

CENTRE OF EAST ANGLIAN STUDIES

NEWSLETTER SEPTEMBER 2008



Professor John Charmley, Head of the School of History, writes:

Change seems the order of every day in modern academic life, and CEAS has been no exception. At the last two meetings of the CEAS Committee ideas for reorganisation of the Centre to bring it into line with the strategic priorities of the School of History and the Faculty of Arts and Humanities were discussed. These priorities place a premium on our engagement with 'the region'; indeed, from this point of view, the emergence of a new faculty Research Plan has given us an opportunity to position the Centre as an important part of our research and 'public engagement' strategy. The Centre is already, of course, the main way in which we involve ourselves in the community, and we will be modifying its present organisation to reflect this, bringing in the major 'stakeholders' in the region. To bring it into line with the University's management structure, there will be a small Executive which will provide strategic direction, and a Committee bringing together all those in the region with whom we work.

The Executive will consist of the CEAS Director, the Chair of the Committee, the Deputy Director, the Head of the School of History, the Research Manager for the Humanities and a representative of the Humanities Computing Centre. This group will be responsible for identifying the strategic aims of the Centre and for liaising with the Committee to achieve them.

The members of the Executive will be members of the revised Committee which will include *inter alia* representatives from the following:

- ◆ Norwich Cathedral
- ◆ The Norwich Heritage Economic and Regeneration Trust (Mr Michael Loveday)
- ◆ The Norfolk Record Office (Dr John Alban)
- ◆ University Campus Suffolk (Dr Peter Funnell)
- ◆ The National Trust, East Anglia
- ◆ The Norfolk Archaeological Unit
- ◆ The Suffolk Archaeological Unit
- ◆ The Associate Membership of CEAS
- ◆ Current UEA academic staff (Professor Tom Williamson)
- ◆ Emeritus UEA academic staff (Professor Richard Wilson).

CEAS will thus draw together all those with an interest in the history of the region: through Tom Williamson's Landscape Group, and Carole Rawcliffe's partnership with the Norwich HEART organisation, we have already been able to produce on-line resources as for example the Blackfriars project reported overleaf. The School has recently

appointed a lecturer in Landscape and GIS (Geographical Information Systems) technology, Dr. Lucy Ryder, and she will help us to foster our work with the heritage industry. We hope to be co-operating, over time, with all those on the new Committee to produce research on numerous aspects of East Anglian history, and to provide the results on-line wherever possible.

So, for once, changes in the wider funding environment, especially the Government's emphasis on widening participation and co-operation with local organisations, has worked in our favour. A reliable permanent funding stream for these activities would be good, but is never going to materialise. What we can now do, however, is to reinvest any profits from our current activities into future projects, and that we intend.

It is particularly exciting to be working with Peter Funnell and UCS, where we see many interesting opportunities for collaboration. We will be discussing with Suffolk County Council and other bodies the possibility of doing for some of the iconic buildings in Suffolk the sort of research already done for the Great Hospital and Blackfriars in Norwich. Here, with the help of the Ann Ashard Webb bequest, we may well be able to place on line computer models (and historical details) of some of Suffolk's architectural gems. We also hope to work with UCS so that we can have some future Associate Members' days on its brand-new riverside campus. We may also be able to hold some of our research seminars in Ipswich. Such events, and the Suffolk-focussed research of the historians at UCS, will deepen our commitment to the southern part of East Anglia.

We are determined that CEAS will continue to play its vital part in bringing together all those interested in our region, so look out for further developments.

UEA from across the Broad



'East Anglia and its North Sea World'

A Conference to be held at the University of East Anglia, 13-16 April 2010.

Throughout history East Anglia has had strong links with the lands and communities around the North Sea periphery. These links have had a profound influence on East Anglia's history and on the peoples and communities with which the region shares what is in some respects a common history. This conference, hosted by the Centre of East Anglian Studies, aims to explore the depth and diversity of these links across a broad chronological range encompassing the medieval and early modern periods, and to establish the impact of these links on the histories of East Anglia and its North Sea world. The conference will be inter-disciplinary and the papers given will be a mixture of surveys of the current state of knowledge, new research, and indicators of directions for research in the future. As part of the programme the Norfolk Record Office will host an exhibition of documents connected with the conference theme. It is expected that a major publication will result from the conference. Full details will be announced in the next twelve months.

Contact: Professor David Bates or Dr Robert Liddiard at School of History, UEA

CURRENT RESEARCH



The Norwich Blackfriars Online: A web-based guide to the medieval history and buildings of England's most celebrated Dominican friary

Carole Rawcliffe and Christopher Bonfield, in the School of History, are currently preparing a historical website for St Andrew's and Blackfriars' Hall, Norwich. The project, which builds on the success of a similar website for the Great Hospital (www.thegreathospital.co.uk), draws on the expertise of David Drinkwater; John Williams and Thierry Zogbhi (Computing Science) and Alex Swain (ITCS). The website is funded by an Arts and Humanities Research Council Knowledge Catalyst Scheme award in partnership with Norwich Heritage Economic and Regeneration Trust (HEART). It aims to increase public awareness of this important site and provide an easy, accessible guide to the building's medieval history (while also tracing its more recent past).

Blackfriars, Norwich, is one of the city's most historically important and architecturally striking landmarks. It is by far the best preserved and most complete of England's few surviving medieval friaries, almost all the rest having been destroyed in the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century. During the Middle Ages it acquired an international reputation as a centre of learning and became the focus of conspicuous expenditure by local notables, such as Sir Thomas Erpingham, the hero of Agincourt.

The friary was acquired by the city in 1538; since then, the fabric has undergone considerable redevelopment. What was once the chancel of the Dominicans' tall and imposing church now houses the country's

largest collection of civic portraits, many depicting the worthies who acted with such speed and determination to purchase the buildings from Henry VIII.

The website is to be divided into four parts: (1) **Guide**; (2) **Exploring**; (3) **Resources** and (4) **Links**. In the first part the viewer will learn what the building was like in the medieval period. He or she will also discover what a friar was; why the black friars came to Norwich; who helped to finance the building; and why the friars moved from their original site 'over the water' to their present location in 1307. Other parts of the site present a combination of text and images that explore the history, records, architecture and decoration of Norwich Blackfriars.

Highlights include:

- ◆ A basic introduction to medieval religion, the mendicant orders and the four friaries of medieval Norwich
- ◆ A guide to the different parts of Norwich Blackfriars. This explains when specific buildings were added and when they were enlarged or otherwise changed
- ◆ Photographs of original medieval and early-modern documents from the NRO that can be viewed close-up
- ◆ Transcriptions and English translations
- ◆ An interactive map of the civic portraits
- ◆ Images of Norwich Blackfriars
- ◆ Suggestions for further reading
- ◆ Details about other interesting websites

The site, which will be a useful teaching aid for schools, as well as resource for students and the general public, will go 'live' in December 2008.



Blackfriars today as St Andrews Hall

Historic Battles

Northamptonshire archaeologist Glenn Foard recently completed a UEA PhD thesis entitled *Integrating Documentary and Archaeological Evidence in the Investigation of Battles: A Case Study from Seventeenth-Century England*

In an important contribution to the subject of historic battlefields, Dr Foard examines the ways in which modern techniques of landscape archaeology, together with expertise from disciplines such as ballistics, can be integrated with the methods of military history to advance the understanding of historic battles.

This thesis examines warfare in seventeenth-century England and a new overarching methodology for the investigation of historic battlefields is defined and then explored through a detailed case study of the battle of Edgehill (Warwickshire) in 1642. Considerable time is spent examining techniques of reconstructing the historic terrain, together with the ways in which the evidence from the primary sources for battles can be used to place military events more accurately within the contemporary landscape.

The core of the thesis is an analysis of the physical evidence left by the battles themselves, with an extended discussion on the humble lead bullet, which is the primary component of the archaeology of seventeenth-century battles. The classification of bullets is a crucial, yet understudied, aspect of battlefield archaeology and the results of metal detecting and also experimental test firing offer a new way of explaining what did, and did not, actually happen in a historical battle.

The new methodology developed by the thesis is shown to have important results. A systematic metal detecting survey of the Edgehill battlefield has not only yielded a considerable quantity of archaeological material, but allowed a new story to be told. In particular, older maps of the battlefield will need to be revised as it now seems clear that the alignment of the two armies in 1642 was slightly different than previously thought, largely due to the constraints imposed upon the commanders due to the nature of the landscape itself.

The potential for future work for other fields of conflict in earlier and later centuries in England and more generally in Europe is clearly substantial.

CURRENT RESEARCH

The Landscape Group

The Landscape Group has, if anything, been busier than usual...

In terms of research, two major projects have been written up and reports submitted to funding bodies. The Leverhulme-funded study of the '*East Anglian Landscape, 1870-1950*' by Tom Williamson and Susanna Wade-Martins will shortly appear as a monograph published by Boydell and Brewer and '*The Landscape Context of Sutton Hoo*', funded by the Sutton Hoo Society, is due to appear as a book written by Tom and published by Oxbow. Tom Williamson and Rob Liddiard, in conjunction with scholars in Northamptonshire, have continued work on the AHRC-funded GIS (Geographical Information Systems) study of Northants, which is now at the end of its third year, with one year remaining. Nearly all the digitisation and data collection work is completed with the final year geared towards analysis and interpretation.

More minor (but only in scale) works in progress include an inventory of Norfolk parks and gardens for the Norfolk Gardens Trust and continued liaison with Gerry Barnes and Norfolk County Council in studies of hedges, woodland and veteran trees. Particularly pleasing has been the results of last summer's undergraduate Landscape 3

Suffolk fields in evening light



fieldcourse at Hockering wood in Norfolk, which saw our understanding of the wood's development from prehistory to the Second World War transformed by some inspired student research work.

This has been a good year for field trips with two 'official' outings and one *ad hoc* one organised by the PhD students. The first Landscape Group trip was held on 24th November 2007 on a bitterly cold day, meeting at Leiston Abbey. These extensive ruins of an Augustinian house date from the fourteenth century. Our next venue was Thorpeness, developed in 1910 by Glencairn Stuart Ogilvie as a fantastical, model seaside resort rented out as holiday homes for the upper middle classes. After lunch in Aldeburgh, we drove to Staverton Park, Wantisden, a remarkable surviving wood pasture, which contains ancient pollarded oaks, with birch, hollies, and rowan. This important eco-system supports a unique range of rare lichens, fungi, beetles, spiders and other invertebrates.

On March 15th of this year a group of fourteen MA, MPhil and PhD students plus partners enjoyed a very convivial visit to Caistor Roman Town [or Venta Icenorum – market place of the Icen]. The trip's aim was to provide a chance for an informal get together and exchange of views on the highs and lows of research while ambling around an interesting landscape site and working up an appetite for lunch!

Our third trip was on 31st of last May when we assembled at St. Andrew's church, Ilketshall for a guided tour of the amazing wall paintings there by Katrina Hodge from the PCC and our own Andrea Kirkham. From there we went on to South Elmham Hall as guests of the owner John Sanderson, whose home it is. Andrea explained to us the history of these outstanding 13th century domestic wall paintings – commissioned for the country retreat of the bishop of Norwich. After lunch we went to Denton to see the motte-and-bailey castle where Rob Liddiard guided us through the origins and history of this fascinating site.

The Landscape Group's annual seminar for 2007-08 was held on 3rd November 2007 and was attended by about fifty people from the University and visitors associated with the Group. The theme for the day was "Estates and Landscapes in Post-medieval England". The key note paper was given by Dr. Jon Finch of York University, supported by speakers from researchers within the Group.

The next edition of our newsletter, *The Prospect*, will appear before Christmas and our public seminar for 2008-09 will be early Spring 2009.

Brendan Chester-Kadwell, Editor and Coordinator for *The Prospect*

Post Postgraduate Research and Publication

Forthcoming in the Royal Historical Society's *Studies in History* series is a book entitled *Women and Religion in Late Medieval Norwich* by Doctor Carole Hill, post-graduate of recent memory of the School of History. This study is an attempt to glimpse the various ways in which women expressed their spiritual aspirations within a busy commercial urban environment. Because of the acknowledged paucity of documentary evidence for medieval female activity of any kind (apart from the nobility), an interdisciplinary approach to research has been employed from the beginning. Although some women's wills are used in this study, architecture, archaeology, palaeontology, contemporary drama, sermons and literature are also utilised to access the hidden half of the population, what they valued, and what they held to be of ultimate importance. How far the misogynistic theology of the period was integral to popular observance is also explored.

The introduction defines the context of affective piety as it was practised and the meaning of incarnational religion for its pragmatic adherents. The book is set out thematically, using cults of popular female saints to examine Norwich women's concerns and attachments: the enormously successful cult of the legendary St Anne and her

daughter; the Blessed Virgin Mary, constitutes a substantial first chapter. This is followed by a discussion of the utility of the cult of St Margaret of Antioch, and, at a different and more aspirational level, that of St Mary Magdalen, who are often found together on Norfolk rood screen panels. St Bridget of Sweden (d.1373), a fourteenth-century married saint, whose influential book of her recorded visions was in wide circulation in Norfolk, is assessed in conjunction with women's spiritual responsibilities for their household's religious education and performance, indeed, salvation. The final chapter places all these foci within the framework of the practice of the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy, an obligatory charitable activity incumbent on all Christians. A theology of the Works as an expression of the redemptive sacrifice of the Mass is argued. Simultaneously, the more pragmatic aspects of mobility, independence, even employment opportunities in hands-on Works, are explored. Examples are cited in Norwich and its important industrial hinterlands.

The long-standing thriving trading links of Norwich with the Low Countries and Germany are not forgotten. Norwich as a vibrant international mercantile *entrepôt* was funding much charitable and commemorative activity in and around the city and also providing the medium of exchange for cutting-edge religious ideas and practice, particularly among the female laity. This study demonstrates a lively and evolving expression of Norwich women's spirituality in the late medieval period that may yet prove to be unique in England.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS' STUDY DAY

The title of the study day held in the UEA Drama Studio on 5 April was "Aspects of Post-Medieval East Anglia" with talks covering aspects of the area through the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



Simon Sandall, PhD student at UEA, in *The East Anglian Witch-Hunt of 1645-7*, basing his talk on a paper by Dr Malcolm Gaskill, examined one of the minor horrors of the early modern period. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most people believed in witches and their power to do evil if provoked. But in general this was not a pressing concern and witch trials, in any case frequently ending in acquittals, were rare in any year. So what engendered the wholly exceptional anti-witch campaign in Essex and Suffolk between the years 1645 and 1647 and the activities then of the self-styled Witchfinder General, Matthew Hopkins, and his less well-known colleague John Stearn? Starting in Tendring Hundred on the Essex Coast, their campaign spread north to Great Yarmouth and west into Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire but was especially concentrated along the Stour Valley and in the Fens. In any village to which they were invited they were sure to find witches, usually poor, ignorant, elderly women, living alone, who nevertheless were often found to possess fantastical imaginations after subjection to extreme psychological pressure, including sleep deprivation, had extorted confessions. Many were hanged in the three-year campaign until a mixture of educated scepticism, merciful juries and apprehension of rising trial costs combined to bring the panic to an end. Had it resulted from puritan religious fervour, the tense wartime atmosphere or the hysterical fears of a credulous population egged on by the implacable certainty of the two leaders, confident in their bigotry? Whatever the reasons Simon warned against attempting to interpret seventeenth century thinking in the light of twenty-first century ideas. Nevertheless one must accept that the madness, delusions and fears of crowds are in different ways as prevalent in the present as at any time in history.

Professor Carole Rawcliffe's presentation, *Putting Norfolk on the Map: William Cunningham's Perspective of 1558*, centred on a quite different and far calmer aspect of East Anglia. Cunningham was a Norwich physician, proud of his city and with every reason to promote its attractions as a place to settle. The map itself, which may not have been made by Cunningham, is an idyllic perspective view of the City from the west under a sky adorned with the royal arms, the City seal and a vision of Hermes/Mercury, classical deity with connections to health (or at least anaesthesia), riding a substantial cloud. Carole's thesis was that the map, although basically accurate, was a triumph of spin, representing a town peaceful, loyal and above all green and salubrious facing east (which was thought important though of questionable benefit in East Anglian winter winds) with extensive gardens, orchards and grazing within the walls, wide streets and a flowing river; just the place to repair to for a quiet and healthy life. No hint was there of the recent turbulence of Kett's rebellion, which left extensive damage after suppression by royal troops and widespread suspicion of collaboration, or at best passivity, on the part of the population. Moreover the City and the Wensum, despite numerous well-meaning ordinances, could hardly ever have been so universally clean as the map suggested. Nevertheless, whatever the actual imperfections, commentators on Norwich through to the eighteenth century regularly remarked on its healthy air and happy situation. It was only the Victorians, when the town, by then crowded and insanitary, became famous for cholera, who saw the filth where their predecessors had smelt clean air.

Emeritus Professor Richard Wilson's talk, *Sir John Soane: the Norfolk Origins of a Famous Career*, took us out of the town and into the countryside. Returning in 1780 from two years study and travel in Italy and ready

to start in practice Soane, then aged 27, was a competent, indeed a brilliant architect as yet without commissions or clients. Yet over the next ten years he was involved in some thirty projects in Norfolk alone and, although some of these never proceeded to construction, at least five resulted in substantial country houses and several others involved major extensions or substantial alterations. Not all survive but we saw pictures of Letton, Soane's first house, Shotesham, Saxlingham Nethergate and Burnham Westgate, all complete houses still standing, and Ryston which was totally remodelled. How had Soane's practice thus burgeoned? The answer lies in connections, in this case connections Soane had made when in Italy amongst young Norfolk gentlemen on their Grand Tour; in particular with John Patteson, Norwich worsted manufacturer. (See *The Great Tour of John Patteson 1778-1779*, published by the Norfolk Record Society in 2003). While the work Soane did for Patteson himself was not extensive his introductions were of the greatest importance and as Soane's local reputation grew further clients were found. Soane remained based in London and had commissions elsewhere but was assiduous in visiting his Norfolk clients coming frequently by mail coach which meant either cruelly early starts to make the journey in a day or punishing overnight journeys. Locally he either hired or bought horses, managing to visit Letton no less than thirty-eight times before the completion of construction. Later in life Soane's practice was mainly metropolitan, especially at the Bank of England, and he became famous for his difficult temper and vendettas. In contrast he must have looked back on the days in Norfolk as amongst the happiest in his professional life.

The final session, *The Afterlife of Medieval Deer Parks: Disparkment and the Landscape*, was presented by **Doctor Robert Liddiard**, Lecturer in Landscape History and now Deputy Director of CEAS. Rob has become an authority on the archaeology of medieval deer parks, mostly created between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries as the preserves of aristocratic hunters when venison was a meat reserved for the mighty and their retainers. Now he turned to the question of when, why and how they almost entirely disappeared so that by the end of the eighteenth century there were virtually none and the rich ate beef where once they ate venison and hunted foxes in open country. It seems that the main period of disparkment was the hundred years between 1550 and 1650, mainly for economic reasons with landowners, especially new landowners after monastic dissolution, being less interested in an expensive hobby than in turning land to profitable use. Felling timber and grazing cattle brought in cash in contrast to raising deer and the appurtenances of hunting which absorbed it. A near final blow to deer parks occurred with land confiscations and sales at the close of the Civil Wars; most new owners were even more concerned with cash generation than had been those who succeeded to monastic lands. It was

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS' OUTING

THE GREAT YARMOUTH TOUR – 28 JUNE

It is a well-kept secret that Yarmouth has one of the most complete town walls in the country. Paul Rutledge, formerly and for many years town archivist, was our guide as we walked its length from the North Tower near Rampart Road on the bank of the river Bure to the south near Mariners Road and the river Yare. Although the town has extended beyond the early boundary, other road names; Northgate, Town Wall and Market Gates indicate the original line, as does King Street the general curve. It took us about two hours to make our way from the first tower, past St Nicholas' churchyard where the wall is clearly visible and about twenty feet high, supported at a corner by the octagonal King Harry's Tower, to Blackfriars Road near the far end. Across the market area there is a wide gap where the wall has been demolished for road widening, but it reappears in a car park, as a back to tall houses, in one part almost hidden under a huge commercial building and next to the public toilets. So we continued with Paul pointing out sections that we might not have identified; a triangular Ravelin Tower almost hidden behind a later wall and stretches rebuilt with stones from Blackfriars monastery after sixteenth century damage caused by a great sea surge. Some houses could be seen to include part of the wall, one having belonged to the parents of Anna Sewell, and we noted sixteenth century alterations to towers and earth works set up in response to threats of invasion.

Permission to enclose the town with a wall and moat had been given by Henry III in 1261, but only under royal pressure was the building commenced in 1286. The circuit was probably complete by 1346 but the building to full height continued despite difficulties until the 1380s. About two thirds of the wall have survived including eleven of the eighteen towers and turrets. The encircling moat has disappeared long ago under Yarmouth's sandblows. The ten gates giving access to the rest of the country and the eastern shore were demolished for road widening in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More was demolished in 1902 for a tramline. Because the town has expanded so far beyond the walls it is hard to imagine that the area between them and the sea was once occupied by pasture, windmills, town wells and net drying grounds; hence the large number of gates.

Flint for the massive below-ground foundations had been sought from as far away as Cromer there being no local stone. Enormous quantities of bricks were ordered, in 1336 alone



Yarmouth tower

eight lasts (probably 80,000 bricks), but only a very small quantity of expensive Caen stone. This is extremely early use of brick, unlike Norwich walls made of flint and those of Lynn which had access to ships' stone ballast. The brick walls, along some lengths faced with flints, are quite thin but have supporting arcading and remains of buttresses which would have supported a sentry walk.

Having dispersed the group for lunch, Rob Liddiard reassembled us at the ruins of the Greyfriars' cloister and church where a guide from English heritage had arrived to open the compound. The scant remains include evidence of expensive stonework next to and included within sixteenth century houses whose walls, fireplaces and mullioned windows leave a complicated muddle. Quite recently part of the church has been revealed in which tombs and windows seem to have been blocked but

in which vestiges of painted panels remain to provoke questions and discussion.

Our next port of call was a shop that Linda Davy had identified in Market Row. We were provided with large pots of tea and slices of cake and thus fortified set off again to meet the bus for the next exploration. This time we passed along the Marine Parade and the old Hippodrome cinema, had sight of the new harbour and met the nineteenth century represented by Nelson's Column surmounted by an image of Britannia facing west to the old harbour. In 1817 this stood alone on the wastes of the South Denes but it is now in an industrial area likely to be even further developed.

Now our attention was drawn to relics of Yarmouth's prosperity; the herring fishing and preserving industries. It so happened that one of our number, Mary Fewster, had chosen the herring industry as one of her subjects for research. She was able to point out the different areas for smoking or pickling, the nineteenth century smoke houses, buildings in which nets were mended and a fine Edwardian public house, The Dolphin, a resort for owners of ships and the industrial buildings. There were tales to tell of the "girls" including the time when they stopped work to demand higher pay just when a particularly large catch of fish had been landed. Herrings do not keep more than twelve hours. Now that the South Denes area is the target for development it is to be hoped that Mary, representing the Industrial Archaeology Association, can persuade the planners to retain some of these remains of Yarmouth's historical prosperity.

Even after all these events and sights we were back to UEA at the promised hour although there had been no time for a paddle in the sea.

Lucinda Smyth



Study and rest

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harder to get rid of the banks and paling which surrounded each park than it was to get rid of the deer. Indeed as deer parks were tithe free it may often have been desirable to maintain the theoretical status of a park notwithstanding a

gradual change of use. Certainly the memory remains of many, sometimes in local names, often in the layout of field boundaries and even in recognisable banks.

John Barney





Wicked Practise & Sorcery: The Belvoir Witchcraft Case of 1619 by Michael Honeybone, (Buckingham, Baron Books, 2008), pp.256 ISBN 978-0-86023-690-0

This book tells the story of how in 1619 tensions between Francis Manners, 6th earl of Rutland, and the Flower family who served him, resulted in two sisters being executed for witchcraft. From his seat at Belvoir Castle, Manners headed one of the richest families in England, well connected with crown and court; indeed, the king, James I, oversaw the match between Manners' daughter Katherine, one of the supposed bewitched victims, and the royal favourite, the duke of Buckingham. The private Catholicism of the family may have had a bearing on the intensity of their supernatural beliefs; and yet ideas about the malign influence of the devil were endemic in Jacobean society. Of greater significance, it seems, was anxiety about the welfare of children, specifically the survival of a male heir.

As for so many parts of England, the seventeenth-century trial records do not survive. The main documentary sources are a contemporary pamphlet (and a derivative ballad), the archive of the Manners family, and parish records from which Michael Honeybone has been able to enlarge and connect the lives of the thirty-odd villagers involved in the drama. He assembles and arranges this evidence to explain the tragic events at Belvoir, in an age when a surprisingly small number of English people were ever indicted for witchcraft. Far from being some easily-enacted, knee-jerk response to misfortune, a witch-trial was an elaborate social and legal enterprise, the exception to the rule that most suspicions remained just that: suspicions – unspoken, contained, or informally handled.

The lives of the principal characters and the back-story to the accusations are established, followed by intriguing insights into the ailments and remedies of the Manners family, and relationships with local clergy. From here we proceed to the untimely death of Henry, Lord Roos, the earl's eldest son, blamed on the witchcraft of Margaret and Philippa Flower; and their mother Joan, reputed to be 'a monstrous malicious woman, full of oaths, curses, and imprecations'. Margaret's dismissal from service had furnished her with a motive for revenge, which allegedly led to her forming a diabolic pact. In this way, it was said, she acquired the necessary power for her, a poor woman, to attack the socially-superior Manners household. The second son, Francis, also fell mysteriously ill, and Katherine Manners suffered 'extreme maladies and unusual fits'.

Joan Flower and her daughters were arrested at Christmas 1618, but the mother died on the way to gaol, protesting her innocence. Margaret and Philippa were convicted and hanged at Lincoln the following March. The memorial inscription to Francis Manners, the father and sixth earl, still visible in Bottesford church, referred to 'the wicked practise & sorcerye' deployed against the family – a lapidary accusation from which the book's title is taken.

In his version, Honeybone aims 'to recreate the cultural and social world as it appeared to villagers, to gentry, to medical, clerical and legal men and to the royal court' (p. 10). However tragic the consequences of credulity, fear and anger; he recommends that we try to see what happened from the perspectives of the historical actors at the time. It's only too easy for us to pass judgement from our moral and intellectual vantage point, and so to pass up an opportunity to understand what made our ancestors tick. In the trials of the Flower sisters something of 'the psychological and physical distress apparent in Jacobean village communities' (p. 13) is laid bare. The revelation is disturbing, but salutary.

Honeybone provides readers with all the known facts, but declines to impose a dominant interpretation, sensibly recognising that both origins and meanings of witchcraft accusations were complex, ambiguous even. Indeed, case-studies like this demonstrate that for all the generic underlying causes – economic crisis, social polarisation, religious uncertainty, legal intervention – intricate arrangements of local politics and power provided the essential triggers for action, and dictated that every episode of witch-hunting was unique.

Malcolm Gaskill



Norwich Greyfriars: Pre-Conquest Town and Medieval Friary by P.A. Emery, (East Anglian Archaeology, Report 120, 2007), pp. xvii + 274.

The dominant presence of the Church in medieval Norwich is hard to exaggerate. Today's visitors can readily appreciate the scale of investment in the parish churches that still crowd the urban landscape, while marvelling at the memorials to the wealth and authority of the Benedictine and Dominican communities. Yet these survivals present only part of the picture, or, to employ a slightly different metaphor, an incomplete jigsaw puzzle, several vital pieces of which have been lost. It is easy to forget that Norwich boasted three other friaries, whose extensive precincts and large, imposing churches were major landmarks in its physical and spiritual topography. Suppressed at the Dissolution and subsequently converted to a variety of uses, the Franciscan friary has long vanished from the map, but thanks to a team of archaeologists and other specialists it has now proved possible to present a remarkably detailed and comprehensive account of the layout of one of Norwich's greatest religious institutions. Indeed, the redevelopment of a sizeable area south of Prince of Wales Road in the early 1990s also presented a unique opportunity to investigate the earlier occupation and use of the site from Anglo Saxon times, through the turbulent years of the Norman settlement until the arrival of the first grey friars in 1226. We can thus revise and refine our existing impression of the city's pre-Conquest street plan and its thriving commercial activities, such as tanning and metal working.

Having initially made their home near the river, on a modest plot appropriate for an order wedded to poverty, the Franciscans went on to build a church which not only rivalled that of the Norwich Dominicans, but ranked third in size (after London and Coventry) among those of the English Order. Not surprisingly, they proved such a generous employer of glaziers, bell-founders and other artisans as to attract a flourishing community of artisans outside their walls. One telling survival, of an oyster shell employed as an artist's palette (plate 5.2), suggests that polychrome sculpture further enhanced the devotional experience of their many patrons. The quotidian life of the late medieval Franciscans emerges vividly from these pages, which reveal a level of hygiene and dietary provision somewhat at odds with the founder's initial mandate. Pace Bertram Russell's celebrated witticism about the penetrating odour of medieval sanctity, the Franciscans, in common with other mendicants, equated cleanliness with godliness, constructing a highly sophisticated water system, which employed a complex network of wells, pipes and cisterns. Nor, like Chaucer's rotund friar in his copious worsted robe, do they appear to have forgone the pleasures of the table. Alongside a predictably high consumption of fish and molluscs, they accounted for substantial quantities of beef, lamb, pork, mutton and poultry, as well (no doubt only on feast days) as venison, swan and partridge, which were regarded as food for the elite.

Together with the four survey chapters, which approach the site chronologically, the specialist reports on flora, fauna and artefacts trace the development of a key area of the medieval city. The analysis of documentary sources provided by Elizabeth Rutledge at the beginning of each chapter is especially useful, since it sets the archaeological evidence firmly in its wider historical context. Philip Emery, who edited the volume, as well as writing a substantial amount of the text, is to be congratulated on the compilation of an excavation report that will be as valuable to historians as to students of archaeology.

Carole Rawcliffe

Poverty and Wealth: Sheep, Taxation and Charity in Late Medieval Norfolk ed. Mark Bailey, Maureen Jurkowski and Carole Rawcliffe. (Norfolk Record Society LXXI, 2007) ISBN 978-0-9556357-0-0

The latest volume of the Norfolk Record Society is something of a mixed bag, not in terms of quality, but in range of material dealing as it does with sheep, taxation and charitable provision in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The overall theme is 'Poverty and Wealth' and both are here in abundance.

The sheep are represented by Mark Bailey's edition of the sheep accounts of Norwich Cathedral Priory, 1484-1534. The importance of sheep to monastic communities is well-known, but here we see documented evidence for management practices at a significant time in economic history. As is made clear in the highly accessible introduction, these accounts matter because sheep and wool occupied an unusually important part in the late medieval English economy. The details of the management practices of a major East Anglian landlord are also of interest because during this period flocks tended to be run by enterprising farmers, for whom records do not survive. This lordly control of East Anglian flocks was partly due to the maintenance of the foldcourse system and the accounts themselves are a testament to the care taken by Norwich Cathedral Priory to manage its estates effectively, resulting in managerial innovation when it came to managing its stock.

If the wealth of the region was partly made by the contribution of wool to the economy, the attempts by the crown to access that wealth is the subject of Maureen Jurkowski's edition of Norwich's income tax assessments of 1472 and 1489. Historians are, of course, well used to using the records of taxation for a variety of purposes, but the intricacies of the documentation can sometimes be more than a little dry. Not so this time because an extremely lucid introduction not only puts the income taxes into context, but also explains their wider significance to the history of Norwich. Like so many places, the efforts made by tax payers and collectors in Norwich to avoid, under-assess, refuse or simply not collect, taxes makes highly amusing reading, especially in the current economic climate. Quite how assessments and payments actually reflected social and economic conditions in Norwich at the time is a more difficult subject and, with all caution, it is concluded that, in some parts of the city at least, the late fifteenth century saw a decline in economic prosperity – if exaggerated in the documents by under-assessment of liability for tax.

If some citizens in late fifteenth-century Norfolk needed charity, then some found it in the activities of hospitals and this is seen in Carole Rawcliffe's edition of the Cartulary of St Mary's Hospital in Great Yarmouth. This is a seventeenth-century copy by Yarmouth's celebrated antiquarian Henry Manship of the cartulary compiled around 1400 of St Mary's Hospital and sheds valuable light on the work of smaller hospitals whose records do not usually survive. Its interest is two fold: firstly for the documentation of the hospital itself and secondly for the context of the present manuscript's production. The circumstances surrounding the creation of the original cartulary lie in the post-Black Death period, when the hospital was re-founded in an attempt to re-vitalize its spiritual health and inhibit the activities of the friars in attracting patronage from the urban elite. It was this urban elite who, in the post-Reformation period, seeking to capitalise on all potential sources of revenue, required an organised archive with English copies of important Latin documents, of which the cartulary of St Mary's was one. Henry Manship played a key role in this process, but he overstepped the mark with claims for expenses, ultimately resulting in his financial ruin and partly responsible for ensuring that his great work the *History of Great Yarmouth* remained unpublished for more than two centuries after his death.

Each part of the trinity that makes up this volume will chiefly be of interest to specialists in the field, but the broader themes and processes that underlie all three underpin a much wider picture of social and economic change in late medieval Norfolk. In short, there is much here beyond the sheep, taxes and charity and the volume has been produced to the high standard we have come to expect from the Norfolk Record Society. Thoroughly recommended.

Robert Liddiard



Dawson Turner: A Norfolk Antiquary and His Remarkable Family, ed. Nigel Goodman (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007) pp. xi + 180 ISBN 978-1-86077-445-4. £25.

Men like Dawson Turner did not come along every day of the week, not even in the late Georgian period and certainly not in Great Yarmouth. Fortunately born into means and position in the town, he was briefly an undergraduate at Pembroke College, Cambridge, of which his uncle was master. Then he was summoned home to head the family bank. Though it was to be a life-time responsibility, his restless curiosity was never bounded by the disciplines of the counting house. Introduced to systematic natural history while still a boy, he devoted great efforts to the classification of maritime plants, cataloguing specimens and publishing his findings in fine illustrated volumes. As his interests altered they expanded. He became a notable collector of historical materials, of both local and national interest, and purchased quantities of older pictures that helped widen the horizons of the painters and print-makers of the Norwich School with whom he developed contacts. A member of metropolitan learned societies, he regularly visited London and, when the international situation permitted, ventured on to the Continent. But Great Yarmouth remained his base, and his household became a celebrated hive of intellectual activity with his gifted daughters improving their minds and helping their father. The story would be almost too good to be true. But Turner's record as a banker had its blemishes, and after the death of his first wife he caused consternation by contracting a second marriage with a lady about whom there were doubts.

To chronicle the life of his ancestor and assess his achievements in his various spheres, Nigel Goodman assembles an impressive team of experts. Andrew Moore (Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service), writes on Turner's art collections, and David McKitterick (librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge) on his books and manuscripts. Anne Secord (Cambridge University Department of History and Philosophy of Science) reports on Turner the naturalist, and Jessie Campbell (former archivist at Barclays) considers him as a provincial banker. Turner's wife and daughters are presented by Wendy Kett and Jane Knowles (National Gallery). All the contributions are informative, combining with an abundance of illustrations to create a satisfying portrait of Turner and his world. Firmer editing would, however, have eliminated some repetitions, and rather more information about Turner's forbears would have been welcome.

Christopher Smith



EVENTS

CEAS WINTER LECTURE SERIES: War and Society in East Anglia 1066-1945

Thursdays at 7:00 pm. Lecture Theatre 2. All welcome

- February 12** Dr Robert Liddiard (UEA) Castle Warfare in East Anglia, 1066-1500
February 19 Professor Andy Wood (UEA) Robert Kett and the Battle of Dussindale, 1549
February 26 Professor Andrew Lambert (Kings College, London) 'I am a Norfolk Man', Nelson and the search for the Sublime
March 12 Dr Evelyn Lord (Cambridge) 'Frontline Suffolk', Suffolk and the Second World War

CEAS RESEARCH SEMINARS

Thursdays at 6:15 pm. Held normally in Arts Building Room 4.35. Open to Associates

- October 23** Professor David Bates (UEA) The Normans and their Empire
November 13 Ian Hinton (UEA) Aspects of Church Alignment and Location in Medieval England
December 4 Dr Nicola Whyte (Cardiff) Custom, Memory and Landscape Change in Early Modern East Anglia
January 15 Jon Gregory (UEA) Landscape Improvement in Devon and Norfolk in the Eighteenth Century
Feb 5 Dr Jon Finch (York) Three Men in a Boat: biographies and narrative in the landscape of Harewood, West Yorkshire
March 19 Professor Tom Williamson (UEA) Benign Neglect? The East Anglian landscape and the Great Depression

Associate Members' Study Day: Saturday 21 February: Burial, Lineage, Folklore and Memory: Barrows and the Landscape

SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY WINTER LECTURE PROGRAMME 2008-9

All lectures are held at The Blackbourne Hall in Elmswell.

They start at 2.30 pm and generally finish by about 4.00 pm. There is an entrance fee of £2 for non-members.

November 1 2008

Late Medieval Enclosure Nick Amor will talk on the extent and significance of field enclosure in the late Middle Ages, with particular reference to his study of Thorney near Stowmarket

December 6 2008

From Cropmarks to Concrete: Suffolk's coastal archaeology as visible from the air Sarah Newsome will present an overview of the archaeology of the Suffolk coast, from prehistoric times to the 20th century, as visible from aerial photographs and recorded during a joint English Heritage and Suffolk County Council project.

January 10 2009

Continuity and Change in Suffolk 1349 to 1500: The Black Death and its Aftermath Mark Bailey will present evidence for Suffolk's economic triumph in this period of change which is a theme of his recent book on Medieval Suffolk.

February 14 2009

The Silver of the Icen Megan Dennis will talk on Icen silver and coins based on the results of her research.

March 14 2009

The Restoration of a Regency Gem Anna Forrest and Christine Sitwell of the National Trust will tell the story of the restoration of the Theatre Royal in Bury St Edmunds.

The annual meeting of Associates was held at the conclusion of the study sessions. The resignation of Michael Salt after three years service as a representative of Associates on the CEAS Committee was reported and we thank Michael for his efforts during that time. In the absence of further nominations Linda Davy agreed to serve for a further year. Subsequent to the meeting Lucinda Smyth, whose report on the Yarmouth outing appears on page 6, agreed to join with the eventually succeed Linda.

>>>LATE NOTICE

Published too late for review in this issue, readers should be aware of a new book by David Butcher, Lowestoft historian and CEAS associate member: *Lowestoft, 1550-1750: Development and Change in a Suffolk Coastal Town* (Woodbridge, 2008), a detailed history of the town's society, economy, and topography. Describing how Lowestoft has grown from a small urban community to become Suffolk's second largest town, this book provides a vivid picture of the town and its inhabitants during the early modern period.



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