THE TRADING HISTORY OF CLEY-NEXT-THE-SEA

IN THE

COUNTY OF NORFOLK

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THE ANCIENT PORT OF CLEY

Today Cley is a straggling village of picturesque charm visited by the more discriminating holiday-makers; the bird watchers, the sailors, the artists, the retired generals and admirals. A casual passer-by may think that there is little of interest in Cley to write about, but we who live in, and love, Cley, have had handed down to us fascinating legends which indicate the immense wealth of history which Cley holds for those who look for it. My grandfather can remember a long queue of grain-carts waiting to be unloaded on to the ships at the quay. My mother has told me many stories of the secret holes in the panelling of the walls in which her great-uncle Joshua Parker used to keep silk and brandy.

A walk down the main street shows many interesting features:

The Fishmonger's Arms, a sixteenth century building with a concealed stairway;

The Old Archway, of unknown origin, thought by some people to be part of the old chapel whose remains can be seen at the entrance to Cley harbour;

The Town Hall, rather an incongruous name for such a small village;

The Customs House in the village hinting at past mercantile glory;

The jewel among so many precious stones is the magnificent church, one of the finest in Norfolk, and indicative of a far larger population than the Cley of today.

In this brief survey of the development of trade in Cley, I hope to perpetuate some of the memories which are all that is left of Cley's former glory.

THE SHAPE AND STRUCTURE OF THE HARBOUR

There are usually excellent reasons why towns and ports grow up, they are not just planted by enthusiastic settlers with no regard to the situation.

Cley is no exception to this, it owes its existence to the fast-running river Glaven, which had to find an outlet to the sea. If there had been no river, there would have been no Cley or Blakeney harbour, and nothing in the way of a haven south of Blakeney Point.

The harbour, which is now a dirty stream full of old tin cans and rubber tyres, was the focal point of the Port of Cley. Obviously then, the shape and progression of the harbour has been of fundamental importance in the development of her trade.

In Medieval times, Blakeney Point had grown sufficiently to protect the ports of Blakeney, Wiveton, and Cley, but not sufficiently to menace them. The tide carries with it vast quantities of silt and mud, which it deposits at the end of the Point, so lengthening it.

From the conjectural maps, it is possible to see the gradual growth of the Point in this way, and as a shorter harbour is so much easier to use, the lengthening of the Point was a determinant factor in the decline of the ports.

This continual silting of the harbours, which is often a warning to present day ports, necessarily cuts the size of the ships using the harbour, and so again restricts trade. Salthouse is an example of a port killed by the silting of her harbour. Until 1600 she was quite a large port. Scratchings on the choir screen in her church indicate that large ships used her harbour. At that time there was much interest in the reclamation of marshland, much of the fens having been reclaimed by the Dutchman, Vermuyden. It seems that another Dutchman, Van Hasedunck, had been doing the same kind of operation near Salthouse, for in 1638 there were legal proceedings about a new embankment.

The lady Sidney declared that the embankment "stopped and penned up the fresh water flowing from Weybourne Hill and Kelling Beck", and that the inhabitants were excluded from "their f ishing in the said channel and cricks", and "are forced to beg and seek new habitations",

The bank of 1649 as shown on the 1650 map shows that the Salthouse main channel was an area flooded at high tide. By 1850 the channel from Cley to Salthouse was for most purposes blocked with shingle, causing the marshes to become waterlogged as there was no drainage out through the channel.

In the Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton area, Wiveton was the deep water port. According to the Customs Rolls of 1587, the ship Abraham of Wiverton, a ship of 160 tons,

carried exports to Harwich. Cley and Blakeney were mainly ports for coasters.

About the same time as Van Hasedunck was building his bank, Sir Henry Calthorpe and his son Philip began to embank their salt marshes at Blakeney and at Wiveton. They put a bank across the Glaven in approximately the same place as the present bank. This did not stop ships coming into the main Cley quay but obstructed water passage up the valley to the south part of Cley and to Wiveton. It is easy to imagine the feelings of the merchants of those places who were suddenly faced with the ruin of their trade.

They asked the Vice-Admiral of this part of the coast to summon an Admiral's court, which he did on the 31st January 1638. The merchants then gained the assistance of the local court of the Department of the Manor of Cley-Juxta-Mare. The following is an extract from the Court books of the Manor:

"Cley Port. Port of Cleye Blakeney, and Wyveton.
A General Court there held the 11th day of December 1638.
Jury Thomas Clowdislie Gentleman
(and 20 others)

who say upon their oath that Philip Calthorpe Esq., has made an obstruction with a great bank to the main channel between Cleye and Wyveton within the liberty of this Court of the Port along which channel ships since time immemorial have been wont without hindrance to sail from the town of Wyveton to the sea and from the sea to the town of Wyveton and to load and unload their goods and chattels, and also another navigable channel in Cleye within the jurisdiction of this Court called Howgate Crick to the great injury and prejudice of the inhabitants of the towns of Cley and Wyveton and navigation there".

The citizens of Cley and Wiveton armed with this evidence then petitioned the King, giving details of the state of the harbour and the loss of trade. They stated:

"what sylt or mudd the fflood tide bringeth in doth settle and remaine in the common navigable channell lying along the keies of Cley through want of the ebbtide That the main channell north of the said Bank is already groune up and landed 2 foote at the least as appeareth upon view to your worships".'

They estimated that in 1637, 1058 chauldrons of coals (1 chauldron = 26.5cwts) and 614 lasts of corn were carried out, while in 1638, after the Bank was built, only 538

chauldrons and 226 lasts were carried out. In 1637, according to Customs House records, entries of 30 ships are recorded, while in 1638 only fourteen made entry. Mary Ringall testified " that the bank hath almost impoverished " her for she "was wont to make 7 or 8 bedds on one night " and now she makes "but one in one night for strangers." The result of the petition was that the bank was demolished and the tide once more flowed past Cley quay down to Wiveton.

Where this Calthorpe Bank was demolished, a new one was built much later under an 1823 Inclosure Act, and a road was constructed between Cley and Blakeney, bridging the Glaven, thus replacing the ferry. This bank silted up the channel around Cley Quay, because "when an estuary is embanked the flow of ebb and tide is not so strong." This bank has only been broken twice, once during the great storm of 1897, and again in the East Coast floods of 1953, when the whole valley became a sea and it was easy to imagine what it must have been like in olden days.

The beach at Cley was slowly being pushed south at the estimated rate of a yard every year, and by 1850, as previously mentioned, the channel to Salthouse was blocked with shingle, causing Salthouse marshes to be continually waterlogged.

An attempt to rectify this was made in 1855 by building a sea wall all the way along the coast to Weybourne, and by driving a 'Main Crick' through Cley marshes into Cley channel, but in 1861 the bank broke and the marshes remained waterlogged. This gradually worsened as Cley channel itself silted up and there was little room for Salthouse water to come through. A new channel cut on the Blakeney side of Cley channel in 1924 helped the drainage considerably, but the damage was done, for by this time industrial progress had beaten the small coastal ports, which were to remain as paradises for dinghy sailors and ornithologists.

A close study of the maps will emphasise the geographical features which have contributed to the decline of Cley as a port. In the first place, the harbour has become longer, from the continual pushing of Blakeney Point to the west and south, and thus less easily navigable, also the whole beach line has been pushed further inland quite considerably since 1200 A.D.

It is important to note the development of the road system as trade in the area developed, Perhaps the largest factor has been the struggle between the merchants and the landowners resulting in the gradual embanking of the marshes, which though creating more land drastically reduced the size of the channels.

So now at low tide, past Cley quay, which in the days of Henry VIII had had ships of up to 120 tons sailing through, it is almost impossible to row a small dinghy, without having to get out and push it.

EVIDENCE OF TRADING BEFORE THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH I

Although there is no clear evidence that Cley conducted any overseas trade before the time of Edward III, there are many indications that, in fact, extensive trading did exist previously. Even as far back as the time of the Conqueror it would seem that Cley must have been a port.

According to the Domesday survey she had to pay the very high geld of two shillings and fourpence, although she only had a very small piece of cultivated ground, having only two ploughlands and one acre of meadow. There were only two serfs, the remainder of the men being 24 villeins and 21 bordars. Only one plough was in use on the demense, although there were twelve ploughs belonging to the men.

This very small area of cultivated land, together with the almost complete absence of serfs, indicates that there must have been some other source of wealth in order to pay the very high geld. There is no record of any salt pan at that time, and there was no big river for fishing, so it would seem that the large number of freemen in the village must have got their wealth from trade and sea fishing. The implication is therefore that Cley was a port at that time.

Until the early fifteenth century there was continual quarrelling between the ports of Cley and Blakeney, and the ports of the Hanseatic League, showing that even these important ports feared that Cley and Blakeney might harm their trade. The first evidence there is of any contact between the Hansea and Blakeney harbour, is from the Exchequer Rolls of 1287. Apparently, Adam alle Cross with two other men carried away by force the cloth and other goods to the value of £14,000 which belonged to Heinrech Fluke of Lubeck whose ship had been cast ashore at Blakeney by bad weather. Adam and his men were duly hanged.

Hakluyt mentions many instances of piracy against the ships and merchants of Cley.

During 1395, Godekin, Mighel, Clays Scheld, Steppebeker, and others, took the ships 'Friday', 'Margaret', 'Nicholas', 'Isobel' and 'Helena', all of Cley, and robbed them of cargo worth 1626 nobles, besides sinking the ships and cargoe of saltfish.

In the same year they killed the master and 25 of the crew of a Wiveton ship 'Peter' and beat up crews of other ships. However, the piracy was not all done by the other side, for merchants at Blakeney and Cley seemed to alternate trade with piracy. In 1372 an enquiry was held into "the complaint of Nicholas de Hamburgh, merchant of Almain who freighted a ship called 'La Welyfare del Brele' with divers wares at Grippeswold in Estland for Kingston-upon-Hull to trade with, and about 40 men boarded his ship near Blakeneye carried away his goods and assaulted him."

The merchants were not particularly concerned with the nationality of the ships

which they attacked either, for of the 31 outlaws who had carried away the goods of Ralph Earl of Stafford on January 28th 1352 from Wells, Warham, and Styvekey, several were from the North Norfolk ports, including William Storme the parson of Styvekey church. Thomas Storm of Blakeneye, Adam Robert and Adam Woolesten both of Cley. (Calendar of Patent Rolls)

In 1405 "Commission to the Kings Brother Thomas Beaufort Admiral of the Fleet, from the mouth of the Thames to the North to enquire into the report that divers leiges of the King of Newcastle on Tyne, Blakeneye, Wyveton, Claye, and Crowmere, and other towns in England lately seized a ship called Marieknyght of which is Isbrand Pierson of Hamsterdam in Holland merchant. his lord and owner, and another ship called Godsgkedad of which John Berevoldson and Peter Johnesson of Hamsterdam merchants are lord and owners, laden with divers goods and merchandise coming from Prussia on the high seas off the coast of Holland, cast 36 merchants and mariners out of the ship into the sea and drowned them and took the ships and goods and merchandise to England, the first to Scardeburgh and the second to the port of Blakeneve and sold them to divers lieges of the King although the said Isbrand John and Peter are of the King's friendship and subjects of the King's cousin Duke of Holland and Sealand and to cause restitution to be made and to arrest the offenders and punish them according to laws and custom in England and maritime law".

According to Rye in "Norfolk Families" and several other authorities

"In the year 1406, James, son of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, and heir apparent to the crown, being on a voyage to France, was driven by stress of weather on this coast and detained by the mariners of Cley".

They sent him to King Henry's court and he was confined in the tower of London for seventeen years. There is some idea that Edward Storm one of these mariners used the money and materials taken from the Prince of Scotland's ships to build and staff the chapel of the Blakeney Carmelite Friary, but there is no clear evidence.

All these pieces of evidence point to a very thriving maritime population who were certainly vigorous in their aims and ambitions, such things as human lives mattering little in comparison with money and loot.

Basil Cozens-Hardy states in "Cley-next-the-Sea and its marshes",

"a coastal town with a good haven was bound to be busy with the exportation of wool. It must indeed have been the staple trade of the port and did not suffer decline until East Anglia began to acquire skill at weaving under the tuition of the strangers".

In fact there is no evidence to show that Cley was used to export wool. This is not really surprising for several reasons. There was no navigable river from the sources of wool to the port, the reason for the importance of Lynn being that she was on the river Ouse and therefore had easy access to the wool from the Fens and Lincolnshire. There were in fact no close local sources of supply of wool, the main areas being the Chilterns and the Lincolnshire Wolds. Land communications at that time were certainly not good enough to transport the wool a long way economically. Although there was a good haven at Blakeney and Cley, it was a difficult harbour to navigate and could be dangerous. There is no mention of wool in connection with Cley in the Paston Letters.

All these facts emphasise that there was no wool trade from Cley, although according to the Customs Accounts Cley and Blakeney merchants did export wool from other towns, notably Boston in 1296-7, and London in 1303.

The fish trade was perhaps the most lucrative, and evidence that the merchants and fishermen had been taking too much advantage of the continual need for salt fish, is shown in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, 12th July 1357:

"The King in consideration of damage to him and the magnates and the people of the realm in consequence of the excessive price at which salt fish has long been sold.... ordained that all ships called '2 Doggers' and 'Lodeships' coming to the port of Blakeneye and the coasts adjacent, to wit of Snyterle, Wyveton, Cleye, Salthouse, Sheryngham and Crowmere, shall be discharged only in the port of Blakeneye between Benorde (Blakeney Channel) and Hoghfleet (Cley Channel) on pain of imprisonment at the King's will and forfeitur of the fish so discharged, that no fish be carried from any ship before that the lord of

the ship and the merchant who buys the fish agrees on the price.... all such fish shall be sold in the market.... Adam Woolestan (Probably the same Adam mentioned in connection with piracy) and Adam Hubert not regarding the ordinance and proclamation.... withdrew the fish from their ships and hid them in their houses to retail the same".

That the fishermen eventually got the better of the merchants in this matter is shown in the Close Rolls 6th October 1357, when the fishermen were given the right to sell the fish retail after the ship had been in port for more than six days:

"...in consideration of mischief which may arise among themselves should put fish at a low price to which the fishermen could not agree without a great loss.... the fish might often be so long in the hands of a fisherman as to become putrid and so the fish and second season of fishing would be lost, the King has ordained that the fish within six days after the ship containing the fish has come to port, then after the sixth day has passed the owners of ship, lodge it in houses and sell it at a reasonable price".

Although there is no evidence that Cley merchants exported wheat and other cereals, merchants of other cities were given licences to load various amounts of these foodstuffs from the port of Blakeney to sell in other places including Boston and London.

"Licence for John de Holbrook of Boston to load 200 quarters of wheat, barley, and malt, in the ports of Blakeneye, Welles, and Holkham in Norfolk, and to take a moiety thereof to London and the other moiety to Boston....and not elsewhere under penalty of £40 to be levied of their goods if he take them without the realm." (Calendar of Patent Rolls November 28th 1370)

The last sentence of this extract together with another piece of evidence from the Close Rolls June 15th 1374

"to the Collectors in the Ports of Holkham, Welles, Blakeneye, Wyveton, Claye, Salthouse, Sheryngham, and Crowmer, of the subsidy of 6d. in the £1. Order upon the fishers of these towns not to compel them to pay such subsidy upon fish taken in the sea and not carried out of the realm",

seems to suggest that already there was an export duty of some kind in existence.

During the reign of Richard II, when many sailors and ships were impressed for the King's service, the Seaman of the North Norfolk coast complained bitterly about being arrested.

"request of the fishers of the port of Blakeneye and places adjacent in the county of Norfolk of their petition exhibited in the present Parliament...... complaining of the arrest of their ships at sea by the King's Commissioners, depriving them of their only livelihood".

A year later February 12th 1381 their appeal was successful,

"protection from arrest for commonalty of the fishers of the ports of Blakeneye, Claye, and Crowmer, and adjoining places in the county of Norfolk on their petition that the King's Commissioners have extorted money from them and without sufficient warrant arrested them"

This proclamation was apparently not remembered very long by the King's Commissioners, for in 1437 when Henry V1 was fighting his war with France the following extract appeared in the Calendar of Patent Rolls:

"The fisher folk of the Norfolk coast having shown to the King and Council that the principal season of fishing is from Easter to Michaelmas, but that they cannot go to sea to fish on account of the arrest of their persons and vessels for the King's service, the King by advice of the Council grants licence to the undernamed fishermen to have free passage to sea with their ships and vessels each according to his degree."

The men of Cley included: Simon Godeknape of Cley with three lodeshippes Adam Horne of Cley with four lodeshippes Thomas Hagon of Cley with three lodeshippes Thomas Noce of Cley with two lodeshippes Thomas Lovell of Cley with two lodeshippes Thomas Iteson of Cley with one lodeship, Edmund Clement of Cley with one lodeship Henry Whitby of Cley with 1 dogger and 1 lodeship".

Obviously the men of Cley were far more concerned with making money than with the larger issues of patriotism.

The habit of each succeeding monarch of seizing ships and men when the need arose, and often giving no compensation, was beginning to irritate these men when it interfered with their trade, This attitude was to show more clearly in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the men of Cley and nearby ports refused to furnish ships for the Armada.

This independence shows itself again in an attempt to evade paying taxes to the King, for an entry of the Close Rolls of August 23rd 1400 orders the constables of Blakeney, Wiveton, Cley and other ports

"at their peril to suffer Adam alte Welle, one of the Purveyors of Victuals for the King's household, and Simon de Durham and John Gees who the King has deputed with him to choose and count the same, to choose and take there the four thousand salt fish which by virtue of his office, the said Adam lately arrested at Blakeney, Crowmer, Cleye, and Salthouse and elsewhere in Norfolk, and to carry them to the household for prompt payment of the King's money; and writ of aid in their favour".

Evidence of trade with countries further afield than the Continent is given in 'Studies in English in the 15th century' by George Routledge:

"the fishing doggers which congregated off Iceland each summer were drawn from a wide area, but predominantly from the East Coast of England,..... for fishers of Cromer and Blakeney were ... among those who frequented the coasts of Norway and in 1438 Roger Fouler of Cromer freighted from Iceland a ship of which he was Master, owned by Adam Horn of Claye. Crowmer was close by linked with Claye and Blakeneye into whose harbours its boats frequently came, and shipmen of both these parts were aqouainted with Iceland."

Great contact with foreign countries is shown by the number of foreign merchants who were living in Cley and Blakeney in 1436:

William Taillour of Saint Trudon born in Fluke Symon Gysebroksen of Utright George Gerardson of Almain Reginald Johnson of Seland William Johnson of Seland Nicholas Willianison of Andwarp Luke James of Holland

Also, an entry in the Calendar of French Rolls during 1437 states that a licence was given to Ade Horn of Cley, Norfolk to export grain to the Low Countries.

The mariners carried a most odd selection of cargoes in those days. The following are mentioned in Orders to the Bailiff of Blakeney; and would almost certainly apply equally well to Cley. Excepting for foodstuffs most were forbidden to leave the country without a licence:

Ale, Aliens, Animals, Archers, Armour, Arrows, Artillers Barley, Barons, Basynet, Beans, Beasts, Bills, Books, Bows, Bulls Papal Candles, Cloth (woollen and worsted) Corn, Crockards Decil boards, Destrier horses

Г. . .

Envoys

Fish

Grain Gold (in mass)

Gold vessels

Hides of oxen and deer

Horses

Infected persons

Jewels

Knights

Lead, Letters, Logs

Madder, Malt, Men-at-arms, Money (real and counterfeit), Mussels

Oats, Oysters

Peas, Pilgrims 1338,1356, 1362, 1365, 1372, Pirates, Pollards, Processes Silver in mass, Silverplate, Silver vessels, Spices, Spies (who send letters), Straw Hattes

But alas, the harbour was already beginning to silt up, and Blakeney and Wiveton were suffering from the expense of keeping theirs open. In 1334 Royal Commissioners had authorised local authorities to fix a permanent assessment of property for taxation, Norfolk was assessed at £3,486 which was the largest county assessment apart from Middlesex which included London.

100 years later a reduction had to be made over the whole country to meet the decline of prosperity. The reduction in Norfolk was £543, which was assigned by the county authorities to meet the special needs of each place. The largest reduction of all was in the Hundred of Holt, which was mainly due to the liberal allowances made to Snyterle (Blakeney) and to Wiveton.

The actual reductions were as follows:

	1334	circa 1449
Snyterle -	£12. 0. 0.	£7. 0. 0.
Wyveton -	£13. 0. 0	£6. 0. 0.
Cley -	£10. 0. 0.	£10. 0. 0.
Holt -	£ 5.4.0.	£4.17.4.

Thus it can be seen that while in 1334 Cley was less prosperous than both Blakeney and Wiveton, about 100 years later her prosperity remained unaltered while that of Blakeney and Wiveton had considerably declined.

By the time of Henry VIII, the ships available from Blakeney and Cley, for the invasion of Scotland were very different. There is no evidence as to how many ships the Blakeney people kept in the harbour 'but they sent only three, all of 50 tons or less. Cley sent eight ships, five of which were below 50 tons, while the remaining three were of 80, 100, and 120 tons.

The mariners of Cley were not so interested in trading that they did not have time for a little piracy. Indeed, piracy seemed to be the accepted thing for most sailors.

"To the Constable of Queenburgh Castle.... reciting the complaint of Richard Arnold, that John Aunger of Cley Norfolk with other unknown took 3,812 salt fish off the said Richard and shipped the same in a ship of William Brain of Claye, whereof John alte Moo is Master, and brought them to Queenburgh, intending to expose them for sale; to arrest the fish and men who have presumed to expose them for sale and keep the same safely till further orders".

There is no information as to whether the miscreants were caught.

Before Elizabethan times then, we can build up a picture of Cley as a thriving port, most of her fiercely independent inhabitants being connected with trade in some way. Her main trade seemed to be in salt fish, both with England and with other countries although there were many other commodities exported.

There was a continual contact between Cley and foreign merchants, and Cley was recognised by the monarchs and by other towns as being a port of some importance.

There had been no embanking scheme to stop the flow of the tide, so down the wide river sailed serenely, ships of 100 tons or more. And there were many young children who must have been warned to "watch the wall, my darling while the gentlemen go by".

THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF TRADE BETWEEN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

In the reign of Elizabeth I there were great opportunities for the development of trade in Britain.

The Queen herself helped to promote this by granting Charters to several trading Companies, including the Eastland Company, the Levant Company, and the East India Company which traded with the East India and India. This, together with the fact, that Elizabeth was apt to close her eyes to any act of piracy likely to produce more gold for her coffers, made shipping in general a very profitable undertaking. The North Norfolk ports were no exception to this and trade with foreign countries increased rapidly. Although an intense feeling of nationalism was beginning to make itself felt, the main emphasis of the time was on the acquisition of more wealth.

In 'The Defeat of the Spanish Armada' published by the Navy Records Society, is a letter to the Council dated April 12th 1588 which gives details of the refusal of the Cley, Blakeney, and Wiveton people to provide and furnish two vessels of war for the Armada:

"Right honourable - after we, the Mayor, Aldermen and Company of borough of King's Lynn had received their honourable letters, which were directed to this town of King's Lynn and the town of Blakeney, concerning the furnishing of two ships of war, either of them of the burden of 60 tons at the least and one pinnace fit for that service, we had conference with some of the chiefest of the said town of Blakeney, and with some of the towns of Cley and Wiveton, which be members of the same town of Blakeney and we find that they are unwilling to be at any charge near the furnishing of a ship - we made diligent inquiry if any of our port had sent forth any ship of war or taken any goods by way of reprisal but we cannot find that there is any such We humbly crave your Honour's letters to be directed to the towns of Cley, Wiveton, Blakeney, Wells and other coast towns towards Lynn, and to the dealers with corn merchandise and marine causes in the towns near adjacent, commanding them to join herein in the charge with us; and we shall, according to our bounden duty, pray to God for your Honour's preservation".

In the State Papers of 1588 the matter is stated briefly:

"Men of Cley, Wiveton, and Blakeney refused to meet the request of the Mayors etc., of the Towne of King's Lynn and Townes of Blakeney to provide 2 vessels of war, and the Blakeney people refused to furnish the same".

The men of Cley were obviously not interested in fighting the Spaniards as an alternative to making money.

It is interesting to notice from "The Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon 1580 to 1620" by H.W.Saunders, that of the nine Cley mariners impressed by Nathaniel Bacon in 1602, was one "Arthur Dowell of XXV years, of good stature with a brown beard discharged at Norwich repaid per William King".

This Arthur Dowell was possibly a relation of the Dowell who was master of the ships 'Robert Bonaventure' of Blakeney, and 'Jesus' of Cley during 1587-1590.

<u>Cley ships entering and leaving the Blakeney Harbour from Blakeney Port Books. 1587-1590</u>

Coastal Imports

Date	Ship	To/From	Cargo
1587			
April 18	John	Lynn	Barley
June 2	John Baptist	Yarmouth	Madeira wine
July 3	Rose	Yarmouth	Cast guns
August 8	Mary	Lynn	Textiles
August 10	Rose	Newcastle	Coal
August 19	Rose	Yarmouth	Dansk Rye
September 4	Luke	Newcastle	Coal
September 12	William	Yarmouth	Salt
September 14	Rose	Newcastle	Coal

Coastal Exports

May 15	Swan	Newcastle	Malt
June 6	Grace of God	Boston	Wheat, sack, flax
July 8	Robert	London	Malt
July 22	Rose	Newcastle	Malt
July 22	Mary	Yarmouth	Fish, oats
August 7	Swan	London	Malt
August 17	Rose	Newcastle	Dansk Rye
August 25	William	Yarmouth	Oil, flax, flock, olives, fat,

			glass
September 27	Jonas	London	Fish, butter

Foreign Imports

1588 Dec.27.	Margaret	Rotterdam	Holland cloth
1589 Jan.ll.	Robert	Rotterdam	Feathers, fans
Mar.20.	Jonas	Rotterdam	Hoops, pottery
Mar.27.	Jonas	Rotterdam	Hoops, worked stone
Jul.22	Rose	Dansk	Hawkes, chess sets
1590 Jan.l2.	Leovarret	Rochelle	Salt, textiles
Mar.23	Elizabeth	Rotterdam	Salt, pitch, dank rye, hops

Foreign Exports

1588 Dec.26.	Luke	Rotterdam	Barley
1589 Jan.7.	Robert Bonaventure	Rotterdam	Barley
Feb.4.	Jonas	Rotterdam	Barley thread
Feb.20.	Jesus	Rotterdam	Barley
Mar.6.	Luke	Rotterdam	Barley malt
Apr. 9.	Speed	Rotterdam	Barley
Apr.9.	Jonas	Rotterdam	Barley thread
Apr.l4.	Rose	Dansk	Rabbit skins, lamb
			skins
Apr.l4.	Swan	Amsterdam	Barley, wheat, malt
May.21.	Spedewell	Rotterdam	Barley, malt
May.24.	Robert Bonaventure	Rotterdam	Barley, malt
Oct,14.	Leovarret	Rochelle	Coal, knitted short
			hose.
Dec.2.	Ambrose	Marseilles	Lead, coals

Monthly distribution of shipping in no. of ships

Home 1587

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct Nov	Dec
Imports:	1	1			3					
Exports:			1	1	3	3	1			
Total:	1	1	2	4	6	4				

Foreign 1589

Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec F M A M J J Imports: 1 2 1 Exports: 1 1 4 2 1 2 1 2 2 3 1 1 Total: 4

Distribution of cargo in no. of ships

	Grain	Malt	Coal	General
Imp:	3		3	11
Exp:	12	4	2	3
Total:	15	4	5	14

There are details of the ships entering and leaving the Blakeney harbour between 1587 and 1590 which include ships from Cley, Blakeney, Wiveton, London, Kirkaldy, Rotterdam, and other ports. From Easter to Michaelmas 1587 there were 51 inward cargoes and 23 outward cargoes. As there are too many ships to give the complete list, I have just included and commented upon the actual Cley ships. It is interesting to note that although the ships from Cley are divided fairly equally between home and foreign trade, only one Blakeney ship is engaged in foreign trade, and out of the sixteen Blakeney ships bringing in goods from other ports, fourteen bring coal from Newcastle.

Basil Cozens-Hardy states in the 'Transactions of the Norfolk Record Society', that Cley was the main channel in the Blakeney harbour, which seems to substantiate the fact that the vast majority of the overseas traffic was from Cley. In the index of shipping of 1587~1590, there were nineteen Cley ships with an average tonnage of 41.2. The biggest ship then was the 'Ambrose', of 100 tons, while the smallest was the 'Grace of God', which was only eight tons. The average tonnage of the eighteen Blakeney ships was 38, which also explains why most of the overseas trade was carried on at Cley. The 80 ton 'George Bonaventure' was the only Blakeney ship trading abroad, the remainder of the ships being of 50 tons, or below.

A study of the abstracts on the previous page shows that although the imports from both home and abroad were very assorted, the exports were far less so. The imports included coal, madeira wine, feathers, hoops, and hawks, while exports to the continent were nearly always barley, or malt. Malt was also the chief export to the home ports of Yarmouth, and London. This indicates that Norfolk was largely an agricultural county, and that the agricultural industry was rapidly gaining importance.

To illustrate typical trading of the times let us follow the journey of the "Rose", a ship of 20 tons: on the third of July 1587 she brought back from Yarmouth a cargo of cast guns weighing 6 tons. This is interesting in the light of 'Coastal Defences 1585' which

stated that there was a fort at Blakeney to guard the Cley harbour. The year was 1587 and the fort was probably being fitted out at that time, in preparation against the Armada. On July 2nd the "Rose" left Cley for Newcastle carrying the more orthodox cargo of malt, returning on August 10th with a cargo of coal, probably to be stored against the rapidly approaching winter. After resting for a week she left for Newcastle carrying Dansk rye.

The next entry on the list states that two days later, on 19th August she returned from Yarmouth carrying Dansk rye. This would mean that she went straight up to Newcastle, and returned to Cley via Yarmouth without having dropped her cargo. Possibly she was unable to sell the cargo, but in any case it would have been impossible to make such a journey in two days. Perhaps a mistake was made in the dates.

Before April 14th 1589, it appeared that the poachers of the district might have been busy, for on that date the "Rose", a different ship, twice the tonnage of the previous one, left Cley for Dansk (Danzig), with a load of rabbit skins and lambskins, chartered by a man named Gilbert, possibly to clothe the men of the frozen north. The return voyage brought back the intriguing cargo of hawks and chess sets. The main foreign trade was with Rotterdam, exporting barley and malt, and importing Holland cloth, hoops, pottery, and worked stone. Occasionally there were voyages to Amsterdam, La Rochelle, and the "Ambrose", a ship of 100 tons, the largest in the harbour at that time, made the long trip to Marseilles on December 2nd 1589 carrying a cargo of lead coals. There are no details about her return, and indeed of the return of many boats. Probably they contracted more work in other harbours, and so stayed away from their home ports for long periods.

Of the 39 ships which in 1587 made 74 coastal shipments, 20 made only one trip, 12 made two, 4 made three, 1 made four, and 2 made five trips; obviously then a good deal of their time was spent not in trading, but in some other occupation of which fishing would seem to be the most likely. The page of graphs shows more clearly the total usage of ships in the various months, showing that the peak trading time was during the months of July, August and September for Home markets, but in March and April for Foreign markets. This may have been because the peak fishing time was from April to September, so that they were more likely to leave their long distance trading till those months when there were few fish about.

It must be remembered that these details only deal with the actual Cley ships, many ships of the neighbouring ports and overseas ports also used her harbour. The Customs House for Blakeney Harbour was at Cley, which assumed that most of the ships would enter the Cley channel. The buildings on the Quay today are the remains of the old granaries in which the corn was stored. In Elizabethan times then, Cley was a thriving port, and according to the Muster Rolls of 1570, possessed more ships than any other port except Lynn.

There is little evidence of trade during Stuart, or Georgian times, "Happy is the country that has no history".

Cozens-Hardy says, "In 1683, Blakeney was shipping malt, barley, and rye to Newcastle and London, and receiving coal from the former and mixed goods from the latter. By 1734 the trade was similar except that all the agricultural produce was going to London".

During this period the coasting trade seems gradually to have become more important than foreign trade, possibly due to the Navigation Acts. The petition of 1638 against Calthorpe's bank, quoted from in the first chapter, gives some idea of the dimensions of the trade,

"That the same haven have had many good shippes of burthen belonging to it which have been set forth from thence to Westmonie and Island and to trade with Holland, Fflanders, Ffrance and Spaine and other smaller vessells carrying corne and other comodities to Newcastle etc, and bringing coales, salt and other merchandise for the countrie here-about and likewise to the advantage of His Majesties customs and composition fish. That the 'Susan' of Wiveton was pressed in Queen Elizabeth's service in 1589 for service into Portugal of which Thomas Coe of Clave went as Quartermaster (as he doth testifie), Thomas Coe affirmeth that they have 19 other good shippes, some of 140 and one of 160 tons belonging to the same towne (six being built at Wiveton near unto the main channel beside many others belonging to Cleye) by means of which his late Majtie King James of blessed memorie did receive for customs in one year £420 and now his Majtie (Charles) only £100.

Grain was exported in large quantities, and in 1631 the export trade of Cley caused resentment in Norwich.

The City Fathers officially to the Privy Council that the "number and misery of the poor of the city had so increased that the petitioners had been obliged to put upon themselves and the better rank of cityzens treble as much as they formerly

paid and all cityzens twice as much. They had borrowed £300 to dispurse in corn for the poor, while exportation of corn was still carried on at Wells and Cley under a licence from the Privy Council, which they prayed might be recalled".

The exportation still continued.

It seems that there had been several wreckages on the Norfolk coast during the middle of the 17th century, for in 1667 a petition was made by the men of Blakeney and Cley, (who were always ready to air their grievances) to the Lord High Admiral James, Duke of York:

"Humbly showeth your Royal Highness that the said towns have formerly been very famous for a shipping trade and have bred stout able sea-men for his Majesties predecessors service (as Cap. J. Narborough was able to inform your Royal Highness of). But by reason of many losses the merchants of the said towns have met with they are discouraged to adventure their estates by which means the harbour is ruined which formerly have been and now is (if trading should be maintained) a place of safeguard for his majesties subjects. We your petitioners humbly beg that your Royal Highness will take into your consideration to order such a sallary or settlement upon the Haven man for the maintenance of his boyes and beacons that he may maintain the same to the Comfort and Safeguard of his Majesties loyal subjects and such foreigners as have occasion to use the said port. And your petitioners shall offer every prayer for your happiness."

Tho. Abraham.. Wm.Demstead... Hy.Bassett... and others, 22 in all. (Public Records Office)

The Eastern Daily Press of 1924, contains an interesting memorial to the Board of Customs made by the merchants and traders of Cley. Some people had apparently attempted to establish a monopoly in the use of the quays, and the outspoken natives were not intending to accept this mildly. The petition was referred to the Collecter at Lynn, who received instructions to inquire into the matter on the spot,

"hearing all parties face to face".

"5th Sepember.1728. -

We whose hands are hereunto subscribed, merchants and traders belonging to the Port of Cley, in the County of Norfolk, on behalf of ourselves and many other Merchants and Traders belonging to the said Port, humbly beg leave to represent to your honours that the said Port of Cley aforesaid is an Ancient Port from whence great quantities of malt and all sorts of corn and grain and divers goods and merchandise have been from time to time exported, and great quantities of Coals, Iron, Fir, and other Timber, Deals, Tiles, Stone, Salt, and other merchandise imported, and that In the said town or port there are several keys and wharfs very convenient for ye merchants some of which have been made use of beyond the memory of any man to the contrary, and others which have been erected and made up for the conveniency of several merchants at very great charge and expences, all or greater part of them, being near to and convenient for the present Custom House and the Officers thereunto belonging.

That very lately Charles Wortley, Gent'h, Collector of the said port, hath acquainted several of the merchants and traders belonging to the said port, that he hath received an Order from Yor Honrs, that for the future there shall not be any malt, corn, grain, goods, or merchandise exported from the said port, or any Coals, Irons (etc.) imported into the said port, but such as shall be exported from or imported and landed at or upon a key lately erected and made up by one Mr.Baynes, which for many reasons, some of which we beg leave to represent Yor Honours, will be a great detriment and damage to the merchants and traders, for that there is not any way, Road or Passage for carts or carriages to and from the said key but over thro' and upon the lands and grounds the private property of several other persons and without the consent of whom, carts or other carriages cannot pass to or from the said key.

Besides the Key in itself is so small that it will scarce

contain the loading of Deals of one ship, the said key not being above ninety feet in length and 36 in breadth, and in fact, the said key is the most remote and furthest from the Custom House of any of the keys belonging to the port.

If Yor Honours shall insist upon the said Order being observed and put into execution the Merchants and Traders will be so cramped in their business that they will not be able to carry on their trade without very great charges, inconvenience and Hazard and in a short time the trade and Business of the said town and port will be lost and destroyed.

And we humbly hope your Honours, who we are fairly well assured will consult and encourage the fair trader and will take into consideration this matter and give us such relief herein as to you shall seem meet."

Frank Windham, Peter Edwin, and others, 42 in all. Merchants of Cley.

There does not seem to be any further mention of the matter.

Cley is mentioned in the St. Claire correspondence to Abbe Windham, which hints at the importance of Cley at that time, and of the extent of the merchandise.

Letter 4, October 9th. 1730. "to Mr. Walpole (younger brother of Robert Walpole)

.....and was most sensibly affected when I heard of the great loss he had met with of all his fine furniture.... and a whole collection of books....were arrived safely at the Haven north of Cley, in the most unheard of manner, all destroyed by the ship being set on fire".

Letter 5. October 23rd. 1730.

I was at Cley on Saturday last and saw some of the Plenipotentiaries goods which were saved out of the ship. The Collector told me the whole cargo was not valued at above £5000 and it is insured to the value of £3500 so the loss will not be so great as people imagine".

In 'A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain divided into Circuits or Journeys

by a Gentleman', written in 1762, there are several interesting details about Cley:

"From Weyburn west lies Clye where there are large saltworks and very good salt made, which is sold all over the country and sometimes sent to Holland, and the Baltic".

This is the first mention of there being any saltworks in Cley. Today in the field beside the Cley mill there is a low lying dip which is still called the Saltpan. Before the marshes were embanked, no doubt the sea would flow over the dip at every high tide, so enabling the salt water to be caught, and salt to be produced. The extract also contains the first mention of the continual controversy over the pronunciation of the name of the village. Previously it had always been spelt 'Claye', 'Clay', or 'Cley'. Then came this foreign spelling and pronunciation which is nowadays very prevalant, but which probably arose from a misunderstood version of the Norfolk dialect. The extract continues,

"all towns on the coast in each whereof there is a very considerable trade carried on with Holland for corn, which that part of the country is very full of, besides the great trades driven here from Holland back again which I take to be a trade carried with much less honesty than public advantage".

This libellous statement seems to indicate that there were still descendants of the pirates of old. The Gentleman goes on to say,

"Cley and Blackney are regarded jointly as a part of Yarmouth; Cley is looked upon as the principal place, though Blackney gives name to that creek which supplies them both with an harbour. They have between them 15 sail of small vessels and it may be 60 fishing boats. It is thought that they export 20,000 quarters of malt and hard corn and carry at least as much coastwise; they bring in about 6,000 chauldrons of coals (7,950 tons), the remainder of their trade consists in Deals, Balks, Fir-timbers, Pantiles and Iron also for curiousities natural artificial".

According to Baynes (History of East Anglia) in 1781,

"Cley is a dull old-fashioned town, one of the small ports in Norfolk which export large quantities of wheat. 'Less than a hundred years ago rye was the chief crop, wheat was imported. Then as in other small places in this

part, a large malt house suggests abundant crops of barley".

In fact at the time stated there is no mention of wheat being exported it was nearly all malt, barley or rye. The Agricultural Revolution improved the growth of wheat and produced a surplus of cereals, and therefore much wheat and corn was both exported and shipped coastwise. Although corn in the shape of barley had been an important part of the early Elizabethean trade it was the Agricultural Revolution which really created the corn trade.

"Therefore the merchants and men of Cley enjoyed great prosperity in the early years of the Agricultural Revolution. The yearly average exports of years 1790- 1793 from Blakeney and Cley, was as follows:

	Quarters	Price	Amount
W/l 4	(270	£ s	14 021 12
Wheat	6378	2. 8. 0	14,031.12
Wheat flour	785	2.16. 0	2,198. 0
Barley	59176	1. 4.0	71,011. 4
Malt	2525	1. 7.0	5,050. 0
Rye	46	1. 7.0	57. 0
Peas	1240	1. 8. 0	1,736. 0
TOTAL			94,084. 4
			<i>γ</i> 1,00π. π

Following the Agricultural Revolution came the Industrial Revolution, which brought with it the advent of steam. More and more merchants acquired steamboats instead of sailing boats. The size of the boats was also increasing, inevitably this made Blakeney and Cley less important as harbours of refuge. Cley particularly was in a difficult position as her harbour was very crooked in its course which impeded the navigation of larger ships.

The passing in 1817, of a 'Local Act' for improving the harbour of Blakeney and Cley was an attempt to remedy this. This Act established the Blakeney Harbour Company, the Directors of which were:- George, Lord Calthorpe; Robert John Brereton, Thomas Drasier, John Temple, Thomas Johnson, Merchants; Pearson Walton, and William Hardy Esq.; and Benjamin Pullan, Clerk. They were empowered,

"to alter, continue or extend the channel of the said harbour in a right line from Sluice Creek, through the lands of the said Lord Calthorpe northwards to the mouth of the said harbour for the space of 500 yards or thereabouts".

In other words they dug out what is now called "The New Cut". They wished to place new buoys, beacons and mooring chains, and make proper regulations for pilots to conduct vessels in and out of the harbour. They were entitled to charge on tonnage exclusive of cargo, 1.5d. per ton on English ships and 3d. per ton on foreign ships.

The New Cut seems to have had an advantageous effect on trade, for by 1834, according to the History and Gazetteer of 1886, there were exported from Cley 27,000 quarters of corn and 10,000 sacks of flour; and public houses remains at four. Imports were of 16,000 chaldrons of coal, which was considerably more than in 1762. The exportation of flour which was also mentioned in the yearly averages of 1790 - 1793 indicates the existence of a mill at that time. The same mill stands today overlooking the Quay, with its great white sails bearing the brunt of the prevalent winds, and itself an ever constant subject for numerous artists.

The link between corn being exported and coal imported is clearly shown by the fact that in Robinson's Commercial Directory of 1839 three people are shown to be combining the separate trades; John Jackson is a brewer, maltser, and coal merchant, John Lee a corn and coal merchant and miller, and Margaret Moore a brewer, maltser and coal merchant. Cley then had a market every Saturday and a fair was held on the last Friday in July for horses and other livestock. There were four customs men then to deal with the heavy shipping, Collector, the Comptroller, and two tide wardens. There was also one public school, the Lancastrian, which catered for 75 boys and 35 girls.

A notice in the Norwich Mercury, October 1st 1831 gives the following list of ships arriving at and sailing from Blakeney and Cley.

Arrived:- Bognor, Stone, from Chichester with furniture Squirrel, Secker;
Resolution, Bastard; from Newcastle with goods Sarah and Elizabeth, Swan, from Goole with stone Friendship, Starling, from Blyth with goods Herring, Stimpson;
Rising Star, Kirby; from Boston in ballast and twelve laden colliers.

Sailed:- Isis, Jordan, for Newcastle with Malt and Barley Blakeney Packet, Hurn;
Hebe, Bowles;
Ann, Jarvis; for London with corn, flour and other goods —
Blakeney Packet, Gary, for Wakefield with corn Hull Packet, Lane, for Hull with flour and goods -

Ramsden, Gibbs, for Goole, with corn - and ten light vessels.

This kind of notice was found approximately every week in that year, indicating the regularity of the trading. Sailing Packets went to Hull and London every two or three weeks. The Packets were the only boats in the registered trade. The Newcastle Packet was owned by my Great-Grandfather, James Parker and there is a family tradition that when his wife, Susan Parker, wanted to go to London to have her baby, she found it quicker and easier to go by boat rather than by road.

Page and Turner, a local farming syndicate who in February 1956 sent 50 tons of barley to the brewers by lorry, had in 1882 ten sailing vessels taking wheat to France, Hull, Newcastle, London, and Sunderland.

Mr W. Turner can remember that in 1900 the beacons in the harbour were lit daily with oil lamps. A boy had to climb the beacon and sit across the bars at the top, an iron lid opened from the top and rested on the boy's head while he lit the lamp. Watson states in 'North Sea Pilot' -

"this (Blakeney) is the only harbour of safety for shipping when caught in a gale of wind, dead on the coast and is capable of receiving ships of 400 — 500 tons"

In the reign of Victoria, the trade of Cley and Blakeney went from its peak to its lowest level. The Blakeney Harbour Accounts Book gives details of the ships entering and leaving the harbour, from which the following graphs were developed. The details are of all the ships using the Blakeney Harbour, and do not deal specifically with Cley. For the purposes of this study however, the results of the graphs can be taken to apply equally well to Cley, as the decline of the ports was simultaneous.

From the first graph which shows the trade of 1587 and 1867, it can be seen that exactly the same number of ships were engaged in trade at each date. The change lies in the different distribution of the shipping. In 1867 there were ten more ships engaged in home trade than in 1587, but in foreign trade there were ten less in 1867 than in 1587. As most of the foreign trade was done at Cley, this drop probably means that some of Cley's trade did disappear. Her trade now depended on the coasters which transported food to the manufacturing areas of Newcastle and London. A boat of 30 tons carried as much as 100 horses and it would have been impossible to supply London with food without the coasting trade. Consequently in 1859 when the Agricultural Revolution was well under way, trade was at its peak. Nearly 240 ships used the harbour during that year and the average tonnage of those ships was 59, which was very much larger than the 41.2 of 1589, indicating that the 1823 Bank had not yet silted up sufficiently to hinder navigation. It was not long however before this happened, for from 1859 there was a continual decline in the average individual

tonnage of ships, until by 1884 it had levelled off to a steady 47 tons, which was still slightly larger than the 1589 average.

The number of foreign ships using the harbour also suffered a steady decline from 1862, when there were nine ships using the harbour, to 1882 when there were none. It is noticeable that at the dates of the Prussian wars given on Graph 4, there is a sharp decline in the number of foreign ships using the harbour.

From the graph on the monthly usage of shipping several facts can be observed. At each year portrayed there is a peak trading month usually in April or May. Often there is a sharp drop in numbers during October and November. Billy Massingham, an old inhabitant of Cley, said that the boats were often laid up for maintenance and repair, during those months. He also said that the cargoes before Christmas often consisted of toys and consumer goods, for the Christmas trade. Very seldom in any year does the number of ships engaged in the export trade approach that of the import trade. In the years 1879 and 1881 however, the imports and exports are much more closely allied. This shows that the demand for grain was probably diminishing by that date, due to the increased agricultural production of the Fens and the Midlands. The harbour as a whole was being used less; the peak in 1865 of 30 ships using the harbour in April, had diminished by 1881 to only 19 ships.

The usage of 1589 shows the great seasonal trade of that time, as compared with the more stable graphs of the nineteenth century. This indicates that the ships at that time were much less seaworthy, and unable to go out in all weathers.

Graph 4 shows very clearly the gradual decline in the use of the harbour. The harbour which was used by nearly 240 ships in 1859 was by 1883 only being used by just over ll0 ships. The three Prussian wars had a slightly adverse effect, but the trend was already towards decline. The development of a railway at Melton Constable, nine miles away had a considerable effect on the use of the harbour. In 1873, 220 ships used the harbour while a year later after the arrival of the railway it was used by not quite 160 ships. The harbour never really recovered from this, and trade was considerably reduced, until in 1883 the death-blow was delivered by the development of a railway at Holt, only five miles away, and the total usage dropped to below 115 ships.

This was virtually the end of trading, and of Cley as a port, although a small number of ships did persist until the beginning of the first World War, after which they finally left the harbour.

THE END OF THE ERA.

Cley developed mainly as a harbour of refuge, and a fishing port. The textile trade gave her an appreciable amount of foreign trade. Bad internal communications led to the development of a string of coastal ports. The coasting trade handled a supply of raw materials and finished products as well as supplying food.

The agricultural revolution provided Cley with a rise in the shipments of grain, as East Anglia was essentially a food producing area for the industrial towns. As the road and railway network grew up through the Industrial Revolution, and the industrial areas moved to the Midlands, the North, and the North West of England, the use of Cley as a port became gradually unnecessary.

The agricultural revolution made the previously unproductive areas of the Fens and the Midlands capable of supplying the adjacent industrial areas with food, therefore East Anglia declined in importance as a food producing area. These factors together with the geographical features mentioned in the first chapter, all contributed towards the disappearance of the Port of Cley.

Cley enjoyed a brief period of importance as a wild fowling area, but after the Protection Laws were passed, even this was lost. Now there is nothing left of Cley's fascinating past except those things which are mentioned in the Introduction, and which can be seen by all those who are sufficiently interested in Cley-next-the-Sea.

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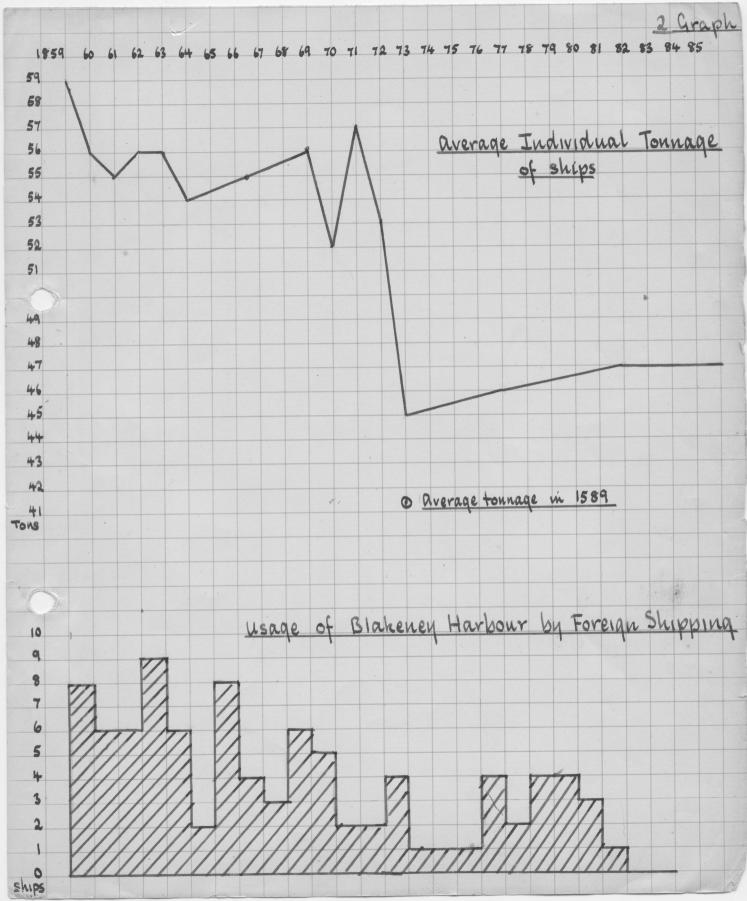
Bacon 1580-1620

History of East Anglia Baynes

North Sea Pilot S. Watson

A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journeys by a Gentleman

Maps drawn, and notes kindly obtained from M. (Peter) Catling Esq.



BLAKENEY HARBOUR

Graph

HOME TRADE

1587

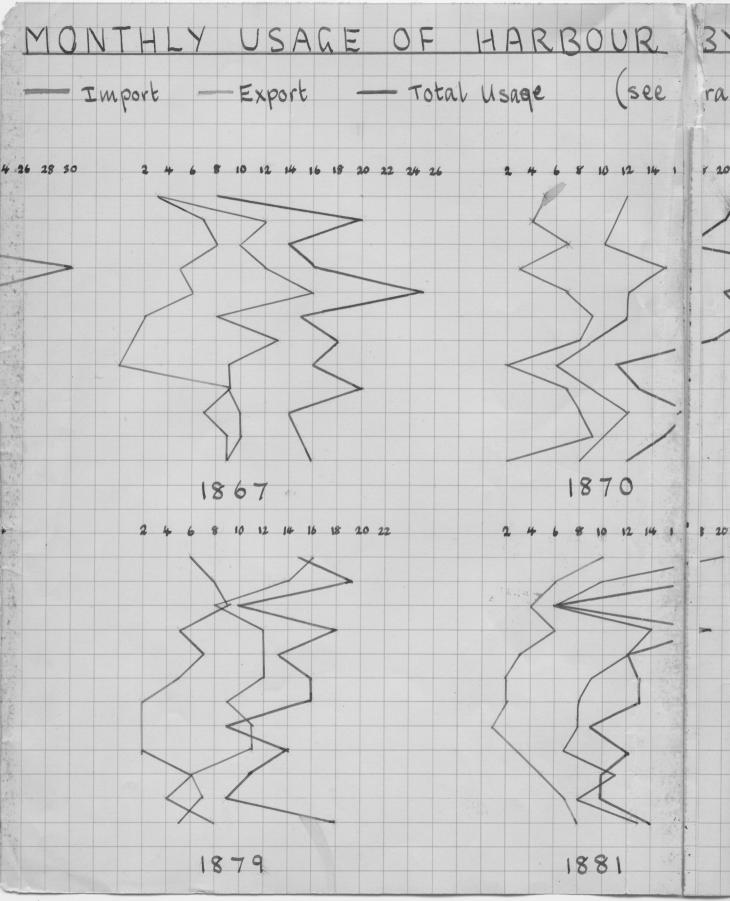
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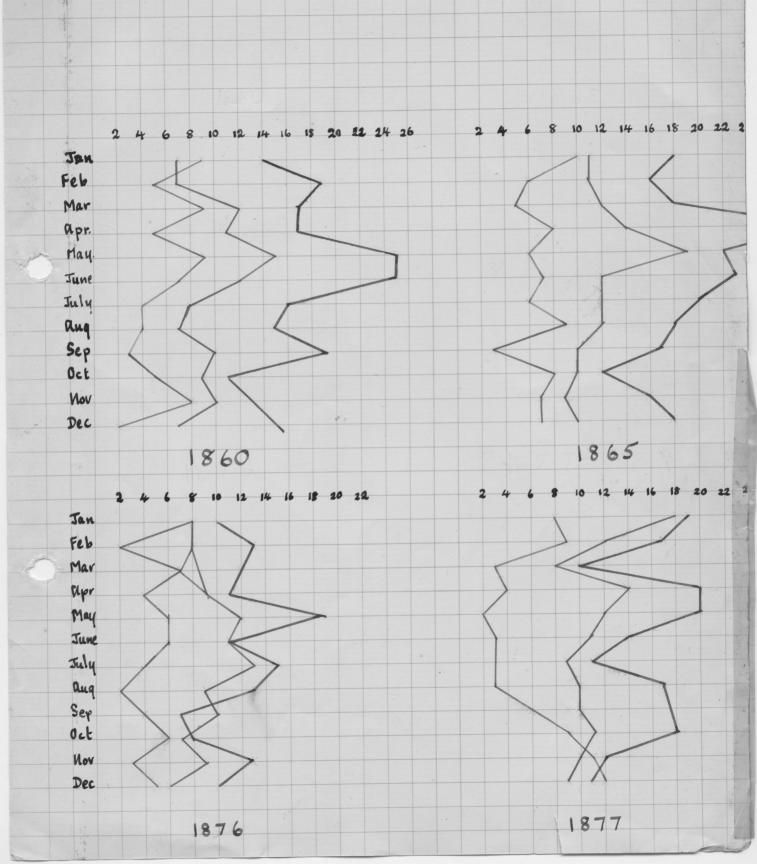
FOREIGN TRADE

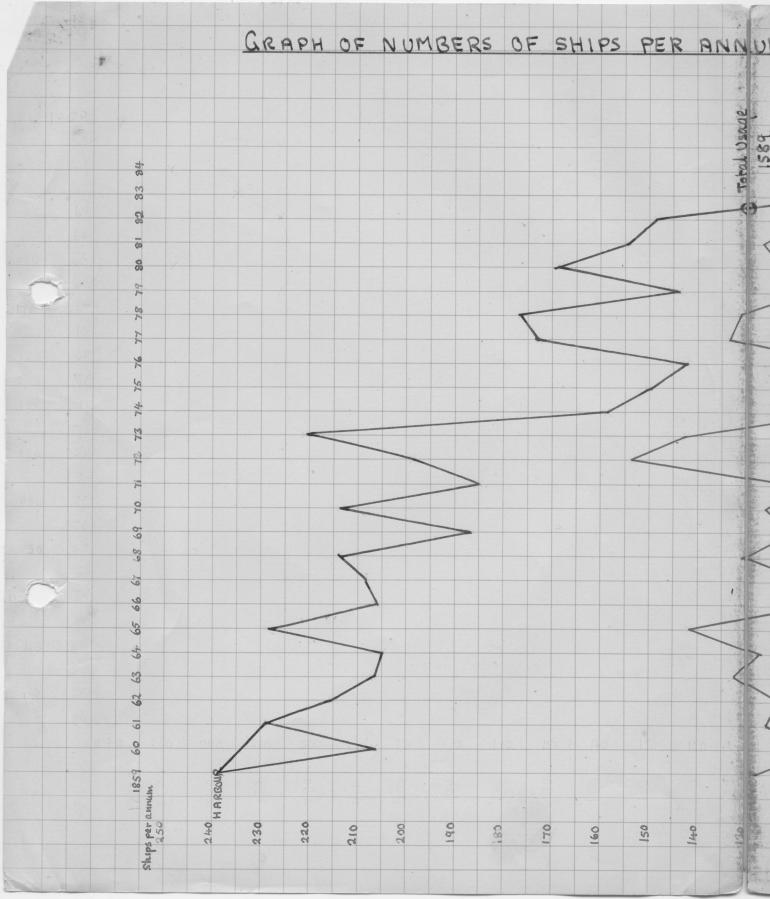
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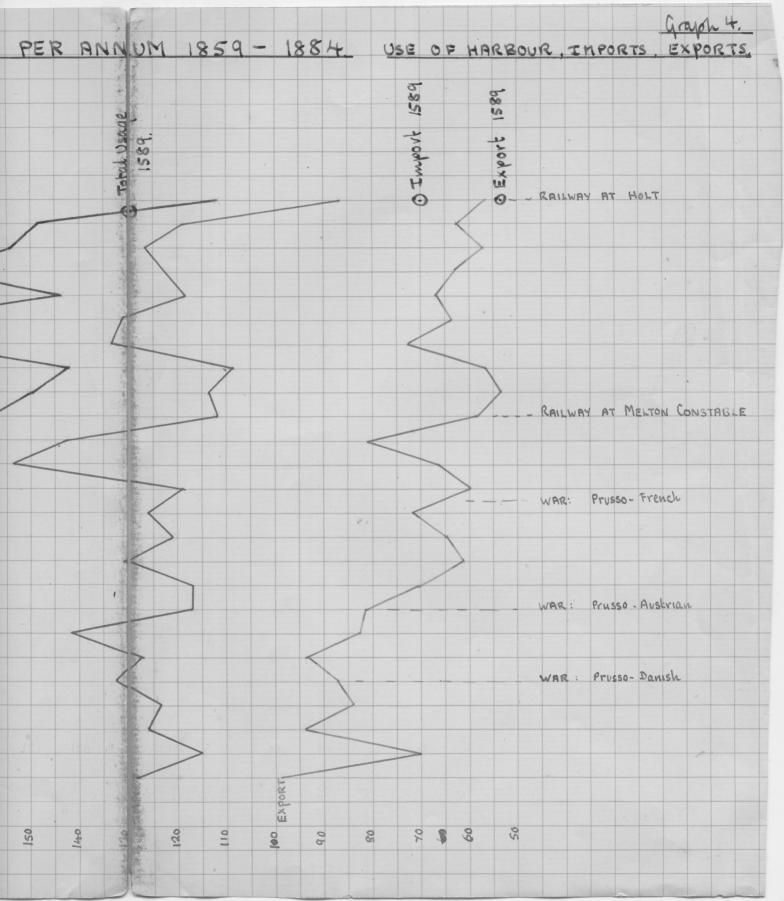
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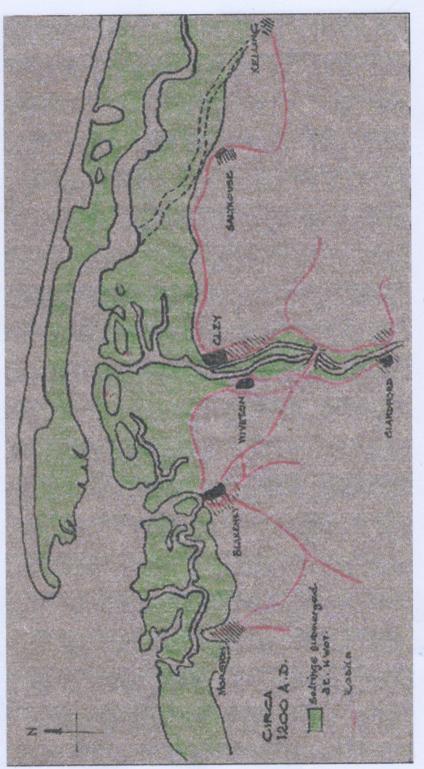
1867 NOTATIONS IN GREEN











4 CONJECTURAL MAPS DEVELOPMENT OF BLAKENEY HARBOUR

