

SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
AND HISTORY  
BUSINESS AND ACTIVITIES  
2020

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## RULES OF THE SUFFOLK INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

1. The Society shall be called the 'Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History'.
2. The objects of the Institute shall be for the advancement of the education of the public:
  - a. To collect and publish information on the archaeology and history of the county of Suffolk;
  - b. To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which ancient monuments of every description within the county of Suffolk may from time to time be threatened and to collect accurate drawings, plans and descriptions thereof;
  - c. To promote interest in local archaeological and historical matters.
3. The Institute shall consist of Ordinary and Honorary Members.
4. The subscriptions to be paid by Ordinary Members, and such other categories of membership of the Institute as may be prescribed by the Council, shall be at the rates determined from time to time by the Council. Every member shall be considered to belong to the Institute until he or she withdraws from it by notice to the General Secretary in writing, or is more than twelve months in arrears with his subscriptions, in which case he or she shall be deemed to have resigned.
5. Each member shall be entitled to free admission to the General Meetings of the Institute; he or she shall also be entitled to receive a copy of the Proceedings and Newsletters of the Institute. Members shall be entitled to attend excursions and to bring not more than two friends, except where otherwise notified, on payment of whatever fees may be decided by the Council from time to time.
6. Honorary Members shall pay no subscription and shall not be entitled to vote, but they shall receive a copy of the Proceedings and Newsletters of the Institute and shall be entitled to all other privileges of membership. Honorary Members shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting only.
7. The Officers of the Institute shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Chairman, a General Secretary, an Assistant General Secretary, a Financial Secretary, an Excursions Secretary, a Membership Secretary, a Field Group Secretary, a Website Secretary, a Minutes Secretary, such additional secretaries as may from time to time be required, and an Editor, who shall, if necessary, be assisted by an Editorial Committee made up of the officers and any persons co-opted by them. The President and Chairman shall remain in office for a term of four years, and may be re-elected for a second term only. The General Secretary, Financial Secretary and Editor shall remain in office until removed by an Annual or Special General Meeting or until they resign. The other officers shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting to serve for the ensuing year. Nominations of new candidates for office must reach the General Secretary at least two weeks before the date of the Annual General Meeting.
8. There shall be an independent examiner, elected at the Annual General Meeting to serve for the ensuing year.
9. The general management of the affairs and property of the Institute shall be vested in the Council, consisting of the officers, three nominated members representing the Suffolk Archaeological Service, the Suffolk Record Office, and University Campus Suffolk, the Suffolk Records Society, and up to twelve members elected from the

general body of the members. The ordinary members of the Council shall be elected to serve for four years, being then ineligible for re-election for a year. No officer or member who has been absent from all the Council meetings during the previous year shall be eligible for re-election, and, in the case of members who are mid-term, shall be removed from the Council, at the next Annual General Meeting, with the proviso that the Council may waive this where special circumstances have prevented an officer's or member's attendance.

10. The Council shall decide from time to time what officers, and how many members, there should be, on the understanding that the Council shall not exercise this power to remove any officer or member, without their agreement, before the expiry of their term.
11. The Council shall meet to transact the ordinary business of the Institute. They shall have power to appoint committees, which shall enjoy such powers as shall be delegated to them, recommend Honorary Members for election at the Annual General Meeting, supply vacancies which may occur during the year in their own body or among the officers and make arrangements for excursions and other meetings. They shall also annually prepare a report and a statement of accounts for submission to the Annual General Meeting. At each meeting of the Council six members shall be a quorum.
12. A Grants Committee shall consider requests for funding. A Conference Committee shall seek to organise at least one conference each year which shall be the annual Wheeler conference.
13. The Annual General Meeting shall be held if possible before the end of April. At each Annual General Meeting twelve Ordinary Members of the Institute shall be a quorum.
14. A Special General Meeting, apart from and in addition to an Annual General Meeting, may be called at any time on the demand of the President, or of the Chairman, or of the Council, or of not less than five Ordinary Members of the Institute, who shall signify their demand to the General Secretary in writing, At least one week's notice of such meeting shall be given to all members of the Institute, together with a statement of the proposed agenda. At each special General Meeting twelve Ordinary Members of the Institute shall be a quorum.
15. At all meetings, both of the Institute and of the Council, and of any committee thereof, the Chairman shall have a casting vote in addition to his own vote.
16. Copyright in all papers accepted for publication in the Proceedings shall belong jointly to the Institute and the author, on the understanding that the Institute may publish the paper in both hard and electronic copy and on the internet, and that the author shall not publish the paper in any other academic journal without the written consent of the Institute. The decision of the Editorial Committee, on whether or not to accept a paper for publication, shall be final.
17. Should any dispute or difference arise concerning the interpretation of the foregoing rules the decision of the Chairman for the time being shall be final.
18. No alteration shall be made in these rules by way of addition, deletion or otherwise except at a General Meeting and after at least one week's previous notice of such proposed alteration has been sent to every member of the Institute. No such addition, deletion or other change shall be made to any rule which would have the effect of causing the Institute to lose its status as a charitable institution.
19. The Institute may not distribute income or property to its members, save that this shall

not prevent the payment of a modest honorarium, approved in each case by the Council, to a member who gives a lecture or conducts an excursion on behalf of the Institute.

20. (1) If the members resolve to dissolve the charity the trustees will remain in office as charity trustees and be responsible for winding up the affairs of the charity in accordance with this clause.
- (2) The trustees must collect in all the assets of the charity and must pay or make provision for all the liabilities of the charity.
- (3) The trustees must apply any remaining property or money:
  - a. Directly for the objects;
  - b. By transfer to any charity or charities for purposes the same as or similar to the charity;
  - c. In such other manner as the Charity Commission for England and Wales ('the Commission') may approve in writing in advance.
- (4) The members may pass a resolution before or at the same time as the resolution to dissolve the charity specifying the manner in which the trustees are to apply the remaining property or assets of the charity and the trustees must comply with the resolution if it is consistent with paragraphs (a) - (c) inclusive in sub-clause (3) above.
- (5) In no circumstances shall the net assets of the charity be paid to or distributed among the members of the charity (except to a member that is itself a charity).
- (6) The trustees must notify the Commission promptly that the charity has been dissolved. If the trustees are obliged to send the charity's accounts to the Commission for the accounting period which ended before its dissolution, they must send the Commission the charity's final accounts.

4 April 2020



## DISCUSSION GROUPS 2020

*Owing to the Covid-19 pandemic, excursions could not take place during 2020. Instead, many members participated in a series of online discussion groups, the reports and notes of which are detailed below. The Institute is immensely grateful to all discussion group leaders who, during a very difficult period, gave their time voluntarily and without charge.*

*This report is intended as a permanent record of their generosity*

*8 April. Diarmaid MacCulloch.  
Suffolk and the Tudors.*

Our former president inaugurated the Institute's lockdown online presentations with a semi-autobiographical account of the background to his first major book. The impulse came from his childhood in Wetherden where his father as rector had the care of the very fine medieval church, dominated from the 15th to the 18th centuries by a gentry family, the Sulyards of Haughley Park. What made them distinctive was that, after lavishly spending on the fabric and funeral monuments before the Reformation, they became Catholic recusants and remained so until the death of the last male in 1799, yet still taking a benevolent interest in the upkeep of the Protestant parish church. Particularly fascinating is the tomb of Sir John Sulyard (d.1574), which bears not simply a Catholic soul prayer, but scars of its mutilation by William Dowsing in 1644. This was the stimulus for an undergraduate thesis at Cambridge on Catholic recusancy in Elizabethan Suffolk, in turn a prompt for Cambridge doctoral work on the Elizabethan politics of the county under the benevolent, if somewhat bemused, supervision of Sir Geoffrey Elton. In finding a way forward, it was very useful to be able to draw comparisons with the doctoral work of a UEA academic who became a great friend, Alfred Hassell Smith: his study of Elizabethan Norfolk, published as *County and Court* in 1974.<sup>1</sup> Far from being the same story in the two counties, detailed study of the Justices of the Peace (JPs) in the two counties showed a precise reversal in events. The careers of Tudor JPs were literally at the pleasure of the Crown, and therefore often episodic, recorded in frequently issued 'commissions of the peace' or national snapshot gatherings of these, called '*libri pacis*'. Changes in the forty or fifty names per county might be made several times a year. Compiling a political profile from these revealed how politics in Smith's Norfolk was under the thumb of Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, up to Howard's downfall and execution in 1572. So Norfolk's commissions of the peace were relatively stable in membership and a number of definite Catholic JPs survived under ducal protection. After Howard's fall, there was no single dominant figure like him, so the county of Norfolk became a cockpit of faction, with a good deal of disruption evident in the commission. In Suffolk the picture reversed, because the duke's influence had not been so great and was in fact disruptive. After he had gone in 1572, politics, and membership of the JPs' bench, fell into the hands of a strongly Protestant clique of leading gentry and was generally much more stable. This doctoral thesis became the partial basis for a book of 1986 extending the story over the entire century.<sup>2</sup> Major themes included the interplay of gentry versus nobility in county leadership, their various different routes to Westminster for getting done what they wanted, and the emergence of enthusiastic Protestant leadership in a county previously noted for extrovert Catholic piety. Incidental pleasures for the president were: first, the rediscovery of an entirely forgotten rising in Suffolk in 1549, part of what has been known as 'Kett's Rebellion', a rediscovery which others have taken further, right across lowland England; second, a small

notebook in the British Library provided a previously forgotten blow-by-blow eyewitness account of Princess Mary's coup of 1553 in the pretentious Latin of the Suffolk gentleman Robert Wingfield of Brantham. MacCulloch published that notebook with English translation in the Camden Society series in 1984.<sup>3</sup>

22 April. Joanne Sear and Jane Carr.  
*The origins of the consumer revolution.*

Historians largely agree that in the Middle Ages most people in England lived a predominantly subsistence-based existence, but that by the time of the Industrial Revolution, the vast majority of the population actively engaged in widespread consumption which enabled them to eat a better and more varied diet and own a wide range of consumer goods. A recent study by Joanne Sear and Ken Sneath tried to bring together evidence from various other studies of changing consumption patterns, and to combine it with their own research, in an attempt to identify when any 'consumer revolution' took place.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly, what was found was that there was no dramatic event; instead, there was evidence of a more gradual rise in consumption which probably started in the aftermath of the Black Death and continued forwards, so that by the eve of the Industrial Revolution, most people consumed a wide range of goods and services.

In the late Middle Ages, the greatest increase in consumption occurred in relation to dietary changes and arose as a result of three main factors: a huge decline in population which eased the pressure on land and led to rising wages; an increase in *per capita* international trade which saw a rise in the amount and variety of goods being imported; and an increased adoption of technology associated with smoke control which led to more comfortable living spaces in domestic dwellings, but also allowed for increased control and versatility in domestic cooking processes.

These factors all led to various changes in diets and to a rising adoption of some household goods associated with cooking and eating. Four dietary changes were particularly significant. The first was a change in the composition of grain products grown and consumed so that far more wheat was grown and more wheaten bread made and eaten, for example, on the manor of Mildenhall, the percentage of wheat grown on the demesne rose from 5 per cent in the pre-Black Death period to over 20 per cent in the post-Black Death period. At the same time, the cropped area of brewing grains also increased as there was a rise in the demand for ale and that produced was of a better quality. Again, in Mildenhall, the amount of the demesne crop used for malting, and hence brewing, rose from just 11 per cent to 54 per cent.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, as falling grain prices made arable farming less profitable and land pressure eased, there was a significant increase in pastoral farming. Far more meat was eaten, particularly beef as cattle farming expanded, and dairy production also intensified. Nonetheless, for the poorest classes, this simply meant a change from eating no animal protein, to occasional consumption as animal produce remained very expensive in relation to other foodstuffs. Evidence for the rise in the consumption of animal produce can be seen, for example, in Newmarket. The number of trading units in the market increased from 74 in 1430 to 106 by 1472, and many of these new units were in 'le Bocherie' which, by 1472, was the largest trading row with 25 shops or stalls.<sup>6</sup>

These two changes largely concerned foodstuffs already present in England; they simply became more widely available and their consumption spread down the social hierarchy. The third change related to an increased consumption of imported foodstuffs which added flavour or interest to basic food. These were often referred to collectively as 'spicery goods', but could also be separately distinguished as spicery and grocery goods. Spices included such items as cinnamon, cloves, ginger, mace, pepper, sugar and saffron, which were all expensive and

tended to be the preserve of the wealthier classes. Saffron, the most expensive spice, was imported, but also cultivated in England including in some areas of north Suffolk (the cultivation of saffron was associated with well-drained, chalk soils). Nevertheless, although there is evidence of it being grown in East Anglia, there is less evidence of it being sold in the region other than at larger fairs (Stourbridge and Ely), and it seems more likely that it was bought up by London merchants for sale in the capital rather than consumed locally. Grocery items, such as dried fruits and nuts (especially almonds), rice, honey and salt were cheaper than spicery goods and their cost was such that small quantities could be bought by many households on at least an occasional basis. The final change was a new fashion in roasting meat which occurred as a result of the increased demand for meat, combined with the development of more effective cooking processes. This still remained a choice product since meat for roasting needed to be of a better quality than that added to a pottage or stew, whilst roasting was both profligate with fuel and required a higher labour input. This new fashion also required new equipment such as spits, fire dogs and andirons, whilst dripping pans were placed underneath the roasting meat to collect the juices. Testamentary evidence shows how ownership of these items was increasing throughout the late medieval period.

Changes in the material culture of the period c.1350–1550 in relation to the rise of consumerism can also be seen within the archaeological record. Fabric, form and function of ceramics show the development from simple coarseware pots to elaborate glazed wares, produced both on the continent and in England. Perhaps the best known of the continental imports are the Saintonge jugs from Aquitaine (1152–1451), made from fine white clay and brightly painted, a noteworthy contrast to our red earthenwares. They may have been exported to Britain as part-shipload along with the wine from that region. By the early 1300s East Anglia, and most of England, were producing their own glazed versions from local clays, with jug forms to be seen as tableware, e.g. Grimston (Norfolk) face jugs. In Suffolk these occur mostly in fragmentary form rather than as complete vessels, both from excavated sites and as chance finds, along with glazed jug sherds from the Hedingham (Essex) kilns. The pottery manufacturing industry was growing across the country, with Surrey whitewares (e.g. Kingston upon Thames and Cheam) also found in Suffolk. Locally, there is some evidence that glazed wares were made in both Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich, but quantities are small and kiln sites remain elusive.

By the 15th century, new pottery vessel forms had appeared suggesting more formal dining was taking place amongst the wealthy. These included chafing dishes, pans, dishes and aquamanile for wine, copying metal versions. By the early 16th century, pancheons, bottles and salts had also appeared in ceramic form. From the late 15th century there was a marked increase in imported Rhenish vessels; the stonewares such as those from Raeren, Frechen and Siegburg which came in jug and drinking vessel forms. Fragments of these are ubiquitous finds across the country. Quernstones for milling grain were also imported from the Rhineland, the Mayen lava querns being particularly valued, transported as blanks and finished in England. French ‘burr’ stone querns were also favoured as they produced a whiter flour. For further reading, see the papers of the Medieval Pottery Research Group.<sup>7</sup>

6 May. *Edward Martin.*

*Henslow of Hitcham, the professor of botany who inspired both Darwin and a Suffolk parish.* John Stevens Henslow (Fig. 42) is one of Suffolk’s great unsung heroes; his part in preparing the ground for Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution is greatly underestimated and his influence on botany, agriculture, archaeology, education and social reform is also underappreciated. Yet he was professor of botany at Cambridge for thirty-six years; was instrumental in creating the Cambridge Botanic Garden, Ipswich Museum and Suffolk’s



fertiliser industry; co-authored the first *Flora of Suffolk*; undertook the first proper archaeological excavation in the county and, at the same time, was the rector of Hitcham in Suffolk for twenty-four years.

Born in Rochester, Kent, in 1796, the son of a lawyer and banker, and grandson of Sir John Henslow, a master shipwright who rose to be Surveyor of the Navy, the young Henslow entered Cambridge University in 1814 and graduated in 1818. However, university courses then were not geared to the sciences and it was only after graduating that he was able to follow those interests, which he did so successfully that he was appointed as Professor of Mineralogy in 1822, aged only 26. At this stage there was no structured course in the subject, but within a year he had published a 119-page syllabus for its study.

That year also saw his marriage and a year later, in 1824, he was ordained as a priest; these two events were probably linked in that academic posts were poorly paid and the usual course of action for academics who wished to have enough money to marry and raise a family was for them to enter the church in order to gain a reliable income.

Three years later, in 1827, his life changed course again when he was appointed as Regius Professor of Botany, succeeding a very old man who had not lectured for at least thirty years. So once again he needed to start from scratch in designing a course. This he did with a flair for clear and well-illustrated lectures, enhanced with field trips to acquaint students with the hands-on realities of botany. Henslow's interest in botany was not a new one and between 1821 and 1835 he established a herbarium of 10172 plants attached to 3654 herbarium sheets. These still exist in the Cambridge Botanic Garden and elsewhere (Ipswich Museum included) and an important recent study of them has revealed an important insight into Henslow's thinking.<sup>8</sup> Coming from the chemical certainties of mineralogy, Henslow was obviously fascinated by the uncertainties of living matter. His herbarium specimens show a strong tendency to record variability within species. His writings also show an interest in hybrids and the mechanisms that enable biological change.<sup>9</sup> His fascination with species variability is also apparent in the layout of the new Cambridge Botanic Garden that he set up and designed. On the garden's Main Walk two black pines were planted opposite each other, one, *Pinus nigra* ssp *nigra*, from Austria, has an upright, conical shape with dense bunches of short needles on its few branches to allow the heavy snowfall of the region to fall off without damaging the tree; the other, *P. nigra* ssp *salzmanii*, from Spain, does not have this problem in its habitat and has an open, spreading structure, branching from much lower down the tree.

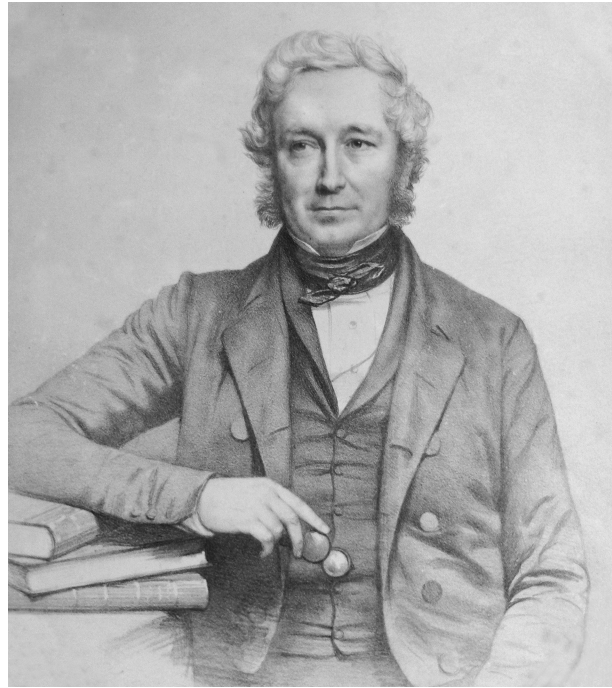


FIG. 42 – John Stevens Henslow by Thomas Herbert Maguire printed by M & N Hanhart lithograph 1849.



Charles Darwin became one of Henslow's students in 1828 and was transformed by his inspired teaching from an academic failure into a star pupil. Darwin later wrote that Henslow:

had a remarkable power of making the young feel completely at ease with him though we were all awe-struck with the amount of his knowledge. Before I saw him, I heard one young man sum up his attainments by simply saying that he knew everything.

Darwin further commented on the 'transparent sincerity of his character' and the 'highly remarkable absence in him of all self-consciousness'.<sup>10</sup> There can be no doubt that an important part of the teaching that Darwin received was the observation, recording and explaining of variability and the need to progress in sequence through those essential stages. In 1831 Henslow was invited to propose someone to join HMS Beagle as a naturalist to accompany a naval survey of South American waters. Henslow had always dreamed of doing something like this, but by then he was a 35-year-old married man with a family, an academic post and a clergyman, so he persuaded Darwin to accept the post.

Darwin was then only 22, but was able to counter youth and inexperience by following Henslow's precepts, concentrating on observing and recording, leaving explanation for later. Throughout the five-year voyage Darwin and Henslow corresponded, with Henslow sending advice and books and Darwin sending back notes and crates of biological specimens.<sup>11</sup> On his return it was Henslow who obtained the funding for Darwin's volume of the *Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle* to be published in 1839. In this Darwin gave his:

most sincere thanks to the Reverend Professor Henslow, who, when I was an under-graduate at Cambridge, was one chief means of a giving me a taste for Natural History, – who, during my absence, took charge of the collections I sent home, and by his correspondence directed my endeavours, – and who, since my return, has constantly rendered me every assistance which the kindest friend could offer.

Darwin and Henslow remained friends and Darwin possessed a much handled and annotated copy of Henslow's *Principles of Descriptive & Physiological Botany* (1836) which, tellingly, has the words 'Variation in physiology' pencilled on the inside of its cover, with a page reference to the section on 'Irregularity of Divergence'. Darwin's recording of variability led, of course, to his great work *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, published in 1859. And in the turmoil after its publication, Henslow was still an aid, for in 1860 he chaired the famous meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Oxford, where the *Origin of Species* was debated and where Thomas Huxley in his celebrated defence of Darwin declared that he would sooner be descended from an ape than a bishop.

Henslow's own life took another turn in direction in 1837 when he was rewarded with the generous church living of Hitcham, a place somewhat unfavourably described by a biographer (probably his brother-in-law, the Revd Leonard Jenyns) in 1861 as being:

a populous, remote and woefully neglected parish, where the inhabitants, with regard to food and clothing and the means of observing the decencies of life, were far below the average scale of the peasant class in England.<sup>12</sup>

The usual response for men in Henslow's position would have been to pocket the income, appoint a curate to do the work and spend as little time as possible in the parish, but instead Henslow took his new responsibilities very seriously, whilst still maintaining his position as Professor of Botany at Cambridge.

Another memoir, this time certainly by his brother-in-law Jenyns, noted that:

Such was the moral waste which Professor Henslow was called upon to till and cultivate ... His difficulties were the greater, as there were no influential persons in the parish to aid him in his attempts to correct what was wrong, and establish what was right. The farmers, who ought to have backed him up, were intellectually but little raised above the labourers they employed; and, with that obstinacy and prejudice which so often characterizes men of their class ... instead of approving of the steps he took to raise the condition of his parishioners, doggedly opposed him in all his schemes, and threw every obstacle in his way they could. But the new rector was not a man to flinch or go back at the sight of difficulties.<sup>13</sup>

This was very true!

By 1841 he had already set up a village school and various clubs to aid the poorer of his parishioners; a coal club, a children's clothing club, a wife's society etc., but in 1844 the urgency of the need for social reform hit him even harder. A series of letters in *The Times* on social unrest and rick burning in Suffolk, including Hitcham, highlighted the terrible poverty of the majority of his parish. This spurred him on to do more both within his parish and more widely. With Victorian confidence and practicality, he saw that education and the application of scientific knowledge offered the best solutions to social deprivation.

In Hitcham he timetabled himself for regular lessons in the village school he had founded. His lessons were naturally botany and nature study and he involved the children in collecting specimens, dissecting them and preparing notes and drawings of their findings. A group were even employed in collecting seeds for some of Darwin's experiments. Several of the children went on to become teachers themselves, carrying Henslow's inspiration with them. To help the school children in their studies, he published flora lists for Hitcham in the 1850s that are the earliest and most complete records for any Suffolk parish. These lists, copies of which still exist, also provided material for his later *Flora of Suffolk* (1860). In 1977, Alec Bull, the son of a Hitcham farmer, published a new list for Hitcham, comparing it with Henslow's and indicating the changes over the hundred years between them.<sup>14</sup> This has a bleak conclusion that:

something like sixty native species have disappeared ... Their places have been taken, in part, by new arrivals, or plants able to survive the polluted margins of an arable monoculture which has replaced the balanced environment and its native plants, which Henslow knew.

It is perhaps unfortunate that this survey came at a low time for perceptions of the state of the countryside for around the time of the millennium data started to emerge that some of the 'lost' species had in fact clung on and were starting to thrive again as environmental awareness gained ground.<sup>15</sup> Most astounding of all is the discovery in 2019 of a specimen of the Lizard Orchid (*Himantoglossum hircinum*) in the parish. This is a species that even Henslow's own *Flora* of 1860 listed as 'Very scarce, if not extinct'.<sup>16</sup> Henslow would have been amazed to see it and, hopefully, we can take it as an optimistic sign of nature's powers of survival and regeneration.

Henslow's belief in the importance of education did not stop with the school children. He was now deeply concerned with the overall poverty in the village. He introduced allotments to the village in the teeth of opposition from the parish's farmers. As well as providing practical advice, Henslow instituted an annual horticultural show at the Rectory where parishioners could show off their produce and receive prizes. He also believed passionately in scientific agriculture and persuaded local farmers to assist him in experiments on crop diseases and measured analyses of manures. On a family holiday in Felixstowe, his enquiring mind

caused him to examine substances found in the cliffs there, known as coprolites. He recognised that coprolites (so-called because they were thought to be the fossilised excrement of prehistoric creatures) contain a high percentage of phosphate of lime, which he perceived would provide a highly concentrated fertilizer. He conducted experiments, published his results and gave an influential lecture to the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1845. His ideas were taken up by William Colchester at Burwell in Cambridgeshire and by Edward Packard in Ipswich (hence the street near the docks, close to the University of Suffolk, which is still called Coprolite Street). Packard later moved to Bramford where his superphosphate works were later joined by those of Joseph Fison. These produced fertilisers that revolutionised agriculture across the world.<sup>17</sup>

Henslow could also be described as the father of scientific archaeology in Suffolk as he undertook the first excavations in the county where a written and drawn record was made. These were undertaken in 1843–4 on the Roman barrows at Eastlow Hill in Rougham. He was also, in 1848, one of the founding vice-presidents of the Bury St Edmunds and West Suffolk Archaeological Institute (now the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History and still going strong). In 1847 he was one of the principal founders of Ipswich Museum, becoming its president in 1850. He advocated ‘free admission days’ to enable the general public to benefit from the new museum. He gave several public lectures in the museum, one of which drew on corals supplied by Darwin. As president of the museum he gave the welcoming address to Prince Albert when he visited in 1851.

The stress of all these works took its toll and Henslow died of an attack of bronchitis in Hitcham in 1861, aged 65, and is buried near the tower of his church. Here was a man who ‘knew everything’, yet who seems to have dedicated his life to the selfless helping of others. As a scientist, he prepared the ground for the theory of evolution by stressing the importance of observing and recording variation within species, raising questions about the boundaries between species. By this, he signed the way that Darwin followed, motivating and supporting him to make that journey while he himself took on new tasks. As a teacher in Cambridge University, in his village school and at ‘mechanics institutes’, he devised new ways to make learning accessible and pleasurable; to him everybody, without any bar of class, wealth or sex, was capable of learning if given the right encouragement and tools. As a rector with care of souls, he took this to include their social welfare and applied himself unstintingly to ease the lot of the poorest by both campaigning at a national level and also by setting up help schemes in his own parish. He was not one to pass by if a problem arose. In all, his was a life well lived in the advancement of science and the service of others, not caring for praise nor other worldly reward. After more than 150 years this is still a life that is an example to us all.<sup>18</sup>

20 May. Jo Caruth.

*Suffolk in the (short) 5th century.*

The conventional history for the 5th century in Britain has been marked by two key events: one well documented which marks the end of Roman Britain in 410AD; and the other, the less securely recorded arrival of Hengist and Horsa which marks the beginning of Anglo-Saxon England in c.450AD. Archaeological work over the last ten years, however, is increasingly bringing these two events closer together. Whilst there is plenty of evidence for late 4th-century Roman activity in Suffolk, there is an absence of artefactual evidence that can be securely dated to the early 5th century; bulk coinage entering the country ceased once there was no army to pay and the pottery manufacturing industries collapsed. Coin evidence is key to understanding what was happening in Suffolk at the end of the Roman period and we can compare the proportion of coins by date found in Suffolk against the British average. On average, Suffolk shows a slightly lower proportion of the latest 4th- and early 5th-century

coins than Britain as a whole, but in fact much of this is skewed by the very low number of late coins in the coastal area, a pattern that is mirrored in the location of Roman hoards. The evidence for Saxons in Britain before the 5th century is limited although some raiding along the North Sea coast was undoubtedly taking place. Whilst we know that 'Barbarians' were both integrated into the Roman army and fought alongside the Roman army in mercenary bands, there is little evidence of mercenaries in Britain. It is notable, however, that some of the more important Anglo-Saxon sites fall into areas of the county that also included important Roman sites.

I am currently writing up the Anglo-Saxon settlement excavations at Eye. The location of this site falls roughly equidistant between two valuable Roman hoards and only c.5km from the Roman roadside settlement at Scole, which all contain evidence that suggests Roman activity in the early 5th century. Close to the site are two Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries, both of which look to have been in use in the 5th century. The work at Spong Hill has established that Anglo-Saxon cremation burial there started as early as c.425AD (about the same date as the probable deposition date of the latest Roman hoards in Britain). In the meantime, we have two particularly unusual aspects to the settlement at Eye: first is the presence of a (relatively small) continental style, three-aisled longhouse, otherwise unknown in England; and second is a pile of drip slag associated with either Iron Age or Anglo-Saxon methods of smelting. We also have some 5th-century finds including a copper-alloy strip with a runic inscription. Of particular interest, however, is the high proportion of latest issue Roman coins which exceeds that for Britain as a whole. Radiocarbon dating of the drip slag suggests a 4th-century date, quite inconsistent with its form, but consistent with methods being used in Germanic regions beyond the Roman empire. Other radiocarbon dates from the Anglo-Saxon buildings are consistently giving date ranges of 420–530AD, frustratingly broad because of the flattening of the radiocarbon curve for this period, but at least confirming that this settlement is early in the Anglo-Saxon period. What are we seeing at Eye? Might we have evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement overlapping in time with the last vestiges of local Roman-style control? Might we have some of the first Anglo-Saxon settlers here, bringing in a building style common at home but which quickly proves impractical or unnecessary in England?

I am very grateful to Jude Plouviez who has generously supplied me with her research material to provide the background context for this.

3 June. Keith Briggs.

*The surnames of 13th-century Ipswich.*

The systematic study of medieval surnames has been of proven value as an adjunct to various fields of research such as historical linguistics, social and economic history and population and migration history. This is especially so when comprehensive surveys have been done of major towns; examples are the pioneering studies of London, King's Lynn, and Nottingham.<sup>19</sup>

There is, however, no comparable study for Ipswich, despite that fact that very extensive records survive from about 1250 onwards. I have thus begun such a study, and in this talk I outlined the principles being used. All surnames can be fitted into four main categories, given here with typical examples:

1. Occupational: *le Tanner*, *Sutor* ('cobbler'), *le Keu* ('cook'), *Clerk*, *Baxtere* ('baker').
2. Ancestral:
  - patronymic: *filius Edmundi*, *Hike* (short for Richard).
  - matronymic: *Margery*.
  - dynastic: *Aylred*, *Wulfhun*, *Harneys*.

3. Locational:
  - topographic: *Feld, atte Bregge, Inthefenne, dil Grene*.
  - toponymic: *de Martlesham, de Donewico*.
4. Descriptive:
  - character, appearance: *le Long, Curteis* ('courteous'), *Leu* ('wolf').
  - nickname, byname: *Joye, Geldeneye, Shakeloc*.

The talk then covered several unusual examples of surnames of Ipswich people: rare occupations such as *Adam le Stonekeruere* 'stone-carver', and *Hugo le Suindriuere* 'swine-driver'; musicians such as *Radulf Pipe and Tabur*; names of women such as *Botild Godeswoman*; French names such as *Andreas Chaunteben* 'sing well'; and nicknames such as *Gilbert Haredscho* 'hard shoe' and the miserly *Laurence Pincheferthing* 'grip farthing', and *Margareta Lunchedeucl* (some kind of devil). Finally, a list was given of names so far uninterpreted, including *Huberdunci, Buskeleche, Dunkepot*, and *Testepin*, with some speculations offered as to possible meanings.

17 June. *Jude Plouviez.*

*Roman hoards in Suffolk and their stories.*

Roman hoards, loosely defined as groups of metal objects deliberately buried in the ground, most often consist entirely or largely of coins, but the roughly one hundred Suffolk examples also include eight examples of silver, copper-alloy or pewter tableware, four of copper-alloy objects used in religious practice, and two groups of iron tools and fittings.<sup>20</sup> There are three phases of high hoard deposition: the 1st century around the period of the Roman conquest in AD43 and subsequent events up to AD70; the later 3rd century; and the late 4th and early 5th centuries, the period of the end of Roman control in Britain. Although the first and last phases probably relate to periods of change and insecurity, the late 3rd century is more likely to reflect the devaluation and debasement of the coinage, perhaps making money buried for safety not worth recovering. Some 3rd-century hoards are very large, 12420 coins were said to be found in a pot in Stowlangtoft before 1764, and these may also have been accumulated over time as low value votive offerings, as has been suggested for the recently excavated hoard from Frome in Somerset. But the largest Roman hoard from Suffolk is Hoxne with 580 gold and 14654 silver coins, along with gold jewellery and silver tableware, buried in a wooden box between about AD 410 and AD 430.

Hoards, particularly the large and interesting ones like Hoxne, tend to accumulate their own myths and legends. This is particularly true in the case of the Mildenhall treasure of late Roman silver tableware. As far as could be established at the inquest held in 1946 into the discovery to establish treasure trove, it was initially spotted in early 1942 by Gordon Butcher who was ploughing under contract to Sidney Ford on land at West Row, Mildenhall, tenanted by a Mr Rolfe. He and Ford dug up all the pieces and put them in a sack which Ford took home. Ford cleaned the silver objects and had them in his house at West Row until one of the spoons was spotted by a visiting collector in 1946, who eventually persuaded him to report the find. Because Ford had claimed that he thought the objects were pewter rather than silver and had given several different findspots around West Row, several archaeological myths developed. The first was that such fine Roman material could not derive from a field in the remote outpost of Britannia, but that it must have been brought in on a plane to the airbase at Mildenhall, having been found in north Africa or even Italy during the war. This view was upheld by Paul Ashbee in 1997 in reply to an article by Richard Hobbs assessing the validity of the story by Roald Dahl (first published 1947, reissued in 1970 and 1999) about the discovery.<sup>21</sup> The Hobbs article also illustrated that hoards of the early 5th century were much

more common in Britain than elsewhere in the Roman Empire, with a particular focus in East Anglia. Another myth was fostered by Cambridge archaeologist Tom Lethbridge who, with Gordon Fowler, investigated the field at West Row after the inquest. Their very convoluted story revolved around local rumours that the area was already known to contain a treasure, previously searched for in 1920, and suggested that the original findspot was near Icklingham. This was followed up in the 1970s by John Gadd who had acquired Lethbridge's papers, and an excavation was carried out in 1977 to test one of the possible burial locations at West Row with no result.

In the last fifty years the vast majority of Roman hoards (40 of the 100 listed for Suffolk) have been discovered using a metal detector; they remain very rare finds on archaeological excavations because they were often not hidden within or close to houses. While East Anglia has a tradition of co-operating with detectorists, there was always a rogue element and stories about what we had not been shown. One of these, the Icklingham hoard of temple bronzes looted in about 1981, was so exceptional that it could be identified when it turned up in New York in 1986. The actual owner, John Browning, was appalled to discover that there was nothing the British government could do to recover the objects and he resorted to the American law courts. The settlement of the case should see the bronzes passed to the British Museum after the death of the owner in the US.<sup>22</sup> The case highlighted the need for Britain to ratify the 1970 UNESCO convention on trade in illicit cultural objects which was finally achieved in 2003.

The discovery and excavation of the Hoxne hoard in 1992 also encouraged a change to English legislation, replacing the outdated law of treasure trove with the Treasure Act 1996 and the associated setting up of a national Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) for England and Wales. Roger Bland at the British Museum studied the Hoxne coins. He then worked on drafting the new Treasure Act and became the first head of the PAS in 1997.

*1 July. Harvey Osborne.*

*Workhouse disorder in Suffolk, 1835–55.*

The presentation given to members of the Institute on 1 July 2020 was based on a recently published study.<sup>23</sup> The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act transformed the provision of poor relief in England and Wales. The former parochial system of poor relief was dismantled and individual parishes were instead organised together into new poor law unions for the purposes of poor law management and administration. Reform also heralded the end (or at least the significant reduction) of former 'outdoor relief' practices and the creation of new union workhouses which applicants for poor relief, including the able-bodied unemployed, were now theoretically required to enter in order to obtain assistance. The New Poor Law did not completely abolish outdoor relief for the temporarily poverty stricken, but during the 1840s and 1850s significant numbers of the able-bodied poor were subject to the workhouse test and were forced 'indoors' to join the indigent population of the new workhouses. In Suffolk, the process of creating poor law unions was complicated by, although some would say assisted by, the presence of numerous existing incorporations created between 1756 and 1779 under local acts of Parliament. Many of these incorporations already possessed large workhouses, often former houses of industry. Twelve of these were adapted to meet the standards required under the New Poor Law and a further six new workhouses were built. Whatever the origins of the new union workhouses which emerged after 1834, all were characterised by the same internal regime. Life for workhouse inmates was marked by a regimented timetable, restrictions on personal freedom, separation and segregation of the sexes, and mundane and repetitive forms of punitive labour, such as oakum picking, stone-breaking, pumping water or corn-grinding.



However, as this presentation was concerned to highlight, imposing and maintaining such a strict disciplinary regime was not always easy. In the decades immediately following the Amendment Act, workhouses in Suffolk were plagued with problems of routine disorder and more dramatic incidents of riot. This presentation used a study of 266 prosecutions for disorderly and refractory conduct in the Plomesgate and Woodbridge union workhouses between January 1847 and March 1855 to highlight the nature and root causes of this disorder. The findings, put simply, were as follows. Young single adults (aged between 17 and 25) of both sexes were among the least compliant and most difficult to control. This group were usually only temporarily resident, often as a result of unemployment. These people were often insubordinate to workhouse officials; they refused to work, damaged doors and furniture and frequently deserted from the workhouse without permission. The most frequent offenders were repeatedly brought before magistrates and regularly imprisoned for such offences. Some individuals oscillated between workhouse and prison as a result. The other important group of paupers associated both with routine insubordination, and often more serious outbreaks of rioting, were married, able-bodied, men and women (aged between 25 and 45). The separation of man and wife, which the rules of the union workhouse decreed, was an indignity too far for some married inmates. The refusal of workhouse officials to allow men to see their wives provided the spark for serious riots within the Woodbridge Union Workhouse in 1850 and similar issues provoked regular outbreaks of disorder elsewhere in the county, particularly within the Bosmere and Wangford union workhouses.

For most of the year able-bodied adults, whether single or married, did not make up a significant proportion of the inmate population in any Suffolk workhouse. However, they were often present in higher numbers at certain points of the year, particularly during the late winter months when the impact of unemployment tended to be most pronounced. Indeed, the populations of rural workhouses in Suffolk routinely rose substantially between December and February, as additional numbers of temporarily unemployed adults were admitted. The sudden arrival of large numbers of able-bodied paupers, married or single, often presaged trouble for the small teams of staff responsible for the day to day management of Suffolk's early Victorian workhouses. These inmates tended to be the least tractable and the least amenable to workhouse discipline. The relationship between seasonal poverty, able-bodied paupers and disorder is borne out by the available evidence. Most prosecuted incidents of workhouse disorder and almost every significant workhouse riot in Suffolk during the 1840s and 1850s occurred during the winter months coincident with the presence of greater numbers of able-bodied adults in the 'house'.

15 July. Philip Slavin.

*Suffolk during the Great Famine of 1315–17.*

The agrarian crisis of 1315–17, known to history as the Great Famine, was one of the most devastating environmental crises to hit Europe within the last two millennia. The almost biblical flooding of 1314–16 brought about a series of crop failures that, in turn, triggered a widespread famine that hit both human and animal populations with unprecedented force. The impact of this crisis, and the major long-term environmental consequences that followed, thus mark a truly watershed moment in English and indeed European history.

This talk summarised the author's recent monograph, an in-depth study of the Great Famine as it affected the British Isles, focusing particularly on the county of Suffolk.<sup>24</sup> Through this focused approach, it also offers new insights into late medieval Suffolk economy and society at a time of political, socio-economic and biological shocks and crises. Close analysis of contemporary archival sources reveals that the Great Famine was a highly complex phenomenon made by both nature and man, and this is reflected in a highly interdisciplinary

approach that studies climate, economy, demography and health, as well as the way in which human behaviour further exacerbated and intensified the impact of famine.

*29 July. Keith Wade.*

*Anglo-Saxon Ipswich.*

The town of Ipswich does not have Roman origins, but during the Roman period Ipswich borough was an area of fairly intensively populated countryside, dominated by the villa at Castle Hill, Whitton, and crossed by Roman roads linking nearby towns.

From the period after the end of Roman rule in the early 5th century, one Early Anglo-Saxon settlement and two cemeteries, dating to the 6th to early 7th centuries, have been partially excavated within the borough boundaries: the Hadleigh Road cemetery; the Boss Hall cemetery; and the Handford Road settlement, with a second possible settlement at Wallers Grove, where a brooch and pottery were found during development on the Chantry estate in 1950.

The Hadleigh Road cemetery is unusual in that it has square-headed brooches rather than the typical cruciform brooches, and no swords, wrist-clasps or small-long brooches, which are the norm in East Anglian cemeteries of this period, including that at Boss Hall. Also, the cremation urns are plain, or decorated only with bosses, in contrast to the highly decorated urns from other cemeteries. This has been interpreted as representing some form of intrusive or separatist group from Kent, or even southern Scandinavia. A study of the pottery stamps present at the Handford Road settlement suggests that the site was a trading, or even diplomatic, outpost for merchants or kingdoms further N.

In the middle of the 7th century, occupation moved to the present site of the town of Ipswich. The distribution of late 7th-century pottery suggests that occupation was restricted to a maximum of thirty hectares N of the river with cemeteries to the N, at the Buttermarket, and S, at Stoke Quay, dating from the 7th to early 8th centuries. At the Novotel site, just N of Stoke Bridge, two sunken featured buildings were found and many pits containing handmade pottery and a high percentage of pottery imported from the Rhine and Scheldt areas of mainland Europe. Three male graves in the Buttermarket cemetery contained continental belt-suites paralleled in Belgium and northern France. Only two other such belt-suites have been found in England, from Southampton and London, and they indicate the presence of high-status individuals of Frankish origin. Isotope analysis showed that two of those buried under barrows at the Stoke Quay cemetery originated in the area of Denmark, France and the Low Countries, i.e. they were of Frankish or Frisian origin.

There can be no doubt that Ipswich at this period was a trading post with Frankish and/or Frisian traders in residence. There is little evidence, however, for exchange taking place in Ipswich itself as there are few coins of the period. By contrast, large quantities of coins have been found at the royal vill site at Rendlesham which is, no doubt, where the money was changing hands.

Between c.700 and 750AD there was a major expansion of the settlement to cover some fifty hectares both N and S of the river (Stoke). The new town comprised a gridiron pattern of streets with a possible market on the Cornhill with its possible royal chapel of St Mildred. This implies planning by a central authority, almost certainly the East Anglian royal house. All sites excavated across the town have provided consistent evidence of international trade and a wide range of craft activities spanning the period from c.730 to 850 AD. Craft production included bone and antler working, textile production, metalworking and leatherworking, but was dominated by pottery production. The distinctive pottery, called Ipswich ware, was mass-produced and distributed throughout eastern England and beyond, demonstrating the area of economic influence which the town had at that time. International



trade is indicated by large amounts of pottery from northern France, Belgium, and the Rhineland, and lava quernstones from the Rhineland. The pottery probably represents a wine trade and this would have arrived in barrels, some of which have been found across the town, reused as well linings. Ipswich is one of only a handful of English towns which can demonstrate such early origins and there appears to be one for each of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms: Southampton (Hamwic) serving Wessex; York (Eoforwic) serving Northumbria; Ipswich (Gipeswic) serving East Anglia; Sandwich (Sondwic) and probably Rochester serving Kent; and London (Lundenwic) serving Essex, firstly, and then Mercia. Both London and Southampton have a sequence of occupation like that at Ipswich, i.e. a 7th-century trading colony superseded by a planned town in the early 8th century. The *wic* element of their place names probably indicates a trading settlement. The sites on mainland Europe with which these towns traded are also known: Quentovic in the Pas de Calais, trading with Southampton and Sandwich; Dorestad (on the Rhine), with Ipswich and London; and Hedeby (then in Denmark), with York.

We have some idea of the townscape of the Middle Saxon town from the large-scale excavations at St Stephen's Lane, where modest buildings line the main streets and alleyways between them. The only large building was found on the Buttermarket site and these were probably the norm in the core area of the town. Such buildings are common at Dorestad and Hedeby. Excavations on the waterfront have also shown timber landing stages projecting into the river, just like those from Dorestad and Hedeby.

There is a major break in the material culture of Ipswich in the middle of the 9th century indicating the arrival and subsequent settlement of East Anglia by the Danes between 869 and 879. Building types change from surface laid to sunken featured buildings, and the pottery industry changes from producing Ipswich ware to Thetford-type ware. There are more early Scandinavian combs from Ipswich than from Lincoln, York and London, and there was clearly a large Danish presence which was protected by construction of the first town defences which have been excavated on both the E and W sides of the town. From 850–1066 Ipswich grew very little, but remained in the top ten most important Anglo-Saxon towns. In 1066, there were 500 households but, by 1086, 328 of the burgess plots lay waste and 110 burgesses could not pay their taxes. By the middle of the 12th century, the town had dropped to twenty-first in the town rankings.

*12 August. Heather Falvey.*

*The cult of the Blessed Henry VI and its links with Suffolk.*

Although known today as an ineffectual king, many people in late medieval England regarded Henry VI as a saint on whom they might call for help at times of trouble, accident or illness. He was buried at Chertsey Abbey in May 1471 and the phenomenon of his saintly cult emerged soon after. He was venerated as a helper of the weak, sick or wrongly accused. In August 1484, for reasons unknown, Richard III had Henry's remains transferred to St George's Chapel, Windsor, to a tomb under an arch in the quire to the right of the high altar. *Miraculés* (people who experienced a miracle thanks to the intercession of Henry VI) went to pray at his tomb, to make an offering and to report their miracle. Initially they went to Chertsey, then to Windsor, and sources suggest that miracles even occurred at the tomb itself. By about 1500 at least 368 miracles had been attributed to him. These are known from a single manuscript in the British Library (MS BL Royal 13c, viii), generated as part of the (incomplete) project begun by Henry VII to have Henry VI canonised. People travelled from all over the country to give thanks at Henry VI's tomb. Furthermore, when writing their will, some people requested that another person, usually a priest, go on pilgrimage to Windsor on their behalf. Pilgrims purchased badges as mementos and about 400 Henry VI badges survive,

with only badges from Canterbury surviving in greater quantity.

There were also items dedicated to Henry VI, or likenesses of him, in many parish churches. Pictures of Henry VI have been identified on roodscreens and examples from Suffolk include Eye and possibly Nayland. Elsewhere there were images, as is evidenced by wills containing bequests for 'lights', which took the form of candles placed before a statue or picture of the named saint. Henry VI appears to have been venerated at Walberswick and the churchwardens' accounts record the presence of a picture of him. In 1497 Edmund Wryth was paid 3s 6d for renovating this picture and in 1497 the young women of the parish had collected 6s 4d for that renovation. Two parishioners requested surrogate pilgrimages to Henry's tomb at Windsor: Thomas White (1492) and Margaret Pynne (1509). Other Suffolk testators requesting a pilgrimage to Windsor include Dame Margaret Darcy of Bardwell (1489), John Dorhunt of Henstead (1492), John More of Gislingham (1493) and Richard Colvyll of Hacheston (1525). The bequest of Margaret Smyth of Hoxne is particularly tantalising; in 1475, just four years after Henry's death, she left 13s 4d for 'the makynge of an ymage of king herry the vjth'.

The British Library manuscript records two Suffolk miracles. At Alnesbourn near Nacton, on 7 November 1490, two girls were piling up straw in a barn. Marian Cowpar had clambered on top of the stack. When she reached down to gather straw being offered up on a pitchfork by her companion, she fell forward onto the pitchfork, one prong puncturing her throat, the other piercing her jaw almost to her left ear. The other girl's screams brought neighbours running to the scene. Marian was feared dead. Then, some of the crowd remembered the blessed King Henry and vowed to visit his tomb, whereupon Marian was restored, without needing any medical assistance. Soon afterwards a group of witnesses, together with Marian, visited the tomb at Windsor. The second Suffolk *miraculé* can be found in other records. The name of Sir Richard Swettock, rector of Bildeston, occurs eight times in the probate register of the archdeaconry of Sudbury as either executor or witness to wills of Bildeston parishioners. When his miracle occurred he was a very old man who had become so deaf that he was unable to hear the singing of the clergy or even pealing bells. He was heartbroken because Lent was approaching, the time when a rector ought care diligently for his flock, so he prayed to King Henry to mediate for him. The next Sunday, his hearing was completely restored; he went to Windsor to give thanks. The *miraculés*' illnesses or accidents were not pure fabrications, however much they may have been embellished by the narrator. As the wills of the Bildeston parishioners prove, the *miraculés* were real people who visited Henry VI's tomb.

29 August. Maryanne Kowaleski.

*Foreigners in medieval Suffolk. An introduction to the England's Immigrants Project.*

Members were given a presentation on the major research project 'England's Immigrants, 1350–1550', which explored the extensive archival evidence about the names, origins, occupations and households of the people known to have migrated to England during the period of the Hundred Years War and the Black Death, the Wars of the Roses and the Reformation. Particular reference was made to evidence for resident aliens in Suffolk during this period. Further details about the project are available on its searchable website, 'England's Immigrants 1350–1550: resident aliens in the late Middle Ages'.<sup>25</sup>

8 September. Rosemary Hoppitt.

*Suffolk deer parks, 1086–1602.*

Suffolk is well-endowed with deer parks, between 1086 and 1602 there are at least 132 recorded. Some were long-lived, such as Eye, Redgrave and Hundon, and still leave a

landscape legacy, others were more ephemeral, such as Great Thurlow, Bentley and Monewden. Nevertheless, even these can be tracked and their locations found, or at the very least, proposed.

The chronology of imparking in Suffolk is similar to many other counties. From 1086 through to the mid-13th century there is a steady rise in numbers of recorded parks, climbing dramatically such that in the mid-14th century there were around forty-four parks extant in the county. Newly recorded parks diminish into the 15th century, although the numbers of extant parks holds up. A second wave of imparking in the 16th century takes the number of parks extant in 1600 to around forty-five.

The early increase is partly a reflection of the increasing output of government documentation, and partly a reflection of the growing desire of manorial lords to have a private hunting ground, or at least access to venison for consumption and for gift exchange. Suffolk's chronology is based on documents which indicate that the parks were already functioning, such as extents with details of the size and value of the park and cases of trespass. However, it is evident that parks may have been present in the landscape for between thirty and a hundred years before their first appearance in many documents. The implication of this is that the rate of imparking in Suffolk was probably already increasing in the 12th century and accelerating by the start of the 13th. This coincided with a time of expanding population, with a consequential increase in pressure on the land resource, arable expanded at the expense of the woodland and pasture resources. In response, lords were enclosing common pasture and woodland and in some cases creating parks. One such example is at Great Bradley where Thomas Bigod appeared in the Eyre of 1240 to answer the case of disseising one of his tenants of his grazing.

In the medieval period the majority of Suffolk's parks were located in High Suffolk, on the till uplands, where there was most woodland (a suitable habitat for the deer); there were very few on the less-wooded Breckland and Sandlings. However, the location of the individual parks themselves were down to the decisions of landholders, who were faced with a mixture of choices and constraints about where to create their parks. When parks are examined in relation to the total landholdings of lords, the overriding pattern indicates that places of choice are manors held in demesne, with maximum control over the geographical space. They are rarely to be found in villis with multiple manors, or with a large number of free tenants, both of which would have been competing for those same spaces and resources.

At a micro-scale, the early parks are almost all located on the periphery of parishes where they share space with greens, moated sites and former medieval woodland. As such, they are a component part of the expansion from the manorial core onto the marginal upland which, as manorial 'waste', made best use of the difficult physical conditions of increased exposure, higher rainfall and heavy waterlogged soils on the flat interfluvies. In contrast, the later 16th-century parks are located on lower altitudes relative to the manorial core, away from the periphery and surround, or are adjacent to the landholder's dwelling.

This examination of the geography and chronology of imparking forms the introductory section to the book which is followed by chapters investigating in more detail individual parks and their historical, social and geographical contexts.<sup>26</sup>

23 September. James Davis.

*Re-evaluating the markets of medieval Suffolk.*

This paper looked at our existing knowledge of the markets of medieval Suffolk and asked whether there remain further fruitful avenues of investigation. It is well known that charters for market foundation flourished in 13th-century England, and this was clearly also the case for Suffolk. A proliferation of markets lay the basis for commercialisation and urbanisation,

and perhaps reflected a growing market dependency by the peasantry, but their operation and the networks between them is not always clear. Indeed, how many of these royal charters translated into functioning or successful markets is still uncertain, especially at village level. It is possible, of course, that the village markets of the commercialised county of Suffolk were more successful than many in England. However, this not only raises questions around the aims of, and level of, investment by the lords who held the market charters, but also whether the weak manorial structures in much of Suffolk facilitated independent initiatives and entrepreneurship from the tenants. How did these differing influences upon investment, oversight and use affect the emerging market networks of the county?

The marketing hierarchy can be reconstituted to a certain extent by looking at the 1334 lay subsidy, which was based upon assessment of movable commodities and perhaps comparable to commercial wealth. This highlights a pattern of regional centres (Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds), sub-regional centres (Sudbury, Mildenhall, Hoxne, Beccles, Dunwich and Orford), and then numerous smaller markets, each with varying shapes and extents of hinterlands. There may be hints of temporal market circuits in this pattern, where traders move from market to market, day by day, but in much of the county this is nebulous. What is clearer is the ongoing competition between market centres, including across the county boundary, expressed both in political pressure and economic muscle. Other factors, such as coastal erosion and accretion, the developing cloth trade, and the fall in aggregate demand after the Black Death all influenced the prosperity of individual markets.

The survival of Suffolk's markets into the 16th century was based on how well they could weather the changing commercial context, including probable changes in informal and daily trade (such as via shops). Again, an approximation of the surviving commercial hierarchy can be seen through analysis of the 1524–5 lay subsidy. Although it is notable that earlier and larger foundations were more likely to survive, they often had the benefit of location either on main communication routes, or on the borders of contrasting agricultural areas. Other markets benefitted from coastal shifts, the growing cloth industry, or the strong pastoral economy of Suffolk. The county was still commercialised, but the market network was perhaps more defined and specialised.

*7 October. Bob and Jane Carr.*

*Substantially Norman. St Nicholas's church, Stanningfield.*

This presentation was an experiment to see whether a spontaneous, unscripted Institute excursion to a church set in its sunny/damp churchyard might be translated into a semi-formal illustrated talk within the setting of the computer screen and delivered via Zoom. If the response of the 15 per cent of the Zoom consumers who commented is representative, it seems it is an acceptable alternative ... indeed some preferred the comforts of the armchair in the front row to standing in the shadow of the sexton's hut. For the presenter, it was several hours more work in creating a formal talk; whilst the recce and the analysis were the same, the creation of illustrations is very time consuming, but has several analytical benefits such as being able to see and discuss both N and S aspects at the same time, and to concentrate the view on a small or localised area.

St Nicholas is a simple single-cell building with its nave and chancel under one roof. It has a W tower and S porch but no aisle, vestry or chapel. The view of the building from a S approach can summarise the principle phases: a Norman nave with Early English alterations in the form of the replacement doorway and a two-light window to the E and generalised wall heightening; an exclusively Early English chancel of one build; a tower of Perpendicular style. This phasing is repeated on the N, but is more readily appreciated as there are no trees to interrupt the view, and it was this aspect which received most attention in the talk.

The Norman structure is identified by the fine 12th-century Romanesque doorway with chevron decoration, a single round-headed window, set about midway in the nave wall, and the horizontally coursed flint and mortar fabric of the walling, which also displays the original height of the Norman wall. The coursed mass fabric has a course of noticeably large flints which line up to the top of the doorway jambs and, together with a double depth of mortar below them, suggest a seasonal building break. Simon Cotton notes that accounts from later churches required that building only took place between Whitsun and Michaelmas, a practice believed to result from the environmental requirements for mortar setting.<sup>27</sup>

The Norman work on the S approximately mirrors the N, but the doorway is a simple but decorative 13th-century arch which is surrounded by a mass of disrupted flintwork; the extent of the uncoursed fabric is far larger than that required to insert the doorway arch and suggests that the Romanesque arch it replaced was correspondingly more magnificent than the already fine N doorway. The single-light Norman window is not directly opposite the N light and suggests that originally there were two evenly spaced windows E of the doorway. The remodelling of the building in the 13th century probably began with the simple 'Y' tracery nave windows and then rapidly progressed to the far grander chancel rebuild and the insertion of the S nave doorway. The timber-framed porch is mostly 19th century, but the timbers of the main entry arch, probably 14th century, survive. John Rokewood left 20 marks in 1415 for the new tower and bells.<sup>28</sup>

The interior adds little to the understanding and analysis of the structure, but social history is satisfied by the relicts of the local magnates, the Rookwood family, in the form of the font and the tomb chest in the chancel. Of far greater note is the awe-inspiring extent and message of the dark and ravaged painting of the Doom above the chancel arch. Second only to Wenhaston in the county, excellent illustrations can be found in Anne Marshall's study of wall-paintings.<sup>29</sup>

*21 October. Lynda Bradley and John Rainer.*

*Suffolk Archaeology Field Group: fifty years on.*

The Suffolk Archaeology Field Group (SAFG) was begun in 1974 by Dr Stanley West and Professor John Wymer with the purpose of ensuring the proper recording of finds made by amateur archaeologists. The group continues to work with the approval and sometimes collaboration of Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service (SCCAS). The key objective of SAFG is to add to the archaeological record in as professional a manner as possible and the very first member of the SAFG, Gilbert Burroughes, continues to be active in the field. The speakers were asked to detail the most exciting or interesting finds of recent years and four main sites, Hinderclay, Cookley, Homersfield and Bulcamp, were chosen.

Following up an aerial photo of Hinderclay, it was decided to focus on this site to obtain funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund for magnetometry equipment, with extra help from the Institute and SCCAS. This was successful and a detailed geophysical survey was carried out. John explained the geophysics, pointing out the interesting features, and Lynda explained the discovery of two furnaces and two pottery kilns. Firmly inserted across one end of a furnace, an iron bar was found, unruined, whose function remains a mystery (Fig. 43). Suggestions of a tool rest during smelting, or glass processing has no other evidence. One kiln in good preservation was compared to another of the same type excavated by Basil Brown, not far away, in 1953, with its central plinth intact. It was explained that it would have had a domed roof. Several kilns had been found in the wider area in the mid-20th century by Basil Brown and others. A pit yielded another mysterious object, a hollow Roman greyware sphere, c.9cm in diameter. The sphere is broken at one end and does not appear to have a flat area for stability. Despite scrutiny by experts, it defies explanation. Gilbert Burroughes, as a maker





FIG. 43 – Unrusty iron bar discovered at one end of furnace (*photo: D. Griffiths*).

of 'Roman' pottery, suggested that it may have been a practice piece which had been broken during firing. Most exciting and unexpected was the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon 5th- to 6th-century cruciform brooch. Items such as these are usually associated with higher status female inhumations, but no grave cut was found, although the brooch was located in the ditch of a circular feature on the limit of the site. It was broken into two pieces, but has been conserved. This type, found in East Anglia, was worn in pairs at the shoulder. A likely Anglo-Saxon cemetery has been identified in the vicinity.

Cookley yielded very exciting finds, but not from excavation. Our detectorists located a scattered hoard of mostly Roman Republican silver coins, dating from 122BC to 37AD. There were sixteen coins in total and another two have been found more recently. The coins are thought to either be a possible 'centurion' hoard deposited by a military retiree fleeing the Boudican rebellion, or deposited by a returning Iceni looter. A similar hoard recently detected nearby contained a contemporary coin of 60AD. Another exciting detection was an Anglo-Saxon 'T' axe, partially broken and minus a handle (Fig. 44). Dated to c.1100AD, a similar axe can be seen in the British Museum which still has its oak handle due to the wet context in which it was found. Excavated pottery, including Thetford ware dating to the 9th to 11th century AD, confirmed a contemporary date for the site.

At Homersfield, a multiperiod site, Roman evidence was found including a small, pipe clay hand, probably from a Venus figurine, but possibly from a rarer *Dea Nutrix* figurine. Figurines of this type were produced in Gaul in the 2nd century AD to lay at shrines, temples or in child graves. The object possibly provides evidence of a religious context in conjunction with previously detected votives.



FIG. 44 – Anglo-Saxon ‘T’ axe (*photo: G. Burroughes*).

The Bulcamp project started with extensive and responsibly reported metal-detected finds, in particular, coins and gilded harness fittings dated from the 12th to the 14th centuries within a well-defined area. The landowner was put in touch with the Field Group by SCCAS and it was agreed that the field should be surveyed using magnetometry. LiDAR indicated an area typical of a former moated site that might account for the finds. Survey results of this area revealed an extensive possible multiphase ditch and perhaps prehistoric enclosure system along with many other features, including a post-hole feature or series of pits and areas of demolition rubble or burning/ash. The enclosure appeared to have a 14m wide ditch, possibly filled and then having another 5m wide ditch cut into it. The survey was extended to cover the entire field over a period of two months. The subsequent excavation is not the subject of this brief report, but LiDAR showed that the ditch system had a base level of the same height above datum along much of its length, and that it may have extended to the river. Initial assessment of the geophysics and early investigation by excavation suggests that this may have been an industrial site whose precise nature is yet to be determined, but which may include saltern and/or other activities. There is evidence of Bronze Age metalworking nearby in the form of bronze-casting waste and an axe head which was found 200m away. A puzzling arrangement of pits has led to several suggestions. Their layout is similar to a medieval saltern found on a peat fen in Lincolnshire and environmental sampling shows the presence of salt. Quantities of fired clay and heat-altered stone may also point to salt production. Several episodes of tidal surges may also be relevant. From the possible saltern pits came the largest quantity of medieval pottery (dating between the 11th and 14th centuries) found in the region. Lastly, from a depth of 2m came large pieces of brick, dated to the 13th century, which were



probably made in Flanders for Cistercian abbeys. These may be associated with the wool trade between the Low Countries and East Anglia and were possibly used as ballast in ships returning from the continent.

*4 November. John Belcher.*

*Foldcourse husbandry.*

Foldcourse husbandry was a complex and long-lived system of interactions between the environment, social structures and agrarian practices, the preconditions for which were marginal and often acidic soils, irregular common fields in which the individual tenant holdings were scattered, and a nucleated settlement pattern. The field system of foldcourse husbandry was a hybrid regime of common fields and infield-outfield agriculture.

The Sandlings are, on environmental grounds, a region in which the foldcourse should have flourished, there are, however, few references to it in the region. The causes for this difference, in relation to the preconditions, were the existence of a field system of open fields with little evidence of communal organisation, and a pattern of clustered holdings. This minimal level of control is a reflection of the most important reason; the seigneurial and tenurial complexity, with many small manors and a great number of freemen. By comparison, the manorial structures of the foldcourse country were well established, though often with more than one manor to a vill and a significant population of freemen, though less than in the Sandlings.

The irregular fields of the foldcourse region bore little resemblance to those of the more regular systems in which each field was a unit of the cropping regime. By contrast, foldcourse husbandry was a regime of limited control, restricted principally to setting of the crop regime, the units of which were called shifts. The shift was, therefore, a practical measure to facilitate the herding of the flocks without a maze of fencing to separate animals from crop. The shift was a flexible system, the lands of a given shift did not need to be adjacent, or more permanent than the acreage of crop to be sown. Consolidation must, however, have been inevitable over time with the increase of seigneurial control and by the 17th century the difference between shift and field was increasingly blurred.

The cropping regimes of foldcourse husbandry had one common feature; fallowing for more than one year, the length of which varied. Three or four years were common, but could be up to seven. The principal reason for this approach was to improve the physical structure of the light soils and increase their ability to retain moisture and absorb nutrients.

In the Middle Ages the sheepfold contained, predominantly, the tenants' sheep, many of the tenants held a liberty of fold, which was, principally, the freedom to put one's sheep in the fold without payment. Furthermore, tenants were able to rent temporary folds on an annual basis.

The early modern period saw significant change in foldcourse husbandry with an increasing control of the regime by the owners of the foldcourse, and in particular a growing difference between Breckland and NW Norfolk in the evolution of the regime. The foldcourse as a legal entity disappeared with enclosure, but its physical presence in the landscape did not, particularly in Breckland, as at Barrow where the topography of the N part of the parish was unchanged between 1597 and the end of the 19th century.

*18 November. Clive Chambers.*

*Orford Ness, the secret island.*

From October 1915 when the Royal Flying Corps (RFC) flew onto Orford Ness for the first time as the Armament Experimental Flight, the Ness was at the cutting edge of the development of military technology. Powered flight had begun in 1903 and lot of research was needed. In both WW1 and WW2 the brief of its designers was always research and development. As always, this research was largely driven by the hostilities and the need to



produce effective fighting aircraft.

The pilots at Orford Ness tested their aircraft almost to destruction and flew, as did all members of the RFC, without parachutes. Parachutes were developed on the Ness, but only for use by the Royal Artillery observers who helped the guns to find their targets from a tethered balloon, and who were sitting ducks to the German Air Force. George Constantinescu, a Czechoslovakian, developed on the Ness the ability to fire a machine gun through the turning blades of a propeller using hydraulics. This was to counter the Imperial German Air Force who were decimating the RFC as they had this innovation first. At this time, the RFC were known as 'the suicide club' as a pilot had a life expectancy of only three weeks on the Western Front. Two aircraft from Orford Ness were credited with the destruction of the Zeppelin L48 which crashed at Theberton, near Leiston, Suffolk, in 1917. A Sopwith Camel biplane took off from Orford Ness to be towed behind a fast destroyer on a barge off the Ness to demonstrate that aircraft could be flown off a carrier. This was subsequently used within a few weeks to destroy a Zeppelin which was crossing the coast of the Low Countries, the aircraft lying in wait for its quarry at sea.

Between the wars the Ness continued to develop the science of bombing. Although the thirties were the height of appeasement, Robert Watson-Watt and his team demonstrated in 1936 that radar was operational in tracking incoming aircraft as it was able to detect altitude, speed and numbers. Air Chief Marshal Hugh Dowding incorporated the system into his fighter defence plan for the UK and an early warning radar system, known by the codename Chain Home, consisted of radar stations which stretched every twenty miles or so from Ventnor to the Firth of Forth.

During WW2 the RAF carried out lethality/vulnerability trials (V/L), using captured Axis ammunition against Allied aircraft, and Allied ammunition against captured Axis aircraft. This enabled the Allied air forces to identify the best angle of attack on Axis aircraft, and how to improve the defences of Allied aircraft. The scientist Barnes Wallis, best known as the inventor of the bouncing bomb, also worked on the Ness where he developed the 12000lb Tallboy earthquake bomb. When the fins had to be redesigned to improve accuracy, dummy Tallboys were dropped on the Ness. Deep in the shingle a Tallboy bomb still lurks which could not be recovered by the bomb disposal squad. On the nearby Sudbourne battle training area, the armoured warfare expert Percy Hobart developed the specialist armoured fighting vehicles, derived from tanks, known as Hobart's Funnies, which played an important role in the D-Day Landings. These included tanks fitted with mine-clearing and bridge-laying devices and some of these were tested at Kings Marsh on the Ness.

Britain made a crucial contribution to the Manhattan Project, the US-led research and development undertaking which produced the first nuclear weapons and the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Nevertheless, the US withdrew all co-operation on atomic weapons with the UK after secrets were leaked to the USSR by Klaus Fuchs, a UK scientist on the Manhattan Project, and by Kim Philby, first secretary to the British Embassy in Washington. Britain, under a Labour government, opted for its own nuclear weapons programme and the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment (AWRE) was then set up.

In 1956 the AWRE moved part of its operation from Aldermaston to Orford Ness. The first laboratory, Lab. 1, was opened to test the UK's nuclear weapon, Blue Danube. The casing containing the trigger mechanisms and explosive needed to fire a nuclear reaction was submitted to the conditions it would experience before detonation, including extremes of temperature and humidity. Labs 2 and 3 were built subsequently: Lab. 2 included a centrifuge to subject the casing to gravitational forces; whilst Lab. 3 was a thermal chamber. The casings were test dropped from 40000 feet over Bawdsey, and splashed down into the sea just off Orford lighthouse. These drops were tracked by radar. Other nuclear weapons, including

Yellow Sun and Red Beard, were also tested. In 1971 the AWRE left Orford Ness and moved back to Aldermaston, taking the centrifuge with them.

In around 1960 Labs 4 and 5 were built, known as the pagodas because of their design. It is thought that they were built to test Blue Streak, the UK's independent ballistic missile which was scrapped in the 1960s when the government decided to buy the American-made submarine Polaris, subsequently replaced by Trident. The USA eventually decided to co-operate once again with the UK on nuclear matters, mainly because of our expertise in miniaturisation of components. A family of WE177 weapons were also tested on the Ness after a US spy plane on the edge of the stratosphere was shot down by a Soviet missile in 1960. These weapons were no longer dropped by a bomber flying at altitude, but by an aircraft flying low under the radar and releasing its weapon so that it could fall to earth by parachute, whilst a delayed fuse allowed the aircraft to escape before the weapon detonated. WE177 weapons were in service with the UK military forces until 1999.

In 1970 Cobra Mist, the over-the-horizon backscatter radar station, came into being which enabled the USA to detect any missile launch or incoming attack on the West from within the Soviet Union. This was located at Orford Ness and, although designated a Royal Air Force base, was under the control of the USA. The station closed in 1973 and was then used by the BBC to broadcast into the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, 2020 saw the demolition of the lighthouse on the Ness which had been there since 1792. The National Trust bought Orford Ness in 1993 from the Ministry of Defence and opened it to the public in 1995. The Ness was acquired because it has 12.5 per cent of the world's coastal vegetated shingle, as rare as coral, and not for its military history, which has turned out to be additional value to the purchase!

*2 December. Keith Briggs and Nick Amor.  
Medieval ships of Ipswich.*

*The Ipswich galley of 1295. Keith Briggs.*

In the early 1290s tension was increasing between England and France, particularly over the status of Gascony as a possession of the English kings. In 1293 the French king Philip IV starting building warships in Rouen, and this stimulated Edward I of England into a retaliatory response. In late 1294 he ordered the building of ships in sixteen English ports and Ipswich received an order for a galley and a barge. The vessels were rapidly built over the winter of 1294–5. Two versions of the accounts for the shipbuilding process survive: one in the Suffolk Archives; and a rather different version in the National Archives. There are no modern editions of either document, and such studies as have been published do not compare the two versions. Amongst other things, the documents give us detailed evidence on the materials used by the shipwrights, on where these materials were obtained, on the costs of the materials, and of the labour costs. Furthermore, there is valuable linguistic evidence on early technical shipbuilding terminology, in some cases the earliest recorded use of certain terms. It is intended that an edition of these documents will eventually be published which will include a more detailed discussions of some of these points.

*Trade in the port of Ipswich. Nick Amor.*

Particular customs accounts were prepared by local customs officers. They identify ships, masters, merchants, cargoes and cargo values. They are very detailed and much loved by historians, nevertheless, most of them have been lost, they are fragmentary, cover short periods, and leave big time gaps. Those for late 14th- and 15th-century Ipswich tell us about the types of ship in the harbour; ballingers, barges, crayers, galleys, hakebots and above all cogs. The cog was the workhorse of the medieval seas and is illustrated on the 13th- and 15th-

century seals of the borough.

A good example is the *Bremen Cog* which sank in 1380 and was rediscovered in 1962 as a well-preserved wreck in the river Weser. It was 23.27m long, with a maximum beam of 7.62m, and a height amidships of 4.26m. Its central mast carried a square-rigged sail, and its rudder sat at the stern, behind the aftercastle which provided basic living accommodation. It weighed 55 tons, could carry up to 90 tons of freight in a hold with a capacity of 160 cubic metres. A full-size replica could sail at 60 degrees to the wind and, in a fresh wind, theoretically reach a speed of 10 knots.

The 15th century witnessed important developments in ship design. In the late 1300s even the biggest ships were little larger than the *Bremen Cog*. However, faced with the threat of hostile navies and pirates, ships grew in size to deter attack and to accommodate fighting men. The largest ships in mid-15th-century seas were 300 to 400 tons. More masts were added to give extra speed, while a combination of square and lateen (i.e. triangular) sails allowed for greater manoeuvrability.

We can see the impact of these developments on the port of Ipswich if we compare the voyages of two masters, Andrew Johnessone and Lutkyn Newmeyre. In the late 1390s Johnessone made several voyages in and out of Ipswich in a short space of time and, on each occasion, stayed for only a few days. Moving forward in time seventy years, Newmeyre made only one recorded visit to Ipswich, stayed for six weeks and departed with a massive cargo of 377 broadcloths. Bigger ships stayed longer in Ipswich to load and unload which meant that more mariners needed board and lodging and for longer periods. This, in turn, meant increased demand on the inns in east ward which were nearest the docks, inns such as the Old Neptune Inn in Fore Street. Such demand is reflected in fines imposed on innkeepers by borough courts. In theory, fines were penalties for selling bread or ale contrary to the rules, or for allowing inns to be used for illicit purposes. In reality, they were licence fees to carry on business. A calculation of the percentage of total borough innkeeper offences committed by those in east ward shows a sharp rise in the early 1400s, and a decline in the later 1400s.

In the more peaceful seas of the late 15th century, after the end of the Hundred Years War, ships shrank once again. Andrea Satler of Bruges commented in 1478 that small ships had quite driven out the large. But they were now different to the cogs. In 'skeleton built' carvels or caravels each plank was separately fastened, edge to edge, to the ribs in turn, making the hull stronger and the deck more watertight. In 1481 Thomas Coke was commissioned by the king to take forty mariners to fight the Scots in his ship, the *Kervell* of Ipswich. These carvels enabled explorers to set out on long-haul voyages to find America and the ocean route to India and the Far East, and in doing so changed the world forever.

16 December.

Show and tell.

*Suffolk Pitt Club. Paul Botwright.*

Following the death of William Pitt the younger in 1806, Pitt Clubs were formed throughout Britain. They were sometimes created out of existing Tory party organisations to honour and preserve the legacy of the man they felt had saved the country both from Bonaparte and from the hated Foxite Whigs.

In all, around fifty clubs were formed between 1808 and 1821. The last, in 1821, was the Suffolk Pitt Club. Twenty of the clubs had medallions struck for members to wear at dinners and AGMs, and Suffolk was one of these. One side had a bust of Pitt in relief, with the Latin '*Non sibi sed patriae* [Not for self but for country]', and the other side contained the words 'Suffolk Pitt-Club MDCCCXXI', within a garland (Fig. 45). The Suffolk medallion was available to members at ten shillings and was to be worn around the neck on a blue ribbon at



FIG. 43 – Medallion of the Suffolk Pitt Club (photo: Paul Botwright).

the annual dinner, set for the third Tuesday in August, and held alternately at Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich.

John Longe, vicar of Coddendam, was the chief instigator of the Suffolk club, but it was to be short-lived. The political climate had changed and some of the other clubs had started to close. There were disagreements within clubs on their aims and whether Pitt's name should be used to campaign against Catholic emancipation and the abolition of the slave trade. The Suffolk club, although with over five hundred members by the 1823 dinner, was disbanded by January 1824, having existed for only two and a half years. More research is needed as to why its demise was so sudden.

*'The Bramfield oak' and 'The Pleasant History of the King and the Lord Bigod of Bungay'.*  
June Brereton.

'The Bramfield oak' has become a legend in the village and even features on the school badge. Its story originates in 1173 when Hugh Bigod, escaping from Henry II, is reputed to have rushed through Bramfield on his way to Halesworth and then Bungay.

The event is recounted in a ballad recorded in *The Suffolk Garland*.<sup>30</sup> The ballad mentions 'Bramfield oak' and this has been taken up locally to be one of the oaks in Bramfield Hall Park. One of these fell during a violent storm in the 19th century and subsequently a new oak grew up beside the old stump. These oaks were on a common way across the park from the Sibton road down to Church Green, right in the middle of Bramfield. I had never been happy with the supposed position of the oak as this placed it not only in the centre of the village, but also close to Bramfield Castle which, at the time, was in the hands of the earl of Richmond, a very powerful landowner.

In an extent of the manor dated 1478–9, I found a mention of a '*magnus quercus* [enormous oak tree]' near to the Bramfield/Walpole boundary.<sup>31</sup> In addition, there is a mention of 'Erleswai', referred to several times in the extent as an abuttal to fields in the hands of Mettingham College. The road is still called Earlsway and there also remains a farm by this name. How did it come to be so called? This will become important in the discussion of the

whereabouts of the fabled Bramfield oak, I promise you!

The answer appears to be in an interesting publication, *The Suffolk Garland*, which first appeared in 1818 and is a collection of Suffolk ballads, poems and stories.<sup>32</sup> One ballad in particular, 'The Pleasant History of the King and Lord Bigod of Bungay', is of special interest in solving the riddle. It relates the story of Hugh Bigod's differences with Henry II and his subsequent flight from Essex through Ipswich, Ufford, Saxmundham, and so to Bramfield oak, and on through Halesworth and Ilketshall to Bungay, whilst being chased by the king:

The King has sent for Bigod bold,  
In Essex whereat he lay,  
But Lord Bigod laugh'd at his Poursuivant,  
And stoutly thus did say:  
"Were I in my castle of Bungay,  
Upon the river of Waveney,  
I would ne care for the King of Cockney."...

When the Baily had ridden to Bramfield oak,  
Sir Hugh was at Ilksall bower;  
When the Baily had ridden to Halesworth cross,  
He was singing in Bungay tower –  
"Now that I'm in my castle of Bungay,  
Upon the river of Waveney,  
I will ne care for the King of Cockney."

Although today Earlsway is neatly hedged and tarmacked, in the 12th century it was just a way which had been used more than other ways and become the established route. If the ground was boggy then 'traffic', in the form of people, horses and wagons, would divert to better ground. The great oak was somewhere near the Sibton/Walpole border which abuts onto the Bramfield border (or 'procession way' as it is referred to in the manorial extent). Earlsway extends all the way along Gilletts Lane to the Walpole/Halesworth road and Walpole bridge. So, if the bridge was there in 1176, Hugh Bigod would have crossed the Blyth there, but if it was still a boggy, marshy crossing, he could have taken the higher road towards Mells and entered Halesworth via Swan Lane. The ballad goes on to tell how:

King Henry he marshal'd his merry men all,  
And through Suffolk they march'd with speed

To Bungay and Hugh's castle, where to save, Hugh paid 1000 marks:

Sir Hugh took three score sacks of gold,  
And flung them over the wall,

This chase (a fallout of the dispute for the crown between Stephen and Matilda) through Suffolk by the king himself must have caused much consternation amongst villagers and became recorded in a ballad.

*A Dunwich dam. Keith Briggs.*

British Library, Harley 532 is a document from 1573 which relates to Dunwich. It mentions on folio 54r that the quay was called 'the Dame', but this was misread by Alfred Suckling as 'the Daine' in his 1848 book *The History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk*. This misreading was then copied by authors of more recent books and articles on Dunwich, despite



the word 'Daine' being of totally obscure meaning. In fact, 'the Dame' just means 'the dam' and probably denoted a riverside embankment used as a wharf. Thus is illustrated the fact that getting just one letter wrong in reading a name can render it an unintelligible form, which tells us nothing about history. Getting the name right, on the other hand, can suggest new directions for research.

*William Sakings, falconer. Jane Carr.*

In the garden of the former churchwarden, Margaret Hartley, which adjoins the churchyard of St Peter's church, Great Livermere, a piece of footstone or gravemarker was discovered. This chance find came about when an oil tank was removed and the stone was found beneath, having been used to level it.

On examination the stone, which was incomplete with a diagonal break, was seen to be inscribed on one side with 'William Sakings 1689'. Its style, decoration and inscription is commensurate with that of the extant headstone of William Sakings, falconer to the Stuart kings, which is set on the S side of the church, just E of the porch. Both gravestones are likely to be made from Northamptonshire-Lincolnshire limestone, whose outcrops yielded workable stone from a number of known quarry sites, including that at Weldon near Corby, which may be the source of the Sakings' stones. The footstone has been united with the headstone and the two have been placed back-to-back so that although the engraving is not visible, it does give a degree of protection from the elements.

A brief history of falconry was given, further details of which can be read on the website of the 'Richard III Society – American Branch'.<sup>33</sup>

*A mysterious ball. Robert Halliday.*

I possess a mysterious family heirloom which has puzzled all who have seen it (Fig. 46). It came into my possession through my great-aunt Winifred Mary Daniels, my paternal grandfather's younger sister, or 'Great-Aunt Win' as I knew her. She was born in 1895 and her father (my great-grandfather), who worked with racehorses, came to live in the Newmarket area, which was where Great-Aunt Win lived for most of her life. My grandfather's sisters all left home at the earliest opportunity, after leaving school, to enter 'service', working as servants for wealthier families. In Win's case she worked for Anglican clergymen in rectories and vicarages in the Newmarket area before marrying Robert (Bob) Daniels. Great-Uncle Bob was a farmworker, he too, was born in 1895, and passed on in 1966.

Great-Aunt Win Daniels died in January 1974 and my parents sorted out the house where she and Bob had lived. There was little of value, but we found a few small curiosities of recent date that we kept. The strangest of these was a brick ball, about 7.5cm in diameter. I do not know who made it, when it was made, or how it was made, but I can make a few guesses as to its origin. It seems to have been made of red brick earth. It is hollow; after the ball was made the maker evidently carved around it with a tool, such as a pair of 'dividers', filling it with interlocked circular patterns. Where the spirals converge, the maker punched small holes through the clay. The object was probably then fired in a brick oven. I know that the item is hollow, while a brick object of such small size need not weigh very much, it still feels lighter than one might expect a small brick to be, more significantly, when I shake it I can clearly hear something rattling inside.

I do not think that Great-Aunt Win or Great-Uncle Bob were collectors, or that they had any particular interest in accumulating objects from the past, so I cannot even guess as to how or why either one of them may have acquired it. As far as I remember, they did not regard it as a special treasure to be cared for. While they may have been aware that even as a child I possessed a strong interest in history, whenever I went to see them with my parents they never



FIG. 46 – A mysterious ball. Its purpose is unknown but it has been suggested that it could have been a baby's rattle. A modern two pound coin has been placed in the photograph to give an idea of the ball's size (*photo: Robert Halliday*).

produced any unusual objects to show us. My parents simply found it in Great-Aunt Win's house after her death. As her nearest surviving relatives they kept it, probably assuming that no other member of the extended Halliday family would have any desire to own it. I have shown the brick ball to friends and relatives, but nobody has ever offered any suggestion as to what it might be. My own vague supposition was that some unknown person just made it for fun, or to amuse themselves. Possibly they were a worker in a brick kiln who had a small amount of spare brick earth, and a bit of spare time, and amused himself by making it and firing it with some other bricks.

At the 'show and tell' session, one member suggested that it may have been a child's rattle. I was initially unsure of this as I thought it might be the kind of object that could be broken if not handled with proper care, but I then realised that it had been manufactured in such a way that this was quite feasible. A string (or several strings) could have been threaded through the ball, across opposite holes. The ball could then have been tied up over a cradle or bed and a baby, or young child, could have played with it, listened to it rattle, and observed the changing spiral patterns. I have owned the object for over forty years, in which time this is the only plausible suggestion of a practical use for this object.

*Ernest Larter. Alan King.*

Ernest Albert Larter (1880–1960) was born at Holton, Suffolk on 29 August 1880. He was the third of ten children born to Edward Larter, farmer and butcher, with businesses in Halesworth and Beccles. Ernest joined the Royal Navy at the age of sixteen on 1 April 1896. He served on HMS Doris between 26 November 1897 and 31 May 1901. HMS Doris saw



FIG. 47 – HMS Indomitable by Ernest Larter (*photo: Alan King*).

action in South Africa in the Second Boer War (1899–1902), when Ernest was awarded the Queen's South Africa Medal with clasps for Cape Colony, Paardeberg, Driefontein and Transvaal. Ernest's 'clasps' signify that he took part in onshore action. He also served on HMS Indomitable between 12 August 1910 and 9 February 1914.

Ernest married Kate Deasley in Blyford church on 22 September 1902. They had one daughter, Dorothy Marion, who was born on 13 March 1904. Ernest left the Royal Navy on 13 October 1920 and lived in Kent for the rest of his life, working as a painter and decorator. He died on 19 May 1960. My great-uncle, Horace Andrew King, also born in 1880, served with Ernest in 1896 and again on HMS Indomitable in 1910.

At least three oil paintings of naval ships have been ascribed to 'E. Larter'. I have one of these, which I am certain is of HMS Indomitable (Fig. 47). This belonged to the widow of my Great-Uncle Horace, and I recall as a child being told that there were links between the ship, the artist and my great-uncle. Two other pictures came to light during internet searches. These were two 6in by 8in oil paintings of WW1 naval ships (I believe them to be HMS Indomitable and HMS Cumberland and Ernest Albert Larter served on both of these), which were sold by Bonhams on 23 February 2010. A further internet search showed only one picture (HMS Indomitable), which was sold in March 2011. On enquiry the dealer informed me that they had sold a similar painting of another ship by the same artist earlier in October 2010, which could be the second that Bonhams had sold earlier.

Apart from the fact that my widowed great-aunt owned the painting and that both her husband and the artist served on the ship together, I have concluded that the painting is of HMS Indomitable because of the tall fore funnel. In 1911, the fore funnels of both of her sister



ships, HMS Invincible and HMS Inflexible, had yet to be increased. Also, during this period, Royal Naval vessels had 4ft wide white rings painted on their funnels to aid identification; from photographs, it has been noted that the Invincible had rings on each funnel, the Inflexible a ring on the fore funnel, and the Indomitable a ring on the rear funnel. Additionally, Sir Stanley Cecil James Colville was promoted to rear admiral in November 1906, and in July 1909 he transferred his flag to the new battlecruiser, HMS Indomitable. It is a rear admiral's flag flying at the foremast in the painting.

One other painting by Ernest Albert Larter is known to exist which is of the family home, Cherry Tree Farm, at Blyford, which is owned by his granddaughter. This house still stands on the road (B1123) between Halesworth and Blyford and is now known as Little Grange.

There is no record of Ernest Larter ever having had any formal artistic training, it was all his own natural talent.

*A Victorian scandal, behind a picture. Alan Mackley.*

Some years ago, I received from Canada a picture of an apparently upright Victorian lady in connection with questions about her husband, Revd William Belcher, vicar of Blythburgh in the late 1860s (Fig. 48). I provided some local information and wrote a piece about Belcher for the Blythburgh village newsletter. Ten years later, my article was read by an Australian writer and historian; this time the interest was not in Revd Belcher, but in Mrs Belcher, born Edith Bonham in 1851, who was the lady in the picture.

In 1870 Irish-born William Belcher, then 36 years old, visited Henham Hall in connection with a proposed appointment as rector of Larling (Norfolk). The diary of Augusta, countess of Stradbroke, records that 19-year-old Edith, her daughter by her first marriage, became infatuated with the much older man and they married within the year. Revd Belcher moved from Larling to Thorington, and then to Heveningham where he became rector in 1875. There were four surviving children of the marriage: Edith Augusta Bonham (b.1871); twins Frederick Harry Bonham and Reginald Henry George Holland (b.1878); and Musgrave Vanneck Gordon (b.1881).

In March 1884 Edith attended a first aid course at Southwold vicarage, 'numerously and fashionably attended' according to *The Ipswich Journal*. It was run by a local doctor, Augustus Newton Maximilian Dickenson. Edith and Augustus became lovers and, as a consequence, he lost his post in Southwold. Dickenson had form; he was married, having left a wife in Dublin with their four children, and the two that his wife had by a previous marriage. By the end of the year Edith was clearly separated from her husband



FIG. 48 – Edith (Bonham) (Belcher) Dickenson.

and at Christmas she advertised from a Southwold address for a nursemaid to look after her three boys.

Dickenson sailed to Australia in 1885 and Edith followed in 1886. She travelled first class which suggests that she had independent means. Edith and Augustus lived together as man and wife and had two children, moving frequently as Dickenson practised in one remote place after another, keeping one step ahead of the English divorce courts. Dickenson's wife obtained a divorce in 1889, but no evidence has been found that Belcher ever divorced Edith. Edith's sons by Revd Belcher were with her for some of this time.

During the 1890s Edith travelled widely in Australia and India and made trips to England, writing articles and taking photographs as Edith Dickenson for an Adelaide newspaper. With Dickenson, she travelled to South Africa at the time of the Boer War and Edith, a pioneering female war correspondent, may have had privileged access as her brother and twin sons were army officers serving in South Africa. She helped to expose the appalling conditions in the concentration camps set up by the British to house Boer women and children. Dr Dickenson died in 1902 while practising in one of the camps. After a visit to England in 1900, accompanied by her Dickenson children, Edith returned to South Africa, but died in Cape Town in 1903, worn out by her experiences.

The Dickenson orphans were raised by the Bonham family. Edith Augusta had been left behind in Heveningham at the age of 15; she was to marry the son of a gamekeeper and her Lipscombe descendants still live in Canada. So there are at least two Ediths behind the picture: one, not so upright after all, at the centre of a Suffolk scandal; the other an intrepid pioneering female war correspondent.

*A building account from Thorney dated 1291. Val Dudley (translated with Cliff Wyard).*

See Dudley, V. and Wyard, C., 2021. 'A late thirteenth-century building account from Thorney', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, 45, 63–85.

## NOTES

- 1 Smith 1974.
- 2 MacCulloch 1986.
- 3 MacCulloch 1984.
- 4 Sear and Sneath 2020.
- 5 Figures based on Bailey 1986, 244.
- 6 Suffolk Archives/Bury St Edmunds, Acc. 1476/12 and Acc. 359/3.
- 7 Website of the Medieval Pottery Research Group, <https://medievalpottery.org.uk/>.
- 8 Kohn *et al.* 2005.
- 9 'On the specific identity of the primrose, oxlip, cowslip, and polyanthus', *Mag. Nat. Hist. and J. Zool.*, 3, 1830, 406–9; 'On the Examination of Hybrid Digitalis', *Trans. Cambridge Philosophical Soc.*, 4, 1833, 257–75; review of A.P. de Candolle's *Physiologie Végétale, ou Exposition des Forces et des Fonctions vitales des Végétaux* in *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, 11 (22, art. 3), 1833, 334–82.
- 10 Jenyns 1862, 51–2.
- 11 Barlow 1967; see also [www.darwinproject.ac.uk](http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk).
- 12 Anon. (probably L. Jenyns) 1861.
- 13 Jenyns 1862, 69–70.
- 14 Bull 1977, 220–4.
- 15 Walters and Stow 2001, 307, n.12.24 and 12.25; the conclusion by Dr Oliver Rackham, the eminent landscape historian, that the apparent 'new' straight hedges in the area of Hitcham Wood were in fact species-rich relics of that wood gains support by the fact that oxlips (*Primula elatior*) still flower in those hedges.
- 16 Henslow and Skepper 1860, 84.
- 17 The firms were later amalgamated under the Fison name, and are now part of Yara UK Ltd.
- 18 In 2011 the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History helped to sponsor a day conference entitled 'The

trail blazer' at the University of Suffolk to celebrate his achievements and legacy on the 150th anniversary of his death. The University would be an appropriate place for a more lasting commemoration of this great man.

- 19 London: Ekwall 1947; King's Lynn: Clark 1995; Nottingham: McClure 2010 and 2011.
- 20 Robertson 2000.
- 21 Hobbs 1997 and 2008.
- 22 Browning 1995.
- 23 Osborne 2020.
- 24 Slavin 2019.
- 25 <https://www.englandsimmigrants.com>.
- 26 Hoppitt 2020.
- 27 Cotton 2019, 3 and 4.
- 28 Cotton 2019, 93–4.
- 29 See <https://reeddesign.co.uk/paintedchurch/stanningfield-doom.htm>.
- 30 Ford 1818, 135–9.
- 31 Suffolk Archives/Ipswich, HB 26 371.1.
- 32 Ford 1818.
- 33 <http://www.r3.org/richard-iii/15th-century-life/15th-century-life-articles/ancient-medieval-falconry-origins-functions-in-medieval-england/>.

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