THE GLAVEN HISTORIAN

The Journal of the Blakeney Area Historical Society

Issue No. 1 June 1998

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

Dear Founder Members, welcome to the first issue of our new Journal!

This first issue is bound to be somewhat experimental in both content and format, for the Journal can and should evolve according to the needs of the Society. 'Journal' sounds a rather grand title for a relatively small Society to adopt but it is the term often used to distinguish a permanent record of articles from the more ephemeral contents of a Newsletter.

The Journal will be annual and its principal function will be to further the objectives of the Society. These are set out in the constitution and in summary are:

- to study the local history of this area
- to publish the results.

The Journal can therefore carry a wide range of topics covering all periods.

The most important point to make is that the contents must be contributed by members. The editor will supply some material but is not going to fill each issue – no contributions, no Journal! Local history is not confined to the distant past, even yesterday is now history and the sooner changes are recorded the better, before the evidence is lost. Old photos, for instance, remind us of how much can change in just a few short years. So there is plenty of scope for everyone to make a contribution – you don't have to be able to read medieval latin.

Perhaps the only requirement is that contributions should normally make clear the sources of the information given. These may be documents, things actually seen and remembered – or what your grandmother told you (whether correctly or not). The need is not so much to get it 'right' as to prevent rumour masquerading as fact. In science much is achieved by putting forward ideas which are later modified by new information, and local history can proceed in the same way.

In this sense, articles are never 'finished'; something more can always be said after further study, or by someone else with a different perspective, in this issue some of the articles really do represent 'work in progress': the promise of more to come later is not just a device to persuade you to renew your membership!

If friends and neighbours show an interest in your copy of the Journal, don't go to the trouble of photocopying it (which would in any case infringe our copyright) but get them to part with £5 and become a member for 1997/8 – before the spare copies run out.

Contributions for next year – letters, ideas and articles – to the editor, please.

1586 MAP OF BLAKENEY HAVEN AND PORT OF CLEY : Part I

By Jonathan Hooton

Since the publication of 'The Glaven Ports' I have once again turned my attention to finding out more about the 1586 map of Blakeney Haven and eventually, perhaps, to track down the original. Although the whereabouts of this map is currently a mystery, more information has come to light about the possible reasons why it was drawn, and this will be the subject of a further article in the next issue of this journal. Meanwhile, discussion about the map is bedevilled by the fact that there are many different copies. The following notes summarise my understanding to date, but this remains 'work in progress' and I should be grateful for any comments or corrections that readers can offer.

The Original Map

The original map of 1586, once in the possession of the Thomlinson family, then at Cley Hall, has now disappeared without trace. Copies of the map show that it covered the coast from Stiffkey to Cley: the villages are included but it is the marshes, sands and channels which appear to be the real focus of the map. A version painted by Godfrey Sayers was used as the cover for The Glaven Ports.[1]

The Two Principal Copies

Two 19th century copies of the map are known to exist.

A The **Monemont-Long** copy

This copy, now in Sudbury, Suffolk, is owned by Paul Long, who inherited it from the Monement family. Brigadier Mellor (who died in 1997) said, on the authority of a letter he received from the Norfolk Record Office, that this map was obtained from the Thomlinson family, who owned the original in the 19th century. Basil Cozens-Hardy used this map in two of his articles on the north Norfolk coast. In the first[2] he names the owner as Mr Frank Monement, of Cley. In the second[3] the ownership remains the same but he adds that it is a 'vellum' map. He also notes that the arms depicted are those of Sir William Heydon, then Lord of the Manor of Cley. In a third article[4] Cozens-Hardy says of the Thomlinson family that they came from Blencogo in Cumberland and acquired the Cley Hall estate in 1717.

B The **Cooke** copy

This copy now resides in Norwich, in the possession of the Revd Hereward and Diana Cooke. In the bottom left-hand comer of the map is written:

Taken from the original parchment in the possession of the representatives of the late J.W. Thomlinson Esq. Lord of the Manor of Cley, Norfolk. This corner of the map within the dotted line awanting in the original when copied in 1846.

Other copies

At least six other copies are known to exist.

C The **1929 Cooke** copy

This copy is thought to have been made for Arthur Cooke in 1929 and carries the initials F.E.W. It is kept with the one described above as **B**.

D The **Burrows** copy

This dates from 1930 and has written upon it:

> Copied and painted by Francis Seacombe Burrows from an antique map. The property of F.Monement Esq of Cley. August 1930.

The map is a much freer copy than the others, with colourful additions and an analysis of the coat of arms. It is now owned by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society and is kept in their library at Garsett House, Norwich.

E The **Tidal Harbours Commission** copy

A simplified version was drawn for the Commission's report of 1846, wherein it is described as follows:

> This map is in the possession of the Thomlinson family to whom the Cley Manor belonged; it shows the encroachment of the sea on this part of the Coast, and that the channel to Salthouse marshes was then open and nearly as large as that to Cley. Titled *Cley and Blakeney in Norfolk 1586* at the top of the map.

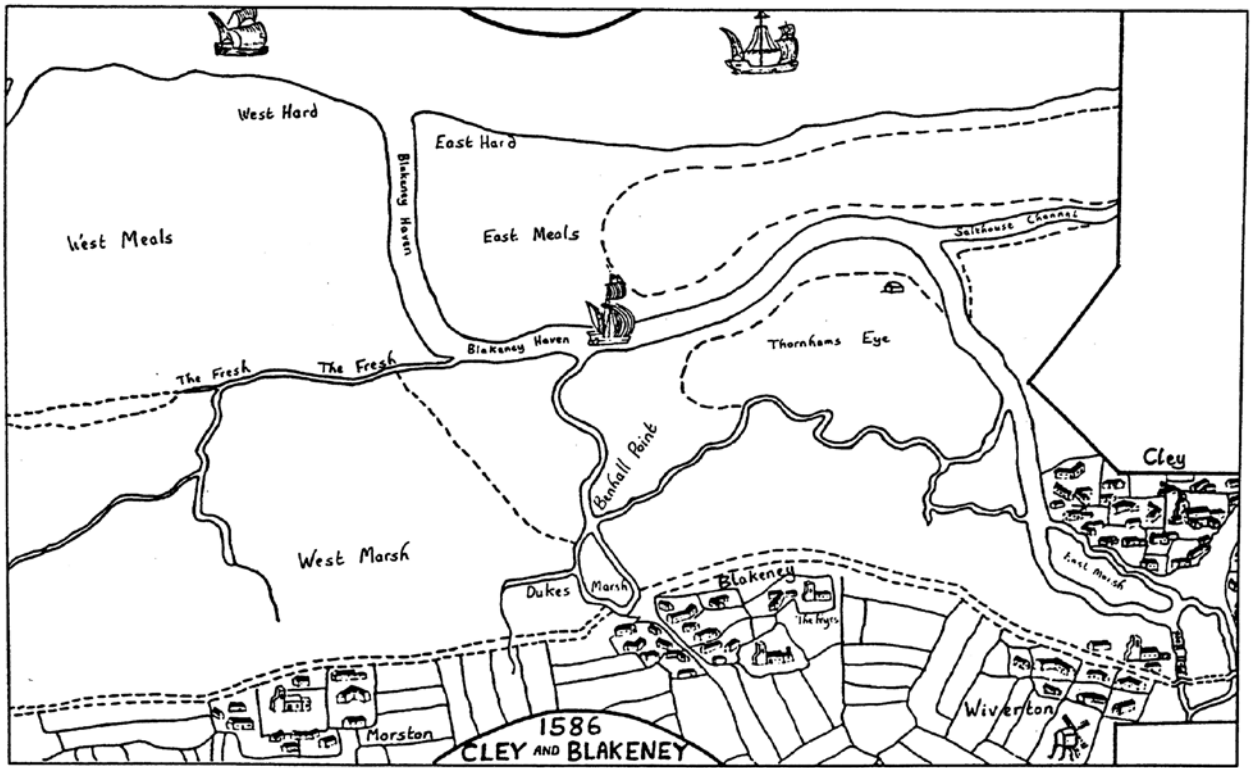


Figure 16. Map of Blakeney and Cley taken from the simplified version of the 1586 map reproduced in the 2nd Report of the Tidal Harbours Commission, 1846, Some of the illustrations on the original map have been omitted as has the decorative information on the border of the map.
Reproduced from *The Glaven Ports*

F The **British Library** copy

The Library reference for this map reads thus:

> Map of Blakeney Haven and Port of Cley ... 1586 ... Taken from the original parchment in the possession of the representatives of ... T.W.Thomlinson Esq. Lord of the Manor of Cley, Norfolk ... copied 1846. 590 x 465 mm. Ordnance Survey (Southampton) 1930. B.L. shelfmark 4325 (3). A photostatic reproduction of a map in the possession of Arthur Cooke, Esq.

This is a copy of the Cooke map **B**. I have a photograph, but have not seen the British Library 'original'. It has what appear to be two large fold marks, forming a cross shape off centre. It has signs of staining, possibly water damage, especially around Wiveton and in the bottom right-hand corner. There are no such marks on the present Cooke copy, perhaps because it has been restored in recent years.

G The **Catling** tracing and dyeline copies

Catling's tracing was taken from the Cooke copy **B**. I have two prints and several others exist. In his long typescript *History of Blakeney and its Havens*[5] Peter Catling says:

> Perhaps the most important source of information about the Haven and its villages is given by a manuscript map bearing the date 1586 and the coats of arms of the Heydon family, very probably of Christopher Heydon who sold Thornham Eye and the decayed Chapel on the Eye to James Calthorpe in 1596.
>
> The original map, once in the possession of the Thomlinson family, then at Cley Hall, has now disappeared without trace. As has one that used to hang in Wiveton Hall. Two later (perhaps 17th century) copies are known, one of which owned by Mrs Monement Long has been reproduced by B. Cozens-Hardy, and another, a slightly less detailed copy, now in the possession, of Roger Gresham Cooke, has been made available to me in an excellent tracing. Other more recent, engraved (dated 1846) and photographic copies of this map are known to exist, but their detail is far inferior to those of earlier date.
>
> This map, about 33 x 26 inches within its frame, bears the latin names of the points of the compass in the middle of its four sides; the date 1586 appearing in a cartouche under 'Oriens'. The title is clearly a modem addition. *Map of Blakeney Haven and Port of Cley, Executed in the Year 1586*, and there is no indication of the surveyor's name to be seen in these copies, though it probably once existed somewhere on the original.

The Catling typescript was lodged in the Norfolk Studies Library and did not survive the fire of 1994, but a replacement copy has recently been given to the Library and other copies are known to exist in private hands.

H The **Sayers** painting and prints

Godfrey Sayers painted a version of the map in 1992 and from it produced a limited edition of 250 prints. It was based largely on the Cooke copy **(B)**, but Godfrey also had access to the Long copy **(A)** for a short time and his map is a combination of the two. One of the problems

he had was that the Cooke copy was not square, a problem he ingeniously overcame by tracing it on polythene and 'pulling' it square. He felt the two copies were cartographically similar but artistically different. There were some slight differences in the channel shapes, especially in the channel from 'Stewky Mill' leading to the 'bower', which was a loop on the Cooke copy, but did not join together at the base on the Long copy. Also, it appears from a photograph of (part of) the Long map in the booklet on Cley by Peter Brooks[5] that the word 'bower' is missing. This is interesting, as 'Bowre Cricke' is mentioned in the Duchy of Lancaster papers referred to below. There also appears to be a second tower on Blakeney church, which Godfrey felt had been added later. I have never seen the Long copy and this, as well as the bottom left-hand corner (which was 'awanting' in the Cooke copy, and also missing from the Brooks photo) are areas of the Long copy that need close examination. It has always puzzled me how the cartographer, who portrayed Cley church so accurately, could miss out the second tower on Blakeney church. Godfrey Sayers also thought that the waves on the Cooke copy may well have been added and so did not include them in his painting.

Scale and Accuracy

In Peter Catling's words:[7]

> There is a conventional grotesque of a 'Green Man' wearing the mask of a horned goat, carrying dividers tucked into his belt, and holding a pole inscribed with the scale of 40 perches to the inch.

A perch is 5½ yards (one quarter of a 'chain' of 22 yards) and therefore 40 perches (one inch on the map) represents 220 yards. This can be expressed as 8 inches to the mile or as 1 to 7,920. The nearest Ordnance Survey scale is 1 to 10,000 (6.336 inches to the mile). Distances on the 1586 map would therefore be correct if the OS equivalents are only 0.79 as long.

Fixed points common to both maps were identified (church to church, church to Wiveton bridge and comer of Blakeney channel to churches) and measurements taken between them and compared. In all but one instance, the measurements on the 1:10,000 map were between 0.64 and 0.76 shorter than on the 1586 map. The exception was Wiveton church to Wiveton bridge which was only 0.35, showing an exaggeration of this small distance on the 1586 map. Half of the measurements fell between 0.70 and 0.76 which, I feel, shows that the map is more than a pictorial representation: it was fairly accurately surveyed.

Why was it drawn?

Until recently it was not known for what purpose the map had been drawn. However, notes made from a document in the Duchy of Lancaster papers by Dr Andy Wood of UEA, and drawn to my attention by Dr Hassell Smith, may have solved the mystery and further study of the records may confirm this. The paper concerns a dispute between the Attorney General and Christopher Newgate *et al*. about who had the rights of wreck and salvage on Stiffkey Sands: the Manor of Wighton in the Duchy of Lancaster or the Manor of Cley. It has always seemed strange that a map of the port of Cley should have the port on the right-hand side rather than nearer the middle of the map. Also, on the sands in question, the cartographer had added a wreck being broken up and two figures fighting. Many of the names on the map occur in the evidence given in the document, which would suggest that the map was drawn to help settle the dispute.

Who drew the map?

I once saw very briefly a reproduction of a map of Mousehold Heath with illustrations around the edge that seemed to be of a very similar style to the 1586 map. When I eventually started looking for it, I found it to be the 16th century map mentioned in the Norfolk Record Office card index as:

> A trewe discripcon of Mushold ... heath... Coloured, drawings of churches and other buildings and of a surveyor and dog. Showing the area between Norwich, Ranworth, Sprowston and Burlingham. In Norwich Castle Museum deposited by C.Blackwell Foster 1903.

I have now seen this map in the basement of Castle Museum, for a short while only. It included the drawing of a surveyor (who bore a remarkable similarity to the weary figure trudging home on the 1586 map) and a dog (there are two dogs on the 1586 map). Also around the borders were the names of the four compass points enclosed in a border design that included two dragons. It appeared to be in a remarkably similar style and I think it was by the same cartographer. However, this map was not signed and so we are, as yet, no nearer finding out the name of our cartographer.

Jonathan Hooton teaches geography and environmental science at Notre Dame School, Norwich.

Notes

1 J.J.Hooton, *The Glaven Ports: A Maritime History of Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton in North Norfolk,* Blakeney History Group, 1996.

2 B.Cozens-Hardy, 'Cley next the Sea and its Marshes', *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society,* Vol XII, Part III, 1926-27.

3 B.Cozens-Hardy, 'The Maritime Trade of the Port of Blakeney, which included Cley and Wiveton, 1586-1590', *Norfolk Record Society,* Vol VIII, 1936.

4 B.Cozens-Hardy, 'The Glaven Valley', *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol XXXIII, Part IV, p 508.

5 Peter Catling, *History of Blakeney and its Havens,* Unpublished typescript, pre-1980, (in the Norfolk Studies Library, Norwich), p l22-3.

6 Peter Brooks, *Cley: Living with Memories of Greatness*, Poppyland Publishing, 1984.

7 Peter Catling, *History of Blakeney and its Havens*, p l23.

8 Public Record Office, DL4/28/40 (22 Sept 1586) and DL4/29/41 (29 March 1587).

NORFOLK WAR MEMORIALS PROJECT 1918 -1998

By Mary Ferroussat

This year, 1998, is the 80th anniversary of the end of the First World War – which had touched the lives of everyone in the country: husbands, sons, lovers, friends – every family had lost someone. To commemorate the dead, memorials were erected throughout the country. In Norfolk there were 12,000 names to record. This year, a project is under way to ensure that these memorials and the men they commemorate will not be forgotten. This article explains what is being done, both within the county and in Blakeney in particular. It is envisaged that a second article will give some information about the Blakeney men whose names are listed.

The Norfolk Project

At the Imperial War Museum, in London, a National Inventory of War Memorials is being compiled. It was begun in 1989 and its aim is to recognise the historical importance of these memorials by listing every one in the country. The information from Norfolk is being organised by the Royal Norfolk Regimental Museum, which aims to collect not only details of each memorial but also some biographical information about the people they commemorate.

Each year, the Regimental Museum deals with several hundred enquiries, nearly all about individual people – grandfathers, fathers, uncles. There is an increasing interest in family history and in the First World War generally. Despite continued migration into Norfolk, many families have remained in the same community since the time of the First World War and the Museum would welcome photographs of descendants as well as information about those who were killed.

Memorials take many forms: memorial halls, windows, books, as well as the cross on the village green, and plaques were erected by businesses and schools. It is important to record these memorials before they are threatened with destruction – the school that closes, the memorial hall no longer needed, or a plaque at the mercy of vandals. By raising awareness of local memorials and recording them, their future can be made more secure.

The main aims of the project are:

- to record and photograph all First World War memorials in Norfolk
- to list the names of all those commemorated, and relevant information about them
- to note any memorials under threat, forgotten, in disrepair, or without public access
- to pass on information to the Imperial War Museum
- to display material in the Royal Norfolk Regimental Museum as the project proceeds
- to complete the work by 11.11.1998.

The Regimental Museum cannot undertake this work alone: help is needed. Schools are being invited to participate, but offers from organisations and individuals would also be most welcome. The survey has received much publicity in the local press, and anyone who wishes to take part, or who wishes to see if their parish is already included, should contact the Regimental Museum on 01603 493649.

The actual survey form being used by the Royal Norfolk Regimental Museum is reproduced as an appendix to this article. Much of the information required should be relatively easy to find, although it may not be possible to answer every question. In particular, biographical details about some of the servicemen are difficult to come by, especially when their families have moved away from the area. An article in the Eastern Daily Press on 23rd February 1998 gave some tips about what to do and where to look, including:

- checking the Norfolk Roll of Honour – to find out in which unit the person served
- consulting the volumes of Men who died in the Great War – available in Norwich
- reading contemporary newspapers and parish magazines
- contacting the Commonwealth War Graves Commission – in Maidenhead, Berks
- visiting the Public Record Office at Kew – if all else fails.

The Blakeney Memorials

In Blakeney the memorials take three forms: the memorial on New Road listing the names of the dead, the two cottages adjacent, and plaques in the church. The memorial and cottages were built on land given by Mrs Anna Turner in 1921 with money raised by the village. In 1992, the Parish Council refaced the memorial, leaving the original surface protected underneath.

The following pages show the names which appear on the memorial and on the plaques in the church. The first list is that which appears on the New Road memorial. Unfortunately the new inscription contains four errors, all involving the use of a C instead of a G. The relevant names should read: C.A.G.Cooke, G.P.Hudson, G.King and N.G.Cooke. The second shows the wording and approximate layout of the brass inscriptions affixed to a large carved board on the wall of the north aisle, omitting the badges which head four of the five individual commemorations. The third relates to three other commemorative plaques in the church: the first is alongside the aisle board, the second (in two separate parts, on wood) is on the tower arch wall at the west end of the nave, and the third, on brass, is on the wall of the south aisle. The accompanying photographs show the cottages and the principal memorials, as well as one of the stones in the churchyard.

The author is collecting information about those who died in the two World Wars but, as yet, some of these people remain completely unknown. It is envisaged that an article summarising the results will appear in the next issue of this journal.

Other Villages

The author has also agreed to do similar work for Wiveton and Glandford, and in Cley the PCC is completing the survey form. At the time of writing (May) it is not known whether similar efforts are being made in Morston and Langham.

Mary Ferroussat is a former schoolteacher who lives opposite the Blakeney War Memorial,

THESE
COTTAGES
ARE ERECTED IN
GRATEFUL MEMORY OF THE
BLAKENEY MEN WHO GAVE
THEIR LIVES IN THE WAR
1914 -1918

E. A. ADCOCK
P. H ALLEN
B. C. ASH
R. BALDING
V. K. BULLEN

C. CLAXTON
C. A. C. COOKE
R. COOPER
C. HAINES
C.P.HUDSON
C. KING
W. KING
T. R. D. LANE
J. H. LONG
J.LONG M.M.

H. J. LONG
C. MITCHELL
J. MOORE
JAS. MOORE
J.NEWLAND
C. NICHOLLS
T. PALMER
F. W. PYKE
W. S. PYKE
C. C. G ROE
W. E. SEALES
J. W. SMITH
E. H STARLING
A. E.TURNER
H.WRIGHT
H. DANIEL

AND IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR
1939 -1945

J. BALDING
J. A. BALDING
J. COBON
N. C. COOKE

F. W. GRIMES
R. H. HARCOURT
M. D. JACKSON
H.MILNER

DULCE **ET** **DECORUM**

**TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND
IN HONOURED AND GRATEFUL
MEMORY OF BLAKENEY MEN
WHO LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES
FOR THEIR COUNTRY IN THE
GREAT WAR 1914 -1918**

Thanking God for the beloved
Memory of Cyril Charles
Gordon Roe 2nd Lieut 1st Bait
Royal Marine Light Infantry.
Youngest son of the Reverend
Canon R. Gordon Roe, Rector
of this parish and Isobel....
Alice his wife .....
Born on July 2nd 1895 killed
in action at Oppy Wood April
28th 1917 in the Great War.

"Eternal rest grant him 0 Lord and
let light perpetual shine upon him."

E.A.ADCOCK
P.H.ALLEN
B.C.ASH
R.BALDING
V.K.BULLEN
C.CLAXTON
C.A.G.COOKE
R.COOPER
C.HAINES
G.P.HUDSON
G.KING
W.KING
T.R.D.LANE
J.H.LONG
J.LONG M.M
HJ.LONG
C.M1TCHELL
J.MOORE
JAS MOORE
J.NEWLAND
C.NICHOLLS
T.PALMER
F.W.PYKE
W.S.PYKE
C.C.G.ROE
W.E.SEALES
J.W.SMTTH
E.H.STARLING
A.E.TURNER
H.WRIGHT

+

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
WARRANT OFFICER WILLIAM E. KING R-N.
26th NOV 1914 AGE 39 YEARS
ALSO HIS BROTHER
WARRANT OFFICER GEORGE A. KING R.N.
DROWNED FROM H.M.DESTROYER "CRUSADER"
DOVERPATROL 21st JAN 1917 AGE 32 YEARS
THEIR DUTY NOBLY DONE.

TO THE
GLORY OF GOD
AND
IN PROUD AND AFFECTIONATE MEMORY
OF
GEORGE PETER HUDSON
WHO DIED OF WOUNDS RECEIVED IN ACTION
NEAR YPRES SEP 12th 1918
AGED 33 YEARS
HIS LIFE FOR HIS COUNTRY;
HIS SOUL TO GOD.

Giving thanks to God
for the Beloved Memory
of
Christopher Arthur
Gresham Cooke
Midshipman R.N.
Aged 18
HMS Abouku-, torpedoed
22nd Sept 1914
Battle of Jutland 31st May 1916.
Killed by explosion in
HMS Vanguard 9th July 1917.

He lived happily
and died bravely.

**IN GRATEFUL MEMORY
OF THE MEN OF BLAKENEY
WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES
IN THE WAR
1939 -1945**

JOHN BALDING
JOHN ALBERT BALDING
JACK COBON
NICHOLAS GRESHAM COOKE
FREDERICK WILLIAM GRIMES
RAYMOND HUGH HARCOURT
MAURICE DOUGLAS JACKSON
HAROLD MILNER

Giving thanks to God
for the Beloved Memory
of
Robert Balding
Aged 34
who gave his life for his Country
Sept 21st 1914
by torpedoing of
HMS Aboukir

"Thou art the same and
thy years shall not fail"

EST PRO **PATRIA** **MORI**

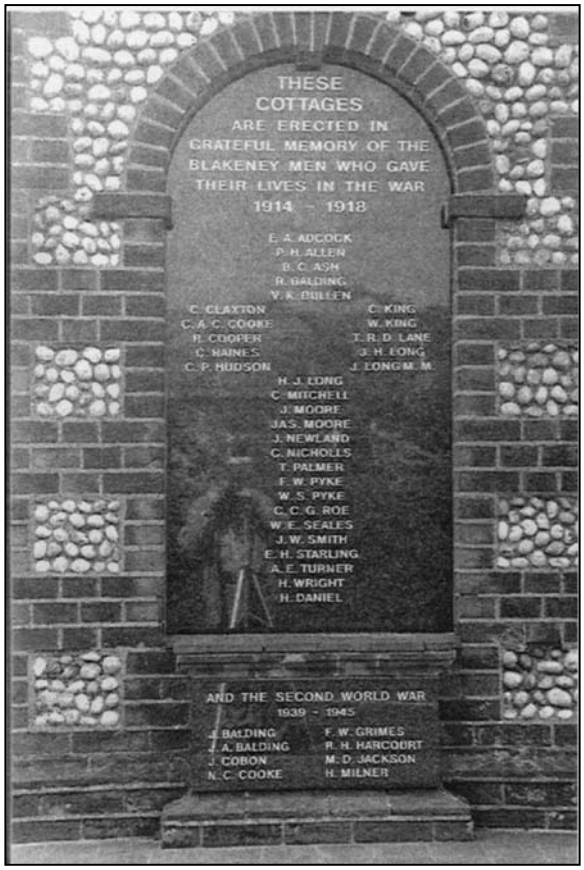
TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND IN
DEAR MEMORY OF
FLYING OFFICER
ALEXANDER BRUCE KAY
No. 6 (A.C.) SQUADRON
ROYAL AIR FORCE
WHO DIED AT
MOSUL IRAQ
JULY 4 1928
AGE 23 YEARS

THE CLOCK IN THE TOWER
WAS GIVEN IN MEMORY OF
ARTHUR COOKE F.RC.S.
AND HIS SONS
MIDSHIPMAN CHRISTOPHER
ARTHUR GRESHAM COOKE R.N.
FLIGHT LIEUTENANT NICHOLAS
GRESHAM COOKE D.F.C.
1945

AND A CONTRIBUTION TO
ITS ELECTRIFICATION WAS
MADE IN MEMORY OF
ROGER GRESHAM COOKE
C.B.E. MP.
BY HIS WIDOW AND FAMILY
1973

Giving thanks to God for the
beloved memory of Alfred
Henry Waldy Esquire Capt
46 Regt who served in the
Crimea War and was present
at Sebastopol and Inkerman
Also of Georgina his wife and
Richard Wartyr their son Capt
2nd Bedfordshire Regt M.I. who
served with the Tsazar Exped
ition 1892 and Chitral Relief
Force 1895 and died of wounds
received at Paardeburg South
Africa 1900

The Lady Chapel & the windows
in this Aisle are dedicated by
one who loved them.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W. KING
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H. J. LONG
C. MITCHELL
J. MOORE
JAS. MOORE
J. NEWLAND
C. NICHOLLS
T. PALMER
F. W. PYKE
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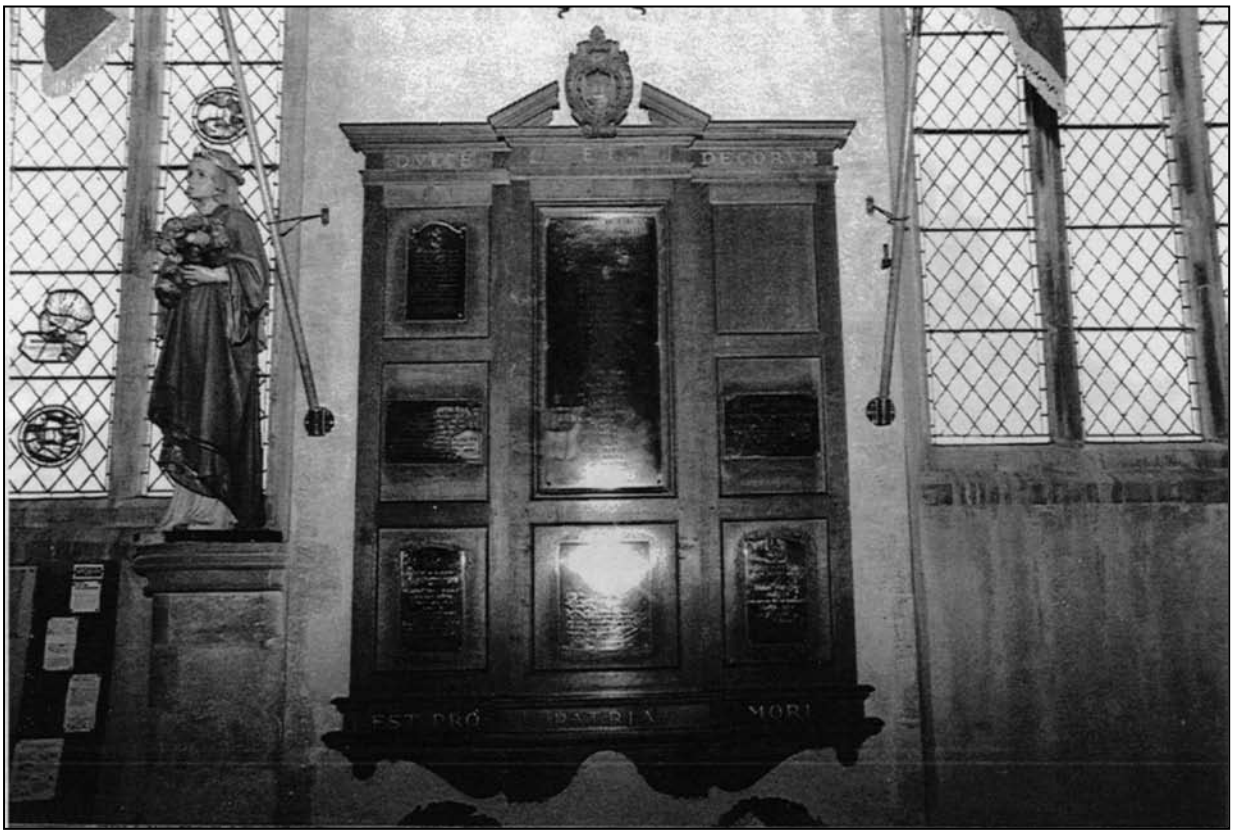
H. MILNER


14156 PRIVATE
R. C. COOPER
NORFOLK REGIMENT
5TH JULY 1916 AGE 20


EST PRO PATRIA MORI

THE REVEREND JAMES POINTER

Rector of Blakeney (1584-1621) and Wiveton (1591-1621)

By Jean George

The sixteenth century was a time of great religious change. Henry VIII defied the authority of the Pope and persuaded Parliament to declare him Supreme Head of the Church in England. In the reign of Mary Tudor there were bloody attempts to return to the Church of Rome, but Queen Elizabeth re-affirmed the Anglican Church and established a compromise with Catholics, though quarrelling and dissent continued in many parts of the country. In this part of Norfolk, far away from London, most people were not greatly bothered by these changes. The passing years brought the cycle of seedtime and harvest – sometimes good, sometimes bad – and the toil of fishing, farming and trading continued. Life went on: no doubt some people objected to the new forms of service, but others accepted them or did not much care either way. It was towards the end of this turbulent century, in 1584, that James Pointer became Rector of Blakeney under the patronage of James Calthorpe.

His House

Pointer lived in the Old Rectory, or Blakeney Parsonage as it was then known, and from the inventory of his goods,[1] made on 19 April 1621, we can form some impression of the furnishing of his house and his style of living. By then the Parsonage was quite old and not necessarily the largest house in the village. It had a parlour, a buttery where beer was brewed, a chamber for outside equipment, three bedrooms and at least one other room.

The parlour was well furnished. It had a long 'framed' table, an improvement on the trestle table of earlier years, covered with a carpet – only later were carpets used to cover the floor. There were six joined stools, a settle, a short form, seven chairs and eight 'owld cushens'. One cupboard with a press for keeping clothes was a fine piece of furniture, valued at thirty shillings.[2] The inventory records fire irons, a toasting iron, a glass box, a birdcage (no mention of contents!) and a pair of snuffers, as well as other cupboards. The most valuable group of items were a gilt tankard, a cup, trencher and salt, and six silver spoons, weight 42 ounces, together valued at £10.15s. The walls were hung with no less than 16 pictures and two 'skutchins' (coats of arms), and there was also a 'great mappe'. One cannot but wonder if any of these still exist. And what did the great map show? Could it have been the map of Blakeney haven and adjacent villages prepared in 1586? The parlour also contained glasses and a bottle and, as the very last item, 'lombardy' – a term which seems to mean other stuff not worth describing (ie lumber). There is enough detail here, though, to enable us to picture this panelled, candle-lit room with dark wooden furniture throwing shadows in the firelight.

The hall contained another framed table, with six joined stools and a clothes cupboard. More interesting items were 'a musket full furnished' ready for use and valued at £1.6s.8d, two halberds and a 'powle axe', and the back of a corselet – a reminder that the men of the parish were supposed to be ready for military action if and when needed. One other interesting item in the hall was a saffron kiln, probably made of wood and plaster, which would have been

used for drying saffron, a valuable crop grown as a spice and for medicinal purposes. The kiln would have been used in autumn when the crop was harvested.

The buttery, next to the parlour, was a very important part of the house: it was used almost entirely for making beer. Tea had not yet reached this country and beer was the standard drink for the general population. The buttery contained seven hogsheads, large wooden casks with a capacity of 50 gallons each. At the time of the inventory three were full and four were empty. Other pieces of equipment included a barrel, three hanging shelves, a keeler (wooden tub), a flaskett, small stools, a handbasket, two bottles and a stone jug. Next to the buttery another chamber held handrakes, two pitchforks, a side saddle, a 'pylyone', a tub, baskets, vinegar keg, cheesevats, earthenware pots, eight saffron dishes and one 'spanishe staff'.

Probably the most prized possession in the whole house was the bed in the main bedroom: a fine four-poster, with a canopy or 'tester of wainskott', probably oak, and with a fine cloth 'vallens' and curtains. It was fitted with a featherbed, a bolster, two pillows, a green rug and an old tapestry coverlet, total value £5. A small leaf table, six joined stools and a clothes cupboard completed the furnishing of this room. A pair of andirons suggests that a fire was lit in cold weather. Two other bedrooms were more simply furnished.

Unfortunately, the last part of the inventory is not legible, which may account for the lack of any reference to a kitchen or kitchen utensils. The total value is also unknown, although the items which can be read total just over £42, of which his 'apparrell', not itemised, accounted for £20.

His Living

Though some Elizabethan livings were very poor, this did not apply to Blakeney and Wiveton combined. There do not seem to be any accounts dating from Pointer's time but a later incumbent clearly had access to some and made some notes[3] relating to the year 1614. First, he set down the sum total of Mr Pointer's corn:

Wheat	14 coomb[4]	3 bushels	1 peck	£10. 0. 0
Rye	49	3		£24. 0. 0
'Myllyng'	3	½		1.18.0
Peas	17	1	½	7. 0. 6
Oats	25	1		6.12.0
Buck	4	3		1. 4. 0
Barley	304			145. 0. 0
'So this accompt is for both his livings'				£195.14.6

The note then runs as follows:

> Thus I reckon but at the bottom of ye accompt Mr Poynter setts downe ye suma totalis for all his corn 199.0.0.
> This yere the prices of corne were but ordinary. All that sume was for his corne only, none of his other profits were reckoned.
> Query whether he lets his glebe or not this yere. The next yere I find he let much of his glebe at Wiveton and he took 7.0.0. for it.

Though the note refers to 'profits' it is more likely that the sums set against the crop totals represent the income received. The costs of producing that quantity of corn would have been of the order of £50. The note does not refer to the income from tithes – nor to any saffron crop – so it can be guessed that Mr Pointer's total 'profit' would have approached £200 for the year. In 1614 a country parson could have lived very comfortably on that.

His Church

In contrast to the comfortable parsonage house and the profitable living, the church buildings of Blakeney and Wiveton seem to have been in very bad repair. Reports from the Archdeacon's Visitations from 1597 onwards[5] tell of such faults as 'the pavement is much broken' ... 'the walls are in decaie' ... 'east window is much broken' ... 'the chancel needs paving' and, of Wiveton, 'the bell is riven'. No-one seems to have been enthusiastic in effecting any repairs. The same faults are reported time and time again, and as late as 1677 the leads and roof of Wiveton church were still decayed.

Inside the churches many things were 'wanting': 'a table of tenne commandementes' ... 'a comlie cloth for the communion table' ... 'a comely surplesse' and so on. It was also alleged that graves were left uncovered.

The Visitations also found fault with the conduct of the clergy and churchwardens. The latter were charged with not collecting fines from those who missed church on Sundays or with not walking the parish boundaries. Of James Pointer it was said in 1597 that 'he doth not were the surples in reading devine service'.[6] He was one of only 18 clergymen in Norfolk who did not wear a surplice, although there were others who wore one only occasionally. This is usually taken to be an indication that the incumbent was trying to promote a stricter form of Protestantism in place of the established church, but can this be said of James Pointer? The Visitation records that the charge was dismissed on acknowledgement of fault.

An important requirement introduced in 1538 was that registers should be kept in every church to record baptisms, marriages and burials. The Blakeney registers are very largely complete from this date and one[7] bears a comment in the hand of James Pointer. "The 24 March 1602 and in her 45th yere departed Queen Elizabeth and the same day succeeded King James whome God preserve long to reign over us". Queen Elizabeth, of course, died in 1603, but the entry is correct because at that time the new year was not considered to start until 25th March.

His Life

It is, perhaps, unfortunate for James Pointer that Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey left a considerable volume of records relating to his role as Justice of the Peace. On 23rd April 1605 Ellen Reeve of Wiveton gave evidence before him:

> She sayth that her daughter Elizabeth Reve, who lyveth in house with her, upon her being discovered to be with child, was examined by women of the towne of Wiveton, who was the father therof. And at the firste she did name one Sander Dove, a comber, and since upon another examination by the examinant and mother Thurlowe, she hath confessed that Mr Poynter the minister of Wiveton and Blakeney, is the father of her child.[8]

On the same day Elizabeth Reeve gave evidence:

> She sayth that she is with childe by Mr Poynter, ye minister of Blakeney, but that she was firste defiled by him at Blakeney Parsonage before Mr Berrye, Curate, came thither to dwell, and she gesseth the tyme to be somewhat before hallowmass laste. And sayth all so that he hath defyled her sondry times since, and she reckoneth vi or vii tymes. And sayth that he gave her money at severall tymes. She also confesseth that the said Mr Poynter when he knew her with childe, did advise her to lye with some other man, and named Sander Dove, and accordingly she sayth the said Sander Dove did once lye with her in her mothers house and another time in the fielde. She further sayth the said Mr Poynter did bid her saie that the said Sander Dove was the father of her childe. She sayth that the places wher Mr Poynter did meete with her when he defyled her was some tymes at Blakeney parsonage, and some-tymes at Wiveton parsonage.

It has to be remembered that this was an examination before a magistrate, not a trial. No evidence was offered on behalf of the Revd James Pointer or Sander Dove. No-one was found guilty, but the inference seems to be clear. A few days later Nathaniel Bacon wrote to Lord Rich in the household of the Earl of Northumberland:

> It maie please your honour to understande that one James Poynter, parson of Blakeney, Wiveton and Glamford thre several chardges, and Chaplin to the Erle of Northumberlande, being a man notoriously defamed for his vitious life continually led since he came into the chardge of the ministry, and now lately accused by a pore womans daughter of Wiveton to have gotten her with childe...

Nathaniel asks for Pointer's dismissal. At the same time, he wrote an even stronger letter to the Bishop of Norwich. In it he repeats Elizabeth Reeve's accusation against Pointer and goes on to say that:

> ... Poynter hath dwelt longe in this kinde of sinne, though he hath a wife of his owne, from whome he lyveth and yet is no woman of evill reporte ... in the late Bishops tyme [and in Scamlers tyme] he hath bene convicted for this kynd of Crime, and once was allso arraigned for a rape. Ther was one Alice Whitbie, a younge woman of Blakeney, for whome he was sondry tymes in question, and she had severall children,... and he suspected to be the father of them, and this woman is not longe since married and now he is fallne to this other...

Nathaniel asks for Mr Pointer to be dismissed. The Reverend Pointer, however, was not dismissed.

Elizabeth Reeve was then almost 29 and several efforts were made to find her a husband. She accused 15 year old Alexander Moye, but his employer. Henry Drury of Baconsthorpe, believed him to be 'not faultie'. William the cripple, who lived on the alms of the town, offered to marry Elizabeth, and to receive a cow and seven pence. William Sayers, who worked at Leeche's malthouse in Wiveton, was asked to marry her in exchange for summer meat, winter meat, two cows and a piece of money, and his dwelling so long as he lived. He

said he would not marry her without the consent of the town but he spoke to Elizabeth and was accepted. Nevertheless, nothing came of these various offers, for on the 8th September 1605 was baptised Margaret Reve, base born.[9]

The Revd James Pointer remained at Blakeney until his death in April 1621. By local standards he must have seemed an erudite man, even though no books are mentioned in his inventory. He was the first boy from Wymondham School to go to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, where he graduated in 1575. Eight years later he gained an MA degree, and in 1590 became a Bachelor of Divinity.[10] He was about 70 when he died.

Perhaps it was his good fortune to live at a time when his 'tabloid' life style could not be spread abroad so easily as it would have been today.

Jean George is a retired Schoolteacher, and formerly taught at Blakeney School.

Notes

1 Norfolk Record Office (NRO), Inventory 31/23 (BAHS document E.16).

2 If a reminder is needed: the pre-decimal system was 12 pence to 1 shilling, 20 shillings to 1 pound.

3 NRO, Blakeney Parish Deposit, PD/619/38.

4 Another reminder: in dry measure there are 4 pecks to 1 bushel, 4 bushels to 1 coomb.

5 Visitation records are available in the NRO.

6 Bishop Redman's Visitation 1597, *Norfolk Record Society*, Vol XVIII, 1946,p55.

7 NRO, PD/619/1.

8 *The Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon*, Camden Papers, 3rd series, Vol XXVI, 1915, pp l8-21.

9 NRO, PD/619/1.

10 John Venn & J.A.Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1924.

TAYLOR'S WOOD

By Monica White

As a botanist, I have always been fascinated by the history of our landscape and the way in which it has been moulded by the activities of man. And here in Norfolk, which until late medieval times was one of the most heavily populated counties in England, every corner has a story to tell. Taylor's Wood is no exception.

Taylor's Wood is a small triangular woodland of chestnut and oak coppice on the Cley-Salthouse boundary. It is now owned by the Blount family, whose management over the last few years has restored much of its former beauty.

But the area was not always like this. Some 5000 years ago the site, like most of Norfolk, was covered with mixed deciduous woodland which included small-leafed lime, sessile oak, alder and, possibly, beech. Then, about 4,500 years ago. Neolithic settlers wielding stone axes, moved into the area. They slashed and burnt and cleared the land to grow crops. Within a few years, perhaps as few as ten, the thin gravelly soil of the Holt-Cromer ridge became too impoverished to support reliable crops and the Stone Age farmers moved on to lower ground. Tree re-generation was slow on the poor, acidic soils and heathland, dominated by heather, gorse and bracken, developed on the site. It is very probable that this would have returned to woodland eventually but the heathland proved to be a most valuable resource. It provided grazing for the small, hardy goats, sheep, cattle and geese, and winter fodder for the breeding animals. The gorse, heather and bracken were used as a fuel, particularly the gorse which burns with a fierce heat; as bedding for man and beasts; for building and roofing materials; and the heather was used in brewing and for dyes. The continuous regime of grazing and cutting almost completely prevented the growth of tree seedlings so heathland, with a few trees growing in the deeper pockets of soil, became thoroughly established.

During the early Bronze Age the land where Taylor's Wood now stands became a sacred site. Two round barrows or burial mounds (tumuli) were built, dominating the skyline and proclaiming the importance of the local tribe. The area, however, was still grazed, probably by animals being driven from Salthouse heath down to the water in the Glaven Valley, and still cut, so it remained as heathland for many centuries.

In AD 43 the Romans invaded Britain and soon extended their rule over the whole country. They brought many Mediterranean plants with them, including Alexanders (horse pepper), stinging nettles, wine grapes and sweet chestnuts. The climate was warmer and wetter then, and the nuts ripened well. Norfolk had many Romano-British settlements with a flourishing villa and farm at Holt, for example, and quite possibly saltpans at Salthouse. It seems very probable that it was the Romans who planted a grove of sweet chestnuts on the site, adjacent to the barrows and close to the path leading from Salthouse to Holt now known as Bixes Lane and which may well have been there in Roman times.

So, for about 300 years perhaps, the site was covered with sweet chestnuts, grown for their nuts rather than for timber. But the Romans left Britain early in the 5th century AD and England was invaded by Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Danes, all from Northern Europe. They

had little experience of chestnuts as food, but they were skilled wood-workers and had developed sophisticated systems of woodland management to produce timber, and wood of all sizes, on a sustainable basis. And so, at some point in the years between the Anglo-Saxon invasions and the Norman Conquest, the grove of trees was coppiced, and banks and ditches were later built around it to keep out grazing animals. Some traces of these ancient coppices and banks can still be seen. After 1066 the wood became known as Taylor's Wood, the name being derived from *taillez*, Norman-French for coppice.

Taylor's Wood was on common ground, used by the villagers of Cley and, eventually, as happened with many similar common-woods, the coppicing regimes declined and once again chestnut standards grew on the site. The nuts were used as pig food and, just as importantly, for cooking: in stews, as an accompaniment to meat and as flour in many kinds of puddings, and they were also preserved in honey. Then, some time in the late medieval period or perhaps in the 16th or early 17th century, most of the trees were cut down. Many small woodlands in north Norfolk were felled in the 16th and 17th centuries, partly in response to changing agricultural practices, partly because cheap coal brought into local ports was replacing wood as fuel, even in poorer homes, and partly to provide timber for building. Chestnut timber was used often in place of oak, particularly for panelling. So the site reverted to heathland with isolated trees, and this is how it is shown on Faden's map, published in 1797.

The Enclosure Award of 1824 allotted the common land on which the wood now stands to a local landowner who enclosed it and planted chestnuts and oaks. Part of the wood was coppiced to produce palings for fencing, and part was a nuttery – it is said that once a year villagers from Cley were invited up to the wood to picnic and to collect nuts. The rest of the wood formed part of a grand landscaping project in which avenues of trees led to glades around the barrows. Banks and ditches, still very much in evidence, were built around the wood to prevent sheep grazing and damaging the young coppice, and the old name once again became appropriate.

The coppicing continued regularly until the First World War and then intermittently until the 1939-45 War. Then, owing to a fall in demand and rising labour costs, coppicing came to an end. The individual poles, which spring, from the cut trunk (or stool) grew into tall trees, and sycamore, rhododendrons and bramble invaded the wood. But recently the Blount family have cleared away much of the undergrowth, reintroduced coppicing, and have started to replant. Another phase in the history of Taylor's Wood has begun.

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THE BLAKENEY AND CLEY PORT BOOKS

By Richard Kelham

The port books represent one of the major sources for the historian interested in pre-19th century trade. They purport to be a record of all dutiable goods imported or exported, or sent coast-wise, over the period 1565 to 1780. Considering that at various times just about every commodity that could be traded could also be taxed, these records should give a pretty comprehensive overview of England's ship-borne trade. But do they? This article presents some thoughts on this question and includes some extracts from selected port books. It is intended that some complete transcriptions will be included in future issues of the Journal.

Before considering the usefulness and accuracy of the port books, a brief discourse on the organisation of the customs service might be useful. As far back as the 14th century the coast of England was divided into 19 areas, each based upon a principal trading town, or head port. The Port of Yarmouth consisted of the quays at Yarmouth plus all the creeks and harbours (known as outports) between Woodbridge and Blakeney. There were resident customs officers only at those ports which were traditionally associated with overseas trade – merchants were expected to use only those ports where a customs officer was to be found.

This somewhat imperfect system was investigated by the Marquess of Winchester, author of the Customs Act of 1559 to regulate the creeks, who arranged a general inquiry into the state of customs cover in the outports in 1565. As the inquiry was entrusted to local commissioners it should come as no great surprise that they reported all was well. The commissioners who inquired into the Port of Yarmouth contented themselves with the suggestion that the Blakeney customs house be removed to Cley, which it duly was – more than a hundred years later.

Each head port had three patent officers, so called because they were appointed by 'letters patent under the Great Seal' (in other words, their job was in the gift of some powerful nobleman), these being the Customer, the Controller and the Searcher. Of the normal establishment, the Customer was signatory of all warrants, writs and other such documents, though the Controller, whose role was to be a check on the Customer, was generally considered to be his equal. They would each have half of the seal used to authenticate the cockets and certificates that a ship master needed to show that the goods he carried had been duly customed or bonded. They usually kept separate copies of the accounts, which were expected to tally the one with the other – and usually did in all but the odd detail.

Those outposts with a customs house had their own establishments, usually consisting of a Collector and a range of lesser officers with splendid sounding titles such as Waiter and Searcher, Sitter in the Boat, Tide Surveyor, and Coal Meter, among others. Most of these appointments were in the control of the patent officers at the head port, many of whom were not above charging a fee for their patronage: the Bacon papers[1] show the Searcher of Yarmouth selling the office of Deputy Searcher at Blakeney for £10, a sum equal to the Customer's salary from the Crown in the 16th century.

By the 18th century, though the civil service was still unreformed, salaries had risen. In the 1770s Peter Coble, the Controller at Cley, was paid a quarterly salary of £10; Thomas Humphrey, the Waiter and Searcher, was paid £8 15s plus £2 10s for his horse, while Samuel and Francis Starling (Tidesman and Boatman respectively) were paid £6 5s each. In all, the Cley establishment in 1779 numbered 8 men (and a horse) with a combined salary of £62 10s per quarter.[2] They were expected to augment their meagre stipends by charging fees for the issue of cockets and certificates, by taking commission on coal metered and rewards for contraband seized. They could also claim for expenses incurred, the cost defrayed by the sale of confiscated goods and equipment (by way of comparison, an agricultural labourer would have been paid about £5 a quarter – with no extras). Being so poorly paid and so far from the prying eyes of government it should not be too surprising if customs officers found merchants' bribes more appealing than the King's salary.

As to the accuracy of the port books, the percentage of trade that, for one reason or another, failed to find its way into the customs records cannot be estimated with any degree of accuracy – and indeed must have varied widely from area to area and time to time, depending on the effectiveness (or venality) of the customs officers. The amount of trade conducted from small boats with muffled oars landing at remote beaches in the dead of night will never be known, though one can be sure that then, as now, that seized by the preventive officers represented only a very small percentage. Most of the big merchants eschewed this trade, preferring instead to fiddle the system from the comfort of their own warehouses. Some indication of their success can be seen from a comparison (undertaken by Neville Williams for his seminal work on East Anglian trade in the 16th century) between the Yarmouth Customer's records for 1587-8 and those of the local Water Bailiff collecting harbour dues on behalf of the Borough. Taking shipments in foreign vessels as an example, Williams found 4 entries in the Customer's record but no less than 42 in the Water Bailiff's record for the same period.[3] Other discrepancies noted were of lesser magnitude, but always it was the Bailiff who recorded the higher number. The moral seemed to be that the Crown was fair game, but woe betide anyone trying to cheat on his local community. Unfortunately there was no Water Bailiff at Cley so such a check on unrecorded shipments cannot be made. Nor can we be sure how many shipments were under-recorded, though my own feeling is that there was less corruption in the 18th century than in the 16th, as studied by Williams, when corrupt practice seemed to be endemic.

Merchants trading coastwise had to enter a bond that their cargo was not for export, and the customs at the port of embarkation would issue a certificate to show that the bond had been paid. Understating the size of cargo loaded for such journeys was, it seems, not uncommon, especially when the merchant was expecting a 'storm' to blow his ship off course and into a foreign port (sometimes the 'storm' was a French privateer). That way, even if his (undervalued) bond was forfeited, the merchant could still show a good profit, and could usually appeal for his bond to be returned once duty had been paid.[4] In the normal course of events the bond would be redeemable when the shipmaster returned with his certificate duly endorsed by the customs at the unloading port.

Similarly for overseas trade the customs would issue a cocket to the master to show that the relevant duties had been paid before departure. Understating the size of cargo

for overseas trade was of more obvious advantage (reduced customs paid) though there was always the risk of an uncorrupted customs officer, or one of the multitude of informers, discovering the discrepancy. Certainly some of the recorded voyages from Blakeney and Cley appear to show ships leaving harbour with rather less than their maximum load on board, though it would be wrong to jump to any conclusions in such cases: it could be that there was no further cargo available, for instance.

With these caveats in mind, we can turn to the transcriptions of the actual port books. The 'date' column on the overseas pages represents the date of the cocket, whereas the date on coastwise pages usually refers to the date of entry of the certificate. In both cases this should not necessarily be taken as the date of sailing. The entries are separated into quarters, representing the quarterly returns made by the customs officers, in the order Lady Day, Midsummer, Michaelmas and Christmas.

Of the various measures used the Newcastle chalder, originally a measure of volume, had by the middle of the 18th century become accepted as a measure of weight of 53 cwt. Just to add to the confusion, the London chalder was reckoned as half that: 26½ cwt; oh, and there were still 36 (heaped) bushels to a chalder. Contemporary documents, local newspapers, etc, refer merely to 'chalders' without any qualification which leads one to assume that there was, at least in Norfolk, a general acceptance of what a chalder was; other authorities state that it was the measure used in the port of origin that mattered, which seems logical enough. When applied to real world cargoes the sloop *Active* typically carried 25 chalders of coal[5] (equal to 66 tons 5 cwt if the Newcastle measure is taken) which seems a reasonable load for a vessel estimated at 70 tons burthen, this being the figure quoted when it was put up for auction at the King's Arms, Blakeney, in June 1780.

The grain was still measured by volume, the quarter being equal to 8 bushels or 32 pecks. Unfortunately there have been over the years many variations in the size of the 'standard' bushel, not least depending on whether the contents were heaped, level or shaken down or not, and so on, though by the end of the 17th century the law[6] stated that corn was to be measured by the 'Winchester bushel stricken'. This applied until weights and measures were properly reformed in 1835. Those of you interested in this wonderfully arcane subject should obtain a copy of the magisterial work *The Weights and Measures of England* published by the British Museum; though you may need to take out a second mortgage to pay for it. The various corn and coal measures, scales and beams etc, used by the customs officers at Cley were kept in a warehouse called the Tackle House rented for that purpose. Until 1754 this storage space had been rented at 10s per annum from a merchant by the name of Framingham Jay, who lived in the house now called Mill Leat. In that year he sought to increase the rent to 30s. As the Tackle House was liable to flooding the local officers were authorised[7] to move their tackle to new premises owned by Mr Wortley[8] where, though the rent was still 30s, the flood risk was minimal.

What do the port books actually tell us? Assuming that by this date (mid 18th century) the level of fraud had dropped to below 10% of the total volume of trade, and bearing in mind that there can never be direct evidence to substantiate this or any other figure, the port books give us an indication of the nature and volume of trade passing through the creek (outport) known as Blakeney/Cley,[9] the names of the local merchants, the master mariners and their ships. Taken in isolation, and having entered the caveat

about possible fraud against the Crown, they give us only the raw data but with information from other sources a wider picture emerges. For instance, the port books tell us that a typical cargo for the sloop *Active* (just to stick with a vessel we have met before) was 350 quarters of barley. What did that represent in monetary terms? The price of grain fluctuated widely depending on the quality of the harvest but a figure of around 18s per quarter was perhaps typical of the wholesale price in the 18th century and would give a value of £315 for such a cargo as dispatched – not much less than the value of the vessel carrying it. By contrast, the value of a cargo of coal was perhaps one tenth of that figure.

What use are the port books? At the risk of sounding cliched they are valuable pieces in the jigsaw puzzle of history. On their own they tell us little, but taken in conjunction with other data they can help to build up a more comprehensive view of the social, and above all, economic history of an area. As an example it is generally accepted that one of the reasons for the decline of the Glaven ports is their lack of a suitably large and accessible hinterland (Lynn by comparison had good connections by inland waterways so that its hinterland stretched to Cambridge and beyond), but just how small was the area served by the Glaven ports? It might be possible, for example, to take the grain exports, the known yields per acre, the proportion of the land actually under grain, and an estimate of the percentage of the crop sent for export (figures often available from farm records) as a means of suggesting the area that normally would have traded through the creeks of Blakeney and Cley.

Some of the Blakeney/Cley port books have already been transcribed, most notably by Kenneth Allen and Basil Cozens-Hardy, but these represent only a tiny proportion of the total. Others have used port books in their notes and publications. The BAHS Journal could therefore provide a useful service by making available more of this material to readers. It is therefore intended to include in the next issue of the Journal full transcripts from selected port books. The appendix which follows shows the kind of material which is available, omitting the various computations of duty and subsidy.

Notes

1 H.W.Saunders (Ed), *The Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon*, Camden Papers, 3rd series, Vol XXVI, 1915, pp42-3.
2 Public Record Office Cust 96/159.
3 N.Williams, *The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports, 1550-1590*, Oxford University Press, 1988, p43.
4 Eg PRO Cust 96/156, re James Watson, master of the *Thomas and William*, laden with 34 chalders of coal from Sunderland, forced overseas in Nov 1759.
5 Eg PRO E 190/575/4, entries for 4 May and 3 July.
6 Act of 22 Charles n, ch 8,1670.
7 PRO Cust 96/155.
8 This could have been either Charles or Thomas Wortley, both of whom were or had been customs officers.
9 Remembering that the boundaries of Blakeney/Cley stretched from west of Morston to Mundesley.

SELECTED ENTRIES FROM TWO PORT BOOKS

The first book is for coasting traffic outwards for the year 1740 (PRO E190/555/13). There are 64 entries in the book, and all ships are bound for London, apart from 3 for Newcastle and 2 for Sunderiand.

The second book is for overseas traffic outward bound in 1750 (PRO El 90/558/8). There are 56 records and the destination in every case is Rotterdam.

In the list below, the name of the ship is followed by the initial letter of the port of destination, and then by the name of the master and the name(s) of the merchant(s). The final column records the quantity of crops declared: all figures are in quarters and the initials represent the following:

W wheat	B barley	M malt	R rye
0 oats	K buckwheat	P peas	V vetch

Coasters outwards 1740 (Selected)

Feb 5	*Thomas & Susan*	L	James Leake	Thomas Hooke	40W 250B 10P
Feb 25	*Rose in June*	L	John Farthing	Robert Nurse	350B 5R
Apr 5	*Mayflower*	L	Richard Murland	Thomas Temple	120B 20P
May 20	*Thomas &, Susan*	L	Thomas Hooke	Samuel Browne	200B 100M
Nov 21	*Happy Return*	L	Robert Cutting	Framingham Jay	210B 20O
Nov 28	*Two Sisters*	L	Moon Chaplin	William Wells	5W 300B 70M 10P
Dec 9	*Thomas & Deborah*	L	John Mussett	Thomas Temple	85W 200B 60M

Overseas outwards 1750 (Selected)

Jan 9	*Thomas & Deborah*	R	John Mussett	William Temple	44W 42R 390W
Feb l	*Prosperous William*	R	Moon Chaplin	William Mann William Hipkins William Garrett	350M 187M 84M
Mar l5	*Happy Return*	R	Thomas Potter	William Temple	75W 515M
Jun 23	*Yarmouth*	R	Robert Howard	William Mann	399M
Sep 22	*Ellis*	R	John Taylor	Charles Brettingham	42W 174B

SOUNDS FAMILIAR ..... BUT WHAT DOES IT MEAN ?

The Editor

There is plenty of scope for using the Journal to present, in full, selected documents in order to show the kind of material that is available for the study of local history. The document selected for this first issue dates from the 16th century and can be seen in the Public Record Office at Kew.[1] Kenneth Allen, whose extensive notes on the Glaven villages are in the Norfolk Record Office, had noted its existence but had not transcribed it in full, perhaps because its significance is not immediately clear. Readers are invited to see what they can make of it – letters to the Editor suggesting a solution would be very welcome!

To the right worshipful the Chancellor general surveyor and Chanacellor of the courte of The Augmentations and revenues of the kinges marjtiis crowne.

In their most humble wyse then — and complaynithe unto your mastershippes the poore Inhabitantes of the kinges Majesties townes of Cley and Blakeney in the Countie of Norff That where the haven of the said townes of Cley and Blakeney whiche ys a comon porte for shippes to ryde in and hathe been a very saufegard for the shippes of the said townes and all other shippes and vessells havying passage by those partes and stondeth in the myddis of the Cuntry of Norff and where the chef provysions for grayne be made for to them the kinges highnes and no other havenn nere unto yt ys in greate decaye by reason of importunate sandes gathered and heped in the same haven by the vyolence of the sees the decaye whereof is like to be the utter undoying of the said townes of Cleye and Blakeneye and the Cuntrey adjoynyng to the same havying the course ofbyeing and selling ladying of grey[n] and merchandyzes to the same haven and the losse of many shyppes and other vessells in tyme to come that mongst there be in harbour and savetie without any perill And also the kinges majsties is lyke by the decaye there of to lose his gracs customes to the value of a hundred pounds by yere besydes the proftyte of ysdonde shippes belonging to the same haven and in whiche haven a great porcion of the kinges majesties provysions of greyne and other vytualls in all the tyme of warres were loden and shipped and for the redy reparacion of the said haven their adjoyneth a lyttell parcell of a mershe to the quandtie of xl rods in lengthe and xviij thlike in breddythe among other mershes holden of the right honnerable lady Richmonds grace as of the manor of Marston in the said Countie of Norff for terme of her naturall lyfe of the gyft of the kinges majestie of famous memorie henry theight late king of England and sumtyme parcell of the possessions of the Bysshopryche of Norwiche in the said countie whiche lyttell parcell of mershe of quantitie as is aforesaid if it shall lyke your good mastershipps to gyve and grannt the same to the said Inhabytannts they with the hoipe of the contree adjoyning wolde and do intend to make a gote through the said lytell parcell of mershe which shuld be no hinderanc to the rest of the grounds apperteyning to the said manor of Marston in the wante of the same mershe any hindrance to the yerely rent or ferme of the said manor of Merston And by the makying of the said Gote the course of the sees runnying into the same got shulde entre into suche parte of the haven as by the vyolence thereof the sands in the said haven shulde be repelled [di]mynyshed and wasshed into the sees agayne which

shulde be the contynuall maynetenannce of die kynges majesdes custom there and of the Iselonde shippes appertyning to the same haven and all other shippes havying passage by the same allso a comon welthe for all the contrey adjyning for the maynetennce of merchandys and the lodyng of greyne at the said port wherefore for asmoche as the said lady Richmond is right well contented that the said gote shalbe cutt onle inform above said Maye it therefore please your good masterships the premeysses consydered to grannte unto the said Inhabytantes by his patents or otherwyse by your maesteships dyscretscycons — to cut out the said goot accordyngly In doing whereof as ye shall admynyster unto the kynges highnes ryght good and thankfull servyce so shall you do unto the said In habytantes and contrey greate pronytte and pleasure which die will not fayle to requite widi continuell prayers for preservicons of your good mastershippe in — long to endure.

A — is made to my lady Richmond according to this Request.

[endorsed] xxjii vijs xd ob [£21 7s. 10½d]

Comment

The reader will have all sorts of questions in mind by now, such as:

- what is the date of the document ?
- what is a 'got', 'gote' or 'goot ?
- where was it to be made ?
- was it done?
- can it be identified ?

Some research might provide some of the answers – or possibly not.

There are clues to the date: the handwriting is 16th century. Henry VIII is already dead, and lady Richmond will be in the records somewhere. Blomefield, for example, says of Morston that 'Mary Duchess of Richmond and Somerset, widow of Henry Fitz-Roy, natural son of Henry VIII, had an interest here; and by an indenture dated 10 April 30 Henry VIII demised and let to Richard Fulmerston, Gent, her two fold courses in Langham and Merston, with her salt marshes in Merston.' [3] Reference to Cheney[3] shows that the year of the indenture was 1539.

At least the 'gote' is easy – allowing some latitude in sound and spelling – for a modem dictionary gives as the meaning of 'gat' a narrow channel of water and the term can be seen on some sea charts today.

But where was the channel to be cut? The document refers to Morston marshes and it is likely that this was an intentional description: parish boundaries were important in determining land rights and have changed little up to the present century. Morston marshes now extend from Stiffkey freshes almost up to the Low Quay at Blakeney, with the boundary between Morston and Blakeney following the main channel, so that the beach and sandhills become 'Blakeney' Point. The document also says that it is the inhabitants of Cley and Blakeney who are asking permission to make the cut, and the implication must be that they expect to benefit from it. Yet it is difficult to see what new channel in Morston marshes could have benefited shipping bound for Cley.

Having reached this point, the editor recently chanced upon a document in the Norfolk Record Office which was contained in some other material relating to Wiveton.[4] The full text of this runs as follows:

Marry duches of of Richmonde and Somerset and Countus of Notingham by her — under her hande and seale dated the last of Januarye anno Ed 6 I doth assent and agree at the mocion and request of Sir Edward North knight Sir Thomas Moyle and Sir Walter Mildmay knights surveyors of the same, in the k. majestys behaulfe for preservacion of the haven of his townes of Cley and Blakeney upon the humble sute of the inhabitants of those towns that a gote be cutt and made throughe a pace of morish grownde conteyning 40 rodd in length and 18 foote in bredth being parcell of the manor of Morston which was the duches for tearme of lyfe and the k. in revercion,

[endorsed] Lycence to cutt a goate ..... in Morston marshes.

Comment

At least this gives a date, for 31st January in the first year of the reign of Edward VI fell in 1547 – just three days after his accession. But a new question arises – what was the size of the proposed new channel? As a "rod, pole or perch' was 5½ yards the main document is talking of a cut 220 yards in length and 99 yards wide. This must be an error – and the second document appears to correct it in the most economical way: by reducing 18 rods to 18 feet. A channel only 6 yards across seems too narrow for any kind of commercial shipping but it would be sufficient to allow a new tidal movement from one part of the marsh to another. Was the proposal to link Morston Creek with Blakeney Creek so that more water could be made to flow through Blakeney? Or was it really to be major improvement in the main channel – perhaps in the vicinity of 'Gatefare Beacon' as shown on the 1586 map of Blakeney haven (and illustrated on the back cover of The Glaven Ports[5]) ?

One thing at least is clear: sand was building up in the channel and something would have to be done about it. Sounds familiar .....

Notes

1 PRO, E 321 7/3.

2 C.Parian, *An Essay towards the Topographical History of Norfolk*, Vol IX, William Miller, 1808. (A continuation of F.Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.)

3 C.R.Cheney (Ed.), *Handbook of Dates for Students of English Local History*, Royal Historical Society, 1978. (A later edition exists.)

4 NRO, MS19880Z.2.F.

5 J.J.Hooton, *The Glaven Ports: A Maritime History of Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton in North Norfolk*, Blakeney History Group, 1996.

BAYFIELD CHURCH : RESISTIVITY SURVEY 1998

By Peter Camell and John Wright

One of the members of the Blakeney Area Historical Society, Dr Peter Carnell, has recently developed an expertise in resistivity surveying and has agreed to help the Society to survey selected local sites. This report records the first such survey and demonstrates that though the actual survey is relatively straightforward, interpretation of the findings is rather more difficult. At Bayfield Church the resistivity readings show various archaeological features which cannot be identified precisely but which provide an excellent focus for further study.

INTRODUCTION

The Location

The resistivity survey was carried out at the ruined church of Bayfield St Margaret (TG 0495 4049) which lies in the valley of the River Glaven some five kilometres from the north Norfolk coast. The former parishes of Bayfield and neighbouring Glandford are now contained within the civil parish of Letheringsett. The church is within the emparked Bayfield estate, close to the present Hall, and there is no public access.

The Site

At Bayfield the Glaven runs north towards Cley and the church lies on the eastern side. The site slopes steadily down from east to west, and immediately beyond the west wall of the nave slopes very steeply to the terrace on which stands the Hall. The surroundings are maintained as mown grass although to the south there is one tree with a substantial root (or fallen trunk) some 6 metres from the chancel wall. In the nave is the low stump of a large cedar tree and some shrubs have been planted adjacent to some of the outer walls. In the chancel (at the time of the survey) there was stone work lying on the ground, much of it known to be extraneous. There is no sign of a churchyard.

The Church

Although the church is now roofless, a substantial amount of walling survives, some of it to full height (principally the west wall, still surmounted by a two-bay bellcote, and the chancel arch). The present structure consists of a chancel and a slightly wider nave, with no sign of a tower, and with total outer dimensions of c.18m by 6m. There are opposing doorways in the nave, towards the western end, and a further opening in the nave south wall. Outside the church and close to the northern doorway there is a small (relatively recent) retaining wall at right angles to the nave wall. The structure is in good condition with repairs recently carried out under a programme established by Norfolk County Council.

Site History

The former village of Bayfield was one of the smallest in Holt Hundred at the time of Domesday with 13 recorded adults, mostly freemen, which might indicate a total of some 50 to 60 people. In 1329, not long before the Black Death, there were 27 taxpayers, which

suggests some increase in population, but by 1429 there were fewer than 10 households and in 1524 only two people paid tax. By 1603 there was only one house in the parish. The Hall is Elizabethan in origin with later alterations and additions, including the south front of c.1740.[1] The Park was begun before 1781. The site of the former village is not known nor whether there was any extensive landscaping in the vicinity of the church.

Church History

The structural history of the church has been studied most recently by Stephen Heywood, whose conclusions were published in 1995.[2] He suggests that the earliest building of which traces remain was Romanesque, consisting of a chancel with an apsidal east end and a nave some 3m shorter than the present one. In the 14th or 15th century the apse was replaced by the current chancel and the nave extended. There is also good evidence for the construction of a chapel on the southern side of the chancel. In the post-medieval period the chancel arch was blocked and the side chapel demolished. The church is known to have been in use in 1603 but was probably abandoned soon after; Faden's map published in 1797 shows the church as a ruin. Some of its features make it an important building but it is not a Scheduled Ancient Monument.

Heywood comments that the simple Romanesque two-cell chapel with apse was a common sight in East Anglia until the end of the 12th century, when many were expanded with the addition of towers and aisles. At Bayfield, however, the side chapel is unusual in being on the same eastern plane as the chancel. The size of the chapel is not known and "it may be that a simple geophysical survey would establish it."

Previous Fieldwork

In the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) held by Norfolk Landscape Archaeology at Gressenhall there is no record of fieldwork on site except for an excavation undertaken in 1956 by D.R.Howlett of the Castle Museum, Norwich. This is said to have uncovered the base of the font and some tiles in the nave and tile impressions on the chancel step but, to date, no contemporary report of this excavation has been located.

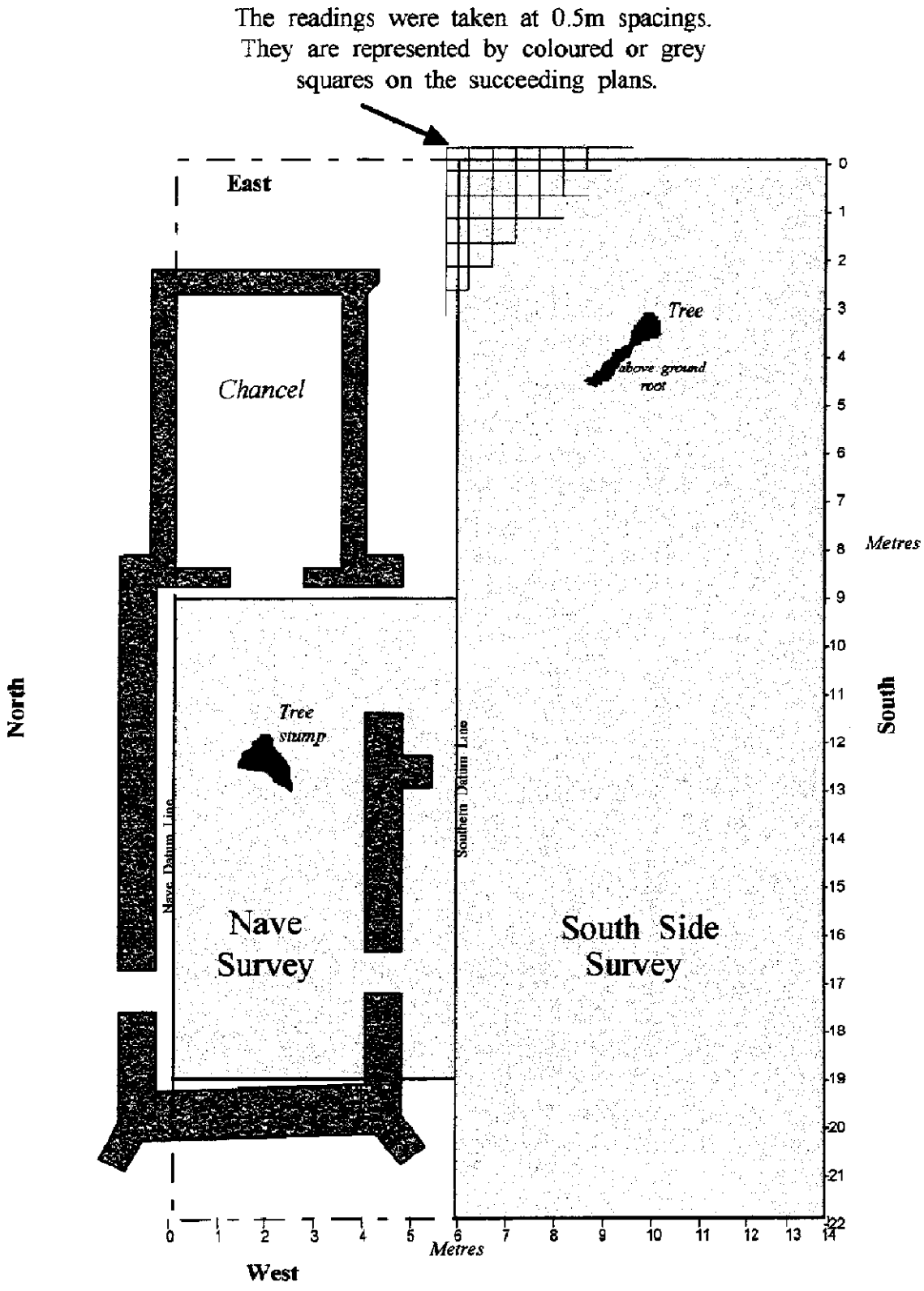
Survey Objectives

The survey was organised by the Blakeney Area Historical Society and led by one of its members, Dr Peter Carnell, who had practical experience of building and using resistivity equipment. Bayfield Church had been one of several sites under consideration for resistivity surveys: there were possible features to be located for which resistivity techniques would be appropriate, and site conditions were suitable. Having received the support of the landowner, the Society decided to initiate the survey and two specific objectives were selected: to locate the side chapel and the position of the earlier western wall. Any further work, and the selection of appropriate techniques, would be considered in the light of the survey findings.

Survey Extent

Two contiguous surveys were planned: one inside the nave and one immediately to the south of the church. The inner survey was to cover the whole of the nave. The outer survey was designed to exceed slightly the whole length of the church from east to west, and to extend away southwards from the church for as far as could be achieved during the half-day period of

Two adjacent resistivity surveys were conducted as shown. The plan of the church is for location purposes and does not represent an architectural survey.



Plan 1. The relationship of the resistivity surveys to the church walls.

survey. It was considered that covering such an area would provide a good contrast between any constructional features associated with the church and the more natural conditions to be expected elsewhere.

THE SURVEY

Date

The survey was carried out on Saturday, 4th April 1998 between midday and 4.0 pm.

Society members were augmented by others with more experience of resistivity surveying and a total of 12 people were present on site during the day, organised in two teams.

Weather

There had been some rain in the previous few days and during the morning of the survey but drying conditions prevailed while the survey was in progress. Temperatures had remained above freezing during the previous night.

Grid Location

Two parallel and contiguous grids were established, one for each of the two surveys (Nave and South Side). The first grid was laid out in the nave with an origin at the NE comer. A datum line was set out 50cm from the north wall starting 10cm from the wall incorporating the chancel arch. A rectangle (of the maximum size possible in half metres) was marked out in the nave based on a triangulated right angle at the origin.

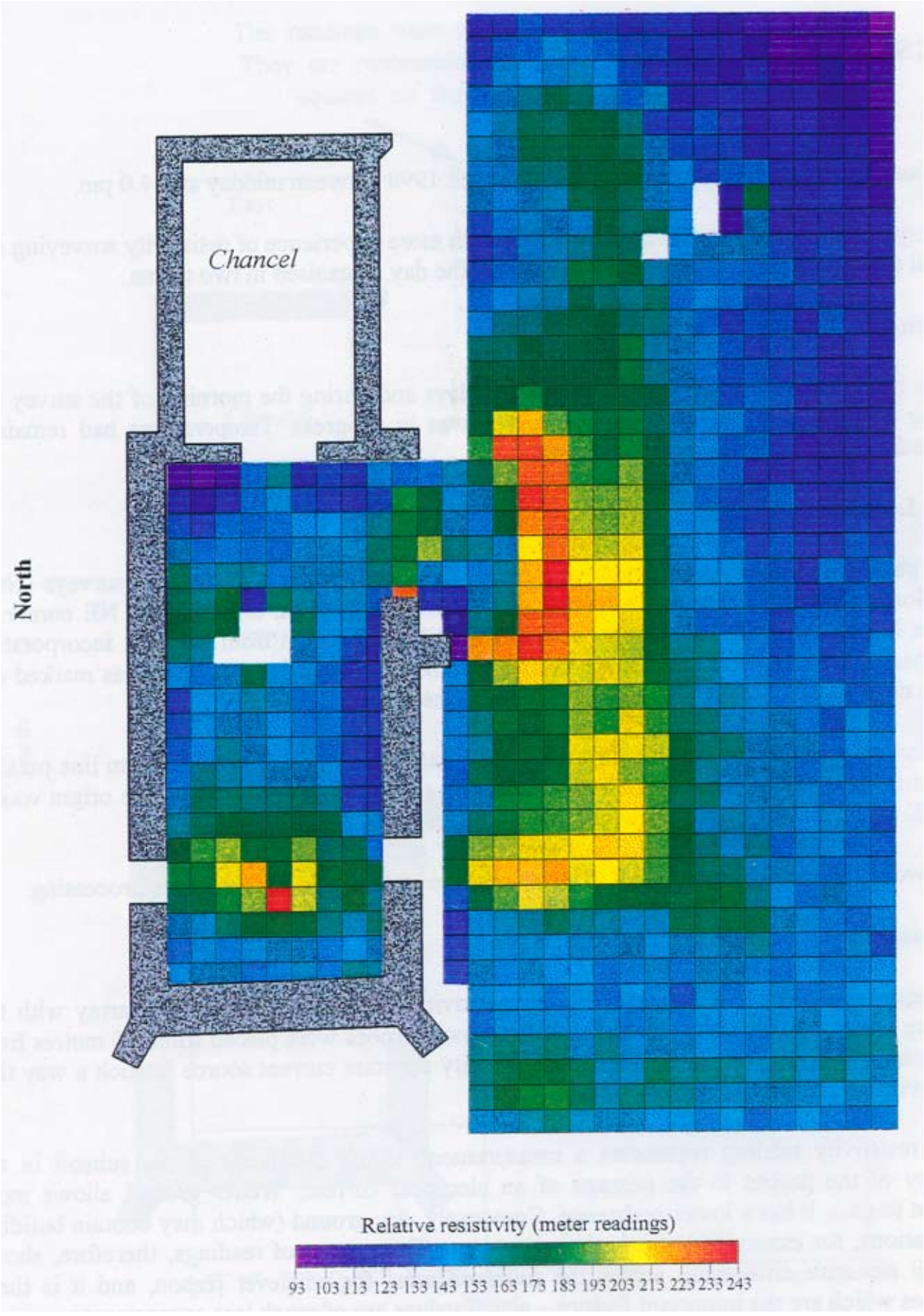
The second grid, for the South Side survey, was established by means of a datum line parallel to that of the nave grid and close to the outer side of the south wall. Again, the origin was at the NE comer where a right angle was set out by triangulation.

The two grids are shown on Plan 1. The surveys were combined for computer processing.

Instruments

The equipment used was a purpose-built resistivity meter and a twin-probe array with the moving electrodes set 50cm apart. The static remote probes were placed some 60 metres from the church. The meter used an alternating polarity constant current source in such a way that resistivity was displayed directly in millivolts.

Each resistivity reading represents a measurement of the resistance of the subsoil in the vicinity of the probes to the passage of an electrical current. Wetter ground allows more current to pass: it has a lower resistance. Conversely, dry ground (which may contain building foundations, for example) has a higher resistance. The pattern of readings, therefore, shows subsoil moisture differences across the surveyed area, for whatever reason, and it is these changes which are the important feature – actual values are of much less consequence.



Plan 2, The data as recorded. The colour range, as shpwn in the key, represents a value range extending from the highest (243) to the lowest (93) recorded.

Readings

Single readings were taken at 50cm intervals over the whole of the two grids, except where structures or trees intervened (specifically the nave south wall and the tree stump in the nave). Within the nave, all transits were made from East to West, with a final transit grazing the inner side of the south wall. This first survey was then completed by two partial transits within the south wall opening and a final complete one outside the south wall, adjacent to the first transit of the South Side survey. For this second survey transits were made alternately from East to West and from West to East.

In the Nave Survey 217 readings were taken, a further 35 being prevented by the south wall and the tree stump; in the South Side survey 762 readings were taken, omitting 3 because of a tree, making 979 in all. The gross area covered by the two surveys was 60 sq m and 176 sq m, a total of 236 sq m.

The readings were recorded manually on prepared data sheets at a fixed control table, and were later keyed into a computer and processed with a statistical package (MATHCAD).

Although the readings are taken at points, they represent ground moisture conditions in a volume of soil and are better shown as areas. Plan 1 shows that any presentation of points as 0.5m squares will mean that the data display will cover an area slightly larger than the actual survey grid.

RESULTS

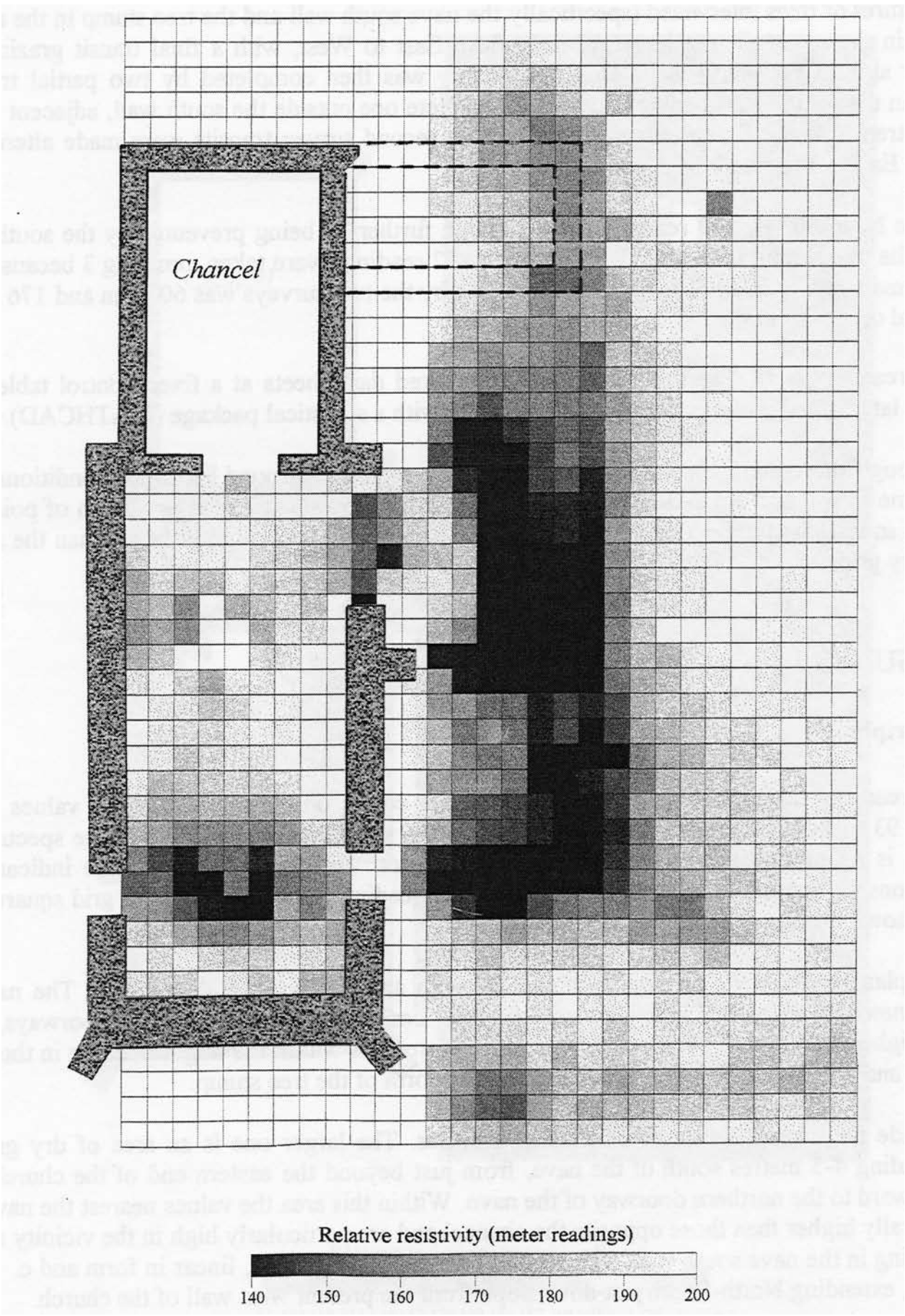
Description

The readings taken over the site are displayed in colour on Plan 2. The actual values range from 93 to 243 and each is shown correctly in the appropriate colour within the spectrum – there is no grouping into pre-determined categories. The figures on the scale indicate the relationship between value and colour. Where no readings could be taken the grid squares are are shown uncoloured.

The plan shows clear patterns in both the Nave and the South Side surveys. The nave is dominated by an area of high resistivity (ie drier conditions) between the two doorways, with the highest values in the middle. A second drier area lies within the larger opening in the nave wall, and a third, less intense, around and to the north of the tree stump.

Outside the church lie two well-defined features. The larger one is an area of dry ground extending 4-5 metres south of the nave, from just beyond the eastern end of the church and westward to the northern doorway of the nave. Within this area the values nearest the nave are generally higher than those opposite the chancel and are particularly high in the vicinity of the opening in the nave south wall. The second feature is a drier area, linear in form and c.1.5m wide, extending North-South just downslope from the present west wall of the church.

In the areas away from these two features there is a steady downward drift in values (ie wetter conditions) towards the South-East.



Plan 3. Enhanced data. The grey scale range, as shown in the the key, represents a value range extending from <140 to >200.

INTERPRETATION

The Nave Survey

Plan 2 shows a particularly high (ie dry) reading in a half-metre (red) square equidistant between the two doorways of the nave. This is in the area where Hewlett reported finding the base of a font in 1956. The SMR entry records that the font soakaway was discovered in the form of a hole one metre in diameter and filled with glacial flints, and partly covered by glazed tiles in an arrangement indicating an octagonal font. A small sketch of this appears in the guidebook to Letheringsett church but the details are by no means clear.

Plan 3 is a higher contrast, grey scale, version of Plan 2: the value range has been restricted to 140-200 so that all values outside that range are shown as either 140 or 200. The font area shows up more clearly here as a dry area surrounding a sub-rectangular, wetter area c. 1 metre square. These findings cannot be interpreted more precisely but they appear to be consistent with the reported findings of Hewlett's excavation.

Heywood's suggestion that the nave was extended to the west implies that traces of the earlier western wall should exist below ground – locating such a feature was one of the main objectives of the survey. If this feature is present in Plan 3 then it probably lies directly between the two doorways, although interpretation is complicated by the superimposition of the font, and possibly by disturbance during the excavation.

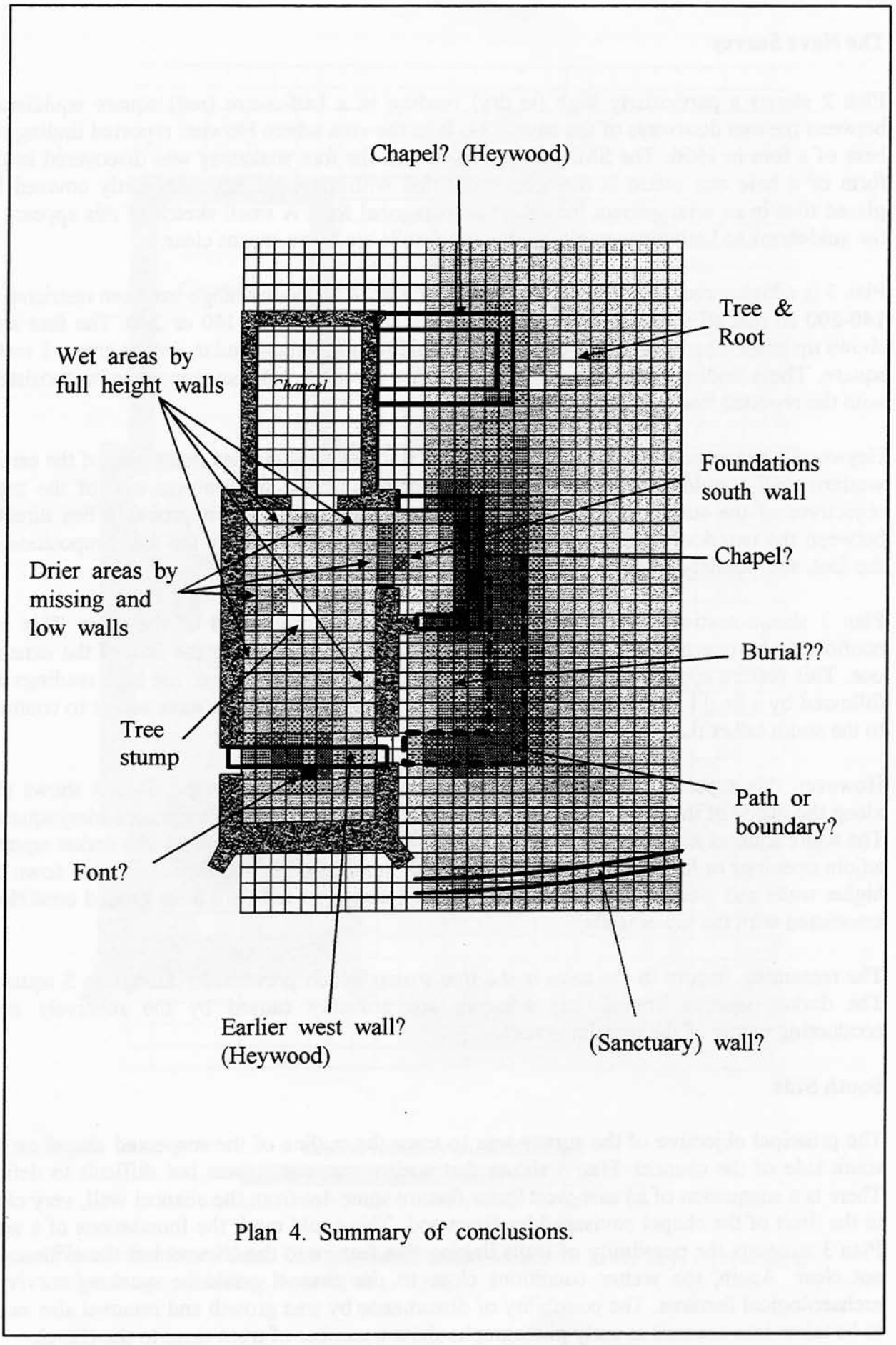
Plan 3 shows a strong linear feature in the gap in the south wall of the nave. This can confidently be interpreted as the base of the former wall continuing the line of the existing one. This feature appears not to connect with the east wall of the nave: the high readings are followed by a final low one (and to the casual eye the east wall of the nave seems to continue to the south rather than return to the west).

However, this apparent 'gap' almost certainly has another interpretation. Plan 3 shows that along the inside of the nave walls are groups of both white (wetter) and darker (drier) squares. The white squares are adjacent to the highest of the remaining walls, while the darker squares adjoin openings or lower sections of walling. The implication is that more rain runs down the higher walls and creates wetter conditions at the base compared with drier ground conditions associated with the lower walls.

The remaining feature in the nave is the tree stump which prevented readings in 5 squares. The darker squares immediately adjacent are probably caused by the relatively non-conducting nature of the remaining roots.

South Side

The principal objective of the survey was to trace the outline of the suspected chapel on the south side of the chancel. Plan 3 shows that such traces are present but difficult to define. There is a suggestion of an east-west linear feature some 4m from the chancel wall, very close to the limit of the chapel envisaged by Heywood. This could mark the foundations of a wall. Plan 3 suggests the possibility of walls linking this feature to the chancel but the evidence is not clear. Again, the wetter conditions close to the chancel could be masking surviving archaeological features. The possibility of disturbance by tree growth and removal also needs to be taken into account as early photographs show a number of trees close to the church.



Plan 4. Summary of conclusions.

To the south of the supposed chapel, three readings were omitted because of a tree and a large surface root. Immediately adjacent is a particularly high reading which, as shown by the stump in the nave, is more likely to be due to the existence of the tree than to some archaeological feature.

Elsewhere on the southern side of the church are archaeological features best seen in Plan 2. Although there is a definite pattern it is not clear how many features are present. The most striking is the 'arc' of high readings opposite the gap in the nave wall. The values are the highest on the site and are likely to represent solid material such as brick or flint. The values here are much higher than those clearly indicating the continuation of the nave south wall.

Although a possible interpretation is rubble from the collapsed nave wall, the regularity of the feature and the contrasting wetter conditions within suggest otherwise. It is probably significant that the east-west 'wall' some 3m from the nave has a western return which aligns with a 'buttress' on the nave wall. Those who have studied the church previously appear not to have wondered why this buttress should be the only one or why it should be in this position. Plan 2 shows that the possibility of the buttress being the remaining section of a wall needs to be considered. The return on the east side aligns with the east wall of the nave. The findings are therefore consistent with the construction of a 'chapel', or some other structure, associated with the present church.

Outside this feature is another characterised by moderately high readings, bounded by relatively sharp edges (at right angles) on the south and east, and with a 2m square of lower readings within. The southern boundary of the feature is 4.5m from the nave wall. The western arm aligns with the doorway in the nave and although it could represent a hardcore path going right through the church, for example, the alignment could be coincidental. Similarly, the possible alignment with the earlier western wall of the nave would not necessarily indicate a functional relationship. The possibility of another building cannot be ruled out but there is no evidence to suggest its date or purpose. The 2m square of 'wetter' readings is a convenient size to suggest the possibility of a burial. The eastern boundary of any such building is unclear, as the traces become much less strong east of the central point of the 'arc'. If an eastern boundary is indicated at this point then a path through some notional doorway in the 'arc' remains a possibility. Alternatively, the feature might extend eastwards to join up with the chancel chapel.

A further feature on the south side, showing up most clearly on Plan 3, is the shallow curve just to the west of and downslope from of the church. The appearance is consistent with the remains, or foundations, of a wall, probably buried by the downhill movement of topsoil. In this position it is more likely to be a boundary wall for the church than one associated with landscaping in the park.

CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The survey was successful on several counts. The readings obtained were all considered valid – none had to be discarded as implausible – and the computer-based analysis produced some clear images. Yet the two main objectives of the survey, to find the outlines of the chapel and

the earlier western wall, met with only tentative success. On the other hand, the survey provided evidence consistent with the font base already excavated and, more particularly, produced evidence for features not hitherto suspected. Their interpretation has given rise to much discussion (and some change of views) but ultimately a resistivity survey is not definitive: a full account needs complementary evidence from other sources.

The main findings of the survey are summarised on Plan 4.

Further Action

In order to take further the interpretation of the findings some additional evidence is needed. This might be supplied by documentary records relating to the estate, by those already expert in church history or, ultimately, by test excavations. It might also be worth undertaking further resistivity surveys in order to explore particular aspects of the site such as:

- the boundary wall and its possible extension beyond the bounds of the present survey
- the north side of the church where other structures might be found
- a vertical resistivity sounding to determine the depth of features, distinguishing, for example, between shallow paths and deeper foundations.

These points will be considered by the Society in due course and a proposal for further work may well be prepared.

Peter Camell founded and managed a major computer technology company, and has recently developed and applied geophysics equipment for archaeological investigations. John Wright is a retired town planner who worked most recently for Norfolk County Council.

Acknowledgements

The Society wishes to thank Mr and Mrs R. Combe for permission to work on the site and for their encouragement and practical support.

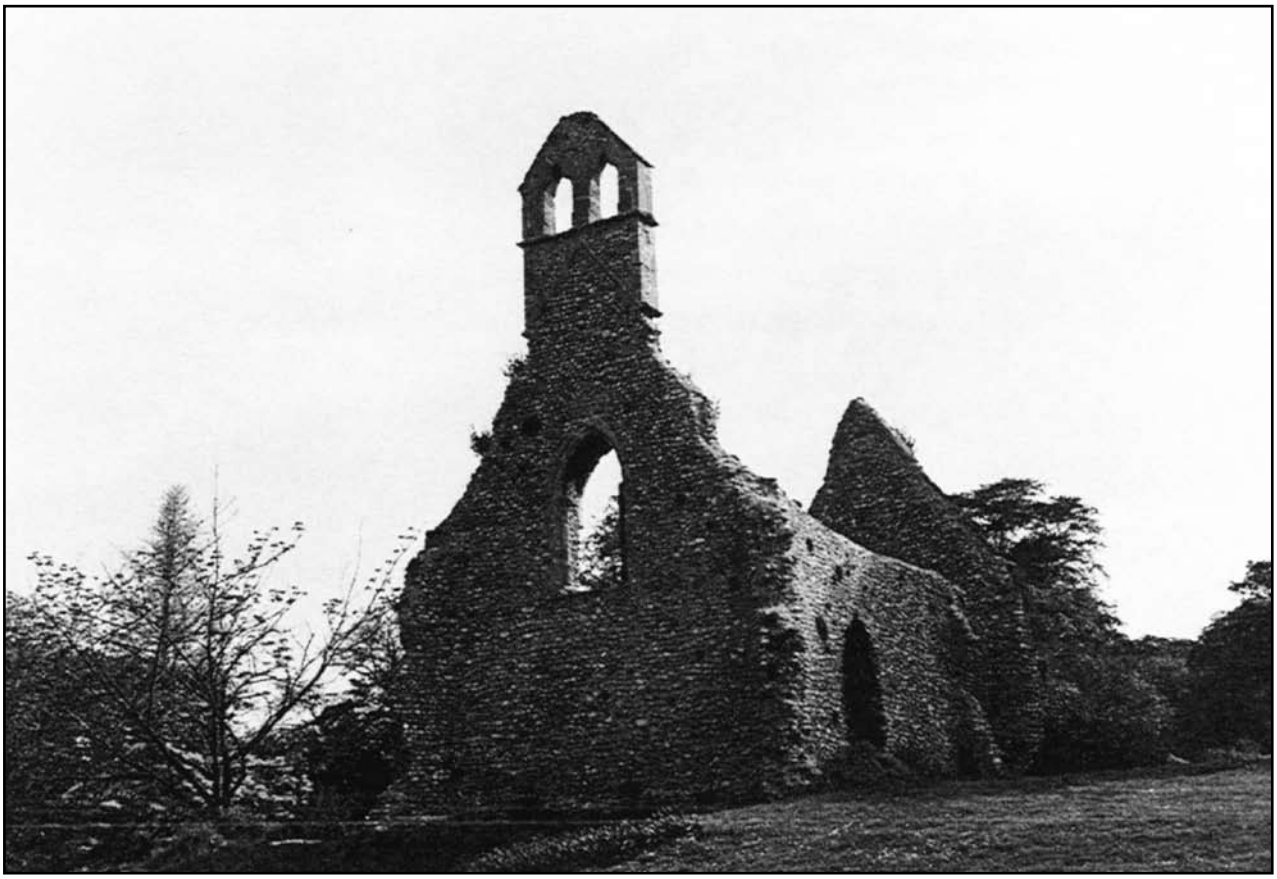
Notes

1 N.Pevsner and B.Wilson, *The Buildings of England - Norfolk 1: Norwich and North East,* Penguin, 2nd edition, 1997.

2 S.Heywood and J.Ayton, "Three Ruined Churches', *NAHRG Annual No. 4*, 1995.

3 C.L.S.Lumell, *Letheringsett-with Bayfield: Church and Parish,* 1952 (with subsequent editions).

The church from the north-east



The church from the south-west

The chancel from the south

The nave and chancel from the south

WHAT THE PAPERS SAID

Norwich Mercury 4th January 1902

Two short articles of interest to Blakeney can be found in the Norwich Mercury *of the 4th January 1902. The first was drawn to the editor's attention by a friend and it was pure chance that in looking for it in the paper the second article was seen in the next column but one. The item on the Salvation Army is written in magnificent prose and one can imagine it being read aloud in Churchillian style. The second item concerns three members of the Long family, some of whose descendants still live in the village. The Longs have been the source for many local stories but this one does not seem to have been remembered.*

Disorderly scenes at Blakeney S. A. Barracks

On Sunday evening a disorderly outbreak occurred at the Oddfellows' Hall, the local stronghold of the Salvation Army, during the progress of the prayer meeting. It appears that during the course of the meeting the "captain" directed the congregation to stand, and certain persons remained seated. This caused a feeling of irritation, and the drummer left the platform to expostulate with the offenders. The expostulations and the explanations seem to have been such as to rouse the warlike spirit of the persuading "soldier" who attempted to ensure by physical force that which he could not accomplish by moral persuasion. The wilful "sinner" immediately answered by rising and striking out right and left. Tlie Salvationist, nothing loth, took up the challenge and a fight ensued, the "soldier" who was much less in size, getting the worst of it. Meanwhile the meeting was stopped, and the local Salvationist forces disposed in battle array. The captain confined himself to the position of a peace emissary, and met with the usual fate of interveners by getting abused by both parties, and was, in addition, severely handled. The "sinners' " friends having no intention of letting the Salvationists have things entirely to themselves joined issue with the forces of General Booth, and a free fight ensued, in the course of which forms were overturned, furniture upset, and windows broken. The captain got some of the rank and file outside, and these in turn assisted to withdraw their comrades and made for shelter. The opposing party had thus the possession of the hall, but the captain, who was busy in the cause of peace, ultimately secured possession and locked up for the night. The excited crowd gradually dispersed. The captain has declared his intention of taking no legal steps in the matter. It may be added that the resident police constable was at the time engaged in a distant part of the beat.

Comment

In 1902 the Oddfellows' Hall was the building on the comer of Morston Road and Westgate Street. It is now a private house. The Salvation Army subsequently used premises across the road in Old Post Office Yard and then, in 1921, bought the former Primitive Methodist Chapel in the High Street. The article is a vivid reminder of the rough and tumble of earlier days, though one is just tempted to wonder whether trouble was intended. But no doubt it really was a coincidence that the police constable was otherwise engaged at the time.

Blakeney Man's Adventure

Details are just to hand of a parlous adventure which befell George Long, sen, of Blakeney, on Friday night, while engaged in a punting expedition. Long's family spend the chief part of the shooting season in a smack fitted up as a house-boat from which they proceed in search of the wild fowl which congregate on the mudflats and in the harbour. On the evening in question George Long, sen, was guiding his gunboat at the Point, and in the semi-darkness the punt appears to have grazed the side of one of the numerous buoys which mark the navigable course of the channel. The frail craft was overturned, and the occupant thrown into the water. Long got clear of the boat, and managed to turn her on her bottom. He struggled up on her bottom, which supported him, and he drifted with the boat, shouting lustily for assistance. The boat continued to drift towards the mouth of the harbour. Happily, his two eldest sons, who had returned to their temporary home on the smack, heard his cries, and got out a small canoe. They managed to save him from drifting to sea. They got him on board the canoe, and he was taken to the smack, where he recovered in a few hours. As a result of his adventure his punt gun and shoulder gun were both lost from the boat when she overturned.

Comment

George Long, senior, was born George Bennington Long in 1856 and was 45 at the time of the incident. He was already coxswain of the Blakeney lifeboat, a post he held from 1896 to 1920. His portrait, painted by John Page of Blakeney, hangs in the church and is said to be a good likeness. He died in 1938 having fathered 12 children: 8 boys and 4 girls. Two of the boys died in the First World War and their names are on the War Memorial. The remaining six boys all spent most of their lives in Blakeney while the girls married and moved away.

The 2 eldest boys mentioned in the article were George and Charles. George Long, junior, was born in 1880, and would have been 21 in 1902, and Charles was two years younger. George soon left the village and eventually went to New Zealand. On the outbreak of the First World War he joined the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and found himself on a beach rather different from that of home: at Gallipoli. On his return to Blakeney after the War he took up musselling and wildfowling. Charles Long succeeded his father as Coxswain and relinquished the post only when the Blakeney lifeboat station was closed down in 1935. He was also the Harbour Master and he and his wife kept the White Horse in the High Street – and between the Wars, George junior, and his wife kept the Anchor Inn just opposite.

The 'smack' referred to in the article might well have been the *Harvest Home* of which the name plate still survives. The article also refers to a punt, punt gun and shoulder gun. In case any reader is unclear what some of these items looked like, the first photograph illustrates all three – and the gunner is George Long, junior. The 'canoe' which came to the rescue was not, of course, of North American type, but the flat-bottomed mussel boat found all along the marshland coast of north Norfolk (though not called by the same name in every harbour). The second photo shows George in his own canoe, using a whim to pull up mussels from deeper water. George died in 1964 and Charles, whose son founded Stratton Long Marine, died in 1952.

More about the Long family can be found in Margaret Loose's book *Random Reflections of Blakeney* published in 1994.

DOMESDAY BLAKENEY

By John Wright

The aim of this article is to make some explanatory comments on the Domesday entries for Blakeney. Unfortunately, this is not as easy as it sounds, for much of the content of the Domesday Book is not at all clear. In any case, it is difficult to study villages individually for in East Anglia there is no simple correspondence between village and manor. Just as one manor may have jurisdiction in several villages, so one village may owe allegiance to several manors. Any village, Blakeney included, therefore needs to be examined in relation to the pattern of landholding. A further aspect is that many of the social and economic conditions portrayed by Domesday are best seen from a study of the whole area, and the significance of the entries for one village may well be clearer after comparison with entries elsewhere. This article therefore looks at some of the features of Domesday not just for Blakeney but for the whole of the area known as Holt Hundred.

The Blakeney Entries

The Domesday survey was conducted remarkably quickly during 1086, although why King William wanted it done 20 years after his Conquest is not entirely clear. In 1084 William raised a large army to meet a new Danish threat and billeted it on the principal landlords. This process revealed evidence of out-of-date valuations and it was probably this which precipitated the Domesday survey: to discover how much land there was, what it was worth, and who held it – rightfully or not. The returns were completed by Hundred, with the help of local juries, and written up according to the major landholdings.

The three entries for Blakeney are set out on the next page, although Domesday used the name Snitterley (various spellings) in place of Blakeney. It is sometimes supposed that the original village of Snitterley was lost to the sea but it is rather more likely that the name Blakeney, perhaps associated with a small fishing settlement as well as being the name of a haven for early medieval shipping, gradually supplanted that of Snitterley.

Landholders

The three Blakeney entries relate to three different landholders: the King himself and two of his tenants-in-chief (those holding directly from the King). Sub-tenants are rarely mentioned in Domesday, the reference to William of Noyers holding in Blakeney from Bishop William is interlined in the original text.

In the 28 parishes of Holt Hundred (including Salthouse and Saxlingham which are listed elsewhere at Domesday) there are only 13 principal landholders in addition to the King. Of these 14 people, the King had an interest in 14 parishes. Bishop William in 9 and Walter Gifford in 6, five others in 2 or 3 parishes each and six in 1 only. Similarly, of the 28 parishes, 10 had a single landholder (the King or the Bishop in 9 cases), 16 had two and only 2 (Blakeney and Hunworth) divided their allegiance between three. Blakeney is therefore unusual in having three landlords and alone in having the three principal landlords of the Hundred.

DOMESDAY: THE ENTRIES FOR BLAKENEY

The King

King Edward held HOLT, 2 c. of land.....

There is also one outlier, CLEY, at 2 c. of land.....

Further 1 outlier, in BLAKENEY, at 1 c. of land.
Always 7 villagers; 1 smallholder.
Always 1 men's plough.
Value then £20, 1 night's honey and 100s in customary dues;
now £50 at face value. Holt and Cley have 2 leagues in length and l in width, 2s 4[d] in tax.
Before 1086, 8 free men belonged to this manor, at 3½ c. of land; now Walter Gifford holds them by livery of the King, so his men state. Further, there belonged to this manor 1 free man, 23 acres; now Earl Hugh holds them.

1 outlier in HEMPSTEAD appertains to this manor, at 30 acres .....

Bishop William

Land of the Bishop ofThetford belonging to the bishopric before 1066.....

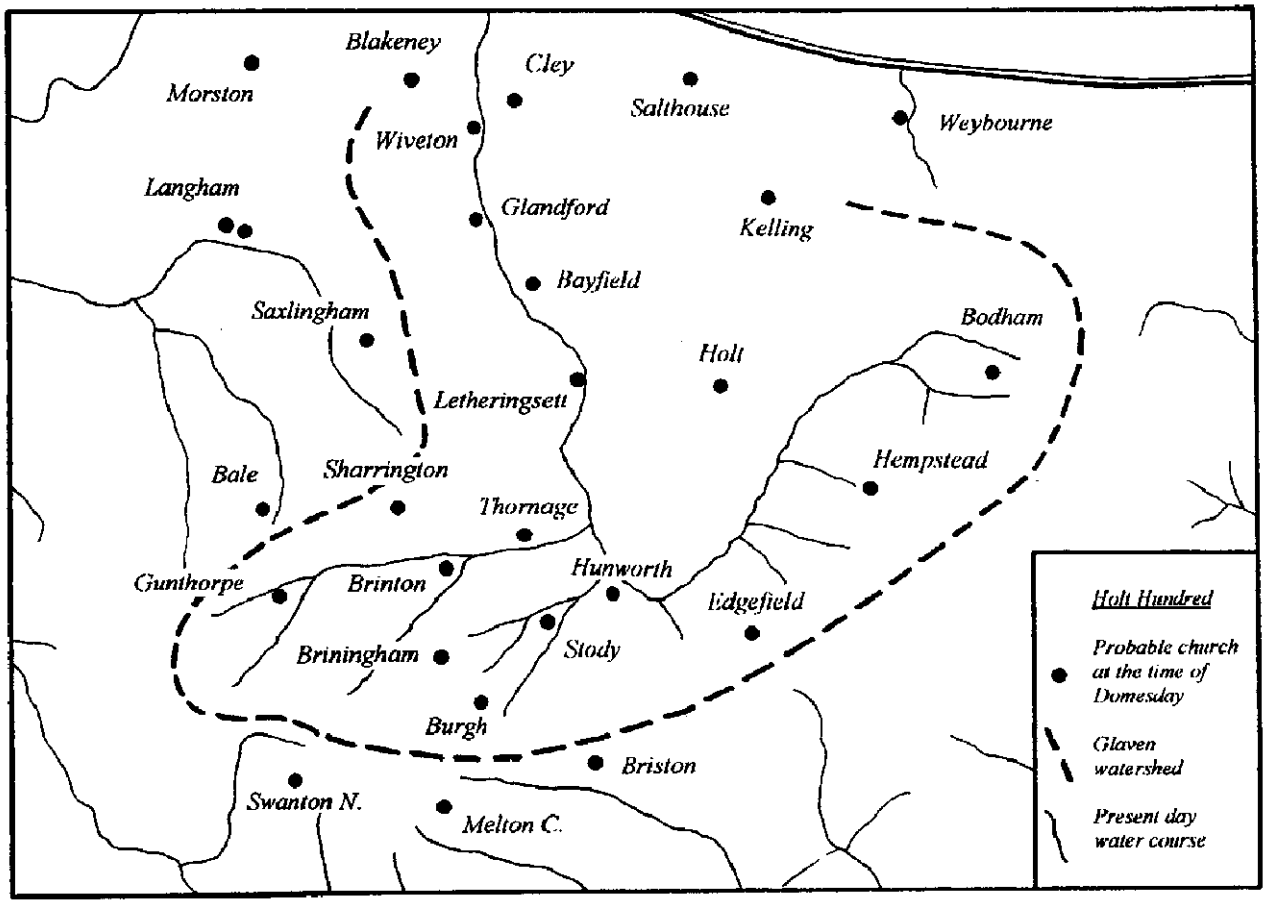
In BLAKENEY W[illiam] ofNoyers [holds] from Bishop W[illiam];
Edric held under King Edward freely [from] Harold, 2 c. of land.
Always 2 villagers; 25 smallholders; 1 slave.
Always 2 ploughs in lordship; 2 men's ploughs.
Meadow, 3 acres; 1 mill.
Also 4 freemen, at 24 acres; ½ plough.
Value of the whole before 1086 40s; now £4.
1 church; 30 acres; value 16d.

Walter Gifford

In BLAKENEY Toki held 30 acres under Harold.
Then 1 plough, now ½.
Value then 5s, now 10s.

Nothing need be said here about the King, but Bishop William, of Beaufour in Calvados, was a royal clerk before his nomination as bishop in 1085. It was his successor, Herbert Losinga, who moved the See from Thetford to Norwich, probably in 1095. Walter Gifford, later Earl of Buckingham, was the son of the Walter who was a cousin of the King and who accompanied him at the Conquest. William of Noyers probably took his name form Noyers in Calvados.

The three Norman landlords in Blakeney displaced Anglo-Saxon predecessors: Bishop Aelmer, Edric and Toki. The name Edric appears in many Norfolk Domesday entries and the probability is that several different people are being referred to. The name Toki also appears elsewhere but often the succeeding landlord is Walter of Warenne which may indicate that one person of that name did have substantial holdings – but not in Holt Hundred.



People

The Blakeney entries, as translated, distinguish between freemen, villagers, smallholders and slaves, categories which have no standard definitions.

In other parts of England slaves (or serfs – *servi* in the latin) did much of the manual labour, especially the ploughing, and had little or no land thereby needing an allowance of food in exchange for their labour. In East Anglia, however, slaves were relatively few and their numbers were falling. Half of the parishes in Holt Hundred had no slaves at all and in the remainder the average number was three. Blakeney, with one slave, is therefore 'average' in this respect. There is some indication that the distribution of slaves in the Hundred was very roughly proportional to the rest of the population, but this has not been tested statistically.

The term smallholder (*bordarius*) denoted a person of inferior status with some land, perhaps around 5 acres, while the villager (*villanus*) usually had more status and more land, typically 30 acres in some parts of the country. Smallholders had few oxen, often none at all, and may have lived away from the main village. The villagers often had a trade (blacksmith, miller etc) or some special responsibility in the manorial system; some were rich enough to rent manors while others were no better off than the smallholders. In total, Domesday records some 100,000 villagers and 85,000 smallholders and cottagers.

However, national generalisations do not necessarily apply to Holt Hundred. Most noticeably, smallholders are far more numerous than villagers – and almost half of all parishes had no villagers at all. The proportions of the two classes vary from 31 villagers and 7 smallholders in Langham, to 24 of each in Holt, and to 0 villagers and 16 smallholders in Gunthorpe. Nevertheless, villagers are always listed first which seems to confirm their higher status in the minds of the Domesday compilers. With 9 villagers and 26 smallholders Blakeney is again typical of the Hundred. It may not be coincidental that the royal estate of Holt and its outliers of Cley and Blakeney have over one third of all villagers in the Hundred.

Free men have been described as the 'lower middle classes' of their day. Domesday makes a distinction between sokemen (*sochemanni*) with more status than villagers but not necessarily more land, and free men (*liberi homines*) who seem to have ranged from high rank to peasant status. Some 23,000 sokemen and 14,000 free men are listed in Domesday, the great majority of them in eastern England.

It appears that sokemen originally owed allegiance directly to the King and when land passed out of royal control the sokemen still paid tax to the King but through the new landlord rather than directly. In Domesday they are recorded not as chattels of the estate but separately at the end as if in an appendix. They were not tied to an estate but could go elsewhere, though the sokeman status would then stay with the land and the new occupier. In Norfolk, concentrations of sokemen often indicate former royal estates. Holt is an exception for it has no sokemen at all, though some of those listed elsewhere, including the four at Blakeney, are linked with Holt.

Free men other than sokemen are rare in the Hundred and are more common in the scattered settlements of south-east Norfolk, where their status may have arisen as outlying farms became independent of former estates. Free men usually 'commended' themselves to the protection of a particular landlord. No such free men are listed for Blakeney.

The great majority of people recorded in Domesday appear to have been men, but whether these are heads of households or include all of working age is not clear. Specialised trades are rarely mentioned though they must have existed. It is therefore difficult to estimate what the population of any particular settlement might have been. Most attempts employ a multiplier (equating roughly to household size) to convert recorded adults to total population. Some early authors suggested 3.5 while later ones have increased the multiplier to 5.0 or more – higher if attempting to populate large areas where various omissions can be demonstrated. In Blakeney a figure of 4.5 would expand the 40 recorded adults to a total population of 180 – but this could still be an under-estimate.

Land

The Blakeney entries describe area in terms of carucates and acres. The carucate derives from the latin *carruca*, a plough or ploughteam, and is often understood to represent 120 acres – equivalent to a 'hide' in areas outside Danish influence. The acre may have had the same value as now (eg 220 x 22 yards) but uniformity is unlikely. At one time the hide was taken to represent the land required to support a substantial free man's household, though it was essentially a unit of account rather than a physical area of land. Hence the virgate of 30 acres (a quarter hide) and the bovate of 15 acres (one eighth). The easy relationship of 120 acres to 240 pence in the pound is probably not coincidental.

It is with this in mind that one should read the Blakeney entries: 1 carucate, 2 carucates, 30 acres (a quarter carucate), and 24 acres (one fifth). Such values seem too rounded to denote a precise area of land, though the 3 acres of meadow might be such a measure.

Some authors have looked to the number of ploughs as a better indication of the amount of arable land, but this does not improve understanding of the Blakeney entries. On the King's carucate, for example, 8 householders had one plough, convenient for the usual equation of 8 oxen to one plough. However, in Cley 48 householders had 12 ploughs and the figures for Holt are very similar.

Neither is the pattern of land use any easier to determine. The ploughs imply arable land (and cereals) and 3 acres of meadow are specified in Blakeney. Meadow was normally found in river valleys or at least where water could accelerate growth. Blakeney has no river valley so the meadow might have been outside the parish –although the Domesday water table would have been higher than today's and there might then have been springs and watercourses within the parish.

Woodland is not mentioned in Blakeney nor in any of the 8 parishes which make up the north-eastern quarter of the Hundred – in contrast to the remainder where woodland is recorded according to the number of pigs that could be fattened there during the autumn. This suggests that woodland was being used as 'woodpasture' rather than for coppicing as in later periods. The two uses are incompatible because of the damage that rooting pigs do to young growth. Was there coppiced woodland in the Blakeney area not recorded in Domesday? Possibly, but the relatively high population density in Langham, Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton suggests that woodland must have been relatively sparse.

Animals

Though there are none in Blakeney, animals are mentioned in two-thirds of the Holt Hundred parishes, with sheep having the highest numbers (about 1200), followed by pigs (c.220), goats (c.l 20), and then cows (40). Dairy farming was not a feature of Domesday agriculture and villagers would have obtained their milk, cheese and butter from ewes and goats rather than from cows; some of the sheep would have been pastured on the salt marshes. The distribution of pigs does not coincide with that of woodland: the highest number of pigs is at Wiveton (34) which had no recorded woodland at all. Only the rich could afford to keep a horse and only a few, all described as cobs, are recorded. Oxen are not mentioned at all, even though they were used to draw the ploughs. A total of 11 beehives are listed in 4 parishes, the nearest to Blakeney being the two at Letheringsett.

Mills

In the Domesday entries Blakeney has one mill. This must have been a watermill because the first windmills were not built until a century later. Most mills were built across a watercourse or else were operated by leets taking water from higher up the valley. Mill technology was well developed – one 11th century mill is known to have had three wheels turned by water flowing through a massive artificial ditch running for more than a kilometre across a bend in the Thames. Often it was only the lord who could assemble the necessary capital and labour to build a mill but some were built by tenants acting together. Some mills were for the lord's produce only, others served the whole village.

By Norfolk standards the Glaven, whose valley almost defines Holt Hundred, is a short river flowing from high ground; it is therefore relatively fast and numerous mills can be expected. Domesday records a total of 21 including the one at Blakeney but excluding the one at Langham (on a tributary of the river Stiffkey) and those at Weybourne (where a separate stream flows direct to the sea).

In many cases the mills recorded will have been sited within the relevant parish. The position of Blakeney mill, however, is open to speculation. The village may have had the use of one somewhere on the Glaven; another possibility is south-east of the church where a shallow valley running down to Wiveton might have contained a stream at the time of Domesday. The Wiveton mills, too, might have been on a side stream because the Glaven was then tidal at least as far as Glandford.

Churches

Blakeney is one of only six parishes in Holt Hundred to have had a church in 1086 according to Domesday. The only ones listed close to Blakeney were the two churches at Langham. All seven churches were on Bishop William's holdings; all were endowed with between 6 and 32 acres of land and were valued at between 5d and 16d (16d being the value of the Danish *ora*). In terms of acreage and value, Blakeney is the most significant.

Although Domesday mentions few churches in Holt Hundred, or in the county generally, there is evidence to suggest that there would have been a church in almost every village – and sometimes two, giving rise to separate parishes (as at Langham and Stiffkey). Some of the churches not mentioned in Domesday have architectural features which could date back to that period. These churches tend to be the very smallest, for the larger and more prosperous settlements were able to rebuild. At Blakeney, the Domesday church appears to have been rebuilt in the later 13th century, the chancel remaining when the nave was rebuilt again in the 15th century.

It can sometimes be shown that churches have been rebuilt on the same site and the initial supposition must be that the foundations of the Domesday church in Blakeney lie under the present one. Nevertheless, the Blakeney hilltop site is unusual in this area: some churches are on high ground (Langham) but many are on mounds close to water (Morston, Cley, Wiveton, Glandford). A shift in the site of Blakeney church cannot be ruled out – if this has happened then the earlier (ie pre-Domesday) site might have been in the (hypothetical) Saxon village of Snitterley which itself would have been close to a source of water (and with sufficient land to support the Domesday population). On present evidence, however, the site of the Domesday church should be sought in the present churchyard.

Value

The basis for Domesday valuations is thought to be the market rent that might be obtained for the holding, though the valuations given have no clear relationship to the apparent size of the holding. Many holdings were farmed (ie rented out to tax collectors), a system which increased the likelihood of exploitation of the inhabitants as the farmers sought to increase their takings over and above the rent (or tax) to be paid.

Initially, royal manors were charged with providing so many nights' provisions for the King and his household when they visited the district. This is the origin of the reference at Blakeney to one night's provision of honey, the only sweetening substance then available. In Norfolk generally valuations in 1086 were some 40% higher than those for 1066 but at Blakeney the valuations of all three holdings had exactly doubled – perhaps an indication that it was the settlement as a whole that was being considered rather than each holding separately.

This certainly happened in paying the geld, a tax paid to the pre-Norman kings to buy off (or fight off) the Danes and to provide a royal revenue. This was often levied at 2 shillings per carucate, sometimes more. Many royal manors did not pay geld but instead had to make large contributions directly to support the king, and other manors gained partial exemption over the years. In Norfolk, villages appear to have been combined into 'leets' which often paid 2 shillings in total. Langham alone, for example, paid 2 shillings while Wiveton paid Is 5½d and Glandford 6½d, making 2s in total. A few parishes in Holt Hundred, Blakeney among them, paid no geld.

The tax values are accompanied by the dimensions of the village: Langham is defined as 1 league in length and 1 in breadth. The Domesday league is generally thought to have been 12 furlongs (1½ miles), but what was being measured is not clear. If a physical area is being indicated then the size of Langham was 1440 acres, so too were Wiveton and Hempstead. Holt and Cley together were twice as large and 5 parishes were assessed at half this figure (720 acres). It is doubtful, however, whether measurements should be interpreted in this way.

Conclusion

The main conclusion running like a theme through all these notes is the uncertainty about what the Domesday entries actually mean. While the entries will indicate at least the presence of the features described, the values given will not normally be the actual quantities in 1086. Neither does the term 'always' necessarily mean 'no change' between 1066 and 1086 – it could also mean that the 1066 values were unknown. Furthermore, omissions cannot be taken as proof that the features were absent. This uncertainty is a considerable qualification on the value of Domesday for an individual village and means that any simple interpretation is likely to be incorrect or at least incomplete.

Notes

Domesday translation: Phillipa Brown (ed.), *Domesday Book: Norfolk* (2 vols), Phillimore, 1984.

Other references: R. Weldon Finn, *Domesday Book: A Guide*, Phillimore, 1973.
H.Loynes, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conques*t, Longman, 1991
Tom Williamson, *The Origins of Norfolk*, Manchester U.P., 1993.