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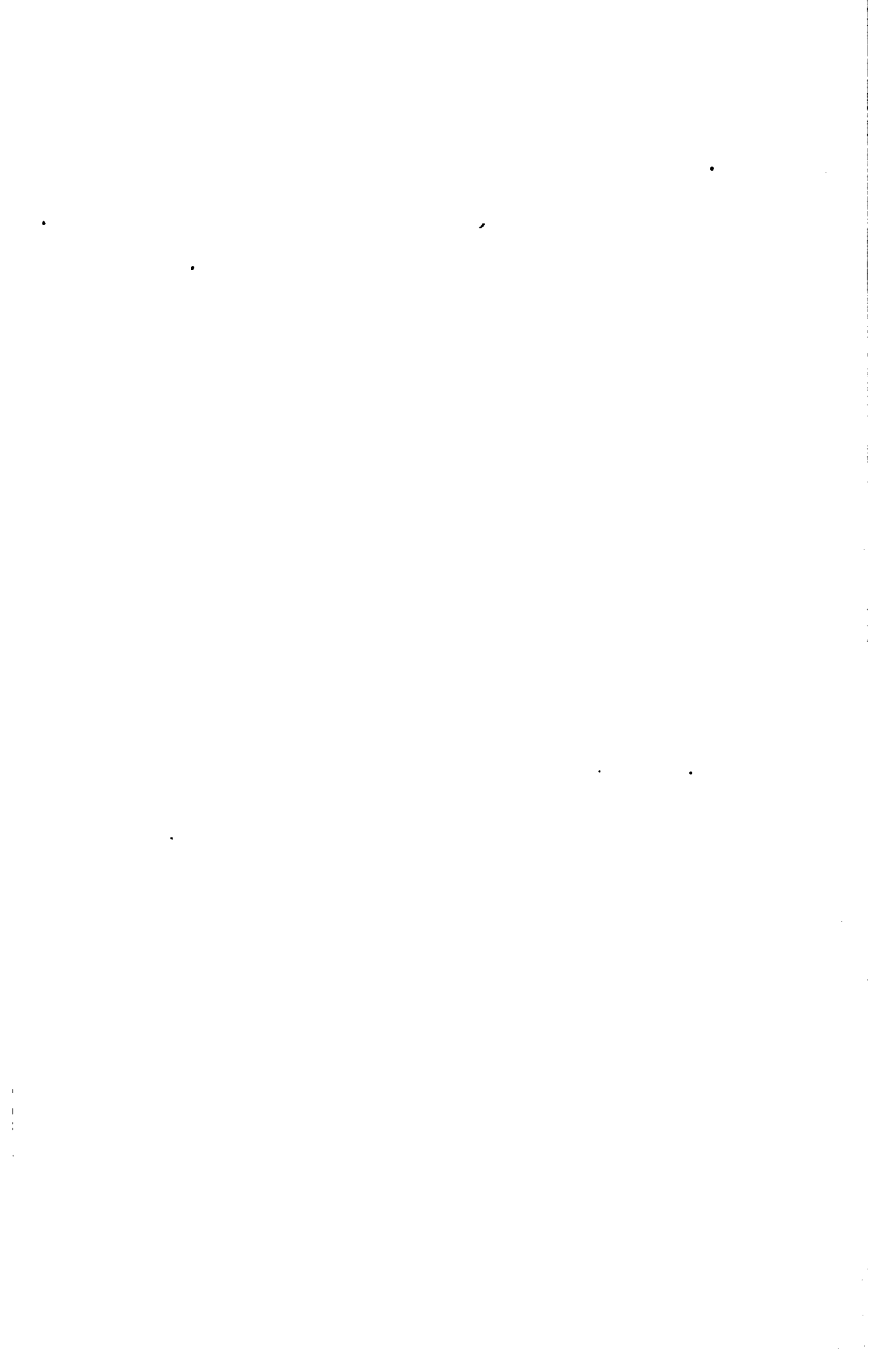
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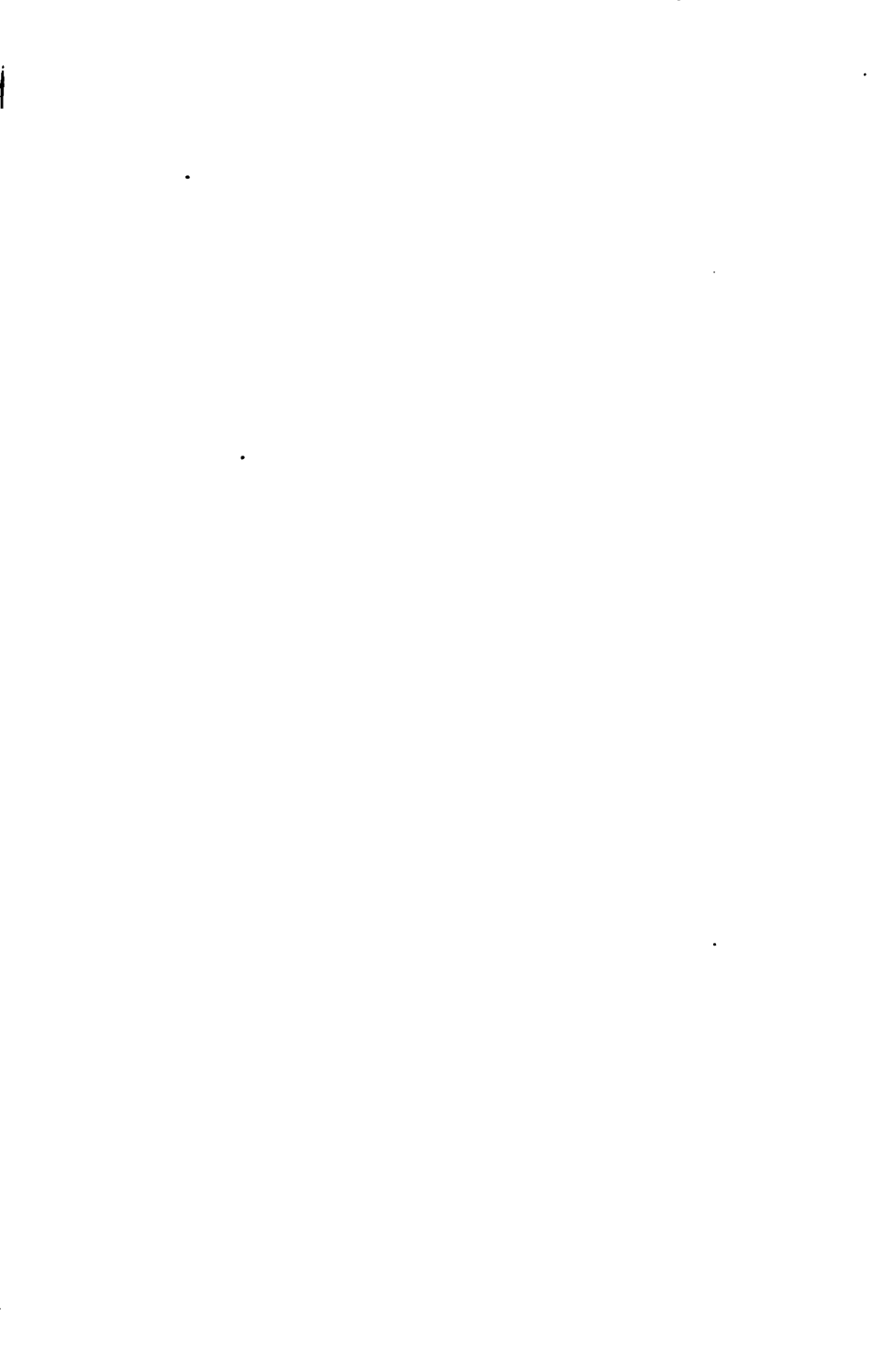


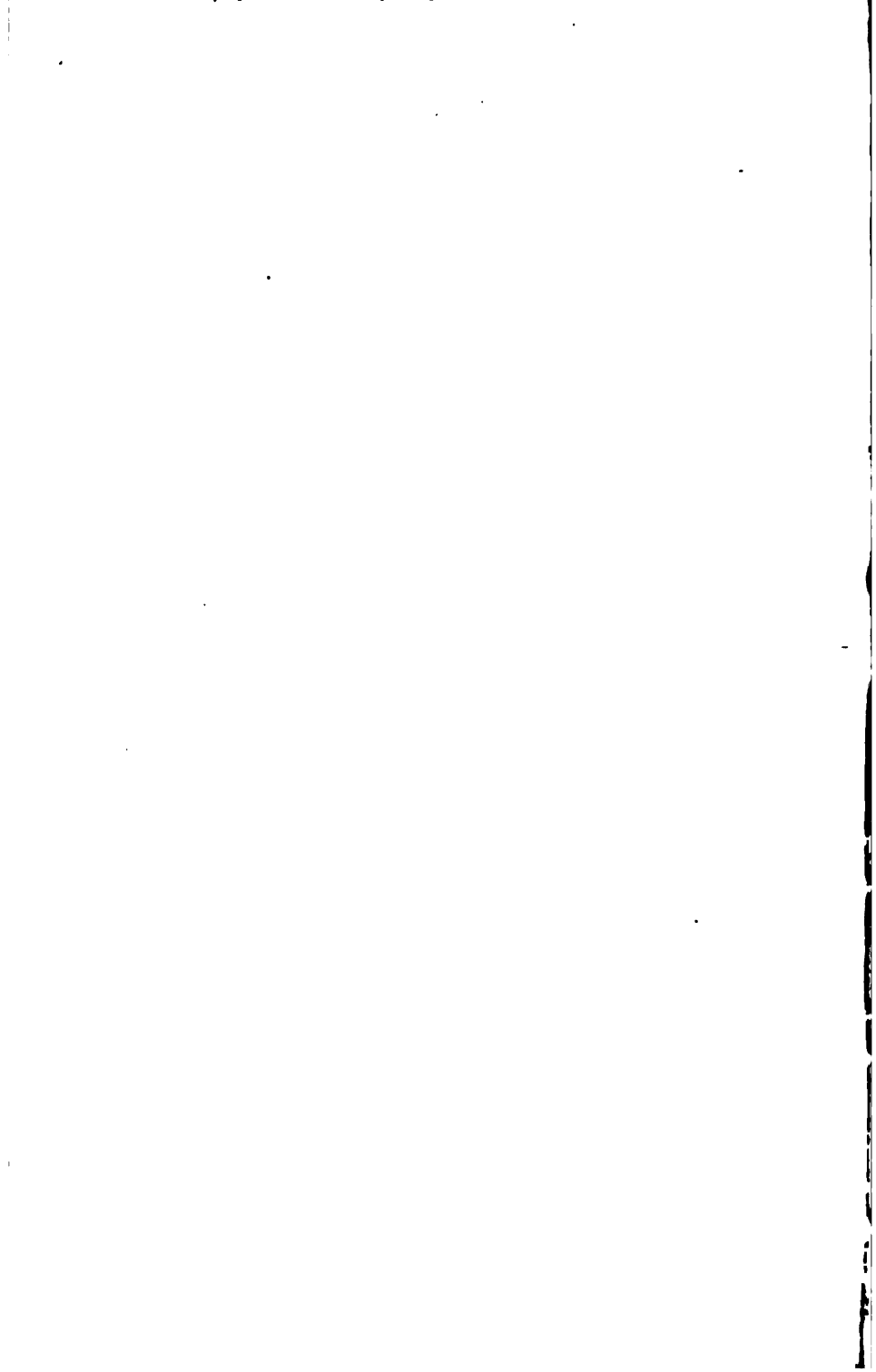
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VILLEINAGE IN NORFOLK,

Illustrated by a Memoir of the Life of Sir Robert de Salle,
bondsman and King's knight,

BY

RICHARD HOWLETT, F.S.A.

SOME years ago I read Bede's Ecclesiastical History from beginning to end, with the single purpose of noting all the incidental facts which bore upon the condition of the lower population of England early in the 8th century. The amount of information which I thus gleaned was not great in bulk, but it seemed to me at the time very deep in significance. It is not improbable that I have been anticipated in this search by many others, but in all my subsequent reading I have failed to encounter any arguments based upon Bede's facts, and I shall venture to treat them for the purposes of this paper as newly-adduced evidence.

Bede employed a definite unit, the family, "*terra unius familiae*," as a measure of the apportionment of the land, and in this way he defined the island of Iona* as *familiarum quinque juxta aestimationem Anglorum*. Now the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, in embodying Bede's statement, says that

* Lib. III., C. 4.

Iona contains five *hides* of land, and we may therefore substitute the word "hide" for "family" in the rest of Bede's incidental statements. In order not to burden these pages with Latin, I will summarise a few of them in English:—

Book 4 c. 13. The king gave 87 hides of land in Selsey to Wilfrid. All were baptised including 250 male and female slaves (*servi* and *ancillæ*).

„ c. 16. The Isle of Wight, according to the English reckoning, contains 1200 hides.

„ c. 19. The Isle of Ely contains 600 hides.

Now the Isle of Wight measures about 93,440 acres, which would give 78 acres on the average to that very vague unit the hide, and as this must have contained a proportion of wood, pasture, and waste, it is probable that the truly arable portion was not much more than the *virgate* of 30 or 40 acres which we shall meet with further on as the usual holding of a villein.*

As regards the area of the Selsey Peninsula, we can say nothing, as the inroads of the sea have changed its outline, but Bede's figures, if used with moderation, give us interesting facts. There were, according to Bede, 7,000 hides of cultivated land in Surrey and Sussex, the South Saxon kingdom, and strict proportion would tell us that if there were 250 slaves on 87 hides in a part of Sussex, there

* We must remember that we are dealing for the moment with late 7th century or early 8th century facts, not with those of the Conqueror's days. In Domesday, the unit of taxation was 5 hides, but the hidation was a mere fiscal reckoning, not a matter of land-surveying. The hide in Domesday varied between 80 and 160 acres, and even the acre itself was variable. Then, again, the hide which was theoretically 4 virgates, sometimes contained 6, 7, or even 8. Quality of land and other circumstances were considered, as for instance, when one virgate was formed out of two virgates, "*quia non potuerunt duo homines ibi vivere.*"

would, at the same rate, be about 20,000 slaves in Surrey and Sussex, two average English counties. But mediæval statistics cannot be treated in this severely arithmetical way, and we must not imagine that there were 400,000 slaves in England at large, though we may safely assert that they formed a great part of the population.*

Another passage in Bede (4. cap. 18) lets us see who these slaves really were, for, under the year 705, he writes of many "*Britones qui Occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant.*"

No doubt some of this huge mass consisted of Saxons who had lost their freedom, but it is clear from Bede that there was a large British population living as slaves to the conquering race, a result which is intrinsically propable from the history of all conquests.

Now, true slavery, as all historians agree, ended in the 12th century, and it therefore follows that between A.D. 705, and about A.D. 1150, there was a gradual elevation of the status of the lower population. The Celtic slaves and the Saxon peasants had amalgamated in the course of 450 years, and by the end of that period we find the villein class clearly established as a uniform elementary social grade.

But here again Bede gives us a flash of light, for writing of our earliest poet, Cædmon, he uses (4. cap. 24) the words "*veniensque mane ad villicum qui sibi præerat.*" Cædmon was therefore a *villanus*.

It is thus evident that the whole British, or Romano-British population, was not driven either to Wales, Cornwall, or Brittany, but that it existed as a slave race side by side with the saxon villein peasantry until the two streams of life united completely.

*The total population of England in the 14th century is supposed to have been only about two and a half millions.

But this mixed peasantry was gathered into village communities under manorial lords. The existence of the manor under the Saxon kings is indisputable, and we have seen above that Bede, in writing of an event in A.D. 680, used the technical manorial word *villicus*. What then was the origin of the manor? To those who, like myself, have approached the question without preconceptions, the evidence will, I believe, have been abundantly clear that the manor was a Roman institution. The *latifundia*, the vast corn-farms of the province of Africa, the modern Tunis, which supplied imperial Rome with corn, were worked by slave labour, but there is evidence that even in these huge estates, the slaves were graded: some were allowed a measure of domestic freedom, others were gathered each night into the dungeons of the *ergastula*.

The Roman villa was always in charge of a *villicus* who ruled over a body of *tributarii*. These, according to Ducange, were bound to servile work, and were certainly often the transplanted inhabitants of conquered territories, and thus the villa seems to have been a manor in all but name. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxvii., 8, 7) mentions *tributarii* in Kent in A.D. 368, and we thus see that, late in the days of their dominion, the Romans had established the *villa* system in at least one part of England. The connection between *villa* and *villanus* is obvious, and Cædmon's *villicus* in the North of England would seem to clench the argument for the whole country. Wherever we investigate the conditions of the Roman domination in Western Europe we find that the lower population was collected into village communities. I have elsewhere remarked that even at the present day we may see in Belgium round Bruges, and further eastward along the railway between Brussels and Aix-la-Chapelle, dozens of specimens of the shell—or perhaps we may begin to say the fossil shell—of these communities.

There are large hedgeless open fields, often stretching for two or three miles, or even more, round huddled groups of cottages, and these concentrated villages, obviously built by men who grudged even inches of space, commonly contain an ancient church. The inhabitants are now the free cultivators of the open fields on which their ancestors worked as villeins or slaves.

In realising the state of rural affairs in England in the days before, let us say, 1450, we should bear in mind the curious difference between the appearance of a modern Norfolk landscape and the same district in ancient days. The abundant quick-set hedges of to-day were then very scarce, the land lay open without divisions which could impede the transit of the clumsy plough with its huge team of eight oxen, which not only cultivated the land but formed a sort of unit which measured it out among the peasants. I have said above that this system of measurement was very rough and elastic, and was administered in a sort of rule-of-thumb way, and thus the elementary holding was a bovate or oxgang, the 15 acres or so which one ox could plough; the next higher was the virgate, averaging about 30 acres, which a villein's team of two oxen could cultivate; and the highest, the hide of four virgates which required the great team of eight oxen. There were also "cotters," labourers who held mere crofts, and acre-men—the *akermanni* whose memory survives in the surname Akerman—and there were artificers who had a share in the general crop in return for their carpentry and smith-work; but the holdings of all classes consisted not in parcels of 15, 30, or 120 acres, but in strips of one acre each, divided off by means of a narrow grass-path which, as said above, would not impede the passage of the great plough-teams. These strips, as I have said, were not grouped into holdings, but a villein's virgate was generally

made up of thirty strips scattered all over the manor. This was in order to give each man a share of the good, bad, and indifferent; and, seeing the mode of cultivation, was a most sensible arrangement, for the bovate holder did not plough his oxgang with his single ox, or the villein his virgate with his two oxen: they united their teams, and the great eight-oxen plough travelled all over the hide of 120 acres, and being lifted at the green balks, turned the furrows for cotter, villein, acreman, and artificer alike. Frequently, too, the lord left his own demesne land to lie scattered in strips over his manor, and thus the ploughing of the entire community was economically done at one single operation.

It will thus be seen that the *hide*, being practically measured out according to two considerations, the capabilities of eight oxen and the crop-value of the soil, was a very sensible work-a-day unit of cultivation for lords and villeins, and of taxation for the king.

In addition to all this the villein could turn a certain number of pigs and sheep out upon the waste and pasture land of the manor and upon the arable for a time after harvest, and he had his share of wood for fuel.

In return for this the villein was bound to work for three or four or even five days in each week from Michaelmas in one year to August 1st in the next year, and to render, with his family and two or three labourers, special assistance at harvest. The duties consisted mainly of hedging, ditching, threshing, washing and shearing sheep, spreading manure, cutting brushwood, carrying crops, guarding sheep-folds, and, at any rate at Ramsey, guarding prisoners. The villein paid 12d. a year at Ramsey for house-hire, and 4½d. for the "aid of the Sheriff and hundred," together with hidage, pontage, etc., and he had to offer at stated times a fowl and eggs, and a bushel of wheat and some barley.

Another of his duties points to the hedgeless open fields of that day. He was bound to make enclosures with thorns at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 rods per day. These, of course, were temporary enclosures to keep out cattle.*

This seems a serious total, but be it observed that while they were ploughing, sowing, reaping, and weeding, these men were cultivating their own holdings as well as their lord's. I may, perhaps, observe here that beside *villanus* the words *rusticus*, *nativus*, and *nativa* denote the villein class in all old records.

There was, as might be expected from all that I have said, a gradual rise in the position of the villein. He is often spoken of as being in "bondage." He was, but this word should not be loosely taken as equivalent to *slavery*. A villein was a free man in regard to every person except his lord, and even his lord had not unlimited power over him. As regards life and limb and serious beating the lord would have to answer at law. He might not deprive the villein of his "waynage," his plough and implements, and at any rate by the time of Edward I., if not earlier,† it was recognised by the judges that a villein who did his work could not be turned out of his holding. No doubt he was subject to some vexatious restrictions and exactions. He could be sold with the land and could be *tallaged* at the will of his lord; he paid *merchet* on his daughter's marriage, and a fine on sale of cattle; his son could not be ordained without leave; and his minor offences, as we shall see below, were punished by fines at the manorial court. Curiously enough his holding devolved at his death on his youngest son, and his widow paid a *heriot* (at Ramsey Abbey 5s.) for her life interest. But even these petty

* No doubt mere lines of heaped-up gorse and bramble like the hyæna-proof "laagers" made by the inhabitants of the Jordan Valley, who use for the purpose an intensely prickly shrub whose botanical name I do not know.

† There is a case in 1225, which seems clear.

vexations show that the man was not a slave, but an almost free peasant, though bound to live in one place and obliged to work for his position as a small farmer.

In mediæval and even in modern England custom has not only had in many ways the virtual force of law, but has been treated largely by the courts as actual law, and when we find, as we do in the records of the 14th century, that the words *villanus* and *custumarius* have become practically equivalent, we need not trace too minutely the steps by which the villein became the copyholder.

The church and the judges always favoured freedom, and thus if a manorial lord granted land to a villein and his *heirs*, it was held to be an act of manumission, and if a villein could not be proved to be of servile birth, he could claim freedom. Hence, the careful recording of the pedigrees of villeins of which I shall treat below. Residence for a year in a town, even as a fugitive, made a man free. Ordination, too, freed him, and as the villein came under the system of frank-pledge he was a free man in all matters of criminal law. Villeins served on the juries in manorial courts and they went with their reeve to the shire and hundred courts and to military service. The tendency to commute work for money payments came as a further aid to freedom, and when the Black Death of 1348 swept over the land the fabric of the villein system tottered and almost fell. So late as Elizabeth's reign villein services were exacted by a lord of a manor at Gimmingham in Norfolk; but such proceedings were becoming obsolete, and the last law case in which villeinage was pleaded appears in 1617.

Before, however, passing to the personal history of Sir Robert de Salle, I think it may be interesting to my readers to see a few translated extracts from the Court Roll*

* In Mr. Rye's library.

of a Norfolk Manor, Whissonsett, for the first year of Richard II., the closing period of Sir Robert de Salle's life. They show some of the liabilities, duties, and privileges of the villein class from which it is almost certain that he sprang, and, as I have said, they show these matters in the form in which they existed in the knight's lifetime.

WYSYNGSETE.

"At a court held there on the Thursday next after the feast of Saint James the Apostle in the first year of king Richard [the second, 1378].

From John Uphous, one of the lord's villeins, as a fine for license given to dwell outside the domain for one year, 2s.

The jury present that James Sparwe did not come to do his work in the lord's meadows when he was summoned, nor did he pay scythe money as he was wont to do. Fine 3d.

Also that Katherine Spryggy has an unrepaired gap towards the meadows called Le Medwemouth to the serious loss of the lord and other neighbours. Fine 6d.

Also that John Pardere lops in the lord's wood more wood than was sold to him. Fine 3d.

Also they elect the Uphous holding for the office of reeve for the coming year, and the tenants are John Brende and John Uphous.

Also they elect the Welhous holding for the office of harvester for the coming year, and the tenant is Ralph Simound.

Thomas Takoun [pays a fine of] 12d. for having a term in six acres and one rood of land in villeinage (*terra nativa*) passed to him by John Stanlowe, in right of Alice his wife, for a term of four years, beginning at Michaelmas next.

Thomas, son of Henry, surrenders into the hands of the

lord, one cottage for the benefit of Thomas Skernyng to have and to hold to him and his heirs by the rod at the will of the lord, saving the rights of Christina Smyth. Seisin thereof was handed to him and he gives to the lord a fine of 2s."

In these simple entries there are several points of importance as regards the conditions of villeins in 1378. The facts are "found" by a jury, and the jury elects the reeve and "messor." Delinquencies are punished by moderate fines, holdings can be let for a term of years, a villein can get leave of absence from the manor on easy terms; and a cottage can be sold or transferred *per virgam* like a copyhold tenement at the present day.

Details such as those given above are apt to appear lifeless abstracts of mere regulations, and furnish no living picture to the reader; but a certain monk of Peterborough, who was impelled as far back as the 12th century to indite a malicious poem* against the inhabitants of Norfolk, helps us in this direction. He says that Norfolk produces a graceless people and is "a hateful province," and he tells some amusing stories against the race. Three MSS. of this odd poem exist, and the latest gives a 15th century addition to the bundle of comical libels which affords us a picture of the oppression of some Norfolk villeins; the mode of their manumission; their lapse back into villeinage through an imprudence; and the results of their failure. Of course what follows is comedy, but true comedy is founded on "situations" in actual life:—

"There was once a valiant Norfolk man who diligently laid burdens on his peasantry, and often took away their money and their sheep, crushing the people down by his knaveries.

The peasants, weighed down by so great a grievance, hastily adopted

* Norfolk Antiq. Miscellany, vol. ii., pt. 11, pp. 367-368.

a plan of this sort : to give the knight a sum of money for the privilege of holding by some more free sort of tenure.

Forthwith the knight, pleased with the bribe, ordered a charter to be made to free them, and had a noble seal of green wax put to the charter.

Having become free men, they presently went into an inn and refreshed their empty bellies with wine dregs. They kept on drinking until nightfall, and then thought of getting a candle, but sure enough they could not find one.

A certain fellow, full of contrivance beyond all the rest, presently raised his voice and spoke thus : "A fine wax seal hangs from the charter, out of which a big candle could be made. It is not the wax that confers benefit on us but the scroll. If you remove the wax the writing does not lose its effect." The others answered straightway with loud voices, "This proceeds from great foresight. This man," they say, "gives good advice." Accordingly they made the seal into a splendid candle. The knight hearing of all this was greatly pleased, and recalled them to their original condition of servitude.

To this the rustics tried to offer opposition, and said to their lord, "We hold by a free tenure : thou canst exact no service. This we can easily show by the charter."

Then the lord told them to exhibit the charter. "It is quite needless, for thou knowest full well thou didst order a charter to be made for us to free us from every kind of service."

At last it became requisite to exhibit the charter, and the villein who acted as spokesman, showing the scroll, held the charter folded up in his hand. "This charter," quoth he, "which thou didst with thine own lips order to be prepared, thou oughtest to allow." The lord began to deny all this, saying, "Hand it to a clerk ; let it be read immediately." But the rustic would not let go the "tail."*

One of the servants standing beside him attempted to pull it out of the man's hand, and—it lacked the virtue of a seal.

Wise judges immediately decided "that the rustics should ever be for the future just as they had formerly been"; and because they had thus withdrawn themselves from the service of their lord, they were shut up in prison until they had handed over all the money and sheep that they possessed."

* "Cauda," a strip of parchment bearing the seal.

I have not thought it desirable to give details respecting the free tenants of whom there were usually at least a few on each manor—the socmen who held in socage, the molmen and others—or about manorial courts, but I should like to say a word in passing about the *Radmanni*, the rodknights or radchenistres of Domesday and later times, because they explain the modern surname Roadknight. They were free men who acted as bodyguard to the lord and lady of the manor, and, though tenants of the manor, sometimes had villeins on their land.

I ought, perhaps, to add that not only free men but men of good position often held land in villeinage among their other possessions, but this, of course, did not make them villeins.

Villeins were liable to military service, and the road by which Sir Robert de Salle, of whom I shall be writing more fully below, reached his important position is marked out by hints in chronicles and manorial records.

The villeins went to the *fyrð* under the leadership of their reeve, and the reeve, as we have seen above, was himself a villein. Wace (l. 12839) writes of *li vilain* fighting at Senlac, while the *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls ed. p. 73) show that Devizes Castle, one of the strongest in the kingdom, was taken in 1141 by “a simple crowd of rustics,” and it must be remembered that *rusticus* always means villein. Furthermore, there was a class of *servientes*, in French *serjanz*, whom we find in manorial records controlling villeins in the harvest-field. The laws of the Confessor (sect. xxi.) mention “*armigeros vel alios servientes*,” and the Pipe Roll for 11 Hen. II., p. 85, alludes to wounded men in one line and in the next to *servientes rustici*, villein sergeants.

In Maitland's *Select Pleas (Manorial)*, p. 80, we see a knight with his *serviens*, and yet another *serviens* in place of a second *knight*, sent to Gascony in 1294, so that although

Fantosme seems by writing "*ne serjant ne escuier*" to differentiate the classes as early as 1174, the substitution of a *serviens* for a *knight* a hundred and twenty years later, is a curious though indirect testimony to the possibility of a sort of equality, or at any rate but slight difference between esquires and sergeants, which is suggested much earlier by the Laws of the Confessor.

Be this as it may the villeins obviously had plenty of military opportunities, and at Fornham Saint Genevieve in 1173 we see, in Fantosme's poem, the knights knocking down the Flemish mercenaries and the "*vilains*" killing them with fork and flail.

I have said above that pedigrees of villeins were carefully kept by manorial lords because the law always required proof of villein birth when a claim was made against a fugitive from the manor, and a very interesting case of this kind is to be found in the Norris MSS.* vol. viii. (*Excerpta e Chart. Antiq. pt. 3, p. 36*).

Mr. Rye and I hoped that these documents related to Sir Robert de Salle, but though they do not seem to do so they form a valuable addition to the history of villeinage, for very few villein pedigrees are extant now, and the fifth document shows the determined attitude of towns with regard to the rule by which a villein who contrived to remain in a town for one year in defiance of his lord became a free man:

Five documents touching the state of Robert de Salle, a villein belonging to the manor of Kirkehall in Salle:

No. 1. Johannes Salle, taylyour, nativus domini habuit in uxorem Egidiam, de ipsis Johanne et Egidia exierunt Johannes, Agneta, et Margareta in matrimonio.

* In Mr. Rye's library. Norris states that the original documents belonged to William Wigget Bulwer, Esq.

Idem Johannes filius Johannis Salle, Taylyor habuit uxorem nomine Marionam et de ipsis exierunt in matrimonio Robertus et Margareta.

- No. 2. Johannes de Salle, senior, natus domini, habuit unum fratrem Benedictum de Salle. Obiit ante magnam pestilentiam et Johannes de Salle, junior, taylyour [qui] natus domini erat, post secundum annum post magnam pestilentiam obiit. De ipso Johanne Salle, juniore, tallyour, exiit (sic) Johannes, filius ejus, Agnes et Margareta sorores ejus.

Pater Roberti Salle manent (sic) in Jernemutha qui obit in magna pestilentia ij annos (sic) ante patrem ejus Benedictum Salle: de ipso Benedicto exiit (sic) Stephanus filius ejus et Agneta soror ejus.

Robertus Salle,* frater ejus, obiit sine herede et sine exitu. Thomas Salle frater ejus: de ipso Thoma exiit Thomas filius ejus.

- No. 4.† Waxtenesham: Memorandum de hominibus qui fuerunt coram Radulpho Brownynge clerico villæ Magnæ Jernemuthæ ad inquirendum de statu Roberti Salle:

Johannes Lynesson	Willelmus Belamy
Willelmus Fox	Edmundus Cochebolle
Johannes Cochebolle	Willelmus Wrongg, tenet
Johannes Mayn, tenens	terram nativam de Domino
et villanus super feodum	de Malteby.
Domini de Malteby.	

* This might possibly be Sir Robert, but Blomefield gives him a different pedigree.

† No. 3 is of no special interest.

No. 5.* To the very honourable Father in God and his very gracious lord the Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England, showeth your poor servitor Robert Mawteby, who sought a writ *de nativo habendo* against one Robert Salle, villein of the said Robert, which writ was directed to Hugh at fenne, John Howesson, Thomas Redberd, and John Spytlyng, bailiffs† of the town of Yarmouth, because that the said Robert was dwelling within the franchise of Yarmouth aforesaid, the which writ the said suppliant delivered to the said bailiffs, by Thomas Newport his servant, the Sunday next following the Nativity of our Lady in the ninth year of the reign of our lord the present king, to put in due execution according to the course of law, at which time the said bailiffs gave notice to the commons, that is to say to Alexander atte Gappe, John Cravele, Richard Tate, Ralph Leffen, Thomas Halle, Robert Hay, and many others of the said town, how that such writ was to them directed, and asked their advice as to what should be done in the said matter, the which commons said that they would not assent to the execution of any such writ seeing that it would be in great derogation and destruction of their franchise; and upon that as well the bailiffs as the said commons threatened to kill the bearer of the said writ, so that on account of their menace and for fear of his death he fled

*This amusing document is in legal French, a grievous tongue, and I have translated it out of consideration for my readers.

† They were bailiffs in 1407.

to the church of Saint Nicholas of the said town of Yarmouth, and stayed there until the said commons sent to the said Thomas, the bearer of the writ, to choose one of three courses, to wit, the first, to come out of the said church and to submit to their grace and ordinances; or to eat before them the said writ; or otherwise that he should take back again the said writ without proceeding further upon it. Whereupon the said bearer for fear of death took back the said writ. Wherefore may it please your very gracious lordship to consider the said matter, and how the said suppliant is unable, for fear of the said bailiffs and commons, to pursue his right according to the course and custom of the law, and thereupon to grant to the said suppliant a writ directed to the said bailiffs to be before you, with the commons aforesaid, in your Chancellery to answer as well to our lord the king as to the said suppliant at a fixed day under a certain penalty, &c.

The date of the documents appears to be 1408, and they therefore do not in the main relate to Sir Robert though he may possibly be referred to as the Robert who died without issue.*

When the magistrates of Yarmouth could invite the bearer of a writ for recovering a villein to eat the parchment, the days of villeinage must have indeed been numbered.

There is a precedent in part for Sir Robert de Salle's leap from servitude, not only to knighthood and the governorship of an important military post, but to the lordship of

* Subject to the accuracy of Blomefield's statement (iv. 77) that de Salle had a daughter Alice, a statement which the full text of his will renders very doubtful.

many manors. As Mr. Rye has pointed out to me, Sir John Hawkwood was a tailor, and was probably, like the "taylyours" in the pedigrees above, a villein by birth. He served under Edward III., and oddly enough in 1360 in company with Bernard de la Salle,* but he is best known by his leadership of mercenaries in Italy where he was known to the Florentines as Aguto.

Blomefield says (viii., p. 273) that our knight, Sir Robert de Salle, was the son of Edmund the son of Roger de Salle—a form of pedigree which savours of those printed above; but he gives no clue to his authority, and elsewhere (vi. p. 478) states that de Salle's family was "of good repute."†

Froissart, as we shall see, twice asserts that he was not of gentle stock, and puts into the mouth of John the Litester's rabble the words: ‡"Ye be no gentyllmanne borne, but sonne to a villayne suche as we be." We shall see also below the force of the words "*miles gregarius*," which Walsingham applies to him.

It is quite in accordance with the theory of humble extraction that there is little if any trace of him before the 1st November, 1363, when, as appears from the Patent Roll (3 Ric. II., pt. 2), he received a grant of ten marks yearly. This, the Issue Roll for 1370, (p. 390), tells us was for good service. Froissart says that "he was of his body one of the biggest knights in all Englande," and the circumstances of his death show that his strength and valour were exceptional, so that, as intimated above, there

* This is a French name, and I think that the coincidence is purely one of form.

† He does not, it should be observed, say of noble or even gentle origin: Sir Robert's brother in Norwich was evidently a well-to-do innkeeper and hence probably of "good repute."

‡ Quoted from Lord Berners' translation of Froissart (l. 648).

is no reason for doubting that going to war as *serviens* or *sergeant* of villein grade, he attracted notice and fought his way up to the position of esquire to Edward III., which the Patent Roll quoted above says that he held.

The Issue Roll of the Exchequer for 1370* shows that on 25th April in that year he received about £65 for his wages in the war, and for his men-at-arms and bowmen. This must have been the Limoges affair under the Black Prince.

The wage of a "first-class fighting man" at that period was but a small part of his revenue, and we may suppose that it was money gained by looting and holding prisoners to ransom—fairly gained according to the current opinion of the time—that enabled him to purchase in 1369 from Geoffrey de Smalbergh and Margaret his wife, the manor and advowson of Oxnead near Aylsham. The Fine which tells us this also shows that he had at that date been knighted. We see, however, from an entry made twelve years later on the Patent Roll (4 Ric. II., 28 Jan., 1381) that his purchase of the lordship of the manor of Oxnead was signalised by the violent death at his hands of Robert Luce of that place in 1369. No doubt the man was a mere villein and was probably impertinent to his new lord, yet the life even of a villein was supposed to be held sacred. But the slayer was a knight and the king's esquire, and was one of those gifted beings who could cut a lane through a body of fighting men, so that all things considered the only marvel is that the pardon was thought to be necessary at so late a date as 1381. Next from the Patent Roll (3 Ric. II., pt. ii.) we learn that in 1372 Sir Robert was awarded a further pension of 40 marks a year for good service.

* Extracts by Mr. Devon, p. 15.

The next traces of him are in Rymer's *Fœdera* (iii. pt ii. 992, and iv. 2), when we find him appointed Warden of Merke Castle in succession to William de Gunthorpe, another Norfolk man, on 26th October, 1373. Merke is about five miles S.E. by E. of Calais, and is near the railway between that town and Gravelines.

On 22nd June, 1377, on the accession of Richard II., he was confirmed in his appointment, and his influence with the new king seems to have been as great as with the old, for the Patent Roll (1 Ric. II., pt. ii.) shows that on 24th November, 1377, a pardon was granted on the supplication of Robert Salle, knight, to Nicholas Grys for the death of John son of John Abbe of Almerton. One man-slayer, not yet pardoned, imploring the pardon of another man-slayer is a sufficiently dramatic incident.

But the first-class fighting man was soon in need not only of one pardon for himself, but of a second pardon also. Mere eccentricities on the part of warriors of this quality, such as removing obnoxious civilians in time of peace, had to be overlooked; but when the failure was in military matters it was quite a different affair. The good old chronicler Thomas Walsingham, in his *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls ed. i. 344), tells us of a grievous default on the part of Sir Robert de Salle. In the first passage, writing of Sir Hugh Calverley, he says: "To his honour it must be admitted that he valiantly recovered, on the very day on which the French had occupied it, the castle of Merke, which had been lost by the carelessness of its garrison—a post than which no other could possibly have been more annoying in the hands of an enemy to the people of Calais."

He then proceeds thus: "Sir Robert de Salle, captain of the aforesaid castle, in truth a knight of the common sort

(*miles næ gregarius*),* but a valiant man among the most renowned, had gone to England for certain reasons, leaving the care of the fortress to certain imprudent persons. These, becoming in his absence more careless than they ought, indulged in games and archery, and when one day they had arranged a shooting match not far from the castle boundaries, the Picard mercenaries who were in the castle—a race of men reputed utterly treacherous by all Frenchmen—seeing that all the English had gone out, shut the gates, put the castle into a state of defence, and admitted the French.”

What happened to the unlucky Sir Robert may be inferred from the pardon granted to him 3rd May, 1378. His armour even had been forfeited and had to be restored, and the list of the pieces which composed it being interesting by itself, I give the complete summary from the printed calendar:

May 3rd, 1378, Westminster.

“Pardon to Sir Robert Salle, knight, for all negligence, misprisions, trespasses, or defaults in having left without license the castle of Merk, in the march of Calais, when governor thereof and come into England, whereby, by the treachery and rebellion of those to whom he had committed it to keep, it was forcibly detained by them against the king to be delivered to the French until recovered for the king by the captain of Calais, and of all forfeiture whether of body or goods incurred thereby except of the goods which he had in it at the time of its said detention, yet of the harness and armour (*hernesiiis et armaturis*) therein which were his, the king grants him for his own person a complete harness for war, viz., a pair of iron braces,

* In classical Latin *Miles næ gregarius* would mean “In truth a common soldier,” but in mediæval Latin *miles* cannot mean anything but knight. *Gregarius* must therefore be translated “of the common sort”: in modern parlance “a ranker,” and the antithesis which follows “sed . . . strenuus . . .” enforces the meaning. The words strongly support Froissart’s assertion that he was of villein birth.

a pair of iron shoes (sabotons), a complete harness of iron jambes with pulley pieces (poleyns), cuisses, and faudes (voiders), a coat of iron, and a pair of plates covered with gold cloth, a red breastplate, a jack of gold with buckles and pendants of silver gilt, a basinet with an eventail of steel, together with the staples of the basnet, a chaplet of silver gilt, a helmet with crest, a pair of plated gauntlets, a sword and a war dagger, a Bordeaux axe, a shield of steel-plated horn, a red lance with Bordeaux head, and a white pavice with the head of a black eagle erased."* By p.s. (349).

These were his weapons as a knight, but the shield, which was given back among them, and the pavice with the head of a black eagle, seem to lead to the question of his armorial bearings. These are given by Blomefield (vi. 478, 9) as "sable, three eagles' heads erased ermine," the information being derived from an old parchment which described the great east window of Saint Michael's church in Conisford, placed there in 1419 by Sir Thomas Erpingham. Curiously enough the window commemorated knights and others who had "died without issue male." Sir Robert's arms were "in the 7th pane." This confirms the inference from his will that he died without heirs male, and it is scarcely possible that Blomefield (iv., 77) can be right respecting his alleged daughter.

It seems probable that, though forgiven, he never went back to Merk, for the Official Return of members of Parliament issued in 1878 (part i., p. 200) shows that Sir Robert, with William de Kerdeston, served in Parliament as member for Norwich in 1378. He may have become Governor of Norwich Castle on leaving Merk.

An entry on the Patent Roll † for 7th April, 1380, which has already been referred to, records an alteration in his

* Calendar of Patent Roll 1 Ric. II. pt. 5, p. 201.

† 3 Richard II., pt. 2.

pension by which two annual grants at the Exchequer, of 10 and 40 marks respectively, were reduced to one annual sum of 40 marks charged on the issues of Norfolk and Suffolk. He thus sacrificed 10 marks of income for the benefit of being paid in his own county. Possibly he avoided thereby some unrecognised exactions of the London officials.

But Sir Robert was not destined to enjoy much longer his pensions or his large possessions. I have not as yet said much of these as it is only his will and other documents subsequent to his death which show that he was a really wealthy man.

It would be a waste of space to enter upon the history of John the Litester's rebellion, with its linked movements in other parts of England, and the corresponding peasant wars of Central Europe. All that has been fully done by others, and I must simply bring on the scene the rabble on Mousehold Heath threatening Norwich, then destitute of the guns which were to defend the city a few years later.*

It appears from the appointment of Thomas Brokhal as warden of Merk Castle on 16th December, 1380† that Sir Robert de Salle had passed to other duties. Apparently, as suggested above, he had become warden of Norwich Castle, for Froissart calls him "knight capitayne of the towne,"‡ and in that capacity he was called upon to face the rebels. But I must give the whole affair in the words of the contemporary chronicles:

1. *Capgrave's Chronicle of England* (Rolls ed. p. 237).

Fast be Norwich rose another wrech, cleped Jak Lister. He smet of the hed of that nobyl knyte Sere Robert Salle.

* In 1386. See *N. and N. Arch. S.*, Vol. xvi., pp. 46-75.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, iv., 103.

‡ I have used Lord Berner's translation of Froissart (l., 648), mainly, I admit, on account of the delightful quaintness of his language.

2. *Chronicle of Henry Knighton, Canon of Leicester* (Rolls ed. ii., 140).

They also decapitated Sir Robert Salle, a knight renowned for bravery in arms.

3. *Thomas Walsingham : Historia Anglicana* (Rolls ed. ii., 5).

[After stating that the rebels caught in their homes a number of knights and forced them to go along with the rabble, Walsingham proceeds]: “. . . . Sir Robert de Salle, which Robert did not long remain alive among them, for he knew not how to dissimulate like the rest, but began openly to condemn and express horror at their doings, for which cause he was suddenly brained (*percussus in cerebro*) by a certain rustic, one of his own villeins, and expired—a knight who would singly have stricken terror into a thousand of them, if it had chanced that he had fought against them in open battle.”

4. *Froissart (Lord Berner's Translation, i., 648).*

The cause why they rested before Norwyche I shall shewe you. There was a knight capitayne of the towne, called Sir Robert Sale; he was no gentylman borne, but he had the grace to be reputed sage and valyant in armes, and for his valyauntesse kyng Edward made hym knight. He was of his body one of the biggest knyghtes in all Englande.

Lyster and his company thought to have had this knight with them, and to make him their chife capitayne, to the entente to be the more feared and beloved, so they send to hym, that he shulde come and speke with them in the felde, or els they wolde brenne the towne. The knyght considered that it was better for hym to go and speke with them, rather thanne they shulde do that outrage to the towne. Than he mounted on his horse, and yssued oute of the towne all alone, and so came to speke with them, and whan they saw hym, they made him grete chere, and honoured hym moche, desyryng hym to alyght of his horse, and to speke with theym, and so he dyde, wherin he dyde great folly. For whanne he was alyghted, they came rounde about hym, and began to speke fayre to hym, and sayde, Sir Robert, ye are a knight and a man greatlye beloved in this countrey and renowned a valyaunt man, and thoughe ye be thus, yet we knowe you well: ye be no gentylmanne borne, but Sonne to a villayne suche as we be; therefore come you with us and be our Maister, and we shall make you so great a Lorde, that

one quarter of Englande shall be under your obeysaunce. Whan the knyght herde them speke thus, it was greatlye contraryous to his mynde, for he thought never to make any such Bargayne and answered them with a felonous regarde, "Flye away ye ungracyous People, false and yuell Traytours that ye be. Wolde you that I shulde forsake my naturall Lorde for such a company of knaves, as ye be, to my dishonoure for ever. I had rather ye were all hanged as ye shall be, for that shall be your ende." And with those Wordes he had thought to have lepte agayne upon his horse, but he fayled of the Styroppe: and the horse sterted away. Then they cryed all at hym, and sayde, slee hym without Mercy. Whan he herde those Wordes he let his horse go, and drue out a good Swerde, and began to scrimysse with them, and made a great place about hym, that it was a pleasur to beholde hym. There was non that durst aproche nere hym. Ther were some that aproched nere hym, but at every stroke that he gave, he cutte of outhur Legge, Heed or Arme, there was none so hardy but that they feared hym. He dyde there such Dedes of Armes, that it was marveyle to regarde, but there were mo than forty thousand of these unhappy People, they shotte and cast at hym, and he was unarmed. To saye trouthe, yf he had been of yron or stele yet he must needs have been slayne. But yet or he dyed, he slew xii out of hande, besyde theym that he hurte. Finally he was stryken to the erthe, and they cutte of his Armes and Legges, and than strake his body all to peces.

When Froissart says that Sir Robert was "unarmed" he means that he was without protecting body-armour, and was thus an easy prey to stones or other missiles. We may smile at the grim rejoicing of the warlike chronicler who says "it was a pleasur to beholde hym" as his sword "made a great place about hym."

If he slew twelve out of hand we may place "theym that he hurte" at the usual figure, and say that before he died he had killed or wounded 50 men: a true prototype of Shaw, the lifeguardsman, at Waterloo.

It will be observed that there is some difference among the chroniclers as to the exact mode of his death.

Walsingham represents him as a captive boldly reproving his captors for their misdeeds and falling a victim to a sudden blow, while the good old prophet of swashbucklers attributes his death to a duly-arranged parley which ended in treachery and a fight. Capgrave and Knighton both use words which imply capture and decapitation. Walsingham, too, clearly shows him as a prisoner, while Froissart's story includes what was virtually a capture.

But it is a case of *parvum discrimen leti*, and the absence of any known monument to him tends to prove that his bones were scattered on Mousehold Heath. The date of his death is precisely given as 17th June, 1381, and the spot on which he died is known* to have been close to Magdalen Chapel, just outside the city boundary—an interesting Norman structure which Norwich some years ago allowed to be cut up into miserable tenements, but which has now a prospect of better treatment.

Mr. Rye, to whom I owe nearly all the original documents respecting Sir Robert which I have used, has found for me in the Norris MSS. in his library (Will Book, vol. i., p. 46a.), a copy of the knight's will of which I subjoin a complete translation, as it is full of information :

The Will of Robert Salle, knight.

"In the name of God, amen. I, Robert Salle, knight, being of sound mind and good memory, make my will in this manner. In the first place I bequeath my soul to God and my body to Christian burial. Also I bequeath to Sir John, rector of the church of Oxneath, for my tithes forgotten 40s. Also I bequeath to Sir John Haughayle my chaplain 100s. Also I bequeath to John Taverner, dwelling in Norwich, one silver cup with silver lid. Also I bequeath to Margaret my sister 40s. Also I bequeath to Nicholas my nephew, son of the said Margaret, to learn

* From the "Antient Indictment" printed by Mr. E. Powell ("Rising in East Anglia in 1351," p. 132) "Henry Roys of Dilham, Adam Pulter otherwise called Adam Martyn, (decollatus) with other malefactors unknown, on Monday the feast of St. Botulph in the fourth year above said at Musbold by the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen feloniously killed and beheaded Robert de Salle, knight."

a trade but not otherwise, 40s. Also I bequeath to Margaret my niece, daughter of the aforesaid Margaret my sister, 5 marks of silver for a marriage portion only and not otherwise. Also I leave to Nicholas Grere my serving man for his good service £20. Also I bequeath to Frances my wife that messuage with all appurtenances which I acquired in the city of Norwich which is called Godesmannes Place, situate in the parish of St. Michael in Coslanye next the tenement formerly belonging to Richard Spynk and abutting at one end on the King's Highway and at the other upon the water called the common river, to have and to hold the aforesaid tenement with all its appurtenances to the said Frances her heirs and assigns for ever from the chief lord of that fee by the services thence due and by law accustomed. And I will that all [my] manors messuages and tenements, to wit the manor of Oxnethe by Aylesham and the Manor of Bolwyk in Aylsham aforesaid and the manor which is called Bromhall * in South Walsham and a certain tenement which is called Bryanes in the town of Skeyton, with the advowsons of churches and with all other appurtenances of whatever kind in the hands of whatever feofces the above said manors and houses may be, Frances my wife may have peacefully and quietly to the end of her life, and after the decease of the said Frances I will that all the aforesaid manors, lands, and tenements shall be sold by the hands of my executors, and if it should happen that my executors should be dead, then by the hands of the executors of the said Frances, and all proceeds arising from the said manors, lands, and tenements, as above said, devoted to pious uses for my soul and the soul of the said Frances and for the souls of those to whom I am in duty bound, in the best manner possible so as to endure for ever for divine uses according to the disposition of the said executors, even as they wish to answer before God in the day of Judgment. And I will also that my messuage with appurtenances in the town of Leystoft, which is called Botildesplace, and my messuage in the town of Caleys next the Hospice of the Earl of Warwyk should be sold by the hands of my executors and the proceeds of the same should be distributed by the hands of Frances my wife. And if there should be any residue from all my goods and chattells and from

* Sunderlands or Brome Manor in parish of St. Mary, South Walsham.

whatever may be payable and due to me, in the hands of whomsoever it may be, beyond the amount of my debts when paid and legacies in my will as above, I bequeath it to Frances my wife that she should dispose of it on my behalf as it may seem best to her. And of this my will I ordain, make, and constitute executors, that is to say my wife Frances the principal, Sir William Danby, the said Lord Latymer, and Lawrence Trussel.

In Witness whereof I have put my seal to this present will, the witnesses being Sir John, rector of the church of Oxnethe, and Sir John Haughvyll chaplain. Given at Oxnethe on the day of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, that is to say the 8th day of the month of September in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighty.

Proved at Norwich, 3rd July, A.D. 1381.* Register Heydon.

This will gives several points of interest, among others the bequest of 40s. to his nephew Nicholas, son of his sister Margaret, on the express condition of his learning a trade (*artificium*) is confirmatory of the assertions made respecting Sir Roberts' humble origin. So much, however, as already shown, points in this direction that I think the matter may be taken as proved.

The silence of the will, and Sir Thomas Erpingham's window to heirless knights in St. Michael's Conisford, prove as said above that Sir Robert had no heirs male; and the omission of her name further renders it probable that Blomefield is either wrong in assigning him a daughter, Alice, or in saying that she survived him.†

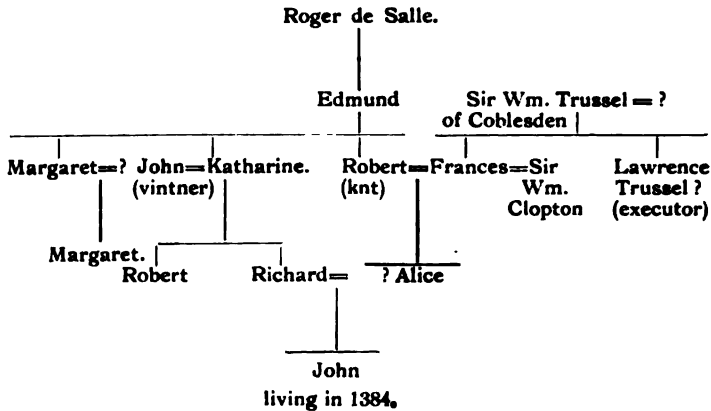
The silver cup bequeathed to John *Taverner* dwelling in Norwich, was, it appears, a gift to his brother, for the

* There is a memorandum of this will on the Norwich Deed Rolls (Roll 14, m. 10. d.) It was proved 3rd July in 4th Ric. II. (1381) by John Hauville, Robert Joly and *John de Salle*. License had been granted on 20th June, 1381, three days only after the death (Calendar of Patent Rolls, 4 Ric. II.), for the executors of the will of Robert Salle to dispose of his goods. The promptitude is curious, but though the regnal year of Richard II. ends on 21st June, there seems to be no confusion with the chronological year.

† I give reasons below, p. 29, notes, for thinking that Blomefield (lv. 77) is mistaken in another point as well.

city Deed Roll (14. m. 12), for 1380 shows that John de Salle, *taverner*, and Katherine his wife sold property in the parish of St. Simon and St. Jude. The will of this John de Salle, *vintner*, is on the Norwich Deed Roll (7 Ric. II. m. 20), having been proved on 20th March 1384. He left property in St. Peter Mancroft parish to his son Robert; to his son Richard property in St. Paul's, with remainder to his son John.

The pedigree of the family therefore shapes out thus:—



The re-marriage of Sir Robert's widow is mentioned by Blomefield (ix. 450), her second husband being Sir W. Clopton, of Long Melford, who held half a knight's fee in Weybourne. We hear of him again in 1382 and 1384.

Reserving any mention of the manors to the last, I may note here that the messuage in Calais next the Hospice of the Earl of Warwick, which was to be sold, can scarcely be the messuage "held for life" referred in the following extract from the calendar of the Patent Rolls (4 Ric. II. pt. 3).

1382, May 14th, Westminster. "Grant for life, at supplication of the king's brother Thomas de Holand, to John Hustwayt esquire of a messuage in Cales of the value of 4 marks yearly lately held for life by

Robert Salle, knight, deceased, by the late king's grant."

The manors mentioned in the will are only Oxnead, which included Kevings manor, Bolwick, and Bromhall, but Blomefield (vi. 478) asserts that he purchased the reversion of the lordships of Ravinston, Bucks, and Great Canfield, Eystans Magna, and Ermstede in Essex. If he did, it is presumable that he sold the reversions before his death. The same authority refers to legal difficulties respecting his title to Oxnead: perhaps they led to the violent death of Robert Luce.

The Norwich Deed Roll (5 Ric. II. m. 13 dorse) furnishes the deed by which Sir Robert's widow and executrix sold the messuage, house and garden called Godmanesplace in the parish of St. Michael Coslany between the tenement of Richard Spynk on the west, and of Robert Adams on the east, abutting on the king's highway on the north, and the river bank on the south.*

The widow, the lady Frances, was, as said above, daughter of Sir William Trussel of Coblesden, and among the MSS. at Blickling Hall† there is a letter from him in French addressed to the widow of Robert de Matteshale, but only dated 30th March from London, which alludes to Robert de Salle:—

Et si vous plest en le même tems fere gré soloin réson pur son mariage et ceo que a moy partient a mesure la cause, jeo dorrai pleyn poar a Mons. Robert de Salle et a Will. de Hastings et a Sir Thomas Hikelynge chanon de Wayburn de trêter et acorder en vous ma Dame soloin réson.

* The knight's house, Mr. Rye thinks, was opposite Messrs. Barnard and Blahop's iron-works and at the back of Bullard's brewery. Blomefield's identification (iv. 77) cannot be right for the *southern* abuttal being on the *river*, the messuage cannot have been "on the north side" of any *lane*. Similarly he places St. Etheldred's church between it and the river. Furthermore, the sale above quoted, which was to Wm. de Oreburgh, clerk, and two other men, shows that it did not belong to Alice de Salle after her father's death. Whether it was called Balst's Place later is a matter depending on the correctness of Blomefield's identification.

† Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the Marquis of Lothian's MSS. (1905) p. 75.

It is singular to find such rough hands as those of our knight in so delicate a matter as a marriage negotiation; and we can indeed better comprehend an act of his which led to trouble after his death, and which, if we except a bare mention of his name in the Paston Letters, caused the last extant record of him to be committed to parchment.

The Calendar of the Patent Rolls for 6 and 7 Ric. II. gives us the following entries:

1382, Nov. 16. Commission to John Holt and William Thirnyng, on information that a water-mill in Oxenede, co. Norfolk, held by Wm. de Clopton, knight, has been so raised by Robert Salle, knight, as to obstruct the course of the water running to a mill of Queen Anne in Burgh, causing it to flood her meadows, to enquire touching the premises.

1384, Feb. 28. The like [commission] to John Holt and Wm. Thirnyng to enquire touching the obstruction of the water flowing to a mill of Queen Anne at Burgh, co. Norfolk, by the erection of a water mill which Wm. de Clopton, knight, holds in Oxenede in that county erected by Robert Salle, knight, so that the Queen's mill cannot grind and her meadows and pastures are inundated.

These details link in excellently with a discovery made by Mr. Rye some time ago, when he proved that the Burgh to which several of our early kings repaired for hunting was not Burgh-by-Sands, Cumberland, as hitherto supposed, but our own Norfolk Burgh by Aylsham.

A few weeks ago I walked round the spot referred to in these Patent Rolls of 520 years ago, and saw exactly how the Queen was concerned in the matter.

About three-quarters of a mile up the river from Burgh, lying between the stream and the Hall Farm, is a circular mound, perhaps a hundred yards in diameter, raised about six feet above the level of the meadow and surrounded by a shallow moat which still forms a ring of water round it. The farmer told me that he had never found any stone there, and the earth below the roots of an overthrown tree yielded me no trace of any wall, and yet it is obvious that the site was intended for a building of some description. No doubt it was occupied by what, in the twelfth century, was often called a "castle."

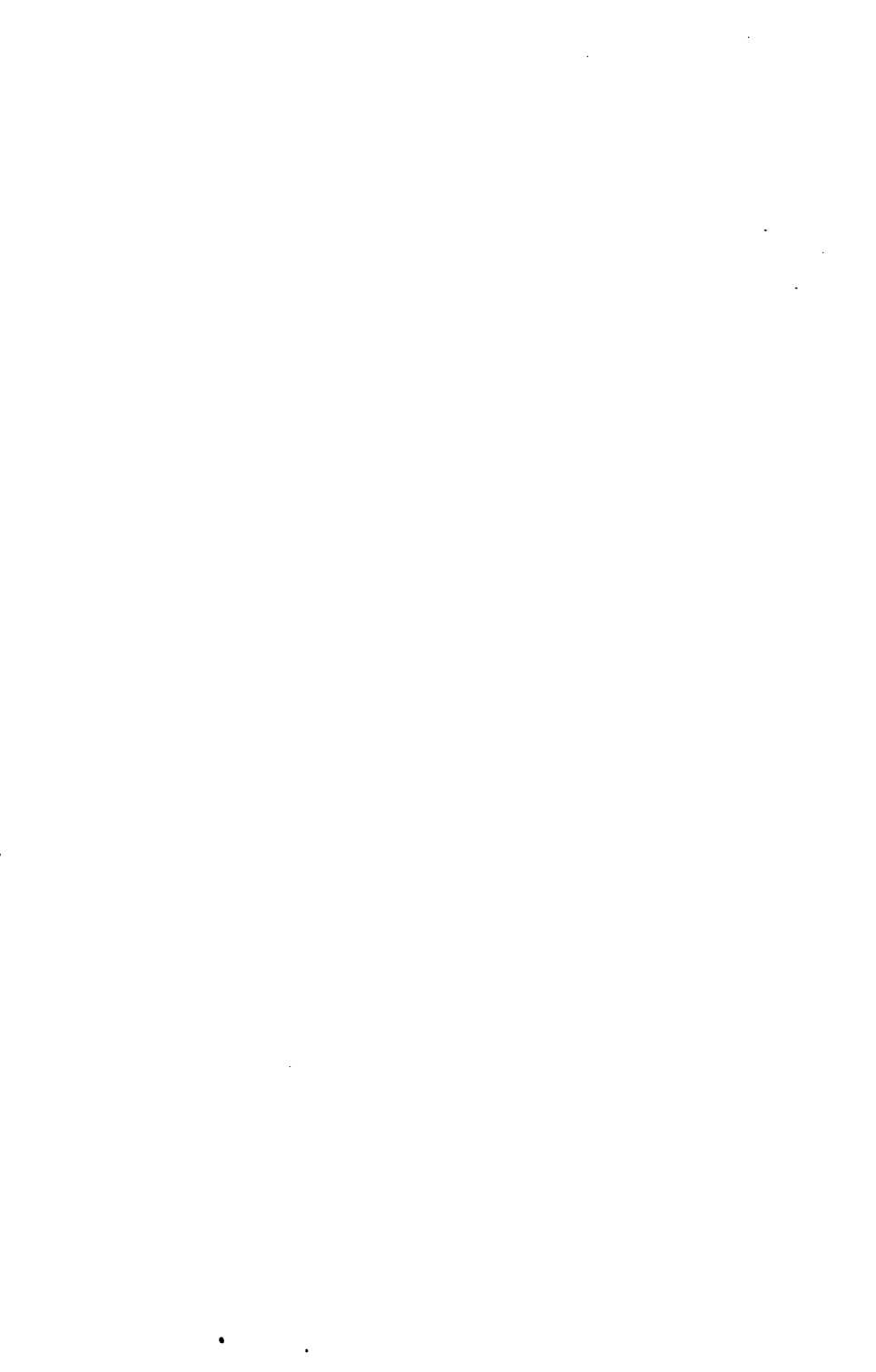
Historians have written scornfully of Robert of Torigni's assertion that 1100 *castles* were destroyed at the end of Stephen's reign, but that is simply because the word *castellum* brought up to their minds the Keep of Rochester or the towers of Carnarvon, whereas the structures dignified by that name were most frequently block-houses built of heavy timber and surrounded by ditches and stockades. Thick oak beams make tougher walls than stone, and resist fire, as the London Fire Brigade will testify, much better than iron girders, and it is more than probable that the king's hunting-box at Burgh was a structure of this kind erected on the "Round Hill" I have described.

But the meadows around it lie low, and so do the meadows further down the river as we get past Burgh Church. From thence we see what was evidently the Queen's Mill at the point where the stream turns almost to the north-east. This low-lying ground would clearly be liable to be laid under water by any undue raising of the mill-dam at Oxnead, and the same cause would deprive the Burgh Mill of the head of water needed to drive the water-wheel. The

Queen's grievance was obvious, and it was a grievance which came close to her very doors on the Round Hill, so that we may feel tolerably certain that Sir Robert de Salle's mill-dam at Oxnead was soon set back to its proper height.

There is, as stated above, an allusion to Sir Robert de Salle in the Paston Letters,* but merely as a former owner of the manor of Oxnead, and until the Norwich Records have been thoroughly searched there seems little likelihood of obtaining further details as to this mediæval example of the strenuous life.

* Ill. 451 (Gairdner's edition).





SOME EARLY PARGETTING WORK

at Bonner's Cottages, East Dereham,

BY

WILLIAM ARGENT.

THE houses generally known as Bonner's cottages, and built in 1502, was so named because Bishop Bonner was supposed to have resided there. But there is no evidence of this being so, and it is more probable that it was the Guildhall of one of the minor guilds. It was bought last year by Mr. Walter Rye, who entrusted me with its restoration, and has suggested I should write a description of the work for this periodical. Many people are disposed to doubt the statement that plaster in some form or another ranks amongst the earliest forms of building materials. Yet the fact is incontestible, and is vouched for by the many extant remains in many parts of the country. Bonner's house is situate at the south-east corner of the parish churchyard of St. Nicholas, and shows some fine examples of the early external decorative plaster work of a very quaint design, and I much doubt if there is anything to be seen approaching this design elsewhere in East Anglia. Two fine examples, but entirely different in design, are to be seen at Clare in Suffolk, 1473, and also at Sparrow's House, ("The Ancient House,") Ipswich, 1683, the one being done

much earlier, and the other much later than the period in which Bonner's house was supposed to have been erected. The primitive method of plastering, before lime came into general use, was with mud or clay, and the rudest forms of plastering were structures composed of wattles, or, in other words, reeds or sticks, and a coating of plaster daubed over them to keep out the cold and wet. Hence, from this we derive the term daubers. It will also be advisable to here mention that in those days there were two distinct classes of workmen, (*i.e.*), the plasterer's proper, or Pargettors as they were named, and the Daubers or inferior plasterers, the difference between the two is this, the former men executed the ornamental work, whilst the latter, the Daubers, executed the clay work only, Bonner's house is built entirely of this clay work and overlaid with a coating of plaster composed of lime, and sand, with a plentiful supply of cow hair added to render it tough and strong, and also to ensure good hanging powers, and I am of opinion that a large quantity of calcined bone or marble dust was added to this plaster as it is of a very hard and tough nature, which is only met with in the ancient plasters and mortars. The chief glories of Bonner's house are its superbly decorated front panels and its ancient tiled gable. But before going further, it will be as well to say something about the construction of this very ancient edifice, I am firmly convinced that Bonner's house was built in two separate parts. The portion nearest the church gates being built first, whilst the portion which contains the tiled gable being added at a much later period. There are several strong points which make this feasible, firstly, the doorway, which at one time was the main entrance to the building not being in the centre of the present building, secondly, the entirely different designing of the two front panels, and thirdly, the most conclusive and important reason of all is,



that running up in the roof in a direct line with the centre band which separates the two front panels, is a gable undoubtedly the original one. In this gable, are the openings from which the windows in the present gable were taken and placed where they now are, also the timber framing to which the tiles were attached remains intact. There is one other item worthy of mention to support the above, and that is, the oak sill which carries the roof, runs about a foot past the centre band of front panels and to this still is spliced, the sill which carries the other half of roof. Had Bonner's house been built all at one time, this sill would have been jointed quite over the centre band and not past it. This all helps to convince one that Bonner's house was constructed in two different parts and at two different periods. I will now proceed to describe the difference between the Pargett work and the hand-wrought plaster work. Firstly, the work at Bonner's house has so often been mis-described as being Pargett work, whereas it is hand wrought work, which is entirely different to the pargetting.

Pargett work, as its name implies was executed in the following manner (*i.e.*), the plaster was applied, and whilst still soft, the designs were impressed into it by the means of stamps or dies, and in some cases, cut in. Pargett work is quite flat, whilst the hand-wrought work is invariably raised. The work at Bonner's house is hand-wrought, done entirely by hand with the aid of a few tools, but chiefly with nature's modelling tools, the fingers. In proof of this, after cleaning down the old work the finger prints upon it were clearly discernible.

We now come to the most interesting part of this article, namely, the two front panels already mentioned, and which differ entirely in design. We will take panel 1 first, this being the panel nearest the church

gates. Running along the centre of the panel is a serpentine scroll and branching out from this scroll, are the various decorations consisting of various grotesque forms of leaves, fruit, and foliage. This panel also contains the principal decorations amongst which is a very fine example of a swag (over the main doorway already mentioned). This swag is composed of various forms of flowers, fruit, and leaves amongst which the grape and pomegranate figure consecutively. The swag also terminates in two superb pendants on either side of doorway. These pendants also are made up of various shaped leaves, flowers, and fruit, similar to the swag. It will also be advisable to here say that the grape has been largely used in this panel as a form of decoration. The serpentine scroll terminates in a boss, circular in shape and composed entirely of pointed leaves overlapping each other. This panel also contains a four and a five-pointed star decoration, as well as several good minor decorations. The design of this panel is in what is known as the Jacobean style, whilst the panel to which we now proceed is in what is known as the Tudor style.

Panel 2 also contains a serpentine scroll, running along the centre and from this scroll, as in panel 1, there branches out the various decorations, consisting principally of leaves, the decorations in this panel are of a much more flatter nature than those of panel 1. The Tudor and white rose, intermixed with the grape decoration are used in this panel, also here it will be worthy of mention, that the Tudor rose occurs also in panel 1 in one or two places. But I am convinced that when panel 2 was added and decorated, the decorator placed them in panel 1, as I feel sure they were not there otherwise, as they would be entirely out of character with the design of panel 1. The scroll in panel 2 terminates at either end, also in a boss, but of an entirely different design to that of panel 1.



We will now turn to the very fine old gable, which contains a wreath inside of which is inscribed the date of erection MDII., and I should say that it was about that period when this latter portion was added to the original building, but as I have already mentioned, I am of the opinion that the first portion was erected much earlier than 1502, possibly about the time of the erection at Clare, Suffolk (1473), or even prior to that but of course I cannot determine definitely. The wreath above mentioned is made entirely of flat leaves which are pointed and overlap each other. The wreath in size is about 18 inches by 21 inches, and is oval in shape, but is broken at the top and bottom centres by branches of grape decoration. It is situate quite at the extreme peak end of the gable. Below the wreath are hung the ancient tiles which are most peculiar in shape. These tiles were manufactured by hand, or in other words were made in a mould. The Clay from which they were made is what is known as picked earth, and was dug out in the district possibly some where near the building. They are of a shape not often met with, and I have not in my great experience come across anything resembling them. They are oblong at top and semi-circular at bottom, also they are what is known as a shouldered tile, the peculiarity of these tiles is that one shoulder is much longer than the other. They are hung to the timber frame work of gable by the means of wooden pegs (oak) which are pushed through the two holes at the top of tile. Attached to the timber stud work are some riven oak splines transversely, and to these the tiles are hung as above described. There seems to be some doubt existing as to whether the gable above described was originally tiled, but, I am firmly convinced, that it was, from the discovery of the original gable already spoken of. Also on removing old tiles they were found to have been plastered at the back with a very strong and tough

coating of clay intermixed with fibre, and thus their shape was left on the clay work. This all helps to convince one that the gable was originally tiled. After the old tiles were removed, two windows were discovered, and these are undoubtedly those which were at one time in the other gable before-mentioned, and upon the other being built were transferred to it. The uppermost window is square in shape about 20 inches, whilst the lower (which is immediately beneath it) is peculiar in shape, being simply the shape of the pieces of oak as they were grown. The small window has been restored to its original condition whilst the larger one has again been plastered over. The gable terminates in another panel of about the same size as panel No. 2. This panel is pargetted in a plain design of diamond-shape, being impressed into the plaster whilst still in its soft state.

Before leaving this old and historic edifice there are one or two more items worthy of mention, namely, the fresco painting or colouring, also the three Dormer windows which still remain (or at least one remains) intact, the other two having had flat roofs substituted for the original pitch roof. The fresco which is in three colours runs along the whole length of the building as was customary to the finishing of this class of work in those days. The Dormers have tiled roofs of the same pattern tiles as those which were used upon the gable.







THE TRUE SITE

OF

Markshall Church and a supposed Roman Landing Place,

BY

THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., LITT.D.

ON the banks of the river Taas, at a distance from Norwich one mile nearer than the Roman Camp at Caister, may be seen the remains of a piece of ancient walling, shown on the plate opposite, which is set down in the ordnance map of the county as the site of Markshall Church.

That this is an error, and that the site of Markshall Church must be sought elsewhere in the same neighbourhood, and further, that in this piece of ancient walling we have an interesting and suggestive relic of the Roman occupation of Britain, it will be our endeavour to prove in the course of the following notes.

Thus our subject is twofold : first, to determine, if possible, the true site of Markshall Church ; and secondly, to show the probable origin and purpose of the wall of which the remains spoken of alone survive.

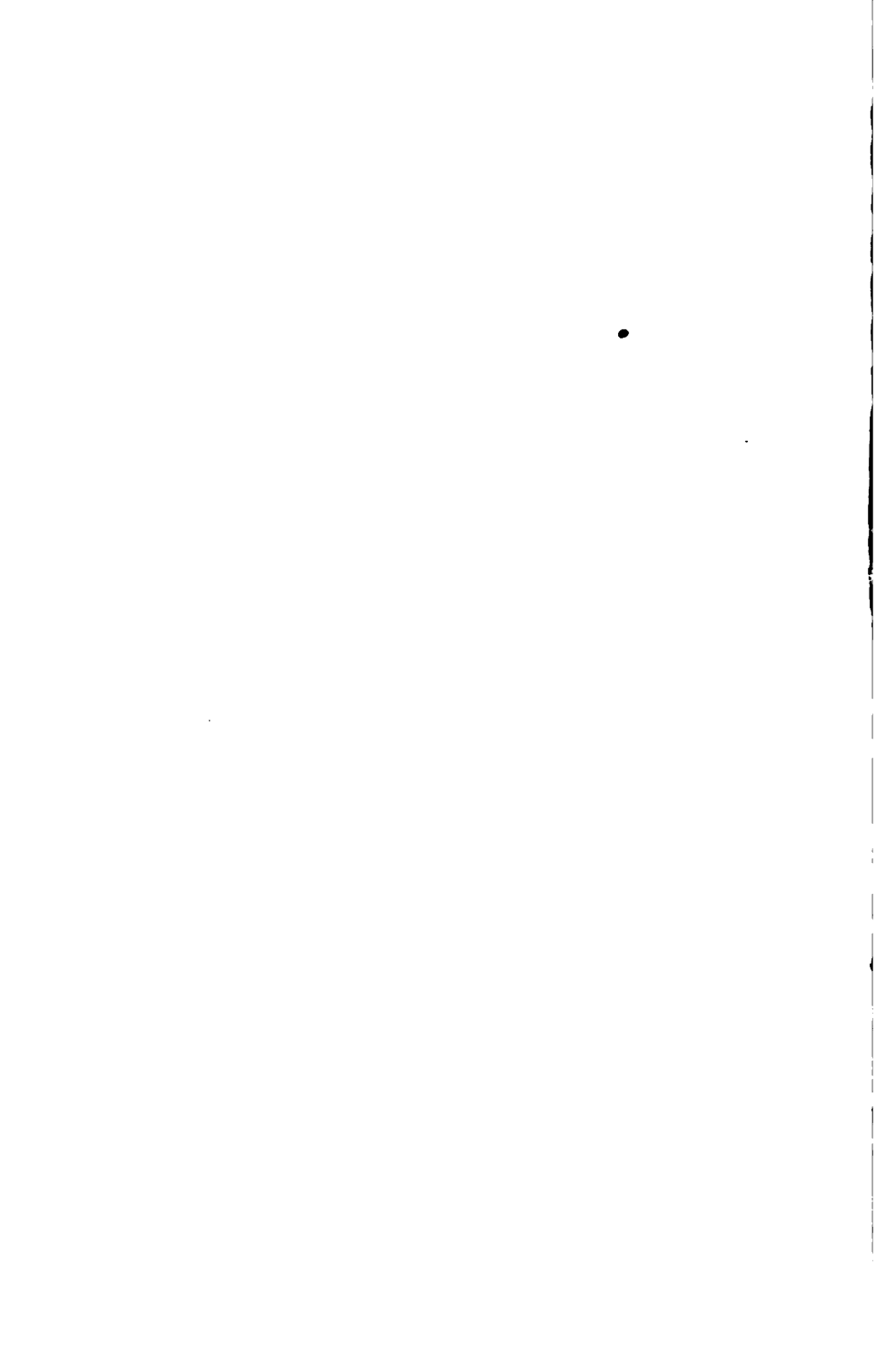
In the first place, then, we observe that the piece of walling is situated in a very unlikely locality to be chosen for the building of a church. It is on low-lying ground

not very far distant from the present course of the river, as will be seen by a reference to the spot marked A in the plate which we have here reproduced from the ordnance map, and which bears the inscription, "Supposed Site of Markshall Church."

Apart altogether from the character of the walling, which we shall discuss presently, it is in the highest degree improbable that a church should have been built in such a situation, subject to inundations from the river, and exposed to the undermining process to which such inundations would give rise, to say nothing of the effects of damp upon the building, and the difficulty of finding a suitable burying ground; and this improbability is increased when we remember the propensity exhibited by mediæval church-builders for erecting churches in some elevated spot, dominating the surrounding country, if such could be found conveniently near to the desired site, as at Belough, Hautbois, Ranworth, and other instances too numerous to mention. This antecedent improbability becomes a certainty when we find that the site assigned in the ordnance map is in direct contradiction to evidence which was in existence when the ordnance survey was made, but which was unknown to those who carried out the survey.

The evidence referred to is contained in the MS. notes of Thomas Martin, author of "The History of Thetford," and a careful and accurate antiquary of the 18th century; these are now in the possession of Mr. Walter Rye, to whom I am indebted for drawing my attention to the facts, and for enabling me to bring them before the readers of the *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, thus rendering possible the solution of what has been hitherto a somewhat puzzling problem.

"Honest Tom Martin," as he was familiarly called by his contemporaries, left in writing a quantity of voluminous



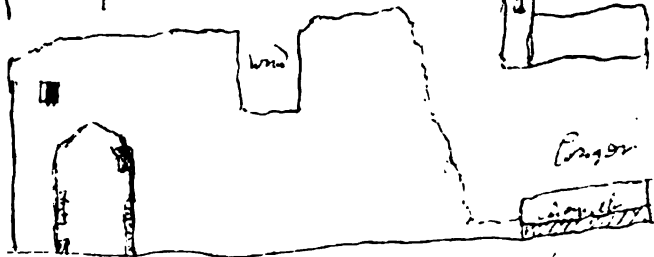
⊕ May 21, 1787. Works had Humbley
 shape or influence by 1st Harp Bridge was
 running out. Looked similar any other side
 of the River N.E.

works - have 8 yds long / 10 yds broad
 dia 10 yds long, 5 yds broad (works
 north)



⊕

chug'd down, not a Confusion only
 one form of rule?



Castle
 N.W.
 G.P.S.

notes on the antiquities of Norfolk, together with plans and sketches drawn by himself, which, after many vicissitudes, came at last into the hands of their present owner.

As will be seen by a reference to the drawing, on the opposite page, of the Church as it existed in his day, and to the notes attached, the remains were then considerable, although they have since disappeared, and the statement as to the site is quite unambiguous and definite. Of the Church Martin says: "No steeple; nave eight yards long, same broad; chancel ten yards long, five yards broad; roofless; churchyard down; not a house near, only one farm, one-ninth of a mile south—Castor river behind" (?)

His notes as to the site are as follows: "May 27th, 1737. Markshall Humbleyard Chapell on an eminence by the Harford Bridge River, shewing cross Lakenham Mill on the other side of the River, N.E."

The only "eminence" in the neighbourhood, as mentioned in this manuscript note of Tom Martin's, is, as Mr. Rye informs me, at the spot marked B on the ordnance map, and this is no doubt where the Church stood, although no vestige of it now remains. The bearing to "Lakenham Mill" is also correct from B but not from A.

The site of the Church being thus determined, it remains to endeavour to decide the real origin of the block of masonry shown in the photograph on the page opposite page 39, which, as above stated, is on the low ground on the side of the river, and not on an eminence at all, but which the ordnance survey too hastily concluded to be the site of the Church.

An examination of the photograph will show what an investigation *in situ* confirms, viz., the massive character of the masonry, quite unlike anything associated with ecclesiastical structures, and a further examination of the way in which the courses of stone are arranged, in long, regular,

evenly-disposed lines,* with a certain number of the characteristic Roman red tiles, makes it probable that it is not of mediæval workmanship, but rather belongs to the same mighty builders who planned the great camp at Caister close by, and whose work is always characterised by a massiveness and solidity unlike anything else in the world except the great Norman Keeps, *i.e.*, the Roman conquerors of Britain.

Those who are acquainted with the "Roman Wall," so-called *par excellence*, in Northumberland, will the more readily be inclined to assign this "block of masonry" to the same builders, for it might form a portion of that great military work which once stretched in an unbroken line from the Tyne to the Solway Firth, and as we look at the photograph we might well imagine ourselves to be gazing upon an outlying part of the camps at Houseteads or Chesters or Gilsland—but indeed the characteristics of Roman masonry are too pronounced and too well-known to be easily mistaken; and an example lies at hand in the outer wall of the Caister camp itself, the salient points of which are reproduced in the piece of walling before us, and mark it as in all probability belonging to the same age, and to be the work of the same master-builders.

If then this isolated block of masonry should be assigned to the period of the Romans, is there any purpose which we can with any degree of plausibility consider it to have been intended to serve?

It is situated, as I have stated, on the bank of the river, and within a mile distant is the great camp at Caister. Is there any possible connection between the two? I think that there is.

In a Paper which I read recently before the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, entitled, "The IXth

* Narrow red tile is found among the work but in no great quantity.

Iter of Antoninus in the light of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with special reference to the sites of *Venta Icenorum* and *Sitomagus*," and which will shortly be published in *The Antiquary*, I adduced a number of arguments from a comparison of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with the *data* contained in the IXth Iter of Antoninus to prove that Caister camp is the true site of *Venta Icenorum* and not Norwich; this latter was in all probability a marsh in Roman days, and at any rate any settlement there would be a mere Icenian village.

It is a fact that few, if any, Roman remains or relics have been found at Norwich, while such abound at Caister; and the castle keep at Norwich is erected on a mound which covers the course of the Roman road running from Caister northwards to the coast at Branodunum (Brancaster), which, if it was not thrown up by the Normans, as modern historical students assert, is at least not earlier than Anglian or Danish times.

On the assumption that Caister is *Venta Icenorum*, it was something more than a mere Roman encampment, utilized for garrison purposes; rather was it the chief settlement and *market-town* of the Iceni. This is clear from the fact that "Venta" is evidently the same word in Britain in the days of the Roman occupation that it is in modern Spain where such place-names as *Venta del Moro* and others still exist.* It is a Low-Latin word, and that is the same thing as saying a *Provincial* Latin word, derived from *vendere*, to sell, and means a "mart." It only occurs three times in Britain, in the cases of *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent) and *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester), the capital cities and chief marts of the Silures and the Belgæ respectively, and in that of our own *Venta Icenorum* in Norfolk.

* In modern Spanish the word *Venta* means also "An Inn," or "Tavern," a place of public resort.

Venta Icenorum, then, being a busy mart, and place of exchange for the country folk and legionaries during the Roman occupation, and waterways being largely used for the transport of goods, what is more likely than that this block of masonry beside the river Taas should be the remains of a landing-stage for the use of the merchants, citizens, and soldiers of *Venta Icenorum*?

Probably, just as in the case of *Venta Silurum*, the site of the original settlement of the Iceni was chosen on account of its proximity to a tidal and navigable stream, and the great camp of the Romans was fixed there for the same reason.

We must remember that in those days the country between Norwich and Yarmouth was largely under water, forming the estuary of the streams which fall into the sea at the latter place, and Breydon Water would then extend much further inland, and form a much larger sheet of water, while the rivers would be both deeper and wider, and admit of galleys and merchant boats coming right up to this ancient landing-stage, at which goods and men would be disembarked for *Venta*.

This being so we are justified in describing this "block of masonry" as an "interesting and suggestive" relic of the Roman occupation, and if we eliminate from our view the great tree which now surmounts it, and carry it on till it reaches the Taas, then a deep, broad-flowing, navigable stream, we can picture to ourselves the bustling scenes of former days when the Roman galleys would come up the river bringing legionaries to relieve the garrison of Caister, and the more frail and lighter craft of the natives would bring merchandize from the coast to be landed at this now deserted and desolate spot for the delectation of the inhabitants of the then flourishing city of *Venta Icenorum*.

This may be, possibly, a stretch of the imagination, but all the arguments which go to prove the importance, commercial and military, of Caister, as the true *Venta Icenorum*, are the justification of its exercise; and in archæology, as in other sciences, the student who puts imagination to the proof sometimes sees further and more truly than he who is content not to look beyond the point to which visible and tangible evidence conducts; for, as Professor Tyndall once said of the scientific use of the imagination, "it is that wondrous faculty—as Sir Benjamin Brodie describes it—which, left to ramble uncontrolled, leads us astray into a wilderness of perplexities and errors, a land of mists and shadows; but which, properly controlled by experience and reflection, becomes the noblest attribute of man;" so that "there is in the human intellect a power of expansion—I might almost call it a power of creation—which is brought into play by the simple brooding upon facts;" or, as our greatest poet has put it, speaking of his own art, in words which are as true of the scientific investigator of the past as they are of the poet—

—"imagination bodies forth

"The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen

"Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing

"A local habitation and a name."

THE
BENELANDES OF ROCKLAND TOFTS.

BY
ARTHUR BEANLAND.

BLOMEFIELD in his account of this parish says (vol. i. p. 481):
"In 1345 Joh. le Schepyrd and Jeffrey de Beneland held the half-fee of the Manor of Pembrook, which Robert de Boneland and Isabella Cody lately held."

Now this half-fee, which, according to Blomefield, was what was known as Ladies Manor, in Rockland Tofts, had been held in 1231 by William de Rokelund, under Ralph Gernon.

In a feodary among the Gough M.SS., at the Bodleian, which is said to be of the year 1292 (Ed. i. xx.), we find

Robert Bonland et Isabella de Calie ten. dimid. feod. nill. in Rokeland de Will. Gernoun et id. de rege.

Again in Feudal Aids (Record Off. Pub.), under Hundred de Schropham, 1302 (p. 422).

Robertius de Benelond et Isabella de Cally tenent di. f. in Rokeland de Willelmo de Gernun et Willelmus de rege.

and under the same heading, 1346 (p. 550).

Johannes Shephirde et Galfridus de Benelond tenent in Rokelound di. f. m. de Johanne Gernoun et idem de domina de Pennebrok et eadem de rege, quod Robertus de Benelond et Isabella Caly quondam tenuerunt.—
X.X.S.

and undated (1401-2) (p. 646).

Johannes Shepherde et Galfridus de Bendlond (*sic*) et parcenarii sui tenent in Rokelounde di. f. m. de herede Johannis Gernoun et idem de rege.

and finally in 1428 (p. 602).

Willelmus Schowsy Johannes Salter et parcenarii sui tenent in Roklonde di. f. m. quondam Roberti Benelond.

We have here a small manor apparently descending through coheirs from the original tenent William de Rokeland, whose daughters marry Benelande and Caly. In 1327 (in the Inq. p.m. of William de Gernoun).

Isabella de Cayley is returned as holding the half-fee, showing, I think, that Robert de Benelond is dead and his heirs not of age.

Of these, John le Schephyrd is possibly the eldest son, for in the subsidies, 1st and 6th Ed. iii. (1328, 1334),

John de Benlond and John de Benelond respectively, appears alone.

I am anxious to discover how the Benelandes severed their connection with this place. Blomefield says they held it till 1401, but does not give his authority. At any rate there must have been another Robert in possession not long prior to 1428.

There is good reason to believe that the Isabella de Calye was widow of the son of one John de Calye, of Trumpington, of whose heir Stephen de Rokeland had the custody in 1270.

I may say that an extended examination of Subsidies, Muster Rolls, and the Feet of Fines for Norfolk has failed to discover any other persons of this name in any part of the county. [*Replies may be sent direct to the Rev. Canon Beanland, the Rectory, Victoria, British Columbia.*]

THE
PRECINCTS OF NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

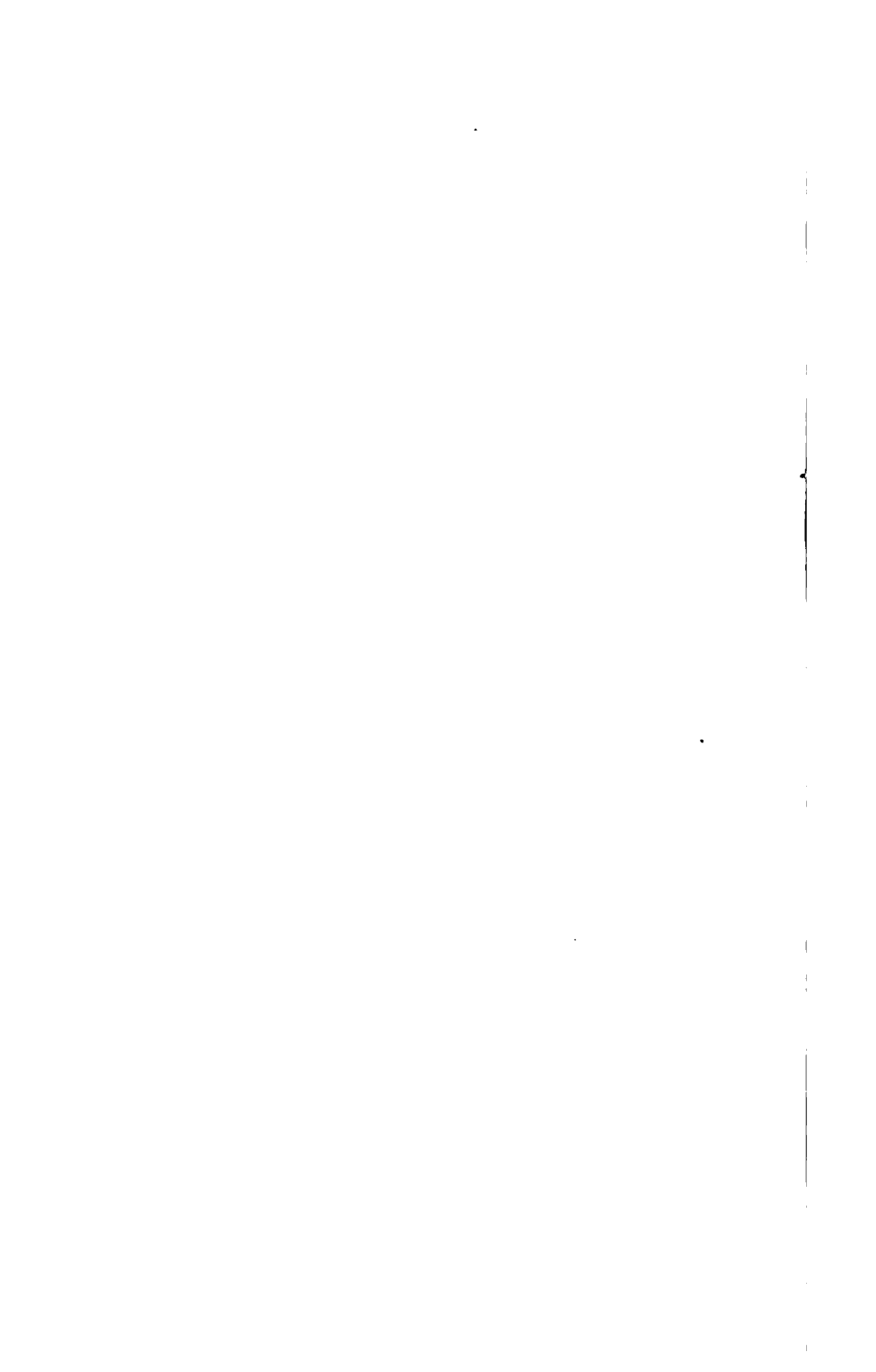
BY

WALTER RYE.

It has been hitherto thought that no old map of the Close was in existence, so it was interesting to find among the archives of the Old Man's or St. Giles' Hospital in Bishop Gate Street, the map which I illustrate on the opposite page. The original is so crumpled and highly coloured that it could not be reproduced by photography, so I have had to make the block from a tracing. The date is probably about 1650, and the cartographer whose name is at the foot of the map, Richard Wright, may be one or the other of the men of that name who appear on the City Rate Book, of 1633-4, as paying rates in St. Clement's and St. Andrew's.

The wall round the precinct is shown throughout as being battlemented, but no trace of the battlements remain, and much of the wall itself is gone, especially the fine piece along Bishop Gate Street, recently sacrificed by the Dean and Chapter to make room for some vulgar little cottages, shown on the next page.





This is the wall now nearly all destroyed,



and the following block shows how the view of the Cathedral was injured by the first block of cottages. They are now extended to the left so as to hide the tower altogether.



The wall would seem to have run parallel to the river at the back of Pull's Ferry leaving an open space, which I presume must, now this map has turned up, be taken to be the open space between the wall and the river reserved for the joint use of the Monks and Citizens by Wolseys Deed of Accord. Much of this wall can be traced still on the Foundry Bridge side of Pull's Ferry.

This would seem to demolish my theory, that the whole of the Cricket field was intended to be a common recreation ground, and that the present wall, not shown on the map, was the old boundary. However, *magna est veritas, &c.*, and however annoying it is to have to destroy one's own arguments, it is better to do so than to suppress the adverse evidence.

Other points of interest disclosed are that there used to be a creek or back water-way leading up to the Hospital, and that the public house on the bridge now known as the "Red Lion"—used to be called the "Green Dragon." The way down on the other side of the bridge to the "Spring" probably shows the site of the Pettus's Well or fountain, no trace of which was found while the ground was being dug about to form the terrible new concrete wall or arcade.

Outside the precincts "Rotten Row" and the old "Popinjay" inn are shown clearly.

Near where the eye-sore of a cast-iron urinal now stands was a domed pump which I do not think has hitherto been mentioned, and an open channel or gully seems to have run right across Tombland down past St. Martins' Palace church. A somewhat important building apparently with an arch stands at the corner of St. George's church alley, and to it the old pillars still visible behind the corner shop may once have belonged.

Anguish's house is marked where it still is, and "Sampson and Hercules" house (Mr. Cubitt's) is well shown. This is marked "Mr. Browne's house."

It has, I think, hitherto escaped attention that this Mr. William Browne, draper, of Norwich, was long the owner of this property, after John Pye, the cordwainer who died in 1552, and that it passed through his daughter Judith to her husband, Christopher Jay, who is said to have rebuilt it in 1657, a fact I have always doubted, and my doubts are strengthened by the fact that the rough sketch on the map strongly resembles the earlier views of the present house.

Whether it is not possible that this alderman William Browne, who was admitted freeman in 1601, and died 1634, was uncle to the great Sir Thomas, born 1605, I will leave for another paper (see post, p. 83).

A NORMAN DOOR

From Horsham St. Faith's Priory, now built into
the Modern Mission Room there.

BY

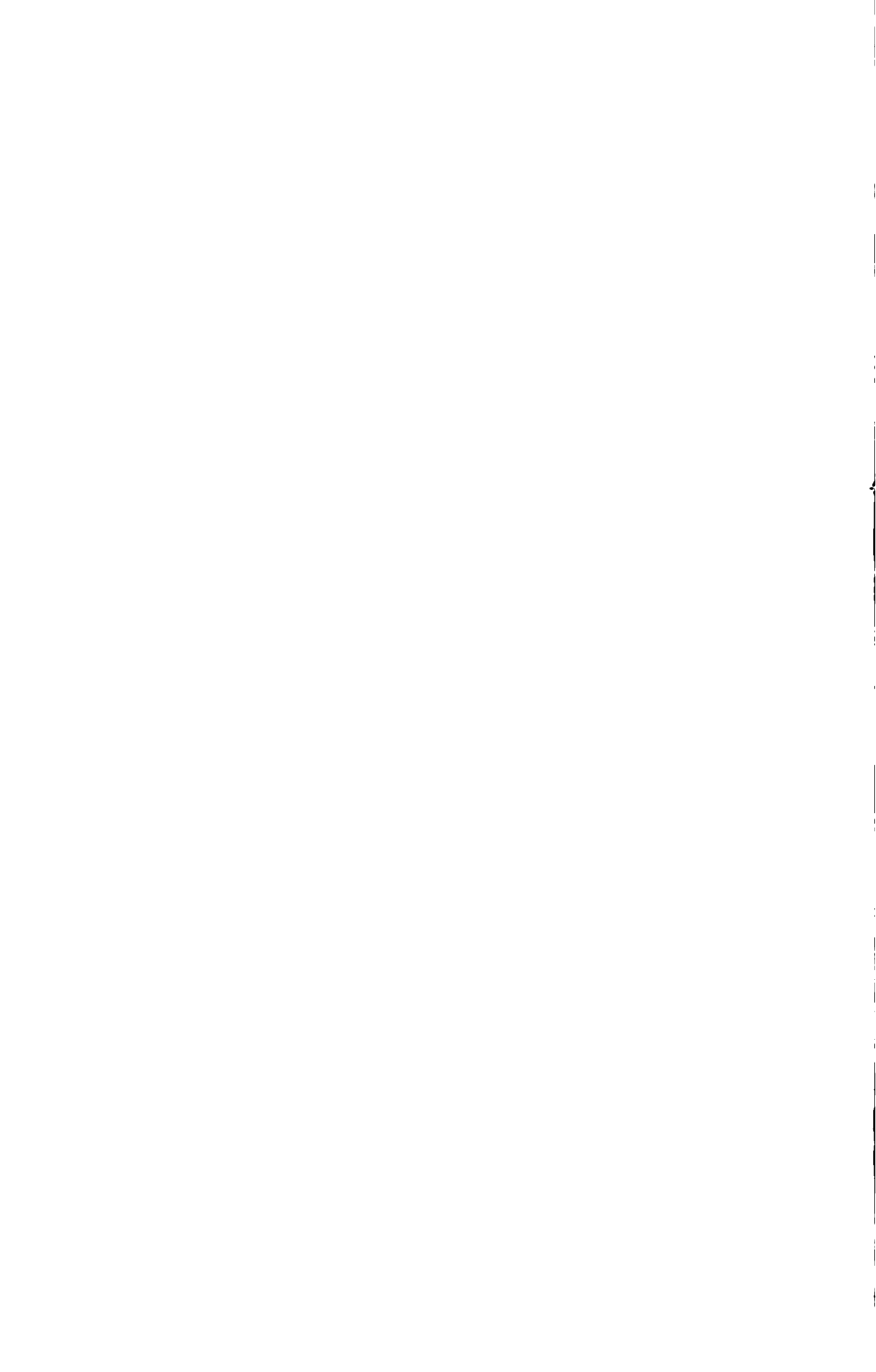
THOMAS BARRETT-LENNARD.

Any person of an observant nature passing by the fine Church of Horsham St. Faith's cannot fail to notice on the opposite side of the road the incongruous appearance presented by a modern building with a slated roof, which has for its entrance a Norman dog-toothed doorway. Many have asked me at different times who was responsible for putting up a sham Norman doorway to a modern Mission Room. But the fact is that the ten stones which form the arch of the doorway are of genuine Norman work, the only part which is modern is that which comes below the arch, viz., the columns and pedestals.

In former days Horsham St. Faith's was the seat of a Priory, as every person who takes any interest in our local antiquities knows.

After the Dissolution the Priory church and buildings gradually fell into decay and then became a convenient quarry from whence to get building materials in a land where





stone is not. In this respect its fate was like that of many large places—ancient Rome served to build the mediæval city, and the pyramids of Ghizeh were despoiled in order to beautify Cairo.

This system has no doubt constantly prevailed in many portions of the world, so it is little wonder if the remains of the ancient Priory buildings were pressed into the service of subsequent builders at St. Faith's at a period when the art of brick-making had died out in England. St. Faith's indeed was, in the middle ages, singularly devoid of building materials, as, owing to the sandy nature of its soil, erections made of clay and wattle, common enough in the heavy land districts of Norfolk, were out of the question here.

The old parts of the house now known as the Abbey farm standing on the North side of the Churchyard affords a striking instance of this paucity of building materials. The stone arches, of which there are two in the house, and the painting of a small head in fresco on one of the interior walls, popularly regarded as a portrait of St. Faith, point to some portion at least of the house being part of the ancient Priory buildings; and those walls of this farmhouse which are old are composed of blocks of ironstone and flint.

There was plenty of ironstone under the heath lands, which before the days of enclosures formerly surrounded St. Faith's. This ironstone forms an impervious layer or "pan" as it is called, and by holding up the surface water, in wet seasons, greatly detracts from successful cultivation of land which, but for this "pan" would from its light and sandy nature never even in the wettest of seasons suffer from any superfluous amount of moisture; but however detrimental the "pan" may prove to the agriculturist it was quite the converse in the case of the builder of those days. The early builders being at their wits' ends to find materials, used blocks of this ironstone together with flints, which are to be found among those

pockets of marl more or less universal throughout the county. All this shows how hard put to it the builders at St. Faith's were to find materials for their work, and explains how valuable to them were these stone fragments which the original Priory builders must have brought from great distances with incredible trouble and cost over a country then innocent of roads and far removed from any adjacent water ways.

In 1880 the late Rev. J. D. Ballance, who for so many years was vicar of the parishes of Horsford and St. Faith's, having accomplished the restoration of both his churches, turned his attention to the erection of a Mission Room in the latter parish, and being always greatly interested in matters archæological he utilised for the purpose of adorning this building, as many of the old stones which once formed part of the Priory buildings as he could get together. In the parish magazine of December, 1880, he speaks thus of the arch in question:—

“There are some points about this building which are of peculiar interest to the Parishioners. Attention may be directed to the Norman arch over the entrance; the ten stones which compose this arch once belonged to St. Faith's Priory; their date is considered on the best authority to be 1190 A.D.; they are therefore, nearly seven hundred years old. The thanks of the parish are due to Mr. Spaul, builder, of Norwich, to whom they belonged, who has kindly given them back. New Norman columns corresponding to the style of 1190 A.D. have been added to complete the doorway. Inside the building more stones of precisely the same design and date are to be seen, six of these forming the arch over the doorway to the serving-room, while three more arches consisting of fifteen more stones form recesses in the walls with shelves. These stones have all been recovered from the Priory and Churchyard walls, through the kindness of

Mr. Wright, of Mr. W. Cook, and of the Churchwardens. The fifteen stones are set up precisely as they were originally, forming once with many others, a continuous arcading, probably around the interior of the chancel of the Priory Church. Something of the same kind, only of a somewhat later date, may be seen in the chancel of Burgh Church, near Aylsham. The reconstruction of these stones in the Mission Room will add to its value in the minds of all who are acquainted with church history."

THE FAMILIES OF NORRIS
OF NORFOLK.

BY

WALTER RYE.

POSSIBLY no pedigrees in Norfolk are so involved and contradictory as those of the various families of Norris, which have at one time or another flourished in this county.

To begin with there is an old family which has never alleged itself to be armigerous, which was very early settled at Lynn, Walton, Wigenhall, Tilney, Congham, and elsewhere in West Norfolk. This in all probability took its surname from "le Noreys," the Norwegian—a form which also occurs in the early Norwich history.

Then the well-known family of Norris, of Rycot, came here by marriage after 1471, Sir William Norris, of Rycot, marrying Isabella, daughter and heiress of Sir Edmund Ingoldisthorpe, and widow of John Nevill Marquis Montacute, killed at the battle of Barnet in 1471. She presented in her right to Wimbotsham in 1473, and to Tilney in 1474, thus still further confusing the pedigree for the West Norfolk Norrises, who held property at the latter place at a much earlier date.

By his wife's *inquisition post mortem* it seems that though her heiresses were her five daughters by her first marriage, she also had by Sir William a son *William Norris*, and two daughters, Alice and Joan, the former of whom *may* have been the ancestor of some of the families mentioned hereafter.

Then again, Henry Norreys, the usher of the Black Rod, who was rightly beheaded in 1536, was connected too closely with Ann Boleyn.

One more element of possible confusion is Thomas Norreys, who appears as member for Castle Rising in 1586.

And lastly, there are the two families both derived from Norwich merchants (1) of *Witton* (represented in the female branch by Earl Kimberley, whose family succeeded to its possessions) and (2) of *Barton*—which produced the excellent and most industrious antiquary Anthony Norris—which family also failed in the male line so far as the estates were concerned, although there are no doubt collateral male descendants left.

These two families at first assumed themselves to be descended from the Norris of Speke, and used their arms and at last practically had similar arms, but omitting the fess granted them by Bysshe in 1665, though I find that the honest Anthony at last expunged the statement from his MS. and left the problem of his ancestry of his first known forbear Titus Norris unsolved.

Then there is another and still existing family of Norris, of Wood Norton Hall, who repudiating (and I think I shall show incorrectly) any connection with the Witton and Barton families conjectured themselves to come from the Norrisses of Milverton, Somerset, and assumed their arms (a cross coupé flory fitch between twelve billets) which, rightly or wrongly, they bear still.

Unluckily for the traditions that one of the Norwich

families sprang from the Norris of Berkshire (and so from the Norris of Speke), and the other from the Norris of Milverton, afterwards of London and Hackney, the published pedigrees of both of these families are singularly full, and say nothing of either the first Titus, born about 1536 of the one or the first James, born about 1667, of the other family.

Moreover, there is no need to go to Berkshire, Milverton, or Hackney to find Norrisses.

There were men of the name at Norwich from early times, three of them had been freemen of Norwich long before Titus and John took up their freedoms in 1561 and 1567, viz., Geoffrey Noriz, of North Walsham, in 1364*, Robert Norys, the younger, of Kimberley, in 1365†, and John Norwys in 1414.

For the reasons I shall give hereafter, I think there is no doubt that the Wood Norton family also descended from Titus Norris, and all these three families sprang from a very well-known local family called de Norwich, which flourished from 1400 to 1535, and who, there is strong probability for the reasons I hope to give in a subsequent article, were themselves descended from the baronial family of de Norwich, whose peerage is supposed to be extinct in the main line, and who bore *per pale gu and az a lion rampant erm.*

The name Norris may be derived from le Noreys, or from the Norwegian la Noryce, the nurse (see *Inq. p. m.*, 51 Hy. III. No. 8.—Berks), but I think in our county it is only a softening down of de Norwich, of which the French form was *Norweyz*.

The Wiltshire family may derive their name from Norridge—Norrige in Upton Surdamne, Wiltshire.

* Probably the Geoffrey Norris or Norys, of Norwich, whose widow Matilda had to do with land in St. George Muspole in 1376 (Norwich Deed Roll, 1424).

† Robert Noreys sold land in St. Mary Coslany, 1389 (i.d.). His wife was Matilda, and both were alive in 1391 (Roll 15. m. 8).

It will be as well to separate the entries relating to Noreys, Norwiz, Norris and Norrace, which appear in our Norwich history.

Soon after 1272 there was a Galfridus Noreys, a clergyman implicated on the popular side, in the Monks and Citizens Riot.

He may be the same Geoffrey de Norwyz whose daughter Avica sold a house in Needham Street in 1287 (Norwich Enrolled Deeds).

Another of the same name, Geoffrey Noriz, of North Walsham, was admitted as a freeman of Norwich in 1364, and was dead by 1378, when Mabella the widow of *Geoffrey Norysz* consigned a house in St. George Muspole to John de Walsham (Norwich Enrolled Deeds).

A *Robert Norys* the younger of Kimberley* was admitted freeman in 1365, and from the two admittances being almost simultaneous it is probable they were brothers. He in 1390 conveyed land in St. Mary Coslany. (Enrolled Deeds).

All these men bore names almost identical with the old French form of Norwich—"Norwyz."

Lastly a *John Norwys* was admitted freeman in 1414, and there can be no doubt he is the same man as *John Norwych*, bedweaver of Norwich, who had a general release from Hugh Sporyer, of Lynn, on 14th August, 1431, which is enrolled on the Norwich Enrolled Deeds, Bundle 18 m. 23, of course, from his having to do with a Lynn man, he *may* have been one of the Lynn family.

With these exceptions I find none of the name of Norris till the name seems to have been almost universally adopted, and that of Norwich dropped.†

* It may only be a coincidence, but Sir Roger de Norwich, whose will is dated 1370, was of Kimberley.

† One branch only stuck to their colours, Timothy Norwich was freeman in 1636, and his son Thomas Norwich was also freeman in 1670.

Apart from the case just cited of the probable identity of John Norwys the freeman, and John Norwych the bedweaver, I may point out that William *Norwich*, who is so described in the Poor Book of St. Andrews in 1571 is in the following year written as William *Norrys*. Also that Titus Norris' own son Peter is buried at Irstead in 1582 as "Peter *Norrych*."

The first time we really get on to firm ground is when we come to

1. *Titus Norris*,* who was born about 1536, the practical founder of the Norfolk families, and may have derived his unusual scriptural christian name from some† pious parent mindful of Titus, the convert and companion of St. Paul, and this religious name may point to some connection with the *Thomas Norice*, the priest, burned as a heretic in Norwich in 1507. Anyhow he was the first man of his surname to bear this christian name, so it gives no clue to his descent. When he died, in 1619, he is said to have been eighty-three, which would make the date of his birth about 1536, just too early for any parish register to help us.

He must have married about 1558, for his eldest son Thomas was admitted freeman as a cordwainer in 1580, so must have been then twenty-one and born by 1559, and his daughter Martha was born and buried in 1563.

He was admitted to the freedom of Norwich in 1561 (3rd August) as a glover, and he was still a glover on 18th August, 1572, when he bought a riverside property at Pockthorpe, which he and his wife Elizabeth* resold in 1577, no doubt on his buying the St. Andrew's property in 1576 as mentioned hereafter.

* The date is obtained from his being 83 in 1619, when he made a deposition as to Abraham's Hall.

† He could not have got it from the tragedy of Titus Andronicus, not produced till 1594.

‡ Anthony Norris was wrong in saying his first wife's name was Mary.

While at Pockthorpe he served the office of parish constable, and in that capacity was present at Magdalen Fair on 19th July, 1574.

Contemporary with Titus, and possibly his brothers, were John Norris, tailor, admitted 1567, and William Norrrys, who paid rates in St. Andrew's in 1572, having the previous year done so, as William "Norwich"—see ante—I have been unable to trace their descendants.

This William Norwich was of St. Andrew's when his three daughters, Mary, Elizabeth, and Ruth were born, 1558, 1560, and 1562. His name occurs on the Muster Roll for St. Andrew's in 1569 (M.R. 13, Shelf A), and as mentioned above he paid rates there in 1571-2.

He would seem to have been first at St. Peter Mancroft, where three of his children were buried in 1534.

A Henry Norwich was buried at St. Andrew's, 12th May, 1585.

Reverting now to Titus Norris, Antony Norris in his account of the family erroneously states that in 1560 he was the owner and inhabitant of a very large capital messuage in the parish of St. Andrew's, and argues "that from this circumstance alone it is evident he must have inherited an easy fortune from his parents whoever they were,* since it cannot be supposed that any industry of his own could have enabled him by the age of twenty-four to have purchased and inhabited so large and capital a messuage as this was."†

* Norris add in a footnote, "It was said by tradition in the family that he was a relation of the noble family of Ricot in Oxfordshire, and that he settled at Norwich on account of a place given him by Queen Elizabeth, but I never met with anything to confirm it, and I well know that generally these family traditions are utterly false."

† Again quoting Anthony Norris he says, "Mr. Kirkpatrick (in his collections for the History of Norwich, now unhappily lost.—*W.R.*) observes that this messuage, though of late years made into two good houses, was formerly one large Capital Messuage, which extended in front from Mr. Buttolf's House to the corner opposite to the New Hall, and that northward it went quite down to the river; and he has traced the several owners thereof from Hugo Browne, in the time of Edward III., to John Norris, of Witton, esquire, who at that time (1725) was the owner thereof, amongst whom was Sir John White, of Shottesham, knight, whose City House it was in the 11 Richard II.; in the reign of King Edward VI. it was owned and inhabited by Mr. John Trace, Alderman of Norwich, in 1549 by Elizabeth Trace, his widow."

But this is all an error. The building at the corner of the plain facing St. Andrew's Street, and extending down to the river, was in 1569 the property of John Bacon, and *sold* by him on 26th January, 1569 to Thomas Norgate, and it was not until 4th April, 1576, that Norgate resold it to Titus Norris, so Antony's argument, founded on Titus' supposed inheritance, falls to the ground—The deeds are all enrolled among the Corporation records under their dates.

In 1589 his fourth son Peter—the name is spelt *Norwych*—was buried at Irstead Church. Whether this points to his having a house there or to his wife Mary being an Irstead woman I cannot say.*

In 1584 he was elected and sworn Sheriff, being then called Mr. Titus Norris, skinner.

In 1587 Titus and John Norris were both of St. Andrew's.

In 1587 his "mother," Margaret Waters died, and was buried at St. Andrew's on 29th September—Whether this means his mother-in-law, or his own mother who had married again does not appear.

On the 7th March, 1590, Ralph Rabbards, who was caretaker of the Knyvet family, writes to Sir Thomas Knyvet that "Mr. Noryse would have put me out, yet he trusts that though Noryse does his work, 'Mr. Dean' would be good to him" (Knyvet MS. Calr. p. 21).

In 1594 he and Robert Greene were defendants in a chancery suit brought by Augustus Whall and Fermin Neave relating to personal matters (W. W. 15 No. 45).

His will is dated 22nd January, 1617 (and proved in the archdeaconry of Norwich Reg. Barkar fo. 90b) wherein he is described as Titus Norris, of St. Andrew's, gentleman, and recites that he had practically arranged his affairs by a deed dated 20th February, 1602, and after making a codicil,

* Of course, this fact has a considerable bearing on the identity of his family with the Norwich's of East Norfolk, who held land all round here.

dated 14th October, 1619, he died and was buried in St. Andrew's Church, 30th October, 1619, being then upwards of 83 years of age. I cannot trace that there was ever any monument to him, nor the authority for his age being given as 83 except that of the deposition, *see* footnote to p. 60.

By his wife Mary (a third (?) wife Elizabeth died apparently without issue on 3rd February, 1628, and was buried at St. Andrews) he had nine children, of whom we need only concern ourselves with

2. *John Norris*, born in 1564—admitted freeman, as glover in 1595, described as a skinner in 1612, when he was sheriff of Norwich. He married Anne Gyles in 1589 (she died 1618), and had by her even a larger family than his father, viz: 14 children (of whom Robert who was living in 1665 *may* be the ancestor of the Wood Norton family) the chief of whom (though not the oldest) was

3. *Francis Norris*, born 1599, a malster and corn merchant, admitted freeman in 1630. He was Sheriff in 1666, and, before becoming so, took a grant of arms from Bysshe* (Quarterly or and sa: a fess gu: on the 2d. and 3d. a fret argent). This he probably did at the suggestion of Le Neve, the herald, who was his correspondent and kinsman.

He had previously in 1657 put up on his house at St. Andrew's the arms of Norris of Rycot and Speke—Quarterly on the 2d. and 3d. a fret over all a fess with a crescent for difference, but the fact that he could not prove his descent from either family is clear enough or he would have taken a confirmation and not the grant which in the happy-go-lucky way of the time the Heralds most improperly gave him.

He was rather a prominent Norwich Royalist and died

* There is a contradiction as to this, for Antony Norris says in his pedigree (p. 84) that the arms are "Quarterly A and C on the 2d and 3d a fret or over all a fess B." Crest an eagle rising sa. a wreath a and G motto, "Virtutis laus Actio."

24th of August, 1666, having by his wife, Susan, daughter of Jeremy Goode—said to have a Playter descent almost as large a family as his father, viz: 11.

Of these 11, I treat only of the descendants of two, viz: John Norris, the eldest son, founder of the family of Norris of Witton and Witchingham, and Anthony Norris, his 6th son, the founder of the Barton Turf family

NORRIS OF WITTON AND WITCHINGHAM,

4. John Norris, of Witton—barrister and steward, alderman and recorder of Norwich—usually known as “Councillor Norris” was born about 1627. Of him Anthony says:—

“He was a barrister-at-law, of Lincoln’s Inn, and in 1678 was chosen Steward of the City of Norwich and Recorder in 1680; but in 1682, when it was resolved to surrender their Charter, he resigned, and it is entered in the City Books that Mr. Norris, the Recorder, and Mr. Mingay, the Steward, did refuse to act any longer in those Offices which shews that though he was of the Court party he would not countenance the violent and illegal measures of that reign. He was a lawyer of note and eminence, many years a Justice of Peace for the County of Norfolk, and one of the four Chairmen in the latter part of his life; he lived much at his house in this town, retired in a great measure from business. He married two wives, the first Amy, daughter of Stephen Edgar, of Watlington, gentleman, she died A.D. 16 . . . and was buried in St. Andrew’s in Norwich; secondly, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Jeremy Gooche, gentleman, his mother’s brother (by Hannah, his wife, daughter of Adrian Parmenter, esquire, which Hannah was granddaughter of Titus Norris before mentioned”).

Antony does not mention the very unpleasant episode in his life which so enriched him, viz., that he having been employed

by Oliver le Neve,* of Witchingham (who had been a stationer, of London), to frame a settlement on Oliver le Neve, with remainder to his brother Peter le Neve, the herald, "with divers remainders over," discovered that the ultimate remainder was "one John Neve, a poor blacksmith, of London," and within a year of the settlor's death secretly bought all his interest under the settlement for £30—some say £50.

Luck favoured him, all those before John died issueless, so for this paltry sum he obtained an estate then worth £1500, and now said to be worth over £5000 per annum. He sustained his purchase at law, so I presume he proved there was no concealment, and that he was not in a fiduciary position, however shady the transaction might be.

"Councillor Norris," who died 1st August, 1701, at Witton, had no children by his second wife, but by his first he had (besides Frances, Thomas, a barrister, who died unmarried. Oliver, a captain in the army, robbed and murdered in an Inn at Bishopgate Street, London, in 1700, and three daughters) a son and heir

5. *John Norris*, of Witton, J.P., who married Carolina, sister to Sir John Playter, baronet, and was killed from a fall from his horse,† 11th January, 1716, leaving issue a son and heir

6. *John Norris*, of Witton and Witchingham, born 2nd February, 1711, and died a young man on 7th October, 1735, having by his wife, Anna, daughter of Thomas Carthew, of Benacre) besides a daughter, Anna, who married Anthony Aufrere, Esq., of Hoveton) one son

7. *John Norris*, of Witton and Witchingham, born about

* The connection of the families was of early date. Firmin Neave was plaintiff and Titus Norris defendant in a chancery suit in 1594. He and his wife sold land in Ringland in 1634 to Francis Neve, of Witchingham.

† The tragic deaths of the two sons of Councillor Norris, the early death of his grandson, and the failure of male issue in both the Witton and Barton families, were no doubt looked upon by the Le Neves as judgments for his breach of faith.

1733, J.P. and High Sheriff in 1766. He also married a Playter—Elizabeth, daughter of John Playter, of Yelverton, eldest son and heir apparent of Sir John Playter, baronet, by whom he had issue only one son,

8a. *John*, who died an infant. Of the father, Antony says:—

“He some years since, laid out a large sum of money in repairing and almost rebuilding his house at Wichingham, fitting it up in an elegant manner, but after all his expense, finding the situation so low and damp that it could never be inhabited with comfort, he has this year begun the building of a large and capital seat in this town of which he is the sole Lord.”

His daughter and heiress was

8b. *Charlotte Laura Norris*, who married 17th June, 1796, John, second Baron Wodehouse, and died 24th June, 1845, thus bringing the ill-gotten Witchingham and Witton properties into the Wodehouse family, who still hold them.

NORRIS OF BARTON TURF.

4a. *Anthony* Norris J.P.*, sixth son of Francis, the malster, and the younger brother of Councillor Norris, was baptised 12th April, 1635. He married Margaret, daughter of Stephen Edgar, of Watlington, and had (*i.a.*) an eldest son John, who is said to have ruined himself and left no ultimate male issue a son.

5a. The Rev. *Stephen Norris*, the third son, educated at Norwich Grammar School and Caius College, Cambridge, rector of Felthorpe, Vicar of Felmingham, and curate of St. Mary and St. Michael at Thorn, Norwich, “all of which together” (says his descendant Anthony), “brought him a little more than £100 a year.” He married in 1703, Bridget daughter and heiress of the Rev. John Graile, of Blickling and Waxham (Arms, Sa: on a cross couped or 5 pellets).

* The only Anthony Norris I find earlier was the son of Robert Norris, of Cley, near Swaffham, whose will is dated 1590.

In 1726-1728 he bought the estates of the Balderos and Venners at Barton Turf and lived in the Venners' house which he greatly improved. His eldest son Stephen died s.p., and he himself died 1749, leaving his third son his heir, viz :

6a. *Anthony Norris, J.P., D.L.*, the antiquary, born 17th (11th ?) November, 1711, educated at Norwich Grammar School and Caius, Cambridge, and a barrister of the Middle Temple.

By his wife Sarah, the daughter of John Custance (Mayor of Norwich, 1733) (Arms. or an eagle displayed gu. charged on his breast with an estoile of the field), he had an only child.

7a. *John Norris*, born 28th January, 1738, educated like his father and grandfather at Norwich Grammar School and Caius, of which he was a Fellow, and like his father a barrister of the Middle Temple. He was a young man of the greatest promise, but unluckily died of consumption, 19th March, 1762—and his father's pathetic lament for him will be found on pp. 74-5 of his MS. history of Tunstead.

Anthony, the antiquary himself died 14th June, 1786, having survived his son nearly a quarter of a century. Of his industry and care as an antiquary one cannot speak highly enough. His volumes of pedigrees, extracts from wills, and other collections are mostly in my library, and have been already detailed in my "Fifty Norfolk M.S.S."

I do not know what became of his property, but from his wife's inscription at Barton Turf, I judge that her nieces, Dame Susanne Durrant and Sarah Custance benefitted by it.

NORRIS OF WOOD NORTON AND GUIST.

The pedigree of this, still existent and flourishing family (the Le Neves would no doubt say it is so because they did not participate in the plunder of the Witchingham property!) is perfectly clear from

1. *James Norris*, of Norwich, a mercer, who was Captain of the Norwich Artillery Company there, said to have been born about 1667, and to have been the son of one Robert (?) Norris, and the brother of another. From his living in St. Peter Mancroft, and being a mercer, he certainly might be expected to be of the same family of Norris who were the progenitors of the Witton and Barton branches already mentioned, but there are facts which must be mentioned.

I think, however, that the family tradition that his father was "Robert" is an error for Osbert, for in Le Neve's transcript of the arms in Bysshes "Visitation of Norfolk," 1664 (*penes me*) the following arms are given to Osbert Norris, of Norwich—Sa. a cross pattee flory fitchée between three billets ar. with a crest a talbot sejant collared or quartering az on a bend or 3 losenges voided gu* and a note "Ex. . . London."†

This Osbert Norris, I have little doubt, was the Osbert Norris, haberdasher, admitted freeman of Norwich, 1661‡ for on 29th October, 1692, his son James was admitted freeman, and I have no doubt that such son was identical with the Captain James, with whom I begin the pedigree of this branch, for in 1670, according to Farrer (*Church Heraldry*, ii. p. 57) "this James Norris, of Norwich, bore on his bookplate, Sa. a cross coupéd fitchée between 12 billets arg: and on his death in 1718 the same arms with a talbot sejant collared and ringed or for crest were placed on a monument in St. Peter's and have been borne ever since by the family.

These are the arms of Norris, of Milverton in Somerset,

* I cannot trace this coat.

† Whether this means the family came from London, or that the claim for arms was referred to the Herald College, at London, for examination I leave for enquiry.

‡ I have little doubt he was from Congham, for an Osbert Norris was party to a fine there in 1664-5, and it is from this Congham family I expect this branch sprang. There was an Osbert Norris, son of John Norris, of Weeting, in 1510.

sometimes ascribed to Norris, of Scotland, though the crest is different, but we all know how lax the Heralds of the 17th century were.

Mr. W. E. Norris considers that the extraordinary likeness in voice, appearance, and manners, between his father, the Rev. George Norris with Canon Norris, of Oxford, who was one of the Milverton family, is strong proof of the conjectured descent from them, but personally I place little reliance on their resemblances.

Whether or not Captain James Norris was son of Robert, he was certainly brother of

Robert Norris, father of

Robert Norris, who by Ellen Savage had a son

John Norris, of Hitchenden, esquire, who died 1786, unmarried, without legitimate issue.

Captain James Norris married twice. By his second wife, Alice, daughter of William Long, of Norwich, he had a son William (a barrister of the Inner Temple, who died unmarried, 1769, and is buried at St. Peter Mancroft), a son Robert, and a daughter Susanna, who also died unmarried, and a daughter Judith, who married William Pearce, of Norwich.

He bought Guist 1710-11, died 1718, aged 51, and was buried at St. Peter Mancroft. By his first wife who was Susan, relict of Cutting, and buried 18th October, 1698, at St. Peter Mancroft, he had

2. *The Rev. James Norris*, clerk rector of Marsham in 1717, who died 1729, and by his wife Anne had (besides James Norris, who was buried at St. Andrew's, leaving by his wife Rebecca Boyle, two sons John, who died infants, a daughter Susanne, who died unmarried).

3. *The Rev. William Norris*, rector of Wood Norton, Kilverstone and Aldborough, born 1727, and died 1798, buried at Guist, who by his wife Susanna, daughter of

Robert Chad, of Thursford, died 1803, aged 65, had a numerous family (including William Norris, M.A., of Wood Norton, born 1759, who died unmarried in 1818).

4. The *Rev. George Norris*, rector of Stanfield and Foulsham, and who succeeded to his brother in 1818, and by his wife, Sarah Seaman, of a Quaker family, of Norwich, had (besides George, who was killed leading the forlorn hope at St. Sebastian in 1813), and others,

5. *Charles Norris*, of Braconash, near Norwich, born 1800, and died 1874, who having no issue by his first wife, Harriet Frances, daughter of Col. Alpe, of Norwich, had by his second wife, Frances, daughter of the *Rev. William Archibald Armstrong* (i.a.),

6. The *Rev. George Norris*, of North Elmham, born 1834, died 1898, who by his wife Dania Jane, daughter of Edward Lloyd, Esq., of Dublin (died 1896) had (i.a.)

7. *William Edward Norris*, the present owner of Wood Norton, born 1866, who by Annie, daughter of Thomas Lawrence Forbes, Esq., of Hampstead, has issue, besides two daughters, Marjorie and Marion Joyce, a son,

8. *William Forbes Norris*,

The details of the descent of this branch are set out in Crisp's "Visitation of England and Wales," vol. vi., p. 111, and in the continuation of it now in the press.

SPELMAN OF NORFOLK.

BY

WALTER RYE.

THE surname of Spelman is not confined to Norfolk, but is found more or less all over England.

The first time I find it is when William Spileman, merchant, of Dieppe, had a trading license in 1225 (Pat. Roll Cal. p. 520). The inquisition of Peter Spilleman al's Spilman al's Espileman, of Southampton, is dated 20 Ed. 1 (No. 21)—*See post.*

The name may be Spitelman (Hospital man), a form which occurs in the Suffolk Feet of Fines in 1384, and it has been said to mean a maker of spindles or laths, and alternatively a wandering minstrel or player—Spielman, which form occurs in Sweden and Germany—It would also seem to have been a personal name, see an undated charter of land in "Brock" (possibly Brockenhurst)—Ancient Charters A 5878, where land of Robert, son of Spelman, and Hugh, son of Speleman are mentioned.

In Norfolk, I find it first in 34 Ed. I. (1306), when John Spileman and his wife were parties to a fine of land in Attleborough. Hugh and John Spileman were charged with assault in 1313 (Pat. Roll Cal. p. 690), a John Spelman, of

Thorndon, was a freeman of Norwich in 1325, and Nicholas and Richard Spelman—of Siderstrand, the probable ancestors of the Cromer family mentioned hereafter, in 1327 (Subsidy Roll).

SPELMAN OF NARBURGH.

The family is of course chiefly known to us from the family of lawyers, who settled at Narburgh, whose pedigree is set out in the "Visitation of Norfolk," of 1563, printed by the Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc., p. 251, which begins with

"Sir William Spelman, knight,* lord of Brokenhurst, co. Hants, who held land by knight's service in 1156," and whose grandson, David Spelman, is said to have been of Bekerton, in Norfolk, and to have been the uncle of Stephen Spelman, of Bekerton, who is said to have settled in Stow-by-Breckles in 1320.

Of *Stephen Spelman*, the first on the Bekerton pedigree, I can find no authority beyond a bare statement by Antony Norris, who, critical and clever as he was in dealing with later pedigrees, was tolerant enough in restating early myths.

Stephen is said to have had an uncle David Spelman.

(1) There was, however, undoubtedly a *John Spelman* (said to be his son), at Bekerton, in Stow Bedon, for he had

* In the days of Elizabethan heralds, who unluckily for posterity had amassed large masses of undigested material from the public records, it was quite an ordinary thing when concocting a new pedigree to look up their Indexes, and begin the pedigree of the *nouveau riche* with any early facts relating to someone of the same surname, and I fancy this was the case here, and that the alleged "Sir William" may be a heralds variant of the William Spelman, who about 1201-12 (Lib. Rub. de Scacc. pp. 149 and 485) is said to have held a hide by serjeandy in Freshfield Hundred. At p. 459 he is said to hold at Brenkenstre (possibly Brockenhurst. See *ante.*) by the serjeantry of finding litter for the king's bed and "fenum" for his horses.

Another William Speleman, in 1259, was witness to a charter of land in Liss (Ancient Charter B 2252).

He may be the William Speleman whose *inquisition post mortem*, dated 19 Ed. I. (1291), shows he held the manor of Ebbeford and land in Muleford (Southampton), and that Peter Speleman was his son.

A year later, Peter, described as Spilleman al's Spileman al's Espileman died, and his inquisition dated 20 Ed. I. (1292), states that he had married Isabella, daughter of Ralph Skurci, but the jurors do not know whether she is pregnant or not. If not his heiresses were Matilda, the wife of John de Grimstede, aged 30, and Katherine, wife of Robert Testewode, aged 25.

land in Stow Bedon in 1369 (Bl. Norf. ii. p. 279)—was party to a fine in Stow Bedon, 1371, and, with his wife Alice, was a party to a fine of land in Bathele and Gunthorpe, 10 Ric. II. (1386); but instead of his coming from Hampshire, it seems more likely that he was akin to *John Spelman*, freeman of Norwich in 19 Ed. II. (1325-6), who came from Thorndon, and he may, himself, be the John Spelman, also freeman of Norwich, who came from Holkham in 43 Edwd. III. (1369).

The real *John Spelman* (1) is said to have been the father of

(2) *Henry Spelman*, whose name often occurs as Trustee for various Norfolk estates. His will is dated 1432 (Reg. Surflote 103), and his wife Isabel died 1444. He had a sister married William Kemp, and a brother *Stephen*, of London, merchant*. It may well be that this, like many other Norfolk families, owed its money to London trade.

Henry certainly had (besides Master Robert Spelman, warden of the College of St. Gregory, Sudbury—will 1467) a son

(3) *John Spelman*, of Stow Bedon, who held the manor of Crowe's Hall in Stow in 1463. He married twice. By his second wife Marion, who survived him, he had three sons, John, Robert, and William, the former of whom may be the John Spelman, freeman of Norwich, 1479-80.

By his first wife, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Styward, of Swaffham,† he had besides a son William, who is mentioned in his uncle Robert's will in 1467, and a daughter Elizabeth, a son

* Stephen Spelman was a citizen and mercer of London (1395), sheriff of London, 1404, and alderman, 1411. His will is dated 1419. He mentions his land in Malden and Wheathampstead in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, and gives his land in Totham, Essex (Tottenham?) to his kinsman, John Spelman.

John Spelman, of Essex, 14 Ed. IV. (1474), occurs as to land in Thaxted, Essex, and later on John Spelman, the elder, butcher (father of William and John Spelman), and a John Spelman, draper, a Thomas Spelman, butcher, and a Richard Spelman, all occur in a deed as to Thaxted, 2 Hy. VIII. (1510). Ancient Deeds, C 796.

† The Stywards were arch pedigree forgers.—See "Genealogist" (N.S.) 1 p. 150, 2 p. 34, 3 p. 111, 10 p. 18.

(4) *Henry Spelman*,* who may be the man of the same names who was admitted freeman of Norwich, 29 Hy. VI. (1450). He was recorder of Norwich in 1491. He married first, Ela, daughter and heiress of William de Narburgh, and widow of Thomas Shouldham, whose son Thomas Shouldham was his heir to the Narburgh property. Here the connection of the family with that place began. His will is dated 23rd September, 1496, and the *inquisition post mortem* on his death (he was the first of his family who had been thought worthy of that expensive fiscal attention) mentions his manors of Bekerton in Stow Bedon.

He married again to Christian, daughter and heiress of Thomas Mannyng by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Jenney, and heiress to manors in Great Ellingham and Beechamwell, which descended to her son and heir, Thomas Spelman.

Henry, the recorder for Norwich, by his first wife Ela de Narburgh, had (*i.a.*) a son

(5) *Sir John Spelman*, who died 1543, being by his wife, Elizabeth Frowick, father of

(6) *Sir Henry Spelman*, the antiquary, who died 1641, on whom and whose descendants one need not enlarge here.

The arms borne by this family and certified at the visitations were—Sa. platée between two flanches argent.

SPELMAN OF SIDESTRAND, CROMER, AND YARMOUTH.

THIS branch of the family, though it has never produced celebrated men like the antiquary and others of his family, can be traced with certainty rather earlier than the first certain ancestor of the Narburgh family, viz: John Spelman, of Bekerton, whose first fixed date we have seen to have been 1369, and, indeed, I should not be wholly surprised if further

* He is probably the Henry Spelman, directed with others, by the Earl of Oxford, by letter dated 19th March, 1471, to meet at Lynn to go on to Newark to encounter the king's enemies (Paston Letters II., p. 421), and the man of the same name who had with others a grant of right of pasture in Ashill in 1472 (Ancient Charter, B 130)

investigation showed this not to be a branch, but the parent stem of the family in the county.

Nicholas and Richard Spilman, of Sidestrand, occur on the Subsid. Roll of 1327*.

1. *Henry Spilman*, living in 1471. (Rye's Cromer, p. 83). He may have been the father of the three following brothers and a daughter, viz. :—

- (i.) *Thomas Spilman*, of Sidestrand, whose will dated 21st June, 1554, was proved 7th May, 1557 (Norf. Archdeaconry). He married Alice whose will was proved 2nd December, 1558. They had a son
- (a) Gregory Spilman, mentioned in his uncle John's will, 1549.
 - (b) William Spilman.
 - (c) Helen, who married Archer of North Repps.
 - (d) Betryce, who married Risse.

The will of Alice also mentions Cecily, Alice, Katherine, George, John, and Elizabeth Spilman, but does not mention what relation they were.

- (ii.) *George Spilman*, of Cromer, died before 1578, for his wife Elizabeth is mentioned in the will of Richard Fenn, dated 1578 (of whom hereafter).
- (iii.) *John Spilman*, of Cromer, butcher, will dated 4th November, 1549, and proved 8th May, 1550, who, by his wife Joan (will dated 26th February, 1553), had a daughter Cecilia, who married Thomas Robkynne.
- (iv.) *Alice*, who married Thomas Rye, of Cromer.

2. *George Spilman* (ii.), of Cromer, yeoman, married Agnes, and had (besides a son John, of whom hereafter) four daughters,

* Robert Spileman, who, with his mariners, occurs in the Close Roll of (1312 p. 487), may have been one of the Norfolk Spelmans, and I have already mentioned the John Spelman, of Norwich, who came from Thorndon (Thornham?) in 1325, and his namesake who came from Holkham in 1369.

Margaret, Elizabeth, Agnes, and Mary, and a son Anthony, of North Repps (will 13th August, 1627, who married Mary, and had a daughter Agnes). His will is dated 18th August, 1581, and was proved in the Norfolk Archdeaconry, 28th September, 1581—Jerome Cawston, of South Repps, being his supervisor—His son

3. *John Spilman* was under 21 when his father made his will, so must have been born after 1561. By his will dated 2nd June, 1646, and proved 14th August, 1649, he is described a gentleman. He refers to his late son Anthony, his daughter Agnes, and his son John. (He is also said to have been the father of George, No. 4a).

4. *John Spelman*, his son, may be the John Spelman, of South Repps, who disclaimed arms in 1664.

4a. *George Spelman*, the elder, of Yarmouth, is said by the family collections to have been also the son of John Spelman (3), but I find no proof of this, though as William Spelman*, of North Repps, in his will dated 1681, refers to his kinsman, George Spelman, the younger. William Spelman, and Anthony Spelman, of Yarmouth, this descent is probably correct—He was a strong Parliament man, contributed plate worth £24 to the fund when the war broke out and signed the Solemn League and Covenant. He was bailiff of Yarmouth in 1651, and disclaimed arms at the Visitation in 1664. Dying in 1669, he was buried in St. Nicholas' Church, and his will, in which he is described as George Spilman, the elder, of Great Yarmouth, merchant, is dated 31st April, 1669, Prerogative Court of Canterbury; also it mentions his sons John, William, Anthony, Samuel, and Benjamin. His wife was Ellen, daughter of Alderman Nicholas Cutting, of Yarmouth. He is said to have also been the father of

* The William Spelman, of North Repps, was of North Repps yeoman. His will is dated 1681, and his wife name Dorothy. He mentions his uncle Michael Durrant of North Walsham.

5. *George Spilman*, the younger, afterwards the elder, of Yarmouth, merchant, who was twice married, first to Rebecca, who died 1670, and secondly to Jane Wales, who died 1684. He died in his ninetieth year at Yarmouth, and was buried there 6th February, 1716. Administration to his estate was granted by Samuel Pepys, of Yarmouth, merchant, his grandson, and John Cooper. His son

6. *Samuel Spilman*, by his father's first wife, also married a Jane Wales at Postwick in 1632. He died 1717 and his wife died 1739.

7. *Samuel Spilman*, born 1692, and died 1739, by his wife Elizabeth, who died 1740,

8. *James Spilman*, born 15th October, 1726, and died 1754, married Hannah Booker, June, 1753, and by her had one son

9. *Isaac Spilman*, born and baptised 17th May, 1754, who by his wife Margaret Comeby, 31st October, 1776, had fourteen children. He died 1797, and was the first of his name who spelt his surname Spelman. His son

10. *William Spelman* was of Norwich, was born 20th November, 1779, and died 1854. He married Sarah Waters, daughter of Samuel Waters, of Scratby, and had a large family, *i.a.* (besides two sons William Spelman, born 1805 and 1808), two sons (11 and 12). He founded the firm of auctioneers which bears his name

11. *Henry Spelman*, born 1821, the well-known auctioneer of Norwich (who married Adelaide Ann Palmer, but died without issue).

12. *Samuel Waters Spelman*, *J.P.* for Yarmouth, born 1824, who married Mary Parsons Fellows, and has besides daughters, a son

13. *William Waters Spelman*, born 1857, the present head of the family, who married Helene Cornelia Luberta de Jonchere, and has a daughter

14. *Stella Marie*, born 1888.

Mr. William Spelman (No. 10) also had a daughter

11a. *Sarah*, born 1804, who married Benjamin Rix, of Ipswich,* who had a large family, including

12a. *Clement Charles Rix*, born 1843, who assumed the name of *Rix-Spelman*, and by his first wife, Eliza, daughter of William Franklin, born 1789, by his wife Mary Royd, whose grandfather is said to have come from Friesland was father of

13a. *William Wilton Rix Spelman*, of Norwich, born 1868, who by his wife, Edith Mabel Boardman,† has (besides a daughter Adelaide Mabel) a son

14a. *Clement Franklin Rix-Spelman*, born 1900.

The late Mr. T. R. Tallack compiled a very elaborate history of the Yarmouth Spilmans and Spelmans, which gives details of all this very numerous family. It is now in the possession of Mr. W. W. Rix-Spelman, and has been of great use to me in compiling the foregoing pages, though, in doing so, I have confined myself to the main branch only.

* He was descended from William Rix, of Wrentham, a member of the Congregational Church there about 1649, whose son Simon, by his wife Frances, was father of (i.e.) Nathaniel Rix born 1671, who, by his wife Ann Buller of Halesworth, was father of John Rix, who, by his wife Martha Jolly of Palgrave, was father of Simon Rix, who, by his wife Prudence Bolton, was father of John Rix, who, by his wife Mary Parker (see post), was father of the Benjamin Rix who married Sarah Spelman (11a on the above pedigree).

The Parkers were descended from a Joseph Parker of Hoddesdon, Herts., whose grandson of the same name married *Mary Wilton*, descended from a family of that name originally of Bruton in Somerset, but late of London.

† Miss Boardman is sister to Edward Thomas Boardman, the present Mayor of Norwich (1905-6) (who married Florence Esther, daughter of J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P. for Norwich, and has issue) being daughter of Edward Boardman, the well-known architect of Norwich, whose excellent adaptation of Norwich Castle to a museum is so well known. The Boardman pedigree, as produced to me, begins with Thomas Boardman of Overstrand, who died in 1738 having had numerous children by his wife Elizabeth Johnson, a son Benjamin Boardman baptised 1713, who settled in Norwich.

The name occurs first in Norfolk in 14 Hen. VII., when James Boardman was Common Sergeant of Norwich. Nicholas Boardman of Suffield (close to Overstrand) occurs there in 1552, and there used to be a brass in Cromer Church to Thomas Bourman, which I take to be a softening down of the name.



SKULLS FOUND AT TASBURGH

AND A

Sepulchral Urn found at Penthorpe.

BY

P. BERNEY FICKLIN, F.S.A.

THE skulls of some of which an illustration is shown on the opposite page were with many others, about one hundred in all, found by my workmen in December, 1897, and the following January, in a field known as the Chapel Piece, containing about nine acres, and which contains earthworks, presumably Roman, of about two acres in extent. The field in question adjoins the ground of my residence, Tasburgh Hall.

The first discovery of these skulls was made accidentally whilst my men were digging the holes in which to plant four oaks on the top of the mound to commemorate the late Queen's Diamond Jubilee, 1897. With the skulls were found a very large number of human bones, and several complete or nearly complete skeletons, and one of which was a perfect specimen of a child's.

From the position in which the bones were discovered, buried in most instances only a few feet beneath the surface, and in no regular order, goes somewhat to prove my theory that they were those of men killed in a battle and buried

hastily. In one instance I found five skulls all together in a hole some two feet wide, with no remains of any bodies near them, which would suggest that they were decapitated heads, perhaps of prisoners, thrown there in a heap.

Unfortunately nothing was discovered with them to definitely fix the date of interment, except some coarse pottery, and what, I think, is evidently a portion of a small Roman bronze fibula or brooch. The greater number of the skulls are of a smaller size than those of men of the present day, and may be those of the aborigines killed by the Romans, but a few are of a larger and better type, and may possibly belong to the latter nation.

Some of the skulls bear holes and other signs of fracture such as would be caused by a blow of some sharp instrument, and a few are those of women. In the same field is the site of St. Michael's Chapel, within a few yards of the hillock or earthwork. The shape is a well-formed parallelogram with the greater length lying north and south, and measuring 130 feet, the breadth being about 65 feet.

About half-a-mile away from this Chapel Piece is the site of the Roman Camp, ad Taum, containing some twenty-four acres, a portion of which belongs to me, and on a part of the remainder stands the Parish Church of Tasburgh with its Churchyard. Here, I am informed by Mr. Mickleborough (late of Boyland's Farm) that in or about the years 1820 and 1830 many discoveries were made of urns, weapons, coins, and ornaments, which came into possession of Mr. Philip Hotson Stannard, who then owned the property, and they were dispersed by auction with the rest of his effects at his death about the year 1835.

The present parish clerk of Tasburgh, Mr. Daniel Burgess, has informed me that in a small wood at the back of the Roman Camp a cave was found about 1818 by men digging for gravel, according to the account given him by his father when

he was a small boy, and that some discoveries were made therein, but Mr. P. H. Stannard before-mentioned, not being willing to go to the expense of having the cave fully excavated, had the entrance covered in again. I got Mr. Burgess to point out, as far as he could remember, the spot which his father had told him was the site of the cave, and the summer before last I had a gang of men digging there to try and find the entrance to the cave, but with no success. Next summer, however, I hope to have another try, and, I trust, with better success.

The late rector of Tasburgh, the Rev. H. E. Preston, also told me that many years ago he had in his possession a Roman coin that he was informed was one of Hadrian, which, however, he had given to a friend.

It will be remembered that an axe-head and grip-stone, found at Tasburgh, were exhibited by the late Mr. R. Fitch, F.S.A., at a meeting of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society some years ago, and are now probably in the Fitch Collection at Norwich Castle. A printed catalogue of such collection is a *desideratum*.

The sepulchral urn, also shown on the illustration, and which was found in a field called "Ash Hill," on Pensthorpe Farm, near Fakenham in 1880, greatly resembles the Anglo-Saxon urn also found at Pensthorpe, which is now in the Norwich Castle Museum, and which is stated to have been found by Rev. W. Barlow, of Toftrees, at whose sale it was purchased in 1886 by the Rev. E. W. Dowell, who presented it to the Museum.

Another urn containing fragments of bones, also found at Pensthorpe, was presented to the Museum by Mr. Goddard Johnson on 11th March, 1837, where there is also a "Romano-British" urn and tweezers, found at Pensthorpe, presented by Mr. John Verdon on 30th March, 1849.

The present urn also contained bones and bone dust, and a small pair of "nippers" (tweezers?) said to be gold, and my informant tells me that others, though not so large, were found several years ago, one of which, a very small one, was bought by Mr. Geo. Tatham.

It will be remembered that there is an entry in the "Archæological Journal," vi. p. 405, and xi. p. 295, relating to "pulley beads" found in an urn at Pensthorpe, one lot being exhibited in 1849, so in all probability there must have been an important cemetery here.

WHAT BROUGHT SIR THOMAS BROWNE TO NORWICH?

BY
WALTER RYE.

ALL we really know of the great philosopher is that he came of an armigerous family from Chester. His grandfather, Thomas Browne, died 1578, leaving several sons, *i.e.*, Thomas Browne, of Cheapside, London, mercer (the father of Sir Thomas), who was dead by 1616, Edward Browne, and William Browne.

His father, Thomas Browne, the Cheapside mercer, must have been born *before* his father's death in 1578, and was presumably older than his brothers Edward and William, of whom nothing whatever is known.

Sir Thomas, born in 1605, is supposed to have settled in Norwich about 1635, and had a son Edward born there in 1644.

Now (as mentioned before p. 51), Alderman William Browne, of Norwich, who is described as "esquire" in his will proved 1639, was a very flourishing draper in Norwich, where he occupied "Sampson and Hercules" House, on St. George Tombland, and his daughter Judith married Christopher Jay, who certainly lived there (*see ante* p. 56) -

He was admitted freeman in 1601, after apprenticeship to a . . . Browne*, became an alderman and died in 1639, having had two sons William, born in 1611 and 1615, who apparently predeceased him. He may have been the William Browne, sheriff in 1617, and mayor in 1630.

Almost contemporary with him, and also in St. George Tombland, was a John Browne, who was the father of three sons, Edward, born in 1613, and buried 1617, another Edward, born 1629, and a William, buried in 1634.

We have seen that Sir Thomas had a brother and a son both named Edward, and another brother named William. The alderman's christian name was William, and the author's brother and sons name of Edward is found twice among the Tombland Brownes.

Again, a William Browne, *of London*, is mentioned in the will of John Borage, who married into the Tombland family, and died in 1685.

What seems even more significant to me is that Dr. Arthur Dee, the philosopher's son, who was the author's "familiar friend," and died in Norwich, left a picture at Mr. Toley's house (Jay's Reg. p. 224). Now, we know Toley lived in St. George Tombland parish (id. p. 224 and 230)†, and Anna Dee, who may have been his daughter, was married to Edward Anguish‡ (the opposite neighbour to the Brownes) here in 1639.

I know that Sir Thomas is said to have settled in Norwich at the persuasion of Dr. Lushington, his former tutor, the rector of Burnham Westgate, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, of

* Another William Browne, who may have been his father, was admitted freeman here as a draper in 1598 after apprenticeship, and he may have been the author's uncle.

† It is not impossible in the same house. Richard Toley paid rates 1570 to 1579, when his name drops, and Christopher Jay begins to pay rates. The Brownes seem never to have paid rates, so may have only been tenants.

‡ Browne is said to have succeeded Alderman Anguish in the house in St. Peter Mancroft in which he lived so long, so there may have been some connection between the two families.

Gillingham, Dr. Justinian Lewin, and Sir Charles le Gros, of Crostwick.

But is it not, to say the least, possible that the author on his father's death came here at the suggestion of a rich uncle or first cousin? The fact that no one has been able to trace where the author lived in Norwich during the early part of his stay here may be accounted for if this is so and if he lived in his kinsman's house.

CLAXTON CASTLE.

BY

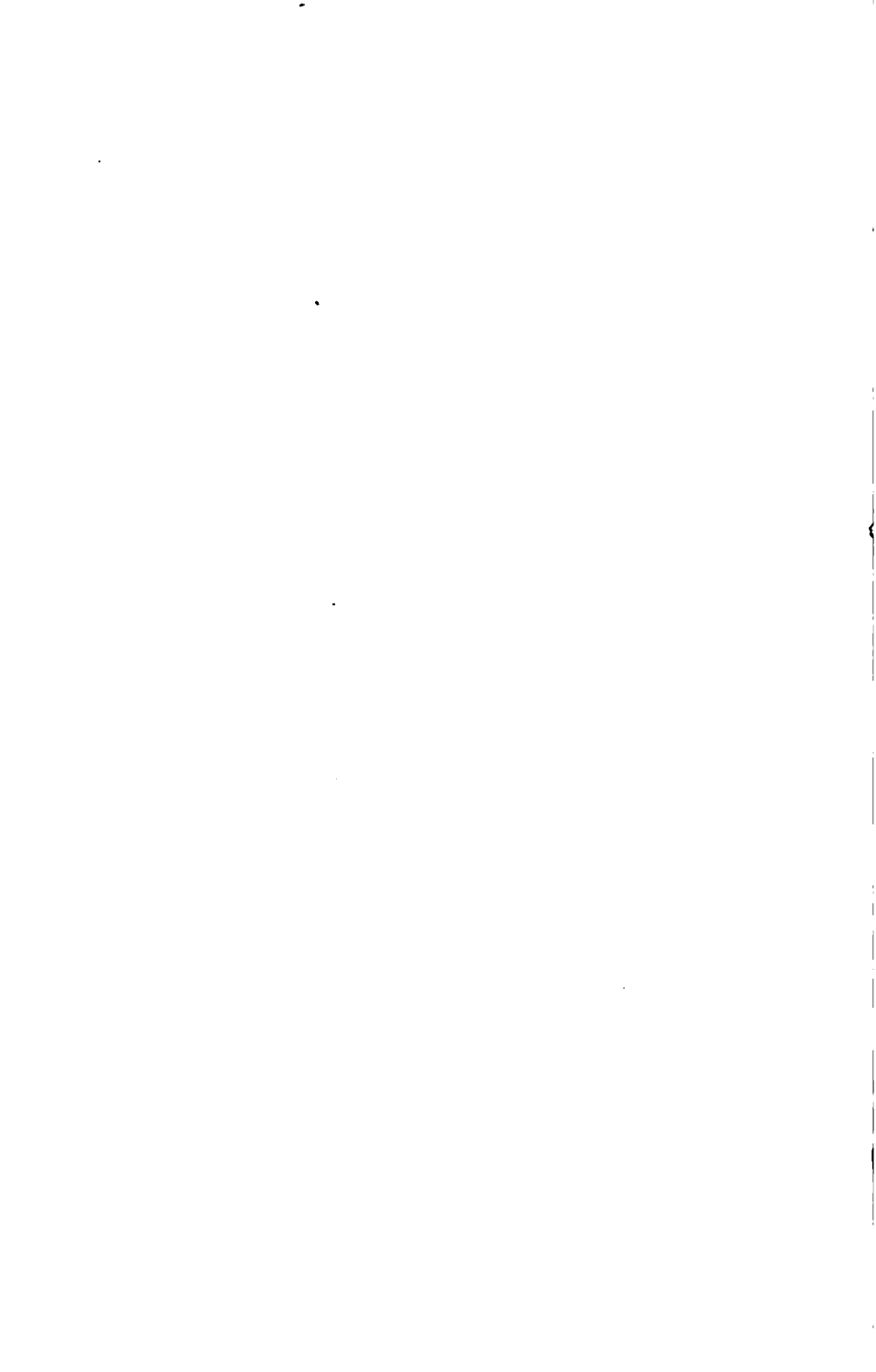
WALTER R. RUDD.

"CLAXTON is a village and parish four miles north-west from Loddon, and seven miles east from Norwich a market and a fair were anciently held here near the Manor House are the ruins of a castellated mansion" (*vide* "Norfolk Directory").

The Romans were not only great conquerors, but they were also wise and politic governors. They brought nearly all the nations of the then known world into unity, and spread the blessings of order and civilization to the utmost limits of their rule.

The absolute security to man and property created by the "Pax Romana" is convincingly attested by the existence of those Roman villas whose remains are still found scattered over the country side, from the wall of Hadrian and the borders of the Rhine, to those now arid wastes where to day roam the untamed Bedouin. In the history of our English land, this "Roman Peace" forms comparatively but a brief episode, and from its close until the very end of our mediæval era the fortified dwellings, the walled towns, the frowning castles, tell that "a man secure meant a strong man armed."





The mediæval "great lord" implied the possessor of a massive keep with far reaching encircling walls within whose bounds dwelt his armed retainers. There secure the seigneur might, defiant, address his overlord—his king, as did the Cid.

"Je suis dans ma seigneurie
"Parlant tout haut quoique vassal." *

Such was the high estate of the very powerful, the few, but the reigns of the three Edwards—an epoch of so much material advancement in the prosperity of our land—saw that which would in modern parlance be called "a boom" in domestic fortresses. The lord of the manor of those times intrigued as eagerly for a licence to castellate his manor house as does the county magnate of to-day for a seat on the local bench, or a more precarious one in Parliament. A fortified house was not only "the hall mark of gentility," but (as proved by such incidents as the successful attack on Paston's houses at Gresham and Hellesdon, the siege of Caistor Castle, neither events of general civil war) oftentimes "a very present help in trouble."

The heading of this paper shows how brief was deemed sufficient by the compilers of our "Norfolk Directory" the reference to the "ruins of a castellated mansion" at Claxton. Indeed the parish and its ruins are known to few, yet Claxton Castle was probably amongst the most important examples of Norfolk mediæval domestic fortresses.

It would be difficult to find in the neighbourhood of Norwich a more out-of-the-way secluded village than is Claxton of to-day. Far from main roads—to reach it one wanders through devious narrow lanes which lead past the east end of Claxton Church (dedicated to St. Andrew), close by a copse

* The local instance of Bigod's alleged rhyme,

"Were I in my Castle of Bungay

. . . I would ne care for the King of Cokenay."

and of the Duke of Norfolk's saying, "that when he was in his bowling green at Norwich he esteemed himself as a king's equal," will occur to the reader.—Ed.

hanging on hill side through an undulating meadow to the north of which is seen Claxton Manor House, a snug dwelling of "best Victorian Tudor style" tacked on to the remaining portion of a once spacious Elizabethan mansion. Nearly parallel to the façade runs a massive wall 130 feet long with six bastions. To the north-east distant some twenty yards is an isolated pier. These walls and bastions formed part of the south face of the castle. The isolated pier is probably part of the east face and entrance gateway—faint traces of, presumably, portcullis grooves can yet be seen. It is possible this may have been the water gate. The south and west walls have entirely disappeared.

Careful examination of the ground tends to prove the foundations of the original castellated mansion, and its dependencies must have enclosed a space of at least two acres. (According to Dawson Turner, the foundations of Caister Castle enclosed more than six acres.) The inventory, taken at the death of Falstolf, of the furniture contained in Caister mentions no less than "26 chambers besides the public rooms, chapel and offices."

The north side of the wall shows the probable position of the great central hall and numerous rooms. Doorways still lead to the upper and lower storeys of the flanking towers. The walls would not however appear to have been pierced by windows. The rooms evidently were lighted from the interior of the quadrangle. Round the whole ran a deep moat. To the north lies an elevated pasture of some four acres in extent once surrounded by a wall of which the foundations can still be traced—this was the castle garth. A promontory jutting from the upland into what in mediæval times was a wide expanse of quagmire and water,—the estuary of the Yare. Such a position was easily defensible, and was a safe refuge for cattle and sheep in disturbed times. To the east, scarce a mile distant, rose the lofty towers of Langley Abbey.

We learn by the genealogical appendix compiled by the editor, that William de Kerdeston had licence to castellate his Manor House at Claxton, in 1333. Further, that through all the varied vicissitudes of civil wars and dynastic changes for some 250 years—from the Sir Roger de Kerdeston of 1199 to the Sir Thomas de Kerdeston of 1450—this family held, each generation from father to son “until God’s finger touch’d him, and he slept,” the manor of Claxton.

Blomefield states upon the death of this Sir Thomas de Kerdeston, it was decided (escheat Rolls, 29 Henry VI.) he died not possessed of Claxton and other manors, and that William de la Pole, Marquis of Suffolk, and Alice his wife were the heirs, so that Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of Sir Thomas was deprived of her inheritance. It appears this lady married Sir Terry Robsart, son of Sir John Robsart, Knight of the Garter. Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, in the 12th, Henry granted her several Norfolk manors. This was probably a somewhat tardy act of reparation. From Lady Elizabeth Robsart is descended the present Lord Orford, and through her he claims the barony of Kerdeston. Upon the attainder of Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Claxton passed to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. On the death of Anne, Duchess of Norfolk, this lordship was granted to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

The castle is several times mentioned in the Paston letters, and it is a local tradition that Anne of Cleves, wife of Henry VIII., owned and lived at Claxton.

In the 5th Philip and Mary, it was held by Charles Throgmorton, who conveyed to Sir Thomas Gawdy, Knight, Judge of Common Pleas. Probably at this time, the castle was “ruinated,” and the Tudor mansion built. The judge was a wealthy man, the lord of no less than 15 manors. That he lived at the Manor House at Claxton, and that the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk both stayed there would appear to

prove the mansion was a fine and commodious one. From the Gawdys the property passed in 1697 to Thomas Brereton. Roger Crow was lord about 1720, and John Bedingfield in 1740.

At the present time it is owned by Sir Charles Stuart Rich, Bart., of Devizes Castle.

The Manor House is occupied by Mr. Nelson H. Hayward, a worthy representative of that fine class—the old fashioned Norfolk tenant farmer.

Some notes of occurrences here may not seem amiss.

1450, St. George's Day. The King (Henry VI.) had been expected either at Norwich or Claxton for ten days past.

1452. Some gentleman wrote to the sheriff enquiring whether the Duke of Norfolk was coming to Norwich or Claxton.

1465. "The Duke of Suffolk, and both the Duchessys" came to spend the night at Claxton on their way to Claxton from Framlingham Castle.

1465. "XII. of my Lord of Suffolks men VIII. in harness came from Claxton to Hellesdon and felle" upon John Paston; and would have mischiefed him, and told him if they caught him there again, he "schuld dye."

1465. The Duke of Suffolk's men come from Claxton to Norwich, and face us, and fray upon us daily.

1466. Paston had a suit before the Duke of Norfolk, respecting the aggressions of the Duke of Suffolk, and he writes the former to ask whether he shall come before "his highness" at Norwich or Claxton.

Claxton and Langley must have always been somewhat difficult of access. John Paston writes his mother to meet him at Norwich and not at Langley Monastery, "for the waters be out on the causey to Bokenham Ferry, and no man, though well horsed may pass."

Whilst it is thus certain, the importance of Claxton did not end with the reign of the de Kerdestons, yet to this family

owed Claxton Castle its inception—its creation, and after them it probably ceased to be the only, or at least the principal seat of its many owners. With the long line of the de Kerdestons should Claxton Castle be therefore the more particularly indentified.

Antiquarianism has been defined as “an attempt to reconstruct the remote past from scanty materials.” Thanks to our editor’s researches, it is possible, in a measure, “to reconstruct” the career of William de Kerdeston—the most notable member of a notable race,—the builder of Claxton Castle. Throughout his career, he appears to have been a wealthy busy man—a valiant soldier—the trusted councillor of his king. Aged 30 in 1337, at the death of his father, Roger de Kerdeston, he in 1340 took part in the expedition into Flanders, taking with him ten men at arms and ten archers, and probably as reward for his services obtained a grant of a market and fair at Claxton—in those days a valuable, coveted privilege. In 1341, he sent ten men of arms to serve against the Scotch. Four years afterwards we find him engaged in the French wars. At the “Crowning mercy of Crecy” he also fought. This decisive battle would appear to have been his last active campaign. In 1359 (33 Edward III.) he was appointed a member of the council of the king’s son, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, custos of England during the king’s absence in France. Those years saw great changes. The England of William de Kerdeston’s early days was to Europe what Australia is to-day, a country known only as a provider of raw material of commerce—wool. Then ensued the coming of Queen Philippa’s countrymen,—skilful weavers, fullers, dyers of Hainault, who spread themselves thickly over Norfolk and Suffolk. In a few years England had taken her place as a centre of textile manufactures, whose finished goods were distributed in all the great markets of the Mediterranean, and of the Northern seas. Norwich became

the hub of this vast expansion of trade, she had attracted within her sheltering walls natives of at least 400 Norfolk and perhaps 60 Suffolk towns, villages and manors (Hudson Norfolk Arch., Vol. xii.). Blomefield states, "it had 58 parochial chapels within its walls besides the cathedral and its chapels in the precinct. It had four houses of friars with large and beautiful conventual churches thereto belonging, one noble college and collegiate church, four hospitals with their churches or chapels, besides several small religious societies, and three publick chapels not parochial, so there were 76 places of public worship besides the Jewish synagogue."

For number of inhabitants and wealth of resources Norwich stood second to London alone. According to the Subsidy Roll of 51 Edward III. Norfolk, Norfolk and Suffolk then had a population of 213,828, whereas London with Middlesex had a population of 46,076. Then Norfolk and Suffolk contained almost an eighth of the population of England, and Wales. Now they contain about a 29th part! This unexampled wave of prosperity necessarily deeply affected the whole system of society and the relations of the classes.

"What is spontaneous in a people," writes Hobhouse, "is always the source of life,—the well-spring of the fresh forces which recruit jaded civilisation."

During these years of William de Kerdeston's life the signs of developing nationality are most marked. The growth all over the country of free towns with self-won rights and charters, and the blows aimed at the throttling effect of feudalism, are some of the unmistakable signs that the struggle for national progress was a struggle to assert the supremacy of the idea of freedom in life, and to safeguard the rights of the individual citizen.

And what an era in the history of our national literature! Wm. de Kerdeston must have known Chaucer. Indeed

their families would appear to have been connected, and in after years the granddaughter of Sir William married Thomas, the son of the poet. At the court of Edward III. de Kerdeston probably met Froissart.

With but little aid from the purely fanciful, we can picture this worthy magnate presiding at the feasts in the great hall at Claxton, for doubtless in the manner of his time

"Without baked meat never was his house
Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteous
It snowed in his house of meat and drink."

We can imagine him in full harness clad "a perfect gentil knight" at the head of his ten men at arms, and his ten archers starting for the French war. Or again we can see him taking boat for Norwich, there to confer with his "good frende" Bishop Bateman anent the draft of the agreement between England and France, which should be submitted to Pope Innocent I. at Avignon by the Bishop. Also was he well thought of and trusted by the honest Norwich burghers, for in 1344 we find William de Kerdeston one of the witnesses to a gift making over to the citizens a piece of ground on which the city walls from "Barr Gates" to the "Wensum" were erected and on which they in great part still stand.

Ichabod. "Their name forgot, their hold a ruin" the spirits of the de Kerdestons,

"Like vexed unquiet sprites,
May still be hovering o'er the tomb
Where lie their vain delights."

. "When Yare is gone past Claxton where there stands a castlet built round which Sir Thomas Gawdy, Justice of the Common Pleas, late repaired."—*Camden's "Britannia."*

Appendix.

THE FAMILY OF DE KERDESTON.

BY

THE EDITOR.

THE family of de Kerdeston were subtenants of Hubert de Rye before 1200, William de Kerdeston having a grant of lands in Bircham Newton, from Hubert.

In 1 John (1200) Roger de Kerdeston gave 30 marks to have a confirmation of the land in Bircham Newton, formerly of Hubert de Rye.

This connection with the Barony of Rye led to their having a grant from the same barony of the town of Claxton, which afterwards accrued to it, being held through the de Cressey family whose son married the co-heiress of Rye, and succeeded to such barony.

The first noticeable man of the family was

1. Sir Fulk de Kerdeston, knight, said to have been a judge, Knight of the Shire in 1258, and buried at Langley. He was father of
2. William de Kerdeston, also buried at Langley, the father of

3. Sir Roger de Kerdeston, the father of

4. William de Kerdeston, who, in 10 Edward I. (1282) was summoned to attend the king in his expedition to Wales, and in 15 Edward I. (1287) to meet the Earl of Cornwall at Gloucester with horse and arms to advise about the Welsh affairs.

In 25 and 26 Edward I. (1296-7) he was sheriff of Norfolk.

He married Margaret, sister and co-heiress of Gilbert de Gant, and daughter of another Gilbert de Gant, of Folkingham,* and had a son and heir

5. Roger de Kerdeston, born, according to Norris, in or before 1274.

He was made a K.B. 1306, was said to be governor of Norwich Castle,† and sheriff, 1330-1, and was summoned as Baron, 1332-1337. He married Maude, who survived him, and was buried at Langley Abbey.

His son

6. *William de Kerdeston*, Lord Kerdeston, was 30 at his father's death in 1337—summoned 1337-1360, and in 1339 had a license to crenellate or fortify Claxton.

In 1340-1 he was in the expedition into Flanders and obtained grant of a market and fair at Claxton.

In 15 Edward III. (1341) he sent ten men at arms to the expedition against the Scotch, and in 1617 and 18, Edward III. was in the French wars—in the last year, in the retinue of Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk.

He was in the French wars, and fought at Cressy, 20 Edward III. (1346).

His seal, dated 1353, is in the British Museum (No. 11060), and bears a saltier engrailed. In 1354 (28 Edward III.) he signed the barons' letter against the Pope.

* Cokayne iv., p. 361.

† Probably in some way through the Rye Barony, Hubert de Rye having been castellan of it in Norman times, unless his "governorship" was only for the year he was sheriff.

In 1359 (33 Edward III.) he was appointed the one of the council of the king's son, Thomas, left in charge of the kingdom during the king's absence in France.

He died 14th October, 1361-2 (35 Edward III.).

He married Margaret, daughter of Edward Bacon, of Norwich,* and died without male issue, so the Barony is still in abeyance between the descendants of his daughters, Maud, who married Sir John Burghersh,† and Margaret, who married Sir William Tendring.

By Blanche (or Alice) Norwich (called his concubine) he had a son, *William de Kerdeston*, found by one *inquisition post mortem* to be his son and heir, who anyhow obtained possession of Claxton. He was sheriff 49 Edward III., 1374, and in 50 Edward III. had licence to complete the fortifying his house at Claxton, begun by his father.

In 2 Richard II. (1379), he had a grant of free warren in his Norfolk and Suffolk manors, lent the king money, and finished his castle at Claxton.

He left issue.

Sir Leonard Kerdeston, who was father of

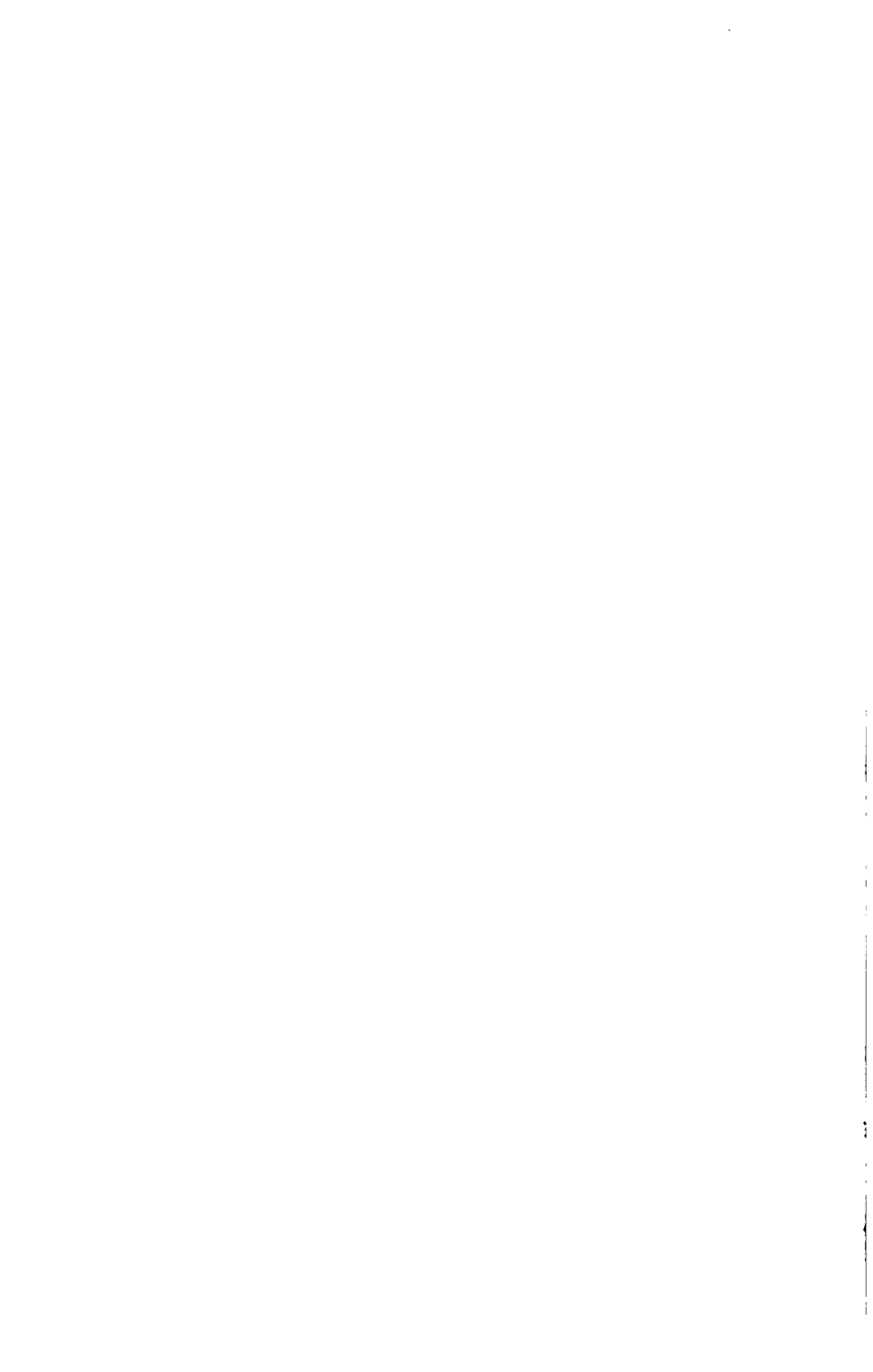
Sir Thomas Kerdeston, who died 1446, leaving a daughter and heir.

Elizabeth, who married Sir Terry Robsart, and who is now represented by the Walpoles, Earls of Orford.

. For the beautiful photograph of the castle ruins, from which the view facing page 86 has been prepared, I am indebted to Mr. E. Peake.—*W.R.*

* But more probably of Edmund Bacon, of Gresham.

† Her granddaughter, Maud, married Thomas Chaucer, son of the poet.





ON SOME WOOD CARVINGS AND GLASS
RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN NORFOLK,

BY

SEYMOUR LUCAS, R.A., F.S.A., &c.

THE first of the illustrations representing a stall, and recently discovered in Norfolk, is full of decorative feeling, so characteristic of much of the carving of the 15th century. The figure of St. George and the Dragon upon the panel is so displayed that one is struck by the great ingenuity in which the figures fill the given space; the head of the knight forming the apex to the composition.

The daring way in which the artist has brought the sword of the knight across the ogee of the arch is a thing which to-day we should be afraid to do, but how useful it is in giving still further relief to the figure, although the projection is but slightly in advance of the arch.

The carving, judging from the armour, dates from about 1430 to 1440, being contemporary with the unique bronze effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in St. Mary's Church, Warwick. The knight wears a salade with the vizor up, and has the usual breast-plate of the period terminating in a placcate with taces below from which hangs a tuille covering the side of the thigh.

One of the marked features of the design is the ingenious way in which the composition fills the field of the panel with the weight of the dragon forming a strong base for the figure of the horseman. The ingenuity of the artist is shewn by the manner in which the ornate part is relieved by the plain part, and in this way we may view the carving as a picture where the most important portion, the head and breast of St. George, is relieved by the plain background, the field occupying a third only, whereas the part in relief occupies the rest. This is the principle of all high art which is exemplified by most of the great masters both in landscape and figure, from Holbein down to Turner.

We would like to know what has become of the companion stalls and what they were like. Perhaps some local antiquary can throw some light upon the matter.

The carved chest front also shown is, with the exception of the coffer in St. Mary's Church, Derby, perhaps one of the most beautiful tracery panels I have seen. It dates from the end of the 14th century—a period when tracery reached its most elegant proportions—in this instance, with the exception of the shield and a vase of flowers (lily pots of the B V M?) purely geometrical, and unlike the Derby chest which has monsters, &c., interposed between the gables of the arcading.

The panel of painted glass, now in the possession of Mr. C. L. Buxton, of Bolwick, representing a knight, has all the appearance of a portrait, and the tabard with the charges and inscriptions* round the collar and border should be a

*The inscriptions read round collar "Judas Ma . . ." and round the border "Judas Makabias of mi worthynas and fethe wol we ot (for to?) the Lord.

Whether the inscription round the collar has anything to do with some forgotten order of chivalry remains to be seen. The mere fact that Judas Maccabeus was before the Christian era proves nothing.—Ed.





clue to its identity. It is of the beginning of the 15th century, and although the art is of a much inferior kind to the carved panel, it still possesses great antiquarian interest. The tabard which seems to have taken the place of the Jupon is peculiarly worthy of notice, also the smallness of the size of the tabard itself, together with the repetition of the charges on the pennon.

The window of which it once formed a part has at some time suffered from ill usage, and in the re-leading the drawing of the figure has suffered considerably. The scabbard of the sword is not in a line with the hilt, neither is the lower shaft of the pennon in line with the upper portion.

As in the figure of St. George, the knight wears a salade, but in this case it is surrounded with the gilt coronal which took the place of the earlier wreath, a beautiful feature in the helmets of this period, but one is in the habit of associating this decorative feature with an earlier period, 1370. As shown in the effigy of the Black Prince at Canterbury, the knight, like the valiant prince just named, still wears the vambrace and not the pauldron covering the shoulders, another proof that the painting is earlier than the stall end. Altogether this specimen of early glass has an interest that is not commonly found in such fragments.

SOME ARMS IN NORWICH HOUSES,

Recorded by the late Anthony Norris,

BY

HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE F. DULEEP SINGH, F.S.A.

THE MS. which is here printed, and to which I append a few notes, is part of Mr. Rye's most interesting and valuable Norris Collection. Thanks to Blomefield, Papworth, and Farrer's "Church Heraldry of Norfolk," I have been able to find out most of the arms; but I much hope someone will be able to name the remainder. It would also be most interesting if any Norwich Antiquary could indentify the various houses named. Would one be too sanguine to hope that some of the beautiful old heraldic glass still exists? I have only to add that I am greatly indebted for help to the Rev. Edmund Farrer, as well as to his magnificent "Church Heraldry of Suffolk" (alas! only in MS.), for the elucidation of the shields of arms in Sir Charles Cornwallis's house, and to L. E. Bolingbroke, Esq., for several valuable suggestions, and for pointing out that the late W. C. Ewing wrote much on the following arms, &c., in "Norfolk Archæology," iii. p. 176 *et seq.*

FREDERICK DULEEP SINGH.

FROM NORRIS'S COLLECTIONS, No. 8 (RYE MS.S., No. 8).

St. Andrew's, Norwich, p. 43.—On the corner post of the house in St. Andrew's, now Chapman's, the grocers.

The mark of Richard Hughson, grocer, who built the house or part of it.

In the window of the same house a fess nebuly between six billets *impaling* merchant's mark.*

Qy. If not Thomas Wulman, grocer, tpe H. 8 (J.K.)

Qy. If first coat not Chappe or the arms of some company.

St. Andrew's Place, p. 43.—Mr. Dixon's house, a carpenter brought there from some other place.

Quarterly 1 and 4, the quarterly az and gules on a bend ar three boars passt sable—*Le Grise*.

2 and 3 Barry of six argt. and B. on a canton, G a lion passant or ; Hales, county Norfolk.

Page 44.—In a house of Mr. Watt's.

Crest. A dragon's head argt. guttee sab wings sab guttee arg.

(Not in Blomefield). (Arms). 1. Quarterly 1 and 4 per pale a unicorn between three crosses (Layer)†

2 and 3 on a bend three roundels‡ *impaling* on a bend, etc. (Marsham).

2. Layer (?) *impaling* Browne (? Browne *impaling* Layer).

3. Browne,

The first shield *impaled* the first quarterly; 1 and 4 Layer 2 and 3 second coat Marsham.

* "Gu. a fess wavy between six billets, arg." Chape, co. Norfolk.

A similar coat, but with the fess nebuly are the arms of "Chaplin."

† Layer per pale, arg. and sa. a unicorn courant, between three cross-crosetts, counter-changed.

‡ Argent on a bend, gu. three Catherine wheels or. Botifant.

W. Layer, "of Suffolk," married the daughter and heir of — Botifant. Their son, W. Layer, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Marsham, M.D., of Norwich (who died about 1570). Thomas Layer, son of the second W. Layer, married Elizabeth, sister of Sir Valentine Browne. T.L. was an alderman of Norwich, and died in 1614.

The second shield impaled the first Layer the second Brown. The third shield Browne alone.

St. Andrew's, p. 44.—In a house sometime of William Rogers, mayor. He was mayor in 1542 and 1548, after Mr. Youngs, as 17 . . . now Mr. . . . over the chimney in ye parlour.

1. Grocer's arms impaling a merchant's mark.
2. The letters W.R. over a maid's head.

St. Andrew, p. 45.—The corner house over against the new hall, Southgate, now Mr. Seamans.

On the porch, C.B., 1634, Christopher Barrett (a bend between 3 buckles (?))*

In the dining room windows :

1. The Merchant Adventurers.
2. Argt. a Lion ramp. G., debruised by a bend, ragulated vt (Steward Qy).†
3. Arms of ye City of Norwich impaling St. George.
4. Merchants mark of John Clerk impaling Mercers arms. For John Clark, 1529, mercer. (Not in Blomefield).

St. Andrew's, p. 45.—The house adjoining to the former southward, now Mr. Payne's, had the arms of Suckling cut in stone over the door. (Not in Blomefield).

St. Andrew Street, p. 47.—At the door of a house on the north side of the street, opposite to the Cockey, are two ancient posts on ye top of each, an unicorn supporting a shield painted with ermine on a chief, or an annulet between two billets or (Watts); but prior to this painting Layer's arms were carved upon the same shields. In the dining room

* Arg. a bend az. between three buckles, Barrett.

† The bend raguly should be *or.* if for Steward.

of the same house carved over the chimney piece an unicorn between three cross croselets *Layr*. (See more of this house before).

St. Andrew's, p. 47.—Upon a stone arched door or small porch of a house opposite to the west end of the new hall in St. Andrew's, Norwich.

N

16 F.S. 57.

Francis Norris
and Susan his wife.

The first shield quarterly, the first and fourth three bendlets wavy, the second a chevn between three molets, the third a lion rampt.*

The second shield quarterly or. and sab, ye second and third a frett ar, over all a fess gu, a crescent for a difference Norris.

St. Andrew's, p. 48.—A great house in Cutler Row as coming from the Red Well towards the Market on ye right hand, and not much above half way from the said well to St. Andrew's three steps, there is an ancient gate of stone work in the manner of a church door with niches for images on each side, and above ye gate diverse escotcheons as first the goldsmiths' City Arms, Arms France and England, quarterly. (France three Fleur de Lis) supporters a greyhound and a dragon.† This gate, says Mr. J. Kirkpatrick, I have reason to judge was taken from the the Grey Fryers, and that this house was built by John Bassingham.

At the east end of the house the goldsmith's arms and IB.

* Playters—Bendy-wavy of six arg. and az. quartering; arg. a chevron sa. between three estoiles gu. (Dennys), and vert. a lion rampant, arg. (Bridgenorth), &c., &c.

† This gate is now built into the Guildhall.

At the west end a chevn engrailed between three molets, also another large shield, quarterly 1 . . . , 2 Goldsmith's, 3 checqy a bend ermine, 4 . . . , and over a door in ye yard 1B*

A

In a window since taken away :

- 1, France and England quarterly, Supporters a red dragon and a golden lion; 2, Feathers; 3, St. George's cross; 4, City; 5, red and white rose, united six B, a cross Humet or two others defaced impaling Goldsmiths.

St. Andrew's p. 48.—In the house which was formerly St. Crouches Church, but brought thither from the house formerly Augustin Stewards in St. Simon and Jude's; Mercers impaling his mark.

Second argt. a lion rampt G over all a ragged staff in bend or (Steward), also the arms of the King Edward the Confessor, the City, the Merchants.

St. George of Colgate, p. 47.—In a window of a house in St. George of Colgate next Justice Halls.

The arms of Cecil, viz., Barry and six escutcheons with lions quartering three towers also, 1 C.

St. George of Tombland.—On a window of a house on Tombland next the corner, which is opposite to the church to ye church porch.

(Merchant's mark).

Qy. If not William Ramsey.

On a chimney same house, more modern, T.L., 1634.

St. George of Tombland, p. 48.—In the house called ye Princes Inn. On an old fashioned piece of work such as

* qy. Rugge—gu. a chevron engrailed between three pierced mullets, arg.
The fact of the arms of a company being *quartered* with family arms is unusual.

was usually placed at ye end of the benches in the old halls is carved the arms of Steward as above impaling Read, viz., on a bend wavy three birds within a bordure ingrailed besantee, and on another of the same kind the mark of Augustine Steward as above. These were also brought from ye house in St. Simond's, which mark remains over ye gate of the house in St. Simond's.

St. George's, Tombland, p. 46.— On the porch of a large house known, by the name of Samson and Hercules court.

On a bend ingrailed three roses, 1657, Christopher Jay, mayor that year.

On the antient stone house on the left hand as one goes from St. George's of Colgate to St. Michael's of Coslany Church.

In a shield these letters N E C, and under them a tun being a rebus for the name of Necton, this having been the house of Alderman Necton.

In the parlour window argt. a cross sab *impaling* argt. a castle proper on a chief sab a mitre between a cinq foil and an anulet, or, qy. if not the arms of Dean Castleton.

In a later wainscotted parlour is painted R N M, arms gules two gauntlets in saltier or, a crescent for a difference Norgate.*

St. Clement's, p. 46.—Mr. Tofft's house against the east end of St. Clement's Church (a merchant's mark), and E W for Edmund Wood, mayor about 1511, qy. ye time.† Three shields of arms.

1. Grocer's and mercer's impaled.
2. On a chevn between three martlets, as many trefoils slipped.‡

* Norgate usually bears the gauntlets "argent garnished or."

† I can find no mayor of this name about 1511 in Blomefield. (He was mayor in 1548.)

‡ Wood—Per pale arg. and sa. on a chevron between three martlets, as many trefoils slipped, counterchanged.

3. Wood as before impaling a lion rampant, debased by a bendlet.

Page 46.—On a house on the right hand coming from the end of the "King's Arms" Lane to the Red Well.

On the side of the gate a shield parted per pale.*

On the other, ermine, on a chief three bells; letter I P.†

St. John Madder Market, p. 44.—In a window of the house next the "Little Unicorn," northward.

Arms quarterly, 1, Hobart with a crescent; 2, Ly Hert 3, Hare; 4, (broke). In a scutcheon in ye middle the hand of Ulster.

St. John's Madder Market, p. 43.—In the house, late Sir Joseph Payne's, upon a chimney on the mantel piece. The mark of Nich Sotherton. (This is the "Strangers' Hall").

In a window of Mr. Blyford's B R F RA, a chevron between three saddles or (qy. if not Richard Fleker, Alderman).‡

St. Michael's of Plea, p. 47.—In an old house over against the west end of St. Michael's of Plea Church.

1. The arms of Norwich City; 2, The merchant's; 3, B. an eagle displayed or membered G. (Shouldham); also a merchant's mark and the letter J E under the windows sole (sic) ye same mark and J E M.

St. Peter's Hungate, p. 45.—In ye hall windows of ye corner house opposite the south-west angle of St. Peter of Hungate church yard.

Argt. on a chevron between three cinquefoils pierced g as many besants (Edgerley).

* qy. Barningham—Party per pale, or and sa.

† Bell—Ermine on a chief sa. three bells arg. although the letters, I.P., do not bear this out.

‡ These are more likely the arms of the Sadlers' Company, viz.: az. a chevron between three saddles, or.

In the next W P and merchants' mark, also in a chamber window a merchant's mark somewhat though not much different from ye former.

St. James', Pockthorpe, p. 45.—Upon an ancient gate of a house opposite to the White Fryers, being a little beyond ye corner upon the left hand as we turn out of St. Edmund's Street into St. James'.

There have been three escotcheon(s) one is lost. Of the two which remain, one is Paston single and the other is Paston impaling a cheveron.*

In the window of another house in the street and side of the way but further up towards St. James' Church there is an ancient escotcheon of the Corbets arms, viz., on a raven proper.

Magdalen Street, p. 46.—In the windows and upon the ceilings of a house in Magdalen Street on ye west side opposite to Stump Cross.

Gules three dragons passt in pale ermine, Bloss, mayor of Norwich, 1612.

This house was first Nuttings and after Blosses.

On a chimney piece in ye same house, g a lion rampt. queue furchee argt., 1668.

St. Lawrence Steps, p. 46.—Over the gate of a large house opposite to the ascent of St. Lawrence East Steps, in a large escutcheon.

Three roundles each charged with a squirrel sejant Croshold (Croshold, mayor, aol6).†

Opposite to "Castle Tavern," p. 46.—Over the gate of a house opposite to the "Castle Tavern" on the left hand as we come from Hoghill to White Lion Lane.

* I can find no simple chevron impaled by the Pastons:

† Croshold—Gu. three plates each charged with a squirrel sejant of the field. John Croshold was Mayor in 1663.

Sab on a fess A, between three anchors and as many lions heads eraced gules, Wenman (Wentman, Mayor).

St. Peter's, Mancroft.—In a window of an ale house in the thoroughfare yard from the Cockey Lane next the shop of Mr. Rose, a bookseller, into ye Backside of the Inns.

The first, shield quarterly one and four Erm. a cross wavy G. (? Boyce) and three G. on a chief argt. three cross croset fitchée (Damerley).

Second, shield quarterly the first and fourth quarterly as ye former. The second and third ermine a cross checq or gules.

St. Peter's Mancroft, p. 45.—In the court belonging to ye house next beyond the bow window house, where formerly lived Dr. Ladd, now (says Mr. J. Kirkpatrick) Councillor Marcon, are several large shields carved in stone.*

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. three Griffins passt—Wythe of
Smallborough.† 2. Impaled Ingloys and Wythe.‡ 3. Ingloys alone. 4. Ingloys and Wichingham.§ 5. France and England. 6. Ingloys and Gyney quarterly. 7. Arms of ye City of Norwich. | } | <p>These are all large,
of ye same size,
and seem to have
been brought from
some other place.</p> |
|--|---|---|

St. Peter's Mancroft.—On stone scutcheons in ye room under the assembly chamber.

Three merchants' marks. The middle mark of these, says Mr. J. Kirkpatrick, is the mark of Ralph Segryme, 28 Hen. VI.

* Six of these shields are illustrated in Muskett's "Remnants of Antiquity in Norwich," plate 37.

† Wythe, az. three griffins passant in pale or.

‡ Inglosse—Barry of six, arg. and az. on a canton of the first five billets in saltire, sa.

§ Wichingham—Ermine, two rings interlaced, sa. on a chief of the last three crosses pattee, arg.

|| Jenny—Paly of six or. and gu. a chief ermine.

St. Peter's Mancroft, p. 47.—Dr. Howman's house, on the gate S. D., 1608; Davy and ye grocer's arms *impaling* six barrulets.*

This house did belong to ye priory of Norwich, and was was sold by them for £9, 1538.

St. Peter's of Mancroft, p. 50.—A house where formerly lived Alderman Croshold, now John Downing, grocer, (now Mr. Back's).

In the parlour every panel† of wainscot has a rebus carved in diverse manners expressing the name of John Curat, Alderman (who built the house), with ye letters I Q and Ratts, and also this Knot. In one of the chamber windows, Mercers' arms *impaling* merchant's mark. The eagle on which ye shield is placed for John, being ye emblem of that saint in one part a Q, in the other a rat for Curat round this "Recte Vivens Minime Curat De Vocis Malorum."

In another window a large Q in ye middle, a rat on ye tail of the Q, having an inkhorn and pence, which are also among the badges of St. John.

St. Simon's, p. 48.—In a noble window in the yard a merchant's mark between and letters E R; also the mercer's arms and E R, and upon the top of one of the posts at the gate, on a bend wavy three birds within a bordure engrailed, besantee, crest a stag's head eraced collered, for Edmund Rede, Alderman. (Qy. where for it does not appear from Mr. Kirkpatrick's notes, unless it was meant of the house in St. Simon's, which was afterwards Augustine Steward's.)‡

Some of these were apparently once in St. Peter Mancroft, "Norfolk Archæology," iii. p. 220.

* Davy—Sa. a chevron engrailed erm. between three annulets, arg.

† Several of these panels are illustrated by Muskett, plate 38.

‡ Rede—Azure, on a bend wavy or. within a bordure engrailed argent, charged with torteaux and hurts alternately, three Cornish choughs proper.

(Unidentified) p. 48.—In a house. Parlour window G on a chevn between three keys erected arg. as many stars of the first Archbishop Parker.

St. Stephen's, p. 44.—In Mingay's house besides those which I found there, and for which see other book.

In the chamber Semy of cross crosslets, a lion rampant or. pon a door leading to the parlour a merchant's mark between W M.

Chapel Field House, p. 49. N.B.—More in other book.—In Sir Charles Cornwaleys's house in Chaply Field, Norwich. *

In the hall.—*Cornwaleys* alone his whole achievement with eight coats, his mantle sab. doubled argt.; crest, a wounded hart couchant with a wreath of acorn boughs about his neck. Another crest, a Cornish chough close. Another crest, a Cornish chough† sablotsee or spread on a wreath.

Motto: Virtus Vincit Invidiam.

Cornwaleys eight coats with a labele of three parts O impaled with *Latymer's* coat.

Cornwaleys impaled with Jernegan.

And his quarters, Inglethorp, Fitzosborn, &c., see Blomefield, p. 183.

Cornwaleys and Barry of eight argt. and sab., over all a bend ermine (Fincham).

* Sir Charles Cornwallis, of Hainford and Beeston, Co. Norfolk, was second son of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, of Brome, Co. Suffolk, by Anne, daughter of Sir John Jerningham, of Somerleyton. Sir Charles married, firstly, Anne, daughter of Thomas Fincham, of Fincham; and, secondly, Anne daughter of Thomas Barrow, of Shipdham, Norfolk, and Barningham, Suffolk. Sir Charles' eldest brother, William, married, as his first wife, Lucy, daughter of John Nevil, Lord Latymer. His sister, Elizabeth, married Sir Thomas Kytson, of Hengrave (at which place Sir Charles' portrait still hangs). His sister, Alice, married Richard Southwell, of Spixworth, son of Richard Southwell, of Horsham St. Faith's, who was eldest *illegitimate* son of Sir Richard Southwell, of Wood Rising, by Mary daughter of Thomas Darcy, of Darcy, Co. Essex, whom he afterwards married. As will be seen, the above arms illustrate all these alliances.

† This extraordinary word, "sablotsee," I can find in no work on heraldry. In Anstie's MS. it reads "sa. blottée."

In the gallery.

Southwell, six coats with a bordure sab. impaled with Cornwaleys.

Kitson, four coats impaled with Cornwallis.

Southwell's crest is a demy hound argt. with a red ear, a crown about his neck O, on a wreath A and G.

In the gallery on the stained cloth :

1. On the one side at ye upper end *Latymers* eight coats.
2. Barry of A and S a bend Erm. (Fincham).
3. *Barrow* sab. two swords in saltire or., between four Fleur de Lis or., within a border gobony A and G.
4. S a gryphon sergreant A between three croslets fitchée argt. (Froxmore, of Co. Essex).
5. Argt. three chevrons sab on each four (? 15) nails O (Clovell, of Essex).
6. Erm. on a chief B three lions rampt O (Bures).
7. A three chevrons gules inter martlet sab (Singleton, of Dickleborough).
8. S a chevron inter three unicorns heads erased A (Head, of London).
9. A a boar's head erased S mosled O (Berewyck of Kent).
10. Checqy A and G a cross gar (sic) (Reydon).*
11. A a fess (?) inter three cocks heads erased S combs and gills G (Willcocks or Alcock).
12. *Hassetts*, four coats.†
13. *Kitson* quarterly. 1 *Kitson*, 2 and 3 quarterly A chevron ingr., int., three mullets (Pye) and Paly

* This should be cross "azure."

† *Massetta*, i.e., *Blennerhassetts*.

The four coats are :—

1. *Blennerhasset*, gu. a chevron between three dolphins embowed arg.
2. *Orton*, arg. a lion rampant, vert. crowned or.
3. *Lowdham*, arg. three escutcheons sa.
4. *Keldon*, gu. a pall reversed erm.

- of eight A and B a chief G three plates, 4 as 1 (Donington).
14. Southwell within a bordure, 2 Wichingham, 3 Fastolf, 4 B a (fess) int., two chevrons argt. (Tendring), 5 or. a chevron between ten cross crolets G, 6 as 1 (Holbrook).
 15. The Earl of Bath ten coats. (1 Boucher, 2 Louvain, 3 Fitzwarren, 4 Audley, 5 Cogan, 6 Hankford, 7 Handford, 8 Martin, 9 Derham, 10 Arches).
 16. Throckmortens six coats.
- On the seeling at the lower end.
17. Stubbs per pale S on a bend argt. three (buckles sa). S between three pheons A, and barry of (8) A and S a greyhound cursant in chief S (Skipworth).
 18. Bacon of Hegyset impaled with quarterly, one and four (blank).*
 19. O on a pale int. two pallets three eagles displayed or. (Milward).
 20. Quarterly 1 and 4, G three mullets and a crescent or. (Buckvale), 2 and 3 G a cross flory o, an Escallop or.
 21. S three Gemells A, and on a canton A a crescent sable (Bucton)† sideth *Braham*, and A a bend sab quarterly.
 22. *Bassingbourne*.‡
 23. *Terrell* A two chevrons B within a bord ingr. G.
 24. G three chevrons argt.

* Bacon of *Hessett*. Edward Bacon, of Hessett, married Elizabeth daughter of R. Cornwallis (they d. 1624).

Bacon, arg. on a fess engrailed between three escutcheons gu. as many mullets of the field, pierced sa.

† The latter part should probably read, " Arg. a bend sa. between six crosslets (Tye).

‡ Bassingbourne, gyronny of twelve az. and or.

25. B a bend int. six martlets A (Lutterell?)
26. *Duke (& Stamford)*.*
27. *Sulyard* and G a chevron int. three lions argt. quarterly (Wolsthorp).
28. *Fernegan*, & G three gemels, and a canton O (Fitz-Ozbert).
29. † *Wriothesley* E., of Southampton, six coats quarterly.
30. *Rookwood* A., six chess rooks sab, three, two and one, and *Witchingham* quarterly.

At the upper end of the wainscot:

31. B a chevron inter three crosses formy or (Calibut).
32. Quarterly S a wolf saliant A, and crescent A (Louth, of Hunts); 2, Erm. on a bend S three goats heads erase A (Mulso, of Suffolk); 3, two barrs and three mullets in chief sa.

Most of the above are not in Blomefield.

N.B.—The Hobart coats, mentioned on p. 183 of Blomefield, are not given here.

In the window at the upper end:

Cornwallis's whole achievent.

In the side window:

Jernegans 18 coats within a diamond scocheon.

[From Mr. J. Kirkpatrick's copy from a copy made by Peter le Neve Norroi from a MS.S. in ye possession of J. Anstis Garter, marked E. 26, f. 40].

* The Duke and Stamford coats are very similar, viz: Az. a chevron between three birds, arg. membered gu. In the case of Stamford the birds are storks.

† I should be glad to know why the Wriothesley Coat is here?

A ROUGH CATALOGUE OF MAPS
RELATING TO NORWICH & NORFOLK,

BY

HARRY BRITAIN.

NORWICH MAPS.

It is not proposed in this short article to attempt to demonstrate "how the city of Norwich grew into shape," but rather to give superficial description of a few of the more important delineations. The list which follows this paper is undoubtedly incomplete, but I trust it will be accepted as a serious effort to shew where many of the scarcer productions may be seen and studied.

In this connection I may here say that anyone is welcome to inspect my own collection—most of the better specimens in my possession are framed and glazed, from which the reader will gather that I have, to quote the editor, "made furniture of them." I mention this fact in order to shew it would be almost out of the question for me to *send* them anywhere.

It is needless to add that I am not lucky enough to own a complete set of all the Norwich Maps, so for purpose of ready reference I have appended the initials of the owners at the end of each item.

C.M. = Castle Museum.

D.T. = Dawson Turner (British Museum).

F.L. = Norwich Free Library.

H.B. = Harry Brittain.

R.C. = Russell Colman.

W.R. = Walter Rye.

First for mention comes the Sanctuary Map (of 1541), which as its title implies was more special than general in scope—a capital reproduction of this is to be found in “Hudson’s Streets and Lanes,” p. 114.

Dr. Cuningham’s Map (from his *Cosmographical Glasse* of 1559) is really a birdseye view, and was most excellently reproduced somewhere about 1575 by George Braun and Francis Hogenberg (at Cologne) in their *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*: the drawing of the latter is very fine, and as I have had half a dozen or so lantern slides made from the copy in my possession, I can speak with some authority. One of the slides in question shews that portion extending from the west of the Cathedral to beyond St. Leonard’s and Thorpe Wood; this is especially good, and the perspective wonderful, even when seen on the screen.

A very curious little Map of, probably, about the same date as Braun’s is in the possession of Mr. J. C. Tingey, of Norwich. It is headed with a Latin inscription to the effect that “Remedies are created to preserve health.” To the right is a bay tree, on which is a raven, at the foot of the tree is a chameleon. Running quite across the bottom of the Map are two inscriptions in Latin and German; the first of these reads, “The raven when he has conquered his deadly enemy is tainted, but he destroys the poison with the

leaves of a bay tree." The German rendering is as follows, "When the raven is poisoned from it, after he has destroyed the chameleon, from the laurel tree he uses medicine and therewith he drives the poison from him."

The last sixteenth century Map which can be traced is to be found at the Record Office, and a portion of this is given in "Streets and Lanes," p. 119.

Copies of both issues by Cleer (1696) are exhibited in the Castle Museum, and Mr. Reeve tells me the larger of the two is of particular interest, in that it was the property of John Kirkpatrick.

Corbridge's Map of the City of Norwich was published in 1727, and is fuller of detail than any—the engraved surface is $39\frac{1}{2}$ ins. \times $27\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and surrounding the map proper are sketches of city churches and principal residences. The positions of the latter are accurately given on the map, and one of these days I purpose going on a photographic expedition to illustrate those that now remain.

Kirkpatrick's splendid Birdseye View was issued in 1736, in two parts, at 1s. 6d. per part. Copies of this are rare, and I fear are not to be obtained at anything like publication price. At the left hand bottom corner engravings of "Some Pieces of Antient Silver Money," coined in the city, are given, whilst at the right is a plan—the engraved surface of the whole is no less than 59 ins. \times 23 ins.

Blomefield's Maps are distinguished by the number of seals, &c., by which they are surrounded.

In 1741 Buck's North East and South East Prospects of the City of Norwich were published. These are certainly better known than any of the older issues, and were popularized by lithographic reproduction some few years since.

King's Maps issued in 1766 are both good—the larger was engraved on two plates, which, when joined, measure $37\frac{1}{2}$ ins. \times $29\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

In 1779, one J. Thompson of Norwich, engraved an undoubted plagiarism of the smaller Map of King's, merely omitting the views of Cathedral and Castle; the list of references is identical in each.

Anthony Hochstetter's Plan (1789) is, I think, the only important one which varies the usual practice by having the *west* at the top.

A very interesting Plate was issued by Stevenson & Co. in 1809—at the bottom a good general view of the Castle appears, whilst at the top is a "Panoramic View of the City of Norwich and surrounding Country" from the Castle Mound.

The most important nineteenth century plans were Millard and Manning's 1830 map, engraved by Dallinger, in four sheets, and that published by Charles Muskett in 1849—this has engravings of the principal buildings at the top and sides, and a lengthy list of references at the bottom.

I may, perhaps, be permitted by the Editor to say one thing of a rather personal character in conclusion; this is that I am particularly keen on collecting these mementoes of older Norwich; if, therefore, any of my readers can help me by indicating the whereabouts of any specimens which may be on sale I shall be greatly obliged.

A HAND LIST OF THE MAPS AND BIRDSEYE VIEWS OF NORWICH.

I.

GENERAL MAPS, &c.

1541. Recent Reproduction of the Sanctuary Map. F.L., W.R., R.C. (See "Streets and Lanes of the City of Norwich," p. 114).

1558. Cuningham's Map (*Nordovicum Angliæ Civitas*) from "The Cosmographical Glasse," published 1559. R.C., C.M.
Small Old Wood-cut. F.L. Recent litho. F.L., H.B.
Reproduction in Kirkpatrick's "Streets and Lanes," by Hudson, p. 117.
- n.d. Early Dutch Map in possession of Mr. J. C. Tingey.
See detailed description in introduction.
- n.d. Pencil Draft Map. W.R. (From Rye, MS. 17, p. 41).
- 1559? and 1577. Recent Map or Birdseye View, compiled by R. Taylor for his *Monasticon*, from "Cuningham's Cosmographical Glasse," "Braun's *Urbium Præcipiarum totius mundi*," 1577. W.R., D.T., R.C.
- 1559? and 1577. Another copy of (?) by Corbridge, 1727. D.T.
1576. Braun and Hogenberg "*Nordovicum Angliæ Civitas*." C.M. and H.B.
1577. "*Nordovicum Angliæ Civitas*." D.T. (probably the same).
1585. Parts of Norwich and Mousehold, from the MS. Map preserved in the Record Office. For a litho. part of it see "Streets and Lanes of the City of Norwich," p. 119. W.R., F.L., H.B.
1610. J. Goddard, published by Speed in his "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain."
- (1610 ?). J. Speed, from his "Atlas of England and Wales," British Museum, S. 55. (32).
Ditto, another Copy of Plan of the City only, British Museum, 4350 (1).
1616. Another Edition of do. fo., British Museum, 2060, g.
- 1650 (?) Map of the City, by M. Merian Frankfort (?), British Museum, S. 79 (23).
- n.d. A Small Plan of the City of Norwich, by S. Nicholls, British Museum, K. 31, 30.

1696. Cleere's Map in four sheets. F.L.
 Ditto, in one sheet. F.L.
 The first and second named are in the Castle Museum collection.
 A Reduced Copy in Moens' Walloons, 1887-8. R.C., H.B.
1727. Corbridge's Map of the City of Norwich. D.T., H.B., C.M.
1727. Birdseye View of Norwich, as head piece of the *Norwich Mercury*.
1728. Hoyle, in Chase's "Complete History of Norwich." D.T., W.R., R.C., H.B.
1723. Kirkpatrick's North East Prospect of the City of Norwich, Castle Museum. H.B.
- n.d. Small engraved copy of same. H.B.
- 1739 (?) Blomefield's Plan of the City of Norwich. W.R.
1745. Ditto. D.T.
1746. Blomefield's Plan of the City, two sheets, British Museum, K. 31, 31.
1746. Ditto (two sheets). R.C.
1741. Buck's North East Prospect of the City of Norwich. H.B.
 Ditto, South East, ditto. H.B.
1766. King's Large Plan of the City of Norwich. F.L., D.T., W.R., H.B. British Museum, K., 31, 32.
 Ditto, small ditto. R.C., H.B.
1768. Booth in "History and Directory of Norwich."
1779. Thompson's Plan of the City of Norwich. W.R., D.T., R.C. and H.B.
1783. Smith in "Chase's Directory."
1789. Hochstetter's Plan of the City of Norwich. F.L., W.R., H.B. British Museum, K., 31, 33.
 Ditto, Neele's Reproduction. W.R., H.B.
1802. Peck's Plan (drawn by J. Ninham). D.T., R.C., H.B.

1806. Poole, from Miller's edition of "Blomefield." H.B.
1807. Roper and Cole, from "Beauties of England and Wales." W.R., R.C.
1809. Panoramic View of Norwich and Surrounding County from Castle, by Barker and Williams, British Museum, K., 31, 34, i., published by Stevenson, Matchett and Stevenson. W.R., H.B.
1819. Longman, engraved by Starling. W.R., D.T., H.B.
1821. Taylor in his "Index Monasticus." R.C.
Panoramic Map from Castle, by Geo. Wright.
1826. Youngman's Small Map, with List of Churches and other References. R.C.
1830. Millard and Manning's Plan by Dallinger. R.C., H.B.
1836. Tom's Map of Norwich and Roads radiating from it.
W.R., R.C.
1846. Map prepared for Visitors to Anniversary Meeting of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, on 19th and 20th August, 1846. R.C.
1848. Jarrold's Map. F.L., R.C.
1849. Jewitt's Plan of the City of Norwich. F.L., W.R., R.C., H.B.
1849. Muskett. F.L., W.R., R.C., H.B. Smaller copy in folding cover. F.L.
1862. Plan for Crown Point Review, 12th September, 1862 (by W. Hall). R.C.
1868. Muskett. Cheap Reproduction showing on its back the Lodging Accommodation for Visitors at the thirty-eighth Meeting of the British Association.
1871. Fuller. W.R., F.L., H.B.
1873. A. W. Morant, of the City and Neighbourhood, in four sheets, from Ordnance Survey, British Museum, 4350 (2). H.B.
1879. Jarrold's Map, compiled by C. Thwaites, British Museum, 4350 (3).

- A Coloured Map, in "A Particular Description of England, 1558" (printed for subscribers only from original MS. in British Museum), by William Smith, Rouge Dragon, size 11 ins. \times $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.
1883. Jarrold's Map facing title to Hand Book.
1886. Map Issued in Connection with Visit to Norwich of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. R.C.
1895. Map of Norwich prepared for Church Congress. H.B.
1895. Reproduction of Braun and Hogenburg, prepared for Church Congress. H.B.
- n.d. Manning engraved by J. Neele. R.C.
- n.d. Jarrold's Map of Churches in Norwich and its Suburbs. F.L., W.R., R.C.
- n.d. Jarrold's Norwich by W. L. Ratcliff. W.R.
- n.d. Jarrold's Penny Map. F.L., W.R.
- n.d. Map of Great Hospital. R.C.
- n.d. Map showing Wards, by Jarrold's. R.C. and H.B.
Ditto, showing Present Wards. H.B.
- n.d. Small Map of the Principal Streets in Norwich. R.C.
- n.d. Small Map of the City of Norwich with List of Churches at foot. R.C.
- n.d. Cartwright's Norwich from the Ordnance Survey. Boundaries taken from the Act. R.C.
- n.d. Small Map with a List of Six Hotels at bottom. R.C.
- n.d. Small Map by J. T. Patience, City Surveyor. R.C.
- n.d. City of Norwich by A. W. Morant, City Engineer. R.C.
- n.d. Plan of Spring Gardens. Original drawing. R.C.
- n.d. Map engraved by Becker's patent process in steel (copy *penes* Mr. A. D. Euren).
- n.d. Fullerton & Co.'s Map.
- n.d. Archer's map (white on black ground).

II.

TECHNICAL AND SPECIAL MAPS.

n.d. Norwich, by A. W. Morant, to illustrate Mr. Bazalgette's Report on the Drainage of the City of Norwich. R.C.

Drink Map of Norwich, 1878, 1882, 1892. F.L.

Proposed Lynn and Fakenham Railway through Dean and Chapter Estate and Central Station (issued with *Daily Press*, 28th March, 1882). F.L.

Ditto, Jarrold's Map showing Proposed Railway through the Lower Close. W.R.

A Section of the Proposed Ship Navigation from Norwich to the Sea at Lowestoft, by W. Cubitt, 94 ins. \times 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins. H.B.

Plan of the Norwich River, showing the Proposed New Cut, Lock, and Weir (through the Hospital Meadows), F.L., three copies, R.C.

Soundings along the Centre of the River from the New Mills to the Foundry Bridge, 1834, F.L.

(The last two items were in connection with the City opposition to the Yarmouth Port and Haven Act, in 1834.)

Plan of Norwich for use of the Royal Agricultural Show (n.d.). F.L.

Map of Norwich (n.d.) showing Proposed Division of Wards. F.L.

Official Parliamentary and Municipal Boundaries Map. W.R.

Six Plans showing Norwich Electric Tramways (Supplement to *Norwich Mercury*, 16th June, 1900) and Duplicate. F.L., H.B.

Crown Point Gymkana (Colman's) 1902. F.L.

III.

VARIOUS MAPS ISSUED BY THE MUNICIPALITY.

- Litho. Map (n.d.) by A. W. Morant, apparently to show possibility of sewerage. F.L.
- Another copy, coloured, signed by C. Thwaites, City Engineer and Surveyor, apparently to show site of Agricultural Show ground (). F.L.
1828. Plan of the Proposed Bridge and Road in Heigham, &c., by Pratt and Warren, Surveyors. R.C.
1852. Plan of the Proposed Improvement of the Chapel Field, submitted on behalf of the City of Norwich Water Works Co. to Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Norwich. By Jas. G. Lynde, Junr., Engineer. R.C.
1852. Plan of Part of the Town Close Estate laid out as a Public Park. R.C.
1898. Proposed Improvement, Mount Pleasant. By A. E. Collins, May, 1898. R.C.
- Litho. Map of the North of Norwich, prepared with reference to the Sprowston Boundary Dispute, by A. E. Collins, 31st July, 1897. W.R.
1898. Proposed Improvement, St. Benedict's Street. By A. E. Collins, May, 1898. R.C.
1899. Sewage Farm, Whitlingham. Proposed Extension. By A. E. Collins, 13th June, 1899. R.C.
- 1899 } Proposed Widening of Quebec Road, Plumstead Road,
to } and New Road to Mousehold. By A. E. Collins,
1905.) 14th June, 1899. R.C.
- Another Copy with Sewers coloured and Engine House at Trowse, marked. R.L.

Plans used 1887 on application to Parliament under the Public Health Act, 1875, for

Westwick Improvement	}	With Book of Reference. F.L.
Westlegate "		
Golden Ball Street "		
Foundry Bridge Road "		
Do. and Carrow Bridge "		

Plan of St. Andrew and Blackfriars' Hall, 1888.

J. Brockbank, City Architect. F.L.

Plan of City, February, 1899, by A. E. Collins. F.L.

Plan of King Street Improvement, by A. E. Collins, 1899. F.L.

Plan of Proposed Widening of Duke's Palace Bridge, by A. E. Collins, 1902. F.L.

Proposed Improvement of St. Stephen's, by A. E. Collins, 1902. F.L.

Further Improvements in King Street, by A. E. Collins, 1903. F.L.

Improvement of Waterworks Lane, by A. E. Collins, 1904. F.L.

Shirehall Extension, 1904—proposed Exchange of Lands. F.L.

Proposed Road Improvement Mousehold Heath, 1904, F.L.

Proposed New Fishmarket, 1905. F.L.

IV.

HYPOTHETICAL AND OTHER MAPS.

Norwich Previous to the Dissolution. R. Taylor. F.R., W.R.

Venta Icenorum Northwic, A.D. 500, 1050, 1100, 1300, 1500, 1556. W.R. (from Woodward's "Norwich Castle.")

NORFOLK MAPS.

DATED, AND OF KNOWN DATES.

1574. Cornelius *Hognys* sculpsit anno domini, 1574, Norfolciæ comitatus continens in se oppida mercatoria 26, pagos et Villas 25, unacum singulis Hundredis et fluminibus in eadem vera descriptio. Christr. *Saxton* descripsit. R.C.
- (1579). *Saxton*, augmented by Speed—sold at the "Pope's Head" Alley, by F.S. and G.H. (F.L.) (R.C.)
 This is the map sometimes attributed to 1627.
 Ditto, sold by H. Overton at the "White Horse," in Newgate (F.L).
Saxton n.d. R.C.
1586. Jan Joon *Waghenaer*, of Enkhingsen—Latin ed. A Copy of the Norfolk Map (W.R.) See 1622.
1610. *Speed*, engraved Goddard (in Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain) (1611, Reeve).
1610. *Speed*, from an "Atlas of England and Wales," fo., British Museum, S., 55 (32).
1610. Camden from his "Britannia." R.C.
1617. *Speed*. W.R.
- 1620 (?) Eboracum Lincolnia et Norfolcia, on vellum, British Museum, 1295 (5).
1622. *Waghenaer*—An English Edition (of 1586 Map) in the British Museum, S. 119 (2).
1622. Map in Drrayton's "Polyolbion."
 (1627 date alleged by Mr. Reeve) *Saxton*—augmented by *Speed*, 2 copies. R.C.
1628. *Speed*. (facsimile issued by Kelly's Directory, n.d.) W.R.

1630. R. *Elstracke* (ob. 1630) from *Speed's Theatre*. D.T.
1630. *Nortfolciæ descriptio*, by *Janssonium*, Amsterdam, British Museum, 4315 (1).
- n.d. *Speed's Small Map*, oblong 12mo., P. *Kœirus cœlaoit* (D.T.)
1640. *Hollar* (D.T.)
1659. *Blaeu* "Nuovo Atlas del Regno de Ingleterra en Amsterdam a costa y en casa de Juan Blaeu."
1659. Ditto, a Dutch Edition of ditto, in *Brit. Mus.*, G. 96.
- Circa 1670, n.d. "Norfolk described by *Saxton*, corrected and amended, with many additions of words, chiefly by *Phillip Lea* (R.C.) Da. 1m., Z. 95."
1666. *Speed*. fo., British Museum, 2060, g.
1668. "English Traveller"—a very Small Map.
- 1680 (?) *Norfolciæ vernacule*, *Norfolke*, G. *Valk* and P. *Schenk*, Amsterdam, British Museum, 4315 (7).
- 1695 (?) *Morden* Robert. F.L. R.C.
1713. *Overton* Hy. W.R. (R.C. a large copy). British Museum, 4315 (8).
1713. *Oulton* (?) D.T. ? error for *Overton*.
1729. *Morden* in *Camden's Britannia*. D.T. W.R.
- (1730). *Corbridge* (large) with Views of *Norwich*, *Lynn*, and *Yarmouth*, dedicated to *Lord Hobart* of *Blickling*, who was so created 1728, and was created *Earl of Bucks* 1746.
- Ditto (small) with *Circles Concentric* from *Norwich* and *Lynn* (criticizes *Chases Map*). F.L.
1731. *Goddard and Chase*, British Museum, K., 31, 32, 2 Tab.
- 1739 (?) *Blomefield's Map*. W.R.
1740. *Goddard and Goodman*. W.R. and D.T.
1742. *Badeslade*, published by *Toms* (the West is placed at the top of the map). W.R.
1744. *Cowley*. W.R.
1745. *Goddard and Chase*. D.T.

- 1747—8. *Kitchin*. W.R.
1748. "A Correct Map of Norfolk." W.R.
- 1749 (?) *Anonymous*. W.R.
1749. *Bowen*. W.R., F.L., D.T., R.C. British Museum, 4315 (9), and K., 31, 32.
Ditto, another Edition. F.L.
Bowen's Map also appears in the "Atlas Anglicanus."
- n.d. Ditto, with Cathedral in left bottom (R.C.), published for Sayer, Bennett, Bowles, and Carrington Bowles.
- n.d. Ditto, large Map printed for Emanuel Bowles. R.C.
Another (framed) with three views—Norwich, Lynn, and Yarmouth. Printed for R. Sayer. R.C.
1752. *Bissham*. Birdseye View. D.T.
1753. *Bowen*. Small Map. W.R. (From "Universal Magazine.")
1757. "A New and Accurate Map of the County of Norfolk," (published for Dixon, Berry, Goodman, and Wardlow, Norwich). F.L.
1759. *Bowen*. From the General Magazine of Arts and Sciences, for W. Owen, 1759. W.R., R.C.
1760. *Bowen*, with View of Norwich Cathedral, British Museum, 4215 (2).
Ditto. another Copy of Map only. R.C.
1769. *Anonymous*. With pp. 318—337 of "England Displayed," by P. Russell. R.C.
1776. *Corbridge*. An Actual Survey. D.T.
1777. *Bowen*. Small Map. D.T., F.L.
Ditto, large. W.R.
- 1777 (?) "A Modern Map of Norfolk," published for Sarey and Carrington Bowles. W.R.
1781. *Bowles*. New Medium Map. W.R. See 1785.
1781. *Booth (m)* Norwich. S. Pyle sculpsit. R.C.
1781. *Armstrong*. In History of Norfolk. D.T.

1785. *Bowles*. New Medium Map. W.R. See 1781.
1787. *Cary*. W.R.
1789. *Heywood*. D.T.
1789. *Harrison* ♀.
1789. *Cary*. W.R.
1789. *Lodge*. From Political Magazine. W.R.
1789. *Moray*. D.T.
1795. *Anonymous*. Outline Map with pp. 207—218 of some printed book. R.C.
1796. *Ninham* ♀. Skeleton Map of Hundreds from Kent's Agricultural Survey.
1797. *Donald and Milne*, published by *Faden*. Large Map in six sheets. W.R., D.T., R.C., and F.L.? British Museum, 4315 (10), and K., 31, 32, 5, Tab., End.
1798. *Blome*. W.R.
1801. *Smith*. W.R.
1803. *Milne D. T.*, by *Faden*, Reduced from Large Map of 1797. R.C. British Museum, 4315 (3), and K., 31 (24).
1804. *Smith*. Folio. D.T. and R.C. See 1808.
1805. *Cary*. Published Stockdale. W.R. See 1807 and 1809.
1807. *Cary*. New Map. W.R.
1808. *Neale*. From "Norfolk Tour." D.T.
1808. *Smith*. 2nd Ed. F.L. See 1804.
1808. *Cole*. Engraved by Roper, and published by Vernor,—from "Beauties of England and Wales." W.R. See 1812.
1809. *Cary*. W.R. See 1805-7.
1809. *Britton and Brayley*, in their "Topographical and Historical Description."
1811. *Laurie and Whittle* by Ebden. R.C.
1812. *Neale*. From "Beauties of England and Wales." D.T. See 1808.

1812. *Oddy*. W.R.
 1816. *Darton*. W.R.
 1816. *Dix*. With View of Cromer Church. D.T. (?)
 also F.L.
 1818. *Longman & Co.* W.R.
 1818. *Hall*. From "Excursions in Norfolk." D.T.
 1818. *Langley*. R.C.
 1819. — From "Encyclopædia Londinensis." W.R.
 1820 *Phelp*. W.R.
 1821. *Whittaker*, in Pinnock's "County Histories."
 1822. *Matchett*. From "Remembrancer." D.T. and W.R.
 R.C.
 1826. *Bryant (A)*. W.R. British Museum, S., 26 (13).
 (1 inch to mile in sheets).
 1830. *Pigot*. From Directory. W.R. Ditto, n.d. R.C.
 1832. *Moule*. D.T. } Both with Views of Holkham
 1832. *Anonymous*. W.R. } and probably identical.
 R.C. with date.
 1834. *Edwards* (names white on black ground). W.R.
 1834. *Greenwood*. W.R. and R.C.
 1835. *Walker*. D.T. British Museum, 4315 (11).
 183 . *Hall*. W.R.
 1836. *White*. D.T.
 1836. *Jonn*. Routes from Norwich. D.T.
 1837. Ordnance Maps.
 1840. *Wyld*, New Edition of Faden's Reduced Map of 1803,
 British Museum, 4315 (12).
 1840. *Dugdale*. From "England and Wales Delineated."
 W.R.
 1844. Ordnance Maps.
 1852 ? *Collins*, British Museum, 4315 (5).
 1854. "White's Directory" Map. R.C.
 186 . *Cassell*, Petter, & Galpin. W.R.
 1860 (?) *Emslie*, in Reynolds' "Travelling Atlas."

- 1862 (?) *Weller* (2), British Museum, 4315 (15).
 (1863). "*Harrod's Directory*" Map (R.C.)
 1864 (?) *Smith & Son*, British Museum.
 1876. "*Pictorial World*" Map (R.C.)
 1879. Map to illustrate *Lubbock's* "Fauna of Norfolk."
 1892. "*Kelley's Directory*," 4315 (16).
 1904. *Dutt*, in his "Popular Guide."

UNDATED.

- Bacon*, in his "New County Guide."
Blome Richard (1728—46 ?). F.L.
 Ditto, (dedicated to the Right Hon. Henry, Earl of Norwich, Baron of Castle Rising, heir apparent to the Duke of Norfolk.) R.C.
Bowles (1781—5?). Reduced from *Corbridge with Views of Lynn*. D.T.
Chapman & Halls Folding Map (after Reform Act). F.L.
Corbridge (1730 ?). W.R.
Corbridge's Concentric Map. W.R. R.C.
Cox. From "Magna Britannia." F.L.
 "*Craven's Directory*" Map. R.C.
Crutchley, County Map. W.R.
Dix (1816?). With View of Cromer. F.L.
Fullarton, Glasgow, n.d. R.C.
Janson, Amsterdam. W.R. R.C. (2 copies varying).
Jarrold's. W.R.
Kitchen. W.R., R.C.
Lewis, W. (East to top of Map). R.C.
 "*London*" Magazine. F.L.
Moll. W.R., F.L., R.C. British Museum, K., 31, 20.
 Ditto, coloured. W.R.

"*Norfolcia, Norfolk.*" A Large Map with 7 shields of arms on the top and the Royal arms on the left, and gu. 3 leopards passant on the right. R.C. British Museum, K., 31, 19.

Philip & Son. W.R., R.C.

Smith & Son. W.R., R.C.

Walpole. From "New and Complete British Traveller." F.L., R.C.

UNDATED AND ANONYMOUS.

Old Map from some book. W.R.

Ditto. W.R.

Recent. W.R.

Two Small Maps undated and unindexed. R.C.

Two Small Maps from Spelman. R.C.

Coloured Outline Map with 2 pp. of letterpress. R.C.

MS. Map, between Norwich and Dereham, (for a Proposed Navigation or Railway?). F.L.

NORFOLK MAPS, TECHNICAL AND SPECIAL.

Diocesan map. Goose, 1902. F.L.

Religious Foundations in Norfolk, 1821. R. Taylor issued with his "Monasticon." H.B.

Electoral.

Map of Norfolk . . . containing the Distinct Divisions, and Other Local Arrangements, effected by the Reform Bill, n.d. R.C.

Electoral Map (2 divisions). H. G. Collen, London. n.d. R.C.

Electoral Map. Proposed Division of County. F.L., W.R. (1832?)

- C. Smith's New Map, Divided into Hundreds, and the Parliamentary Divisions, British Museum, 4315 (4).
 Map showing New Divisions of the County. W.R.
 Jarrold's Parliamentary Map of Norfolk. F.L.
 Ditto, smaller, presented with the "Chronicle," 12 Sept., 1885. F.L. and W.R.
 Map of the New Divisions of the County, 1885. W.R.
 Map showing Northern, Western, and Southern Division (n.d. Collins' "County Geographer"), by Rev. D. Morris. R.C.

Geological.

- Smith's Geological Map, by J. Cary, 1819. D.T.
 British Museum, 4320 (1).
 A Map of the Soil of Norfolk (coloured) n.d. R.C.
 Woodward's Geological Map, 1833. D.T.
 Geological Map of Norfolk, by S. Woodward, with additions by C. B. Rose, the section by Mr. Gunn, n.d. F.L. and W.R.
 Section of Norfolk from Hunstanton Cliff to Yarmouth, in F. W. Harmer's "Testimony of the Roads."
 Sketch Map of Parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, F. Dangerfield, litho. trans. quart. "Journal Geographical Society," xxv., plate xx.

Parochial Unions with Reference to the Hundreds. R.C.

- Railway and Station Map, Cruchley, British Museum, 4315 (17) (18).
 Railways of Norfolk, in W. A. Dutt's "Norfolk," 1902.

Rivers and Broads.

- Regiones inundatæ* in Norfolk, Suffolk, &c., n.d.
 From Spelman, n.d. W.R. (Under Norfolk in Bleau's work.)
 Map of Marshland by Sir W. Dugdale. The Original MS. W.R. A Print. R.C.

- Hooper's Plan for a Navigable Canal from Norwich and Lynn, &c., coloured, 1785. W.R.
- Norfolk Broads. Northern Sheet published by the Oxford Geographical Institute. F.L.
- Ditto, Southern Sheet. F.L.
- Maps of the Yare, Bure, Thurne, and Ant. From Rye's "Month on the Broads." W.R.
- Chart of Norfolk Rivers and Broads, in Brittain's "Notes on the Broads and Rivers," 1887.
- MS. Map of the Rivers Concerned in the Haven and Pier Act, by J. Ives.—W.R.
- Coloured Map for Summer Holidays on the Norfolk Broads. Issued by G.E.R., 1894.
- Map by G. Christ. Davies in his "Tourists' Guide to the Rivers and Broads of Norfolk and Suffolk," 21st ed. (n.d.)
- Map of Norfolk and Suffolk in "The Way About" series, No. 5. Iliffe & Son (n.d.)
- The Yare and its Broads, and the Bure and its Broads, Lithos. in Jarrold's "Illustrated Guide to Fishing in Norfolk Waters," by R. Moll—3rd edition, 1889.

Roman.

- Woodward's "Roman Norfolk." From *Archæologia*, 1821. D.T.
- Ditto, n.d. W.R.
- The Padders (Peddars) Way and its Attendant Road, by C. A. Mitchell, Lynn, 1895, from "Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society."

Sanitary

1888. District Map. F.L.
1879. Map accompanying County Road Surveyor's Report (3rd) under Highways and Locomotion Amendment Act, 1878, showing main roads. R.C.

Schools.

Map showing Public Secondary Schools, in Report on Supply of Secondary Education in Norfolk.

**Surveys—River and others.*

MS. Plan of the River Waveney, from St. Olaves' Bridge to Somerleyton. F.L.

Ditto, of Lake Lothing. F.L.

Ditto, of Oulton Broad. F.L.

Ditto, of the New Cut. F.L.

Ditto, Wheatacre and Oulton Dyke. F.L.

Plans and Sections of the Navigation for Sea-borne Vessels from the Port of Great Yarmouth to the City of Norwich, British Museum, 1846, 4to., S., 137 (30).

Survey of Part of the Coast from Hasborough to Blakeney, by Com. W. Hewitt, R.N., 1828, British Museum, Sec. 1 (107).

LYNN.

The Ground Plot of King's Lynn, H. Bell del excu Ano 1561. R.C., E.M.B.

[This is denounced by H. Harrod as a forgery for reasons given on p. 131 of his "Lynn Records," 1874.] Mr. E. M. Beloe possesses the only known copy from the original plate, and thinks that the date of 1561 was an error occurring on a Reprint only, and that the Map was compiled after 1683.

1575. Plan of the East Pastures of King's Lynn, Harrod's "Lynn Records," facing p. 64.

* Also see under Rivers and Broads, Lynn, Norwich, and Yarmouth.

1581. King's Lynn in 31 Elizabeth—Coloured Plate in Harrod's "Lynn Records," to face p. 112. Copied from Original in the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer.
1662. Sir W. Dugdale's Plan—see Blomefield, IX. p. 166. (The original is in the library at Hillington Hall—E.M.B.)
1725. Rastrick's *Ichnographia Burgi perantiqui Lennœ Regis*. R.C. W.R.
1793. Plan on Mylne's Map of Norfolk.
- c. 1824. Plan of Lynn (20 × 16). E.M.B.
- 1848 (?). Utting's Plan (45 × 27). E.M.B.
1830. Woods' Plan (27 × 19). E.M.B.
1849. Sanitary Map of Lynn.
1902. Plan of Lynn, in Beloe's "Our Boroughs and our Churches."
- n.d. Plan of Lynn in Norfolk n.n. (R.C.)
- n.d. West Prospect of Lynn by H. Bell. Published by J. Bowles, London. W.R. (A late reprint.)
- n.d. Buck's East Prospect of Lynn. W.R. (The Original Pencil Sketch in possession of Mr. E. M. Beloe.)

THE FENS AND DRAINAGE NEAR.

1604. Hayward's Plan and Description of the Fens (copied and issued by T. Badeslade, 1724). W.R.
1662. Sir W. Dugdale's Original Map of Marshland (MS.). W.R. Reproduced by W. Rye in his "Monumental Inscriptions in Marshland Churches."
- A Plan of the Harbour of Lynn, extracted from a large Plan drawn by Mr. Bell, engraved by T. Jeffreys, geographer to the king. E.M.B.

1693. A Chart of the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty of King's Lynn from Stapleware up the River to Long Sand, made when the boundaries were gone into in the Mayoralty of Henry Bell, 1693, surveyed by C. Merit. (Valuable, only this one copy I know of— E.M.B.)
1694. A Map of Lynn Haven and of the River Ouse to Germans by Wm. Hayward, A.D. 1694. W.R.
- n.d. A Pen and Ink Map by S. Parker. "A Mapp of the Fenn Rivers and of the New Cutts." W.R. (Afterwards issued in Col. J. Armstrong's History, 1725.)
1723. A Map of the River of Great Ouse, surveyed by T. Badeslade. (Issued with Armstrong's History, 1725.) W.R.
1723. A Map of the Great Level of ye Fenns by T. Badeslade, ditto. W.R.
1723. A Plan and Description of the Fenns by T. Badeslade, ditto. W.R.
1724. A Map of Lynn Haven and of the River Ouse to Germans, made by T. Badeslade, A.D. 1724. W.R. These two are from Col. J. Armstrong's History, 1725.
- n.d. A Sketch of the River Ouse from Erith to Lynn. W.R.
1779. A Map of the Great Level of the Fens, drawn by G. Kinderly, corrected by M.F.A. Published by M. Booth, Norwich. W.R.
- n.d. Plan of the Town of Lynn, showing the Entrance of the Proposed Cut to the East Brink. W.R.
- n.d. Fig. 1, Plan of the Harbour of Lynn. W.R.
1868. Plan showing Proposed Parliamentary Boundary. W.R.
- n.d. Ditto, R. K. Dawson, Lieut. R.E. W.R.
1785. Plan for Navigable Canal from London to March and Lynn, by S. Hooper, 1785. E.M.B.

1803. A Plan of Marshland Smeeth and Fen, showing each Proprietor's Allotment, also Broad Short and Well Moor Fens, drawn from an actual survey by Thomas West, 1803. Thomas West.
1821. A Sketch or Map of the Bedford Level with the Proposed New Cut from Eau Brink to Lynn, no name or date, but before 1821. E.M.B.
1827. MS. Complete Map of Marshland, by J. Utting, MS. being an appendix to the Map or Plan of the Survey and Levels taken in the country of Marshland by order of His Majesty's Commissioners of Sewers for the County of Norfolk, 8 ft. 3 in. × 4 ft. 3 in. E.M.B.
1827. 1827 Plan of the Levels taken in Marshland Smeeth and Fen in the County of Norfolk, by J. Utting.
1833. Original MS. Plan of Part of the Bedford Level and Lands Adjacent, subject to the Eau Brink Tax, by J. G. Denny, surveyor, Bury St. Edmund's, 1833.
This was made on the completion of the Eau Brink and coloured to show the extent to which they were liable for proportionate taxes in accordance with the benefit sustained, a very grand map in five divisions folded in base. E.M.B.
- n.d. Engraved map of the Fens, by Samuel Wells, registrar of the Bedford Level, coloured. E.M.B.

YARMOUTH.

- n.d. The Yarmouth Hutch Map by J. Ives. R.C.
1. Dedicated to the Rev. Edward Thomas and Edward Jacob. R.C.
 2. Another, G.W.M. del. R.C.
 3. „ J. Basire, lith., R.C. W.R.

4. Another by John Woodward (J. Basire lith.),
R.C. W.R.
5. „ *Graphic*. W.R.
- n.d. Reproduction (*Graphic*), of Birdseye View of Yarmouth,
by John Swain. W.R.
- Temp. Elizabeth. Birdseye View of the Town and Harbour,
reproduced in Palmer's edition of Manship's
"Yarmouth," vol i., p. 287.
- n.d. Swinden's Survey on Parchment, now in Yarmouth
Town Hall.
- (1757). Plan d' Yarmouth à la Coste Orientale d' Angleterre.
W.R.
- n.d. The Plan of Yarmouth. W.R. and F.L.
1779. Armstrong's Map of Yarmouth (surveyed by the late
Mr. Henry Swinden). R.C.
1803. Downe's Plan of Great Yarmouth. W.R.
1814. A Plan of the Tables (at a feast). R.C.
1819. Ground Plan of Great Yarmouth. (T. Lambert), F.L.
W.R.
Reduction of ditto. W.R.
1829. Plan of the Turnpike Road from Acle to Yarmouth, and
of the Intended Road by Stokesby Ferry. Pratt and
Warren, Surveyors, Norwich. R.C.
- n.d. Plan of Building Land on the North Beach of Gt.
Yarmouth. R.C.
- n.d. Plan of a Building Estate (Royal Crescent, &c.). R.C.
1835. Plan annexed to the Municipal Act of 1835 Report.
1840. Plan for Laying Out the Denes. T. Marsh Nelson. R.C.
1842. Manning's Plan of Yarmouth, Gorleston and South
Town.
1845. Plan for Improving the Harbour of Gt. Yarmouth.
R.C.
1850. Plan of Borough, attached to Mr. Lees' Report on
Sanitary State of the Town.

1852. Auction Plan of Caistor Hall Estate. W. Butcher.
R.C.
1855. Plan of Gt. Yarmouth compiled by J. Laing, Town
Surveyor.
- (1855?) Plan of Gt. Yarmouth, L. A. Meell, Quay, by Laing.
n.d. Ditto, W. Cobb & Co., Quay.
n.d. Ditto (Godfrey).
n.d. Ditto, Jarrold.
n.d. Ground Plan of Yarmouth. R.C.
Yarmouth Political Map Boundaries, litho., Day. R.C.
W.C.
Yarmouth Map of, and Sketch showing Construction
of Old Walls, by A. W. Morant. R.C.
Yarmouth Plan of, by G. Nall. R.C.
1860. Yarmouth, ditto, in pen and ink, by A. W. Morant. R.C.
Another ditto. R.C.
1862. Plan of Volunteer Review on 19th June. R.C.
1868. Visitors' Road Map for Cromer and Southwold. W.R.
1828. MS. Plan of Proposed New Road from Yarmouth to
Acle by Izaac Lenny. R.C.
- n.d. Godfrey's Map of the Environs of Yarmouth.
- n.d. A Ground Plan of the Ancient Part of the Borough of
Great Yarmouth, showing the Sites of its Gates,
Towers, Walls, Monastic Buildings, &c., by F.
Danby Palmer. F.L.
- n.d. Map of Great Yarmouth showing the Portion of the
Licensed Houses. F.L.
Book of Maps relating to the Yarmouth and Norwich
Railway, 1835. F.L.
- n.d. Cruchley's Map of Environs of Yarmouth. W.R.
- n.d. Jarrold's Panoramic Map.
- n.d. Buck's South-west Prospect of Yarmouth. W.R.
- n.d. Corbridge's West Prospect of Yarmouth. F.L.
- n.d. Ditto Photographic Facsimile. W.R.

NAVIGATION HARBOUR ROADS, &c.

1785. Plan of Harbour Entrance, in Bream's Essay for its Improvement.
- n.d. Capt. Greenville Collins, Yarmouth and the Sands about it. W.R.
1825. Reduced Plan of the Entrance to the Harbour referred to and in Mr. Walker's Report to the Commissioners.
1846. Norwich Navigation from Yarmouth to Norwich, as Proposed by Cockburn Curtis, F.R.C.S. R.C.
1825. Plan of Proposed Navigation from Foundry Bridge to Lowestoft, and by William Cubitt and Richard Taylor. R.C.
1826. Plan of Breydon and a Report for Making it Navigable, also by Walker. (Dr. Bateley.)
1827. Plan for Improving the Navigation between Norwich and the Sea at Yarmouth, by Chapman. (Dr. Bateley.)
1832. Plan of Mutford Bridge, F.L., and Elevation of Bridge, F.L.
1846. Part of Norfolk showing the Norfolk Navigations and Proposed Railways. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to mile. R.C.
1865. The Yarmouth and Corton Roads.
The New Corton Channel and Light Vessel. Published, James Imray & Son. R.C.
1870. Chart of the Rivers, Broads, and Sea Coast in the District of the Norfolk and Suffolk Yacht Club. W.R., H.B.
- n.d. Jarrold's Map of the Rivers and Broads.
1871. Regatta Map of Yarmouth, 5th September, 1871.
- n.d. Small Map of Yarmouth Road. R.C.
- n.d. Six-inch Ordnance Map, showing Coast. W.R.
Yarmouth and Lowestoft Roads, official chart, 1860. R.C.

- England, East Coast Sheet, Orford Ness and Cromer, official chart, 1874. R.C.
- Invasion 1803. A Representation of the Coast of England from Brighton to *Yarmouth*, which is . . . most liable to invasion, &c., by J. Luffman. R.C.
- A Draught of the New Channel of *Winterton Ness*. Sold by John Thornton, &c. R.C.
- A Chart of Part of the North Sea from *South Foreland to Burnham Flatts*. R.C. Sold by Mount & Page.
- A Chart for the *Newcastle Trade*. Sold by Mount & Page. R.C.
1871. Lowestoft and Yarmouth Roads. Cockle Gat. R.C.
- Charts of East Coast from Orford Ness to Cromer, by Washington and others, 1883 (?). W.R.
- Ditto, Yarmouth and Lowestoft Roads, n.d. W.R.
- MS. Plan of the Eastern Coast from Harwich to the Humber. F.L.

VARIOUS PLACES IN NORFOLK.

1747. *Cromer*, An Accurate Survey, by Samuel Bellard. W.R.
1806. *Cromer*, Vicinity of, by F. Pank, in "Cromer considered as a Watering Place."
- n.d. *Narford*. A Plan of the Gardens and Plantations, &c., the seat of the Hon. Sir Andrew Fountain. R.C. From some book, A. Campbell del., H. Hulsburgh, sculp.
1806. *Overstrand and Northrepps*. Plan of an Estate in a Portion of the Property of Edmund Betts, Esq., in the occupation of Mr. Joseph Howes. Surveyed by F. Pank, Cromer. R.C.

1774. *Oxburgh*. The Ground Floor of, as it was in 1774. R.C.
Thetford, a Plan of the Ancient Town of, by G. B. Burrell, A.D. 1807. R.C.
1780. *Wells*. A Plan of Wells Harbour and the Adjoining Saltmarshes, and the Several Embankments of Wells and Warham, 1783. R.C. I have the Original Drawing of this. W.R.
1782. A Plan of the Harbour and Haven of Wells. R.C.

ROAD MAPS.

- The Road Map from London to Yarmouth (n.d.) R.C.
 The Road from King's Lynn to Norwich (n.d.) R.C.
 The Roads from London to Wells (n.d.) R.C.
 Ditto, to St. Edmund's (n.d.) R.C.
 The Road from London to King's Lynn by G. Ogilby (n.d.) R.C.
 Ditto, from Ipswich to Norwich (large and earlier) by G. Ogilby (n.d.) R.C.
 Ditto, from London to Norwich by G. Ogilby (n.d.) R.C.

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THE WODEHOUSES OF KIMBERLEY AND WAXHAM.

BY
WALTER RYE.

PART. I.—WODEHOUSE OF KIMBERLEY.

I HAVE dealt with the early alleged pedigree of this Kimberley family, and disposed of its ridiculous myths of the alleged matches with Botefort, Lacy, Say, Aspoll, Clervaux, Pecche, Felton, Luttrell and Northwood so fully elsewhere* years ago, that, as no one has even attempted to criticise or controvert my statements, there is no reason to waste space by going over the same ground once more.

Since I wrote that article, however, I have come across material which I think will convince all that the two families of Kimberley and Waxham, though bearing wholly different arms, had common ancestors, and that such ancestors were—like the Berneys—London merchants probably originally derived from Yorkshire, though possibly from Peckham near London.

* "Genealogist," iii. p., 129.

WODEHOUSE OF LONDON.

1. *William Power "called Wodehouse" Sheriff of London in 1374,** had been married four times, his former wives being Johanna, Anseline, and Alice, when he made his will in 1388, so was probably born about 1325. He has been transmogrified by the forger of the rhyming pedigree of the Wodehouses printed in Blomefield's Norfolk to William *de* Wodehouse, and said to have been sheriff of London in 1329, an imaginary date, for the sheriffs for that year were different people altogether.

He sold land in London in 1375 (Riley 385) and was repaid money lent to the king in 1377 (Issue Roll p. 176). His house in London is mentioned on the Patent Roll in 1378 (see Pat. Cal. p. 243).

* There had been men of the name of Wodehouse in London earlier than this.

In 1338 Robert de Wodehouse, clerk, enfeoffed John Brown of land once of John de la Chambre and another, executors of Peter de Blakeney. Ancient Charters, A 11539.

Sir Robert de Wodehouse, a priest, was legatee under the will of Gilbert de Bromle circa 1315 (Hustings Wills, p. 255).

John atte Wodehouse of London was a Juror in 1327 (Memorials of London Life, p. 164).

Other London Wodehouses were Alice Wodehouse prioress, of St. Helens, Bishopgate, in 1458 (see Bond to her in the Calendar of MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, p. 57).

William Wodehouse, citizen and barber of London, will proved (with seal id., p. 48).

George Wodehouse of St. Matthew, Friday Street, and Twyford, Berks, will, 1519, and Hugh Woodhouse of St. Sepulchre, 1518.

They may have taken their surname from a place called Woodhouse, which seems to have once been at Dulwich (History of Camberwell, p. 417), with which parish they seem to have had something to do, or from another place called Wodhawe in London (Riley, p. 355), or they may have been of the Nottingham family, which, in turn, may have been a branch of the Yorkshire family (see post for John Wodehouse, of Nottingham, and his cousin John Creswick, of Sheffield, Yorks).

William Wodehouse, Jr., of Derby, had letters of protection, 1428—30, Gascon rolls.

An undated reference in Stow., p. 413, says that *John Wodehouse, Esq.*, was benefactor to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, and was buried there.

In 1464 (C. 1078, 3rd February, 3 Ed. IV.) *Agnes Gedge*, widow, sister of *John Wodehouse*, kinsman of William Creswick, demised to Robert Bale and Thomas Hunt, brewhouse in Peckham, in Camberwell.

In 1471, John Wodehouse, of Calais, Esq., "Late Soldier," later merchant of Calais, late of London, gentleman, had a pardon (Pat. p. 291). Arms of Woodhouse, of Calais, viz., az. a fess quarterly sa. and arg., 3 ragged staffs bendways or. are recorded by Burke.

He is no doubt identical with the "William Power called Wodehouse," skinner whose will, dated 1388, is printed in vol. II, p. 392 of the Hustings Wills, who mentions his son Thomas and his daughters, Agnes, wife of John Shirbourne, vintner, Emma, wife of Thomas Provendre, and Margaret, his wife *Agnes*, and his brother John.

There is little doubt that he and his wife were the *William Wodehouse and Agnes*, his wife, to whom Robert Cressewyk, of St. Leonard Vedast, by his will dated 1372 (Hustings Wills, 2, p. 147) had left a legacy. Later on a William Cressewyk, of London, by his will, dated 1405 (*id.*, p. 373) whose remainderman was a John Cressewyk, of Sheffield, York, gave his manor of Cold Abbey, and his house called the Lodge in Peckham in the parish of Camberwell in Surrey in remainder to his "kinsman and clerk" John Wodehouse.

2. His son, *Thomas Wodehouse* (mentioned in his will d. 1388) no doubt is the Thomas Wodehouse, of London, who by a charter (now in the Ancient Deeds in the P.R.O., C. 1717) dated 1, Henry IV. (1400), granted to William Creswyk, of London, John Wakefield, and John Bygood, clerk, of London, a yearly rent of 20/- arising out of a brewhouse in the hamlet of Peckham in the parish of Camberwell.

No doubt this William Creswyk is the man of the same name who left the property in Peckham to his kinsman and clerk, John Wodehouse, as in footnote.

This *Thomas Wodehouse* and his son died without issue before 1403, leaving his widow, *Joan*, surviving him as we learn from Ancient Deeds C. 1719 and 1716, by the first of which deeds dated 1st September, 1402 (his uncle and heir) *John Wodehouse* of the county of Nottingham granted the same property to William Creswyk, John North, William Coupre, clerk, John Wodehouse, the younger, and John Beygood, clerk (*see* Bygood in 1400 deed ante), no doubt as trustees.

Joan, the widow of Thomas, afterwards married Richard Noke, and by Addl. Ch. C., 1716, on 22nd December, 1403, they released a yearly rent of 10/- reserved to her out of the same Peckham brewhouse.

3. John Woodhouse, the younger, mentioned in the 1402 deed, may have been the *John Woodhouse*, of Fulham, and Agnes, his wife, mentioned in a Middlesex Fine 1, Richard II. (1377), and may be the supposed John Woodhouse, the father of the John Woodhouse, the king's squire, the alleged hero of Agincourt, of whom we first catch sight in 1402.

In 1413 the will of John Wodehouse, probably the same man, of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, Strode, next Highbury, Middlesex, and Peckham, Surrey, was proved (Register, March 27th).*

In 1416 (Patent roll calendar, p. 326,) John Wodehouse (who I suggest was the King's Squire, the alleged hero of Agincourt) had, with John Dalton, clerk, a grant of land in Berkhamstead and Hatfield from Catherine, widow of John Chambre, late citizen and fishmonger of London—wife of Robert Wydin.

1426 (February 4th), John Wodehouse and Jno. Dalton, clk., were restored to possession of the manor of Byford† and lands in Berkhamstead, &c., which they had had by grant of Catherine wife of Robert Wydyton and widow of John Chambre (in 1416 see ante).

It would seem that Richard II. granted land in Berkhamstead to Nichs. de la Chambre for good service (Pat. Roll 1389 Calr. p. 164).‡

* This John Wodehouse (again described as kinsman of William Creswyk) had a sister Agnes Gedge, of London, who released a brewhouse in Peckham to Robert Bale by Charter 3, Ed. IV. (1402), Ancient Deeds C. 1078.

† This manor was part of the Duchy of Lancaster (Clutterbuck's "Herts." iii., p. 42).

‡ The probability is that he was a near relation of the squire—The Chambres were certainly Londoners from, at all events, 1314, when Richard de la Chambre was living, and there is much about them in the Hustings Wills and the Ancient Deeds, P.R.O.

Now, reminding my readers that there was a John Wodehouse, of London, whose will was proved 1413, and who was followed by another John Wodehous, who was alive 1416—1426, I suggest that it is probable these two Johns* were identical with John, the alleged father of the king's squire and the squire himself.

It is possible that John Wodehouse the king's squire, was attracted to our county by the friendship of those "first-rate fighting men"—Thomas de Erpingham, 1357-1428, John Fastolf, 1378-1459; Sir Terry Robsart and his son, Sir Lewis Robsart, died 1430; but this is a matter for future investigation.†

All we really know of him, however, is that on 20th August, 1402 (3 Henry IV.) Henry, Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V.) granted to John Wodehouse, his esquire, the office of controller (constable?) of Rising Castle and keeper of the chase and warren there (Pat. Roll), and soon after the office of forester and steward of Castle Rising and various other benefits. (This was confirmed by *inspeximus*, dated 20th December, 1422, in which he is called the king's squire and forester of Rising, and by *inspeximus*, dated 27th January, 1423, in which, however, he is called constable instead of controller).

* They must not be confounded with an ecclesiastic of the same name, viz., John de Wodechous, chamberlain of N. Wales and Chester, prebendary of Lichfield, and dean of the Collegiate Church, as to whom much will be found on the Patent Rolls from 1386 to 1403, and whose career overlaps theirs.

† Before going into the personal history of John Wodehouse, "The King's esquire," it may be pointed out that the surname occurs more than once among the fighting men and diplomatists of the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI.

For example from Carte's Gascon Rolls we learn that in 9 Henry V. (1421-2) *William Wodehouse, Jr.* of the County of Derby, had letters of protection, in 8 Henry VI., (1429-30) *Henry Woodhouse, Esq.*, had the same in 17 Henry VI. (1438-9). *William Wodehouse* had a case with Bartholomew Wode "de spoliationis" before the Mayor of Calais in 1440—and *John Wodehouse, Esq.*, in 27 Henry VI. (1448) was ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy, and who was probably the John Wodehouse of Calais, Esq., late soldier of the town *alias* merchant of the staple of Calais *alias* burgess of do. *alias* late of London, gentleman, who in 1471 had a pardon (Pat. p. 291).

On the 19th February, 1403 (4 Henry IV.) he had a grant of £10 for life out of the issue of the lordship of Rising, in consideration that his wages as constable were so small.

On the 30th November, 1403 (4 Henry IV.) his name occurs in a deed between the king and others, including John Leventhorp, being a surrender of the lands of Henry de Lacy, See as to Leventhorp, post 1424.

On 29th February, 1404 (5 Henry IV.) the king confirmed letters by which John Wodehouse, his squire and *forester* of Rising, appointed Adam Garstang his deputy at 3d. a day.

His "son" John is, according to the pedigree, said to have been Gentleman of the Privy Chamber* to Henry IV., but I should think the two were the same, for no one gives a date to the death of the alleged father. The deed by which his father is said to have settled "Wodehouse Tower," etc., on his son John and the latter's wife Alice Furneaux is non-existent and probably, like the "tower" itself, never existed, see *post*.

In 1409-10 he was M.P. for Norfolk in the Parliaments of 6th January, 5th November, 1414, 17th February, 1414-5, and 17th March, 1420-1. He is said to have been esquire to the body of Henry V. (1413-1422) "with Pointer and Bardolph" (rhyming pedigree), see *post*.

In 1410, 1419, and 1424, he presented to the vicarage of Gayton (Blom. Norf. VIII., p. 436).

In 1413 (1 Henry V.) he had a licence from the Abbot of St. Stephen, of Caen, to acquire the Priory Manor of Paunfield, in Essex, and the Priory Manor of Welle, in Norfolk, see Pat. Roll, 2nd Henry VI., part 2, m. 10 and 11.

On the 1st January, 2 Henry V. (1414), he had a commission to be Steward for the Duchy of Lancaster for the Counties

* The account of the Chantry in the Carnary Chapel at Norwich, which he founded, calls him "Gentleman of the Bedchamber" of Henry V., but gives no reference.

of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, and in the Duchy of Lancaster Minister's Account Bundle 290, n. 4768, p. 2-3, Henry V. (1414-5), he is again mentioned as Steward.

On the 6th May, 1415, he and the Rev. John Dalton had, as we have seen before, had a grant (for life?) of the Manor of Beyford, in Herts—(part of the Duchy of Lancaster's possessions, see Clutterbuck's Herts. Pat. Roll, m. 21).

On the 25th June, 3 Henry V. (1415), he had a grant of Welle Priory and Geyton Rectory (which is set out in Dug. Mon. vi., p. 1011, and it seems from the Fine Rolls in "Gleanings in Gayton," p. 221) probably at the same time, the Priory in Paunfield, in Essex, &c. (Pat. Roll 3 Henry V., pt. 1, m. 2).

The grant of the alien Priory of Welle was according to Dugdale made to him in conjunction with John Ikelington.

On the 6th July, 1415, he had a grant of the office of Chamberlain of the Exchequer, previously held by John Ikelynton, clerk. (There is no doubt this refers to John Wodehouse, "of Agincourt," as it is referred to with the Rising grant in the *inspeximus* he had, 27th January, 1423).

In 1416 (29th May) he was a Commissioner of Array for Norfolk. (Pat. Roll 3 Henry V., pt. 2 m. 37 d.).

In 1416 (3 Henry VI.) money was paid to him and Sir Lewis Robessart and others as executors of the late king.

In 1418 he, the Bishop of Norwich, and Sir Thomas Erpingham, were sent by the Lords of the Council to persuade the Norfolk gentry to go into France to the King, but they found that the stoutest were already there, and that the others excused themselves on the plea of infirmity. (Blomefield ii., p. 547, quoting Godwin's History of Henry V., p. 214-5, and Cottonian MS., Caligula D 5).

In 1419 he signed a letter at Norwich with Sir Thomas Erpingham to the Bishop of Norwich to the Privy Council (2 p. 247).

In 1421 he is said to have founded a chantry at Norwich (under the present Grammar School), giving his rectory at Guyton, late of Wells, for that purpose. It is strange to note that when he died in 1430, he is said by his *inquisitio post mortem*, to have still held this rectory at his death.

In 1422 Adam Garstange had an *inspeximus* confirming (*i.a.*), the letters patent of John Wodehouse, dated 28th February, 5 Henry VI., appointing him his deputy.

On the 27th January, 1423, he had an *inspeximus* of the gifts as to Rising, and of his office of Chamberlain.

In the 2 Henry VI. (1423-4) he occurs as a trustee in Herts. (Ancient Charter C 3388).

On the 11th November, 1424, it was found that he, John Levynthorp, esquire (see 1403), and others, had been trustees for John Loudham, esquire, of the manor of Boylands fee (Pat. Roll Cal. 266).

On the 16th February, 1425, he and other trustees had a license to grant the manor of Egmere (Norfolk) in mortmain. (Pat. Roll Cal. 270).

In 1425 (4 Henry VI.) he was a trustee in Essex. (Ancient Charters 609, 1502).

In 1426 he is mentioned in the will of John Drew (Reg. Hyrninge, p. 150).

In the same year (5 Henry VI.) he had an illegal grant of the manor of Great Raveles, Hunts. and Cambs. (Ancient Deeds B 3034).

On the 4th February, 1426, he ("John Wodehouse, Esq.") and the Rev. John Dalton, clerk, claimed to have bought property in Little Berkhamstead and Hatfield, Herts., from Catherine, widow of John Chambre,* citizen and fishmonger of London, and they were restored to possession of it.

* This, which shows a connection with the London Chambres, who were in turn connected with the London Wodehouses (see ante p. 145), seems to me to settle the point and to prove the squire was from London. In fact, John Wodehouse, the squire's son, who died at Kimberley in 1465, had a house in London (Blomefield ii., p. 549).

In 1428 he was a commissioner for a loan in Norfolk (Pat. Calr., p. 481).

In the same year the "Feudal Aids" (pp. 559-582) show that all he held in Norfolk was

1. One knight's fee in Feltwell, formerly of Lawrence de Hameldene.
2. A quarter of another in Reydon of the Earl of Arundel, formerly of William Blakeney.
3. One knight's fee in Grimston* (with the heirs of John Brebles, also of the Earl of Arundel).
4. Half a knight's fee in Grimston and Congham of the heirs of John de Vaux, which Robert Cordall formerly held.

In 1429 he was apparently a trustee with William Alnwick, Bishop of Norwich, and others of land in Thorpe (Close Roll 8 Henry VI., pt. 1 m. 18).

Shortly before his death he built himself a manor house at Rydon, now Roydon (Blom. ix., p. 60).

By his will, dated 15th January, 1430, at Rydon, he directed his body to be buried in the Chapel of the Charnel at Norwich, and he died the same year.†

* In 1470 John Wodehouse, sen., dealt with a minor fere (Blom. Norf. viii., p. 450), and another manor here belonged to the Wodehouses of Waxham, another proof of the connection between the two families.

† His son, John Wodehouse was one of the collectors for the Hundred of Freebridge in 1431 (Pat. Roll 10 Henry VI., pt. 1 m. 5).

In 1432, he held a Knight's fee in Creffeld (?) and another in Hacheton of the Duke of Norfolk—see the latter's *inquisitio post mortem*, 11 Henry VI.

In 1437, he sealed a charter now in the British Museum, Collection No. 14534 (XCI. 39), with a *chevron pean between 3 cinquefoils*. It is strange he should have omitted the alleged honorable augmentation to his father of a quarter of a century before - if it ever existed!

In 1466-7, the Inquisition of Sir John Wodehouse, of Kimberley, says he did not die seized of any lands in Norfolk and Suffolk.

In 1451 a Thomas Wodehouse died seized of Felton's Manor in Fordham (Cambridge), half Beckhall in Suffolk and Frekenham Manor (*Inquisitio post mortem*, 30 Henry VI. No. 16).

I cannot trace who he was.

His *inquisitio post mortem*, 9 Henry VI. No. (vol. iv., p. 130) comprises

Welles Manor	}	All in Norfolk.
Gayton Rectory and Lands in Welle		
Holt		
Lesyate		
W. Acre		
Asswellthorp		
and Wicken		

It is strange that none of the possessions mentioned in the Feudal Aids of 1428 should be mentioned, and especially strange that nothing is said as to Rydon.

Of course the visionary family possessions mentioned in the rhyming pedigree are conspicuous by their absence.

His widow, Alice, was afterwards the wife of Edmund Wynter, Esq., and her will is dated 15th March, 1447 (Reg. Wylbye, fo. 160).

This all that I have been able to find out about the real man.

Now, let us consider *seriatim* the tales told by the concoctor of the same rhyming pedigree written about 1640-50,* and quoted by Blomefield (ii., p. 544), who had imagined the early matches exposed, as stated on p. 143, and had spoken of the family as having been resident in the county for many generations before the squire appears in it, viz.:

1. That his father, "Sir John Wodehouse," who is said to have married "Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Fastolf," entailed by deed dated 20th January, 2nd Henry IV., on his son, the squire's marriage in 1400 with Alice Furneaux, his

* The Rev. Mr. Cutting, in his "Gleanings about Gayton," says it was written by Sir Philip Wodehouse not before 1671.

houses, which he had new built, called Wodehouses Tower, and the new park, called Wodehouses Park, together with his manors of Kimberley, Corston, Thuxton, Litcham Market, Feltwell, &c., on them and their heirs, and that such father, Sir John, was in 1404 constable of Rising Castle.

(a) Now, to begin with, there is absolutely no evidence of the existence of a Sir John Wodehouse at this time, nor, indeed, of *Sir Thomas* Fastolf, of Kimberley, and his daughter Margaret, who is said to have married "Sir John Wodehouse." They are mentioned in Blomefield, vol. i., p. 315, but only on the authority of this pedigree. Norris' voluminous pedigree of the Fastolfs is silent as to Sir Thomas, and I can trace him nowhere.

Why is there no *inquisitio post mortem* as to him? Why no mention of him in the Feudal Aids (1289-1431), or in the Norfolk Fines (a Thomas Fastolf is mentioned in the Fines of 1320 and 1425—but these dates don't agree).

The only time I find a Margaret Fastolf in real history is when we are told that in 1401 (Feudal Aids p. 629) she and the heirs of William Wingfield and the Prior of Norwich, held half a knight's fee in Kimberley.

There were Norfolk people of the name from early times chiefly about Yarmouth, one of whom John Fastolf, sen., of Caister, was living in 1380. He is said to have married Joan, daughter of Sir John Clifton, of Buckenham Castle (which is a name occurring on the real Kimberley entries) and to have had issue, a daughter, Margaret, but she married Sir Roger de Gyney of Dilham.

The great Sir John Fastolf, who *was* at Agincourt, was born 1378, and so 37 when he was fighting there. Could his sister have married the squire? But there is no trace that he had any land at Kimberley.

(b) The Wodehouses held no special land in Kimberley until John Wodehouse *bought* the Botetourts manor there

about 1442. They bought other properties here in 1440-1-4, and may have acquired some by the squire's marriage with Alice Furneaux.

Corston manor was not bought by the Wodehouses till after 1572 (!) (see Blom. Norf. xi., p. 473).

Thuxton was not bought till between 1500 and 1503 (*i.d.* x. p. 252-3).

Litcham was not bought till 1508 (see Carthew's "Launditch," ii., p. 417).

So the story of these manors being included in the alleged settlement of 1400 is a pure fabrication.

Nor was "Sir" John constable of Rising in 1404, for we have seen by the records that it was his alleged son, plain John, the squire, who was so.

2. That the squire in 1415 (a) attended the king's person at Agincourt, performed marvellous feats of valour "with Pointer and with Bardolph," his companions, and (b) "for this gallant action the king granted him an annuity of 10 marks a year out of his manor of Thetford, and made him steward of all the dominion of the Duchy of Lancaster in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire with a salary of £10 per annum, and as a perpetual augmentation of honour assigned him the crest of a hand stretched from a cloud holding a club and the motto 'Frappe Forte,' *strike strong*, or rather *beat down the fort*, the savage or wild man holding a club, which was the ancient crest of the family, was now omitted and two of them placed as supporters to the arms, &c."

"And the year following, as a further reward for his eminent valour he gave him . . . the priory of Welles in Norfolk . . . (except the rectories of Welles and Geyton)." Thus Blomefield xi., pp. 546-7.

(a) Now there is every possible reason to believe that John Wodehouse, the king's squire, was never at Agincourt at all.

History is silent as to his companions, the alleged other two esquires of the king's body—Pointer and Bardolph.

Thomas Bardolph, Lord Bardolph, of Wormegay, born 1368, (Henry V. was born 1387) who in 1405 joined the Earl of Northumberland in his rebellion and afterwards, after flight to France, was killed at Bramham Moor in 1408, was never to my knowledge called a body squire of the king. Nor was his son-in-law, Sir William Phelipp, who served at Agincourt in 1415, and who did not succeed to the title of Lord Bardolph till long after.

Pointer, I cannot find as either a body or other esquire to either Henry IV. or V. Is it probable that the compiler of the pedigree had floating in his mind Shakespeare's inimitable creations of Bardolf and Poins in connection with the battle?

(b) Agincourt was fought on the 25th October, 1415.

The grants, which are said to be the rewards of his valour there (no trace can be found of the Thetford annuity in the Minister's Accounts of the Duchy of Lancaster or the Public Record Office) are dated :

Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1st January, 1414.

Priory of Welles—License to acquire, 1413; grant, 25 June, 1415; Gayton Rectory, 25th June, 1415.

So the grants alleged to be made for valour at Agincourt were all made *before the battle!*

As to the augmentation of arms, the Herald's College know nothing of it.

Other grants to him we have seen on the Rolls—but of the Agincourt honours and rewards, not one!

Seven knights are recorded to have been made on the field at Agincourt (Nicolas p. 369) but he was never knighted and died a squire.†

† The concoctor of the pedigree tries to get over this fatal point by saying he preferred to remain a king's squire, esteeming this a greater honour and paid a fine *not* to be knighted. No reference to such fine is, however, given.

As to his honourable augmentation gained at the battle, why did his son and heir in 1437 use a seal without it? It was not a thing to be ashamed of!

Why in the numerous and minute accounts of the battle printed by Sir H. Nicolas is there nothing about any stand made on a 'Castle' by the French? (There was a castle for Henry V. asked its name). Why nothing of the dramatic incident of Gam taunting Wodehouse, and so meeting his death?

Of course if there is any truth in the statement made by Mr. G. R. French (on p. 18 of his work "The Royal Descent of Nelson and Wellington," Pickering, 1853) that it is said there is on the Close Roll a commission to John Wodehouse to have the custody of Norfolk and Suffolk during the absence of Henry V. from England, the whole story of his deeds at Agincourt falls through, but I must admit that as yet I have not found this. Unluckily the admirable Calendars of the Patent and Close Rolls, now being issued, have not yet reached the period we want.

Still the evidence that does exist is very strong.

Agincourt was fought on the 25th October, 1415, as stated before.

On the 29th May, 1415, he (John Wodehouse) with Thomas de Morle, John de Rothenale, John Inglethorp, and Edmund Oldhalle was appointed Commissioner of Array for Norfolk (Foedera ix., p. 257). It is significant that none of these names appear on any record of the battle. So it is that on the 6th July in the same year he had a grant of the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, a berth which could not be conveniently filled by one just about to embark for a campaign which was started on the 7th August.

So it is that when the king made his will (on 24th July 1415), just before starting, he named ten executors of whom two only Lord Henry Fitz Hugh and Sir Walter Hungerford occur in history as being at Agincourt.

Again a Liberate roll of the wardrobe, which provides for the robes for 13 Knights of the Garter on St. George's Day, 1416, includes the names of three well-known Norfolk warriors,

Morley	} all of whose names occur in the account by Sir H. Nicolas.
Felbrigg	
Erpingham	

but omits all reference to John Wodehouse.

Once more, the Indenture of War of Sir John Pastolf, dated 18th June, 1415, is extant, and so is the grant to him subsequently for his good service. Why is nothing of either sort existent for Woodhouse?

We are asked to believe that a body squire of the king's, who performed prodigies of valour, received literally no reward for his bravery—for I have proved that his alleged rewards were granted him before the battle.

I will not lay too much stress on the fact that his name does not occur in the Agincourt Roll, published by Sir Harris Nicolas,* for this roll is said to be imperfect, though curiously enough it contains the names of most of our Norfolk men, *e.g.*, Sir Thomas Erpingham with his retinue of Hamo Lestrangle, Leonard Lestrangle, Walter Goldingham, John Brayston (Breydiston), and others (p. 346); John Styward and Lewis Robesart (p. 348); Thomas Chaucer, Sir William Phillips, and others (p. 358).

But what I do rely on, is that Nicholas' general list, collected so carefully, of all who can from other sources be traced to be in the fight is silent as to his presence.

Nor is there any reference to him in the Petitions to Parliament or other records where one might expect to find it.

* The worthy author was much puzzled at not finding the name of John Wodehouse on such roll, and expresses his surprise. Statements in peerages were considered much better evidence of facts when he wrote than they are now-a-days.

Nor does his name occur on the Gascon Rolls, printed by Carte (vol. ii., p. 244), which I take to be identical with the "French Rolls," calendared in the Deputy Keeper in his Report, p. 629, though a Derbyshire Wodehouse occurs in 1421.

When and by whom was this ridiculous fabrication and the still more ridiculous early pedigree concocted?

The earlier visitations are silent about it and it does not appear till the rhyming pedigree, which must have been written after 1640, for it mentions the Cary match. It may have begun about the time that James I. frequented Norfolk, and had a hunting box at Thetford,* where it will be remembered, at the King's House, there is still a stone shield, bearing the arms of Wodehouse impaling Carey, and the inscription "Agincourt." This house was in the possession of the Wodehouses till as late as 1741, and the shield may have been put up at any date after the match with Carey, probably about 1660, by Sir Philip, the son of the marriage, who died in 1681, so this gives us no definite help.

Personally, I don't think that this carving is very old or of the period of the match, though I am bound to say, others disagree with me.

The main point against the truth of the alleged augmentation is that his son did not use it—the most honourable thing possible.

The whole tale, Agincourt, augmentation, and all was probably invented by some venal herald who thought that as John Wodehouse was a king's favourite squire at the time of Agincourt he must necessarily have been there and built

* Though a pension arising from Thetford is suggested by the rhyming pedigree to date as early as 1416, it was not till over two centuries after that the family had a house there. Indeed it looks as though Sir William Woodhouse of the Waxham family, the inventor of duck decoys, was the first of the family there and the sporting companion of James I.

castles in the air on that superstructure. That the family were party to the fraud there is no evidence one way or the other, but for the last 200 years or so, they have fondly cherished it, with the result that one member of the family fancying himself of heroic descent, has more than once behaved in a way which can only be described as worthy of Capt. Bobadil.

THE WODEHOUSE ARMS.

According to Papworth, Woodhouse of London bore Sa: a chevron pœan between three cinquefoils, but no authority is given for this. If this is correct, the identity between the London and Norfolk families would seem to be settled.

The rhyming pedigree alleges that the old arms of the "Agincourt" squire were Sa: a chevron or guttee de sang between three cinquefoils, and the old crest a savage with a ragged club, and that he had an augmentation of the motto "Frappe Forte," a crest, a hand, and a club, and two supporters of woodmen. The last we know to be false, for they were not granted till the first Lord Wodehouse had them on his creation.

The real appearance of the Kimberley arms is on a seal of John Wodehouse (son of the king's squire) attached to a deed dated 1437, on which are a chevron pœan between three cinquefoils (British Museum Seals, No. 14534). This shows clearly enough that the alleged augmentation was never granted.

The first occurrence of the motto "Frappe Forte" is on the standard of Sir Thomas Wodehouse, who married Thomasine Townsend, but was not recorded by the Heralds till 1667.

On the two earliest monumental occurrences of the arms, viz., one on a Clippesby brass (1594), and the other one on a tomb to Sir Edward Coke (1634), there is no mention of Agincourt or Frappe Fort. The arms of the last named, Thomas

Wodehouse, impaling those of Blanche Carey outside the King's house at Thetford, certainly have the motto "Agincourt," but of course this must have been but up *after* the marriage, and it is on the monument to this Thomas, who died 1658, that we find the first dated reference to Agincourt or Frappe Fort.

The arms of (John) Woodhouse, of Calais, were: az. a fess quarterly sa. arg. 3 ragged staffs bendways or. (Burke).

WOODHOUSE, ALIAS POWER, OF WAXHAM.

The first instance of the arms of Woodhouse, of Waxham, is in 1559, when Sir William Woodhouse bore quarterly erm and . . . , on the second and third quarters, a leopard's head on the fess point a crescent for difference (British Museum Seals, No. 14572).

There can be little doubt that this family, though it bore totally different arms from the Woodhouses of Kimberley, were, as they were, descended from the London family of Wodehouse, alias Power, already mentioned on page 145. As to their having held in Kimberley, see Blomefield viii., p. 444.

Whether the facts that Harry Woodhouse was at Lynn in 1450 (Paston Letters, appendix p. 27), and that John Power was Mayor of Lynn in 1531, throw any light on the connection I cannot say. The earliest recorded Wodehouse at Waxham* was Sir John Wodehouse in 1501 and 1504 (will Rgr. Popy. fo. 403a) who may be the John Wodehouse whose man took a letter to Paston in 1463, and who was afterwards knighted, and a great friend to the town of Yarmouth.

That they were connections of the Kimberley family is shewn by the fact that in 1530, Roger Wodehouse, of Kimberley (the "little Sir Roger," of Kett's Rebellion) was

* For a long account of the family see "Norris' Manuscript History of Happing Hundred," p. 22, &c., and Norris' Pedigrees, pp. 1281-2.

party to a fine (Trin. 22 Henry VIII.) which included land in (*i.a.*) Hickling, *Waxham*, Horning, and Martham, and that next year (Michs. 23 Henry VIII.), Thomas Wodehouse, of the Waxham family was also a party to a fine passing land in all four of these parishes.

This Sir Thomas Woodhouse also held land in Witton, where the Kimberley Woodhouses still have a seat, but I fancy this is only a coincidence, and that they got their Witton land through the Norris family (see p. 66 in this part).

Again, the fact that the Sir William Woodhouse, who is supposed to have been the inventor of duck decoys, and is improperly described as the king's jester, being said to have to do with Thetford, temp. James I., with which place the Kimberley family undoubtedly had connection, goes to corroborate this.

The vice-admiral (so appointed in 1547), William Woodhouse, though ascribed by Norris, Collins, and others to the Kimberley family, was no doubt one of the Waxham branch. In a very old (Dutch ?) map of Norfolk in my possession, "Admirauts Huus," is marked at Waxham.

“CHAOS”

BY

WALTER RYE.

THIS term, invented by the late Mr. Joseph Foster, and used by him as describing an appendix to his well-known Baronetage to which he relegated all doubtful and assumed baronetcies, may well serve as the heading of some remarks I propose to make as to some local assumptions and follies which, I think, should not pass unnoticed.

To begin with, it is hard to understand the reason why two worthy people of the names of Folkes and Fiske should write themselves down as fFools,* by calling themselves ffolkes and ffiske. Even the veriest tyro in old writing knows that the sign they mistake for two small fs is really only the old form of the capital F, but in the first case, though Sir Martin Folkes, a very distinguished antiquary, ancestor of the present baronet, who died many years ago, always and correctly so signed himself, and though Mr. ffiske's own father still, very properly, adheres to the true spelling of his name, yet both gentlemen practically insist on all persons who write to them

* This variation is entirely new, and extremely tasty and distinguished. Terms for its user may be had on application.

stultifying themselves by misspelling their names. It is a folly similar to that of old curiosity dealers and others, who think that spelling like "ye old curiositie shoppe" is attractive.

This weakness, however, is a harmless one, and interferes with no man's rights. But the assumption of titles to which the assumers have no right is a more serious matter, for it puts everyone else of the same nominal rank in the awkward dilemma of either having to make a fuss, or of putting up with a wrong and admitting a precedence which does not exist.

It should be most distinctly understood that a man cannot be judge in his own case, and award himself a baronetcy, however much he may believe himself entitled to it, especially if the Heralds' College refuse to accept his evidence, and if he will not take the step of attempting to be re-presented at court under his new title. Were a man to purport to create himself a peer by any other means than "Lord George Sanger" was created one—viz., by his father by dint of baptism—the House of Lords would sharply call him to account for contempt, but it is competent for anyone to call himself a baronet, and there is no tribunal, except that of public opinion, which can trounce him for doing so.

Quite as glaring is the obstinate adherence by a baronet's widow, who has since married a commoner, to the title of Lady, and to the use of her first husband's surname. Nothing is more absolutely certain in heraldry than that she forfeits both her title and her first husband's name by such re-marriage, and yet one Norfolk lady at all events stolidly perseveres!

In this case the pretender is probably muddling up the rule by which a peer's widow is allowed a courtesy title by virtue of her first marriage.

One more example. Except in a dozen or so well born and bred families, who have the necessary hereditary—one might say instinctive—knowledge, there is hardly a lady in the county

who is not guilty of using her husband's arms and (*proh pudor*) even his crest (!).* Of course, it may be asked, why shouldn't she? The answer to which is that if we are to take heraldry seriously the rules of the game should be followed. The same ladies, who daily break an absolutely fundamental rule like this, would be rightly horrified if anyone assumed to invent new rules at Bridge, and insist on playing according to them. Yet one is just as absurd as the other.†

On the case-hardened arm-bearers of both sexes, who assume arms to which they are not legally entitled, it is hardly necessary to dwell. They are past all shame, and one might as well talk to a brick wall as to them. But I understand that there is a *nemesis* in store for them, and that in the near future it is proposed to make the armorial licence duty, to those who cannot produce a certificate from the Heralds' College, ten guineas a year instead of one. A juster tax could hardly be conceived, for it would be levied only on the rich vulgar, and they may as well pay a little more.

Why the Heralds' College ignores a most profitable source of income (and unkind people have even hinted that income is its chief *raison d'être*) and does not either recommence holding visitations or periodically publish lists of those in each county, who are entitled to bear arms, it is hard to say. No one else can speak with authority, for though Mr. Fox-Davies' "Armorial Families" is a most useful work it is not official and, therefore, not conclusive. Its last editions only guarantee that those names in them are entitled to

* On the stupid user of double crests, which originated in the crests of families represented by heirship being shown separately and over separate scutcheons, I need not dilate.

† A local example of *good* taste was given when Lord Aschcombe took a grant, and rightly ignoring the mythical Cubitt arms, long borne by the Catfield and Honing families, adopted supporters, which clearly showed the trades that had made his money. This was in the best spirit of old heraldry.

coat armour, but the fact that A.B.'s name does not occur in it is no proof that he is not rightly armigerous. Still the work is a most useful one and is very nearly perfect, as far as I can make out, for I have only spotted about six omissions in Norfolk. The fact, therefore, that so few people relating to our county are registered by him as being *entitled* to bear arms is a startling one, for those who *do* use them are certainly ten times as numerous. In my next part, I propose to print as perfect a list as I can make out and shall be glad of any help. There must be many descendants of visitation families alone who neither own land or hold any position in the county, but who are, nevertheless, still of "gentle blood," and are only prevented by the heavy fees from registering their pedigrees or obtaining a confirmation.

"Hard cases make bad law," and it certainly is unpleasant for anyone who has believed in his family coat or tradition to have to admit that it was improperly adopted or invented some generations back.

Still, the Heralds' College is merciful, and will generally grant a coat sufficiently similar to deceive the non-heraldic public. There are many such coats. One, I well remember, deceived even the astute Farrer, who, in his Church Heraldry, did not notice that the monument ascribed to a man, who died in 1662, was not actually erected till almost the other day.

So much for sins of commission. An example of a ridiculously fabricated attack on a family may well close this paper. One of the commonest myths in the county is that the grandfather of a local baronet was a working farm labourer when he came into the title and estate. Though it is on record in every baronetage and pedigree that such grandfather was a beneficed clergyman when he so succeeded, many a local gossip well remembers seeing him hedging and

ditching, and has often "stood him a pint" at some specified beerhouse. The germ of the myth is that a very distant relation, who had been an extremely *mauvais sujet*, and was in very low water—possibly even to the extent of receiving eleemosynary drinks, had previously succeeded to the same baronetcy and property, but had at once and within the year terminated his existence and title by a well meaning but futile endeavour to spend some thousands per annum in hasty and indiscriminate drinking.

THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

It is more than a third of a century ago when, tired of the inaction of this Society, I issued the first part of the first series of the "Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany." On completing its second volume, I pointed out that, for four yearly subscriptions of 7/6 each, I had issued 1,183 pp., all indexed *literatim*, as against 680 pp., poorly indexed, issued by the Society for eleven similar subscriptions, figures which showed that I had given my subscribers, roughly speaking, five times as much for their money as the Society had done.

By the end of 1887, a better state of things had arisen by the succession of Rev. W. Hudson to the secretaryship of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, and I closed the series of the "Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany" with a third volume of 637 pp., saying in my preface :

"As the management of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society has now come into the hands of one

“eminently qualified to restore the Society to the position it formerly held, and as there are ample symptoms that the work for which the Society was founded will now be carried on vigorously, there is now no reason for the continuation of the ‘Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany’ which, with the aid of several well-known antiquaries, I started fifteen years ago. The present part, therefore, closes the series.”

I had hoped that this ended this episode, and that the members of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society would in future get value for their subscriptions, and that there would be no longer need for a private individual to spend his time and money in running an opposition issue to it. But history repeats itself. For a time things certainly went well. In 1888, the current part for 1887 was duly issued, completing vol. 10—an extra volume, first part of the “Norfolk Records” was given to subscribers, and “The Visitation” was continued.

In 1892, vol. 11 was completed, and another extra volume—“Kirkpatrick’s Streets and Lanes,” similarly given—printed from a MS. lent by me.

In 1895, vol. 12 was completed, an index to the 10 vols. being presented as an extra volume, and Mr. Bolingbroke was chosen as the Secretary to arrange the Annual Excursions, a post he has ably filled ever since.

Then Mr. Hudson left Norwich for the South of England, and on 18th March, 1896, Mr. Bolingbroke was appointed Honorary Secretary, a post he has nominally filled for the last ten years (during which time he has most successfully managed and preserved the “Strangers’ Hall”), Mr. Hudson retaining the post of Editorial Secretary.

The 13th vol. was issued in due course; but after this things began to go wrong.

The 14th vol., part i., issued to subscribers for 1898, was handed them in 1899; part ii., issued to subscribers for

1899, was handed them in 1900; part iii., issued to subscribers for 1900, was handed them in 1901.

Vol. 15, part i., which was due to subscribers for 1901, was incorrectly stated on its cover to be issued to subscribers for 1902, and the part was thus dropped or lost, the subscribers for 1901 getting no regular part for their subscription. It has been said (by way of excuse) that instead of the regular part, an "extra volume," viz., the "Sacrist's Registry," was given to the subscribers. But we have seen that during all the previous history of the Society these "extra volumes" were always treated as what they purported to be—*extra* volumes, apart from and additional to the current parts,* and the truth was that no material had been got together or even sought for to form a part for the 1901 subscribers.

* The following quotations from former reports of the Society will show how incorrect was the statement that record or extra volumes were ever issued *instead* of the regular parts:—

The Report of 1888 (read 4th April, 1889) states on p. 4, "that part i. of vol. 11 has been issued to subscribers for 1888, and 'Kirkpatrick's Memoir' will *in addition* be issued to them as soon as possible."

The Report of 1889 (read 19th March, 1890) on p. 4 contains an apology from the Committee "for not being able to carry out a promise made in last year's Report to give to the members 'Kirkpatrick's Memoir' . . . *in addition* to an ordinary part of their publications," on the ground that the year was occupied in preparing and seeing it through the press.

As a matter of fact no annual part was issued to the 1889 subscribers, and the substitution of "Kirkpatrick's Memoir" was scarcely a fulfilment of the promise to issue it *in addition* to the ordinary part.

The Report of 1890 (read 15th April, 1891), on p. 3 states, "that vol. 11, part ii., has been issued to the subscribers for the year 1890, and with it, and *in addition* to it, the Index of the first ten volumes was handed to the members in the beginning of the year." (See Report of 1891, read 4th May, 1892, p. 3).

The Report of 1891 (read 4th May, 1892) states on p. 4, "that the annual part iii., of vol. 11, has, *with the volume* of "Inquisitions," been issued to subscribers for 1891."

The Report of 1892 to 1900 all recognise the issue of a part to the subscribers of the year. (That of 1894 refers to the concluding part of the "Visitation" being issued *with the annual part*).

The Report of 1900 reports that, "the 3rd part of vol. 13 will soon be in the hands of the members for 1900."

From the beginning of the Society such valuable works as "The Gates of Norwich," "The Three Rood Screens," "The Emblems of Saints," two parts of "Norfolk Records," "The Visitation," "The Feet of Fines," "Kirkpatrick's Streets and Lanes," and the Index to the first ten volumes, were all issued as "extra volumes" "*in addition to*" the annual part, and all included in the 7/6 subscription.

If a part had been issued yearly as it should have been, since the foundation in 1846, by the end of 1904 there should have been twenty volumes issued instead of the fifteen, which were actually distributed, so we have really fallen five volumes or fifteen parts in arrear. The Boileau volume, for which the money was left in, and which was talked about in 1883, is still unissued and the money unspent. The cash balance lying idle had grown enormously.

Several members of the Committee then thought it best to push matters, and from 1901 to the present time parts have been issued more or less regularly, though only after considerable delay and friction.*

Much of the delay has been caused by Mr. Hudson having unwisely retained the office of Editorial Secretary, while living far away from Norwich, and out of touch with local workers, and while overburdened with other secretarial duties which he has since undertaken, and with his lengthy work on "Norwich Records"—which have left him little time to peruse the papers sent him or to correct proofs.

Of the thirty articles printed since 1901, I personally contributed four, suggested and found material for and obtained eight more, and have compiled half the "Deed Calendars", and the whole of the double part of the "Early Depositions" and "Court Book Extracts," so it can hardly be said I have failed in my duty as a Committee man.†

But finding it impossible to overcome the *vis inertiae* of the authorities, I have thought it best to withdraw from the Committee, and, after nearly twenty years, to re-start the

* The part nominally issued for subscribers of 1903 (really for 1902) was nearly all in type by the end of 1903, but was not issued in September, 1904.

† Since my retirement from the Committee, I have handed over the Hare volume of original letters bearing on the causes of the Civil War, and the Society is now printing them as an "extra part."

“Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany,” so that practical stagnation should not continue in Norfolk antiquarian work.

And, as I could see, that if I left the Smith Collection of about 7,000 prints, photographs, and maps relating to Norfolk to the Society, as I promised some years ago, the gift would follow the fate of other MSS. given to the Society, of being unused and uncalendared, I have now given them in my lifetime to the Free Library, where they may be consulted at any time by anyone.

ADDENDA.

NORRIS Pedigree (pp. 56—71). On pp. 57 and 68, I doubted the conjecture of the Wood Norton family, that they came from the Norris family of Somerset. It now seems I was right, for though the Visitation of 1664 “confirmed” the arms of the Somerset family to Osbert Norris, of Norwich (p. 68n), he is stated in the Visitation itself to be the son of Robert Norris, of North Tuddenham. We already knew the latter to have been the son of Thomas Norris, of Congham, and this proves the descent of the Wood Norton family from the Norrises of West Bilney—of whom the first was Geoffrey Norris, gentleman, lord of West Bilney, and probably the Geoffrey Noreys, of Tilney, in 1363. This will be shown in a supplementary pedigree in my next part. It is more than probable that Titus (p. 60), the ancestor of the Witton and Barton Turf families, was of the same family, and the whole—“confirmation” of somebody else’s arms and all—is one more instance of the loose methods of the heralds of the latter part of the 17th century.

W.R.

* * I am sorry to have to postpone the obituary notices and reviews suggested in my prospectus, but the great length to which some of the articles have reached compels me to do so, as I have already considerably increased the number of pages to which the part was to have run.

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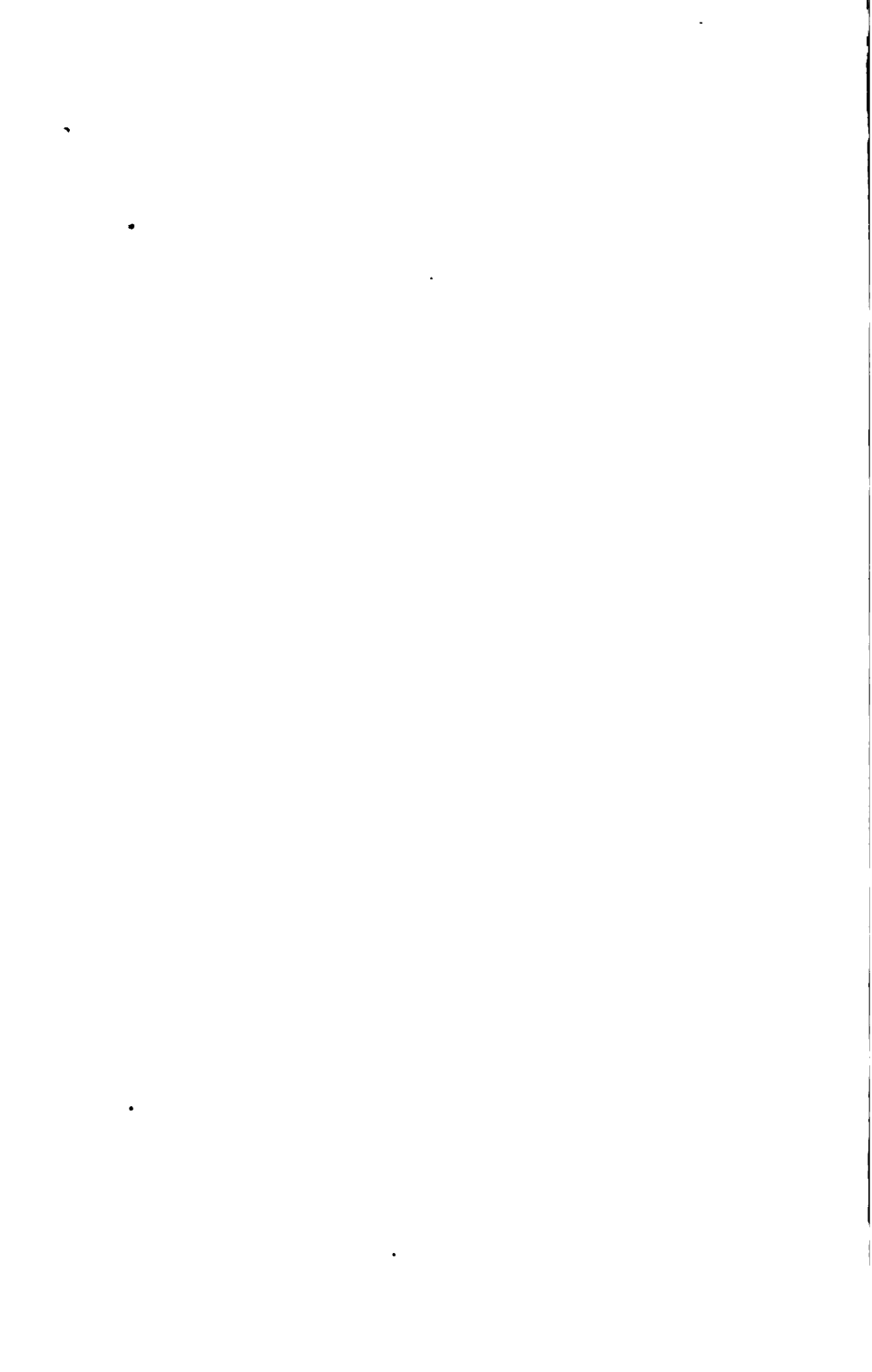
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SOME RECENT FINDS IN NORFOLK.

BY

W. G. CLARKE.

A TEUTONIC BRONZE MOUNT AT CROXTON.

THE bronze mount of which an illustration appears herewith was found on a patch of heathland in the parish of Croxton, near Thetford, in September, 1904. The heath is immediately south of the "Drove" road, south-west of Fowlmere and the Devil's Punch Bowl mere, and north-east of a fine round barrow, close to which, on the surface, this rare example of Teutonic workmanship was picked up. Descriptions of several similar ones have been published, and as they occur in a Gallo-Roman cemetery at Vermand (Dept. Aisne) in France, they have been referred to the 4th century A.D. Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, tells me that he knows of only four other British specimens. One found at Farthing Down, Coulsdon, Surrey, is now in Croydon Town Hall, and has been described in "Surrey Archæological Collections," Vol. VI., pp. 109—117, and the "Victoria History of Surrey," Vol. I., p. 260, with plate facing p. 257. The others were found close by the Dyke Hills, Dorchester, and are now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

These mounts are classed with the earliest Teutonic antiquities found in England. This particular specimen was probably one of three fixed to a bronze bowl or a wooden

bucket, to which were attached chains for suspension. The bottom portion consists of a ring-plate, from the top of which a thick tongue is bent over three-fourths of its length. This would be on the inside of the bowl or bucket, and a hole in it corresponds with a similar hole in the centre of the ring-plate, through which there was a rivet, fastening it to the bowl. On the top of the front of the bent-over tongue there are two short lines following the curve of the metal, beneath them two horizontal lines, five circles formed by a gouge, and two transverse depressions with a ridge between divided up by numbers of small vertical lines. Enclosed in the space made by the bent-over tongue is a bronze ring, three-quarters of an inch in diameter, plain at the back (as are also the ring-plate and tongue), but with three concentric rings in front, as though separate rings had been partially welded together. The ring-plate itself is an inch in diameter, and immediately round the central hole, through which the rivet passed, are five concentric rings, the distance between the second and third being greater than that between the others. The diameter of the outermost circle is slightly over half an inch. Coming from the circumference, more than half the distance between the edge and this circle, are 22 rays, apparently stamped by a sharp blow from a chisel, and narrowing and decreasing in depth inwards. Close to the edge, and between these rays, are 21 rough dashes, touching on the inner side a minute simple circle, of which, however, there are only 20, as the impress of this ornament was omitted in one instance. Nearer still to the concentric circles, and forming a line of ornament between them and the rays are 21 small circles (slightly larger than those previously mentioned), with dots in the centre. The rays immediately on each side of the tongue are longer than any of the others, and almost touch the concentric circles. Between them and the base of the curving tongue are three of the

circles with dots in the centre, and three of the plain smaller circles. It seems probable, therefore, that the tools used in the ornamentation were five of varying sizes for the concentric circles, and one each for the rays, dashes, simple circles, and those with a dot in the centre, a total of nine for the ring-plate and one extra for the tongue.

Concerning the specimens in the Ashmolean Museum, Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, the Curator, informs me that they were found in one of the sand mounds which run at right angles to the Dyke Hills, near Dorchester, Oxfordshire. Two of them are of the same size and identical in ornament so far as the ring-plate is concerned, but one, the otherwise better-preserved specimen, has lost the upper and decorated part of the loop attachment, which is also absent from the Norfolk specimen. In those first referred to, the topmost ring is of the same outer circumference as the Norfolk example, but much thicker, and on the inner edge has a rope-pattern ornament. Across the tongue there are also two transverse rope-pattern lines, and between them, on each edge, a tiny flame-shaped ornament, the narrow part inwards. In the centre of the ring-plate is the rivet connecting it with the tongue, and still in position. Outside this are a number of concentric rings, first one of rope pattern, then one plain, then a wider space than in other cases, another rope-pattern ring, and two plain outer ones. On the edge of the ring-plates are a number of semi-circular ornaments, with flame-shaped ones between, and inside these a number of circles (or part circles) dimly discernible. The ring-plate is 1 1-16 ins. in length, and ring and ring-plate $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins., compared with $1\frac{7}{8}$ ins. of the Norfolk specimen. The second example has the top decorated part of the loop attachment, but the lower bend of it is broken off. This loop is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, and elaborately decorated, as is also that on the third specimen, which (comparing it as a

whole) is slightly smaller, the ornament similar but simpler, the number of concentric circles on the ring-plate being reduced to an outer one of rope-pattern (without the two plain rings enclosing it), and a single rope-pattern ring (without the outer frame) surrounding the raised hole-edge. The ornament of the loop-attachment is also different. With these mounts were found the plates and end tang of a belt, two bronze buckles, fibula, bone spindlewhorl with concentric circles incised, and small bronze fragments.

A ROMAN INTERMENT AT BRETtenham.

In January, 1907, as some holes were being dug for planting trees on the boundary of Brettenham and Bridgham parishes, just within the former a most interesting find was made. From one excavation was taken a human skull, and from another the skull and large bones of a man, with spear, helmet, &c. They were lying about 18 ins. from the surface in the sandy soil of an arable field. Mr. A. Stewart (forester on the Shadwell estate of Mr. J. Musker), who has kindly furnished me with these details, says the spear is of iron, 16 ins. in length, with a socket for a shaft, and an iron rivet $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. from the base. The blade of the spear is long and tapering, the widest part, $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. across, being 5 ins. from the point. The helmet appears to be the skull part of a larger piece of armour, as round it there is a rim $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, with four copper rivets, which apparently fastened it to a visor. The helmet is 6 ins. in diameter, and on the top is an iron knob like that on the lid of a kettle. There is no ornamentation on it, but it is possible that two pieces of brass, which were accidentally lost, 5 ins. long and 1 in. wide, perforated with small holes, may have formed part of the helmet when complete. With these was found a metal disc, about the size of a five-shilling piece, having on its back a

square projection like the head of a nail, about a quarter of an inch long, and not quite in the centre of the disc, which is greatly corroded. It may have been the boss of a wooden shield. There was also a piece of iron, 5 ins. long and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, which probably formed part of the blade of a sword or dagger. This spot was apparently either a temporary or a permanent camp, as for some distance around, while planting operations were in progress, excavation revealed ashes, bones, and pieces of pottery. Mr. Stewart kindly sent me a piece of the pottery, which proved to be a typical sample of Samian ware, with animal ornamentation.

It seems most probable, therefore, that we have here the burial of a Roman soldier, and Roman antiquities have been found in abundance on the adjacent field. These have included three bronze fibulæ, rings, keys, a thimble, a bead of blue glass, pottery, and coins of Vespasian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus, Septimus, Severus, Aurelius, Carausius, Allectus and Constantius, and "third brasses" of Dalmatius and Decentius. While chalk was being dug in a pit on this field in 1905, a human skeleton was discovered standing upright in a "sand pocket" in the face of the quarry.

But interesting as this Roman interment is in itself it is valuable also for the light it throws on the problem of Peddar's Way. For this spot is exactly on the line of Peddar's Way, though here covered with trees, and occupies the verge of the high land bordering the alluvium north of the river Thet, from which it is distant about 300 yards. It is also 50 yards north of the highway between Brettenham and Bridgham, and three-quarters of a mile from the junction of the roads at the former place. While it has always been suspected that the Romans utilised in Peddar's Way a previously-existing trackway, evidences of their occupation are very rare along its course. The various finds at this spot

seem to indicate that, for a time at least, there was a small Roman camp—though no earthworks remain—guarding the ford of the river Thet. For a mile northwards the old line of Peddar's Way is the boundary of the parishes of Bridgham and Brettenham, as it is south of the Thet and down to the Little Ouse between the parishes of West Harling and Rushford.

Here, though the circumstances are tantalising, I will place on record another find of a human skeleton. In September, 1904, Mr. W. A. Dutt and I called at Santon Farm—three miles west of Thetford—and were told by the wife of the tenant that while her sons were rabbiting on the farm (which is of light sandy soil, sloping down to the river Little Ouse) they disinterred a skeleton clad in armour. The armour they brought home and it was subsequently sold (*nescio quo warranto*) to a Lakenheath gentleman who was agent for the Cambridge Museum of Archæology. In proof of her assertion, the farmer's wife showed us half a pail full of fragments of armour (apparently bronze and covered with verdigris) which the purchaser did not think worth removing. These were, of course, only fragmentary, and the conclusion I then came to was that they were probably either late Keltic or Scandinavian. Despite attempts by correspondence to gain further details of the present ownership of the armour I have been quite unsuccessful.

NOTABLE NEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS.

Two fine hoards of Neolithic axes have recently been found in the county. In June, 1906, some workmen digging in a stonepit on Mr. Robert Baker's farm at Wells-next-the-Sea, disinterred four flint axes, about three feet below the surface, in some loose rubble, or what (according to Mr. A. J.

Napier, of Holkham) appeared more like a sea-beach than anything else; it was not gravel proper. They were all together, a few inches above the layer of flint, and the workman who found them exclaimed, "Why, here's a regular nest of 'em." The axes were all of chipped flint, of a greyish-white colour, and ranged in length from $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. They are now in the possession of Viscount Coke.

In January, 1907, as a man was digging a shallow trench in the garden of Crown Point House, Whitlingham, in two spadeful he threw out five chipped axes. The chipping on them is superb; they show not the slightest signs of use, as the edges are quite unabraded, yet the uniformity of the secondary chipping and of the curve of the cutting edge, leads to the supposition that they are all the work of one craftsman. All are of flint, yet differ from each other in size and shape. The first is $7\frac{5}{6}$ ins. in length, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. across at the narrowest part and 3 ins. at the widest, and chipped all over both surfaces. It is of grey flint, with a portion black, and I think there can be no doubt that three of these axes were originally of pure black flint, the colouring matter of which has been removed by the percolation of rain water through countless centuries. The second axe is $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. across at the narrowest and 3 ins. at the widest part, and similar in colour to the one preceding. The third one of like appearance is $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. across at the narrowest and $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. at the widest part, very thin, and of a most unusual type. Another beautiful implement—no better chipped specimen has been found in Norfolk—is 9 ins. long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. across at the narrowest and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at the widest part, of horn-coloured flint. The fifth axe in this remarkable hoard is 8 ins. long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. across at the narrowest and $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. at the widest part, of a very strange mottled plum-colour flint, dull and unpatinated, save for a small portion of one surface. This is a thick, massive implement. It is very probable that these

axes had all been made by one Neolithic knapper on the heights of Whitlingham, that on a day before he could use or barter them, he hid them up, and owing to one of many reasons which might be suggested, he never returned to claim them, and they thus remained buried until accident brought them to light. They are now in the possession of Mr. Russell J. Colman.

Of similar records for the county there are only two previously. In 1866 a labourer was digging a dyke in a field at Egmere, and found four very fine polished flint axes, all now in the Norwich Museum. About five years ago a labourer, ploughing at Flegg Burgh, uncovered three axes, two of polished white flint and one of chipped black flint, kept them for some time to see if they would grow, but as they failed to do so he sold them to Mr. J. Reeve, F.G.S., and they are also in Norwich Museum.

During the progress of excavations for the foundations of the new Council Schools at Heacham, in February, 1906, a Neolithic "pick," by far the best yet recorded for the county, was disinterred. It is of a grey mottled flint, $10\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length, triangular in section, the base being $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in width and each side $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins., while the point is slightly less than $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width. On the opposite end there is a piece of the original crust $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length, and its curvature suggests that the piece of flint from which this implement was constructed was cylindrical in shape. The implement is slightly abraded on one edge, but is otherwise in perfect condition, and the secondary chipping on the surface is much more elaborate near the point. For want of a better name these implements are called "picks," and Sir John Evans suggests that they were perhaps hafted to a handle and used as a sort of narrow adze for working out cavities in wood, or for grubbing in the ground. The presence of crust on an implement usually indicates, however, that the

part so left is to be gripped by the hand, and that such implements were used as daggers seems to me a most probable surmise, for deer antlers were generally used as "picks," as shown by discoveries at Grimes' Graves and other localities. The most typical of these so-called "picks" are only pointed at one end; the only other known Norfolk specimen is a ground one from North Walsham—in Norwich Museum—7½ ins. long. Few better examples than the Heacham implement have been found in England, and the Norfolk Education Committee did well to present it to the Norwich Museum.

Another remarkable implement added to the Cambridge Museum of Archæology and Ethnology in 1906 was found at Santon, Norfolk. It is of most unusual form, consisting of a large nodule of flint, weighing 19½ lbs. carefully chipped into an upstanding wedge—the shape of an ordinary core—9·2 ins. in height and 5·8 ins. across the base. The rounded point and the sides have been chamfered into a sharp edge, and the shield-shaped base has been carefully squared. The annual report of the Museum states that a somewhat similarly shaped implement of iron still continues to be used in some parts of England for the softening of hard hides, and suggests that this stone may possibly have served a similar purpose in Neolithic times. I have never heard of any other specimen.

A SHORT CALENDAR OF THE
TOPOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL
BOOKS AND MSS. IN THE
FREE LIBRARY AT NORWICH

BY
WALTER RYE.

As this is undoubtedly the largest and most accessible library relating to topography which is available at all times to local searchers it occurred to me that my readers would like to have a catalogue of its contents which may save them journeys to the British Museum or to Cambridge, or the trouble necessary to obtain access to the very fine Colman library, once at Carrow, and now at Crown Point. A copy of the catalogue of this last-named library is at the Free Library, and should be consulted if a desired work is not to be found in the following pages.*

When I had the honour of being made a co-opted member of the City Free Library Committee I found the local collection arranged alphabetically in authors' names—an arrangement which made it practically unconsultable by any who was not thoroughly up in the subject he wanted to look up. To remedy this I volunteered to compile the present card catalogue (which contains the full titles and dates of the items shortly set out hereafter in case the reader wants

*A catalogue, completed in MS., of the Carrow library, as greatly added to since its publication, is in the custody of Mr. James Reeve, who will, no doubt, allow access to it to any real worker.

to have them), giving as many cross references to subjects as I could work in. In practice, however, this was not satisfactory. A student could not, at home, look up what he wanted for the next day for want of a class catalogue, so with the consent of the Committee I have now re-arranged the Reference Library under the following heads, so that all the books of the same class are now together:—

Agriculture	F. 8 G. 8	Horticulture and Botany	
Almanacs and Annuals			H. 7—17
	K. 7 L. 7	Natural History	J. 7 K. 7
Art	E. 7 and 8, F. 7 and 8	Newspapers (Local)	
Biography	K. 1 to 5, L. 1 to 5, M. 3 and 4	“Norwich a Port”	H. 8
Botany and Horticulture	H. 7	Ornithology	G. 7
Bridges	H. 8	Poetry	D. 6, 7, and 8
Broads	J. 8	Railways	I. 8
Canals	H. 8	Sports and Games	K. 8
Church History, &c. (see Theology)		Theology and Church History	
			B. 1—9, C. 1—9, D. 1—5
Coast Erosion	H. 8	Topography—	
Corporation (Norwich)		Norfolk	E. 9, F. 9, G. 9, H. 9, I. 9, J. 9, K. 9, L. 9, M. 9, N. 9, O. 9, P. 9, Q. 9
	M. 7, N. 7, O. 7	Norwich	K. 8, L. 8, M. 8, N. 8, O. 8
Dialect and Vocabularies	I. 8	Cambridge	Q. 10
Drama	I. 8	Essex	Q. 10
Eau Brink Cut	I. 8	Fenland	Q. 10
Fiction	I. 1 to 5 J. 1 and 2	Suffolk	O., P., and Q. 10
Free Church	A. 1—10	Vocabularies and Dialect	
Gardening	H. 7		I. 8*
General Literature not coming under any of the other Classes			
	E. 1—6, F. 1—6, G. 1—6		
Geology	I. 7		

* The letters refer to the divisions, and the figures to the shelves in each division.

Last year, when I presented the Smith Collection of Maps to the Library I issued in this Miscellany a list of these and all other maps known to myself and to Mr. Harry Brittain, who kindly compiled such list. This catalogue is another instalment, and I hope in future years to print catalogues of the topographical prints and photographs, and of the portraits—the bulk of which also formed part of the Smith collection, and which I have now arranged in lexicographical order.

I shall be very grateful for any corrections, and especially also to be the means of obtaining for the Library any volumes not included in the present list. It is obviously for the benefit of workers to have as good a collection as possible of local books all under one roof, and all catalogued up, if only in MS. Some day, perhaps, the authorities will spend the small sum of money which is necessary to print a catalogue of the whole library, and thereby double its value.

The cost of one of the minor City "improvements," for example the vulgarisation of the site of the old "Horse Fair," would more than cover it.

WALTER RYE.

GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY, DESCRIPTIONS, &c.

Icenia, Spelman, 1695	F. 10
History, Cox (excerpt from) (1729)	E. 9
History of Norfolk, Blomefield, fo. 1739	F. 10
History of Norfolk, Blomefield, 1805, 11 vols.	E. 9
Index nominum to ditto, Chadwick, 1862	B. 9
MS. Additions and Corrections to ditto, Goddard Johnson, about 1840, 2 vols., with MS. Index by W. Rye	E. 9
History of Norfolk [abridgment of] Lynn, 1778, Vol. I. only (all published), (see Norfolk Tour 1, p. 81)	F. 9

History of Norfolk [Armstrong], 1781, 10 vols.	F.	9
Popular History of Norfolk, Rye, 1885	F.	9
Materials for a History of North Erpingham, Rye	F.	9
Victoria History of County of Norfolk (Edited by William Page) 2 vols. (all published)	F.	9
Carthew's Launditch, 1877, 1878, 1879	F.	9
Carthew's West and East Bradenham, (Ed. Jessopp), 1883	F.	9
Norfolk Photographically Illustrated (Mason), 3 vols. (n.d.)	F.	11
Old Inns—Vol. 1., "Outs for Inns" (etched), by E. Edwards, 3 vols.	F.	12
Cotman—Architectural Remains, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Series	F.	13
Dugdale's Monasticon, 8 vols.	F.	12
Mason's History of Norfolk, 1884, 1st vol. only	F.	10
Taylor's Index Monasticus, 1821	O.	10
Ladbroke's Churches of Norfolk, (n.d.), 3 vols.	F.	9
Bryant's Churches of, Hundred of—		
Clackclose G. 9 Greenhoe, North	G.	9
Earsham G. 9 Greenhoe, South	G.	9
Erpingham, North G. 9 Guiltcross	G.	9
Erpingham, South G. 9 Henstead	G.	9
East and West Flegg G. 9 Holt	G.	9
Forehoe G. 9 Launditch	G.	9
Freebridge G. 9 Taverham	G.	9
Gallow G. 9 Wayland	G.	9
History of Norfolk (Norfolk Tour), 1755, 1773, 1777, 1829 (2)	G.	9
Beauties of Norfolk, no author, 1809	G.	9
Beauties of England, no author, 1776	G.	9
Beauties of England and Wales, no author	G.	9
White's History and Directory of Norfolk, 1836, 1845, 1854, 1864	G.	9

Excursions in Norfolk, 1818, 2 vols.	H. 9
Ancient Topography of the Eastern Counties, Taylor, 1869	M. 9
Topography, 38 portfolios of drawings and photographs from the Smith Collection, presented by Mr. Walter Rye, arranged alphabetically under places	L 10 and L 11
<i>(Catalogue now preparing—see preface.)</i>	
Three Larger Portfolios--	
{ Hodgson's Antiquarian Remains	} L. 12
1 { Lowestoft Views	
{ Various Old Proofs	
2 Downham's Earthworks of Norfolk	
3 Large Views	
Antiquities of Norfolk, Etchings of, Day	O. 10
Norfolk and Norwich Antiquities, Winter	O. 10

POPULAR GUIDES, DESCRIPTIVE WORKS, &c.

Norfolk, Cooke, 1822	L. 9
Norfolk Circuit (from Family Topographer), Tymms, 1833	M. 9
East Coast of England, Walcott, 1861	M. 9
Geographical Description of Norfolk (n.d.)	
Eastern England, White, 1865	M. 9
Tourist's Guide to Norfolk, Rye, 1880	L. 9
Poppyland Papers, Scott, 1886	M. 9
Holiday Notes in East Anglia, no author, 1886	M. 9
Bogie Tales of East Anglia, James, 1891	M. 8
East Coast Yarns, Emerson, 1891	M. 9
East Anglia, Ewing and Ritchie, 1893	M. 9
Some of our East Coast Towns, Ritchie, 1893	M. 9
Round the East Anglian Coast, Varden, 1894	M. 9
Sunrise Land, Mrs. Berlyn, 1894	M. 9

Pocket County Companion, Norfolk, Dodwell, 1896	L.	9
Tours in East Anglia, Barrett, 1896	M.	9
Bygone Norfolk, Andrews, 1898	L.	8
In Quaint East Anglia, Carnie, 1899	M.	9
East Coast Scenery, Tate, 1899	M.	9
Highways and Byways in East Anglia, Dutt, 1901	M.	9
The Norwich Road, Harper, 1901	M.	9
Norfolk, Dutt, 1902	L.	9
In the King's County, Robinson, 1904	M.	9
Royal Illustrated History of Eastern England, Bayne (n.d.)	M.	9
History of Norfolk and Suffolk, Bayne (n.d.)	M.	9
Rambles in East Anglia, Brittain (n.d.)	M.	9
By Sea, Marge, Marsh, and Mere, Dutt (n.d.)	M.	9
Norfolk, Dutt, (1905 ?)		
Popular Guide to Norfolk, Dutt (n.d.)	L.	9
Photo Pictures in East Anglia, Jennings (n.d.)	M.	9
Attractive Tourist Resort, no author (n.d.)	M.	9
Geographical Description of Norfolk, no author (n.d.)	M.	9
Norfolk, no author (n.d.)	M.	9
Way About Norfolk and Suffolk Harbours (n.d.)	M.	9
Spare Pages, Simpson (n.d.)	M.	9
Index to ditto, Simpson		
Leaves from my Sketch Book, Simpson (n.d.)	M.	9
Leaves from my Sketch Book, Simpson, Christmas, 1892		
Leaves from my Sketch Book, Simpson, 1892		
Leaves from my Sketch Book, 1896, Vol. 7		
Lambert's Date Cards	M.	9
Eastern Counties' Railway Illustrated Guide, no author, 1851	M.	9

(And see sub "Broads," Division I., Shelf 8.)

**MANUALS, CATALOGUES, AND INDEXES
TO TOPOGRAPHY, &c.**

Norfolk Topographer's Manual, Woodward, 1842	H. 9
Another copy, interleaved	
Catalogue of MSS. of Dawson Turner, illustrative of History of England, 1851	H. 9
Sale Catalogue of MSS. of Dawson Turner, 1859	H. 9
Catalogue of Engravings of ditto, illustrating Norfolk Topography, 1841	H. 9
List of Norfolk Benefices (in continuation of Blomefield), Turner, 1847	H. 9
Verification of MSS., Guide to the, ditto, 1848	H. 9
Index to Norfolk Topography, Rye, 1881	H. 9
Index to Norfolk Pedigrees and Continuation of Norfolk Topography, Rye, 1896	H. 9
Index Rerum to Norfolk Antiquities, Rye, 1899	H. 9
Bibliotheca Norfolciensis (Carrow Catalogue), Reeve and J. Quinton, 1896	H. 9
Fifty Norfolk MSS., Rye, fo.	O. 10
Norfolk Official Lists, H. le Strange, 1890	H. 9
Norfolk and Norwich Remembrancer, no author, 1801	H. 9
Norfolk and Norwich Remembrancer, no author, 1822	H. 9
Norfolk Lists, Ewing, 1837	H. 9
Norfolk Worthies, Mrs. Herbert Jones, 1899	H. 9

EARLY HISTORY, WORKS RELATING TO.

Hebrews in East Anglia, Margoliouth, 1870	L. 9
St. William of Norwich, Jessopp, 1896	L. 9
Persecutions of the Jews, Rye	L. 9
The East Anglian Rising of 1281, Powell, 1896	L. 9
Paston Letters, 1422-1509 (Ed. Knight), 1840	L. 9
Paston Letters (Ed. Gairdner), 1895	L. 9
Paston Letters (Ed. Gairdner), 4 vols., 1901	L. 9

Illustration of Jack Cade's Rebellion (1450), Orridge, 1869, 1 vol.	L. 9
Kett's Rebellion, De Furoribus Norfolciensium, Nevill, 1575. Ditto, 1582	L. 9
Anglorum Prælia, Ocland, 1582	L. 9
Alexander Nevill, or the Furies of Norfolk (n.d.)	L. 9
Kett's Rebellion, Jack and the Tanner of Wymondham, Powell, 1854	L. 9
Kett's Castle, a Lecture by Nevill, 1857	L. 9
Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk, Russell, 1859	L. 9
History of Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk, no author (n.d.)	L. 9
History of Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk, no author (n.d.)	L. 9
History of Kett's Rebellion, no author (n.d.)	L. 9
History of Kett's Rebellion, no author (n.d.)	L. 9
Rebellion in Norfolk, or Norwich, in 1549, a drama, Bromley (n.d.)	L. 9
Letters from Queen Mary to Sir Henry Bedingfield, &c., 1554, Manning (n.d.)	L. 9
Kemp's Nine Days Wonder, 1600, Coates	L. 9
East Anglia and the Civil War, Kingston, 1897	L. 9
Anti-Cavalierisme, Jo. Goodwin, 1643	L. 9
The First Petitions of Hunts, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, 1644	
A Declaration of Parliament, no author, 1642	L. 9
Visit of Charles II. to Norwich in 1671, Turner, 1846	L. 9
Lives of Eminent and Remarkable Characters, no author, 1820	L. 9
Fee Farm Rents of Norfolk, Webb, 1738	L. 9
Discovery of Witches, Hopkins (rep.), 1837	L. 9

VARIOUS WORKS.

Accounts (County)—

Norfolk County Accounts, 1834-1888, five cases (imperfect)	M. 9 N. 9
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Reports of the Committee for Health	N. 9
Education Committee Directory, 1903-4 and 1904-5	N. 9
County Expenditure, 1827	
County Council, 1903-1904	
Education Commission, 1904-5	N. 9
<i>Acts of Parliament—</i>	O. 10
Highway	Worstead Trade
Navigation and Canal	County Gaol and Shirehouse
Norwich and Lowestoft	Herring Fishery
Norwich a Port	Lynn Church
Poor Law	Wells Harbour
Railway	Inclosure Acts (various)
Yarmouth Port and Haven	
" (various)	
<i>Bells—</i>	
Ancient Church Bells in England, Downman, 1898	H. 9
Church Bells of Norfolk, L'Estrange, 1874	H. 9
Elements of Campanalogia, Hubbard, 1845. Ditto, 1854	H. 9
Modern Bell Founding, Snowdon, 1880	H. 9
<i>Book Plates</i>	N. 10
<i>Brasses</i> (see Monumental Brasses)	
<i>Broads</i> (see Division I., Shelf 8)	
<i>Castles and Convents of Norwich</i> , H. Harrod, 1857	H. 9
<i>Charities</i> (Norfolk)—	
Charities, Clark, 1811	H. 9
Charities Reports, 1833-4 (fo.)	O. 10
<i>Church History and Theology.</i> [The large collection classed under these heads is not yet catalogued, but is kept together on Divisions A, B, C, and D.]	
<i>Dialect</i>	I. 8
<i>Diocese, Diocesan History and Calendars</i>	P. 8
<i>Domesday, &c.—</i>	
Domesday of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex (fo.)	F. 10

Domesday Book for Norfolk, Munford, 1858	H. 9
Domesday Book, Norfolk, zincograph facsimile, 1862	H. 9
<i>Ecclesiology</i> (see also Bells, and Monumental Brasses and Inscriptions)—	
Round Towers of Norfolk, Gage (n.d.)	H. 9
Rood Screens: Barton, Fritton, and Ranworth	O. 10
Notes upon Rood Screens, Minns, 1867	H. 9
Lectures on Antiquities of Norfolk, Hart, 1844	H. 9
Ecclesiologist's Guide, no author (n.d.)	H. 9
Sketches for an Ecclesiology, &c., no author, 1845 and 1846	H. 9
Architectural Notes of the Churches, &c., no author, 1847	H. 9
Returns of Church Goods, no author (n.d.)	
Goods and Ornaments of Norfolk Churches (pamphlet), Harrod (n.d.)	H. 9
Wells, &c., Woodward, 1881	H. 9
Shrines and Pilgrimages, Hart (n.d.)	H. 9
Emblems of Saints, Husenbeth, 1860. Ditto 1882	H. 9
St. Walstan, Husenbeth, 1859	H. 9
<i>Elections and Poll Books</i> —	
County—	
Norfolk Poll, 1714	N. 9
Norfolk Poll, 1734	N. 9
Copy of the Poll, 1768	N. 9
Norfolk Poll, 1802	N. 9
Norfolk Poll, 1806	N. 9
Norfolk Poll, Narrative and Budget, 1806	N. 9
Norfolk Poll, Narrative and Budget, 1817	N. 9
Norfolk Poll, West and East Poll, 1835	N. 9
Norfolk Poll, West and East Poll, 1837	N. 9
East Norfolk Poll and Register, 1858	N. 9
Norfolk Poll, 1865	N. 9
Norfolk Poll Book, 1832—7	N. 9

North Norfolk, 1868	N. 9
South Norfolk, 1868—71	N. 9
Register, 1833	N. 9
Register, 1835	N. 9
Register, 1836	N. 9
Norwich—	
Norwich Poll, 1710	O. 8
Norwich Poll, 1734, 1761, and 1768	O. 8
Norwich Poll, 1784	O. 8
Norwich Poll, 1786, 1794, and 1796	O. 8
Norwich Poll, Freeman's Sheriff, 1824	O. 8
Norwich Poll, Freeman's Sheriff, 1799, 1802, 1806	O. 8
Norwich Poll, Freeman's Sheriff, 1807, 1812, 1818	O. 8
Norwich Poll, Freeman's Sheriff, 1830	O. 8
Norwich Poll, Freeman's Sheriff, 1832	O. 8
Norwich Poll, Freeman's Sheriff, 1835	O. 8
Norwich Poll, Freeman's Sheriff, 1847, 1854	O. 8
Norwich Poll, Freeman's Sheriff, 1857 to 1871	O. 8
Sheriff, 1781, 1797—Poll	O. 8
Poll for the Freeman's Sheriff, Norwich, 1797	O. 8
Election of Mayor for City of Norwich, 1820	O. 8
Poll for Municipal Councillors, 1836	O. 8
Poll and Register, 1835	O. 8
Norwich Elections, 2 vols. of collections, bound	
Norwich Elections, 1st vol., two book boxes, bound—	
1st, 1780 to 1830	
Election for two Members, 1780	O. 8
Letter to the Freeman of the Great Ward of Wymer, 1819	O. 8
No. 1 of the New Election Budget, 1786	O. 8
Evidence of the Norwich Petition, 1787	O. 8
Dinner at Norwich, 1820	O. 8
Narrative of the Norwich Election, 1830	O. 8
Norwich Election Budget, Dawson, 1831	O. 8

2nd vol. Norwich Election Budget, 1833 to end	O. 8
Petition of John Cozens, Esq., 1833	O. 8
Evidence of Norwich Petition, 1833	O. 8
Letter to the Freemen of Norwich, 1833	O. 8
Speech delivered to the Electors of Norwich, 1834	O. 8
Norwich Complete Suffrage Union, 1842	O. 8
Commemoration Concerts, 1853	O. 8
Political Scrap Book, 1857	O. 8
Norwich Election, 1859	O. 8
Norwich on its Probation, 1880	O. 8
Norwich Elections, 1880	O. 8
To the Freemen of Norwich (n.d.)	O. 8
City of Norwich Election, 1875	O. 8
City of Norwich Election, 1868	O. 8
Norfolk Election Pamphlets, Vol. I. contains 1768-1833	O. 8
Narrative of Coke Dinner, 1833	O. 8
Election Budget, published by Rudd, 1817	O. 8
Norfolk Contest, (n.d.)	O. 8
Contest, no author, 1768	O. 8
Norfolk and Norwich Election Pamphlets (four book boxes of)—	
Essay on Ancient Inscription, &c., Dr. Johnson, 1739	
Letter to John Buxton, 1768	
Remarks on the Letter to John Buxton, 1768	
Letter to Harbord Harbord, Gardiner, 1778	
Letter to T. W. Coke, Esq., Gardiner, 1778	
Letter to a Country Gentleman, 1780	
Appeal to the Public, Morgan, 1782	
Charge delivered to the Grand Jury, Harvey, 1793	
Treason, 1795	
Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform, Coulton, 1797, two copies	
Speech of the Right Hon. William Windham, 1801	
Norfolk Election, 1802	
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Feast, the Norfolk—"A Sermon preached at St. Dunstons in the East upon 18th July, 1671, being the day of the Anniversary Feast for that County for some years omitted" [and 12 other Norfolk Tracts of little value.]

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Mr. Walter Rye, L. 12, M. 12, N. 12, O. 12,

(For detailed lists of these see "*Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*" 2nd
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CHRISTOPHER LAYER : JACOBITE.

WHEN turning over the pages of Peter le Neve's diary as printed in vol. ii. of "Norfolk Archæology," p. 379, I came across the following notes.

"Layer, Christopher, formerly of Booton in Norff, tryed for high treason at the King's Bench bar Wednesday, 21 Nov., 1722. Condemned 27: his unkle Christofer still living—his father a laceman—born in Henrietta Street, 12 Nov., 1683, bapt. 23rd Nov. foll: [rerieved till 19 of January next]" Also

"Layer, Xtofer, an attorney then councelor at Lawe, [Traytor] lived at Aylsham in Norff. Son of Layer, executed for high treason at Tyburn, Friday, 17th of May 1723"

To this Carthew, the editor of the diary has a note to the effect that Christopher Layer was the principal agent in a conspiracy to restore the Stuarts to the throne. Norfolk can boast so few of her sons who were faithful to the exiled house that I feel that this man, who was not only loyal to, but actually died for, the cause, is deserving of more remembrance than he gains from this casual mention in Le Neve's diary. I have therefore attempted to gather together a few facts about him and his conspiracy. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Rye for much that is contained in this paper as well as to the Rev. W. Elwin, Rector of Booton, and to

Mr. Russell J. Colman. In Mr. Colman's magnificent library of Norfolk books at Crown Point is a complete report of the trial as well as the rare "Life" of LAYER.

From the "Visitation of Norfolk" and "Blomefield" I get the following descent which shows that although, as Mr. Rye points out, their name does not appear in the early Calendars of Norfolk and Suffolk fines* the family was one of long standing and importance in East Anglia. The first to be mentioned is

GEORGE LAYER, of Bury St. Edmund's, *said* to have been living in 1429. He married Margaret, daughter and heir of Peter Botifant, and thus much increased his estates. His son was *WILLIAM LAYER*, of Norwich, of which city he was Mayor 1537. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Marsham, of Norwich, by whom he had with six other children a (fourth) son *CHRISTOPHER LAYER*. This Christopher married Barbara, daughter of Augustine Steward, of Norwich. He was twice Mayor and twice Member for the City, purchased Booton in 1573, and, by subscribing £25 to the defence of the County in the Armada year, was one of the first members of his family to show those *traits* of patriotism and loyalty which became so marked in his descendants. It is his brother Thomas—also Member for Norwich and *thrice* Mayor—whose portrait hangs in the Guildhall. Christopher Layer, aforesaid, died in 1600, having had with many other children an eldest son *AUGUSTINE LAYER*, who predeceased him after having married Susan, daughter of Clement Hyrne, of Norwich. Of their five children the eldest, *THOMAS LAYER*, became heir to his grandfather and upheld the traditions of his family by taking the side of the King on the breaking out

* In a pedigree lent me by Mr. Elwin three generations earlier than George Layer are given (1) Sir William Laire, Sheriff of London in 1291; (2) His son Sir Richard, Lord Mayor London in 1345, whose wife Isabella died in 1351; and (3) his grandson Lair, who was father of George Laire, of Bury.

of the rebellion. In a MS. which Mr. Rye has just printed, containing "A list of trained selected forces in Norfolk with the names and places of muster, this year 1627," is this:—

"Friday, 13 July (N. and S. Erpingham, Holt and, Eynsford)

Tho. Layer, Esq., Captayne of a troop of horse."

Let us hope that when the struggle came his yeomen followed their gallant Captain to join the King's forces at Nottingham. Thomas died in 1644, and was thus spared from seeing the bitter end which culminated in the mock-legal murder of his Sovereign. By his first wife, Susan, daughter of "Mr. Downing," of Grimston, and widow of Giles Gladwell, of Swannington, he had five children. Of these the eldest daughter, Mary, married the Rev. Robert Blofeld, Rector of Thorpe, ancestor of the Blofelds, of Hoveton, and the eldest son, *CHRISTOPHER LAYER*, of Booton, married Susan, daughter and eventually heir of John Frere, of Ashen Hall, Essex. He (Christopher) died in 1671 and was buried at Belchamp St. Paul, Essex, where, near his father-in-law, he had resided in 1658.

To him succeeded another *CHRISTOPHER LAYER*,* the second of his four sons (the eldest Frere Layer having died young). He also took to himself a wife from Essex, Mary, the daughter of Mordaunt Cracherode, of that county, being the lady. By her he had no children, and therefore he seems to have adopted, or, at any rate, to have brought up, his nephew Christopher, only son of his youngest brother (the 3rd brother, Thomas, D. S. P. and of him we hear nothing), John, a "laceman," of London. This *JOHN LAYER* had married the daughter of Valentine Browne, Treasurer of Berwick, and had with three daughters an only son, *CHRISTOPHER LAYER*, born in 1683, and the subject of this memoir.

* Died at Holkham, 13 Aug., 1726 (Le Neve).

We have seen that other members of his family had possessed Loyalist principles, but it is clear that our Christopher was not the first to *suffer* for them. For, in the Marquess of Lothian's MS.S. (Hist: MS.S. Comen: 1905, p. 142) is the following about his uncle and benefactor:—

“On March 2, 1695, at a sitting at Norwich Castle, after reading a copy of the order in Council for the seizing of persons and arms of all Papists and persons disaffected to the Govt., it was ordered that Christopher Layer, of Booton, was to be seized, secured, and sent to Gt. Yarmouth.”

For how long he was incarcerated I do not know; but he always remained a non-juror, as our hero at his trial vouches, and undoubtedly he had inculcated into the mind of his nephew the same sound principles.

It is extremely interesting to learn that Christopher Layer, senior, was a keen sportsman and that, to the end of his life, he kept and hunted a pack of fox-hounds. These, it is said, were of the best blood in Europe, so that the Master was able to augment a diminished income by breeding and selling them. If, as doubtless was the case, he began keeping hounds early in life, we have here, probably, the earliest record of fox-hunting in Norfolk. No doubt young Christopher was brought up to the same noble sport and may be 'twas partly to this that he owed the pluck he showed in after life. It is unfortunate that the only contemporary accounts of his youthful days which have come down to us should have been written by one who was not only a violently prejudiced Hanoverian, but also a most bitter and vindictive enemy who did not scruple, by lies and insinuations, to defame the memory of a dead man.

These accounts are

(1) “Acta Norvicentia” a MS. of 41 pp. by W. Massey, 1726. This is in the library of Mr. Walter Rye.

(2) “A faithful account of the life of Christopher Layer,

Barrister-at-Law, from his birth to his execution for high treason and his last behaviour, by a gentleman of Norwich his schoolfellow London 1723." A copy of this is in Mr. Colman's library at Crown Point.

As both the MS. and the book are, in places, word for word the same, I take it that either they are both written by the same person or else that the MS., dated 1726, was copied from the "Life," printed in 1723. Both are equally scurrilous and only deserve to be ignored; but having no reliable accounts, and, as no doubt the general facts—such as dates, names of persons, etc.—are substantially correct, the following extract from the MS. may be of interest:—

"1723 May, 17. This day Christopher Layer Esq., was executed in London for High Treason, But being educated and having spent ye greatest part of his Life in the City and County, I shall venture to give a short account of him in these Memoirs.

"He was the son of Jno. Layer, an eminent Laceman in Derham Yard in ye Strand, London, and was born the 12th of Novem., 1683.

"The care of his education was undertaken by his Father's elder brother, Chris. Layer Esq., a Gentleman of about £1000 per annum in ye County of Norfolk, who was fond of his neighbour and namesake and put him to Board at Norwich, where he was taught to read by Mr. Reuben King and learn'd Latin at ye Free School under ye Revd. Mr. Burton and was instructed in writing and accounts by Mr. Leverington,

"He was observed to be very dull at his Book, but in his Temper Splenetic, Malicious and Revengeful. As an instance thereof, a Lad whose name was Chappel, and he happen'd to quarrel and Layer, sometime after watching his opportunity, came in cool Blood behind Chappel and stuck his penknife up to ye Haft in his back at ye School-Door.

“ His indulgent Uncle, who had been so kind to him, when he was 17 years of age put him out Clerk to Mr. Repingale* of Aylsham an eminent Attorney, and before he was out of his clerkship put him in possession of £400 per annum on condition that he would supply him with a thousand pound ready money to clear his Debts and allow him £100 per annum during Life.

“ The £1000 he procured, but ungenerously defrauded him of his annuity.

“ It appears he was drawn into ye Conspiracy for which he suffer'd by his going into Italy in 1721 about some Affairs in his way of Business, and his Curiosity leading him to Rome, he became acquainted and had several Interviews with ye Pretender.

“ On the 24th of August, 1722, being returned again into England at a meeting at Layton Stone, in Essex, Mr. Layer with others of his Accomplices inlisted several persons for the service of the Pretender, and a few days after was apprehended and committed to the Tower.

“ October the 31st he was arraigned at the King's Bench Bar on an indictment of High Treason, and after an impartial Hearing and full proof ye Jury brought him in Guilty and sentence was pass'd on him.”

I will, later on, refer to some of the above statements, but, as to the indictment itself, not only was it for high treason, but also “ for compassing and imagining the death of the King.” If it be high treason to correspond with and attempt to restore one's legitimate Sovereign I suppose he was guilty on that count, even if the plan by which the restoration was to be accomplished were so wild and impossible that no modern jury would take it seriously. But, as to his trying to compass the death of “ the King ” (by which I

* Henry Ripplingall—see Le Neve corres: which has many references to him.

presume the Hanoverian usurper is meant) there was not one title of evidence to show that he ever "imagined" such a thing. In the wonderful "scheme" on which, at the trial, so much stress was laid it was proposed to seize the King and afterwards the Prince of Wales and to *keep* them in the Tower. There was no suggestion of murdering them. George would no doubt have been sent back safely to his own little German Principality once the King came to his own again. According to Lynch, one of Layer's men who "ratted," the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Cadogan) was also to have been captured, but, again, there is not one word as to his being slain, and it is specially ordered that there be no bloodshed if possible. But, was ever such a mad conspiracy conceived? Not only were the good people above mentioned to be seized, but the Tower, the Bank, Newgate, etc., were to be taken; and all this was to be done with some 200 men and a handful of officers! Again, I say, no sane jury could have convicted anyone for inventing such a scheme, bound to failure from the very beginning.

It appears that when first arrested and put in charge of a "messenger" Layer affected his escape and even got across the river; only to be caught again, however, after an exciting chase. For this attempt he was kept most cruelly fettered when in prison, and even at first when brought into court he, and his counsel, protested vehemently against this inhumanity, the more so as he was suffering from an organic disease which was aggravated by this superfluous torture. So heavily was he chained that the only way he could sleep o' nights was by laying flat on his back. Some very quaint and seemingly trivial objections were raised by counsel for the defence. One was that the indictment (in Latin) could not refer to *our* Christopher because the name was spelt *Christopherus* instead of *Christophorus*!

Mr. Hungerford and Mr. Ketelby as well as the prisoner

himself pleaded ably if vainly, and, although there is little doubt but that he *was* implicated in the plot, much of the evidence against him was of the flimsiest description. For instance, the uncorroborated word of one Mason, a woman of the lowest character, was accepted without demur. Again, Hardy Doyley, his former chief, swore to the scheme being in Layer's handwriting, which he had not seen for some years; whereas Stewart and Bennet, his clerks, swore that it was not. I must own, though, that the latter deponent rather "gave the show away" by admitting it to be in his *own* handwriting and written at the prisoner's dictation. But that is by the way, and Doyley's evidence, although given in good faith, was no more reliable than Mrs. Mason's. The whole case is much too long and technical to be gone into here, but, after a speech by the Solicitor-General in which he appeals to the worst prejudices of the jury—talking about "Civil and Religious Liberties," "Arbitrary Power of a Popish Faction," "Tyranny of the Pretender," etc., while at the same time taunting Layer with being a Protestant—the verdict of "Guilty" is brought in and the brutal sentence as then passed on "traitors" was pronounced by Lord Chief Justice Pratt.

Christopher, who had comforted himself well all through the trial, replied in the following dignified speech, "I hope your Lordship will give me a still further time to make up that great account which I have in another place, when this is done if His Majesty does not think fit graciously to continue me in this world, I will dare to die like a gentleman and a Christian, not doubting but that I shall meet with a double portion of mercy and justice in the next world though it is denied me in this." Those are not the words of a craven, whatever the backbiter Massey may say! I fear I cannot persuade myself to believe the story of the stabbing of a schoolfellow in "cool blood"—a boy with a character like

that would never have taken the fancy of the frank, fox-hunting squire, his uncle.

With regard to the monetary transactions between the two, it is not very clear what their real nature was. If we are to believe the two accounts above referred to, Christopher certainly behaved in the meanest and most ungrateful way to his kind uncle. Took over the estates from him, paid him the thousand pounds cash, but refused to complete the bargain by paying him the agreed annuity. I should like to have further evidence than the statement of those slanderous writers before accepting this. One would hardly think it likely that Christopher, the elder, would have handed the estate over without a proper deed being drawn up. And in the latter event he would always have had a legal remedy.

It is a great pity that we cannot find more details of Christopher's life in Norfolk. What few there are come chiefly from the Le Neve MS.S. and correspondence. On January 25th, 1700-1 "Kitt Layer" is to bring some writings from Henry Rippengall to Oliver Le Neve; later on is a joking allusion to him and a lady of the name of Betty Fenton. On August 2nd, 1707, John Malliew writes that "Young Chrstr. Layer has married Elve's (Elwyn's) dau. and all settled by Old Chrstr. upon him and he at Booton."

On September 20th, 1710, Christopher Layer writes from Cawston Market to Oliver Le Neve asking that the Leet be put off till the Wednesday following, when "I'll plainly wait on you." And on the 19th December he writes him from Tuttington that "Giles cutting is very importunate that I might help him to a Chapman for his little Manor at Witchingham and would needs have me write about it. He says he will sell it a pennyworth and that he has a very good tittle." Layer wants to know if Le Neve, who owned an estate at Witchingham, has any inclination towards it. This is all. The "Faithful Account of the Life of

Christopher Layer," &c., is so scurrilous that it almost defeats its own ends. It accuses him of the grossest immoralities, yet has to own that his wife, herself a good Jacobite, "had great though undeserved (?) affection for him." By the way, as far as I can learn, they only had one child, a little daughter, to whom James III. and his Queen stood sponsors by proxy). She was named "Maria Clementina" after her gracious God-mother. What became of her, I wonder, did she grow up and has she left descendants?

The "Account" also states that after his trial Christopher tried to implicate greater* folks, and that he was respited only by the earnest solicitations of his friends and wife *and at the kind representation of the (King's) Ministers*. Once again we can discredit this "faithful" history. The impartial "Dict: of Nat. Biog." affirms, as also his by no means over-friendly contemporary Le Neve endorses, that he was respited from time to time in order to get him to incriminate others, but that he refused to betray his friends. No doubt the Ministers had a hand in his respital, but *not* out of mere kindness as suggested by the "schoolfellow." The same author condoles with the Elwin family on their connection with Christopher—a connection which, doubtless, their descendants are duly proud of—goes on to say that his Uncle Christopher had always prophesied his eventual death by hanging, and finally states that when leaving Aylsham, having quarrelled with Rippingall, his "Parthian" shot at

*The following Norfolk names are taken from a list which was found among his papers with their equivalents in cypher. As will be seen, both parties are here represented so no one would be incriminated. It is curious to note that a "Coke of Norfolk" is mentioned. I had thought that this title was peculiar to the later and more famous Thomas William Coke:—

Mr. Ch. Bedenfield
Cook of Norfolk
Sir Bastingbourn Gawdy
Sir Ralph Hare
Sir Nich. Lestrangle

Roger North
Sir John Norris
Lord Townshend
Sir J. Wodehouse
Earl of Yarmouth

him was a remark that he, and not Ripplingall, was the father of two children whom the latter fondly supposed to be his own! But, as I have said, jaundiced and unsupported insinuations are not worthy of attention, especially when he describes the account of Layer published by the Ordinary of Newgate as being as "false as it is ridiculous." This is more than likely to be fairly unbiased, but unfortunately I have not come across a copy of it. There is little more to add.

On the 17th May, 1723, he was drawn upon a sledge from the Tower to Tyburn. He asked the executioner whether his body was to be quartered or not, but receiving no direct reply, he said that he hoped he had taken care of his soul and therefore cared not what was done with his body. He then delivered a paper to the Under-Sheriff, and addressed himself to the spectators to this effect:—

"Good people! I am here to suffer an ignominious death, not for an ignominious crime, but for following the dictates of my conscience and endeavouring to do my duty. As I die for so doing I doubt not but that I shall soon be happy; but (I) am certain this nation never can be so, nor ever easy, until their lawful King is placed upon the throne; I forgive everybody and desire forgiveness from God for my sins, and from men (for) what injuries I have done them."

And thus he died, as he hoped he would dare to, like a gentleman and a Christian. That he was misguided I do not deny, and his scheme was all along a foolish impossibility; but there was nothing but good in his desire to restore the excluded House of Stuart. The more so when the little-remembered fact is borne in mind that the famous Act, then barely 20 years old, which gives us the Protestant succession, was passed by the majority of one single vote in the Commons and only in the Lords by the absence of the

eight non-juring Bishops and by many Peers abstaining from voting at all. It was not, therefore, a very heinous sin, from any point of view, to conspire to restore the direct line thus so casually and illegally deprived of the throne. If any who read this paper should feel some sympathy for poor Christopher it may interest them to know that his "quarters" were interred at Kensington (where ?), and that his head was placed on Temple Bar. From there it is said to have fallen down and to have been secured by a non-juring lawyer of the name of Pearson, who parted with it to Dr. Richard Rawlins, an antiquary. He, during his life, kept it in his study and, at his death, was buried with it in his right hand.

The house where Christopher lived at Aylsham is still standing almost the same as when he lived there. It is now Barclays' Bank. On the spandrels of staircase is carved a very quaint representation of a hare-hunt, most typical of the sporting tastes of the Layers.

FREDERICK DULEEP SINGH.

NORFOLK FINES.

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Easter, 1652. | Philip Skippon, Esq., v. Christopher Layer, Esq., etc., in Foulsham, &c. |
| Easter, 1656. | Tho. Layer, gent., etc., v. John Gooche, gent., in Disse. |
| Mich., 12 Chas. II. | Chrstr. Layer, Esq., etc., v. Abraham Harsnett, gent., & Bust. |
| Hilary, 1675. | Edmund Themelthorpe v. T. Cracherod, E. Layer, Carr, and others in Worstead, etc. |
| Mich. 1710. | Chas. Layer, gent., etc., v. Ann Porter, widow, in Colby. |

- Mich. 1710. H. Doyley v. Brigge Fountain, E. Porter,
Wiggett Layer, Carter, etc., in Briston,
etc.
- Hilary, 1711. Peter Elwin v. Christopher Layer, jun.,
and wife, of Booton.
- Hilary, 1713. Peter Elwin v. Christopher Layer, jun.,
gent., and wife, of M., of Booton, &c.

NOTE.—In the “Temple Bar” Magazine for 1853 there is an article entitled “The City Golgotha,” which gives the following less picturesque account of the eventual fate of Christopher Layer’s head. After stating that he went to execution in “a full dress suit and tie wig” it says:—“The day subsequent to his execution his head was placed on Temple Bar, where it remained black and weather-beaten with the storms of many successive years until it became the oldest occupant. One stormy night it was blown off the Bar into the Strand, and there picked up by Mr. John Pearce, an attorney, who showed it to some persons in a public-house, under the floor of which it is stated to have been buried.”

THE GURNEYS OF NORWICH.

BY

WALTER RYE.

IN analysing the claims of this family to be descended from the family of Gurney of West Barsham, I wish to say that I merely deny the identity of John Gurney, the squire's son, of Maldon in Essex, with John Gurney, the Quaker and cordwainer's apprentice, of Norwich, both of whom were born in or about the year 1655. It may possibly* (one might almost say probably) be that the latter was descended from an impoverished branch of the Norfolk family, but that he was not so descended in the way alleged I think I shall make fairly clear, and the descent is strenuously denied by the Ferriers of Yarmouth, who represent the West Barsham family in the female line.

I should also like to add that this is not one of those early pedigrees like the Howards, Walpoles, Townshends, and Wodehouses which were concocted for cash by bye-gone heralds, or, like the Stewards, forged by a far back ancestor.

The claim set forth by the late Mr. Daniel Gurney was undoubtedly an honest and a genuine one† and firmly believed in by him, though apparently not by some of his relations who bestowed on his "Records of the House of Gournay" the somewhat sarcastic title of the "Apocryphal Book of Dan."

* Unless the reader accepts the Scotch theory. See page 75.

† Several of the facts on which I base my arguments were first printed by him.

His case was shortly this:—

Francis Gurney, a merchant of St. Benet Fink, London, who was undoubtedly descended from the Gurneys of W. Barsham, as shown by the Visitations of London (1633, p. 524 Record) and Essex (1664, p. 537), married Anne, daughter of Wm. Browning, of Maldon in Essex. He received his portion before 1623 (p. 524) and was in pecuniary difficulties in 1625 (p. 526).

It would seem that in 1614 he acted as banker or agent for the family of L'Estrange, of Hunstanton, and that in 1615 (p. 529) a Mr. Browning, of Norwich, received £30 with which Mr. Gurney was to pay a tailor's bill.

(1) This fact is thought to prove a connection between the Maldon Gurneys and Norwich, but as a matter of fact it proves no more than that a man of Norfolk descent living at Maldon had business transactions with a merchant or agent living at Norwich—the chief financial centre of E. Anglia.

That it proves that the Norwich man called Browning, living in 1615, was akin to the Wm. Browning, of Maldon, whose daughter married F. Gurney, seems to me both doubtful and immaterial. Even if the point were granted, it goes in no way to prove that the John Gurney born about 1655, who appears at Norwich as apprenticed to a shoemaker, had anything at all to do with Maldon or the Browning family.*

But what proof is there that any of the London family went to Maldon before 1655, when Francis Gurney, son of the London merchant had a son John born there. He was appointed an alderman of Maldon in 1662 (p. 1057), probably through the interest of his mother's and wife's family.

On the 12th Aug., 1677, he committed suicide down his own well—(see Pepys's Diary, vol. viii., p. 289). This was

* The name of Browning is a very common one in Norfolk.

when the son John (on whose identity the whole question turns) was 22. If such John, the son, really made his appearance at Norwich in 1670, as has been suggested, his arrival there to be apprenticed to a shoemaker could not have been caused by this home trouble of seven years later, and his father had been able to attend the Herald's Visitation in 1664, having only just (1662) been appointed Bailiff of Maldon.

(2) The second proof of identity of the Maldon and Norwich families is the connection between the former by marriage with a widow named Elliston, and the connection of the latter in business with another family of a somewhat similar name—Eccleston.

Shortly it comes to this:—

A Geo. Gurney*, of Maldon, married in 1660 a Mary Elliston, widow (p. 538).

The Norwich Quaker stayed (p. 545) in London with a Theodore Etleston at Crown Court, Gracechurch Street, in 1716, and Mrs. Gurney drew a bill on a John Etleston in London at the same time.

On p. 521 the name is given as "Eccleston," which I think is correct, for a Quaker of that name lived in Gracechurch Street at this time.

When John Gurney the son had—4 years later—made his celebrated speech (p. 551) in 1720, in which he referred to "his friend Egleston" (p. 552), such speech was at once answered and criticized by *John Eagleston*† in a pamphlet (copy in the Brit. Mus. 6,245a) under the title of "The Calico Quakers speech to the House of Lords. An opposition to the Norwich Quaker." How this criticism was friendly is not apparent.

* The connection of this George with the Maldon family is not shown, but it may fairly be presumed to have existed.

† No one of this name was freeman of Norwich about this time.

There is no doubt that many of the name under the form of Eccleston, Eggleston, &c., had been settled in Norwich for some time, and *if* the Mary "Elliston," widow, who married a Maldon Gurney was the widow of one of them, the coincidence would be valuable to the claimant as far as it went.* But to my mind Elliston is a wholly different name to Eccleston and Eagleston.

These are the main points *in favour* of the identity of the families.

(3) The third is that the age of the two Johns is said to be identical. But is this so?

John Gurney, of Maldon, was born 7th Oct., 1655, so would have completed his 66th year on the 6th Oct., 1721†, but John Gurney, of Norwich, who died 12th Decr., 1721, is said in the Quaker's Register to have died in the 66th year of his age. Had he been identical he would have been in his 67th year.‡

Minor arguments are that

(4) John Gurney the Quaker derived his religious bias from

(a) His alleged great uncle, the Rev. Edmund Gurney, of Harpley, or from

(b) The Brownings, Quakers, of Mildenhall, who *may* have been relations of his mother's family (p. 531).

No evidence is even proffered of their connection with this family, and anyhow both cannot be right.

* Very careful research has failed to show that the Norwich Ecclestons from 1582 to 1744 had any connection either with Maldon or the Norwich Gurneys except that John Eagleston of his pamphlet may have been the John "Egleston," worstead weaver, admitted freeman of Norwich in 1723.

† I do not place very great reliance on this discrepancy, for the dates are very near. But we see that Jno. G. made (p. 546) very careful notes of the birth dates of his children, and it may be presumed he knew his own birth date.

‡ Daniel Gurney (p. 546) incorrectly says he died 10th (sic.) Dec., 1721, *aged* 66, both statements differing from the facts.

(5) That John the Quaker named two of his sons *Edmund* after his alleged great uncle, the Revd. Edmund Gurney, of Harpley.

But it would be more reasonable to suppose that he called them after Edmund Garne or Gurney, of Norwich, living in 1622, or the Edmund Garne or Gurny, of Horsham, living 1666 and 1675, or the Edmund Gurney living in 1683.

So much for the evidence for the identity.

Now let us see what there is against it.

To begin with, a John Gurney of Maldon (presumably he who was born 1655), died intestate in 1681, and administration was granted to his brother Thomas (see p. 525 of Record).

Mr. D. Gurney saw at once that unless he could dis-identify these two, John and Thos., from the John born 1655 and his brother Thomas, born 1661,* shown on the Visitation, his case was gone, and the alleged identity impossible.

So he suggested first that the John and Thos. of the administration of 1681 must have been their *uncles* John and Thomas. It is true there was an uncle Thomas, born 1636, shown on the Visitation Pedigrees, who was a legatee under Susanne Gurney's will in 1642 (p. 1057), but there is no trace of any John, brother to him, either on the Visitation Pedigree or elsewhere.†

Moreover, if John, the alleged uncle, was the man who died 1681, why did not John, the Quaker, of Norwich (then 26 years old), who would have been his elder nephew and heir, take out administration to him, and not his alleged younger brother who would not have been his heir?

* As to him see Appendix II.

† There certainly was a John Gournay, gent., party to an Essex Fine in 1670, and also a John G., of Maldon, living in 1677 (p. 539), described as a gentleman who held land there "late in the tenure of Fras. Gurney and now of the said Francis Gurney," but there is no evidence whatever that he was brother of Thomas.

And he afterwards suggested that Thos. Gurney, the brother of the John, could not have taken out administration in 1681 because he was not born till 1661, as he was then under age. This is easily answered, for it is a matter of notoriety that a minor over 17 could be an executor. *See Tomlin's Law Dictionary*, which states an infant can make his will at 14, and at 17 may be an executor, and an infant at 17 may be a procurator as well as executor, and in this, both the Civil and Common Law agree—(5 Coke, 29b Off., Ex. 307, 1 Hale's Hist., P.C. 17).

Now let us treat the question in the way that Beltz treated the Chandos Peerage Claim, viz., having proved the claimants case bad on its own merits show from whom the John the Quaker, apprenticed to a shoemaker, was more probably descended than from an Essex squire.

The trade of a cordwainer or shoemaker* in Norwich had been used for very many years by persons of the name of Gurney, before John Gurney, the undoubted ancestor, was apprenticed to John Gilman, of St. Gregory's, cordwainer, *e.g.*

John Gorney†, Cordwainer, struck off list of freemen for fornication in 1561—re-instated by the name of John Gurney in 1562. He was forty when he made a deposition in 1561, so must have been born about 1521.

* On p. 341, &c., Mr. Daniel Gurney argued that cordwainer did not mean shoemaker but a merchant of cordova leather.

Every dictionary I have been able to consult contradicts this, and I am able to quote from the Norwich Assembly book of 1567 (p. 234), an entry which absolutely clinches the matter as far as local user goes.

"The Cobblers ask that they may elect their own officers without the controlment of the headsmen or wardens of the *Cordwainers*, and that it shall not be lawful for the cordwainers to work any manner of old work (the vampasing of old boots and buskins with new leather and new soles to be as well to the Cordwainer as to the cobblers at the will of the owners)."

† Possibly the John Gurney or John Gurnell who sold in St. Jac. Sepulchre, p. 138-9.

John Gurney, shoemaker, of St. Peter Mancroft, 1549, 5 Edward VI., when he had a son John bap. there, probably the father of

John Gurnell* admitted freeman as a Cordwainer in 1552.

Miles Garny, Cordwainer, of St. Saviour's, admitted 1565.

Robert Garney, Cordwainer, admitted 1573.

Robert Gurney, Cordwainer, 1585.

James Gurney, Cordwainer, 1648, son of Francis Gurney, of St. Peter Mountergate, Lace Weaver.

Thus there were plenty of plebeian Gurneys in Norwich of his own trade, from whom John Gurney, the Quaker, might have descended.

Another point I take against the alleged descent is that there were many other Gurneys at Norwich from 1311 apparently not connected with the W. Barsham family (*see* Appendix I.), at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries (*some of the same trades and living in the same*

* At first sight nothing would seem more unlikely than that the surnames Gournay and Gurney may have varied into

(a) Garney.

(b) Girne.

(c) Gurnell.

(d) Gurling.

(a) The first variant (a) is a very easy one, the present Norwich man still speaks of Gurney's Bank as "Garneys."

John Gurney was styled John *Garney* in 1688 and John *Gournay* in 1692.

Edmund *Garne*, of Norwich, 1622-1656. Edmund *Garnay*, of Horsham, 1675.

(b) John Gurney, of St. Stephen's, was so styled in 1590, but next year his name was written John *Girne*.

John Gurney, of St. Andrew's, in 1551.

(c) John *Gurnell*, son of John ———, same year.

John Gurney, of St. Andrew's, 1569, is John Gurnell, the same year.

John Gurney, of St. *Sepulchre*, 1557—becomes John Gurnell, of do., in the same year—the name having originally been written Gurny.

(e) George Gurney, of St. *Andrew's*, was so styled in 1557, but in 1579 he was called George Gurney al's Gurnell in St. Peter Mancroft.

John Gurney, of St. Andrew's, was so spelt in 1572, and in the same year was called John Gurnell.

Gurnell in 1519, and in the same year Gural.

(d) Edmund *Gurnell*, of St. Benet's, in 1680 becomes Edmund *Gurling*, of the same parish, in 1682, and Edmund *Garnell*, of St. Peter Mancroft, in 1700. Perhaps some day some one may be able to explain the extraordinary variants of Norfolk surnames. I have often quoted the existing and well-known instance that the surname of Gurling or Gurling is commonly known and often written as "Gallant."

parishes as *John Gurney the Quaker ancestor*), who do not occur on the sheet pedigree of his descendants which appears at p. 23, e.g. William Gurney, sexton of St. Lawrence 1629, &c.

The most noticeable instance is that 3 years only after the burial of John Gurney, the Quaker, at St. Augustine's in 1721, a Gilbert Gurney* was buried in the same parish in 1724. I have little doubt he was John's brother, and could we trace him, it might give the clue to the whole mystery.†

Anyhow, he does not occur on the Maldon pedigree. Again, we have a John Gurney, worstead weaver, of St. Martin Palace, who was coeval with John Gurney

* I have never met with this Christian name connected with the family till Theodore Hook used it in his novel. It should be remembered that Hook himself was of Norfolk descent.

† It is also very strange that we find a Scotchman another "Gilbert Garne" in London, 1658 (*see Domestic State Papers*, clxxiv, No. 45, where he is described as of Tillisfrisky, Scotland, and having been excommunicated by the Church of Scotland and 5 years imprisoned there):—and in 1653 another Andrew Gurney was a tailor of Turnstile Holborn (Committee for Compounding, p. 146:).

The occurrence in Norwich of a man of the same Christian and surname—especially at the time when some of the Norwich Gurneys were using such Scotch sounding names as Adam, Andrew, and Gilbert) is curious, and may point out that a Quaker family sprang from a Scotch family settled in Norwich about the same time as the Balderstones, Berwicks, Douglas, Galloway, Lindseys, Primroses, Stuarts, Todds, and Carrs.

The name is now occasionally used as a Scotch abusive epithet (*see Dialect Dictionary*, p. 623) Girnle or Gorney, gibbie s.b. peevish, ill-tempered, fretful, e.g., "have you got over all your tantrums, young Girnle" (Setoun's *G. Malcolm*, 1897 I, p. 19) and often used as an adjective as "a girning wife" and "girn and bear it."

The conclusion what might be drawn from it would be that a Scotch family named Girnle's Gurnell settled in a city where they found a family whose name of Gurney was locally known as Garne—and adopted the local name.

Yet taking the trade the Quaker certainly exercised as the next clue we have seen that men of his name had exercised it, at all events, for many years, and I am inclined to think that the plausible Scotch theory is only one of the very many coincidence pitfalls always ready for the genealogist.

It is not my business to suggest a possible descent for the Quaker Gurneys, but I must say that the fact that the first John was an executor to Thomas Cockerell, and that both Gurneys and Cockerells are to be found in all the four parishes of *Tasburgh*, St. George's, St. Stephen's, and St. John Timberhill, seems to me to hint at a possible connection with *Tasburgh*, where Middleton (*see* p. 78) also occurs in 1715.

Nor should the Horsham clue (*see* app. and under 1622-3) which shows that some Gurneys, of Horsham, had to do with property in St. Augustine's, a parish afterwards occupied by the Quaker Gurneys be overlooked.

Unluckily the Horsham register has quite recently been lost, so has the Aylsham register. Otherwise some connection with the old Gurneys, of Cawston, might have been proveable.

(son of the Quaker, and who was born in 1688), who voted as John Gurney, of St. Augustine, in the same year.

Robert Gurney, worsted weaver, admitted 1658, whose son Robert was admitted 1658.

Thomas Gurney, worsted weaver, whose son Andrew was admitted in 1703, and his grandsons, Andrew and John, in 1722-3.

Edmund Gurney, worsted weaver, admitted 1723, whose son of the same name was admitted in 1746.

None of these appear on the printed pedigree of the family of John, the Quaker.

Apart from the reasons I have printed above, it may be as well to set down a few remarks—in the way of a Retrospective Review—of the work which first set out the descent I have doubted in this article—the “Record of the House of Gournay.”

Much of it is taken up with an account of the glories of past history of the Norman family of Gournay, and more—of the history of the Norfolk branch of it.

From the length at which the subject is treated one might think that the Gournays were a baronial family of the highest consideration, but as a matter of fact after the death of Hugh de Gurney they at no time held any considerable land in the county, being sub-tenants of small manors only, *e.g.*, Harpley was only half a knight's fee, and did not obtain the sub-manor of W. Barsham till the 14th century (*see* p. 286). No *inquisition post mortem* (that invaluable test of ancient gentility) was held on any of the family till as late as 13 Henry VIII.

Then coming to later times, several things occur in the Record which deserve attention as showing an inordinate desire of its writer to glorify the family *per fas et nefas*.

On p. 544 John the Quaker, shoemaker, is held out as a rich merchant. "He realized a considerable fortune." "He was eventually an eminent silk merchant." What evidence whatever is of this? In 1700, when his twin children were born, he is still described in the St. Gregory's Register as a "cordwainer."

His friend Thomas Cockerell, whose executor he was, was also a cordwainer, and in 1716, five years before his death, his wife (p. 545) was carrying on a small retail business in (*i.a.*) coloured and book muslin and silk gloves, and was writing to her husband that she had no money to pay importunate creditors.

When he made his will in 1721 he had his doubts whether his estate would clear his debts, for he provides that if necessary they were to be paid by his four sons out of advances made to them.

Yet the myth that he was a rich merchant grew and grew till Hudson Gurney wrote in 1850 (*see* Bidwell's Annals of an East Anglian Bank, p. 9) that "John Gurney in 1670 was a thriving merchant of Norwich worth £20,000" (!).

Then as to the author's critical competence. He printed at p. 577, though he could not vouch for the authenticity of it, a very namby pamby war song of the Hays—only to admit afterwards on p. 1063 that not only this poem but the account of the Hays published with it are altogether fictitious.

One is therefore led to doubt many statements which may or may not be true, and which, except as bearing on the capacity of the compiler, have no bearing on the main point at issue, such as the story told on p. 555 that John Gurney was offered a seat in Parliament by Sir Robert Walpole, and that he lived on terms of intimacy with his brother Horace at

Wolterton, and that on pp. 560-1, while referring to the marriage of Joseph Gurney, of Norwich, in 1713, with Hannah, the daughter of Joshua Middleton, of Newcastle, he traces this Joshua from the well-born family of Middleton, of Belsay Castle, a pedigree of which he gives at pp. 560-1, and adds, "The descent of Joshua Middleton, of Newcastle (died 1720 at Darlington), is given from papers in the possession of the author of this Record." The papers could not have afforded *much* proof, for he does not give even the Christian name of Joshua's wife, and obviously does not know the dates of the births or deaths of his father and grandfather or the Christian or surnames of their wives. The name of Joshua does not appear on the earlier Belsay pedigree.

But for the fact that the assumption of an armigerous descent is another instance of the morbid desire of the author to claim connection with high-bred families,* the point would be of little value, and I would suggest that the Joshua who died 1720 was more probably one of the very prolific Norfolk family of that name who may have migrated thence to Newcastle from St. Gregory's.

It is noteworthy that Joseph Gurny was of St. Augustine's in 1710, and that there were Middletons in the adjoining parish of St. Lawrence in 1632 and 1664, and I have notes of an immense number of other Norwich Middletons. There were Norwich Middletons who went to Happisburgh and Lynn.

The descent from the Middletons of Belsay Castle may or may not be true, but at present it is not supported by any published evidence, nor do I find it is admitted by any independent North-country antiquary.

* This may have been hereditary—John Gurney, the Quaker, thought he was entitled to an earldom or a barony by inheritance, p. 1058.

Another instance is where (on pp. 544 and 549) the author speaks of John Gurney, the Quaker—ancestor having as brothers-in-law Robert and John Swanton, merchants at Wells, in Norfolk. No evidence is adduced as to this, and while I can find no Swantons at Wells I find many Swantons in Norwich (*i.e.*, in St. Augustine's), and one of them also a cordwainer.

The most extraordinary statements were made to bolster up the connection between the Essex and the Norwich families.

On p. 460 the writer states that he was told by an elderly member of his family that their relations, the Hessesets, lived at Hessett's Tower, Heigham. [Pockthorpe was meant, and this patent error shows the value of the tradition.]

Now the connection (if any) was that Henry Gurney, of W. Barsham, who lived in 1595, married Ellen Blennerhassett.

Had it not been common knowledge to everyone in Norwich that the Blennerhassetts lived where they did, is it probable that memory would have carried so far.

One more example of the almost morbid desire of the writer to glorify the connections of the family and I have done.

On p. 551 he refers to the marriage of John Gurney, the younger, on 9th August, 1709, to Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Joseph Hadduck, and adds—"The Hadducks were lords of Barningham parva, which John Gurney acquired by this marriage."

But before 1704 the manor had been conveyed to Richard Knights, Esq., of Attlebridge, who was Sheriff for Norfolk in that year.

Le Neve in his notes (printed in the "Rough Materials" for a history of the Hundred of N. Erpingham, p. 59) says that ". . . Gurney, of Norwich, weaver, *bought* the manor

of Stafford Barningham, of Knight, of Attlebridge (second son of Knight, of Attlebridge, Sheriff of Norfolk), about 1710.*

The only times I find the name of Hadduck in Norfolk is when Joseph Hadduck—no doubt the same man—in 1700 bought houses in St. John Maddermarket, which he at once (1701) mortgaged for £300, and in 1702 further mortgaged them for another £300. It is interesting to note that one of the witnesses was one Reuben Gilman.

* Blomefield, published in 1733, says "the manor belonged to Mr. John Gurnay, of Norwich, and on his death came to his son John."

APPENDIX I.

CHRONOLOGICAL List of Gurneys, &c., appearing at Norwich. Those known to belong to W. Barsham family have * prefixed, the Quaker John is in capitals, and those known to be his relations have †

- 1311 Roger Gurnay—Tithing Roll of Mancroft (Hudson's Norwich, pp. 373-380.
- 1375 Andrew Gurnay, Lete Roll, *id.*, p. 381.
- *1378 Edmund Gournay, of W. Barsham, City Councillor of Norwich, Bl. N., ii., p. 103, m. Kath. de Wauncy (Record p. 360).
- 1383-4 John, son of Edmund Gurney, occurs in St. Saviour's, Roll 6 Richd. II., 14m, 19d.
- 1383-4 John, son of Edmd. Gurney and Alice, his wife, dau. of John de Heylesdon, citizen of London, sell ho. in St. Olaves. Roll 15m, 13, 17, Ric. II.
- 1396-7 Geoffrey Gunney, barber, admitted a Freeman 20 Richd. II.
- 1407-8 (9 Hy IV.) Wm. Gurney, barker, admitted a Freeman.
- 1443 Henry Gurney, of Norwich, d. intestate 1443 (pp. 359 and 507).
- *1471 Thos. Gurney, of W. Barsham, d., said to mention his house in St. Gregory's (p. 359, 393, and 507, but there is no mention of it in his will, p. 393).
- *1508 Wm. Gurney, of W. Barsham, had a ho. in Pockthorpe, p. 359, 403, and 507.

- *C. 1514 Gournay's Place, called so from Anthony Gournay, owner of it, was in St. Julian's. He died 1555, Bl. N., iv., p. 84; see Rec, p. 420. By 1558 it was the city ho. of Thos. Gawdy, Esq.; then Wm. Paston, Esq.; then Jno. Coke.
- 1543 Michael Gurney, of E. Dereham, m. Marion Waggestar, widow of do., at St. Stephen's, Norwich.
- 1545 Alice Garnett, widow, bur. St. Stephen's, Norwich.
- 1546 Robert Garne, of Barforth, m. Alice Warne, at St. Stephen's, Norwich.
- 1548 John Gurnell, m. Etheldreda Okys, at St. Stephen's.
- 1549 John, son of John Gurney, shoemaker, bapt. 23rd May, and bur. 25th June, St. Peter Mancroft.
- 1551 William Gurney, al's Graver, was of St. Geo. Tombland, and had a dau. Anne, bapt. there 19th Octr. (see 1574 and 1589).
- 1551 Robt. Garne and wife sell in St. Bartho's. (p. 138).
- 1552 John Gurnell, cordwainer, adm. 5 Ed. VI., see 1557. 1572, 1574, 1680.
- 1555 Thos. Garne, sold house in St. Saviour's, p. 138.
- *1556 Anthony Gurney, d. possessed of Gurney Place, in St. Julian's.
- 1557 John Gurney, sold house in St. Sepulchre, p. 138.
- 1557 John Gurnell (originally written Gurney), granted 2 tents. in St. Jno. Sepulchre to John Hill, 29th Apl., m. 8.
- 1557 Thos. Garne and wife, in St. Saviour's.
- 1557 John Gurney, of St. Andrew's, on Muster Roll. Bundle 1, No. 26 (pencil nos.).
- 1557 Geo. Gurney and wife, sold house in St. Andrew's, p. 140.
- 1557 Geo. Gurney, al's Gurnell, sold house in St. Peter Mancroft, p. 140, see 1572, 1574, 1680.
- 1558 John, son of John Gurnall (Gurnye in 1573), bapt. 16th March, at St. Andrew's (bur. 18th Sept., 1562.

- 1558 Helena Gurney, m. Mr. John Gernegan at St. Mary Coslany.
- 1561 John Gurney, cordwr., discharged from his freedom in 1561 for immorality with Agnes Leman.
- 1562 John Gurney, re-admitted cordwainer, 4 Elz., 14th Jany.
- 1563 John Gurney, of St. Andrew's (Muster Rolls).
- 1564 Daniel, † son of John Gurnell, bapt. 15th Oct., 1564, at St. Andrew's, bur. 7th May, 1566.
- 1565 Thos. Garner, bur. 17th Feby., St. Peter Mancroft.
- 1565 Susanna, dau. of John Gurnell, bapt. St. Andrew's, 3rd March, bur. 1565.
- 1565 Miles Garney (Gorney in book), cordwainer, admitted 7th Apl., 7 Elz.
- 1566 Miles Gurney was of St. Saviour's, and had two sons and a dau. :—
- | | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| Henry, 1566 | } | Norris's Tunstead, 61, <i>see</i> 1626. |
| Elizh., 1568 | | |
| James, 1570 | | |
- 1569 Mary, dau. of John Gurnell, bapt. 29th Jany., 1569, at St. Andrew's.
- 1569 John Gurney (in St. Andrew's), a bow furnished (Muster Rolls 13, shelf A)
- 1569 Do. in another roll, John Gurnell, 1 bow, 1 set of arrows, 1 black bill, 1 skull.
- 1569 Mathew Gurney—St. Michael Muspoole (Muster Rolls 13, shelf A).
- 1570 Miles Gurnell sells in St. Saviour's.
- 1570 John Gurney paid landgable rent in St. P. Mancroft, St. Giles', St. Andrew (between Smithy Row on W.; Cutler Row on S.).
- 1572 John Gurnell pays poor rate in St. Andrew's, *see* 1574 and 1575—9, 1580.

‡ Does this Christian name show any connection with Daniel Gilman?

- 1573 Anne, dau. of John Gurnye, bapt. 14th June, St. Andrew's, bur. 30th Aug., 1579.
- 1573 Robt. Garney, cordwainer, admitted 15 Elzh., 19th June.
- 1573 Jno. Gurneye, a bow furnished (Muster Roll).
- 1574 John Gurnell (?) and wife, in St. John Sepulchre, *see* 1680.
- 1574 Wm. Garnye, one of the poor of St. Geo. Tombland, p. 231.
- *1575 April 4th, Gualfridus Gurnay, clerk, bur. St. Peter Mancroft.
- 1576 Matthew Gurney, tailor, admitted 18 Elz., 31st Aug.
- 1579 Geo. Gurney, al's Gurnell and wife sold land in St. Peter Mancroft, 5th Jany., m. 57.
- 1579 Geo. Gurney and wife sold land in St. Andrew's, 1559, m. 55.
- 1579 Anne, dau. of John Gurnye, bur. 30th Aug. }
 Elizh, dau. of John Gurnye, bur. 3rd Sept. } 1579, at
 John Gurnell, sen., bur. 13th Sept. } St. Andrews
 Mary, his wife, bur. 20th Sept. }
- 1579 John Tooke, apprentice of Matthew Gurney, al's Graver, bur. 10th June, at St. Stephen's.
- 1583 Matthew Gurneie, al's Graver, m. Elen (?) Perkin, of St. P. Mancroft, at St. Stephen's, Norwich.
- 1583 John Graver, fl., Matthew Graver, al's Gurney, bapt. 18th Aug., 1583, at St. Stephen's, Norwich.
- 1585 Robert Gurney, cordwainer, admd. 27th Elz.
- 1585 Margery Gurnye, bur. 4th June (St. Jno., Timberhill), *see* 1588, 1590, 1619.
- C. 1584 Jo. Gurney, servant to Edmond Atwood in Conisford, Ber St., or Trowse (Muster Rolls, bundles 2, No. 17).
- 1587 Robert Gurney, servant to Mr. Water Hawl in St. Mile's Muspool (Musters, bundle 2, No. 27), *see* Matthew, 1569.

- 1588 John Gurney carried a bill in All Hallows, Ber St. Ward (Muster Rolls, bundle 2, No. 2).
- 1588 Do. carried Atwood's caliver in All Sts. John Gurney carried a bill to serve for John Russell's caliver John Gurney, servant to John Russell, of St. Edmund's } *id.* No. 22.
- 1588 John Gurney, of St. Jno. Timberhill, had dau., Dorothy, bapt. at St. Jno. Timberhill, who was bur. there, 1590.
- 1590 John Gurney, servt. to Mr. Rooke, St. Stephen's, Muster Rolls, bundle 2, No. 34.
- 1591 Eliz., dau. of Tho. Gurnaye, born St. Edmund's, Norwich, p. 887.
- 1591 John Girne, man of Mr. Rooke, St. Stephen's, *id.* No. 35.
- 1591 John Gurney, of All Hallows, married Alice Pitcher at St. Stephen's, Norwich, *see* 1592.
- *1591 Arthur Gurney, gent. of Yaxham, bot. house, in Pottergate St., St. Gregory's, Norwich, d. (Norwich Deeds), 33 Eliz., m. 66, p. 123. Probably the Arthur G., of Gt. Dunham, who m. Kath. Walpoole, of do. wo., licence 12th Apl., 1584.
- *1591 George Gurney took out administration to his mother, Etheldred Gurney, of All Sts., wo., 11th June.
- 1592 . Anne, dau. of John Gurnye, bapt. 30th July, 1592, *see* 1591.
- *1600 Alis, wife of Mr. Geo. Gurney, minister, bur. St. Stephen's (Geo. G., d. 1622).
- 1602 April 13th, Margt. Gurney, m. Robt. Nedum at St. Stephen's.
- 1618 Robert Garne, sol., married Alice Childerhouse, 6th Mar., at St. Geo. Tombland (*see* 1623).

- 1619 Elizh., base dau. of Anne Gurney, bur. 1619 St. Jno. Timberhill.
- *1622 Administration to George Gurnaye, clerk, late of the City of Norwich, was granted to Mary his widow and relict. Consistory Court of Norwich, Admons., 1622.
1622. Edmund Garne, of Norwich, and Mary his wife, dau. of Thos. Whall, of Norwich, schoolmaster; he and his wife Mary (will, d. 26th June, 1620) sell messu. in St. Augustine's to Robt. Garne, of Horsham St. Faith's, yeoman. The next year (1623), Robt. Garne and his wife Alice sell the same ho. to Joseph Norgate. He m. Alice Childerhouse 6th Mar., 1618 at St. Augustine's. He cannot be the Robt. Gurney of Norwich, who, with Mary his wife sell ho. in St. Stephen's to Jno. Elsy, 1624,
- *1622 June 6th. Geo. Gurney, clerk, bur. St. Stephen's, (*see* Alice, 1600). Administration granted to Mary his widow.
- 1623 James Gurney, prisoner, bur. St. Jno. Maddermarket, 1623.
- 1623 May 18th. Samuel, son of Robt. Gurney, bapt. St. Stephen's.
- 1623 Robt. Garne, of Horsham St. Faith's, and Alice his wife, sell to Joseph Norgate messuage in Norwich, St. Augustine's.
- 1624 Robert Gurney, of Norwich, worstead weaver, and Mary his wife (and her sister who m. Jno. Allen) sold ho. in St. Stephen's, *see* 1696).
- 1626 Thomas Garne, m. Susanna Leasingham, at Horstead.
- 1626 Miles Gurney was of St. Saviour's before this date in a house then (1626) of Mrs. Pettus and formerly Nichs. Norgate, aldm. (landgable rents).

- 1628 Francis Gurney put in the stocks for being drunk, Assembly Book. (Probably the Francis Gurney, laceweaver, whose son James was appd. to Henry Bond, of Norwich, cordwainer, 1641).
- 1629 Wm. Gurney, sexton of St. Lawrence, and his wife Margt. (who aftwds, m. Robt. Dixie), had a large family there all daurs., except Richd. They all seem to have died. The daughters were, Martha, Lydia, Ellen, Margaret, Alice, and Anne.
- 1634 Wm. Garney, Gurney, Gernay, and Gurney, of Aylsham, convicted four times at Quarter Sessions for selling drink without a licence, &c. (Norwich Quarter Sessions).
- 1634 Stephen Gurny, of Nedeham, convicted of assault, Norwich Quarter Sessions.
- 1640 Andrew Gurney, mason, occurs in Church Warden's bk. of St. Gregory's.‡
- 1639 Sion Gurney was brother of John Gurny, of Earsham, whose will is dated 1639. (A Sion Gurney, of Tombland, m. Sarah Rant in 1704, and another Sion by his wife Ester had Ester, b. 1736, Sion b. 1739, and Elizh., b. 1743; all bapt. St. John Timberhill).
- 1639 Thos. Garne, of Horsham St. Faith's, convicted or accused of felony.
- 1641 Hy. Bond, of Norwich, cordwnr., enrolls an Indre., dated the day before by Chwns. and overseer of St. Peter Permontergate, whby. they put forth James Gurney, son of Francis Gurney of the same place, laceweaver, apprentice to Bond till he attains 24. (See 1628 and 1648.)

‡ Later Andrews were :—

Andrew G. (appd. to Thos. G.) admtd. 1703.

„ of St. Martin's Poll, 1710.

Andrew G., Wn., of St. Geo. Colegate, 1734/5.

- *1641 Dorothy Gurney, spinster (of the Ellingham and W. Barsham family), was of St. Geo. Tombland, where she made her will. She had sisters Ellen and Susan, Martha Smith, Elizh. Crow. Margt. Davy, and Frances, p. 477. For a copy of her will *see* Records, p. 477, and *see* 359 and 1027.
- 1643 Wm. Gorney, of Saxlingham, accused at the Norwich Quarter Sessions.
- 1646 Robt. Garnes m. Mary Sanders 14th June, at St. Jno. Sepulchre.
- *1648 May 14th. Mr. Edmd. Gurny, minister of Harpley, bur. St. Peter Mancroft.
- 1648 James Gurney, cordwainer, son of Fras. Gurney, lacemaker, admitted Freeman after apprenticeship to Hy. Bond, cordwr. (*See* 1641).
- 1648 Robert Gurney, administrator to Anne Dubery. Norwich, 1648. In a will, Norwich Archdeaconry. Anne Dubery, of Norwich, singlewoman, dated 28th Oct., 1648, proved 8th Nov. 1648, legacy to Goody Gurney a crimson petycote. John Blith and Robert Gurney, executors.
- 1649 Robert Gurney, whose wife Alice was bur. at St. Gregory's, 4th Decr., 1649.
- 1651 Richd. Gurnell, of Strumpshaw, accused of illegal commoning.
- *1652 Bridget, wife of Tho. Gurney, bur. Norwich Cathedral, p. 476.
- 1656 Richd. Gurnell, of Happing Hundred, for being bailiff above one year (Norwich Quarter Sessions).
- *1652 Thos. Gurney's wife, Bridget, d. 20th Sept., 1652, and bur. in Cathedral. He was alive 1662, when he erected a mont., B. Norf. IV., p. 12. Ar. a cross engr. gu. impaling on a fess. bet 3 fleur de lis, 3 roundels.

- 1654 John Gurnies, worstead weaver, apprenticed to Isaac Morley, admitted Freeman.
- 1655 JOHN GURNEY, the ancestor, said to be born this year, p. 537.
- 1656 Adam Gurney, bur. St. Gregory's, 2nd Octr.
- 1656 Edmond Garne, godfr. to Abigail, dau. of David Bourgar. (Moens' Walloons, p. 12).
- 1658 Robt. Gurney, w.w. (appd. to Geo. Lamb), admd. (his son (?) Robt. w.w., admd. 1681).
- *1660 Sparke v. Calthorpe in W. Barsham—Gurney, 169 (Recovery Index, Michs.).
- *1660 Henry Gurnay, the last of the W. Barsham family, left estate to wife, Ellen (p. 486 of Record).
- 1665 Susan Gurney, married Tho. Pestle, St. Mary in the Marsh.
- 1666 Edus Garne, of Horsham, accused of assault and riot.
 Wm. Garne, of Horsham, accused of assault and riot, and in 1675.
 Edmund Garney, of Horsham, for not working on the road with his cart (Norwich Quarter Sessions).
- 1670 John Gournay and Thos. Butler v. Margt. Stynt, widow. Thos. Hoare and Jane, his wife, in Gyngraffe, Ingrams, Wenton, Raynham, Barking, and Dagenham, in Essex, Consideration £240. (He could not have been John G. the ancestor who was then only 15) (? see p. 499).
- About 1670 JOHN GURNEY, who settled in Norwich about 1670 (this would imply he came here at 15), "was eventually an eminent silk merchant, and pched. ppy. in St. Augustine's of Sir Thos. Loombe," p. 514.
- 1676 Robert Garne, of Horsham St. Faith's, will, p. 255.

- 1677 Francis Gurney, of Maldon, the alleged father of John, committed suicide in his own well, 12th Aug., 1677, *see* new ed. Pepys's Diary, 8 p. 289. In the same year, John G., gent., held land in Maldon, late of the tenure of Fras. Gurny, gent.
- 1677 T. Gurney v. Morgan Jenkins, gent., &c., in Flordon. (Feet of fines).
- 1678 JOHN GOURNEY, one of the young men who contributed to a building fund of the Quakers, p. 547.
- 1680 Edmund Gurnell, Rate account of St. Benet's. In 1682 he appears as Gurling, and in 1684 as Girllingg, *see* 1692.
- 1680—1 Robt. Garney, paid rates in St. Paul's on the 29th Apl., 1682, he is described as Robt. Gurny, and on same date (Easter rate) as Robt. Gurnny.
- 1681 Robert Gourney, jun., w.w., admd. 24th Feby., 1681, after appr. to Robert Gourny. (The latter no doubt was the Robt. G., w.w., admd. 1658, after being apprenticed to Geo. Lamb).
- 1681 John Gurney, of Maldon, d. intestate and administration granted to his brother Thos., who was born 1661.
- 1683 JOHN GURNEY, committed to the city gaol as a Friend for nearly 3 years, 1685, in person (p. 543 of Record).
- †1687 John Gurney m. Elizh. Swanton, of Grunsdborough, Suffolk; "her brothers were merchants at Wells." A John Swanton was witness to their second son, Joseph, with Hannah Middleton in 1713, p. 544.
- 1688 JOHN GURNEY applied to be admitted Freeman in 1668 (p. 544 of Record).
- 1688 13th July. The king sent in letter to Norwich asking certain Quakers, including JOHN GARNEY, should be admitted Freeman without taking an oath, negatived by 39 to 8 votes.

- 1688 St. Gregory's. JO. GURNEY pays rates (Rec. Room, 15, E.). (Wm. Gilman had also done so, 1678—1683).
- 1689 Mary Gurney, of Upton, m. Jno. Sutton, of S. Walsham, at St. Mile's at Plea.
- 1691 JOHN GURNEY paid 7d. to the Norwich War Tax in St. Gregory's—(the highest payment there being Peter Seaman, 10/-). He and others were tenants of Jeremy Norris.
- 1691 Robert Gurney paid 1/- War Tax in St. Martin's at Palace. (Daniel Gillman also in same parish). He was tenant of Thos. Hawes at a rent of £20.
- 1692 JOHN GURNEY (GOURNEY) refused to take oath, but at Court held 28th June, 1692, after alleging he had been apprenticed for 7 years to Daniel Gilman was allowed to exercise his trade, p. 549.
- 1692 Will of Katherine, wife of Wm. Gurnell, of Strumpshaw, yeoman. Her brother, Richd. Hurrell, of Essex, signs with a mark. Witnesses, Richd. Gurnell, jr., Frans. Gurnell (good signatures) *see* 1680.
- 1696 JOHN GURNEY, of Norwich, cordwainer, and Elizh., wo. of Thos. Cockerell, of N., cordwainer, were exors. of Jno. Cockerell's will. She m. Edwd. Canning, of Tunstead, and they, with Thos. Cockerell his bro., sold ppy. in St. Stephen's to Nathl. Hancock by deed on 24th March, 1696. (Roll 78).
- 1697 Nathl. Hancock and son v. Edwd. Tompson, GURNEY, Caning, Cockerell, Copping, Peck, and a A. Paul, &c. (Feet of fines, Trinity 1697).
- 1697 17th April. James Garnel, of N., bound in £20 to prosecute Edwd. Sheering for suspicion of felony (Quarter Sessions Records).
- 1697 Hancock and ux. v. Gurney in St. Paul's (fine), Trinity 1697.

- 1700 April 29. Edmd., son of John and Mary Garnell (? ,
bapt. and bur. at St. Peter Mancroft.
- 1701 Robt. Gurney had an apprentice Richd. Hall admtd.
1701.
- 1703 Andrew Gurney, w.w., admtd.—app. to Thos. Gurney.
(Another Andrew, w.w., admtd. 1722. His son John,
w.w., 1723).
- 1705 Fine between Wm. Palgrave, gent., and W. Brampton,
gent., Gurney and wife in Pulham (Trin. 1705).
Do. Booty v. Ebbetts, Gurney, &c., in Hardwick
(Hily. 1705).
- 1709 Fine between Jo. Gibson v. Jo. Gurney, Duncon,
Ellington, &c., in Norwich.
- 1709 (Hilary) Jo. Gurney and wife party to a fine in
Shropham.
- 1711 (Hilary) — Gurney ditto, in Plumstead.
- 1712 (Easter) Ditto and wife ditto, in Swaffham.
- 1707 JOHN GURNEY was styled cordwainer, “when he
was an eminent merchant” (p. 541).
- Trin. 1709. Fine Jo. Gibson v. JOHN GURNEY, Saml.
Duncan, and Leonard Ellington, in Norwich.
- †1709 John Gurney the 2nd m. 1709, Elizh. (of St.
Andrew's), dau. (and co-heiress) of Joseph
Hadduck, gent., “who was lord of the manor of
Little Barningham, an estate which he acquired
by this marriage” (p. 551). But apparently he
bought it (*see* Bl. N., about 1710). Jno., Elizh.,
and Benjn. Gurny were witnesses. He lived at
St. Augustine's in a house bought for him by
his father. His father was also at St. Augustine's,
for he is described as Jno. G., sen., where he
voted in 1710.
- 1709 Robert (and ?) John Gurney, of Shropham, Fines, Hil.
1709.

- 1710 Farm to let at Whitlingham—Enquire of J. GURNEY at St. Lawrence. (Crossgrove's Gazette, 11th Nov., 1710).
- 1711 Marshall v. Gurney, &c., in Plumstead (Fines, Hilary 1711).
- 1710 JOHN GURNEY voted as J. Gurny, sen., at St. Augustine's.
- 1712 JOHN GURNEY, St. Giles', deed enrolled, Roll 14, to Joseph Burton.
- 1712 JOHN GURNEY bought in St. Giles', of Robt. Browne, m. 10.
JOHN Do. in St. Giles', m. 51.
- †1713 Joseph Gurney was deforciant in a fine of 11 ho. in St. Giles', in wh. Tho. Page dem., and Jno. Spencer vouchee, m. 18.
- †1713 Joseph Gurney (son of the 1st Jno.) was established by his father in St. Geo. Colegate in a house in Magdalen St. He married, 21st July, 1713, Hannah, dau. of Joshua Middleton, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, to be descd. from a very ancient family of Middletons, of Belsay Castle, Northd. But a Nichs. Middleton, "habberdasher of small wares," was admitted to freedom in 1702. (See Appendix).
- 1715-9 JOHN GURNEY (in 1715 spelt Jno. Gerney) pays rates in St. Gregory's.
- 1716 ELIZH., the wife of JOHN GURNEY No. 1, was, from her letter (p. 545), apparently carrying on a retail business in muslin, &c.
- †1718 Michael Russell v. Edwd. Clive in Wickmere and Mattishall, rot. 44, John Gurney, jun., and Elizh. [Hadduck, married 1709] his wife called to warrant, Recovery Hily, 6 Geo. I., 1718.
- 1719 Joseph Gurney bot. of Eastly in St. Augustine, 1719.
- 1719 Joseph Gurney }
Edmond Gurney } in St. Augustine, p. 117.

- 1720 John Gurney, jr., bought of Jno. Bryan in St. Geo. Colegate.
- 1721 JOHN GOURNEY, bur. 30 Decr., 1721, *see* St. Augustine's Register, described in his will of St. Gregory's, but leave ppy. in St. Augustine's.
- 1771 Hadley Doyly v. Wm. Barthrepp, in Wicklewood, rot. 14, Tho. Gurney called to warrant (Fines Hilary, 8 Geo. I.).
- 1722 Andrew Gurney, w.w., admd. after app., *see* 1703—1748.
- 1723 John Gurney, of St. Augustine, w.w., admd. son of Andrew, *see* 1722.
- †1723 Benjn. Gurney (witness to the Gurney marriages in 1709 and 1713), of St. Augustine's, w.w., admd. 1723 at the same time as John and Joseph. From his stone in Gildencroft, born abt. 1693, d. 1750.
Do. in 1734 ppy. in St. Mary's.
Do. d. 1750.
Benjn., his son, hotpresser, son of Benjn. G., admd. 1739.
Benjn. and Sarah G., vouchees of ppy. in St. Augustine, 10 Aug., 1754, roll 16. Robert Lay demand at Saml. Baker, def., m. 16.
- 1724 Gilbert Gurney, bur. 12 Sept., 1724, at St. Augustine's.
- 1725 Joseph Gurney, bur. 23 Aug., 1725, at St. Augustine's.
- 1727 Richd. Gurney, bur. 28 Aug., 1729, at St. Augustine's.
- 1730 Jo. Gurney party to a fine in Thelveton.
- 1734 Benjn. Gurney sold in St. Mary, p. 154.
- 1734 Richard Gurnall, freeholder, voted St. Peter Mancroft.
- 1738 John Gurney, son of Joseph, w.w., admd. freeman.
- 1740 Sion Gurney, w.w., admitted freeman
- 1742 John }
Henry } Gurney, not app. admitted.
- 1742 Elizh. Gurney, m. Joseph Gardiner at St. Mary Coslany.

- 1746 Samuel, son of Joseph G. }
 Edmund, son of Edmund G. } Admitted.
- 1752 Joseph Gurney, merchant, son of Joseph G., merchant,
 admitted.
- 1741 John Gurney and wife sell to Peat in St. Peter
 Mancroft.
- †1744 Mr. Gurney, of Norwich, gave small bills for £12 5s. 0d.
 and £5 13s. 0d. on London, 1744 (p. 521).
- 1746 William Gurney, m. Mary Harvey at St. Mary Coslany.
- 1748 Andrew Gurney, of St. Geo. Colegate, m. Frances
 Hambleton, of St. Andrew's, Sacrist's Reg., p. 103.
- 1749 John Gurney takes a mtge. of Harrison in St. Mary
 Coslany.
- 1753 Sarah Gurney and Jno. Gilliwater, both of St. Miles
 at Thorn and both single, married there 8 Oct.,
 1753.
- 1755 Joseph Gurney v. Wm. Chapman, in Scarning, Tho.
 Woodcock, voc (Recy. Michs. 29 Geo. II., 1755).
- 1758 Henry Gurney and Jno. Gurney this yr. exchange ppy.
 in St. Augustine with Reeve.
- 1769 Henry Gurney buys ppy. in St. Geo. Colegate of Jno.
 Thornley, m 13.
- †1770 Jno. and Hy. Gurney, sons of John G., jr., grandsons
 of John Gurney, sen, opened a regular bank at
 their house in St. Augustine's (p. 521 of Record).
- 1778 John Gurney and wife buy (?) in St. Augustine's to/of
 Roe, m. 10.
- 1781 Do. with Day, m. 7, in St. Geo. Colegate.
- 1791 Do. with in St. Saviour.
- 1779 Edmund Gurney buys of Anne Kerrich in St. Giles',
 m. 16.
- 1780 John Gurney, worstead weaver, in St. Helen's.
- †1780 Edmund Gurney }
 Richd. Gurney } merchts, in St. Stephen,

APPENDIX II.

It is possible that the Thomas Gurney who took out administration to his brother (the alleged ancestor) was the woolcomber of that name, of Halstead, in Essex, about 16 miles from Maldon, whose will was dated and proved in 1741. By his wife Sarah he had sons Thomas and Richard, daughters Elizabeth and Anne, and a grandson Richard Gurney, of Halstead (Bishop of London's Court).

DAMANT OF LAMMAS.

BY

MARY DAMANT.

THIS family, which owned and lived in the picturesque old Manor House by the river Bure for exactly one century, has for seven generations handed down a tradition that its original home was in the Low Countries, and that it was driven thence by religious persecution during the cruel oppression of Alva under King Philip the Second of Spain.

No confirmation of this persistent and still flourishing belief has, as yet, been discovered, although careful and exhaustive researches have been made in those cities of Belgium where the once illustrious family of Damant of Ghent, Antwerp, and Bruges is commemorated in stately tombs, and where its arms are quartered with those of the best blood in the Spanish Netherlands. For many generations they held high offices of state, and were courtiers of King Philip the Second, bishops, knights, and nobles; but their arms bore no resemblance to those of the Damants of Lammas. They were ardent and active Catholics. They were flourishing and powerful long after the ancestors of the Norfolk Damants appeared in Suffolk,

and I have succeeded in tracing their whole line from the 14th Century down to the last male heir, who died childless in the 18th Century.

Therefore, one is reluctantly forced to abandon the legend of kinship with this fine old family—unless, indeed, it was of a much earlier date than the one handed down—and to look nearer home for the forefathers of the Damants of Lammas.

Over the borders of Suffolk, and all round the town of Eye, the family of Dammant—as it is often spelt—has flourished greatly and numerous on the fertile fields of high Suffolk. As “gentlemen” and as “yeomen” (indifferently used in their wills and divers deeds), they owned lands and Manors at Stonham-Aspal, Kettleburgh, Cransford, Bruisyard, Mendlesham, Sweffling, Hacheston, and some dozen other places in that rich country; and from 1327, when Edward Damant paid his subscription to the Subsidy Roll of King Edward III's first year, they figure largely on Ship-money Lists, Hearth Tax Records, Polls and Registers; but their memorials are few, and are in no case adorned with any armorial bearings, although in two instances they sealed certain deeds with a coat of arms.

The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wilby, about nine miles south of Eye, trace for us clearly enough the four generations who owned that pleasant old moated Manor, which, with the date of 1500 on its gable, still stands as a farmhouse. Thomas Damant (see pedigree in Appendix), who is described on the Rolls as “filius unicus et heres,” succeeded very young to this small estate, and to other lands in the neighbourhood. Born in 1669, he was but five years old when his father died; and the guardian appointed by his father dying soon after, the Court appointed others till he came of age. His father's will is very urgent

as to his desire that his executor should use the profits of his lands "for the breeding my sonne upp in learninge," but we have not as yet found his name on any school lists in the County of Suffolk. On his coming of age he seems to have sold and let some of his property; but from this time, save as a voter we do not hear of him in his native county for many years, nor have we, as yet, discovered the date of his marriage to the heiress of the Manor of Lammas.*

Like himself, his bride was the only child of an only child. Her father was Edward Eyre, who, like Thomas Damant, had married the heiress of that Manor—Susanna Sadler, only child of Thomas and Susanna Sadler, who was born in 1651. Of the Sadlers and Eyres we know nothing save the meagre records of the Registers, and of the Chancel Tombs, on which the Eyre arms are deeply cut. Those of Eyre have puzzled many people as being different

* His mother Ellen, daughter of Thomas Bishop, of Hessley Hall, and Filby, his wife, was one of several sisters, co-heiresses through the early death of their brother. Of these sisters Grace, the youngest, became first the second wife of Henry Marsham, of Stratton Strawless, Norfolk, who died in 1692, and her second husband was John Cornwallis, of Wingfield College, Suffolk. It seems probable that the orphan would often visit his childless aunt at Stratton, and that he may have thus made the acquaintance of the Eyres, of Lammas.

[I do not think this necessarily follow, for we find the name earlier in Norfolk, viz.:—Timothy Damant was of Harleston, apothecary, in 1626. (Additional MSS., and see Fines 2 Chas. I., between him and Richard Carsey in Mendham.]

On 5th October, 1629, Francis Dammatt (*sic*) married Elizabeth Colman at Horstead—very near to Lammas, and I am inclined to think that this match may have brought them into the latter parish.

The name also occurs in the Fines of Easter, 1652, and Hilary, 1694, as to property in Banham and Burston.

A fine of Hilary 13, George II. (1739-40), between the Rev. William Lubbock against Thomas Damant and wife of the Manor of Lammas, and of lands in Lammas and Scottow, would seem to show that the family had sold or mortgaged the estate as early as this to the ancestors of Lord Avebury (Lubbock) the present owner.

Another fine of Hilary 25, George II. (1751), between John Durrant, Esq., against Thomas Damant, Gent., John Wood and wife, and Francis Kirby, in Lammas and Scottow, also points to a further disintegration of the property. The tradition in the family is that the property was finally sold by William Castell Damant, the grandson of Thomas.—Ed.]

He had other connections with Norfolk, as his mother's sister, Mary Bishop, had married Francis Alpe, of Buxton, Norfolk, and was buried at Stratton, whilst yet a third aunt Bishop had married a Norfolk man, Robert Dey, of Foulsham.

from those of all other families of the name, and as being now extinct. "Edwardus Eyre generosus" was, like his father-in-law, Thomas Sadler, Churchwarden of the Parish, and died in 1709, his wife having died in 1693. Mary Damant, their daughter, did not long survive her father, and we first find her husband's name recorded in the Registers of Lammas when she was buried there on the 12th of May, in 1709. On her tomb in the chancel her arms are erroneously cut as impaling his; and here for the first time do we find an English Damant playing the part of armiger. The inscription and the arms are here given:—

A chevron between three fleurs de lis, *argent* for Eyre impaling *Sable* a turnip leaved proper, a chief *or* gutteé de larmes, for Damant. Above is the Eyre crest of a dove.

"Hic jacet corpus Edwardi Eyre, Generosi, obiit 2^{do} die Febr. A.D. 1709, æt suæ 76."

"Hic jacet sepultum corpus Mariæ Damant, uxoris Thomæ Damant de Lammas Generosi, et filiæ unicæ prædicti Edwardi Eyre, obiit decimo die Maii Anno Dni 1709, æt suæ 39."

Through the death of his childless wife only three months after that of her father, Thomas Damant was enabled to describe himself as "de Lammas" in 1709, and the property passed down in his family from the days of Queen Anne to those of the Regency, when the fourth owner in direct descent found himself forced to sell it to the then representative of the Lubbock family, whose grandfather had been for 30 years Rector of the parish.

Thomas Damant's name next appears in the Parish Register of Withersdale, in his native Suffolk, a parish which was united to that of Fressingfield in the reign of King Charles. In the latter "had been settled on their ancestral acres from time immemorial the family of Sancroft" (to

quote the words of Sir Henry North, who in 1694 published the letters of his friend the great Archbishop, who crowned King James the Second, was by him imprisoned in the Tower, and who refused to crown his daughter Mary, and was by her ejected from Lambeth Palace and his See of Canterbury.) Ufford Hall, where he was born and where he died, is still standing, rich with old carving but falling sadly to decay amongst the ancient avenues the non juror loved so well In that same old hall was born his grand-niece Alice Sancroft, who became the second wife of Thomas Damant, of Lammas. Their families were connected through his guardian, and they were near neighbours, with relations in common. When Alice Sancroft was married it was not in the magnificent old church where she and all her ancient family had been baptised, and where the Archbishop's tomb stands outside the door, he refused to enter lest he should hear Mary and William prayed for as monarchs. Her father was dead, and her brother reigned at Ufford. She seems to have been married from the house of her only sister, Mrs. Wogan, of Gawdy Hall, Redenhall, in Withersdale parish, and it may here be said that, as their brothers died childless, the descendants of these sisters, the Sancroft Holmes and the Damant families are now the only representatives of the ancient house which held its land under the Charter of the knightly de Bavent, which Dugdale, the Antiquary and Herald, "considered to be very particular indeed" in the year 1639.

Alice Sancroft, who was baptised in 1684, was 27 years of age when she was married, and the entry runs thus:—

"1711. Mr. Thomas Dammant,
of Lammas, in Norfolk, and
Mrs. Alice Sancroft, of
Reddenhall, were married
October 6th."

Damant and Sancroft.

The first child of this couple was born a year later in the old Hall beside the Bure, which would appear to have been but an unwholesome home, for a very great number of Damant babies seem to have died untimely there in those old days. Poor Alice lost three of hers, and only succeeded in saving one. The eldest, called William Sancroft ("the first entry of a double Christian name," as Mr. Rye says in his note on the Lammas Registers), perished at six months, and when Thomas Damant himself died in 1731 his heir, "Thomas, second lord," as Blomfield styles him, was but 13 years of age. We have no record of the will, so we do not know who acted as the boy's guardian, but from a note in the Wilby Court Rolls we see that the widow was the sole executrix. It would seem that Wilby was too far off for her to manage, and she sold it at once to one of the Wingfield family, she being at the time at Fressingfield.

But brief was her life after the loss of her husband, for in March, 1732, she was buried in his chancel grave, and above them are cut the arms of Damant impaling Sancroft. (On a chevron between three crosses pattee *gules* as many doves of the field).

Their son Thomas, who succeeded to Lammas, appears to have also owned some property at Diss, as old deeds describe him as "of" that place. He may have there met his wife, only daughter and heiress of Doctor Francis Guybon, who was second son of Sir Francis Guybon, of Thursford Hall, Knight. If the marriage took place at Diss, its record is not to be found, but we find them settled at Lammas in 1740, where their daughter Mary was baptised. From this it would appear that Thomas Damant must have married Mary Guybon when he was but twenty years of age, and she was two years older. He died, and was buried at Lammas when he was only 43, leaving her with a family of four, all minors. His will is preserved (dated 1754) at Norwich, in which he

states that the Manor of Lammas is settled by deed, and names only three of his children, Thomas, Catherine, and Mary, all minors. His wife survived him for sixteen years, dying in 1778. She is buried in the chancel, and the grave of her father and mother, with the fine old coat of the Guybons, is in the Nave, with a Latin inscription m.s.: "Francisci Guybon, Gentis, apud Icenos Perantiquae et Generosæ olim. Coll. Corp. Xti. Cantabi. 1750."

The eldest son of Thomas and Mary Damant, William by name, was only nineteen when his father died, and he came into possession of the property. He married Elizabeth Castell, daughter of John Castell, of Norwich, apothecary, and sister of the Rev. John Castell, Vicar of Brooke, whom Suckling declares to be the last male representative of the ancient house of Castell, of Raveningham, whose three castles *gules* on an argent shield are boldly cut upon the tablet to her memory and that of her husband.

The record of their marriage has not yet been traced, nor the birthplace of their eldest son; but they are probably in Norwich, where lived her father and mother (the latter was Susannah Gipps). At Lammas old Hall were born the rest of their many children, and there she very suddenly died, leaving a large family, whose patrimony was wasted by their father, who "kept the hounds, and generally went to the dogs after the shock of her death," as one of his descendants writes. At his death in 1808 it was found advisable to give up the old home. His executors were his sons William Castell and Guybon Damant, but some doubt exists in the family as to both the time and the circumstances of the sale of the Manor.

It is, however, certain, from a letter written in 1819, that by that date the whole family had left "that much loved Norfolk village." The eldest son, William Castell, had gone on the Stock Exchange, where he greatly prospered, Guybon and Castell were doctors—in partnership in Fakenham, John

Sancroft and Edward were in the Army, and Thomas, a Captain in the Norfolk Militia, was already settled in Cape Colony, where his brother John was serving.

The famous colonization scheme of 1820 attracted two more settlers from this family, and the Cape Archives possess a very full list of the men, women, and children, the cattle and sheep, the implements and the seeds, with which Edward Damant (who had served in the Peninsula) sailed for the Cape. Artizans and labourers, shepherds and ploughmen, all accompanied him, and Lammas people might care to see the list of those early pioneers of Cape Colony who accompanied the old Squire's son to his new home. In South Africa the Damants flourished and multiplied exceedingly. A grandson of William, "third Lord," Guybon Atherstone by name, and one of the best known physicians in the Colony, was the discoverer of the Diamond Fields out there, and received the freedom of the City of London for his distinguished services to mineralogy. A great grandson of the same old Squire is that Colonel Damant, c.B. and D.S.O., why so greatly distinguished himself as leader of Damant's Horse in the late War, while the seven sons of another of his grandsons were all fighting for England, and many of them were wounded in the same struggle. Other branches of his family contributed to the ranks of the Imperial Light Infantry, and found soldiers' graves, whilst of the English descendants of the Damants of Lammas some have won fame in other fields. Guybon Henry Damant, Chief Commissioner for the Naga Hills, and a very distinguished linguist, fell fighting against a native rising in those wild hills; and another, Guybon Damant, a Gunnery Lieutenant in H.M. Fleet, last year won distinction by breaking the world's record in diving—having gone down to 35 fathoms in the attempt to discover for the Admiralty some means of preventing the lamentable loss of life in deep diving.

Of the contents of Lammas in the 18th Century some few relics are still cherished—The portraits of its owners, many relics of Archbishop Sancroft, silver with the Guybon and Sancroft arms impaled with Damant, and some very old China. Much, however, was carried to the Cape. The Manor Court Rolls are preserved in the Bodleian, and a window in the Church preserves the memory of the three generations of the Century which has elapsed since Lammas was sold by the fourth owner of the name of Damant.

Tabulated, the pedigree runs thus:—

(1) Robert Damant, of Wilby, Suffolk, died 1652, father of

(2) Robert Damant, of Wilby, died 1666, father of

(3) Robert Damant, of Wilby, died 1673, who by his wife Ellen, daughter of Thomas Bishop, Esq., of Hestley Hall, Thorndon, was father of

(4) Thomas Damant, of Wilby and Lammas, born 1669, and died 1731 at Lammas. By his first wife Mary, daughter and heiress of Edward Eyre, Esq., of Lammas (by his wife Susanna, daughter of Francis Sadler, Esq., of Lammas), he had no issue.

By his second, Alice, daughter of Francis Sancroft, Esq., of Ufford Hall, Fressingfield, who died at Lammas in 1733, he had, besides three children who died in infancy, a son

(5) Thomas Damant, of Lammas, born 1719 and died 1762, who by his wife Mary, daughter of Francis Guybon, M.D., the son of Sir Francis Guybon, of Thursford (born 1712, died 1778), he had besides three daughters and a son Francis Damant (a surgeon, who died 1790 without issue), and another son, Thomas Sancroft Damant (born 1746 and died 1800, who left issue three sons, Francis, Thomas, and William, of North Walsham), a son

(6) William Damant, born 1743 and died 1808 at Lammas, who by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Castell,* of Norwich, apothecary, and his wife Susanna Gyps, who died 1789, had a very large family, viz. :—

- (a) William Castell Damant, of whom hereafter (7).
- (b) Guybon Damant, born 1778, died 1852, leaving issue (see post 6b).
- (c) Thomas Damant, born 1779, a Captain in the Norfolk Militia; died in South Africa, leaving issue (see post 6c).
- (d) Castell Damant, born 1782, died at Fakenham, leaving issue (see post 6d).
- (e) John Sancroft Damant, born 1785, died at the Cape 1825, leaving issue (see post 6e).
- (f) Edward Damant, born 1786, served in the Peninsular War, and died in South Africa, leaving issue (see post 6f).

(7) William Castell Damant (a), who married twice—by his first wife he had no male issue, by his second, the widow of George Wightwick, Esq., he had

(8) Walter Damant, who died without issue, and four daughters, all of whom married, three of whom had issue, who represent the senior branch.

* The descent from the family of Castell, of Raveningham, is stated thus :—

Roger Castell, died 1644, by his wife Mary, daughter of Lionel Talmash, was at her of

Talmash Castell, died 1665, by his first wife Ellenor, or Helen, daughter of Sir William de Grey, of Merton, had a second son

Roger Castell, who recovered the estates against his niece Eleanor, daughter of Austin Castell (elder son of Talmash Castell) and wife of Erasmus Earle. He died at Norwich 1675, having by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Barker, of Diss, who died 1668,

John Castell, born 1667, sold the estates, and died at Norwich 1727, who by Rebecca had

John Castell, of Norwich, apothecary, who by his wife Susanne Gipps, of Norwich, had besides

The Rev. John Castell, Vicar of Brooke, born 1738 and died 1796, who married Elizabeth Leach, and had issue—a son, William Castell, a surgeon; a daughter, Elizabeth, born 1746, died 1789, who married William Damant, of Lammas, as shown in the pedigree.

(6b) Guybon Damant, born 1778 (son of No. 6), married Harriet James, and had issue.

(1) Dr. Thomas Damant, M.R.C.S., died at Southampton. By his second wife, Margaret, daughter of the Rev. P. Francis, of Stibbard, he had

(a) Philip Lloyd Damant, of San Francisco, born 1861, the eldest male representative of the family.

(b) Thomas Guybon, born 1865.

(c) Frances Sewell, born 1869.

(d) Roger Castell, born 1870.

(e) Margaret Winifred Harriet Damant, born 1874, of Stibbard.

(3) Henry James Damant, died at Cowes, by his wife Elizabeth Johnson,

(a) Guybon Henry Damant, M.A., murdered at Naga Hills 1879, d.s.p.

(b) Francis Sancroft Damant, of Florence, who by his wife Maud Hennell has a son Walter Sancroft Damant, R.N.

(c) Henry Castell Damant, of Cowes, who by his wife Mary Wilson has Guybon Chesney Castell Damant, R.N., James Wilson Damant, Henry Kirkpatrick Damant, and John Alistair Damant, R.N.

(d) Arthur Johnson Damant, M.R.C.S., of Cowes.

(e) George Damant, of Cowes, and daughters.

(6c) Thomas Damant, born 1779 (son of No. 6), married Anne Grant, of Sutton Valence, had a daughter only, who first married Major White, killed in the first Kaffir War, and secondly Dr. John Atherstone, by both of whom she left issue.

(6d) Castell Damant (son of No. 6), born 1782, a surgeon, died at Fakenham, having by his wife Elizabeth

Edgar, Thomas William Damant, F.R.C.S., who married, but died without issue at Fakenham, 1876, and two daughters.

(6e) John Sancroft Damant, born 1785 (son of No. 6), died at Cradock Town, South Africa, 1825, leaving by his wife Maria Johanna Charlotte Korston, besides several children who died infants,

(1) Frederick Korston Damant, born 1824, died 1901, resident magistrate at Hanky, who by his wife Margaret Mackrill had 13 children.

(a) Frederick William Damant fought in three wars, and by his wife Hester Ferreira is the father of 11 children, viz.:—Frederick Korston, William, Thomas, Peter, George, Castell, Francis, Alfred, and John Sancroft, and two daughters.

(b) Guybon Castell Damant fought in two wars, who by his wife Henrietta Ceroni had, besides daughters, Frederick.

(c) Henry Chase Damant also fought in two wars. Captain in the Cape Mounted Rifles.

(d) Douglas Damant fought in the Matabele and Boer Wars. By his wife Annie Cumming he has one son.

(e) George Henry Damant fought in Bechuana and Boer Wars, and by his wife Mary Wilson had, besides daughters, Cecil, Noel, and Douglas D.

(f) John Sancroft Damant, who fought in two wars.

(6f) Edward Damant (son of No. 6), born 1786, served in the Peninsular War, and by his wife Mary Atherstone had, besides daughters,

(1) William Edward Damant, born in South Africa, and was killed in the American Civil War, leaving three children living in America.

(2) Hugh Atherstone Damant died at Kimberley, the father of

- (a) Edward Damant, of the Cape Police, died 1904-5.
- (b) Frederick Hugh Damant, Colonel of Damant's Horse, D.S.O., C.B., described by Lord Kitchener as "a most gallant and exceptionally good officer." Served through the Boer War, and was seriously wounded. Now Resident Magistrate at Leydenburg, Transvaal.
- (c) George, of Kimberley.

LYNN AND THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE.

(A.D. 1286 TO A.D. 1621).

BY

RICHARD HOWLETT, F.S.A.

It is now 24 years since I called attention in Vol. II., Part II., of the Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany to certain early Customs Rolls for the Port of Lynn; but as far as I can ascertain no one has taken up the subject, and Mr. Rye has desired me to resume inquiries into it.

During the interval these and other early Customs Rolls for ports all over England have been properly catalogued by the authorities of the Public Record Office, and the reference for searchers is now to *Exchequer: K. R. Customs Accounts*. The Lynn Rolls are for the most part in groups 92 to 101; but there is a miscellaneous collection which contains a few relating to Norfolk ports.

The earliest Roll (92/1) is for the year 1286-7, and the 273 Rolls which form the Lynn records run on in a broken series down to 1621.

During these 335 years vast political and commercial changes had swept over England, and the development of a real Parliament, which roughly synchronises with the beginning of our series of Rolls, marks also the commencement of a national trade policy. Up to this period there had been in England no unification of the country as regards commerce.

If the merchants of London or Norwich desired to arrange commercial privileges with the traders of Bruges or Cologne or Amiens, the municipal authorities of the respective cities made their own private treaties in which the men, say, of Ipswich or Bristol, Ghent or Rotterdam, would have no part and under which they would have gained nothing.

And indeed it was high time for England to speak with one voice to the nations of Europe which then, as now, had clearer perceptions of mercantile principles, that is to say of pure selfishness, and of the practical modes of gaining trade advantages, commonly known as force and fraud, than the English.

Continental opinion of our mediæval forefathers was summed up in the 14th century in the contemptuous line:— "*Angli caudati, qui sunt ad pocula nati*;" but in spite of their reputed tails and their very real drunkenness they contrived, as these Rolls show, to keep the balance of trade on their side.

If we look at a map of the world drawn in the "spacious times of Queen Elizabeth" we learn the startling fact that the geographers of the early part of her reign knew more about India and China than they did about the Baltic.* For the grave causes of this ignorance we must go rather far back and note that the Laws of Æthelred (A.D. 978—1016) allude to the Germans, "*homines imperatoris*," coming in their own ships to England and being allowed special privileges, while William of Malmesbury, writing early in the 12th century, says that London was then crowded with German merchants. Charters were granted to these men in 1157 and 1194; but it was not till 1282, just before the opening of our series of records, that Henry III. allowed the Hamburg merchants to

* Chaucer and his navigator, who knew all havens from "Gothland to Finisterre," are contradicted by existing maps. It is a case of poetic license, as Admiral Jurien de la Gravière clearly demonstrates. The lately-discovered *German* map of 1507 of course does not affect this statement.

have "*hansam suam*" throughout the kingdom. His charter is the first document that contained the ill-omened word "*Hansa*" which, whatever its early signification, denoted in the 13th century the Hanseatic League. This League included a varying number of towns* bound together by strong ties of association, and forming an empire within an empire. It never did more than pretend to obey the Emperor of Germany, and while in many ways it was a secret society it could raise armies and maintain fleets. Its decrees were savagely enforced, and during the latter part of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th it kept in its pay a strong fleet, manned by the pirate "*Vitalienbrüder*," which held the gateways of the Baltic against all comers. These and their scarcely less piratical successors made marauding incursions into the North Sea, nearly capturing on one occasion our Edward IV. Holinshed's statement (Blomefield, iii., 114) respecting the Danes who "laid roving on the Norfolk coasts" in 1395 clearly relates to the "*Vitalienbrüder*," and the defeat of the local navy of East Anglia shows how completely the foreigners had mastered the North Sea. The Hanseatics were ready to trade, but only by means of their own ships. They carried cargoes from the North and took back cargoes to the North, but they never, if they could help it, allowed an English ship to enter the Baltic. Any attempt to penetrate that sea was foiled in blood-thirsty fashion, and thus it was, as I have said, less known than the China seas up to the opening of the 17th century.

Such brutal tyranny of course could not endure for ever, and Richard Chancellor's voyage to Archangel in 1553, which led to the foundation of the Muscovy Company, began the work of retribution by turning the flank of the Baltic trade

* The list I furnished for Mr. Inglis Palgrave's Dict. of Polit. Economy included 115 towns as having at one time or another formed part of the League. There were Hanseatic Factories at Lynn and Norwich but I do not know in what streets they were situate.

with Russia. In 1597 the Emperor Rudolph forcibly expelled the English Merchant Adventurers from Germany, but Queen Elizabeth knew the meaning of the word reciprocity, and the Steelyard, the vast emporium of German traffic in London, was promptly and effectually closed by her orders. The brave Queen's sea-dogs did the rest, and so far as England was concerned the Hanseatic cloud lifted for ever from the Baltic and the North Sea.

Clear signs of this strange condition of affairs appear throughout our Lynn Customs Rolls, and it has been no digression on my part to bring a few details respecting the Hansa before my readers. I have of course not been able to see anything like the whole of the 273 Rolls, and I have had to make selections. It will be seen that I have chosen several of the latest, but I have done so because these alone give the *coasting* traffic, the rest are entirely concerned with *foreign* trade. Seeing that there were 16 villages slowly washed away by the sea from the coast of Norfolk, I hoped to find traces of some of them in these coasting-trade Rolls, but I have been disappointed. The names of towns or villages which are mentioned as the "ports of registration," to use a very modern term, of the ships and small craft engaged in this traffic are given, as spelt in the Rolls, in the list which follows. These, except Holcham, are derived from the coasting-trade books of 5-6 Edward VI. (Roll 100/7), and 3-4 Elizabeth (Roll 101/8); but some occur also in the early Rolls.

Blakene	Gyllingham	Kirstead	Welles
Brankester	Hytcham	Lenne	West Lenne
Brunham	Holcham	Sheringham	Wyvenall
Cley	Holme	Thornham	Wyntringham
Cromer	Hunston (<i>sic</i>)	Walpoole	Yarmouth*
Darsingham	Ingham Mylles		

The identity of most of these with existing places is

* Jernemuth, Gernemuth, &c.

clear, for Holcham, I presume, is Holkham, Hytcham is Heacham, and "Wyvenhall" is nearer to "Wiggenhall" on the Ouse above Lynn, where there was a Customs Water-Bailiff, than to "Wigenholt," the missing village; but "Kirstead" raises doubt. Kirstead, or Kirkstead, lying high and dry on a straight line between Norwich and Bungay, could scarcely be the port of origin of a Canadian canoe; but there is no lost village to raise a dispute as to the identity of the place. Shipden, lying under sea to the north of Cromer, is not named in any of the Rolls I have seen, while Cromer only appears on these English Rolls in the days of Elizabeth; but there is a document in the *Hanserecasse* (V., p. 339), which mentions "Cromer" under 1407. "Ingham Mylles," too, is another inland "port," but no one can say what the precise geography of the Broads was in the days of Edward VI., and "Mylles" almost surely indicates a stream navigable by small coasting craft.

In the Calendar of the Close Rolls there is an interesting order, dated 27th April, 1297, addressed, among others, to the Bailiffs of Blakeney, Shippedenmere, Welles and Holkham, Brunham and Lenn, to send all ships above 40 tuns-of-wine burden to Winchelsea. In this we may note four curious points: there is Shippedenmere submerged, as stated above, in front of *Crowmere*; Wells and Holkham are treated as distinct ports; these minor ports have ships of 40 tons burden; and there is an indication that the *tonnage* of a ship may possibly have meant originally the number of *tuns* of wine she could carry.

The necessity for introducing a list of the large and small ports to which our Rolls refer must not, however, cause me to break the chronological chain, and I will endeavour to interweave with the English records such matters of interest as I have been able to glean from the *Hanserecasse*, the records of the official proceedings of the Hansa.

I have given in my former paper a sketch of the earliest Roll (93/1) of 1286, and a few details as to the next (93/2) of 1302-3; but I must take up the latter and give a long extract from it, for it is one of the few Rolls that mention the small ports. These, to apply the technical Customs term used in one of the late documents, are "members" of the port of Lynn, and being ports of foreign as well as English trade are fewer in number than the small places mentioned in the Coasting-trade books of Edward VI. and Elizabeth.

The following translation is of those entries in Roll (93/2) for the year 1302-3, which relate to Blakeney, Burnham, and Holkham*, and I wish not only to call attention to the nature of the exports and imports, and the value of the trade done in the reign of Edward I. at these now very small ports; but also to the names of the ships which did the carrying business. These and their owners are, I think, almost without exception foreign, and with few exceptions Dutch, Flemish, or German. It is clear that England at this date had a very small merchant navy in the North Sea. The grip of the Hanseatic League was on Eastern England in 1302: under a different name, and in subtler forms it is there in 1907.

Roll 93/2 (Lynn and all Ports to Yarmouth) 31-32 Edward I.

£ s. d.

May 1 *Burnham*—

From Hermann de Danyntor for			
Wadmolt† and Osmond, value £25,			
entering at Brunham	6 3

* I have carefully revised this list with the Roll, but the entries for these ports are mixed up with those for Lynn, and I cannot be sure that the separation is in all cases rightly carried out.

† *Wadmolt*, a hairy coarse cloth made in Norfolk and Suffolk, and used in making collars for cart-horses.

May 15 Burnham—

From Peregrine, master of the ship
called Juncker, and his partners, for
board, Wadmol, and falcons, value
£47 11 9

From Tydemann de Sconebergh for 6
pieces of cloth not coloured, putting
in at Burnham 6 0

„ 22 Burnham—

From James de Salicaces for hawk-
mews, for two grey falcons, and for
cendal*, value £26 6 6

† [Cloth on which total dues amounted
to] 16 19 0

June 1 Blakeney—

From Allard Wolterkyn for board, value
£22, and for blankets and other
merchandise, value £17 10s., entering
Blakene 9 10½

„ 3 Blakeney—

From Richard de Le Wrch, from
Friseland, for board and oars, worth
£25, in the ship called Belsar ... 6 3

From the same for English cloth, that
is to say blankets, *saia*, and other
merchandise worth £20 5 0

From Allard Wethercon for board and
other merchandise worth £25 [in the
ship called] Blychelees 6 3

From the same for blankets, *saia*, and
other merchandise worth £16 in the
same ship 4 0

* *Cendal* is a thin silken fabric.

† Nine entries as to cloth are omitted as uninteresting, but the amount of duty paid is stated.

July 12 *Holcham*—

From H. de Dees for £90 sterling* in a certain ship putting in at Holcham ...	1	2	6
From Nicholas de Dees for 4 bales of cotton, 1 bale of cotton thread, 2 bales of sugar in bags, 2 bales of verdigris, 1 bale of Talingfer cinnamon and other spices, one bag of cendal, 12lbs. of silk, 5 barrels of steel rod, value £100, in the same ship	1	5	0
From H. Brusk, of Malines, for three pieces of cloth †of mixed colour, and 7 without colour, in the same ship ...	11	6	
From Willm. de Dees and his partners for 35 pieces of uncoloured cloth, in the same ship	1	15	0
From Egidius Champion and his partners for 15 pieces of cloth uncoloured, in the same ship... ..	15	0	
From the same Egidius for curtains and "serur," worth 53s. 4d., in the same ship			8
From John Gobel for 19 "pakeles" of hair, and swords, value £150, in the same ship	1	17	6
From Andr. Brothercomb for 2 pieces dyed scarlet, 4 pieces of mixed colour and 42 pieces uncoloured, in the same ship	2	10	6

* pro. iij^{xxx} li. sterling—money of the Easterlings or Hanseatics.

† The piece seems to have been 42 ells, or about 45½ yards.

July 17 *Holcham*—

From John of Brussels for one piece of
scarlet, 4 pieces of cloth of mixed
colour, and 40 uncoloured, putting in
at Holcham 2 8 0

From Hugh of Leicester for 3 casks
of Wayd,* worth £10, in the same
ship 2 6

„ 22 *Blakeney*—

From Hermann Godebusche, putting in
at Blakeney, for board and beams
worth £19 4 9

Aug. 14 *Blakeney*—

From Doze and Eborard de Friseland,
entering at Blakeney, for board of the
value of £54 10s. 13 7½

From the same Doze and Eborard for
English cloth, called blankets, worth
£9 10s. 2 4½

Nov. 10 *Burnham*—

From William of Gaunt, master of the
ship called Nicholas, putting in at
Burnham, for salt and old clothes
worth £7 1 9

From Vtr Grewer entering in the same
ship, for £7 sterling 1 5

From the same Vtr going out, in the
ship of Peter Ballard, called the
“Dubbler,” for beer worth £6 ... 1 6

From Peter Ballard, going out in the
same ship, for beer worth 60s. ... 9

*Wayd is woad.

Jan 28 *Burnham*—

From Peter Le Wys, putting in at Burnham, for 2 pieces of coloured cloth, and 17 without colour ...	1	1	0
From John Godefrey for 21 pieces of cloth without colour ...	1	1	0
From John Neueper for two pieces coloured, 2 of mixed colour, and 23 uncoloured ...	1	10	0
From Gerard de Haa for 10 pieces of cloth coloured and 25 uncoloured ...	2	5	0
From Henry Conepape for 10 pieces uncoloured ...		10	0
From Christian de Neuport, master of the ship called Belisar, going out, for corn and beer worth £23 10s. ...		6	10½

May 10 *Blakeney*—

From Robert de Oreys de Bruges, putting in at Blakeney, for salt and hemp worth £33 ...		8	3
From Omond de Thurendeyn, exporting in the ship called Belisar, for malt, value 60s. ...			9

June 26 *Blakeney*—

From William de Hamburgh, master of the ship called Forloup, putting in at Blakeney, for boards and oars worth £20 ...		5	0
From Warner of Hamburgh, master of the ship called Holdeburgh, putting in at the same place, for boards and oars worth £18 8s. 6d. ...		4	7½

As I have said above, these are almost without exception men and ships from the Flemish, Frisian, and Teutonic coasts,

all the ports of which were practically, if not nominally, members of the Hanseatic League in the 14th century. No wool is included: that was only allowed to go out through certain ports called staples, of which Lynn was one of the most important.

If we remember that all sums should be multiplied by at least 15 to bring them near to present values we shall see that the local trade in Norfolk was not contemptible. In the general Roll (*i.e.*, for Lynn mainly) we find a few peculiar items: "board, gates, &c.," showing that carpenters' work was imported; blankets, *flockes*, &c.; "*una scarletta Lincolnia*"; 18 "*Quiltes*" (imported).

It will be observed that each foreign ship bringing a cargo went away with a load of English goods, and that while there was an *ad valorem* duty on miscellaneous imports and exports alike of 3d. in the pound, there was a special duty on cloth and wool.

In 1286-7 the duty on wool was 6s. 8d. the sack of 28 stone,† on skins 2s. 3d. the hundred, and on leather about 7s. 9d. on the last of 120 skins; and this formed a splendid national income, which if wisely used by subsequent kings might have given England an overwhelming navy and enabled her to flout the Hanseatic blood-suckers.

The total business in wool, skins, and leather is given at the end of the Roll (93/1) for 15 Edward I. thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Sum total of the wool for the year (1286-7)			
1406 sacks 6 stone. Duties	468	14	9½
Sum total of skins 27,962.‡ Duties	31	1	3½
Sum total of leather 22 lasts 11 dakers 2 skins.			
Duties	13	14	1½

* 600 ells of blanketing in this Roll were worth £24.

† Worth £6.

‡ This number seems large; but as in Roll 92/5 (2-3 Edward II.) 1118 skins paid £1 5s. 6d. proportion shows that there is no error.

There is a summary at the end of the next Roll for 2-3 Edward II. (1308-9) which fortunately distinguishes between imports and exports; but the minor ports are not separately treated in any way. The summary is as follows:—

Particulars of the King's new customs dues of threepence per pound in the Port of Lynn and thence by the sea-coast as far as Yarmouth, from Michaelmas 2 Edward II. to 8th August [3 Edward II.].

	£	s.	d.
Total value of exports	1126	11	0
Customs dues on the same	14	1	8
Sum total of receipts from each part of the Roll	41	2	1½
Sum total of all goods entering the Port of Lynn and from there by the sea-coast as far as Yarmouth [for the same period as exports]	1084	0	0
Customs dues on the same	14	11	0
Sum total of pieces of cloth imported (plain and coloured), 31 pieces, duties	1	11	0
Wax, 20 quintals „	1	0	0
New Customs dues from the increase of Wool leaving the Port of Lynn—			
Total of all the wool 34 sacks 21 stone. New dues from thence	5	16	0½
Total of all leather 14 lasts 4 dakers. New dues from thence	4	14	8
Total of all wool-fells 700. New dues from thence	7	9½	

These valuable statistics show that apart from wool, the staple article of the English export trade, there was a fair balance of business, imports being practically equal to exports. But if we refer back to the summary, printed in my former paper, of the 31st year of Edward I. there is a strange falling off of which an explanation would be welcome:—

	(Edward I.) 29 Sept., 1302, to 26 June, 1303.	(Edward II.) 29 Sept., 1308, to 8 Aug., 1309.
Total Exports (miscellaneous)	2264 11 1	1126 11 0
„ Imports (do.)	2036 4 9	1084 0 0
Total of all duties	99 13 5½	41 2 1½

A separate Roll (93/5) for this same year, 1308-1309, gives a *partial* explanation. We have had above the “*New Customs dues from the increase of Wool, &c.*”^{*} Now from our second Roll we have the “*Ancient Customs dues on Wool, &c.*,” and we see a significant fact about them :—

“Particulars of the Ancient Customs dues of the King “on Wools, Skins, Wool-Fells, and Leathers leaving the Port “of Lynn from the Feast of St. Michael in the second year of “Edward, son of King Edward, up to the 8th day of August “next following, received by the hands of John Lamberd and “Lambert of Saint Omer, keepers of the same, and paid to “the attorneys of Emeric and Betino dei Frescobaldi.”

A great source of income of the English Government had been recklessly pledged to the Florentine merchants, and the money which should have gone towards carrying on the service of the State would therefore have to be wrenched out of patient Englishmen by other means. The Yarmouth Roll for this same year shows a similar state of affairs and it mentions Berto del Chauk as attorney of Emeric dei Frescobaldi “and his associates, merchants of the company of the *Frescobaldi of Florence*,”[†] but in the case of Yarmouth the “*New Custom on wool*” went to Florence as well. The Calendar of the Close Rolls throws light on these pledgings. On 4th October, 1284, the King demised the customs of Ireland to Pape, a Florentine merchant, but only

* The *new* dues mean the dues over and above the definite amount pledged to the Italians, and they depend of course on *increases* of trade.

† From Yarmouth the Frescobaldi had in 1308—9, to the nearest pound, £245 ancient, and £5 new customs on wool. Leather and wool-fells were insignificant, about 12s. in all.

for a single year, and it was not until 27th June, 1309, that Edward II. assigned the customs of wine, cloth, spicery, &c., throughout the kingdom to Emeric and Bettino dei Frescobaldi "until the debts of the late and present King to them have been satisfied." This assignment did not touch the wool trade, but we find on 6th August, 1309, that the dues on wool and leather of a single port, Southampton, were handed over to the Florentines for a year.

The amount which thus went into Italian hands is given by the following summary at the end of the Lynn Roll:—

	£	s.	d.
Sum total of all wools going out of the said port (Lynn) from the Feast of St. Michael [1308] to the 8th of August next following [1309]			
791 sacks 1 stone. Duties thereon	263	13	7½
Leather (15½ lasts)	10	6	8
Wool-fells (1118 skins)	1	5	6

There still remains for consideration the singular falling off in miscellaneous imports and exports between 29th September, 1302, and 26th June, 1303, and between 29th September, 1308, and 8th August, 1309, a longer period, the combined totals in the former year being about £4301, in the latter only about £2210. For this I can find no sufficient explanation, for I can trace no quarrel with the Hansa, the business relations seeming to have gone on without break, and there does not appear to have been any national event to cause the drop in the trade in miscellaneous articles. The exactions needed to make up the large part of the national income mortgaged to the Frescobaldi may, of course, have tended to reduce the spending power of the people; but on the other hand the exportation of wool rose from about 194 sacks in the long year February, 1302, to June, 1303, to about 791 sacks in the short year September, 1308, to August, 1309, and this must, according to the law then in force, have been paid for in cash.

But the bulk of the wool trade of the nation at large was not with the Hanseatic League, it was the merchants of Italy who overran England during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries and collected wool from the monasteries and traders, abundant evidence of this appearing in the Hundred Rolls, and it would thus seem probable that the flow of the wool trade through particular ports could be largely influenced by the Frescobaldi and the other Florentine, Genoese, and Venetian merchants.

Our Rolls for 1286-7 and 1308-9 show that the wool was mainly carried away from Norfolk by German and Flemish merchants, as indeed seems natural, but scarcely any English, and, I think, no Italian ships appear in the Lynn lists. It is true that the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, vol. I. p. 353, refer to certain *merchants of Florence* who, while there was discord between Edward I. and the Countess of Flanders, took wool over from Lynn and Boston to Flanders; but the culprits were Reymer de Furneys, Jakes Amadur, Huelin Sampe, and Reginald Kamby, and were probably French or Flemish by nationality. In the same volume, however (pp. 357, 398, and 405), we have the names of four or five Italians; but they took the wool to Flanders, not Italy. The Close Rolls (6th August, 1309, and 4th August, 1317) show the Frescobaldi and the Bardi of Florence dealing with wool passing through the port of Southampton. It may thus be that the competition between the Hanseatics and Italians for English wool led to a concentration more or less complete of the German trade in East Anglian ports and of Italian in the Southern harbours, and that the great increase at Lynn from 194 sacks to 791 in six years is due to mere re-arrangements of traffic. The establishment of great sheep-runs did not begin till the 15th century.

I may here add a few notes as to later Rolls, but there were so many changes in arrangements—the Lynn Rolls

covering at one time all ports as far as Yarmouth and at another all ports from Blakeney to parts of the Lincolnshire coast—that there is no strict statistical information to be obtained from them.

The Roll (93/28) for 19 Edward II. touches only exports by foreign merchants of cloth, wax, wine, and other goods from Michaelmas, 1325, to 16th March, 1326. The sum total was £1150 15s. 4d., and the duties thereon £14 9s. 1d. One merchant named Modesson took out £12 worth of “sayes de Worth.” The word is spelt “saies” in the next entry and it means the fine cloth called *saia* or “say.”* This entry contradicts the assertion that only coarse cloth was made in England at this time.

Among these Rolls respecting actual trade occurs one (191/8) of 13-14 Edward III. of another kind. It shows the care taken to exclude foreign base coin. It is headed “Account of the scrutator of silver in money and silver vessels and of counterfeit coin in the port of Lynn and thence as far as Yarmouth.” Two entries will suffice:—

Hanekyns Swarte	v.d.	} counterfeit money forfeited to the King in the Port of Lynn.
Marcward de Monte	viijd.	

The whole of the base coin only amounted to 4s. 7d., and was of German origin. On the other hand we have, in the Roll 32-35 Edward I., duty paid for bringing in “xxviiij fluryns valoris £7 10s.,” but Florentine florins were of such repute in the days of Edward III. that they were used in the trial of the pyx as standards for the fineness of English coins. There is at least one more importation of gold, £12, in the same year.

The Rolls, as I have said, being far too numerous for

* Bailey's Dictionary (1773) calls it “a thin sort of stuff.” Worth elsewhere in the same entry appears as Worthsted (Worstead).

treatment *sciatim* I pass, in order to keep a tolerable chronological sequence, to the *Hanserecesse*, the minutes and documents connected with great business meetings of the Hanseatic League.* I find in them (I. pp. 85-86) a note that in 1352, in consequence of the murder of an English merchant by Germans, which happened in Flanders, the King ordered the goods of all Hansa merchants in Norfolk to be seized—probably the same order related to other parts of the kingdom as well. This was the only mode of bringing such a power as the Hansa to reason; but there are complaints on the other side, and in 1379† one Augustine, a citizen of Königsburg, being in Lynn, had his ship used against his will to take wool to Calais, and had it returned to him much the worse for the voyage. This was bad enough, but under 1385; the *Recesse* give a long list, handed in to the League by the “*Ambassiatores*” of Richard II., of Lynn and Norwich merchants who had been beaten or robbed in Prussia. The large sums claimed‡ give the matter a special interest, and I therefore print the list:—

LYNN.

	£		£
John Balmiche§	148	Galf. de Fransham	116
John Kempe	300	Robert de Waterdene	40
John Brandon	106	John Langnyht	39
Thos. de Waterdene	164	Roger Goldsmith	66
Walter Urry	116	Peter Merfey	65
John Locke	120	Henry Galle	51
John Draper	67	John atte Style	12
John atte Lache	100	Roger Paxman	260
John Falyate	62	Thos. Brekehede	32
Edw. Belleysterre	108		

Total claim, £1,914 18s. 4d.

* The printed volumes are catalogued at the Brit. Museum under *Academies Lübeck*, the press mark is *Ac.* 713/19.

† *Hanserecesse* III. p. 185 under year 1386.

‡ *ib.* pp. 402-411.

§ Given here to the nearest pound.

|| These are perhaps misreadings for *Balunche* and *atte Lache*.

This sum, of course, represents about £30,000 of modern money. The Norwich list totals £937 13s. 4d., so the whole bill for damages against the Hanseatic League grows to £45,000. This gives a measure of Norfolk trade at a time when the whole population of England is supposed to have been half that of modern London.*

Elsewhere in these *Recesse* there are tales of robbery† too long to be reproduced here; but in one of them the "*Ambassiatores Angliæ*" at the Hague tell a lame story of how in the year 1407 the men of "Crowmer" and "Clay" took a ship from Gerard Rosenorde in a Scottish port and brought it, partly laden with their own goods, to Cley, where they most virtuously gave it back with payment for its use. Later in the *Recesse*, but a little earlier in date (1391), there is a complaint that the "*Proconsules et Consules de Communa Hanse*" at Stralsund fined all the merchants of Lynn who happened to be in their port to the extent of 1600 nobles. "There be no laws on the Spanish main" was the saying in the days of Elizabeth, and I think that somewhat before her days there were no laws in the North Sea.

I must now pass over a considerable space of time and take Roll 97/4 for 4-5 Edward IV., say 1465. The Roll is crowded with the names of merchants of the League described as Hanseatics, *e.g.*, "Hans Wyse de Hansa," and, as an inset to the Roll, occurs an interesting document, a certificate of membership of the Steelyard in London:—†

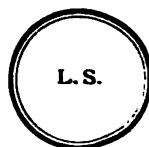
"Universis et singulis præsentis literas nostras inspecturis, et præsertim Custumariis domini regis in

* Some think it was about equal to it.

† Hanserecesse IV. p. 176-7; V. pp. 339, 352, and 355. See also the Close Roll Calendars for numerous instances.

‡ J. M. Lappenberg's History of the Steelyard should be consulted by anyone interested in this matter, and for a concise account of the Hanseatic League, with references to the chief books on the subject, I may perhaps refer my readers to an article which I contributed to Mr. R. H. Inglis Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy."

portu de Lenne, Nos, Aldermannus et communes mercatores regni Alemaniarum, habentes domum in civitate Londonensi, quae Gildehalla Theutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur, notum facimus per praesentes quod Clays Godeschalle, alias dictus Langerbecke, et Hans Conerick, mercatores dicti regni Alemaniarum existunt de dicta domo Gildehallae Theutonicorum, quod praesentibus attestamur. Incujus rei testimonium secretum [sigillum] nostrum praesenti cedulae duximus apponendum. Datum Anno Domini M^o CCCC^o LXV^o, die vero xxiii mensis Novembris."



The summary at the end of this Roll, or combination of Rolls, is as follows:—

		£	s.	d.
Value of foreign goods...	£751 15 0	Duties	9 5	6½
Cloth, uncoloured, of				
home manufacture ...	123½ pieces	„	7 4	1
Ditto <i>Hanseatic</i> (<i>Hans'</i>)	502 „	„	25 2	0
Wines, home & foreign	105 casks 1 pipe 1 hogshead	Subsidy	18 17	3
Value of goods, home & foreign, for the subsidy	£832 8 4	„	41 12	5
Sum total of the Roll	} of which	Small dues	41 11	7½
£102 1s. 5½d.		(<i>parva custuma</i>)		
		Subsidy of tonnage and poundage ...	60 9	8

It will be observed that in this year the Hanseatics have gained an advantage over the home trade of 2d. per piece of cloth, and importation is favoured to the injury of Norfolk

industry. The figures as to wool, leather, &c., are not in the Roll, and exports, except cloth and wine, are not included; but compared with previous Rolls there seems to be a falling off in the trade of 1465. The Hanseatic League had since 1452 been quarrelling with the English, and by 1470 was, as Philip de Commines states, at war with England and France. The Cologne branch of the League had sided with England in these quarrels and had withdrawn from the Hansa for a time, so it is probable that business suffered.

There are few curious entries in this Roll, but 20 bunches of spendable (*i.e.*, waste) paper, a last of clapholt (wood cut for cask staves), 1800 Bowestaves, 2000 ells of Prussian canvas, and 12 barrels *trane olei* (train oil) may be noted.

Differing in many respects from the Rolls are the later "Coasting Books," the first being for 1552. This one gives very poor information, though it mentions, as I have said, the small ports of the Norfolk coast. Thus Christopher Braunte, of Cromer, brought cod, ling, and herring to Lynn in the ship "William;" Thomas Hargate, of Brancaster, and T. Yonge of Hitcham (Heacham), made trading trips, while William Hunston in the "Mary," of Walpole, took barley and beans to Newcastle.

There are some curious entries: pookes (pokes, bags) of madder and alum, 2 dozen "playing cardes, and $\frac{1}{2}$ C waight Spanyshe Browne," 20 butts of Malvesey (Malvoisie), and casks of other wines: Gascon, Bastard, sweet wines and sack, with raisins and figs and the iron ore called *Osmunds*.

The next Coasting Book is of 3-4 Elizabeth, say 1561. This gives names of merchants and ships, and ports of origin and destination. Thornham to Harwich, Wintringham to Selby, Cley to London are specimens of the coasting voyages.

The last roll with which I shall trouble my readers is the "Customers and Comptroulers Bill for all Wines Anno 1621"

entered at Lynn and at "Welles cum Burnham." This roll is in English:—

"The Dragon of Lynn . . . from St. Marico porte in South Spaine . . . with 28 butts of Sherrie Sacke wherof there is allowed to the marchant 28s. and seavenpence for Butleridge."

Other entries, recalling Falstaff, relate to pipes of "Malligo sack and Brown Bastard," runlets of sack of 8 gallons each, and "Canary sacke," some of the Malaga sack coming by way of Flushing.

Then we have French wines from Bordeaux, direct and by way of Rotterdam, going to Lynn, while about 10 tuns of French wine came from Rotterdam to Wells *in ships of the port of Wells*—for the days of the Hansa were over. But we may add, with a touch of regret, that the days of some of our lesser Norfolk ports were soon to be over too. Coast-erosion and silting-up have combined with new ideas and new forces of all kinds to change the face of East Anglia.

THE BIGOD FAMILY.

THE Committee for Privileges of the House of Lords, on the 27th November, 1906, adjudicating on Baron Mowbray's claim to the Earldom of Norfolk, created in 1135 in the person of Hugh de Bygod, decided adversely to such claim.

It will be remembered that in 1302 Roger de Bygod, a descendant of the grantee, surrendered the Earldom to the King, who, considering it re-vested in the Crown, re-granted it to Thos. de Brotherton, whose representative Lord Mowbray claimed to be. The Committee, however, decided that the surrender was not valid at law.

Consequently, as Lord Ashbourne said, "Supposing a claimant should now appear proving a clear descent from a Bygod entitled to the old Earldom, what answer could be made in opposition to his claim?"

Roger de Bygod had a brother John, aged 40 years, living in 1302, and the question now arises whether there is any Bygod now living descended from him and therefore entitled to the much coveted title of Earl of Norfolk.

That there is no moral doubt that there were such descendants seems clear from the short pedigree I subjoin of the two Norfolk families of Bigod of Stockton and Bigod (otherwise Felbrigg) of Felbrigg. They ended in heiresses as far as the estates were concerned, but from the fact that the name continued in the county until quite recently—as shown by the notes printed at the end of this

page—it is highly probable that male descendants still exist capable of claiming the old Earldom, if Lord Ashbourne's *dictum* is correct, and if they can prove their descent.

BIGOD OF STOCKTON, NORFOLK.

1. *John le Bigod*, the brother of the Roger, Earl of Norfolk, who is said to have cut him out of his right to the Earldom by surrendering it, was seized of the Manor of Stockton near Geldeston *in capite*, and is said to have borne or on a cross gu 5 escallops ar.

In 1270-1 land was held of him at Stockton (Ancient Deeds, D. 221), and in 1275 . . . Bigod is said to hold 4 knight's fees in Stockton, Geldeston, etc.

In 1283 a Commission was issued to discover who had entered his free warren in Stockton (Pat: 11 Ed. I, p. 96), and in the same year he was made a Commissioner to consider as to a murder at Acle in Norfolk (*id.* p. 305).

Described as a knight, he bought lands in Mundham, Senger, Syseland, Wodeton, and Langley, in 1300-1 (Ancient Deeds, C. 80).

He died 33 Ed. I. (1305), and left a son,

2. *Sir Ralph Bigod*.

His marriage was granted to Queen Margaret in 1305 (Pat: 33 Ed. I., p. 375). He proved his age 34 Ed. I. (1306), and married Idonea Hertford, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Hertford, of London.

In 1310 he acknowledged a debt to Payn de Tybetot of 40 marks, to be levied in Norfolk (Close Rolls, 3 Ed. II., p. 252). In 1316 held Wyndale, Gillingham, Geldeston cum Wynston, Stockton, Kirby, and Ellingham. (Feudal Bar. 3, p. 480), and a manor in Tofts (*id.* 3, p. 459).

He died about 1316 (*see Inquisition post mortem*, 9 Ed. II., Tower 1, p. 1736, No. 58).

He was father* of

3. *Sir John Bigod* who in 1316 was described as John, son of Ralph Bygod, and then owned a manor in Marham (Feudal Baronies 3, p. 451).

In 1318 he acknowledges debts on a Close Roll, 12 Ed. II.

In 1318 he and Sir Roger de Colville obtained an acknowledgment from the Prior of Gromond, and Wm. de Lenne of a debt of £25 (Close Roll, 12 Ed. II.)

In 1324 he acknowledged a debt to Francis Bachemon and Joan, his wife, to be levied on his lands in Norfolk and Suffolk (Close Roll, 17 Ed. II., p. 159).

In 1332, described as son of Ralph Bigod, lord of Stockton, acknowledges he owes £100 to (his cousin) John Bigod, lord of Settrington (Close, 6 Ed. III.)

With Alesia his wife, he

In 1340 granted or settled the Manor of Stockton on Ralph de Crophull (Feet of Fines, Norf., 14 Ed. III., No. 551).

In 1343 John Bigod, son and heir of Ralph Bigod, arranged an old debt with John de Dalling (executor of Henry Burel) for providing for one Robert Burel among his "gantz de mestier," which the compiler of the calendar translates "men of mystery." (Close Roll, 17 Ed. III., p. 222).

In 1346 he was joint owner with the heirs of Edmund Gavell† and John de Thweyt, chaplain of a knight's fee in Stockton, Kirby, and Geldeston, which John Bygot, Walter de Carr, and Roger de Thweyt had formerly held (Feudal Baronies 3, p. 503). The same year he also held †1-20th of a

* He was probably also father of another Ralph, for in 1319 and 1320 *Sir Ralph Bigod* acknowledges he owes debts, to be levied in Norfolk (Close Roll, 13 and 14, Ed. II.), and in 1325 *Sir Ralph de Bygot*, of Stockton, occurs (Close Roll), and there are several other entries relating to him on the Close Rolls, 1325-1331.

† In 1428 the heirs of Robt. Gerveys and Robt. Gavell held this.

‡ The *Sir John Bigod* who held † a knight's fee in Calthorp (Feudal Baronies 3, p. 487) I should think was of the Felbrigg family.

knight's fee in Stockton of the heirs of Earl Marshall, and in the same year he (Sir John Bygot, of Stockton) had a general pardon, in consideration of his good services in the war in France.* (Pat. 20 Ed. III., p. 495).

He is said to have died about 1390, and I cannot help thinking that a generation must have been missed, and that there must have been a son, another

4. [*John Bigod*] who may have died 1390. He may be John, son of John Bigod, who was of Stockton in 1334 when he acquired land in Seterington from (his cousin?) Roger Bigod, and who had a brother. The son of one of them was Roger, alive in 1334.

5. *Sir Ralph Bigod*, Sheriff of Norfolk in 1386, when he was appointed a Commissioner to survey the defence of the port of Yarmouth (Pat. 9, Richard II., p. 177).

His will is dated 10th February, 1415, and he died in 1416, having by his wife Elizabeth,† daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Mortimer, of Attleborough (who afterwards successively married Henry Pakenham and Thos. Munning) had issue a daughter (and eventual heiress (?)) Elizabeth.

6. *Elizabeth Bigot*, who married William, son of Robert Garneys.

* This may possibly identify him with the John de Bygod who was going to Ireland with Gilbert de Clare in 1293 (Pat. 21 Ed. I., pp. 9-10), or with John le Bygod, who in 1320, having been in Ireland, was about to stay in England, and nominated Irish attornies (Pat. 13, Ed. II., p. 423) and the man of the same name who in 1322 was going with the Earl of Arundel and the King to Scotland (Pat. 16, Ed. II., p. 199)—and who again appointed Irish attornies in 1325 (Pat. 18, Ed. II., p. 131), and again in 1328 (Pat., 2 Ed. III., p. 308). In the last entry he is described as Sir John Bigot.

He may be the John Bygod of Heydon who in 1308 acknowledged a debt of 20s. to Roger de Sutton, Clerk (Close Roll, 2 Ed. II.), and the *John, son of John Bygod*, who in 1316 owned a manor in Marham (Feudal Baronies 3, p. 451). In 1346 Sir John Bygot owned half the manor of Calthorpe (Feudal Baronies 3, p. 487). In 1428 Sir Henry Inglose held half a knight's fee in Calthorpe, formerly of *John Bigot* of the Abbey of St. Benet at Holme (Feudal Baronies 3, p. 555).

† Her will is dated 1463 (Norris H 16) and refers to Ellingham, Shropham, Rockland, and Attleborough.

* * It has been generally agreed that the Stockton (Norf.) and Settington (Yorks.) families are identical, and I have a great number of references which may bear out this view, but I have thought it best to omit them, and in a Norfolk periodical like this only to give the Norfolk references. There were Yorkshire Bigods at a comparatively recent period, *e.g.*, Sir Ralph Bigot, Pat., 1 R. 3, p. 492, and Sir Francis Bigod, 1534—Ancient Deeds, B. 3223.

BIGOD ALIAS FELBRIGG, OF FELBRIGG.

1. *Sir Simon le Bigot*, 3rd son, as it is said, of Hugh Bigot the 3rd Earl, who died 1225), and uncle of John Bigod, of Stockton, married *Maud*, daughter and heiress of Roger (Richard, according to Blomefield) de Felbrigg, son of Roger de Felbrigg, granddaughter and heiress of Gilbert of Norfolk, by Emma, daughter and co-heiress of Falk de Beaufoy, lord of Hockwold, was father of

2. *Sir Roger de Bigod*,* 3 Ed. I. 1275.

Thos. de Brotherton had land (*i.a.*) the manor of Suffield, formerly of Roger le Bigod, which he had surrendered to Ed. I. (Pat. 12 Ed. III., p. 177, quoting Charter Roll, 6 Ed. II.) Sir Roger by his wife Cecilia was father of Simon de Felbrigg, *see post*, Claimed wreck, &c., in *Runton* and *Beeston*, by right of his ancestors (*see N. Erp.*, p. 41-232); besides John Bigod, of Tuttington (*see Blomefield viii.*, p. 41), of

3. *Sir Simon de Felbrigg alias Bigod*.†

In 1302 he held 1-5th of a knight's fee in Palling of the Earl Marshal. (Feudal Baronies 3, p. 434).

* Sir Robert Bygot had held a manor at Ditchingham, which was afterwards held by Sir Edward de Monte Acuto (Feudal Aids 3, p. 500) and a Robert Bigod of Felbrigg was presented to the Rectory of Ranton by the Prior of Beeston in 1300.

† No. 252. *Simon Bygot*, of Felbrigg, and Alice, his wife, with Alexander de Walcote, and *William fil' Roger Bygot*, of Felbrigg, with Harling, Palling, Wexbasham, Runton, Beeston, and Shpden, and the advowson of East Harling (Robert fil' Walter de Bernham, and Sarra, wife of John de Skeyton, app. claim).

In 1310-1 he had a grant by fine of land in Banningham and Felmingham (F. of F., 4 Ed. II., No. 178, from John de Banningham and Johanna his wife.

In 1311-2 he had the grant of half the Manor of Aylmerton from Peter de Beckham and Mabel his wife (F. of Fines, 5 Ed. II., No. 241), and the next year of the other half of the manors and of lands in East Harling, Banningham, and Palling for Richard de Refhan and Johanna his wife (F. of F., 6 Ed. II., No. 314).*

In 1346 he held 1-5th of a knight's fee in Palling of Earl Marshal, which Simon Bygot formerly held (Feudal Bar. 3, p. 505).

He married Alice, daughter of Sir Geo. de Thorp, whose arms, checky on a fess 3 martlets, were on his tomb at Felbrigg, and had issue.

[According to Norris he was father of a

Roger de Felbrigg, who died in Prussia, having married Elizabeth, who was buried at Felbrigg, and by her was father of

Sir John de Felbrigg, who built the church at Playford, and was father (besides Sir Geo. Felbrigg of Playford, who had had issue) of†]

4. *Sir Roger de Felbrigg* alias *Bigod*—8 Ed. III. (1334). There is a pardon to *Roger Bigot*, for the acquisition by *John*,† son of *John Bygot of Stockton*, of his homage and of land within the manor of Seteryngton, to hold to him and the heirs of his body, with another to said Roger his brother, Roger having entered on the death of said John, son of John (Pat., 8 Ed. III., p. 515).

He was lord in 25 Ed. III. (1352), and had a market and

* 6 Ed. III., 1322-3, N. Erp., p. 42-3, speaks of this fine as being between Simon Bygot, of East Herling, and as being a settlement of which William, son of Roger, a trustee.

† These two generations are omitted by Blomefield. Was there room for them? I doubt it.

fair at Felbrigg, and in 28 Ed. is said to have been a prisoner in the wars of France, and to have died at Paris, where he was buried.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Lord Scales, and widow of Anthony Woodville and of Robert Howard (Wodehouse MS. quoted by A. Norris, p. 451), and was father of a daughter who married Constantine Mortimer, of Attleborough (Wodehouse MS.), and of

5A. *Sir Simon de Felbrigg*, the King's Standard Bearer at Agincourt. Will, 1410. Arms or a lion saliant gu.

By his first wife Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Silesia—Norris says she was Bohemia, daughter of the Duke of Theise, and niece to the King of Bohemia, and died 1415—he had a daughter

6A. *Alana*, wife of Sir Thos. de Wanton. Norris, however, says she was first wife of Sir Wm. Tyndal, knight, ancestor of the Tindals of Hockwold.

He married 2ndly Katherine (daughter of Anketel Mallory, widow of Ralph Grene, Esq., who died 1459), and was buried next her husband in the Black Friars' Church, Norwich. By her he had Elizabeth, who married Sir Miles Stapleton, of Ingham.

With the possible descendants of John Bigod, of Tuttington, Suffolk (*see* Bl. 8, p. 11), and of Sir Geo. de Felbrigg, of Playford, Suffolk (*see* Norris Ped., p. 452) one need not concern oneself, as the male descendants would be junior to those of any of the Norfolk families.

There are, however, some of the names in Norfolk which I cannot identify as being of either the Stockton or Felbrigg families.

In 1302 John le Faulkner and others held $\frac{1}{2}$ a knight's fee formerly of Richard Bigot of Miles de Hastings (Feudal Bar. 2, p. 441).

In 1313 Wm. Bygot of Norfolk was apparently concerned in a robbery and arson at Cawston (Pat., 6 Ed. II., p. 563).

In 1322 (15 Ed. II.) Richard Bygot occurs in the Burnham Court Rolls.

In 1326 Nicholas Bygot and others robbed a Flemish ship near Yarmouth (Pat., 2 Ed. III., p. 291).

Sir Walter Bigot,* who in 1346 held a knight's fee in Tofts, formerly of Wm. Betit, of the Bishop of Norwich in 1346 (Feudal Bar. 3, p. 492), and another of Hagenet Peveral, &c., also formerly of the same (*id.*, p. 507).

He is probably the same as the Walter Bigot, Chevalier, who in the same year held $\frac{1}{2}$ a knight's fee, which Ralph Bigod formerly held in Dunmow (*id. ii.*, p. 174).

His will was proved (Reg. Heydon, Norwich), 21st March, 1372, p. 25, but Norris (A 4) says the will not there.

By his *inquisition post mortem* (Tower 49 Ed. III., Pat 1, No. 7), he is said to have held West Tofts marsh, called Bygots.

1467-8 William Bygott, baxter, admitted to freedom of Norwich 7 Edwd. IV.

1474 William Bygott, of Norton Supcorse. Witness to a will of Wm. Ivry, of Sporle. L'E Wills, p. 2277.

1491 Nichs. Bygott, godson of Nichs. Gloyte, of Cromer—will of latter (L'E Wills, 2468).

1491-2 Demise in accordance of will of Robert Bigott, "sekeman owner of the sekehows of Walsingham," 7 Hy. VII. (Ancient Deeds, A, 7494).

1531-2 Stephen Bygott, glazier, admitted to the freedom of Norwich, 23 Hy. VIII.

1542 John Dey, senr., v. Wm. Bygott and other defendants in Letheringsett, Holt, and Sharrington.

* There must have been an earlier Walter, for William, son of Walter Bygod, drove away sheep from a common of Buckslowe, Suffolk, in 1308. Pat. 1, Ed. II., p. 88).

- 1548 Stephen Bygott and wife to Wm. Plome, in St. Augustine's, Norwich.
- 1554 James Bygott, gent., (? witness) to will of John Robsart, Esq..
- 1555 James Bigott, witness to will of Sir Anthy., Heveningham, d. 1557, Regr. Jervis, p. 104-9, L'E Wills, p. 2197. Norris B B 2d.
- 1557 Wm. Bygott and others v. John Appleyard, Esq., and others, in Newton Flotman and Flordon. Michs. 4 and 5, P and M.
- 1558 Jas. Bigot, gent., of Pulham, administration to Mr. Wm. Bigot. Norris, J J 76a.
- 1559 James Bygott, gent., will of Wm. Burges, of Tasburgh.
- 1559 Stephen Bygott, to John Pye, in St. Augustine's, Norwich.
- 1563 Do., to Robt. Suckling, in St. Augustine's.
- 1560-1 Jas. Bygett v. Wm. Bygett and others, in Newton, &c., Hil., 3 Eliz.
- 1563 James Biggott v. Thos. Nasshe, in Reedham. Michs. 4 and 5 Eliz.
- 1564 Wm. Bygott v. Thos. Fox and Alice his wife, in Starston. Michs. 6 Eliz.
- 1567 Wm. Bygotte, of Starston, in will of Thos. Sayer, of Pulham, 1567. (Norris Wills, J J 87a).
- 1572 William Bygott, of Starston, gent., witness to will of Walter Wyllys, of Hempnall, d. 1572, id. 103b.
- 1572 William Bygott, of Starston, gent., sold land in Pulham. Tingey's Deeds, p. 26.
- 1573 Wm. Bigott, gent., and Sibill Bigott, in will of Margery Gryce (*see* 1587).
- 1574 Geo. Everton, gent., and others, v. Wm. Bygott, gent., and others, of manor of Bressingham,
- 1578 John Bygott and wife, to Wm. Drake, in St. Peter Mancroft, p. 22.

- 1580 Wm. Bigot, of Starston, gent., will d. 1580. Jno. Bigot, Jas. Bigot, Jas. B., of Tasburgh mentioned. (Norris Wills, C C, 84 c, d, and e).
- 1562 James Bigotte, in will of Nich. Kerison, of Tasburgh, with Gurneys. (Norris Wills, J J 126d).
- 1583 Jas. Bigotte, of Tasborough, gent., legatee under will of John Keene, of Starston, gent. J J 125c.
- 1587 Wm. Biggot and Sibill, in will of Jane Manfield, 1587, of Hainford—Grice's mentioned,
- 1589 Hy. Doiely, Esq., and others, v. Jas. Bigott, gent., and others, in Newton, &c. Michs. 31-32 Eliz.
- 1591 Will of James Bygott, of Tasburgh, gent., 1590, Jno., Thos., Jas., Mgt., Jno. and Tobias Bygott mentioned. Norris D D 41.
- 1600 Eliz. Bigott, of Westhall, Tasburgh. Regr. Force, fo. 16, E E 1.
- 1601 Sybill Biggott, of Starston, administration to Jno. Hawes, of Thirleston, and Alice. Regr. Gardyner, fo. 15b.
- 1631 Thomas Bigott, mason, freeman of Norwich.
- 1632 Thomas Bigott, worstead weaver, freeman of Norwich.
- 1653 Matthew Biggot, worstead weaver, freeman of Norwich.
- 1676 Hellen Biggot, of St. Mary's, widow, admitted to the Great Hospital (Extracts from Court Books, p. 377d, p. 143).
Matthew Bigot, ditto, p. 370d.
- 1677 Henry Bigot, worstead weaver, son of Matthew, freeman of Norwich.
- 1677 Nichs. Bigot, carpenter, son of Matthew, freeman of Norwich.
- 1677 William Richd. and Henry, sons of Matthew Bigot, take up their freedom of Norwich (extracts from Court Books, p. 147).

- 1698 Matthew Biggott, son of Nichols. B., w. weaver, freeman of Norwich.
- 1702 John Bygott, son of Nichols. B., freeman of Norwich,
- 1704 John Bigott, son of Henry Bigott, freeman of Norwich, worstead weaver.
- 1710 Nichols. Bygott, carpenter, son of Nichols. Bygott, freeman of Norwich.
- 1710 Matthew Bigget, worstead weaver, St. Peter Mancroft.
Nichols. Biggot, carpenter, St. Lawrence.
John Bygott, worstead weaver, St. James' and Pockthorpe. Voted in election.
- 1714 John Bigott, of Norwich, married Deborah Green 26th January, 1713-4. Sacrist's Register.
- 1735 John Bigott, worstead weaver, St. John Maddermarket.
Matthew Biggott, barber, St. George Colegate.
John Biggot, senr., worstead weaver, St. James'.
John Biggott, worstead weaver, St. Peter Mancroft.
- 1768 John Bigott, worstead weaver, St. Peter Mancroft.
All voted on these dates.

CHAUCER A NORFOLK MAN.

HAVING regard to the facts that the poet and very many of his relations (including his father and grandfather) were intimately connected with the wine trade and with the collection of wine and other custom house duties, and that the ports of London and of Lynn (then a great wine port) were then equally closely connected in business (at least two Lynn men being Mayors of London in Chaucer's time), I have long thought that the old statement by Ben Adam (whoever he was) that Chaucer was born at Lynn might be correct after all.

For some years I have put forward what I thought good presumptive evidence of this—*e.g.*, Chaucer's references to a very obscure Norfolk village called Baldeswell, to Friar Nicholas* of Lynn, who wrote (as Chaucer did himself) a treatise on the Astrolabe†, to the Holy Cross that St. Helen found (which was the name of a Lynn Guild in Chaucer's time), to the Shipman's tale (a Shipman's Guild was also then at Lynn), to the Holy Cross of Bromholm (Bacton in Norfolk), and to the alleged Child-murder by Jews (Lynn being the place of special Jewish persecution)—all of which seemed to show a close knowledge of Norfolk which would be difficult to explain in a Londoner of the same period.

* He was a Carmelite. Chaucer specially abuses the Friars' Preachers.

† It will be remembered that in the Miller's Tale the Clerk *Nicholas* is said to have an "astrylabe."

Now, at last, I am in a position to put forward something more definite, for I have just found among the Lynn records in an undated Bede Roll of the Trinity Guild of Lynn (G.d. 44), the names of John Chaucer and his servant Dreu.

Geoffrey Drewe was collector of the Port of Lynn 1344 to 1352, and Peter Drewe was Troner of the same port in 1349, which facts go far to identify this John Chaucer with the Customs of Lynn and with John Chaucer, the poet's father, who was deputy-butler for John de Wesenham (another Lynn man), for Southampton in 1347 (Kern p. 84), and who may have been deputy for Lynn before that date.

John Chaucer is said by Mr. Kern (page 57) to have been born in 1313, but (page 53) that he was of full age in 1330. If this is so, he must have been born before 1309, which makes the traditional old date of the poet's birth (1328) just possible.(1)

Yet against this is the fact that John Chaucer is said by Mr. Redstone to have been of full age on 13th July, 1343, when he conveyed property in Ipswich to Richard Layham (Redstone's Chaucer-Malyn family, Suff: Inst: 1905).

It is unlucky that the Bede Roll (which begins with names as early as Rich. I.) is undated (except in a recent hand as Ed. I.), but I hope to transcribe it, and by the known dates of other men named on it to fix John Chaucer's date more or less correctly. The right-hand bottom corner of the roll has had a piece cut out of it, and I at first thought that the piece cut off might have once contained Geoffrey's

(1) A Robert de London was custodian of the New Customs at Lynn in 1307 (see Lynn Customs Rolls, Pub. Rec. Off., W.N., No. 1889). Could he have been the Robert Chaucer, of London, the poet's grandfather and father of John?

In a roll dated 14 Ed. II. (1322) (Exch. Accounts, K.P., 109/18, m. 7) the name of Robert de Lenne occurs as not appearing in the Ward of Bradstrete, London, and Richard le Chaucer was his surety; but he cannot be the Robert Chaucer the grandfather who was dead by 1315, unless I have misunderstood the entry kindly given me by Mr. Redstone.

It would not be unlikely that a man having a dual address in London and Lynn should be known as de Lynn and de London.

own name and become the plunder of some wretched collector, but on obtaining a photograph of the roll I now see that the scribe has written "Respice ex alt'a pte.," after the last name, which shows the parchment was a mutilated skin before it was written on.

Other corroborations from the Lynn records, &c., are :—

1. Chaucer's aunt Isabella Malyn married Thomas de Blakeney before 1332, when they sold a house in Ipswich. I find Tho. de Blakeney a resident at Lynn in 1328-9. (Chamberlain's Accounts, E.c.7d. and Lete Roll C.a.3.)

2. Henry Scogan, the poet, friend and disciple of Chaucer, was son of a John Scogan. I find John Skoggon at Lynn in 1340 (Chamberlain's Accounts, E.a.8.), and it is very suggestive that Chaucer's two "envoys" are to Scogan and Bukton. The only Bukton contemporary with Chaucer was Robert Bukton, of Norfolk, an esquire of Queen Anne of Bohemia, who owned Burgh by Aylsham, and who in 1385 let it to John de Dyington. John de Dyington, al's Chaucer, the poet's father, is said to have been dead by 1366; but the lessee may be an unsuspected brother of the poet.

3. The poet's wife was Philippa Roet, sometimes thought to be Picard al's Picard (Morris's *Chaucer*, I., p. 46). Sir Henry Picard who had a protection the same day as John Chaucer had one in 1338 (Kern. p. 83), and was King's butler at Lynn in 1350.

4. His grandfather, Robert Chaucer (who was dead by 1316), was also called de Gunthorpe. This village is not far from Bawdeswell, the only Norfolk village mentioned by the poet, and it is significant that at the time of Chaucer's youth (1349) John de Bawdeswell was Rector of Gunthorpe.

The names of several Gunthorpes are on the *Lynn* rolls.

5. John de Stody, afterwards Mayor and Sheriff of London and erstwhile a taverner at *Lynn* (Pat. Cal. 1331, p. 116). His name is taken for that of the next village to

Gunthorpe, and occurs on no less than *eight* times in connection with the poet's father John, viz. :—

- (i.) In 1342 he and John Chaucer were together present at a meeting as to sale of wines in London (*see*).
- (ii.) In 1344 he with John Chaucer, Walter Turk (a searcher at Lynn Custom House in 1349) and others, were witness to a Sussex Charter (Close Cal., p. 44).
- (iii.) In 1347 he was appointed Deputy Butler for London the same day as John Chausere was appointed Deputy Butler for Southampton. (Pat. Cal., p. 253).
- (iv.) In the same year he with *John Chaucer* and others were appointed to arrest certain persons. (Pat. Cal., p. 393).
- (v.) In 1352 he and others were partners in a venture as to wool, some of which was laden, coketted, and customed by *Nichs. Chaucer*. (Close, pp. 440-1).
- (vi.) In the same year he had a grant of land in Hokkale, Essex, from Edmund, son and heir of Hamo de Sutton, and it was witnessed by John Chaucer.
- (vii.) In 1363 he levied a fine with *John Chaucer* and Agnes his wife (the poet's father and mother) of land in Stepney and in St. Mary Matfelon without Aldgate. (Kern p. 95).
- (viii.) In 1365 he levied another fine of other property in the latter place with John and Agnes Chaucer. (Id. p. 96).

6. In 1369 Chaucer, as one of the Royal household, had, as well as William de Gunthorpe, probably a kinsman, a grant of cloth (Life Records, p. 173) at the same time as Walter de Whitehorse, who had been Troner of the port of *Lynn*, 1344-1351.

7. John de Wesenham, the King's butler, who appointed John Chaucer his Deputy in 1347 (Kern p. 84), was a Lynn man by birth, and this name occurs frequently among the Lynn records. (Red Book p. 63, &c.)

8. Henry de Say, the King's butler in 1308, who appointed Robert Chaucer his attorney, &c., 1320-1, had appointed him again under the name of Robert de Gunthorpe, Letter Book 1320-1, was apparently also from Lynn, for we find his name there in 1310 and 1334. (Lete 1310 and Chamberlain's Accts. E.a. 3).

9. Raymund Seguyn, who was the King's butler from Lynn 1339-1346, appointed the poet's stepfather, Richard le Chaucer, his Deputy from London in 1341 and 1342. (Kern p. 72).

These facts seem to me to very greatly strengthen the probability that the poet was born at Lynn during the temporary occupancy of some custom house berth there by his father. Further search of the Lynn records will, I hope, enable me to produce more evidence.

WALTER RYE.

Some minor points may be worth noting, *e.g.*, the Prioress wore a brooch bearing "Amor vincit omnia"—an inscription on a ring found in Norfolk (N.A. VI., p. 385). Peter le Chaucer, of Norwich, appears on the Norwich Deed Rolls, p. 17, in 1287, and another Peter le Chaucer, of London, occurs in 1268 (Brit. Mus., Charter)—Oliver de Burdegalia, the King's valet, had a grant from John de London de Burdegalia in 1311, and by 1347 he had married a wife who held Weybourne, in Norfolk (Blom. N. IX., p. 447).

REVIEWS.

The Records of the City of Norwich, compiled and edited by the Rev. William Hudson, M.A., F.S.A., and John Cottingham Tingey, M.A., F.S.A. Vol. I. 1906.

THE first volume of this work, which relates to municipal history only, was undertaken by Mr. Hudson, and he alone is responsible for it, though he very rightly acknowledges the constant and invaluable co-operation of Mr. Tingey, whose second volume on the Economic History of the City is, I understand, not yet in the Press, and I fear may never be printed.

The first 146 pages, and the space occupied by the copious notes on the remaining 419 pages (in all quite a quarter of the whole book) are taken up by Mr. Hudson's personal views on the history of the city, and would have been better used for printing more of the original records themselves for the use of students, who may or may not agree with the conclusions to which he comes. These may or may not be correct, but they are set forward at unnecessary length and tell no coherent story, the result being that, I understand, the sale of the first volume has fallen very flat indeed, and has endangered the issue of the second volume, which would treat of more interesting matter.

Of the way in which Mr. Hudson studiously ignores the work of his fellow students, a few instances, affecting the present writer, will suffice.

On page 30, speaking of the riot of 1272, he refers for a full account of it to Blomefield III., pp. 53-58 (a little over 4 pp.) though he was well aware I treated on it in the *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany II.*, pp. 17-89, at great length, (pp. 72, or 18 times longer than Blomefield's account of it), printing for the first time 19 original documents from the Public Record Office.

Nor on page 33, in referring to the Charter Rolls of the city, does he even mention that I printed calendars of them, and am still compiling MS. calendars of those of later date, and have completed an index to the later Docquet Book, containing a few, say, 19,320 references.

Of these facts he can hardly be unaware, for he was joint editor with me of the printed calendar he now ignores.

Nor does he, except very cursorily, touch on the early persecutions of the Jews in the city, though as a fact they were among the first Jewish persecutions, and therefore of the highest interest. Had he done so he could hardly have avoided noticing my long article in the *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, Vol. I., pp. 312-344, on Jurnepin, or my paper on the Persecution of the Jews in England read before the Anglo-Jewish Historical Society, and thought worthy by such society to be re-printed in pamphlet form.

The mass of documents relating to the early history of the city collected by me in the Town Close case, successfully conducted by me in 1886 (evidences pp. 116, brief, 13; in all 129 pp. fo.), is also ignored by him, though I think I may say they formed the basis of the work he has since done on the City History.

Nor does he say anything of the rescue by me and the return to the City Archives, of the Fabric Roll for the building of the present Guildhall, nor of Mr. Howlett's excellent article on it.

The re-discovery of the Customs Roll is set out at length

in a note (p. 39), but he ignores the fact that it was I who found it in a ham and beef shop, and at once reported the discovery to Mr. Tingey, who promptly bought it for the City.

Nor does he think it necessary to refer to the fact that I printed at my own expense L'Estrange's Calendar to the Freeman's Roll.

All these omissions can hardly be accidental, and I can see no reason why he should not have informed his readers of the existence of the published matter on the "Records of Norwich," set out above, which might help their studies of them.

Apart from my personal grievance, I consider the selection of documents an unwise one. Surely in dealing with the Records of the City the Charters granted to it should all have been printed *in extenso*.

To do Mr. Hudson justice, he must have taken an immense deal of trouble in his work, and his faults of commission are very few. The King is said to have held a tournament in the City in 1341, and to have stopped there "several weeks," but the Close Roll shows he was only there for a few days. "St. Leonard's or St. Michael's Chapel," p. 54, is an error, for the two chapels were different places altogether, and Mr. Hudson does not clear up the old confusion between the name of Beaufoiy or Bellofago, used interchangeably for that of Tony. He seems unaware that the present opinion is that it arose from the de Todenis living at Belvoir.

The Case of Sir John Fastolf and other Historical Studies,
by D. W. Duthie, Rector of Caister. Smith Elder and
Co., 1907.

THE other studies do not refer to Norfolk, and need not, therefore, be mentioned here.

That Shakespeare undoubtedly did refer to Sir John Fastolf when he (Henry VI., part 1, Act IV., scene 1), makes Talbot call him a craven and a dastard, pluck off the Garter from his leg, and accuse him of desertion at the battle of Patay, is known to every student of Shakespeare. Whether he or some one else interpolated this scene at the same time he substituted the name of Falstaff for that of Oldcastle must be a matter of conjecture.

Therefore Mr. Duthie's laboured attempt to show that there *may* be something in the idea that the Falstaff of Shakespeare originated in some aspects of the life of the warrior of Caister, who had once been most unjustly accused of cowardice at Patay seems pure surplusage. Of course it was. That such accusation was untrue, and that the allegation that Sir John Fastolf ever had the Garter taken from him has been proved up to the hilt by Anstey and others to be so utterly unfounded that they need not be gone into again.

The essay, thus unnecessary in itself, is also probably as full of errors as any paper of its length which has ever been written.

Take, for example, the writer's statement (p. 3) that Sir John Fastolf has been buried nearly 600 years. As a fact he died in 1459, or 448 years ago only. His guess that Sir Wm. Paston (born in 1528, died 1610) *may* have come up to London and may have told to Shakespeare anecdotes about Sir John Fastolf which *may* have formed the hint for a character in a

play first acted in 1592 when Paston was 64 only; (hardly the "green old age" of Mr. Duthie on p. 19) is somewhat far fetched. Wm. Paston is at p. 19 said to be great grandson of the Paston who was Fastolf's chief agent and executor, but as a fact he was his great great grandson.

From page 23 Mr. Duthie sets out "at least" 12 points of resemblance between the true knight and the false. Of them four only are sufficiently detailed to be capable of examination.

1. The Falstaff of Shakespeare is alleged by him to have been page to Thos. Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and to sustain the comparison Mr. Duthie states that the real Sir John Fastolf was also ward to the Duke of Norfolk.

Sir John is said by the "Dictionary of National Biography" to have been in the service of Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence. This is no doubt the source of Mr. Duthie's error. "Thomas, Duke of . . ." was near enough for him. Most who have written on the subject (*e.g.*, Fuller, Blomefield, and Norris) have said Sir John was ward to John, Duke of Bedford (third son of Henry IV.), the hero of Verneuil, and no doubt trained to arms by him; but this could hardly be, for the Duke of Bedford was only himself 12 when Sir John . . .

However that is a matter which can be cleared up hereafter.

2. Mr. Duthie says "both were natives of Norfolk." Falstaff shows his county in his reminiscences." Not remembering anything of the sort myself, but feeling diffident of my own knowledge, I asked such cosmopolitan Shakespearian authorities as Dr. Furnivall and Mr. P. A. Daniel, and our local expert, Mr. Bosworth Harcourt, if this were so. One and all agree that the fat knight never spoke a word at all about Norfolk. Bartlett's Concordance of Shakespeare has no word of it.

3. The real Fastolf is said to be as heavy and swagbellied as the stage character. "An old print in the Free Library of Great Yarmouth tends to confirm this."

The print in question (which by the way does *not* confirm it) is a purely imaginary comparatively modern portrait, as may be seen by the absurd armour, &c.—the bend on the shield being made sinister, &c.

I have never heard of the existence of a contemporary portrait of Sir John.

4. "Falstaff, of the play, sojourned at an inn called the 'Boar's Head,' in Eastcheap, in the City of London." The real Fastolf owned a mansion (not an inn) called the Boar's Head, at Southwark, in the county of Surrey. What more proof *can* be wanted? thinks Mr. Duthie. But as a matter of fact there is no word of the "Boar's Head," whether in Eastcheap or Southwark, in Shakespeare at all!

How the myth sprang up, and how it has run the gauntlet of centuries of critics, is almost incomprehensible.

The writer of the article on Fastolf in the "Dictionary of National Biography" has endorsed the legend, for he says that "Fastolf is said to have been well acquainted with Southwark, and the tavern where he spends most of his time is the Boar's Head in Southwark."

The germ of the error seems to be that Stow, page 234, says that in the year 1410 the King's sons, Thomas and John, being in Eastcheap at supper, misbehaved themselves, and had a dispute with the City authorities. But he is careful to point out that there was then no tavern in Eastcheap.

Some one—long after Shakespeare—knowing that Sir John Fastolf had a house called the Boar's Head at Southwark, and that the Falstaff of the play was a frequenter of taverns, jumped to the conclusion that this was the spot of the revel, forgetting that the Boar's Head was not in East Cheap, but in Southwark. The extraordinary thing is that

Shakespeare neither mentions Boar's Head nor East Cheap or Southwark at all, except in reference to the rebels there. Mr. Harcourt suggests that the confusion may have arisen through the insertion in later editions of some stage direction.

5. On page 7 Mr. Duthie states that Sir John Fastolf does not appear to have been a lovable man. Quite so, he was dour, overbearing and offensive, avaricious and masterful—but then what becomes of the parallel between him and the Merry Knight of Windsor, who (whatever his sins were) was essentially a *bon camarade*, and loved by all. "We could have better spared a better man."

The writer admits, page 11, that in writing as he has done he is setting himself against the combined opinions of such men as Gairdner, Sidney Lee, and Halliwell-Phillips; but hopes that "hardihood and a clear conscience" may serve him in good stead, but other qualifications than these are necessary to a writer on history.

The Cathedral Masons. A Review of the Norwich Records.
By Bro. W. H. Jones, P.M., P.P.ȝ.G.W., Norfolk.

THIS paper, originally read on the 22nd May, 1905, under the title of "Eight Centuries of Freemasonry in Norfolk," is now printed in the transactions of the Lodge of Research, No. 2429, Leicester, and contains much that is interesting and if the conclusions come to by the writer were justified, would practically revolutionise the former ideas of all laymen as to the antiquity of Freemasonry in England.

They purport to be notes from certain rolls of account of the Monastery of Norwich from the close of the 13th Century,

now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, and numbering (according to Mr. Jones) nearly 1,300. It may be as well to quote some paragraphs of the paper.

“References to the work of the masons employed in the execution or repair of the fabric of the Cathedral, or in the building of the cloisters or offices of the Monastery, are frequent—more particularly in the accounts of the Com-munarius and the Sacrist, and they go far to show that the craftsmen employed upon the works were not only a body of skilful artificers, as their work unerringly indicates them to have been, but a well-organised and disciplined fraternity, and altogether distinct from other masons who plied their craft in the city. It is interesting, too, to find that the masons whose disbursements were provided for out of the revenues of the Monastery were distinct, too, from those masons who followed their occupation in the service of the Bishop, at such times as that dignitary had works of his own in progress. The former circumstance is a somewhat peculiar one, and supports the theory which has long found favour with the historians of Freemasonry, that the tenets of our craft, which have been handed down to us in the form of secret working in our lodges, were developed whilst the condition obtained that the masons of our Cathedrals worked in an air of religion, quite independent of the sanctified surroundings of the Monastic establishment.”

Mr. Jones states that he has only found one mason whose name appears in the Corporation papers who was also employed upon the Monastic work, viz.: John Everard in 1445, and is of opinion that his name having dropped out entirely from the Records of the Corporation, he was probably admitted to the fraternity of masons within the cloisters. To me this proves nothing, except that the Prior secured the best man he could.

In another place Mr. Jones writes:—

“ One of the first items of expenditure in the earliest
 “ of the rolls of the Communarius which have been preserved,
 “ namely, that of 1297, refers to work about the pulpit of the
 “ Cathedral, and to payments to Elys de Hoxne for materials
 “ used in ‘*the Lodge* in the cloister.’ The roll is, however,
 “ much mutilated and difficult to decipher. *In 1394 we
 “ reach other payments of similar interest: ‘Item for making
 “ one cast for the Lodge, 15d.†; Item for two aprons for
 “ Hervey [should be Henry] de Lyng and his servant et
 “ sociiis ejus there, 10d. [should be his companions ‘pro sociiis
 “ ejus] Item a present to Hervey (Henry) and his servant
 “ [should be companions [sociiis] at the Nativity, 30d.”

“ Item in divers expenses about the same (the lodge) (the
 “ word is eorundem, and clearly refers to Companions, not
 “ Lodge) at various times, 2s.

“ Item the stipend of Henry the mason (latam'r) (rather
 “ stone cutter-labourer) from the feast of the Holy Martyr to
 “ our Lord's Passion, 46s.

“ Item for a middle robe for the same Henry of the grace
 “ of the Lord Prior, 5s.

“ Item the stipend of John the mason and his servant
 “ Henry from the feast of St. Michael to the Ascension, 102s.

“ Item at the Nativity for a robe for the same John, 5s., etc.

“ Further on, in 1407, there are similarly interesting
 “ payments:

“ Item to the carpenter for making a dormant (for the
 “ Lodge) for pins for the same, and for other materials (the
 “ words are ‘in le log’—nothing is said about masons) 15d.
 “ et latornes pinnyes ejusdem et pane et cervisia x0d.

* There must be some error here, The roll of 1297 (an account roll of Elias de Hoxne) produced to me by Dr. Bensly, is a singularly legible and well preserved one, and does not contain any reference to the pulpit or the ‘Lodge in the Cloister.’

† Dr. Bensly and I read the entry “carr' pro le logge”—presumably a cart for the Lodge, which may be the Prior's Lodge at Whitlingham. Mr. Jones seems to have interpolated “In the Cloister” here, just as he interpolated “of the masons” later on.

“According to the “*Promptorium Parvulorum*” a dormant or sleeper is a main beam that, resting on the side walls, serve to support the joists, or the rafters of the roof, and Cotgrave refers to ‘a dorman or great beame.’”

“We may infer from this how substantial a structure was the mason’s Lodge in the cloisters at Norwich, and when we find that items are very frequent for repairs to, or new, locks, bolts, and bars of iron, for the Lodge, we need little to convince us, that every care was taken that the privacy and secrecy of the operations of the masons was not intruded upon.*

“There need be small doubt that what obtained in similar Lodges in other cathedrals, as at York for instance, was also practised here; that in this Lodge centred the preparatory work of the mason’s handicraft, and the skilled artificer gave effects to the designs of the architect. That here, too, the masters of the craft were wont to instruct their servants and their fellow craftsmen, not only in the technique of their constructive operations, but also in the moral significance which masons had ever drawn from the instruments which they employed.

“It is by no means necessary to remind the readers of this paper that many copies are preserved of the ‘Charges’ which were delivered by the operative masons of this, as of other, cathedral buildings to their apprentices, some of which ‘Charges’ are coeval with the dates of the rolls from which I have been making extracts.”

No reference is given to these “Charges” so I cannot test the accuracy of the writer’s statement.

He goes on to say that there are many references to the Lodge in the accounts which have to show that the masons who practised their science within its tyled doors were a

* There is nothing to show that the Lodge was in the Cloisters at all, or had anything to do with the Masons.

group of lay brethren, &c. But what evidence is there of a tyled Lodge at all? The Lodge (if it were in the cloisters at all) may, for all Mr. Jones says, be the ordinary workmen's shed and architect's office of to-day.

He states:—"We find charges on these accounts for outlay in respect of the masons alone for presents of gloves, of aprons to the Freemasons and the more skilled craftsmen, &c."

The words in the roll of 1327 are "in cyrocetis emptis pro cementariis."

Among entries he specified are robes, and tunics for the masons, belts of brass, a compass, and a mould. Unluckily he gives no specific references to the rolls in which he found the entries, so it is impossible to check his statements, or to ascertain if the context bears out his contention.

On page 37 he refers to payments made for the oblations of the masons at the Nativity and the Passover, and in 1346 of the same at the Feast of All Saints. But is it certain that these entries are not of receipts, not payments? Even if they are payments it would only show that the Prior paid the oblations or offerings nominally given by the masons.

I cannot think that the statements quoted by the author bear the meanings he thinks they do—or in any way ante-date the existence of Freemasonry in its present form or need the generally accepted opinion that the old "Freemasons" were those who worked in freestone in contradistinction to those known as "rough-masons," who did the ashlar work and put up the core of the walls.

The Loss of King John's Baggage Train in the Wellstream, October, 1216. By W. H. St. John Hope. M.A. Archæologia, Vol. 60, Pt. 1, p. 93-110.

THIS is a long compilation of the authorities, as to this historical occurrence, which corrects Camden's error that the accident took place at Fossdyke, and also some recent local writers who have thought it took place at Wisbech. It is accompanied by an excellent map.

Mr. Hope seems unaware that the Close Roll of 16 John (1214) m. 19 refers to villages now lost, known as Well, Walhop, and Hagebech, and that in 1346 the town of Waterwell in Marshland is also mentioned on the Patent Roll of 20 Ed. III., pt. 3. It would have been well to have tried to identify them to locate them on the map.

History of the Borough of King's Lynn. By Henry J. Hillen. 2 Vols. 1907.

THESE volumes, containing together 964 pages, are the result of the first serious attempt to write the history of our great western port which has been made of late years. It is not the work of a professed antiquary, but it has been compiled most intelligently, and though it does not pretend to tap original MS. sources, is an excellent resumé of all others that have been printed to date, and I have hardly noticed any views relating to Lynn hitherto published which are not fairly and lucidly set out in these pages. What is now wanted is for some one who can read the old writing to patiently go through the records of Fetter Lane and the original archives of the Corporation, and so produce new matter. Harrod

began this work, but no one else has seriously attacked it, and there seems at present no one willing or competent to work at it.

As examples of what I mean, I would point out that nothing whatever is said about the town having been walled at the time of the Barons' War in the reign of Henry III. (See Cal. to Pat. Rolls, 1277, p. 238), or of the fact that the old Market at St. Margaret's was known as "Crossmarket" (id. 1289, p. 332), or of the most interesting reference to the old water supply of the town. The connection of Chaucer with the town, long ago suggested by me (which will be found at pp. 142-60, this part of the *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, and Mr. Howlett's paper on the Lynn Customs' Rolls might well have been mentioned. To the real worker, however, when he comes, the present volumes will be invaluable, and serve as a capital skeleton for him to clothe with the flesh of new facts.

The indexes are excellent, and the whole work most readable.

Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. Vol. XVI., Part III.

I HAVE been favoured with an advance copy of the Part which concludes the 16th Volume, and is stated to be issued to subscribers for 1907, though, as explained a year ago, it was really due to those for 1906. However, better late than never, and it contains three papers of considerable merit—one on the hitherto unpublished Certificates of Norwich Guilds, by Mr. J. C. Tingey; one on the ancient stained glass still remaining in the church of St. Peter Hungate, Norwich, by Mr. G. A. King; and one on a Roman Villa lately

discovered at Grimston by Mr. H. Laver. The last is, of course, the most important, as it describes the first—one might say the only—Roman villa which has been properly explored and described in Norfolk, and it shows the dearth of interest in local antiquities that this most important find should have been made, not by a local man, but by the President of the Essex Archæological Society.

It is admirably written and illustrated, and now that an Essex Columbus has shown us the possibilities, I hope other researches will soon be reported. Of the monstrous selfishness which prevents the investigation of Caistor-by-Norwich, which (judging from recent casual discoveries) would be a matter of the highest interest, it is difficult to speak without becoming libellous.

Mr. King's paper on the Hungate glass is as good as one might expect from our local expert, which is saying a good deal. The photographs are not brilliant successes, but it is almost impossible to get good results from stained glass. That of Thos. Andrew, Rector, is, however, interesting as showing how very wrong the "pretty" illustration of it by the late Mr. Winter, in his selection of illustrations in 1885-6, was.

Historically speaking, Mr. Tingey's paper on the Norwich Gilds is of more value than anything done in the past. It is a scholarly and carefully worked out piece of work, and it would be well if it could be followed by a more detailed history of the St. George Company.

The other papers are of minor interest—the Church Plate especially appealing to those who care for this very minor branch of archæology.

I understand that the "Record" Volume for 1907 is in progress, and will consist of lists of the Freemen of Lynn and Yarmouth—why it should not have been ready and accompany the annual part is hard to say.

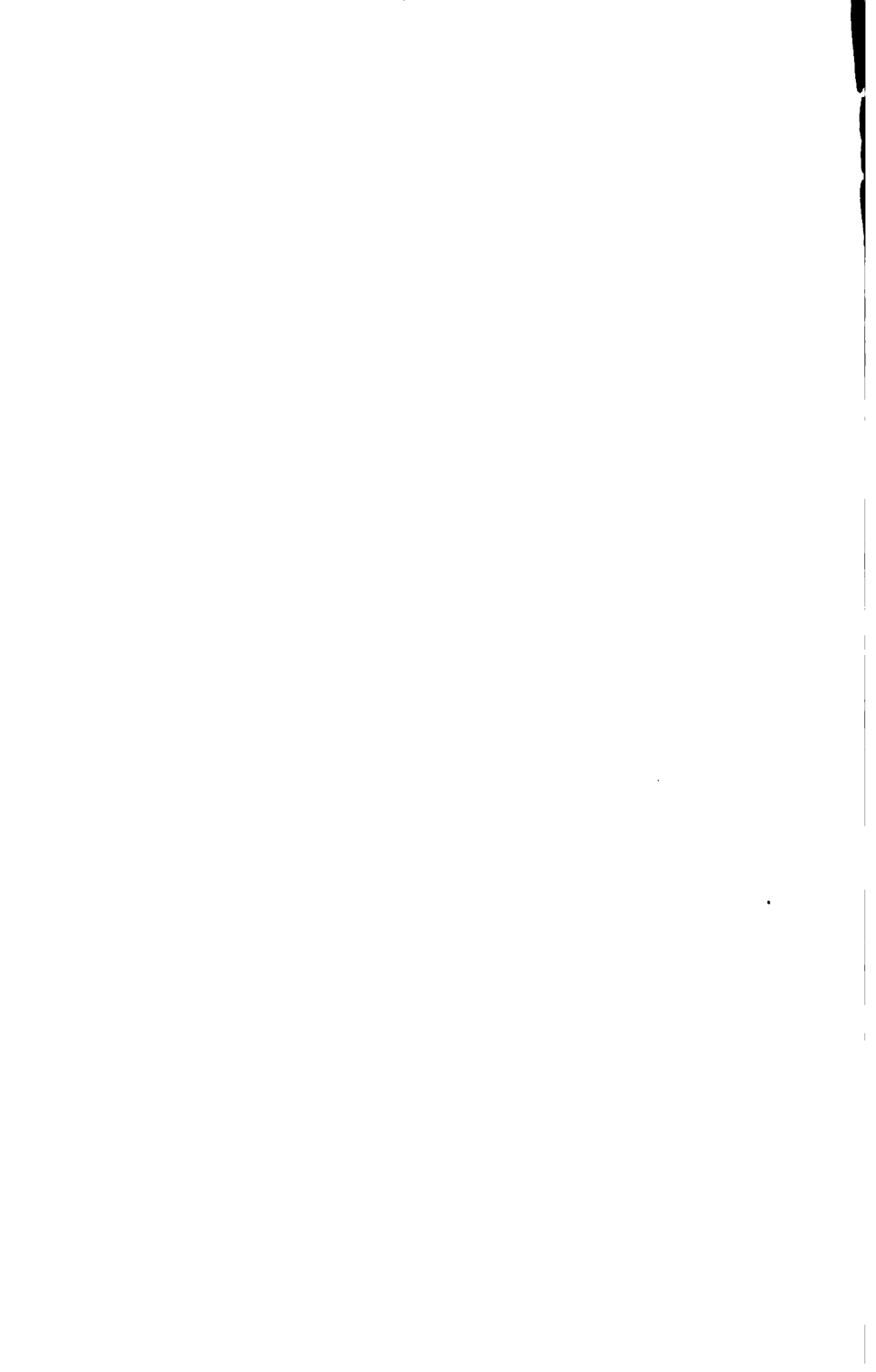
The Churches of Norfolk. By W. C. Bryant.

It is with the greatest regret that one has to announce that this most excellent series—which under the above modest title also gave a comprehensive record of the parishes and manors, and which would, if completed, have comprised a new and more complete history of the county than Blomefield's—is now to be dropped, as far as the re-issue of its separate Hundred parts is concerned. Mr. Bryant has to the date of writing completed the histories of 471 of these Norfolk parishes, and it must be indeed galling to him that this tedious labour of love will in future be lost to students, for it is next to impossible for people in London or the country to obtain access to the file of the local paper in which the work is still being printed weekly—parish by parish.

From the new proprietor's point of view it is not business-like to issue parts at a loss, and, realising this, I endeavoured by circular to obtain a sufficient guarantee to render the continued issues possible; but those who know the apathy into which local antiquities has sunk need not be surprised to hear that the effort was unsuccessful, and all that is now to be done by those who want to peruse Mr. Bryant's excellent work is to buy the paper weekly and paste in the articles. This should be done at once, for very few back parts are kept.

Norfolk Annals and Norfolk and Norwich, "N. & 2."

THESE very valuable periodicals, instituted by Mr. C. Mackie, are, on the other hand, still regularly kept up and issued by the *Norfolk Chronicle*, to the proprietors of which, as well as to Mr. Mackie, the thanks of all Norfolk antiquaries are especially due. The "N. & 2" form an excellent medium, by which minor points and sides bearing on local antiquities can be preserved for future use, and admirable indexes add greatly to their value. Mr. Mackie is indeed a worthy successor to his brother Scots, Mackerell and Kirkpatrick.



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Part 3.

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THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THETFORD HILL,

BY

H. F. KILLICK.

On the east of that part of the ancient Borough of Thetford, which lies in the County of Norfolk, we find the great Mound and lofty double banks or ramparts partially surrounding it known as Thetford Hill.

The origin of this stupendous work is wrapped in obscurity. No record of its construction exists, and no certainty on the subject is possible.

The following paper is an attempt to put together what may enable anybody who is interested in the subject to form an opinion on the question.

There seems little doubt that the banks or ramparts extended at one time round the Mound, and that the growth of the town and the foundation of the house of Austin Friars by John of Gaunt led to the gradual destruction of them where they do not now exist.

A MS. note by a former Town Clerk of Thetford, which I have seen, states, on what authority I know not, that water, at all events in times of flood, formerly ran round the Mound from the river on the east.

It seems clear that the work is not sepulchral nor connected like Stonehenge with religious rites and ceremonies, and probable that Mound and ramparts formed one work constructed at the same time. We may, therefore, assume that it was constructed for military purposes.

The piling up of the great Mound and ramparts was not, indeed, so vast a labour as it would have been if the whole of the work was above the natural level of the ground. As a

matter of fact the upper and lesser part only is above that level, and is piled up with the material obtained from the surrounding excavations.

On the 5th September, 1677, Mr. Evelyn records in his Diary that he visited Thetford, where, he says, "There is a "round mountain artificially raised for some castle or "monument, which makes a pretty landscape."

The Rev. Francis Blomefield, the Historian of Norfolk, in the first volume of the folio edition of the History, printed in his own Rectory of Fersfield, and published in 1739, gave a careful and detailed historical account of Thetford. He asserts that the Mound and ramparts were the work of the Danes when they wintered at Thetford in A.D. 865 or 866, and again in A.D. 870, and were intended as a defensive work.*

Thomas Martin, an eminent antiquary of the 18th century, known to his friends as "honest Tom Martin," was born at Thetford in March, 1696, and died in 1771.

He became a member of the Society of Antiquaries as a young man, and lived to be the oldest member of that body. He devoted much time to the study of the numerous antiquities of his native town, and in a letter dated 27th July, 1743, to Dr. Tanner, he says:—"As to my part, was it not "for my family, I could be content to live almost on bread and "water the remainder of my days so I might have leisure to "publish only some fragmenta antiquitatis which I have "amassed together and an appendix to Mr. Blomefield's "History of Thetford."

He left a great quantity of notes on the subject, which were edited and published after his death as a History of Thetford.

In that work it is stated that Camden doubted whether Thetford Hill was a work of the Romans or Saxons, and that it was then generally agreed that such kinds of fortifications

* Blomefield's Norfolk Folio Ed., p. 389.

as are accompanied by a Keep, by which, as the context shows, is meant the Mound, are of later work. But it is added somewhat illogically that the Hill and Mound may be ascribed with great probability to the Saxons.*

Martin's History is not always accessible, and as he gives an elaborate description of the works as they existed in his day, probably before the middle of the 18th century, it may be convenient to reproduce it at length:

"The exterior figure of this work seems to have been
 "a right angled paralellogram with the angles rounded off,
 "its greatest length lying from east to west. It consisted
 "of two ramparts, each defended by a ditch. Within
 "these, near and parallel to their west sides, is a high
 "and steep Mount or keep, entirely encompassed by a
 "ditch. East of this Mount is a large area or place of
 "arms 300 ft. square, evidently intended for parading the
 "troops employed in its defence. This Mount is about
 "100 ft. in height, and the circumference at the base 984;
 "its diameter measures 338 ft. at its base, and 81 on its
 "summit, which is dishing or concave upwards of 12 ft.
 "below its outer surface, owing probably to its having
 "been once surrounded by a parapet, the top whereof
 "may have been gradually melted away by the injuries of
 "time and weather. The slope or ramp of this mount is
 "extremely steep, forming an angle with the plane of the
 "horizon of more than 40 degrees, and yet no traces
 "remain of any path or steps for the purpose of carrying
 "up machines or any weighty ammunition. The chief
 "entrance seems to have been on the north side, where,
 "in the second or inner rampart, a passage is so formed
 "that troops attempting to enter must have presented
 "their flanks to a double line of the garrison looking
 "down upon them. Such was, it is presumed, its form

"when entire. At present the whole of the south side is covered with buildings, and towards the east it has been nearly levelled, and is cut through by the road, only part of its east side near the north-eastern angle remaining. The enclosing ramparts are still near 20 ft. high, and their ditches at bottom from 60 to 70 ft. wide, which, considering the double slope of 45 degrees, gives a considerable width at the crest of the ramparts. The ditch round the Mount measures 42 ft. wide at bottom."

The History also contains a plan, or sketch, and section of the works.

Earthworks, comprising a moated Mound surrounded by banks or ramparts, are not uncommon either in Great Britain, Ireland, or many parts of the Continent of Europe, and little seems to have been attempted to investigate their origin until the latter part of the last century, when Mr. G. T. Clark devoted much attention to the subject of Mediæval Military Architecture in England, and published, in 1884, his well-known work on that subject. His view was that they must be ascribed in England to the Saxons or Danes, and not to the earlier inhabitants or masters of Britain.

British and Roman Encampments, he says, were unsuited to the new inhabitants. Their ideas were not of an imperial character, or, perhaps, in modern phrase, we should say they did not think imperially—self government prevailed. Each family held and gave name to its allotment.*

This is the key to the plan of the later and great majority of purely English earthworks. They were not intended for the defence of a tribe but for the centre and defence of a private estate. They were seldom rectangular. First was cast up a truncated cone of earth from 12 to 50 or 60 ft. high. This Mound, motte or burh, the "mota"

* Clark, p. 16.

of our records was formed from the contents of a broad and deep circumscribing ditch. Connected with the Mound was usually a base court or enclosure, sometimes circular more commonly oval or horseshoe shaped, but if of the age of the Mound always more or less rounded. This enclosure had its bank and ditch on its outward face, its rear resting on the ditch of the Mound.*

The Mound constituted a "burh" always fortified, and each inhabitant was bound to act in the repairs of the works, almost always of timber. Masonry on a "burh," he repeats, was out of the question; timber and timber alone would have been the proper material.†

Many of these Mounds under the name of Motes, retained their timber defences to the 12th and 13th centuries. After the Conquest the English "burh" seems to have given place to the Latin "mota."

"In viewing one of these moated mounds" (we are still quoting Mr. Clark) "we have only to imagine a central "timber house on the top of the Mound built of half trunks "of trees, set upright between two waling pieces at the top "and bottom like the old Church at Greenstead, with a close "paling around it along the edge of the table top, perhaps a "second line at its base, and a third along the outer edge of "the ditch, and others not so strong upon the edges of the "outer courts and huts within the enclosures, and we shall "have a fair idea of the fortified dwelling of a Thane in "England from the 8th or 9th century to the date of the Norman Conquest." Moated Mounds corresponding to the pattern of those in England are, he adds, very numerous in Normandy.‡

In claiming for these mounds in England an English (*i.e.*, as distinct from Celtic or Roman) origin it would be too

* Clark, p. 17.

† Clark, pp. 18 and 27.

‡ Clark, pp. 30 and 31.

much to assert that in no other class of works is the Mound employed, but it may be safely laid down that in no other class of early fortification does the mound occur as the leading typical feature. But the Normans, as well as the English, had long employed the moated and palisaded Mound.*

This is, I think, a fair summary of Mr. Clark's views. He was acquainted with the Thetford works, and refers to them at p. 76 as follows:—

“At Thetford, girt by a double ditch, is the great Mound “thrown up by the Danes in 865-866 to command the then “adjacent City, but this post, so important before the “Conquest, does not seem to have been occupied afterwards.”†

Professor Freeman agreed with Mr. Clark as to the origin of the Moated Mound. He says of Norman fortresses in England:—“The Mounds of earlier times, once piled up “for the defence of English towns, began to be covered with “other kindred strongholds of the stranger,” and, alluding to Norwich, he says that “there at some distance from the “Roman site where the hills slope down to the right bank of “the Wensum the East Anglian Kings had reared one of “those vast Mounds which formed so marked a feature in “the English system of defence, and had crowned it doubtless “with a fortified dwelling,” and in another place he tells us that “Norwich Castle was built upon the ancient Mound of “the East Anglian Kings.”‡

Mr. Clark's book was reviewed in the “Quarterly Review” for 1894 (Vol. 179). The article is said to have been written by Mr. J. H. Round. While paying a high compliment to Mr. Clark's industry and ability, and to the light thrown by his investigations upon the development of the Castle in England, Mr. Round controverts to some extent

* Clark, pp. 38 and 39.

† See also Mr. Clark's Paper, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Vol. 6, p. 109.

‡ Norman Conquest, Vol. 2, p. 139. Vol. 1, p. 324. Vol. 4, p. 68.

his opinions and conclusions on the subject of Moated Mounds. Mr. Clark's views that they were thrown up in England in the 9th and 10th centuries by the "Northmen," and that the "burh," consisting of a Moated Mound, was the typical residence of an English Thane, were not admitted if the term "Northmen" did not include the Danes, to whom Mr. Round considered that some of them might be attributed. He suggested that the Mound and a timber stockade on the summit might have been adopted by the Saxons from the Danes and placed within pre-existing defensive works, but that everything pointed to these strongholds dating from the Danish Invasions. He thought also that Mr. Clark had demolished the view that assigned them to the Britons or the Romans.

The Shell Keep of the Normans is he considered a mere development of the Anglo-Saxon stronghold, the timber stockade of the latter being replaced by a wall of stone, but not until some years after the Conquest, until when timber defences on Moated Mounds were alone available. But Mr. Round thinks that where a Castle was needed and there was no Mound the Normans made one.

The general conclusion is that the fortified Mottes were at least in some cases erected in the Conqueror's day, or that the old timbered Mounds had been abandoned and were refortified by the Normans. An earthwork, says the Reviewer, till it was stockaded was not deemed a Castle. The evidence of Domesday Book as to the existence of castles is said to be strangely misunderstood. It was a National Land Register, not a guide book for mediæval tourists, and the fact of its not mentioning a Castle is absolutely no proof of that Castle's non-existence.

These are of course the views of a reviewer and critic, and are therefore somewhat difficult to treat as propounding a definite theory.

Dr. Windle, in his clear and interesting account of *Life in Early Britain*, describes the various camps which were constructed during the Celtic, Roman and Saxon periods of English History.*

The Celtic Camp is described as a circular bank of earth called a Vallum, enclosing an area of variable size and having on its outer aspect a ditch called the fosse and sometimes two or three concentric series of ramparts.†

The Roman Camp, he says, was preferably a quadrangle with four entrances, one in each side. In neither case does he mention any Mound as part of the work.‡

The huge communal camps of the British and the military works of the Romans were not, he says, in accordance with the spirit of the Saxons. Their fortifications were called "buhrs" or "burgs." Then he cites, and apparently adopts, Mr. G. T. Clark's view of the origin and nature of such works, and says that in many cases they were utilised by the Normans, who built a keep on the Mound and walls on the outer defences.§

We may here note that there is no mention of the Castle Hill in the account of Thetford in *Domesday Book*, but we need not attach much weight to that circumstance, for Mr. G. T. Clark tells us that, whilst that record mentions 49 castles as existing, and at least 28 of them possessed artificial Mounds, it is notoriously capricious, both in its entries and omissions, on such matters as were not included within its proper view.

What that view was according to Mr. Round, we have already seen.

* *Life in Early Britain*, London, 1897.

† p. 93.

‡ p. 126.

§ p. 173.

Thus we see that, up to this point, it was supposed by the best authorities that such works as those at Thetford might either be attributed, as Blomefield thought, to the Danes, or, as Martin supposed, to the Saxons, but that if they were ever the site of a Norman fortress, the Normans might either have made use of and strengthened a pre-existing work, or might have themselves constructed the Mound and ramparts as part of a Norman fortification.

If such works were of the character and general design adopted by Saxon or Dane, there would be nothing remarkable in the construction of a fortress or stronghold at Thetford, a place of strategic and local importance in East Anglia, a district almost severed from the rest of England by the marshlands of the fens. The site overlooks the battlefield on which King Edmund was defeated by the Danes about A.D. 870, after which victory the Danes wintered at Thetford, and a fortress there commands, as Mr. Clark points out, the ancient ford by which the Icknield way crossed the Rivers Ouse and Thet, from Suffolk into Norfolk, a memory of which is preserved in the names of the adjoining mansion, "Ford Place," and of the road called Old Ford, leading from the Nun's Bridges to Castle Lane.

In 1898 Mr. Neilson published a paper on the Motes of Norman Scotland in Vol. 32 of "The Scottish Review," in which he dissented from Mr. Clark's views and gave good reasons for holding that Mr. Clark was in error in asserting that a moated mound was an Anglo-Saxon "burh," and he proved that the numerous examples of such mounds in Scotland were confined to those districts which were affected by the Anglo-Norman Settlement.

In 1900 Mrs. E. S. Armitage read a paper before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland entitled "Anglo-Saxon burhs and early Norman Castles." She wrote apparently in

ignorance of Mr. Neilson's publication, but her general proposition was that while the burhs of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are almost always walled towns, the moated hillocks scattered so thickly over England and South-West Scotland are the remains of Castles built by Normans. She contended that the moated mounds were essentially feudal fortresses, that there was no evidence of their construction by Anglo-Saxons or Danes, or that they were identical with a "burh," and that there is positive evidence that the Normans raised them in Normandy, England, Wales, and Ireland. She pointed out that the very name "Motte" was Norman-French, that the type answered precisely to the needs of the Normans during the first period of their Conquest, and that with comparatively few exceptions they were found in connexion with all English Castles known to be of Norman origin. These views were supported with much learning and research, including the evidence afforded by the Bayeux tapestry, especially the picture of The Motte of Dinant, and that in which the Normans are represented as throwing up a mound at Hastings, over which is the inscription "Iste: jussit: ut: foderetur: castellum: at: Hestengaceastra:" (He commands that they *dig* a Castle at Hastings).*

The Normans, she considered, usually protected the top of the Mound by a stockade and crowned it with a wooden tower as a citadel and look-out station.

She gave a list of 30 "burhs" recorded to be constructed by Queen Ethelfleda and King Edward the Elder—of these, 26 can be identified. Ten only have mottes or mounds, and in all those cases there is evidence that those ten were connected with Norman castles. She added a list of 43 castles, which contemporary authorities state to have been built in the reigns of William the Conqueror and William Rufus, all but three of which

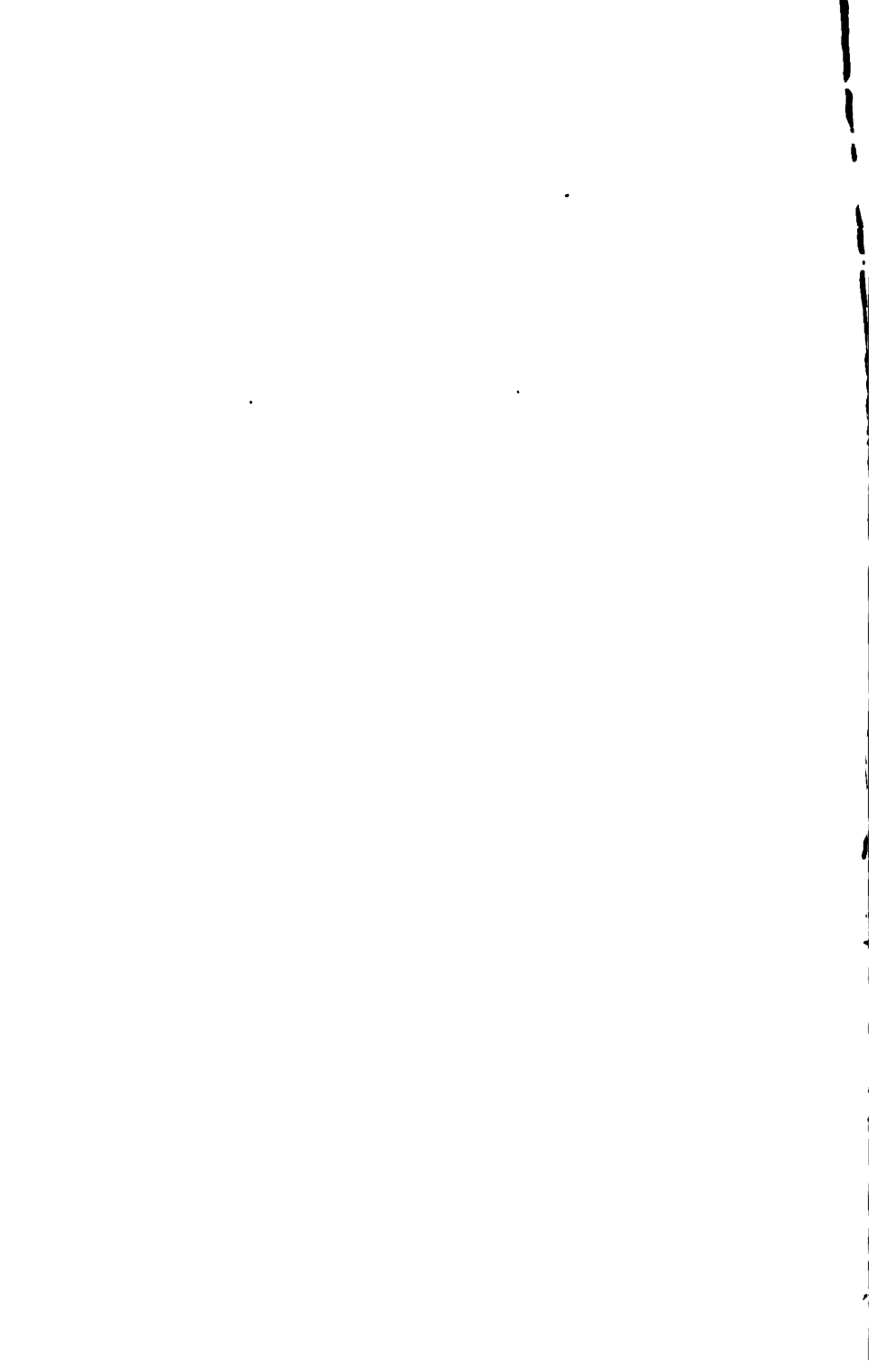
* Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 34.



MOTTE OF DINANT.



BUILDING OF HASTINGS CASTLE.



have or had mottes or mounds connected with them, their absence in the cases of the three being explained.

Her views were restated at a later period and enforced in the "English Historical Review" for July and October, 1901.

The theories thus put forward and supported by cogent evidence in contradiction to the opinions of eminent authorities like Mr. Clark and Mr. Freeman naturally attracted much attention.

Mr. Round, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, in January, 1902, also attacked Mr. Clark's proposition that the "burh" was a moated mound, and that all the "burhs" thus defined were raised at one period, which closed with the 10th century.

He proved the inconsistency of Mr. Clark's views with admitted facts, and said that Mrs. Armitage's very remarkable paper of 1900 presented a case for the Norman origin of all the mottes which it would not be easy to answer, and he concludes as follows: "We shake ourselves free of Mr. Clark's assumptions and see what the Normans raised were moated and palisaded mounds."

Mr. St. John Hope, another most able and competent authority, dealt with the question in a paper on English Fortresses and Castles in the 10th and 11th centuries, which appeared in the "Archæological Journal," Vol. 60, No. 237 (1903). He went through the references in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to "burhs" and their erection, and showed that it contained no hint that any mound was really thrown up, and that the "burh" was in reality a fortified town distinct from a castle or Norman fortress, the latter being a novelty detested throughout England, the stronghold of an individual, not belonging to any system of offence or defence among the Saxons, but proved and known to be characteristic of Norman warfare.

Mr. Hope also remarked that there was one point concerning these early Norman castles which was apt to be lost sight of, and that was the universal prevalence of the use of timber for their first defences. Not only were the earthen banks of the bailey or baileys crested with lines of vertical timber, but the great mound was also crowned by a tower or stronghold of timber with which the palisades of the bailey were so connected as to form one continuous line of defence.

Professor Baldwin Brown in his recent work on the Arts in early Britain (London, 1903) says that the Natural Military work of the Danish period consisted either of urban enclosures or lines of entrenchments, and adds that Moated Mounds are works of a different order and that from Mrs. Armitage's conclusions there seems to be no escape.

In the "English Historical Review," October, 1905, is a paper on the subject by Mr. Davies Pryce and a reply by Mrs. Armitage to his criticism of her views.

Mr. Pryce says: "While agreeing with the view ably brought out by Mrs. Armitage that the Normans erected "and occupied defensive works of the Motte and Motte "and bailey type and that these were in the main wooden "and stockaded structures, I wish to dissent from the "contention which though not definitely stated is distinctly "implied that there were no Motte or Motte and bailey "earth works in the British Isles previous to the "Conquest."

But Mrs. Armitage in replying adhered to her contention, cited authorities, and relied upon the point brought out by them that the Motte and bailey Castle was suited to the feudal and not to the tribal stage of society, which made it a priori unlikely that there were Castles of this type

either in England, Scotland, Wales or Ireland before the coming of the Normans.

The last word on the subject which I can find is a very careful and exhaustive enquiry into the origin of the Mottes or Mounds under Norman Castles in Ireland in a paper by Mr. Orpen in Part 2, Vol. 37, of the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, read before the Society, 26th March, 1907.

The writer sums up his conclusions as follows:—"It has then we hold been clearly established that the vast majority of early Norman Castles in Ireland included a mote among their earthworks; and until some very much stronger evidence and more convincing arguments than have hitherto been advanced are forthcoming, we must further hold that the Normans themselves erected these motes" (p. 151).

Mr. Orpen further contends (p. 130) that the Normans introduced into Ireland a Castle or fortress constructed of wood and used it almost exclusively for many years, after which it was gradually reproduced in stone or abandoned for a regular stone Castle on the same or more generally on a new site. He concludes by saying:—"I for my part think that the main controversy (*i.e.*, as to the origin of the Motte or Mound) is practically settled."

Such being the position of the question in general we may now see what has been recently said about the Thetford Works specially.

They are alluded to in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (9th Edition), in the article on Thetford, as probably the largest of the Celtic earthworks in England. The article is short and the writer made apparently no special investigation into the subject, and Mr. Thomas Wright in his account of the Celtic period of History warns us that many earthworks are too hastily ascribed to the British period and that some of them were probably mediæval. There

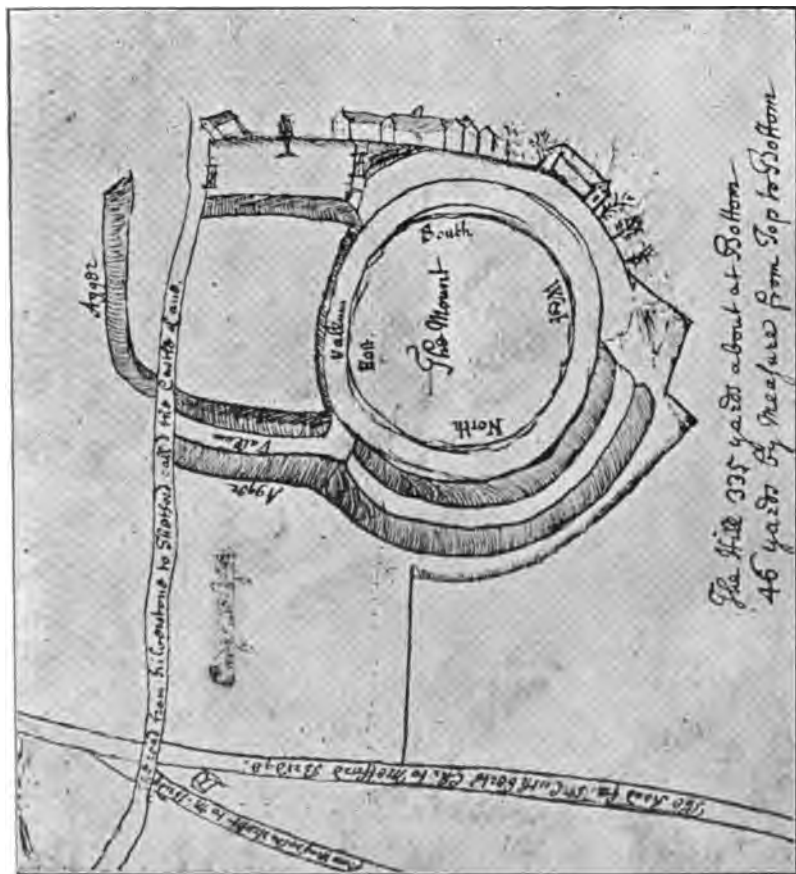
seems to be no suggestion of any distinction between Dane and Saxon as regards their methods of fortification.*

There is a paper on the Castle Hill by Mr. W. G. Clarke (who has devoted much attention to the antiquities of Thetford) which appeared in the 16th Vol. of the *Journal of the Norfolk Archæological Society*. He corrects and supplements Martin's measurements in some respects and gives some local details.

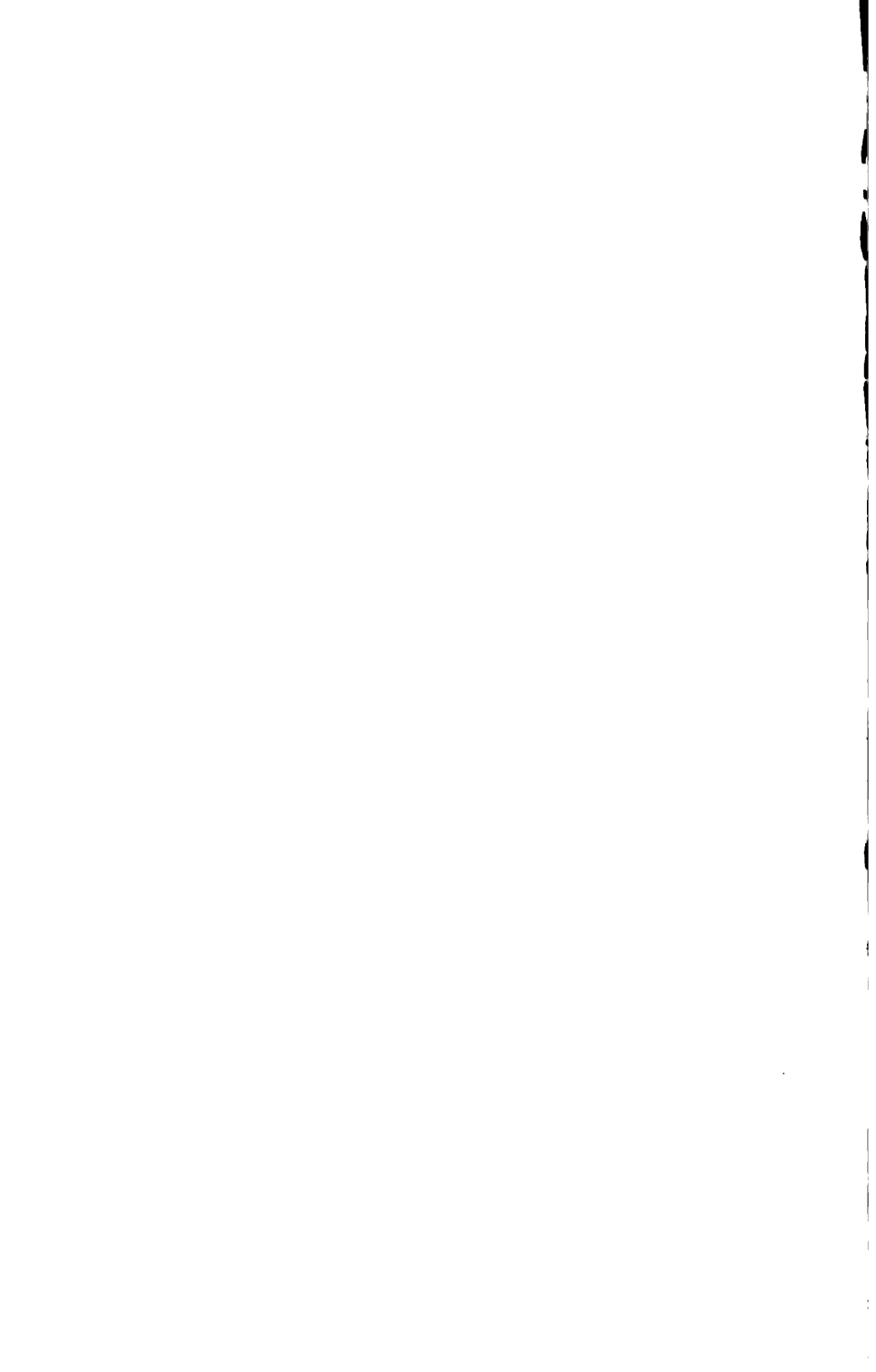
Then he tells us that the earliest reference to the Hill seems to be soon after the Norman Conquest, when the Manor was granted to the first Earl Warrenne, who is, says Mr. Clarke, referred to in Thetford Corporation records as "Lord of the Town and Castle of Thetford." Then he states that Henry, Duke of Lancaster, in 1387 built a Monastery of Austin Friars under the shelter of the southern ramparts, and in 1392 granted to the Prior of the Cluniac Monks "a toft called Castle Yard," and that when Sir Richard Fulmerston died in 1567 the rights of the Manor included the Castle Yard and Castle Meadow, and that the Castle Yard went with the Manor of Thetford-eum-Hallwick until 1869.

His general conclusions are that the works were intended not to command the Town of Thetford, but the Ford over the River. He states that at the present day the majority of mounds with base courts are considered to have been constructed by the Normans, and conjectures that the Thetford works owe their origin to the first Earl Warrenne, who, as he repeats, was called "Lord of the Town and Castle." The paper is illustrated by a copy of a rough drawing or sketch plan made by Martin, the original of which is the property of Mr. Walter Rye, and had not been previously published.

* Celt, Roman, and Saxon, p. 86.



MARTIN'S PLAN.



Thetford changes slowly, and Martin's description of the Hill and his sketch as supplemented by Mr. Clarke may be taken fairly to represent the work as it exists to-day, except that the bank, or rampart, shown by Martin, east of the Castle Lane, has disappeared.

Celt, Roman, Saxon, and Dane have no doubt successively been masters of Thetford and possible builders of the Mound and ramparts before the Norman Conquest.

Indeed, notwithstanding the discussion and conclusions to which I have adverted above, the "Memorials of Old Norfolk," recently published (1908) and edited by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, seem to re-assert the pre-Norman origin.

Thetford, says the learned editor, was the chief City of Boadicea, afterwards the Roman *Sitomagus*, and subsequently the Capital of East Anglia. It is the fashion, he says, to ascribe all the Mound and Court Fortresses to the Normans, but though this is probably true in a majority of cases, there are instances in which it is more probable that the Norman Castle builders made use of pre-existing fortifications. Of such cases he considers Norwich, Thetford, and Castle Rising to be three, on the ground that the works were on too great a scale for Norman requirements, and he thinks that there cannot be much doubt that in these instances at least they made use of sites already prepared and fortified, first perhaps in the days of the old Icænic realm, and utilised for their own purposes by Romans, Anglians, and Danes in succession.

Mr. Clarke contributes to the work some glimpses of the history of Thetford, and gives a short account of Thetford Hill mainly similar to his previous account, but he considers it not unreasonable to assume that the extent and form of the earthworks as they at present exist are owing to the

Normans, and possibly to the first Earl de Warrenne, between 1080 and 1090.

As the town down to the time of the Conquest was mainly situate on the south or Suffolk side of the river it would be more adequately fortified or protected, as the Romans are said to have protected it by a bank or rampart from the river where the Nunnery afterwards stood to the river on the Brandon Road, with a fort at each end of the embankment.

Such a work, therefore, as the Mound and ramparts would seem more likely to be intended rather to over-awe and hold down than to protect the town and district, and this idea doubtless led Blomefield to attribute it to the Danes.

That the Norman Conquerors required and erected fortified places in Norfolk to hold down and over-awe a discontented and exasperated population is clear.

Mr. Freeman tells us that at every stage of the Conquest the building of a Castle in a conquered town was one of the first works, and that there were Castles in Eastern England among the very first. He adduces the instance of Norwich, which has already been mentioned. He tells us that when King William the First left England for Normandy, less than six months after his landing at Pevensey, he appointed Bishop Odo and William Fitz Osbern co-Regents during his absence, created the latter Earl of Hereford, put Norwich with its newly rising Castle under his special care, and specially instructed him, and indeed both of them, to be diligent in the great work of securing the obedience of the land by the building of Castles.*

It seems also clear that the erection of a wooden castle or blockhouse on a stockaded mound was an ordinary Norman method, and at Thetford, where stone and brick

* Norman Conquest, Vol. 1, p. 324. Vol. 4, pp. 67, 73.

were difficult to procure, and where flint, for many reasons, was not suitable or available for speedy use, and when timber was probably fairly abundant the use of that material was likely and reasonable.

Thetford, at the time of the Norman Conquest, was the principal East Anglian town, or second only to Norwich, and the ancient seat of Government of East Anglia. Domesday Book shews that the Town and Hundred were Crown property, and that Roger Bigod was the principal tenant.

In Mr. De Gray Birch's account of the Domesday Survey he says that Thetford, judging by the number of Burgesses, was the most flourishing town in Norfolk.

Martin tells us that William, first Earl Warrenne and Surrey had the Castle and Manor, though what he means by the Castle is not clear, but Blomefield's account is different. He says that King Stephen had the Honor or Dominion (which of course included Town and Castle, if any), and gave the Suffolk part to William, third Earl Warrenne, who founded in Thetford the House of Canons, and that King Richard the First gave the Norfolk part of the Honor or Hundred to Hameline Plantagenet in exchange.*

Hameline married the only child and heiress of the third Earl and became Earl de Warrenne and Surrey.

The first Earl had large possessions in Norfolk which are recorded in Domesday, but the Hundred or Honor of Thetford is not among them, nor is he stated to own any property there.

The survey is supposed to have been made in 1086, and the Conqueror died in 1087.

I cannot find that the first Earl was ever therefore Lord of the Town and Castle of Thetford or was so described.

* Martin, p. 42. Blomefield, p. 407.

Moreover, Hameline undoubtedly acquired the Norfolk part of Thetford by exchange with King Richard, the document effecting the exchange being set out in full by Martin (p. 43).

The site therefore of the Mound and ramparts was in the possession of the Crown until the exchange, after which the Earls of Warrenne owned it for more than a century. In 1075, there occurred the great rebellion against William the Conqueror headed by Ralph, Earl of Norfolk, supported, amongst others, by Roger Bigod.

Ralph had, as Earl of Norfolk, a third part or interest in the rights of the Crown at Thetford. After the defeat of the rebels at Cambridge, Ralph fled, was condemned and outlawed at Christmas, 1075, and his property forfeited to the Crown, including his interest in Thetford: and the Domesday return accordingly states that the King held at Thetford two-thirds of the Royal revenue as of the Crown, and one-third as of the forfeited Earldom.

The Mound and ramparts, therefore, and a Castle or structure upon the Mound might be erected by the Norman Conqueror either upon the first occupation of the country after Hastings, or in order to overawe the district after the suppression of Earl Ralph's rebellion. Was there ever a Castle or defensive structure on the summit of the Mound?

Mr. G. T. Clark thought, as we have seen, that the site was not occupied after the Conquest.

Mr. W. G. Clarke apparently considers that it was within the Manor of Thetford Hallwick.

In this he is, I think, in error, and he has perhaps overlooked the distinction which is clearly stated by Blomefield between the Hallwick Manor, a Manor within the dominion or Lordship of Thetford and the dominion

itself—the latter being sometimes referred to as the “Manor of Thetford.”*

The Manor of Thetford Hallwick was the estate which Roger Bigod held within the dominion at the time of the Domesday Record. Blomefield and Martin agree that he gave it to the Priory which he founded. They held it until the dissolution and it appears amongst their possessions at that time and is specially mentioned in the grant from King Henry the Eighth to the Duke of Norfolk.†

The Dominion, or Lordship, rather than the Hallwick Manor, would naturally include any Castle or Fortress, and that it did so seems to be clear.

King Henry the Second confirmed the grants which had been made to the Priory, and the Charter expressly mentions the mill, land, and mead *by the Castle* (“pratum quod est juxta Castellum”) which seems pretty clearly to imply that a structure known as the Castle then existed.‡

But this is not all, for in the Pipe Roll 19 Henry the Second (1172-3), I have found the following entry, by which the Sheriff or Collector of the Revenue of the Crown for Norfolk, accounts for a payment.

“Et in Custodia Castell de Theford a Dominica in
“ramis palmar usque XV. dies P. Pentecost anqm
“pstneret LXXIIs.”§

This written at length would read “Et in Custodiâ Castellî de Thetford a Dominicâ in ramis palmarum usque XV. dies post Pentecost anquam prosterneretur LXXIIs,” or in English “And for the custody of the Castle of Thetford from Palm Sunday until 15 days after Whitsuntide (Pentecost) before it was pulled down, 72s.”

* Blomefield, p. 402.

† Martin, p. 150.

‡ Martin, pp. 117-133.

§ P.R. Society's publications, Vol. 19.

Theford was a common way of spelling Thetford, and is undoubtedly that town.

The word "Castellum" might be applied either to the entire fortress or to a keep or building.

Pulling down seems to involve the destruction of buildings, and could not of course apply to the Mound and ramparts.

The entry shows, therefore, clearly that there was a Norman castle or fortress at Thetford, which was destroyed, dismantled, or pulled down. The Mound has always been and is known as Castle Hill, the road to it from the town as Castle Street, the lane to the east as Castle Lane, the enclosure as Castle Yard, the adjoining meadow as Castle Meadow, and the portion of the town south of the ramparts as the Bailey End.

In the Bailey End formerly stood the Chapel or College of the Guild of St. Mary, and the Patent Rolls show that, on 23rd September, 1392, the Mayor and Commonalty of Thetford had license to buy property to find a Chaplain to celebrate divine service at the Chapel of St. Mary in "le Baillye."

Therefore, the Mound and ramparts seem clearly to be the Castellum referred to, and that the Mound was crowned by a stockade and wooden structure or keep, of which the cavity on the summit is probably the only remaining indication, seems reasonably probable. Mr. W. G. Clarke says that the trees now on the summit were planted in 1823. That may be so, but there is a note by the late L. S. Bidwell, Esq., in his edition of Martin's History, that trees were planted there by Mr. Leonard Shelford, his great-grandfather, in 1730, and that the workmen carried up pails of water to water them.

Henry the Second came to the throne October 25th,



CASTLE HILL, TRISTFORD, B12.



1154, and the 19th year of his reign was from 25th October, 1172, to 25th October, 1173.

In 1173, whilst he was in France, he had to face the rebellion of his two sons, Henry and Richard, which, as Bishop Stubbs tells us afforded occasion for an outbreak which nothing but the personal abilities of the King and his Ministers prevented from becoming a revolution.* Nearly all the great Earls supported the Princes including Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the most powerful of the rebels, with vast estates in East Anglia. Hameline Plantagenet, then Earl de Warrenne, Henry's half-brother, remained faithful. In July the rebellion broke out in England. Robert Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, landed with an army of Flemings at Walton-on-the-Naze, where he was welcomed by Bigod, at whose Castle of Framlingham he remained some days. He then advanced towards Leicester and was attacked and routed by the Royal forces at Fornham St. Genevieve, on 17th October. The dominion of Thetford in Norfolk belonged at this time to the Crown, and the fortress was probably dismantled to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels. As a defensive work it was the less important, seeing that De Warrenne's great stronghold of Castle Acre was only about ten miles distant. There is a very clear account of the rebellion in Mrs. Green's History of Henry the Second.†

The pulling down and dismantling of Castles was part of the settled policy of King Henry, and after the rebellion in 1176 he took all Castles into his own hands and dismantled many including those of Earl Bigod.‡

* Introduction to Rolls Series, p. 117.

† Twelve English Statesmen, MacMillan & Co., 1888.

‡ Introduction to Rolls Series. p. 120.

It will be remembered that Hameline, Earl de Warrenne, acquired the Norfolk portion of the dominion of Thetford by exchange with King Richard, which is said to have taken place about 1190 or 1191.

From the De Warrennes the Dominion or Honor of Thetford passed, about 1319, to the Earls and Dukes of Lancaster, and is still held of the Duchy.

Mr. W. G. Clarke's reference to Henry, Duke of Lancaster, as Lord of the Town and Castle of Thetford, and builder of the House of Austin Friars in 1387, is evidently an oversight.

Henry was Earl, not Duke, of Lancaster, and died in 1345.

John of Gaunt acquired the Lancaster Estates by marriage with Henry's grand-daughter Blanche, and held them for life after her death as tenant by the courtesy of England, and was created Duke of Lancaster.

It was he who founded at Thetford the House of Austin Friars about 1387.

Henry, Earl of Lancaster, had founded a House of Dominican Friars on the site of the disused Cathedral about 50 years before.

They appear to have objected to the foundation of any other House of Friars in their neighbourhood, and complained to King Richard the Second, and a mandate dated 6th November, 1386, was issued to the Mayor of Thetford on their petition, stating that the Pope had granted to their order a privilege that no House of the Mendicant Orders should be founded or built within a radius of 300 "canes," which I suppose means "rods" of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards, or 1650 yards from Houses of their order, and this right the Mayor was enjoined to maintain.*

The Duke then, about 1387, founded the House of Austin Friars and placed it outside the town, to the east or south-east of Castle Lane, and on the site of part of the banks or ramparts of the Mound, a site still known as the Friar's Close, though all remains of the buildings have disappeared.

Then in 1396 a license was granted by King Richard, dated 15th February, on the supplication of the Duke of Lancaster, authorising the alienation in Mortmain, by him and Henry, Earl of Derby, his son (afterwards Henry the Fourth) of a messuage called "Le Graunges," a toft called "Castle Yerde," a considerable area of land, a water mill and fishery, and the fishery of a water called "Nonnesdam," and other property, including the profit of coneys on the land, all the premises being parcel of the Manor of Thetford held in chief, which the duke held for life by the courtesy, from the death of Blanche, late his wife, the reversion being in the said earl and his heirs, to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary's, Thetford, at the yearly rental of 42 marks 6/8, or £28 6s. 8d., in lieu of all services and demands, saving to the duke, the earl, and his heirs, Warren of Hares, Partridges, Pheasants, and other birds of Warren.*

The reference to the "Nonnesdam" shows that the property was in the neighbourhood of the Mound, the only nunnery at Thetford being the small Benedictine foundation on the opposite side of the river, still known as the Nunnery Farm. The "Castle Yerde" and other lands must, I think, have included the Mound, ramparts, and base court or Bailey. We may recall the reception of Lord Marmion at Norham Castle, as described by Sir Walter Scott.

Then to the Castle's lower ward
 Sped forty yeomen tall;
 The iron-studded gates unbarred,
 Raised the Portcullis' ponderous guard,
 The lofty palisade unspurred,
 And let the drawbridge fall.

.

'Tis meet that I should tell you now,
 How fairly armed and ordered how,
 The soldiers of the Guard,
 With musket, pike, and morion,
 To welcome noble Marmion,
 Stood in *the Castle Yard*.
 Minstrls and trumpeters were there,
 The gunner held his linstock yare,
 For welcome shot prepared,
 Entered the train, and such a clang,
 As then through all his turrets rang,
 Old Norham never heard.

Marmion—Canto I.

The grant to the priory was made and the property was held by them until the dissolution, and amongst their temporal possessions at that time there appears the Halwick Manor and subsequently the Manor called Grange, in divers farms and property in the occupation of the Prior, and amongst other charges the rent of £28 6s. 8d. is stated to be paid by the Prior for fee farm of his Manor of Grange.* The term "Manor" was no doubt used to describe the farm and holding subject to the rent. After the dissolution the Priory and the estates belonging to it were granted by Henry the Eighth (9th July, 32 Henry Eighth) to the 3rd Duke of Norfolk.

The Duke was afterwards attainted of treason, deprived of his estates and sent to the Tower, where he remained until 1553.

King Henry the Eighth died 23rd January, 1546, and in the first or second year of King Edward the Sixth,

* Martin, pp. 150, 153.



that Monarch, being entitled to the forfeited estates of the Duke and being also entitled to the dominion or Lordship of Thetford in right of the Duchy of Lancaster, appears to have granted the dominion and Manor of Thetford to the Duke of Somerset, who conveyed them to Sir R. Fulmerston.*

The Duke of Norfolk's son, Lord Surrey, was attainted of treason, and beheaded in 1547.

Then in the first year of Queen Mary (1553) the attainder of the 3rd Duke of Norfolk was reversed, but he died in 1554. His grandson, the 4th Duke, succeeding to the family honors and estates, made claims against Fulmerston which were the subject of an arbitration and award under which a Deed of Arrangement was executed between them, which is copied by Martin.†

The Deed secures to Fulmerston amongst other property the Castle Meadow, one acre between Nun's bridges near Castle Mill, and the Castle yard enclosed with stone walls.

The Duke was to bear and pay all rents to the King.

Sir R. Fulmerston's grandson afterwards sold the property to trustees for the Howard family, and members of that family were the owners until modern times.

The Seal of the Corporation of Thetford bears a Castle which is not very dissimilar in appearance from the castles figured in the Bayeux tapestry as erected by the Norman Conquerors.

As the Seal is depicted by Blomefield (p. 461), it contains in the border a crescent and star, suggesting a connection in its origin with the Crusaders. A similar emblem appears on the Seal of the House of Canons at

* Martin, pp. 48, 159. Blomefield, p. 411.

† Martin p. 48.

Thetford, founded by an ardent Crusader, the 3rd Earl Warrenne.

Moreover in Blomefield's Sketch the front of the Castle is covered with a network of lines dividing the surface into squares, exactly similar to the blazoning of the Shield of the Earls of Warrenne and Surrey, "Chequée or and azure." Though the Charter of Incorporation dates only from Queen Elizabeth, Blomefield states that the Seal was a very old one, and he believes it to be first allowed by Earl Warrenne. That a Borough community not formally incorporated had a Common Seal as early as the 13th century is well known.* Unfortunately the crescent and the interlacing lines have disappeared from the Seal as now used.

The device of the Castle, therefore, may well preserve some reminiscence of the structure which once crowned the summit of the Mound and was pulled down in 1173.

To sum up what has been said, and if we assume that the works were constructed not for protection so much as to overawe and dominate the town and neighbourhood, and further that they were erected at the same period and on one uniform plan, we may enquire at what period of history such a construction might probably take place.

Three periods may naturally occur to us.

First, the invasion by the Danes in A.D. 866, which resulted in the defeat and martyrdom of King Edmund and the establishment of a Danish line of East Anglian Kings. The struggle was fierce, and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that when the invaders wintered at Thetford, or when, after the peace of Wedmore, Guthrum became Monarch of East Anglia, it was thought wise to erect there a strong fortified place.

Or, secondly, after the Norman Conquest, when although as Professor Freeman tells us, Norfolk and Suffolk came into

* See Maitland & Pollock's Hist. Eng. Law, Vol. 1, pp. 656, 683.

the Conqueror's hands without effort or resistance, the men of East Anglia had a strong Danish element among them, and Norwich, at all events, was a point which called for special heed at the hands of a Conqueror whose Crown might be threatened at any time by a Scandinavian rival.*

Or, lastly, during or after the great rebellion of Ralph of Wader, the Earl of Norfolk, backed by other great Norman Chieftains, including Roger Bigod in 1075.

The work of construction with no mechanical appliances to lighten the labour must have been great, and one may wonder who provided the workmen, and whether, if the Norman Conqueror and his soldiers were task-masters, and the oppressed Saxons the labourers, the construction had anything to do with the great decrease of population in Thetford noted in Domesday between the compiling of the record and the peaceful times of the Confessor; the 944 burgesses at the latter date being reduced to 720, and 224 houses being vacant.

From what has been said those who care to do so will form their own opinion as to the origin of the Mound and ramparts.

Though Thetford is now a small and little known country town, it has a history which stretches away far into the past, and it contains an unusual number of mementoes of former importance.

None of them are more interesting than the great earthworks whose history we have been endeavouring to trace, and where the vast mound now, as it has done for centuries in the past, and will do for centuries in the future, looks down upon the visitor with something of the silent eloquence of the great Pyramid. We may rejoice that, through the liberality of Lady Cecil, the owner, and the public spirit of the Corporation of Thetford, the site

* Vol. 4, pp. 26-68.

has been handed over to them, to be by them maintained as a park and recreation ground for the inhabitants.

It is hardly likely that further light will be thrown upon the question, and all speculation must be doubtful, but upon the whole it seems more probable that this relic of ancient time was not the work of Celt, or Roman, or Saxon, or Dane, but of the Norman conquerors of England.

Be that as it may, it reminds us of great events and great men in our Island Story, and thus provides, not merely an interesting place for recreation and amusement, but a great object lesson in history for future generations of the children of Thetford.

I must not conclude without expressing my thanks to my friends, Mrs. Armitage and Mr. Walter Rye, for the help and advice which I have had from them in the preparation of this paper. I must also acknowledge with thanks the loan of the blocks from which most of the illustrations have been printed, that of Martin's Plan by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, and that of the Seal of the Corporation of Thetford by his Worship the Mayor (F. H. Millington, Esq.), and that of the Castle Hill by Messrs. Boughton & Son, of Thetford.

THE EARLY BEDE ROLL OF THE
MERCHANTS' GILD AT LYNN CON-
TAINING THE NAME OF JOHN
CHAUCER.

BY

RICHARD HOWLETT, F.S.A.

MR. RYB has requested me to edit for him the ancient Bede Roll of the Great Gild of the Holy Trinity of Lynn in which his searching eye has detected the name of one of the poet Chaucer's probable ancestors. But the roll contains just 850 names; it goes back to times when surnames were only beginning to make their appearance; and the scribes who wrote it were as careful to avoid dates as the provoking lawyers who drew up the majority of the early charters. It was sufficient for such persons that Roger son of Hugh and Matthew son of Nicholas together with William son of Robert had witnessed certain grants of lands; but many Hughs named their sons Roger, while to many a Robert was a William born, and such commonplace children of unimportant persons can seldom be identified after a great lapse of time. It is true that if a William son of Richard is found witnessing several charters together with a Ralph Kelloc he is to a certain extent identified and dated by mere grouping with a person who owned a real surname, and such associations of the vague with the definite have helped me much throughout my work; but I have had to be careful and to reject in sadness many tempting coincidences which another searcher might be inclined to admit as sound evidence.

So many things as to this venerable roll claim an absolute right to be said first that I will not attempt to justify my decision to begin by a few words respecting the ancient Merchant Gilds, of which that of the Holy Trinity of Lynn was a notable specimen. A splendid work has been written on the whole subject by Dr. Gross* and to that I must refer my readers for arguments, references, and details; but it appears from his inquiries that about 150 towns in England and Wales had by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries acquired from the king the right to form their own Gild Merchant. Once formed there ensued an action and reaction of wealth and power, and the trade in all goods which were not mere victuals was absorbed and held as a right by the members of the Merchant Gild of a town, and they claimed and exercised a power of regulation of general commerce. They enjoyed freedom from tolls throughout England, and they took corporate action in suing merchants in other towns or defending the rights of their own members. Membership thus conferred a special position on the brothers of a Gild, and though the rights of individual merchants who were not Gild brethren were, in name, left unabated, there was an overshadowing prestige which would be certain to take definite shape and give palpable advantages in the long run.

Within the Gild there was a true brotherhood in commerce and much else. "If any one of this house," say the ordinances of our Lynn Gild,† "shall buy anything and a brother shall come in unexpectedly before the agreement or at it, he ought to be a partner with him that buys, and if the buyer refuses it he is to be amerced half-a-mark" There was thus absolute partnership in all mercantile good things; and help for the poorer brethren in life and decent burial in death

* *Gilda Mercatoria*, by C. Gross, 2 vols.

† These are given in full by Blomefield, viii. 516.

were provided by the rules of the Gild. The regulations against sleeping and breaches of etiquette, and in favour of modest potations on occasion, may raise a smile, but it is clear that the Alderman and his four Skevins (*scabini*)* presided over a body of wealthy men who were destined to rule by the sheer weight of gold and status over others outside the gild.

It is curious that the kings seem to have allowed new Merchant Gilds to mould their customs at choice on those of gilds in other towns, and that in this way Lynn elected to follow the lead of Oxford.

The Gild Merchant had no definite connexion with municipal government, and yet it is clear from many instances in other towns as well as from small points which will be observed in our Bede Roll itself that the men who formed the Merchant Gild were the men of substance and character who, by a sort of upward gravitation, became mayors and members of corporations. Indeed, if I do not misread Blomefield (viii. 515) Henry III. directed that the mayor should be chosen from this Trinity Gild.

I do not propose to give a history of the Lynn Gild, a task for which I am not qualified. It is enough for me that Blomefield, on late 14th cent. evidence, attributes its inception to Bishop John de Grey who died in 1214; that our Roll affords support to this early date in the simple fact that brother No. 37, William son of Milo, was old enough to transfer a piece of property by Fine in the 10th year of Richard I. (1198-9); and that the first trace of the Gild is in 1204, a definite grant of a *Gilda Mercatoria* being made in King John's charter of that year.

A Bede Roll may be defined as a list of deceased brethren of a College or Gild drawn up for the purpose of having masses said for their souls, and for remembering them by

* The other Gild Officers were the Dean, Treasurer, Clerk, and 13 Chaplains.

name on great occasions such as the Pentecostal Feast of which the Ordinances of our Gild give evidence. It was read aloud by a man who from this duty was known as the Bedesman. But the list grew long with time, it would seem, and the wine was probably waiting, so that when 276 or more brothers had died human nature required that a way should be taken with this cumbrous roll. And a way was taken by the clerk, or perhaps one of the 13 chaplains of the Gild, whose hand records the dead from No. 276 to 514.* He has crowded in, as the second of four columns at the top of the list, a convenient group of eight persons, several of whom had been Mayors of Lynn and the rest of whom had, no doubt, been worshipfully wealthy, and these I incline to believe, were read out to the impatient feasters while the rest of the long list was taken as read. At any rate these eight notables are recorded once at the head of the list and a second time in their due places in the body of the Roll, and there are two other queer little facts which tend towards my notion.

The Roll consists of two long slips of parchment. The first is written on both sides, and, except at the top, in three columns only, and from the right-hand bottom corner a piece about 2 inches wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ long was cut *in ancient days*, for the writing on the Roll is not carried close up to the cut. The vacant space appears, of course, at the left-hand bottom corner of the reverse of the parchment, and there, at the foot of the first membrane of the Roll, are the words *Nomina confratrum de magna Gylda*. But these words are *upside down*, and it seems from all this that there was some blundering, and that the eight names of deceased brethren were possibly at one time on the piece that was cut away, and that when they had been thus removed from a wrong position, under a heading intended for the Roll of living members,

* The man who scrawled the Morowspeche Roll, and so was probably the real clerk, could not have written the Bede Roll.

they were crowded in between the first and second columns at the beginning of the Bede Roll, thus giving the list the appearance of having at the outset four columns instead of three.*

The *second* membrane begins with the words *Adhuc fratres defuncti* which show that it is a list of living members, not a *Bede Roll* at all, but a *Matriculation Roll*. It ends about the year 1301, as will appear from facts to be stated below, and contains 247 names.

Now a society of seven or eight hundred members is a large one in modern London; one of a third that size is an astonishing possession for mediæval Lynn. It was certainly *Magna Gylde*, and must have been the very centre of gravity of a town so purely mercantile as Lynn certainly was once, and to the eye of a stranger still appears to be. The home of the Gild, of course, was the ancient building which is now the Town Hall of Lynn, but I cannot touch further upon such points, and must proceed at once to show how I have attacked the task of dating the Roll and identifying a reasonable proportion of the 850 men whose names it records.† The true Bede Roll ends with No. 603, and the Matriculation Roll which gives the names of living brothers begins with No. 604. Unfortunately the Bede Roll does not record the names in strict sequence according to dates of death, though the Matriculation list gives them in order of date of entry as brethren of the Gild. I must recur to this matter below, and give my reasons for these assertions. It may be thought that my efforts at identifying and dating the brethren have had but meagre

* I had numbered the list and had made indexes, &c., before I noticed the duplication; but I could not face the labour involved in the alterations which a fresh numbering would have involved. In reckoning the totals of members living and deceased, however, I have allowed for this and some other eccentricities of the scribes who wrote the Rolls.

† I have included Nos. 67, 648, 710, and 716 in this total.

success; but records earlier than 1272 are scarce, and I venture to think that one or two of the sources from which I have drawn may be new to some of my readers.

First of all stands the monumental "Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Norfolk in the Reigns of Richard I., John, Henry III., and Edward I.," published by Mr. Rye in 1885, at his own expense, because the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society failed to see its extraordinary value for the history of the county. The foot of a fine, it will suffice for present purposes to say, is a document recording a legal transfer of houses or land to a purchaser.* It gives the regnal year of the king in whose reign the transaction occurred, and as on the average a sale or purchase of a house or land tends to be the act of a not very young or not very old person, we may feel reasonably confident in saying *floruit circa* 1220 if a brother was a party to a fine in that year. This is a point of some importance, as my chief problem is to arrive at an estimated date for the death of No. 301, John Chaucer. Dates followed by the letter F, thus (F), are obtained from these Feet of Fines.

Next in importance is the recently-found Cartulary of the Carmelite Friars of Lynn, now at the Public Record Office.† It is a fragment beginning with a short Bede Roll followed by about ten leaves closely written in a 14th century hand. There is also a little belonging to the 15th century. These leaves give us a series of about 50 charters, some actually dated, and others which are capable of being fairly well dated by internal evidence. A few have been lost either by the destruction of leaves or by obliteration through damp.

The lists of witnesses to these charters are for the most part given very fully, and as the names of many of the

* In rare cases it includes other matters.

† The reference is to "Exchequer K.R. Ecclesiastical Documents, Bundle 2 No. 50."

persons appear in several charters there is a sort of dating by association and an identification by collocation. For example Robert de Marisco witnesses no less than thirteen documents, and Magister Walter Quiquare six ; but five of these are included in R. de Marisco's list of thirteen. Again Alexander de Neketino appears in three out of Quiquare's five, so we know that the the three men were contemporaries and their identity is fixed. The Cartulary is a valuable contribution to the early history of Lynn, which despite recent efforts, still remains to be written. For example, it supplies us with a definite date, 1244, for the earliest mayor of Lynn to whom an absolute chronological place can be assigned. Blomefield was unable to do more than place No. 59, Gilbert fil' Warini among the "Mayors, *sans date* ." Facts and dates from this Cartulary are marked thus (C) in the Bede Roll as printed below. The leaves, however, have no consecutive paging, so I have given the number of the charter in my own extracts. There are, as stated, only about 50, and such a reference as (C. 10) will assist in tracing the charter I am at the time quoting, for the Cartulary is but a fragment, and my notes follow the order of its contents.

Leaving my third main source of information, the Morowspeche Rolls, till the last, I may mention here the imperfect account of the Lynn Records published by the Historical MSS. Commissioners in 1887. They have printed (pp. 235 to 239) some early dated charters and many others having long lists of witnesses. I quote these as (H), adding the page. Mr. Rye's list of Norfolk *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, published in 1892, has given me one or two definite dates of death, and I name this source in each case. Harrod has fortunately given some notes from the Lynn Tallage Rolls and these I have used. Finally among printed sources we have Blomefield or Parkyn. I quote this as (Blo.); but, as the account of Lynn is in vol. 8, I shall merely state the page thus

(Blo. 491), giving a fuller reference if I quote another volume. My third source of information, as stated above, is the earliest "Morowspeche" or "Morwespeche Roll" (Gd. No. 45) among the Corporation Records. This extends from 14th Edward I. (1285-6) to 31st Edward I. (1302-3), and is followed, after a long gap, by (Gd. No. 46) which belongs to the time of Edward III. These rolls are minutes of the four annual Morowspeche meetings, and they record the admission of brothers of the Gild, the choice of skevins or wardens, and other business such as payments of fees, fines, and tallages, in a brief, dry way. The recording "clerk" was a quaint fellow and played strange tricks with names, though every entry brought him twopence. He wrote a weird scrawl quite unlike any hand in the Bede Roll. Thus Hugh le Moigne appears as le Mogrue; Peter de Thurendeyn as Trhundeyn; and Alan de Thrapon (No. 811) as de Trhapim. I could only spend one day at Lynn, and I extracted under date as many names as I was able to write down; but unfortunately I did not add the word *intravit* to as many names as I could now wish. The last membranes of the roll are sadly mutilated by tearing lengthways, and some day a careful resident in Lynn will perhaps detect a few minor errors of date made by me in consequence. I quote this roll as (M)

One strange fact appears from the Morowspeche Roll when compared with the Matriculation Roll. Many of those who are noted as *intravit* in the former do not appear at all in the latter. Taking the following list of brethren entering on the same day in 29 Edward I. (say 1301):—

Adam fil' Will' de Balsham.
Galfridus Trubbot.
Will' de West Lenn.
Robt' fil' Galf' Trubbot.
Galf' Coket.

* Morowspeche is the ordinary word in use in the Gilds of early days. It is the equivalent of *manequium*, morning discussion.

Not one of these can be traced in the Matriculation Roll, and it seems to follow, for there are many more instances, that brethren joined and left the Gild rather freely, and indeed held their membership rather lightly; yet each had to pledge, or place, 100s. in the hands of the alderman, a large sum for that date.

Many who joined brought in sons or relatives with them, as for instance No. 20 and his son No. 21; No. 25 and his brother No. 26. Again, some introduced a partner, *socius*, e.g., Nos. 503 and 504; or a servant, *serviens*; but by the latter word we may, I think, understand the equivalent of the modern "managing clerk." No. 314 is an example of *serviens*, but the important couple to which I must ask special attention is:—

No. 301, Johannes Chaucer.

„ 302, Dreu serviens ejus.

The numerous couplings* of this sort show that, as stated above, the Bede Roll does not give the names in strict sequence of decease, for though friends or relatives often enter societies in pairs they are seldom undivided in death. I should be inclined to think that the Roll was written up from time to time from notes of decease made on a general list of Gild brethren, and that thus seniority of admission to the Gild more than priority in death would influence the ultimate order of names on the Bede Roll as we now have it. And our Rolls give a partial instance of what I mean. Take the case of Radulfus de Heynore, No. 611 on the Matriculation Roll. He there appears on the list of living brethren, and he was one of the four skevins of the Gild in 1288; but the Morowspeche Roll shows that he died in 1291. If the Gild clerk or chaplain had done his duty Ralph would have appeared somewhere before No. 604, perhaps about No. 570; but neglect flourished then as now, and we find him left among the

* Nos. 69 and 70, 246 and 247, 383 and 384, 403 and 404, 475 and 476, &c.

living. Now *imagine* that No. 617, John Basset, and No. 624, Richard Pinet, died respectively in 1294 and 1292, and also imagine that the scribe was stirred up to act. The result would seemingly have been that Ralph would, as stated, have become No. 570, John No. 571, and Richard No. 572, a sequence influenced partly by seniority of entrance into the Gild, as shown by the Matriculation Roll, and partly by priority of decease. This apparently trivial matter has its importance in solving my problem.

Reverting, however, to John Chaucer and Dreu, his "managing clerk," I must refer my readers to Mr. Rye's recent paper, entitled "Chaucer a Norfolk Man,"* for many details and arguments touching on the present matter; but I may note from that and an earlier paper from the same hand† that Geoffrey Chaucer the poet, born, it is said, in 1328, was son of John Chaucer (born in 1311 and married at the age of 14‡) and grandson of Robert Chaucer, of Gunthorpe in Norfolk, and also of London, who died before 1315. Now I think that the dates surrounding John Chaucer's name on our Bede Roll will, with other considerations, incline my readers to think that Gild Brother No. 301 may have been the poet's great grandfather. His *entourage* seems to belong to the third quarter of the 13th century. Our Roll definitely links the Dreu or Drewe family with the Chaucers, and I find from the Morowspeche Roll that in 1292 Geoffrey Drewe (Galf' Drewe) was struck off the Roll of our Merchant Gild for not paying his dues; but clerks are usually much younger than their masters, and, assuming for the moment the identity of Dreu with Geoffrey Drewe, it is not surprising to find that this one must have long outlived John Chaucer. Membership of the

* Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany (second series), pt. 2, p. 142.

† ditto (first series), Vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 550

‡ This singular proceeding resulted in a lawsuit against the widow whose daughter the boy married. Geoffrey Chaucer was thus born when his father was about 17 or 18.

Gild and dates combine in making me think that "*Dreu serviens ejus*" was Geoffrey Drewe the defaulter of 1292. He re-appears as witness to a Lynn charter in 1296-7* and in a Fine of 1302-3 (F. p. 159), and identity of name leads me to believe that he was the father or grandfather of Geoffrey Drewe who was Customs Collector at Lynn in 1344.† Dr. Gross mentions that in 1353 this Geoffrey Drewe was Alderman of our Merchant Gild.‡ Here we have *Geoffrey Drewe* a contemporary with *Geoffrey Chaucer* and not improbably the son or grandson of John Chaucer's clerk.

But there were other families in Lynn bearing names which were linked in various ways with the poet. Nos. 623, Costin; 334, Fincham; 341, Foulsham; 105, Fraunceys; and 691, Pikard, are all names that appear in connexion with Geoffrey Chaucer, and they were Lynn people.

Furthermore we no longer need to guess as to the possible origin of Cecilia Chaumpaigne, the heroine of the poet's escapade, for No. 100 on our Roll is Nicholas Chaumpeneis and No. 421 is Alexander Champeneys, and she may therefore have belonged to a Lynn family.

It is not easy to arrive at a sound guess as to the date of death of John Chaucer, but as a guide I have employed a device more common in mathematics and physical science than in antiquarian investigations. It struck me that by using the two definitely-known dates of brethren on the list of *defuncti* it would be possible to construct a "graph" :—

No. 381 died 1276

No. 577 „ 1302-3

Marking the chronological years up to 1303 on the ordinate and the sequence of numbers up to 577 on the abscissa, the

* Hist. MSS. C., p. 239.

† I may add that Mr. Rye states that Peter Drewe was Troner at Lynn in 1349, and I may call attention to Gild Brother No. 530, Simon Dreu, living in 1273.

‡ Vol. II., p. 166.

point at which the resulting "curve"* would cut the ordinate drawn from No. 301, John Chaucer's number, would I thought give a fairly probable date for his death. This process suggests that he lived up to 1266.

It must be remembered that in this we are not dealing with the question of *length of life*, but with *dates of occurrence of deaths*. For instance No. 381, who died in 1276, may have been a veteran of 95, while No. 577, who lived up to 1302, may only have reached 50.

The only assumption in all this is that the number of deaths per year among the 81 brethren, Nos. 301 to, 381 was the same as the number per year among the 97 from 381 to 577. Take the Royal Society or any other great body of men of mature age and we should probably find that the number who died from 1860 to 1880 would be roughly the same as the number between 1880 and 1900. We do not know anything about their *ages*, but we know that death removes them at a tolerably even rate.

If then our Bede Roll had been written up from year to year we should feel that we knew within a little space of time the date of John Chaucer's death; but I have already shown reason for fearing that the list is a sort of resultant between the order of admission to the Gild and the order of removal by death. Still when we are dealing with large bodies of 81 and 97 men respectively this resultant would have a definite value. The Bede Roll covers a period of about 100 years from the inception of the Gild, and as death would have begun to work among the original body of brethren—many of them doubtless elderly men—without any undue delay, we may appeal to John Chaucer's position, No. 301, midway between No. 9 the first and No. 603 the last on a very long list of dead men. Now we know that the Gild began in 1204 and that No. 577

* The *curve* is in this case a straight line; but a physicist would still use the word.

died in 1302-3,* so we may feel tolerably sure that a man who stands almost at the middle point, even in a rough sequence, died almost at the middle point of time. This would give us 1254.

But keeping these dates, 1254 and 1266, in suspense let us examine the latest dates at which the 100 brethren before and the 100 after John Chaucer were known to be living, and we shall see that the former can be traced in various years between 1236 and 1272, and the latter in years between 1251 and 1292, one of them dying in 1276. In view of these facts we can, I think, say that a date about the year 1266, say 1270, seems more probable than any other we could fix.

All this would place John Chaucer on the genealogical level of great grandfather of the poet; and while we cannot at present prove that he was father of Robert Chaucer we can at least say that Ben Adam was absolutely right in claiming the Chaucers as a Lynn family.

At this point I resign the matter into the able hands of Mr. Rye; but I cannot refrain from adding that the writer of an article which appeared a few years ago in the "Nineteenth Century"† would have welcomed the Chaucer family as a weight that would turn the balance definitely in favour of his claim that the sons of Norfolk have stood intellectually at the head of the United Kingdom.

Returning, however, to the Mayors of Lynn, I wish to call attention to a charter printed in the Historical MSS. Commissioners' Lynn Report (pp. 237-8), witnessed, among others, by the men in the left-hand column below. The

* The last trace of No. 583, the Alderman of the Gild, is in 1300; but the date of his death is unknown. He may have been Mayor in 1303 (Blo).

† I am sorry I cannot quote the precise date, but the article was founded on an analysis of the Dictionary of National Biography which was then completed.

second list, with numbers, gives names from the Bede Roll in their order on the record:—

(i.) CHARTER.

(ii.) BEDE ROLL.

Sir Robert mayor of Lenn	9. Robertus fil' Sunolf tunc maior
Michael de Beaw	10. Mich' de Belvacho [Beauvais]
Ralph Kelloc	11. Radulphus Kelloc
Robert son of David	12. Robertus fil' David
William son of Richard	13. Will' fil' Richardi
Yvon de Lincoln	15. John de Nicoln (?)
Richard de Brecham	35. Ricardus de Berchun
John de Geywdia	45. John de Geywd
John son of A'stin	47. John fil' Astini

The identification of these names *taken singly* might in one or two cases be doubted; but when we find the names in the Bede Roll running close to one another, as the second list and its numbers show, no further doubt is possible. Even taking, by itself, the one case queried there is clear probability, for *Nicoln* is a well-known ancient variant of *Lincoln*, and *Yvon* for *John* may be a mere slip.

The importance of all this is that we can now estimate the date of the beginning of the Roll, and can arrive at tolerably definite ideas about another Mayor of Lynn who has hitherto been altogether in the clouds.

We see that the first man on the list, Robert son of Sunolf (No. 9), was certainly contemporary with, but probably senior to, the men as far down as No. 45 and No. 47 on the Bede Roll, for seven of them witnessed the charter mentioned above with him when he was already Mayor of Lynn. Of these 39 individuals two of the latest (37 and 46) were certainly over 21 and probably much over that age in the year 1198-9, for they were parties to transfers of property in that year. Again we know from the deed quoted by Blomefield (viii. 491, 2) that Robert son of Sunolf was uncle to Gilbert son of Warin who, as I have discovered from the

Cartulary, was Mayor in 1244, and the nephew of a Mayor would frequently in common circumstances not succeed to his uncle's office until after the lapse of 40 years.* This would take us back to the year 1204 when, as we have seen above, the first trace of the Gild is found.

Furthermore we must consider the meaning of the word *tunc* (*tc'*) in the first entry on the Roll, *Robertus fil' Sunolf tc' maior*. He was "then" Mayor. *When* was he Mayor? Plainly the writer meant to say at the inception of the Gild itself, or else his use of the word *tunc* would have been mere nonsense.

After putting together these facts I can personally see no reason to doubt that Robert son of Sunolf was the first Mayor of Lynn, and the date 1204 is historically certain for the foundation of the Gild as well as for the beginning of the organised municipal life of the town.

But it is now time to introduce the Rolls themselves. I wish it had been possible to print them in record type.

The following is the list of distinguished members of the Gild which is crowded between the first and second columns of the Bede Roll opposite numbers 11 to 16. These are all inserted in the handwriting which begins with No. 276 of the great list:—

1 and 59 Gilbertus fil' Warini with wife Matilda 1239-3,
and 1250-1 (F 52, 82);
Mayor of Lynn 1244 (C
6); nephew of No. 9 Robt.
fil' Sunolf (Blo. viii. 491-
2); witness to charter (H
238)

* Of course in phenomenal families the nephew may be older than the uncle; but plenty of uncles are 40 years older than their nephews. Blomefield in writing of Sunolf mentions "Gilbert, son of Warin, his grandson"; but, five lines lower down, adds the inconsistent words "Gilbert, son of Warine, son of Robert, son of Sunolf" which would make Gilbert great-grandson of Sunolf. This, if correct, would dispose of any difficulty as to an interval of 40 years or more; but I think it is an error.

- 2 and 236 Simon Fordwan witnessed 10 charters in Cartulary; living 1271-2 (H p. 235)
- 3 and 548 Johannes de Merlou* 1252-3 (F 86); 1282 (C); mayor 1295, 1299, 1300; with No. 6 in Cust. Roll. 1302-3. Query Lord of Manor of West Winch: presented rector in 1312 (Blo. ix. 155)
- 4 and 343 Ricardus Lambert witnessed deed in 1271 (Blo. 494)
- 5 and 349 Alex' Kelloc admitted to Gild 1248 (Blo. viii. 492); 1256-7 (F 91)
- 6 and 440 Robertus de Londonia 1232-3 (F p. 50); Mayor in 1272; 1282 (C); Alderman of Gild 1287 (M); Cust. Roll 1302-3 with No. 3; Subsidy Roll (? 3 ? 29 Ed. I.)
- 7 and 578 Willms' de Lindeseia Mayor in 1282
- 8 and 483 Pers de Thorund' Mayor in 1288; Alderman of Gild 1290 to 1300 or longer (M)

The great list now proceeds, but as explained above (p. 5 note), I have had to call the first man No. 9.

* Name also appears as de Merlon and de Merlawe, the latter perhaps the more correct form. If Blomefield is right as to the date 1312 his position as No. 548 out of a list of deceased brethren ending with No. 603 is inexplicable. Probably a son presented to living in 1312.

BEDE ROLL.

Hii sunt fres Gilde Mercatorie de Lenn defuncti.

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 9 | Robertus fil' Sunolf† tunc
maior : | he was uncle* of No. 59,
Gilbert fil' Warini, who was
Mayor in 1244 (Blo. viii.
491-2), witnessed charter
(Hist. MSS., C. 237-8),
with brethren, Nos. 10, 11,
12, 13, 15, 35, 45, 47 |
| 10 | Mich' de Belvacho† Alder-
mannus | living iu 1238 (Blo. viii.
491-2) |
| 1 | Rad' Kelloc | living 1220-1 (F. p. 36),
witnessed charter to Hosp.
St. J. Bapt. Lynn, Monas-
ticon vii., 649 ; see No. 549 |
| 2 | Robertus fil' David† | |
| 3 | Will fil' Ricardi† | living 1203-4 (F. p. 23),
witnessed same charter as
No. 11 |
| 4 | Hnr' fil Ricardi | |
| 5 | Joh' de Nicoln' † | ? Yvon de Lincoln (H. p. 238) |
| 6 | Will fil' Johis' | |
| 7 | Simon' fr' ejusdem | |
| 8 | Osbertus de London | living 1202-3 (F. 16, a fine
with No. 91, John Lambert) |
| 9 | Ada de Blickling' | |
| 20 | Ricard fil' Walenger | |
| 1 | Simon fil' ejus | |
| 2 | Alan fil' Gilbti' | |

* Blomefield quotes a deed extant in his time in which Gilbert, son of *Warin*, was described as grandson of Sunolf. *Robert*, son of Sunolf, must therefore be his uncle.

† 1 these appear together as witnesses to an extant charter (H. 238).

- 23 Petrus fil' Ricardi
 4 Galfr' fil' Petri
 5 Britius fil' Seman
 6 Robtus' fr' ejus
 7 Roger' de Well'
 8 Simon fil' Robti'
 9 Blakeman' fil' Seman'
 30 Rogerus fil' Cristien'
 1 Reg' fil' Stangrim
 2 Robertus' fil' Godwin'
 3 Nich' fil' Blakeman'
 4 Reinerus de Wirham'
 5 Ricardus de Berchun'† Ric. de Brecham (H. 238),
 Richard clericus de Brecham
 1198-9 (F. p. 7)
- 6 Galfr' de Gernem'
 7 Will fil' Miltonis living 1198-9 (F. p. 8). See
 Nos. 154, 173
- 8 Hnr' Incissor'
 9 Seledus Tingtor'
 40 Galfr' Brun'
 1 Ph' fil' Seman'
 2 Walter' fil' Akeri
 3 Ranulfus fil' Walteri
 4 Th. de Sudburi
 5 Joh' de Geywd'† ? father of No. 310 ; in cause
 together with No. 128 in
 1199-1200 (*Rot. Cur. Reg.*,
 p. 19)
- 6 Reginald' de Ry living in 1198-9 (F. p. 11)
 7 Joh' fil' Astinit† witnessed charter with
 No. 9 and others (H.
 238)

† These appear together as witnesses to an extant charter (H. 238).

- 48 Eudo fil' Ricard
 9 Math' tronacer
- 50 Steph' de Vineter
 1 Nigell' Le Parmenter
 2 Ricardus' fil' Enme
 3 Will de Acra
 4 Ricard' fil' Albin'
 5 Roger' fil' Seman
 6 Ricard fil' Steph'
 7 Reginald' de Waltun *See 67*
 8 Reg' fil' Edmund'
 9 Gilbertus fil' Warin' *Mayor in 1244 (C). See No. 1*
- 60 Thom' de Witun'
 1 Thom' Madel' *living 1221-2 (F. p. 37)*
 2 Bernardus tingtorr'
 3 Robertus de Cybeseia *living 1250-1 (F. p. 84)*
 4 Will Peverel *in a Norfolk cause, 1199-1200 (Rot. Cur. Reg., p. 71)*
- 5 Ric' fil' Steph'
 6 Hnr' fil' Stangr' *with No. 128 witnesses charter (C. 18)*
- 7 Reginald de Wautun *See No. 57—?duplicate entry*
 8 Ric' Parmentarius *living 1198-9, 1208-9 (F. pp. 17, 28)*
- 9 Henricus Parvus
- 70 Martinus' fr' ejus
 1 Alwicus de Estmor'
 2 Ernardus fil' Rogi'
 3 Will fil' Brici'
 4 Elspherus Parmentarius
 5 Nich' Argent'
 6 Galfr' de Secheford
 7 Petrus Altus

- 101 Petr' fil' petri alti
 2 Nigellus fil' Nigelli
 3 Suwanus Parmentarius
 4 Reginaldus Parmentarius
 5 *Will le Fraunceis
 6 Bernard' Mader *see* No. 169
 7 Hug' de Sco' edm'
 8 Ode le Parmenter
 9 Joh' Godlamb' *see* No. 345
 110 Nich' fil Willi'
 1 Will de Witun'
 2 Laurentius Le Valur
 3 Steph' Styn
 4 Alanus fil' Steph'
 5 Alanus fil' Robti'
 6 Bernardus Flandrensis
 7 Robtus' de Burgo
 8 Roger' fil' Deodati
 9 Walter' Blakeman'
 120 Joh' Blakeman' *living* 1227-8 (F p. 46)
 1 Jordanus Le ferun
 2 Ada Le ferun
 3 Will de Wincestr'
 4 Hug' Selic
 5 Folco de Grimest' (Hist. MSS. C p. 238).
 Witness with W. Paris (No. 297), and Peter fil' Siric
 No. 162, also with No. 79
 and 182
 6 Galfr' Pococ
 7 Laurentius fil' Alex'

* A different hand writes in Nos. 105 to 110. *See* also note to No. 214, the point at which the same hand inserts four names. I suspect that these are not in their proper chronological position.

- 128 Will' fil' Stangrimi living 1202-3 (F p. 19 with P. fil' Sirici, No. 192); in a cause together with No. 45 in 1199-1200 (*Rot. Cur. Reg.* p. 19); see No. 66
- 9 Robt' de Bertun'
- 130 Will' Leveday
- 1 Joh' Haddoc see No. 203
- 2 Ada Judeus
- 3 Reinerus Parvus
- 4 Rad' fil' David
- 5 Angerus Le Parmenter
- 6 Ricardus de Bilneia
- 7 Robertus cissor
- 8 Hernaldus de Bernewell'
- 9 Ricardus Besaunt
- 140 Gervasius capellanus
- 1 Eudo capellanus
- 2 Ric' fil' Willi
- 3 Gerardus de Viane
- 4 Will' fil' Ricard' Juvenis
- 5 Thom' fil' Ricardi
- 6 Galfr' de Hapesburg'
- 7 Radulf' de Grimesb'
- 8 Walter' fil' Goche
- 9 Ada fr' presbitr'
- 150 Laurentinus Le Wyte
- 1 Ada de Thid'
- 2 Petr' fil' Simon'
- 3 Hubert Goche
- 4 Galfr' fil' Willi fil' Mile' son of No. 37
- 5 Rad' fil' Willi'
- 6 Roger' fil' Hugon'
- 7 Walter' de Ales

- 158 Ric' caperun
 9 Robt' de Blicling'
- 160 Petr' de Well'
 1 Will' fil' Angr'
 2 Ada Scot
 3 Steph' Hurel
 4 Will Herward' living 1233-4 (F. p. 51)
 5 Simon de Wyrham
 6 Steph' fil' Galfr'
 7 Petr' fil' Thedric
 8 Rogerus de Acra ? living 1195-6 (F. p. 1, n. 2)
 9 Bernard Mader living 1256-7 (F. p. 93),
 probably son of No. 106
- 170 Bernardus fil' Seman'
 1 Will de Gernem'
 2 Reginaldus fil' Rad'
 3 Thom' fil' Willi' fil' Mile Son of No. 37
 4 Will Brun
 5 Ric' Curteis ? (F p. 102)
 6 Walter' de Graham
 7 Will Le hokere
 8 Rad' de Rume living 1217-8, 1234-5 (F 32
 n. 4) and (F 58, 646)
 9 Rad' de Cybeseie living 1239-40 (F p. 66)
- 180 Will Ruffin
 1 Will de Bedeford
 2 Galfr' de Lincoln' (H p. 238) no date
 3 Joh' Baynhard
 4 Joh' fil' Willi'
 5 Reginaldus de Suthm'
 6 Deodatus de Wingat'
 7 Elias Vinetarius
 8 Angerus Le Spitelman
 9 Robert' de Wisbech'

- 190 Roger' Le Paumer ? F p. 33
 1 Robt' Le Steresman
 2 Petr' fil' Scirici living 1202-3 (F p. 19 fine with No. 128); living 1271-2 (H. pp. 235-7-8)
- 3 Hermannus Flicke
 4 Godard fil' Enme
 5 Clemt Le Ferun
 6 Godefr' Bakun
 7 Rogerus de Ridun
 8 Godefr' Bussentoth'
 9 Hnr' Curteis
- 200 Sypman fil' Alani
 1 Mich de Merlou guardian to No. 497, Jac. de Belvaco, 1256-7 (Blo. ix. 155)
- 2 Hnr' Le Paumer
 3 Robt' fil' Joh' Atdoc see No. 131
 4 Joh' Curteis referred to in (F p. 65)
 5 John' Haum
 6 Will Salfir see Nos. 432 and 848
 7 Thucke Le Mercer
 8 Godefr' fil' godefr'
 9 Ada fil' petri Alti
- 210 Thom' fil' Wal struck through
 1 Roger' de Edun'
 2 Walter' Vinetari' (? F pp. 68, 85)
 3 Ada de Gernem'
 4* Wymund le Parmenter living 1250-1 (F. p. 83 with No. 465 T. Russel)
 5 Will fil' Reg'

* Here a change of hand begins and proceeds to the foot of the column ending with No. 217. The same hand completed column 1, from a point on the same level, beginning with No. 105 and ending with No. 110. This looks like reckless insertion, saving parchment but probably misplacing entries.

- 216 Rob' blund ? living 1239-40 (F pp. 61, 96); ? died 1262-3 (*Inquis. p.m., p. 17*)
- 7 Will brun
- 8 Paganus plumbator
- 9 Joh' fil' Osbti'
- 220 Hug' de Resham
- 1 Robt fil' Ernard'
- 2 Will fil Galfr'
- 3 Godefr' Tallevas
- 4 Galfr' Le parlur
- 5 Ada fil' Deodati
- 6 Will Justice W. la Justice, not stated to be of Lynn, living 1236-7 (F p. 59)
- 7 Th' Le Orfevere
- 8 Reg' fil' Ric'
- 9 Ernardus Walenger
- 230 Edm' de Wausingham living in 1244 (dated charter in C fo. 4); witnessed undated charter (H 238)
- 1 Will de Seint Lo
- 2 Andr' de Lincolun fil' Johis'
- 3 Rad' de Thorp
- 4 Will Chapelein
- 5 Math fil' Galfr'
- 6 Simon' Fordewann witnessed 10 charters in (C); living in 1271-2 (H p. 235)
- 7 Steph' de Balesham living 1256-7 (F p. 91)
- 8 Robt' de Thoring...
- 9 Steph' de Belvaco
- 240 Will Le Viliur
- 1 Simon' Le Sauner

- 242 Anger' de Bedeford
 3 Will de Henowic
 4 Hubt' Cosseman
 5 Rad' Cosseman living 1227-28 (F. p. 46)
 6 Hamon' Pistor
 7 Will fr' Hamonis
 8 Herveus Shipman
 9 Roger' le Cordewaner (? F. p. 58)
- 250 Ranulf' de Carleton
 1 Thom' de Grimesbi
 2 Joh' fil' Presbitor'
 3 Joh' Codling his son Alan living 1300
 (Blo. p. 534)
- 4 Warin' de Crimplesham
 5 Thom' de Pappewrh'
 6 Ada de Wattun living 1232-3 (F. p. 50, fine
 with No. 440, R. de London)
 7 Rog' de Dalle ? (F. p. 24, No. 313)
 8 Hug' de Edun'
 9 Steph' Le Tronur
- 260 Simon Magus Cf. Simon Mager, 1198-9,
 (F. p. 13), perhaps his
 father
- 1 Rad' de Cangham
 2 Ermanius Crakeals Herman Crakehalse wit-
 nessed charter between 1258
 and 1266 (Harrod, *Rec. of
 Lynn*, p. 42)
- 3 Reg' de Sco' Edmund'
 4 Hug' Lambt'
 5 Alan' de Marisco
 6 Joh' Cissor
 7 Joh' de Ac^a Laner perhaps father of No. 572
 8 Joh' le Moyre

- 269* Joh' fil' Odo le Parmenter
 270 Henr' de Pulham
 1 Joh' Estrensis
 2 Nichs' Pistor
 3 Rad' le Ferun'
 4 Jo' de Hale
 5 Henr' Ballard
 6† Henr' Pollard
 7 Mich' Culling his son Michael entered
 Gild 1294 (M)
 8 Willms' Laberis
 9 Hamo de Suthint'
 280 Galfr' de Sleaford witnessed undated charter
 with No. 59 (H 238)
 1 Petrus Cole clicus'
 2 Simon de Rydone
 3 Rob' Le Spicer
 4 Henr' de Beverle
 5 Wills' de Greiying
 6 Semann' fil' Hug'
 7 Rob' fil' Robti' de Sarlington
 8 Robtus' fil' Alani
 9 Petrus' de Brecham
 290 Barthus' de Belvaco living in 1244 (C) and Hist.
 MSS. C p. 236
 1 Wills' Broun
 2 Galfr' Junior
 3 Blakeman fr' Thom' Galien living 1239-40 (F p. 65)
 4 Wills' Vilour

* The original early hand, which has written the whole document up to this point, except two insertions (*see* Nos. 105 and 214), ceases with this entry. The next six are in a slightly different hand.

† A marked change of hand occurs here. The new clerk is the man who has thrust in the names of the eight notables between the 1st and 2nd columns at the head of the list.

- 295 Lucas de Hunstantun
 6 Galfr' Rucel
 7 Willms' Paris (H p. 238) witnessed undated charter with Nos. 79, 125, 182, and 192.
- 8 Goscelin nepos W. de Hale
 9 Nichus' Piscator
 300 Willms' de Gressenhale
 1 Johnes' Chaucer
 2 Dreu serviens ejus ? Galfr' Drewe defaulter in 1292 (Morowspeche Roll); witnessed charter in 1296-7 (H p. 239); living 1302-3 (F p. 159)
- 3 Phus' de Creyk' perhaps Philip de Bodeham in Crec (F p. 29) or his son
- 4 Galfr' de Wenz*
 5 Stepus' de Wytton
 6 Hugo de Wycumbe
 7 Waltus' fil' Johnis
 8 Joce de Berne Welle
 9 Nigell' Tinctor
 310 Johnes' de Gey Wode perhaps son of No. 45. His son Robert witnessed charter 1271-2 (H 236)
- 1 Radus' Tronur
 2 Willms de Leycestr'
 3 Radus' Le Veyse
 4 Waltus' serviens R. fil' Hug'
 5 Radus' Fenur

* East or West Winch.

- 316* Adam de sco' Edm' Mayor of Lynn 1280 (Blo. 532); Fine with No. 747 in 1280-1 (F p. 121); again Mayor 1285-6 (H p. 239)
- 7 Johnes' de Wenz living 1275-6 (Fine with father of No. 806, F p. 116)
- 8 Simon de Risingg'
- 319 Simon de Starle
Respice ex altera partet†
- 320‡ Clemens Timberman
- 1 Alanus Herebrend
- 2 Alex' Le Specer
- 3 Josep' Mercator
- 4 Waltus' de Theford
- 5 Willms' de Swafham (H p. 238) no date
- 6 Johnes Le Rus
- 7 Gilbtus' Vernon
- 8 Thom' de Pape Worth'
- 9 Ratus' de Cangham
- 330 Willmus Doggedrove
- 1 Hermann Estrens'
- 2 Nichus' fil' Willmi
- 3* Ricus' de Brauncestr'
- 4 Johnes de Fincham
- 5 Stephus' de Wyrham living 1250-1 (F. p. 83). See also F. p. 62. His son John living 1273 (Blo. 491)
- 6 Andr' Le Spicer
- 7 Alanus de Wirham

* But see No. 525 Adam of St. Edmund's, probably his son and not improbably the person who was Mayor of Lynn, &c.

† This is the end of the obverse of the 1st membrane. The words *respice, &c.*, are just above the point at which a piece about 3½ by 2 inches has been cut away from the right-hand bottom corner of the parchment.

‡ This name begins the first column on the reverse of the first membrane. A fresh hand takes up the record here and carries it through to the end.

- 338 Hamo Pistor
 9 Gerardus Estrens'
- 340 Albrith Estrens'
 1 Willmus de Folsham
 2 Hugo de Hedune
 3 Ricus' Lambt' living 1271 (Blom. 494)
 4 Willms' Franceys ? F. p. 75
 5 Johnes' Godlumb See No. 109
 6 Ricus' capellanus
 7 Ricus fil' Osberti
 8 Herveus Grou
 9 Alex' Kelloc admitted to Gild 1248 (Blo. 492); living in 1271 (Blo. 494, 532); witnessed, with Nos. 374, 376, 440, 459, 470, 548, three charters in Cartulary (42, 43, 46) in which he is styled Mayor
- 350 Rogus' fil' Hug'
 1 Johnes' fil' Alani
 2 Adam de Wacton
 3 Bertinus Raber
 4 Ebor' de Lincoln'
 5 Willmus de Nasing'
 6 Galfr' de Lundr'
 7 Rob' Scot de Lundr'
 8 Waltus' de Dersingham
 9 Johnes' fil' Regi'
- 360 Herveus de Welle
 1 Thurstan Eril see No. 550
 2 Martinus Le Taverner
 3 Petrus Agger
 4 Willmus de Dyttonne
 5 Adam Le Wayder

- 366 Johnes' de Blicling'
 7 Godefr' fil' Godefr'
 8 Regus' de Walsingham
 9 Robtus' Ode
- 370 Johnes' de Clenche Warton' (H 238) no date
 1 Willms Hawys
 2 Simon de Rainecourt
 3 Willms Malerbe ? F pp. 60-71
 4 Heulas de Ryvaus
 5 Galfr' Aurifaber living when Alex. Kelloc was Mayor (C 43)
 6 Thom' de Grimesby ditto (C 42), living 1246-7 (F p. 72)
 7 Odyn de Gaulencourt
 8 Radus' fil' Edm'
 9 Andr' Pistor
- 380 Henr' de Pulham
 1 Ricus' de Geyton living 1267-8 (F p. 101); *Will* dated 1276 (Hist. MS S Com. p. 234)
 2 Robtus' Albus
 3 Gervas' de Munesle
 4 Clemens' de eadem
 5 Willmus Kyng'
 6 Robtus' Byndedevel
 7 Ricus' de Wyleby
 8 Adam fil' Osbti'
 9 Copyn de Suris
- 390 Johnes' Cissor
 1 Brice de Wygenhal'
 2 Ode Tannator (H 238) no date
 3* Johnes' de Lindes' living 1271 (Blo. 494)

* There are many of this family in the Roll, Nos. 528, 578, 579, 804, 850. See document in Harrod's "Records of Lynn" (pp. 57, 8) giving genealogy of part of this family.

- 394 Alex' de Jernem'
 5 Willms' Hamond
 6 Petrus de Hedone
 7 Angus' de Bedeford
 8 Johnes' de Rydone
 9 Alan' Lambt'
 400 Johnes' de Cangham
 1 Award Le Noreys
 2 Hugo de Naringg
 3 Radus' de Swafham
 4 Alanus de Swafham
 5 Reg' fil' Ide
 6 War' Le Parmenter
 7 Waltus' Adrian'
 8 Ricus' Man
 9 Johnes' de Baus'

? living 1297-8 (H p. 239).
 In Subsidy Roll (? 3, ? 29
 Ed. 1.)

- 410 Johnes' Estrens'
 1 Robtus' de Waynflet
 2 Eborardus Page
 3 Herveus de Stok'
 4 Willms de Buri
 5 Bernardus Estrens'

Gave land to Franciscans
 in 1287 (Blo. 526). His
 nephew William entered
 Gild 1293 (M)

- 6 Ricus' de Babingle
 7 Ode Parmenter
 8 Johnes' de Norwyz
 9 Galfr' Ferrator
 420 Galfr' Rodolf'
 1 Alex' Champeneys
 2 Saleman Flemyng'

- 2 3 Stephus de Belvaco
 4 Willms' de Papeworth
 5 Simon de Coldam
 6 War' s' Barthi de Belvaco probably *Socius*. Compare
 No. 504
- 7 Phus' de Punteny
 8 Petrus de Blaketoft
 9* Simon de Chestrefeud
- 430 Ounrod Estrens'
 1 Ricus' de Northampton'
 2 Willms Saphir living 1250-1 (F. p. 84);
 1272 (H. p. 237)
- 3 Willms' Walbrith
 4 War' Le Noreys'
 5 Willms de Jernem'
 6 Johnes' de Lannale
 7 Godescalk Estrens' See No. 737
 8 Godekyn Estrens'
 9 Johnes' Ruffus
- 440 Robtus' de Lundr' Mayor in 1272. See list of
 notables at head of Roll.
- 1 Willms de Careltoneliving 1282 (C. 10)
 2 Hugo de Sco' Edm'
 3 Gilbtus de Coloigne
 4 Willmus' Fulere
 5 Stephus' de Balsham
 6 Alanus de Flicham

* This man and his son John (No. 524) present a difficulty. A Simon de Chestrefeud with his son John entered the Guild, as the Morowspeche Roll shows, in 1293, and *this* Simon witnessed a dated charter (15) in the Cartulary in 1306-7; but three of his fellow-witnesses Herlewyn fil' Paulini, &c., appear in another charter (20) of date 1312-3. The witnesses in the Cartulary worked in companies, each man often attesting five or six or more charters, and Simon's gang belongs distinctly to the reign of Edward II. Furthermore, the Bede Roll names 174 deceased brethren, who, despite minor irregularities in the list, must as a body have died after Simon 429, and the latest trace of any one of them is in 1300, or possibly 1306 (No 583). Probably Simon, No. 429, had two sons, John and Simon, and the latter named a child after his brother John. See No. 825 for another Chesterfield man in Guild in 1291.

- 447 Ricus' de Paris
 8 Alex de Krane
 9 Robtus' Scot'
- 450 Thomas' Sorel living 1298 (F. pp. 93, 151)
 1 Mich' Parmenter
 2 Mich' fil Barthi' de
 Belvaco living 1271-2 (H. 235-6).
See No. 426
 3 Magr' Tholy Seneschal of Lynn (Blo. 531)
 4 Johnes' de Tilneye *see Nos. 669 and 857 for
 probable relatives*
- 5 Thom' Lomb
 6 Johnes' fil' Capellani
 7 Simon de Botha
 8 Willms Argent
 9 Mich' Cocus
- 460 Andr' de Couteshale *see Cartulary folio 4 (b);
 living under Mayoralty of
 John de Hispania; living
 1279-80 (F p. 120)*
- 1 Alanus Brithmer
 2 Waltus' Quiquar' *As Magister Walter Quiquare
 witnesses six charters in
 (C). See Will fil' Fikeware
 (F p. 45) for name ?*
- 3 Reynerus fil' Reyner'
 4 Johnes' le Neve
 5 Thom' Russel living 1250-1 (F p. 83 fine
 with No. 214 Le Par-
 menter)
- 6 Johnes' le Queynte
 7 Adam Thorand
 8 Johnes' Burt
 9 Johnes' Hengest'

- 470 Rogus' Brisebow appears as Roger Bragebow
in Cartulary, 46, with Nos.
349, 440, and 548.
- 1 Galfr' de Wysebech'
- 2 Theobaldus Le Lindraper
- 3 Thom' de Rydone Thom. de Ridone, perhaps
his son, in Gild 1291 (M)
- 4 Johnes' de Runceval
- 5 Egidius Le Queynte
- 6 Simon Le Queynte his son Ranulph living
1249-50 (F 77 No. 1031)
- 7 Galfr' de Penteneye
- 8 Godefr' de Sco' Edm'
- 9 Johnes' de Blicling
- 480 Math' fil' Nichi'
- 1 Regus' fil' Elveredi
- 2 Simon Cuthwen
- 3 Waltus' fil' Clementis
- 4 Waltus' de Stanere
- 5 Hug' fil' Barthi' de
Belvaco see No. 452
- 6 Ricus' de Suthmer'
- 7 Stephus' Le Palmer'
- 8 Simon Le Sopere living 1257-8 (F p. 95)
- 9 Johnes' Stalle
- 490 Alex' de Mintling'
- 1 Johnes' de Dilham made Dean of Gild 1287;
mentioned 1291 (M)
- 2 Rogus' Pugeman
- 3 Johnes' Wyd
- 4 Ricus' de Folsham
- 5 Ricus' Urry Seneschal of Lynn 1271-2
(Blo. 493-532)
- 6 Henr' Dorlot'

- 497 **Jacobus de Belvaco** Mayor of Lynn 1271-2
(Blo. 532); fine 1267-8 (F p.
101, No. 1510). *See* No.
201
- 8 **Henr' de Jernem** living 1271 (Blo. 492)
- 9 **Edm' de Coltone** living 1271 (Blo. 494)
- 500 **Warinus fil' Gilbti'** living 1267-8 (F p. 105)
- 1 **Herveus de Geyton**
- 2 **Willms Le Palmer**
- 3 **Johnes' de Gale Weye** living 1284-5 (F p. 127, n.
303)
- 4 **Ricus' socius eius**
- 5 **Ricus' Haupas**
- 6 **Radus' de Jakesle**
- 7 **Waltus' Bray**
- 8 **Simon Gunne**
- 9 **Alanus Le Blekestere**
- 510 **Galfr' Le Lung'**
- 1 **Adam Skilet de Sco' Edm'**
- 2 **Rogus' Le Clerk'**
- 3 **Johnes' de Hales**
- 4 **Thom' fil' Galiome**
- 5* **Adam fil' Joh' fil' Johnis'**
- 6 **Adam fil' Albrith'**
- 7 **Eborardus Nepos Johnis'**
- 8 **Waltus' de Elingham**
- 9 **Jucet Blithe**
- 520 **Johes' fil' Johnis' de**
Bedeford his father living in 1244 (C 6)
- 1 **Robtus' de Thorp**
- 2 **Willms Matelaske**
- 3 **Edm' Bely**

* Not, I think, a change of hand at this point, but a resumption of the record by the same hand after a lapse of time.

- 524 **Johnes' fil' Sim' de
Chestrfeld** ? entered Gild 1293 (M), but
see No. 429
- 5 **Adam de Sco' Edm'** *see* No. 316. Possibly this
man was Mayor in 1280, &c.
- 6 **Firmyn fil' fratis**
- 7 **Alex' Le Tanour**
- 8 **Alanus fam' Johnis' de
Lindes'** *see* No. 393
- 9 **Willms de Luthe** ? Will. de Luc in Gild 1291
(M)
- 530 **Simon Dreu** took grant from John son of
Stephen de Wyrham 1272-3
(Blo. 491). *See* No. 335
- 1 **Johnes' de Tilneye aurifab'**
- 2 **Godefr' de Grimestone**
- 3 **Thom' s. Rogi de Felte
Will**
- 4 **Johnes' de Northamp-
tone**
- 5 **Will fil' Angi Spitelman**
- 6 **Willms Bataille** ? F pp. 145, 168
- 7 **Johnes' Culling**
- 8 **Alex' de Morle Tanour**
- 9 **Hugo Le Moigne** in Subsidy Roll (? 3 ? 29
Ed. I.)
- 540 **Johnes' fil' Adam Blakeman**
- 1 **Jacobus de Haubois**
- 2 **Johnes' de Skardeburg**
- 3 **Hamo Le Parmenter**
- 4 **Hugo de Sco' Neoto**
- 5 **Henr' Ballard**
- 6 **Herveus de Geyton Fenur** ? F p. 75
- 7 **Laur' Albrith**

- 548* J. M'lou *see* list of notables at head of Roll. This man, or more probably his son, was living in 1312.
- 9 Radus' Kelloc' probably descendant of No. 11
- 550 Johnes' fil' Thurstan Eiril *see* No. 361
- 1 Angus' Le Tronour
- 2 Johnes' Page
- 3 Willmus Toly living 1280-1 (F p. 122)
- 4 Ricus' Pruet living 1238-9, 1256-7 (F pp. 62, 91)
- 5 Henr' fil' Stephi' de Belvaco
- 6 Willms de Morle'
- 7 Willms' fil' Drogonis
- 8 Gilbtus' de Papeworth living 1285-6 (F. p. 135)
- 9 Alanus de Kele living 1271 (Blo. 493)
- 560 Andr' le Queynte
- 1 Johnes' de Swantone Skevin of Gild in 1291 (M)
- 2 Johnes' de Stokes
- 3 Willms' Ode
- 4 Johnes' de Folsham removed 1287 from office of dean (M)
- 5 Johnes Le Fainer Dean of the Gild in 1287 (M)
- 6 Godefr' Le Weyder
- 7 Stephus Poligrant *See* Nos. 769, 770 : the name in (M) is Poligrom
- 8 Robtus' Stalworth
- 9 Nichus' de Brecham *See* charter to Hosp. of St. John Bapt., Lynn, in Monasticon vii., 648
- 570 Johnes' Lelle

* This name is not in its place in the column, but is written in the margin opposite this point.

- 571 Adam de Jernem' *See* No. 746
- 2 Johnes' de Acr' Laner *See* No. 267. Living 1291-2
(F. p. 143)
- 3 Johnes' Le Meire
- 4 Johnes' fil' Ode Le Par-
menter
- 5 Simon fil' Radi' de
Walsingh.....
- 6 Johnes' de Hedenham
- 7 Robtus' de Stutevill ? F. 112, No. 19; died 1302-3
(*Inquis. p. mort.*, p. 126)
- 8 Willms' fil' Johnis de
Lindes living 1275-6 (F. p. 115,
Nos. 71, 72); 1285-6 (H.
p. 239); Mayor in 1202.
See list of notables at head
of Roll
- 9 Nichus' s' Robti' de Lindes'
- 580 Barthus' de Acre
- 1 Radus' Le Gaunter
- 2 Johnes' de Papeworth
- 3 Petrus de Thurendeyn living 1273-4 (F. p. 112,
No. 23); Alderman of Gild
1291-1300, and perhaps
earlier and later (M); Mayor
1288; witnessed deed in
1300 (Blo. 534) and in 1297-8
(H. 239); *possibly* Mayor in
1303 (Blo.)
- 4 Willms' de Carelton
junior
- 5 Ricus' Blakeman
- 6 Laur' Culling'
- 7 Henr' de Grimesby

- 588 Ricus' Sephill living 1285-6 (F. p. 134);
Index to Norfolk Topo-
graphy, Rye, p. 203, *see*
No. 747; Blo. 526; his son
Ralph entered Gild 1289 (M)
- 9 Gilbertus' de Belvaco
590 Johnes' de Ispann Mayor in 1281, 1291-2
(Tallage Roll) and other
years (Blo. List of Mayors)
and (C 7, 8); mentioned
1285-6 and 1297-8 (H 2, 39);
in Gild 1287 (M); Fines in
1286-7 (F pp. 134, 136)
- 1 Willmus Le Noreys
2 Linekan Pape
3 Robtus' Capellanus
4 Benedcus' Le Lindraper
5 Simon Sykard living 1271 (Blo. 493)
6 Johnes' Galien
7 Hug' de Lincoln' *see* No. 619
8 Robtus' Nepos Rogi' clici'
9 Johnes' de Sco' Omero living 1271 (Blo. 493); fine
1277-8 (F 117); 1285-6 (H
p. 239)
- 600 Rogerus le Tronour
1 Willmus Clement ? F 124
2 Willmus de Geyton
3 Robtus' de Gale Wyt
- At the end of this sheet written upside down, and in this
way, are the words:—
Noia' confra trum de Magna Gylda

MATRICULATION ROLL.

Adhuc fratres defuncti.

- 604 Galfr' de Geytingtone
 5 Galfr' de Pykenham
 6 Andr' de Stonhus
 7 Johnes' fil' War' coci'
 8 Ricus' de Aldeby
 9 Galfr' Le Gaunter
 610 Willmus de Longcolne
 1 Radus' de Heynore 1285-6 (F p. 134); 1288 as
 Skevin; 1289; died 1291
 (M)
 2 Robtus' fil' Bernardi
 3 Johnes' serviens Bernardi
 4 Thom' de Tilneye
 5 Regus' de Ispann'
 6 Hugo de Geytone 1297-8 (F 117); in Gild 1287
 (M)
 7 Johnes' Basset
 8 Willms Caylle Weit
 9 Hugo de Lincoln *see* No. 597
 620 Radus' serviens eius
 1 Robtus' de Burg
 2 Folcardus Estrens' qui
 duxit in uxorem filiam
 Robti' de Cybeceye
 3 Johnes' Costin de Acr' living 1271 (Blo. 493); 1285-6
 (F 135)
 4 Ricus' Pinet
 5 Thom' de Depe
 6 Nichus' de Burg' living 1282 (C 10); in
 Tallage Roll 1296-7 (Harrod
 p. 91)

- 627 Folcardus s' Bernardi
Estrens' Folcardus Estrensis in Gild
1291 (M)
- 8 Rogus' de Derham
- 9 Johnes' Ad Aquam John fil' Johis Attewater in
Tallage Roll 1297-8 (Harrod,
p. 92)
- 630 Wlnericus de Ermeleshale
- 1 Phus' Le Clerk
- 2 Galfr' Golding' in Gild 1289 (M). See
No. 648
- 3 Henr' de Kent
- 4 Laur' Le Rede
- 5 Waltus' de Multone
- 6 Ricus' Choke (?)
- 7 Johnes' de Schuldham in Subsidy Roll (? 3 ?
29 Edward I.)
- 8 Siward de Lubek'
- 9 Johnes' fil' Thurstani
- 640 Onorius Le Queynte
- 1 Ricus' Parvus Estrens'
- 2 Stephus' de Colne
- 3 Radus' Le Leche
- 4 Wybelot Le Queynte
- 5 Johnes' Le Queynte
- 6 Johnes Fubert
- 7 Deodatus Culling' living 1276-1278 (F. pp.
116-7)
- 8 Galfr' Golding' in Gild 1289 (M); see No,
632, perhaps a duplicate
entry
- 9 Adam fil' Josep Mercatoris
- 650 Simon fil' Regi' Fordwen
- 1 Johnes' de Sulluy

- 552 Wills' Nepos Sim' del' Both'
 3 Roth' de Bilneye
 4 Sim' fil' Sim' de Stanere living 1276-7 (F. p. 117);
 Customs Official at Lynn.
 1286-7
 5 Johnes' fil' Regi' de Wals-
 singham
 6 Gilbert de Multone
 7 Henr' Scot
 8 Johnes Vertekim living 1279-80 (F. p. 120),
 name Verdekyn
 9 Johnes' de Kent
 660 Gerardus Quatremart
 1 Stephus de Colonia
 2 Tidemannus Le Ger
 3 Magr' Radus' Candel
 4 Warnerus de Colonia
 5 Regus' Helmyng'
 6 Petrus de Mideltone
 7 Henr' Frere
 8 Thomas Denyel ? living 1307-8 (H. p. 154)
 9 Johnes' de Tilneye
 670 Reynerus del Hil
 1 Thom' de Wygenh' clericus
 2 Thom' de Manso
 3 Leman fil' Theobaldi
 4 Robtus' de Castelacr'
 5 Willms de Derham
 6 Willms de Merlou
 7 Willms Martyn
 8 Willms de Balsham his son Adam entered 1301
 (M)
 9 Herman' Le Jevone
 680 Radus' de Sco' Botulpho'

- 681 Willms de Schotesham
 2 Simon de Waynflet living 1272-3 (F 112); in
 Gild 1292 (M); 1296-7
 (H 239)
- 3 Johnes' de Netesham
 4 Galfr' de Askeby
 5 Magr' Ricus' Offic' Lenn' custos and scrutator monetæ
 at Ipswich 1311. Originalia
 Roll p. 175
- 6 Nichus' de Sleaford
 7 Radus' Swift
 8 Johnes' de Sco' Neoto
 9 Rog'us de Pudington
- 690 Petrus' Clicus' offic' Lenn'
 1 Radus' Pikard in Gild 1291 (M)
 2 Umfr' Auri faber living 1271 (Blo. 493); 1281
 perhaps to 1292 (C 7, 8)
 3 Alanus Sephul Alan Sefuyl in *Calendar of
 Norwich Deeds* (Rye) pp. 83,
 89, under year 1301. Com-
 pare name of No. 588
- 4 Galfr' de Rydone
 5 Gaudinus de Neylond
 6 Radus' fil' Josep
 7 Raymundus de La Launde
 8 Willms fil' Osbern
 9 Waltus' de Hoo living 1274-5 (F p. 114 n. 49)
- 700 Robtus' de Worested
 1 Radus' extra p'ism*
 2 Alanus de Geytone
 3 Johnes' de Wer . . .
 4 Johnes' Le Taylour

* This doubtful name (perhaps *Ralph-Outside-the-prison*) cannot be represented by ordinary type. The first syllable is expressed in MS. by p with a bar through the downstroke of the letter. This ordinarily means *per* or *par*.

- 5 Ricus' fil' Stephi'
 6 Robtus' de la Launde
 7 Rogerus de Bedeford
 8 Johnes' fil' . . . de le Raier*
 9 Walt'us de Mayrienham †
 710
 1 Rogerus de Su
 2 Herlewyn de D. . . .
 3 Clicus de W. . . .
 4 Galfrid' Pope‡
 5 de Saly cete§
 6
 7 cobus de Ispania
 8 Rogus' de Waynflet in Gild 1289 (M)
 9 Willms' fil' Robti'
 720 Edm' de Walsingham ? F. p. 58 ; F. p. 173
 1 Thom' de Wygenh' caplls'
 2 Henr' de Mundeford
 3 Wills' fil' Willi' Osbern
 4 Johnes' Swan
 5 Thom' fil' Willi' de Pape-
 worth
 6 Ricus' Kyneman de
 Dockyng' ||
 7 Godefr' de Walsokne
 8 Robtus' Godknape in Gild 1287 (M)
 9 Ranulph' de Waynflet

* le Raier, maker of undyed cloth.

† The entries here are almost illegible. This one is *not* Maydenham or Massingham.

‡ No. 592 is Pape, this one Pope, both distinctly.

§ Compare (F. 75, n. 987) *de Salcetis*, withy-beds.

|| Richard de Dockyng was Skevin of the Gild in 1291 (M), witnessed charters (8, 10) in Cartulary about 1282, and is noticed in other places; but his identity with Richard Kyneman cannot be safely asserted,

- 730 Ricus' Pyne
 1 Ricus' de Almann' living 1297-99 (F. 151)
 2 Johnes' de Dundeltone
 3 Ricus' Le Bray
 4 Robtus de Langham died 1313; will proved in that year (Hist. MSS. Com., p. 234)
 5 Ricus' Feg'
 6 Johnes' Fenekele
 7 Godescalk' Estrens' See No. 437
 8 Benedcus' de Lincoln'.
 9 Terry de Puteo
- 740 Robtus' Golding'
 1 Hudde Burry
 2 Regus' Le Sauser his son Simon mentioned 1306-7 (H. p. 152). See No. 841
 3 Radus de Barwe
 4 Willms Le Tronur
 5 Rogus' de Thorp
 6 Adam Alderman de Jern' see No. 571
 7 Hugo de Huntyngefeud living 1289-1291 (F pp. 120, 1); between 1281 and 1292 (C 7) a charter in which he is donor. Query his *mother's* suit against R. Sefful, No. 588, Index Norf. Topog., 203
 8 Willms Godknap
 9 Willms Bray
- 750 Edm' de Sco' Edm'
 1 Adam Silvestr'
 2 Thomas de Mundeford in Gild 1287 (M); 1283-5 (F p. 127)
 3 Galfr' Band

- 754 Simon de Cranewyz living 1283-5 (F p. 127)
 5 Petrus Atte Barr
 6 Simon de Hurges
 7 Thomas Fader
 8 Johnes' de Coltone in Gild 1292 (M)
 9 Thom' de Sco' Botulpho
- 760 Johnes' de Pekkeshale
 1 Thom' de Derham
 2 Ricus' Crane de Ho.....h compare Henry Crane of
 Hamburgh, Cust. Roll. 32-
 35 Edward I.
 3 Godefr' de Damgate
 4 Leman Culbul
 5 Honorius de Sorcy
 6 Edm' Le Taverner
 7 Alanus de Elingham
 8 Egidius parsona de
 Melles
 9 Nichus' Poligrant in Gild 1291 (M). The name
 in M is Poligrom
- 770 Ricus' Poligrant
 1 Mich' Scherewynd
 2 Egidius de Ispann'
 3 Willms' Lomb living 1304-5 (F. p. 163)
 4 Petrus Le Palmer ? F. 148
 5 Simon de Culingg
 6 Robtus' de Braham
 7 Plus' de Bek' paid debt to Gild 1287. In
 Subsidy Roll (? 3 ? 29 Ed. I.);
 his son Roger (F p. 221)
- 8 Barthms' de Reppes
 9 Ricus' Scotere
- 780 Willms Fuberd see No. 646
 1 Nichus' de Reppes

- 782 **Johnes' de Berneye** in Tallage Roll for 1291-2
(Harrod p. 90)
- 3 **Robtus' Steresman**
- 4 **Johnes' de Virly**
- 5 **Waltus' de Aldeby**
- 6 **Johnes' de Waltham**
- 7 **Rogus' de Hintone**
- 8 **Willms de Wynthorp'**
- 9 **Radus' de Bek'** in Gild 1287-8 (M)
- 790 **Radus' de Aldeburg'** in Gild 1292 (M)
- 1 **Johnes' Bischof**
- 2 **Henr' de Gloucestr'**
- 3 **Galfr' Le Palmer**
- 4 **Ranulph' Le Keu** living 1296-7 (F p. 149)
- 5 **Elveredus de Bek'** in Gild 1286 (M)
- 6 **Jacobus ad capud pontis** in Gild 1287 (M); as Jacobus
le Pons in Customs Roll 32-5
Ed. I.
- 7 **Johnes' de Acre** entered Gild 1287 (M); fine
1291-2 (F p. 143); 1297-8
(H p. 239)
- 8 **Jacobus fil' Rici' Haupas** in Gild 1287 (M)
- 9 **Adam de Etone** in Gild 1287 (M)
- 800 **Robtus' de Lincoln' de
Beverle** in Gild 1288 (M)
- 1 **Ricus' de Mumby** living 1297-8 (H p. 239)
- 2 **Hugo Le Gros** in Gild 1287 (M)
- 3 **Thomas de Holebech'** in Gild 1287-92 (M); Sub-
sidy Roll as taverner (? 3
? 29 Ed. 1.)
- 4 **Willms fil' Alani de Lindes'** in Gild 1287 (M)
- 5 **Robtus' de Thrapon** in Gild 1287 (M)
- 6 **Willms fil' Willi' de
Massingham** in Gild 1287 (M)

- 807 Johnes' fil' Andr' de
Coutish' in Gild 1288 (M)
- 8 Robtus' de Bauseye in Gild 1289 (M)
- 9 Johnes' de Spalding already in Gild 1289 (M)
- 810 Johnes' Blaunchard in Gild 1288-9 (M)
- 1 Alanus de Thrapon in Gild 1289 (M)
- 2 Hardegercum Sim' de Botha
- 3 Radus' de Riveshale clicus' in Gild 1288 (M)
- 4 Thom' Markant in Gild 1288-9, 1292 (M)
- 5 Alex' de Ispann' entered Gild 1289 (M)
- 6 Thomas Schilling entered Gild 1289 (M)
- 7 Johnes' Le Peyntour in Gild 1288 (M)
- 8 Alanus de Pyncebek in Gild 1289 (M)
- 9 Hans Massaunt in Gild 1289 (M)
- 820 Waltus' fil' Johnis' de
Dilham in Gild 1289 (M)
- 1 Johnes fil' Gedlomb de
Welle his father named (F 32,
No. 512)
- 2 Maucolom' de Scocia entered Gild 1291 (M)
- 3 Rogerus Fayrechild in Gild 1291 (M)
- 4 Ricus' de Gloucestr' in Gild 1291 (M)
- 5 Rogus' Le Lorimer de
Chestfeld in Gild 1291 (M)
- 6 Hen' de Pednter in^s Gild 1291 (M); living
1293-4 (F. p. 145)
- 7 Thomas de Acre in Gild 1291 (M)
- 8 Laur' de villa sc' Joh' in
Scocia* in Gild 1291 (M)
- 9 Rogus' de Bek in Gild 1292 (M)
- 830 Robtus' fil' Robti Le Tylour
- 1 Willms' Me[re]sman in Gild 1292 (M)

* Johnston, I presume, but where in Scotland?

- 832 Deodatus de Herdwyk' entered Gild 1292, named
1293 (M) ; living 1308-9 (H.
156)
- 3 Edm' fil' Martini
4 Johnes' fil' Phi'
5 Galfr' de Secheford
6 Johnes' de Wyrham
7 Regus' fil' Reg' Wich'
8 Hugo de Som'esham'
9 Willms' Bernard ? F. p. 102
- 840 Robtus Custaunce in Gild 1294 (M)
1 Gilbtus' fil' Reg' Sauser See No. 742
2 Ricus' fil' Sim' de Waynflet in Gild 1294 (M)
3 Waltus' Argent entered Gild 1294 (M) ; fine
1284-6 (F p. 128)
4 Johnes' de Leycestr' entered Gild 1294 ; ? Mayor
in 1302
5 Robtus' de Ryponn living 1299-1300 (F p. 153)
6 Johnes' de Welle living 1297-8 (H p. 239)
7 Radus' fil' Radi' de Heynor
8 Regus' Saphir
9 Simon Paty
- 850 Willmus de Lindes' de
Norwico entered Gild 1297 (M), fine
1279-81 (F p. 121)
1 Robtus' de Walsham in Gild 1301 (M)
2 Johnes' de Massingham Cust. Collector 1349
3 Johnes' fil' Radi' de
Walsingham living 1296-7 (F p. 149) ; in
Tallage Roll 1297-8 (Harrod,
p. 92)
4 Radus' Sandy living 1273-4 (F p, 113) ; in
Tallage Roll 1296-7 (Harrod,
p. 91)

- 855 Thomas de Swardestone
 6 Ricus F.....g
 7 Johnes' de Tilneye
 8 Alex' Baume Senior

I dare not hope that all these names have been read correctly. The letters *m*, *n*, and *u* always provide pitfalls; but when scribes make *c* and *t* quite indistinguishable a list of names, in which meaning cannot often be a guide, is sure to distress a transcriber. Bernardus Tingtorr (tinctor), John Atdoc (Haddoc), Simon Magus (a gibe at Simon Mager), Robert Byndedevel (a useful member of any Gild), Ralph extra prisun (Ralph outside-the-prison), and the fourteen *Estrenses* (Easterlings or Hanseatics) are curious items.

The two Rolls exhibit in an interesting way the growth of English surnames and the extent to which the population of East Anglia has been permeated by foreigners from the Scandinavian and Teutonic shores. To this I alluded in a recent paper I wrote for Mr. Rye on Lynn and the Hanseatic League.

I wish it had been possible for me to work through the Tallage Rolls at Lynn instead of merely borrowing some names from Harrod's book, and to devote a much longer time to the Morowspeche Rolls. I have not felt it right to burden my list by working through the second volume of Mr. Rye's Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Edw. II. and later reigns, but I think I have gone far enough to illustrate my subject. Some resident in Lynn ought to take up the early history of the town and search the records faithfully.

My special thanks are due to Herbert Barrett, Esq., the Deputy Town Clerk of Lynn for his kindness and courtesy.

RICHARD HOWLETT.

Walton-on-Thames,

1st August, 1908.

THE KNYVETT FAMILY,

BY

HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE F. V. DULEEP SINGH.

AFTER seeing, on a recent occasion, the old Knyvett portraits now at Keythorpe, in Leicestershire, I asked Mr. Rye if he knew of a pedigree of that family which would help to identify some of these pictures, and he at once lent me a delightful old MS. book (Rye MS., No. 22), containing pedigrees of many old Norfolk families, with beautiful emblazoned shields, from which the following is printed. It comes from his collection of the Le Neve MSS., and the Knyvett pedigree is dated 1651. As will be seen, Le Neve himself appended various caustic comments which I cannot help thinking must appeal to the truth-loving spirit of the present owner of the book. In a future paper I hope to add a few notes, and perhaps be able to fill in one or two of the "Matches" of the Cadets of the family which are unfortunately omitted. I am particularly anxious to discover one Marriage which would establish the identity of a Kneeling (Knevytt) King in armour and his spouse, who are on either side of The Virgin and Child, in an exquisite old Triptych (at Keythorpe) by some Flemish Master, the Arms on the lady's shield having so far baffled the most learned Heralds!

FREDERICK DULEEP SINGH.

(From Rye MSS. 22, pp. 81-86).

DECLARATIO KNYVETORUM STEMMATIS
ET CONTINUATIONIS A GUILIELMO
CONQUESTORE USQUE AD PRIMUM
DIEM AUGUSTI ANNO DNI. 1651.

1. Othomarus Knyvett dominus Castelli de Lawnston in Cornubia et Burgi ejusdem ex antiqua Danorum stirpe oriundus post suam transactionem et finem cum Guilielmo Conquestore pro totius Regni more factum, suis possessionibus plene restitutus est, et duxit Emmam filiam Nigelli de Dammartin Normani et habiuit exitum Alfredum.*

2. Alfredus Knyvett filius et heres pdci Othomari Anno tertio Guilielmi Rufi ob suspensionem per duellionis possessionibus omnibus fere exutus in Bohemia exul-moriebatur, duxit Godredam filiam domini Ranulphi Olgi de Westonhanger et habuit exitum Edmundum.†

3. Edmundus Knyvett filius et heres predicti Alfredi tempore Regis Henrici secundi (Qui manerium‡ [de]

* "All forged I believe" (Le Neve).

† "Forged I believe" (Le Neve).

‡ "This must be forged, for that it appears by Records of the bundles of the Escheat Rolls, 18 King Edw. II., m. 55, that Jno. de Botetort held Mendlesham manor in Suff. at that time, and then dyed, and Hugh, son of Otto, had a charter for a marcate and fair there 9 Ed. I., Carte 9, whose da. and heir Maud was married to John Botetort. Hugh was the descendant of Otho de Dammartin, who held it in Hy. the first's time, so that Mendlesham manor came not to the Knivets till Jno. de K. married Joane, da. and co-heir of Sir John Botetort, of Mendlesham in Suffolk, Kt., who lived in Ric. the 2d's time, and that John was son of the Lord Chancellor; ita testor Petrus Le Neve Rougecroix, 1697."

Mendlesham in Comitatu Suff. donatus fuit) duxit Amabilem filiam Osberti Furnivall et habuit exitum Druigonem et Alfredum.

4. Drugo Knyvett fil et heres pdci Edmundi moriebatur in terra sancta in Expeditione quam fecit Ricardus primus in obsidione Ptolemyadis duxit Florentiam filiam Hugonis Le Stoner et habuit exitum Thomam et Manfridum.

5. Manfredus Knyvett filius junior pdci Drugonis fuit postea heres quia Thomas frater suus major cœlibem vitam agens interfectus fuit in Bello Baronum apud Ratcot bridge. Iste Manfridus pegrinatus est cum Edwardo primo in terram sanctam, et ab eo donata sunt Manoria de *Oxburgh et Sandringham*† in Com. Norff. duxit Isabellam filiam Osberti domi Stanhope‡ et habuit exitum Manserum.

6. Manserus Knyvett filius et heres pdci Manfredi duxit et habuit exitum Johannem.

7. John Knyvett miles filius et heres pdci Manseri seisitus fuit de manerio de Southwicke in Com. Northamptonia fundavit hospitem de Piro et appropriavit Abbathie de Saiofrie certas terras in Southwicke pdca duxit Ivettam filiam et habuit Johannem et Thomam, et Johannes obiit sine exitu.

8. Thomas Knyvett Armiger fil et heres pdicti Johannes militis duxit Milcentiam et habuit exitum Johannem et Henricum.

9. Johannes Knyvett fil' et heres pdci Thomæ Knyvett armigeri duxit Mabiliam unam filiarium et heredum Guilielmi Horton militis et habuit exitum Johannem.

10. Johannes Knyvete miles fil et heres pdci Johannes duxit Joannam unam filiam Guilielmi Engaine militis et habuit exitum Richardum Johannem et octo filias.

† "Oxburgh and Sandringham manors were never possessed by the Knivetts as ever I could find, then all along possess'd by other families as the Burnells, Greys, Pakenhams, &c."

‡ "There never was such a baron as Osbert Lord Stanhop according to the sentences of the Judicaries."

11. *Richardus Knyvett Armiger fil et heres pdci Johannis Knyveti militis duxit Joannam unam filiarum et heredu' Robti Worth militis et habuit exitum Johannem et Johannem et Johannem Elizabetea et Milcentiam.

12. Johannes Knyvett miles fil et heres dicti Richi Knyveti armig' (tempore regis Edwardi Tertii fuit cancelarius Anglie duxit Alienoram una filiarum et heredum Radulphi Bassett de Weldon militis qui Radulphus Bassett duxit in uxorem Joannam filiam et heredum solam Willmi D'ni de Huntingfield. Iste Johannes Knyvett miles habuit exitum Johannem et Johannem, Robtum, Richardum, Henricum Margaretam et Mariam.

13. Johannes Knivet Miles [*not Le Neve*] filius et heres pdci Johannes Knivet militis duxit Johanam filiam et heredem solam dni Boutetort de Mendlesham† qui Johannes duxit Catharinam filiarum et heredim Robti Wayland militis cujus pater erat Johannes Boutetorte qui duxit Sibillam una filiarum et heredum . . . Domini de Dainecourte‡ *cujus pater erat Johes Boutetorte qui duxit Matildam una filiam et heredum Ricardi domini et Tiptofte Cujus pater erat Johannes Boutetort qui duxit Jacosam filiam et heredu' solam. Gulielmi de la Zouch de Cujus † pater mat Johes Boutetort qui duxit una' filiar' et heredu Hugeonis de Fitzotto militis, &c., Iste Johannes Knyvett miles habuit exitum Johem Margareta et Elizabetham.*

14. Johannes Knyvet miles fil' et hered' pdci Johis Knyvett militis duxit Elizabetham filiam et heredem Constantini de Clifton de Bokenham Castle militis quiquidem Constantinus habuit duas uxores prima erat Margareta filia Robti Howard de East Winch militis per quam habuit exitum

* "From this place I believe may be true" (Le Neve).

† "Here is acknowledged that Mendlesham came to the family [thus]." (Le Neve).

‡ "This scratched is false for Sir Wm. Dugdales Baronage Vol. 2., p. 46, saith " that Jno. de Botefort married Maud, sister and heir of Otto, son of Tho. Fitz Otto and and Beatrix Beauchamp by whom Tho. Botetort this family of Mendlesham were a younger branch of John who married that heiress,"

Johannem Clifton militem qui per Catherinam uxorem ejus filiam et unam hered' Edmundi de Thorp militis habuit exitum Margareta nuptam Andree Ogard militi qua obiit sine aliquo exitu vivente patre suo, secunda erat Catherina una' filiarum Robti Domini de Escales per quam habuit exitum Elizabetham nuptam isto Johanni Knyvett) Pater istius Constantini de Clifton militis erat Johannes Clifton miles qui duxit Elizabetham una' filiam et hered' Radulphi Cromwell domini de Tateshall qui Radulphus duxit Matildam filiam et heredem olim Johis Barnacke Armigeri qui Johannes duxit Johnm una' filiarum et heredu' Johannis' Marmion. Pater istius Johannis Barnacke fuit Willius Barnacke miles, qui duxit in uxorem Aliciam filiam et heredem solam Robti Dribie militis qui Robtus duxit Joannam secundam filiam et heredem Robti Domini de Tateshall Pater Johis de Clifton militis fuit* Constantinus de Clifton miles qui duxit Catherinam filiam William de la Poole militis cujus pater erat Adam de Clifton miles qui duxit Alienoram filiam Robti Mortimer de Atleburgh militis cujus pater erat Rogerus de Clifton armiger qui duxit Margaretam filiam et heredem solam Thome Caly qui Thome Caly duxit Margaretam filiam Johis Norwich de Mettingham Castle in Suff. militem (sic) sororem et heredem Thome Norwich militis Pater dci Thome erat Robertus Caly miles qui duxit Emmam primam filiam et heredem Robti Dni de Tateshall cujus pater erat Robtus dnus de Tateshall secundus, cujus pater erat Robtus de Tateshall primus qui duxit Matildam unam filiam et hered. William de Aubenny Comitum Arundelie, qui Willms duxit Mabilia' secunda' filiam et heredem Hugonis Bohun als Cavill vel Cudelocke Comitum Cestrie, qui duxit Beatricem filiam Robti Lacy capitalis Justiciarii Anglie cujus pater erat Radulphus Bohun als Herveise Comes Cestrie qui duxit Aliciam filiam Robti Clare comitis Glovernie, cujus pater erat Radulphus Bohun als Meschines Comes Cestrie qui duxit Matildam filiam Auberice de Veere comitis

Oxonie cujus Pater erat Johannes Bohun Comes Cambrice et Carlioli qui duxit Margaretam sororem et heredem Hugonis Lupialis alias Le Loupe Comitis Cestrie quorum pater erat Ricardus Lupus Comes de Avranches, qui nupsit Emam filiam Herloyii Normanni cujusdam et Arlott uxoris sive matris Wlimi Conquestoris Ducis Normannie &c. Iste Johes Knyvett miles habuit exitum Johem Erasmum Margaretam et Joannam.*

15. Johes Knyvet Armiger fil' et hered' pdci Johes Knyvet militis duxit Aliciam una' filiam et una' heredem Johes Lyn militis qui Johes Lyn duxit una' filiarum et hered' Stokas Armigeri iste Johes Knyvett habuit exitu Giulielmum Elizabetham Christianam et Margeriam.

16. Guilielmus Knyvett miles fil et heres pdci Johes Knyvett armigeri habuit tres uxores Prima fuit Alicia filia Johis fratris Reginaldi de Grey Domini de Ruthin ex ea habuit exitum Edmundum Annam et Benedictam secunda fuit Joanna filia Hunfridi Stafford Ducis Buckinghamie et ex ea habuit exitum Edwardum Knyvett militum, Carolum Johem Elizabeth et Annam. Tertia erat Joanna una Sororum et heredum Thome Courtney Comitis Devonix et ex ea habuit exitum. (Mills' Heraldry, Fol. 471).

17. Edmundus Knyvett Armiger fil et heres pdci Gullelmi Knyvet militis duxit Alionoram, sororem Jacobi Tyrell militis et habuit exitum 1. Thomam 2. Edmondum 3. Antonium militem 4. Jacobum 5. Gulielmum.

18. Thomas Knyvett miles fil' et heres pdci Edmundi Knyvett Armigeri Hen. 8. inprimis Portator Standardi Regii fuerat, deinde Equirector Regius in quo vero officio navali bello apud Britaine Bay Britannix cum septingentis militibus in Navi quodam vocati the Regent of England comburendo vitæ finem fecit, duxit Murielem primam uxorem vicecomitis Lisle filiam Thome Howord Ducis Norff et habuit

* "False in Christian names here." (Le Neve).

exitum Edmundum, Henricum militem, Ferdinandum Elizabetham et Annam.

19. Edmundus Knyvett miles fil et Heres Thome Knyvett militis pdci duxit Anna filiam Johis Shelton militis et habuit exitum Thomam, Edwardum, Edmundum, Henricum Antonium.

20. Thomas Knyvett miles fil et heres pdci Edmundi Knivett militis duxit Catherinan unam filiam Edwardi Comitis Darbie et habuit exitum Thomam et Henricum.

21. Thomas Knivett Armiger postea miles Anno 1587 superstes fil' et heres pdci Thome Lovell armigeri et habuit exitum Phillipum nunc viventem 1651 Thomas, Henricus, Franciscum, Johem et Mariam que nupta fuit Clementi Hirne arm' nunc mortuam, Predicta Katherina post mortem, dci Thome nupta fuit Edwardo Spring per quam habuit Edwardus Spring filiam post necationam (?) pdci Edwardi (per quondum . . . Davy cum tormentario) nupta fuit Edwardo Downes de Melton per quem habuit exitum Robtum Downes et tres filias &c.

22. Philippus Knyvett Barronettus secundus Norff fil et heres pdci Thome Knyvett (alienavit Castellum de Bokenham Hugoni Audley vicecomiti Norff. 1650.) habuit exitum Robtum

The pedigree of Knyvett of Ashwell Thorpe second brother to Knyvett of Buckenham Castell drawne downe from Edmund Knyvett armiger sonne and heyre of Wm. Knyvett Knight.

18. Edmundus Knyvett fil' secundus Edmundi Knivett filii Gulielmi Knyvett militis duxit Janam Bouchier filiam Baronis Bouchier de Hartfordshier and Essex et habuit exitum Johannem et Gulielmum.

19. Johannes Knivett Armiger filius Edmundi Knyvett duxit Janam filiam Walteri Harcourt militis et habuit exitum Thomam Edmunda et . . . filias.

20. Thomas Knyvett miles fil Johis Knyvett armigeri duxit Murielem filiam Thome Parry et habuit exitum Thomam Edmundum Abigeelem Catherinam Mariam et Munilam.

21. Thomas Knyvett miles filius Thome Knivett militis duxit Elizabetham filiam Nathanelis Bacon militis et habuit exitum Thomam, Edmundum, Nathanielem, Murielem et Elizabetham.

22. Thomas Knyvett Armiger filius Thome Knyvett militis duxit Catherinam filiam Thome Domini Boroughes et habuit exitum Johem Thomam Elizabethem et Murielem.

23. Johes Knyvett miles Balnei filius et heres pdci Thome Knyvett (Honor militus Balnei datus fuit ei per Carolum secundum Regem Angliæ apud diem Coronacionis ejus in Anno Dni 1660) duxit uxorem Mariam filiam Thome Bedingfield de Earsham in Com. Suff. militus et habuit exitum Thomam.

18. Gulielmus Knyvett filius secundus Edmundi armigeri flü secundi Edmundi Knyvett armigeri flü Wm. Knyvett militis duxit Dorotheam filiam Robti Thimblethorpe et habuit exitum Johem.

19. Johes Knyvett, sen., filius Gulielmi Knyvett duxit Joannam filiam Robti Browne de Tacolneston et habuit Johem Thomam Mariam Murielem Catherinam, Margaretam et Francescam Predicta Maria nupta fuit Stephen Grey et et habuit exitum Johem Stephanum Catherinam Mariam et Gulielmum.

HUBERT DE BURGH, THE JUSTICIARY,

BY

WALTER RYE.

THE theory that Hubert de Burgh was descended from William fil Adhelm, the King's dapifer (1170 &c.), which originated with that well-known pedigree-faker, Glover, was followed by Dugdale, and has been greedily adopted by Irish pedigree makers for the Burkes, has been effectively disposed of by Round (*Feudal England*, p. 518), who shows that this dapifer's real name was Fil' Audeline, and that he was son of Aldelen de Aldefeld, of Yorkshire, and this has since been further proved by another writer in the "Historical Review" of October, 1907.

Other writers, *e.g.*, Blomefield, Carthew, "G.E.C.," and the author of his life in the "Dict. Nat. Biog.," have assumed that the Justiciary came from Burgh St. Margaret, in Flegg Hundred, Norfolk—a mistake which clearly arose from Parkin or the even later completer of Blomefield's Norfolk having wrongly posted up Le Neve's MS. entries as to Burgh by Aylsham under the totally different parish of Burgh St. Margaret.

That he came from and owed his name to the former there is little doubt for the reasons I shall give hereafter.

A clue* to his (Hubert de Burgh's) real origin is supplied by the facts that a William Fitz Robert was lord of Newton by Castle Acre, in Norfolk (Blomefield's Norfolk VI., pp. 4-5), who by undated charter granted land there to Castle Acre Priory—his brother John and one Robert (?) de Acre (possibly an error for Hubert de Burgh himself) being witnesses, and that Blomefield thinks he was the same man as William de Bosevilla,† who afterwards granted the manor of Newton to the same Priory.

Hubert de Burgh had to do with Newton.

Now our Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary temp. John confirmed to Castle Acre the gift of his "ancestor," Wm. de Bosevile, and his son John held 1 knight's fee here of the Earl of Albemarle, and so did his heirs after him.

I am inclined to think however that these de Bosevilles, or Bovilles, were female ancestors only of the Justiciary, and that he was, paternally, of the great family of Bigod for other reasons, viz.:

Near Blickling (which had belonged to Harold)

* Another clue is that on the Close Roll of 1205 (Calendar, p. 51b) the Sheriffs of Norfolk are directed to re-take possession of all the land which Hubert de Burgh had in his bailiwick de feudo. Com. de Pertico. (Pertua, p. 16ab.)

† Round, in his "Geoffrey de Mandevill," pp. 229-231, thinks William de Bosevill was the same as William Fitz Otuel, and refers to Otuel de Boville, chief tenant of the Mandevilles in 1166, *id.*, p. 231.

According to the account of the family in Burke's "Landed Gentry," William de Bosvile was in 1126 a witness to a charter of Humfrey de Bohun.

William de Bosvile is spoken of as his knight by Geoffrey de Mandeville, *Earl of Essex*, in the chartulary of the Abbey of Warden, Bds.

A Henry de Bosvile, of Yorkshire, temp. Henry III., is also mentioned.

and Cawston*, two great manors in Norfolk, is the small manor of Burgh by Aylsham, which was, however, probably earlier settled than either, for its name and other circumstances show it to be a Roman occupation, and the Roman cemetery of Brampton (celebrated by Sir Thomas Browne) adjoins it. All three manors and the manor of Aylsham (a berewic of Cawston) were closely connected and formed a hunting estate or park of Henry III. and Edward I. and II., affording unrivalled preserves for all sorts of game.

As to the King's house or Castle of Burgh,† the residence of Henry III., Edward I. and II. and of the properties of Queens Eleanor, Isabella and Anne of Bohemia there, and as to the probability that the beautiful little E.E. church there was built by Edward I. as a memorial to his wife at the same time as he built Charing and other crosses, and to the possibility that Alice Perers may be connected with Robert de Perers who held the manor in 1274, I propose to write in another paper, when I shall also deal with the Roman settlement here. Meanwhile some notes as to early finds here will be found in Mr. Clarke's paper, post 103-4-5.

* Cawston had several berewics, viz., Aylsham, Heydon, Coleby and Brandeston.

In 1199 Hubert de Burgh farmed Cawston, and had the custody of it and Aylsham in 1214 and 1227, and in 1214 he also had the custody of the park of Cawston. The writ being directed to the Bishop of Winchester the compiler of the Calendar has wrongly assigned this to be in Southampton.

Aylsham manor was afterwards granted to Baldwin de Ayre, and the Sheriff was directed to give him possession of it. (Close 1216.)

Another possible error is that in the Calendar for 1219 the Sheriff of *Leicester* (sic) is directed to pay William de Gaugi 5 marks out of the manor of Kauston, as his brother Robert de Gaugi used to have temp. John. Blomefield (ix., p. 172) spells the name Gange.

In 1229 Hubert had a grant of freewarren in Aylsham, Buxton, Cawston, and *Burgh* (Close Roll 1, p. 98), so for 25 years at least in the early part of his life he had a close connection with the neighbourhood.

† This Burgh has, I fancy, often been confused with Burgh on the Sands, Cumberland, where Edward I. died—a confusing coincidence.

I.

A manor at Burgh belonged at the Conquest to *Roger Bigot*, who also owned land in Beeston Regis and Hindringham in the same county.

By 1201 it had come into the King's hands and was re-granted by him to Hubert de Burgh himself.

In 1802 the Burgh Manor was re-granted to Roger le Bigod (Close Roll 30, Edward I., p. 529).

I.
Burgh held at the Conquest by Roger Bigod.

Then to H. de Burgh.

Again to Bigod.

II.

A William de Burgh (who I take to be an offshoot of the Bigods for the reasons I give hereafter) also owned Coleby (a berewic of Cawston, see *ante*) and severed it by granting half of it away before 1199.

Later on Sir Reyner de Burgh (probably his son), who had married Joan,* daughter and co-heir of John Ponchard, granted in 1221 the rest of it to the then Hugh Bigod (who I conceive to be the head of his family) for a pension the extravagance of which shows it was not a sale (Blomefield's Norfolk vi., p. 427).

Sir Rayner was thought by W. S. E. ("Herald and General IV., p. 237), Burke and Blomefield, to have been the father of Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary and of *Geoffrey de Burgh*, Bishop of Ely, who officiated at the founding of Creek Abbey in 1221, two others of the name, John de Burgh and Rayner de Burgh, being witnesses (Blomefield's Norfolk, p. 75). and of *Theodore de Burgh*, but I think it more likely they were all sons of William de Burgh.

II.
Coleby, an offshoot of Cawston conveyed by Burgh to Bigod.

B. Norf. iii., p. 41n.

* I have a note that she was daughter of William de Bellemonte (Records in Tower, 28, Henry III, M 15, and see Rot. de Oblatis).

III.

Bigod held land in Beeston and Hindringham; H. de Burgh buys there.

I have pointed out that Roger Bigod also held in *Beeston* and *Hindringham*, and early in the life of Robert de Burgh the Justiciary we find him buying two knights fees in *Beeston Regis* and *Runton* and two carucates in *Hindringham*. (F. of F., 1207.)*

IV.

Both Bigod and Burgh connected with the Court.

We know Roger Bigod (1) married the daughter of the Seneschal of England—that his sons William and Hugh and his grandson Roger were all Stewards of England.

Hubert de Burgh first appears in history in the reign of Richard I. (1189, &c.) as one of the Household of Richard I., and he was Chamberlain in 1204 (*Close Calendar*, p. 13).

V.

Hubert de Burgh & Henry III. both together at Burgh in 1232.

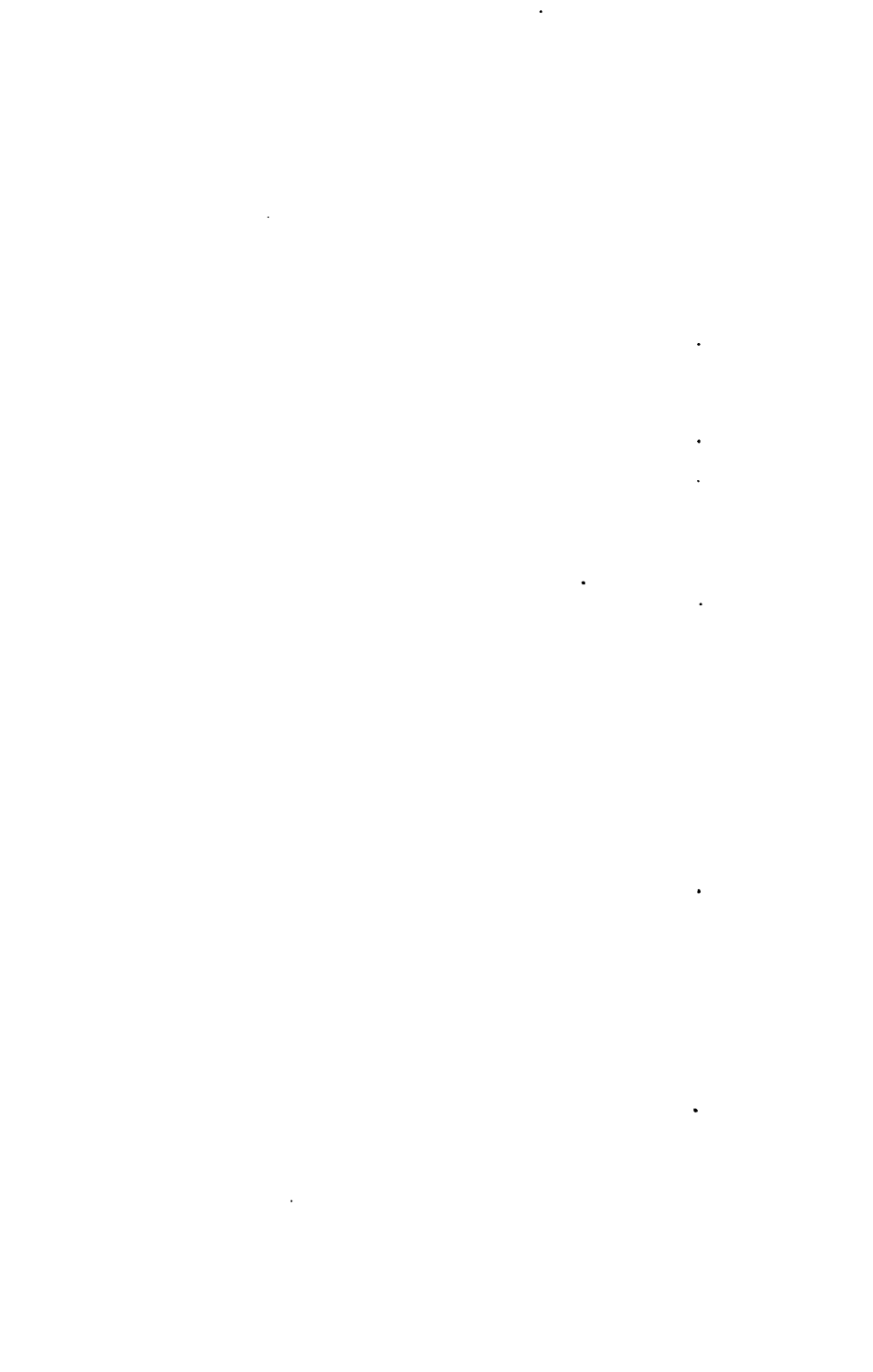
On the 2nd July, 1232, Henry III. being at Burgh, Hubert de Burgh, at his request, made a declaration as to certain charters granted to himself and his wife. (*Charter Rolls* 1, p. 163).

VI.

Coincidence of the early and later arms of both families.

The coincidence of the old and the new arms of the Bigods and the Burghs is very strong.

* The Vendors as to one-third were (1) Robert le Utlagh, as to another one-third Robert fil' Hugh, and as to the other one-third in ninth shares, William de Nuers, Reginald de Burnham and Juliana his wife, Robert fil' Raun' and Alice his wife. In two of the three fines Walter de Faukberg or de Falconbus "apponit clamum suum." A Sir Henry Faukberg bore Arg. 10 lozenges or fusels conjoined 5 and 5 barways—a coat curiously like the lozengy coat of the Justiciary and his son mentioned afterwards. It will be remembered that Drogo de Beurari or Drew de Beveres, a Fleming, was the holder of the rest of Burgh at Domesday (*Bl. N. ix.*, p. 229), and held there and in Erpingham and Hindringham, and it is possible that the Hindringham land bought by Hubert de Burgh was his, and that the purchase was made to again consolidate the Domesday holding.



Reiner de Burgh. Vic
Castle Acre, Norf.,
Hen. II. and Rich. I.
Norf. viii. p. 364).

* This Ernald may be the
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III.

* *Hubert de Burgh*, the
In King's household,
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in 1205 had held land
of Norwich Castle, 12
at Banstead, Surrey,

Thomas de Burgh (br
Rot. Fin. i. p. 465) ;
Governor of Norw
(Kirkpatrick p. 323).
In 9 John (1207
marriage of Alice, wi
and dau. of Fulk de
9 John p. 440). [See
with his brother (F) I

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Walter de Faukberg
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Nuers, Reg. de Burnh
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- 2 = Joan, dau
- 3 = Batrix, d
- 4 = Isabel, da
- 5 = Margt., da

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36 to Rich. de Clare.

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confirmed to Philip H
Hubert de B. In 13
Died 1279 (H. and

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His daus. and co-hs.
le Mareshall, and Ha

The old coat of the Bigods was or a cross gu (*see* Brit. Mus. Seals 7469), and Walter de Burgh* Earl of Ulster (Edward III.) (said to be descended from the Justiciary) bore or a cross gu, while *John de Burgh*, son of the Justiciary, bore a cross with a label of three points. (Brit. Mus. Seals 7934).

The new coat of Bigod was per pale a lion rampant (Brit. Mus. Seals, 7,471), and Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary bore on his secretum 3 lions passant in pale (Brit. Mus. Seals, 7,943).†

The annexed pedigree will roughly show what I think is the probable descent.

W.R.

* He may have been son of Walter de Burgh, who in 1271-2 had a grant of a market and fair at Burgh and freewarren at Aylmerton. Charter Rolls 56, Henry III., M. 1. On the other hand, Seal No. 7949 of Brit. Mus. Seals ascribed to Henry III. of Walter de Burgo bears a chevron indented.

† He sometimes bore 7 lozenges 3331 and ditto 7933, while his son *John de B.*, of Banstead, changed it to Lozengy (gu. and) vair (Brit. Mus. Seals 7944).

The lozengy coat may have been derived either (1) from de Faukerge (see ante), (2) from Eustace (Philip ?) de Nevill, who farmed Aylsham and Cawston in 1199 (5 fusils in fess), (3) de Quincy (gu. 3 mascles conjoined 33 and 1 or), (4) Ferrers of Groby, or (5) de Rivers.

The arms of Geoffrey de Burgh, Bishop of Ely, are said by Cole in a note to Bentham's Ely, 1 p. 42x to be Az. and fuer de lis erm., but no authority is given for this.

SOME RECENT FINDS IN NORFOLK.

BY

W. G. CLARKE.

PALÆOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS.

IN the autumn of 1907 a number of finely-worked late Palæolithic implements were found in the river-drift at Snarehill, in the parish of Rushford,* and are now in the possession of Mr. F. Russell, of Thetford. Palæolithic implements have also been found in the riverside gravels at Babingley by the boys of Ruskin School-Home, Heacham. At Easter, 1908, Mr. Walter Rye and I found three Palæolithic implements in a pit close by the railway at Little Hautbois. A vast quantity of gravel has at one time or another been removed from the pit, which is now overgrown, but the implements were found among the debris, and my identification of them as early paleoliths was confirmed by Mr. A. S. Kennard, F.G.S. They are the first of this period to be recorded from the valley of the Bure. One found by Mr. Rye is 6 ins. long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. broad, sloping down to a rounded point and one cutting edge the length of the implement. On the thick side the crust remains; on the other parts of the implement it has been removed. On the almost smooth under surface, the top of a ridge has been

* See Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society, Vol. VIII., p. 221.

removed by two narrow parallel flakes, one 3 ins. long, and the other 2 ins. The two implements found by the writer are smaller, one with no crust remaining, being the size and shape of a Neolithic square-ended scraper, but with a mottled-grey and mauve patination. The other is flat-backed, with one well-chipped edge, the remaining portions being left rough.

NEOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS.

As is usual each year, a number of interesting flint implements of the Neolithic period of culture have been found in the county. In September, 1906, Mr. Eustace Gurney found a polished axe at Sprowston; a stemmed and barbed arrowhead was found in Belaugh churchyard by Mr. Goodliffe; and Mr. H. J. Hillen, of King's Lynn, procured a hammerstone of red granite, with the whole surface battered, found at Runcton Holme. It is ovoidal, 5 ins. long, and 4 ins. wide. A bluish-grey flint implement $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. found on Massingham Heath, and probably an axe, has lately been added to Lynn Museum. A labourer living in "The Pit" at Methwold was digging in his garden in September, 1907, when he found a polished flint axe $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. with an oblique edge, half of which is quite perfect and very sharp. It is ground all over except the extreme edge of the butt, and one side is a whitey-brown while the other is a translucent brown. Mr. J. S. Warburton, of Methwold, has also found leaf-shaped and barbed arrowheads on his land at the Hythe. A stemmed and barbed arrowhead, with one barb broken, and with a reddish patination probably caused by peat-stain was found on the Meadow Farm, Saham Toney, by Mr. Frank Newton, and on the same farm Mr. C. F. Newton also picked up a knife-scraper rubbed on both sides to a sharp edge. On Thetford Warren Mr. H. Dixon Hewitt found a scraper, of which the

back had weathered white, the top has a blue patination, and all around the edge the re-chipping has not weathered at all—a most remarkable implement.

In April, 1908, Mr. Cyril Walter, of Drayton, found at the mouth of a rabbit-hole in that parish an axe with white patination, 9 ins. long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at the widest part, symmetrically shaped. Chemical changes have only bleached one side perfectly, leaving the other bluish-white. Half a Cissbury type axe was found at Eaton by the writer, while he and Mr. H. H. Halls found a Cissbury type settlement with a number of flakes and implements on the northern slope of the hill at Markshall on which the Roman cemetery was found.

On Jex Farm, Little Snoring, in April, 1908, Mr. D. Sayer found a fine leaf-shaped arrowhead, and 30 well-chipped scrapers in an area of about 20 square yards on one field. All the scrapers were apparently made by the same man, design and chipping being so similar, for 10 of them were made of horizontal sections of a cylindrical piece of flint, retaining the crust all round, except on one side, where they were chipped down to a scraping or cutting edge. All the others were made of pieces of flint with portions of crust remaining. On the same farm Mr. Sayer also found a spearhead (point broken) of greyish flint, chipped all over one surface, and partly underneath, and notched each side half an inch from the base, also half a very fine polished axe, probably nearly 15 ins. long when complete.

Early in 1908 Mr. H. Halls found a graver at Hapton, a right-angled implement with a shank $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and an arm $\frac{7}{8}$ in. long, both having a width of $\frac{3}{8}$ in. On the outside of the shank, that opposite the arm, the original crust still remains. The implement is of yellowish flint, semi-transparent, daintily chipped on the inside of the shank and outside of the arm. Mr. Halls has also an oval knife of grey flint from Snarehill (Rushford) 3 ins. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. It

is boldly chipped, with angles rubbed off all over, and polished to a cutting edge round three parts of the circumference. This edge is 1-16th in. wide on each side, and has a length of $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. On Santon Breck in September, Mr. Halls found another oval knife $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 2 ins. on one side a good bulb with the top off, no other chipping, and a rubbed edge; on the other side, chipping almost rippled, with beautiful edge chipping finely rubbed off.

In 1907 I found on Thetford Warren a triangular spear-head, ashleaf arrowhead, two small axes, a number of fine scrapers, and a flat-backed knife with oval top and rounded point, the whole surface most delicately chipped. The following year I found a fine harpoon barb there, in addition to a considerable number of implements of more ordinary type. In the spring of 1908 I found at Santon a curious thin implement, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. long and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, weathered on both surfaces to a delicate blue. This had been rechipped all round on both edges, leaving a square base and working up to a fine point, the minute top of which has been broken. Another implement found on the eastern shore of Fowlmere, West Wretham, was evidently chipped in early Neolithic times, the under-surface, with bulb of percussion, having weathered white and partly decomposed, as has two-thirds of the top with one flaking ridge. It had then been rechipped along one side, part of another, and across the square cutting end, where the chipping is very delicate. In the autumn of 1908 I found about 100 good Neolithic implements on Santon Breck, including awls, axes, borers, discoidal implements, fabricators, graters, hammerstones, hollow-scrapers, knives, scrapers and triangular knives. On the table-land north of Langmere, East Wretham, a locality where I had previously found a number of implements and a quantity of pottery, in September, 1908, I found a single-edged saw with 32 most delicately-chipped teeth on a length of $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

BRONZE AGE.

A bronze celt with stop-ridge, found near Creake Abbey, is now in possession of Mr. Roller, Creake Abbey Farm. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, one inch wide in the middle, two inches at the cutting end, and $\frac{7}{8}$ in. at the other. In September, 1907, I found the top of a Late Celtic bronze vase on a breck near Croxton Park, in the parish of Thetford St. Peter.

ROMAN REMAINS.

In September, 1908, I found fragments of Castor and Upchurch ware on a breck at the eastern foot of Bromehill, Weeting, but in the parish of Santon, and not far from a place formerly called "Caldecote," a place-name usually associated with Roman outposts. The "breck" adjoins the "Drove" road. During alterations at the "Nest," the headquarters of the Norwich City Football Club, embedded in the clay about 60 feet from the crown of the hill was found a copper minim of Alexandria in Egypt struck under Carinus Caesar, A.D. 283. On the obverse is the head and name (in Greek) of Carinus, and on the reverse a figure of Elpis (Spes) and L.B., *i.e.*, Year 2. During the excavations for the waterworks reservoir between Thorpe and Mousehold two Roman coins were found, one a minim (apparently of Constantine, though almost undecipherable), and the other a denarius of Claudius II. (Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Gothicus) dating from the third century.

AN ANCIENT BUILDING AT SNAREHILL.

Blomefield writing of Great Snarehill (now in the parish of Rushford) said* "The church was in ruins in King Edward third's time being then valued at 30/-. There are scarce any remains of its foundation, though its site is

* Vol. I., p. 294.

well-known." In a footnote he states that "It stands near Snarehill house," and furthermore adds, "I do not find there was ever any church in Little Snarehill." Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that when the heath in Little Snarehill between Elder Hill and the river Little Ouse was first ploughed in the winter of 1904-5 a hill was noticed where the soil was dark, quite a contrast to the light sand, and there were also fragments of worked stone. In September, 1908, at this spot, the cultivator brought up a few pieces of freestone, clunch, and bricks. One or two pieces of freestone were hewn, and one chalk stone was turned like the drip and plinth of a foundation. Is it possible that there was a church at Little Snarehill of which record has been lost? This building would have stood by the side of the old road between Euston and Thetford, that by which Evelyn journeyed in 1677, that shown in a MS. plan of tumuli between Thetford and Rushford drawn by Thomas Martin about 1740, and now owned by Mr. Rye, and that described in Kirby's "Suffolk Traveller" (1765), where on the way from Ixworth to Thetford the directions are:—"At 6m. 6f. (from Ixworth) enter Norfolk at Carlford Bridge, avoid the forward road and take that on the left-hand over the warrens."

STONE VESSELS FROM SMALLBURGH.

There have recently been found at Smallburgh two curious stone basins, which at first sight appear to be *piscinæ*, but have no outlets and are therefore probably not ecclesiastical. One is of greenish granite with an abundance of mica, and was found in a patch of gravel in a field between Smallburgh Hall and Church where a font was also found at one time. It is a plain basin, save that there are four rounded projections on the outside. The top is circular with a diameter of 14 ins., the basin has a depth of 7 ins., and the hollow therein of 5 ins. The other is much

more curious. It was found in a garden, is of darker granite, also with an abundance of mica. It is a square stone, each side being 14 ins. and the depth $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. There is a circular basin both top and bottom, each 4 ins. deep, so that there is only half an inch of stone remaining between. In the middle of the outside the corners have all been rounded off as though it had in some way been enclosed by a band. The shapes of the two vessels are well indicated by the accompanying photographs.

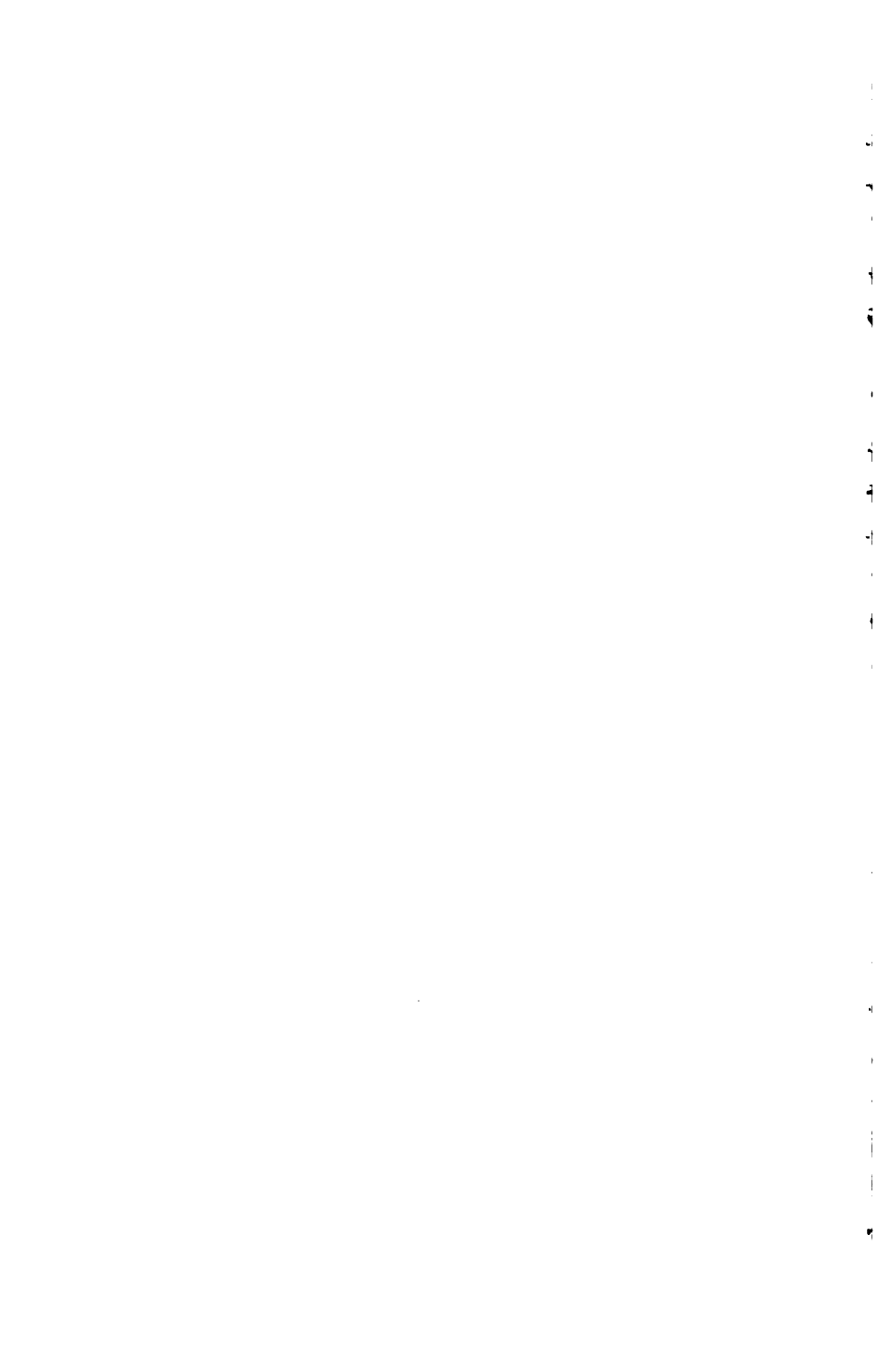
In Norwich Castle Museum there are two stone basins of similar form, one from Scottow presented by Mr. G. Betts in 1894. The stone appears to be the same as that of the double one at Smallburgh, but they have only one projection each side. There are also two in Ipswich Museum, one having two projections and the other four.

During the summer of 1908 Mr. W. A. Dutt found in a sandpit about 200 yards south of the south wall of the great Roman camp at Burgh Castle, Suffolk, with numerous potsherds chiefly of a coarse blue clay, a portion of a stone basin made of limestone and of a biscuit colour. It has an outside depth of 6 ins. and an inside of $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Towards the centre of the basin the thickness of the base is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. and at the outside edge of the cavity 2 ins. Level with the base of the cavity the side is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick and about an inch from the top $\frac{7}{8}$ in. thick. The side is bevelled to a narrow edge. The inside diameter at the top appears to have been about $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. and the basal diameter somewhat more, as the sides curve inwards slightly towards the top. On the bottom of the portion found, which weighs $5\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., are some curious incised marks, but owing to their fragmentary nature nothing can be made of them.

It has been suggested that these were measures for corn used by the lords of the manors when they took corn-rents; but they would be very cumbersome, and most difficult to lift.

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A number of basins, with a general resemblance, preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, have a pot-shaped cavity in their upper surfaces, and were used for husking barley prior to the general introduction of barley mills. The grain to be husked was placed in the cavity of the stone, with the addition of as much water as would prevent it from flying out with the strokes of the wooden "mell" with which it was beaten till the husk was bruised off the grain. These are comparatively modern, and some of them are described as "mortars."

A 15TH (?) CENTURY EARTHENWARE BOTTLE.

During excavations for the extension of Messrs. Howlett and White's factory in Colegate Street, Norwich, a bottle of rare design was found in black mud at a depth of from 15 to 20 feet. It is 7 ins. in height, 5 ins. in width, with a broken neck $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length, round which are three raised horizontal rings. The bottle is of dark brown earthenware, almost like iron in appearance, $\frac{1}{8}$ in. thick, with rounded base. The neck has been put on separately, as indicated by the rough portion inside. On opposite sides of the body of the bottle are two flat depressions, about 2 ins. in diameter, making most convenient places for holding the vessel, which is unprovided with handles of any kind. On one side the whole space from neck to neck is occupied by concentric circles, and the further these are removed from the centre, the wider becomes the space between the lines, and the deeper the indentations, one of the furthestmost being 5-12 in. between the ridges. On the other half are many single incised lines about 1-12 in. apart, but forming no recognisable design. There are several similar examples in the British Museum, where they are doubtfully referred to the 15th century. (See Hobson's "Catalogue of English Pottery," No. B 160, &c.)

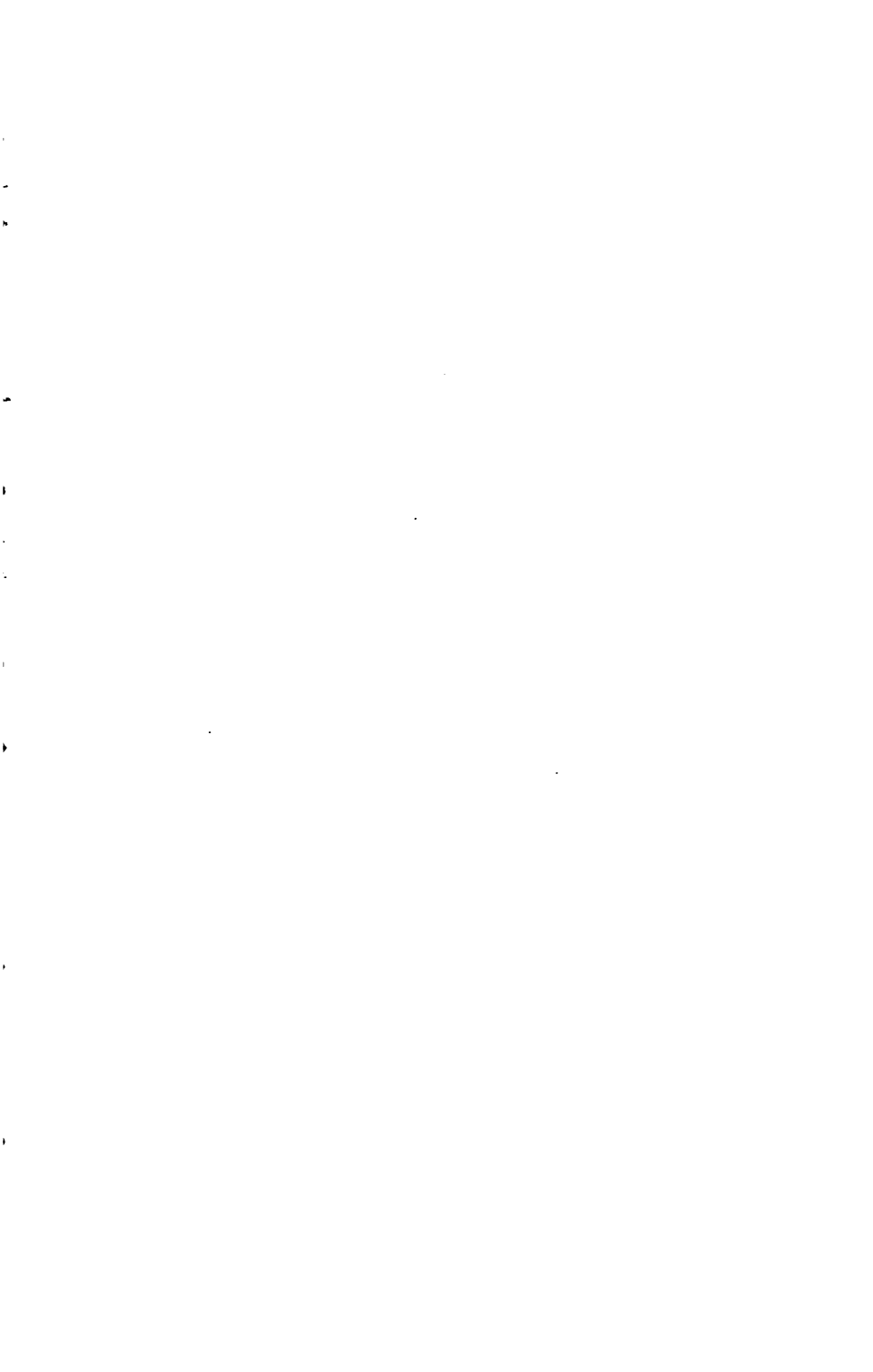
BRONZE DISC AT PASTON.

During some excavations in the kitchen garden of Paston Hall in June, 1908, a most interesting bronze disc was disinterred. It is circular, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter, with a portion 2 ins. in diameter raised one inch above the flat border. On the centre of this raised portion there is a further slight knob. It is very thin, and was fastened by three copper rivets, two of which still remain. It has most interesting ornamentation, the details of which can best be seen from the accompanying photograph. The disc was found in a curiously-shaped enclosure, of which a plan is also given herewith. Those parts marked B consisted of rubble walls faced on the inside with bricks, there was brick paving at A and concrete at C. The disc was found in the enclosure D. The rubble wall varies in thickness from 1 ft. to 3 ft. 6 ins. Unfortunately, although an excellent plan was made by an architect, the structure was not subjected to expert examination before being again covered in.

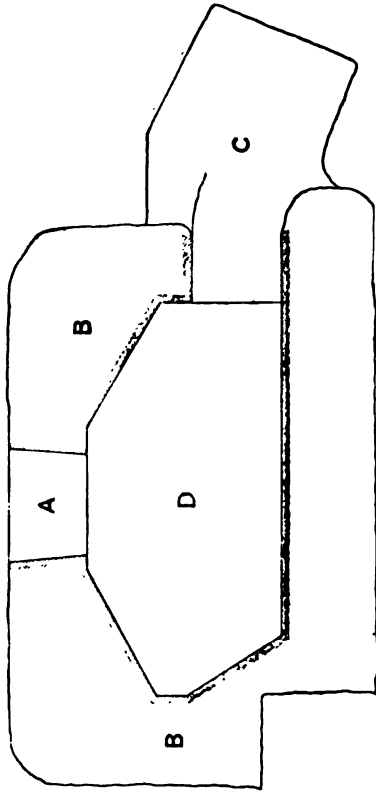
Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., thinks the disc may date from about the 16th century or a trifle earlier, and Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., F.S.A., suggests that it may be the rosette of a horse's bit, and notes that the outside circle of ornamentation is quite mediaeval. Mr. F. R. Coles, of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, points out, on the other hand, that it may be a belt boss of Roman workmanship, and states that two, with other portions of two belts were found early in 1908 at Newstead. These have a striking general resemblance to the Paston disc, which, however, projects much more in the centre. Mr. Coles considers the ornamentation of that part and the sloping edges below distinctly Romano-British, though the trefoil arrangement is not usual y thou ht to belong to that period.



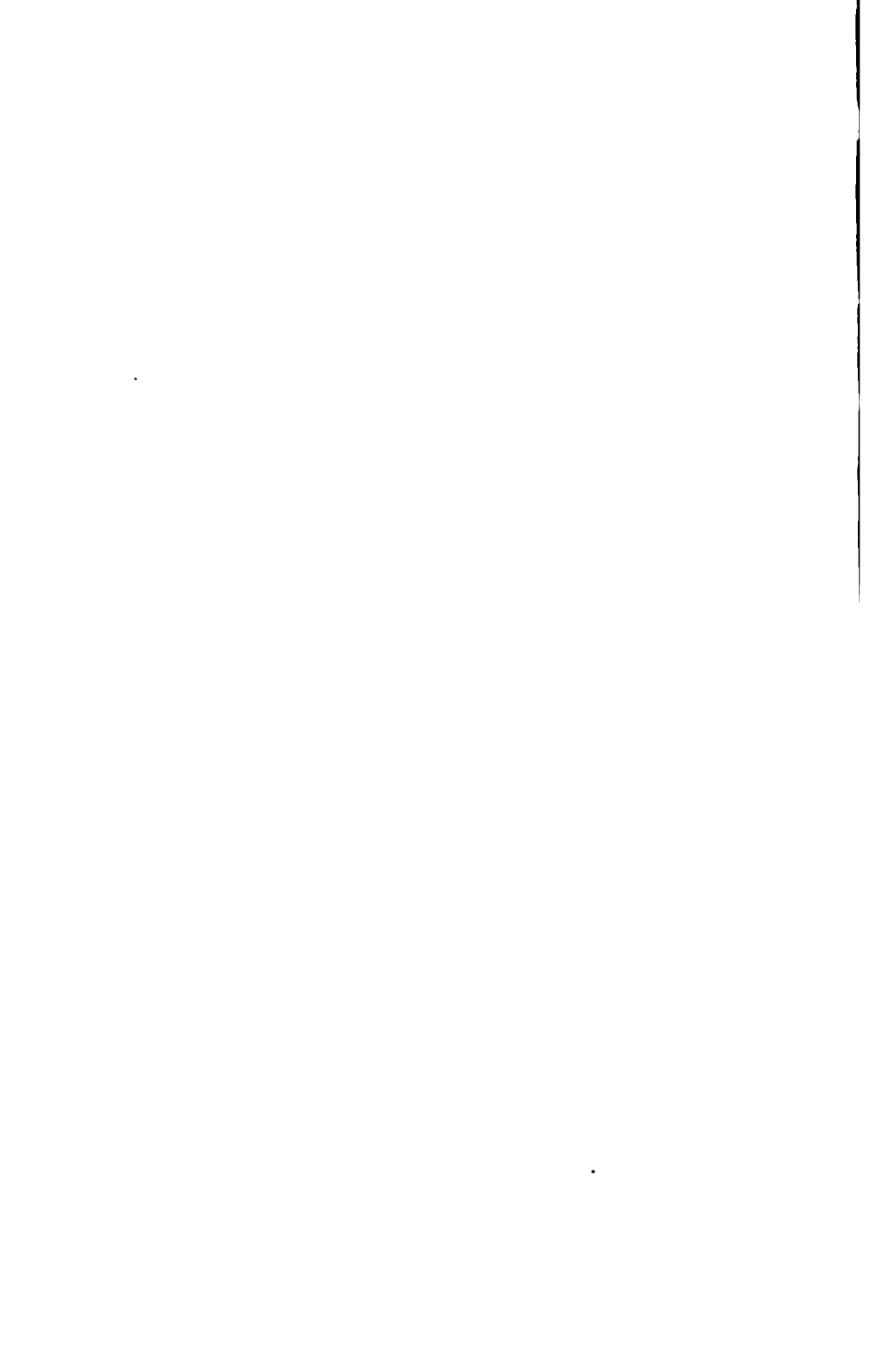








Scale of feet.



DISCOVERIES AT BURGH-NEXT-AYLSHAM.

On the marshland of the Bure in the parish of Burgh-next-Aylsham there is an oval enclosure—marked as “Round Hill” and “Old Hall (site of)” on the 6 in. O. S. map—which appears to have been made by utilising a natural holm of gravel and digging a wide and deep ditch around it. There appear also to be traces of an outer ditch, the two being divided by a raised bank. This foss is unbroken, save at one point on the north east where there is now a causeway, but was apparently at one time a bridge, as when the moat was cleaned out in the spring of 1908 many fragments of freestone, some of them worked, were found at this point. During this cleaning of the moat several interesting relics were brought to light, evidencing a lengthy occupation of the site. Mr. W. Rye found a Neolithic implement, beautifully chipped, evidently made of excavated flint, and somewhat of the form and size of a chisel-ended arrowhead, though different in form to any others I have seen. It is flat-backed, superbly chipped on the two sides, and with only a small amount of chipping either on the semi-circular base or the flat working end, though rather more on the latter. I have found late Neolithic implements, probably contemporary, on the nearest field to the north-eastward. In the mud “fyed out” from the moat both Mr. Rye and I found fragments of undoubted Roman pottery, corresponding exactly with the grey ware found at Burgh Castle and Caistor Camp. Mr. Rye also picked up a portion of the carapace of a turtle, perhaps the relic of an amphibian that graced a mediaeval feast.

Some slight excavations were at the same time made in several parts of the enclosure—chiefly at the southern edge of the mound—and served to indicate its natural origin. The only articles of interest then revealed by the digging were

flat tiles, of which 17 varieties were found in an hour's work. Samples were sent to Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, who considered them to be 15th century or perhaps a little earlier. Eleven of the varieties were glazed on the exterior, five with a brown glaze, four with a greenish-brown, one with red, and one with purple. Two pieces, both grey all through and unglazed, one $\frac{1}{2}$ in. and the other $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick were probably Roman. Four of the tiles were $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, two 5-12 in., eight $\frac{1}{2}$ in., and one 7-12 in. Six were pink on the inner side, three purple, four red, one yellow, and one cream over pink. Three of the pink tiles were grey in the middle, as was also the yellow tile and the cream over pink, while one of the purple tiles had red on the inside. The only ornamentation, if such it were, consisted of narrow raised bands on three of the tiles. In the autumn of 1908 Mr. Rye found four pieces of a large vessel of grey ware, covered with a greenish glaze, and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. This curved inwards near the top of the vessel, and at one spot on the edge of the curve there were two fine impressions of a finger tip side by side pushing the clay out. This was apparently of the same age as the tiles, the glazing being similar. In October a trench was cut to a depth of 4 ft. across the northern portion of the mound from north-west to south-east. This showed that the natural portion of the mound consisted of stratified sand and gravel, above which there was made soil (probably for the most part thrown inward from the moat), ranging in depth from a foot to 40 inches. In the top foot of soil were a number of fragments of tile similar to those previously described, and one of these pieces was found at a depth of 40 inches from the surface. Two fragments of what appeared to be loose rubble were found 14 ins. below the surface, 6 ins. apart, and each just over a foot in width. In addition to the tiles, the only relics noted were a few fragments of burnt glass. In November a further trench was cut, some thirty

feet nearer the entrance. Below a thin layer of surface soil, this revealed $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of dark clay above the peat of the marshland. The clay had evidently been brought thither, and there is some like it in a pit not far distant. It was probably brought in as a foundation for a drawbridge. In the surface of this excavation Mr. Rye found two fragments—which fit together—of the top of an earthenware vessel green-glazed on both sides, with black section.

MEDIÆVAL CROSS AT WEETING.

In his account of the parish of Weeting, Blomefield, after mentioning that in the fields north of the village is a green road called "Walsingham Way," adds "here was formerly a stone cross, now broke into two pieces, commonly called the 'Stump Crosses.'" The Way, which probably diverged from the Drove Road in Weeting village runs almost due north-eastward, parallel with the Fendyke. On the top of the ridge known as Mount Ephraim, where the 100 foot contour is reached, it is bordered on the left by two large ditch-encircled barrows, on which in September, 1908, Mr. W. A. Dutt and I found hundreds of Neolithic flakes, but no implements. In the Norwich Museum (Beloe Collection) there is a stemmed and barbed arrowhead found on a tumulus at Weeting—perhaps one of these—on May 27th, 1853. Local tradition asserts that in one of these tumuli a man is buried upright. They are now in a plantation, and on the west end of the ridge on which they stand, after some difficulty, we found the remains of the cross, almost hidden among the nettles, and now two-thirds of a mile from the nearest road, but less than 200 yards from the ancient "Walsingham Way" or "Pilgrim's Walk." The socket, now almost buried, is square, with three terraces diminishing in size upwards, and with rounded corners, which may have represented grotesque heads, but are now too weather-worn

to be distinguishable. It is 30 inches square, and the cross, which had been fastened in with lead and had broken off level with the top of the socket, was 11 inches square. Some 20 feet to the westward we found the cross itself and a flat stone 6 ins. thick and measuring 11 ins. by 14 ins., for which we could assign no use, as it could not have formed part of the base, and there was no indication of anything of the kind having existed on the top of the cross. On this square piece were a number of incised lines, very uneven and of no pattern. The portion of the cross remaining was 3 ft. 6 ins. in length, sloping very gradually towards the top. The side which had been exposed was very much worn, but on turning it over we found the underside as clean-cut as on the day it left the hands of the mason. It was square, and the only ornamentation consisted of two longitudinal deeply-incised lines on each side. These were close to each edge, and the corners between them were rounded off. There is a general tradition among the Weeting villagers that people used to assemble at the cross for religious services.

A FINE PLASTER CEILING.

The "Dolphin" Inn, Heigham, is well-known as having been at one time the residence of Bishop Hall. The licensed part of the premises is the property of the Earl of Rosebery, but the whole east gable (evidently the older portion of the building) has for over a century been separately owned. Early in the 19th century it was the property of a Norwich gentleman who did a great deal of smuggling at Bacton, and on one occasion only saved himself by forcing a harnessed horse to lie down in the middle of a field of standing corn and sitting on its head while the preventive men rode round the outskirts of the field. He utilised the big cellar underneath the east gable of the "Dolphin" as a store for smuggled goods, which were afterwards removed to a more

central place near Norwich Castle. On the first floor of this gable, quite at the eastern end, is a room 14 ft. 6 ins. by 9 ft. 6 ins. with a beautiful plaster ceiling, and it is extremely probable that this was used as a study by Bishop Hall, who after being ejected from his Palace in 1647 lived here in retirement until his death in September, 1656. The ceiling, which is quite complete and in good preservation, is 12 ft. 6 ins. by 9 ft. 6 ins., the strip of 2 ft. on the south side of the room having in Bishop Hall's time been occupied by an oriel window, while on the north there was then a good-sized square window, overlooking the garden and the river Wensum. Beneath the ceiling on three sides is a most elaborately ornamented frieze, about 1 ft. 6 ins. in depth. The ceiling is divided into two portions by a band running north and south, and the panels east and west are of the same design, the details including conventionalised Tudor roses and fleurs-de-lis.

REVIEWS.

*Records of the Norfolk Yeomanry Cavalry 1782-1908 by
Lieut.-Col. John Robert Harvey. 1908 (Farrollds).*

THIS account of the "King's Own" Regiment by Colonel Harvey is contained in a very handsome volume of 415 pp. small folio, amply illustrated by coloured engravings, and supplemented by some notes on the fencible and provisional Cavalry of Norfolk, and on the 43rd and 44th Squadrons of the Imperial Yeomanry, who volunteered for the South African War of 1900, where they worked as hard as anyone, and did not follow the too common example of surrendering when hard pressed. It does the greatest credit to the author, his industry, &c., puts on permanent and authentic record a very important piece of our local history.

Colonel Harvey considers, and I think correctly, that the movement owed its origin to the patronage of George Marquis Townshend, who had seen service at Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Culloden, who commanded the "Norfolk Rangers Yeomanry Cavalry" from 1782 to 1807, and whose example was followed by Lord Orford and Sir Edward Astley. The details of the easy life are interesting and amusing, though the toast lists and sentiments at some of the dinners seem inordinately long, speak well for the hard-headedness of our ancestors, *e.g.*, at one dinner at Melton there were 15 named toasts and an "&c."

The whole history of the movement is told in minutest detail; in fact the author has left little for anyone else to do,

and here in these interesting details can be found for the general reader, for example, the Wymondham Troop incident of 1813, while to those who care for family history the names of the officers and troopers will be very useful, and incidentally the work contains details of smuggling, rick burning, and machine wrecking during a very trying time of our county history, which would have made much greater head than it did but for the energy of the Yeomanry. The more recent history of the body will no doubt be written hereafter by some friend of the author.

One criticism only may be made, viz., that there is no index of places.

An Account of the Families of Lennard and Barrett by Thomas Barrett-Lennard. Printed [by Spottiswoode & Co.] for Private Circulation 1908.

THE local interest in this work is centred in the fact that the writer, the genial squire of Horsford, now lives on the manor held by his ancestors for many centuries, as will be seen by a paper he wrote in the 15th volume of the N. & N.A.S. transactions. Among the family papers there must be much more about the "Black Gang" of Horsford, the manorial history of that place, of the adjoining manor of Hautbois, of the advowson of St. Martin, and of the smelt fishery in the Wensum, lately sold away from the estate after forming part of it for eight centuries or so, and it is to be hoped that one day some more details may be given to the local reader.

Of the value of this work it would be hard to speak too highly. If as the writer kindly suggests in his preface it was a suggestion of the editor of this Miscellany which led a pheasant-preserving squire and County Councillor to leave such narrow paths and become *per saltum* an accomplished

and able memoir writer, the existence of the N.A.M. has indeed justified itself. Would that other owners of historical MSS. would take the trouble to compile and find the money to spend in producing similar works.

The Lennards of Chevening were Kentish people of good account, High Sheriffs and so on in the reign of Elizabeth, and among their papers printed are notes of chapel building, funeral expenses, and grocers' bills. Among the latter are notes of potatoes bought in 1583—a new date for this vegetable in England—just as the household accounts of Hurstmonceaux gave a new date for “yachts.”

Samson Lennard married Margaret Fynes, granddaughter of Sir Thomas Dacre, “of the South,” sister of Gregory Fynes Lord Dacre (which marriage brought Horsford and Hautbois into the family), son of Thomas Lord Dacre, judicially murdered in 1541 for alleged murder during a park breach.

The present family, though called Barrett-Lennard, seems from the pedigree facing p. 343 to have no blood relationship whatever with the Barretts of Kent, for though Sir Edward Barrett Lord Newburgh left Richard Lennard the present estate of Belhus, in Essex, he was only kin to him through his great grandmother, Elizabeth Dineley, who married an ancestress of Richard.

The whole volume has been most carefully written and edited, and we have been unable to find a single error, unless it is that the writer ascribes to Lord Dacre (p. 618) the well-known anecdote of Dean Swift, who sent a messenger many miles after a forgetful servant to bring him back to shut a door he had inadvertently left open. After all the story may have belonged to Lord Dacre, and have been annexed by some later biographer of Swift's, or what is more probable the rebuke may have been borrowed by Lord Dacre from the story told of Swift.

A Genealogical History of the Nelson Family by Thomas Nelson. Privately Printed 1908.

THIS handsomely printed and carefully got up volume sets out very clearly the later history and alliances of our greatest admiral, but unluckily reiterates the imagined descent from Thomas Nelson, son of William Nelson, of London, said to be of the Lancashire family, and thought to be identical with Thomas Nelson, Mayor of Lynn. In an article in the "Norfolk Chronicle" written by me directly after the issue of this work I showed so conclusively that this was not so that Mr. Nelson at once and very frankly withdrew the statement.

He, however, still seems to think that the Wendling family from which he and the admiral alike claimed descent were descended from the Lancashire family, but I think there is much against this view.

The name of Nelson was an old Norfolk one before the existence of Nelsons in London, *e.g.*, Oliver Nelson was of Sheringham in 1523, and there was a John Nelson at Walpole before the Reformation, for there was an *Orate* for him in the church there. The real reason for attempting to make out the descent from Thomas Nelson seems to be to prove that if so the Norfolk Nelsons were entitled to arms through the Lancashire family before the recent grant to the admiral's father, and so let in the author and such of the rest of the family who do not take arms under such recent grant.

At present the probability seem greatly against this.

Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, Vol. XVII., Part 1. Issued for 1908 (rectius 1907.)

By far the most of this part is taken up by a very long paper (111 pp.) by the Rev. W. Hudson on the *Norwich (Ecclesiastical) Taxation of 1254*. It might have been worth while to have published the text itself for the purpose of comparison with the later Taxation of Pope Nicholas, but the extremely long introduction can be of little value to either the topographer, the student of history, or the genealogist—classes of enquirers who naturally expect something for their subscriptions. The only thing of interest in the paper is the demonstration that Gallow Hundred was at once the northern and Brothercross the southern Hundred, pp. 149-151.

Mr. Hotblack's paper on *St. Mary Coslany, Norwich*, is interesting and thorough. He points out for the first time that the well-known mural inscription to Thomas de Lingcole is clearly of two periods, the date having been inserted later, probably from the date given by Blomefield. He considers the recently-discovered tower windows are Saxon, though he dates them twenty years *after* the Conquest, but when he calls them the oldest known specimens of wrought stonework in the city he forgets the Runic Stone of St. Vedast. The Norman capital in the cellars of the "Maid's Head" and the doorways in Magdalen Chapel may also run them hard for priority.

Mr. H. J. Tench's article on the *Castle Mound at Norwich* is practical and clear, and gives further evidence that much of the mound was only the end of the long slope of the Ber Street hill scarped down.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley (on whose recent physical and spiritual troubles one sincerely sympathizes)

takes for the text of his paper on the *North Iter of Antoninus* the *Tabulæ Peutingeriana*, quoted many years ago in the *Norfolk Tour sub Thetford*. He comes to the conclusion that *Venta Icenorum* was *Caister* and not *Norwich*, *Ad Taum* was *Tasburgh*, and *Sitomagus* was *Thetford*.

As these were practically the conclusions I arrived at 24 years ago in my "*Popular History of Norfolk*," it is very satisfactory to me to find that so careful an antiquary as Dr. Astley agrees with me. I cannot, however, think that the "blockhouses" on the map mark comparatively small stations, having in view that one is marked at *Rutupius*, nor can I believe in the Celtic derivation he sets out.

The Sculptured Bosses on the Roof of the Bauchun Chapel in Norwich Cathedral. (Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.) 4to.

This, I presume, is to be taken as the extra part or volume now long overdue. It has been long promised, and now that *Parturiunt montes*, one can but add *nascitur ridiculus mus*.

It consists of no less than 7 pp. of text by M. R. Garner, L.D., Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and as many as 3 pp. of introductory comment by Dr. Bensly, in all 10 pp. of letterpress, and several illustrations by some blurred photographic process of some extremely uninteresting and inartistic bosses.

With the Freeman's rolls of Lynn and Yarmouth, which would be of real value to the subscribers, waiting to be printed, it is a pity so much of their money has been wasted in producing so unnecessary a volume, or rather pamphlet.

The History of Holt by L. B. Radford, D.D., Rector 1902-8, 8vo., pp. 1-124 (no indexes).

THAT this compilation for a history of Holt is not as perfect as it might have been is chiefly due, as the author tells us, from the fact that it was hastily "revised and completed under the strain of impending departure to Australia"—and the same reason no doubt accounts for the absence of any indexes. Though the inscriptions in the Church and Churchyard are not given, the names of the Rectors, Churchwardens, Parish Clerks, and the Masters of the Grammar School are, and the history of the town and of the School seems carefully done, and will be of use to the future topographer. Had Dr. Radford not received well merited and generally appreciated preferment to the Wardenship of St. Paul's College, Sydney, I have no doubt he would have written a much fuller and more useful work.

* * * I must apologise to my subscribers for the shortness of this part, but owing to the great amount of extra work thrown upon me by a very unexpected Civic appointment last November, I have been unable to get more papers ready for the press. The part has been slightly delayed by the very late appearance of the Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, which did not reach me till the 31st December, 1908, so I was unable to review it or issue this part during 1908 when it was due.

This year I am afraid I must miss a part, for I am specially urged to get on with my Norfolk Visitation, which has been longer in preparation than I care to remember.

For a printer's error (unluckily overlooked by me) the papers in Part II. were paged together instead of following on the pagination of Part I., so I have been compelled to follow this evil precedent in this part. If my subscribers when they bind their parts will direct the binder to colour the edges of Part II. red or any other colour it will simplify the consultation of the indexes. I need hardly say that this error has trebled the trouble of making the indexes, so I have sorely suffered for my carelessness.

WALTER RYE.

January, 1909.

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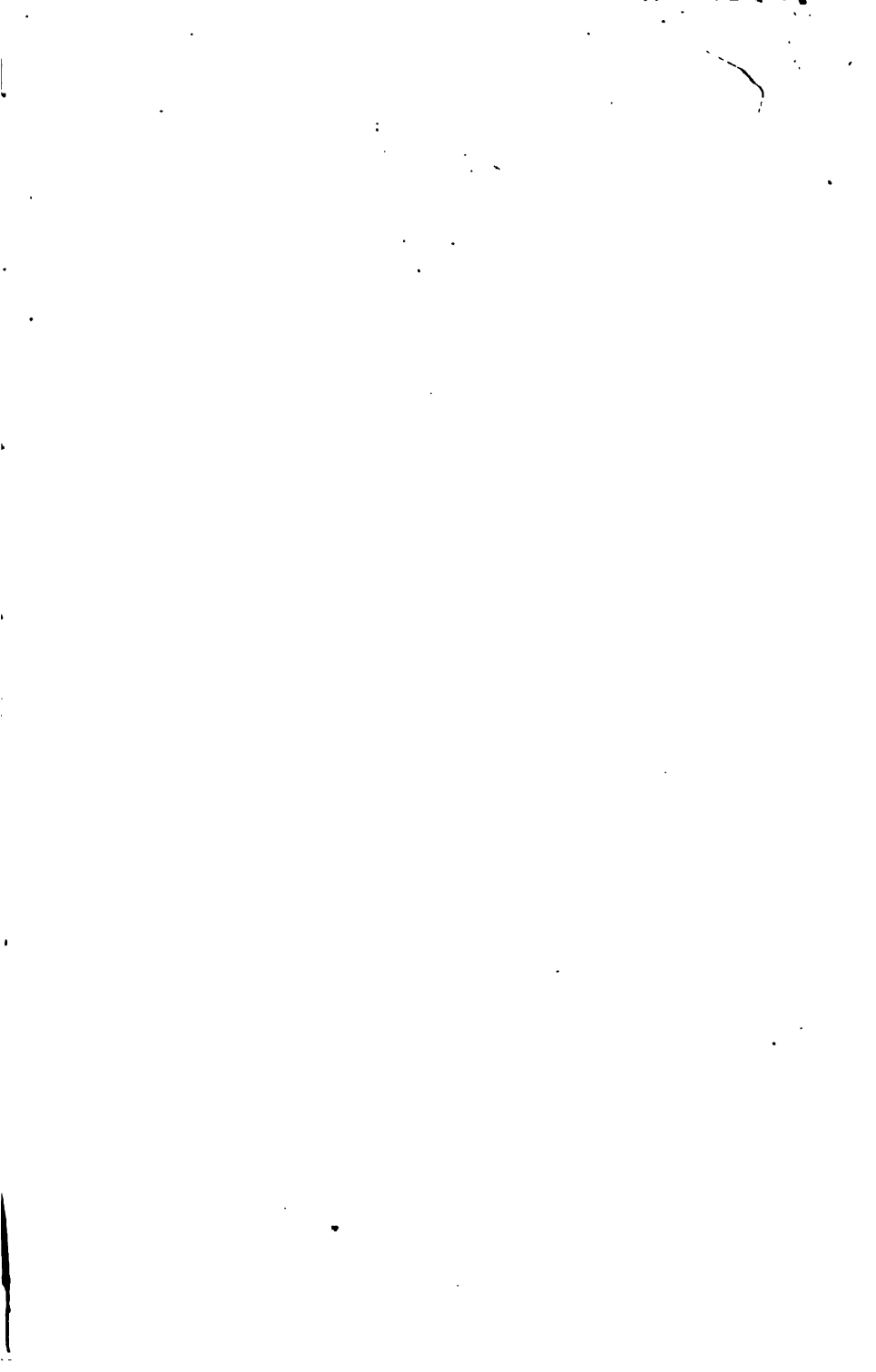
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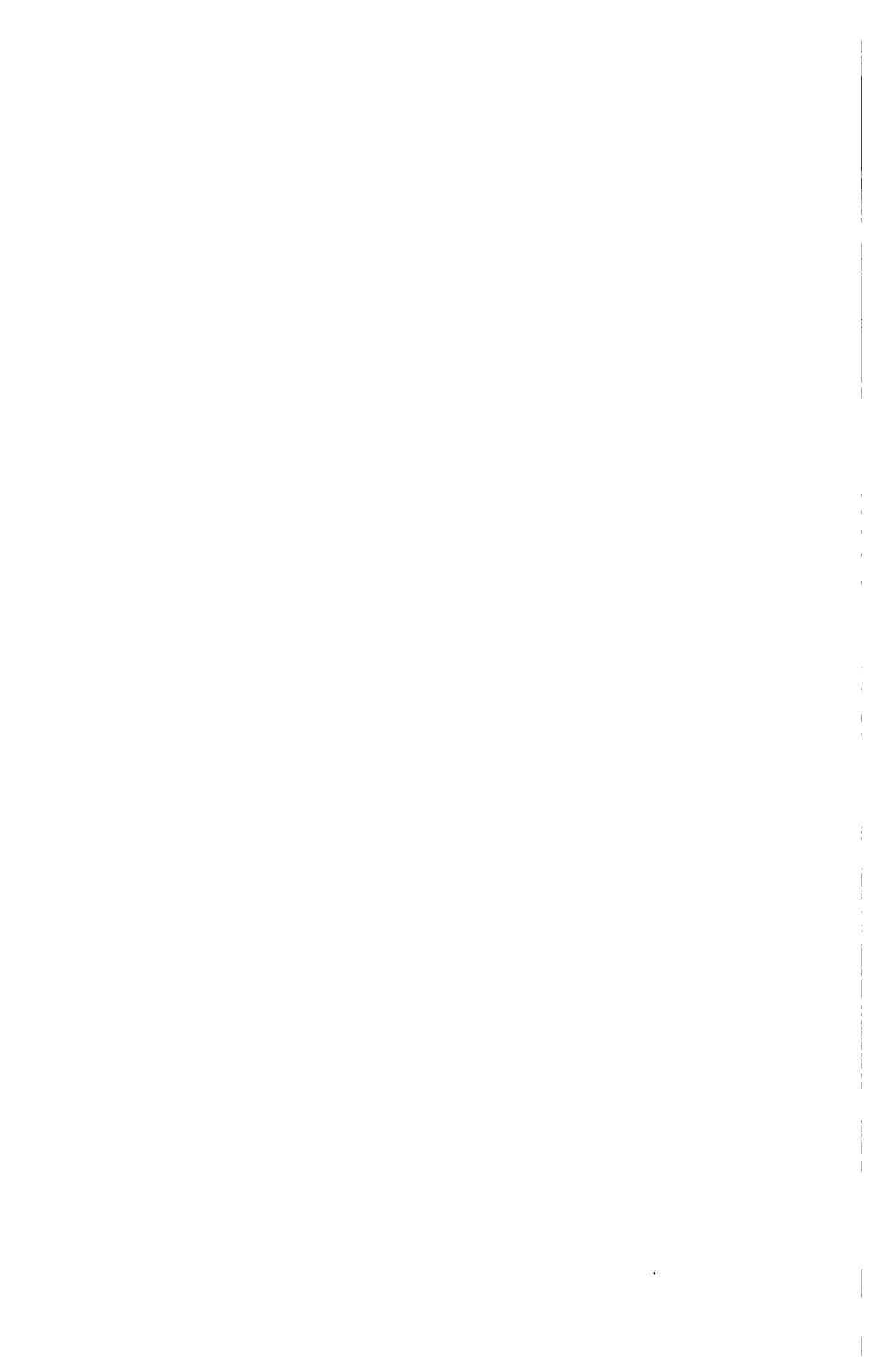
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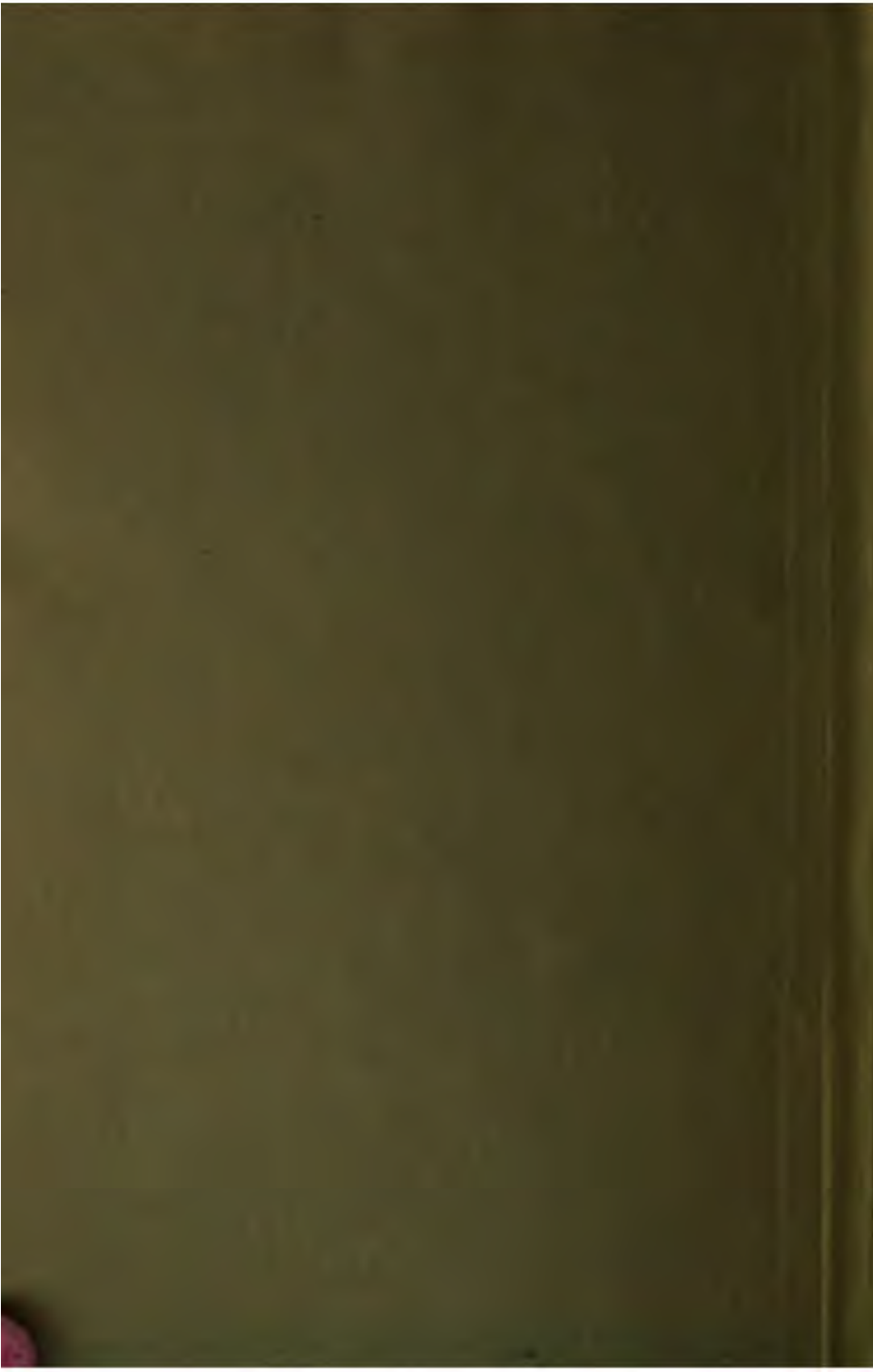
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