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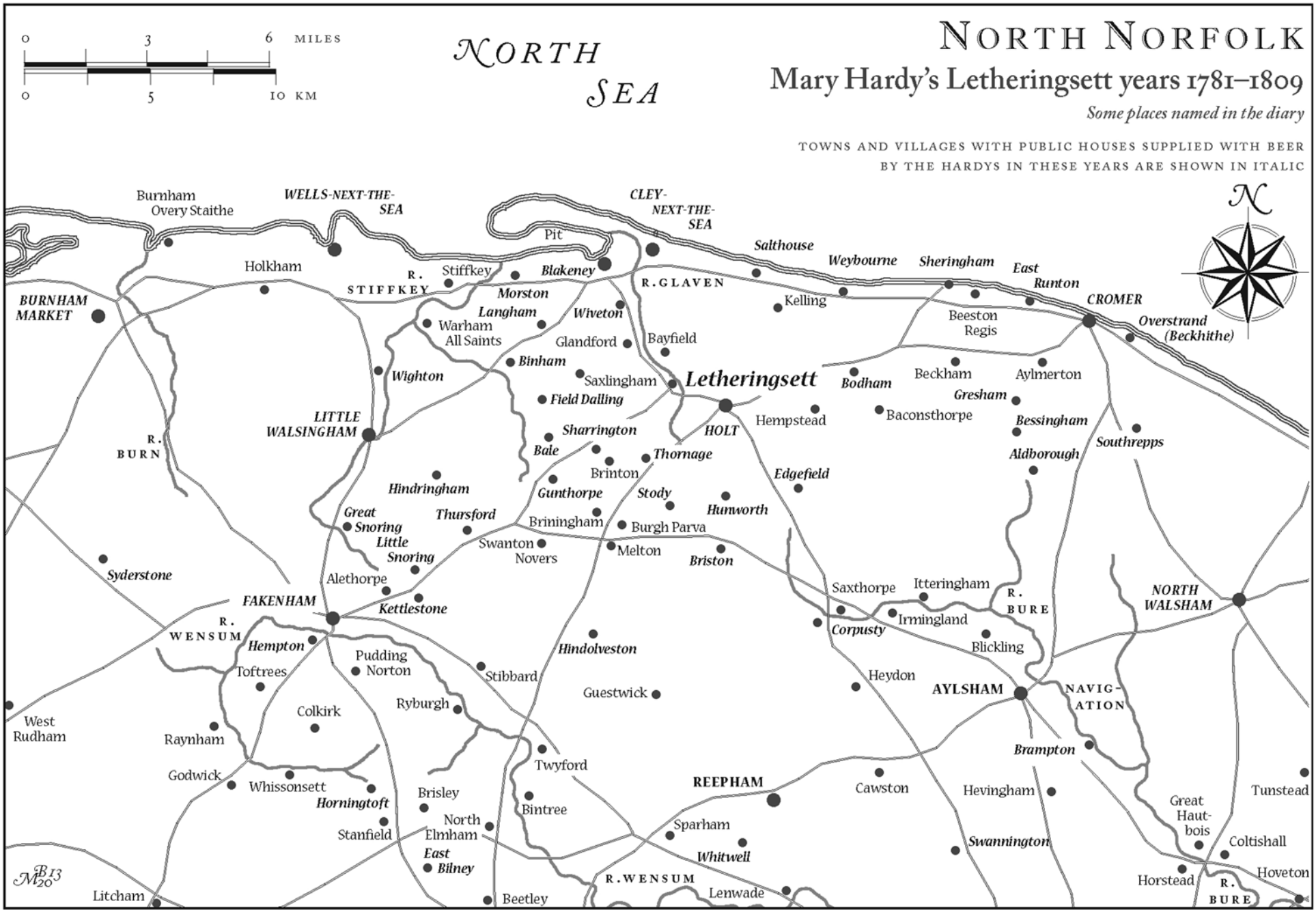
Contents


NORTH NORFOLK
Mary Hardy's Letheringsett years 1781–1809
Some places named in the diary
TOWNS AND VILLAGES WITH PUBLIC HOUSES SUPPLIED WITH BEER BY THE HARDYS IN THESE YEARS ARE SHOWN IN ITALIC
0 3 6 MILES
0 5 10 KM
NORTH SEA
N
Burnham Overy Staithe
WELLS-NEXT-THE-SEA
CLEY-NEXT-THE-SEA
Pit
Salthouse
Weybourne
Sheringham
East Runton
CROMER
Overstrand (Beckhithe)
Holkham
R. STIFFKEY
Stiffkey
Blakeney
R. GLAVEN
Kelling
Beeston Regis
BURNHAM MARKET
Morston
Langham
Wiveton
Warham All Saints
Glandford
Bayfield
Binham
Wighton
Saxlingham
Letheringsett
Bodham
Beckham
Aylmerton
Gresham
Field Dalling
LITTLE WALSINGHAM
Sharrington
HOLT
Hempstead
Baconsthorpe
Bessingham
Southrepps
R. BURN
Bale
Thornage
Brinton
Aldborough
Edgefield
Hindringham
Gunthorpe
Stody
Hunworth
Great Snoring
Thursford
Briningham
Burgh Parva
Little Snoring
Swanton Novers
Melton
Briston
Syderstone
Alethorpe
Saxthorpe
Itteringham
R. BURE
NORTH WALSHAM
FAKENHAM
Kettlestone
Corpusty
Irmingland
R. WENSUM
Hempton
Hindolveston
Blickling
Pudding Norton
Toftrees
Stibbard
Heydon
AYLSHAM
NAVIG-ATION
Guestwick
West Rudham
Colkirk
Ryburgh
Raynham
Brampton
Twyford
Godwick
Whissonsett
REEPHAM
Cawston
Hevingham
Tunstead
Horningtoft
Brisley
Bintree
Great Hautbois
Stanfield
North Elmham
Sparham
Swannington
Coltishall
East Bilney
Whitwell
Hoveton
R. WENSUM
Horstead
R. BURE
Litcham
Beetley
Lenwade
M B13 M20

Supplying the beer: life on the road in late-18th century Norfolk

Margaret Bird

Synopsis: Life in the rural hinterland in the 18th century was by no means as isolated as it is often portrayed. Itinerancy was not confined to Nonconformist preachers, and large sections of the population were on the move.

Brewers' draymen covered huge distances carting beer to the public houses; some journeyed as much as 550 miles a month on top of their other duties. Through their diaries the brewer's wife Mary Hardy and her nephew Henry Raven, the apprentice, enable us to chart the daily tasks of a workforce who nurtured the product all the way from ploughing and sowing to malting, brewing and distribution around north Norfolk.

The numbered illustrations are referred to in the text in bold thus ***[1].***

On the move

Distribution is a neglected area of study for the period of the 18th century. The sources in agriculture and manufacturing on which historians rely tend to emphasise innovations. By contrast, the sales network and the means by which a business despatched its goods have often not survived in the archives.

The scribbling classes, awestruck at the new developments in farming and industry, left their impressions of the wonders of mechanisation; the intricacies of marketing and land carriage largely passed them by. We are lucky that in the Blakeney area two diarists were daily logging the work of the integrated farm, maltings and brewery in the heart of the small village of Letheringsett. They were Mary Hardy (1733–1809) and her nephew, the brewery apprentice Henry Raven (1777–?1825). This study analyses what they have to tell us about a workforce on the move.

We shall range widely over the county, for Mary Hardy's husband William supplied public houses as far as 25 miles from the brewery, as the map opposite shows **[1]**. Further, before the family's move to Letheringsett in 1781, they had been based on the Broads at a small farm, maltings and brewery at Coltishall. There the brewer managed another retail network across north-east Norfolk, about which we also learn in detail from his hardworking wife.

Mary Hardy began her diary at Coltishall in November 1773 and continued it daily for nearly 36 years until two days before her death in March 1809 at Letheringsett Hall. Henry Raven wrote daily for four years 1793–97. Taken together their 573,000-word texts are, in number of words, almost as long as the Old Testament of the Bible.

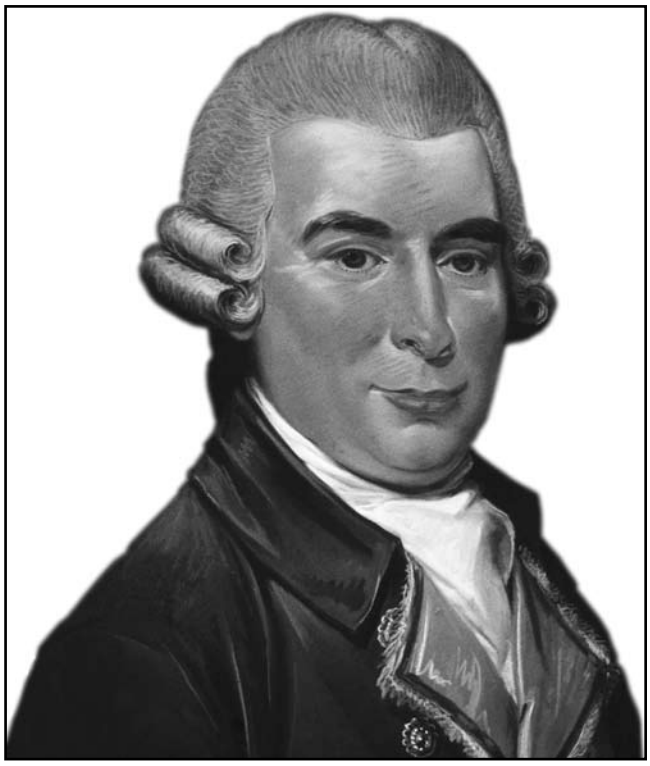
Draying will be seen to be a strenuous, dangerous occupation. Before embarking on itinerancy and the story of the Hardys' annually-hired workforce who contributed so much to the success of the enterprise we should pause to have a look at the sources.

Sources: the two diarists

The steady daily recording of beer deliveries occupied two periods totalling eleven years in the diary of Mary Hardy **[2]**, **[3]**; Henry Raven maintained the record for all four years of his **[4]**. Both tell us a great deal not only in human terms, but in economic. We can plot the pattern on the ground over a wide radius, and monitor the system of orders and deliveries.

Figure 1. North Norfolk: some of the territory covered by the Hardys' draymen when delivering to the dense network of public houses. Stalham, on the coast 25 miles away, is one of a few off the map.

The brewer William Hardy and his son William Hardy junior supplied 66 known outlets in the years the two diarists were writing at Letheringsett 1781–1809. *(map © Margaret Bird 2013)*



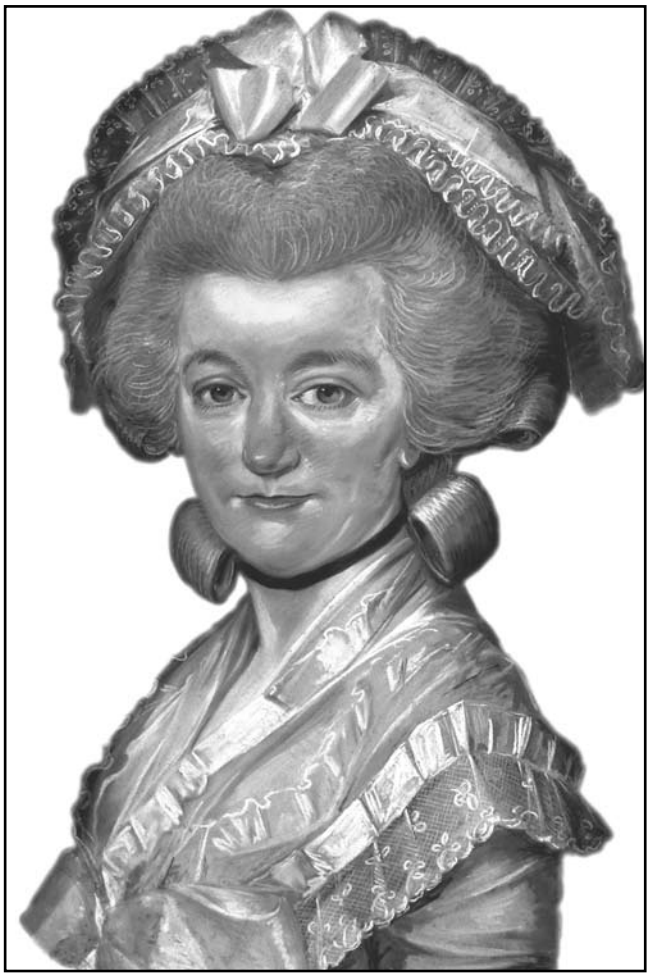


Figure 2. William Hardy (1732–1811) and his diarist wife Mary, dressed for the playhouse at Holt's White Lion. The Yorkshire-born brewer served 12 years in the Excise before changing career. *(Portraits by Huguier 1785; Cozens-Hardy Collection)*

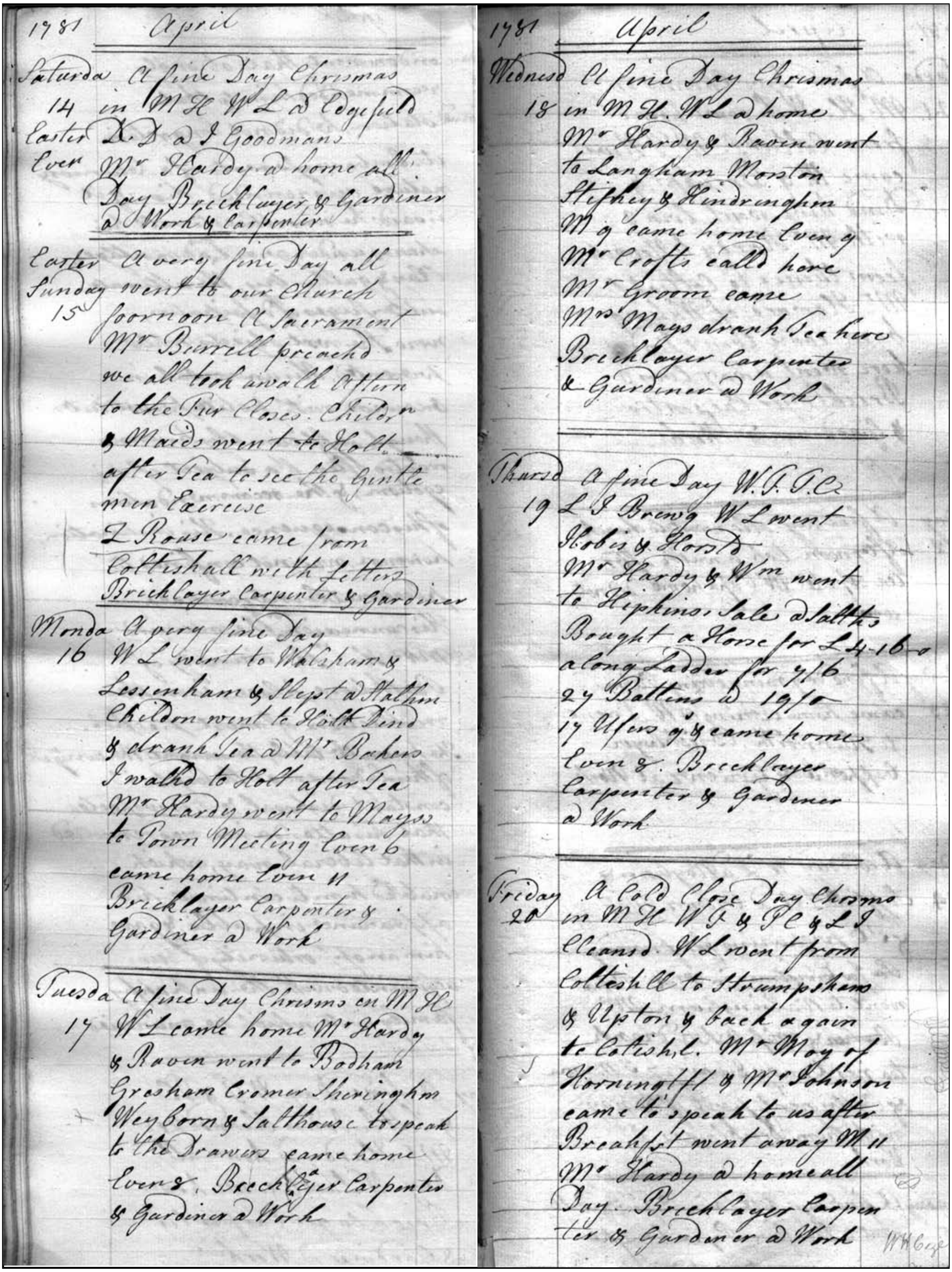
Mary Raven, from a family of village grocers, maltsters and small farmers in central Norfolk, was born at Whissonsett in November 1733. There in December 1765 she married William Hardy, a Yorkshire-born excise officer stationed at East Dereham. Whissonsett would have come within his survey, known in the service as an outride, and it is possible they met when he was gauging at her father Robert Raven's maltings. The couple settled at East Dereham, where their first child, Raven, was born in 1767. Their second son, William, was born at Litcham in 1770, where William Hardy had been posted before leaving the service in 1769.

By the summer of 1772 the family had moved to Coltishall, on the River Bure. There, in their modest riverside house due south of the church, their third and last child, Mary Ann, was born in November 1773. Three weeks later Mary Hardy launched herself on her extraordinary mission as a diarist.[1]

It is the range and depth of her coverage, not her readability, that are extraordinary. Four volumes of analysis are currently under preparation, requiring 39 chapters to reflect the major themes her diary presents.[2] These describe family and domestic matters; the complex family business, debt and the Excise; religious practice —Anglican and Nonconformist, for Mary Hardy was both; commercial life and leisure pursuits including fairs; trade by road, waterway and sea; and politics and war. Mary Hardy is no stranger to members of the Blakeney Area Historical Society, some of this journal's earlier articles and Jonathan Hooton's The Glaven Ports quoting from the highlights edited by her descendant Basil Cozens-Hardy in 1957 and 1968.[3]

At first the entries look unappealing; many appear arid in the extreme. Yet if we prod and pick at them they show themselves as revelatory. They are at times our only source on what she is reporting, such as progress at Horstead with the Aylsham navigation, or the spread of cottage Wesleyanism. Henry Raven's text may well be a unique survival from the 18th century: the only daily diary by a brewing pupil.

It is from Mary Hardy's log of the drayman William Lamb's movements that the figure of 555 miles a month is derived **[3]**, as quoted in the synopsis. In one week in April 1781, setting out on a series of calls from the Letheringsett base, he delivered beer to Edgefield, North Walsham, Lessingham, Stalham, Little Hautbois ('Hobis'), Strumpshaw (on the Yare) and Upton (on the lower Bure towards Great Yarmouth). He lumbered 75 miles with the wagon, at 2–3 mph, in just three days 19–21 April, travelling light with only the empty barrels after completing 41 miles.


1781 April

Saturda 14 Easter Even — A fine Day Chrismas in M H W L at Edgefield X D at J Goodmans Mr Hardy at home all Day Bricklayer & Gardener at Work & Carpenter

Easter Sunday 15 — A very fine Day all went to our Church foornoon A Sacrament Mr Burrell preachd we all took a walk Aftern to the Furr Closes. Childr & Maids went to Holt after Tea to see the Gentlemen Exercise L Rouse came from Coltishall with Letters Bricklayer Carpenter & Gardiner

Monda 16 — A very fine Day W L went to Walsham & Lessenham & Slept at Stalham Children went to Holt Fair & drank Tea at Mr Bakers I walkd to Holt after Tea Mr Hardy went to Mayss to Town Meeting Even 6 came home Even 11 Bricklayer Carpenter & Gardiner at Work

Tuesda 17 — A fine Day Chrisms in M H W L came home Mr Hardy & Raven went to Bodham Gresham Cromer Sheringhm Weyborn & Salthouse to speak to the Drawers came home Even 8. Bricklayer Carpenter & Gardiner at Work

1781 April

Wednesd 18 — A fine Day Chrismas in M H. W L at home Mr Hardy & Raven went to Langham Morston Stifkey & Hindringham M 9 came home Even 9 Mr Crofts calld here Mr Groom came Mrs Mays drank Tea here Bricklayer Carpenter & Gardiner at Work

Thursd 19 — A fine Day W J. T C. L J Brewg W L went [illegible] Mr Hardy & Wm went to Hipkins Sale at Saltho Bought a Horse for £4-16-0 a long Ladder for 7/6 27 Battins at 19/0 17 [illegible] 9 & came home Even 8. Bricklayer Carpenter & Gardiner at Work

Friday 20 — A Cold Close Day Chrismo in M H W J & T C & L J Cleansd. W L went from Coltishll to Strumpshaw & Upton & back again to Coltishl. Mr May of Horningtoft & Mr Johnson came to speak to us after Breakfst went away M 11 Mr Hardy at home all Day Bricklayer Carpenter & Gardiner at Work

Figure 3. Mary Hardy's manuscript diary, 14– 20 April 1781: one of the two main sources for the statistics in this article.
On 16 April the farm servant William Lamb, 'WL', sets out from Letheringsett with the beer wagon on an outward journey of 29½ miles to North Walsham, Lessingham and Stalham. Off to the Yare valley on 19 April, he covers 52½ miles in two days. *(Cozens-Hardy Collection)*

Henry, whose father Robert Raven had died in 1783 leaving eight children aged under twelve, went to live at his aunt's at Letheringsett Hall in 1792 **[5]**; in July 1794, when he was sixteen, his apprenticeship began. The Glaven, which runs right past the malthouse and the Hall, powered the pumps and hoists at the maltings and brewery: William Hardy had taken the bold decision to mechanise his business by converting it to water power in 1784. The tunnel he built for the waterwheel still runs under the present A148 close to the malt-kilns with their distinctive twirling cowls.

Henry kept in close touch with his family at Whissonsett Hall, where his mother Ann and eldest brother Robert ran the farm. His sister Mary Raven (1780–1846) married their cousin William Hardy junior in 1819, but by then Henry was long married and serving as a head brewer in London. He was very ill in 1824 and may have died the following year. By the 1830s Henry's own brewing book of 1824 was back with the Hardys and being used by Mary Hardy's only surviving grandchild William Hardy Cozens to note malting instructions and brewing recipes.[4]

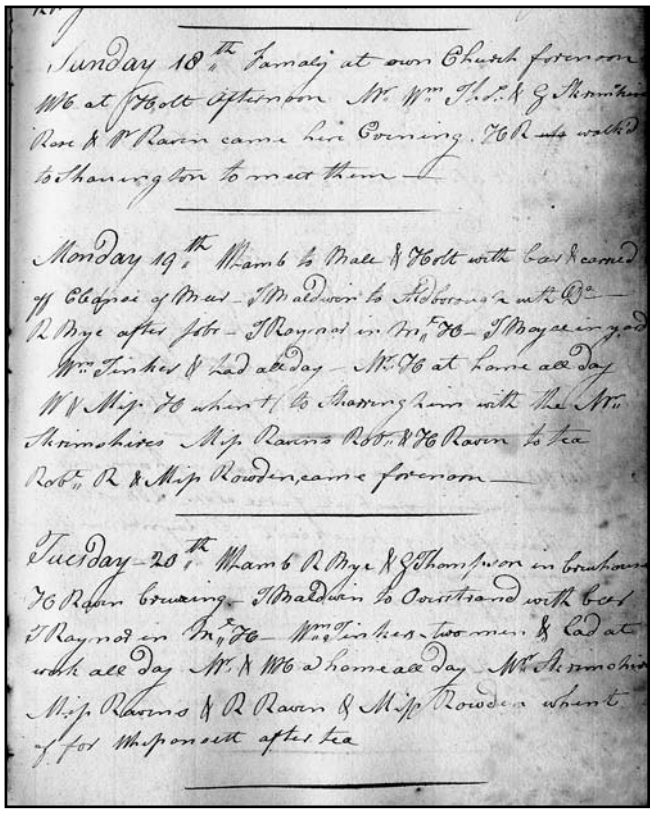


Figure 4. Henry Raven's manuscript diary, 18–20 June 1797. Henry, aged 19 and under training, is acting head brewer. Despite the excitement of a party of his relations arriving shortly before his sister Rose's wedding he still carefully logs all the men's tasks. There are beer deliveries to Bale, Holt, Aldborough and Overstrand. *(Cozens-Hardy Collection)*

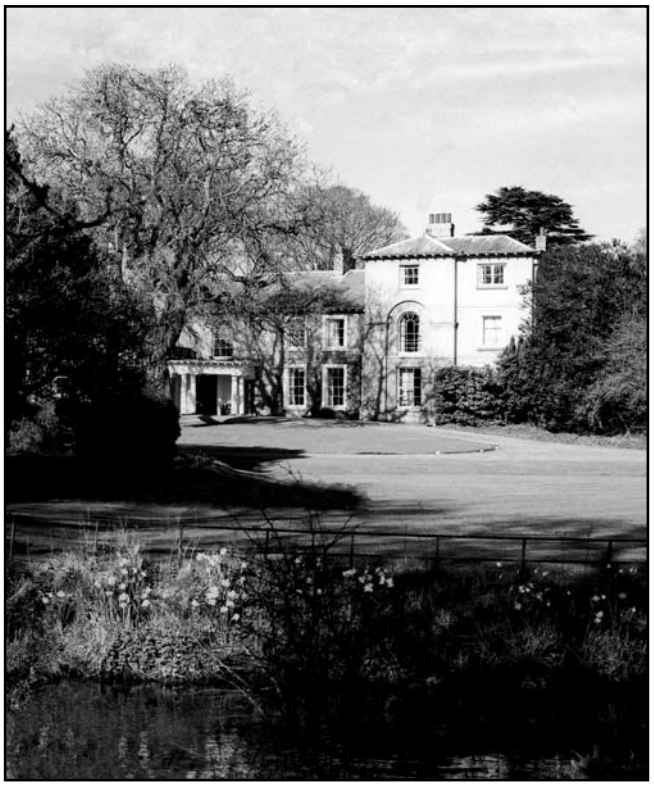


Figure 5. Letheringsett Hall, the east front of 1832–34; here Mary Hardy wrote her diary 1781–1809. Henry Raven also lived here 1792–1800, but may have written across the road in his domain, the brewery counting house. He became a London brewer and probably took the second volume of his diary with him. *(photograph Margaret Bird 2002)*

Itinerancy a part of daily life

The diaries of Mary Hardy and Henry Raven, unlike those of the more static Parson Woodforde, show that Norfolk was characterised by movement: the countryside was a heaving mass of people and animals. By 1773 Calvinistic Methodist preachers and Wesleyan itinerant and local preachers were moving from class to class and meeting to meeting on their carefully planned circuits. The Anglicans, both clergy and flock, were similarly on the move every Sunday. Many resident incumbents served consolidated livings and preached in two or more parishes; the hard-pressed Church of England curates filling in for non-resident clergy might well serve a trio of parishes. Additionally, weekday evening services attracted Nonconformists and Anglicans alike.

The flock showed little inclination to stay loyal to their home parish, the two diarists revealing that sermon tasting was well established in their north Norfolk circle **[6]**. The Hardys, who tended normally to worship separately, would gather together to travel to Field Dalling, Briningham or Warham All Saints to hear a good preacher—and do so in the rain, in an open cart.[5]

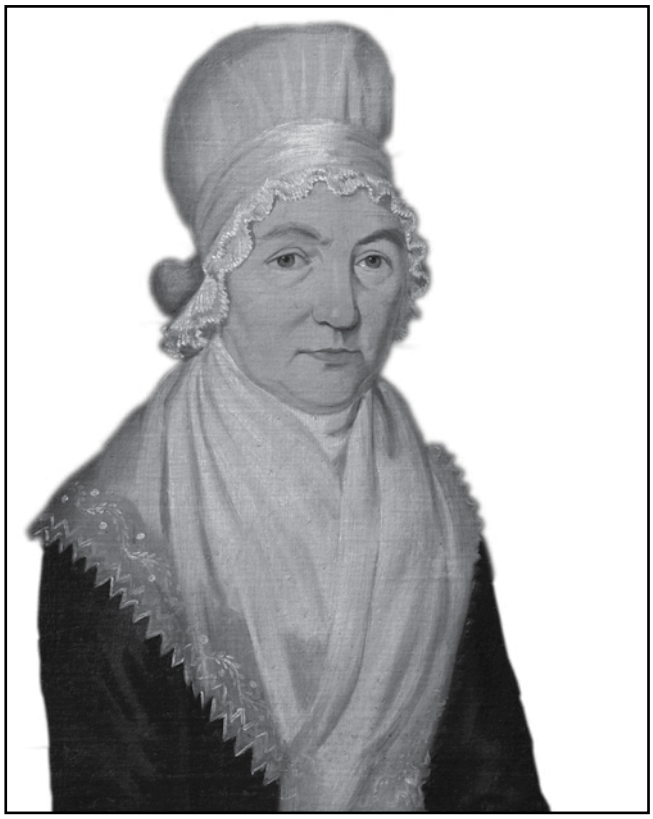


Figure 6. Mary Hardy aged 64, by which time she had given up frivolous pursuits such as the playhouse and cards. In 1795 she started to attend Methodist meetings regularly in many nearby villages. By 1798 she was a paid-up member of Cley's Wesleyan society, and in 1808 she re-established a meeting at Letheringsett. *(portrait by Immanuel 1798; Cozens-Hardy Collection)*

Robert Southey attributed the early successes of the Methodists to the novelty of itinerancy.[6] It was surely a far from novel concept: the circuit formed part of normal daily experience at the time. This article will feature the brewery drayman on his rounds, servicing the public houses as faithfully as a preacher his meetings. But we should also remember that lawyers, surgeons, doctors, tailors, plumbers and the brewers themselves also had rounds, during which they called on clients and pocketed their fees.

Receivers General of the Land Tax and the top excise officials known as the Collectors of Excise had their regular rotations around the market towns to receive the monies that financed the wars,[7] while the lower-status and overworked excise officers adhered to outrides and footwalks to monitor the various commodities they gauged. Only if his circuit stretched over a radius of six miles or more did the exciseman get a horse. Customs officers, in addition to their many other duties, patrolled the coast roads as riding officers,[8] while drovers and pedlars kept to their well-trodden cross-country routes. Wholesale grocers had a pre-set pattern of 'waiting upon' the scattered retailers whom they supplied.[9]

The county sessions were adjourned in rotation every quarter from Norwich to the four sessions towns of Holt and Walsingham, King's Lynn and Swaffham. Nevertheless the justices, grand jurors, petty jurors, parish officers, plaintiffs and defendants still had lengthy journeys of up to twenty miles to reach the seat of justice. Assize judges and bishops and archdeacons on their visitations had their pre-ordained circuits as they toured their courts, sees and deaneries. Even the home-loving Revd James Woodforde enjoyed his 'rotation' with his 'brethren', when he met fellow clergy over an extended dinner.

The principle behind rounds and circuits was that the service-provider came to the client; it saved a great deal of journeying by the client. Thus travelling dancing masters taught at the private schools on a regular weekly circuit. Troupes of travelling players such as Mary Hardy liked to see, until she adopted a more puritanical lifestyle, came to the market towns and sometimes in more remote areas performed in barns.

It is little wonder that an eighteen-year-old Frenchman marvelled at the bustle of the East Anglian roads he travelled in 1784:

You cannot imagine the quantity of travellers who are always on the road in England. You cannot go from one post to another without meeting two or three postchaises, to say nothing of the regular diligences.[10]

The state of the roads

So what was the state of the roads which carried this busy traffic? The simplest response is to seek the views of independent observers from outside the county who can provide some basis of comparison. The Revd James Woodforde, from the West Country and Oxford, came to Norfolk full of optimism after securing his lucrative living. In 1775, despite arriving outside Norwich at 11 pm and finding the city gate locked for the night, he pronounced this oft-repeated panegyric: 'From London to Norwich 109 miles, and the best of roads I ever travelled'.[11]

The careful, statistically-minded agricultural economist Nathaniel Kent, writing twenty years later, was also favourably struck by the state of the roads, and offered his reader some factual evidence in support:

The roads in this county afford the farmer a very great advantage over many other parts of England, being free from sloughs [mires], in all parts (except the marshes), and though the soil is sandy, it resists the pressure of the wheels at a small distance from the surface, and the ruts are kept shallow at a very little expence . . .

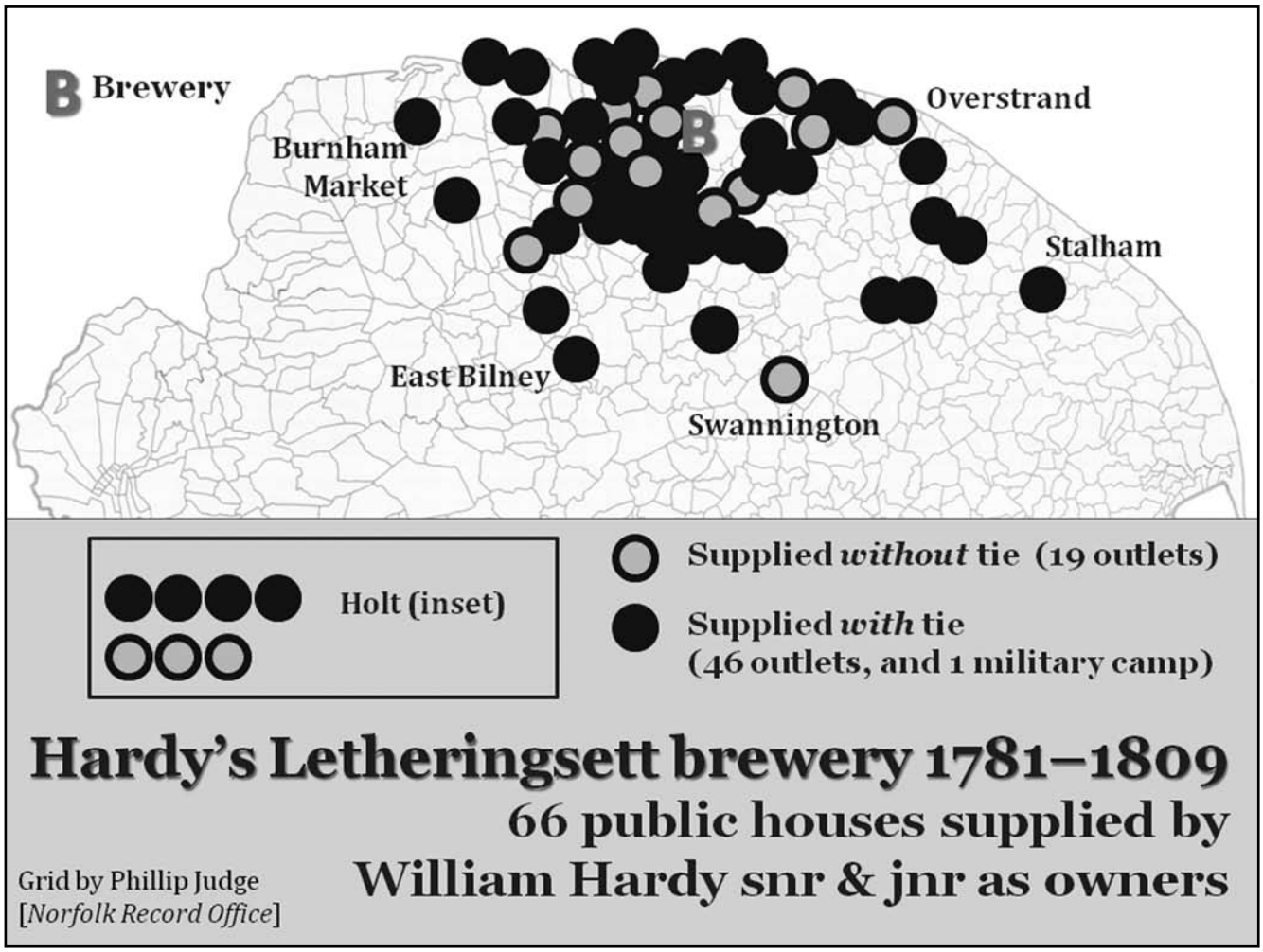


Figure 7. A brewery empire. One of the PowerPoint slides accompanying the talk given on 29 April 2014 to the Blakeney Area Historical Society. The towns and villages most distant from the brewery are named. The military camp defending the coast against the feared French invasion was at Weybourne.

This chart does not reflect the very stressful period 1781–82 when William Hardy, for the owner John Wells, was still managing his Coltishall brewery—but from his new Letheringsett base. The men then had to journey far further than is shown here and on the next slide [11]. *(slide © Margaret Bird 2013)*

In short, the roads, though often called bad by Norfolk men, are so good, comparatively with those in other counties, that where the common statute duty is fairly done, a traveller may cross the country in any direction, in a post-chaise, without danger; and where the duty is not done, may trot his horse from one parish to another, at the rate of six miles an hour.[12]

Arthur Young, well used to travelling about the kingdom in his role as Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, considered that Norfolk had made great strides since his first tour, written up in 1771. Following his 1803 visit he could say that the county had made '*considerable exertions*' in the previous twenty years, the consequent improvements being brought about in part by the creation of turnpikes on the main routes: '*The roads, in general, must be considered as equal to those of the most improved counties.*'[13]

However most journeys were not along turnpike roads. Beer deliveries required the use of minor country lanes, and anyway there were no turnpikes at all in north Norfolk until very late. Cromer was reached in 1811; Wells not until 1826. No turnpike penetrated the far north-west of the county other than the spur from King's Lynn to Snettisham in 1770. The Norwich–Holt road was never turnpiked.

If the roads, both major and minor, had not been in good shape the brewers could not have built up portfolios of tied houses.[14] The Hardys supplied 31 known outlets from Coltishall 1773–81, and 66 from Letheringsett 1781–1809; there may have been more which did not get logged in Mary Hardy's diary**[7]**. At any one time they were supplying perhaps 40–45 houses **[8]**. When William Hardy handed over the business to his son in 1797 he was producing 2100 barrels a year for 42 public houses, of which 25 were tied.

Mary Hardy has much to say on the weather and the state of the roads in her entries made daily for just under 35½ years: roughly, allowing for two gaps for incapacitating illness, 12,850 days. During that period she describes the roads as impassable on only 32 days. The figure includes those occasions when she and her circle were prevented from moving about on their daily duties, usually owing to floods, snowdrifts or a thaw. Even though the period was still in the grip of the Little Ice Age, and suffered some appalling winters in which people lost their lives in the snow, the local roads proved impassable during only 0.25 per cent of the time. Hence perhaps the prevalence of itinerancy in daily life.

The lie of the land

As well as the state of the roads, the lie of the land shaped the development of the brewing industry and encouraged the growth of wholesale breweries, known then as common breweries.

Coltishall and Letheringsett lie at the heart of very comparable areas. Both posed problems for draymen. The first was the bisection of the flat landscape by Broadland's unfordable rivers; the second was the occasional steep hill in the north of the county. In the part of the navigable Broads served by William Hardy as brewery manager there were (and are) very few bridges. Only one, at Acle, spanned the 25-mile stretch of the Bure between Wroxham and the approaches to the estuary at Great Yarmouth; Horning Ferry helped fill the void. Only one bridge spanned the River Thurne, two the River Ant.

The hills of the Cromer ridge were in some places so steep as to force alternative routes on horse-drawn heavy transport. The sharp drop from above the 60-metre contour line on Holt Heath down to the Glaven headstream in the valley between Holt and Edgefield may account at least in part for the route of the Wells–Norwich coach to which Mary Hardy subscribed in the 1780s. After stopping at Holt it then went on to Aylsham via Itteringham, thus avoiding the potentially dangerous ground south of Holt.[15]

The streams in this part of the county were often fordable, as indeed was the Glaven beside the Hardys' maltings until the present Letheringsett Bridge was financed by private subscription and built by Mary Hardy's son William in 1818. Where they could not be forded, as for instance at Wiveton, Reepham, Lenwade, Itteringham, Blickling, Ingworth, Aylsham and Mayton, the county stepped in and strong stone bridges were financed out of the county rate. Fords could prove dangerous. Both Mary Hardy and Henry Raven describe how the dray of Mrs Booty, the Binham brewer, was swept away by the flooded Glaven at Letheringsett in 1796. One of the mares was drowned.[16]

Figure 8. The former* King's Head *at Cley, on the coast road almost opposite the old Customs House: one of the 66 retail outlets charted on the slide. It stayed with the Hardys as one of their tied houses all the way through to 1896, when the maltings, brewery and tied estate were sold to the brewers Morgans of Norwich. *(photograph Margaret Bird 2011)*

Coltishall and Letheringsett lie in densely settled areas, if not especially densely populated, the villages and hamlets crowding very close to one another. On rising ground as many as six or more church towers can often be seen—where they have not latterly become shrouded by trees.

Further, the unusually dense and intricate pattern of lanes, permitting the choice of a direct route, favoured efficient distribution. The proud claim by the Norfolk Churches Trust that '*Norfolk contains the greatest concentration of medieval churches in the world*' has its roots not only in the long-lasting nature of the flint building material but in the density of the parishes.[17]

Phillip Judge's well-known map of Norfolk, part of which is seen on the first slide, makes the point visually **[7]**. This is the densest parish grid in Britain. With the generally flat contours (the Cromer ridge apart) it makes ideal terrain for a wholesaler—and a sermon taster. As his map shows, at Coltishall Mary Hardy had seventeen other parishes lying within three miles of her home; at Letheringsett she had twenty within four miles.

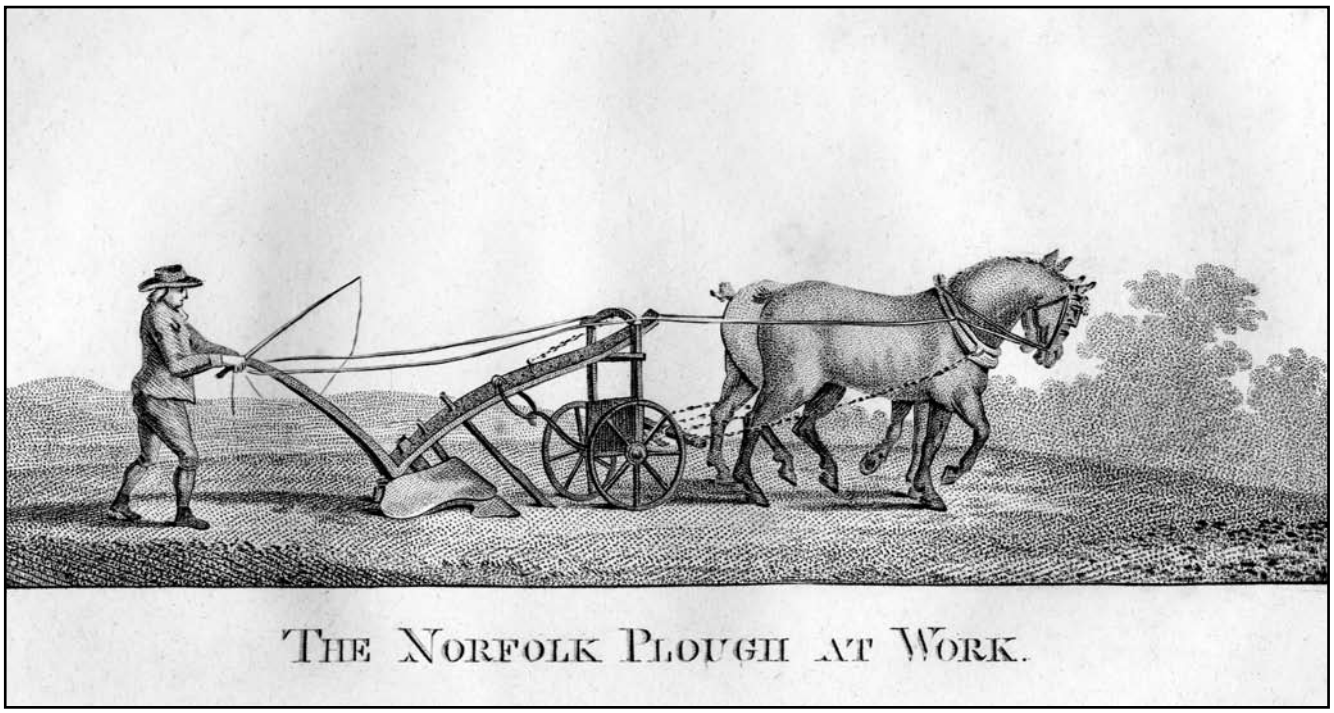


Figure 9. A Norfolk ploughman. In a vertically integrated business like the Hardys', where one man would see the product through from the start (as seen here) to the finish (when delivering the beer to the public house), the workforce had to be versatile and adaptable. So did the horses. The plough horses were also the drayhorses.
(N. Kent, 1796)

However in parts of the west and south-west of the county the parishes were rather larger in geographical extent, the settlements more remote from one another, and lanes and roads were far less numerous. The names of these regions—the Marshland and the Fens—convey something of the difficulty of land carriage. Common brewers could not flourish in such uncongenial territory.

The publican brewer, who did his or her own brewing for the customers, could still hold out where distribution from one central production point proved uneconomic. This helps to explain some of the divergences between excise areas (known as Collections) as reported to Parliament in 1822. The hilly moors around Halifax, where the innkeepers still did their own brewing, are utterly different from the flatlands of Beverley and Hull where wholesalers were at work.[18]

The argument that the local economy is moulded by the accident of geography is pushed to its logical conclusion in Scotland, where the tied-house system 'was known, but was never prevalent much before the middle of the nineteenth century'.[19] Tellingly, Norfolk had nearly 700 parishes in the 18th century. In all Scotland there were only 900.[20]

The density of public houses

If we calculate the ratio of public houses to the local population we see that the Hardys chose propitious ground for their breweries and networks of outlets, taking advantage not only of accommodating terrain but also favourable licensing regimes. The ground was extensive. From the two breweries they covered nearly 40 per cent of the county.

Using the alehouse register figures for 1799 and the census returns for 1801 we find that the total number of public houses in rural Norfolk was 946, serving a population of 209,330 persons.[21] This gives an overall ratio of one public house for every 221 persons, including children, expressed as 1:221.

The average ratio across Hardy country c1800 covering north, north-east and part of central Norfolk was one public house for every 228 persons. In Holt hundred, which included Cley and Blakeney in the cluster of parishes in the central area of north Norfolk, a common brewer gained distinct opportunities. In this hundred, where as many as eighteen of the 26 towns and villages had a Hardy outlet, the ratio was a particularly favourable 1:183.

The ratios cited by Peter Clark for parts of the country other than East Anglia reveal that by comparison Norfolk had a rich provision in the 1790s. The population elsewhere had risen, but through strict licensing regimes often saw no corresponding growth in public houses. Thus Kent had 1:350 in 1810 and Middlesex 1:306 in 1813.[22] These calculations make Norfolk's 1:221 c1800 look favourable indeed for the drinker (if not for supporters of William Wilberforce's cam-

paign against vice), although the ratio will have reflected not only a benign Norfolk magistracy but a slower-rising population than in Kent and Middlesex.

So far we have looked at the sources for an analysis of distribution by road as practised by one family business, the prevalence of itinerancy and, although it will be very familiar to all those who know Blakeney and its hinterland, we have grappled with the topography of the area covered by the concern.

Before moving on to the actual carriage of the very bulky commodity that particular family produced we need to reflect on the structure of the business. The structure, known today—but not then—as vertical integration, had major implications for the workforce. It is with that workforce, about whose tasks the two diarists write with intimate knowledge, that the study will end.

Vertical integration

The Hardys' enterprise was served by only three yearly men at Coltishall and four at Letheringsett. Help was given by one additional skilled maltster when the Coltishall business expanded into malting at Hoveton, and by the apprentice Henry Raven at Letheringsett 1792–1800. Day and weekly labourers filled in any gaps, as did the farm boy who, like the principal workforce, was hired by the year. The boy and the apprentice were the only two to live in the household, apart from Mary Hardy's two maid-servants who in some years also helped with haymaking and harvest.

Looking just at the yearly men, and by compiling worksheets based on the diary texts, we can see that distribution occupied between one-third and a half of their time.[23] It was the varied nature of the business, the vertical integration, that made so many different demands on their skills. With the exception of work in the malthouse, one day was almost always different from the next. The Hardys' men had little monotony in their working lives. They also had the job satisfaction of seeing their task through from start to finish.

Vertical integration in both villages had malting and brewing at its core. Upstream, to use the modern business metaphor, there was farming; downstream there was the management and supply of the public houses. Through this integration, which for some years at Letheringsett was reinforced at its core by cornmilling, the Hardys protected themselves to a certain degree from risk. They certainly could ensure quality by growing and malting the grain for the beer, and rely on sales outlets secured for their produce.

Although distribution by water does not come into this study, the Hardys used keels and wherries on the Broads and in 1776 built their own small wherry, named *William and Mary*. At Letheringsett they relied hugely on the quays at Blakeney, and in 1800 William Hardy junior bought his own ill-fated sloop *Nelly*.

The dazzling levels of commitment by the Hardys' men, seen later, may have been made possible by the very varied nature of their tasks. The men's considerable output was achieved not through improved methods and new and better machinery, but sheer hard work. They were rarely ill, took almost no holidays, and often worked on Sundays and religious feast days.

As a consequence of the long working day and, especially, the long year each man's annual working time was approximately 3600 to 3750 hours. For comparison, average annual hours worked by each employed person in 2007, before the onset of the prolonged macro-economic downturn, were very different. The averages for Poland were 1976 hours, the United States 1798, Japan 1785, Australia 1711, the United Kingdom 1677, France 1485 and Germany 1422 hours.[24]

It is perhaps astonishing that little rigorous research has been conducted into the lives of the annually-hired farm servants, as they were known. Their loyalty lay at the heart of many farming and rural mixed businesses.

Figure 10. A private brewhouse, with copper (top) and cooler (right). This 17th-century brewhouse, in the care of the National Trust at Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire, is not on a commercial scale. The vessels would however be recognisable to the Hardys' men, for whom they represented the central core of a manufacturer's vertically integrated concern. *(photograph Margaret Bird 2001)*

The location of the outlets

It is hard to over-emphasise the importance of public houses in the landscape. As well as providing a multiplicity of services, in a dark countryside they might be the only buildings showing a light. Their inn boards bore pictures for those who could not read. An unlettered stranger seeking directions and landmarks in unfamiliar territory could navigate, increasingly unsteadily, from the Crown to the White Lion to the Bull and fetch up in the King's Arms.

Although Mary Hardy and Henry Raven rarely record this, perhaps as it was so obvious, the draymen would have paused during deliveries to refresh themselves; their horses would have drunk deep from the troughs by the pump. Pure well water in the alehouse yard would in itself have been a boon for those on the move.

The county maps by Faden of 1797 and Bryant of 1826 name a great number of the public houses and by no means give prominence solely to the leading inns. The mapmakers, themselves itinerants, would have appreciated their services, and it is tempting to think they selected their favourites for inclusion. (The men building the Aylsham navigation, and its German-born surveyor—another itinerant—H A Biedermann himself, enjoyed the services of the White Horse at Great Hautbois, close to Coltishall Lock.)[25]

The tiny *Falgate* at Hindringham stands in a lonely spot on the Walsingham road. It was the most modest of the Hardys' houses, the widowed Mary Allen paying the lowest rent. But it appears on both Faden and Bryant, and would have been greatly valued for the welcome warmth, light and refreshment it gave. Even today the traveller in a comfortable car can from far off spot the look of a former licensed house and the way it faces the road expectantly **[12], [13]**.

An endpaper map in the third of the published Diary volumes displays the the distribution network of the Hardys' outlets in more detail than is shown here on the frontispiece map **[1]**.

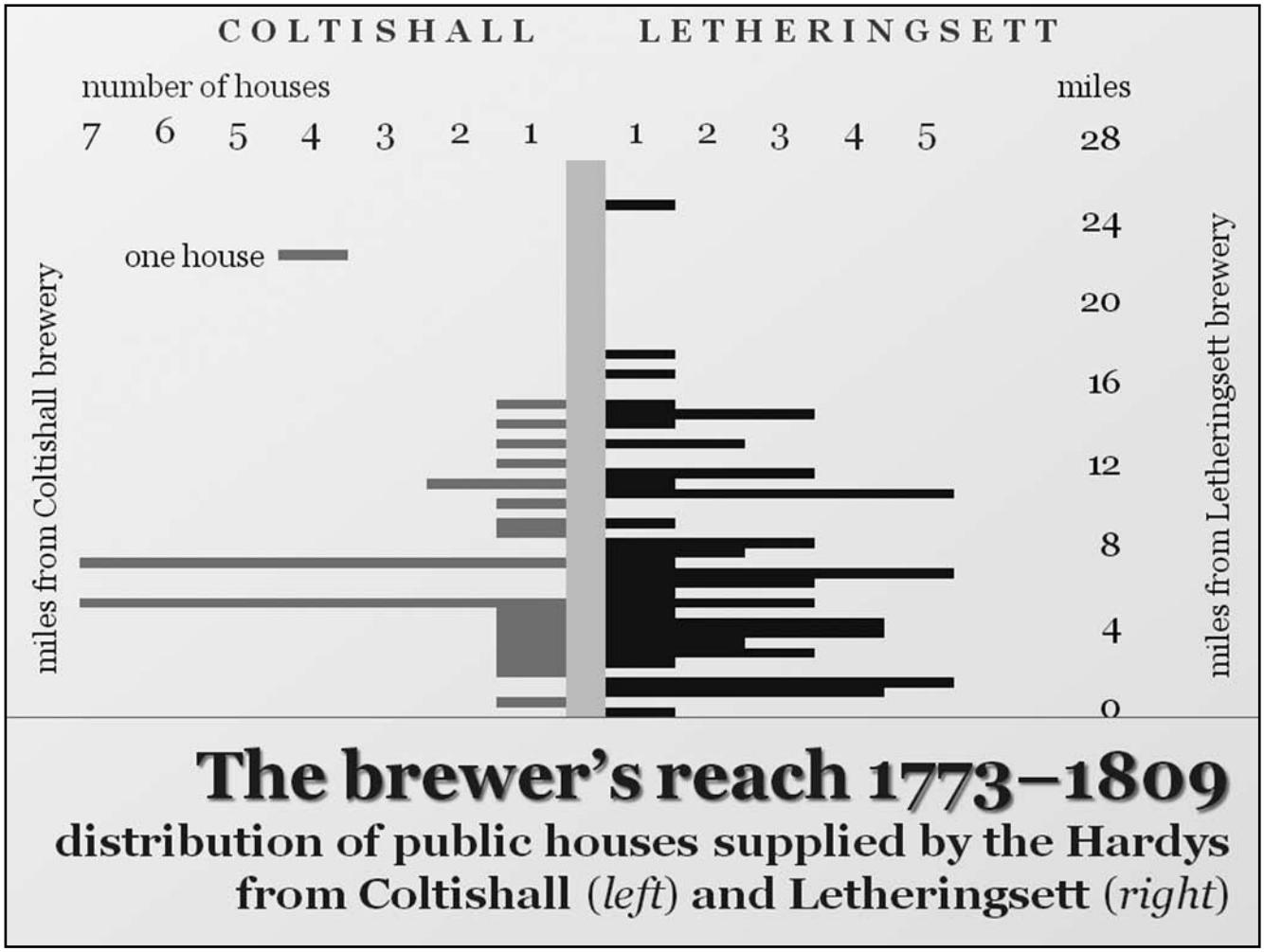


Figure 11. Mileages from the brewery base. This stem-and-leaf plot, another of the slides for the talk at Blakeney, charts the distance of the Hardys' outlets from the brewery base along the roads of 1797. The bunching effect around the 5–7 mile radius is marked, and is consistent with what is known of other common breweries at the time. William Hardy supplied 31 public houses from Coltishall 1773–81. *(slide © Margaret Bird 2013)*

Figure 12. Hindringham, the former* Falgate*: another of the 66 outlets. This house, also sold to Morgans in 1896, appears on the six-mile line on the stem-and-leaf plot [11].
Like so many former licensed premises it proudly displays its old name by the door. *(photograph Margaret Bird 2012)*

Figure 13. Hindolveston, the former* Maid's Head*: also one of the 66 and sold to Morgans in 1896; it too stands on the six-mile line on the plot.
***Two other houses in this large village were tied to the Hardys at Letheringsett in Mary Hardy's time: the* Cock *or* Clock *and the* Red Lion.** *(photograph Margaret Bird 2002)*

Both maps chart the locations topographically, as does the earlier slide **[7]**. A different approach is to set them as a stem-and-leaf plot **[11]**. This charts the position, in terms of miles from the brewery, of the 31 public houses supplied from Coltishall 1773–81 and the 66 from Letheringsett during Mary Hardy's lifetime.

As four houses transferred with William Hardy from Coltishall it plots 97 positions but actually covers 93 houses. (The four were the *Queen's Head* at Brampton, *Three Horseshoes* at Corpusty, *Three Pigs* at Edgefield and *Maid's Head* at Stalham.) Neither slide attempts to display the very difficult period 1781–82 when the Coltishall houses were supplied with Letheringsett beer as no successor had been found for William Hardy as manager at Coltishall. The extraordinary workload and long mileages experienced by William Hardy, his men and his innkeepers have only been touched on in the opening part of this study with the one week in William Lamb's life.

Many outlets, especially during the first 28 years at Letheringsett, were not supplied continuously. The *Pitt Arms* at Burnham Market **[14]** lay 17½ miles from the north Norfolk brewery. It was supplied briefly in 1790, possibly on trial, and then regularly with John Howard as innkeeper 1795–1800. Detailed data on the duration of supply and, where applicable, of tie will be found in the Gazetteer of 101 public houses to be published in the second of the commentary volumes forming *Mary Hardy and her World.*

The plot has the brewery bases as the stem. Spreading outward to the left and right are the outlets. The equivalent of the brewery taps, the *Recruiting Sergeant* at Horstead and the *King's Head* at Letheringsett, appear at the foot of the plot, at half a mile from the brewery and at no distance respectively. The leaves, or houses, are charted until reaching the distance of 25 miles from the brewery: the *Maid's Head* at Stalham. This house is also plotted on a nine-mile radius from the Coltishall base as it was also supplied from there.

At Coltishall the 31 houses were located at an average distance of just under seven miles from the brewery; at Letheringsett the 66 houses averaged just over 7¼ miles from the base. Were the house at Stalham, situated far from the others, to be removed from the Letheringsett side of the plot the averages would tally almost exactly: 6.9 miles at Coltishall; 6.7 miles at Letheringsett.

These averages reinforce the assertion of many brewery historians that, in the comparatively early period of tying, the common brewers liked to have their houses fairly near, fifteen miles generally being regarded as the maximum distance.[26] However in Norfolk some brewers, like the Hardys, Chapman Ives of Coltishall, John Day of Norwich and John Patteson also of Norwich, were prepared to go significantly further.[27]

The plot is useful in demonstrating that numerous breweries, dispersed at regular intervals, were needed in this period to serve the local economy. It was no good relying only on King's Lynn and Norwich as centres of wholesale brewing, as the

Figure 14. The Hardys' Burnham Market house, known then as the* Pitt Arms *and now simply as the* Hoste*. It appears on the second slide [11] as the second house from the top, more than 17 miles from the brewery base.

One of the draymen, Thomas Baldwin, had a bad accident in December 1796 after delivering here: the wagonwheel ran over him and broke his leg. He was off work for more than three months, but as a yearly man his job was kept open; the law required also that he be paid. He had earlier broken his arm on a delivery, accidents being narrated later.
(photograph Margaret Bird 1994)

demands of distribution in this large county would have defeated the producers.

When breweries were advertised for sale or let in rural areas the notices would sometimes try to entice the prospective purchaser by announcing there were no other brewing offices (as breweries were called) for some miles. It would be reassuring to hear there was clear ground between the new brewer and the competition as it might be hoped that at least the sales and distribution sides of the business would be healthy.28

In the 1780s common breweries were still in business across the wide northern area between Lynn and Norwich: Fring, Wells, Binham, Letheringsett, Guist, Cawston, Reepham, Dereham, Coltishall and Worstead, all jostling for position and encroaching on one another's territory.

The horses

The horse was a key player in efficient distribution. The Hardys did not use the type of horse seen today pulling huge loaded wagons at shows and occasionally on the streets of London, as at the Lord Mayor's Show. These consume far too much hay. Also the Hardys expected their horses to be as versatile as their men. They had no dedicated drayhorses **[15]**. Their plough horses, doubling as drayhorses, are unlikely to have been the powerful Shires seen at rural shows today, whose hairy fetlocks would have slowed them down in the mud of the fields. They would have been smaller, wirier beasts with smooth legs and ankles, as in the Nathaniel Kent illustration **[9]**. Today's Suffolk Punch may have something of the look of the breeds forming part of the team at Coltishall and Letheringsett **[16]**.

Brewery historians, reliant for the early charting of their firms' development on sources which concentrate on partners' biographies and lists of assets, can neglect the drayhorse's contribution. There are sensitive portraits of the working horse in the histories of Watney Mann of London and of Brakspear's on the Thames at Henley, where the drayhorse worked the same long hours as his driver in the early twentieth century. The working day began at 5.30 am, as a former drayman recalled, and might end after midnight: '. . . *You'd see them coming over Henley Bridge,*

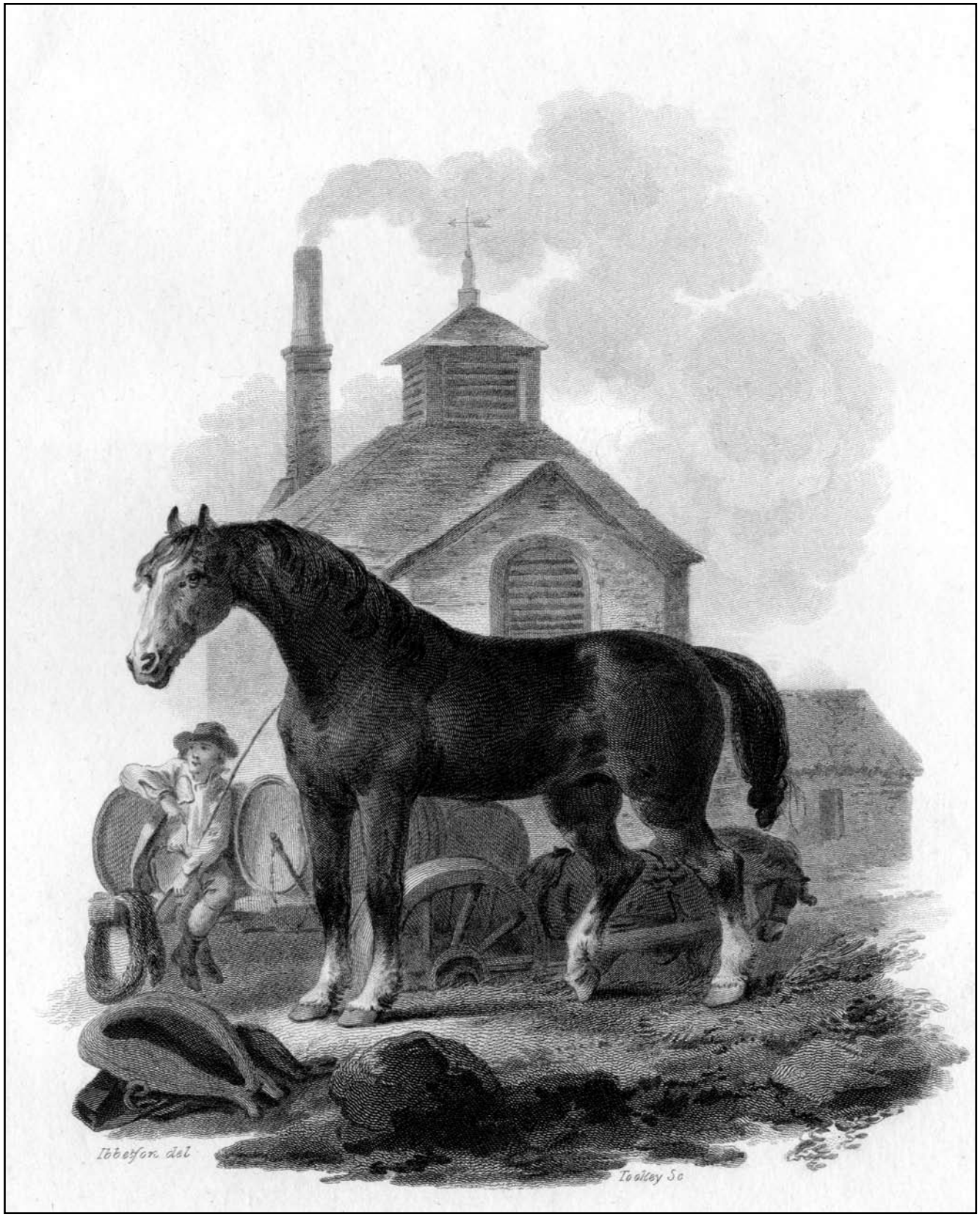


Figure 15. The drayhorse in 1799, easing his muscles in front of his slightly tipsy-looking driver and the beer cart or dray; his tack is heaped neatly on the ground. Mary Hardy uses the term 'brew cart' rather than dray; Henry occasionally refers to a dray, but more usually employs the participle draying. This may well be a dedicated drayhorse, as he has hairy fetlocks unsuited to fieldwork. Also this is a steam brewery, so it may be in an urban setting. Steam as an innovation did not catch on in rural areas until later. Chapman Ives of Coltishall, a large producer capable of brewing 20,000 barrels a year, was a Norfolk pioneer in converting to steam by 1796. The expense may have broken him. That year witnessed his first bankruptcy. *(drawing by Ibbotson; engraving by Tookey)*

Reading Road, Bell Street, ten, eleven and twelve at night, poor old devils.' Sometimes a driver would doze off on the return journey and the horses would find their own way home; and on one occasion '*the horses came down New Street, into the gate and the boss of the wheel caught the big gate, and there they stood, waiting for someone to come and move 'em', the driver fast asleep among the empty barrels on the bottom of the dray.*' [29]

While the brewery historian Peter Mathias, in his magisterial survey of the industry in the 18th century, gives the drayhorse its due he sees it principally in financial terms. He paints a picture, surely unrecognisable to the Hardys, of huge beasts representing considerable capital outlay. He quotes sums of above £40 for each animal after 1800; at Truman's of London £2000 in total was invested in the period 1793–1808 in the 60 drayhorses and 20–22 mill horses (the latter being used in unmechanised breweries for grinding malt by means of a gin—as the Hardys did, with their blind mare, until converting to water power in 1784) **[17]**.[30] William Hardy, by contrast, valued his two teams of four horses in 1797 at £32 a team, averaging £8 a horse.[31]

Figure 16.* Trojan, *aged nine weeks, by the flank of his mother Ruby: visitors to Gressenhall Farm and Workhouse. These Suffolk Punches may be closer to the Hardys' horses in looks than the towering hay-devouring Shires and Percherons: the Hardys as arable growers were always short of fodder.

Although a young foal,* Trojan *is being accustomed to his bridle ready for his long service as a working horse. The Hardys took care to prepare their young horses and did not work them until they were fully grown. As was usual, and as seen here, the colts were sent away to summer grazing.
(photograph Margaret Bird 2011)

Mathias depicts businesses dedicated almost exclusively to brewing and distribution, whereas the Hardys' vertically integrated rural enterprise was characterised by fluidity and flexibility. They could not afford to be single-minded about distribution, and deliveries were fitted around other tasks. Sometimes a man would set off late in the evening after a very full day in the field and in the maltings and brewery.

The Hardys used two men only in the deepest snow; deploying two men routinely on each delivery would have brought such vital tasks as farming, brewing, and collecting coal to a halt. And their brew carts (and perhaps the horses and the roads) could not have coped with the monstrous 108-gallon butts to which Mathias refers. The Hardys used the standard 36-gallon barrel, holding 288 pints (nearly 164 litres).

Loads carried

We gain almost no idea from Mary Hardy of the size of load carried; she refers merely to loading and carting. When she does refer to the number of barrels ordered it is generally in relation to large consignments for shipping, such as ten barrels for Knaresborough, nineteen barrels for Newcastle, thirty barrels for Norway.[32]

Innkeepers come ordering beer, but she does not note the size of the order: '*J. Fuller here to speak for beer*'; '*Bullock of Holt came and spoke for some beer for the first time;*' '*Mr Scott of Sheringham came to speak for a load of beer;*' '*Mrs Twiddy and Mr Mobbs here to speak for beer*'; '*A Mrs Bishop from Reepham came to speak for some beer, dined and stayed here all night.*' [33] Sometimes she is more precise about the beer but more hazy about the innkeeper: '*Mr [ ] from Wells and a stranger with him dined here and spoke for a load of porter.*' [34]

Henry Raven and his cousin William Hardy junior fill some of the gaps, their entries for 1793–97 fleshing out Mary Hardy's. William, who at 23 set the pattern of entries in the diary which was shortly to become Henry's, made the entries when Henry was on holiday at Whissonsett. He was precise about orders; Henry tended to stray from the model. The size of the orders varied very considerably over the four years. The 'regular', 'customary' system of deliveries described by Mathias bears no relation to the rather ad hoc, even anarchic, ordering at Letheringsett.[35]

Taking just the orders for nog, this strong

brew was supplied as loads of two barrels (for the brewery tap only); three barrels (for very local deliveries to Holt and Thornage, within a 1½-mile radius); four barrels (varying between the brewery tap to as far afield as Kettlestone at seven miles and East Runton at 10½ miles); five barrels (for Holt); and seven barrels (for nearby Gunthorpe and Holt).[36]

On 21 December 1793 Henry Raven noted an extraordinary order, placed by the tiny *Falgate* at Hindringham, for four barrels of nog and eighteen barrels of small beer **[12]**. This could have been for a series of frolics and a tithe audit, but the house seems too small to have hosted events with that number of revellers, given that they were facing the challenge of consuming 6336 pints of beer. Two days later, just before Christmas, Thomas Baldwin undertook the delivery to Hindringham, six miles away. Given that Henry noted only one journey Baldwin presumably took the wagon.[37] The four-wheeled wagon was used for very large orders and for distant journeys **[18]**; the two-wheeled cart was the vehicle generally used for draying.

Draying was a hard and exhausting task. In spite of their many hardships the men seem to have exercised great care with the beer, even if they themselves came to serious harm at times. Only twice do we learn of damage to the barrels. In the Coltishall years Mary Hardy recorded that John Thompson staved a barrel of nog in 1778 on a delivery to Tuttington and Buxton. At Letheringsett her son noted: '*Thomas Baldwin at Beckhithe [Overstrand] with beer, Robert Bye to Wiveton and Weybourne with ditto [beer] and lost a barrel*'.[38] All were experienced draymen.

It was very common for the draymen to deliver to two or even three houses on one journey, making distribution rather more profitable. This prudent practice, coupled with the vagueness of much of the ordering, means it is not possible to calculate rates of consumption at any individual public house.

The database provided by the two diaries helps towards an understanding of local trade and an assessment of the vitality of an individual place, however obscure. Delivery calculations can be made for most of the Hardys' public houses. The *Crown* at Sheringham was greatly boosted by the holiday trade in the 1790s, deliveries being made at intervals of four to six weeks in winter, but oftener than every ten days to a fortnight at the height of the summer. The holidaymakers were not so genteel as to abstain from the local beer.

Crises were good for trade. Both diarists record the bread riots of December 1795 after the failure of the wheat harvest. Trouble flared when starving men and women intercepted a consignment of flour which the Glandford miller Zeb Rouse, later a Cley surveyor, wished to ship coastwise. To sidestep other rioters on Wells Quay, Zeb arranged for his wagon to head for King's Lynn. The flour got no further than the Sharrington *Swan* (then a very modest house and now in a layby on the A148). The Inniskilling Dragoons and the Pembrokeshire Militia had to quell the tumult of the mob. Deliveries shot up following this sudden influx of drinkers.[39]

So it was with the large camp at Weybourne. William Hardy senior and junior not only won the beer contact for the large camp, but also saw deliveries markedly increasing to their existing outlets at Weybourne and Sheringham.[40]

Figure 17. The Letheringsett malt-kilns, photographed by Basil Cozens-Hardy in 1952.

These were built by Mary Hardy's son William in the early 19th century. The bridge carrying today's A148 is also his project; it was designed by William Mindham, his Wells-born protégé, who designed and built Norwich's first Foundry Bridge in 1810. The malthouse known to Mary Hardy is beyond.

The tunnel in the foreground carrying an offshoot of the Glaven was built by William Hardy in 1783–84 for the new waterwheel; the cascade reflects the drop to the wheel. Mechanisation meant that the Hardys had no further use for their old mill horse, who died in retirement four years later.

This was the spot where the Binham drayhorse was drowned in 1796, as described earlier. *(Cozens-Hardy Collection)*

Table 1: Road-haulage capabilities in East Anglia, 1797

source TNA: PRO WO 30/100, p. 5, 11 July 1797 [1]
notes Wagons have four wheels **[18]**; carts have two. Weights are in imperial tons

team	heavy items (tons) *eg flour, grain, fuel*	bulky items (tons) *eg bread, biscuit*
Wagon with four or more horses	3	1
Wagon with three horses	2	0.75
Cart with three or more horses	1.5	0.5
Cart with two horses	1	0.5

[1] *source* Extract from 'Proposed plan for the supply of an extra number of wagons and carts for the service of the Army in the Eastern [Military] District during the war', by H. Motz, Esq., Commissary General, Chelmsford, Essex, 11 July 1797.

His figures, for haulage by civilian wagons and carts, are given in the original document in hundredweights; they are converted to tons for this table.

The Eastern District covered Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire

Figure 18. A Norfolk wagon, in the traditional local paintwork of scarlet and royal blue. The Hardys used the more manoeuvrable cart when they could, but owned two wagons as well. *(photograph Margaret Bird 1992)*

It was glaringly evident to economists and agriculturalists at the time how expensive land carriage was. In his report of 1796 to the Board of Agriculture, Nathaniel Kent quoted the observation of 'Mr Colhoun' (the statistician Patrick Colquhoun) that the cost of land carriage from Thetford to London or back was £4 a ton. If the proposed linkage of Thetford by water to the capital had gone ahead the calculation would have fallen to under £1 a ton, 'a saving of near eighty per cent. The like saving would have been made on all the articles of trade, extending to the city of Norwich.' [41]

The military, preoccupied with provisioning the large numbers of anti-invasion troops ranged across East Anglia, calculated the load a civilian wagon and cart could haul using different levels of traction **[Table 1]**. The Commissary General of the Eastern District described in impressive detail the system to be employed: weybills and conductors for the goods, and a pioneer corps to keep the roads open. Among the many commodities he listed Henry Motz did not consider the bulk transport of liquids such as beer.[42]

Beer is a low-value, high-weight and large-volume commodity, the drayman being required to manhandle barrels of a substance which is 90–96 per cent water. (As a result it held little or no appeal for smugglers.) Perhaps the military assumed that this awkward commodity, from the point of view of land carriage, would continue to be available locally. The traditional practices of billeting troops in public houses and of entering into local contracts for supplies to military canteens—as negotiated with the Hardys in 1795 and 1796—would have meant that the soldierly mind did not see beer provision as a problem.

However for the local brewer any interruption in the availability of coal and cinders for his brewery and maltings, and of hops for the brew, would have hindered production. All these goods came by sea at a time when vessels had to sail

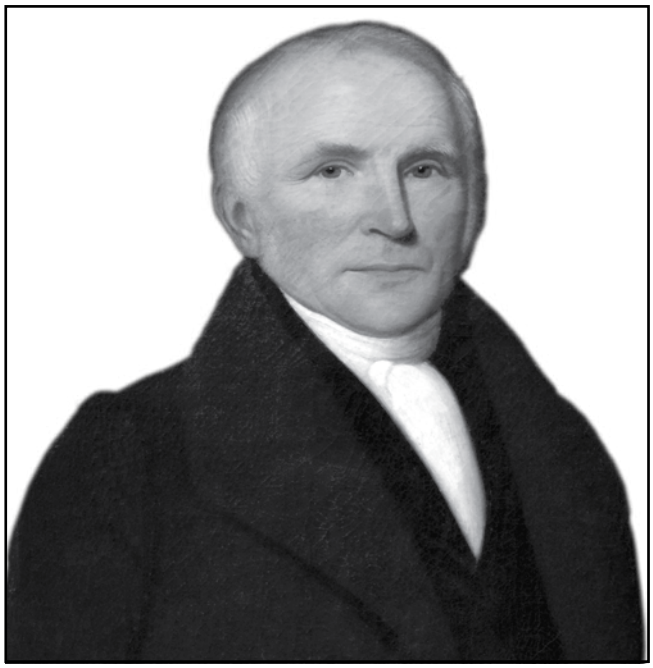


Figure 19. William Hardy junior (1770–1842), aged about 56. His elder brother Raven died in 1787 aged 19. In 1797 William took over the family business—a future mapped out for him from childhood, Mary Hardy's family practising not primogeniture, but male ultimogeniture. He married Henry Raven's sister Mary in 1819. *(portrait by an unknown artist; Cozens-Hardy Collection)*

under convoy owing to the constant threat from privateers. William Hardy junior's ship *Nelly*, a Dundee vessel, had spent time in Holland after being captured by a Dutch privateer; *Nelly* was later recaptured by the Royal Navy and taken as a prize to Great Yarmouth, where William bought her in April 1800 **[19]**.[43]

Motz's figures are valuable in revealing that in East Anglia greater loads could be carried than is generally accepted. Presumably the level ground and quality of the road surface permitted this greater ease of haulage; hence, as we have established, the development of wholesale brewing and tied-house portfolios. We learn that 'The average cart could carry a load of from 18 to 22 cwts', (there being 20 hundredweights to the ton).[44] Yet, as shown by the table, the Army operated on the assumption that civilian carts could carry up to 1½ tons, or 30 cwt.

In fact the Hardys achieved far better road-haulage capability. Henry Raven wrote in the summer of 1797, at the same time as Motz at Chelmsford, that two of the men, William Lamb and Thomas Baldwin, each went '*to Blackney three times for 9 chaldron of coals from Mr Farthing's*'.[45] Henry's precision enables us to calculate that the men made six individual journeys for the coal. Each laden cart thus carried just under two tons (39¾ cwt), for his entry shows that the north Norfolk ports used the London chaldron (26½ cwt), not the Newcastle measure (53 cwt). There is no way the axles of a cart could bear nearly 4 tons, however many horses were used for their pulling power—a factor Henry does not record for us. As it was, the way home would have had to be carefully chosen, to avoid some of the slopes on the direct route from Blakeney Quay to the Letheringsett brewery yard.

The great difficulty of moving domestic items and furniture on the roads may explain why so many in the Hardys' circle put their goods on the market when moving house. Attending house sales in the neighbourhood was the Hardys' principal means over the years of purchasing large items such as mahogany furniture. Sometimes this stratagem could not be resorted to, as when Mary Ann's new organ was delivered to Letheringsett from Norwich at great expense.[46]

Carriage of heavy items by road was not necessarily performed by wheeled traffic, as on the memorable occasion when the Revd James Woodforde took delivery at his parsonage of a mahogany sideboard and a mahogany drinks cabinet which two men had carried on their backs the twelve miles from Norwich. The kindly parson did not forget the men in his delight at taking possession of these handsome pieces:

[1793] April 4, Wednesday . . . About 2 o'clock this afternoon two men of Sudbury's [the upholsterer] at Norwich came with my sideboard and a large new mahogany cellaret bought of Sudbury, brought on the men's shoulders all the way, and very safe. The men's names were Abraham Seily and Isaac Warren. I gave them whatever they could eat and drink, and when they went away gave them 1s 0d to spend either on the road or at home and sent word by them to Sudbury to pay them handsomely for their day's work.[47]

Work-related road accidents

The horse posed a constant danger, and the Hardys' men worked daily with horses. The high number of fatal road accidents involving horses is catalogued in the indexes to the four Diary volumes, many riders, drunk and sober, being thrown from their mounts. The most serious of the men's injuries were caused by the iron-rimmed wheels of the horse-drawn cart or wagon running over them **[14]**, **[20]**.

The diarists recorded injuries suffered at work, logging fifteen incidents of varying seriousness. Of these, seven were occasioned by working with horses. The only fatal accident on land, in Letheringsett marlpit, was however unconnected with horses. Stephen Moore's skull was crushed when a jamb of marl fell on him.[48] One incident in February 1804, the shipwreck of *Nelly*, eclipsed all the others. It was the sea which claimed the greatest number of lives.[49]

Some of the other accidents, while not life-

threatening, were very serious. Not only was delivering beer probably the most stressful of the tasks facing the men; it was, after seafaring, the most dangerous. Draying in frost, ice and snow was particularly hazardous. Thomas Baldwin was off work for 7½ weeks and then 13½ weeks after breaking first an arm and then a leg under the beer cart and beer wagon in 1794 and 1796. Both accidents occurred in December frosts, and far from home. He was returning from deliveries to Beckhithe thirteen miles away and from Burnham Market over seventeen miles distant.[50]

The farm servant Robert Lound may have been incapacitated for life by a broken thigh after being run over by the wagon at Buxton, eighteen miles from Letheringsett; he was carried ten miles to hospital immediately, according to Mary Hardy.[51] We hear no more of Lound for nearly a year, indicating that he did not return to work.

As a result his master was no longer required to keep his place open for him; he also had no longer to pay him while he was off sick or disabled, whether arising '*by the act of God, or in doing his master's business*'.[52] Instead Lound became a parish problem. William Hardy, acting as churchwarden rather than as the unfortunate man's employer, went to Fakenham over his settlement.

Over two months later, still on the case, he called at Heydon, probably to see the justice William Wiggett Bulwer. At Reepham the next day William Hardy obtained a settlement order to remove Lound to Sharrington, which could have been the farm servant's home parish until very recently; it is not clear if he moved to Letheringsett in the autumn of 1782 when Mary Hardy first records him.[53] Since his accident Lound would have been treated free of charge in the hospital and was then having to be maintained out of Letheringsett's rates once William Hardy no longer saw a future for him at work.

His former master removed him to Sharrington in January 1784, more than a year after the accident, and attended the quarter sessions in Norwich to have the transfer confirmed. The justices took a very serious view of the matter. The Sharrington inhabitants (ie the ratepayers) had appealed against the burden of having to maintain Lound, but the justices decreed that the settlement order be confirmed. They thus gave the brewer the victory and saved Letheringsett's ratepayers from maintaining Lound and his family perhaps for life. Mary Hardy never refers to Robert Lound again.[54]

Something of the draymen's long hours and exertions will already have been conveyed. So far, however, the spotlight has shone on the unusual sources, the distinctive landscape and density of public houses, the manufacturers' preference for vertical integration, and the technicalities of land carriage and beer delivery.

The small team of skilled, dedicated men who were at the heart of the operation deserve more particular attention. Mary Hardy and Henry Raven painstakingly recorded the daily tasks which would otherwise be totally unknown and lost to future generations. They also give us a glimpse of how the men were managed.

As we shall see at the end, the men's efforts were appreciated by Mary Hardy's son. Just as the men live on through the diaries, so William ensured that their names are commemorated for us to see every time we pass the brewery on the approaches to Holt.

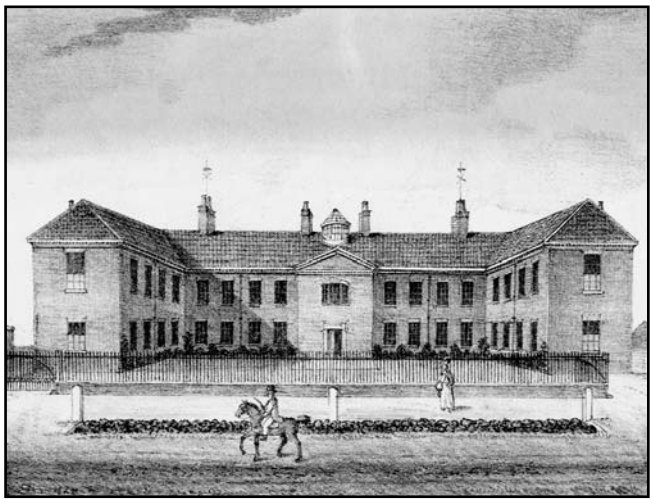


Figure 20. The Norfolk and Norwich Hospital. It gave free care to patients, treating the drayman Robert Lound in 1782; his thigh was crushed when he fell under the wagon-wheel at Buxton. *(James Sillett 1828, detail)*

The status of the farm servant

Just as distribution is a neglected topic, so too is the role of the farm servant. A widely read labour historian, E P Thompson, in his many works devotes only a few sentences to the farm servant. His major study of the English working class, nearly 1000 pages in length, ignores him totally.[55]

The term servant does not necessarily denote personal service. When a man is recorded as 'Servant' in this period in the village burial register it is far more likely that he was a farm servant than a manservant such as a footman or valet. These were to be found mainly in the large country house, very wealthy farm or the occasional parsonage like James Woodforde's. None of the Hardys' farm servants, married or not, lived with the master's family in their household.

The workforce is an elusive element at this time. The maltsters, brewers, coopers, draymen and ostlers have, almost without exception, left no memorials by which we can get to know something of their lives:

Below the level of the staff, very little evidence

Figure 21. The King's Arms at Blakeney, its fine carving of the Royal Arms facing Westgate Street close to the quay.

It was not supplied by the Hardys, but their maltster John Hurrell became innkeeper here. He died in 1792 at the unusually early age of 44. Despite strenuous working lives most of the farm servants lived into their sixties, seventies and to even greater ages.
(photograph Margaret Bird 2012)

has survived about the people employed in breweries, their conditions of employment, their pay, or their precise functions . . . As the wages of labourers, alike with all running costs, do not appear in the Rest Books . . . almost nothing definite can be said about numbers, rates of pay or continuity of employment during most of the eighteenth century.[56]

We are lucky. We have a wealth of material on which to draw, running even to the men's pay. Work for man and horse was relentless. All manufacturing took place under cover and was carried on whatever the conditions outside. In summer when, so it is often held, brewing had to cease, the Hardys' men merely started in the small hours of the morning or after 7 pm. Work had to break off in the fields at haymaking and harvest if it rained, but ploughing and delivering continued even in wet and stormy weather. The entries in the Diary indexes, running to page after page for each one of the yearly men, highlight their stoic versatility and adaptability.

Just learning the routes to dozens of public houses across a radius of 25 miles took time. Both Mary Hardy and Henry Raven reveal how the servants became imbued with the Hardys' methods and patterns of work. William Frary, the Coltishall maltster who moved with his master's family to Letheringsett and took his own family with him, had to impart his way of making malt to the less skilled Joseph Christmas (d.1822 aged 78), of Letheringsett and Cley.[57]

The 18th-century maltster downed his shovel and fork in early July and did not pick them up again until mid-October, but William Hardy's was put to haymaking, hoeing turnips, harvesting and delivering beer in the close season. The pressures on English farmers and manufacturers were huge. In an era of appalling weather and failed harvests, against a backdrop of war and greatly increased taxation, it was essential to have high-performing workforces.

The farm servant and his family would be vulnerable if resident in tied housing, for loss of the job would mean homelessness. We learn little about this side of the men's experience in the diaries. Only four farm servants in all the 36 years are known to have been in tied accommodation: Zebulon Rouse (uncle of the Glandford miller of the same name), Robert Manning and Isaac Pooley, all at Coltishall,[58] and Gunton Thompson of Letheringsett; either their rent or their vacation of the property is mentioned.[59]

Gunton Thompson, the miller and millwright at the brewery and installed in the new cottage built against the Hardys' malthouse in 1792, had to set aside only 6½ per cent of his wage for rent. In his 1797 accounts William Hardy noted the yearly men's wages, paid weekly: 8s for each of three men, and 12s for the fourth (Thompson). Annualised, these rates are £20 16s and £31 4s. A low-paid curate at the time might receive £15 or £20, out of which some had to maintain a horse: the clergy often needed two or three curacies to make ends meet.

Newspaper advertisements occasionally enable us to establish where the Hardys' men lived. The Norwich Mercury of 16 May 1782 and 26 August 1786 named some of the Hardys' workforce as tenants of a Letheringsett farmer at what is now Meadow Farm on the Blakeney road. Davison, Frary, Lamb, Hall and Ramm were among those living in his farm cottages at Letheringsett and neighbouring Little Thornage. This was not housing tied to William Hardy and the brewery.

The farm servants' value was recognised by the tax system. As indispensable creators of the country's wealth they were totally exempt from servant duty. In this they differed from personal servants in the form of menservants and, for a few years, maidservants: male servant duty was introduced in 1777 and was continued; female servant duty lasted only from 1785 to 1792. The

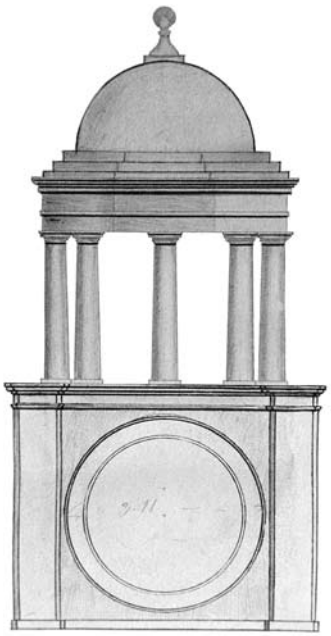


Figure 22. Letheringsett: the brewery clock. The design is almost certainly William Mindham's, from the early 19th century. It was built above the racking room and can be seen in many photographs of the complex until crashing to the ground during the brewery fire of April 1936.

The men's lives were governed by the clock, Mary Hardy using clock time to record even the most trivial matters in daily life.
(Cozens-Hardy C*ollection)*

tax distinction applied also to riding horses (for leisure, and taxed) and draught horses (for work, and exempt).[60]

One other drayman should not be overlooked: the farm boy. We gain an impressive amount of evidence about the role of the boy. Unlike the regular farm servants, but like the maidservants, the boys restlessly moved on at Old Michaelmas. The Hardys employed 37 boys in the space of 36 years, the astonishing variety of their tasks being set out day by day.

These were no mere 'hol'ja' lads, seen in Edwardian photographs watching the camera while holding the horse's reins in the harvest field. Some were given responsible jobs, including ploughing, driving the wagon and delivering the beer. Such sudden promotion might be thrust on them in an emergency, as when the regular man was injured, or drunk on the job.[61]

Labour discipline

The mention of drink brings us to a doubt which has been lurking, unspoken, beneath the surface. Can the men really have been such paragons? In fact the Hardys had to watch them, and also had to make sure the men were watching the clock—as indeed all manufacturers of exciseable commodities had to do, by law, to maintain production quality **[22]**. A disciplined regime was imposed. Sometimes it triggered rebellion, both at Coltishall and at Letheringsett. Revolt found expression through taking time off work for what the men regarded as holidays by right, or in indulging in heavy drinking. That regime, against which Robert Manning fought so determinedly that he was dismissed before the end of his hiring year, is summarised in tabular form **[Table 2]**.

Each careful entry by Mary Hardy, while laconic in the extreme, still tells us something. These eighteen days in 1775, taken as a whole, constitute a powerful narrative. Earlier entries in Diary 1 have set the scene: Manning is an independently-minded farm servant, who likes very occasionally to go off to watch boxing and wrestling matches miles away, gets drunk at local fairs, and can be difficult. But he also has stamina and commitment, putting in very long hours for his master.

Firstly, the mileage figures in the table are impressive. This is a hardworking man who journeys across north-east Norfolk with the beer cart and in this short period amasses a total of 148½ miles. Annualised, this becomes 3014½ miles. The draying entries, by the way, are wholly typical for the workforce.

Secondly, Manning has to fit in the draying around his other duties. Ploughing days are logged by the diarist, but there will have been other more minor tasks too. On 26 May, after a full day with the plough, when he might have trudged as much as 18 miles (note 2), he then has to start afresh in the brewery in the evening.

On 31 May there is trouble. Manning's master William Hardy is away for two days at Great Yarmouth and Strumpshaw, a village in the Yare valley. Frary and Manning go off together on a beer delivery to Worstead—evidently regarded by the diarist as highly irregular, as there was no need for two unless the snow lay deep.

It gets worse. The pair linger at the *King's Head* at Worstead, only five miles from the brewery; they take more than ten hours to complete what should have been a mere morning's work for one. Their mistress, an obsessive clock-watcher, notes them out at 6 am and home at 4.30 pm. This will have been reported to her husband, as well as logged in the diary.

The flashpoint is Coltishall Fair on Whit Monday. Attending the local fair, and also their home fair, were regarded by the men as a customary right. A capitalistic employer took a different view. William Hardy was harsh over holidays, demanding work often on Sundays and Good Friday and, in some years, on Easter Day and Christmas Day. In 1775 he gave them one day for the fair, 5 June. He expected them to be fit for work the following day, which was very hot, but all the men were drinking until being

put to work in the brewery that evening. Manning appears to have said or done something, not recorded, which makes the brewer snap. 'Robert Manning turned off', writes his wife on 6 June.

With that Manning passes from the record. He has a wife Ann, and at least one young child, Susanna. No more is heard of them.

The same pattern can be seen at Letheringsett, the most glaring example being the farm servant Robert Bye. His dismissal from the team just before Christmas 1795 may too have been associated with drink: he had lost eleven days through drunkenness during the preceding two years. Like the Coltishall pair he also spent too long away. This time it was sixteen-year-old Henry Raven who was the clock-watcher, noting Bye at Holt on a five-hour dinner break.[62]

A master was entitled to dismiss a yearly servant before the end of the hiring year 'for some

Table 2: Coltishall: the 18 days preceding Robert Manning's dismissal, 1775

source The diary of Mary Hardy
note Italic type denotes time spent not working

1775	Farm servant Manning's tasks	mileage
May		
20 Sat.	Delivering beer to Ingworth and Tuttington	17.5
21 Sun.	*Men not at work* [1]	
		24
22 Mon.	Delivering beer to Upton	14
23 Tues.	Delivering beer to N. Walsham	
24 Weds.	Ploughing [2]	11
25 Thurs.	Delivering beer to Lt Hautbois and Hevingham	
26 Fri.	Ploughing; also brewing in the evening after the end of 'normal' working hours	
27 Sat.	Delivering beer to Smallburgh and Stalham	19
28 Sun.	*Men not at work*	
29 Mon.	Delivering beer to Swanton Abbot and Hoveton	15
30 Tues.	Delivering beer to Ingworth	16
31 Weds.	Delivering beer to Worstead (and lingering there for hours)	10
June		
1 Thurs.	Delivering beer to Strumpshaw	22
2 Fri.	Brewing	
3 Sat.	Ploughing	
4 Sun.	*Men not at work*	
5 Mon.	*Whit Monday, Coltishall Fair Day: men not at work*	
6 Tues.	*Drinking all day;* brewing late in the evening; DISMISSED	
	Total mileage draying	**148.5**

[1] *Sunday* In this early period Sunday working was not common. At Letheringsett it was to become the norm, at least on Sunday mornings

[2] *ploughing* To plough one acre six inches deep (15 cm) using a single-furrow plough required a 12-mile walk (conversation with retired farmer Albert Daniels (b.1911), of Whissonsett, 12 Aug. 1995).

As the acreage ploughed is not recorded by the diarist no figure has been entered; however 1½ acres a day (18 miles) was achievable if the daylight lasted

reasonable cause'.[63] William Hardy did not hesitate to wield that weapon, when pushed to the extreme. He then made do with a weekly labourer until he could recruit a new man at Old Michalemas, either by a private engagement or at the hiring sessions. Sometimes the emergency replacement, like Thomas Boyce of Letheringsett, found himself promoted to yearly status on the strength of his performance in the crisis of having a man short.[64]

This study has tended to emphasise new departures; to point out that we are learning something fresh about the men's lives and their extraordinary labour input through the eyes of the diarists. In the dismissals and William Hardy's reactions we see something entirely predictable for those at the time. John Rule expresses the tensions between the customary and the new:

The protest of the manufacturing poor was conservative in its forms: in its appeal to custom, paternalist legislation and in its seeking to reinforce traditional usage. But it was also a 'rebellious traditional culture' because it resisted, in the name of custom, the economic innovations and rationalisations which the employers, and increasingly the rulers, were seeking to impose and make a new orthodoxy. In other words they were resisting an ever-encroaching and growing capitalism.[65]

Figure 23. Holkham Park 1845–50: detail of one of the three bas-relief panels [24] set in the plinth of the monument to Thomas William Coke, Lord Leicester.

The design by Donthorn is unusual in paying tribute in stone to the labour force which helped to make Holkham famous as a farming estate. Here a man is digging drainage channels across marshy ground.
(photographs Margaret Bird 2003)

These very occasional flashpoints apart, life with the Hardys seems largely to have been harmonious. Quarrels between their maidservants once or twice got out of hand,[66] but no personal violence is reported between the men. Indeed, the diaries as a whole echo the quarter sessions minutes of the period in suggesting that levels of interpersonal violence in north-east and north Norfolk were low.

Memorialising the workforce

The men's experience of labour stood in marked contrast to the repetitive pattern of work in factories and mills (even before the introduction of the conveyor belt), where one individual was allotted just one task all day long. It was the monotony and removal of self-reliance which separated factory life from this earlier experience, not the very long hours and regulation by clock time.

As becomes apparent throughout the diaries, time-consciousness pervaded daily life. Concern over productivity and performance preceded mechanisation and factory working. The output levels reached by the Hardys' men were achieved at least in part because they and their master (and the mistress and young apprentice) appreciated the value of time.

Despite their hard lives and being out in all weathers the men had very few days off work through illness. Very many of them lived to a full age. The maltsters Hurrell **[21]** and Frary died fairly young, at 44 and 'about 50'. The Coltishall men John Thompson and Zeb Rouse died at 65 and 69; Henry Edwards reached 77. Letheringsett produced a trio whose combined ages totalled 248 years: William Lamb died at 73, John Ramm at 86, and Thomas Boyce at 89.

There is no doubt that William Hardy senior and junior held the men in respect. As practitioners themselves they did not stand aloof from their workforce. The father could sow broadcast, and the son was head brewer from the age of seventeen. Both worked extraordinarily hard. That respect can be seen today in the men's foundation bricks for the Letheringsett tun room, large numbers of carefully incised initials being visible in the rusticated brickwork when the nearby trees are leafless and the noontide sun creeps round the south-west corner **[25]**. Later hands have scrawled their own beside them.

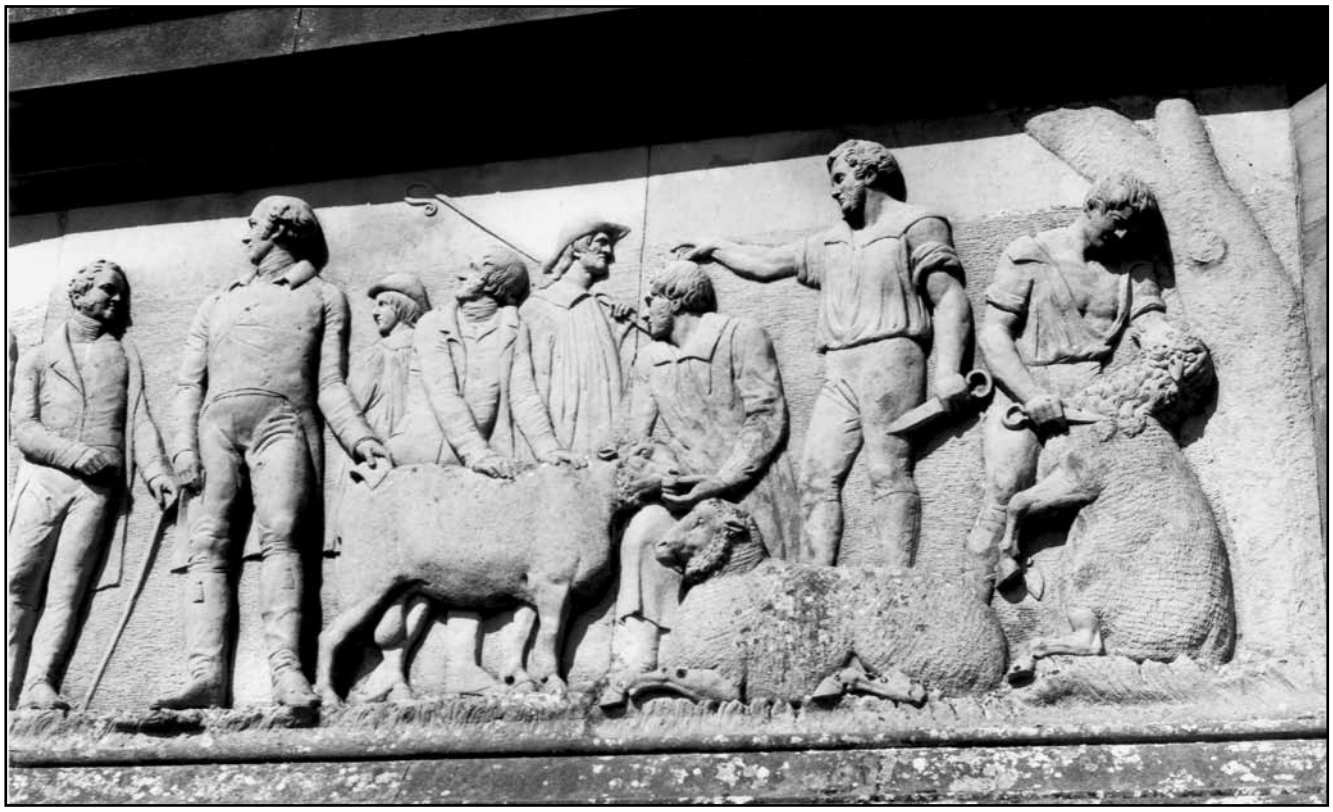


Figure 24. Another of the Holkham panels: the shearers have arrived. It is the head shearer, with the knife, who is the commanding figure; not Coke himself (second from the left).

William Hardy junior was by no means alone in commemorating his workforce. The Leicester Monument bore a more ornamental tribute years later **[23], [24**]. The Hardys were anti-war Whigs and voted for T W Coke. Towards the end of Mary Hardy's life her son was invited to the sheepshearings, and William adopted some of the practices Coke promoted, such as meadow-drowning. However he never took to the sheep breeds adopted by Coke, preferring the native Norfolk Horn.

Under William the Letheringsett estate prospered, and malting and brewing expanded. By the end of his life he could walk on his own land from Letheringsett Hall all the way to the sea. His heir William Hardy Cozens, his sister Mary Ann's son, continued William's legacy and took his name as Cozens-Hardy; but on that nephew's death in 1895 the maltings, brewery and tied houses were sold and the Hall was no longer the principal residence. The eldest son, Clement Cozens-Hardy, was established at Cley Hall, and his younger brother Herbert, later the Master of the Rolls and first Lord Cozens-Hardy, spent what time he could away from his London work in politics and the Law to enjoy the gardens and fields of the village he had loved from childhood.

Just up the Glaven from the coast, that maltings and brewery flourished for nearly two centuries until Morgans ended production at the end of the 19th century: John Brereton had started the business before 1721. The malthouse and kilns are a massive 45 metres long (49 yards). The architectural legacy is with us still, and at the time of writing, in 2013, the Hardys' complex is being converted to housing.

This article opened by stating that we would range widely. The Glaven Historian often features articles on the way Morston, Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton looked outward beyond the shoreline in trading coastwise and far overseas. In describing the nature of draying operations in the late 18th century the emphasis here has been on movement by road and on patterns of land-based travel.

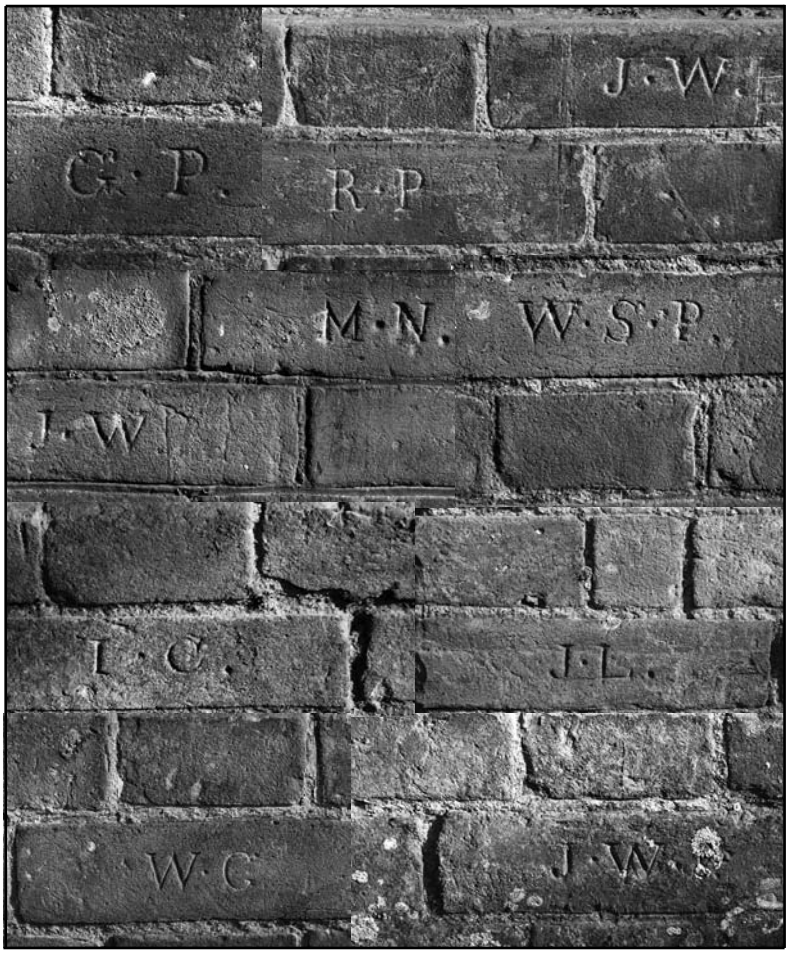
Just as the small ships set out valiantly from the ports, so this industry saw men being despatched daily across a large swathe of the county to service a manufacturing empire's retail outlets. It is a moving story, and one which in the telling required a text of Biblical proportions. At last, more than two centuries after Mary Hardy and Henry Raven put down their quills, their material is in print for all to see.

Figure 25. The tun room at Letheringsett, from the west. This large building by the turning to the King's Head dates from the 18th century, and was restructured internally by William Hardy jnr in 1814.

He also improved its insulation by recladding its thick walls, for inside stood the tall vats for conditioning his slow-maturing beers such as nog and porter. In 1803 the beer stored here was valued at more than £800.

Figure 26. A wall of honour at Letheringsett. As the west wall of the tun room was being reclad in brick and flint in 1814 each member of the brewery team laid a brick just above ground level, with his initials neatly incised.

Among them, from the top, are John White, maltster; George Phillippo, the farm steward; William Skinner Phillippo, his eight-year-old son; and (bottom) the brewery clerk William Girling. These eight photographs are here grouped to form a collage. In reality the initials range over the full width of the wall. *(photographs Margaret Bird 2001, 2012)*



References

1 The complete text of the diaries of Mary Hardy and Henry Raven, edited and annotated by Margaret Bird, was published in April 2013 and is held in the History Centre at Blakeney Village Hall
A great deal of biographical detail about the diarists, together with observations on the significance of their writing and details of the five volumes, is given on the websites:
maryhardysdiary.co.uk
www.burnham-press.co.uk

2 The 39 themes can be found by navigating from the topbar heading:
maryhardysworld.co.uk/world-volumes

3 J Hooton, *The Glaven Ports: A maritime history of Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton in North Norfolk* (Blakeney History Group, 1996); B. Cozens-Hardy, *The History of Letheringsett in the County of Norfolk* (Jarrold & Sons Ltd, Norwich, 1957); B Cozens-Hardy, ed, *Mary Hardy's Diary* (Norfolk Record Soc, vol 37 (1968))

4 Basil Cozens-Hardy's executors deposited Henry's little notebook from the Pelican Brewery, Wapping Wall, in the Norfolk Record Office (NRO): ACC Cozens-Hardy 11/2/1976. In 1842 William Hardy jnr's nephew William Hardy Cozens took over the family business and adopted the name Cozens-Hardy.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the present custodians of the diaries, the extended Cozens-Hardy family, for permission to reproduce diary extracts and other items from the family archives

5 The varied pattern of religious observance comes across clearly in the fourth volume, covering the later years (M Bird, ed, *The Diary of Mary Hardy 1773–1809* (Burnham Press, Kingston upon Thames, 2013), *Diary 4: Shipwreck and meeting house*)

6 R Southey, *The Life of Wesley and Rise and Progress of Methodism* (new edn London, 1864), vol 1, pp 247–8

7 Such rounds were advertised in advance and were often scheduled on market day to suit the taxpayers (eg Roger Kerrison's notice, as Receiver General for Norfolk, in the *Norwich Mercury*, 7 Apr. 1781)

8 In the small outport of Blakeney and Cley, of the complement of 13 customs officers (including the Collector), three served as riding officers on patrol from Mundesley to Pit's Point, these being the borders of the jurisdiction with Gt Yarmouth and Wells (The National Achives: Public Record Office (TNA: PRO) CUST 96/165, 20 July 1798)

9 W O Copeman, *Copemans of Norwich 1789–1946* (Jarrold & Sons Ltd, Norwich, 1946), pp 15–16

10 F de la Rochefoucauld, *A Frenchman's Year in Suffolk*, ed N Scarfe (The Boydell Press and Suffolk Record Soc, vol 30 (1998), p 96). The young aristocrat noted Bury St Edmunds as having 125 horses to serve the coaches and postchaises

11 J Woodforde, *The Diary of a Country Parson,* ed J Beresford (Oxford Univ. Press, 1924), vol 1, p 151, 13 April 1775; the bar was at St Stephen's Gate

12 N Kent, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1796), pp 16–17. The statute duty was the parochial system of road repairs organised since 1555 by each surveyor of the highways and financed by the parish ratepayers

13 A Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1804), p 489

14 The term 'tying' was then used in much the same way as today. The brewer controlled his outlet and retailer (the innkeeper), and could guarantee that his beer would be sold there if he owned the property freehold, copyhold or leasehold or had control more indirectly by means of a mortgage or bond. Those houses in which he sold his beer without securing such control are classed as supplied without tie, the distinction made on the first slide [7]

15 *Norwich Mercury*, 4 Dec 1784. The coach was financed by private subscription, Mary Hardy (not her husband) being one of the subscribers. For details and an illustration of the newspaper notice see M Bird, ed, *The Diary of Mary Hardy 1773–1809, Diary 2,* pp 146,147. [Diary volumes will hereafter be cited as *Diary 2, Diary 3* etc.]
For the Itteringham route see B. Cozens-Hardy, 'The Holt road', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol 31 (1957), p 176

16 The accident happened on 4 June 1796 (*Diary 3*, p 277)

17 The undated publicity flyers can be found in most Norfolk churches. The images change over the years, but the claim carries such power that it re-appears with each new edition

18 Parliamentary papers: Command papers—Accounts and papers (1822), XXI 139. Halifax Excise Collection had 13 common brewers and 845 publican brewers; Hull had 35 and 61. Norwich Excise Collection, for the eastern half of the county, had 34 common brewers to 39 publican brewers; Lynn, for the western half, had 37 and 91

19 I Donnachie, *A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland* (John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh, 1979), p 118. His maps depict the relationship between terrain and wholesaling (pp 120, 121)

20 R Mitchison and L Leneman, *Sexuality and Social Control: Scotland 1660–1780* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1989), p 21

21 The alehouse register has survived for many of the years 1789–99 (NRO: C/Sch 1/16)

22 P Clark, *The English Alehouse: A social history 1200–1830* (Longman, Harlow, 1983), pp 55, 58. He produces far more statistics than can be alluded to here, but the point remains the same: Norfolk had ample provision for drinkers

23 Labour tables will form part of volume 2 of the forthcoming analysis of the diaries, *Mary Hardy and her World 1773–1809*, by Margaret Bird; see note 2

24 OECD iLibrary: OECD (2013), 'Average annual working time', Employment and Labour Markets: Key tables from OECD, no 8 (<**http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/employment/average-annual-working-time_20752342-table8**>, accessed 8 Sept 2013).

The hours of the Hardys' men also exceeded working-time averages 1750–1830, with the exception of those in the agricultural sector. See H-J Voth, *Time and Work in England 1750–1830* (Oxford Univ Press, 2000), pp 129, 270, 267, 249, 268, 272

25 See *Diary 1*, p 83, 29 Nov.1774; p 288, 20 Aug 1778

26 Francis Sheppard gives 10 miles as the usual maximum in 18th-century Oxfordshire and Berkshire (*Brakspear's Brewery, Henley on Thames, 1779–1979* (Henley on Thames, 1979), p 3). Terry Gourvish quotes 15 miles for Norwich brewers 1793–1820 (*Norfolk Beers from English Barley: A history of Steward & Patteson 1793–1963* (CEAS, Norwich, 1987), p 20). In fact they were bolder: see note 27 below. Richard G Wilson states that in Suffolk as late as 1826 'Little Bury beer was sold beyond a radius of ten or twelve miles' (*Greene King: A business and family history* (The Bodley Head & Jonathan Cape, London, 1983), p 15)

27 The Norwich brewer John Day had a radius of up to 22 miles over to Gt Yarmouth in the east and Stibbard in the west; Chapman Ives of Coltishall was prepared to go 19 miles across the marshes to Halvergate and 21 miles south to Hingham (*Norwich Mercury*, 11 Oct 1794, 14 May 1796)

28 The notice for Henry Hagon's Letheringsett brewery which attracted William Hardy stated that there was 'no other brewery near for several miles' (*Norwich Mercury*, 29 July 1780)

29 F Sheppard, Brakspear's Brewery, p 92, with the memories of Fred Sadler in the years after 1909. For Watney's, see H Janes, *The Red Barrel: A History of Watney Mann* (London, 1963), pp 188–9

30 P Mathias, *The Brewing Industry in England 1700–1830* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1959), p 78

31 William Hardy's valuations 1797 (Cozens-Hardy Collection), to be tabulated in *Mary Hardy and her World*, vol 2

32 *Diary 2*, pp 338, 363, 7 June 1791, 11 May and 16 May 1792. Seaborne cargoes do not form part of this study

33 *Diary 2*, pp 122, 123, 160, 196, 262, 5 April and 7 April 1784, 26 May 1785, 4 Oct. 1786, 4 Dec 1788. The innkeepers John Fuller, Samuel Mobbs and John Bullock were from Bodham, Bessingham and the White Lion at Holt. Mrs Twiddy has not been identified and her house not traced; Ann Bishop was from the Cock at Whitwell, near Reepham

34 *Diary 2*, p 290, 23 Oct 1789. This was John Metcalf of the *Fighting Cocks* at Wells, placing his first order. 'To speak for' is to order, as in bespoke tailoring; porter is a dark beer like stout

35 P Mathias, *The Brewing Industry in England*, pp.104–5

36 *Diary 3*. The 21 individual entries 1793–97 are indexed under 'beer', sub-entry 'nog'

37 *Diary 3*, p 29, 21 Dec and 23 Dec 1793

38 *Diary 1*, p 302, 12 Dec 1778; *Diary 3*, p 83, 24 June 1794

39 *Diary 3*, pp 229–36, 14–22 Dec 1795

40 Diary 3, pp 176–7, 179, 1 June and 6 June 1795; p 266, 28 Apr 1796. The pattern of beer deliveries to the Crown at Weybourne and the Crown at Sheringham, both tied houses, is immediately clear from the numbers as reflected in the index entries to Henry's diary (*Diary 3*). He carefully distinguishes the camp from the Crown at Weybourne

41 N Kent, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk*, p 20

42 TNA: PRO WO 30/100, p 5, 11 July 1797

43 *Diary 4*, p 112, 19 Apr 1800; see also pp. 110, 111, 113. Nelly had been captured by the Dutch in 1797 and her ship's papers confiscated in Amsterdam

44 J Vince, *Discovering Carts and Wagons* (Shire Publications, Princes Risborough, 1987), p 8

45 *Diary 3*, p 383, 1 Aug 1797. Robert Farthing (d1806 aged 65) was a Blakeney coal and cinder merchant. The Hardys did not collect coal or cinders by wagon

46 *Diary 2*, p 168, 15 Oct. 1785

47 J Woodforde, *The Diary of a Country Parson*, ed J Beresford (Oxford Univ. Press, 1929), vol 4, p 20

48 *Diary 4*, p 279, 1 Nov 1804; see also pp 280–1

49 *Diary 4*, pp 255–6, 12 Feb 1804; see also pp 257–9. Capt John Coe, his crew of three including 28-year-old Richard Randall of Cley, and the ship's boy perished near Blakeney Pit in a severe storm.
The captain's wife was Hannah Lynes, daughter of the Hardys' innkeepers at the King's Head, Cley **[8]**

50 *Diary 3*, p 133, 23 Dec 1794; p 323, 9 Dec 1796

51 *Diary 2*, p 73, 28 Nov 1782

52 J Burn, *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer* (16th edn, London, 1788), vol 4, p 137. The day or weekly labourer had no such protection under statute. It was the annual hiring which, as also with the maidservant and farm boy, gave security

53 *Diary 2*, pp 103, 111–12, 23 Oct 1783, 6–8 Jan 1784; p 70, 2 Nov 1782

54 See note 53; also the detailed editorial annotations beside those entries

55 E P Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1968). The often-cited study by Ann Kussmaul has a large number of flaws, the most glaring being her unnecessarily limited definition of a farm servant as unmarried and living in: *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981)

56 P Mathias, *The Brewing Industry in England*, pp 35, 36

57 *Diary 1*, p 403, 26 December 1780

58 *Diary 1*, pp 72, 132, 11 Oct 1774, 4 Sept 1775; the rents were low, at only £2 10s and £3 pa.

59 *Diary 4*, p 54, 10 October 1798. Thompson paid only £2 in rent (William Hardy's accounts 1797, Cozens-Hardy Collection)

60 Carolyn Steedman gives a clear analysis of the tax system relating to servants (*Labours Lost: Domestic service and the making of modern England* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2009), pp 129–98). See also J Burn, *The Justice of the Peace* (16th edn), vol 4, p 139

61 Jonathan (no surname) stayed with the Hardys 1776–82, moving with them to Letheringsett along with one of the maids and also the Frary family. He was trusted to drive the wagon 22 miles from Letheringsett, and he made seven beer deliveries while at Coltishall, across a 12-mile radius (*Diary 1*)

62 *Diary 3*, p 81, 17 June 1794

63 J Burn, *The Justice of the Peace* (16th edn), vol 4, pp 135–6

64 *Diary 3*, p 133, 23 Dec and 24 Dec 1794

65 J Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (Croom Helm, London, 1981), pp 212–13. This is also a theme pervading E P Thompson's *Customs in Common* (Penguin Books, London, 1993).
Rule's quotation in the extract is from another work by Thompson: his article, 'Eighteenth-century English society: class struggle without class', in *Social History*, vol 3, no 2 (1978), p 153. Employer–workforce relations will be explored further in *Mary Hardy and her World*, vol 2

66 *Diary 2*, p 282, 15 July and 25 July 1789. There had been a fight, one of the maids serving a warrant on the other for assault.

Captain, *the Tunstead Trosh 2001*

The Social Geography of the Town of Cley in 1841

Richard Dunn

Synopsis: the geographical patterns of employment and land use in Cley in 1841 are explored using the Tithe Map and the 1841 Census; the main results are presented in a series of maps for the village and its sub areas, and it is suggested that five distinctive social subdivisions or neighbourhoods existed at this time.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to explore the social geography of Cley in 1841, to see to what degree different types of employment and land use were concentrated in different parts of the village, and to try to determine the degree to which distinctive social neighbourhoods were present. This analysis is largely based on two data sources, the Tithe Map and the 1841 census. The Tithe Maps present ready-made detailed information on geographical patterns of ownership and land use, but to tease out the precise geography of the 1841 census is more complex and the results presented here are derived from a previous analysis by the same author[1].

The limitations of these two data sources are explored and it is acknowledged that a more detailed and thorough examination of the geography of Cley in 1841 would be possible through the use of further data sources but that is beyond the scope of this paper. For further information on the history of Cley the interested reader is directed to Jonathan Hooten's excellent history of the Glaven ports[2] and previous articles in the *Glaven Historian* such as John Peake's analysis of the glebe terriers in the 17th and 18th centuries[3].

The Tithe Map

The Tithe Maps and accompanying Apportionments were drawn up as a result of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 which demanded that payments of tithes be in money rather than farm produce. A complete census of land use was prepared by surveyors covering both agricultural and built-up areas so that the parish was divided up into a mosaic of homogenous parcels of land, such as fields, plots of woodland or farm buildings in the rural parts of the parish, and dwellings, shops, places of worship and industrial buildings in the built-up area. In Cley there were a total of 554 parcels and each was given a unique identifier.

The Tithe Map for Cley is in two parts: No. 1 shows the parcels and their unique identifier for the whole parish excluding the built-up area, and No. 2 shows "a plan of the town", the parcels and their unique identifier for the built-up areas from Newgate in the south up the Holt Road and the High Street round to Anterton Hill and the Coast Road in the north. (Readers unfamiliar with the village may find it helpful to refer to **Figure 5**) Copies of the original maps are held at the Norfolk Records Office[4] and the National Archives at Kew; digital facsimiles of the maps are held at the Blakeney History Centre[5]. Additional information for each land parcel is recorded in the Tithe Apportionment, namely: the landowner; the occupier (or sometimes "unoccupied"); a name or description of the land or premises (for rural parcels usually a field name, in built-up areas a description such as cottage or malthouse); state of cultivation (rural parcels only); the area (in acres, rods and perches); and the amount of rent charge due (rural parcels only).

The description of the land parcels allows the identification of those properties which are probably inhabited (or habitable but unoccupied at the time); there are 218 such properties in Cley with a breakdown as follows: 165 cottages, 35 houses, four shops, three farmhouses, two each of mansions, inns, and beerhouses, and one each of brewhouse, public house, gamekeepers lodge, counting house and tenement.

Of these 218 properties 214 are in the "Town of Cley"; the exceptions are three cottages at Swan Lodge and the gamekeepers lodge on the Holt Road in the extreme south of the parish. For the remainder of the article the focus is on

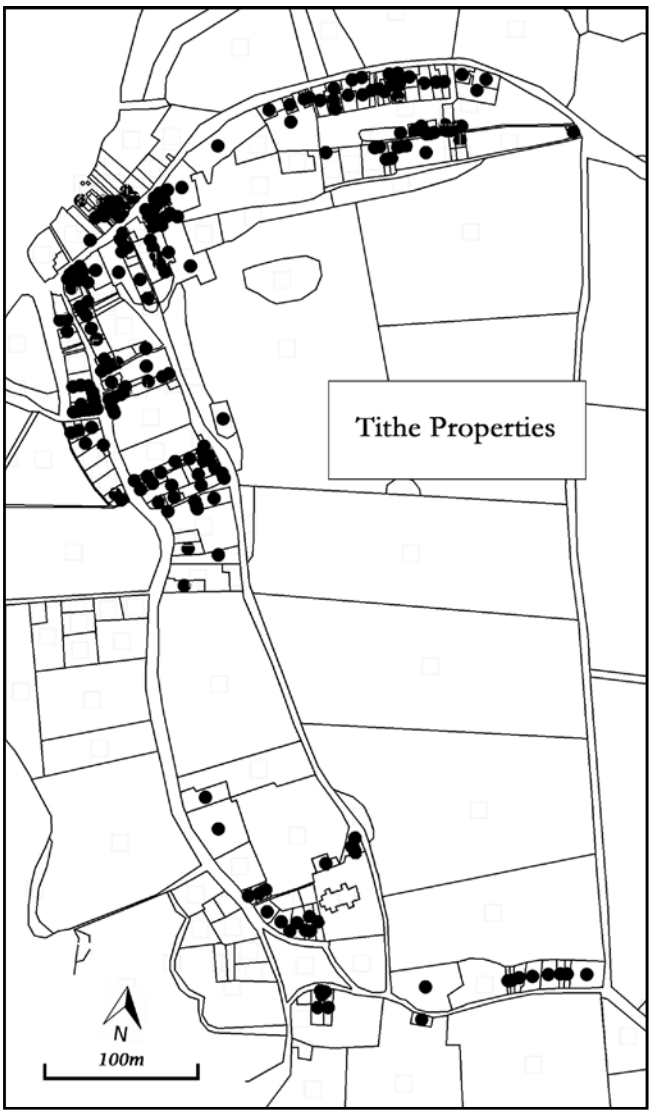


Figure 1. Cley 1841: all habitable properties. Source: Tithe Map.

the set of 214 properties in the built up area of the village.

The exact date(s) when the data were collected for the Tithe Map and Apportionment is not clear; the Map No 1 is dated 1841 but the Apportionment is dated 22nd November 1838.

The geography of settlement

Figure 1 shows the pattern of settlement recorded by the Tithe Map, a circle representing the centre of each parcel of the 214 habitable properties (which include shops and public houses). The village at this point in time falls into three (possibly four) separate parts. The most southerly part is Newgate, clustered around the church, the village green and along the Holt Road to the east. The second part is around the quay, the High Street and (slightly semi-detached) the area around Town Yard and Taylor's Loke. And lastly there is the area around Anterton Hill (Hilltop) and the Coast Road in the north east, separated from the High Street by the Old Hall.

Scholars of the morphology of settlements would probably describe Cley in 1841 as a polyfocal village: rather than growing by the accretion of settlement around a single nucleus or core, polyfocal villages consist of "a partial or complete amalgamation of previously discrete territories associated with different centres"[6]. A discussion of how and why this pattern came about is beyond the scope of this paper; rather the aim here is to try and determine the degree to which the different parts of the village had different social and economic characteristics. To do this it is necessary to use the census and link it to the Tithe Map.

The 1841 Census

The census is a count of population and collects additional information about each person surveyed; in 1841 the census recorded: name; age and sex; profession, trade, employment or of independent means (adults only and sometimes left blank); and where the head of household was born (whether born in the county or if not whether born in Scotland, Ireland or Foreign Parts). The census also counts houses, more specifically "dwelling-houses", defined as "every building in which any person habitually sleeps". The total population of the parish of Cley on the census night of Sunday 6 June 1841 was 828, made up of 391 males, 437 females. There were 194 occupied properties, 23 unoccupied properties and 3 properties in the process of being built, a total of 220. (Note that this figure of 220 does not agree exactly with the 218 properties identified in the Tithe map. This may be due to the data being collected at slightly different dates or because the Tithe Map and Census treat the same building in different ways. For example, if more than one household lives in a single structure the Tithe Map may record this as one property but the Census as two. It is also noticeable that the Tithe Map records fewer unoccupied properties, 12 compared to the 23 in the census). The original pages of the census returns also make clear how many people live together in a particular property, so that the 828 individuals recorded may be divided into the 194 occupied properties. To determine the exact location of each of these properties they need to be matched to a specific Tithe property, but there is relatively little geographical information given in the census. There is space on the enumerators' sheets to record a "place" next to each entry but for Cley this is completed for only 18 properties: in 13 cases only a street name is given (seven in Town Yard, six in Church Hill) and five are named: Swan Lodge, Fishmongers Arms Inn, Kings Head, St George and Dragon Inn, and the Swallows Inn.

There is also some less exact geographical information contained in the census, since the enumerators appear to have travelled round the parish in a logical manner and to have recorded households in that geographical order. The enumerators note their route at the beginning of the census books. The 1841 Cley census was collected in two parts, and the routes are recorded as follows: Enumeration District 17 "commencing with the cottages on the Holt Road and terminating at the George Public House", and Enumeration District 18 "commencing at the George Inn and terminating at the cottage on the road leading to Salthouse".

A more precise geographical location for each census household may be obtained through a careful and at times laborious cross-referencing between the Census and the Tithe Map and Apportionment (and also using Poor Book returns). The details of this analysis are given elsewhere[1]; the main outcome is that every census household can be matched to a specific tithe property, although the degree of certainty of this allocation does vary. (A very accurate allocation is made in around 75% of cases, and in the remaining 25% of cases an allocation can be made where it is highly certain that the approximate location of the census household is correct.) Of the set of 214 Tithe properties mapped in Figure 1 seven could not be matched to a census record, so the analysis of the remainder of the article uses this set of 207 households.

The geography of occupation

To undertake a village-wide geographical analysis of occupations certain simplifications were necessary. First, only one occupation per household was used; in the vast majority of cases that was the head of household, but in a handful of cases, where the census recorded no occupation for the head of household, the occupation of the (next) oldest member of the household was chosen. A more detailed examination of households where more than one person has a named occupation is an area for further research.
Second, a simple classification of occupations was used, with the 38 different types of occupation recorded in the census divided into five broad groups. All classifications involve a degree of simplification and arbitrariness and depend on the objectives of the study; here the aim was to use a small number of broad categories of occupation that when mapped might help draw out distinctions between different parts of the village. In most cases the data are drawn directly from the census but in a few cases additional information from the Tithe Apportionment is used. Table 1 shows the details of this classification scheme and **Figure 2** shows the distributions of the first four categories.

The first category, agricultural workers, is the most homogenous in terms of occupations listed in the census, with 55 agricultural labourers and one shepherd. Although there may be strong hierarchies in terms of the status of different jobs amongst agricultural labourers the census does not allow the teasing out of these distinctions.

The top left panel of **Figure 2** shows the distribution of these households: the greatest concentrations of this category are in the Newgate and Anterton Hill parts of the village (the south and north-east), with a scattering too around Town Yard and the southern part of the High Street, but with relatively few long the northern part of the High Street.

The second category, sailors and port workers, is designed to include those who worked at sea or at the port (excluding a master mariner who is assumed to be of higher status), and is made up of 16 sailors, 10 mariners, five porters and an individual whose occupation is described as coastguard boat. Whether there is a distinction between those described as mariners and sailors is unclear. In his analysis of the 1881 census of England and Wales Matthew Woollard states "The terms sailor and mariner were often used interchangeably"[7]. Here there is a pattern to use of the two terms, as mariner is used only in the northern High Street area, perhaps indicating this is a characteristic of the census enumerator. (The average age of those heads of household described as sailors and mariners is very similar, 41.3 and 40.9 respectively, suggesting there is no clear difference in experience between the two groups.) As with the previous category, the census definitions do not allow the identification of sailors/mariners with higher or lower status based on the specific jobs they do. The top right panel of **Figure 2** shows the distribution of the 32 households in this category: the greatest concentrations are in the northern part of the High Street closest to the quay, and along the Coast Road in the north-east of the village, with further occurrences in the southern part of the High Street and Town Yard, but there are no such households in the southern part of the village.

The third category, tradesmen, shopkeepers and publicans, is the most varied, encompassing 18 different census occupations (including two maltsters who in a more detailed classification scheme might be included in a manufacturing or industrial category). In two cases (a brewer and one of the blacksmiths) the occupation is derived from the Tithe Apportionment (since the individuals reside in a brew house and a blacksmiths shop). This category differs from the previous two in that the individuals here do not earn their livings directly from the land or the sea/port. The bottom left panel of Figure 2 shows the distribution of the 51 households in this category.

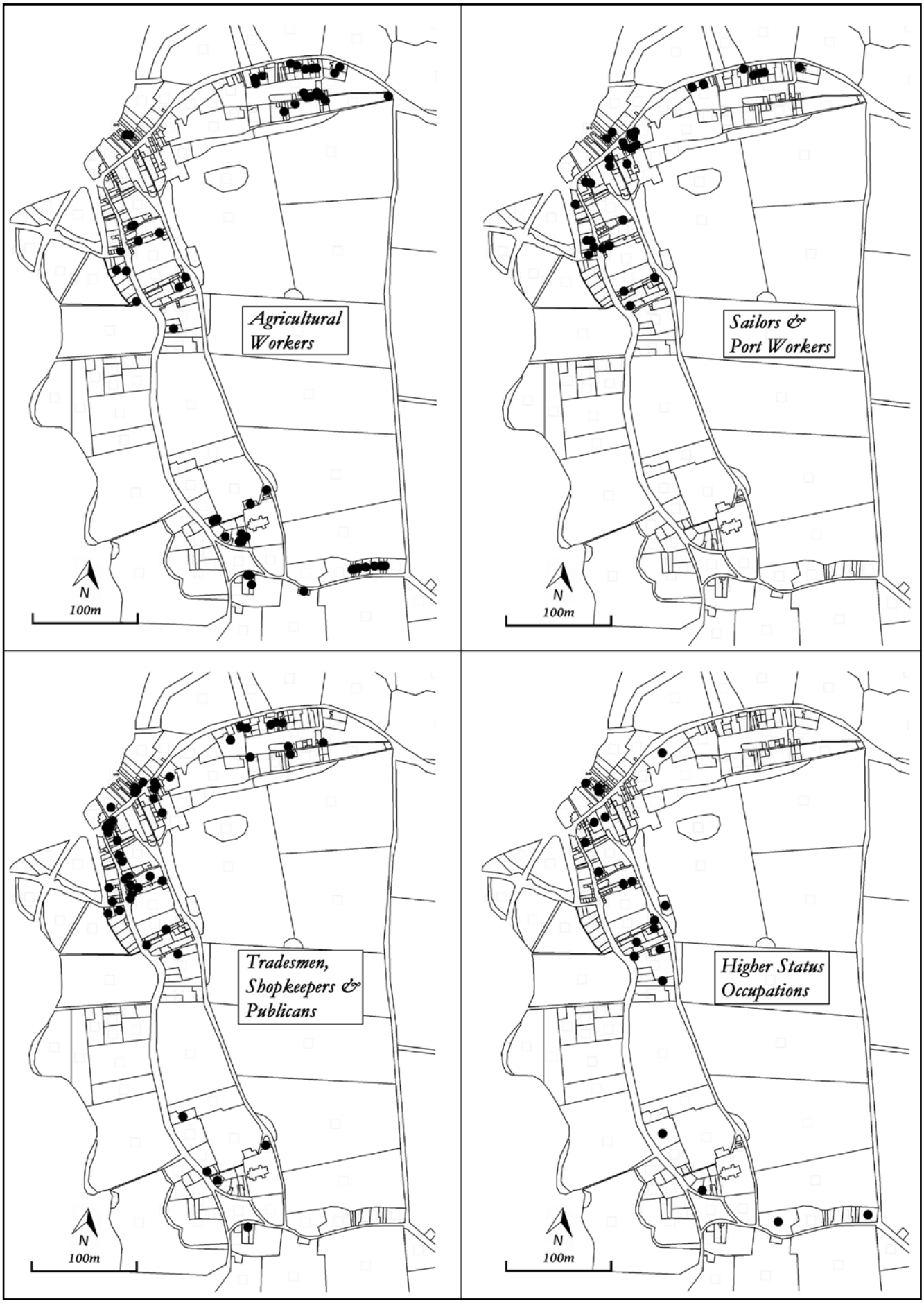


Figure 2. Cley 1841: distribution of four occupational categories as defined in Table 1. Source Tithe Map and 1841 Census; for more details see text and reference [1].

Table 1: Classification of Census Occupations. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences.

Category	Census Occupations (those marked with * derived from Tithe Apportionment)
Agricultural Workers (56)	Agricultural Labourer (55), Shepherd (1)
Sailors and Port Workers (32)	Sailor (16), Mariner (10), Porter (5), Coastguard Boat (1)
Tradesmen, Shopkeepers and Publicans (51)	Carpenter (13), Publican (5), Bricklayer (4), Blacksmith (3 + 1*), Butcher (3), Shoe Maker (3), Cordwainer (2), Maltster (2), Shopkeeper (2), Tailor (2), Brewer* (1), Cooper (1), Gardener (1), Hair Dresser (1), Mangler (1), Sweep (1), Wheelwright (1)
Higher Status Occupations (21)	Farmer (7), Clergyman (2), Merchant (2), Property Owner* (2), Comptroller of Customs (1), Customs House Officer (1), Excise Officer (1), Farming Bailiff (1), Master Mariner (1), Ship Agent (1), Ship Owner (1), Surgeon (1)
Others (30)	Independent (13), Blank with female head of household (12), Blank with male head of household (2), Governess (1), Man Servant (1), Pensioner (1)
Unoccupied (17)	

These occupations are spread widely throughout the village, with the greatest concentrations along the High Street and absent only in the houses along the Holt Road at the eastern edge of Newgate. More information on the geographical breakdown of this group is given below.

The fourth category in **Table 1** is termed higher status occupations, and includes a range of jobs that are non-manual and/or involve a higher degree of responsibility above that of the previous categories. Of the 21 households in this group 12 employ servants, including three of the farmers and the farm bailiff. Two individuals (John Farthing and Margaret Moore) are placed in this group classified as property owners through cross-referencing to the Tithe Apportionment (the census recording their occupations as Independent and left blank respectively).

The bottom right panel of **Figure 2** shows the location of the 21 households in this group. This type of household was most common around Town Yard but is found throughout the village with the notable exception of the north-east of the village.

The fifth category in **Table 1** bundles together individuals where the census description of their occupations was left blank or did not readily fit into the previous four classes. There are 13 cases where the census records “Independent”, short for “of independent means”. It may well be that some of these households should be included in the previous category but only two of the households employed servants; certainly a more detailed investigation of this group is merited. The second largest grouping is 12 households with a female head of household where no occupation is given; the most likely explanations here are that there is a male head of household who was away on census night (most probably at sea) or that the woman is a widow. Again, a more thorough investigation of this group is merited. The distribution of this category is not mapped but its geography is discussed in more detail below.

For completeness **Table 1** notes the set of 17 unoccupied properties; as with the previous category the distribution of these properties is not mapped but their location is discussed in more detail below.

The Geography of Land Use

The primary source for information about the geography of land use is the Tithe Map, providing as it does a complete map for the parish and including all types of land use including many that are not covered by the census. But there are limitations with this data source, two of which are noted here, one specific to Cley and one general. First, the Cley map is difficult to read since the only cartographic convention with regard to buildings seems to be that two walls are drawn in thicker lines, and no distinction is made between inhabited buildings and others such as

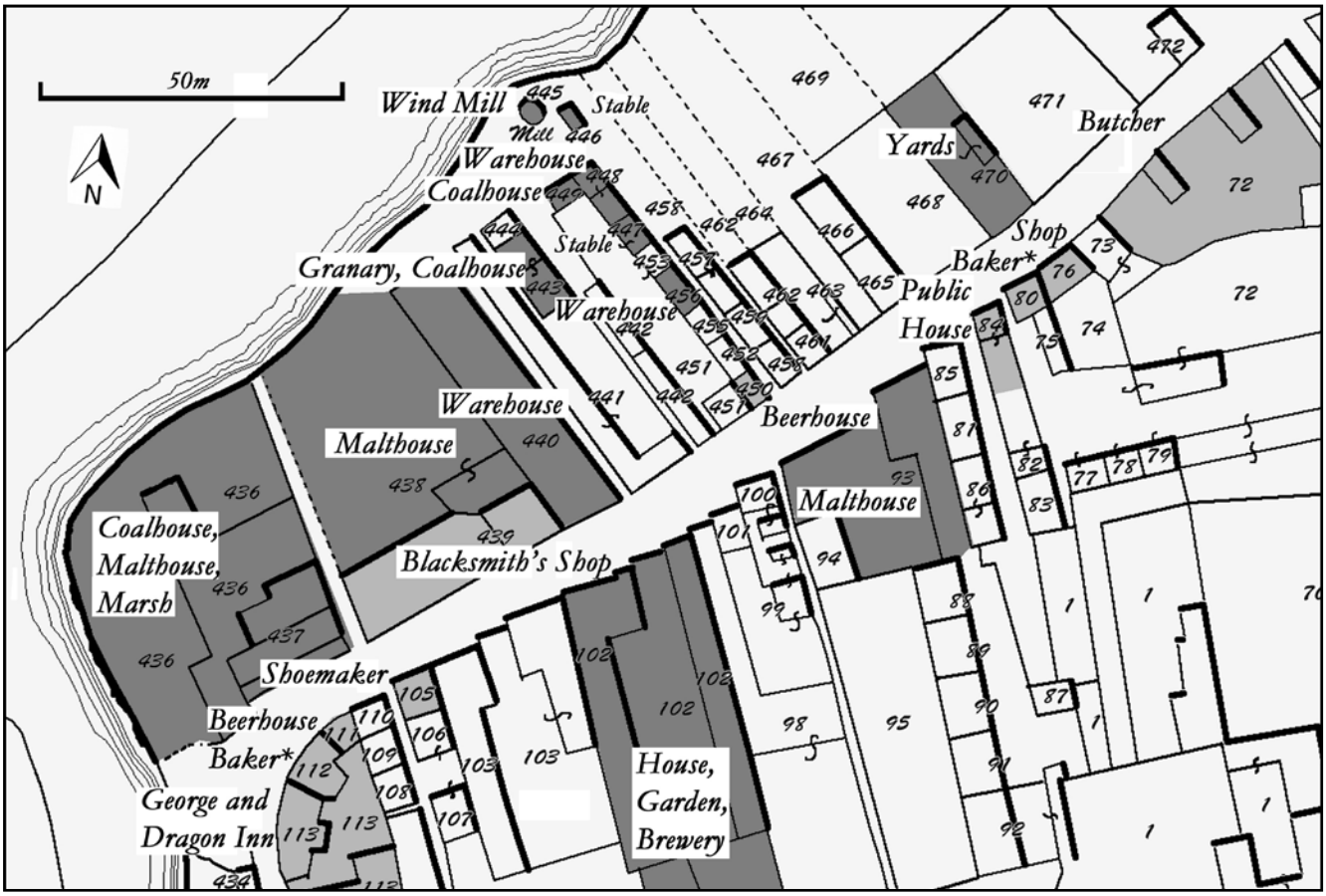


Figure 3. Cley 1841: land use in High Street North. Entries with (*) derived from the 1841 Census others from the Tithe Map. Key to shading: dark grey = industrial and storage, mid-grey = shops and drinking establishments; see text for more details.

churches, barns or malthouses. (In some Tithe Maps inhabited buildings are shaded red and uninhabited buildings black, but unfortunately that is not the case for Cley.) As a result it is not always straightforward to determine the extent of buildings or even the exact curtilage of the parcels.

Second, it is clear that the Tithe Map gives less information about retail uses than the census. For example, the census records three bakers but the Tithe Map has no properties so described; the census has two butchers but the Tithe Map only one butchers shop (and that is unoccupied!). To get the most detailed view possible of the geography of land use it is necessary to use both of these sources while bearing in mind that where census data are used their geographical location may be subject to uncertainty. It is also important to recognise that people might have lived and worked in different places, so the fact that a baker lived in a particular house is no guarantee that house was used as a bakery (although this kind of "living over the shop" seems to have been the norm at this time).

Figure 3 draws together this information for the northern part of the High Street, using the author's digital facsimile of the Tithe Map as a base with additional shading and annotation. The areas shaded dark grey are premises associated with the brewing industry or warehousing/storage facilities. Along this part of the High Street there are three malthouses, typically long, narrow warehouse-like structures for the fermentation of barely as part of the brewing process; two are opposite the George on the north side of the road at the western edge of the map (tithe identifiers 436, owned by John Sayers and tenanted by Robert, John and Randall Brereton and 438, part of George Legge's estate tenanted by John Lee) and the third is on the south side mid-way down (93 also part of George Legge's estate tenanted by John Lee). On the south side of the High Street to the west of the malthouse is a large parcel of land (about a third of an acre) described as a house, garden and brewery (102, owned and occupied by Margaret Moore). Turning to premises associated with warehousing and storage, the western-most malthouse is on a parcel of land where there is also a coalhouse, and further east is a largish warehouse (440, owner and tenant Margaret Moore). Close to the windmill (456, owned by John Farthing and leased to John Lee) are a collection of seven small buildings: a granary, two coalhouses, two stables and two warehouses (owned by either George Legge's estate or John Farthing and ten-

anted in part by John Lee). At the eastern end of the northern side of the High Street is an area of yards (470) owned and occupied by John Copeman the butcher who lived opposite.

Shops and establishments selling alcoholic beverages are shaded lighter grey in **Figure 3**. At the western end of the High Street is the George, or the George and Dragon Inn as it is called in the Apportionment (property 113, owned by John Bolding and run by John Waller). Next door, moving east, the census records Josiah Pitcher as a baker (property 112), next door to that is a beerhouse (111, owned and run by Mary Ann Jary), known as the Queen Victoria Inn or Hole in the Wall[8], and a few doors down a shoemakers shop (106, owned by John Brown and run by John Digby). Just opposite here is a blacksmiths shop (439, part of George Legge's estate and run by Mayham Pane).

Further east along the road there is a beer-house on the north side (450, part of George Legge's estate tenanted by Chares Sadler), then on the south side a public house (84, owned by William Hardy, occupied by William Barnard, named in the census as the Kings Head), a baker (80, Thomas Doyle in a property owned by John Lee), a shop of uncertain type (76, owned by Robert Plattern and occupied by Robert Templer) and finally John Copeman the butcher (72). Also in this area is the Customs House (451, owned by Francis Wheatley and occupied by Robert Bacon). The remainder of the properties are residential; of note are 442 (on the north side of the street south of the mill) where John Farthing lived, owner of the mill and much adjacent land, and 103 (on the south side towards the west end) a large farmhouse part of George Legge's estate tenanted by John Lee the merchant.

Figure 4 shows the southern stretch of the High Street using the same shading scheme as **Figure 3**. In the north east of the map there are two malthouses, both tenanted by Robert and Randall Brereton, one behind the George (114 owned by John Bolding who also owned the George) and one where the school now stands (119, part of William Hardy's estate). Just north of the second malthouse is the farmyard (104) attached to John Lee's farmhouse on the northern part of the High Street.

On the western side of the street are some stables at the north end (434, also owned by John Bolding and occupied by John Waller) and a granary (427, owned and run by Margaret Moore) on the site of the current "Town Hall". Turning to shops, drinking establishments and community uses, there is the Fishmongers Arms Inn (now Sunbeams) just south of the George with its bowling green over the road (122 and 430, owned by John Ramm, tenant William Gibbs). Then come a brewhouse (123), the

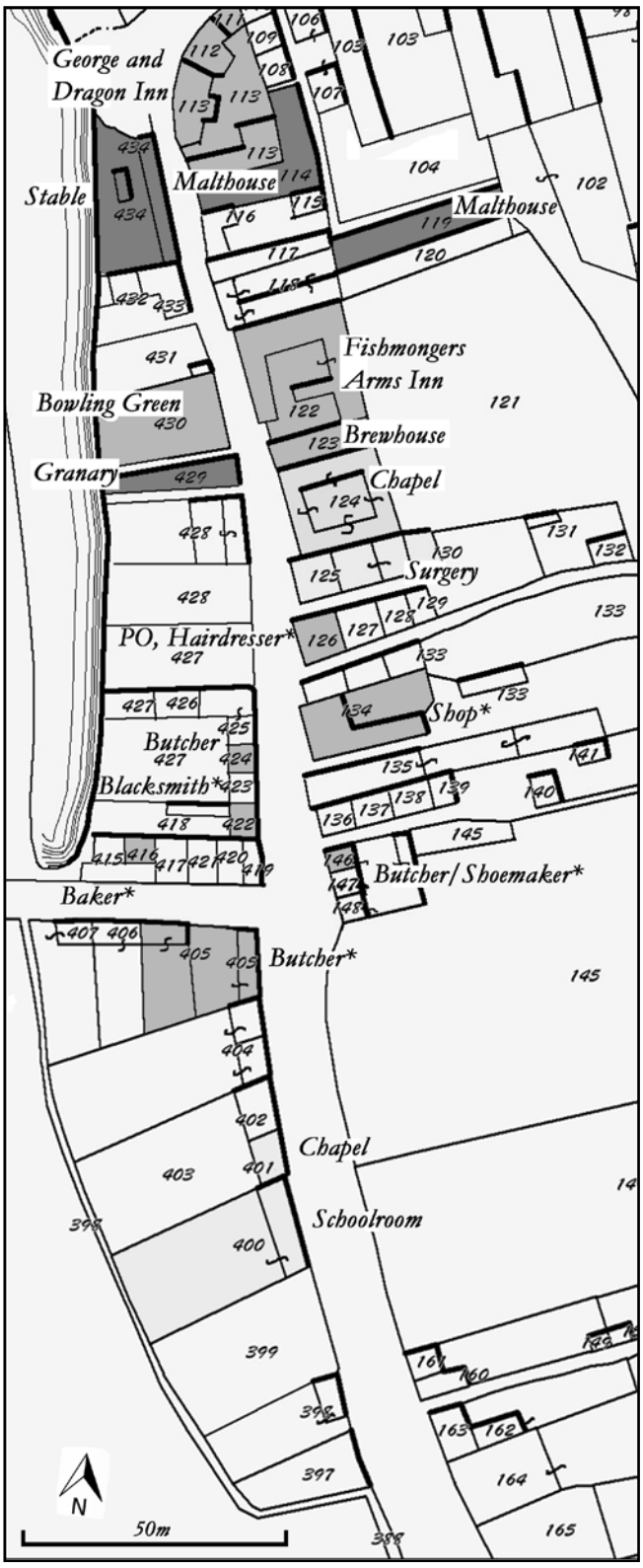


Figure 4. Cley 1841: land use in High Street South. Entries with (*) derived from the 1841 Census others from the Tithe Map. Key to shading: dark grey = industrial and storage, mid-grey = shops and drinking establishments, light-grey = community buildings; see text for more details.

Table 2: Social Neighbourhoods of Cley: Occupational Breakdown of Households

Area	Agricultural Workers	Sailors and Port Workers	Tradesmen Shopkeepers and Publicans	Higher Status Occupations	Other	Unoccupied	Total
Anterton Hill	22 (44%)	7 (14%)	10 (20%)	0 (0%)	6 (12%)	5 (10%)	50 (100%)
High Street North	3 (6%)	14 (28%)	16 (32%)	6 (12%)	6 (12%)	5 (10%)	50 (100%)
High Street South	8 (17%)	8 (17%)	17 (35%)	4 (8%)	9 (19%)	2 (4%)	48 (100%)
Town Yard	3 (11%)	3 (11%)	3 (11%)	7 (26%)	7 (26%)	4 (15%)	27 (100%)
Newgate	20 (63%)	0 (0%)	5 (16%)	4 (13%)	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	32 (100%)
Cley Village	56 (27%)	32 (15%)	51 (25%)	21 (10%)	30 (15%)	17 (8%)	207 (100%)

Methodist Chapel (124), the surgeons at Rocket House (125), Joseph Cornelius Elsy's dual-function Post Office hairdresser now Whalebone House (126), and an unspecified shop in Starr House (134). Opposite here the Tithe Map records an unoccupied Butcher's Shop (424) and the census has a blacksmith John Lee two houses down (at 422).

The census suggests there was a baker Robert Ramm on New Road (416); that the Old Forge on the corner (405) was occupied by John Sharr a butcher; and that there was a shop in one of the three cottages opposite (probably 146) with another butcher (John Curl) and a shoemaker (James Mackerall). Amongst the cottages on the Holt Road to the south there was a chapel (401) and a schoolroom (400).

A final point of interest from Figure 4 is that the Tithe Map shows a tongue of the River Glaven behind the houses on the west side of the High Street running as far as New Road; the main course of the river is shown as it is today, crossing New Road further to the west (beyond the area covered by **Figure 4**).

The other areas of the parish are not mapped in detail. The north east part of the village, Anterton Hill, is predominantly residential with a small amount of agricultural land, one possible shop (a bakery) and no examples of likely industrial or community uses. Town Yard is very similar, predominantly residential with agricultural pockets, with one likely shop here but its location is unclear. There is the "chalk pit and land" on the northern edge of Newgate, roughly where Lime Kiln Close is today, the only industrial land use away from the quay. Elsewhere in Newgate the vast majority of the land use is residential and agricultural; exceptions are a blacksmith John Thurston listed in the census (in the cottage north west of the Swallows Inn) and the Swallows Inn bowling green (just to the north east of the pub).

Social areas of Cley

The distribution of occupations displayed in **Figure 2**, together with **Figures 3** and **4** and the patterns of land use elsewhere in the village as just discussed, suggest that different parts of the village had distinctive patterns of employment and land use, so that it is legitimate to divide the village into separate sub-areas or neighbourhoods; the term "social neighbourhoods" is used here for these sub-areas since they had different social compositions. Although not based on any formal statistical analysis it is suggested that five broad social areas or neighbourhoods can be distinguished and the boundaries of these areas are shown in **Figure 5** together with a name for each.

Table 2 shows the occupational breakdown of households in each of these areas and for the village as a whole, using the same categories as in **Table 1**. Reading along a row gives the information for that area; as an example, the figures for

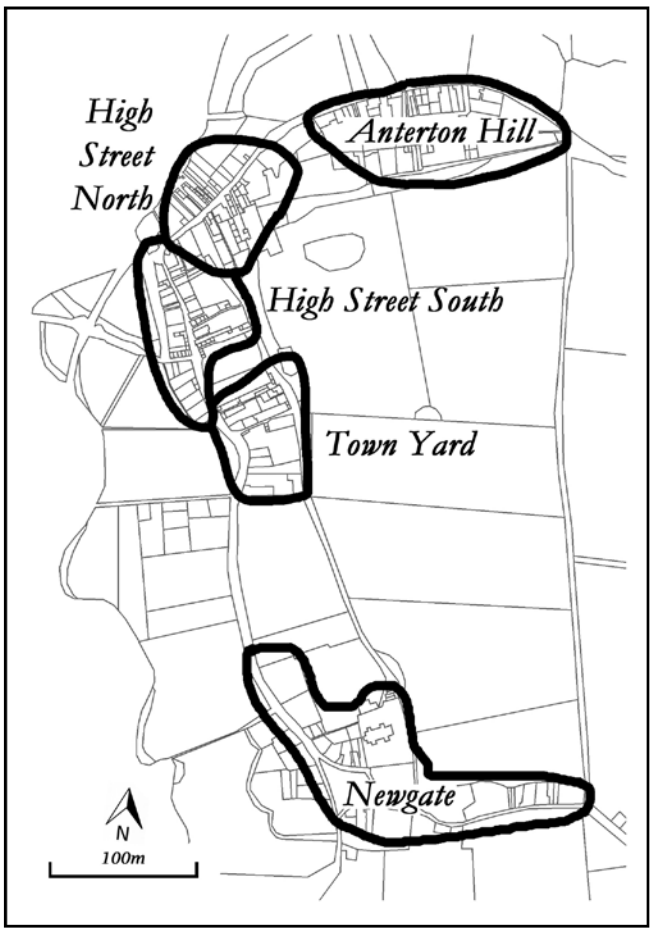


Figure 5. Cley 1841: social neighbourhoods. See text for more details.

Cley village as a whole (the bottom line in **Table 1**) show 56 households (27%) in the agricultural workers category, 32 (15%) in the sailors and port workers category, 51 (25%) in the tradesmen, shopkeepers and publicans category, 21 (10%) higher status households, 30 (15%) in the others group, and 17 (8%) unoccupied properties.

Looking at the table as a whole shows how the social composition of the sub-areas varies. For example, looking at the column for agricultural workers, Newgate has 63% of its households in this category, more than twice the average for the village as a whole, whereas High Street North has only 6%; in the tradesmen, shopkeepers and publicans column, the two High Street areas have about a third of their households in this category whereas elsewhere it is between a fifth and a tenth.

Taking each area in turn, Anterton Hill (with a total of 50 households) is predominantly agricultural with 44% of households in the agricultural workers group (including the one shepherd, Samuel Rainer), 14% in sailors and port workers, 20% in tradesmen, shopkeepers and publicans (made up of six tradesmen and a baker), and no high status heads of household. The six households in the others category are all cases where the occupation in the census is blank, five are female heads of household, one is male. There is no industrial or community land use, a single baker and a couple of pockets of agricultural land. A simplified description of this area would be to call it a working class suburb (although there appears to be no establishment which serves alcoholic refreshment). There may be a case for subdividing the area, since the sailors and port workers are all resident along the coast road.

High Street North (also with a total of 50 households) has a quite different profile from Anterton Hill, with very few agricultural workers, 28% in the sailors and port workers group (the largest percentage across the subareas), 32% in the tradesmen, shopkeepers and publicans category, 12% high status and 12% others. Here the group of six others is made up of one man servant and five blank occupations, with three female heads of household, and two male. This area also has a significant amount of land used by the brewing industry, and for warehousing and storage, together with a fair number of shops and pubs, and a sprinkling of high class residences of commercial activity. This is a very varied area, with the influence of the port still apparent.

High Street South (48 households) has a similar occupational profile to High Street North but has slightly more agricultural workers and slightly fewer sailors and port workers. Interestingly seven of the nine households in the others category are of independent means, the other two being a pensioner and a governess. The most striking difference between this area and the previous one is in terms of land use (compare **Figures 3** and **4**): here less land is used for the brewing industry or storage activities associated with the port while there are more retail and community uses.

The area around Town Yard (the smallest sub-area with 27 households) appears to be the highest status subarea, with 26% of heads of households in higher status occupations, and 11% in each of the three categories of agricultural workers, sailors and port workers, and tradesmen, shopkeepers and publicans. Of the seven households in the others category, five are of independent means and two are blank with a female head of household. The land use is predominantly residential with agricultural pockets, and one likely shop. This is a much quieter place, and is the nearest Cley had to a high status residential suburb (and like Anterton Hill there appears to be no establishment which serves alcoholic refreshment).

The Newgate area (with 32 households) is a distinctive agricultural subarea with 63% heads of households in the agricultural workers category and the (four) high status households all

farmers or farm bailiffs; no one here was employed as a sailor or at the port, and only 16% in the tradesmen, shopkeepers and publicans class. In terms of land use the only industrial activity is the chalk pit, there is one public house with its bowling green and a possible blacksmiths shop. This is quite a distinctive "agricultural suburb".

Table 2 also shows how the 17 unoccupied properties are distributed between the sub-areas; all areas have at least one unoccupied property, with the fewest in Newgate and High Street South.

Conclusions

The aim of this article is to explore the social geography of the village of Cley in 1841 through an analysis of occupational structure and land use using the Tithe Map and 1841 Census as primary data sources. The starting point was to establish the geography of settlement and this suggests a village with a number of distinct areas, a polyfocal form. Further analysis of the patterns of land use and occupations of the heads of households suggests that it is possible to divide Cley into five separate social districts or neighbourhoods. These areas are more heterogeneous than in typical modern villages and towns, where residential, industrial, and commercial activities tend to be quite segregated.

Nevertheless it does seem that in 1841 Cley had separate social neighbourhoods that would have felt quite different.

It should be emphasised again that this has been a limited exploration in that it relies heavily on the Tithe Map and the 1841 Census. What is important about these sources is that they give a consistent level of information across the whole village so enabling a comprehensive geographical analysis, but the limitations of these sources must also be acknowledged, for example in terms of the classifications used and the difficulties of obtaining precise geographical information from the census. There are other limitations of the study, such as the way households with more than one person in occupation are treated and the limited cross-referencing to other data sources. This article should be seen as a first attempt to throw light on the social geography of Cley in the mid-nineteenth century; hopefully others will take this research forward.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Pam and John Peake for their help and encouragement and for detailed comments on an earlier draft. Any errors remaining are mine alone.

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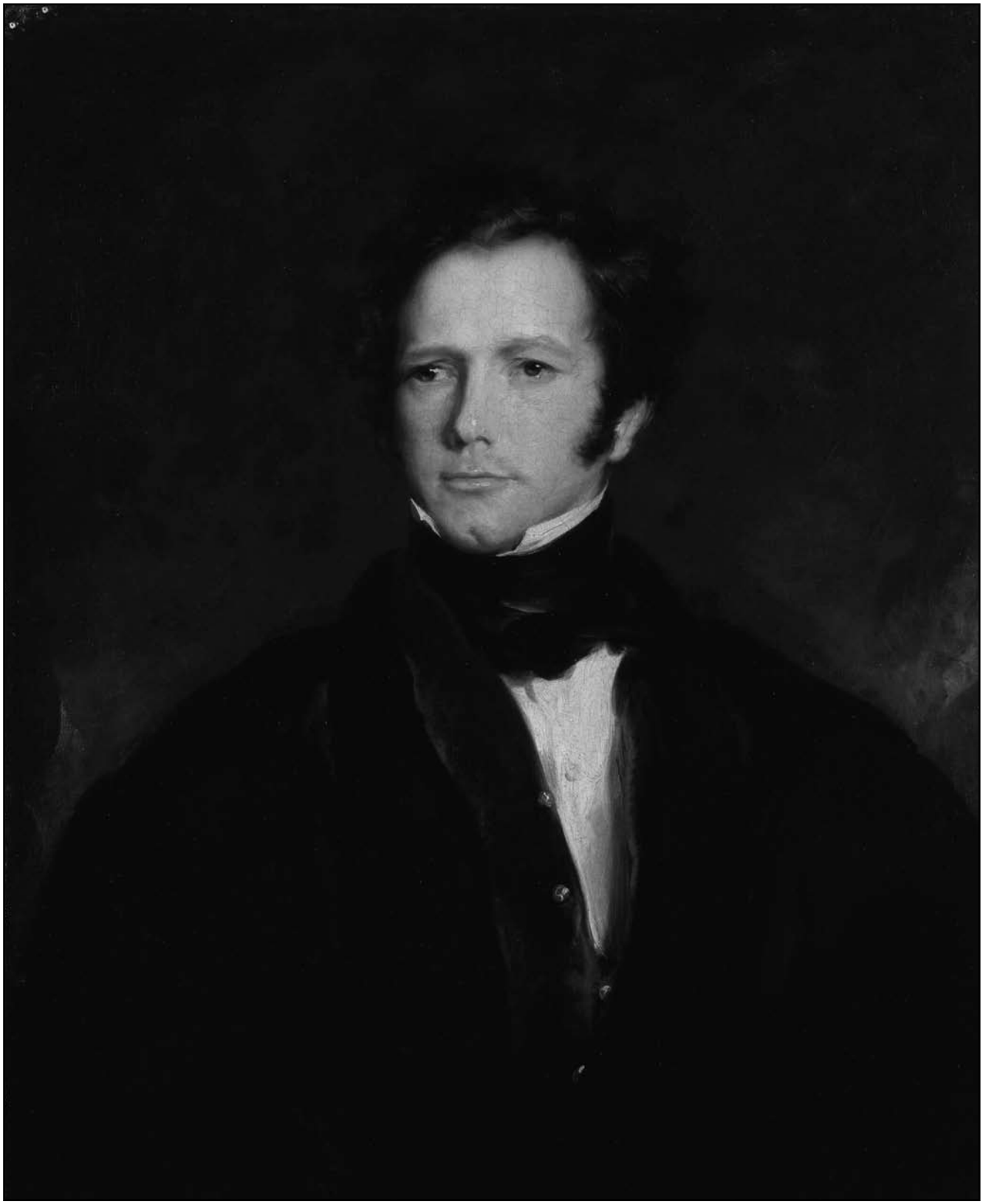

Captain Frederick Marryat in a portrait by John Simpson, 1826

Captain Frederick Marryat – Langham farmer 1843-1848.

Michael Medlar

Synopsis: Captain Marryat farmed his estate in Langham from 1843 until his death in 1848. It is generally held that he was a failure as a farmer, losing considerable sums of money. The Norfolk Record Office holds partial farm accounts for the period 23 October 1845 to 20 April 1846 for Marryat's estate. Using these accounts, the 1852 sale particulars of the estate and other documents at NRO, Marryat's will and modern biographies, the author explores how successful or otherwise Marryat was as a farmer.

Marryat's career 1792-1843

Captain Frederick Marryat RN, naval hero and author of many children's adventure novels, died at Langham in 1848. He was buried in the churchyard of St. Andrew and St. Mary, and an impressive monument to the west of the tower marks the location of his grave. (See **Photo 4**.) According to John Wright, in 1830 Marryat came into ownership of an estate of about 1,000 acres when he exchanged his London home, Sussex House in Hammersmith, for Manor Cottage and its associated farms in Langham, with Alexander Copland.[1] In 1817, at the time of enclosure, Copland purchased the lordship of the manor and lands in Langham belonging to the Townshends of Raynham, and proceeded to build a new house for himself about half a mile north-west of the church. His estate was divided into two farms, utilising seventeenth-century farmhouses located in the south-west part of the village settlement.[2]

Marryat was born into a wealthy London family; his father was chairman of Lloyds and had interests in the West Indian sugar trade. Marryat went to sea in 1806 at the age of 13, and spent the rest of the Napoleonic Wars on active service. At the end of the war, his career followed that of many naval officers – the occasional service at sea, but many years on half-pay and without gainful employment. In the late 1820s, he started to write novels – initially loosely based on his naval career, and later set in locations he had visited. He was able to earn a reasonable income, and was left sizeable inheritances when his father, and then his uncle, died. This allowed him to resign his commission in 1830 to concentrate on his writing.[3]

Although he acquired his estate in 1830, following a short period in the village when he leased the two farms and Manor Cottage to what he hoped would be good tenants, Marryat left Langham in 1832 to pursue his writing career and continue with foreign travel.[4] In 1843, he returned to live in Langham for the remainder of his life. He found the estate, especially Manor Cottage, in poor condition and decided, in spite of having no experience, to farm the estate himself.

Marryat's estate

Details of Marryat's landholding in Langham can best be determined from the particulars of the estate which was sold on 27 October 1852, a little over four years after his death.[5] These particulars show that the estate consisted of two farms and three cottages, as well as the principal residence of Manor Cottage. A map of the estate and a lithograph of Manor Cottage and its attached land are included in the particulars.

The 1852 estate was only 641 acres 2 roods 37 perches, rather than the round figure of 1,000 acres given in the secondary sources. The estate was valued at £1,094 9s 7d per annum, although £100 0s 0d of that was for the 20 acres 3 roods 35 perches attached to Manor Cottage. The implication here is that Manor Cottage would be the home of the new landowner, while the bulk of the land was worked by the two large tenant farms.

Manor Cottage was a substantial house with nine bedrooms, together with rooms for day use, servants' quarters, and storage rooms for food and drink. Attached to the "cottage" were riding stables, two coach houses, a gig house and dog

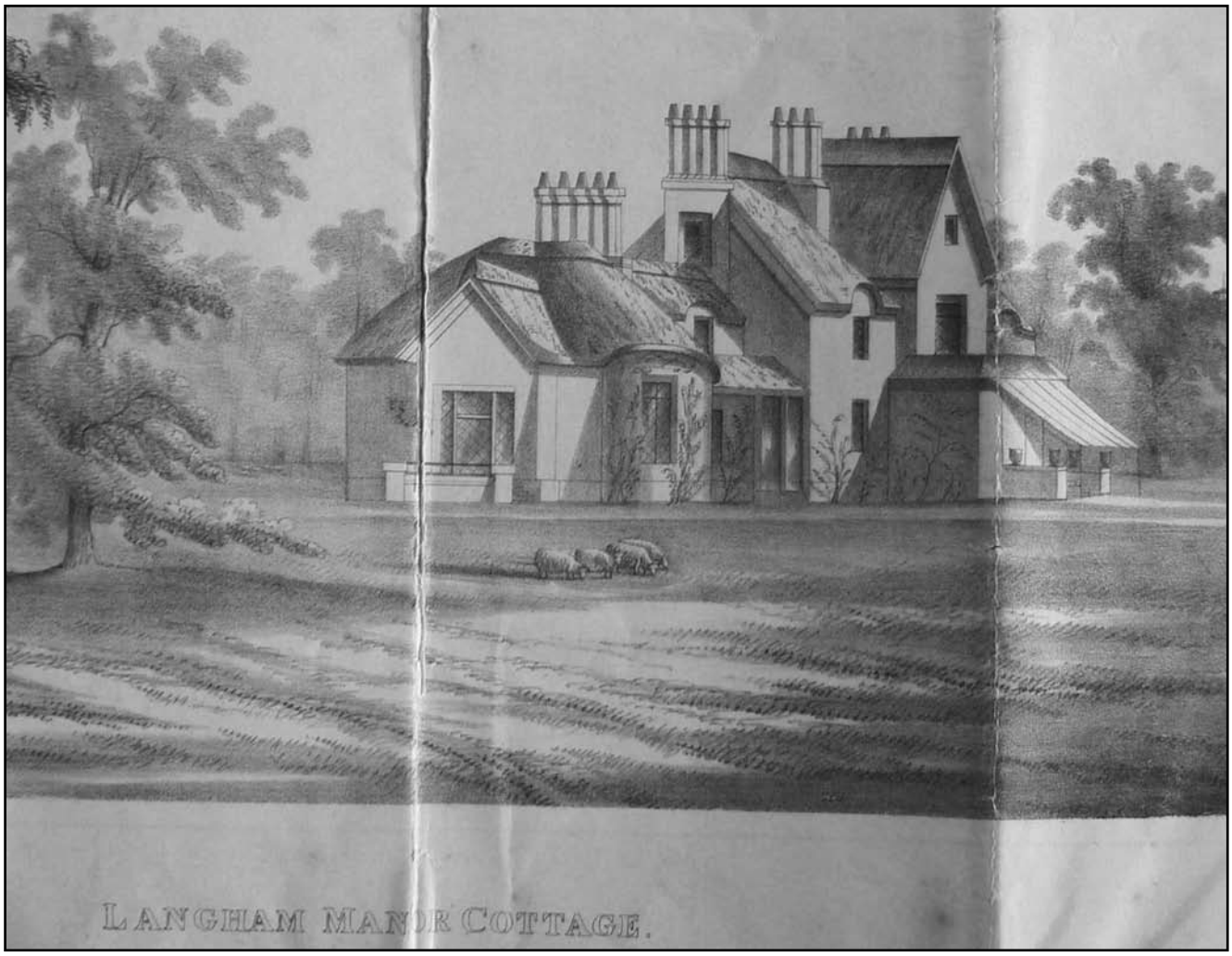

Photo 2. Manor Cottage in its heyday, by courtesy of the NRO

kennels, together with a walled garden, cow sheds and a duck decoy. (See **Photo 2**.) With the exception of the cow sheds and duck decoy, there is little indication of Manor Cottage being the centre of an agricultural estate, but more a gentleman's residence with all the facilities required for shooting. The sales particulars support this conclusion, emphasising that it was "a fine sporting estate" within easy reach of the major country houses at Holkham and Melton Constable, as well as local market towns, the coast and the newly-built railway at Fakenham.

Manor Cottage and its 21 acres was leased to John Macron, who also rented 65 acres located in the north-east corner of the parish next to the parish boundary with Blakeney. According to the 1852 sales particulars, Macron was paying a rent of £200 per annum but did not have any tenure as the purchaser of the estate was able to occupy either or both properties within twelve months. Manor Cottage was demolished in the 1880s when the current building was erected on the site.[6]

The 1852 sales particulars show the balance of the estate divided as follows. (See **Photo 3**.) First, a farm of 342 acres worked by Charles Elgar, with a 6-bedroom farmhouse and associated buildings, and located to the west of the parish church. The 1851 census describes Elgar as being 24 years old, unmarried and the employer of a house servant and 13 labourers on his farm. Second, John Seely farmed 176 acres and occupied a 6-bedroom house with associated farm buildings. Seely is not mentioned in the 1851 census. Third, James Withers farmed 21.5 acres, and his holding contained "newly erected" farm buildings. There are two men named James Withers in the 1851 census, both described as agricultural labourers born in Langham, one aged 54 and the other aged 25.

These three properties and Manor Cottage produced the bulk of the income of the estate. They were supplemented by three cottages, two smallholdings of about 5 acres each, and the post mill for which Robert Wall paid £27 10s 0d per annum. The mill was located on the road to Cockthorpe, quite close to Manor Cottage. In the 1851 census, the miller is described as John Wall, 29, from Saxthorpe, who was married with four children. There was also a small income from quit rents for the copyhold cottages of the village, which the sales particulars put at £11

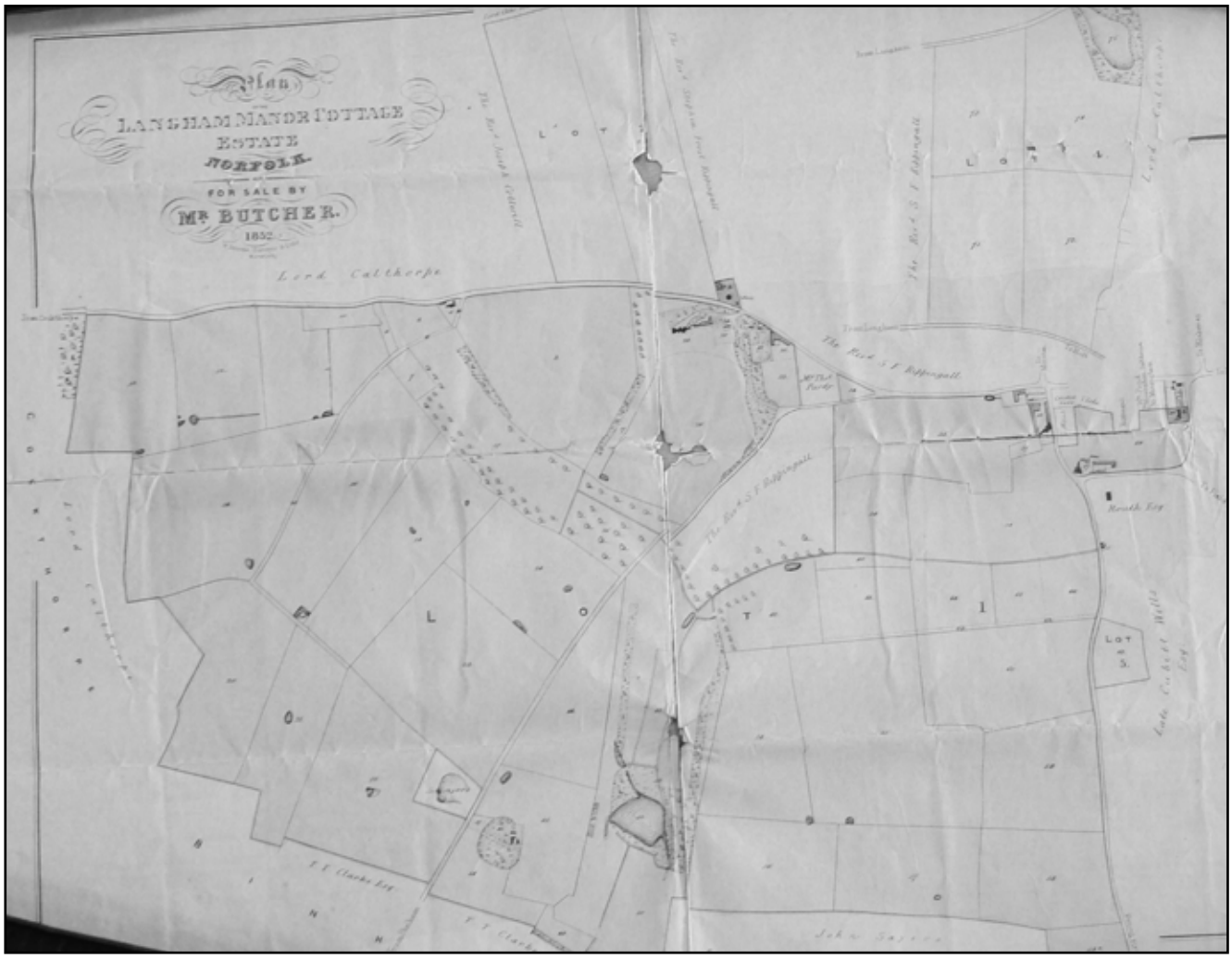

Photo 3. Map of the estate produced for the 1852 sale

17s 1d including entry fines but, a letter from a Mr. Overton to Captain Marryat, gives income of £2 8s 2½d for both 1844 and 1845.[7]

Marryat's Farming Accounts

(See Table 1.)

Marryat's farming accounts for the year 1845/1846 are far from complete.[8] They detail wheat (October 1845 to March 1846), and barley (November 1845 to April 1846), and oats (November 1845 to April 1846). For oats, they list volumes threshed and what was sold whereas, for barley and wheat, they only have the volumes sold.[9] Marryat sold 14 bullocks in February 1846. There are also details of the manure used on certain fields in January 1846, together with the crops which were to be planted. A further page gives the names of people who paid small sums for allotments.

Wheat

The wheat account appears straightforward; Marryat seems to have sent wheat to market 4 times – once each in October 1845 and November 1845, and twice in March 1846. The total volume was 148 coombs and 1 bushel of good wheat, together with 9 coombs and 1 bushel of "tail"[10]. Over the 5-month period, average market prices fell by 10% from £2 13s 2d per quarter (2 coombs) to £2 8s 5d. Marryat's wheat fetched above market average on all 4 visits to the market, ranging from £2 19s 7d per quarter in October 1845 down to £2 15s 0d per quarter in March 1846. Overall, this represents about 12.5% over market averages.

Barley

The barley account is more complex and, with the exception of a small volume sold to residents of Langham on 20 April 1846, the six entries representing possible sales at market were compressed into a 10-week period between late November 1845 and early February 1846. Volumes noted were more than twice those of wheat. The first sale, on 27 November 1845 of 81 coombs and 1 bushel, fetched a price of £1 5s 5d a quarter – well below the market average of £1 11s 1d. The other five entries all record a sales value of between £31 0s 0d and £32 6s 3d, despite volumes traded ranging from 30 coombs 1 bushel to 69 coombs 1 bushel. Overall, the price achieved for the barley crop was £1 5s 10d

Table 1: Captain Frederick Marryat Langham Farm accounts 1845/46

				Value			Rate			Av Mkt Rate		
Wheat Sales												
Date	Combs	Bush	Quarters	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
23 October 1845	40	2	20.250	58	7	0	2	12	4	2	13	2
28 November 1845	16	1	8.125	22	15	0	2	16	5	2	13	0
2 December 1845	4	1	2.125	4	5	0	2	2	4			
3 March 1846	48	3	24.375	68	5	0	2	16	2	2	8	10
3 March 1846	2	0	1.000	2	0	0	2	0	0			
28 March 1846	42	3	21.375	58	16	0	2	15	0	2	8	5
28 March 1846	3	0	1.500	3	0	0	2	0	0			
Total wheat	157	2	78.750	217	8	0	2	15	2			
Barley Sales												
Date	Combs	Bush	Quarters	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
27 November 1845	85	3	42.875	51	14	0	1	4	2	1	11	1
4 December 1845	38	1	19.125	32	6	3	1	13	9	1	10	0
11 December 1845	50	2	25.250	32	6	3	1	5	7	1	9	8
24 December 1845	31	2	15.750	32	6	3	2	1	0	1	10	0
17 January 1846	65	1	32.625	31	0	3		19	0	1	6	10
7 February 1846	72	2	36.250	31	10	0		17	4	1	8	4
20 April 1846	3	2	1.750	2	9	0	1	8	0	1	8	4
Total barley			173.625	213	12	0	1	4	2			
Seed barley			15.000	50	11	3	3	7	5			
Oats Sales												
Date	Combs	Bush	Quarters	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Poland oats	32	0	16.000	16	8	6	1	0	6			
Poland oats	20	0	10.000	10	8	6	1	0	10			
Sold	53	0	26.500	30	15	0	1	3	2			
12 April 1846	82	2	41.250	38	18	6		19	4	1	1	4
Total oats			93.750	96	10	6	1	0	7			

Source - NRO MF/RO 112/1

a quarter – suggesting that Marryat knew how much barley he had at the time of the first trip to market, that he had sold his total crop at the price achieved on 27 November 1845, and received roughly equal sums for the balance of the crop as it was delivered to market.

Unlike with wheat, the "tail" has no value entered against it – implying that Marryat was unable to sell the 15 coombs 2 bushels of this product. The final entry is for 30 coombs of seed barley, valued at £3 7s 5d a quarter. Whether Marryat had grown special barley for seed which he then sold, or whether he kept back this volume for seed and allowed the said sum in the accounts, is impossible to tell.

Oats

The oat account is even more complex. There are fifteen entries with volumes, but only four with values against them, and two of these are referred to as "Poland Oats". Unlike the wheat and barley accounts, some fields (Bilson and Pond Close) are named, and it can be assumed that the figures against them represent the oats from these fields. A total of 187 coombs 2 bushels of oats have values against them, including

Photo 4. Marryat's memorial and grave in Langham churchyard.

the "Poland Oats" and, for three of the entries, the additional word "sold" is noted. It can be safely assumed that all the values represent sales which average £1 0s 7d per quarter, compared with the market average of £1 1s 4d a quarter. The remainder of the crop would have been used on the farm as feed for the horses.

Bullocks

A total of 14 bullocks in six lots were sent to market on 10 February 1846 and fetched £237 4s 4d – equating to £16 18s 11d per animal. No details of the age or weight of the animals are recorded, making it impossible to determine whether Marryat was successful in fattening cattle.

Manure

There are records of seven fields being manured in 1846. Upper Dalling Close received 121 loads of manure and 2 tons of mussels; Home Pightle, which had been left to grass, was given 20 loads of manure and 8 hundredweight of guano; Little Pond Close received 104 loads of manure and 110 gallons of oil; 116 loads of manure were spread on Buck's Close; while Bilson Hill Piece was given 77 loads of manure and 8 tons of fish. Fields not receiving manure, but enriched with other fertilisers, were Bilson 16 Acres with 400 bushels of soot for a barley crop, and Hall Piece, whose grass received 3 hundredweight of guano. Nearly 6 tons of gypsum is mentioned in the accounts, but not the fields on which it was used.

Discussion

The £815 15s 9d received from the sale of farm products was considerably below the rental potential of the estate valued at £1,094 (see above). It does not take into account any of the expenses of running the farm. The only record of these is an 1844 account for Mr. Peacock of £44 17s 8d, which was being slowly paid off, largely in kind with timber; and Mr. Tweedy's account for £30 2s 0d for 6,500 tiles and slats, outstanding on 28 February 1846. The mention of slats with tiles suggest tiles for roofing, and not for underdraining the heavier soils of the farm. An additional income of £11 9s 6d is recorded for small allotments let to the villagers. Land tax expenses on the whole estate were £45 12s 0d, the majority of which would have had to be paid by Marryat.[11]

The manures used show that Marryat was embracing some of the practices of "High Farming" which was then in vogue.[12] The use of guano and gypsum shows he was utilising materials from some distance away, as well as fish products obtainable from the nearby costal ports. Farmyard manure still played an important part in his farming practice. According to Williamson & Wade Martins, farmyard manure was used on the land to be cropped with wheat, whereas Marryat followed the local practice of using this dung on the turnip crop.[13]

The volumes of grain sold in the account can be converted to acreage sown using yields obtained in neighbouring parishes at a similar time or earlier. Secondary sources describe Marryat's tenant as negligent, and this was one of the reasons he took the estate management into his own hands.[14] On the assumption that this is true, yields per acre in 1845 would have been on the low side, and the gains of intensive manuring used in "High Farming" were yet to be achieved in Langham. Tithe data from the late 1830s for North West Norfolk give yields of 4-6 coombs per acre for wheat and 6-8 coombs per acre for barley.[15] Using 5 coombs per acre for wheat and 6 coombs per acre for barley and oats, the volumes accounted for only represent the crops of about 130 acres. Thus, either the accounts only deal with part of the harvest, or yields were much lower than estimated, or Marryat did not farm the whole 640-acre estate.

By 1845, North Norfolk was an area of intensive arable husbandry. It is estimated that as much as 80% of the land was under arable.[16] Although there is no tithe map for Langham, there is no reason to suppose it was any different to neighbouring Field Dalling, where the

Dean and Chapter's estate in 1840 was a little over 80% arable.[17] The 1852 sales particulars show that Marryat's 640 acres contained a little under 500 acres of arable.[18] If he practiced a Norfolk 4-course rotation of wheat-turnips-barley-clover, then about 250 acres would have been used for grain crops. The estimate in the previous paragraph of 130 acres is only a little over half this acreage. So, either Marryat's yields were exceptionally poor or, more likely, the accounts only deal with part of the crop.

Some of the field names in the 1852 sales particulars suggest that a sizeable portion of the estate was on poor soils. There were two "furze" closes[19] and two "breck" fields[20] – indicating poor soil. However, other field names such as "Saffron Close" and "Wine Park" hark back to a different kind of agriculture in this part of North Norfolk.

Only a small area of woodland (8½ acres) is recorded in the 1852 sales particulars, including an ozier carr. An earlier, but undated, map of Marryat's estate records that Fox Cover, in the extreme west of the parish, was wooded, but had been converted to arable by 1852.[21] This suggests that Marryat was either interested in maximising his profits from grain production or wanted to remove game and hunting from the estate, a contradiction to his building of a decoy and his social role in the neighbourhood.

The idea of incomplete accounts is further supported by the absence of any mention of the duck decoy, which is named in the sales particular and is mentioned in an 1845 trade directory.[22] Secondary sources state that the decoy "flooded 100 acres of best grazing land", but sent 5,000 birds a year to London.[23] The 100 acres of grazing is an exaggeration as, in the sales particulars, the decoy is included in the 21 acres which were kept in hand and not leased out. One would have expected the winter months of 1845/6 to have been a period when migrating geese used the decoy, and hence a good opportunity for trapping and shooting these birds.

Conclusion

The incomplete nature of the accounts preserved at the Norfolk Record Office makes it impossible to say whether or not Marryat was a failure as a farmer. If the sums in the accounts were his total income from farming the estate in 1845 then, yes, he was a failure, as the sales particulars say he could have generated a higher income from simply leasing the estate.

Marryat's will demonstrates he had other land as well as his Langham estate. There were leased farms in South Cove in Suffolk and in Hammersmith, Middlesex, as well as a let house in Park Lane, West Wycombe in Buckinghamshire. Unfortunately, there are no details of the size of the farms or the rental income.[24] Marryat was also writing his novels while in residence at Manor Cottage, and these produced a considerable income in their own right.

Marryat played the part of a country squire. He served as a Deputy Lord Lieutenant of the county, was a Justice of the Peace, and socialised with local landowners as well as with Lt. Thomas of the coastguards in Morston.[25] He was known to be extravagant, and always living beyond his means.[26] It is unlikely that he had sufficient time or experience to maximise income from his farming, but this would not have been the main source of his income. He did undertake some expensive improvements to the estate, and his choice of William Barnes, an ex-poacher, to be his gamekeeper and guardian of the decoy, was unconventional but not unique in Norfolk.[27] Despite these shortcomings, Marryat appears to have adopted most of the practices of the progressive "High Farming" movement, but how successful he was with putting these into operation is impossible to determine.

The estate at Langham was in line with the aspiration of all naval officers of the period, and it is notable that Marryat gained this estate at the time he resigned his commission and gave up life at sea. The idea that he was a failed farmer appears to date from the mid-nineteenth century, when his daughter Florence wrote: "His agricultural appeared almost like insanity …".[28] Florence's figures for 1845 show an income of the Langham estate of £898 12s 6d against an expenditure of £2023 10s 8d. [29]

The verdict that Marryat was a failed farmer appears have been handed down from one biographer to the next, who have invariably concentrated their studies on Marryat's naval career and his writing, rather than on a study of his farming practices.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the staff of the Norfolk Record Office for their assistance in producing a wide variety of relevant documents; Pam Peake and the volunteers at the BAHS History Centre for access to modern biographies; and the Rev. Tim Fawcett for introducing me to the delights of Langham's history. Special thanks to the Norfolk Record Office for permission to reproduce Photos 2 and 3 taken from document NRO MS 18622/149.

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8 NRO MF/RO 112/1.

9 Sales of grains were by volume rather than weight. This was the norm in the mid-nine teenth century. Marryat's accounts give vol umes in the following units—lasts, coombs and bushels. 4 bushels = 1 coomb, 20 coombs = 1 last. Market prices are given in quarters. 2 coombs = 1 quarter. 1 coomb of wheat weighed 18 stones (252 lbs), 1 coomb of barley weighed 16 stones (224 lbs) and 1 coomb of oats weighed 14 stones (196 lbs). Market prices used were the average prices at King's Lynn Market on the closest date to Marryat's sale dates (Source—Lynn Advertiser on microfilm at King's Lynn Library). Norwich market prices were normal ly slightly higher, while Fakenham and Holt market prices were slightly lower.

10 Tail = grain of poor quality and small size, and which is unacceptable for milling.

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19 Furze = gorse, often found on poor, sandy commons and used as a fuel for baking bread.

20 Breck = an area of poor land often ploughed and harvested for a few years before being allowed to go fallow (uncropped) for a signifi cant period to enable it to recover fertility.

21 NRO DS 156.

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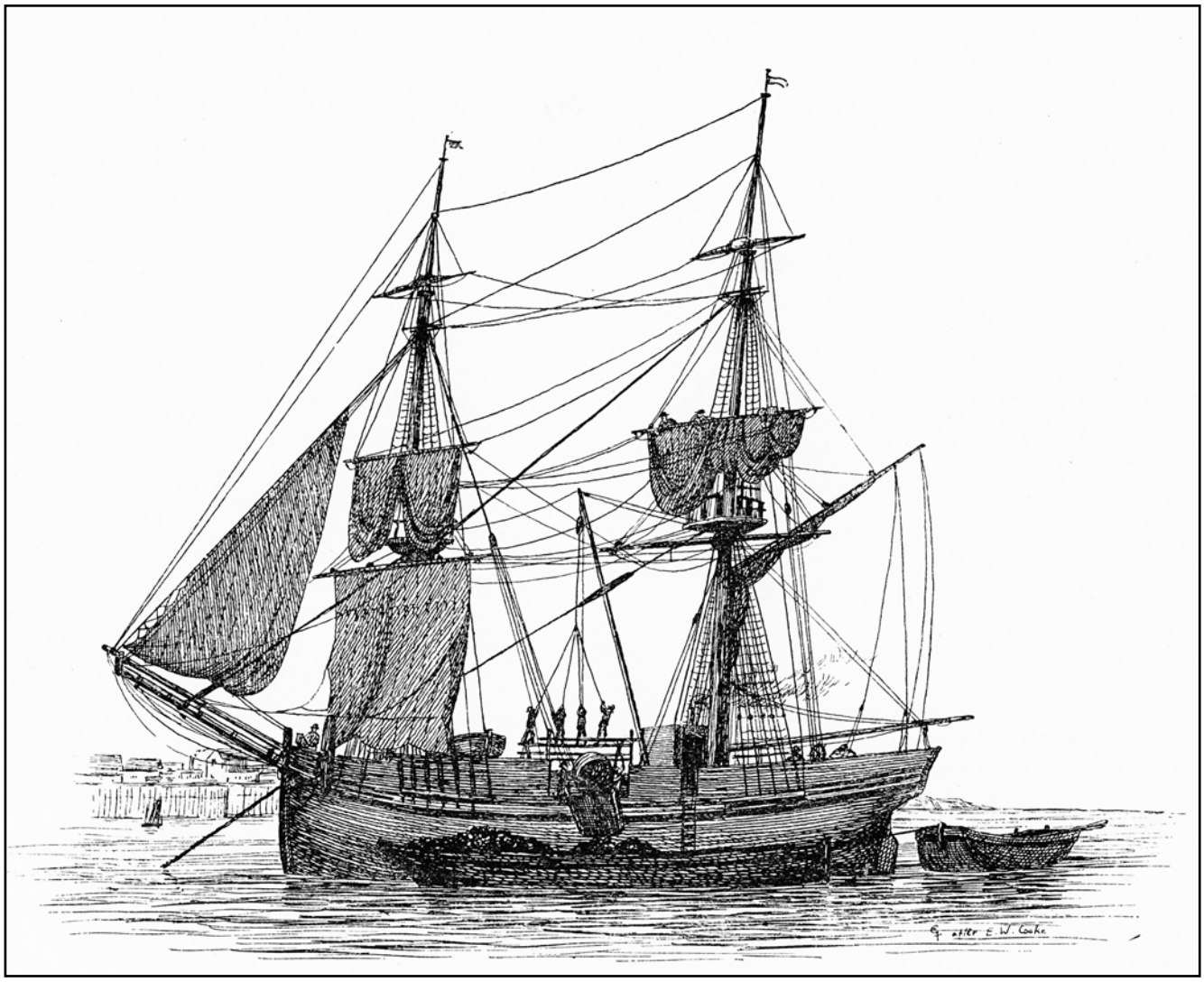

A Collier brig being unloaded into a lighter. Note the four coal-whippers standing on a horizontal spar ready to jump off, their weight being sufficient to lift the basket of coal from the hold as explained in the text. *From an etching by E W Cooke*

The Collier Brig

Sara Dobson

Introduction

Whilst researching the voyages of the *Lively* , a 19th century collier brig registered in Cley,[1] the following article was found.[2] Written in the 1850s, it gives a descriptive account of the voyage of a collier brig taking coal from Newcastle to London.

A colourful story, which tells of the camaraderie and the competitiveness of the seamen, portraying their difficult and arduous lives aboard ship and in port.

What a sight to have seen all the ships leave the Tyne together with their sails billowing on a 'favourable' wind. Imagine the noise, the excitement and apprehension of the sailors, the sadness of those left behind.

No details of the ship or crew have been found. Have the names been changed or is it just a story ? We shall probably never know but it certainly makes interesting reading and there is no reason to doubt that it gives an accurate picture of a typical coasting voyage.

The Voyage

"Where bleak Northumbria pours her savage train,
In sable squadrons o'er the northern main,
That, with her pitchy entrails stored resort,
A sooty tribe to fair Augusta's port"
William Falconer

As my friend George Rodmond of the *Nancy Bananna* better known on the coal exchange as *Canny Geordie* has offered me a trip to London and back in his brig, I purpose accepting the kind invitation, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, in the hope of gaining some information on the important subject of coal – how it is conveyed to the metropolis, and the method used to discharge a cargo on its arrival at that great port – a proceeding that, under present circumstances, may not prove uninteresting. With this intention I pack up my box, provide a suit of waterproof clothing, and patiently await my friend's instructions before proceeding further in the matter.

The *Nancy Bananna* deeply laden, is lying in the River Tyne all ready for sea, waiting only for a fair wind to be off; but as it is uncertain when the desideratum will take place, my friend Rodmond advises me to embark at once in case I should be left behind. Fully concurring with him, I adopt the judicious measure, and accordingly embark in a massive and not over-cleanly boat, which under the conduct of a ridiculously small boy of still more sooty appearance, slowly conveys me alongside the *Nancy Bannana.* Her appearance is not prepossessing. Round clumsy bows, without the least ornament about them, and an equally hideous stern, would alone proclaim her to be a collier, even if other well-known signs about the heavy and sombre-looking hull were not sufficient.

I soon find myself at home on board the *Nancy Bannana* and am quite overwhelmed by the kindly north country hospitality of my friend, who importunes me to partake of beef-steaks and onions, till I am in danger of a surfeit. Fortunately, however, at this juncture the wind becomes fair, and then ensues a scene of noisy bustle and activity, amongst the hundreds of vessels by which we are surrounded, that it is impossible to describe.

"Up anchor!" shouts Rodmond the boisterous, who, in sea rig, appears quite a different personage from the sedate-looking Rodmond of the shore. "Up anchor!" is the cry, enforced by repeated heavy blows on the deck with a handspike.

Roused from repose, the sooty tribe leisurely arrive one after the other on deck, and, after satisfying themselves that the master's order is necessary and proper, condescend to handle their handspikes, and soon afterwards the windlass's clinging pawls give satisfactory evidence that the anchor will soon be free from its oozy bed. A few more heaves, and its rises over the wave, and with canvass wings extended, our departure is thus announced in the local journal of the district;

"December – Moderate northerly breezes and fine.
Sailed the *Nancy Bannana* Rodmond master, for London – coals – together with the rest of the outward bound"

We are at sea. Comparitively [sic] a clipper amongst the host of slow conveyances that

crowd astern, the *Nancy Bannana* leads the van. A cold piercing wind whistles through the rigging, and fills the grimed sails. The bluff bow of the ship, ploughing deep furrows in the German Ocean, which looks dreary enough in this bleak winter's morning, is a source of intense satisfaction to Rodmond, who smiles and rubs his hands in anticipation of a short voyage, and quick returns on the cargo, which as well as the brig belongs to himself.

Before we are twenty-four hours out, I learn to appreciate the merits of the dozen or so 'old seadogs' who compose the crew of the *Nancy Bannana* – prime seamen all, and none more so than Mr. Clewline, the mate, with whom I fraternise heartily, and receive some valuable information.

John Clewline, or simply John, when addressed by the crew, particularly plumes himself on his statistical knowledge, and, with the aid of a greasy looking memorandum book to refresh his memory, informs me that the extent of the workable area of the coal-fields of the United Kingdom is 5,036,950 acres; also, that at least 37,000,000 of tons are annually raised, worth about 10,000,000l. at the pit's mouth, and probably double that sum at the various places of consumption, after the expense of transit and other incidental charges. He further informs me that the capital employed in the coal trade exceeds 10,000,000l. For the supply of the metropolis alone, nearly 4,000,000 tons of coal are required for domestic and manufacturing purposes. The quantity conveyed coast-wise to various parts of the United Kingdom is nearly 10,000,000 tons while 3,000,000 tons were exported in 1850 to foreign countries and the British colonies.

Meanwhile the *Nancy Bannana* has reached the neighbourhood of the Swin channel, just as the short winter day closes in, amidst a heavy snow storm, accompanied by a strong north east gale. The fleecy flakes, falling so fast and so thick as to envelop every object at the distance of fifty yards in perfect obscurity, cause the utmost perplexity to Rodmond and his gallant band, who conclude to 'ride as soon as a spot is found' adapted for the purpose. In the meanwhile the topsails are doubly reefed and the courses hauled up, and with, reduced speed the old craft carefully presses her way through the rapidly thickening gloom. "And a ha-a-lf three" drawls out a nearly perished nautical in the main chains, quickly gathering in the slack line for another cast.

"Port, my son" shouts out the master to the attentive Timoneer.

"Mark three" is again the warning cry.

"Hard a-port" (down with the helm).

"Why, boys, we shall be on the sunk sand" cries the excited Rodmond; "up wi' the yards, boys".

A furious rush of heavy sea boots now ensues, and all is confusion and uproar – ropes flying about in every direction, the creaking of the blocks heard high above the whistling of the wind, which again is quickly lost sound of in the noisy flapping of the heavy topsails, as the inert mass swoops heavily up into the wind and begins to feel the full force of the gale.

At last the welcome cry of "Mark five" shows we deepen our water, and shortly afterwards the *Nancy Bannana* is safely riding – with two anchors down – in the face of the long winter's night gale.

The next morning the scene has changed as if by magic. The gale has ceased, and in its stead a pleasant and still fair breeze is swiftly carrying the good brig towards her destination. As we proceed, the scene becomes one of enlivening interest. Crowds of vessels of all sizes and descriptions surround us on every side, each striving to reach first the longed-for goal. As we pass Sheerness, Captain Rodmond seeks the solitude of his state-room, from which, in the course of half an hour, he emerges in gay attire, holding a bundle of papers in his hand.

Gravesend is at length descried. Shortly afterwards, a most respectable individual, dressed in brown, is seen hurrying with eager haste towards the custom-house of that celebrated cockney watering-place. This personage is our friend Rodmond, who at once delivers to the authorities the ship's papers and other documents relating to the quantity and quality of the cargo, and receives in turn the all important information as to which of the numerous tiers in the river the *Nancy Bannana* is to remain on turn.

Oh, fortunate Rodmond! Oh happy first comer! or, rather, oh skilful mariner! – for skill has more to do than luck with success – you are to proceed at once up to the wharves in London, for the supply of coal is less than the demand, and the good people of London require fires at this inclement season of the year. Your factor at the Exchange in Thames-street has satisfactorily disposed of your cargo; so all you have to do is to get on as quickly as possible. We do so, viewing with compassion the last arrival of the immense fleet of coal vessels momentarily increasing, and imagine the chagrin of the last comer, probably condemned to several days if not weeks detention in the Pool before her turn arrives to be discharged.

At length our voyage is at an end, and the old craft is comfortably moored in the stream, much to the satisfaction of Mr. John Clewline, who now directs his attention to the requirements of the barge, which has in the interim arrived alongside to take in the first instalment of the black diamonds.

Ere long the coal meter, or measurer, makes his appearance on board – a most respectable man and an important functionary of the City Corporation, by whom he is deputed to see that each purchaser has his right quantity: in fact, he is a sort of generalissimo of the coal-whippers engaged to unload the cargo instead of the ship's company, who are not permitted to officiate in any other capacity than barge keepers. The hatches being taken off, an upright spar or derrick is then erected over the hold, having at its top a gin, or revolving wheel, to which the rope holding the basket of coals is attached. The whippers now come forward, an athletic gang, nine in number, including the basket man, whose duty will be recorded presently.
Before proceeding to business, however, the calumet of peace has to be smoked between the crew of the *Nancy Bannana* and the new arrivals, and porter consumed to cement the alliance against their common enemy the coal, which has to be dislodged from its stronghold.

This ceremony being concluded, the coal-whippers, who are in high good humour at having heaved a 'three day ship' – that period being necessary to discharge the *Nancy Bannana*, which carries 300 tons – commence erecting the 'way', a structure resembling a rough short ladder about five or six feet in length, generally formed of boat-oars about a foot or so from each other, and having four steps; the whole being attached to a couple of pairs of sheers.

Everything being ready, such as the basket – to contain about one and a half cwt. – bent on to the whip, and overhauled down into the hold, weighing machine fixed with its spout overhanging the vessel's side and properly weighted, the coal whippers distribute themselves thus: four men remain in the hold to fill the basket, relieving each other at regular intervals; four more stay on deck to hoist the basket up, which then passes through the hands of the basket-man on the weighing machine, and from thence to the hold again. The basket being filled, the four men on deck, each holding a rope attached to the whip, skip up the way, pulling the ropes simultaneously as they ascend, thus raising the loaded basket some way up the hold. Having reached the topmost bar of the way, they pause for an instant, and then with accord recklessly hurl themselves backwards on to the deck, giving the momentum of their bodily weight to the basket, which pops up above the hatchway like a 'Jack in the box'. Before the basket has time to 'lose its way' as the sailors say, it is dexterously seized at the proper moment by the basket-man, who standing on a plank over the hatchway, runs it on, and quickly reversing the basket, shoots the contents into the weighing machine, from which receptacle, after being weighed, it is discharged into the barge alongside.

By the above process about one hundred tons of coal are discharged daily, and so laborious, harassing, and dirty is the occupation of the coal-whipper, that men's skins have been known to turn perfectly black in a single hour. Even the basket-man is not exempt from this calamity, and is in addition constantly exposed to the imminent risk of being precipitated into the hold, a depth of from ten to sixteen feet, if not very dextrous in carrying forward the basket at the right moment.

The coal having been all discharged, the operators depart as pleasantly as they arrived, and the *Nancy Bannana* is once more under the sole control of her estimable commander. In the meanwhile, the ballast which had been ordered from one of the ballast offices comes alongside in a lighter, and is taken in with all despatch, after which the *Nancy Bannana* sails on her return voyage to the north, which we once more reach after a favourable passage of four days."

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8 feb. 1788
A. SANDWICH.
Pub. Feby 8. 1788. by S W Fores Satirist No 3 Piccadilly.

James Hackman, Murderer, Rector of Wiveton

William Savage

The evening of 7th April 1779 seemed much like any other to the crowds around the Covent Garden Theatre in London. That evening's performance had been a popular comic opera of the time, called *Love in a Village*. The night was warm for the time of year, and a good many people were about, even at 11.15pm, making it difficult for 'the quality' to reach the carriages waiting for them. We can take up the story in the words of Mary Anderson, a fruit seller whose pitch was close by[1]:

"Just as the play broke up I saw two ladies and a gentleman coming out of the playhouse; a gentleman in black followed them … When the carriage came up, the gentleman handed the other lady into the carriage; the lady that was shot stood behind. Before the gentleman could come back to hand her into the carriage, the gentleman in black came up, laid hold of her by the gown, and pulled out of his pocket two pistols; he shot the right-hand pistol at her, and the other at himself. She fell with her hand so [describing it as being on her forehead] and died before she could be got to the first lamp; I believe she died immediately for her head hung directly. At first I was frightened at the report of the pistol and ran away. He fired another pistol and dropped immediately. They fell feet to feet. He beat himself violently over the head with his pistols, and desired somebody would kill him."

The two women described were Martha Ray or Reay, aged 35, the mistress of the fourth Earl of Sandwich and mother of nine children by him, and her friend, a singer called Caterina Galli. The Earl was in his early sixties, a government minister somewhat addicted to work[2] and heavily involved right then in dealing with the aftermath of the American Revolution.

What would have been a shocking event, even for London, was made a media sensation when it was discovered that the man who killed Martha was The Rev. James Hackman, nine years her junior and the newly-appointed rector[3] of Wiveton in North Norfolk.

The Immediate Aftermath of the Murder

According to one report, Hackman was calm and rational when told the news that Martha was dead:

"When he had so far recovered his faculties as to be capable of speech, he very calmly begged no questions might be asked of him; and then enquired with great anxiety concerning Miss Ray: on being told she was dead, he desired her poor remains might not be exposed to the curious multitude: adding, he had only to curse the pistol, or his hand, that prevented the same fate he designed for himself."[4]

At around 3.00 am, the magistrate, Sir John Fielding [5], arrived. He ordered Hackman taken to

Opposite. Later cartoon of the Fourth Earl of Sandwich. This is another kind of sandwich much to his taste! Satirical print published by S W Fores, 1788 *© The Trustees of The British Museum. Used by permission.*

This page. Death of Martha Ray from contemporary broadsheet

Tothill Fields Bridewell and put under suicide watch. Sir John examined James Hackman in his private rooms, but Hackman was so often *"entirely discomposed, and externally convulsed"* with tears, it was hard to get much from him. He burst into uncontrollable sobs whenever Martha Ray's name was mentioned, and *"eagerly wished to die."* Justice moved swiftly in those days, and Hackman was at once sent to Newgate prison to await trial.

Hackman's Trial and Execution

James Hackman's trial opened at the Old Bailey at 9.30am on 18th April 1779. He pleaded not guilty. Since there was no doubt he had fired the shot that killed Martha Ray, the trial centred around whether he had done it while of sound mind and responsible for his actions.

When Mr. Justice Blackstone called on Hackman to make his defence, he began by explaining he did not deny what he had done, but had pleaded 'not guilty' to show he did not wish to cause his own death – an odd statement[6] in view of his loud requests at the time for someone to kill him – and to ensure he had a chance to plead his case. He then continued:

"I stand here this day the most wretched of human beings, and confess myself criminal to a high degree; yet while I acknowledge with shame and repentance, that my determination against my own life was formal and complete, I protest with that regard to truth that becomes my situation, that the will to destroy her who was ever dearer to me than life, was never mine till a momentary phrenzy [sic] overpowered me, and induced me to commit the deed I deplore.—The letter which I meant for my brother-in-law after my decease, will have its due weight as to this point, with good men." [7]

Mr. Davenport, the defence counsel, stated Hackman's defence was based on a claim of temporary insanity and produced the letter to be read out in court. While repeating Hackman's misery and intention of suicide, however, it threw little light on whether or not he had planned the murder in advance

The judge then lectured the jury as follows: *"He was sorry to say, that the prisoner's case bore much stronger against him. He had two pistols about him, which had the appearance of a double design. As to the plea of insanity, or phrenzy of the moment as the prisoner called it, it was not every start of passion, every tumultuous heat of the brain, which could be allowed as an excuse for the crime of murder. There must be a total deprivation of the senses, so that in no action of life he was capable of conducting himself."* [8]

The jury consulted *"for a few minutes"* and brought in a guilty verdict. James Hackman was sentenced to be hanged at Tyburn the next Monday and his body given to the surgeons *"to be anatomized"*. Hackman remained composed, bowing to the court and the jury as he was taken away. [9]

This report in the Norfolk Chronicle[10] perhaps best captures the atmosphere surrounding Hackman's execution:

"After having spent the preceding evening with the Rev. Mr. Porter, of Clapham, an intimate and valuable friend, till eight o'clock, in fervent prayer and solemn declarations concerning the fact; at eleven o'clock he [Hackman] went to bed: at one he fell asleep and slumbered till near three: at five he arose, dressed himself, and employed himself in prayer and meditation till a quarter past seven, when he drank a bason [sic] of tea. Mr. Porter, at Mr. Hackman's request, came to him at half-past seven, and Mr. Villette, the ordinary, being ready they all retired to chapel, where prayers were read, and Mr. Hackman received the Sacrament. Prayers were again resumed, and at nine o'clock they left the chapel … Mr. Hackman was led into the prest-yard, where the rope was fastened round his shoulders, and under his arms, with a small cord to bind them to his body, but the rope was not put round his neck, nor were his hands tied at the wrists. Every solemn preparation of this nature Mr. Hackman bore with the fortitude of a christian and a man. At ten minutes past nine he was brought out of Newgate and put into a mourning coach … Owing to the thronging of the populace the coach did not arrive at Tyburn till ten minutes before eleven. When the coach came there Mr. Hackman stepped out of the coach and was led to the cart by Mr. Villette and Mr. Porter, each holding one of his hands. [There followed another ten minutes of prayer in the cart].

"When the executioner drew the rope from off his shoulders, Mr. Porter, with great tenderness and friendship, assisted in pulling off Mr. Hackman's neckcloath [sic], whilst the rope was putting [sic] around Mr. Hackman's neck. While the executioner, who to the surprise of everybody, behaved with great tenderness, was tying a small cord round the wrists, Mr. Hackman said, 'My friend don't be afraid of hurting me, do your duty' and supported himself with a most becoming fortitude, tempered with serenity, and the same at devotion. [Hackman asks for another period of prayer and private devotion, saying he will drop his handkerchief as a signal for the execution to take place. This period lasts another ten minutes.] … at which signal the cart was driven away from under him, and he launched into eternity, amidst the tears and prayers of an unusual number of spectators."

Sources, Media Frenzy and the Historian

The intense media interest was surprisingly favourable towards James Hackman; so favourable in some ways that the victim, poor Martha

Martha Ray *© The National Gallery, London Used by permission.*

Contemporary image of James Hackman

Ray, was quickly made culpable for her own death. Her murder took place just when Romanticism was starting to become prevalent; the time of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey. To kill for love, if that was what Hackman did, was seen as more pitiable than evil.

Besides, the notion of a clergyman killing someone seemed to call for an explanation beyond the ordinary. To be a priest in charge of a parish of the Anglican Church was to be part of the establishment—a gentleman in standing, if not always in terms of income. The reports of the time show that Hackman was treated with considerable kindness and courtesy, as befitted someone of his station in life; even though, in reality, his background, as we shall see, was more humble.

For all these reasons, as well as the obvious benefit of increased sales, newspapers, broadsheets and pamphlets abounded with explanation, speculation and unattributed background. Much was fantasy and imagination.[11] It was presumed Martha had led Hackman on, then rejected him. Forged letters between them were published to prove they had been secret lovers.
How did an obscure cleric and the mistress of a prominent nobleman come to be involved? What had she done to cause him to want to kill her? The newspapers of the day busied themselves with precisely these questions. For the historian, looking at the event nearly 240 years later, the chance of providing a definitive answer to any of them is remote.

We have few undeniably genuine facts. Hackman never explained his action publicly, beyond this enigmatic statement: *"What a change has a few hours made in me – had her friends done as I wished them to do, this would never have happened."* [12]

Knowing nothing of the phenomenon of 'stalking' and fantasies in the mind of the stalker to justify his obsession, people sought for more prosaic explanations as to why a young man, and a clergyman as well, should murder the person he claimed to have loved. With modern psychiatric knowledge, his actions prior to the murder—sending her unwanted love letters, obsessively proposing marriage, following her around London that day, and finally turning to violence against her—seem typical of an obsessive, unbalanced stalker; the people of 1779 took them at face value and looked in the past of the principal characters for an explanation.

Wiveton is not on the road to Tyburn!

What sort of a priest was the young James Hackman, how did he come to be appointed Rector of Wiveton and was there any connection

between his parish and his deed? In all the attempts up to the present time[13] to work out why Martha Ray met her death, one thing is clear: none of it had any direct connection with Wiveton. It is even uncertain whether Hackman had ever visited the place. How did he come to be its rector? The answer reveals the customs and expectations of the time and the parlous state into which the Anglican Church had fallen. The appointment of a young man like James Hackman to a vacant living like Wiveton was far from unusual in the eighteenth century, though it was an egregious case of nepotism, official disinterest, and religious laxity.

James Hackman's Course to the Priesthood

"Mr James Hackman was born at Gosport, in Hampshire, and originally designed for trade; but he was too volatile in disposition to submit to the drudgery of the shop or counting-house. His parents, willing to promote his interest as far as lay in their power, purchased him an ensign's commission in the 68th Regiment of Foot. He had not been long in the army when he was sent to command a recruiting party, and being at Huntingdon he was frequently invited to dine with Lord Sandwich, who had a seat in that neighbourhood. There it was that he first became acquainted with Miss Reay, who lived under the protection of that nobleman."

Thus the Newgate Calendar of 1779. Hackman was born in 1752. His grandfather, another James, was a ship's carpenter. His father, William Hackman, was a lieutenant in the navy who never rose above that rank during his naval service. His mother was a local girl called Mary Mathis. Only an uncle, Hyde Mathis, achieved even a modest gentlemanly status, owning land around Gosport and Southampton, as is shown by an Act of Parliament later in the reign of George III[14]. Maybe Mathis provided the money to buy James a commission, when the career his father had found for him as an apprentice mercer proved unsatisfactory. Even in an unfashionable foot regiment, it must have been expensive. Young James would also have been expected to buy his uniform and sword and meet the costs associated with being an officer, including mess bills and, most especially, gambling debts.

So far as we know, he never saw any fighting. When he joined the regiment, the bulk of it was away in the West Indies, leaving behind only small groups to carry out recruiting necessary to offset losses. It was such a recruiting party that may have taken Ensign James Hackman to Hinchingbroke House, the home of the Fourth Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty. Once there, he would have met the Earl's long-term mistress, Martha Ray. Exactly what passed between them beyond conventional politeness, if anything, we do not know.

Hackman's military career was brief. He obtained his commission in 1772, aged 19, and resigned it in 1776, when the regiment was posted to Ireland. By 1778, he was seeking ordination in the Church of England [15].

As noted earlier, James Hackman was ordained deacon on 24th February 1779, priest four days later, and appointed to the living of Wiveton in Norfolk on 1st March 1779. No period of training and experience under the guidance of an experienced priest. No university training in theology or anything else, so far as we can tell. We have no evidence he had any theological training at all. He was simply ordained by the Bishop of Norwich and presented to the parish through the patronage[16] of his uncle, Hyde Mathis, who held the advowson of the living. Did Hackman think that the respectable life and regular income of a clergyman would be attractive to Martha Ray? Did he resign his commission because he disliked the military life; or to avoid being posted away from England and Martha? Was he truly 'called to the priesthood'? If he felt any religious demands followed his ordination, they were not apparent. He left at once for London in pursuit of Martha.

Plenty of men followed careers in the eighteenth-century Anglican Church with little interest in religion or priestly duties. Jane Austen makes Mr. Bennett in *Pride and Prejudice* a rector, though we never see him involved in any religious activities. Her comic character Mr Collins in the same book is a clergyman, with his oily, grovelling attention firmly directed towards pleasing his patroness, Lady Catherine de Burgh. Many clergy had prime interests well away from church matters, such as Gilbert White, studying the natural history of Selborne or Parson Woodforde, in Weston Longeville, socialising amongst the local gentry, eating and drinking prodigiously and undertaking only sporadic priestly duties, usually where the rich or influential were involved. Most employed poorly-paid curates to take the bulk of the services and attend to the needs of poor parishioners. They were not bad men. It was how things were done at the time.

Would this have been the life awaiting James Hackman? Would he have been able to afford to employ a succession of lowly curates? Martin Levy[17], writing of "This remote and windy parish near the East Anglian coast" claims the income for the rector of Wiveton was under £50, citing the Norwich Benefice Lists. I find this hard to believe. If it had been true, Hackman must have been deluded to believe that marriage under such conditions would be attractive to the mistress of a peer of the realm. The generally accepted minimum income for a gentleman in the mid-eighteenth century was £300 per year. It

needed £20-25 a year (10s per week) to maintain a bare subsistence, though the rural poor often had to manage on less, plus the 'help' of the Overseers of the Poor. Wiveton may not have been a wealthy parish, but it ought to have been worth more than this in 1779. In 1836 [18], the income was £207 per year (four times the amount a skilled worker earned), while in 1845 White's *Directory* [19] states: "The glebe is about 30A. [acres], and the tithes have been commuted for £221 per ann." In 1865 [20], the rector's income was again listed as £207.

Most likely, the Wiveton rector's income in 1779 would have been around £200 per annum; not a fortune, but enough for a comfortable existence. The actual purchasing power would have been far higher, given the enormous differences between taxes, prices and costs in the eighteenth century and today. For example, when John Buxton built Shadwell Hall, a house fit for a gentleman, in 1729, the basic fabric cost him £500 to complete, with the total building and decorating costs, including all materials, fees and wages just reaching £1000.[21]

Even so, any but an obsessed and deluded suitor must have realised that his plea for marriage was doomed from the start.

Crime of Passion or Simple Obsession?

Nowadays, we are familiar with literature that mixes historical fact with the imagination of the author. Books like *Wolf Hall* by Hilary Mantel [22] make no secret of the fiction mixed in with the historically provable events. We also understand the media will repeat almost any rumours about a newsworthy event that might add to the drama, restrained only by legal threats.

The eighteenth century was different only in the lack of libel laws. There was even more brazen use of rumour and guesswork to 'spice up' a story. Herbert Croft's book, *Love and Madness*[23], so muddied the waters around the murder of Martha Ray that some of its fictional contents still appear in modern accounts [24].

At the start, all the prime characters were reported kindly: Hackman as a melancholic, sensitive young man driven insane by love, Martha Ray as the unwitting victim of her own attractiveness, and even Lord Sandwich, 'unmanned' at finding his lover snatched. Yet, soon after the trial and execution, the broadsheets were taking a different line. Hackman was still the maddened lover, but Martha was now a temptress who led him astray with false hopes. A London bookseller, G Kearsley, published an anonymous account [25] which claimed to explain the full history of the relations between Hackman and Ray in these terms, together with an explanation of why the judge in the trial, Sir William Blackstone, had been unable to accept Hackman's plea of insanity.

In 1780, Kearsley then disavowed his previous volume and published the account by Herbert Croft referred to above, including the text of a series of letters that he claimed passed between the doomed Miss Ray and her too-ardent admirer. Even at the time, these were widely assumed to be forgeries. Horace Walpole wrote to a friend:[26] "*… I rather imagine that the editor, whoever he is, composed the whole volume.*" The *Gentleman's Magazine*, reviewing Croft's 'revelations', stated bluntly:

"*… in this age of literary fraud we are not surprised that a tale so bloody should give rise to a suppositious correspondence. The parties, who are the late unhappy Mr Hackman and Miss Ray, it is needless to say, never penned a line of these sixty-five letters, except the fifty-seventh, which was printed in Sessions-Paper. Yet, granting the imposition, and considering only their contents, they have some intrinsic merit* "[27]

By 1895, Croft's inventions were republished by Gilbert Burgess, who tidied up the letters by removing anything smacking too obviously of forgery, and praised them as a *"human document"* with all the marks of *"a real living correspondence."* This time, E H Lewis of the University of Chicago, in Modern Language Notes [28], totally demolished Burgess's claims for Croft's authenticity. In summary, he wrote:

"The letters undoubtedly make a very pretty book to read, for they are quite as strange as any ordinary fiction, and they have literary quality; so Mr. Burgess is not to be blamed for wishing to make a readable and saleable volume, rather than a dissertation. But if the book is to be offered as a 'human document,' *the editor ought to show us some proof that they were actually written a century ago by two people who were lovers. Mr. Burgess tenders very few reasons for his belief."*

Summing Up

It is impossible after 240 years to assess the quality of anyone's vocation to the Anglican priesthood, but the plain facts of how James Hackman became a priest and Rector of Wiveton cast a poor light on the standards prevailing in the eighteenth-century Church of England. That his first appointment was to Wiveton seems to have been mostly chance (the previous rector had died and was buried on 22nd January 1779), plus the patronage of his uncle. That it took place in such a manner seems to have been typical of the time.

What we can say is that Hackman, after ordination, ignored his parish and continued his pursuit of Martha Ray. Once apprehended, Hackman played to perfection the part of the man driven to madness by love. Whether it was more than an act it is impossible to tell; nor whether his change of approach at his trial to claim *'temporary phrenzy'* was his own idea or

suggested to him. The newspapers reported the story in thrilling detail, inventing or assuming facts, much as the tabloids do today. In such circumstances, the simple truth never had a chance of emerging.

This was also the period of the birth of the sentimental novel, gently satirised by Jane Austen in Northanger Abbey. Stories of doomed love, such as Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) were fashionable amongst the elite. Indeed, several accounts of James Hackman and his deed referred to him as 'the English Werter'.[29] To match the emerging stereotype, it was essential to portray Hackman and Ray as doomed lovers. Many wanted to believe Martha Ray had encouraged Hackman or had an affair with him. As the much younger, attractive and good-natured mistress of an elderly rake, it was the proper thing, according to the mythology, to find true love in the arms of a handsome younger man; and Hackman appeared handsome, well-dressed and immensely plausible in his manner.

It did not help that the Fourth Earl of Sandwich, Martha's 'keeper', was widely criticised as First Lord of the Admiralty for the poor showing of the Royal Navy in the American War of Independence – whether through incompetence, sloth or corruption depended on the speaker. Nor were his earlier links with Sir Francis Dashwood, the Hell-Fire Club and the Monks of Medmenham forgotten.[30]

There is no actual evidence of any kind of 'relationship' between Ray and Hackman beyond good manners, kindness and perhaps the understandable pleasure shown by a woman at being admired and flattered by handsome young men. The Earl of Sandwich seems to have been genuinely fond of Martha, if his response on first hearing of her death can be trusted.[31] They had been together for seventeen years and she had born him nine children, five of whom were still living. His wife had been confined as 'insane' and does seem to have been genuinely mentally disturbed. Indeed he treated Martha pretty much as his wife, even betraying her with a number of other women, as was the custom of rich men of the time.

We know that Martha had been trying desperately to shake Hackman off from following her and pestering her with letters and proposals. We also know she was devoted to her children and concerned from their births to ensure their futures; something which Hackman would have been unable to provide for, even if he had wanted to. Would she have put all this at risk for love? It seems very doubtful to me. Hackman may have been obsessed, but Martha Ray seems to have been clear-headed.

It is a sad reflection on the Georgians – and might well be little different today – that the media were quick to demonise Martha Ray in their pursuit of a 'human interest' story. Only one person sprang firmly to her defence: a lady who signed herself 'Sabrina' and wrote to the *Morning Chronicle* on 7th and 20th May, and again on 5th June 1779, in the latter case in response to a letter dated 24th May and signed by a man calling himself 'Cato'. [32]

In her first letter, 'Sabrina' made clear she never knew Martha Ray, but was writing to direct compassion where it truly belonged. *"As real compassion is my motive for taking up the pen, I may possibly claim some allowance for the novelty of my opinion. Novelty is the word I would make use of to distinguish the real dictates of the heart, in opposition to the almost universal and mistaken notion of compassion adopted in the recent instance of Mr. Hackman, while the innocent victim of his ungoverned passion lies unlamented and forgotten."*

Heartened by getting her letter printed, she warmed to her self-appointed task in the next one. Her language grew more impassioned: *"It surely must be allowed, that however faulty Miss Reay is supposed to have been, she is virtuous in comparison with a murderer, therefore entitled to ALL the pity the shocking transaction could inspire. … Oh, dry your tears for merciless MAN! and rather weep those errors his passions lead you into; which, if not punished by him (the author of your ruin) will for ever banish you from the sweet society of virtue and honour: Then can a woman abandon a woman's cause?—blush! blush! turn your eyes inward—the man whom you now encourage to catch your smile of approbation, should any future prudent recollection dictate to your better judgement a change, do you not now, by your ill-placed pity, confess that you think him pardonable for 'a phrenzy of the moment'…?"*

Now 'Cato' strode forth to belittle 'Sabrina' in a masterful display of male arrogance. If you wish to discredit the opinion of a woman, simply assert she must be a frustrated spinster! [33] *"… Indeed, I cannot but imagine Sabrina totally unqualified either to write or decide upon the late unfortunate affair, as I am convinced she has never yet sacrificed at the shrine of the gentle deity, otherwise she would never so positively have asserted that Mr. Hackman did not love Miss Ray, merely because he wished to take her from affluence and infamy to a state of independency and credit."*

Perhaps we should leave the final words to Sabrina, who wrote a final letter in her own defence. *"…But with all submission to Cato's profound judgement, why should not Sabrina write, or decide on the late unfortunate affair, as well as he? Has she not a right to her opinion as well as he? And also a right to give it? Or shall we go into the old thread-bare scheme of 'women should not*

meddle with such matters, they should mind their spinning, &c. &c. &c.' … His hints, by which he wishes to rectify my sentiments, have not the desired effect; the singularity of his sentiments is not expressed in such language as in the least to affect me, for till MEN shew us they prefer a state of poverty and virtue to a state of affluence and infamy, few WOMEN, I am afraid, will lead the way."

References

1 Old Bailey Proceedings Online: Trial of JAMES HACKMAN, April 1779 (www.oldbaileyonline.org).

2 He was the person who invented the sandwich, usually said to be occasioned by wanting to stay longer at the gambling table. In fact, it seems more likely that he wanted to stay longer at his desk in The Admiralty.

3 Hackman had been ordained deacon on 24 February 1779, priest four days later, and presented to the living of Wiveton on 1st March.

4 *Ipswich Journal*, 17 April 1779.

5 The famous "Blind Beak" of Bow Street Magistrates' court, half-brother of Henry Fielding. Sir John and his half-brother were responsible for establishing the first systematic system of criminal enquiry in London, the Bow Street Runners.

6 Modern writers have made the plausible suggestion that he had been coached in the line to take, quite possibly by James Boswell, Dr Johnson's biographer, who was then a struggling hack journalist. Boswell visited Hackman several times in prison and may even have travelled to Tyburn in the coach with the prisoner.

7 *Hampshire Chronicle*, 19 April 1779.

8 *Newcastle Courant*, 24 April 1779.

9 *Northampton Mercury*, 19 April 1779.

10 *Norfolk Chronicle*, 24 April 1779.

11 For example, the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette,* 22 April 1779 explained that Martha Ray was mostly interested in providing for her children by the Earl of Sandwich, and claimed to know that Hackman's "*… pretensions to Miss Ray were strictly honourable.*" The *Reading Mercury* of 26th April went still further, stating boldly: "*Certain it is that Miss Ray gave Mr. Hackman encouragement to expect that she would yield to his addresses and become his wife; for in a letter from Mr. Hackman to Miss Ray there is the following passage:* 'According to your own dear expression, Let us be one.' *This quotation proves that the unfor tunate lady had herself consented to the union.*" How they had come by this letter and proven its authenticity is not explained. See also *Ipswich Journal*, 17 April and 1 May 1779, where 'Signora Gallini' is stated to have been their go-between.

12 *Norfolk Chronicle,* 24 April 1779.

13 One of the most recent being a detailed examination of the event by Martin Levy (*Love & Madness*: The Murder of Martha Ray, Mistress of the Fourth Earl of Sandwich, HarperCollins, New York, 2004). While the book helpfully reprints many of the pamphlets, poems and articles published at the time, Mr Levy veers constantly between seeming to believe what they contain and roundly con demning them for being fantasy. In the end, he reaches no conclusion that could be defended with any confidence from the evidence he provides.

14 *The Statutes at large of England and of Great Britain*: Volume15, Anno 24, George III, 1784. Hyde Mathis' will of 28 August 1797, held in the National Archives, describes him as "Gentleman of Arundell, Sussex." The name Hyde seems to come from his grandfather, William Mathis, who married Ann Hyde, from a branch of the family that produced Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

15 His ordination papers were witnessed by a chaplain in Whitehall, a vicar and usher at Westminster School and the Rector of Buckland, near Dorking, Surrey. No links to Norfolk or Wiveton there either. (Levy, *op.cit.* page 208, quoting Norwich Diocesan Archives.)

16 His uncle, Hyde Mathis, held the advowson at the time: the right in English law to appoint a clergy man to a specific benefice in the Church of England. We simply do not know how he came by it, since he had no links with Wiveton or Norfolk. Perhaps he purchased it (they were bought and sold like any other asset) purely to be able to establish his nephew there. Previous holders of the advowson of Wiveton were people with local gentry names, such as Brigg and Jermy, though Mathis' immediate predecessor was someone called Richard Ellis. Anyway, Mathis' ownership of the right ended abruptly with his nephew's execution. There would clearly have been nothing to be gained by any further links to the parish and the advowson was a saleable asset. The following names reverted to the pattern of local gentry, such as Wyndham, The Countess of Listowel and the Cabbells.

17 Levy, *op. cit.* Page 62

18 *Clerical Guide and Ecclesiastical Directory*, J G & F Rivington, London, 1836

19 *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk*, William White, 1845.

20 *The Post Office Directory of Norfolk & Suffolk*, E R Kelly, 1865.

21 John Buxton, Norfolk Gentleman and Architect: *Letters to his Son*, ed. Alan Mackley, Norfolk Record Society, Volume LXIX, 2005, p 27.

22 Fourth Estate, 2009.

23 *Love and Madness:* A Story Too True (In a Series of Letters between Parties, whose Names would perhaps be mentioned, were they less known, or less lamented), London: G Kearsley, 1780.

24 For example, the account to be found online at http://norfolkcoast.co.uk/pasttimes/pt_rectorofwiveton.htm.

25 *The Case and Memoirs of the Late Rev Mr James Hackman, and of his Acquaintance with the Late*

Miss Martha Reay, London: G Kearsley, 1779.

26 Horace Walpole in a letter to the Reverend William Cole, 13 March 1780 in *Correspondence*, ed. W S Lewis, vol 2, London: Oxford University Press, 1937, 155-156.

27 *Gentleman's Magazine* (June 1780), 287-288. Letter LVII was Hackman's suicide note to his brother-in-law Charles Booth.

28 *Modern Language Notes*. Vol x No 8 pp 227-232. December, 1895.

29 Examples include: 6 October 1788, Capel Court Debates: "'Whether a Lady, entertaining no tender Affection for a Lover (who attempted an Act of Suicide on her Refusal) would be justifiable in marrying him? To make the Woes of others our own is the Duty of every intelligent Being. To determine the Line of Conduct to be pursued in such a critical Situation is an Employment worthy the Man of Sense and the Female of Susceptibility. As the Fair Sex are undoubtedly the most competent to investigate a Subject of this Nature, the Managers have prevailed with the Lady, to whose Exertions this Institution owes much of its Popularity to begin and conclude the Debate, a Debate which must interest every sympathetic feeling to bestow a Sigh on the Fate of an Hackman, a Werter, or an Elliott." Cited in '*London debates: 1788*', London debating societies 1776-1799, compiled and introduced by Donna T. Andrew, 1994 (URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=38852). Also The Family Topographer: *The Norfolk circuit: Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk*, Samuel Tymms, J.B. Nichols and Son, 1833, entry for Wiveton.

30 *The Hell-Fire Clubs: Sex, Satanism and Secret Societies*, Evelyn Lord, Yale University Press, 2008, passim.

31 "When informed that she [Ray] was really dead, and had died in the manner above described, he [Sandwich] wrung his hands and cried, exclaiming: 'I could have borne any thing but this; but this unmans me'." *Norfolk Chronicle*, 17 April 1779.

32 Reproduced in full in Levy, *op cit* pp161-168.

33 There is a delightful irony in the story recounted by the poet Horace concerning Cato the Elder (234 -149 BCE), a Roman senator proverbial for his severe and rigid morality. Meeting a notorious young rake leaving a brothel, Cato congratulated the young man on using the commercial facilities available, instead of seeking to corrupt other men's womenfolk (Horace, *Satires*, 1.2). Cato was also reported to have denounced any violence towards women, even slave women; in fact, any violence used on creatures less powerful than yourself, including animals (Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Elder*). If 'Cato' had been a better scholar of the classics, he might have recalled this before choosing the name for himself.

History of The Cley Hall Estate, part 2

John Ebdon

Synopsis: The continuation of this history of the Cley Hall Estate will deal with William Hardy Cozens-Hardy's continued development and expansion of the combined Letheringsett and Cley Estates from when he inherited in 1842 until his death in 1895, his numerous children coupled with the growing influence they had in the local area, through Norfolk, to London and national politics.

However, the next 50 years to 1945 were to prove far more tumultuous for the estates, as like many other country estates, this prosperity did not continue through the twentieth century with the death of the heir Raven in 1917 fighting in the First World War and the gradual break up and dispersal of almost all of the property by the end of the twentieth century.

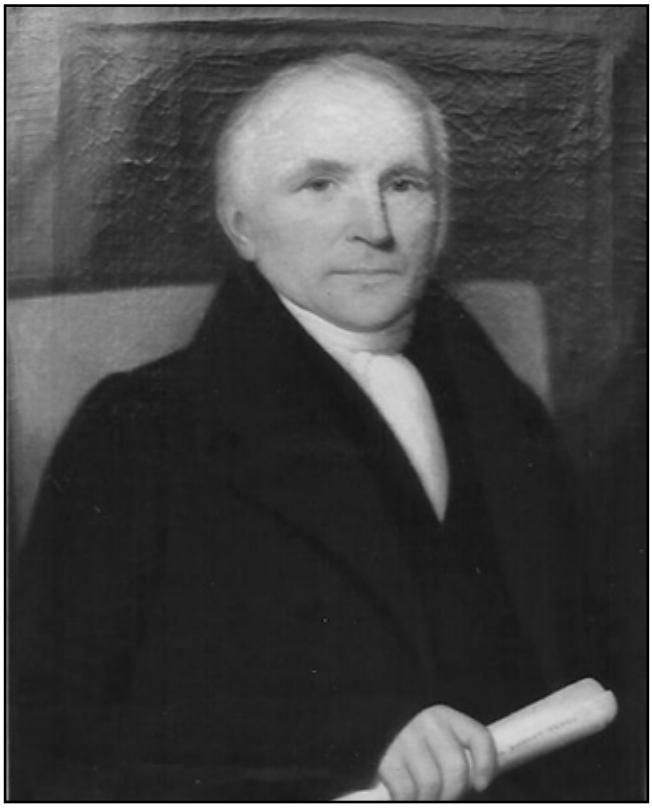


Figure 1. Portrait of William Hardy the younger (1770-1842) who left his brewery businesses together with the combined Letheringsett and Cley Hall Estates to his nephew William Hardy Cozens (1806-1895)

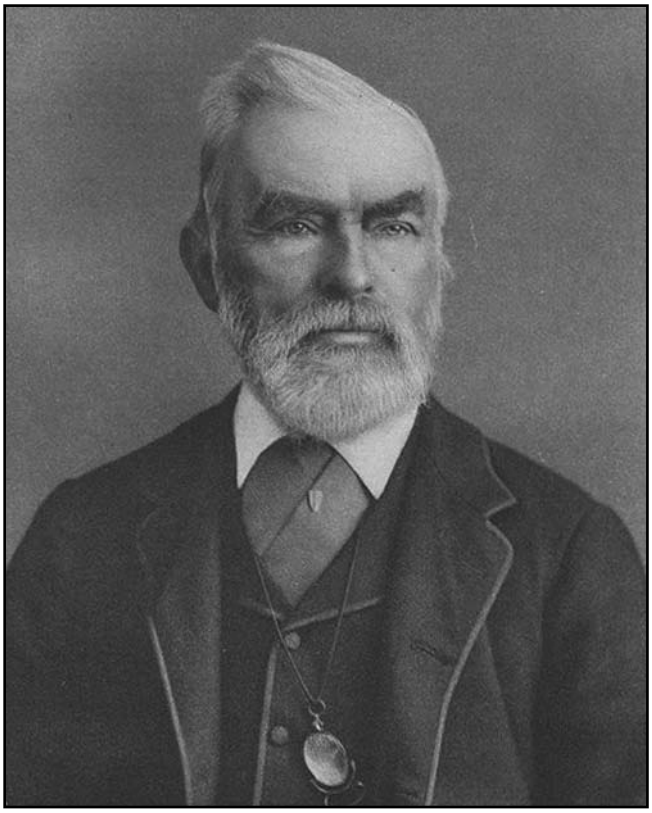


Figure 2. William Hardy Cozens-Hardy (1806-1895) who inherited the property of his Uncle William Hardy the younger in 1842 and changed the family name to Cozens-Hardy

Introduction

These pages should be read in conjunction with the first article, published in the Glaven Historian 12 in 2010, which dealt with the rise of the Hardy family whose successful brewery and business activities enabled William Hardy the younger **(Figure 1**) to purchase the Cley Hall Estate in 1839 at a cost of £32,000 greatly increasing his wealth and status, when added to his existing estate and business at Letheringsett. He owned the combined estate for only three years before his death in 1842, leaving a widow Mary who died in 1846 but no children.

The estates passed to his nephew William Hardy Cozens who inherited the combined Cley Hall and Letheringsett Hall Estate from his mother's brother in 1842 on condition that he added Hardy to his surname. He had been born on the 1st December 1806 and christened with Hardy as his middle name so became known as William Hardy Cozens-Hardy **(Figure 2)** after the granting of a Royal licence in 1842. Shortly before his death in 1895 he wrote some *'Reminiscences'* which he never completed, or revised.[1]

He qualified as a solicitor in 1829 and had married Sarah Theobald, from Norwich, on 21 July 1830 at St Saviour's Church and soon after their wedding took up residence at Letheringsett in a house, The Lodge, that William Hardy the younger had recently purchased and fitted up for them. They resided there for 12 years whilst William Hardy Cozens practised as a solicitor in the village, primarily working on conveyancing and was a JP on the Holt bench. He was actively involved with the Wesleyan reform movement, culminating in a law suit against him by the Wesleyan Conference[2] which he won, and led to him building the Victorian Church on Obelisk Plain in Holt.

William Hardy and Sarah Cozens-Hardy with their four children, the two eldest boys – Clement William and Herbert – also had Hardy as middle names moved from The Lodge into Letheringsett Hall after the death of William Hardy the younger in 1842 and the widowed Mary Hardy moved into The Lodge where she resided until her death in 1846.

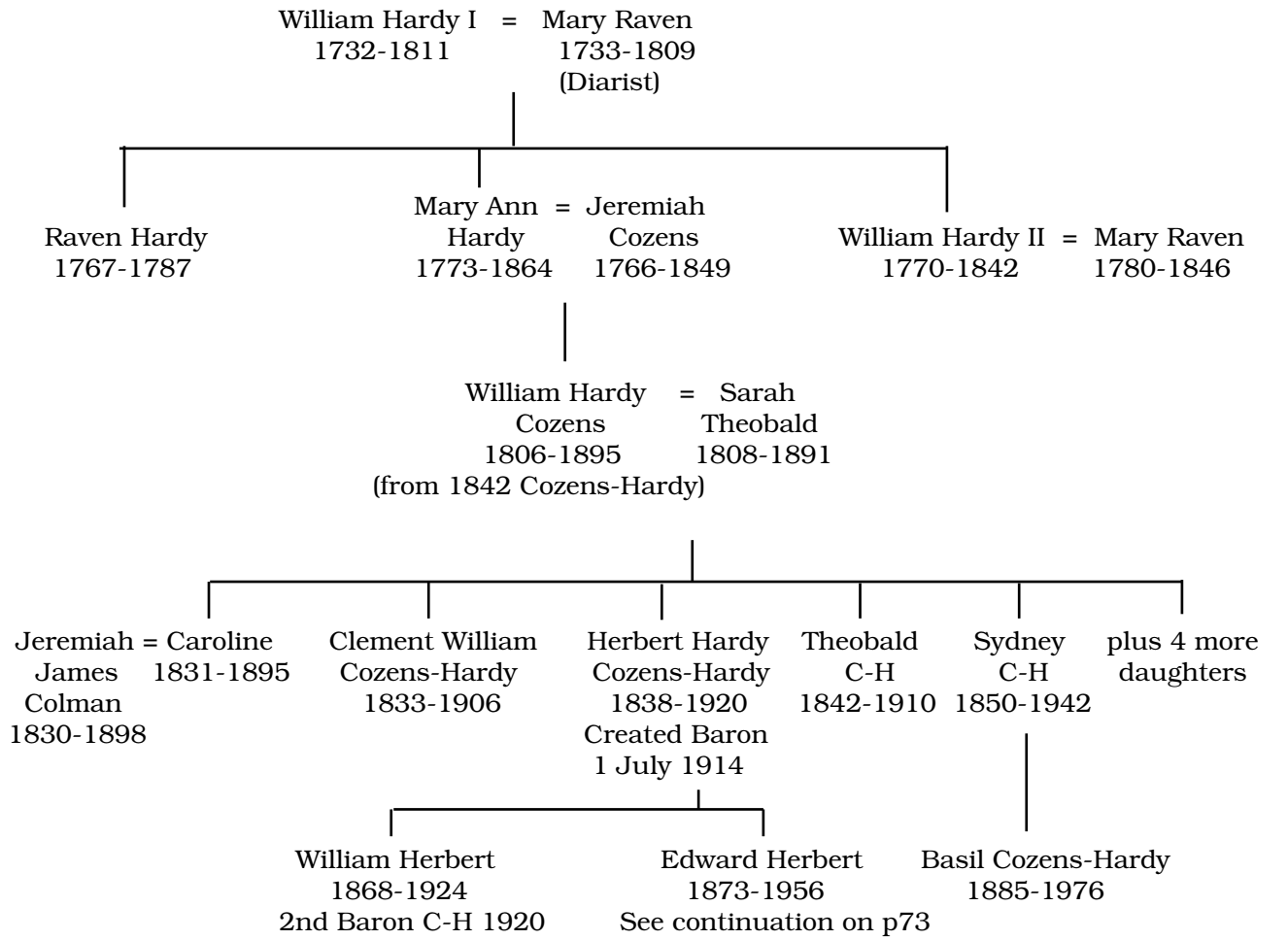
William Hardy Cozens-Hardy's father, Jeremiah Cozens died in his 83rd year on 29 January 1849, *'it is somewhat remarkable that his father and his first wife died on the same day (the 29 January 1805), the one in the morning and the other in the evening, and that he himself died on the same day of the month and week 44 years afterwards.'* [1]

On his father's death William Hardy Cozens-Hardy inherited 500 acres at Sprowston, near Norwich, which extended his landholdings and increased his income. He had a large family and a lot of outgoings but by the early 1880s the Cozens-Hardy estates in Norfolk, amounted to 2,929 acres, worth £3,764 per year.[3] Kelly's *Directory* of 1883 states that William Hardy Cozens-Hardy was still one of the chief landowners in Sprowston.

To try to appreciate the value of this income in current terms compared to average earnings the equivalent value in 2008 would have been £1,550,000[4] which presumably accounted for the standard of living enjoyed by the principal members of the family in Letheringsett, Cley and Sprowston. This wealth was probably was also enjoyed by some of the extended family enabling them to benefit from their privileged lifestyle as well as maintain and regularly make improvements to buildings, their estates and embark on various philanthropic building schemes.

Both Cley Hall and Letheringsett Hall were furnished in the manner expected for a country estate occupied by wealthy owners with mahogany and oak furniture and large amounts of solid silver including extensive quantities of crested cutlery. A silver *'William IV compressed squat teapot'* with armorial engraving was described as *'The arms are those of Hardy quartering Cozens impaling Theobald of Barking Hall, Co. Suffolk, for William Hardy Cozens-Hardy, of Letheringsett Hall, Co. Norfolk (b. 1806), and his wife Sarah, daughter of Thomas Theobald, whom he married on 21 July, 1830. She died in 1891'*.[5] It is likely that most of the contents were acquired during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but very few records, or photographs, appear to have survived from this period.

However, twentieth century records are available including for Cley Hall, Mary Cozens-Hardy's detailed and lengthy will dated 10 September 1936 which included descriptions of *'the oak cabinet in the drawing room with silk and embroidery as centre panel and the Chippendale Table, two large Chinese vases, The table glass with the Hardy crest and the old silver tray, the silver candelabra the four silver candlesticks, the silver sunflower teapot and hot water jug the pictures "Moonlight Sonata", "The Faggot Gatherers", "Windermere in Storm" by K M F Evershed, New College Oxford, Portrait of Mrs Malleson, "Lucern" and "Cley Church by Goodwin", pictures of Letheringsett and Cley as well as 'the family portraits in the Dining Room which came from Letheringsett Hall'* **(Figure 1)** '*the Oak Cabinets on wall in the Drawing Room the Blue China in the Drawing Room the Worcester tea service, the old Dinner Service'* and numerous *'Oak Chests', 'two Corner Cupboards and the tall carved cupboard in the Hall, two clocks, the large concave looking glass in the Drawing Room with portraits underneath, Oak Bureau in the Drawing Room and two old Brass Stands, the Corner chair in the Sitting Room'* which were bequeathed to specified beneficiaries



Abbreviated Family Tree no 1 for the Hardy and Cozens-Hardys showing the major figures

when she died in 1944. Many of these items were given to her daughter and son-in-law so that they could be returned to Letheringsett Hall. Some of the rooms at Letheringsett Hall, showing these in situ, were photographed in 1966 by Country Life for an article by the eminent architectural historian and expert on the Greek Revival David Watkin[6].

Also the very detailed 24 page '*Inventory of the Contents of Cley Hall*' compiled on 19 April 1960 by J R E Draper & Co. of Norwich[7] which comprised over three pages detailing silver items including *'George IV fiddle pattern table silver with Hardy crest'*, *'Victorian fiddle pattern table silver with Cozens-Hardy crest'* with 71 items, 34 table knives and amongst the *'Plated Articles Ninety-nine Old English pattern coffee spoons'*.

William and Sarah's eldest son Clement William Hardy Cozens-Hardy was born on 27 February 1833 and married Helen Ferneley on the 8 May 1856 and as heir he moved into Cley Hall after their marriage becoming the first members of the family to occupy Cley Hall whilst his parents continued to live at Letheringsett Hall. However he continued to practice as a solicitor and as his brother Herbert Hardy wrote in 1907 *'he was a man with a special taste for public business and was extremely useful as a guardian, a magistrate and a county alderman. He took an active part as a Liberal politician. ….He was a keen sportsman – not in the sense in which that word is sometimes used, but solely as a devotee of shooting.'* [8]. He became a Justice of the Peace sitting on the Holt Bench and was on the Board of Cley School amongst many similar activities.

Some of William and Sarah's four sons and five daughters married into prominent families and embarked on successful careers in Norfolk and further afield thus increasing the Cozens-Hardy's influence, status and family wealth which continued into the twentieth century. Much has been written elsewhere[3,9,10] about this, and subsequent, generations of the Cozens-Hardys and their descendants and only a brief summary of the extended family will be included here.

William and Sarah's first child, Caroline was born on 9 May 1831and on 25 September 1856 married Jeremiah James Colman at the British School Room in Holt. Caroline *'had hoped there would be "no unnecessary fuss,'' a thing quite foreign to her nature. There were about thirty in all at the wedding breakfast, many of whom subsequently drove down to Cley for lunch, meeting again at Letheringsett for supper when the health*

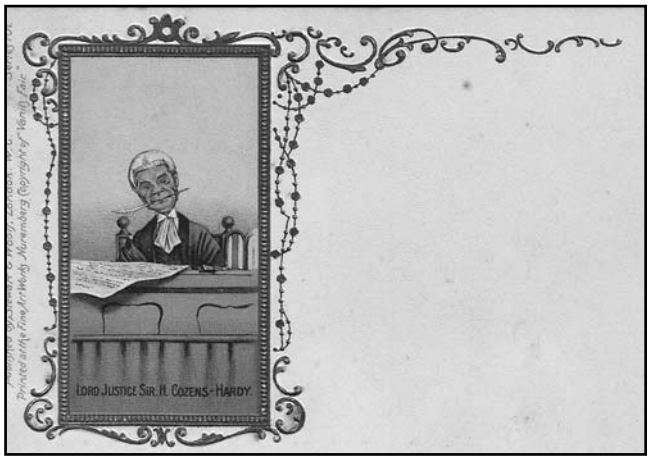


Figure 3 (above). Postcard using the 'Vanity Fair' print of Lord Justice Sir H. Cozens-Hardy (1838-1920) issued on January 24 1901and entitled "fair, if not beautiful"

Photograph 1 (top). William Hardy and Sarah Cozens-Hardy's Golden Wedding Party at Letheringsett Hall 21 July 1880. They are seated centre front row with their heir, Clement William standing 2nd figure from right and his brother Herbert Hardy standing on the left side.

of the bride and bridegroom was proposed. The festivities ended with fireworks for the villagers, and all seems to have passed off merrily enough, in spite of the fact that "the fireworks did not go off very well," and were probably "damp and very likely not managed quite properly"[11]. This must have been a significant day for Clement and Helen to entertain the wedding guests at Cley Hall within eighteen months of their own wedding and as Jeremiah was the heir to the Colman business in Norwich. The families knew each other previously with Jeremiah Colman recording in his pocket book on *'Aug. 6 First Visit to Letheringsett 1845. Cricket Match Colman XI vs Letheringsett XI'*[11] The Colman team consisted of the 15 year old Jeremiah's father and ten of his uncles whilst the Letheringsett team only managed Clement William and his father to represent the Cozens-Hardy family!

Clement William and Helen's eldest son Arthur Wrigley was born on 26 February 1857 at Cley and played cricket for Burton-on-Trent 1880 and Westmoreland 1887-1888 where he was working as a brewery manager and for some time he was captain of the Kendall CC and was described as *'a member of the well-known Norfolk cricketing family and a good batsman'*[12]. His brother Ferneley was born 16 August 1862 at

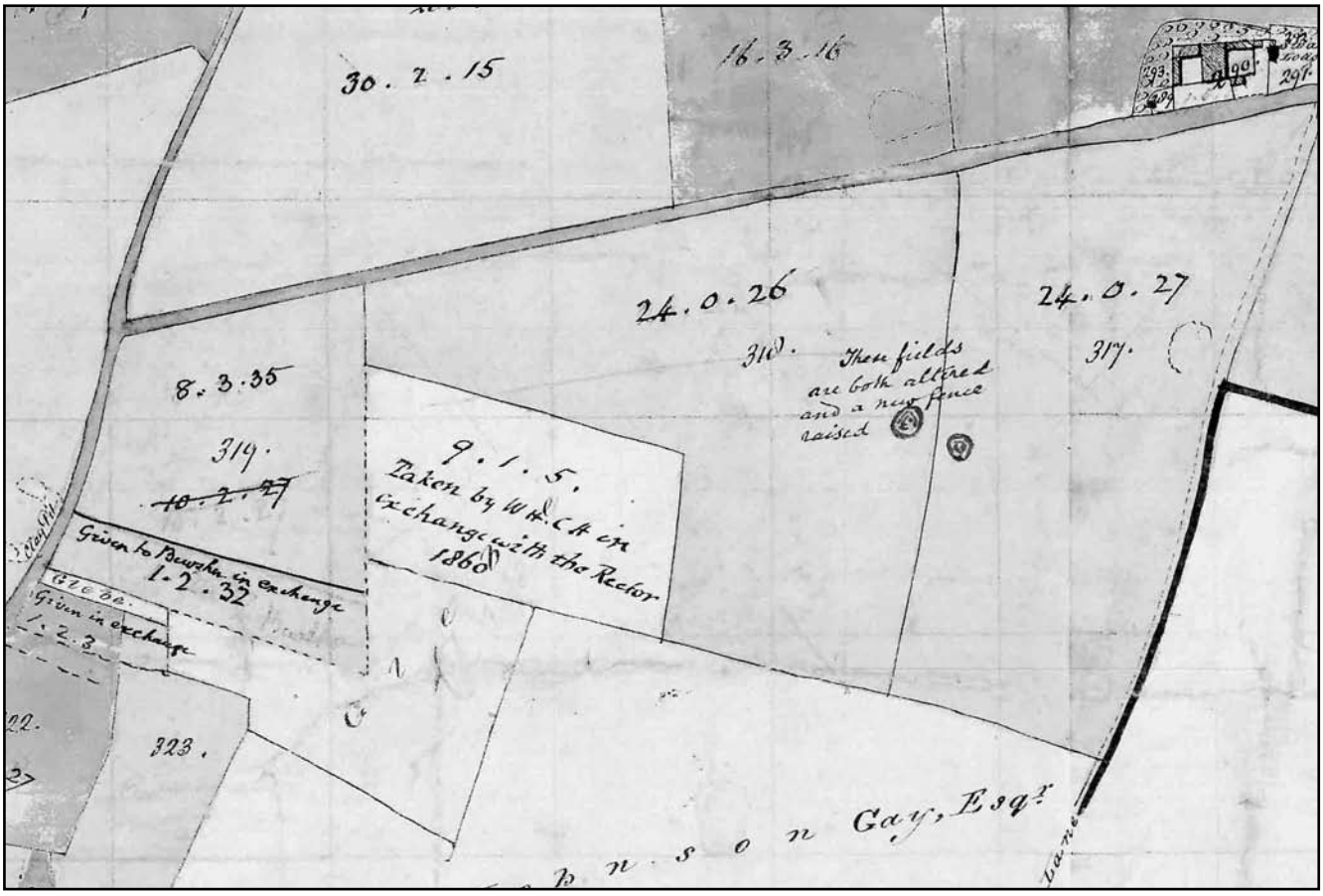


Figure 4. Part of the 1839 map of the Cley Hall Estate owned by the Late John Winn Thomlinson with handwritten alterations detailing the exchange of land with the Rector in 1860 to create the site for the new rectory. Note: individual items of the property and the fields are numbered, reference to these numbers can be found in brackets in the text.

Cley also played cricket, including for Norfolk 1885-7, and worked as a solicitor in Norwich but died on 8 June 1918.

William Hardy Cozens-Hardy's second son Herbert Hardy was born on 22 November 1838 and became a barrister. He was elected Member of Parliament for North Norfolk in 1885, representing the Liberals, but resigned in 1889 when he was appointed to the bench. He featured as a Spy cartoon in Vanity Fair on 13 April 1893 and again on 24 January 1901, and this image was also used on a postcard **(Figure 3)** and cigarette card. To have been featured twice in Vanity Fair initially as the MP for North Norfolk and then as a judge and for these images to be reproduced in other forms shows how much of an establishment' figure he had become and how well known he must have been in London and nationally. Herbert Hardy became a judge in 1889, and was knighted in the same year, becoming Master of the Rolls in 1907. He was elevated to the peerage as the first Baron Cozens-Hardy of Letheringsett on1 July 1914 and eventually retired, as Master of the Rolls in 1918, to Letheringsett Hall where he died in 1920. He was not interred in the family vault, instead buried in the fashionable Kensal Green Cemetery in London as he spent most of his time living at Ladbrook Grove. In his will he left £123,228 – a very significant sum in 1920.

His grand-daughter Beryl could recall that when her parents took her to visit him in 1917 at his London home as a five-year-old *'bored with the adults' talk. Raven was home on leave and took pity on her. Although it was raining he made some paper boats and took his little niece onto the wet pavement in front of the house to sail them in the puddles.'* [13]

William Hardy Cozens-Hardy's third son Theobald was born on 25 August 1842, became a JP and was living at Oak Lodge Sprowston in 1880[14]. His son Archibald (1869-1957) became editor of the Eastern Daily Press and held many public positions.[3]

The Fourth and youngest son Sydney was born on 9 May 1850, qualified as a solicitor and went into Practice in Norwich establishing Cozens-Hardy & Jewson, one of the leading firms in Norwich where his son Basil became senior partner – the firm is still flourishing in the twenty first century.

William Hardy and Sarah Cozens-Hardy celebrated their Golden wedding on 21 July 1880 with a family party at Letheringsett Hall. The photograph of the family group posing outside

the front entrance to Letheringsett Hall **(Photograph 1)** clearly shows a wealthy and successful family spanning three generations. *'The golden wedding stand'* was listed in Mary Cozens-Hardy's will dated 10 September 1936 and was presumably made of silver.

Sarah lived until 1891 so they were able to celebrate a diamond wedding anniversary in 1890 when they received a congratulatory telegram from Mr and Mrs William Gladstone, the former Liberal Prime Minister, and an illuminated address from their seven surviving children, twenty-six grandchildren and five great grandchildren.[3]

Sarah Cozens-Hardy died on 12 September 1891 leaving effects valued at £333 10s with her spinster daughter Agnes the sole executrix.

William Hardy Cozens-Hardy Esq of Letheringsett Hall, died on 29 April 1895 leaving effects valued at £20,163 17s 8d. His body was interred in the substantial family vault surrounded by iron railings bearing the crest in Letheringsett churchyard, situated beside the wall of the Hall. This vault was created by William Hardy the elder and first used in 1787 for his 19 year old son Raven Hardy and subsequently by six generations of the family in four centuries – most recently for the Hon Miss Beryl in 2011.

Continued development and expansion of the Cley Hall Estate

The hand drawn Plan produced by Isaac Lenny, surveyor of Norwich in 1839[15] appears to have been used as the Estate Map and several alterations are noted. The most interesting alteration made on the estate map, and the only one that can be dated, concerns land on Cley Hill numbered 319,322 & 323 adjoining Glebe land **(Figure 4**). The irregular shaped Glebe land had a narrow access strip to the road. Thomas Bewsher, the new Rector of Cley, on taking the living in 1859 presumably did not like the existing Rectory and wanted to create a more workable access and plot for the site of his new rectory and agreed a land swap with the owner of the land and Lord of the Manor. The Rector gained a significantly increased frontage to the road and a more rectangular shaped site, The plan states '*Taken by W.H.C.H in exchange with the Rector 1860*' and recorded in red ink '*Given to Bewsher in exchange'* whilst William Hardy Cozens-Hardy appears to have exchanged just over 2 acres for a rectangular area of over 9 acres in field 318 resulting in the note that '*These fields* (318 Twenty-three acres & 317 Thoroughfare Piece) *are both altered and a new fence raised*'. The Rector did indeed build a substantial new rectory on this site, well away from the village and his congregation, which was described in 1890 as *'a spacious Elizabethan residence, built in 1859 at a cost of £1,300.'*[16] He had a reputation of enjoying the country pursuits of hunting and shooting. The rectory was sold by the Church of England and has for many years been a private house.

Other alterations noted elsewhere on the Plan are fields First Lud's Close (316) and Second Lud's Close (315) on the Holt Road just beyond Swan Lodge are shown as '*now in one piece'* as well as the neighbouring fields Sixteen Acres (314) and Beech Close (312) which also states *'now in one piece*' over the original boundary line. Fields Six Acre Hill (298) and Twelve Acres (299) behind the wood (305) known as The Park with a game keepers cottage close to Cley Watering were also treated in the same way and fields The Hearn (270) and New Barn Close (274) beside the '*New Barn*' at Barn Drift were also combined. In 1839 and 1841 these pairs of fields were let to the same tenants and these amalgamations were presumably done to create larger and easier to cultivate fields.

'William Hardy Cozens-Hardy continued the tradition of Estate improvements and the judicious acquisition of land' at Cley and Letheringsett. '*One of his most notable achievements there was the creation of a lake east of the Hall by the utilisation of two small streams. This he saw as a source of water power to drive machinery at Hall Farm (chaff-cutting, root-cutting, wood sawing and the like)*'.[17]

The 1861 census for Cley Hall shows the 28 year old Clement W H C Hardy as Head of the household and his occupation as Farmer of 750 acres employing 29 men 10 boys and 4 girls. Together with his 29 year old wife Helen F C Hardy, 4 year old heir Arthur W C Hardy and 1 year old daughter Edith C Hardy. Both children were born at Cley. The household also had a cook Elizabeth Addison, a housemaid Martha Pratt, a nursemaid Martha Hudson born in Blakeney, a house servant Harriett Pells born in Cley and a groom William Chesney clearly demonstrating the status and wealth of this relatively young man and his family. A substantial amount of the land belonging to the estate in 1839 was still let to tenants.

Clement William was actively managing some of the Cley lands from Cley Hall, but it is likely that his father William Hardy Cozens-Hardy, residing in Letheringsett, who is always referred to as owner[15,18] took important decisions about the estate.

This can probably be seen from a notice[19] that appeared in The London Gazette in 1872 stating *'a Fair has been annually held on the last Friday and Saturday in July …and that it would be for the convenience and advantage of the public that the said Fair should be abolished.'* It goes on to state *'William Hardy Cozens-Hardy, Esq., Lord of the Manor of Cley-next-the-Sea, as lord or owner of said Fair, and the tolls thereof, has consented in writing that the said Fair should be abolished*'. It

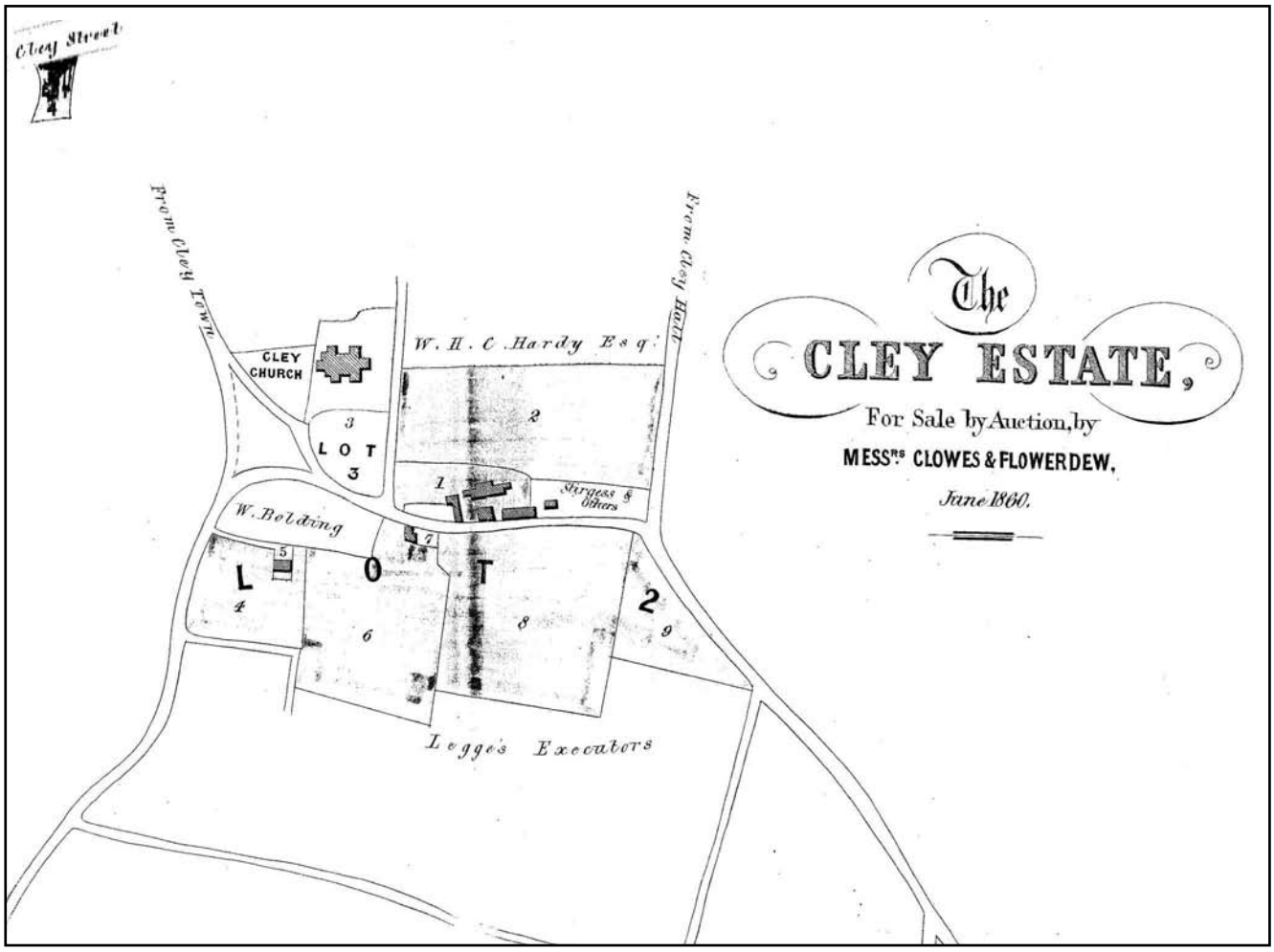


Figure 5. Part of the 1860 auction plan, with later hand colouring, showing some of the land purchased in lot 2 (Newgate Farm) adjoining William Hardy Cozens-Hardy's existing Cley property. Old Womans Lane is shown as 'From Cley Hall', suggesting that this was still the principal route to the Hall.

is likely that this Fair was held on the original Fairstead (210) by Newgate Green, that in 1839 was rented to Mr Guggle[20]. The Fairs Act, to abolish Fairs, was passed in 1871 so the application to abolish the long standing Cley Fair must have been made very promptly and confirms that William Hardy Cozens-Hardy was seen as the Lord of the Manor and must have been ensuring that Manorial Courts were regularly held.

1860 A major purchase

A catalogue[18] for the sale by auction of a *'Valuable Estate at Cley Next The Sea, Bayfield, and Glandford, a fine sporting district of Norfolk ….. comprising a Capital Farm-House, Cottage, Barns, and Agricultural Premise, and 200 acres of very fine Arable Land, (abutting on the Bayfield Lodge and Cley Hall Estates, and on Lands of Mr William Bolding) on Friday 15 of June 1860 at the Feathers Inn at Holt. The estate will be offered for sale in One Lot; and, if not disposed of, will then be put up in four lots'.* **(Figure 5)**

Lot 1 included *'Several Inclosures of Arable Land and a Piece of Furze Ground containing 103a 3r 33p'* – This is Lounds Farm.

Lot 2 included *'a substantially-built Farm House, situate near the Church at Cley, a double bayed Barn, Riding and Cart-horse Stables, Cow-house, Wagon Lodge, granary, Piggeries, and other Out-buildings; a Labourer's Cottage, Nine Inclosures of fine Arable Land, and a Meadow containing 94 a 1r 29p'* – This is Newgate Farm. Both of these Lots were acquired for the Cley Hall Estate, with virtually all of the land remaining a part of the Estate until 1945[21].

Lot 3 was *'An Inclosure of Superior Arable Land containing 1a 1r 1p .., bounded on the North by the Churchyard of Cley, …- it is admirably adapted for building upon.'*

Even in 1860 there was a possibility of development on this important site that could have destroyed the iconic view of St Margaret's Church. This land does not appear to have been purchased by, or subsequently, owned by the Cozens-Hardy family.

Lot 4 was *'A Piece of Garden Ground, containing 24 Perches,..(walled in), situate in Cley Street, and in the occupation of Edmund Spence.'*

Public & Philanthropic works

In Holt *'The Methodist Free Church, at the end of High Street, is an ornamental brick and flint building in the Early English style, erected in 1863, at a cost of £2,000, and comprises a nave with aisles and clerestory, and a bell turret at the north-west angle'*[14] . This was built by William Hardy Cozens-Hardy but many years earlier he noted in *'Memoranda'*[1] 11 October 1837 *'first stone of the earlier Wesleyan Chapel, Holt, laid this day by Mr Hardy'* who contributed much of the cost.

The British School, in Withers-street, is a neat flint building with red brick dressings, built by W H Cozens-Hardy Esq, JP, in1851 at a cost of £600. It was attended by about 200 children[14]. William Hardy Cozens-Hardy recorded on the 30 July 1851 *'The new British school rooms were opened this day by Mr Everett, when £15 9s. was collected'*[1]. The former School in New Street, which had been used as a garage for many years, was substantially altered in 2008 and converted into three dwellings with the external walls rendered, but the Cozens-Hardy crest is still visible.

The Cley Estate provided a site for the Cley School previously used for the Malt house (119) and malt house garden (120). The British School was built in 1860, in the Elizabethan style, at a cost of £600; there was an attendance of 140 children[14] A strip of land for the enlargement of playground at the school 87ft in length by 19ft 6in to the west of the existing building was conveyed to Norfolk County Council in 1905 by Clement William Cozens-Hardy[22]. **(Figure 6)** The conveyance was drawn up by his son Ferneley, a solicitor in Norwich. On 2 July 1930 a piece of land in Church Lane was passed to the Rector for the Cley Cemetery, taken from the allotment field rented by the Parish Council, with a pro rata reduction in the rent paid[22]. On 11 November 1936 1.5 acres adjoining Old Womans Lane were sold to Erpingham District Council as a site for the council houses[23].

In December 1959 Mrs Knott as 'Lady of the Manor' conveyed an area of land on Anterton Hill measuring a mere 8 feet by 6 feet to Erpingham District Council for the site of a compressor house. This conveyance perplexed Basil Cozens-Hardy in several letters[23] because he always argued that the lands forming part of *'the wastes of the manor'* and owned by the *'Lordship'* could not be enclosed, or sold, as they were intended for open space by the Enclosure Award and had always been used by the village children. He made an exception for the Council as the site was needed for a *'pumping station'*.

Mrs Knott agreed to provide the site for the Village Hall and in 1978 her daughter agreed to the transfer of additional land for the sports field and play space.

Commercial Sales

The first major sales occurred when the executors sold *'the Valuable Estate of the Late William Hardy Cozens-Hardy Situate at Sprowston....30th June 1896..in 79 lots'*[3]. Also the Breweries and Public Houses, except the Kings Head in Letheringsett, were sold to Morgans Brewery in 1896[24]. These sales substantially reduced the income and extent of the property Clement William inherited and concentrated the landholding on the Cley and Letheringsett estates.

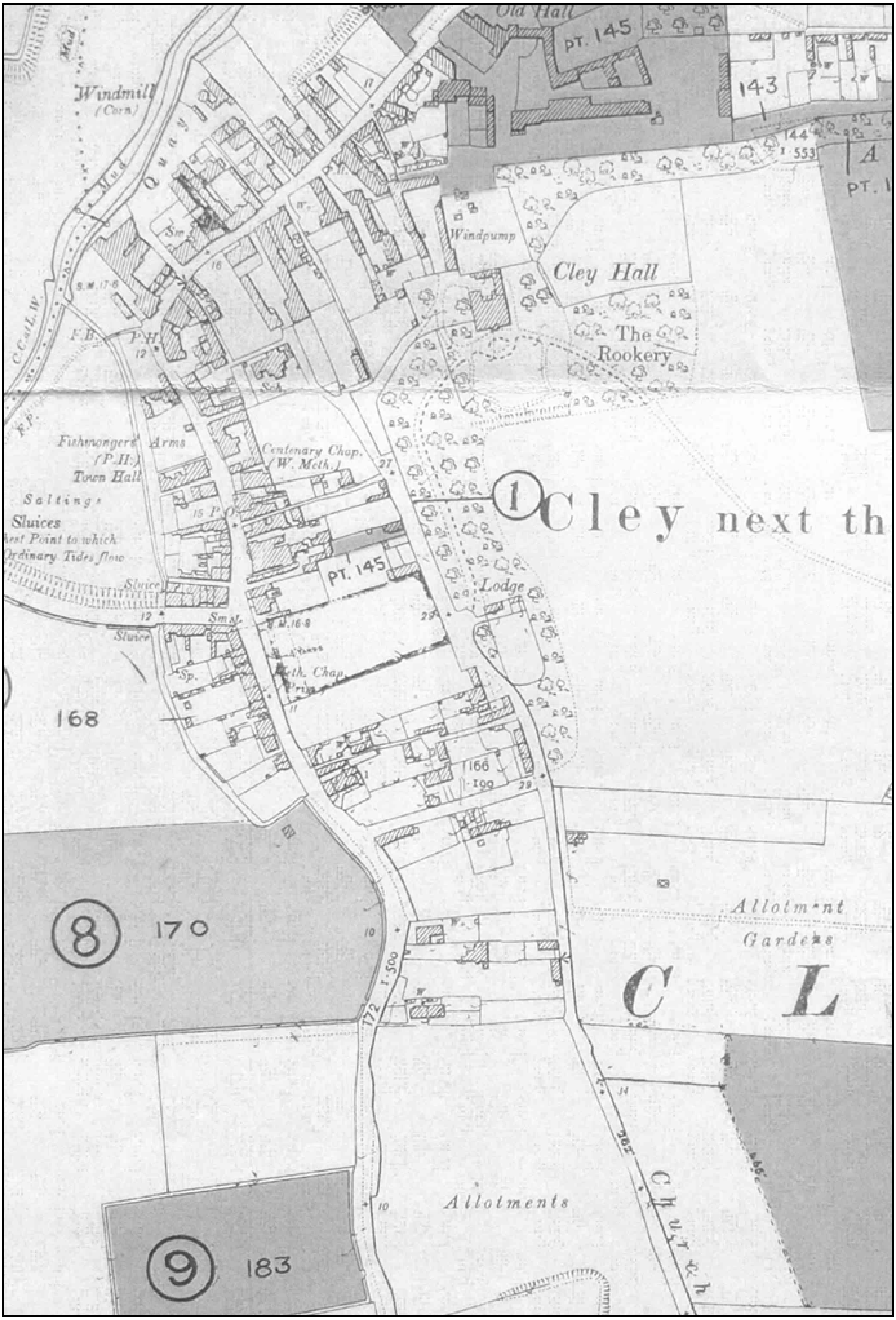
The next significant public sale was caused by Arthur Wrigley's death when *'the Unique Private Wildfowling Marshes and Building Sites'* were sold at auction in 1926 and the catalogue[25] stated *'The ground abounds with duck, snipe and many other species of wild fowl and marsh birds, and is well adapted for a wild fowl preserve, affording every opportunity for observation.'*
Lot 1 included 407.428 acres primarily let to J Everett with R High, E A Strangroom, Burroughs Bros, G Lee, C Duffield and Mrs High renting small areas. The catalogue notes that *'Beach'* is vacant and that *'There is no liability for the repair or maintenance of any Sea Wall or Bank'.*
Lot 2 Marsh of 27.050 acres
Lot 3 Freehold Building Site with frontage of 206 feet to the Salthouse Road
Lot 4 Freehold Building Site with frontage of 105 feet to the Salthouse Road
Lot 5 Freehold Building Site with frontage of 80 feet to the Salthouse Road

It states *'Lot 3,4 and 5 are included in a yearly agreement, dated 26th January, 1920, by which the Parish Council of Cley-next-the-Sea hire 31.436 acres at a yearly rental of £70 14s 6d, since reduced to 30.544 acres, at a rent of £61 9s 0d.'* **(Figure 7 on p 70)**

In 1939 the Parish Clerk wrote to the land agent[26] *'The large part of Church field is now let to one man who has not paid his rent as a result of the agricultural depression'* and requested a rent reduction. Mrs Cozens-Hardy wrote on March 17th to Mr Hornor *'I quite agree with you about the rent being reduced from £51 to £45 -. I feel quite glad to be able to do this. Forgive my writing as I am in bed with a cold!'* and these remaining allotments continued to be rented until the late 1990s.

It is well known that Lot 1 was purchased by Dr Sydney Long leading to the founding of the Norfolk Wildlife Trust (NWT) and the establishment of the Cley Reserve at a cost of £5,100 and Lot 3 was also purchased to build the Wardens House.

Figure 6 (right). Part of the 1945 auction sale plan. The strip of land conveyed in 1905 to NCC, to extend the playground, can be seen beside the School.


Old Hall
PT. 145
143
144
1.553
Windmill
(Corn)
Mud
Quay
Windpump
Cley Hall
The Rookery
F.B.
P.H.
Fishmongers' Arms
(P.H.)
Town Hall
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Allotments
Church

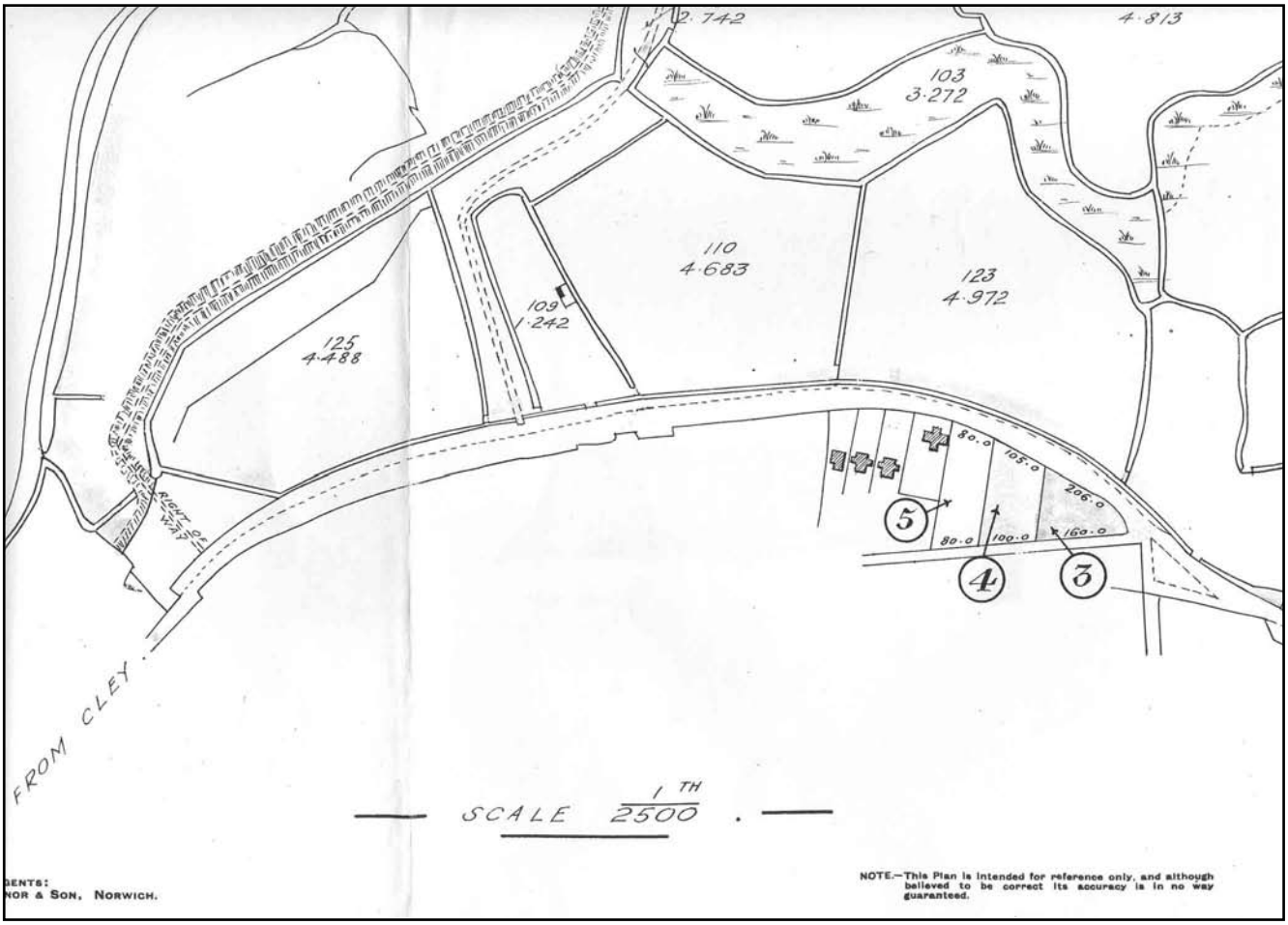


Figure 7. Part of the 1925 auction sale plan showing the three building plots on the land previously rented by Cley Parish Council for allotments.

Mrs Cozens-Hardy sold[23]:
3 March 1934 a piece of land in Church Lane to Harold Theodore Gladstone Beecher Caukwell
21 August 1936 a piece of land in Church Lane to Rosamond Liela Weston
5 August 1937 a piece of land to Kenneth Ernest Everett Newton
28 May 1938 a piece of land adjoining Kenneth Ernest Everett Newton's land to James Moffatt
17 November 1938 a piece of land in Bridgefoot Lane to Robert George Massingham
2 August 1939 certain strips of land containing 1.359 acres adjoining the road to Norfolk County Council for road improvements.
23 October 1941 a piece of land in Church Lane to Rosamond Liela Weston
21 July 1942 a strip of land with a frontage of 26 feet to Church Lane to Harold Theodore Gladstone Beecher Caukwell.
These regular sales must have helped to supplement her income and assisted some of the purchasers to build new houses in Cley.

Mrs Cozens-Hardy's executors sold:
18 July 1945 a piece of land with a frontage of 262 feet on Church Lane to Rosamond Liela Docking of Enfield, Church Lane, Cley with a restrictive covenant for agricultural buildings only.

The 1945 Auction[21]

The death of Mary Cozens-Hardy resulted in the division and dispersal of the majority of the Cley Hall Estate comprising 700 acres sold at auction **(Figure 8)** and 266 acres bequeathed to her elder daughter Lady Gladys Lily with her younger daughter Helen Maguire Knott retaining less than 100 acres.

Francis Hornor & Son, the land agent, advertised as being '*In the parishes of Cley-next-the-Sea, Wiverton and Glandford' 'the VALUABLE FREEHOLD Sporting and Agricultural Property being part of The Cley Hall Estate and comprising Four Farms, Accommodation Marshes and Land and Cottage extending in all to approximately 700 Acres'* For Sale by Public Auction At the Royal Hotel, Norwich on Saturday, 28 July, 1945 at 2.30pm.

The catalogue descriptions are similar to the 1839 sale particulars again identifying the tenants and occupiers of the buildings and land together with the rents paid as well as very detailed descriptions of the buildings and fittings. The particulars proposed first offering the Estate for sale as a whole and if not so sold then as lotted in 10 individual lots. The Estate was sold as separate lots.

Figure 8. 1945 auction sale plan showing the extent of the estate sold amounting to 700 acres in 10 lots.

Lot 1 was The Old Hall *'comprising 16th century RESIDENCE constructed of faced flint and tile containing examples of mullioned windows, panelling and old oak beams. The entrance is from a walled-in front garden, an ancient oak door giving access to ENTRANCE HALL with staircase and panelled dado; Lofty DRAWING ROOM, 21-ft. by 20ft. part panelled, with slow combustion stove with tiled hearth and sides and two good cupboards; LOBBY, MORNING ROOM charmingly panelled throughout, with slow combustion stove, tiled hearth and sides and two panelled cupboards; SIDE HALL leading to DINING ROOM……; KITCHEN with exposed oak beams, stove, Ideal domestic boiler with hot cylinder in cupboard & BACK KITCHEN with wall oven and coppers, sink with force pump; DAIRY with tiled floor, fitted with brick shelves. Opening to Kitchen are two commodious CELLARS'*. The catalogue continues with detailed descriptions of the first and second floors. Even noting that '*The Calor gas fittings are the property of the tenant*', Mr J Everett who was paying £252 10s 0d to rent this property with 408.437 acres and the catalogue also notes that the rent *'has remained unaltered for many years'*. *'THE FARM PREMISES comprise to the South West of the Old Hall a range containing: Waggon Lodge, large Turnip House, 2 bullock Yards with shelter sheds and 2 boxes, Pig house and garage with concrete floor and inspection pit'*.

Clearly the tenants had been modernising and incorporating more modern features like the inspection pit and stoves with hot water cylinder in the Hall. *'The MAIN PREMISES adjoin and lie each side of the farm roadway leading to the stackyard. On the South side are large corn Barn with stone floor, Implement Barn with Workshop, Cake House, Engine Shed (the machinery and fixtures are the property of the Tenant), Chaff Barn with small Loft over one end. Cart Horse Stables for 12 with Harness Room, at the rear of which is a double Pigsty with fore-courts'*

The 1839 catalogue stated *'stabling for sixteen cart horses'* so presumably four stables now had a new use, but it is evident that cart horses were still playing an important role in agriculture in rural Norfolk. The description continues *'On the north side of the roadway is a further range comprising 2 Boxes and Stickhouse. Double Cowhouse for 8 with concrete floor and channel, large Bullock Box, Oil House, 3 Boxes with Granary over, Colts Yard with Shelter Shed and Loose Box, Hay House, Colts Yard with Shelter Shed and 4 loose boxes. At the further end of the Stackyard is a 9-bay Cart Shed and adjoining brick, flint, board and corrugated iron Carpenter's Shop. A right of Way on foot and for light vehicular traffic is reserved for the owner, occupiers and incomers of Cley Hall from the gateway in the Hall Stable Yard along the roadway to Cley Street and also along the roadway leading over Anterton Hill to the Salthouse Road.'*

The right of way from the Hall Stable Yard was permanently blocked up several years before the Stables and Coach House were converted and sold. *'The Field Barn Premises ….are built of flint, brick and tile and corrugated iron and comprise: Barn, Double Chaff Barn, 3 Bullock Yards with Shelter sheds and a range of 6 Bullock boxes'*

The following Three Cottages are let with the Farm:
Adjoining the Stackyard is a brick, flint and tile detached Cottage, occupied by J Barnard
Flint and tile Cottage known as "Ashfield", occupied by H. Barnard
Situate on the Fairstead is a flint and tile Cottage occupied by Mr J Jeary.

The remaining lots were:
Lot 2. A compact Small farm known as Newgate Farm extending to 67.446 Acres let to P Allen at £80 0s.0d
Lot 3. A Valuable Enclosure of Arable Land with double road frontage situate close to the village containing 23.040 acres let to L. Lee at £23 10s 0d
Lot 4. Lounds Farm extending to 110.794 acres let to S V Lee at £55 0s 0d
Lot 5. An Enclosure of Breck Grazing Land with valuable frontage to the Cley-Holt Road containing 4.560 acres. This lot is mainly in hand but 0.250 acres adjoining Rectory Cottage gardens is let to Miss Bishop on a six monthly tenancy at 10s per annum.
Lot 6 The Compact Small Holding extending to 69.787 acres let to P Allen at £67 5s 0d.
Lot 7. A Valuable Accommodation Marsh fronting the Cley-Blakeney Road and adjoining the village containing 4.740 acres let to S V Lee at £3 10s 0d
Lot 8. A Valuable Enclosure of Accommodation Marsh fronting the main road and adjoining the village containing 6.492 acres let to S V Lee at £4 10s 0d
Lot 9. An enclosure of Valuable Accommodation Marsh Land fronting the roadway containing 2.657 Acres let to S V Lee at £2 0s 0d
Lot 10. Detached Cottage with long frontage to Anterton Hill in the occupation of Mr S Wink by virtue of his employment as Gamekeeper.

Basil Cozens-Hardy's hand written draft *'Memr. of Sale'* details some of the sales but is not complete[23].
10 October 1945 - Lot 1- The Old Hall and 408.437 acres to Major Hubert Blount
11 October 1945 - Lot 2 - New Gate Farm and 67.446 acres to Percy Allen

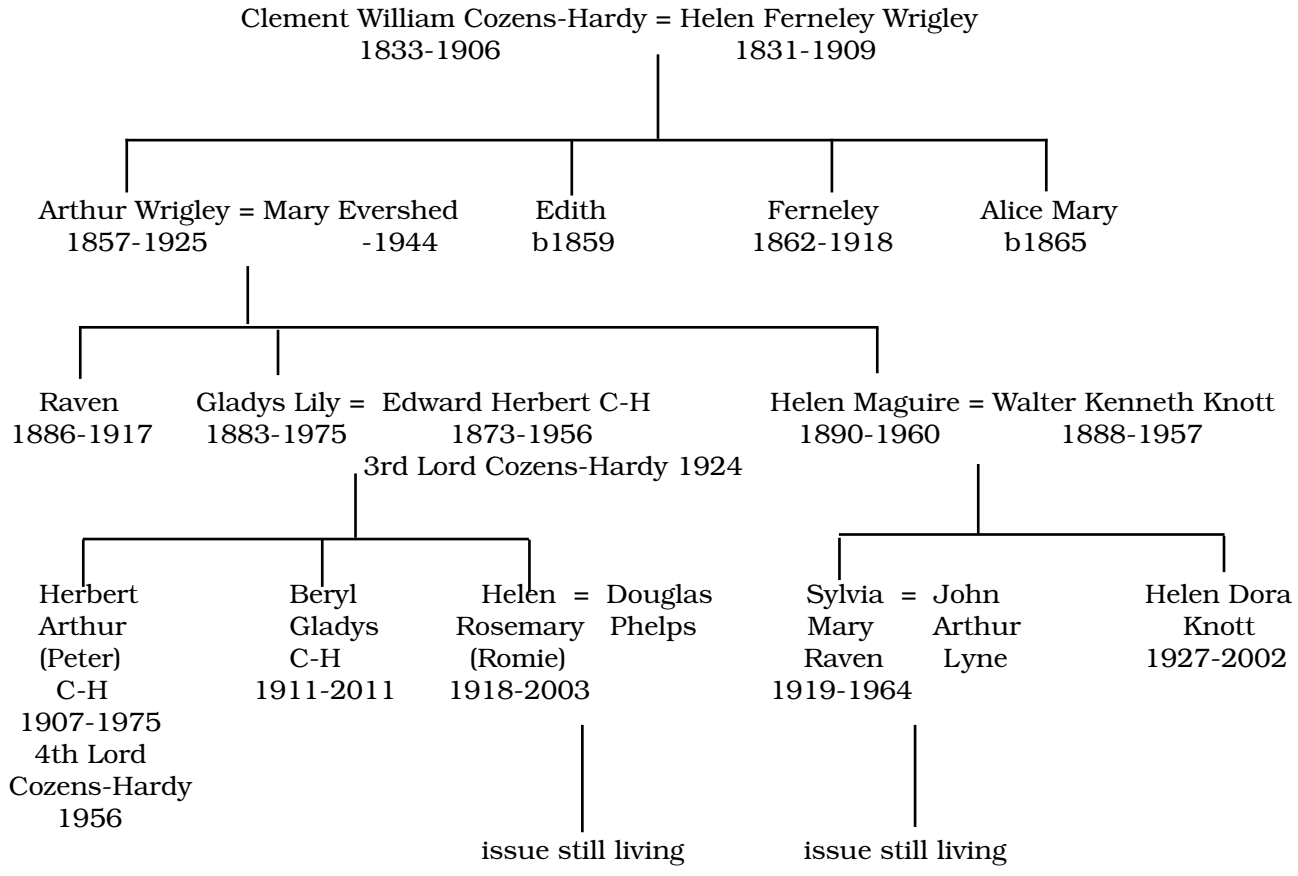
11 October 1945 - Lot 3 - 23.040 acres to Leonard Leslie Lee and Stanley Lee
11 October 1945 - Lot 10 - cottage and Lot 9 - land 2.657 acres to Raymond Allen
11 October 1945 - Lot 5 - 4.560 acres Rev C L P Bishop
11 October 1945 - Lot 4 - Lounds Farm and Lots 7 & 8 marshes 122.026 acres to the Hon Herbert Arthur Cozens-Hardy
12 October 1945 - Lot 6 - Marshes in Cley, Glandford & Wiveton 69.7 acres to Comdr Roger Coke and Percy Anthony Bainbridge

Mrs Knott sold:
19th December 1952 an area of land to the North West side of the grounds of Cley Hall to Thomas Doggett Savory.
5 August 1953 a deed releasing the restrictive covenant on Rosamond Leila Docking's 262 feet frontage site in Church Lane and instead accepting new covenants allowing possible residential building, including setting any dwelling house back 120 feet parallel to Church Lane.

Clement William Cozens-Hardy, his family and life at Cley

Clement William Cozens-Hardy '*grew barley, bred sheep and delighted in country pursuits*' and '*chaired the local Board of Guardians and the Cley School Board. He was one of the original members of Norfolk County Council, and much concerned with elementary education and the provision of allotments.*'[3] He gave a lecture on 28th January 1852 '*On the Life and Character of Johnson Jex*', and published it in 1855. He also wrote the introduction to *'The Wesleyan Conference v. Cozens-Hardy and Others, A report on the Proceedings in Chancery...*' in 1852 as well as several other works.

Clement William and Helen had two boys, Arthur Wrigley and Ferneley, and two daughters. They can be seen with their Mother in about 1885 in an informal pose with tennis rackets **(Photograph 2)**. The grounds around Cley Hall were smaller than those surrounding Letheringsett Hall, but both had a rustic open fronted summer house known as *'The Root House'*. The one at Cley was in front of the Hall overlooking the lawn that was for many years



Abbreviated Family Tree no 2 showing Clement William Cozens-Hardy's children and Arthur Wrigley's descendants

regularly marked out as a lawn tennis court **(Photograph 3)** and later used for bowls.
In 1895 Clement William inherited his father's Letheringsett and Cley estates, with Letheringsett Hall the principal residence. He and his wife had been living at Cley Hall for forty years and decided not to move to the larger Letheringsett Hall but remain in their home at Cley. Clement William received the rental income from the Letheringsett estate but agreed to let the unoccupied Letheringsett Hall to his younger brother Herbert Hardy for use as a holiday home as his principal home was in London as he was having a successful legal career as well as being the MP for North Norfolk from 1885-89.

Clement William died on 27th April 1906 leaving a still substantial estate of £56,714 19s 8d. The large West window in Cley Church was '*restored by some of his friends*' as stated on the brass plaque erected below the window and also that he was *'interred at Letheringsett 1st May 1906'*. The executors were his sons Arthur Wrigley and Fernely who were described as *'brewer'* and *'solicitor'* in the grant of probate. He was survived by his widow Helen Ferneley who died on 27th September 1909 leaving £12,150 19s 6d with a second grant of probate in 1924 for an additional £4,968 10s. The derelict and roofless west porch at Cley Church was restored and given a new roof in 1911 in her memory with a carved stone panel inside the porch also stating that she was interred at Letheringsett on 30 September 1909. **(Photograph 4 A & B).** Although they are commemorated at Cley both their bodies were returned to the vault at Letheringsett.

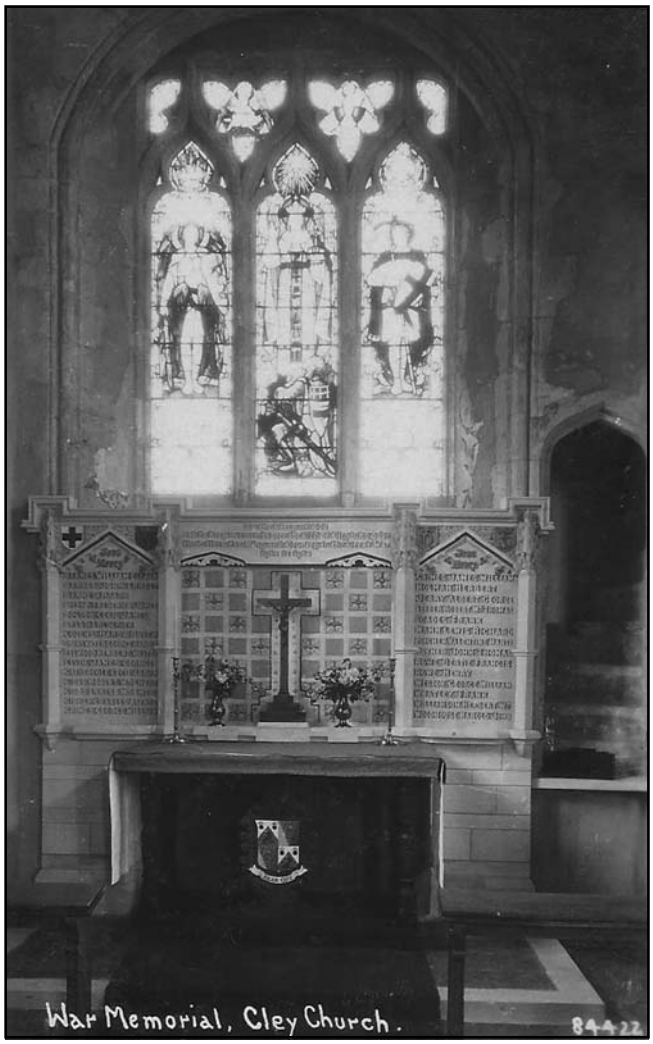
Photograph 2 (top). Clement William's wife Helen Ferneley Cozens-Hardy, her two sons Arthur Wrigley and Ferneley and daughters Edith and Alice Mary with Arthur's wife Mary in front of the 'Root House' at Cley Hall with tennis rackets circa 1885.

Photograph 3 (above). Cley Hall showing tennis court marked out on the lawn in front of the Hall. The writing on the back identifies 'Gladys and Helen' as the two girls in the photograph circa 1900.

Photograph 4A. Cley Church showing the roofless West porch.
Photograph 4B. Cley Church showing West porch with scaffolding and in the process of being repaired in 1911 in memory of Helen Ferneley Cozens-Hardy (1831-1909).

Second Lieutenant Raven Cozens-Hardy of the 4th Battalion (Territorial) of the Norfolk Regiment was killed in action on 9th October 1917 at Polderhoek in Flanders and is buried in the military cemetery at Tyne Cot. He was 31 years old and left effects valued at £322 16s 9d. Raven is commemorated by the large J. Powell & Sons[27] stained glass window at the east end of the north aisle showing the 'warrior' in armour at Christ's feet and is full of symbolism as well as a small depiction of Cley windmill **(Photograph 5)** and a view in Flanders.
The Cley War memorial **(Photograph 6)** is very unusual as it is a large stone 'reredos' bearing the names of those killed in 'gothic' script mounted under the widow with an oak altar, made from timber from the estate, and bearing the Cozens-Hardy crest and motto of *'Fear One*'.

In January 1918 his mother published *'A Beloved Memory'*[28] stating *'the following extracts are from the many letters received by us, and I have had them printed in this little volume so as to preserve them for us, our children and grandchildren, as a small memento of his dear unselfish life, and to show all, the great affection and reverence in which he was held by everyone.'* She also says *'He was fond of all games, and latterly*



Photograph 5 (top). Detail of Cley windmill from the stained glass window in Cley Church erected in memory of Raven Cozens-Hardy (1886-1917) by his parents Arthur Wrigley and Mary Cozens-Hardy.

***Photograph 6 (above). The war memorial in St Margaret's Church Cley showing the stained glass window to Lt. Raven Cozens-Hardy (killed on 9th October 1917) above the oak altar bearing the family crest and motto* 'Fear One'**

he enjoyed a game of bowls as much as anyone. He was a good shot and enjoyed nothing better than a walk with his gun and dog. He had a great love for the country and all country pursuits' and '*his judgment and common-sense were so sound that rarely did we venture to settle anything of a momentous or even trivial nature without consulting him*'. The condolence letters express the sentiments of the time with The Parish Magazine stating *'To the many sad losses sustained by our parish during the War must now be added the names of Robert William Leeder, killed in action on November the 4th, and Raven Cozens-Hardy, killed whilst leading his men on October 9th. In attempting to convey our sympathy to those who mourn, and all Cley mourns today, we would remind ourselves that though Cley is all the poorer for their loss, she is rich in memory of lives nobly led.'*

Letheringsett Parish Magazine wrote *'It is with real grief that the parish has heard of the loss of the only son of Mr and Mrs Arthur Cozens-Hardy of Cley Hall, who has been killed in action in France.'*

Six weeks after Raven's death 19 year old Cecil Gathercole who lived at The Lodge beside the drive to Cley Hall with his parents and four brothers was killed on 20th November – his father Benjamin was described as a *'Gardener Domestic'* on the 1911 census and the loss of another soldier so close to their home must have saddened the Cozens-Hardys greatly. The death of the heir to the estate must also have been felt by the tenants and villagers in Cley and Letheringsett, as well as causing great uncertainty for the future of the estates.

The death of his heir and only son, who presumably would have inherited the joint estates on his father's death, must have been devastating for Arthur Wrigley and Mary who like so many other landed estates then had to decide what to do with the family lands and Halls. On 29 August 1906 their eldest daughter, Gladys Lily, had been married to Edward Herbert Cozens-Hardy, the younger son of Arthur Wrigley's uncle Herbert Hardy. In 1918 much of the property including Letheringsett Hall and Estate, but excluding the Cley Estate, was sold and conveyed to Edward Herbert.[3] **(Photograph 7).**

Arthur Wrigley enjoyed the life of a country squire indulging in regular shoots on the marshes. He suffered a stroke whilst out shooting that led to his death on 19 October 1925. He left a very simple will leaving everything to his wife Mary and his effects were valued at £20,806 15s 11d. The stained glass window, also by J. Powell & Sons[27] in the north wall beside the War Memorial was erected in his memory and contains an interesting selection of birds found on his property.

Mary Cozens-Hardy died in 1944 and left to her *'daughter Gladys Lily Lady Cozens-Hardy All and singular the messuages cottages farm buildings lands woods and plantations containing 266 acres or thereabouts situate in the parish of Cley-next-the-Sea set forth and described in the ... schedule*'. Unfortunately the will did not include the names of the tenants but did include the *'Number on Ordinance Map' 'acreage'*, type of *'culture'* including ten Arable collectively amounting to over 200 acres, five Woods including '*Horse pit plantation, Black close plantation, Salthouse Head plantation & Bush Hill plantation'* of approx. 32 acres, three Heaths including 22 acres, one *'Pit'* and *'Swan Lodge, Farm buildings, cottages etc'.*

The probate value of her effects was £27,546 16s 3d and the executors' final account produced by Cozens-Hardy and Jewson in 1950 state that *'Swan Lodge Farm etc to Lady Gladys Cozens-Hardy'* were valued at £2,800 whilst *'Cley Hall Estate to Mrs Helen M. Knott. Portions sold £13,570 with portions unsold £4,540*' valuing all the landed estate at £20,910. The *'value of furniture and effects specifically bequeathed'* was £2,051 6s 0d.

Some of the 266 acres left by Mary Cozens-Hardy in 1944 to Lady Gladys Lily were incorporated into the Letheringsett estate but some of the land was subsequently sold including Swan Lodge and associated buildings.

Mary Cozens-Hardy and her daughter Helen Maguire Knott were members of the Womens Institute and whilst living at Cley Hall took an active part in running the Cley branch with Mrs Cozens-Hardy becoming the first President in 1919, a role later taken on by her daughter. Miss Knott still retained, in 2000, an ebonised walking stick with a silver band inscribed: Presented To Mrs Cozens-Hardy by the WI, Jan 5th 1928, Cley Hall Norfolk. Mrs Cozen-Hardy hosted a garden party for the local branch members every summer at Cley Hall and a few small informal photographs **(Photograph 8)** exist showing the members in the grounds of the Hall with wooden benches put out for them to use – in 1960 these were included on the Inventory as Nine deal forms £2 5s 0d with Four deal trestle tables at £5.

Mrs Knott continued the Summer Garden Party started by her mother when she inherited Cley Hall and became *'Lady of the Manor'*. A formal photograph of the WI members in front of Cley Hall **(Photograph 9)** is undated but reputed to have been taken in 1948. Mrs Knott is seated in the second row in a patterned dress without a hat in comparison to many of the members who had worn hats and coats. A brass plaque inscribed

IN MEMORY OF A MUCH LOVED
W.I. PRESIDENT
MRS. H.M. KNOTT
--------1960 --------

was affixed to a functional small table that eventu-

Photograph 7. Arthur Wrigley and Mary Cozens-Hardy (on left), Raven and Helen Maguire (on right), Gladys Lily and her husband Edward Herbert Cozens-Hardy with their grandchildren Herbert Arthur and Beryl Gladys on her christening day 14th January 1912. Lady centre back was the nanny.

ally resided in the Village Hall and was only put on the November the 5th bonfire in 2011, but the brass plaque was saved. Presumably this table had been used by the WI and then become part of the Village Hall furniture.

Life at Cley Hall seems to have revolved around a regular influx of house guests staying overnight, or for a few days, many being members of the extended family, according to the leather covered Guest Book[23] with art nouveau decoration first signed in 1911 by Raven Cozens-Hardy and which stopped being used at Mrs Knott's death. The number of staying guests gradually reduced through the decades as the income and lifestyle declined.

However, in 1948 Mrs Knott must have been very surprised when she entertained Queen Mary for tea at Cley Hall when the Queen visited Cley Church and the Shell Museum at Glandford but Lady Harrod provided Queen Mary's main meal, at her home in Letheringsett.

Freda Star wrote about life in Cley, and the characters who lived and worked in the village in her various works. She makes regular references to the Cozens-Hardys and Cley Hall including the following *'The Cozens-Hardy family had formerly been owners and residents of the Hall for several generations and took a great interest in the life of the village. They had a large staff, cook, parlour-maid, housemaid, serving maid, kitchen*

Photograph 9. Cley Womens Institute group photograph in front of Cley Hall porch with forty five members – Mrs Knott seated in patterned dress. Reputed to be the 1948 Garden Party meeting.

Photograph 8. Cley Womens Institute meeting at Cley Hall July 1926 - informal group in the grounds.

maid and estate carpenters, gardeners etc – most of them taking part and helping village events. The cook was superintendent of the Methodist Sunday School, the sewing-maid helped with the Girl's Friendly Society and the carpenter erected the platform for Sunday School anniversaries and other events. As far as possible the family bought everything from the village shops and I can well remember helping Jimmy Allen, the reigning errand boy, take a case of soda-water syphons on a sack barrow to the Hall each Saturday morning, returning with the empties. On the way back we would see if there was anything left in them and squirt it over anyone we met – it was a good thing Mother never knew about this. I also remember the noise the sack barrow made when we ran down the Post Office Lane with the empties."[29]

This privileged and relatively carefree life was changed by the outbreak of the Great War on 4 August 1914, Helen Maguire is shown in a nursing uniform dated May 1916 **(Photograph 10)** and the death of Raven, **(Photograph 11**) the heir to the joint estates, in 1917 dramatically changed the fortunes of the estates.

Arthur Wrigley's younger daughter Helen Maguire married Walter Kenneth Knott, a Lieutenant in the Cameroons serving in the Great War, on the 23rd February 1915 at Cley Parish Church. The baby bridesmaid was Miss Beryl Cozens-Hardy, her niece. On viewing the photograph taken in front of the Cley Hall Porch **(Photograph 12)** through a magnifying glass in

Photograph 10. Helen Maguire Knott in nurse's uniform dated May 1916. She worked at the Red Cross Hospital for soldiers at Glavenside, Sidney's home in Letheringsett.

Photograph 11. Raven Cozens-Hardy, heir to the Cley and Letheringsett estates, killed in action on 9th October 1917 aged 31.

2009, in her room at Letheringsett Hall Nursing home, the 97 year old Hon Miss Beryl recalled *''it was a cold day and my mother dressed me in woolly combs''* and also that when Helen started to walk with Beryl holding the train but not moving *''an elderly Aunt dressed in black yelled 'drop it child'!''*. After the war Helen and Kenneth Knott moved to Malaya, where he managed a rubber plantation, leaving their daughter Sylvia Mary Raven who had been born on 7 December 1919 behind at Cley to be looked after by her grandmother. Their younger daughter Helen Dora was born in Malaya on 28 December1927 and soon after they returned to live at Cley Hall so that Mrs Knott could look after her invalid mother. Income from the estate was falling, and after the 1945 sale very significantly reduced, so in order to bolster her income Mrs Knott learned to make sweets and chocolates, by correspondence course, and set up a small cottage industry in the Hall kitchen using a *'knott'* logo on the boxes **(Figure 9)** – long before such commercial activity was considered normal for country house owners, well predating the Duchess of Devonshire's Chatsworth brand or Prince Charles' Duchy range. This proved so successful that she employed various local women to assist in the preparation and packaging, so long as they had cold hands to avoid damaging the sweets and eventually was able to have a purpose made addition, known as the *'Sweet Room'* added to Cley Hall with independent access **(Photograph 13).** The sweets were supplied to local businesses including a Mr Gilbert in Aylsham, posted to individuals and reputedly even to Fortnum & Mason in London. Mrs Knott made all the sweets herself and did not reveal the recipes, even to her daughters, so on her death in 1960 the business ceased and the equipment was included in the auction of the Contents of Cley Hall[30]

At the time of her death Mrs Knott was renting out two flats in the wings of Cley Hall for additional income – the East Flat to Mr And Mrs Arthur S Page and the West Flat to Mrs R M Asquith both at £120 per annum, these presumably had been formed from the bedrooms on the first floor and

Photograph 12. Helen Maguire Cozens-Hardy's wedding to Walter Kenneth Knott on 23rd February 1915 taken in front of Cley Hall. The baby bridesmaid was Beryl Cozens-Hardy, her niece aged four, standing next to Jim Bishop.

Figure 9 (opposite top). One of the later boxes used by Mrs Knott for the handmade sweets that she produced over many years from Cley Hall kitchen and then the purpose built 'sweet room'.

Photograph 13 (opposite lower). Cley Hall front elevation in c 1960 with flat roofed 'sweet room' extension on left with independent access for the women who assisted in the preparation and packaging of the sweets.

attics, as well as receiving £78 per annum for the rental of The Lodge from Mr J P Trower[23].

Cley Parish Council were paying £60 per annum for the two allotment fields (243 & 246), Major Blount £85 for the field in front of the Hall (248 & 249) with an additional £5 for sporting rights, P J Newland was renting the former stables at £60 per annum and Col A Wardleworth paying £1 to drain water from Fairstead House into a soakaway in the Fairstead Plantation (3).

Mrs Knott's funeral service was held at Cley Parish Church on 28 March 1960 and details appear in the burial register but her body was cremated and the ashes interred in the vault at Letheringsett. A story often repeated is that Lady Gladys Lily used to visit her sister Mrs Knott at Cley Hall arriving in a chauffeur driven car whilst her sister had to catch the bus from Cley to visit Letheringsett Hall! It is incidents like this that have led to the Cley branch of the family being known locally as the 'poorer' side of the family in comparison to Lady Cozens-Hardy at Letheringsett Hall and Basil at Glavenside, his home in Letheringsett who left £226,622 in 1976. Despite these views Mrs Knott still had effects amounting to £30,748 9s 11d on her death.


FINEST QUALITY
CONFECTIONERY
MADE BY
MRS. H. M. KNOTT
CLEY HALL, HOLT
NORFOLK

Comparison between the Cley and Letheringsett Estates

The two sisters who grew up at Cley Hall became the matriarchs of their respective Halls, previously owned by their father Arthur Wrigley. Helen Maguire acquired Cley in 1945 after her Mother's death and Lady Gladys Lily Letheringsett in 1956, following the death of her husband the 3rd Baron. Mrs Knott lived at Cley Hall until her death in 1960 and then the Hall and the limited estate passed, for the second time to a younger daughter, Helen Dora who was unmarried and had already left Cley for full time employment in Norwich. Following Mrs Knott's death virtually all of the contents of Cley Hall were sold at the auction on the premises[31] and the unfurnished Hall was let from 15 May 1961 to a Mr Lawson, a very unsatisfactory tenant, who amassed extensive debts and appears to have done a 'moonlight flit' around the 20 June 1962 leaving the rent unpaid and debts to most local businesses with writs outstanding totalling £240[23].

Following his departure Cley Hall with its remaining outbuildings, including the Stable and Coach House (1) together with the majority of the Fairstead Plantation (3) and Rookery (2) were sold to Miss Monica Hudson on 19 December 1962 for £7,200 including £200 for a restrictive covenant preventing development at The Lodge (150), the retained section of the Fairstead Plantation (3) or on the large field (248) in front of the Hall originally known as Park Piece.

Subsequently Cley Hall has passed through several owners, including Miss Hudson's nephew who sold it to a property developer Michael McNamara. He extensively modernised the Hall and made the East Wing into a self-contained dwelling, owned by the Hall, and called it The Old Butler's House, which has for many years been run as a self-catering holiday property and available to rent. He also separated the Stables and Coach House, converting and selling them for residential use and even built, and sold, a new detached property – Cley House. All three properties are accessed from the back drive. However his attempts to gain permission to build two substantial bungalows on the main drive and Fairstead Plantation raised opposition in the 1980s and were rejected by the Council planners and by the Inspector on appeal at a Public Inquiry. The proposed scheme would have separated the Hall from its entrance gate piers, substantially reduced the length of the formal drive and necessitated the creation of a new and smaller entrance in the old flint wall further along The Fairstead, nearer to the back drive. This would obviously have had very adverse effects on the setting of the grade II listed Cley Hall.

When Miss Knott sold the Hall she retained the large field (248 & 249) which was let to Col Blount, The Lodge and walled garden (150) that had been let in 1951 to Mr J P Trower at £78 per annum which she expected one day to regain for use as a holiday home and eventually for her retirement and the two fields Church Close (243) and Clay Pit (246) which Cley Parish Council were still renting for use as allotments as well as various wayleaves and easements. After Mrs Knott's death the southern end of Fairstead Plantation (3) beside the allotments had been given to Cley Parish Council for the site of the future Village Hall and was initially used as a play space with the adjoining woodland beside the end of the walled garden given to her elder daughter Sylvia to build a holiday bungalow called *Woodside*. Sylvia had married John Arthur Lyne on 6 April 1947 and with their three sons used this holiday home for only a few years as she died on 24 April 1964. The bungalow was then let and subsequently sold to the tenant.

Miss Knott became an absentee landlord moving with her employment to Bracknell in Berkshire in 1962, leaving the running of her remaining Cley assets to the longstanding land agents Francis Horner & Sons, later becoming part of Brown & Co, and Basil Cozens-Hardy her solicitor at Cozens-Hardy & Jewson both based in Norwich. In the early 1960s she visited Cley regularly but by 1970 appears to have visited only once or twice a decade. The surviving correspondence from her land agent and solicitor is quite extensive detailing the continued dispersal of her Cley assets with virtually one conveyance every decade.

In 1977 Cley Parish Council wrote requesting additional land (part of 248) behind the Village Hall site for use as a sports field and playground following the sale of the bowling green opposite the former *Fishmongers' Arms* by the brewery, and decision to build the Village Hall on the original Fairstead site. Approximately half an acre from the adjoining field was released by the tenant and transferred on 24 January 1978. The 27 acre Field (248 & 249) sold to Mr A H Blount on 11th October 1979 after his father's death.

On 10 March 1987 the Hon Miss Beryl wrote to her cousin *'My dear Dora, The enclosed bumph could be important. The point at issue is the ownership of the title to the reversion of the former County Primary School in Cley*', which closed in 1982, enclosing a quantity of correspondence starting with the County Solicitor's letter to her dated 17 November 1986. This correspondence was indeed important as it led to the eventual return of the freehold, of the former School on The Fairstead with outline planning permission for conversion to one or two dwellings, as a result of the wording of the original conveyance and the Schools Site Act 1841.

Miss Knott was required to prove descent of title and that she was the rightful heir to the original benefactor who had provided the land. This required a substantial 'Statutory Declaration' to be produced and the signing of a 'Deed of Indemnity' – soon afterwards NCC sent a copy of the 1 December 1874 conveyance and the keys to the school to her by post. The building was subsequently sold to Mr B Munro of Saffron Walden for £75,000, but later converted into three residential units.

On 20 March 1996 the 'Lordship of the Manor' title was sold at auction[32] for £6,600 and the conveyance to Gregory Helem, whose address was in Canada, was dated 7 May, but Miss Knott retained any rights to property as well as the manorial records, on deposit in the NRO, which were not included in the sale conveyance. The Land Agent, Solicitor and Auctioneer deducted £1,689.65 for their combined charges.

Further transactions included the sale of woodland strip adjoining Church Lane (244) 10 September 1999 to Mrs A V Reeders, and the sale of the two fields (243 & part of 246) formerly used as allotments on 8 August 2000 to Christopher John Perkins.

Conclusion

The fate of Letheringsett Hall and Estate was very different from that of Cley with Lady Gladys Lily occupying it from 1956 until her death in 1975 aged 90, although her husband had previously transferred ownership of much of the estate to their son, she was able to enjoy a very privileged lifestyle with income from the rents, the sale of produce from the walled garden and a pension from Pilkington[3]. The grounds of the Hall were opened regularly for the National Gardens Scheme, and village events, and this tradition was continued by her daughter Beryl.

On Lady Gladys Lily's death in 1975 Letheringsett Hall and surrounding estate passed to her son Herbert Arthur, Lord *'Peter'* the 4th Baron Cozens-Hardy who was on the board of Pilkington, the glassmakers in St. Helens, and living away from Letheringsett. His stewardship was sadly, very short lived, also dying in 1975 on 11 September within three months of his mother. The 4th Lord left Letheringsett Hall and estate in trust for his young nephew whose mother was his sister the Hon. Rosemary Phelps.

This was not to be a repeat of the situation in 1842 when William Hardy the younger passed the combined Cley and Letheringsett estates to his nephew for in 1992 virtually the entire Letheringsett Estate, including the Hall which had been let for use as a residential care home for the elderly, was sold to Robert Carter.

William Hardy the younger had taken over his father's successful, but relatively modest business interests, in 1797 and by 1839 had proved to be so successful that he was able to buy the Cley Estate and here almost 200 years later history appears to have repeated itself. Robert Carter had previously taken over the running of his family's building company and under his direction turned it into a large group of companies. His success and his and Mrs Carter's personal interest in heritage buildings together with the fine skills of his own craftsmen has contributed to the very large on-going, programme of refurbishment of the farmhouse and its buildings. Furthermore the improvement of the estate and management of the shoot and woodlands has been a significant activity under his direction, particularly the farming enterprise as Robert Carter inherited an interest in farming from both his grandfathers. The estate is retained and enriched as an entirety and has not been subjected to any large scale alteration as William Hardy undertook in the early nineteenth century. The Letheringsett Estate is flourishing and is likely to remain a successful and thriving privately owned estate for future generations.

In comparison Cley Hall now exists separated from its former estate, and even the adjacent outbuildings, that supported the Hall and its owners for nearly two centuries. Perhaps the Hall's fortunes are more secure as it has now been in the same ownership for over 20 years. The fate of the Estate has been different with the majority of the land sold as lot 1 in 1945, becoming known as *'Cley Hall Farms'* and remains in the same family ownership. The Old Hall is no longer the principal residence having been sold and the majority of the barns and farm buildings included in the 1945 sale have been converted to domestic uses and been sold off. However the land has been retained, and enlarged, to retain a thriving and successful agricultural business with the owners having taken an active role in the life of the village, church and parish council.

And Finally...

In 1994 Professor Cannadine used a photograph of the *'Glavenside Guest House Bed & Breakfast'* sign to illustrate the decline in the Cozens-Hardy's fortunes and status.

To bring this comparison to the start of the twenty-first century in Letheringsett, the Hon. Miss Beryl often said, and wrote about, *'now living in my father's study at Letheringsett Hall'*.[23] At Cley Miss Knott's position could be compared to the fictional Audry Fforbes-Hamilton, played by Penelope Keith, in the1970s BBC television series *'To The Manor Born'* who had to sell the Manor House and move into the small entrance Lodge. In Miss Knott's case she had to sell her Hall, retained The Lodge but was not able to obtain vacant possession in her lifetime

to be able to return to Cley and her family land that had been passed down the generations for over 160 years.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to David Mayes for allowing access to, and copying of, some of his collection which has subsequently been deposited in the History Centre Blakeney and where Pam and John Peake have kindly given much help and advice. The study has also benefited from other individuals giving access to private documents and information. The NRO staff for assistance with producing the un-catalogued Basil Cozens-Hardy deposits and access to the un-catalogued Hornor deposits. Thanks also to Margaret Bird for information and details of her research and to the late Hon Miss Beryl Cozens-Hardy for help in identifying photographs and first hand recollections of life at Letheringsett and Cley.

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A Partial History of the World in One Object

Eric Hotblack

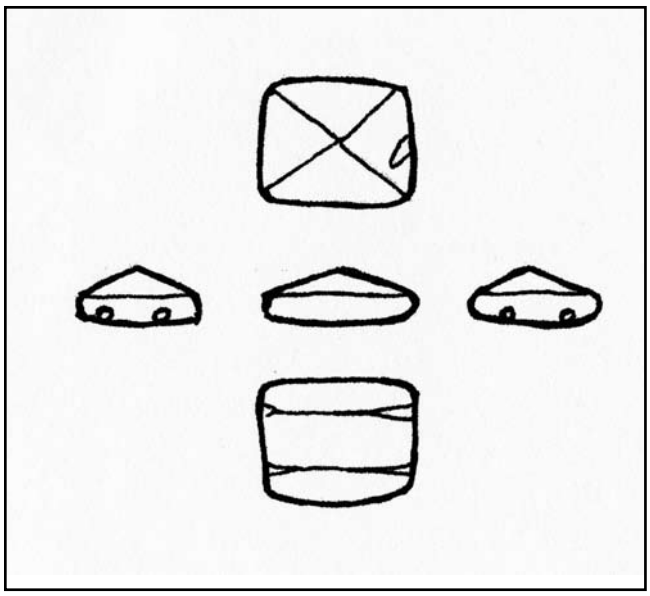
An unexpectedly wide ranging investigation of the identification of a bead

The Find

Casual field-walking of a block of land on Manor Farm, Field Dalling, produced some sherds of pottery which could not be positively identified as either Iron Age or Pagan Saxon.

To try to resolve this, part of the area was marked out in a twenty-five metre square grid. It was then field-walked in December 1988 and January 1989 (it is recorded in the Norfolk Historical Environment Record as site no 22442). The rather nondescript pottery could still only be identified as 'probably Iron Age' or 'Iron Age or Pagan Saxon', so the intensive gridded walking was unsuccessful. However, in square C2, a small black squarish object caught the eye. When washed, it was seen to be a bead (see drawing) having two holes through it.

The drawing is an orthographic rendering which shows the outline shape and features, but not of course the colour, which is black, nor any surface texture. It was bagged up with the pottery and handed to the Finds Identification and Recording Service at Gressenhall.



Identification 1

Dr Andrew Rogerson identified it as a, "rectangular jet (probably not shale) bead with two perforations parallel to longer sides and faceted upper face (c.f. Lawson A J (1976), 246, fig 2, no 16). Facets on this piece, however, meet at a point. Romano-British".

Jet is fossilised lignite, formed some 182 million years ago in the Jurassic period from the high-pressure decomposition of wood; much of it from trees closely related to the present day *Araucaria araucana* or Monkey Puzzle Tree.

In Britain, the main source of the material is the area south of Whitby, in North Yorkshire. Its earliest known use dates from the Neolithic: some 10,000 years BCE. It has also been found in Bronze Age barrows, used to make necklaces formed of barrel-shaped beads with spaced plates between them, their multiple drillings allowing complex stringing.

The Romans attributed medicinal properties to jet: it was an aid to the detection of epileptic tendencies, or, placed in wine, a cure for toothache. It became popular in the third century CE and was even exported to Germany. Occasional pieces of unworked jet have been found washed up on the North Norfolk coast.

Identification 2

In February 2002, when showing finds to members of the BAHS, the bead was examined by James Tillett, a retired jeweller, who immediately said, "It's French Jet – actually glass – and is Victorian".

Glass was first made by man in the third millennium BCE somewhere in the Near East. Early pieces are known from Babylonia (c2600 BCE) and Egypt (c2500 BCE). The earliest known coloured glass was from Eridu in Sumeria (modern day Iraq) and dates from before 2200 BCE. The colouring is obtained by the addition of various metal oxides.

The nearest to black that can be achieved is actually a very dark red, made by adding ferric oxide (Fe_3O_4), commonly known as magnetite.

In the Victorian period, following the death of Prince Albert in 1861, strict rules of mourning were followed at court; no ornaments other than black jewellery could be worn, which created a great demand for Whitby jet. The French, having no such material available, used black glass, the products being known as 'French Jet'.

Further Investigation

Clearly both these identifications cannot be correct, so other advice was sought. When archaeologists were asked, they invariably said it was jet. Likewise, other jewellers said it was glass. Some indicators in identifying jet are that it feels warm to the touch; can generate static electricity; and will easily burn. Another feature is that it can fracture in a conchoidal (limpet like) manner: on one of the pyramid facets there is a tiny chip in this distinctive conchoidal form. If glass, the area that the chip came from should look shinier than the face it was struck from.

A calculation was made of the density. A figure of 3.35 grams per cubic centimetre resulted, though it is not known if this is entirely accurate [almost certainly too high. Ed]. The average density for jet is 1.18gm/cm^3. From Kimmeridge shale it is 1.28gm/cm^3. Glass ranges from fused silica (at 2.2 1.18gm/cm^3) up to lead glass at 3.05gm/cm^3. Clearly the bead is much too dense to be jet and closer to glass.

One puzzling feature of the bead is how the two piercings are exposed at its curving base. It is as if it has been worn away to expose them; yet the holes remain cylindrical, without any wear. One suggestion was that it was originally a bead but was re-used possibly in a mount, which could have exposed the back to a great deal of wear, then eventually lost. In medieval times, black was thought to bring good luck and there is a medieval square pyramidic stone in a mount illustrated in *Benets Artefacts*. However, in this case there are no signs of a mount around the bead to fasten it in place. Also, to make this shape of bead from glass it would have been cast in a mould and the holes made by passing wires through. The back would have been left domed, particularly if the mould was not filled.

All these other ideas were interesting, but none satisfactory in identifying and dating the bead.

Identification 3

Through the Portable Antiquities Scheme, contact was made with the Great North Museum and their specialist, Lindsay Allason-Jones BA, MLitt, FSA (Scot), FMA, FRSA. It was sent to her by post and she sent a very thorough reply. In summary:

It is Roman.

It is not Whitby jet.

It is not 'French Jet' (i.e. glass).

It is Cannel coal.

Cannel coal was laid down in the Carboniferous period, probably from lake bottom accumulations of spores from *Lycopsids*. This bituminous coal, now classified as terrestrial-type oil shale, was prized for its long burning and low ash content. It is denser than ordinary coal and can be worked in the lathe and polished; in many coalfields, carving Cannel was a popular pastime among miners.

The Romans did not not distinguish between the various types of black stones, calling them all Gagates, a name derived from a district in Lycia (southern Turkey) known as Gages.

The beads were worn on bracelets. The wear is from frequently pushing them up the sleeve of a garment made from rough woollen cloth.

Manufacturing centres of black jewellery have been discovered down the eastern side of England, where many types of black material were worked to produce necklaces and bracelets, using various different materials. It seems that it was the colour black that was considered important, not the material.

Final Comments

The bead's dimensions mean that it is near the limit of what can be found by eye in an arable field. The stringing material must have been a very strong animal-derived fibre, such as sinew, which did not wear the holes.

The scatter of Romano-British pottery on the area where the bead was found ranges from zero to seven pieces per whole 25-metre square, with an average of 2.857 per square. This is equivalent to 45.7 per hectare, or 18.5 per acre, which indicates a manuring scatter from farming in the Roman period. The bead could have been lost directly in the field, or could have been in household rubbish that was then spread on the field.

Field-walking finds can be anything from the Stone Age to the present day, usually as discrete objects with no useful context. Occasionally a statistically significant mass of finds can point to something of interest buried below, but that is not the generality.

With many materials used for bead production, there is scope for further study of their distribution if they are accurately identified, rather than being generally classified as jet.

Back Pages

Cley Channel

A view, probably Edwardian, of the 'original' Cley Channel at the point where the course of the River Glaven changed from a generally northwards direction to a westerly one before debouching into Blakeney Harbour. As can be seen, it ran directly behind the shingle ridge which formed the beach at Cley and which continued westwards as Blakeney Point.

The rolling over of the shingle ridge – a feature of this coast for hundreds of years – meant that the Glaven was at risk of being blocked by the next storm, or the one after it.

The response was to dig a new channel a hundred yards or so further south (inland) in 1924. This work sufficed for some eight decades until a storm in 2002 once more threatened to block the Glaven.

Yet again the solution was to dig a new channel, this time to the south of the Blakeney Eye and its 'chapel ruins'. The opportunity was taken by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit to do a dig at and around the 'chapel' site, the findings being written up in the Glaven Historian no 9 (2006) with preliminary findings in GH6.

The view today would be very different – the channel depicted is now mostly under the shingle ridge and even the second cut has been largely filled in. The wooden huts dotting the skyline are also long gone and few sailing boats bother to venture up the Cley channel of the River Glaven as the old quay area is silted up and reed-choked. The Parish Council has plans to try to remedy this situation, restoring the area to its 1995 condition.

The latest storm surge in December 2013 has rolled the beach over a bit more though, at the present rate of progress, it will be many years before the latest cut is threatened.

Manor Farm, Field Dalling

For much of the Victorian period, Manor Farm was worked by Henry Nicholas Savory. It is interesting to note some details of his family from the 1881 census. It states that the farm employed thirteen men, five boys and two women; in addition to the family in the farmhouse, there were two domestic servants and a governess. Eight children were listed here while one was living in Morston and another was boarding in King's Lynn while working as an engine turner and fitter.

One might imagine that in this large family there were many infant deaths, but the only two deaths recorded are rather unusual. In 1876 a son, Henry Valentine Savory, was washed overboard on his first voyage as an apprentice

while near the Cape of Good Hope "on account of the high sea running it was impossible to save his life".

In 1877 another son, Lawrence Edmund Savory, died aged 15 when swimming during a family outing to Blakeney Point. The family joke is that they did a head count and found one was missing. At what stage this count was taken does not seem to be recorded.

Neither of these would have featured in the 1881 census, of course, when the remaining ten children were listed.

Eric Hotblack

Contributors

Margaret Bird read Modern History at St Anne's College, Oxford and gained a Master's from Royal Holloway, University of London, where she has been an Honorary Research Fellow since 2006. She has spent 25 years editing the diaries of Mary Hardy.

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

Richard Dunn was previously Lecturer in Geography at the University of Bristol and Professor of Geographical Information Systems at the University of Reading, before finding the time to explore the local history of Cley.

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

Eric Hotblack is a farmer and experienced fieldwalker.

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.

Will Savage had a career in industry on both sides of the Atlantic after which he retired to Norfolk. He has written for a number of magazines and newspapers, produced three books and lectured in the UK, Europe, Canada and the USA.