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the pavement, with some rows misaligned, inner sets of glazed tiles not quite in line with the service doors, and apparently faulty bedding causing the tiles to sink, suggests the use of a workforce not accustomed to such tasks.

It is now confirmed that the New Wing is an addition of the 17th century, removing a section of the south wall of the Old Wing, and that its apparent intrusion into the Old Wing is due to a recasing of what were formerly internal partitions as exterior walls in the 19th century. This latter work must be subsequent to alterations to one of the service doorways which provided a step of late brickwork, for the 1880 first edition of the twenty-five inch Ordnance Survey map shows, as previously deduced, that the Old Wing was roofless at that date — with the exception, strangely enough, of the porch. The brick paths and concrete walls within the Old Wing would now seem to represent garden features rather than farm buildings as formerly suggested. The lack of finds of a pre 19th century date indicate a clearance of the interior, followed by the insertion of various levels of floors and walks above the original floor. The lead 'dish' may well have been the base of a fountain and it is not impossible that some of the footings may represent the bases of glass frames.

The reconstruction of Heydon Hall to form a dwelling once more has involved the rebuilding of the western end of the Old Wing, utilising the existing walls where they remain and incorporating stone blocks for yet another reuse as quoins in the new walls. It may be possible at a later date to extend the building as far as the original east wall. The New Wing has been demolished except for its south wall, which remains as a memorial to that stage of the hall's existence.

May 1986

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer would like to thank Mr. G. Peart, the present owner of the property, for his help during the excavations. The excavators were Messrs. R. Jones, M. Bullmore and M. Burdett, and the metal detector survey was carried out by Mr. D. Phelps. Dr. S. Margeson of Norwich Castle Museum identified the bronze tag, and Mr. J. Denny of the North Norfolk District Council commented on aspects of the building. The plan was drawn by Philip Williams.

NORFOLK APOTHECARIES' TOKENS AND THEIR ISSUERS *by* T. Douglas Whittet

Tradesmen's tokens formed an illegal but tolerated money of necessity privately issued by merchants between 1648 and 1679 when regal small change was scarce or non-existent. The standard work on the subject is *Tokens issued in the seventeenth century*, originally published by William Boyne¹ in 1858, revised by George C. Williamson² in two volumes, 1889-91 and reprinted in three volumes by B. A. Seaby Ltd. in 1967.³ This work is now popularly called 'Williamson' and will be referred to as such in this paper.

Williamson³ included three Norfolk tokens bearing the arms of the Society of Apothecaries of London, those of Edward Billinges, Robert Fraunces and Robert

Sheldrake. At least one token he included without occupation was issued by an apothecary and several others may well have been.

The arms have the following blazon:-⁴ 'In a shield azure Apollo, the inuentor of physique proper, with his heade Radiant, holdinge in his left hand a bowe & his Right hande an Arow dor, Supplanting a Serpent'. The figure is sometimes described as 'Apollo astride the dragon of disease'. It is strange that on the vast majority of tokens the bow and arrow are in the wrong hands.

In East Anglia the apothecaries appear to have been frequently associated with the grocers in contrast to several counties such as Derbyshire and Lincolnshire where they were often members of mercers' gilds. Matthews⁵ reported that the apothecaries of Norwich developed from the spicers through the grocers. He gave several examples of the apprentices of spicers being called grocers and of the latter being called apothecaries. Trease⁶ has stated that, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the titles spicer and apothecary were almost synonymous. Williamson⁷ quoted Admiral Smith as describing a seventeenth-century apothecary as follows: 'In country places a grocer comprehended a most extensive dealer in hardware, gingerbread, bobbins, mousetraps, curling tongs, candles, soap, bacon, pickles, and every variety of groceries. Tea, the staple by which grocers now make gross fortunes, had not then obtained its footing; for this lymph must then have been beyond the means of most sippers, seeing that in 1666 a pound of tea cost 6/- and the money was then at a higher value than in the present century (19th). Their most ancient name was pepperers from drugs and spices which they sold, a branch of which was mostly abstracted from them, not long before the epoch of the tokens by a seceding party, who were incorporated by James I, under the designation of apothecaries'. Wodderspoon⁸ wrote: 'We must not suppose, however, that although many of the Norwich traders bore the Grocers' arms on their tokens, they were strictly such as are called grocers in our own day. Grocers at the period these tokens now under consideration were issued included druggists, tobacconists, tobacco cutters and even apothecaries'. It thus seems that in seventeenth-century Norfolk the titles grocer and apothecary were virtually interchangeable. This will be apparent from some of the examples in this paper.



Fig. 1 Token of Edward Billinges. Actual size 1.6cm diameter.



Fig. 2 Token of Robert Fraunces. Actual size 1.6cm diameter.

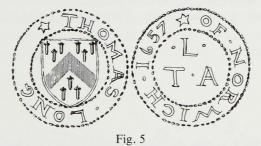


Fig. 3 Token of Robert Sheldrake. Actual size 1.7cm diameter.



Fig. 4

Token of William Sheldrake. Actual size 1.5cm diameter.



Token of Thomas Long. Actual size 1.7cm diameter.



Fig. 6. Token of Anthony Mingay. Actual size 1.5cm diameter.

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Fig. 7. Token of Daniel Roll. Actual size 1.6cm diameter.

Figures 1, 2 and 3 are drawn from photographs of specimens in the Norweb Collection, kindly supplied by Mr. R. H. Thompson. Figure 4 is drawn from a photograph kindly supplied by Miss Elizabeth Norfolk of Christie's, London. Figure 5 is drawn from a photograph of a specimen in the Castle Museum, Norwich, kindly supplied by Miss Barbara Green, Keeper of Archaeology. Figure 6 is drawn from a photograph of a specimen in the British Museum, with kind permission. Figure 7 is drawn from an illustration in Trease's article (ref. 35).

Apothecaries' tokens

1. Edward Billinges of King's Lynn

O. EDWARD . BILLINGES — The Apothecaries' arms.

R. LINN . REGIS . 1656 — E.^{B.}E. (1/4d). Fig. 1

Fig. 1 shows that the figure of Apollo on this token is not on a shield. Williamson's³ only comment was 'Another similar, dated 1662'. In the list of Freemen of Lynn⁹ are the following entries:— 'Edward Biddings (sic) ap. of Robert Fennes, apot. freed 1654/5' and 'John Billings, s. Edward, gent.' freed by Birth (i.e. Patrimony) in 1678/9. It seems certain that these were the issuer and his son. I have been unable to trace their wills.

2. Robert Fraunces of King's Lynn

O. ROBBERT . FRAUNCES — The Apothecaries' arms.

R. IN . LYNN . REGIS — R. F. (1/4d.) Fig. 2.

Williamson³ wrote 'A stone in St. Margaret's Church was inscribed: ''M. S. Exuviae Roberti Frauncis, Pharmacopoloe, qui obiit Maij 16, A° Aetat 46, Aer Chr., 1686'''. He gave no value for this token but it is a farthing as the value is never shown on such tokens. The lists of Freemen of Lynn¹⁰ show that there were at least two apothecaries of the token issuer's name which was sometimes spelled Francis. In 1633/4 'Robert Frauncis, ap. Robert Makyn, apoth.' was freed. He was probably identical with Robert Francis, grocer, whose apprentice Charles Cracroft was freed in 1658/9. In other entries Cracroft was called an apothecary. In 1657/8 'Robert Frauncis, apoth.' was freed by Birth and was presumably the son of Robert sr. The token is undated so it could have been issued by either of these persons. I have been unable to trace the will of Robert sr.

The will of 'Robert Francis of King's Lyn in the County of Norff. apothecary' was made on March 28 1686 when he was 'in perfect memory & health'.¹¹ He must have died suddenly since he was buried only two months later. This will must have been that of Robert jr. as the church memorial shows that he was 46 at the time of his death so he could not have been Robert sr.

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He left to his executor 'all & singular my goods & chattles & personell estate ... & all my ready moneyes and also Such debts as shalbe due & owing to me'. The executor was to settle his debts and funeral expenses, sell the goods and invest the proceeds 'to the best and most safe advantage' for the sole use and benefit of Jane, the wife of Jonas Leech, his sister 'separate and apart from her said husband', who was specifically barred from any 'Right, interest or power' over it. It seems that Jane and her husband had separated and Robert did not wish him to benefit from the bequest. After Jane's death the estate was to go to the children of his sister Anne, wife of William Thompson, Clerk. He left a gold ring to two friends who were to be his bearers and 40s. to the poor of St. Margaret's parish.

Edmund Rolfe, gentleman of King's Lynn, was the sole executor and he proved the will on July 8 1686. It appears that the testator was either a bachelor or a childless widower. He was probably the master of Lewis Spencer, apothecary, apprentice of Robert Francis, freed in 1688. Robert sr. would have been at least 78 by then.⁹

3. Robert Sheldrake of Fakenham

O. ROBERT . SHELDRAKE — The Apothecaries' arms.

R. IN . FAKENHAM . 1667 - R. S. (1/4d.). Fig. 3.

Williamson³ gave no value for this token, his only comment being 'Robert Sheldrake in 1719 devised a house to the poor of Fakenham'. On December 7 1663 Robert Sheldrake, almost certainly the token issuer, was granted an episcopal licence to practise surgery.¹² The apprenticeship register of the London Company of Barber-Surgeons, which is in Latin, show that, on March 24 1697/8, 'John Sheldrock, son of Robert of Fakenham, Norfolk, pharmacopola' (apothecary), was bound to Christopher Hill of London.¹³ The date of his freedom is not recorded but he had apprentices bound to him — Edmund Ashton of Stepney, 1714; Robert Knight of Rotherhythe, 1717; and Robert Lanson of Wisbech, Isle of Ely, 1724.¹² I have been unable to trace the will of Robert Sheldrake.

An additional apothecary's token

4. William Sheldrake of Fakenham

O. WILLIAM . SHILDRACK — W. S.

R. IN . FACKENHAM . 1667. (1/4d.). Fig. 4.

Williamson³ gave no value nor information about the issuer who was probably a brother of Robert and a member of a family which contained many apothecaries, surgeons etc. Their surname was spelled in many ways of which Sheldrake was the usual. Other variants include Sheldrock, Shildrack, Shildrake and Shildrock.

There were at least two and possibly three apothecaries of Fakenham called William Sheldrake. On October 31 1648 'William, son of William Sheldrake, Druggist of Fakenham', was admitted to Cambridge University at the age of fifteen. He eventually became a clergyman and Rector of Barton Bendish.¹⁴ On July 1 1662 'Tobias, son of William Sheldrake, late of Fakenham, apothecary' was bound to Adam Sheldrake, surgeon of London,¹⁵ probably a relative, and freed on July 17 1659.¹⁶ The latter, apprentice of Ralph Thickell, surgeon, had become a freeman of the London Company on September 15 1659.¹⁷ It seems certain that the token issuer was the father of William and Tobias and that he died between 1557 and 1662.

The will of another William Sheldrake, apothecary of Fakenham, was made on January 21 1701/2 when he was 'sick and weake but of understanding & memory sounde &

perfect'.¹⁸ He left £5 to his brothers Robert and Tobias. The latter was to have an additional £10 'to bind him to some trade or other he shall like'. Lastly, he left to his sister Mary 'all my goods, chattels, household stuff & shop goods whatsoever'. She was his sole executrix and she proved the will on April 6 1702. It is obvious that this William died young and had no children. He was presumably a grandson of the token issuer William, as his brother Tobias could not have been the person of that name apprenticed in 1662 since he was obviously under age. William and his brothers may well have been the sons of Tobias sr.

There must have been a third person of the name as, on January 13 1691/2, Tobias Sheldrake was granted by the Bishop of Norwich a licence to practise medicine.¹² He may have been the apothecary of that name, of Swaffham, to whom John Holland and Alexander Pell were bound in 1713 and 1719 respectively.¹²

Jonathan Sheldrake, who witnessed the will of the apothecary Richard Browne of Framlingham in 1695¹⁹ was probably of the same family and profession as may have been Francis Sheldrake of Loddon, Norfolk, who was granted on July 30 1700, an episcopal licence to practise surgery.¹² On March 7 1728/9 Thomas Sheldrake, of Pulham St. Mary a village about fifteen miles (twenty four kilometres) from Loddon, was granted by the Bishop of Norwich a licence to practise surgery.¹²

Timothy Sheldrake, M.D., of Norwich and London, subscribed to a book on geography in 1729 and to Philip Miller's Gardener's Dictionary in 1732, and gained a place in the Dictionary of National Biography²⁰ which described him as 'a native of Norwich ... descended from an old Norfolk family, a member of which, John Sheldrake, was mayor of Thetford in 1632, while William Sheldrake was rector of Barton in Charles II's reign'. He was obviously a descendent of the token issuer Robert Sheldrake. He was also a keen botanist and is included in the Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturalists.²¹ Timothy wrote The Causes of Heat and Cold in all Climates (1756), The Gardener's Best Companion in a Greenhouse (1756), and Botanicum Medicinale; an Herbal of Medicinal Plants on the College of Physicians' List (1759). The last is said to have 120 copper plates 'from the exquisite drawings of the late ingenious T. Sheldrake', presumably the author. His pamplet on the Norfolk Gothic Cross, with a very good plate, is bound with 'The Causes of Heat and Cold ...'²⁰ Timothy appears likely to have been the parent of a distinguished family of surgical instrument makers. Charles Sheldrake was bound to John Fike, surgical instrument maker of St. Martin's, Middlesex, for seven years from January 16 1781.²¹ He was probably a brother of Timothy and William Sheldrake of the same occupation. Timothy was listed alone at 483 and 50 Strand at various times between 1790 and 1820 and along with William in 1805 and 1822. He was at 10 Adam Street in 1820. William was listed with Henry Bigg at 9 St. Thomas Street in 1832/4.²²

Timothy was called 'Trussmaker to the East India Company and the Westminster Hospital' and is said to have made appliances for Lord Byron's club foot. In 1798 he published *An essay on the Club Foot, etc.* which went into a second edition with an appendix describing sixty-two cases. In the specification for a leg instrument he was called 'the younger', probably being the son of Timothy, M.D. In *Animal Mechanics*, published in 1832, he complained of unfair competition from his young brother William saying that Byron, when a young man at Dulwich School, had been mistakenly put under the latter's care with poor results. Timothy claimed that he could have effected a cure. He was much favoured by Thomas Wakley, the founder of *The Lancet*.²³

The Sheldrake family was thus connected with the medical and allied professions for at least 300 years and six generations.

Probable apothecaries' tokens

Thomas Long of Norwich

O. THOMAS . LONG — The Grocers' arms. R. OF . NORWICH . 1657 - T.L.A. (1/4d). Fig. 5.

Williamson³ gave no value for this token and wrote ""Thomas Longe grocer sonne of Rich. Longe was sworne a freeman the 31th (sic) of May 1651." The name being very common, we cannot identify the issuer'. It seems probable that Thomas Longe, apothecary, apprentice of 'Edro. Davis', who became a Freeman of Norwich on February 23 1703,²⁴ was a descendent. Since the issuer must have been at least fifty-nine when this Thomas was bound (*c*.1685) it seems more likely that he would be the grandson, rather than the son, of the issuer, who was probably also an apothecary. The following apprentices were bound to Thomas Long, apothecary of Norwich:— Benjamin Underwood, 1711; Robert Morden, 1718; William Wetherell, 1720; in 1718 he subscribed to a book.²⁵ 'Thomas Longe, pharmacopolus (apothecary), died on January 4 1722 and was buried at St. Peter's church'.⁵ The Thomas Longes may have been descendents of William Longe, barbersurgeon, who became a Freeman of Norwich in 1582, having been apprenticed elsewhere.²⁶

Anthony Mingay of Norwich

O. ANTHO . MINGAY. (in two lines)

R. IN . NORWICH — A man leading a camel. (1/4d). Fig. 6.

Williamson³ gave no value for this token and wrote that the family had a house, then the Mitre Tavern in St. Stephen's, that he resided in St. Peter Mancroft from 1659 to 1667 and later in St. Stephen's in which parish church are memorials to the family.

The Mingays (Myngays) were a prominent armigerous family descended from Robert of Norwich and Shotesham,²⁷ which contained many grocers, grocer-apothecaries, apothecaries, surgeons and surgeon-apothecaries, over a period of about 250 years.

Robert Myngay, grocer, son of William, Alderman of Norwich, became a Freeman of that city in 1576.²⁸ He was a cousin of John Myngay, apprentice of George Walden, who became a Freeman in 1584.²⁴ His master, freed in 1550,⁵ was usually described as a grocer but John Myngay was always called an apothecary as was John Wagstaffe, another of Walden's apprentices, freed in 1560.⁵ John's Myngay's father Robert (died 1573) may have been a surgeon.²⁹ John had the following apprentices, who became Freemen of Norwich in the years given: Richard Cullyer, 1596; Nicholas Reeve, 1612; William Woods, 1616; and Stephen Mayes, 1622.²⁴ All were apothecaries and Cullyer was also a starchmaker.⁵

John Myngay was born in 1556 and married, in 1579, Susan Skinner who bore him three sons and three daughters. In 1584 he was a referee for John Cooper of Felthorpe who was granted a licence to practise surgery. He became an Alderman in 1608 and, as such in the same year, was present at the examination of John Groves for the qualification in medicine and surgery. He became Mayor in 1617 and died, aged sixty-nine, on January 31 1625/6, being buried at St. Stephen's.^{30 31} His will was proved on February 8 1625/6³² and it shows that he left an enormous fortune in money, goods, land and property. His

monetary bequests to his family amounted to over £3,000 and those to charity to £200. His widow was left £100, an annuity of £50 and goods and plate worth £70. His sons Anthony, John and Roger were left land and property in Norwich, Swainsthorpe, Dunston, Stoke Holy Cross, Hethersett, Melton and Gimingham, as well as several hundreds of pounds each. He was obviously an extremely rich man, possibly the equivalent of a millionaire in today's terms.

His son John probably became an apothecary²⁹ and Anthony (1) was probably the person of that name, apprentice of John Downes, who became a Freeman of the London Grocers' Company in 1616.³³ Since that was a year before the apothecaries seceded from the Company he may well have been an apothecary. He died in 1649 leaving a son and namesake who was described as 'of London'.²⁷

Roger Myngay (died 1660) was the father of Anthony (2), the token issuer. The latter was called a grocer when he became a Freeman of Norwich by patrimony in 1661.²⁸ The family home, Cursons Manor, Swainsthorpe, was conveyed to him in 1663 and he also had houses in Norwich. He was a witness of the will of Sir Thomas Browne, the famous Norwich physician, who died in 1682.³¹ They were probably professional colleagues and Anthony seems likely to have been an apothecary like his grandfather. He died in 1717 and was buried at St. Stephen's leaving a daughter and heiress Frances who married William Brookes, Recorder of Norwich.

The family continued in medicine. In 1706 Henry Mingay of Bungay was granted an episcopal licence to practise surgery. He may have been the apothecary of that name of North Walsham to whom William Banfield was bound in 1711. In 1729 Clement, son of William Mingay (1), of Shottisham, was bound to William Reeve, surgeon of Harleston. In 1752 Baptist Garnham was bound to James Mingay, surgeon of Thetford, who was granted in 1753 a licence to practice surgery and subscribed to books in 1766 and 1772, whilst in 1786 Robert Mingay, surgeon-apothecary of Thetford, possibly his brother, had William Wye bound to him. Another James Myngay, surgeon-apothecary of New Windsor, had James Macrill bound to him in 1777. Another William Mingay (2), surgeon, etc. of Shotesham and Thetford, probably the son of William (1), took apprentices Thomas Wales, 1782; and John Syer, 1788. He seems likely to have been the father of William Robert Mingay of Thetford, to whom, in some instances with his partner H. Best, the following were bound:— Joseph B. Seward, 1792; William B. Blurkey, 1794; Edward Dashwood, 1804; W. J. Long and Robert Goodrich, 1806.³⁴ They were described as 'surgeons, etc.' which meant surgeon-apothecaries.

Daniel Roll of Holt

O. DANIEL . ROLL — A mortar.

R. OF. HOLT. 1666 – D. R. (1/4d). Fig. 7.

Williamson³ gave no information about the issuer of this token which is unusual in having the device of a mortar without a pestle. Nothing is known of the issuer who was included in Trease's list of apothecary token issuers.³⁵

A possible apothecary's token

John Green of King's Lynn, who issued an undated token bearing the Grocers' arms, may have been an apothecary and an ancestor of Charles Greene, apothecary, who was Mayor of the town in 1712 and to whom John Exon was bound in 1714. There were many apothecaries, etc. of this surname in Norfolk and Suffolk.³⁶

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Tokens bearing devices often used by apothecaries

Cock — John Hancock of Carleton, occupation unknown, used this device, probably as a pun on his name, and Augustine Briggs, grocer, did so, possibly because his wife's maiden name was Cock.

Cross — Stephen Tucke of Thornham, who issued in 1667 a token bearing this device may have been a relative of William Tucke, apothecary of Norwich, who was granted in 1684 a licence to practise medicine and whose will was proved in 1686,⁵ and of John, son of Adam Tuck, who was bound in 1717 to John Barker, surgeon, etc, of New Buckenham.³⁷ Stephen Tucke may have been an apothecary as the symbol of the cross was frequently used by members of that occupation.

September 1986

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of the research in this paper was carried out with the aid of a grant from the Wellcome Trust and I express my gratitude to the trustees. I am grateful to Miss Margaret Pelling of the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford, and to Mr. A. S. G. Saville of the Norfolk and Norwich Numismatic Society, for information about the Myngay family. I wish to thank my wife Doreen M. Whittet for drawing figures 1 to 5 and 7 and my daughter-in-law Ann Whittet for drawing figure 6.

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THE ASLACTON PAINTING OF CHANNONZ HALL, TIBENHAM, AND AN EARLY CARTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATION

by Edwin J. Rose

Channonz or Channons Hall, Tibenham, nowadays consists of one remaining wing of a large Elizabethan mansion, set within the outer enclosure of an older moated site (county sites and monuments index 10937). The greater part of the building was demolished in 1784.

The definitive description and history of the building is given by Mr. A. P. Baggs in *Norfolk Archaeology* vol. XXXIV, 9. In this article he reproduced a photograph of a painting of the hall found amongst the Buxton papers; the original is unlocated. Mr. Baggs dates the illustration to the late 17th century.

It has long been generally known that another painting of the hall exists on panelling at Limetree House, Aslacton (index number 21815) not far from Channonz, and it is mentioned in the Department of the Environment's 1981 listing of that house. It does not seem to have been widely realised however that the Aslacton painting depicts an intermediate stage between the Buxton illustration and the final demolition of the hall.

The Norfolk Record Office has recently acquired a map of the Channonz Estates, dated 1640 (accession Barnes 1/5/1986), which includes a small sketch of the hall. Together these three illustrations form an interesting sequence. The 1640 sketch is reproduced as Plate I and the Aslacton painting as Plate II, and these should be compared with Mr. Baggs's published plate.

The 1640 drawing shows no real difference to the hall or outbuildings as shown in the Buxton illustration; the perspective confirms Mr. Baggs's suggestion that the buildings to the left of the latter painting are within the inner enclosure of the moat. Two structures are present however which are not in the Buxton painting. One is a long shed-like building within the outer enclosure of the moat, aligned along the arm separating the two compartments. The other is a turretted and embattled gatehouse, connected to the hall by crenellated walls forming a courtyard, and standing between the hall and the ornamental gateway of 1589 at the moat bridge.