as far as Ferry Road where its line was continued Eastward as Ferry Lane (the first part of which is now Elmcroft Lane).

The sports ground was extended to its present size by two conveyances of land to Felixstowe Urban District Council by George Marcus Tomline Pretyman son of E G Pretyman, within his father's lifetime, in September 1926 and May 1929. Soon after his father's death in 1931 G.M.T. Pretyman put some 850 acres of land up for sale for housing developments which included the creation of Colneis Road: the 1938 edition of the Ordnance Survey map shows ten plots in Colneis Road and the outlines of Dellwood Avenue and Lansdowne Road on the southern and eastern edges of the sports ground, although much of the building was delayed until after the Second World War. On the outbreak of war in 1939 the Eastward Ho Golf Links were requisitioned and they were not reinstated in 1946 but became an amenity open space with playing fields.

Today the only visible evidence of the Bigods and their large manorial holding is the fragmentary stone structure preserved in the corner of the Felixstowe Sports Ground. These remains are now accessible from Colneis Road through a new entry provided by Suffolk Coastal District Council and interpretation boards have been erected with funding from the Local Heritage Initiative.

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NOTES

- ¹ Felgate in West 1974, p.150.
- ² Felixstowe Times, 27 Nov. 1937: photographs in album at Felixstowe Museum.
- ³ "Archaeology in Suffolk" 19612 in PSIAH 1961.
- ⁴ Rumble A. (ed.) 1986 "Domesday Book - Suffolk" Phillimore entry 7.122.
- ⁵ Rumble A. (ed.) 1986 "Domesday Book - Suffolk" Phillimore entry 7.78.
- ⁶ Stenton F. 1971 "Anglo-Saxon England" 3rd ed., Oxford p.625.
- ⁷ Fairclough J. & Plunkett S J 2000 "Drawings of Walton Castle & Other Monuments in Walton & Felixstowe" PSIAH XXXIX p.450.
- ⁸ PSIA XXV. 127ff.
- ⁹ Henry of Huntingdon "The History of the English People 1000-1154", IV, 36.
- ¹⁰ Pipe Roll 5 Henry II p.9 "Et in liberatione militum et servientum de Waleton de dimidio anno lxxvii li. Et in munitione castelli eiusdem xix li et viis et viiid ... Et in liberatione militum de Walet' et servientum lviii li et xv. and there are frequent later references to this royal garrison at Walton :- PR 5 Hen II pp9 & 58, PR 6 p.2, PR 10 pp 34, 46, PR 11 p.2, PR 13 p. 208 etc. "in liberatione militum de Walet" and in some cases "et in munitione eiusdem castelli".
- ¹¹ PR 19 Hen II pp 13, 30, 117, 129, 131, PR 20 p.37.
- ¹² Pipe Roll of 22 Hen II, p.60 an.1176.
- ¹³ Rathborne pp 533 & 272.
- ¹⁴ E A Miscellany 8,828.
- ¹⁵ Morris M. "The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the thirteenth century", Woodbridge, 2005 p.33.
- ¹⁶ SC6/1007/4 to SC6/1007/20.
- ¹⁷ PSIA XXIII, 1939, p.157.
- ¹⁸ Claude Morley "Saxon Architecture", PSIA XVIII 1922 p.1 says this is from a Rochester cartulary.
- ¹⁹ Brian Philp "The Excavation of the Roman Forts of Classis Britannica at Dover 1970-1977" Kent 1981, p.176.
- ²⁰ David Tolliday, working with the guidance of John Ridgard and John Priestley, working on behalf of Rick Turner of Cadw, have given me access to their transcripts of some of these rolls which are in the National Archive at Kew.
- ²¹ PRO: SC6 1007/5.
- ²² See Allen Brown "English Castles", London 1970 p.126.
- ²³ Perks, J.C. "Chepstow Castle", guidebook, D.o.E, 1967 p.8.
- ²⁴ Gransden, A. "The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds 1212-1301", London 1964 p.47.
- ²⁵ For details see Turner, R. "Chepstow Castle", guidebook, Cadw, 2002.
- ²⁶ Martin, E. "Little Wenham Hall, a Reinterpretation" PSIAH 39 (1998) p.151.

- ²⁷ Vols I-III, Cambridge 1996-2006.
- ²⁸ Martin, E. "Little Wenham Hall, a Reinterpretation" *PSIAH* 39 (1998) p.159; Raimes, A. L. "The Family of Reymes of Wherstead in Suffolk" *PSIAH* 23 (1938), and "Two Suffolk Branches of the Reymes Family" *PSIAH* 27 (1955).
- ²⁹ Marc Morris "The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the 13th century" Woodbridge 2005, p.149
- ³⁰ "Medieval Framlingham" ed. John Ridgard, SRS 1985, p.64. The same account includes transport of timber for the quay (le Cay) at Ipswich.
- ³¹ Domesday 7.76.
- ³² VCH II.205.
- ³³ Exchequer K.R. Accounts 457/7 and 457/8 quoted by R.A. Pelham in *Historical Geography of England*, H.C. Darby CUP 1936.
- ³⁴ Calendar of Patent Rolls 12 Edward III pt. II.16.
- ³⁵ SROI: HA119/50/3/17-50 Court Rolls for Walton & Trimley 1381-1705; SROI: HA 119/50/3/80-93 Court Rolls of Felixstowe Priory Manor 1381-1656.
- ³⁶ "Medieval Framlingham" ed. John Ridgard, SRS 1985.
- ³⁷ *PSIA* XIV (1912) p.170.
- ³⁸ See Fairclough & Plunkett "Drawings of Walton Castle ..." in *PSIAH* XXXIX (2,000) 419 ff.
- ³⁹ SROI: HB8/1/201 p.249.
- ⁴⁰ This wall can be seen in a photograph of 1887 reproduced as no 125 in C. Corker's "In and around Victorian Felixstowe".
- ⁴¹ Add. MSS. 8987 art. 20: reproduced as plate XI in *PSIA* 1974.
- ⁴² I. Johnson MS. "Excursions on the Sea Coast of Suffolk ..." now at Yale in America.
- ⁴³ Reproduced in Fairclough & Plunkett fig. 118 with some eighteenth century illustrations which show tall arches.
- ⁴⁴ Reproduced as no. 153 in C. Corker's "In & Around Victorian Felixstowe".
- ⁴⁵ SROI, HD11/475/1190 Felixstowe.
- ⁴⁶ Cal. Patent Rolls Edward I vol II 1281-92 (SROI: R942.035 - 66526.
- ⁴⁷ SROI: HD1899/1.
- ⁴⁸ A volume of maps of the estate of Hon. George Nassau by Isaac Johnson "drawn from the Actual Survey of John Kirby made in Years 1740 & 41". SROI: HA119/435.
- ⁴⁹ SROI: EF 12/3/5/12.
- ⁵⁰ SROI: HA 119 (562/111) and (562/112).
- ⁵¹ SROI: HD 11/475/1182.
- ⁵² SROI: 50/3/206 is the acquisition of Cottage Farm, Walton & Felixstowe in 1874 by George Tomline from the executors of Charles Cordy.
- ⁵³ EADT 27th & 28th November 1931.