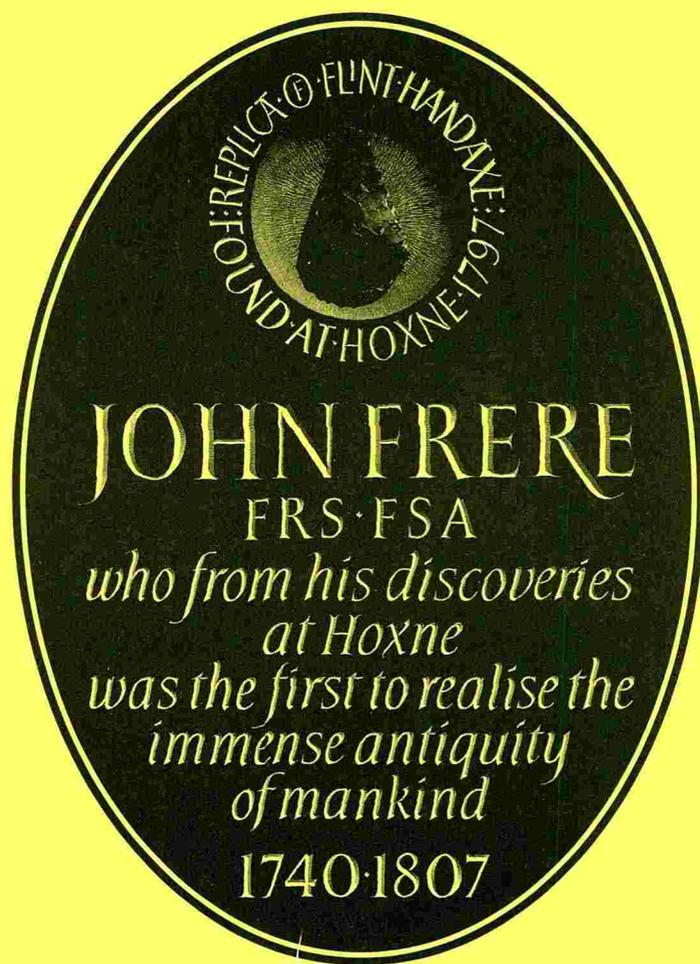


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The memorial tablet in the chancel of St Bartholomew's Church, Finningham, to John Frere, F.R.S., F.S.A., considered to be the father of scientific archaeology. The tablet, designed and executed by the Cardozo-Kindersley Workshop in Cambridge, was dedicated on 8 August 1999. See 'Business and Activities' in this Part.

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# DRAWINGS OF WALTON CASTLE AND OTHER MONUMENTS IN WALTON AND FELIXSTOWE

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## INTRODUCTION

FOR A HUNDRED years, questions of authenticity have surrounded a drawing by Hamlet Watling (1818–1908) of the Roman fort at Walton, Felixstowe, which was published by George Fox (1911) in the *Victoria County History*. Watling claimed that he had based his version on an original line drawing dated 1623 by John Sheppard, one of twelve various early drawings which he could no longer find. Both Fox and Watling died in 1908, and the matter rested there. Five of the ‘originals’, which include images of the Castle, the Manor House, the Priory and the Church at Walton, were seen during the 1930s but dismissed as forgeries. The five then disappeared from sight until rediscovered in 1998, by the authors, pasted into a Watling folio entitled ‘Antiquities of Walton and Felixtow’, a compilation of sheets produced at different times, in the possession of our member A.T. Copsey. Two others have also been identified. The purpose of this article is to consider their relationship to other known sources for these monuments and to explore their origin and importance as evidence for the early history of Felixstowe. To this is appended a discussion of the history of Walton Castle.

## PART 1: THE REDISCOVERED DRAWINGS, AND THE MONUMENTS THEY DEPICT

### *History of the drawings, 1850 to present*

Having retired to Ipswich in 1888, Watling devoted the last twenty years of his life to producing handmade folio volumes on various topics for sale to supplement his pension, making use of the collections he formed from 1837 onwards. He published notes on Walton Castle in 1885, in which he refers to his ‘ancient drawing’.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of his collections were bought by Nina Layard in 1898, and from an exhibition of these before the Royal Archaeological Institute at Ipswich Museum in July 1899, George Fox, the excavator of Silchester, became aware of the drawing which he later published.<sup>2</sup> Fox, Layard and Watling corresponded (Plunkett MS, Vol. IV) in an attempt to locate the original on which Watling’s copy was based, but without success. In 1899 Watling thought it was in a folio which Miss Layard had, and told her it was one of twelve drawings bought by his brother Edwin Watling at Yarmouth ‘of either Ives or Gardner’;<sup>3</sup> but it was still missing in December 1903 when Watling wrote ‘It has no doubt slipped into other papers . . . it bore the inscription “Prospect of Waltone Castel” with the name of the artist J– Shepparde’ (Plunkett MS, Vol. IV). Edwin Watling, formerly a schoolmaster at Cheltenham, died in 1870, but the family is known to have had connections with Yarmouth.

That the rediscovered drawings are some of those described by Watling is shown by his pencil annotations in the folio, ‘These were purchased by my late brother in 1850 from a collection of Ives the antiquary supposed from Gardner col.’, and also ‘These are from the same collection as the others. There are also the ruins of Leiston Abbey, Wangford Priory, Cauldwell old church, etc.’ Presumably he could not find them because he had already pasted them into this folio ‘Antiquities of Walton and Felixstow’, which was sold or presented to Sir Frederick Wilson (1844–1924). Watling had been a prolific columnist for the *Suffolk Chronicle*,

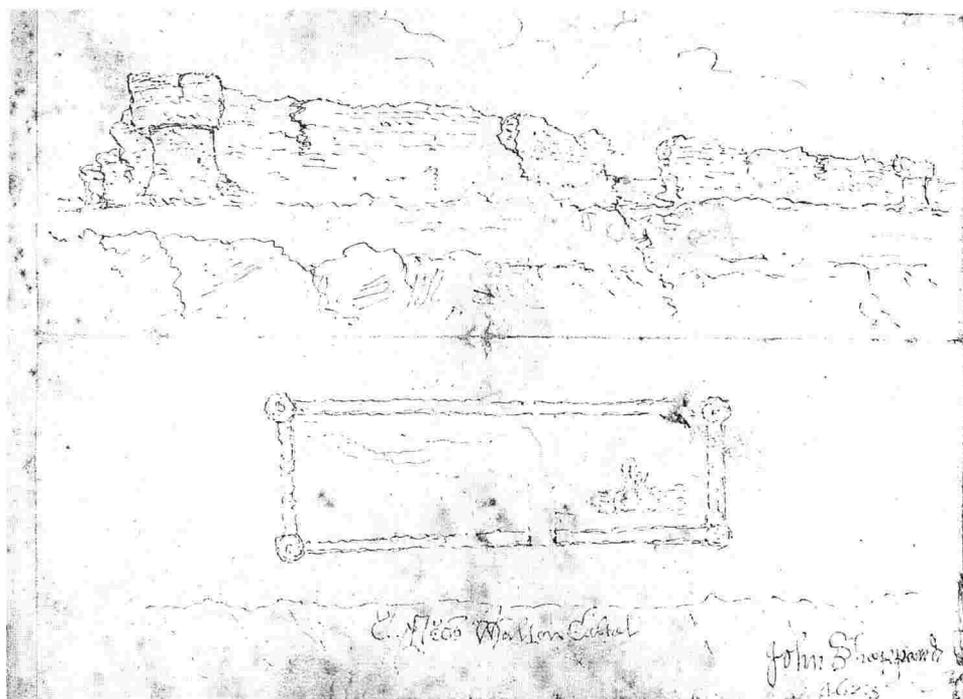


FIG. 107 – ? Joseph Bokenham, after John Sheppard: East Prospect of Walton Castle 1623 (courtesy of Mr A.T. Copsey).

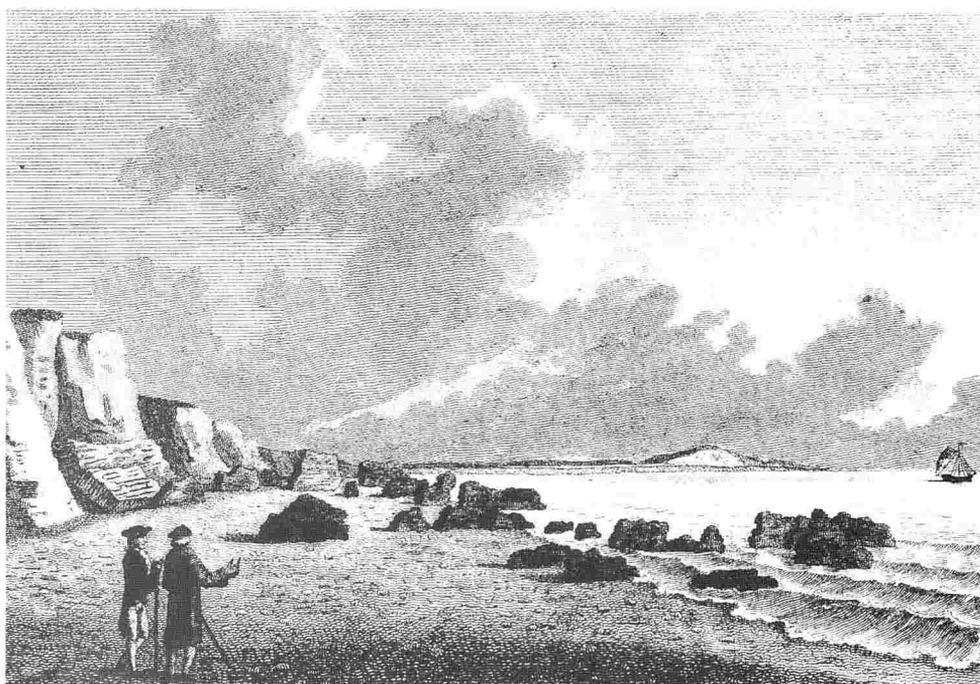


FIG. 108 – Francis Grose: Walton Castle 1766 (author's collection).



FIG. 109 – Isaac Johnson: Walton Castle 1780 (on-site sketches)  
(courtesy of Suffolk Record Office).



FIG. 110 – After Thomas Gainsborough: Thicknesse's Cottage, c.1760 (courtesy of Felixstowe Town Council).

part of the *East Anglian Daily Times* group which Wilson founded as Editor in 1874. The companion illustration of Wangford Priory has been located in the Ipswich Museum collections, inscribed 'Wangfoord S. Prioratus. 1623. J Bok.',<sup>4</sup> a production clearly from the same series (Fig. 128). The Cauldwell drawing survives as a copy made by John Shewell Corder (1857–1922), is again dated 1623, and is inscribed 'Sct Iohannes Bapt: Coldell [Su]ff.' (Fig. 129).<sup>5</sup>

The folio passed from Wilson to his niece Miss Walton of Felixstowe. It includes some annotations by Samuel Durrant Wall of Felixstowe (1880–1977), who published studies of these drawings believing they were genuine (Wall 1937a, c, d), before being convinced otherwise by V.B. Redstone, as he explained in letters to George Arnott in 1954 (Wall MS). Apparently Wall was unaware of Watling's earlier correspondence with Miss Layard. It is true that Watling had often 'improved' or reconstructed elements in his drawings of antiquities without making clear which parts were reconstructions, but there is no evidence that he engaged in deliberate forgery using old paper and techniques to produce fake antiquities, and no fair reason to doubt his statement that they were purchased by his brother at Yarmouth. The claim is not inherently unlikely: Dawson Turner (1775–1858) was able to purchase Ives's grangerised copy of Swinden's *History and Antiquities of Great Yarmouth* (Ives MS) from the bookseller J.H. Burn of St Martin's Lane, Yarmouth, in 1848 (Scarfe 1976, 300–01 and n. 11).

Accepting that they are not fakes by Watling, there are nonetheless reasons to think that not all of them can be first-hand originals. It seems possible that most as they now appear are by one hand. They have a competent but light, freehand quality in defining the crumbling edges of the buildings and a simple formality for showing the thickness of the wall at the window openings, similar throughout: some variation might be expected in works of different artists at different dates. Next, although the lettering is different in each, particularly the capitals (as, the W of Walton), the 'It' of the word is shown similarly throughout. This seems consistent with a single artist seeking to preserve the differences of original texts which he is copying or tracing. Again, four are dated at the bottom of the sheet with very similar arabic numerals. The numerals '16' are especially similar, despite being attributed to three different artists. The three drawings labelled 1623 show the date written in a most comparable way.

Finally, the drawings of Walton Castle and Walton Manor House are on two matching sheets of watermarked paper and have been kept folded together, although attributed to different artists and with twenty-seven years difference in date. The watermark is still visible on the drawing of Walton Castle: the Manor House sheet has a dirtier and more frayed crease, suggesting this was on the outside of the two as folded together, and has been cropped, perhaps to remove a tattered portion, so as to preserve the drawing but remove the part of the paper which is watermarked on the other sheet. If this was fraudulence it was clumsy, but it may rather suggest that Watling or an earlier owner recognised that this raised a question of authenticity, and the supposed cropped watermark was preserved separately. Watling drew Miss Layard's attention to the mark, for which in 1934 Wall obtained an identification: it is City of Amsterdam paper, period 1594–1750.<sup>6</sup>

While the drawings could be earlier fakes which were sold to Watling's brother, a more likely explanation is that they are copies made by an earlier antiquary working from originals since lost. In favour of this theory is that the artists named are not well-known persons (such as a forger might imitate), but nonetheless can be identified provisionally. As small sketches these would hardly be worth the effort of a forger.

If they are indeed authentic (albeit secondary) records of lost Walton monuments, these drawings represent a considerable addition to our knowledge of their appearance. It remains to consider how each relates to the available historical and archaeological evidence for those sites.

*Walton Castle*

'E. Prospect Walton Castel John Sheppard 1623'

This (Fig. 107) purports to show a view from the east (i.e. from the seaward side), and also a plan, of the Roman fort which formerly stood on the cliff-top near 'The Dip' at Felixstowe. The cliff was undermined by the sea during the early 18th century, and records were made of the building in various stages of collapse onto the beach and underwater. If authentic, this is the only known image which shows the structure standing, and moreover appears to show the south and east sides complete, before any collapse. It undoubtedly resembles a Roman construction, comparable to Burgh Castle near Lowestoft, with round corner bastions apparently enlarged at the top, the result of the robbing away of the facing stones in the lower parts where they can be reached most easily from the ground. In the drawing, the series of horizontal lines covering both walls and bastions suggest lacings of red brickwork in the flintwork walls precisely as at Burgh Castle. Below the elevation a broken line represents the edge of the cliff.

The existence of Walton Castle as a Roman coastal or estuarine fort has been questioned seriously by some authors (e.g. Moore 1948, 176), despite the clear statements of two respectable 18th-century observers. In 1722 Dr Knight wrote to the Society of Antiquaries of London that, some distance east of Walton,

are the ruins of a Roman Wall situate on the Ridg of a Cliff next the Sea between Landguard ffort and Woodbridge River, or Bawdsey Haven. tis 100 Yards long, five foot high above ground, 12 broad at each end turnd with an Angle. its Composd of Pepple and Roman bricks in three courses. all around footsteps of buildings, & severall larg pieces of Wall cast down upon the strand by the seas undermining ye Cliff, all which have the Roman brick. at low water mark very much of the like is visible at some distance in the sea. There are two Entire Pillars with Balls, the Cliff is 100 foot high (S.A.L. Minutes Vol. I, 72-73).

The 'pillars with balls' were presumably corner bastions, the lower facings having been removed as described above. Since the wall survived to a height of only five feet, the bastions would appear like columns or pillars.

Tom Martin visited Walton Castle in 1725 (Martin MS, I, 185) and noted the last remains of the Roman fortification close to falling down the cliff,<sup>7</sup> while John Kirby (1735, 49-50) said that in Felixstowe 'still appears the Ruins of a Quadrangular Castle advantageously situated'. Richard Canning published a more detailed account:

Part of the Foundation of the West-side of it, is still to be seen; being now One Hundred and Eighty-seven Yards in Length, and nine Feet thick; it is called by the Country-people, Stone-Works. How much longer it was we cannot judge, Part of the South-end being washed away; and the Sea, which is daily gaining upon this Coast, having swallowed up the Ruins. Such was the Condition of it, about the Year 1740; but, since then, the Sea hath washed away the Remainder of the Foundation. There can be no doubt but *Walton* Castle was a *Roman* Fortification, as appears from the great Variety of *Roman* Urns, Rings, Coins, &c. that have been found there (Canning 1764, 89).

Canning's measurements for the foundations may be the work of John Kirby, who took a

survey for his *Map of Felixstowe and Walton* produced in 1740 (Kirby MS), in which the Map itself shows the Castle as a ruin on the shore, and an illustration shows merely indeterminate lumps of masonry.<sup>8</sup> Grose shows the remains on the beach only (Fig. 108),<sup>9</sup> and says 'Its remains in 1766 when this view was drawn were only visible at near low water, the sea having gained so considerably on this coast as to wash away the cliff on which it stood. A gentleman now living remembers the ruin of the castle to have stood at least fifty yards within the extremity of the cliff' (Grose 1787, Supplementary Volume, 127–28).

Two views by Isaac Johnson, *Remains of Felixstow Castle 1780*, show exposed in the water below the cliff what appear to be wall footings turning a corner at right angles (Fig. 109).<sup>10</sup> In annotation, he wrote that the castle had been

on the Top of the Cliffs about sixty Feet above the Beach, and it was of a Quadrangular Form, the remains of it or Foundation Stones appeared in 1780 as represented herein about 100 yards from the shore, the sea having undermined the Cliffs and let down the Foundations left them as a monument of its irresistible Power . . . Most of the remains of the Stone Works are fished up, and now form Part of the Fortifications lately erected at Harwich (Johnson MS 1834).

Canning, Johnson and others recorded many Roman finds from the neighbourhood of the Castle.

It was supposed for many years that the rocks visible at a distance from the beach represented minor remains, or even natural courses of septaria. Sam Wall investigated: 'A visit by boat . . . showed it to be composed of lumps of stone (septaria), Roman bricks, etc. held strongly together with cement or mortar . . . there is no mistaking Roman bricks. In my collection are seaweed covered specimens hacked from the ruin, and brought ashore in August, 1933' (Wall 1937a). The findings of the Ipswich branch of the British Sub-Aqua Club, under advice from Miss Owles, in 1969 were very dramatic:

a great deal of rubble and natural rock formation was found, then divers came across what appeared to be a long wall about 9ft. thick and 4ft. to 5ft. high . . . red brick forms a levelling course on the walls. Several points were found where the brick was in three layers and approximately 20 inches above a further three layers were found. The wall consisted of pieces of flint like stone joined together by septaria . . . At one point, where three large pieces of masonry are visible at low water, was decided to be our base from which all measurements were to be taken. These pieces contained many red brick layers, and after further dives [we] came to the conclusion that these had once formed part of a large circular column which had fallen over. From this point the largest piece of wall runs for approximately 90 yds almost parallel with the shore, the other wall runs about 40 yds out to sea. Covering the whole area lie many pieces of fallen masonry containing quantities of red brick. These were far too numerous to plot and extend a great distance out to sea and to the North of the main ruins. Many parts of the masonry were covered with marine growth, this had to be removed to find the red brick. (Errington MS).<sup>11</sup>

Some of the stones visible at low tide are septaria in their natural position, but this report confirms the presence of masonry including typical Roman tile courses and what sounds like a collapsed corner bastion.

There are good reasons to believe that the Roman fort was used as an enclosure for the Priory of St Felix founded or re-founded before 1100, which was afterwards (c.1300) moved to a site close to Walton church. In 1613 (when the fort was standing) Aaron Rathborne surveyed the Manors of Walton cum Trimley and Felixstowe Priory for a Royal Commission,<sup>12</sup> and described three plots of land close to the cliff. Old Abbey Pond Close (2 acres) lay next to the cliff: it was bounded on the south and west by Old Abbey Close (6 acres and 1 rood), which itself was adjacent to the cliff on the south and east sides. To the west of Old Abbey Close was a 22 acre plot called Great Long Dole (Rathborne MS, 533). Johnson's maps based on Kirby's surveys show Great Long Dole next to the cliff, with 'stone castle' in the sea (Johnson MS 1784). The '1623' plan includes a detail of some ruins in the north-eastern corner within the enclosure.

Rathborne does not mention the walls, but they were there in 1613 if Knight saw them in 1722. If they enclosed Old Abbey Close, it was exposed to the cliff at the south-east end, and towards the north-east end was the projecting plot called Old Abbey Pond Close, with the cliff to its east. Taking Knight's 'two entire pillars with balls' as bastions, most likely he saw the north wall standing complete in length east to west and turned as he says at both corners. Less than twenty years later, in 1740, there was nothing to be seen but the *foundations* of the west wall (some of Knight's 'footsteps of buildings', which may also have included footings of the old abbey or of Bigod's castle), with no bastions or pillars. Probably the west wall was collapsing or robbed<sup>13</sup> before Knight saw it, because both the southern bastions had already subsided onto the beach. The southern end of Kirby-Canning's west wall had already gone into the sea, so the measurement of 187 yards is incomplete. Thus it appears that the whole of the north wall went between 1722 and 1735-40, supporting what an old man told Grose (in 1766?) of having seen the ruins fifty yards from the cliff. By 1764 (Canning) everything had gone off the cliff, and by 1766 (Grose) it is shown thus. Johnson saw lumps of *foundations* on the beach in 1780. Hence Canning said that the remains stood in Great Long Dole, because the whole of the Abbey Ponds and Old Abbey Close had gone except for the west wall foundations ('close to falling down the cliff' in 1725 by Martin's account), and the cliff edge now formed the eastern boundary of Great Long Dole. Knight's estimate of 100 yards for the (standing) north wall and Kirby's of over 187 yards for the west wall foundations give a suggested original plan rather long and thin, not unlike that shown in the '1623' drawing. These proportions are unusual for a Roman fort.

Although incomplete, the 187 yards (561 feet) dimension is comparable to other Roman coastal forts, such as Reculver (c.200 yards), Brancaster (c.191 yards), and Burgh Castle (213 yards), where the incomplete sides may have been about 135 yards. The area of the Brancaster fort was about 6.4 acres, and that of Burgh Castle may be estimated at about 6 acres. If Kirby's wall complete was some 200 yards long, then the shorter sides ought to have been around 150 yards long to give 30,250 square yards (6.25 acres, a rood being a quarter of an acre), a size consistent with other Roman coastal fort enclosures, and the actual acreage of Old Abbey Close. There is latitude in allowing Knight to have underestimated, and Sheppard's plan to be inaccurate, or Kirby's wall when complete to have been longer. Curiously, the drawing shows the gateway to the fort in the east, i.e. facing the sea. There may have been other gates, later blocked: but one is reminded that the existing gate of Burgh Castle, which once commanded the tidal haven of the Waveney (which flows below the west side of the castle), similarly lies in the east. Perhaps the castle's recent proximity to, and destruction by the sea is misleading, and (considering that the sea has encroached some quarter of a mile since 1700) it may in reality have been a haven defence at some distance from the coast.

The descriptions by Knight, Kirby/Canning and Johnson, and the archaeological evidence, leave no doubt that this Roman fort really did exist. A coastal map of about 1530<sup>14</sup> shows only a beacon on the cliff at Walton (and another on the cliff at Bawdsey) with no indication of the castle or any buildings. Although it does show Orford Castle the drawing emphasises the

beacon on top of it, and the concern in this map is to show such navigation marks, not to record all landscape features; so the absence of Walton castle is not significant. A survey of coastal fortifications was carried out by Royal Commission along the south coast in 1623,<sup>15</sup> but there is no record for the East Anglian coast and no actual surveyors are named. Possibly this artist may have been an official who recorded Walton Castle as part of such a survey. A candidate would be John Sheppard the elder,<sup>16</sup> originally of Mendlesham (Trinity College Cambridge, 1594–95), who died in 1669.<sup>17</sup> His son John Sheppard the younger was born 1607, entered Trinity College Cambridge in 1624, and died in 1671. Father and son have a table tomb in Campsey Ash churchyard (Partridge 1920, 129). About 1652 the son John acquired Ash High House, which remained in the family through his brother Edmund, formerly of Rendlesham, until the late 19th century (Nichols 1790; Page 1847, 86–87).

*Walton Manor House*

‘Walton Manor Ho. Wm. Redgrave, Gippswich 1650’

The drawing of Walton Manor House (Fig. 111) shows an extensive range of buildings, all ruinous, and is dated ‘1650’. In the foreground are two fragmentary walls, apparently the nearer and farther sides of an open hall which was the equivalent of two storeys high. The nearer wall shows a doorway with a window above it, and two full-height narrow windows to the left. The farther wall also shows two of the tall windows (to the left), and part of its masonry appears to continue to the right beyond the extent of the nearer wall. There is no sign of a roofline or of an end wall for this building. Behind and to the left is a two-storey building showing two ground-floor doorways, windows in the upper storey, and also possibly a first-floor doorway. To the extreme right is a two-storey structure like a turret which might have been part of the same range as that on the far left if it continued all the way behind the building in the foreground, but appears to have been isolated as a ruin.

A small fragment of Walton Manor House, generally referred to as Walton Old Hall, survives in a corner of the sportsground between Colneis Road and Dellwood Avenue. Part of the history of this building, and many of the antiquarian sources relating to it, are given by Tom Felgate (1983), who conducted excavations in 1967–68 and summarised his findings briefly in our *Proceedings* (Felgate 1974, 150–52 and Fig. 43). Only a very small fragment of masonry was visible when he began to excavate, but over two seasons he was able to reveal the footings and parts of standing septaria walls consisting of the north, and parts of the east and west walls, of a large chamber 32ft 6in wide (24ft 6in internal) and over 54ft long, the walls 4ft thick, aligned N–S. Abutted to the north-west angle were the lower parts of walls of a structure apparently 12ft wide extending towards the north-west, of a different fabric. Remains of a porch and a window embrasure were found in the east wall of the main chamber, and both Caen stone mouldings and stepped ridge-tiles were recovered indicating late 13th-century workmanship. A photographic survey and careful diary of the excavations exist (Felgate MSS), and press reports illustrate the progress of the work (e.g. Booth 1968; Anon. 1969). The excavations uncovered only a small part of a much larger complex of buildings.

In 1086 Domesday Book records that almost all the property in Colneis Hundred, the administrative area between the Orwell and Deben estuaries, was held by Roger Bigod. This powerful Norman baron held many properties in Norfolk and Suffolk in his own right, and supervised many more as the King’s Sheriff for Norfolk and Suffolk. The importance of Walton to Bigod is indicated by the statement: ‘Over the whole of this land’ (i.e. Bigod holdings in Colneis) ‘St Etheldreda has jurisdiction – *soke* – except for the hall – *halla* – and village – *villa* – of Walton’ (Rumble 1986, at 7.122): so Ely had no authority over the manorial hall from which Bigod could supervise his holdings in Colneis. We do not know the site which the earlier

Bigods used as their manorial centre, though it could have been the present one – there is no indication that they used Walton Castle in this way.

The earliest records found for building work at the hall are in manorial rolls for 1292 (Redstone 1939, 155), but it is not known if this was the first building on the site, or a rebuild. It was carried out by the later Roger Bigod, 5th Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk and Earl Marshal of England, the last of the line, on whose death in 1306 the property and the manorial records were taken over by the King, thereafter passing to Thomas de Brotherton, following the fortunes of the Dukes of Norfolk, and periodically reverting to the Crown. In 1381 during the Peasants' Revolt a mob led by John Battsford attacked Walton Manor and destroyed the Manor Court rolls, and those of Felixstowe Priory together with the warden's house. According to Felgate (1974, 150) 'The Rolls of 1399 disclose a wide range of buildings needing repair, and by 1514 the "Corte House", no doubt the "Old Hall" was in a ruinous state.' An observer<sup>18</sup> between 1594 and 1670 remarked 'I saw ye stone ruins of Felixstow Hall, as also ye Priory too near ye sea',<sup>19</sup> but it is unclear whether this refers to Walton Old Hall or to Walton Castle and the first priory.

Tom Felgate began to trace the collapse of the buildings through early observations and illustrations. Among the drawings of uncertain source on the 1872 copy of Kirby's Map (Kirby MS 1740–41: see note 8) is a 'North-West Prospect of the Ruins' (Fig. 112) which shows few trees and at least two groups of detached standing walls, one of which has an arched door below and a broken window above, and another group including a lancet window. Canning (1764) calls the remains 'very considerable Ruins of an ancient and magnificent Building, which goes under the Name of Old-Hall'. A wash of 1767 shows substantial, very tall remains of walls with high arches standing among trees (Fig. 113).<sup>20</sup> These are comparable to what is shown in Isaac Johnson's wash drawing of the 'Old Hall Ruins' (West 1974, Plate XI)<sup>21</sup>: several distinct sections of wall some 20ft high, each with a single window or doorway opening, stand apart from each other in a woodland setting. In a commentary of 1834, when much less was standing, he stated: 'about 1789 the ruins being numerous were taken down and reduced to nearly their present state and the site thereof converted into tillage' (Johnson MS. 1834, fol. 56).<sup>22</sup>

Accompanying this commentary is a further Johnson illustration (Fig. 116), an 'East View', which gives a tall piece of wall with an ornamental course in the lower part and a tall arched light within it: the lower left side has a buttress or a small fragment of a returning wall. To the right are two stumps of masonry leaning away from the former, and apparently at an oblique angle to it. This is evidently the same assemblage which appears in a late 18th-century wash, somewhat discoloured, in Felixstowe Town Hall (Fig. 115), 'Remains of the Manor House, Felixtow',<sup>23</sup> in which the masonry stubs to the right of Johnson's 1834 view are revealed to be the footings of a very tall wall with a high arched opening, considerably taller than the standing wall with aperture shown by Johnson, and again clearly standing at an oblique angle to it. This significant relationship is confirmed by a further anonymous illustration, a lively monochrome wash dated 1799, in the Felixstowe collection (Fig. 114).

David Elisha Davy visited on 15 July 1829, and described the remains as being 'of no very considerable extent'. His fullest account (Davy MS., f. 46) is given by Felgate,<sup>24</sup> and shows that by then the north wall described by Felgate stood about 24ft high, with a window opening in it from which the dressed stone had been removed. This Davy took to be the end wall of a considerable room, with a portion of the east wall standing (as his plan (Fig. 117) shows, some 40ft distant, at the south end of the east wall foundations) to a height of about 6ft. He could see many foundations of walls and buildings, mostly obscured by bosage, and observed that the space enclosed by the long hall appeared to be hollowed out, suggesting a length of 73ft, although he could not find foundations of the south wall. He saw foundations in the area of the angled structure excavated by Felgate to the north-west, and made a sketch of such as were clearly visible. This north-western structure he estimated to have extended 'near 50 yards in

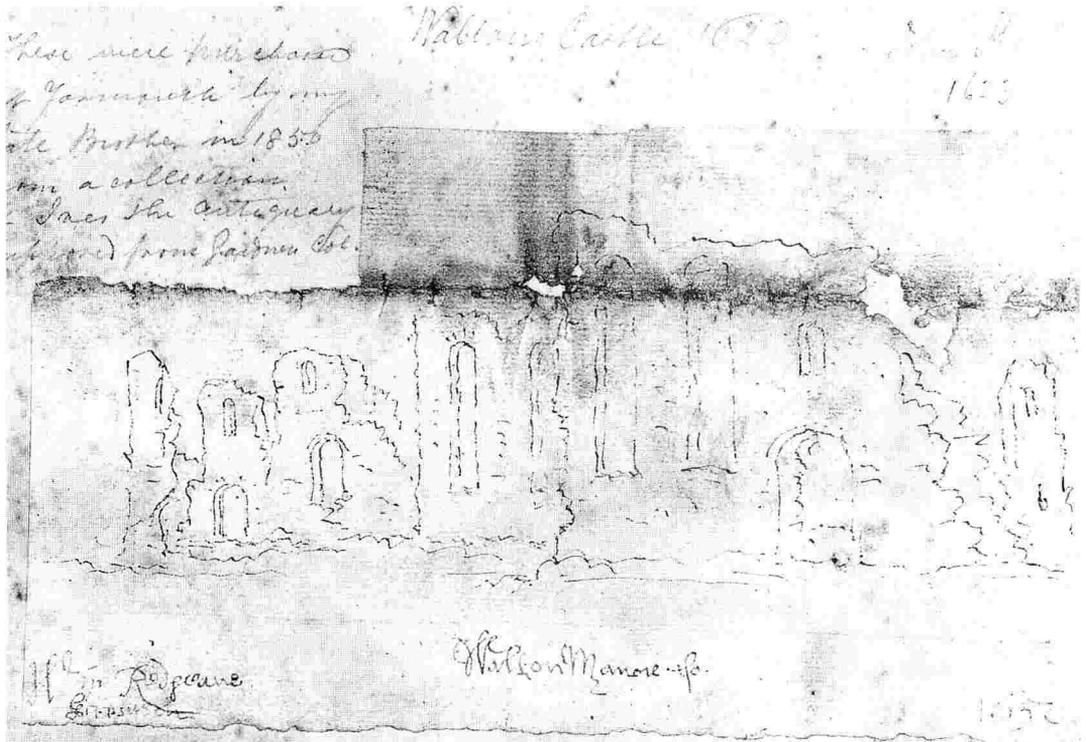


FIG. 111 – ? Joseph Bokenham, after William Redgrave: Walton Manor House 1650 (courtesy of Mr A.T. Copsy).



FIG. 112 – R.F. 1872, after ? Joshua Kirby 1740: The North West Prospect of the Ruins of the Old Hall in Felixstowe (courtesy of Suffolk Record Office).



FIG. 113 – Anon.: Old Hall near Landguard Fort, Suffolk, 1767 (courtesy of Felixstowe Town Council).

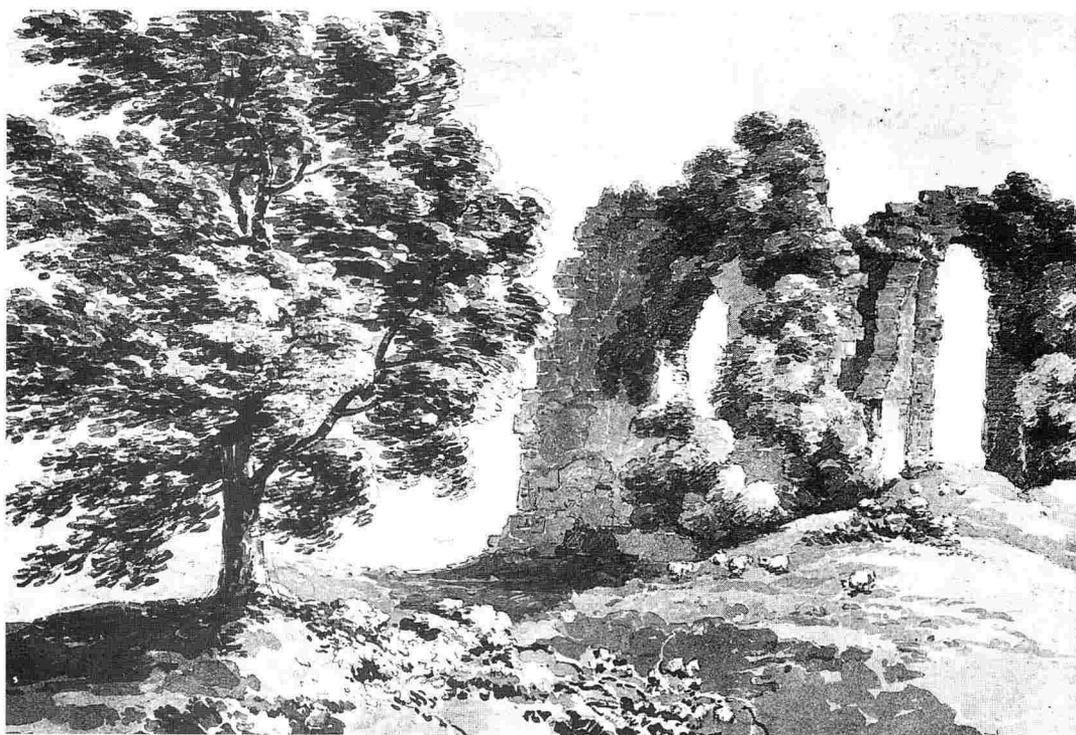


FIG. 114 – Anon.: Walton Old Hall 1799 (courtesy of Felixstowe Town Council).

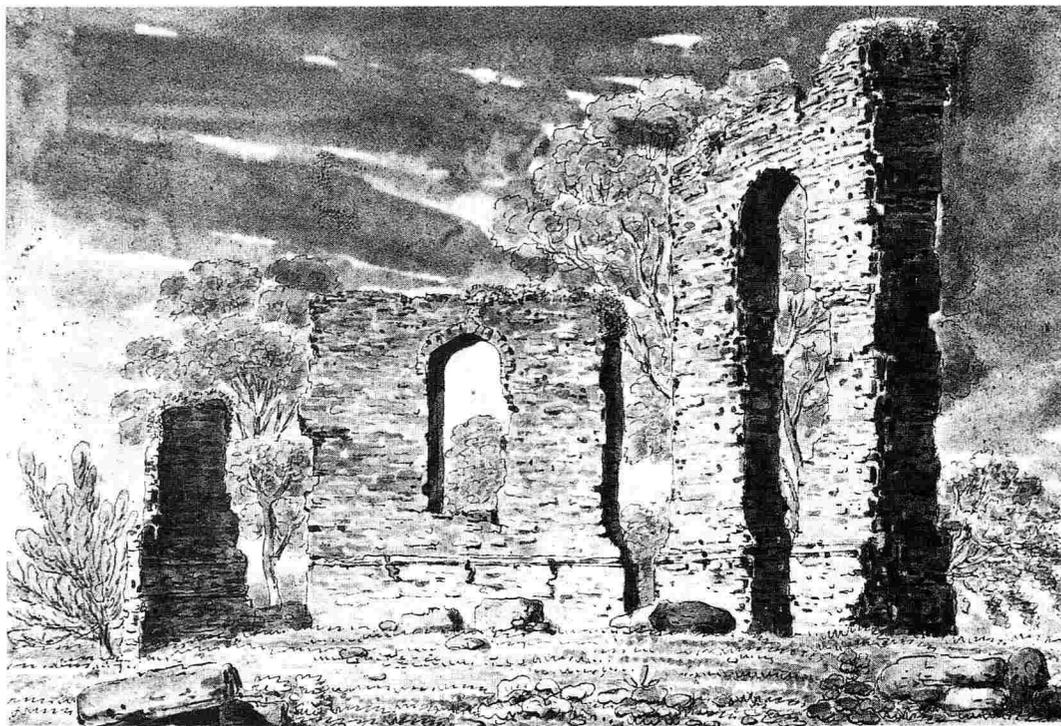


FIG. 115 – Anon.: Remains of the Manor House, Felixtowe (? before 1800) (courtesy of Felixstowe Town Council).



FIG. 116 – Isaac Johnson: Old Hall, Felixtowe (? after 1800) (courtesy of Dr J.M. Blatchly).

WALTON CASTLE AND OTHER MONUMENTS

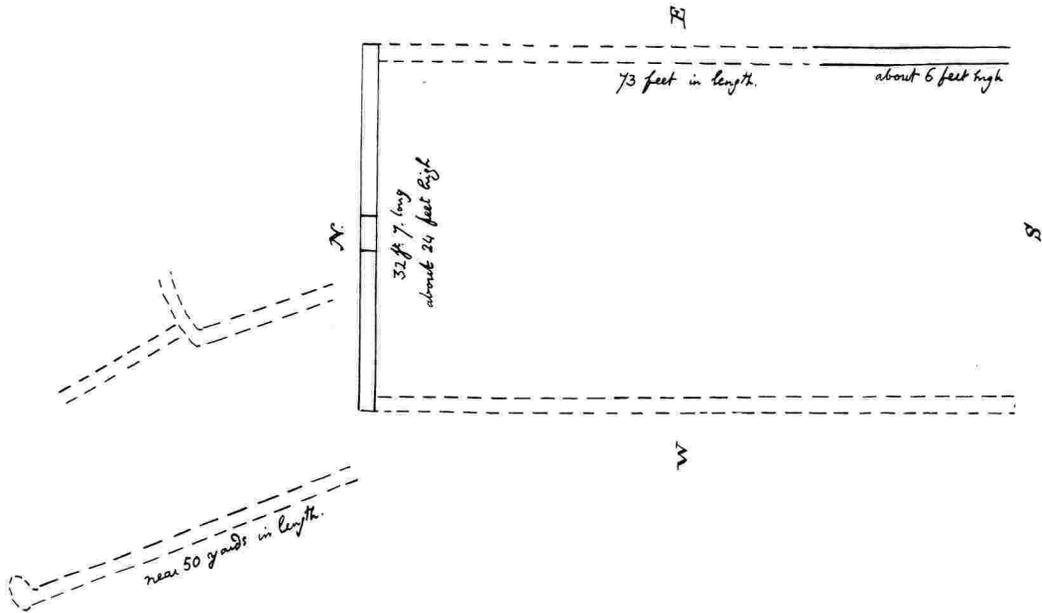


FIG. 117 – David Elisha Davy: Walton Old Hall ground plan 1829 (redrawn by S.J. Plunkett).



Remains of Old Hall Felixtow, Suffolk, measuring 73<sup>ft</sup> from N to S & 32<sup>ft</sup> 7<sup>in</sup> from E to W and 24<sup>ft</sup> high. N. side 56<sup>ft</sup> at S.E. angle: these Ruins stand in a Field rather more than 1/2 mile N.W. of Felixtow Church & about the same E. of Walton Church. N The Stone appears the same kind as that called for Cement, from Felixtow Beach, at this time. Edward III is said to have resided here some time previous to his victory over W the French King, at Crecy 1346. Here he confirmed the Charters granted to the Corporation of Ipswich, by an Inspecimus, dated at Walton, or Felixtow, S Manor-house.

Drawn & Etched & Published by Henry Davy Globe Street Ipswich, November 23. 1839.

FIG. 118 – Henry Davy: Remains of Old Hall, Felixtow 1839 (courtesy of Dr J.M. Blatchly).

length', a fact which Felgate had the opportunity neither to ascertain nor to verify. Henry Davy's etching of 1839 (Fig. 118), taken from the south (interior) side, shows the smallish window high in the wall (possibly infilled below?), and describes the fabric as cement-stone (septaria). A low fragment of a wall to the east is shown near the north, forming almost a corner but with a small break between.

Independently, before 1830 G.R. Clarke observed in heavy undergrowth what was probably the same structure (though he gives the alignment as E-W rather than N-S, and calls the septaria flint stones), stating

The foundation of the exterior walls now to be seen above the earth, occupies a space of ground, of an irregular form, about one hundred and sixty feet long and one hundred and twenty feet wide . . . Nearly in the centre of this area stands a wall about two feet thick, thirty feet high and rather wider at the base, but not near so wide towards the top – in which is a round arched aperture for a window, not above five or six feet high and about half the breadth (Clarke 1830, 389).

From these reports it is clear that there was formerly a very extensive complex at the site indeed, of which the large hall described by Davy and investigated by Felgate was only a certain part. It is just possible that Davy and Clarke were describing different standing remains. The discrepancies of alignment are more probably owing to mistakes (N-S is correct), and the differences in appearance between H. Davy's view of the wall and that shown in the late 18th-century illustration, with its ornamental course, is probably owing to Davy showing the interior, south side of the wall, and the earlier drawing showing the exterior north face, with part of the oblique structure excavated by Felgate still standing to a considerable height (some 30ft?). Wall (1937d) records that the north wall was a familiar landmark from the High Road, and that it fell in the great gale and blizzard of 18 January 1881.

In 1872 a *Guide to Felixstowe* giving a description derived from Clarke corrects his orientation of the hall and the high wall, and adds something new: 'Another mass of ruins is connected with the north-east angle which has formed the sleeping apartments and smaller parlours of the palace' (Anon. 1872). If the 1650 image were a west prospect, the two-storeyed ruins shown on the left of the picture would correspond with the domestic quarters described in the NE angle of the site. Two doorways with windows above are shown in the '1650' view, and one in the 'North-West Prospect' on the Kirby Map, but it is unclear whether these could be related. Wall's observations of 1937 support the author of the *Guide to Felixstowe*:

Great depredations occurred to these foundations about fifty or sixty years ago, when large quantities of stonework were removed and used for making up the roads. What I saw on various visits to this spot between March and August 1936, when Colneis Road was being laid out, tends to verify the above description. In cutting this new road, which runs north of the ruin, the northern part of the foundations were come upon, and a photograph which I took shows the large quantity of stones (septaria) that were then dug out and spread about to help form the foundation of Colneis Road. Also, to the north-east of the ruin, the water company men came upon another part of the foundations and two massive buttresses . . . At the north-east corner of the ruin, but within the precinct of the original building, an electricity sub-station has just been built. In digging for a sump between the sub-station and the ruin, a flight of stone steps was discovered, which it would seem at one time led into a cellar or dungeon beneath the Hall (Wall 1937d).

The foundations under the road were seen again in 1961, showing two parallel walls aligned NW–SE opposite nos. 21 and 23 Colneis Road. Workmen said a depth of more than 4ft had been exposed and destroyed by mechanical excavator without reaching foundations and the walls were estimated 70ft apart, but accurate measurement was not possible. One of the walls showed two phases of building. They also reported a feature ‘like a narrow well-shaft’ (Smedley and Owles 1961, 95–96). Local residents also reported a wall under the front garden of no. 23 and walls under the back garden of no. 24, ‘hundredweights of stone’ having been removed.

From these records it seems clear that there were substantial and extensive ruins of Walton Manor House surviving in the 18th century, and although the hall itself had mostly collapsed by 1829, parts of the domestic quarters may still have been visible into the 1870s. The ‘1650’ drawing accords in general with what is known of the overall range, and the fact that the part known to have survived until 1881 is not obligingly incorporated into the drawing in its supposed position is a point for rather than against its authenticity.

What is remarkable is that the very tallest parts of the walls with their high arched openings, which are prominent in the ‘1650’ image, seem to relate not to the main structure associated with late 13th-century stone mouldings and stepped ridge-tiles, the focus of Felgate’s excavation, but to the even more extensive foundation to the north-west of it observed by D.E. Davy. The late 18th-century illustrations which apparently show a fragment of this obliquely-aligned structure standing tend to verify the indication of extremely tall arched openings, as do Johnson’s pre-1787 illustrations. If the ‘north wall’ was 24ft high when Davy saw it, the adjacent taller wall was over 30ft high. These apertures could be lancets robbed of their quoin stones, but also resemble mid- to late-12th-century architecture like that shown in early illustrations of St Botolph’s Colchester, Sibton<sup>25</sup> and Blythburgh Priors. This is puzzling because the footings of the oblique structure excavated by Felgate were abutted to the north side of his north wall, of supposedly later date.

It seems possible that the building work recorded for 1292 was indeed that of the hall excavated by Felgate, but that this was merely an addition to an earlier complex of 12th-century date, perhaps of the period 1154–76, when Hugh Bigod was particularly active at Walton (see Part 2 of this article), and that these are the remains shown most prominently, perhaps from the west side, in the ‘1650’ drawing. Since Felgate did not excavate to the floor within his hall, and could not find one by probing, the steps observed in 1937 may have led to a collapsed cellar or undercroft which awaits excavation, and which would confirm absolutely the date of that part of the structure. The history of the whole complex, however, could only be elucidated by extensive excavation of the surrounding area, particularly towards the north-west and north-east of Felgate’s investigations. The attribution of the early drawing to ‘Wm. Redgrave, Gippswich’ may refer to the Revd William Redgrave, Rector of Waldringfield and Newbourne 1620–45, and Rector of Rendlesham from 1645 until his death in 1652.

#### *Walton Priory*

‘Sancti Felicis Prior’ A.R. [? or A.K.] 1623’

‘Waltone Sancti ffelicis L. R. [? or J.B.]’

The two drawings of the Priory of St Felix, Walton show a ruined ecclesiastical building, in both views seen from the same angle, but in different stages of dilapidation. The more complete (Fig. 119) is in the drawing dated 1623 and initialled A.R., which shows the buttressed gable end wall and the long side wall of a two storeyed building, with a small roofed structure projecting from behind to the left. The gable end wall is shown complete to the apex, with two tall windows. The long wall shows four bays with windows in two storeys, and the gable of the

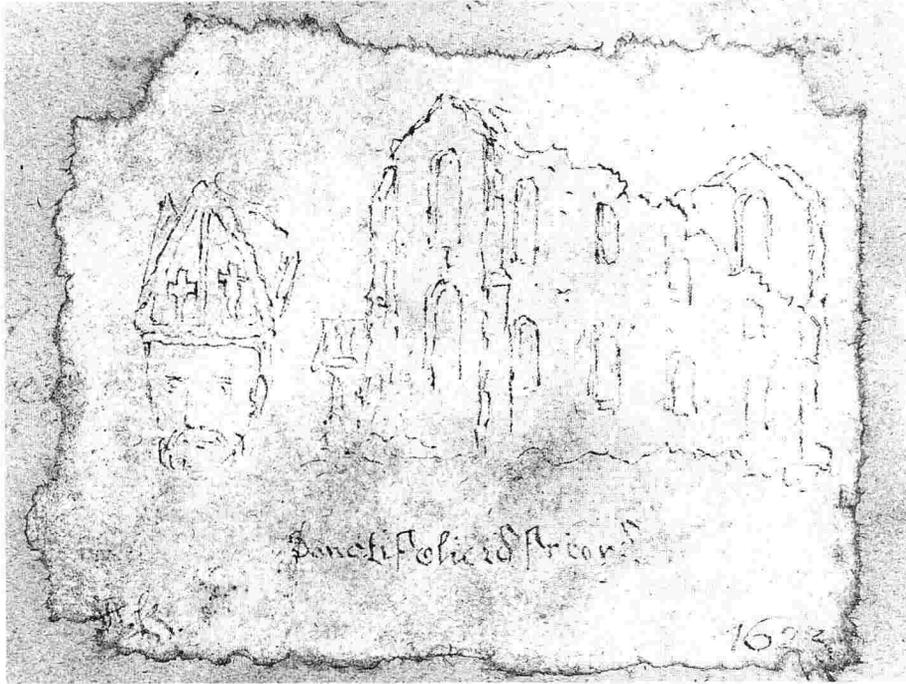


FIG. 119 – ? Joseph Bokenham, *after* A.R.: Walton, St Felix Priory 1623 (*courtesy of Mr A.T. Copsey*).

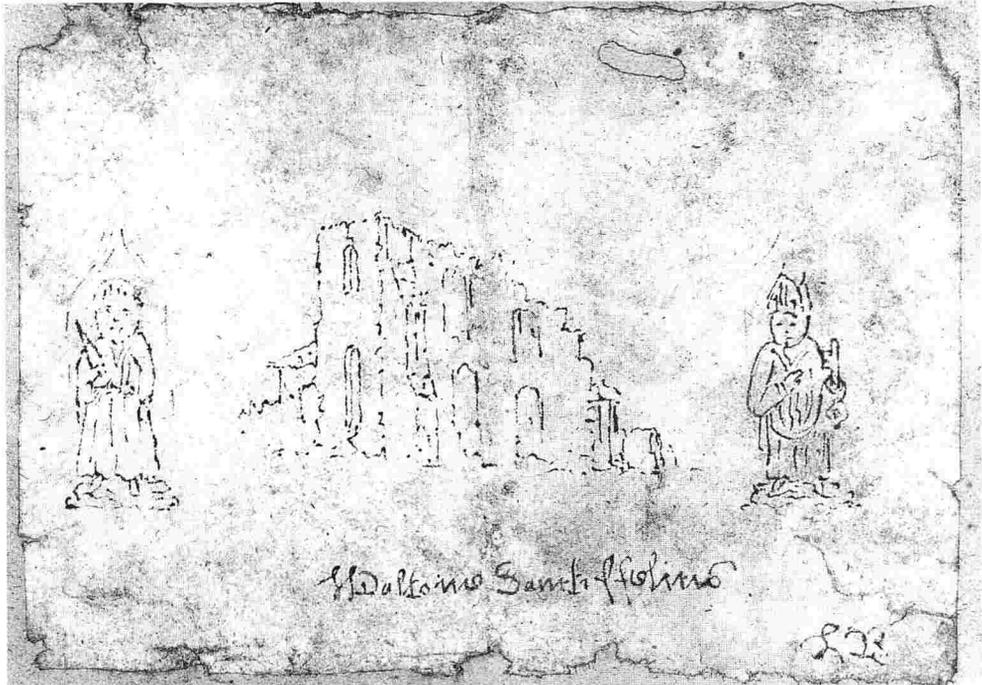


FIG. 120 – ? Joseph Bokenham, *after* ? L.R.: Walton, St Felix Priory (? mid to late 17th century) (*courtesy of Mr A.T. Copsey*).

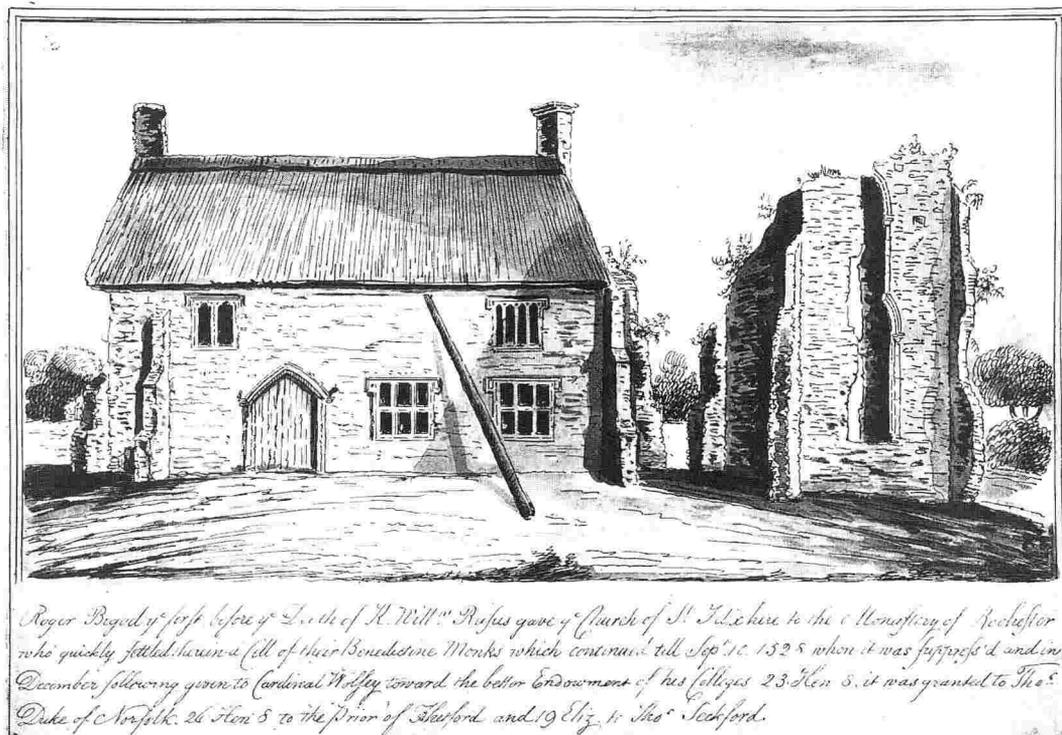


FIG. 121 – Hamlet Watling, after ? Joshua Kirby, 1740: The West View of Walton Priory (courtesy of Mr A.T. Copsey).



FIG. 122 – Isaac Johnson: Walton Priory (before c.1810) (courtesy of Dr J.M. Blatchly).

far end wall is visible beyond and above. The other drawing (Fig. 120), undated and initialled L.R., shows the same roofed structure to the left, the near gable end wall of the main building minus the apex, and the farther two bays and end gable gone. In the earlier drawing, the likelihood that this is a copy from an older original drawing is shown by a misinterpretation of the diminishing height of the long side wall as a perspective, with the upper lights drawn in, so that the far gable end appears to rise to the height of a third storey. It is more likely that the source drawing intended to show partial collapse of the upper storey at the farther end, with gables of equal height. This process of collapse is certainly what appears at a more developed stage in the later drawing.

The original priory at Walton Castle was founded, or possibly re-founded, by Roger Bigod soon after 1086, and in 1307 the Priory of St Felix had a prior and thirteen monks. In 1317 Thomas Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, granted Rochester Priory sixteen acres in exchange for ten acres in Walton.<sup>26</sup> The east coast suffered from unusually serious storms, with much loss of land, in 1286/8, 1328 and the 1330s (Bailey 1992, 2), and since the 'Abbey meadow' behind St Mary's, Walton, is about sixteen acres it seems likely that this grant marked the intention to move the Priory from a site threatened by coastal erosion, to one near enough to St Mary's for the parish church also to be used as a Priory church. A 1499 record of repairs to glass windows in and around the *ecclesiam conventualem et parochialem* confirms this dual use. In 1381 (poll tax) there were only three monks, and only three and a prior in 1528. Although in 1499 their main income was £13 12s. 2d. from the sale of corn and 13s. 4d. from the lease of a mill and pasture, in that year half the hall, the parlour and upper room were tiled ornately, and the hall and upper room coloured red.<sup>27</sup> The Priory was suppressed by Wolsey in 1528, and in 1550 the house and building were in extreme ruin and decay, before the site 'with a close called Camping Yarde' was granted to Thomas Seckford in 1576 (Redstone 1939; Davison 1974, 147). Knight in 1722 just mentioned the ruins: in 1725 Martin noted 'Walton Priory in ruins, except part of the Tower, and some of the offices' (Martin MS, I, 185). Canning (1764, 91) remarks that 'some Ruins of this Priory are still to be seen', and they are referred to in an Overseer's Book at Walton Church recording disbursements of 1727–1826 (Wall 1937e). The presumed site of the earlier priory was still in existence in 1623 (it is perhaps represented at the bottom right of Sheppard's plan); but these drawings probably relate to the later site behind St Mary's church in Walton.

Dr West's excavations of 1971 (West 1974) revealed a relatively small house, at least once remodelled. Substantial foundations indicated that the building, of mortared flints and septaria, had two chamber blocks aligned west to east with an early hall north to south linking them on the west side: part of the hall was later demolished, the southern chamber block extended eastwards, and the new hall of two bays constructed between the two blocks, east of the old, creating a symmetrical four-bay eastern elevation incorporating the two gables. Hitherto, the earliest illustration known (see note 8) was that of the west prospect, from John Kirby's 1740 Map (Kirby MS: see West 1974, Plate X), showing a two storey house created in the walls, linked by broken masonry to the back of a ruined tower-like structure standing forward on the south side, which Dr West suggested may be the remains of the south chamber found in his excavations. Another, clearer, version of this image (Fig. 121) exists in a Watling copy in Watling MS 1, apparently based on a Joshua Kirby original currently unlocated, but (according to Watling) in the British Museum,<sup>28</sup> which shows the late mediaeval details of the upper windows of the cottage, and that apparently the upper light in the west wall of the ruin is cut through by the arch of the lower, indicating two phases of work in the earlier Middle Ages.

This ruin, certainly standing in 1623, bears some resemblance to the near gable end of the large building shown in the drawings, only further collapsed. In this case the low roofed structure to the left would be the range occupied by the cottage in Kirby's picture: indeed, this seems the most probable interpretation of the drawings. Dr West suggested the cottage front

wall might have been that separating the demolished hall (A) in his plan from the later hall (D) (West 1974, Fig. 41),<sup>29</sup> re-used in the remodelling of the Priory: the broken masonry between the cottage and the ruin would be the collapsed extension of this wall between the fireplace and the north side of the south chamber block (B). If the two drawings show a view from the south-west, then the possible garderobe range (F) has already disappeared apart from a small offset shown in the 'L.R.' drawing after the second bay: also a substantial buttress at the south-west angle is not represented in the foundations, which at this point had been robbed out. The collapse of the eastern wall (extension E) would be owing to its abutment to chamber (B) having failed. The four bays of the '1623' drawing cannot be the eastern elevation revealed by excavation, because the gables must relate to the east-west alignment of the north and south chambers.

Some confirmation of this analysis comes from little-known drawings by Isaac Johnson (MS 1833-34 f. XXII and MS. 1834 f.56), representing the ruins from the SSE (Fig. 122). He remarks, 'The ruins as herein drawn were all taken down about the year 1810, the materials carried away, and the Scite thereof converted into pasture', so the image is of c.1780-1810. The tall end of the ruin shown by Kirby had by then collapsed, but – what is not shown by Kirby – parts of the north and south walls of the south chamber were still standing. Remains of large arched lights are visible in the first two bays of the south wall, and of three – or perhaps two, with a doorway in the third bay (leading into the later hall?) – in the north wall. There is no sign of the cottage which had perhaps gone by this date: there are, however, indications of the footings of buildings in front of the south wall, corresponding with those of Dr West's excavated range F.

The early drawings from Watling's collection are entirely in accord with this suggested process of collapse. If the initials on the '1623' drawing are correctly read as 'A.R.', it is possible that the artist was Aaron Rathborne, who surveyed the manors of Walton and Felixstowe Priory in 1613: otherwise neither artist is readily identifiable. These drawings do appear to show the south chamber block of the Priory at Walton excavated by Dr West in 1971, viewed from the south-west.

### *St Mary's Church, Walton*

'Sancte Maria Waletone Joh. Bokenham'

This drawing shows the south elevation of a church (Fig. 123). The south wall is single-storey, pierced by three pointed openings: the buttresses fall between them, and near the south-east corner. The chancel *appears* small, lower and narrower than the nave, with two small pointed windows on the south side, possibly with a little door between, and a buttress at the south-east angle. The square tower of three stages stands at the west of the visible elevation, but a further low roofed structure is shown to the west of it.

This image, perhaps dating before 1728 (see below), shows a stark contrast with the present building, which is the result of many remodellings. The church was part of the original endowment of the Priory of St Felix before 1100, and was used jointly as the conventual and parish church when the priory moved from its earlier home to the site nearby. The mediaeval fabric was built of septaria with limestone dressings. Repairs to the windows in 1499 have been mentioned above. The original tower has long disappeared, but a return of 1553 states that there were two bells in it (one of which survives). Its collapse is thought to have begun sometime between 1650 and 1700, possibly after a lightning strike, with the result that a south aisle and a western portion of the nave also fell into ruin (Wall 1935). Tom Martin says only 'The church a mean fabrick, one bell' (Martin MS, 1, 185).

If the image on the Kirby map (Fig. 124) is really copied from a work by Joshua Kirby of



FIG. 123 – ? Joseph Bokenham (? after Anon.): Walton, St Mary's Church (? before 1728)  
(courtesy of Mr A.T. Copsey).

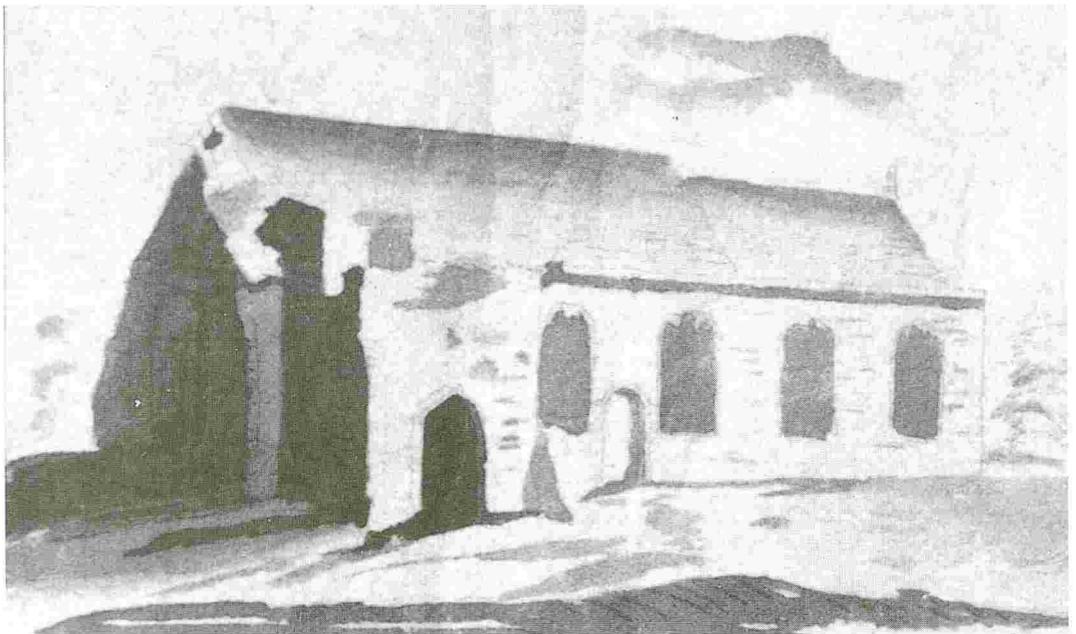


FIG. 124 – R.F. 1872, after ? Joshua Kirby, 1740: The South Prospect of Walton Church  
(courtesy of Suffolk Record Office).

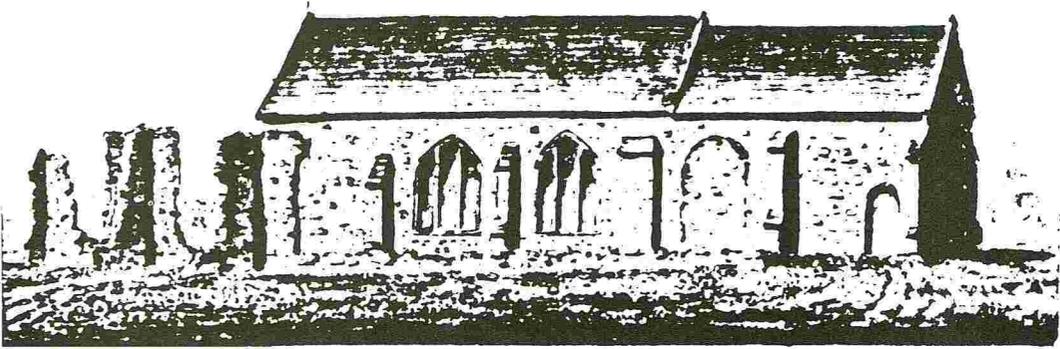


FIG. 125 – Isaac Johnson: Walton Church (before 1834) (courtesy of Dr J.M. Blatchly).



FIG. 126 – Henry Davy: Walton Church, Suffolk 1842 (courtesy of Dr J.M. Blatchly).

c.1740 (see note 8), it shows the south aisle to have disappeared by then, but the tower (which stood at the west end of the south aisle) mostly collapsed, completely ruinous above the first stage. The nave is shown dilapidated at the west end, but still standing slightly to the west of the tower ruin. At some time the 'one bell' was relocated to a ground floor bellcote. Walton Churchwardens' account book of 1745–1852 shows payments in 1747–48, 1762–63 and 1775–76 for brickwork and tiling in the belfry and to repairing the bell-hanging, which could relate either to tower or bellcote. In 1800–01 a bricklayer took down 'a decayed arch in the remaining part of the steeple', and in 1810 a carpenter hung the bell (Wall 1943). There are four large lights shown in the south wall of the structure in the 'Kirby' drawing – including two in the chancel, and a doorway between the two more westerly lights – which represent some form of reconstruction following the collapse of the south aisle with the upper part of the tower, to which its separate pitched roof abutted.

D.E. Davy spent two hours visiting the church before breakfast on the same day that he saw the Priory site in 1829:

The church consists of a chancel and nave, both covered with tiles. The chancel is 24ft 2in long and 23 feet wide, ceiled. The nave is 43ft 7in long, and 22ft 10in wide, not ceiled. The floor one step below that of the chancel. The steeple, which stood at the west end of the nave has been long down, and there is a single Bell, which hangs on the ground under a penthouse at the W end of the S aisle, which has also been long dilapidated: Some part of the W end of the nave is also down: the dimensions of the dilapidated portion, is 20ft 5in from E to W. The dimensions of the Steeple within side are 9ft 10in square: walls about 10 feet high. The S. Isle was 52ft 4in long, and 11ft 6in wide. The E end of the Chancel is of red brick, as are the buttresses on both sides of the nave (Davy MS, f.161v.).

Davy gives an Ichnography (Fig. 127) which shows a rectangular standing structure of nave and chancel, with the nave footings extending westwards at the full width, and those of the south aisle with a small square structure at its west end. There are two large arched lights on

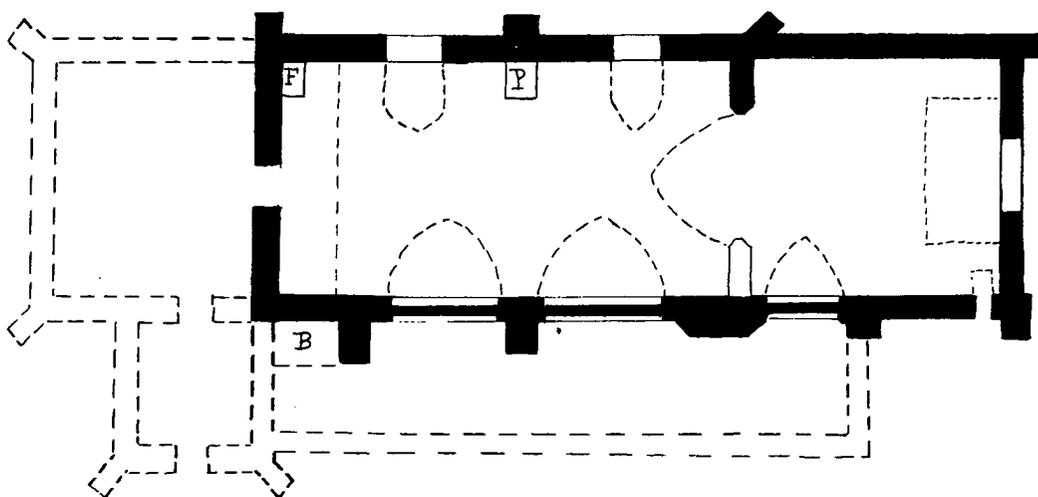


FIG. 127 – David Elisha Davy: Ichnography of Walton Church 1827 (*redrawn by S.J. Plunkett*).

the south side, supported by massive buttresses, and a similar opening into the west part of the chancel but within the range of the south aisle footings. There is no indication of the fourth, most easterly of the south wall lights shown in the Kirby picture. The lights of the north side are much smaller. Davy has mistakenly said that the tower is at the west end of the *nave*, but the dimensions given and illustrated by his own ichnography show that he intended to say, at the west end of the *south aisle*. With this correction, his description accords with H. Davy's drawing of 1840 (Fig. 126),<sup>30</sup> which shows the footings of the south aisle still visible, its extreme west portion still standing adjacent to part of the ruined tower, and showing the jamb of a tall aperture to the right. Tucked behind it is the bellcote. The arched opening into the chancel has been bricked up. Buttresses and masonry from the ruined west works are shown standing apart from the main structure.

The large south lights and blocked arch observed by Davy and Davy formed the mediaeval arcade opening into the south aisle,<sup>31</sup> with brick buttresses built on to support the piers. The supposed Kirby illustration shows these openings as if with residual tracery, suggesting that an 18th-century remodelling was again altered before H. Davy's illustration. The chancel extended internally westwards beyond the first bay of the arcade, creating a side-chapel or sacristy, which may explain the reduced size of the eastern arch indicated by D.E. Davy. The reconstruction of the east wall in brick may suggest it had been shortened from the east. Wall (1935) observed a surviving priest's doorway, bricked up, at the east end of the south chancel wall, which is shown in D.E. Davy's plan and H. Davy's drawing, and is now still extant, but is not shown by Kirby.

The position of the tower south of the nave, which extended further to the west behind it, provides a satisfactory interpretation of another early drawing, by Isaac Johnson (MS 1834) (Fig. 125), where the western masonry is slightly more substantial than in Davy's etching, and indeed accords with the later Victorian reconstruction of the building.<sup>32</sup> This shows no bellcote. From the height of the standing fragment of the south aisle shown by H. Davy, it seems most likely that the south aisle possessed its own separate pitched roof.

The drawing by 'Joh Bokenham' can very well be reconciled with these findings, and can be accepted as showing the general southern aspect of Walton St Mary's church before the collapse of the tower, south aisle and western part of the nave. The apparent change in roof level between chancel and nave is an illusion, and would have been difficult to achieve in reality because the arcade is shown by Davy to have extended into the area of the chancel: the main roof of the early drawing is the pitched roof of the south aisle, with the chancel extending beyond and behind it. The nave roof is not visible. The tower stands at the west end of the south aisle, and part of the projecting west end of the nave is visible beyond it, giving the illusion of a west porch. The drawing shows there were three windows or apertures into the south aisle. Parts of the mediaeval chancel and the north side of the nave still stand. The general plan of the church was unusual, and this may be connected with the requirements of its conventual use.

It should be remembered that the Wangford and Cauldwell drawings, apparently by the same hand, are both dated 1623, and that the Walton Church illustration may also be a copy of an earlier image. This provides a possible explanation for the fact that the west end of the nave is shown as being lower than the chancel: the copyist seems to have misunderstood the original, and to have reproduced it so as to suggest a lower chancel than nave and a western porch. As noted above, a similar misinterpretation produces a confusion in the earlier of the two Walton Priory drawings, probably by the same copyist. Even though it is misrepresented, the actual presence in the drawing of the low western structure is strongly indicative that this drawing is based on an authentic original.

The attribution to 'Joh Bokenham' is important because it may refer to a known antiquary and herald, Joseph Bokenham (1688–1728), Rector of Stoke Ash and Thornham Parva 1712–28, of whom more is said below. (If the name intended were *John*, the more likely

abbreviation would be *Jno.*) If the writing on the drawing is his, it is in a deliberately archaic style, but the writing of the name could be accepted as his own, or as a copy of it. The Walton church image may well be of 1623 also, hence pre-dating the tradition of a catastrophe of c.1650 which began the disintegration of the tower.

### *Conclusions*

The buildings depicted in these five Walton drawings, of which scarcely one stone now stands upon another, have ceased to be familiar to the general visitor because they have vanished. Even when Kirby was making his Map in 1740 probably none remained so complete as our drawings show. As a collection, of which five more await rediscovery, they reflect interests of late 17th- and early 18th-century antiquarianism. Accordingly, they could also reflect 18th-century imposture. Redstone's opinion, that they were forgeries by Hamlet Watling, seems to the authors unacceptable. Watling was an inveterate compiler, copyist and interpreter of neglected or disappearing antiquities, who expressed real reverence for his life-task of elucidating the past. It is certain that in late life he confused and muddled dates, images and attributions, and was at all times given to imaginative reconstruction: but if he had the knowledge, he did not have the disposition or inclination, of a counterfeiter, and was most unlikely to have subverted 'his works' – seventy years' endeavour – by deliberately redrawing and copying from his own forgeries into his finished productions, or so boldly to have announced their existence in his press articles. So refined a deception seems quite out of Watling's known character, and we therefore accept that his brother bought the drawings at Yarmouth in 1850.

Our comparisons show that the drawings reflect a knowledge of the probable appearance of the lost buildings which would have been accessible only to one who had actually seen them, or who had studied the work of other antiquaries: if forgeries, they are learned ones. Other deductions lead us to our proposition, that the drawings are a true antiquarian collection including copies made from lost original drawings. It is interesting, for example, that the two on matching paper (Walton Castle and Walton Manor House), which had long been kept folded together, bear artist's names which may be associated with the neighbouring parishes of Campsey Ash and Rendlesham. John Sheppard junr bought Ash High House in 1652, the year William Redgrave, Rector of Rendlesham, died, and his brother Edmund Sheppard, formerly of Rendlesham, eventually inherited the house: and in the later 17th century the Sheppard family also acquired estates at Bawdsey, within sight of Walton. Watling knew these facts,<sup>33</sup> but it is not recorded that he connected them with his drawings. Thus a key point in the argument that the drawings might be forgeries—the improbability of Sheppard and Redgrave drawing on the same paper twenty-seven years apart—becomes instead a point in favour of their authenticity, if an antiquary copied both images at one time from a single collection associated with Rendlesham<sup>34</sup> or Ash.

The latest attributable artist of the group is Joseph Bokenham (1688–1728), who is a possible candidate to be the compiler of the collection. Eldest son of a Norwich weaver, he spent seven years at the Norwich School, entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge in 1706, and was briefly a Fellow there in 1711 before taking up the curacy at Stoke Ash and marrying a local girl. In 1712 he was presented as rector of Stoke Ash and Thornham Parva by a distant relative, Walsingham Bokenham of Hethersett (Sewell 1874, 438–40). The identification of the Wangford drawing supports this case. The pen style is closely similar to that of the Old Hall image, the lettering similarly archaic and the numerals comparable, while the form, shape and colour of the paper is just as that of the Bokenham drawing. The abbreviated 'J. Bok.', in which the J seems to form a monogram for Joseph, must refer to the same artist as the Walton church image. Although we are dependent upon Corder's copy for the calligraphy of the Cauldwell church inscription, it is closely like the Wangford priory and Walton church lettering, as is the

drawn style (Figs. 128 and 129). Should the 'L.R.' on the later Priory drawing be reconsidered as another variant version of the 'J.B.' monogram initialling? Although Joseph Bokenham was not living in 1623, the recurrence of this date on a third drawing, and attributed to a fourth, further suggests that the artist was copying from some dated collection in which the four so marked all appeared (including the Sheppard drawing), and has initialled two as his copies from them.

As to the original source, the drawings could have been copied from a lost estate map or similar roll, the nature of which, if it were known, might explain the connection between Ash and Rendlesham, Walton, Wangford and Cauldwell in 1623.<sup>35</sup> A firm possibility is that such a document was prepared for the Barker family, who became lords of important manorial holdings in the Felixstowe area in the last years of the 16th century. A father, Robert (1558–59) and son John (1585–86 and 1588) represented Ipswich as Parliamentary Members, and the Manor of Offton Monks was alienated to them jointly by Lord Wentworth in 1574. John obtained the manors of Grimston Hall with Morston in Trimley St Martin in 1597, as well as Kirton, Russells in Falkenham, and part of Trimley St Mary. His eldest son Robert was Member for Ipswich in 1593, became Knight of the Bath at James I's Coronation in 1603, and obtained Offton Monks, and the Colneis manors mentioned, in 1609 on his father's death. (A kinsman Robert Barker, Serjeant at Law, of Parham and of the Inner Temple London, acquired manors at Ufford Sutton (1598), Ufford manor and Sigenhoe (Ufford) (1608), near to Rendlesham.) Sir Robert died in 1618, and his son (Sir) John succeeded to the lordships of Offton and Trimley, etc., and resided at Grimston Hall. He was created a baronet in 1621/2, and married Frances, daughter of Sir John Jermy, K.B., of Brightwell, whose lordships included the manors of Foxhall and of Wicks Bishop in Ipswich. Cauldwell Hall was, however, in the Leman family.

Walton manor itself, with the manor of Felixstowe Priory, had at one time been vested in Cardinal Wolsey, and later the advowsons of the churches were in Thomas Seckford: the manors were vested in the King in 1603, and the Queen, 1611, and granted to Sir Henry Hobart<sup>36</sup> (Chief Justice, and Chancellor to the Prince of Wales) in 1619: Hobart (1st Bart of Blickling 1611, d.1626) acquired the estate of Blickling Hall, Norfolk, in 1616, and in 1619 commenced the rebuilding there (largely completed by 1623), with Robert Lyminge, who had built Hatfield House for Robert Cecil seven years previously (Newman 1987, 10–18). At Walton, limitations are shown in 1626 by a warrant issued for cutting down pollard trees growing 'on the King's Walton-cum-Trimley Manor', required for forts in Essex and Suffolk: and in a grant of 1628 the manor is leased to Edward Ditchfield and others ('Citizens of London') but specifically excludes the site of a fort (i.e. Landguard) newly built near the sea.<sup>37</sup> There is a gap in the court books for the manor between 1611 and 1636, though in 1635 it was in Sir Robert Hitcham, who was in dispute with the Borough of Ipswich over a house on Bigod's Key (Bacon 1884, 507). Sir John Barker junr, 2nd Bart, and Sheriff of Suffolk 1654–55, acquired the Walton-cum-Trimley and Felixstowe Priory manors in time to hold his first courts baron there on 9 April 1657,<sup>38</sup> soon after the death of his father, the first Sir John, in 1652. According to Copinger (II, 339), Sir Thomas, second son of the 1st baronet, married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Dudley Carleton of Imber Court, Surrey, namesake and nephew of the more famous Secretary of State to James I, and Ambassador to the United Provinces (The Hague).

There are problems here, but from the end of the 16th century (1597) the Barkers had extensive properties in the area, while the Crown retained control of the manors of Walton-cum-Trimley and Felixstowe Priory (the whole of Walton and Felixstowe with part of Trimley St Mary), perhaps because of the strategic importance of this coastal area which led to the construction of the new Landguard Fort in 1626 (and perhaps also in response to the attempts of Harwich to institute her own Admiralty Court, to the exclusion of the Lord Admiral, in the years immediately following 1600 (Carlyon-Hughes 1939, 26–27)). However it seems that the Barkers had to wait another thirty years (1657) to add this property (apart from the fort) to their holdings. The Royal Commission for the Survey of Walton and Felixstowe Priory manors



FIG. 128 – ? Joseph Bokenham (? after Anon.); Wangford Priory 1623 (courtesy of Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries).



FIG. 129 – John Shewell Corder, after ? Joseph Bokenham, ? after Anon.: Cauldwell, St John the Baptist's Church 1623 (courtesy of Ipswich Borough Council Museums and Galleries).

was carried out by Rathborne in 1613, and that for the inspection of the south coast fortifications (initiated by Dudley Carleton) in 1623, as noticed in connection with the Sheppard drawing. Sir John Barker was created baronet in 1621/2, Landguard Fort constructed in 1626, and on some account Barker's second son married Carleton's kinswoman. It seems very likely that we must seek the origin of at least some of Watling's drawings among these circumstances.

One should remember that the drawings actually attributed to 1623 are a disparate group, including Sheppard's Walton Castle, Wangford Priory,<sup>39</sup> Cauldwell Old Church and the earlier Walton Priory image. The Walton church image could be that early. Otherwise only Redgrave's Old Hall view is dated (1650) – before the Barker family held the Walton-cum-Trimley manor itself – and the second Priory view is evidently later than 1623, but earlier than Kirby's of c.1740. We do not know whether the missing Leiston Abbey image was dated, nor what the remaining four lost pictures contained. The 1623 date might accord with the Hobart connection, but the known post-1623 images are of Walton, and this could reflect the continuing Barker interest.

If so, this lost source perhaps became an exemplar which was imitated by the later surveys prepared for the same family. Sir John Barker, 4th Bart (second son of Sir John II), acquired the Seckford House in Ipswich. John Ogilby's 'Ichnographical Survey' of Ipswich, as engraved in 1698, is illustrated with churches, and with two houses, Christchurch Mansion and a 'Prospect of Esqr. Gaudy's House, now Sr. William Barker's' (5th Bart): Kirby's illustrated survey of Walton was prepared for Sir John Barker, 6th Bart, in 1740, the year in which he married Alice, daughter of Sir Comport Fitch; and in 1784 the map was modified, or a later copy produced, by Isaac Johnson for George Richard Savage Nassau, to whom the Walton manorial lordships devolved by bequest from the 7th Bart, Sir John Fytch Barker, in 1766. Here, then, we may have a tradition of 'Ichnographical Surveys' connected with a single family, which gathered its manorial holdings together in the years leading up to the date of our drawings.

If Joseph Bokenham had contact with the Barker family, it would have been with Sir William, 5th Bart, possibly at Ipswich. Bokenham made a heraldic collection of over 1,200 Norfolk coats of arms,<sup>40</sup> and a companion volume for Suffolk: he would have sought to inspect heraldic rolls in private ownership. The Norfolk volume passed after his death from Peter le Neve to Sir John Fenn, perhaps by way of Tom Martin of Palgrave (1697–1771), who obtained le Neve's papers by marrying his widow, and owned the Suffolk volume before Fenn. Martin annotated a bookplate belonging to and inscribed by Bokenham, whose Miscellaneous Papers<sup>41</sup> include topographical writings but no drawings. Since Martin had some Bokenham papers, these drawings could easily have been among materials acquired from Martin by John Ives (1751–76) of Great Yarmouth. Indeed, they might even have been among those 'several curious original papers' which Martin communicated to Swinden *via* Ives in 1770–71, who would therefore have seen them, and perhaps rescued them when he acted as Swinden's executor in January 1772, arranged Swinden's mural monument in March, and slipped the drawings loose into his interleaved copy of Swinden's *History of Yarmouth* (of which he had written the preface) when it arrived from the binders at the end of April 1772 (Scarfe 1976, 300–03): soon afterwards he published his *Garianomum*. If the bookseller at Yarmouth who sold Ives's *Swinden* to Dawson Turner in 1848 had slipped them *out* of the volume, it would explain how Edwin Watling could have got them from a Yarmouth bookseller two years later, attributed to Ives's collection. Bokenham's situation at Stoke Ash, and his Norfolk connexions, would provide ample basis for his materials to have included matter of interest to Swinden.

The rediscovery of others of the series might provide further clues, and more could be learnt about the supposed artists of the drawings we have. Nonetheless, we have presented good reasons to overcome the doubts which Vincent Redstone imparted to Sam Wall, and it now seems almost certain that they are authentic. That being so, they offer powerful insights into

the nature of four very important Walton buildings, and also those of Wangford and Cauldwell, for which no comparable image has been visible for between three and four hundred years.

## PART 2: NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF WALTON CASTLE

### *Roman Walton and Felixstowe*

The evidence for Roman Felixstowe and Walton is extensive, but, owing to the rapid building expansion of the town since the middle of the 19th century and the uneven record of random discoveries, it has always been difficult to marshal into a coherent picture. Early records relate to coin discoveries: the Revd William Myers, vicar of Walton-cum-Felixstowe c.1727–65,<sup>42</sup> collected 420 Roman coins (apparently not a hoard) in the years 1742–44 from Walton Castle and its neighbourhood. They ranged from Pompey the Great (66 B.C.) to Honorius (A.D. 417), and included twenty-three of the 1st century, fifty-five of the 2nd, ninety-nine of the 3rd and 240 of the 4th.<sup>43</sup> These are presumably the same coins referred to by Canning (1764, 90), who added, 'It is certain that the castle had the privilege of coining money, for several dies have been found for that purpose.'

Myers, as Deputy Chaplain to Landguard Fort, fell foul of the Lieutenant Governor, Philip Thicknesse, during the early 1750s. In 1753 Thicknesse bought a fisherman's cottage at the location later known as Cobbold's Point,<sup>44</sup> and extended it to form a summer residence. In front of the cottage (Felixstowe Lodge) was erected a stone arch salvaged from the Roman remains on the beach, which features in an engraving (Fig. 110) supposed copied from an early work by Gainsborough, who was friendly with Thicknesse.<sup>45</sup> Thicknesse's third wife's<sup>46</sup> description of the cottage mentions it:

The entrance to the cottage was through a very large arch, built with stones taken from among the rocks at low water, many of which were of such a size, that it required no less than ten men to lift one of them . . . The South entrance . . . led into a room called the Roman parlour, from its being entirely paved with Roman brick, taken from an old ruinous castle half a mile distant from the cottage, built by the Romans . . . the top and sides were entirely covered with shingles, shells, talc, small pieces of looking-glass, and spar, besides a great number of small copper coin, dug out of the ruins of the castle (Raw 1808; Barnes 1809).

Felixstowe Lodge later became the home of Sir Samuel Brudenell Fludyer, and was visited by Isaac Johnson in about 1780:

We were favoured with a Sight of many curious Articles which had been picked up on the Beach at different times. I noticed several Coins amongst them, particularly several of the Roman Emperors, which were of Gold, and the Impressions remarkably well executed, they seemed to be about the Size of our present Currency of Sovereigns (Johnson MS 1833–34).

These were probably *solidi* of the later Roman Empire, and their presence suggests that at least one hoard of high value coins had been buried in the vicinity.

It is clear that Walton Castle did not stand in isolation. Very numerous discoveries over the past two centuries, including coins, pottery, jewellery and burials,<sup>47</sup> indicate a large settlement

through from the early Roman period – well before the construction of Walton Castle – into the late 4th century at least. It presumably included a port (yet to be located), and our impression of the Roman town is distorted by the fact that the finds derive from cliff erosion, from foundation trenches for house construction, and from coprolite diggers working on ‘The Park’ (Great Long Dole) during the 19th century, so that much evidence was poorly recorded or lost altogether. The available evidence is summarised by Plouviez (1995), and reveals that, although no buildings have been identified, finds of building materials including tiles and painted plaster indicate substantial houses. The exceptional number of bronzes of religious significance (Moore, Plouviez and West 1988, 70) also reflect a town of some size. Roman burials are usually found just outside a town, and those on the north side of the valley known as *The Dip* presumably mark the limit of occupation in that direction. Henslow found two skeletons here after a cliff fall in 1853, each with bronze armlets in pairs of one larger and one smaller (Henslow 1853). The seaward extent is unknown because coastal erosion has removed all evidence of how far the land reached in Roman times. Inland the town may well have extended as far as the crossing of Garrison Lane and High Road. Near this point a number of cremation urns and other pots from Fairfield Avenue,<sup>48</sup> Glenfield Avenue and Exeter Road<sup>49</sup> were found in 1936–38 (Wall 1939b). These suggest a roadside cemetery on the western edge of the Roman town, beside the Roman road believed to have run through Trimley (note the name of *Micklegata* or Great Street Farm) and Stratton Hall, but evidence is lacking to connect them definitely with the extensive occupation near Walton Castle.

#### *The function of the Roman fort*

A number of Roman forts on the coast of south-eastern England between the Wash and Portsmouth Harbour are generally referred to as the *Saxon Shore* forts. This term derives from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, a late Roman list of officials and military commanders, thought by some authorities to have been compiled c.A.D. 395. The *Notitia* includes a list of units under the command of the *comes litoris Saxonici* (Count of the Saxon Shore), with their bases. Most interpreters have considered Walton Castle not to be included, but Fox (1900, 1911) and Stevens (1941) suggested Walton might be *Portus Adurni*. This is usually taken to be Portchester, formerly thought to have been unoccupied at the time of the *Notitia*: but coins of appropriate date have since been found at Portchester. Hassall (1977) suggested that Walton was paired with Bradwell at the head of the list, was lost from the top of the manuscript, and was missed from the map used as the Count’s insignia because that was based on the list. Our four surviving recensions of the *Notitia* were made in the 15th and 16th centuries from a copy of the lost original, itself also since lost, thought to have been produced in the 10th century, so such manuscript reconstruction must be entirely conjectural.

Furthermore, there are great uncertainties about the true nature of the Saxon Shore system. The *Notitia* is a list of senior commanders, so may not name all the forts if some were commanded by officers stationed in others, especially as more forts may have been lost to coastal erosion. The gaps between Walton and Burgh Castle, and between Burgh Castle and Brancaster, seem too large if the whole coastal area was to be patrolled. Among the known sites, excavation at Caister by Yarmouth suggests that it was a fort and may have continued in use after Burgh Castle was built (Darling and Gurney 1993). Some authorities would include the signal stations on the Yorkshire coast and forts at Southampton and Cardiff in the same series. Oddly, there is no reference to any naval commander under the Count of the Saxon Shore, although one is attached to the command of the northern coast of Gaul (France). The forts were not all built at the same time: the first date from about A.D. 230 and the last were probably built towards the end of the 3rd century. We are unlikely ever to have a precise date for the construction of Walton Castle.

It is possible that, as at Caister and Burgh Castle, the Orwell was protected by a second Roman fort destroyed by the sea at a much earlier time. William Myers (in a letter written in

1762 but not published until after his death<sup>50</sup>) described evidence for Roman masonry at the West Rocks, between three and four nautical miles due east of the cliffs at Walton-on-the-Naze (Essex). He conjectured that there had been a long promontory from the Naze across the Naze Ledge to this point, swept away before modern records began:

... large ruins are now to be perceived at low water. This information I have had from several at Harwich; and our fishermen, who go thither to catch lobsters, assure me, they have seen several ruins of brick-work, square stones, etc., like the ruins of old buildings; the place, they say, is large, and full of deep holes, and from thence to Walton in Essex the sand lies like a ridge, and there is not above five or six feet water, or scarce so much at low water. The captains of the custom-house sloops on the Harwich station assure me they have often seen broken tiles and bricks there at low water. I suppose they took bits of Roman bricks for broken tiles, several of them being now worn very thin; and, but the other day, I examined a fisherman of Manningtree, one Philip Long, who uses the West Rocks, and he says, he has often found broken bricks there with mortar on them (Myers 1792).

Having seen the last of Walton Castle fall into the sea, Myers was well qualified to recognise Roman masonry.<sup>51</sup> The West Rocks were a favourite site for the dredging of cement stone (septaria) during the 19th century, making it improbable that any such remains would now survive, and most commentators have taken these for records of geological phenomena resembling masonry (e.g. Clarke 1830, 386). However, a diver in the early 20th century reported seeing what he thought were Roman columns lying on the seabed in that area (Bacon 1984). This might be evidence of bastions similar to those of Walton Castle, or part of a monumental Roman structure. Perhaps some aquatic antiquary will elucidate the mystery.

Although we may never fully understand the number and operational use of the forts, they were probably built to oppose raids by pirates, like those recorded in the story of Carausius, who in A.D. 286 turned his command of forces combating piracy into a breakaway empire in Britain and neighbouring parts of Gaul (Johnson 1979, Chapter 2). These pirates were sometimes identified by the Romans as Franks and Saxons; the Franks apparently lived near the coast north of the Rhine, and the Saxons inhabited the coastlands further north, between the Franks and Denmark. One element of the coastal defences against them were scouting vessels described by Vegetius (*Epitoma* IV, 37) as having around twenty oars on each side (comparable oar-power to the ship found at Sutton Hoo); used in conjunction with the large warships of the Roman fleet, they located hostile ships and intercepted them or observed their movements. For this they were camouflaged, with their sails and rigging dyed blue-green to match the sea, their sides coated with blue-green pitch, and the uniforms of sailors and marines being this same colour: hence the Britons called them *picati* (painted).

The east coast forts may also have been protecting or controlling trade and transport of supplies to garrisons on the Rhine and in northern Britain. Altars at Domburg and Colijnsplaat, including four with inscriptions referring specifically to trade with Britain (Hassall 1978), indicate continental links on the route. Certainly Julian (Caesar A.D. 355–60, Emperor 360–63) restored protection for grain from Britain to the Roman army on the Rhine frontier.<sup>52</sup> Corn had formerly been shipped from Britain over the sea and up the Rhine, but the barbarians had blocked the Rhine transport, so ships unloaded in the coastal ports. Transport from there by wagon was very expensive, so Julian provided more ships and re-opened the Rhine navigation.<sup>53</sup> In A.D. 359, while campaigning in Germany, he 'built granaries in place of those which had been burnt, to store the grain regularly brought from Britain.'<sup>54</sup> Zosimus adds:

At the far end of Germany where there is a province of Gaul, the Rhine flows into the Atlantic Ocean at a point on the coast 900 stadia [*about 103 miles*] from Britain. Julian had timber gathered from the forests around the river and 800 boats larger than galleys built. These he sent to Britain and had them convey grain.<sup>55</sup>

In East Anglia the grain would presumably have been transported to the sea by river, and if this traffic was controlled by a single command, Walton would have been ideally placed to oversee its export to the Rhine. Very probably some of the grain needed for troops on Hadrian's Wall was also transported by sea from East Anglia, including Walton, to the supply base at South Shields where a unit of Tigris boatmen was based (*Notitia*) presumably to transport grain and other goods up river.

*Walton Castle in the Anglo-Saxon period*

There is much debate about what happened to the Roman coastal forts when Britain ceased to be administered as part of the Roman Empire after about A.D. 410. It appears there was an inhumation cemetery of the 5th–6th centuries at Felixstowe or Walton, and, perhaps associated with it, a bronze belt-slide from the Fitch Collection<sup>56</sup> of very distinctive type 'suggests that the shore fort was occupied in the late Roman period by troops including detachments of Germanic origin from northern Gaul' (West 1998, 37 and Fig. 45). Several units based in Saxon shore forts when the *Notitia* was compiled originated from that region. These Germanic units, which were part of the regular Roman army, may have continued to occupy the forts after the supply of pay from Rome ceased.<sup>57</sup> By the 7th century the castle, with its stone walls and bastions, would have been a prominent landmark on the main river Deben approach to Sutton Hoo<sup>58</sup> and to the *vicus regius* of King Ethelwald at Rendlesham (Bede HE, III. 22). A gold tremissis (minted by Bobo, at Sarrebourg) in Myers's collection is supposed to have been found by him near Walton Castle (Rigold 1974, 101): four silver sceattas came from the site (Newman 1996), and a gold tremissis pendant of Bishop Aditus II of Clermont-Ferrand (674–89) was picked up recently at Bawdsey beach (Plunkett, *forthcoming*), perhaps lost after a pilgrimage to the relics of St Julian at Brioude. Various brooches and strap-ends have also been found at Walton and Felixstowe indicating Middle Saxon period occupation.

Monastic uses were found for some coastal forts during the 7th century: St Fursey was granted the use of one in East Anglia at *Cnobheresburh*, probably Burgh Castle, about A.D. 633 (Whitelock 1972, 5), and Bishop Cedd of the East Saxons built a monastic stone church (the chancel within the fort precinct, and the nave beyond it) at *Ythancaestir* (*Othona*), at Bradwell-on-Sea (Essex) between the arrival of Diuna's mission in 653 and Cedd's death in 664. A serious debate exists as to whether St Felix, the first bishop of the East Angles, had a direct connection with Walton Castle, and whether indeed Walton, and not Dunwich, may have been the place called *Dommoc*, *Dommoc-cestre* or *Domnoc* which formed the seat of his diocese.<sup>59</sup> The old tale that St Felix first landed at Felixstowe when he arrived in East Anglia has no historical authority, but he would have passed it if he came from Kent by boat and met Sigebert at Rendlesham.

Leaving the *Dommoc* debate aside, there are good reasons to suspect that the site of Walton Castle may have had some monastic usage during the episcopacy of Felix. He was a Burgundian bishop who came to Canterbury seeking a mission and was sent to East Anglia early in the reign of King Sigebert (r. 629–36). Sigebert was Raedwald's stepson, and during Raedwald's lifetime was exiled in Gaul, where he received a Christian education. This probably occurred after Raedwald's baptism in Kent c.604 (since his mother, Raedwald's wife, adhered to pagan beliefs), and coincided with the minority of Raedwald's own heirs.<sup>60</sup> Hence he was one of the very first English kings to have grown up with a Christian education.<sup>61</sup> Felix was settled at *Dommoc* (Bede HE, II.15) in c.632, where he remained for seventeen years until his death.

Sigebert, with the assistance of Felix, created a school for boys to be taught letters: his aim was to establish reading, writing, and Christian learning of the kind he had experienced in Gaul. Felix obtained masters and teachers like those who taught in the Kentish schools (Bede HE, III.18). It is very likely that Paulinus, who was at Raedwald's court in 616 (where he first spoke of Christianity to the exiled prince Edwin of Deira) and possibly instrumental in the short-lived East Anglian conversion under Eorpwald (c.627), was involved in this procurement. In 633, at Edwin's death, Paulinus was obliged to flee from his see of York to Kent with Edwin's Kentish widow and children, and in that year became bishop of Rochester. Since Sigebert's co-regent Ecgric (sole King of East Anglia after Sigebert's retirement to the monastery at *Bedricesworth* (Bury) before 636) was married to near kinsfolk of Edwin's,<sup>62</sup> it is very probable that Paulinus, from his seat beside the Medway (easily approached by sea from East Anglia), would have been active in helping Sigebert and Felix to reinforce the East Anglian conversion.

Therefore, when Roger Bigod invited monks from Rochester to establish a new priory dedicated to St Felix in Walton Castle after the Norman conquest, he may have been consciously renewing a link originally established by St Felix and St Paulinus. The question of the title of Rochester to several manors in East Anglia was very active during the reign of William I, at which time Lanfranc acted as arbitrator in disputes of Siward and Gundulf, bishops of Rochester, of the bishop of Thetford and the abbot of Bury (Morley 1921, 186–92): it is quoted that Lanfranc restored the Manor of Frakeham (Freckenham) with Isleham to Rochester 'because in former times by ancient right and usage they belonged to it', and further that King William, 'at the instance of Lanfranc, gave up and restored to the church of Rochester, Freckenham, Stoke Dennitone, and Falkenham, and all other lands which the princes had taken away in the Danish wars, and which Harold afterward held in occupation' (Thorpe 1769, 27–32). Falkenham was a sub-manor, a berewick, of Walton at Domesday, though its church dedicated to Ethelbert, the East Anglian royal martyr (d.794), was not mentioned in that survey: perhaps Falkenham's church was regarded as a chapelry of Walton. Rochester may have supplied documents of doubtful authenticity to support its claims to Freckenham, but that does not mean they were falsely based. Alnesbourne (beside the Orwell between Nacton and Ipswich) is recorded in Domesday (Rumble 1986 at 8.13) as belonging before 1066 to St Andrew, probably meaning Rochester, and Alnesbourne included the church of St Felix, Hallowtree.

On these grounds, it is fair to conjecture that Walton Castle was perhaps the site of a monastic cell (?or school) in the time of Felix, with navigable access to Rendlesham, towards Bedricesworth, and to Rochester. This stands quite apart from that other question (which we do not adduce to this argument), as to the whereabouts of *Dommoc*, in which one must penetrate beyond the conflicting claims made after the Conquest: this is also true in the case of *Helmham*, and in that of the location of the martyrdom of Eadmund (cf. West 1983). Several places have dedications to St Felix,<sup>63</sup> which must be retrospective, since the saint himself could not have given them: it would indeed be exceptional in the case of an episcopal church or cathedral (where St Gregory or SS Peter and Paul<sup>64</sup> would be more likely) as opposed to a monastic cell, where the founding saint was sometimes commemorated in this way, especially if afterwards enshrined there.

In Domesday Book, the place is called *Burch* (Rumble 1986, 7.80, lands of Roger Bigot in Colneis Hundred), a form of *Burgh*, frequently used for an old fortification, as at Burgh Castle, *Insula de Burgh* (Burrow Hill, Butley), or Burgh near Grundisburgh. Rochester made its claim some time before 1251, stating that 'in 633 Felix founded his church at Dommoc which is now called Felixstowe and he remained in that place for 17 years' (Rigold 1961 and 1974).<sup>65</sup> The name *Filchestowe*<sup>66</sup> was in use by 1291 when it appears in *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*. However some authorities regard place-name evidence, and other indications, as persuasive support for linking Dunwich to *Dommoc* (Scarfe 1972, 81–82; 1986, 41; Ekwall 1960, 154).<sup>67</sup> Bede refers to *Dommoc-cestre* as a *civitas*, and it is so described in the Act of the Council of *Clovesho* in 803

(Whitelock 1972, 17). These terms imply a Roman fort or town, but although none survives at Dunwich, Blythburgh, or Aldeburgh, reasons have been given above for supposing that others may have existed on this part of the coast.

Walton Castle stood through the Viking period, and may have played an important part in the defence of the Kingdom both in English and Viking hands (notably, perhaps, at the battle at Shotley Point): but nothing is recorded of this.

#### *Bigod's Priory at Walton*

A Benedictine Priory of St Felix was established at or near Walton Castle by 1100. It was founded (? re-founded) by Roger Bigod soon after 1086, as he granted to the Benedictine Cathedral Priory of St Andrew, Rochester the church of St Felix with the churches of St Mary, Walton and St Mary, Trimley.<sup>68</sup> Domesday lists, but does not give the dedication of, a church at Burch. Rochester records refer to *St Felix at Walton*, and the priory founded here is thereafter referred to by its mother priory of Rochester as either the cell at Walton or the cell at Felixstowe, which therefore replaces Burch as the placename. In 1154 Roger's son Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, granted to St Felix Priory forty-eight acres and *Bredinge*, in place of land of their church where he built or strengthened his castle.<sup>69</sup> Isaac Johnson shows the west-east road south of Old Felixstowe Church (SS Peter and Paul) as 'Road to Breathing's', and Little Breathing's and Great Breathing's are north of the church (Johnson MS. 1784): this is presumably *Bredinge*. Also in 1154 the monks obtained confirmation from Pope Adrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear) of the grant of the *capella of Burch* (not mentioned in Domesday) to the Priory (Mothersole 1924, 246).

It is admittedly possible that SS Peter and Paul – an early style of dedication – was the church at Burch mentioned in Domesday, and we do not know where the St Felix church granted by Roger to Rochester stood. The grant of *Bredinge* and the confirmation of the *capella* to the priory, both in one year, does not resolve this doubt, but could suggest that Old Felixstowe church was actually the site of the chapel, and ignored as such by the Domesday survey. The fort at Old Abbey Close would then be a fitting site for Roger's church of St Felix to be associated with his priory of that dedication, founded in the same act by which the church was granted. The monks could certainly have shared the area within the Roman walls with Bigod's new castle, just as a later medieval castle and parish church share the Roman enclosure of Portchester with plenty of open space between them. Bigod had lost his local stronghold at Ipswich Castle to King Stephen in 1153, and presumably needed to replace it. There is no authority to show that Ipswich Castle existed after 1153, either in Bigod's hands or with a royal garrison.

Henry II, who became king in 1154, confirmed Hugh Bigod in his lands, possessions and earldom by charter of 1155; but in 1157 Hugh had to surrender Walton Castle, along with his other castles, to Henry and never received it back, but recovered Bungay and Framlingham in 1165. In fact Henry used Walton against him, because from 1158 there was a royal garrison there until 1173, when the rebel Earl of Leicester landed at Walton and was joined by Hugh Bigod. Armies and machines notwithstanding, they failed to take the Castle 'built on the brow of a hill', and although they spent four days in the attempt, they 'could not damage the high tower set up with very strong walls', according to the chronicler Diceto (Brown 1951, 131). In 1176 Henry II ordered the destruction of Walton Castle and the costs of this work are on record.<sup>70</sup> That in 1178 Silvester, prior of Rochester, built a refectory, dormitory and guest house for his priory at Walton<sup>71</sup> suggests strongly that he was using space and materials from the destroyed castle, and evidently it was only Bigod's new castle, not the Roman walls, that were demolished by the royal engineers. In the 14th century the monks left the castle and built the new priory behind St Mary's church in Walton. This may have been part of the general retreat before high tides, such as caused the monks of Leiston abbey to retreat from Minsmere to the

high ground where they rebuilt with Ufford help: and such as caused great destruction in the town of Dunwich (Scarfe 1986, map facing p. 130).

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## NOTES

- 1 'Walton Castle and Felixstow – the residence of St Felix' (author's date 5 Aug. 1885) and 'Roman Felixstow and Walton' (author's date ?12 Aug. 1885) – untraced cuttings. (Plunkett MS. Vol. 111).
- 2 Fox wrote two different accounts of Roman Suffolk. The former (Fox 1900) is based on the paper he gave at Ipswich in July 1899, after which Miss Layard loaned the collection to him: his search for Watling's original began in November 1899. The latter (Fox 1911), which includes Watling's copy, was published posthumously, *cura* Reginald Smith.
- 3 John Ives and Thomas Gardiner were both long dead by 1850, and 'of' is used in the sense of 'formerly belonging to'.
- 4 Ipswich Museum R. 1933.82D, pasted to a card sheet from an early Watling scrapbook. The absence of a dedication in this inscription indicates that the inscriber has consulted the Cottonian Cleopatra MS. list of monasteries (late 13th century), where Wangford appears as 'Prioratus. Wangeford S. [*dedication missing*]. Monachi nigri.' Morley (1926, 208) calls it the Priory of SS Peter and Paul, founded *c.*1200, dissolved 1537, with small ruins remaining in 1926.
- 5 In a MS album containing Corder's transcriptions from the diary of Sir James Thornhill, 1711, is this drawing on tracing paper (Ipswich Museum R.1988.62.95-12B). The calligraphy of the inscription is imitated, and closely corresponds to the Wangford inscription. Corder notes: 'Taken from a drawing in Mr Watling's possession dated 1623.' 'In a field almost opposite Cauldwell Hall now called Cold Hall on the South of the road leading from Ipswich to Kesgrave stood the Church of St John Baptist: of which no vestige remains but bones and fragments of a building are frequently dug up. It was impropriated to Holy Trinity and granted with that to Sir Thomas Pope.' The album was compiled *c.*1891.
- 6 'The information . . . comes from: The Secretary of the Paper Makers Association of Gt. Britain and Ireland, Technical Section, Shell-Mex House, Strand WC2. about 1934' (Wall 1937a).
- 7 Count Lorenzo Magalotti, who accompanied Prince Cosimo III de' Medici to Ipswich on 13 June 1669, described the river on which the town is situated as 'navigable right up to the sea, widening at Framlingham Castle before discharging into the ocean.' (Clayton 1992, 338–39). The writer makes separate mention of Landguard Fort, so this confusion is unlikely. Possibly Walton Castle was pointed out as *Bigod's* castle as they sailed for Harwich, or someone misread *Felixstowe* Castle on a map, and the error arose in this way. Sir James Thornhill, visiting Kingsfleet (Deben estuary) from Harwich on 30 May 1711, observed Bawdsey tower but not Walton Castle (Corder 1907, 40).
- 8 The principal recension of the Kirby Map of 1740 (S.R.O.I., HD 1899/1; cf. also Hussey 1983, 71) is a copy made in 1872 of an original which was modified, perhaps redrawn, in 1784 by Isaac Johnson. The plan includes a series of early illustrations of Walton buildings. The authors are grateful to Dr Blatchly for his firm opinion that these are all drawn from Kirby's original, where they were the work of, or copied from, washes by Joshua Kirby (son of John). Joshua prepared several illustrations during the 1740s for a never-to-be-realised *History of Suffolk* projected by Sir Joseph Ayloff, of which he published twelve in 1748 with his own commentary (having given up hope that Ayloff would complete his project), and others survive as originals. The authors find this attribution convincing in the case of the Walton Priory illustration, but inconclusive with regard to the others on the Map, which is a second- or third-hand copy, and may have collated other sources.

- 9 See also in Moore, Plouviez and West 1988, 80.
- 10 Fitch Collection Vol.2, S.R.O.I., HD 480/2. Johnson later polished this sketch, but the version illustrated is his on-site original, showing two views, one along the beach and one from the cliff-top.
- 11 The report is previously unpublished, but cf. also Black (1969). Fifteen dives were carried out, with an average of six divers on each, who inspected an area of 400 yards parallel with the shore and over 300 yards out to sea, working in an average depth of 12 feet of water.
- 12 In all three copies of this survey in the Ipswich Record Office, the name is written Rathborne, and not Rathbone, as incorrectly given by most authors.
- 13 Considering that the wall was 9ft thick, it is unlikely simply to have crumbled, but was possibly removed as building material when its imminent subsidence became apparent.
- 14 B.L. Cottonian MS. Augustus I. 58.
- 15 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James I*, Vol. 149 no. 104, 30 Jul. 1623 (P.R.O. Microfilm SP14/149/148): and Vol. 151 no. 89 (P.R.O. Microfilm SP14/151/119).
- 16 Watling (*in litt.*) suggested that John Sheppard was the same who produced illustrations of Harwich (Plunkett MS, Vol. 4), meaning those in Dale (1730): but that was R. Sheppard, probably the engraver Robert Sheppard who was working for booksellers about 1730–40 and produced the portraits for the English version of Thoyras de Rapin's *History of England 1732–37* (D.N.B.).
- 17 John Sheppard the elder was an ancestor of John Frere of Finningham ('Hoxne' Frere), and apparently the origin of use of Sheppard as Christian name in the Frere family, as in *Sheppard Frere*, in our time author of *Britannia* and former Oxford Professor of Archaeology of the Roman Empire. According to Copinger (1905–11, III, 265, Finningham), in 1634 John Frere married Elizabeth, dau. of John Sheppard of Mendlesham. There may have been an antiquarian tradition in both families.
- 18 The author of a Blois Manuscript (Farrer 1911, 170).
- 19 'also ye Priory too near ye sea': does *too* reinforce *also*, or did the writer visit the earlier Priory abandoned because it was threatened by the sea? The second Priory site is not near the sea, though Canning (1764, 91) states that from this point 'you have a delightful Sea Prospect, and may see *Orford Church and Castle*' – a fact no longer apparent.
- 20 Town Hall, Felixstowe. Illustrations from this collection are reproduced by kind permission of Felixstowe Town Council.
- 21 Johnson's illustration is in the Craven Ord Collection, B.L. Add. MS. 8,987 art. 20.
- 22 The existence of substantial remains still visible in 1823 is suggested by a block plan of 'Hall Ruins' on a 'Map of property for sale of E.P. Montagu Esq. in Felixtow – Porters and the Old Hall Farm, 18 Aug. 1823' (S.R.O.I., HD 11/475/1190 Felixstowe), which indicates a large N–S block and at the south end another block adjoining, running E–W.
- 23 Watling copied this image at least twice, fairly faithfully, in Watling MSS 1 and 2: in the latter he states that the original was then in Ipswich Museum, and in the former that it was of c.1750. A line-drawing entitled 'Old Hall, Felixstowe' among drawings found in the Museum store in 1988, R.1988.67.82, cannot at present be located.
- 24 A note and sketch of the standing wall is in B.L. Add. MS. 19,177, f. 197. A simple account is also found, under the date given, in the *Journal of Excursions* (ed. Blatchly 1982, 127).
- 25 See these structures engraved before 1849 by D. Buckle, based on drawings of R. Hagman and Wat Hagreen, Ipswich Museum Refs. 1950.67a.42 and 1950.67c.17.
- 26 *Calendar of Patent Rolls 11 Edward II*, ii, 11, Vol. III, 1903, p.151.
- 27 P.R.O., Ministers Accounts, Henry VII, 691. A Memorandum to Wolsey referring to furnishings, cited by Davison, does not refer to Walton Priory (MacCulloch 1980).
- 28 This copy was also dismissed by Wall as a fake, but appears likely to be a true copy of a wash by Joshua Kirby. The extended caption on Watling's version does not appear on the smaller version on John Kirby's Map, and there are minor differences of detail. Watling's copies of other 'originals' in this folio, at first regarded by the authors with suspicion, have been verified by the finding of his exemplars. However, he was capable of confusing attributions. Corbels attributed to Walton in this folio are certainly based on his own drawings made at Stonham Aspal in c.1870.
- 29 This interpretation would explain the existence of a post-mediaeval drain found by Dr West within that area of the foundations, as having been put in to serve the dwelling.
- 30 Fitch Collection Vol. 2 (S.R.O.I., HD 480/2).
- 31 This interpretation is confirmed by Hervey Goodwin (1818–91), later Bishop of Carlisle (Humble Gumble 1854).
- 32 Pevsner (1974) notes that the present south tower was built in 1899 and the south aisle in 1860.
- 33 See Watling's 'Antiquities of Suffolk: Mendlesham, its church and ancient history' in *East Anglian Daily Times* (untraced), Column dated 'November 1886' (Plunkett MS. Vol. III).
- 34 The site of Ash High House is within easy walking distance of Rendlesham Church. The elaborate canal garden of the House survives and testifies to the wealth and culture of the Sheppard family. Further light on antiquarianism at Rendlesham in the later 17th century might reveal more about the supposed Saxon

- crown found there in c.1690. Some sources refer to the crown as having been found at Mendlesham, which recalls the Sheppard connection with both places.
- 35 The details of manorial holdings and family relationships given in the ensuing paragraphs are taken from Copinger (1905–11), where they will be found under the relevant manors, and especially under the Offton Monks manor:
  - 36 The Hobart family, of Hales Hall in Loddon, possessed the small manor of Candlett, also called Trimley St Mary's manor, from c.1515 until 1564, when they sold it to Lambe, whence it was sold in 1596 to Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice. It was this Coke who in 1600 granted a charter to Harwich, by which the town attempted to set up its own Admiralty Court, to the exclusion of the Lord Admiralty, and to the detriment of Ipswich. Admiralty rights and other benefits in various manors including Harwich were conveyed by Edward IV to the Duke of Norfolk, by his grandson Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to Coke, and thence to Harwich. They were disclaimed by Harwich in 1636 under the threat of a *quo warranto* (Carlyon-Hughes 1939, 26).
  - 37 See Evidence Book of the Manor of Walton with Trimley (S.R.O.I., HB 8/1/209).
  - 38 See Walton-cum-Trimley Manor Court Book 'B' (S.R.O.I., HB 8/1/171) and records of Felixstowe Priory Manor (S.R.O.I., HB 8/1/221).
  - 39 Traces of Barker connections in north-east Suffolk may be found in their association with the Jermy manor at Metfield, and in the Barker advowson of the church of Frostenden All Saints (Canning 1764), in the vicinity of Wangford. The Rendlesham connections could be explained by the Barker manors at Ufford. As for the Cauldwell connection, the entire heath leading down into Colneis is described as 'Cawdwell heth' in a Map of Harwich of the time of Henry VIII (B.M. Cottonian MS. Augustus 1.57: see Carlyon-Hughes 1939, Plate facing p.17).
  - 40 British Library Add. MS. 5,522.
  - 41 Cambridge University Library MS. VI.47.
  - 42 Myers (Trinity, Cambridge, B.A. 1719, M.A. 1731), who took much interest in Walton Castle, its coins, and the possibility of a second Roman structure at West Rocks, was at some time Curate to Mr D'Oyley at Rendlesham (Davy MS., f. 166). Might he be a Rendlesham and Walton connection for Joseph Bokenham? The date 1764 sometimes given for his presentation (e.g. Rigold 1974, 102) may refer to a new vicarage building (the old having been burnt c.1590), but the preferment was much earlier, before 1734, as shown under that year in the Walton Parish Overseers' disbursement book of 1726–1826 (Wall 1944).
  - 43 The collection inherited by Myers's nephew, the Revd William Brown (afterwards of Saxmundham), was after his death auctioned at Saxmundham on 26 Jan. 1827 and dispersed. Myers's large numismatic library included several MS works of his own. The Catalogue (Myers MS 1744) passed to the topographer Layton (*vide* Blatchly 1988, 37), was transcribed by D.E. Davy (Davy MS, ff. 53–60), and latterly given by V.B. Redstone to S.D. Wall (Wall 1938a). Presumably Layton was related to (?son of) Revd Andrew Layton, Rector of St Matthew's, Ipswich, who as Deputy Chaplain of Landguard Fort might be the 'Dr. Wooden-Hat' lampooned in Myers's Hudibrastic verses, *The Humours of Landguard Fort* (cf. Davy MS, f. 166ff: Gosse 1952, 102–03).
  - 44 Felixstowe Lodge was afterwards replaced by a house for the Cobbold family, giving rise to the name *Cobbold's Point*.
  - 45 Large coloured version in the Craven Ord Collection – British Library Add. MS 8,987 item 30; small version in *Gentleman's Magazine* 1816 pt. ii p.105, copy in Fitch Col., S.R.O.I., HD 480/2.
  - 46 The cottage was set up for Lady Elizabeth Touchet, and described by Ann Ford.
  - 47 See, for example, Fox (1900, 143); Fox (1911, 305); Moore (1885–87); Wall (1936 a, c; 1937 a, b; 1938 a, b; 1939 b, c) and MSS; Moore (1948); Moore, Plouviez and West (1988). The County S.M.R. has over 62 entries for the Roman period in Felixstowe (including Walton).
  - 48 Associated finds from Fairfield Avenue include a bone pin 4 inches long with a carved eagle on its head (Wall MS).
  - 49 The Exeter Road burials are near to Walton church, raising the possibility that it originated as a cemetery or mausoleum church, although Roman inhumations have not been found immediately adjacent. Small amounts of Roman pottery and roofing tile were found on the Priory site, but were thought perhaps to have been brought from elsewhere in Felixstowe.
  - 50 Myers's letter, dated 'Walton 1762', was found among the papers of Philip Morant (d. 1770) by Morant's son-in-law and executor, Thomas Astle F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of Records at the Tower of London, who read it before the Society of Antiquaries in 1791, after Myers's death. Astle died in 1803. The closing paragraph makes it clear that this was a private communication of conjectures based on observation, and as such it is a careful and intelligent piece of work: although no-one now accepts his theory of a lost town of Orwell, one might reconsider his etymology of Harwich as *Ar-wic*. Wodderspoon (1850, 152) is among those who have falsely attributed the paper to Morant.
  - 51 Myers versified Clubbe's *History of Wheatfield*, a squib against Morant, in 1759: yet Morant (*in litt.*, 1763) calls Myers his friend, and had antiquarian correspondence with him (Rigold 1974).
  - 52 Eunapius of Sardis (347–414), Fragment 12. (Continuer of the *Chronicle of Dexippus*).

- 53 Libanius (314–c.395), *Oration* 18, 82.
- 54 Ammianus Marcellinus (c.330–after 391), *Res Gestae*, XVIII, 2, 3. Ammianus was a veteran of Julian's campaigns.
- 55 Zosimus (written 450–501), *Historia*, III, 5, 2. Zosimus was a Count and *ex-advocatus fisci*.
- 56 The important collections of Robert Fitch of Norwich, brother of W.S. Fitch, were loaned to Ipswich Museum before 1853 whilst William served on its Committee, but were thereafter donated to Norwich, whence the Suffolk items were re-transferred to Ipswich in 1962.
- 57 The civil town may have retained a British population within the Anglo-Saxon dominion, if its place-name of Walton is derived from *weala-tun*, 'settlement of the British', and not from *wealh-tun*, 'settlement at the Wall'.
- 58 A recent observer states that it was possible to see the site of Walton Castle from Sutton Hoo (pers. comm. Dr Sam Newton and Dr Rosemary Hoppitt).
- 59 cf. Rigold 1961 and 1974; Whitelock 1972, 4; Scarfe 1972, 81–82; Scarfe 1986, 40–41 and 129–30.
- 60 If, as his name suggests, Sigebert was the son of a member of the East Saxon royal family, it would show why Raedwald might have exiled him as a threat to the Wuffing succession.
- 61 The next comparable Christian education of princes in exile was that of the twelve children of Ethelfrith of Northumbria in Scotland, following that king's destruction by Raedwald in 616.
- 62 Although Bede (HE, III, 18) calls him Ecgric, this ruler was brother of Anna (r. 636–54), and thought to be cognate with Ethelric, father of Ealdwulf (r. 664–713) as named in the genealogy compiled for Ælfwald, son and successor of Ealdwulf. Ealdwulf's mother Hereswith entered the monastery at Chelles in Gaul before her sister Hild (later Abbess of Hartlepool and Whitby) came to East Anglia for a year in c.646–7. Hild (and probably also Hereswith) had received the faith of Christ in company with Edwin, *cum quo etiam rege*, by the teaching of Paulinus (Bede HE, IV, 23).
- 63 There is no record of an early dedication to St Felix at Dunwich.
- 64 An early Bishop of Dommoc, Cuthwine, is said by Bede to have owned an illustrated copy of the *Life and Labours of St Paul* (and deduced also to have owned a verse *Epigrammata* of Prosper Tiro) (Henderson 1999, 93), which could reflect a special interest in that saint.
- 65 According to Rigold, the form *Felixstowe* is that given before 1251 in the monastic register (Harleian MS. 261), where under A.D. 633 is the uninterpolated statement: 'b[eatus] Felix fundavit ecc[es]iam q[u]e m[od]o Felixstowe uocatur et in ea sedit xvij annis' (Rigold 1974, 99). Leland, the 16th-century antiquary, in one place accepted the Eye monks' claim for Dunwich, but included in his published collections extracts from an early chronicle from Jervaulx beginning 'Dunmoc afterwards called Felixstow'.
- 66 Since in Domesday, in the form *Burch*, the 'ch' is written to represent a hard, slightly vocalised guttural aspirate approximating to *Burgh*, the same probably applies to the 1291 *Filchestowe*, which could represent a phonetic spelling of a Latin and O.E. compound form *Felicit-stowe*. The form *Filthestowe* possibly arises from a scribal misreading of 'c' for 't'.
- 67 The discovery at Eye (which later owned all the Dunwich churches) of the seal matrix of the 9th-century Bishop Ethilwald of Dommoc (West 1988, 36), and Eye's ownership of a 7th-century insular Gospel-book known as 'The Red Book of Eye' (Warren 1911), are points in favour of Dunwich.
- 68 *InspeXimus* and confirmation of 12 Nov. 1339: *Calendar of Patent Rolls 13 Edw. III*, pt.ii, 11.
- 69 *InspeXimus* and confirmation 1339, as above. The date is confirmed by comparison with the *Registrum Roffense*, B.L. Cottonian MS. Vespasian A. XXII (Davison 1974, 143).
- 70 Pipe Roll of 22 Hen. II, p. 60.
- 71 Davison 1974, 142, quoting Thorpe (1769, 121).

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