NORWICH SINCE 1550

EDITED BY CAROLE RAWCLIFFE AND RICHARD WILSON

A FINE CITY

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Norwich since 1550

Edited by

Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson

with Christine Clark

Hambledon and London

London and New York

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Abbreviations

Blomefield, *Norfolk*	F. Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (11 vols, London, 1805–10)
BNP	*Bury and Norwich Post*
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DCN	Dean and Chapter of Norwich (NRO)
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
EAA	East Anglian Archaeology
EconHR	*Economic History Review*
EDP	*Eastern Daily Press*
EEN	*Eastern Evening News*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
HC	Heritage Centre, Norfolk and Norwich Millennium Library
HMC	*Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*
IJ	Ipswich Journal
NA	*Norfolk Archaeology*
NCC	Norwich Consistory Court (NRO)
NCR	Norwich City Records (NRO)
NC	*Norfolk Chronicle*
NCQS	Norwich Court of Quarter Sessions
NG	*Norwich Gazette*
NHC	Norfolk Heritage Centre
NM	*Norwich Mercury*
Norwich Cathedral	I. Atherton and others, eds, *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese* (London, 1996)
NPD	Norwich Private Deeds (NRO)
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
NRS	Norfolk Record Society

Pelling, *Common Lot*	M. Pelling, *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (London, 1998)
Pound, *Census*	J. F. Pound, ed., *The Norwich Census of the Poor 1570* (NRS, xl, 1971)
PCC	Prorogative Court of Canterbury
PP	*Parliamentary Papers*
PRO	Public Record Office
RCN	W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, eds, *The Records of the City of Norwich* (2 vols, Norwich, 1906–10)
reg.	register
SRS	Suffolk Record Society
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
UEA	University of East Anglia
VCH	*Victoria County History*

Introduction

Richard Wilson

'I should think this city to be another Utopia'[1]

Sir John Harrington on Norwich, 1612

Norwich has always been something of a puzzle to those visitors who jotted down their impressions of it. Even in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the prosperity of its great textile industry was at its height, sharp-eyed commentators could not weigh up its impact in an unambiguous fashion. Celia Fiennes, that straight-speaking archpriestess of modernity, was baffled when she came in 1698. Approving all that was new built and thriving, she found the imprint of the medieval city everywhere. Still bounded by its city walls (a little breached in places, but 'the best in rapaire of any walled city' she knew), and the buildings within them 'all ... of an old form', Norwich was, nevertheless, she concluded, 'a rich thriving industrious place', its prosperity driven by 'very great' markets and fairs, and above all by its textile industry.[2] A few years later, Daniel Defoe recorded a similar puzzlement. During the week Norwich appeared 'a city without inhabitants', yet on Sundays and public holidays there seemed insufficient housing for the crowds that spilled from it, 'the multitude is so great'. Again, an explanation rested with the textile industries. On weekdays the majority of inhabitants were cooped up in their garrets and workshops. Sunday was their day of leisure. Employment in 1723, Defoe was informed, was so full that even children upwards of four or five years 'could everyone earn their own bread'.[3]

Even when the Victorians began to collect a plethora of statistics to chart the workings of economies and societies, Norwich, too, baffled them. None were more bewildered than those members of the House of Lords who were members of its Select Committee on Intemperance in 1877. Attempting to explain and tackle the extraordinary increase in the consumption of alcohol in the previous two decades, they found, when they came to take evidence from Norwich, that it upset almost all their preconceptions and findings. No town in England and Wales possessed more

public and beer houses per head of population (incredibly one for every 121 inhabitants including children), and yet no town according to the statistics of prosecutions for drunkenness was more sober. They scratched their heads about the seemingly unreconcilable facts. Were the causes low wages, weak beer or the negligence of the police?[4] Visitors to Norwich always found the contrast of industrial activity cheek by jowl with its castle, cathedral, more than thirty churches and public buildings surprising. A. D. Bayne, the city's Victorian historian, writing in 1872, towards the end of the greatest boom in Britain's nineteenth-century economy, was aware that some aspects were puzzling. He detailed the city's remarkable industrial revival after the collapse of the worsted industry in the thirty years after 1815; he cited the large sums of money which had been expended in widening its streets and in improving its water supply and sanitation. Yet, he continued, 'in traversing portions of old Norwich, we seem to pass through a city of departed greatness'. The city, he believed, occupied more ground than any other town of equal population (80,000) in England, yet the visitor 'feels bewildered when he plunges into its confusion of narrow crooked streets, now discovering half-a-dozen churches within hail of each other'. And in spite of the space to build generously, 'the great number of low mean houses imparts a poverty of aspect'.[5] All in all, a visit to Norwich provided a very different experience from one to the typical Victorian industrial city.

In the inter-war years, there were still features of the city which writers could not easily reconcile. Indeed, in some ways, as the city seemed increasingly marooned in the centre of a large, depressed agricultural region, the contrast of industrial and commercial activity with its wonderful legacy of old buildings, 'crooked' streets and tucked-away courts seemed more marked than ever. H. V. Morton, whose *In Search of England* was the most popular travel book of the period, found the city one of haunting beauty which, in an appropriate metaphor given its famed school of artists, would 'under intelligent treatment ... emerge like a restored oil-painting'. There seemed, however, few tourists to appreciate its charm: 'The most surprising thing about Norwich is that it contains the only Norman Cathedral in England unknown to Americans.'[6]

This volume attempts to explain the features of the city which so puzzled the likes of Defoe and Morton and which set Norwich apart in the four-and-half centuries after 1550. The urbanisation of Britain since the late seventeenth century is perhaps the greatest theme in our island's history. No event so transformed people's lives. A predominantly rural society earning its living from the land was in the course of the two centuries after 1700 changed into one in which four-fifths of the country's

rapidly growing population lived and worked in an urban environment. No country in the world underwent a more profound transition. Of course, the routes to urbanisation were very different, whether we consider the growth of London, the great ports of Liverpool, Glasgow, Hull and Bristol, or the manufacturing centres of Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield, to name but a handful.[7] Then there were the essentially new towns of nineteenth-century mushroom growth such as Cardiff, Bradford, Middlesbrough, Swindon and Burton-upon-Trent. Clearly, Norwich does not fit their patterns of development either. Nor does it precisely match those which, at first sight, seem comparable communities sharing similar experiences: the regional centres of York, Exeter, Lincoln and Shrewsbury. But before I outline the big themes of the nineteen chapters in volume two which detail Norwich's path to urban maturity, I should, very briefly, comment upon the relationship of the city to its region.[8] In part, it explains its tendency, in the words of Norfolk's motto, to 'Do Different'.

Norwich has, since pre-Conquest times, been an important regional capital. It still is, even if the renaissance of Ipswich in the past century and a half has occupied parts of its southern dominion. Its region, East Anglia in its historic confines of Norfolk and Suffolk, is well-defined as England's premier cereal growing province. The relationship between Norwich and this great arable area is perhaps unique in Britain. The fortunes of both are inextricably linked. It is not simply that Norwich was the chief market for East Anglia's corn, malt and livestock, or indeed that some of the city's industries, especially brewing, leather and, later, the manufacture of agricultural machinery, were so closely identified with the farming enterprises which surrounded it, but that the city's fortunes mirrored the state of the region's agriculture. This was especially true after the textile industry withered in the half century after 1815. Problems in the countryside, particularly in the years from 1815 to 1845, exacerbated by rural overpopulation and the collapse of hand spinning as a rural by-employment, sharply intensified difficulties in Norwich itself. Its impact was most evident in the city's reputation as one of the lowest wage centres in urban Britain. Yet, as the textile industry contracted, Norwich was thrown even more onto its age-old position as the market centre of a vast farming region. When depression hit the cereal growing area of eastern England with almost unrelenting severity for sixty years after 1875 (with the brief exception of the First World War and its immediate aftermath), Norwich's prosperity was as a consequence curtailed. The city did not suffer the extremes of unemployment experienced in the shipbuilding and mining centres of Britain in the inter-war years, but neither did it share to any great extent the prosperity of south-eastern

England based upon new consumption industries. The close ties with agriculture, however, were not the sole ones which drew the city and its region together. There were others.

At an administrative level there were links between region and city, not only in terms of justice and politics, but also of ecclesiastical government. The diocese of Norwich, the 'dead see' as it was dubbed in the nineteenth century, included around 1100 livings in Norfolk, Suffolk and even the margins of Cambridgeshire. The city as a consequence was the mecca of ecclesiastical administration, courts and patronage in East Anglia. Even the clergy of remotest Suffolk were, in turn, summoned to preach in the cathedral during the summer months when the region's roads stood the best chance of being passable.[9] After the bishopric of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich was created in 1914 to ease diocesan management, Norwich's supremacy in eastern England was barely eroded. As late as 1933, R. H. Mottram could confidently assert, 'Norwich itself is a good deal more than the centre of a twenty mile radius, and the capital of East Norfolk. It is nearly double the size of any town for a hundred miles in any direction. Between London, Northampton and Grimsby, it has nothing approaching its size.'[10]

Norwich was always the great shopping centre for the region, the one town in East Anglia where fashionable metropolitan goods and services could be purchased. Norwich boasted the earliest provincial newspaper in the country (1700). Soon there were two, their columns filled with the advertisements of shopkeepers inviting those who made up the elites of county and city to view their latest lines from London. The worsted industry itself was martyr to fashion. Indeed, it was a concept deeply etched on an intensely acquisitive society. Moreover, Norwich in the pre-railway era was the great cultural magnet of East Anglia. The region's gentry, only too eager to escape the confines of the countryside, flocked there to enjoy its assemblies and theatre especially during assize week, at elections or to attend the great Guild Day dinner in June each year on the installation of the mayor. When Roger Kerrison, a banker, took office in 1778, 'he outdid everybody that ever went before', providing 'a most sumptuous entertainment to upwards of 500 people' in St Andrew's Hall. At an incredible cost of over £500 it was, unsurprisingly, appraised as giving 'universal satisfaction'.[11] Mrs Lybbe Powys visited Norwich during assize week three years later. Sociable and well travelled, she was impressed with the city's entertainments. She contrasted the great state surrounding the High Sheriff's attendance on the judges with that of Oxfordshire where her father-in-law had performed the same duties at a cost of a few pounds. At the assembly rooms she noted 'numbers of the ladies profuse in jewellery'. When she

visited Jeremiah Ives, the wealthiest worsted manufacturer in Norwich, he provided 'a most superb dinner, eighteen dishes the first course'.[12]

What was unusual was that Norwich could combine a reputation for great sociability with one as a leading manufacturing centre. Here was a link between city and region which was largely non-agricultural. Norwich depended for its supply of finely-spun worsted yarn upon a great network of combers and spinners which stretched across an extended East Anglian region into Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire. A good deal of the prosperity of this part of eastern England relied upon the fortunes of the Norwich worsted industry in the pre-factory era of textile production. From the transactions between the region's yarn dealers and manufacturers and merchants in Norwich sprang a range of financial connections which were, in part, the origins of Norwich's regional, indeed national, reputation as a leading banking and insurance centre.[13]

When we turn from the numerous links between city and region to focus directly on Norwich itself, it is again economic functions which provide the key to its evolution in the modern period. In the sixteenth century its textile industry underwent many vicissitudes.[14] The central event was the arrival in the 1570s of a flood of Protestant refugees from the war-torn Netherlands. For a while these 'Strangers', as they were known, comprised no fewer than one third of Norwich's population. Having overcome the inevitable problems of integration, they began to exert a formidable influence upon the local economy through a speedy revival of flagging cloth production. Indeed, their contribution to, and absorption into, the economy of the city provides a striking parable for our own times. They also brought a new urgency to the emergent nonconformist culture of the city, which became as notable a feature of life after the Reformation as its exuberant Catholicism had been before. As staunchly Protestant as it had once been fervently Catholic, the city sided with the parliamentary forces in the Civil War, although a vociferous and determined group of royalists made its presence felt during the interregnum. These divisions were to find echoes in the vituperative battles between Whig and Tory, which characterised the political life of Norwich for over two centuries.

The years between the Restoration and the commencement of the French Wars (1793–1815) were the golden age of the worsted industry in Norwich. Along with the West Riding of Yorkshire and the west of England (part of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset), Norwich was a principal centre of wool textile manufacture, by far England's greatest industry and source of exports. In comparison with that of the other two regions, the East Anglian industry was increasingly concentrated in Norwich itself. Lord Macaulay reckoned that it was 'the chief seat of the chief

manufacture of the realm'; John James, the Victorian historian of the worsted industry writing in the 1850s, compared Norwich at the peak of its prosperity in the mid eighteenth century with Manchester at the height of its fame a century later.[15] As a consequence Norwich continued as England's second city until, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, it was overtaken by Bristol.[16]

Norwich was famed throughout England as a city which combined the highest manufacturing skills in the pre-industrial era with a reputation for great cultural liveliness and sociability. Clubs of every description flourished; opportunities for leisure were numerous and extending.[17] Like the West of England, however, it also possessed a reputation for difficult labour relations. This was hardly surprising in that its thousands of combers and weavers were, when orders for worsted cloth periodically faltered, thrown out of work for weeks on end. If unemployment coincided with a hike in grain prices or a controversial renegotiation of piece-rates then serious riots, as in 1766, ensued.[18] With the reality of unemployment omnipresent in workers' lives, poor rates in the city were always well above national averages or what the city's rate payers thought was consistent with its long-term prosperity. The city fathers and principal manufacturers, nevertheless, invariably showed a traditional paternalistic concern to relieve the worst effects of poverty.[19] Yet, as in the medieval period, poverty and unemployment bred a worrying unruliness. A visitor in 1741 wrote in his journal: 'The common people are naturally riotous. As they are beneath the laws, they defy them, and keep such a garrison upon some parts of the town, that constables and bailiffs never dare approach their lines.'[20] In the 1790s Norwich possessed the character of the most radical city in Britain. Thirty years later, when unemployment after 1825 reached unprecedented levels for long periods, there were serious Luddite disturbances against manufacturers who attempted to introduce power looms into their workshops.

Prosperity, always subject to fluctuations in the economy, only seriously faltered after 1793. The chief cause of decline was not difficult to uncover. It became increasingly evident that the city's once great worsted industry faltered as that of Bradford carried all before it. The Royal Commission into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts (1845) stated uncompromisingly:

> Norwich, it is feared, has seen its best days as a place of commerce; and would appear to be in that painful state of transition from a once flourishing manufacturing prosperity to its entire decline, and must 'ere long, revert to its original condition of a capital of an extensive agricultural district ... Neglect

> and decay are now conspicuous in the streets and quarters occupied by the working classes, so as to render them places of most dismal aspect.[21]

The three decades after 1815 were ones in which the people of Norwich passed through the wilderness. In his perceptive social survey of the city in 1910, C. B. Hawkins, keenly aware of contemporary issues, wrote that 'the low wages, the low standard of comfort and perhaps some darker things which characterise Norwich may be in some degree the outcome of this long struggle. Thirty years (1815–45) suffering must have profoundly modified the morale and even the physique of Norwich working men.'[22]

But the city did recover. Hawkins and others wondered how. Since Norwich was stranded in the midst of England's prime farming region, it seemed at first sight surprising that industry survived at all. Yet mounting agricultural prosperity in the mid-Victorian period and the railways, the real fillip to the city's recovery, promoted boot and shoe making, engineering and brewing after 1845.[23] Forty years later, and in spite of a downturn in agriculture after 1875, the city was enjoying modest prosperity. White's *Directory* of 1890 made its case in typically robust style:

> By employing an immense capital, exciting industry and remunerating labour they [the manufacturers] have raised the city to its present commercial importance and augmented its population since the year 1811 from 37,313 to upwards of 96,000 souls, and its houses from 8336 to about 25,000.[24]

Norwich had attained a national name for the manufacture of women's and children's shoes; in the sale of fire insurance and the packaging of starch and mustard it was a world leader. Colman's starch was amongst the best known of all British products. The city had attained an enviable equipoise. It was, claimed White, 'a cathedral town without drowsiness, and where noisy factories disturb the ecclesiastical quiet, but have not yet produced the distressing ugliness of the manufacturing towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire'.

Norwich, however, remained unsure of itself in spite of a tendency to self-satisfaction which Dean Wakefield detected at the start of the century. Certainly, it was, he maintained, not very successful at bringing itself 'under the notice of the country generally'.[25] Other commentators, however, were noting, as White had half a century earlier, that its combination of heritage and industry was about right. The new city hall, completed in 1937, was belated municipal testimony to confidence in this amalgam of history and commerce. Arthur Mee, in his popular *The King's England* series, reckoned Norwich might not have solved its traffic problems (what comment would he make now?), but had 'sorted the problem of making a

city beautiful and wonderful'.[26] This was on the eve of the Second World War. In the next sixty years, civic leaders together with advocates of tourism and conservation have attempted to achieve compromise in development projects and traffic schemes, as well as in the management of industrial decline and the promotion of new ventures in commerce, education and health care.[27] This has not been an untroubled journey. But most inhabitants – perhaps ignoring Dean Wakefield's strictures – would maintain that it has been, with some reservations, successful. To them Norwich proudly remains 'a fine city'.

The history of Norwich is, then, unusual when compared with standard accounts of the development of Britain's big cities. Not only does it possess a great medieval past, surveyed in volume one, but its pattern of prosperity, decline and revival is different from that of others. Its recent history is also novel in two other significant respects, one financial, the other demographic. After 1800, Norwich sustained an unusually strong interest in banking and insurance, the latter achieving national and international prominence. Its demographic history closely reflects these economic advances and reversals since 1660. After the mid eighteenth century it experienced a curiously fluctuating rate of population growth in comparison with the great industrial towns of the north, which soon overtook it.[28] In some decades of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries growth was stagnant, but in others, as in the 1810s and 1820s, it was, by East Anglian standards at least, rapid. Novel features are once again apparent: infant mortality remained unusually high, as did the strikingly high proportion of native-born inhabitants choosing to stay in Norwich. As in the middle ages, their numbers were bolstered by migration into the city from the region.

In politics, too, highly individual characteristics set it apart. In the eighteenth century, elections to Parliament and to every civic office were exceptionally open. Municipal elections, which outsiders believed had become a running sore and in themselves a prime cause of economic decline by the 1820s, were contested annually. From the 1790s to the 1830s, Norwich possessed a reputation for radicalism as the 'Jacobin city'; in the mid-Victorian period it was notorious throughout Britain for the protracted deployment of traditional bribery practices by both political parties; between the 1930s and 2001 it maintained a remarkable record of Labour rule at first sight difficult to explain.[29] All these factors, both economic and political, together with a degree of isolation – increasingly apparent once a booming national economy emerged in the course of the nineteenth century – have shaped Norwich's singular cultural and social history.

That Norwich continues to offer its historians so many enticing avenues of research is testimony to the wealth of its archives and material remains. Surely its textile industry deserves a history to match those produced for Yorkshire, Lancashire and the West of England.[30] Norwich's path to economic revival after the 1860s and its variable fortunes during the twentieth century have also been curiously neglected. In a sense, therefore, these two volumes are a halfway house which cannot by their nature match the detail of recent urban volumes of the Victoria County History. Our aim is different. It is to convey the richness and vicissitudes of Norwich's history over thirteen centuries and relate it to wider developments, progressively revealed over the last forty years by historians and archaeologists in other English cities. Its two editors, both Yorkshire born and bred, have undertaken this mission with no little trepidation. But they have never doubted either the scale of their task or the allure of the city. J. B. Priestley, another northerner, caught these features with canny perception when he commented on Norwich's long history and civic stature seventy years ago:

> I always find myself happy and at home ... in the cities where I am asked at once, confidently and proudly, what I think of the place. They do it in Bristol and they do it in San Francisco. And of course Norwich is one of these cities ... It may be minute compared with London, Paris, Rome, but nevertheless it lives its life as a city on the same level of dignity.[31]

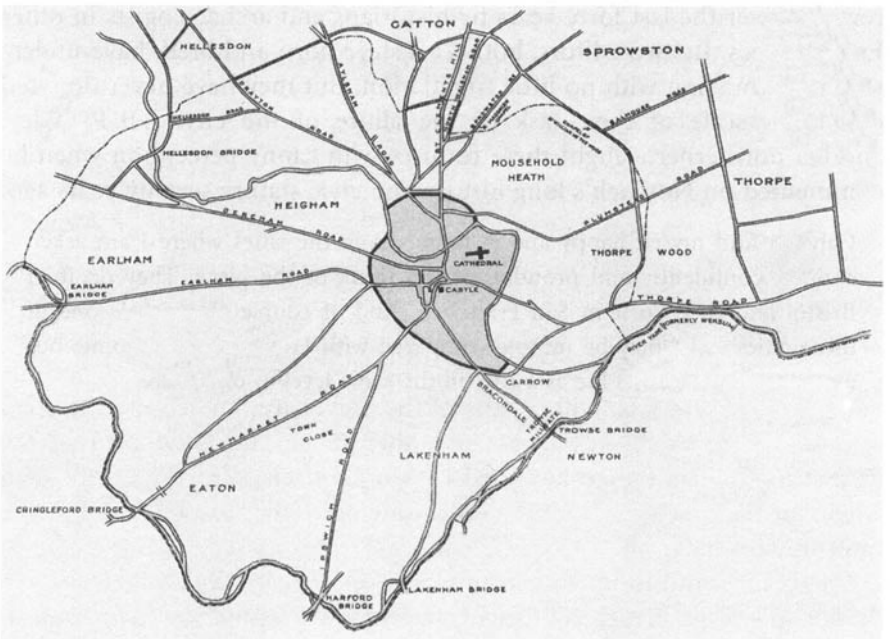


FIGURE 1. Map of the County of the City of Norwich. (*RCN*, i, opposite p. 46).

1

The Changing Face of Norwich

Christopher Barringer

> By the 1590s not only were maps consulted for a host of purposes by men of affairs, but they were printed on playing cards, woven into tapestries, engraved on medals and ... Queen Elizabeth I was painted standing, symbolically, on a map of England.
>
> Paul Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England*[1]

The charter of 1404 created the city and county of Norwich and that of 1556 confirmed the city boundaries to include the parishes of Carrow, Lakenham, Eaton, Earlham, Heigham, as well as Mousehold Heath and Thorpe Wood (Figure 1).[2] This expansion took in the Town Close, between the Norwich and Ipswich roads and the area that was later to become Earlham Park and later still the site of the university. These were the areas into which Norwich was to expand after 1800. The basic plan of the medieval city was fully established by 1300 and changed little until 1800 when, for the first time since the walls were built, they ceased to define the built-up area.

The main south to north axis of Conesford Street (King Street) via Fye bridge and Magdalen Street to its gate remained, as did the main west to east axis from St Benedict's gate via St Andrew's Street, Princes Street, and Palace Street to Bishopgate bridge. The south-west quadrant of the city was formed by the Norman market place and the three Norman parishes of St Giles, St Peter Mancroft and St Stephen. The castle and the cathedral with its precinct dominated the earlier Saxon borough, as they still do. The whole, set within the late thirteenth century walls, has the unusual characteristic for medieval cities of crossing the river to create Norwich over-the-Water on the north bank. Within the walls the Dissolution of the Monasteries, friaries and some of the parish churches in the 1530s led to new uses of the spaces created; however the cathedral in its precinct, Blackfriars and the Great Hospital survive to remind us of something of the nature of the late medieval city.

New spaces were created: the Hobarts' town house, later to become the

Assembly House, modified and occupied the space of the Chapel-in-the-Fields. The Austin friary like so many other sites went to the dukes of Norfolk and became an open garden with a summer house (the surviving, if ruinous, Howard house). The Greyfriars also went to the Norfolks but then came to the city. The assembly of 8 December 1565 granted leases of the 'late dissolved' Greyfriars for twenty-one years, at the same time as it paid for the 'great house of the Greyfriars to be pulled down'.[3]

Several parish churches held by the dissolved houses also disappeared. For example, St Mary Unbrent lay in the gift of the college of St Mary in the Fields. It went to the dean and chapter of the cathedral who merged its parish with that of St Saviour. The church and its yard was granted to Nicholas Sotherton who demolished it. In 1558 he conveyed to the city a footpath through the north side of the churchyard, now called Golden Dog Lane.[4] This is a detailed illustration of the way in which small scale changes to the topography of the city resulted from the shake out from the Dissolution. Properties such as these once in private occupation could be developed at will; rebuilding on these sites would be mainly in brick.[5]

Just outside the south wall of the city lay the Benedictine nunnery of Carrow. The ten-acre site still remained open in Blomefield's day but, as he noted, 'the church was large though so far demolished, that it was with difficulty I found its site; the parlour and hall are grand rooms and were fitted up by Sir John Shelton Knight at his coming to dwell here, which was not long after the Dissolution'.[6] The ramifications of the Dissolution had a domino effect on the city. Buildings came down and ownership underwent widespread changes. The dukes of Norfolk, the Hobarts and the Sheltons, amongst others, became even greater landowners, and some of the city fathers, such as Nicholas Sotherton, did well.

The evidence for the topographical expression of Norwich comes from a combination of the findings of archaeology, from extensive documentary sources, especially the enrolled deeds of the city, and place and street names. To these, from the sixteenth century onwards, must be added maps. One of the outcomes of the Renaissance was the rediscovery of Greek mathematics and in particular of Euclidean geometry. This led to the possibilities of improved map production. For example, in 1494 the treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal placed a line on a map 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, off Brazil, as a line of demarcation with Spanish territories to the west and Portuguese to the east.[7] Surveying and cartography had arrived, allowing a new view of the world to be constructed. Globes became part of the accoutrement of civilized man.[8]

These developments, combined with the increasing fluidity of the land

market in England as a result of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, led to the development of increasing interest in the production of surveys and maps for many purposes, ranging from the geopolitical to the mapping of new estates for the generation of landowners who had benefited from Henry VIII's sale of monastic lands. William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520–98), was a major force behind the development of surveying in England. He wanted to know where defences, such as those at Weybourne in Norfolk, needed strengthening or where reliable and, perhaps more important, unreliable gentry were living. These demands led to the appointment of Christopher Saxton as his surveyor and to Saxton's series of county maps being completed by 1578.

Once the new techniques became available and surveyors began to be trained many landowners, who had themselves studied mathematics, had their newly acquired estates surveyed. Books on surveying such as *The Cosmographical Glasse* (1559) by William Cuningham were published. In it Cuningham illustrated the new art of triangulation by using church towers in Norwich, Wymondham and Swardeston as the corners of a triangle, the sides of which could be calculated by means of the measurement of one baseline and the application of trigonometry to other calculations. Once such a triangle was accurately surveyed, details within it could be relatively accurately fixed. European cities were already advertising their status by employing surveyors. By the end of the fifteenth century superb views, such as that of Florence published by Rosselli in 1482 and of Venice by de Barbari in 1500, were setting examples to other cities wishing to signify their status. Indeed, some historians see this phenomenon as a continued tradition from Roman times and of later maps produced by the crusaders of the cities of the Holy Land.

The first evidence of the new surveying techniques being used in Norwich appears with the production of the Sanctuary map in 1541 (Figure 2). It was rediscovered in 1889 when the Reverend William Hudson reproduced it for the first time.[9] This incomplete map of Norwich was drawn at the request of the government to show all places of sanctuary in the city. Whether it was complete is debatable as it shows only six churches and the cathedral. It does, however, indicate the line of the city walls, the gates, oddly named, and five river bridges. As compared with Cuningham later, it shows the guildhall and the pillory and one or two little groups of houses as, for example, between St Stephen's church and St Peter Mancroft, all of which are marked with chimney-stacks at a time when the survival of many open halls might be expected. No roads are named. Hudson makes the point that the original vellum map in the Public Record Office was much damaged so that the large vacant areas of the city may not

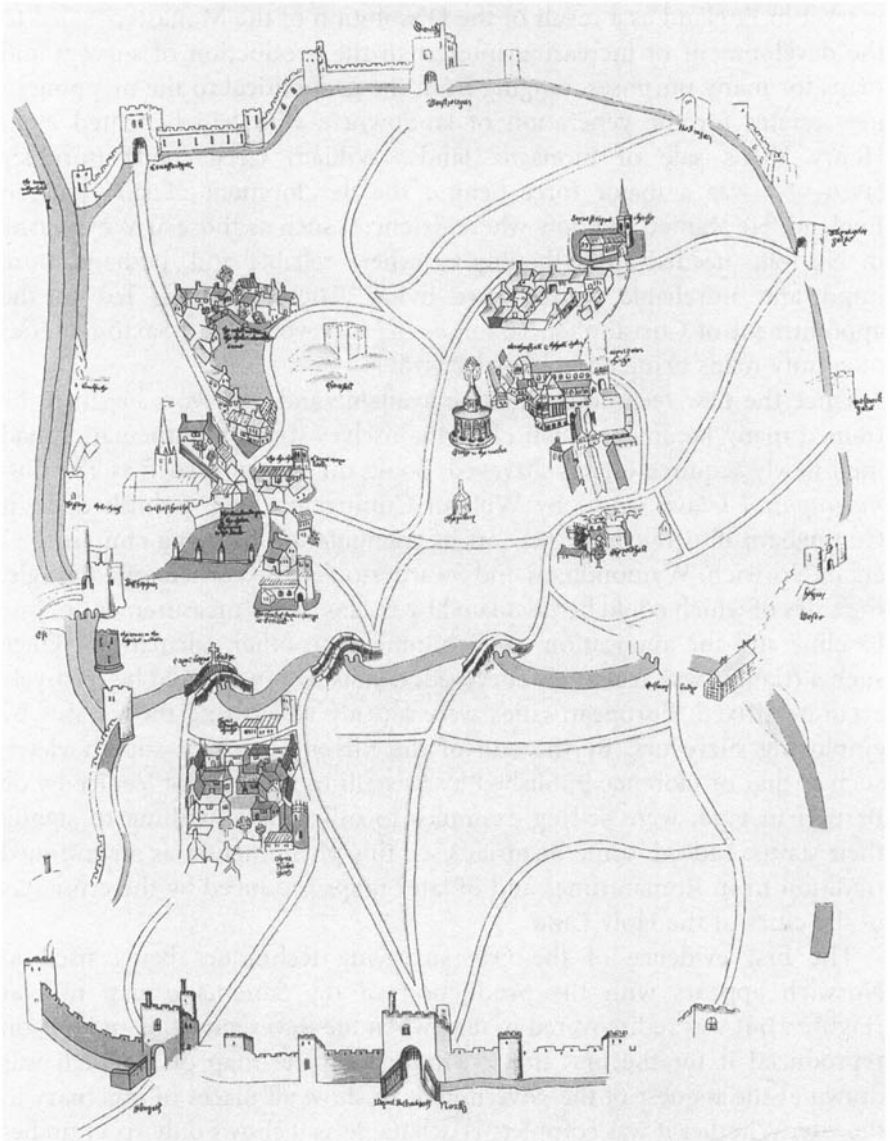


FIGURE 2. The Sanctuary Map 1541. (Kirkpatrick, *Streets and Lanes*, opposite p. 114)

have been shown as such in the original. Blomefield noted a reference in the city chamberlain's account of 1541:

Paid to Thomas Boswell paynter for correcting of a platte that was set up at

this term for the establishing of the Seyntwary [sanctuary] within the cyte according to the statute 6s. 8d.[10]

This reference implies that a map had already existed for Boswell to modify and raises the question of when it was drawn and by whom. The proportions of the city north to south and east to west raise the same questions as are posed by Cuningham's view. To what extent was the Sanctuary map based on a measured survey? The generalised road lines and the relationship of New Mills to the guildhall make it doubtful whether any form of triangulation was used. Linear measurements of the south to north access may, however, have been made.

Norwich is fortunate in having a large number of printed maps of the whole city from its first 'view' by William Cuningham, published in 1558, through to the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map in 1838.[11] The best dividing point, however, is 1830, when Millard and Manning's map was published. Before 1830 an impressive list of sixty-one maps and a prospect of the city were produced. Many were in fact reissues of older plates; Cuningham's map was used unaltered many times.[12] The major surveys referred to in this chapter are those of Thomas Cleer 1696, James Corbridge 1727, Francis Blomefield 1746, Samuel King 1766 and Anthony Hochstetter 1789.

The second part of this chapter will discuss Millard and Manning's large-scale map of 1830, Muskett's of 1849, Morant's of 1873, and then the various Ordnance Survey maps, particularly the very large-scale (1:500 or 10.56 feet to a mile) survey of 1885, to illustrate change. The earlier section will focus more on the technique of mapping used in surveys bound by the city walls and the nature of detail they include. The later section, whilst acknowledging the importance of scale, will be more concerned with the sequence of topographical changes that began to affect Norwich outside the walls as well as those, such as the impact of manufacturing industry, within them.

The first attempt to portray Norwich was that produced by William Cuningham in 1558 (Figure 3). As is often the case with early 'platts' or maps, this is aligned west to east, Norwich Over-the Water being on the left-hand side of the map. This is the earliest surviving printed map of a provincial English town.[13] It is a delightful 'map', and, in that it appears in Cuningham's treatise on surveying – *The Cosmographical Glasse* published in 1559, it was presumably the result of a measured survey. It possibly shows Cuningham's self-portrait in the foreground viewing the city from the west. However, the oblique 'air view' effect of the map means that King

FIGURE 3. William Cuningham's Norwich 1558. (Kirkpatrick, *Streets and Lanes*, opposite p. 117)

Street in South Conesford by the River Wensum has little detail shown as it lies in the 'shadow' of Ber Street.

The layout of the city is beautifully clear. The castle, its mound, access bridge and the shire hall stand out. The city's five bridges, Bishopgate, Whitefriars, Fye bridge, St George's and Coslany, as well as the New Mills are shown. The cathedral and most, but not all, churches are also depicted. St Peter Mancroft, the great market-edge church, is easily identified but what is now known as Bethel Street is shown as reaching the entrance to its tower. King (1766) includes a White Swan Lane along this line, which raises a question as to Cuningham's accuracy.

The line of Pottergate is, however, missing; no guildhall is shown and some churches, for example, St Bartholomew, extant in 1535, in Ber Street, are omitted. Other churches such as St Benedict's appear with a square tower rather than a round one. In St Benedict's (upper Westwick Street) only one church is shown; St Swithin's and St Lawrence's are missing. The clustering of buildings, for example to the west of St Stephen's, appears accurate, however, and buildings are shown conventionally in most cases. The Chapel-in-the-Field (the modern Assembly House) is shown as a more

complex building than many others; whether the nave of the church of St Mary-in-the-Field seems to be still standing is debatable.

A theme to be returned to is that of the open spaces within the walls. Most obvious is Chapelfield with its dangerous mixture of cattle and archers; St Catherine's church still stands clear in St Catherine's field, as does a dovecote and cross-wing building. The walls and gates are, not surprisingly, clearly visible as a most striking feature of the city. Outside the walls, Eaton wood, the lazar houses, two windmills and the bishop's palace at Thorpe all stand out. It is a fascinating and in many ways a surprisingly clear attempt to give a 'picture map' of the city.

The layout of the city, set long before any map was made of it, is shown by Cuningham and continued, largely unchanged, for another two hundred years. His 'view' remained the basis for a series of other Norwich views for over a century. Braun and Hogenberg and even John Speed in his map of Norfolk produced in 1611 still used Cuningham with little or no alteration to the actual detail shown within the walls. Peter Eden notes that Norwich paid £20 to a Mr Goodwin in 1572 for 'surveying and measuring out the lands ... as also for drawing and making out diverse plattes'.[14] John Goodwin was admitted as a citizen of Norwich in 1566. He was a surveyor to the city and to its Great Hospital between 1571 and 1600 and special surveyor of lands to Elizabeth I between 1559 and 1595. He was an exact contemporary of Christopher Saxton. No known map of the city attributed to him, however, has survived.

Documentary sources such as the Census of the Poor for 1570 can help to explain why the growth of housing may not have taken place as quickly as might have been expected.[15] Large houses owned by aldermen and common councillors let rooms to the poor; for example, Edward Pye, a councillor in Norwich-over-the-Water, had four houses in Colegate, accommodating thirty poor people, and three houses in Fyebridgegate with fourteen. Thomas Parker, alderman of Ber Street, had four properties in the same area inhabited by thirty-nine people. John Pound estimates that 41 per cent of the population of St Giles's parish were poor. Much subdivision of properties is implied, as is the addition of cheap buildings in the yards behind the main buildings.

Recently a section of a larger manuscript map showing Tombland and the cathedral has come to light; Frank Meeres attributes this to Richard Wright in the late 1630s but Eden has not listed Wright as a known surveyor.[16] Why this flurry of surveyors, even if it was not until 1696 that Norwich was to acquire a scale map of the conventional type for the first time?

Most probably they found employment for their legal talents in the conveyancing of land and the inevitable wrangles which were part and

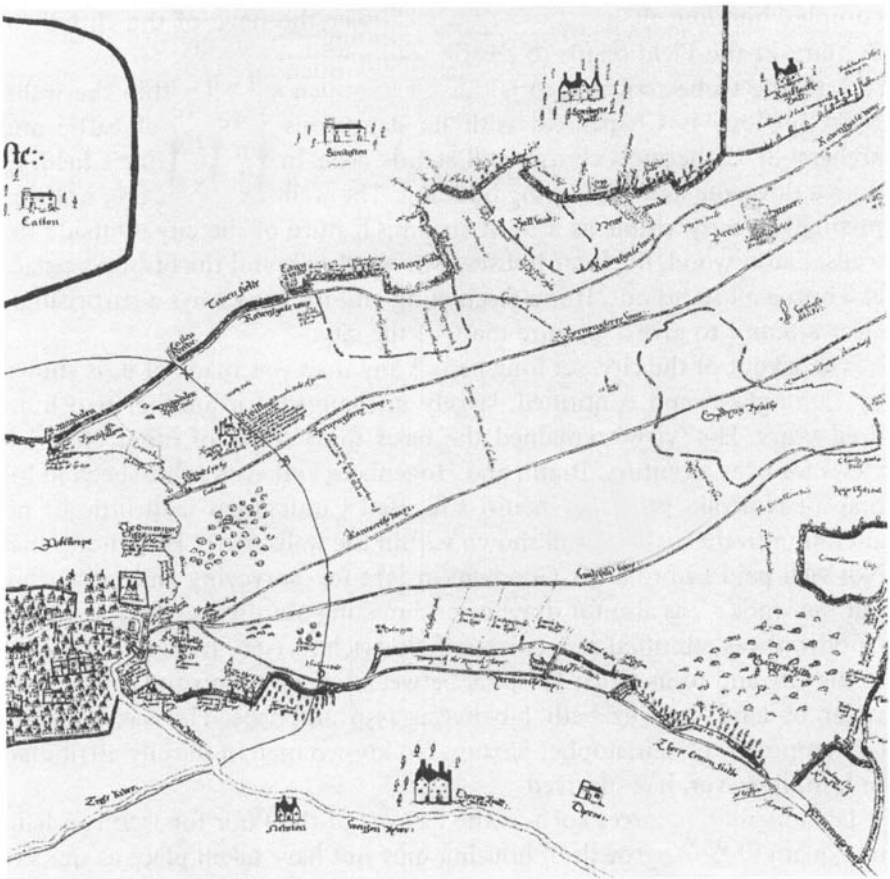


FIGURE 4. Map of parts of Norwich and Mousehold 1585. (Kirkpatrick, *Streets and Lanes*, opposite p. 119)

parcel of the process. For example, a plan of the eastern half of the city and of Mousehold Heath 'as far as Mr Gybson's dole' dated to 1589 was drawn as part of the evidence in a land dispute (Figure 4). The detail inside the city walls is very simplistic and buildings are shown in identical, form, each as a cottage with a chimney. A walled large house called the Lathes appears across the river from the Cow Tower. 'Bishoppsgate' is labelled, as is 'St Michells Chappell' to the east of it across the river. The western boundary of Mr Paston's Thorpe estate, his hall and the remains of Thorpe wood are also distinguished. Many stone pits are marked both within the city boundary and further east into Mousehold. The stone would be flint quarried from both pits and tunnels into the chalk bedrock. Above the chalk are beds of rolled flints and gravels, results of the glaciations. This

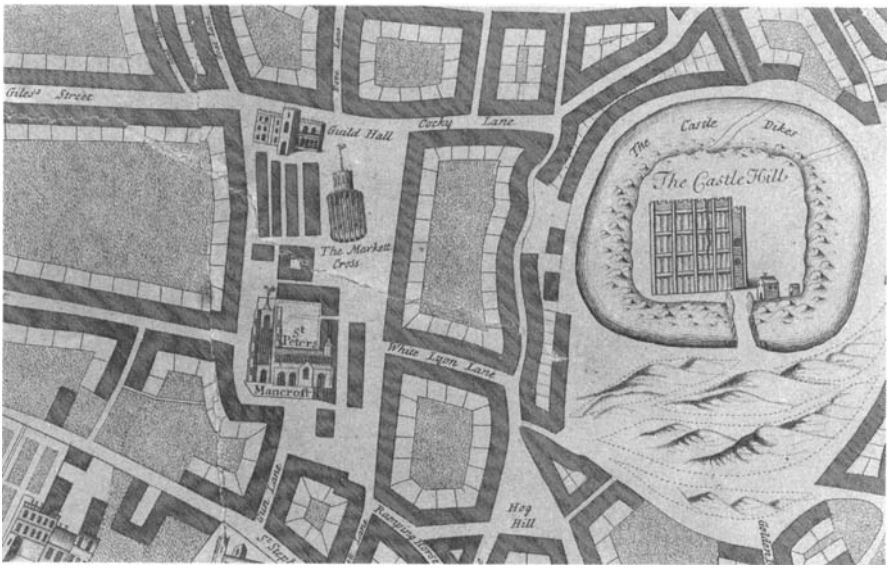


FIGURE 5. Thomas Cleer's Map of Norwich 1696. Detail showing the Market Place. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

flint was an invaluable building material for the ground floors of buildings repaired after Kett's Rebellion of 1549, for upkeep of the city walls, and probably for supplying Yarmouth, which had no surface source of flint.

In 1696 Thomas Cleer produced a map of Norwich (Figure 5). This was the first map of the city within the walls as opposed to Cuningham's bird's eye view or perspective 'platt'. Major buildings were still shown in elevation, for example the castle, the cathedral, all parish churches and the larger private houses. Indeed, the city walls are depicted as if viewed by a bird approaching from the west.

Cleer's map illustrates his technique of indicating a built-up continuous edge to the streets with standardised plots to the rear of the properties and then small open spaces within a continuous enclosure of dwellings. No lanes are shown as running east to west to the east of the market; however, Kirkpatrick, in his detailed examination of the streets and lanes of Norwich, did add (circa 1720) a little lane called Well Yard leading to a common well immediately to the north of White Lion Lane, a feature observed clearly by Blomefield in 1746. Given the nature of property holdings in Norwich and the need for access to yards it is unlikely that several lanes shown by King in 1766 did not exist by 1696.

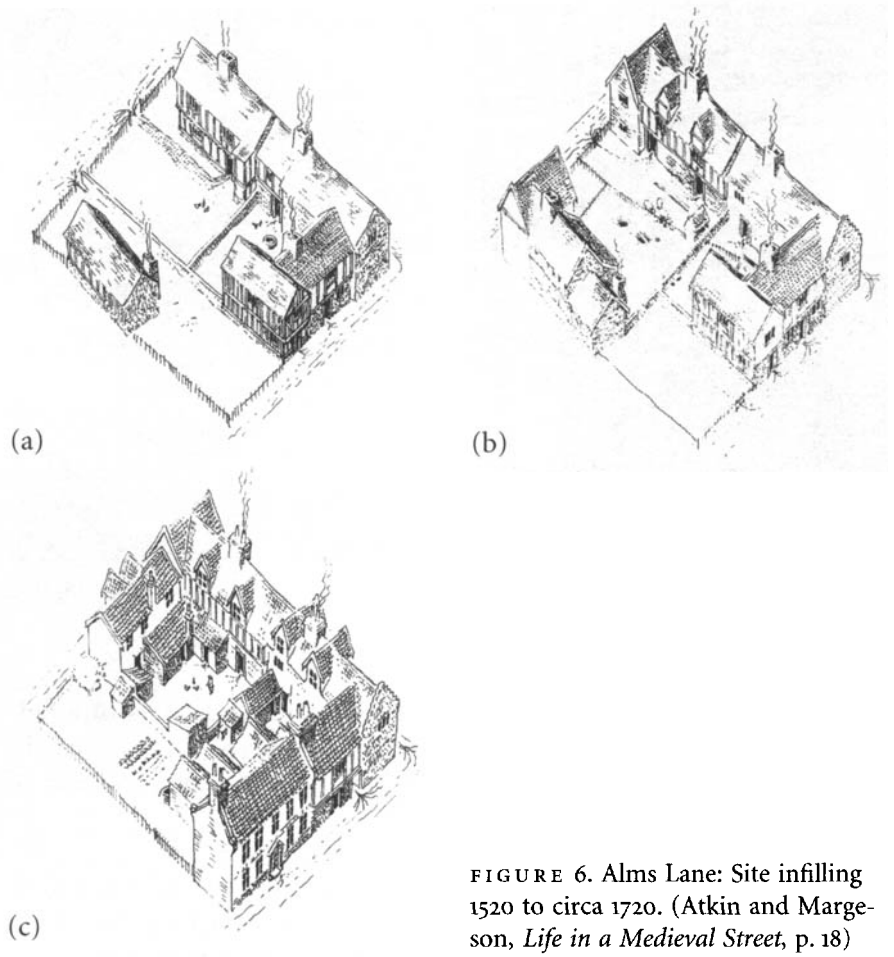


FIGURE 6. Alms Lane: Site infilling 1520 to circa 1720. (Atkin and Margeson, *Life in a Medieval Street*, p. 18)

The detailed work of the Norwich Survey and now of the Norfolk Archaeological Unit has shown that the picture given by Cleer was a diagrammatic one. The Alms Lane excavation (Figure 6) uncovered the amazing amount of infilling that lay between street frontages,[17] as has the more recent work to the east of Dragon Hall where a complex series of buildings extended for at least thirty yards towards the river. Former lanes, as well as important thirteenth-century buildings, have been revealed and these in turn have in some cases provided 'footprints' for a sequence of later buildings. Some areas of garden, such as those to the west of the market place, are included in Cleer's map, probably conventionally, but the main streets are shown with a single line of housing, or at least buildings along them.[18] The detail of street names and to some degree the extent of

open spaces within the walls are two other valuable elements of this map. The layout of streets had largely survived into the sixteenth century.

Cleer shows Norwich as bound, to a great extent, by its medieval walls and gates. Details beyond the gates are, however, of great interest, such as Kett's castle on Mousehold, windmills to the north of the city, and the only area of extra-mural settlement outside Heigham gate. The New Mills appear complete with two water wheels. The extent to which areas behind properties bordering the streets were really built up has already been discussed, but larger expanses of grazing, shown by stipple and shading, certainly did exist especially to the north of the river: the gildencroft, for example, and St Margaret's close. 'Chappley Field' was not stippled but was shown as having stock in it.

The map provides an invaluable marker of the extent of the layout of Norwich in 1700. In many ways it has changed little from the city shown more diagrammatically by Cuningham. What cannot be revealed on a map is the extent to which façades along the streets were different from those of the period of Kett's rebellion. In the 1690s Celia Fiennes hinted that Norwich's buildings were, like those of York, rather behind the times.[19] Brick buildings were, however, beginning to replace, or brick skins to conceal, the earlier timber and flint. Colegate has several handsome surviving examples, such as the Old Meeting House (1693), not in fact noted by Cleer or later by Corbridge in 1727.

In 1723 Thomas Kirkpatrick produced a detailed vista of Norwich from the north east in a large drawing (2 x 5 feet). Thomas was the brother of the well-known antiquary John Kirkpatrick, whose *Streets and Lanes of the City of Norwich* was published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society in 1889.[20] The view is annotated by a key of numbered and lettered items which include the reminder that the city claimed ownership of the whole river towards Yarmouth as far as Hardley Cross. The viewpoints from which the vista was drawn (Figure 7) were on the hillside to the north of Pockthorpe, almost end-on to the north transept of the cathedral. The detail of the north wall of the city and of the buildings inside it is therefore sharpest. Houses are shown conventionally, almost all of two storeys with dormers in the roof and with chimneys. Immediately in view from the hillside is a large building (not numbered in the key) with a massive external chimney stack.

The foreshortening, stemming from the perspective of an oblique 'air view', displays all the open spaces which lay inside the northern section of the walls. The River Wensum, is however, lost to view. Indeed, the vista suggests a city crammed with housing rather than, as visitors invariably

FIGURE 7. Detail from Thomas Kirkpatrick's View of Norwich from the North East, 1723. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

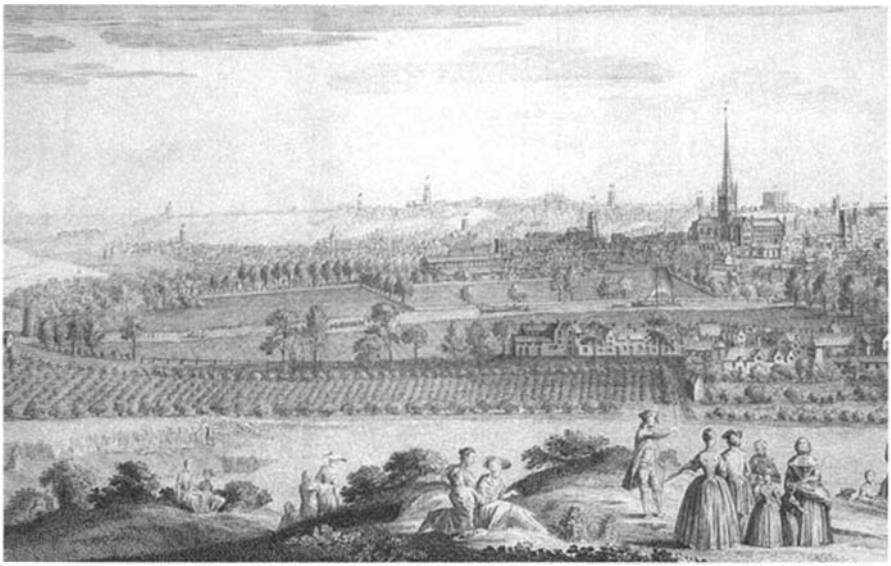


FIGURE 8. Detail from Buck's Prospect of Norwich from the north east, 1741. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

noted, a city of gardens and orchards. Immediately outside the wall cattle are shown grazing, hay is being cocked, and, immediately below the artist's viewpoint, lime is being burned in a kiln. A large post mill dominates the righthand foreground. Churches are well drawn – St Peter Mancroft (without its turrets) and St Stephen's are both clearly recognisable. Near to the artist, St James's, with the octagonal top to its tower (yet dated 1745 by Pevsner) and St Paul's with its round tower and odd fenestration on its north side, are distinctive.

Buck's prospect of 1741, from the south east, opposite Sandlings (Pull's) Ferry, and another from the north east (Figure 8), from Kirkpatrick's viewpoint, add to our knowledge of the city's topography in the eighteenth century. Buck also numbers churches on his vista and lists them below; otherwise he included far fewer other buildings than Kirkpatrick. The southern section of the city (Conesford) is well drawn, especially the open nature of the hillside between Ber Street and King Street. Tombland appears as a large, clear space. Buildings are less standardised than those of Kirkpatrick. The city, seen from the south east, is one of trees and gardens in comparison with Kirkpatrick's crowded prospect. A wherry is sketched upstream of Bishopgate bridge and one downstream with its mast lowered to negotiate the bridge.

Cleer's map of 1696 may well have provided a base for the next

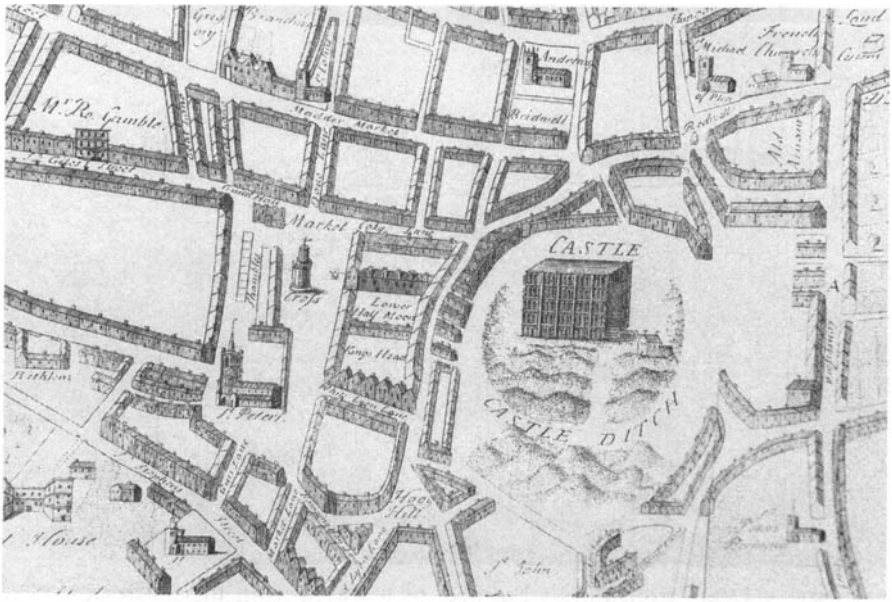


FIGURE 9. Corbridge's Map of Norwich 1727. Detail showing the Market Place. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

topographical marker of the development of the city within the walls. This was a map at a scale of seventeen and a half inches to the mile (1:3400) by James Corbridge which was produced in 1727, on virtually the same scale as Cleer. Two sample areas, the market place and Norwich-over-the-Water, have been selected to illustrate some of the key elements that make this map so valuable (Figures 9 and 10).

There is a part reversion to Cuningham's technique of showing buildings. They are lit with a southern light source and are nearly all depicted conventionally with two or three upper windows, a central groundfloor doorway and a central chimney stack. These can be seen in the Colegate area on Figure 9 and on the river frontage on the north bank. However, occasionally larger houses are marked, for example those of Messrs Hainsworth, Vipont, James Cobb and especially Fremolt. These are distinctive buildings on clearly defined sites (Figure 11). That not one of them now survives makes their location and detail all the more valuable. Of these four men, George Hainsworth became a councillor, Nicholas Vipont was a guardian of the poor in the 1720s, James Cobb a constable, and only Samuel Fremolt attained the office of one of the city's two sheriffs.[21] Did they build these houses or buy and refront them? What they certainly did was to occupy and probably merge former narrower plots into distinctive

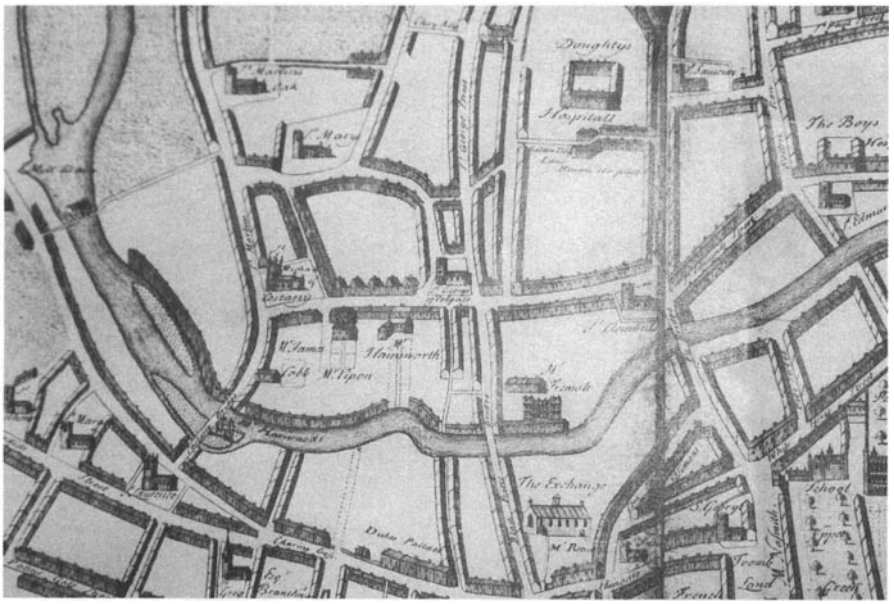


FIGURE 10. Corbridge's Map of Norwich 1727. Detail showing Norwich-over-the-Water. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

properties on sites that were later to be replaced by commercial activities between Colegate and the river.

In the other sample sector, Robert Gamble, described elsewhere as a worsted weaver, occupied the only distinctively drawn house in St Giles's (Figure 10). Sir Thomas Churchman's house, restored in the early 1990s and now the Registry Office, is the only one to have survived from the whole sample chosen. Corbridge's drawing of Churchman House (Figure 11) is, however, very different from the present building, which has been extensively rebuilt and extended in 1751.[22]

The open spaces remain much the same in Corbridge as in Cleer. Both show small detailed areas of gardens at the Greyfriars site due east of the castle, in the cathedral precinct and next to the Assembly House (as it was to become). A single fruit tree is shown per dotted square in these gardens, suggesting that this is conventional mapping. 'My Lord's Garden', the former site of the Austin friary between King Street and the river, has no detail whatsoever on either map.

Corbridge attempted to give some idea of the hilly area between Ber Street and King Street but in a simplistic way. It was not until 1789 that Hochstetter used strong hachuring to give a more accurate impression of the 'quarried cliff' between the two roads. One or two interesting additions

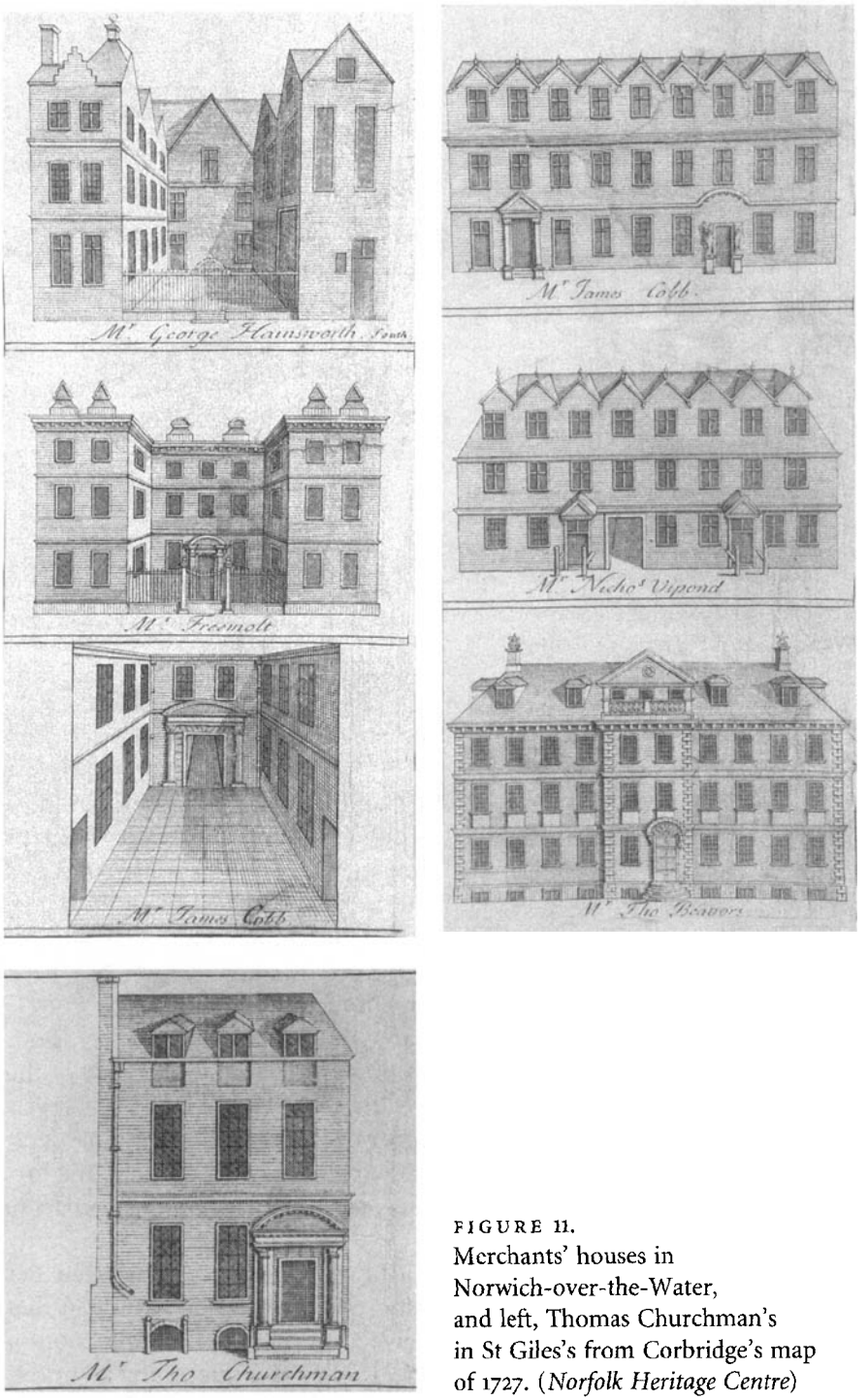


FIGURE 11.
Merchants' houses in Norwich-over-the-Water, and left, Thomas Churchman's in St Giles's from Corbridge's map of 1727. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

to the face of Norwich and to its range of functions are shown by Corbridge: for example, the Bethel Hospital which was founded in 1712–13 as 'the earliest purpose-built asylum in the country'.[23]

Kirkpatrick's *Streets and Lanes of Norwich* provides a remarkably full account of the many small lanes that cut between the major roads of the city. Corbridge and Cleer both show the pattern of eight lanes that linked Pottergate and St Benedict's between St Andrew's church and St Benedict's gate. Supporting evidence comes from Kirkpatrick, who gives detailed references which follow the evolution of these lanes: for example, Holgate which ran from West Pottergate to cross St Benedict's and then to follow the west side of St Swithin's churchyard. Holgate was first noted in 1288 and is now Ten Bell Lane. The hol (hollow) element refers to the way in which 'before it was paved with stone, [it was] gulled and washed hollow by the water falling in great rains down the hill out of Newport'.[24] This highlights what must have been an increasing problem for the city's streets and lanes as the infilling of yards and open spaces continued. Their paving became an important aspect of the city's administration. In 1559 the assembly ruled that all residents who had houses abutting streets within the walls should 'cawse the same to be reparied and mended ageyne with stone according to the use and custom of the city'.[25]

In 1746 Francis Blomefield produced his plan of Norwich to accompany his two volume account of the city.[26] This is a composite map of inestimable value to the historian of Norwich because it is not only a map of the city of the mid eighteenth century but it also records and locates many former features, for example, the sites of churches that had been demolished by 1746 and of former limekilns. He gives alternative street names such as Over or Upper Westwick or St Bennet's Street. It is drawn to a slightly smaller scale than the reduced version of Cleer's map and that of Corbridge. The extent of built-up street frontage and the recording of some free standing buildings appears to be nearer to that shown by Corbridge, but the inscription notes that Francis Blomefield drew and executed the map himself.[27] Given Blomefield's amazing research skills and energies it is remarkable that he could also be a surveyor-cartographer.[28]

A series of dotted lines appears on this map. These may be intended to show the complex patterns of the parish boundaries within the city but they are not easy to follow and they distinguish too few parishes, as for example within King Street. The additional detail given by Blomefield in the margins of the map is enormous, with a numbered key of 202 items – churches past and present, major residences and ancient features – all testimony to the depth of research undertaken by him.

In 1766 Samuel King produced a new and clear map of the city within

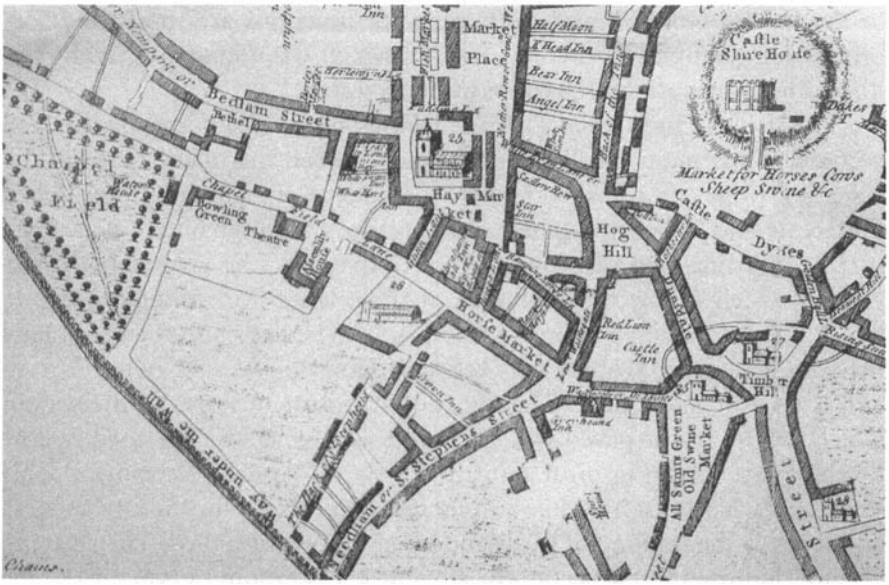


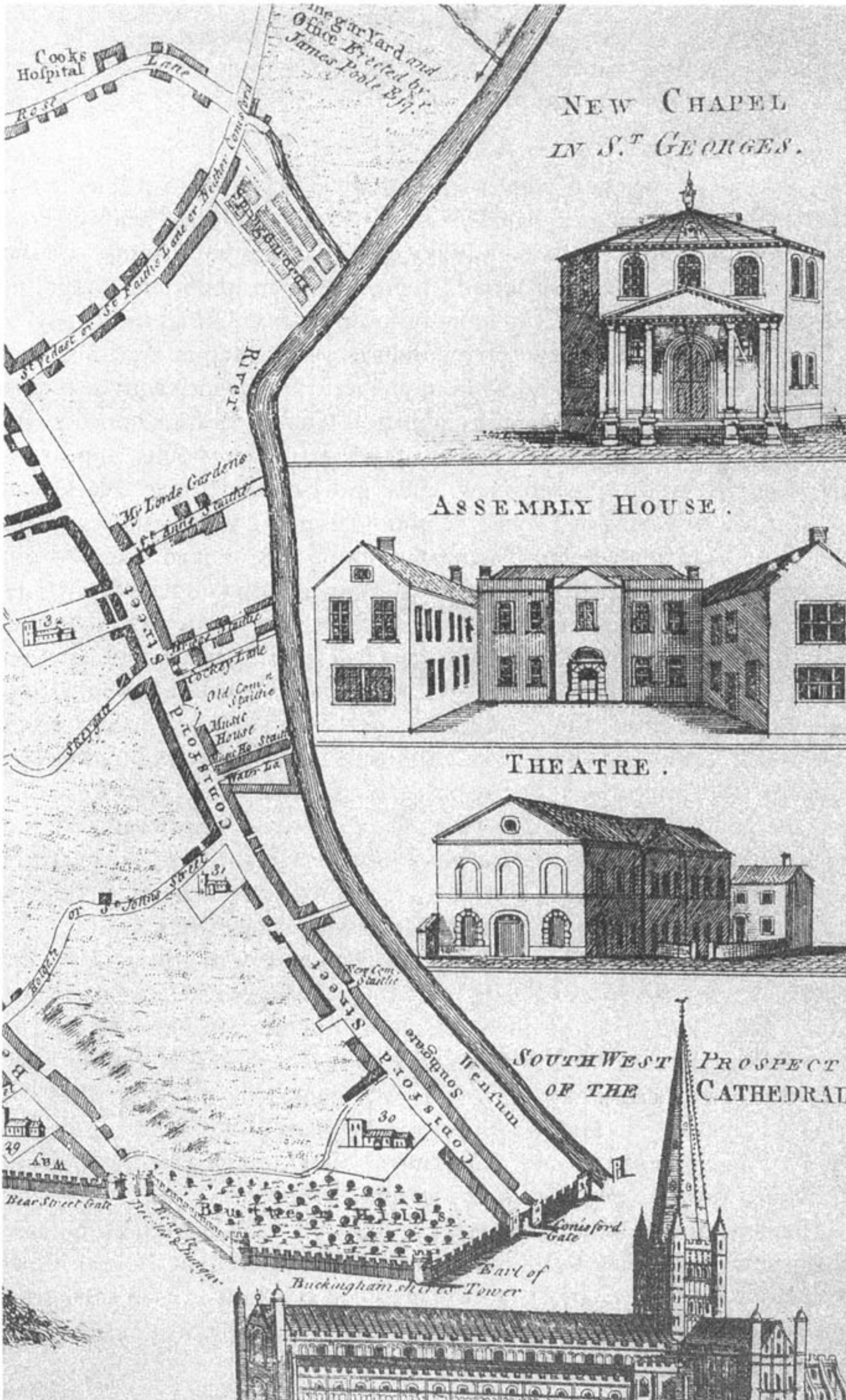
FIGURE 12. Samuel King's Map of Norwich 1766. Detail of the Market Place. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

FIGURE 13. (opposite) King's Map of Norwich 1766: drawings of public buildings shown below the map. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

the walls at a scale of about thirteen-and-a-half inches to the mile (Figure 12). King worked in Norfolk and Suffolk between 1763 and 1768, although his Norwich map appears to be his only piece of urban mapping.[29] The castle bailey was, by this time, functioning as the cattle market, but the outer ditches were still a feature as was that between the castle mound and the bailey. The Assembly House and the long clerestory of St Stephen's church stand out well. The many inns of the city centre and their service lanes, for example those between Gentleman's Walk and Back of the Inns, are well shown. Another series of lanes lay to the west of St Stephen's Street.

Norwich, to quote A. D. Bayne, experienced its 'most prosperous time 1750 to 1780'.[30] The buildings of Thomas Ivory, its busiest Georgian architect, alone give some idea of the way the face of the city was changing between the time of Kirkpatrick's views and King's map.[31]

Methodist Meeting House, Bishopgate	1751–2
House on the west side of entrance court of the Great Hospital	1752–3
The Octagon Chapel	1754–6
The Assembly Rooms	1754
The Theatre	1757–8


NEW CHAPEL IN S.T GEORGES.
ASSEMBLY HOUSE.
THEATRE.
SOUTH WEST PROSPECT OF THE CATHEDRAL
Cooks Hospital
Rose Lane
River
Wensum
Conisford Street
Conisford Gate
My Lords Gardens
St Anne Staithe
Cockey Lane
Old Com.n Staithe
Music House
Water La
New Com. Staithe
Bear Street Gate
Earl of Buckinghamshire Tower

Nos 29 to 35 Surrey Street	1761–2
Nos 25 and 27 Surrey Street	*c.*1771
The Artillery Barracks	1771–2
No 31 King Street	*c.*1774

King provides drawings of some major buildings below his map (Figure 13). They include the Octagon chapel, Assembly Rooms and the Theatre. These show how the cultural and religious life of the city was flourishing, with the Octagon, built by the Presbyterians, representing an important symbol of the growing importance of the non-conformist communities in the city.

King does, however, show some buildings on the map in elevation. The churches are drawn with and without chancels: St Gregory with a spirelet which it lost later in 1840, and the gildencroft Quaker meeting house is also depicted. Small distributaries, perhaps water extraction points, appear off the River Wensum between New Mills and Coslany bridge. Blackfriars lacks its tower, having lost it in 1712, and its uses as a workhouse, new hall and Dutch church are noted. The near complete ring of open spaces within the walls stands out clearly. Chapel Field, planted with double lines of trees is different from other treeless grazing areas. A water house was set on its eastern side. As a general comment it is still noticeable how much open space, in the form of gardens and orchards, remains between Ber Street and King Street and inside the northern line of the wall between St Margaret's gate and Pockthorpe. The representations of the majority of buildings by King are still conventional. A few public ones such as the Assembly House and the guildhall are shown in plan. The only hint of early industry is a reference to James Poole's vinegar yard and office by the river, downstream of Sandlings ferry. Taverns and inns are named but industrial buildings, such as breweries and weaving and hot-pressing shops, are not.

Hochstetter's map of 1789 marks almost a century of change from the map of the city drawn by Cleer in 1696. It is of a larger scale, twenty inches to one mile (1:3160), and it therefore shows buildings in more detail. The outstanding feature is that the plan of buildings is no longer conventional, as with Cleer, Corbridge and, to a great extent, King. If St Stephen's is taken as an example (Figure 14) the variable plans of buildings running to the back of St Stephen's and along Surrey Street, together with details of individual gardens, all indicate cartographic accuracy.

The depiction of the market place, in some ways less interesting because Hochstetter's mapping techniques are more advanced than those of Cleer with his elevations, retained most of its main elements in 1789 except for the demolished market cross (Figure 15). However, the area between the

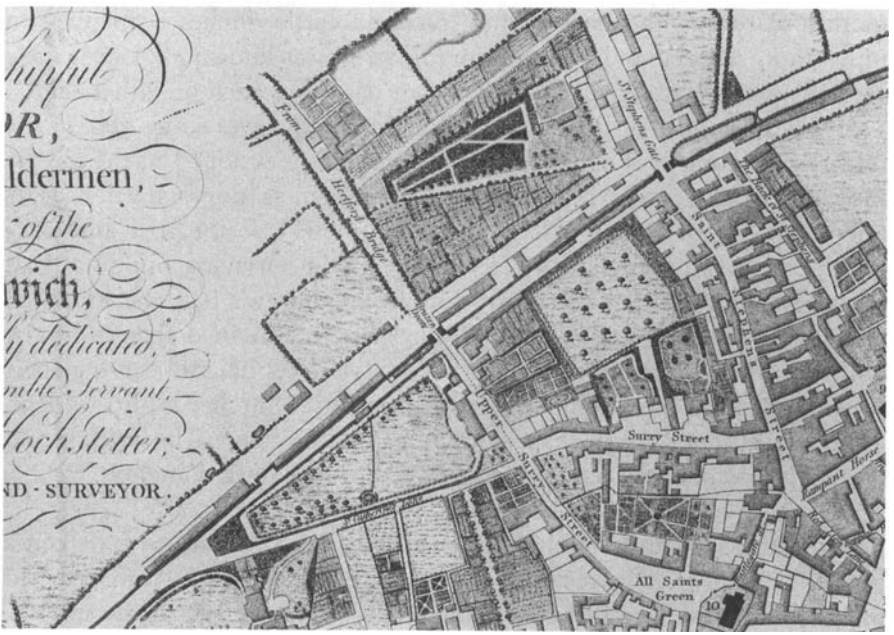


FIGURE 14. Hochstetter's Map of Norwich 1789. Detail of the St Stephen's area. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

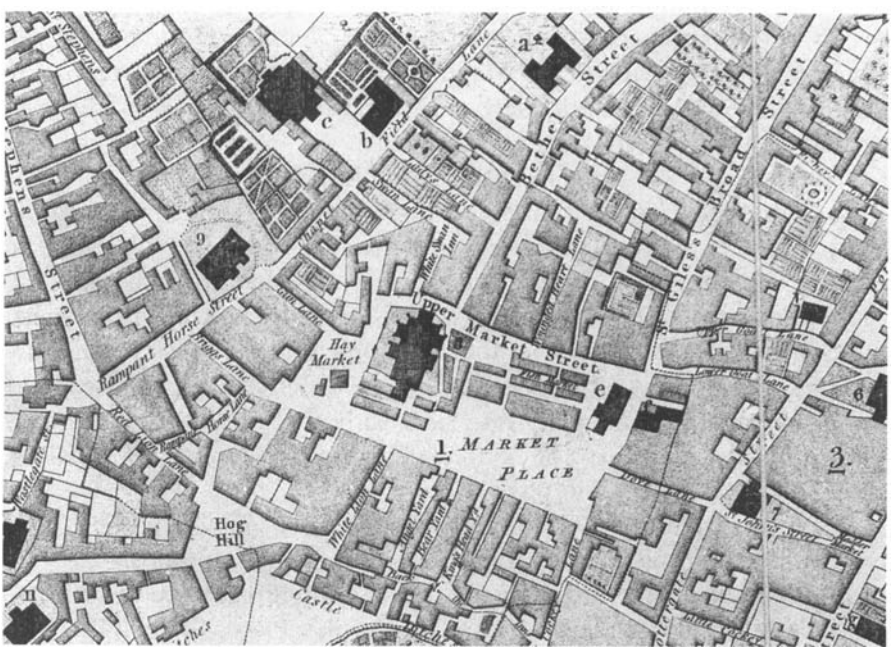


FIGURE 15. Hochstetter's Map of Norwich 1789. Detail of the Market Place. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

market place and the Back of the Inns and castle ditches is mapped in much more detail than by Cleer. London Street was known as Cockey Lane on both maps; Gentlemans Walk was not named as such on either map.

Hochstetter's list of two dozen public buildings gives some idea of the range of religious and cultural activities that had developed in the city by the end of the eighteenth century. The map depicts Norwich a few years after what Arthur Young described as its 'famous era', the great mid century prosperity of England's second city.[32] Old surviving buildings had been developed for new uses: for example, St Andrew's hall, the Bridewell and the Great Hospital. A few buildings had maintained their role, the guildhall, the grammar school and Doughty's Hospital still serving their original purpose. The number of nonconformist churches is also evident. There was even a Romish chapel, but as yet no synagogue. The Norfolk and Norwich Hospital was one of the most recent new developments.

In 1830 the corporation of Norwich instructed W. S. Millard to carry out a survey of the city. This resulted in a fine large-scale map usually referred to as Millard and Manning's map, the latter joining Millard as the second-named surveyor. It is a beautifully drawn map at a scale of 26 inches to a mile. Perhaps the fast-growing population of Norwich from 1811 to 1831 made the corporation aware of new pressures. The great value of the map is that it shows the start of the explosion of Norwich outside the walls. Figure 16, based on Millard and Manning, indicates that the city was beginning to develop to the south west and the north east beyond its medieval boundary. To the north the Pockthorpe area was expanding and the first terraced housing was being built to the south west.

The role of Norwich as a county town, important as it had been for centuries, began to express itself in a new generation of public buildings. The Norfolk and Norwich Hospital had already been established; the new city gaol built in 1826 reflected changing views of the treatment of prisoners; the cavalry barracks emphasised the development of the professional army that was a response to the prolonged wars with France, social discontent expressed in bread and piece-rate riots early in the century, and later, Chartist unrest. At Thorpe St Andrew the asylum, the mental hospital for the county, was founded in 1814.[33]

The map lists thirty-five churches and forty-two public buildings, primarily nonconformist chapels and a variety of schools and hospitals. It is of sufficiently large scale to allow the shapes of buildings to be shown. The nineteenth-century terraces of Peafield, Crook's Place, Grove Place and Union Place, laid out in straight lines and with houses built to standard patterns, contrast sharply with the old irregular yards within the walls.

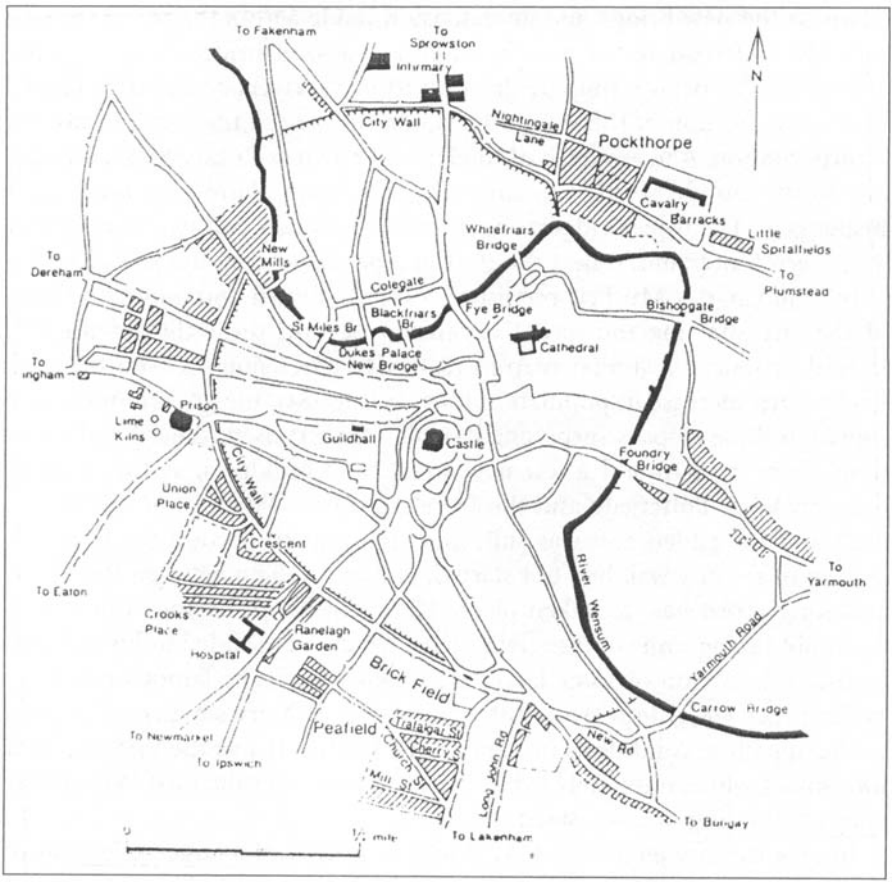


FIGURE 16. Norwich Beyond the Walls, based on Millard and Manning's Map of 1830. (Barringer, *Norwich in the Nineteenth Century*, p. x)

Between 1792 and 1808 the gates of the city were demolished, thus allowing an easier flow of traffic. Although little had changed in the internal layout, the linking of the city to its suburbs was beginning to exert a demand for new bridges. The need to improve the link of industrial Norwich-over-the-Water with the city centre led to Soane's Blackfriars bridge being built in 1784 and Duke Street bridge in 1822. The historic crossing points at Trowse bridge and Bishopgate bridge provided only limited access to the lower Yare Valley and to Yarmouth by road. As early as 1776, a letter to the corporation had expressed support for an act of Parliament for the building of a further bridge to solve the problem. But not until 1810 was Carrow bridge constructed.

A new road, now known as Carrow Hill, was built outside the city wall

down to the new bridge and an extension made across the marsh to link with the old road to Yarmouth. In 1811 a second bridge, following the growth of Thorpe, was built by the foundry at the riverside end of St Faith's Lane. The location of this bridge no doubt influenced the siting in 1844 of Thorpe Station. A new stretch of road, now known as Rosary Road, was laid out from Foundry bridge to link with the main Yarmouth road from Bishopgate. The three bridges, one internal to the city and two linking it to its eastern hinterland, reflect the start of a period of considerable growth.

In 1849 Charles Muskett published a clearly drawn and annotated map of the city showing the recent expansion beyond the walls (Figure 17). Jarrold produced a similar map in 1848 with fewer notes. Given the relatively sharp increase in population from 1821 to 1831, the growth of the city shown in these maps is surprisingly small. Muskett used Millard and Manning's base map to add a few new streets and buildings, as for example between West Pottergate and the Dereham Road. Much of St Margaret's croft and the gildencroft was still open, the growth beyond the northern section of the city wall had not started, and no infilling between Ber Street and King Street had yet taken place. The medieval yards and courts were no doubt taking some of the strain, extra garrets were added to houses, and further subdivision of some larger ones took place. The famous report by William Lee (1851) into the sanitary condition of Norwich alerted the city to the appalling conditions in many of its yards.[34] It was the first step in a movement which ultimately led to the clearances after the First World War and the building of new estates.

In 1873 the city engineer, A. W. Morant, produced a large-scale map of the built-up area of Norwich. This was the result of detailed survey work to a scale of sixteen inches to a mile and it predated the first Ordnance Survey map of the city at 1:2500 (25 inches to a mile) by twelve years. It replaced Millard and Manning's map of 1830 in tracing forty-three years of growth and change. The two sample areas illustrated (Figures 18 and 19) show further developments in the city centre area, as compared with Hochstetter's version of nearly a century earlier, and in the Town Close estate between the Ipswich and Newmarket roads, where development was well in progress.

Several changes in the internal structure of the city had taken place between 1830 and 1873. The most obvious one was the construction of Prince of Wales Road, laid out in 1866. This linked Thorpe Station with the cattle market. It cut through the site of the Greyfriars' buildings, right across the foundations of the great church. Large, four-storey buildings were erected to line the street for much of its length. The city end of this new road became the focal point for several important new buildings, such

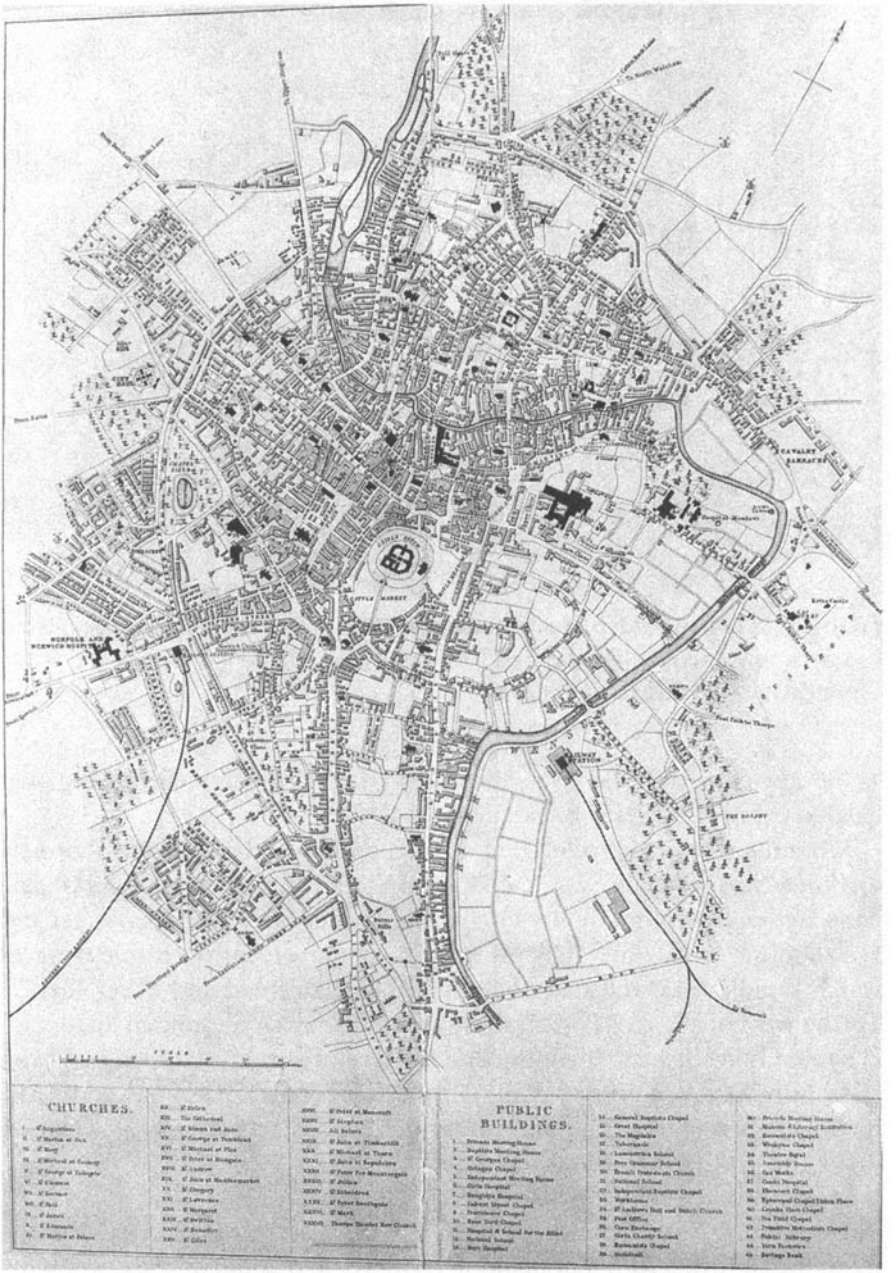


FIGURE 17. Muskett's Map of Norwich 1849. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

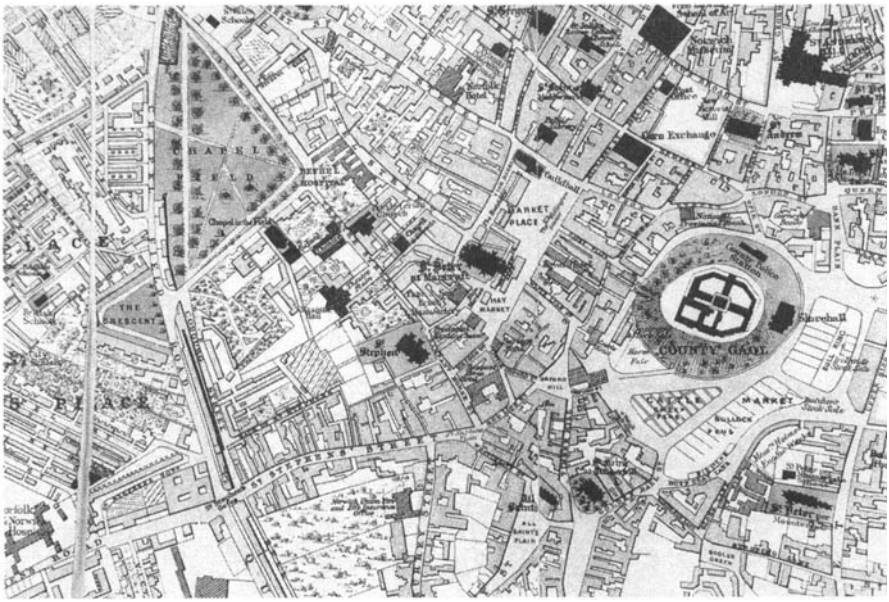
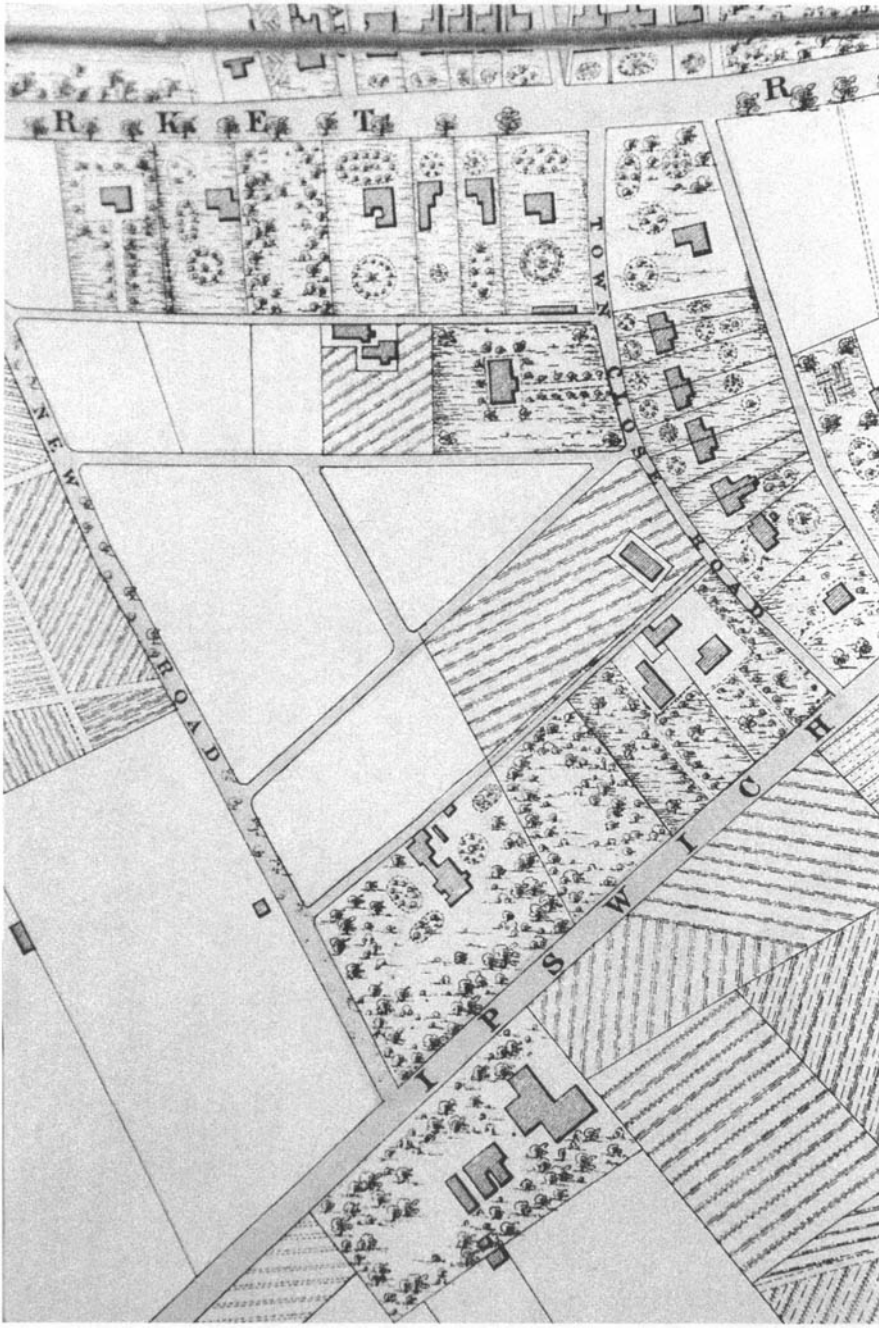


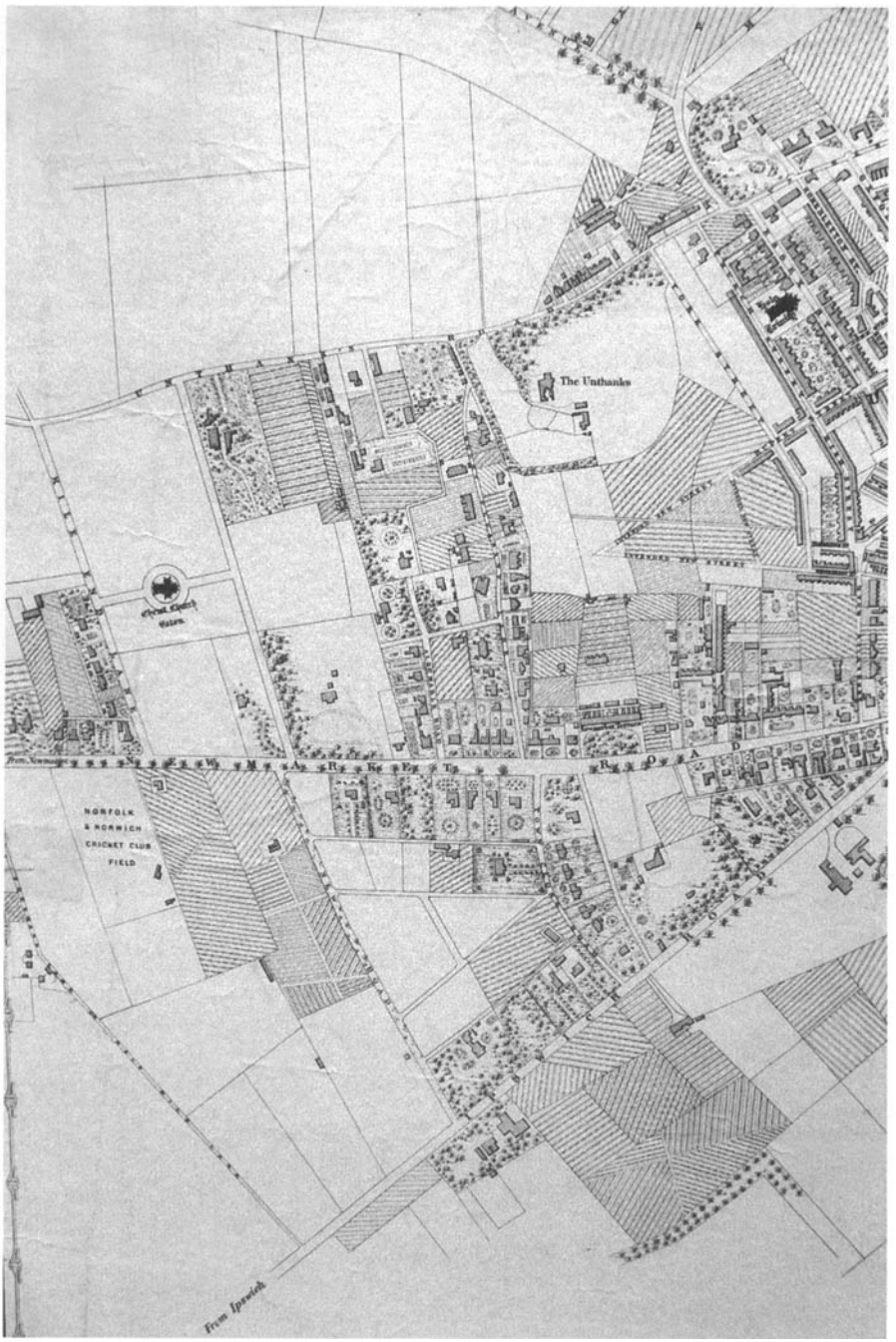
FIGURE 18. Morant's Map of 1873. Details of city centre. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)
FIGURE 19. (opposite and overleaf) Morant's Map of 1873. Detail of the Town Close Estate. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

as the Agricultural Hall (1882), the Royal Hotel (1896–97) and the regional headquarters of Barclays Bank (1921).

Morant's map was produced at a key moment as the 'explosion' of new working class housing was just beginning. To the north of Nightingale Lane lay open country, but by 1907 it was an alley between Silver Street and Woodhouse Street, an area of typical late nineteenth-century terraces which rapidly filled the space between Magdalen Road and Silver Road.[35] To the west of the city Pottergate stretched as far as Alexander Road, and Heigham had reached Northumberland Street. Caernarvon Road had been laid out by 1873 but not yet built. Holy Trinity church (1859–61) and Trinity Street then marked the limit of terrace expansion between Newmarket Road and Unthank Road.

The Ordnance Survey produced maps at the scale of 1:500 (10.56 feet to the mile) for all towns with a population of more than 4000; by 1894, when the series finished, Norwich was one of 365 towns in England already mapped. The map for Norwich was published in 1885. A driving force behind mapping at this scale was the need for accurate plans for the laying of sewers and water and gas supplies in response to rapid urban expansion


R K E T
R
TOWN CLOSE ROAD
NEW ROAD
IPSWICH


The Unthanks
NORFOLK
& NORWICH
CRICKET CLUB
FIELD
From Ipswich

and concerns about public health. The twenty-five sheets of the Norwich series of the 1885 map were reissued in 1971 at a reduced scale of 1:1250 (50.688 inches to the mile).

This map represents the ultimate in urban mapping for the nineteenth century historian. The scale allows the ground plan of all properties to be shown as well as their boundaries. Individual trees were plotted as well as garden layout, and parish and ward boundaries. The information given provides a perfect record of the city in 1883, a wonderful starting point for the study of change in Norwich over the last hundred and twenty years. Three examples have been selected to show the superb detail of the map: first, Crooks Place, Bignold School and The Crescent; secondly, Chapelfield and thirdly, the industrial area which had become established near the New Mills (Figures 20 and 21). The range of industries shown is wide, although, as it happens, no shoe factory to represent Norwich's premier source of employment occurs within the selected area. The contrast between the straight-line, packed terraces of the working classes and the more generous layout of The Crescent is self-evident. The line of the city walls along Chapelfield Road, now revealed to all who drive along the inner-ring road, was then obscured by houses on both sides.

The traditional trade route into Norwich was via the rivers Yare and Wensum. Despite schemes to improve the river from Yarmouth to Norwich in 1682 and from Lowestoft to Norwich in 1827, the river port declined in importance. Even an attempt to facilitate access by building a lock in 1834 came to nothing. Norwich was already the focus of the road system of Norfolk and North East Suffolk, and turnpikes after 1750 improved the roads and increased the flow of goods into the city. Between 1844 and 1885 the building of three railway stations outside the walls led to developments to the south west, west and east of the city and, as we have seen, a new access route within the city from the cattle market to Thorpe Station via Prince of Wales Road.

The provision of gas, electricity, water, sewers, local authority housing and public open spaces have all had an impact on the plans of cities. The relief of a city site especially influences the alignment of sewers and their provision determines lines of further housing and industrial development. Hidden from view, they provided, with their miles of pipes and drains, a sanitary system far more comprehensive than any transport network.[36] These services have, or had, influenced other developments. Derelict gas-work sites, for example, have limited uses because of deep-ground pollution. The present reuse of the riverside site in Norwich imposed major costs of reclamation.

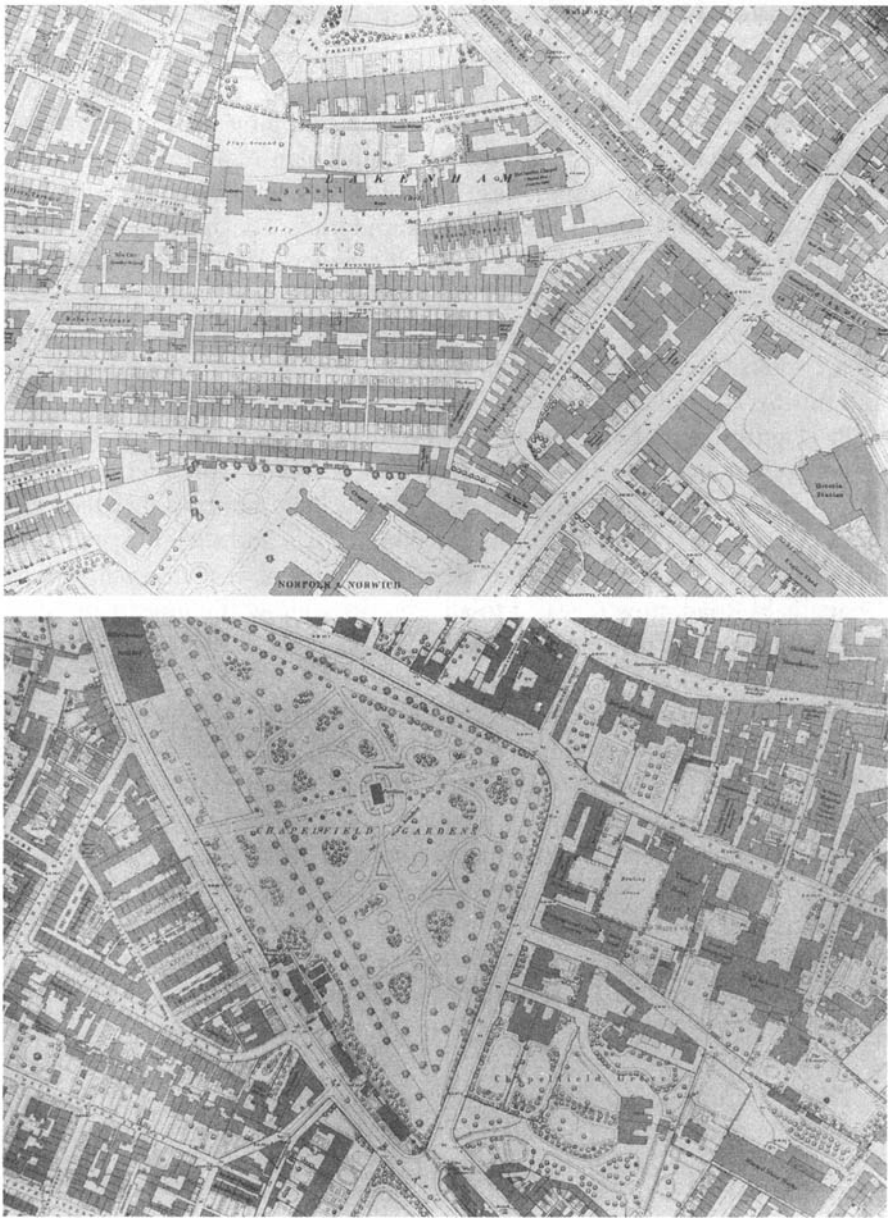


FIGURE 20. Ordnance Survey 1:500 1885. Detail from sheets LXIII 15.2 and LXIII 15.7. Working-class housing between the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital and the Crescent, and (below) Chapelfield Gardens. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

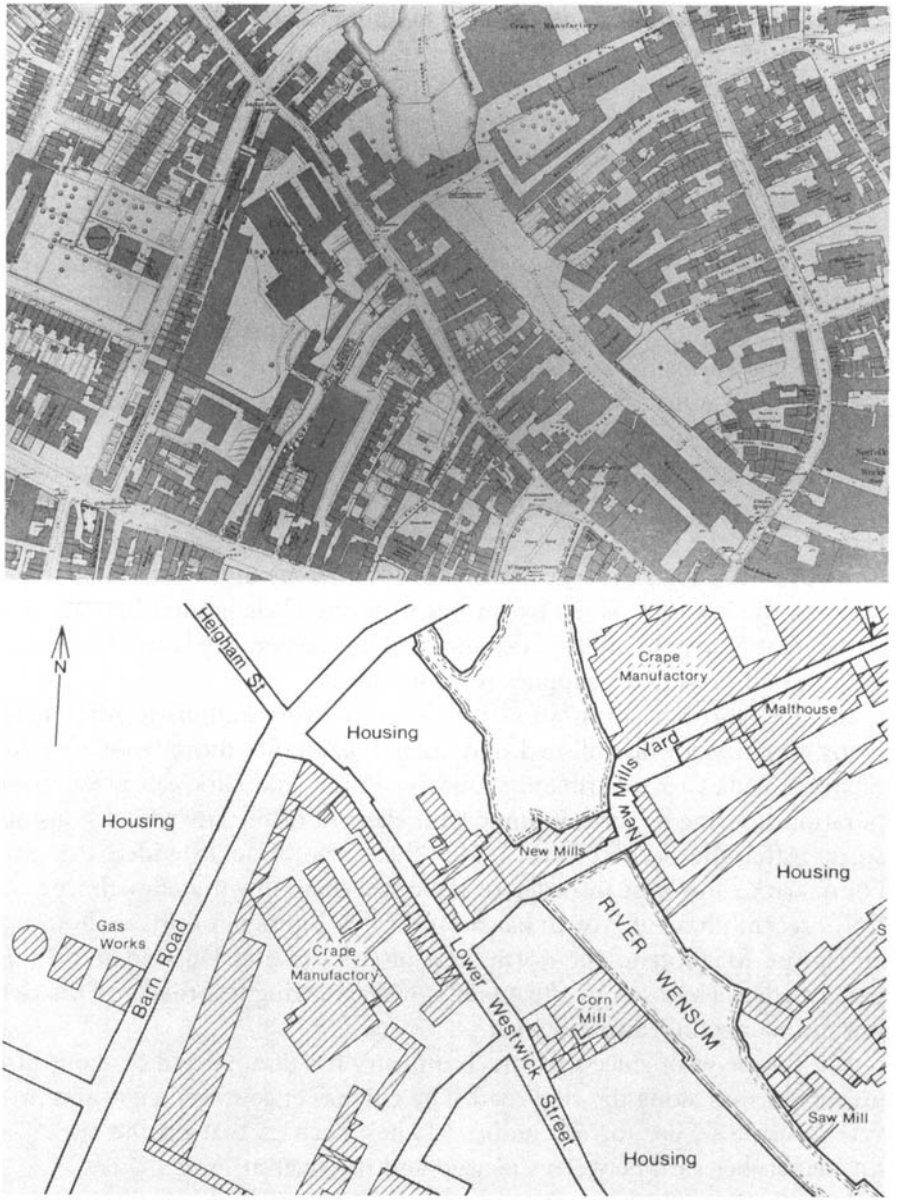


FIGURE 21. Selected Industrial Detail from Ordnance Survey 1.500 1885. The New Mills area, and redrawn as a sketch map. (Barringer, *Norwich in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 148)

William Lee's enquiry in 1851 into the sanitary condition of the city led to the setting up of the Whitlingham sewage farm.[37] The farm was laid out three miles to the east of the city, the effluent draining into the River Yare. Until the late 1860s the River Wensum had been the city's main sewer, but in 1867 the city sponsored an act of Parliament by which it leased 129 acres of the Crown Point estate for thirty years. Deep sewers were laid on both sides of the Wensum, and at Trowse a pumping station was built to lift sewage to Whitlingham. In this and other ways, the city was spreading well beyond its boundaries.

William Lee's report also raised concern about the quality of the water supply. The Wensum, as well as being the city's sewer, was also its principal source of water. New Mills had been used as a pumping station for water from the river which was circulated by systems of wooden or lead pipes to the city centre. This lasted until 1794. By 1830 a reservoir had been built in Chapel Field for storage; finally in 1920 filter beds were laid out in Heigham on the south side of the river from where water is still pumped to distribution reservoirs in Lakenham (Figure 22) and Mousehold. The water in the Wensum is fed by springs from the chalk aquifer beneath the city so that Norwich, unlike cities such as Manchester, Leeds and Bradford, has not had to draw its supplies from far afield.

In 1918 Norwich corporation became a housing authority. After 1929 many slums were demolished and their inhabitants moved out to new estates at Mile Cross, Earlham, Woodrow Pilling and Larkman Lane. Corporation housing became an important element of the city's total housing stock. After the Second World War the corporation extended the city boundary to the west in order to lay out a 'new town' at Bowthorpe. A third, recent phase of growth has been the development of private housing at Thorpe Marriott to the north west of the city and Dussindale on the eastern edge. These are in effect satellite villages lying in Broadland district but intimately linked to Norwich.

Within the walls since 1945 much industry has disappeared or moved to greenfield sites along the ring road. The city has encouraged civic and private housing to use former industrial sites, such as that on the site of a former timber yard between Colegate and the river at Friar's Quay.

Outside the walls the largest open spaces are Mousehold Heath, Earlham Park and the two river flood plains. Mousehold is a remnant of a wide tract of heathland that reached as far east as Wroxham. The building of the new corporation housing estates created the need for related public open spaces. Eaton Park was a classic job creation project of the inter-war years. The eighty acre site was bought by the city with the help of the Norwich Playing Fields and Open Spaces Society in 1906. It remained an open grass area

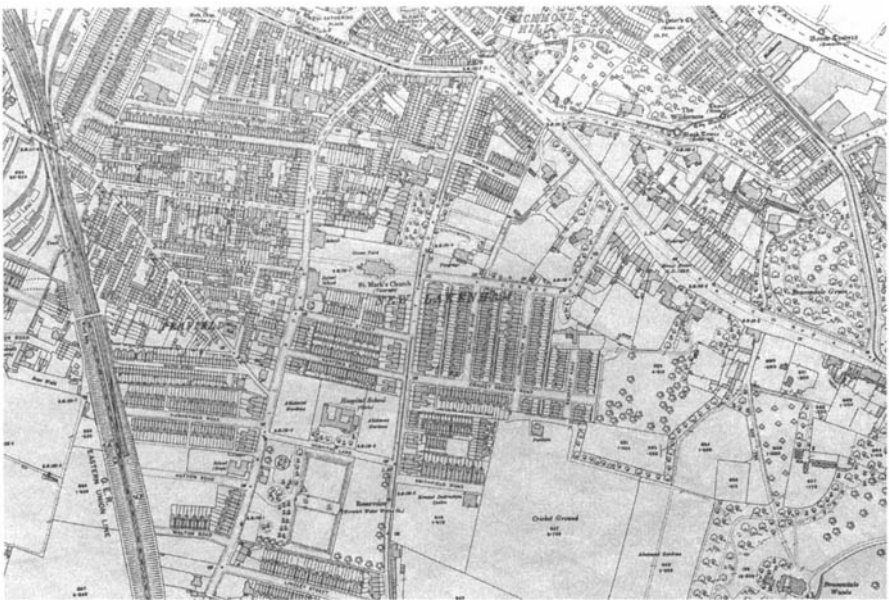


FIGURE 22. Ordnance Survey 1:2500 1914 reduced to 1:4340; Alan Godfrey Maps. The Parish of New Lakenham. (*Norfolk Heritage Centre*)

until the 1920s when Captain Sandys-Winsch, the city parks and gardens superintendent, designed the new park, opened in 1928, and also Waterloo, Wensum and Heigham parks.[38] The four parks have achieved recognition as 'historic landscapes' and have recently received a major Heritage Lottery Fund grant in order to restore them.

Before the reorganisation of local government in 1974 there was much discussion as to whether a Greater Norwich might make administrative sense in recognition of the central role played by the then county borough. This centralist view begged the question of how a county that had lost its core might be organised. In 1974 Norwich suffered, with Great Yarmouth, the indignity of losing its status as a county borough to become a 'mere' district within the county of Norfolk.

From 1500 until the present day Norwich has played a premier role as a market centre for Norfolk and much of north-east Suffolk. It has had an ecclesiastical, legal and administrative function as the seat of a bishop, the location of the county court and of the shire hall. It has now acquired additional roles as an important educational and research centre and as a national business centre for the food, banking and insurance industries. The spatial response in Norwich to these developments, given the relatively

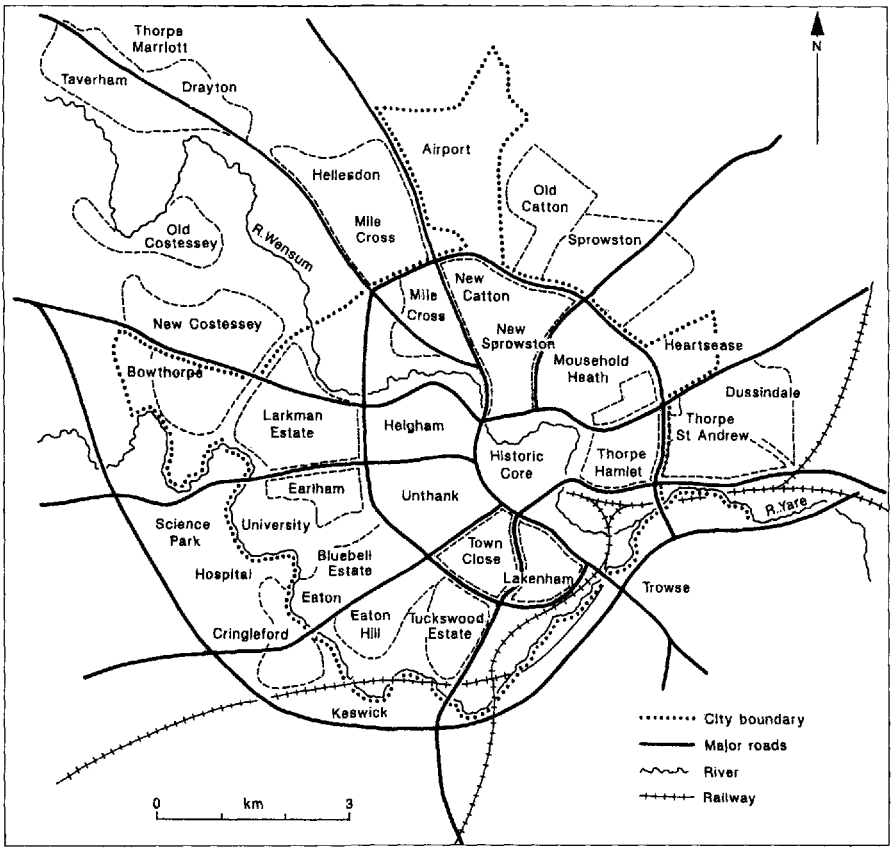


FIGURE 23. Norwich Growth Map. (*City of Norwich Plan* 1945 p. 82, plan by Phillip Judge)

gentle relief of central Norfolk, has been to march along, and spread between, its spine roads. It has already absorbed its first ring of neighbouring parishes in Lakenham, New Catton, Sprowston and Thorpe. A green belt at present divides it from an outer ring of semi-urban parishes which are intimately linked with the city, a link recently recognised by the development of a series of park and ride bus stations which tie the city to Costessey, Taverham and Drayton, Hethersett, outer Catton and Thorpe. The increasing role of the airport has influenced the growth of the city northwards. The final map of the environmental areas of greater Norwich emphasises the extent to which the urban area of Norwich has radiated outwards (Figure 23). The city has become an ever-expanding conurbation around a medieval hub.

2

Government to 1660

John Pound

> By reason that the comodities of woorsted makynge is greatlye decayed, by the whiche manye Cittyzens, bothe merchauntes and artizans, that before that tyme hadd ... their wheale lyvinges, and great nombre of poore of the Cyttye were sette on worke ... after manye consultations and devices what trades might be practized to redresse this poore state [the mayor] was given intelligence that dyverse strangers of the Lowe countryes were now come to London and Sandwiche and had gotte lyscens of the Quenis majestye to exercize the makynge of Flaunders comodityes made of woolle, which straungers came over for refuge ageynste the persecution then raysed agaynst them by the power of the Duke Alva principall for the Kynge of Spayne.
>
> Royal Letters Patent of 1564[1]

With the notable exception of the disappearance of its monastic houses – the magnificent Blackfriars apart – the physical appearance of Norwich altered remarkably little during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An exceptionally detailed map of 1558 shows the city with wide swathes of open land. Some of this undoubtedly reflected the disastrous fires of 1507, which had destroyed over 700 dwellings in the northern and central parts of the city, or perhaps 40 per cent of the housing stock.[2] The features most often commented upon remained the walls, the cathedral and the profusion of churches. Only Celia Fiennes in 1698 went beyond that trilogy of tourist attractions to note the width and excellence of the paving. She also observed that to the north of the city, at least, some large brick buildings had sprung up, in contrast to the majority of timber-framed houses which gave Norwich such an antique appearance. It had been left to Thomas Baskerville some twenty years earlier to describe the market in detail, while the medieval guildhall merited no mention whatsoever (Plate 1).[3]

The city so cursorily depicted contained up to 11,000 people in 1520, a figure which altered hardly at all until Norwich had to absorb between five

and six thousand Dutch and Walloon refugees in the 1560s and 1570s, following the duke of Alva's invasion of the Netherlands. Any likelihood of a subsequent population explosion was almost immediately nullified in 1579 by the worst outbreak of plague to afflict an English provincial town in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More than a third of the population perished in this epidemic alone, which was followed by recurrent outbreaks of a less virulent nature in the succeeding twenty years or so, and another devastating pestilence in 1603. Statistics for births and deaths had been regularly collected by the mayor's court from 1582 onwards, as a direct result of the plague, and were to be produced until 1646, when the uncertainties of the Civil War period ended the practice. These figures indicated a steady, if variable, rise in the city's population, which had reached some 20,000 by the 1620s and which, on the evidence of both the Hearth Tax returns and the Compton Census, had altered little by the 1670s. Thereafter, there was another steady rise and, according to the statistician Gregory King, Norwich's population had reached almost 30,000 by the 1690s.[4] In the process, there was considerable overcrowding in some areas, notably in the Wymer and Ultra Aquam wards of the city, where the Dutch and Walloons predominated, but also by the later seventeenth century in parishes such as St Peter's Southgate on the southern margins. There more than 90 per cent of all households were poor, containing but a single hearth, while at least three-quarters of the inhabitants of St Julian's, St Peter's Mountergate and All Saints fell into this lowly category.[5] Tudor and Stuart Norwich contained a complex urban society, characterised by extremes of wealth and deprivation.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Norwich's system of government followed a pattern established in the middle ages.[6] It altered only marginally when Charles II, and then his brother James II, insisted on intervening in the selection of key officials and having the right to chose certain of the common councillors. The city had an 'upper house' of twenty-four aldermen, who enjoyed life tenure, two of whom were elected from the common council to represent each of the city's twelve petty wards. The aldermen provided the mayor and, until the seventeenth century, one of the two sheriffs, after which date it became a prerequisite to have served as sheriff before election to the aldermanry. The 'lower house', meanwhile, comprised sixty common councilmen, twenty being elected for Wymer, sixteen for Mancroft and twelve each for the wards of Conesford and Ultra Aquam. As in the medieval period, sufficient wealth and the practice of a socially acceptable trade were considered of paramount importance for civic rule; the common councillors were usually drawn

from some twenty-four of the city's one hundred or so occupations, yet barely a dozen trades seemed prestigious enough for those of aldermanic rank.[7]

Norwich's common councillors were elected each year by the freemen of the wards they hoped to represent. The city fathers constantly referred to those of the 'first', 'second' and 'third sorts' – effectively a distinction of wealth and status reflecting the aspirations of all concerned. A majority of the common councillors fulfilled their civic duty by serving for a single year. Others, richer and with more time to spare from business, were returned more frequently. A few were regularly re-elected, while others were chosen two, three, four or five times, with a gap of some years between elections. In the process, several served the city for a number of years without ever aspiring to, or attaining, the position of alderman. Striking changes in the pattern of representation are clearly revealed by comparing the number of individuals elected in succeeding twenty-five year periods with the numbers admitted to the freedom of Norwich in the same years. Between 1525 and 1550, for example, 186 or fully 23 per cent of the 811 freemen were called upon to serve, most of them just once. Thereafter, the proportion of freemen elected as common councillors fell quite dramatically, even though the total number of freemen rose. The eighty-seven men elected between 1601 and 1625, out of a total of 1452 potential candidates, constituted no more than 6 per cent of the whole. There was a slight increase in the Civil War years, when the proportion hovered between 7 and 8 per cent; but there was no return to the high level of participation evident during the early Tudor period. As the number of freemen who were willing and elected to serve declined, so too did the range of occupations from which they were drawn. In the reigns of Henry VIII and his son, common councillors had pursued no fewer than forty-two different trades, with the distributive and textile element predominating. Under the early Stuarts, the number had fallen by one-third, only recovering somewhat in the 1640s and 1650s, when the religious criteria imposed during the Civil Wars slightly modified the traditional requirements of wealth and occupation.[8] Many councillors and aldermen were then elected who would not ordinarily have been successful, their religious practices and political views being deemed more important than wealth or social acceptability. In terms of status, prospective alderman were designated by the honorary title of Master, a notable mark of respect. Once elected, they appeared at the very top of any list of ward councillors, immediately after their older and more experienced peers already ensconced on the aldermanic bench. In contrast, lesser men simply jostled together at the end of the list.

The relative wealth of Norwich's individual citizens is apparent from the subsidy returns of the 1520s which – initially at least – provide historians with a reasonably accurate impression of the value of each taxpayer's goods, although not his or her lands. Since the crown's demand for subsidies reached down to humble wage-earners paid no more than 20s a year, it is possible to determine how incomes were distributed. Not surprisingly, wealth was concentrated in a few hands. The rich – those worth the substantial sum of £40 and above – were expected to make their contributions in advance; and the ninety-nine citizens in this category, including all of the aldermen, accounted for some 70 per cent of the city's first payment of the subsidy in 1524. The total collected was £749, which was far in excess of sums raised from other provincial towns, although well below that of London.

Norwich boasted some of the wealthiest citizens in the country. Robert Jannys's assessment of £55, based on £1100 worth of goods, bore comparison with that for the entire city of Rochester, while Thomas Aldrich, John Terry and Edward Rede, assessed on £700, £550 and £500 respectively, had few rivals elsewhere. By 1525, however, when the second instalment of the subsidy was levied, Norwich's recorded wealth had apparently decreased by some 10 per cent. Some of the decline undoubtedly reflected the impact of taxation, the fall in value of Jannys's goods matching exactly the 13 per cent or so of his assets that he was expected to pay. By 1525, however, and again in 1527 when the wealthy were taxed for the third time, it became abundantly clear that they, and some of the not so rich, too, were growing deliberately evasive. The value of Jannys's goods had ostensibly fallen to £600 by 1527, despite the fact that in his will, only three years later, he was able to dispose of over £2700 in cash alone. Other aldermen shared his reticence. Thomas Aldrich declared himself worth no more than £400 in 1527, while Edward Rede claimed to have lost almost half of his fortune. Of the ninety-six people who were taxed in both 1524 and 1525, fifty-six secured lower assessments, thirty-six remained the same and only four were asked for more.[9] Twenty-four of these tax-payers had their assessments reduced yet again in 1527.

This situation was not peculiar to Norwich. In the county of Norfolk, for example, the immensely rich Henry Fermor, who had admitted to being worth £1333 at the time of the Military Survey in 1522, was taxed on only half of this sum four years later. Collectively, the number of individuals worth £40 and above in Great Yarmouth and other hundreds (administrative districts) for which information survives, fell from 170 to 102 and their apparent wealth from £13,131 to £8039.[10] Babergh hundred in Suffolk saw a similar decline, as did places as far apart as Gloucestershire