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Editorial

I hope you enjoy this Glaven Historian and feel the wait has been worthwhile. A big thank you must be extended to every one of the contributors to this eclectic mix, they have excelled themselves by producing many more 'words' than anticipated, hence a bumper issue. Like the editors they have continued working until the last minute and it has been difficult to call 'ladies and gentlemen time please' to such a committed group. Research is never finished and as always special nuggets emerge at the last moment, as is evident from a note on the 'Back Pages'!

The move from an annual to a biennial publication will we hope enable a sustainable pattern to be established, as it will give both authors and editors an essential recovery period and time to prepare the next issue. Yet the journal will only continue to flourish if there is a supply of papers, so if you have an idea and would like to write do approach one of the members of the editorial committee. The range of subjects that can be covered is immense, but always remember family history often provides a route into local history and studies of local communities.

Norfolk is very fortunate in having a wealth of historical documents available. Information can be found in many locations from major national repositories to county Record Offices and, most importantly, at a local level in the History Centre Blakeney and in private hands. At times such riches may seem overwhelming, but the increasing range of indexes to collections makes this task slightly easier, as does the availability of documents over the internet. Just browsing this 'goldmine' can be highly recommended and enormously stimulating, but it comes with a health warning as it is an incredible way to forget about time!

Since the launch of the Glaven Historian it has always been a matter of pride that although the geographical spread is limited, the papers cover a wide time scale often extending from the Medieval period to the Recent. There should

always be something for everybody's tastes whether it be interest in shipping, family, buildings or landscape history, while accounts of court cases support the notion that Norfolk has always been a litigious county.

This issue is no exception, kicking off with mining the Muster Rolls and the ownership of land in Field Dalling to provide insights into late Medieval society. Then it is extended to cover evocative survivors from the recent past, post boxes, a golf course and the 1942 census of Blakeney. The latter are apt reminders that we should record and preserve information that is now rapidly being lost. There are enormous and surprising gaps in our knowledge, so think again before throwing away old photographs, deeds to your house or wartime mementoes.

A large country house with all the associated farms, buildings and land has been compared to a small city and the account of Cley Hall Estate certainly reinforces this impression. In today's climate it conjures up a world of management, targets or subsidies, but records rarely survive to pursue this further. Hence the importance of the papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, their publication illuminates our knowledge of this coast in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; another volume should be available this autumn. In complete contrast to these often dry accounts is the florid language used in newspaper accounts quoted in one paper; reporters certainly knew how to play on the readers' heart strings.

Again, enjoy the read.

John Peake

Front cover: A new style of front cover this time with an impression of Blakeney Quay in the nineteenth century by the renowned artist Godfrey Sayers, to whom our thanks go for permission to use this image.

The Military Survey of 1522

John Wright

Synopsis: The Military Survey of 1522 appeared to be a muster of all able-bodied males aged 16-60 but the government of the day had an ulterior motive: to prepare for a substantial tax in the form of a 'forced loan' to Henry VIII. The records for some parts of Norfolk have survived, including those for Holt Hundred which includes the Glaven parishes. This article describes the nature of the Survey, comments on the Holt Hundred document, and lists all the people recorded in Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton.

Introduction

One of the pleasures of local history is getting to know something about the previous residents, people who made their own contribution to the economic and social life of their communities and whose traces can sometimes be seen today. This knowledge has to come very largely from documents, but these are sparse in the early 1500s; record keeping is not extensive and parish registers have yet to begin. So it is important to make use of the records that do exist. One such is the Military Survey undertaken in 1522 at the beginning of yet more hostilities with France and Scotland. This Survey had two main components. The first was a listing, or muster, of all males aged 16 to 60 fit to serve in a home defence force or abroad on the King's service. The second element was an assessment of the wealth of all such people as the basis for determining what contribution they should make towards the provision of arms, whether armour, bows and arrows, or other weapons.

The lists which survive include those for the Hundred of Holt, an area of 26 parishes centred on Holt and including all the Glaven villages. These parish lists contain the names of a large proportion of adult men but have yet to be published, as they have been for the adjacent Hundred of North Greenhoe (the area around Wells and Walsingham) This article rectifies a part of this omission by reproducing the names of all people mustered in Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton, together with their military status as archer or 'billman', and the assessment of their personal wealth.

The article begins with an outline of the reasons for the Military Survey and how it was to be used not only for military purposes but as the basis for a substantial programme of taxation. The muster and taxation lists for some

other areas are then examined to show the wide variations in the conduct of the muster and how these variations impact on the interpretation of the lists. It is important to look at all these aspects before reproducing the local information in order to pre-empt any assumption that these local lists might represent all the resident males. In practice, there are many omissions, and there is still much uncertainty about what the statements of wealth actually mean. Nevertheless, despite these potentially serious qualifications the survey of personal wealth does seem to be consistently applied within each Hundred and so gives a good account of the relative wealth of each inhabitant. These records can then be linked to other documents to help bring individual people to life.

National Context

Musters

From Anglo-Saxon times men were liable for military service to provide a local home defence force. The Statute of Winchester (1285) required all males between 15 and 60 to equip themselves with weapons and armour according to their means: farm implements and knives for the poorer people, horse and armour for the wealthiest. The Constables of each Hundred were required to hold twice-yearly a 'view of arms' and to prepare lists of names (muster rolls) for the King's wars. A man having 'passed muster' would undergo some training, though perhaps very little in peacetime. This practice continued into the 16th century when the Lord Lieutenant for each county was responsible for raising troops, and musters were held at irregular intervals. In the early years of Henry VIII's reign fears of foreign invasion encouraged the government to try to improve methods of raising, training and equipping these militias. A

law was passed to ensure that every boy between 7 and 17 had to be provided with a bow and arrows, after which he became responsible for providing his own.

Taxation

Medieval and Tudor taxation consisted of occasional levies, granted by parliament at the request of the monarch, to provide income additional to revenue from crown lands, customs duties and other sources. These 'subsidies' were supplemented by forced loans imposed directly on wealthy people by the king; Henry VII always repaid these loans, his successors rarely did. The early means of taxation included the poll tax, and the 'fifteenths and tenths' first levied in 1332 (ie 10% on income in cities and 15% elsewhere). In 1334 the tax was levied at the same rate and this became the basis for all such taxes over the next 3 centuries, but as the original assessments were never revised the fixed sums raised from individual settlements soon fell way behind economic realities.

The Military Survey

Henry VIII's reign lasted from 1509 to 1549, a period culminating in the momentous changes of the Reformation. Despite Henry's dictatorial reputation, for the first half of his reign he was content to leave government largely in the hands of Cardinal Wolsey, appointed Lord Chancellor in 1513. It was he who organised the summit meeting with Francis I of France at the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold' near Calais in 1520. This, by intention, achieved nothing and by 1522 England and France were at war – again – and immediately danger also threatened from Scotland. In previous years the government's expenditure had been rising steeply and now the King was desperately short of funds: the local militias might be self-funding at home, but wars abroad were at the King's expense, so men and money had to be found.

In 1513, Wolsey had imposed a new form of taxation (first tried by Henry VII) based on combining the assessment of incomes from land and wages with the capital value of goods, but it had raised far less money than expected due largely to inadequate assessments. Moreover, the novel tax had met strong resistance. So in 1522 Wolsey built on previous experience and devised a means of obtaining realistic assessments – by subterfuge. The ostensible purpose of a new muster survey was to provide an indication of the country's capacity to supply arms and armour. In addition to the names and weapons of able-bodied men Wolsey wanted to know each man's land holding and wealth so that his obligatory contribution towards the defence of the realm could be assessed. Everyone listed, lay and clerical, was required to state on oath the

value of his goods and, where appropriate, the annual value of his freehold lands, benefice or stipend. As it was not then known that the survey was a prelude to an all-embracing method of taxation, people tended to provide relatively accurate information about their wealth. The musters of 1522 were on a scale never before attempted or repeated and the valuation of wealth was so wide ranging that 'muster' is an inadequate term and 'Military Survey' is more often used.

That summer Commissioners were instructed to ascertain, in addition to men, arms and armour, the owner and annual value of every parcel of land and to obtain a statement from every man of his 'value & substance'. Commissions were addressed to selected men in every county, but perhaps it is a measure of the caution required that none has survived, save only that for a particular Hundred in Essex where the instructions to the local bailiff are preserved in the Stowe manuscripts held at the British Museum.¹ In reduced form they are as follows:

'The King appointed Commissioners for every hundred, and among these Commissioners charged the Chief Constable of the hundred, who in their turn gave ...orders to the constables of every town hamlet parish & village within ... the said hundred... [to command] ... all manner of temporal men ... personally to appear before us ... the said monday next coming, furnished with and apparelled in their best array for the war that is to say with bows, arrows, harness and any other weapon, artillery or harness for the war which they or any of them have ... And also ... certify us in writing ... of all their names and whom they belong unto. Also who is Lord of every town or hamlet ... and who be Stewards. Item, who be parsons of the same towns ... with the yearly value of every man's land within the same towns ... And of every stock and stocks of cattall, or other things that be occupied upon any farm ... and who be owners of them. Also what aliens or strangers dwell ... Item, the value and substance of every person being of 16 years and above ... as well spiritual as temporal. Also of what pensions goeth out of any lands there ... '

Such instructions, reminiscent of those for the Domesday Survey of 1086, were probably worded differently in each county, for initial returns failed to satisfy the government.

Some new instructions were therefore issued.¹⁶ Those for Warwickshire noted that the true assessments '*had been evaded*' and that the Commissioners should '*seek out the true values*', not only of lay people but also of '*spiritual dignities guilds, chantries, hospitals etc, including all property, debts, specialties, loans, merchandise, household implements etc, excepting shrines, church plate and jewels*'. If the

Commissioners thought any declarations to be false they were to *'examine the neighbours as to what is the substance of the persons by common report'*. The Commissioners were also to include *'journeymen who have no settled habitation'* and to ensure that they could *'be enquired for if they move to any other place'*. The instructions made it very clear that secrecy was to be maintained; the Commissioners were to take care that *'no rumour be spread as to the intent of the inquisition except that it is to ascertain the rate at which each man must be assessed for the furnishing of harness when the case shall require'*.

The Subsidies

Having finished the inquiry *'and made a book of the result'* the Commissioners were to call together relevant people and explain that because of the state of war with France and Scotland the King was asking for a loan to be repaid at the next parliament. They were to use the muster assessments and collect 10% on all incomes from £20 to £300, and 13.5 % on assessments of £300 to £1,000. Most county returns were in by the end of 1522. This was followed, early in 1523, by a second demand falling this time on people worth from £5 up to £20. These *'loans'* were not repaid – Parliament cancelled them in 1529.

As soon as these loans were in, Parliament met in April 1523 and after acrimonious debate finally agreed to a graduated tax spread over 4 years. In each of the first 2 years everybody would pay, according to their assessment category; in the 3rd year only those rich in land, in the 4th year only those rich in goods. It was tacitly understood that the now contentious assessments of 1522 would be abandoned in favour of less rigorous ones, for the wealthy were determined to extricate themselves from a trap they had not anticipated. The new assessments were often rather less than the sworn statements made in 1522, and to compensate for this the threshold for tax liability was extended downwards to £1.

The assessment for the 1st year was to be made between Michaelmas (29th September) and Martinmas (11th November) 1523, the amount was to be certified to the King's exchequer in January 1524 and paid in the following month. For this 1st year and the following one the rates of tax were as follows.⁹ *'One shilling in the £ on all annual incomes from land, copyhold as well as freehold, and on moveable goods worth £20 & upwards; and 6d in the £ on goods worth £2 but less than £20. Owners of goods worth between £1 and £2 paid a poll tax of 4d, as did persons aged 16 & over who had no goods but were earning at least £1 in wages. Aliens were to pay double these rates, or a poll tax of 8d if they had neither goods nor wages.'*

In the 3rd year 1s in the £ was payable on lands worth £50 a year & upwards, and similarly on goods of the same value in the 4th. Each person was to be charged in the place where he usually lived, and taxed only on one source of wealth – land or goods, whichever would yield the most.'

Rutland

Muster books survive for only a few counties and for parts of others, some as copies of the originals. The muster rolls for the (then) county of Rutland are complete and contain more information than any other.¹ They are also clearly set out in tabular form, not always the case for other counties. The entry for each township follows the same format. It begins with the names of the chief lord and his steward, the clergy and other landowners, distinguishing between those resident in the parish and those not. Then come the other male inhabitants with their occupations and names of their landlord, and the value of their land (if any) and goods, roughly in order of wealth and importance. Lastly are those who owned nothing worth valuing, mostly described as young and poor. In many cases trades and crafts appear to provide supplementary income for those engaged in agriculture.

The military information is listed alongside the names: status as *'archer'* or *'billman'*, and sometimes the equipment owned. The weapons listed for Rutland were remarkably few. Only gentlemen or yeoman had one or more complete *'harness'* usually consisting of jack (a canvass or leather coat with small plates sewn on), a sallet (helmet), a gorget (armour protecting the throat) and splints (elbow protection). Other men had perhaps one of these pieces, or else a bill, but usually nothing at all. The bill was essentially a combination of lance and hatchet, forerunner of the pike.

In most villages there were very few resident landowners who were taxed on their income from land. For the great majority of people it was the valuation of their goods which provided the larger figure and which would therefore bring greater benefit to the Crown. But what did the term *'goods'* actually mean? In describing the Rutland records Julian Cornwall says that the definition *'was comprehensive embracing coin, plate and moneys owing – allowance being made for debts – and excluding only standing corn and personal attire'*; elsewhere *'moveable goods'* is a term often used. Yet to judge from what has been written about the Military Survey, there is still no agreed view about what the figures themselves mean. If they represent the capital value of assets then taxing them at whatever rate in successive years would soon make the original assessments of wealth untenable.⁷ If they represented annual income, as for land valuations, how was this effected? Perhaps it is

enough for present purposes to accept that the method of assessment was applied systematically within each Hundred, at least, and so the figures can provide a good guide to the relative wealth of all those assessed.

In Rutland two residents had goods valued at £200, one at £133 6s 8d (200 marks) and six at £100, although five of these were members of the same family; there were three people valued at £80 and as many at £60. All these were very wealthy by local standards. Anyone with goods of £20 could be considered well-off, and values down to £4 or so would have provided a reasonable standard of living for the time. Most of those with £2 were described as *'husbandmen'*, and most of those with £1 were labourers, though the actual description was usually *'labourer and tenant'*. Below these were men expressly described as poor – twice as many as in the £1 category and almost all described as *'young men and poor'*, with a few being *'old men and poor'*. These people, comprising nearly a quarter of the total, would have been mostly unmarried, unsettled and landless.

The value of the Rutland muster rolls is enhanced by the survival, for much of the county, of records for the subsequent subsidies levied on those above the tax threshold. The schedule for the first subsidy is dated May 1524 and the second instalment is dated January 1525. As all able men were supposed to have been listed for the muster, the subsidy lists (with a specific tax threshold) ought to be shorter, and usually they are. The names of the better-off people tend to recur, although their 1522 assessments are often scaled down for the subsidies. On the other hand, the 'poor' in each list vary both in number and identity. To take the village of Ryhall as an example, 46 people were mustered in 1522, of whom 35 had their land and goods valued while 11 *'young men and poor'* had neither. In the 1524 subsidy 35 people were listed, all above the £1 tax threshold, but only 21 of these were on the 1522 list. The 1525 list contains only 19 names, including 10 who appeared on all three lists – mostly those with the higher valuations. The 32 people who appear on only one list are mostly labourers. This high turnover of names emphasizes the need for caution in drawing conclusions from the 1522 muster alone: it should not be assumed, even if the poor are specifically included, that it contains all able-bodied males aged 16 to 60.

One further feature of the Rutland subsidy lists is that the £1 valuations are almost always attributed to 'wages', not to 'goods' as in the muster. This particular valuation could be a measure of disposable income after allowing for necessary expenditure on food and lodging. A farm worker living in would have received a wage of this order, whereas at the then current

rate of c.4d per day other farm workers in continuous employment would have earned around £5 per year. Taxing wages had been tried in 1513 but was abandoned after 1525 (until modern times).

Babergh

After Rutland, the Hundred of Babergh, in Suffolk, has the most complete and detailed records.³ Here, too, occupations are listed, textiles being the dominant industry. The muster also records that nearly all those listed were householders, the remainder being single men, a distinction to be guessed at elsewhere. Some 30% of those listed were freeholders (compared with only 13% in Rutland), and no doubt many more rented land. In Babergh many of the landholders were non-resident, but their parish of residence was usually given. To take the village of Polstead as an example, 34 people had land valued at the muster of whom 21 were residents. Apart from the lord, their valuations were all relatively small; the 13 non-residents, most of whom lived elsewhere in Babergh Hundred, included three-quarters of all those whose valuation was more than £1.

The muster assessments can be used to show the disparity in wealth as measured in 'goods': 6% of the people had 62% of the goods, while 46% of the people had just 5% of the goods. While such figures suggest an inequitable distribution, perhaps typical of the period, today's figures might not be so very different. The references to the provision of arms in Babergh shows a completely different approach from that adopted in Rutland. Whereas the Rutland references show the scant provision which existed, contrary to statutory requirements, the Babergh entries show the provision that everyone was ordered to provide, according to their means. Babergh people were exempted from provision of arms if they were worth less than £4. Those with goods valued between £4 and £19 were grouped together to supply harness and weapons collectively, wealthier people had to provide it themselves. In Polstead one 'gentleman' worth £40 was ordered to find two 'harness', a bow, a sheaf of arrows and a bill, while 13 men, mostly husbandmen, worth between £6 and £20, had to find 4 harness and 4 bills between them.

All the subsidy lists survive for Babergh. As in Rutland there are significant differences between the names on the subsidy lists and those on the musters. In the Babergh parishes the subsidy lists are usually longer than the musters. One study has shown that whereas 1,170 people appear on all three lists, another 900 appear on only one.⁸ The study estimates that evasion rates could be around 10% and that there was a high level of mobility, especially

among wage earners, but the main relevance for the Glaven area is the reminder that the muster lists may not contain all the names that are supposed to be there.

The Military Survey in Norfolk

Muster rolls

In 1522 there were 4 towns in Norfolk and 33 rural Hundreds but the muster rolls survive only for Great Yarmouth and 11 Hundreds, all of them in the north and east of the County (Figure 1).⁴ In view of the potential value of these rolls it is perhaps surprising that only those for North Greenhoe Hundred (the Walsingham and Wells area) have so far been published in full.

wealthy people living in Norfolk villages were not rich by national standards, but the value of their goods would have been a demonstration of their position in the community and the extent of their business activities. In the Norfolk Hundreds only one person, with goods valued at £1,333 6s 8d (or 1,550 marks), was seriously rich: Henry Fermor, lord of the manor of East Barsham, sheep farmer, and owner of one third of all the goods valued in the Hundred of Gallow. Yeomen were generally more prosperous than husbandmen but both would have lived quite frugally, with their wealth in the form of corn, cattle and farming implements.² Those with no goods are clearly ‘poor’ but not all were destitute; some authors have supposed that 10% of people might be in this category, but there is no

Table 1 Personal wealth by value of goods (% of people in each category)

Area	no goods	£2 & under	£3 - £9	£10 & over	Total no. people
GY & four Hundreds	29.4	34.4	24.3	11.9	4152
GY & four Hundreds		48.8	34.4	16.8	2930
Holt & five other hundreds		47.7	32.6	19.7	2381

Note: In the second line those with no goods have been excluded to enable a direct comparison with the figures for Holt & 5 other Hundreds. The third line excludes East Flegg Hundred whose published figures seem to be in error.
Source: J F Pound (4) Table 1.5

The Norfolk records do not have as much detail in them as those for Rutland and Babergh but they do have one feature of interest: half of them have what appears to be a full list of the poor – those with no goods worth valuing. In Great Yarmouth and the Hundreds of South Erpingham, West Flegg, Happening and Tunstead, which have this information, the poor make up nearly 30% of all those listed. In Holt and the other 6 Hundreds no such people are included, apart from a few without goods but who did have some land. Table 1 suggests that in Holt Hundred and elsewhere it can be assumed that the poor were some 30% (or in practice c.25-35%) of the total population. Perhaps the 35% in Great Yarmouth indicates that ports may have had higher proportions of poor people, which might apply in the Glaven villages.
With rare exceptions the small number of

evidence in the Norfolk muster rolls.
The muster rolls are supposed to identify all those who have freehold land, together with its annual value. In Great Yarmouth and the 11 Hundreds an average of 40% of those listed have such land, though this figure varies from 22% in Tunstead Hundred to 68% in Gallow. It is to be expected that such figures are higher in those Hundreds where the poor are not listed – the proportion in Holt is 54%. Actual land values range from a few shillings (10% of all figures are 3s 4d or less), to over £50 (just 5 people). It is generally accepted that land was valued at about £1 per 30 acres (the medieval ‘virgate’), though there may have been some variation to take account of land quality or location. At this rate, 3s 4d represents 5 acres, and £50 suggests c.1,500 acres. Looking at the whole area, there were 2,750 freeholders listed. Just over one

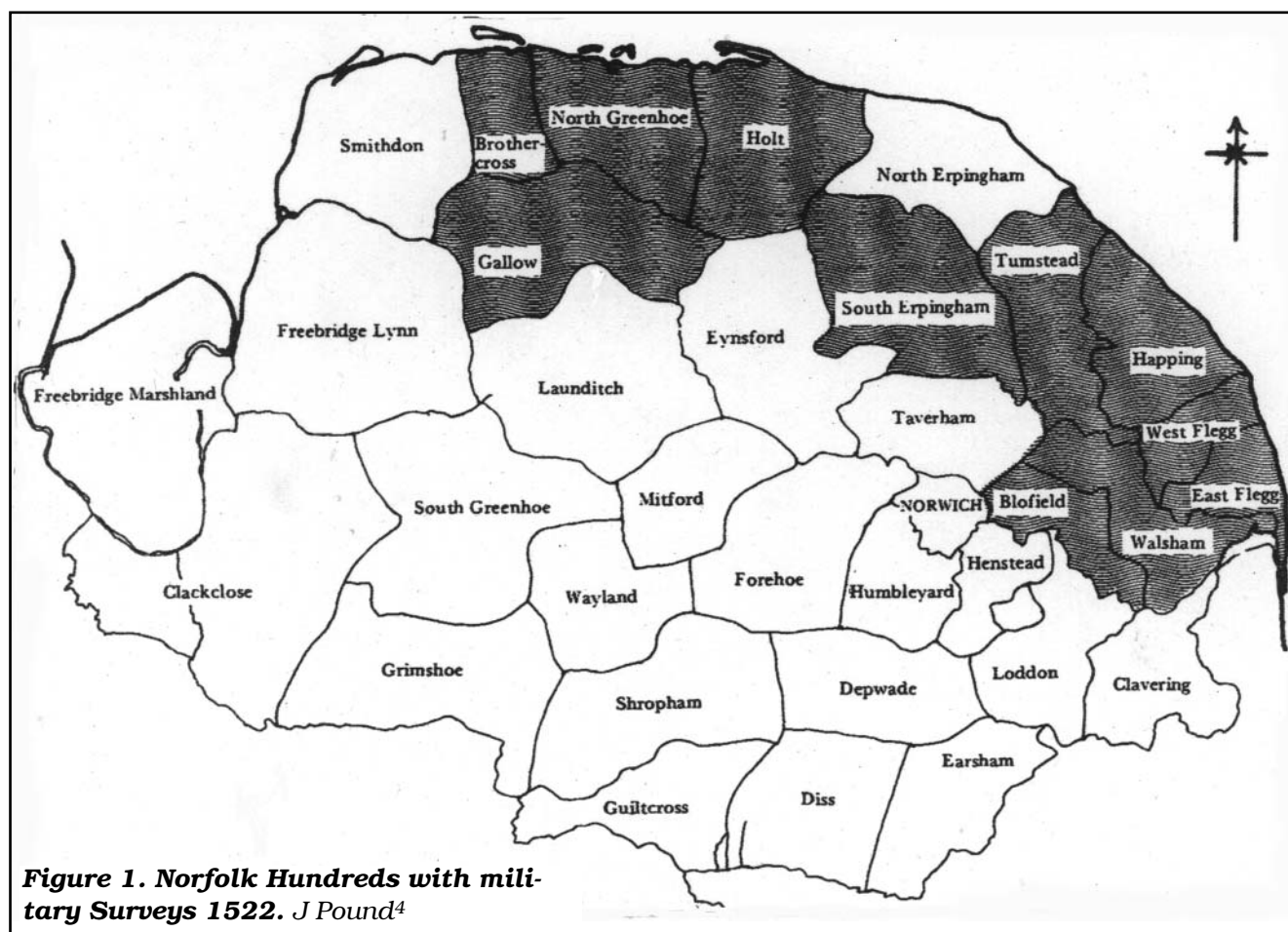


Table 2 North Greenhoe Military Survey 1522

Parish	Clergy	Archers & Bowmen	Assessed for goods and/or land	Assessed for harness	Highest Assessment in goods £
Lt Walsingham	11	64	114	33	133
Binham	3	17	56	3	20
Wells	3	20	44	5	4
Hindringham	1	20	44	5	30
Wighton	1	17	38	11	100
Warham	3	22	36	4	240
Gt Walsingham	2	18	35	1	30
Stiffkey	2	18	35	2	100
Field Dalling	0	16	31	7	45
Great Snoring	1	22	22	0	9
Holkham	1	17	18	5	40
Barney	1	8	15	1	24
Houghton	1	4	13	2	27
Thursford	1	5	10	0	4
Cockthorpe	1	1	8	2	100
Egmere	1	0	2	0	50
Totals	33	261	519	81	

third of them had holdings of 10 acres or less, and half had holdings of between 10 and 60 acres. A further 7% had holdings valued at £2, representing c60 acres.

Subsidies

Subsidy assessments for the whole County survive for 1524, showing that Norwich was much richer than King's Lynn or Great Yarmouth, and that the wealthiest rural areas were in the west and north. In terms of average wealth per parish the richest by some way was Freebridge Marshland, followed by Holt and North Greenhoe Hundreds, both well ahead of the rest.

The most striking feature of the 1524 assessments is that nearly all the wealthier inhabitants had secured a reduction from their self-declared wealth of two years earlier. In the area for which muster rolls survive the number of people worth more than £40 had fallen from 170 to 102 and their assessed income had fallen to 60% of the 1522 figure. Henry Fermor's £1,333 6s 8d had been reduced to £666 13s 4d. There were similar reductions in Norwich (and in Babergh) as the rich tried to wriggle out of the financial trap – with some success. And with the tax threshold lowered to £1 the tax burden had been shifted down the social scale.

North Greenhoe Hundred

The only Military Survey published in full is for the Hundred of North Greenhoe.⁵ These records are linked with those for Holt because the two appear in the same book and in a similar, though not identical, format. For Rutland the residents of each parish comprise a single list with men being labelled 'archer' or 'billman' as appropriate. In contrast, for North Greenhoe and Holt there are two separate lists: archers and billmen, and then those assessed. This creates an overlap between the two lists, so the total number of people listed will be higher than those assessed – with the poor still excluded. The clergy, or 'spirituall persons', form a third list; their personal wealth was taxable in the same way as that of the lay population.

There were 16 parishes in North Greenhoe Hundred and **Table 2** sets out the principal totals for each in order to indicate their relative size and to provide a comparison with similar totals for Holt Hundred.

The 1522 muster was held before religious houses were dissolved in the 1540s, so the Table shows the pre-eminence of Little Walsingham within the Hundred – Wells had not yet emerged as the largest settlement. There were numerous wealthy people in Little Walsingham, perhaps making their money from pilgrims visiting the town. The Table also shows the number of people required to provide 'harness'. These were always the better-off in the local community, but

there is no simple threshold for selection. Of 67 people with at least 30 acres and £20 worth of goods, 62 were '*in harness appointed*'. The other 19 people in harness had at least 60 acres or goods worth between £10 and £20. A few relatively wealthy people were excused from making provision for harness, but presumably there were good reasons. It is not at all clear why the total at the foot of the original manuscript is given as 177 rather than the actual total of 81.

Holt Hundred

The Muster Document

In 1931 Basil Cozens-Hardy published an account of the Military Survey for Holt Hundred, describing both the document and its contents, and including a few of the names to be found there.⁶ The Survey is neatly written and is bound together with the one for North Greenhoe.¹⁴ It has three sections. The first is a list of all '*able men for the warres*' in each parish, subdivided into archers and billmen. Cozens-Hardy gives as an example the names of the two archers and five billmen living in Glandford. The second part is a list of all '*spirituall persons*' with the value of their benefice or stipend, as well as the value of their personal lands and goods. All 38 names appear in the article, with an explanation of their status: 'Master' signified a graduate and 'Sir' was a courtesy title, while those described as 'singing at' made their living primarily from singing masses to carry out wishes of the deceased. The third part of the Survey is the list of all '*temporall*' men with the value of their land and goods, although the list includes a few women, mostly widows with some wealth. Cozens-Hardy reproduces the section for Thornage as an example. He also has two other lists: the names of those parishes where the 'stock of the church' or the 'stock of the gild' was valued, and the names of the parish lords and stewards. Cley and Blakeney are among those parishes where no 'stock' is listed despite the presence of gilds – so the meaning is unclear. At Wiveton the stock of the church is given as £5. Most parishes had a 'lord' and almost every lord had his steward, but none of their property is valued in the Survey.

Table 3 contains information for Holt Hundred to compare with North Greenhoe. The largest places all had some economic dimension in addition to agriculture; while Little Walsingham and Binham were religious centres, Cley, Blakeney, Wiveton, Wells and Salthouse provided sea trade and fishing opportunities, and Holt had a market function. In Holt Hundred the largest places needed more clergy to support the inhabitants, although why Sharrington needed four is not known. The numbers of archers and billmen were roughly proportional to the num-

Table 3 Holt Hundred Military Survey 1522

Parish	Clergy	Archers & Bowmen	Assessed for goods and/or land	Assessed for harness	Highest Assessment in goods £	Average goods (£) per person assessed
Cley	4	26	88	45	30	3.56
Blakeney	3	24	62	48	80	7.31
Wiveton	4	23	54	43	233	11.92
Briston	1	11	39	28	40	5.35
Holt	2	25	38	27	60	6.76
Salthouse	2	16	35	33	20	5.31
Edgefield	1	16	31	22	20	3.20
Langham	1	16	(30)	(26)	(26)	(5.98)
Hempstead	1	7	25	20	13	3.44
Weybourne		10	24	14	16	2.74
Sharrington	4	9	23	20	20	4.61
Bale	1	8	22	15	100	8.80
Letheringsett	1	7	20	17	25	6.38
Brinton	1	8	19	19	60	7.32
Bodham	1	6	18	15	26	5.59
Gunthorpe	1	14	17	17	67	13.64
Stody	1	7	16	7	40	6.31
Hunworth	1	4	16	10	13	2.92
Glandford	1	7	15	12	8	2.79
Kelling	2	6	14	12	40	6.62
Saxlingham	1	10	13	12	27	7.18
Thornage	1	8	11	7	80	10.64
Briningham	1	2	11	6	8	3.18
Swanton Novers		1	10	5	20	3.93
Melton Constable		4	8	4	133	18.33
Burgh Parva	1	1	7	5	24	4.67
Morston	1	6	(6)	(4)	(11)	(3.61)
Totals	38	282	672	493		6.19

Note: Langham & Morston "assessed" incomplete. (£sd to nearest £)

bers of people assessed in lands or goods, though less so in the smaller villages. Almost three quarters of those assessed (72%) were liable to provide harness – a far higher proportion than in North Greenhoe, where the figure is only 16%. The records show that the threshold was much lower in Holt Hundred, where only those assessed at £1 or less were excused from contributing to the provision of arms for the

militia. None of the 132 people assessed at £1 were required to pay; 8 of the 34 with 'no goods' had to – but all of them had some land. Conversely, 21 people with more than £1 worth of goods did not have to pay; none of them had more than £6, but the oddity is that of the 5 richest people excused 4 of them were in Stody (although 2 of these were widows). This difference between two adjacent Hundreds emphasis-

Table 4 Numbers of people assessed

Parish	Muster (1522)	Subsidy (1524)
Blakeney	62	72
Cley	88	140
Wiveton	54	84
Morston	??	31

es that despite the urgent and important directive from central government, the detail was left to local discretion – to the confusion of latter-day historians.

The last column of **Table 3** shows that any attempt to look at the relative wealth of parishes has to avoid the distortion caused by the few rich people in the Hundred. Melton Constable is a particular example. In terms of the average value of goods per assessed person it would come top of the list (at £18.33) but if the richest person in each parish were discounted Melton would be almost at the bottom (£1.90) because Thomas Astely had so much of the wealth (in both goods and land). Other parishes, though, would be less affected; after Melton, Gunthorpe and Wiveton head the list – whether the richest person in every parish is included or not.

The Subsidy Records

Having prepared the muster rolls with the assessments of personal wealth the next stage was to levy the subsidy. For Holt Hundred the subsidy lists for 1524 (though described as the second of two taxations) exist but have not been examined for this article.¹⁵ Obtaining copies from The National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office) is expensive and although private photography is allowed there is another problem: the records are in poor condition and some have become so faded as to be quite difficult to read, even under ultra-violet light – the list for Blakeney is virtually illegible. Nevertheless, it is possible to count, or at least estimate, the number of names on the parish lists. For the Glaven villages the subsidy lists are longer than those for the muster, substantially so for Cley and Wiveton (**Table 4**). The implication is that for these two villages the muster roll is severely deficient – many of the poorer householders did not meet the criteria for inclusion. Yet it is of interest that in Great Yarmouth and 5 other Hundreds the listed poor (with no goods) make up some 30% of the total, while for the 3 villages of Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton together the subsidy lists are larger than the muster lists by the same amount. So the subsidy lists need to be

taken into account before making any attempt to estimate the total population of Holt Hundred or its constituent parishes based on the evidence of the muster rolls.

The People

The description of muster rolls so far has shown that there is much local variation in their preparation. It is difficult therefore to make statistical inferences for the Hundred, and still less for a parish, without being fully aware of what is missing or what definitions apply. Nevertheless, despite omissions, lists of names can be read to see who is living where, and their relative wealth. In Holt Hundred there were 282 archers and billmen on one list and 672 assessed people on another, but this does not imply 954 people in total. Most archers and billmen had sufficient income to be on the assessed list as well, so in order to avoid duplication the names on the two lists have been conflated by assuming that a name appearing on both lists indicates one person. This yields a total of only 750 people, though there probably were a few more as sometimes one name probably did represent two people.

For light relief it is possible to analyse the names of those present. Of the 750 names obtained, 709 are men and 41 are women. It is immediately apparent that some names are much more common than others; of all the men nearly three quarters have one of just four forenames: John (29%), William (16%), Thomas (15%) or Robert (13%). The next most common are Richard, Nicholas, James and Edward (13% in total), leaving 30 other names (15%) rarely used. Similarly, for women, though the numbers are small, Margaret, Alice, Katherine and Agnes dominated the names (59% of the total). The frequency of certain first names, combined with the custom of naming children after parents and grandparents, and the frequent presence of extended family within the local area, means that many people do have the same names (first name and surname). Of 709 men at least 125 have the same name as someone else; in three cases (John Clark, John Barker and John Pull) four people have the same name. The namesakes often lived in different parishes or, if not, they are distinguished by the appellation 'senior' or 'junior', but by no means always. This distinction usually denotes father and son, but not necessarily, so those reading the muster rolls, and other documents from this (or any other) period, need to be beware mistaken identities.

Table 5 Clergy in Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton

Name	Role	Benefice (B) or Stipend (S) £.s.d		Value of Goods £.s.d
Blakeney				
Master ... Cleydon	Parson			
Sir Robert Claydon	Priest	S	7. 6. 8	40. 0. 0
Sir John Clerkson		S	5.13. 4	2. 0. 0
Cley				
Master John Wyott	Parson	B	16. 0. 0	40. 0. 0
Sir Christopher Barlow	Priest	S	7.13. 4	6.13. 4
Sir Thomas Johnson		S	5.13. 4	2. 0. 0
Sir John Westake		S	5.13. 4	1. 6. 8
Wiveton				
Sir Thomas Gressham	Parson	B	16. 0. 0	
Sir Roger Goodys	Priest	S	6.13. 4	30. 0. 0
Sir Thomas Toke		S	5. 6. 8	2. 0. 0
Sir Nicholas Marshall		S	5.13. 4	10. 0. 0

Table 6 Lords and Stewards

Parish	Lord	Steward
Blakeney	Christopher Calthorpe Thomas Astley	
Cley	Sir Thomas Lovell (Kt)	Thomas Abbes
Wiveton	The King	Sir Thomas Lovell (Kt)

The Glaven Villages

Lords and Clergy

The remainder of this article focuses on the three villages of Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton. Langham and Morston might have been included but for an unfortunate mistake. The document in the TNA must be a fair copy rather than the original for in its production a page (or two) was omitted from the list of people assessed. The list which is headed Langham begins with people resident in that village but concludes with the end of the list for Morston. There is no sure way of telling how many people from either parish have been left out; although the archers and billmen are all included as they feature on the separate list.

This part of the article lists all the informa-

tion in the Military Survey relating to the three villages, together with some further comments. Firstly, **Table 5** contains the names of the local clergy, taken from Basil Cozens-Hardy's article of 1931.⁶ That the first name of Blakeney's rector is not given suggests that he was an absent incumbent; his wealth was not known by local people, nor even his first name – surprising because his priest had the same surname and so was probably a relative. It is possible that the rectors of Cley and Wiveton were also rarely seen for each had a 'priest' performing the rector's spiritual functions. Sir Thomas Gresham, whose brother founded the school in Holt, held the living at Wiveton but was also rector of Southrepps and probably lived there. Each of the three priests had a stipend slightly larger than that of their assistant clergy, and also much higher valuations of their goods, though

none of them had any land of their own, at least not locally. In the whole Hundred, there was much variation in the wealth of the clergy. Income from the benefice was highest in Morston and Salthouse (£20); few of the clergy had their own freehold land, and only in small quantities. The biggest range was in the valuation of personal goods: from a few pounds up to £50, and then a jump to the £200 valuation of Sir William Parishe at Morston.

Table 6 contains the names of the lords of each parish and their stewards, taken from the TNA document. Christopher Calthorpe and Thomas Asteley, alone of all such names in the Hundred (i.e. for 19 of the 28 parishes), are not actually described as 'lords'. Rather, they appear at the head of the list of those assessed, but are not themselves assessed either in land or goods. The King is named as the lord of four parishes: Letheringsett, Glandford and Bale, in addition to Wiveton. Cozens-Hardy suggests a reason why this might be so. Though the King may have held Bale, the other three had been granted to

the Giffard family to form part of the Honour of Clare and were later passed to Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was executed in 1521 – whereupon Henry VIII seized his possessions. Where the King appears, Sir Thomas Lovell is always his steward, as well as featuring as the lord for Cley and Holt. Sir Thomas is also prominent in North Greenhoe Hundred, where he is listed as steward for the King (or Queen) in ten parishes and as lord in one other. He was a prominent Norfolk magnate, but Cozens-Hardy could not say why he was listed as lord of Cley where the lord should have been Thomas, Lord Roos (though the two men were close).

Other Residents

As the names of lords and clergy are generally known, the real importance of the Military Survey is that it provides a partial census of each village some 16 years before the advent of parish registers. The TNA record of archers, billmen and those assessed is set out with constant repetition, so a full transcription would take up

Table 7 Blakeney, Cley & Wiveton Military Survey 1522
Archers, billmen and assessed residents
(see text for notes)

No	Forename	Surname	abh	Goods £	Land ac	No	Forename	Surname	abh	Goods £	Land ac
Blakeney						33	Thomas	Thompson	h	2	10
46	Thomas	Holtyng	bh	80	60	29	Robert	Boan	h	2	7.5
47	John	Pawe	bh	50	60	36	Robert	Goldsmyth	bh	2	5
1	John	Barker sen (T)	h	50	15	22	Henry	Holtyng	bh	2	5
48	Henry	Shepperd	h	40	15	49	Richard	Powle	h	2	5
5	William	Whyth	bh	30	20	44	William	Salman		2	5
8	Thomas	Akys	bh	20	30	30	Thomas	Webster	h	2	5
20	Symond	Barker	h	10	20	42	George	Alyson	bh	2	4
27	Thomas	Barker	h	10	15	26	John	Person	bh	2	3
37	John	Bartilmew	bh	10	10	28	Thomas	Bo[r]ne	bh	2	
18	Alysanner	Whyte	h	10	7.5	54	Henry	El[v]erne	h	2	
24	John	Akers	h	8	10	3	William	Walker	h	1c	4.5
43	George	Follay	h	8	7.5	51	Thomas	Hutton	h	1c	
41	John	Rackey	bh	7	22.5	25	Robert	Dobson	h	1b	5
32	Thomas	Damme	bh	7	12	31	Thoma	Arnold	h	1b	
35	John	Pycto	bh	6	10	53	Thomas	Baly	h	1b	
6	Robert	Pynyon	h	6	7.5	55	Nicholas	Hamon	h	1b	
34	James	Thornham	h	5	30	7	Robert	Junxson	1		7.5
4	John	Barker jun	ah	5	15	50	Thomas	Crayford	1		5
15	William	Smart	bh	5	10	16	John	Brown		1	
11	John	Bukk	h	5	7.5	59	Thomas	Brown	b	1	
14	John	Tomson	h	4	10	56	James	Byrd		1	
23	Nicholas	Flaws	h	4	7.5	62	Thomas	Capell		1	
39	William	Akers	bh	4	5	9	Gilbard	Clark	b	1	
38	William	Webster	bh	4	5	60	Henry	Derham		1	
45	Thomas	Pawe	h	4	4.5	61	John	Estowe		1	
2	Edmund	Garrad	h	3	22.5	57	Roger	Hamont		1	
17	Robert	Cressey	h	3	10	58	William	Salman		1	
10	John	Hoge	bh	3	10	21	George	Wardell		1	
13	Robert	Downyng	ah	3	5	12	Thomas	Baldewyn			5
19	John	L[oo]de	h	3	5	[64]	Richard	Barker	b		
40	John	Coke	bh	3		[63]	Richard	Seton	a		
52	Edmund	Flaws	h	3							

No	Forename	Surname	abh	Goods £	Land ac	No	Forename	Surname	abh	Goods £	Land ac
Cley											
11	William	Dall	h	30	30	32	Nicholas	Lyne	a	1	
6	Thomas	Colles	ah	20	30	43	John	Lyng		1	
5	William	Moundeford	h	20	20	48	William	Martin		1	
70	Andrew	Miychelson	h	20	15	55	William	Monford		1	
15	Thomas	Myllar	h	20	12	41	John	Oxned	b	1	
13	James	Smyth	h	12	15	63	Bartylmew	Pentyng		1	
10	William	Bastard	h	10	15	54	William	Robins	b	1	
17	Robert	Botylsham	h	10	15	73	Christopher	Robynson		1	
12	John	Bull	bh	10	15	39	John	Small		1	
78	William	Dixon	h	10	10	49	John	Wyatt		1	
26	John	Dallawey	h	8	20	56	John	Yaxley		1	
1	Symond	Collard	h	8	10	25	William	Barber	h	d	10
4	Symond	Woode	h	6	10	77	Nicholas	Chylde	b		150
2	Thomas	Betts		5	10	71	William	Dobbes			60
18	Richard	Ayleward	bh	5		75	John	Cannell			10
16	Symond	Bryght	h	5		46	Nicholas	Cote			10
79	Peter	Monford	h	5		27	Robert	Hoke	b		7.5
14	John	Wadworth	bh	4	20	72	John	Webster sen			7.5
19	Robert	Elsy	bh	4	15	68	Edmond	Chamson			6
81	Agnes	Hacker (wid)	h	4	15	51	James	Roke			6
3	William	Metar	bh	4	15	58	Richard	Stabyllford			6
21	William	Bryght	bh	4		59	Thomas	Leyton			5
20	William	Yves	h	4		[89]	John	Boyse	a		
88	Joan	Purdye (wid)	h	3b		[91]	John	Brygges	b		
82	Margaret	Este (wid)	[h]	3	15	[92]	William	Creke	b		
35	William	Cokke	h	3	9	[93]	William	Glover	b		
24	John	Myller	ah	3	9	86	Margaret	Ha[nn]se			
7	Roger	Bedlawe	h	3		[90]	John	Torner	a		
47	William	Miller	bh	3		[94]	Thomas	[blank]	b		
83	Margaret	Nilman (wid)	[h]	3		Wiveton					
23	Jaffray	Baldewin	h	2	10	16	John	Kyngs (T)	bh	233b	160
80	John	Caston	h	2	10	1	John	Dey (T)	h	100	160
34	James	Johnsond	h	2	10	26	John	Grenewey	ah	66d	80
69	Nicholas	Webster		2	9	28	John	Dalle	h	40	30
37	Robert	Bonde	h	2	7.5	30	Annes	Stell	h	20	40
66	Robert	Dale	h	2	7.5	43	William	Archebald	h	20	20
29	Thomas	Greve	h	2	7.5	11	John	Stamp	h	20	12
36	Robert	[Jam]lys	h	2	3	32	Hew	Bocher	h	10	19.5
9	John	Bastard		2		14	John	Byrkyn	h	10	15
57	William	Carke	h	2		50	James	Draper	h	10	15
28	Nicholas	Caslwe	bh	2		42	Robert	Watts	bh	8	20
8	John	Cuff	bh	2		38	James	Thurkell	bh	6d	24
50	John	Elsy	bh	2		41	Robert	Tramme	ah	6d	15
85	Cecyle	Hacker (wid)	h	2		24	John	Watts	bh	6d	15
61	Steven	Harryson	bh	2		12	James	Grey	h	6	15
22	John	Stamp	h	2		49	Thomas	Dall	h	5	7.5
84	Margaret	Walker (wid)		1d		18	William	Bradcock	ah	4	96
33	Thomas	Monford		1c	10	8	James	Wylche	h	4	5
38	Richard	Tevydall		1b	5	6	John	Lab[a]s	h	4	
87	Isabell	Smyth (wid)		1b		9	Nicholas	Rodam	h	4	
31	Andrew	Porte	b	1	19.5	15	William	Sander	bh	4	
42	John	Harrison	h	1	12	40	Robert	Dockyng	h	3b	15
44	John	Bryght		1	9	39	William	Adamson	h	3b	10
30	William	Carver		1	7.5	20	William	Jesop	ah	3b	
67	Nicholas	Thomson		1	7.5	2	Richard	Coke	bh	2a	
60	William	Baker		1	5	48	Thomas	Crippe	ah	2a	
52	Robert	Cornysse		1	5	35	John	Boby	h	2	7.5
53	Thomas	Dykman		1	5	44	Stevyn	Marchall	h	2	7.5
74	Thomas	Betyngnam	a	1		31	Kathering	Anger	h	2	5
40	William	Branche		1		17	Robert	Dalle	h	2	5
64	Robert	Bryght		1		22	John	Adamson	bh	2	
62	John	Chyrche		1		53	John	Appulton	bh	2	
45	Nicholas	Fisshe		1		27	Robert	Bower	bh	2	
76	William	G[un]ton		1		29	William	Clemence	bh	2	
65	Robert	Londe		1							

No	Forename	Surname	abh	Goods £	Land ac	No	Forename	Surname	abh	Goods £	Land ac
21	William	Dawson	ah	2		52	John	Ketylston		1	5
19	Robert	Dowty	h	2		37	William	Childe		1	
36	Thomas	Granderson	h	2		23	John	Fowler		1	
13	William	Grey	bh	2		54	John	Morton	b	1	
25	Garard	Johnson	h	2		47	William	Smartes		1	
3	Thomas	Mareot	h	2		4	James	Eb[n]eritch			10
10	Edward	Rodam	bh	2		51	John	Danyson			5
7	John	Davy	h	1b		5	Robert	Chylde	h		4.5
45	Sander	Smyth		1	7.5	[55]	Edmond	Dokkyng	a		
46	Margaret	Oodroff (wid)		1	6	[56]	John	Lawes	b		
34	Henry	Well		1	6	[57]	William	Roode	b		
33	John	Frend		1	5	[58]	James	[blank]	b		

many printed pages. Fortunately, the information can be reduced to a tabular format without losing anything of the original. Strictly, there should be two tables, one for the archers and billmen in the three parishes, and one for the people assessed for the taxation that was to follow. As most archers and billmen were also assessed for land and goods, **Table 7** runs the two lists together. Readers should note that where a name features as an archer or billman and also has a valuation of land and/or goods then that entry probably relates to just one person but there could have been two people with the same name. For the most part, the TNA document is easy to read but brackets are used to show where some letters are in doubt.

The Table also has to be read in conjunction with the following notes. The original musters of assessed people tend to leave the poorer ones till last but it is not clear why names appear in the given order. In case this should prove to be relevant, the assessed names are listed in order of the value of their goods but their position in the parish list is also given (Col. 1). Names of archers and billmen which do not appear on the assessed list are given bracketed numbers in addition to those assessed. Any name listed as an archer or billman has an 'a' or 'b' in the 4th column, together with an 'h' if the assessed person is listed as *'in harness appointed'*. The 2nd and 3rd columns contain the name and any additional information (senior, junior, widow). The 5th column contains the valuation of their 'moveable goods' with fractions of a £ denoted by the letters 'a' to 'd' ('a' being 3/4d, 'b' 6/8d, 'c' 10s, and 'd' 13/4d). Apart from one case of 10s the fractions arise from the use of marks (13s 4d) and half-marks to arrive at the valuation. The final column contains the measure of their lands but the monetary value has here been converted to acres on the basis of £1 to 30 acres. A 'T' against three names shows that the original description was for *'lands and tenements'* rather than just *'lands'*. As the record for the Holt Hundred villages varies so widely, from

most people with tenements in Holt and Letheringsett etc, to one in Blakeney and none in Cley or Weybourne it is unlikely that this has any great significance.

The Table should be an accurate reflection of the original record, but the original itself may have errors in addition to the omission of many names from the Langham and Morston lists. As expected, divergent spellings occur and it is quite possible, for example, that the surname Oodroff in Wiveton should be Wooderoff (as in Briston).

The earlier parts of this article have described the reason for the muster roll and how the instructions were carried out in some other parts of the country. It will be apparent that the Holt Survey does not contain much information that is included elsewhere: no occupations, no indication of who is a householder, no landlord's name against each tenant, absent landlords are not identified, and the poor with goods valued at less than £1 are excluded.

The treatment of 'in harness' is also quite different from its use in Rutland and Babergh – and its meaning is not at all clear. In other areas a man often needed goods to the value of £10 or so before he was required to provide harness, while poorer people could be asked to provide a lesser contribution to the armoury. In Holt Hundred, in contrast, the 'harness' designation is used way down the social scale, and there is no indication that the richest people were asked to provide more. In the three villages there is only one case where two people (both widows in Cley) are noted as sharing a harness. Cozens-Hardy suggests that perhaps people had been made aware of what parts of a harness they could be called upon to provide, if not the whole. (In West Flegg Hundred men worth no more than £1 were required to provide staves rather than bills or bows and arrows). He also suggests that archery involved more skill and expense than wielding a bill. Yet looking at the whole of Holt Hundred in **Table 7** format there is no evidence to suggest that a greater proportion of

archers were assessed or that they had more goods than billmen – there seems to be no difference between these two categories.

Other Sources – Wills ¹⁹

People with goods valued at £1 or less were probably labourers, or seamen, and could be described as poor, whereas a man with goods valued at £20 or more could live well in his local community. A few people were much richer than this, at least by local standards. What kind of lifestyle could these valuations support? There is a scattering of documents which might help to answer this question, but by far the best sources of information are the wills that some assessed people drew up after the Military Survey took place. The richest person in the Glaven villages was John Kyngs of Wiveton, almost certainly the same John Kynges, merchant, whose very detailed will is dated 1542, some 20 years after the Survey. He left close on £15 (with 6 foddors of lead) to local churches, nothing specifically to the poor but £10 to the maintenance of Wiveton '*great brigge*' and another £2 to the '*new brigge in the marsh*'. Individual bequests totalled around £100, and his wife Margaret was left £100 and property in Aylsham. He had other properties, some mentioned specifically, including a newly-built house in Wiveton and another in Church Street which the Gilds could continue to use '*if there be any gildes kept*', as well as 20 acres of land in Glandford. His will also had a codicil which charged his executors to build a corn hall on Holt market – or at least a place where '*all persons bringing corn or grain to the market may stand dry...*'. Perhaps the most intriguing item in his will is the bequest of £10 towards the purchase of a '*new brasen gonne*' for the defence of Blakeney Haven. Brass guns had been introduced into Britain in the early 1500s, imported until 1511 when armourers from Brussels set up a foundry at Greenwich to teach the English how to do this skilled work.¹⁰ If this brass gun was ever bought, where did it stand – on Mariners' Hill in Blakeney, perhaps? From here it would have been a long shot to the harbour mouth, probably then just to the west of the present Hood, but the gun might have been effective at half that range.

The next richest in the Survey was John Dey of Wiveton, and a will dated 1553 is probably his. By this time he would have been a relatively old man and no doubt much of his wealth had already been passed on. Even so, he left £20 each to his son Thomas and to two sons-in-law, and son James was to inherit property in Holt and elsewhere. Witnesses to the will were members of prominent local families. John Dey was probably a ship-owner: in 1533 some 14 ships left Blakeney Haven to join the Iceland fishing

fleet, and three of these were owned by John Daye.¹⁷ Thomas Holtyng's will is dated 1528; at first glance his bequests (c. £40) do not seem to match up to the valuation of his goods, but he also had property and was a shipmaster: he owned the *Anthony*, had a share of the *George*, and was having a vessel built at '*Erathe*' (presumably Erith on the Thames where Henry VIII's '*Great Harry*' had been fitted out). John Greenway of Wiveton had wealth almost to match Thomas Holtyng. His will is dated August 1525, just 3 years after the Survey. His bequests are relatively small but included sums to various friaries and lazar houses, and his will makes reference to a mill house and to horse, cart and stuff of husbandry. But he was also a ship-owner; he had the *Mary Thomas*, the '*great Trinity*', the *Anthony* and the *Mary Christopher*, with the '*little Trinity*' and a hoy (a small single-masted trading coaster). His property included a house '*at the church gate*'. John was the father of Raulf Greenway, founder of the charity in Wiveton which exists to this day.

These wills of the top people in local society can be compared with those of men whose goods were valued at £20 – £30 in the Military Survey. William Dalle of Cley (will 1528) left only small amounts to church charities, but had at least three houses, one of them again at the church gate, presumably in Cley. Andrew Michelson of Cley (will 1556, some 34 years on from the Survey) had prospered as a ship-owner; he lists in his will the *Andrew* and a crayer called the *Mary James*. For Blakeney Haven crayers were mid-range ships of 30-50 tons, used more for trading than for fishing. He also left a total of £40 to two sons and a godson. Thomas Myllar of Cley made his will in November 1523; his bequests were much smaller but he left a shop in Holt market to each of two sons.

Going further down the social scale, there appear to be seven wills drawn up by people assessed at only £3 in the Survey. All of them were house owners, but otherwise had nothing much else to leave – except in one respect. Four of them were fisherman, Edmund Flaws of Blakeney left two nets and floats to both his son and his daughter, John Hoge of Blakeney left nets, William Jessop of Wiveton left a '*manfare*' of nets and all his lines to his wife, and William Adamson, also of Wiveton, left to both his son and his daughter a '*manfare*' of nets ready for use at sea. A '*manfare*' is understood to be a quantity of nets (perhaps two) that a person would normally use for fishing at sea, probably for herring. Taking three people whose goods were valued at £1 and who made wills in 1535/6, Roger Hamond of Blakeney left a house to his wife, and 3/4d to each of 4 children, Thomas Brown of Blakeney left a house to his wife and £1 each to son and daughter, and

Thomas Dykman of Cley made no mention of a house but left 3/6d to church charities and various household goods to daughter Agnes, including her grandmother's brass pot. No doubt people too poor to be assessed had even less to bequeath – if they made a will at all.

All these wills seem to be in step with the valuations made in 1522, despite changing fortunes in the years between 1522 and when wills were made – some will have inherited assets from parents as well as prospering from their own endeavours. Other authors have said that the Military Survey gives a clear indication of individual wealth, and this seems to be borne out in the Glaven villages. As a further comment it might be thought that burial inside the church rather than in the churchyard would be the ultimate measure of social status – the parishioners of the time appeared to think so. John Dey (goods valued at £100) did not specify where his body should be buried, but John Kynges (£233) wanted to be buried in Wiveton church before the Jesus altar near the grave of Rose his late wife. John Greenway (£66) similarly asked to be buried in Wiveton church before St John on the south side of his father and mother. John Barker (£50) willed that his body should be buried in Blakeney church *'in the midde alie nigh the stole ende where that I am accustomed to sett'*. Thomas Holtyng (£80) also wanted to be buried in Blakeney church, before the 'rood', presumably the cross above the rood screen. Two wills relate to people with goods valued at £40. Henry Sheppard bequeathed his body to be buried in the churchyard of the White Friars in Blakeney before the altar of St Anne, while John Dalle (£40) provided for a marble stone to be laid in Cley churchyard over the bodies of himself and his wife. All other ranks had to be satisfied with burial in the churchyard – with one apparent exception. William Bright looked to be buried in Cley church before the image called *'our Lady of Grace'*, but his valuation was only £4. His will of 1529 makes very small bequests but he did leave 3 houses in Cley, including one in Norgate and one in Sowgate.

Population Totals

It would be possible to estimate the total population of each village on the basis of the muster rolls but the uncertainties at each stage of any detailed process would make it little more than informed guesswork. How many of those assessed were householders and how many were servants or family members living with someone else? How many men were excluded from the musters, bearing in mind that although the poor were included in some parts of Norfolk they were excluded from the Holt Hundred lists? And how many women and children were there? Trying to

establish a figure for each element of the population is not recommended without looking at evidence from other parts of the county – better to adopt a more robust method and treat the answers with some suspicion. Taking Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton together there were some 200 men assessed for the muster, excluding those archers and billmen who had neither land nor goods valued. If the poor and any others excluded, such as the elderly and unfit, amounted to 30% of the total, then there were perhaps 300 men. Doubling for females and assuming that 40% of the total population were children gives (with rounding up) a grand total of 1,000 for the three villages.

Alternatively, it could be assumed that 90% (say) of those assessed were householders (again excluding unassessed archers and billmen) and the remainder single men with sufficient goods to be assessed but still living as part of another household. But there are likely to have been more female heads of households than appear in the muster rolls – but not many, so the 10% just deducted could be added back to allow for them. And some of the undefined poor would have been householders rather than all living with someone else. If a quarter of the poor were householders it would give a total of 230 households. The average household size at this time is thought to have been about 5 – an actual figure for Clackclose Hundred (in SW Norfolk) in 1557 is 5.05.^(11, 18) Either figure would give a rounded total of 1,150 for the three villages. One recent study suggests an average of 4.75 which applied to 230 households would give 1,100 people.¹² So the two relatively crude methods suggest a range of about 1,000 to 1,200 – including the clergy and various itinerants, such as seamen. Comparing this with estimates for other years based on other sources could be done, but is not pursued here.

Tailpiece

This article provides some raw material for further studies in the form of the names of local residents in 1522 and their place in the social hierarchy. The qualifications to be attached to the lists have been outlined by looking at the national imperative which brought them into being and at the variations which exist in the way they were drawn up in different parts of the country. Preparing the article has brought home quite forcibly the speed with which the government could carry out its intentions. A census designed and undertaken in a matter of months, followed immediately by tax collections based on the results, is something that could not be achieved today despite instant communication to all parts of the realm.

References

This article relies heavily on the following publications both for a general account of the Military Survey and subsequent subsidies, and for comment about particular areas – important because of the wide variation in local practice.

- 1 J Cornwall Ed *The County Community under Henry VIII: The Military Survey of 1522 & Lay Subsidy 1524-25*, Rutland Record Society Vol 1, 1980.
- 2 J Cornwall *The People of Rutland in 1522*, Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 1963.
- 3 John Pound *The Military Survey of 1522 for Babergh Hundred*, Suffolk Records Society, 1986.
- 4 John Pound *Tudor and Stuart Norwich*, Phillimore, 1988.
- 5 B Cozens-Hardy 'Muster Roll for the Hundred of North Greenhoe c.1523', *Norfolk Record Society* Vol 1, 1931 (pp 41-67).
- 6 B Cozens-Hardy 'A Muster Roll and Clergy List in the Hundred of Holt c.1523', *Norfolk Archaeology* Vol XXII, 1926 (pp 45-58).

Other publications have provided some useful ideas and information, in particular:

- 7 Lis Garnish *The 1522 Muster Roll for West Berkshire* (in 3 Parts), Vale and Downland Museum – Local History Series, 2000.
- 8 Bruce Campbell 'Population of Early Tudor England: A re-evaluation of the 1522 Muster Returns and 1524 & 1525 Lay Subsidies', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol 7 Issue 2, Apr 1981 (pp 145-154).
- 9 S H A Hervey 'Suffolk in 1524: Return for subsidy of 1523', *Suffolk Green Books*, 1910.
- 10 David Childs *Tudor sea power: The foundation of greatness*, Seaforth Publishing, 2009.
- 11 D M Palliser *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors, 1547-1603*, Longman, 1983.
- 12 Goose & Hinde 'Estimating local population sizes at fixed points in time, Part 2: Specific sources', *Local Population Studies*, 78, 2007 (pp 74-88).
- 13 Research Guides produced by The National Archives (TNA), available online.

The principal manuscript documents used are as follows:

- 14 TNA E 315/466 Military Survey, Holt and North Greenhoe Hundreds, 1522.
- 15 TNA 179/150/236 Subsidy Assessment, Holt Hundred, 16 Hen VIII.
- 16 TNA Letters and Papers of Henry VIII (No. 2484) c. August 1522. Instructions to Commissioners for musters in Warwickshire.
- 17 TNA Letters and Papers of Henry VIII (No. 1380) 1533. Ships returned from Iceland.
- 18 NRO MS PRA 652, 382 x 8. Population counts in Clackclose Hundred, 1557.

The wills mentioned in the text have the following references:

TNA PCC will 1528	John Greenway	Wiveton	Porch 39
TNA PCC will 1529	Thomas Holtyng	Blakeney	Jenkyn 8
TNA PCC will 1543	John Kynges	Wiveton	Spert 16
NRO NCC will 1528	William Dalle	Cley	Haywarde 167
NRO NCC will 1531	William Bryght	Cley	Cooke 5
NRO NCC will 1536	Thomas Dykman	Cley	Hyll 11
NRO NCC will 1537	John Barker	Blakeney	Mingaye 71
NRO ANW will 1523	Henry Sheppard	Blakeney	Randes 164
NRO ANW will 1524	Thomas Myllar	Cley	Randes 224
NRO ANW will 1524	Edmund Flawes	Blakeney	Randes 255
NRO ANW will 1528	William Jessop	Wiveton	Randes 396
NRO ANW will 1530	John Hoge	Blakeney	Bakon 85
NRO ANW will 1534	William Adamson	Wiveton	Bakon 204
NRO ANW will 1535	Roger Hamond	Blakeney	Bakon 255
NRO ANW will 1535	John Dalle	Cley	Bakon 297
NRO ANW will 1536	Thomas Brown	Blakeney	Bakon 338
NRO ANW will 1553	John Dey	Wiveton	Woodcock 455
NRO ANW will 1556	Andrew Michelson	Cley	Barnham 449

Blakeney and Cley Golf Club

A medley



Photograph 1. Site of the Golf Club House on Blakeney Freshes, looking north-east from the sea bank across the Bannock to the site of the Club House and the north-west corner of the course.

Introduction

Golf has a long, but obscure, history, with records from Scotland surviving from the 15th century when players used a stick to hit a pebble around a natural course of sand dunes, rabbit runs and tracks. However, in 1457, together with football, it was banned from being played on Sunday as it interfered with military training for the wars against England.¹ When a treaty was signed between the two countries early in the 16th century the ban was revoked and by 1513 a letter from Queen Catherine (queen consort of England) to Cardinal Wolsey refers to the growing popularity of golf in England.

Throughout the centuries there have been many innovations in course design and equipment, but it was the patronage of royalty, particularly the Prince of Wales that produced a flowering of interest in golf in the late 19th century. Norfolk followed this trend with some

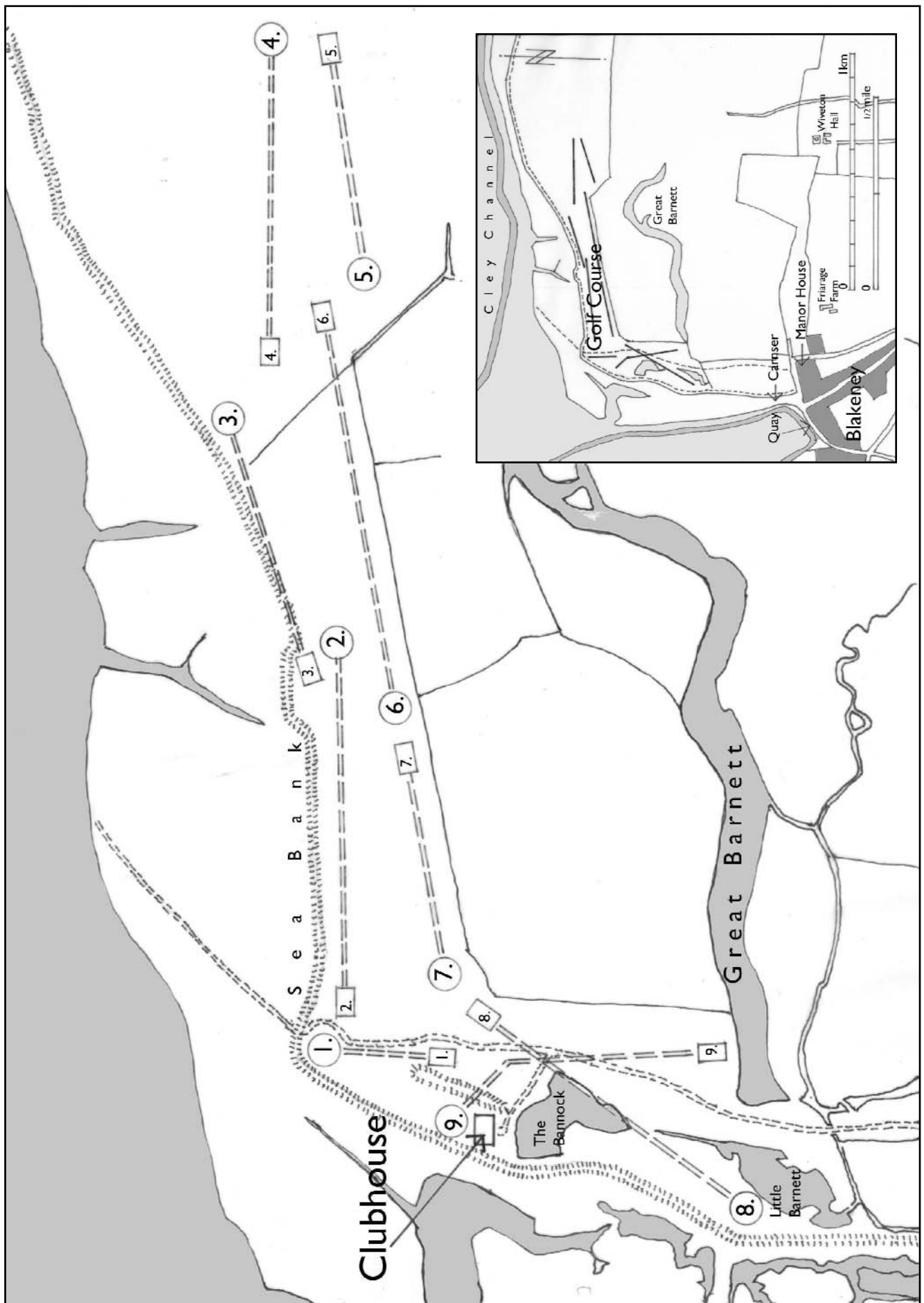
clubs being afforded royal recognition. It was during this period that a club was formed and a course developed on the Blakeney Freshes (**Photograph 1**).

Fortunately a surviving member of the club, Philip Page, is resident in Blakeney and his memories are the excuse for drawing together some scattered items from an era that has almost disappeared from living memory. Philip has also generously presented the Club's Minute Book² to the History Centre Blakeney.

Memories

by Philip Page

The Club was founded in the 1890's and opened in 1895. The approach road to the area starts opposite what is now The Manor Hotel and beyond the marsh the land became very good grazing for sheep and cows. This extended right up to the Bank and provided



Map showing the layout of the golf course with, inset, an indication of the site within its geographical context.



Photograph 2. *An aerial photograph taken in 1935 looking north. The club house (with a dark roof and marked with a C) plus the road leading to it are clearly visible. The pale area to the west of the club house would have probably been the tennis court and to the east a bank that has now been levelled (see map).*

a length of suitable turf of perhaps half a mile to the East with a width of about 150 yards. The land was farmed by Mr George Hudson who lived in what was then the Manor House. He was asked whether he would allow a course to be built on his land and evidently agreed. A very reasonable rent was charged which was two guineas a year, equivalent to about £100 at today's rates! Sheep still used the land at certain times of the year, but were removed at weekends.

Money was raised from local worthies and 400 guineas was evidently sufficient to get things going. A list of the subscribers is shown in the Minute Book of the Club, which is now in the safe keeping of the History Centre and for those interested in earlier times is well worth a look.

Some of the earlier entries are of particular interest, perhaps the first is the cost of the Clubhouse. From memory this was a not very prepossessing structure on the outside, but inside it was quite acceptable with a main club-room and two changing rooms and outside loos. It must have been someone's unfortunate job to deal with the latter each day!

There were three estimates received for the building of this clubhouse; two were for £50 and

one for £34.10s, about £1,800 today. This building was about two hundred yards South of the corner in the Bank where it heads towards the East and in this corner was the 1st green. The rest of the layout can be seen on the drawings that have been made (**Map**) and in an aerial photograph from 1935 (**Photograph 2**).

The holes were much shorter than they are now, partly, no doubt, because there has been a great improvement in the design of balls and clubs. In the case of Blakeney there was some limit to the land available. However bogey for the nine holes was 36; the first and seventh were threes, the second and sixth were fives and the rest fours. Incidentally the word "Par" had not then been imported from America and "Bogey" was the expression. A Birdie was one shot better than a Bogey and so has not changed. A Bogey has therefore been demoted.

One man, Mr Tom Cobon, the grandfather of our present good friend "Cobo", was the groundsman and had no mechanically-driven machinery. For the fairways he had a horse to pull his cutters and push-mowers were used for the greens. It must have been very hard work. In the winter and spring the sheep helped to keep the grass under control.

The course was of good enough quality to



Photograph 3. The signpost to the 'Golf Links' at the crossroads by Blakeney church.

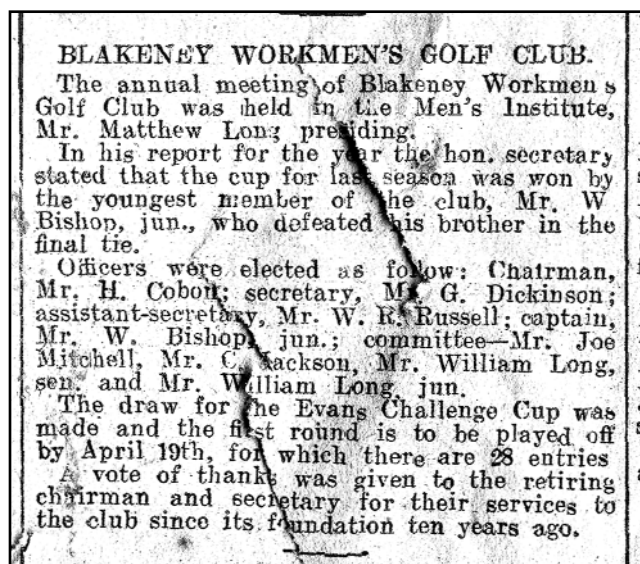
Photographs 4a/4b (right and far right). Two early programmes of the Blakeney Regatta.

attract scratch golfers and low handicappers and so in August when *all* the holidaymakers were here there were many Competition Days (**Photograph 3**). Cups were awarded for men's and lady's days, a father's and son's, later becoming parent's and children's, competition, and various other events. It is pleasant to know that several of these trophies were passed to the Blakeney Sailing Club and are still sailed for; one of these, of particular interest to me, is the Ladies Cup won by my Aunt for golf in 1922, the year it was given. It is still going strong after 87 years.

Once a year, on the day of The Blakeney Regatta the second fairway was the venue for the Rural Sports and the bank, twice the height it is now, made an excellent grandstand (**Photograph 4**). All the usual running and jumping events took place as well as bicycle races and a slow bicycle race, tugs-of-war and sack races come to mind. After that the sports contestants went off to get ready to race in all the sailing races and, at high tide the swimming races and greasy pole took place. At least these traditional things are still going strong!

As youngsters my generation were very lucky to be members of the Golf Club. I was elected a Juvenile Member in 1932 and this was a great joy. In 1936 I was the Juvenile Champion and it was the only honour I ever achieved! The fees were half a guinea for juveniles, one guinea for ladies and two guineas for men. There was also a section for "Artisans".

All this sadly came to an end in the War (WWII). The whole area was mined in case the Jerries landed and it was out of bounds for many years after until declared fit for the public to go there. By this time, after many years of



Photograph 5. Blakeney Workmen's Golf Club: cutting from the Norfolk Chronicle for 1931.

neglect, the land had reverted to the condition it had originally been in and it was evidently too great a task to put right.

A few years ago some of us looked at the possibility of restoring the course, but by then the National Trust had taken over the whole coast-line and discussions with them, though hopeful

BLAKENEY REGATTA,

BANK HOLIDAY, AUGUST 1st, 1898.

Starter—E. C. TURNER.

Umpire—T. DEW.

PROGRAMME.

1. Ships' and Smacks' Boats, Sailing.

1st Prize £2	2nd £1 10s.	3rd £1
Red Rover	J. Long	Green
Will Watch	G. Long	Black
Admiral Dewey	J. Bone	Stars & Stripes
Defender	H. Allen	Red
Jubilee	R. Overman	Blue
Valkyrie	R. Pinchen	Red—White Letters

2. Pleasure Boats, Sailing.

1st Prize £1	2nd 15/-	3rd 10/-
Fire Fly	W. Pentin	Red
Alice Frieda	P. Evershed	Blue—Yellow Stripes
Morston	R. Wood	White
Widgeon	J. Lee	White—Red Border

3. Yachts, Yawls & Pleasure Boats, Sailing.

1st Prize £2	2nd £1 10s.	3rd £1	4th 10/-
Helen	H. Brett	Red & White	
Spray	W. E. Newton	Blue & White	
Tyler	J. Baines	Blue	
Gazelle	A. Hill	Blue—Yellow Star	
Gem	C. J. Temple-Lynes	Red—White Ball	
Mac	W. E. Napier	White	

4. Canoe Race, Rowing, for Labourers.

1st Prize 7/6	2nd 5/-	3rd 2/6
Wild Flower	C. Abram	Red & White
Mabel	J. Wordingham	Yellow
Unknown	W. Withers	White
Alice	G. Clarke	Black

5. Canoe Race, Rowing, for Fishermen.

1st Prize 5/- 2nd 2/6		
Star	J. Baines	Blue
Joe	J. Bambridge	White
John	J. Johnson	Yellow & White

6. Ships' Boats, Rowing.

1st Prize £1 10s.	2nd £1	3rd 15/-
Blue Jacket	S. Jary	Blue
Yankee	C. Turner	Pink
Mary Ann	L. Thompson	White
Lion	W. Newland	Red

7. Smacks' Boats, Rowing.

1st Prize £1 10s. 2nd £1		
Brilliant	J. Baines	Blue.
Admiral Dewey	J. Bone	Star & Stripes
Gipsy Lass	J. Johnson	Yellow & White

8. Sculling Match. (One Man.)

1st Prize 10/- 2nd 5/-		
Admiral Dewey	J. Bone	Star & Stripes
Yankee	W. Withers	White
Swift	R. Wells	Green
John	J. Johnson	Yellow & White

9. Dingy Race, Rowing. (One Man.)

1st Prize 7/6	2nd 5/-	3rd 2/6
V.R.	T. Thompson	Union Jack
Maggy	W. Withers	White
Sunbeam	A. Hill	Blue—Yellow Star
Bo-Peep	R. Pinchen	White Ensign
Alice		Red—White Letters

10. Swimming Match for Men.

1st Prize 7/6	2nd 5/-
H. Allen, W. Allen, E. Allen.	

11. Swimming Match for Boys.

1st Prize 7/6	2nd 5/-
W. Turner, E. Turner.	

12. Horizontal Greased Pole, Two Events.

A Pig Each.
E. Seales, J. Bond, J. Johnson.

N.B. Three Boats to start or no race.

BICYCLE GYMKHANA AND RURAL SPORTS AT TWO O'CLOCK.

UMPIRES—MESSRS. G. HUDSON. & A. DIGMAN.

STARTER—MR. F. HODGES.

1 Race for Boys, 7 years old	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
2 " " 8 "	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
3 " " 9 "	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
4 " " 10 "	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
5 " " 11 "	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
6 " " 12 "	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
7 " " 13 "	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
8 Race for Girls 10 "	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
9 " " 12 "	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
10 " " 13 "	1st, 3/-	2nd, 2/-	3rd, 1/-
11 Three-legged Race	1st, 4/-	2nd, 2/-	
12 Open Race, 1/4 mile	1st, 7/6	2nd, 2/6	
13 Long Jump (open)	1st, 5/-	2nd, 2/6	
14 Long Jump for Boys under 15 years	1st, 4/-	2nd, 2/-	

BICYCLE GYMKHANA.

15 Decorated Bicycle	1st, 5/-	2nd, 2/6
16 Tortoise Race	1st, 5/- for Lady	5/- for Gentleman
17 Egg and Spoon Race	1st, 5/-	2nd, 2/6
18 Flower-pot and Ball	1st, 2/6	
19 Obstacle Race	1st, 5/-	2nd, 2/6
20 1/4 Mile Race for Gentlemen	1st, 7/6	2nd, 5/- 3rd, 2/6
21 1/4 Mile Race for Ladies	1st, 7/6	2nd, 5/- 3rd, 2/6
22 Threading the Needle	1st, 2/6	
23 High Jump	1st, 5/-	2nd, 2/6
24 High Jump for Boys under 16 years	1st, 4/-	2nd, 2/6
25 Race for Blakeney Labourers under 40	1st, 5/-	2nd, 2/6
26 Race for Blakeney Labourers over 40	1st, 5/-	2nd, 2/6
27 Sack Race	1st, 3/-	2nd, 1/6
28 Tipping the Bucket	Prize 5/-	
29 Wheelbarrow Race	1st, 4/-	2nd, 3/- 3rd, 2/-
30 Donkey Race	1st, 7/6	2nd, 5/-

to start with, ended when, in effect, they said "Sorry, but birds are more important than people". I have spoken to eminent bird people who say that in fact golf courses can be good for birds, and Brancaster doesn't seem to do them much harm!

I do hope some one will be able to bring the

Blakeney Golf Club back one day. It was a great asset to the village and talks with the Hotel Owners were very encouraging when we tried to get it going again. I think they would be prepared to put money into such a scheme.

Paid	Name	Address	T. s. d.	Paid	Name	Address.	T. s. d.
pd	F. J. S. Rippingall Esq	Langham, Holt.	1 1 -	1895	Brought Forward	—	
pd	Lora Calthorpe	Elveton Park.	5 - -	pd	Percy Jordan Esq	21 Collingham Place	1 1 -
pd	A. B. C.		1 1 -	pd	Mrs Jordan	London S. W.	1 1 -
pd	Rev M. A. Fitzmaurice	Wiveton Holt.	1 1 -	pd	Rev R. R. Paterson	Langham, Holt.	1 1 -
pd	Dr W. I. E. Sumpter	Sherringham	1 1 -	pd	Rev R. H. Ireland	Blakeney	1 1 -
pd	W. P. Fream Esq	Sherringham	1 1 -	pd	C. J. Temple Lynes	"	1 1 -
pd	Dr Gilliam	Holt	1 1 -	pd	A. Moore Esq	"	1 1 -
pd	Rev A. H. Upcher	Baconsthorpe Holt.	1 1 -	pd	W. E. Horner Esq	"	1 1 -
pd	Ronald Savory Esq	19 Oak Hill Park	1 1 -	pd	Edwin Waetke Esq	Felix Halling	1 1 -
pd	Mrs Savory	Hampstead	1 1 -	pd	Mrs Waetke	"	1 1 -
pd	Miss Porritt	Cley, Holt.	1 1 -	pd	Ernest Stopford	Sherringham	1 1 -
pd	Dr Sumpter	Cley, Holt.	1 1 -	pd	Mrs Stopford	"	1 1 -
pd	G. Hudson Esq	Blakeney	1 1 -	pd	Miss Mone	"	1 1 -
pd	Mrs Hudson	"	1 1 -	pd	Rev A. J. Scott	Tunbridge Wells.	1 1 -
pd	E. Mitchell Esq	"	1 1 -	pd	Miss E. Sumpter	Cley, Holt.	1 1 -
pd	S. Hoare Esq M. P.	Bromer	1 1 -	pd	Mrs Ronulson	Cley, Holt.	1 1 -
pd	Capt. Rodney Eden	"	1 1 -	pd	E. Hudson Esq	Wiveton	1 1 -
pd	Forbes Eden Esq	"	1 1 -	pd	Miss H. Hudson	"	1 1 -
pd	W. B. Monemey	Wabourne	1 1 -	pd	Mrs R. J. Hales	Holt	1 1 -

Photograph 6. The first two pages of the Minute Book showing the list of initial subscribers.

Blakeney Workmen's Golf Club

by John Peake

Remarkably few details are known about this club except for two references in the Minute Book and a cutting from the Norfolk Chronicle in 1931 (Photograph 5). The latter confirms that a local club was formed in 1921, some two years after an invitation from the Golf Club. There were similar clubs in the area that formed part of a much wider movement that commenced as long ago as 1890 and often referred to as 'Artisans'. They were usually local working-class people who frequently helped to maintain the courses. Local memories suggest they usually played outside the main holiday periods when the Golf Club was busy and this is confirmed in the Minute Book.

Extracts from the Minute Book

by John Peake

Soon after its inception the Club decided to keep a series of record books, unfortunately only one survives, the Minute Book; this records the business transacted at General Committee and Annual General Meetings. It might be anticipated this would make rather dull reading, but it contains many nuggets that shed light on the social structure of the area at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. It demonstrates how the Club was part of the social scene.

A flavour of the contents can be found in the extracts presented below and in the first two pages of the book illustrated (Photograph 6), but anybody interested in this period should consult the original book in the History Centre Blakeney.

Timeline (Comments are added in italics)

1895 At the first meeting it was 'Resolved, that a Golf Club be established called the Blakeney and Cley Golf Club' with Lord Calthorpe as President. Mr Hudson agreed to the links being made on the 'Sheep Walk and Eye' and he was paid a rent of one guinea per year.

NB: there must have been a course before this date as a competition was organised within days of the club being formed.

- 52 paid-up members are listed drawn predominately from local villages and towns, but extending to Norwich, London, Tunbridge Wells and Glasgow.

- First Committee Meeting at the 'Ship Inn', Blakeney (now disappeared, but next to the 'White Horse' Public House). Present: Chairman, F J S Rippingall (Langham); Dr Sumpter (Cley), Mr G Hudson (Blakeney), Mr C J Temple Lynes (Blakeney), Mr W P Fream (Sherringham). No date is given for this meeting. On 4 Apr 1895 Rev A H Upcher (Baconsthorpe) was added to the General Committee.

- During the year people were added to the small committee with the appointment of a Captain and a Woman's Captain, plus the formation of administrative committees overseeing

the greens and reviewing handicaps. *As might be anticipated membership of these committees included the more prominent members of local society together with some summer visitors, but the records show many members failed to attend many of the meetings. Over the years land owners, business men, and politicians are represented, together with a constant stream of clergy.*

- A set of rules was soon agreed and some of these now make amusing reading, for example: 'Ball in rabbit hole in bunker, may be lifted, No penalty'.
- It was agreed to build a Club House near the 1st hole (which was then to become the 9th), and there are records of additions and improvements being made over many years. Tenders were requested by April and it was built by August when committee meetings were held in it.
- A 'ground man', Robert Dix, was appointed for two days per week at rate of 2/- per day and an enquiry was made to Mr Starling regarding the cost of hiring his roll (*roller*); Dr Sumpter lent a cutter.
- A description and means of access to the links was placed in the 'Field' and 'Golf' magazines.

1896 AGM in Club House. Many new appointments made:

President: Lord Calthorpe. **Vice Presidents:** S Hoare Esq MP, H Forbes Eden Esq, F J S Rippingall Esq. **Hon. Secretary:** W Sumpter Esq MD. **Secretary & Treasurer:** Mr C J Temple Lynes. **General Committee:** Rev A H Upcher, Messrs A Waldy, G Hudson, C J Temple Lynes, W P Frean, W B Monement, W Sumpter, W J E Sumpter. **Green Committee:** Messrs W B Monement, C J Temple Lynes, W Sumpter, G Hudson. **Handicap Committee:** Messrs W B Monement, W P Frean, G Hudson. **Captain:** Mr G Hudson; **Lady Captain:** Mrs G Hudson.

- Subscriptions for women reduced to half a guinea (men a guinea).
- The Club was invited to play a match against Wells Golf Club (18 holes) at Wells.

1897 There was a major flood in 1897 and 100yds of small mesh wire netting was placed around the Breach Hole.

- Money had been raised through an issue of 47 Debenture Shares, and in 1896 5% was paid on these.

1898 Many of the committee meetings, the AGM and the competitions for gentlemen and ladies took place in August with full particulars being given early in July (*obviously coinciding with the holiday period and in the following year a spring meeting was introduced*).

- Resolved caddies should be appointed and some shelter be provided for them.
- Reported Green 8 damaged by gale & tide, so

a temporary one made to the north.

1899 New rules for Club House – children under 14 and nursemaids banned; no water to be heated. Both water and crockery ware or tea to be provided on application to the Green Man.

- Robert Dix to be paid one shilling per week extra starting May 20.

1900 Rabbits still a problem and Mr Hudson agreed to 'stink' out the Rabbits.

- A horse was being used to cut and roll the course, as shafts of roll(er) to be longer and new harness provided.

1901 Club House to be enlarged.

- Croquet Club to be formed for Ladies; fee 5/- each.
- Caddy's Fees 4d for 9 holes and 8d for 18 holes.

1906 Albert Lee appointed Greenkeeper in place of R Dix at same wage.

1907 A fund raised for the benefit of Robert Dix, late greenman for over 10 years; the club to contribute £2.

- Members not to purchase balls from caddies, but the latter should sell them to the Greenman for 1d and he sells them for 2d.

1908 Proposed that the club should be affiliated to proposed Norfolk Golfers Union, P A Underhill to be Hon. Representative for the Club.

- Visitors not introduced by members to pay 2/6 each per day.
- Wire netting to be placed west of 9th green by the gorse and also higher wire at the 6th.
- Mr and Mrs Hudson and family made Hon. Members.
- Visitors to pay 2/- a day; 7/6 a week and 15/- a month.
- Rev. D Lee Elliott elected to committee.
- New greens to be made at Nos 4, 5 and 8 at a cost of up to £100.
- Croquet green turf to be relaid, at a cost of up to £5.

1909 Troughing (*guttering*) to be installed around the club house, together with a cistern and a new wash basin to enable a supply of soft water to be provided for members and Mrs Hudson to be consulted about a supply of towels.

- Greenkeeper's wages: weekly salary from April to October 15/- per week and from Oct to Apr 10/- and a £4 yearly standing wage to be paid at Michaelmas annually.
- Greenkeeper should not be required to look after catering during the season, instead a local woman should be employed at a suitable wage.
- No dogs allowed on Golf Course unless under proper control.
- Green Man to provide lunch for caddies (bread and cheese) at 3d
- Caddy's fee for 9 holes 4d, and visitors requested to keep to this fee.
- C J Temple Lynes re-elected at a salary of £2

per year and as he has held office since formation of Club made Hon. Member.

- Ezra Bond declined to make luncheons and tea, to be interviewed by Secretary.

1910 Fitzroy Hamilton Lloyd Austruther elected President³

- Caddies should be selected and should wear a badge. Also during school term no boy should be employed as a caddie unless he could show an exemption letter from head teacher, who had complained that boys had been absent during school hours.

- Cleaning clubs after duty hours – fee 2d per day or 2/6 per month

- No dogs in Club House.

- 12/- extra paid to Mr Hudson's men for cutting through the Course.

1911 President: Fitzroy Anstruther Gough Calthorpe.

- Good grass seed for the links should be purchased together with Sulphate of Ammonia for putting greens

- Try to purchase links for not more than £400. Total area of land involved c114 acres + 4 acres bank; there were hidden costs, including responsibility for repair of bank plus insurance. Anticipated cost of land £3-5 per acre.

- Enquire whether the privileges afforded to other local golf clubs by Midland and Great Northern Joint Rly could be offered to the Club

1912 C J Ash and J C Temple Lynes to attend forthcoming sale of land, including the links and bid at their discretion.* Messrs E B Loynes to act as solicitors. Discussed formation of a Land Co. (*its formation can only be inferred from references to payments made in later years*).

Members to subscribe.

1913 Sum of £5 paid to the Blakeney Eye Land Co on account of turf acquired.

- Bank Trustees to be asked to secure stile and fix a ladder on East side of the Bank.

No entries between 1914 and 1918 and only a

few extracts from the later records are included here.

1919 Minutes of 1913 meeting confirmed!!

• **Captain:** B Murdoch. **Secretary:** C J Temple Lynes. **Committee (General):** Captain, Arthur Cooke, C J Ash, A H Peart, A Sumpter, C G Agnew, Archdeacon A J Scott, E B Lynes, A R Kay, Wm Evans, John Page, C J Scott, E Brown, Major Ashcroft, J W Allen.

• At the AGM the following elected, **President:** C J Ash; **Vice-Presidents:** Sir Alfred Jodrell Bart, Colonel Watson Kennedey, A Cozens Hardy Esq, Canon Gordon Roe, Rev D E Lee Elliott.

• Subscriptions: Gentlemen £1-1-0 per annum, Ladies 15/- per annum, children under 18 admitted, sub 10/6 and temporary members 2/6.

• Resolved Smith, ground-man, to be asked to invite 6 or more villagers to meet committee to discuss formation of Village Club.

1920 Fees members: £2-2-0, non-playing £1-1-0; boys and girls 10/6; temp members per day 2/6, per week 10/6, per month £1-1-0.

• Sunday play allowed after 1.00 pm.

• Smith's wages raised to £2 per week for July, August and Sept.

1921

• 6 yrs rent due to the Land Co – £150 (ie £25 per annum).

1922

• Land Co to make good the road and gates to the Club House

• Shelter should be erected at 4th hole at the expense of the tennis club balance.

• Tennis club to be controlled by Golf Club.

• £40 to be spent on extra labour during next 12 months.

1923 Letter from secretary of the Workmen's (Village) Club asking that they may be allowed to arrange matches with other Workmen's Clubs and enquiring as to fees for opponents. Proposed by Dr Cooke and seconded by C T Scott that it should be allowed, but not in July, August and September, no green fees.

1923 Land Co increased rent to £35 for 1923.

1938 The last entry covers the AGM, although the minutes were countersigned in the following year. The only reference to any preparations for war is a comment that '...should endeavour to interest the Commanding Officer of Langham Aerodrome in the Club as soon as the aerodrome was in being.'

* Footnote: *prior to 1911 the land was owned by Lord Calthorpe and was let to Hudson, who sublet to the Golf Club. It formed part of Lot 1 (along with Blakeney Point) at the auction sale of the Calthorpe estate on 22 July 1911 and was purchased by Crundall by private agreement. He sold it to the Blakeney Eye Land Co. for £1070, but who constituted the Land Co. is not known.*⁴

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Wrench v Wrench

A Case in Chancery

John Rodgers

Synopsis: Between 1832 and 1852 a Morston-based family had problems over the division between themselves of various properties. They resorted to the court of Chancery to find a solution. The consequences are examined using records available at The National Archives.

Introduction

Charles Dickens used his novels to highlight social ills and problems that were frequently ignored by politicians; they were *de facto* political tracts that still carry enormous emotive power. In *'Bleak House'*, for example, he used the case of Jarndyce v Jarndyce to assail abuses in the court of Chancery where cases could drag on for years. Even so called 'friendly cases' between family members were often not resolved quickly and consequently the legal costs escalated, sometimes absorbing much, if not all, of the disputed property or the deceased's estate. So many people who resorted to the use of Chancery court to resolve problems ended up bruised, both financially and emotionally, even if they 'won' the case. Often the only beneficiaries were the lawyers on all sides.

Chancery

Chancery proceedings are law suits brought before the court of Chancery which was based in London. Since the late 14th century there have been hundreds of thousands of such cases covering many aspects of daily life. Hence they include disputes over wills, lands, debts and marriage settlements and are a rich source of information on families and local history. They were based on written pleadings, written evidence and documentation much of which is in English and still survives. However, they are difficult to use because of the way they are filed and indexed, so readers who wish to pursue these records are recommended to read the two Research Guides on 'Chancery Proceedings' to be found on The National Archives website.¹

Marriage settlements for 'middling' families were particularly popular in Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian times. Typically the parents of the bride and groom settled property with trustees, usually family friends, distant family or lawyers, who would pay the income for life to the husband and then to his widow. After the death of the widow the capital could revert to the children of the marriage or maybe just a further life interest to them. This arrangement it was hoped would ensure that the new couple were never reduced to poverty. It also had the advantage of preserving family wealth for the benefit of a married woman, as prior to the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 the bride's property was immediately vested in her husband on marriage. This was an obvious charter for an unscrupulous bridegroom who could spend his wife's fortune on riotous living and fancy ladies.

This paper explores one case of a marriage settlement and the consequences of involving the court of Chancery. It appears in the records as *Wrench v Wrench* where the pleadings of successive family members survive together with the Receiver's accounts of the rents received and the Master General in Chancery's Order for sale.

The Wrench Family and the 'Problem'

The Wrench family were minor Norfolk gentry, an armorial family, whose wealth had come from weaving. One of the family had been knighted, several were clerics, but most were gentleman farmers or just gentlemen. There is a published pedigree² but care has to be taken in using it as there are mistakes and omissions. Reverend Benjamin Wrench of Oulton and Edgefield had married his wife Mary in 1754 and had an only son Jonathan (**Photograph 1**). The latter married in 1777 Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of



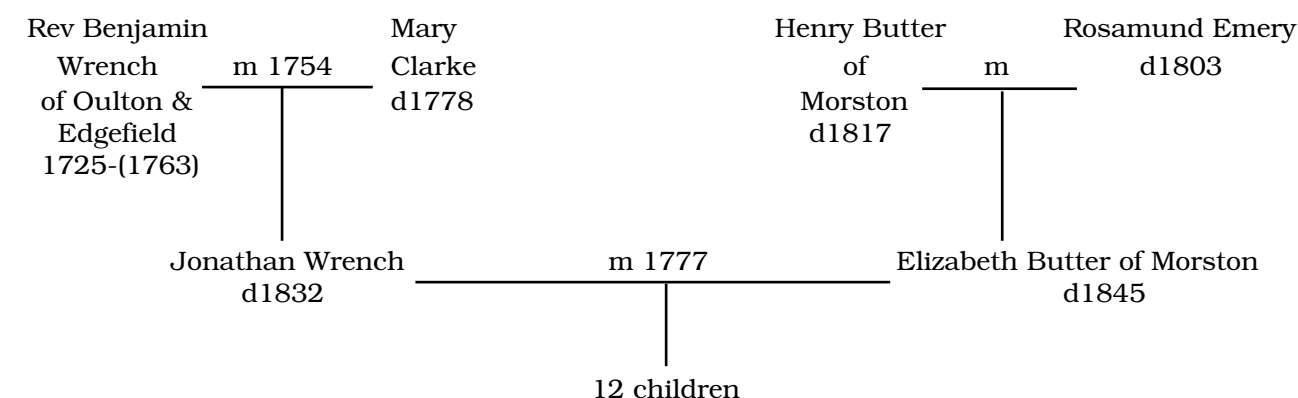
Photograph 1. Portrait of Jonathan Wrench. The handwritten label on the reverse states 'This Likeness taken April 3 1824 In my 68 year Jonathan Wrench Esqr Morston'. (Painting in ownership of family).

Henry Butter, Gent of Morston, when she was about 16 years of age.

In 1754 a marriage settlement on Benjamin and Mary's marriage had property settled for life consisting of a farm in Suffolk and 24 houses in Norwich. On Jonathan's marriage in 1777 his mother Mary, then a widow as his father had died when he was young in 1763, settled the

same property on the couple to which Henry Butter added property at Morston and Hindringham again for life.

Jonathan farmed at Morston and he and Elizabeth had twelve children, two of whom died when young and two more aged 15 years and 23 years (**Figure 1**). Jonathan later lived at Great Yarmouth and Weybourne, where he was buried



- 1 Elizabeth: died young
- 2 Mary: died young
- 3 Benjamin: baptised 1779, died 1795
- 4 Mary of Morston and Sprowston: baptised 1781, living 1854. Spinster
- 5 Rosamund: baptised 1784, alive 1871, dead by 1878. Married (1) Nicholas Frowhawk (2) cousin Peter Elwin Wrench
- 6 William Butter: baptised 1786, died 1841. Unmarried, buried Weybourne
- 7 Henry: baptised 1788, died 1870. Son Henry Butter Wrench died 1883, both buried Morston
- 8 Jonathan: baptised 1790, died 1814, Unmarried, intestate
- 9 Peter Elwin of Barningham and Briston: baptised 1794 died 1866. No children
- 10 Daniel of Sprowston: baptised 1796, alive 1881
- 11 Benjamin Emery of Bodham: baptised 1798, died 1885
- 12 Elizabeth: baptised 1798, died 1879. Married George Wood of Morston, died 1865. At least 9 children of this marriage inherited most of the Wrench wealth

Note: All the children appear to have been baptised at Morston, but the baptism dates are difficult to decipher because of the poor microfilm of the registers.

Figure 1. Family tree showing relationships of the participants in the Chancery case. The twelve children of Jonathan and Elizabeth Wrench are listed below the tree.

in spite of a wish expressed in his will to be buried at Morston.³ At some stage Elizabeth had left Jonathan and lived separately from him in Morston with her youngest daughter Elizabeth Wood.

The life tenants treated the properties as their own, unfettered without any restrictions, forgetting that it was in trust from a marriage settlement made initially in 1754. For example, Mary Wrench had no right to settle the property on her son in 1777. Furthermore, the properties were also mortgaged, possibly improperly, but it is impossible to be certain of this without seeing the two Trust deeds made in 1754 and 1777 and no doubt these have long since been destroyed. The exact status of the different properties in terms of ownership and rights was extremely confusing.

The Chancery Case

In 1832 just before his death Jonathan, then farming at Weybourne, took the case to the

Chancery court to get guidance on the respective interests of the various parties.⁴ The respondents were the eight surviving children and the two sons-in law, each of whom had a right of response.

When Elizabeth had left Jonathan she had taken with her the deed of the 1777 marriage settlement, as both trustees were dead, together with the deeds of the Morston and Hindringham properties. She regarded the latter as 'hers', as they had been her father's contribution to the marriage settlement. In 1837 the eldest surviving son William Butter Wrench made a further attempt in the Chancery court to resolve matters, but he died in 1841 without making much progress. In his will he left money to repay the mortgages so that the inheritor would receive the properties free of debt.^{5,6}

Elizabeth died in 1845 aged 84 years and was buried in the nave of Morston Church in the Butter vault in accordance with the wishes expressed in her will.⁷ Her will ran to 70 pages

PARTICULARS AND CONDITIONS OF SALE

OF SEVERAL VALUABLE

SMALL ESTATES,

LYING AT

MORSTON & HINDRINGHAM,

(Between the Market Town of Holt and Wells next the Sea), Norfolk,

WHICH WILL BE SOLD BY AUCTION, BY

MESSRS. BUTCHER & CLARK,

(WHO ARE JOINTLY CONCERNED IN THIS SALE), AT THE

FEATHERS INN, HOLT, NORFOLK,

On FRIDAY, the TWENTY-NINTH Day of OCTOBER, 1852,

AT TWO O'CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON,

IN THE FOLLOWING OR SUCH OTHER LOTS AS MAY BE ARRANGED AT THE TIME OF
SALE.

Particulars and Conditions of Sale may be had of Mr. WILLIAM WOODCOCK WITHERS, and Mr. J. M. WEBB, Solicitors, Holt, Norfolk; MESSRS. BLAKE, KEITH, AND BLAKE, and Mr. DURRANT, Solicitors; or Mr. BUTCHER, Auctioneer, NORWICH; and Mr. CLARK, Auctioneer, Holt, Norfolk; or MESSRS. ROOPER, BIRCH, AND CO., Solicitors, 68, Lincoln's Inn Fields, LONDON.

showing she was a person of some substance having properties in Letheringsett, Thornage, Bodham, Briston as well as Morston. She left successive life interests in these properties to her children, with annuities to her daughters and grandchildren, effectively tying up the properties for the whole of the next generation.

Further Chancery Proceedings

Matters concerning the settled properties now required resolution. Elizabeth had only been a life tenant, not owner of the properties, and the next son Henry was farming at Swafeld, near North Walsham, on a farm purchased with an inheritance in his grandfather's (Henry Butter) will of in effect the whole of his substantial estate.⁸

So Henry commenced another Chancery suit⁶ to which there were no less than 37 respondents that included the remaining family members, the trustees of Mary Wrench (the eldest daughter) and the mortgagees. Mary Wrench, then a spinster aged 53 years, had much earlier in 1834 settled her share of the properties with legal trustees. This no doubt was done to protect her interests and to avoid any 'undue influence' in the disposal of her assets, namely the properties and any money.

The case eventually came to court in 1849, but this was after the family had voluntarily came to an agreement to divide the considerable property between themselves. However, a receiver had been appointed in 1846⁹ to manage the properties and receive the rents, i.e. none of the family enjoyed the rent income for several years.

Settlement

Eventually in June 1852, some 20 years after the suit had started and nearly 100 years after the original marriage settlement, the Master General in Chancery made an order for all the properties to be sold, including those at Morston, and the monies divided between the family members. All the interested parties had already agreed privately to such an arrangement.

The Morston properties consisted of a farm of 45 acres (**Figure 2**), the Anchor Public House, a General Shop, a Baking Office, cottages etc. and these were sold at the Feathers Inn, Holt on 29th. October, 1852^{10,11} It is interesting to note that the farm was sold with the bar and cellar of the public house, a peculiar arrangement!

Conclusion

Wrench v. Wrench was an expensive legal case for the family, who with hindsight should have come to an agreement at a much earlier stage to share the property rather than go to law. It fully illustrates Dickens condemnation of the court of Chancery, as once it was involved it was difficult to disengage. The moral is that however optimistic the legal opinion is of your chances of 'winning' in Chancery, it is better to compromise than proceed to the court!

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- 10 NRO MS 18622/161 Sale Catalogue of small farm in Morston etc by Butcher and Clark, 29th October, 1852
- 11 Norfolk Chronicle, 23rd. October, 1852 Advertisement for sale of farm etc in Morston

Figure 2 (left). Advert for sale of Morston and Hindringham properties in 1852.

'Stormy Weather'

The Ramms of Cley in the early 19th century

Sara Dobson

Synopsis: During the early part of the nineteenth century members of the Ramm family had their lives and fortunes shaped by their close association with the sea. This relationship is explored using information found in newspapers, wills, Lloyd's Registers of Shipping and other sources.

Introduction

It was inevitable that many families living in coastal communities would earn their living through connections with the sea, besides ship owners, boat builders and allied trades, there would have been merchants selling wares brought into the ports, farmers and malsters exporting their produce, carriers distributing merchandise to inland outlets, and this is without counting the numerous fishermen and mariners. Some profited from this association, while others incurred bankruptcy through loss of ship and cargo and some paid the ultimate price - they lost their lives.

The relief felt by families and communities

when boats returned must have been tremendous, a cause for celebration, but this would have contrasted markedly with those who had lost ships or family. Today it is very difficult for us to understand how these people faced bereavement; there is no reason to believe they felt it any less than we do. However, they must have been surrounded by evidence of death and incorporated it into their perception of everyday life, something that is foreign to many today.

Much has been written about ship building, ships and their voyages, but this article is about the human element, how one generation of one family, the Ramms, fared in the nineteenth century.

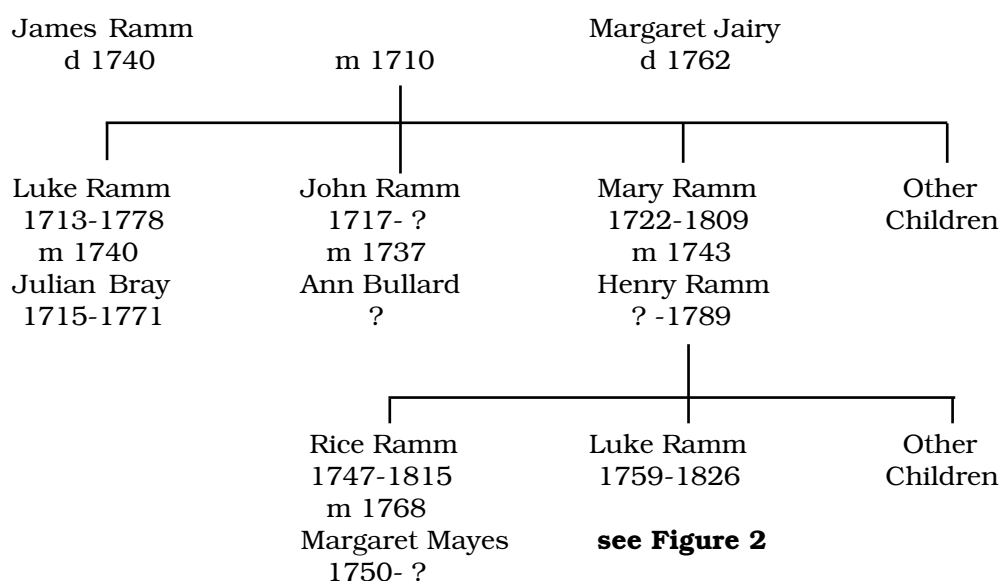


Figure 1. Family Tree of James and Margaret Ramm of Wiveton; only the relevant parts of the tree are shown

Early Ramm Family History

The Ramms as a family first appear in the Wiveton Parish Registers in 1710 when James Ramm married Margaret Jairy (Figure 1). From his will it can be seen that he was a shepherd and left bequests of 'Copyhold, House and Land in Wiveton' to his sons John and Thomas and sums of money to his other sons and daughter, Mary.¹ It is probable that John remained working the land in Wiveton, as his marriage in 1737 to Ann Bullard and the baptism of their children took place there. Another son, Luke, married Julian Bray in 1740 in North Walsham and settled there as a cordwainer employing an apprentice in 1753.² What the connection was to North Walsham can only be guessed.

In 1743, their daughter, Mary Ramm, also married in North Walsham, her husband was Henry Ramm of Cley. Henry's origins are unknown, possible they were related. Henry and Mary subsequently returned to the Glaven Valley and variously lived in Wiveton, Salthouse and Cley, where all their children were baptised and Henry was a barber.³ One son, Rice, gave rise to the Ramms still living in the area. However, this article concentrates on the children of Luke Ramm, one of their other sons.

Luke Ramm lived all his life on the coast, he

was baptised in 1759 at Salthouse, married twice in Cley, in 1782 and 1818, and was buried there in 1826. It is not known whether he ever went to sea, but as a merchant and with sons sailing to other ports he could have depended on boats to bring in his wares.⁴ Unfortunately no details have been found of the nature or size of his business, all that is known of his financial affairs is from a record in the Cley Poor Rate returns of 1823-1826 when his total assets were £1.6s.3d and he was paying rates of 5s.3d. In comparison, his son Howard had assets of £2.12s.6d and was paying rates of 10s.6d at the same time.

From a report of the Cley Ferry Tragedy it is known that in 1816 Luke lived on the quay near Cley Methodist Chapel, although the exact position of the house has not been located.⁵ By 1824 he lived in a rented house in Cley owned by Wm. Shalders⁶ and was a "steady adherent of Non-Conformity".⁷ His first wife Mary née Howard, was a member of the Walsingham Circuit of Methodists at Cley and Robert, the only one of Luke's six sons not to go to sea, became a Wesleyan Minister. Robert was a trustee for the Blakeney Methodist chapel in 1812⁸ before he left Cley to begin his ministry in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. This branch of the family remained staunch Methodists.

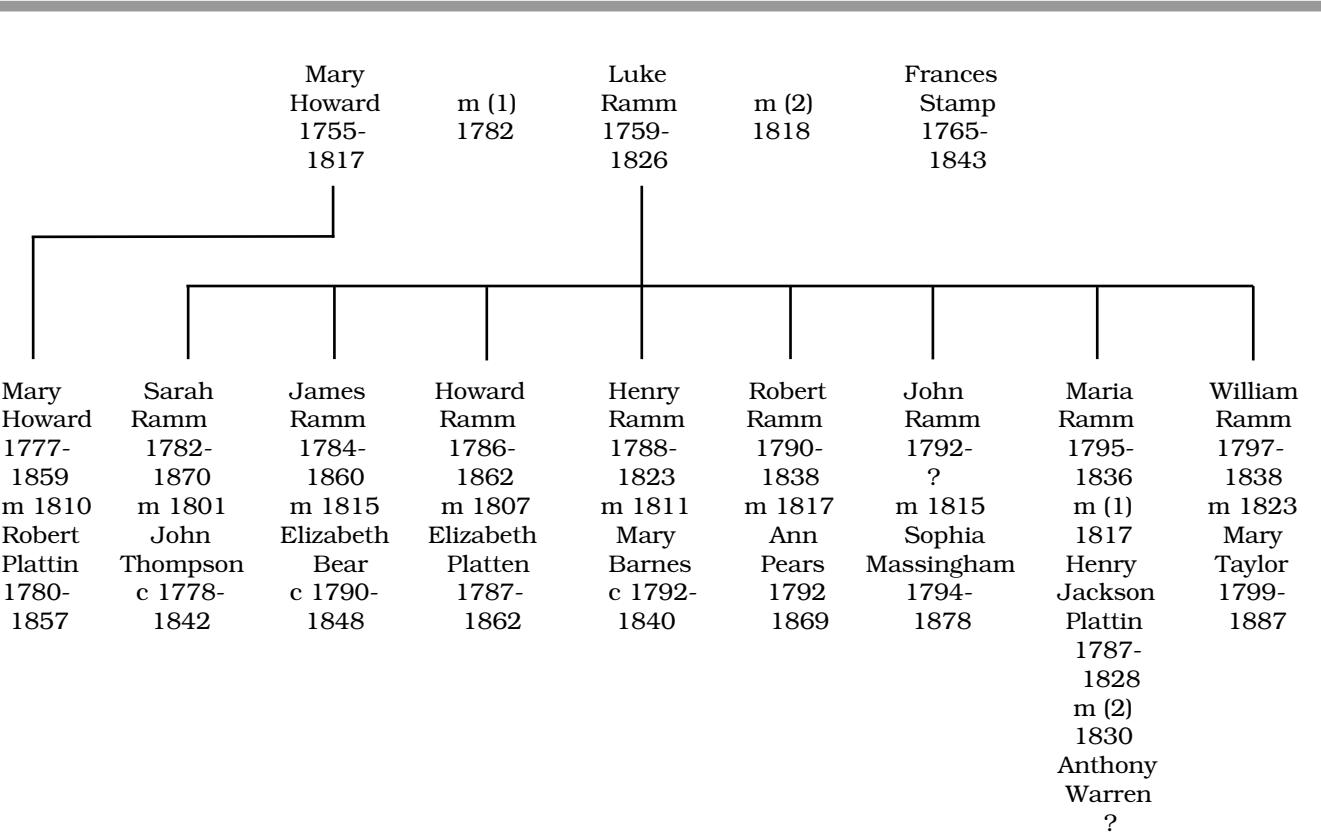


Figure 2. Tree of Luke and Mary Ramm of Cley showing siblings discussed in the text.

The Mariners - a change of direction

What of Luke's other sons who did go to sea? Why were they not land-based workers like their ancestors? What made them leave comparative safety and risk all by putting their lives in danger every time they sailed? To provide a partial answer to this we need to understand the socio-economic situation in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

During the Napoleonic Wars farmers had been encouraged to produce food and employed many hands. Peace brought major changes and there was no longer the impetus to supply all the country's own needs, provisions could once again be imported from around the world.

Depression descended and employment suffered accordingly, so people had to find other ways of earning a living. For those living in coastal villages serving on ships or fishing were obvious choices. The establishment of The Blakeney Harbour Company⁹ reinvigorated the Glaven villages and for a while the ports began to thrive again.

Luke Ramm's five sons, other than Robert, and the husbands of his step-daughter and a daughter is the generation that is explored below in chronological order (Figure 2) beginning with the husband of Mary Howard, the illegitimate daughter of his first wife.

Robert Plattin 1780-1857

Mary Howard, married Robert Plattin, a local widower who was baptised in Salthouse. Robert's occupation was described as Master Mariner in the censuses and he appears to have been financially successful.

Robert was master and also partial owner of the 'Sarah', a 97 ton brig built in 1813 in Yarmouth, journeying from Blakeney to Newcastle probably transporting coal.¹⁰ By 1840 he was master and also owned 8 shares* in the 'Duke of Wellington', a brand new schooner of 98 tons built in Hull.¹¹ Fortunately, he sold these shares to Mrs. M. Moore, in 1843, as tragically, in 1845 the 'Duke of Wellington', during a voyage from Liverpool to Königsberg, Prussia, was wrecked on the Swedish coast and the master, Robert Mann, and his son were lost.¹²

1853 sees him owning five cottages, one shop and a piece of land, all in Cley.⁶ Seemingly an enterprising and successful man, Robert's personal life was not so fortunate, two daughters had died in infancy and his only other child, Henry Plattin, a mariner, also predeceased him



Photograph 1. Gravestone of Robert and Mary Plattin, churchyard of St Margaret's church, Cley.

dying in 1852 of tuberculosis in the 'Dreadnought Hospital Ship' in Greenwich.

However, Robert did survive his life at sea and was buried in Cley in 1857, followed by his wife Mary in 1859 (**Photograph 1**). Their gravestone lies beside those of their daughters Anne and Mary. But what is mysterious is that neither Robert nor Mary left a will nor can any administration be found. So what had happened to their property and other assets, had they all been sold during the depression?

John Thompson c.1778-1842

Sarah Ramm, Luke's elder daughter, married John Thompson, a Scotsman, and they founded their own dynasty of Master Mariners, able seamen, river policeman, fishermen, naval personnel and lifeboat men.

John Thompson appears to have had a colourful life as can be seen from the account included in the obituary of his grandson George Thompson nearly 70 years after John died in 1842:

The Norfolk Chronicle & Norwich Gazette:
Saturday 17th February 1912

'John Thompson, a native of Aberdeen, was a sailor, who was pressed for service in the Navy

*Footnote: at this time, for the purpose of registration, ownership of a ship was divided into 64 shares.

at the time of the French wars. After the Battle of Copenhagen the fleet were returning to England, and were caught in bad weather. It was known by those responsible for navigating the vessel on which Thompson sailed there were harbours along the Norfolk coast, and after considerable delay the young Scotsman, who by this time had reached a petty-office's rank, volunteered to navigate the vessel into Blakeney harbour. Although strange to the coast he succeeded, and in consequence was well rewarded and enlarged'

How much of this is true and how much is embroidering the facts to create a family myth may never be known. Although it is quite plausible that John served in the Napoleonic Wars, it is doubtful that his return from the Battle of Copenhagen was the first time he had been to the Cley/Blakeney area.

He married Sarah Ramm in Cley on the 4th August 1801 and their first child William was baptised there on 20th January 1802. Remember the Battle of Copenhagen had taken place in April 1801 and no information has been found about his 'reward'. However, by 1812 John was in a position to send two of his sons to Gresham's School for a short period.¹³ He is recorded as Owner/Occupier of a house in Blakeney in 1815¹⁴ which was no mean feat as by then he already had a large family to support.

The 1841 census for Blakeney has John Thompson living in Westgate Street as a publican. This house is still standing and has decorative iron gable ties forming the initials J T. John's death certificate and will¹⁵ describe him as a Master Mariner and he died in 1842 of 'decline', which can refer to any wasting disease.

Although John survived his years at sea, they were not completely uneventful as shown by the following entry in *Shipwreck Index of the British Isles*.¹⁶

'1st October 1823 'Betsey'; Sailing Vessel unspecified; Construction: Wood; Port: Blakeney; Flag: United Kingdom; Propulsion: Sail; Captain: Thompson; Ramsgate the 6th October the Betsey foundered 30 miles East of the Galloper; Crew saved by a vessel from Petersburg to Brest. Lloyds List no. 5,844'*

It is assumed that Captain 'Thompson' was indeed John as no other Thompson from the area was sailing at that time.

Mary Ann Thompson, the daughter of John and Sarah married Samuel Starling, a Blakeney man whose family can be traced back in the area for many generations. From the censuses

we see that many of the seafaring Thompson and Starling descendants moved north to South Shields, Durham, as the Glaven Ports began to decline.¹⁷

James Ramm 1784-1860

James, the eldest son, seems to have led a comparatively uneventful life at sea, but documentation for seamen prior to 1835 is scarce. He married Elizabeth Bear in 1815 at Cley where they lived in a rented house with land and outbuildings.⁶ Their daughter Maria married William Brett and daughter Frances married William Benjamin Bishop. Frances and William were the parents of Robert Benjamin Bishop, the first 'warden' of Cley Nature Reserve.

James was described as a sailor in 1841 and is known to have sailed from Cley on the following ships: the 'Resolution', the 'Sarah', the 'Naiad' and the 'Lively'.¹⁸ The 'Lively' was owned by Ramm & Co**, but it is not known whether James himself held any shares.¹⁰ By 1851 he had retired from the sea and was described as a Coal Porter. He died in 1860, aged 75 years, he was probably not particularly wealthy as there is neither will nor gravestone.

Howard Ramm 1786-1862

Howard Ramm, the second son of Luke and Mary Ramm, was baptised in Cley in 1786 and was a skilled sailor and sound business man. His commercial success must have been due to a considerable degree of entrepreneurial skill and luck.

He married Elizabeth Platten in 1807 at Cley, where they continued to live. The first known record of him being a Master Mariner was in 1819 when he was master of the 'Adeona' a brand new brig of 76 tons built in Yarmouth and owned by Cooke & Co. This he captained for thirteen years until 1831, coasting from Yarmouth to the North and from Lynn to Leith.¹⁰ He survived the storm of October 1823, when his brother Henry lost his life on the 'Jason' and the 'Adeona' was blown ashore at Wolferton Creek. The 'Adeona' was refloated and Howard continued to be master for another eight years, but this association ended when her owners, Cooke & Co, sold the vessel in 1831.

Howard's next vessel was the 'Lively' a 108 ton brig built in 1823 in Yarmouth which he commanded from 1834 to 1838 shipping corn to the north and bringing coal back from Newcastle. His brother William was also master of this boat for a few years.

*Footnote: The Galloper Light Vessel lay to the east of Harwich

**Footnote: Nothing is known about Ramm & Co, but it is assumed that the major share holder was probably Howard Ramm.



Photograph 2. The Pightle, Town Yard, Cley. The home of Howard Ramm.

Ship Owner

The *'Lively'* was recorded in the Lloyd's Registers as being of Cley in 1834, but an owner's name is not listed until 1839 when it is given as Ramm & Co and this continued until 1848.¹⁰ However, in 1837 in the Merchant Shipping Transactions¹¹ H Ramm is attributed as owning 64 shares. He continued as owner until 1862 when the *'Lively'* was sold and the registration was transferred to Yarmouth.

During his time at sea Howard was also involved in other businesses. Piggott's Norfolk Directory for 1822-23 has him listed as an *'earthenware dealer'* in Cley. It is quite likely that he set up this business with his wife, Elizabeth, whilst he remained sailing he would have been in an ideal position to import and export materials for his business.

The business was obviously a success as by 1826 he was recorded as owner/occupier of his own house and by 1845 he also owned three further cottages which he rented out.⁶ In White's 1854 Norfolk Directory and in the 1841, 1851 and 1861 censuses he is listed as a Ship Owner

living in Town Yard, Cley. This house is still standing and is now called the *'Pightle'*.

It is probable that Howard made most of his money from being a ship owner. Having been a Master Mariner since 1819 he would well have understood the perils of ship ownership, where insolvency could easily be incurred through loss of ship and cargo. However, he would have realized the benefits of contacts with business people and known how to organise cargoes and minimise risks.¹⁹

Exactly when Howard first became an owner or part owner of a ship is not known, as the earlier Merchant Shipping Transaction Registers where the information would appear have been lost. Nevertheless, he had shares in the following: in 1837?, 64 shares in the *'Lively'*, a 108 ton Brig, built 1823 in Yarmouth; in 1839, 8 in the *'Fanny'*, a 105 ton Schooner, built 1825 in Ipswich; in 1845, 3 in the *'Louisa'*, a 306 ton Barque, built 1824 in Calcutta; also in 1845, 3 in the *'Livorno'*, a 152 ton Brig, built 1827 in Newcastle; in 1855, 4 in the *'Thetis'*, a 118 ton Schooner, built 1838 in Wells, and in 1855, 20



Photograph 3. Gravestone of Howard and Elizabeth Ramm, churchyard of St Margaret's church, Cley. To the left of their gravestone is the stone for Mary Plattin (spelt Platton) their

in the *'Tamerlane'*, a 150 ton Brig built 1817 in Southtown, Suffolk (now Norfolk).¹¹

His wife's step father was Daniel Newton, a shopkeeper of Blakeney, and in Daniel's will of 1851 he left his *'messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments'* to his wife Elizabeth, Howard's mother-in-law. The proviso was that after her death these would be passed to Howard and his wife, Elizabeth and after their deaths to be sold and the proceeds shared between Daniel's blood relatives.²⁰ Elizabeth Newton died in 1858 by which time Howard already appeared to be wealthy in his own right.

Howard's standing in the community is illustrated by his presence in 1845 at an enquiry into the changes in the navigability of the channel leading into the Glaven ports.²¹ Joseph Hume MP was leading the enquiry together with

the officers of the Tidal Harbours Commission, the local dignitaries, merchants and several ship masters. Later in 1849 Howard is recorded at a vestry meeting with the Rector and five other members of the public to set the church rate.²²

Howard died in July 1862, aged 75 years, **(Photograph 3)** leaving effects under £2,000 to his *'sister Sarah Thompson'*, the last surviving child of Luke & Mary Ramm, and the children of his *'deceased brothers James, Robert, John and William and deceased sister Maria'*.²³ This will was written on the 14th January 1862 two weeks after the death of his wife, and it is intriguing to read of his special bequest of his *'second best bed, bedstead hangings, blankets, counterpane, bolster and pillows'* to his niece Anne Plattin. What happened to the best bed and hangings? Money was left to his great niece

Betsy Thompson of Edmonton, Middlesex, the granddaughter of his sister Sarah, which shows that family contact was maintained long after Betsy's father had left Blakeney during the early 1830s, presumably looking for work.

Howard was undoubtedly a prosperous man, lived in a comfortable house and was well placed in the community. However, the sea which had enabled him to make his fortune had also been responsible for the loss of three brothers, many nephews and friends, but perhaps the greatest tragedy in his life was the loss of two sons who had died in infancy.

Henry Ramm 1788-1823

Henry Ramm was the third son, baptised in 1788 in Cley and married Mary Barnes there in 1823. Henry perished in a severe storm that the newspapers reported as the 'worst storm in living history'. The following accounts provide some graphic descriptions of this event in which other members of the family were ship-wrecked, although luckily they survived.

Storm 30th/31st October 1823

At this time Robert Plattin, Master of 'The Victory of Clay', Howard Ramm, Master of the 'Adeona' of Blakeney and Henry Ramm, Master of the 'Jason' of Cley, were all journeying north in ballast. Possibly they had all left on the same tide in a gentle south westerly wind not knowing that a deep depression was moving south east which gave rise to hurricane force north easterly winds.

Whereas Robert Plattin was blown ashore at Wells it is likely that Howard and Henry ran for the Lynn Deeps away from the notorious sand

banks of the Lincolnshire and Norfolk coasts. Howard, being further east, missed the sandbanks near Gibraltar Point and ran ashore at Wolferton Creek. Henry was not so lucky.

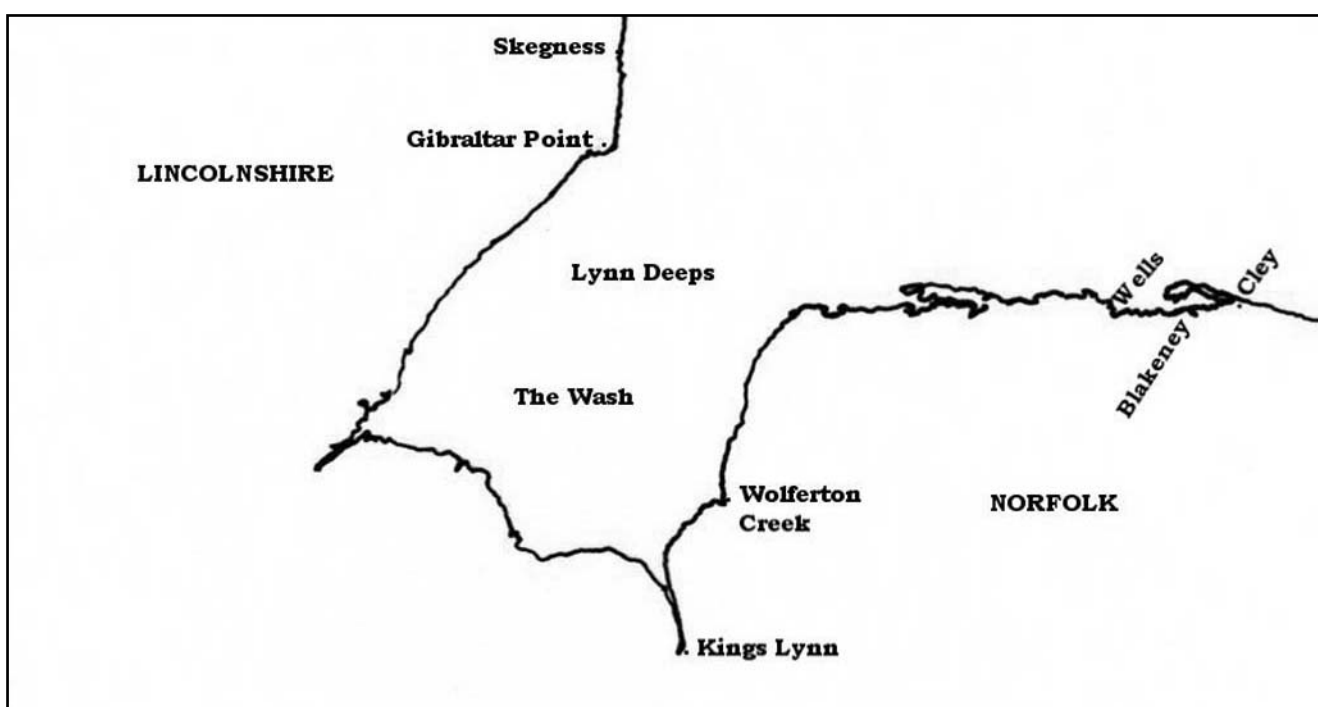
Full accounts of the drama which ensued can be gleaned from the newspapers, including *Lloyd's List*. The latter was published twice weekly at this time giving current information on shipping movements and other maritime topics.

The following account was published in the '*Norfolk Chronicle*' for Saturday 8th November 1823.

'Wells.

On Thursday 30th October 1823 the wind blowing high ENE indicated the approach of a heavy storm and on Friday the wind changing to NE it blew a hurricane (with a great fall of rain and at times showers of hail) such a gale has not been experienced in this part for many years. The bricks and tiles from the houses flew in all directions. The venerable oaks and other trees in Holkham Park are, many of them, rent asunder. In walking on the beach it is distressing to see the whole of it literally covered with wreck and other materials from the unfortunate vessels. It is to be feared that there are vessels foundered and their crews completely lost near this port, from the bodies etc. which have been picked up'

Many ships are then listed, the only local one being 'The Victory of Clay: Robert Plattin - Master. Crew saved and vessel likely to be got off (at Wells). Bound to Newcastle in ballast.'



Map 1. Sketch map of the Wash showing locations mentioned in the text.

From the reports in the *Lloyd's Lists* of the 4th and 7th November 1823 we read details of the losses of shipping all around the coast and see that Howard Ramm, the second son of Luke, had also been caught up in the storm: '*Adeona of Blakeney on shore near Wolferton Creek, likely to be got off*'.

The fate of Henry Ramm is described in this extract from '*Means of Assistance in Cases of Shipwreck*' published 1825.²⁴ '*During a gale on the 31st October 1823 about 2 p.m. the Jason, in ballast, to Newcastle, Master H. Ramm, struck on a sandbank about 300 yards from Gibraltar Point, a headland of the Lincolnshire Coast. The landlord of a neighbouring public house saw the vessel upset and soon observed that four men had got on the keel, and were waving their hands and by signs imploring assistance.*

The landlord directly went to the owner of the only boat then at the place, and entreated him to put off to them; he was confident that the boat could without difficulty have approached near enough to the vessel to have thrown the poor fellows a rope and grapnel, and he offered to go himself; but the man refused, saying, that he believed the master was drowned, and that he had once saved a common sailor, and got only half-a-crown for him, that he should get no more if he saved these, and therefore it was not worth the risk. At length the landlord did prevail on this hard-hearted fisherman to consent to make an effort, and found two or three to join them; but then another drew back, time was lost, and the attempt to rescue these unfortunate sailors was abandoned. They were seen clinging to their vessel while day light lasted, and must have been washed off during the night.

The principal owner of the Jason, Mr. Bolding of Weyburn, in Norfolk, was occupied in saving the crew of a galliot, wrecked at that place, at the very time when his own men were thus cruelly left to their fate. Two other ships, the Patty and the Derby perished with their crews the same day, near Gibraltar Point; it is probable that these could only have been reached by a Life Boat, but it appears certain that the four men might have been saved from the Jason, had any person of influence been on the spot to stimulate the fishermen to their duty.'

It is too easy to pass judgement on the '*hard hearted fisherman*' who did not help, but this account sounds rather sensational and excludes many mitigating details.

Another account in the *Norfolk Chronicle* for Saturday 15th November 1823:

'The Late Gale.

By intelligence from Lincolnshire we learn that around Louth the storm was the most tremen-

dous ever witnessed in the neighbourhood for a long series of years.

An inquest held at Friskney on Monday 3rd November 1823 on the bodies of 4 drowned seamen washed on shore, one of which proved to be the body of Captain John Hunter of the brig Derby of Newcastle, a total wreck. The Captain appeared to be a very fine looking man, and had in his possession a pocket book containing the ship's register and several other memorandums which are now in the hands of the Coroner and will be delivered to the Customs House at Boston. He had also a silver watch and some other property which will be restored to his relatives as soon as the necessary forms are gone through. One of the unfortunate men found at Wrangle, whose name appeared to be Thomas Hunter, was probably brother to the above since they very much resembled each other. Two others were washed on shore at Wainfleet, one of which, from what transpired at the inquest, was in all probability that of Captain Henry Ram, of the Jason from Cley in Norfolk.'

Unfortunately the original inquest report no longer exists, but a telling entry in the Burial Register for Wainfleet St. Mary, Lincolnshire, reads: '4th November 1823 "2 Seaman found drowned on the Shore. Names unknown'

It was due to this storm that the first county association for the preservation of the lives of shipwrecked persons was founded in Norfolk. This was due to the impact made on Lord Suffield of Gunton Park by the horrors described in reports like those quoted above. His proposal led to the formation in Norwich in November 1823 of the Norfolk Association for Saving the Lives of Shipwrecked Mariners, or the N.A.S.L.S.M., when it was agreed to station additional lifeboats and supply extra lifesaving mortars.²⁵

John Ramm 1792-?

John was baptised in 1792 in Cley and was the first in the family to disappear without trace leaving a wife and young son. He was known to have been a mariner and had married Sophia Massingham in 1815 by licence, which could suggest he was not in port long enough to wait for the required three week period during which the banns were called. No documentation has been found to tell us anything of his voyages or his fate; he may have been lost at sea, even jumped ship or been discharged in some other port.

His wife Sophia remarried in London in 1823²⁶ and although she used her married name she is recorded as a spinster. Was it an innocent mistake or was she unable to prove that she was a widow? Her new husband, George Howard, a butcher from Stiffkey, may

have been a distant relation of her first husband. So why did they marry in London? In the early part of the 19th century there was a migration of people from Norfolk to work in London.^{17,27} Did she follow this pattern, as she had to support both herself and a young son? The first child of her second marriage was baptised in London in 1824 and the next record is the baptism of twin daughters in Cley.

Maria Ramm 1795-1836

Maria's first marriage was in London in 1817 to Henry Jackson Plattin, the half-brother of Robert Plattin. They settled in Wells and after Henry's premature death in 1828 she married Anthony Warren there in 1830. She was the landlady of the '*Fighting Cock*', now called the '*Edinburgh*'.²⁸ Eleven children were born within these two marriages although only six survived infancy. It is interesting to note that neither husband was involved with the sea and only one son, Wyndham Plattin, became a mariner. Sadly this son drowned in Middlesbrough, Yorkshire, in 1838 aged 14 years. Maria died in 1836 and is buried in Wells with her first husband.

William Ramm 1797 -1838

William Ramm's story is tragic. He was the sixth and youngest son of Luke and Mary Ramm, baptised in 1797 in Cley. It is not known

when he first went to sea, but many boys started when they were only twelve years old and with older mariner brothers he could have easily sailed with them.

In 1823 he married Mary Taylor, the daughter of a Blakeney farmer, where they made their home in a house owned by John Temple¹⁵ and he was probably working for the Temple family who were merchants and ship owners. By 1832 William and Mary had moved back to Cley, renting a house from E. Painter.⁶

In the Merchant Seaman's Register of Service²² for 1836 William is recorded as master of the '*Lively*', later captained and owned by his brother Howard.²³ However, these records date from 1835 so to locate a Master Mariner prior to this period it is necessary to explore other avenues. One course of action is to peruse Lloyd's Registers, books which are published annually giving details of ships, their masters and their intended voyages.

Looking at **Table 1** a degree of caution has to be exercised as we cannot be absolutely certain that W. Ramm, the master of the '*Margaret*' and '*Sally*', is Luke's son. However, from reports found in the shipping sections of the local papers we learn that the '*Lively*' and the '*Defiance*' were of the port of Cley and therefore can assume that we do have the correct William.

Difficulties arose when there was a suspected outbreak of cholera on the '*Lively*' when one

Table 1. W Ramm's voyages extracted from Lloyd's Registers

Year	Ship	Tons	Built	Owners	Port belonging to	Destined Voyage
1827	'Margaret' sloop	74	Perth 1812	A Little		London Coast
1828	ditto	do.	ditto	J Slack		Cowes Coast
1829	ditto	do.	ditto	ditto		Yarmouth Coast
1830	'Sally' Brig	138	Sunderland 1817	F Pank		Plymouth Coast
1831	ditto	do.	ditto	ditto		ditto
1832	'Lively' Brig	108	Yarmouth 1823	J Fisher		Yarmouth
1833	ditto	do.	ditto	Marsh & Co		ditto
1834						
1835						
1836						
1837	'Defiance' Brig	184	Wells 1836	Muskett	Clay	London Malta

of the Ramm brothers was the master. This could have been either William or Howard, as it is not possible to distinguish between them. However, one certainly faced a grim Christmas.

Quarantined

It was not only the hazards of the sea and unpredictability of the weather that the seamen had to face. Visiting other ports and mixing with different people invariably meant that diseases were brought back to their communities. So it was during December 1831 that the *'Lively'*, returning from Newcastle laden with coal, was quarantined outside the port of Cley. The crew were ill and were suspected of having cholera after being in contact with an outbreak in the North East. The crew were left onboard the ship for 30 days over the Christmas period during the depths of winter. Fortunately their cargo of coal wouldn't have deteriorated, but with the ship out of action there would have been financial losses for J. Fisher, the ship's owner.

They were eventually allowed into port on 18th January 1832 as the record for Blakeney & Cley from the *Norwich Mercury*, 21st January 1832 shows: *'The Lively (Ramm) came in with coals from Newcastle, after thirty days quarantine, the whole crew having been attacked with cholera or diarrhoea and more or less severely cramped'*.

Again it is from newspapers that we get verification that in 1837 William was voyaging to the Mediterranean on the *'Defiance'*. In the *Norfolk Chronicle & Norwich Gazette* under the Blakeney & Cley Shipping News for Saturday 15th June 1837 states: *'Arrived in the Bay on the 6th inst. the brig Defiance of this port. Wm. Ramm, Master, from Gergenti to Newcastle with sulphur, last from Falmouth. Sailed the following day.'*

'Gergenti' in Sicily, (called Agrigento since 1927), was the nearest port to the sulphur mines of Grotte where the majority of sulphur was produced in the nineteenth century. This was then imported and used in the manufacture of gunpowder.

The *'Defiance'*

From Lloyds Register of 1837 we read that the *'Defiance'* was a 184 ton brig which was built in 1836 in Wells and sheathed in copper.¹⁰ She was recorded as of Clay, Norfolk, and owned by Muskett. It is known that the owners were J. & W. Muskett who lived in Holt, but details of the Wells shipyard in which she was built have not been found, nor the record of her registry in Cley.

We are then able to follow William's last disastrous voyage from the Blakeney and Cley Shipping section printed weekly in the *Norfolk Chronicle & Norwich Gazette*:

Saturday 26th August 1837:

'Arrived in the Bay on the 16th inst. the brig Defiance of this port. Wm. Ramm, Master, from Newcastle with coals bound for Alexandria and Odessa. Proceeded the following day.'

Saturday 23rd December 1837:

'The brig Defiance, of this port, Wm. Ramm, Master. Arrived at Odessa from Alexandria on the 22nd. Ult. All well to load for England.'

Saturday 10th February 1838:

Cley 8th February 1838 'It is with extreme regret we have to announce the loss of the fine new brig 'Defiance', of this port, together with her Commander, Capt. William Ramm, and all hands except the cabin boy and cook. Capt. R. was very much respected: he has left a wife and six young children to deplore the loss of an affectionate husband and father: they are totally unprovided for. The Defiance sailed from Odessa on the 26th December 1837, with a cargo of tallow and wool for Liverpool and on the 4th January 1838, was wrecked near Kili about 17 miles to the eastward of the entrance to the Bosphorus.'

Further details of the last fateful voyage of the *'Defiance'* have emerged from an article written about the loss of the *'Midas'*.²⁹

'The brigantine Midas, of 168 tons, commanded by Captain Richard Clarke, sailed from Odessa at ten a.m. on Wednesday, December 27th 1837, bound for Falmouth, for orders, in company with the brigantine Hope, Captain Gottridge of Liverpool bound to Glasgow and the brig. Defiance of Clay. When they weighed from Odessa, the wind was blowing so strong from the northward, that several foreign vessels which were ready for sea remained at anchor. The three English ships, however, double-reefed their fore-topsails and made sail. They ran in company during the whole of the night of the 27th, and the next afternoon, at four o'clock, they made the land about thirty miles to the northward of Cape Kalaeri. The breeze still continued to blow strong from the same quarter; but the weather being clear, the captains of the three ships, after having closed and spoken before dark, agreed to run during the night under easy sail, as they were of the opinion that by these means they would make the Bosphorus the following morning. At nine p.m. the wind increased to a gale, and the weather also becoming very thick, the Midas was hove-to under a close-reefed mainsail; and she continued drifting throughout the night S. by E. their reckoning being corrected, about two knots an hour.

The next morning, Friday, December 29th, they again saw their late companion, the Hope, also hove-to; but neither the Defiance nor any other vessel was then in sight.'

The voyages of the 'Midas' and the 'Hope' continued, but there is no further mention of the 'Defiance'. After mistakenly thinking that they had reached the entrance to the Bosphorus the 'Midas' went ashore on the north coast of Turkey and was wrecked, but the 'Hope' eventually arrived safely at Constantinople and proceeded to her destination. It is possible that the 'Defiance' and the 'Midas' were both wrecked within close proximity of each other and at a similar time, but there is no proof.

Some of the crew from both ships survived and from the article we see how the men from the 'Midas' walked about ten miles to a small village where they were feted by the locals and the mate was taken on horseback to Nicomedia (now Izmit); supposedly a journey over the mountains which took five days.

As for the two surviving men from the 'Defiance', we have no written documentation of their rescue and it could be that the cook and cabin boy had endured a similar experience to those of the 'Midas' and made their way to

Constantinople to find a ship back to England.

But the question has to be asked: why did these three English ships set sail when they did, why not wait for suitable weather conditions before leaving Odessa? To answer this question we need to read about the loss of the 'Lyra' a 220 ton brig from Kincardine, Scotland, bound in ballast from the Bosphorus to Odessa at the same time as the 'Defiance' was sailing in the opposite direction.²⁹

*'Loss of the Lyra, Captain Higgins
The brig Lyra of Kincardine, of 220 tons, belonging to Messrs. Drysdale of London and commanded by John Higgins, sailed from the Bosphorus, in ballast, bound to Odessa on December 27th 1837, in company with the brig Trio of Sunderland, Captain Kemp, and the Rother. On leaving the wind was at north-west, but next day it veered to north and came on to blow. The ships, in a few days, were covered with ice from the bobstays to each cathead.*

On January 6th 1838, the Lyra made Cape



Map 2. Sketch map of the Black Sea showing locations mentioned in the text.

Fontane, eighteen miles from Odessa, with the Trio still in company. From this spot, one frozen mass extended towards the north..... the showers of snow were so heavy, and each watch had not less than a foot of snow to remove. When the weather cleared up a little, the Trio was not in sight; and as the wind changed to east-north-east, the Lyra hauled upon the starboard tack..... but at five o'clock the next morning she struck.

The ship soon beat over the reef upon which she had struck, but carried away her rudder. The masts were now cut away, and the vessel continued driving towards the beach till she grounded and bilged, about half a mile from it. Rocks could be seen on each side of her..... had she been driven upon them..... it is more than probable that every one on board would have perished. The sea was now making a clear breach over the brig; no snow was falling, but the cold was so intense, that several birds were seen to fall dead!

Even though the reporter may have over stated the conditions that prevailed at the time, the weather was clearly penetratingly cold with fog and snow which could explain the haste of the 'Defiance', the 'Midas' and the 'Hope' in leaving Odessa. The captains would have been aware that to postpone their departure would have placed them in danger of being ice-bound for the winter. Having weighed up the risks they made a dash for home.

Only the 'Hope' negotiated the Bosphorus safely and arrived in Constantinople. Unfortunately Captain William Ramm and all but two members of the 'Defiance' lost their lives.

The loss of William affected his family, friends and business associates and the following appeal was printed in the *Norfolk Chronicle* for three successive weeks.

'A CASE OF REAL DISTRESS

The Assistance of a generous Public is most earnestly solicited for the WIDOW and CHILDREN of the late Mr. WM. RAMM, of Clay, in this county, who was Commander of the Brig. "Defiance" of that Port, which Vessel was wrecked on the 4th January near Kili, about 17 miles eastward of the Entrance to the Bosphorus, during a tremendous Gale, accompanied with the most intense cold. All hands on board perished except the Cook and Cabin Boy.

Capt. R. has left a Widow and Six small Children to lament the loss of an affectionate Husband and Father, and totally unprovided for: under such circumstances, a few Friends have suggested the propriety of making a Public Appeal for the purpose of raising a Fund, to be placed in the hands of Trustees for the Benefit of the Family.'

From the list of subscribers (**see Appendix**) we can see that William's contacts came from an extensive area.³⁰ It is interesting to speculate on how some of the subscribers were connected to William. The owners of the 'Defiance', Messrs. J. & W. Musckett and their wives gave £12. 0s. 0d, William's brother, Howard, donated £5.0s.0d and his brother-in-law, Robert Plattin, £1.0s.0d. Members of the local community are also to be found on the list as well as the local gentry and clergymen, plus the business people of Cley, Blakeney and the surrounding areas. Many donations were also received from presumably William's business contacts in London and one from Liverpool, making a grand total of £140.3s.0d.

Storms and Halcyon Days

Happily not all sailors died prematurely, many endured the harshness of life at sea and then lived on shore until well into their seventies; two such survivors were James and Howard Ramm, the two sons of Luke and Mary Ramm.

It would appear from this account that life in the 19th century was full of doom and gloom and there was no such thing as fun and frivolity. Sensationalism by the newspapers, then as now, tell mainly of the horror stories and tragedies but there would have been happier times. From the censuses it is seen that wives and children of Master Mariners occasionally accompanied them on voyages visiting exotic places. At home there would have been enjoyment from visiting fairs and family get-togethers.

Acknowledgements

John & Pamela Peake for their guidance and encouragement; Mike & Jean Thompson for sharing their Thompson information; John Dobson for his indefatigable research into shipwrecks and Jeremy Bell for technical support.

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Unless stated otherwise all Norfolk baptisms, marriages and burials have been copied from original Parish Registers which are either on film/fiche in the History Centre, Blakeney, the Norfolk Record Office (NRO) or the Norwich Millenium Library. Census references have also been copied from originals on film/fiche in the same locations. Copies of Ramm research and trees have been deposited in the History Centre, Blakeney.

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Appendix. Subscribers to the appeal for the family of William Ramm:

List of Subscribers	£	s		
Rev. R. I. C. Alderson, Baconsthorpe	1	0	Miss Lee, Clay	10
F. L. Astley Esq.	1	0	Mr. T. Loads, Blakeney	10
Sir Jacob Astley Bart	2	0	W. Maberley, Esq., London	5 0
R. Bacon, Esq. Clay	1	0	Charles Miller, Esq. Hempstead	10
Mr. T. Bacon, Clay		10	P. Mitchell Esq., London	10
Friends per T. W. Bacon Esq., Clay	2	9	Mrs. Moore, Clay	10
Messrs. Ballachey & Son, Holt		10	J. T. Mott, Esq. Barningham	1 0
John Banks, Esq., Holt		10	Mrs. Mott, Barningham	10
Mr. S. Bastard, Clay		10	Messrs. J. & W. Muskett, Holt	10 0
Mr. John Bolding, Waybourne	1	0	Mrs. J. Muskett, Holt	1 0
Mr. H. Bond, Blakeney	1	0	Mrs. W. Muskett, Holt	1 0
Mr. William Borrett, Bintree		10	Mr. H. Nichols, Blakeney	1 0
Messrs. R. & R. Brereton, Blakeney	2	0	Mr. J. Page, Brinton	1 0
Mr. George Brett, Toftrees	1	0	Mr. Pitcher, Clay	10
M. Brown, Esq., London	1	1	Mr. Platten, Clay	1 0
Charles Buck Esq., Clay	1	10	Mr. Porrett, Burnham	1 0
Mrs. Bulwer, Clay		10	Subs. per Powles Brothers & Co. London	
Mr. Thomas Chambers, Colkirk	1	0		10 14
Mr. John Clark, Holt		10	S. Reynolds Esq., London	1 0
Rev. Charles Codd, Letheringsett	2	0	Mr. H. Ramm, Clay	5 0
Mr. J. Copeman, Clay		10	Rev. S. F. Rippengall, Langham	1 0
Rev. J. Cotterill, Blakeney		10	Mr. John Savory, Burnham	10
W. H. Cozens, Esq. Letheringsett		10	Rev. Sillett, Esq. Fakenham	10
Messrs. Crane and Smith, Liverpool	2	2	J. Slade, Esq., London	1 1
Rev. T. Cutting, Holt		10	R. A. Slade. Esq., London	1 1
Rev. A. Dashwood, Thornage		10	S. Smith Esq., Bungay	1 0
A. J. Davis Esq., London	1	1	Mr. W. T. Smith, Clay	5 0
R. Davis, Esq., London	1	1	Rev. J. H. Sparke, Gunthorpe	1 0
Mr. J. Davy, Kelling	1	0	Mr. R. Stevens, sen., Watton	10
Mr. W. Dawson, Holt		10	Messrs W. & C. Temple, Blakeney	1 0
Mrs. Dingle, Clay		10	Miss Thomlinson, Catton	10
Mr. J. Ebbetts, Clay	1	0	D. Thompson, Esq., Fakenham	5 0
J. Fancombe, Esq. London	1	0	Messrs W. J. & T. Todd, London	1 1
Messrs. W. & J. M. Flockton, London	1	0	Mr. Utting, Boro' Hall	10
Rev. F. Gladwin, Holt		10	Charles Wallis, Esq. London	3 3
Mr. Samuel Goldsmith, Corpusty	1	0	Friends per Charles Wallis Esq., London	
Mr. John Gowen, Holt		10		1 6
G. Graves Esq. London		10	Small Donations by C. Wallis Esq. London	
J. Graves Esq., London		10		5 10
N. Griffith, Esq., London	5	0	Rev. H. J. Lee Warner, Walsingham	1 0
D. Gunton, Esq. Matlask	1	0	F. Wheatley, Esq., Mundesley	2 0
Messrs. Gurney & Co. Fakenham	10	0	Mr J. G. Woodcock, Blakeney	10
William Hardy, Esq., Letheringsett	1	0		
Mrs. Hardy, Letheringsett	1	0		
Mr. W. Harris, Holt	1	0		
Harrison Esq. London	1	1		
Mr. J. Hill, Briston		10		
Mrs. Martha Hill, Briston	1	0		
Mr. W. Howard, Stiffkey		10		
Rev. S. Jodrell, Saxlingham		10		
A. P. Johnson, Esq. London	1	1		
Mr. J. Johnson, Blakeney		10		
P. S. Johnson Esq. London		10		
Mr. T. Johnson, Blakeney	1	0		
Messrs R. G. Jones & Co. London	1	1		
Mr. Jordan, Blakeney		10		
Mr. J. Lee, Clay	1	0		
Mrs. Lee, Clay		10		

The Little Red Box

A Short History of British Postboxes

David A Perryman

Synopsis: The development of letter boxes in the UK is traced from their introduction in the Channel Isles in 1852 to the present day, together with a detailed account of the boxes surviving in the Blakeney area.

Introduction

In the early 1960s, as a Municipal Engineer the professional journals I read were full of articles on 'progress' such as the construction of high rise blocks of flats, demolition of quaint residential and shopping areas and the brave new world to which we were being projected. It meant employment for me, but also an opportunity to look in greater detail at some aspects of street furniture.

In one of the journals I came across a short article reporting that the first sheet steel Pillar Box had been introduced and would eventually replace all the Post Office Letter Boxes. In 1968 this prompted me to photograph a typical familiar box; that led me to photograph a box in a wall and consequently to another familiar box that was attached to a telegraph post.

To add to this embryonic collection, the different Royal ciphers were sought out with a natural extension to cover the various manufacturers: 'Royal Mail' has only appeared on letter boxes since 1991. It was noted that a few of the manufacturers were also familiar as the suppliers of other municipal castings.

The Letter Box Study Group

In 1976 to short circuit my journeys photographing letter boxes I wrote for catalogues to the various manufacturers that appeared to be in business. Little information resulted from these enquiries, but The Lion Foundry Co Ltd did pass on my details to the then newly-formed 'The Letter Box Study Group'. I became member No. 14; the membership is now around 700 like-minded persons.

The aim of the Group is to research, preserve, restore and document all types of boxes

and their locations. In the early days of the Group information was sought from the Post Office (now Royal Mail), but now Royal Mail consults the Group, which has become an officially recognised organisation. All information passed to the Group is retained and is made available to members.

The Group is now in the process of locating and documenting every letter box in the UK, Channel Isles, Isle of Man and the Republic of Ireland – all by Members at their own expense and in their own time. The list of boxes now exceeds 102,000 and some areas of the UK have still to be covered. Obviously, changes do occur and listings are updated as and when members pass on the appropriate information. Royal Mail changes between 2% and 5% of boxes per annum!

There are, however, many other facets to Postal History, each providing opportunities for further research. Many books have been written on many aspects: stamp use and collecting, mail by train, architecture of Post Offices, hand stamps, underground postal railways, staff uniforms, surveying and trade unions are but a few of the areas.

Early Postal History

The recent TV series 'Larkrise to Candleford' illustrates how at one time in this country corresponding by letter and hence the Post Office was central to the social life of some groups. But the development of letter boxes is a history of the fortunes and misfortunes of foundries and other manufacturers. Then politics, transport, urban development and most importantly education also played their part in the drive for a national postal system.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century

there was no formal system of primary education in England, although Scotland had had village schools for a hundred years or so. A few charity schools existed in England but, generally, the population was uneducated. In fact the ruling classes believed that education would breed discontent amongst the working population. However, a few charity schools existed in England and Sunday Schools which also taught reading and writing were quite common in parishes by 1784; by 1831, 1.25 million children attended them in Britain.

However, this environment was to change and citizens such as Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster pioneered the spread of primary education. In 1833 Parliament made the first ever grant of public money for education, thereby increasing the number of people who could read and write, and stimulating the desire to use the postal system. This provided the basis for the development of the letter box in Britain.

In continental Europe letter boxes had existed in Florence in the sixteenth century and it is known that boxes with slots for letters were hung at the entrance to large churches in Italy. Also there are documents from 1653 referring to the existence of boxes in Paris. Roadside boxes were already established on the continent before being introduced in the British Isles.

In England Edward IV set up relay posts to carry his Royal letters and later, in 1517, Henry VIII developed this further and appointed a Master of the Posts. So by the end of the sixteenth century there were four post routes:-

- London to Berwick
- London to Holyhead
- London to Dover
- London to Plymouth

In 1635 Charles I issued a proclamation that the general public could forward letters via his 'post-boys' and coaches. The receiver of the item was required to pay for the service.

In 1784 the first mail coach was introduced, running from Bristol to London at a speed of 7 miles per hour. Gradually the coaches were introduced nationwide. Better roads enabled the mail to be transported more quickly and the average speed increased to 10 miles per hour. The mail coaches developed a romanticism that has inspired artists and writers, even to the present day, but they provided a service for only 60 to 70 years.

Early Development of Post Boxes

A major leap forward was the introduction by Roland Hill in 1840 of the Penny Black stamp paid for by the sender. The cost for a simple packet or letter being one penny, with other rates for different items but the sender always paid.

This resulted in a huge increase in the volume of post and collecting points were needed apart from the Receiving or Post Offices and what better place than in the streets? Anthony Trollope, the author, who at the time was a Post Office Surveyor, took the first step with the introduction of a roadside collecting box in 1852 at St Helier, Jersey. A pillar box at St Peter Port, Guernsey, is thought to be one of Trollope's original boxes and is still in use. **(Photograph 1)** The box was made of cast iron by John Vaudin, a Jersey founder.

The first box on the mainland was erected in 1853 at Carlisle. The oldest box still in use on the mainland is at Barnes Cross, near Bishop Caundle, Dorset, also dated 1853 and manufactured by John Butt of Gloucester. In the Eastern District two very early boxes are still in use at Framlingham in Suffolk, both made by Andrew Handyside & Company of Derby in 1855; this foundry became Derby Castings Ltd in 1931. **(Photograph 2)**

In the 1850s there were regional differences in the styles of boxes installed across the country, as the Post Office District Surveyors could use boxes of their own choice. Due to a misunderstanding, this led in 1856 to a box being made for the Birmingham District that stood eight feet high. Fortunately only three were made!

London's first pillar box was square with a ball on top, made in 1855 by H & M D Grissell of Hoxton, London. This box is seen in many publications on postal history. A very ornate pillar box appeared in London in 1857 with a cheaper plain version appearing elsewhere. The ornate box was manufactured by Smith & Hawkes of Birmingham **(Photograph 3)** and the plain economy box by Cochrane of Dudley. In these boxes the posting aperture was in the roof, but covered by a flap.

A National Standard box was introduced in 1859 and the design was retained unchanged until 1866. It had the now familiar cylindrical shape and came in two sizes, manufactured by Cochrane. However, in Liverpool there was a problem as even the larger National Standard box could not cope with the volume of mail in a very busy sea port and commercial city. A larger box was authorised in 1863 and is known as the 'Liverpool Special'. It had a crown on the top and was also manufactured by Cochrane.

The standard box introduced in 1859 had a horizontal aperture in one side at the top and was protected by a flap which opened inwardly. Prior to this the position of the aperture changed with style and manufacturer, for example:-

1855 Horizontal

Standard box by H & MD Grissell of Hoxton
1855 Vertical



Photograph 1.
St Peters Port,
Guernsey. A survivor:
Trollope's original
box of 1852 that is
still in use.



Photograph 2.
Framlingham,
Suffolk. An early
box from 1855 still
in use.



Photograph 3. In
Post Office collec-
tion. The ornate box
that appeared in
London, painted
green with the orna-
mentation in gold.



Photograph 4.
King's College,
Cambridge. The nos-
taalgic 'Penfold' pillar
box in 1974!

Box for Western & Gloucester District by
John Butt & Co

1856 Vertical

Box for Northern District & Ireland by John
Blaylock & Co

1856 Horizontal

Box for Northern District by Ashworth

1856 Vertical

Box for Eastern District by Andrew
Handyside & Co

1856 Vertical

Fluted box by Smith & Hawkes

1857 Horizontal

Fluted box by Smith & Hawkes

1857 Horizontal

London Ornate box by Smith & Hawkes

The eight feet tall box of 1856 referred to earlier had a fluted design pleasing to the eye and resulted in similar fluted, but shorter, designs being produced in 1856-1857. Examples are still in use in Malvern and Warwick.

The most frequently depicted, indeed cherished and nostalgic, box was introduced in 1866 and is now copied for use in conservation areas. The box was hexagonal and designed by the architect, John Penfold. It is known as the 'Penfold' box and continued to be manufactured for thirteen years, until the high cost of manufacture brought about a redesign; it was also said that it was difficult to clear the box. It was manufactured by Cochrane and came in three sizes known as: A - large, B - medium, C - small. **(Photograph 4)**

There were four variations to this design over the following thirteen years; these being in the positions of the aperture, time of collection plate and Royal cypher. An example could be found until a few years ago at Gentleman's Walk, Norwich, when it was demolished by a lorry. However, it was lovingly restored and can now be seen opposite City Hall, near the steps going down to the market.

In 1879 the design reverted to a cylindrical form and remained basically the same until 1968, though changes were made of course to the cypher of the monarch, the name of the manufacturer, the size and protection of the aperture, collection plate holders and crown shapes. However, between 1879 and 1887 the Royal cypher and the words 'Post Office' were omitted; these are known as 'Anonymous' boxes. The enthusiast will list many more subtle variations such as word spacing and letter sizes!

In 1899 a double aperture box was introduced in London for 'Town' and 'Country' postings but these are also found elsewhere. 1929 saw the introduction of a telephone kiosk incorporating a stamp vending machine and a posting box. **(Photograph 5)**. This was to be followed in 1932 by an oval shaped box for posting letters and incorporating a stamp vending machine; two sizes were produced. Another 1930's innovation was boxes for airmail that were painted blue. These were discontinued in 1938 but the colour for airmail letters today is still blue.



Photograph 5.
Merton, London.
1929-33 telephone
kiosk incorporating a
stamp vending
machine and a post
box



Photograph 6.
Albany Road,
Norwich. 1968
sheet steel pillar
box.



Photograph 7.
Morrison's
Fakenham. 1995
pillar box for use in
shopping malls or
stores.



Photograph 8.
Boyden End, Suffolk.
1859 second stan-
dard wall box; in use
when photographed
in 1979.

Colour of Boxes

From earliest times red was considered to be the royal colour and the King's messenger wore a red uniform when carrying the Royal Mail. The present day uniform of a postman still incorporates some red, so retaining links with the past. Red was, of course, a prominent colour on the early mail coaches and is the colour of the present fleet of vehicles.

The first posting boxes erected in Jersey in 1852 were painted red but subsequently boxes in other parts of the British Isles were painted in colours according to the taste of the local District Surveyor. Frequently the lettering was picked out in gold and this practice lasted until 1879. The gold contrasted well with the colour of the box which was often a dull bronze green, being a paint which stood up reasonably well to the elements.

The quality of paint in the nineteenth century was not very good and fading of some colours was a problem. Various colouring experiments were carried out and in 1874, red was tried out in London to see if it would be a more suitable colour. In the 1880s two boxes were painted chocolate brown, which did not fade but was an expensive paint. In 1882 there was a suggestion that a luminous paint be used so that boxes could be located after dark! The idea was not accepted.

Finally a changeover to red was universally adopted in 1882 and repainting took place as

and when required, being completed by 1884. The present day colour is still red and has become known world-wide as 'pillar box red'. At the turn of the nineteenth-twentieth century boxes were frequently washed and re-varnished to protect the lustre, which was the pride of the Post Office.

Recent Developments

Cast iron boxes generally require full replacement following damage. So the theory developed that post boxes could be made of sheet steel panels that could be easily and reasonably economically replaced. In 1968 the square shaped sheet steel box was introduced including measures to overcome some of the problems of the familiar cylindrical boxes. These improvements were internal mechanisms to facilitate faster clearing and different construction methods to reduce the cost of replacing parts if the box was damaged. This box was designed by David Mellor, a noted industrial designer. However, it was found that sheet steel was not durable and quickly deteriorates as a result of, say, canine action and winter road salting (**Photograph 6**).

In 1974 a square cast iron box was introduced that incorporated a separate compartment for a postman's bag. It was a place where postmen making deliveries on foot could leave some of their letters to be picked up later and thus reduce the size and weight of the heavy

bags they were carrying. The alternative was to return to the sorting office to pick up another load. This box had a short life mainly due to the high cost of production.

By 1979 the moulds for the earlier cast iron cylindrical boxes were no longer available and, so as to overcome the problem of a shortfall in the number of boxes available, the moulds of export models were used, in particular those made for Nigeria. They can be recognised by the lack of fluting on the side of lid (or roof) and are known as 'Nigerian Boxes'.

In 1980 a new box was introduced, this is known as the 'K' box and was designed by Tony Gibbs. It is cylindrical in shape with no over-hanging lid and is waisted at the bottom. It has an internal mechanism for indicating "next collection" and a sloping time plate for comfortable reading by the public.

In 1991 cast iron cylindrical boxes were reintroduced, but are labelled "Royal Mail", not "Post Office".

Special Boxes

A recent development is the special boxes for use in supermarkets, shopping malls, service stations and garage forecourts, which are generally manufactured in fibreglass and/or polypropylene. A typical example can be seen at Morrison's in Fakenham. (**Photograph 7**)

Wall Boxes

It was not long after the introduction of roadside pillar letter boxes that it was realised that they were not suitable for all locations and were considered too costly for areas with small populations.

In 1857 a wall box was produced by Smith & Hawkes that could be built into buildings, boundary walls or even free standing brick pillars. These boxes were of cast iron, had an inward opening flap to the aperture, a Royal Cipher and a panel over which were the words 'Cleared at'. The time of clearance could be painted in the panel. A small door for clearing was positioned centrally at the front of the box. The first boxes had no protection to prevent the ingress of rain. The box had a straight level top and the dimensions of the front were 29 inches high and 10 inches wide. Following the problem of rainwater entry a pedimented hood was devised to fit over the top of the box. In some instances slate or other similar material was cemented in to provide a projecting shelf over the aperture. In 1859 Smith & Hawkes produced a second version incorporating weather protection improvements.

A larger version, 32 inches high and 10 inches wide was produced in 1859 and only one survives at Wickhambrook, Suffolk, but it is no



Photograph 9. A treasure at Chapel Lane, Wiveton. Wall box of 1861-1871.



Photograph 10. Stody. 1883 wall box with a modified aperture.

longer in use. It was found by chance by the writer in September 1977 and at that time was still in use. The door is in the lower half of the front. (**Photograph 8**)

In 1861 Smith & Hawkes produced a series of boxes, including another standard wall box still 29 inches high and 10 inches wide with a projecting hood, door in the lower half of the front and provision for an enamel painted collection plate to be bolted on. An escutcheon to the lock was added to later productions.

There were two further boxes in 1861, a large box 32.375 inches high and 13.625 inches wide, known as No 1 and much later as Type B, and a slightly smaller box 30.25 inches high and 10 inches wide, being No 2 and, again later, known as Type C. An example of No 2 survives and is still in use at Wiveton. (**Photograph 9**) Production continued until 1871 and quite a few examples survive in Norfolk. Another large wall box, known as Type A, was introduced in 1871, again manufactured by Smith & Hawkes.

Then from 1874 other founders obtained contracts to produce letter boxes. These included Bernard Walker of the Eagle Foundry until 1878, then the Eagle Range and Foundry Company from 1879 to 1881.

In 1881 a style of wall box was introduced that continued to be produced until recent years. There were minor changes, but not as dramatic as on the earlier boxes. One problem was that the aperture on the 1881 box was only 6.25 inches wide and had to be altered to



Photograph 11. High Street, Blakeney. A poor example of a 'Ludlow' Box; the collection times plate holder has been added.



Photograph 12. Coast Road, Cley. 1896 pattern lamp box.

accommodate changes in envelope sizes and shapes as fashions in stationery changed. During the 1960s many of these early boxes were replaced and a loss of heritage occurred. But, sensibly, some boxes were modified and a well designed pre-cast aperture was fitted after cutting out the original aperture. There is an example at Stody. **(Photograph 10)**

Postmaster Boxes

Even until 1908 sub-postmasters had to finance the cost of providing boxes at their premises. Consequently examples of home made boxes can still be found in many small isolated villages. Many postmasters, however, obtained the necessary box from a Birmingham carpenter by the name of James Ludlow. They were called 'carpenters boxes' and manufacture commenced in 1885.

In 1912 the firm James Ludlow secured a contract to supply all sub-post offices with his approved standard boxes that have become known as 'Ludlow' boxes. They are different from the standard roadside wall boxes and often have enamelled plates with the Royal cipher and other information.

While generally 'Ludlow' boxes were only found at Post Offices, with a number of Post Offices closing, this is no longer so. 'Ludlow' boxes can still be found locally in Blakeney, Cley and Morston **(see table)** and there is also a fine example in Little Walsingham. From 1954 they did not have an enamel plate, **(Photograph 11)** so an early

EIIR plate is a rarity; the plate in the Weybourne example is a replacement for the original which was probably stolen. The firm James Ludlow ceased to manufacture boxes for the Post Office in 1965.

Lamp Boxes

Small boxes that could be attached to lamp posts were introduced in London in 1896. These offered a cheaper facility for residents' correspondence that, when posted late at night, could be collected and delivered early the next morning. (Many will recall that a post card could be sent early in the morning and a reply received by afternoon tea!) The boxes are known as 'lamp boxes'.

Over the life of the '1896 pattern' relatively few changes were made other than maker's name, cipher and omission of crown, except on those manufactured between 1911 and 1922 by Andrew Handyside. The first had a rounded top with the word "Letters" on the front at the top but this was soon changed to "Letters Only". **(Photograph 12)** Boxes produced between 1931 and 1935 were provided with a marginally shorter door. This shape remained until 1935 when a flatter top was introduced, manufactured by W T Allen & Company and the same design was maintained, except for a change of cipher.

(Photograph 13)

A revision of the 1935 design was proposed in 1940 but not adopted until 1954, although it is still known as the '1940 pattern'. In this pattern the top curves down to the back and there have been few changes, but since 1977 boxes will be seen with lugs on the sides. There have been several manufacturers, resulting in different sizes of collection plate holders. "Post Office" was replaced with "Royal Mail" in 1994.

(Photograph 14)

Pouch Boxes

The need for a separate compartment for the postman's bag, as found in the 1974 cast iron pillar box (see page 77), is now dealt with by providing separate plain boxes next to lamp boxes or wall boxes. These are called 'Pouch boxes' and there are varying designs. They are often found where there are large delivery rounds that are covered on foot or cycle; there is one in Wells (near St. Nicholas Church).

A closer look at Local Letter Boxes

In the 1970s I noticed that letter boxes were indicated on the old County Series 1:2500 Ordnance Survey maps of Norfolk dated 1905. It was likely that most of these would be Victorian, although a few might be very early Edwardian. Kelly's Directories were consulted as the position of each box was listed, so in 1979 I

Table: Local Post Boxes**Victoria**

Cockthorpe	nr group of cottages	Type C (small) wall box	W T Allen 1886-1901
Wiveton	Iron Box Corner, Chapel Lane NB Later known as type C	Small wall box	Smith & Hawkes 1861-1871

Edward VII

Binham	Warham Road NB This has a plain cipher compared with the later 'curly' cipher seen on pillar boxes elsewhere	Type C (small) wall box	WT Allen 1901-1904
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George V

Cley	S side of Coast Road NB The 'GR' cipher is large with no crown on box. The door is slightly shorter than previous models of this type. Maker's name is on the rear of the box	1896 pattern lamp box	W T Allen 1933 -1935
Saxlingham	Built into corner pillar of boundary wall of churchyard NB Has a large cipher 4in high	Type B (medium) wall box	W T Allen 1933 -1936

Edward VIII

None of these rare boxes in this area

George VI

Cley	S end of Church Lane	1935 pattern lamp box	W T Allen 1937-1947
Stiffkey	Camping Hill estate	A similar box to above	

Elizabeth II

Binham	opp. Closed Post Office in Front St. NB Made for use in countryside. Royal Mail logo on front	Box on circular support; Box shaped like motor cycle petrol tank	Romec 1999
Blakeney	Cley Rd NB Medium size. Makers name on front of box, length 3 3/8in x?in high	1940 pattern lamp box	Carron Company 1969-1974
	Queens Close NB Has 1977 change lugs - on the side for front fixing. Makers name, length 3 7/8in x 5/16in high	1940 pattern lamp box	Carron Company 1978-1980
	adjacent 'Spar Store', Westgate St. NB A very thin small raised plate on the door carries makers name	1940 pattern lamp box	Abbot Engineering 1988-1994

	wall of former Post Office, High St. NB Collection plate added	Ludlow wall box	James Ludlow 1955-1965
Cley	wall of former Post Office in High Street NB collection plate added, enamel with a E11R CIPHER and Post Office letter box legend	Ludlow wall box	James Ludlow 1952-1954
Glandford		1940 pattern lamp box	W T Allan 1947-1952
Langham	Crossroads, Wizard's End NB with 8in aperture. Originally no collection plate older, but one added later	wall box – now out of use	W T Allen 1952-1954
	nr above NB Royal Mail logo on top, crown on back. To satisfy modern needs aperture 10 3/4in wide	new type on stout iron post	Machan Engineering 1995
	Swan Close/ Hollow Lane	1940 pattern lamp box	Allied Iron Founders 1964-1969
Morston	below window of former Post Office NB had a plain front and no enamel plate, Post Office logo was cast on plate on lower part of door. Collection plate added and later a 'DIY' door knob	Ludlow wall box	James Ludlow 1954-1965
Salthouse	On green nr Dun Cow P.H. & telephone box NB Makers name on front of box, length 3in x 3/16 high	1940 pattern lamp box	Carron Company 1974-1976
Stiffkey	corner Greenway / Wells Road NB no maker's name shown	1940 pattern lamp box	McDowall, Steven & Co. 1955-1964
	nr shop, Wells Road	1940 pattern lamp box	Carron Company 1978-1980
Wiveton	N end of Hall Lane	1940 pattern lamp box	Carron Company 1978-1980

wondered how many Victorian boxes still remained in use in Norfolk.

It was decided that only a physical survey could provide the answer and, armed with my lists, every town, village and hamlet was visited. I found the remains of a box in the grounds of Thelveton Hall and also the remains of a box in the Thetford Military Training Area. The survey was completed in May 1985. I found 220 still in use with the oldest, a wall box, dating from 1861 in Bramerton, and the oldest pillar box, was the 'Penfold' in Gentleman's Walk, Norwich.

From the map study it was noted that the

evolution of urban areas was reflected in the Royal ciphers on boxes, the Victorian boxes being in the oldest parts through to E11R boxes on modern business parks. This relationship is not absolute as there is an 'Anonymous box' of 1879 to 1883 sited at the Pinewoods Caravan Site in Wells!

New styles of letter box are continually being introduced, an example of one introduced in 1995 is at Binham Road, Langham, replacing the wall box at 'Wizards End' and another slightly later 1999 style is at Front Street, Binham, replacing the wall box in the wall of the former



Photograph 13. Church Lane, Cley. 1935 pattern lamp box.



Photograph 14. Spar shop, Westgate Street, Blakeney. The very familiar 1940 pattern lamp box found in the Blakeney Area.

Post Office. (Photographs 15 & 16)

The letter boxes that can now be found in the Blakeney area are listed in the accompanying Table; these are arranged chronologically by monarchs. This information is correct at the time of preparing this paper in August 2009, but the position and type of box can easily be changed. An example is provided by the "Ludlow" box at High Kelling Post Office that was damaged beyond repair by a vehicle. It was replaced by a Pillar Box made by Machan Engineering and dated 2009; the date of manufacture is on the base of the box.

The 1887 1:2500 Ordnance Survey maps of the area indicate that there were boxes at Chapel Lane, Wiveton, High Street, Blakeney opposite the Methodist Chapel, a Post Office in Westgate Street, Blakeney and a Post Office in High Street Cley.

From this array it is disappointing that only one 'historic box' survives and this is the one at Wiveton dated between 1861 and 1871. It is the only VR box in NR25 – it must be treasured. However, the outline shape of a post box can still be seen in the flint work of a wall in the High Street, Blakeney, but nothing is visible in

the wall of the Victorian Post Office in Cley (now Whalebone House) although photographic evidence survives. However, at Salhouse the position of an early post box can be seen in the front wall of the now closed Post Office. Similarly at Stiffkey there is an obvious bricked up opening of a former post box.

The superseded box at Wizards End, Langham, which is still in position, is of the 1952 to 1954 era and has an EIIR cipher. A GR wall box manufactured by W T Allen and dated 1933 to 1936 can be found outside Saxlingham Church.

Conclusion

Letter boxes are part of our social history, but with growing uncertainty of the future of the Post Office and Royal Mail and the clamour for economic expediency rather than service it is difficult to see how the present system of mail collection can survive. Listing of letter boxes demonstrates how few now survive in the Blakeney Area.

During the early years of the twentieth century British-made letter boxes could be found



Photograph 15. *Wizard's End, Binham Road, Langham. A now familiar pillar box of 1995.*

throughout the world, but that is changing. During the same period correspondence was prolific, ranging from perfumed SWALK letters, post cards from far and wide, often lovingly bound into cherished bundles and kept for sentimental reasons together with invoices, cheques in payment and many other items that may



Photograph 16. *Front Street Binham. 1999 futuristic looking pillar box.*

superficially appear inconsequential. Yet they can provide significant insights. Now we have email.

As historians we can record and, if possible, preserve and conserve our heritage, even if not in use, as a reminder of the past. This is the objective of 'The Letter Box Study Group'.

Suggested further reading

Browne, Christopher *Getting The Message, The Story of The British Post Office* Alan Sutton Publishing 1993

Daunton, M J *The Post Office since 1840* Athlone Press 1985

Ferrugia, Jean Young *The Letter Box* Contour Press 1969

Hill, Col. H W *Rowland Hill And The Fight For Penny Post* Frederick Warne & Co Ltd 1940

Johnson, Peter *Mail By Rail* Ian Allen Publishing 1995

Rider, Bevan *A More Expeditious Conveyance* J A Allen & Co Ltd 1984

Robinson, Martin *Old Letter Boxes* Shire Publication 188 1987

The Letter Box Study Group can be visited at www.lbsg.org

The Dean and Chapter Estate in Field Dalling, 1526 to 1900.

Mike Medlar

Synopsis: The author looks at the problems faced by the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral over the 400 years when it owned property in Field Dalling. He explores how it tried to regain control of the estate after nearly 200 years of long leases.

The early years, 1526 to 1600

Donations to monastic houses were common during the Middle Ages. The major period of gifts was between the Norman Conquest (1066) and the Black Death (1349). The coming of the friars in the thirteenth century saw a shift away from donations to monasteries to the benefit of the friars. The loss of up to fifty percent of the population of England in the second half of the fourteenth century – which made the survivors conscious of the threat of sudden death – saw a further shift in religious benefaction towards chantries, where a priest would pray and sing for the soul of an individual. In the light of this changing pattern of donation to religious institutions, it is with some surprise that, in 1526, Field Dalling came into the hands of the Priory of the Holy Trinity of Norwich.¹

A complex series of legal transactions in that year between the Duke of Norfolk, the Mayor and Communality of the City of Norwich and Prior Robert of Holy Trinity, saw the manor of Wolterton and Gibbs in Field Dalling, together with other lands in Wighton, Langham, Binham, Bale and Gunthorpe, exchange hands and become the property of the Prior.² The manor of Wolterton and Gibbs was said to contain 320 acres.³ The Prior did not benefit from this acquisition for very long, as the cathedral priory was dissolved in 1538 and its estates redistributed in large part to the new Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral.⁴ Relatively speaking, the manor of Wolterton and Gibbs was not one of the larger or more important of the Priory estates, being valued at £13 in 1535.⁵ In comparison, neighbouring Hindringham was valued at £41 and Sedgeford in west Norfolk – the prio-

ry's most valuable manor – was worth £61. Although the priory owned this new estate, it did not farm it directly but leased it out as it had done with all its manorial estates from the 1420s onwards.⁶

The new foundation of Norwich cathedral in 1538, under a corporate body known as the Dean and Chapter, saw the majority of the priory lands pass to the dean and chapter. This relatively happy state suffered a severe shock within a decade when, after the succession of Edward VI in 1547, there was another attack on the church's wealth. Edward's ministers were more protestant in outlook than Henry VIII and his later ministers and this, together with an increasing demand for money because of the Scottish wars, resulted in new demands for money from the church. Norwich cathedral was refounded in 1547 and lost over ten percent of its income as a result.⁷ Field Dalling was not among the manors lost to the Dean and Chapter in 1547, and was to remain in its hands for another 400 years.

One of the results of the continued attacks on church lands in the period 1536 to 1559 was that the two major church institutions (bishops, and deans and chapters) let their lands on long-term leases.⁸ These leases gave the Dean and Chapter a secure income, but this was soon to be illusory as the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were to be a period of rapid inflation with agricultural produce prices rising nearly sevenfold between 1530 and 1620.⁹ The long leases meant the Dean and Chapter was not able to increase its rental income to keep pace with inflation. Long leases granted by ecclesiastical institutions were often granted to important court officials or to prominent local gentry. Christopher Heydon, of neighbouring

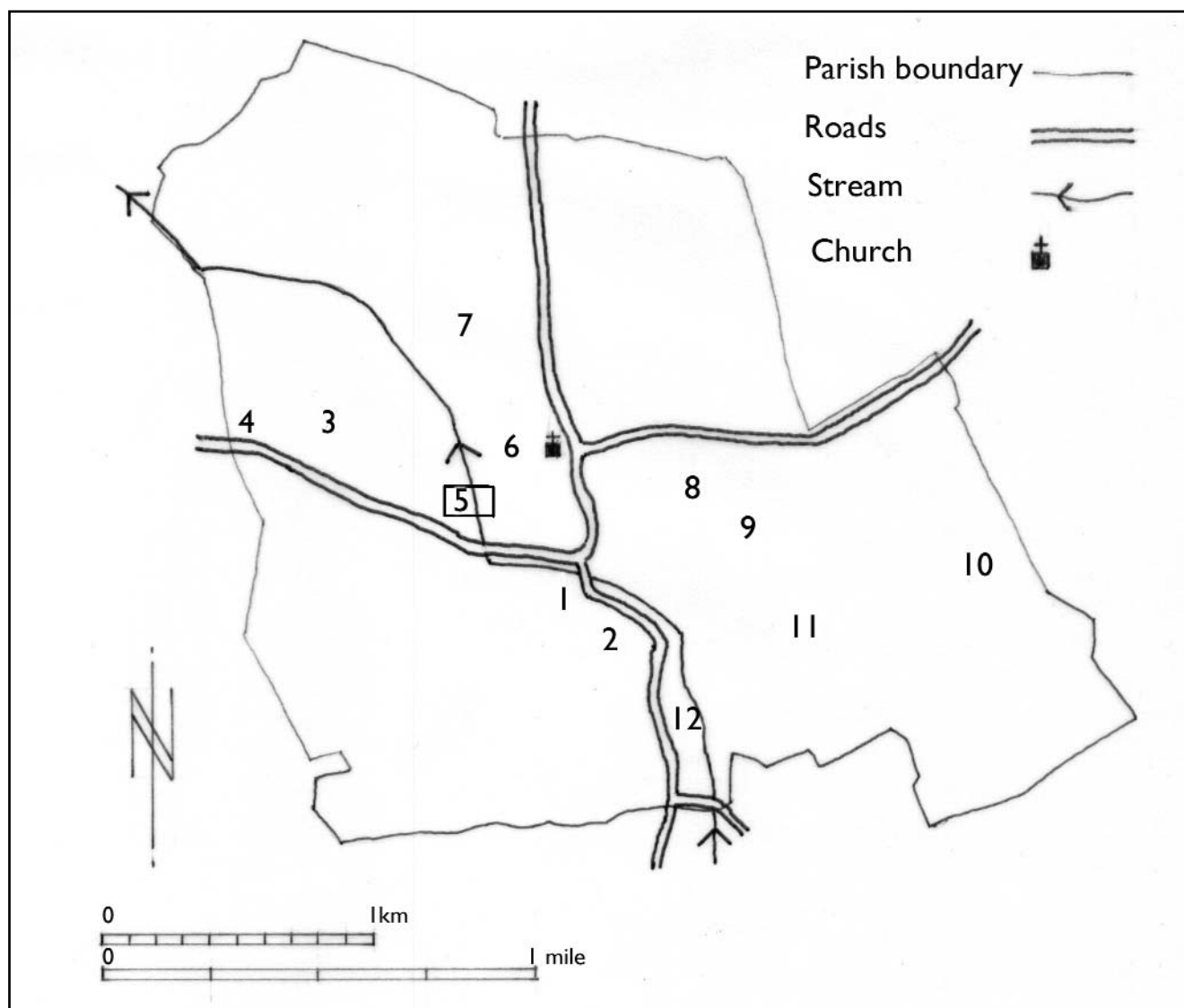


Figure 1 – Key to location of places named in 1641

- 1** Manor farmhouse on south side of Beckingate Common
- 2** Site of Wolterton's manor known as Roper's Close
- 3** Craneland Close
- 4** Lambard's Meadow at Woodbrigg
- 5** Site of Gibb's Manor known as Monks' Meadow
- 6** Church Close
- 7** Free Croft
- 8** Mason's Close
- 9** Duck's Close
- 10** Eastmore Common
- 11** Claypit Close
- 12** Ruskall's Common

Saxlingham, obtained a very favourable 80-year lease of the Field Dalling estate from the Dean in 1550 for a rent of £12 13s 4d per annum. The Heydons had been a rich and influential gentry family in north Norfolk for over a century, and their estate was centred on their fortified manor house at Baconsthorpe. Christopher Heydon had started to build a new manor house in Saxlingham in the mid-sixteenth century and the Dean and Chapter's lands seem to have

been added to this holding.¹⁰ Heydon's lease mentions land in Field Dalling only and, although later documents testify this lease included land in Bale and Gunthorpe, there is no reference to land in any other parish. This could account for the slightly lower rent in 1550 compared with the 1535 valuation.¹¹ A second lease, this time for 99 years, was granted to James Bourne later in the sixteenth century – this lease would only come into effect in 1630 on

Table 1. Changing size of Dean & Chapter Estate

Date	Acres	Roods	Perches	Source
1526	320	0	0	NRO DCN 44/37/1
1641	206	2	8	NRO DCHN 59/14/1
1645	211	0	0	NRO DCN 59/14/7
1705	200	2	0	NRO MS 3012 10.145
1708	200	0	0	NRO MS 3130 3D3
1729	204	3	20	NRO DCN52/2
1729	150	0	0	NRO DCN 52/2
1793	150	0	0	NRO DCN 52/2
1807	156	0	2	NRO DCN 52/2
1840	187	0	19	NRO DN/TA 490

the expiry of Heydon's lease. It was for a lower rental of £11 3s 4d, but the Dean and Chapter would have received an entry fine at the time of signing the lease.

Size and distribution of the Dean and Chapter Estate in Field Dalling

There are no records of a measured survey of the dean and chapter's estate prior to the eighteenth century. The 320 acres in the documents of 1526 appear to have decreased to 231 a[cres] 1 r[ood] and 8 p[erches] in 1641. As mentioned above, some land in Binham, Wighton and Langham may not have been included in Christopher Heydon's lease of 1550. By 1640, Heydon's lease had expired and James Bourne's lease had passed into the hands of the Bosworth family of Diss in south Norfolk. The Bosworths were to control this estate for over 100 years.¹² In 1640, Bosworth claimed to be renting 236 acres.¹³

A 1641 terrier details 83 separate pieces of land. Three of these pieces, totalling 25 acres, were in Bale and Gunthorpe, which left 80 pieces, totalling 206a 2r 8p in Field Dalling.¹⁴ The largest piece of land was the 24-acre Roper's Close which was identified as the site of Wolterton's manor – the moated site a few yards to the south of the present Manor Farm House. The close name was not old, as a Robert Roper was identified as the sub-tenant in 1641. The smallest piece was a 1r strip of arable in the open fields of Field Dalling. Although more than half the entries on the terrier relate to arable land in strips, they amount to only one third of the total land held by the Dean and Chapter in Field Dalling. The majority of the estate was contained in enclosed fields and meadows. Nearly 24 acres was meadow, a very high percentage for Norfolk at this time, reflecting the distribution of the estate which was largely in

the south and west of the parish which is watered by three streams.

The distribution of land may be the result of some consolidation of holdings, but was also a reflection of the medieval field systems which were found in East Anglia. Here, the arable was not scattered across the parish as in Midland Field Systems, but tended to be concentrated close to the farmhouse of the tenant.¹⁵ The amalgamation of strips into larger units, and even closes within the open-field furlongs, reflects the changing nature of agriculture in Norfolk in the seventeenth century, when there was a movement towards larger farms growing for a commercial market. This concentration into a few hands had not progressed far within the Dean and Chapter's estate, as there were still 13 sub-tenants in 1641 – holding as little as the half an acre of John Caster, compared with the sizeable holding of 36 acres by Henry Plane.

The size of the dean and chapter estate was never precisely established until the enclosure of

Table 2. Value per acre

Year	value per acre	source
1550	1s 1d	NRO MS 11837 34D1
1640	5s 0d	NRO DCN 52/2
1705	between 1s 3d and 2s 0d	NRO MS 3012 10.145
1729	11d	NRO MS 3130 3D3
1772	9s 0d	NRO NRS VI MS 3087 3D4
1772	11s 0d	NRO DCN 52/2
1793	14s 0d	NRO DCN 52/2
1807	14s 0d to 30s 0d	NRO DCN 52/2

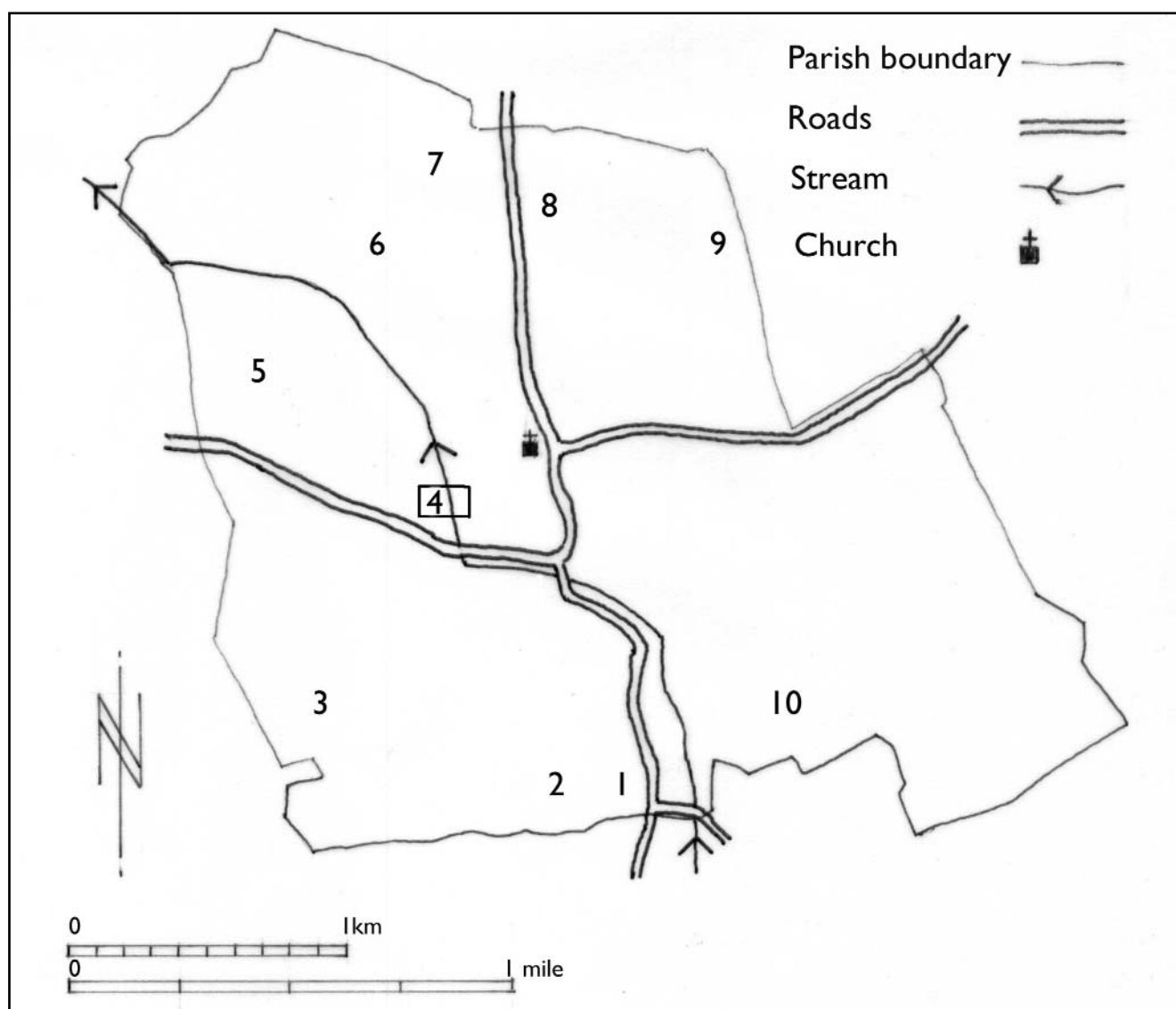


Figure 2. Key to location of Dean & Chapter lands in 1641

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Lawn Close | 2 Causty Field |
| 3 Arable land in the First Precinct | 4 Greenway Close and Dovehouse Yard |
| 5 Arable land in the Second Precinct | 6 Arable Land in the Third Precinct |
| 7 Arable land in Thirstygate Furlong | 8 Arable land in the Fourth Precinct |
| 9 Arable land in Blacohill Furlong | 10 Duck's Close, Caster's Pightle, Estmore Pightle, Stock Furlong |

Field Dalling in 1813. The enclosure process demanded an accurate survey of the whole parish. Although specified in many of the dean and chapter's instructions to its agents, it appears there was never a measured survey of the estate lands. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the size of individual pieces of land was often determined by estimation – the tenant and landlord would agree how big the plot was. In many cases, this estimation was larger than the actual area of the plot. It was not unusual for this estimation to be 20 percent higher than reality. **Table 1** shows the varying size of the estate over a 300-year period.

The estate in the eighteenth century

The Dean and Chapter should have regained control of its estate in 1729, but appears to have done so seven years earlier.¹⁶ It did not make a very good new lease, with the rent increased only to £12 13s 4d, but it did levy a £200 0s 0d fine. Mr. Bosworth of Diss remained the tenant and was allowed £1 16s 0d reduction of rent because of government land taxes. The lease ran for seven years, which would have equated to a rental of little more than £40 0s 0d for the 200-acre estate – below market prices for the time.

On the renewal of the lease in 1729, the

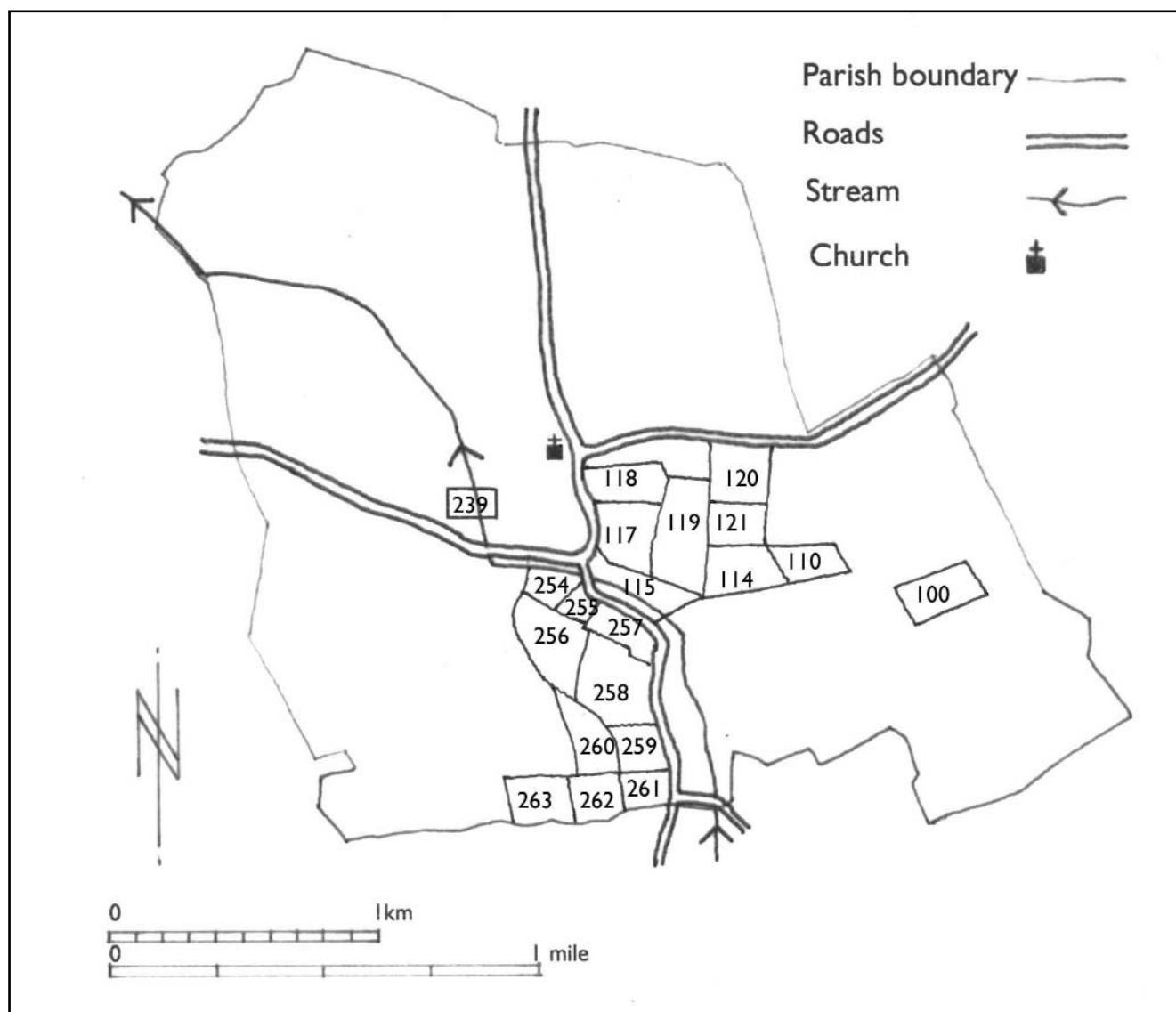


Figure 3. Key to Dean and Chapter lands in 1840

100 Common Piece	110 First South Field
111 Broadward	115 Home Meadow
117 Smithers Close	118 The Craft
119 Mason's Close	120 Plane's Close
121 Duck's Close	239 Manor Meadow
254 Paddock	255 Manor Farm
256 Home Meadow	257 Roper's Meadow
258 Roper's Piece	259 Bale Six Acres
260 Fourteen Acres	261 Furze Close
262 Wilcock's Pightle	263 Boyce's Pightle

Dean and Chapter appointed an agent to draw up a new terrier of its land in Field Dalling. The first attempt proved rather futile, as it was impossible to find 40 of the 77 (sic) pieces of land it believed it held in Field Dalling and Bale.¹⁷ The agent agreed a final figure of 150 acres as being the actual holding in Field Dalling, but this included 13a 2r 22p of Mr. Bosworth's freehold, which he had been made to give up in exchange for some of the lost land.

The Dean and Chapter did not accept its

agent's estimation of the size of the estate and, throughout the eighteenth century, claimed the estate was over 200 acres. The Dean kept up a running correspondence with his various agents, trying to establish what had happened to the lost lands. Various agents attempted a measured survey, but none ever appears to have been completed. The Dean and Chapter accused Mr. Bosworth of ploughing into the boundaries of its estate where his freehold property met the leasehold land.¹⁸ In 1757, Roper's Close, esti-



Photograph 1. Site of Gibb's Manor – remains of the moat

mated at 24a 0r 0p, was measured and found to contain only 18a 0r 23p, indicating an over-estimation of more than 30 percent.¹⁹ More letters were exchanged and the saga continued, but the Dean and Chapter was always at a disadvantage since, as it had no documentary proof that its estate was larger, it was forced to rely on documents provided by Mr. Bosworth and he was not always willing to co-operate.²⁰

Prior to a new lease in 1773, Thomas Emerson provided the Dean and Chapter with a full valuation and a summary of why it was unable to maximise its returns from the estate. He placed a valuation of 11s 0d per acre, which he felt would provide an income of £100 0s 0d per annum, including the lands in Bale. He was critical of the condition of the farmhouse and its outbuildings, did not like the tithes being taken in kind, complained that the leasehold lands were so intermixed with Mr. Bosworth's freehold that it was impossible to distinguish one from another. He did not approve of the sub-letting of the estate or the exchanges which had taken place between the leasehold and freehold lands, and complained about the quality of the ash trees on the estate lands compared with Mr.

Bosworth's trees. His final criticism was that there was a large, unproductive common in the village. This summary shows that Emerson had been influenced by the agricultural reformers who were beginning to make inroads into improving farmland and rents in north and west Norfolk.²¹ He would have been disappointed with the lease of 1772 granted for 21 years to Mr. Bosworth, which valued the estate at only 9s 0d per acre. The lease did specify that much of the rent had to be paid in kind, wheat and malt, which would have been a "hedge" against inflation.²² Bosworth had to pay his own taxes and maintain the farm buildings.

Table 2 shows the value of the estate at rent per acre over a 250-year period. The figures for 1640, 1793, and 1807 are based on market values, while the others are rents achieved excluding fines. Exact values for 1772 are difficult to determine because they include payment in kind. The rent for 1729 is lower than that of 1550 because parliamentary taxes were paid by the landowner rather than the tenant.

Long-running disputes such as this were not uncommon for the Dean and Chapter when it regained its estates following generations of long



Photograph 2. Manor Farm c1950s (*Hotblack collection*)

leases. Neighbouring Hindringham had similar problems and, in 1736, it had to take Sir Thomas L'Estrange to the Court of Chancery to settle their differences. Sir Thomas had claimed it was too difficult to determine precise boundaries when the Sedgeford estate reverted back to the Dean and Chapter.²³

The nineteenth century

The value of the estate had risen rapidly over the 40 years after Emerson's valuation – in 1793 it had reached 14s 0d per acre and, by 1807, parts of the estate were valued at 30s 0d per acre, with the total placed at £197 13s 6d, which was nearly twice that of 1772.²⁴

The main event of the early part of the nineteenth century was the enclosure of Field

Dalling. This took place over a three-year period starting in 1811.²⁵ Enclosure saw the Dean and Chapter's estate grow to a little over 187 acres – the gains were its share of the enclosure of the commons. The farm was consolidated into a closely-spaced unit. This would have enabled it to increase its rents and provided the tenant with a much more favourable holding. The enclosure process was the result of high farm prices caused by a growing population, and the French Wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many landowners were looking for ways of increasing their rents, and the enclosure of commons was seen as a way of bringing more land into arable production and achieving this end.

The Dean and Chapter did not retain control of its estate. The mid-nineteenth century saw the transfer of landed estates from the various

cathedral chapters to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. This process started in 1852 and, although Norwich resisted handing over its estates (claiming they were as well managed as lay estates in the county), in 1868 most of its estates were handed over to the commission. Field Dalling was an estate retained by the cathedral, but its days were numbered. The agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century saw the Dean and Chapter sell off the balance of its rural estates by the end of the century.²⁶

Conclusions

The Priory of Norwich Cathedral and its successor owned a small estate in Field Dalling for nearly 400 years. For all that time, it was an absentee landlord. For nearly half of that time the estate was let out on long leases, which did not give the dean and chapter a very high income. Throughout the eighteenth

century, as it wrested control of its lands back from the tenant, there was a long-running dispute as to how large its estate was. This dispute was only resolved by the Parliamentary enclosure of the parish in the second decade of the nineteenth century.

The Dean and Chapter was not a progressive landlord – it did not invest in high-quality farm buildings similar to its close neighbour, Thomas Coke at Holkham. It preferred to operate a beneficial lease system, where it would levy a fine at the start of a lease in return for lower annual rent, rather than the economic rack rents of the agricultural reformers. For most of its stay, it allowed the lessee to sub-let to other tenants – to the detriment of the land. By the end of its ownership, although still using a beneficial lease, it had consolidated its farm into one unit which, although not large by the standards of north-west Norfolk, was of an economic size.

Glossary of terms

a. r. p. – acres, roods and perches. An acre was the amount of land an ox team could plough in one day. This varied according to soil type – the lighter the soil the larger the acre. The acre became standardised in the late medieval period with dimensions of 220 yards by 22 yards. Four roods made one acre and 40 perches equalled one rood.

Arable – ploughed farmland. The main crops grown in the seventeenth century were barley, wheat and peas. Arable could be left fallow (see below).

Beneficial lease – a lease where a low annual rent was charged but a fine (see below) was levied at the start of the lease.

Close – a piece of land surrounded by a fence or hedge. In the seventeenth century, closes were often turned over to pasture.

Commons – land where all the villagers with common rights were allowed to graze their cattle. Animals of various owners could intermingle, although often they were tethered. There might be limits to the number of animals a villager could put on the commons. Different commons might be grazed at different times of the year. Besides grazing rights, a villager was often able to take fuel from the commons. Frequently, animals were grazed on the commons by day and then moved onto the arable land at night to manure it.

Fallow – arable land left to rest for a year. Fallow could be ploughed, but no crops were harvested.

Fines – a money payment by a tenant when he took possession of his land.

Manor – estate belonging to a landlord, who held it ultimately from the king. In Norfolk, manors frequently extended over parish boundaries and there was often more than one manor in a parish. By the eighteenth century, as large landowners consolidated their holdings, one manor in a parish would become the most important and its rules governing agricultural practices would be followed by all the other manors. A manor house was the residence of the lord of the manor or his representative in the parish. On small manors, the manor house was often referred to as the farmhouse, especially when the manor had been leased or “farmed” out.

Meadow – land where animals were not allowed to graze in the spring and early summer, as the grass was harvested in June or July for hay. Meadows were near streams, and not enclosed.

Pasture – land owned by one person where his animals grazed.

Pightle – a small close, often under one acre in area.

Rack rent – the highest possible rent of a parcel of land.

Waste – common land, often on parish boundaries.

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- 2 NRON DCN 44/37/1-5
- 3 NRO DCN 44/37/1 – namely 200 acres of (arable) land, 20 acres of meadows and 100 acres of pasture
- 4 Virgoe, Roger “The Estates of Norwich Cathedral Priory, 1101-1538” in Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill and Hassell Smith (editors), *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996* Hambledon Press, London (1996) pp 339-359
- 5 Virgoe, “Estates of Norwich Cathedral” p 346
- 6 Virgoe, “Estates of Norwich Cathedral” p 357
- 7 Houlbrouke, Ralphe “Refoundation and Reformation, 1536-1628” in Atherton et al (eds) *Norwich Cathedral* pp 507-537
- 8 Palliser, D M *The Age of Elizabeth; England under the later Tudors, 1547-1603* 2nd edition, Longman, London (1992) p 122 and Ian Atherton and B A Holderness, “The Dean and Chapter Estates since the Reformation” in Atherton et al (eds) *Norwich Cathedral* pp 665-687
- 9 Hoskins, W G *The Age of Plunder; The England of Henry VIII, 1500-1547* Longman, London (1976) pp 246-249
- 10 Pevsner, Nikolaus and Wilson, Bill *The Buildings of England: Norfolk 1: Norwich and North-East* Penguin Books, London (1998) pp 370-372 and p 657
- 11 NRO MS 11837 34 D1
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- 13 NRO DCN 59/14/1
- 14 NRO DCN 59/14/1
- 15 Prior to the eighteenth century, when enclosure in East Anglia was primarily aimed at increasing the number of acres of arable, early enclosure was directed at increasing the amount of pasture, and most newly-enclosed parcels were known as “closes” or “pightles”. Meadow was rarely enclosed
- 16 Williamson, Tom *Shaping Medieval Landscapes* Wingather Press, Macclesfield (2003) pp 89-91
- 17 NRO NRS VI 217 MS 3087 3D4
- 18 NRO DCN 52/2
- 19 NRO DCN 59/14/4
- 20 NRO DCN 52/2 p 233
- 21 NRO DCN 59/14/5
- 22 NRO MAN VI 216 MS 3086 3D4
- 23 NRO DCN 52/2 p 234
- 24 Full rent was to be £12 13s 6d per annum together with 12 combs 2 bushels 3 pecks of wheat and 16 combs 3 bushels and 3 pecks of “good” malt. NRP VI 217 MS 3087 3D4
- 25 Atherton, Ian and Holderness, B A “The Dean and Chapter Estates since the Reformation” in *Norwich Cathedral* p 668
- 26 NRO DCN 52/2 pp 231-234
- 27 Hotblack papers
- 28 NRO C/Sca 2/70
- 29 Atherton, Ian and Holderness, B A “The Dean and Chapter Estates since the Reformation” in *Norwich Cathedral* pp 682-686
- 30 This paragraph and the previous one are based on documents generously supplied by the Hotblack family

Blakeney War Census 1942

Pamela Peake

Synopsis: The survival of a World War II census for Blakeney is a bonus for local historians. This article is primarily a transcript and analysis making the census available to a wider audience. Observations on the housing reveal how present day Blakeney has evolved from the village described in 1942.

Introduction

Censuses help us to understand communities at all levels. They furnish an insight from individuals and families, to occupations, crafts, trades and professions and to the buildings in which they worked, worshipped and lived. They supply the building blocks for recreating working, living communities. Consequently censuses make fascinating 'reading', painting a picture that is not easily gleaned from any other source.

This census of Blakeney in World War II is no exception. We are fortunate to have this record of a period that is rapidly fading from public memory. The following account provides a description of the census together with a transcript and then concludes by briefly commenting on three aspects of interest: housing, the civilian population and the presence of the military. Enjoy perusing it and be prepared for some surprises.

Background

With the advent of war in 1939 the country was plunged into preparations on all fronts and for the coastal villages of North Norfolk there was the added threat of a sea-borne invasion. Consequently "Coastal Crust" became the first layer of General Ironside's defence strategy to be put in place.¹ This consisted of batteries of artillery, obstacles and obstructions, such as mines, barbed wire and anti-tank devices, and lastly pillboxes. Then just inland, on higher ground, airfields and air strips were constructed, both real and decoy. Troops moved into the area and were

housed in camps or property requisitioned by the War Office.

At a more local level, Blakeney Parish Council Minutes² and Blakeney Women's Institute's Records³ are full of relevant entries. These range from evacuation schemes to air raid precautions (ARP), fire service, Civil Defence, Stiffkey camp and troops and then move on to 'Salute Soldier's Week' and 'Wings for Victory'. Finally as the war reached its conclusion, there are records of plans for 'Victory Day' and the 'Welcome Home Fund'.

However, the survival of a census taken in 1942 for Blakeney is fortuitous.⁴ This provides an invaluable insight into the civilian population and village housing, including the identification of the properties requisitioned by the military and the Walsingham Rural District Council (RDC). Furthermore, this particular census bridges the thirty year gap from 1921 to 1951, a period when normally no national censuses would be available under the 100 year ruling.

Indeed none will be available for the 1941 national census was cancelled because of war, while the 1931 census, enumeration books and schedules etc. seemingly safely stored at Hayes, went up in flames just before Xmas 1942.^{5,6} Far from being the result of enemy action, this was an accidental fire when six guards were on fire watch in a store in which special hydrants had been fitted!

The 1942 census is thus an unique document held by the BAHS in the History Centre Blakeney, revealing more than anything else the structure and layout of the village just under seventy years ago and equally important just exactly who was here. It stands as a stepping stone between the recent past and the present.

The Census

This wartime census was a response to preparations for war made by Blakeney Parish Invasion Committee. Invasion Committees had been set up at the direction of the national civil defence authorities under a Regional Civil Defence Commissioner and County ARP Controllers. Their primary role, amongst other duties, was to consider the threat of invasion and liaise with the military and with other civil authorities.⁷

Members of the committees, generally but not always, included the Parish Chairman, the local police and the heads of all local defence organisations; these included the ARP, Fire Fighters, Home Guard, First Aid and Food Officer.

The Blakeney Parish Invasion Committee wanted to know the location of every habitable house in the parish, whether it was occupied, requisitioned or empty, and in particular those properties that were their responsibility. Furthermore, they also wanted a list of the people living in each of these houses and whether they were children, adults, fit or otherwise.

To this end they charged the Women's Voluntary Service with the task of collecting part of the information for them. The WVS were de facto enumerators and this resulted in the census.

The sex of both children and the 'physically unfit' appears to have been irrelevant, as only the able bodied adults and the over 65s are separated as men or women. Likewise numbers of children and many domestics are recorded but with no names, while adults have surnames generally with the prefix Mr, Mrs or Miss. Christian names are scarce, sometimes signified by an initial and less frequently, in full or a shortened version. Furthermore there is no indication of the age at which a child becomes an adult although it is assumed to be 16, the age of National Registration.⁸

Completely missing is all the usual information provided by the national decennial censuses such as head of household, relationship to one another, age, occupation and place of birth. In some cases it is even impossible to identify the parents of the children in a mixed household. Nonetheless, the result is still a census, albeit dictated by the times and limited by local demands.

The census book

The enumeration is recorded in a small, rather ordinary, red exercise book, measuring 16cm x 20cm. It is marked on the cover as 'Census of Blakeney-1942' while inside on the first page is inscribed:

High Street.			East Side going up.				12
Habitable Houses	Able-bodied Men	Able-bodied Women	Children	Physically Unfit	Men over 65	Women over 65	
The Manor House Hotel ✓X	Mr Pope	Mr. Pope Miss Woodgett Maid	1				
✓ Frying Cottage - Military R.A.P.							
✓ Mr. Pemberton's Cottage Military Hospital.							
✓ Bramble Cottage. Empty.							
✓ Hill Cottage	Mr W. Long	Mr. Long.					
✓ Corner Cottage EMPTY.							
X Double Doors.	Boy Restell	Mr. Restell Mr. Brown X	2				
✓ Cottage	Mr. Bennett. ? gne.						
✓ Cottage	Mr. Stirling Basil Stirling	(Mr. Stirling)		Mr. Stirling			
Presbytery Cottage ✓	Mr. Hammer Boy Hammer	Mr. Hammer	2				
✓ 2 Empty Cottages requisitioned by R.D.C.		Mr. Balding jnr.	2				
✓ Cottage	Mr. C. Cooper					Mr. Cooper.	
X Cottage	Mr. G. Parker	Miss Parker					
✓X Cottage		Mr. A. Adcock	2				
✓ Cottage EMPTY.							

Figure 1. Census book page 12

Census of Blakeney

April 1942.

*Compiled for the Parish Invasion Committee
by the W.V.S.*

This is followed immediately by a number of double-page spreads, each of which is divided into seven columns, three on the left and four on the right. The columns are headed from left to right as Habitable Houses, Able bodied Men, Able bodied Women, Children, Physically Unfit, Men over 65 and lastly, Women over 65.

There are 20 double pages in all and each spread has been numbered in red ink after the census was completed (**Figure 1**). The rest of the exercise book is blank, apart from a single double-page spread in the middle. This middle spread is a rough working copy of part of page 10 attempting to sort out confusion surrounding Withers, Daglish and Betts families in Westgate Street.

The census is then ordered essentially under street headings, although the first group of Habitable Houses, listed collectively as Outlying Houses, are located in Wiveton Road, New Road and Saxlingham Road. The following list of the Streets and Roads covered in the census is followed by their respective page numbers in the original document.

Outlying Houses	1
Langham Road	3
Morston Road	5
Westgate Street	10
The Quay	11
High Street (east)	12
Cley Road	15
High Street (west)	16
The Folly	20

Finally, each Habitable House is separated from the following entry by a horizontal line ruled across the double spread. Rather surprisingly is the omission of a numbering sequence for the Habitable Houses. Perhaps the WVS had an intimate knowledge of the community and therefore had no need for numbers.

The Headings, individual entries in the columns and all lines are made in ink. It is undoubtedly the work of one hand, an extraordinarily neat copy that appears to have been made at one time suggesting that it is either the final copy made from rough working notes or a duplicate copy of the same. Margaret Loose (née Long) is generally thought to be the author and even possibly the enumerator.⁸

A transcript of the census, as outlined above, is presented as an **Appendix** and a numbering sequence for each entry has been introduced for clarification. These numbers are then used throughout this article when referring to a spe-

cific entry, be it a house or individual, and are presented generally in brackets. The returns are given as they appear in the census book with the exception that four columns are reduced to two, simply to fit the page. Able bodied Men are combined with Able bodied Women as are Men and Women over 65. Where the sex of an individual is in doubt then (M) or (F) for male or female has been inserted for clarification. Square brackets indicate a name that cannot be read with certainty by the author.

All spellings are as given, thus NAFFI (88) is for NAAFI (Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes) and Borough (114) for Burgh. Exhaustive attempts to elucidate RAP (112) have failed and it is surmised that this is possibly an error for ARP. A Mrs Kinloch Jones (52) is entered twice, once in brackets as an Able bodied Woman then again as a Woman over 65, suggesting either an uncertainty regarding her age, or less likely, two women with the same name in the same house. She has been counted twice in population totals.

Only three mistakes were recognised during the preparation of the enumeration book and each of these has been clearly rectified in ink by the same hand. Thus Mrs Mason (162), initially entered under Able bodied Men, has been crossed out and entered in Able bodied Women, likewise Mrs Starling (119) has been crossed out from Able bodied Women and moved to Physically Unfit (**Figure 1**) whilst Mrs Withers has become Mrs Parsons (23).

Amendments and additions

The transcript does not include the following amendments and additions.

Once the census was completed the enumeration book appears to have had another use, possibly as a record of changes. There are instances of amendments, checking processes, additions and queries; some made in ink others in pencil. These entries are the work of several different hands and none are dated.

Beginning with the ink entries there are two additions and a query;

- 1 Mr Agnew's House (105) has "? empty, Mr Bedwell" added
- 2 a requisitioned RDC Cottage (121) has "Mrs Balding with 2 children" added
- 3 Mr Berrow (118) has "? Gone", see **Figure 1**.

Also in ink, and seemingly by the same hand as the above, is the double spread in the middle of the book. This is an attempt to clarify confusion over the Daglish, Betts and Withers families where individuals are identified by their Christian names. Thus
84 is Jessie Daglish
85 is Jimmy Withers
86 is Anna Jane Daglish



Photograph 1. Rose Hill House (253) at the bottom (north end) of the High Street on the west side: a) looking west from Mariner's Hill and b) again looking west as it was being demolished to make way for the White Horse car park.

87 is John Withers

89 is Jake Withers and Ethel Betts

90 is Bertha Betts

Yet despite this exercise the census still shows all the men as Mr J Withers, the women as Mrs Daglish and Ethel and Bertha Betts as Miss and Mrs Betts respectively.

Penciled entries fall into three categories:

- 1 ticks for each entry with some ticks crossed through, indicating a check and double check process then crosses, highlighting specific entries
- 2 names amended or added for both houses and people and numbers added for children
- 3 names/comments at the bottom of pages that are out of context and have no immediately obvious relevance

Thus Southview (13) has Dolman added, Rose Hill (253) is amended to Rose Hill House (**Photograph 1**), Bank Cottage (134) becomes 2 habitable houses and the unspecified property (254) becomes a cottage. The latter is better known today as Clogstoun House. Back Lane makes an appearance half way through the listing for The Folly, being inserted between 258 and 259.

Then Francis Wilson living in Council House No. 5 (28), Sq. Leader Clayton RAF and Mrs Clayton at Miranda Cottage (213) and Mrs Stratton at the White Horse (252) are additions in pencil to Able bodied Men and Women while Mrs Gotts (107) is crossed out. A very feint pen-

ciled 'caretaker' has been entered in both 257 and 258 while the ages of Miss Girdlestone (101) and Mrs Lee (102) are queried, but recorded in the Women over 65 column where they were originally enumerated.

Mrs Russell (201) has 2 children added alongside the initial entry of 1 child while Mrs Smith (198) and Mrs Browne (251) have 4 and 3 added in pencil immediately after their names, rather than in the adjacent column for children. Could this be the number of evacuee children that could or had been taken in?

The penciled additions at the bottom of the pages are as follows;

- Page 1 Mrs A R Withers at Memorial Cottage, subsequently crossed out
- Page 15 Mrs EMPSON
- Page 16 Home 3 VERA BAKER Morston
- Page 17 Mr Jary 2
- Page 19 A Jackson

The extra information provided by these additions and amendments confirms that the properties requisitioned by the Rural District Council (RDC 121 and 122) are the responsibility of the parish and that 4 adults and 4 children have been added to the original census.

The village revealed

Censuses provide detailed information at both a local as well as a national level and when used in conjunction with other censuses they provide a remarkable picture of



Photograph 2. *The bottom of the High Street showing a range of buildings not recorded in the census, noticeably the wooden bungalow where Mrs Martha Parker lived until she died in 1941.*

change. The 1942 census thus sits comfortably amongst other national censuses, especially when it comes to the housing, revealing a very clear picture of the village some 68 years ago.

Habitable Houses

At first glance, this census reveals a street plan where the identification and location of any family home in a given street appears to be fairly straightforward. Indeed, it is clearer than in many earlier national censuses. This is undoubtedly helped by a sufficient number of the properties having a name that remains unchanged today and these house names act as markers to move between.

Given a little clarification, the route taken by the enumerator can be followed and each house identified, providing a firm basis for tracing house history back in time; first through the 1910 Land Valuation⁹ Records then the twentieth and nineteenth century censuses. The Land Valuation Records are unique records for house history as they identify the exact location of a house or property on a Record Plan (map)¹⁰ and

then provide in the Field Books¹¹ the names of both owner and occupier and often vernacular details of the property.

Conversely the 1942 census is a basis for recognising post war developments, like new streets with new houses plus infilling, upgrading and subdivision of old property and conversion of granaries, barns and outbuildings especially within the core of the historic village.

Furthermore, clarification is required as uninhabitable buildings i.e. church, chapels, shops and barns, dilapidated houses or those in the process of being built are not listed (**Photograph 2**). Then the enumerator has provided some rather odd locations for habitable houses by following a route of convenience rather than topographical accuracy. In addition households are occasionally confused with habitable houses. Shipley House in Westgate Street is a good example of two quite separate households under one roof, yet listed as two Habitable Houses (Nos 89 and 90, **Photograph 3**). Hotel Flat (109) and Blakeney Hotel (110) on the other hand, are two separate houses, even



Photograph 3 (above) West side of Westgate Street looking south. On the right Shipley House (89 and 90), with next door, gable end to the street, Mrs Hornby's cottage (88) used by the NAAFI.

Photograph 4 (opposite upper). Top of the High Street, east side, with Nos 171 to 173 in the fore ground, separated by a garage from York House (174).

Photograph 5 (opposite lower). Whitefriars (176): the original house, designed by John Page for Mr and Mrs Burroughes, is to the right with the Ballroom extension to the left.

though the word 'flat' may seem to indicate otherwise. The Hotel was the responsibility of the military, while Mrs Barker living in a flat in the granary to the west of the hotel drive, was the responsibility of the parish.¹²

Certainly the notion of what constituted a

house or when was a house not a house but a cottage, at least in this census, is rather flexible. A summary of the number of habitable properties, street by street, in the village is given in **Table 1.**

Table 1. Summary of Habitable Houses

Location	Occupied	Empty	Occupied by the Military	Total
Outlying Houses	14	1	0	15
Langham Road	18	3	1	22
Morston Road	35	5	4	44
Westgate Street	21	2	1	24
The Quay	4	0	1	5
High Street (east)	53	9	2	64
Cley Road	2	0	2	4
High Street (west)	66	9	0	75
The Folly	8	2	0	10
Total	221	31	11	263



The following notes will assist those unfamiliar with the village by highlighting ambiguities and revealing properties no longer extant. Some house name changes are noted and some current house names or street numbers added for clarification, particularly in the High Street where location of a specific house or cottage has always proved difficult, especially throughout the nineteenth century.

Note; the numbers on the left equate with the numbering of the Habitable Houses in the Transcript (**see Appendix**).

- 1 East side of Wiveton Rd, then 2 to 5 west side.
- 6 Hillside, south side New Rd.
- 8 to 11 Saxlingham Rd.
- 12 to 15 North side of New Rd.
- 16 East side of Langham Rd, with 17 to 37 on west side. Miss Ferrier's House was built on the Morston Downs in 1938 and has a Morston Rd address today. The Rural District Council built four council houses and two bungalows in Langham Rd in the same year.³
- 38 to 45 South side of Morston Rd starting at the cross roads.
- 46 to 81 North side of Morston Rd, listed back towards the village.
- 73 Start of Greencroft Rd at northwest end.
- 79 Greencroft House on the Morston Road.
- 82 to 94 West side of Westgate St from cross roads towards Quay.
- 95 to 105 East side of Westgate St back to cross roads.
- 106 to 110 Quay, west to east finishing at bottom of High St.
- 112 to 115 Mariner's Hill, from east to west, see **Figure 1**.
- 116 Start of High St proper, on east side, listing from the Quay up the hill to the Cley and Wiveton cross roads.
- 145 Cockle Cottage, No. 73.
- 156 Morgan Cottage.
- 160 No. 113, Coronation Cottage.
- 167 No. 127.
- 174 York House, see **Photograph 4**.
- 176 Has always had a Back Lane address and was originally approached by a long drive that commenced opposite the British Legion Drift.
- 179 to 253 West side of High St, from cross roads down to Quay.
- 191 Master Mariner's.
- 205 & 206 Postal address is Little Lane.
- 212 Was in Little Lane, now combined with 211 High St.
- 213 In Little Lane.
- 221 No. 76, Roundstones.

- 228 Sugar Plum.
- 237 Cottage in Leatherdale Yard, now demolished.
- 250 Demolished and not replaced.
- 253 Demolished to make way for White Horse car park.
- 254 to 258 Coronation Lane, with 4 new houses built between 1937 and 1938.³
- 259 to 263 Back Lane, west side. St Nicholas Lodge was two flats, each listed separately as habitable houses (261 and 262).

These notes reveal recent building in 1937 and 1938, particularly in Langham Road and The Folly. The latter, now known as Coronation Lane, was a new road created by John Page in 1937 to link the High Street with Back Lane and provide access to building plots that he was offering for sale.¹³ Back Lane, on the other hand, was initially considered not worthy of mention at all with only a few houses at the south appended to The Folly while Whitefriars (176) was given a Cley Road address (**Photograph 5**). Little Lane and Mariner's Hill are completely missing from the census, all the Habitable Houses of the former being attributed to the west side of the High Street and of the latter to the east side.

The Civilian Population

Two and a half years into the war there were 559 civilians living in Blakeney. This number included some of the 30 women and children evacuees from London that arrived in October 1940 and stayed at least until the time of the census.³ Many others, however, had returned to London just as soon as they felt it was safe to do so.

Children were living in 54 households while another 33 households consisted of adults where all the occupants were over 65 years of age. The remainder of the civilian population occupied a further 134 homes. The total number of children, men and women can be summarized as follows;

Children	97
Females	
under 65	214
over 65	61
unfit	16
	291
Males	
under 65	120
over 65	38
unfit	13
	171
Total	559

Completely missing of course are all the men

and women who were away on active duty as well as elderly civilians who had moved elsewhere to be with family and others who were working in some capacity for the war effort, either on the land or in factories etc. The numbers of those serving in the forces may be somewhat gauged from the 100 Christmas parcels that were made up in 1942 and by the 73 servicemen and women welcomed back to Blakeney, Saturday November 30th 1946 at the British Legion Hall.³

It is fascinating, however, is to look briefly at surnames both before and after 1942. This has been done using the 1841 national census¹⁴, the first to give names and an even earlier census for Blakeney that was taken during a visitation, June 20th 1770.¹⁵

In 1770 the population total was 458 with 115 different surnames, in 1841 there were 1,018 people with 213 surnames while there were 181 surnames in 1942 for a population of 559. Of the surnames listed in 1942, 38 were recorded in 1841 and of these 38 just 18 were recorded in 1770. Moving forward in time, just seven of the surnames listed in 1770, are found listed in 1841, then again in 1942 and in the village today.

These seven surnames are Lee, Jackson, Massingham, Mitchell, Starling, Taylor and Thompson. Some caution is needed here before jumping to any conclusions. While the Starlings have a proven continuous genealogical record and possibly some others as well, clearly a few have no continuous connection at all.¹⁶

Then of the 32 surnames present in 1942 and still represented in the village today comes the realization that some 80% of 1942 surnames have completely disappeared, yet another significant change revealed by this census.

The Military presence

Whist the census may have plenty to say about local housing and local people there is nothing that leads to the identification of the troops or military personnel who were present here in 1942. Only the properties that they had requisitioned and occupied by that time are mentioned.

These properties were predominantly, but not exclusively the larger and more recently built homes along the Morston Road, Whitefriars with 10 bedrooms at the eastern end of the front and Blakeney Hotel on the Quay with about 60 bedrooms. Sometime later the Manor Hotel was also requisitioned while the barn to the south of the Red House was known to have been an army ammunition store.¹⁷

A framed photograph in the Wallace Room of the Village Hall shows Sir Winston Churchill at the Quay with the Scottish Regiment who were stationed in Whitefriars (176) (**Photograph 6**). Interestingly Whitefriars had been put up for



Photograph 6. Sir Winston Churchill on Blakeney Quay, 1941, inspecting the Scottish Regiment stationed at White Friars, patting Sandy, Air Commodore Brackley's dog.

sale in 1939 with an asking price of £6,000 for the Freehold¹⁸. It failed to sell and was shortly after requisitioned.

Then after the war, Andrews and Dewing, of Wells next the Sea, were instructed to offer it for auction, at the Legion Hall, Blakeney, 5th August 1947.¹⁹ This time the auctioneers informed potential purchasers that *"The property was until recently held under Requisition by the War Department. A claim for Dilapidations has been submitted, but has not yet been settled. The Purchaser of the Property shall be entitled to receive the sum at which the Claim, will, in due course, be settled. The Auctioneers are dealing with this matter and will be pleased to give intending Purchasers such information as is now available"*.

Rather tellingly, again the property failed to sell. Eventually, in 1949, James and Rosemary Crawley purchased Whitefriars for what they considered a bargain price and made their home in the Ballroom Flat.²⁰ It was the subsequent sale of Whitefriars land in the 1960s by the Crawleys that triggered the development of much of the east side of Back Lane that we see and know today.

Conclusion

Blakeney was not a village in isolation during the war, far from it. National troops were stationed here, as well as in neighboring villages. Local units of both the Norfolk Home Guard and Norfolk Resistance together with auxiliary coastguards were equally active, yet the Blakeney War Census is revealing none of this.²¹

Undoubtedly it is the picture of the village layout and housing stock not so long ago that is

the real bonus of this census. It provides a baseline to measure change against. The last seventy years has seen the development of new roads particularly on the outskirts of the village and much infilling everywhere.

Even the tightly packed core of the village, the High Street, Quay and Westgate Street, has not escaped. While three of the houses demolished since that time have not been rebuilt, space has been found to erect new houses either singly or in small closes, like the development of a Time Share complex and the British Legion drift. Existing traditional flint and brick cottages have been kept in habitable use under the stewardship of the BNHS, while new owners with new surnames have restored, updated, extended and converted all manner of property at a relentless pace and often giving their homes new names with scant regard to the past or any local tradition.

The present day occupants of Blakeney are undoubtedly witnessing the active building of what will become tomorrow's yesterday.

Acknowledgements

Many conversations were had with older members of the village trying to elucidate the military presence for we know so little of which troops were here and how they used the area, apart from training exercises on the marshes and drill on the Carnser. Much of the information that is available relates to the WVS providing a canteen, socials and mending for the troops. Nonetheless, I am particularly grateful to Sylvia Claxton, Colin Cobon, Mary Ferroussat, Margery Gray, Joan Long and Ray Rudd for sharing their childhood memories with me. Lastly, Philip Page and the late Jim and Rosemary Crawley for conversations relating to The Folly and Whitefriars, respectively and the Village Hall Trust for permission to use the photograph of Sir Winston Churchill.

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Appendix Transcript of Blakeney War Census, 1942

Habitable Houses		Able bodied (M&F)	Children	Physically Unfit	Over 65 (M&F)
Out-lying Houses		Page 1			
1	Highfield	Miss G Waller			Mrs Ash
2	The Rectory	Rev B Maynard			
		Mrs Horne			
3	The Old Rectory	Mrs Brackley			Miss Jeanie
		Miss Gooch			
		Miss Kitchener			
4	The School House	EMPTY			
5	Cottage	Mr Bullen			
		Mrs Francis			
6	House	Miss Mitchell			
7	Memorial Cottages	Mrs Shorting		Mr Withers	
				Mr Holmes	
				Mr Beck	
8	Bungalow	Mr Bolton			
		Mrs Bolton			
9	Doracath	Mr Bedwell			
		Mr F Thompson			
		Mrs Bedwell			
		Miss D Bedwell			
		Miss K Bedwell			
		Page 2			
10	View Point	Mr Taylor	2		
		Mrs Taylor			
11	The Butts	Mrs Reid			Dr Reid
		cook (F)			
12	Niranga	Mr George Long			
		Mrs Long			
13	Southview	Mrs Russell	1		Mr C Russell
		Mrs -----			
14	Marigold	Mr Sam Long	1		
		Mrs Long			
15	The Laurels	Mr Frank Starling			Mr Bilham
		Mrs Starling			Mrs Bilham
Langham Road		Page 3			
16	Magavelda	Miss Sprott			Mrs Sprott
		Miss Betts			
17	Kettle Hill	Mrs Turner			
		Miss Turner			
		Mrs Robertson			
		Gladys Copeman			
18	Downs House	EMPTY			
19	Mrs Thompson's House	EMPTY			
20	Miss Ferrier's House	OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY			
21	Council House No 12	Mr Parsons	1		Mrs Parsons
		Alex Parsons			
		Olive Parsons			
		Ivy Parsons			
22	Council House No 11	George Elsdon	2		
		Walter Betts			
		Mrs Elsdon			
		Mrs Betts			
23	Council House No 10	Mr Parsons			
		Derek Withers			
		Mrs Parsons			
24	Council House No 9	Mr John Bishop	1		Mrs Bishop
		Miss Bishop			

	Habitable Houses	Able bodied (M&F)	Children	Physically Unfit	Over 65 (M&F)
25	Council House No 8	Mr Beck Mrs Beck Audrey Beck			

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26	Council House No 7	Mr Starling Billy Starling Raymond Starling Mrs Starling Miss Starling			
27	Council House No 6	Mr Shepherd Mrs Shepherd	4		Ivy Shepherd
28	Council House No 5	Mr Hewitt Mrs Hewitt	2		
29	Council House No 4	EMPTY			
30	Council House No 3	Mrs Bullock	2		
31	Council House No 2	Mr Bishop Mrs Bishop			
32	Council House No 1	Mr A Adcock Mrs Adcock	2		
33	Police House	PC Chapman Mrs Chapman	2		
34	Mr Curl's House	Mr Betts Mrs Betts			
35	Bungalow	Mr Tawse			Mrs Tawse

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36	Ityldu				Mr Jarvis Mrs Jarvis
37	House	Mr F Long			Mr W Long

Morston Road

38	Osocosy				Mr Bone Mrs Bone
39	House	Mr M Long Mrs Long Miss Long			Mr Neave Mrs Neave
40	Firfield	Mr J Forsdick Mrs Forsdick			
41	Boreas	Mr F Long Mrs Long			
42	Tremor	Mrs Roughton			
43	Sunnyside	Mr Cubitt Mrs Cubitt			
44	White Sails	Capt Fenwick Mrs Fenwick	1		

Page 6

45	Field House	Mrs Loynes Mrs Bristow maid			
46	North Down Cottage	EMPTY			
47	Wayside	OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY			
48	Northfield	Miss Pye Miss Cuthbertson Mrs Beecham			
49	Mr Bramwell's House	OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY			
50	Allendune	EMPTY			
51	Cockley Cottage	Miss Kenrick			
52	Mariner's Cottage	(Mrs Kinloch Jones)			Mrs Kinloch Jones
53	Briar Cottage	Mrs Peck			
54	Vine Cottage	EMPTY			

Habitable Houses Able bodied (M&F) Children Physically Unfit Over 65 (M&F)

Page 7

55	Butuwayo	Mrs Burton			
56	Bogside Cottage	OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY			
57	Bungalow			Mrs Reeve	Mrs Balding
58	St Ermines				Lady Cozens-Hardy
59	Temple Place Cottage	Mr C Beck			Mrs Beck
60	Temple Place Cottage	Mrs Rudd	2		Mr Daplyn
					Mrs Daplyn
61	Temple Place Cottage	Mr Balding Billy Balding Mrs Balding Mary Balding			
62	Temple Place Cottage	Mr Palmer Miss Palmer			
63	Temple Place Cottage				Mrs Wordingham
64	Temple Place Cottage	Mrs Moore	1		

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65	Temple Place Cottage	Mr Wordingham Mrs Wordingham Miss R Wordingham			
66	Temple Place Cottage				Mrs Adcock
67	Temple Place Cottage	Mrs Hendry	3		
68	Temple Place Cottage		1	Mrs Adcock	
69	Morston Road	Mrs Redwood			
70	Morston Road	Mrs Bishop	4		Mrs Painter
71	Morston Road	Mr Balding Mrs Balding Mrs Balding jnr	4		
72	Bungalow				Mr Seales
73	Greencroft	Mr Eggleton Mrs Eggleton Miss D Eggleton			
74	The Willows	Mrs Wordingham	1		

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75	Cottage	EMPTY			
76	Cottage	EMPTY			
77	Cottage	Mr Gooch Miss Gooch			
78	Temple Combe	OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY			
79	Greencroft	Miss Stoull Miss Pound			Mr Shepherd Miss Turner
80	Bungalow	Mr H Pye Mrs Pye Miss E Pye Miss J Pye			
81	Oddfellow's Bungalow				Mrs Baker

Westgate Street

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82	House	Mr W Allen Mrs Allen			
83	House	Mrs Thompson		Miss Thompson	
84	House	Mr Daglish Mrs Daglish	1		Mr Gathercole Mr J Withers
85	Cottage				Mrs Daglish
86	Cottage				Mr J Withers
87	Cottage				Mrs Withers
88	Mrs Hornby's Cottage	PEOPLE WHO RUN THE NAFFI			
89	House	Mr G Betts Mr J Withers			

	Habitable Houses	Able bodied (M&F)	Children	Physically Unfit	Over 65 (M&F)
90	House	Miss Betts Mrs Withers Mr J Betts	1		
91	Westholme	Mrs Betts Mr Baines Mrs Baines			
92	King's Arms	EMPTY			
93	Orchard Cottage	EMPTY			
94	The Red House	Mrs Sw[-nn] Miss Pearson Miss Thompson			
95	Boat House	Mrs Combe Miss Combe			

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96	The Pightle				Mrs Tillard
97	Shingle House				Mr Cobon Mrs Cobon
98	Bake Office	Mr Russell Mrs Russell	1		
99	House			Mrs Gooch	Mr R Gooch Mr J Gooch Mrs Parsons Miss Girdlestone Mrs Lee
100	P O Yard	Mr Parsons			
101	P O Yard				
102	P O Yard				
103	P O Yard			Miss Thompson	
104	P O Yard	Mr F Beck Mrs Beck			
105	The Agnew's House	Mr Stratton Mrs Stratton	3		

The Quay

106	Little Orchard	Mr Francis Mrs Francis			
107	Quay Barn	Miss Gotts			Mrs Case Miss Forest
108	Quay House	butler Mrs Beeton butler's wife maid			
109	Hotel Flat	Mrs Barker			
110	Blakeney Hotel	OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY			

High Street - East side going up

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111	The Manor House Hotel	Mr Pope Mrs Pope Miss Woodgett maid	1		
112	Friary Cottage	MILITARY R A P			
113	Mrs Pemberton's cottage	MILITARY HOSPITAL			
114	Borough Cottage	EMPTY			
115	Hill Cottage	Mr W Long Mrs Long			
116	Corner Cottage	EMPTY			
117	Double Doors	Boy Restell Mrs Restell Mrs Brown	2		
118	Cottage	Mr Berrow			
119	Cottage	Mr Starling Basil Starling		Mrs Starling	

Pye's Yard

120	Cottage	Mr Harmer	2		
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	Habitable Houses	Able bodied (M&F)	Children	Physically Unfit	Over 65 (M&F)
		Boy Harmer			
		Mrs Harmer			
121	Cottage	REQUISITIONED BY THE R D C		EMPTY	
122	Cottage	REQUISITIONED BY THE R D C		EMPTY	
		EMPTY			
123	Cottage	Mr C Cooper			Mrs Cooper
124	Cottage	Mr W Parker			
		Miss Parker			
125	Cottage	Mrs A Adcock	2		
126	Cottage	EMPTY			

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127	Cottage				Mr Pye Mrs Pye
128	Cottage	Mrs Wright			
129	Anchor Inn	EMPTY			
130	Cottage	Mr Grimes			
		Mr H Grimes			
		Mrs Grimes			
131	Cottage	Mr Bambridge		Miss Bambridge	Mrs Bambridge
132	Cottage	Mrs Curtis	1	Mrs Collins	
133	Cottage				Miss Basham
134	Bank Cottage				Mrs Westcott
135	Cottage	Mrs Shorter	1	Mr Shorter	
136	Cottage	EMPTY			
137	Cottage	Mr G Payne			
		Mrs Withers			
138	Cottage			Miss Robertson	
139	Beachstone House	Lieut. Claxton			
		Mrs Claxton			
140	St Margarets	Miss Hudson			Mrs Hudson
		Miss N Clarke			
141	Kosicot	Mr Platten			
		Mrs Platten		Mrs Tuck	
142	Cottage	EMPTY			
143	Cottage				Mrs Nurse
144	Holmview	Mr Thompson			
		Mrs Thompson			

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145	Cottage	Miss Willmot			
146	Wildfowl Cottage	Mr Mitchell			
		Mrs Mitchell			
147	Kinloch	Mr Dickinson	2		
		Mrs Dickinson			
148	Peartree Cottage	Mr Morton	3		
		Mrs Morton			
149	Cottage				Mr G Thompson
150	Cottage				Mrs Newland
151	Cottage				Mrs Boast
					Miss Morgan
152	Cottage	Mr Brunton			
		Mrs Brunton			
153	Cottage	EMPTY			
154	House				Mr Holiday Miss Holiday Miss E Holiday
155	Homestead				Mr Holiday Mrs Holiday Mrs Rutland
156	Cottage			J Rutland	
157	Cottage			Mrs Lewis	
158	Cottage	Mr Neale	1		
		Mr Potterton			
		Mrs Neale			

	Habitable Houses	Able bodied (M&F)	Children	Physically Unfit	Over 65 (M&F)
159	Cottage	Mrs Potterton			Mr Greenacre
160	Clarence House				Miss Way
161	Cottage	Mrs Mason	2		

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162	Cottage Marshview	Mrs Mason			
163	Shop	Mr Harries	1		
		Mrs Harries			
164	Ivy House	Miss Thompson			Mrs Dew
165	Shop	Mr Dale			
		Miss Dale			
166	Wye House	Mrs Arthur	1		Mr Arthur
167	Lilac Cottage	Mrs Bishop	4		
168	Cottage	Mr Bullock			
		Mrs Bullock			
169	Cottage	Mrs Empson			Mr Empson
		Miss O Empson			
170	Cottage	Mr Lakey			
171	Cottage	Mr Cubitt	2		
		Mrs Cubitt			
172	Cottage	Mrs Cubitt			Mr Cubitt
173	Cottage	Mr Holman			
		Mrs Holman			
174	House	Mrs Beck			Major Beck

Cley Road

175	The Warri	Mr Ryder			
		Mrs Ryder			
176	White Friars	OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY			
177	Priory Cottage	OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY			
178	Friary Farm	Mrs Marshall			Mr Burroughes
		maid			

High Street - West side**Page 16**

179	Claremont	Mrs Clements		Mr Clements	Mr Starling
180	Cottage	Mrs Cobon			Mr Cobon
181	Cottage				Mr Middleton
					Mrs Taylor
182	Cottage	Mr Starling	3		
		Mrs Starling			
183	Cottage	Mr Preston	3		
		Mrs Preston			
184	Cottage	Mr Allen	2		
		Mrs Allen			
185	Cottage	Miss Breese			Mr Breese
					Mrs Breese
186	Calthorpe Arms	Mrs Lubbock			
		Miss Lubbock			
187	Mercedes	Mr Grey			
		D Grey (M)			
		Mrs Wright			
188	Glavenside				Mr Walker
189	Merryden	Mrs Miller			Mr Miller
190	Oakdene	Mrs Hudson			
191	Cottage	Miss Stearman			Mrs Stearman
		Mrs Johnson			
192	Cottage	Mrs Cobon	2		
193	Cottage	Mr P Lynn			
		Mrs Lynn			
194	Cottage				Mrs Robbins
195	Patch Cottage	EMPTY			

Habitable Houses Able bodied (M&F) Children Physically Unfit Over 65 (M&F)

Page 17

196	Cottage				Mr Jary Mrs Jary
197	Cottage	EMPTY			
198	Cottage	Mr H Smith Miss Smith Mrs Smith	1		
199	Bake Office Shop	Mr High Mrs High			
200	Cottage	Miss Russell Miss Postlethwaite			
201	Cottage	Mrs Russell	1		
202	Cottage	Mr Andrews Mrs Andrews		Mr Newland	
203	Cottage	Mr Bone Mrs Bone	2		
204	Cottage	EMPTY			
205	Ballyduff	Dr Acheson Mrs Acheson 2 maids	3		
206	Nor West	Mr Matthews Mrs Matthews			
207	The Ferns	Mr Allen Mrs Allen			
208	Cottage	Miss Reynolds			Mrs Reynolds
209	Cottage	Mrs Allison	1		
210	Cottage	Mr Baines Mrs Baines			
211	Beacon Cottage				Miss Allen
212	Corbie	EMPTY			

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213	Miranda Cottage	EMPTY			
214	Cottage	Mrs Waller	2		
215	Cottage	D Bishop (M) Mrs Bannel			Mr Bannel
216	Cottage			Mr Digby	Mrs Digby
217	Cottage	Mr Thompson Mrs Thompson	1		
218	House	Mr Page Mrs Page Miss Page 2 maids			
219	Cottage				Mrs Long
220	Cottage	Mr Breese Mrs Breese	2		
221	Cottage	Mr Chapman D Chapman (M) Mrs Chapman			
222	Shop	Mrs Russell			Mr Russell
223	Cottage	EMPTY			
224	Cottage	Mrs Driscoll			
225	Cottage	Mr Gooch Mrs Gooch	2		
226	Cottage	Mrs Bishop	1		
227	Cottage	Mr Copeman Mrs Copeman			
228	Smugglers Cottage	EMPTY			
229	Shop	Mrs Roofe			
230	Cottage	EMPTY			

Habitable Houses Able bodied (M&F) Children Physically Unfit Over 65 (M&F)

Page 19

231	Rosemary Cottage	Mr Ackerman Mrs Scully			
232	Cottage				Mr P Lynn Mrs Lynn
233	Cottage	Miss Beck			
234	Cottage	Mr G Palmer Mrs Palmer			
235	Cottage	Mr Bishop R Bishop (M) Mrs Bishop Ruby Bishop			
236	Cottage	EMPTY			
237	Cottage	Mrs Bone	1		
238	Cottage				Mrs Digman
239	Cottage	Mr Woodgett Mrs Woodgett			Mrs Lane
240	Shop	Mrs Boys		Mr Stanford	
241	Cottage	Mr Woodrow Mrs Woodrow			
242	Cottage				Mrs Pitcher
243	Cottage			Miss Morgan	
244	Cottage				Mrs Massingham
245	Post Office	Mr Brown Mrs Brown	2		
246	Cottage	Mrs Howell	1		
247	Cottage				Mr Jackson Mrs Jackson
248	Cottage			Mr Thompson Mrs Thompson Miss Thompson	

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249	Cottage	Mr A Jackson Mrs Jackson			
250	Cottage			Mrs Horne Eric Horne	Mr Horne
251	The Ship Inn	Mr Browne Mrs Browne			
252	The White Horse	Mr C Long Mrs Long Miss Miller maid			
253	Rose House	Miss Thurlow			Mrs Lynn

The Folly

254		Mrs Clogstoun			
255	Amber Cottage	Mrs Pope		Major Pope	
256	Santa Claus	Mr Wiells			The Rev D Lee-Elliot
257	Mrs Crawley's House	EMPTY			
258	Mr Henshaw's House	EMPTY			
259	Rougham	Mr Hallett Mrs Hallett			
260	1/2 Acre	Mr Hudson Mrs Hudson			
261	St Nicholas				Miss Smith
262	Bigger Patch	Miss Tillott			
263	St Aidans	Mr Pert Mrs Pert			

History of the Cley Hall Estate

The Emergence of the Hardys: 1839 – 1855

John Ebdon

Synopsis: The 1839 catalogue and plan of the Cley Hall Estate together with an estate map of the same year are used to examine the Estate assembled by the Thomlinsons in Cley and the subsequent purchase by the Hardy family from Letheringsett. The substantial expansion by William Hardy II enhanced his wealth and his social position.

Introduction

The Cozens-Hardys and their Hardy forbears have been associated with Letheringsett for over 200 years. Their name is still known by many and their arms, crest and motto of 'Fear One' can still be seen in Holt, Letheringsett and Cley – including above the door on the former Holt Board School in New Street, on former estate properties, on memorials and even on the oak war memorial altar in Cley Parish Church.

Much research has been done into the history of Letheringsett, its buildings and the occupants of the Hall. The results were published in the twentieth century by accomplished antiquarians¹ and historians². In contrast the family's interest and involvement with Cley next the Sea and ownership of the Cley Hall Estate have been largely ignored.

This might in part be due to interest being focused on the illustrious Herbert Hardy Cozens-Hardy MP who was knighted in 1889 and elevated to the peerage on 1st July 1914 as Baron Cozens-Hardy of Letheringsett in the County of Norfolk. He grew up at Letheringsett Hall and later rented it from his elder brother as a holiday home but never owned it himself.

A quantity of original paperwork and source material dating from the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries and relating to the Cley Hall Estate was retained and preserved by the family solicitor Basil Cozens-Hardy in his client papers. These documents were eventually deposited in 1973 with the Norfolk Record Office³. Some twentieth century records, includ-

ing rent books, from the long-standing land agents for the Estate, Francis Hornor & Sons of Norwich, have also been deposited in the Norfolk Record Office⁴. Large parts of both collections are still awaiting cataloguing and are thus unknown to most researchers.

This article will not attempt to delve into the history of the medieval Old Hall in Cley or the detailed redistribution of lands resulting from the Enclosure Awards of 1812 and 1823 which helped the Thomlinson family create a valuable estate on the North Norfolk coast. Instead, these pages will briefly detail the establishment of the estate, the origins of the Hardy family, how they made the money to acquire Cley Hall and why they changed their name to Cozens-Hardy. It will then begin to describe the extent of the estate and its tenants in 1839-41.

Background: the Thomlinsons

By 1725 Richard Thomlinson had acquired the Cley Hall Estate which was presumably a minor estate based around the medieval hall, now known as the Old Hall. He and his descendants were Lords of the Manor of Cley who occupied, improved and extended the estate through four generations.

In the mid eighteenth century the estate passed to his son John Thomlinson and then to his son Robert*, who is shown as the Rector of Cley from 1764⁵. The medieval open fields cultivated by many people in long strips were gradually changing and the glebe terrier of 1765

*Footnote: this sequence is not entirely clear⁵

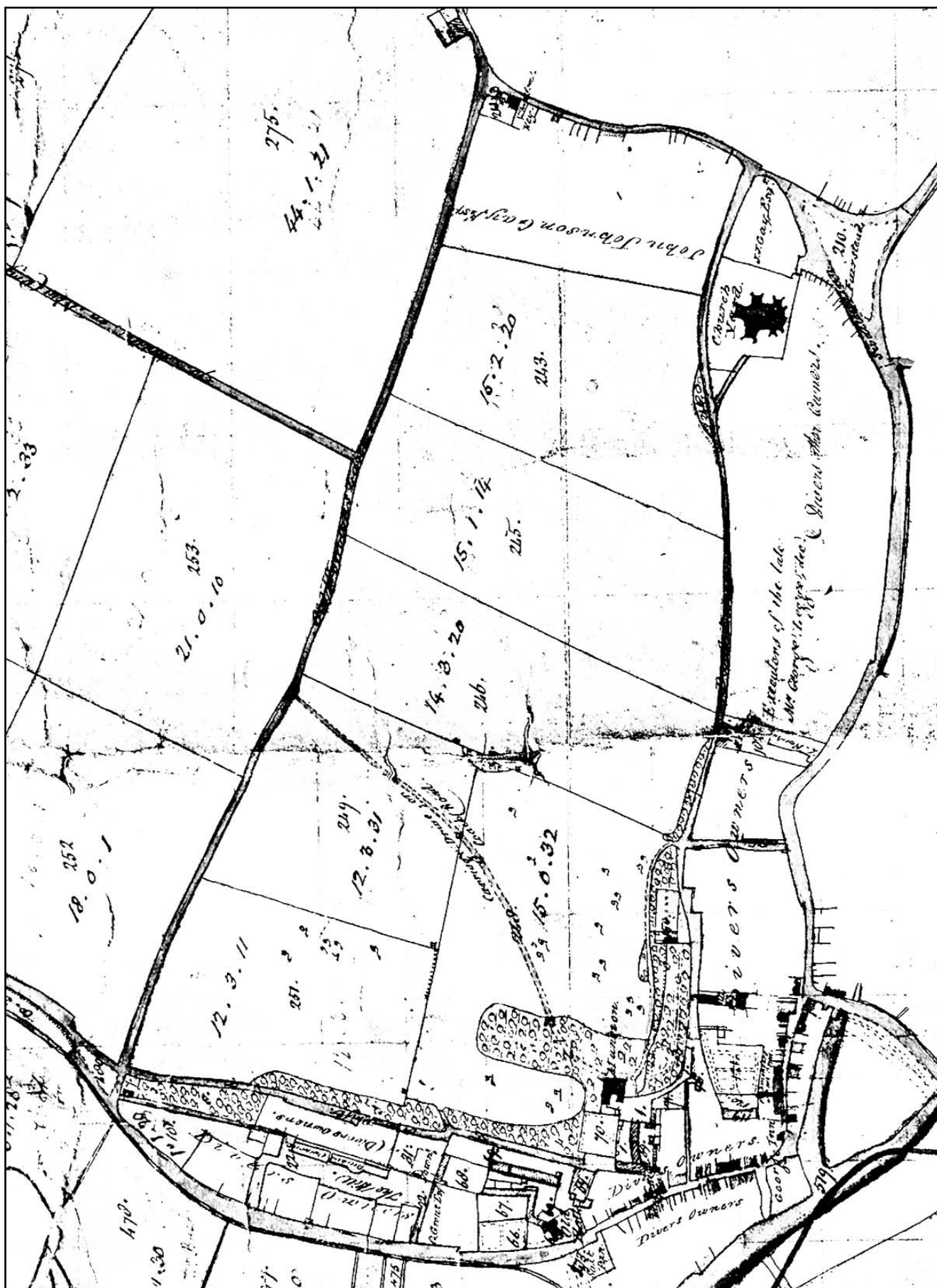
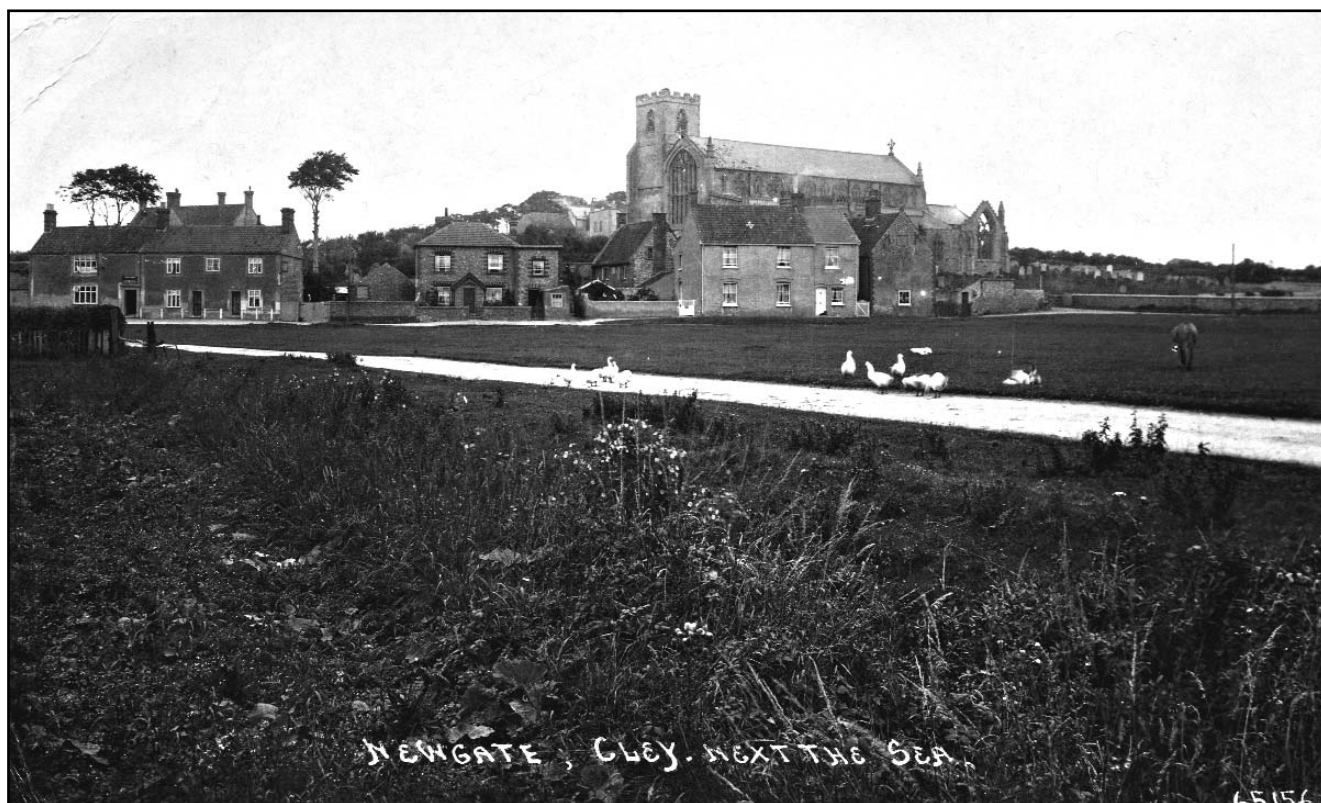


Figure 1. Part of the 1839 map of the Cley Hall Estate owned by the Late John Winn Thomlinson. The original Carriage Drive from Old Woman's Lane to the Mansion (Hall) is shown. Note: individual items of the property and the fields owned by Thomlinson are numbered and the areas given.



Photograph 1. Newgate Green and St. Margaret Church, Cley. In 1839 this large triangular area of over 2 acres of pasture was called 'Fairstead' and shown as 'In Hand' and rented by Mr Guggle.

shows that the large open fields began to be 'subdivided to form large blocks of land'⁶ presumably to the benefit of the Thomlinsons and other larger landowners.

The improvements the Thomlinsons made to their Cley property must have increased their wealth and enabled them to construct an extensive range of farm buildings close to the Old Hall. The building of stock-yards allowed cattle to be over wintered and the resulting manure used to improve the soil. In about 1770 they were able to construct a new Hall – a late Georgian two storey country house of red brick with black unglazed pantile roof – black pantiles were expensive and showed the wealth of the owner. The new Hall has a symmetrical south front of five bays, central pediment and Doric portico porch with two wings behind the double depth front.⁷ The Old Hall then appears to have become the 'Homestead', occupied by tenants, whilst the increasingly successful Thomlinsons lived in the new Hall.

Obviously the Thomlinsons were enjoying a period of prosperity for in 1769 the family purchased the Holt Hall estate from a William Hobart. A new Hall was built there in 1844-45 by their successors, the Pembertons, and this survives. It has been described as a small Victorian 'mansion house', but the 'Old Hall' of Thomlinson's era survived and by 1851 was occupied by an estate worker.⁸

Robert's son, John Winn Thomlinson, was instrumental in obtaining the first two, of three, Parliamentary Enclosure awards for Cley. The first in 1812 covered land and reclaimed marsh in Cley, whilst the second in 1823 dealt with the salt marsh between Cley and Wiveton⁶. John Winn Thomlinson was undoubtedly the major beneficiary of these awards becoming the largest landowner in the parish of Cley. The creation of rectangular fields separated by hedges allowed the land to be improved and new methods of cultivation to be introduced, substantially increasing yields. The Thomlinsons presumably benefited from the increase in the price of grain during the Napoleonic wars and the rising rental value of land.

This hand coloured plan of an estate belonging to the Late John Winn Thomlinson drawn by Isaac Lenny, a surveyor from Norwich, and dated 20th April 1839 (**Figure 1**)⁹ shows much detailed information including boundaries, building shapes & sizes, orchards and plantations and even footpaths and pleasure gardens surrounding the mansion that is Cley Hall. Many of these features are still recognisable to this day as boundaries have remained largely unchanged (**Photograph 1**); the numbers in brackets refer to the numbers on the map used on the 1839 hand drawn plan.⁹

A significant difference is that the principal, and widest, entrance route to Cley Hall was from



Photograph 2. The Fairstead in c1910 showing the 'new' entrance drive to Cley Hall with the large Gate Piers with painted Cast Iron caps. The flint boundary wall beside The Fairstead is clearly visible as far as Back Drive.

Old Woman's Lane and is described as 'Carriage Drive or Coach Road'. It passed through Coach Road Piece (249), Park Piece (248), the 'Rookery Plantation' (2) to the front of the Hall and then followed the edge of the 'Fairstead Plantation and Flower Garden' (3), to join the highway opposite present day Town Yard. Two gates are drawn on the plan at Old Woman's Lane and on the edge of The Rookery and scattered trees are shown on Park Piece which suggest this was open parkland with animals grazing. This formal drive from the undeveloped Old Woman's Lane through parkland with the building hidden behind trees would have been designed to impress visitors when they eventually saw the Hall.

Interestingly on this plan what is now known as Church Lane is called 'Back Lane' and the present formal front drive to Cley Hall, with its substantial piers of brick and knapped flint panels and cast iron caps, is shown although not actually connected to the highway. **(Photograph 2)** Perhaps in 1839 when the plan was drawn the new entrance was in the process of being constructed.

So by the time of John Winn Thomlinson's death the Cley Hall Estate had become a well managed, successful agricultural estate supporting a modern Hall and numerous buildings; a clear statement of the social position he had

attained. His marble memorial in the chancel of Cley Church has the unusual statement '*after rising in good health he was seized with a fit of apoplexy which ended his life before the close of that day*' – the 26th December 1835. Nearby there is another marble memorial to his widow Frances, she died at Bagthorpe on 27 October 1849 aged 75 and her remains were returned to Cley to be interred in the vault with her husband's body.

Background: the Hardy family

In 1797 William Hardy I was aged 65 and decided to hand over control of his Letheringsett brewery, land and other business interests to his 27 year old surviving son William Hardy II. He retained his modest house and contents at Letheringsett and received an annuity of £300 a year¹ until his death in 1811. He appears to have been a motivated person who successfully increased his wealth and assets during his life time. How had he achieved this and why had the family settled in Letheringsett? **(Figure 2)**

William Hardy I was born at Scotton near Farnham in Yorkshire in 1732 and, for now unknown reasons, moved to East Dereham in Norfolk and began farming. In 1765 he married Mary Raven at Dereham. Mary Hardy is best

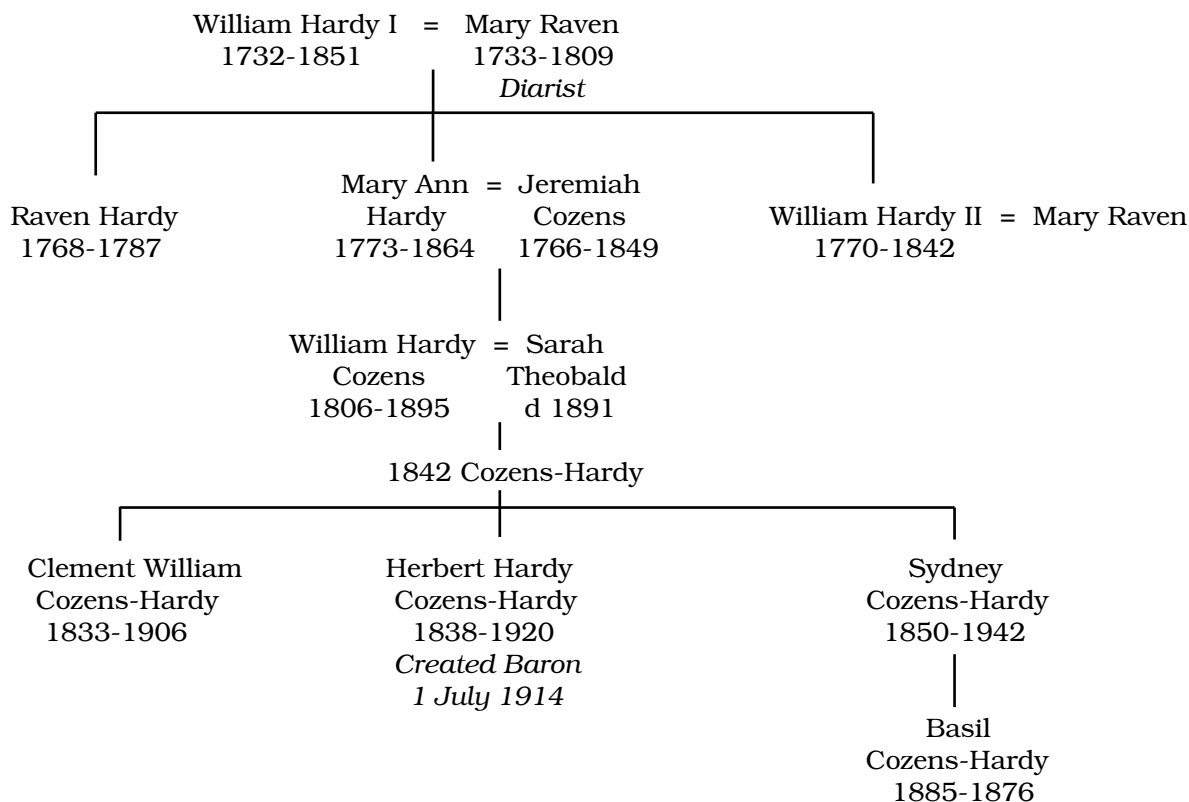


Figure 2 . Abbreviated family tree for the Cozens-Hardys showing the major players and their wives.

known for keeping a detailed and almost unbroken diary from 1773 in Coltishall to her death on 23 March 1809 aged 75 years. They had three children, Raven the eldest was born at Dereham in 1768, William was born in Litcham in 1770 and Mary Ann in 1773. Soon after the birth of William the family moved to Coltishall 'where he took over a small brewery and malting office'¹ as well as running a farm. He expanded and developed his business interests and 'had a keel or wherry built and it was appropriately called The William & Mary'. This plied mostly between Coltishall and Yarmouth taking malt and wheat and bringing back cinders and hops and muck and sometimes bricks from Strumpshaw.¹

Basil Cozens-Hardy states that he 'being anxious to improve his position he negotiated – unsuccessfully – for several breweries, among them that which belonged to Nockhold Tompson in St. Stephens, Norwich.'¹ However he continued to prosper and in order to expand he became interested in purchasing the Letheringsett brewery of the late Henry Hagon. Mary Hardy records in her diary: '1780 May 25. Mr. Hardy went M.9 to Holt to look at a brewery office at Letheringsett late Hagens' and on 'Nov. 11. Mr. Hardy went with Brot Natt, from Whissonsett to Letheringsett and looked over Hagon's Brewing office, then went to Holt to

attend the sale. Bought the office with 30 acres of land for £1340 and 20 acres of land for £270, came home even 10'.¹ The sale included a dwelling house, but not Letheringsett Hall, and the Kings Head public house which was let to Robert May at a yearly rent of £6.

Having successfully purchased Hagon's Brewery Mary Hardy records '1781. Apr. 4. A very cold day W. Freary at Letheringsett; Z.R., J.T., and B.H. and blacksmith loaded our furniture. Mr Raven of Tunstead and Mr Neave and Bro Nathaniel helped to pack up; finished loadn even 6' Then 'Apr. 5. A fine day. Z.R., Mr Raven's man and J. Livicks man set of for Letheringsett morn 1 with the furniture. 2 maids and Jonathan set of M7 in the little cart. Mr Hardy I and children and Bro set of M9 got to Letheringsett abt 1; unloaded the goods and set up some beds'.¹ So by 5 April 1781 as well as operating the brewery and malt-house William Hardy had brought his wife and family to live at Letheringsett.

Cannadine suggests 'William Hardy bought his modest acres at Letheringsett as an adjunct to his brewery, rather than because he cherished any territorial ambitions'²; his aspirations were to change. William Hardy started to lay out the gardens at the Hall and made various improvements to the brewery and malthouse, improved the water supply to power his water wheel and

even became involved in disputes about the supply of water to the wheel!¹⁰ The business appears to have prospered and in 1792 William Hardy purchased the Kings Head in Holt¹¹ and separately The Bull at Holt for £200.¹ He appears to have continually increased his public houses in a piecemeal fashion following the purchase of the brewery, but in Letheringsett gradually consolidated his property and land holdings.

The eldest son Raven, aged 19, died on 12th February 1787, whilst studying for the legal profession and Mary Hardy records in her diary '*O How shall I write it? My poor Raven died this morning at 5 o'clock*' after developing '*an abscess in his neck*' the previous August.¹ His sister Mary Ann married Jeremiah Cozens, of Sprowston near Norwich, who was born in 1766 and whose father was another successful farmer who eventually built up an estate of 500 acres. In time this marriage was to be crucial to the brewery and expansion of the Estate.

At the age of 27 William Hardy II took control of the land and brewery, which was by this time a successful and prosperous, yet local business. However the legal arrangements were not completed, according to Mary Hardy, until 1799 '*Oct. 22. Mr Hardy I and Wm went to Holt to meet Mr Smith of Cley (the lawyer) at The Lion, signed the leases of business and estates to Wm*'.¹

William Hardy II was ambitious and had a keen interest in mechanical and technical improvements to the brewery and estate. The business appears to have prospered, but one set back was the loss of '*The Publick House at Lower Sheringham*', which was swept away by the sea '*Oct. 22 1800*'.¹ William advanced his social position and consolidated his lands by purchasing Letheringsett Hall in 1803 – it had been built circa 1770 and was owned by the Brereton family. He also diverted the road through Letheringsett and rebuilt '*the east front, in two storeys and six bays, plus another bay with pilasters*'.¹² In circa 1808 he added the portico on the south side with the five giant Greek Doric columns that can be seen from the road.

He built '*a large and ornamental*'¹³ brewery driven by a waterwheel and built an iron bridge over the River Glaven in place of a ford. The malthouse and brewery complex were situated on the opposite side of the road to Letheringsett Hall and beside the Glaven which provided power for the water wheel and water for the brewing process. He expanded and developed his property in Letheringsett, the brewery complex and land holdings greatly.^{1,2,14,15}

Stacy in his '*Norfolk Tour*' of 1829 states '*Most of the hills but a few years ago were barren but William Hardy, Esq., to whom much of the parish (Letheringsett) belongs, has clothed them with trees*'.¹³ It is unlikely William Hardy plant-

ed such enormous quantities of trees solely for altruistic reasons, or merely to create a picturesque landscape, but more likely to improve the cover and habitat for shooting.

During his stewardship he also amongst other properties acquired Wiveton marshes, Kelling and Holt Wood, Pereers Hills plus the timber, Burrells House (The Lodge, Letheringsett) and Rouse's Mill estate. He continued to purchase additional public houses for the brewery and increased the number by nine at a combined cost of £4,400.¹ The complete list of properties can be found in the 1896 conveyance to Morgans Brewery.¹⁶

Basil Cozens-Hardy states '*from an account appearing in Mary Hardy's diary it appears that between the date William Hardy the younger took over the business from his father in 1797 to 1838 when a valuation was made he gained £65,000*'.¹ He had spent large sums on new buildings on his estate and marriage gifts to his sister and nephew. He had also been involved in the turbulent, and litigious, life of the Methodist Church in Holt contributing substantially to the building of their churches.^{1,2}

It was his undoubted success in business and the substantial increase in his assets over 40 years that enabled William Hardy the younger to make his largest land purchase in 1839.

Cley Estate Auction 1839

On Wednesday 28th August 1839 William Hardy II the brewer and maltster, who lived at Letheringsett Hall, purchased at the auction held at twelve o'clock by Mr W.W. Simpson at The Mart London Lot 1 '*A Very Valuable Freehold Estate consisting of A Domain of 1294 Acres (or thereabouts) of fertile Arable Land, rich Marshes, and thriving Woods and Plantations, together with a superior Family Mansion, Capital Farm House, several Cottages, and numerous well-arranged Agricultural Buildings thereon, forming altogether an exceedingly eligible Property for Investment, and possessing peculiar attractions for a Sporting Gentleman*'.¹⁷ (Figure 3)

The auction catalogue provides an insight into the organisation and indeed life at the centre of this country estate. The description of Lot 1 covers nearly six pages¹⁷ and gives actual rental values of the occupied properties and lands, with the estimated value for anything 'in hand' totalling £1,393 per annum plus an additional income arising from the Manor of Cley amounting to £84 17s 2d. This was the Cley Hall Estate developed by the late John Winn Thomlinson as a tangible expression of his aspirations. These were transferred to Hardy, who at the age of 69, purchased it for the sum of

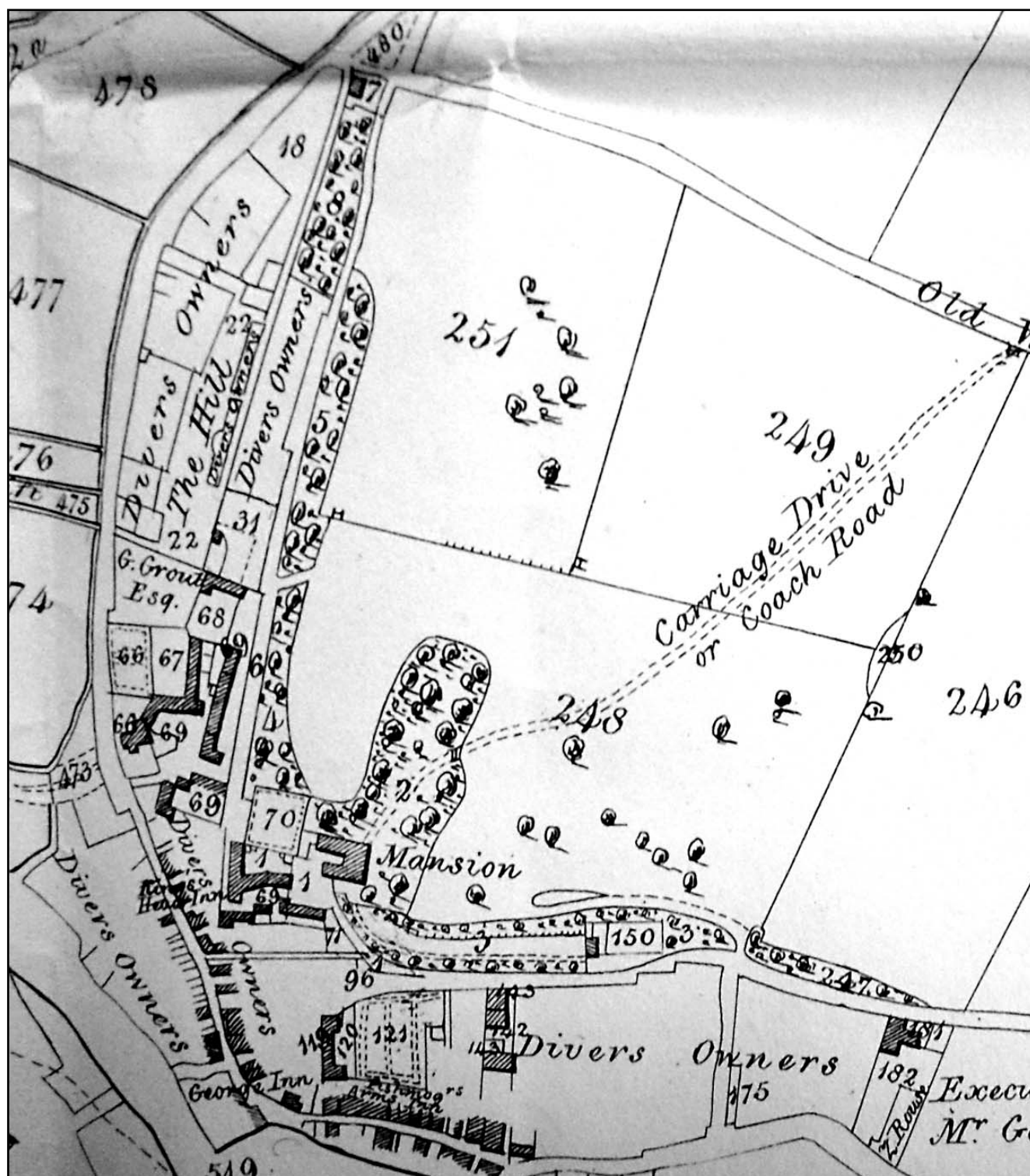


Figure 3. Detail from the printed map accompanying Lot 1 of the 1839 auction sale catalogue; reference to the numbers can be found in brackets in the text.

£32,000. To try to appreciate the value of this sum in current terms compared to 'average earnings' the equivalent value in 2008 would have been £24,700,000¹⁸. When the nearby Kelling Hall Estate including the Hall, 1600 acres and numerous buildings together with a pheasant shoot was put on the market in 2008 the asking price was £25 million.¹⁹

William Hardy II did not occupy the Hall, but continued to live at Letheringsett Hall.

The Estate could have been purchased as an investment to produce rental income, besides increasing his and the family's status in the county as the owners of a now enlarged holding that extended from Letheringsett to Cley. It had considerable sporting appeal as the catalogue recognises: 'There are excellent Covers on the Estate for Pheasants; Partridges, and Hares are very abundant – and Wild Fowl, Woodcock and Snipe Shooting may be enjoyed in perfection in



Photograph 3. Aerial photograph of Cley Hall c1950 showing the large walled garden behind the Hall, the Stable Block and Coach House at right angles to each other plus the numerous outside offices and farm buildings also visible.

their several seasons' emphasising the importance of wild fowling and shoots. These would have provided '*peculiar attractions*' to the '*sporting gentleman*'.¹⁷

Shooting was apparently also an important activity at Letheringsett Hall and Basil Cozens-Hardy details a shooting accident in 1832 when Jeremiah Cozens, a relative from London was staying with William Hardy Cozens and died when William Hardy Cozens' brother-in-law, Joseph Wiley's gun went off unexpectedly and killed him on the spot. William Hardy Cousins wrote '*It was a terrible shock to me and others, and I could not pluck up courage to shoot again that year*'.¹

The catalogue gives a very detailed description of the property with the Mansion having '*on the Ground Floor, Entrance Hall and Inner Hall, paved with stone, spacious and lofty Dining and Drawing Rooms, and small Cloak Room; Breakfast Room, Gentleman's Dressing Room, Servants' Hall, Kitchen and Scullery, paved with stone, House Keeper's Room and Butler's Pantry*'.¹⁷

On the first floor '*Handsome Corridor, Two Spacious Principal Bed Rooms, with Dressing Closets attached, Large Morning Room, two other cheerful Bed Rooms, a smaller ditto, and an airy Nursery – all neatly papered; a small dark Room, and another Principal Bed Room, with Dressing Room attached, and back staircase to Ground*

Floor'.¹⁷ Wall paper was presumably still relatively unusual, as most was still hand printed and expensive.

Attic Floor: '*Two good Maid Servants' Bed Rooms, and two Men's Dormitories, approached by separate staircases*'. Basement: '*Extensive Wine, Beer, and Coal Cellars*' and '*There are numerous excellent Closets throughout the House, which is heated by a patent Apparatus, constructed at great expense*'.¹⁷

It is claimed that the first Duke of Wellington had installed some of the earliest heating radiators at his country house at Stratfield Saye in Hampshire, purchased after his success at the battle of Waterloo, and that when Queen Victoria came to stay '*she was said to have found the house rather stuffy from the heating*'.²⁰ The fitting of any type of patent heating apparatus by 1839 shows the wealth of the owners and desire to have modern luxury fittings in the property. The late Miss Helen Dora Knott claimed that this heating system was still partly used when her mother died in 1960, but that when she was growing up, and living, in Cley Hall in the 1930s and 40s the Hall was always cold.

The Detached Offices consist of A capital Cook's Larder, Knife-house, and double Game Larder; excellent Wash-house and Laundry, Gardener's Room, Shed, and Harness-house adjoining. A range of Buildings, comprising Brew-

house, Slaughter-house, spacious Coach-House for Five Carriages, and Two Loose Boxes, Two Capital Five-Stalled Ceiled Stables, with Harness Room between, and Lofts over, and large Stable Yard surrounding the same. A Farm Yard, containing Stable, with Loft over, Shed, Cow-house, Hay-house, Stabling for seven Cart Horses, with Lofts over, Piggeries, two Dog Kennels, and Cart Lodge; Poultry-house, Implement-house, with Granary over, Waggon Lodge, Fruit-house, Cattle Shed, cool Dairy and Buttery.¹⁷

This extensive range of domestic offices, out-buildings and small farm gives a tantalising insight into the activities associated with the day to day operation of the estate. The shoots and wildfowling must have been very productive to require a double game larder. The provision of a coach house to accommodate five carriages for a Hall of this size seems to be greater than at other properties and with two stables containing five stalls each with ceilings appears to show the number of horses used by the owners of this establishment. **(Photograph 3)**

'Bleaching Ground, with Bleaching-house therein, Five Excellent Walled Fruit and Kitchen Gardens, Well Stocked, and a Pump of Water in one of them'.¹⁷ These five gardens appear to have been the Home Garden, with Store (70), Orchard, garden, and part of bleach ground (71), Malt-house garden (120), West garden (121) and the walled garden (150) beside the Gardener's Cottage because they were individually listed in the Tithe Commutation records of 1841 as being occupied by Thomas Riches²¹.

The West garden (121) clearly has paths, or perhaps rows of trees, indicated on the plan. The large wall still standing beside what is now known as 'The Fairstead' suggests that this did indeed protect fruit trees and it is now the site of Orchard Cottage, Larch Cottage and The Curate's House.

*'A neat Gardener's Cottage, with Out-buildings, Yard and Pump'*¹⁷ was let to Mr Thomas Riches with the Gardens belonging to the Mansion at £15 per Annum. Thomas Riches must have been producing a very substantial amount of produce from these five 'well stocked' walled gardens to have been able to pay £15 per annum rent. This Cottage (150) has been known for many years as The Lodge, and is situated at the entrance of the current main drive to Cley Hall. The brick and flint storage shed and former earth closet still exist and the board attached to the garden wall for the pump is still in situ – however the cast iron pump was removed after the 1953 flood when the mains water supply was installed.

*'Two Cottages, with small Gardens attached'*¹⁷, occupied by Mr Robert Mussett and Mr John Jarvis at £6 pa rent – possibly shared the site of what is now Little Cottage. *'Malt-*

*House, with a 10-quarter Steep, and Barley and Malt Chambers over'*¹⁷ let to Mr Brereton at £10 pa. The 1841 Tithe Commutation Agreement records, however, show that Robert and Randall Brereton were in occupation of The Malt-house which stood on the site of the now converted Cley School.

The auction catalogue and plan¹⁷ as well as the 1841 Tithe records²¹ use the same numbers as the 1839 hand drawn plan to identify buildings and land, and if these numbers are used in brackets they can be seen on the illustrations used to accompany this article.

The catalogue details specific measurements for each area in 'A.R.P'- Acre, Rod & Pole and, where relevant, 'w, p or a' for wood, pasture and arable but these have not been included in this article. The History Centre Blakeney holds copies of both the auction and Tithe plans with their associated text.

Continuing with the description: *'In Mr John Ebbetts' Occupation A Superior Brick and Stone Built Farm House containing Dining Room, Keeping Room, Kitchen, Dairy, Pantry, Wash-house, seven good Bed Rooms, three large Attics, and excellent Cellars; Walled Kitchen Garden, Flower Garden, Stack Yard, etc'*.¹⁷ This farm house is the Old Hall situated on the Coast Road that was the subject of extensive modernisation and partial rebuild in 1948 by Hubert Blount and Paul Paget with much 16th and 17th century timberwork introduced from a property in Leicestershire and Marks Hall at Coggeshall. *'The round tower surmounted by a balustrade'* and visible from the road was added *'to encase a new staircase after the original one had become too badly worn to repair'*.²²

'The Farm Buildings are all brick and stone built, and tiled, and comprise a Chaise-house and three-stalled Riding-horse Stable, a four stalled ditto, Hay-house, Cart-house, Stabling for sixteen Cart Horses, with Harness-houses attached, five excellent Barns, six Horse and Bullock Yards, with open Sheds in all of them, Cow-house, Granary, Cart and Waggon Lodges, Piggeries and every requisite Out-building.

Detached from the Homestead (= Old Hall), and on a convenient part of the Farm, is a large tiled Barn, and two six-horse Stables adjoining, two Cattle Lodges and Sheds, Piggeries and Walled Yards for Stock. A double Tenement, with Bake-house adjoining; Cart Lodge, with Granary over, and Farm Yard; Laborer's Cottage, and Garden. On No. 182, is a Barn and open Shed, and on No. 273, is another Barn, Cart Lodge, and Sheds, with Cattle Yard, and fine Well of Water, 100 feet deep.¹⁷

The Barn Pightle (182) and Bullock shed with out-buildings (181) possibly now form part of the outbuildings at Long Acre in Church Lane. The plan shows Middle or Drift Way pass-

ing New Barn and this track is now called Barn Drift. Many of the fields are named by their size, or after an occupier but one of the most evocative is an area of pasture called 'Cuckoo's Corner' on the Kelling Road where presumably cuckoos could be heard.

The catalogue states Mr John Ebbetts, who occupied the farm was, *'a most respectable Tenant, to whom it is let on Lease for a Term of 12 Years, from the 11th October 1831'*.¹⁷ He also occupied additional property *'at Will'* and was paying £888/-/- rent per annum in 1839 for just over 1,016 acres and the numerous buildings described above. The granting of longer leases encouraged tenant farmers to improve the land and make modernise their farms.

Mr Zachariah Prike is listed as occupying a newly-erected Barn, stables, and out-buildings and over 38 acres at £46 pa. The remaining tenants detailed in the catalogue are Mr John Bix, Mr John Copeman, Mr Francis Johnson, Mr Thomas Daglass, Mr Robert Oldham, Mr Robert Bacon, Mr John Jackson, Mr Charles Buck and Mr Henry Overton who were renting pasture and arable land including marshes.

The printed map detailing the extent of the properties comprising Lot 1 is clearly based on the hand drawn and coloured map of 1839 but with slight variations and a little less detail. It is worthy of note for it sheds light on the 'walk' from Cley Hall through the woodland plantation and the walled garden (150) beside the Gardener's Cottage and to the entrance to the drive because the 'walk' stops on the auction plan beside the cottage wall. On the same plan the drive from the top of Town Yard no longer appears to reach the Hall but stops about half way through Park Piece (248) and the new drive appears to pass beside an open strip of flower garden (3) rather than entirely through the wooded Fairstead Plantation (3).

Included within the 'In Hand' property described in the catalogue is the 'Fairstead' (210) beside 'Swallows Inn', the plan clearly shows this to be the triangular shaped area of land now referred to as Newgate Green. It was the site of the Fair *'annually held on the last Friday and Saturday in the month of July'* but abolished in 1872.²³ Also 'In Hand' are two areas of Lord's Waste – The Hill (22), a very extensive but irregular shaped area to the north of Hill Top with two tracks to the Coast Road and a narrow strip (175) beside Town Yard. Basil Cozens-Hardy described the land on The Hill as 'Wastes of the Manor' and correspondence and opinions survive from as late as the 1960s detailing requests to enclose, or purchase, parts of this land which he stated had been used by generations of children for play and could not be enclosed, or sold to others by the Lord of the Manor³.

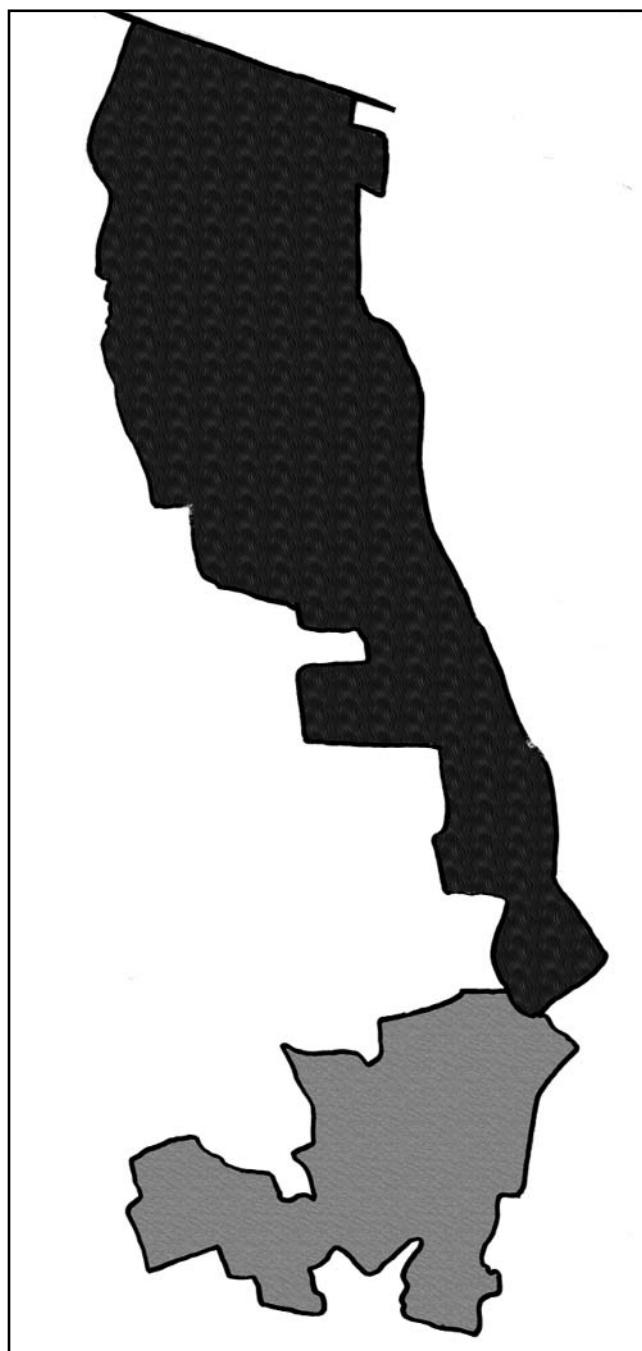


Figure 4. Sketch map showing the boundaries of the Cley Hall (black) and Letheringsett Hall (grey) Estates of William Hardy II in 1841 stretching from the edge of Holt through Letheringsett and Cley north to the beach.

The triangular piece of pasture land beside Old Woman's Lane is 'In Hand' and called 'Corner lying waste' and 'piece lying waste' beside Salthouse Broad and Walsey Hill. Mr Zachariah Prike is shown renting some Lord's Waste, part of the triangle between the Holt and Wiveton Roads.

The tithe commutation agreement of 1841²¹ gives almost identical details of tenants, occupiers and rents. The Cottage and garden beside Cley Watering is called a Gamekeeper's Lodge

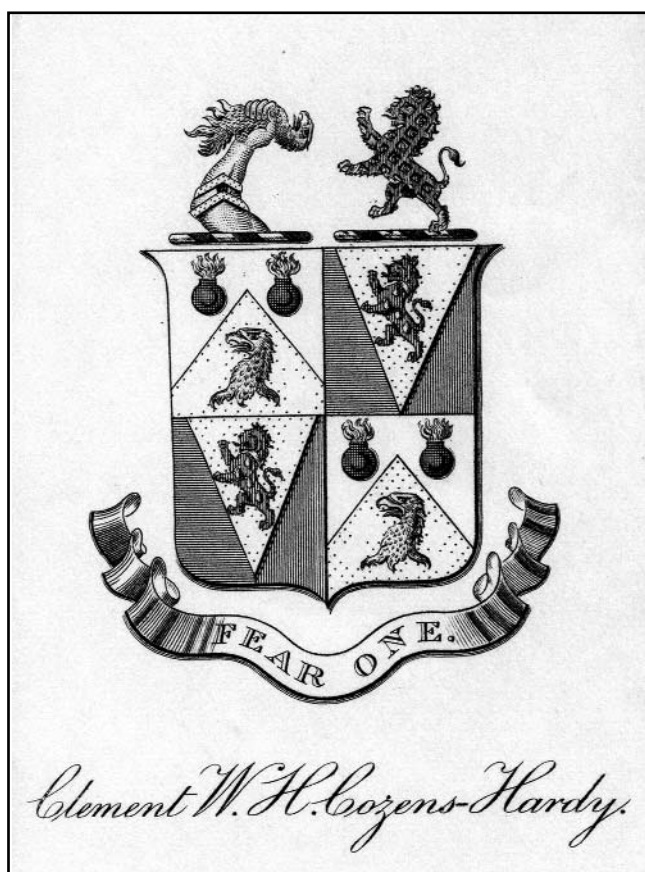


Figure 5. The bookplate of Clement William Hardy Cozens-Hardy, who moved into Cley Hall in 1855. These were affixed to the Manor of Cley Court books and nearly 150 years later they were used to verify ownership of the records.

and was occupied by Jonathan Bullen, while Zachariah Prike now has a farm house, garden etc on the road to Wiveton.

The most significant difference appears to be that William Hardy is shown 'owning' over 68 acres of 'Salt Water Channel or Harbour'²¹ and over 130 acres of 'Beach'.

The Manor of Cley next the Sea, which was included in Lot 1 is detailed '*whereof 86 Messuages, with Buildings attached to many of them, and 69A. 3R. 7p. of Land are held by Copy of Court Roll – the Fines being arbitrary*' and later that '*There are certain Rights of Beach appertaining to this lot*'.¹⁷ It certainly appears that William Hardy's 'rights' were immediately recognised in the Tithe assessments for his total land holding listed in the 1841 Tithe records was 1511A. 3R. 36P²¹, compared to the '*summary of Lot 1*' that gave 1294A. 0R. 37P.

Comparing the detailed listings in the auction catalogue and in the 1841 Tithe records shows how few properties or land had changes in occupation in the intervening two years and that John Ebbetts continued to occupy the bulk of the land.

A story that is often repeated locally states

that William Hardy II was able to walk from his home at Letheringsett Hall, or from Holt, to the sea over his own land without crossing land owned by another person. From the various maps and plans^{17,18} of the combined estate this appears to be true because they clearly show the Estate's lands passing beside the Bayfield Estate. The Bayfield estate wall runs for nearly two miles from Letheringsett to Glandford and William Hardy II owned a strip of land passing beside the Bayfield Estate which did indeed link the Cley and Letheringsett Hall Estates together. (Figure 4)

Discussion

The tenants occupying the buildings and renting the land in 1839 when William Hardy purchased the Cley Hall Estate appear virtually unchanged in 1841. He probably purchased the Estate as an investment to generate income, to consolidate his land holding in North Norfolk as well as for the influence a large land holding and sporting estate conferred on the owner at the time thus insuring his family's position in local society. If he had raised the rents dramatically or wanted to cultivate the land himself it is likely that a significant number of tenants and occupiers would have disappeared by 1841. It appears this was not so and that the occupation of the properties was probably not altered much in the two years or so that he owned the Cley Hall Estate.

William Hardy and his wife Mary had no surviving children. He died suddenly on 22 June 1842 at Letheringsett Hall and his marble memorial in Letheringsett church has a long eulogy.¹ Under the terms of his will, the combined estates passed to his nephew William Hardy Cozens, a solicitor, on the condition that he should assume or add the surname of Hardy. This was done by Royal licence and William Hardy Cozens-Hardy was granted a coat of arms.

In 1849 William Hardy Cozens also inherited from his father, Jeremiah Cozens, 500 acres at Sprowston. He had been living at The Lodge in Letheringsett since marrying Sarah Theobald on the 21st July 1830 and their first six children were born there. In 1842 they moved into Letheringsett Hall and the widowed Mary Hardy occupied The Lodge.

In 1855, soon after he came of age Clement William Hardy Cozens-Hardy (1833-1906), the eldest son and heir of William Hardy Cozens-Hardy moved into Cley Hall on marrying Helen Feneley Wrigley (1831-1909), becoming the first members of the family to actually reside in the Hall. (Figure 5)

Under William Hardy Cozens-Hardy the combined Letheringsett and Cley Estates continued

to develop and expand until his death in 1895. His influence and that of his immediate family continued to expand on a local level but also through Norfolk, to London and beyond. However, like many other country estates this did not survive throughout the twentieth century. Firstly the death of the heir Raven in 1917 fighting in the First World War had a profound effect and this was followed by the gradual break up and dispersal of almost all of the property by the descendants.

Conclusion

The 1839 auction catalogue gives a very detailed insight into the extent of the Cley Hall Estate property together with the occupiers of the buildings and land as well as naming many of the fields, woods and marshes. Comparison with the slightly earlier hand drawn map and later Tithe Commutation records confirms that most occupiers remained after the

sale to William Hardy.

The uniting of the Letheringsett and Cley Hall Estates with the additional 500 acres in Sprowston gave William Hardy Cozens-Hardy and his family a large income, increasing influence and social status at a time when self-made merchants, brewers and industrialists were in the ascendancy.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to John Peake for guidance and advice, together with access to his transcripts and copies of the tithe commutation records. The study has benefited from individuals giving access to private documents and information. Dr John Alban, County Archivist, and the NRO staff for assistance with producing the un-catalogued Basil Cozens-Hardy deposits and access to the un-catalogued Hornor deposits.

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Back Pages

Henry Tyrrell, Shipbuilder, some additional facts

Henry Tyrrell was a shipbuilder at Wells-next-the-Sea between 1845 and about 1864 after which he pursued a new career as a surveyor for Lloyd's Register of Shipping

Thanks to the research work of Captain Peter Elphick and Mike Welland of the Wells Local History Group, Henry Tyrrell's biography can be improved. Some of my suppositions in my article in No.11 of the *Glaven Historian* were also downright wrong. The main sources are the Lloyd's Register's archives and the Census Returns for Wells-next-the-Sea.

Henry Tyrrell was born on 9 December 1820 and not 1821. He was almost certainly not apprenticed in Great Yarmouth. Although it cannot be proved, he may well have served his apprenticeship at a Royal Dockyard. This is based on Lloyd's generic job description for a Shipwright Surveyors of Wooden Ships. They had to be 'a practical men possessing the highest attainments of their profession' and who had usually completed a seven year apprenticeship and worked under a master shipwright for several years thereafter. Lloyd's expected the majority to have been trained in Royal Dockyards. These establishments provided the best and most thorough training for shipwrights including a grounding in the theoretical aspects of the work. Commercial shipyards were apt to exploit apprentices as cheap labour without much training. The minutes of the Register's General Council describe Tyrrell's testimonials as 'very satisfactory' which suggests he was trained at a Naval Dockyard.

He was appointed on 3rd March 1864 at a salary of £250 per annum and assigned to Jersey as the only full-time surveyor on the island to supervise repairs and new building carried out under the Register's rules. Jersey had a thriving shipbuilding industry and he could call on a local man, Peter Collas if he needed help. His salary was increased to £300 in 1868 and he was appointed to Southampton in 1869. From there he also covered the Isle of Wight, Weymouth and Bridport. Three years later he moved to London, and after serving two years in the Capital, was transferred to Cardiff (also covering Newport) from where he retired in 1881. His salary continued to rise in increments to £400 by 1881 and he received a pension of £213 6s 8d. He must have given satisfactory service in a demanding job to his eminent employers.

He retired to Wells-next-Sea and by 1888 was living at a house on the Buttlands and by 1891 at St Helier, the family home in Station Road. He died on 10th or 14th October 1891, aged 72. He remained single. His slate grave-stone can still be seen in the corner of the Congregational (Independent) chapel at Wells.

There is a possibility that the model of the shipyard might have been made by Henry Tyrrell's younger brother Joseph. He trained as a draughtsman and mechanical engineer. He was also a painter and several of his works still exist in private collections in the Wells area and there is one watercolour of a fishing smack in the Time and Tide Museum at Great Yarmouth. If one assumes that the model was built close to the time of the launch of the Countess of Leicester in 1847, it is an accomplished piece of work for a 14 year old boy.

Michael Stammers

John Baines revisited

The Baines were quintessentially seafarers based in Blakeney: they were either fishermen working close to home or mariners sailing both coastal and foreign waters. Their family fortunes can be followed from the late 1780s with the arrival of John Baines from Lincolnshire until their demise mid twentieth century when the family name disappeared from local records having survived just five generations.

John Baines was featured in *Glaven Historian* No. 5, 2002, when his Settlement Examination of 1806 and the outline of family descent through his sons were explored in some detail. His daughters however were only briefly mentioned. Since then a seventh daughter has been identified and the marriage of a Sarah Baines to Jacob Jary (Jeary) needs clarification.

John Baines and Sarah Murrell were married in Blakeney Parish Church 27th December 1791. The Parish Registers show that two daughters, Sarah (1795-1799) and Deborah (1800-1801) had already been baptized and buried prior to his examination. In evidence before J W Thomlinson and R T Gough (4th April 1806), John Baines named his daughters as Mary aged 7, Margaret aged 30 months and Deborah, just 7 months. The youngest of these daughters, the second Deborah, was to die before the year was out and was buried in the churchyard just before Xmas.

Two more daughters were added to the family, another Sarah in 1807 and then the new dis-

covery, Elizabeth Brown Baines, born in 1812 and named after William Brown(e), her uncle.

Of the four daughters surviving childhood, Mary, Margaret, Sarah and Elizabeth Baines, Mary (baptized Mary Murrell Baines) married William Hooke and after his death, Mark Dent widower of Hindringham. Margaret (known as Peggy) married John Jary while Sarah married John Crofts of Wiveton. Sarah had two daughters acknowledged by John Crofts, Mary Crofts Baines (born before wedlock) and Elizabeth Crofts. When John died, Sarah married James Plumb and they had four children. Their youngest child, William Baines Plumb was a week old and motherless on census night, Sunday 6th June 1841, Sarah having been buried three days earlier, Thursday, in Blakeney churchyard.

John Baines's youngest daughter, Elizabeth, 'disappears' from local records but not before she has a son baptized as Robert Ramm Baines, with the father's name of Robert Ramm being crossed through.

Returning to Jacob Jary(Jeary) mentioned above, he did indeed marry Sarah Baines but she was Sarah Claxon Baines (born 1817), the daughter of William Baines, eldest son of John Baines. Then her younger sister, Deborah, married Robert Ramm, baker of Cley!

William Baines, just like his father, had several daughters and most of them had the same Christian names as his sisters: Sarah, Deborah, Mary, Mary and Elizabeth in birth date order respectively while his eldest daughter, Lydia, was named after an aunt.

The earlier article, *GH5*, also related that John Baines had two grandsons, both named Edward Murrell Baines, and both baptized in the same church on the same day, a nightmare for any family historian. Little wonder that confusion abounds and that Baines family history needs due diligence and care when researching. The alternative spelling of Jary/Jeary highlights another set of pitfalls.

Pamela Peake

New Found News!

Following on from the article 'Stormy Weather', additional information regarding the fate of the *Defiance* and her crew has come to light via an online British Library 'pay to view' newspaper site.

The Morning Chronicle (London) 10th February 1838

..... *'in an English vessel (the Defiance), which ran ashore near the mouth Bosphorus about five days since, all hands were found frozen on board, with the exception of two, whose*

lives are despaired of.

Liverpool Mercury 16th February 1838

'The captain and the whole crew of the Defiance, with the exception of one man and a boy, were drowned. The preservation of the man and the boy was owing to a Newfoundland dog, which they placed between them in a berth, and thus obtained additional warmth, whilst the wreck remained on the shoals off Constantinople until released from their perilous situation by some Turks who boarded the wreck'.

Sara Dobson

Contributors

Sara Dobson née Ramm has been researching her family roots for nearly twenty years and has subsequently become interested in the ships her ancestors sailed on.

John Ebdon studied history at Royal Holloway College, University of London. First saw Cley on holiday in about 1973, but has been visiting regularly since 2005.

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

Philip Page served in the Fleet Air Arm then with ICI, returning to live permanently in Blakeney in 1971. He is the third generation to live in and care passionately about 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.

David Perryman's career was spent as a Municipal Engineer and Surveyor first in King's Lynn then with Depwade RDC and Anglian Water. This led to a professional interest in street furniture and maps.

John Rodgers worked as a chartered accountant before joining the RAF and retiring as a Wing Commander. He is one of the authors of "The Book of Hindringham"

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

John Wright spent his early years in Stiffkey and became interested in local history while researching family roots in Blakeney and other Norfolk villages. He is a founder member of the Blakeney History Group (forerunner of the BAHS) and first editor of the *Glaven Historian*.