
THE GLAVEN HISTORIAN

The Journal of the Blakeney Area Historical Society

No.9

2006

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Editorial

We make no apology for once more starting an issue of The Glaven Historian with a report of an archaeological dig. Circumstances have conspired to give us an unprecedented opportunity to delve below the surface of our community in a dramatically literal way and to gain a better idea as to just how rich our heritage is.

Inevitably, with a major dig like the one at Blakeney Eye, full evaluation of the finds can take an inordinately long time to complete. So Richard Lee's report is inevitably an interim one that eschews coming to any major conclusions, nevertheless it provides an insight into the development of both the site and a range of buildings. At this stage one cannot resist speculating on the use of the buildings over many centuries or the community that could have lived out there. More information will accrue from the detailed examination of the finds and the C¹⁴ dating; we await the results, but there is also a need to search for any documentary evidence that may throw light on the site.

While we've got our hands dirty, Ken Penn and David Whitmore follow up on the dig at Bayfield now known to be an Anglo-Saxon burial rather than Icenic as suggested in an earlier issue of The Glaven Historian. The links to France are fascinating, but this is also an excellent example of the strong links that exist in Norfolk between professional archaeologists, land owners and metal detectorists demonstrating that the latter are 'not all grave robbers and ne'er-do-wells'.

Another regular topic in these pages is the maritime history of the Glaven Ports. Jonathan Hooton's analysis of the 1572 shipping survey continues this theme, while demonstrating how difficult it is to use primary sources that were not created for future historians to analyse!

Raymond Frostick's thoughts on the 1586 map of the Haven contrast with John Wright's speculation on Blakeney's lost Mappa Mundi. The first represents diligent research into the identity of the cartographer who produced the map, while the second examines 'mapping' as conforming to a more platonic ideal of the world and of our place in it.

Back in our own community, four pieces of research; two into life (and death) in earlier times and two from the Cockthorpe Project run by the History Centre. The latter covers possibly unique carved roof-panels in All Saints Church and a study of the monuments and memorials in the churchyard. It is hoped that this Project will continue to produce results for publication in this Journal.

Mike Medlar has written on early 16th Century wills and what they tell us about changes in attitude to religion, in this case Langham, during the years both immediately preceding and following the Reformation.

Brenda Stibbons has written on a recent phenomenon, Friendly Societies that operated in the Blakeney area and their importance in pre-welfare state days. It is perhaps difficult for us today to imagine how it must have felt to live with the ever-present threat of destitution if too many 'rainy days' came along in quick succession, and the spectre of the work-house loomed large (see Monica White's award-winning piece in GH6). In a maritime area this threat was particularly acute, with the increased risk of being lost at sea. Most of these societies have now vanished, their function largely supplanted by the state, but the principles of mutuality and self-help that underpinned these societies found other expressions in this area. The last paper celebrates the 60th anniversary of another local organisation to make use of the Friendly Society legislation, the Blakeney Neighbourhood Housing Society.

In preparation of the Journal thanks are due to individuals who have read papers and given us the benefit of their expertise and to Godfrey Sayers who has allowed us to use his reconstruction of the 1586 map. Last, but certainly not least, thanks to all our contributors.

Corrigenda:

In last year's Glaven Historian there were two errors in the captions to photographs. In *Some Historically Significant Trees in Norfolk* by John White photograph 1 was of Kett's Oak not a Holkham Tree and photograph 3 is not Kett's Oak, but it is a 300 year old oak at Ryston.

A Report on the Archaeological Excavation of 'Blakeney Chapel'

by Richard Lee

Lindsey Archaeological Services, Lincoln

Synopsis: During 2004-5 a long overdue evaluation and detailed excavation of the 'Chapel' site was undertaken. It demonstrated three major periods of activity and the presence of two buildings. It is thought that the earliest feature is a ditched enclosure dated from the 11th to 12th century. The two buildings were occupied during the 14th to 15th and the 16th to 17th centuries. Possible uses of the site are explored.

Background

Although 'Blakeney Chapel', located on Blakeney, or Thornham, Eye, has been known of since 1586, and is listed as a Scheduled Ancient Monument, it was only the current programme of works funded by the Environment Agency that provided the opportunity to investigate the building.*

Topographical changes along the North Norfolk coast are not a new phenomenon; indeed they have been a consistent feature of the region encompassed by the North Sea since the last glaciation.⁴ Yet the 1586 map shows a landscape that is broadly recognisable today, indeed it shows a building located approximately in the position of the 'Chapel'.⁵ Whilst it is no Ordnance Survey map, local research indicates there is considerable topographical accuracy to the map. It shows that the major channel that led to Cley and Wiveton flowed close to the site of the 'Chapel'.

Within historic times, however, the shingle spit that now runs from Weybourne to Blakeney Point has grown westwards, as well as moving inland.⁶ Consequently over centuries the Eye on which the 'Chapel' sits has become isolated further from the harbour entrance as the spit moved westwards. The channel to the north of the 'Chapel' was constricted as the shingle ridge was pushed south towards the land. Furthermore, major embanking of the salt-marshes within the Haven in the seventeenth

century and later in the nineteenth has changed the local topography.⁷

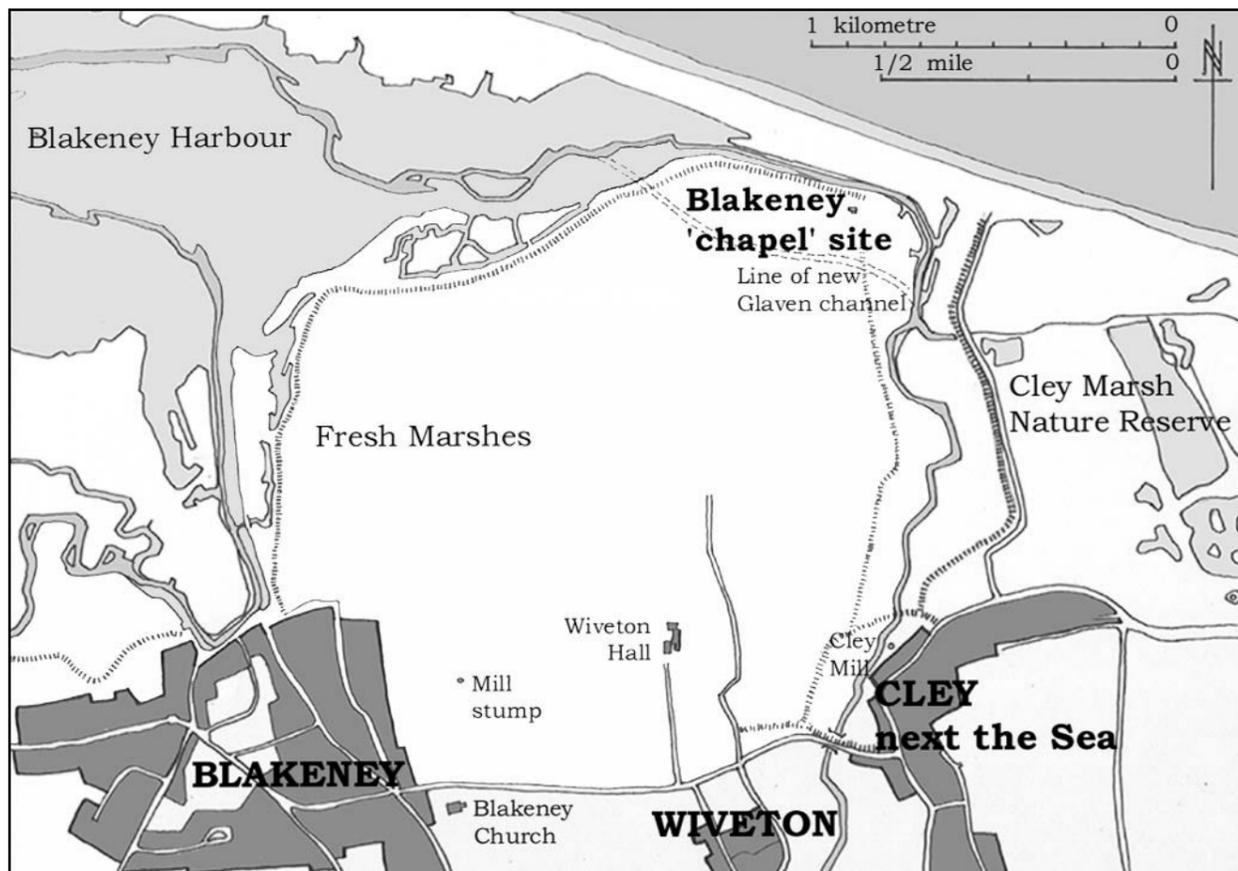
This picture can be supplemented by documentary evidence from the Patent and Close Rolls and the Port Books demonstrating the importance of the Haven for fishing and maritime trade from at least the thirteenth century onwards. Yet environmental sampling undertaken during the present study indicates that the area surrounding the 'Chapel' site, would have looked much as it does today, open grassland on a sandy substrate and with estuarine habitats nearby.

A crucial document concerning the 'Lease of Chapel at Cley' in 1596 provides additional information for it refers to 'one piece of marshe and firre growing called Thornam's Eye with an old house called the Chapell upon the same ... in Cley ... betweene the Comon Channell of Cley on the northe parte the marshe of Wiveton & Blakeneye on the southe parte & abbutteth upon the same channell of Cley towards the east & upon the comon channell of Blakeney als Snitterlie towards the west'.⁸

Use of the term 'eye' has led to speculation equating the word eye with island. The term is still used widely in the area for land that would originally have been isolated within the Haven by water and marsh. Certainly 'Ey' meaning an island is listed as Old Norse in a volume on 'The Place-Names of Norfolk'.⁹

In 1926, when a new channel for the River Glaven channel was dug by hand, to the north of the 'chapel' site, 5 human skeletons were found in the sloping side of the channel. Very little is known about these skeletons other than that they were subsequently buried in Blakeney churchyard. Unfortunately the context in which they were found, whether they were buried in coffins or, whether any artefacts were found associated with them is unknown. Descendants

* Editor's note: The results of earlier studies have been reported in the Glaven Historian, including a summary of the documentary evidence and a non-invasive study of the site by the Society together with an account of the initial exploratory evaluation.¹⁻³



Map showing position of the 'Chapel' site in relation to the new channel for the River Glaven and other features in the surrounding landscape. Map by Frank Hawes.

of the men involved in the digging of the channel and the discovery of the skeletons know only that they were found and little else.

So the lease and the map from the 1500s plus the human skeletons found 300 years later are the central elements of documentary and physical evidence for the claim of a chapel on Blakeney Eye.

Initial exploratory evaluation

In 2003 an evaluation study of the 'Chapel' site was undertaken by the Norfolk Archaeology Unit (NAU) to establish the nature of the archaeological remains and provide a basis for assessing any future excavations. This work indicated the presence of substantial walls belonging to two buildings, with a cobbled floor in one. Fifty evaluation trenches were also dug in the hinterland south-west of the 'Chapel'; these provided evidence of activity in prehistoric times in six of them. Small pits and postholes were found, plus pottery, including a Neolithic carinated bowl (4000 -2500 BC) and Early Bronze Age Beaker ware (2600 - 700 BC).¹⁰⁻¹¹

Besides establishing that, at least, standing walls and a cobbled surface remained, an excit-

ing find from this earlier study was a bracteate recovered from loose sand, approximately 1m to the north of the main building on the site. A bracteate is a gold pendant, usually Scandinavian in origin, also known from Kent, during the 5-6th century and decorated with animals on both sides and thought to be equivalent to monetary value.¹² This one is 41mm in diameter. Bracteates found in Kent have been located in female graves where they have been worn as pendants. In Scandinavia they are more typically deposited in hoards with brooches and beads, and where they are found in bogs suggest a ritual deposition. Although very unusual, at least two other examples are known from North Norfolk. On initial discovery it was thought that the bracteate could have been supporting evidence for activity on the site during the Anglo-Saxon period, although it was also recognized it may have been a stray loss from a passing individual.¹³

Unfortunately these evaluation trenches out of necessity removed much of the archaeological context within and immediately around the chapel. This meant that some of the archaeological relationships were lost before the excavation began in 2004-5.



Photograph 1. Looking south across excavation to Cley with Structure 1 in the foreground (March 2005). The baulk, running north-south across the two buildings, is clearly visible; this was an area that was left unexcavated in case at some future date there was a need to check on the stratigraphical sequences of the site.

The 2004-2005 excavations

The main excavation of the Chapel site was undertaken between September 2004 and March 2005 by a team from Lindsey Archaeological Services funded by the Environment Agency.¹⁴ The brief from the County Archaeologist was to excavate the building itself and a 10m zone around it. Fortunately it was one of the driest and milder winters of recent years and undoubtedly this aided the team in what could otherwise have been very unpleasant conditions during a normal winter.

The results are presented here as a sequence from the oldest to the most recent, that is the reverse of the order in which they were excavated, where the deepest part of the excavation was the earliest. It is also important to stress that this paper concentrates on the 'Chapel' site and associated features and not the whole of Blakeney Eye. Within this site two buildings had been recognised in the earlier evaluation survey in 2003. Here the northern building is defined as Structure 1 and the southern as Structure 2, together these constitute the 'Chapel'.¹⁵

Earlier in 2004 Lindsey Archaeological Services had also undertaken an excavation of a large 40m square to the south-west of the Chapel site to investigate the prehistory of the site. Although some evidence of occupation was discovered, including post-holes for a possible circular structure, the results were rather inconclusive. Unfortunately no date could be attributed to the skeleton of a horse that was discovered.¹⁵

Phase I: Ditched Enclosure.

The earliest archaeological feature on the site was part of a large oval or rectangular ditched enclosure. The south-west corner of this enclo-

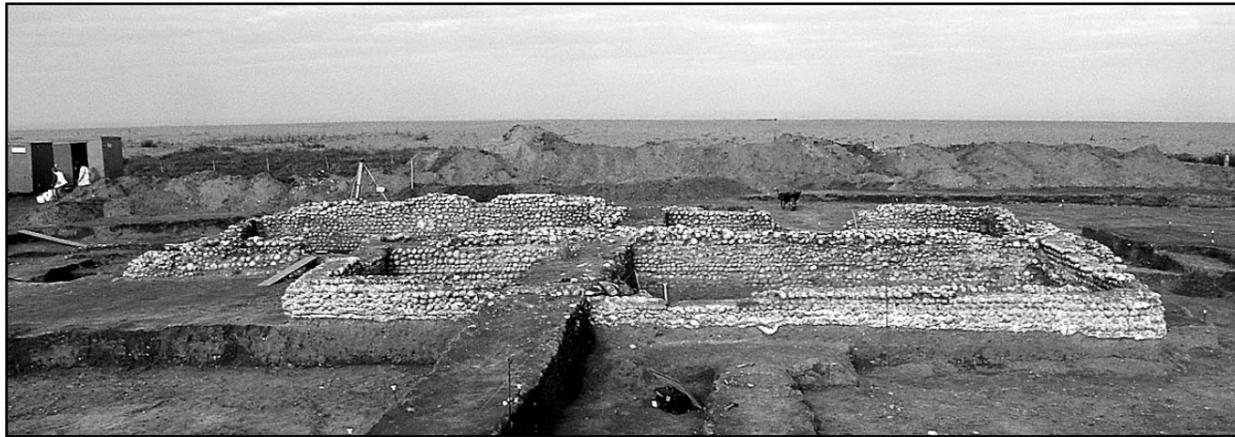
sure lay directly below the later medieval building (Structure 1) that was orientated east-west above it (Photo 3). The ditch was visible directly below the northern building as a slightly curved ditch that was aligned north-west to south-east.

However, strategically placed sections enabled the ditches to be traced beyond the limits of the excavation and demonstrate them heading towards the sea to the north and the Glaven channel to the east. To the north the ditch appeared as a double-ditch. Elsewhere, it was only a single ditch, but this may have been the result of building Structure 1 over the top of it at a later date.

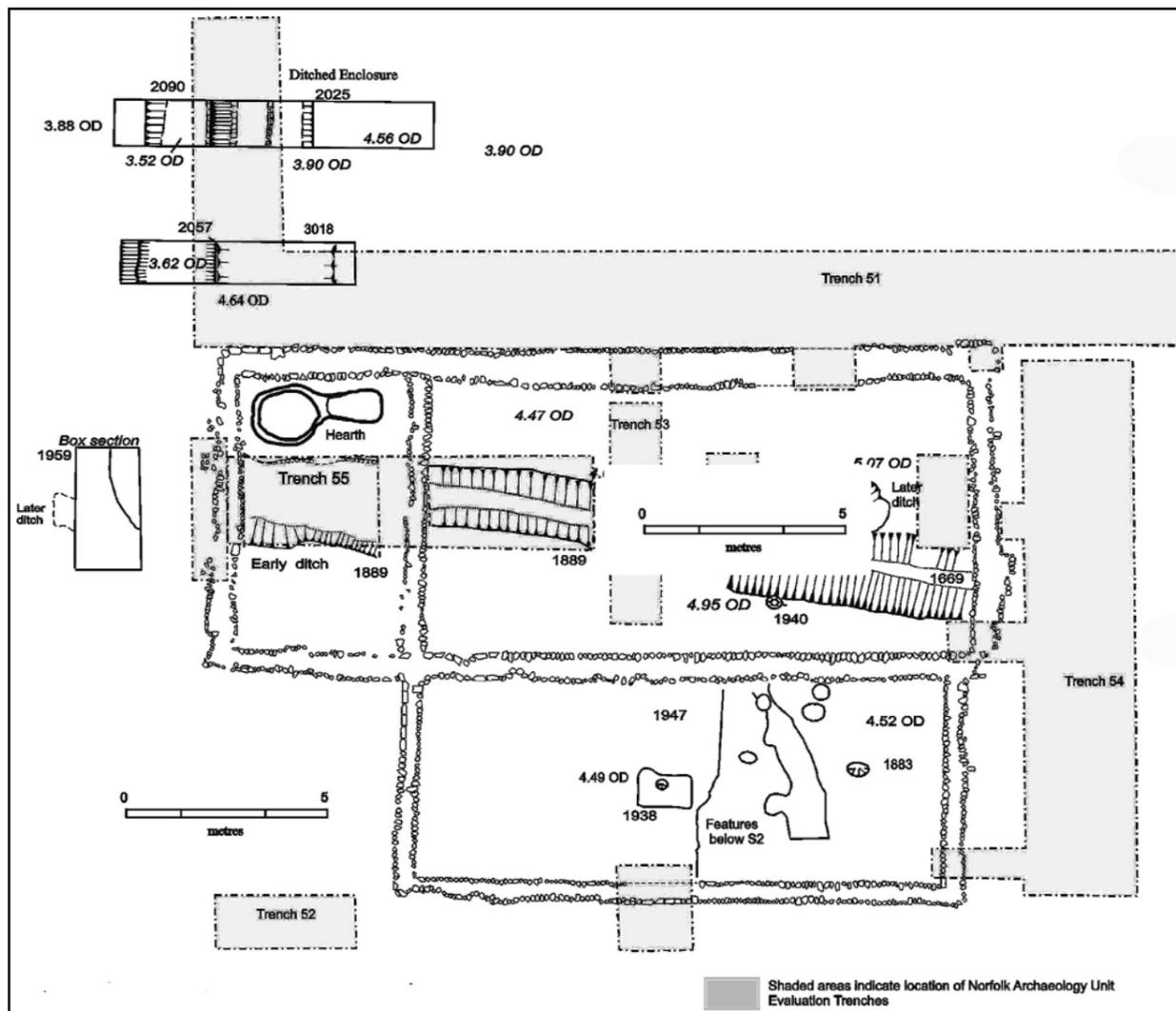
In just one area other features were associated with these ditches, they formed a sequence running from west to east over a distance of about 7m: (1) a gravel embankment; (2) a ditch; (3) a sandy embankment, the centre of which contained the remains of probably a slightly topped timber upright palisade; (4) another ditch and then (5) a further gravel embankment on the east (inward) side of the sequence. This sequence illustrates the complexity of the features surrounding the enclosure, most of which would have been destroyed, in the areas excavated, during the building of Structure 1.

The single ditch was filled with fine beach-like sand. When fully excavated along the length that was exposed it was found that the ditch had been cut directly into the underlying clay. Yet it was still remarkably clean and free of contamination from any substances that may have flowed or been washed into it. The ditch was also equally free of any artefacts that could be used for dating or interpretive purposes.

On the upper slope of the ditch less than a dozen badly abraded pottery sherds were found which date to either the Iron Age (700 BC - 43 AD) or Roman (43 - 450 AD) periods. Further



Photograph 2. Similar to Photograph 1, but looking north with the sea in the background and Structure 2 in the foreground. Again the baulk is clearly visible.



Plan 1. Composite plan showing the outlines of Structures 1 and 2 and the position of the earlier evaluation trenches (numbered and shaded). On to this is superimposed the position of the hearth and the complex arrangement of ditches. The earliest feature was the central ditch running east-west through S1 and then turning to run north; the section of double ditch is shown in the box at the top left. The positions of the later ditches are also shown. The OD numbers are the spot heights and the four figure numbers the position of samples and finds. Note: North is at the top and the scales of the two plans are the same.

analysis of these pieces is yet to be undertaken and they need to be compared with examples from other local sites. Whilst there was some initial speculation that the ditched enclosure, coupled with the Iron Age pottery, was of an Iron Age date, this may be an erroneous conclusion. Both the Roman and Iron Age pottery were found in archaeological contexts around the upper lip of the ditch and not within it, hence they do not date the ditch itself.

In the same area, on the upper slope of the ditch, were three 'coins'. One of these appeared to be a coin, although without any imprint on either side, whilst the other two bore similar imprints and were easily identified. Both were 13th century Henry III Long Cross pennies (1275 -1307).

The only other features that appear to be related to the ditched enclosure were found below Structure 2, the southern building. When the excavation had gone through the lowest stratified layers underneath the building, but had not reached natural deposits, there was a group of small postholes and what appeared to be linear lines or ridges in the soil. Adjacent to these features there was a large patch of charcoal almost 1m sq. This charcoal was sampled for C¹⁴ dating with the expectation it will eventually reveal a similar date to the ditched enclosure, as the features occurred on a ground surface that would have been contemporary with the upper lip of the ditched enclosure. They were obviously made prior to the building, of Structure 2, but at this stage no conclusion can be drawn other than to say that the features are the result of activity on the ground surface to the south of the ditched enclosure (i.e. outside).

Assuming that the ditch is part of a larger feature it is difficult to speculate on its use beyond suggesting that it is some form of enclosure. Whatever was enclosed by it lies below the northern and eastern areas of the site, or was lost when the 20th century Glaven channel was probably cut through it. To the east, excavation revealed what appeared to be the 'terminal' to the ditch just in front of the footpath to Cley adjacent to the Chapel. Whether the double ditch could be located to the north-east wasn't tested due to the constraints of the excavation brief.

The other important feature of the ditches was that they were recut at some stage. In the area that lies underneath Structure 1 this is very clear and can be seen in the photographs of the vertical sections cut through the ditches (Photo 4). Another, but later, ditch was also found and will be discussed later in this paper.

The Hearth: An enigma

So far we don't know how much time elapsed between the filling up of the ditches and the

construction of Structure 1.

Gradually the ditch was filled with wind-blown sand probably derived from thick deposits to the immediate north of the site. Then a hearth was built on top either immediately prior to the construction of Structure 1 or during its construction for it sits directly upon the ditch in the extreme north-west corner of the structure. This work undoubtedly removed parts of the double ditched enclosure that lay underneath.

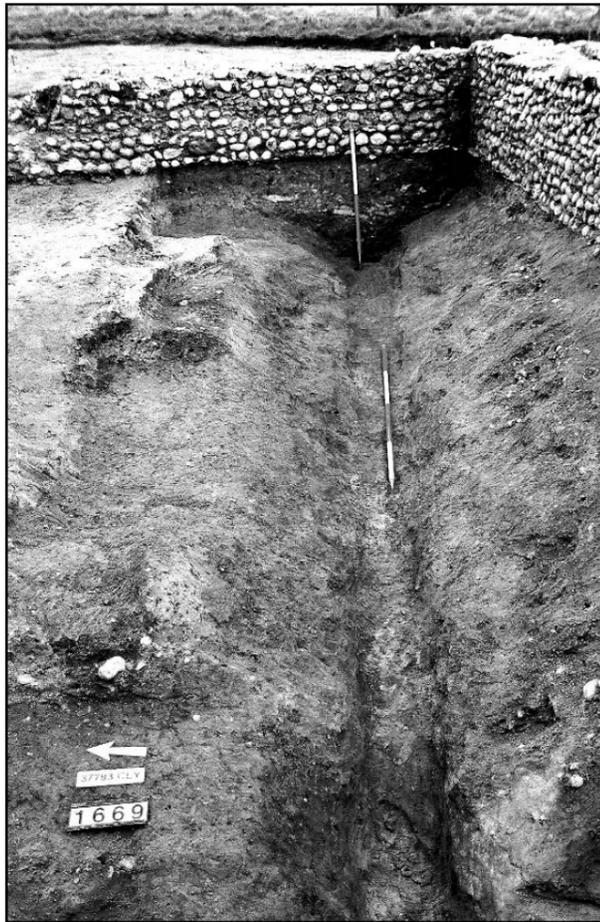
The hearth was a keyhole-shaped structure with a flue and is orientated east-west (Photographs 5-6). Its construction was quite delicate giving the impression of relatively little use. Whilst there is some reddened and blackened burnt sand around the sides that were hardened during the firing process, the quantity suggests a number of individual events rather than continual use. Moreover, the internal sand walls would not have withstood heavy continual use, but it is possible that the hearth was re-cut for each event. From within and around the hearth a quantity of iron slag was recovered suggesting its use for iron smelting. The flue held most of the burnt charcoal and ash deposits, probably from the raking-out process. Slag from the smelting was also found within the upper fills of the ditch suggesting that it had not completely filled with sand while the hearth was being used.

Samples of charcoal were taken for C¹⁴ dating and it is hoped these will provide more accurate dates for the hearth and its relationship to the ditched enclosure. It would be interesting, for example, if the C¹⁴ process produced dates comparable to the Iron Age. Of course, they may give a medieval date.

Analysis of the slag samples and the environment from which they were taken suggests that the hearth was most likely a smithing hearth.¹⁶ Clearly it is a low level hearth, with no evidence of any upper structural element, meaning that any process undertaken was at ground level and for a smelting process this is not typical.

Phase II: Construction and Occupation of Structure 1

At this point the larger north building – Structure 1 was built (Photographs 7-8). Despite being constructed on a soft sandy base with no deep foundation trenches as in modern buildings, the builders of the structure were highly skilled. Excavation revealed a 15m x 7m building that currently stands 1.5m at its highest point. The walls were constructed from local flints set in a white/cream mortar. The build of the walls, despite a lack of 'proper' foundations, has left a framework that now has the consistency of reinforced concrete. The building is literally welded together and the framework forms its own integral support on top of the sand base;



Photograph 3. Ditch inside Structure 1 looking east; it continues underneath the east wall of Structure 1. The later ditch cut into earlier one and is visible as an eroded edge on the north side of the later. Note: on all the photographs the white arrow shows the direction of north, and the divisions on the red and white poles are each xx cms.

this is a major factor contributing to its survival. It is possible that a rectangular box was dug into the sand and the base of the walls were built against it, rather than traditional foundation trench method for a built structure. It is much more likely, however, that the builders constructed Structure 1 directly onto the flat, consolidated sand surface.*

The appearance of the walls in Structure 1 were the first indicator that here was a building that had had substantial time and money spent upon it. It was not thrown up quickly; time and care were expended.

The flints used in the walls fall into three size-groups that are arranged in distinct coarsed bands. Large flints were used in the base for a solid foundation, followed by medium size flints and topped by a smaller selection as the wall height rose above 1m. The individuals collecting the flints for the construction had intentionally

selected specific sized stones, then sorted them into separate groups and used them accordingly.

Each internal corner of the building had four limestone blocks set into it as quoins (Photograph 9). Initially these quoins were interpreted as structural strengthening, but the selective removal of two of them clearly showed they bore little structural relevance to the wall in its present state. Moreover, the limestone blocks were set into the wall from the inside with the external flint stones protecting them from weathering. So, while the intention may have been purely decorative, questions must always remain whether they had an unknown function when laying out the site or in the early stages of construction.

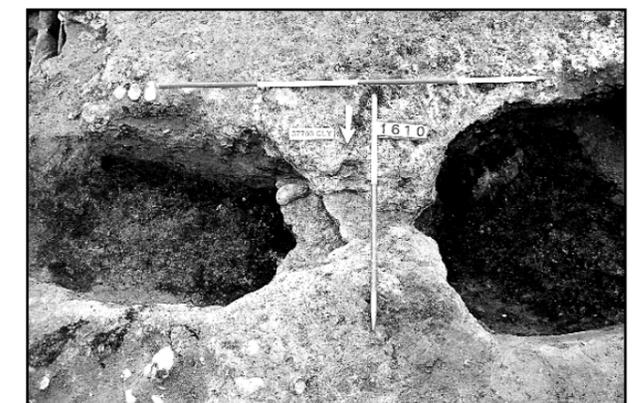
Two entrance ways were clearly visible in Structure 1. One was at the west end of the building (Photograph 10) and the other in the north wall towards the north-east corner. The former seemed to be the main entrance and was structurally more substantial. It is possible that the building may have had windows. There were two potential areas, one in the north wall towards the west end and the other in the south wall toward the east. In both locations there were breaks in the wall structure that suggest something had been removed, other than the layers of flint stones. The walls left standing remain only to this height, so that any further information, above this level, was lost. No interior wall partitioning in the building was apparent nor was there anything to suggest an upper floor may have been present, although the thick walls could easily have supported such a structure.

A substantial layer of pantiles littered the interior of the Structure 1, it looked as if the roof had simply collapsed with the resulting debris scattered about 30cm deep throughout the building (Photograph 10). Analysis suggests that the pantiles are 17th century in date and of Flemish and Dutch origin. This date was later than the presumed date for Structure 1 and raises the question: what type of roof did Structure 1 have prior to this, a thatched roof perhaps? A marginally earlier date, 16th centu-

**Editor's footnote: around the Glaven Valley the fusion of the lower courses is a feature of buildings constructed with lime mortar. It would appear to result from a 'curing' process in the mortar and the action of water in the structure (George Balding pers. com.). Whether it is confined to this area is not known, but it would appear to involve a chemical process that develops over time, that is facilitated by local conditions including the burying of the walls. The fact that this feature appears to be confined to the lower courses means the upper levels would be much easier to rob as the flints would not be bonded into such a strong matrix.*



Photograph 4. Section of ditch looking east showing recut marked with trowel lines.



Photograph 5 (left). The smithing hearth looking east with the flue in the background. The dark sides of the flue are burnt sand and in the base is some slag. The mortar surface is visible on both sides of the hearth.

Photograph 6 (above). View of the smithing hearth from above showing it surrounded by the mortar surface.

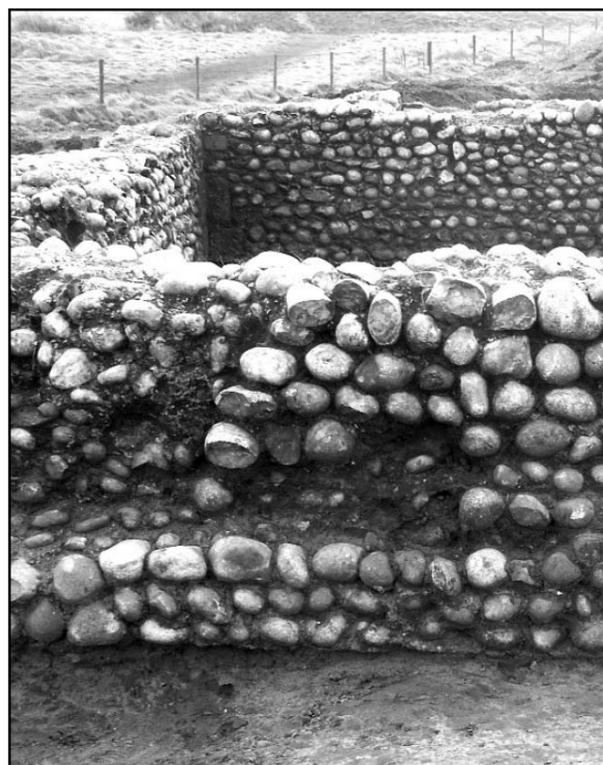
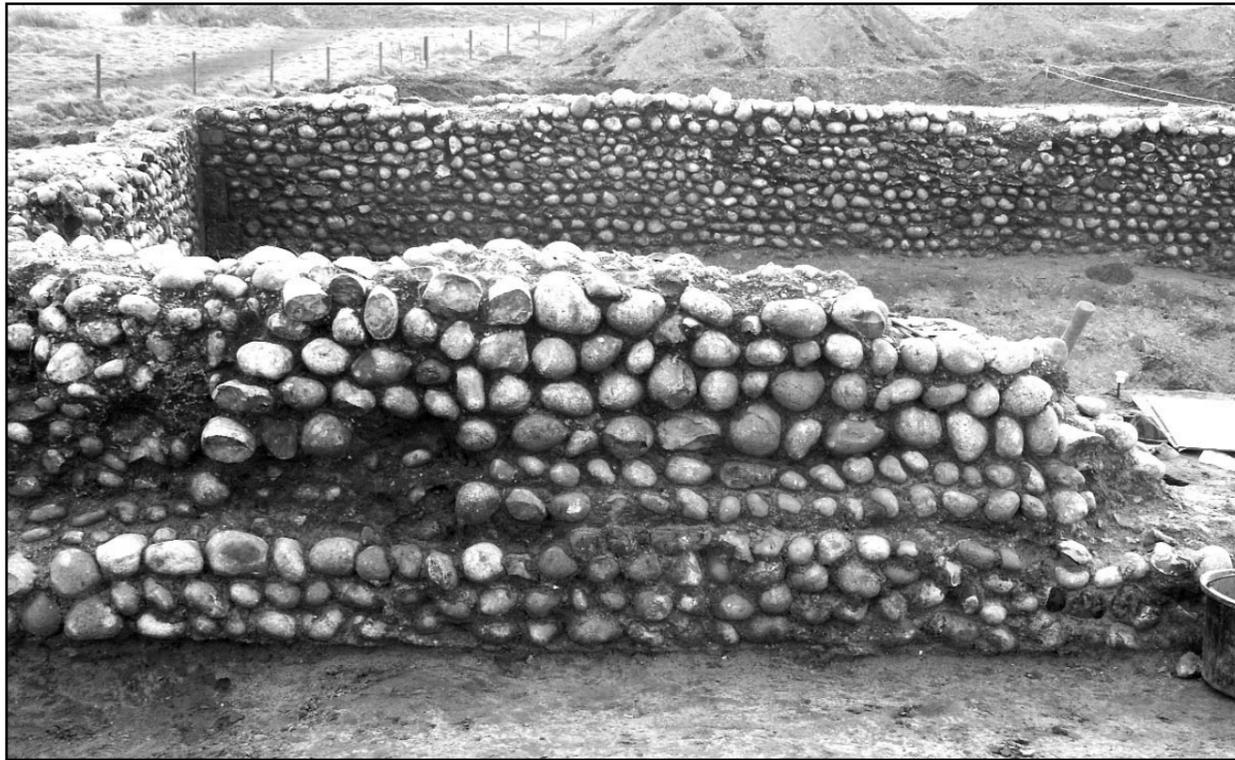
ry, could be suggested for the pantiles if we assume that here at Blakeney, with its sea trade, they were imported directly from the Low Countries prior to their commonly suggested date of use elsewhere in this country.¹⁷

Even identifying something ostensibly as distinct as a floor surface in the building was harder than anticipated, despite the walls' survival. A very small quantity of rectangular glazed tiles, that were distinct from roof tiles, have been identified as floor tiles. These tiles may have been laid on a made-up ground surface that was used as a foundation layer. Archaeologically this

was recognisable as a soil layer with a notably compacted and level surface that extended throughout Structure 1. The level of the foundation layer and the tile size suggests that there was a step down onto this floor at each entrance way. The dearth of more floor tiles suggests that the rest were removed at a later date.

Analysis of the small quantity of tile suggests a late medieval date possibly of Flemish origin. Glazed floor tiles certainly complement the suggestion that Structure 1 was a building of high status.

In the eight months that I spent in Blakeney



Photographs 7 & 8. Structure 1 showing the thick walls, with coarsed flints and only on the exterior a 'foundation layer' slightly wider than the wall that sits on it. The size of flints for each course have been carefully selected and the walls have a discrete inward pitch clearly visible in figure 9. Note on the interior of the south wall the regular coursing is broken possibly by a repair.

during the course of this work, I managed to visit some of the local churches. Amongst the ruins of the Priory at Binham, built between the 11th and 15th centuries, are remnants of a floor of small rectangular glazed tiles similar to those found at Blakeney (Photograph 11). These provide a clear example of how a glazed tile floor may have appeared.

Contemporary to the floor surface or foundation layer, another ditch was cut, running across, but above the earlier, now filled in, ditch. Unfortunately the evaluation trenches excavated on the site in 2003 by the NAU removed most of the upper ditch and its stratigraphic relationships. Inside Structure 1 this later ditch was best observed slightly to the north of its earlier counterpart and externally at the west end of the building beyond the box section shown on the plan (Photograph 3). Its truncated remains suggest that the ditch ran the full east-west length of the building. Excavation revealed it to be as clean of residual deposits as its earlier counterpart. Its function is not known.

Throughout the interior of Structure 1, at the lowest and therefore the earliest stratigraphic levels, that is beneath the foundation layer, there is considerable evidence of burning from fires, albeit small ones. Except for one dense area of charcoal found in the north-east corner of Structure 1, none of the fires would have been large, in fact just the contrary, as only small patches of charcoal were found. Whether these were places where the metal smelted in the hearth was taken to be worked or whether small



Photograph 9. Four limestone blocks set in the interior walls at the north-east corner of Structure 1.

fires had been lit for other purposes, perhaps during the construction process, isn't clear. Despite, or maybe because of this burning, no timber was found anywhere within the two buildings; it might have been anticipated that some evidence of roof supports, at least, would have been found. The absence of any wood remains was a notable occurrence.

All the patches of charcoal occur at the same horizon as the hearth, which appears to be very early in the life of the building. Charcoal samples were taken from many of the burnt contexts to be submitted for C¹⁴ dating. Will these C¹⁴ samples produce dates that would match the Long Cross pennies of the 13th century? A date central to the Middle Ages would provide confirmatory evidence.

During the main period of occupation for Structure 1 there is the possibility it may have had a wooden feature added on to the south-east corner, as excavation revealed a series of post-holes that formed a roughly rectangular shape. The post-holes give us very little information regarding their intended use, but we may speculate that the feature could have been a lean-to of some type or an external wooden stairway leading to an upper floor level. Some of the post-holes were unusually large and filled with gravel giving the impression of having sup-

ported a quite substantial structure. Alternatively, however, the gravel may have fallen in when the posts were removed, perhaps at the time when Structure 2 was being built.

Whether Structure 1 was eventually abandoned, for reasons unknown, or collapsed, or was abandoned because it collapsed isn't yet clear.

Phase II: Cley next the Sea

Substantial quantities of structural material from the building (roof and floor tiles; limestone blocks etc) may have been removed from the site to be used elsewhere. Examples of such material can be found incorporated into buildings and walls in Blakeney and many of the surrounding villages.

For example, in the nearby village of Cley there is a house with a limestone arch set into its front wall (Photograph 12). Local speculation (or is it more than that?) suggests that this archway originates from the 'Chapel'. Having examined the arch in its present location, its measurements are such that it would fit very neatly into the west entrance of Structure 1. Picturing the archway in the west wall gives quite a different impression to the building on Blakeney Eye. It certainly gives a sense of what we associate with a religious sentiment if we are



Photograph 10. View of Structure 1 looking east, showing the west entrance way, the layer of broken pantiles covering the coble floor, the dividing wall and beyond the unexcavated baulk running north to south that was left across the whole site.

trying theoretically to recreate a 'chapel' in this building. The danger in doing this presupposes a use and a motive for the building that the archaeology, at least, hasn't presented and consequently it may be inaccurate. However, not to theorise at all leaves us unable to progress towards an understanding of the 'chapel'!

There is the possibility that the arch, like the other blocks of limestone used in the building, may have derived from another building or location prior to its use in Structure 1. It is quite probable that limestone blocks were removed from the Carmelite Friary in Blakeney, a little over one mile south-west across the fields from the chapel.

Evidence from pottery, pipes and glass

At present the most important source of evidence for periods of occupation of the site and dates for the construction of particular structures comes from the pottery and other artefacts associated with the site. It is hoped that this will be eventually supplemented by C¹⁴ dating.

The pottery assemblage¹⁷ is dominated by sherds dating from the 14th to 16th centuries and derive from the period of primary use of Structure 1 (i.e. Phase II). A large proportion of these sherds are imported wares from the Netherlands and Germany and provide evidence of trading connections with Blakeney port. They

form a high status assemblage similar to that found at aristocratic and manorial sites in England, for example Acton Court, in the lower Severn Valley.¹⁸

The second largest pottery corpus is from the 13th and 14th centuries. Some of these sherds can be identified as British Toynton and Grimston wares, both well-known wares that were traded around the coast during this period. These two pottery assemblages can help to define the trading patterns of the area. Presently they suggest a change from largely coastal to overseas trade, but also paradoxically a rise in the status of the building over time.

There was also a small quantity of sherds dated to 11th-12th centuries, but no Anglo-Saxon pottery was recognized which could have been associated with the bracteate. A further small quantity of wares date from the 15th to early 17th centuries and these were contemporary to Phase III, the buildings last phase of use.

Significant quantities of iron nails were found and these are awaiting further study, together with a small quantity of clay tobacco pipes, most of which date to the 17th century, with one example from the 19th century.¹⁹ Considerable amounts of animal bone were also retrieved during the excavation, suggesting agricultural activity and the presence of domestic animals nearby.



Photograph 11 (above). Medieval tiles at Binham Priory to show the type of tiles used in Structure 1.

Photograph 12 (right). Arch in Cley.

A limited amount of evidence for later activity on and around the site is represented by Victorian glass ware²⁰ and the remnants of military structures associated with World War II defenses.

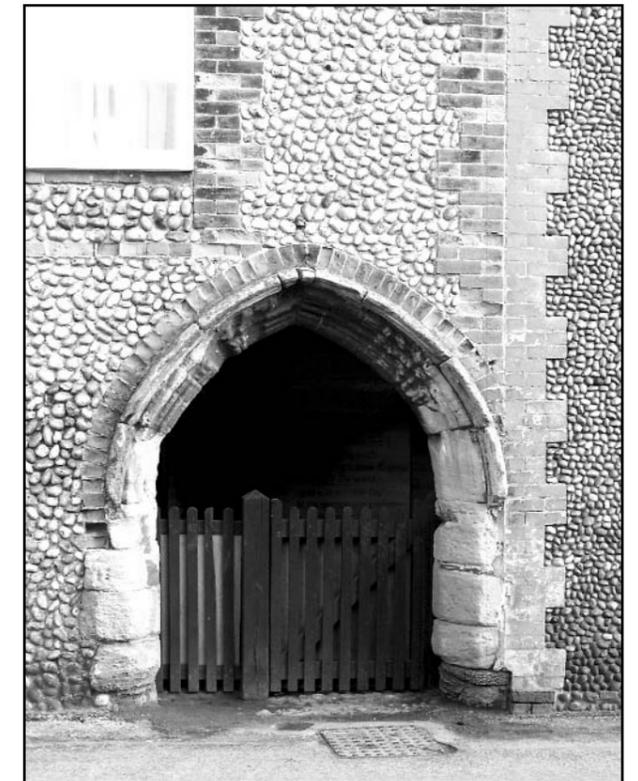
Post-Phase II: Natural Events

After the building had fallen into disuse three 'natural events' can be recognised. The archaeological stratigraphy of the site (Photograph 13) makes it clear, however, that these events did not cause the abandonment of the building, as they occurred at a later date. The building had already started to 'sand-up' when these events first happened.

The first event, a flood, flowed from a north to north-westerly direction and washed around Structure 1, although only lightly around the south side. The water flowed over the entrance in the north wall and about half way into the building. The flood was clearly visible in the stratigraphy against the north wall of Structure 1 leaving a layer about 8cm in depth that consisted of a water-borne silty sand mixed with small gravels.

Above this layer was a second natural event, initially interpreted as another flood. However, the highly visible band of sand was a windblown deposit, once again blowing from the north or northwest primarily around the northern sides of the building.

A third much larger flood deposited a deep band of gravel 20cm thick completely around, and partly into, the building. However, the initial identification of this layer as a flood may have been inaccurate. An alternative explanation is that this was a man-made deposit that has been created deliberately. The gravel was present all around Structure 1, unlike the other two natural events. It had the appearance of



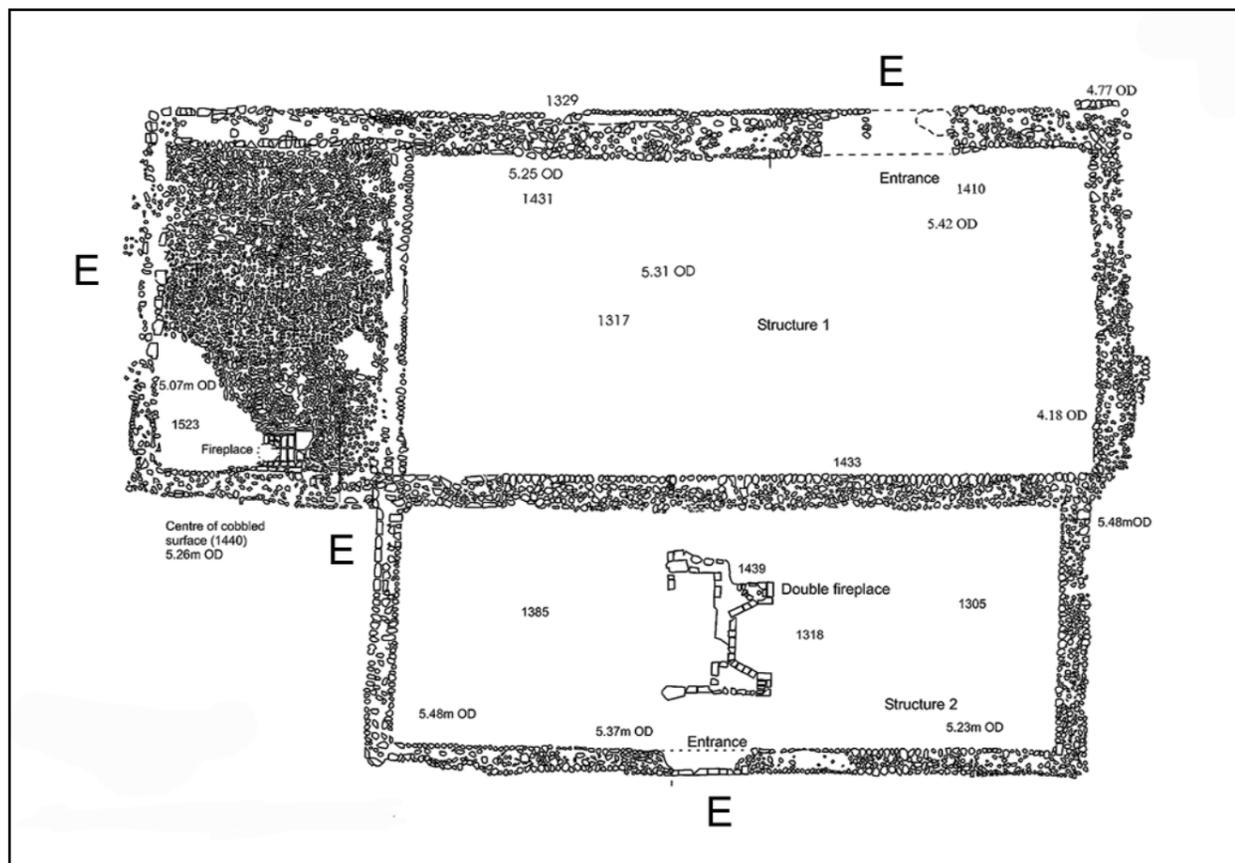
gravel that was specifically laid down as a surface, perhaps to stabilise any bare sand that was exposed and thus prevent further erosion. However, the thickness of this band of gravel would militate against it being a man-made feature, furthermore, during the excavation of the new channel large deposits of gravel of differing sizes were exposed close to the 'Chapel' site. Irrespective of its origin, it would have functioned as a good working or walking surface in the immediate vicinity of the buildings. The presence of this gravel layer and whether it was a natural phenomenon or a man-made one highlights many of the conundrums encountered in the excavation of this site.

It is interesting to note that all the natural events clearly occur from a north or north-west direction, bearing in mind that at the time the shingle spit would have been further to the north than the current position. The first flood event must have washed in a long way from the coast, perhaps as far as 1.5km before reaching Structure 1.

Using the pottery as a dating guide it can be suggested tentatively that Structure 1 was probably abandoned by about 1600, hence these so-called natural events must have occurred after that and before Structure 2 was built.

Phase III: Structure 2

The next chronological event to take place on the site was the construction of a second building (Structure 2). This was added onto the south side of the earlier structure so that its external



Plan 2. Plan showing features related to Phase III: the building of Structure 2 and the reuse and modification of Structure 1. A capital E has been placed against the two entrances to each building.

south wall became the inner north wall of the new structure.

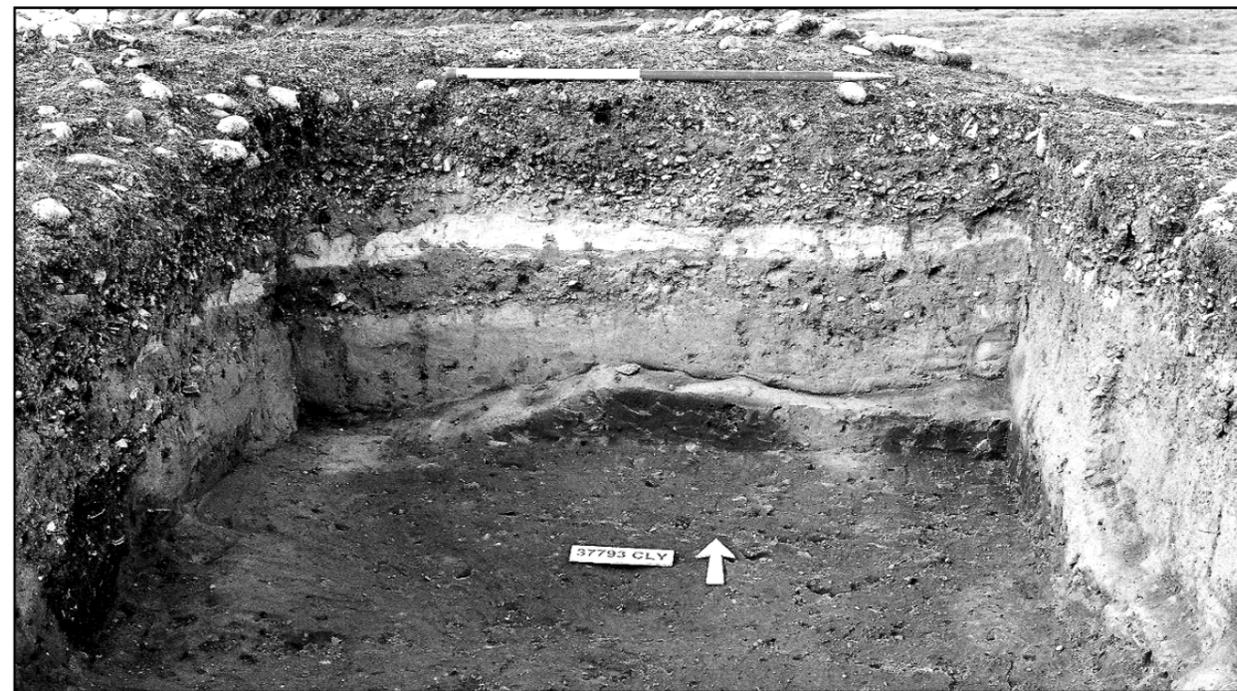
The build of this second structure (Photographs 2, 14-15) was considerably inferior to that of its predecessor. The walls were not as well built, nor as sturdy, and the overall appearance is of a notably poorer quality edifice. For example, the flint stones were not so well sorted in the walls and the overall appearance was considerably more random. Although the finished walls do not exhibit the same signs of care as with Structure 1, it was, nevertheless, still a substantial building. For Structure 2 entrance ways were placed in the west and south walls this time.

Analysis of the bricks and roof tiles²¹ in Structure 2 suggests that it is identical to that in Structure 1. There is therefore every reason to assume that Structure 2 is built of reused material from Structure 1. This again raises questions regarding the structural integrity of the earlier building at this stage. Presumably, the roof had collapsed, leaving the eastern portion of the building unstable and unusable. One would think however, that repairing an already existing building would have been an easier task than creating a new one from scratch.

The redbrick from Structure 2 was sampled

and ultimately this will assist in the dating of this building.²² The brick was used as thresholds in the doorways and also as quoins, although in Structure 2 almost certainly with the intention of strengthening the building, unlike the limestone quoins in Structure 1. The floor could be more easily recognised here and seems comparable to Structure 1. A handful of glazed tile fragments suggest a floor surface with a mortar foundation layer below. This could potentially be re-used mortar from the earlier building. The depth, up to 15cm in places, is quite deep for a mortar foundation and unlike anything that could be identified in Structure 1.

In the centre of Structure 2 was a pair of back-to-back brick built fireplaces (Photograph 16) located exactly opposite the south doorway, effectively dividing the building into two rooms with a fireplace facing into each. A brick partition wall between the two rooms might be anticipated, but there was no evidence for one. A mortar base within the east fireplace suggests a designated area in which to stand cooking utensils indicative of a kitchen or a room for domestic use. This feature was absent in the west fireplace perhaps indicative of a living space. As this description suggests there was a notable difference between the appearance, and proba-



Photograph 13. A soil profile in Structure 1 showing the series of 'natural events'. The conspicuous pale layer is windblown sand, beneath is a darker layer attributed to a flood and above the layer of gravel. The dark stain on the left of the picture is the pit containing charcoal that was sampled for C¹⁴ date.



Photograph 14. Structure 2 looking east showing the comparatively irregular coarsing

ble use, of Structures 1 and 2.

Nineteen limestone blocks were found in Structure 2, most of which had been worked by a stone mason, but no inscriptions or markings were visible on them to give any indication of their origin or potential former use. A number of these blocks were used for both structural and decorative features in the fireplaces. These blocks appear to match the quoins in Structure 1, from where they were probably taken, but

here they seemed even more incongruous than in the earlier building. Their intimation of status contrasts strongly with the overall inferior appearance of Structure 2. Nevertheless, the use of the blocks visibly enhanced the potential status or at least the appearance of the building.

Pantiles from the roof were once again scattered throughout the building.²¹ On the south-east exterior of Structure 2 was a large area of broken roof slates. This concentration of slates



Photograph 15. The lower courses or 'foundation layer' of Structure 2 showing the 'messy' mortar and a brick incorporated into the wall.

suggests that they had been placed here prior to removal to another location. Whether Structure 2 had a combined roof of pantiles and slate tiles isn't clear. Or could the slate tiles derive from the potential wooden structure adjoining the south-east corner of Structure 1? Early examination of the slate suggests that it has a Cornish origin and thought to be of a later rather than earlier date.*

The external surfaces of the east walls of both Structures 1 and 2 were badly eroded and weathered. A few limestone blocks had been used here for repairs or shoring, although these repairs are best described as makeshift. There was no evidence of similar damage on the internal face of the same walls.

Phase III: Re-use of Structure 1

At the same time as Structure 2 was in use, the west end of Structure 1 was redeveloped. A new doorway was opened in the south wall. The west entrance of Structure 1 seems to have been modified (perhaps more than once). Bearing in mind the suggestions about the Cley arch, perhaps it had already been removed by this time. There has clearly been much modification to this entrance way throughout the lifespan of the building. A partition wall built north-south through Structure 1 created a new room in the west end of the building. This dividing wall was

Editor's Footnote: In the 14th century there was contact with Cornwall by fishing boats from East Anglia operating in the area, is it possible they returned with cargoes that could have included slate?²³

of the same build as Structure 2 and likewise is notably inferior to the build of Structure 1. The wall abutted the north and south walls of Structure 1 but was not bonded with them. This is the only wall in Structure 1 to be added at a later date than the main construction phase.

A cobbled flint-stone surface was laid down across the whole interior of the newly partitioned area at the west end of the building (Photograph 17). The cobbles were well-laid, neat, uniform in size and level suggesting a working surface rather than a living area. The flint stones are not placed entirely randomly as some linear patterning was observable. Presumably because of the development of this cobbled surface, the entranceway in the west wall was modified, possibly enlarged, to facilitate whatever activity was now taking place within. Inside the building against the south wall, next to the modified doorway, was a new brick-built fireplace with a small circular hearth set into its central interior (Photograph 18). Whilst the fireplace appears to be of a domestic style, its context within the re-used Structure 1 appears to be anything but that.

Below the cobbled surface in Structure 1 there was an uneven mortar floor (Photograph 17). This consisted of a cream-coloured layer of mortar that ran from the west entranceway for 5m eastwards. In the North West corner the mortar was moulded around the perimeter of the earlier smithing hearth, now filled with sand. The mortar does not cover the hearth, but respects the rim of the feature, suggesting it may have had further use during the lifetime of the main building.

When the mortar was removed a thin layer of

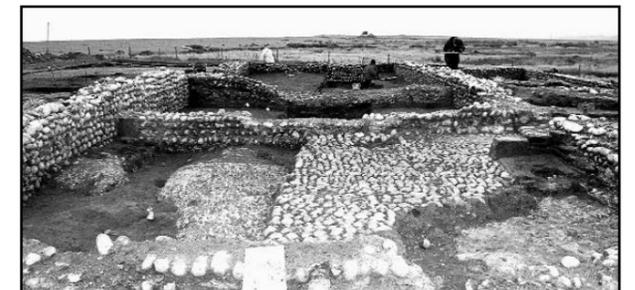


Photograph 16. A view of the east side of the brick fireplace in Structure 2 showing mortar base. The limestone blocks flanking the hearth on the other side are visible.

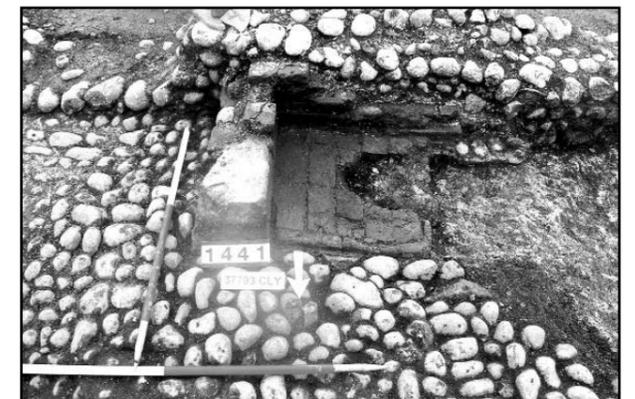
silt was revealed, about 8cm in depth, and below that was yet another mortar floor identical to the one already encountered above. Once again it respected the upper rim of the hearth. Removal of this layer revealed the top of the earlier ditch, now filled with sand, and the base and structure of the hearth itself. This sequence suggests that the hearth may have remained in use from the earliest phase of Structure 1, or even earlier. This suggestion, i.e. a date for the first use of the hearth predating the construction of Structure 1, is supported by the presence of iron slag below the earliest mortar surface and in the upper fill of the enclosure ditch below the structure.

The two mortar floors within Structure 1 appear to have been relatively insubstantial horizons that would not have survived constant use. The mortar had not hardened to the same degree as the mortar in the walls. As both the mortar layers respect the hearth, it may be assumed that it was still being used in Phase II of the building. Presumably the mortar floor was replaced with a second layer once it became too worn. After the second layer became worn this was replaced with the cobbled surface. The smithing hearth was then covered over by the cobbles and a new brick-built, but smaller, fireplace was placed on top of the mortar but contemporary to and respected by the cobbled surface.

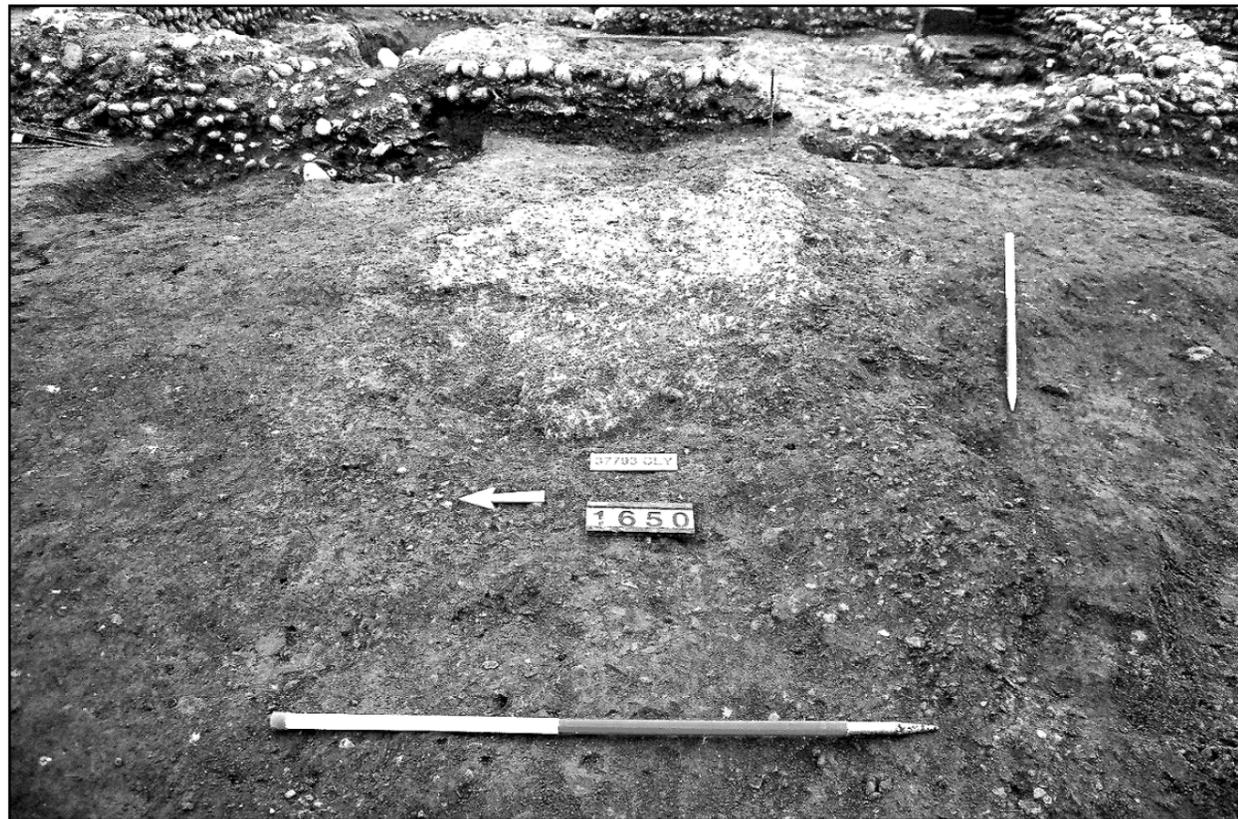
Outside the west entrance of Structure 1 was a small rectangular patch of mortar, identical to the type found within the building, but covering only a small area about 1m square (Photo 19). Once again, a second mortar rectangle was found below the first. The mortar appeared to



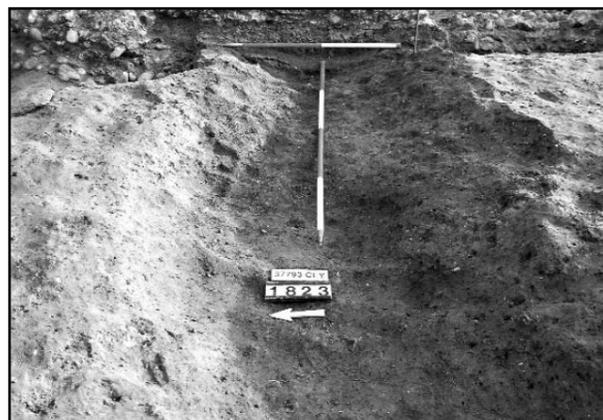
Photograph 17. The rebirth of Structure 1: a view looking east, showing the cobbled flint floor with underlying mortar layer. On the north side the position of the hearth is visible although at this stage in the excavation the structure has been removed. Against the south wall, next to the modified doorway, is a brick-built fireplace with a small circular hearth set into it. The wall dividing the building is clearly visible.



Photograph 18. Detail of brick-built fireplace and part of entrance.



Photograph 19. West entrance to Structure 1 showing the patch of mortar outside the building.



Photograph 20. Lying underneath the patch of mortar was this hollow path leading in a south-west direction.

form a doorstep, or perhaps the base for a porch or covered entrance. The presence of a number of small post holes adjacent to the mortar complements the idea of a covered structure.

Removal of the second layer of external mortar revealed a hollowed path or track below it (Photo 20). The track lead south-west, away from the building and sloped downwards following the natural topography. The track looked well used and had what appeared to be fist size holes set into it, perhaps left over from the placement of stones used to create a better sur-

face. However, animals using the track and leaving the imprint of their hoofs in the soil may have created the same effect. The track could be clearly identified for 6m to the west of the building before flattening out onto the adjacent ground surface. Could this have formed a trackway across the fields towards the Carmelite Friary? Its presence is supporting evidence for the idea of the west entranceway of the building being the main doorway during its earlier phase and once again when it was re-used.

A little to the south of this track, adjacent to the west wall of Structure 2, was a large midden. The midden's location suggested that the buildings' occupants had walked out of the west doorway of Structure 2 and deposited their waste and rubbish on this growing heap of refuse which was then burnt. The midden contained coal, charcoal, nails, pieces of iron, flint and pottery all of which had been burnt.*

With the reuse of the west end of Structure 1 there must have been a good reason why the remaining part of the building remained unused. Was it simply too damaged, or could it have been used as a storage area perhaps? The area of slate tiles to the south east corner of the site was on a very recent land surface, more or less immediately below the turf, which suggests that if the slate tiles were being removed from the site, this removal took place in the 18th or 19th century. This could be when the remaining

building material, floor tiles, limestone blocks, roof timbers, doors etc were finally removed. The roof collapse certainly occurs late in the life of the building as the layer of pantiles is stratigraphically above the cobbled surface. The archaeological record, at least, does not indicate re-use of the east end of Structure 1, contemporary with Structure 2. That does not categorically mean that it wasn't used, simply that it isn't visible in the archaeological record.

Finally, during the summer of 2005 a project of works to reroute the river Glaven channel and build a new embankment for sea defences began. Whilst an archaeological watching brief was carried out during this work no further archaeological remains were found.²⁴ As most of this work took place on the lower ground, largely saltmarsh, this result was not unexpected. However, one further piece of information was obtained.

The cut for the new channel takes the river south of Blakeney Chapel with the post-1926 channel to the north being backfilled. At the point where the new cut intersected with the old footpath from Cley leading north to the 'Chapel', it was clear that the pathway had been constructed directly above, or along, the original medieval estuary shoreline. Its location therefore places the chapel on the west bank of the channel leading to Cley.

Conclusions

As fine as the remains of 'Blakeney Chapel' are, the archaeological results have not presented conclusive proof that the site contained a chapel or an ecclesiastical building of any type, however nor could it be refuted. We now have as much information as the structural remains can tell us, but paradoxically the data have raised more questions without really answering our initial enquiry. What was the function of the buildings?

The archaeological excavation at Blakeney Chapel gives a series of events that can be summarised simply as follows:

**See previous page – Editor's footnote: To a bystander the discovery of a pit to the north of Structure 1 was interesting. It was extremely 'clean' with no signs of any debris in it. Again it is possible to speculate on a use, but an intriguing suggestion is that it was a well! Probably a freshwater lens floated on top of the seawater and remained distinct from it. This could have been used for drinking water, as happened out on Blakeney Point. It may have had to be dug out at frequent intervals as it was buried by wind-blown sand; if this was the case it could explain the 'clean' nature.*

Phase I: The ditched enclosure is likely to be 11th – 12th century, contemporary with the Long Cross pennies and a small amount of pottery.

Phase II: The building and main period of use for Structure 1 during the 14-15th century; this is supported by the dating of the pottery assemblage excavated from it. The smithing hearth was active during this phase

Phase III: Building and use of Structure 2, and the associated re-use of Structure 1 during the 16th-17th century, again based on the pottery finds and the use of brick materials. The cobbled surface, mortar floors and brick built fireplaces are part of phase III.

The charcoal samples taken for C¹⁴ dating may eventually provide clearer dating evidence that will hopefully match these phases, but they may necessitate a major revision, although it is unlikely given the stratigraphic relationships. It appears improbable at this stage, for example, that they would give an Iron Age or Roman date for the early phase of activity that would match the handful of pottery found near the ditched enclosure.

These pottery fragments, along with the Anglo-Saxon bracteate, appear to be residual finds at the site. Residual finds, such as these, are not unusual, especially at a site like this on the estuary of a busy coastal trading port. The bracteate could easily have been dropped by someone and was immediately trampled into the very soft sand until it was found in 2003.

Speculation abounds and numerous uses have been suggested for the two buildings and many of them are feasible. A well-built structure like this was undoubtedly constructed for a specific purpose. Nevertheless, we shouldn't forget that a building with a long life, occasionally in a state of decay, has the potential to have multiple uses from a warren's house to a custom house to a chapel of ease or vice versa.

It might be anticipated, therefore, that such a site, i.e. with a long period of occupation from prehistory to possibly the 16th or 17th centuries, would have a wealth of artefacts associated with it, either in or around the buildings or in the surrounding landscape. This was not the case, although some items were found, the overall impression was that the buildings had been 'cleaned up'. Various explanations can be advanced, but it does suggest that at various stages there was a premium on materials in the area, so that much was removed or disappeared as it was utilized either around the site or elsewhere.

To be provocative, is the 'Chapel' in the 1596 lease the only building to have existed in this location? Could flooding and storms have damaged an earlier 'Chapel' of which no trace now



Photo 21. Excavation completed and the site backfilled. The next stage was cutting the new channel and filling in the cut so that in future access to the site will be from the shingle spit.

exists? Is the building that has been excavated a rebuild? Does the ditched enclosure belong to this earlier structure? This is all speculation, but given the buildings location and the topographic changes along the coastline it is something to consider.

We know for certain that there was activity on Blakeney Eye before Structure 1 was constructed. It seems clear that this activity could have extended further to the north than the current site. If the coastline was further north there is no way of knowing how much evidence of previous occupation and land use has been lost to coastal erosion.

However, to take another view, what can we say about the building? It is clear that Structure 1 was built by skilled craftsmen in a very specific location. Considerable time and money were spent on its construction. The finish and nature of the walls contribute to a feeling of importance and some of the pottery types found are often associated with buildings of high status. The pantiles from the roof would not be typical for the period or region lending further weight to the idea of a structure of importance, furthermore glazed floor tiles would not occur in a building solely used for iron smelting. In a court of law, however, this is evidence that wouldn't be enough categorically to lay claim to a 'chapel'.

Blakeney's potential role, if any, in the Hanseatic League, may help elucidate some of the questions we have about the 'chapel' and its activities. The Hanseatic League was an alliance of trading cities that established and maintained a trade monopoly over most of Northern Europe and the Baltic for a time in the later Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (between the 13th and 17th century). So, is there any documentary evidence that may elucidate the role of Blakeney Haven at this crucial time or indeed the function of these buildings during their lifetime?

Having spent considerable time around these two buildings one does get something of a feel for the remains and their potential use. The excavation undertaken examined the building in considerable detail. The abiding impression is of a building with a sense of high status to which is attached a structure that does not have the same appearance or feel. So, if the term 'chapel' can be applied to any building, it must be to the earlier structure.

Footnote

Lindsey Archaeology Services currently holds all of the archaeological records, photographs, artefacts and documentary evidence relating to the 2004-5 excavations. All of this documentation, once all necessary reports are completed, will be placed with the Norfolk Museum Archive.

Acknowledgments: a site isn't dug by one individual and the following all played a vital role in the excavations: Richard Newton for metal detecting and Russell Harrold our flexible JCB operator. The excavation was directed by Richard Lee. The team on site was Stuart Calow, Aaron Chapman, Jedlee Chapman, Jon Cousins, Ben Curtis, Gareth Davis, Alison Dingle, Mark Dodds, Matthew Hobson, Pat Kent, Wayne Livesey, Lucy Loughman, Kate Murphy, Deborah Riches, Ian Rowlandson, Mark Sidebottom, James Sutton and Tom Wells. This report was edited by Naomi Field.

Thanks to David Gurney, Graham Lubbock, John Sizer, John Wright, John and Pam Peake for hospitality, assistance, local information and general friendliness.

The author would like to extend his special thanks to John Peake for his tireless comments and suggestions that have enhanced this article considerably. Any errors or omissions remain strictly the responsibility of the author however.

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The Shipping Survey of 1572

by Jonathan Hooton

Synopsis: The shipping survey of 1572 is interesting in that it records Blakeney as being a creek of Yarmouth, but Cley and Wiveton as being creeks of Lynn. Most of the other evidence examined points to all three ports being creeks of Yarmouth. The survey is then compared with those of 1565 and 1580 and it is found that there is surprisingly little continuity in the information. It appears likely that differences in the way the surveys were compiled could account for this, but caution is needed when relying solely on these surveys for an accurate picture of 16th century shipping.

Introduction

After reading John Peake's informative article 'A Snapshot of Blakeney Haven'¹ based around the 1565 survey of vessels in ports it seemed apposite to analyse another survey that had recently been brought to my attention which I was not aware of at the time I was writing 'The Glaven Ports'. This is the survey of merchant ships in England, the information being collected "as appearith by the customer's accomptes; from the Feaste of St Michael Tharchangele anno Domini 1571, unto the same Feaste, anno 1572. Collected by Thomas Colshill, surveyor of the porte of London". This is only seven years after the 1565 survey and it throws up several questions both about the Haven and the accuracy of the information that was collected.²

Geoffrey Nobbs of Acle first brought my attention to the document with a query as to which Head Port the Glaven settlements belonged. This is because in this document the vessels belonging to Blakeney are listed with the creeks of Yarmouth, whereas Cley and Wiveton (even though they are on the Yarmouth side of the Glaven) are included with the creeks of Lynn.

Location of Custom Houses

When the Crown began to levy custom dues on overseas trade, it started by placing officials only at the most important ports of the area; these became known as Head Ports. The Head Ports were responsible for the minor havens along the coast nearest to them and the more important harbours were known as Creeks. It was only at the Head Port and its Creeks that overseas trade was legal and the Creeks, frequently had their own customs house and officers, who were subordinate to the

Head Port. Williams states that by the early fourteenth century the coastline had been divided into areas each with its own Head Port, that gave its name to the area.³ In East Anglia, Lynn and Yarmouth were the Head Ports, with Ipswich controlling the Essex coast.

Blakeney, being roughly equidistant between Yarmouth and Lynn, was frequently involved in disputes between both the ports as to who had control. In 1350 Thomas de Drayton and Simon Horn of Yarmouth were ordered "not to meddle in the collection of customs and subsidies at the Port of Blakeney by pretext of the commission lately granted them, as the King wills that the collectors of customs and subsidies in the port of Lenne shall collect at the port of Blakeney".⁴

In 1565 an inquiry was carried out by local commissioners to see which ports had custom houses and deputy officers and whether they were sited in the best places. It was the Yarmouth commissioners who reported on Blakeney. They said "We certifie that there be no places within the port of Yarmouth wherin merchandizes have been taken in or discharged other than the mentioned place. Likewise in the haven of Blakeney none other but three, whereof the first is Clay the second is Wiveton and the third is Snitterly which being served with several crekes onto the same haven so conteyned and to be conteyned for that they be all in the syghte of the Customer of Clay within the port of half a myle".⁵

In 1565, there was no doubt that all three ports were under the jurisdiction of Yarmouth. The introduction to the port of Cley stated "The sayde towne is Scytuate upon the haven (Called Blakeney haven) having habitacions and householders in the same to the number of 100. And the govern'nce of the same towne is in Sir Chr'offer Heydon Knight and shippes and other vessels that Lade or Unlade ther are Lycensed by warraunt from the Quene her M'ties officers of the

Customs Howse of greate Yarmowthe viz: the Customer Controller and Serchor and Their Deputies".⁶ Similar statements were made about Wiveton and Snitterley. It is interesting to see that even at this late date, the name Blakeney was being used for the whole haven and the settlement of Blakeney was still being referred to as Snitterley.

It is therefore surprising that in 1572 Cley and Wiveton are included (along with Wells, Heacham and Burnham) in the creeks belonging to Lynne whereas Blakeney (and here it is called Blakeney and not Snitterley) is considered to be a creek of Yarmouth, whereas seven years earlier they were all under the control of Yarmouth. The Bacon Papers contain a shipping survey completed in 1580 which includes "The names of the shippes or vessels with the burthens of the same and the severall owners of them within the countie of Norfolk"⁷, which was sent to the Lord Admiral in November 1580. This document does not distinguish which port the creeks belonged to, however, other references in the Bacon Papers do indicate that Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton, were all under the control of Yarmouth.

On January 13th 1583 William Smythe, Customer of Yarmouth had been asked to supply details of all the "grayne & victelles" that had been shipped since the previous December, along with the warrants and names of merchants involved and wrote to Robert Blackman at Stiffkey to ask him for a copy of his books (presumably the port books for Blakeney) so that he might compile the information.

Apparently, Smythe was not too impressed with Blackman because on January 24th 1583 Nathaniel Bacon wrote to William Cecil, concerning a complaint made against Blackman (who was a nephew of Sir Nicholas Bacon and therefore a kinsman of Nathaniel) that he exercised "undue execucion of his office beinge the deputie Customer in **the creeke of Blakeney, a member of Yermouth porte.**" This was a little tricky for Nathaniel Bacon since the office was "procured unto hym by your Lordships good meanes at the intreaty of my father." Nathaniel Bacon comments that "Mr Smyth hath some cause (though not greate) to finde hym self greved herein for the abuse" but that the problem really lay with an under officer appointed by Blackman. Nonetheless, Nathaniel had persuaded Blackman to resign the post and pass it on to Roger le Strange, who would recompense Blackman if he were confirmed in the appointment. Nathaniel then goes on to describe le Strange as wise, honest and discreet and assures their Lordships that "neither doth he wish the place for any gaine."⁷ Here it would seem that there is proof that by this date, at least, the 'creeke of Blakeney' was definitely part of Yarmouth.

The fact that the term Blakeney was used,

rather than Snitterley (as was used in 1565) or 'Blakney alias Sneterley' (as used in the 1580 document) would seem to indicate that it was all three villages that were referred to. There might still remain some doubt as to whether Blakeney included Cley or not. However, on September 24th of that year Thomas Farmer and Nathaniel Bacon wrote to William Base concerning the misconduct of James Bourne. This was addressed to "our lovinge frendes **William Base, Customer of Blakeney**" and others, including several from Cley. This letter, on its own does not prove that Cley was part of the creek of Blakeney, but a letter to Nathaniel Bacon from Francis Johnson dated June 27th 1578 does, I think, clear up the point. In it Johnson refers to "**William Base, the coustoumer of Cllaye**" indicating that the port of Blakeney did indeed include Cley (and I am sure Wiveton as well) at a date only six years after the survey of 1572.⁷

Another interesting reference, concerns John Braddock who describes himself as "on of the officers for Her Mates custome, in the porte of Blackney". He is writing to the exchequer, complaining that he bought the office of Searcher at Blakeney from Thomas Grosse, the Searcher of Yarmouth for £10 and that subsequently Grosse had changed his mind. Or as Braddock puts it "The said Grosse without any cause given by Braddock hath very injuriouslie, upon some consideration as it semeth otherwyse yelded unto him, made voyde the said assignement by deputing another to the place" and left Braddock without his job or his £10. Braddock wanted his job back, or at least to have his money returned.⁸ There is no date for this, however, by 1590 John Braddock was the Customer at Blakeney, who wrote the foreign trade accounts for Christmas 1588 to Ladyday 1590.⁹

These accounts were printed in Volume 8 of the Norfolk Record Society and in his introduction to that volume Basil Cozens-Hardy says "A little more is known of John Braddock in addition to the fact that he was the customs officer who kept these foreign trade accounts in neat and educated handwriting; he lived at Wiveton and appears to have supplemented his official duties by some kind of mercantile activity. The custom house where he worked was probably at Cley, the deeper channel which enabled the larger ships engaged in foreign trade to berth there".¹⁰

These documents seem to indicate that there must have been a mistake in the collection of the data for the 1572 survey and that at least from 1565 onwards, the Creek of Blakeney & Cley was a member of the port of Yarmouth. However, since the Glaven was half way between the two ports there might still have been quite a strong connection with Lynn. This is indicated by another document in the Stiffkey Papers relating to the proceedings of the Commissioners for the

Restraint of Wool and Leather who were required to find out *“what quantity of raw hides, tanned leather, wolles, ordinance or other prohibited goodes have ben shipped and transported out of the portes of Yarmouth & Lynn Regis, or the Creekes & members of the same, within the space of seaven yeares last past.”*

Bacon and others, went to Lynn on 10th August 1608 where they had *“before us the customers & other officers of that port, wth the members belonging to it, as also of ye port of Blakeney”* to be examined. Later they mention that they will *“proceede therupon for Yarmouth side”* to continue their enquiries. Further in the document it states that *“The officers were these: Mr White Cust, Mr Ashfeld Mr Clerk Mr Pratt & Mr Jo Bradlock for Blackey, Welles & the members of Lynne port.”*⁸ It is clear that Blakeney included

Cley and Wiveton for they are all mentioned together in another part of the document. Since Blakeney is mentioned separately and is not included in the phrase *“members belonging to it (i.e. Lynn)”* it would still appear to be officially a member of Yarmouth. However, the fact that the officers traveled to Lynn and not Yarmouth to be examined indicates that for many aspects of their trade the Glaven ports turned to Lynn and not Yarmouth.

This fact, perhaps, lead to the confusion in the Survey of 1572. Blakeney, in all other documents meant all the ports of the Glaven. However, it was during the latter part of the sixteenth century that Cley and Wiveton became more prominent than Blakeney and perhaps the 1572 survey hides a power struggle between Cley and Wiveton and Blakeney, as to which port was

Table 1¹⁴ Names, tonnages and masters of ships recorded in the 1572 Survey

	Tonnage	Master
Claye Vessel		
Angell	60 tons	Thomas More Mr
Grysell	60 tons	Robert Wilkinson Mr.
Mynnyon	60 tons	Edward Wilkinson Mr
James	40 tons	William Crowe Mr
John Baptist	40 tons	Thomas Howard Mr
Laurence	40 tons	Robert Trayne Mr
Rose	40 tons	Henry Standfast Mr.
Marye	40 tons	Henry Shilling Mr.
Peter	30 tons	Richard ?Fyssher
Salamon	30 tons	Clement Wilkinson Mr
Goddes Grace	25 tons	(?Alley) Daye Mr.
Red Herring	16 tons	Cornelius Cutler Mr.
Salmon	16 tons	Jhon Nycolson
Weveton		
Mathew	40tons	Jhon Podich Mr
Trinitie	40 tons	William Pettypoole Mr.
Christopher	30 tons	Robert ?Dowell Mr.
Nightingale	20 tons	Robert Morris Mr.
Jhon	10 tons	Roger Hunter Mr.
Blakeney		
Wilde Man	60 tons	Jhon Morrys
Barbara	50 tons	William ?Aryson Mr.
James	50 tons	Roger Perry Mr.
Mary Anne	50 tons	Robert ?Winter Mr.
Valentyne	50 tons	George Barker Mr.
Christopher	40 tons	Jhon Reade Mr.
Grygory	40 tons	William ?Tome Mr.
Jhon Baptist	40 tons	William Aleson Mr.
Mary Katherin	40 tons	Peter Page Mr.
Peter	35 tons	William Frye Mr.
Laurence	30 tons	Jhon ?Dowell Mr.
Mary Fortune	30 tons	Simon Bright Mr.
Christopher	25 tons	Christopher Turloe Mr.
George	25 tons	William Norys Mr.
Jhon	15 tons	Jeffrey ?Tanfors Mr.
Swyfte	15 tons	Jhon ? Farrher Mr.

the most important, and perhaps the officials of Lynn and Yarmouth joined in, both wishing to establish their claims.

After the sixteenth century however, there is little doubt that the Glaven ports were from then on definitely under the control of Yarmouth until the flourishing coastal trade led to Blakeney becoming a Head Port in its own right in 1786.³ In 1853, when Cley ceased to be a Head Port its customs business was transferred to Wells, which became the Head Port which again shows a leaning towards Lynn. When Wells ceased to be a Head Port, in 1881, it was transferred to Lynn, and so finally the Glaven Ports ended up under the control of Lynn.

Ships

Part from the questions as to which Head Port Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton belonged to the 1572 survey of merchant ships also provides other interesting information. The ships that are recorded, along with their tonnage and masters is set out in Table 1 (opposite).

This information would seem to indicate a moderately busy port, probably, considering the size of ships, largely involved in the coastal trade. How does it compare with the surveys of 1565 and 1580, only seven years before and eight years after the survey in question? Table 2 summarises the information.

Table 2. Numbers of ships 1565/1572/1580

	1565	1572	1580
Cley	22	13	11
Wiveton	6	5	13
Blakeney	12	16	12
Total	40	34	36

Here it would seem to indicate a small decline in the amount of shipping, with a rise in the importance of Blakeney, at the expense of Cley, but the figures do not seem to be at odds with the other surveys, especially when it is remembered that there was a lot of interchange between the ports and it was probably difficult to say that a vessel belonged to only one port, especially concerning Cley and Wiveton. The tonnages however, do not agree so well as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Average Tonnage

	1565	1572	1580
Cley	38.63	38.23	50.72
Wiveton	43.33	28.00	69.61
Blakeney	44.33	37.18	51.58
Total	41.05	36.23	57.83

Here it appears that the tonnages given in 1572 were on the low side. However, there was no accepted way of calculating tonnage in the 16th century and this may have more to do with the way that the figures were collected, rather than a sudden reduction in ship size, which seems to be reversed only eight years later. Table 4 shows this information graphically for each port with the numbers of ships divided into three size categories, 0-49, 50-99 and over100 tons.

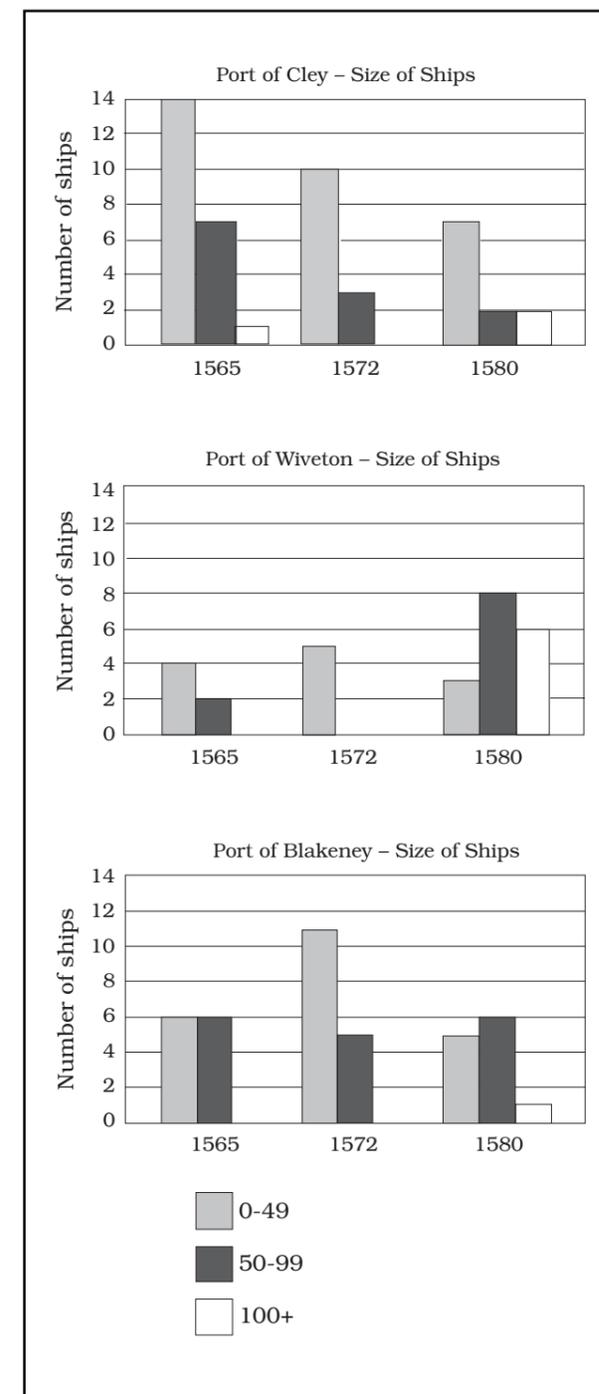


Table 4. Graphical display of ship numbers and tonnages of the three Glaven ports in 1565, 1572 and 1580.

Table 5. A comparison of ships with the same name in the surveys of 1565, 1572 and 1580

Cley 1565	Owners	Cley 1572	Master	Cley 1580	Owners
<i>Mary</i> 50 tons	Robert Roper Richard Astle	<i>Marye</i> 40 tons	Henry Shilling		
<i>Peter</i> 50 tons	John Rooke	<i>Peter</i> 30 tons	Richard Fysshher		
<i>Goddess Grace</i> 34 tons	Rich ^d Wilkinson	<i>Goddess Grace</i> 25 tons	Alleyn Daye	? <i>Grace of God</i> 40 tons	Christopher Newgate
		<i>Grysell</i> 60 tons	Robert Wilkinson	<i>Grissell</i> 100 tons	Christopher Newgate
Wiveton 1565	Owners	Wiveton 1572	Master	Wiveton 1580	Owners
<i>Trinitie</i> 40 tons	Margaret Smithe John Smythe	<i>Trinitie</i> 40 tons	William Pettypool		
		<i>Mathewe</i> 40 tons	John Podich	<i>Mathue</i> 50 tons	John Graye
		<i>Christopher</i> 30 tons	Robert Dowell	<i>Christofer</i> 50 tons	Christofer Thurlowe
		<i>John</i> 10 tons	Roger Hunter	<i>John</i> 40 tons	John Podiche
<i>Marie</i> 70 tons	George Curry John Smythe			<i>Marie</i> 80 tons	John Smyth Je Smyth
<i>James</i> 50 tons	George Curry			<i>Jeames</i> 40 tons	Jeames Graye
<i>William</i> 40 tons	John Smythe			<i>William</i> 50 tons	John Smyth
Blakeney 1565	Owners	Blakeney 1572	Master	Blakeney 1580	Owners
<i>Gregory</i> 60 tons	Thomas Barker John Dobbe	<i>Grygory</i> 40 tons	Willyam Towe	<i>Gregorie</i> 80 tons	John Dobbe Ra Ralie
<i>Mary Kateryn</i> 60 tons	Thomas Page	<i>Mary Katherin</i> 40 tons	Peter Page		
<i>Valentyne</i> 50 tons	George Barker	<i>Valentyne</i> 50 tons	George Barker	<i>Valentyne</i> 100 tons	George Barker
<i>Peter</i> 50 tons	Thomas Page			<i>Peter</i> 53 tons	Robert Page K Page
<i>Peter</i> 35 tons	Thomas Barker	<i>Peter</i> 35 tons	William Frye		
<i>James</i> 30 tons	William Barker Richard Makdans	<i>Jamees</i> 50 tons	Roger Perry		
<i>William</i> 20 tons	Symon Bright John Person			<i>William</i> 30 tons	John Pierson Robert Pull George Shilde

When comparing 1565 with 1572, apart from a lower estimate of tonnage generally, there seems to be little change at Wiveton, but a growth at Blakeney at the expense of Cley. The comparison of 1572 with 1580 shows a small drop in ship numbers at Cley and Blakeney (although an increase in size) but a very great rise in the importance of Wiveton in both the size and numbers of her ships, a growth that has taken place in only six years. It would be helpful to know whether the surveys were referring to the same ships. Table 5 shows a comparison of vessels with the same or similar names across the three surveys.

The first difficulty that arises is that the 1572 survey only included the names of the masters of the vessels whereas the other two surveys recorded the owners. Sometimes that was one and the same person, but even in the 16th century there were several wealthy ship owning families that possessed several ships. Other problems are that there were often several vessels with the same, or similar names, and since the tonnage measurement was so variable it is impossible to use that as a means of verifying

whether it is the same ship or not. There are only two vessels that can be positively identified in all three surveys. They were both at Blakeney. The *Gregory* was owned by John Dobbe (along with Thomas Barker) in 1565, appears in 1572 with Willyam Towe as her master, and is recorded once again in 1580 with R Ralie as co-owner. Her tonnage was recorded as 60, 40 and 80 tons respectively. The second vessel was the *Valentyne*. She was solely owned by George Barker throughout the period and he was even recorded as her master in 1572. Her tonnage was recorded at 50 tons in both 1565 and 1572 but had remarkably doubled eight years later to 100 tons, assuming that she was the same ship and was not a larger replacement vessel with the same name. The *'Grysell'* (also spelt *'Grissell'*) also underwent a similar transformation in size. She is first mentioned in 1572 at Cley (master Robert Wilkinson) and was recorded at 60 tons. By 1580 she had grown to 100 tons and was owned by Christopher Newgate. On the whole, of vessels mentioned in 1565 and 1572, their tonnage was less in 1572, and of those mentioned in the latter two surveys the tonnage generally

Table 6. Ships mentioned in both the 1572 Survey and the Port Books for 1572-3

Searcher's book Michaelmas 1572-3				1572 Survey			
Vessel	Port	Tons	Master	Vessel	Port	Tons	Master
<i>John the Baptist</i>	Blakeney	40	William Allyson	<i>John Baptist</i>	Blakeney	40	William Allyson
<i>Rose James*</i>	Cley Blakeney	40	Thomas Haward William Crowe/ William Browne	<i>Rose James*</i>	Cley Cley	40 40	Henry Standfast William Crowe
<i>Peter**</i>	Cley	30	Roger Hunter	<i>Peter**</i>	Cley	30	Richard Fysshher
<i>Grezell</i>	Cley	?13	Robert Wilkenson	<i>Grysell</i>	Cley	60	Robert Wilkinson

* In the Port Books the *James* of Blakeney is recorded twice, with a different master on each occasion. In the 1572 Survey there is a *James* of Blakeney of 50 tons, but here the *James* of Cley is included since both the master and tonnage are the same as the *James* of Blakeney in the Port Book
** In the 1572 Survey there is also a *Peter* of Blakeney, 35 tons, master William Frye

increased by 1580, although it does not usually double.

What of ships mentioned in 1565 and 1580, but not in 1572? John Smyth(e) at Wiveton, owned the *William* (40 tons in 1572) and is again recorded as her owner in 1580 when the tonnage had gone up by 10 tons. He also co-owned the *Marie* of 70 tons, with George Curry in 1565. By 1580 his co-owner was Je Smyth and her tonnage had also increased by 10 tons. Two other vessels can be positively identified as being present in both 1565 and 1580, at Blakeney. The *Peter*, owned by Thomas Page, 50 tons, was only 53 tons in 1580 and owned now by Robert Page and K Page. The *William* of 20 tons was co-owned by John Person in 1565 and in 1580 he was still a co-owner and the tonnage had increased by 10 tons.

Where were these ships in 1572? Indeed the lack of continuity between the documents is fairly substantial and leads to questions as to how accurate any of the surveys were. It would be interesting to know the average length of life of a 16th century ship. In the 19th century the most common length of service for a vessel at Blakeney was between 10 and 20 years¹¹. It is quite likely that many of the vessels recorded in 1565 would have been lost or broken up in the 15 years up to 1580, although this does not account for vessels that disappeared in 1572. It was also apparent from the ownership records that ships frequently changed hands and it would also be very helpful to know if it was customary to keep the vessel's name, or whether it was renamed.

The way the data for these surveys were collected may throw some light on their accuracy. Both the 1565 and 1580 surveys were carried out by local dignitaries, Sir Nathaniel Bacon in 1580 and Sir Christopher Heydon, Sir William Paston and Osbert Mountford in 1565, indeed these last three state that "*we have aswell tra-*

vailed and surveyed all the portes, crakes and landinge places within this countie of Norff".⁶ However, Thomas Colshill, the Surveyor of the Port of London used the Customer's account books to compile his survey and was therefore restricted to the accuracy of the port books. I have shown elsewhere that the official port books underestimated the amount of trade carried on and that many trips and vessels probably went unrecorded.¹² It is also likely that the estimate of tonnage would be very much on the conservative side to reduce the amount of custom to be paid on goods. When the 1572 survey is compared with Kenneth Allen's transcription of the Searcher's port book for Blakeney Michaelmas 1572-3, only a year after the survey, of the 13 vessels recorded as being of Blakeney, Cley or Wiveton, only 5 correspond with the survey.¹³ They are shown in Table 6 (above).

This also means that eight vessels in the Port Books are missing from the Survey whose data was extracted from books compiled only a year earlier. It also means that twenty-nine of the ships mentioned in the 1572 Survey do not occur in the Port Books of the following year, including all of the ships from Wiveton. Although non standard spellings, mistakes in transcription and varying estimates of tonnage could account for some of these discrepancies they can not account for the large numbers of 'missing' ships. One is forced to conclude that the 16th century documents are far from being accurate. Of those examined, the surveys based upon local enquiries are more likely to be nearer the truth than those that relied on the Port Books for their data.

There is one more survey during this period, undertaken in 1570 which would prove a fruitful area for further research.¹⁴ It has not been included here, partly because it only included ships of 30 tons or over (the smallest ships recorded in the surveys in this article are 1565 –

1570 Survey			1572 Survey			
Vessel	Port	Tons	Vessel	Port	Tons	Master
John Abaptist	Cley	30	John Baptist	Cley	40	Thomas Howard
Laurence	Cley	30	Laurence	Cley	40	Robert Trayne
Peter*	Cley	30&50	Peter	Cley	30	Richard Fysshier
Rose	Cley	40	Rose	Cley	40	Henry Standfast
Marye	Cley	50	Marye	Cley	40	Henry Shilling
John	Wiveton	55	John	Wiveton	10	Roger Hunter
Christopher	Wiveton	40	Christopher	Wiveton	30	Robert Dowell
Mathew	Wiveton	40	Mathewe	Wiveton	40	John Podich
James	Blakeney	60	James	Blakeney	50	Roger Perry
Vallenter	Blakeney	60	Valentyne	Blakeney	50	George Barker
Gregorye	Blakeney	80	Grygory	Blakeney	40	William Towe
Peter**	Blakeney	40&51	Peter	Blakeney	35	William Frye
George***	Blakeney	100	George	Blakeney	25	William Norrys

* There were two vessels from Cley called the Peter

** There were two vessels from Blakeney called the Peter

*** Although the name is the same such a discrepancy in tonnage size would seem to suggest different ships

Table 7. Ships mentioned in both the Surveys of 1570 and 1572

6 tons 1572 – 10 tons and 1580 16 tons) and also because when I last looked at this document, about thirty years ago I did not transcribe any of the owners or masters, if indeed they were included. However for this document there is a closer correspondence with the 1572 Survey although there are discrepancies in the tonnages and vessels missing (see table 7 above).

Conclusion

With the wealth of national surveys that are available, the second half of the 16th century was perhaps the best-documented period of the shipping based in the

Glaven ports, until we reach the second half of the 19th century. However, the difficulties involved in interpreting the information and in determining its accuracy means that we will never get more than an indication of the levels of trade during that period.

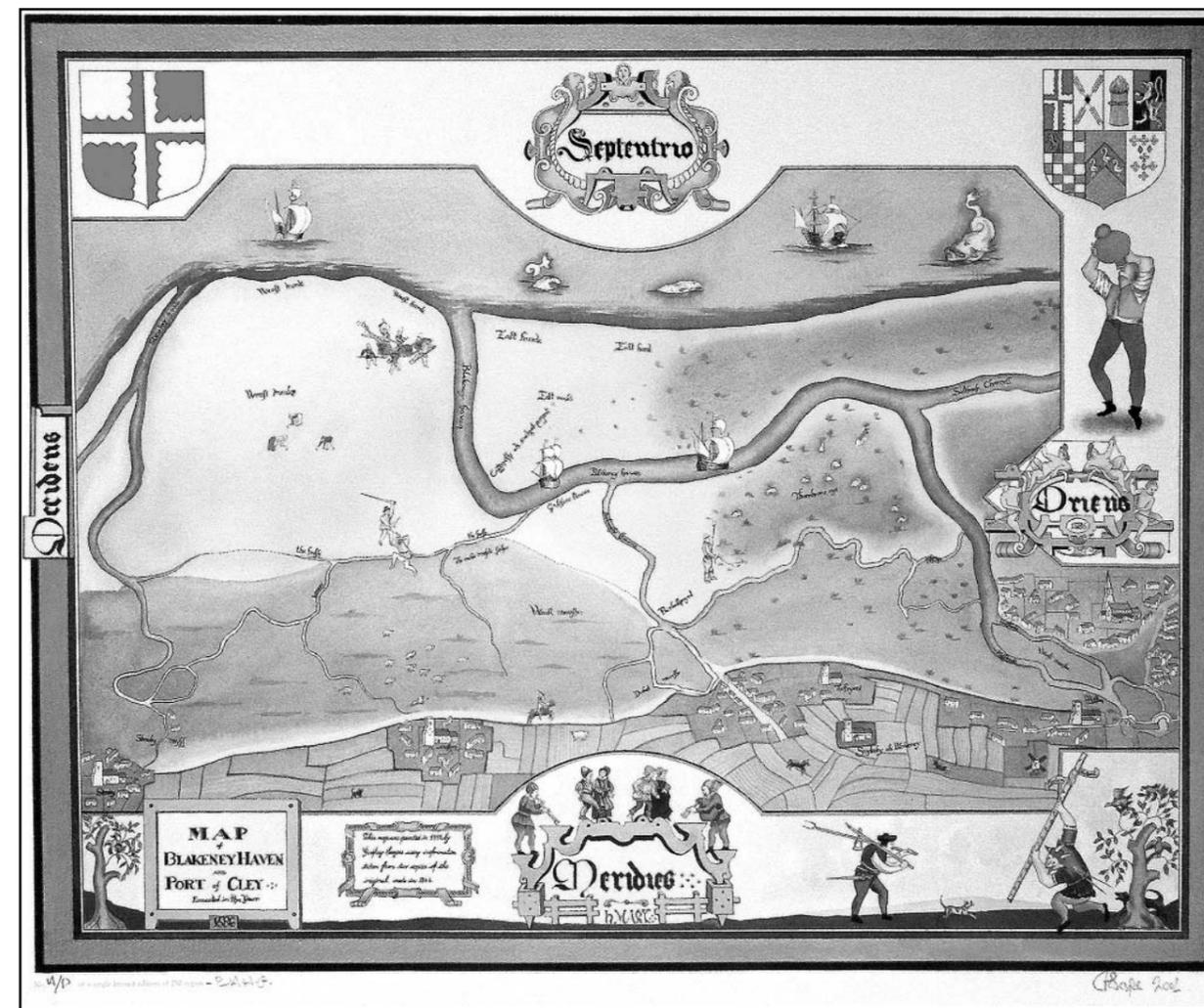
Perhaps a study of other documents, such as wills, could eventually shed light on the true ownership of vessels during this period. However, even if such documents were discovered it is unlikely they would provide comparable statistics, nonetheless they would enhance our insight into a fascinating period of maritime activity.

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The Map of Blakeney Haven and Port of Cley – 1586

by Raymond Frostick



There has been a great deal of interest in recent years in the map of Blakeney and Cley dated 1586, which has been known from a number of copies, but the original of which has never been found. In the first issue of *The Glaven Historian* Jonathan Hooton identified and described all the copies which he had been able to trace¹. John Wright has written about the court case that provides the background to the making of the map². The fine coloured print of a drawing by Godfrey Sayers (see above), based on the earliest known copies of the map, has brought the map to wider atten-

tion and this print forms the dust-cover of the book 'The Glaven Ports'.³

Up to this point however the name of the surveyor who drew the original map had not been identified. Confusion had been caused by the name in the cartouche having been transcribed as the meaningless 'hMARY' in the place on the map where the name of the surveyor might have been expected. Having been interested in a number of 16th century surveyors, and having with Jonathan Hooton been able to study all the early copies of the map, I was able to identify the surveyor as John Darby.

I was carrying out some research into the work of Darby, who is known from a number of signed maps and plans in Norfolk and Suffolk in the 1580s and 1590s, and in the course of my inquiries I found that the name for the Blakeney map had in fact been very tentatively suggested by Peter Eden some years earlier in *The Dictionary of Land Surveyors*.⁴ The more I studied other maps and plans by Darby the more obvious it became that he was indeed the surveyor who drew the Blakeney map.⁵

The first question to resolve was the mysterious 'hMARY'. The earliest known copy of the original shows that the bottom left hand corner of the map was missing, and the damaged section extends to the central cartouche. Whoever made the first copy clearly misinterpreted what remained of the name. The name in the cartouche was, as expected, the name of the surveyor, and what remained of the name could and must have been 'J. Darby' or 'John Darby'.

However, it was the style of the map which was really decisive, and here the Blakeney map can be compared with other work by Darby. He obviously had a quirky sense of humour and his

drinking figure appears elsewhere, in an estate plan where his figure is copied from a print of Pieter Bruegel, and in another fine coastal map of Aldeburgh in Suffolk, now in the Suffolk Record Office in Ipswich. He also enjoyed including small figures of people, with reminiscences of medieval manuscripts, and animals, of which the best example is a superb estate plan of Smallburgh in Norfolk dated 1582, now in the British Library.

Darby moved from Norfolk to Suffolk in about 1587, where he drew a number of estate plans of properties in the Ipswich area. His last known work is the map of Aldeburgh of 1594. He settled in Bramford on the outskirts of Ipswich, and died a person of some wealth in 1609.

Although the evidence seems to be that the original of the 1586 map of Blakeney Haven disappeared in the first half of the 19th century, I still keep alive the hope that the original of the map may one day come to light. At least we now know why it was drawn, and the surveyor who was responsible for such a fascinating work.

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Early sixteenth century wills of Langham as indicators of religious change

by Michael Medlar

This article is written in memory of Bernard Rampley of Langham.

Synopsis: The religious outlook of the people of Langham in the first forty years of the sixteenth century is explored through the contents of surviving wills.

Introduction

The fifteenth century was a period of upheaval for English society. This time of political unrest and intermittent civil war, which culminated in the Wars of the Roses, came to an end during the reign of Henry VII. Then political unrest was supplanted by religious change.

Between 1530 and 1580 England moved from being a Catholic country to the leading Protestant nation in Europe. This shift in religion led to major changes in the life of everyone in the country. Parish churches were plundered of their wealth, their wall paintings were erased and many windows destroyed. Gilds, which maintained chapels and altars in parish churches, as well as assisting their members in times of hardship, were suppressed. Monasteries and friaries were dissolved, their churches destroyed and their land confiscated by the Crown.

Most of these changes took place in the twenty years between 1532 and 1552 under Henry VIII and Edward VI and, although Mary attempted to reverse some of these actions, they became permanent features after the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558.

Langham in the sixteenth century

Prior to 1536, the village of Langham was made up of two ecclesiastical parishes, Langham St Andrew and Langham St Mary. The medieval church of Langham St Andrew survives as the parish church of the combined parishes. Langham St Mary's church was located about two hundred yards to the west of St Andrew. The parish of Langham St Andrew was known as Langham Episcopi or Langham Magna in the sixteenth century, while Langham St Mary was often referred to as

Langham Parva. There appears to have been only one medieval settlement located mainly to the east of St Andrew's church, and evidence from the eighteenth-century glebe terriers of both parishes suggests that the arable lands of both parishes were intermingled in the open-fields. The manorial structure of the two Langhams was also complex, and is beyond the scope of this article. One of the major manors of Langham St Andrew was owned by the Bishop of Norwich prior to 1536.¹ Some time between 1533, when the last bequest to Langham St Mary was made, and 1552, when there is no mention of St Mary's in an inventory of church goods commissioned by the government of Edward VI, the church ceased to function. For the purposes of this article, references to Langham refer to Langham Episcopi; when Langham St Mary is mentioned, the full name will be written.

Wills

This article will look at the early sixteenth-century wills of the inhabitants of Langham to see if it is possible to determine changes in people's religious attitude as these reforms started to take effect. Wills were written by people who had property worth in excess of £5, and probate was granted by one of the church courts. This means that it is impossible to obtain a complete picture of village life

Editor's Footnote: The nature of inheritance during this period provides an additional layer of complexity for it was governed by common law and customary rules that varied according to geographical location, and was also dependant on the items being bequeathed, whether, for example, it was land or money.

and belief in Langham for the sixteenth century, as only a small proportion of the inhabitants would have left wills. The picture portrayed by wills is further blurred by how they may physically have survived the last five centuries.

Thirty wills of Langham residents exist for the years 1511 to 1542, which allows for a reasonably realistic reconstruction of the religious attitudes of the more affluent residents before the radical changes of the Reformation took effect. The next thirty years, 1542 to 1572, when most of the Reformation changes and the final Protestant settlement under Elizabeth I took place, are impossible to reconstruct as only three Archdeaconry wills survive. The survival rate of wills from the latter years of the sixteenth century, 1580 to 1600, is much better, with sixteen Archdeaconry wills remaining.

The most important guide to the social class of the Langham testators are the returns for the 1524 Lay Subsidy.² Subsidies were a form of taxation used by the monarch in the Middle Ages and Tudor period, normally to finance wars. The 1520s was a decade when Henry VIII was trying to play a leading role in European affairs – and hence needed to acquire money on a large scale – and saw the first major revision of the basis of the nation's taxation system since the ill-fated Poll Tax of the 1380s. The 'Loan' of 1522 was based on the most rigorous assessment of the wealth of the people of England, and the subsidy of 1524 was based on this.¹

Twelve of the thirty testators studied were liable to taxation under the 1524 subsidy. The most prosperous of these was Oliver Dawbeney who was described as a 'gentleman'. Dawbeney's wealth of £5 per annum in revenue from land and £40 of goods made him the wealthiest person in Langham, with over twice the land revenues of, and at least three times more goods than, the next wealthiest. There were ten inhabitants of Langham with land income of between 10s 0d and £2 per annum and a similar number with goods valued at between £8 and £12. The wills for six of the eleven people who fell into this second rank of sixteenth-century Langham society have survived. (See Table 1)

Three quarters of the testators bequeathed land in their wills. The majority of them specify freehold land, although there are a number of references to 'bond land' and 'copyhold land', indicating a level of dependence on the manorial lords of Langham. The wills of Robert Towtynge and John Marshall indicate that there was a reasonably active market in the buying and selling of property in early sixteenth-century Langham. Marshall had purchased land from 'Estwik, Reynolds and Pampe'. In addition to leaving land, often to the wife or eldest son, considerable sums of money were bequeathed to

other family members or friends – the most being the £26 10s 0d left by John Marshall to his wife and daughters, who received 10 marks (£6 13s 4d) each.

The wife was frequently left all the husband's land and possessions for her life or until she remarried, at which point the land would pass to the eldest son. Wives were entitled to any property or goods they had brought to their husband at the time of their marriage, and had to be provided for in their widowhood.

Good examples of looking after wives can be found in the will of John Ward who left his wife Isabell 'a parcell of land with safryn lyenge and the Este part of my howse at the crose dyke as long as she is a widow' and the will of William Loode who left his wife Margaret 'the occupation of my house until the tyme shalbe that she wilbe married'. Margaret also received 6s 8d per annum, all the household stuff, corn and cattle, together with first refusal on the property which had to be sold on her marriage.

A number of wills also mention special possessions, such as the 'best cap and gown' Robert Curson left to Nicholas Well in 1526, although more normal gifts were for grain and animals from the farm such as the 'sorrel horse, calf and half the barley in the barn' left in 1519 by John Robyns to his wife Margaret.

Religious Bequests

In addition to being a method of disposing of one's property, a late medieval will was a religious statement.³ It should be noted that the scribes who wrote many of the wills must also have had some influence on the form or choice of words used, particularly in areas like the preambles. In the case of Langham Episcopi, it appears that not only were John Skellett and John Grigby (vicars of St Andrew) scribes, but often witnesses and, occasionally, executors to their parishioners' wills. Late medieval man was concerned with saving his soul and spending as little time in Purgatory as possible.⁴

Considerable study has been undertaken on wills, but much of this focuses on urban wills as a greater number of these have survived and, therefore, it is easier to see trends over a period of time.⁵ For Norwich, Elaine Sheppard has attempted to show how wills demonstrate the changing religious belief of the citizens.⁶

There are thirty wills for Langham for the period 1511 to 1542, compared with 556 for Norwich for the years 1530 to 1559. Although this is a small sample, it does allow us to draw some tentative conclusions regarding the religious life of Langham in the reign of Henry VIII.

Twenty eight of the testators were parishioners of Langham Episcopi (= Langham Magna), while only John Robyns and John Estwyk

Name	Date will made	NRO Reference	Microfilm Number	1524 Subsidy Land	1524 Subsidy Goods
John Belys	10th March 1499	299 Popy	MF34		
Adam Hanys	3rd Feb 1511	Tary 16	MF/RO 286/2		
William de Worthe	13th May 1511	108 Sparhawk	MF175		
Jeffrey Pampe	27th Jan 1512	Tary 17,	MF/RO 286/2		
Margrey Smythe	14th Dec 1513	Tary 19	MF/RO 286/2		
John Pillynton	22nd March 1515	Tary 21	MF/RO 286/2		
John Robyn	27th Sept 1519	Tary 36	MF/RO 286/2		
Robert Towtynge	15th Dec 1521	Tary 37	MF/RO 286/2		
John Curson	6th Dec 1522	Tary 42	MF/RO 286/2		
Robert Taylor	22nd Jan 1522	Tary 44	MF/RO 286/2		
John Estwik	18th Dec 1522	Tary 43	MF/RO 286/2		
John Ward	17th Jan 1523	Tary 88	MF/RO 286/2		
Robert Curson	22nd Aug 1526	48 Alpe	MF41		
John Marshall	1527	Tary 93	MF/RO 286/2	£1 0s 0d	£10 0s 0d
William Clements	17th Sept 1529	Tary 106	MF/RO 286/2		£2 0s 0d
Robert Grycke	26th October 1529	Tary 104	MF/RO 286/2	13s 4d	£11 0s 0d
John Well	4th July 1530	Tary 114	MF/RO 286/2	6s 8d	10s 4d
Robert Andrewson	8th July 1530	Tary 109	MF/RO 286/2		£3 6s 8d
Oliver Dawbeney	27th Oct 1532	25 Mingaye	MF44	£5 0s 0d	£40 0s 0d
Edmund Howse	9th April 1533	Tary 120	MF/RO 286/2	£1 6s 8d	£10 0s 4d
William Loode	4th August 1533	Tary 115	MF/RO 286/2		£1 6s 8d
John Marshall	2nd Dec 1533	Tary 124	MF/RO 286/2	£1 0s 0d	£10 0s 0d
Simon Makie	27th March 1534	Tary 125	MF/RO 286/2		
Agnes Towtynge	26th March 1534	Tary 126	MF/RO 286/2		£12 0s 0d
William Erle	1st April 1534	Tary 125	MF/RO 286/2		
Nicholas Well	20th April 1534	Tary 127	MF/RO 286/2		
Adam Scarlett	16th May 1535	72 Godsolve	MF41	£2 0s 0d	£2 3s 4d
Robert Well	3rd March 1536	ANW 1536-45 20	MF/RO 288		£2 0s 0d
Alice Dawbeney	10th Oct 1538	ANW 1536-45 48	MF/RO 288		
William Ward	1st August 1541	ANW 1536-45 291	MF/RO 288		
Nicholas Grickes	6th Feb 1542	ANW 1536-45 325	MF/RO 288		

Table 1. Langham Wills of the early sixteenth century

claimed to be from Langham Parva. Langham Bishop's parish church was St Andrew's (the current parish church), while Langham Parva's church was dedicated to St Mary. With the exception of widow Margery Smyth, all the testators left money to the high altar of one of Langham's two churches. Usually it was the first item in the will, after stating where the body should be buried, and the wording is fairly consistent – 'I bequethe to the heigh Alter of the foresaid church of Langham for my tithes and oblations negligently paid (or forgotten) ...'⁷ This bequest was normally a small sum, but was intended to ensure that the testator avoided the Greater Excommunication* which priests pronounced four times a year to their parishioners.³

Margery Smyth left a bequest to the high

altar of St. Peter's at Great Walsingham for the same reason.⁸ The vast majority of testators made a bequest to the fabric of St Andrew's, thirteen to St Mary's (often referred to as 'Our Lady of Tofte'), and nine other churches benefited under these wills. Most of the latter had only one bequest and were in the near neighbourhood, although Adam Hayns left 12d to St Mary's North Walsham in 1511.⁹ (See diagram overleaf for parishes benefiting from Langham bequests.)

Twenty people left money for the mother church of the diocese, Norwich Cathedral. These were usually small sums ranging from the 4d left by Robert Towtynge in 1521 to the 1s 8d of John Marshall.^{10,11} These sums were left between the years 1520 and 1538. They may reflect the control of one of the manors of the parish belonging to the Bishop of Norwich, whose officers exerted pressure on tenants to remember the cathedral in their wills. This manor was confiscated by the Crown in an

*Footnote: The General Excommunication was aimed at people who attempted to steal church property or challenge the authority of the church.

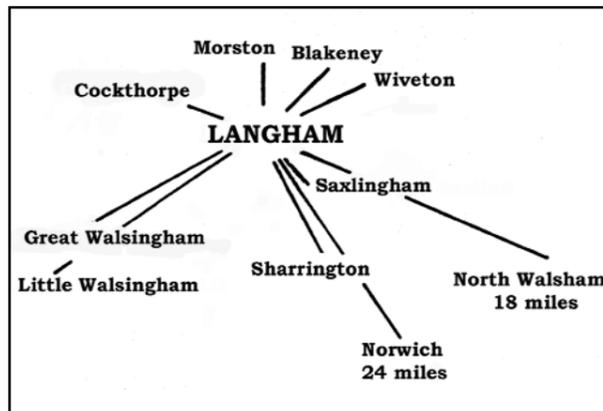


Diagram showing parishes benefiting from Langham bequests.

exchange of lands between Henry VIII and William Repps, the Bishop of Norwich in 1536. The continuance of bequests for two years after this date until the dissolution of the Benedictine monastery based at the cathedral suggests that gifts ceased only when there was no longer a monastic recipient. This evidence is different from the City of Norwich, where bequests to the Cathedral declined after 1520.

No other monastery received money from the testators of Langham, but all four orders of friars were benefactors. Nine people left money to friaries; the Franciscans or Greyfriars of Walsingham were the most popular friars, closely followed by the Carmelites at Blakeney. These friaries were the closest to Langham, but the draw of Norwich friaries was evident as both the Dominican and Austin Friaries of the city benefited under the wills of John Marshall and Edward Howse made in 1533.^{12,13} Friaries received more than the cathedral, with donations ranging from 12d to 4s to each friary. These gifts follow the national pattern for the late Middle Ages in that friars, who were dependant on charity, were considered more worthy than regular monks*.

*Footnote: Following the Black Death of 1349, the four orders of Friars were considered a more worthy cause for charity than the regular monks of the older monastic orders. There was a Carmelite Friary at Blakeney, a Franciscan Friary at Little Walsingham and Dominican and Augustinian Friaries in Norwich. Friars were dependent on charity (they were mendicant orders and not allowed to own property), while monks, such as the Benedictines at Binham, had been endowed land in the eleventh and twelfth centuries which they used to generate an income to satisfy their worldly needs. Friars tended to work in the community, preaching and helping the poor, while monks lived in monasteries, dedicating their lives to serving God through prayer.

Nature of Religious Bequests

These bequests demonstrate concern for the religious structures and establishments of the Catholic church, but the thoughts of most of the testators were with the reduction of time they would have to spend in Purgatory prior to their going to Heaven. The late medieval world believed that the prayers of the living, especially the poor, could reduce time spent in Purgatory. To facilitate this end, wills went to great lengths to provide for prayers to be said from several sources.

The first place these prayers would have been said was the parish church. Unless the person was very wealthy, with enough money to endow a chantry priest to sing or say masses for the testator's soul, other provision had to be made. The vast majority of the population was not able to afford to endow such an individual for any length of time. The early sixteenth-century residents of Langham fell into this latter category. John Marshall was a typical example; he requested 'an honest secular priest* to sing for my soul and my friends' souls in Langham church half a year and more if it may be borne'.¹³ Edmund Howse wished for prayers to be sung for a year, and Robert Grycke left £10 for prayers for his soul and his friends' souls.¹⁴ This last sum would have enabled a large number of prayers to be said or would have supported a chantry priest for between eighteen months and two years. These were the only three persons able to afford this provision, although both William de Worthe and Robert Andrewson specified that, if their children died, all monies left to them were to be used for prayers for family souls.

A more common provision was for a trental, a series of thirty masses. A version of the trental was Pope Gregory's where the thirty masses were sung over the course of a year, three masses on ten important feast days. A trental cost 10s. Eight of the Langham testators specified that a trental should be sung. These included Jeffrey Pampe who wanted his son 'ffryer John' to sing the trental, and John Curson who specified a St Gregory trental.^{9,15}

*Footnote: A secular priest was one who lived in the community and not in a monastery. He is unlikely to have been a parish priest, whose prime responsibility was for the care of the souls of the living parishioners. Most churches had at least one priest who survived by saying or singing prayers for the dead. The request for an "honest" priest can be interpreted in two ways; either that the deceased was concerned that the priest would say the prayers, or that there was a general belief that some of the clergy were dishonest.

Other prayers requested included five masses by Alice Dawbeney, three by John Curson and two masses of Scala Coeli for John Well. This last mass was a relatively recent introduction and could only be performed at churches which had been granted the right to this indulgence. Although dating back to the thirteenth century in Italy, it had been introduced to England by Henry VII in 1500.³

The most common form of bequest was to the various gilds which existed in Langham and the surrounding villages. Twenty eight of the thirty wills studied made some type of bequest to at least one gild. Gilds in rural areas were groups of people who assisted each other in times of need. For an annual subscription of a few pence, anybody could be a member of the gild, providing they abided by its rules. The gild would maintain an altar in the church in front of which a light burned, ensure prayers were said for the souls of its members (normally by mourners attending the funeral) and would hold an annual service on the gild's patron saint's day, after which a feast was normally held. At funeral services, members were expected to make a small contribution which would be given to the poor.

Two gilds are mentioned in Langham Episcopi, the gild of the Trinity and the gild of St Andrew. Most testators appear to have left something to both gilds. One function of a gild was the distribution of charity, and often goods were left instead of money. Adam Hanys left '2 combe of malt' in 1511 to the gild of St Andrew, while in 1534 William Erle left two bushels of barley.¹⁷ One is left to speculate about the malt – whether this was for the poor or to make beer for the feast.

The need to assist the poor and weak was paramount in people's minds as they made their wills, for Christ would judge them on these actions at 'the Day of Doom'. The seven 'Works of Mercy' – feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, relieving the prisoner, housing the stranger and burying the dead – were central to charity, and wills often reflect the testator's wish to be seen to assist all these causes. The evidence from Langham wills can only demonstrate giving food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty and burying the dead.

Various votive lights would have burned in Langham church. Seventeen people left money or produce for the maintenance of the following lights: the rood light, the plough light, Our Lady's light, Hallowmass light and Solomon's light. Most of these lights appear to relate to specific festivals, although we can assume that Our Lady's light burned in the chapel of St Mary.

The only other bequest relating to the church

was that of John Well who left 3s 4d for 'the peyntinge of the Rood loft'.¹⁸ The location of the rood screen and loft at Langham can still be seen by the position of the rood stair on the north side of the chancel arch. The rood loft may have been like that of Upper Sheringham church, and the screen could have borne figures similar to those at Morston. The painting of rood screens was undertaken as funds accrued, and quite often more than one person painted the screen. We should not assume that John Well's bequest was sufficient for the work to be completed.

The evidence from these thirty wills suggests that the early-sixteenth century villagers of Langham followed the Catholic religion of the late medieval world. There is no evidence that they were having doubts prior to the Reformation, as there are no significant differences in the wills of the 1510s from those of the late 1530s. In this regard they show less awareness of the coming changes than did the citizens of Norwich. They supported their two churches, although it appears that few people belonged to Langham Parva St Mary.

A note of caution should be sounded, as most of the testators would have been illiterate and their wills would have been written by a third party. Clergy would have been the most likely people in the parish to be able to read and write, and it is known that in some communities priests wrote wills. This leaves the charge that there may have been pressure on people to leave money to the church. The evidence from Langham wills is that a member of the clergy was present at the writing of the will, or directly benefited from a bequest, in nearly fifty percent of those studied. Although the accusation of clergy 'feathering their own nest' may have some validity, the wide-ranging and substantial religious bequests to institutions over which the vicar had no control, suggests that people were sincere in their religious beliefs.

The only change in religious bequests in Langham wills comes after 1538, when bequests to lights fall significantly with only the Rood Light being mentioned. This change was the result of legislation which reduced the number of lights which were allowed to be displayed in churches.¹⁹

Three residents of Langham, John Grigby the vicar, Thomas Manne alias Thomas Carpenter and John Sellers alias John Taylor, were involved in the 'Walsingham Conspiracy' of 1537. This failed uprising against the local gentry appears to have been concerned as much about protecting the commons of North Norfolk from the sheep of the major families of the area (Townshend, Heydon and Southwell) as with preservation of the monastery at Walsingham. It was ruthlessly suppressed in the late spring of

Friendly Societies: Objectives

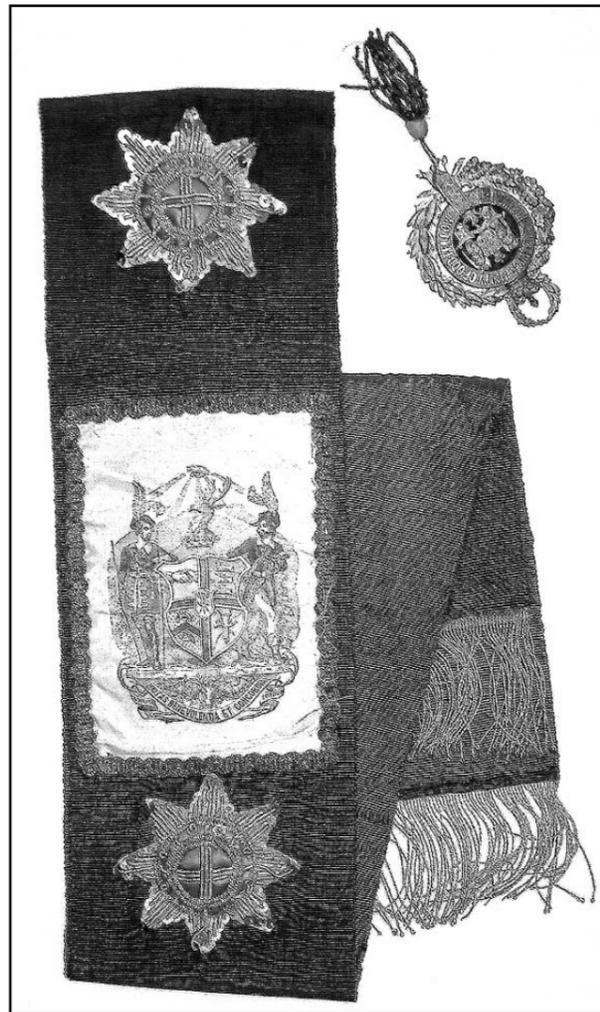
Friendly Societies were mutual organisations formed to provide financial benefits to members in times of sickness and death. The member paid a weekly contribution and if unable to work due to sickness he would receive a weekly payment, hence the expression 'on the club'. This would be paid to him by one of the stewards of the society, who would usually visit him in person to pay the benefit, which would also serve to confirm that his claim was genuine and he was indeed sick. Most societies paid a benefit on death, which would be paid to the widow or nominated person to pay for the funeral, the avoidance of a pauper burial being important. Also member's often received a funeral benefit on the death of their spouse.

In Norfolk the majority of societies were exclusively for men. One female Society has been identified at Sheringham in the mid-nineteenth century, a Court of the United Sisters Friendly Society was established at Aylsham in the late nineteenth century and Rechabite Tents were always mixed membership. However, in the early twentieth century many of the Ancient Order of Foresters and the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity branches started separate lodges for females.

In the nineteenth century societies increasingly offered access to a medical practitioner at a contracted rate negotiated by the society. The Holt Friendly Society elected its surgeon annually and paid him a 'stipulated sum per annum for each member' out of the stock. However, if a member lived more than three miles from the clubroom, which was at The Kings Head, he had to pay the surgeon for his journey in excess of that distance.⁵ The extra benefits offered by the affiliated orders, such as clearance certificates and tramping allowance were important to a mobile workforce.

If a member moved and wished to transfer to a lodge in a different place he would be given a Clearance Certificate. This would give details of how many years he had been a member, how much he had paid in contributions and a summary of benefits received. Records show that members who moved away often remained members of their original lodge. They could attend meetings in their new town and pay their subscriptions there, but they would be forwarded to their home lodge. Members who wished to travel in search of work could also receive "tramping benefit". They would be able to go to a lodge in a new town and receive financial help for a limited period whilst looking for work.

The indirect benefits of self-education and social mobility are also evident. Members learnt to organise, run meetings, and keep records and accounts, and often there would be remunera-



Key for 1878:—January 1st, 1878.
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
2 m L † † 7 d n y x = r 8 T † W ? a V 6 & g S c d p

Photograph 2 (top). Sash of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity. (private collection)

Photograph 3 (above). Key to the 1978 password for the Oddfellows, Manchester Unity. (private collection)

tion for an officer. At Salthouse the Secretary of the lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity received one shilling per member per year.⁶

Friendly societies were not a nineteenth century creation. Many small associations had been formed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with each member paying weekly contributions and receiving sickness and death benefits. Members received benefits by entitlement, which was important, as it was not the same as accepting charity. In the nineteenth century there was a growth in the affiliated orders, such as the Independent Order of Oddfellows,

Manchester Unity and Ancient Order of Foresters, which many people are familiar with today. Although these were branches of a national organisation, each one was autonomous and was administered by its members.

Societies usually met in public houses and it has been suggested that it was the social aspect that attracted members. Belonging to a friendly society offered more than a financial safeguard. Societies were fraternities with social events and annual feast days, and the affiliated orders had initiation ceremonies, regalia and passwords. The emphasis was on self-help and independence. Rather than having to rely on family, friends or the Poor Law for assistance in times of sickness or death, members subscribed to clubs and were able to draw benefits as a right, rather than being recipients of charity.

Norfolk Societies

From the wide range of records a comprehensive list of Norfolk societies has been made and details of those in the Blakeney area have been selected.

The last decade of the eighteenth century was the period when many local societies were founded and the 1793 Friendly Societies Act allowed registration of societies, although this was never compulsory. On 30th May 1791

The Society of Sailors and others of the Town of Blackney [sic] next the Sea was formed.

Their rules record that "We for the better support of ourselves and families when it shall please God to afflict us with sickness, decay of strength, or Inability in our several Trades and callings and occupations...set up a sure, lasting and loving Society". They met at the "house of Edward Mitchell" at the Ship Inn. The following prayer is written on the parchment recording their rules:

"May this our general Prayer be,
To meet and live in Unity
Friendship and virtue be our guide,
And God secure what we provide."⁷

The **Loyal "Sailor's Home" Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity**, was established in Blakeney in 1852. As registration was not compulsory societies sometimes existed for a long period before the decision was made to register. This lodge did not register until 1872. Where more than one record of a society can be found it is sometimes possible to trace a society's growth or decline. The List of Lodges published by the Oddfellows in 1866 records 129 members,⁸ and in 1880 the Quinquennial returns of the Registrar record 199 members, of whom 54 had joined since the previous return in 1875. The Quinquennial returns of 1880 also give an indication of the occupation of the members. In

Name	Established	Meeting Place
Mariners Friendly Society (Holt)	1757	Mariners Inn
Binham Friendly Society	1786	Chequers Inn
Holt Friendly Society	1790	Kings Head Inn
The Society of Sailors and others of the town of Blackney (sic)	1791	Ship Inn
Cley Friendly Society (There may have been up to four societies of this name)	1791	Fishmongers Arms
Salthouse Friendly Society	1791	Dun Cow Inn
Loyal "Alexandra" Lodge of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows	1843	
Holt Friendly Society	1849	White Lion Inn
The "Loyal Sailor's Home" Lodge Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity	1852	Oddfellows Hall
Ancient Order of Foresters Court "Prosperity" (Holt)	1852	New Inn
Loyal "Pride of Cley" Lodge Norfolk and Norwich Unity of Oddfellows	1857	George & Dragon Inn
"Hope of Holt" Lodge Norfolk and Norwich Unity of Oddfellows	1869	Angel Inn/Oddfellows Hall
Holt Independent Order of Rechabites Juvenile Tent	1887	Wesleyan Schoolroom
Blakeney Independent Order of Rechabites "Good Hope" Tent	1889	United Methodist Chapel
Blakeney Independent Order of Rechabites Juvenile Tent	1898	United Methodist Church
Loyal "Henry Flowers" Lodge of Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity (Salthouse)		Dun Cow Inn

Table 1. Friendly Societies in the Blakeney area



Photograph 4. Meeting Hall for the Oddfellows in Blakeney, now converted into a private bungalow. (John Peake)

1880 124 were Mariners, who were listed as a special class. The rest of the members were divided into four occupational groups:

Light labour with exposure	7
Light labour without exposure	41
Heavy labour with exposure	8
Heavy labour without exposure	99

For example, an agricultural labourer would be classed as heavy labour with exposure (to the elements), whereas a shop worker would be classed as light labour without exposure. Any mariners or miners were always listed as a separate category, due to the increased hazards of their occupation.

The Binham Friendly Society, which met at the Chequers Inn was established in 1786, and registered their rules soon after the 1793 Act. Article 22 of their Rules states that "Every Member of this Society shall be obliged upon every Plow Monday (the Monday after Twelfth Day, or the end of Christmas holidays) whether absent or present to spend two shillings towards defraying the expenses of the feast day".¹⁰

The feast days of the early Friendly Societies were an important annual event for the members. In most cases there would be a rule that every member had to contribute towards the feast, whether or not they attended, and some of this was spent on alcohol. Many clubs held their feast days at Whitsuntide and there would be a parade, often a church service, with a suitable sermon being preached, and a dinner. Where

there were a number of societies in a town or village they would often join together for the parade.

The majority of societies met in public houses and landlords were often involved in the organisation of the clubs. At Salthouse the landlord, Mr Graveling, was one of the Auditors. Many societies had rules referring to the publican's duties to the club, such as the provision of a fire and candles, and landlords would be mindful of the fact that a society could move to another pub if they were not satisfied.

Most clubs also had a system of fines for misbehaviour by members, including drunkenness, fighting or swearing, which indicates there was an expected standard of behaviour. Branches of the affiliated societies often moved away from meeting in public houses and built their own meeting halls. In Blakeney the Oddfellows Hall had been built by 1866 when it is listed as their meeting place.

Frequently the available records make it difficult to identify early societies. There were often several in one town or village, which would often have similar names, or simply take the name of the village. For example, the **Cley Friendly Society** was established in 1791 and met at The Fishmongers Arms with its rules being registered in July 1794. In 1824 the returns of the Registrar listed societies registered since the 1793 Act, and Cley was given as having one society, presumably the one established in 1791.¹¹ There are six documents in The

POSITION OF LODGE.

Number of Members, January 1st, 1908	607
Admitted	14
	621
Number of Members died during the year	10
" " left	9
" " Expelled	1
	20
	601

Arrears of Contributions, £24 2s. 3d.

Names of Members who have died during the year:—

Thomas Bacon, Wells street, Hackney; Henry Sharpen, Gunthorpe; James Chapman, Edgefield; William Bicks, Holt; James Herbert Bullen, Edgefield; William Middleton, Lower Sheringham; George Skipper, Upper Sheringham; John Wakefield, Burnham Overy; John Adams, Willington-on-Quay; William T. Pegg, Briston.

Names of Members' Wives who have died during the year.

Mary Ann Whall, Upper Sheringham; Anne Smith, Beeston.

Names of Members who have left during the year.

Arthur J. Preston, Buckingham; Alfred Kemp, Holt; Charles Platten, Holt; W. H. Massingham, Field Dalling; Sidney J. Frost, Gresham; George W. Jarvis, Holt; Robert Wegg, Billesdon; James Bond, Blakeney; J. R. Bunnett, Cley; E. A. Guymer, Holt.

Members who have joined during the Year.

Arthur Prime, Alfred H. Hancock, George A. Lake, George W. Baker, Fleming Cooper, Charles Gant, John W. Gotts, Hubert Green, Arnold E. Taberham, Sidney Weston, Charles Jones, George Jones, William Wright, Charles Hy. Sayer.

Honorary Members.

Sir A. Jodrell, Bart.	E. Bowyer Sparke, Esq.
R. T. Hales, Esq.	J. T. Skrimshire, Esq.
W. J. E. Sumpter, Esq.	J. G. Oddy, Esq.
F. Andrews, Esq.	A. Gurney Buxton, Esq.
J. H. Burcham Rogers, Esq.	H. R. Tyler, Esq.

Photograph 5. Membership details of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity Loyal "Alexandra" Lodge, Holt for 1908; taken from the balance sheet for the year ending 31 December 1908. (private collection)

National Archives relating to Cley Friendly Society. The original rules which were registered in 1791 and another set of articles and orders dated 4th June 1803, which are revised rules, appear to relate to the same society.

There are also Rules of the Cley Friendly Society registered in 1845, and revised in 1869, and a further set of rules dated 1882, which refer to the Society being registered in 1845. Another set of rules refer to the Cley Friendly Society, established June 1803. The final document is one referring to the dissolution of the Cley Friendly Society in 1881.¹² These documents have all been included under a single heading by the Registrar as though they refer to one Society, but it appears there may have been two or three, all called the Cley Friendly Society. Under a separate reference in the Registrar's records there are also rules of the Cley Friendly Society registered on 11th May 1821, which again met at the Fishmongers Arms.¹³ The **Loyal "Pride of Cley" Lodge of the Norfolk and Norwich Unity of Oddfellows** was estab-

lished in 1857. Oddfellows was a name adopted by many orders of Friendly Societies, some of which were national, as in the case of the Manchester Unity, and others which were established in a particular county or area. The Norfolk and Norwich Unity, as its name implies, had over 50 Lodges in Norfolk. When the Cley Lodge was registered in 1860 it met at the Kings Head Inn,¹³ but by 1876 it was meeting at the Green Dragon Inn¹⁴, which presumably refers to the George & Dragon, now the George.

It was often the case that a society would move its meeting place, and some records refer to societies negotiating a better meeting room, or a better rate with the landlord. The records of the Registrar record that this Lodge had 117 members in 1875, with funds of £268.¹⁴ In 1878 there were 114 members with total assets of £349 and the societies' receipts amounted to £117 with an expenditure of £109.15

In Holt six societies have been identified. The earliest one, established in 1757, was the **Mariners Friendly Society**, whose name refers to the fact that it met at the Mariners Inn, not the occupation of the members. This is one of the earliest societies so far found in Norfolk (the earliest being The Dove Friendly Society established in 1747 in Norwich) and following the 1793 Friendly Societies Act it became a registered society. Its rules held at the Public Record Office record that this society held its feast day on the 4th day of June "provided the same does not happen on Saturday or Sunday and then the Monday following" and on this day "Every member whether absent or present to pay 2s towards defraying the expenses of the Feast".¹⁶ A copy of the revised rules dated July 1805 is among the documents held at the museum at Gressenhall and gives a list of the members.¹⁷

Another early society was the **Holt Friendly Society** which was established in 1790, and became a registered society in 1794. This is the Society referred to earlier with reference to the surgeon. It met at the "House of Henry Crafer", the Kings Head Inn,⁵ and a copy of its Rules is in The National Archives.

In 1843 the first of the lodges of an affiliated order was established in Holt, **The Loyal "Alexandra" Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity**. In addition to records of this lodge found in Parliamentary Papers, newspaper reports of some of its activities have been found. The Norfolk News 20th September 1845 has a report of a cricket match between members of the Lodge and the Holt Cricket Club, saying "although union is strength, in this instance it was perfect weakness, the Holt Club having won the game...". This report shows the usefulness of friendly society research for genealogists, as it records the names of the Oddfellows team as Messrs. Hudson, F Withers,

SICK CLAIMS, 1908.			
NAME.	RESIDENCE.	FULL PAY.	
		Wks.	Days.
Amies, B.	Old Catton	3	0 5 0
Bayfield, P.	Edgefield	9	4 11 8
Buck, Jas.	Holt	3	1 10 0
Bunkell, T.	"	2	1 0 0
Bullen, H.	Edgefield	1	0 10 0
Blyth, Fred	Earsdon	14	7 0 0
Bullen, John	Eppleby	18	9 0 0
Bond, Geo., Jun.	Holt	4	2 0 0
Bishop, J. H.	Sheringham	12	6 0 0
Barsted, H.	Melton Constable	2	1 0 0
Bullen, H.	Langham	2	1 0 0
Barney, S.	Holt	2	1 3 4
Bone, George	Wells	2	5 1 8 4
Barwick, H.	Norwich	32	4 16 6 8
Cooper, T.	Sheringham	5	3 2 15 0
Chapman, Jas.	Edgefield	1	2 0 13 4
Chestney, J.	Sheringham	2	1 0 0
Campling, W.	Holt	1	2 0 13 4
Codling, Hy.	Cromer	2	1 0 0
Cass, Hy.	Holt	16	4 8 6 8
Cletheroe, John	Briston	2	1 1 8
Cooke, J. W.	Holt	1	0 10 0
Chestney, H.	Bodham	1	1 0 11 8
Craske, W.	Sheringham	1	1 0 11 8
Cooper, Jas.	"	4	0 6 8
Chestney, Walter	Aldboro'	3	1 10 0
Cooper, E.	Thornage	1	1 0 11 8
Cooper, Joe	Sheringham	4	2 0 0
Culley, H.	Briston	3	5 1 18 4
Duggate, W.	Sheringham	4	2 0 0
Dennis, J. C.	"	13	6 10 0
Duffield, Charles	Kelling	3	1 10 0
Digby, F. W.	Honystead	2	1 0 0
Dyball, F.	Sheringham	1	0 10 0
Doughly, A. A.	Holt	5	2 10 0
Doughty, Hy.	Blyth	3	3 1 15 0
Dale, G. H.	Baconsthorpe	1	0 10 0
Doughty, R. H.	Holt	25	12 10 0
Digby, Robert	Weybourne	6	2 3 3 4
Eke, James	Briston	15	7 10 0
Everitt, John	Wells	3	1 11 8
Farrow, John	Holt	1	0 10 0
Fowle, Wm.	Hempstead	1	0 10 0
Fowle, C.	"	1	0 10 0
Flowerdew, C. T.	Fakenham	1	3 0 15 0
Milby, R.	Kirby Bedon	2	1 0 0
Gray, R. J.	Baconsthorpe	2	5 1 8 4
Goldsmith, G.	Holt	1	2 0 13 4
Green, John	Hunworth	4	2 2 3 4
Green, Charles	"	1	0 10 0
Grimes, A. E.	Thornage	2	1 1 8
Gidney, J.	Erpingham	3	5 1 18 4
Graveling, James	Thornage	1	0 10 0
Hall, John	"	36	18 0 0
Hazlewood, Herbert	Bodham	6	3 0 0
Harmer, Samuel	Sheringham	5	2 10 0

SICK CLAIMS—Continued.			
NAME.	RESIDENCE.	FULL PAY.	
		Wks.	Days.
Hazlewood, A.	Baconsthorpe	4	4 2 6 8
Hazlewood, D. J.	Rodham	1	2 0 13 4
Hazlewood, F.	"	1	5 0 8 4
Horne, Joseph	Thornage	1	0 10 0
Harper, Henry	Foulsham	12	6 0 0
Harper, Robert	Bulwell	3	1 11 8
Herring, Wm.	Sheringham	7	3 10 0
Hazlewood, S.	Elmham	2	5 1 8 4
Hardingham, Wm.	Crawshawbooth	2	4 1 6 8
Johnson, Hy.	Shoringham	5	2 10 0
Jarvis, George	Aldboro'	4	5 2 8 4
Knowles, John	Hunworth	4	4 2 6 8
Lambert, George	Kelling	1	4 0 16 8
Le Grys, R. J.	Briston	4	2 2 3 4
Le Grys, B. J.	"	3	1 11 8
Lane, C.	Hove	9	1 4 11 8
Lake, J. W.	Holt	4	3 2 5 0
Loynes, John	Letheringsett	3	3 1 15 0
Lown, Chas.	Sheringham	1	3 0 15 0
Loynes, R.	Brancaator	1	3 0 15 0
Little, K. V.	Sheringham	7	3 10 0
Massingham, R. S.	Cley	2	3 1 5 0
Melbourne, John	Thornage	2	0 3 4
Martin, H. J.	Weybourne	2	1 0 0
Mendham, John	Sharrington	52	26 0 0
Middleton, Geo.	Saxlingham	2	1 0 0
Middleton, J. H. G.	Sheringham	1	3 0 15 0
Massingham, G. P.	Cley	1	1 0 11 8
Massingham, S. J.	Field Dalling	1	5 0 8 4
Mack, Robt. H.	Plumstead	1	3 0 15 0
Musk, Wm.	Kensington	1	4 0 6 8
Massingham, E. E.	Melton Constable	1	4 0 16 8
Middleton, R. H.	Sheringham	4	2 0 0
Massingham, R. H.	Langham	1	3 0 15 0
Marshall, S.	New Abbey	2	1 1 8
Neal, T.	Thornage	3	1 10 0
Nurse, H.	Weybourne	4	4 2 6 8
Newstead, W. G.	Baconsthorpe	2	4 1 6 8
Otty, T.	Holt	3	3 0 5 0
Purdy, R.	Sheringham	3	3 1 15 0
Pegg, W. T.	Melton Constable	45	3 22 15 0
Peck, John	Hunworth	2	1 1 8
Pond, A.	Blakeney	1	3 0 15 0
Piggott, R.	Sheringham	29	14 10 0
Peck, Wm.	Thornage	3	1 10 0
Pells, R. J.	Holt	4	3 2 5 0
Peck, Edward	Hunworth	2	3 1 5 0
Pointer, W.	Erpingham	4	0 6 8
Peck, Wm.	Hunworth	1	0 10 0
Raly, Harry	Brinton	1	0 10 0
Riseboro, James	Hempstead	5	2 10 0
Rix, George	Holt	1	4 0 16 8
Riseboro, Wm.	Sheringham	2	4 1 6 8
Riseboro, J.	Lakenheath	8	2 4 3 4
Road, J.	Drayton	40	1 20 1 8
Rix, J.	Holt	3	1 10 0

Photograph 6 (left & right). Sickness claims for the year ending 31 December 1908, taken from the balance sheet of the same Lodge as photograph 5. (private collection)

A Boyd, Bunnett, Norton, Banks, Warnes, Dagless, Whiting, Breese, and Frost.¹⁸

Two years later the Norfolk News dated 29th May 1847 records the celebrations for the 4th Anniversary. A dinner was held at the Shirehall, being supplied by Mr. Francis Sharpin of the New Inn, and "The evening passed off with the greatest hilarity and good feeling, tending to promote that unanimity of opinion and brotherly love, so desirable in conducting the affairs of a society based upon the philanthropic principles of this united and extending Order".¹⁹

Various sources record the number of members of this Lodge, showing its growth:

1866	390 members ⁸
1880	412 members ¹⁵
1894	528 members ²⁰
1906	588 members ²¹

The **Ancient Order of Foresters Court "Prosperity"** was established in Holt in 1852. The 1885 AOF Directory gives the following information:

Non-registration as a Branch of the Order under the Friendly Societies Act

Established: 1852
Meeting Place: New Inn, Market Place - every four weeks

Benefit members: 322
Average age: 33
Honorary Members: 6
Court Funds: £2009
Days sickness: 3632
Members initiated: 19
Members left: 4
Wives died: 1
Members paying graduated contributions: 59
Year of last valuation: 1880
Secretary: J. Watts Treasurer: W. Leggatt²²

A less successful society than the Foresters or the Oddfellows was the Holt Friendly Society, which met at the White Lion Inn and was established in 1849. The records of the Registrar record its dissolution only eleven years later, in 1860.¹³ Many independent societies found it difficult to compete with the lodges affiliated to



Photograph 7. Postcard for Juvenile Section of the Independent Order of Rechabites 1909. (private collection)

national orders which could offer more benefits.

Another society in the town was the **"Hope of Holt" Lodge of the Norfolk and Norwich Unity of Oddfellows**, which was established in 1869 and met at the Angel Inn. In 1880 it had 96 members with assets of £259.¹⁵

A **Juvenile branch of the Independent Order of Rechabites** was established in the town in 1887, meeting at the Wesleyan Schoolroom. J.R.Lynn from Blakeney is listed as the Secretary in 1913, when there was a membership of 8 boys and 13 girls.²³

Year	Light Labour With Exposure	Light Labour Without Exposure	Heavy Labour With Exposure	Heavy Labour Without Exposure	Number of Members at beginning of 5 years	Members entered during 5 Years	Mariners
1860	10	23	70	9	115	17	20
1865	9	20	81	9	120	20	21
1870	10	18	91	10	131	21	23
1875	13	17	102	10	133	34	25

Table 2. Division of members of the Salthouse Friendly Society into categories of membership.

The **Salthouse Friendly Society** was established in 1791, and became a registered society in 1794.¹³ The records of the Registrar give details of the membership over two decades, with members being divided into categories as at Blakeney.

They met at the Dun Cow Inn until 1887, when the Society was dissolved. At its dissolution, on 2nd November 1889, the Society had 72 members, which makes it seem as if it should have been viable. However, the Dissolution Award says "Mr D Williams, the Actuary who valued the Society in 1887 states in his Report that the uniform scale of contributions in force is insufficient for the benefits even at the youngest age and should be increased and a graduated scale adopted. This has never been done neither has the scale of payments proposed by Mr A B Adlard been adopted therefore in the present state of affairs it is impossible for the society to continue".²⁴ The surnames of some of the members listed on the Dissolution award are Nurse, Jeary, Otty, Woodyard, Pane, Digby, Pitcher, Dew, Hancock, Spence, Dix, High, Grout, Lewis, Ives and Lynn. The funds of the Society would have been divided between the members.

Many local independent societies had problems with financial stability. As members aged there were more calls for benefits and without calculations to adjust subscriptions relative to sickness and mortality statistics, many failed.

There was a growth of the affiliated orders in the nineteenth century and the early ones were run on similar principles to the local independent societies with members paying equal contributions regardless of their age on joining. In 1845 Neilson's work on rates of mortality and sickness indicated how this system was defective and showed how it could be remedied by graduated contributions, according to age on joining. This led to more financial stability in the affiliated orders and many independent societies found it difficult to compete.²⁵ The Salthouse Friendly Society appears to have been one such society.

The rules of most societies permitted honorary members who usually paid a lump sum on joining or an annual subscription. Rule 23 of

the Salthouse Friendly Society defined an Honorary Member as "one who conforms to the rules of this society but receives no benefit from it".²⁴ It is questionable whether the societies were being influenced or controlled by the honorary members, or whether they were using them to give societies "respectability". Honorary members were often the surgeon, treasurer or auditor, or the local MP or member of the gentry.

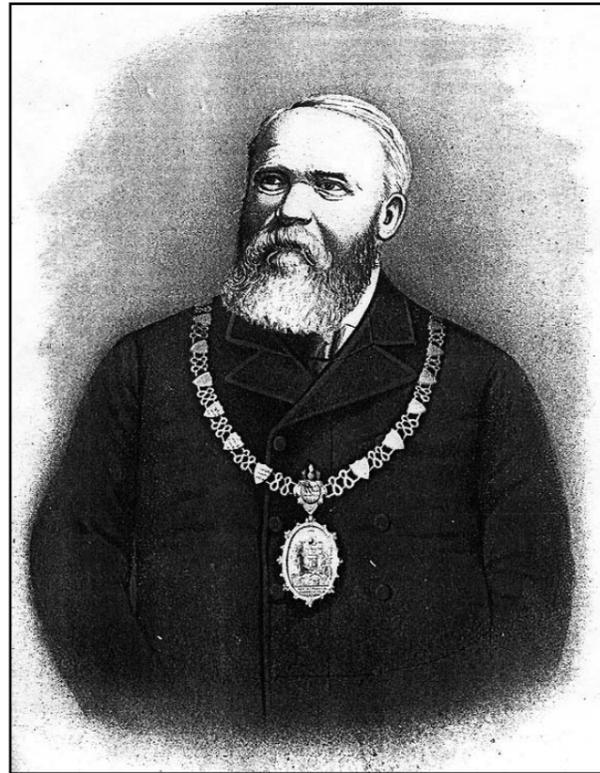
Soon after the dissolution of this Society the **Loyal "Henry Flowers" Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity** was established at Salthouse, meeting at the Dun Cow. The Parliamentary Papers of 1894 record that the Lodge had 22 members, assets of £37, receipts in 1893 of £32, and expenditure of £29.²⁰ By 1906 it had 34 members.²¹ This Lodge no longer exists, but some of the Minute Books were discovered by chance with the records of another Lodge. These record names of the members and offices they held, dates of joining of new members, dates of anniversary dinners, but not much other detail (see Appendix).

The lodge was named after Henry Flowers from Norwich, who was the Grand Master of the Order in 1893. On his death in 1909 the minute book of the Lodge records how he had worked his way up from being an office lad to become Mayor of Norwich. Likewise, in Odd-fellowship, he had worked his way from the "lowest position" to become Grand Master of the Order.²⁶ As with many other friendly society members Henry Flowers went into local government using the organising skills learnt in their clubs.

Most Friendly Societies held their meetings in public houses, although lodges of the large affiliates order increasingly built their own halls, as at Blakeney.

The late nineteenth century saw a growth in the number of 'tents' of the Independent Order of Rechabites, Salford Unity, linked with the growth of the temperance movement. Their meetings were frequently held in the school-rooms of Methodist and other non-conformist chapels.

The "**Good Hope" Tent at Blakeney** was established in 1889 and in 1913 its 138 members met at the United Methodist Chapel and the Secretary was Mr J R Lynn who lived at Rosehill House.²⁷ The only other reference found to the IOR in Blakeney is a report of a meeting of the Juvenile Branch in the Rechabite and Temperance Magazine for May 1900. This records that Bro Scarlett, who was the District Secretary, "presented the diploma to the Juvenile Tent which had been won by them for introducing the largest number of members". Entertainment for the evening was "a ventriloquial and sleight of hand entertainment" by Bro Walker.²⁸ The



Photograph 8. Grand Master Henry Flowers Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, Friendly Societies Recorder in 1893

attraction of the juvenile branches of the friendly societies was often the social events. It is recorded that six additional names were received for membership at the end of this meeting. It was likely that juvenile members would go on to transfer to the adult branches and the societies were thus assured of a steady membership.

Conclusion

With the introduction of National Insurance from 1911 friendly societies were able to become 'approved societies' to collect National Insurance premiums for the government, but the fraternity of societies was destroyed. There was a division between 'state members' and the traditional membership, and there was a gradual decline, compounded by the introduction of the National Health Service in 1948. The welfare state had replaced the mutual aid organisations.

The societies mentioned are not necessarily all the Friendly Societies which existed in the Blakeney area. As has been mentioned, registration was never compulsory, therefore the records of the Registrar only record those that became registered societies. There will have been many more whose existence is unrecorded.

When I began my research over six years ago I was expecting to find very little information



Photograph 9. Recently discovered certificate for the Juvenile Tent of the Independent Order of Rechabites in Blakeney 25th November 1898. (copy in History Centre Blakeney)

about these mutual aid societies, but have now collated references from a wide variety of sources. However, I feel sure there are more records to be discovered and it is likely that

some records have been attributed to other organisations such as the Masons. For further reading on the subject a bibliography is given below.

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References

Abbreviations used in references:

AOF = Ancient Order of Foresters

BPP = British Parliamentary Papers

IOR = Independent Order of Rechabites

MUOF = Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity

NWHCM = material held by the Norfolk Museums Service

TNA = The National Archives

1. BPP 1874 XXIII Pt 1 Cited in H. Gosden, P H J H *Self-Help*. London 1973
2. BPP 1895 XIV Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor
3. Hobsbawm, E Friendly Societies. *The Amateur Historian* 3 (3) 1957
4. Tibbons, B MA dissertation. UEA 2002
5. TNA FS1/526/117
6. MUOF Loyal Henry Flower Lodge, Minute Book, 12 December 1893
7. TNA FS1/525/112
8. Manchester Unity of Oddfellows List of Lodges 1866
9. BPP 1880 LXVIII Abstract of the Quinquennial Returns of Sickness and Mortality Experience by Friendly Societies
10. TNA FS1/525/104
11. Returns to an Address of The Honourable House of Commons dated 25 May 1824 A List of Friendly Societies or other institutions which have been registered in the several counties of England and Wales in virtue of the Act 59 Geo 3 c.128
12. TNA FS1/522/51
13. TNA FS2/8
14. BPP 1876
15. BPP 1880 LXVIII App.H
16. TNA FS1/525/115
17. NWHCM 1945.113
18. *The Norfolk News* 20th September 1845
19. *The Norfolk News* 29th May 1847
20. MUOF 1866 List of Lodges
21. BPP 1894 LXXXII
22. MUOF 1906 Directory
23. 1885 AOF Directory
24. 1913-14 IOR Directory
25. TNA FS1/526/120
26. For a full account of the adoption of actuarial principles by Friendly Societies see Baernreither, J M *English Associations of Working Men*. London 1889
27. MUOF Directory 1906
28. MUOF Loyal "Henry Flowers" Lodge minute book, 13 February 1909
29. Independent Order of Rechabites Directory 1913-14
30. Rechabite and Temperance Magazine May 1900 p.117

Appendix

Independent Order of Oddfellows Manchester Unity Loyal Henry Flowers Lodge, Salthouse
 List of members 1892-1906 - Taken from Resolution Book 1892-1914

Name	Date of first mention in Resolution Book	Other Information
William Lynn	December 1892	Resigned May 1913
Thomas High	December 1892	
George Jacob	December 1892	
John Betts	December 1892	
Thomas Woodhouse	December 1892	
David Jarvis	December 1892	
James Betts	December 1892	
Frank Page	December 1892	Died ?December 1893
J T Skrimshire	December 1892	Surgeon from Dec 1892
Peter Lynn	January 1893	
William Cubitt	January 1893	Left village June 1900
William Hancock	January 1893	
James Adams	January 1892	
John William Lake	January 1892	
Mr Brown	January 1893	Host at Dun Cow
Rev C E Lowe	February 1893	Honorary Member/Treasurer
Ed High	March 1893	
David Grout	May 1893	
James Pigott	May 1893	
Robert Digby	May 1893	
W Pells	May 1893	
Lewis Layton	June 1893	
W E Lynn	July 1893	
Robert John Lynn	August 1893	
Robert Grout	August 1893	
R Lubbock	September 1893	
F Layton	September 1893	Auditor - Transferred to Salthouse September 1893
Fred J Piggott	October 1893	
Frank Ives	March 1894	
Sidney Piggott	May 1894	Left Salthouse December 1895
T High	May 1894	
John Lubbock	May 1894	
Mr Cottrell	October 1894	Auditor
Mr Richardson	October 1894	Auditor
Henry Hancock	December 1894	
George Ed. Jordan	December 1894	
Arthur Jarvis	March 1895	Died June 1912
Ernest Layton	April 1895	
Mr King		Auditor
Albert James Hancock	January 1896	
R Pells	June 1896	
Rev W B S Dalby	November 1896	Honorary Member Treasurer Resigned September 1900
G Lambert	December 1896	
G Barnes	December 1896	
W J Graveling	December 1896	Landlord of Dun Cow Auditor Died December 1896 or January 1897
Peter Hancock		
F Lake	May 1897	
G F Taylor		Auditor (from Kelling)

Percival Dewing Jarvis	March 1898	Transferred from another Lodge
William Edward Lynn Williamson	March 1898	Transferred from another Lodge
Bertie Park	March 1898	Transferred from another Lodge
Herbert Pigott	December 1898	
Emual[sic] Williamson	December 1898	
Leonard Hancock	January 1899	
Walter C Layton	April 1899	Transferred to Shefford 1905
Robert J High	April 1899	
A Preston	January 1900	
Charles T Cubitt	July 1900	
Clement Holman	August 1900	
Lother de Bunsen	September 1900	Honorary Member
W Barney	December 1900	
George Pigott	November 1901	
G Hammond Smith	November 1901	Auditor (from Kelling)
Arnold Hancock	May 1902	
William G Hancock	September 1902	
John Rix	November 1903	
George Large	November 1903	
William Large	November 1903	
Alma Pigott	November 1903	
Sam Dix	December 1903	Died January or February 1906
Walter Holman	January 1904	
Henry Bond	January 1904	Auditor (from Holt)
Frederick Thomas Pells	March 1904	
Samuel Ward	October 1904	
James Dack	October 1904	
Ernest Dack	September 1905	
Richard Dew	December 1905	
George W Barnes	December 1905	
Marshall Francis Cook	December 1905	
Samuel Lake	March 1906	Auditor (from Holt)
Ernest J Leman	July 1906	
George W Gidney	August 1906	from Kelling
Charles Derrick Seymour	December 1906	

Blakeney's 'Map of the World' in 1368

by John Wright

Synopsis: An inventory of 1368 shows that Blakeney Church contained a 'mappa mundi', a rare possession at that date. Could this description refer to a 'world map' in the style of the one in Hereford Cathedral today? This article explores other possibilities and concludes, as did an early Guide to Blakeney Church, that this mappa mundi would have been a geographical text rather than a drawn map.

Introduction

An early edition of the Blakeney Church Guide refers to 'the many treasures possessed of the old Blakeney Church listed by William de Swynflete, Archdeacon of Norwich, in 1368 (before the present nave and west tower were built). In addition to the usual liturgical and musical books, Blakeney possessed A Map of the World; an interesting possession at this time when the town was a flourishing sea port'.¹ What would this 'map of the world' have looked like? Is it possible to come to any conclusion after such a long time?

The inventories for the Archdeaconry of Norwich, which included Blakeney and the other churches of Holt Deanery, are set out by Dom Aelred Watkins in one of the volumes published by the Norfolk Record Society.² The entry for Blakeney, still in the original Latin, lists the books, vestments and other items needed for church services, and then the remaining possessions, beginning with a *mappa mundi* (world map) and a *croniculum mundi* (world chronicle).

The author of the Church Guide says that the words 'mappa mundi' might suggest a Map of the World like the one in Hereford Cathedral. However, a footnote seems to defer to the view of Dom Watkins that "it may have been the *mappa mundi* and *chronica* of Gervase of Canterbury, but more likely an early recension [version] of the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden. The first book of the *Polychronicon* is called *mappa mundi* and the remainder a world chronicle". The reader is therefore left with the impression that this 'mappa mundi' is probably not a map at all, but a book. Later editions of the Church Guide make no reference to it.

Before commenting further on Blakeney's world map and world chronicle, it will be useful to look briefly at the conventions of medieval mapmaking and the production of medieval chronicles. This will provide some evidence for reaching conclusions about the inventory items.

Medieval Maps³⁻⁷

Maps were rare in the medieval world and so few have survived that it is difficult to be sure of all the steps that lie between Roman surveying and the surge of mapmaking in the 1500s. Nevertheless, several categories of maps can be described and some trends in mapmaking can be discerned.

Route Maps

There is evidence that competent surveyors in the Roman world put their expertise to practical purposes, such as land surveying and route mapping. No original route maps have survived, but it is highly likely that some existing medieval maps are copies of much earlier ones. The best known example is the *Peutinger Table*, which is a long, narrow scroll showing the Roman world from Britain to present-day Sri Lanka, believed to have been copied by a monk in Colmar in about 1265. It is a map of routes to Rome from all parts of the Roman Empire, but there is no geographical accuracy in the conventional sense – considerable distortions were necessary to squeeze the Empire into a map some 22 feet long and only 13 inches high. The visual impression given by the map, therefore, is that the roads to Rome (some 70,000 miles in total) ran parallel to each other. Yet the map serves a practical purpose: it would enable any traveller to identify the next place along the road and to see how far away it is. Unfortunately, one end of the map is missing - the one that would have shown Britain north of London.

This idea of the route map is to be seen in the maps produced by Matthew Paris, a monk at St Albans and Britain's best-known mapmaker of medieval times. Although his maps of Britain drawn in the 1250s do not show roads, it is possible to see a linear sequence of towns and religious houses from Newcastle down to Canterbury and Dover which would certainly assist pilgrims travelling south. As he also

included both Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall he may have had access to a Roman original.

From the 1300s only one map of Britain survives: the Gough Map of c.1360 (named from a later owner). Compared with the maps produced by Matthew Paris, the outline of England and Wales is much more accurate, and many more names are shown. Among them 16 in Norfolk, including Bromholm, Cromer, Blakeney, Walsingham and Burnham as well as Lynn, Norwich and Yarmouth. The three towns together with Bromholm and Walsingham are shown with spire-dominated symbols, no doubt indicating the importance of their religious establishments – though Blakeney and Burnham both had Carmelite friaries. A distinctive feature of the map is a network of ruled lines linking some of the places shown. Though these lines may look like roads, it is more likely that they represent routes as on the Matthew Paris maps. There is a 'route' from Canterbury to Southampton, for example, with no other lines joining it, and also a 'route' from Norwich to Cambridge and on to London. As a map of the country the Gough map has no equal until well into the 1500s.

Early charts

At sea, medieval shipmasters no doubt committed to memory much of the information they needed, but written sailing directions and charts also existed. The charts typically take the form of a reasonably accurate coastline on which a dense sequence of names was written, so that, once again, the mariner would know his next port of call and roughly how far away it was. But at sea what mattered most was not so much the distance involved but the direction, and early charts were provided with a wind rose so that the shipmaster would know which wind he would need to get from place to place. In the Mediterranean, these maps were known as *portolan* charts; in NW Europe, they became known as *rutters* (from the French 'routiers'). Perhaps it is not surprising that all the early sea-going charts seem to have disappeared and 'office' or presentation copies, dating from around 1300, are the earliest that now survive.

'Mappae mundi'

Quite a different tradition of mapping existed in the academic institutions of medieval Europe, where orthodox Christian thought provided the framework for intellectual inquiry. Here, the earliest, and very simple, world maps commonly took either a 'T-O' or a 'zonal' form. Both were derived from classical geography. The T-O form was based on a circular depiction of the world, with Jerusalem at the centre, and with east at the top, while the Mediterranean, and the rivers

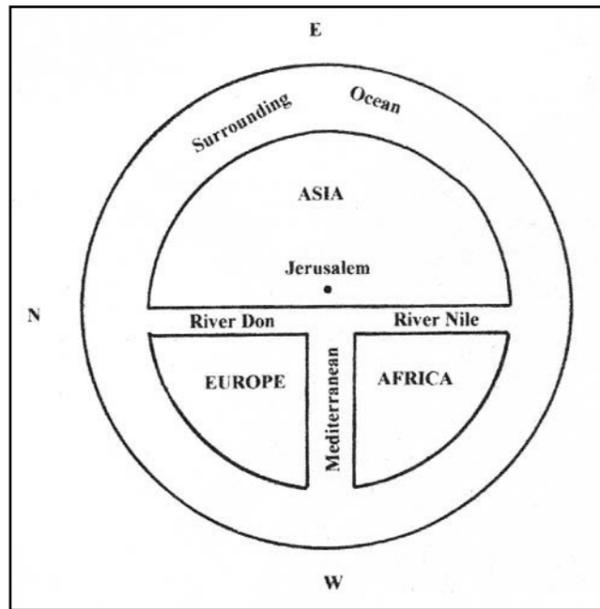


Figure 1. Diagrammatic T-O map of the world

Don or Danube (to the left) and Nile (to the right) formed the T (Figure 1). This shape neatly delineated the three known continents. The zonal maps displayed, in their simplest form, the climatic zones of the world, and it was generally doubted whether people could possibly have crossed the torrid zone to inhabit the southern parts of the earth.

The secular world of travellers and traders had an interest in using geographical discoveries to improve practical maps, but for the Church world maps were symbolic and geography was used for religious ends. The T-O and zonal diagrams developed into simple maps of the known world comprising the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. The core area of known lands and their largely speculative periphery were bounded by a watery perimeter – though this should not be interpreted as belief in a flat earth.

This sketchy interpretation of the physical world served as the framework for portraying the history of the Christian world. The Bible lands often feature on a larger scale so that important biblical scenes could be shown. Paradise was then generally believed to be a physical location and it was generally shown in the most easterly position – at the top of the map, for north at the top was not then the cartographic convention. Events and people from classical history (such as Alexander the Great) were also shown, together with references to contemporary myths and legends associated with various parts of the world.

Such maps were enlarged and elaborated, and their ultimate expression is found in the Ebstorf and Hereford maps and others of their kind. These later maps ('mappae mundi') contain new information derived from medieval

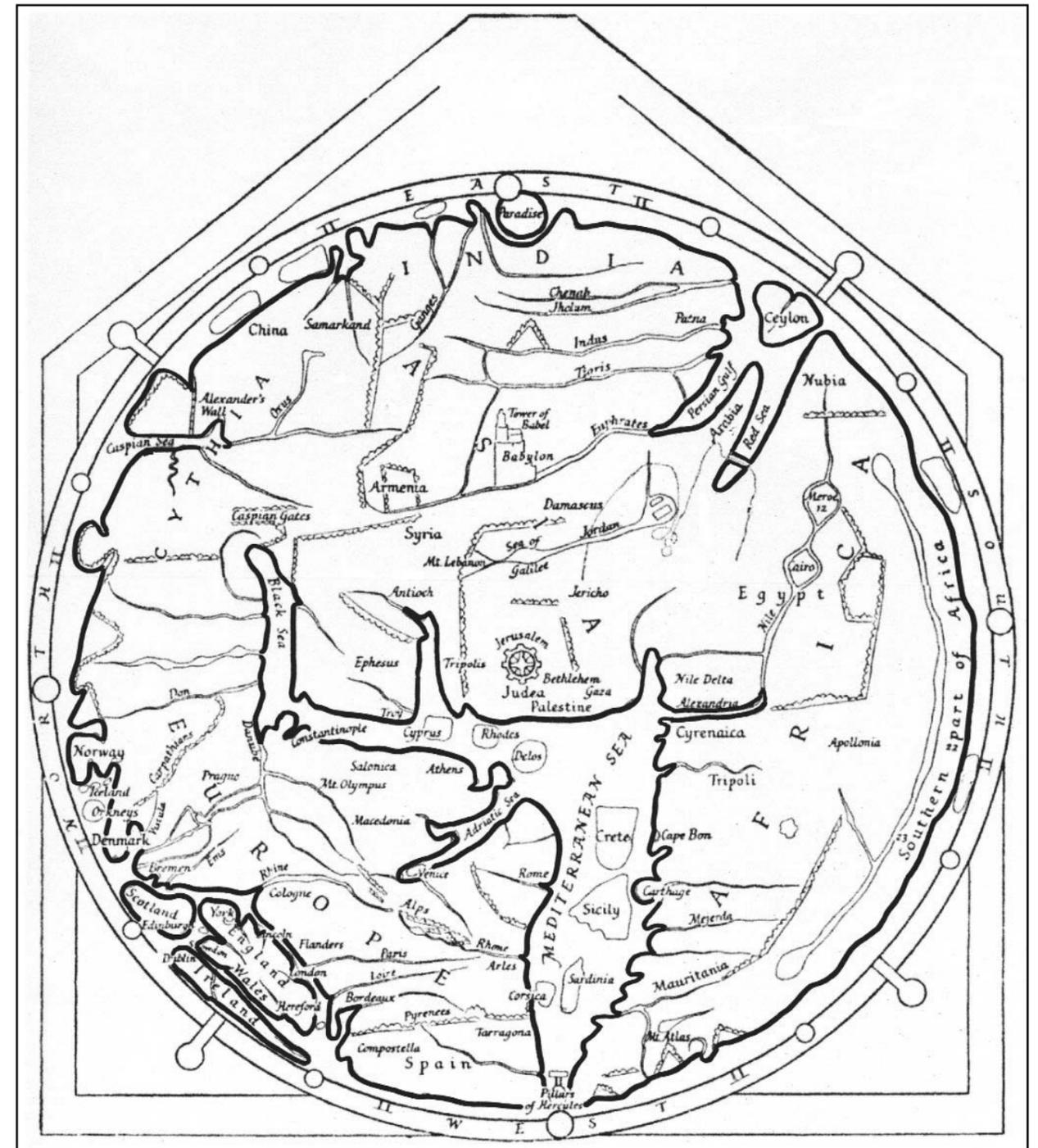


Figure 2. An outline of the Hereford Map: with some names in modern form (adapted from G R Crone)⁸

commercial journeys and pilgrimages but contemporary geographical knowledge is still displayed within the Biblical view of world history. The Ebstorf map, destroyed during the Second World War, was over 11 feet in diameter. The Hereford 'mappa mundi', produced in the late 1200s, is nearly 5 feet wide and is the largest that now survives. At the very top of the map, outside the circular frame, and above the earthly paradise, Christ sits in Judgement. The text within the frame is difficult to reproduce in a

publication but Figure 2 outlines the structure of the map. An elongated Britain is squeezed just inside the perimeter, Scotland is an island, and few place names are shown.⁸⁻⁹

In the 1300s, the creativity of earlier centuries appears to have dissipated and there is an increasing tendency to copy rather than develop older maps. Many of the surviving 'mappae mundi' are much smaller and designed to fit within the confines of a book, usually as a frontispiece; on such maps far less detail can be

shown. Many of these have been described as 'Higden' maps, for they are associated with the chronicles produced by Ranulf Higden. By the 1400s, increasing knowledge about the world left no place for the 'mappa mundi' where belief took precedence over observation.

Medieval Chronicles¹⁰

In the medieval period, most chronicles, like most maps, were produced by monks working in monastic *scriptoria*, for monasteries were then the centres of learning and intellectual inquiry until universities took over this role. Chroniclers recorded the history of their chosen area, perhaps beginning with the Creation; some tried to convey the history of the whole country, while others concentrated on events as they impinged on their own monastic order. Some chronicles functioned as local archives: important documents were copied into them, and they recorded the monastery's business affairs. Many chronicles were strictly chronological – they dealt with the events of each successive year and in this form are also described as annals. Despite shortcomings, the best chronicles are now important sources of information for the contemporary events they describe.

The medieval chroniclers followed in the literary footsteps of the Venerable Bede, who entered the new monastery at Jarrow and died there in 735. He was a prolific author but his best known work is the *Ecclesiastical History of the English people*, the single most valuable source for early English history. Much later, Roger of Howden (or Hoveden) produced a chronicle covering the period from the death of Bede to 1201. The chronicle of Richard of Devizes is particularly valuable for events in the late 1100s; he may also have contributed to the *Annals of Winchester* which cover the period from the Creation to 1202.

In 1174 Gervase of Canterbury, monk, chronicler and topographer, witnessed the fire which destroyed the Cathedral choir. In 1188 he began work on his *Chronica*, a history running from 1100 to his own times, prefaced by an account of the destruction and the rebuilding of the choir. He then produced a political history of England from the earliest times by omitting local material from the *Chronica* and adding other passages to it. Gervase also compiled a list of the monastic houses, castles, hospitals and water courses in each county – which he called a 'mappa mundi'.

Matthew Paris, born about 1200, is generally regarded as the finest of all medieval chroniclers. His *Chronica Majora*, which began with the Creation and was continued until his own death in 1259, was the most comprehensive history yet written in England. It covers a wide range of subjects and is well informed about events in

western Europe. It is also the source for the currently accepted date of the west front at Bingham Abbey. Matthew writes that it was built when Richard de Parco was the Prior, which makes it earlier than 1244, and therefore the earliest known example of bar tracery in England – earlier than Westminster Abbey. His numerous other works include a *History of the English*. Matthew was an excellent artist, as well as a mapmaker, and his manuscript volumes include many drawings.

The 13th century was the heyday of the monastic chronicle. Most of the chroniclers were highly placed in the Church, some had access to the king or went abroad on official business. Even those who travelled little would have spoken to high-ranking guests who used the lodgings provided by the monasteries. Most chronicles were therefore well informed about recent events and some incorporated geographical information.

The writing of chronicles continued through the 1300s. At St Albans, Thomas of Walsingham (some time prior of Wymondham) continued the work of Matthew Paris and is counted an authority on English history from 1377 to his death in c.1422. Rather later, John Capgrave (1393-1464), an Augustinian friar from King's Lynn, wrote a chronicle of England from the Creation to 1417. The works of many of these medieval chroniclers have survived in manuscript form and some have been printed, though not necessarily in English translations.

Ranulf Higden¹¹⁻¹⁴

Maps and chronicles come together in the works of Ranulf Higden who entered Chester Benedictine Abbey in about 1299. He wrote various books but is best known for the seven volumes of his world chronicle known as the *Polychronicon*. This work describes the history of the world from the time of the Creation, using a great many sources in addition to the Bible, including Pliny, Bede, and Isidore of Seville, an influential author of the early 7th century. The first volume is a description of the world and the remaining books cover the history. The last two deal with the history of England, one concluding with the Norman Conquest and the other with Higden's own time. His text relies heavily on earlier authors and shows little sign of the advances in knowledge in the previous hundred years.

Higden regularly revised and enlarged his great work until his death in 1364, although there are essentially three versions. The first is relatively short and includes events up to 1327. An intermediate version carries on to 1340, and this is the most common of the three, with nearly 70 copies surviving. A third version, the rarest, goes on till 1360. In the latter half of the

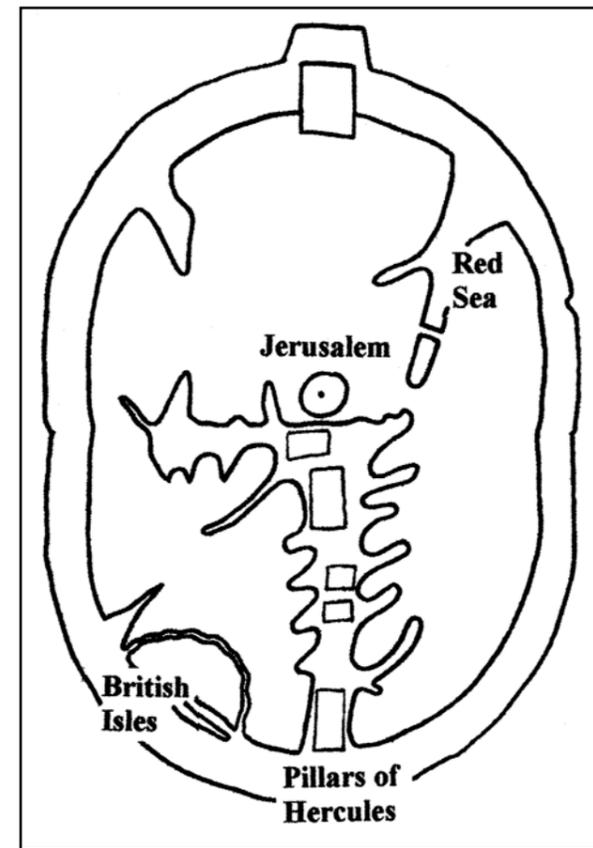


Figure 3. An outline of the 'Ramsey Abbey Map'

14th century other authors continued Higden's chronicle; one popular continuation (1377-1402), written by two monks of Evesham, was sometimes used to form an eighth volume of the *Polychronicon*.

The *Polychronicon* was the most popular history book in medieval England, and over 120 manuscript copies survive. Most of these are in Latin, but in the 1380s John Trevisa completed the first English translation and in this form the first volume especially became popular with the lay population. Cathedrals and the larger religious houses had copies, and later so did individual clerics as well as parish churches, members of the nobility and the wealthier merchants of London. The *Polychronicon* remained influential for some time, and its universal outlook was carried on into the Tudor age, despite the more chauvinistic tone of some of the continuations.

The first version of the *Polychronicon* contains no map, although some of the later copies contain a blank page at the end of the prologue in the first volume – exactly where a map is to be found in what is probably Higden's original text of the intermediate version. Thereafter maps are found only in some copies of the intermediate version, despite a reference to a map in the text. In fact, only 20 of the surviving 120 or so complete texts do contain a map. The implica-

tion seems to be that unlike Matthew Paris, for example, Higden was not 'cartographically literate' and was unable, or perhaps unwilling, to create a new map reflecting his own description of the world.

Instead, the map of his choice appears to be the one now in the Huntington Library in California. Its basic structure is a simple one which can be traced back several centuries and perhaps even to some lost Roman original. The map contains no pictorial illustrations and no text, but reference to the Hebrews' crossing of the Red Sea. Only the principal cities and features of the classical world are named except that in western Europe some medieval place-names appear. In any case, the map is far too small to contain anything like the wealth of information and comment that appears on maps like the Hereford *mappa mundi*. The Huntington map seems to be the model for ten or more later copies of rather lower cartographic quality.

There is, however, one other map, from Ramsey Abbey, which is larger and more detailed, and which does seem to illustrate Higden's text. It appears in a manuscript together with a smaller version less well related to the text and similar to the Huntington version. The implication seems to be that the larger Ramsey map is an attempt to create a map specifically for the *Polychronicon*, but it had no further influence on later copyists.

Figure 3 shows a simple outline of the Ramsey map. Most of the text is illegible on published illustrations but the structure is similar to the Hereford map. East is at the top of the map, Jerusalem is central, and the Mediterranean and Black Sea form the central feature. On the original, islands are shown as blocks of text. Africa is to the right, separated from Asia by the Red Sea drawn in the appropriate colour. The British Isles, with numerous town symbols, is also drawn in red. Twelve heads around the frame represent twelve principal winds – describing direction by reference to particular winds was common in the Mediterranean before the compass came into use.

The smaller Ramsey map, which resembles the type of map usually found with the earlier copies of the *Polychronicon*, has even less detail although the main features are very similar. The British Isles, for example, are shown as a series of separate rectangles with just the name of each country inserted: Anglia, Wallia, Scotia and Hibernia.

Blakeney's Mappa Mundi and World Chronicle

These notes on medieval maps and chronicles provide a basis for assessing what might be meant by the item in the Blakeney church inventory. The description *mappa mundi et cron-*

iculum mundi and the relatively wide distribution of Higden's chronicle make it highly likely that his *Polychronicon* is the work that Blakeney church possessed in 1368. Whilst it is conceivable that the *mappa mundi* might have been a large wall map in the Hereford tradition, separate from the texts comprising the chronicles, it is much more reasonable to take the two items together as the church inventory suggests. In which case Blakeney's copy of the chronicles could have been the early version (to 1327) or, more likely perhaps, the intermediate version (to 1340), although the possibility of it being the later version (to 1360) cannot be ruled out. Whichever version it was, the text would have been written in Latin, for the first English translation was still 15-20 years away.

The next issue is that in medieval times the term 'mappa mundi' could be used in a metaphorical sense as well as literally. The extensive county lists produced by Gervase of Canterbury were described as a 'mappa mundi', and at least one manuscript in the British Library with *mappa mundi* in the title is also a purely textual account.⁴ This is also true of the *Polychronicon* for Higden himself makes it clear in the third chapter of his first book that when he writes of a 'mappa mundi' he is referring to a verbal description of the world. So it is reasonable to accept that *mappa mundi* and *croniculum mundi* together comprise Higden's *Polychronicon*, as suggested by Dom Watkins in the Blakeney Church guide.

But did Blakeney's copy of the *Polychronicon* actually contain a map? This is the question left undecided in the church guide. It is known that the early version and many of the later copies did not contain a map, so the likelihood of Blakeney's copy having one is relatively small. It could be argued that Blakeney's copy is unlikely to have been among the first for they would have been found in the major religious establishments – not in a small parish church. On the other hand, it is possible that one of these institutions might have been prepared to dispose of an early version when later ones were available.

As well as asking if the *mappa mundi* was a map or a book, and whether the book had a map, it might also be asked how Blakeney came by the *Polychronicon*. No other church in the Archdeaconry of Norwich (comprising half the county, including Norwich, Yarmouth, Lynn and Thetford) appears to have had one. Many churches in the Archdeaconry had books other than those needed for services, but they were all of a religious nature – on the lives of saints, for example. Only Blakeney had a historical chronicle – though if incumbents elsewhere had their own personal copy it would not have been included in the church inventory.

Higden's work is a long one (some 300,000

words in later versions) and would have been expensive to produce – even though the English versions eventually had a wide distribution. Perhaps the Carmelite Friary in Blakeney, established at the beginning of the 1300s, had a 'spare copy' to give away. Or perhaps a Rector acquired and donated it, or left it to the church after his death. In 1368 the Rector, appointed seven years previously, was Peter de Martham; before him Walter Moyner had been appointed in 1349, probably as a direct result of the Black Death. Both had private patrons; the Abbot and Convent of Langley did not become patrons until 1375 and are unlikely to have made any gift to Blakeney church before 1368.

A wealthy local inhabitant is another possible source. One contender is John Blakeney, fishmonger and prominent citizen of London, who left bequests to various local churches in his will of 1393.¹⁵ The silver chalice which he donated to Blakeney church is listed in the 1368 inventory – but at the end and in a different hand as though added at a later date. A private gift seems unlikely, though, for the inventory lists several objects that had been given to the church – but these do not include the chronicles. The Glaven villages were then maritime centres of some national repute so perhaps it is not too surprising that one of their possessions should be a copy of Higden's *Polychronicon* with its world view of geography and history. Yet it could not have found its way there by 1368 unless some individual had brought it, and perhaps the most likely source is a Latin-speaking cleric who had studied at Oxford or Cambridge University.

Conclusion

Whilst the points listed above do not lead to firm conclusions, the probability is that Blakeney's *mappa mundi* was not a large 'wall map' in the Hereford tradition. It is also probable that the *mappa mundi* and *croniculum mundi* was Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*. It is also more likely than not that the term 'mappa mundi' does relate to the first volume of the *Polychronicon*, for there would have been no need for the inventory to mention a frontispiece map separately from the text. But even if 'mappa mundi' does denote the first of seven volumes, that has no bearing on whether that volume did or did not contain one of Higden's world maps – a pictorial *mappa mundi*. On that point the evidence is slight, but since a relatively minor church like Blakeney would probably not have had one of the earliest, mapless versions of the *Polychronicon* there is some scope to believe that the Blakeney copy might have had one.

Not that such a map would have been of any practical use to the mariners of the Glaven

ports. Only rutters and sailing directions would have helped them find their way about the North Sea and beyond. Nor would it have been of any use to travellers by land.

So what happened to the *Polychronicon*? Perhaps a later rector took it away with him. Or perhaps it mouldered away in the church or rectory, increasingly out of date – and useless to the local inhabitants, most of whom would have been unable to read English let alone read and

understand Latin. But today, even unread, it would have been among Blakeney's prized possessions.

This article is based on an essay prepared for the UEA course 'Maps and Mapmakers' held in Blakeney during the autumn of 2005. The course was arranged by BAHS and tutored by Matthew Champion on behalf of the UEA's Continuing Education Department.

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An Anglo-Saxon Burial at Bayfield, (Letheringsett-with-Glandford)

by Kenneth Penn and David Whitmore

Synopsis: Issue No 7 of the Glaven Historian carried a report on the discovery and investigation of an isolated burial; the grave-goods appeared to point to a date somewhere in the 1st century AD, that is, the late Iron Age or the early Roman period. Full excavation and study of the whole assemblage showed that the burial belonged to the Saxon period, probably in the first half of the 7th century. The grave-goods also have quite strong Frankish associations, in particular the rouletted pot; fabric analysis indicates that this came from the Pas-de-Calais, France.

Introduction

Following the discovery of a patera in 2003, and a preliminary investigation later that year, an excavation was carried out by David Gurney (Norfolk Landscape Archaeology), with the assistance of Roger Combes, the original finders and the Blakeney Area Historical Society.¹ This was followed by a more detailed excavation in 2004.

The burial was uncovered by mechanical excavator and then hand-dug. This work revealed the grave and five other features: four post-holes (12, 15, 16 and 20), and pit 25. Post-holes 12 and 20 produced sherds of pottery and struck flint, nearly all prehistoric (12: 30 sherds, 15 flints; 20: 8 sherds). The fill of the grave also produced 36 sherds, heavily abraded, and six worked flints.

The Burial

The grave was quite large, 2.80m long, 1.45m wide, and neatly rectangular, aligned north-east to south-west. The skeleton was nearly complete, and lay supine in the grave, with head to the south-west and feet to the north-east. The head was turned to the left and the arms were wide spread, possibly as the body collapsed. There was no sign of a coffin.

The burial was that of a tall and muscular man, aged between 35 and 50 years. His height is estimated at between 177.5 - 184.25cm (5'10" - 6'1"). The bones of the spine indicated degenerative disc disease, doubtless caused by severe or constant physical stress.

The Grave-goods

The objects were found in three main groups: a spearhead in the north-west corner, close to the head; three vessels by the feet in the south-east corner (a patera or open bowl with a handle, i.e. a skillet, an iron-bound bucket and a pottery vessel), whilst around the body were a knife, two buckles and other fragments.

Stratified objects associated with burial:

- 1 Iron spearhead (SF8).
- 2 Silver buckle (SF14), linear decoration, forms a pair with No. 4.
- 3a Iron knife (SF11).
- 3b Iron (?) steel (SF11).
- 4 Silver buckle (SF12), linear decoration, forms a pair with No 2.
- 5 Iron fragments (SF13).
- 6 Remains of an iron-bound tub or bucket (SF9), and fragment of bronze sheet.
- 7 Pottery vessel (SF10), biconical, rouletted.
- 8 Bronze patera or skillet (SF5 and SF6), with iron reinforcing strips and repair patches.

Unstratified objects were:

- 9 Bronze collar (SF15), with wood (not planed).
- 10 Iron bolt (SF1), modern.
- 11 Iron tack (SF2), modern.
- 12 Lead point (SF3).
- 13 Iron bar (SF7).

Dating

The spearhead belongs to Swanton's Type C4 or C5, leaf-shaped spearheads, slender without a distinct junction between socket and blade. In its outline, it is most like the C5



Photograph 1(above). Excavated skeleton together with remains of a bucket or tub and pottery vessel.



Photograph 2 (left). Detail of bucket or tub showing iron rings and part of handle. The remains of the small pottery vessel are also visible.

(late, either Kentish or Frankish) except for its length. Both types belong to the late 6th-7th century.²

The two silver buckles belong to Marzinzik's Type II 24a with oval loops, high-rectangular plates and linear decoration. These are found in contexts of the late 6th century onwards.³

The knife with its steel: The knife fits Evison's Type 5 with its angled back and straight cutting edge. This type mostly belongs to the 7th century.⁴

Iron-bound buckets, especially those in poor preservation and of simple hoop construction, are difficult to 'date', except to note that iron-bound vessels are more common from the late 6th century onwards, whilst bronze-bound wooden vessels disappear from this date onwards.

The pottery belongs to a group of Frankish wheel-thrown vessels known from England and is Evison's Type 1, from the first half of the 7th century. The fabric points to a source in the

Pas-de-Calais.

The bronze patera/skillet was at first thought to be Roman, but further study of its possible parallels suggests that it could belong to a small group of Anglo-Saxon manufacture, discussed by Richards⁵ and Geake⁶. These belong to the 7th century.

Discussion

The revised dating of this burial to the Saxon period, in the first half of the 7th century (600-650), and recognition of its Frankish affinities is of great interest. In this period the Anglo-Saxons became Christian, at some level at least, and continental influence brought new ideas and habits.

The old forms of burial, with large brooches and beads for women and weapon burial for men, had already been dropped, but in the 7th century new forms of burial were seen; men with just a knife and buckle, occasionally a seax

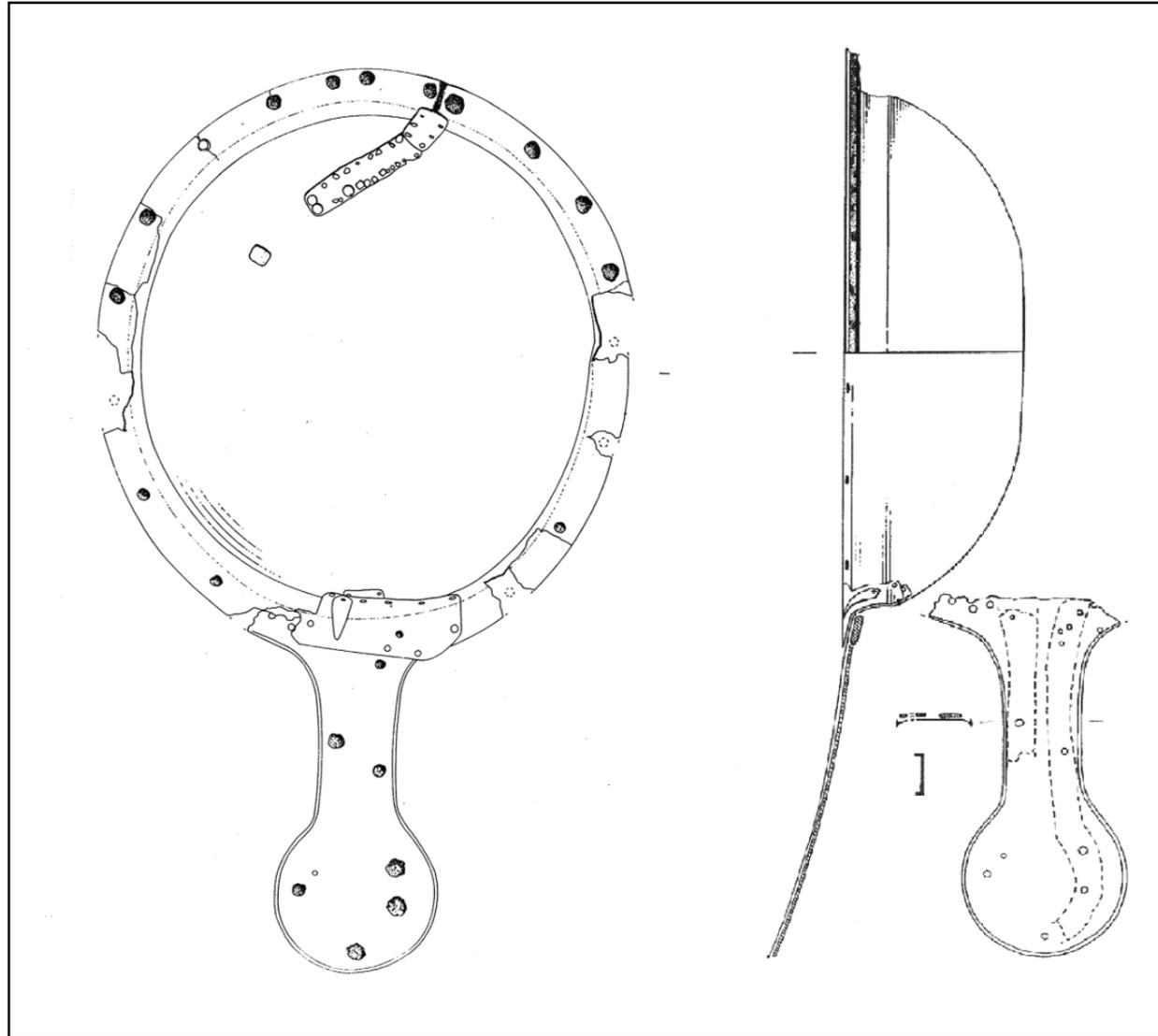


Figure 1 (above). Bronze patera, showing details of construction and repair.

Note: as with many of the drawings of metal objects much of the detail is derived from x-ray images. Scale is provided by a small bar, in this figure it represents 20 mm but in all others 10 mm. All the drawings are by Jason Gibbons.

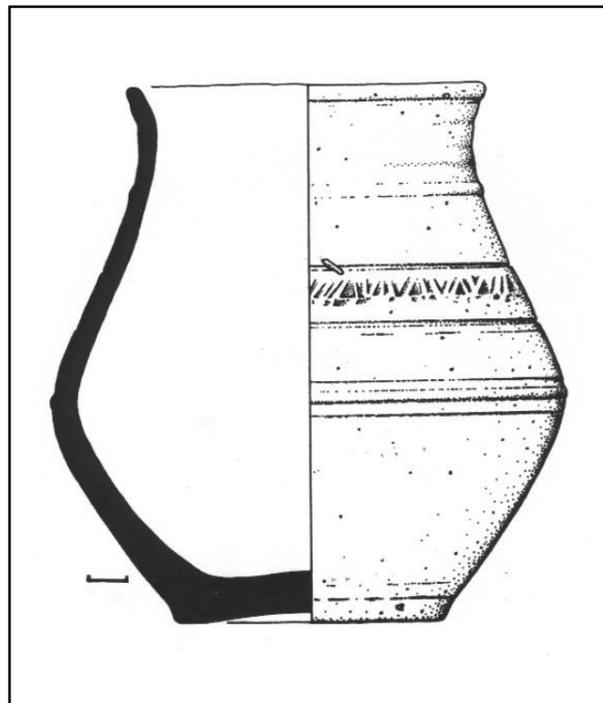


Figure 2 (left). Pottery vessel showing decorative pattern.

Opposite page:

Figure 3. Pair of silver buckles.

Figure 4. Iron spearhead, with cross section to show socket.

Figure 5. Iron knife with cross section.

Figure 6. Steel

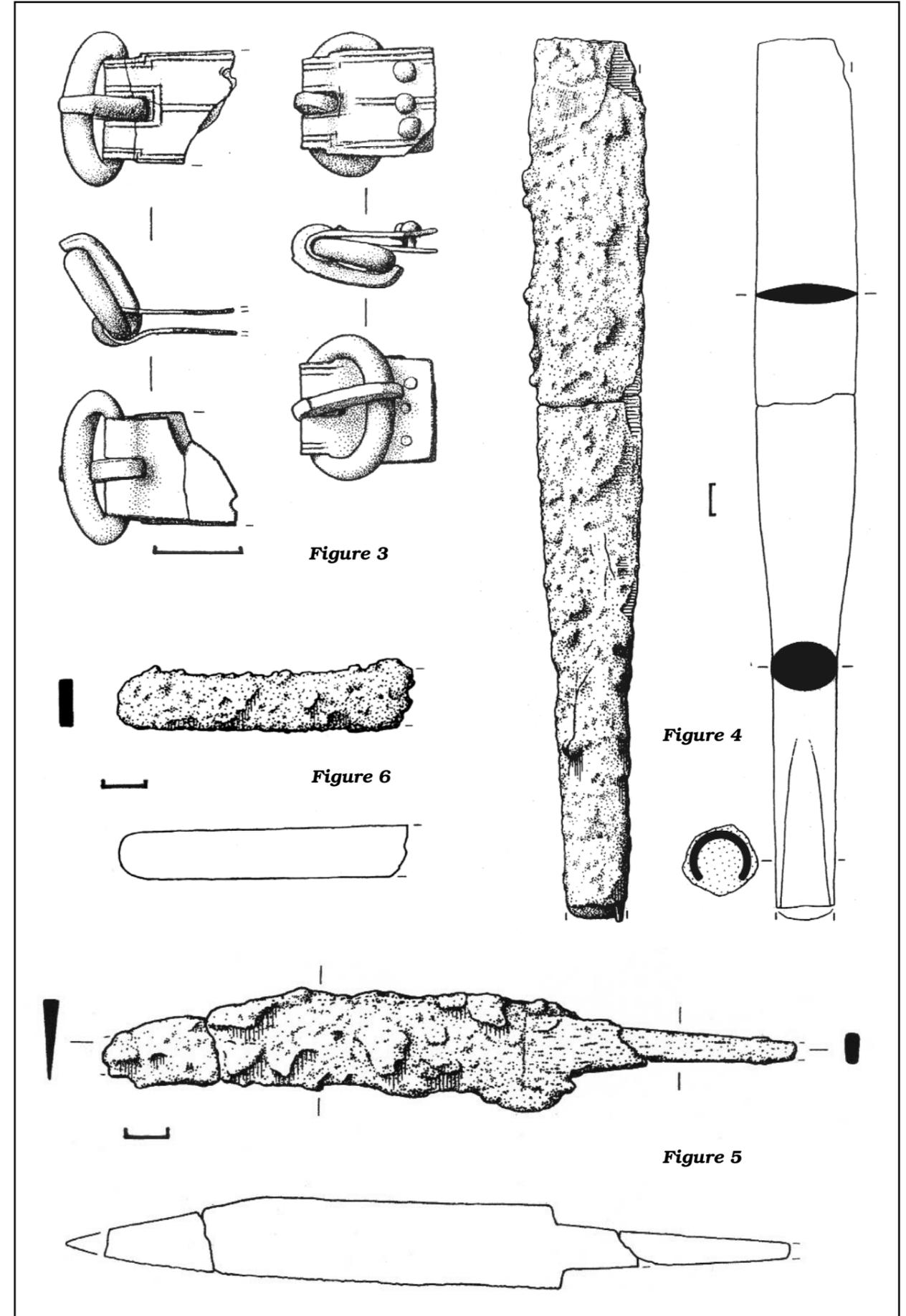


Figure 3

Figure 6

Figure 4

Figure 5

(large knife), and women mostly unaccompanied by artefacts but a few with beads, silver rings and delicate pendants, chatelaine, combs, boxes and a variety of objects. Coins are also seen with a few such burials in the late 7th century. In these graves, continental influence is sometimes clear and access to a variety of objects is evident.

The Bayfield burial is in some ways a simple affair. He was buried with his knife and steel (a sharpening tool or firesteel) and a spear. His belt had two buckles of silver, this being unusual and more common in Kentish or Frankish areas. He was also unusual in being provided with three vessels (paterna, pot and bucket). The paterna is difficult to date and could be either a Roman example, perhaps a 'found' object, or belong to a group of 'skillets' all of 7th century date that have been found in a handful of 7th century graves. It had been repaired and may have been very old when buried.

The rouletted pottery vessel is clearly from France and fabric analysis suggests it was made earlier in the 7th century. It was probably buried not very long after manufacture, given its fragility. The iron-bound tub or bucket is seen in burials from the later 6th century.

Most Anglo-Saxon burials were in groups, some times very large cemeteries with hundreds of burials. A regular orientation, west-to-east, was usual in both the 'pagan' and the Christian period. Usually, the site chosen was prominent, overlooking a stream or river and presumably the settlement that provided the individuals buried there. Single burials are quite rare, possibly because they are less easily found. Where they occur, single burials were more often under barrows and usually well-furnished i.e. accompanied by artefacts and possessions.

This grave was placed on a slope overlooking the river and the ford at the bottom of the hill. From below, the burial may have been quite prominent, although there was no hint of a barrow and the grave appears to have been unmarked (some other kind of marker cannot be ruled out). The burial, set on its own, may have

been special in some way. The Frankish affinities of the grave-goods supports this as does its separation from other burials.

Burials and cemeteries are sometimes thought to have marked (and claimed) territory, placed above rivers that were often boundaries. This may have been the case here, marking a territory on the east side of the River Glaven and close to a route-way leading from the ford west up the hill past the burial towards Salthouse Heath and certainly an important highway in later centuries.

The Frankish affinities could also suggest an individual from that area, though whether he would travel with a pot and bucket may be argued, furthermore whether an individual, such as a merchant, would have been buried here and not sent back to his kin is debatable. It is reasonable, therefore, to surmise that he was a local man, of some importance, with connections to Kent and France in some way.

We should note that amongst the objects brought into the Castle Museum in Norwich for identification is a growing number of objects of continental origin, but rarely seen in burials. This may indicate a much stronger continental presence in North Norfolk than is evident from the burial record alone.

Acknowledgements

The excavation was carried out by David Whitmore and Kirsty Bone, with assistance from Debbie Forkes (NMA Conservation Dept, Norwich Castle Museum). Thanks are due again to Robin and Roger Combes and the four metal detectorists Alan Daynes, Jason Jackson, David Maude and Ron Reid for supporting the excavation and for the provision of a machine and operator. The excavation was assisted by members of the Blakeney Area Historical Society.

Finds were examined by Andrew Rogerson, David Gurney, Sarah Percival and Alan Vince. Francesca Boghi reported on the skeletal remains.

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Cockthorpe Project: Carved Roof Panels at All Saints, Cockthorpe

by John Peake

Synopsis: Cockthorpe Church contains three, probably 15th century, roof panels that are possibly unique in this area of North Norfolk. The panels show an amazing array of carved foils.

Introduction

The roof of the nave in Cockthorpe church can be described as 'simple arch-braced with arch braces lying between wall posts' but lacking any form of collar (a beam) or support linking the rafters on either side of the roof. These features are clearly visible in Photograph 1, as is the absence of a collar, but also evident is the simple line and beauty of the structure. It is a form found in many churches throughout Norfolk^{1,2} but as Caughley rather graphically states 'the omission of the collar gives to the roofs such an appearance of instability, that one's admiration is tinged with awe'.¹

It is thought that the present roof dates from the late 15th century, although there are signs of repairs and it has been suggested there were changes in the 17th century.³ Certainly marks on the exterior of the tower show that the roof lines have been altered on at least two occasions and wall heights have been adjusted to cope with the addition of an aisle and clerestory on the south side.

In the interior, the nave roof is divided into three bays, with the purlins and principal rafters moulded, although a gap at the west end between the major timbers and the wall of the tower is puzzling. In the chancel the roof is boarded over so nothing is visible.

A minor gem of the roof is the subject of this study (Photograph 2). It is a rare, if not unique, feature that has been variously described as 'a wall plate originally all enriched by quatrefoils'³ and 'a good cornice of quatrefoils'.² There is obviously some confusion about how to describe in architectural terms what appears to be a series of panels on the north side of the nave filling the space between the top of the nave wall and the roof rafters. It is certainly not part of a plate attached to the top of the wall, nor part of a cornice. A report of a survey made in 1958 and 1959 as part of an Inspection of Churches

Measure in the Diocese of Norwich by Chartered Architects takes a somewhat more pragmatic approach by describing it 'some fine carved quatre foil panelling to the cornice and vertical filling'.⁴

There is no corresponding panel on the south side of the nave as the wall has been extended up to and around the rafters possibly when the clerestory was built or during later repairs.

Quoting further from the architect's report it is important to note that 'Much of the woodwork has been attacked by the death-watch beetle, especially the backs of the wall posts and other parts in close contact with the walls..... Wet rot and the furniture beetle attacked the later fir infilling to the eaves'⁴ This damage is now evident throughout all of the roof timbers and explains the distorted shape and the repairs visible in Photograph 1, together with the damage to the panels.

Panels

The panels fill the spaces in the three bays defined by the major rafters and the wall posts. Consequently they appear to have been made to fit these spaces and not adapted from another source. Each panel consists of a series of carved squares backed by planks, but unfortunately both the panels and the backing have been severely damaged and in many areas it is possible to see the roof rafters and other details through the resulting gaps.

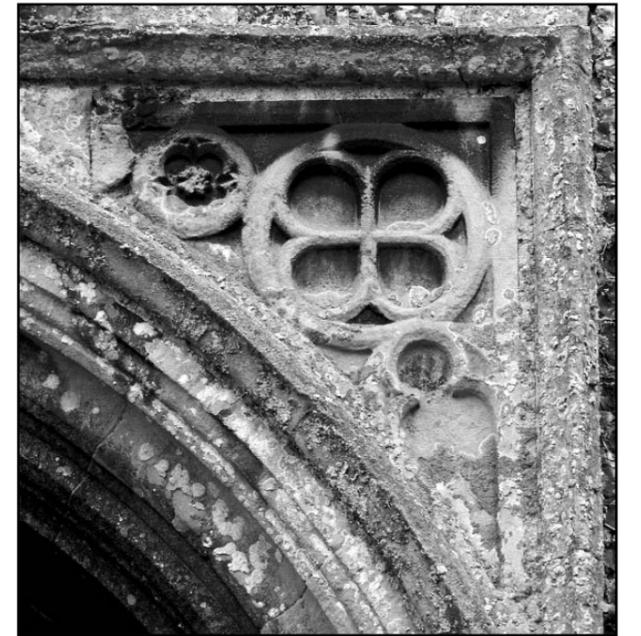
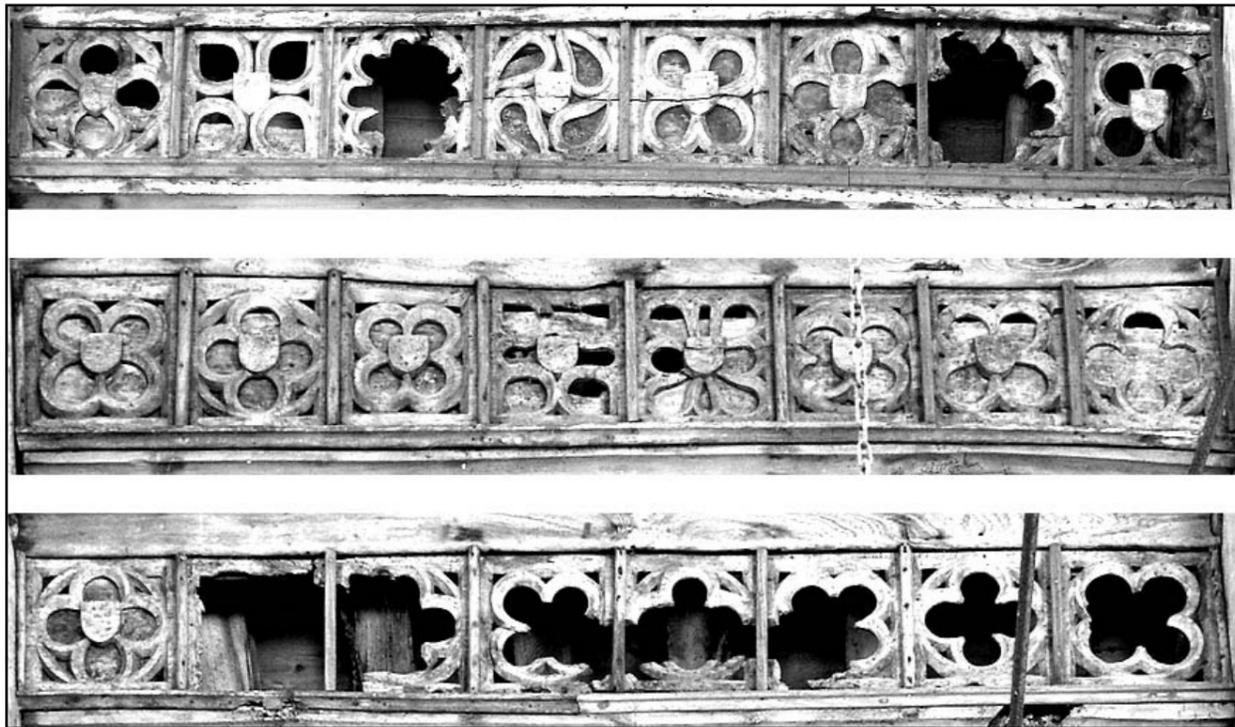
Originally the planks and the panels were possibly attached to vertical posts or 'ashlar pieces' that dropped from the rafters to the wall. At least in one place it is possible to see part of a post, but over most of the visible area they have either disappeared through the action of beetles and rot or were never present.

Each panel consists of eight carved squares that together form a frieze, each square being



Photograph 1 (top). All Saints, Cockthorpe: late 15th century roof (looking east) showing moulded principals and purlins, wall and roof braces, and iron ties between the walls of the nave. On the north side the carved panels can be seen.

Photograph 2 (above). All Saints, Cockthorpe: the three panels running from east to west down the page; the rafters and the planks backing the panels are visible together with the wall tie and the chain suspending the candelabrum.



Photographs 3 and 4. St Mary, North Creake: top of 15th century west doorway showing two foils carved in freestone similar to designs at Cockthorpe.

delimited by vertical and horizontal wooden strips that appear to be attached to the panels by nails or pegs. Whether the squares were carved as a continuous panel or consist of a series of individual or groups of squares held in place by the horizontal and vertical bars can be questioned. A clue is provided by the nature of the damage they have suffered, such as, a crack extending across four adjacent squares and the manner in which breaks extend across squares. These indicate that, at least, some adjacent squares, if not the whole panel, were carved from a single piece of wood.

Quatrefoils

The designs for the individual squares were developed around a motive that was widely used in the 14th and 15th centuries, the quatrefoil with a shield at the centre.

The quatrefoil is part of a much greater family of foils, leaf shapes, that has been over many centuries incorporated into designs for flint flushwork, the tracery of windows, rood screens, embroidery, jewellery and in Islamic architecture.^{3,5-7} In Cockthorpe they have been used not only in the panels but on the freestone carving on the Calthorpe chest tomb.⁸

Even though some parts of the panels are badly damaged, sixteen out of the total of twenty-four squares can be recognised as belonging to two common patterns: one where the quatrefoils form a cross enclosed in a circle and the other where the leaves lie on diagonals giving a predominately box shape. The remainder show an elaboration of forms with 4, 6 and 8 foils, giv-

ing a total of eight different patterns, although two are badly damaged it is still possible to say they are different from the rest. Unfortunately one square has virtually disappeared.

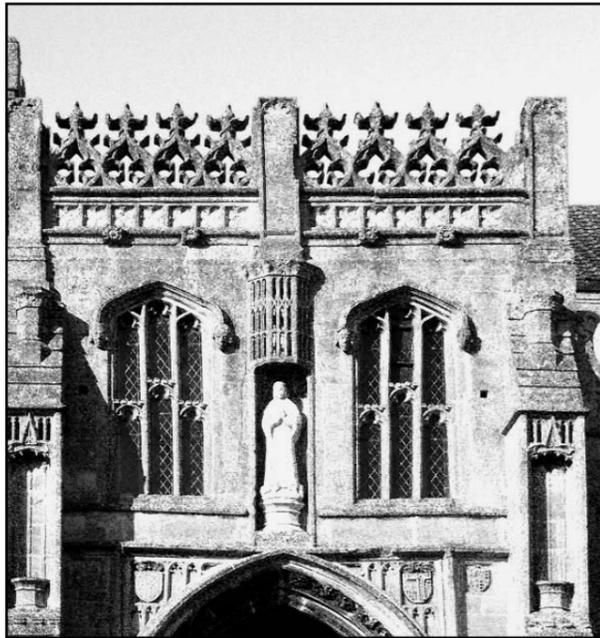
It is uncertain whether the foils and the shields were ever painted, for today when viewed from the ground there is no evidence of any colour or heraldic arms on any of the shields. On the photographs small holes are visible on the latter, but these do not follow a regular pattern and are more likely to be beetle holes rather than evidence for nails or small pegs. In contrast colour is visible on the backing planks seen through the foils; the colour is a thin layer of a dark red pigment and there are suggestions that there may be an underlying ground colour or even a pattern, but these may be artefacts of water damage. This keeps the issue alive of whether the panels and indeed the whole roof was painted prior to the Reformation

The only other areas of wood that have been painted are the wooden wall posts, wall braces and some parts of a wooden cornice that have been covered by more than one layer of lime-wash. At one time this wash extended across the walls covering two wall paintings.

Discussion

Comparisons can readily be made between these panels and the patterns found in early flint flushwork, the tracery of windows or on rood screens. However, it is also a form of decoration that was beloved of 19th century restorers.

In South Norfolk and Suffolk flint flushwork



Photograph 5 (top). *St Margaret, Cley: filigree battlements incorporating quatrefoils on the South Porch.*

Photograph 6 (above). *All Saints, Upper Sheringham Church: carved wooden panel from 15th century Rood Screen showing developments and distortions from the simple quatrefoil.*

flowered under the influence of a few recognisable workshops^{6,7} but here in North Norfolk it is comparatively simple. On top of the tower of Wiveton Church, for example, there is a simple frieze of quatrefoils in flushwork, the same shape is employed at Blakeney, while at Cley it is developed in the tracery of the window in the South Transept and the cinquefoils in the windows of the clerestory. Similar patterns can also



Photograph 7. *St Mary, Antingham: a simple roof showing the vertical ashlar pieces between the wall plate and the rafters with a vertical wooden infill.*

be found in other forms of freestone carving (Photographs 3 and 4). However, quatrefoils appear with spectacular effect in the stone carving of the 'filigree battlements' of the South Porch of Cley church (Photograph 5).³

Nevertheless, some of the foils in the panels at Cockthorpe show a fluidity of form that is not seen in flushwork or freestone carving. They appear to be closer to the carving found in rood screens, and in the tracery of windows where the quatrefoil is distorted to form 'daggers' and other patterns (Photograph 6).

The question of when these panels were carved remains? There would appear to be no reason to presume they were not carved at the same time as the roof was constructed nor that they were moved from another church. Certainly they fit the spaces between the principal rafters and the colour and nature of the wood, including the lack of crispness of the carving suggests they have been subject to the vicissitudes of time. So there is every reason to presume they date from the late 15th century when quatrefoils and other foils were widely employed in design.

Are there comparable panels in other churches of similar size? Nothing has been found so far. In some churches a similar space is filled with plain planks or boards running in both horizontal and vertical directions; the church at Antingham, also associated with Calthorpes, is an example (Photograph 7). While in complete contrast is the magnificent and highly decorated hammer beam roof in Necton Church, near Swaffham (Photograph 8) where highly ornamented panels fill the spaces between the hammers beams and the arched braces. These extend as two tiers from the wall to the rafters, painted and covered with angels



Photograph 8. *All Saints, Necton: late 15th century highly ornamented roof (looking east) showing the alternating hammerbeams and simple arched braces with collars. Angels are visible along the hammers and on the two tiers of panels that fill the spaces between the hammers and the braces.*

with wings extended.

The problem is that the search cannot be confined to North Norfolk for it is clear that 15th century craftsmen were mobile moving to areas where work was available and as a consequence they were exposed to many different influences and styles. As Fawcett suggested in his study of the mason's work in Wiveton Church the handiwork of the same individual could be found in Norwich and elsewhere scattered around the county.⁸ If it was not the same mason then it

was somebody using similar templates or familiar with the work of the Wiveton mason and moving around.

The final abiding impression of the panels is that they were created by a carpenter, even an apprentice, using the opportunity to explore and exhibit his skills and ideas. However, the question still remains are there other examples, but even if there are, the church at Cockthorpe still retains three fine panels of foils.

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Cockthorpe Project: Cockthorpe Churchyard: The Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions

by Pamela Peake

Synopsis: The monuments and Monumental Inscriptions of the churchyard of All Saints, Cockthorpe are recorded and discussed in light of changing social patterns, the church registers and the local community.

Introduction

In the short time it has existed the Society has established a tradition of recording and publishing information from war memorials and monumental inscriptions from our local villages. These build on the earlier surveys made by Walton Dew for the Holt Hundred in the nineteenth century.¹ This account continues the trend and although Cockthorpe lies beyond the area covered by Dew, it is where his father was born and where his grandparents are buried.

All Saints Cockthorpe, with its small churchyard of half an acre, sits nestled under a canopy of trees at the west end of the parish, just across the road from the Manor House. It is separated from the road to the south by a flint and brick wall, and on the other three sides by old boundary banks and also by field hedges on two sides while across the field to the east lies the old parsonage. By comparison with many of the churches nearby, it is decidedly small and intimate and although now redundant and in the care of the Norfolk Churches Trust it is nonetheless a survivor for two neighbouring churches of St. Mary at Stiffkey and another St. Mary at Langham Parva to the east have long since disappeared.

The church is seemingly of early medieval origin, but the dateable features are largely early 14th and 15th century and later.^{2,3} Thus for some 700 years it has been the spiritual centre of the community where baptisms and marriages have been celebrated and the dead buried in hallowed ground – events recorded in the parish registers from 1560.⁴

As part of the Cockthorpe Project, members of the BAHS made a survey of the monuments, memorials and grave markers, both inside the church and outside in the churchyard as a matter of some urgency. While the memorials inside the church are safe, it is a different story for

those in the churchyard. They are increasingly at risk from the elements as shown by the increased damage to the red sandstone slabs during the past winter. Some have started to split and the surface flake away, so it will not be too many years before all evidence of association and context of the earlier gravestones will be irrevocably lost. It is these stones that are the subject of this article while an account of the church memorials will follow at a later date.

Remember a large percentage never had headstones, so here we are considering a biased section of the community, almost exclusively tenant farmers and their families until the early 1900s then the wider community.

Firstly, the location of every burial with an extant monument was numbered and marked on a plan (Figure 1). Then the monuments were noted for size, condition and style with drawings and photographs taken to provide a visual record of the decoration. Finally, a full transcript was made of all inscriptions and accompanying verses that could be read.

The inscriptions of the eighteenth century stones are of particular interest as they are now severely encrusted with lichen, making them very difficult to read while some lettering is weathered beyond recognition. It proved necessary to revisit some of these gravestones several times in order to glimpse tantalizing details of names and dates under different lighting conditions and degrees of dampness. Even then, some proved impossible and so there is no transcription, whilst others that could be read a year ago when the survey began, are now being read with increasing difficulty.

Then, dependent on the physical condition of the relevant sections of the parish registers and the legibility of the hand, each named individual was first checked for confirmation and date of burial then again to confirm or identify the relationship to any family members recorded by the

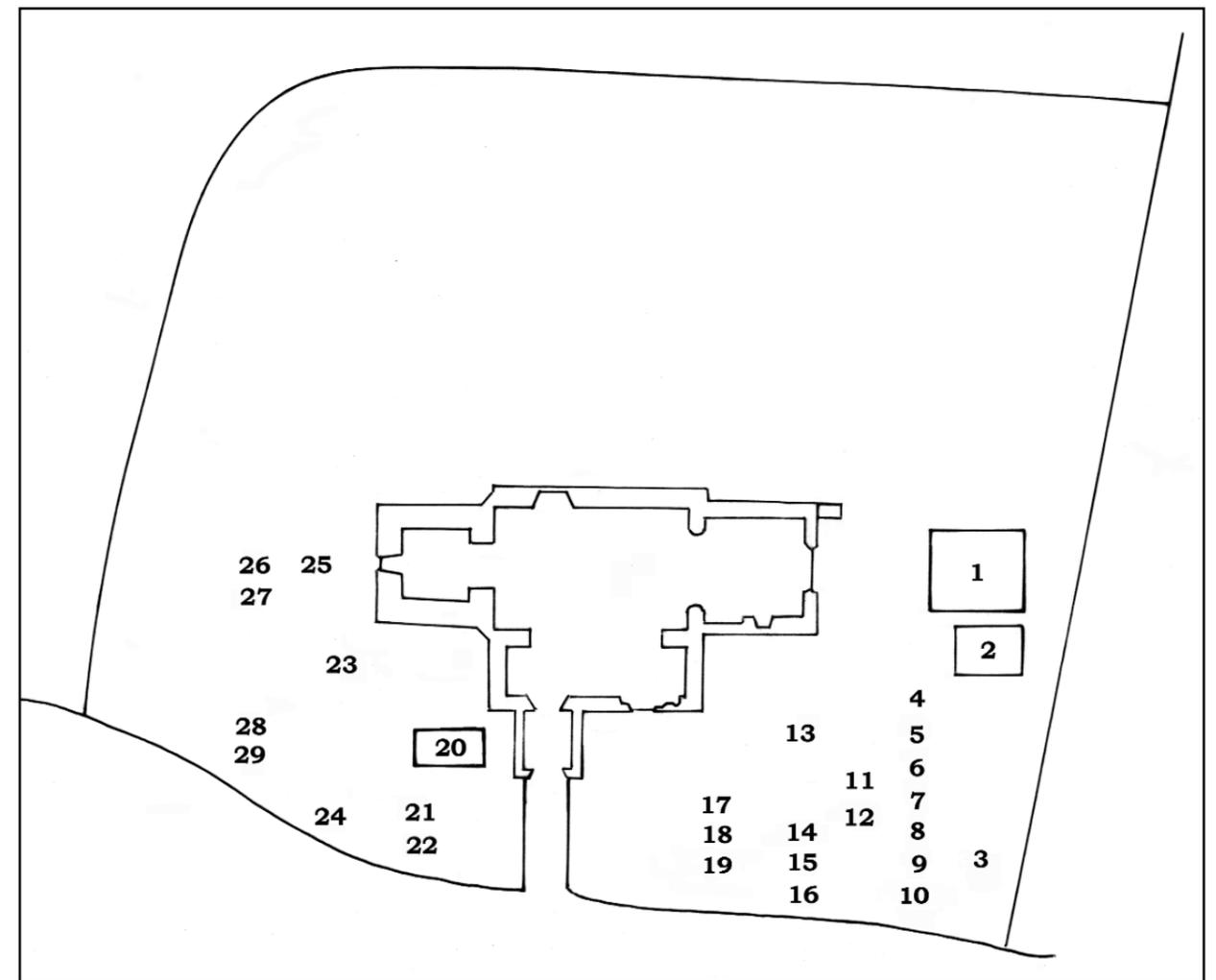


Figure 1. Diagram of Cockthorpe churchyard with north to the top and the position of monuments shown by numbers.

inscription.

A list of names from the inscriptions is presented here with additional information from the parish registers added for completeness and clarification. The full results of the survey are deposited at the History Centre, Blakeney.

The Churchyard Memorials

The churchyard of All Saints is fairly typical of many small parish communities with the burials of the last few hundred years located on the south side, either side of the path that leads to the south porch. There are only 29 monuments, the majority of which are headstones laid out in rows and arranged in family groupings. The oldest stones are on the east side while more recent burials and the newest monuments are to the west in the churchyard.

All burials face east, but significantly the headstones on the east side were turned to face the path so that inscriptions were clearly visible as the congregation attended the church. This is a reminder that churchyards have always been

public spaces where families are making statements about relationships, establishing their identity and status in the community. It is a link between the living and the dead that persists long after families have moved away from the district.

The monuments themselves are examples of vernacular art and are just as important as the inscriptions for they demonstrate a variety of styles, decorations and symbolism that provides further clues to the community – a comment on their wealth, attitudes to death, burial and remembrance over recent centuries, but also a reflection of changing social conditions as the mason responded to current fashion. Monuments thus mirror the contemporary social scene, for unlike houses, they never have a make over, only running repairs.

Although the number of monuments is small, 29, it is far from insignificant and their location is marked on the churchyard plan, Figure 1. This is not a surveyed plan, rather a diagram to enable particular stones to be readily located. The 26 monuments that name individ-



Photograph 1. Eighteenth century headstones for James Plowright 1736 (right) and Thomas Plowright 1756 (left) dwarfed by the stone for William Harvey 1830.

uals are 20 headstones, a low brick tomb chest, 2 kerbed family plots and finally 3 more monuments that are regarded as temporary grave markers as none will last very long.

The markers are a small wooden cross (no. 24), a cement cross already snapped in half with the halves separated (no. 28) and a floral receptacle sitting on the surface of the ground (no. 29). The last three provide little information other than name. Three more monuments or parts of monuments complete the total of 29 but these have neither name nor initials. They are a footstone (no. 22) that would undoubtedly have been linked to a headstone at some stage, an early eighteenth century headstone with a lichen smothered face making the glimpse of lettering very frustrating (no. 13) and lastly, a small stone plaque with a few lines of verse (no. 25).

The earliest date that can be read on a stone is 1736 for James Plowright. This date is in keeping with the earliest stones found in nearby churchyards, for earlier seventeenth century stones are rare. A gravestone for the first half of the eighteenth century is typically short and thick with lettering irregularly arranged, for example, James at the end of the first line followed by Plowright on the line below. The heading has an hourglass, signifying that time is running out, while the headstone for Thomas Plowright (1756) to the north, has the most com-



Photograph 2. Headstone for Robert Pinchen 1743 with symbols of mortality, a serpent swallowing it's tail on the left followed by a three quarter view of a skull and a coffin.

monly found symbol of all, a skull, Photograph 1.

Mortality symbolism developed from a late medieval tradition based on representations of the cadaver and it is generally the earliest phase of gravestone art to be encountered in churchyards.⁵ Other frequently found symbols in similar vein are serpents, Father Time, a coffin, long bones and the tools of the grave digger. Three of these symbols may be seen on the gravestone of Robert Pinchen 1743, Photograph 2. These symbols eventually gave way to cherubs and angels, heralds of salvation, as the emphasis moved on from mortality and impending fate to hope.

Lettering also became more regularized and evenly spaced, indeed a fine Georgian script was an art form (an important decoration) in itself removing any need for further embellishment. The remaining four eighteenth century stones at Cockthorpe follow this trend and Photographs 3 and 4 illustrate two of them, Harvey Shorting's stone with a cherub and fine script (1772) and William Harvey's stone from the close of the century (1797). Both the cherub and the style of the lettering are strikingly reminiscent of the work of the Blakeney sculptor which is perhaps not so surprising considering that the benefice was consolidated with Blakeney church in 1743 and the Rector lived in Blakeney.^{6,7}

This emphasises that gravestones were the work of local craftsmen and reflected their indi-



Photograph 3. Harvey Shorting 1772

vidual skills and hence a walk through any of the churchyards around the lower Glaven will produce further examples of work either from the Blakeney sculptor's own hand or from his workshop.

During the Victorian period, headstones generally became taller and thinner, often complimented with additional elements such as footstones, kerbs and railings. Earlier bedstead headings, (so called because the curved tops mirrored forms used in contemporary bedsteads) gave way to elegant round and pointed tops with the arrival of Romanesque, Classical and Gothic revivals, while interest in all things Egyptian inspired a flourishing of obelisks. Decoration abounded with symbolism and the epitaphs of the day placed emphasis on remembrance of the deceased, highlighting occupations and temporal achievements.

Despite the increase in numbers of monuments as they became more affordable in the nineteenth century, it is apparent that this panoply of styles did not reach Cockthorpe or possibly was not much favoured by local families. Headstones continued to be the preferred choice, four with footstones (nos 3, 4, 21 and 23), while the only exception, a brick tomb (no. 20), lies by the south porch.

The Harvey family erected just over half of all the headstones for this century and all in the



Photograph 4. William Harvey 1797

years before 1850, emphasising their status in the community. They are arranged in two rows, similar in height and style, with inscriptions for four generations of the family. Ann Boyce 1803, (no. 15) is buried beside her former husband William Harvey (featured in Photograph 4) and in the row beyond is their son another William Harvey (Photograph 1), daughter Ann, two grandsons (nos 4 and 8) and two great grandsons (nos 5 and 6).

Then towards the end of the century and into the twentieth, crosses on stepped plinths become popular, lead lettering makes an appearance, and kerbed areas filled with coloured glass or stone chips arrive. The Case family plots (1 and 2), at the east end of the churchyard opposite the chancel, are very much in this style with ringed Celtic crosses and arms of interlace decoration. Initialed crosses laid flat within the kerbed area of the first plot, commemorate individual members of the family while remains of ironwork around this plot indicate that it may have been railed in the past.

Today, once again, even smaller and shorter stones are reappearing in churchyards but this time in coloured granite or marble, rather than the earlier red sandstones. The 'Here lyeth' of the oldest monuments that became 'In loving memory' a hundred years later is today replaced by 'Here sleeps' or 'Here rests'. Lettering is now

machine processed and decoration tends to be laser printed. With mass production comes less variety and individualism is in danger of disappearing. Cremation plaques have also appeared during the last century and there is possibly one at Cockthorpe (no. 25) although with no name this is impossible to check against the registers.

The Monumental Inscriptions

The names recorded on the monuments are listed in Table 1 where they are set out in chronological order. Surname, forename(s), age and then the number for the monument, as recorded on the churchyard plan, follow the date of death. Where a date of death or age is not recorded on the stone or cannot be clearly read then it has been replaced by information from the parish register. An asterisk highlights such instances and genealogists need to remember that the date will now be for a burial, not the death. Additional information from the inscription or the burial register, usually a date of birth, relationship or last place of residence, is included in the notes.

There are always anomalies when compiling lists that contain information from more than one source and a few that occur here are as follows: Mary Shorting appears to have died on August 29th but was buried on the 24th, 1783. Then Ann Boyce is described on her stone as the former wife of William Harvey while the register says that she was the wife of William Boyce. In reality Ann had married Thomas Boyce after the death of her first husband. Thomas had a brother William and this was possibly the source of confusion for a Rector that did not live in the parish. John and Martha Dew's headstone also records James an infant. He could be a son, grandson or even some other relation given the span of time between the burials of Martha and John, 1835 – 1872. With no entry in the burial register for James Dew, let alone a James throughout this period, it remains an enigma.

Indeed there are four other burials that cannot be found in the Cockthorpe registers and two more recent names that could be entered in current registers for neighbouring parishes. Finally, the chest tomb for Elizabeth and Robert Simpson clearly records more names for which there are candidates in the registers, but sadly they are impossible to decipher on the stone and must remain unaccounted for.

The total number of people buried in the churchyard between 1736, the date of the earliest monument and 1999, is 119. The numbers for each century or part of a century are shown below while the second column gives the corresponding number of monuments that have names, for each of the periods. The last column gives the number of names that are commemo-

rated by the inscriptions, which is approximately a third of all those buried.

	Burials	Monuments	Names
1736 – 1799	43	7 (16%)	9 (21%)
1800 – 1899	55	11 (20%)	16 (29%)
1900 – 1999	21	8 (38%)	13 (62%)
Totals	119	26 (22%)	38 (32%)

The numbers of monuments or names are too small for any meaningful statistics to be produced, but they do emphasize the increase in popularity of monuments as they became more affordable.

What is surprising however, is the large number of burials recorded for the 64 years in the 1700s. Yes, there were more people working on the land at this time, but it does beg the question 'where were they all housed?' Of the sixteen dwelling houses in Cockthorpe today, some 9 are new builds and barn conversions made during the last one hundred years. This contrasts sharply with the information on an 1804 estate map for Charles, Lord Calthorpe⁸ and the tithe map of 1841⁹ which show that the dwelling places at that time were the Manor House, Cockthorpe Hall, the old Parsonage and two other dwellings, one of which was a pair of cottages built between 1821 and 1841. The churchwardens, William Harvey and Robert Sympton record sets of figures for 1801, 1811 and 1821 that remain constant for the 20 year period, namely 4 inhabited houses, six families and a total population of 33, 31 then 32 people⁴.

Discussion

Checking monumental inscriptions against the burial registers should be a process of confirmation, given that burial follows death and that the Minister records the information in the registers at the time of the event or shortly after while details are still clear in his mind. However this proves not always to be the case and there are several factors that must be considered when determining the veracity of the information or absence of it – it is far from being an exact science. There are too many opportunities for making mistakes, from poor preservation of registers, to old and forgetful vicars or even vicars absent, forgetful families and masons making mistakes.

For instance the following record of a marriage in the Blakeney registers dated May 22nd 1718 illustrates the forgetfulness on the part of the rector when he wrote "*Persons from Cockthorpe and Stifkey Ann Brees but the mans name forgotten*".¹⁰ Another more telling example centres around the circumstances of the death

Died	Surname	Frnm(s)	Age	No	Notes from PR or MI
1736 Jan 20	PLOWRIGHT	James	64	12	
1743 Aug []	PINCHEN	Robert	25	16	"Drowned 15 bur 19, 1742* "
1756 Jan 7	PLOWRIGHT	Thomas	58	11	
1758 Apr 6	SHORTING	Mary	85	19	wife of Harvey Shorting
1769 Feb 18	PINCHEN	Elizabeth,	46	16	
1772 Nov 15	SHORTING	Harvey	84	18	Farmer
1779 May 6	HARVEY	Elizabeth	inf	14	dau of William Harvey
1783 Aug 29	SHORTING	Mary	70	17	relict of Harvey Shorting
1797 Apr 20	HARVEY	William	50	14	
1800 Dec 10	HARVEY	Ann	19	9	dau of Will & Ann Harvey
1803 Oct 2	BOYCE	Ann	65	15	formerly wf of William Harvey
1808 Dec 13*	SIMPSON	Elizabeth	40*	20	wife of Robert Simpson
1814 Mar 16	SIMPSON	Sarah	81	21	wife of Simon from Binham*
1815 Apr 3	SIMPSON	Simon	76	21	husb of Sarah from Binham*
1826 Jan 8	BOYCE	Mary	74*	10	
1826 Jan 17*	SIMPSON	Robert	57*	20	
1827 Jul 4	HARVEY	W []son	29	8	Sympson Harvey*
1830 Sep 5	HARVEY	William	56	7	Farmer
1832 Mar 31	BOYCE	Joseph	79	10	
1835 Mar 31	DEW	Martha	37	23	wife of John Dew
1843 Jul 15	HARVEY	Robert	14	6	son of Ness Harvey
1847 Nov 15	HARVEY	John Ness	22	5	son of Ness Harvey
1864 May 30	HARVEY	Ness	64	4	from Wells*
1872 Nov 3	DEW	John James	85 inf	23 23	husband of Martha Dew
1902 Aug 11	GOSTLING	Harriet	61	3	
1913 Jul 31	CASE	Philip James	26*	1	James Philip Case* Born 1887 Mar 3
1914 Oct 29	CASE	James	77*	2	Born 1837 Jul 10 Buried 1913 Nov 2*
1926 Jan 22	CASE	William James	2*	1	2nd son of C F Case Born 1924 Feb 11
1933 Feb 1	CASE	Beatrice Kate	43*	1	Barbara Kate* Born 1889 Apr 27
1933 Jul 28	CASE	Margaret	90	2	wife of James Case
1936 Sep 12	CASE	James Henry		1	3rd son of James Philip Case Born 1896 Apr 23
1963 May 29*	TOMBLIN	William	70*	28	George William Tomblin*
1970 Jul 11*	NEWSTEAD	Margaret	92*	24	Margery Eliza Newstead*
1971 Jul 13	CASE	Kathleen Nora	75*	1	wife of James Henry Case
1989 May 3	SIMPKINS	Peggy	59	27	Margaret Eva* Born 1929 Jun 10
1996 Apr 16	SIMPKINS	Eric Ernest	75	27	Born 1920 May 20
not known	HOOKE	Louisa Winifred		29	
2000 Feb 26	GREENACRE	Dorothy Louise	70	26	

Table 1: Monumental Inscriptions for Cockthorpe churchyard. Burial dates and ages from the registers are shown in italics with an asterisk while square brackets indicate lettering that cannot be read on the stone.

Frnms = Forenames

*** or PR = Additional information from the parish registers**

MI = Monumental Inscriptions

and burial of Robert Pinchen 1743 for it highlights more than just the end of Henry Rice's ministry.

Henry Rice was ordained priest in 1673 and presented to Cockthorpe in 1679 where he continued till his death in 1743, a ministry of 64 years. The registers in his keeping begin with a relatively clear hand, even recording the baptisms of his own children, sons who were schooled at Greshams and then followed their father into the church.^{4,11} Then as time passes his hand becomes more uneven, indeed virtually a scrawl and compounded by subsequent fading it leaves many years unreadable. Thus the burial for James Plowright 1736 (the earliest headstone) cannot be seen but for Robert Pinchen (the next oldest headstone) there is an entry which affords Henry Rice the opportunity to record his own advanced age and more.

In a clear hand he notes how Robert and a friend, both aged 25 died when they went "to

wash on the 15th August 1742 and were both Drowned in a creek that runs from the Sluice Gates and were buried on the Tuesday following when Mr Henry Rice aged 93 preached a sermon to a Considerable Congregation". The following March he baptized Robert's posthumous daughter and was himself buried in November by the new rector, Henry Calthorpe. Meanwhile the headstone for Robert Pinchen has the date for 1743 and in this instance either the family or the mason must be accountable.

Acknowledgements

To the team who endured the perishing winter chills while collecting information from the monuments, Frank Hawes and Jan Semple, thank you. Once more I am beholden to my husband for his patience in helping with constant checking of the inscriptions and all the photography.

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Sixty years of Village Housing The Diamond Jubilee of the Blakeney Neighbourhood Housing Society

by Richard Kelham

Synopsis: a brief outline of the origins of this pioneering example of the combination of local housing provision and conservation, and a few notes on the origin of the Society's emblem. Photographs are from the BNHS archives.



Mrs Norah Clogstoun

The Society (BNHS) owes its origin to Mrs Norah Stanford Clogstoun née MacIlwaine. Born in Great Yarmouth in 1885, she later moved to London where she trained and worked as a bookbinder. In 1910 she married Henry Clogstoun, an officer in the Royal Engineers, who she then followed around the world – as is the lot of service wives. After Henry's retirement in 1929 the family, though living in London, spent many happy holidays in Blakeney, finally moving there in 1938, to a house they had had built in Coronation Lane.

By 1938 Blakeney had already become something of a holiday resort – if only for the relatively well-heeled – its death as a port neatly eliding into its new career with the purchase by



The Society's cottage at 109 High Street, Blakeney, was an early acquisition. A dark and dank cottage was transformed into a cosy dwelling with decent light thanks to the installation of extra windows – as can be seen above in 'before' and 'after' photographs that were published in *The Times* in October 1950. It has recently been extensively refurbished for a second time to bring it up to present day standards.



The Society's first Committee of Management photographed in about 1949 in the Clogstoun's sitting room at 1 Coronation Lane. They were, from left to right, Joan Gosselin, Eric Burrows, Almeria Hallett, Ray Tilley, Norah Klogstoun, Bill Hayward (grocer and postmaster), George Dickinson (butcher), Cecil Leslie (artist) and Marion Page. Solid citizens all.

the National Trust of Blakeney Point in 1917 and the construction of the Blakeney Hotel in 1923¹, a year after Page & Turner, Merchants and Shipowners, closed their office in Blakeney. The harbour became a home to amateur sailors some of whom had formed the Blakeney Amateur Sailing Club² before the first World War. This was very much the milieu into which the Clogstouns immersed themselves – Norah was a keen sailor. They enjoyed a comfortable life. But war was brewing.

While her husband was employed at Stiffkey and Weybourne army camps, Norah joined the WVS and did whatever was needed in Blakeney. One task she was given involved carrying bags of sand into various local cottages for use in the events of an incendiary attack. These visits gave her an insight into the appalling conditions in which many of the older inhabitants lived: torn ceilings, leaking roofs, ill-fitting doors and windows and inadequate grates. Additionally there was no mains drainage – just a one-hole privy in the yard – and no running water, except when it rained. The landlords, many of them absentee, had no incentive to remedy these defects when

their rental income was so low.

While Mrs Clogstoun, who was clearly a formidable woman, managed to persuade some landlords to make token repairs it soon dawned on her that the only answer was to become a landlord herself. Society mythology has it that Norah had watched some workmen trying to demolish a condemned cottage, and making very heavy weather of the task. This, it is said, convinced her that the cottages were indeed sound and should, and could, be brought up to standard. This story may or may not be true, but at least one or possibly two cottages adjacent to BNHS property have collapsed of their own volition within living memory.

Nevertheless Mrs Clogstoun put her thought into action when, on the 16 June 1944, Maurice Pye conveyed to her the title to *“five cottages with gardens five privies outbuildings and common yard formerly known as Hawkins Yard and now known as Leatherdale Yard...together with the right to use the well on paying a proportionate part of the expense of keeping the said well and the gears thereof in repair”*. Having bought these cottages at auction she then had to borrow the



The start of it all: part of the “row of five cottages with gardens five privies outbuildings and common yard formerly known as Hawkins Yard and now known as Leatherdale Yard” which Norah Clogstoun bought at auction from Maurice Pye in June 1944. They are rather different nowadays...

money to pay for them. Reality bites and it bit Norah Clogstoun quite hard. But she was a resourceful lady and so, acting on advice, she called a meeting in May 1946 which was attended by, inter alia, Miss Meg Merrylees, then secretary of the National Housing Federation. The upshot was a decision to form a housing society, a committee was elected and in July 1946 the BNHS was registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies acts.

The context within which the Society was born was not particularly auspicious. Blakeney was at that time a very conservative place suspicious of any change – there was much disquiet when the National Trust bought Blakeney Point – and so naturally the committee of the BNHS came under suspicion, particularly when they tried to raise rents. But I do not propose to give a blow-by-blow account of the vicissitudes of the BNHS as these are well covered by their own booklet³, written by David Grove and originally published 10 years ago to mark their golden anniversary, now updated and reprinted to mark their Diamond Jubilee.

Beyond Blakeney the air was full of thoughts of post-war reconstruction and of social engineering through slum-clearance. Blakeney's ramshackle cottages would have been prime candidates for a clean sweep were it not for the prolonged period of austerity that preceded the smug “you've never had it so good” era of

Macmillan. The cataclysmic floods of the night of 31 January 1953 caused much devastation along this coast, though Blakeney on its hill was more-or-less spared. But the flood waters did pollute many of the village wells which hastened the provision of mains water to the area. This caused an immediate shortage of baths and other plumbing materials, though the Society had been canny enough to stockpile enough materials to enable them to start installing bathrooms in their properties.

The BNHS has been historically operated on a shoestring, frequently strapped for cash for upgrading, even in the early days repairing, the cottages, trying to keep rents low mindful of the low wages paid in this area. The committee used to indulge in their own forms of social engineering, moralistic and paternalistic, which seem quite alien to modern eyes: as recently as the late 1980s the waiting list was opened to engaged couples only on the understanding that they would not get a property until they were safely married.

Now the Society is much more modern in its outlook. It is currently engaged in a major programme of refurbishment and upgrading of its properties to meet both the Decent Homes standards set by the government and rising expectations of the tenants. To do this the rents have to be brought more in line with other social housing providers. And so another era begins.



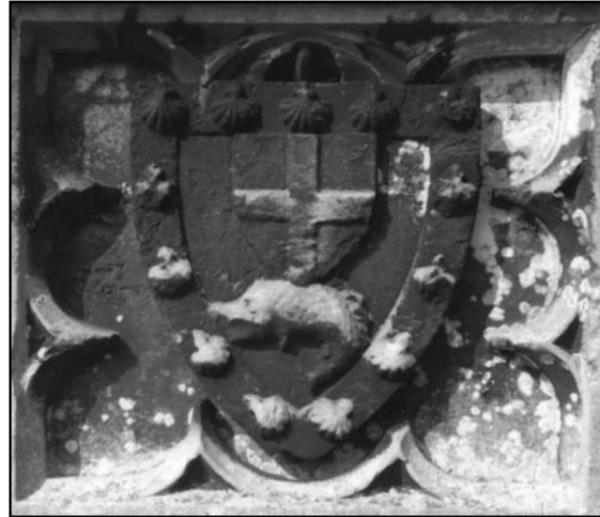
The standard BNHS wall plaque with the coat of arms "designed by Cecil Leslie" in the late 1940s. A few years ago the plaques, hitherto in raw cast iron finish, were all painted by Godfrey Sayers. The colour scheme is not thought to be authentic.

The "Coat of Arms"

While information was being collected for the updating of the Society's booklet, a letter was received from Pauline Hunter Blair that sought to give proper credit for the design of the BNHS logo to Cecil Leslie. She wrote: "The design of the BNHS badge (Cecil Leslie's time, skill and copyright freely given) was evidently intended to picture the essentials of Blakeney life: fishing... Two fish hold up the shield and a third is coiled inside. The edging of... scallops no doubt relates to the shells turned up as men dug for bait worms on the mud..." By one of those strange coincidences that on occasion bring a smile to the lips of jaded historians, the BAHS received a manuscript book which detailed the research undertaken in the 1930s by F Seacome Burrows of the NNAS⁴ into the origins and meaning of a coat of arms carved into the base of the northwest buttress of the west tower of St Nicholas' church, Blakeney.

This carving which, if it is contemporaneous with the buttress – and there is no reason to think it is not – dates from 1404, can be described in heraldic terms as "azure, a dolphin naiant embowed (possibly vorant) argent: in chief on an escutcheon of the second a cross gules, all within a bordure azure charged with 13 escallops or". The colouring is fanciful and based on the BNHS version though other variations have appeared for example on souvenir china sold locally, and an early Blakeney Hotel letterhead – these two quoted by Seacome Burrows.

The problem is that no-one seems to know whose arms it was originally as it is not registered with any of the Heralds. Miss Leslie's ver-



The original carving of 1404 on the north-west buttress of the west tower of St Nicholas' church, Blakeney. Note the same 13 escallops in the border, the shield with the cross of St George above the dolphin naiant embowed.

sion for the BNHS is essentially the same, except that the whole thing has been compressed leaving the poor dolphin very much bowed (and non-vorant); that he has gained a couple of fellows as supporters must be scant comfort.

Some local connections can be ventured: the cross of St George could refer to the Dean and Chapter at Norwich Cathedral whose patron saint he is. Robert Symonds (or Fitz Simon) who held the manor of Cley had a dolphin naiant embowed on his arms (and not much else), while the embordure with its complement of scallops has echoes of the de la Rokele family (but 11 scallops only on their's).

Seacome Burrows' remarkable document does not come to any particular conclusion as to the origin and meaning of the arms, other than that they were 'unofficial' and probably meant in some way to represent Blakeney itself – can you not imagine an ambitious rector or his parish clerk cobbling this together for the greater glory of Blakeney...and its incumbent.

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Back Pages

Danish Influence on Place Names

A visit to Riba, the oldest town in Denmark, immediately reminds one of Blakeney and also that Denmark once had an empire that extended across the Baltic and North Seas to Germany and England. Once a great port it is now silted up and is no longer accessible to anything larger than small fishing boats. Recently some of its harbour records have been published: they reveal a rich trade with Blakeney and King's Lynn into the 19th century.

This started me thinking and I asked my Norwegian wife, Brita, about the meaning of some Danish and Norwegian words.

"What does Blacken mean in Norse?"

She answered: "Blakken is a favourite pet name for the Nordic farm horse. They are smaller than your horses, strong and hardy. They usually have a lovely whitish colour."

Eureka! "So would you say the Blakken Eye (spoken with a north Norfolk accent) could mean White Horse Island?"

"Yes, exactly. Blakken Øy could mean that."

Encouraged, I ventured: "so does Clay Eye mean Clay Island, where Clay is Mud?"

"Yes."

Expanding somewhat I asked "what is a Shering?"

The answer came back: "a Kjaerring is a not too polished hard-working woman. The English might call her a Fishwife."

Adding two and two, "so Shering-ham would be the home of the fishwives?"

"Yes."

We went further. "What is a Snitt?"

"A snitt is a cut through something and as you know the plural is Snitter."

"And Snitterley would be the protected area behind the cuts (channels)."

"Yes."

This would agree with the opinions of the *Ole Hoi Larntans* (an old family expression for a highly respected person, such as a ship's master, probably derived from the 'high lantern' on a ship's mast), placing Snitterley somewhere out to sea, possibly adjacent to the moorings where the heavily laden Cogs could have disgorged their cargoes on to the beach for barges to carry up the creeks or viks (pronounced 'veeks'). It would also explain why Snitterley, with its huts and watchman's houses, could have been lost through erosion or in a great storm, such as we witnessed in 1953.

Morris Arthur

From the School Registers

The registers of Gresham's School have been kept rather indifferently over the years, indeed if at all during some periods, and it was only in the last century that a determined effort was made to gather together all the names of former pupils. Although incomplete, this published register, *History and Register of Gresham's School 1555-1954*, provides a fascinating insight into the sons of local families as well as useful information for family historians. Mention has already been made in this issue of Henry Rice's sons in the article on Cockthorpe M.Is.

Here is a selection of names from Cley with the year of entry given first followed by the year of birth in brackets, name of parent(s) and an occupation of the father when recorded. The first five recorded pupils subsequently attended Caius College.

1574 Coe, William (1559) son of Thomas Coe

1584 Goodwin, Vincent (1572) son of Vincent Goodwin, vicar of Cley

1636 Beale, Robert (1623) son of Robt. Beale, Gent.

1670 Brittiffe, Harbord, son of Simon Brittiffe

1792 Mann, Isaac (1789) son of John Mann, Mercer

1823 Ellis, Edmund (1811) son of John and Martha Ellis

1825 Cooke, Corbett (1815) son of Corbett and Francis Cooke

1825 Jackson, Thomas Porter (1817) son of J B and Rebecca Jackson

1830 Elsey, George Cornelius (1816) son of Joseph Cornelius and Maria Elsey. Expelled for continuous non-attendance without due cause

1846 Upjohn, Thomas William (1839) son of Edward and Susan Upjohn

1848 Platten, John (1837)

1849 Platten, Samuel (1839)

1849 Upjohn, Arthur Edward (1841) son of Edward and Susan Upjohn

1853 Pitcher, Josiah (1845)

1853 Pitcher, John W (1841)

1857 Spratling, George (1847) son of John William and Elizabeth Spratling

1862 Bewsher, William (1848) son of Thomas and Mary Bewsher, Clergyman

1879 Bishop, Hugh Arthur (1869) son of Hugh Arthur and Mary Bishop, Shipowner

1887 Beith, Robert (1876) adopted by James and S A Fox, Farmer

1893 Burroughes, Archibald (1882) son of Stephen B and R Mary Burroughes, Miller

Look out for more villages and names in future issues of the journal.

Pamela Peake

Wet-nurses at Stiffkey

A paper published in 1989 in the journal *Medical History* explored what at first glance may appear to be a rather obscure topic 'Wet-Nurses in Early Modern England'. However, it was fascinating for the light it threw on the Norfolk gentry and the local community.

In 1627 Sir Roger Townshend married Mary Vere in London, but the couple came to live in Stiffkey Hall and over the next decade they had nine children. This pattern of a child every year is not unique and can be found amongst other leading families at this time, but the availability of a detailed archive of account books and parish registers allows the questions raised to be explored in greater detail. There are also some interesting biological questions, because it is commonly thought, and there is good medical evidence to support the case, that breast-feeding suppresses conception and this was reflected amongst the 'lower classes' where there was at least two or three years between the birth of each child.

The account books show that the wet-nurses for the Townshend babies received a wage of ten pounds a year and that they were nursed until they were about a year old. This compares with the three pounds per year they would have received as servants and it may be assumed that an additional payment was made at the time of the christening.

But who were the wet-nurses? Four nurses are named:

Elizabeth Hodges
Nurse Goldsmith
Nurse Powditch
Dorothy Tubbing

Hodges and Tubbing were from Stiffkey and all the evidence suggests Powditch was from Morston, but it is impossible to positively identify Goldsmith although there were members of the family in Langham. The first two came from fairly prosperous families and the Powditches were yeoman farmers. So all appear to come from a financially secure background, with at least one family employing their own servants.

The three nurses had themselves been servants at Stiffkey Hall and thus were known to the Townshends, for at this time servants were not hidden away but were regarded as members of the household sharing the living space. It is also likely that at least Hodges and Tubbing would have provided companionship and support when Lady Mary first came to the Hall, as she would have been a stranger in the area. Moreover, when they left employment at the Hall they kept in touch and both named their first daughters Mary.

In contrast to Lady Mary who produced a child almost every year the two wet-nurses who

can be followed in detail bore a child every two to three years. The former was not breast-feeding whilst the latter would probably have suckled their own children and others for at least two years.

There are many questions raised by these observations that will be of interest to anybody reconstructing early families or examining the social structure of communities. Some of these are discussed in the original paper by Linda Campbell in *Medical History* 33: 360-370, or at the more accessible site on the internet at <http://www.pubmedcentral.gov/tocrender.fcgi?id=113787>

John Peake

Contributors

Raymond Frostick has had a passion for maps for many years and his magnum opus was his cartographic bibliography of the printed plans of Norwich; recently he has been researching the maps of the surveyor John Darby.

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*.

Richard Kelham has just retired after eight years as chairman of the Blakeney Neighbourhood Housing Society.

Richard Lee is a professional archaeologist who worked for Lindsey Archaeological Service, but is now with Oxford Archaeology.

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 having lived in the village.

John Peake, biologist, formerly worked in the Natural History Museum, London; has many early links with north Norfolk.

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

Brenda Stibbons completed her MA in Social Movements and Social Change at UEA in 2002, which included a dissertation on Friendly Societies in Norfolk.

David Whitmore and **Kenneth Penn** both work with the Norfolk Archaeology Unit as Project Manager and Senior Project Manager respectively.

John Wright is a retired town planner who worked most recently for Norfolk County Council.