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# *the* GLAVEN HISTORIAN

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## Editorial

Welcome to the tenth issue of the Glaven Historian. This juncture seems a good point from which to take stock of what has been achieved. Some sort of a journal was high on the wish-list of things to do when the Blakeney History Group morphed into the Blakeney Area Historical Society. That it happened is largely due to the not inconsiderable efforts of John Wright who ably edited and produced the first five issues. We have built on this legacy, the journal has expanded and it has taken a gang of us to produce the next five issues.

Our policy has been to retain where possible the topical elements (topical history – now there's a concept!) by reporting in detail on the considerable archaeological activity in the area, while not neglecting the various on-going research programmes of Society members, oral history and reminiscences: social history leavening the economic and prehistoric.

We have deliberately sought contributors from further afield to widen the knowledge base. Inevitably, the work of editing and producing the Glaven Historian eats into, indeed completely gobbles up, time that would otherwise be given to one's own research so, equally inevitably, we turn our thoughts to the future of this journal. *Quo vadimus?* Can we continue, but perhaps spread the net wider still – become in effect a North Norfolk Historian – or should we confine ourselves to publishing occasional monographs? There is still material out there, but one of our editorial group (John Peake, upon whose capable shoulders fell the bulk of the burden of editing the Glaven Historian) is retiring, just like John Wright did, to write up his own research.

Back to this issue; we have the now-customary mix of subjects and contributors, starting with Andrew Hayden's paper on the amazing quality and variety of church organs in the Glaven Valley. Quite an unusual subject for a local history journal but one that opens our eyes to the riches of the area.

Geoff Worton has expanded on his lecture to the society with a full-scale article on that strange phenomenon the Green Man. That such an overtly pagan symbol should be known to us

almost entirely through the work of ecclesiastical masons is one of those delicious ironies that make life so enjoyable. Great pub too.

Michael Stammers, well known maritime historian, has turned his attention to the ships of the Glaven ports as recorded in the mid-19th century registers. His detailed analysis throws light on the economics of small (and not so small) ship owning in a rural context. And never forget that some of those ships traded far beyond the confines of the North Sea.

Still on the maritime theme, Jonathan Hooton has gained access to the impressive collection of models of local ships made by the late Peter Catling. The locally born Catling had ancestral connections to the maritime trade of the Glaven ports going back to the eighteenth century, in addition to being an historian – and skilled model maker. He was also a great help to Jonathan Hooton while the latter was a history student at Cambridge many years ago, so this is perhaps something of a tribute.

Pamela Peake has produced an excellent overview of the history of the Calthorpe family in this area from their arrival in the thirteenth century to their final departure in 1911. Such a large and influential family was bound to have a profound influence on events in Blakeney and the wider Glaven area.

Michael Medlar has produced an analysis of rural settlement patterns in the area between the Glaven and Stiffkey valleys up to the time of the Dissolution. Working mainly from written sources and the modern landscape gives enough material though no doubt archaeology would help to fill out the story.

Which brings us neatly to our last article by Carezza Lewis: a report on test pits dug in and around Wiveton as part of the Higher Education Field Academy 'currently occupied rural settlements' (CORS) programme in 2006. While the results occasionally confounded pre-conceptions, the programme did much to involve the local community and primary school in seeking knowledge of its own past. What more could you ask for?

*Richard Kelham*

## Church and other Organs in the Glaven Valley

*Andrew Hayden*

*Synopsis: Church organs have a long history dating back to at least the 12th century. In the Glaven Valley and some of the surrounding villages there are a number of fine historic organs from the 19th century that illustrate a range of these instruments and their builders.*

### Introduction

Church organs as a topic rarely feature in local history journals, so the opportunity to write an article describing some personalities and instruments of historic note in the Glaven Valley is welcome.

Though Norfolk is generally thought of as an agricultural county, over six hundred surviving churches and evidence of numerous religious houses before the Reformation means that the building and use of organs has been very much part and parcel of the cultural landscape. The proximity of the county to the European mainland also meant there would have been a fair degree of interchange of knowledge and skills.

There is a description of the reception of the abbot-elect at Bury St Edmunds in 1182.<sup>1</sup> The writer refers to the sound of the organ and bells being silenced as the abbot's procession stopped at the high altar and the prior commenced with prayer.

Norwich Cathedral, one of only ten monastic cathedrals and a Benedictine Priory, must have had an organ at least since the 14th century. The Benedictines were particularly interested in fostering the arts and education and so it is entirely plausible that they would have had the knowledge and skills necessary for the construction of organs. Benedictines had been active in the British Isles since before the 8th century, only some 300 years after the fall of the Roman Empire.

Evidence can be found in Norwich Cathedral archives where there are references to an organist named Adam in 1333.<sup>2</sup> Thirteen years later, there is a record of an organ in St Mary's Chapel. During the same period, there appears to have been at least two organs in the Cathedral.

In 1411, an organ blower is mentioned. There is also mention of a new '*Payre of Organs in the Choir*', a gift, costing £13 6s. 8d.

Numerous records of organs and organ building in Great Yarmouth go back to the same time including one 'Arnold Johnson of Gorleston, Orggmaker' 1462-63 in Yarmouth Corporation records.<sup>3</sup>

The discovery in 1977 and 1995, of parts of organs dating from the early 1500's at Wetheringsett and Wingfield in Suffolk,<sup>4</sup> testifies to their presence and use in parish churches in East Anglia for at least 500 years. Since then, Norfolk has maintained its fair share of able builders often drawn from families of rural craftsmen and farmers.

### Organ Builders

At least three are worthy of note in the 19th century including one who went on to achieve national and international recognition: William Christmas Mack, prolific in the County, was the son of Robert Mack, a carpenter and farmer of 6 acres at Swanton Abbott. Samuel Street, a contemporary of Mack's, was a native of Dereham whose father was a salesman, and E W Norman founder of Norman & (later) Beard, descended from Huguenot silk weavers.

Why should we be interested in them? If we take W C Mack as an example, he is an illustration of how a rural craftsman could turn quite easily into a specialist. It can be reasonably assumed he learnt general carpentry skills from his father and, possessing an interest and ability in music, he then ventured into the highly specialised and demanding craft trade of organ building and succeeded.

The slow pace of change in rural communities has enabled a number of instruments to survive, some from the early part of the 19th century. These testify to the presence of such able and artistic craftsmen as Mack. The instruments themselves are valuable working documents of the evolution of the organ from the Restoration through to the social and industrial

upheavals witnessed in the 19th century, especially in remote country areas where craft trades, including organ building, remained relatively unaffected by fashion. There was little point in change if the organ worked and provided what was needed in rural parishes.

Added to that, the principles of construction were often rooted in much earlier traditions and it is interesting to note how the practise of organ building bore a resemblance to other rural trades. The type and quality of workmanship necessary for example, in mill joinery such as wooden ducting and box-constructions of all kinds, bears great similarity with organs and was often of the same high quality.

Turning to North Norfolk and the Glaven Valley, the area possesses a number of instruments still extant of local and national significance. Burnham Thorpe is home to the earliest known example of an organ by Samuel Street and, further afield, Mack is represented at Sedgeford (photograph 1) by an organ which, despite lying outside the geographical area covered by this Journal, well repays a visit. It was built in 1862 and added to later in 1893 by Mack himself. It is rare in constituting an important document of a man's abilities and thinking at the height of his powers and then, some 30 years later, in the twilight of his career.

Mack and Street worked together in Great Yarmouth from around 1842 to 1848 and the link between them is demonstrated not least by the little organ in Burnham Thorpe (photographs 2 & 3) since Mack's name is stamped in the back of the centremost pipe on the case front.

According to Kelly's Directory of 1875, the church underwent restoration in 1842 so it is highly probable the instrument was installed shortly after. It has a bold, forthright tone and, despite its modest disposition, is capable of leading most congregations.

It seems the two men were not destined to continue as a team since an advertisement dated Sept 4th 1847 in the Norfolk Chronicle gives 'Organs to be sold - details - S Street, Organ Builder, King Street, GY'. Another advertisement appeared very soon after, on Jan 22nd 1848, offering 'An Organ for Sale - details - Apply to W C Mack, Row 87, King Street, GY'. It is quite possible that around this time the two were on the verge of splitting up since the 1851 census records that Street had moved to Norwich.

The answer to why they split may be found in the organs themselves. Mack's work suggests a man who was musical and competent, with the requisite self-assuredness to build an instrument which projected these personal qualities. His letters regarding the organ at Sedgeford<sup>5</sup> also indicate him to be a man well

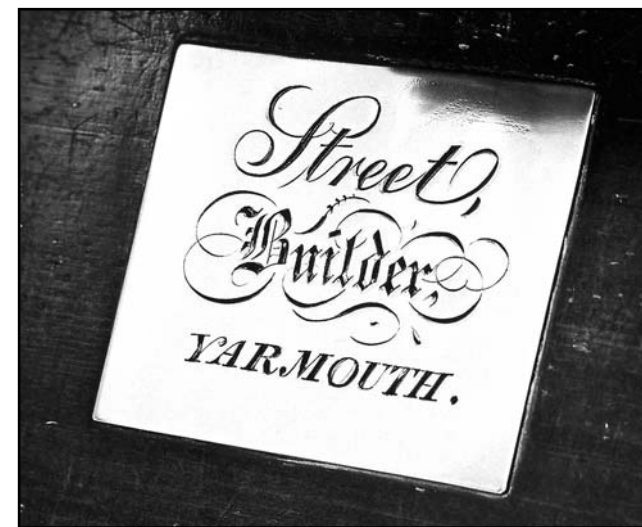


**Photograph 1. Sedgeford: W C Mack 1862/1893**

educated with a strong personality, one who aimed to maintain a high standard of work. Street comes across as more reserved, more restricted perhaps by temperament and education, one under or with whom, Mack would have felt unable to develop. A later organ by Street to be found at Smallburgh, originally from Holme-next-the-Sea and built in 1865, shows evidence of these characteristics since it is altogether smaller in scale and gives the impression of diffidence and limitation. The Street family settled in King's Lynn around this time running a music shop which eventually diversified into fancy goods and costumes. The organ building side of the business, such as it was, took very much a back seat and eventually fizzled out completely.

### Organs

At Thornage, there is a beautiful chamber organ by Thomas Elliot (photograph 4), recently restored to its original state by Goetze and Gwynn, dating from 1812 (written in pencil under the keyboard cover is 'Tottenham Court Thom Elliot London 1812'). It originally came from Swanton Novers Hall and was later sold to the church for £14 in 1897. This organ along with those at Wiveton, Sedgeford and Burnham Thorpe has recently been recorded as part of the Historic Organs Sound Archive proj-



**Photograph 2 (top). Burnham Thorpe: S Street c1843**

**Photograph 3 (above). Street's builder's plate at Burnham Thorpe**

ect run by the British Institute of Organ Studies.

Elliot is an important figure in the history of British organ building since it was under his tutelage that a giant of the craft learned his trade. This man was William Hill, whose name is perhaps now best known for its inclusion in the title of the firm, William Hill & Son and Norman & Beard Ltd, that resulted from an amalgamation of two businesses in 1916. They were latterly responsible for a major reconstruction of the

organ in Norwich Cathedral, as well as many other prestigious contracts throughout the British Isles and overseas.

Prior to this date, 'The Normans' had grown steadily in the trade since the firm's inception in 1868. Various moves to ever larger premises culminated in the building of the first purpose-designed organ works in the country in 1898. This was at St Stephens in Norwich. The works boasted a high-pressure gas installation for heating, light and power, as the machinery was driven by a gas engine. The firm had an extensive wood yard in Queens Road served by the railway and at its peak, employed 300 people. Its occupation, however, was to be short lived. Organ building never made any money and the firm lost heavily on some quite prestigious contracts, only to see the Great War complete the rest. The amalgamation seemed the best way out, but it resulted in the St Stephen's works closing and much of the work moving down to London, thus commencing an uneasy alliance with Hill & Son.<sup>6</sup>

Before the merger, dozens of instruments by Norman & Beard, which were noted for their superb construction, finish and reliability, found their way into East Anglian churches, including the one in Blakeney built in 1913. This organ is worthy of note for having survived virtually intact as a fine, representative example of the firm's work and because the two ornate cases in which it is housed were to designs by Herbert J. Green, then Norwich Diocesan Surveyor and a pupil of Sir Arthur Blomfield. The carving was executed by Cecil Howard of J. Howard & Sons of 22 Cattlemarket Street, Norwich (photograph 5). Green was also responsible for the organ case front in St Andrew's, Bridewell Alley, Norwich on another instrument by Norman & Beard.

The present organ at Blakeney supplanted an earlier one by Bryceson Bros. built in 1860. This organ still survives in Cley church though somewhat altered, first by Norman & Beard who had added a second set of keys in 1897 and, more recently, by Richard Bower in 2002. Bryceson was a London builder of some note whose chief claim to fame was the provision, in 1867, of the first organ in England to use electricity to drive the key mechanism. The organ was constructed for the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane and was later moved to the Regent Street Polytechnic.<sup>7</sup>

Blakeney itself contains another organ worthy of note. The organ in the Methodist chapel is a charming little one-manual one by an unknown builder and was probably constructed in the first half of the 19th century. Little else is known about it beyond its transference to Blakeney in 1910, supposedly from Clare College, Cambridge.<sup>8</sup>



**Photograph 4. Thornage: Thomas Elliot 1812**

An organ built by Stephen White once resided in the Red House, Blakeney.\* White is thought to have worked from 1790 to 1805 at an address in Cumberland Street, Fitzroy Square, London. The organ went to the song school at Christ Church, Oxford in 1939 where it remained until around 2002. It has been restored and is now in private hands.

For sheer exuberance and delight in fine craftsmanship, the Holdich Exhibition organ at Wiveton is a rare treasure (photograph 6). It was built for the Great Exhibition of 1851 by George Maydwell Holdich, pupil of J C Bishop, a London builder of considerable stature. Holdich rose to prominence around the middle of the 19th century and one of his most famous instruments, built in 1843, is to be found in East Anglia at St Mary's, Redenhall. His largest was probably the one in Lichfield Cathedral built in 1860, with others at St Margaret's, Westminster and Trinity College, Oxford. Numbers of organs by him are still to be found in churches throughout Norfolk.

Following the Great Exhibition, the Wiveton organ was installed in Bayfield Hall around 1863 and subsequently donated to the church by Sir Arthur Jodrell. In 1997 it was completely

\*Editor's footnote: in the ownership of T W Bourne



**Photograph 5. Blakeney: detail of case 1913**

restored by Richard Bower with a Heritage Lottery grant. The casework is highly ornate with marked Italian Renaissance influence. The front pipes are covered in gold leaf.

For the best part of one hundred and fifty years the barrel organ\* despite its humble connotations, served the musical needs of rural parishes with no regular organist. It came about through disquiet of the Clergy at the mounting success of church bands and charity choirs who once established, saw themselves as something of an institution, inclined to entrenchment and an example of community music-making drawing on local talent. The Clergy saw these groups increasingly as subversive and elitist, for example, in the way that hymn accompaniments were becoming so elaborate that congregations simply gave up trying to follow them.

When Dr. Burney in his *General History of Music* (1776)<sup>9</sup> wrote, "Of all the instruments the barrel organ is the most easy of performance, as it merely requires a regular motion given to it by a handle. On this account it is an instrument of very general use; and the recent improvements of

\*Footnote: a barrel organ consisted of a revolving cylinder, turned by a handle, that had pegs that opened and closed valves that admitted air to a set of pipes.



**Photograph 6. Wiveton: G M Holdich 1851**

some English artists have rendered the barrel capable of an effect equal to the fingers of the first rate performers", it was not difficult to envisage that a barrel organ could be seen as a means of keeping control of the music in the hands of the clergy and/or the parish clerk, and doing away with a rebellious church band.

A note to be found inside the barrel organ at Shelland in Suffolk gives an idea of prevailing attitudes:

"Advice to churchwardens on Bryceson's Organs. Built on a peculiar Construction adapted to the Services and Dimensions of any Church. To those wishful to promote decent Psalmody in their Congregations, they are a certain guide; the Tunes are so correctly set. as to be equal in performance to a Finger Organ, and will entirely

supercede (sic) the use of other instruments. In consequence of the great Expence of a Finger Organ, and the Salary of an Organist, many serious People are deprived of the means of joining in that pleasing part of Divine Worship, while it is not generally known that an able substitute may be had in one of his Barrel Organs, and at an Expence which almost any Congregation can afford. The Prices are from 40 Guineas to 100 upwards."

Letheringsett church now houses a barrel organ which originally came from Hindringham church (photograph 7). For many years it was the property of the Lee-Warner family and, on the death of Miss E M Lee-Warner in 1950, it was obtained by the then Rector who had it placed in Letheringsett church in 1956 after restoration



**Photograph 7. Letheringsett: T C Bates 1835**

by Clifford Hyatt. This is a particularly attractive example built by Theodore Bates of Ludgate Hill in 1835. It carries the works number 2964 which is perhaps some indication of the large quantity of these small organs built by almost all organ builders of any significance throughout the latter half of the 18th century and into the third quarter of the 19th.

Boston and Langwill in their book 'Church and Chamber Barrel-Organs'<sup>10</sup> indicate that at the time of writing, 1967, they had found records of at least five hundred of these instruments past and present, bearing in mind that the great majority were supplanted by either a conventional organ or a harmonium and so, often passed into oblivion.

The Letheringsett organ has six stops and is

capable of playing thirty tunes set on three barrels including quite a few still familiar today such as St Anne, Old 100th and 104th, Austria and Evening Hymn. Whether modern day congregations would be able to sing with the tunes is a moot point since the settings are often quite slow in tempo with elaborate musical decoration. If only for that reason, barrel organs are interesting musical documents since they are capable of letting us hear styles of hymnody from almost two hundred years ago.

### Conclusion

This concludes a brief survey of some of the more notable organs and their histories in the Glaven Valley. In many cases, the value of an instrument resides not in just its musical and architectural attributes, but in the accompanying anecdotal material. Properly viewed, a church organ contains far more than just mechanism and pipes since it will, almost always, tell something of the history of the music of the church in which it is found, its maker(s), and attitudes towards it throughout its life.

Sadly, destruction of these instruments continues apace and with it go records on the life of a community. An organ is dead if it cannot speak. When it can, it often speaks volumes, far more than may ever have been suspected.

### Appendix

Readers may be interested to visit the British Institute of Organ Studies' website at [www.bios.org](http://www.bios.org) where may be found links to the Historic Organs Sound Archive Project (HOSA). From there, it is possible to hear recordings made on the organs indicated in the article at Thornage, Wiveton, Sedgford and Burnham Thorpe. These are freely accessible without charge and may subsequently be stored in any suitable format. All of the instruments are recognised as being of especial historic significance and have been credited as such with a listing in the BIOS Historic Organs Certification Scheme.

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## The Mysterious Green Man

Geoff Worton

*Synopsis: This article explores the enigmatic carvings, pictures etc. depicting the 'Green Man' who appears in so many Norfolk churches. It considers his place in history and folklore before discussing his various guises and where he might be found.*



**Carved in stone. Photograph 1 (left)** Weston Longueville church: **foliate head** carved on Sedila. **Photograph 2 (right upper)** Sharrington church: this church is noted for the range of carved corbels, this example shows **suckers** issuing from eyes and mouth. **Photograph 3 (right lower)** King's Lynn: **foliate head** carved on facade of Guildhall

### Introduction

Visual arts from medieval times display a wide variety of grotesque and imaginary images of human, animal and plant forms. Representations are found not only in manuscripts but also in carvings both of wood and stone and – more rarely – in stained glass. They appear in both ecclesiastical and secular buildings.

Centuries later we look in amazement at some of these creations and speculate on their origins and meanings. They range from the very

devout to images of daily life to the humorous or bizarre and even the bawdy. They can sometimes be found within the same building or manuscript. The latter is well illustrated amongst the many manuscripts which originate from East Anglia such as the Luttrell and recently discovered Macclesfield Psalters.

Some of these early images can be quite disturbing, but the image that is the subject of this paper, the Green Man, was usually depicted as a gentle and benevolent individual. Moreover, his form has continued to be used and developed over many centuries since medieval times.

### A modern definition of the term 'Green Man'

Before the 1930's few people paid much attention to the peculiar wooden or stone carved faces that adorned odd corners of many churches and a few secular buildings. They were described as mere 'grotesques', 'gargoyles' or 'foliate heads'.

Kathleen Basford (Lady Raglan), who was a scientist, became interested in such carvings. She eventually wrote a treatise in a 1939 edition of the journal 'Folklore'<sup>1</sup>, later expanded into a book.<sup>2</sup> In it she coined the term 'Green Man' to describe these fascinating carved heads. It had never previously been used in this context, so why did Kathleen Basford introduce the term? Here briefly are some of the reasons she gave. Since ancient times the colour green has been linked with the natural world as a symbol of fertility and growth, uniting humanity and nature. In Old English the word for 'countryside' was 'greenmans.' Finally, green has a long association with folklore for it is a kind of 'fairy' colour.

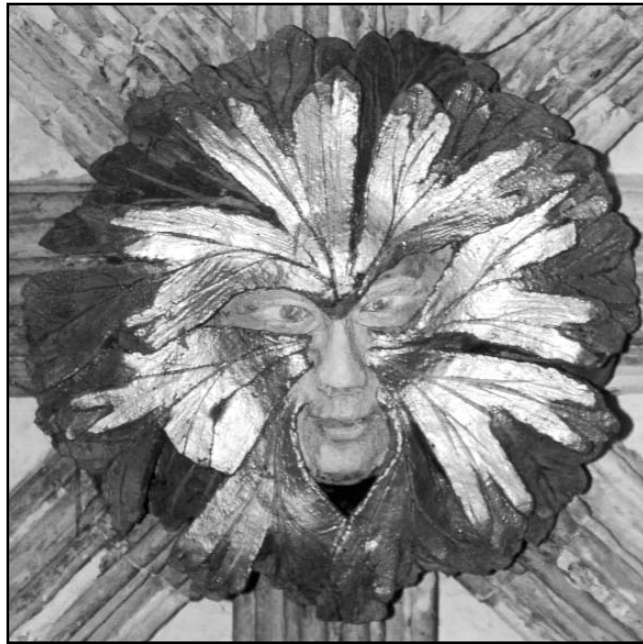
In this article I shall use the term Green Man (abbreviated to GM) in a generic sense to describe its various forms, for there are also some female and animal representations.

It was some time before the term GM reached a wider readership, but Sir Nikolaus Pevsner popularised it in his 'Buildings of England' series of books, which were originally published between 1952 and 1974. Over the past two decades, the GM has enjoyed increasing popularity and has been depicted in artwork, stained glass, and metal, in addition to traditional materials of stone and wood. Volumes of poems and prose have been penned and the GM has now been adopted by the environmental movement. GM cards, prints, wall charts, aprons, plaques, jewellery and so on proliferate. There exists at least one 'fan club' and several websites can now be accessed.

### The Green Man in history and folklore

Lady Raglan's definition is of recent origin. This has caused some confusion, for traditionally there was a 'green man of the woods', just one expression in a whole gamut of myths and legends. A typical example is the Woodwose. He or she is usually depicted wielding a large club – a true creature of medieval lore. Many such are recorded in prose, verse and art from at least the fourteenth century. They include the Green Children of Woolpit, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Goodfellow, Robin Hood (or Robin of the Wood) and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, among others.

One result of Lady Raglan's works was the apparent emphasis in the public mind of the



**Photographs 4, 5 and 6. Norwich Cathedral:** brightly coloured roof bosses from the cloisters. No.4 (this page upper) is an iconic example of a face appearing in a garland of golden leaves, while no.6 (this page lower) is also a face surrounded by a garland.

pagan origins of the GM. However, the origins of the GM are obscure and theories are at best educated guesswork. Myths date back to the time of Alexander the Great. Indeed nobody knows why GM images were produced in the first place or what people believed about them. Certainly the GM form reached its zenith in a Christian context.

There has, nevertheless, been much speculation. My conclusion is that the GM resulted from a sort of fusion between eastern-western folk-



No.5 (this page upper) is **spewing foliage** but if you turn the page upside down you will see another face, an animal possibly a lion. **Photograph 7. Upper Sheringham:** the underside of the arch in the rood screen. This is unusual as the whole head appears to be in the form of a quatrefoil leaf.

lore, religion and art. Two of the more plausible theories point to this. The first is based on what might be called a 'race memory' from ancient Egypt. Where the god Osiris was believed to control the annual Nile floods for here exists a 'prototype' GM from about 500 B.C. Later the Romans translated Osiris into Bacchus whose face was often portrayed wreathed in foliage.<sup>5</sup> It has also been suggested that the GM art form as a face-like leaf mask may have been employed in Roman mystery cults

An alternative theory points to India as the origin of the GM, via representations of certain deities. Both foliate and spewing heads appear in Indian art from about the fifth century B.C. There are also examples from elsewhere on the sub-continent, including Tibet.

It could be that Arab traders brought the GM image from either source into Europe. Indeed there appears to be an acceptance of the GM by Islam. Manifestations of him can be seen in the first mosque to be built in India circa 1190. Much material for it was taken from the ruins of an adjacent Jain temple and while all traces of human likenesses were erased from the original stonework, GM like carvings were incorporated into the new building.

There also seem to be Celtic connections with the GM story. The Romans had many contacts with the Celts, who were not only devoted to nature, but also respected the head as a source of wisdom. One of Denmark's outstanding antiquities is the huge silver-gilt 'Gundestrup cauldron' which was possibly made in Gaul during the second or first century BC.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly the imagery on the vessel shows a variety of cultural influences from Celtic (based in south-eastern Europe) to Greek, Indian and Iranian. A plaque on the cauldron depicts the god Cernunnos, whose hair is formed of vegetation. He is one of several Celtic elements which seem to have been incorporated into the development of the GM.

Somehow, GM survived the advent of Christianity to appear eventually in thousands of religious buildings stretching from Portugal to Russia. A contributory factor aiding the emergence of the GM in early medieval times may be that, although professing Christianity, the majority of the people still apparently clung to the vestiges of their old gods. Even the Bishop of Coventry in 1303 'like other members of his Diocese, paid homage to a deity in the form of an animal'.<sup>4</sup> Although GM-like illustrations appear in medieval art forms, nobody seems to have discovered any contemporary written evidence as to his origins. Thus the GM image seems to have just been accepted, if not discussed.

Few GM have been noted in churches built before the 12th century. During periods of settled social conditions and increased prosperity there was a greater spate of religious building. Churches built in the 14th century have yielded the greatest number of GM, closely followed by those of the 12th and 15th centuries.

Some scholars have suggested a possible link between medieval European masons and their Islamic counterparts, who were renowned for their skill. Some of these influences may well have spread through the 'Moorish' influence in southern Spain. Another even more intriguing

theory is that the popularity of the GM was due partly to the influence of returning Crusaders.<sup>5</sup> Certainly two important churches of the Knight's Templars – The Temple in London and Rosslyn, near Edinburgh have notable GM sculptures.

It has been suggested that he might have been regarded as a sort of 'emblem' of craftsmanship.<sup>6</sup> Although at a later date, the GM seems to have been associated with learning for many examples can be found in old university buildings, particularly libraries. GM even appeared in print and a fine example can be seen on the title page of Martin Luther's 'Appeal to a General Council' which was printed in 1520.

With the dissolution of the monasteries, and later during the Commonwealth, there was widespread destruction of religious effigies and stained glass in churches and cathedrals. However, many GM survived. In some instances they would have been inaccessible, but so many others were left in situ that they must have been considered religiously inoffensive.

The GM then suffered an eclipse until the renaissance of the Palladian style of architecture around the early 18th century when it became a 'fashionable adornment'. Sir Christopher Wren used images of GM, both carved and in iron-work, extensively in St Paul's Cathedral. During this period the GM was also used to adorn secular buildings like the Customs House in Kings Lynn and houses in fashionable parts of London.

From the mid nineteenth century the GM underwent a further revival, as seen in the many examples used in the Houses of Parliament. This popularity continued, assisted by the Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts and Crafts movement. Fine late Victorian examples can be appreciated in the Norwich Roman Catholic Cathedral. Interest in the GM has flourished over the past fifty years and his popularity grows apace

### Physical appearance of the GM

Most GM are male, but there are also women and animals. In its earliest European form the GM is depicted as a face-like mask of leaves. More frequently the GM either peers through foliage or foliage actually emanates from the head itself, usually spewing from the mouth. In other images it springs from the ears or even the eyes, while hair, beard or moustaches may also develop into leaves or vines.

Only rarely was a GM carved with a body and then usually wearing contemporary clothing.<sup>7</sup> But the way the head could be used was adaptable for it could be squeezed into almost any space. Craftsmen in wood and stone improvised upon a theme and the facial expression could appear serene, jolly, sad, inebriated, terri-



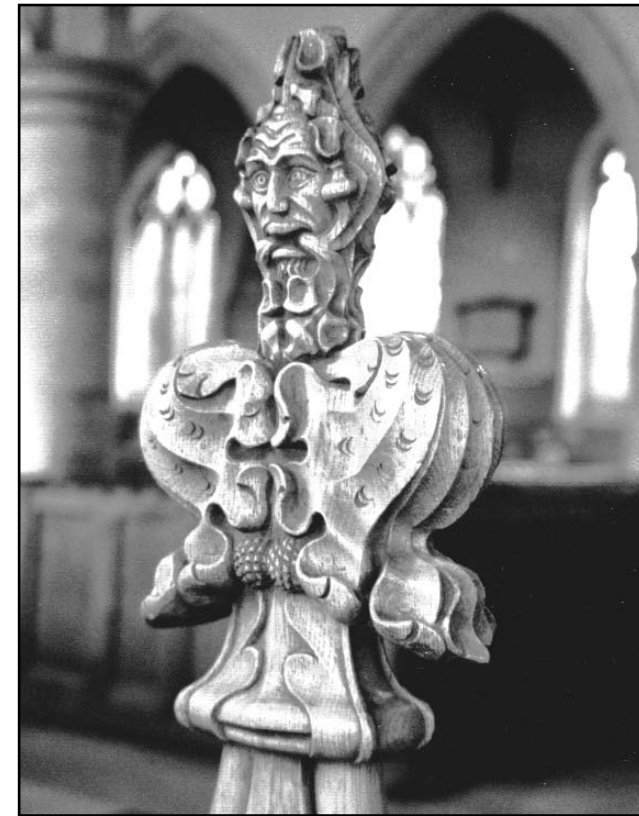
**Photographs 8 and 9: modern examples above from Glandford Church and below Blakeney Church.**

fied, tortured or just rude.

In medieval times churches were often brightly painted; the few remaining decorated screens and walls are evidence of this. At least some GM were painted and a few can still be appreciated in Britain, but in France many lovely ones remain. Hardly any old depictions of GM in stained glass are to be found, but there are some striking modern examples.

Depictions of the GM head fall into four major groups based on the manner or type of foliage used. Interestingly although several commentaries on the GM associate him with spring-like life resurgent, in many instances he is depicted with autumnal decoration. The groups are listed below in descending order of frequency of occurrence.

1. Spewing foliage, usually from the mouth, but occasionally the hair or beard becomes foliage. In Dennington Parish Church, Suffolk, foliage springs from a female GM's bosoms!
2. Foliate head, depicted as a face-like mask of leaves.
3. Face appearing in a garland of leaves.
4. Suckers, where tendrils appear to be issuing from eyes, ears and nose. Occasionally one finds tendrils coiling in such a way as to suggest



**Photograph 10 (left upper) Cley Church: poppyhead with spewing foliage.**

**Photograph 11 (right) Cley Church: another poppyhead, but this is of an animal, possibly a dog, with hair-like suckers or small leaves around the muzzle. Photograph 12 (left lower) Norwich Cathedral: one of several GM misericords.**

either strangulation or bodily decay. Locally unusual GM are to be found in Glandford Parish Church which was rebuilt in a somewhat flamboyant manner between 1899 and 1906. The quality of the wood carvings is impressive and the two GM images by the entry door are actually portraits of the master carvers who worked in the Church. However, probably the most unusual GM of all is American. He wears a business suit and trilby hat, all outlined in neon light tubing; when lit he is, of course, green.



### Location

The majority of GM are to be found in churches and the following table lists the most frequently used locations.

**Table 1**

Throughout the church, both in and outside

- Capitals and bases of columns
- Corbels
- Roof bosses
- Keystone or headstop of arches
- Gargoyles

In the Chancel or Sanctuary

- Sedilia
- Choir stalls and the misericords
- Piscine

In the Nave

- Rood screen and beam
- Pulpit of wood or stone
- Parclose screens
- Font and font cover
- Pews: decorated armrests and poppyhead finials



**Photographs 13 -15. Cley Church:** from a fine series of carved arm rests on the choir stalls showing development of **spewing foliage** from simple beard to the mouth. Other members of the series include monks or friars.

This list (Table 1) is not exhaustive and locations such as stained glass and the supporting stone tracery have not been included because examples are rare. Yet as the structure of churches have changed so some carvings are now in rather bizarre sites, for example in a Northamptonshire church two GM lurk in a broom cupboard!

On secular buildings GM may sometimes be found on door and window lintels; head stops; keystones; gable ends; decorative friezes and pargetting. Most inn signs are relatively modern and few depict just the GM head. One can even be found leering down on a 'hole-in-the-wall' cash dispenser.

### A Local Gazetteer

There are 706 'Historic Churches' listed in one Norfolk directory.<sup>8</sup> Amongst these there are over 50 confirmed GM sites, but within the last two years my son and I have each discovered GM not hitherto listed and of which the church authorities were unaware.

Here are some churches within a short distance of the Glaven Valley where GM can be found; attempts have made to date the many representations but these must be treated with some caution.

**Binham:** misericord on stall at east end, probably 14th century. NB the Priory guide states the image to be that of Christ.

**Blakeney:** rood screen and choir stalls. The rood screen retains two original 15th century dado panels, but the rest date from about 1910.

**Cley:** choir stalls 16th century and poppy-heads.

**Glandford:** frieze in nave, to right of entrance - early 20th century.

**Sharrington:** very fine corbels, reputedly 13/14th century but much restored.

**Upper Sheringham:** underside of arch in rood screen, 15th century. Look too on a pew end for the mermaid who came to church!

A wider selection of Norfolk sites where GM can be found are listed in the Appendix (see page 16). In Norwich there are a number of sites: the Anglican and the Roman Catholic Cathedrals, Ethelbert Gate, St Peter Mancroft and St Stephen's Churches. While in King's Lynn there are: Customs House, Guildhall, St Margaret's and St Nicholas's Churches.

In contrast, Table 2 is a list of churches within the wider Glaven Valley area where so far no GM have been found or are listed. However, as William Anderson<sup>3</sup> stated 'If an old church has a quantity of sculpture, the chances are that a GM will be found somewhere'. So happy hunting!

### Table 2

Bale	Leatheringsett
Barney	Morston
Cockthorpe	Salthouse
Field Dalling	Saxlingham
Gunthorpe	Stiffkey
Hindringham	Thornage
Holt	Warham
Kelling	Wiveton

### Reading List

This a small selection of books to supplement the above list, but remember the literature available on the subject of the GM is enormous.

Doel, F & G *The Green Man in Britain* 2002

Harte, J *The Green Man - the Pitkin Guide* 2001

Hicks, C *The Green Man - a Field Guide* 1998

MacDermott, M *Explore Green Men* 2003

Pevsner, N & Watson, B *The Buildings of England - Norfolk 1. Norwich & North East* 2002

Pevsner N & Watson, B *The Buildings of England - Norfolk 2. North West & South* 1999

### GM websites

There are a number of interesting sites, but as many tend to be impermanent a search engine should be used to look for the 'Green Man'.



## Appendix

Church at	Chancel	Nave	Door/ Porch	Exterior
1 Aylsham	Poppyheads			
2 Binham Priory	Misericord			
3 Blakeney	Choir Stalls	Rood Screen		
4 Castle Acre Priory				West Front
5 Cawston	Choir stalls & Piscine	Roof Boss		
6 Cley	Choir Stalls	Poppyheads		Corbel?
7 Coltishall		Rood Screen		
8 Glandford		Frieze		
9 Guist		Pulpit		
10 Harpley		Roof Boss		
11 Little Dunham		<i>Reported - location not known</i>		
12 Little Massingham		Pulpit		
13 Ludham		Font (Woodwoses)		
14 Necton		Headstops		
15 North Elmham		Poppyhead		
16 North Walsham			West Door	
17 Salle	Choir Stalls	Roof Bosses	Porch Frieze	
18 Saxthorpe		Rood Screen		
19 Sharrington		Corbels		
20 Trunch		Font Canopy		
21 Upper Sheringham		Rood Screen		
22 Western Longville	Sedilia			
23 Wolferton		<i>Reported - location not known</i>		
24 Wood Dalling				North Doorway
25 Worstead		Arch Bosses		

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7. Harding, M *A Little Book Of The Green Man*. 1998
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# Blakeney ships and their owners in the mid-19th Century

*Michael Stammers*

*Synopsis: Based on the local Shipping Registers and other records, an analysis of the characteristics of ships acquired in Blakeney, Cley and district between 1839 and 1873 is presented. This information, together with a breakdown of the shareholders allows the substantial non-maritime investment and also the value, earnings and trades to be placed in the general context of mid 19th century rural ports.*

## Introduction

The people of North Norfolk depended on ports such as Blakeney to import coal, timber, cattle food, fertilisers and all sorts of other goods and to export local wheat and barley until the latter part of the 19th century. There were no convenient waterways as there were in East and West Norfolk. Blakeney (and Cley) served a hinterland of villages and the market town of Holt. From the late 1860s, the port of Blakeney's trade dwindled.

This was partly due to competition from railways and partly due to the decline in local agricultural production. North Norfolk was a noted area for the growing of wheat and barley. But after 1870 local farmers suffered reducing prices for their crops with new competition from cheap grain imports from the New World.

The long decline of the port of Blakeney and its local fleet has been covered in the publications of Jonathon Hooton.<sup>1,2</sup> The purpose of this article is to try and identify the characteristics of Blakeney cargo ships and their owners before the decline set in, and to consider whether they were typical of coastal ship-owning centres or unique to this one port.

## Size and Characteristics of the Blakeney fleet

There are good sources for studying local ships in the mid-19th century. These include the local Registers of Shipping, which survive from 1839, local directories and newspapers. However, there are also outside sources that present a wider range of data, such as Lloyd's List, Lloyd's Register and the Mercantile Navy List. The single edition of Clayton's Register from 1865 is most useful because it gives a snapshot of coastal ship-owning around the British Isles.<sup>3</sup> Locally-owned

cargo ships that were added to the Shipping Register between 1839 and 1879 have been extracted to analyse their tonnage, rigs, origins and ownership. This gives a total of 117 vessels with an average tonnage 107 tons. The largest was the 3-masted barque *Samuel Enderby* of 406 tons.

**Table 1**

### The Tonnage Range of Blakeney Haven Ships<sup>4</sup>

Under 50	50-100	100-150	150-200	200+	Total
27	46	15	16	13	117

The tonnage range (Table 1) shows that the majority of vessels (73) were under 100 tons and were therefore likely to be engaged in the coastal trades. This traffic was principally between Blakeney and London, the Humber and Newcastle. The 44 vessels over 100 tons were capable of engaging in European trades such as those to the Baltic and Iberia, and those of more than 200 tons were unlikely to have used their home port.

**Table 2**

### Places where Vessels built<sup>4</sup>

Norfolk	Humber	N East	Scotland
36	14	25	10
Other EA	England	Foreign	Query
7	8	9	8

The majority of vessels were built either in Norfolk or along the East Coast (Table 2). The Norfolk total breaks down to: 15 built at Wells,

9 at Blakeney (including 3 at Morston and 1 at Cley), 1 at Sheringham and 11 at Great Yarmouth. Morston and Sheringham may seem unlikely places to build ships, but wooden shipbuilders needed very few facilities to set up a temporary building berth.

The North East is the next highest total and this can be broken down into 2 from the Tees, 8 from the Tyne and 15 from Sunderland. The latter had become the most productive shipbuilding centre in the whole of the British Isles by the mid-19th century. For example, its builders launched 186 ships in 1853.<sup>5</sup>

Single foreign-built ships came from places as exotic as Calcutta and Venice, but the majority (5) were launched from Prince Edward Island off the Canadian mainland. 19th century Canadian shipbuilders were the equivalent of the Korean shipbuilding industry today. Based on plentiful supplies of timber and cheap labour, the Canadian East Coast exported a huge tonnage of cheap ships to British owners in the mid-19th century.

There were only 20 new vessels purchased over the whole period and half were acquired between 1839 and 1842. The age of the second-hand vessels could range from the ancient sloop *Henry* of 1786 (registered 1843) to the nearly new brigantine *Electryon* which was registered in 1863 after being completed the previous year.

**Table 3**

**Rigs of Vessels<sup>4</sup>**

Schooners	49	Sloops	18
Brigs	25	Snows	9
Ketches	4	Brigantines	2
Barques	2	Smacks	2
Ship	1	Lugger	1
Steam paddle tugs	3		

Brigs and snows were almost identical in rig and along with the three masted barques and the ship they would have been the most likely to undertake the longer voyages (Table 3). From the 1850s there was a trend towards buying larger second-hand brigs, snows or barques which were too big for their home port. Sloops and smacks were single masted coasting vessels with minor differences of rig. The lugger was an 18 ton barge called the *Glaven* built at Blakeney in 1841. It was clearly designed for lighterage around the harbour, but the fact that it was registered suggests that it may have been used for short coastal trips as well. The steam paddle tugs were of great value to the port because they were able to shorten voyage times by towing boats in and out of port during calms and contrary winds.

**The Owners**

The majority of Blakeney owners had occupations linked with the sea - masters, mariners, shipbrokers, merchants and shipowners. The shipowners and merchants often had several other occupations some of which were land-based. For example, William and Robin Cooke were first listed as millers at Glandford and Thornage, and then as merchants. There was nevertheless a substantial minority amounting to nearly 46% of the shareholders who appeared to have no direct maritime interest.

**Table 4**

**Occupations of Shareholders in Blakeney Ships<sup>4</sup>**

Occupation	Sub-total	%
Master mariners/mariners	67	32.0
Marine related jobs	16	7.7
Merchants	31	14.7
Other commercial jobs	33	15.7
Agricultural	33	15.7
Professions	9	4.3
Women	20	9.9
Total	209	100.0

Although there was a spread of shareholders, the maritime-related majority also held the majority of shares (Table 4). It was common for master mariners to own shares in the ship they commanded - often 8 or 16 shares out of the legally fixed total of 64. A few more enterprising or luckier captains left the sea and became shipowners. The most successful of them was William Bensley of Blakeney who had shares in 6 ships between 1850 and 1873 and ended up as the sole owner of the barque *Costa Rica* in 1873.

Merchants were the biggest shareholders by far. The largest investors were Charles and William Temple of Blakeney who were merchants and maltsters having shares in 12 ships over the period 1839 to 1863, and Robert and Randle Brereton (also merchants and maltsters from Blakeney) who invested in 10 ships between 1839 and 1857. Up to 1852 the Temples had owned small coasters which probably delivered corn, malt and coal coastwise. From 1852, they ran the coasters and acquired 5 larger vessels capable of distant trading including the 403 ton barque *Samuel Enderby* in 1858. They spread their risks by involving other investors. For example, the shares in the *Samuel Enderby* were split, 32 held by the Temples, 10 by Thomas Starling a master

mariner of Blakeney and 11 each held by a butcher in Newcastle and an optician in London.

The Breretons perhaps overreached their investment in ships because by 1860 they had to mortgage their fleet of 5 ships to Harveys, the Norwich bankers. James Porritt of Cley was another merchant who began to take an interest in bigger ships first with the 146 ton *Naples* in 1857, then with the 176 ton brig *Riga* in 1859 and the 253 ton *Tweedside* in 1863. He was sole owner of the first one, but after that brought in other investors including William Dixon of Weybourne who with 22 shares in the *Riga* was listed as a shipowner and then later as a farmer.

The commercial shareholders included innkeepers, shopkeepers or craftsmen with their own businesses such as blacksmiths, painters and glaziers. They often appear to have been related to or have some other business connection with the merchant or master mariner owners. For example, two grocer/drapers, Joseph and William Muskett of Holt and Cley, were notable for leading a consortium of small non-maritime investors in buying five ships between 1839 and 1855. The linchpin in this partnership was Captain Howard Ramm who must have provided the maritime expertise to run the ships and find them cargoes.

The agricultural interest ranged from substantial farmers who styled themselves 'gentlemen' in the Registers, but who were listed as farmers in the trade directories, to a gardener from Kelling and 2 shepherds at Stiffkey and Salthouse. The agricultural element could be counted as even larger because the leading merchants all dealt with the buying, processing and shipment of agricultural produce.

Of the 23 women: there were 12 widows, 8 spinsters, 2 housewives and a milliner. Apart from two, they all had small shareholdings. Mrs Charlotte Lincoln, a widow, owned the small sloop *Harriet & Ann* outright between 1842 and 1855. Mrs Marjorie Moore, another widow was a merchant at Cley and owned 46 shares in the 125 ton *Ann*, 1839-1847, 24 in the new 90 ton *Duke of Wellington*, 1840-1845 and 40 in the 62 ton *William IV*, 1845-1850. Unlike the others, she seems to have been an active ship manager rather than a passive investor.

Most of the maritime-related investors came from either Blakeney or Cley. Outside investment was minimal. There were 12 from the Tyne, 6 from London and one from Sunderland. All reflected the trading contacts of the managing shareholders and master mariners of Blakeney and Cley, as they usually had a marine-related occupation, such as shipbroking or sailmaking. Of the landward ones, the majority lived in 23 Norfolk parishes, with most living in the villages nearest Blakeney and Cley. Salthouse had 7 (5 farmers, 1 widow and 1 mas-

ter mariner, and Weybourne had 3 farmers and 2 spinsters.

Family links probably connected many of the local North Norfolk investors. William Bolding, gentleman farmer of Weybourne, bought thirty shares in the 106 ton schooner *Enterprise* in 1846, which was in the Portuguese trade. He must have received a reasonable return on his investment because he seems (as a relative) to have influenced Hannah and Esther Bolding, spinsters of Weybourne, to buy 16 and 7 shares respectively in the 72 ton schooner *Camellia* in 1861.

**Investment in Shipping**

Shipping could be one of the riskiest forms of business in the 19th century, yet it was clearly of importance to the communities of North Norfolk and one needs to look beyond the maritime context to the wider rural economy to understand its attraction. In rural areas, shopkeepers and local manufacturers particularly enjoyed unparalleled expansion in the early 19th century. These enterprises were family firms or partnerships with unlimited liability, and therefore risky. They also had, if successful, spare capital to invest.

The new Registration Act of 1824 provided for a clear division of sixty-four shares for each boat, a maximum of thirty-two partners, a simplified form of mortgage and a measure of limited liability to the extent of shares held, appeared to have encouraged a wider ownership and circulation of shipping shares. Joint stock companies were few until the railway boom of the 1840s. In any case most people treated them with suspicion, and many in authority argued that firms needed to take responsibility for their actions and not hide behind the shield of limited liability.<sup>6</sup>

Other investment opportunities were limited and in the 1840s amounted to buying land, property or Government stock. It should also be remembered that business in the 19th century ran very largely on trust and especially trust in relatives. It was widely recognised that the family offered a form of security not found in other relationships and economic activities. Often, while not making large returns, they did ensure employment for the extended family. These ties often extended to neighbours and business associates who, through direct co-operation, created bonds of trust - a reputation for honesty was crucial - which facilitated the maintenance of intricate networks of credit and loans. Nowhere was this more applicable than in the shipping business where the skill, honesty and business acumen of the master was crucial to profit or loss.

The reasons why local people invested in

ships varied. Some such as the master mariners bought shares to secure a living and to better themselves. Merchants, farmers and to some extent local firms such as grocers and drapers who bought in goods by sea from London were buying some control of the transport of their goods. For others especially those who invested in shares in larger vessels, it was more a case of securing an income. It is difficult to estimate the level of investment in Blakeney ships.

New wooden sailing ships built in Norfolk cost up to about £12 per ton. Canadian or Sunderland ships were cheaper possibly as low as £7 per ton for a new ship. Most local vessels were second hand and their value depended on quite a number of factors including age, condition and the state of the freight rates. By way of guidance: Mingay & Rope, merchants at the Suffolk port of Orford had their ships valued in 1844. The 61 ton sloop *Idas* which was nearly 30 years old was valued at £3.44 per ton, while their 64 ton 9 year old schooner *Clementina* was worth £11.48 per ton. Such were the ship price fluctuations that their ancient brig the 106 ton *Coaster* built in 1812 was worth £3.55 per ton in 1851, and by 1857 at the end of a boom in shipping she was worth £4.91 per ton.<sup>7</sup>

Given the risks of shipwreck and poor returns, putting money in shipping would seem a foolish act by local investors especially the land-based and the vulnerable such as the widows. However, the average length of service of Blakeney ships was 18 years, and many of the smaller coasters lasted even longer. Over that length of time, a return could be anticipated to make their investment worthwhile, even given the fluctuations of good and bad years. And this continued at Blakeney into the 1860s, after the citizens of Wells had placed their money in railway shares.<sup>8</sup>

Having said that revenue could fluctuate wildly from year to year and voyage to voyage. Returns on coasting trips were much lower than in the distant trades. There do not seem to be any figures for Blakeney ships, but those owned by Mingay & Rope were likely to be comparable. In 1847, their 61 ton sloop *Idas* built in 1814 was engaged in delivering corn to London and returned with a range of goods including beer, soap, sugar, draper's stock and iron bars. Her earnings per voyage ranged from £6 13s to £10 8s 6d.<sup>7</sup>

It is noteworthy that the majority of non-maritime investors were investing in bigger vessels capable of profiting in the Baltic, Iberian and probably the Mediterranean trades. They offered better returns for an investor who did not need his goods moved. Between March and October 1861, the *Charlotte* (75 tons) and the *Comet* (200 tons) were delivering coal cargoes to the Baltic ports such as Stettin for between 32p

and 48p per ton, which was more than the equivalent rate for coasting.<sup>9</sup> Further income would have been earned from return cargoes such as timber, wheat, hemp, pitch and other Baltic products. The Iberian trade of the 106 ton schooner *Enterprise* (built at Morston in 1842) also appeared to have yielded a reasonable though variable return. Between August 1846 and April 1847, her net earnings from Newcastle to Cadiz, Faro to London and Cadiz to Newcastle amounted to £64 3s 5d, and from October 1847 to May 1848 her earnings had risen to £228 1s 3d.<sup>10</sup> There is no doubt that shrewd Norfolk farmers and merchants would not have placed their money in the bigger vessels capable of undertaking non-coastal voyages without good reason.

### Conclusions

The phenomenon of small rural communities owning and managing deep-sea ships was not unique to Blakeney. In the 19th century, all round the British Isles, there were small ports with locally owned vessels, serving a predominantly rural hinterland, importing commodities such as coal and timber and exporting local produce such as minerals and grain. In addition there were also boats specialising in fishing.

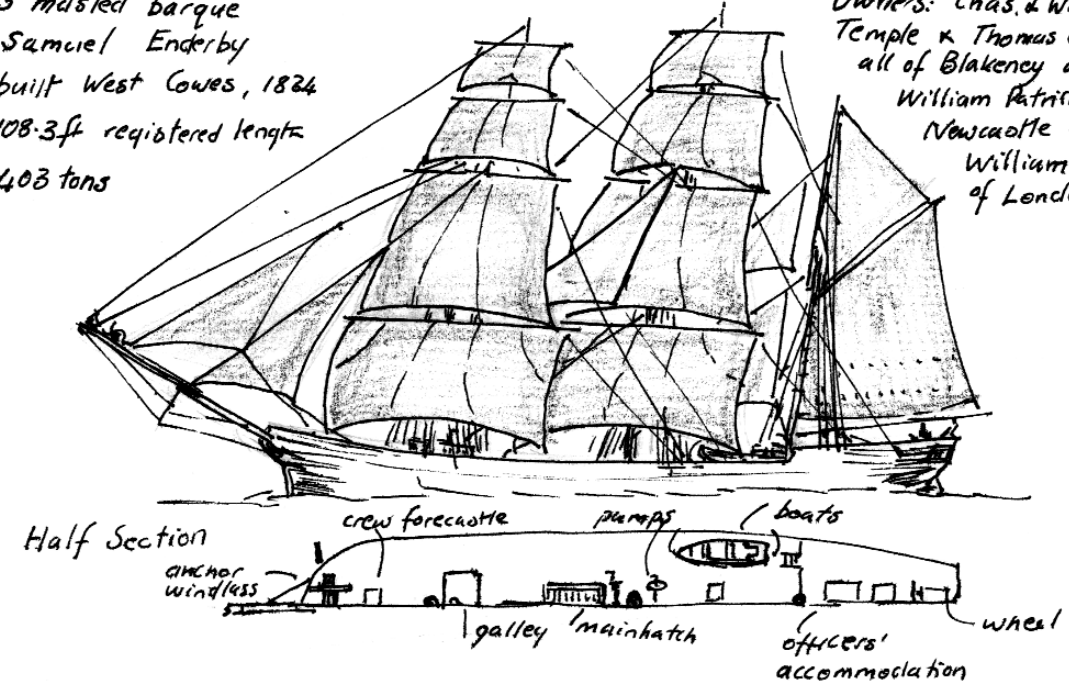
These cargo vessels played a crucial role in the chain of distribution to and from the major ports. Such small ports generated enough maritime trade to develop a locally owned fleet of ships. This was at first to supply the needs of the port, but many then went on to use ships to generate income by tramping or cross trading.

Shipping brought employment for maritime specialists such as pilots, brokers or shipwrights and jobs for the local male youth, etc. Supplying ships and their crews spread the economic benefits to local shopkeepers and other suppliers and provided the opportunity for non-maritime people with savings or spare capital to invest in local vessels. One also finds that at Blakeney farmers and other landlubbers, including quite a few women, invested in ships as happened at other ports as far apart as Fowey and the Moray Firth.<sup>11, 12</sup> Although far from being unusual, the enterprising shipowners of Blakeney deserve to be remembered with pride.

**Right: Typical mid-19th century Blakeney-owned ships drawn to the same scale** (drawn by author).

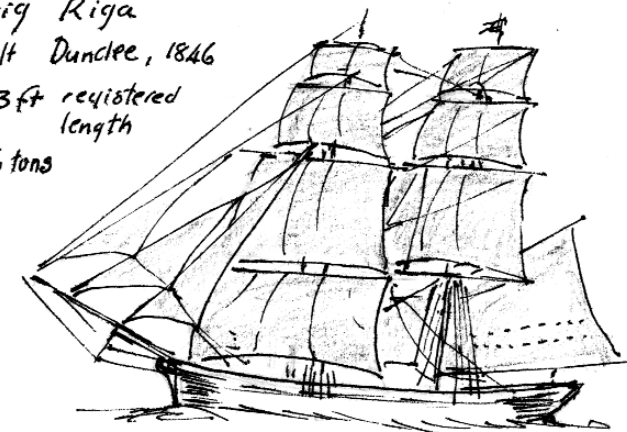
3 masted barque  
Samuel Enderby  
built West Cowes, 1824  
108.3ft registered length  
403 tons

Owners: Chas. & William  
Temple & Thomas Starling  
all of Blakeney and  
William Patric of  
Newcastle and  
William Farquhar  
of London



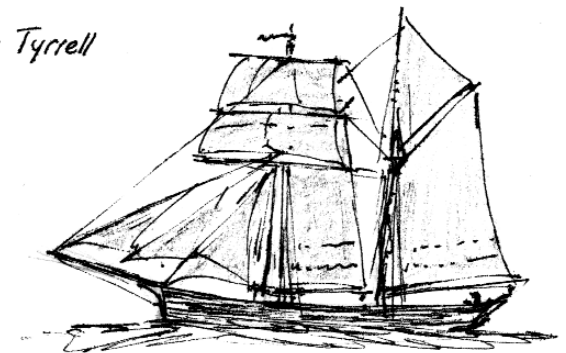
brig Riga  
built Dundee, 1846  
89.3ft registered  
length  
176 tons

Owners: James Porritt of  
Clay, David Porritt  
of Norwich and  
William Dixon of  
Weybourne



ALL THESE SHIPS  
HAVE BEEN DRAWN  
TO THE SAME SCALE.

two-masted topsail schooner *Minstrel*  
built Wells-next-the-Sea, 1847 by Henry Tyrrell  
57.3 ft. registered length  
58 tons.  
original owner: Thomas Mack of  
Burnham Tharpe; 1869, John Savory &  
Henry Howell of Burnham Overy;  
1891, William Temple, master mariner  
1904 stranded on Lincolnshire coast  
A Blakeney 'regular'



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# The Catling Ship Models

Jonathan Hooton

*Synopsis: a brief biography of Peter Catling and an account of his ship models.*

## Introduction

Most of the information regarding the ships that used the port of Blakeney and Cley in the latter half of the 19th century up until the First World War comes from documents such as the shipping registers, accounts of voyages, newspaper articles etc. Much valuable information can be gleaned from these documents, but this type of research is always enlivened by the visual evidence of photographs and/or ship paintings.

Blakeney was lucky to have an excellent early photographer in the person of Joshua Parker and there are also quite a few ship paintings of the Glaven's vessels that have come to light. There is, however, another visual aid, which is much rarer, and that is the ship model. Here again, the Glaven is lucky in having had a skilful modeller, who thoroughly researched, and built models of several of the ships that used the Glaven in its final phase as a port. He was Peter Catling.

I first met Peter in 1972. I was at Selwyn College, Cambridge reading Geography and had chosen Historical Geography as the focus for my dissertation and 'The Maritime Trade and Decline of the Port of Blakeney and Cley 1500-1900' as my title. I had delved into documents in Cambridge, London and Norwich and had come to north Norfolk to collect photographic evidence.

One name kept cropping up as I talked to people about the history of the port, and that was Peter Catling. I managed to find out where he lived in Cley and arranged to visit him. He was extremely helpful and encouraging, as he always was when I visited him, and he delighted in talking about the history of the area. More surprisingly, he was always willing to share his information. This came as an unexpected bonus, to a rather diffident, long-haired student, as up until then (apart from Kenneth Allen) whenever I had spoken to local people about family connections with the maritime past I had come up against a polite, denial of any knowledge about the subject. I had the distinct impression that I was an outsider and that it was none of my busi-

ness. Not only was Peter willing to show me the results of his researches, but he trusted me with photographs of old ships that I could take to Jordan's chemist in Sheringham to get copied. "They know me, as they have copied many photos for me, and I will pick them up when I am next in Sheringham," he would say. Not only was he helpful and good company whenever I visited him, but he was always ready to answer any questions I had by letter. He was, of course, a local and did not have difficulty in obtaining information from old maritime families, because he came from one.

## Peter Catling



**Photograph 1. A Gaggle of Coxwains June 1967:** Blakeney Sailing Club held a "Rigging Out" Dinner at the Maltings Hotel, Weybourne, and above, talking together, are (left to right) Mr. D Cox, coxswain of the Wells lifeboat, Mr. R.H. West, coxswain of the Sheringham lifeboat, Mr. M. Catling, commodore of Blakeney Sailing Club, Mr. A. Scotter, deputy coxswain, Sheringham, and Mr. H Davies, coxswain of Cromer No. 1.

Magnus Alfred Henry Catling (always known as Peter) was born in 1909. His father, Alfred Magnus (Curly) Catling, (1883-1961) was one of the wildfowling collectors. He married Miriam Susannah Parker in 1908. Miriam was the daughter of Henry Nichols Parker (born

1858) and Henry was the first son of James Parker, a captain of Blakeney ships. Miriam's uncle was Joshua Cook Parker, the photographer.

Peter also claimed that his great-great-grandfather was Henry Moon Chaplin who was a master/merchant in Blakeney in the 18th century. Chaplin died in 1794 and from the advertisement in the Norfolk Chronicle advertising an auction of his ships and goods (including the *Henry & Elizabeth*, a snow of 155 tons) he had built up a substantial business.<sup>1</sup>

There is an amusing story that Peter once told me concerning his great-grandfather James Parker, who was born in Guist. He migrated to Blakeney and became a successful master. He married Susannah Nichols, who came from a ship-owning family, and, according to Peter, promised her that he would roll in gold in front of her. He frequently traded to the Baltic, and occasionally to Spain. One of these Spanish trips (possibly in the barque, *Lady Jane Grey*) proved very successful, and true to his word once he returned home, he tipped the gold he had made onto the hearth and rolled on it. It is therefore not surprising that Peter Catling had an interest in maritime affairs.

Peter was educated at the Deacon's school Peterborough and then St. Catharine's Cambridge where he read History (including a lot of maritime history) before taking up a career in education, where after being a housemaster at Kimbolton School, he ended up as a deputy head at the Cedars School in Leighton Buzzard until his retirement back to Cley in 1972.

However, during this time he maintained a strong connection with Cley. The school summer holidays were spent there, mainly dinghy sailing and racing with Blakeney Sailing Club, and the period after Christmas was usually spent wild-fowling with his father. As well as all this activity, Peter would spend time yarning with many of the old maritime families, gaining as much material as possible which would form the basis of his manuscript "The History of Blakeney and its Havens", now lodged in the Norfolk Heritage Centre.<sup>2</sup> As well as copying any photographs and maps he could find Peter loved to talk with the old seamen about the ships.

## Models

He started model making as a small boy, mainly when he was ill, and he was given several old models by people in the village to repair. He also bought a lot of books about ship design and began to research the old clippers. He was in contact with the maritime author and authority on sailing ships, David Macgregor, who had a cottage in Morston. The result of this was possibly his finest model, the *Swift of Salem*,

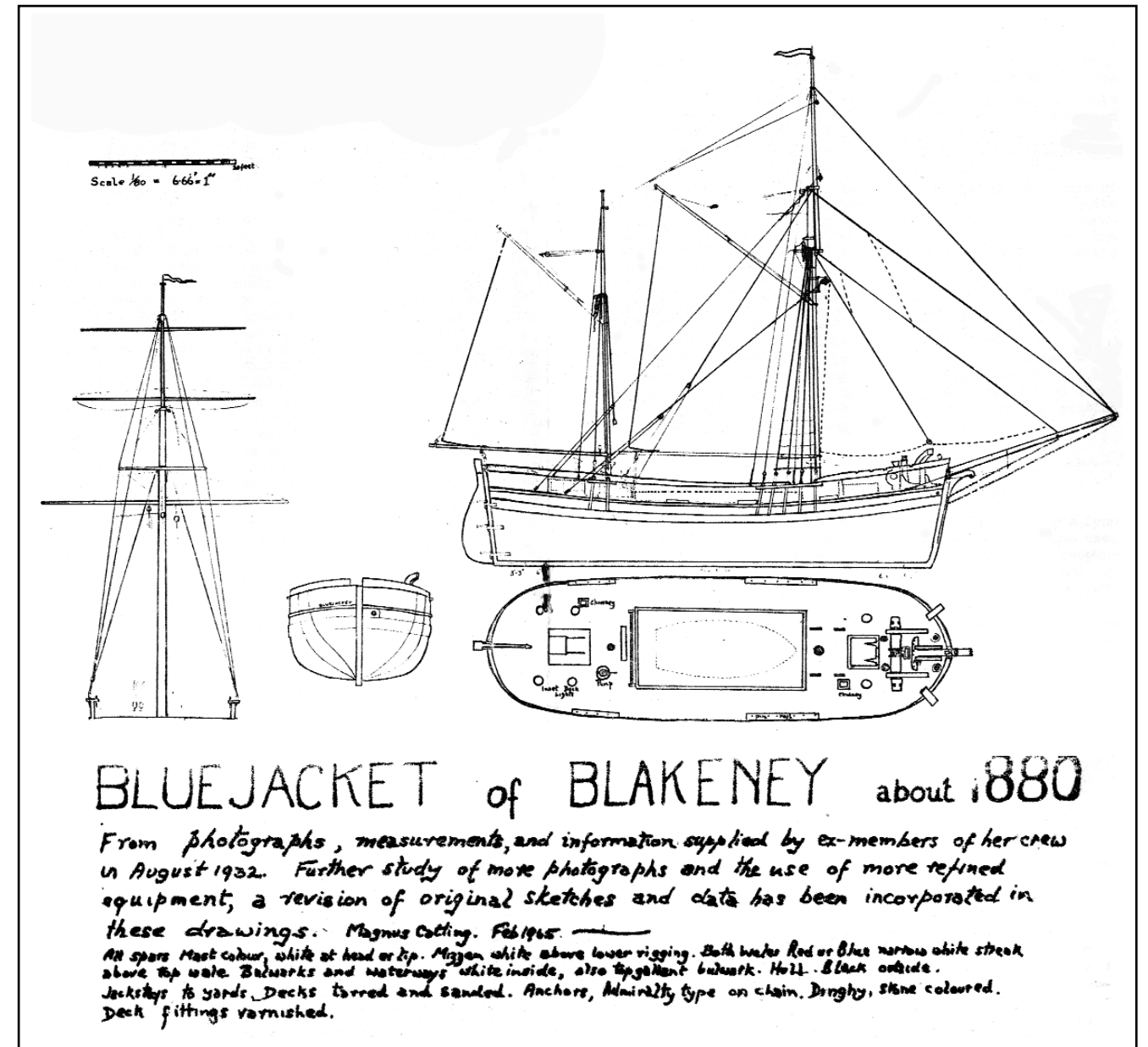


**Photograph 2 (right).** Plan of Bluejacket prepared by Peter Catling and caption for the drawing.

**Photographs 3 (above) and 4 (right).** Model of the Bluejacket.

a Baltimore clipper. Detailed research into clippers also resulted in his naming his daughter, Serica, after a famous tea clipper (*The Serica*, was built in 1863 by Robert Steele and Co of Greenock, and in 1866 she sailed from Asia to London in only 99 days during the Great Tea Race).

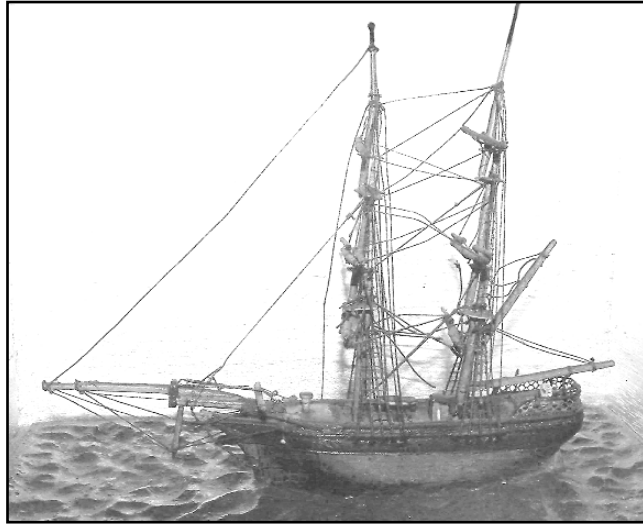
He also made a fine model of his first National 12, N170 *Cimba*, made during the Second World War when he was unable to visit Cley and go sailing. However, despite this interest in the large clippers, it was his intention to try and recreate some of the ships that frequented Blakeney during its last years as a port. One of his best models, and one of the most remembered Blakeney vessels was the billy-boy ketch, *Bluejacket*. Peter wrote an article about the *Bluejacket* which was published in *The Norfolk Sailor*.<sup>3</sup> It was a vessel he knew personally for at the end of her trading life she was converted into a Houseboat and finally began to rot away on the west side of Morston Creek. In the article, he not only recounts as much of the history of the vessel that he had been able to reconstruct from discussions with old Blakeney mariners, but he also tells the story of how he came to make a model of her. It is very relevant to this article and worth quoting at length.



"I was first interested in her when she became derelict and was falling to pieces. About 1932 I decided to make some sort of record of her, using a Vest Pocket Kodak with an f11 lens. Luck led to some very printable pictures of good record quali-

ty. These were obviously insufficient, so some approximate dimensions and lines were indicated. Completely inexperienced, working in soft mud on a very hogged and damaged hull, my future wife and I worked them into a sketch plan on the spot. We finally checked the position of fittings and the general dimensions by a plane-table survey from a place relatively clear of the mud. But it was a very scanty plan. Having got something on the hull, rigging details were needed. These came from photographic, artistic and human sources.

I had a magnificent three-quarter bow photograph, a faded head-on view and a broadside of Bluejacket at Blakeney Quay which gave me the basic material for the rigging plan. Then there was a large-scale watercolour of her passing Flamborough in the Anchor Inn. This George Long, the licensee, lent me to get an accurate rigging plan in its later form - about 1890. The most satisfactory means of inquiry was to get people who had sailed or worked in her and to start them talking. The sources I used were

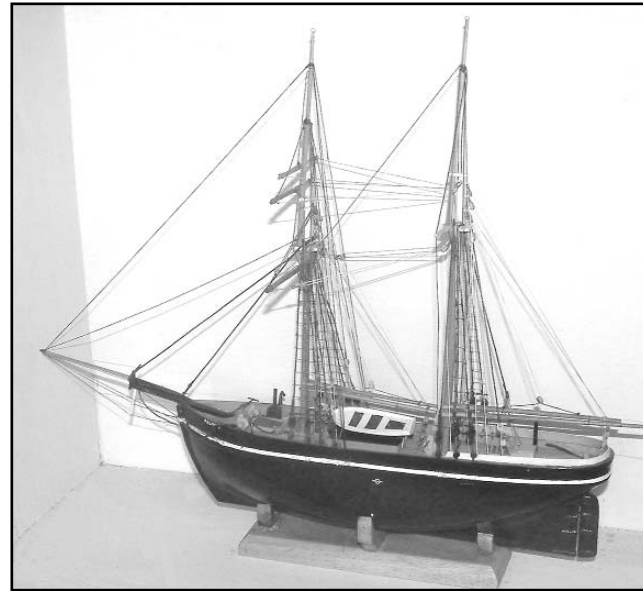


William Starling, the Blakeney boatbuilder, "Gundy" Holman, an ex-seaman, and Howard Brett, of Cley, a carpenter and rigger. None had much patience with rigging plans or general arrangement drawings, so while building the model I made a carrying case which would accommodate the whole model. As each holiday came round I took it down to Cley and showed it to the old men for their criticism.

Their comments were merciless, thorough, and sometimes conflicting, but the final result is probably accurate. Two hulls were completed and one was rigged before we came to an agreed solution. The final drawings were used to illustrate these notes, and the model is in my collection"<sup>2</sup>

Thus we can see how thorough Peter was in constructing his models and what a stickler he was for accuracy. Most of the model making had to take place during school holidays and it is a pity that when he had retired and had more time to devote to this hobby, a stroke deprived him of his ability. He still continued to make models, as his daughter, Serica put it "he was a man in a hurry by then as he knew his abilities were deserting him", but the later models, although of great interest, were not nearly as well made, or with as much detail.

The models are now in Woodbridge in the possession of his daughter, Serica East. A few years ago I visited her and photographed the models and it is these photographs that have formed the basis of this article. Seventeen models of 'local' boats exist and they are listed below. In addition he made a model of the Baltimore clipper, Swift of Salem, which I have not seen and has not been included as she was never a Blakeney vessel.



**Photographs 5 and 6 (above).** Models of Miranda (left) and Palmers in case (right)

Opposite page:

**Photographs 7 and 8.** Two tugs the Comet (centre left) and the Patriot (lower left) that both worked in the harbour,

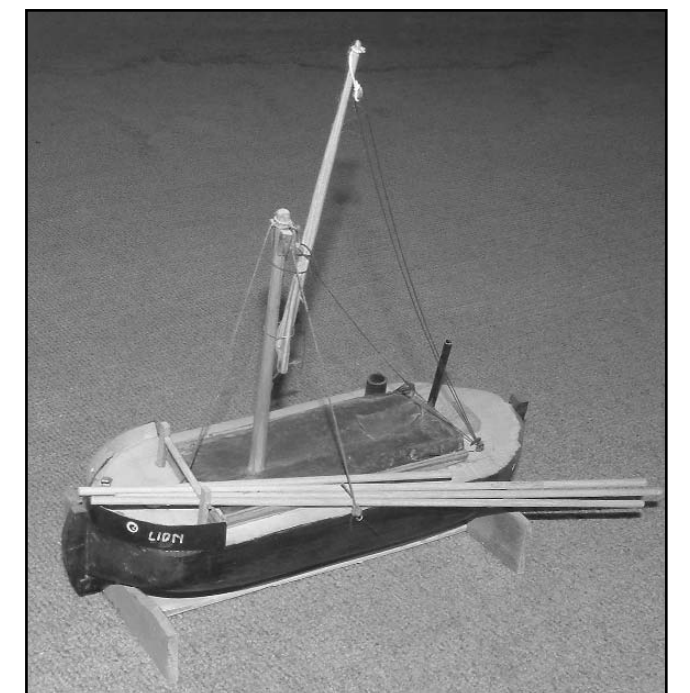
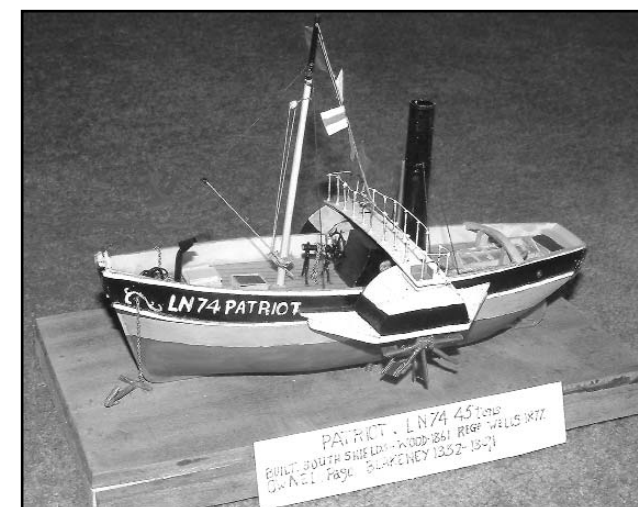
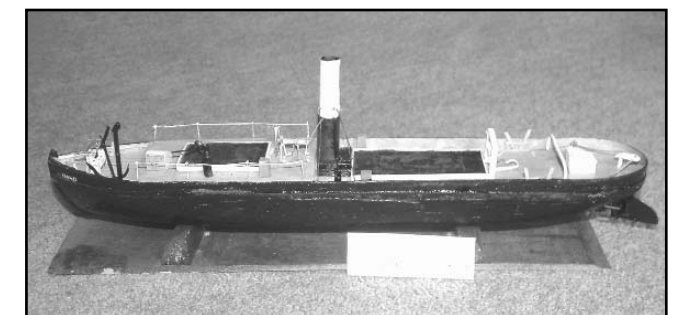
**Photograph 9 (top).** Taffy.

**Photograph 10 (centre right).** Yankee, hence Yankee Ridge a shingle ridge on Blakeney Point where she was left to decay.

**Photograph 11 (Lower right).** Lion.

## References

1. Anon. *Chronicle June 19th 1794*
2. Catling, Magnus *Mss The History of Blakeney and its Havens*. Norfolk Heritage Centre, Millennium Library at the Forum in Norwich
3. Catling, M *The Norfolk Sailor No 10*. 1965



**Table of the Catling Ship Models**

Name	in case	"Label on the model"/Notes	Quality	When made	Height	Length
Bluejacket	Y		excellent	'40s	39cm	32cm
Clam	N		good	'70s	20cm	25cm
Cimba	Y	"National class dinghy N170" Model made during WW2 as unable to sail.. Scale 1:12	excellent	'40s	52cm	30.5cm
Comet	N	"Comet Tug built 1889 at Middlesborough of steel. Registered at Newcastle 1890 QGTC no 97950. Left Blakeney 1915 LOA 60.2, B 14.1, D 7.0, GRT 29"	good	'60s	16cm	25.5cm
Early & Late 1	Y	"Oyster Smack, steam, converted by Temple of Morston for fishing. Early & Late home made by Temple of Morston. Dredged oysters"	lacking detail	'60s	9cm	15cm
Early & Late 2	N	"Oyster Smack, Capt 'Boy' (or Cox or Fox) Eddy Baines, Blakeney"	lacking detail	'70s	19cm	25cm
Lion	N		fair	'60s	24cm	23.5cm
Miranda	Y	Bought by P Catling, no name. Peter thought this might be 'Miranda' but I am unsure why he thought this	fair		13.5cm	11.5cm
Miriam	N	Hull made by Cammy Brett as a child's toy. Peter then added the mast, rigging and details to recreate the Miriam his father owned	good	'50s	50cm	60cm
Monkey's Puzzle	N		fair	'60s	6cm	20cm
Palmers	Y		excellent	'50s	27cm	25.5cm
Patriot	N	"Built South Shields – Wood – 1861, Reg'd Wells 1877. Owned Page Blakeney 1882-91"	good	'60s?	15cm	22cm
Pioneer	N		good	'60s?	42cm	16.5cm
Renown	N		lacking detail	'70s	24cm	36cm
Taffy	Y	"Taffy of Blakeney 173 tons Capt Thompson"	excellent	'60s?	25.5cm	38cm
Yankee	N	"Steam Tug lighter shallow draught???"	good	'60s?	10.5cm	35cm

## The Calthorpes in Norfolk "a clan rather than a family"

*Pamela Peake*

*Synopsis: The history of the Calthorpe family in north Norfolk is explored, thereby placing their presence in the lower Glaven valley in a wider context. Their financial fortunes are followed through centuries of land ownership, advantageous marriages, religious turmoil, political unrest and public service. It demonstrates the versatility and survival of this family extending through 21 generations.*

### Introduction

The landscape around Blakeney Haven owes much to the activities of successive generations of one family – the Calthorpes. As landowners, farmers, embankers, patrons and clergy of local churches their impact has been both considerable and diffuse. The bank enclosing Blakeney Freshes is but one example, built to expand their land holding it has now evolved into part of the Coastal Pathway between Blakeney, Wiveton and Cley.

Yet in 1911 the family sold all their ancestral estates in Norfolk and disappeared from the local scene to retrench around the prosperous suburbs expanding on the edge of Birmingham in the west Midlands. It is a family that survived numerous hiatuses throughout nearly 900 years of association with the county.

### Setting the Scene

The story of the Calthorpes or rather the story of the key players in this extensive family is complex covering in this account some 21 generations. The earliest records for the family show it was based in north Norfolk later extending further afield to Starston in the south, Norwich in the centre (see Photograph 1) and all along the hinterland of the east coast, down to the area known as Lothingland on the Norfolk/Suffolk border.

By the late 1500s they are even more widely dispersed with significant numbers in London and south east England, while the 1600s finds the family seat outside Norfolk at Ampton in Suffolk and a completely new branch developing in Elizabeth City, Virginia, USA.

The Calthorpes married into many of the significant magnatious families of the county such as the Hastings, Lovells, Mautebys, Pells,

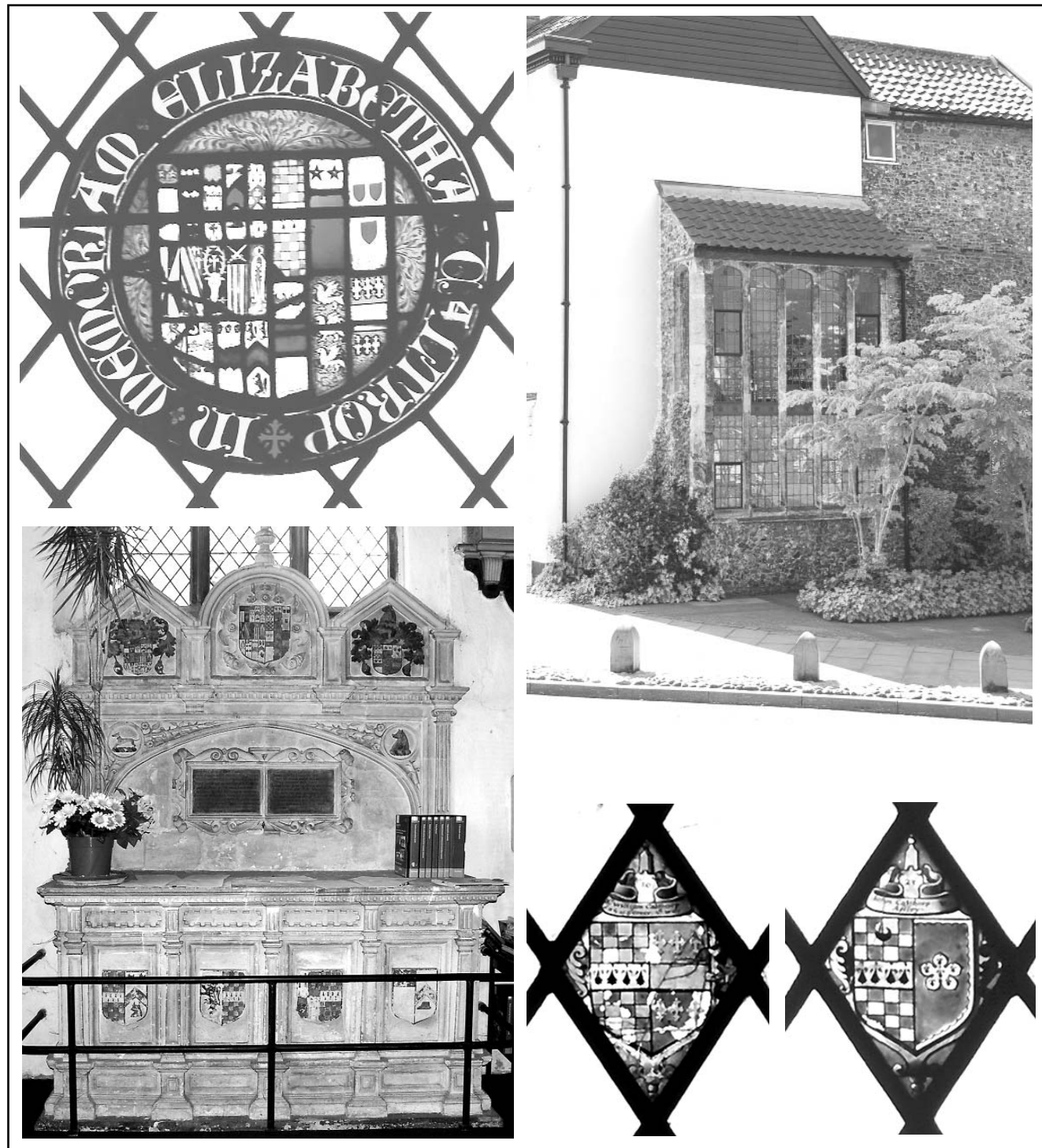
Heydons, Brewses, Rokewoods, Le Stranges, Woodhouses, Drurys, Boleyns, Bedingfields and Bacons. Many of these families have since become extinct but not the Calthorpes, diluted overtime certainly but the name survives today, albeit in the female line with a descendant taking the name and arms on inheriting property.

For a family constantly on the move and with no single ancestral home surviving for more than a few generations it is not surprising to learn that there is no single exhaustive collection of family papers in the public arena. By contrast, however, manorial and estate papers may be found scattered across England in county Record Offices from Norfolk to further afield at Ipswich, Winchester and Birmingham.

Various aspects of the Calthorpe family history and their responses to changing times are explored here beginning with the ancestors of **Richard Calthorpe(1)(c1400-1438)**. Richard is pivotal to this account being the first member of the family to own land in Blakeney and the adjacent hinterland, besides being founder member of a collateral (junior) branch that was to outlive the senior line.

Richard's ancestors had their roots in the Burnhams in the twelfth century. This was at a time when medieval surnames were still evolving, so we find the Calthorpes recorded with alternative surnames or aliases such as Hales and Suffield, while the spelling also appears as Calthorp, Calthrop, Calthroppe or even Calthroup. Calthorpe eventually became the preferred surname and this spelling is used here. For further clarification, repetitive forenames have been numbered in sequence.

Rev James Lee-Warner verified from wills that all the various surnames being used in the twelfth century clearly belong to one family. Indeed he likened them to a "clan rather than a family".<sup>1</sup> His particular interest stemmed from



**Photograph 1: The Calthorpes at Palace Plain, evidence of a magnatious family in Norwich.** **Top left:** A roundel for Elizabeth Calthorpe 1578, set in the east window above her monument. The arms highlight 20 families. **Top right:** The oriel window from Sir William Calthorpe's(4) house now reinstated near its original site in the 15th century. **Bottom left:** The Altar tomb at St Martins Palace Plain for Elizabeth Calthorpe 1578. She was the great, great grand daughter of Sir William Calthorpe(4) and the end of the Burnham line. This tomb was erected by her third husband, Sir Dru Drury. Elizabeth's relationship to Anne Boleyn is shown by her parent's arms on the chest, they were cousins. **Bottom right:** Two quarries featuring Calthorpe shields, now reset in the Calthorpe window of the north ambulatory at Norwich Cathedral. The shield to the left is Richard Calthorpe's(1) parents, to the right is his son, John, and Alice Astley.

his association with Thorpland Hall, near Fakenham. Not only was this where he lived, but it had been the seat of the last family member descended from Richard Calthorpe(1) in a direct line.

Christopher Calthorpe(6) who died in 1720 aged 13 (part of the Fakenham branch) was the last male member of this line and his aunts were his co-heiresses. One was Elizabeth Calthorpe who ensured that the Calthorpe heirlooms from earlier generations such as portraits, jewellery and the Drury missal were passed across to her distant cousins at Ampton, Suffolk who were at this time Lords of the many Manors the family owned. These treasures survive in the family today.<sup>2</sup>

For sheer colour of the intimate detail of daily life from earlier times, we are fortunate to have the family papers of the Pastons.<sup>3</sup> These provide an unbelievably rich source of information for fifteenth century society at all levels. They are pertinent here as the Calthorpes were relatives of the Pastons through marriage to the Mautebys and Brewses.<sup>4</sup> Consequently the family feature throughout the correspondence, particularly the antics of Sir William Calthorpe(4) and his second wife Dame Elizabeth.

From the Pastons the Calthorpes would have learnt, at the very least, the paramount importance of having lawyers in the family to protect and safeguard all aspects of their landed interests.

It is not surprising then to see Nathaniel Bacon a century later expressing his exasperation with Charles and Bartram Calthorpe.<sup>5</sup> These were just two of the new breed of Calthorpe lawyers operating in the litigious climate of Tudor England. They had been persuaded by James Calthorpe(2) to act on his behalf, renegotiating leases with Nathaniel Bacon that had been established during his minority.

The Bacon Papers also throw light on the Calthorpe residence in Cockthorpe, providing a brief description of its condition and a list of the associated buildings as found in the 1570s.<sup>5</sup> Cockthorpe was central to the psyche of Richard's descendants in the sixteenth century. All Saints Church as seen today is another Calthorpe legacy in the landscape. It was refashioned in the sixteenth century and the south aisle was built as the family burial place. Richard's grandson and the next three generations of Lords of this Manor were buried in the Church and the unnamed chest tomb in the south aisle has been attributed by various authors to no less than three of them.

The flourishing marriages highlighted on the wall memorial in All Saints also herald the end of Cockthorpe as a centre for the family. They moved away as wealthy heiresses provided new money and new opportunities for their

Calthorpe husbands. So we find James Calthorpe(3) moving into East Barsham Manor, the home of his in-laws the Fermors while his uncle, Sir Henry Calthorpe(1), had meanwhile moved away to Ampton in Suffolk. Sir James was well content at East Barsham Manor and eventually sold off most of his Calthorpe inheritance to his uncle Henry.<sup>1</sup>

After this sale the heads of the family never lived in Norfolk, although they still maintained a presence in the area during the 1700s by exercising their rights as patrons of churches. Both near and distant relatives were appointed to the livings at Wiveton, Blakeney with Glandford, Saxlingham and Cockthorpe with Little Langham. On two of these occasions the rector was the younger brother of the current Lord of the Manor.<sup>6</sup>

The last one hundred years before the estates were sold was largely one of declining investment in this area, even though some small parcels of land were purchased in Wiveton when the saltmarshes were enclosed.<sup>7</sup> By this time, however, most of the family's income was from their Midland estates, while the revenues from Norfolk and Suffolk were rapidly waning and there was little incentive to invest.

This necessarily brief overview of the family sets the scene for the following account. It is not a 'nuts and bolt' family history rather a series of sketches supported by a series of family trees that will ease navigation through the successive generations. Wills, monumental inscriptions and inquisition post mortems have been used as the primary sources of information for the early history before the advent of parish registers.

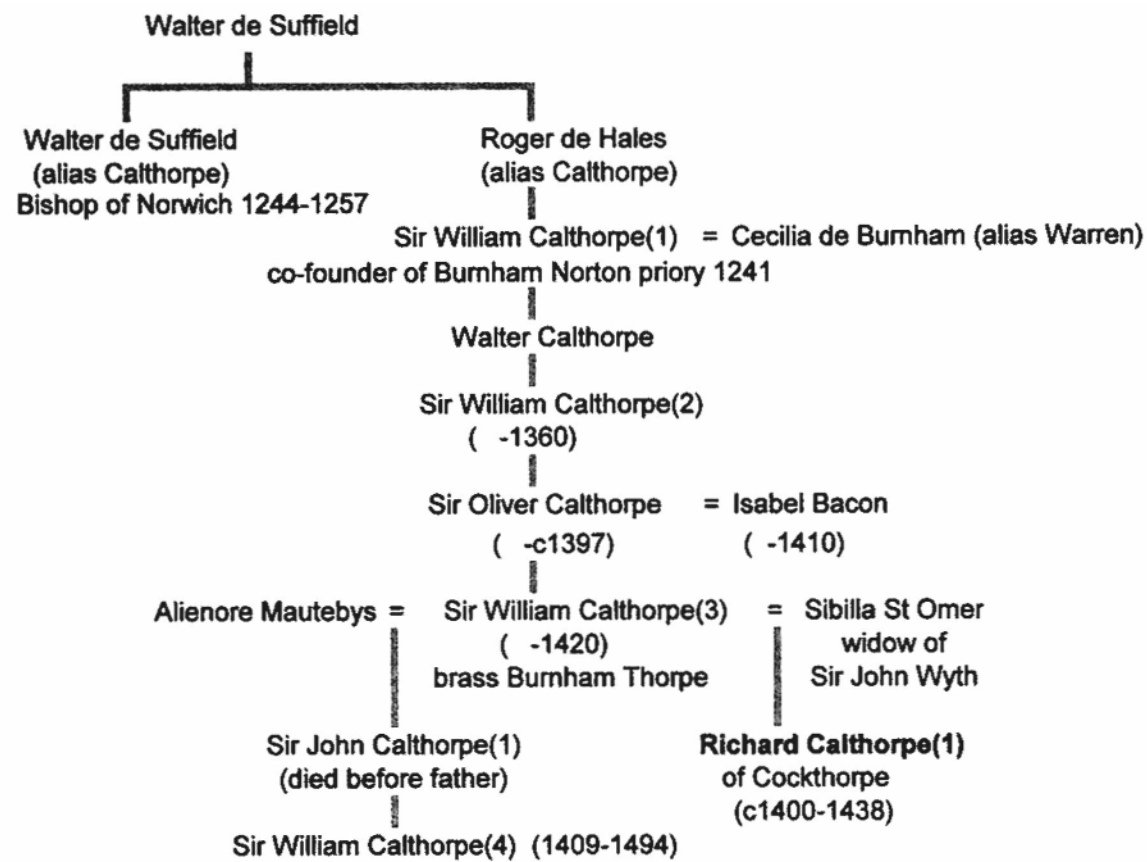
### The Antecedents

A number of Norfolk families take their names from similarly named villages and presumably this is the case here. Certainly the village of Calthorpe is old being recorded in Little Domesday and some of the family mentioned in this account owned land in the parish or left bequests to the parish church suggesting they acknowledged it as their ancestral home.

The Rev James Lee-Warner rehearsed a genealogy of seven generations for the antecedents of Richard Calthorpe(1) (c1400-1438).<sup>1</sup> The pedigree goes back two hundred years to the close of the twelfth century and while it may concentrate on the direct line and be rather scant in detail on the wider family it identifies them in the Burnhams.

This pedigree relied on an even earlier genealogy, the *Vitis Calthorpiana*<sup>8</sup> that had been prepared during the sixteenth century at a period when families were concerned with lineage and visitations were taking place. Furthermore,





**Tree 1. Richard Calthorpe and his ancestors.** This tree shows the senior Burnham Line continuing through Sir John Calthorpe(1) and his son Sir William(4) and the start of the collateral line with Richard Calthorpe(1) of Cockthorpe.<sup>1, 2</sup>

it was supported by references and abstracts to some 150 charters, inquisition post mortems, fines, pleas, escheats\* and wills.

#### Walter de Suffield, Bishop of Norwich

Numbered amongst these wills was that of Walter de Suffield (alias Calthorpe) Bishop of Norwich 1244-1257.<sup>1</sup> This identified William Calthorpe(1) as his nephew or close relation.

The Bishop needs little introduction for in 1249, he was the founder of St Giles in Norwich, known now as the Great Hospital; this institution was inspired by the hospitals of the Augustinians.<sup>9</sup> Walter Suffield's hospital was both a refuge for the sick, including disabled priests, and a house of prayer, quickly becoming a liturgical centre for scholars. It was later acquired by the city in 1547.

Walter Suffield was one of five monks to become Bishop of Norwich between the foundation and the dissolution of the monasteries and one of only two Bishops that were regarded locally in Norwich as saints, although his prospects for canonisation were never realized.

\*Footnote: *escheats* – the reversion of land to a lord of the manor on the death of a tenant without heirs

In the Cathedral he demolished Losinga's eastern axial chapel and constructed in its place a longer, square-ended Lady Chapel. Here his tomb-shrine occupied a central position; both have now been demolished.<sup>10</sup>

The Bishop left his nephew, the first of four Williams, his manor in Burnham together with other more personal effects.<sup>1</sup> William Calthorpe(1) already held significant property in the Hundreds of Brothercross and Gallow and although his lordships and manorial lands were decidedly fragmented<sup>11</sup> it is clear that Burnham Thorpe was home. From here his principal manors extended southwards, following the meadows of the River Burn through North Creake and beyond to South Creake.

A considerable amount of these seigneurial lands had come to him when he married Cecilia Burnham (alias Warren) a wealthy heiress.<sup>12</sup> The Burnham family had held these manors from Earl Warenne since the time of the Conquest. The Earl had married Gandrada, a step-daughter of the Conqueror and the subsequent marriage of a Calthorpe with the Burnham/Warren heiress may explain why the Calthorpes were able to bear on their coat the Warren chequers – *Chequy (Or and Azure)*, with the addition of the Calthorpe *Fess Ermine*.



**Photograph 2. North Creake Abbey, the alleged burial place of the early Burnham Calthorpes**

#### The Religious Houses

With such illustrious family connections both by birth (a prince of the church) and marriage (a near prince of the realm), it is not surprising to find that William Calthorpe(1) and his family were conspicuous founders and benefactors to churches, church towers and religious houses within their community. These markers in the landscape, although some are now in ruins, are tangible evidence of how the family demonstrated its presence and status.

Most notable was the co-founding of the Carmelite friary at Burnham Norton by Sir William Calthorpe(1) and Sir Ralph Hemenhale in 1241.<sup>13</sup> This was amongst the earliest Carmelite foundations in England and the first in Norfolk. Bishop Walter Suffield was a benefactor to the Carmelites of Burnham Norton in 1256, as were other Calthorpes who alienated land as the needs of the friary expanded.<sup>11</sup>

The relationship between the Carmelites and the Calthorpes was close and this association was to continue across the county until the dissolution. Although many Calthorpes elected to be buried in the Carmelite chapels, particularly at Norwich in the latter half of the fifteenth century<sup>11</sup>, there is no evidence for any Calthorpe

being buried at Burnham Norton. To the contrary, a family will of 1494 indicates that Creake Abbey (see Photograph 2) was the preferred place for the Burnham Calthorpes.<sup>14</sup>

Creake Abbey began life as a church dedicated to St Mary. It stood on the parish boundary between North Creake and Burnham Thorpe in the meadows at Lingerscroft from which it took its ancient name, St Mary de Pratis (of the Meadows). A hospital dedicated to St Bartholomew was soon established there and the foundation became a priory. Then in 1231, when the advowson passed to Henry III it was sanctioned as an Abbey and the rule of St Augustine was confirmed.<sup>14</sup>

From this time onwards the Calthorpes can be traced as benefactors. Bishop Walter Suffield led the way when he granted the appropriation of the church of St Martin of Quarles to the Abbey.<sup>14</sup> In the fourteenth century Sir Walter Calthorpe and Sir Oliver Calthorpe were benefactors, as was Richard Calthorpe(1) of Cockthorpe a century later. The latter left 6s.8d to the *'convent of the meadows near Creyk'*<sup>15</sup> when he wrote his testament at Cockthorpe dated 1st February 1438 (see Appendix I).

Fifty six years later in 1494 another Sir

William Calthorpe(4) wrote his will<sup>14</sup> and left £74.6s to the Abbey for the building of the quire and presbytery after an earlier fire had destroyed much of the Abbey. Here he also identified the family connection with the Abbey as being 'where the ancestors of me the said Sir William lyeth buried', but alas none were named.

### The Brass Effigy

For all the documented references to their burials only one extant memorial for a Calthorpe burial exists in the Burnhams today and that is for the third William in the sequence, Sir William Calthorpe(3) who died Xmas Eve 1420. His brass memorial may be found in the chancel of the parish church of All Saints, Burnham Thorpe where the Calthorpes were Patrons from 1314 till 1554.<sup>11</sup>

The brass is a large canopied effigy of a fifteenth century armoured knight with the distinctive collar of SS and a pendant of forget-me-not flowers around the neck (see Photographs 3 & 4). The insignia indicates the Lancastrian Order of Knights and is a timely reminder of the age of chivalry, war with France and chivalric reward for service, both military and non-military. The significance and condition of the brass makes it an archaeological treasure with next to it a ledger for the Rev Edmund Nelson, father of Horatio Nelson a more recent defender of the realm.

Brasses are among the most popular and familiar of mediaeval and early modern funerary monuments offering insight into aspirations of the commemorated. This is the case here, for each element of the brass provides evidence of Sir William's place in society, his pious belief and firmly establishes his family history. The cushion tells us that he died at home, while the date commemorates the anniversary of his death. It is a visual display of achievement and social standing, a medieval storybook waiting to be read and a constant reminder to pray for his soul.

William(3) can be regarded as the last of the antecedents for he was the father of Richard Calthorpe(1). We learn from the inscription on the outer brass frame that William's parents were Sir Oliver Calthorpe and Isabel, her surname of Bacon being rubbed and obliterated. Sir Oliver was Sheriff of Norfolk in 1376 and like his great grandfather, William(1), had married an heiress who brought considerable wealth and property to the family.

The depiction of William(3) in full armour, declares the degree, that is the position, of the family at the top of the three-fold pecking order in society. Armour was first, mass vestments and copes for priests, second, while civilian attire denoted membership of the third and lowest rank.<sup>16</sup>

The shields also represent rank and denote



**Photograph 3 (top).** The splendid brass effigy of Sir William Calthorpe(3) in the parish church at Burnham Thorpe.

**Photograph 4 (above).** A detail of the brass effigy highlighting the Lancastrian decoration; the spotting is the result of bat activity above.

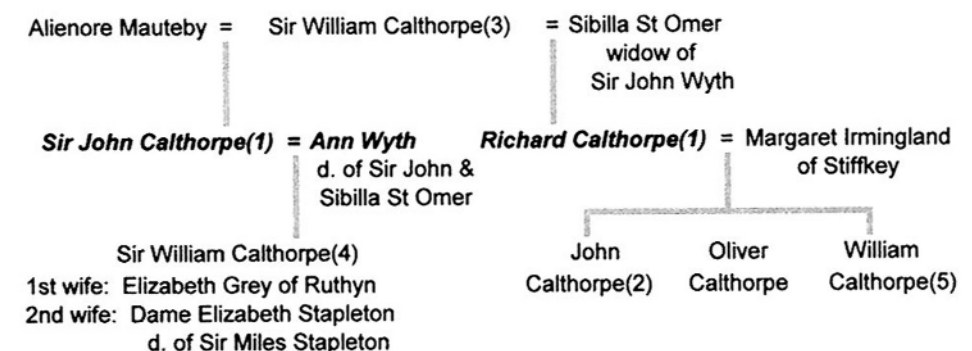
gentle-born families. There are two shields: the top left is the Calthorpe shield, *Chequy (Or and Azure) a Fess Ermine*; the second shield to the right is for St Omer: *(Azure) a Fess between six Cross-crosslets (Or) with an annulet for difference*. This last shield commemorates William's second wife, Sibilla St Omer, daughter of Sir Edmund St Omer and mother of Richard.

Both William and Sibilla made their testaments and wills in Dec 1420<sup>17</sup>, naming each other as executor. Sir William's will was proved 29th December 1420 while Sibilla's was proved in October of the following year, 1421. Because there is no mention of William's first marriage on the brass, it was probably commissioned either jointly by the couple or by Sibilla. It would be an opportunity for her to leave a marker in the Burnhams of her association with the Calthorpes. She then requested her own burial in the parish church at Beeston next Smallburgh on the south side of her first husband, John Wyth, Knight!

Again, just as his ancestors had done Sir William Calthorpe(3) left many bequests to local parish churches, to their several altars and to the repair and maintenance of the said churches, but no mention was made of religious houses. His will was both brief and direct, entirely parochial, being directed to pious and charitable uses.

The hopes and aspirations of the Calthorpe antecedents and the inheritance of their collective wealth and lands would have been considerable. But they were not for Richard, who was after all the only child of a second marriage by both his parents. Instead it was destined for John, his older half brother by Sir William Calthorpe's first marriage to Alienore Mauteby.

**Tree 2 (below). Half brothers and brothers-in-law.** This complex relationship between the son of Sir William Calthorpe(3) and the children of Sibilla St Omer by her two husbands has been the source of much confusion.<sup>18, 24</sup>



### Richard Calthorpe's Inheritance

The arrival and eventual settlement of Richard(1) in the Glaven area was made possible by a bequest from his paternal grand mother, Isabel Bacon.<sup>1</sup> She was the daughter of Sir Robert Bacon of Erwarton and the heiress of considerable Bacon wealth on the death of her brother Sir Bartholomew Bacon.

In the thirteen years following the death of her husband, Sir Oliver Calthorpe (d.1397), Isabel witnessed the second marriage of her son and, albeit rather late in life, the start of a second family with the birth of Richard(1) (c.1400-1438).<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, she witnessed a further alliance and a potentially compromising situation in the making when John Calthorpe(1), her eldest grandson and the Calthorpe heir, married his step-sister Ann Wyth.<sup>2</sup> Ann was the daughter of his step-mother, Sibilla St Omer by her first marriage to Sir John Wyth. Ann was also the half-sister of her husband's half-brother, Richard(1). Dynastic dynamite!

The more immediate ramifications of this marriage are such that the half-brothers became brothers-in-law and then in 1409 when John's son William was born, Richard became an uncle at the age of nine.

Isabel, as Grandmother, would have been aware that society as well as his older siblings could have easily marginalised Richard. However, by her actions both before she died and in her will she redressed the situation. She secured his future by gifts that raised his profile thus ensuring his social status. It was this legacy that brought the Calthorpes to the Glaven Valley to occupy the former Bacon manors.

Richard's inheritance was at the very least the manorial lands of Cockthorpe and Blakeney with the advowson of St Mary at Langham Parva. These manors and the patronage were in her gift and **by her actions** Richard was now an esquire and just one rung away from a knight in the feudal system that was still operating in late mediaeval England.

The routes by which these properties came to Richard were complex and not entirely clear,

some were undoubtedly by Isabel's will, but Blakeney was a nuncupative inheritance referred to obliquely in subsequent family wills.<sup>1</sup> Although Blakeney was not mentioned specifically in her will, it is clear from other family documents that Richard was recognised by other family members as inheriting it from his grandmother.<sup>18</sup> The Bacons had purchased the aforesaid manors from John Cockfield earlier in the fourteenth century.

In addition the Bacons held other extensive property across East Anglia that ranged as far south as Erwarton in Essex. The latter was the cream of all their properties, their principal seat and was to be part of the inheritance of John Calthorpe(1), her eldest grandson and the Calthorpe heir, on the death of his father Sir William Calthorpe(3) on Xmas Eve, 1420.<sup>1</sup>

However, in spite of carefully made plans, John died before his father, sometime between 1409 and 1416. Thus it was his son, William(4) (1409-1494), benefactor of Creake Abbey and fourth in the sequence of Williams, who inherited the ancient Calthorpe lands in Burnham as well as his great grandmother Isabel's legacy, the Bacon manors, of Ludham in Norfolk and Erwarton in Essex.

William Calthorpe's(4) arena of activity was centered on Norwich where he lived just outside the Cathedral precincts at St Martin Palace Plain in a house purchased from Lady Bardolf. This house stood on the south side of the River Wensum, facing the Carmelite Friary on the opposite bank.<sup>1</sup> Here his public and private life are captured for posterity in the Paston letters, as a relation who had also boarded Anne Paston, the daughter of John and Margaret Paston, during her childhood.<sup>4</sup>

Twice Sir William(4) held office as Sheriff of Norfolk (1442-58 and 1464-76), accompanied Edward IV on pilgrimage to Walsingham and many years later was commanded by the Pastons to introduce his wife to Henry VII when the King passed through Norwich in 1489.<sup>3</sup>

### A new beginning at Cockthorpe

For Richard Calthorpe(1) esquire, we have considerably less information. Richard never features in the social gossip related by the Pastons, nor does he ever appear to have held any public office. By contrast his short life and livelihood focus on his newly acquired manors in north Norfolk. These manors were relatively close and cohesive by Norfolk standards, although separated by the fields of Langham and Morston.

Exactly where and how he lived is far from clear and has to be surmised from his will and knowledge of medieval life. Certainly there is no tangible evidence left behind to remember him by. Glimpses of the family and their activities come from his separate testament and will<sup>15</sup> and

then from the will of his wife written about forty years later; both written in Latin and proved locally in Norwich.<sup>19</sup>

Richard married Margaret Irmingland of Stiffkey, sister and heiress of John Irmingland, the Rector of St John at Stiffkey. This was one of two churches in the parish at that time. Although Richard presented William Herbald to the living at Little Langham in 1437<sup>18</sup>, the first and only time he ever had the opportunity, it was at All Saints at Cockthorpe where he wished to be buried. This instruction was given to his executors when he made his testament at Cockthorpe. Margaret's will confirms his burial at All Saints when she requests to be buried next to him. (see Appendix 3)

This is an illuminating choice of burial place considering the presence of the Whitefriars in Blakeney and the rebuilding of St Nicholas that was taking place at this time. Perhaps All Saints at Cockthorpe was a more personal choice linked to his Bacon ancestors?

Richard Calthorpe(1) was not quite 40 when he died leaving Margaret with sons and daughters, none of whom were named or married. He made provision for his family from his '*messuage in Cockthorpe and all other lands, tenements, meadows, feedings and pastures in Cockthorpe and Stiffkey*'.<sup>15</sup> Margaret was also to have additional income and an annuity from tenements in Writtle near Colchester, Essex and Wistleton, Suffolk following instructions by Isabel, his grandmother to her trustees. (see Appendix 2) Again we see another aspect of his grandmother's far ranging legacy and also get a hint of sheep farming that became more apparent in his son's will.

Margaret's will<sup>19</sup> provides us with the names of some of her children by Richard and three of their grandchildren. No children by her second marriage to Robert Mekylfeld Esq. of Blyford were mentioned. John(2) was the eldest son and her executor and he was by then married to Alice Astley, the daughter of John Astley. Two other sons were Oliver, married to Agnes, and William(5). The only grandchildren named were Christopher Calthorpe(1), son of John and Alice, then Henry and Margery. The latter were the children of Ann and Robert Braunche; Ann being Richard and Margaret Calthorpe's daughter. Robert Braunche's brass is nearby in Stody Church.

Family colour, in the form of tensions between the brothers, are highlighted in Margaret's will. She was firmly resolved that John(2) should not be impleaded, molested or disturbed by his two brothers or even Oliver's wife. This concerned the use of a messuage and certain lands and tenements that Oliver and his wife had use of in Cockthorpe with Margaret's permission for a fixed term. Forfeiture of bonds

is threatened as a penalty if her wishes were ignored. The outcome is not known, but Oliver and William(5) disappear from the Cockthorpe records. Oliver eventually went to live in Booton, while nothing more is known of William.

For the Calthorpes the story now belongs to John(2) and Alice, for them to continue what Richard(1) and Margaret had set in place. Documentary evidence shows that all the family were actively purchasing land both at Cockthorpe and in the neighbouring parishes and that the backbone of their growing wealth did indeed come from sheep.

In his will of 1503<sup>20</sup> John Calthorpe(2) left his wife, amongst other items, income and the advowson of Cockthorpe, '*all my shepe pastured in the fields or closes of Cockthorp and all my weders pastured in the field of Morston or elsewhere*'. In due course his son, Christopher, left '*all my purchased lands and residue of plate and moveables in full satisfaction for 1,000 shepe*'<sup>21</sup> to his son. Very different to the 1,000 plus turkeys being farmed there today or indeed the mini flock of nine sheep!

Moreover, John Calthorpe's(2) will specifically highlights the details of land that he purchased; 6 acres from John Beelys, 5 roods from William Appulton, half acre from Richard Salle and 1 acre from Denyse Kew.

This pattern of land acquisition continued steadily and slowly with the eventual outcome of an estate map<sup>22</sup> produced for Charles, Lord Calthorpe in 1804 showing that, apart from the church and glebe the Calthorpes, at last after 350 years, owned all the land in Cockthorpe and that it was already enclosed.

### The Carmelite connection

The parish church was undoubtedly the central focus of medieval religion, but the religious houses offered an alternative arena for expression of faith and burial. The evidence for monasteries being used for burial is based largely on wills and must be tempered with caution as memorials to substantiate requests have not survived. None the less, the Calthorpe family certainly aligned themselves with the Carmelites as benefactors and then later as a place for burials. This period extended no more than 3 generations and was predominantly within the 100 years prior to dissolution.

When John Calthorpe(2) died in the summer of 1503 he requested his '*synfull body to be beryed in the Whyte ffryres of Snetyrlee that is to sey in the myddys of the Channsell*' and that an honest '*fryre prest*' was to sing for his soul in the church of the friars for one whole year.<sup>20</sup> This was not an unusual request given the close association of the Calthorpes and Carmelites that had continued since they co-founded the friary at Burnham Norton.

His father, Richard(1), had alluded to the friars in 1438 when his testament<sup>15</sup> directed that 3s. 4d. was to be given to each order of mendicant friars within the limit of the vill of Cockthorpe. Certainly the Carmelites of Blakeney would have been included here as well as the friars that were operating within and out of Norwich, moving around the small towns and villages of their respective limitations. The limit of the vill was the preaching circuit during Advent and Lent when friars went in search of alms and of souls.<sup>9</sup>

It was a small gesture by comparison with the amount of money that must have been spent by Sir William Calthorpe(4) on his family sepulcher in the church of the Whitefriars in Norwich.<sup>23</sup> Sir William had buried his first wife there in 1437 followed by five of his children before he too was buried there in 1494. Several other close relatives of both William and Richard were also buried there.

Apart from this memorial to his family there is a brass in North Creake parish church that is allegedly of Sir William(4) and possibly relates to his bequest for the restoration of Creake Abbey after the fire.<sup>24</sup> He is depicted holding a church in the crook of his arm. However despite all efforts to commemorate his family, only this brass with the dubious attribution has survived. An amazing twist to the story has to be the Arminghall arch, rescued from the Whitefriar's monastery in Norwich and now incorporated into the Magistrate's Court that has been built over the site of William's house on Palace Plain.<sup>25</sup>

By contrast, there are two extant memorials to John Calthorpe(2) of Blakeney, esquire to the end, never knighted and always living in the shadow of Sir William(4). The first is a simple brass plaque, albeit not where he requested in the Carmelite Friary, but in the nave of the parish church of St Nicholas, Blakeney.

This has led to the popular, but erroneous, belief that the chancel of St Nicholas is the old Whitefriar's church. A more plausible explanation is that at the dissolution of the friary, Christopher Calthorpe(1), his son, had the remains of his parents moved to the parish church for safety or at least their memorial stone. This course of action is well documented in other families where memorials in monastic churches faced an uncertain future. This explanation is also supported by Christopher's will<sup>21</sup> where he directed that if he died in Blakeney, he was to be buried beside his father's gavelstone (not his body), in the parish church.

The memorial stone is a large slab with the brass plaque set centrally. John Calthorpe(2), described as a founder (benefactor) of the Carmelites, died in 1503 while his wife Alice survived him by only five years. The shield on the brass is considerably worn but is identifiable

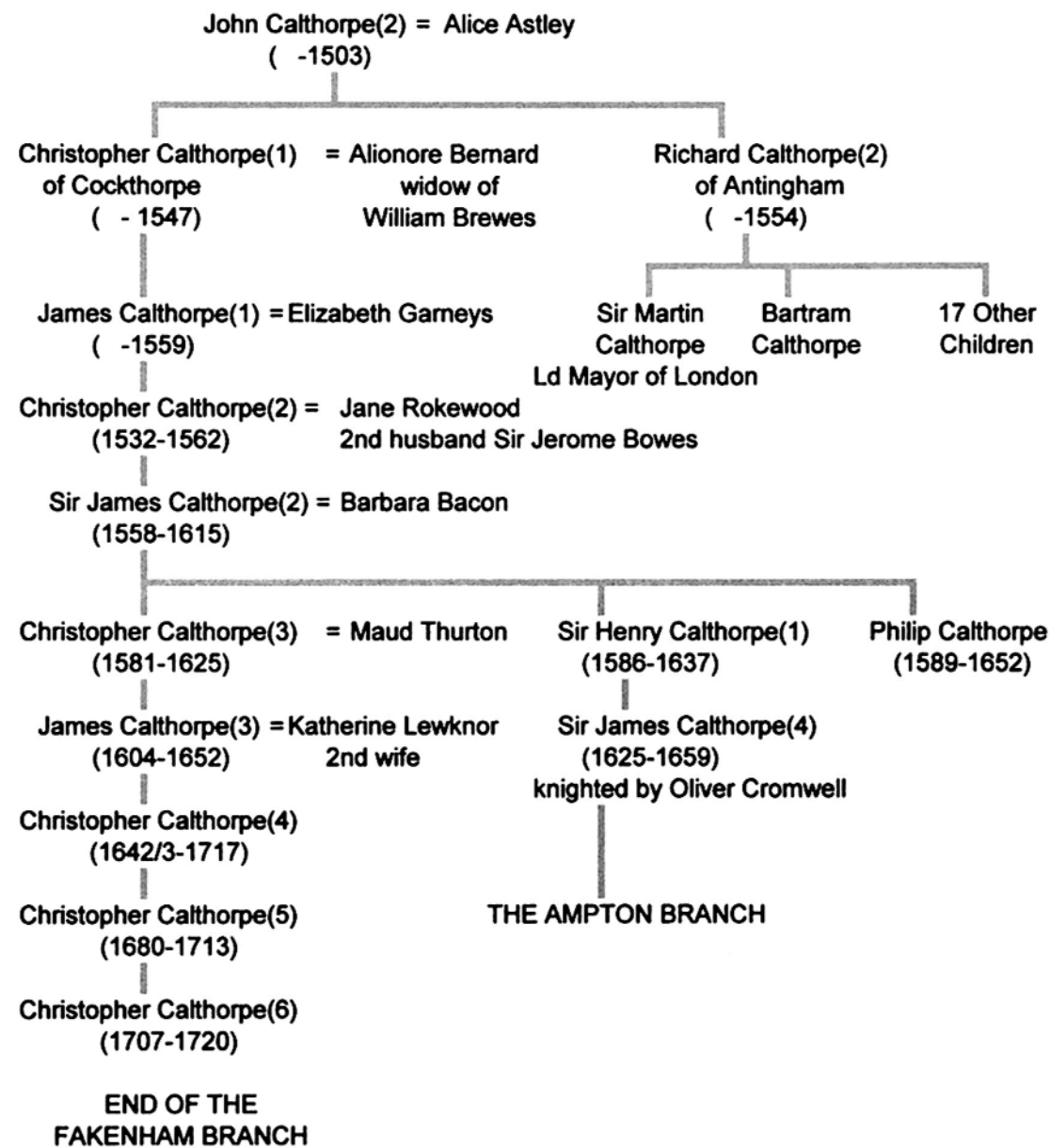
as Calthorpe and Astley (azure, a cinquefoil ermine in a bordure engrailed or).

The second memorial to John Calthorpe(2) and his wife Alice is a diamond-shaped glass quarry in Norwich Cathedral that features their arms. The quarry is one of a pair, the other being the arms of his Calthorpe grandparents, Sir William(3) and Sibilla St Omer. Both are numbered, were they once part of a much larger series commemorating the Calthorpes?\* Both

*\*Footnote: A similar glass quarry, also numbered, was once in an oriel window at East Barsham manor house. It featured the Calthorpe arms and the three royal lions indicating royal achievements. This quarry was subsequently presented to George, Lord Calthorpe.<sup>2</sup>*

quarries are reset in the easternmost window of the north ambulatory (see Photograph 1).<sup>10</sup> What a change of fortunes: a country squire alongside the magnatious elite of the county, safe in the Cathedral.

Throughout the fifteenth century then, the every day lives of Richard and John as late medieval squires living on their manors would have replicated the domestic scene of the Pastons. Land was fundamental to the family and religion played a major role in their lives. They may have been eclipsed by the activities of their more wealthy and powerful relations, but they were certainly not unaware of them. However, there was to be a dramatic change for the next century would see the demise of the senior branch after 13 generations and the blossoming of the Cockthorpe line.



**Tree 3. John Calthorpe(2) of Blakeney and his descendants.** The direct line on the left ended with the death of young Christopher from a fever whilst he was still a schoolboy. However, long before this, the Calthorpe estates had already been sold by his great grandfather to Sir Henry Calthorpe(1) of Ampton

### Consolidating at Cockthorpe

The hundred or so years following John Calthorpe's(2) death in 1503 is the time when the family made their greatest impact on the parish of Cockthorpe. There are just four generations to consider in the 1500s, Christopher(1) and his son James(1) followed by a grandson and great grandson, another Christopher(2) and James(2) respectively. This alternating naming pattern was repeated once more in the direct male line during the early years of the 1600s. Needless to say it has caused endless confusion and the exact number of repetitions now tends to be exaggerated for effect rather than fact.

Collectively, each of the four generations identified closely with Cockthorpe, made a will proved in the Court of either Canterbury or Norwich and was buried in All Saints. This family was responsible for establishing and maintaining much of the layout of the parish as we see it today and collectively their most tangible legacy has to be the parish church with the family burials in the south aisle.

Individually, the wills of these four generations provide evidence for relationships, especially of sisters and daughters in the earlier part of the century. These might otherwise be missed because of the absence of Cockthorpe registers before 1560. Moreover, their responses to the religious upheavals show through as does their growing wealth despite the hiatus caused by the untimely death of Christopher Calthorpe(2) in 1562.<sup>26</sup>

#### Christopher Calthorpe(1) (d 1547)

The century begins with Christopher(1), newly married in about 1498<sup>17</sup>, and his younger brother Richard(2). The lives of these two brothers, sons of John and Alice Calthorpe of Blakeney, could not be more dissimilar.

Christopher, Norfolk-based and country squire to the end, has no memorial, whilst Richard became established at Antingham where there is an impressive brass commemorating his large family of 11 sons and 8 daughters.

As well as keeping a base in Norfolk, Richard's(2) sons had extensive London connections, indeed many of the children settled in the south-east. Some were merchants while others operated in more conspicuous public capacities. Of these children, just two are noted here, Sir Martin Calthorpe, Lord Mayor of London in Armada year, 1588 and his younger brother Bartram Calthorpe Gentleman of the Middle Temple London and Counsellor at Law.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, Christopher(1) and Alionore appear to have had a very small family, possibly no more than two or three children. Their mar-

ried son and heir was living with them in 1537 for the Frere manuscripts<sup>27</sup> record that Thomas Houghton, Prior of Blakeney Friary, leased Dr Jeffry Norwich's lodging to both families, as well as land. The mansion house was situated within the Friary precinct with the friar's church and churchyard to the north and the cloister to the east.<sup>27</sup>

After the dissolution, William Rede, Mercer of London became the owner of the priory site, which was shortly afterwards conveyed to Sir Richard Gresham. Some of the site remained in the tenure of Christopher Calthorpe(1) until 1546 at least, but no mention is made of his son James(1) in this source.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps with a growing family for James and the dissolution of the Friary, the Calthorpes finally found the impetus to build a house for themselves at Cockthorpe. Was this a completely new build or did it incorporate part of a much earlier Calthorpe home?

Tantalising glimpses of this house in Cockthorpe are provided in the Bacon Papers more than 20 years later.<sup>5</sup> Certainly Christopher makes provision in his will to be buried either in Blakeney or Cockthorpe, wherever he should be living at the time of his death. So he was still between the two!

Christopher's marriage also brought Starston manor to the family and with it, another family home. This proved to be a much favoured alternative home, becoming the dower house for each of the four widows while the Starston parish registers<sup>28</sup> confirm many Calthorpe events taking place there throughout the century.

#### James Calthorpe(1) (d 1559)

James was born early in the 1500s to Christopher(1) and Alionore and married Elizabeth Garneys 14th June 1528 at Kenton in Suffolk.<sup>17</sup> His marriage settlement was generous as was his inheritance and with three sons and two daughters, the prospects for this early modern family must have appeared promising.

For the first time, since Richard Calthorpe(1) founded the line, an heir was dispatched to London and more particularly to Lincoln's Inn to become a lawyer.<sup>17</sup> In due course James arranged a marriage for this son, his heir Christopher(2), to Jane Rokewood daughter of Roger Rokewood of Fishley and Euston in Suffolk.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, this was a marriage within the family as Jane was a niece of Ann Garneys (nee Rokewood), the sister-in-law of James(1) and Elizabeth Calthorpe.<sup>29</sup>

When James(1) wrote his will in 1558, all seemed to be in place.<sup>30</sup> His widow Elizabeth would have Starston, Christopher(2) would inherit the principal family manors while his two younger sons would have provision from estates in Stiffkey.



**Photograph 5. The south aisle All Saints, Cockthorpe, looking east.** The Calthorpe monument is on the east wall while the enigmatic tomb is to the right, under the window, and below on the floor is the stone with missing brass.

In matters more spiritual, James made his Marian will, dated August 24th, leaving substantial bequests to the parish church for restoration<sup>30</sup> and remodeling, plus instructions to be buried in the south aisle, thus:

*'Also I give to the Tying of the Chancell of Cockthroppe Church and making of a gabell with a Table of Freestone £3.13.4 Also I give to the making of a neue Roofe for the south Ile of Cockthorpe church and the lead to be neue cast of the same Ile and also both ends of the same gabell of the said Ile with a table of Freestone £3.13.4 to the making of the window of the Southside of the same Ile £4 Also I give to have yt neue glassed and me and my wife sett in the same window with own Armes with all oure children and my grave made with a small Tombe under the said window'* (see Photograph 5)

In addition there was a bequest for a memorial to commemorate his mother; *'Also I will have a scripture of latyne made on my mother where as she is buryed on the north side of the chancell havinge the date of her death and*

*whose daughter she was and whose wife before my father did marye her the wifch was Will[ia]m Brewes Esquyer and daughter to Robert Bernarde Esquyer and my fathers Armes and my mothers in a skutchinge of latten'.<sup>30</sup>*

Today, All Saints stands as his legacy with shortened chancel and lowered roof. However, the memorial to his mother has become one of the missing brasses and his own tomb, which is discussed later (see page 41), the subject of much controversy. Indeed the church has even added to the confusion when the parish registers record his burial 22nd August, 1560<sup>26</sup>, many long months after his will was proved!

#### **Christopher(2) (1532-1562) and James Calthorpe(2) (1558-1615)**

Christopher was just thirty years of age when he found himself writing his will at Cockthorpe, a year after his father died.<sup>30</sup> Married for four years, the father of two young children and with another on the way, Christopher declared his illness, with the certain knowledge of his impending death. He thanked his wife for her pains in looking after him. His contribution to Cockthorpe was continued by his widow until James(2), his heir and the last in this sequence, came of age.

Jane Calthorpe buried her husband at Cockthorpe in April 1562<sup>26</sup> and four months later obtained a licence from the Bishop of London's Office to marry Jerome Bowes Gentleman, a member of the Queen's household. He was subsequently knighted in 1570.<sup>17</sup>

With the family living in London or Starson the property in Cockthorpe was available for lease and some 10 years later, after a succession of tenants, we find Nathaniel Bacon agreeing terms for a lease with Lady Bowes.<sup>5</sup> He needed a home to live in whilst Stiffkey Hall was being built.

Lady Bowes was not an easy person to deal with and caused considerable tensions for her son and relatives, as well as Nathaniel Bacon. She also appears to have attempted another lease of the property over Bacon's head, besides endeavoring to negotiate a long-term lease that would extend beyond her son attaining his majority. An action viewed with much abhorrence by all those involved.<sup>5</sup>

Descriptions of the Calthorpe home emerge throughout these protracted negotiations. The house is variously described by Nathaniel Bacon, first as a mansion house, then a Hall and later still by his wife as a 'mean' house. Exactly where it stood remains a matter of conjecture, but at this time there were no more than 10 households in all of Cockthorpe. From the Bacon Papers we also know that it had a great barn, stables, other houses and yards adjoining, a brewhouse, dove house, hop yard

and mill house associated with the Hall.<sup>5</sup>

In the Bacon paper's covering the 1570s and 80s there is considerable detail of the parish at work; field names, closes, people, woods, sheep and fold courses, arable crops and similar detail for neighbouring parishes. There is reference to 'old' James Calthorpe's drag, the Tithe book, Netherhall drag of Henry VI, Court Rolls of Richard II, Henry VI and Philip and Mary, books of James Calthorpe(1) and 'le fieldbok de Langham'. Many of these documents seemed to have been left in the house by Jane Calthorpe (Lady Bowes) when she moved away.<sup>5</sup> Thus there was ample evidence of James(1) being a major presence in the parish, closely managing the Calthorpe land.

Young James(2), grandson of his namesake, eventually assumed control of his inheritance and was married to Barbara Bacon of Hessel. In all they had 14 children, 8 sons 6 daughters, most of who were christened in All Saints. The family appears to have moved between both homes, Cockthorpe and Starston where his mother, Lady Bowes, died and was buried in 1606.<sup>28</sup>

A measure of their success as parents is witnessed by the expansion of the family fortunes through the marriages of their children. These were either into well-connected county families often with money; something the Calthorpes were always good at. Christopher(3), their oldest son married Maud Thurton his 6th cousin.<sup>17</sup> She was descended from Sir William Calthorpe(4) by his second marriage to Elizabeth Stapleton. Although some of their children were baptized at Cockthorpe, this family lived between Blakeney and Norwich.<sup>2</sup> The move away from Cockthorpe had begun.

For James Calthorpe(2) recognition arrived with a knighthood in 1603 followed by his appointment as High Sheriff of Norfolk in 1613. Shortly after this he died at Starston and was buried five days later on 15th April 1616 in Cockthorpe.<sup>26,28</sup>

#### **Family Memorials in All Saints, Cockthorpe**

All evidence of Calthorpe memorials in either the chancel or the nave have long since disappeared and all that now remains after 500 years, since Richard's burial, is to be found in the south aisle. Here there are three memorials, two for the Calthorpes while the third must remain a mystery. It is a floor slab with missing brass.

The two recognisable Calthorpe monuments dominate the south aisle, the wall memorial on the east wall and the splendid unmarked tomb chest beneath the south window. The tomb is a typical pre-1600 monument, while the wall monument is a later, post reformation, feature, where for the first time, the point of burial is not necessarily associated with the monument. These wall monuments could be attached to the

wall or when considerably larger in scale, free standing. Styles ranged from simple sculptured frames surrounding epitaphs to extremely large murals with many sculptural and architectural elements, including full size figures and painted shields.

The wall memorial in All Saints is a modest example, commemorating Sir James(2) and Dame Barbara Calthorpe, who died 1615 and 1639 respectively. It is a coloured marble and granite tablet, framed with crown above and apron below, each enclosing a coloured shield. The epitaph, often regarded as excessive and pompous, is in fact rather apt for the day. Monuments were after all, designed to perpetuate the memory of an individual and glorify the family. Names may include the wife's parents as well as all their children while shields signify alliances from favourable marriages in the past. This particular epitaph is worth repeating in full (see Appendix 4) because it is so often misquoted, thereby losing the significance of **her** children.

Sir Henry Calthorpe(1) (1586-1637) played a crucial role in having this monument erected. He was the third son of James and Barbara and had purchased the Calthorpe lands from his nephew, James Calthorpe(3)(1604-1652). As head of this branch of the Calthorpes he was determined to make a mark in All Saints. Witness his Will made 7th June 1637<sup>32</sup>, which states:

*'Item I doe bequeath unto dame Barbara Calthorpe my Loving and dear mother Twentie pounds to be paid her presently after my decease, desiring her therewith to raise a memoriall to be erected in the Church of Cockthorpe both of my late loving Father, my said mother my selfe and the rest of their children'.*

This implies there was no memorial to his father and was he attempting to address this omission or did he want something more tangible with his name included? In the event, his name was not singled out. However, by his actions, he did ensure that the Calthorpe name was preserved at All Saints.

The tomb chest in the south aisle is an enigma, although unmarked, this is chronologically and stylistically earlier compared to the wall monument. James Calthorpe(1) left instructions for a small tomb to be erected in this exact same place when he wrote his will in 1558.<sup>30</sup> (see page 40)

He did not die until April 1559 by which time protestant Elizabeth had succeeded her sister and in the aftermath of religious upheaval that followed, her subjects were careful not to display overtly catholic sentiments, particularly with regard to their monuments and bequests to the

church. Perhaps the family erected this simple, unmarked tomb to his memory.

However, Christopher Calthorpe(2), his heir, was already ailing as his father died. The family may well have anticipated this event and delayed erecting the tomb. It would not be improbable to surmise that under these circumstances the tomb could be either for either one or both Calthorpes. Possibly this could be an explanation for the two tantalizing shields on the face of the tomb that are never recorded as being painted.

The antiquarian Weever<sup>33</sup> attributed this 'fair tomb' in the south aisle to Christopher Calthorpe(2), while more recently, Pevsner<sup>34</sup> and a few authors of popular church guides attribute it to Sir James Calthorpe(2) commemorated by the wall monument. The latter suggestion does not make sense in light of all the evidence. What is undeniable, however, is that the wall monument in the church is the only tangible sign that the Calthorpes have after 500 years in the parish. While the controversy over the tomb continues to keep the Calthorpe names of James and Christopher to the fore.

### Keeping it in the family

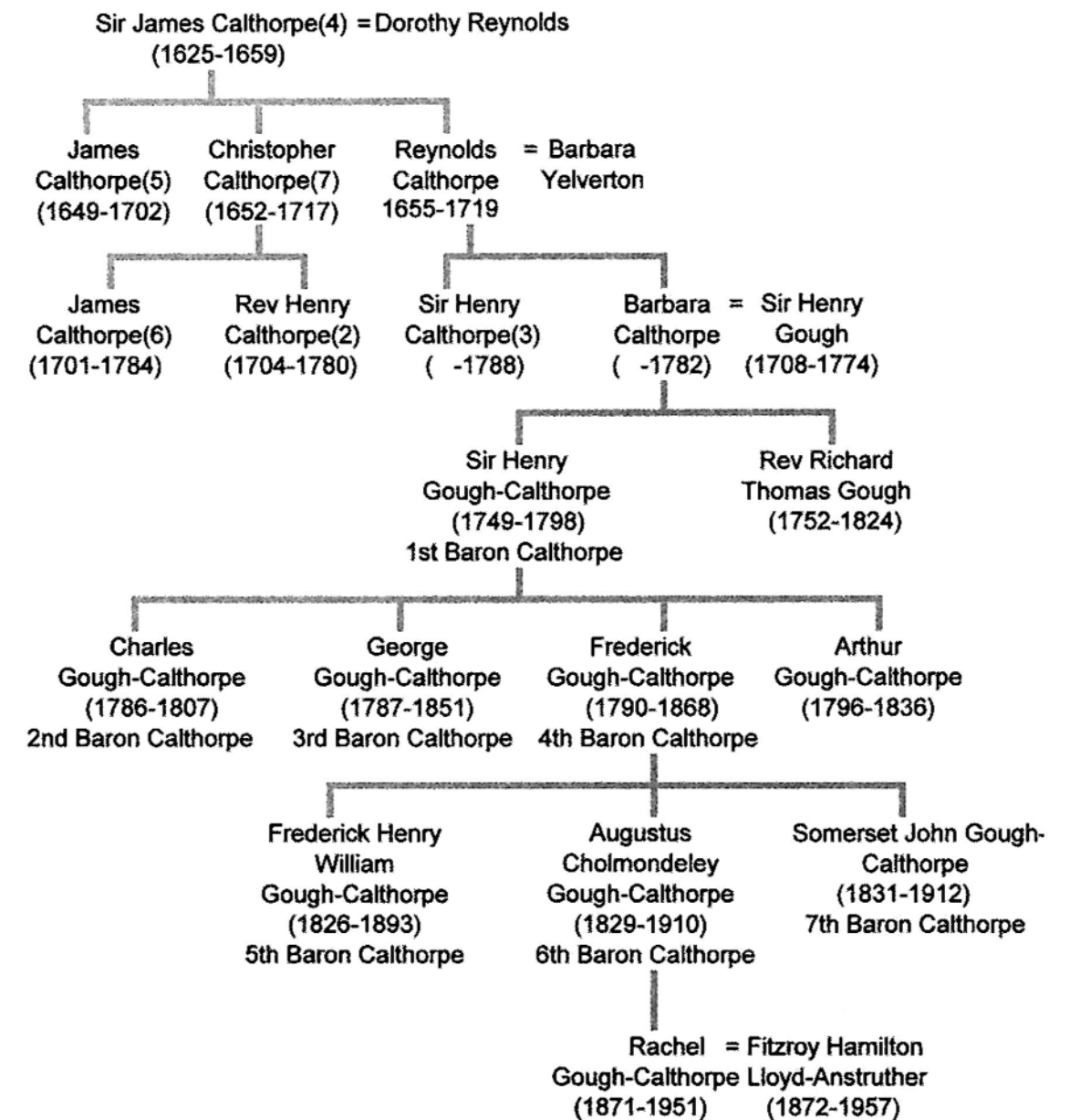
Two hundred years on from Richard Calthorpe(1) of Cockthorpe's arrival in the Glaven area, his descendants were clearly established. The family had survived some of the most turbulent years of religious persecution in English history, not for them treason, beheading or land confiscation.

Indeed the nearest whiff of scandal was the outcome of the visit by Queen Elizabeth on her royal progress through Norfolk and Suffolk in 1578. She stayed with Edward Rokewood at Euston Hall near Thetford, Edward's cousin being Lady Bowes.<sup>35</sup> As the Queen left the following morning, he was arrested and committed at Norwich where he was charged for refusing to attend his parish church. For this crime, Edward was merely imprisoned until such time as he would conform.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were equally uneventful for the family, but not necessarily as Sir James(2) and Dame Barbara may have envisaged. Their grandson in the direct line, James Calthorpe(3) (1604-1652) (see

**Figure 1 (above right).** A staunch Norfolk Royalist, James Calthorpe(3) of East Barsham, aged 38, 1646. <sup>2, 36</sup>

**Photograph 6 (right).** Monument to Mary Fermor of East Barsham who died 1640, aged 28. She was the first wife of James Calthorpe(3) who commissioned this memorial from John and Matthias Christmas.



**Tree 4. Sir James Calthorpe(4) of Ampton and his descendants.** This skeletal tree traces the inheritance of the Calthorpe name by the Gough family through the marriage of Barbara Calthorpe. The brothers George, Frederick and Arthur Gough-Calthorpe are all named on the Blakeney, Glandford and Wiveton Inclosure Map and Award.<sup>41</sup>

Figure 1) sold the historic Calthorpe properties as well as his more recent acquisition, Stafford's manor in Wiveton, to his uncle, Sir Henry Calthorpe(1) of Ampton, Suffolk. This sale, although within close family, meant that for the first time the head of the family was living outside Norfolk.

James(3), meanwhile, continued to live in style at East Barsham manor, which he had inherited from the Fermors through his first wife, Mary Fermor. His descendants by his second wife, Katherine Lewknor, were to persist for no more than 3 generations. Son, grandson and great grandson, all Christopher Calthorpes 4,5

and 6, were the end of the direct line from Richard that had passed through the eldest sons for 10 generations. Their final resting place is Fakenham parish church, close by Thorpland Hall.<sup>2</sup>

### The Calthorpes of Ampton

Sir Henry Calthorpe(1), now the owner of his childhood home and with new money and new purpose, embarked on what was to be the last of the Calthorpe bank building schemes, this time at Wiveton.<sup>37</sup> He died before the work was finished and the bank was subsequently completed by his younger brother, Philip Calthorpe of

Gressenhall. Philip had been left the use of the Norfolk properties during the minority of his brother's heir, James Calthorpe(5).<sup>32</sup>

Sir Henry's(1) contribution to his parent's memorial at Cockthorpe has already been mentioned, whereas his own wall monument in the chancel at Ampton is the work of John and Mathias Christmas, sculptors to the King no less.<sup>38</sup>

Commissioned in 1637, it commemorates Sir Henry(1), his wife and their 10 children and the inscription declares Sir Henry Calthorpe to be '*Solicitor to her Most illustrious Highness Queen Henrietta Maria – elected to her councils then Recorder of London and appointed by his most Serene Highness King Charles to the Care of Wards of Court*'.<sup>36</sup>

Back in Norfolk, nephew James(3) followed suit and commissioned the same sculptors, John and Mathias Christmas, to make a monument commemorating his first wife when she died in 1640. (see Photograph 6)

Sir Henry's(1) descendants continued for three generations through his son, two grandsons and then two great grandsons. The grandsons were the brothers James(5) and Christopher(7) while the great grandsons, James(6) and Sir Henry(3), were bachelor cousins.

The Rev Henry Calthorpe(2) was another great grandson of Sir Henry. After graduation in 1727, he was presented to the living at Blakeney with Glandford by his elder brother, James Calthorpe(6). Prior to his arrival in Blakeney, there had been several local Rectors who had all married Calthorpe women.<sup>6</sup> They were:

- Rev Christopher Seaman, Wiveton and Little Snoring, 1671-1712, married to Elizabeth Calthorpe
- Rev Samuel Thornton, Saxlingham, 1681-1723 and Blakeney with Glandford, 1722-1723, married to Mary Calthorpe
- Rev Francis Wace, Blakeney with Glandford, 1683-1721, married to Elizabeth Higham

All these wives were great-grand daughters of Philip Calthorpe of Gressenhall, and collectively they maintained a family presence in the Glaven until their cousin, Rev Henry Calthorpe, arrived.<sup>2</sup>

Rev Henry Calthorpe(2) spent his entire ministry of 53 years at Blakeney Rectory, while his elder brother James(6) was Lord of the Manor for 62 years. It was during this time (1743) that Blakeney with Glandford was consolidated with Cockthorpe with Little Langham. The Rectory was also refashioned with details of the changes being recorded on the inside covers of the parish register.<sup>39</sup>

With the death of Sir Henry Calthorpe(3) in

1788 the Ampton line by male descent came to an end. All the estates passed to his sister's son, Sir Henry Gough (1749-1798).<sup>40</sup>

#### The Goughs of Edgbaston<sup>40</sup>

The Goughs were wealthy merchants living at Edgbaston on the outskirts of Birmingham. They were part of the new rising class, 'the pseudo gentry'. Sir Henry Gough, the current head of the family, was looking for a wife with an established lineage, class and money and in Barbara Calthorpe he found a woman that potentially matched his aspirations.

He saw her as the sister and heiress of a middle-aged bachelor brother and two bachelor cousins and more than likely to inherit the ancient Calthorpe clutch of estates and houses. Sir Henry Gough and Barbara were married in 1742, but both died before the three Calthorpes. Thus it was their son, another Sir Henry Gough who inherited;

- 2,000 acres scattered in Norfolk
- mansion house at Ampton in Suffolk
- small estate and house at Elvetham in Hampshire
- half-share in the pocket borough of Hindon in Wiltshire

Nevertheless, there were conditions attached to this inheritance, namely that Sir Henry adopted the arms and added the name Calthorpe, to keep it alive. He became Sir Henry Gough-Calthorpe. (see Tree 4)

He moved his family to Ampton in 1783 and was enobled 2 years before he died. His choice of title, Lord Calthorpe of Calthorpe in Norfolk, paid due respect to the role of his mother and reflected the means by which this transformation from 'pseudo gentry' to established gentry had been accomplished by the Goughs.

The story of successive Lord Calthorpes now becomes the story of Edgbaston. As Edgbaston prospered, so the historic Calthorpe properties began to disappear. Pakenham in Suffolk was sold first in 1850, followed by Ampton also in Suffolk in 1861. The proceeds were invested in the rebuilding of Elvetham Hall, Hampshire, and Edgbaston.

The names of George, 3rd Lord Calthorpe and two of his brothers are captured on the Wiveton and Blakeney Enclosure map.<sup>41</sup> Then in 1893 when the 5th Lord Calthorpe died, the aristocratic lifestyle he had sported was found to be a sham financed not from his landed estates but from rentals in an emerging suburbia. He was flamboyant, an extrovert whose chief concern was not with getting money but spending it.

His brother Augustus, 6th Lord Calthorpe, therefore inherited estates with stagnant income

that had been amateurishly managed. Rentals were falling so that the Norfolk estates of Acle, Blakeney and Cockthorpe had a combined gross rental of £3,295 for 1886-1893, a fall of 11% from the previous takings. From this, £1,581 went in estate maintenance. Consequently as a business proposition, the Norfolk estates were not worth owning, their value residing solely in historic associations as the oldest Calthorpe estates in their portfolio.

When his only son Walter died, Augustus Lord Calthorpe ensured the estates passed to his daughter Rachel and her husband, Fitzroy Lloyd-Anstruther providing they adopted the additional name of Gough-Calthorpe. The title, minus the land, passed to his younger brother Somerset John Gough-Calthorpe and continues in that line.

Consequently his daughter dropped 'Lloyd' and the surname was adjusted so Rachel became the Hon Mrs Rachel Anstruther-Gough-Calthorpe. She was immediately faced with the problems of 30 years of stagnation in lettings and death duties as well as reversion duties introduced in the 1909 Budget of Lloyd George. There were demands of £11,250 for death duties, these could not be met out of current income. Moreover, prior to this in 1905 expenditure on the Blakeney estate had finally overtaken income. The day of reckoning had arrived.

Blakeney, Cockthorpe and Acle had to be sold<sup>42</sup> and thus the link between the Calthorpe family and East Anglia which had lasted since the Middle Ages was at an end.

#### Conclusion

This has been a journey following 21 generations of Calthorpes through a multitude of scenarios extending over some 800 years. They have proved to be a multi-layered family, operating on many different levels, certainly complex and adaptable, living up to the claim of 'a clan rather than a family'.

By the time of the Visitations in the sixteenth century they had been well established as gentry for over 300 years with a clear lineage supported by heraldic arms, the requisite badges of recognition, which demonstrated aristocratic attitudes in a highly visual society. Their religious associations are still displayed by churches and in the ruins of the Carmelite friaries at Burnham Norton, Blakeney and Norwich.

An expression of the importance of the lineage to the family was clearly demonstrated at the end of the eighteenth century. They may have been Gough-Calthorpes by necessity, but they chose the title 'Lord Calthorpe of Calthorpe in Norfolk'. Consequently they can number themselves amongst the very few families from medieval Norfolk where the name has survived.

Underpinning the advancement of the family there has been an equally, if not more important story, the acquisition, transfer and engrossment of land. Indeed it was the determination and actions of one woman in the fifteenth century, Isabella Bacon, wife of Sir Oliver Calthorpe, in transferring land to her grandson, Richard, that established the family's existence in the lower Glaven Valley.

Placing the Bacon lands of Cockthorpe and Blakeney in his hands provided a nucleus for future development. Land was purchased and expansion was enhanced by embanking of the saltmarshes. The latter took place largely in the seventeenth century against a background in, at least, one case of enormous antagonism amongst the local community.

Yet by the beginning of the twentieth century reduced revenues from fragmented agricultural estates meant these were no longer sustainable. So the Norfolk estates were sold, nevertheless, the family's legacy remains embedded in the landscape and in local churches.

The future lay in modern suburbia where the name is enshrined in the streets, squares and in major social projects in London and Birmingham. Which will prove to be the more enduring, the name, the landscape or the churches?

#### Acknowledgements

Once again I have much pleasure in acknowledging the assistance of two stalwarts, Paul Rutledge and John Peake. Paul provided the transcription and summaries of the testament and wills of Richard and Margaret Calthorpe with some very perceptive comments on interpretation, while John accompanied me to countless sites, searched literature all on the trail of the Calthorpes and always with his camera.

Finally, Amanda Payne, Director of Norfolk ACRO for access to St Martins at Palace Plain to photograph Dame Elizabeth Calthorpe's (1578) tomb and the window in the west aisle with the heraldic glass.

#### Appendix: the following are transcriptions and translations

1. Testament of Richard Calthorpe of Cockthorpe of sound mind but sick body made 1st Feb. 1438. Soul to Almighty God his Creator, BVM and all saints, body to be buried before the cross in the church of All Saints of Cockthorpe. To high altar of same church for tithes and offerings forgotten or held back 6s. 8d. To repair of said church for having his burial there 13s. 4d. To the various lights in the said church 6s. 8d. To the convent of the meadows [de pratis] near

ON THE NORTH COAST OF NORFOLK

**Blakeney, Wiveton, Cley-next-the-Sea  
and Langham.**

PARTICULARS, PLANS & CONDITIONS OF SALE

of the attractive FREEHOLD

**AGRICULTURAL & SPORTING  
: ESTATE :**

Situate in and around the Old World  
Town of BLAKENEY, comprising—

**THE MANOR FARM,**

*Numerous Accommodation Lands, Gardens, & Allotments,*

MARSHES & MEADOW GROUND,

*The LORDSHIP of Three Manors,*

*And THE FORESHORE, SALTINGS,  
CREEKS, AND TIDAL WATER LANDS,*

THE WHOLE COVERING AN AREA OF

**2730a. 0r. 0p.**

OR THEREABOUTS

which **MESSRS. SPELMAN and  
MESSRS. FRANK NEWMAN & BLUNT**

*(who are jointly concerned), have received instructions to Sell by Auction*

on **SATURDAY, JULY 22nd, 1911**

— at **THREE o'clock precisely,** —

at the **ROYAL HOTEL, NORWICH**

In **THIRTY** Lots, being the Second portion of

**The CALTHORPE Norfolk Estates**

*Particulars and Conditions of Sale, with Plans, may be had of—*

MESSRS. SPELMAN, Norwich and Gt. Yarmouth;  
of MESSRS. FRANK NEWMAN & BLUNT,  
34 Savile Row, London, W.; at the Estate Exchange,  
Tokenhouse Yard, London, E.C.:

The Vendor's Solicitors—  
**MESSRS. WALTERS & CO.,**  
9 NEW SQUARE, LINCOLN'S INN, W.C.

**Figure 2. Title page of The Blakeney Estate sale particulars.** The estate was to be sold in thirty lots on Saturday, July 22nd, 1911 at the Royal Hotel, Norwich.

Creyk 6s. 8d. To each order of mendicant friars within the limit of the vill of Cockthorpe [de limitacone ville de Cockthorpe] 3s. 4d. Rest of goods not yet bequeathed to his executor for his funeral, the payment of his debts and executorship charges, and lastly to be expended for his soul and the souls of his parents and benefactors and all faithful deceased in celebration of masses, the relief of the poor and other pious works as seems best to them to please God and benefit their souls. Executors are Margaret his wife and Sir John Irmynglond rector of the parish church of St John of Stiffkey. Dated at Cockthorpe

2. Last will of Richard Calthorp Esq. Made at Cockthorpe 1st Feb. 1438. His testament first made to remain in full force. Wife Margaret to have in fee messuage with all appurtenances in Cockthorpe and all other lands, tenements, meadows, feedings and pastures in Cockthorpe and Stiffkey and all his goods wherever found for her maintenance and that of her sons and daughters. She to have his testament [error for tenement] called Burys in Wretyll [Writtle], Essex, for term of 12 years for maintenance and marriage of sons and daughters, the feoffees [trustees] in the said tenements of Lady Isabella de Calthorp to deliver after said term possession to his right heirs as by Isabella's will. His wife Margeret to have for life annuity of 100 s. from tenement formerly of Peter de Donewiche in the vill of Wistleton, Suffolk, then it is to go to his right heirs as by Isabella's will. Proved at Norwich 25th Feb. 1438

3. Will of Margaret lately wife of Robert Mekylfeld Esq. of Blyford dated 20th Feb. 1478.

4.

TO GOD AND POSTERITY  
IN ASSVRED HOPE OF A JOYFUL RESVRRECTION  
RESTETH HERE THE BODYES OF SIR JAMES CALTHORP  
KNIGHT, AND DAME BARBARA HIS WIFE, DAUGHTER  
TO JOHN BACON OF HESSET ESQR. BY HER HE HAD  
8 SONNS AND 6 DAUGHTERS IN WHOSE SEVERALL  
MARIAGES AND ISSVE THE AVNCENT GLORY OF THEIR  
NAME AND FAMILY (RESTING THEN CHIEFLY AND  
ALMOST SOLELY IN HIMSELF) DID REFLORISH AND  
IS DILATATED INTO MANY OF THE BEST HOUSES  
IN THIS COVNTY, HE WAS BVRYED THE 16TH DAY OF  
JVNE ANNO DOMINI, AND OF HIS AGE 57. THE SAID  
DAME BARBARA SVRVIVING HIM AND MVCH CON  
FORTED WITH THE SIGHT OF 193 OF HER CHILDREN  
AND THEIR OFFSPRING, AT THE AGE OF 86 YEARES EX  
CHANGED THIS LIFE FOR A BETTER VPON THE 3RD  
DAY OF NOVEMBER ANNO DOMINI 1639

Behold children are the inheritance of  
The lord and the fruit of the womb his  
Reward. Psa 127.V.3.

Soul to God the Father Almighty, the Glorious BVM and all saints, body to be buried within the church of Cockthorpe [All omitted] Saints next Richard Calthorp formerly her husband. To high altar of said church [blank]. To son William Calthorp 5 marks to be paid within 5 years, i.e. one per year. Executors to find a chaplain to celebrate for her soul and those of her husbands in Cockthorpe church for 5 years if it can be supported from her goods. Alice wife of John Calthorp her son to have for life two silver salt cellars, one with cover, and a silver bowl which were Alice's father John Hastley's, after which they are to remain to their son Christopher. To Henry son of Robert Braunche a little pounced [repousse] bowl. To Margery daughter of said Robert a girdle of blue colour decorated with gilded silver. Her son Oliver Calthorp is bound to her and to her son William Calthorp by various bonds of various dates. If he and Agnes his wife implead, molest or disturb John Calthorp her heir concerning a messuage and certain lands and tenements in Cockthorpe that they occupy by her leave, then the bonds fall to her use and money arising is to be put to the execution of her will. If John is not disturbed then the said bonds should be delivered to Oliver. She requires William not to acquit Oliver and his executors until her executors give consent, in which case he should have the above 5 marks. The executors to distribute at their discretion 20 marks to the poor in Cockthorpe, Stiffkey, Binham, Langham, Blakeney or other villis. Residue of goods not bequeathed or not disposed of by her to son John, whom she makes her executor. Proved at Norwich 12th Dec. 1480.



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# Rural Settlement in North Norfolk

Michael Medlar

*Synopsis: The area between the Glaven and Stiffkey valleys is one of undulating terrain covered with a great variety of soils. In this article the author will explore the development of settlement in the parishes of Glandford, Saxlingham, Langham, Field Dalling, Cockthorpe and Binham in the medieval period between the compiling of the Domesday Book (1086) and the Dissolution of the Monasteries (circa 1540). The evidence from printed sources, original maps and documents, as well as from the modern landscape, will be used in this interpretation, but more detailed analysis of archaeological finds could enable a fuller picture of each settlement to be constructed.*

## Location and soil types

The six parishes are situated between one and five miles south of the north Norfolk coast and lie between the Glaven and Stiffkey rivers. The area is described by Tom Williamson as lying on the boundary of the *North Norfolk Heathlands* and the *champion\** regions of North West Norfolk.<sup>1</sup> An earlier author, Arthur Young, placed the study area within what he described as the *Good Sands* region of Norfolk.<sup>2</sup>

The soils of the *Heathlands* and the *Good Sands* are typically light sandy loams overlying chalk which, in the late medieval/early modern periods, supported a *sheep-corn* husbandry.<sup>1, 3</sup> On the ground this simple description of soil type is deceptive, as there can be wide variety in a relatively small area.<sup>4</sup> The soils of the boulder clay plateau of south and central Norfolk stretch north in a small tongue covering much of the parish of Field Dalling, as well as parts of Langham and Saxlingham.<sup>5</sup>

Rackham describes this area as being *planned countryside*, which he states typically has villages, few roads, straight hedgerows of few species, and which once had open-field agriculture which was suppressed by Parliamentary enclosure in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

North and west Norfolk have long been thought of as areas where the nucleated village is the predominant form of settlement, although it has been acknowledged since the 1950s that only in the Midland counties of England does

this apply.<sup>7</sup> Today it is acknowledged that, while there are nucleated village settlements in these parts of Norfolk, they are far from the norm and these regions can be described as having mixed settlement patterns with isolated farms and hamlets interspersed with villages.<sup>1, 8</sup>

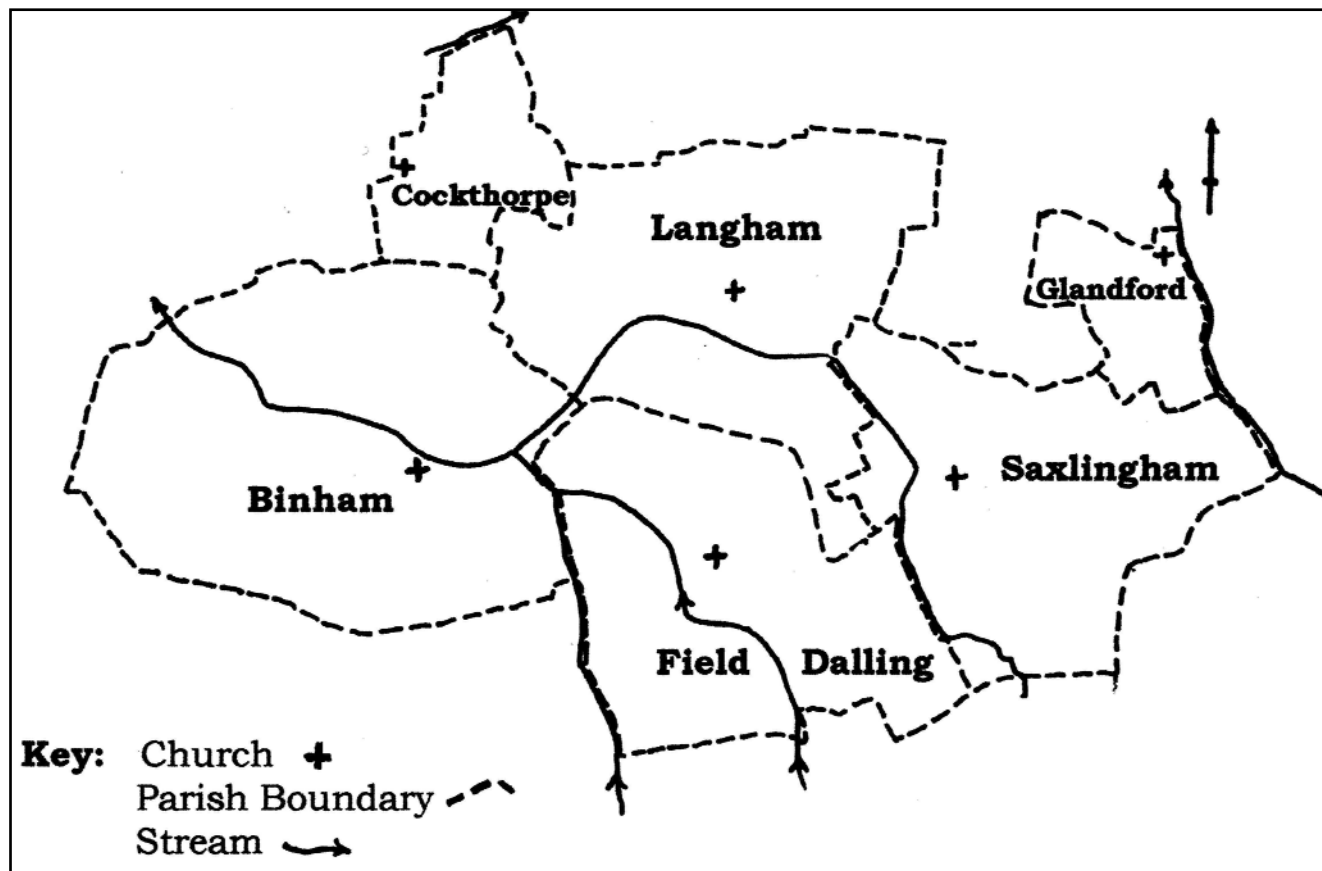
A glance at a modern ordnance survey map shows that, of the six parishes in the study area (see Map 1), only Langham can be described as a nucleated settlement; Glandford, Saxlingham and Cockthorpe are little more than hamlets, Binham has two main areas of settlement – one round the market place and another, Westgate, to the west of the priory – while Field Dalling has a small concentration on the road to the north of the church and at least three other centres to the south and east (see Map 2).

## Place name evidence

When the Domesday Book was written in 1086 most of the village names in England already existed. Although it is a survey of the England that William had conquered, Domesday is not a complete record of the country and is primarily concerned with details of estates or manors rather than of settlements.<sup>6</sup> All six villages in this study are named in Domesday and a study of their names may throw light on their origins. With the exception of Cockthorpe all the names are Saxon in origin. This would place their beginnings some time between 500 and 900AD.

Many authorities state that names ending in **-ham** are the oldest, representing the original Saxon settlements.<sup>9</sup> **Ham** means “homestead” or farm and, whereas Langham is a topographical name meaning the long homestead, Binham is a possessive name – the homestead of Bynna.

\*Footnote: *champion meaning areas of ploughed fields supporting grain crops*



Map 1: Six parishes in North Norfolk

Saxlingham also has the *-ham* element, indicating an early settlement, but the *-ing* part of the name, which implies ownership by an individual, is thought to be slightly later than those names with only *-ham*.<sup>10</sup> Field Dalling is an interesting name as the field element could indicate a woodland clearance or a settlement in an area of open land.<sup>10</sup>

The last Saxon village name is Glandford, which is a descriptive name meaning the merriment ford.<sup>11</sup> One wonders what types of merriment took place nearby, or whether this is simply a description of the sound of water rushing across the ford.

**Thorpe** is a Scandinavian word often thought to mean a secondary hamlet.<sup>9</sup> To which settlement Cockthorpe was secondary cannot be determined. Danish settlements originate from the mid-ninth century and become more widespread in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Place name study can only determine the origins of the name, not the origin of the site of a settlement or whether that settlement was cut from virgin forest. The land that the Saxons and Danes invaded was already populated, and the archaeological evidence shows that humans had been active in sizeable numbers in the study area from the Neolithic period – some 5,000 years before the Saxons arrived.<sup>12</sup>

### Domesday\*

Norfolk was one of the most densely populated counties when the Domesday survey was undertaken and, while the area between the Glaven and Stiffkey rivers did not have the highest population densities, it was quite well settled with between 10 and 15 heads of household per square mile.<sup>1</sup> As has been stated above, Domesday records manors not settlements. It is our first record of the names of the settlements; but it does not tell us where the settlements were, except in the very broadest sense of naming the hundred\*\* where the manor was.

Domesday gives details of the people who owned manors, the number of heads of household on the manor, the amount of land under the plough, as well as a myriad of other details.

\*Footnote: For the purposes of this article the Phillimore edition of the Domesday Book is used. This edition allows one to easily identify the different holdings. It is a modern translation which can present problems of interpretation especially as it combines sokemen and freemen under one heading although there are differences between these two classes of people.

\*\*Footnote: A hundred was an Anglo Saxon division of local government.

Table 1: Domesday between the Glaven and the Stiffkey

	Binham	Langham	Saxlingham	Field Dalling	Glandford	Cockthorpe
Manors	2	2	3	4	2	2
Acres, arable	990	606	372	582	50	100
Acres, meadow	21	8	9	22	2	0.5
Ploughs	15.5	9	4.5	9.5	2	1.5
Villagers	3	31		1		
Smallholders	35	5	16	14	3	2
Slaves	2	5	1	8		
Freemen	25	18		26	3	3
Mills	1	1	0.5			
Churches		2	1			
Sheep	60	16		20		
Cattle	1	1		3		
Horses	5	1		1		
Pigs	10	60		8		
Value	£20	£20 7s	£1 15s	£7 7s	5s	30s

This additional information is not always given but, when it is, it helps to paint a more detailed picture of the area.

Table 1 shows the basic information that Domesday gives for the six villages of the study area. These bald statistics need clarification. Arable can only be estimated, as the figures given often refer to *carucates*, a Scandinavian term for about 120 acres. When *carucates* are not specified, the number of acres mentioned is normally in round figures, often multiples of 10, except for the holdings of freemen.

Ploughs are equally difficult. What was half a plough? It is generally accepted that, in 1086, the Domesday scribes were recording ploughs as being drawn by oxen and that a team was eight oxen. This would make half a plough a small team of four oxen. The number of plough teams seems high compared with the national average. In the study area there was one plough for between 60 and 70 acres, compared with the national average of one for about every 120 acres.<sup>6</sup> The small area of meadow reflects the lack of surface water found in East Anglia, where few manors had significant areas of meadow.<sup>1</sup>

The acreage of arable in each of the vills was less than 50% of the available land. I have hesitated to call the settlements villages, as dating nucleated villages is difficult and parish boundaries were not finalised until the twelfth century. It is thought the process by which settlements coalesced into nucleated villages was not complete until about a hundred years after Domesday.<sup>1</sup> Table 2 shows the size of the villages in the mid-nineteenth century.

Table 2: Size of villages in the mid-nineteenth century<sup>13</sup>

Village	Acres	Population	Value
Binham	2241	502	£3,282
Langham	1589	383	£2,196
Saxlingham	1467	147	£1,446
Field Dalling	1582	403	£2,262
Glandford	400	81	£450*
Cockthorpe	500	42	£684

\* Glandford's value is estimated as it is included with Bayfield's.

From these two tables we can see that less than 40% of the available land was being used for arable husbandry. This fits into the national picture of the time, where 35% was arable, but there is little evidence of woodland in the study area compared with the 15% national coverage.<sup>6</sup> It is suggested that the presence of pigs in a Domesday return shows there was woodland present, as pigs were grazed in the woodland – particularly in the autumn on beech mast and acorns. Nobody has devised a formula to say how many acres a pig required, and therefore it is difficult to determine the size of woodland in the villages of Binham, Langham and Field Dalling, where pigs were recorded.

It seems likely that sheep would have been kept on the heaths during the day and folded on to the arable at night to provide manure.<sup>1</sup> The flocks of the study area are quite small when compared with the flocks elsewhere, such as the

308 sheep in Harpley in West Norfolk.

The number of manors recorded in a vill is also deceptive. Binham has two entries in Domesday but the second, smaller entry appears to be an annexation undertaken by Peter of Valognes which he would have combined into his main manor. Likewise the two manors in Langham had both been acquired by Bishop William of Thetford and would have been combined into one manor. Cockthorpe's two manors were both owned by the Bishop of Thetford, but one was really an outlier of Langham. Saxlingham was largely owned by the same Bishop: one holding was an outlier of his manor in Langham, and another was an outlier of his manor of Thornage; the third manor of Saxlingham belonged to Peter of Valognes but was much smaller than the others, being worth only 10% of the outlier of Langham. Glandford's two manors were not entities in their own right but part of larger manors; both were combined with manors in neighbouring Bayfield, and one of these was an outlier of the royal manor of Holt.

In conclusion we can say that, at the end of the eleventh century, the manorial structure of the area between the Glaven and the Stiffkey was complex, bearing no relationship to the settlement pattern. There appears to have been some consolidation of manors, but this was illusory as William had parcelled out Norfolk to only sixty-two other lords. A large number of these were magnates who had close ties with the king through marriage or allegiance to him at the time of the Conquest.\*

The exact population of the settlements is difficult to determine as we are only told heads of households. The normal multiplier to calculate the estimated population is 4.5 people per

household. The status of slaves is uncertain, and they are often excluded as heads of households. Table 3 shows the estimated Domesday populations. It demonstrates that the settlements of Binham and Langham were quite sizeable, whereas Saxlingham was small, and Cockthorpe and Glandford were tiny hamlets.

The evidence from Domesday suggests that Binham and Langham were the two most important settlements in the area, and their value of £20 and over clearly confirms this. Field Dalling, with much the same area as Langham under the plough and a population two-thirds of Langham's, was only worth only £7 7s. This may be the result of the more complicated manorial structure, or the result of a large number of Freemen who did not pay taxes to the manors.

The other three settlements were very much inferior to the three largest, despite the considerable area of arable possessed by Saxlingham. The absence of a record of a church in a settlement in the Domesday survey does not mean that that settlement did not have a church; rather, it meant that, if there was a church, it was not a source of income for the lords. The two churches of Langham are significant, as the village divided into two parishes in the medieval period.

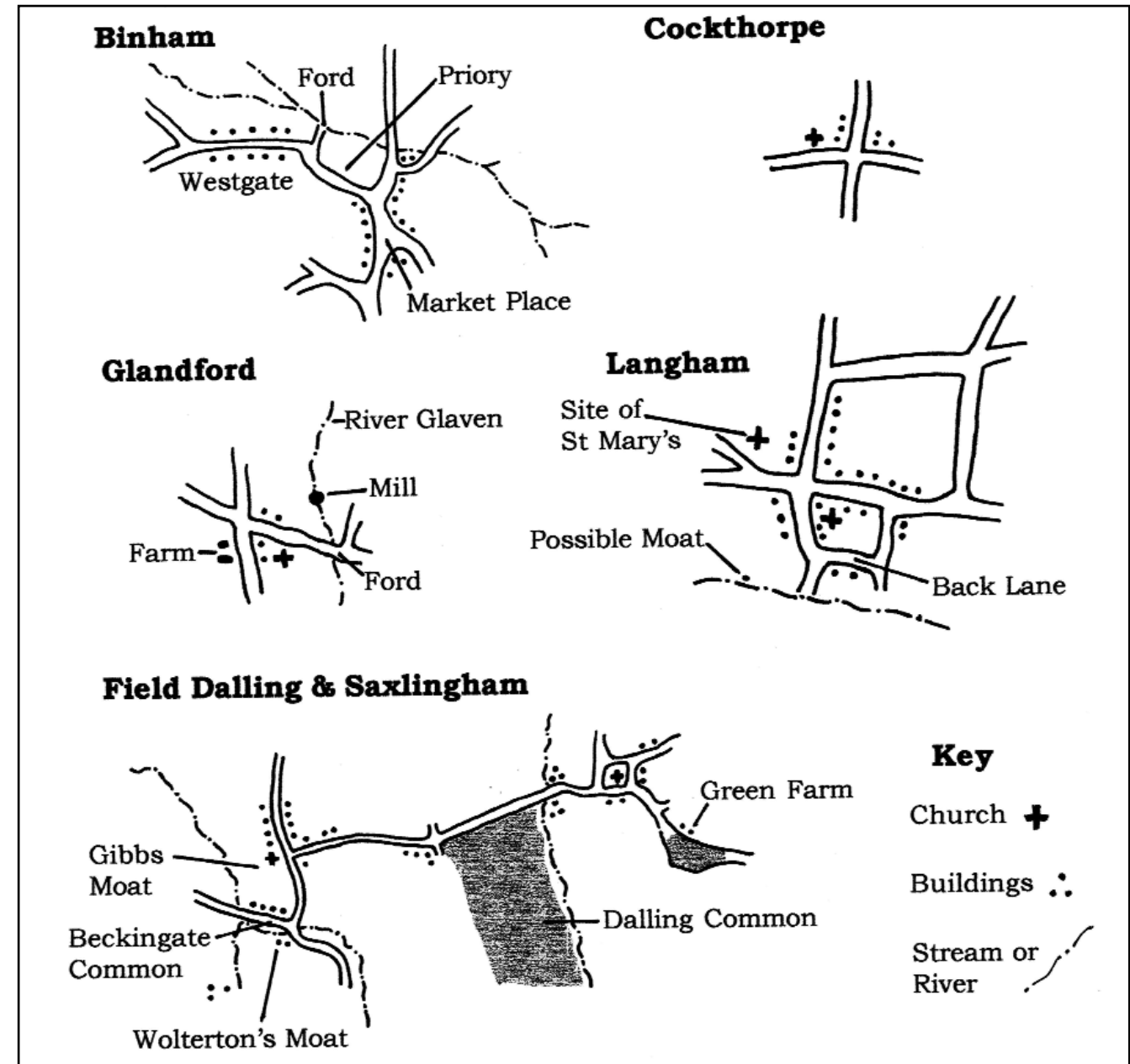
### The Medieval Period

Although documents survive from the medieval period and increase in number closer to our times, no one document paints as full a picture of a settlement as Domesday until the manorial surveys of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The process of fragmentation of manorial estates into smaller units continued until the end of the thirteenth century, when efforts were made to stop the creation of new, small manors. Manors grew smaller as male lines died out and estates were divided up when bequeathed to daughters or magnates granted land to their followers or the Church.<sup>14</sup> In the study area the Church was the

\*Footnote: For a brief summary of who was who in Norman Norfolk see the endnotes in Brown, Philippa (ed); *Domesday Book, Vol 33 Norfolk, Philimore, 1984.*

**Table 3: Domesday Population**

Village	Heads of household	Estimated population	Heads of household excluding slaves	Estimated population excluding slaves
Binham	65	293	63	286
Langham	59	266	54	248
Saxlingham	17	77	16	73
Field Dalling	49	221	41	193
Glandford	6	27	6	27
Cockthorpe	5	23	5	23



**Map 2: Sketch Maps of the six villages showing information drawn from many sources. The individual maps are to different scales and north is at the top of the page.**

main benefactor, gaining significant holdings in two of the settlements and smaller ones in the others.

### Binham

The creation of Binham Priory by Peter de Valognes at the end of the eleventh century was one of the most important events in the development of settlement between the Glaven and Stiffkey rivers in the medieval period.\* Peter endowed the monastery with the Manor of Binham, together with property in other settlements in the neighbourhood. The building of the priory church took over one hundred and fifty years to complete.<sup>15</sup> Although much of the original Norman east end was destroyed in the mid-sixteenth century, what survives show that building started at the end of the eleventh cen-

ture, mainly on the model of the other large Benedictine and Cluniac monasteries of Norfolk – Norwich Cathedral, Wymondham, Castle Acre and Thetford.<sup>16</sup> The west front of the church was completed some time prior to 1245 in the new Gothic style, making it the most modern

\*Footnote: The creation of the Shrine of St. Mary at Little Walsingham in the twelfth century was the most significant religious development in north Norfolk during the medieval period. From the fourteenth century until its dissolution in the early sixteenth century the shrine became one of the most important pilgrimage centres in England. Binham Priory was worth only a quarter of the value of Walsingham at the time of its dissolution.

façade in England at the time.<sup>15</sup> Building work continued on the priory site well into the fifteenth century but Binham, a subsidiary of St Albans, was never a large or rich institution and therefore the Romanesque church survived until its dissolution in 1540.

Normally, monasteries were located on south-facing slopes of river valleys where they had access to a ready supply of fresh water. Binham is unusual in that it was built on a north-facing slope. The location of the priory between the street settlement of Westgate and the main village with its market place poses a number of questions. Was the pre-monastic settlement in the market place area or in Westgate? Where was the principal crossing point of the stream?

An early map of Binham does not show any buildings along Westgate, but houses in that area date from at least the early seventeenth century.<sup>15, 17</sup> Chris Barringer says that the map is incomplete and that Westgate was in existence in the mid seventeenth century. His work on Binham includes a fine plan of the parish which simplifies the 1733 map.<sup>3</sup> This plan shows that the early road system of the northern part of the parish converged on the ford just to the north-west of the priory – roads from Langham, Cockthorpe and Stiffkey all met just to the north of this ford. The priory could have been built at the east end of an existing settlement (Westgate) and close to the ford. The course of the road skirting the south side of the monastic precinct has the appearance of a possible road diversion, with the very sharp bend at the east end of Westgate.

Binham's market was the result of monastic influence and the position of the market to the south-east of the priory is interesting.<sup>18</sup> One would have expected the market to have been located immediately to the west of the priory, but an already existing Westgate may have precluded this. The present market place, although partially in-filled, has concave edges and funnel entrances especially on the north and south-east sides – all features which point to it being

an area of common land prior to becoming the market place.<sup>6</sup>

Tax returns from the medieval period suggest that Binham did not retain its position as the most important settlement in the study area.\* The significant reduction in the Lay Subsidy return of 1449 shows that Binham was affected by the general population reduction following the Black Death. The 25% reduction was high for Norfolk but was less than the reductions of Langham and Saxlingham.

In conclusion it appears that the settlement pattern of Binham was seriously affected by the building of the priory. Westgate was the likely original settlement with the priory being constructed at the eastern end of the settlement. The growth of the priory led to a small green being converted to a market place which soon became surrounded by buildings. The market place became the focus for village life and, following the dissolution of the priory in 1540, became the main focus of the settlement.

#### Langham

Throughout the medieval period Langham remained under the control of the Bishop of

\*Footnote: Lay subsidies were taxes on the land and possessions of the lay people of a parish. In 1334 they were fixed at a particular rate for a parish. The Black Death of 1349 and subsequent outbreaks in the latter part of the fourteenth century resulted in a reassessment in 1449. The values stated in Table 4 was what each parish was required to pay. The growth in the number of monastic houses and the increase in the amount of land bequeathed to them led the English Crown to require the Church to donate sums of money at the same time as lay subsidies were levied. The values given in Table 4 represent the value of ecclesiastical holdings in the relevant parishes – donations would be typically one tenth of these sums. See the work of The Rev W. Hudson in *Norfolk Archaeology Vol 12 (lay subsidies) and Vol 17 (ecclesiastical taxation)*.

**Table 4: Medieval Taxation**

Village	Lay Subsidy 1334	Lay Subsidy 1449	Norwich Taxation 1254	Pope Nicholas
Binham	£4 18s 0d	£3 11s 4d	£13 6s 8d	£13 6s 8d
Cockthorpe	?	?	£5 4s 0d	£5 4s 0d
Field Dalling	£6 7s 0d	£5 13s 8d	£25 10s 0d	£28 0s 0d
Glandford	£2 0s 0d	£1 10s 0d	?	?
Langham	£3 16s 0d	£2 12s 0d	£21 6s 8d	£3 10s 0d
Langham Parva			£3 3s 4d	10s 0d
Saxlingham	£4 0s 0d	£2 14s 8d	£13 6s 8d	£13 16s 8d

Norwich. The current village form gives the appearance of a planned settlement. The church stands at a crossroads with the main settlement to the east and north. A back lane appears to serve the main east-west street. The only buildings to the west of the crossroads are nineteenth or twentieth century constructions.

This appearance is deceptive as, in medieval times, Langham's second parish church, St Mary's, lay a few hundred yards to the north-west of Langham St Andrew's church. St Mary's was the church of Langham Parva, but the likelihood is that the two parishes shared one settlement which contracted following the outbreaks of pestilence in the late Middle Ages.<sup>19</sup> This idea of serious contraction in the late medieval period is further supported by the reduction of the lay subsidy levy by nearly one-third in 1449. With hindsight it would appear that the street plan of Langham was quite complicated, as the present plan is the result of the early nineteenth century enclosure act.

#### Field Dalling

Of the parishes in the study area Field Dalling has the most complicated village form. The parish church of St. Andrew lies at the centre of the parish. The principal settlement and the oldest surviving buildings in the village lie on a north-south street to the north of the church. The nineteenth century enclosure map shows that the road to Saxlingham was not completely built up, but there were occasional buildings along the road and then a group of farmhouses at the eastern end. Faden's map of 1797<sup>20</sup> shows this group of buildings lying at the north-western corner of Dalling Common.

Another group of buildings was located a few hundred yards to the south-west of the church on the road to Binham. Seventeenth century terriers call this area Beckingate Common, and there is still a small stream running through. Lying close to this group of buildings are the remains of a moated site which can be identified from documents belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral as the site of the Gibbs' Manor. A second moat at Manor Farm has been identified as the site of the medieval Wolferton's Manor.

The shift of settlement towards common edges has been dated to prior to the Norman Conquest, and in Norfolk was probably the result of the need to be close to areas of grazing when the arable lands had expanded to take up the most productive areas of the parish. More recent research has suggested that there was not a shortage of grazing in the northern part of Norfolk in the medieval period, and that settlement was always dispersed.<sup>1</sup> Should this be the case, then the three different centres of older buildings in Field Dalling may represent centres

of the Domesday manors.

Field walking by Eric Hotblack has shown that areas between the church and his farm and immediately to the west of Manor Farm were settled in the medieval period.<sup>4</sup> Contraction does not appear to have been as severe in Field Dalling as in other parishes in the area, as the reduction in the Lay Subsidy in 1449 was quite modest.

#### Saxlingham

Saxlingham was divided between two of the Bishop's manors in the Middle Ages. The current settlement pattern of Saxlingham, with a few houses close to the church and then major farms a few hundred yards to the west and the south-east, suggests that there may have been significant contraction following the Black Death. The reduction in the Lay Subsidy sums of more than 40% between 1334 and 1449 further support this claim.

Inspection of Faden's 1797 map shows that the farms to the west were located on the north-east corner of Dalling Common, while Green Farm to the south-east appears to be situated on a small area of common land.<sup>20</sup> This may mean that there had been a shift to grazing areas early in the Middle Ages, or that the settlement had seriously contracted. Only field walking the spaces between the buildings may provide the answer. At the end of the period the Heydon family built a large house in the village. The Heydons were large flockmasters, and it is likely that they were taking advantage of the decline in the human population to buy up land cheaply and to increase their flocks in this area.

#### Cockthorpe and Glandford

Neither parish was large and it appears that they only ever consisted of a church and a few farmhouses.

Cockthorpe appears to have been more important than Glandford and, although its manorial roots seem to point to quite close ties with Langham, in the Lay Subsidies it is joined with Stiffkey, making it impossible to determine the actual effects of the Black Death.

Glandford was joined with Bayfield, which lay to the east of the Glaven. Glandford's Lay Subsidy saw a 25% reduction, but the total sum was never large. By the end of the Middle Ages all that survived of the settlement was a church (which later fell into ruins), a farmhouse and a few cottages.

#### Summary

The area was dominated by the Church during the Middle Ages. Binham became the sole possession of the Priory. Langham, Cockthorpe and Saxlingham were dominated by the Bishop of Norwich, while the principal manor of Field

Dalling was granted to the Abbey of Savigny in France. From Savigny it passed through a number of hands to the Carthusian Priory of Mount Grace in Yorkshire.

At the close of the medieval period the Duke of Norfolk purchased the manors of Wolterton and Gibbs in Field Dalling and donated them to the Prior of Norwich Cathedral. The area appears never to have been wealthy and was affected quite badly by the decline in population following the Black Death. The most seriously diminished of the parishes were Saxlingham and Langham; although Glandford appears to have survived as a small parish, it was little more than one farm with cottages for the labourers.

The relative status of the parishes changed little during medieval times. Binham, although paying lower lay subsidy sums, remained the most important settlement as can be seen in the 1523 Muster Rolls, when twice as many people in Binham were paying tax as those in any of the other parishes. Langham and Field Dalling were similar in size, followed by Saxlingham, Cockthorpe and Glandford. The Hearth Tax of the 1660s further supports this theory, as can be seen in table 5.

The position of Saxlingham is interesting in that there were few houses, but those that existed were large and presumably the homes of prosperous farmers.

**Table 5: Hearth Tax 1666<sup>21</sup>**

Village	10+	5-9	3-4	2	1	Total	Value
Binham	2	6	6	13	38	65	£7 12s
Cockthorpe		2	1	3	1	7	£1 5s
Field Dalling		3	6	9	13	31	£3 10s
Glandford						0	
Langham		2	7	8	20	37	£3 12s
Saxlingham	1	3	4	1	1	10	£2 15s

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# Archaeological excavations in Wiveton Village – preliminary results from the Higher Education Field Academy CORS test pits in 2006

Carenza Lewis

*Synopsis: Fourteen test pits were excavated in Wiveton by children from surrounding schools working under the auspices of HEFA and CORS schemes. These pits were distributed throughout the village and material recovered from them, particularly pottery, has been identified and phosphate levels of soil samples have been analysed. The distribution of the different pottery types provides some interesting and provocative ideas on the early history of the village. It suggests that there was possibly a hiatus in the population between the Black Death and the mid-16th century and that the centre of the village lay to the north of the church.*

## Introduction

During two days in May 2006 young people working with the University of Cambridge carried out a total of fourteen small archaeological excavations in the village of Wiveton. The aim of these investigations was to find out more about the development of the village over the last two millennia by methodically retrieving, identifying and analysing archaeological evidence. The particular emphasis was on pottery in order to map the relative quantities of material of different dates found in different parts of the village. The excavations revealed evidence for Roman, Anglo-Saxon, medieval and post-medieval activity, which is presented below.

The investigations in Wiveton form part of a wider programme of research by the University of Cambridge into the origins and development of currently occupied rural settlements (hereafter referred to by the acronym CORS), which included by summer 2007 nearly twenty rural settlements in Eastern England.<sup>1-3</sup> Rural settlement has long been a core area of research for medieval archaeology,<sup>4-5</sup> notably since the pioneering work of W F G Hoskins, Maurice Beresford and John Hurst in the 1940s and 1950s,<sup>6-8</sup> but until recently attention focussed largely on the minority of medieval settlements which are today deserted or extensively shrunken.

Occupied settlements, overlain by the domestic housing and other appurtenances of living secular communities – the villages, ham-

lets and small towns of today – were largely neglected in earlier studies. However, recent attempts to redress this situation in favour of medieval rural settlements that are still inhabited<sup>9</sup> have begun to open up new areas for debate. They are beginning to call into question established theories about the development of rural settlement in the historic period. Despite these recent advances, the number of CORS to have seen methodical intensive investigation, including excavation, remains very small.

The 2006 investigations at Wiveton were also part of a widening participation scheme run by the University of Cambridge called the 'Higher Education Field Academy' (HEFA). This is devised and run by the author and is designed to give learners, mostly in school year 10, the chance to develop the skills, confidence and enthusiasm to complete their education to year 13 and also to maximise their chances of entering and succeeding at higher academic levels. The combination of being involved in a HEFA scheme and a CORS project enables them to be actively participating in a substantial and challenging team-based project involving original practical research, recording, analysis and reporting.

The HEFA programme has to date been largely funded by 'The European Social Fund' via the organisation called 'Aimhigher', whose remit is to ensure that young people who are bright aim for the best possible future in higher education, including university.<sup>11,12</sup>

Participants spend two days working in

teams of 3-4 excavating small test pits 1 metre square in gardens and other open spaces within villages and hamlets such as Wiveton. They are the guests of local residents who are often members of local historical or archaeological societies and these people can be involved at all stages. Over two days the HEFA participants dig the test pits and complete all elements of their excavation – measuring out, de-turfing, digging and sieving in spits, cleaning and recording finds, section drawing, sampling, backfilling and making good – carefully following written instructions given in a handbook and with support and advice provided by on-site experts.<sup>13</sup>

All finds are retained for both on-site and subsequent analysis, and soil samples are taken from each 10cm spit (termed 'context') excavated. The latter are used to assess phosphate levels as this can provide an indication of the likely intensity of human or animal activity.

### Wiveton Project

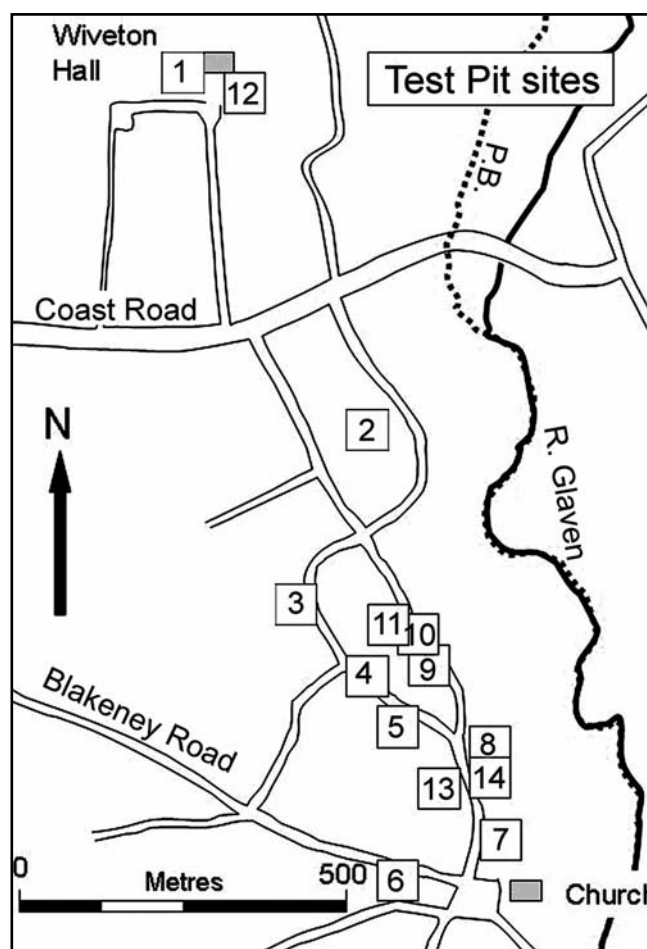
The fourteen test pits excavated in Wiveton in 2006 were distributed throughout the 'village', from beyond its present northernmost limit to its southernmost extremities (Map 1). Eleven of the test pits were excavated by year ten HEFA participants from Fakenham High School, Aylsham High School, Stalham High School, and Alderman Peel School; two (WIV/06/12 and WIV/06/13) were excavated by members of the Blakeney Area Historical Society and one (WIV/06/10) by key stage 2 children from Blakeney CEVA Primary School. All test pit excavations were carried out at the same time, following the same procedures with the same information recorded from each (photograph 1).

### Results from Test Pits

This paper presents the results of each test pit excavation, starting in the north and then considering the overall distribution of finds from the village as a whole. Details of lithic and faunal material are omitted, as analysis was not completed at time of going to press. In the tables information on the pottery recovered is divided into the different types with the number of pieces and their total weight (in grams) shown within each context (see above).

The following is a brief summary of the pottery types found in Wiveton during the 2006 excavations.

**Roman Grey ware.** This was one of the commonest types of Roman pottery, and was produced in many different places in Britain. Many different types of vessels were made, especially cooking pots. It was most common in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, but in some places, continued in use until the 4th century.



Map 1. Map of Wiveton showing locations of test pits excavated in 2006.



Photograph 1. Test pit 11 under excavation, showing a compacted chalk floor surface of probable Victorian date.

**NVCC: Nene Valley Colour-coat Ware.** This type of Roman pottery was first made around AD175, and became extremely common during the 3rd and 4th century. It gets its name from the fact that vessels were coated with liquid clay (slip) in colours such as red, blue and black. Cups, beakers and bowls were some of the most

common types. It was made at the Roman town of Castor near Peterborough.

**Roman Amphora.** Large torpedo-shaped jars up to 2 metres tall, usually made in Spain and used for transporting oil or wine. Fabric slightly soft, and a pale buff or orange colour. They were used throughout the Roman occupation of Britain, and some are known from a few decades before the invasion, when they were traded to the Iron Age people of Britain as luxury goods or gifts. Dated to AD10 – 400.

**Thetford ware.** So-called because archaeologists first found it in Thetford, but the first place to make it was Ipswich, around AD850. Potters first began to make it in Thetford sometime around AD925, and carried on until around AD1100. Many kilns are known from the town. It was made in Norwich from about AD1000, and soon after at many of the main towns in England at that time. The pots are usually grey, and the clay has lots of tiny grains of sand in it, making the surface feel a little like fine sandpaper. Most pots were simple jars, but very large storage pots over 1m high were also made, along with jugs, bowls and lamps. It is found all over East Anglia and eastern England as far north as Lincoln and as far south as London.

**EMW: Early Medieval Sandy Ware.** AD1100-1400. Hard fabric with plentiful quartz sand mixed in with the clay. Manufactured at a wide range of generally unknown sites all over eastern England. Mostly cooking pots, but bowls and occasionally jugs are also known.

**Developed Stamford ware.** Highly decorated jugs with hard, fine, pale grey or white clay fabric, usually with a glossy green glaze coloured with copper filings. It was made at a kiln found at Stamford School, and is dated AD1150-1200.

**Grimston Ware.** Made at Grimston, near King's Lynn. It was made from a sandy clay similar to that used for Thetford ware, and has a similar 'sandpaper' texture. The clay is usually a dark bluish-grey colour, sometimes with a light-coloured, buff or orange inner surface. It was made between about AD1080 and 1400. All sorts of different pots were made, but the most common finds are jugs, which usually have a slightly dull green glaze on the outer surface. Between AD1300 and 1400, the potters made very ornate jugs, with painted designs in a reddish brown clay, and sometimes attached models of knights in armour or grotesque faces to the outside of the pots. It is found all over East Anglia and eastern England. A lot of Grimston ware has been found in Norway, as there is very little clay in that country, and they had to import their pottery. Indeed nearly half the medieval pottery found in Norway was made at Grimston, and was shipped there from King's Lynn.

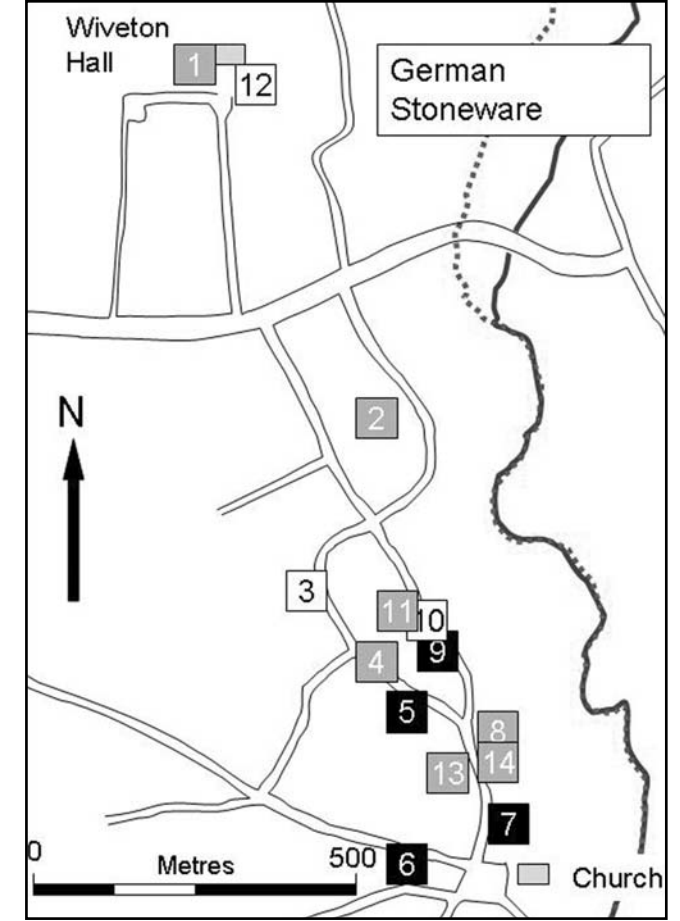
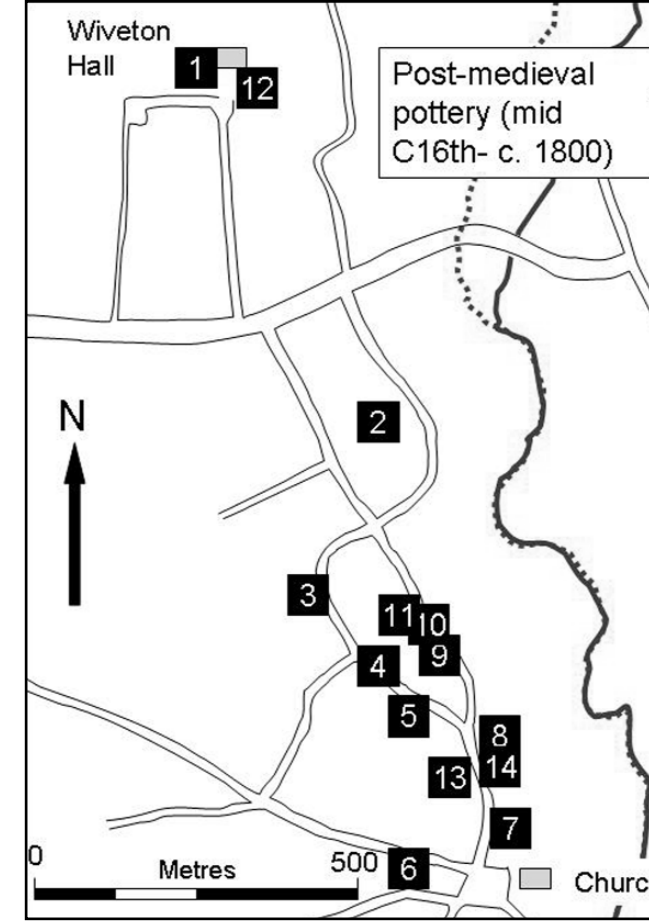
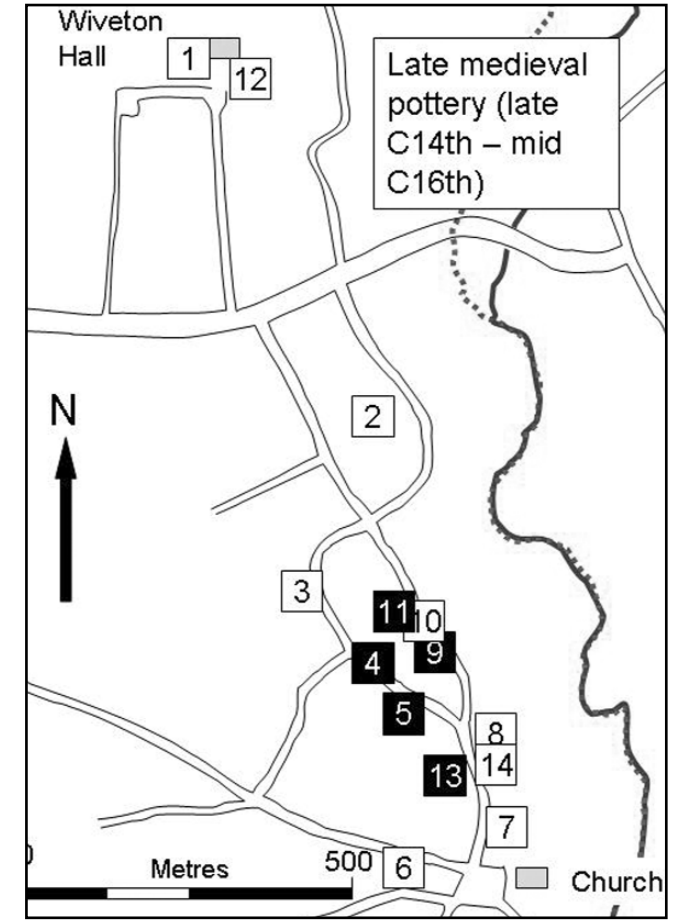
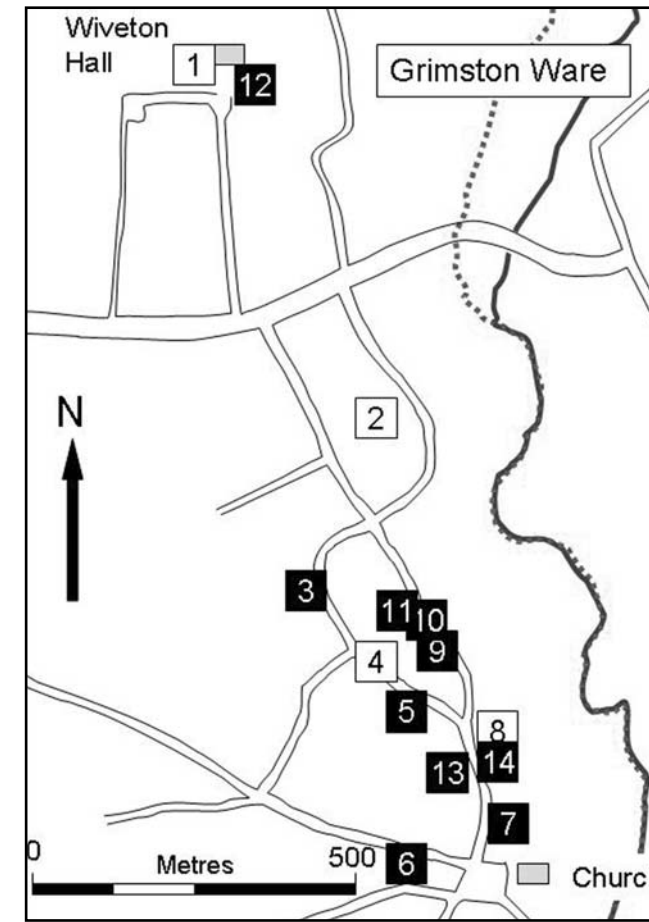
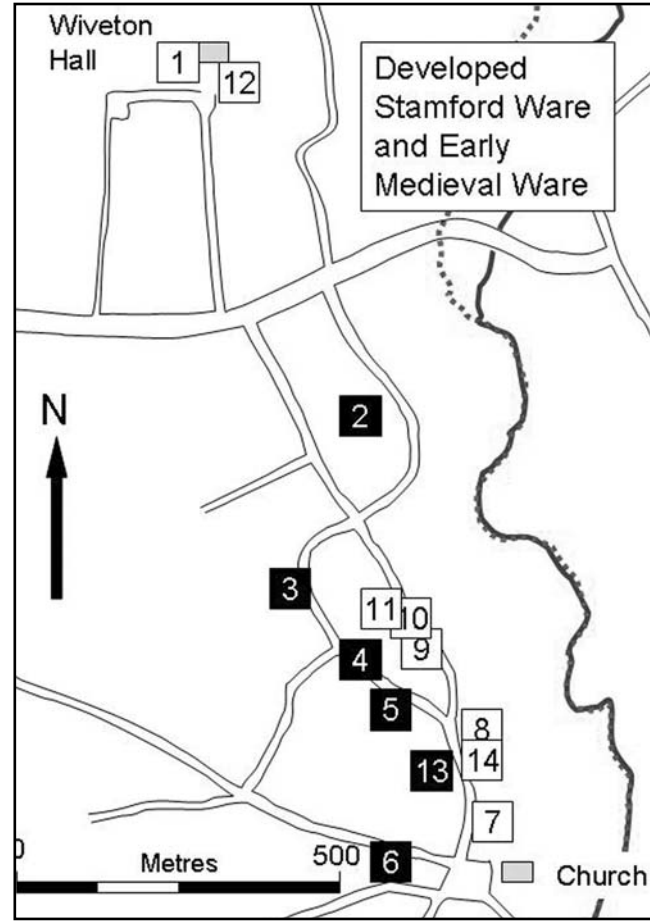
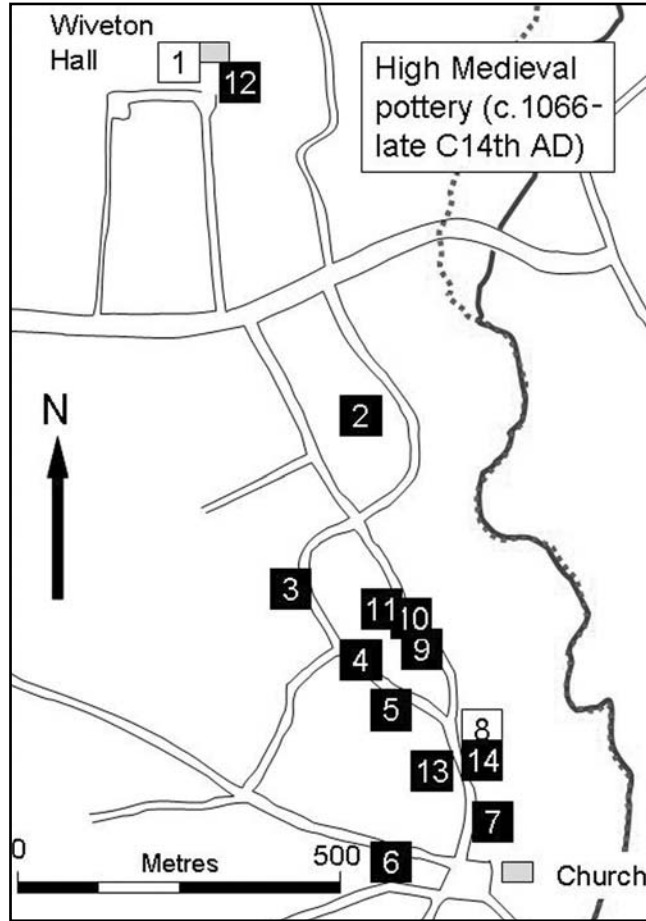
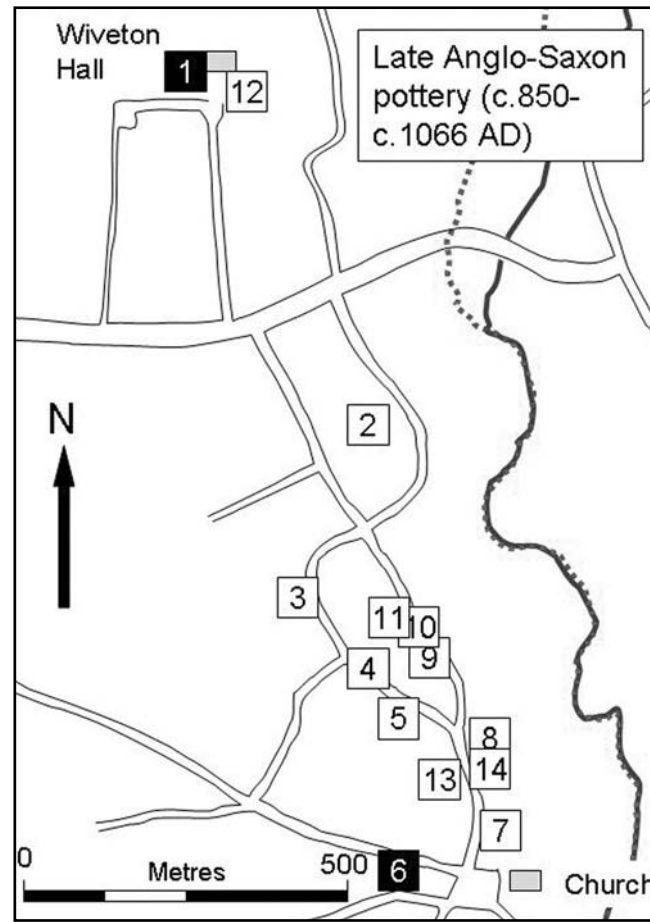
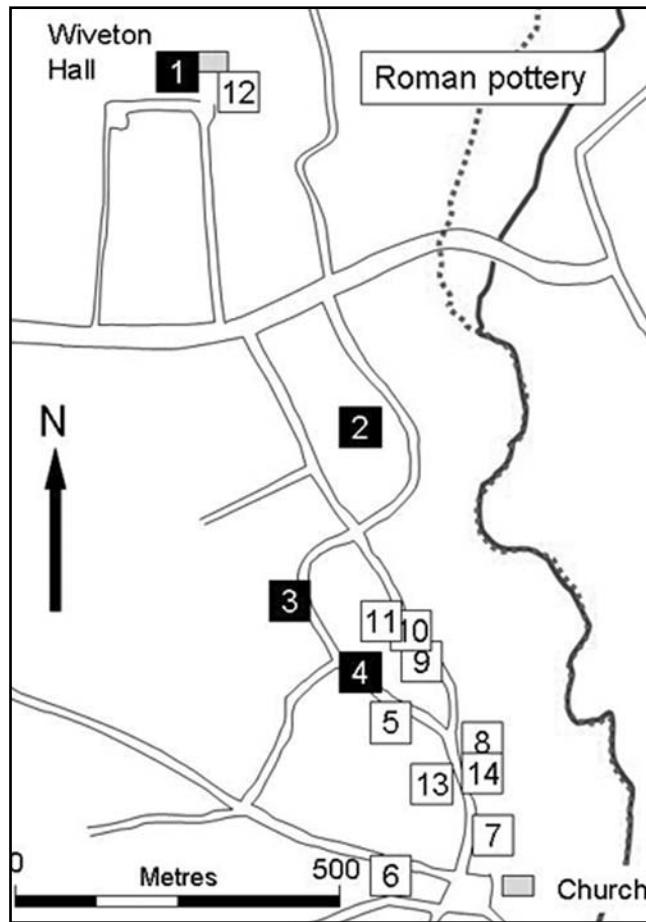
**Cistercian Ware.** Made between AD1475 and 1700. So-called because it was first found during the excavation of Cistercian monasteries, even though it was not made by monks. A number of different places are known to have been making this pottery, particularly in the north of England and the Midlands. The pots are very thin and hard, as they were made in the first coal-fired pottery kilns, which reached much higher temperatures than the wood-fired types of the medieval period. The clay fabric is usually brick red or purple, and the pots covered with a dark brown- or purplish-black glaze on both surfaces. The main type of pot was small drinking cups with up to six handles, known as 'tygs'. They were sometimes decorated with painted dots and other designs in yellow clay. Cistercian ware was very popular, and is found all over England.

**German Stonewares.** First made around AD1450, and still made today. Made at lots of places along the river Rhine in Germany, such as Cologne, Siegburg and Frechen. Very hard grey clay fabric, with the outer surface of the pot often having a mottled brown glaze. The most common vessel type was the mug, used in taverns in Britain and all over the world. Surviving records from the port of London ('port books') show that millions of such pots were brought in by boat from Germany from around AD1500 onwards.

**LMT: Late medieval ware.** Very similar to GRE (see below), but the pots had thinner walls, and tended to be glazed on the outside. This type is also slightly earlier, and dates to AD1500-1600.

**GRE: Glazed Red Earthenwares.** Fine sandy earthenware, usually with a brown or green glaze, usually on the inner surface. Made at numerous locations all over England. Occurs in a range of practical shapes for use in the households of the time, such as large mixing bowls, cauldrons and frying pans. It was first made around the middle of the 16th century, and in some places continued in use until the 19th century.

**Delft ware.** The first white-glazed pottery to be made in Britain. Called Delft ware because of the fame of the potteries at Delft in Holland, which were amongst the first to make it. Soft, cream coloured fabric with a thick white glaze, often with painted designs in blue, purple and yellow. First made in Britain in Norwich around AD1600, and continued in use until the 19th century. The 17th century pots were expensive table wares such as dishes or bowls, but by the 19th century, better types of pottery were being made, and it was considered very cheap and the main types of pot were such as chamber pots and ointment jars.



Maps 2-8 (reading from left to right and then top to bottom on both pages). Test pits producing pottery for each period or type shaded black.

Map 9 (bottom right). Test pits producing more than 3 sherds of German Stoneware shaded black and those with 1-3 sherds shaded grey.

**Staffordshire Slipware.** AD1640-1750. Fine cream fabric with white slip and pale yellow lead glaze, commonest decoration is dark brown trails which were sometimes brushed with a feather while wet. Chiefly 'flat wares' were made, such as plates and dishes, although small bowls and mugs etc are known.

**Creamware.** This was the first pottery to be made which resembles modern 'china'. It was invented by Wedgwood, who made it famous by making a dinner service for the Queen of Russia. Made between 1740 and 1880, it was a pale cream-coloured ware with a clear glaze, and softer than bone china. There were lots of different types of pots which we would still recognise today: cups, saucers, plates, soup bowls etc. In the 19th century, it was considered to be poor quality as better types of pottery were being made, so it was often painted with multi-coloured designs in order to make it more popular.

**'Victorian'.** A wide range of different types of pottery, particularly the cups, plates and bowls with blue decoration which are still used today. First made around AD1800

## Test Pits

### Wiveton Hall: Test Pit 1

Test pit 1 (WIV/06/01) was located in the kitchen garden of Wiveton Hall, to the north of the present village.

**Table 1. Pottery from test pit 1 (WIV/06/01)**

Context	Greyware		Thetford		German Stoneware		GRE		Staffordshire Slipware		Victorian		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
2									1	2			1640-1750
3											3	13	1800-1900
4			1	4									925-1100
5	1	4									1	2	100-1900
6							1	3					1550-1700
8					2	12							1550-1700

**Table 2. Pottery from test pit 12 (WIV/06/12)**

Context	EMW		Grimston		GRE		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
1	1	7			1	2	1100-1700
4			1	10			1200-1400

A single sherd of Thetford ware (4g in weight) from context 4 (between 30 and 40cm below the surface) indicates activity of some sort in this area in the late Saxon period (AD850-1066), while a sherd of Grey ware from context 5 (40-50 cm below the surface) is likewise indicative of Roman activity somewhere in the vicinity. These finds came from layers that also contain Victorian material (although in extremely small quantities), suggesting these levels have been disturbed in the recent past.

Below 50cm however, pottery post-dating AD1700 is entirely absent, suggesting that the archaeology from this point down had not been disturbed. These levels produced several sherds of 16th and 17th century pottery, but nothing dating to any period between the Norman Conquest and the 16th century. Phosphate levels are fairly similar in all contexts, with the exception of the layer between 60-70cm below the surface, which had much lower levels and also produced no pottery at all, suggesting perhaps a period of complete disuse between c.1100 and 1700 when the area was not occupied and probably not under arable cultivation either.

### Wiveton Hall: Test Pit 12

Test pit 12 (WIV/06/12), located in the formal garden south of Wiveton Hall was less than 100m from test pit 1 and was excavated by the Blakeney Area Historical Society. It revealed a rather different picture.

**Table 3. Pottery from test pit 2 (WIV/06/02)**

Context	Greyware		Amphora		DSW		EMW		German Stoneware		Victorian		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
1											1	23	1800-1900
2											3	21	1800-1900
3									1	2	8	53	1550-1900
4											1	57	1800-1900
6	2	10					1	3					100-1400
7			1	23	1	3							100-1150

**Table 4. Pottery from test pit 3 (WIV/06/03)**

Context	Greyware		EMW		Grimston		Creamware		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
3	3	20			2	9	1	3	100-1800
4			3	4	3	24			1100-1400

No pottery post-dating AD1700 was found at all. This is unusual (most test pits excavated in CORS produce at least some Victorian pottery), and doubtless signifies the use of this area since the present hall was built as a formal garden, a purpose specifically excluding rubbish disposal. The presence of just two, albeit moderately-sized, sherds of pottery of C13th-C16th date (from contexts 1 and 4), suggests this area is likely to have been in use as fields rather than settlement in the Middle Ages and generally very low levels of phosphate would appear to support this inference.

### Wiveton Barn: Test Pit 2

Test pit 2 (WIV/06/02), sited in the garden of Wiveton Barn, produced a wide chronological range of pottery with a distinctive vertical distribution indicative of two discrete phases of activity.

Levels down to 40cm produced ceramics exclusively of post-1800 date (with the exception of one tiny (2g) sherd of German Stoneware which could possibly be earlier but is in any case unlikely to be indicative of any significant level of activity). The layer between 40cm and 50cm produced no finds, possibly indicating a period of disuse but, below this, contexts six and seven produced pottery exclusively of medieval (pre c. AD1400) and Roman date. The fact that no Grimston ware was found may mean that the area was abandoned around the 13th century, and not used again until the 16th century onwards.

### Church Barn: Test Pit 3

Test pit 3 (WIV/06/03), near Church Barn, Wiveton, produced a handful of sherds of Roman date from levels 20-30cm below the surface and also produced medieval pottery dating to 1100-1400 (as did the level immediately below it). This context also showed a peak in phosphate levels, and taken together, the evidence from this test pit suggests the likely presence of settlement of high medieval date in the vicinity, possibly overlying and disturbing evidence for earlier Roman activity. The area seems to have fallen out of use sometime around the late fourteenth century, with minimal activity then until recent times.

### Small Field, Centre of Village: Test Pits 10 and 11

Test pits 10(WIV/06/10) and 11(WIV/06/11) were both sited in a field in the centre of the village, with 10 sited near the present north-south oriented road (The Street) and 11 at the lower (north-western) end of the field away from any surviving roads. Test pit 10 was excavated by year 5 and 6 pupils at Blakeney CEVA Primary School (ably supervised by their teachers) (see Photograph 2 on page 64).

Test pits 10 and 11 both produced medieval pottery, but the distribution in the two was different. Test pit 11 produced only a few sherds from shallow levels, but this was located above contexts containing pottery of Victorian date and thus clearly recently disturbed. In contrast, in





**Table 9. Pottery from test pit 5 (WIV/06/05)**

Context	EMW		Grimston		Cistercian		German S'ware		GRE		Delft		Victorian		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
2					1	2							1	4	1475-1900
3							1	4					2	9	1600-1900
4							1	3	1	5			7	14	1550-1900
5			1	6			1	2	1	12			3	16	1200-1900
6	2	4					2	7	4	45	1	5			1100-1700
7									2	71					1550-1700

**Myrtle cottage: Test Pit 5**

Test Pit 5 was sited in the rear garden of Myrtle Cottage in Chapel St

The range of pottery here suggests that there was unbroken activity at this site from the Early Medieval Period until the present day. The lower levels appear to be free of Victorian material, and also show relatively high levels of phosphate (rising from context 5 downwards), plausibly indicative of settlement nearby. There are particularly large quantities of sherds from the 16th and 17th centuries (including an unusually large number of imported German Stoneware), which is once more likely to reflect Wiveton's importance as a port at this date.

**Church Farm: Test Pits 8 and 14**

Test pits 8 (WIV/06/08) and 14 (WIV/06/14) were both located in the allotments north of Church Farm, with 8 abandoned and substituted with test pit 14 when a service pipe was encountered c60cm below the surface early on day 2. The late start made on test pit 14 resulted in only three contexts being dug in this pit.

Test pit 8 did not produce any evidence of human activity before the 16th century. However, the fact that test pit 14, just a couple of metres to the south, produced a small sherd of Grimston ware from the lowest layer excavated does suggest that this area may have been the site of activity of some kind during the 13th-16th centuries, more of which may survive undisturbed at lower levels.

**Table 10. Pottery from test pit 8 (WIV/06/08)**

Context	German Stoneware		GRE		Victorian		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
1			3	48	5	41	1550-1900
2	1	6			18	97	1550-1900
3			1	11	13	80	1550-1900
4					10	50	1800-1900
5					16	237	1800-1900
6			2	27	21	131	1800-1900

**Table 11. Pottery from test pit 14 (WIV/06/14)**

Context	Grimston		German Stoneware		LMT		GRE		Victorian		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
1									6	101	1800-1900
2							2	32	14	67	1550-1900
3	1	2	1	2	1	34	3	23	12	71	1200-1900

**Table 12. Pottery from test pit 13 (WIV/06/13)**

Context	EMW		Grimston		Cistercian		GRE		Delft		Staffs Slipware		Victorian		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
2			1	4							1	3			1200-1750
3	1	2	1	4			3	13			1	3			1100-1750
4					1	2	3	11	1	2			1	1	1475-1900
5											1	7			1640-1750

**Field opposite Church Farm: Test Pit 13**

Test Pit 13 (WIV/06/13) was sited in a field opposite Church Farm and excavated by members of the Blakeney Area Historical Society.

This site appears to have been occupied from the early medieval period until the present day. The lowest contexts, which consisted of rubble from a demolished building, appear to date to the 17th century, so there may have been a house here in the medieval period, which was demolished around the time of the Civil War. This inference is supported by the phosphate analysis, which reveals the highest levels to have been those towards the bottom of the test pit.

**Orchard at Church Farm: Test Pit 7**

Test Pit 7 (WIV/06/07) was sited in the orchard south of Church Farmhouse, close to the present churchyard wall.

This site produced a fragment of painted window glass of medieval date (Photograph 3) as well as a single, moderately sized sherd of Grimston ware from context 4. These would not usually be regarded as significant evidence for settlement in the vicinity. However the presence, at this level, of a cut feature in a possible floor surface (Photographs 4 and 5), tentatively interpreted as a beam slot, suggests that there was a structure of some sort on this site, which may have been contemporary with the Grimston ware. Unfortunately no pottery was present in the excavated section of this feature which would have allowed a more secure date to be given to it. Notably, phosphate levels were also slightly raised in the lowest contexts.

**Photograph 3. A fragment of medieval painted window glass found in test pit 7****Table 13. Pottery from test pit 7 (WIV/06/07)**

Context	Grimston		German Stoneware		GRE		Staffordshire Slipware		Victorian		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
2			2	50							1550-1700
3							1	5			1640-1750
4	1	7	2	4	1	3			1	1	1200-1900



**Photograph 4.** Test pit 7 during excavation, showing a gravelly floor surface cut by an E-W oriented linear feature.



**Photograph 5.** The linear cut feature in test pit 7 after excavation which revealed it to be straight-sided and c20cm deep, interpreted as a beam slot for a building of medieval or early post-medieval date.

**Table 14. Pottery from test pit 6 (WIV/06/06)**

Context	Thetford		EMW		Grimston		German S'ware		LMT		GRE		Victorian		Date Range
	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	No	Wt	
1					1	2					2	43	1	10	1200-1900
2							1	8					9	27	1550-1900
3	1	7											19	268	950-1900
4							2	27	1	2	1	3	14	38	1500-1900
5							1	5	1	2	1	17	10	14	1500-1900
6													3	28	1800-1900
9			3	11			1	5	1	5			2	5	1100-1900

#### Green Farm: Test Pit 6

Test Pit 6 (WIV/06/06) was sited in the garden of Green Farmhouse and was the southernmost of the 14 excavated in Wiveton in 2006.

This test-pit was one of only two to produce pottery of late Saxon date. However, it lies nearly 1.5km from the other (WIV/06/01), and must relate to a separate locus of activity at this date. Contexts 7 and 8 produced no pottery at all, leaving the lowest excavated context (number 9) sealed; given that the two small fragments of Victorian pottery recorded at this level are likely to have been derived in fact from higher levels, possibly dislodged from the sides of the pit dur-

ing section cleaning. Context 9 produced three sherds of Early Medieval Ware, suggesting that further evidence of early date may survive even further down on this site. Phosphate levels in this test pit were marginally raised from context 6 downwards.

As is the case in many of the test pits in Wiveton, there were also particularly large quantities of sherds from the 16th and 17th centuries and again, the fact that some of this pottery is from Germany suggests the presence nearby of a market or trading-place.

## Discussion

Overall, the distribution of finds from the village, do allow some interesting observations, particularly when mapped by chronological period. Although of course the 14 test pits represent a very small sample from the whole area.

Firstly, the excavated evidence does indicate the likelihood of Roman occupation of some sort in the northern part of the present village, as test pits 1-4 all produced pottery of Roman date (Map 2), albeit in small quantities. No test pits in the south of the present village revealed any Roman material, perhaps indicating that this part of the present village was not occupied at that time.

Moving forward in time, it can be noted that no trace of any pottery of early-middle Anglo-Saxon date (4th-9th century AD) was found in any of the 14 test pits excavated in Wiveton. Such material is, however, generally very rare, so its absence from the 2006 excavations cannot necessarily be regarded as significant: absence of evidence for this period cannot be regarded as evidence of absence of human activity. For the time being, the history of Wiveton between the end of the Roman period and the late Saxon period must remain obscure.

Not until the 10th century AD does the picture begin to become just a little more visible. In the Saxo-Norman period (c. 950- c. 1100 AD), scanty evidence from two of the test pits (Map 3) hints at the possibility that activity in the century or so either side of the Norman Conquest may have been focussed on two quite separate sites (probably both quite small), one near the present Wiveton Hall and one near the present church.

From c.1100 onwards, however, we have more material on which to base our inferences. Nearly all the test pits produced pottery dating to the period between c.1066 and c.1400 AD (Map 4). Although this is a period when more pottery is in circulation generally, the evidence does nonetheless seem to point to the likelihood that Wiveton expanded considerably in this period, probably to encompass most of the areas of the village which are inhabited today. Painted glass of approximately 13th century date discovered in test pit 7 also supports the inference of a prospering and confident population in Wiveton at this date.

It is interesting to note that the test pits producing Early Medieval Ware and Developed Stamford Ware (WIV/06/2,3,4,5,6 and 13) (Map 5) are all on the western side of the present village, furthest away from the river. In contrast, Grimston Ware (Map 6) is found much more generally distributed across the excavated sites, including those to the east, nearer the river

(which would have been navigable in the Middle Ages and provided easy access to maritime trade routes) and any frontage which may have existed onto it. It is difficult to know how to interpret this distribution (which may not in fact be of any significance at all), but it is tempting to speculate that it might relate to the water-borne export of Grimston Ware to medieval Norway (see page 59). This may have been just one of a wide range of products traded through Wiveton, providing the base for expansion of the settlement in the High Medieval Period.

The widespread distribution of pottery from the 12th-14th centuries date in Wiveton is in stark contrast to that of the 15th and 16th centuries (Map 7). Excluding German Stonewares (which although in production as early as 1450 AD cannot be securely dated to the Late Medieval Period), only five test pits, all in the centre of the present village produced pottery dating to the period between (approximately) the Black Death and the mid-16th century. It is tempting to speculate that Wiveton was hit hard in this period, either by the Black Death itself, or by the social and economic problems that succeeded it. Notably, there is little evidence of activity in the area nearest the church.

In the post-Medieval Period the pattern appears strikingly different (Map 8) from the preceding centuries. All the test pits produced pottery from the period c.AD1550-1800), giving a distribution very similar to that of the mid 11th century to late 14th century (Map 4). The distribution of the German Stonewares themselves (Map 9) mirror this distribution, suggesting that they are indeed more likely to date to this period than the Late Medieval. Interestingly, however, those test pits which produced larger amounts of this material are all in the southern end of the present village, possibly indicating the use of this area as a trading area and/or river frontage for the import of pottery from Germany. In light of this observation, is it perhaps interesting to note that this is approximately the same area in which activity seems to have continued during the otherwise sparsely evidenced post-Black Death period. It may be this, rather than the area around the church, which, historically, represents the real heart of Wiveton.

The observations and inferences offered above are all speculative to a greater or lesser degree, based on a small number of sample excavations. Nonetheless, the patterns that have been discussed are all strong enough to merit comment, and the interpretations are plausible, providing, at the very least, food for thought and a basis from which to move forward. At the very least, none of the evidence from the test pits excavated in Wiveton in 2006 can be discounted. Further test pits in the future may substan-

tiate some of the ideas discussed in this paper, may cause others to be revised, and will doubtless bring some insights that will be altogether new.

### Acknowledgements

A project such as the Higher Education Field Academy could not operate without the support of numerous organisations and individuals, too many to name here, in particular all the individuals and families who kindly offered to 'host' test pits on their property, for which HEFA is very grateful. The HEFA project is funded by Aimhigher and the European Social Fund and HEFA is grateful to them for all their support. John Peake and many other members of Blakeney Area Historical Society deserve thanks for their hard work and enthusiasm in welcoming the project to Wiveton and arranging access to sites to excavate.

Finally HEFA's thanks and admiration go to the pupils and staff of the Fakenham High School, Aylsham High School, Alderman Peel

High School and Stalham High School for their hard work, enthusiasm and attention to detail during the excavations at Wiveton: N Rogers, T Kidd, S Mellows, K Sexton, S Williams, O Williamson, B White, B Knights, F Roberts, J Stone, K Lawson, V Houghton, S Fitch, K Thirtle, G Barnes, R Cullum, E Coppin, M Goddard, R Moore, J Elfleet, A Vertigan, N Coe, G Scuffham, C Bates, M Rewell, R Strange, F Simmonds, J Davison, A Linden, M Green, F Walker, S Curtis, M Brooks, M Chan, B Coxgrove, N Roberts, C Lammiman, S Girling, D Abel, K Philips, S Jorgensen-Moore, R Snowden, R Hembling, R Wells, J Brailsford, M Rose, L Chapman, J Taylor, T Hill and the staff and pupils of Blakeney CEVA Primary School.

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## Back Pages

### Maps

The article by Raymond Frostick in last years Glaven Historian drew attention to the iconic position held by the 1586 Map of Blakeney Haven and Port of Cley.<sup>1</sup> Yet this map presents an enigma – the original has disappeared. It was once owned by J Winn Thomlinson of both Cley and Holt Halls, but although many family papers have been deposited in the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester and elsewhere the map is not with them.

As a consequence importance is placed on copies made during the 19th Century. A detailed account of the history of these was published by Jonathan Hooton in the inaugural issue of the Glaven Historian in 1998.<sup>2</sup> Recently one of the copies that was owned by the Monement-Long family has been deposited in the Norfolk Record Office together with two other maps of local interest.<sup>3</sup>

In 1992 when Godfrey Sayers produced an amalgam of these maps he had access to many of the copies, but placed greater reliance on two that appeared to have been prepared with considerable care from the original. There are some interesting, but minor, differences between these copies in, for example, the ornamentation included in the surround, in the pattern of the fields and the details included on Thornham Eye.

The accompanying photograph from Godfrey shows the copies to which he had access together with their owners and his own version. From left to right they are: Reverend Hereward Cooke, Paul Long, Godfrey Sayers and his wife with a print of the new map, Richard Hammond, Katherine Clogstoun and Diana Cooke with the original of Godfrey's new map on the ground.

In the context of this issue of The Glaven Historian a consistent feature on all copies is the depiction of a second church in the parish of Blakeney.<sup>4</sup> This church is to the north of the



Godfrey Sayers with the other map owners

parish church and lies within the precincts of the Friary that had been dissolved half a century earlier. This was the church of the 'Whyte ffryres of Snetyrlee' (see pages 37 and 39) probably dedicated to St Mary.

This suggests that at least some part of the White Friars Church was surviving when this map was drawn and it had not been totally 'mined' for building stone, as was so common with redundant buildings. It is also confirmatory evidence that the parish church of St Nicholas should not be regarded as the church of the White Friars as suggested in a recent church guide.

Indeed it would appear significant parts of the Friary Church survived for at least another century. In 1693 Captain Grenville Collins published *Great Britain's Coasting Pilot*<sup>5</sup>, a volume of charts of the coastline and selected harbours plus two pages of topographical sketches of the coastline from the sea and navigational notes. Admiralty charts continued to include such sketches until at least the middle of the twentieth century.

The surveying by Collins was undertaken over a period of about 8 years and although 120 plans were produced only 48 were published. The charts have been criticised for errors in surveying, but the considerable body of information they contain has never been doubted.<sup>6,7</sup> The topographical sketches indicate important visual

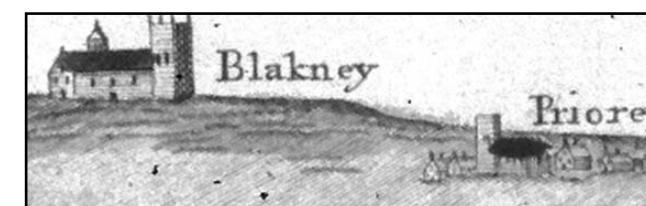
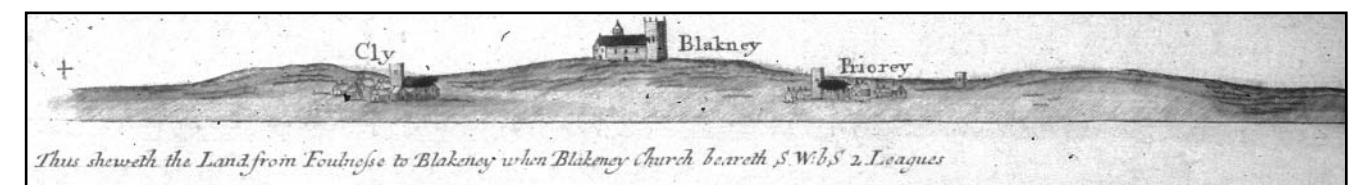


Figure 1 (above). Captain Collin's topographical sketch showing the two Blakeney churches. For a closer view see the enlargement on the left (figure 2).

landmarks that could be used in navigation along the coastline and these supplemented the charts.

Many copies of the chart of Blakeney Haven are in circulation, but the topographic sketches are less well known. There is no indication of the Friary on the former, whereas on the sketch (figures 1 and 2) the tower of a church is indicated together with a cluster of buildings labelled as 'Priorey'. Furthermore, if the date stone of 1667 on the west front of the present Friary farmhouse is authentic then the house should be one of the buildings depicted!

The parish churches of both Cley and Blakeney are also shown as important landmarks, neither with any indication of a spire, although the second tower at Blakeney is positioned incorrectly. However, the inclusion of Cley church does raise issues as to whether it would have been visible from the sea or only in the estuary and these questions or doubts are reinforced by the exclusion of Wiveton church which was presumably hidden.

It is interesting to speculate that the use and recognition of the 'Priorey' tower as a landmark may have ensured its continuing survival. For in 1566 an act had been passed prohibiting the removal of prominent landmarks in order 'to save and kepe them and the Shippes in their charge from sundry Daungers'.<sup>7</sup>

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John Peake

## Trust not the 21st century oracle

When asked to prepare an essay for Matthew Champion's course, Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Medieval England, it seemed a good idea to investigate whether some Walsingham pilgrims arrived by sea and if so

where they would have landed. It seemed likely that there would be some references to their having arrived somewhere between King's Lynn and Cley and, before its estuary silted up in the thirteenth or fourteenth century Burnham Thorpe seemed a likely candidate.

A friend and knowledgeable member of BAHS suggested that I entered 'Walsingham' and the names of the various villages into Google to see what it produced. (He already knew!) 'Walsingham and Burnham' seemed to give me exactly what was needed; a website which said that Burnham came to fame in the Middle Ages as the landing-place for pilgrims bound for the shrine at Walsingham.

There was, however, a flaw which set me trying unsuccessfully to discover who had provided the information for the website – which was not for any of our many Burnhams but for Burnham-on-Crouch, a hundred miles away in Essex!

Frank Hawes

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## Contributors

**Andrew Hayden** is a professional organist closely involved with the British Institute of Organ Studies and recording on historic instruments.

**Jonathan Hooton** teaches geography and environmental science at Notre Dame School, Norwich. He is probably better known here as the author of *The Glaven Ports*.

**Carenza Lewis** teaches in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge. There she has developed and promoted a programme of widening access to higher education amongst under-represented groups. She is well known as a television presenter and a member of *Time Team*.

**Michael Medlar** studied history at both Harvard University and UEA and was a tutor for external courses run by the later. His continuing interest in Langham stems from research he undertook while living in the area.

**Pamela Peake**, author, lecturer and formerly adult education tutor; has a long-time fascination for social history.

**Michael Stammers** is exiled from Norfolk and is Keeper Emeritus of Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool.

**Geoff Worton** is a retired adult education tutor who first became interested in the Green Man whilst living in south-western France.