

E.D.P. 21-3-67

MS proves Yarmouth archivist was right

A 16th CENTURY manuscript which was found in the last batch of documents to be handed over by the Public Library to the Yarmouth Borough Archivist Mr. Paul Rutledge, has proved Mr. Rutledge's theory that the author of the first history of Yarmouth was not Henry Manship, senior, as has been believed for many years, but Thomas Damet, Town Clerk of Yarmouth in 1567-73.

Writing in 1963 in "Norfolk Archaeology," Mr. Rutledge challenged the view that Henry Manship, senior, was the author of a 16th century history of the town, "Great Yarmouthe a Booke of the Foundation and Antiquitye of the said Towne, and of Diverse Speciale Matters concernge the same."

He suggested on evidence from many sources that Damet was the author of an anonymous document, which Francis Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, attributed to Manship senior, and which was eventually published in an edited version by C. J. Palmer in 1847, under this title.

The 'parchment book'

Mr. Rutledge pointed out that Manship's son, Henry Manship, junior, another historian and author of the "History of Great Yarmouth" which C. J. Palmer edited, though he knew of his father's activities as historian, never claimed that he was the author but merely referred to "the author of a parchment book."

In his article in 1963 Mr. Rutledge said the manuscript had been acquired by the Corporation after 1867 and although he thought it should still be in the possession of the Corporation he did not know where it was.

This "parchment book," written in Damet's handwriting, and bearing a water mark of 1590, was handed to Mr. Rutledge recently by the Borough Librarian, Mr. A. A. C. Hedges. Mr.

Rutledge showed it to members at a meeting of Yarmouth Archaeological Society.

The history is handwritten on paper, on one side of the leaves only, and on the empty pages are notes written by Blomefield and others through whose hands it has passed.

'Damet's history'

"This is Damet's history," said Mr. Rutledge. "It is written in his own hand, we have no doubt of that. I did not know of its existence when I wrote that article and had not seen it at that time, but there is no doubt about it. There is a watermark of 1590. Damet did not sign it, and on the flyleaf there is a note by Blomefield that it was written by Manship senior.

"Like many old manuscripts, the backing leaf of the binding was a medieval document."

Mr. Rutledge told a reporter afterwards that there was no doubt that Damet had written it. "He kept the Corporation's accounts for many years and also wrote up the assembly meetings, so we have plenty of verifiable examples of his writing," he said.

PLATES

which BETWEEN PAGES 142 AND 143

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THOMAS DAMET AND GREAT

By PAUL

IN 1847 there was published from the pen of C. J. Palmer the Yarmouth town, an anonymous work entitled "Foundacion and Antiquitye of the same concerning the same." It is here modest and naive it is of genuine history barely two generations after Leland's great William Worcester of more than a century printed by Palmer has disappeared. Its history is, however, traced to Henry Manship jun. in 1619,² and in the possession of Great Yarmouth Corporation, the edification of the "good men" of the Haven" from 1548 to 1613 was applied which, in the hand of the town clerk, haven accounts among the Yarmouth in custody, the manuscript passed into the hands of the first stewards of the borough. After the death of Francis Blomefield in 1735 during his retirement room. On Blomefield's own death and at his decease it came to John Ingham, who died in 1776 and his library was dispersed; the manuscript is not known, but it was found among the papers of a deceased person, it by purchase. Sparke handed it over to the collector, he sold it with the contents of 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Fortunately the appearance of the manuscript of the "Foundacion" is known to us, in general terms. Blomefield described it as "a fair noble folio

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Missing document

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THE question of what has happened to a late 16th century document to which we are indebted for much of the early history of Yarmouth is raised by the Borough Archivist, Mr. Paul Rutledge, in a paper on "Thomas Damet and the historiography of Great Yarmouth," the first of seven, which is being published by the journal "Norfolk Archaeology."

The missing document, which was entitled "Great Yarmouthe A Booke of the Foundacion and Antiquitye of the said Towne, and of Diverse Speciale Matters concerninge the same" and was by an anonymous author, has been missing since it was sold in 1867 by C. J. Palmer, the Yarmouth historian, who edited and published it 20 years earlier.

Mr. Rutledge thinks that the document was originally in the possession of the Corporation. The Norfolk historian Blomefield found it in the Paston muniment room at Oxnead in 1735 and he kept it. Upon his death it passed into the possession of Thomas Martin, and after that it came into the hands of John Ives, the Yarmouth antiquary. In 1846, some 70 years later, it turned up at Bury St. Edmunds, when it passed into the possession of Palmer.

Mr. Rutledge has investigated the authorship of the document and believes it was written by Thomas Damet, not Henry Manship senior, as Blomefield supposed. Damet was Town Clerk of Yarmouth 1567-73 and was M.P. five times.

I wondered at first whether the document might have been engulfed in the maw of that indefatigable snapper up of ancient manuscripts Dawson Turner, but on looking up the reference books I find that he died nine years before Palmer sold it.

of his biggest pay day
 mated 75,000 dollars (\$26,785) for his
 weight boxing title tomorrow night.
 This will be almost twice as much as
 he earned before in 15
 years as a professional, and consider-
 ably more than the 16 dollars (less than
 \$6 he got for his tenth pro bout.
 The 34-year-old challenger's previous
 best purse was the 40,000 dollars
 from 20's last week and the easy San-
 class, now 12-1 joint second favourite
 but the odds were clipped about the
 and Wedding remains a firm 9-1 chance.
 25's, and The Tracker, 22-1 from 38's.
 call-over concern Norton 170's, from
 16-1 from 20's, Audrey Joan, 20-1 from
 16-1 from 20's, Audrey Joan, 20-1 from
 25's, and The Tracker, 22-1 from 38's.
 The Grand National favourite High-
 land and Weddings remains a firm 9-1 chance,
 but the odds were clipped about the
 impressive Cheltenham winner Different
 Class, now 12-1 joint second favourite
 from 20's last week and the easy San-
 down winner Kilburn, now 16-1 from
 22-1
 Lincoln Handicap call-over prices were: 12-1
 14-1 Night Star, 18-1 Prince
 Commander in Chief, Norton priority, 18-1 Prince
 of Orange, 20 Audrey Joan, Ben Novus, 22-1
 Gibenka, Lucky Biscuit, 14-1 Night Star, 16-1
 Giddaby, Isis, Tracker, 25-1 Drakes Drum,
 Persian Empire, Selvedge, 28-1 By High,
 Christmas Review, 33-1 Aberdeen, 9-1
 Class,

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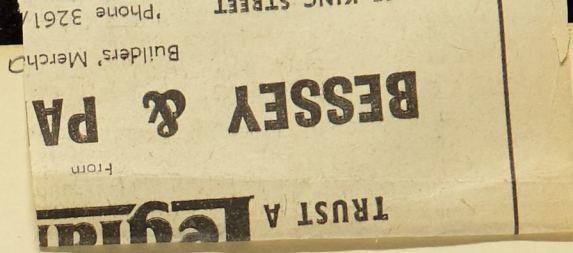
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THOMAS DAMET AND THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GREAT YARMOUTH

By PAUL RUTLEDGE, B.A.

IN 1847 there was published from an original manuscript, under the editorship of C. J. Palmer the Yarmouth historian, the earliest surviving history of the town, an anonymous work entitled "Greate Yermouthe. A Booke of the Foundacion and Antiquitye of the saide Towne, and of Diverse Speciale Matters concernge the same." It is herein referred to as the "Foundacion." Though modest and naive it is of genuine historiographical interest, dating as it does from barely two generations after Leland and hailing from the neighbourhood of the great William Worcester of more than a century earlier. Unfortunately the manuscript printed by Palmer has disappeared and many questions about it must remain unanswered. Its history is, however, reasonably well known.¹ It was available to Henry Manship jun. in 1619,² and it seems likely that it was originally in the possession of Great Yarmouth Corporation as it was self-confessedly written for the edification of the "good men" of that town.³ This probability is strengthened in that a "breife of ye coste and charges disbursed aboute the old and newe Haven" from 1548 to 1613 was appended to the manuscript, the original of which, in the hand of the town clerk Ralph Owner, is to be found in a volume of haven accounts among the Yarmouth archives.⁴ If it originated in corporate custody, the manuscript passed into the hands of the Paston family, probably between 1674 and 1732 when the first and second Earls of Yarmouth were high stewards of the borough. After the death of the second Earl it was discovered by Francis Blomefield in 1735 during his famous exploration of the Oxnead muniment room. On Blomefield's own death in 1752 it passed to Thomas Martin, and at his decease it came to John Ives the Yarmouth antiquary in 1772. Ives died in 1776 and his library was dispersed. What then became of the manuscript is not known, but it was found in 1846 by James Sparke of Bury St. Edmunds among the papers of a deceased brother who is assumed to have acquired it by purchase. Sparke handed it over to Palmer, who retained it till 1867 when he sold it with the contents of 4, South Quay, Great Yarmouth.⁵ The purchaser in 1867 and its present whereabouts are unknown. A possible variant or associated text, a manuscript of 21 pages described in 1891 as "Collections relating to Yarmouth, to the year 1590, with abstracts of the town charters," is also lost. Probably from the collection of Cox Macro (1683-1767, brother of Thomas Macro minister of Yarmouth 1722-43), it came in 1820 to Hudson Gurney, and since the sale of the Gurney MSS in 1936 it is untraced.⁶

Fortunately the appearance of the manuscript of the "Foundacion" is known to us, in general terms. Blomefield described it as "a fair noble folio

MS., judiciously compiled in James I's time," and Palmer tells us that it was "very neatly and carefully written . . . upon one side of foolscap paper, and is bound in a parchment cover; an illuminated missal having apparently been cut up to keep the leaves together . . . it is still in a very clean and perfect state." Palmer's edition of the manuscript shows that headings and key words were differentiated by a change of script.

The work is divided into a preface (pp1-4) and two parts; on pp 5-38 a history of the town, including the haven, and on pp 39-46 a brief history of the haven alone. It is possible that the two parts are not precisely contemporary, but only examination of the original manuscript could prove this. The first part is dated by references to Elizabeth as reigning monarch and to royal letters patent of 1594. It also contains copies of documents of 1594.⁷ This internal evidence of a date between 1594 and 1603 is supplemented from outside; the manuscript was probably one of the sources of Thomas Nashe's *Lenten Stuffe* published early in 1599.⁸ The second part may be dated c. 1599 if its concluding words are to be taken at face value; "the Towne . . . a^o 1559 . . . did . . . cutte a new haven . . . And . . . by reason of the goodnes of ther sayde haven, . . . in these fourtie yeres, have greatlie flourished."⁹

The "Foundacion" is anonymous. It was apparently first attributed to Henry Manship sen. by Francis Blomefield. This traditional attribution on the analogy of the work of Henry Manship jun. the second, and better, historian of the town, has never been seriously examined. It was accepted by Ives and, with reservations, both by Palmer¹⁰ and by John Cordy Jeaffreson.¹¹ It is significant, however, as Palmer noted, that Manship jun., while drawing attention to his father's activities in other directions,¹² never claimed the work as his. He refers to the author merely as "the writer of a Parchment Book . . . containing the originality or antiquity of Yarmouth," whose conclusions he disputes.¹³ The simple fact of chronology disposes of Manship sen.'s claim. The "Foundacion" was written at some time between 1594 and 1599 when, as the Yarmouth parish register shows,¹⁴ he had already been dead some 25 years. It is revealing, too, to contrast the statement of the author of the "Foundacion" that he had "manye tymes travayled" about the affairs of Great Yarmouth¹⁵ with the known, and on the whole unremarkable, facts of the career of Henry Manship sen.

Manship sen. was possibly of the local family of Manship of Earsham near Bungay.¹⁶ A merchant,¹⁷ he became a freeman of Yarmouth in 1545 by virtue of apprenticeship.¹⁸ He was chosen an eight-and-forty or common councilman in 1550¹⁹ and he appears at various times thereafter filling minor town offices such as elector of bailiffs, constable, and auditor.²⁰ He was placed on haven committees in 1560. In the same year he was made heyner of the Trinity gild, and in 1564 he was collector of the charnel rents. However, in that year, like his more ambitious son later, he fell into disgrace, for attempting to evade local salt dues. His freedom (and consequently his trading privileges as a member of the Corporation) was withdrawn "to his no small hynderaunce" as he said, and he was obliged to confess his fault and sue for pardon. A copy has survived

of his petition, in which he declared the Town Assembly to be "in the nature of an superyour courte . . . of no lesse force amonge & concernyng you than the parlement in respect of the body of this realme." He was readmitted to his freedom, only in 1566 to be detected in another customs offence, the shipping of "foreign" corn as his own.²¹ Again he made submission and fine and was forgiven, but, apart from procuring Joyce Johnson, a Dutch engineer, to supervise the new haven works,²² he played no further part in corporate affairs. He was buried at Yarmouth on 30 July, 1569,²³ by no means a rich man as he was borrowing quite small sums of money from a local lending charity till within two years of his death.²⁴ He left a young family, the future historian among them, by his wife Katherine who married secondly Roger Osborne a scrivener on 31 Jan. 1571/2.²⁵

It is clear that Manship sen.'s part in the affairs of the town was minor—he never became a four-and-twenty or alderman, and he never held any of the key offices; indeed he was frequently absent from Assemblies—and that his career ended untimely and in some disgrace. Therefore another candidate must be found for the authorship of the "Foundacion," a man active on corporate business who could have written a history of the town in the 1590s.

Such a man was Thomas Damet or Dammett who, as I shall indicate, was responsible for other works of a quasi-historical nature which remain in corporate custody. His background is obscure, save that he was bred and born in Yarmouth.²⁶ It is possible that Agnes Dammett, a widow, who was buried at Yarmouth on 8 Nov. 1589 was his mother.²⁷ The name occurs at Upwell and Northwold in Norfolk earlier in the century.²⁸ Damet was kin to William Lyster, a leading merchant of the town.²⁹ His career probably began in the law, for early in 1569 he described himself as a notary public and in 1570 as a scrivener.³⁰ The date of his admission to the freedom of the borough is not known, but he must have been already a member of the Corporation when he was made town or assembly clerk in 1568.³¹ He remained town clerk, and also an attorney of the borough court, till 1573, and he became a four-and-twenty or alderman the next year.³² It is clear that he was an active and trusted administrator and man of business, for very soon he became feoffee of town property³³ and began to aspire to the major offices of the Corporation. Between 1570 and 1605 he was chosen as auditor ten times, chamberlain once, bailiff thrice,²⁰ and M.P. no fewer than five times (in 1584, 1586, 1593, 1601 and 1604).³⁴ From 1578 he was usually on the commission of the peace, and he was almost invariably one of the "inner ring" of leading burgesses who were yearly made "bailiffs assistants".³⁵ From 1580 at least he is described as a merchant.³⁶ In 1570 with his kinsman William Lyster he purchased part (including two warehouses) of the great house on the quay that had once belonged to Thomas Drayton and which subsequently became the town custom house. He sold this "fair, ancient, and stately house" in 1581³⁷ and early in the next year he leased from the town part of the Greyfriars buildings "frome the entry by tholde parler to the northwarde & eastwarde with the gardens and bleching place, the long entrye, & with the cort & kychine yardes," with special condition that when a "man of honore" visited the town he should have lodging there.³⁸ He gave up the lease in 1589, and

thereafter he seems to have lived in the second north middle leet in his house between Middlegate and the quay called Breeses kitchen. Here, like so many of his contemporaries at Yarmouth, he engaged in building activities.³⁹ He married thrice. The antecedents of his first and third wives, Anne and Grace, are unknown, but the second, Alice, whom he married in 1590, brought him a property in Yarmouth and connexions with the merchant families of Ylberde, Crowe and Bishop and, presumably, with Dr. Robert Bishop, the writer of a chronicle of the Kingdom of East Anglia.⁴⁰ Grace, his third wife, who probably survived him, had a house at Rishangles in Suffolk.⁴¹ His only surviving daughter Mary married Ralph Owner, town clerk 1609–33 and brother of the more prominent and rumbustuous Edward Owner.⁴² His son Edward was, however, an unsatisfactory character. Apparently in 1612–13 he vanished, and his father in 1617 believed him dead. He reappeared in 1618 after his father's death to claim the property left him "yf itt fortune hee bee alyve," but he had so wasted his estate by 1625 that he was in want and the Corporation granted him a small weekly pension. He died in 1628.⁴³

Some contemporary evidence of Thomas Damet's character and ability has survived. An official record of 1577–8 called him "a man of not at all common experience and deliberation."¹⁷ In 1586 William le Grys described him and Ralph Wolhouse as "both wise, honest & discrete, & as good Townesmen as any is among you . . . I would you had many, in wisdome, governemente & experience, to matche them."⁴⁴ He was characterised posthumously in 1620 by Sir Henry Wodehouse as "a grave honest inhabitant" of the town.⁴⁵ A revealing dissident voice is that of the more brilliant, less staid Henry Manship jun., who in 1604 said flatly that Damet and his fellow M.P. John Wheeler had "behaved them selffes in the parliament like sheepe and were both dunces."⁴⁶ It seems that Damet was one of the few moderates within the Corporation. In 1590, when it was put to the vote whether Andrewes the town preacher "thorughe his great good & godly doctrine he hath bestowed weekely" should have an annuity of £50 for life and half that sum if silenced by spiritual authority, 42 voted for the motion and Damet and four others against.⁴⁷ We have glimpses of him in parliament. In 1601 he made a rousing speech against the pirates of those "two base Towns" Dunkirk and Newport, and in the stormy session of 1610, following the Lord High Treasurer's request for money for the king's needs, he moved "in generall" that the house should comply.⁴⁸ On his return from this parliament he fell ill, and in 1612 he removed to his wife's house at Rishangles. The next year he resigned as alderman of Yarmouth, declaring it his intention "to passe the residue of my olde age here in the Countrye with my wyfe during our lyves,"²⁶ and in 1618 he died, being buried at Yarmouth on 18th March 1617/8.²³ He left the town four almshouses for the widows of poor seamen and he made the Corporation his executor.⁴⁹

Damet's function, both as a trained lawyer and as M.P., of representing the town's interests at London should be noted since, as will appear, the author of the "Foundacion" was particularly preoccupied with the business of preparing petitions to lay before the central authority. It is now necessary to consider the inconclusive but considerable evidence that links him with that work. The

point of departure is in writings of an historical tendency for which we know him to have been responsible.

First in time, probably, comes the preface to the "first haven book" or first book of accounts relating to the harbour, among the archives of Great Yarmouth Corporation.⁵⁰ This and the continuing volume are in Damet's hand from the beginning, Michaelmas 1567, to Michaelmas 1608, and in 1590 it was ordered to pay him £5 for engrossing these and other accounts, as he had done in previous years.⁵¹ His preface consists of a detailed description, partly based on account books not now extant, of the attempts to secure a satisfactory harbour between 1549 and 1567; it is printed by Swinden.⁵² It was possibly compiled in connexion with the obtaining of a royal licence to export corn in 1567. Lists of the charges of the haven and of royal grants thereto between 1549 and 1590 are also copied in, as is the detailed assessment for a county rate towards the haven works made in 1573.

The only manuscript of which Damet is self-confessedly the author is the "book of charters" that goes by his name among the Yarmouth archives. On the last original leaf (fo. 80) is the colophon "Iste liber collectus et translatus per me Thomam Damet burgensem huius ville anno salutis nostre . 1580. Reipublice et libertatis Causa et amore." It was justly described by the Cinque Ports bailiffs in 1594 as "a very fair book of parchment, wherein were written . . . decrees and sundry patents of princes concerning the privileges and jurisdictions of the town of Yarmouth."⁵³ Besides transcripts and translations it contains one piece of original research. This is a "breyfe rehearsall" of the suits between John of Brittany and the town in 2-5 Edward III.⁵⁴ The research is described on a court roll of 1577-8. In that year, in the course of a lawsuit between that town and the men of Suffolk, "our writings and ancient rolls having been searched, and the rolls in the Tower of London having been investigated by the great care and diligence of Thomas Damet one of the bailiffs," a document was found bearing on the disputes between the burgesses of Yarmouth and the men of Suffolk from the time of Edward I.¹⁷

The relationship between these two works of Damet's and the "Foundacion" is interesting. The first part of the "Foundacion" draws heavily (pp. 25-30) on the preface to the first haven book, and it contains a synopsis (pp. 14-15), often verbally similar, of the "breyfe rehearsall" in the "book of charters." Damet's involvement in affairs leading to a search for useful precedents, a certain skill he possessed in marshalling historical evidence, and the interest he took in ancient and contemporary documents as in the course of everyday business they passed through his hands, will be found mirrored in the author of the "Foundacion," just as that author's habit of using a bolder script for rubrics is a feature of Damet's two known works. Another parallel may be drawn. It is between part of the preface to the "Foundacion" and Damet's letter of 23 March, 1612/3 to the bailiffs of Yarmouth resigning his aldermanship.²⁶ In the letter he urges the bailiffs "to furnishe my roome with some other . . . to keepe your full number for the Townes service . . . because I wishe the prosperitie of that place wher I was bred & borne." This in its local patriotism resembles the colophon to the "book of charters," and in both sentiment and phraseology it

recalls these words from the preface to the "Foundacion"⁵⁵—"And suche he doubteth not but God will rayse upp, even of that Corporacion that shal-be meete and willenge to doe good unto there native Contrye and Towne in the whiche they have bene bredd and borne, (as the said wryghter hereof was, whoe manye tymes travayled in and about thees busynes)."

Closely related to the "Foundacion" is a new version, of the late 16th cent., of an ancient chronicle or "chronographical table" that hung in Yarmouth church. The original brief chronicle, containing a short description of the town and a catalogue of events relating to the town and church down to 1386, was possibly compiled by monks of the small Benedictine priory which served the church or of the mother house at Norwich. It contained little that could not have its source in personal memory (it was fuller for the 14th cent.) or in the chronicles and registers of the Cathedral Priory. Unfortunately, it has disappeared, but since it was accessible and in a public place much of its content has survived in the form of notes by visiting antiquaries. Extensive extracts were made by William Worcester at some time between Sir John Fastolf's death in 1459 and his own death c. 1482.⁵⁶ Other material found its way into Camden's *Britannia*⁵⁷ and Henry Manship jun.'s *History of Yarmouth*.⁵⁸ The statement that 7052 persons were buried at Yarmouth during the Black Death was borrowed without acknowledgement in a petition by the town to Henry VII in March 1501/2 and it was the acknowledged source for Yarmouth's contribution to the battle of Sluys described in a document lain before the Privy Council in 1580.⁵⁹ In this document, and in the 1587 edition of Camden, it is mentioned as still hanging in the church. By 1612 it had become fragmentary and had been placed with the town archives in one of the church vestries.⁶⁰ Manship jun. in 1619 refers to "certain Old Parchment Fragments, yet remaining in the Vestry of Yarmouth, sometime parcel of a very ancient Chronographical Table, now defaced, which more than three score year past myself have seen hanging on the wall as thou enterest the Marriage Door, which is situate on the south side of the Church afore^{sd}."⁶¹

Perhaps at the time that the original chronicle was relegated to the vestry, a new version was prepared incorporating fresh, more specifically civic, matter that is so reminiscent of the "Foundacion" that it must have been prepared under the same auspices. Manship jun. disapproved of the interpolations of the second version of the chronicle, which he couples with the "Foundacion." He says "it is most manifest that as well he who inserted into the Tables hanging in the Common Hall that this Town of Yarmouth, in the days of Canutus, was a sand in the Sea . . . , as also the writer of a Parchment Book . . . containing the originality or antiquity of Yarmouth . . . , was little less than 400 years deceived in computation . . ."⁶² The new version was placed, as Manship indicates, in the gildhall, where it was seen by Nashe in the autumn of 1597 written in "a faire text hand."⁶³ Like the original chronicle, this second version is not extant. However, two contemporary (i.e. late 16th cent.) copies of a synopsis of parts of it survive in the British Museum (Add, MS 12505, fos. 280-1, and Lansdowne 101 art. 3, fos. 6-6b), and a third and final version was prepared in 1638 by one Richard Rawlyn at the cost of Sir John Wentworth of Somerleyton. This

version, painted in black-letter with rubricated initials on folding boards, remained in the Tolhouse hall at Yarmouth till the 19th cent.⁶⁴ A transcript of c. 1700 survives among the collections of William Holman in the Bodleian Library (MS Rawlinson Essex 11, fos. 175-7; Summ. Cat. no. 15998),⁶⁵ and this transcript was printed by Thomas Hearne in his edition of Leland's *Collectanea*.⁶⁶

The final version does not differ markedly from the second, if one may judge from the British Museum synopses of the second version and the use made of this version by Nashe and Spelman.⁶⁷ The only additions were a new preface and a reference to disputes between the bailiffs of Yarmouth and those of the Cinque Ports in 1634-6. The synopses indicate that the second version may have been rather fuller and even closer to the "Foundacion."

Comparison between the "Foundacion" and the final version of the chronicle is therefore permissible and it reveals a great measure of similarity, though the chronicle is briefer, less ordered, and less accurate (for example, it misdates both King John's and Henry III's charters to the borough). Its very title "De antiquitate et fundacione Burgi Magnae Jeremuthae in comitatu Norfolciae, et de aliis rebus gestis ita patet in Recordis veteribus" is reminiscent of that of the "Foundacion" (above p. 119). The core of this final version comes from the original chronicle, but the opening part consists of an account of the foundation of the town on its sandbank, the building of the church, and of royal grants to the town from time of John to that of Henry V, all of which resembles, in phraseology and content, the first pages of the "Foundacion." Similarly, the last part of this version of the chronicle reflects matter used more amply in the "Foundacion"—the description of Queen Elizabeth's letters patent on pp. 28-9, of the suit with John of Brittany on pp. 14-15, and of suits of 1572-8 on pp. 34-6. Material found in this version and not in the "Foundacion" is trifling, the only significant item being the assertion that Yarmouth Road was known as St. Nicholas' Road in 1099.

The sources of the "Foundacion" are referred to generally as "diverse olde and auncient Recordes."⁶⁸ The chronicle was heavily drawn upon, as were the town archives. Among the latter were the royal charters and other documents that Damet had transcribed and translated in his "book of charters," and the town haven accounts and audit books ("Foundacion" pp. 31-2) for whose fair copying he had long been responsible. Other sources quoted are records in the Tower of London ("Foundacion" pp. 10, 13, 19) where, as I have shown, he carried out a successful search in 1577-8. The immediate source for the building of a chapel on the sands for fishermen camping there in the herring season is not so obvious (pp. 7-8); it probably comes indirectly from the First Register of Norwich Cathedral Priory (below). There is no indication that the author was aware of the work of Camden or of any of his contemporaries, and his researches were not systematic like the careful searching of the town rolls and other archives carried out a generation later by Henry Manship jun. The work is fuller from about the beginning of Henry VIII's reign; for the earlier period it is, always excepting the account of the foundation of the town, little more than a chronicle of royal grants, suits in which the town had successfully engaged, and the various efforts to secure a satisfactory harbour. It now ranges wider as personal

memories, recent tradition, and more abundant archive material become available, even including references to two external, if local, events (pp. 21–2). Apart from this, a note of certain archaeological discoveries, mentioned below, and an attempt to elucidate a minor Yarmouth placename, the Conge, the work remains little more than an extension of the simple kind of historical research needed for the framing of petitions to authority or for confounding the town's less precedent-conscious adversaries in a lawsuit. Its aim is, indeed, just this, and it is stated explicitly in the preface (p. 3); “to the intent that thes thinges mighte remayne for a memoriall to all of this Corporacion whiche now be, and that hereafter shall succede to be providente for the upholdinge of the state of the saide Towne . . . and to the intent there maye be some good presidentes lefte unto them in the tyme of there necessities, to make and frame there sutes and peticions as from tyme to tyme occasions shal-be ministred unto them, the wrighter hereof hathe taken some paynes to sette downe in this booke some good instructions for the better direction and more reedye and spedier dispatche of those busynes, whiche muste needes be taken in hand and followed by the carefulle travayles of some good men of the same Towne, knowenge beste there owne case and greefe.” It was, in fact, typically a product of a community that had sustained many battles in the courts to maintain its juridical and economic privileges, that was versed in the art of petitioning the monarch for relief in consideration of its vast expenditure on haven works, and whose concern for the preservation and accessibility of its ideological weapons, its archives, had already expressed itself in quite elaborate machinery for archive care.

One other product of a sixteenth-century preoccupation with the origins of Yarmouth yet remains to be considered. The “hutch map,” so called because it was kept with other important documents in the great hutch or town chest, has intrigued and puzzled antiquaries from the eighteenth century onwards.⁶⁹ The map survives among the Yarmouth archives. It measures 59 x 69½ mm., is on a single large membrane, and is carefully drawn in ink, attractively coloured, and marked in a bold Italic hand. It purports to show the great estuary stretching to Norwich and the site of Yarmouth as a sandbank at the head of the estuary as they appeared in the year 1000. Its history has been obscured by the assumption of Ives, Palmer, and later historians that the words of Nashe⁷⁰ “An. Do. 1000 or thereabouts (as I have scrapt out of wormeaten Parchment)” referred to a then decaying prototype of the map. There is nothing to support this conclusion; Nashe evidently meant the chronicle, to which he presently refers more specifically. The divergence between the map that Ives engraved and the map that survives in fine condition among the Yarmouth archives might also have provoked comment, but in fact it merely led to the assumption that Ives' engraving was inaccurate.⁷¹ This divergence is explicable if there were in fact two variants. Henry Manship junior's *Reporte*,⁷² a list of the Yarmouth archives made in 1612, reveals this to have been the case. Manship lists “The plott of the sand and waters in velom before Yermouth was built” and “Another of the same in parchement.” We must accept that one of these maps, that discovered by Ives in the town hutch and engraved by him, has since disappeared, and that the other is the map surviving in corporate custody.

Assuming that Ives' engraving is substantially correct, comparison between the two maps is interesting. They are clearly interdependent, but they are by no means identical. The Ives map is the more detailed and accurate; its refinements include a compass-rose, it marks two bridges, Thorpe wood near Norwich, and Haddiscoe church upon its hill, it shows more settlements and structures (forty-two as compared with twenty-nine on the surviving map), and it extends further north, south and west. Both maps are remarkable for their individual, but not wholly accurate, drawings of churches representing settlements and other buildings of note; Caister castle, for instance, is recognizably depicted on both, but while St. Benet's Abbey and Burgh Castle are shown as conventional medieval castles on the surviving map, they are more correctly drawn on the Ives map. The Ives map lacks, however, the decorative grotesques of the surviving map. The inscription on the Ives map referring to the rampiring or embanking of the town wall "to the top" supplies dating evidence. It is probable that the last great rampiring of 1587-8 is meant,⁷³ which was therefore still fresh in the memory when the map was drawn. Both maps, as I have stated, were in existence in 1612. All knowledge of their origin had been lost by 1620, to judge from the description of one of them as "an ould platt before this town was."⁷⁴ The Italic script and general appearance of the surviving map is consistent with a date in the later sixteenth century.

The maps are nothing more or less than a pictorial interpretation, not of course to scale or based on an actual survey, of the idea that pervades the "Foundacion" so thoroughly that about the year 1000 "The verye seate of that Towne, that ys to saye, the place and grounde whereuppon the Towne is buylded, and nowe dothe stand, was percell of a greate sande lyinge within the mayne sea, at the mouthe of the fludd or ryver called Hierus"⁷⁵ and that "Then that arme of the Sea was verye lardge and wide for enteringe in withe Shippes, extendinge in bredthe from the Towne of Caster to the Towne of Gorleston, and was navigable up to the Citye of Norwiche & Bewcleffes [Beccles], and Bongaye, and also to Acle, to Saint Bennettes Abbeye, to Hornenge and Wroxham, and to manye other places in the Counties of Norffolke and Suffolke."⁷⁶

Whatever its chronological inaccuracies, this considerable feat of historical imagination, which is the real achievement behind the compilation of the "Foundacion," the making of the hutch maps, and the reworking of the chronicle, was based on acute observation as well as on the germ of local tradition. The tradition is implicit in the late thirteenth century description of Yarmouth at about the year 1100 which occurs in the First Register of Norwich Cathedral Priory. This tells us⁷⁷ that "There was moreover at that time, on the sandbank at Yarmouth, a certain tiny chapel built in which divine services were only celebrated at the time of the herring fishery, because there were not more than four or five huts there for the reception of the fishermen." We know that, directly or indirectly, the author of the "Foundacion" must have known of this description. The tradition was used in 1332 by the citizens of Norwich in the course of a suit against the men of Yarmouth; "Norwich was . . . situate upon a river of water which extends from the high sea to the said city . . . from time whereof no memory exists before the town of Great Yarmouth was settled and inhabited."⁷⁸

That Yarmouth on its sandbank was relatively speaking a parvenu was acknowledged by the appellation of "Olde Yermouth" given to Little Yarmouth or Southtown in 1535⁷⁹ and to the legend related by Camden⁸⁰ that the Saxons "instead of Garianonum, founded a new Towne in that moist and waterish ground, neer the West side of the River and named it Yarmouth: But finding the Situation thereof not to be healthfull, they betooke themselves to the other side of the river . . . and built this new Towne." Given this basis, the rest could be supplied by observation. The change in levels and terrain between the high land and the marsh where the great estuary stretched is obvious enough. It was underlined in 1559 by a flood caused by haven works at Yarmouth, described by Damet in his preface to the haven book;⁸¹ "the whole levell of the marshes from Yarmouth unto Norwich was all overflowen, and keles and boats passed over them." Archæological discoveries reinforced this impression. A footnote in the "Foundacion"⁸² describes the "ankors of Iron, and Keels of Shippes . . . digged up . . . in the medowes and marsh grounds."

The salient idea of the "Foundacion," the hutch maps, and the second and third versions of the chronicle, that the town of Yarmouth was founded after the year 1000 on a sandbank that had formed at the mouth of the great estuary, makes its way between 1580 and 1594 into petitions that the town presented to the monarch and the privy council.⁸³ None of the petitions from before 1580, though enlarging on its history and former state, refer to the wonder of a town that "did receive its foundation miraculously out of the main sea," as a petition of c. 1608 has it.⁸⁴ In fact all the works which embody this idea appear within something over a decade; the maps probably after 1588, the revised chronicle between 1587 and 1597, and the "Foundacion" between 1594 and 1599. It has been shown that the latter can no longer be attributed to Henry Manship sen., and if the argument is accepted that it was the work of Thomas Damet, it follows that he was probably behind the reworked chronicle which bears so close a resemblance to it, and that his influence may have been directly or indirectly responsible for the two versions of the hutch map. Unless further documentary evidence or any of the lost texts come to light, the thesis is incapable of proof. The matter is not entirely an academic one, as it bears on Thomas Nashe's "Lenten Stufe" which, as its editors have shown, used as a source both the "Foundacion" and the second version of the chronicle.⁸⁵ Also these early attempts at local historical writing merit attention not only because they *are* early but because they help to throw light on the conditions that a generation later produced Henry Manship junior's history of the town, a much more important work, which was probably inspired as much by reaction against the work of Damet (who Manship came to dislike personally),⁸⁶ as by emulation.

NOTE: "GYC" indicates archives of Great Yarmouth Corporation. Listing of these archives is incomplete and class numbers are not yet assigned, so the documents are referred to by their titles.

⁷⁹"Foundacion," ix-xiii. Henry Manship, *History of Great Yarmouth*, ed. C. J. Palmer (Yarmouth 1854), 213-14. C. J. Palmer, *Perustration of Great Yarmouth* (Yarmouth 1872-5) I, 117. S. W. Rix, "Cursory notices of the Rev. Francis Blomefield" in *Norfolk Archæology* II (1849), 210-11.

⁸²Manship op. cit. 22. Manship saw a "Parchment Book." Is he referring to Palmer's MS., which was of paper bound in parchment?

- ³⁴"Foundation," 3.
⁴⁵ib. 119. GYC "haven book," no. 2, fo. 23.
⁴⁶Sale catalogue, 27 Feb.-1 March 1867 (1st day, lot 234).
⁴⁷Historical MSS. Commission 12th Rep. IX (1891), 161. Cp 24th Rep. (1960-2), 76.
⁷¹"Foundation," 28, 34, 33, 37-8.
⁸⁷*The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow and F. P. Wilson (1958) III, 140.
⁹¹"Foundation," 45-6.
¹⁰Manship op. cit., 213-14.
¹¹Historical MSS. Commission 9th Rep. I (1883), 299.
¹²Manship op. cit. 33, 89, 93.
¹⁸ib., 22.
¹⁴See below. I am grateful to the Vicar of Great Yarmouth, Canon Gilbert Thurlow, for permission to use material from the Yarmouth register.
¹⁵"Foundation," 3.
¹⁶M. A. Farrow, *Index of wills proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich*, Norfolk Record Society XVI (1944), 248 and XXI (1950), 111.
¹⁷GYC court roll 1577-8.
¹⁸*Calendar of the Freeman of Great Yarmouth 1429-1800* (Norwich 1910), 27.
¹⁹GYC assembly book A, fo. 2.
²⁰GYC "book of oaths and ordinances," *passim*.
²¹GYC assembly book B, fos. 2-8, 20, 36, 67, 86, 93, 104, 107-8.
²²Manship op. cit. 93.
²³Yarmouth parish register.
²⁴GYC L3/1, 1557-67.
²⁵Yarmouth parish register. GYC court roll 1577-8.
²⁶GYC assembly book E, fo. 109.
²⁷Yarmouth parish register. GYC court roll 1587-8. Palmer, *Perlustration* I, 115-6.
²⁸Francis Blomefield and Charles Parkin, *History of Norfolk* (1805-10), II, 215, VII, 464. J. Challoner C. Smith, *Index of wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury* (Index Society 1893), 157.
²⁹GYC "book of entries" I, fos. 113-6.
³⁰ib. fo. 106. GYC court roll 1570-1.
³¹GYC assembly book B, fo. 152.
³²GYC assembly book C, fo. 76. Court roll 1573-4.
³³Manship op. cit. 57-8. GYC assembly book B, fo. 183.
³⁴GYC assembly book D, fos. 84, 118, 226. Assembly book E, fos. 27, 39.
³⁵GYC assembly books, *passim*. For Damet's public activities see also Palmer, *Perlustration* II, 213-15.
³⁶*Calendar of the Freeman of Great Yarmouth*, 41.
³⁷GYC court roll 1570-1. Palmer, *Perlustration* II, 215. Manship op. cit. 57-8.
³⁸GYC assembly book D, fo. 42.
³⁹ib. fos. 167, 224. GYC court roll 1613-14. GYC assembly book E, fo. 76.
⁴⁰Yarmouth parish register 1590, 1601. GYC court rolls 1570-1, 1573-4, 1589-90. Palmer, *Perlustration* I, 109-10.
⁴¹GYC assembly book E, fo. 109. "Book of entries" I, fo. 79.
⁴²Yarmouth parish register 1605/6.
⁴³GYC court roll 1613-14. "Book of entries" I, fo. 79. Assembly book E, fo. 195. Assembly book F, fos. 4, 62, 72. Yarmouth parish register.
⁴⁴GYC "book of oaths and ordinances," fo. 47.
⁴⁵Henry Swinden, *History and Antiquities of Great Yarmouth* (Norwich 1772), 741.
⁴⁶GYC assembly book E, fo. 41.
⁴⁷GYC assembly book D, fo. 203.
⁴⁸Palmer, *Perlustration* II, 213-15. See also Heywood Townshend, *Proceedings of the four last parliaments of Queen Elizabeth* (1680), 280-3.
⁴⁹GYC "book of entries" I, fo. 79.
⁵⁰GYC "haven book" no. 1.
⁵¹GYC assembly book D, fo. 184.
⁵²op. cit., 400-12.
⁵³W. L. Rutton, "Report by the bailiffs of the Cinque Ports after their visit to Great Yarmouth during the free fair, 1594" in *Norfolk Archaeology* XIV (1901), 70-98.
⁵⁴GYC "Thomas Damet's book of charters," fos. 60-5.
⁵⁵p. 3.
⁵⁶James Nasmith, *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre* (1778), 343-6, 477.
⁵⁷1610 edition, 476-8.
⁵⁸pp. 5, 33, 57, 64, 143. On p. 5 is this curious extract from the chronicle, either too trivial to deserve Worcester's notice or else a later interpolation, "In hac urbe unum est valde laudabile quod nunquam in ea vir ecclesiasticus qui de peccato carnis publice sit notus." ("There is in this town one very laudable thing, that there was never an ecclesiastic in it who has been publicly detected of a fleshly sin.") Swinden (op. cit., 800-3) took unnecessary pains in disproving this statement.
⁵⁹GYC "book of oaths and ordinances," fos. 32-3. Swinden op. cit. 390, 443.
⁶⁰GYC, Henry Manship's "Reporte" p. 44 (published as preface to [Henry Harrod], *Repertory of deeds and documents relating to the borough of Great Yarmouth* (Yarmouth 1855); see p. 27).
⁶¹Manship op. cit., 5.
⁶²Manship op. cit., 5 (cp 22).
⁶³*The Works of Thomas Nashe* III, 160, 162; V, 33.
⁶⁴Manship op. cit., 217.
⁶⁵Information kindly supplied by Dr. D. M. Barratt of the Bodleian Library.
⁶⁶Vol. VI (1770), 285-8.
⁶⁷*The Works of Thomas Nashe* III, 140 sqq. Henry Spelman, "Icenia" in *Reliquae Spelmanniae* (1698), 154-5.
⁶⁸"Foundation," 38.

- ⁶⁹John Ives, *Remarks on the Garianonum of the Romans* (2nd edn. 1803), 5-6. Manship op. cit., 216.
⁷⁰*The Works of Thomas Nashe* III, 160.
⁷¹Manship op. cit., 216.
⁷²p. 24. *Repertory*, 15.
⁷³Manship op. cit., 73-4.
⁷⁴GYC "hutch book," 24 Jan. 1619/20.
⁷⁵"Foundacion," 5.
⁷⁶ib., 39.
⁷⁷*Norfolk Record Society* XI (1939), 31-3, H. W. Saunders, ed.
⁷⁸W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich* (1906) I, 63.
⁷⁹British Museum Add. MS. 10225.
⁸⁰*Britannia* (1610 edn.), 476-8.
⁸¹Swinden op. cit., 411.
⁸²p. 40.
⁸³cp Swinden 390-2, 403-10, 443-4, and ib. 446-8, 704-6.
⁸⁴GYC "Thomas Damet's book of charters" fo. 66. Printed in Swinden op. cit. 704-6.
⁸⁵*The Works of Thomas Nashe* IV, 372-416.
⁸⁶Above. This dislike was returned in good measure by the town clerk Ralph Owner, Damet's son-in-law; GYC assembly book E, fos. 156, 179, 202.