

A NEWLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENT OF A DAILY ACCOUNT BOOK FOR FRAMLINGHAM CASTLE, SUFFOLK

by WENDY SMEDLEY

I

OF THE MANY thousands of medieval daily accounts of expenditure generated by the household of Framlingham Castle, not one was believed to have survived. From evidence in an extant annual account book for Framlingham Castle (Ridgard 1985, 120) it is known that these daily accounts were summarised and entered into paper books from which they were annually abridged. This Latin fragment offered in translation here, a single folio from one such paper book, was discovered in a bundle of documents at Essex County Record Office catalogued (in 1943) as 'Out – County Deeds, c. 1400–1834'; the bundle is among the manorial documents of the Colne Priory Estate, Earls Colne, Essex.¹ The folio is described as 'a leaf of a household account, c. 1400, of the priory of Framlingham Suffolk' and of having been 'originally used as a cover'.² No priory has ever been recorded in Framlingham. Because the manuscript appears to be the only extant fragment of a medieval daily account of expenditure for the household of the *Castle* of Framlingham an attempt to trace its provenance is necessary.

The bundle of Colne Priory 'Out – County Deeds', all relating to Suffolk, was put together to prove the claim of Sir John Griffin Griffin to the Barony of Howard de Walden, Essex. The claim arose in consequence of the death of Henry Howard, tenth earl of Suffolk, in 1745, when family settlements were producing complications. The first Baron Howard de Walden and first earl of Suffolk was Thomas lord, Howard (1561–1626), builder of Audley End House, Saffron Walden, Essex (Addison 1953, 2:24) and son of Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk (1536–1572). The ancestral home of the dukes of Norfolk was Framlingham Castle and the Howard family had succeeded to the dukedom in 1483. Here is a likely reason for the survival of a Framlingham Castle manuscript among the family papers of the Howards of Audley End. How the manuscript subsequently came to be associated with the Colne Priory Estate of the Proberts has two possible explanations.

The Proberts inherited Colne Priory from their ancestors, the Wale family.³ John Wale of Earls Colne, barrister of the Inner Temple, was Anne Howard, dowager countess of Suffolk's steward at the manorial court of Chipping Walden in 1714. Chipping Walden was part of the Audley End Estate.⁴ John Wale took a professional part in the family settlements of the Howard family of Audley End in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁵ Perhaps our manuscript was used as a cover for some of his legal documents, consequently, it entered the Wale/Probert archive.⁶ Alternatively, the manuscript came into that collection via the de Veres, owners of the Colne Priory Estate before the Wale. In 1486, John de Vere, earl of Oxford was granted the forfeited manor and lordship of Framlingham Castle (Green 1834, 66). There is an account of his receiver general for 1488–89 among the Colne priory Estate papers; it shows that Framlingham was then part of the earl's estate.⁷ It is possible that at the time the Earl of Oxford held the lordship of Framlingham some of the Howard household accounts books were removed to Essex and blank pages were used for other purposes. That this occurred on at least one occasion has been demonstrated by Melvyn Tucker, who has shown that the household accounts of John de Vere, earl of Oxford for 1490–1491 were included in a Howard household book of 1487 (Tucker 1960, 473). Can the Framlingham folio have entered the de Vere archive in some similar fashion? Thereafter, with the Colne Priory Estate it came into the

Wale/Probert collection.

II

On examination the manuscript revealed that it was part of a diet account for Monday and Tuesday, 30 and 31 August. No year is given. The hand of the manuscript is of the early fifteenth century. To determine the year it was necessary to examine the identity of the persons recorded as present on the two days in question. They were:

Monday	Tuesday
Lord	-----
Lady	Lady
Lord John	Lord John
Sir R. Wyngefeld	-----
Henry Bradf[ield]	Sir Henry Bradf[ield]
M. Thomas Joye	-----
Brandon	Brandon
Norf[olk]	Norf[olk]
John Felyngley	-----
	John Bocher
	John Cher

Such an examination reduced the year possibilities to two: 1428 and 1434. In 1426 John de Mowbray succeeded to the dukedom of Norfolk (Green 1834, 55). His wife was Lady Catherine Neville and they had one son, also named John born in 1415. In 1432, however, the Duke of Norfolk died. Thus, this fragment of a Framlingham Castle daily household account book has to be dated 30, 31 August 1428.

Other persons named in the manuscript can be identified. John Fenyngley was treasurer of Framlingham Castle in 1433 (Green 1834, 26:53). Sir R. Wyngefeld was probably Sir Robert Wingfield, steward of Framlingham manor in 1433 (Green 1834, 26). Master Thomas Joye of Badingham was appointed a non-beneficed sub-deacon by Sibton Abbey in 1426 and in 1427 he was ordained as a non-beneficed priest. From 1431 to 1451 he was the parish priest of Sweffling.⁸ Henry Bradfield was in 1437 appointed to the living of Earsham, Norfolk. In 1443 he was the rector of Gressenhall (Blomfield 1805–10. Index vol.5).

Might there have been a particular reason for the presence of Joye and Bradfield at the Castle in August 1428? Earsham had been an estate of the earls and dukes of Norfolk since the 11th century; they also owned the advowson. In the 1420s and 1430s it was a centre of Lollardy. Bartholomew Monk of Earsham was among six Lollard suspects arrested at Bungay; according to Fox he had been in the custody of the Duke of Norfolk at Framlingham Castle before being taken to Norwich Castle together with John Waddon and William Scuts. (Fox 1684,751). The first heresy trial at Norwich took place on 2 September 1428, two days after the date of our document. William White, a colleague of John Waddon, was burned on 13 September 1428 (Tanner 1977, 8). Given these circumstances the presence of Joye and Bradfield at Framlingham Castle on 30, 31 August 1428 is suggestive. Had they come to collect Bartholemew Monk for delivery to Norwich Castle?

III

The fragment provides a valuable insight into the food and drink consumed by the ducal household resident in the Castle. Whether bought, baked, brewed or slaughtered, their allocation is recorded under the departments responsible for their provision. Within the departments it is the cost of daily consumption which is of primary importance, this being totalled in the right hand margin of

the manuscript. The unit prices of the commodities in the account should be compared with those in contemporary accounts from other households (Beveridge 1966, 85; Woolgar 1992, 18–55).⁹ Other conclusions may be reached with regard to the quantity of wheat required to produce a loaf of bread¹⁰ and of malt to produce a gallon of ale.¹¹ If Swabey is right that one gallon of ale per person per day was standard consumption in this period (Swabey 1999, 87) it may be deduced that there were 84 persons present in the Castle on 30 August and 90 on 31 August 1428.

APPENDIX

The manuscript has been translated as written; the punctuation has been modernised and abbreviations have been expanded.

[F]ramlyngh(a)m Monday the penultimate day of August there.

Pantry. From the remainder 33 loaves of wheat price 7³/₄d, and baked the same day 2 quarters 2 bushels of wheat from which is produced 454 loaves price 10s 6d. Expended during the day 176 loaves of wheat price 3s 9d. From which, trenchers 22 [sliced from] 3 [spiced] loaves: 2 for the almoner, 1 for the janitor, 8 for the lord through the day, 8 for the chamber of lord John, 7 for the chamber of the lady, 1/2 to the chapel, 1/2 to the kitchen, 4 for the Irish knights, 9 for Sir R[obert] Wyngefeld[e], 6 for Henr[y] Bradff[eld] & Master Thom[as] Joye, 2 for Brandon[e], 5 for the lady's stable, 2 for Norf[olk], 2 to a foreigner, 3 for Joh[n] Felyngley, 1 allowed, 7 for the lord & lady at night, 4 for the lord Joh[n], 1 for the dogs, 2 to the [F] chamber & to the hall 96, & thus there remain 311 loaves of wheat price 8s 4³/₄ d. **Buttery** From the remainder 122¹/₂ gallons of ale price 5s 10³/₄d. Expended during the day 84 gallons of ale price 3s 6d. From which [accounted] 1 gallon to the janitor, 4 gallons for the lord through the day, 3 gallons for the chamber of the lord John, 4 gallons for the lady's chamber, after the ninth hour 2 gallons to the chapel, 1 gallon to the kitchen, 4 gallons to the Irish knights, 5 gallons to Sir R[obert] Wyngff[elde], 4 gallons to Brandon, 2¹/₂ gallons to Norf[olk], 2 gallons to the lady's stable, 2 gallons to the foreigner, 3 gallons drunk at the door, 5 gallons allowed, 7 gallons for the lord and lady at night, 3 gallons for the lord Joh[n], 1 gallon to the [F] chamber & to the hall 30¹/₂ gallons & so there remain 58 [F] gallons of ale price 2s 4³/₄d. **Cellar** From the remainder 33 sesters, 1 pitcher, 1 quart of wine price £3 4s³/₄d. Used per day 1 sester, 2 pitchers price 2s 9d. From which for the lord per day 1 pitcher, for the lady and chamber per day 1 pitcher, to the Irish knights 2 pitchers, Wyngefeld 1/2 pitcher, at the door 1/2 pitcher, for the lord & lady at night 1 pitcher & so there remain 31 sesters, 3 pitchers, 1 quart of wine price 61s 3³/₄d. **Chaundlery** From the remainder 54 pounds of candle tallow price 6s 8¹/₂d. Used per day 4 pounds of candle tallow price 6d, & so there remain 50 pounds of tallow [price] 6s 2¹/₂d. **Kitchen** From the remainder 18 rounds of oxen price 8s 11d. And remain 4 1/2 mutton sheep 7s 1¹/₂d. And slaughtered 1 ox price 8s 1d, & killed 5 sheep price 7s 11d. Used per day 20 rounds of oxen price 9s 11³/₄d, 4 sheep & 1/2 price 7s 1¹/₂d [and so] there remain 14 rounds of oxen price 7s & there remain 4 sheep & 1/2 price 7s 1¹/₂d. **Poultry** In 5 capons bought & expended, 15d. In 20 hens bought & expended, 20d. In 1 quarter of butter bought [price] & expended 1¹/₂d.

Pantry 3s 9d Buttery 3s 6d Cellar 2s 9d Chaundlery 6d Kitchen 17s 1¹/₂d Poultry 3s 1¹/₂d

Framlyngh[a]m Day Tuesday the last day of the month of August there.

Pantry From the remainder 311 loaves of wheat price 8s 4³/₄d. Used per day 161 loaves of wheat price 3s 9d. From which trenchers 16, [sliced from] 2 [spiced] loaves, 1 to the almoner, janitor, 8 to the lord Joh[n], 6 to the room of the lady, 1/2 to the chapel, 1/2 to the kitchen, 4 to the Irish knights, 11 to the Treasurer with food, 8 to Brandon, 6 to Sir Henry Bradff[eld], 1 to Norf[olk], 2 to Joh[n]

Bocher, 1 to the lady's stable, 2 to Joh[n] Cher[e], 1 to a foreigner, 3 allowances, 6 to the lady at night, 2 to lord Joh[n], 1 to the dogs, 2 to the [F] chamber & to the hall 96, & so there remain 170 loaves price 4s 7³/₄d. **Buttery** From the remainder 58 gallons of ale price 2s 4³/₄d & brewed the same day 6 quarters of malt from which there was produced 32 dozen gallons of ale price 16s. From which given to the chamber of lord Joh[n] 6 gallons, to the chamber of the lady 6 gallons, price 6d. Delivered to the lodge 36 gallons of ale price 18d. Expended during the day 90 gallons price 3s 9d. From which [accounted] 1 gallon to the janitor, 4 gallons to lord Joh[n]'s chamber, 4 gallons to the lady's chamber, 2 to the chapel, 1 gallon to the kitchen, 3¹/₂ gallons to the Irish knights, 5 gallons to Norff[olk], 2 gallons to Brandon, 3 gallons to the Treasurer with food, 2 gallons to the baker, 1 gallon drunk at [], 4 gallons to the foreigners, 3 gallons released to the hospice, 8 gallons for the lady at night 1¹/₂ to lord Joh[n], 1 gallon to the [F] chamber & to the hall 43 gallons, & so there remain 264 gallons of ale price 12s 7³/₄d. **Cellar** From the remainder 31 sesters, 3 pitchers, 1 quart of wine price 61s 3³/₄d. Expended during the day 1 sester, 1/2 pitcher, 1 quart of wine price 2s 1³/₄d. From which for the [lady] through the day 1 pitcher, for the Irish knights 2 pitchers, Brandon 1 quart, at the door 1 pitcher, for the lady at night 1/2 pitcher & so there remain 30 sesters, 2 pitchers, 1 quart of wine price 59s 1³/₄d. **Chaundlery** From the remainder 50 pounds of tallow price 6s 2¹/₂d. Used through the day, 4 pounds candle tallow price 6d & so there remain 46 pounds of tallow price 5s 8¹/₂d. **Kitchen** From the remainder 14 rounds of oxen price 7s & there remain 4¹/₂ sheep price 7s 1¹/₂d. And slaughtered 1 ox price 10s. And killed 4 sheep price 6s 4d. And expended during the day, 8 rounds of oxen price 4s & 4¹/₂ sheep price 7s 1¹/₂d & so there remain 1 ox, 6 rounds of oxen, price 13s [] & there remain 4 carcasses of sheep price 6s 4d. **Poultry** In 1 calf bought & expended, 2s 2d. In 3 capons bought & expended, 12d. In 1 goose bought & expended, 4d. In 24 chickens bought & expended, 2s. In 12 doves bought & expended, 4d. In 1 quarter of butter bought & expended, 1¹/₂d.

Pantry 3s 9d Buttery 5s 9d Cellar 2s 1d [1/2d] Chaundlery 6d Kitchen 11s 1d Poultry 5s 11d[1/2d]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Dr John Ridgard for his perception of the importance of the manuscript and for his help. I would also like to thank Essex Record Office for their permission to publish this article.

NOTES

- 1 E.R.O., D/DPr/583-611.
- 2 E.R.O., D/DPr/597.
- 3 E.R.O., D/DPr/621.
- 4 E.R.O., D/DB/831.
- 5 E.R.O., D/DPr/573,574.
- 6 At the end of the second day of accounts there is a space at the bottom of the page. This had been made use of at a later date. The writing is in English, probably of the early eighteenth century; it is upside down and almost illegible. There are also two columns of figures in the margins: these seem to allude to the scribble at the foot of the page. Although it has not yet been possible to transcribe or date, one is able to state with certainty from the first line of the text that our manuscript had been used as a cover for a book of acquittances and therefore probably by a lawyer.
- 7 E.R.O. D/DPr/139.
- 8 S.R.O.I., Bishop of Norwich Register volume 9 (microfilm), 319.
- 9 Of these unit prices, bread was assessed at 1/4d per loaf, ale at 1/2d per gallon, wine at 1s 10d per sester/5 1/2d per pitcher, and tallow candles at 1 1/2d per pound. 1 sester is equivalent to 4 gallons, 1 pitcher to 1 gallon (Coulton 1918, 377). E.R.O., D/DPr/137, account for the household of the Earl of Oxford 1431-1432, shows that a pipe of either red or white wine cost between £2-£3 per pipe; 1 pipe; was equivalent to 105 imperial gallons: therefore price per gallon 5 1/2d. Tallow candles for Winchester College between 1421-1438 cost 1s 6d per dozen pounds i.e. 1 1/2d per pound. (Beveridge 1966, 85).
- 10 In our document 2 quarters, 2 bushels of wheat produced 454 loaves of bread priced at 10s 6d.
- 11 In our document 6 quarters of malt produced 384 gallons of ale priced at 16s.

REFERENCES

- Addison, William, 1953. *Audley End*. London.
- Beveridge, Lord, 1966. *Prices and Wages in England from 12th to the 19th century. Vol 1*. London.
- Blomefield, F., 1805–1810. *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, 11 vols*. London.
- Cheney, C. R., 1961. *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*. London.
- Coulton, G.G. , 1918 *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*. Cambridge.
- Fox, John, 1684. *Acts and Monuments*, London.
- Green, R., 1834. *History, Topography & Antiquities of Framlingham & Saxsted*. London.
- John, Trevor, 1970. 'Sir Thomas Erpingham, East Anglian Society and the Dynastic Revolution of 1399', *Proc. Norfolk Inst. Archaeol.*, XXXV, 96-108.
- Ridgard, John (ed), 1985. *Medieval Framlingham. Select Documents 1270–1524*. Woodbridge.
- Swabey, F., 1999. *Medieval Gentlewoman*. Stroud.
- Tanner, Norman P. (ed), 1977. *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich 1428–31*. London.
- Tucker, Melvyn J., 1960. 'Household Accounts, 1490–1491, of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford', *English Historical Review* LXXV, 468-474.
- Ward, J., 1995 *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry 1066–1500*. Manchester.
- Wedgwood, J.C., 1936. *History of Parliament. Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439–1509*. London.
- Woolgar, C.M., 1992. *Household Accounts from Medieval England Part 1*. Oxford.

Abbreviations

- E.R.O. Essex Record Office, Chelmsford.
S.R.O.I. Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch.