

Volume Three : 1969-70

Contents

Field Officer's Report	P. Durbidge	1
Worthies of Lowestoft	H.D.W. Lees	3
Place Names of the Lowestoft Area	Canon F. Williams	8
North Elmham, Norfolk	P. Wade-Martin	11
Castles in Norfolk	R. J. Kedney	13
Medieval Church Wall Paintings	Rev. W.H. Moore	15
Bishop Freke and his Struggle against the Puritans 1575-80	D.A. Hassell-Smith	19
A Brief History of the 19 th century East Anglian Coast	R. Malster	24
Pre-historic Eastern Bavents : Some Early Stone Tools	H.D. Collings	29
When the Wherry, " <i>Maid of the Mist</i> ", was Snow-bound at Geldeston Lock and Frozen Up on Oulton Broad	L.P. Thompson	31

FIELDWORK

In spite of comparatively few field searches during the last few months, several interesting finds have been recorded again, adding fresh information to our knowledge of the area. Continued searching at Manor Farm Kessingland yielded two arrowheads, one of which was a good example of a transverse type. Several skin scrapers, blades, fabricators and part of a tranchet axe were other finds on what is now probably the most important site in the vicinity. These continued finds of early flint tools are to be found scattered across large areas of plough land and quite often small grouping of implements suggests camping sites.

Many of these people journeyed from one settlement to another, spending one or perhaps two nights in the open before finally reaching their objective.

Many implements found in small areas are often of crude construction, being worked off primary flakes or naturally fractured flint, usually enough rough implements were fashioned as suited the required purpose and then rejected.

Implements found on major settlements are mostly of better workmanship and fashioned from better quality material, which is usually in evidence on the particular site. At Benacre, a chipped axe found during potato picking may be connected with Manor Farm which lies nearly opposite, across a short distance of marsh land. Further on at Beach Farm, several Mesolithic cores and blades have been observed during ploughing. Fragments of early pottery were found at Henstead after a long chipped axe had been discovered. Shortly after this a second axe, this time broken, was picked up on the surface of an adjoining field. Perhaps the best find of pottery this year came from the cliff face at Covehithe where a sizable part of a 13th century vessel complete with circled handle was revealed after a considerable cliff fall. Deposits of ash and several sherds of late medieval pottery along with bones strongly suggest this was part of a medieval rubbish pit and possibly the reminder of the vessel lays under several tons of sand that the high winds and sea had brought down.

More pottery, again medieval and this time 14th century came from roadworks at Gunton and also from building developments at Pound Farm, Oulton Broad. In both cases the brown and green pitted glaze greatly assisted the dating of the sherds which were parts of pottery base. Following a report of recent finds of fragments of grey pottery at Frostenden, I found the farmer only too helpful in showing a large box full of pottery picked up after ploughing up a meadow. There are two large depressions in the field which may or may not be the remains of moats, the pottery is certainly confined to areas and a more careful inspection of the site may yield additional information.

A characteristic of medieval pottery is of course the corded handle and up to the present remains of three have been found on fields at Henstead, Mans Farm and Covehithe. The handles after being rolled out are twisted to give the characteristic appearance and then thumbed on to the vessel. Decoration on another type of medieval handle found at Wrentham, consisted of a series of marks made down the

centre of the handle with a finger nail or thin sliver of wood while the sides of vessels of this period are sometimes ornamented by rolled clay pressed into V shaped cuts, this type was noticed on a grey sherd of pottery at Kessingland.

Finally there should be some mention of the continued finds of Neolithic and Bronze Age tools at Hopton. This is a very interesting site involving tools from both periods although weapon heads that have come to light are very difficult to date accurately having little characteristic of either period. Some are in the early stages of construction but they all have a very unusually heavy wide base for spear heads or arrowheads, if anything showing an urgency in their development. Like Frostenden this is an area that needs more close examination and it will take some time before any accurate picture can be built up to find the extent of the occupation by these people.

The co-operation of farmers allowing the society to search fields for antiquities is gratefully acknowledged, for without their help and interest the majority of these finds would not have been found.

P. DURBIDGE

FINDS RECOVERED IN 1968-69

<u>BECCLES ROAD.</u>	TM50914.		
	1. Slug knife.	}	
	14. Scrapers. 2. Hammerstones.	}	NEOLITHIC.
	5. Small scrapers worked on primary flakes.	}	
<u>BENACRE.</u>	T528840.		
	4. Blade cores	}	MESOLITHIC.
	5. Broken scrapers.	}	
<u>BENACRE.</u>	TM515848.		
	1. Chipped Celt. 3. Skin scrapers.	}	MESOLITHIC.
	1. Blade core. 2. Blades.	}	to
	1. Tortoise core.	}	NEOLITHIC.
<u>COVEHITHE.</u>	TM530842.		
	Part of grey pottery including corded handle, deposits of ash and bones.	}	MEDIEVAL.
C 1300.	Other sherds of pottery 15 th -1700	}	
<u>COVEHITHE.</u>	TM519808.		
	3. Fine skin scapers.	}	NEOLITHIC.
	1. Burnt Hammerstone.	}	
<u>CARLTON COVILLE.</u>	TM513905.		
	9. Blades. 1. Broken chisel.	}	MESOLITHIC.
	1. Disc 11. Side scrapers.	}	to
	1. Slug knife.	}	NEOLITHIC.
<u>FLIXTON.</u>	TM517953.		
Oulton	5. End scrapers.	}	NEOLITHIC.
	1. Hollow scraper.	}	
<u>FROSTENDEN.</u>	TM477805.		
	13th century pottery found after ploughing.	}	MEDIEVAL.
<u>GUNTON.</u>	TM542962		
	Lower part of 14th century vessel.	}	MEDIEVAL.

<u>HENSTEAD.</u>	TM485868.	
	Long grey chipped axe.	} NEOLITHIC.
	Remains of chipped axe.	}
<u>HOPTON.</u>	TM528012.	
	1. Hollow based arrowhead.	} NEOLITHIC.
	1. Slug knife.	} to
	1. Flint saw.	} BRONZE AGE.
	13. Scrapers.	
<u>KESSINGLAND.</u>	TM533855.	
Manor Farm.	Sherds of 13-14th century pottery –	}
	including corded handle and	} MEDIEVAL.
	ornamented sherd.	}
<u>KESSINGLAND.</u>	TM533855.	
	4. Hammerstones.	}
	1. Leaf arrowhead.	}
	1. Transverse arrowhead.	}
	1. Graver.	} MESOLITHIC
	4. Borers.	} to
	8. Thumb scrapers.	} BRONZE AGE.
	37. Blades.	}
	Remains of 3 broken Celts.	}
	5. Fabricators.	}
<u>POUND FARM</u>	TM530943.	
Oulton Broad	Part of 14th century vessel	} MEDIEVAL.
	8. Scrapers	} NEOLITHIC.
<u>WINDWARD WAY</u>		} BRONZE.
Oulton Broad	Partially polished broken Celt	} AGE

WORTHIES OF LOWESTOFT

by Hugh D.W. Lees.

Under this general heading, the ‘Worthies of Lowestoft’, will be dealt with in each of our Annual Reports, some going back into the past while others will be not so old i.e., in time, for it has been said “The happenings of today are the history of tomorrow”, and how that is.

VICE-ADMIRAL JAMES MIGHELLS (1665 - 1734).

Although Gillingwater in his history of Lowestoft heads his pedigree of this family with (Richard Mighells) merchant of Lowestoft temp 8 Queen Eliz., (1565.6) the first entry in the parish register for them, records the burial of ‘the son of James Mighells’ and is dated, ‘April 2nd 1575’.

RICHARD MIGHELLS had three sons (i) Robert, (ii) Richard 2nd, (iii) Thomas

There is to be found in Copingers ‘Suffolk Record MSS’, vol., 1 under ‘Blundeston’ the following – Grant by Richard Mighells son, lord of the Manor of Flixton, to John Wood, of 6½ acres, of Flixton Hall land. In.- 21 Eliz. 1634-6. (1578-79).

Other references to this family in the above work are as follows :-

Vol. II. P389. (Flixton).

– Grant by will, Sidney and Hen., his son to Robt., Mighells of a tenement, in. Three oct., 30 Eliz. Bodl. Suff. ch. 867.

Vol. II. (Dunwich.)

Certificate of the bailiffs and burgesses of D. to Thomas Mighells of Leystoft., of his being a

burgess, of 1678. Bodl. Suff. ch.1182.

Vol.II. (Flixton).

– Quit claim by Richard Mighells to Walter Sydney, of all rights in I. Eliz. Bodl. Suff. ch 842.

Vol. II. p. 45 . (Chelmundiston).

– Release by Robert Mighells to Robert Burdy of marsh and certain closes in. 41. Eliz. Bodl. Suff. .ch 1282.

Vol. IV. p. (Lowestoft).

– Sale by Richard Mighells to John Cook of land in a field called Northfield in; I. James 1605. The reference here, in the above, to ‘Northfield’ is interesting; as the Great Northfield is shown on the 1831 map of this town as covering roughly the area from the east of what we know as Queen’s Road to Heyhoe’s hairdressers shop on St. Margaret’s Plain and up to Church Lane, now St Margaret’s Road. This field contained 45 acres.

vol. IV (p. 149.)

– Mighells Pedigree Add. 19142. Commission to Thomas Mighells lieutenancy in Company of horse, in Suff. 1680 Bodl. Suff. ch. 1227. ditto company of foot. 1685. Tanner XX98.

– p. 86 under Lowestoft.

– Licence to Richard and Thomas Mighells to sell conies in 1634 .

We find recorded the burial of Richard Mighells wife, 1577. Dec. 5. Marjory W. of Richard Mighells In the Sept., of the same year we find another entry connected with them, it reads :- ‘Burnigs’, 1577. Sept. 23, A man of Hastings, Mr. Myghells oste! And in 1583 the burial of Richard Myghells, merchant, the Elder.

The descent through their three sons, will show the links which still exists, not only in England, but across the seas, in South Carolina in this day and age. Of these sons, it is through two of them (ii) Richard. Mighells 2nd (iii) Thomas Mighells that we are able to trace the ‘line’ to the present day. VIZ :-

- (1). ROBERT MIGHELLS () and ELIZABETH his wife had issue. 3 sons and 1 daughter.
- (2). THOMAS MIGHELLS. Bapt . 20 Apr. 1671. at St. Margaret' s. Merchant. bur. 22. Nov. 1728.
- (b). JOSEPH MIGHELLS. Sept: 10. Jan’y. 1668. at St. Margaret' s Lowestoft.
- (c). ROBERT MIGHELLS. bapt. March 1663. at St. Margaret' s Lowestoft.
- (d). ALICE MIGHELLS. bapt. 7. Oct., 1665. at St. Margaret' s Lowestoft.

We now come to the second son of Richard Mighells (temp. 8. Eliz.) RICHARD MIGHELLS bapt. who married Thomason sister to Sir John Achly, and had issue.

(1a) JAMES MIGHELLS bapt. 2. Feb. 1665. of whom later.

(1b) THOMAS MIGHELLS. bapt. 20. April 1671. married 1st. Margaret sister to Sir Andrew Leake and had no issue she died 1719. and was buried 25th. Feb. the entry in the parish register runs:-

‘1719. Feb 25. Margaret. wife of Mr. Thos. Mighelles. 46 yrs’. He married secondly. Amy Carter, a widow, by whom he had Thomas Mighells bapt. who later became a surgeon in this town. He died in 1763 and his grave stone is in the south aisle of St. Margaret' s Church, on which is also recorded the name Thomas Mighells and to Elizabeth his wife.

(1c) JAMES MIGHELLS bapt. 2. Feb 1665. married Ann Ashby? The church where they were wed has not been traced nor where Ann was buried, up to date. He became Vice Admiral and comptroller of the Royal Navy.

The following details as related by Charnock (vol.III. p.74) fills in his career until he was appointed comptroller of the navy.

Having entered early in life into the navy under the patronage of his uncle, Sir John Ashby and passed through the necessary subordinate stations with much credit and reputation, he was, in sixteen ninety three, appointed 1st. lieutenant of the Victory, a 1st rate. On the 24th. Aug., 1694, he was promoted to the command of the owners Love fireship. In the month of December he was ordered, together with the Norwich and Prince of Orange, to convoy the outward bound Virginia fleet to a certain latitude, before the fleet had well cleared the channel Captain Mighells ship sprung a leak, which compelled him to put back into port. He continued to command the owners Love towards the end of the year 1696, when he was appointed to command of a ship of the line which was unfortunately

employed on so undistinguished a service that we have been totally unable to discover even its name. In the year 1697 he accompanied captain, afterwards Sir John Norris to Newfoundland.

During the remainder of King Williams reign after the peace of Ryfwic, Mr. Mighells does not appear to have held a command, but after the accession of Queen Ann, was appointed to command the Monk of sixty guns.

In 1704 he sailed for the Mediterranean under Sir G. Rooke and very singularly distinguished himself at the battle of Malaga. No notice whatever is taken of Captain Mighells after this time till the year 1710, on the 8th of November that year he commanded the Centurion. In the following year we find him captain of the Hampton Court still on the Mediterranean station. The peace Utrecht being concluded soon after this event we find no mention made of Captain Mighells until the year 1717 - 18, when he was, on the 18th March promoted very deservedly, to be Rear Admiral of the 'Blue' on the 28th of the same month he was advanced to be Rear Admiral of the 'White' and second in command of the squadron sent soon afterwards to the Baltic under the command of Sir John Norris.

On the 17th. December almost immediately on his return from the Baltic, war was formally declared against Spain. Rear Admiral Mighells was, on the 5th March dispatched to Portsmouth, that he might forward the equipment of such ships as were fitting out at that port. Two days afterwards, he was raised to the rank of Vice Admiral of the 'Blue' and sailed almost immediately westward, second in command of the squadron, sent out under the Earl of Berkely.

Having, as it is elsewhere observed, arrived with the highest desert, at an elevated rank in his profession, and being probably worn out with fatigue in the service of his country, he exchanged tumultuous scenes of war for the more calm and undisturbed enjoyment of private life. In 1722 he resigned his rank as Vice Admiral and was appointed Comptroller of the Navy an office he held until the time of his death, which happened on the 23rd March 1733-4.

He died in Stratford co, Essex in 1734, and was buried in the parish church of Lowestoft in the county of Suffolk as directed in his will. The parish register recorded his burial thus:- 1734, March 27 JAMES MIGHELLS Esq., Comptroller of the Navy, 68 yrs. Where this is in the south aisle a memorial monument to his memory the inscription upon it reads:-

TO THE MEMORY OF
JAMES MIGHELLS ESQ.,
LATE VICE ADMIRAL AND COMPTROLLER
OF THE ROYAL NAVY.
WHOSE PUBLICK AND PRIVATE CHARACTER
JUSTLY DESERVED REMEMBERENCE
IF COURAGE AND CONDUCT IN A COMMISSIONER
FIDELITY AND DILIGENCE IN A COMMISSIONER
SINCEREITY IN A FRIEND
USEFULNESS IN A RELATION
LOVE AND AFFECTION IN A HUSBAND
LOVE AND INDULGENCE IN A PARENT
AND THE STRICTEST IN JUSTICE AND HONESTY
TO ALL MEN.
DESERVES TO BE REMEMBERED
HE DYED MARCH 21st. 1733(?)
AGED. 69 years.

Above the monument are the arms of Mighells:-

Gulls A. Bendlet, or surmounted of a fessable. Crest on a wreath of his colours, an Eagles Head crest or Gillingwater quotes the parish Register where the following may be found. 'In his public capacity, no one had more at heart the true honour and interest of his king and country. As a sea official he was beloved by all under his command. He was brave and valiant nor was his judgement and conduct less than his courage. In his last office be was constant and unwearied in application; no one durst temp him to alienate his trust. Of his family he was careful indulgent and tender; to his relations useful and generous; to his friends kind sincere and hearty; and to all the world a man of the strictest honour,

justice and honesty.’

The following is an abstract of the Admirals will at Somerset House. – Ockham 88:-

James Mighell of Stratford, County Essex. Comptroller of his Majesty's navy sound and disposing mind; body to be decently but privately buried without southcheans in the parish church of Lowestoft in the county of Suffolk a stone layd on me and what put on it is English, or on a stone on the wall near where I shall lay to my brother Richard Andrew's and his wife tenn pound each for mourning to my kinsman, Thomas Mighells 20 pound for a peece of plate and to the poor of the Town of Lowestoft tenn pound to be distributed as the minister shall see fitt appoint my well beloved wife Ann Mighells, my executrix. Well beloved daughters Elizabeth and Ann Mighells as long as they live single 140 a year if my said wife continues a widow, if not then to board as they please, and if my said wife should obtain a pension of 500 L a year from the government, they are to have 130 more a year if they marry with consent of their mother then £1,000 in lieu of the annual amount If they marry without their mothers consent then only £100 on marriage and the other £900 be kept at interest for their children if any in 10 years and till they are about 14 years or fitt to be putt out if the trustees see fitt they may pay the interest yearly for the better keeping the children at schools and their part of the principal when it shall be thought fitt for their going abroad; in case no children then the interest to remain with my said wife till her death and not to be account for to anybody If wife marry again she is to have but £100 a year pay'd her in lieu her joynture I give her the furnature and plate of the home at Stratford before we came the Navy Office except my Sea Plate which is mentioned on the backside and the goods bought for the house at the office – all for her use as long as she remains a widow but on her marrying again the goods bought for the house at the office and my sea plate be divided amongst my said children except the basion and ewer and that to be Mrs. Gascoigns ewer and above her part. All the rest of the lands, tenements, goods and chattells Estates whatever onto my said four daughters or their children if any if their mothers should be dead on the dividnt after their mothers' death or marriage, Mrs. Gagcoigne's fortune £1,300 and Mrs. Gadsden £1,000 payd on their marriage to be reckened in case wife remain a widows she is to have £1,000 to dispose of as she shall see fit at her death but not she marry again. If any unспект shall ise shall be adjudged between two such persons as they shall chuse and in case they cannot, then chuse a third and not to go to law for it if they due, it is my will they shall not be intitled to but one shilling of what I shall leave 29 March 1733.

Ja : Mighells.

wit. Sel. Turner William Pentriss.

Sea Plate, Basen, and Ewer Mrs Gascoigne and cup with cover one large Salver, two do. small four salts a large Spoon three custers, one case of large knives folks and spoons twelve of each one do it small twelve of each two pair of candlesticks one pair of snuffers and stand one tea pott and six spoons one plate. Prov. 3 April 1734 and Anne Mighells qualified executrix.

As has been seen James Mighills and Ann his wife had issue four daughters VIZ. Elizabeth, Ann, Mary, Ann and Alice.

- (1) Elizabeth Mighills bapt married a Mr. Hall of London, merchant and had one son who died without issue. It is the descent through the other three daughters which carry the ‘line’ down to the present time.
- (2) Ann Mighells their second daughter married Mr. Schrouder of London and Hamburg and their daughter Ann, married Alexander Hume, as his second wife. He was chief of an English Factory in Canton. and then 3rd in Council at Calcutta and had issue :- John Hume, Ad Hume, Metilda Hume, Amelia Hume, and Sophia Hume. Sophia married Joseph Benwell, whose son, Joseph Proctor Benwell, married Sergina, daughter of the Rev. Charles Norman, Vicar of Buxted Essex and had issue Seringa who married Charles Garside, their daughter, Dorathea Seringa married C. Lane and their daughter Audrey Seringa became the wife of George Cook who had a daughter who they christened Brenda Seringa. She married J. Masterson and the family name is again handed down for they too called their daughter Seringa. The first of that name; Miss Violet M. Birrell relates; was the first white baby born in Seringapaturm after the siege.

Mary, who married the Rev. Ershine Birrell who had two daughters, Violet M. Birrell and Ruth Ershine Birrell, who married T. Gerald Rose and have issue

Peter C. E. Rose

T. Anthony. Rose

S. Nigal. Rose (who married.)

- (3) MARY MIGHELL bapt married Rear Admiral John Gascoine, in 1727. At the time she is described on the Licence as being of 'St. Olives. Hart Street London, aged 22.' and he was of 'Tower Harnet, aged 30' and it goes on to state 'At St. Ann's Oldgate, Chapel of Guildhall, or St. Bennett's wharf May 9. 1727'

Their daughter, ELIZABETH GASCOIGNE? married James Lynde and they had a son and two daughters, the son, William John Lynde, who was born on the 10 Jan., 1766, was in the in the Bank of England and it was part of his duties to sign personally all Bank of England notes and married and they had two sons, Humphrey Lynde, late of Gorleston co, Suffolk who married and Gascoine Lynde, now of Folkstone in the said county.

ELIZABETH GASCOIGNE had a brother and a sister viz:- MIGHELLS GASCOIGNE was born in Charlestown, South Carolina, St. Philip Parish Register there has the following item. Mighells son of Capt. John Gascoigne, commander of H.M.S. the Allborough; by his wife Mary Ann, eldest dau. of the Honble James Mighells Esq., comptroller of H.M.N, was born 12 Nov. 1732 and died the same day:

and ANN GASCOIGNE who married 1st in London. Thomas Gadsden (born 7. Oct. 1746) and 2nd, 22 Nov. 1770, Andrew Lord. She was left a widow again a little over 10 years later, he having died in 1780, of this marrying, their second child Mary Lord married John Gaillard, who had two children Mary Gaillard, who was drowned with her mother in the Santee River and Theodore Samuel Gaillard M.D. (b. 1796 to 1855) married Francis West (b. 1806 - d. 1878.) and had a very large family, amongst whom Frances Anne Gillard, who married in 1867 Joseph Seabrook Hanahaw (b.1839 - d. 1910) Joseph Seabrook Hanahaw (b. 1867 - d. 1926) married Kate Louise. whose son John Hanahaw married Hardin Davant and they have two sons and one daughter.

After Andrew Lord's death on 12th May 1781 at the age of 45 years his widow married for the 3rd time a Mr. William Greenwood. For we find in St. Philip's Churchyard Charlstone the following inscription which records :

SACRED :

To the Memory of

ANN GREENWOOD.

CONSORT OF

WILLIAM GREENWOOD. MERCHANT .

Who departed this life the 7th Dec. 1808,

aged 62 years and 2 mths.

She was the daughter of the late Admiral John Gascoigne

a Native of England

and had been a resident

in south Carolina 42 years

not left, bless'd through

but only gone before.

AND

of her beloved partner William Greenwood

who died 30th June - 1822

aged 84 years and

The Memory of the Just is blessed

The local paper, – the S.C. Hist. AND Gen. Mag. Vol. 32 p 281 – marriages and deaths notices City Gazette and Daily Advertiser, Sat. Dec. 24th., 1808 records :- Departed this life the 7th inst. Mrs. Ann Greenwood, consort of William Greenwood, Esq. aged 62 years and 2 months and 7 days, (b.17. Oct. 1746). Still another Charleston connection is shown in the marriage of (4) Alice Mighells, the last of the Admiral's daughters for we read in the parish Register of St. Philipi, the following :-

‘July 25. 1732 Thomas Gadsden married Alice Mighells, of this marriage there appears to have been an only son, who himself died unmarried. Thus ends the Mighells records to be found overseas and we must now return to England and to the 3rd son of RICHARD MIGHELLS, merchant of Lowestoft who was called (III) THOMAS MIGHELLS (b marriedand had issue of these, a son baptised Joseph.17 Oct.1669 at St. Margaret's Lowestoft married Dorothy. on p 253, of his History of Lowestoft Gillingwaters, adds a foot note which states that under the entry of the Burial of Mrs Dorothy Mighells who was buried 28. Nov. 1757 aged 90, in Lowestoft Parish Register a note which reads ‘. . . . Her Husband was Joseph Mighells who died on Board Her Majesties’ Ship Lisard, (of which he was commander) in King Road near Bristol and was buried in Pill Church, in August 1707.’ They had three boys, Thomas Mighells bapt. 14. Aug. 1701, bur. 7 Dec. 1710 died of small pox . . . Josiah Mighells bapt. 2. Feb. 1703, and bur. 25. Feb. 1709 and Edward Mighells bap he too died of smallpox and was buried the same year as his brother Thomas 25. Dec. 1710. So as will have been seen this line peters out.

The name of Mighells appear in the deeds of Easthome 27 High Street Lowestoft, for the following reference to them appears :- ‘1678 Thomas Achby admitted to ownership 1713, Thomas Mighells his Nephew admitted to ownership – possession deferred until after death of Deborah Achby widow of Thomas Achby, 1728 Amelia and Thomas Mighells 1776 Francis Mighells, 1781. James Mighells of Cromer.’ A portrait of Vice-Admiral James Mighells attributed to Kneller was in 1793 in the possession of his grand-daughter Mrs. Hume. ‘This portrait has since passed to Miss V.M. Birrell, great, great, great, great, granddaughter of the Admiral together with one of his wife, Anne.

Amongst the subscribers to Edmund Gillingwater’s history of Lowestoft published in 1790 were the following members of the Mighells family – Rev. George Ashby rector of Barrow Suffolk, Miss Mighells Speenhamland, Berks, Miss Ann Mighells, Bedford Row, London.

Note In Parish Register :- In September 1737 Mrs. Dorothy Mighells widow gave £5 towards a second silver Flaggon for the communion table. J.T.

The writer is indebted to various members of the family for information on this old Lowestoft son of the sea.

HUGH D.W. LEES.

PLACE NAMES.

Lowestoft Area.

by Cannon F. Williams.

When studying the names of the towns and villages in the Lowestoft area, the first thing that strikes one is how ancient these places are. There are twenty-seven villages represented on the Lothingland Rural District Council. Of these twenty-two were in existence in the days of William the Conqueror, for they are recorded in the Winchester Book, now generally known as Domesday Book. The first draft of this was completed in the year 1086. The other five villages are all to be found in various documents or records before 1200. Neighbouring towns, Lowestoft, Beccles, Southwold, Bungay and Halesworth, are all recorded in Domesday Book. Practically all these pieces found in Domesday Book are at least two hundred years older, some even much older than that.

How did these places get their names? What do the names mean? Interesting questions! We can usually answer them by studying the form of the names. They contain elements of the languages spoken by the inhabitants at various periods, and by the different invaders. They help us to date approximately the beginnings of the various settlements which became villages.

Our English place names are, in origin, British, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, or Norman.

There are no names of British origin in our part of the country. After the Romans left in the year 426,

the Picts swarmed over the Roman walls in the north, and, in league with the Scots from Ireland, swept down upon the Britons. They laid waste the country, destroying many of the towns which the Romans had built. The Britons were harassed by the Picts from the north and the Scots from the west. Then began invasions by Germanic tribes, Anglians, Saxons, Jutes and others. Eventually the Britons were driven west and south-west, and the invading tribes took possession of the land. They found it a good land, and sent the news back to their own parts of the continent, pressure of population there was increasing and young men were seeking new homes. They came to our shores.

The few Britons who were left in eastern parts of our land became serfs to the invading settlers. That is why here are no place names of British origin in eastern England. One name that was British is found in a document in the year 485. That was before the British were driven away.

It was the original name of the place which became known as Burgh Castle. Burgh is from an Old English word meaning fort. Old English is the scholars' name for what has been commonly called Anglo-Saxon. The old British name was Garianno. It comes from the same root as the river-name Yare. It is interesting to note that the River Yare was known to Ptolemy, a Greek geographer who lived in Alexandria and made maps of the world in the year 150 A.D. The Yare is shown on one of his maps.

We have two local names containing the syllable ING. In Old English it had the same significance as Mac in Scotland, Ap in Wales, O in Irish. It originally meant 'son of'. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 547, there is given the genealogy of the early Kings of Northumbria. It reads :- Ida waes Eopping, Eoppa waes Esaing, Esa waes Ingwying, etc., In modern English this means: Ida was the son of Eoppa, Eoppa was the son of Esa, Esa was the son of Ingwy, etc. As with Mac in Scotland, ing came to mean 'family of' 'tribe or clan of'. So names of places ending in ing denoted tribes or families. The first part of the name is that of the leader, or the founder of the family, or the ancestor, possibly very remote or even mythical. Harling in Norfolk is an example. The tribe or family of Herela, who settled there. More members of the family followed, and sometimes there was no room for the newcomers, who went to some other place, sometimes near, sometimes far. This is the origin of the name Herringfleet. Kessingland is another example. Herringfleet is the 'stream of Herela's people'. Kessingland is the 'land of Cyssi's people'. At the period when Kessingland had its beginnings, the Old English had no letter K. K came in with the Normans. But the Old English had some idea of grammar, for Herelinga, in Domesday Book is in the genitive plural. Herelingafleet, 'the stream of Herela's people'. We can say definitely that Harling (now East and West) was a very early settlement of Herela and his folk. Herringfleet was later, possibly much later, when so many of the tribe or family had come to Harling that there was no room for the newcomers, who sought homes elsewhere. Lothingland is the land of Luda's people.

These names with the syllable ING are of Anglo Saxon origin, as are most of the names in our area. These are roughly of two kinds. Habitation names, and nature names. They have the ending HAM or TON (originally TUN). HAM meant a homestead, a place where some invader and his family or followers settled and made their home. It is indeed the origin of our word home. The word came to mean a village town. TON originally meant an enclosure or a fence, a defence for a house or houses. It eventually denoted the dwellings which had the protection. It is the origin of our word town. In Suffolk there are nearly ninety parishes which have names ending in ham, and nearly eighty which end in ton.

Generally speaking, places ending in ham are older than those ending in ton.

The first part of these habitation names is often the name of the first settler who came with his followers and set up his home there; in some cases it is the name of a remote ancestor of the settler. From the spelling in Domesday Book and other early documents we can gather the name of the settler or ancestor. Gisleham is Gisla's ham, Wrentham is Wrenta's ham, Gisla and Wrenta being the original settlers. Blundeston was settled by Blunt, Flixton by Flic, Oulton by Ali, Somerleyton by Somerlithi. These personal names are all found in ancient documents and in Old English poems and literature.

In some habitation names the first part of the name is not a personal name, but is descriptive in some way or other, often some natural feature. Belton, for instance; Bel denotes dry land in fenny country. Someone settled there, and so described his home. Hopton has a somewhat similar meaning. Fritton denotes an enclosed place, possibly surrounded by trees. Carlton has a different significance. It is the ton of the Carls. The Carls were free men, under no obligation of service to any overlord, and entitled to hold land. Colville, by the way, was added to the name in the 15th century, from the Norman

family who became the chief family there about the year 1250. They came from Coleville in Normandy.

Of the other class of names, nature names, we have Bradwell, the broad stream, Lound, a place in a grove of trees; Covehithe, a harbour; Frostenden is a valley where there were a lot of frogs; Rushmere, a mere or lake where rushes were in abundance; Henham, a place frequented by wild birds; Southwold is south wood; Beccles is pasture on a river.

In some names we find a connection with farming; Benacre is beanfield; Reydon is rye valley.

When a place was near a ford, it often got its name accordingly. We have some instances here : Wangford denoted a ford which could be crossed by a wagon. Mutford is interesting. It is a ford where meetings took place. At school I learnt of the Saxon Witena-gemot, the meeting of the wise men. From the word gemot we have the word moot, meaning meeting, and Moot Halls in various parts of the country, where local councils were held. Mut in Mutford is this word moot. Mutford was the place where the Meetings of the Lothingland Hundred took place in Saxon times.

Several other endings besides ing, ham and ton, appear in our local names. HALH, which became HALL usually, meant a corner, a retired place, often a piece of land in a bend of a stream or river, where a settlement was made. Uggeshall is Ugga's corner. WORTH was another word like ton, an enclosure round a dwelling or dwellings, coming to mean the dwellings themselves. So Halesworth is Hale's enclosure, so his home-stead. AY and EY meant island, so Bungay is Buna's island. TOFT is a Danish ending. It originally denoted the site of a house and its outbuildings, a homestead. This brings us to Lowestoft. It is HLOTHVER'S TOFT; Hlothver was an old Danish name. There is a story, part legend, part history, of a noted Hlothver, a Dane. The Hlothver who settled at Lowestoft may or may not be a relative of his. It was quite a common Danish name.

There are no Roman or Norman names amongst those mentioned. But we find in the name Norwich a link with the Romans, for WICH is from Latin vicus, meaning a place of dwellings, a village or a town. The V survives in the signature of the Bishop of Norwich-Norvic.

From these names we can gather the approximate dates when the places were first settled. The Angles, Saxons and Jutes invaded Britain first in the year 449, not long after the Romans left. The Jutes under Hengist and Horsa invaded Kent. From that time onwards, for over a century these Germanic tribes came invading. They drove the Britons to the west and south-west, and made their homes here, the Jutes in Kent and the Isle of Wight, the Saxons in the Midlands and the south, the Angles in the eastern part of the country. Names ending in ING are the earliest settlements, no doubt within a few years of the earliest invasions. As already stated, those names like Herringfleet are of places which followed those earliest ones. The other places with Old English or Anglo-Saxon names became settled within a hundred years or so.

As the Angles and Saxons settled down, a number of kingdoms came into being, the so-called Heptarchy, the seven kingdoms. It is a misleading name, as at no time could it be said with truth that there were seven settled kingdoms. The various small kingdoms were always quarrelling with one another, and their boundaries were always unsettled; they were constantly intruding upon the domains of each other, and sometimes there were as many as nine or ten so-called kingdoms. The East-Engle (East Anglia) kingdom was founded by Uffa in the year 575. The constant ambition of the more powerful kings was to become ruler of the whole land. Eventually Egbert, King of Wessex, in the year 827 was able to take the proud title of King of the English. He ruled from the Firth of Forth to the Straits of Dover. He was crowned at Winchester, in Wessex, of which he was originally King. Winchester became the chief city of the English. Egbert did not long rule in peace. For the Danes began their invasions. They inflicted upon the English much more severely the horrors and miseries which the Germanic invaders had inflicted upon the British. For fifty years or so there were constant invasions by the Danes. It was King Alfred the Great who in the year 886 defeated a great Danish army and made peace and settlement with the Danes. They agreed to acknowledge Alfred as their overlord. Danish settlers were allowed to make their homes east of Watling Street, which was the Old English name for the old Roman road which ran from Dover to Chester. There was peace for ten years, but again came invasions of Dane. Eventually a Danish army won a great victory and an English king was succeeded by a Dane, Canute, in 1017.

In the Lothingland Rural District there is only one place which was definitely a Danish settlement; Ashby. It is Aski's by. It was an early one, apparently. BY is the Scandinavian ending corresponding to Anglo-Saxon ham or ton. Many Danes settled in the Fleggs, as we know by the large number of places whose names end in by. As there are so many of them, it is probable that they began after the

settlement made by Alfred; the Danish agreement. The name of the district Fleggs, comes from a Danish word meaning flags and other water plants which flourish in the area.

Lowestoft is a Danish settlement. Hlothver is a Danish name, toft is a Danish ending. At what period during the Danish inroads it was founded we cannot be certain.

CANNON F. WILLIAMS.

NORTH ELMHAM, NORFOLK.

by Peter Wade-Martin

During the many changes which took place during the reorganisations of the dioceses during the Anglo-Saxon period the sites of Episcopal sees were frequently moved and amalgamated. By the Norman conquest the sites of sixteen, often rural, sees had been abandoned in favour of new sites in towns which were growing rapidly in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

If the sites of any of these abandoned sees were to remain unaffected by later development they would be of the greatest importance for archaeology. Excavation of such a site, unimpeded by standing buildings and a deep covering of medieval deposits, could be extensive and the amount of information about pre-conquest ecclesiastical and domestic architecture, which such a study would yield, would be considerable.

Of the sixteen sees which were established during the pre-conquest period and abandoned by the end of the eleventh century, three (Whithorn, Lichfield and Wells) were subsequently revived. Six (Lindisfarne, Dorchester, St. Germans, Sharborne, Hexham and Whithorn) were to become sites of monastic establishments in the Middle Ages. Dommoc, the first East Anglian see, whether it was at Dunwich or Walton Castle near Felixstowe, is lost to the sea and so also possibly is the site of Selsey cathedral. The site of the Lindsay see is still unknown.

Of the four remaining sites (Chesterle-Street, North Elmham, Crediton and Ramsbury) only North Elmham appears to offer such large unobstructed area of the park for excavation so close to the site, or suspected site, of a Saxon cathedral.

THE ELMHAM DIOCESE.

The first East Anglian see was established in the Seventh Century at a place called Donraoc, which was an older Roman site either the Saxon Shore fort at Walton Castle or possibly at Dunwich.

We learn from Bede that, in 673 or soon after, when Bishop Bisi, the fourth bishop of East Anglia, was prevented by illness from administering his diocese, two bishops, Aecci and Bedwin, were appointed to succeed him. In this way East Anglia was divided into two dioceses, probably roughly corresponding to Norfolk and Suffolk. North Elmham was chosen for the site of the northern see perhaps partly because of its central position in the county and partly because it lies close to a centre of communications where the east-west Roman road crosses the River Wensun.

From about the mid-ninth century the see seems to have lapsed at the time of the Danish incursion and no bishop is recorded at Elmham for over a century. After the area was re-conquered by the Saxons by the early tenth century, East Anglia was a part of the London diocese until c. 955 when the whole East Anglian diocese was once again put under one bishop with a sole see at North Elmham, although there seems to have been a subsidiary seat at Hoxne in Suffolk. In 1071 the bishop moved to Thetford and in 1095 Bishop Losinga moved the see again, this time to its final site at Norwich.

ELMHAM CATEDRAL.

Near the north end of North Elmham village to the north of the present parish church and on a rise overlooking the valley of the River Wensum, stand the ruins of the only Anglo-Saxon cathedral surviving above ground in the country, although others, particularly at Winchester, have been found in excavations. Most of the walls of this remarkable building are still over six feet high. The plan consists of an aisless nave with a 'T' – shaped transept and an eastern apse largely destroyed in the Medieval period. It is this re-use of the building as a manor house in the fourteenth century that we owe the preservation of this important building. Mr. Stuart Rigold, who excavated the cathedral for the Ministry of Public Building and Works, believed that it was built in two periods at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century.

Under the cathedral Mr. Rigold found floors of four earlier timber buildings but little evidence for their timber superstructure. His excavations in and around the cathedral produced nothing datable earlier than the late Saxon period, and the clean condition of the earliest floors, he considers, rules out the idea of a prolonged pre-Danish usage of the site. So far, then, we know nothing of the pre-Danish cathedral at Elmham.

THE PARK EXCAVATIONS.

In November 1966 we learnt that earthworks in the park opposite the cathedral were to be levelled and ploughed. However the owners and tenant of the park kindly agreed that this work could be postponed if the Ministry of Public Building and Works were prepared to finance rescue excavations. This presented an ideal opportunity to investigate a part of the village close to the cathedral in the hope of finding traces of the Anglo-Saxon settlement associated with the cathedral.

The most obvious earthwork in the park is a deep and impressive sunken street which was a part of the main village street until though early nineteenth century when, at the time of the enclosure award, the traffic was diverted along a new road. This new road is the modern main road which winds around the park passing close to the west end of the parish church. This fortunate piece of road diversion has preserved from later building development an abandoned part of the village between the old street and the modern main road.

In April 1967 Mr. Rigold conducted a week of trial excavations for the ministry and following that in the summer of 1967 and 1968 the writer conducted two seasons of area excavation on behalf of the Norfolk Research Committee with a grant from the Ministry.

There have been two main areas of excavation so far, where the topsoil was scraped off mechanically in layers. In one small area opposite the west end of the parish church we located the south side of the cathedral cemetery, which was bordered by a ditch, a hundred yards to the south of the cathedral. This discovery was a great surprise as we previously had had no knowledge that the cemetery was so large.

In the main area of excavation on the north side of the site an area two hundred feet wide has been exposed between the west side of the cathedral cemetery and the old street. Here a total of sixteen plans of late Saxon Timber buildings have so far been discovered together with rubbish pits and other features. It is hoped next season to complete the excavation of this area and then extend the excavation southwards.

Further south, near the park drive, a deep timber lined well shaft of Anglo-Saxon date is also being excavated.

The buildings located in the main area of excavation fall into four periods, and although the first may take us back slightly earlier than the late Saxon period the rest represent an interesting sequence of timber structures belonging to the Tenth and Eleventh centuries. In the second period there was a remarkably large timber hall with two wings, and with a separate subsidiary latrine building, forming three sides of a square. In the third period this impressive group of buildings is replaced by a row of three properties separated from each other by boundary fences. In each property there was a house and subsidiary outbuildings. This plan gives us a very useful insight into daily life in late Saxon times. In the fourth period activity on the site seems to be on the decline for this period is so far only represented by one building.

The plans of these buildings will be a big contribution to our knowledge of domestic architecture in East Anglia in late Saxon times, for except for those found at Thetford very few other house plans of this period have yet been excavated in the region.

FUTURE WORK.

During the next two seasons we hope to excavate as much of the site as time and money will allow and we hope that by the end of our work at Elmham we should have gained a very useful insight into the daily life around the cathedral in Anglo-Saxon times.

Peter Wade-Martin

NOTE: An Interim Report of these excavations is forthcoming in the next part of *Norfolk Archaeology*.

CASTLES IN NORFOLK.

by R.T. Kedney.

In the eastern counties of Suffolk and Norfolk alone there are the remains of over 50 medieval castles; and their development in Suffolk was the subject of an article in last year's Report. This second article is intended to complete the survey by noting some of the major examples in Norfolk and their development through four centuries of our history. Though some of these castles are being carefully preserved and documented, many are neglected, overgrown and ignored, yet they rank among the major historical remains left to us today.

The development of the English castle through most of its phases can be traced with Norfolk examples some of which are accurately dated by contemporary documents, others by typology based on architectural details and plans. The Domesday book contains comparatively few references to castles but these can be supplemented by references in monastic documents and the Pipe Rolls from the mid-twelfth century onwards, the latter being the accounts of Royal expenditure. Building styles and castle plans changed considerably throughout the Middle Ages due to social as well as military pressures and so can be used as approximate guides to the age of building,

Castles were first introduced into the county about the time of the Norman Conquest but whether it was before or after the Conquest has been subject for argument for more than 50 years and the origin of the English castle was the subject of a recent lecture to the Society by Mr P.K. Davison. Unless Norwich is 'Guenta' no castle is dated before the 1075 siege of Emma, wife of Ralph Guader at Norwich and only Thetford can be added with certainty by 1006. Though it is unlikely that any stone castles were built in Norfolk in the 11th century it is probable that a number of the motte and baileys were in use by 1100. Many of the remainder of the motte and baileys were built in the period of the civil war struggles between Stephen and Matilda known as the Anarchy (1136 to 1154).

One of the greatest assets of the motte and bailey castle was its simplicity of design and construction consisting of an embanked court with a stockade known as the bailey and a strong point, often an earthen mound known as the motto, though being built of such flexible materials as timber and earth the plans were very varied. The Castle Hill at Thetford is the largest surviving example of a conical motto standing over 80 feet high set in an Iron Age Fort. The large motte at Norwich is another fine example and shows how the Normans used existing features to best effect by raising a natural hill in the 12th century to take the present stone keep. At Castle Rising and New Buckenham the central earthwork took the form of an oval embankment known as a ringwork instead of a motte and the form is different again at Old Buckenham where the ringwork is rectangular. The Society's field survey of the motte and bailey at Denton near Bungay revealed that the 'motte' is in fact a small ring whose size suggests that it was built in haste with its horseshoe bailey and associated earthworks situated overlooking the approaches to Bungay from the north and along the Waveney valley,

The only other castle known to date from the eleventh century in Norfolk is Castle Acre which is mentioned in the 1088 foundation charter of Lewes Priory but this may only refer to the extensive earthworks and not the stone defences. Unfortunately this great castle is sadly neglected and overgrown and virtually unknown except for the gatehouse to the Outer Bailey which stands astride the road in the village centre. The top of the large motte is encircled by the remains of an octagonal shell keep, the only example of this type of castle in Norfolk, where the palisade around the motte top is built of stone and the buildings inside set against the wall. Set in the motto are the foundations of a rectangular keep, 50 ft by 40 ft. giving an unusual arrangement which is paralleled at Bungay. The keep at Acre however is much weaker, the north and west walls are 13 ft. thick but the south and east are only 5 ft. thick thus reducing the weight on the artificial motte. Below this is a large U shaped bailey with fragments of the curtain wall still surviving and to the north there is a large rectangular enclosure defending the village.

The great hall keeps at Norwich and Rising both date from the second quarter of the twelfth century and rank as the most decorated keeps in the country. They were both archaic in design for the period when they were built but defended by very strong earthworks. Norwich is a superb example of a town castle overlooking and controlling the settlement below and though gutted internally the 1834-39 external refacing was accurate and gives an excellent impression of the might of Norman fortifications. Internally however the keep retains little of its original appearance though details here and there have been used to reconstruct the plan. The layout of the keep at Castle Rising on the other hand is much clearer as though the upper floors are missing the internal walls remain. The staircase leading to the main entrance on the first floor at Norwich was carried on a series of arches but at

Rising it is enclosed in forebuilding and defended by three doorways and guard chamber over. The major entries at both Norwich and Rising are through finely decorated Norman doorways, the former is not normally on view to the public as the staircase has gone and the latter was blocked and changed into a fireplace in the 16th. century. Internally both were divided by a crosswall with the great hall on the first floor and an upper gallery in the thickness of the wall. Smaller rooms and the circular staircases are situated in the corners giving some privacy.

In the northwest corner at Rising is a small room with a fireplace, reputed to have been a kitchen, a room which is normally placed in the bailey. Diagonally opposite is the domestic chapel with its decorative stonework and vaulting. Externally Castle Rising keep displays its dual role as a residence and a defensive building with its unusually large windows at first floor level and decorative carvings overlooking the arrowloops and plinth defending the walls which are up to 9 ft. thick in places and strengthened by buttresses.

35 miles south of Castle Rising at Old and New Buckenham stand two more of William d'Albini's castles. The latter being a replacement for the former when d'Albini handed over the motte and bailey castle at Old Buckenham to the Black Canons of St. Augustine in 1146. The strong ringwork at New Buckenham has already been mentioned and like Castle Acre it had associated baileys and a village enclosure. Set within the ringwork is the remains of the oldest round keep in Britain pre-dating the better known polygonal keep at Orford by twenty years. The keep now is sadly ruined and robbed of the freestone and only the ground floor is left standing and like the baileys is overgrown with woods. Originally it stood by the entrance to the ringwork but in the 15th century the ditch was deepened and the embankment raised. At the same time the plan of the castle was turned around and the entrance moved to the opposite end of the oval earthwork. The keep was then relegated to the role of storehouse and the present ground floor entrance was out through the 11ft. of flint rubble walling.

The castles at Mileham and Horsford are yet further examples of Norman stone castles. The castle at Mileham consists of a motte and two baileys with the stump of a square keep jutting out of the top of the motte. A similar castle probably existed at Horsford where there are extensive earth works to be seen and a rectangular building has been traced on the motte by aerial photography. The so-called castle at Weeting is the only example in East Anglia of a Norman manor house where defence plays a secondary role as it consists of a hall range with a solar tower and is defended by a moat and it differs from many other Norfolk castles as it is in the hands of the Ministry of Public Building and Works and so the site has been cleared and the remains preserved.

Wales became the centre of castle building in the 15th. century when the strong monarchy carefully controlled military activity in England. As a result few major works were undertaken in the Eastern Counties in either the 15th. or the 14th. centuries. The extensive changes at New Buckenham have already been mentioned and licences to cranellate were granted for Gresham in 1319, Claxton 1339 and North Elmham in 1388. Very little remains at Gresham or at the Bishop of Norwich's work at North Elmham where the manor house was built incorporating the remains of the old Saxon cathedral in its buildings and was defended by extensive earthworks. The date of the licence is not necessarily the date of building and the remains at Claxton may date from the 15th. century and once again comparatively little remains above ground level and consists mainly of a length of wall with bastions on a site overlooking the estuary at Rockland Broad.

The fifteenth century saw the resumption of castle building in East Anglia and the decline of the castle as a military building. The nature of society had changed and as feudal service died away it was replaced by the use of paid mercenaries wearing the lord's livery and stationed in his castle. At the same time the castle became increasingly a centre of large agricultural estate and a residence and its design changing accordingly. The thirteenth century had seen the move from the motte or keep as the final line of defence to the high curtain wall with its mural towers which reached their climax in the great Welsh castles. By the fifteenth century castles were built on a rectangular plan with strong water defences, with the rooms in and around the rectangular high wall facing inwards onto a central courtyard. In a sense there had been a return to the principle of a final stronghold by building a major defensive point, often the gatehouse, where if necessary the nobleman could hold out against treason from within.

Baconsthorpe Castle (c.1482) is probably the finest remaining example of this type of castle in Norfolk today though the inner court was extended considerably in the late fiftieth century. Well protected by a wet moat on three sides with a mere on the fourth, access today is through the late 16th. century outer gatehouse across the outer courtyard and the double span drawbridge to the strong inner

gatehouse. This led into the inner courtyard where the residential quarters and domestic offices such as the mill, kitchen, pantry, hall etc., would have been arranged around the wall. The inner court was later extended by removing the north and east walls and increasing the area and building the present buildings and sheep dip.

Fastolf's castle at Caister (1452), was built on a similar rectangular plan and is a fine example of early English brickwork. Here however the central court was to be flanked by two outer yards, the wall of the northern outwork runs alongside the road and is almost complete but the moat that would have separated it from the central court has now been filled in. The other court is represented by the L shaped block now known as Caister Hall which may never have been completed. At Caister however it appears that the high tower with its residential quarters was the strong defence point rather than the gatehouse. Caister also shows how the weapons were changing as though the northern court was defended with arrow slits the main court has a number of gun-loops.

The strong gatehouse remained a traditional feature of domestic architecture after its military significance dwindled from the quasi-defensive role it played at Oxborough (1482) and Middleton Towers to the decorative feature with no more significance than the battlements at East Barsham. The moat too continued in use long after the Middle Ages though a fixed bridge replaced the drawbridge and it served a useful purpose in draining the homestead in low lying areas.

It only remains to note the extensive remains of the town walls at Norwich and Great Yarmouth and the town gate at Kings Lynn to complete this brief survey of medieval military architecture in East Anglia. Though some of the castles are well preserved, protected and the subjects of modern guides, many others are overgrown and often unknown to the general public and yet worthy of interest and study.

R.T. KEDNEY.

MEDIEVAL CHURCH WALL-PAINTINGS.

by Rev. W.H. Moore

One lovely summer afternoon in the company of a friend, I approached the tree-shaded hill-hidden church of St. Andrews, Westhall, deep in the countryside of Suffolk. We were halted on the threshold of the north porch by a strange intermittent tapping coming from within the building. Puzzled, we ventured to open the ancient door. Standing on a rough scaffold was a long-haired, jean-clad young man. He was gently tapping away the loose, biscuit like accumulation of dozens of coatings of lime-wash on the north wall a little east of the door. Gradually, and with immense care he had revealed a wall-painting underneath. This was indeed exciting for, standing back, we saw for the first time in many centuries a life-sized painting of the seated Virgin Mary with the Christ-child on her knee. Around her and much smaller in scale were four vague scenes apparently of Moses and the prophets. Here was part of the devotion and instruction of the worshippers in this church long ago. Even now, in its defaced condition, the painting had an impact that was more than just that of its antiquity.

Norfolk and Suffolk are rich in the remains of such paintings and they are well worth the trouble of searching out and of study. Each one reveals a little of the artistic splendour which once gleamed from the walls of our churches now replaced by ghostly and colourless expanses of lime-wash.

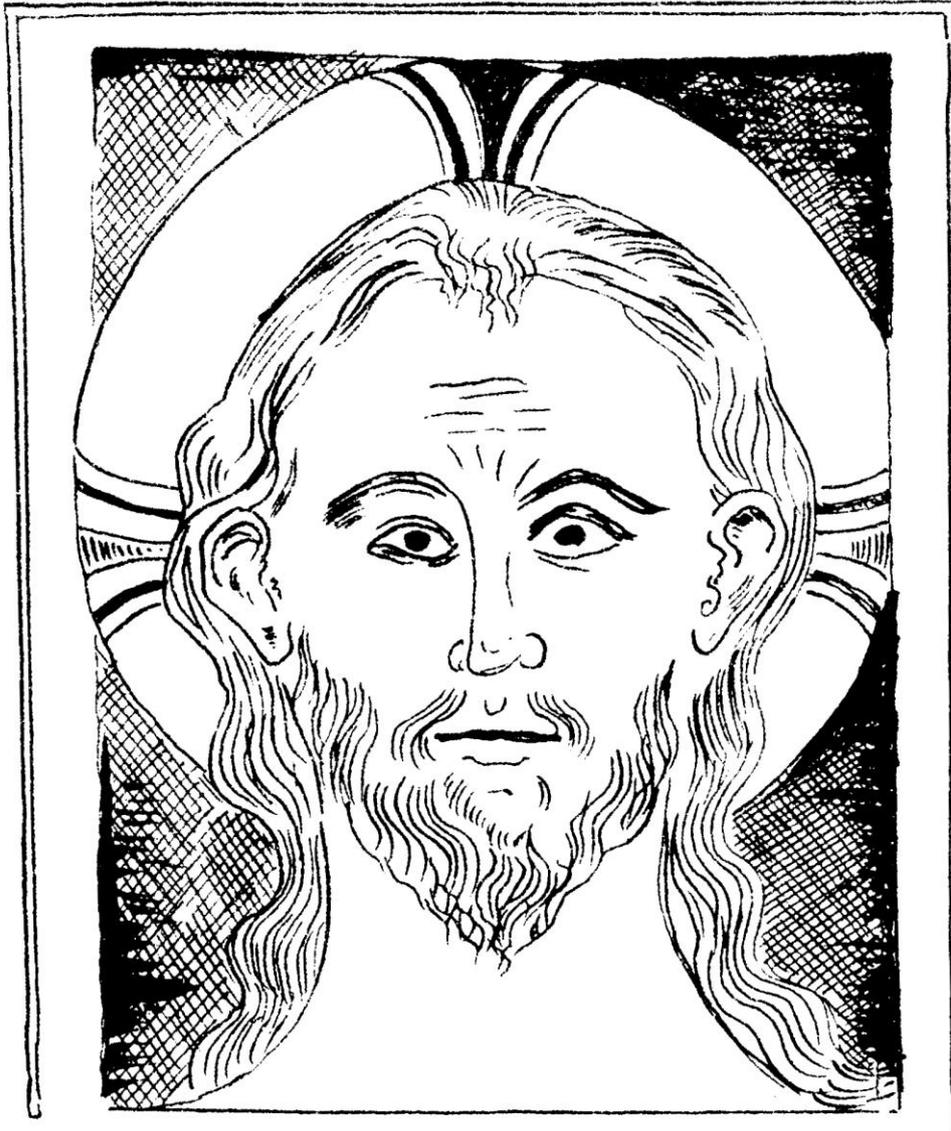
They are more than artistic treasures, they are the remains of a visual language that once all understood, and which crossed verbal language barriers. Whereas in the Middle-Ages and before, the mass of people understood all forms of art, now such understanding is confined to the few. The best of these paintings express a faith, a devotion, a transcendent otherness that when understood, illuminates the history of the thinking of those centuries.

THE ORIGINS WALL PAINTING.

It is generally accepted that the visual has a greater impact than that of words. Pictures have always been an important means of communication. They were vital when the written word was not available or was beyond the ability of the majority of people to interpret.

Christianity inherited from the Jewish tradition the idea that the visual representation of religious subjects was idolatrous. This is enshrined in the second commandment. The break with this tradition came when it was fully realized that 'the invisible God had become visible and his indecipherable majesty

had been expressed in a human life. To encourage the worship of the true God by depicting him as he had now revealed himself in a man, teaching, healing, forgiving, blessing, suffering death and overcoming it, was clearly wholly in line with the spirit of the commandment'. (*Newton and Neil: The Christian Faith in Art: p 25*).



HEAD OF CHRIST B.M. MS. ROYAL 2A XXII

FROM THE WESTMINSTER PSALTER c 1100
SHOWING THE PENETRATING HYPNOTIC EYES
OF CHRIST IN MAJESTY

Christian Iconography first flowered in its reaction to the pagan sensualistic humanism of Greek and Roman Art. This was the great Byzantine Period. It purged away the naturalism and humanism of the decadent period of Greece and Rome and developed an evocative symbolism which was concerned primarily with the expression of the transcendental aspect of the Christian faith – ‘the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen’ (Hebrews). These anonymous artists were concerned not with making a name for themselves but rather with the representation of the heavenly, the eternal. Consequently they had little use for realism and they created imagery suitable to their purpose and not to historical reminiscence, physical fact or the strict natural representation of a much later age. It was the bare walls of the churches that provided the spaces where these artists could work in mosaic and paint.

THE PURPOSE OF WALL-PAINTINGS.

Such painting formed an integral part of church buildings. Not only did they express the purpose of the building and provide a stimulating atmosphere of worship but also they provided the visual communication of the faith and its teaching. As the theological emphasis changed so did the style and subjects of the paintings until extravagance and superstition led to a reaction that resulted in vast destruction of irreplaceable treasures of Christian iconography at the time of the Reformation.

Throughout the Byzantine period and the subsequent Romanesque period (i.e. the period from which come the earliest remains of our wall-paintings), the church was regarded as man's home. The buildings were designed and decorated as a symbol of the entire universe, an elaborate code of rules was developed which governed both the methods of execution of the paintings and the placing of the subjects. Consequently it is possible to reconstruct with some accuracy a picture of the interiors of the churches as they once appeared :-

‘ . . . The roof symbolized the sky and upon it were portrayed the glories of the heavens. The nave, devoted to the laity, represented the world, and its walls were therefore reserved for the delineation of events more closely associated with ordinary human existence, including the earthly life of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints Guardian Angels constantly appeared in attendance and Saints and virtues stood as sentinels in the window splays. The chancel was conceived as heaven, as heaven would be after the last day. The chancel arch, between nave and chancel, was viewed as the great door of heaven, and so naturally had displayed above and around it the drama of the Last Judgement as intervening between time and eternity, or between this world and the next. On the soffit of the arch, or around it, the Succession of the Seasons sometimes appeared, or the Labours of the Months, because they were regarded, not as mere incidents in life, but as essential elements in the creator's scheme of things, labour being the world's heritage from Adam. The impression produced by such a building, encircled by so vast an array of paintings, must have been arresting, while the dominant figure of Christ, with penetrating eyes in the coelum, would have been mesmeric in intensity of its effect upon the beholder and overpowering in its suggestion of more than human presence’. (*Tristram : English Medieval Wall Paintings of the 12th century, p.9.*)

The artists who painted the walls were the same as those who painted the miniatures in the illuminated service books and copies of the scriptures. Wall paintings frequently appear as though they were the enlarged pages of a vast book of miniatures. The Norwich Cathedral paintings (South aisle 4th bay from the east) are clearly of this type. Consequently reference to such books fills in the gaps and supplies examples of the paintings that appeared on the walls of the churches.

WALL PAINTINGS IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK.

Unfortunately we have only fragments of such splendour remaining to us although Norfolk and Suffolk are particularly rich in 14th. century remains. There are many reasons for this loss. Among these reasons is the architectural developments which took place from the 12th. to the 16th. centuries. The enlargement of windows often destroyed a painting or series of paintings. The development of the craft of stained glass created a glowing medium with which the comparatively dull pigments of wall painting could not compete. The change from the rounded apse of the Normans to the larger rectangular chancels saw the destruction of many paintings including those of the dominating figure of Christ in Glory frequently painted on the curved roof of the apse (examples may still be seen in many Eastern churches). The changing theological outlook often resulted in the more ancient paintings being covered by lime-wash and a new painting being then executed on this fresh surface. Another and obvious reason for the disappearance of many such schemes is our damp climate, such damaged pictures were often covered by limewash and if any repainting took place it was often only partial owing to expense. In time this partial painting began to contravene the code of rules once laid down to cover an overall scheme. Later still, at the time of the Reformation, and subsequently innumerable paintings were destroyed.

We have seen that Christian Iconography as exemplified in wall-paintings as in other branches of art, first flowered with a primary concern with the transcendent aspect of the Christian Religion. At the time of the Renaissance in the 15th. century there began a renewed concern with naturalism. While for a time Christian art reached great and new heights in a delicate balance between the spiritual and natural, gradually, and perhaps inevitably, the emphasis became more and more on things human and material realism, particularly in relation to the representation of the human form became important and it is evident that this would lead first to the suspicion and then to the conviction that Christian art was breaking the second commandment.

After the breach with Rome in the 1550's, there was revealed a widespread feeling against images, wall-painting was not however, the centre of the controversy but as the opposition grew in strength wall-paintings were either painted over or destroyed. The policy of Queen Elizabeth I was that paintings should be effaced and texts painted in their place – as in the case of the Crucifixion at Brent Eleigh. The Puritans demanded more ruthless methods and eventually in 1644 William Dowsing of Laxfield, near Beccles was appointed Commissioner for the destruction of images in East Anglia. His journal contains nearly 200 entries revealing formidable and ruthless destruction. We read that at Rushmere (near Lowestoft) on Jan. 27th. :-

“We brake down the pictures of the 7 Deadly Sins, and the Holy Lamb with a cross about it and 15 other superstitious pictures”.

Much that was really valuable both artistically and religiously was thus destroyed. However from what must have been an immeasurable wealth some lovely things still survive for us in Norfolk and Suffolk and I append a short catalogue of the best examples still to be seen :-

12th century.

Norwich Cathedral : The remains of what must have been an extensive scheme. There is a Noteworthy scene including the Adoration of the Magi and Shepherds and a series depicting the semony of Herbert de Losingar founder of the Cathedral and his expiation of his fault.

13th century.

Shelfanger, Norfolk : The Virgin and Child with Shepherds and Magi in adoration.

Wissington, Suffolk : An unusually large collection which illustrates the wealth of imagery that entered into the paintings of ordinary village churches.

14th century;

Burlingham, : St. Christopher and Martyrdom of St. Thomas Beckett.
(south) Norfolk.

Colton, Norfolk : A 'Morality' – gossiping women.

Crostwright, Norfolk : Tree of Seven Deadly Sins : Moralities : St. Christopher : A Passion Series.

Edingthorpe, Norfolk : St. Christopher : Tree of Seven Works of Mercy : Decorated Niche.

Haddiscoe, Norfolk : Three Living and Three Dead Kings : a figure on horseback : St. Christopher.

Little Melton, Norfolk : Annunciation : St. Christopher : Morality.

Norwich Cathedral : The Aute-Reliquary Chapel has a very full scheme harmonized with the architectural features.

Potter Heigham, Norfolk : Several legendary paintings.

Weston Longville, : Jesse Tree : St. John Baptist : St. Christopher : fragments.
Norfolk

Wickhampton, Norfolk : The Three Living and Three Dead Kings : The Seven Works of Mercy : St. Christopher.

Brent Eleigh, Suffolk : A lovely crucifixion behind the altar : There are also other paintings of less interest.

North Cove, Suffolk : A fairly complete scheme though largely repainted.

Fritton, Suffolk : St. Christopher : St. Thomas Beckett.

Hoxne, Suffolk : Now a little difficult to see.

Westhall, Suffolk : see text.

15th century.

Examples at : Attleborough, Norfolk : Hemblington, Norfolk (an unusual St. Christopher) : Mutford, Suffolk : Wenhaston, Suffolk (Tympanium – The Last Judgement) : Barnby, Suffolk.

There are innumerable fragments and traced in addition to those mentioned above. There are also records of various schemes and of individual paintings in many churches in both Norfolk and Suffolk which, alas, no longer exist.

REV. W.H. MOORE

BISHOP FREKE AND HIS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PURITANS 1575-80*by D.A. Hassell-Smith*

There is now considerable evidence that Puritanism and Catholicism were widely practised in East Anglia during the 1370s. Puritan practices in worship and organisation had been condoned, if not encouraged by Bishop Parkhurst. When Parkhurst died in 1575, Edmund Freke was transferred from Rochester to Norwich with a specific brief to put down the Puritans and their practices. This article describes part of the ensuing conflict between Freke and the resolute Puritan gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk.

The conflict centred upon the diocesan Chancellorship. A sympathetic Chancellor was vital to both Puritans and papists in their efforts to protect and propagate their beliefs. As the Bishop's chief legal-officer he usually deputised for him in the consistory – the principal diocesan court and a crucial instrument for disciplining clergy and parishioners who flouted the Elizabethan church settlement. Down to 1581 this court constituted a major threat to recusants since it was mainly responsible for enforcing the statutory penalty against them – a shilling fine for every absence from church on Sundays or holy days. Although this was a mild penalty, by 1577 moves were afoot to increase it and at least one Bishop had done so without statutory authority. From the Puritans' standpoint the court could be used to endorse their conformity on such matters as vestments, ritual, ornaments and the use of the Prayer Book. For both Puritans and Catholics it proved most threatening during an Episcopal visitation which amounted to little more than the consistory on 'progress', equipped with rigorous powers of detection in the form of visitation articles. These comprised an elaborate questionnaire designed by the Bishop and his Chancellor to elicit information about breaches of ecclesiastical law and to enable them to scrutinize almost any aspect of parish life they deemed necessary. The articles were circulated in advance of the visitation to incumbents and church wardens who had to submit written answers. From this information offenders were summoned to answer before the Bishop or more commonly his Chancellor. In such circumstances the latter could do much to intensify or weaken the impact of ecclesiastical discipline. As a Puritan remarked in 1578, it was 'no small ordinary matter for the safety of government who supply the place of Chancellor in the diocese'. Consequently during the 1570s both Catholics and Puritans in turn endeavoured to procure a well-disposed official who, at worst; would shield them against the rigour of the law or the severity of their Bishop and, at best, would actively further their cause.

Ironically enough, Parkhurst, despite his radical Protestantism seems to have appointed a Chancellor with catholic sympathies. According to the Puritans this was the result of a deliberate plot. Sir Thomas Cornwallis, a noted Suffolk recusant, had taken care, so they asserted, 'to settle such a man Chancellor of Norwich as being at his devotion, might follow his direction'. Undoubtedly they exaggerated, but there is no doubt that when the Bishop appointed Dr. William Masters he preferred someone whose background and belief was very dissimilar from his own. While he had breathed the heady Zwinglian atmosphere of Zurich, Masters had studied at Rome and Orleans. Such an education needed to be lived down in Elizabethan England; instead, he married into recusant family whose association with the Duke of Norfolk's cause in 1569 rendered his beliefs yet more suspect. Parkhurst eventually doubted his religious loyalty and commended him 'to show his opinions of mass and purgatory'. What happened thereafter is obscure, but before the Bishop died in 1575 he had revoked Masters's patent of Chancellorship.

Unfortunately he had not granted it to a successor. Consequently Freke's first major problem in his new diocese was to appoint a Chancellor; on 3 December 1575 he chose John Becon from among the Cannons of Norwich cathedral. He could not have made a worse choice. Circumstances had compelled him to select a new Chancellor in a factious diocese before he had had opportunity to assess the problem and personalities concerned, and it rather looks as if he granted the office to the man whom Parkhurst had intended to appoint. There seems to be no other explanation why a Bishop, intent upon disciplining the Puritans, should appoint a Chancellor who was sympathetic to their views. As if this were not sufficient cause for friction, John Becon was also a quarrelsome lawyer who thrived on conflict. In 1570, as proctor at Cambridge University, he had stirred Puritans and younger members of the university to protest against the new statutes. His opponents depicted him as 'by nature given to contention', and his subsequent career certainly confirms this assessment; as Chancellor at Norwich he was soon at loggerheads with Freke; then given a second chance when his

friend Bishop Overton made him Chancellor of Coventry, he immediately conspired against him too. At Norwich he made no effort to temper his radical Protestantism to suit the Bishop and his conservative advisers. On the contrary, simultaneously with Freke's attempts to suppress the prophesying in Norwich he propounded a scheme whereby these could be incorporated into the Elizabethan diocesan system in order to improve its spiritual and administrative standards! Such was the Chancellor whom Freke had appointed and whom he was soon endeavouring to dismiss.

The crisis between Bishop and Chancellor developed swiftly as Freke proceeded to discipline the Puritans. In his primary visitation of 1576 he undertook a wholesale suspension of Norwich preachers according to one report '19 or 20 godly Exercises of preaching and catechising (were) put down in this city'. He showed no sympathy for those moderate Puritans led by John More the preacher at St. Andrews, who tried to draw up a formula of limited conformity; 'I hear the bishop stormst' was the comment of one observer when the Council subsequently advised him to accept it.

Puritans throughout the diocese reacted vigorously; perhaps the more so because their Bishop had been a moderate Puritan 'who had turned his coat'. When he suspended Mr. More one of the 'presidents' of the Norwich exercise, the congregation of St. Andrew's greeted the new incumbent, Mr Holland, with vituperation and passive resistance. They called him :

Turncoat and said that he preached false doctrine and had betrayed the **word**, and that the bishop who had commanded him thither had no more authority than a common minister.

Meanwhile

the parish clerk of St. Andrew, being commanded over night to ring in the morning to the exercise as he had wont to do, neither would so do nor yet begin to sing the psalm . . . as he had wont to do.

The Bishop clapped the ring-leaders into prison for disorderly conduct, but the occasion was turned into a triumphal feast. As one observer commented :

it is to be marvelled at how many came to them to prison and how they were banqueted, wine brought to them and on Friday at night even feasts made them in prison both of flesh and fish.

The Puritans did not stop at glamorous popular demonstrations against Freke's disciplinary measures! Some of the gentry petitioned the Council for the restoration of their ministers and very quickly enveloped the Bishop in a network of plots and intrigues which even went as far as intercepting his correspondence. In 1578 he complained to the Council, with good reason, that his letters were published abroad before he had received them. Indeed for a time Lord Keeper Bacon despatched Council letters for the Bishop via his son Nathaniel Bacon, who was thereby able to acquaint his fellow Puritans with the Bishop's business before the miserable prelate himself knew it!

Freke had stirred up a hornets' nest; congregations protested; influential Puritan magnates schemed and intrigued to thwart his policy; even his Chancellor undermined it. Even so he might have succeeded in his efforts to discipline the Puritans had he been strong minded enough to keep his own counsels, but he appears to have been a weak and insecure man who needed friendship and support. To make matters worse he had a domineering wife; it was 'vox populi, a principle well-known throughout all Norfolk . . . that whatsoever Mrs. Freke will have done the Bishop must and will accomplish . . . if he did not . . . she would make him weary of his life'. As if these were not insuperable handicaps, either he or his wife was avaricious. On the pretext that his predecessor had allowed the palaces at Ludham and Norwich to fall into disrepair, he attempted to claim upon Parkhurst's estate for their restoration, thereby denying legacies to many of the latter's servants and friends. Then, too, rumours always seem to have been current that he was threatening to leave the diocese because it was too poor. A weak Bishop with an overbearing wife and a greed for the things of this world was ill-suited to stand alone against the vigorous Puritan elements in his diocese.

He reacted by listening all too readily to the persuasive ideas of an anti-puritan if not recusant faction which was scheming to dominate his councils. The Puritans subsequently claimed that the leaders of this faction had insinuated into the Bishop's household a recusant called Dr. Brown who had been a fellow student with Freke's son at Cambridge. Brown, having discovered the Bishop's disposition to be covetous and ambitious . . . set him on to abandon the best and surest subjects' calling them all 'Puritans'. Next according to the Puritans, he encouraged Freke to claim on the estate of the late Bishop Parkhurst for repairs at Ludham palace. Finally, 'he put in his Lordship's head . . . (the idea

of) a sovereignty of government if he were only of the Quorum in the high commission'. For their part the Puritans claimed that they had advised 'the bishop to walk warily for the slander of the gospel . . . and (had) misliked . . . (his) intended course to scrape up comodities without conscience'. But he, disregarding their advice, 'on a sudden . . . altered his course and countenance and thereupon his whole affection' so that he had become the creature of a fiction. Soon many recusants, who 'before trembled at his name for their suspected religion', came to his table. Meanwhile those who questioned the bishop's behaviour were discredited. For instance he denounced to the Queen

'divers . . . gentlemen of Suffolk and Norfolk . . . as hinderers of her proceedings and favourers of precisians and puritans.'

Well might Robert Downes, an obstinate papist, confidently boast to a friend; 'tush, tusk, let the protestants prate and talk what they will, I am sure we have the bishop on our side.'

Undoubtedly the Puritans over-simplified and exaggerated the situation, but Puritan accusations that recusants dominated Freke's counsels were not without substance. Sir Thomas Cornwallis, the one clear recusant among the Bishop's confidants, appears to have occupied an especially influential position. Perhaps it could not have been otherwise in view of his background and experiences; the head of an old established Suffolk family which had risen to office at Court via the Howard household, he himself had been member of the Privy Council under Mary. But there are suggestions that his special place among the Bishop's friends was as much deliberately contrived as inherited. His lands and influence had been entirely in Suffolk until the early 1570s, when he purchased the College of the Chapel Field Chantry in Norwich (now the Assembly House) and undertook extensive renovations to convert it to a sumptuous Elizabethan town house! Here he resided for long periods as the crisis mounted between Freke and the Puritans, and it is hard to believe that his physical proximity to the Bishop's palace at this time was unrelated to the political manoeuvrings which beset that wretched prelate.

There is certainly abundant evidence of Freke's over-indulgence towards recusants. He released them from prison on such flimsy pretexts that sometimes the Council intervened to order their recall. 'I have of late received very sharp reprehension from my Lords of the Council for my levity extended towards you and the rest in question for religion in these parts' he explained apologetically to one noted recusant when re-incarcerating him in 1582. Despite this 'very sharp reprehension', apparently he had not mended his ways a year later; according to Chief Justice Wray, he had taken into custody recusants committed at the previous summer assizes, and then 'suffered them ever since for the most part to be at large'. Even the Bishop of Ely grumbled that whenever he tried to 'persuade' recusants into conformity many 'shifted their habitations' out of the shire into the diocese of Norwich'. The more zealous Puritan justices complained that he seldom assisted them to seek out and discipline catholic suspects. When he did

'it was slender in regard of the number presented and it was unprofit through want of Christian names, surnames, place of abode and other necessary instructions for indictment'.

Although the extent of the recusants' influence in the Bishop's counsels may be unknown and unknowable, the burden of their advice is clear enough. Thomas Becon must go! The Chancellorship must be regranted to Dr. William Masters the doctrinal conservative whom Parkhurst had dismissed. Their antagonism to Becon had been aroused when he took 'a plain direct course . . . in discovering the whole rabble of papists', thereby making real that threat of persecution which was always present while a radical protestant held the Chancellorship. This, coupled with his sympathy and support for the Puritans, inevitably united the recusants and Bishop in their determination to be rid of him.

Matters came to a head in 1577 when Freke announced his intention of making a diocesan visitation. A visitation, with its detailed scrutiny of every incumbent and congregation, would have provided Chancellor Becon with abundant opportunities to indulge his radical sympathies by attempting to rout out and discipline catholic sympathizers. Moreover the announcement came immediately after the Council had summoned a meeting of Bishops in London to examine 'how such as are backward and corrupt in religion may be reduced to conformity and others stayed from like corruption'. Not surprisingly, therefore, recusant leaders reacted swiftly and campaigned vigorously to oust Becon from the Chancellorship. First, apparently with the Bishop's approval, Sir Thomas Cornwallis offered him 'any ready down money very frankly' if he would resign in favour of Dr. Masters. Becon, encouraged by Puritan gentry, refused to be bought out; whereupon Freke tried to discredit him before the Council by complaining of his complicity in extortionate and corrupt dealings. The Bishop's real

grievances against Becon emerged in one of his more explosive passages :

‘he is an instrument to work my continual trouble, which effect will never cease till the cause be removed. For neither the man nor his parts small at any time lack supportation out of these parts against me . . . In consideration of the malice rooted in the men against me I may not with safety lodge as it were within me so professed an enemy’.

The Council did not respond to Freke's disclosures. Undoubtedly it had received other versions of the situation since Becon was a client of the Earl of Leicester, and in any case a powerful element among its members was very sympathetic towards plans, such as Becon's for infusing the Anglican Church with moderate Puritanism.

Since Becon would not surrender his patent of Chancellorship, nor the Council stir itself to recommend his transfer from the diocese, Freke next resorted to a legal subterfuge by which he could temporarily displace his Chancellor during the visitation. He revived an obscure ecclesiastical court called the court of audience. The pedigree of this court is obscure, but it appears to have been used by pre-reformation Bishops when they wished to transfer cases from the consistory in order to hear them personally and privately. On 12 May 1577 Freke revived this court and appointed Dr. Masters as his deputy or ‘auditor causarum’ so enabling him to usurp Becon's consistory jurisdiction and thereby preventing undue rigour towards the recusants during the forthcoming visitation.

Indeed the Bishop's scrutiny and consequent censure was likely to fall more sharply upon the Puritans who now retaliated by awarding the Council of a ‘hurliburly like to ensue’ if he held his visitation while Becon's jurisdiction was usurped in this manner. There lordships listened with sympathy and commanded Freke, pending their further investigation of the situation, to ‘surcease his Court of Audience’ and reinstate his Chancellor. Move and counter move! The Bishop proceeded to postpone his visitation rather than risk the consequences of conducting it under Becon's auspices.

In July 1578 the Council attempted to resolve the situation by summoning both Bishop and Chancellor before its board at Greenwich. Here they were reconciled, Freke promising that he would cease conspiring to displace Becon and that he would dismiss Masters from the office of auditor. But as soon as he had returned to Norwich his antipathy towards Becon was rekindled by Dr. Hopkins, Sir Thomas Cornwallis and Mrs. Freke, who apparently would ‘not suffer the Bishop and Chancellor to be friends’. Consequently, despite his recent promises, he not only retain the court of audience, but also withdrew more and more cases out of the consistory for Masters to hear, and even forbade the consistory clerk to pay Becon any fees accruing from cases heard in his court.

At this point their lordships decided to investigate more closely this strife in the Norwich diocese. The Queen and her Court, on progress in the East Midlands, suddenly and unexpectedly extended their itinerary into Norfolk and Suffolk. Early in August the Council met at Woodrising in Norfolk and, summoning Feke to its board, instructed him in no uncertain terms to close his court of audience pending a settlement by ‘the Judgement of men learned in both laws’; he could, if he wished, hold the consistory himself, but all fees must be given to Becon who remained his lawful deputy in that court.

There is more than a suspicion that behind the sudden decision to extend the royal progress into Norfolk lay a desire by some councillors to discipline Freke's recusant associates and to countenance the Puritans. Normally, when on progress, the Queen sojourned in the mansions of the foremost gentry, but on this occasion her Court moved from one recusant household to another with methodical deliberation; from the Rokewoods of Euston where the priest-hunter Richard Topcliffe discovered popish relics, to the Lady Style and Thomas Townshend at Braconash, to the Southwells at Woodrising and so to Norwich, where William Rokewood and many other noted recusants were summoned before the Council in an effort to persuade them into conformity, and in some cases were ordered to be confined to the city pending their subjection to further persuasion and entreaty. While recusants suffered this inquisitional treatment, their lordship encouraged the cause of moderate Puritanism by forcing the Bishop to accept John More's proposals for limited conformity and to license several Norwich preachers to return to their pulpits. All this activity at the Bishop's palace, where the Queen and her Court stayed for five days, amounted to severe public reproof for Freke's conduct of diocesan affairs.

Yet even after such public conciliar disapproval, he would not, or more likely could not, obey their lordships' instructions. Although for the rest of August and early September he appeared to honour these, this was simply because he held neither consistory nor court of audience; once these courts resumed in mid-September, he immediately renewed his harassment of Becon by continuing to

withhold the Chancellor's fees and referring many consistory cases to Dr. Masters as his auditor *causarum*. Then, on 22 Sept., in defiance of a further Council letter reiterating its previous instructions, he proceeded to revoke Becon's patent of Chancellorship 'making choice', as he put it, 'rather with pain to bear the whole burden thereof than with peril to have such a supporter as my chancellor'. No doubt as a sop to the Council, he also ceased to hold his court of audience.

His behaviour provoked swift reaction from his opponents. The Puritans immediately represented it to the Council as clear proof that their Bishop had no intention of permitting himself to be reconciled with his Chancellor; that he was bent upon Becon's dismissal. No doubt they were correct. Freke's only rejoinder to an accusation from the Council of outright disobedience to their most recent instruction was a feeble plea that he had revoked the patent before opening their lordships' letter. In fact he had received it several days prior to his act of revocation, Becon, meanwhile had challenged the legality of his dismissal and, whenever the Bishop held the consistory, he forced an entry in order to 'make his protestation for safeguard of his patents'. The situation became even more ugly when, on 1 October, Freke, goaded by these interruptions; announced publicly that he had revoked Becon's patent and 'here do revoke it again pronouncing him before you all no officer'. As Becon pushed forward, protesting angrily, the Bishop thrust him back commanding his servants to expel him from the court. On three successive days the Bishop announced Becon's dismissal; each time Becon interrupted, only to be dragged from the court by Freke's servants.

These dramatic scenes served only to heighten the conflict since they coincided with the Michaelmas Quarter sessions at which Becon seized the opportunity to complain of the Bishop's behaviour and the 'violence offered . . . by his men'. It was a shrewd move, made at a time when ecclesiastical courts were generally in disrepute and when Puritan magistrates in the Norwich diocese were making a determined bid to usurp much of the jurisdiction of these courts; nothing would suit them better than to use quarter sessions to defend Becon against corrupt diocesan administration. He could certainly count upon the support of at least five or six Puritan justices – 'my great adversaries', as Freke subsequently described them – but his case must have impressed other justices as well since the Bench, sixteen or seventeen strong, summoned Freke, a magistrate himself, and declared that his dismissal of Becon was contrary to law. It then ordered him to allow the latter all consistory court fees, including those he had already withheld and to permit his attendance at the court whenever it was in session. Finally, aware of Freke's expertise at enabling Masters to usurp Becon's jurisdiction, the justice demanded his word that, pending judgment at law, whenever he was unable personally to hold the consistory court, 'the chancellor should and none other'.

Few experiences could have been more humiliating for Freke than this public disciplining by his fellow county magnates. The incident served only to make him more vindictive, and so to intensify the conflict even further. Heeding the justices' dictates even less than those of the privy Council, he immediately proceeded to expel Becon again from the consistory court. Desperately Becon complained to the Council which, as at Woodrising, showed strong sympathy with his case and appointed a commission of six ardent Puritan gentry, together with the two most radical archdeacons in the diocese, with instruction to enquire into the Bishop's 'rare and strange' behaviour and, pending its findings, to restore 'Dr. Becon in quiet and peaceful possession of the Chancellor's office'!

This they did in as public a manner as Freke had dismissed him. First they let it be known as widely as possible that the Council had ordered Becon's reinstatement; then, late in October, accompanied by over 200 of the Brethren, they burst in upon Freke's consistory proceedings and in the name of the Council restored 'Dr Becon in full possession of the office of Chancellorship (commanding) the proctors and inferior officers to accept him and obey him'. Seldom can the citizens of Norwich have witnessed such scenes as accompanied this bitter conflict for control of the Chancellorship. Once more the Bishop had been publicly reprovved and his orders countermanded by his Puritan detractors, this time on the authority of the Council.

Once more, too, the incident fortified his resolve not to acknowledge Becon as his Chancellor, and he continued personally to hold the consistory throughout November. Becon, as one might expect, also strove to perform his duties as was his lawful right, with the result that the diocesan government rapidly disintegrated in a welter of orders and counter-orders. Frantically the Bishop besought the Council to rescind its direction for Becon's reinstatement so that 'my chancelor may not forbid that which I command or command that which I forbid to the great trouble of the whole country and intolerable vexation and charge of the projects'. Throughout December ecclesiastical jurisdiction was paralysed; the Bishop appears to have been unable to hold the consistory himself; he would not allow

Becon to do so, but could not appoint another Chancellor since Becon's patent had not been legally revoked; then, finally, the council had forbidden his court of audience and he had eventually suspended his auditor *causarum*. Thus, therefore, throughout December there was neither consistory nor court of audience since there was nobody to hold either. By January 1579, however, either the Council had intervened or good sense had prevailed and George Gardiner, Dean of Norwich, and a moderate Puritan, had been appointed 'acting' Chancellor until the dispute could be settled.

While the Council took advice as to whether Becon could be deemed to have infringed his patent and so warranted dismissal, further accusations were being bandied in the county. By November the Bishop, no doubt with ample justification had challenged the composition of the commission appointed to enquire into his treatment of Becon.

He complained of its partiality, asserting that after it had taken depositions 'they were by the commissioners delivered to Dr. Becon to be considered of before they were engrossed, who, as it is said, had the custody of them five or six days'. Such scandalous procedure, he maintained, necessitated a new commission directed to 'impartial' gentry. The Council did not respond to these accusations; they served only to sting Becon into retaliation by agitating for an investigation into 'the notorious offensive misgovernment' of the Bishop's household. To this their lordships did consent, and the subsequent enquiry revealed a scandalous situation in which, even allowing for hostile exaggerations, the Bishop was little more than a pliant tool manipulated by his wife and a group of recusant gentry.

The Council, confronted with this sort of evidence and backed by the judgment of common and civil lawyers, decreed in Becon's favour; not only should he remain Chancellor, but also he should receive those fees from the consistory court which Freke had withheld; if the Bishop desired personally to hold the court he was to 'do it to countenance not to discountenance his Chancellor', and if he was absent from his diocese he could appoint no other deputy nor 'erect any other courts'.

Freke had one card left to play; he could threaten resignation and so force the Queen and her Council to choose between himself and his Chancellor. It was dangerous play which might have cost him his see, but he took the risk. 'I desire no longer to bear government than I shall be master over any mine inferior officer', he protested, therefore 'I will rather submit myself to her majesty's good pleasure to appoint some other in my place' than yield to a reconciliation with Becon. Faced with this choice the Council backed down and arranged for Becon's appointment as precentor of Chichester cathedral. Freke's final card had trumped the pack. Thereafter he and his advisers swept to victory by appointing Dr. Masters to the Chancellorship and promptly commencing the diocesan visitation.

DR. J. HASSELL SMITH.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE 19th CENTURY EAST ANGLIAN COAST.

by R. Malster.

Before railways and roads took most of Britain's internal trade from the sea routes there was a great deal of coasting traffic along the East Coast, and most of it passed inside the sands which lie just off the East Anglian shore. Inside the sands shipping was protected from the worst effects of the weather, but the intricate, shifting channels were dangerous highroads for traders and many a ship running for shelter under the lea of the sands never reached safety.

Those vessels that did reach shelter in Yarmouth or Lowestoft Roads often lay there day after day waiting for an improvement in the weather and a fair wind to take them on their way. Wind direction was an important requirement in the days of sailing colliers and unhandy billy-boys as any other aspect of the weather, and many a vessel spent days swinging at anchor in a crowded roadstead, in constant danger of being run down by other craft, simply because the fine, steady wind came from the wrong quarter.

Provisions would run short, and the skipper would be left with the choice of running for the nearest harbour or of sending a boat ashore for stores. Sometimes while waiting for a fair wind rough weathers would blow up and the anchor cable would break, the anchor would drag or the crew would have to slip the cable in order to make for a more sheltered position. Crews were small, and in heavy weather they could not get the anchor home with the primitive handspike windlass, too often in the

last extremity the men were too weak to work the ship to safety.

So it was that a section of the population of the coastal villages and towns found a livelihood attending to the needs of shipping, taking out stores, providing anchors – no small part of their time was spent ‘swiping’ for anchors lost by vessels riding in the roads – putting pilots, of either the official Trinity House or the ‘Brummagem’ variety, aboard inward-bound vessels, and when the opportunity offered – as it did frequently – indulging in a spot of ‘salwagin’. Often enough an exhausted crew were glad of the assistance of four hefty boatmen at the pumps as they struggled to keep their labouring brig afloat.

Salvage was their business. Possibly sometimes the beachman drove a hard bargain when they knew that without their help a vessel could not be dragged off the sands in the face of a northerly gale, but they were highly skilled men and as such were entitled to their rewards. Perhaps more often a skipper, safely anchored in Yarmouth Roads, regretted the agreement he had made with a yawl’s crew when faced with the loss of his ship and possibly death itself among the broken water on the Scroby or some other sandbank. The result was many a hotly contested case before the magistrates or in the Admiralty Court.

One newspaper report of such a case in 1858 recorded that ‘the evidence and as to the state of the barque the risk run by the salvors was of the usual conflicting character’. Almost invariably the captain would give evidence to the effect that ‘it was a calm day, that the vessel was in no’ danger and that had nothing been done she would have refloated of her own accord as the tide flowed; while the salvors would claim that the weather was of the worst, that everything they did was at risk of their lives, and that had it not been for their superhuman efforts the vessel would quickly have become a total loss.

Lest it be thought that the beachmen were mere parasites, one should remember the words of James Haylett, the famous Caister beachman and lifeboatman, during a salvage case many years ago. When asked if it was not true that other people’s misfortunes were the beachman’s opportunities, he replied ‘No, their mistakes’.

How right he was. Time after time a ship piled up on a sandbank off the East Coast because the skipper thought he was just off the Dutch coast, or even believed he was running down the English Channel; all too often one reads of vessels in collision simply because no lookout was being kept on one or both of the ships involved; and sometimes a master added drunkenness to incompetence, with fatal results.

Ill-found ships and incompetent commanders must often have given the beach companies their chance. But even well-found vessels with skilful and competent skippers were frequently found to be no match for the terrible combination of a north-easterly gale and the dangerous sands that fringe the Norfolk and Suffolk coasts.

Sometimes a skipper was not unappreciative of the beachmen’s efforts, and agreement was reached amicably enough. In the Caistor beach company’s account books, which have been preserved by a former coxswain of the Caister lifeboat, is a certificate dated February 26th, 1862; ‘I here by certify that I give the Caistor Beach Company to take charge of all the stores, Sails and Rigging belonging to my Ship the Sisters of Whitby as I consider they saved me and Ships Crew from a watery graves. Paatuol Granger, Master, Brig Sisters of Whitby’.

The beachmen were not always on the lookout for salvage money. One day in the summer of 1859 a Yarmouth fishing boat struck a sunken wreck and went down. Pakefield beachmen promptly put off and picked up the crew, then proceeded to salvage the nets, warps and other fishing gear, ‘for which service they made no charge, the property belonging to a poor fisherman’.

Indeed, time after time the beachmen put off in the face of a severe gale when there was absolutely no chance of salvage, the saving of life the only consideration. Sometimes they lost their own lives in the attempt.

In 1855 the three-masted yawl Increase, belonging to Layton’s company at Yarmouth, overturned when a terrific squall took her sails aback shortly after she had put three men aboard a Spanish brig to assist her into Yarmouth harbour. Seven beachmen and a sick man they had picked up from the Newarp lightship were lost, but the mainsheetman, Samuel Brook, was saved after swimming for seven and a half hours through the night. He was picked up by a boat from an anchored brig in Corton Roads, nearly 14 miles from the spot where the yawl capsized.

And in 1838 the Lowestoft yawl Peace was lost with its crew of 14 or 15 men when it put off in a

storm to go to a vessel which had hoisted a signal for a pilot. There were 15 widows and 55 fatherless children in the town as a result of that disaster.

Disaster struck again in 1845 during a particularly severe storm when the Yarmouth yawl Phoenix was launched to assist a large brig which drove on to the Scroby after her sails had been blown to ribbons and her rudder had carried away. Several times the yawl tried to come alongside the stricken vessel to take off the crew, who were clinging to the rigging, but each time she was swept away by the heavy seas which crashed against the hull of the brig, flinging spray high above her decks. Asked if they should make a further attempt, in spite of the danger every man in the yawl held up his hand in assent. This time they did get alongside, but as the boat hung within reach of the men in the rigging a terrible sea caught her and flung her against the brig's bulwarks. Ten of the beachmen managed to grasp hold of the brig and join the seamen in the rigging as the Phoenix sank beneath them, taking three of their companions with them.

When the incident was seen from the shore the Yarmouth lifeboat was launched, but she was not half way to the wreck when the brig's mainmast went overboard, taking with it those men in the main rigging. Just as the lifeboat closed the wreck the foremast also fell, but six men, all beachmen, were picked up from the water. Seven beachmen had given their lives.

In this same storm, which washed Cromer jetty away and did great damage all round the coast, the Holkham company of beachmen at Yarmouth in their yawl Red Rover succeeded in saving the crew of nine from the Whitby brig Jane, although a hole was knocked in the yawl's bow as they went alongside the wreck. The Young Company of Yarmouth in their yawl Sailor's Friend, attempted to assist the Newcastle brig Choice, which had lost her anchors and was taking in water. The brig became unmanageable in the violent seas, collided with the yawl, stove her in and carried away her foremast. The beachmen told the story themselves when they landed.

'Finding the water increase fast upon the brig, it was resolved to leave her as she had become unmanageable and was in a sinking state' they reported. 'We then cleared away the brig's longboat, and hoisted it out, feeling it would be very imprudent to attempt to get the yawl alongside, particularly to her stove state. Having assisted the brig's company into the boat, such of us as were on board the brig followed, making the crew fifteen in all, and left the brig two miles without the Crossland.'

To carry on their work the beachmen organise themselves into companies, each of which had a 'shod' or 'court' and a lookout tower ashore, and owned one or more yawls, big fast weatherly boats for salvage and other heavy work, a gig, a smaller pulling boat for putting pilots aboard vessels in the offing in fine weather and similar work, and perhaps other craft such as the ferry boats used at Yarmouth for landing fish from the luggers and smacks in the roads.

The number of members varied from one company to another. The printed 'Rules and Regulations of the Caister Company of Beachmen' set out that the company, 'formed for the purpose of saving property, and of rendering assistance to vessels or ships aground, stranded or wrecked on the sands or beach, or in any kind of difficulty, distress or disaster at sea, consists of Forty Shareholders, having an equal share, rights and interest in certain boats, boat-house or shed, tackling, etc., lying and being in the parish of Caister, next Great Yarmouth, in the County of Norfolk.'

The first rule stated that 'Everyman who shall touch any Coble, Gig, Yawl, or outrigger of the same, or any boat, belonging to or in the use of the Company, as she is going off to any vessel, shall be considered as belonging to that boat, and shall be entitled to an equal share of the earnings and emoluments of the boat, to which he shall thus be considered to belong'. There were other rules setting out the way in which money earned should be shared when more than one boat took part in a salvage operation.

Normally one share or dole was put aside for each of the boats taking part in the service for which an award was made, and at Caister the Lord of the manor received a share in acknowledgement of the fact that the company's shod and lookout stood on the manor. The widow of a member was allowed to put a man into the company to work her late husband's share, in which case the man nominated handed over a quarter of his dole to the widow.

The rule that a member had to be in the boat or assist at her launching to qualify for a dole sometimes led to men dashing waist deep into the surf to reach out and touch some part of the 'yell' as she set out. Doubtless his companions saw to it that a late-comer made up for it later.

There were at one time companies at Winterton, Palling and California in addition to the one at Caister and the half-dozen or so at Yarmouth. In the earlier part of the last century the Yarmouth

companies were mainly known after the surnames of their chief members; Layton's company has already been mentioned, and Denny's Company, late known also as Denny and Brook's, took charge of the first Yarmouth lifeboat when it was built in 1825. In the mid 19th century the Yarmouth companies were known as the Holkham, Standard, Young, Diamond, Roberts, Star and Denny's companies – otherwise as the young 'uns, strong 'uns, wriggle 'bums, silver spoons and so on.

At Gorleston were the Storm and Ranger companies, one of which had a 'private' lifeboat instead of a yawl, and at Lowestoft there were three companies, the Old Company, the Young Company and the North Roads Company. The present-day Life-saving Social Club on the Beach claims to be the lineal descendant of the Lowestoft beach companies. Pakefield had a very active company, while Kessingland had another. At Southwold there were the Kilcock Cliff Company, Long Island Cliff Company and New York Cliff Company, while further south at Aldburgh there were two companies, whose brick lookout towers are still a feature of the sea front although the Up-streeters and the Down-streeters have both 'retired to the churchyard'.

The yawls and gigs the companies owned were built by the boatbuilders of the main towns in the area. At Yarmouth such firms as Beeching's and Jermyn and Mick's turned out yawls as well as fishing boats; at Lowestoft several builders produced yawls for the local beachmen; and at Southwold Critten was the local builder.

What sort of craft were these yawls that were said to be the largest open boats in Europe? They were generally double-ended, 40-70 ft long; many were long and lean, with a long fine entry and run. A few older yawls had a small transoms.

The hull was clench built, with closely set light steamed frames giving strength with flexibility – the long, light hulls wrung very much in a seaway, but they suffered nothing from this. There was a beam at each end of the boat at the height of the gunwale, and as many as eight or nine thwarts were fitted. The gunwale was topped with awashstrake in which were cut square carports which could be closed with wooden shutters when under sail. The yawls could be rowed in calm weather, and oars were also employed to bring the long hull round when tacking. The masts were stepped in between fore-and-aft timbers termed lears which formed guides when the masts were lowered.

The rig in the earlier part of the 19th century was that of a three-masted lugger, but in bad weather the mainmast was sometimes take out and left ashore. After about 1860 a two masted rig was adopted, with a big dipping lug foresail and a standing lug mizzen – the first two masted yawl was the Mosquito, belonging to the Old Company of Lowestoft, built about 1853. The tack of the foresail was made fast to a hook on a short iron bumkin forward of the stem, this appendage often being provided with not one hook but two. The sheet was given a turn round a post amidships. A winter foresail hooked inside the stem. The mizzen, carried on a forward-raking mast, was sheeted to a long 'outligger' - never pronounced with an 'R' by a beachman. The tack hooked either to the thwart forward of the mast or to the base of the mast. In fine -weather a foresail would be set on a temporary bowsprit.

The standing rigging was uncomplicated in normal lugger fashion, the halyard being set up on the windward side. The mizzen mast had a tackle, known for some reason as a 'Tommy Hunter', brought down to a ringbolt on the kelson some distance forward of the mast.

Beach yawls carried a large crew, for there was a good deal of work to be done when going about. The foresail had to be lowered – together with the main lug in the days of the three-masters – the tack unhooked and the yard and sail passed round aft of the mast; the halyard was shifted, the tack hooked on the other side and the sail hoisted, the ballast, consisting of bags of beach sand or shingle, had to be thrown across from one bilge to the other as she came round, perhaps helped by a pull on the oars on one side to bring her on to the new tack. It was not uncommon for a crew of twenty or twenty-five to be carried when racing in a regatta – when two lugs were sometimes carried, one on each side of the mast to save time in going about; one could be lowered and the other hoisted just as soon as the halyard had been made fast to the yard. At some regatta a rule that only one lug should be carried was imposed.

Sailing in a yawl was no pleasure trip. When sailing hard the water striking against the lands of the planking made enough noise to render conversation difficult, and it needed constant vigilance on the part of the foresheetman, who held the running end of the sheet in his hand after taking a turn round a sampson post, to keep out of trouble. Some yawls at least were so shaped that the bows would fling water away, and they could sail with the lee rail several inches below the surface without water coming aboard. But others shipped enough water in a blow to keep a part of their crew busy with

buckets.

Yawls had to be speedy craft in order to cope with the beachman's accepted rule that the first to reach a casualty got the salvage job. This rule had no standing in law, as was pointed out to the beachmen on a number of occasions, but it was considered law by their rather unruly men. Once, in 1850, when a vessel grounded on Lowestoft Ness, a member of the North Road Company named Rose doffed his jacket and trousers and swam off to her to secure the job of refloating her for his company, who received £30 for their services after the vessel had been towed into harbour by a tug. Sometimes several yawls would be launched to one casualty, and many a keenly contested race resulted.

Racing at regattas was no less keen. At Yarmouth, Lowestoft, Southwold and Aldeburgh the regattas included races for yawls and gigs as well as for pilot cutters, punts, shrimp boats and other working craft. Sometimes the yawls voyaged further afield in search of prizes, for in 1853 the big yawl Royal Sovereign, owned by Layton's Company and built by Jermyn and Mack, returned to Yarmouth with a handsome silver cup won in an all-comers race at Walton-on-Naze Regatta in which she beat the Essex smacks and other competitors by quite a considerable margin. The Yarmouth beachmen were never given the opportunity to try one of their biggest yawls, the Reindeers, another product of Jermyn and Mack with a length of around 70 ft, against the famous yacht America, but it would have been an interesting race if the beachmen's challenge had been accepted.

The beachmen took their racing seriously, and many a time several competitors in a race retired with gear carried away or masts broken. Protests were not uncommon – at Yarmouth North Roads Regattas in 1840 the Yarmouth men objected to the Greyhound of Lowestoft and the Swiftsure of Southwold taking part in the yawl race as they were not registered, but this objection was overruled; in this race three of the competing yawls carried away their foremasts. The same year the Lowestoft men talking part in the Lowestoft Roads Regattas objected to the Southwold entry in the gig race, saying it was not a seaboat, but this objection was also not upheld; the Southwold boat Mayflower, belonging to the North Cliff Company, coming second.

The same kind of protest was made at Yarmouth the following year, when the Yarmouth men said the Southwold boat was a pleasure craft and not a working gig, so they and the Lowestoft men put eight men in their gigs; in spite of that the lighter Southwold boat won by a length. The gig race on the second day of the regatta was something of a fiasco, for a protest resulted in the stewards deciding that the race should be re-rowed and that one of the gigs should be 'excluded for disgraceful behaviour'; the crew of the other two gigs refused to re-row, so the result was, to say the least, indecisive.

In many of the mid-century regattas a time allowance was given, half a minute per foot, and so close was the result sometimes that a 45 ft yawl would gain a place over a 60-footer, which would be allowing her seven and a half minutes. The Lowestoft yawl Greyhound took third place in the Lowestoft Regatta yawl race in 1849 in this way, coming in just six minutes behind the much bigger Royal Sovereign.

There was always a good deal of rivalry between the companies, as can be seen from the regatta records. The building of a fine new yawl by one company often sparked off a train of new building, and indeed it was this rivalry that led to the only instance of an outside designer being called in to design a yawl. The Young Company of Lowestoft had the famous Georgiana built by Allerton at Lowestoft in 1892 to replace the old yawl Young Prince. The Georgiana, designed by a local man named Capps, a member of numerous fishing families, proved to be a speedy and successful. The Old Company took great pains to obtain a better and faster boat when they had the Happy New Year – fifth of that name – built at Lowestoft by Henry Reynolds in 1894, going to yacht and lifeboat designer G.L. Watson, of Glasgow, for a design. The Happy New Year was bigger than the Georgiana, having a length of 50 ft. 2 in, a beam of 10 ft 5 in. and a depth of 3 ft 6 in. compared with the Georgiana's length of 48 ft 6 in, beam of 9 ft and depth of 3 ft. But she was unable to beat the Young Company's boat,

The days of the beach companies were coming to an end, however. Even in the 1850s the power of the companies at Lowestoft was being broken by the steam tugs operated by the railway company, who owned the harbour there. And the beachmen were reacting violently – they stoned, the tug when it attempted to refloat a stranded vessel. At Yarmouth the beachmen were more sensible, some of them acquiring their own tug.

The last of the yawls was built in the opening years of the present century, but by then there was little enough for the big yawls to do. The powerful sailing lifeboats of the Norfolk and Suffolk type – their

design was based on that of the yawls, and most were built by the local builders who turned out the yawls – took over the life-saving and salvage work once carried out by the yawls; the tugs accomplished many fine exploits of salvage and co-operated with the lifeboats in rescue work and anyway sailing vessels were on the way out.

Some yawls were sold away to Clacton and Southend and other resorts where they were re-rigged as gaff ketches – what the beachmen termed ‘yacht-rug’ – and were used as pleasure boats. At Southend they were known as ‘lifeboats’ and were very popular with Edwardian holiday makers, their design even being copied by one enterprising pleasure boat proprietor. Others were sold for conversion to cruisers or houseboats on the Broads, and the rest rotted away on the beaches or were chopped up for firewood.

R. Malster.

PRE-HISTORIC EASTON BAVENTS.

SOME EARLY STONE TOOLS FROM EASTON BAVENTS.

by H.D. Collings

The low sandy cliffs of Easton Bavents, a little north of Southwold, have interested geologists for more than a hundred years. They belong to the Norwich crag series that follows on from the earlier Red crag that lies between Walton-on-the-Naze and Orford. The section of the cliffs at Easton Bavents (hereafter called just "Bavents") is roughly as follows:- Topsoil, then the Westleton Beds of gravels, then a well marked layer of grey Baventian clay, then the sands, gravels and shell beds of the Norwich crag itself, which here goes down some hundred feet below sea level, with a footing of about twelve inches of pebbles, fossils and like trash, known as the Stone Bed and resting on the London Clay of Eocene Age.

In the Crag cliffs the fossil bones of elephants, antlered deer, horses and mammals are found, as well as fish bones, coprolites and seashells, the latter lying in from two to four layers one above the other.

All the above is well known, but it was only in 1966 that I first happened on a man flaked pebble in the crag sands below the Baventian clay and therefore older than the clay. (The fossil pollen in the clay shows that it was laid down in a climate with a Norwegian heath type flora.)

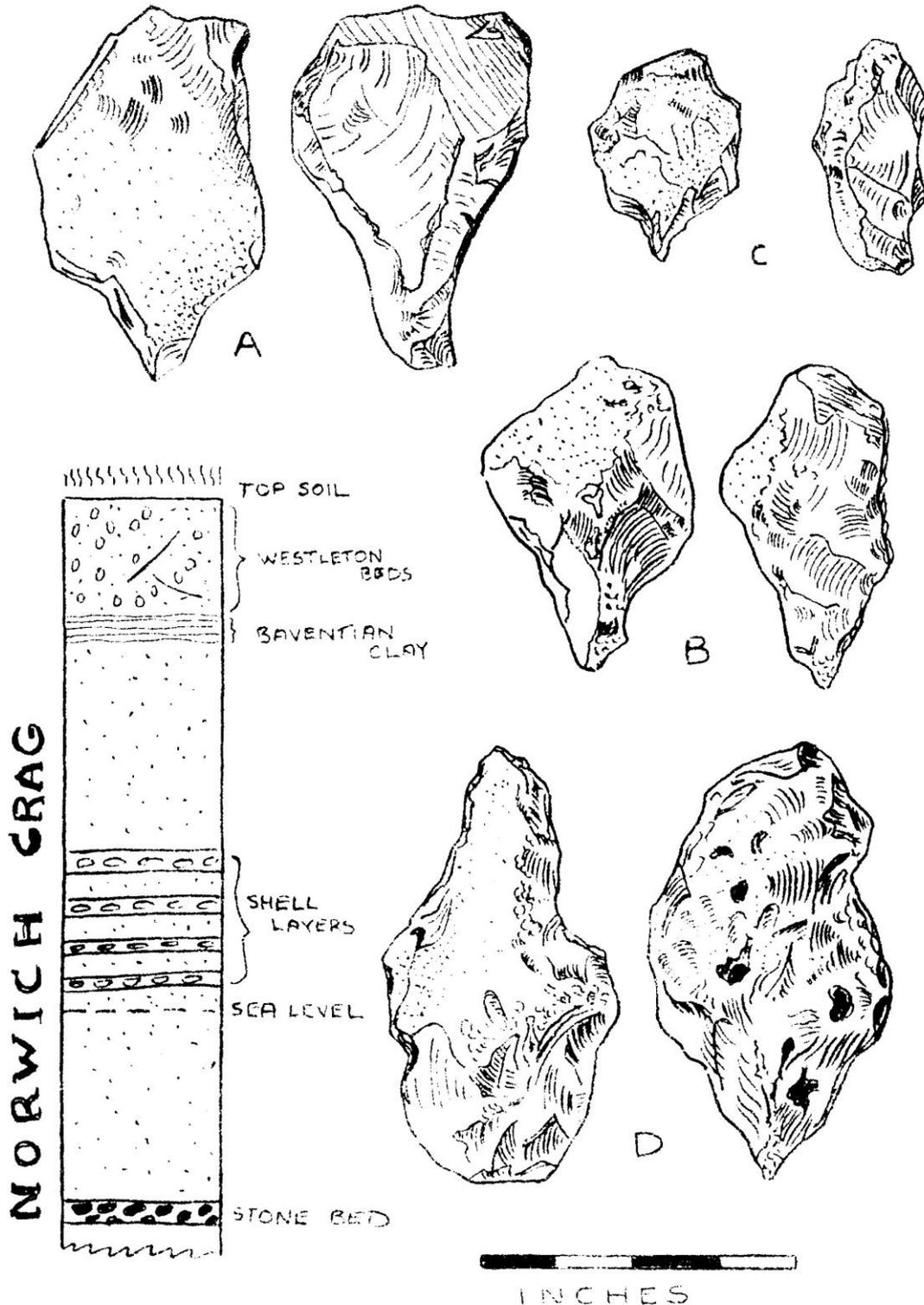
The tools are scattered in the sands and gravels and are of pre-Palaeolithic type, that is, earlier than the Chellean culture, and are made of a walnut coloured flint of the kind used for making the sub Red Crag ‘coliths’ of Reid Moir that can be seen in Ipswich Museum. The least possible flaking has been done to turn natural pebbles and flat slabs of flint into tools, many of which have deep scratches on them that can only have come about by glacial action and many also have their flake surfaces highly polished like the ‘Desert Varnish’ of many surface found stone tools in the Sahara.

So far I have only found three flakes and they are almost certainly of natural origin, which is in keeping with the fact that the core tools themselves are not native to the Norwich Crag, but have been driven by water action from some old land surface elsewhere, in the course of which delicate flakes would be most likely to be smashed to bits. Nearly all the tools are heavily rolled and battered.'

THE TOOLS - selected from my collection of twenty nine specimens. (The term ‘ice scratched’ does not mean that they have been scratched by the ice itself but through the action of a moving glacier grinding stones against each other.)

- (a) Double shouldered Beak, underside probably a thermal fracture, one man-made flake on the butt, another one struck from the top surface downwards with an inch long ice scratch. Butt slightly trimmed and the beak made by flaking from the upper side. Tip of beak worn and battered. Fairly highly polished some time after the ice scratching. This was the first tool I found.
- (b) Double shouldered Beak, much worn and battered, underside natural pebble skin. A strong ‘keel’ to the upperside of the Beak, a few ice scratches, the most typical tool shape.
- (c) Double shouldered Beak made from a small pebble, the underside is a natural thermal fracture. Only fine man-made flakes seem to have been struck to make the tool. Not too badly battered and is well polished.

(d) A true axe, that is the cutting edge has been flaked from both sides. Made from a most unpromising, deeply pitted and irregular shaped natural flint. A hollow scraper seems to have been flaked out from one side of the butt. Some ice scratches, rolled and battered and fairly high polish. The true axe-shape of this tool seems to suggest a later development than the Beaks. It is the only one so far found and its state of preservation is the same as the others.



Also two good Hammer Stones, the bigger one weighs a little over three lbs., as well as one or two big pebbles and slabs that may be cores for making flakes.

The typical tool is the Beak or Point which in some cases seems to foreshadow the fine Rostro-carinate (beaked and keeled) of Sir Ray Lankester and Mr. J. Reid Mois, F.R.S. However, there are

'Beaks and Beaks', some of them being mere man-adaptations of an already almost suitably shaped natural stone and it is of interest that last year during a trip to Darmsden gravel pit by some members of the Lowestoft Archaeological Society, I picked up such a non-Darmsden culture tool which could well have come from Easton Bavents except that it has no ice scratches and seems to be stream polished rather than wind polished. It is also worth noting that the yellow flint pebbles with a black skin from which the classical Darmsden culture is typically made, are also often found unworked on the Easton Bavents and Southwold beaches.

I have also found in the Bavents cliffs two lumps of 'fossil' coal, the analysis of which I hope will show from what quarter the sea drift came. If they should hail from what is now mainland Europe, they might be some further evidence for the theory that this part of the Norwich Crag was laid down by an arm or mouth of a big river that was perhaps a forerunner of the River Rhine.

THE AGE OF THE TOOLS

The colour, patination and ice scratching of tools like that of those 'eoliths' found by Reid Moir in the Suffolk stone Bed beneath the earlier Red Crag and it is perhaps probable that the Bavents tools are typologically a little late and slightly more advanced than those from the Red Crag. Careful searching further south might bring to light an evolutionary link, for it does seem that the sub-Red Crag tools and those from Easton Bavents can be looked upon more or less as a unit that has undergone the same kind of weathering and the question now is, how long ago did this weathering happen?

The earliest of the Craggs, the Coralline, which stands out as a little 'island' in the Red Crag at Aldeburgh, had southern warm water fauna towards the end of the period, the Pliocene, it had begun to be colonised by some northern cold water forms, and this slow lowering of sea temperature went on into the following Pleistocene Red Crag times and was to end up long afterwards in the period known as the Great Ice Age, with four great glacial climaxes, the first of which was the Gunz glaciation in the Alps.

Unhappily however, no trace of the Gunz glaciation has so far been found in what is now known as Britain and one must thus postulate an earlier glaciation than the Gunz to account for the sub-Red Crag and Bavents tools scratches.

A little time back, Mr. D.F.W. Baden-Powell wrote a paper 'The Suffolk Crag' (Transactions of the Suffolk Naturalists' Society) in which he said that the finding of the extinct true elephant, *Elephas meridionalis* in and beneath both the Red and Norwich Craggs proves them to be of the same age as was Villafranchian cold period in the Mediterranean but I do not know how, or if, this cold period ties up with the now known earlier, pre Gunz, glaciations in the Alps. Nevertheless it does seem that at Easton Bavents there is evidence of man making tools that are slightly more advanced than 'eoliths', in a warm spell at the end of the Pliocene or at the beginning of the Pleistocene period and what they were later scratched by ice and then polished by possibly wind driven sand under coldish desert conditions.

No one knows how many years have gone by since the Bavents tools were made. It used to be said that the whole Pleistocene lasted a million years, but that was at a time when all the Craggs were included in the Pliocene, and now only the Corallins Crag is considered to belong to that period. But it does not really matter, a million years was only a guess and a nice round figure.

Perhaps someday an accurate way of measuring past time will be found, but until then, one can only say what the Bavents tools are very very old indeed

H.D.Collings

WHEN THE WHERRY 'MAID OF THE MIST' WAS SNOW BOUND AT GELDESTON LOCK AND FROZEN UP ON OULRON BROAD

by L.P. Thompson

On January 1, 1891, the 'Norfolk Chronicle' reported that the frost which had severely affected much of East Anglia for twenty-one consecutive days was the longest frost recorded in Norfolk since 1813. It was to continue – with occasional breaks of only a few hours – for another three weeks. Not until January 24 was the river Steamer 'Alpha' able to cut her way through the ice on the Yare, and open up between Norwich and Yarmouth the traffic which had been suspended for five weeks.

Navigation of Oulton Broad, Oulton Dyke and the River Waveney also suffered, and a dramatic account of Suffolk's Broadland in the grip of those winter weeks of 1890-91 is preserved in Dr. P.H. Emerson's book, 'On English Lagoons', published in 1893.

This book is 'an account of the voyage of two amateur wherryman, – Dr. Emerson himself, who was the skipper, and his 'messmate' Jim – in the converted wherry 'Maid of the Mist'. It is rich in lively descriptions of Broadland scenes and life in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and pen portraits of men and women who inhabited that part of East Anglia at that time. A log of the 'Maid of the Mist', from September 15, 1890, to August 31, 1891, provides a fascinating appendix.

The first snow fell during the evening of November 25, 1890, when the 'Maid of the Mist' was moored at Geldeston Lock.

'In half an hour the marshes were white, the landscape hushed, and the river running a silver thread through the glittering snow carpet – for the moon had risen, discovering flocks of snipe, fieldfares, starlings, and peewits, feeding greedily in the newly fallen snow. Could they have foreseen the weather in store for us?'

The next day and night heavy snow-squalls beat down on the wherry, the dikes froze hard, and the water below the lock turned to a sheet of ice.

During the morning of November 27, 'A tom-tit came aboard to feed, and a few gulls scoured the marshes like harriers, while flocks of long-tailed tit, blue-tits, and a few goldfinches came to gather seeds from the dead plants on the opposite shore'.

The next morning, 'At the Inn, some miserable farm labourers sat with melancholy faces drinking beer. They could not work, and were losing pay, and looked as forlorn as the six-inch icicles hanging from our cabin roof'.

'We were quite frozen in, our windows frost-bound, a large snowdrift on our windward side, and everything ice-bound. The lock itself was frozen tight, imprisoning two wherries. We remained ice-bound for exactly a week, so we made ourselves as comfortable as possible; but gradually all the birds left us, and besides the lock-keeper and a few weather-bound wherryman, we scarce saw a living thing

During the day a few people appeared on the frozen, flooded marshes, and began skating, though the snow was 18 inches deep, and had to be swept away. The lock-keeper told us that his brother-in-law had once skated from Norwich to Geldeston'.

Pages 104 to 107 are mainly devoted to Bobby, a robin which became a temporary resident of the 'Maid of the Mist' – four pages which every bird-lover must find absolutely enchanting.

By December 2, the ice had thawed sufficiently for the wherry to reach the lock, a hard task, achieved only by digging boat-hooks into the ice ahead and drawing the wherry forward through the closely packed broken ice. It took exactly two hours and five minutes to break through 150 yards of ice.

December 3, brought a thaw, and that night the 'Maid of the Mist' lay above Ditchingham Lock.

'The snow on the uplands had melted, flooding some of the marshes; the tree trunks were sooty and hideous to behold – indeed, several of the stacks and buildings looked black as pitch. All round lay dirty melted patches of snow, and the landscape exhaled a raw cold mist. I don't think I ever saw such a devilish scene in my life, such a real hell'.

So anxious were the doctor and Jim to leave this dismal scene, that after a brief stay at Bungay to lay in supplies, they started back with the determination to moor at Geldeston Lock that night.

They remained at Geldeston until December 8, and the period was notable for some remarkable catches of eels by their friend the lock-keeper. One night he took 14 stones, two of the eels weighing 3 lbs. apiece, and the following night a further ten stones. Dr. Emerson wrote that according to the traditions of eel-men, this was an extra ordinary capture of fish. He got in all about 26 stones of the 'sharp-nosed or silver-belly eels', together with a few lamperns.

December 9 brought a lovely, Spring-like morning, but that night, when the 'Maid of the Mist' was moored by Aldeby, the temperature fell rapidly, and by nine o'clock the thermometer registered 20 degrees. The next day, the 'two amateur wherryman' moved to the mouth of Oulton Broad, and on Thursday, December 11, 1890, after 'running a gauntlet' of ice-floes, and 'icers' who were busy 'gathering the cold harvest into old ship's-boats, broken down wherries, and dismissed smacks,' the 'Maid of the Mist' was moored to a buoy alongside a lugger occupied by a Norwegian crew. There they were to remain, frozen in, for seven weeks and three days – until Monday, February 2, 1891.

By the morning of Sunday, December 14, the channels had frozen over and the broad was a sheet of ice from shore to shore. Two days later, Dr. Emerson and Jim broke their way to a channel which had been made by a big icing smack, and rowing down, they dropped through the lock with two ship's boats piled with gleaming ice-cakes.

'On the shores of Lake Lothing thousands of gulls were feeding, regardless of the fishing boats being hauled on to the yards, or the crew of an incompetent looking Belgian man-of-war that had just arrived in port, having been reported lost. These little men, with black moustaches and big swagger, looked like children alongside of the brown-haired, blue-eyed crew of the gunboat 'Hearty', lying nearby.

In the harbour we moored against a wherry laden with Christmas supplies – plums, raisins, soap; but, her cargo never reached home. The next day she was frozen up; she could not continue her voyage till after Christmas; and when at length navigation was reopened, though she was one of the first to cross the broad, at the far end she struck a block of ice and sank, plum pudding ingredients, soap, and all'.

Despite the bleak winter prospect, the harbour bustled with colourful activity. It was full of fishing-boats making up, for the herring season was over. Dr. Emerson's description of the scene is typical of many passages which make this book as readable today as it was when it was first published seventy-six years ago. Lowestoft harbour as it appeared on that morning a few days before Christmas, 1890, comes vividly to life.

'The quays were crowded with fishermen, with pockets full of money, and in and out amongst them glided tramps with sacks, collecting shot rubbish. German Jews selling concertinas; hawkers with nuts and oranges; and heavy-eyed girls with fringes and shawls – all after Jack's money.

On our return we had a narrow escape of being crushed to splinters in the lock by a great smack navigated by two half tipsy icers with quants. After we passed through the lock, we found the channel already frozen over. As we were breaking our way to our ship, the skipper of the Norwegian ship came to our assistance. He proved to be a real Viking, and in this manner I made the acquaintance of Captain H---

On December 20, leaving Jim in charge of the 'Maid of the Mist', Dr. Emerson walked across the frozen broad with his luggage and left Lowestoft for London. He did not enjoy the visit. The fog-buried city nearly suffocated him, 'and the wan faces of the people, stalking like ghosts over the snow beneath the yellow mephitic fog, suggested a hell peopled by phantoms of the former inhabitants'. He found the houses cold and stuffy, caught a cold, and resolved then and there to leave the city for ever.

Jim continued to make daily entries in the log, recording the minimum temperatures. On Christmas Eve the temperature fell to 18 degrees, on Christmas Day, 17 degrees. The lowest temperature – 9 degrees – was recorded on January 10.

Dr. Emerson returned to the wherry on January 17. In his book, he described the beautiful wintry landscape he saw from the train, which he left at Lowestoft to drive to Oulton.

'I alighted on the edge of the broad, and walked across the thick ice straight aboard. In fact, skaters were wheeling all about us, some sitting on our low plankways to tighten their straps. It was a novel sight to see this great field of ice crowded with skaters. The Norwegian flag was flying, and my farmer friend and the Viking were all ready for the capital dinner that Jim had prepared, so we sang songs and drank punch, and listened to the ring of the skaters far into the night'.

L.P. Thompson