the GLAVEN HISTORIAN

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Contents

Editorial

Looking back over the twelve issues of the Glaven Historian that have been published since 1998 shows that an amazing array of topics have been covered. Certainly the hopes expressed in the first Editorial that there was much to write about, not only on early history but also from the recent past have been fulfilled. Yet there are still many topics that have not been covered and more research is waiting to be done; challenges remain for us all. Now is the time to record for posterity notable events that have shaped our villages. A few years ago this was brought home to me when trying to find speakers for a 'Members Night' on local experiences during WWII. Fortunately a few people were prepared to speak, but many were too modest and then one realised just how quickly memories were fading. So an article on the Blakeney 12 in this issue is welcomed, it illustrates the extent of the possibilities amongst recent events. To reiterate words in that early Editorial "*... there is plenty of scope for everyone to make a contribution – you don't have to be able to read medieval Latin*" or early handwriting. Authors who have taken the plunge will testify to how rewarding it can be and it is a good way to keep those brain cells working!

The success of the journal owes everything to the contributors who have made considerable efforts to make the fruits of their research available for us all to enjoy. Two have received awards at national level and it is appropriate that John Wright was a recipient last year for his paper on the early sixteenth century Muster Rolls; John was one of the founder members of the Society and the first editor. Yet while we flourish there is debate at a national level about the nature of local history, the future of the discipline and local societies. Some are despondent, but let us hope we can build on the successes already achieved.

We are fortunate in living in a county where so much of our written history has been preserved not only in the superb Norfolk Record Office and in the National Archives, but also in the Society's own History Centre in Blakeney. People have been generous in giving so much material or making it available because they wanted it to be accessible locally for everybody to use and enjoy. These records have been the starting point for many papers published in the Historian. Moreover over the past fourteen years more and more information has appeared on internet sites making it easier to find relevant documents and records, plus read accounts of local history from other areas.

This issue of the journal has another eclectic mix of papers extending from the twenty-first century back into the past for over 500 years. Fortuitously this year a wide spread of local villages have been covered with the greatest concentration on Cley, but Field Dalling, Morston, Wiveton, Salthouse and Blakeney are not forgotten. While the paper on Ralph Greneway shows a representative of a local family operating in the larger metropolis of Tudor London. Whatever your tastes and interests there should be something to interest you here.

This is the last Glaven Historian I shall be involved with in an editorial capacity, but I hope to continue to write for it in the future. Yes, I did retire a few years ago, but returned as commissioning editor to help find authors and papers. Fortunately people have responded to being cajoled into writing and taking my comments on their efforts, to them I am immensely grateful. Keep up the good work, for quoting again from the first editorial "*no contributions, no journal*". Other thanks must be extended to Richard Kelham for setting the journal and giving it that 'professional edge' and other individuals who have helped when needed with editing and proof-reading. It has been an exciting time to be involved.

John Peake

Morston 400 Years Ago

John Wright

Synopsis: fieldbooks for Morston, prepared between c.1480 and 1619 and containing detailed descriptions of each piece of land in the parish, suggest that the agricultural landscape changed little during that period. The books can be used to illustrate aspects of life in Morston 400 years ago, and could yield more if used in conjunction with other documents and field studies.

Introduction

Nathaniel Bacon was a notable figure in this part of the world some 400 years ago. He was a son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Queen Elizabeth's Lord Keeper of the Great Seal – effectively her Chancellor. Nicholas set up his three sons with substantial houses, two in Suffolk and Nathaniel in Stiffkey in what is now the Old Hall. Though he had relations in high places at Elizabeth's court, he preferred to base his life's work in Stiffkey, and such time as he spent as an MP he used to advance the economic interests of north Norfolk. A JP for over 50 years and a committed puritan, he appears to have been a rather strait-laced character as he fulfilled the duties placed on him quite impartially by the standards of the day. Perhaps it is no surprise that such a man should have made record-keeping a prime activity. A large part of his extensive archive of correspondence and other papers, removed from Stiffkey to Raynham Hall by his successor Roger Townshend, has been dispersed over the years but much has been reconstituted in the form of five volumes published by the Norfolk Record Society, with more to come.[1]

Nathaniel's income was derived from his extensive land holdings in Stiffkey, Cockthorpe, Langham and Morston. His papers include detailed account books recording the income from his rents and produce, and the expenditure entailed in running his estate and household. Among the records are a number of fieldboooks, organised by parish, which record the location of every strip of land, its area, the tenant, and often a rental.

This article looks at the Morston fieldboooks and comments on some of their features. It does not describe the agricultural system in operation at the time. That would need much more study of the extent of sub-letting, the way that sheep were accommodated on arable land, how decisions were made on what crops should be grown, the way that surplus crops were sold, and so on. Even so, the fieldboooks can still help to illustrate aspects of life in Morston some 400 years ago.

The Fieldbooks

Five fieldboooks are available for study in the Norfolk Record Office.[2] One dating from May 1583 is a survey of the manor of Morston, made by William Horneby, describing the boundaries of the parish as well as the location of the 'furlongs' and their constituent 'strips'. In this part of Norfolk, as in many other areas of central and eastern England, medieval agriculture was characterised by an open landscape with fields bounded not by hedges but by ditches or by banks of soil often called 'meres'. The furlongs were longer and narrower than most modern fields and were divided into small strips. Where 'field' is used, it normally refers to a group of adjacent furlongs; a small number of such fields then constitute the whole parish. Typically, each tenant had a number of strips (called 'pieces' in Morston) scattered around the parish, sometimes in other parishes too.[3]

The binding of the 1583 fieldbook is taken from a fifteenth-century service book. A part of it is shown in **Figure 1** but this black and white version does no justice to the colour of the original which features not only red and blue but also gold on the capital 'B'. As gold does not tarnish, this illumination is still as fresh as when it was made, and the manuscript is a fascinating item in itself – especially for those who can read the music.

The essential elements of the parish have remained the same over the past 400 years: the

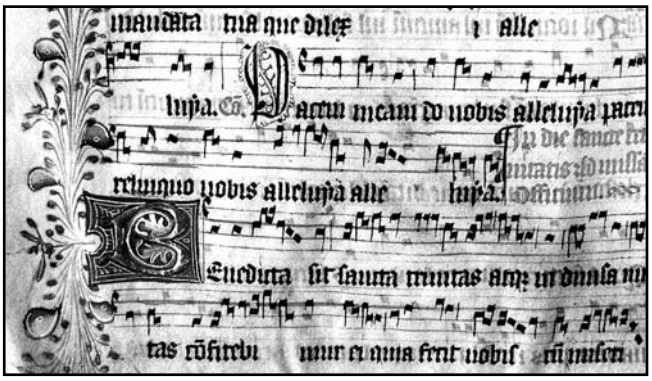

Figure 1. The cover of the 1583 Morston fieldbook. *A 15th century service sheet has been used and this illustration shows about one third of the inside back cover. The illuminated B is the first letter of 'Benedicta' (blessed).*

Two fieldbooks prepared by Thomas Kinges are dated December 1595; one of them remains in the Townshend archive, the other has become separated. The two books have essentially the same information, but on occasions the separate book seems to have been updated or corrected by means of the other, and so no further reference will be made to it. The Townshend book carries a preamble which describes it as a survey of lands, tenements, cottages, meadows and pastures, prepared by examination of the court rolls and other evidence as well as by the words of the tenants on oath, and site visits where necessary. Such preambles make it clear that fieldbooks were not based on complete field surveys made at the time. They were prepared as and when required by taking the previous survey and updating it; some fieldbooks are heavily annotated in this process.

As in the 1583 fieldbook, the information given for each strip in the 1595 book includes not only its size and the name of the tenant, but also the form of the tenancy. There were three kinds. Land in the private ownership of the lord of the manor, over which he could exert direct control, was known as the 'demesne', effectively the forerunner of the 'home farm'. He could work it directly himself or, according to the economics of the time, he could lease it out to a 'farmer'. Like the word 'field', a 'farmer' then had a different meaning from today: it denoted a person who paid a fee for a position of some kind and then made what profit he could from it.

'Copyhold' tenure was secured by means of a copy of an entry in the manorial court roll which entitled the tenant, or copyholder, to use the land and to sell or will it to some other person on payment of a fee to the lord of the manor. Land which had been released from this control was 'free land' whose occupant paid an annual rent to the manor but was otherwise free from most manorial controls. Over the centuries more and more land was enfranchised in this way but copyhold tenure did not finally disappear until 1922.

The 1595 book gives a rental figure for most of the strips. From a 10% sample it can be said that copyhold land paid between 3d and 7d per acre per year, while free land ranged between 1d and 7d. By contrast, for almost all land leased from the lord of the manor the farmers paid a standard rate of 8d per acre. Yet these sums do not represent the commercial value of the land. They appear to be quit rents: small annual sums originally introduced to release the tenant from manorial service. A common rental value at this time was 6s 8d per acre for good arable land, exactly 10 times the quit rent of 8d paid for leasehold land. (It may or may not be a coincidence that in Henry VIII's Military Survey of 1522 the assumed wealth of all landowners was based on a valuation of 8d per acre.)

The fourth fieldbook, dated June 1619, is in the form of a bound volume holding entries for Langham and Cockthorpe as well as Morston. In this fieldbook, prepared by Edward Symonds, the entries are shorter and more formulaic than for 1595; there are area totals for every furlong and the 51 furlongs are grouped into six 'fields'. The highlight of this fieldbook is the inclusion of two sketch-maps of Morston, one of the whole parish and one showing the village area in a little more detail. The maps carry no date and it cannot be assumed automatically that they relate to 1619 as there are some notes in the book which are clearly later. Can the maps be dated? In each of the furlongs portrayed are written the number of pieces in the furlong and the total area. In every case these figures tally with those in the fieldbook which can be taken as a good indication that the maps were drawn at the same time as the fieldbook was compiled.

The fifth fieldbook is rather different from those introduced above: it is written in English, not Latin, and is undated. The year 1573 appears at the top of one of the pages for no apparent reason and this may, or may not, be the date of the book. Yet this hardly matters for the document is clearly a copy of a much older fieldbook. The furlongs listed comprise only the eastern half of the parish, which is clearly intentional – it is not the case that half the book is missing.

It has not been possible to deduce the actual date of the original despite the number of names included in it. A few court rolls exist in the Norfolk Record Office for the 1400s but none of those seen has been particularly helpful, partly because it is difficult to identify specific people when the same first names appear in successive generations. One roll has many names in common with those in the fieldbook but unfortunately it carries no date, and one for 1440 has names which tally with those who had held land previously. A roll for 1479 and wills made in subse-

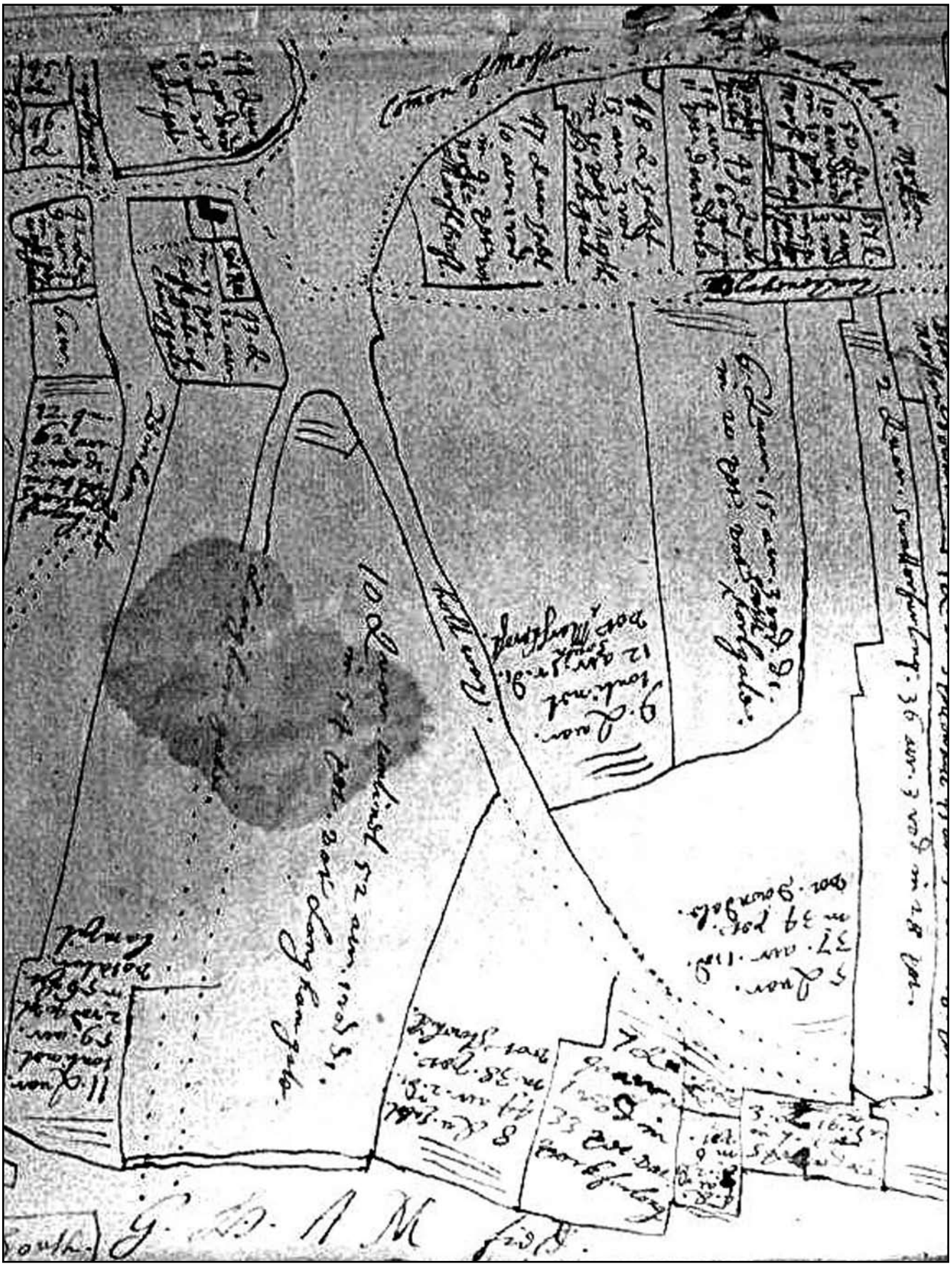

Figure 2. Parish map 1619 (eastern part). *The words under the large blot read: 10 Quar continent 52 acr 1 rod di in 54 pec voc Langhamgate which translates as '10th furlong contains 52 acres 1½ roods in 54 pieces, called Langhamgate'. Other descriptions follow the same pattern. The short parallel lines in each furlong show the location of the first strip described in the fieldbook. (The map has north to the top and extends c1 mile north to south)*

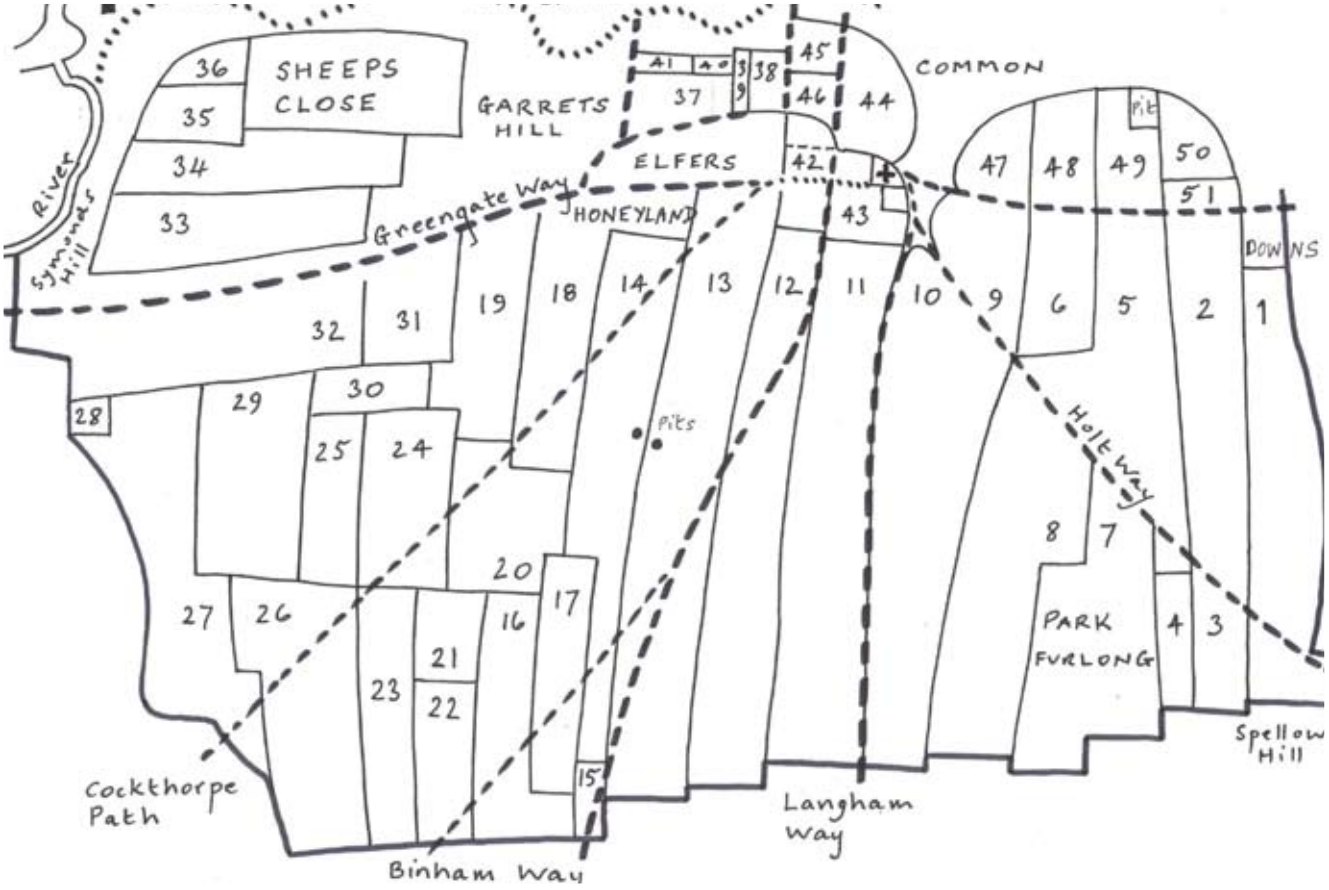

Figure 3. Parish map 1619 (redrawn). This drawing suggests how the 1619 sketch-map can be transferred to a modern base map. *The furlong names can be found by reference to the numbers in Table 1. Roadways and paths are shown as dashed lines and a small cross marks the position of Morston church. (The map has north to the top and extends c2 miles east to west)*

quent decades also include some of the names in the fieldbook. So as a rough guide it is suggested that the date of the fieldbook is probably close to 1480, which is adequate for present purposes.

The Parish Map of 1619

Fieldbooks are more valuable if the furlongs can be traced on the ground from the written description of their location, often given just in terms of abuttals (what lies adjacent). For Morston the map of the whole parish in the 1619 book is a great help; without it the furlongs would have to be juggled together as if completing a jigsaw puzzle without the key picture - and with only written descriptions of each piece. However, unlike the large detailed map of Stiffkey of a similar date, which is drawn to scale, the Morston maps are only small sketches, as if drawn from memory during a court sitting. The smaller one, covering just the village, is considered separately below **(Figure 5)**. The larger map covers the whole parish and the eastern part, between the church and the boundary with Blakeney, is shown in **Figure 2**. The furlong boundaries here cannot be accurate for they enclose areas at odds with the acreages in the fieldbooks, and there are other inconsistencies.

The picture is little better in other parts of the parish and re-drawing the sketch-map on a modern map base therefore requires some guesswork. **Figure 3** is an attempt to do this, making as few changes as possible other than those needed to show each furlong at a size appropriate to its area. **Figure 3** also conforms to the modern boundaries of the parish, especially that between Morston and Langham which consists of dog-leg sections drawn to respect a field system already in place. The interpretation is plausible for most of the parish but the extra width suggested for Park furlong is anomalous and the furlongs shown for 1619 at the north-western corner of the village are not easily reconciled with the modern map.

The essential elements of the parish have remained the same over the past 400 years: the village is still in the same position, and the road pattern is recognizable despite some changes. The present coast road and Langham road still follow the same routes as in 1619. The map also has Binham Way (usually Binhamgate in the fieldbooks) stretching away towards Binham, represented now only by the stub of a road leading down past Morston Hall. Holt Way survives as a farm track along the line of the old road, but Cockthorpe Path has effectively disappeared. These last three roads ran between some fur-

longs and cut across others, a feature of other early maps including one for Blakeney dated 1769.

In medieval times much traffic between villages was on foot, so the shortest route was clearly preferable and it was acceptable to cross arable strips - though presumably not to the detriment of growing crops. The 1619 fieldbook description of Shortland furlong (No. 14) makes it clear (in translation) that 'the road from Morston to Binham crosses part of this furlong'. Similarly, the 1595 book records that Binhamgate crossed over Binham Buske furlong (16) and Reelstaff (22). The map, on the other hand, shows the path crossing Barleystead (15), an apparent inconsistency which could arise from a change over time, an error on the sketch map – or even a divided path.

The road from Morston to Blakeney over the Downs was a more established feature of the landscape for though furlongs cross it the parts either side have separate names by 1619. There was also a road to Blakeney along the edge of the salt marsh, and in the fieldbooks there are

Table 1. Furlongs 1619 (number of pieces and acreage). *Furlong areas taken from the fieldbook have been rounded to the nearest acre so may not sum to the totals (and a summing error in the original has been corrected). The 'fields' are areas defined by the main roads, except for the 5th which represents the village.*

Furl No.	Furlong Name	Pieces	Acres (rounded)
	1st Field		
1	Spellowhill and Kettleshill foreland	28	44
2	Swatterfurlong (S)	28	37
3	Spellowdeale	7	16
4	[No name 1]	6	9
5	Downdeale	34	37
6	South Horlegate	20	16
7	Park furlong	33	40
8	Slow Hill foreland	38	45
9	South Marshcroft & Slowgate	9	12
10	Langhamgate	54	52
	Total	**257**	**308**
	2nd Field		
11	Lampit	56	59
12	Binhamgate & Syers Mill furlong	54	63
13	Claypit furlong and South Millclose	47	58
14	Shortland als South Millhill Croft furlong	42	43
15	Barlystead als Badland	3	4
16	Binham Buske als Strondsty	28	21
17	[No name 2]	9	13
18	Ramspit als Marions Firres & Stondsty	26	31
19	Swallow Hill furlong als Brimble furlong	18	23
20	Brimble furlong	18	18
21	Meland	9	9
22	Reelstaffe and Binhamgate furlong	14	20
23	Heyforhill	14	24
24	Smalhill	13	17
25	Dunsacre furlong	6	12
26	East Craneland & Long furlong	24	29
27	West Craneland & Netherlong furlong	18	27
28	Half Shortland	3	3
29	Long furlong	20	23
30	Anhow furlong	10	11
31	Swallowhill als Denhow Hill	5	12
32	Southgreengate	26	28
	Total	**463**	**546**
	3rd Field		
33	Northgreengate	18	21
34	Peasland	16	16
35	Conifer	11	12
36	[No name 3]	3	2
	Total	**48**	**51**
	4th Field		
37	Chevil	6	10
38	Marions Croft	2	6
39	[No name 4]	2	2
40	Colles Croft	3	2
41	Coteforeland	4	2
	Total	**17**	**21**
	5th Field		
42	Westgatestreet	11	10
43	Eastgate & Churchgate	17	12
44	Northgate	19	13
45	Redwell	9	6
46	[No name 5]	7	5
	Total	**63**	**46**
	6th Field		
47	Stonegate & North Marshcroft	9	10
48	North Horlegate	10	14
49	Downdeale (N)	11	14
50	Marsh furlong	10	10
51	Swatterfurlong (N)	5	4
	Total	**45**	**52**
	Grand Total	**893**	**1024**

numerous references to 'the processional way' even though this does not appear on the map. It seems to have been a route along the parish boundary, especially that between Morston and Langham, no doubt used to mark the boundary and quite possibly for processions to 'beat the bounds'.

Furlongs and Strips

The three later fieldbooks (1583, 1595 and 1619) hardly differ in their description of the 50 or so furlongs into which Morston was divided, and the earlier one (c.1480) also agrees for the area it covers. The order in which furlongs are listed is not always the same, so they are numbered afresh in each book. The full list for 1619 is given in **Table 1** together with the number of individual strips and their total area. Complete totals cannot be shown for previous years as areas are not given for some of the smaller pieces, often those within the village. The subtotals in **Table 1** are described in the 1619 book as 'fields' but these are the areas defined by the main road pattern and are unlikely to have had any role in the agricultural system.

Furlong names vary slightly but there is no problem in matching up the furlongs at all four dates. Uncertainty about a name sometimes arises from alternative spellings; what is written as Smallowhill in 1595, for example, becomes Swallow Hill in 1619. The latter spelling might seem the more likely representation of the name, but the origin might be 'small howe' as 'howe' means 'hill' and Smalhill is the name of the adjacent furlong.

Some furlongs are much larger than others; the longest tend to be in the flatter arable areas south of the village, the smaller around the periphery of the parish or close to the village. In shape, furlongs are generally long and thin, and many are set out on a north-south axis. Claypit furlong, for instance, runs from Morston village right up to the boundary with Langham. So does Binhamgate furlong, the largest of all (63 acres). In contrast, three furlongs have less than two acres. The number of strips in each furlong is often just a little less than the number of acres, ranging from 56 (Lampit furlong) to only two (Marions Croft)

Table 1 suggests that the average size of the individual strips is very similar across all the furlongs. In 1595 the average size for the parish as a whole was 1 acre and 0.63 of a rood (there being 4 roods to an acre). In the fieldbook the areas are described in terms of acres, roods and half-roods, so the average figure is close to 1 acre and half a rood. Yet in the whole parish there is only one piece of land of this size. **Table 2** shows the distribution of the 859 pieces whose areas are given (30 are thereby excluded). There are some large pieces of land (eg 2 at 9 acres, 1 at 7 acres) but too few to change the average area by any significant amount.

Table 2. Strips within furlongs 1595 – Number of each size

Group	Size		Number
	Acres	Roods	
1		0.5	3
2		1	27
3		1.5	48
4		2	102
5		2.5	87
6		3	56
7		3.5	3.5
8	1		87
9	1	0.5	1
10	1	1	116
11	1	1.5	
12	1	2	63
13	1	2.5	2
14	1	3	30
15	1	3.5	4
16	2		16
17	2	0.5	2
18	2	1	4
19	2	1.5	1
20	2	2	20
21	2	2.5	1
22	2	3	1
23	2	3.5	1
24	3		27
25	Over 3 & up to 4		8
26	Over 4 & up to 5		6
27	Over 5 & to 9		12
	Sub-total		**859**
	Un sized		**30**
	Total		**889**

Table 2 shows the distribution graphically; the largest size group consists of pieces containing 3½ roods, the next largest group being of 1 acre 1 rood. It might be expected that the distribution would indicate what the original size of strips was – if most were of the same size – but it does not seem to be apparent from the graph. The great variety of strip size is likely to be a true reflection of the pattern on the ground for although the field book entries were compiled by estimation rather than actual surveys, the involvement of all major landholders would have ensured a fair degree of accuracy.

In the Midlands the average size of strip is often 1/3 of an acre with many strips of that particular size. But there is much regional variation: in the Welland valley (near Peterborough) the average is 2/3 of an acre, and on the unresponsive soils of the Yorkshire Wolds the average can rise

to over 2 acres. A typical shape of strip in the Midlands would be about 8 yards by the linear furlong of 220 yards.[4] On these heavy soils the pattern of ploughing produced a ridge in the centre and a furrow on either side, hence the 'ridge and furrow' landscape shown so dramatically in aerial photographs. On the lighter soils of East Anglia there was no need for ridges to help with drainage and the ploughed landscape was much flatter - which probably increased the need for careful demarcation of strips.

In Morston it is difficult to be sure of typical strip dimensions because the furlongs on the maps in the 1619 fieldbook are only sketches. The most reliable boundaries are probably those of the three long furlongs which run from Morston village up to the boundary with Langham on gently sloping terrain: Lampit, Binhamgate and Claypit furlongs (nos 11-13 on **Figure 3**). Their width is similar and averages 180 yards, and the length of each exceeds 1,400 yards. The fieldbook records 157 strips in total covering 179 acres so the average size of each strip, running across each furlong, is about 30 yards by 180 yards (equivalent to 1 acre and ½ a rood). Yet despite their regular boundaries, the furlongs display the same variety of strip size as the parish in general, with a range extending from two pieces of 4 acres to 9 pieces of one rood (1/4 acre).

Comparing fieldbook entries shows that there is very little change in the number and size of strips between 1583 and 1619, which implies little movement towards the amalgamation of strips, enclosed or otherwise, in that period. More surprising perhaps is that there is very little change either in the 100 years between the c1480 fieldbook and that for 1583. In Park furlong, for example, there were 32 strips in c1480 with a total area of 40 acres and 1 rood. By 1583 there were 34 strips with the same total area: two pieces had been subdivided. By 1619 one of those pieces had been re-formed to give 33 strips, again with the same total area, although 3 strips lying together in the same ownership are bracketed which could indicate enclosure.

A few other furlongs follow this pattern, but in many there is no indication of any strip amalgamation before 1619. In only 5 furlongs are strips bracketed together specifically said to be enclosed. All these fall in the first dozen of the 51 furlongs listed for 1619, so has the compiler given up recording such detail for subsequent furlongs? The suspicion is probably unfounded for the enclosures are concentrated in an area adjacent to the village, east and south of the church, even when the furlongs extend to the Langham boundary. The individual enclosures are still quite small; none contains more than 5 strips, perhaps because of the difficulty of assembling adjacent pieces into the same tenancy. In three cases only (in Stonehill and Lampit furlongs) is it noted in the 1619 fieldbook that the bounds between adjacent enclosed strips were under the plough – as if this were a noteworthy occurrence. Which it probably was: at a manorial court held in 1567 Robert Shorting was ordered to replace a boundary so that a single piece of land would revert to its two constituent strips.[5]

Furlong names and features

The furlong names make up nearly all the place names mentioned in the fieldbooks. A few furlongs have two names, such as Barleystead alias Bradland, possibly as a result of competing traditions. Others have two names in the form Binhamgate and Syers Mill furlong, perhaps an indication that two furlongs have been joined in the past. No doubt Syers Mill relates to the site of a windmill, and Syers is a surname from the 1400s, but it is rarely worth speculating about the origin of furlong names without knowledge of the very earliest spellings. Conyfer furlong (35), in the north-western corner of the parish, could be a reference to rabbits because they were once known as coneys, regarded as delicacies and kept securely in warrens.

One intriguing name is Park furlong (7) which suggests that a small park once lay there. The word originally denoted an enclosure but then came to mean more specifically an enclosure in which deer were kept. According to the fieldbooks the parts nearest the boundary with Langham in that vicinity were heath and woodland, and the Langham fieldbooks show a Park furlong on that side of the boundary too. The will of Robert Newbegin made in 1605 (referred to again below) is notable for listing the exact location of all his land, including one rood of leased land in Park furlong 'next Morston oke', perhaps a reference to some well-known tree. By chance, a scrap of paper dated 24 January 1604 sheds a little light on this. It bears a statement by John Kempe that 10 oak and ash trees had been felled in Morston Park in the previous six weeks. This was presumably a legitimate operation for his statement goes on to say that John Dallyday had been 'taken' there while felling an oak on Christmas Eve. The Bacon Papers provide clarification: John Kempe was a day labourer who looked after Morston Park and Langham Pond, both being 'secluded outlying areas of Bacon's pleasure grounds'.[6]

Some of the small hills of sand and gravel which occur in this part of north Norfolk are named in the fieldbooks. In addition to the hills incorporated into furlong names, Ports hill (various spellings) is in Lampit furlong, Garrets Hill is shown in its present position and Symonds Hill is in Northgreengate. The 1583 fieldbook records that Symonds Hill, close by the Stiffkey boundary and hardly apparent today, had once

carried a windmill. No other windmill seems to be mentioned in the book, even though the Bacon Papers record that in July 1583 (just after the preparation of the fieldbook) an agreement was made with Robert Dix, the miller, to move the Morston windmill to a site in Langham.

Stiffkey sluice is noted on the 1619 map and a building is marked nearby on the Greens in the far north-western corner of the parish, a location which suggests a maritime function. It is intriguing that the foundations of a building still lie in this vicinity, and though their age is uncertain the reported dimensions tally quite closely with those of Nathaniel Bacon's 'garner house' built beside Stiffkey haven in 1574.[7] In the fieldbooks a few strips have their own name, such as Winter's Acre and Poynter's Pightle, and some cottages within the village carry the names of previous owners: Pressmans, Ristons and Ringolphs.

The descriptions of furlongs and pieces suggest that most of the agricultural land in Morston was arable. Almost all the land described as sheep pasture lies close to Morston Chase, the long, straight stretch of road leading from Morston towards Stiffkey. In addition to Sheeps Close, there is other land adjacent which appears to be pasture and which extends to Garrets Hill and Elfers and into Honeyland, areas adjacent to the village. Pieces of pasture elsewhere in the parish are merely fragments, although arable land would have been used to feed sheep by means of the foldcourse, whereby sheep were moved through the furlongs to fit in with cropping patterns. Sheep also used the salt marsh, and no doubt the small patches of heathland as well, before dropping the proceeds on arable land while folded there at night. This fertilizing function of the sheep flocks was just as important as the wool they provided, and the practice of running sheep over the arable land would have inhibited the scope for enclosure. In 1637 an inventory of Stiffkey Old Hall, taken on the death of Roger Townshend (Nathaniel Bacon's grandson), recorded 600 sheep in his Morston flock.

According to the 1595 fieldbook, in Langhamgate furlong there is a small piece of glebeland which could easily be read as Le Scole. Any thought that this might refer to an actual school is soon dispelled on finding Le Skote in the early fieldbook, while the 1619 book helpfully expands this to le schoote triangul, for a 'scoot' is an angular projection from a field or garden. There are a number of other references to odd-shaped pieces of land, another reminder that not all strips were rectangular. The 1595 fieldbook refers to some strips with an extra tongue of land ('lingua' in Latin) which becomes a 'spong' in the 1619 book. A triangular piece of land can be a 'gora' as well as a scoot.

Not all terms indicate shape. There are mentions of a 'puteo', including one at the north end of Lampit furlong not far from the church, which the 1595 book helpfully translates as a well; perhaps this small piece of land had once had a cottage on it. In classical Latin 'puteo' can also mean a 'pit' and as 'putere' means 'to stink' the translation is particularly helpful. It is less clear what meaning should be attributed to the puteo in Dunsacre furlong (25), well away from the village, but it was probably a well because features elsewhere in the parish are termed pits. In the middle of Claypit furlong in 1595 there was a 'claypit' very close to those in the adjacent Shortland furlong. Again, it is useful to have the English word because the 1619 term is 'argilleto', no doubt derived from 'argilla' meaning potter's clay but perhaps denoting a marl pit here. These pits are clearly shown on the 1906 OS map and are visible on recent aerial photographs.

Landholders

The fieldbooks name the holders of every piece of land in the parish, including gardens and other small enclosures in the village as well as the strips in the open fields. In 1595 the land in Morston was held by 31 named people in the various forms of tenancy. Five people held 63% of the 889 pieces of land, and four more held a further 21%. The main landholders are listed in **Table 3**, together with their forms of tenancy. All had land in all three categories, apart from Edmund Framingham who had no demesne land leased from the lord of the manor, and Margaret Porte who had no freehold land. Although those people holding most land in Morston would have been relatively well-off in the local community, it does not follow that the others were necessarily poor, for anyone holding some land in Morston could still have held land elsewhere. Landholders did not necessarily farm their land themselves; they may have sublet their holding or else employed people to work the land on their behalf.

The Bacon Papers record a survey conducted in 1595 of the amount of grain held by the principal landholders, both as grain in stock and as acres sown, probably in response to a restraint order on the export of corn (there were some very poor harvests in the 1590s). In Morston, Robert Podich (a surname with an astonishing variety of spellings, including Powditch, Apporedge and Porrett) had 100 combs of barley and 50 acres of barley sown. The others listed are Robert Newbegin, William Barker, John Podich, Richard Makings (the Rector) and Robert Newman, all of them substantial landholders **(Table 3)**. Two other major landholders, Edmund Framingham and Thomas Kinges, are missing from the corn survey. In some documents Thomas Kinges is described as a 'gentleman' so perhaps he lived on his rents rather than by engaging in agricul-

Table 3. Landholders and Tenure 1595
NB Percentages have been rounded so may not sum to the totals.

		Number of strips					
Name	**Surname**	**Lease-hold**	**Free-hold**	**Copy-hold**	**Unspec-ified**	**Total**	**Total %**
Robert	Podich	94	25	4	5	128	14
Thomas	Kinges	80	21	18	6	125	14
Edward	Framingham		79	13	17	109	12
John	Podich	77	21	2	5	105	12
Robert	Newbegin	55	6	22	6	89	10
William	Barker	36	10	10	1	57	6
Robert	Newman	35	9	5	1	50	6
Margaret	Porte	32		12		44	5
Richard	Makin	5	28	5	1	39	4
Subtotals		**414**	**199**	**91**	**42**	**746**	**84**
Glebe					**36**	**36**	**4**
Others (26)		**11**	**46**	**39**	**11**	**107**	**12**
Totals		**425**	**245**	**130**	**89**	**889**	**100**
Total %		**47.9**	**27.5**	**14.6**	**10**	**100**	

ture. John King who held only 14 acres of land in Morston was the main 'cornholder' in Wiveton, with 160 combs of barley, 80 combs of malt, 40 of rye, and 120 acres of sown barley.[8]

The fieldbooks often give the names of those who had held the land previously, usually one person, sometimes two. Almost all the land held by Edmund Framingham in 1595 had previously been held by Robert Shorting; only two pieces had been acquired from others (Thomas Lode and Thomas Picard). Edmund had taken up nearly all of Shorting's free land, but this amounted to only about 60% of Shorting's estate; the rest had gone to six different people, mostly to Robert Podich. The pattern of acquisition of Thomas Kinges' land in the 1595 book is unknown for no previous tenant is listed for the bulk of his holding. Similarly, Robert Newbegin held 89 pieces in 1595 of which three were from Robert Shorting, but the origin of the rest is not specified. Though the fieldbooks do not give complete information about the succession of landholders, it is evident that the pattern is a complicated one. A landholding, composed of a number of strips in different furlongs, does not often pass directly from one person to another.

In Park furlong in 1595 none of the tenants of the 34 strips was still in possession 24 years later in 1619, although in 10 cases the surnames are the same (Barker, Podich, Newbegin). As might be expected, there is a lower turnover of tenants in the 12 years between 1583 and 1595. All 34 strips remained in the same families, Edmund replaced John Framingham, and Robert Podich followed John.

In the c1480 book the surnames are completely different, John Moye being the main holder (with 7 strips) after the Bishop of Norwich (13). Six of Moye's strips had reached John Framingham by 1583, and the seventh had gone to Edmund Framingham. Three of John's strips lay together and were to pass to Edmund in 1595 and to John King by 1619, at which time they were bracketed together to indicate enclosure. (As an aside, all the land belonging to John King was later owned by Sir Cloudesley Shovell; a note made in 1737, 30 years after his death, records that he had held 107 acres of land in Morston.[9]) The Bishop's 13 strips in Park furlong had passed to seven different people by 1583. All the land held by the Bishop in Morston in c.1480 was to become demesne land leased out in the later fieldbooks. So the main feature of land transfer here and throughout the parish is one of complexity with no significant movement towards the amalgamation of adjacent strips into larger holdings.

As Lord of the Manor, Nathaniel Bacon still owned the land even though it was split into many separate holdings with different forms of

tenancy. At the end of the 1619 fieldbook the complier has noted the area of land in these different tenancies, as shown in **Table 4**. The total area of land described in the book was 1024 acres **(Table 1)** although this was not the total area of Morston. Excluded were the salt marsh, Sheep's Close and other pasture in the north-western quarter of the parish, the church and rectory, and the common on the low ground near the church **(Figure 3)**. It is not entirely clear why 56 acres are missing from **Table 4** but a check on some of the furlongs suggests the most likely reason is that some tenants were holding their land 'without title'.

In c1480 the manor of Morston had been held by the Bishop of Norwich and the Prior of Norwich Cathedral. Where tenants are named in the fieldbook, they are often said to be holding from the Bishop or the Prior, but for many pieces of land owned by the Bishop no tenant is named. In half of such cases (78) the word 'decay' is appended, which could mean that the name of the tenant was unknown or that the land was untilled – or both. The Cathedral lands were not well managed at that time and much land had been leased out at very favourable rents to powerful laymen. At the re-founding of the Cathedral in 1538, the Prior and monks of the Benedictine Priory were transformed into a secular Dean and Chapter, and Commissioners were appointed to enquire into various former practices, including the 'decays' of the Cathedral.[10]

Robert Newbegin

On 31st June 1605, three years before he died, Robert Newbegin the elder, a Morston yeoman, made a very unusual will. It contained none of the usual provisions about charitable requests and the disposal of his belongings, apart from leaving the residue to his wife, formerly Agnes Pawe, whom he had married in 1564. Most wills refer to whatever land remained to the testator at the time but do not describe its location in detail, or at all. Robert decided to do different and went to the trouble of listing every piece of agricultural land he had in Morston in order to divide the 80 pieces between his six children.

Initially everything was to go to Agnes until her death, or for a maximum of 30 years in the case of the leasehold land (the bulk of the estate). Thereafter son Robert was to have the cottage where Mary Abraham lived, William was to have the house where son Robert lived, with all the outbuildings, and Thomas would have all the messuages and adjoining land where his father was living. Unfortunately the will does not say where these three properties lay. All three sons, together with Ursula and Agnes jointly, would also have a share of the Morston lands. Daughter Clement, the wife of John Grave of Langham, was to have all the (unspecified) land lying in Langham.[11]

The listing in the will follows the format of the fieldbooks and it is quite possible that Robert was able to refer to the one prepared in 1595, for Thomas Kinges who had compiled it was one of the witnesses to the will, together with John and Robert Podich. At first sight, the land seems to have been distributed rather unevenly; Thomas gets 33 pieces, for instance, while William gets only 20. But Robert the elder knew what he was doing: both were to receive exactly the same amount of land – 35 acres and 1 rood. Robert the younger, on the other hand, was given only 10 acres and 2½ roods. Ursula and Agnes were awarded 19 acres and 1½ roods between them but they also were to have two small pieces of land in Cockthorpe, which would then enable each of them to bring to their future husbands 10 acres and 1½ roods - almost exactly the same amount as Robert would get.

The significance of this will now is that the existence of the fieldbook enables most of the 80 strips to be located within Morston parish. About 90% of them can be matched up with specific entries in the 1595 fieldbook and Figure 4 shows the approximate distribution. Robert the elder made no attempt to consolidate his lands. The pieces allocated to each son and the two daughters were spread out across the parish – all of them received land in Shortland furlong for instance, and the few adjacent strips did not always go to the same person.

The map is a reminder of some the pros and cons of much medieval and Tudor farming. Each tenant had a share of the best land as well as the poorest, acceptable when strips were the size that could be ploughed in a day but inefficient when that no longer applied – as it might well have done in Morston where strip size was so variable. Some have argued that fieldbooks may not represent the way land was actually used in that strips may well have been farmed en bloc rather than individually. The Morston fieldbooks together with Robert Newbegin's will do not appear to support that suggestion.

Table 4. Total area (acres) of furlongs by tenure 1619.

	Acres	%
Leased from the lord of the manor	500	52
Freehold of the manor	195	20
Copyhold of the manor	135	14
Freehold of the Dean	67	7
Morston glebe	49	5
Other	22	2
Total	**968**	**100**

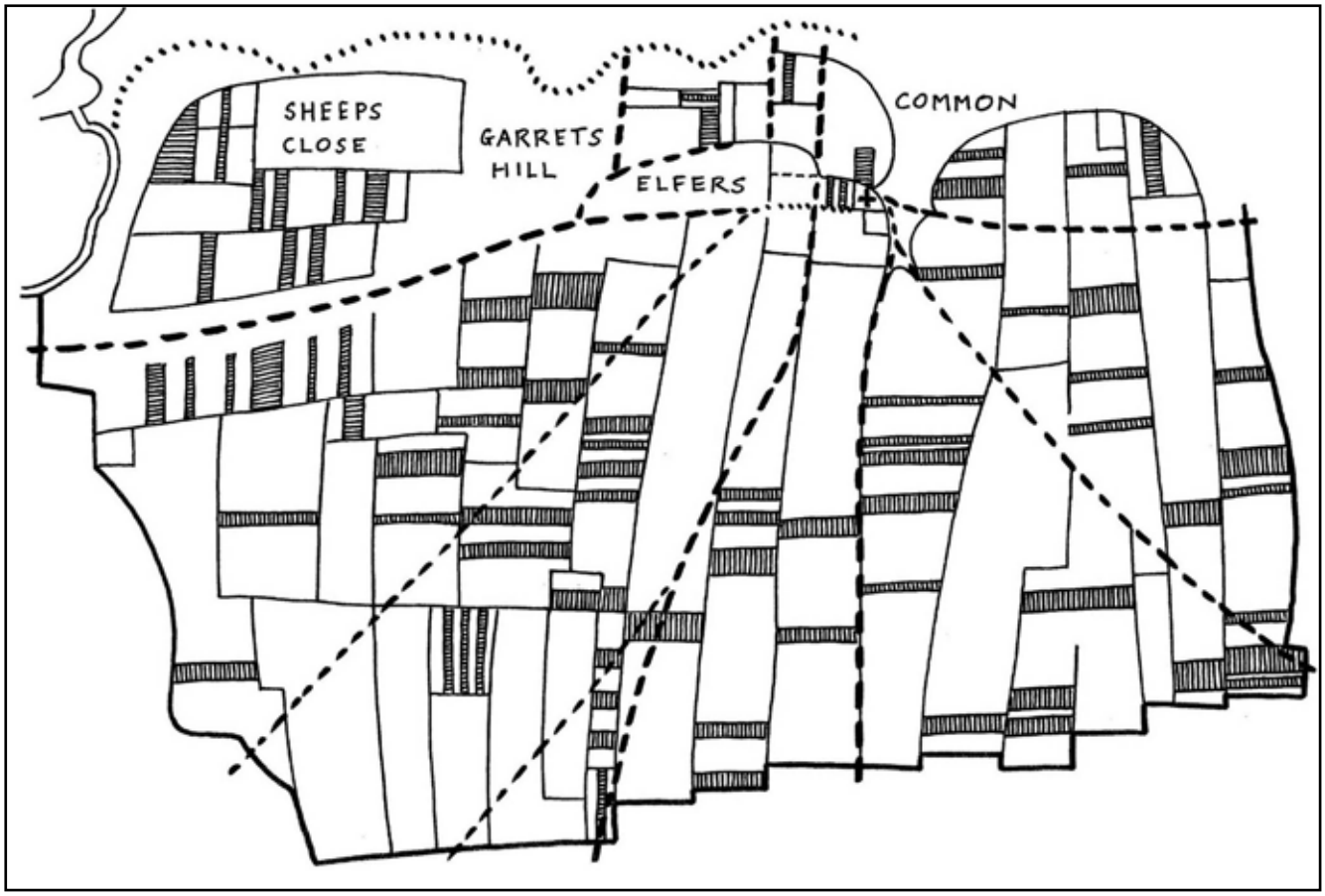

Figure 4. Robert Newbegin's lands from his will of 1605 plotted onto the 1619 map (approx. distribution). *He held 10% of the strips described in the 1595 fieldbook (Table 3) and his land comprised c.10% of the total area. (The map has north to the top and extends c2 miles east to west)*

The Village Map of 1619

The separate sketch map of Morston village is at a larger scale than the parish map but shows no extra detail apart from some small areas of cross-hatching which can be interpreted as buildings, probably houses. It is a pity that the road plan in the village is not quite the same on the two maps, but it is reasonable to assume that the larger-scale map is the more accurate **(Figure 5)**. This suggests that the main road through the village once went past the churchyard and straight on, between the present Morston Hall and the development to the north, to emerge on the other side as the road to Stiffkey. At some time the road was diverted round to the north onto its present alignment.

For comparison, the current road pattern is shown in **Figure 6.** It is a pity that the 1619 fieldbook and maps do not make it easy to produce a detailed plan of the village at the time. Even the road names are difficult to place accurately. Northgate, Westgate and Eastgate all feature, and no doubt the 'gate' element derives from the Scandinavian word for a road (although 'falgate' will usually denote a fold gate to control animals). A former Scandinavian presence can also be inferred from the occasional reference to 'Strondsty', for a 'sty' also means a pathway. Strondsty does not feature on the maps and so had probably fallen out of use by the 1500s. The references in the fieldbooks are too few to show its former course but it probably went north-south through the parish, along the grain of the furlongs, to give access to the strand. Three 'droveways' led from the village to the salt marshes and would have been used for moving sheep and cattle. Within the village the only path name is the 'Trappe', or Church Path, which gave access to the churchyard from the west (ie, from Binhamgate).

The furlongs which make up the area of the village were also known as Northgate, Westgate, and Eastgate with Churchgate, although the usage is not quite the same in all fieldbooks. In the centre of the village the land holdings are no longer in strips, as they probably are on the arable lands, but are described as tofts, curtilages, gardens and closes of assorted shapes and sizes, some containing buildings, whether standing, vacant or ruined. On a first reading it looks as if the description of the abuttals of each piece ought to enable a coherent plan to be prepared but in practice this would be very difficult to do - the information is not sufficiently detailed. It is clear that there are more houses listed than appear on the plan, unless some of the hatchings

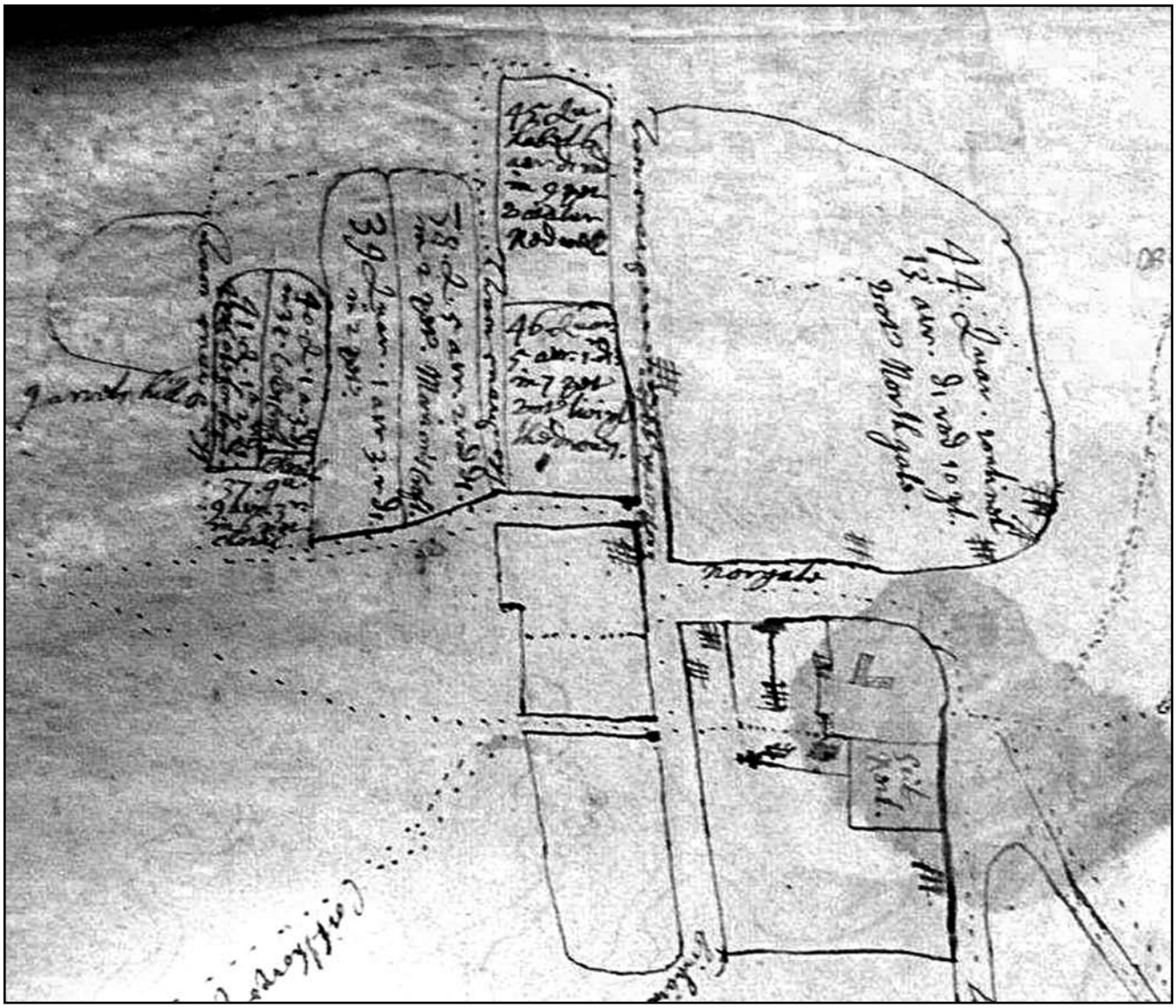

Figure 5. Morston village 1619. The sketch-map of the village from the 1619 field-book. *Under the large blot is the church and cemetery, and adjacent is the rectory ('scit rect'). The cross hatching represents buildings, probably houses. Three droveways are shown. (The map has north to the top and extends c.550 yards north to south)*

represent more than one house. According to the fieldbooks (and a contemporary summary) the occupied total is 22, which suggests a population approaching 100.

This does not quite tally with the Overseers' account for 1601 which records 38s 6d collected from 21 resident ratepayers – not all ratepayers would have been required to contribute and relief was given to six recipients. So perhaps some of the 22 houses identified in the books were occupied by more than one household, in which case the population could have been nearer to 150. As would be expected, the main contributors to the poor rate were the principal landholders: heading the list are Edmund Framingham, John and Robert Podich, Mr Furnes (the new Rector), Nathaniel Bacon and Thomas Kinges 'gent'.[12]

A few features recorded in the fieldbooks do not appear on the map. One is the 'Camping land' (somewhere behind the present Anchor Inn), a half-acre of pasture owned communally by the village and which would have functioned as a recreation ground, 'camping' being an unruly forerunner of football (or rugby, more accurately). Several Norfolk villages still have fields which retain 'camping' in their name - as at Camping Hill in Stiffkey. The Morston villagers also owned a 'Guild House' close by in 1619, although it is not mentioned in the earlier books. Opposite, in Northgate furlong, was a small piece of land (1/8 of an acre) known as the Tythelath yard, 'lath' being an old word for a barn. In 1595 there are two mentions of a 'cross' (crucem), which appears to be a feature in the main street rather than a reference to crossroads. If it was a cross, where exactly did it stand and what happened to it ? On the other hand, neither maps

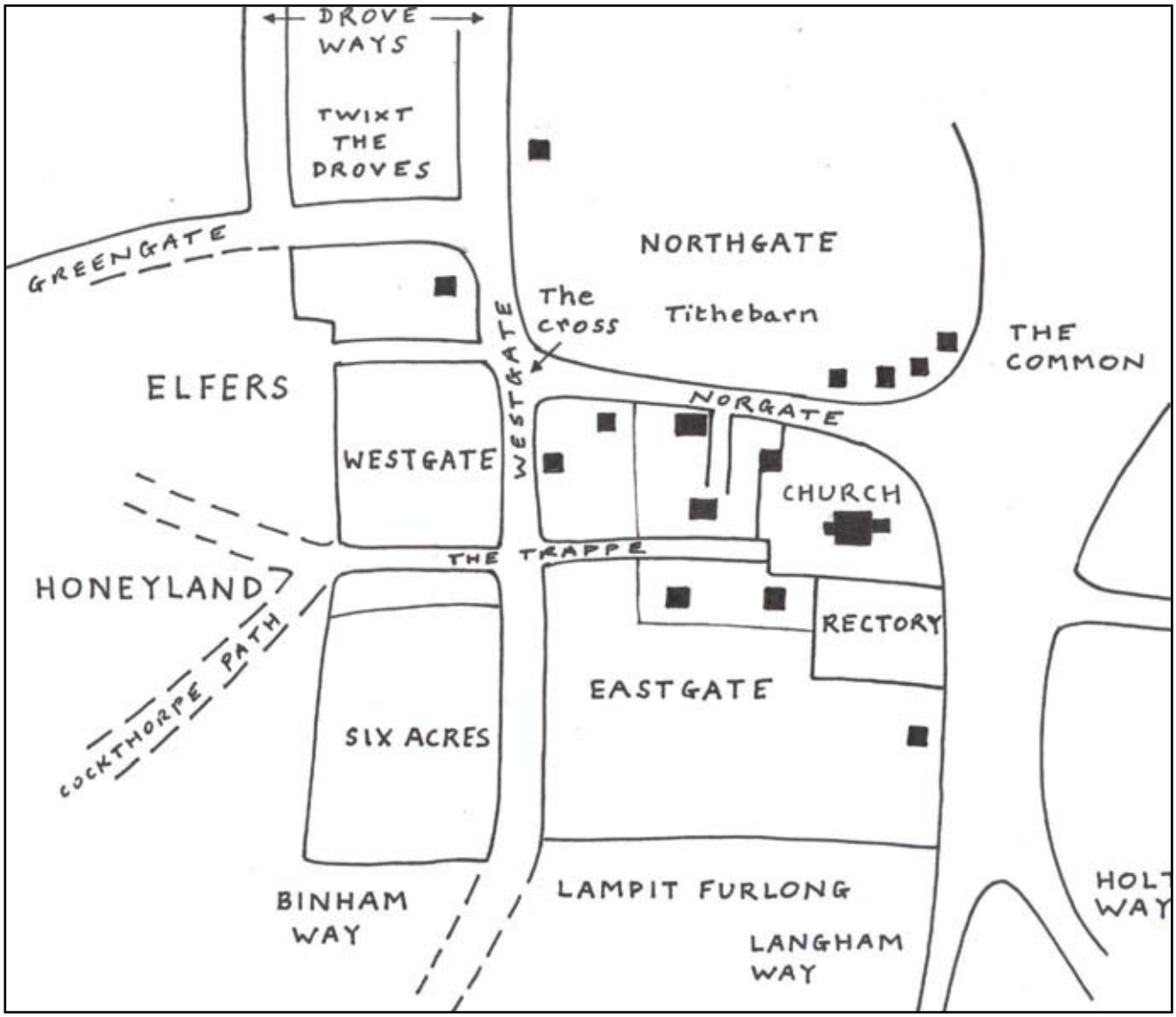

Figure 6. The main features of Morston village 1619 transferred to a modern map base. *The line of the present road can be seen entering the village by the church and leaving via Norgate and Greengate towards Stiffkey. (The map has north to the top and extends c.550 yards north to south)*

nor fieldbooks contain any reference to a quay or staithe, or anything else suggesting the use of boats. Nor is there any mention of a bridge carrying the Blakeney road over the low ground by the church which appears in later records.

The list of people who owned houses in the village mirrors the list of those who held most of the agricultural land: the nine people who held 84% of the land had 70% of the houses: six of them had two or three and the others one each. Conversely, 13 landholders (40% of the total) had no house to their name. It is rarely possible to tell from the fieldbooks who lived where, and as there are more landholders than dwellings it is probable that some landholders lived elsewhere – perhaps drawing a rent from their land in Morston. Thomas Kinges held most of the area known as Westgate, but on his 11 properties in a single block there was only one house and three more in ruins – the rest of the area was mostly gardens. It was probably one of his predecessors who managed to divert the former road so that it ran round this large property rather than across it.

The fieldbooks show that in 1595, nine years before he made his will, Robert Newbegin owned three properties within the village, presumably the ones for which he gave no precise location. The house where son Robert lived was next to the Camping land, and the copyhold cottage where Mary Abraham lived was close by, separated only by a garden from the Guild House. Robert who made the will would have been living in Northgate in a leasehold property covering four entries in the fieldbook, and containing a house, a well, and at least two acres of land.

Comment

The Morston fieldbooks, whatever their deficiencies for the modern reader, provide a useful introduction to the village of their day. They show a medieval pattern of land division and fragmented tenure, and seem to suggest that strip amalgamation on the ground had not progressed very far. The evidence falls short of proof, however, for it is still possible that some people could have been hiring land from a number of landholders and farming adjacent strips as larger units. This would have been a more efficient way of working the land, and if this reduced need for agricultural labour it could also have provided an incentive to introduce and develop other skills. Yet increased 'efficiency' is not always welcome. The later Parliamentary enclosures have had a bad press, and even gradual piecemeal enclosure could have led to some social stress by reducing the opportunities for acquiring smallholdings or to labour for others.

The fieldbooks provide some evidence for a mixed economy, with sheep pasture dominant in the north-western parts of the parish and arable elsewhere. The maps of 1619 show that the village has not changed a great deal since then, despite recent infill development and changing architectural styles. Some of the present buildings may well have been there, at least in part, when the 1619 map was being sketched.

This article has been based almost entirely on the fieldbooks, with the help of Robert Newbegin's will. Looking at other documents and undertaking detailed field work would provide more information about former residents and more evidence for life in Tudor Morston.

Acknowledgements

In preparing this article, the author has been following in the footsteps of Mary Ferroussat, but has still not caught up with her fieldwork. He is also grateful to Mike Medlar for advice about 16th century agriculture and to Geraldine Green for information about the remains of a building near Stiffkey sluice.

Figures 1, 2 and 5 and the excerpt from the 1583 fieldbook are reproduced with the permission of the Norfolk Record Office.

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1595 FOS 24
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6 NRO BL/BC/6/2 Tree felling at Morston Park 1604 (see Bacon Papers Vol V, p.68)

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9 NRO BL/T/13/54 Abstract of the land of Sir Cloudsley Shovell taken from the fieldbook of Morston 25 July 1737.

10 Atherton, I, Fernie, E, Harper-Bill, C, and Hassell Smith, A (Eds) *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996* 1996

11 NRO ANW 239 Archdeaconry will 1607 Robert Newbegin

12 NRO MS 20421 (126 X 6) Overseers account,1601 (see Bacon Papers Vol IV, p.190)
NB The published summary is incorrect in some respects - e.g. John King of Wiveton paid only 7d per year (not per month) so was not the main contributor to the poor rate collection in Morston.

Alfred Magnus Catling (1883-1961)

Serica East

Synopsis: from the wealth, privilege and education provided by birth in the London suburbs of Victorian and Edwardian England to an isolated small village on the edge of the North Sea. This was the journey taken by Alfred Magnus "Curly" Catling and his assimilation into this community. A story that includes his role as a bird collector and naturalist.

"Curly" Catling, as he was affectionately known, was a link between wildfowlers and naturalists. I can tell his story for he was an old friend of mine. I knew him when quite a young man and long after he had become a kind of "museum piece" in his old age whom everybody liked to visit in his little house looking out over the saltmarshes where he has lived so long and which he loved so well." CR Borrer 1961[1]

Living in two worlds

Alfred Magnus Catling was known to all as 'Curly', or Uncle Curly in old age, and in my case Grandpa Curly – father of my father, historian and schoolmaster, Magnus Catling, better known as Peter. This is his story, a fascinating one, for as the quotation above highlights he lived in a world that has disappeared. You will need to envisage the changes in his life, metamorphosing from a privileged background close to London to a life he loved in the isolation of North Norfolk.

Curly Catling was born into a wealthy and well connected family of stockbrokers, masters of two City of London Livery Companies and timber merchants. His grandfather, John Ridley Hunter, and grandmother, Elizabeth Challis, were the children of two Lord Mayors of London and collaboration between the two families was reflected in the property owned, both privately and with the Upholders and Drapers Companies, in Enfield and Bury St Edmunds.

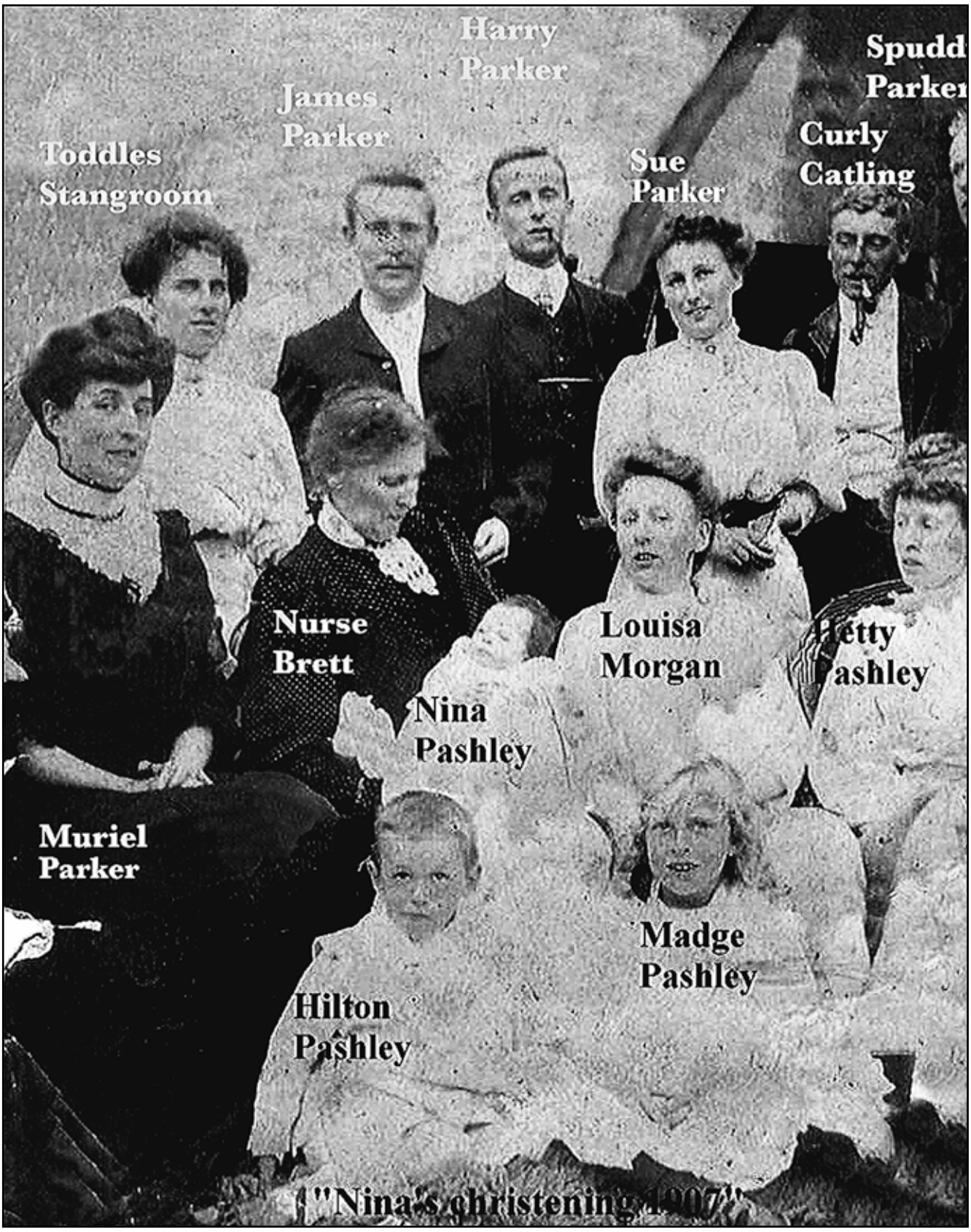
In contrast Curly was interested in all sports and outdoor activities, like all the Catling family. He shot at Bisley, played good cricket and soccer and won school athletics prizes at Hurstpierpoint College. Yet he proved to be very much his own man, not defined by his origins and blazing his own trail.

Curly first came to Cley next the Sea in 1899 as a young lad aged only 16. Frequent visits followed as he pursued his great interest in wildfowling and specimen bird shooting. I have no record of where or with whom he stayed, but early photographs from 1907 show him at a christening with his future bride's family, the Parkers. In 1908 he married Miriam Susannah (Susan) Parker, daughter of Henry Nichols Parker, butcher and grazier, and grand-daughter of James Parker, master mariner and ship owner with the *Newcastle Packet* and *Miranda*.

Curly's mother, Agnes Hunter Catling, had been recently widowed and she joined the couple in Cley. This was significant as the money from her Marriage Settlement provided the major source of income that Curly had to live on for the rest of his life. The Cot, on the Coast Road, bleakly overlooking the marshes to the North Sea, was built and became home for all three and soon too for their only child, Peter, who was born in 1909. They owned a couple of cottages in the village which were rented out to provide an income. Later my parents' last home, Hunters, on the Holt Road, Cley was named in honour of the last remnant of the inheritance!

One can only speculate on the contrast of life between comfortable Enfield and isolated Cley. They were certainly worlds apart. Cley, in the years before the Great War, was a small community of approximately 700 people. Photographs show a number of smartly dressed people which indicates that some enjoyed a comfortable standard of living, but this must be set against my father's memories of barefoot children attending the village school in summer when he was a pupil there.

There were the close links between Cley,



Photograph 1. The Parker tribe together at the christening of Nina Pashley 1907

Blakeney and Wiveton which had originated in the prosperous days of sea trade and shipping, but with the silting up of the Glaven estuary, the population needed to make their living in other ways, more related to the land and general commerce. The Parker family of Curly's bride illustrate this change.

James Parker had been the last to go to sea. His son (Curly's father-in-law) was a butcher and grazier and also church and chapel organist

at various times at Cley and Blakeney Churches and the Methodist Chapel in Cley which was described as "the cream of the circuit" [2]. Additionally he had what is now known as the Town Hall built (Kelly's Directory 1904[10] described it as "Public Hall, erected 1896, will seat 200, H.N. Pashley, proprietor"). According to the census records, his place of residence seemed to alternate between Blakeney and Cley.

The Parkers were part of an extensive intermarried "tribe" with the Stangrooms, Pashleys, Morgans, Newtons and Spurgeons. Between them, they fulfilled many essential roles in the society and fabric of Cley from shopkeepers, garage owners, pub landlord, taxidermist, painter, glazier, estate agent and valuer. Freda Starr's accounts of Cley[2] in the Twenties portray this very active life of the village: churches, commercial, agricultural, school and social into which the Parkers fully participated.

Susan's siblings were all active members of the community and although two brothers and a sister went away from Cley: two to teach and one to become a school matron, they returned for the long summer holidays. Most of them were members of the Cley Choral Society, joined in concert parties, played tennis, played bowls at the greens at the Fishmongers and the George Public Houses, went sailing and were participants in any social happenings. Susan was a founder member of the local Girl Guides and of the Woman's Institute. Any social life in those times did require a proactive involvement that wireless, cinema and television took away.

Photograph 2. Bowls Club in Cley in the 1930s – Curly bottom right

The Age of the Shooter

The period up to the first World War was the golden age of the bird collector for the tidal waters and marshes of Blakeney Harbour were a magnet to birds especially during migration and breeding times. Cley was a major centre for these people and this provided villagers with an important source of employment and money.

E.C. Arnold[3] commented "*Before its discovery as a bird collecting ground, Cley had no special attractions; everyone had been poorly off. Now the advent of collectors meant the letting of rooms, the hiring of boats and fowlers* (i.e. guides) *and, to any who could spot rarities, an occasional and very welcome monetary* bonne bouche*. It follows that the protection laws, when they arrived, were a serious blow to the village*". More from Arnold "*The fact that so many well-known bird men have at different times found their way to Cley suggests that it must have had some unusual attraction for birds. This, I think, lies in the varied nature of the ground which embraces sea shore, sandhills with Suaeda fruticosa bushes, estuary, sheepwalks and semi-drained marshes at Salthouse. Between them they can provide a feeding ground for almost any sort of bird and, when Pashley claimed that one might see anything on the British list, he was not far off the mark*".

Curly occupied the middle ground between the gentlemen shooters and naturalists and the locals. He was educated, able to communicate well in an accent which wealthy visitors could relate to, deeply interested in natural history and above all an exceptional shot.

Clifford Borrer who often wrote under the pseudonym 'Sea-Pie' (the local name for an Oyster Catcher) penned two obituaries in 1961 for his friend Curly. One was for the North Norfolk News[4] and the other for The Shooting Times & Country Magazine[1]; I quote extensively from these as they provide such vivid accounts of the man.

Borrer writes "*... of the old school of wildfowlers, such as the late Alfred M. Catling who shot specimens on the surrounding marshes and mudflats*". He further commented "*It must be borne in mind that in those days the only certain method of identifying doubtful feathered wanderers like bluethroats and ortolans and oriental pipits which the good east wind brings us from behind the Iron Curtain was to shoot them and compare their skins with museum specimens. It had been*

so with Eagle Clarke, that great naturalist who "discovered" the Fair Isle in Scotland. It had been so with the late E.C. Arnold who wrote several books describing the methods of sorting out the rare birds of East Anglia – all very different from the rule of thumb quasi-scientific methods of the modern bird observatory with its Heligoland traps and mistnets and ringing".[1] Although such views are now abhorrent he was writing from the perspective of a collector and about a time when very few people thought their actions would have an effect on the wild populations which they believed could spare a few of their number.

Continuing: "*He acquired fair knowledge of general natural history which rendered his assistance as a shikari of special value to amateurs, many of whom were entomologists as well as "bird men".* When the long autumn days were done and the guns cleaned and put away for the night, Catling would accompany such men, lantern in hand and equipped with "*sugaring*" tins and pill-boxes, in search of the shore-wainscots, coast-darts and other local moths of the dunes and marrams. He made quite a good collection of insects of his own, although, of course, it is as a gunner, constantly on the look out for specimens, that he is best remembered.....Sometimes visitors would look in and ask to inspect his birds. *"May we see your bluethroat, Mr Catling?"* This was a fifty-year-old specimen, the only one ever shot at Cley in the brilliant nuptial plumage which he regarded as the greatest prize he ever obtained. He often recounted with a chuckle how he first noticed it running up the pea-sticks outside his room when having breakfast and had *"bagged it with my .410 through the window*".[1]

"*He could tell many good stories of bygone days . . . how he caught the great death's head moths in his potato patch and half-a-century old yarns of exploits of the bird collectors with spoonbills and avocets and ospreys*".[4]

A few extracts from Arnold's book[3] expand our knowledge of Curly:

"*Mr A. Catling was, at this time, another fowler, who had begun as an amateur, and one could not have gone out with a better man. Though mainly interested in waders, he could spot a good small bird, if one came along. His boat was named Spipoletta in honour of the capture of a Water Pipit but his greatest triumph was the shooting of a Desert Wheatear. These rare Wheatears are very rare indeed; he is the only man of my acquaintance who has ever got one."*
"I believe that some of Catling's Temmincks (Stints) were shot here or hereabouts" (this location was the Home Creek, i.e. the River Glaven, which "*flows between two fresh marshes, those of Cley and Wiveton*").

"*1912 September 3rd. .....Pashley told me in the evening that Catling had got two temmincks the day before.*"

"*1924 September 4th. .....as I sat on the beach (near the Watch House) with Richards and Catling...*"

H.N. Pashley "*Notes on the Birds of Cley Norfolk*"[5] is a peerless record of the era of the wildfowlers and collectors. He was a superb naturalist as well as taxidermist and his diaries are an evocative and informative record of the times and of village life in Cley. They even describe a Zeppelin raid in 1916 on the Naval Reserve airfield near Swan Lodge, half way between Cley and Holt. But in recording Curly finding the drowned body of 'Gentleman' Hugh Arthur Bishop, wildfowler and punt gunner, he draws attention to sad times and the dangers inherent in the sport – "*his body was found on the beach on 16th September 1906 by Mr M.A. Catling*".

In an extract from his diary, 25th January 1905 "*A female Water-Pipit, the first specimen for Norfolk (Mr Catling).". . . now in the Connop Museum*".

"*On the 31st (October 1907) Mr Catling got an adult male Desert Wheatear, the first specimen for Norfolk and the second for England*". "*Exhibited at the B.O. Club, now in the Connop Collection*".

"*21st October 1908 "Mr Catling told me he shot at quite 1,000 Curlew but there was a 'choppy' sea and just as he pulled, the boat struck a sand bank.*"

"*January 27th 1909 Mr Catling got an adult male Smew*".

"*Another Spoonbill March 28th 1916 picked up by Mr M.A. Catling with broken wing (during fiercest gale known for many years)*".

Records of the specimens of rare birds Curly shot are also to be found in the volumes of the Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists Society and various ornithological works that cover Blakeney Point and Norfolk.

Other shooters became friends and there are several family photos from the period after the Great War, showing the Richards family. Some are described by Arnold[3] "*. . .my own contemporaries. First comes the Richards party which consisted of Mr F.I. Richards, a most kindly rival, who was never in the least bit jealous and was always ready to do one a good turn, Ramm, Pinchen, "little Arthur" Bishop and Mr Richards' son, Mr Gilmour Richards, a rather irresponsible youth, ready to shoot anything from a human to the Aquatic Warbler which he pounded into a dishelleved mass; I always kept into the background when he was about.*"

Curly also had friends amongst the local conservation fraternity. Billy Bishop, Warden of the Norfolk Naturalist Trust at Cley, was a friend and near neighbour. His book "*Cley Marsh and its Birds*"[6] has several mentions of Curly, though clearly Bishop's main source was Pashley's classic book.

Jumping ahead in time to just after Curly's

death in 1961, most of the birds in his house went to Ted Eales, then Warden at Blakeney Point, as an educational display for visitors in the Lifeboat House and 16 very special ones for display at the Castle Museum in Norwich of which 12 survive in their reserve collection. These were all mounted birds not skins.

Shortage of money meant Curly sold most of the rare birds he shot. "*It must be recalled that high prices ruled for rarities, such as the desert wheatear which he shot on Blakeney "Hood" which would be worth anything from £10 to £20*" according to Borrer[5]; a huge sum in Edwardian England. The definitive Connop Collection referred to above was made by Mr E.M. Connop of Wroxham, Norfolk and then acquired by W.M Lysaght. His son presented them to the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery where they are still displayed. However, Curly kept some birds.

Need for cash plus the enjoyment of shooting meant between the Wars he did some casual work as a gamekeeper for Col. Kennedy on the Wiveton Hall Estate. His best gundog Loopy, in her old age, was sent to the shoots by taxi, Curly followed by bike! Rabbiting, fowling and fishing also produced a small income.

Punt Gunning

Curly owned a very special gun punt. I quote now from the description fixed to the model of it made by my father in 1937:

"*16ft Gun Punt, owned by A.M. Catling 1900-31. A model of a fowling punt. Built in 1865 by Green of Stiffkey. Lines for the model taken off by Ken Newton in 1935. He then used them to build a gunboat for E. Bird. Compromise between a Breydoner and a Lynn boat. Note angle between lowest plank and chine and top strake. She did not "prattle". Finally she came into my father's hands. I learned to punt in her*"

A 1938 photograph of a punt with Mr Edward Bird is to be found in the Glaven Historian[7]; it is the same or very similar to my father's model. The significance of not making "prattle", which is the noise of water striking exposed planks of a boat, is that the punt would be silent whilst approaching flocks of nervous birds. Breydon Water and the Wash are open exposed expanses of water, similar to Blakeney, giving the same design requirements; unlike the punts only used on sheltered waters which could have a lower freeboard.

My father's family notes[8] give description of a punt gun accident which clearly could have killed Curly but it also serves to draw a picture of punt gunning. "*I think it must have been in the winter of 1907. Anyway he was operating out of Blakeney in a single handed punt fitted with a 1lb gun – muzzle loader. Dropping down to the Pit on the ebb, he heard some fowl working over the muds on the south side and set towards them. It was a perfectly normal stalk coming up moon in smooth water and bright moonlight. He made a good approach to about 70 yards, steadied and shot. Punt guns are normally left loaded with cup and priming removed. In his run down to the Pit he had worked under the side of the Scaupe and in the dark grounded. The muzzle of the gun projected over the stem of the punt. When he fired the shock was very great and the next he remembered was poling the punt through the smoke to where the birds had been. Then he noticed that the gun had no breech, some of the topsides were blown away and he was bleeding like a pig. He then realised that he had a "burst" and that he was probably badly injured. So he poled ashore and examined the extent of the damage. The boat was watertight but his face was burned and his scalp bleeding. So he took a handful of damp clay and clapped it on the open wounds to stop the bleeding and bound his head up with a scarf. Then he poled back to Cley Quay very shocked and concussed. After two days in bed he was up and about.*" The main result of this was that his hands shook very badly for the rest of his life and this was visible in his signature. However, he still shot very accurately with a shotgun or rifle.

Sailing

Curly took up sailing before World War 1 and he rented a boatshed on Cley Quay from Mrs Anna Watts of the Fishmonger's Arms. He owned *Miriam*, a sailing crab boat, and the *Edith*. I have no knowledge of the *Spipoletta* mentioned by Arnold above. Both *Miriam* and *Edith* were used for family sailing, including trips on Point Sundays when many people from Cley and Blakeney sailed on the early morning ebb to Blakeney Point, returning on the early evening floodtide having spent the day relaxing. Curly also raced in Cley and Blakeney Regattas in *Miriam*. Extensive preparation was made for these events, but by all accounts these boats were very hard work to race. However, this provided a fine excuse to celebrate afterwards in the Blakeney pubs and at the Fair on the Carnser.

His final boating, in the 1950s, was accompanying his old friend George ('Wangie') Long in the *Boy John* on rescue boat duty for Blakeney Sailing Club. The two old boys enjoyed many a peaceful yarn and a smoke, then towed us dinghy sailors home when the evening breeze failed.

Photograph 3. Curly with George Long in the 'Boy John' on rescue boat duty for the Blakeney Sailing Club in the 1950s

Great War

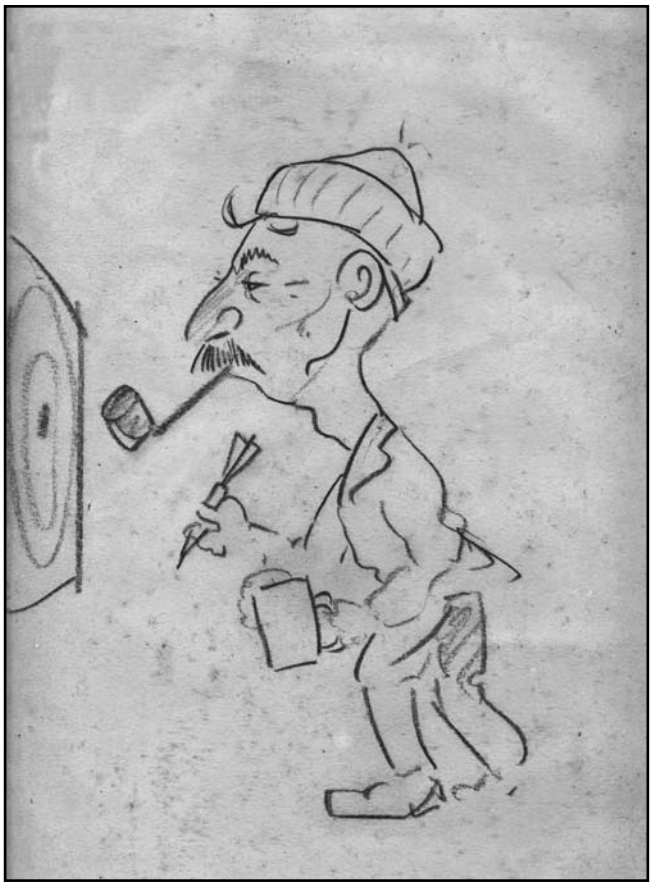
Cley did not escape the profound effects that many isolated communities suffered. Curly, like many others of his age, volunteered and served in the Norfolk Regiment from 1915. My father, Peter, remembered visiting him in training at Felixstowe, probably soon after call up. He was fortunate not to be sent to the trenches in France, like his brother-in-law Spurgeon Parker, instead he was shipped to India – I have photos of him taken in Bangalore. Then the Norfolks were sent to Mesopotamia with part of the Indian Army, ending up in what my father describes as "some peculiar racket in the Persian Foothills"[9]. From here he was sent parcels of exotica "*all sowed up in canvas – full of the most magnificent treasure – Arab and Turkish cartridges, snake skins, a dried Tarantula and a silver wrist watch*"[8] which compensated for his absent father. Legend has it that Curly was a sniper which in view of his ability with a gun was probable.

He didn't return to Cley until 1920, the delay probably being due to severe lack of shipping for troop repatriation. He suffered from recurrent malaria for the rest of his life. However on his return "*he was the donor of all sorts of delights – he provided me (his son) with my first dog and bought me a .410 to shoot with*".[8]

World War II

In 1936 Curly was certificated by the Air Defence of Great Britain as being a member of the Observer Corps of Special Constables. Well prepared in anticipation of the start of World War 2. His local role was in the Royal Observer Corps on Cley Bank by the Beach Road. This had the bonus of being in the right place to shoot the odd bird at dusk to supplement rations. Clifford Borrer[1] had "*pleasant recollections of long hours in his company by day and by night watching on Cley bank, at first in a mere ring of sandbags open to every wind that blew and later in a brick tower whence it was possible to keep a sharp look out to land and sea. Curly watched not only for Dorniers but for mallard and widgeon flighting to the private levels from the harbour flats. At such times he was the cheeriest of companions and the best of friends, as the "Kings Regs" said nothing about arming elderly Observers with double-barrelled shotguns, there were not many winter nights when he and his compan-*

Photograph 4 (above). Curley, Susan and Peter at 'The Cot' around 1926
Photograph 5 (below). Curly with characteristic pipe and pint playing darts



ion on duty did not return to the village with a couple of duck or teal in the capacious pockets of their uniforms."

"*Curly was one of the kindest hearted givers. It was quite a joke on the Observation Post that when we saw him going fishing we should have flounders for tea! Sure enough on his way home a cheery voice would call out "P2 (that was our official station). Anybody want a few "flats?" We called it a miracle of loaves and fishes but I have seen him go home empty handed himself after the distribution.*"[4]

Clearly many evenings were spent in the King's Head, the Fishmongers and the George. One of the many serviceman stationed locally drew a cartoon of Curly playing darts which is very recognisable. The King's Head pint became a daily fixture in my memory.

My memories

My memories of Curly complete the Seven Ages of Man and start immediately after World War II. We spent all school holidays with him at The Cot (my father was a schoolmaster). My overwhelming memory is that he never treated me as a child; he never talked

down to me. He took me to Blakeney Fair on the Carnser whilst my parents raced their National 12 dinghy in the Regatta and taught me to use an air rifle when I was tall enough to look over the edge of the stall.

Later we shot his .303 rifle at targets in the garden. He taught me how to make cartridges for his 12 bore and to play cribbage. He showed me how to prune and nurture his prodigious grape vine, including the advice that burying a dead cat by the root was the best fertiliser! I sympathised when he was unable to breed a black carnation, not for want of trying. He also grew tobacco and all his own vegetables.

I also have clear childhood memories of the beautiful avocet on the chest in the dining room window (the chest contained his big collection of bird's eggs), the heron on the landing, bluethroats, spoonbills, nightjars and many others in a huge display case in the sitting room at The Cot. I clearly remember his cases of moths and butterflies, including swallowtails, displayed in his sitting room as well as those of all the birds.

He had been a widower since 1936 but survived well with domestic help from the Bishop family who lived close by under the Hill. They cooked, cleaned and Walter came up to The Cot every evening to pump water from the well to the tank. The weekly delivery box from Starr's shop arrived under cycle power from Charlie Francis. I think I remember that Curly borrowed books from the small lending library in Starr's.

The great changes to Cley after the 1953 flood meant that fresh water, mains drainage and electricity came to every house. Walter Bishop no longer pumped, the cess pit was not required and electricity brought relative luxury. A television was bought and much enjoyed. The wireless was replaced by a simple radio, obviating the need for accumulators to be charged at Stangroom's Garage, the oil lamps and candles pensioned off to the relief of all.

An abiding impression

My father's words[8] best describe Curly, the human being, that man who had enjoyed his diverse life:

"*no sense of money, absurdly generous....a most charming person who would go to almost any lengths to avoid hurting anyone he liked and willing to help those in need to the limit of his ability*"

"*His greatest gift is an all embracing tolerance of the faults of others – he has so many himself that he will cast no stone – no one could call him a hypocrite. His word is his bond..... He lives in a Spartan vacuum yet with all he is so devastatingly understanding. He was the most charming parent.*"

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The '*Lively*' of the Port of Cley, Norfolk

Sara Dobson

Synopsis: the 'Lively', *a snow-rigged brig, was owned by Howard Ramm from 1837 to 1861; it was instrumental in making him a prosperous man. Using information from Lloyds' Shipping Registers & Lists, Newspapers and other sources it has been possible to chart some of the highs and lows of the working life of this durable little ship.*

Introduction

This is the story of one ship the '*Lively*' during the nineteenth century, together with the people who sailed in her and the owners. Not a large ship, but one that was important to one family who lived in Cley*, the Ramms. Together their story must be one that is repeated throughout the small ports bordering the North Sea.

The first record of the Ramm family in the Glaven Valley was in 1710 when James Ramm married Margaret Jairy at Wiveton. Living in a coastal community it was inevitable that some of their extended family would make a living from the sea. It was the children of their grandson, Luke Ramm who married Mary Howard who made the change. The family lived in Cley, five of their six sons were mariners and two of their daughters married sailors.[1]

Their second son, Howard Ramm, was born in 1786. It is not known when he first went to sea, but in 1819 he was master of the '*Adeona*' , a 76 ton brig of the port of Yarmouth, voyaging from Yarmouth to the North of England and from Lynn to Leith.[2] He was captain of this ship until 1831. By 1834 he was master of the '*Lively*', one of the ships which was instrumental in making him a successful businessman.

This '*Lively*' must not be confused with another ship of the same name operating from Blakeney during the 1820s, this was a smack owned by Thomas Starling.

*Footnote: when copying from original documents the spelling has been retained e.g. Cley could be Clay or Claye.

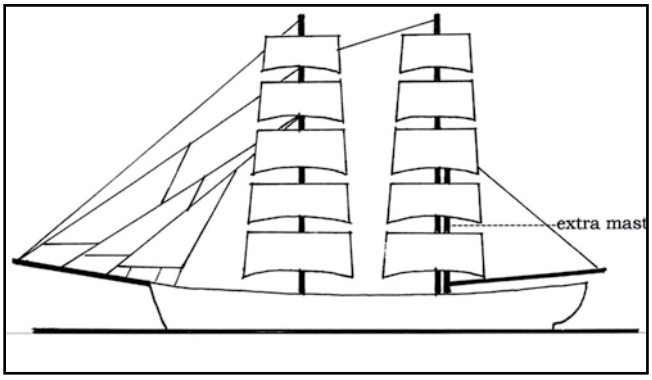


Figure 1. Diagrammatic representation of a Snow Brig, showing extra small mast, boom and trysail.

The *'Lively'*

The '*Lively*', official no. 10783, was built in Yarmouth in 1822. During this time there were nine ship builders operating in Yarmouth, namely: John Lewis Douglas, Hastings & Rye, Francis Holmes, James Lovewell, Mack & Co., Ambrose Palmer, Frederick Preston, Jacob Preston and Charles Tuck.[3] No document has been found to indicate which of these shipyards was responsible for building this ship.

The '*Lively*' had one deck and two masts, her length from the inner part of the main stem to the fore part of the stern post aloft was sixty four feet five tenths; breadth in midship was seventeen feet eight tenths and depth in hold at midship was ten feet. She was Snow rigged with a standing bowsprit, a square stern and was carvel built but with no galleries or figurehead.[4] The tonnage was 108 tons. This changed to 98 tons on the 1st January 1836 when the system for calculating the weight was changed and by 1862 the 'Lively' was recorded as being of 82 tons.[5]

A Snow Rig was similar to that for a brig – two masts with square sails on each. It was distinguished from a brig by having an extra small mast fitted aft of the main mast towards the stern. This was known as the trysail or snow mast and was set with boom and a small trysail – a fore-and-aft triangular sail. This rig was at one time common around the coasts of the UK,[6] but sometimes 'snow' was omitted and the ship was just called a 'brig'.

Owners

The '*Lively*' was first registered in 1823 at the port of Yarmouth and owned by J. Fisher.[2] This was likely to be John Fisher who lived on South Quay and was a merchant.[3] By 1833 the ownership had changed to Marsh & Co,[2] but no information is available on this company. Also there is a lack of information when the '*Lively*' was first registered at Cley, but it was probably in the early 1830s. A Certificate of British Registry dated 1837 shows the owners as Howard Ramm, master mariner of Clay, with 48/64 shares and William Thomas Hargrove Smith, Shipowner of Clay, with 16/64 shares.[4]

By 1840 a Crew Agreement records the owners as Muskett, Ramm & Co.[7] but there is no confirmatory Merchant Shipping Transaction document. However, some support is provided by other evidence showing that Joseph & William Muskett, Howard Ramm and a consortium of businessmen, merchants, tradesmen and master mariners held shares in other ships.[4,8] They were all linked by marriage, place of abode or occupation. Some of the members of this association are listed below and the ships they owned are shown in **Table 1.**

Howard Ramm as well as being a ship owner and master mariner, was also an earthenware dealer.[3] By 1841, he was married to Elizabeth Platten and living at Town Yard, Cley.

Joseph Muskett was born c.1811 in Attleborough, Norfolk and in 1841 was living in Holt trading as a draper.

William Muskett (possibly brother of the above) was born c.1796 in Norfolk and in 1841 was also living in Holt as a draper.

William Thomas Hargrove Smith was born c.1807 in Bungay, Suffolk. He was married to Elizabeth Mary Wood from Morston and in 1851 was living in Holt as a draper.

William Ramm (Howard's brother) was born in 1796 in Cley, a master mariner, who was married to Mary Taylor. William lost his life when he was captain of the '*Defiance*' which foundered in 1838.[1]

Clarke Painter was born c.1807 in Cley and in 1851 was living in Cley working as a plumber, glazier and painter.

William Thomas Golden Howes was born in 1825 in Eckington, Derbyshire, a master mariner, he was married to Howard's niece, Anne Maria Plattin. In the 1861 census for Tynemouth, Northumberland, he was master of the '*Countess of Zetland*'. By 1881 he was the Publican of the Fishmonger's Arms, Cley.

Daniel Newton was born c.1781 in Norfolk, he was married to Elizabeth Platten the mother of Howard's wife and in 1841 was a shop keeper in Blakeney.

Two members of this consortium owned the '*Lively*' until 2nd March 1842 when William Smith transferred his 16 shares to Howard by Deed of Mortgage. On the 22nd September 1845 these 16 shares were then transferred to Howard by a Bill of Sale making him the sole owner.[4]

By 1861 Howard Ramm was in his 75th year and on the 26th December 1861 he sold the '*Lively*' to William Henry Bessey, merchant, William Henry Bessey the younger and John Bessey Hilton, coal merchant, all of Yarmouth and the brig was once again registered in Yarmouth.[8]

Masters

The masters of the '*Lively*' are shown in **Table 2** on page 28. Prior to 1845 masters of ships were not required to have any formal qualifications, their skill and knowledge would have been acquired by experience. Records for this period can be found in Lloyd's Registers, newspapers listing shipping movements and surviving Registers of Shipping & Seamen.

This changed and between 1845-1850 a system of examinations was introduced for masters and mates of foreign-going vessels on a voluntary basis. This was made compulsory in 1850 and by 1854, included those of home-trade (coastal) vessels. Registers of Certificates of Competency & Service exist at the National Archives.

Crew

Before the introduction of the registration of merchant seamen in 1835 there were few records giving details of the 'ordinary' seamen. A few Muster Rolls survive for the years 1747 to 1853 in the National Archives under BT 98/1-139 (BT standing for Board of Trade) but these are incomplete. As previously stated, the names of masters and their ships can be found in various collections but the names of the crew were seldom mentioned.

After 1835 Central Government needed to monitor a reserve of sailors available for the

Table 1. Cley registered ships owned by Muskett, Smith, Ramm & Co.

Date of first known Registry in Cley/Blakeney & Wells	Name of Ship	Type	Built	Where	Approx Tonnage from Lloyd's Register
6th September 1836	*Juno*	Snow	1820	Yarmouth Norfolk	127
6th January 1837	*Defiance*	Snow	1837	Wells, Norfolk	184
30th January 1837	*Lively*	Snow	1822	Yarmouth Norfolk	108
31st March 1837	*Tamerlane*	Snow	1817	Southtown Suffolk	150
10th October 1837	*Defiance*	Snow	1827	South Shields Co Durham	142
20th August 1838	*Livorno*	Brig	1827	Wallsend Northumberland	162
25th October 1839	*Fanny of Cley*	Schooner	1825	Ipswich Suffolk	118
c.1840	*Naiad*	Snow	1825	Yarmouth Norfolk	113
21st February 1840	*Louisa*	Barque	1824	Calcutta India	242
31st January 1855	*Thetis*	Schooner	1838	Wells, Norfolk	118
17th September 1858	*Countess of Zetland*	Snow	1845	Grangemouth Stirling	188

Royal Navy in case of war so a Register of Seamen was established. These can be found at the National Archives under BT 112, BT 113, BT 116 and BT 120 with indices in BT 114 and BT 119. Whilst these registers do give limited amount of information: name and age of the seaman, where born, dates and ships sailed in, they are not always complete and some are illegible.

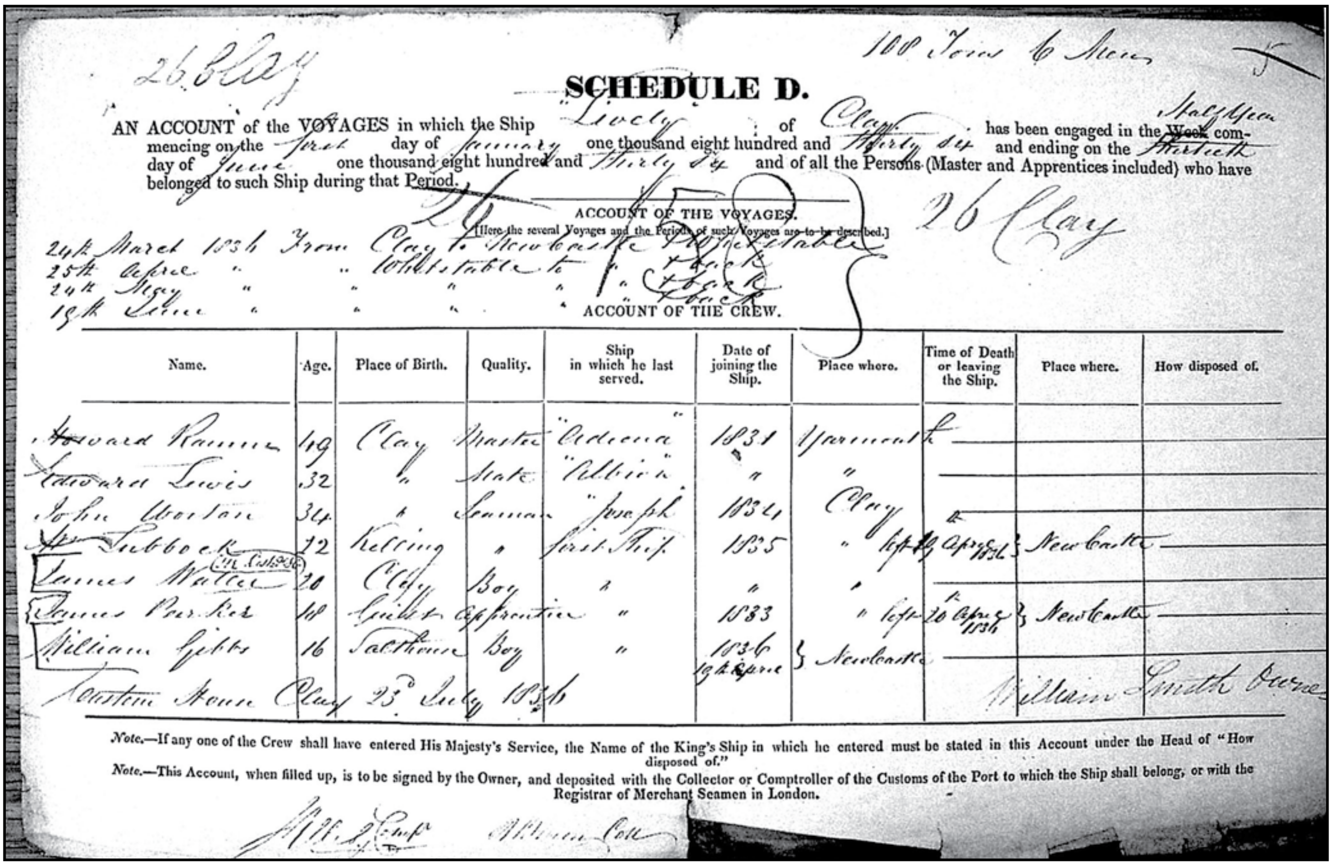
These registers continued until 1857 when the Board of Trade reasoned that existing agreements and crew lists would be sufficient to furnish themselves with the details of seamen and their movements. These agreements list the names of the crew, their ages, where they were born, their qualification, their last ship, when and where they joined the ship and when and where they left the ship. So with dedication and time it is possible to chart the working life of a mariner.

Apprentices

Under the Merchant Seamen Act of 1823, ships greater than 80 tons were required to carry a quota of indentured apprentices. **Table 3** (page 29) shows details of some of the boys apprenticed at the port of Cley. This selection, covering surnames P-R in the years 1837-42 for one port, shows just how many boys went to sea.[11] Their ages range from ten to seventeen illustrating how much earlier children had to grow up and learn a trade.

Table 2. Masters of the 'Lively'

Master	Born	Date On	Place Where Joined	Source of Information
W. High/Haigh	n/k	1823-1829	n/k	2
R. Holland	n/k	1829-1832	n/k	2
William Ramm	Clay	1832-1833	n/k	2 & 10
Howard Ramm	Clay	1834-1836	n/k	2
James Ramm	Clay	1836	n/k	10
Howard Ramm	Clay	1837	Clay	4
William Bastard	Langham	1837	Clay	4
Howard Ramm	Clay	1838	Clay	4
John Johnson Jnr.	Blakeney	1838-1842	Clay	4
William Thompson (son of Sarah Thompson née Ramm)	Clay	1842-1843	Clay	4
Robert Claxton	Clay	1843-1847	Clay	4
Robert Crask(e)	Wiveton	1847-1853	Newcastle	4
William Duffield	Kelling	1853-1858	Newcastle	4
John Chapman	Cley	1858-1858	Newcastle	4
Robert Stamp	Cley	1858	Sunderland	4
Ansell Dix	Morston	1861	n/k	11
James Cooper	Yarmouth	1863	n/k	5
Henry Willson	Yarmouth	1874	n/k	5


SCHEDULE D.

AN ACCOUNT of the VOYAGES in which the Ship "Lively" of Clay has been engaged in the Half Year commencing on the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and Thirty six and ending on the Thirtieth day of June one thousand eight hundred and Thirty six and of all the Persons (Master and Apprentices included) who have belonged to such Ship during that Period.

ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES.

[Here the several Voyages and the Periods of such Voyages are to be described.]

ACCOUNT OF THE CREW.

Name.	Age.	Place of Birth.	Quality.	Ship in which he last served.	Date of joining the Ship.	Place where.	Time of Death or leaving the Ship.	Place where.	How disposed of.
Howard Ramm	49	Clay	Master	"Ardena"	1831	Yarmouth			
Edward Lewis	32	"	Mate	"Albion"	"	"			
John Wharton	34	"	Seaman	"Joseph"	1834	Clay			
Lubbock	12	Kelling	"	first Ship	1835	"	left 19 April 1836	Newcastle	
James Walter	20	Clay	Boy	"	"	"			
James Parker	18	Sculthorpe	Apprentice	"	1833	"	left 20 April 1836	Newcastle	
William Gibbs	16	Salthouse	Boy	"	1836 19th April	Newcastle			

Custom House Clay 23rd July 1836 William Smith Owner

Note.—If any one of the Crew shall have entered His Majesty's Service, the Name of the King's Ship in which he entered must be stated in this Account under the Head of "How disposed of."

Note.—This Account, when filled up, is to be signed by the Owner, and deposited with the Collector or Comptroller of the Customs of the Port to which the Ship shall belong, or with the Registrar of Merchant Seamen in London.

Figure 2 Half-yearly agreement and crew list for the 'Lively' in 1836 showing details of the crew and the ships movements. *The figure 26 is the Port Rotation Number for Cley, each port had its own individual number.*

Table 3. Apprentices for the Port of Clay in the period 1837-42: this is a restricted list as it only covers those with surnames beginning with P-R.

Port of Registry	Date of Indenture	Name & Age Apprentice	Term for which bound	Name of Master	Name of Vessel & Burthen
Clay	17th July 1837	James Rush 14	6 years	Muskett/Smith	*Defiance* ?
Clay	28th Feb. 1839?	James Parker 17	4 years	Howard Ramm	*Naiad* 113
Clay	1st March 1839	John Shortin 14	5 years	J. Starling	*Astley* 221
Clay	18th March 1839	Wm. Thompson 10	7 years	J. Starling	*Astley* 221
Clay	10th May 1839	James Rush 16	6 years	Smith & Co	*Pomona* 98
Clay	8th July 1839	Thomas Pattingale15	5years	Smith & Co	*Equity Maud* 113
Clay	16th Sept 1839	R. Porrett/Piggot? 15	7 years	Mann & Co	*Ann* 125
Clay	24th Feb 1840	James Stone 16	5years	W. Smith	***Lively*** 98
Clay	26th April 1840	Robert Rush 15	5 years	Muskett & Co	*Tamerlane* 150
Clay	19th July 1841	Robert Rayner 14	5 years	Muskett & Co	*Tamerlane* 150
Clay	27th April 1842	Wm Ramm 14	6 years	Muskett & Co	*Naiad* 113

Table 4. Voyages of the 'Lively' for the half-year July-December 1848.

Sailed from	Leaving date	Place of entry	Arrival date	Leaving date	Port at which Voyage is complete	Arrival date
Warkworth	10th July 1848	London	15th July 1848	24th July 1848	Middlesbro	26th July 1848
Middlesbro	8th Aug 1848	London	15th Aug 1848	22nd Aug 1848	Warkworth	27th Aug 1848
Warkworth	4th Sept 1848	London	11th Sept 1848	17th Sept 1848	Warkworth	22nd Sept 1848
Warkworth	1st Oct 1848	London	11th Oct 1848	14th Oct 1848	Warkworth	23rd Oct 1848
Warkworth	24th Oct 1848	London	3rd Nov 1848	20th Nov 1848	Warkworth	27th Nov 1848
Warkworth	10th Dec 1848	London	17th Dec 1848	27th Dec 1848	Clay	29th Dec 1848

Wages

Unless the length of the voyage is known, it is difficult to compare the wages of mariners with those employed on shore. The latter were paid weekly, while seamen voyaging abroad were usually paid per month and those employed in the coal trade were paid per voyage.[12]

For example in 1851, the average wage of an agricultural worker was 9s. 2½d. per week, (approx. £1 16s 10d per month)[13] whilst the wage of the crew of the *Lively*, which was engaged in the coasting coal trade between Warkworth, Northumberland and London, was: Master £5 0s 0d; Mate £3 0s 0d – £3 5s 0d; Able Seaman

£2 10s 0d and an Ordinary Seaman £1 0s 0d per voyage.[14] No details are given about the length of this journey, so for comparison it is necessary to look at **Table 4** which shows that in 1848 a round trip from Warkworth to London and back took roughly one month.[15] This is not a simple comparison as food was provided free for the ship's crew (see below) and employment for both groups was not necessarily continuous.

By 1874 the wage of an agricultural worker had risen to 13s 11½d per week, (approx. £2 15s 10d per month)[14] and the wage of the crew of the '*Lively*' had increased to: Master £5 10s 0d; Mate £3 10s 0d - £4 0s 0d, and Able Seamen; £3 10s 0d.[5] From 1747 sixpence a month was deducted from the mariners' wages for the relief and support of maimed and disabled seamen and their wives and children. In 1834 this was raised to two shillings for a master or owner and one shilling for a seaman. This fund was wound up in 1851. Only a few documents relating to this fund are thought to have survived.

Why did people choose a life at sea? The sense of adventure must have played a part and the Ramms demonstrate it was also associated with families, but for long periods during the nineteenth century England was in a depression and at times those working on the land were facing mass unemployment with many as a result moving to cities. For those living in coastal regions the obvious choice would be the sea, but even here there were problems with the rise of the railways and many migrated north to ports like South Shields.[16]

Provisions

Food, although basic, was provided free of charge to the mariners during a voyage and a record was supposed to be kept on a daily chart, but this did not always happen. **Figure 3** shows a list of provisions to be provided and served out

	Bread lb.	Beef lb.	Pork lb.	Flour lb.	Peas	Tea oz.	Coffee oz.	Sugar oz.	Water qts.
SUNDAY									
MONDAY									
TUESDAY									
WEDNESDAY									
THURSDAY									
FRIDAY									
SATURDAY									

Figure 3. List of provisions to be provided on voyage.

to the crew during a 1874 coasting voyage of the '*Lively*', unfortunately the amounts given to each crew member has not been completed.[5]

Voyages & Cargo

When registered in Yarmouth during the 1820s and 1830s, the *'Lively'* voyaged from: London to Ostend; Liverpool to Bremen; Liverpool to Antwerp and Yarmouth to Rotterdam.[2] Also from Leith to Hamburg, and Deal to Cadiz.[17] No account of her cargo during these voyages has been found.

After registration in Cley the '*Lively*' was employed in the coasting trade, collecting and transporting coal from the North Eastern ports of England to the South of England and also to the foreign ports of Rotterdam, Königsburg (now Kalliningrad) and Rouen. See **Tables 4, 6 & 7.**

Trials & Tribulations

Life for mariners was fraught with danger and the crew of the '*Lively*' experienced many difficulties. The following reports illustrate some of their problems.

Lloyd's List dated 21st December 1823 states that the '*Lively*' captained by High arrived at Ramsgate from Southwold bound for Dublin with damage. It is not known what damage the '*Lively*' had incurred.

One of the main hazards of life at sea was disease. Voyaging to foreign lands, mixing with

Table 5. Voyages of 'Lively' for the year January to December 1836.

Date	Sailed from	Sailed to	Sailed to
24th March 1836	Clay, Norfolk	Newcastle, N'humberland	Whitstable, Kent
25th April 1836	Whitstable	Newcastle	Whitstable
24th May1836	Whitstable	Newcastle	Whitstable
19th June1836	Whitstable	Newcastle	Whitstable
9th July1836	Whitstable	Newcastle	Whitstable
3rd August1836	Whitstable	Newcastle	Whitstable
28th August1836	Whitstable	Newcastle	Whitstable
18th September1836	Whitstable	Newcastle	Whitstable
22nd October1836	Whitstable	Newcastle	Whitstable
4th December1836	Whitstable	Newcastle	Whitstable

Table 6. Voyages of the* Lively *for the period 21st February to 30th June 1846

Sailed from	Leaving date	Place of entry	Arrival date	Leaving date	Place of entry	Arrrival date
Clay Norfolk	21st Feb 1846	Stockton Durham	22nd Feb 1846	6th March 1846	Rouen France	14th March 1846
Rouen France	28th March 1846	Blyth N'humberland	12th April 1846	21st April 1846	Rouen France	30thApril 1846
Rouen France	11th May 1846	Blyth N'humberland	20th May 1846	22nd May 1846	Rouen France	2nd June 1846
Rouen France	13th June 1846	Stockton Durham	27th June 1846			

people from other ports, close confinement in the ships for long periods meant that infectious diseases were easily transmitted from one person to another. This was the case in 1831 when cholera arrived in the North of England. The course taken by this disease can be seen in the following extract.[18]

''The first outbreak of Asiatic cholera in Britain was at Sunderland, on the Durham coast during the autumn of 1831. From there the disease made its way northward into Scotland and southward toward London. Before it had run its course it had claimed 52,000 lives. From its point of origin in Bengal it had taken five years to cross Europe, so that when it reached Durham, British doctors were well aware of its nature, if not its cause.

The progress of the illness in a cholera victim was a frightening spectacle: two or three died of diarrhoea which increased in intensity and became accompanied by painful retching; thirst and dehydration; severe pain in the limbs, stomach and abdominal muscles; a changed skin hue to a sort of bluish-grey. The disease was unlike anything known.'

The authorities quickly imposed a quarantine order for ten days on all ships visiting North East ports. This was reported locally in *The Norfolk Chronicle & Norwich Gazette* for Saturday 24th December 1831.

The *'Lively'* sailed from Newcastle on 16th December 1831 bound for Clay with a crew of six carrying a cargo of coal. Whilst at sea on the 18th December two of the crew developed cholera symptoms. Being aware of the gravity of the situation and the need for medical aid they sailed into the Humber where H.M.S. Salsette, an 1805 Royal Navy frigate, had been fitted out as a lazaretto*. Anchored at Whitebooth in the Humber the surgeon on board wrote the following report:[19]

H.M.S. Salsette, Whitebooth, Tuesday, 20th December 1831, 3 p.m. *The brig* 'Lively', *H. Ramm, master arrived this evening from Newcastle, whence she sailed on the 16th instant; the master and one of the men are affected with diarrhoea, which has existed for two days, but unaccompanied by any particular symptoms; I have supplied them with the necessary medicines, etc. for this night.*

21st December 1831.
I have visited the 'Lively' *again to-day, and find that in the man's case the diarrhoea is abated: but in the master's case nausea and vomiting supervened in the course of the night, but these symptoms have subsided, and both men appear better from the use of calomel, combined with rhubarb and ginger.*

31st December 1831
The master of the brig 'Lively' *is quite recovered, as is also the seaman belonging to the brig* 'Ellen'*; no fresh case of any description has occurred on board either of those vessels since my last report.*

J. H. ATCHESON Surgeon, R. N. and Medical Superintendant

As well as struggling to overcome sickness the crew of the *'Lively'* was also involved in a collision with another ship while still in quarantine.

The *Norfolk Chronicle & Norwich Gazette* for Saturday 31st December 1831 carried a report, datelined Cley two days earlier: *'A few days since, the brig* 'Lively'*, of this port, was ran foul of by the* 'Pelican' *of Lynn, in Whitebooth roads, and had her bowsprit carried away. The* 'Pelican' *had performed quarantine, and was homeward bound, but in consequence of her coming in contact with the above vessel she will have to ride the time again'.*

*Footnote: Lazaretto or lazaret is a hospital for diseased people; it may be a building or ship used for quarantine.

After a period of being confined to their ship in the Humber and having their ship repaired, the crew of the *'Lively'* finally reached home.

The *Norwich Mercury* reported on 21st January 1832: *'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'.*

The '*Lively'* continued in the coasting trade and no further information has been found to indicate that she suffered any major calamities until 1852 when, with a crew of seven, she was returning from Warkworth to London with coal. There was a force 7 wind and the *'Lively'* ran aground on Herd Sand, Tynemouth. A lifeboat journal states the '*Lively'* suffered 'much damage'. The following newspaper shows just how close the crew came to losing their lives.

The Times 30th October 1852:

'A little brig, the 'Lively' *of Clay, laden with coal, in putting back for shelter, got far to leeward, the sea at the same time striking right across her, drove on to the extreme edge of the Herd Sand, Tynemouth. Part of the crew got on to the bowsprit, others into the rigging, and cried for help. The Shields lifeboat was immediately manned with pilots, and pulled gallantly out to their rescue. The pilots in the boat were in imminent peril from the position the wrecked vessel was placed; but in a very short time, they had the men out of her, and amid the loud cheers of the large crowd on the shore, brought them to the landing in safety. The crew of the brig were very much exhausted, and it was thought the master would not recover; but by the diligence and attention of the pilots and their wives, he was brought about'.*

The master, Robert Crask(e) of Wiveton, survived but only until 12th March 1853 when he died of consumption. The '*Lively'*, described as 'wrecked', was recovered. It is not known what damage she had incurred but in Lloyd's registers for the period 1st July 1853 - 30th June 1854 she was described as having had 'large repairs in 1853'. It was also stated that the timber used was Fir.

A report of the rescue was also printed in the *Newcastle Courant* Friday 5th November 1852: '*The collier brig mentioned last week as stranded was the* 'Lively' *of Clay. The master was brought on shore in a most exhausted condition'.* Further down the page there is another account: *'The heroism of the South Shields pilots is beyond all praise. A very interesting fact is also mentioned. Some time ago, a party of them being out at sea a long time, were without provisions, and began to suffer from hunger. They asked a captain to give them some biscuit. He refused, and they offered to buy some, but he would not let them have any, though urged to do so. They got home much exhausted. Last week they saved this very man, and though they knew him and his ship, it did not at all influence their minds'.* Does this account refer to the master of the *'Lively'*? No names are mentioned, but it does seem likely.

The next event of significance occurred in 1861. The *Norwich Mercury* 20th November 1861 reported: '*On Thursday night the Caister life boat belonging to the National Life Boat Institution, was launched to the rescue of the crew of the brig* 'Lively', *of Cley, Norfolk, which was observed on the north part of the Scroby Sands, burning a tar barrel. It was blowing a heavy gale from the N.W. with sleet. The greatest difficulty was experienced in launching the life boat, as the sweep on the beach was tremendous, many of the noble men who assisted to launch the boat during the fearful night being rolled away by the sea twenty yards from the boat. However, the launching of the life boat was ultimately accomplished; but on approaching the sands, nothing could be seen of the wreck. After toiling hard all night, just before daylight, the life boat proceeded towards the light vessel, and then discovered the wreck to the easward. Here the huge waves were bursting with terrific force, but the life boat plunged through them. The despairing mariners, who had given themselves up for lost during the fearful night, were ultimately reached. At this time a steam tug came up to the assistance of the life boat. With its help the unfortunate crew of five men and their vessel were rescued from their perilous situation. The life boat's crew, consisting of fifteen men, state that this was one of the most dangerous services ever performed by them – that nothing could have induced them to remain out that dreadful night, except the hope of succouring their drowning fellow creatures. In this case the life boat crew will receive salvage of property, in addition to a reward from the Life Boat Institution'.*

The *Daily News* (London) dated 9th December 1861 states: *'A reward of £15 was given to the crew of the lifeboat of Caistor'* for this rescue, but no details have been found of either the salvage awarded to the lifeboat men or the names of the crew of the '*Lively'*. Information was also published in the *Lifeboat Journal* dated 1st April 1862. It gave expense of service as £20.

The '*Lively'*, despite being nearly forty years old, survived. Howard Ramm, however, was in his 75th year and on 26th December 1861 he sold her and the '*Lively'* was again registered to the port of Yarmouth where she continued in the coasting coal trade for a further fourteen years.[5]

Conclusion

With expertise and a degree of luck, being a shipowner was extremely profitable and with shared ownership the risks were spread. Howard Ramm was one, an example of a skilled seaman and a successful ship owner, who using his entrepreneurial ability

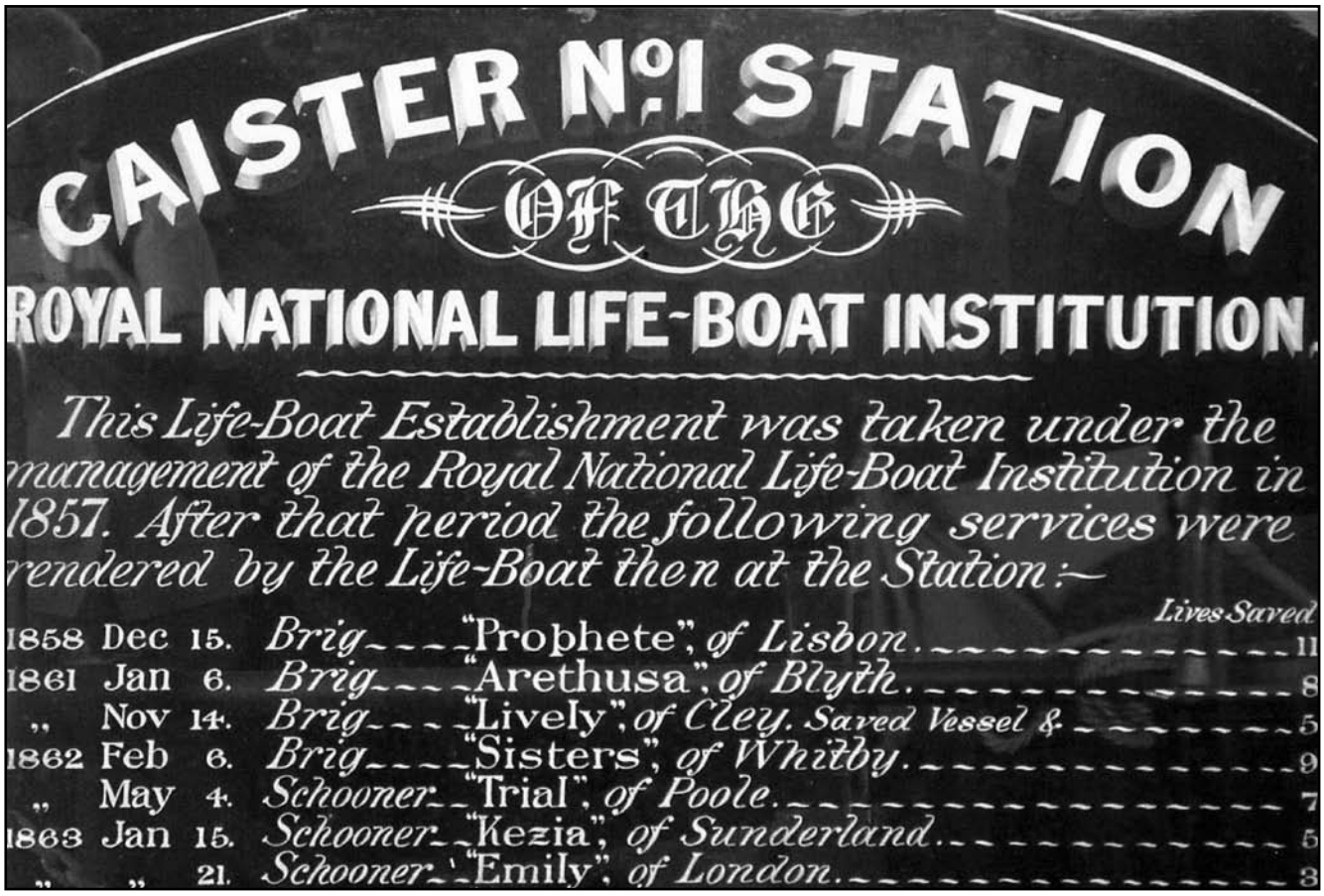


Figure 4 Board listing rescues in Caister Lifeboat Station

made a comfortable living from his association with the sea. He was described as a 'linchpin' in a partnership between other shipowners and merchants, providing maritime expertise and organising cargoes.[20]

Indeed of all the ships owned by the association of, Muskett, Smith and Ramm only one was known to have been wrecked. This was the '*Defiance*' which foundered in 1838. Nothing is known of the fortunes of the others.

The '*Lively*' was a little collier brig which survived and overcame many misfortunes to provide a living for her owners, masters and crew. She transported coal for 53 years, a great achievement for a small ship at that time. Credit for her longevity must be paid to the unknown ship builder and the expertise of the men who sailed her. She was finally broken up in 1875.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to John & Pam Peake & Chris Woods for advice on locating records for Mariners & their Ships. Also John Dobson for assisting in the research at The National Archives.

Addendum

With patience and dedication, it is possible to chart the working lives of nineteenth century ships and seamen as many records have survived. The following sources were used for this article:

The National Archives, Kew have a wide range of leaflets (incl. Research guides) depicting their holdings covering Crew Agreements, Official Logs, Apprenticeship Records, Register of Service for Merchant Seamen, Registration of Shipping and many more. It is possible to view their catalogue on-line (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk).

Lloyd's Registers & Lists, located at the Guildhall Library, London (www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/guildhalllibrary) and a few other libraries around the country, give invaluable information about the voyages and masters of merchant ships.

The Maritime History Archive at the Memorial University of Newfoundland (www.mun.ca/mha) houses a large selection of material and they will provide help.

Newspapers give information about the movements of ships in and out of ports with details of their cargoes. They give colourful descriptions of disasters and weather conditions. The Norwich Millenium Library (www.theforumnorwich.co.uk) holds many nineteenth century newspapers on film. Other local depositories are The Norfolk Record Office (www.archives.norfolk.gov.uk) and The History Centre, Blakeney, (www.history-blakeney-area.org.uk) which have records of Registry of Seamen & Shipping and other relevant information.

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NB Full references for Newspapers are given in the text and are not repeated here.

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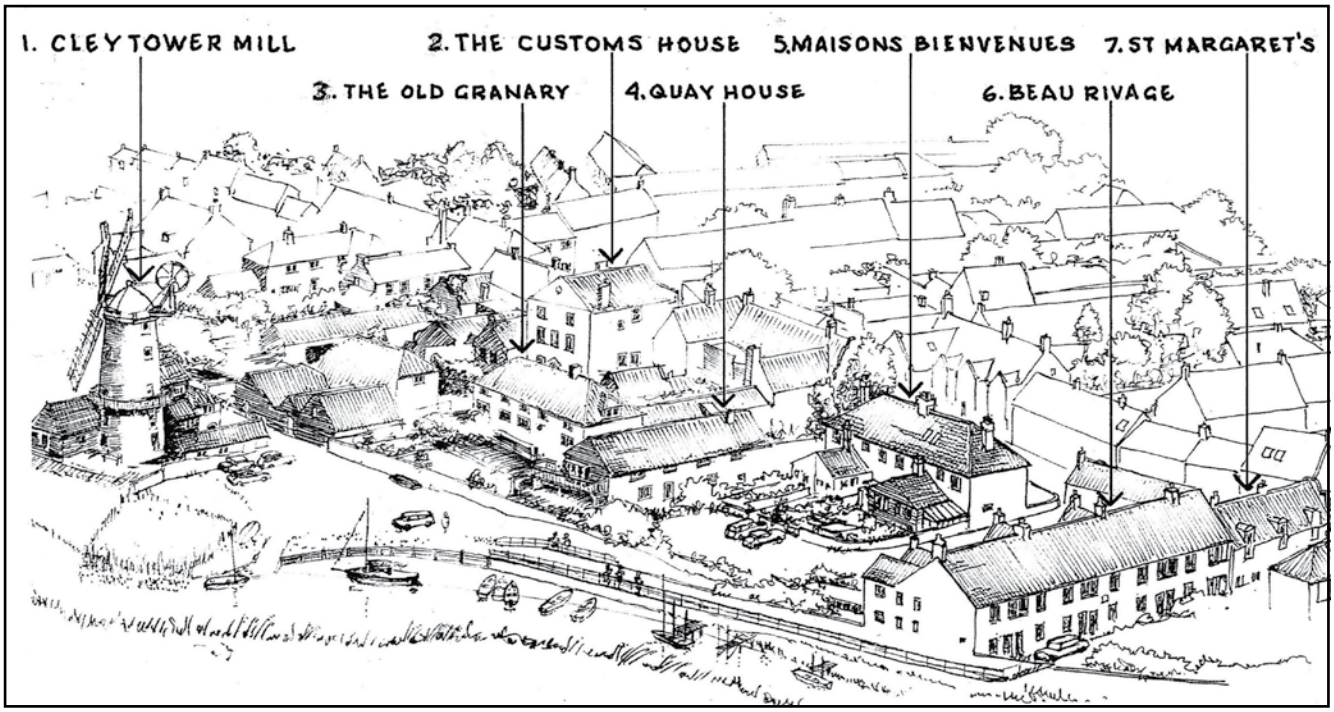
The Quay at Cley

Frank Hawes

Synopsis: changes in the ownership and uses of the Quay at Cley next the Sea since the sixteenth century and of buildings surrounding it during the last two hundred years are described from a mixture of published records and village memories.



A view over The Quay area looking east with the seven buildings featured in the text labelled.

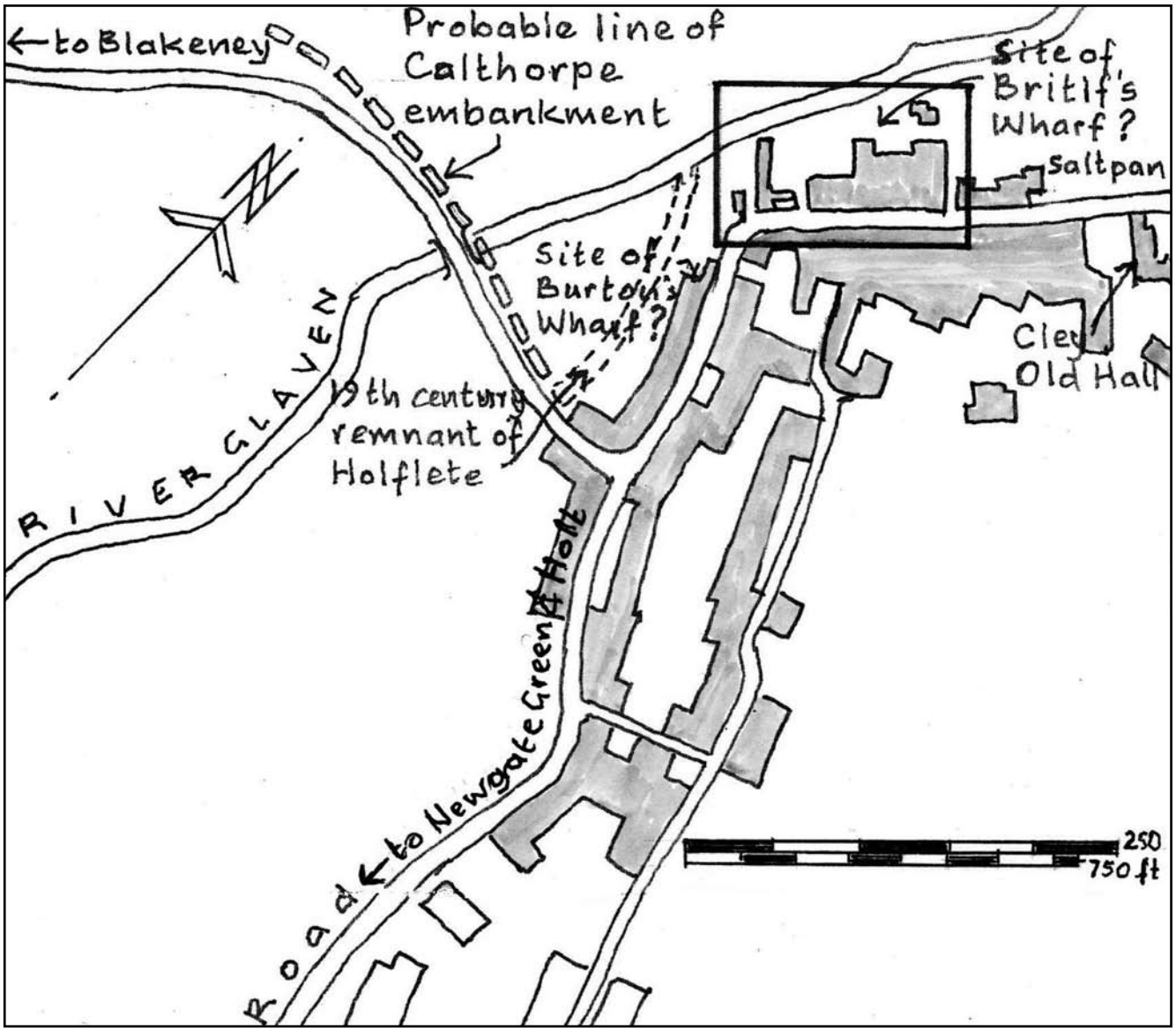
The Quay's location

In the sixteenth century many of the boats coming to Cley were loaded and unloaded about a kilometre upstream from the quay, near the Church in the area now known as Newgate Green and cargoes were probably taken off while boats were beached. The evidence for this is summarised by Hooton[1] in his book on the Glaven ports. When this method of dealing with cargo was no longer adequate the first wharves would have been constructed.

At that time the Glaven had two channels which divided somewhere north of Glandford, flowed under separate bridges, a stone one close to Wiveton Church and a wooden one over the channel closest to Newgate Green. The Wiveton channel was called the Millsteade and the Cley one Holflete and the two came together again close to the area which is the subject of this paper.

Any quays or wharves south of the present road to Blakeney would have been rendered redundant when the Calthorpe embankment blocked the estuary in 1637[1]. In 1586, when a map of the haven was produced[2], there appear to have been buildings downstream from where the bank was built. Some are shown close to the river below the junction of the Cley and Wiveton channels around the area where the present quay is sited. The petition against the 1637 embankment mentions '*the common navigable channel lying along the keies* of Cley.* These quays must have been upstream from the embankment but it has been said that '*the Calthorpe bank left*

*Footnote: The spelling of the word quay varies between references



Map 1. Map of Cley village showing the location of the Quay Area.

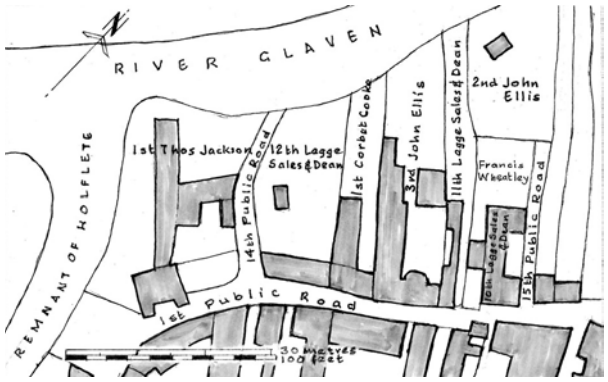
the main quay at Cley still accessible from the sea',[3] suggesting the present site has been in use for at least 375 years and possibly for more than 425.

In the late seventeenth century unloading was permitted at only two places– Simon Britif's Quay and Burton's Wharf.[1] A hand-written document in the History Centre Blakeney quotes from a Special Commission of the Exchequer of 30th October 1676: *'that open space commonly called by the name of Mr Burton's key or wharf, being in length sixty-seven feet south west looking towards Blakeney and 36 feet in breadth towards the North East and abutted or bounded upon the house commonly called the Key House towards the north east and now called Mr Burton's warehouse. And one other key or wharfe being called Capt. Symon Britif's key or wharfe being in length 138 feet looking towards the sea North East bounded with a Salthouse towards the south east and in breadth at the head 36 feet'* [4]. The document also mentions a quay '*commonly called the George key in the Towne of Cley'*.

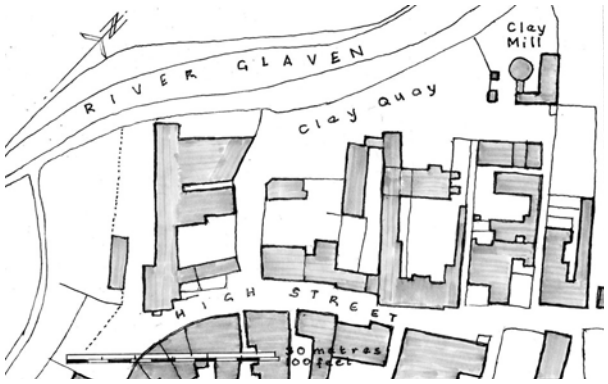
Robert Burton 1620-1687 has a memorial in Cley church and Symon Britiff was Lord of the Manor and lived in Cley Old Hall[5]. Because it is closest to the Old Hall and the area between that house and the quay is marked on various maps as a saltpan, it seems likely that *Britiff's Key* was in the present quay area and that *Mr Burton's Key* was upstream on the Cley Channel with *The George Key* between them. (**see Map 1**) However, maybe because the Cley Channel was silting up and Symon Britiff had left Cley Old Hall by 1661-62 Robert Burton acquired the land on which the Customs House was built[6] and presumably moved his business to what had been Britiff's wharf.

The map accompanying the 1812 Cley & Field Dalling Enclosure Award[7] shows an area opposite the George with access to the river. This was presumably the George Quay facing onto

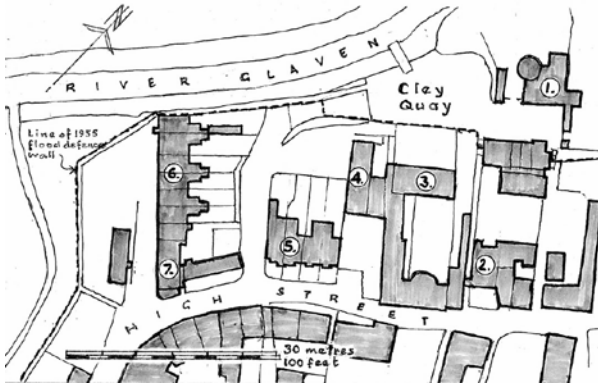
A In the early 19th century based on the 1812 Cley and Field Dalling Inclosure Award.



B In late 19th century based on the 1887 Ordnance Survey.



C The Quay Area today



Map 2. Development of the Quay Area

the remnant of the Cley arm of the river which on the 1824 Enclosure Map for Cley and Wiveton is called 'Jackson's Creek'[8] and which seems to have still existed on the 1841 Tithe map.[9]

The Customs records at Kings Lynn[1] quote from a document dated September 5th 1728 in which 42 merchants of Cley complained that Charles Wortley, the Collector for Cley had been instructed by the Customs Officers at Kings Lynn that 'everyone *should use the key lately erected and made up by Mr Baynes'*. The merchants said that being only 90ft long by 36ft wide it was too small to receive their cargoes and furthermore that '*it has poor access and is the most remote and furthest from the Customs House'*. Where this quay might have been is unclear, but if Burton had moved round onto what had been Brittif's Wharf, his original wharf may have fallen into disrepair. Then Burton's granddaughter is known to have married a Henry Baynes,[10] so Baynes might have acquired and reconstructed the old Burtons Quay on the Cley arm of the river.

Ownership of the Quay

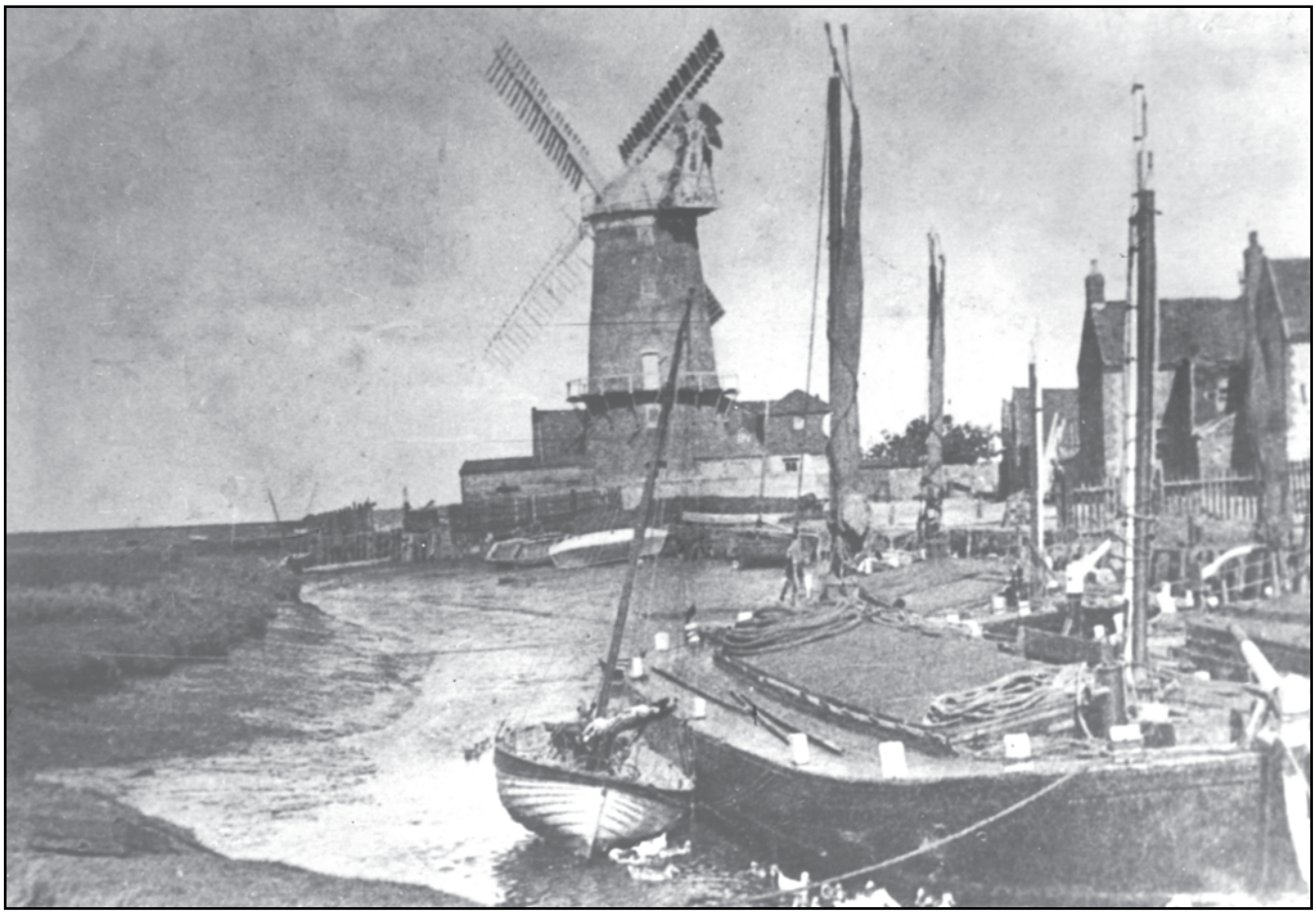
On the 1812 map accompanying the first Enclosure Award the land now occupied by the Mill, the Quay and the Customs House comprises seven plots, all copyhold of the Manor of Cley, shared between three copyholders. A copyholder was a tenant who held his property by possession of a copy of the entry in the court roll of the Manor. John Ellis held two plots, Legge, Sales & Dean three plots while Corbet Cooke and Francis Wheatley one each.

In the Enclosure Award and on the accompanying map each person's awards and every public road is given a number. The five plots are described as '*bounded by the public road firstly described on the south-east* (that is the road now called the High Street) *and by Cley Harbour on the north-west'* [7]. Thus the plots stretched from the High Street to the river frontage. At the south-west end of the site Legge, Sales & Dean's second allotment is '*bounded by the public road fourteenthly described'*. That public road is referred to in the Enclosure Act Award as being '*the present road leading to the Quay'* [7] so although each plot stretched from the High Street to the river, the river frontage (that is the quay) must have been used co-operatively.

Some time after William Hardy II acquired the Lordship of the Manor in 1839,[11] (or after 1842 when it passed to his nephew William Hardy Cozens who became William Hardy Cozens-Hardy[11]) the leases were amended, each of the plots was shortened so that the Lord of the Manor took possession of all the area now known as The Quay. The mill site remained copyhold of the Manor until between 1876 and 1886,[12] and the Maisons Bienvenues site was still copyhold in 1913,[13] but all the properties were freehold by 1922.[14]

The use of the quay

The trade of the quay is too large a subject to be incorporated in this paper. From some time in the middle ages until the latter end of the 19th century ships came up the river to Cley[1]. They originally went up to near the church at Newgate Green possibly because some of their cargoes of fish were destined for



Photograph 1. Lighters at the quay in the late 19th century. The building with a chimney behind the right-hand mast is probably the miller's house.

Holt. From about 1213 for the next 450 years Cley had its own market[15] but Cley would always have been the closest maritime access to Holt.

The principal uses of the Haven for coal and grain etc. are dealt with in Hooton, but the quay obviously handled many other cargoes. For instance we know that a cargo of books and French furniture destined for Wolterton Hall soon after it was completed in 1741 was brought into Cley; sadly, the ship caught fire and the entire cargo was lost.[1]

Up to the 1820s vessels with a draught of nine feet could berth at Cley Quay but by 1845 it could only accommodate those of five feet or less, and in 1845 the *Bell* was no longer able to swing around at the Quay as she used because of the narrowing of the channel.[1] As the river silted up it became necessary to transfer cargoes into lighters out in the Pit which was the deepest part of Blakeney Harbour. These were presumably poled up the river on an incoming tide but Catling wrote that '*Howard Brett built a hand-operated paddle tug '*Monkey Puzzle' *to handle lighters in the Cley Channel'*. This tug he says, '*handled '*New Walter and Anne' *the last ship to Cley Quay'*.[3] Lighters were still being unloaded on the Quay in the early years of the twentieth century[1].

Two years after the devastating flood of January 1953 a new line of concrete flood defences was built which were superseded by a new higher bank and flood gates in 1992

1.* Cley Tower Mill

The most prominent building on the Quay is the mill which was built on the land allotted to John Ellis in the 1812 Enclosure Award[8] (**see Map 2**). The building is not shown on Faden's 1797 map[16] but was offered for sale in 1819 as '*new erected'*[12], though in a sale notice this might mean a few years. In 1820 it was described as *'comprising a capital messuage with offices, granaries (capable of containing 400 quarters of corn), three spacious coal-houses, two coal yards, well enclosed stables, straw house and every other requisite outbuilding. Also a capital Tower Wind Corn Mill recently erected…on the quay…at which there is an ample depth of water for loading and unloading grain etc.'* [12]

In both 1819 and 1820 the owner was William Farthing[12] who had possibly been responsible for the mill's erection but by the 1841 Tithe Apportionment[9] the owner was John Farthing and

*Footnote: these numbers refer to buildings labelled on Map 2c

the occupier was John Lee. White's Directories for 1836 and 1845 list '*John Lee, corn & coal merchant, miller & maltster*' and in 1850 '*William Edward Powell, miller & merchant*' but from 1853 to 1874 the tenant was, as described in Whites in 1854, '*Lawrence Randall, corn miller, coal & cake merchant*' [17].

In 1876 Mrs Dorothy Farthing (widow) died[12] and the mill was put up for sale again in 1876 still as it was in the 1812 award '*copyhold of the Manor*'. The tenant at this time was Stephen Barnabas Burroughes who had also a coal and corn merchant business in Holt and a baking business in Langham[17]. In 1886 the mill was advertised '*for sale by auction, in occupation of S. B. Burroughes, annual tenant at a rent of £50*' but this time it was freehold and Burroughes was able to buy it as sitting tenant[12]. In 1896 *Kelly's Directory* lists him as a *'baker, corn, flour, cake, pollard, coal & manure merchant & wind miller; & at Langham; & farmer at Wiveton Hall Farm'* [19]. His sons took over from him in about 1900 when they acquired the mill in Holt[12].

Freda Starr says in her book of Cley memories[20] that the mill was in use for several years after her family came to the village in 1906. She says '*A Mr Lewis was in charge of the Mill and he and his family lived nearby on the quay*'. The 1911 census lists Israel Lewis aged 52 as Miller[21]. His address is given as The Quay, Cley, but which property is unclear. The 1886 selling particulars had listed: *'also small dwelling house.... with frontage to the Quay'* [12]. In 1911 he lived there with his wife and 16 year old daughter, but he is known to have had two older daughters and a younger son.[21].

The mill seems to have ceased milling in 1912[12] and in 1921 Burroughes Flour Mills sold it to Mrs S. M. Wilson for £350[18]. The Burroughes family seem to have stayed in the village and for many years had a bakery at the White House on the High Street[22]. Mrs Wilson converted the mill to living accommodation and from her it passed through various members of the Blount family until it was sold a few years ago to its present owner who has developed the business for lettings and weddings and as a coffee shop and restaurant. The mill's shop and office is now housed in what was at the time of the Tithe Award a coalhouse[9] while the other ancillary buildings have all been upgraded to provide storage or sleeping accommodation for letting.

2. The Customs House

The Customs House is another prominent building though not as prominent from the quay as when it was built late in the seventeenth century.[23] At that time there was no mill to obstruct the view from the attic window or from the Long Room on the first floor. This is where all the business was conducted and which directly overlooked the quay.[24] What is now the front facing the High Street came into existence when the building was doubled in depth in 1729.[23] Although some doubt is cast on this date as when Robert Jennis leased the house in 1765 it was described as 'that new built mansion house'.[6]

The land and buildings occupied by the Customs House and the adjacent Bradwell Lodge are organised differently now from the arrangement shown on the 1812 Enclosure Map.[7] The Customs House occupies land awarded to Francis A Wheatley but now extends into part of the site which formed the tenth award to Legge, Sales and Dean. This means that Bradwell Lodge occupies only a small section of the latter.

From the deeds of the property it appears that the Customs Commissioners never owned the building. In fact when it was built it seems to have belonged first to Robert Burton and then from 1676 to John Burton,[6] one of whom presumably owned Burton's Wharf mentioned in the 1676 regulation limiting landing places for goods.

Apart from the customs business being conducted in the building we know that the officers also lived there. In 1753 there were five; the Collector Peter Coble, the Waiter and Searcher Daniel Clarke, and three other officers were all in residence.[24] We know that Clarke had a wife and four children and possibly the other officers had families.

On 5 June 1853 the customs business was transferred from Cley to the port of Wells.[1] Since then the property has had several owners and occupiers. In the 1901 census the house was occupied by William E. Newton, his wife, one year old son Kenneth, his Father-in-Law, Frederick Stangroom, and a servant. Mr Newton's profession is given as *'living on own means'*[21] but in the 1910 edition of *Kelly's Directory* he is in the Commercial list rather than the private residents.[19] He had earlier been articled to an architect in London but gave that up when he received a considerable inheritance and returned to Cley.

3. The Old Granary

The building known as The Old Granary stands on part of the third award to John Ellis in the 1812 Enclosure at that time held as Copyhold of the Manor of Cley.[7] None of the buildings on the Enclosure Map equates to the existing building, but a building of similar size and position can be seen on the 1887 Ordnance Survey.

Richard Newton whose father owned the building understands that it had been the principle store for grain, flour etc. when the mill was flourishing.[25] It was bought by John Boon of publishers Mills & Boon in the 1960s[26] from Kenneth Ernest Newton who had run a building construction and joinery business from

Photograph 2. The High Street in the early 20th century. *The first two buildings on the left were demolished for the erection of Maisons Bienvenue. The third one against the gable end is on what is now the forecourt of Quay House.*

there, some of the time with George Massingham and Ray High.[22] Before he had the Granary Mr Newton had worked in the building between the Customs House and the Mill which is now called *'Customs House Annexe'*.

Before the 1955 flood defences were built the owners of The Gables on the High Street had a right of way through the building to the Quay.[26] This possibly reinforces the suggestion that the building had been part of the mill complex because in 1910 Stephen Barnabas Burroughs was living at The Gables.[13] After Mr Boon acquired the property a small building was demolished to allow the right of way to be moved to the south west boundary of the site. This small building was a cottage occupied by Mary Piggott and her family[22] and, although small, may have been where Israel Lewis and possibly previous millers lived. (**see Map 2B**)

Mr Boon converted the granary to suit his family's holiday needs with entrance hall, utility accommodation, garages and boathouse on the ground floor, kitchen and living rooms at first floor level and bedrooms etc. above. After the deaths of both Mr Boon and his wife the property was sold in about 2001 to its present owner who has made further alterations particularly to the ground floor and to the first floor windows.

4. Quay House

The two-storey property now known as Quay House stands on land awarded in 1812 to Corbet Cooke.[7] On the Enclosure Map buildings are shown on the High Street frontage and running back on the south west side of the site towards the quay. The 1887 and 1906 Ordnance Survey maps both retain the buildings on the frontage but show another structure further back on the south-west boundary, which is probably part of the present building. The building on the frontage facing the High Street can also be seen in some early photographs.

The building at the rear of the site has been described as a former boatshed but for at least the last fifty years it has been a house. In between, from 1926 until the 1950s, it was one of Cley's three garages. It was run by Mr Freddie Grand and Mr Alec Stangroom, but after Mr

Grand's death in 1954 it was not long before Mr Stangroom closed the business and sold the property.[27]

In the 1980s and 90s the house was owned by the distinguished writer on cookery and its history, Mary Norwak. She lived on the first floor but had a large kitchen for demonstrations on the ground floor.

5. Maisons Bienvenues

The land on which this terrace of four houses was built formed part of the 12th Legge, Sales & Dean Award in the 1812 Enclosure.[7] The Enclosure Map shows the plot stretching from the High Street to the river with buildings along the High Street frontage and an isolated building behind. It is described in the award as: *'the 12th Allotment containing by measure 1 rod on which a Granary stood together with the blacksmith's shop traverse-warehouse and other buildings standing and being on the said piece of land'*.[7]

Extensive searches have failed to find any reference to a 'traverse warehouse' but one might guess it to have been a building into which goods were put from the quayside and taken out on the landward side or perhaps just that the building stretched right across the site. Alternatively it seems that an open shed on the side of a smithy could be called a travis[28] and this word derives from traverse.[29]

In the fieldbook of the survey that was made under the Inland Revenue Finance Act 1910 the owner is given as *'J.W.Porritt exec's of: Ivy Bank, Cley'*[13] which means that it belonged to Mr Porritt who had recently died. The occupier is given as Henry Podman, but this was probably a misspelling of Podmore, as the 1911 Census lists a Henry Podmore.[21] The description of the property is *'carpenter's'* and £50 was deducted from the £160 valuation as it was copyhold.[13]

The 1887 Ordnance Survey (OS) map shows the footprint of the buildings on the site and two late 19th or early 20th century photographs show the range of small buildings on the frontage (**see Photo 2**). In 1919 the site was owned by Edith Marie Seales, wife of James Edward Seales of Blakeney, who sold it to Earnest Alfred Stangroom, Auctioneer and Estate Agent for £150.[30] In 1920/21 he cleared the site and built the existing terrace of four cottages to which, for reasons so far unknown, he gave the name Maisons Bienvenues and in 1926 he sold them to Louis John Tillett JP.[30]

All the houses had access from the quay via a gate to the rear of house No 3 and access to a pump on the boundary between Nos 2 & 3. This appears to have been the only water supply until the well went brackish after the 1953 floods when all the houses were put onto mains drainage and mains water supply.[27]

Louis Tillett became the owner of all the property on the north side of the High Street from the house opposite The George Hotel called Riverside to Quay House, together with a large plot to the south of the High Street adjacent to the old arch. He died in 1929 and in 1934 all properties were put up for auction in twelve separate lots by his executors.[30] The Maisons Bienvenues houses were listed as being let at £22 10s per year.[13] Since then they have each been separately owned and although three have had periods as holiday cottages all are now in permanent occupation.

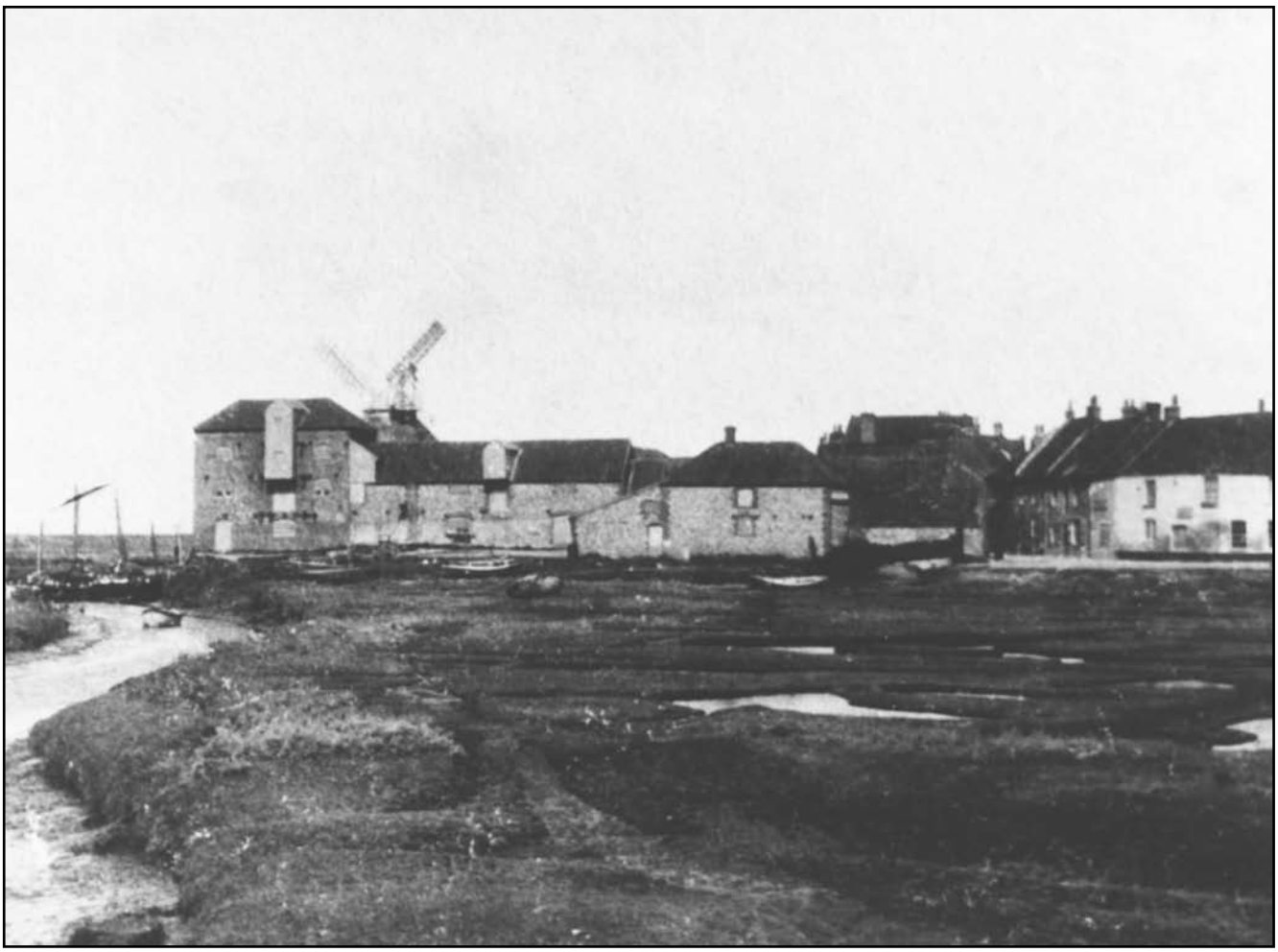
No 1 Maisons Bienvenue was one of several houses in the village with South African names. They were named after ships of Bullard King's Natal Direct Line which were all given Zulu names.[31] No l was Umvolosi and there, from c1970 until 1988, Jack and Nancy Gull ran a cafe known to all the birding community as *'Nancy's'*; this became the unofficial centre for the birders' nationwide information grapevine. When the cafe closed in December 1988 the event was reported in the national press and on local and national radio and television.

6. Beau Rivage

At the time of the 1812 Enclosure Award the site on which the terrace of houses known as Beau Rivage stand was awarded to Thomas Jackson.[7] He had various trading and shipping interests and the remnant of the Holflete channel which ran beside the property was labelled Jackson's Creek on the Map for the 1824 Enclosure Award.[9] He died in 1833 and by 1841 the property was in the ownership of John Sayers and the occupiers listed as *'Robert Brereton, his son John and his nephew Randall'*.[9] In 1841 Randall Brereton was the owner of the *'Premier'*, the first steam tug to operate in Blakeney Harbour.[32]

Maps dated 1812, 1824, 1841, 1887 & 1906 show various arrangements of buildings on the site and a range of two and three storey buildings appear on several photographs (**see Photo 3**). These were probably warehouses, a maltings and a brewery. In his little book on Cley, Brooks says: *'...there have been at least two breweries in the village, one operating in premises behind the old Institute, this closing about 1890'*. He also mentions: *'a Counting House, a malthouse and three granaries belonging to Turner & Sons who also had interests in the Blakeney trade'*.[33]

These old buildings were partially demolished early in the twentieth century. Freda Starr says that *'the Institute and the row of houses behind it was in the process of being built when we came to Cley'*.[20] That was in 1906 (**see Photo 4**). By 1913 when the surveys for the 1910 Finance Act were carried out the terrace of houses had been completed and given the name *'Beau Rivage'*.[13] The front walls of these houses are about 530mm (l'-9") thick indicating that the



Photograph 3. The warehouses etc. on the Beau Rivage site before 1897 when the old George Public House was replaced by the present hotel.

warehouses were not completely demolished. In 1913 all the houses were freehold and belonged to E.C.Turner of Blakeney.[13]

By 1934 the houses had come into the ownership of Louis Tillett and in the auction mentioned above the houses were offered in pairs and listed as being let at £13. 5s. 4d each per annum. That is approximately 25p per week. No 7, which housed the caretaker, was included with the Institute in lot 5.[13] At present only two of the houses are permanently occupied, the others all being holiday accommodation.

7. St Margaret's formerly The Institute

Although within the area awarded to Thomas Jackson in 1812 the building at the High Street end of the site always seems to have been different and separate from the warehouses. On the first Enclosure Map a building is shown with a roughly square plan stretching out almost across the High Street (**see Map 2A**).

The 1841 Tithe Map[9] shows a very different footprint, but the 1887 OS map shows a more convincing plan (**see Map 2B**) that may well represent the Cley Reading Room which is known to have existed by 1879.[19] The Reading Room was listed in each of *Kelly's* directories up to 1904 which lists in addition a *'Public Hall, erected 1896, will seat 200'*. This was the building further along the High Street called The Town Hall which, according to Peter Brooks had been converted from a granary in 1896.[33]

Copies of *Kelly's Directory* up to 1933[19] list *'Cley Institute'* and give the name of the current secretary and in one case the caretaker as well. The particulars and description noted in the survey field-book for the 1910 Act reads: *'Rough-cast & tiled. Billiard Room, Shooting Range, Stove place, Bagatelle Room on lower floor. Small Concert Room & Reading Room First floor. (Sliding doors separate these two rooms) Wooden floors throughout. Distempered walls. Modern'*.[13] This is clearly the building as sold in 1934. If it was considered 'modern' in August 1913 when the survey was carried out and was under construction in 1906 then it cannot be the building first noted in 1879 [20] (**see Photo 4**). The Reading Room it seems was demolished and replaced by the Institute.

At the auction of Louis Tillett's properties in 1934, the Institute and No 7 Beau Rivage (where the caretaker lived) were bought by Miss

Photograph 4. The Institute and Beau Rivage in the early 20th century.

Celia Julia Macleod for the sum of £300.[34] Miss Macleod, who was the sister of Mrs Monement at The Green[35] then conveyed it the following year to Cley Parish Church Council and Norwich Diocesan Board of Finance for *'ecclesiastical purposes'*. At that time the building still had a semi-basement billiard room, five feet below ground level, which was entered down some steps on the south-west side of the building plus a large hall/reading room above, approached by an external staircase from the High Street. In the sales particulars it was noted as *'The Men's Institute'*, but it seems they were only using the Billiard Room, as the first floor is listed as *'sublet to the Women's Institute'*.[36]

When the building was considered redundant, it was sold in June 1975 to the late Sir David Hughes Bt.[37] This was presumably not unconnected with the building of the Village Hall in The Fairstead which is dated 1978 on its facade. Sir David converted the building for family use and holiday-letting and renamed it St Margaret's. He inserted a new floor with bedrooms and bathroom at ground level and an internal staircase to link to cloakroom, kitchen and spacious sitting room above. The external staircase was retained but modified with a small door inserted in the side for ground floor access. This access proved damp and unsatisfactory and in 1998 the external staircase was replaced by a new entrance hall under a first floor balcony, providing the occupants for the first time with an external sitting area.

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Ralph Greneway: more than a myth

Pamela Peake

Synopsis: this article explores Ralph Greneway and his close relatives through the content of surviving wills, establishing them as a close-knit successful Tudor family. Geographically they spread from rural Norfolk to the city of London where they became prosperous merchants and members of the governing elite, yet never seemingly forgetting their place of birth.

Introduction

Ralph Greneway was born in Wiveton, during the second decade of the 1500s. He was the son of John and Agnes Greneway and whilst his father was an established and prosperous Tudor ship-owner, enjoying a comfortable living, the memorials in the parish church reveal that Ralph left his family behind and made both his future and fortune in London as a grocer. Although much is known and has been written about his charity for Wiveton, his close family and the years that he spent in London have remained largely unknown.

This article begins by establishing the identity of the nuclear family in Wiveton prior to the advent of parish registers, when documents at a local level are scarce and family papers for this middling level of society are virtually non-existent. Much has to be gleaned from wills, although these documents are primarily concerned with establishing the identity of executors and heirs.

It is the plethora of records from London however that has proved so useful in expanding knowledge of Ralph as a grocer and then revealing the presence of his Wiveton-born siblings and their spouses; records that have miraculously, survived the Great Fire and two World Wars. They identify both business networks and familial associations with the startling revelation that a brother and two nephews at least were grocers and there were probably two more in the family, a half-brother and brother-in-law, making six grocers in all!

Suffice to say that the popular notion of Ralph Greneway being an orphan found on a 'green way' is totally dispelled, but he did make his fortune in London and his farsighted legacy to both the poor and church alike of *'Wyfton … being wheare I was borne'*, came from a deep sense of belonging to North Norfolk.[1]

Indeed, with no Greneway surname ever featuring in Wiveton parish registers, it is his bequest to the parish and the memorials in Wiveton and Cley churches that are a testament to the Greneway family.[2]

Family surnames came in many guises during this period and a standard form has been adopted in the text while some of the more common variants are noted below, in brackets. The main variations are: Greneway; (Greenaway, Grenwaie, Greynwaye, Greenewaye and Grenway). Howland; (Howlande, Houland, Houlande and Holland). Allen; (Alen, Aleyn and Allyn). Hales; (Halys and Hailes). Wooley; (Woolley, Wolley).

Early days in Wiveton

Ralph's childhood years were spent in Wiveton with his parents, John and Agnes Greneway and siblings. There is evidence he was born about 1517/18 (see page 50).

It was also where his paternal grandparents had been buried in the parish church before St John. Wiveton at this time, together with Blakeney and Cley, was one of the flourishing ports that together were classed as a creek of Yarmouth. It was located on the west bank of the River Glaven facing Newgate Green in Cley across the tidal marshes. Fishermen were sailing as far away as Iceland for cod or staying closer to home for herring, while mariners were trading in coastal waters and overseas, taking corn and malt away and bringing back coals from Newcastle or goods from elsewhere such as bay salt from the continent.

One estimate of the population total for Cley, Wiveton and Blakeney, in 1522, gives between 1,000 to 1,200 inhabitants living in 230 households.[3] An Elizabethan Ship survey of 1565 is more revealing when it lists 100 households for Cley and 80 each for Wiveton and Blakeney from which was calculated a population of approxi-

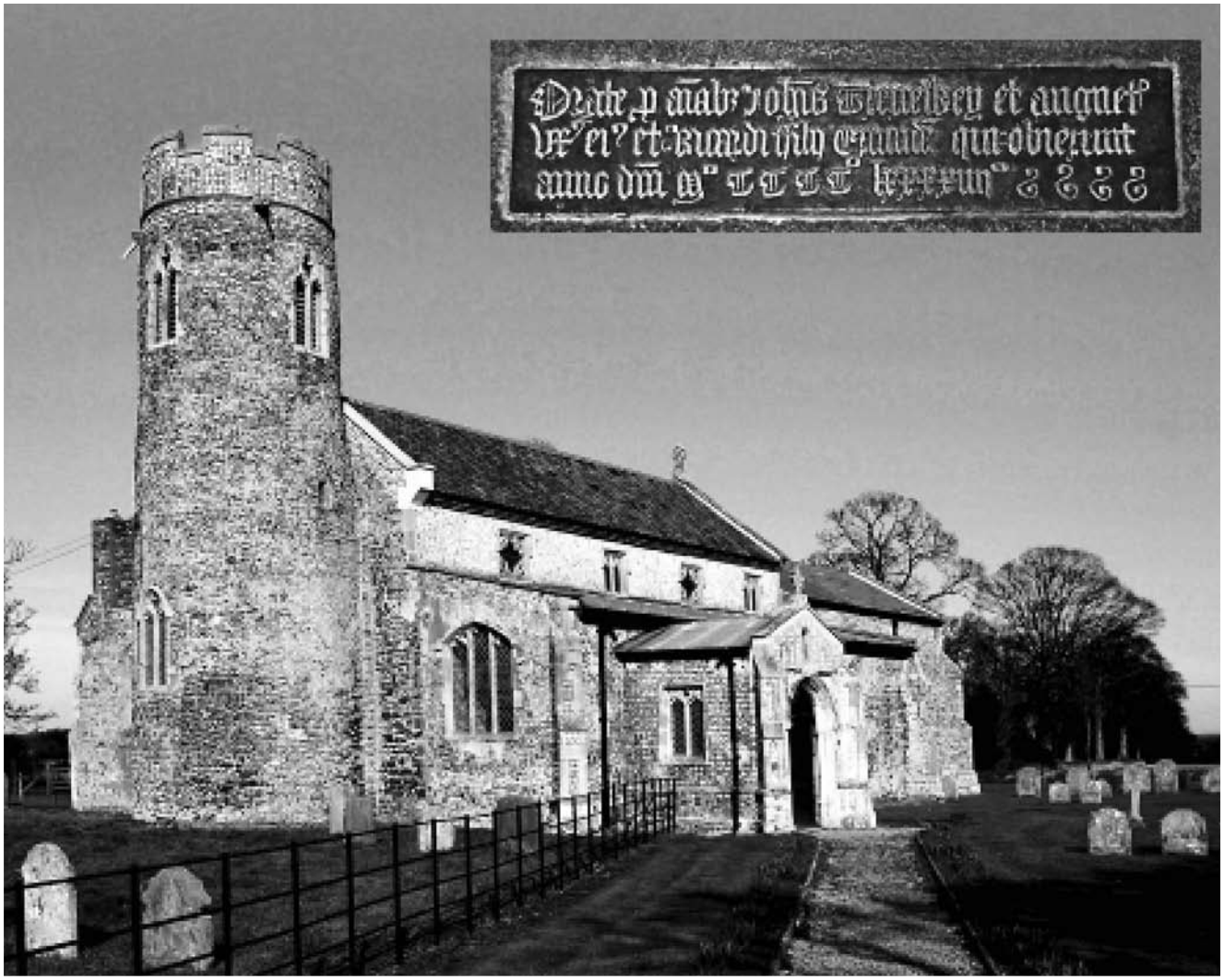

Figure 1. Wickmere Church where John Greneway of Wiveton left money towards the repair of an aisle.[2] *The inset features a brass located in the south aisle. It is for an even earlier John Grenewey, Agnes his wife and son Richard, dated 1494.*

mately 400 each for Wiveton and Blakeney and 500 for Cley.[4] Wiveton was clearly a substantial settlement.

This is the picture of Wiveton that Ralph carried away with him, superimposed with memories of his family, friends and childhood experiences.

His Parents

The earliest record for Ralph's father, that is also the earliest for any Greneway in the immediate area, comes from the Chamberlains Accounts for Newcastle Upon Tyne 1508-1511.[5] There is just one entry, dated 26th January 1510, that logs '*The* Mare *off Wyffton John Greynwaye'* master, arriving in the north with 5 tons of ballast and 5 chaldrons of barley then leaving with 20 chaldrons of coal. This indicates Ralph's father was a mariner, but with only one visit to Newcastle during those three to four years of records.

Then, 12 years later, a measure of John Greneway's wealth can be gauged from the Military Survey of 1522.[3] This lists him as the fourth wealthiest man amongst those of Cley, Blakeney and Wiveton. Essentially this was a muster of all able-bodied men aged between 16-60 who could be called upon to fight for Henry VIII. At the same time it included an assessment of their wealth based on the valuation of goods, rather than income from land, of which he had 80 acres. With no other Greneway featuring it is reasonable to assume that Ralph and any of his brothers were not yet 16 years of age.

The values assessed in this survey provides an opportunity to place John Greneway amongst his peers;

- John Kyngs of Wiveton at £233-6-8
- John Deye of Wiveton at £100
- Thomas Holtyng of Blakeney at £80
- John Greneway of Wiveton at £66-13-4
- Followed by John Pawe and John Barker sen., both of Blakeney, each at £ 50
- William Dall was the richest inhabitant in Cley at £30

In August 1525, three years after the survey, John Greneway made his will (proved 1528),

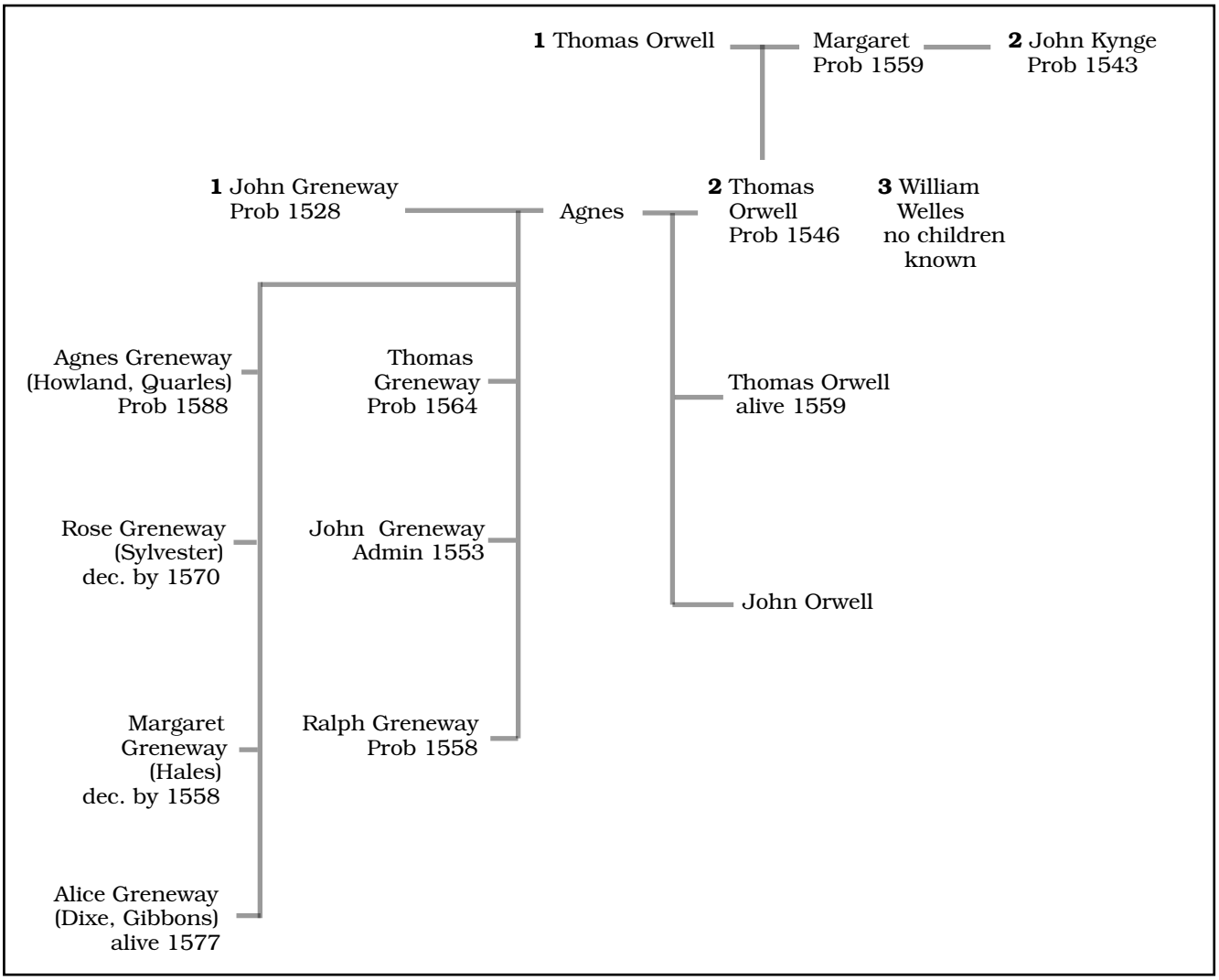

Figure 2. Diagram of Ralph Greneway's immediate family. *With no dates known for the birth of John and Agnes Greneway's children they have been listed in two columns; daughters on the left with their respective married surnames in brackets, and sons to their right. The two Orwell half-brothers, from the marriage of their mother to her second husband Thomas Orwell, are to the far right. Probate years relate to relevant wills and administrations.*[1, 2]

describing himself as a yeoman and so no longer a mariner.[2] His assets ranged from land in Wiveton with associated buildings and various items of husbandry to a house by the church gate, a new hall, a *'hede house'* and six ships, assets indeed, confirming his wealth as both landowner and ship owner.

The land together with the farm buildings and equipment, except for the masts in the tackle house, were to be sold immediately to meet funeral expenses and bequests. These bequests amounted to just over £40 and were essentially for churches, friaries and lazer (leper) houses. Heading the list, after Wiveton church, was 10 marks (a mark was worth 13s 4d) to repair an aisle at Wickmere church and £50 for the church at Wolterton (now in ruins), both located 5 and 4 miles north-west of Aylsham, respectively.

The sale of John Greneway's house by the church gate and the ships was interesting because they were to be sold for money *'in hande and by yere'*, to provide an annual income of £80. The house, for example, was to be sold to three young men while the ships, with their apparel, were to be sold in pairs; the *Mary Thomas* and the great *Trinitie* together, then the *Antonye* with the *Mary Christopher* and finally the little *Trinitie* with the hoye. The income was for his wife and children, she to enjoy his new hall as her dwelling place for her lifetime.

Agnes, his wife, was the only member of the family named when John Greneway made her executrix. His parents remained anonymous when he requested burial in Wiveton church at the south side of their burial place before St John. His children were identified simply as *'my men children'* and *'every maide Childe'*, making two of each at least and all seemingly underage. It was to be another 20 years before a document reveals their identity.

The tantalizing information in this will was, however, the bequests to the churches at Wick-

mere (Figure 1) and Wolterton. Was this the 'ancestral homeland' of the Greneways? There are records of several generations residing in and around Wickmere throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. The link is reinforced as Andrew Greneway of Wickmere named William Greneway of Wickmere and John Greneway of Wiveton as his executors in 1510.[2] The probability is that they were all relations who must have maintained close contact.

New Fathers for Ralph

Agnes Greneway married twice more after John died, first to Thomas Orwell of Aylsham by whom she had two more sons, then William Welles, merchant of Yarmouth. The Orwell sons of the second marriage, Thomas and John, were half-brothers to Ralph and his siblings (Figure 2).

By marrying Thomas Orwell, Agnes Greneway certainly increased her social status and secured further stability for her children. She also gained John Kynges, wealthiest man in the lower Glaven valley, as her new father-in-law for he had taken Thomas's widowed mother, Margaret Orwell, as his second wife. Moreover, the Orwells were wealthy in their own right with extensive property in and around Aylsham.

When Thomas died Agnes married for a third time, William Welles, but virtually nothing is known of this marriage except it had occurred by 1547 when Henry Allen clerk, as executor of Thomas Orwell's will, contested William Welles for the *'new built hall'*, the property originally left to Agnes by her first husband, John Greneway.[6] The outcome of this action is not known. Where Ralph's mother lived with her third husband and when she died remains a complete mystery.

Brothers and Sisters

Thomas Orwell's will reveals the names of two Greneway brothers, Thomas and John and two unmarried Greneway sisters, Margaret and Alice. It transpires that one person who witnessed the will was Sir William Greneway, clerk, whose relationship was not given! However there were two William Greneways, both clerks in the area, and the more likely candidate was at Felmingham as he was the son of Andrew Greneway of Wickmere.[2]

However it is Ralph himself that provides the most telling evidence.[1] He names virtually every member of his family from brothers and sisters, dead or alive, to their respective spouses and children in his will, made 1558 as Rauf Greeneway, (Figure 2):

- '*brother Thomas Greenewaye of Cley'* and his daughter Ciceley
- *'Alice Dixe wedowe sister'* and her children Thomas, John and Blandina
- *'Rose Sylvester my suster'* wife of Thomas and their children, not named
- John and Agnes the children of *'Margarete Hales my late sister deceased'*
- *'Agnes Houlande suster'* wife of John Howland and their children Richard, John, William, Robert, Giles, William the younger, Nicholas and James
- *'brother John Orwell'*

Missing from the will is any reference to his oldest half-brother, Thomas Orwell who was certainly alive when his grandmother, Margarett Kyngs mentioned him in her will (proved 1559) and then his brother John Grenewey who had died in 1553 (see page 51). Rather intriguingly, there are two John Greneweys named in the will with no indication of relationship given. One is a much younger John, *'my servunte John Greeneway'* who is to have £80 on completion of his apprenticeship. The other is John Greneway, barber and his wife.

Unknown are the names of Thomas Greneway's wife, the husbands of Margaret Hales and Alice Dixe, together with the names of any brothers and sisters that may have died much earlier in life. Thus, while Thomas and John Greneway appear to have been older than Ralph, and Agnes and Rose older than Margaret and Alice, we simply do not know when any of them were born. Ralph shared his childhood in the lower Glaven valley with, at least, these six siblings and may possibly still have been at home when the two Orwell half-brothers were born.

Becoming a Grocer

Within four years of his father's death, Ralph left Wiveton for London when he was apprenticed to Ambrose Wooley, 1st January, 1532, (**Figure 3**).[7] He was exchanging Wiveton for the bustling metropolis of Tudor London with some 60,000 to 100,000 people putting it on a par with Paris, Tours and Florence.[8]

Far from being alone in London, the Grocers' Company records show that Ralph's older brother, John, had been apprenticed two years earlier in 1530 to the grocer William Mathew.[7]

It was not unusual for younger sons to be sent away to better themselves in London, in a craft or trade, by well-connected parents who could make significant financial contribution to their training. Whether this had been arranged by their father before his death or by their mother and her new husband is simply not known. Substance, influence and connections would have been essential to facilitate the best placements and John Kynges with his connections could have exercised significant influence both as a sponsor and by providing insider knowledge. The choice of master was crucial for the master had to be both successful at his trade, if the lad was to get the best instruction, and sym-

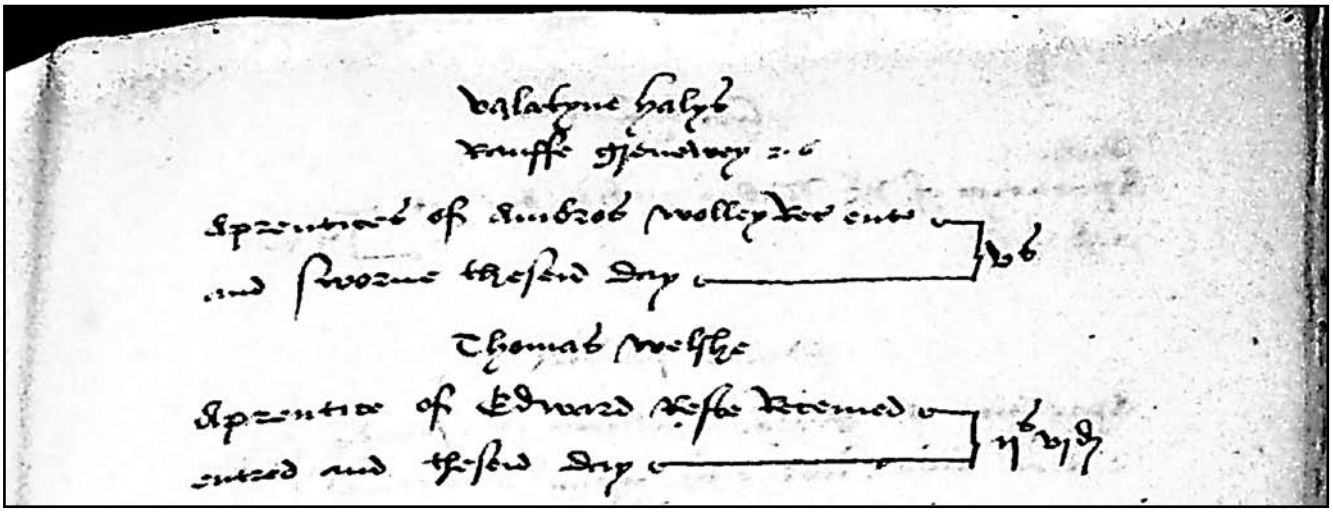

Figure 3. Apprentices. *The names of 'Valatyne Halys' and 'Rauffe Grenewey' entered as apprentices to Ambrose Wolley for the sum of 5s. By courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Grocers.*

pathetic to the boy's needs, for once an agreement had been signed it was nigh on impossible to change.

The Apprentice

Ambrose Wooley proved to be a particularly apt choice for Ralph. His status and regard within the company as an established liveryman allowed him to take on two apprentices at the same time, 'Valatyne Halys' being the other lad signing up with Ralph (Figure 3).[7] Apprentices were expected to be literate and numerate and were often required to write out and sign an oath of loyalty to their master's company thereby proving their literacy. They also had to abide by a strict code of conduct; no playing of cards, dice or other similar games, no frequenting of taverns or playhouses, no fornication or marriage and no absence from service, either night or day, without permission.

In return, masters undertook to train them or see to it that their apprentices were instructed in all aspects of the trade, fed, clothed and provided with lodgings according to the custom of London. It was a financial undertaking for the merchant had paid his company for the privilege when he registered them. Lodging was more often than not in the master's own house 'above the shop', living with the family, household servants and other assistants who may have been either older apprentices or freemen employed by the master.

The period of apprenticeship for the Grocers' Company at this time was generally between 7 and 8 years and learning was by watching and doing, there were neither formal lessons nor books or manuals. Numeracy skills quickly became honed to commercial arithmetic and double entry book keeping, all developed by the end of the 13th century having been made possible by Fibonacci when he introduced the use of Arabic numerals to Italy. Apprentices would learn how to calculate exchange rates, translate weights and measures between countries and even how to reckon compound interest.[8]

When merchants were not dealing direct with customers, the business became more complex. Long distance business with suppliers and consumers would involve intermediaries, factors or agents, sets of books to record the transactions and the writing of letters. Little wonder that the drop out rate for apprentices was as high as three in five.

Wooley was a typically litigious Tudor grocer with a number of cases in Chancery where he was cited as either the complainant or the defendant. He was a property buyer as well as a money-lender, with interests extending throughout England from Huntingdon to Yorkshire, Leicester, Surrey and Kent.

As a trader there are just two cases recorded in Chancery, one being an action '*for goods sent from beyond sea*' the other concerning raisins that were to be removed from a cellar in St. Dunstan's in the East.[9] Industrial action is also noted when John Goodman of the City of London, carter, sued Ambrose Wooley for compensation for injury caused by neglect.[10] At some time in his life Ambrose Wooley became a Merchant Tailor and also appears to have had a brief spell in prison.

Ambrose Wooley became Master of the Grocers' Company in 1534, or Upper Warden as it was known at that time, with all its obligations, pomp and ceremony that Ralph couldn't fail to observe and perhaps aspire to. Perhaps he witnessed Ambrose in full livery and saw him in the Company barge when he accompanied the newly elected Lord Mayor in procession by water to Westminster to swear allegiance to the monarch. It undoubtedly added a further dimension to his basic training. Thus by the end of his apprenticeship, Ralph would have learnt the rudiments

of the grocery trade, been introduced to a network of suppliers, and experienced dealing with a variety of commodities and much more besides considering the status of his master.

Freeman and Citizen of London

To be a Freeman and citizen of London was essential for those who wished to have a vote in the governance o the City and to live and trade there without being subject to toll charges and other petty restrictions. Generally there were three ways this could be achieved;

- By servitude – granted on completion of an apprenticeship
- By patrimony – granted to the son of a Freeman
- By redemption – granted on payment of a fee

Ralph gained his Freedom and citizenship on the 6th July 1540, by servitude, the more usual route of the three.[11] He had completed 7½ years of training and was probably aged between 22 and 23. Many historians have used the date a man became a freeman to calculate a birth year and estimate his life expectancy, although this is not without its problems.[12] By the same reckoning, Ralph was born about 1517/8 and his brother John, two years earlier.

Although John cannot be found entered as a Freeman in the Warden's Accounts, because the relevant page for 1538 is missing, subsequent events show that he too had completed his apprenticeship and was not a drop-out.

On a wider front, the brothers had become members of a very old London Livery Company that first appeared as pepperers in the 12th century, dealing with pepper, spices and drugs. By the 15th century they were known as grocers and at this time still included the apothecaries. As wholesale merchants, dealing in bulk, they were more properly called grossers. In addition, spices were one of the very few long-distance trades, arriving overland from the east until sea routes were discovered. The company charters, granted in 1428, gave the Grocers legal right to hold property as they built their hall in Princes Street, opposite the Bank of England. This was the first of five halls that were subsequently built on the same site, and it was the one the brothers would have known.[13]

At the same time the Grocers had a silver seal engraved with their recently-acquired arms: *Argent* à Chevron *Gules* between nine Cloves *Sable;* where argent is silver, gules is red and sable is black, the cloves highlighting their identity with spices from the east. These arms were used as decoration in the new hall, on their ceremonial banners, and by individual grocers including the two Greneway brothers. Rather strangely, they were not formally granted by the College of Arms until the next century, 1532, the very year that Ralph arrived in London. The supporters, griffins, were granted at the same time while the crest came much later, 1562, too late for Ralph and John to either know or use.

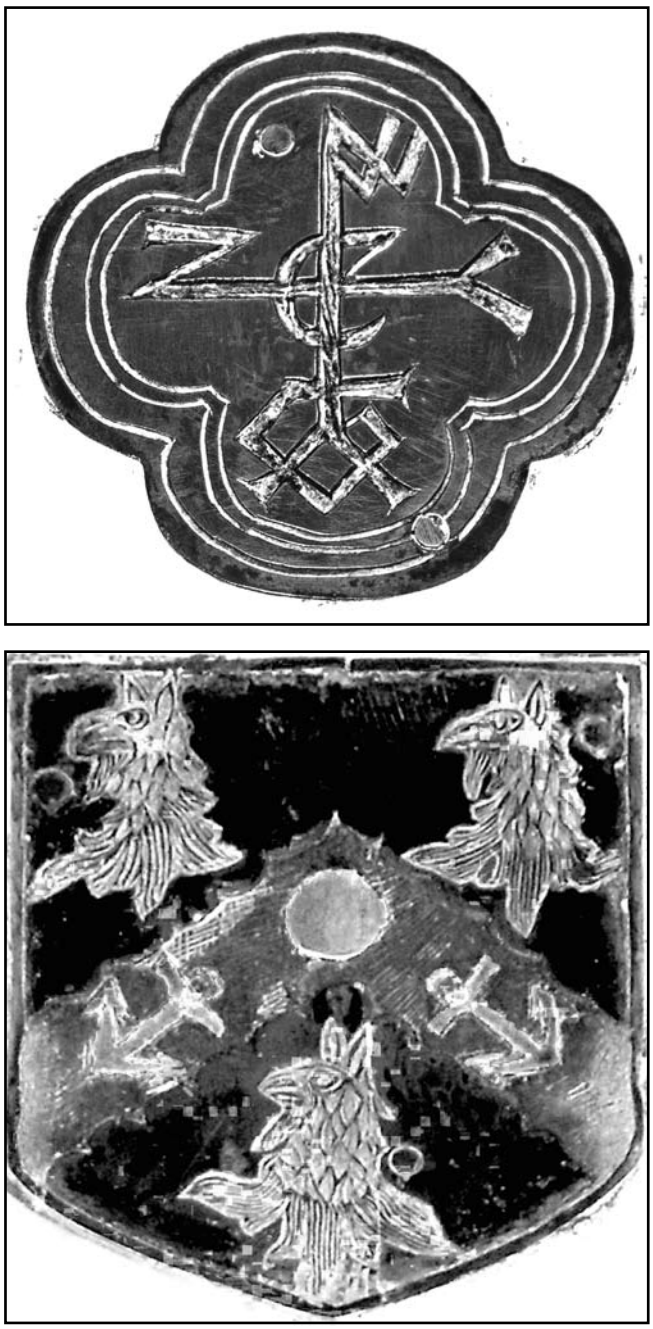

Figure 4. The Greneway brasses. *Two of the four brasses featured on the Greneway memorial in Wiveton church; the quatrefoil with merchant's mark above and the Greneway family arms below.*

Grocers frequently incorporated griffins into their personal arms to signify guardians of treasure, indicative of the rich, exotic nature of their trade. This is exactly what the Greneways did with three griffin heads and a pair of anchors and a bezant (roundel) on the chevron, as portrayed on the wall of the south aisle at Wiveton today.

It should be noted that the present day Grenaway memorial is a modern assemblage of four,

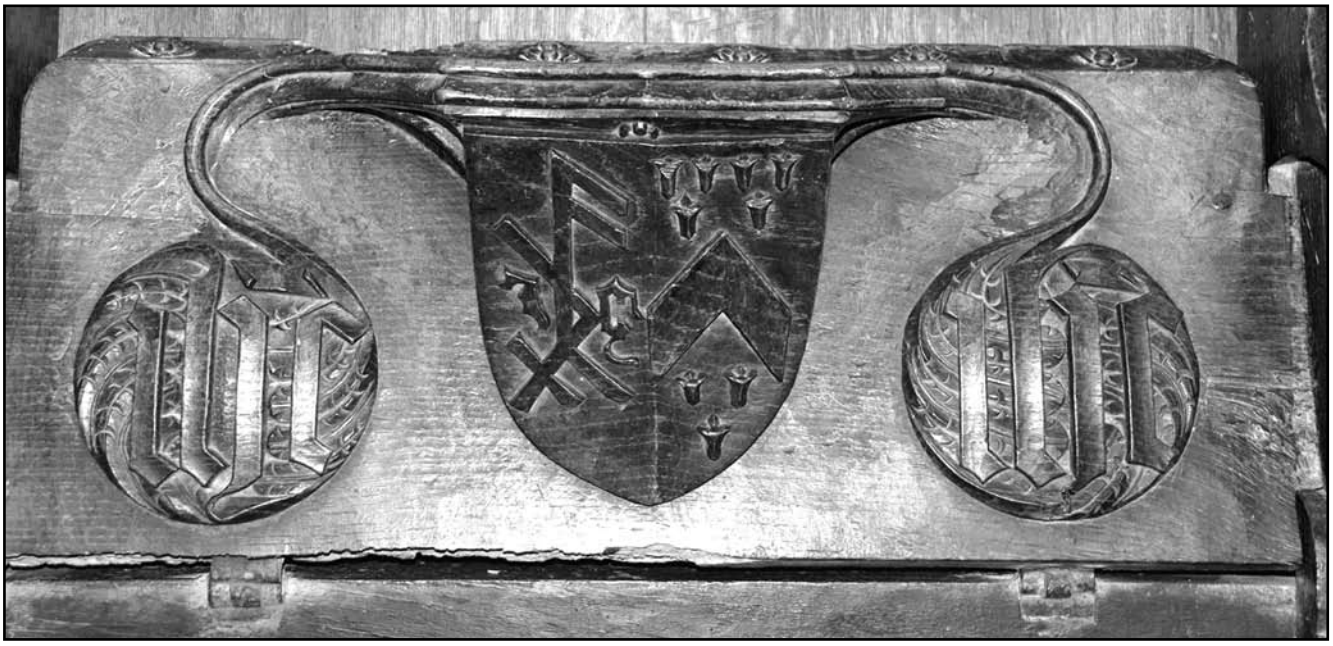

Figure 5. John Greneway's merchant mark. *John Greneway's mark and initials with the Grocers' arms, as carved on the underside of the misericords in the chancel of Cley church.*

separate brasses that were collected together last century and mounted on a marble slab. Some 250 years earlier however, the Greneway arms, *'Argent*, on a chevron engrailed, *vert*, between three griffins heads erased, *gules*, a bezant between two anchors, *or*' where vert is green and or is gold, were located in the chancel of Wiveton church.[14]

All four of these brasses were probably made locally and it has been suggested that their rather crude quality was not the work of London craftsmen.[15] It is not known which member of the family was actually granted arms. The merchant's mark employed posses a further conundrum. It appears to have a 'T' wrapped around the central shaft rather than 'R', for Ralph, see **Figure 4.** It is not unreasonable to suggest that Thomas Greneway, as executor for Ralph, organized the brass inscription for his brother and was probably responsible for the other brasses, adding his 'own' merchant mark!

Grocers at last

At last the brothers were free to trade as grocers, albeit on the lowest rung, and whilst Ralph elected to spend the rest of his life in London, John soon left. He returned to the Glaven, living in Cley. He would no doubt have traded locally and even perhaps acted as an agent for Ralph in London. However, there are no written records to support this notion and administration was granted to his widow Alice when he died in 1553 without leaving a will.[2] It is his initials with the grocers arms that are carved on the misericords in the chancel of Cley church (**Figure 5**).

Some twenty years later, an entry in the Admissions Alphabet Book reveals that he had a son, also called John, who followed in his father's footsteps and became a grocer by patrimony in 1576.[16] The entry reads *'Son of John Greneway, buried at Cley-next-the-Sea'*. It is also entered in the Warden's Accounts as *'the sone of John Greneway late a brother of this company decessed entryd and sworne the vij day of Auguste 1576'*.[17] So here we have a third Greneway grocer, born between 1540 and 1553. Could he be the young John Greneway, servant in Ralph's household, mentioned earlier?

Returning to Ralph it is most unlikely that he had sufficient capital to set up immediately as an independent grocer. Indeed the company actually discouraged this, insisting that freeman gain permission from the wardens first and then paid an entry fee. More likely Ralph worked as an employee, gathering the goodwill and respect of established merchants and creating contacts with suppliers, all the while building up capital.[13]

In the early 1550s however, Ralph was independent with a shop or warehouse and lodgings for he had an apprentice, Radolphe Fitzwilliams.[17] Financially this was an attractive option because apprentices were largely funded by their parents, whereas it was employees and servants that required wages. Whether Ralph had arrived at this point entirely by his own endeavours is not known, he could have used his inheritance and earnings or had financial assistance from his old master or even a loan from the company. But to progress any further and attain the status of a liveryman required considerable income.

Marriage

One option for advancement was marriage, more specifically marriage to a successful merchant's widow. The latter was an attractive proposition for if contracted wisely it could bring capital with an established business. It was an acknowledged way of absorbing young freemen into the merchant society and assisting in their careers, thereby offering rapid advancement on several fronts.[12]

Ralph did just that when he married Katherine Allen, widow of Jesper Allen, draper. Moreover, she was of Spanish descent and the daughter of John Soday, Princess Mary's apothecary. Ralph and Katherine were wed at St Nicholas Acons, London, shortly before Xmas on 4th December, 1551.[18] He gained an instant family of three young children, the boys John and William and a daughter Mary (Margery) Allen, half a new built house in Fenchurch Street – the other half being left to the children – and access to Katherine's third of her late husband's assets.

Exactly how Ralph used Jesper's business is not known but it is significant to note that Jesper had two apprentices at the time of making his will in 1548 (proved 1551), one of them being Richard Soday, his wife's brother.[2] Perhaps more telling was reference to John Robyns, his factor, living and working in Andalusia, Spain, for in the years that followed, Richard Soday became Ralph's factor in Andalusia.

Marrying into the Soday family undoubtedly opened up two new avenues for Ralph, one being trade with Spain the other, a way into the court at Westminster through his father-in-law, when Mary became Queen in 1553. The worlds of court and commerce were closely combined in London and offered an even greater variety of trade options for the merchant elite.[19]

Whether Ralph was a general merchant dealing with many commodities, specializing or investing in properties for revenue is not known. The only clue is that he was in trouble with the crown in the 1550s when prosecuted for forestalling train oil.[20] This is whale oil although formerly, it was oil from seals and codfish and other similar sources. The three offences connected with markets at that time were;

- Forestalling – intercepting goods before they got to market
- Engrossing – buying up total supply of a commodity to resell at an inflated price
- Regrating – buying in one market to sell in another

If the ultimate goal for an ambitious freeman was to rise through the ranks to the top and serve as Lord Mayor, Ralph had moved several steps closer when he married and became a liveryman. He was now a member of a formally constituted fraternity of like-minded prosperous craftsmen of similar social and professional ambitions.[21] With his business established, he was poised for advancement.

The Years of Promise

Membership of the livery was a valued prize for ambitious freemen for it brought with it both spiritual and social benefits, privileges and obligations. The greatest privilege was to take part in elections on Midsummer Day when two Sheriffs were elected, then later on Michaelmas Day for the election of the Lord Mayor.[22]

In return, liverymen were obliged to adhere to a strict dress code of gown and hood in company colours. Attendance in livery was obligatory at feasts, funerals, memorial masses and processions. Liverymen were also required to make quarterly alms payments for the maintenance of almshouses and contribute to levies, such as loans to the crown, building projects and other civic projects as the need arose. They were staunch supporters of charity, including support for their own members, providing financial aid to those experiencing hard times and to widows and young children of company men who were in need.

In due course and simply by seniority, Ralph could expect to rise within the company to deputy warden and then onto master. To become an alderman, sheriff or Lord Mayor was by election and then only provided he had the talent, commercial skill, insight, nerve and sufficient funds to maintain such a position amongst the mercantile elite.

By mid summer 1555, just three and a half years after his marriage, Ralph Greneway was on his way becoming deputy warden. The Master that year was the Alderman John Whyte, while the second deputy was Richard Grafton and the period of office for all three grocers, was one year. John Whyte was to be Master of the Grocers again in 1560 and then Lord Mayor in 1563.[17]

The two deputies can be seen in action when '*Money vested by Mr Rychard Grafton and Mr Rauf Grenway, Wardyns, Thomas Lond, Peter Brystowe, William Yonge and William Gybson of the company of Grocers hereafter ensuing for provision of wheat for the cytizyns and Inhabytants of the Cytie of London*'.[23]

Also entered as a Freeman of the Grocers during the year was a John Orwell, probably Ralph's half-brother, but until proven, he has to remain as one of the two members of the family who were possibly grocers.[17]

Alderman

In 1556, four months after finishing his term as deputy Warden, Ralph became the third Alderman for Bridge Ward Without. He was nominat-

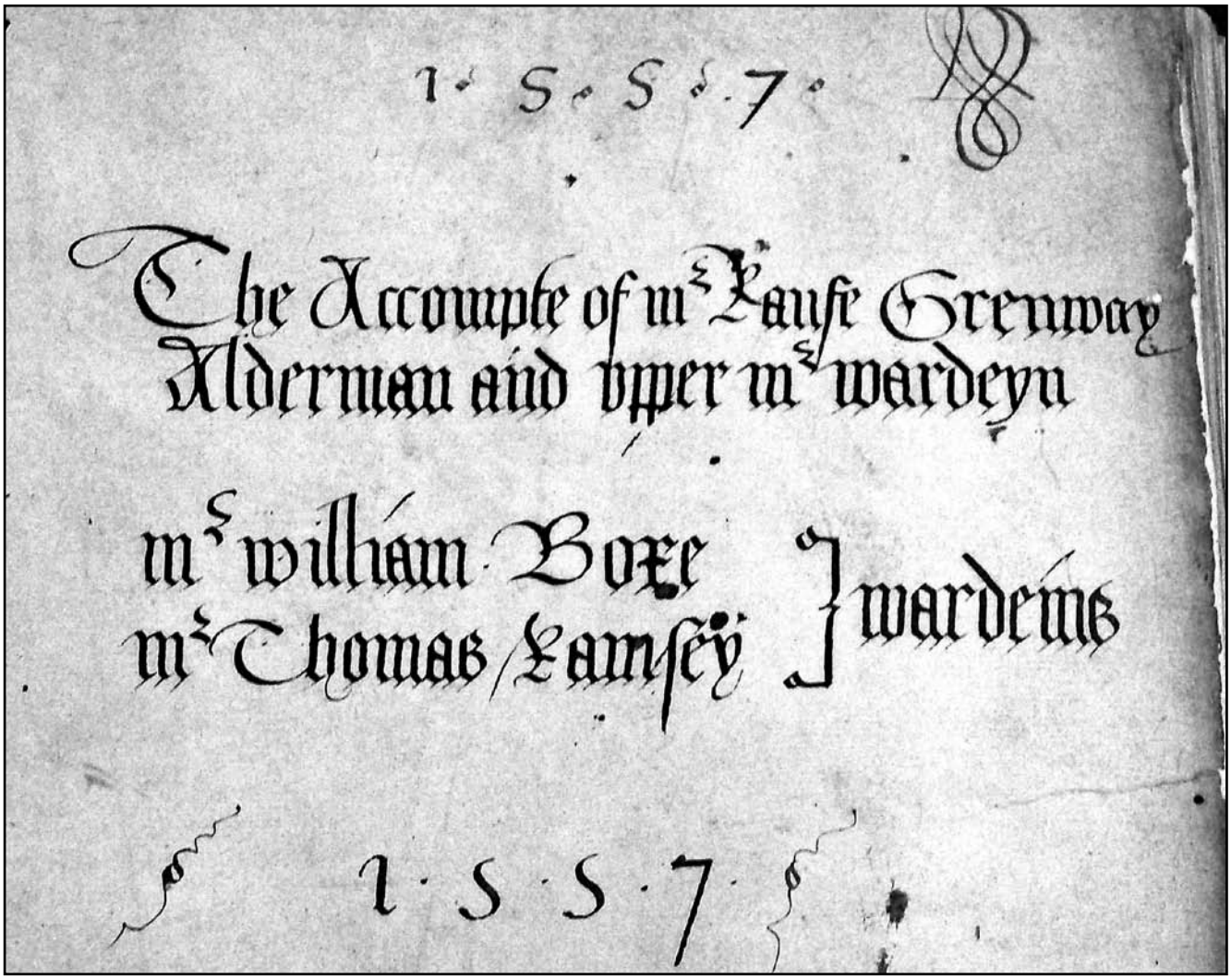

Figure 6. 'Raufe Grenway' Alderman and Master (upper warden) of the Grocers' Company. *This is the Title page of his account book, 1557 with his two deputies listed beneath. By courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Grocers.*

ed and sworn into office on the same day, 12th November, 1556, by William Alleyn (Leatherseller), J Cowper (Fishmonger) and George Alleyn (Skinner).[24]

This relatively new Ward, essentially the borough of Southwark, lay outside the city on the south side of the River Thames. It had been sold to the city for £642 2s 1d and created Bridge Ward Without by the Court of Aldermen in May 1550, following a charter of Edward VI which enacted that the borough should be governed by the Lord Mayor of London and his officers, the Aldermen.[25] Prior to this time, Southwark had been a lawless place; a haven for villains fleeing the city, a ghetto for alien (foreign) craftsmen and unlicensed workers, a place where freemen could live or subcontract work out from the city, away from control and avoid paying taxes due to the city.

This was all made possible by London Bridge, the only bridge across the Thames until 1750. Ralph would have been aware and even participated in some of the pomp and ceremony associated with the bridge such as the occasion when Queen Mary entered the city with Philip of Spain after her marriage in 1554. It was also where the Lord Mayor and his aldermen formally greeted foreign envoys and ambassadors, with due pomp and ceremony in full livery.

On a day to day or weekly basis, as Alderman, he would have crossed back and forth on his way to attend business with his deputies, Humfrey Pullett and William Wilson in Southwark, most likely on foot, and noticed St Paul's with its spire on his way back into the city. He would have known the beautiful chapel of St Thomas a Becket located on the bridge, and witnessed its subsequent degradation under Henry VIII. Ultimately in 1553 it was converted into a shop with a house above for the grocer William Bridger.

The last time Ralph was present in Southwark was noted as 19th April, 1558. By 10th May his place was taken by William Allen, a temporary position, as John Cowper was nominated and sworn in on 21st June.[24]

Master

Finally in June 1557 Ralph was installed as Master of the Grocers, with William Boxe and Thomas Ramsey appointed as his two deputies (Figure 6). William Boxe would go on to become Master in 1566, Alderman of Billingsgate 1570-81 and Sheriff 1570 but never Lord Mayor, a position that Thomas Ramsey achieved in 1577.[17]

For Ralph, now a grocer, alderman and Master of his company, his future was virtually assured with every prospect of following his powerful merchant friends into higher office. He was a member of the governing elite of London where the status of the Lord Mayor was regarded as equivalent to an Earl of the realm. However the year ahead was going to prove momentous. He had already witnessed the Marian regime in action with heretics being burnt in 1555 and then again in 1556 when the first half of the year saw London as the epicentre of burnings. 1557 was to herald a heightened push against heretics, war with France, disastrous weather and a fresh wave of the epidemic disease, the English sweating sickness.[26]

Another 21 heretics were burnt 21st June, 1557, just 7 days after Ralph was installed as Master. Public hostility was rising and these events further aggravated an already volatile situation. Not surprisingly one of his first duties as Master was to agree to the royal command that the Grocers provide sixty armed men; a wise precaution in the event since 8 more heretics were burnt in London the following September.

Of these men, 2 were to be horsemen well armed and mounted, then 20 with arches, 20 more bearing pikes and 18 to be billmen, *'all well harnyshed and weponed, mete and convenient, accordynge to the appointment of our Soveraine Lorde and Ladye the King's and Queene's Majestie; as well as for the securitie of the Queene's higness' most royal person, as for the suretie and safe guarde of their hignesse's chamber and citie of London and the resistaunce of such malitious attempts as may happen to be made against the same by anny foraigne enemie'*.[27]

Such a request of the grocers was not unusual considering there was an armoury attached to their hall in Princes Street and that the company was at times called upon to furnish ammunition and even men both for military and naval service. John Edwyn, armourer, was paid 13s 4d a year to keep the armour in good repair but, not surprisingly, in 1558 he asked for this sum to be reconsidered!

Queen Mary also chose this moment to levy a compulsory loan on the City of which the Grocers' share was £7,055 11s 6d. The grocers were far from happy about this and for Ralph it had not been the easiest of years.

Before his year was over and his accounts signed off, it all came to an abrupt end with his sudden and untimely death in 1558. He signed his will on May 3rd and whilst there is no record in London for the actual day he died, the memorial plate in Wiveton church records it as being the same day, 3rd May. This being the case then the speed with which his death occurred and the timing – late spring, early summer – fits the criteria for the sweating sickness epidemic, a particularly virulent form of influenza, possibly accompanied by typhus that would help explain the seasonal element as typhus required an insect vector.[28]

There were several outbreaks of sweating sickness in Tudor England and on each occasion it was notorious for striking quickly, within hours, decimating both rich and poor alike. Alerted in advance by witnessing what was going on around him, Ralph would have been aware of his own impending fate and prepared accordingly, calling for the public notary, Thomas Atkinson, to take down his will as he dictated it.

He was buried at St Dunstan's in the East, probably in the south chancel near his pew, as he requested. For Ralph, born at a time when England was a Catholic country and now Catholic again, he made an appropriate will but we really have no idea what his religious sentiments had been in the intervening years of religious upheaval. He would have experienced at first hand the enormous changes taking place all around him in London; the dissolution of the religious houses, degradation of the chapel on the bridge and stripping of the parish churches, particularly the dismantling of the eight chantries at St Dunstans.[21] Had he remained steadfast to the faith of his childhood, as his brother Thomas did when he wrote a recognizably Catholic preamble to his will some six years later? Perhaps, like most merchants, he had chosen the more ambiguous conformist middle way?[29]

St Dunstans has had a checkered history. It was damaged by the Great Fire of London in 1666, then later patched up at which time a tower and steeple, designed by Wren, was added. It was rebuilt in the nineteenth century only to be severely damaged again in the Blitz of 1941, during WWII.[30] Today, the ruins of the church have become one of the most beautiful public gardens in the City, a small oasis of calm. The bell, that Ralph would have known and heard, now tolls out in a Californian valley, just as he heard his father's little bell ring out over the lower Glaven valley (**Figure 7**).

The Legacies

With no issue of his own, Ralph made his will according to the 'laudable use and custom of London', one half to his widow including his messuage and tenements in St Dunstan's in the East and the remaining half to meet his funeral expenses and bequests. However, before any of

Figure 7. St Dunstans in the East. *The final resting place of Ralph Greneway, his widow Katherine and her father, John Soday, all in the shadows of Sir Christopher Wren's tower and the neighbouring office blocks.*

this could happen his *'dettz, deuties and somes of money'* which he owed to others were to be *'truly contented and paide'* by his executors Thomas Greneway and John Quarles, Draper.

Generally the relationship between the merchant elite and their livery companies attracted

large sums from benevolent members, but this was not always so for the Grocers. Their hall was rather late in being built and although it attracted legacies, it was more often than not regarded as an administration centre and disciplinarian body for the company. Accordingly Ralph left them £10 for a dinner and a gown each for the Clerk and Beadle.

Grocers, for the main, preferred to recognize their family, household and parish church and these remained the centre of their loyalty and generosity. Nightingale concludes that the Hall conveyed prestige and authority but could not compete with the community where the grocer lived, traded and worshipped with his neighbours.[13]

Then, with greater disposable income than most artisans and craftsmen and like most merchants, not being particularly pious, he gave to prisoners, those in debt, the sick and provided dowries for poor women, a pattern of charitable giving that generally showed the effects of Edwardian Protestantism.[29] He was meticulously attending to his obligations as a liveryman but with some £3,000 available, the amounts were modest. For Ralph, the greatest part of his disposable income, £2,310 was reserved for his Greneway brothers and sisters and particularly their children.

Payments were to be spaced out over several years with city institutions, his company, friends and servants generally receiving their bequests immediately or certainly within six months of his death. Bequests to family were more varied but essentially not settled till a year later. Fathers of underage nieces and nephews were given a sum of money to invest on their behalf till their children either reached 21 years or married. The executors were to stand *in loco parentis* for the fatherless children. There were exceptions; his sister Agnes and brother John Orwell were to have their shares earlier.

Special and cautious provision was made for John Greneway, his 'servant'. He was to be apprenticed to William Allen, Leatherseller, for a period of 7 to 8 years and then given £80 on completion of his apprenticeship; that sum of money to be given to William Allen in the first instance, to invest for 8 years. Clauses were inserted to cover the eventuality that either William Allen or John might die before the end of the apprenticeship. It was not unusual for childless merchants to take on a nephew as a 'son' and this seems to have been the case here with Ralph making provision for a home and apprenticeship for his late brother's son and essentially ensuring that William Allen became his guardian and mentor.[12]

Whether young John completed this apprenticeship or not, has not been followed through. It would seem likely he remained in London where he was eventually admitted to the grocers by patrimony. Apart from his uncle Ralph, no other member of the family ever mentioned him.

Acting as executor for Ralph was going to be time consuming. In addition to setting up the Wiveton Charity there was a court case in Chancery in progress that had to be followed through. Ralph had started proceedings against Bryan Bales and Elizabeth his wife, concerning a messuage, tenement and burgage in Westgate and a croft in the High Street, both in Wakefield, that had been bought of the merchant Ralph Bayvett.[31]

In the circumstances it is probably not unexpected to find that John Quarles refrained from being an executor and left the execution of the will to Thomas and the two overseers, Ralph's good friends the merchants William Allen, Leatherseller and Nicholas Haker, Fishmonger. Then almost as the first wave of bequests had been settled, Thomas's sister Rose lost her husband, *'Thomas Sylvester'*, in late 1558 and Thomas Greneway now found himself supervisor of his brother-in-law's will, albeit considerably less involved. The Silvester farms and holdings were located at Little Ryburgh, Stibbard, Guist, Norton, Elmham and Gateley, all towards the south and east of Fakenham while the children were named as *'Robarte, Agnes, Thomas, Rychard, Nycholas and Cecyle'*, all underage and all living in central Norfolk.[2]

The Wiveton legacy was the last bequest listed in the will.[1] It was clearly envisaged by Ralph, … *' within the space of two years next and ymmediatelie following after my decease with the some of 200 marks' my executors 'shall purchase and buye within the Countie off Norfolk asmuche landes tenementis and hereditaments … as shalbe of the clere yerlie value of £6 13s 4d … over and above all yerelie charges … and that myne executors within the said two yeres … shall make … to the churchwardens of the parishe church of Wyfton … wheare I was borne … A good sure sufficient and parfite estate in the law … To have and to holde the same to the said churchwardens … and 16 other parishonners of the said parishe … that the churchwardeynes … eivry Sundaye in the yere weekly forever … before none … shall geve and distribute to 13 poore people … 13 pence in ready money and 13 penny loaves of good swette and holsom breade … and that the rest and residue … shalbe bestowed and employed in and upon … reparacionnes of the saide parish church of Wyfton as need shall require from tyme to tyme forever …'.*

The money was used to purchase the Rectory and Great Tithes of Briston together with the Tithe Barn from the Master, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the charity fell into some disarray and advice was sought through

Chancery. Eventually, the problems were worked through, the Advowson of Briston was sold, the number of trustees was reduced and the distribution of the annual net income was fixed at 1/6th for the church and 5/6ths for the poor. Today all income is derived from invested funds and includes provision for educational and training support for the children, while the distribution of *'swette and holsom breade'* has long since ceased.[32]

Thus, set up in the reign of Elizabeth Tudor, the charity has administered for the benefit of the poor of the parish and the church alike over the centuries continuing Ralph's vision for 21st century Elizabethans.

Thomas Greneway died in 1564, before Ralph's will had been fully executed. This is graphically illustrated when he describes himself as *'Thomas Grenewaie of Cley next the sea in the Countie of Norffolke yeoman executor of Raphe Grenewaie Late Citisin and alderman of London deceased'*.[2] He makes William Gibbons and John Howland both *'Citisins and Salters of London'* his executors, passing over to them all debts he owes by *'Reason of the last Will or Testament of the said late Raphe Grenewaie'* as well as *'bookes of accomptes and Reconnings within the late house'* of Ralph in St Dunstans in the East.

Through his own will he brings the family up to date with the news that his widowed sister, Alice Dixe, had become the wife of William Gibbons; that his own daughter was now dead; that he had a *'god daughter Cecelie Miller'* (which in this instance means grand daughter); that Cecelie Silvester his neice was living with him and her brother, Robert Silvester, was to inherit his messuage and tenement lying in the fields of Glandford.

He left bequests to all his siblings and their children exactly as Ralph had done, apart from his nephew John Greneway who is not mentioned at all. Then John Miller, father of his god daughter, was to have his mere and 12 acres *'lying in the fields and townes of Cley'* that are copyhold of the Manor of Cley. Everything else, that is his properties in Briningham, Wiveton, Sniterly, Morston, Glandford and Cley, was to be sold to meet his bequests apart from half his craye, the *'William'*, that was offered to his servant, Harry Shilling of Cley. This was a type of vessel of some 30-50 tons that was described as a trading vessel rather than a fishing vessel, moving cargoes either up and down the coast or between the UK and the Low countries.[33] Perhaps this is one of the ways that Thomas had kept in touch with his siblings in London!

The London Widows

In the years following the death of Ralph, the story of the Greneways is taken up by his widow Katherine and, to a lesser extent, by his sister Agnes Howland. Both widows lived and died in London, Katherine since her birth and Agnes since her first marriage, and both were to marry again for a third and second time respectively.

Both outlived their husbands and as aging, wealthy widows eventually made wills in their own right, Katherine in 1576 and Agnes in 1588.[2] In addition all five husbands of these two widows made wills, giving a total of seven wills. They show the close bond between the mercantile elite, as well as familial networks, their friends and servants, their obligations and regard for their respective companies, their London parish churches and then their place of birth.

Katherine Greneway

Widowed for a second time, Katherine was still an appealing proposition for a merchant who wished to have her capital, investments, real estate and business goodwill. John Whyte, Grocer, took the opportunity when he both signed off Ralph's accounts during the summer months of 1558 and married Katherine.[17] John's subsequent progress to higher office exemplified everything, if not more, that Ralph had probably wished for himself. John was Alderman from 1554, Master of the grocers for a second term 1560, Sheriff 1556, Lord Mayor 1563, knighted 1564, and then MP for London 1566 and again in 1571.[34]

John and Katherine were also to have a family. Their first child, John, was christened in St Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange, 25th May 1559 with a very select group of godparents present; Lord Marques of Winchester now the Lord Treasurer, Lord Bishop of Winchester and then Lady Laxton late wife of Sir William Laxton late mayor of London and Grocer. A second son, Thomas, followed soon after then a daughter Katherine. Who was Lord Bishop of Winchester at the christening?[35]

He was John Whyte junior, the younger brother of Katherine's husband and an instance of two brothers bearing the same baptismal name: He was a Marian bishop, a resolute pursuer of heretics and preacher at Queen Mary's funeral for which Elizabeth Tudor had him imprisoned in the Tower and deposed from his bishopric. On release, he retired to live first with John and Katherine Whyte in London then with Sir Thomas Whyte, his cousin and brother-in-law and another Catholic sympathizer, in Hampshire.[34]

Sir John (Katherine's husband) died in London, 1573, and was buried at Aldershot, Surrey.

There were no Greneways named in his will.

Katherine's will is more revealing regarding her Greneway in-laws. It was made on 15th September with a codicil added the same day followed by two memoranda a fortnight later. On each occasion there was a new set of witnesses that ranged from servants, friends and grocers to members from each of her four families; the Sodays, Allens, Greneways and Whytes. Just about everyone appears to have visited Katherine during those last two weeks of her life signifying her status both within the mercantile elite community of London and her family.

William Gibbons Salter, second husband of Alice Greneway was named as one of her executors, the other two being *'Laurence Huse Doctor of Lawe'* a stepson-in-law and *'John Lightfoot grocer'*, husband of her daughter Margery Allen. *'Geyles Howlande Grocer'*, son of Ralph's sister Agnes was a witness, showing him as the fourth grocer in the family. The second memorandum was witnessed by *'Allice Gibbons'*, Ralph's sister, and Katherine Gibbons, presumably the wife and daughter of William Gibbons.

Dame Katherine wished her body to be buried in St Dunstan's in the East where her father was buried and in which parish she had been born (Figure 7). There was no mention that Ralph Greneway, her second husband, was also buried there. She left half of her residue to her daughter Katherine and the remainder to be divided between her two sons. However, it was the gifts that were given within the family that reveal the wealth and style of living that Katherine, now a Dame, had attained throughout her married life. They were personal and precious items that she had kept close by her till the end and were now being carefully handed on.

Margery Lightfoot, her daughter, was to have the book of gold, with the initials J and K, which Jesper Allen, Margery's father, had given Katherine. This was the story of '*Judeth and Holofernes'*, one of the books of the Apocrypha. Margery was also to have *'my Bason and Ewer of silver which was sometime my late husband Sir John Whyte'*. Katherine Whyte, her youngest daughter, was to have *'all my jewels chaines, girdell bracelettes Tablells ringes of goulde perrells … painted Table containing her owne picture'*. Was this a portrait of young Katherine? Lastly Margaret Huse, her married stepdaughter, was left a gold whistle.

Then *'Sister Gibons'* was to have the *'standing cup of silver and guilte which was sometime her brother Grenewayes'* with the initials R K G.

John Whyte's baptismal gifts were are also mentioned as they were obviously left in Katherine's safekeeping; *'a standing cup of silver and guilte, a guilte bowle with cover and a guilte pot with cover from his late uncle, John Bishop of Winchester'*, and another *'standing cup guilte and two guilte spoones'* from his other godparents.

These bequests show Ralph's widow had kept in touch with his two sisters and their families. It also transpires, from her husbands' wills, that Richard Soday, her brother, had worked for each of her husbands, apprenticed first to Jesper Allen then factor in Spain for both Ralph Greneway and Sir John Whyte.

Agnes Howland

Agnes, Ralph's sister, married her first husband, John Howland, Salter, in London 1539, just as Ralph was finishing his apprenticeship.[36] Richard, the first of her surviving eight sons, was born in Newport Pond, Essex in 1540. He became an academic and theologian, Master of Magdalene College and then St John's College, both in Cambridge and Bishop of Peterborough, where he buried Mary, Queen of Scots in 1587.[37] Giles, his younger brother, was born Streatham, Surrey in 1549 and was a grocer of repute, Alderman of Farringdon Without and knighted in 1603.

John Howland made his will in 1568 (proved 1570) with William Gibbons, his brother-in-law, named as overseer. The only other Greneway family mentioned were Alice Gibbons (formerly Dixe, née Greneway) and his wife's nephew, *'John Hayles'*, the son of Margaret Hales (née Greneway) long since deceased. Could Margaret's husband have been Valentine Hales, apprenticed the same day to Ambrose Wooley as Ralph had been? If so, he was yet another grocer in the family, albeit by marriage rather than by birth.

A year after her first husband's death, Agnes married John Quarles Draper, of St Peter le Poer, London. He was a member of London's merchant elite and had been named as one of Ralph's executors. The Quarles's roots were in Norfolk where John had a daughter Margaret, wife of John Barker, living in Blakeney. Agnes and John enjoyed a short married life together lasting some six years, till he died in 1577.

The Greneway family named by John Quarles were Richard Howland clerk, William Gibbons salter and his wife Alice Gibbons. Thomas Whyte, presumably the youngest son of Sir John and Dame Katherine Whyte, was named in a codicil. Remembering Norfolk, he left money to the churchwardens of Blakeney, Cley, Wiveton and Glandford for the poor as well as £50 for repairs to Wiveton bridge.

For Agnes, who had outlived her brother Ralph by thirty years, there was no mention of her roots in Norfolk when she made her will in 1586 (proved 1588). Furthermore her will was the last made by any of Ralph's siblings and it was, therefore, the last time that we learn of family connections. She referred to her kinsman, Robert Orwell who was possibly the son of her

half-brother, John Orwell, and currently living with her son William Howland. She then named three kinswomen, none of them either instantly or easily identifiable; Cicelye Awdley, Katherine Allen and Elizabeth Lewes. In a later codicil *'Elizabeth Lewys'* was called *'cozen'* while *'Allice Allyn, daughter of Katherine Allyn'*, was added. For Agnes, at the end of her life, the Glaven valley was but a distant memory.

Conclusion

The early Greneways of this account were neither aristocratic nor manorial, they were mostly yeomen farmers, the middling sort for whom we have very little knowledge until they step out of the shadows, get noticed and recorded. John Greneway did just that when he settled in Wiveton on the north Norfolk coast and prospered as a shipowner. His children were the only generation of Greneways ever born there and he was able to provide dowries for each of his daughters and his younger sons were apprenticed in London. He must have felt sure that with three sons, the name was secure.

In the event, this very advancement of his children and the eventual lack of male heirs led to their dispersal and the demise of the name locally. Physical connections with Wiveton were at an end and except for the bequest of Ralph Greneway, his youngest son, the family would have been long since forgotten.

By using wills, Ralph has been established in a family context with his brothers, sisters and their respective spouses, nieces and nephews mostly identified. He was at the centre of a successful Tudor family that was decidedly mobile both upwards and spatially. It is also quite clear that despite the distances involved between rural Norfolk and London, brothers and sisters kept in touch with each other.

Ralph was undoubtedly a prosperous and powerful alderman and grocer, one of the governing mercantile elite of the city and possibly destined for greater office until his untimely death in the prime of his life aged 40, or thereabouts. Without heirs, he distributed the bulk of his wealth amongst his blood family, particularly his nieces and nephews.

His practical charity was unlike that of others in this account who left bequests to both Wiveton bridges in the first instance followed by roads, new public buildings and maintenance or defence of Blakeney Haven. Ralph Greneway left an enduring legacy to the community and church of Wiveton and by this action alone, has ensured that his name is remembered *'from tyme to tyme forever'*[1] in the parish of his birth.

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TNA PCC	1528	John Grenwey	Wiveton	PROB 11/22
TNA PCC	1543	John Kynges	Wiveton	PROB 11/29
TNA PCC	1546	Thomas Orwell	Wiveton	PROB 11/31
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The Dutchman and the "king's broad seale": embanking the North Norfolk Coast

Peter Smith

Synopsis: Jan van Haesdoncke is best known around the Blakeney Haven for the part he paid in reclaiming land from the sea. Though he went armed with "the king's broad seale" that empowered him to enclose sea marshes around East Anglia and even in Cheshire and other parts of the country, Van Haesdoncke was not always successful. And despite his heroic efforts on behalf of the Stuart House during the civil wars, he died still owed considerable sums of money by the restored King Charles II.

Introduction

As Pamela Peake showed the land and seascape around Blakeney was shaped in part by the enterprising activities of the Calthorpe family.[1] She cites the bank enclosing Blakeney Freshes, built to expand the family's landholdings, as a prime example of the impact. Sir Henry Calthorpe, then his younger brother Philip, decided to build a bank right across the mouth of the Glaven, allowing the river to feed out to the sea through a sluice at low tide. Hooton speculates that a Dutch adventurer Van Haesdoncke[2] supervised this project during 1637.[3] This article seeks to add a little to what we know about van Haesdoncke, the impact of his activities in North Norfolk and his relationship with the Royal Stuarts.

Van Haesdoncke's reclamation activities were licensed by the crown. But the King's writ cost the Dutchman dear: the scale of Van Haesdoncke's financial investment in drainage was simply colossal. A Privy Council docquet confirms the grant to John Van Haesdoncke of 4,706 acres of marshes in Norfolk together with 5,294 acres in Suffolk, Cheshire and Flint for the sum of £20,000.[4,5] That was not the end of it: the docquet added that Van Haesdoncke was also required to pay soccage of four pence an acre. The scribe calculated this could mean £166.13s.4d each year in total.[6] As we shall see, the validity of the Royal writ was strongly challenged at the central courts and parliament and in the localities affected by the developments.

Opposition at Salthouse and Burnham

At Salthouse, an alliance between fishermen and a local landowner seems to have won at least a temporary victory. Van Haesdoncke was cast as the villain of that project by Jonathan Hooton.[7] With or without a royal warrant, Haesdoncke built a bank between a series of islets which remained dry at high tide. The bank changed drainage flows which prevented ready access to the islands for grazing and access to the sea by the local fishermen. The latter protested that they were forced to beg and seek new places to live and the owner of the islets, Lady Sydney complained that she had lost access to the marshes for grazing her cattle. Hooton deduces that this combination of interests, fishermen and local landowner, was at least initially successful: a map of 1649 is claimed to show that the channel to Salthouse was no longer obstructed.

Further west, too, Van Haesdoncke seems to have been defeated. Fishermen at the Burnhams were up in arms when Van Haesdoncke and local lawyer William Neve attempted to enclose the marshes to the west of the Burn. A petition from the self-styled 'Poor Fishermen' of Burnham Norton, Burnham Deepdale and Burnham Overy was presented to the House of Lords in 1641.[8] It is very unlikely indeed that they were all fishermen and even less likely that they were all impoverished but they undoubtedly all had a grievance.

The petitioners complain about the activi-

ties of William Neve and John Van Haesdoncke. By embanking and enclosing the salt marshes which linked the three townships, the two would deprive the petitioners of grazing for their horses, cows and other cattle and threaten their chief livelihood: dredging for oysters off shore. The fishermen describe how, until the embankment was begun, they had been able to bring their cobble boats right up to the gates of their properties: now they had to carry their oysters on their backs for upwards of three furlongs.[9]

While the petitioners' attack was directed at Neve and Van Haesdoncke, their real problem was with the king. Neve and his colleague came fully equipped with a royal patent under "the king's broad seale". The petitioners do not challenge the legitimacy of the policy of embankment, drainage and enclosure – the king had approved the policy – but, they imply, he would surely not have approved of the way it was being implemented? So the petitioners' attack is directed almost exclusively at Neve. But as will be seen later, the legitimacy of the king's licence was being challenged not only in the Court of the Exchequer but also in the Privy Council.

Van Haesdoncke was at the time of the fishermen's petition deeply enmeshed in legal actions. The dispute over the drainage and enclosure of the Burnham Norton marshes was part of a wider dispute over the king's right to sell patents for drainage rights. And even that dispute was, of course, part of the major debate over the limits to the royal prerogative: the king's power to raise money independently of parliament.

While the anger of the 'Fishermen' was directed at Neve and Van Haesdonke, at the heart of the dispute was a policy supported by the king with his royal patent and "sealed with his own broad seale". As we have seen, that seal had been bought at considerable expense. Petitions show that, while the national (King's) coffers were the intended beneficiaries, others were intended to benefit from the sale to Neve and Haesdoncke, of the rights to drain and embank Norton Marshes. Contemporaneously with the 'Poor Fishermen's' petition, royal rights to the marshes – and specifically Van Haesdoncke's right to profit from those rights – were being challenged in both the Court of the Exchequer and the Privy Council. Other people, possibly more powerful than the fishermen, were concerned about what was happening along the north Norfolk coast.

Van Haesdoncke was a business associate of Sir James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle. According to Roy E Schreiber, the Earl was unique in his practice of acquiring drainage rights from the king and then selling them on to others for a profit.[10] Schreiber cites as evidence the sale of land in May, 1635 to 'the Dutch engineer, Jan Van Haesdoncke' for £12,216. This was a year before the evidence of the sale of the royal patent to Van Haesdoncke. Carlisle died in 1636. Whether Van Haesdoncke's acquisition of the royal patents involved additional marsh land or whether the transaction represented an attempt by Van Haesdoncke to cover his legal entitlement to lands already acquired, is not clear. Certainly both Carlisle's name and those of the King were involved in subsequent petitions sent by Van Haesdoncke to the Privy Council. One such petition, dated 6 June, 1638, sent to the Privy Council by the heirs of the first earl, indicates that the transfer of rights was in satisfaction of a debt of £21,320 owed by the King to the First Earl.[11]

Deserted by the sea

This petition also indicates that the basis for the King's rights to the land to which he was for one reason or another selling the patents for reclamation, was already being challenged in the courts. The patent docquet as set out in the Calendar of State Papers Domestic identified the land for reclamation as that 'deserted by the sea'; the argument was to become one over at what tide, neap or spring, the determination should be made.[6] The state papers note that the Privy Council instructed the Lord Treasurer and Lord Cottington to meet with the Barons of the Exchequer and the King's legal advisers to try to clarify the situation.[11]

Two years later, a petition dated 22 February 1639-40, shows that the issues were still unresolved. The Privy Council set up a group of its members to determine the issues raised by the petition.[12] The continuing delays distressed Van Haesdoncke. In June that year, he again petitioned the King reminding him of the earlier decision and pleading for rapid action to stop the petitioner being harried through the Court of Exchequer.[13] In a petition dated 6 June 1640, he reminds the King of his decision, acknowledges that the Privy Councillors had much else on their minds but reports that he was in danger of losing all his recent investment in marsh drainage if immediate action was not taken to halt court proceedings. An endorsement ordered the Attorney and Solicitor General to stop all proceedings until the principle was sorted out.[14]

Other men with other rights

Meanwhile in the Burn Creek, at least one other local landowner – one with substantial national connections and advised by Grays Inn lawyers – had, like Haesdoncke been given rights to local marshes by the king and could also wave a royal patent. Were the Burnham fishermen aware of that? Indeed could that have been a source for covert gentry support for their cause?

Direct evidence is hard to find but two names emerge as potential supporters. As Lords of the Manor of Polstead Hall, the Thurlow family owned manorial rights of land in the Burnham

Waghenaer, Lucas Jansz, Spieghel Der Zeevaerdt Leyden. Detail from the 1584-5 Nord Zee chart showing part of the North Norfolk coast from Burnham to Happisburgh and including Blacqney (Blakeney).

parishes of Norton, Deepdale, Westgate and Sutton.[16] They had held property in Norton since at least 1619 and also owned the manors of Walsingham Priory and Windham Priory in Burnham Overy. According to Blomefield, John Thurlowe of Burnham Overy, who died in 1632, held of the king 19 acres of marsh land.[14] As extensive land and property owners whose portfolio included marsh land in Overy, the Thurlows were clearly of importance locally: Sir Philip Parker provides a link through to the national scene. Sir Philip acquired from the king rights to marshes at Overy and adjacent Holkham. The rights came in the form of a patent from Charles addressed to Sir Phillip Parker and his heirs and dated 11 July 1638.[15] The document describes Sir Philip as of Erwarton in the County of Suffolk, knight. It also names as a party to the agreement, 'Thomas Cooke' of Grays Inn. Sir Philip was to pay an annual rent of £5 to the crown. In 1638, Sir Philip was Sheriff of Suffolk. That he already had responsibilities in Burnham Overy is indicated by a hearing before the Court of High Commission in 1634. In May that year he was called as a witness and required to repair the chancel of St. Clements, Burnham Overy: a later minute notes that he had fulfilled his obligations and that he was discharged.[16]

Thomas Coke of Grays Inn was to feature in another transaction involving 'marshground at Overie' in 1644. Together with William Watts of Grays Inn, Coke is named in an indenture of feoffment between Robert Bacon of Thornegge (Thornage) and Thomas Dix of Burnham Overye.[17]

Complexities of interests

This accumulating evidence reveals something of the complexities of interests behind the opposition to the moves to drain and enclose the Burnham marshes. the fact that others had axes to grind does not undermine the validity of the fishermen's claim that their livelihoods were under threat. Nor does it take away from the achievement of getting forty more or less ordinary folk to sign up to their defiance of 'the king's own broad seale'. The fishermen exploited an opportunity to participate in an alliance of interests which made their own challenge more likely to succeed. In one sense, the fishermen's efforts were unrewarded: the petition does not seem to have been acted upon but subsequent maps do not indicate completion of the drainage plan.

While the king's right to licence development of sea marshes was not being challenged, litigants in the Court of Exchequer and petitioners to the Privy Council alike were concerned to define precisely what and when sea-washed land became the king's to sell: what constituted sea marsh; at which point in the tidal cycle were boundaries to be calculated? The debate in which Burnham's poor fishermen became embroiled was a small part of that debate over the limits to the king's prerogative power or more properly the debate over how an un-challenged principle might be translated into down-to-earth practicalities. Income generation through the sale of rights and privileges came at a cost to those who believed they already owned those rights and privileges. The poor fishermen and their land-owning neighbours both faced material losses as a result of the king's use of prerogative powers. We may surmise that the failure to negotiate a resolution of such clashes of interest contributed to the tensions which led to civil war.

An engineer at war

Van Haesdoncke's subsequent personal history was frequently violent. Jan van Haesdoncke was accredited as a captain in Charles's navy in December 1643 and became deeply involved in the royalist fight. Promoted again, to colonel, he entered into a £2000 bond with, among others, Henry, Lord Martravers, co-Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk, to deliver arms and ammunition to the king's army of the north at Newcastle; later correspondence with Prince Rupert reveals that Haesdoncke was commissioned to recruit 'experienced soldiers' in the Low Countries to join the royalist army in 1643. Correspondence relating to van Haesdoncke's employment by the Royalists to ship arms from Dunkirk to England's west country in April and May 1645 was among paperwork captured by the Parliamentarians at Sherburn. The letters were mostly from Henry Jermyn, the Queen's chief officer in Paris to Charles's Principal Secretary of State, George, Lord Digby.[18]

Van Haesdoncke sailed from Dunkirk with four frigates, 6,040 muskets, 2000 pair pistols, 1,200 carbines, 150 swords, 400 shovels, 27,000 lb of match, and 50,000lb of brimstone. The frigates arrived at Dartmouth by 11 May 1645 and were gratefully received as Sir John Culpepper wrote to the King. But Haesdoncke ran into a storm: before he sailed Queen Henrietta Maria had ordered the captain to hand over all or part of the armaments to her; he had refused and sailed despite her commands. Jermyn wrote to Digby "while it grieves me that Haesdoncke did not obey the Queen's order yet the arms arrived at a very opportune moment in the south west".[19] Possibly captured by Parliamentarians on Jersey – coincidentally, both Henry Jermyn and his father had been Governors of the Island – van Haesdoncke may have been captain of a Dutch ship badly damaged while fighting against Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate navy in one of the battles of the First Dutch War.[20]

After the Restoration, Van Haesdoncke be-

came a Gentleman of the Privie Chamber to Charles II. His will asks for his debts to be paid to out of money owed to Van Haesdoncke by King Charles.[21]

Conclusion

Compared with his compatriot and fellow land-reclaimer, Cornelius Vermeuyden, Jan van Haesdoncke is a shadowy figure. But his efforts helped shape the North Norfolk coastline and would have done so even more extensively if he had had more success against local interests.

References and notes

Note: Calendar of State Papers Domestic is abbreviated as CSPD

1 Peake, P The Calthorpes in Norfolk *The Glaven Historian* No.10 2007

2 The Dutchman's name is variously spelt in the records, often as Hansdoncke, but equally often as Haesdoncke. I have chosen to use the latter.

3 Hooton, J *The Glaven Ports* 1996

4 Coventry Collection 603563/328 Worcestershire Record Office, (but formerly in the Birming ham Archives), is a docquet drawn up in April 1636 as part of the process of granting John van Haesdoncke, gent, a grant in perpetuity, for which £20,000 was paid to the Exchequer.

5 Broadway, J; Cust, R and Roberts, S K *A Calendar of the Docquets of Lord Keeper Coventry, 1625-1640* List and Index Society 2004 See p.263 where the name is transcribed as Hesdoncke.

6 *CSPD* 1635, 19 August. Sets out an unspecified docquet as indicating that rent would amount to £203.12s per annum.

7 Cozens-Hardy, B *Cley-next-the-sea and its marshes* Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society 12 (1926-7). *In* Hooton, J *The Glaven Ports* 1996. The name is given as Van Hasedunck. but there is little doubt that the same man was involved.

8 House of Lords Record Office HL/PO/JO/10/1/75 [1641] together with the Articles of Evidence and Certificate of Veracity; Historical Manuscripts Commission. Fourth Report

9 Three furlongs is just over 600 metres.

10 Schreiber, R E The First Carlisle: Sir James Hay First Earl of Carlisle as Courtier, Diplomat and Entrepreneur, 1580-1636 *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 74, No. 7 1984. NB cites CSPD 1635

11 *CSPD* 1637-8 p.492

12 *CSPD* 1639-40 p. 479-80, February 22, 1639/40.

13 *CSPD* 1640 , p.271.

14 Blomefield, F *An Essay towards a Topological History of the County of Norfolk*. Continued by C Parkin Vol. 7 1805/10

15 NRO WAL 777, 281X1, a 34-folio copy made at an early date.

16 *CSPD* 1634-35 p.52 (8 May 1634).

17 NRO WAL78/1, 269X2; Thomas Dix may have been the same Thomas Dix who resigned as al derman at King's Lynn in 1644.

18 Henry Jermyn, Baron Jermyn of St Edmundsbury was created 1st Earl of St. Albans after the Restoration of Charles II.

19 This biography is based on references in Groenvield, Simon The English Civil Wars as a Cause of the First Anglo-Dutch War, 1640-1652, *The Historical Journal* 30 (1987) p.549 (n) and *CSPD* 1641-43 pp. 418, 500, 501, 502; *CSPD* 1644-45 p.456 and CSPD 44-45 pp 374, 387, 429, 466, 469, 480, 494, 511, 546 and 617.

20 Birch, T (Ed.) *A Collection of State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq., Secretary, First to the Council of State, and Afterwards to the Two Protectors, Oliver and Richard Cromwell. Containing Authen tic Memorials of the English Affairs, from the Year 1638 to the Restoration of King Charles II* (London, 1742). The Thurloe Papers, reproduces a report from Vice Admiral Cornelius de Witt to the States General, dated 11 August 1652 noting that a ship captained by "Captain John de Haes" had had its foremast shot away in the "hot fight" off the Helder in which Admi ral Von Tromp died on 31 July 1653.

21 TNA PROB 11/358 Will of John Van Hasdunck Esq. one of the Gentlemen of the Privie Cham ber, dated 15 October 1678. I am grateful to Ms Nancy Ives for drawing my attention to and transcribing this will.

Birth of the Blakeney 12

Shaun Hill

Synopsis: February 2012 saw the 50th anniversary of the Blakeney 12. The first steps in its formation and early development, initially under the chairmanship of Dr. Thomas Acheson and subsequently under his successor Stratton Long, are investigated.

Introduction

The British Medical Journal of 21 September 1963 reported the sudden death of Dr. Thomas Stafford Acheson at his home in Blakeney, Norfolk after evening surgery on August 27, aged 60. 'Achie', as he was known to his many friends, was described as "a conscientious and kindly doctor with a welcoming smile and puckish humour...at heart a countryman. Next to his family and his work came many outside interests. He was a good doctor because he liked people, and he found in the saltings and hinterland of the coast of North Norfolk almost all else that he needed for a full life. Quite soon he was part of the social and everyday activities of the time and neighbourhood."[1]

The obituary goes on to mention specifically Dr. Acheson's chairmanship of the Blakeney Parish Council and of the Blakeney Regatta Committee. It states that "a few months before his death he instigated, and with the help of friends, established a meals-on-wheels service to the sick and aged of the district".[1] That organisation, now known better as 'The Blakeney Twelve', has just reached its fiftieth anniversary, and is probably Dr. Acheson's most enduring legacy to the village.

Formation

The seeds were sown in January 1962 when Dr. Acheson invited several men of the village to his house to hear the Archdeacon of Lynn, the Reverend Footit, and Captain W Fellowes from the Sandringham Estate give a presentation on 'Christian Stewardship'.[2] On the departure of the speakers "a lively discussion took place in which it was agreed that there was much merit in the aims of the organisation and that much of it was relevant to Blakeney. However the sticking point was the obligation to donate 10% of the members' disposable income to the organisation so the proposal was not proceeded with."[3]

Bill Hayward recalled later on in a magazine article, that Dr Acheson subsequently reconvened the meeting in February 1962 and "discussed with them what he thought was an ever widening gap between the needs of old people and provisions of the National Health Service."[4] This statement was confirmed by the research of Brenda Stibbons into thriving Friendly Societies in Blakeney and the surrounding area. She found that "the welfare state had replaced the mutual aid organisations"[5] and this had clearly left a gap in local provision. Present were Andrew Cuthbert, his son-in-law, and those men of the village who had been present at the Christian Stewardship talk. The twelve people who were present decided to tackle these problems by forming an association, which for want of a better name they called the 'Blakeney Twelve',[6] – 'a society established for the purposes of charity – to render immediate assistance to anyone within the parish of Blakeney, Norfolk, who by misfortune becomes distressed.'[6] Basil Dickinson described it as "a very loosely defined organisation" with 'Achie' as Chairman, Andrew Cuthbert as Secretary, and Basil himself as Treasurer. He credits Bill Hayward with proposing the name

On January 25 1963 a meeting was held at Dr. Acheson's house to "organise the fellowship on more than friendly lines".[6] The catalyst for this was the application made to the County Education Committee for permission to draw meals from Blakeney School's canteen for a meals-on-wheels service which required a bank account and a more formal structure. Andrew Cuthbert had recently moved to Binham so the first members for this more formalised group were Dr. Acheson, Roger Breese, Jack Dale, Basil Dickinson, John Fish, Ted Grimes, Bill Hayward, Stratton Long, Sidney Loose, Cliff Moreton, Ray Rudd, and Mike Taylor, although Messrs. Fish, Loose, and Moreton sent apologies for absence. Dr. Acheson was elected Chairman, Basil Dickinson Hon. Treasurer and Bill Hayward Hon. Secretary. The accumulated funds of £15 5s [£240*] were handed over to Basil less a £1 [£16]registration fee for the Twelve under the Lotteries Act 1956 together with an unpaid bill for 2cwt of coal.[6]

Meals on Wheels

Matters were moving quickly, because the letter of reply to their application was read out, dated January 21st 1963, tentatively agreeing "for six to ten meals at a cost of £2 1s [£33], the Twelve to provide the special containers necessary and arrange transport."[6] It was agreed to enquire how many days per week meals would be available and the possibility of gaining a subsidy from Social Services to provide containers for the food. The rest of the meeting was taken up with an examination of the Electoral Roll and the drawing up of a list of prospective elderly people who might like to avail themselves of the meals.

The next meeting was held on February 15th 1963 at Blakeney Post Office and a list of six people drawn up who wished to take advantage of the service, "all qualified by age and/or infirmity. Others approached had declined."[6] A letter was read from Norfolk County Social Services, welcoming the Blakeney scheme and offering a subsidy of one shilling [80p] per meal with details and quotations for the cost of the containers. A further letter from Norfolk County Education Committee was read out offering one, or not more than two, days per week for meals from the school canteen. It was unanimously agreed that the scheme should be proceeded with, and an order placed with Food Conveyors Ltd for the equipment. Stratton Long, who had in fact sent apologies for absence, was appointed Transport Officer, in the first example of the potential perils incurred by a member of missing a meeting! It was also decided "to finance the scheme with an appeal in the Post Office and a draw with prizes of whisky, cigarettes, chicken, groceries, eggs etc."[6]

Cliff Moreton hosted the third meeting on March 1st 1963. A starting date of March 11th for the meals on wheels was tentatively agreed, although the containers had not yet arrived, and a revised list of nine recipients, with a list of drivers was produced by the Transport Officer.

The eight members present at the subsequent meeting on June 17th at Stratton Long's house heard Stratton report that "the Meals on Wheels service was operating satisfactorily and fulfilling a social need and that the meals were greatly appreciated."[6] The list stayed at nine with the tenth meal to be decided at the discretion of Dr. Acheson and Stratton Long. It was at this point that first mention was made of a get-together for the lady drivers to thank them for their services, and "it was agreed that the Twelve would organise a Christmas Party for the Old Folk and provide entertainment afterwards. The Blakeney Players were to be approached to provide the latter."[6]

Loss of 'Achie'

Bill Hayward hosted the September 6th meeting at the Post Office and "spoke of the tragic loss of Dr. T. S. Acheson, who had been buried the previous Friday. The doctor was the founder, the urging figure and guiding spirit in all the Twelve had done"[6] and thought was given to perpetuating his memory. Eventually the members decided on a trophy for the Greasy Pole winner at each Regatta, the cup to be held for 12 months and never won outright. The Twelve were to subscribe for this privately and to ascertain whether anything further was needed in the 'Kiddies Corner' of the Playing Field since the doctor's last public service was to open this amenity to the village.

New Chairman

There was no delay in unanimously promoting Transport Officer Long to the office of Chairman although he was present at the meeting this time. A nett balance of £68 4s 3d [£1100] was reported. The transport vacancy was filled by Sam Burnham who was invited to join by common agreement on November 8th. He attended his first meeting on December 4th at the Post Office, with John Fish providing the beer. The minutes for that meeting merely mention "making arrangements" for the Old Folks Dinner. The previous meeting had arranged for Miss Savory to be asked for the names of members of the Old Folks Club and consideration given to all the old age pensioners in Blakeney. There are no minuted details of the efforts of the Chairman to bring his family connections with the White Horse into play for the actual meal on 13th December 1963. However his sister-in-law, Joan Long, was often the first port of call in a potential crisis. She was married to Walter Long, Stratton's brother, with whom she ran the White Horse from 1963-March 25th 1973. Joan recalls providing, (from the public house) plates, cutlery, beer and salt and pepper. Even her mother, Mrs. Dunham, was enlisted to prepare the Brussels sprouts.[7] The first meeting after the dinner was not until March 24th 1964 when it was agreed the occasion had been, "a great success and very much appreciated by everyone. It was agreed to write letters of thanks to Marion Horne, Pye's Garage, Margaret Loose, Blakeney Players, Budge Walker, Gilbert Barrett, Chris Wordingham and United Services Club, without whom in the way of free services and gifts, the party would not have been possible."[6] Basil Dickinson remembers that over fifty guests were entertained at a cost to the Twelve of £1 14s 6d [£28]

*Footnote: throughout the text figures in square brackets are the equivalent 2010 values according to the RPI inflation measure.

Photograph 1. The first Christmas Dinner for the 'Old Folks' in the Legion Hall (now demolished) on 13th December 1963. Members of the Blakeney Twelve preparing to serve soup are from the left: Roger Breese, Ted Grimes, Stratton Long, Cliff Moreton, Basil Dickinson, Ray Rudd, Sidney Loose, Jack Dale, and Bill Hayward. Amongst the guests again from the left are Jane Daglish, Edie Woodrow, Elsie and Bob Eggleton, Miss Richmond?, unknown, Dorothy Russell, unknown, Marion Page and another unknown.

Ongoing Development

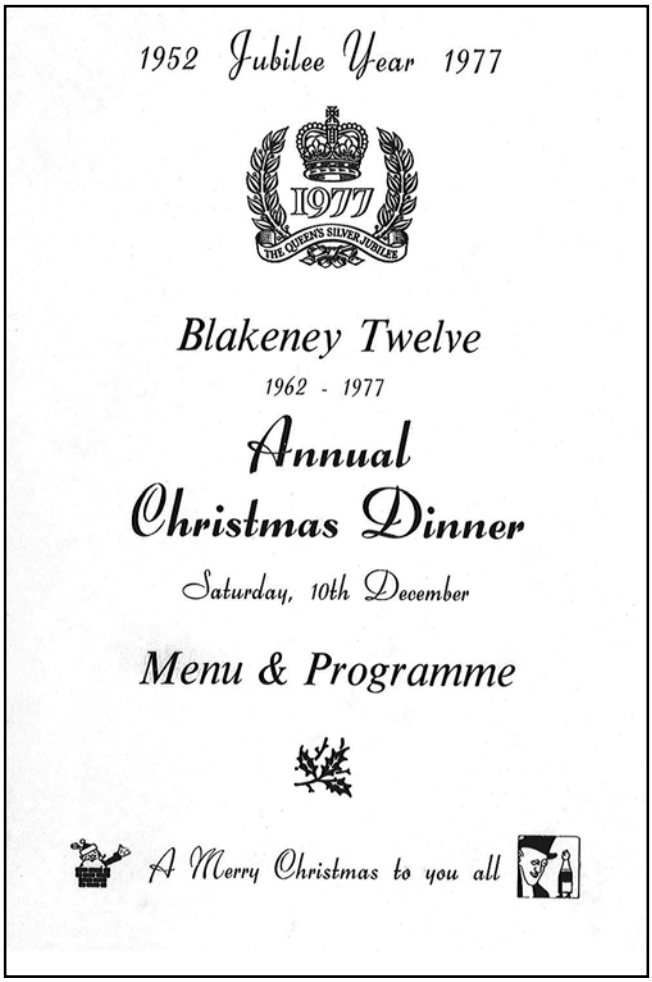
There were only two more meetings in 1964, on August 24th and November 13th, but a change of membership occurred when Ted Grimes resigned to be replaced by Jim Stone. The Sherry Party, to which were invited "all helpers of Meals on Wheels, drivers, cooks, and those who donate food for the Old Folks Party"[6] was mooted for the White Horse, for which the members all paid their contributions immediately.

1965 saw five meetings and a higher profile for coal distribution and transport help. Assistance was arranged for up to twenty people with the extra 5s [£3.50] due on the increased Radio Licence. The Sherry Party was to take place at the White Horse for "the Twelve and their ladies, meal drivers with their espoused, Mr and Mrs Horne, Teddy Eales and Betty, Budge Walker and Jean, Gilbert Barratt and lady, Miss Kenrick, Father Higham and housekeeper, Mr And Mrs Chris Wordingham, Mr and Mrs Aylmer, Mr and Mrs Walter Long, Miss Johnson, Miss Sprott, Mr And Mrs Wordingham, Mrs Ryder Smith, Mr and Mrs Legge, Mr and Mrs Howell, Mrs Taylor, Mr and Mrs Docking, Nurse Bryan, Dr and Mrs Allibone."[6] The Twelve, as usual, paid for the Sherry Party out of their own pockets, and there is the first mention of each member bringing a prize to go into a draw for the Old Folks Party, and for "aprons to be worn."[6]

The four meetings of 1966 include the first mention of "carol singers sponsored by Mr. Walter Long who raised £26 [£350]"; the first mention of a Sunday afternoon coach trip for "the lonely and those who seldom had a run out"; the agreement "that a parcel of grocery value about 10s [£6.73] should be made up for anyone coming out of hospital"; the Sherry Party venue was moved to the Community Centre "because of alterations to the White Horse" and 115 sat down to the Old Folks Party, for which "the 12 Blakeney Twelve aprons had been made by Mrs Hayward and Mrs Smith of Langham."[6]

Ongoing Improvement

The second meeting of 1967, on June 16th, saw Stratton Long tell the Twelve that they "had got rather slack and more interest was needed. It was agreed to meet monthly if possible to tighten up. It was also agreed that all members doing jobs on their own on behalf of the Twelve should make a note of it for the Secretary in order that a better record could be kept of the Twelve's activities."[6] The effect was immediate: monthly meetings; a rota for hosting meetings and a more formal agenda including 'friends who are poorly'. This agenda would be instantly recognisable to present day members. Fittingly, the first Blakeney Twelve minute book ends at this point.


1952 Jubilee Year 1977

1977
THE QUEEN'S SILVER JUBILEE

Blakeney Twelve

1962 - 1977

Annual
Christmas Dinner

Saturday, 10th December

Menu & Programme

A Merry Christmas to you all

Photograph 2 (left). The programme for the 1977 dinner.

Photograph 3 (above). The Blakeney Twelve line up for the 1987 Silver Jubilee Dinner wearing the 12's red tie and aprons. In the back row from the left are Tony Wright, Tony Faulkner, Mick Welch, Sidney Loose, Stratton Long, Basil Dickinson, Joe Reed and Mike Curtis. The team are completed by the front row of, from the left, John Fish, Ray Rudd, Roger Breese, and Morris Arthur.

Brotherhood

Bill Hayward pointed out that "away from the Twelve, members lead widely different lives; but within the Twelve they have found an immense satisfaction in helping others and a bond of friendship within themselves which is akin to a brotherhood."[4] One can imagine the hilarity caused by appointing Stratton Long as Transport Officer in his absence; or having to abandon Ray Rudd's meeting of 1966 "owing to the White Horse being full up"' and re-locating to Bill Hayward's house; or instead of just noting 'apologies' as normal, feeling obliged to note that "all members were present excepting Mr Sidney Loose gone to see the women wrestlers" in October 1967.[6] This feeling of

Photograph 4. A 'millennium' record of 'The Twelve', by this time two, Roger Breese and Stratton Long, of the original band had retired. There were only eleven serving on tables that night, from the left they were: Trevor Preston, Shaun Hill, Mick Welch, Chris Scargill, Morris Arthur and Joe Reed, with seated Ray Rudd, Mike Curtis, Basil Dickinson, Tony Faulkner and Tony Wright.

brotherhood was sadly disrupted by one death and one resignation, but the next generation of Paul Pawley, Mike Curtis, Ted Eales, Joe Reed, Mick Welsh, Tony Wright, Morris Arthur, Tony Faulkner, and Trevor Preston (in order of joining) fitted in seamlessly with the old, whilst adding collective strengths, energy, and new ideas. The Blakeney Twelve Auction became a notable success along with the Supper Show despite Len Eaton's trenchant opinion given to Basil Dickinson when Basil approached Josie Eaton about the possibility that " nobody will pay a fiver to see that lot!"[3] Other fundraising ventures included Pumpkin growing contests[8]; Valentine's dances[9]; and Point Trips with Crab supper.[10] The third wave of members has seen a further ten faces, resulting in 600 years of service having been given by 34 men, at an average of 17 years each.

Ethos

Bill Hayward also noted that "the Twelve have never had to ask for money ... fund raising has never really been difficult. When good is seen to be done, people like to help and be associated. Expenses are minimal, less than 2 per cent. There is no office." A certain amount of discretion is obviously required, but he added that "Everybody is somebody, and the Twelve try to make people feel that they are not forgotten. Many personal problems have been solved, some of them quite confidential; indeed a solicitor once asked the Twelve to intervene when two sides were bent on going to court on a matter which would have been a waste of time and money. Quiet reasoning by a member to both parties brought an amicable settlement. Sometimes financial aid is given; the Twelve are very cautious in this but with their wide knowledge of the village they have a shrewd idea of the circumstances prevailing."[4]

'The Twelve' is only a part of the story. 'Wives of the Twelve' would justify a separate article in themselves, with only a rare public acknowledgement of their role.[10] 'Supporters of the Twelve' would require a book. Just one example gives an idea of the support given. The 1983 coal delivery entailed Mr Richard January of Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire sending his lorry to a Nottinghamshire pit to fetch a consignment of coal and transport it back to Langham airfield. There the

Photograph 5. This shot of happy guests at the 2002 dinner gives a distant hint of the efficient activity in the Village Hall kitchen. It was the Ruby Jubilee celebration of the 12 and all the table cloths were red.

11½ tons of heavy, dirty coal was bagged up. It was delivered to the elderly in just 4 hours by 17 volunteers, with lorries provided by E. & M. Grimes and Woodrow & Son, Holt.[9]

Conclusion

It is tradition for a vote of thanks to be given to the Blakeney Twelve, on behalf of the village, at the Sherry Party by the senior Doctor or the Rector. Neil Batcock gave his first response in November 2006 at Blakeney Village Hall:

Who are the Blakeney 12?
It has a ring: "The Blakeney Twelve".
But of what?
I can understand not wanting to be called 'dozen'.
There was a 'dirty dozen', wasn't there?
And there were 12 apostles, so that can't be bad.
But perhaps too holy – who am I to judge?
Perhaps they are 12 heroes.
Even more than the 7 Samurai, or the Magnificent 7.
Perhaps they too are magnificent.
They could be people wrongly imprisoned.
There could have been a campaign to release the Blakeney 12.
Or perhaps they are animals that have escaped, like the Tamworth 2.
12 would be almost a herd.
Perhaps they represent the months of the year.
I wonder who November is ?
Or the signs of the zodiac ?
Is there a Virgo amongst them ?
Maybe they are pillars, like the 7 pillars of wisdom.
Plus 5.
Or are they a team: 11 players and 1 reserve.
I wonder what games they play ?
But I suspect they are more like a jury.
Not that they sit in judgement,
but 12 good men and true.[11]

Acknowledgements

To the Blakeney Twelve, past and present, whose elan I have tried to convey, and of whom it has been such a privilege and pleasure to be part; and to John and Pamela Peake for all their help and encouragement.

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6 Blakeney 12 Minute Book Volume 1
7 Long, Joan pers. comm
8 Scrapbooks: Margaret Loose History Centre Blakeney SB/ML/F/8
9 Scrapbooks: Margaret Loose History Centre Blakeney SB/ML/F/4
10 Scrapbooks: Margaret Loose History Centre Blakeney SB/ML/F/6
11 Batcock, Neil pers. comm

Notes

Thomas Acheson 1902-1963 was born in Ireland for whom he was capped at rugby. He moved to Norfolk from Wigan General Hospital for reasons of his wife's health and for 30 years practised medicine alone. After his first wife's death, in 1938, he married Bridget Page, one of a long-established and highly respected Blakeney family.

Stratton Long 1911-2002 was born in the White Horse, son of Charles Long, Blakeney's last harbourmaster and lifeboat coxswain. Stratton

himself was the last surviving member of the Blakeney lifeboat crew, and well-known for running some of the first passenger boats to the bird sanctuary on the Point.
Bill Hayward 1900-1991 was born in Kilburn, fell in love with Norfolk on holiday visits to Stalham, and bought a business in Blakeney in 1947. As the Parish Clerk and Postmaster before his retirement, he became such a respected figure that he was asked to lay the foundation stone for Blakeney Village Hall on 16/8/1981 and gave his name to Haywards Close.
Roger Breese 1934-2011 was a fish shop proprietor.
Jack Dale 1908-1979 was a Blakeney High Street shopkeeper and latterly the village postman in Cley.
Ted Eales 1918-1992 was the National Tust warden for Blakeney Point for over 50 years from 1939 to 1980. Even before joining the Twelve he was a major source of fundraising with his Film Shows.
John Fish 1914-1992 owned a Blakeney taxi business.
Ted Grimes 1919-2002 was in business as a builder and funeral director.
Sidney Loose 1921-2004 owned a Butchery business in Blakeney.
Mike Taylor 1932-2000 was a local carpenter/ fisherman.
Sam Burnham 1909-1996 retired to Blakeney from Leicester in the 1960's.
Bob Clarke moved from the area in the 1980's.
Mike Curtis 1944-2007 was a seaside solicitor and piano player.
Paul Pawley retired to Blakeney and then moved from the area in the 1970's
Jim Stone 1905-1986 retired to Blakeney from Huddersfield in 1964.
Tony Wright 1915-2010 was born in Blakeney, owner of Stiffkey Post Office Stores from 1936 to 1972, before he returned to Blakeney to take up musselling and other jobs.

Members of the Twelve:

Founder members

Dr J S Acheson	1962-1963
Roger Breese	1962-2002
Jack Dale	1962-1978
Basil Dickinson	1962-2008
John Fish	1962-1982
Ted Grimes	1962-1964
Bill Hayward	1962-1984
Stratton Long	1962-2002
Sidney Loose	1962-1989
Cliff Moreton	1962-1989
Ray Rudd	1962-2007
Mike Taylor	1962-1974

Chairman

Dr J S Acheson	1962-1963
Stratton Long	1963-1989
Basil Dickinson	1989-2008
Trevor Preston	2008-to date

Treasurer

Basil Dickinson	1962-1989
Tony Faulkner	1989-2006
Peter Franklin	2006-to date

Secretary

Andrew Cuthbert	1962
Bill Hayward	1963-1970
Jim Stone	1970-1979
Mike Curtis	1979-2007
Chris Scargill	2007-to date

Subsequent Members

Morris Arthur	1985-2012
Darren Bishop	2003-to date
Dave Buckey	2001-to date
Sam Burnham	1963-1989
Bob Clarke	NK
Mike Curtis	1976-2007
Sam Curtis	2008-to date
Derek Dewson	2011-to date
Ted Eales	1977-1993
Tony Faulkner	1985-2012
Peter Franklin	2003-to date
Steven Hall	2007-to date
Shaun Hill	1998-2010
Paul Pawley	1970-1972
Trevor Preston	1990-to date
Joe Reed	1977-to date
Chris Scargill	1998-to date
Jim Stone	1964-1979
Jim Temple	1993-1979
Mick Welch	1980-to date
Willie Weston	2008-to date
Tony Wright	1980-2003

A Shopkeeper of Cley in the 16th Century

John Peake

Synopsis: an inventory made in 1592 of the contents of a shop in Cley and the list of debts and debtors provides an opportunity to discuss some features of the town.

Introduction

Wills and associated documents are often a rich source of information on families and communities. Their value was enhanced, however, in the period from 1342 to 1782 by the requirement in ecclesiastical law for every executor of a will or administrator of an estate to provide an inventory of the deceased's estate before probate could be granted. This document was to include an estimate of the value of all the deceased's possessions plus debts owed but not owing, while excluding '*real estate*' like land.

Early inventories are comparatively rare, as frequently they were stored in bundles separate from the wills and many have been lost or severely damaged. A few early examples from the three villages bordering Blakeney Haven have survived, one is the subject of this paper. It was made in 1592 for the estate of Edmund Gilborde of Cley,[1] there was no will but probate was granted in the same year.[2] This document was written on both sides of a small piece of paper folded in half vertically to give two columns and then folded again to form a small oblong. So perhaps this is the reason it has survived in comparatively good condition as there is no evidence that it was ever part of a larger bundle of documents.

The inventory presents a challenge as the handwriting is extremely difficult to read, but now is the time to place on record the current state of the research. Why is it interesting? There are, at least, two reasons: it lists the contents of one man's business, a shop, at a time when information on shops in small towns is not common; secondly Gilborde recorded in a debt book the names of all people who owed him money, the amount they owed and in many cases where they lived. It is therefore a record of the type of goods available in Cley at the end of the sixteenth century when it was part of an active port trading along the coast and overseas with continental Europe and Iceland. Then the location of debtors illustrates a network of trading spreading out from the town.

The Document

The hand writing is small and cramped with many words truncated, and moreover, the spelling is phonetic and inconsistent, nothing unusual for this period. It has the appearance of a quickly written note, but it must have been organised by somebody with expert knowledge of the items, particularly the cloths and materials mentioned.

Three people are listed as having prepared the inventory, William Browne of Holt and John Braddock of Cley, with a third undecipherable name, although only two ever signed it – Browne and Braddock. A William Browne of Holt is recorded as a person from whom Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey Hall regularly purchased grocery and drapery. So it is extremely likely that this was the man who was involved in preparing the inventory and bringing his expert knowledge to the assessment of the goods in the shop.[3] Similarly John Braddock is recorded as a local Customs Officer, a Searcher and a fish merchant.[4] Cozens-Hardy describes the custom records he kept as being in a neat and educated hand, so probably he was not responsible for the actual writing of the inventory.[4] He lived in Wiveton, although here he signs himself *of Cley* which is where the Customs House was located.

Who was Edmund Gilborde?

There are only two documents that can with certainty be attributed directly to the deceased, Edmund Gilborde, the probate inventory and the administration award, nothing else.[1,2] Part of the problem is the range of contemporary spellings of the surname Gilborde, indeed the award is given to Gilberde, but potentially Gilbard(e), Gilbart and Gilbert are alterna-

tives of the same name. So there may be other records, for example, in the Bacon Papers there is an Edmund Gilberyte recorded from Blakeney as a joint ship owner,[5] while in the Port Books in 1589 there is a merchant, an Edmund Gilbert, probably from Cley.[3] However, these suggestions must remain speculative.

Another intriguing mystery is the absence of any record of him being buried in Cley or a neighbouring village, but there is a possible explanation. **Table 1** shows that in 1592, the year Gilborde died, there was a massive increase in the number of burials recorded in the Cley Parish Registers, over 400% compared with the two adjacent years.[7] There are a number of natural disasters that could provide explanations, such as a crop failure with resulting famine and increased susceptibility to diseases or a highly infectious epidemic. A consequence of the high mortality level would have been social disruption and in such a situation it is easy to envisage some burials went unrecorded or were not copied into the burial register.

There were many candidates for a deadly disease that would have had this effect, including sweating sickness (a virulent form of influenza) and smallpox, and their chances of being introduced into Cley would have been enhanced by the trading links to other English ports and the continent. Furthermore, the plague never died out after the catastrophic epidemic in the 14th century and there were multiple outbreaks in Norwich and London in the late sixteenth century.[8,9] In cities where plague occurred special provisions were made for quarantining and dealing with the dead; the same could have happened on a smaller scale in Cley and this would have added to the disruption.

Table 1. Number of Burials in Cley 1588-1596

1588	24
1589	30
1590	24
1591	16
1592	**70**
1593	9
1594	13
1595	25
1596	21

The Inventory of Goods

A transcript of the contents of the shop is given in **Table 2**. The preamble to one part of the inventory makes it clear that it is the contents of a shop that are being listed, together with a comparatively shorter list of personal belongings, including a bed, table and the basic accoutrements for living and sleeping. Many of the latter are also recorded as old, suggesting the owner may have been an old man. This may explain the nature of the stock in the shop where there are numerous references to remnants of cloth that could have been accumulated over many years.

Amongst his personal items there is nothing unusual except for four mansar of nets; a mansar was a length of fishing net used for catching herring and similar fish. Bequests of nets occur occasionally in wills of people living around the Haven and along the coast, even when there is no evidence of them owning or having a share in a fishing boat. Indeed nets can occupy a prominent position amongst bequests suggesting they were recognised as a valuable investment; they may have been lent or hired to fishermen in return for money or a share of a catch.

There is no indication of separate rooms in the inventory, but there is a comment *'in hiz house'* squeezed in almost as an after thought. So everything may have been contained in a large open space that served as both a house and a shop, divided by curtains or the *'valences'* listed. A shop in the Elizabethan era could have been quite a simple affair, part of a house or a table outside where goods could be displayed, while the stock was stored in the space behind.[10] The required *'oulde plancke and A payer of treseles'* are included in the inventory, together they would have formed a table where goods could be displayed and cloth cut. While the *'brassen waytes'* and *'leade weyte'* plus the *'3 payer of ouldes skoles'* (i.e. scales) would have been used for weighing the *'thed'* (i.e. thread) and other items where the quantities are recorded in *'l'* (i.e. pounds).

At this time it was common for measurements, whether it be length, weight or volume, to vary according to the nature of the goods or between locations. In this inventory such terms as *'hoged'* for presumably a hogshead could have a capacity of either 63 wine gallons or 52½ imperial gallons. Similarly a *'ferken'*, for a firkin, a cask that could be 9 gallons for beer, 84 gallons for wine or 64 pounds for butter.[11]

Similarly variations occurred when measuring cloth. *'Tailors in the sixteenth century used inch, nail, yard and ell'*[12] for widths and lengths of material and although some of these terms were used in other countries they did not necessarily conform to the same standards. The English ell (or ele) was established in 1473 as 45 inches, but the Flemish ell was 27inches and the French

Table 2. Transcript of inventory showing contents of shop. *Note: (1) There were two columns in the original document and these have been kept separate. (2) Dashes indicate letters that could not be deciphered and brackets doubt about a letter or word.*

Column 1

A remnaunt of A hoghed of veneger
A remnaunt of oulde hopes
1 remnaunt of A ferken of honnie
7 payer of tabules at 20d A payr
5 glaues Botele
1 dossen of cards
17 - penes
3 cores enkele
--- coventre thed
norwyche garterre 3 remnau - 8 di —
3l w thed
1l of w thed
2 ous Sylurs thed
1l red thed
1---- Dossen Stateude laces
1l frenge
1 pecs enkele
w trecull
dil Aniseds
1 reme w paper
1 rennaunte of cores bulter
6l Bremstone
3 greye thed
1l of genger
3 payer of garters
peiper lyle 3 of
1l of Sennemond meddle
1 coffyne
1 remnaunte of males
1 gloves
44l candsels
to Small chestes
3 yars of hollond at 16
1l Starche
30l Sope at 3d l
52 eles w Ossenbrdges at 9-
15 els of mynster at 7
22 eles 2 of mynsters at 6
16 eles hedlocke 4d
20 els 3 of hedlocke at 4d
5 els corres caumericke 4d
7 yards of homes fustes
1 remnaunts of myllen fuste of d- ele
2 yardes Seken
dy ele damys
16 eles dyepe cores 22
6 yards cores callyco 16
1 peces black damyes
22 yards Buffene 13
3 of velleure
520 8 eles hollond at 2d
4 yards 3 of cores hollond at 1+4
23 eles of hollond at 2s 8
11 eles of hollond at -at 3s 62
9 eles of hollond at 2s 8
3 yards of hollond at 20
21 els of graye canves at 12s
35 els of graye canves at 13

Column 2

25 eles 3 of canvis at 14
1 ele ch graye canvis at 12
16 eles w canvis at 13
13 ele ch w canvis at 14
12 ele w canvis at 12 --
30 eles Duche w canvis 11
20 eles w canvis at 12
6 eles 2 of canvis at 12
5 eles 2 of w canvis at 12
6 eles w canvis at 16
12 eles ch dubleton canvis at 2s
2 yards of graye clothe at 12
1 yard cores vellur
5 yards Jene frusten at 10d
8 yards cores husswyffe clothe
2 yards 3 of (lambse) wollse
1l ch brasen waytes
1l ch leden weyte
3 payer of ouldes Skoles
1 Standes
An oulde plancke & A payer of treseles
The vallentes in the Shope & an ould clothe
6 oulde Barreles

54in. Some of the clothes in this inventory were being imported from the Low Countries and could have been measured in Flemish ells, which was also used in this country. The problem of distinguishing between different measurements was even confusing to people living at that time, for a note survives written by a confused and anxious clerk in the court of Elizabeth trying to make sense of all the variations.[12]

In this inventory measurements for cloths and materials are given in both ells and yards, while for items like *'thed'* and spices quantities are recorded in *'l'* and *'di or dy l'*, that is pounds and half pounds. Several different unit costs are included for *'holland'* cloth suggesting Gilborde was stocking different qualities and widths of this material. Where the values per unit of an item are given these are included, but not total monetary values for each item are included here as they are unnecessary for this account and they provide an added complication as the figures are not always decipherable and where they

Table 3. Glossary of Cloths and sewing items mentioned in the Inventory and the Port Books.
The cloths with an asterisk in front of the name are only mentioned in the Port Books.

buffene	Buffin: a plain weave worsted cloth with a coarse grained texture, made by the Strangers in Norwich during the late 16th and early 17th century but by 1625 was going out of fashion. Said by some authorities to be of an *'inferior form used for gowns doublets etc by the poorer classes'*.
callyco	Callico – the name given to cotton fabrics imported in enormous quantities from Calicut (Calcutta),India. The finer grades were called muslin.
caumericke	Probably cambric, a fine white linen originally from Flanders.
canvis and canves	Canvas and present in considerable quantities in the inventory; a strong often unbleached cloth made of hemp or flax. Used in many domestic situations, for clothing and for sail making.
***carayes, northern**	Possibly *'cary'*, a coarse cloth; the significance of the prefix *'northern'*, except to denote origin, is not known.
cores bulter	Possibly a bolt of a coarse cloth
***cotton**	Two distinct meanings; (1) true cotton was available and used mainly for cloth ing; (2) some coarse woollen cloths where the surface (nap) had been 'cottoned' and then sheared to give an even surface
damyes, black damyes	Damask was originally a silk fabric from Damascus, but also applied to a linen/worsted material often with designs incorporated and in many colours; Norwich was the centre of production. Used for covers, hangings and clothes.
***dornix, dornicke**	By the 15th century woven in Norwich, can be made from wool, linen, silk or a mixture. Often used for furnishings and clothes for poor people
***dosins, dossens**	Possibly a dosser – an ornamental cloth to cover the back of a seat or chair
dubleten canvs	Canvas for a doublet
dyepe corse	Not recognised, but probably a coarse cloth as a length is listed in eles. In later centuries there was a Dieppe cloth.
enkele	This is often spelt as '*inkle'* a linen tape or braid used for strings, ties or gar ters, etc, could be multicoloured. Coarse forms used for harnesses.
frenge	A fringe, a narrow band of material from which threads hang.
fuste	This is fustian a name applied to a wide group of fabrics distinguished by their piled surface, but they could be made from mixtures of coarse cotton and linen or linen and silk. Before 1580 most were imported with the earliest centres in Italy, but Dutch and German fustians were in England by the 16th century and possibly being manufactured in England by the end of the 16th century. In many colours and used for clothes and blankets.
hedlocke	Not recognised, but probably a cloth as a length is listed in eles.
holland	As the name implies woven in Holland, a good quality linen cloth. The Dutch were serious competitors to the English in the weaving of linen and there were attempts in the 16th and 17th centuries to encourage local production. Some traders are recorded with huge stocks of holland with a range of valuations and presumably quality (as here).
homes fuste	A fustian made in Ulm, Germany.
husswyffe cloth	Housewife cloth was a coarse wool or linen cloth for household use; has been described as *'a middle sort of cloth'*.
hussins	Is this a *'coarse hessian'*, but not necessarily similar to material with the same name today

***kersey (carsies)**	Usually a coarse woollen cloth; a twill with a pattern. Ultimately from a village of the same name in Suffolk, but woven in many places.
***knytt hoose, short**	Short knitted stockings
males	This could be mail, as in chain mail, but also a bag, wallet or travelling trunk; probably the former as it is described as a *'remaunte'*.
medele	A cloth woven in different colours
mylien fuste	A type of Fustian; mylie could apply to a place where it was made, possibly Milan, Italy.
mynster	A coarse linen cloth possibly imported from Munster, Germany
Norwyche garterre	A ribbon or braid tied beneath the knee to support stockings, in this case made in Norwich.
Ossenbridges	A coarse linen or fustian from Osnabruck in northern Germany; used for clothes and sacking.
***scottish cloth**	A linen made with nettle fibres instead of hemp or flax; a thin cloth used in stead of more expensive calico.
poleanis	*'boultes of poleanis'* – the use of *'boultes'* or bolt suggests this is a fabric, but not recognised
seken	Sacking – two possible types of cloth: a coarse hemp or flax cloth used for making sacks or a finer material of linen and silk used for making clothes
starch & soap	Soap was used not only for washing, but also as a lubricant, for marking out patterns on cloth and for treating sheep. Starch was used for stiffening ruffs and clothes, but again for marking out patterns.
stateude laces	Statute lace made according to an Act of Parliament. Lace could be made with various types of thread and immigrants in Norwich made the city a centre of production
thed	thread, different types listed, coventre. sylvers *(silver*), red, grey
velleures, vellur	A velvet or a woollen material with a velvet-like pile used for clothes and fur nishings.

are the sums do not always add up. The total value of the stock is given as £18 0s 6d.

Cloths and Associated Items

The inventory is dominated by types of cloth of different qualities and lengths, so a glossary of cloths is provided in **Table 3** together with comments on potential sources.[11,13-17] It is tempting to suggest Gilborde was a draper, but this would be ignoring the range of other items available in the shop. He must have responded to local needs and seized opportunities for sales, as inventories of shopkeepers from other villages also demonstrate. Here a distinction must be recognised between small towns or villages and large cities; in the former craft guilds regulating the sale of goods would have been largely absent hence the range of items, while their presence in the latter would have influenced the trading practices of specialised shops.[10]

Many of the poorer people would have relied on purchasing second-hand clothes at the weekly markets and annual fairs in both Cley and Blakeney or having clothes passed on to them by their employers.[10,18] These people were unlikely to have been customers for the cloths available in Gilborde's shop, indeed some may even have been weaving their own. However, the range of materials suggests his clientele were diverse with the less wealthy making their own clothes and those that could afford it using tailors.

During the 16th and 17th centuries tailors were found throughout rural parishes in Norfolk and in market towns like Holt, indeed they were the commonest group of tradesman leaving wills.[8] Also there could have been journeyman tailors moving around the area, as certainly happened in later centuries, while a large and

important household could have an itinerant tailor visit them to make clothes.[10] Both groups may have carried supplies with them, but supplemented them when necessary with local purchases.

In the Bacon Papers there is a bill to Anne Bacon,[5] Nathaniel's wife, from her tailor listing a range of material used in creating a luxurious garment, a *'sattayn dublet'* for a lady with much silk, gold and silver being employed.

Unfortunately there is no information on where the materials were purchased, but they are different from the majority of cloths in Gilborde's shop and were possibly obtained from Browne in Holt.[3] Yet the presence of silver thread and some of the more expensive cloths in the inventory as apposed to cheaper *'corse'* (coarse) materials again indicates the diversity of his customers.

As could be anticipated there are a number of enigmas in the list. For example, a *'w'* or *'wh'* with a line above for a contraction appears in the name of various items. This could be a contraction for white, as there is insufficient space for the whole word to be written. So there is *'w thed'*, *'w canvis'* and even *'1 reme of w paper'*. Cloths were bleached at this time in a lye made from wood ash with sometimes the addition of lime[15] and *'bleaching yards'*[9] are recorded where cloth, especially linen, was laid out to whiten it. However, this ambiguous term for *'white cloth'* was also applied to cloth sold to specialist craftsmen for the final finishings and dyeing.[19]

Where did this array of cloths come from? Records exist of weavers operating across the county from at least the 14th century producing linen and woollen textiles. One of the most noteworthy was worstead which by the end of the 16th century was being woven in over ninety towns and villages in Norfolk with a concentration across a broad swath of the north-east and central regions of the county.[20] Although worstead is not specifically mentioned in the inventory, *'buffene'* (i.e. buffin) a type of this cloth is. Nevertheless, in a number of instances the source is included in the name, such as *'norwyche garterre'*, then *'holland'* and *'dutch'* for cloths from Holland; those with the prefixe *'homes'* (i.e. Ulm) and '*Ossenbridges*' were from Germany and *'myllen'* from Milan. All of these were major centres for cloth production from medieval times[19] and because of its maritime connections the Haven was connected to the major trading routes for these commodities both in this country and continental Europe. Calico imported from India is found in this inventory, although in the next century the cost of importing vast quantities were viewed as a threat to the national balance of payments.[16]

Some care has to be exercised in attributing origins, as English copies using the same name did replace some foreign-sourced cloths and even vica versa, with price probably being one of the deciding factors. So even the word *'dutch'* in this context may be misleading, because in the second half of the 16th century attempts were made to encourage *'Strangers'* from the Low Countries to settle in Norwich.[17] They brought skills to make new types of textiles thus reinvigorating the local economy and export trade; could these at a local level been termed *'dutch'* and not simply *'Norwich'*?

Other Items

Included in the inventory are items that do not appear to be directly related to cloths and sewing. Besides paper there are remnants of a hogshead of vinegar, a firkin of *'honnie'* (i.e. honey) and a number of spices or 'folk and herbal' medicines. The latter included ginger and anised (i.e. aniseed), *trecull* (i.e. treacle), *peper* (i.e. pepper), *sennemond* (i.e. cinnamon) and 6 pound of *'Bremstone'* (i.e. Brimstone). While the large quantities of candles plus soap and starch demonstrate the practical nature of his stock. At this time starch was used for stiffening clothes, including frills along the top of shirt collars and for ruffs.[14]

Many of these commodities appear in other shop inventories from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicating their widespread use. An interesting example is Brimstone, which is almost pure sulphur; it was used as an external and internal 'medicine' and a fumigant when virulent diseases struck, besides being an ingredient of gunpowder. Was it being used in Cley as a fumigant against plague? Its use as an oral medicine when mixed with treacle was made famous in Dickens novels and persisted locally until the 19th and 20th centuries with references in a Freda Starr booklet.[21] It is not clear what it was meant to cure, but the descriptions indicate it was nasty and therefore it must do you some good! It is still sold today in markets as a 'native medicine' in places like Indonesia.

Debts

A transcript of the list of debts is given in **Table 4**. These were copied from the deceased's debt book and include only money owed to him, not his own debts. At the top of this list is the phrase *'wch are desperate'* in a different hand and ink, this was usually added at the time probate was granted. It signifies a hopeless debt that could not be recovered, as apposed to a *'separate'* debt that was recoverable.[22]

The debts vary from £1 14s down to 11d giving a grand total of nearly £20, a considerable sum in 1592. This was spread between 54 peo-

Table 4. Transcript of inventory giving list of debts. *This was copied from the debt book maintained by Edmund Gilborde*

Androu page of blackne che	0	2	8
Crytoft of glaunser che	0	3	0
mor		12	3
wellume Godescrosse of blackne	0	6	8
fraunis monemane of holcume		3	0
The wedou letbeter	0	1	7
Boye the meller of hemsted	0	2	6
mor		0	9
wollefures wyffe of Sherry-gan	0	4	0
Sego of hanner che	0	18	[?]
John Erlle of boddom che	0	3	4
Annys dyngull	0	1	4
Bartrames wyffe	0	1	[?]
The wedou Rocke of Waborne	0	[?]	[?]
Cristofer page of cleye	0	7	0
Jahn Robynsume of claye	0	17	9
Jasper Roper of claye	0	5	6
Thomas Chambares of claye to be} payd at his daye of marreg }	1	0	0
peter Tyler of wodnortoune } too be payed at his day of marrey}	0	10	0
Raylltune of wolvertone che	0	5	4
Robard barnarde eq	0	1	5
The wedou penchebacke che	0	3	0
Thomas Chambures of claye che } to be payd at his daye of marrey }	1	14	8
Mr Starkeye che		[?]	7
Crabes wyffe of claye		4	2
fraunces pounser of claye	0	[?]	4
Mr mabes of claye	0	9	
Ellsabethe Raye of Saulthous	0	16	2
Robarde barker of claye	0	5	10
Jexsune of kellyne che	0	4	8
Mr waker of copthorpe	0	5	0
Martha wheyte of kellyn	0	1	7
Thomas haste of	0	14	0
harrye Armenger of houlte	0	12	6
Mrs Jarves of Saulthous che	0	4	0
wyllyarme meller of claye	0	5	0
George Clarke of Blaknye	0	3	5
walker of claye	0	2	9
fraunis Reuet	0	1	4
John Rock of kellyne che	0	4	6
Robard poynter of blackne che	0	3	0
josyaffe douell his wyffe che	0	1	0
Trotter of claye che	0	2	4
Edward halledaye che	0	10	10
hosege of Sault hous che	0	1	4
marre dryver of claye che	0	0	11
(Thomas wo—of blacken)			
John weld of blacken che	1	5	0
Thomas barker of blacken	0	7	6
Wellune Allessaunder of claye	0	4	6
Thomas Cl-pwele of Wyveton	1	0	0
Robard Save- of claye	0	2	9
The Skall master of borsu-e che	0	2	10
Johne graye of Saulthoues	0	11	6
Robard Tayler of claye	0	3	0
Mr jerreme Clarke che	0	13	5
Thomas jeypes che	0	4	10

Table 5. Summary of location and numbers of Debtors

Village / Town	**Number**
Sheringham	1
Weybourne	1
Kelling	3
Salthouse	4
Cley	15
Glandford	1
Letheringsett	1
Holt	1
Hemstead	1
Bodham	1
Wood Norton	1
Wolverton	1
Wiveton	1
Blakeney	7
Cockthorpe	1
Not recognised	3
Not given	11
	54

ple and was only slightly greater than the value of the stock in the shop. There are various calculators that give an equivalent figure in today's money, but these are extremely crude. They suggest that in 1590 £20 would have enabled you to purchase either 10 cows or 2 horses or pay a craftsman in the building trade for more than a year.

Unfortunately it is impossible to distinguish between debts that were incurred against goods sold on credit or whether Gilborde was lending money, albeit small amounts. But the size of the list indicates debt was an accepted part of the social structure with widows and wives included amongst a primarily male dominated list. As Spufford[23] remarks in an analysis of rural communities in Cambridgeshire during the 16th and 17th centuries *'Borrowing and credit appear to have underpinned the whole of rural society.'* However, debt was not restricted to rural areas as data from Norwich shows that amongst the wealthy debts from money lending could be in excess of 90% of moveable goods (goods included in the probate inventory).[8]

The locations of the debtors shows a wide spread along the coast to Sheringham and Holkham and inland as far as Wolterton and Wood Norton (**Table 5**), but not Holt where there would have been other shops. The furthest distance from Cley being c11 miles (c17 kilometres) as the crow flies, except for one entry for a person from Boston in Lincolnshire. Here there is

an easy explanation for the custom records show boats were trading between the two ports,[4] so presumably this was a mariner making an opportunistic purchase while others from inland, visiting the port to sell corn for export, could be the doing the same.

As could be anticipated the greatest number of debts were from people living in Cley followed by Blakeney and the fact that for 20% of the individuals no location is given adds some credence to the idea that this was unnecessary as they were living locally and Gilborde knew them well. Indeed in two instances a second entry under a name shows debt had been extended.

When would these debts have been repaid? Three men had agreed to clear the debt on the day they married, presumably from the anticipated marriage dowry. Otherwise there is no indication, but as Spufford shows in Cambridgeshire income generation in agricultural communities was largely seasonal so courts for paying rents occurred after harvests and the sale of crops.[23] In Cley and further inland the farming communities would have followed a similar seasonal pattern, but trading through the port and local fishing offered other opportunities for raising income that were not restricted to the same pattern. Nevertheless, other than inshore fisheries, there would still have been seasonal components imposed by the timing of boats returning from Iceland followed by the arrival of the herring shoals and the subsequent fairs to sell the fish.

Discussion

As a broad generalisation it has been suggested that by the end of the Middle Ages shops would have been common place for people living in large cities, but for the majority of people in rural communities outside these places life evolved around what they could grow and make for themselves and only occasionally what they could sell or buy with money. Indeed for much of this period there was only a limited range of goods that could be purchased. Many of these people were peasants, and for them markets and fairs were places where produce and goods made locally could be exchanged. This gradually changed and in the second half of the sixteenth century the range of goods being offered for sale at country markets and fairs was expanding and shops were becoming more widespread. However, this picture is based on comparatively few records compared to those available for large cities and information on the number or range of shops in any country town or village is largely absent.[10] How does Cley fit into this scenario?

An indication of the size of the potential market Gilborde was serving can be deduced from the population estimates for the three villages at the end of the 16th century: it was probably between 1,000 and 1,300 individuals spread across about 260 households.[24,25] Extrapolating from data gathered earlier in the century about a third of these were poor or even destitute, so they would not be customers.[8] Of the rest about 10-13% belonged to an affluent group, plus a smaller number of richer people. If these assumptions are correct, and there are many, then the working people would have occupied about 55% of the population or about 140 households. A similar proportion of the population were fishermen and mariners,[25] these together with people working on the land would have required hard-wearing and warm clothes while working outside. Furthermore, these numbers would have been supplemented by people attracted to the port to trade – selling, for example, wheat, barley and malt or buying coal and then visiting Gilborde's shop.

A series of extracts from contemporary sources illustrates the garments worn by working people showing they were largely determined by economic factors and differed sharply from those of the upper classes. *'Husbandmen weare garments of course cloth made at home ... and their wives . . . gowns of the same, . . . kirtles (i.e. skirt or petticoat) of some light stuffe with linnen aprons. Their linnen is course and made at home'*. The next two quotations continue in a similar vein: *'Fustian was in general use, serving mean people for their outsides and their betters for the linings of their garments. Shirts, underwear and linings were of coarse linen such as lockeram for the better off and canvas or sackcloth for the poorer'* and *'He had a shyrt of canvas hard and tough - This was a husbandman, a simple hinde'*.[14]

Gilborde's shop stocked many of the materials mentioned in these quotations and even more, with about a third of the different types of cloth being termed *'corse'* and these at least suggest that he was catering for working people. However, his clientele must have also included some drawn from a more affluent group who could afford more expensive items like silver thread, damask and Holland that was also being sold.

There was a considerable range of cloths available at the end of the sixteenth century that could have been purchased directly from the weavers or tradesmen involved in finishing the textiles, but also from merchants and at cloth fairs, like the major one in Tombland, Norwich.[20] These were then distributed along land-based networks that criss-crossed the country, besides by sea.

The port books[4] for the Haven covering the period 1587 to 1590 **(Table 6)** illustrate the maritime trade in cloth dominated by the considerable quantities of dornix being exported to the continent and north to Newcastle. But only a

selection of the textiles passing through the port are listed in the inventory, for example, holland and fustian. Interestingly one merchant was exporting coney (i.e. rabbit) and lamb skins to Dansk (Denmark), goods associated with clothing, this was 'Edmund Gilbert' who could perchance be the owner of the shop.[4] **Table 6** shows that two parallel operations concerned with cloth coexisted in the Haven: one concerned with importing and presumably supplying local traders like Gilborde's shop, the other with exporting or even re-exporting.

To survive shopkeepers had to be flexible especially in small towns where the potential market for their goods was limited by population size. Some of the demand would have been met through the weekly markets and annual fairs in Cley and also Blakeney, but the presence of at least one shop shows there were other opportunities. Edmund Gilborde was fortunate in that Cley was a port that acted as a 'honey-pot' for the surrounding countryside. He was obviously seizing opportunities, besides cloth he was, for example, stocking spices, soap, candles and paper. But the success of a shopkeeper at this time was not solely dependant on getting goods, rather on the difficult task of recovering the money owed,[10] especially in an economy where debt played a major role.

Table 6. Cloths being traded through the Port of Blakeney 1587-1590. *The records are divided between 'coastal trade' for ports in England and the rest classed as 'foreign'. Merchants are described as 'alien' when their place of birth was not England, i.e. overseas; 'native' applying*

		Boat of	Merchant	Cloth
Coastal Trade				
From	Yarmouth	Wifton	native	16 pieces of fustian
	Lynn	Claye	alien	20 Northern dosins 20 carsies
To	Newcastle	Blackny	native	2 packs of dornicke containing 100yds
	Yarmouth	Claye	native	8 pieces holland
Foreign Trade				
From	Rotterdam	Claye	alien	3 pieces holland
	Kinghorne, Scotland	Kinghorne	native	12 pieces Scottishe clothe
	Rochelle W France (Bay of Biscay)	Wiveton	?	10 boultes poleanis
	Rochelle	Wiveton	native	4 boultes of poleanis
To	Rotterdam	Claye	alien	1 small pack dornix with thread 240yds
	Rotterdam	Claye	alien	2.5 pieces dornix with thread 100yds
	Island (Iceland)	Wiveton	native	2 northern dozens 100yds cotton
	Rotterdam	Kircaldy	alien	130yds dornix with thread
	Rotterdam Holland	Anchusan,	alien	300yds dornix with thread
	Rochelle	Cley	native	5 doz pairs 'knytt hoose short'
	Rotterdam	Targowe	?	400yds dornix with thread
	Marcellus (SW France?)	Cley	native	60 northern dossens 21 northern carayes in 10 trusses
			London	10 trusses northern carayes containing 100 carayes

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Farming in Field Dalling 1610-1876

Mike Medlar

Synopsis: using the will and inventory of Robert Stileman (died 1610) and the field book of Henry Savory (1868-1876), the author looks at farming practices in seventeenth and nineteenth century Field Dalling and compares and contrasts them with what was happening locally and in north-west Norfolk.

Introduction – crop rotations in Norfolk

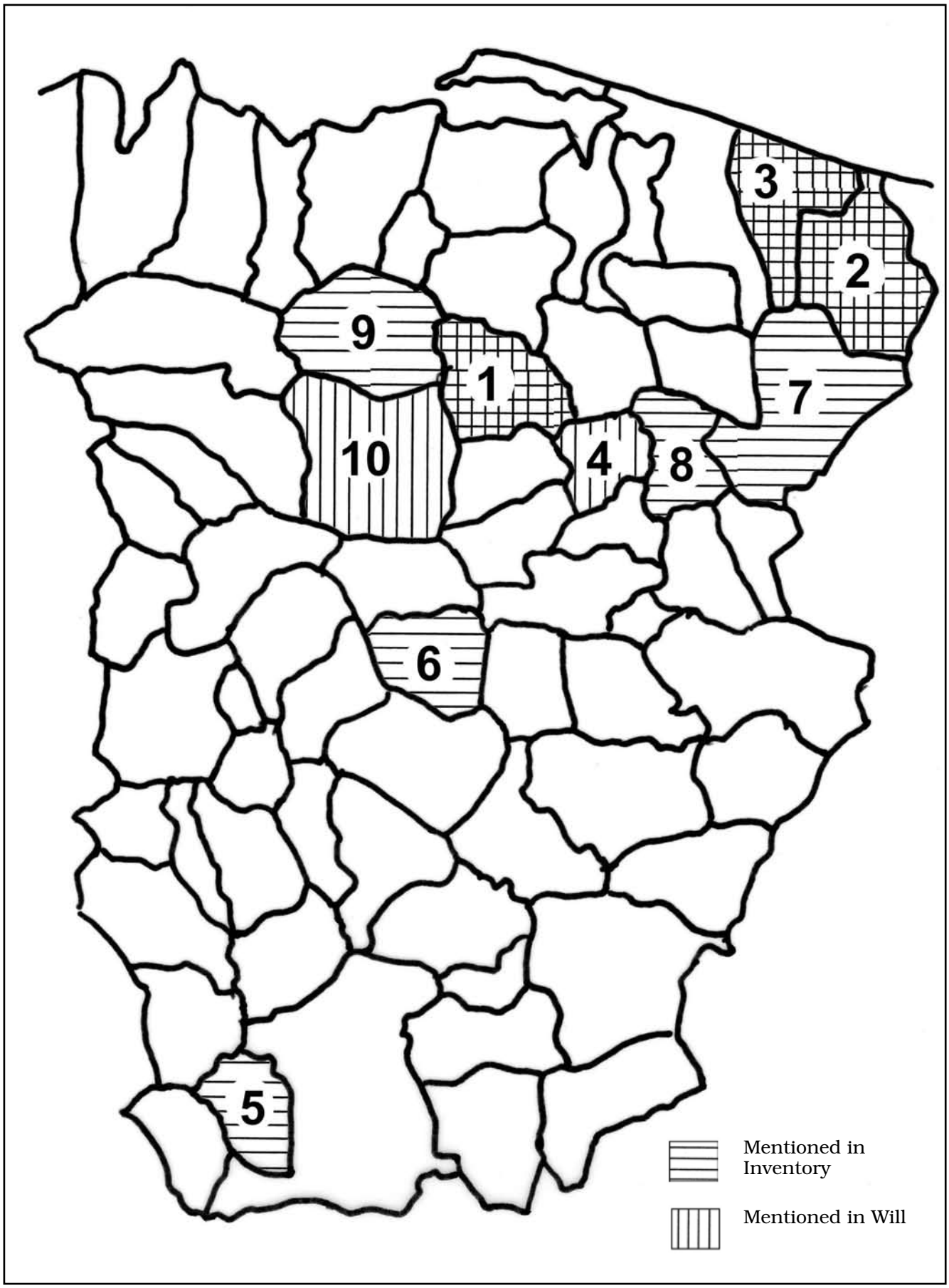
The traditional view of medieval agriculture is of a 3-field system, in which the lord of the manor and peasant farmers held small strips of land scattered across the fields of the village. The widespread distribution was an attempt to ensure an even distribution of good and poor land. Wheat and barley were the main crops grown in a 3-year rotation, which saw the ground left fallow in the third year. Ploughs were pulled by ox-teams and villagers would have kept animals, including pigs, sheep and cattle. Areas of the village would have been left as pasture and meadows – the latter for hay for winter feed for the animals. Besides yielding milk, meat, wool and leather, animals were important for the manure they produced, which was the only fertilizer available. There was never enough manure, and hence the need to leave one third of the land unsown so that it could recover some goodness.[1]

The above is an oversimplification, especially when considering Norfolk. There is little evidence to suggest that whole fields were dedicated to one crop or left fallow; more likely, divisions of field, called furlongs, were the units of cultivation. Besides wheat and barley, other crops were grown – notably peas and beans, which helped to fix nitrogen in the soil, thereby reducing the need to leave land fallow. Grass leys were sometimes sown and left for a number of years; these would help to provide fodder, as well as giving the land time to recover.

Bruce Campbell's work on medieval farming demonstrates that, in the fourteenth-century, the Bishop of Norwich's lands in Langham were growing wheat and barley on a commercial scale, and that legumes were planted to reduce the acreage left fallow. This allowed almost continuous cropping. Sheep were the most important animals in the village and it appears that, following the Black Death in 1349, oxen gave way to horses as the working animal on the bishop's farm.[2]

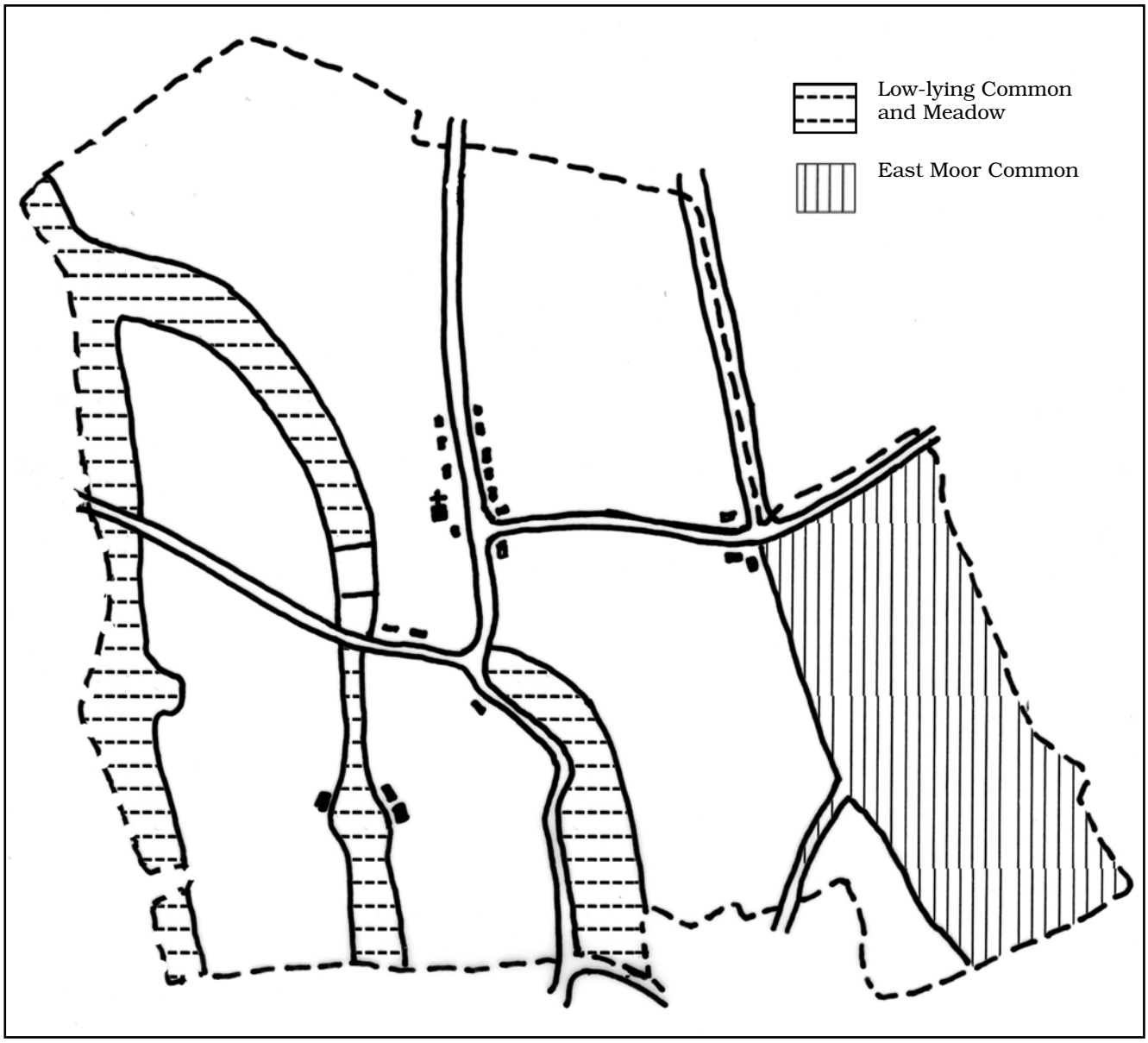
The later medieval period saw a move towards regional specialisation in farming. The lighter, drier soils of north and west Norfolk were suited to barley production, especially for malt for brewing. The many small ports on the north Norfolk coast allowed for relatively easy export of this malt to the growing urban markets, especially London. Sheep remained the most important animals, and the foldcourse system reached its peak. Sheep were grazed on the commons during the day, then walked to the arable fields at night, where they were closely penned and their manure trodden into the soil. Lords of the manor attempted to control the flocks – a privilege which allowed them to have their lands manured first. By the end of the seventeenth century, this system was breaking down, and villagers gave up their rights to part of the commons in exchange for gaining control of their own lands. This allowed both lords and villagers to consolidate their holdings. While the foldcourse system operated, it was impossible to enclose the open fields or the commons.[3]

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, new crops were introduced. These provided additional fodder, which allowed more animals to be kept, produced more manure, thus leading to an improvement in crop yields.[4] Clover and turnips were the most important of these new crops. Turnips were a fodder crop which could either be eaten by sheep in the field where it grew (allowing direct fertilization of the ground), or harvested and fed to cattle in enclosed yards over the winter period. Clover, as well as providing fodder, fixed nitrogen in the soil more efficiently than peas, beans and legumes. Linked with the introduction of new crops was the enclosure of the open fields and common



Map 1. Villages mentioned in Robert Stileman's will and inventory.

Villages: 1 Field Dalling; 2 Kelling; 3 Salthouse; 4 Sharrington; 5 Brisley; 6 Barney; 7 Holt; 8 Thornage; 9 Binham; 10 Hindringham.



Map 2. General Layout of Field Dalling 1610.

grazing lands, and the formation of ring-fenced farms. This made for a more efficient farm, and allowed landowners to determine their own cropping regimes, rather than having to follow the customary village pattern.[4]

By the 1730s, progressive landowners and farmers in north-west Norfolk had adopted what was to become known as the 'Norfolk 4-course rotation'. Wheat, turnips, barley and clover were grown in successive years. This eliminated the need for fallowing. The 4-course rotation suited the light soils, and it was not unusual to modify it to suit local conditions. Often an extra year of grass/clover was added and, in times of high prices, an extra crop of barley might be sown.[4]

The middle years of the nineteenth century (1830-1870) saw more changes to agricultural practices. This was the era of 'High Farming', when landowners were investing in field drainage on heavier soils, and in new farm buildings. The farmers were using oil cake for feeding their cattle, and artificial fertilizers started to be introduced (also guano, which was imported from South America in large quantities). The farmers were also turning to mechanisation, particularly in the form of threshing machines, and mechanical reapers saw increased use.[4]

Robert Stileman of Field Dalling, died 1610.

(See Map 1)

The Stileman family lived and farmed in Field Dalling in the latter part of the sixteenth century and through most of the seventeenth century. Robert Stileman was mentioned a number of times in the papers of Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey,[5] and births, deaths and marriages of various Stilemans appear in the Field Dalling parish registers. The last record

Table 1. Robert Stileman's produce stored at Field Dalling May 1610

Produce	Quantity	Value	Location
Hemp	10 stone	£ 1 0s 0d	Loft over kitchen
Malt	100 combs	£40 0s 0d	Bakehouse chamber
Wheat	100 combs	£50 0s 0d	Malthouse chamber
Meslyn	20 combs	£10 0s 0d	Barn
Wheat	25 combs	£12 10s 0d	Upper chamber
Cheeses	2	8s 0d	Dairy chamber
Wool	40 stone	£14 0s 0d	Woolhouse
Sheep skins	60	£ 1 10s 0d	Woolhouse
Total		£139 8s 0d	

dates from the 1660s and, some time towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Stilemans sold their lands in Field Dalling and moved to Snettisham in west Norfolk, where they constructed a new hall dating from 1710.[6] The extent of the Stileman landholding in Field Dalling can be determined from details in the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral's archive. In 1640, Robert Stileman the younger held an estimated 487 acres in Field Dalling.[7] Almost half of this was leased from the Dean and Chapter, while 174 acres of the remainder was freehold land of various manors in Field Dalling and neighbouring villages, and 77 acres was copyhold of the same manors.

The Dean and Chapter's lands were scattered across the parish and, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the Stileman lands were similarly distributed. A 1641 terrier of the Dean and Chapter's lands lists 13 sub-tenants farming the majority of their 236-acre holding, with only 31 acres remaining in Stileman's hands.[8] The same terrier states that 25 acres of the Dean and Chapter's lands were located in Bale – whether some of Stileman's own lands were situated outside Field Dalling is impossible to determine, but it appears likely since small parcels were recorded as being freehold of Sharrington and Langham.

Robert Stileman's will

(See Map 2)

Robert Stileman the younger's father, Robert Stileman the elder, died in 1610. Copies of Robert the elder's will and inventory survive at the Norfolk Record Office.[9] A 1529 Act of Parliament made it compulsory for anyone leaving over £5 to make a will and to have an inventory of his *'goods, chattels and cattle'* drawn up.[10] Wills were the more important document as they outlined family relationships, together with details of where the estate was bequeathed.[11] Like many wills, Robert Stileman's provides little information about his true wealth, but it does give some indication of his social standing. His *'good friend'* Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey was made supervisor of the will, and was left 20 wether sheep. Robert's grandson, another Robert, was left land in Salthouse, together with the demesne lands, foldcourse and warren in Kelling – the whole bequest being valued at £550. His wife Margaret was left a life interest in *'a messuage and lands on the north side of the common'* in Field Dalling, together with a house and lands in Hindringham. Stileman's brother, John, was bequeathed a tenement in Sharrington. The main beneficiary of the will was his son, Robert the younger, who inherited the mansion house in Field Dalling, together with the bulk of the estate. These bequests indicate that Robert Stileman the elder was a person of considerable wealth and influence in both Field Dalling and the surrounding villages.

Robert Stileman's inventory

Robert's inventory was drawn up by four local people, two of whom were substantial farmers in Field Dalling.[12] Stileman's inventory was valued at £2,626 17s 4d. The inventory listed all his possessions in a substantial house and farm complex, his 'crops in the ground', and his animals – not only in Field Dalling, but also crops and animals in Binham, Thornage and Salthouse, sheep in Kelling and Holt, cattle in Brisley, and the lease of a brickyard in Barney. This value of possessions and extensive real estate would place Robert Styleman in the class of gentleman in early seventeenth century England. A typical yeoman farmer of this period would have had goods valued at between £70 and £150.[11]

Table 2. Robert Stileman's crops in the ground May 1610

Crop	Acres	Value	Parish
Wheat and Rye	43	£86 0s 0d	Field Dalling
Barley	67	£67 0s 0d	Field Dalling
Oats, Peas and Vetch	30	£22 10s 0d	Field Dalling
Meslyn	1.5	£ 3 0s 0d	Salthouse
Rye	26	£39 0s 0d	Thornage
Rye	9	£13 10s 0d	Binham
Barley	8	£ 8 0s 0d	Binham
Oats	11	£ 9 0s 0d	Binham
Vetch	1.5	£ 1 0s 0d	Binham
Total	209	£249 0s 0d	

There are limitations to inventories – notably the time of year when the inventory was drawn up, which would determine the type of agricultural information. Stileman's inventory was dated 27th May 1610, a time of year when all crops would have been sown, but not harvested, lambing would have finished, and the bulk of the produce from the previous year's harvest would have been sold. Other limitations of inventories include the lack of detailed information regarding the deceased's possessions, because some items would have been included in the expression *'and other implements'*; and values were often made for all the contents of a room or outbuilding, rather than for individual items. Goods were valued at second-hand prices, and there was a tendency towards underestimation.[13] Fortunately, Stileman's inventory recorded value by item as well as giving a total for each room; and where the phrase *'and other implements'* was used, the value of these items appears to have been quite small.

Robert Stileman's buildings

At first glance, Robert Stileman's house does not appear to have been particularly grand. Five ground floor room, four first floor rooms and two lofts were recorded, but only three of those (all on the ground floor) had implements associated with fireplaces.[14] The outbuildings were extensive, with a barn, stables, carthouse and ten other buildings named, of which four were at least two storeys high. No detail of the value of the house or farm buildings was recorded, and the barn contained little of value – May being a time of year when it would not have been used for its primary threshing function. The most intriguing room outside the farmhouse was the *'gatehouse chamber'* which, as well as a bed and chairs, contained all the implements associated with a fireplace. The existence of a gatehouse within the farm complex is further proof of Stileman's high social status. The outbuildings named were a dairy containing implements for cheese making; an outer buttery which stored barrels; a wheathouse containing little; a woolhouse which contained 40 stone of wool and 60 sheeps' skins; a brewhouse with a copper and mash vat; a mealhouse – again, with few contents; a malthouse, and a bakehouse. Considerable quantities of malt and grain were stored in upper rooms over the bakehouse and malthouse. (**see Table 1**)

John Stileman – Arable farming in Field Dalling

Taking the inventory entries relating to agriculture for Field Dalling, a picture of mixed farming emerges. In addition to the 140 acres of crops sown, one has to assume that some of the arable was left fallow, and that there would have been permanent pasture to provide feed for the animals. (**see Table 2**). There is no way of determining the acreage of pasture or fallow and, therefore, it is impossible to say how much of his estate Stileman kept in hand and how much was sub-let. Barley was the most important crop in seventeenth-century north and west Norfolk. It has been suggested that as much as 50% of the sown acreage was put down to barley, while 25% would have been sown with wheat or rye (called *'meslyn'* when sown together), and the other 25% would have been sown with either peas, beans or vetches.[15] Wheat and rye were grown for bread (the staple of the labouring classes) – wheat doing well on heavier soils and rye on the sandy soils. Barley would have been used for malt for beer-making or for sale as the cash crop; while oats, peas and vetches would have been primarily for fodder – oats for the horses,

Table 3. Morston Crops sown 1672

Name	Acres Wheat	Acres Rye	Acres Winter Sown	Acres Barley	Acres Oats	Acres Peas	Acres Vetches	Total
Mr Styleman	10.000			29.125	3.000	10.125		52.250
Thomas Shorting	10.125	15.375		43.125		14.500	3.500	86.625
James Powdiche	8.625	16.000		31.625		11.000	6.000	73.250
Matthew Greene			23.000	33.000		3.250		59.250
Richard Wiggins		9.000		8.875		1.625		19.500
Mr Bulleins		5.000		6.250		3.875		15.125
Goodman Reinold			8.750	16.750	2.000		6.000	33.500
Samuel Riches		0.750		9.375		3.875		14.000
John Greene				6.000		4.000		10.000
Goodman Pynchion				2.000		3.000		5.000
John Weimere			2.500	1.250		1.250		5.000
John Moulton						1.500		1.500
Mr Nettleton		5.000				9.000		14.000
Goodman Earlelin				2.000	2.500	4.375	6.500	15.375
Goodman Parson				5.000	2.000	3.000	3.500	13.500
John Thacker		2.500		6.000		7.000		15.500
John Bois				6.250		5.750	4.500	16.500
Matthew Weimer			4.625	17.750		7.875		30.250
Francis Matsell		8.000		22.000	6.125	2.500		38.625
Richard Jarvey							1.000	1.000
Total acres	28.750	61.625	38.875	246.375	15.625	97.500	31.000	519.750
Crop as % sown	5.53	11.86	7.48	47.40	3.01	18.76	5.96	

Total Winter Sown	Acres 129.250	Percentage 24.87
Total Spring Sown	Acres 262.000	Percentage 50.41
Total Peas & Vetches	Acres 128.500	Percentage 24.72

Table 4. Robert Stileman's animals excluding sheep May 1610

Animal	Number	Value	Parish
Swine	14	£ 7 0s 0d	Field Dalling
Shotts	8	£ 2 0s 0d	Field Dalling
Chickens	unknown	£ 1 15s 0d	Field Dalling
Milk cows	12	£30 0s 0d	Field Dalling
Horses and colts	15	£45 0s 0d	Field Dalling
Steers	20	£40 0s 0d	Thornage
Steers and heifers	43	£86 0s 0d	Brisley
Total		£256 15s 0d	

Table 5. Robert Stileman's sheep May 1610

Parish	Ewes	Hoggs	Wethers	Lambs	Total	Value
Field Dalling	330			60	390	£71 0s 0d
Salthouse	165	50		100	315	£86 11s 8d
Holt		180	370		550	£205 3s 4d
Kelling			375		375	£156 5s 0d
Thornage	460	120		260	840	£257 0s 0d
Binham	800	280		600	1680	£374 5s 0d
Total	1755	630	745	1020	4150	£1,150 5s 0d

Notes: Field Dalling entry combines ewes and hoggs

peas and vetches for cattle. In times of poor harvests, barley and oats would have supplemented the wheat and rye for bread-making, and peas would have been used for pottage.

A 1672 document detailing 520 acres sown in nearby Morston reflects this breakdown of crops almost exactly. (**see Table 3**)[16] The Morston document shows that, although this pattern holds good for the parish as a whole, there was considerable variation in individual cropping patterns. The larger the farmer the more likely he was to grow a significant acreage of barley. Stileman's crops in Field Dalling portray a similar pattern – 67 acres of barley, 43 acres of wheat and rye, and 30 acres of oats, peas and vetches. The grain in the outbuildings presents a different picture, with 140 combs of wheat and meslyn compared with only 100 combs of malt. The malt was probably for brewing on the farm, while the wheat and rye would have been largely sold on the market to take advantage of the highest prices, which would have been just before harvest. Crops grown in other parishes named in the inventory are in too small an acreage to enable one to make generalisations about farming in these villages. It is noticeable that the most important crop in both Binham and Thornage was rye – implying that Stileman's lands were on the lighter soils.

Stileman's other crops included hemp – 10 stone of hemp seed was apprized in the loft over the kitchen chamber, hemp being grown for clothing and rope. Under a statute of Henry VIII, all farmers were meant to grow some hemp to supply rope and sail-cloth for the growing navy.[17] The most intriguing crop is saffron – grown to the value of £20 0s 0d in Salthouse. This represents about 16 pounds of saffron, which was used as a dye and in some medicines.[13] Nathaniel Bacon was known to own a saffron kiln at Stiffkey, which may have been where Stileman had his crop processed.

John Stileman's animals

(See Tables 4 and 5)

Excluding sheep, the animals owned by Stileman in Field Dalling were what one would expect of a sizeable farm – 22 pigs, 12 milking cows, 15 horses and some chickens. The horses would have been used on the farm or for riding. Steers kept at Thornage and Brisley would have been animals for fattening, and the numbers suggest this was a commercial operation.

Stileman owned over 4,000 sheep located in six different parishes. His will demonstrates he was lord of the manor in Kelling, where he owned the right of foldcourse in addition to the flock. The Field Dalling flock may been the result of his being the tenant of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral, who were one of the lords of the manor of the village. The other four flocks were probably the result of his leasing the foldcourses in those settlements. Why the sheep in Field Dalling were apprised at a lower value than those in the other flocks has been impossible to determine.

Summary of John Stileman's farming operations

Stileman's will and inventory portray a substantial farmer. His home farm in Field Dalling was worked in the typical fashion of the period. Barley grown for malting was the most important crop, wheat and rye for bread-making, oats to feed the horses; and peas and vetches, which provided fodder and also fixed nitrogen in the soil, would have allowed a reduction in the acreage left fallow. The number of animals in

Table 6. Henry Savory's cropping patterns 1868-1876

Year	Wheat	Roots	Oats	Barley	Grasses
1868	103a 3r 38p	78a 3r 11p		72a 1r 38p	83a 2r 31p
1869	83a 2r 31p	91a 1r 16p		84a 0r 19p	79a 3r 12p
1870	79a 3r 12p	88a 3r 39p	6a 1r 6p	85a 0r 10p	78a 3r 11p
1871	86a 3r 27p	67a 2r 11p	12a 1r 1p	80a 3r 23p	91a 1r 16p
1872	91a 1r 16p	91a 0r 12p		53a 2r 1p	103a 0r 9p
1873	88a 3r 39p	91a 1r 16p		91a 0r 12p	67a 2r 11p
1874	67a 2r 11p	80a 3r 5p	8a 0r 34p	91a 1r 16p	91a 0r 12p
1875	84a 3r 21p	72a 3r 5p		80a 3r 5p	100a 2r 7p
1876	72a 2r 1p	84a 3r 21p	25a 0r 6p	75a 3r 5p	80a 3r 5p

Stileman's inventory demonstrates that he was primarily a sheep farmer. His flocks were not as large as those of Townshends of Raynham or the Fermours of East Barsham in the sixteenth century, but they were still impressive. He was also fattening cattle for the markets in both Brisley and Thornage. Over 50% of his farming wealth was based on sheep, but arable farming still played an important part in his life. His farm was quite large by seventeenth century standards.

Farming through the Agricultural Revolution

Between Stileman's death and the middle of the nineteenth century, few records survive which enable one to determine whether or not farming in Field Dalling embraced the changes which were taking place elsewhere in the county. Inventories from Field Dalling and neighbouring parishes show that barley remained the most important crop, and wheat was grown on most farms. Cattle appear to have been more important than sheep. It is likely that the foldcourse system was still operating in this area, and sheep would have remained the property of the lords of the manors and their large tenants. Turnips were only mentioned in one inventory – that of Alice Stibbard of Langham, who grew 4 acres in 1700.[14]

In 1804 Arthur Young, Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, produced a report on the state of farming in Norfolk.[18] Young tended to concentrate on larger farms and described how they adopted and modified the Norfolk 4-Course Rotation. No Field Dalling farmer is mentioned by Young, but the farms of Mr. England of Binham and Mr. Reeve of Wighton are described in detail. Both appear to be operating a 5-course rotation of wheat, turnips, barley, clover, grass.[18] Mr. Reeve sometimes grew peas before wheat, making a 6-year rotation.

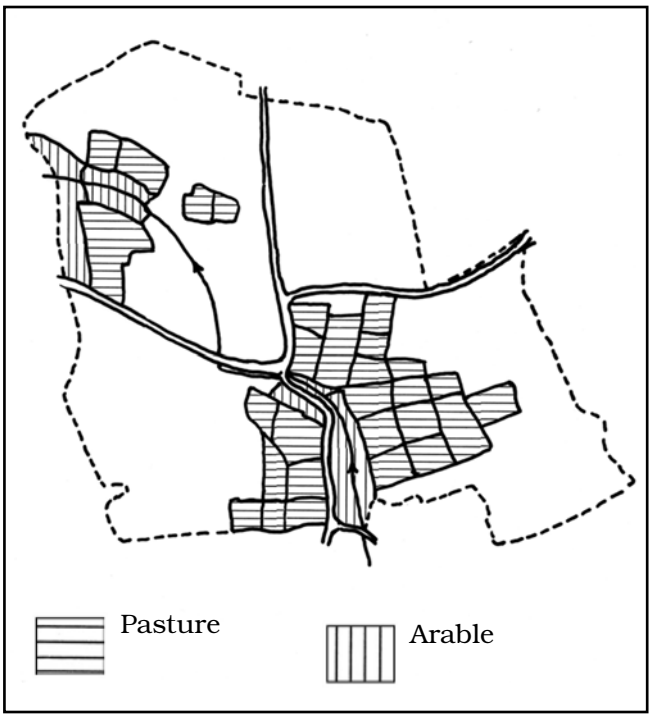
In animal husbandry, Mr. England was breeding Southdown sheep, while Mr. Reeve had Leicesters In contrast, Stileman would have kept Norfolk black-faced sheep.[18] Both England and Reeve would have been imitating the progressive breeding practices of Thomas Coke at Holkham. Animal feed, in the form of oil cake from rapeseed, was being imported from Holland, and both Mr. England and Mr. Reeve were using this for cattle-fattening purposes.[18]

Although impossible to prove, it is reasonable to say that the larger farmers in Field Dalling were adopting the changes taking place in Norfolk during the eighteenth century, although they were not in the forefront of change.

Henry Nicholas Savory, Field Dalling Farmer 1856-1891

Craven's Directory of Norfolk describes Henry Savory as a *'farmer'* in 1856, and this is the earliest mention of him in this role. Savory produced a field book of Manor Farm Field Dalling for the years 1868-1876, detailing the crops grown in each of the fields for all nine years. The field book contains a map of the whole farm, together with detailed plans and measurements of each field.[19] Savory was the tenant of Edward Bosworth Manning, who was leasing the Dean and Chapter's Field Dalling estate and combining it with his own land. The likelihood is that Savory kept these detailed records as proof that he was abiding by the terms of his lease, which would probably have specified that he had to practice a Norfolk rotation, manure the fields and maintain the farm buildings.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Norfolk had become a predominantly arable region, with 80% of a farm under the plough.[4] The main crops would have been wheat and barley, but grazing areas would have included permanent



Map 3. Robert Fisher' s Farm from 1810

pasture close to water courses, and rotational grasses. Savory's field book demonstrates that, in 1868, he kept 19.8% of Manor Farm under permanent pasture and 80.2% arable on a farm of about 440 acres. In that year, he put Spencer's Pightle, a little under 4.5 acres, down to grass layer. Layering was frequently a temporary measure to allow a field exhausted from growing grain to recover, but Savory left this field as grass for the whole period of the field book – suggesting that this was a permanent change from arable to grass. This would have made Manor Farm 79.3% arable and 20.7% pasture – almost exactly the regional average.

Although Savory does not mention animals, a bullock yard is shown in the middle of the fields to the east of the farm, while the 1906 Ordnance Survey maps portray extensive barns and animal yards to the west of the farmhouse.[20] The fodder crops grown imply cattle were kept: mangold, swede and beet would have been lifted and brought back to the animal yards for winter feeding; while turnips could have been eaten where they grew by sheep, who would then manure the fields direct. Hay was grown as a specific crop in 1874 and 1875 while, in 1871, vetch was grown for hay and, in 1873, clover for the same purpose. Clover hay would have been for feeding the horses, who were the prime source of power for working the farm. Other fodder crops recorded include trefoil, sanfoin and rye, all of which would have been grown in the rotation to avoid clover sickness, which occurs if planted more frequently than on an 8-year cycle.[21]

Of the grain crops, wheat was the most important in 1868 but, in most years, the acreage sown with barley was normally greater than that of wheat, although not by a significant amount. **(see Table 6)**

Summary of Henry Savory's farming activities

The lack of information about animals means that a full picture of Savory's farming practices is difficult to construct. His field book shows that he followed a mixed 4-course/5-course rotation. This was very similar to those practiced in neighbouring Binham and Wighton as described by Arthur Young 70 years earlier. Savory purchased Manor Farm in 1876 – at the very end of the agricultural boom of 'High Farming' – paying £17,500. When compared with the 1840 tithe map, Savory's field book shows that a number of hedges had been removed to create larger fields, but that the proportion of arable to pasture was little different. Savory's field book entries stop in 1876, making it impossible to say how he coped with the agricultural depression which lasted from 1880 to 1914. Grain prices fell from the middle of the 1870s as the prairies of the United States and Canada were opened up for wheat production, which undersold the home-grown product.[22] Savory sold the farm in 1891 for £10,500 – a loss of £7,000 or 40%, reflecting the average fall in farm prices for this period.

Conclusions

Stileman's inventory and Savory's field book suggest that, at the time they were written, farming in Field Dalling reflected farming practices which were typical of north and west Norfolk. Stileman's farm was quite large for the period, but his sheep farming activities in the surrounding parishes were more important to him than arable husbandry. Savory's 440-acre farm would have been quite large by nineteenth-century standards, but much larger ones could be found on the extensive estates of west Norfolk. Savory's farming activities show little change from those used in Binham and Wighton nearly a century earlier. There is no evidence that he adapted to the rapidly-changing market conditions which eventually forced him to sell, at a considerable loss, to an industrialist from Huddersfield - Edwin Walker, who had made his fortune in the textile industry.

Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank Ted and Eric Hotblack of Manor Farm Field Dalling for access to their farm papers, for their assistance with farming terms, and for permission to use illustrations from Henry Savory's field book.

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11 West, J *Village Records* 1982
12 John Durrell and Robert Loose's names appear in many documents as landholders. No re search has been conducted into these 2 farmers, or the other signatories – Edmund Cremer and Robert Kallyn the elder.
13 Yaxley, D *A Researcher's Glossary of the words found in historical documents of East Anglia* 2003
14 Ground floor rooms, hall, parlour, buttery, kitchen and washhouse (fire implements in the par lour, the kitchen and the washhouse); first floor rooms were chambers over the parlour, hall, kitchen and washhouse; and the lofts were over the kitchen and parlour chambers.
15 Williamson, T – pers. comm.
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19 Young, Arthur; *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk* Reprints 1969
20 In the possession of the Hotblack family.
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22 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clover
23 Wade Martins, S and Williamson, T *The Countryside of East Anglia: Changing Landscapes, 1870-1950* 2008

Glossary[13]

a. r. p. Acres, roods and perches. Traditionally, 1 acre was the area of land an ox team could plough in 1 day. 4 roods = 1 acre, 40 perches = 1 rood.
bushel A measure of volume – 4 bushels = 1 comb.
comb A measure of volume, therefore different weights according to the density of grain. 1 comb = 14 stone for oats, 16 stone for barley, 18 stone for wheat and rye, and 19 stone for peas.
foldcourse The area where a flock of sheep was allowed to graze and manure.
heifer A young cow before she has calved.
hogg An unshorn yearling sheep.
meslyn A mixture of wheat and rye when sown together.
shott A young weaned pig.
steer A castrated ox.
wether A 1 year old castrated sheep.

Crops sown by Henry Savory

Root crops - beet, mangold, swede and white turnip.
Rotational grasses – clover, cow grass, Italian trefoil, peas, rye, sanfoin, trefoil and vetch.

Note on values

It is difficult to compare the value of £1 in 1610 compared with £1 in 1876 or £1 in 2011. According to the National Archive, a 1610 £1 would have been worth £97.88 in 2005, and £1 in 1860 would have been worth £43.16 in 2005. In comparison, the Retail Price Index (RPI) gives the value of a 1610 £1 as £162 in 2011, and an 1876 £1 as £86 in 2011. Taking average earnings as another alternative, a 1610 £1 was valued at £2,450 in 2011, and an 1876 £1 at £428.

Back Pages

An Edwardian view of the Holt Road looking north with, on the right, the newly built house, latterly called* The Birches *and now erroneously named* The Station Master's House *– there never was a station let alone a Station Master, though the land had once belonged to the Lynn & Fakenham Railway, later the Eastern & Midlands Railway, bought in preparation for their line from Holt to Blakeney. This project never came to fruition. Rumour has it that the land for building the house was obtained by Adverse Possession, otherwise known as squatter's rights, but that is another story... *Richard Kelham*

More information on the Ramms of Cley (see *'Stormy Weather'* Glaven Historian No.12 2010)

Details of the ill-fated ship '*Defiance*' (p.41) were discovered in The National Archives (BT107/243 1837 Registry of Shipping & Seamen). She was a 184 ton snow-rigged Brig with a standing bowsprit built by John Lubbock in Wells, Norfolk in 1836 with one deck & two masts. Overall length from the inside of the Main Stem to the fore part of the Stern Post aloft was seventy seven feet one tenth; breadth at mid-ships was twenty feet six tenths; depth in hold at midships was fifteen feet one tenth, She was square sterned, carvel built with no galleries and a figure Head.

Owners:

Joseph Muskett	Ship Owner	8/64
William Muskett Jnr.	Ship Owner	8/64
Edward Younge	Draper	4/64
Maria Burrell	Wife of J. W. Burrell	2/64
Rebecca Cornwell	Spinster of Holt	2/64
William Thomas Hargrove Smith	Ship Owner	8/64
John Muskett	Ship Owner	2/64
William Ramm	Master Mariner of Cley	4/64
Daniel Thompson	Gent. of Fakenham	2/64
William Muskett	Gentleman	4/64
James Muskett	Draper	4/64
Christopher Spanton	Attorney of Attleborough	4/64
Samuel Smith	Attorney	4/64
Henry Smith	Grocer of Bungay	8/64

On the 13th June 1837 John Muskett transferred his 2 shares by Bill of Sale to John Franklin Ellis, Surgeon of Holt.

Corrections:

page 34, second column, line 20
John Thompson: should read 'in the obituary of his son George Thompson', not grandson as stated.
pages 34-35:
John Thompson: a recently discovered 1835 Crew List for the '*Calthorpe*' (TNA BT 98/198) records him being born in Dundee, Scotland.

Sara Dobson

Notes on a Boot Found at 127-129 High Street, Blakeney

Introduction

During the replacement of the chimney at the Blakeney Neighbourhood Housing Society's property at 127/129 High Street, Blakeney, in May 2012 a boot was deposited in the builder's skip and retrieved by a passer-by (Mr C Cobon). It was clearly a very old boot in poor condition because of heavy use and subsequent deterioration (see photograph). At 6¾ inches long it would have been worn by a child. It is not clear whether it is a left or right boot - at one time country boots were often made to fit either foot. The boot was subsequently taken to the Castle Museum in Norwich for examination.

Apotropaic objects

Until the later 1800s it was quite common to secrete objects in the structure of a new or renovated building in order to prevent the entry of evil spirits - such objects are known as 'apotropaic' (preventing evil). Witch bottles were placed under hearths or thresholds, for instance, and cat skeletons have been found in places no live cat could have reached. Items of clothing served the same purpose, including boots and shoes which are most commonly found in chimneys or in cavities around the stack. The practice continues as a tradition (eg in the new Norvic factory in 1968) but the original beliefs have died out in this country.

Museum comments

The boot was taken to the Curator of Costume and Textiles (Ruth Battersby-Tooke) and a reply came from Lisa Little. Her first assessment contained the following comments:

This is a country shoe which shows large coarse stitching and repair through use. It is hobnailed with a distinctive hobnail on the toe, and a rising-shaped toe where the leather has been shaped through wear and tear. A 'v' has been cut to allow for growth. It is impossible to say whether this was an old shoe or a contemporary one when hidden. A piece of leather has been replaced around the ¼ back of the foot and repairs are made using a heavier grade leather. The original shoe is of much finer leather.
Lisa's note then suggests that the shoe might have been made in the first half of the C18th although the repairs could have been made much later. In view of the uncertainty, she noted that: It may be easier to date the house and then

estimate the shoe date from that. However, after some further study Lisa wrote in a later email that:
Research this morning confirms that it is an C18th shoe, dating from 1760-1800. ... We have been unable to be more specific than that due to the many repairs made to the shoe.
In conversation Lisa also said that it was much easier to date a fashion shoe than a country-made boot.

References

Museum staff suggested some sources for further information, the most accessible being:
www.apotropaios.co.uk/concealed_shoes
www.concealedgarments.org/publications

Action

The earliest parts of 127/129 appear to date from the C18th but a closer dating would need advice from an architectural historian or evidence from the deeds. If the deeds were available it would be of interest to see if they contain the date of construction, but it needs to be borne in mind that even if the boot were put in then (rather than later) it was still an old boot at the time. Dating aside, the boot has a rarity value, is of interest to specialists, and would benefit from conservation treatment. It should therefore be kept secure for further study, which is more easily achieved in a curated collection than in local isolation. As the Museum has confirmed that it would be glad to accept the boot, the BNHS should consider whether it has any better alternative than donating the boot to the Museum.

John Wright

The Dean and Chapter Estate in Field Dalling: 1526 to 1900 continued

Synopsis: this paper continues the history of the Dean and Chapter estates in Field Dalling, which was published in the Glaven Historian No. 12. Access to private papers of the Hotblack family has allowed the author to accurately document the sale of the Dean and Chapter lands into private ownership in the nineteenth century.

The last Dean and Chapter lease for Field Dalling was granted on 6th December 1856 to Edward Bosworth Manning, the heir of Thomas Woodward Jenkinson, at the same rent as that of 1800. The lease was to last for 21 years. Only 6 months later, the Dean and Chapter sold the estate to Edward Bosworth Manning for the sum of £4,712 0s 0d. Manning would only take full ownership of the estate at the end of the life of the 1856 lease.[1] This sale saw the official amalgamation of the Bosworth lands with the Dean and Chapter estate, resulting in one farm in legal as well as in agricultural terms.

The Manning family did not retain their estate long as, on 20th November 1876, the combined farm of 405a 1r 33p was sold to the then tenant Henry Savory for £17,500 0s 0d. Savory had been tenant since 1868 and, as well as mapping his farm, he kept a detailed field book showing the crop rotation of all his fields. He appears to have ended his field book on purchasing the estate. Savory made his purchase just before the agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century. He appears to have overstretched himself with this purchase, having to take out a mortgage of £13,000 0s 0d.[2] The depression meant that Savory was unable to make his new farm pay, and he was forced to sell in 1891 to Edwin Walker, an industrialist from Huddersfield. Walker paid a mere £10,500 0s 0d for Savory's farm.

The joining of the Manning estate with that of the Dean and Chapter was only a legal confirmation of a situation which had existed for at least 250 years. The Bosworths of Diss in south Norfolk appear to have taken over the combined estate from the Stileman family in the mid seventeenth century.[3] During the turbulent years of the English Civil War, the obligations of Robert Stileman's estate were documented in detail. This was partly the need of his daughter Sarah Stileman to establish what belonged to her and what was owned by Edward Bosworth of Diss. Both parties had inherited through the will of Robert Stileman, who had died in 1610. A 1645 extract, copied from Robert's will, states that the combined farm totalled 455 acres, of which the Dean and Chapter lands totalled 236 acres.[4] This implies an almost equal split in the size of the two holdings. A slightly earlier terrier of the Dean and Chapter's lands shows that the farm was sublet to at least 13 tenants, and very little remained in the hands of the owner. This suggests that the other part of the farm was sub-let to multiple owners.

A 1705 draft sale indenture of the Dean and Chapter's lands demonstrates that the amalgamation of smallholdings into larger farming units had made considerable advances in Field Dalling in the second half of the seventeenth century – only 4 tenants are named, and the largest holding, of 160 acres, was sub-let to Robert Fox.[5] Unfortunately, the next document which enables us to determine how this combined holding was farmed, is the 1840 Tithe Map – this leaves a gap of 135 years during which the nature of farming in north Norfolk changed dramatically. The

eighteenth century witnessed a radical change in farming practices, which included new cropping rotations, the enlargement of farms, and the enclosure of commons, wastes and open fields. One of the first steps taken in this agricultural revolution was the production of an accurate survey of existing estates. The Bosworth family appear to have taken this step quite early as, in October 1731, a measured survey found that the Rev. Bosworth's farm in Field Dalling totalled 335a 2r 32p – a little under 75% of the estimated estate of 1645.[1] This farm consisted of 140 different pieces of land spread over the whole parish. The missing acres were to remain a bone of contention between the Bosworths and the Dean and Chapter until the enclosure award of 1814 re-defined the farm in 1814.[8]

The tithe map shows that Bosworth's lands had passed to Thomas Manning,[9] and that the combined Dean and Chapter/Manning farm was occupied by Robert Fisher, who leased a total of 37 fields of 417a 0r 28p. The tithe award attached to the map also defines land use between arable and pasture, and Fisher's farm contained 78.5% arable and 21.5% pasture – typical of north and west Norfolk at this period. The tithe award further shows that there was only one set of farm buildings for this combined farm – implying a situation which had existed for some time.[10] Study of the farm buildings at Manor Farm show that they were constructed and modified over a considerable number of centuries, and not reconstructed in the form of a model farm as was done on the Holkham estate at the end of the eighteenth century.

References and Notes

1 This implies that that Edward Bosworth Manning would only come into legal own ership of the Dean and Chapter's estate in 1877
2 Details of the 1856 lease and sale of the land to Henry Savory and Edwin Walker were found in the Hotblack papers
3 NRO DCN 51/34
4 NRO DCN 59/14/7
5 NRO DCN 59/14/1
6 NRO MS 3012 10.145; MAN IV 145
7 NRO MAN 216; MS 3086, 3D4
8 NRO C/Sca 2/70
9 The Mannings, also of Diss, had married into the Bosworth family and inherited when there were no more Bosworth male heirs. Hotblack papers.
10 NRO DN/TA 490

Mike Medlar

Contributors

Sara Dobson née Ramm has been researching her seafaring family history for twenty years and is subsequently accumulating information on their ships and voyages during the 19th century.

Serica East (nee Catling) spent many school holidays in Cley with her father and grandfather; she inherited an important family archive.

Frank Hawes followed a varied architectural career working for large nationally and internationally renowned organisations by enjoying practicing alone for twelve years from his home in Cley. He closed his practice in 1999 to indulge his other interests, including local history.

Shaun Hill read history at Cambridge University and has an abiding passion for everything associated with the Civil War.

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.

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.

Peter Smith lives at Burnham Market. He has been studying seventeenth-century English history at the University of East Anglia since 2000 and expects to complete his doctorate in 2012.

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.

Front Cover

High Street, Cley in the first decade of the 20th century with Fred Stangroom in Bowler Hat and Howard Brett at the rear of the gig.

Oddly, the names of the housemaids do not seem to have been recorded.