

**HISTORIC GRAFFITI ON THE TOWER OF St OSWALD'S
CHURCH, FILEY, NORTH YORKSHIRE**

RECORDING AND INTERPRETATION



JB Archaeological Services

On behalf of

Historic England

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A 'Whitby cat' – a once common brig rigged 18th/19th century merchantman

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Summary

Graffiti has probably been around as long as mankind and the urge to leave a mark of ones presence can be seen from the earliest cave paintings onwards. The discovery of a large collection of historic graffiti on the roof of St Oswald's Church in Filey can be seen as a continuation of this desire. The Grade 1 St Oswald's Church lies to the north of Church Ravine in Filey (NGR TA 11778 81065) and the extensive collection of well preserved graffiti was found to cover the roof of the tower from its bottom edge up to c.3-400mm from the apex with many overlapping examples.

Following the discovery of the graffiti Historic England funded a project to use the collection to develop a potential methodology for the recording of historic graffiti and as part of the project a detailed study was undertaken on the graffiti. In order to produce a permanent record of the graffiti the roof was systematically recorded using multiple, overlapping, 24megapixels resolution images. The resulting 1700 images were processed by Historic England using Structure from Motion (SfM) software in order to produce a high resolution three-dimensional photomosaic of the roof surface. The photomosaic was then used for the detailed study of the graffiti.

The study recorded 1,482 legible graffiti which ranged from sets of initials through to complex images of fully rigged sailing vessels. The commonest graffiti were sets of initials (731 examples) followed by outlines of shoes (432), which, like the initials, occasionally were dated. Full names, some with dates, formed the next group (227) with the number of images of hand and ships being surprisingly similar (45 and 47 respectively). The remaining images tended to be found in very small numbers – e.g. five 'love' hearts, two crosses and two shoes shown in profile.

A significant amount of information was obtained on not only the age and form of the graffiti but on the social history of the people creating, changes in fashion and literacy, the rise of tourism and the nature and changes in coastal shipping; all within its closely dated, 400 year record. The graffiti also acted as a starting point for further research into archives sources and outline biographic details were produced on nearly 200 individual names that appear in the graffiti.

Although there are nearly 1,500 legible graffiti on the roof there are many more, apparently random, lines and letters which may well be part of other graffiti which are now unreadable. This clearly illustrates the vulnerable nature of the graffiti and how it can be lost through time and that with this loss there is a corresponding loss of potential information that can yield detailed information about a building, and the users of that building in the past.

This report presents the details of this range of information including identifying particular people and their occupations, changes in literacy, the rise in tourism in Filey, developments in coastal shipping and a possible record of 17th century plague.

HISTORIC GRAFFITI ON THE TOWER OF St OSWALD'S CHURCH, FILEY, NORTH YORKSHIRE

Introduction

Graffiti in its various forms is a common sight in many urban areas and we are probably all familiar with graffiti on historic buildings. This can range from contentious modern spray painting through to historic examples – most commonly initials and dates but occasionally including an image of some form. Graffiti can be found cut into and written/painted onto almost any surface and it is an activity for which examples have been recorded from at least Classical times. The reasons for individuals creating graffiti are many and varied but the commonest one would appear to be the desire of the person to simply record their presence at that particular location at that moment in time. Other reasons for creating graffiti include political commentary/cartoons, insults, curses, artistic endeavour, votive/devotional practices and declarations of love. A significant number of graffiti can be found to include some form of iconography such as images of people, animals, ships, buildings and vehicles.

Purely by chance as part of another, unrelated, English Heritage project, access was obtained to the roof of the tower of St Oswald's Church in Filey and it was during this visit that the extensive, well preserved graffiti that covers the lead roof was initially observed. A rapid consultation with a number of colleagues concluded that the quantity and diversity of these remains appeared to be quite rare and of a particularly early date for survival on a lead roof. At this point it was suggested that the graffiti on the tower roof at St Oswald's could be used to as the test study to develop a methodology for recording graffiti (Historic England, 2015). In conjunction with the production of the methodology a study of the graffiti would also be made in order to try to place some form of historic interpretation on them. This report represents the results of that study.

Background

During the final phase of the English Heritage (EH) funded Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Rapid Coastal Zone Assessment (RCZA) an opportunity was provided by Robert Briggs of Filey to view the wider area around Filey Brigg from the vantage point of the top of St Oswald's church tower. This opportunity was used to see if the remains of the earthworks visible to the north of the church could be further understood from the elevated vantage point. However, it was during this visit that it was noticed that the lead sheets covering the top of the tower were extensively covered in graffiti. An initial rapid examination of the graffiti showed that it covered the majority of the lead from its bottom edge up to c.3-400mm from the apex on all four sides with many of the overlapping examples. Discussions amongst the archaeologists on the roof and later with other colleagues in different organisations came to the opinion that this high concentration of graffiti, particularly with 17th century dates, appeared to be unusual and quite a rare survival in a lead roof.

The awareness of the potential rarity and vulnerability of this graffiti resulted in various discussions with EH who felt that these remains constituted a significant historical/archaeological resource which was undoubtedly repeated elsewhere. The potential vulnerability of graffiti generally and lack of existing guidance on it

prompted the use of the St Oswald's example as a test case to assist in the development of a possible methodology for examining graffiti.

In addition to producing the possible methodology, a detailed report on the nature and types of the graffiti, the possible reasons/interpretations for it being there and how this compared to other known regional examples. This is that report.

Location

St Oswald's Church is located on the northern side of Church Ravine in Filey, North Yorkshire (NGR TA 11778 81065) (Figures 1 & 2). The church is a Grade 1 Listed Building with significant portions that date from the 12th and 13th centuries with 15th century battlements. The church was restored and partly rebuilt in 1885 (Internet Reference 1). The graffiti is on the lead roof of the tower which is towards the eastern end of the church and located over the crossing.

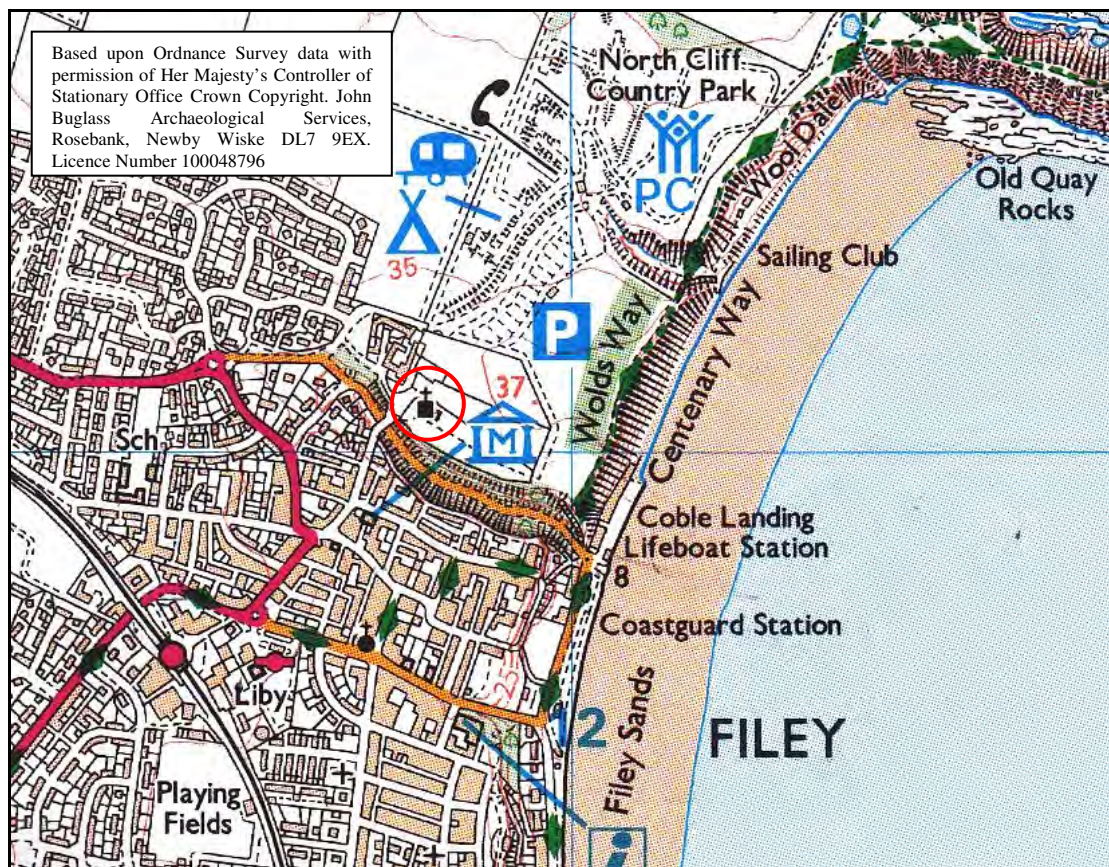


Figure 1. Location of St Oswald's, Filey



Figure 2. St Oswald's Church, Filey.

Methodology

In order to develop and refine the methodology, aspect of the project, the southern part of the roof was initially recorded photographically using three different systems – a smart phone (Apple Iphone 4s at 8megapixels), a medium resolution digital camera (Fujifilm Finepix S at 14megapixels) and a high resolution digital camera (Nikon D3x at 24megapixels). This was in order to assess the relative merits and details of each system. Once this had been completed and the comparisons made, the whole of the roof was recorded using the high resolution Nikon D3x digital camera.

The methodology for the photographic recording was to systematically take multiple, overlapping images of each section of roof. The roof covering had been constructed from a series of overlapping lead sheets forming a series of panels running from apex to the gutter with roll joints on each side delimiting the width of each of the panels (Figure 3). Therefore the roll joints made a convenient reference point on which to orientate the photographs. The number of panels per side of the roof varied with 15 on the north side, 12 on the east, 13 on the south and 16 on the west. In order to carry out the photography, the panels were numbered sequentially from the north-east corner clockwise (Figure 4). This means that the panels on the tower roof are numbered thus:

North side numbered west to east N1 to N15

East side numbered north to south E1 to E12

South side numbered east to west S1 to S13

West side numbered south to north W1 to W16



Figure 3. General view of south side of tower roof showing roll joints in lead

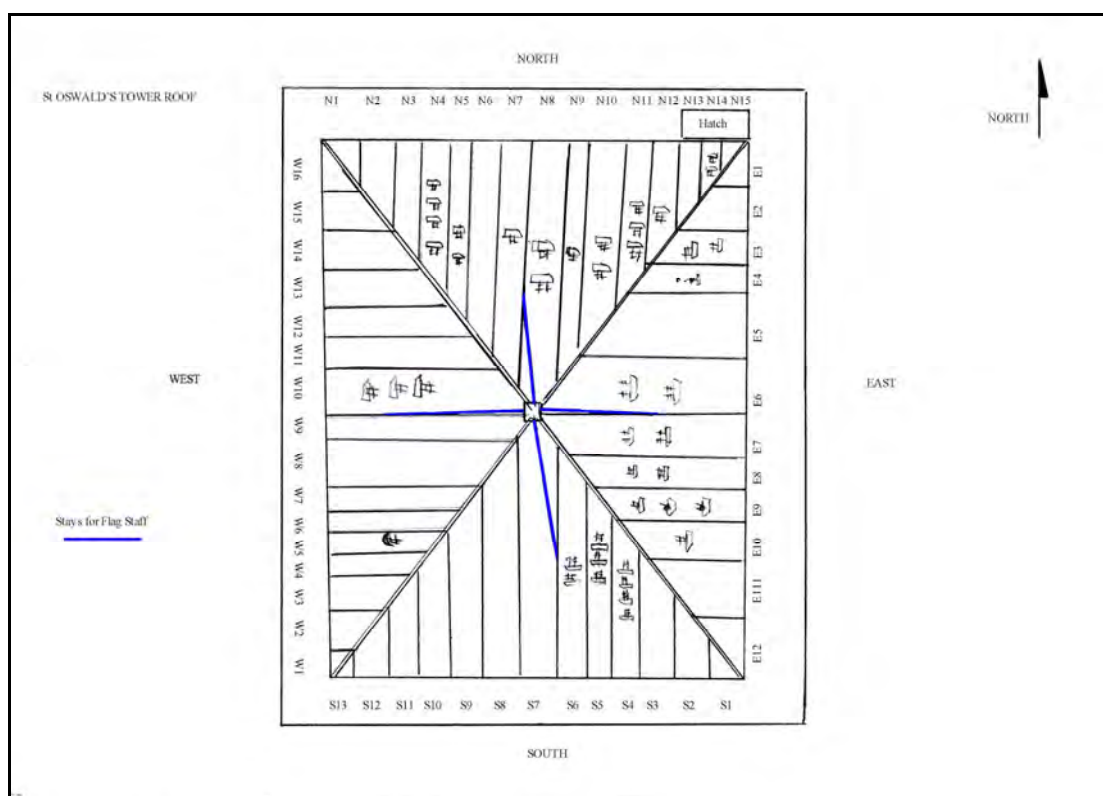


Figure 4. Plan showing numbering of roof panels and distribution of ship graffiti

The images were taken in strips working from the apex to the base using the roll joints as the boundaries for each panel. The trial run images were all taken approximately square-on and aimed to have at least 60% overlap between adjacent images and 30% overlap between adjacent strips. These overlapping sequences were then processed

by EH through Structure from Motion (SfM) software (<http://agisoft.ru/>) in order to produce a 3D image of the roof surface. As a result of the initial sample photography, the methodology was revised so that each panel would have three overlapping strips of images taken running from the apex downwards. The first strip would be slightly angled into the side of the roll joint on the right hand side. The second strip would be square on to the centre line of the panel whilst the final strip would be slightly angled into the side of the roll joint on the left hand side. This was in order to prevent areas being 'shadowed' by the roll joints.

Structure from Motion (SfM) photogrammetry is a technique which uses multiple overlapping, two-dimensional image sequences to produce a three-dimensional photomosaic.

Once the whole roof had been recorded, each image was examined in detail using the Windows Picture Package in order to enlarge the fainter graffiti. A transcription of the graffiti on each panel was then produced.

At the same time as the initial trial photography was undertaken, the tower roof was laser scanned in order to make a comparison with the results of the SfM photo-mosaic (Figure 5a-e) (<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/3d-laser-scanning-heritage2/>). The results of the two recording methods were compared by EH staff and it was found that the results of the SfM photomosaic were significantly better than those from the laser scanning. This was due to a combination of a more complete coverage at a higher resolution of 3D data with the photogrammetry as opposed to the laser scanning and wind buffeting the scanner.

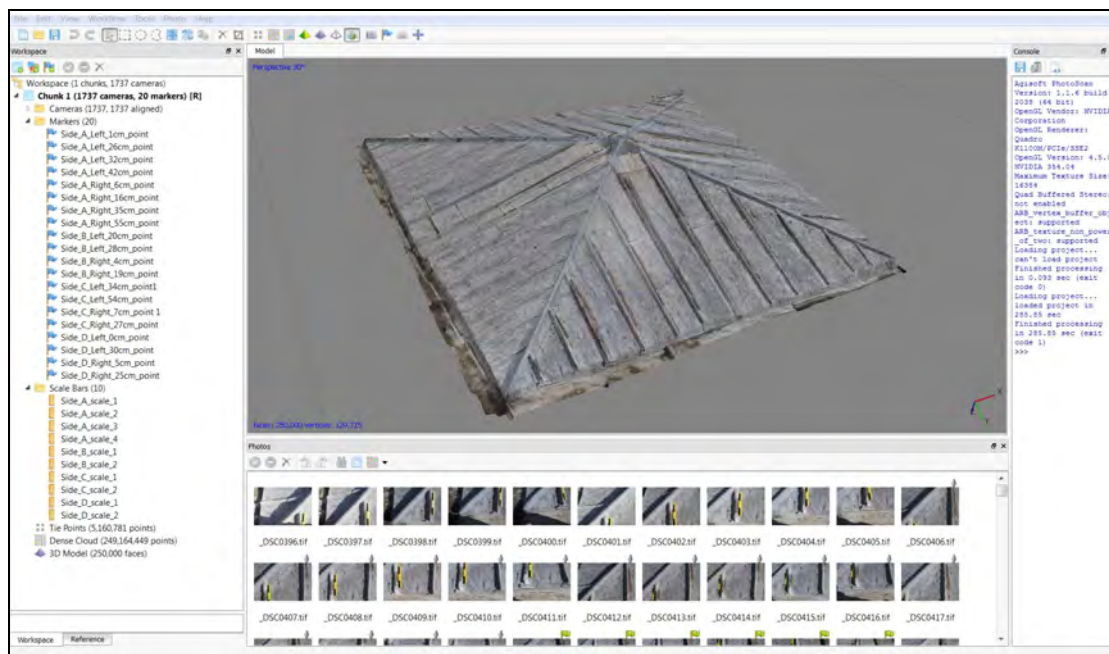


Figure 5a. Stage of data manipulation to produce photomosaic

Historic England

Agisoft PhotoScan

Processing Report

01 December 2014



Figure 5b. Photomosaic of the whole roof generated by the photogrammetry with shoe graffiti marked in red reproduced below

Historic England



Figure 5c. Detail of shoe graffiti from Panel S12

Results

The overall result of the recording confirmed that the roof of the tower roof was extensively covered in graffiti. In total 1,482 separate, legible graffiti were recorded which ranged from simple sets of initials through to complex images of fully rigged sailing vessels (see Table 1 for a breakdown of the graffiti). In the various discussions below the location of specific graffiti on the roof is given by the panel number in [] brackets after its first reference.

The graffiti recorded were those that were legible in the high resolution photographs. In addition to the legible graffiti, there were many instances where there were areas of faint lines, shapes and possible letters/figures which could not be resolved into any specific, coherent graffiti. The problem of trying to resolve these was a combination of two issues; the first was that they often overlapped with several other graffiti making it very difficult to 'unravel' each particular graffiti. The second issue was related to the age and therefore condition of the graffiti. In most cases the graffiti dates from between the 17th and 19th centuries and has been exposed to various forms of weathering and erosion, which has resulted in them becoming very faint and often lost in part or almost completely. It may be possible with even higher resolution imaging to distinguish additional detail.

Unsurprisingly the commonest graffiti were simple sets of initials (731), sometimes with dates associated with them. The next most frequent was the outlines of shoes

(432), many of which also had initials and, occasionally, dates within the outline. Full names, again some with dates, formed the next significant group with 227 examples. The numbers of images of hands (both left and right) and ships were surprisingly similar, with 45 and 47 examples respectively. The remaining images tended to be found in very small numbers – for example five ‘love’ hearts, two crosses and two shoes shown in profile.

Table 1. Overall Summary

Panel	Shoes			Hands		Initials/ Date	Names/ Date	Ships	Other
	Rounded toe	Square toe	Pointed toe	Left	Right				
North Side	20	13	1	10	-	258	100	20	Cross Heart with arrow Heart ?flag Profile of shoe Inscription 23 cartouches
East Side	86	25	11	11	2	188	36	13	?Heart 15 cartouches
South Side	91	18	15	11	2	137	68	9	3x Heart on glove ?Bird/plague doctor Crown 17 cartouches
West Side	126	21	5	7	2	148	23	5	Triangulation mark Profile of shoe Cross with bars on arms 8 pointed star ?Church or lighthouse 9 cartouches
Totals	323	77	32	39	6	731	227	47	5 hearts 2 profile shoes 3 crosses 64 cartouches

Distribution

The graffiti was found to cover the majority of the available space on the roof but was noticeably less dense closer to the apex of the roof. This is presumably due to less easy access. There were five panels which had no visible graffiti on them – N1, N15, E1, W15 and W16. All of these panels were in the corners of the roof which makes them both small and difficult to access in order to create graffiti on them – especially when there is the rest of the roof to potentially use. There was generally little graffiti on the roll joints between each panel and what there was seems to have derived from the lead sheets being re-laid and graffiti that was once on the flat surface of the panel was now reformed to cover the joint. The lack of graffiti created on the roll joint reflects the difficulty of using the rounded surface.

In terms of overall distribution three sides of the roof have a similar number of graffiti on them: East – 372; South – 351 and West – 337 whilst the North side had the most at 422. The probable reason for this is that the access hatch to the roof is in the north-eastern corner and people may not have ventured far from there to leave their mark. In general there did not seem to be any particular pattern to the distribution of each of

the types of graffiti. The north side having the most graffiti overall also had the most images of ships, names and initials; whilst the west side has the most shoe outlines and the east and south sides jointly had the majority of hand outlines.

It appears that there is a degree of clustering of similar images in certain areas. For example images of ships rarely appear on their own and are often accompanied by several others in close proximity. This may be due to people seeing one image and deciding to add their own to the 'collection'. However, any apparent patterns and groups should only be looked at in relation to the potential for re-use/re-location of the lead sheets (see below for details).

Types of Graffiti

Initials

As already mentioned above, simple sets of initials was the single commonest form of graffiti with 731 examples. Although the majority of these occurred just as initials, a number of them were accompanied by a date. A number of initials were also recorded in conjunction with the outline of shoes, whilst a lesser number were found in conjunction with hand outlines. Overall the information that can be gleaned from sets of initials is relatively limited as the letters can stand for any number of combinations of names. Where initials start to develop, a greater significance is when they are accompanied by dates and it is the dates which start to allow a deeper interpretation. The dates can be used to help provide a chronological framework for the structure, though the re-use of buildings materials will always need to be borne in mind. There are a number of single letter graffiti and it is possible that these were the first part of someone putting their whole name/more initials on the roof but they were either interrupted or never had the opportunity to finish the graffiti.

Names

Over two hundred individual names were recorded on the roof and this number coupled with the sets of initials can be seen to give a broad indication to the number of visitors to the roof. If the assumption is made that each visitor only records their name or initials once then the combined numbers of initials and names means that there has been c.1,000 visitors to the roof leaving this type of graffiti. From the list of names in Appendix I it can be seen that some names occur several times (e.g. Fox, Hill, Jenkinson, Legard, Smith, Walker and Watkinson) this is probably due to one of three factors. Firstly; it could be the same person carrying out repeat visits. An example of this can be seen with the name *J Hill* where it occurs dated 18.8.1947 [W11] and again 20.8.1947 [W13] with this one giving details of occupation and address – *Plumber Hunmanby*. *J Hill* also occurs again dated 1981 [S5] and 1983 [S5] which could still possibly be the same person. Secondly; the names could represent family members being there either at the same time or over differing generations. For example *Jenkinson* occurs with the initials *E, I, R* and *T* as well as the name *Edmund* but only one is dated. Finally repeat names could simply be a result of a common name such as *Smith* (nine examples).

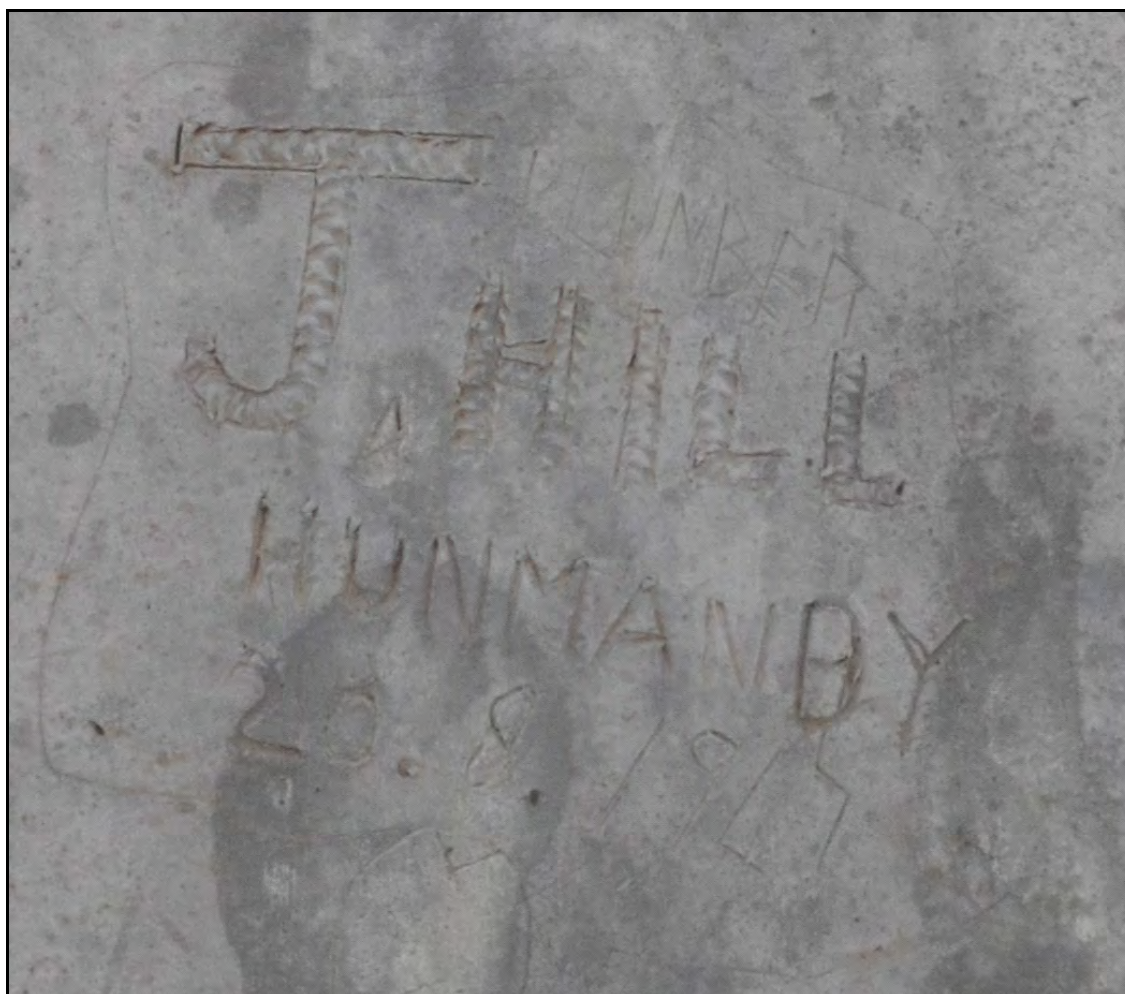


Figure 6. Panel W13 with *J Hill, Plumber, Hunmanby 20.8.1947*

Unfortunately not all of the names were legible due to weathering and in the list given in Appendix I the unreadable letters have been replaced with a '?'. As with the initials, many of the names have dates with them. These dates are normally just for a year but a number refer to a specific day of a month. If the whole date is provided, it is possible to determine which day of the week the graffiti was created, the significance of which is discussed below.

With whole names, particularly those associated with dates, it may be possible to establish further details about that person. One of the assumptions that can be made is that the people with the easiest access to the roof are the most likely to be some of those leaving graffiti. This group would include the various church officials from the incumbent through to the church warden, parish clerk and bell ringers. This could potentially be confirmed by cross referencing any relevant church/parish records with the dated names.

Another group with frequent access to the roof would be people engaged in the repair and maintenance of the roof. One example of this is probably the *J Hill* mentioned above (Figure 6). One of the graffiti with this name gives an occupation of plumber as well as a location (presumably of residence) of *Hunmanby*. The two full dates given i.e. *18.8.1947* and *20.8.1947* are Monday and Wednesday respectively and it is

possible to suggest that these are the two days that they worked on the roof. As the two occurrences are on different panels they may relate to two different repairs.

Occupations

Within all of the various names recorded on the roof only four give an indication of occupation or activity. The first of these, mentioned above, was *J Hill plumber* and is the only graffiti to record what could be described as a trade. The single occurrence of a plumber leaving graffiti on a lead roof can be seen as a marked contrast to the dozen or so examples of a plumber/plumer/plumar recorded on the roof of All Saints Church, Wath upon Dearne (Richardson and Dennison, 2014). The graffiti at Wath are dated from 1691 to 2006 and show a strong continuity of a tradition of recording repairs and renewals. Within these graffiti at Wath there were seven examples where the graffiti was in the form of an often elaborate lead plaque (IBID).

The second occupation is shown in a rectangular cartouche on panel N10 (Figure 7):

R.M. Tickton · Grange

Coachman X

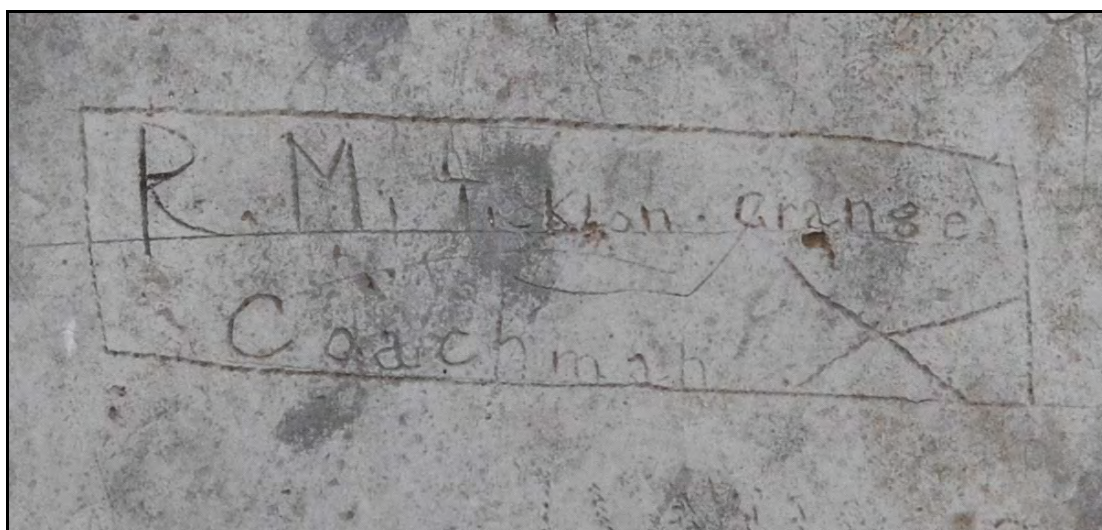


Figure 7. Panel N10 with R.M. coachman of Tickton Grange

This would appear to refer to Tickton Grange near Beverley and may represent a trip out from the grange to Filey with RM as the coach driver. Unfortunately as it is undated it would probably be difficult to try to track down RM any further. One interesting thing with this graffiti is that the way in which it is arranged in the cartouche with the letter X at the end it is almost as if the X represents the person's mark. If this were the case then it would strongly suggest that RM was illiterate and that another person actually created the majority of the graffiti.

A third occupation is that shown on panel E6. Here the outline of a shoe is inscribed with:

TATE C

THE CROFT

FILEY

GREEN

HOWARDS

The occupation here is a soldier, as a local regiment is given. This would seem to be reinforced by the way the persons name has been written with surname and then initial. Once again there is no date given but the street in Filey called The Croft was originally a croft-like small holding with a dirt road through it. The area was built up and developed from the 1930s onwards (Robinson *pers comm*). Therefore the graffiti probably dates sometime from then onwards. The outline of the shoe, whilst very faint, does appear to show a distinctive form to the heel which may represent a military style drill boot with the reinforcing steel tip around the heel.

The final two examples are occurrences of an activity rather than occupation and are both for bell ringing. Both of the examples use a repair patch which has been welded on the lead as a cartouche for their graffiti. The older example is on panel E8 and reads:

BETTY
JOHN
KATHY
HELEN
MICHAL
LUKE
NATALIE
1998
RINGERS

The second one is on panel E6 (Figures 8 & 9) and reads:

SIMON
PERCY
RINGER 2008



Figure 8. Panel E6 with *Simon Percy Ringer 2008*

Underneath the inscription is a notation for a peal.

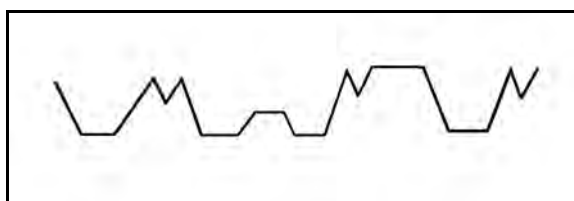


Figure 9. Peel Notation on Panel E6

Although it is not recorded as an occupation *per se* in the graffiti, it is almost certain that some of the people creating the images of the various types of sailing ships were mariners, fishermen or boat builders. One possible way of distinguishing between those graffiti created by a seafarer and a landsman could be in the level of detail shown in the imagery. By using this criteria the more detailed and technically accurate examples would probably be those created by mariners and the more simplistic representations probably created by the more casual observer (see below for the details of the ship imagery).

In addition to the graffiti which provide an occupation, research into the names on the roof has provided evidence for at least a further 22 occupations ranging from school master to shoemaker, fish merchant and chimney sweep (see Appendix I for details).

Gender

It is commonly assumed that creating graffiti is a predominantly male activity and for the vast majority of the graffiti on the roof with names and initials it is impossible to determine if they were created by a male or female. However during the recording, it was found that there are a number of graffiti which can be identified as being gender specific. By using Christian names as the deciding criteria, it was possible to identify a total of 36 male names as opposed to 16 female names. It can reasonably be argued that the plumber (*J Hill*), coachman (*RM*) and soldier (*Tate C*) would all have been males. This, coupled with the research into the names in Appendix I, identifies many more males creating the graffiti than females.

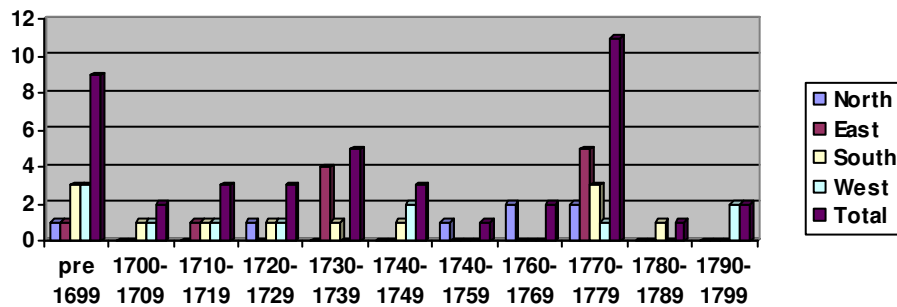
Of the female names the majority date to the 20th century but there are two exceptions – *Winnie Trousdale 1851* and *Ada Harris 1875*, though the latter is associated with a *W Harris 1875* and Leeds as a place. The two occurrences of the name Harris, with the same date and who would appear to be from out of the area, would seem to be strong evidence for visitors of some sort to Filey. Interestingly a second example of what is probably a visitor to the town is also seen in another female name – *Minnie Middlemiss, Morpeth ?1921*.

Of the remaining female names several occur in the bell ringers graffiti of 1998, whilst at least two of the other names may have been placed there by partners and the women in question may have had no knowledge of the event (see *Declarations of Love* below). The placing of female partners' names (with or without their knowledge) whilst increasing the numbers of females recorded does not mean that they were actually creating the graffiti themselves – which goes back to the idea that graffiti is seen as typically male activity.

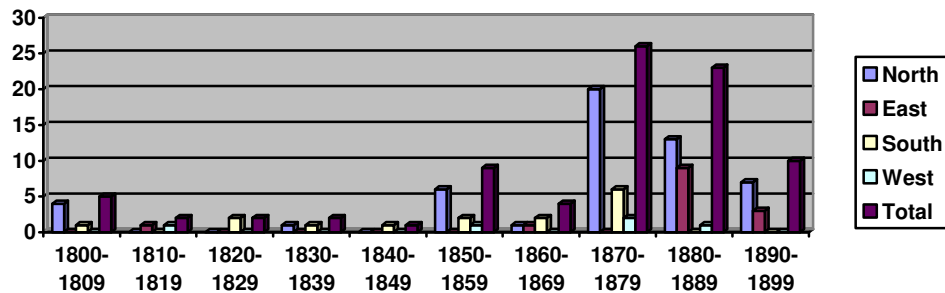
Dates

A total of 185 dates that referred to identifiable years were recorded. In addition a further 21 dates were in the form of abbreviations such as June 4; 6/5/81 or '82. It is probable that the majority of these refer to the 18th or 19th century based on the style of the lettering, but this cannot be confirmed.

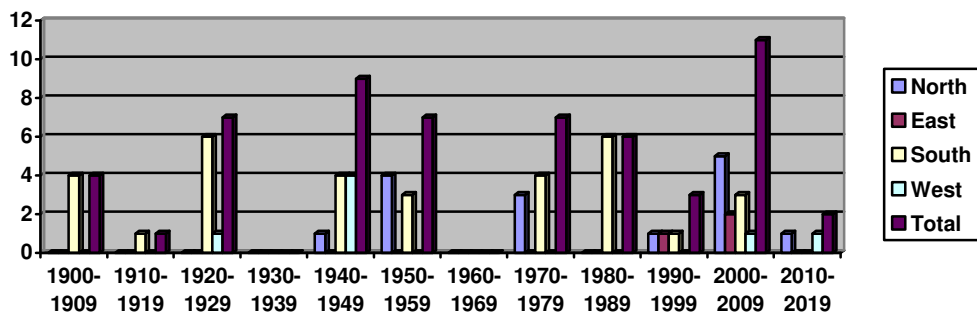
The earliest dates recorded were nine from 17th century, these were: 1608 [E6], 1611 [N7], 1616 [10], 1624 [S9], 1668 [W9 & S8], 1694 [W10], 1696 [S7] and 1697 [S3]. Of these 1608, 1611 and 1624 are very faint and by no means certain. These early dates show that some of the lead sheets on the roof are potentially at least 400 years old – which is twice the age generally considered to be the life span of a lead roof.



Distribution of dates 17/18th centuries



Distribution of dates 19th century



Distribution of dates 20th/21st century

The dates from the 18th century are evenly split between the first (17) and second (16) halves of the century. Interestingly these are slightly higher numbers than for those in the first half of the 19th century (13). In the second half of the 19th century there is a marked rise in the number of dated graffiti – particularly in the decades of the 1870s

and 1880s (28 and 23 examples respectively). Overall the 20th century sees a fairly even distribution of dates but is notable that this century has the only two decades in the last 400+ years where there were no dated graffiti – 1930s and 1960s.

Much time can be spent speculating on the distribution of dates and the significance of certain clusters or absences of dates in relation to local and even national events (e.g. Civil War (1642-51) and two World Wars (1914-18; 1939-45)). However, the relationship of the frequency of dates is probably more closely tied to the position of the church authorities with regard to allowing access to the roof than to wider events. In addition there will also be a direct link between literacy levels of those visiting the roof and the ability to create graffiti consisting of letters and numbers. The levels of literacy can be glimpsed in the frequency of reversed letters and numbers, particularly with the letters S and F and the numbers 6, 7 and 9.

This said, there are some local events which may be tied to the marked rise in graffiti in the second half of the 19th century. The first of these is the construction of the iron bridge over Church Ravine in 1847 making access to the church from the town much easier. The second is the opening of Filey railway station in October 1856. These two events linked with the increase of tourism to Filey (particularly in the form of day trips from nearby Scarborough and Hull) may have resulted in visits to tower roof in order to admire the view across the bay, possibly in return for a donation to church funds. It is also interesting to note that there is a large amount of graffiti on various parts of Filey Brigg to the east which, where dated, date to the latter half of the 19th century (Buglass & Brigham, 2011 and Brigham, 2014). Although some of this is almost undoubtedly related to stone extraction along the south side of the Brigg, there are examples on the northern side which are similar in execution to ones seen on the tower roof. For example one in a simple cartouche reads:

C T C??EON
BEVERLEY
 1898

and another (now almost illegible) would seem to have been created by someone from Beverley. It also follows the same format and dates to the 1880s. It is significant that they appear on the north side of the Brigg (or as it is known locally 'the back of the Brigg') as this is where local knowledge relates that there were tours of the Brigg provided by the Brigg Attendants for visitors to the town.

In addition to the increased visitor numbers and ease of access the opening of the Wesleyan school 1857 and the Church of England school in 1873 will have raised general literacy levels. Potentially this would have allowed those people who previously may only have left the outline of a shoe for example or a hand to now inscribing their names/initials as well.

As already mentioned above, some of the dates refer to a specific day of the week and where the 'whole date' is provided it is possible to determine which day of the week the graffiti was created (www.dayoftheweek.org). This could be done in 12 cases and in these cases it was seen that Monday was the commonest day represented with four examples, followed by Thursday (3) then Sunday and Wednesday (2 each) with a single example from Friday and none from Tuesday or Saturday. One suggestion is

that as Monday is the first working day of the week which may represent workmen on the roof.

The 12 days are:

28th December 1862 – Sunday
28th February 1873 – Friday
4th December 1881 – Sunday
28th March 1889 – Thursday
8th October 1894 – Monday
22nd June 1908 – Monday
15th August 1945 – Wednesday (VJ Day)
18th August 1947 – Monday
20th August 1947 – Wednesday
4th October 1976 – Monday
12th December 1985 – Thursday
5th July 2012 – Thursday

As well as the whole dates one of the graffiti gave the date as: *Xmas Sunday Dec 23/83* which can only be 1883.

In addition three days with abbreviated years were recorded:

6th May '81 – Sunday if 1781, Friday if 1881, Wednesday if 1981
27th June '23 – Sunday if 1723, Friday if 1823, Wednesday if 1923
12th October '75 – Thursday if 1775, Tuesday if 1875, Sunday if 1975

If it was anticipated that the persons creating the graffiti were those with easy access to the roof, such as church wardens or bell ringers, then it could be assumed that Sundays would have been the commonest day as they would have been at the church to carry out their duties. However the reverse could be also argued i.e. that they were too busy with their duties on a Sunday to have had the time to spare to visit the roof, so their graffiti would have to have been created at another time.

Unfortunately there are too few examples to be able to suggest a pattern to the day of the week when the graffiti was created.

Places

A total of 31 graffiti include a named location which covered 12 different towns or cities (see Table 2). Unsurprisingly the commonest location was Filey with 16 examples to which can be added at least another seven examples where the letter F is so placed in the graffiti that it appears to represent Filey, for example on panel N6:

FJ
F
1896

The various locations are summarised in the table below and again, unsurprisingly, the majority of the places are either close to Filey (e.g. Humanby & Hull) or within the north-east (e.g. Leeds, Sheffield, Darlington).

Interestingly all of the dated, non-Filey place names are dated to after the opening of the railway line in 1856 and therefore may well represent tourist visits of various forms – day trips for the more local places and longer holidays for the more distant. One obvious exception to this is the 1947 date for Humanby which, as described above, probably relates to a repair on the roof by the plumber J Hill. It may be possible that other nearby locations may also represent local trades.

Table 2. Location and date of named places

<i>Location</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Panel Number</i>	<i>Date of Graffiti</i>
Darlington	1	N4	2004
Darlo (colloquial term for Darlington)	1	S10	2004
Filey	16	Various	Various
F	7	Various	Various
Hull	2	N9 S8	1899? 1860
Humanby	2	W13	1873 & 1947
Leeds	1	N8	1875
London	1	N12	1858
Morpeth	1	W10	1921?
Pudsey	1	E8	not dated
Ripon	1	E7	not dated
Sheffield	1	S6	1879
Tickton Grange	1	N10	not dated

Events

Apart from people creating graffiti to record their presence there, the recording of notable events is also a periodic occurrence in graffiti. The collection at St Oswald's includes the commemoration of two specific events, one of which was commemorated twice. The older of the two events was of significance to a relatively small group of people and is the recording of a birth. The graffiti is on panel N5 and reads: *F HANSON WAS BORN DECEMBER 28 1862*. Slightly surprisingly this appears to be the only birth recorded in over 1,400 graffiti on the roof.

The second event which was commemorated by two graffiti was VJ Day (15th August) in 1945. Both of the graffiti are in simple cartouches on panel S7 and read:

*I WRIGHT
D HORNER
D BANHAM
V H???
VJ DAY
1945*

and

*KB HO?ROY
1945
VJ D??
DOREEN HARRIS*

As the two graffiti are in close proximity to each other it is assumed that they were created by two small groups of people at the same time.

Declarations of love

A common form of graffiti which is widely found are declarations of love and the roof of St Oswald's is no exception. Traditionally one way of showing this declaration is in the use of a 'love heart', often pierced with a 'Cupids' arrow'. A very clear example of this can be seen on panel N4 (Figure 10) where a simple heart and arrow contains the lettering: *FB=BS* followed by the date *1953*.

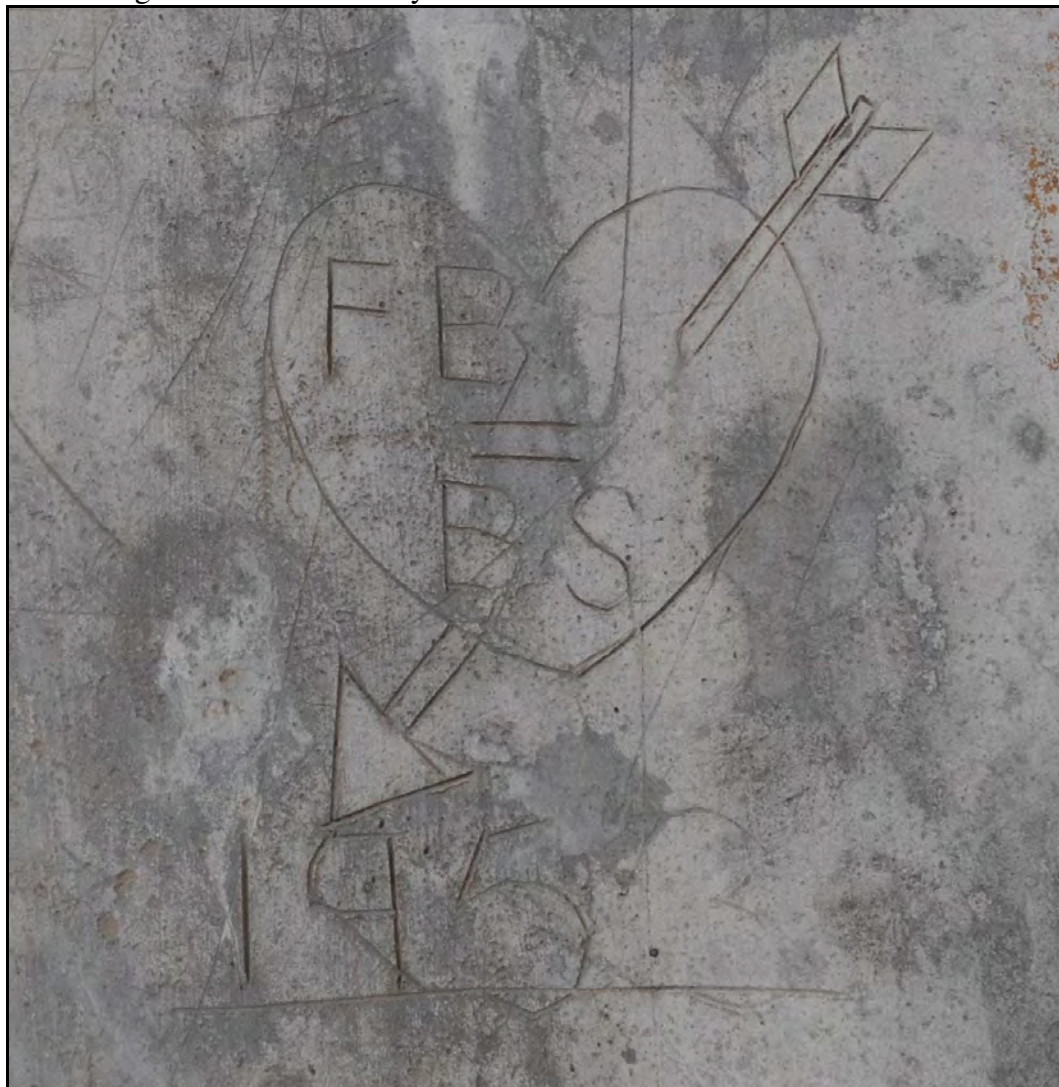


Figure 10. Panel N4 with love heart and cupid's arrow from 1953

In addition to this representation there are eight other heart motifs on various panels on the roof which are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3. Location and description of graffiti with heart motifs

<i>Panel Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
N4	Heart with arrow <i>FB=BS</i> 1953
N9	Outline of a heart with <i>ELSIE TOM</i> inside
E6	Outline of a left hand with a heart on the cuff
E7	Possible heart with <i>????M M??</i> 1882
S4	Outline of a pointed toe shoe with <i>1701 ♥ IR</i>
S9	Outline of a rounded toe shoe <i>WI ♥ PV</i>
S9	Outline of a left hand with heart on cuff <i>18??</i>
S9	Heart outline, apparently on its own
S12	Outline of a left hand with heart in it

It would appear that these are all linked in some way to declarations of love, although the faintness of the some of the graffiti probably means that we are not seeing the full inscriptions. However it is always possible that they may have eroded over time or may even not have been cut with a huge amount of conviction in the first place.

It is interesting to see three examples of a heart motif shown on the cuff of a glove or sleeve of a hand/arm outline. This idea is not a new concept with the earliest reference to the expression '*to wear your heart on your sleeve*' dating from c.1440 (Jones, 2002, pp196 & 200 – 201). However in English the idiom of '*pinning one's heart to one's sleeve*' is not found before c.1600 – although there is a possible earlier reference to its use relating to Sir Thomas More (d.1535) (IBID). What is probably is the most well known early usage is in the opening scene from Othello (first performed in 1604) where there is the phrase '*I will wear my heart on my sleeve...*' This relates to the wearing of one's favour or colours as a declaration of intent or loyalty, although not always of love. From this early description of the heart on the sleeve it would seem that the association of a heart with love rather than fidelity originates from a later date.

The time and effort expended to produce the graffiti of the hand outline with the heart motif (Figure 11) shows the popularity and strength of the idea of '*pinning one's heart to one's sleeve*' and also presumably reflects the intensity of the feelings it is intended to represent.



Figure 11. Panel S12 with heart motif on cuff of ?glove

The other graffiti with heart symbols would all appear to be declarations of love and it is interesting to see that two of the nine hearts are shown within shoe outlines. The most obvious reason for this is that the shoe outline would act as both a statement of the person(s) presence there if it was traced around their shoe and as a simple cartouche to contain the graffiti.

What is probably the most demonstrative declaration of love comes from one of the more recent graffiti on Panel W10:

CHRIS HOLFORD LOVES JANE BEVERLEY 05 JULY 2012

In addition to these more obvious declarations, there are a range of other forms of graffiti which would also appear to show potential relationships, and in two cases their probable subsequent demise. Although not involving a heart, the occurrence of pairs of names/initials and a date may often indicate a couple visiting the location. It is impossible to say if these pairs of names/initials represent a relationship but it can be tentatively suggested that those initials that are linked with a +, x or * may represent a couple in a relationship of some form. There are 15 examples of this type of graffiti on the roof ranging in date from 1771 to 2007. The details are given in Table 4.

Table 4. Location and description of possible relationship graffiti

<i>Panel Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
N4	G+L 1893
N7	C+F 1809
N7	R+P
N8	R+F
N9	J+C
N11	W*W
N14	WWxD 1771
E7	ExR 1772
E7	WxC 1772
E7	TxF
E7	May WDSxMH 1887
E8	RxD
E9	OW+T;
S5	IxL
W7	MN + 0N MAY 2007

As mentioned briefly above, there are two examples of probable relationships which appear to have ended. These are on panels N5 and E8. On Panel N5 there are the letters *GC* and *GCW* associated with the date 1953. The letters have been arranged 'crossword fashion' so that the *G* is common to both sets of initials:

GC
C
W

Subsequently the 'across' letter *C* has been deliberately scored out with nearly a dozen diagonal lines (Figure 12).



Figure 12. Panel N5 with possible failed relationship

The second example of a probably failed relationship is on Panel E8 and also involves the later scoring out of part of the graffiti. On the panel the names and date are:

H Wilkinson
E Latimer
June 4

In this case the lower name has been very deliberately scored out with over a dozen deeply incised lines (Figure 13).

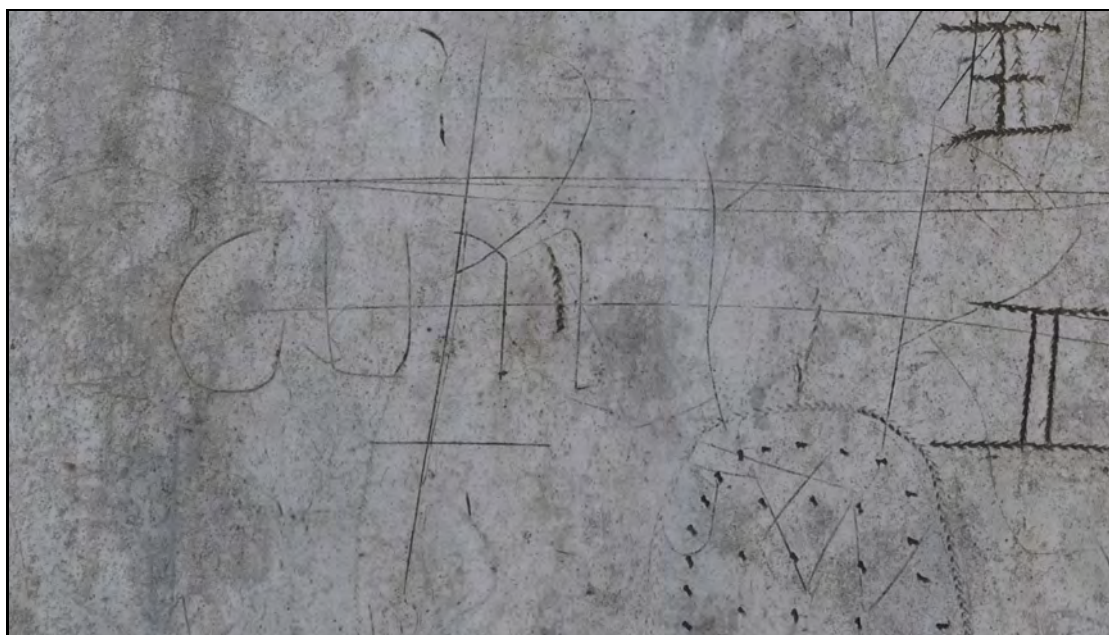


Figure 14. Panel N8 with possible profanity

Iconography/Artistic Endeavour

One of the more noticeable features of the graffiti at St Oswald's was the large number of pictures of objects. The commonest image was of shoe outlines (432); followed by sailing ships (47) then hands (45) with 15 other assorted images (see Table 7 for details). Although the range of images recorded is very diverse, many of them are only represented by one or two examples, for example the profiles of two shoes. The reason for the creation of some of the images can be suggested in some cases with some degree of confidence. The shoe and hand outlines can be seen as a statement of 'I'm here', whilst the images of ships may well relate to the person's occupation. What is harder to interpret is the reason for the creation of such images as shoes in profile or buildings. The one thing that can be said for these images is that they had a meaning/significance to the person who created them.

The quality of the graffiti is variable and, whilst many of them have been created with considerable care and attention to detail (particularly some of the ships), the majority would appear to be the result of a more spontaneous impulse, and as such are less well formed. The fact that there are many well formed, complex graffiti indicates that far from being an impulsive and clandestine activity there are some individuals, already prepared to create the graffiti, gaining access to the tower roof. This preparation could either be in the form of having a concept of the image they are going to create or actually having a tool or implement with them to create a particular effect in the graffiti. This can be most clearly seen in the significant amount of wrigglework used to both outline images and form initials/names. The style and manner of creation of the graffiti is discussed in more detail below.

Shoes

The commonest graffiti image is shoe outlines with a total of 432 images. Of these images those depicting shoes with a rounded toe were the commonest (323), followed by a square toe (77) (Figure 15) and finally those with a pointed toe (32). Out of all of these images 34 of them had legible dates spanning 350 years from ?1624 to 1974, although the majority date to the 18th century, particularly the 1770s.

It would be anticipated that the dates would relate to the changes in fashion and style of shoes. From an examination of the date ranges given below however it can be seen that there is an overlap in dates between the three types. The only possible trend can be seen in square toed shoes which seem to date to the late 17th century, with four of the six dated examples falling between ?1624 and 1697.

Table 5. Distribution and dates of shoe outlines

Panel No.	Dated shoe toe shapes		
	<i>Rounded</i>	<i>Square</i>	<i>Pointed</i>
N7	1759 1763		1778
N8		1878	
E2	1735		
E4	1869		
E5	1718 1732 1739	1712	
E6	1732		
E7	1772 x2		
E9	1773		
E10	1772		17?7
S3		1697	
S4			1701
S7	1749	1696	
S8	1782	1668	
S9	1777	?1624	
S10	177? 1772 189?		
S12	1772		
W8	17?? 1770	1718	
W10	1720		
W11	1747		
W13	1974		
Totals	24	7	3
			34



Figure 15. Panel W4 – a very pronounced square toed shoe

Many of the shoe outlines contained initials/names and dates but in addition a number of each of the forms had additional embellishment. In some of these appear to represent constructional details of the shoe. For example the possible hobnails on the round toe shoes seen on panels N8 and E5 (Figures 16 & 17).



Figure 16. Panel N8 –possible hobnails



Figure 17. Panel E8 –possible hobnails

Many of the shoe depictions are realistic in that they appear to show patterns of stitching around the welt. In some they clearly show the join between the heel block and the sole (Figures 18 - 21).



Figure 18. Panel E7 – details of stitching



Figure 19. Panel S9 - with possible repair to the mid section of the sole or to show a toe cap



Figure 20. Panel S10 – detail of heel

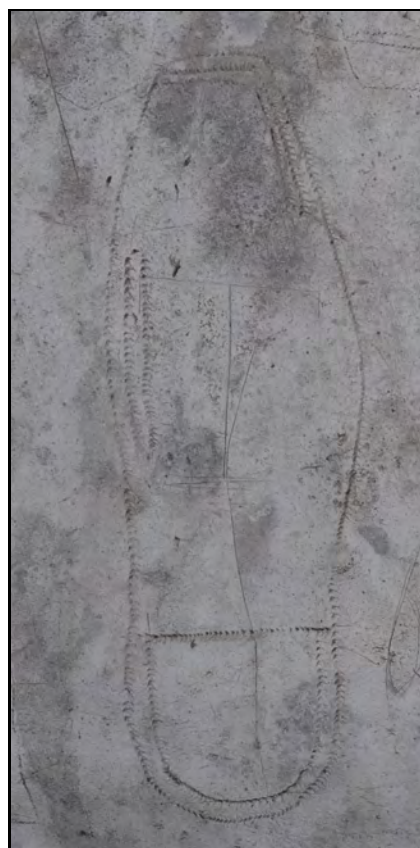


Figure 21. Panel N8 – possible repairs

As well as the conventional shape shoe outlines, there were a number of outlines where either the mid-section of the shoe or the heel block appears to be shown in an exaggerated form (Figures 22 & 23). It is uncertain if this is a literal representation of a fashion style or artistic licence.



Figure 22. Panel E4 AW 1869



Figure 23. Panel S7 – IS 41

From the size of the shoes it would appear that the majority of the outlines had been created by tracing around the shoe placed on the sloping roof and thus are slightly over life-sized. If this is the case then the examples recorded would almost all appear to be for adult males based on size and shape. There is an exception on panel S4 where there are two small, pointed shoes depicted (Figure 24), one dating 1709 with the initials *IR* and the other simply has the initials *TI*. From their size and shape, and if they are life sized, they would appear to represent child sized shoes.



Figure 24. Panel S4 with two small/child's shoe outlines

In addition to the more realistic portrayal of the soles of some of the shoes, there were a few examples where there is a complex geometric pattern within the sole (Figure 25). These designs appear to have no more significance than being a purely decorative device around the person's initials.



Figure 25. Panel S12 with geometric patterns in two shoe outlines

In addition to the many shoe outlines, there were two depictions of shoes in profile on Panels W4 and N12. The image on panel W4 is the simpler of the two and consists of a basic outline of a block heeled, square toed shoe with what appears to be an undone buckle as the fastening (Figure 26).

The image on panel N12 is a more complex and detailed representation. It is actually composed of two outlines and appears to have originally been cut as a 'wrigglework' design. Then at a later date someone has gone over it with a simple scored line, possibly with the aim of enhancing the original image. Careful examination of the image shows that the original wrigglework design is much more detailed than the later scored line (Figures 27 & 28). The wrigglework outline shows a high tongued shoe with what could be a bow or other decoration on the front. The later scored outline is a simpler rendition of the original image and appears to add a possible buckle or strap across the front.

Both of the images would appear to be of 18th century, square toe shoes with wooden block heels and probably buckle fastened. From their size it is assumed that they represent a male shoe.

Interestingly the one of the names on the roof (*John Colling 1859* – panel S8) could be of a local shoemaker according to the births, marriages and deaths records as there was a John Colling born in Filey c.1820 and is listed in the census as a shoemaker in Moseys Yard in 1841. It is impossible to say however if he was responsible for either of the images, particularly as the images are not on the same panel as his name, though it must always be borne in mind that the sheets may have been re-laid – ordered and the name and images may once have been closer together.



Figure 26. Panel W4 – profile image of a shoe

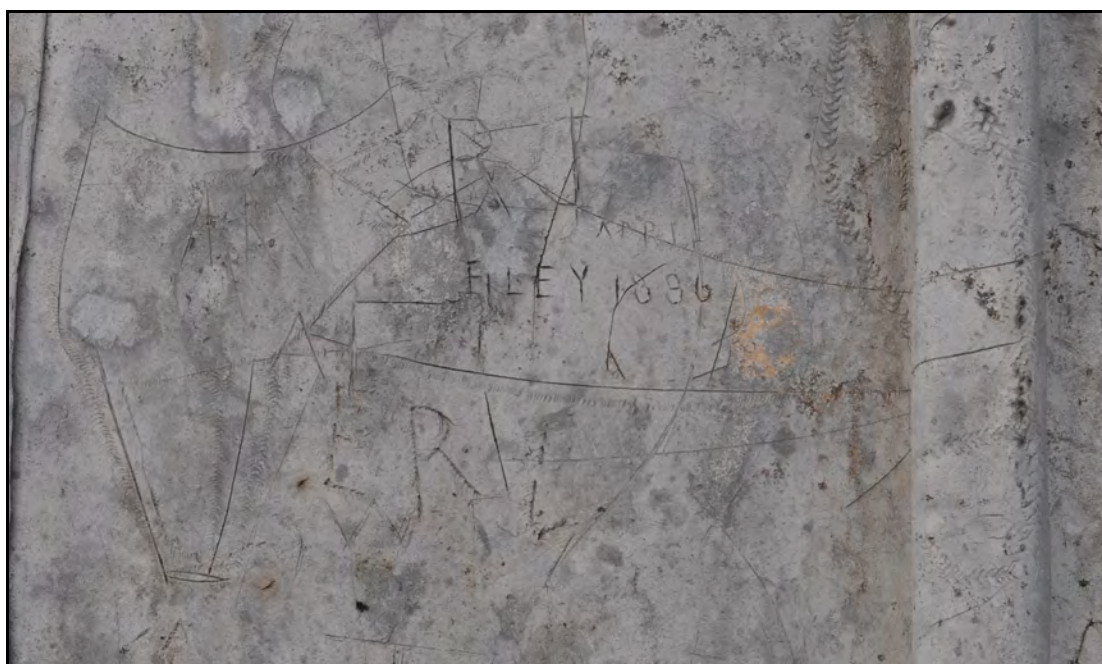


Figure 27. Panel N13 – profile image of a shoe

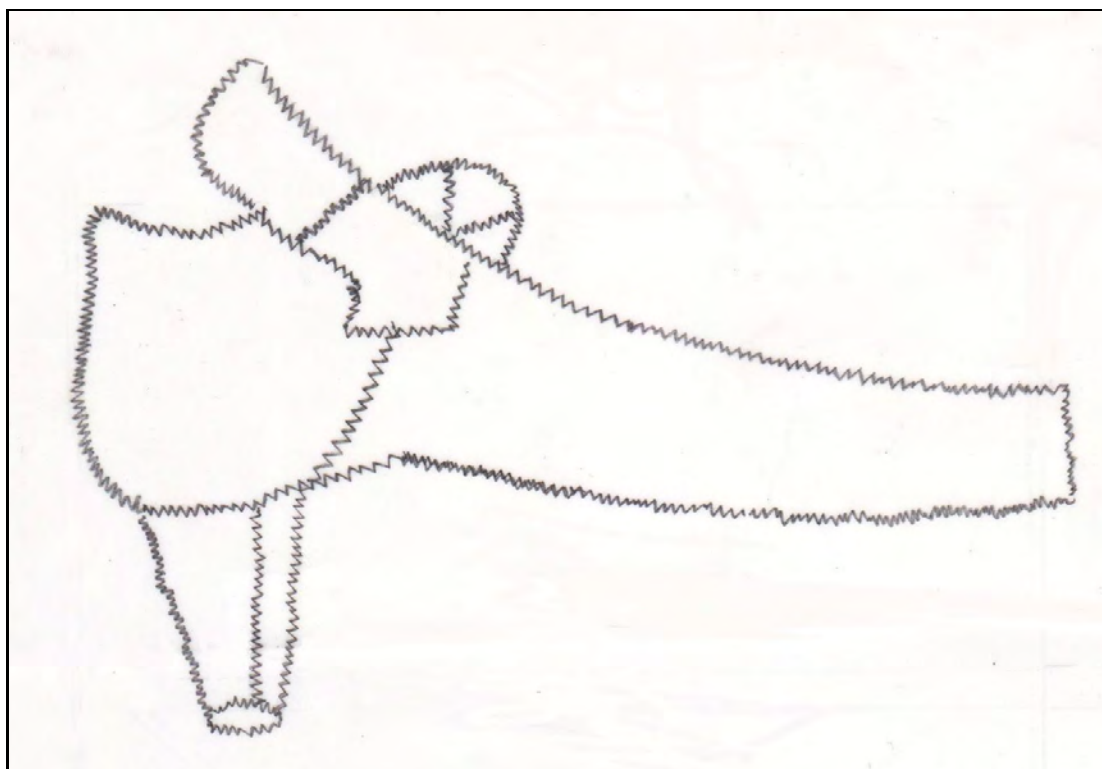


Figure 28. Transcription of wiggleshoe on panel N12

Although the majority of the shoe graffiti are well formed, it is surprisingly difficult to determine if they are of the left or right foot. This is probably a result of a combination of difficulty in tracing around the shoe whilst leaning on the roof. In addition historically there was relatively little differentiation between left and right shoes.

In the majority of the shoe outlines recorded, the toe was pointing towards the apex of the roof. This shows that the person would have been standing facing the roof and simply placed their foot on the roof and lent forward to trace the outline. There are however a number of exceptions to this. In a small number of shoe images the toe is either pointing down or across the slope of the roof. There are further examples where the outline is on the lead sheet which has been formed around either the edge of the roof or over the roll joints. In the case of all of the exceptions to the normal 'toe up' orientation, it would seem that the lead sheet they are on has been re-used in a different orientation/location from that in which it was in when the graffiti was originally created. Therefore, it should be possible by examining the location and dates of these graffiti to establish when some of the repairs/reordering to the roof may have taken place. Unfortunately, none of the examples of the non 'toe up' examples on the tower roof were dated. Similarly there are a small number of locations where graffiti has been partially covered by a later re-laying of a lead sheet; again none of these were dated.

Hands

Of the total of 45 images of hands, 39 were left hands and six were right hands. As with the shoe outlines described above, most likely way of creating the hand outline would be for the person to lean on the sloping roof and to trace around one hand with a blade or similar tool using the other hand. This method would imply that the person

would use their normal 'writing hand' to do the outlining and therefore the majority of hand outlines were created by right handed persons. This assumption can be seen to be supported by the ratio of left to right hands which is c.1:7 or 13% of the hand images were created by left handed persons. This is approximately the same ratio as seen in the population today. As with most of the shoe outlines only a few of the hands are dated and those that are are all dated to the 19th/20th century. Of the six dated hands three are not clear enough to be read with any certainty (18??, 108 and ?87?8) and the other three are 1818, 1847 and 1922. Of the six dated images there is an even division between left and right hands (see Table 7 below for details).

The hand images varied from very simple and often crude outlines to ones with considerable detail and decoration, including three with the heart motifs discussed above. There were also a number of images which included various portions of either a cuff or part of the forearm and two which depict the whole arm (see below for details).

The majority of the hands are shown with the five fingers and thumb splayed which allows identification of which hand has been depicted, though there are a few exceptions. On panel N7 the hand outline with the name IOHN GORG (?John George) in the palm is shown with the fingers together but the thumb splayed (Figure 29). Additional detail is also shown with the crease at the base of the fingers where they join the palm being shown, though this could also be the seam in a glove. Similarly one of the hands on panel E9 is shown with fingers together and the thumb splayed. This one also contains the initials WH.



Figure 29. Panel N7 with John Gorg's hand

As well as the depictions of hands, six of the graffiti included various portions of either a cuff to a glove or part of the forearm and two (Panels N8 and E3) depicted the whole arm up to the shoulder. On panel N8 the whole, jointed arm as far as the shoulder is shown along with the detail of the basal finger joints. On panel E3 the arm is again shown to the shoulder with a partially legible date.

Of the graffiti showing gloves or forearms, it is often possible to make the distinction between a glove or an arm based on the area around the wrist. If the width of the image from the wrist onwards widens it is assumed that the depiction is that of a glove with a cuff and if it does not then it is an arm, or possibly a sleeve. Three graffiti appeared to be of gloves with a cuff. The first of these is a simple cuff on panel N4 which has a long sleeve or forearm with lettering or decoration along the 'elbow' edge. The other two are more complex designs. The first of these on Panel S12 (Figure 11) has been well executed in wrigglework and shows a glove with splayed finders with the initials AP in the palm and a heart motif on the cuff.

The final glove image is on Panel W12 (Figure 30) which, although it is a very simple image, has been well executed in wrigglework. The image is of a right hand with the date 1694 on the bottom edge of the cuff.



Figure 30. Panel W10 with 1694 glove graffiti

Most of the images are simple outlines created with either a scored line or in wrigglework with any details limited to marking the joints of fingers or occasionally fingernails. The one exception to this is the graffiti on panel S5 (Figure 31) where the outline appears to be shown as a double dashed edge, which may be an attempt to show stitching on a glove.



Figure 31. Panel S5 with possible representation of a stitched glove

The wrigglework graffiti on Panel W8 (Figure 32) shows a left hand and forearm with the inscription:

IS
MC
Cunr

This graffiti would appear to either represent three individuals or possibly two individuals (the *IS* and *MC* in capitals) followed by an insult *cunr* (sic).



Figure 32. Panel W8 with wrigglework forearm and possible profanity

One final hand graffiti of interest is on panel S9 where there is a right hand with the inscription EF 1922 and, although it is very faint, it appears to only have three fingers with the little finger not shown. If this is the case the loss of a finger is probably the result of an accident, for example possibly fisherman as hand injuries are a regular occurrence when handling ropes and winches.

Ships

A total of 48 ship images were recorded along with two further possible partial images of what appear to be the topmost portions of sails on a mast. Of these 48 images the majority are depictions of two masted vessels (25), with single and three masted vessels being almost equally represented (10 and 8 examples respectively). In

addition there were three images of what appear to be bare hulls with no masts (see Table 6 for details). However, the quality of these graffiti means that these apparent images could actually be a happenstance of random lines appearing to look like a simple ships hull. All but one of the images are shown in profile with the bows of majority of the ships pointing to the left. There is a single example of the bows pointing down the slope of the roof, which would appear to be as a result of the re-laying of the lead sheet [W3]. The one ship that is not shown in profile is a single masted vessel that has been shown in perspective as if the vessel was approaching the observer, who is looking towards the forrard starboard quarter (S3, Figure 33). This three dimensional representation of a ship is very unusual and no other examples are known of by the author. This perspective image at St Oswald's shows considerable flair for artistic representation and has been created using the minimum number of lines to give a strong impression of a sailing vessel underway and would appear to represent a Yorkshire fishing coble.



Figure 33. Panel S3 showing a Yorkshire cobble under sail

Table 6. Location and description of ship graffiti

<i>Panel Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
N4	One mast, sail plan, bows left Two masts, sail plan, bows left ?Two masts, sail plan, bows left Two/three masts, no sails, bows left ?Bare hull, bows left
N5	Two masts, sail plan, bows left Two masts, sail plan, bows left
N7	Partial image of three masts, sail plan, possible gun ports, bows right
N8	Two masts, sail plan, bows left Two/three masts, sail plan, bows left
N9	Two masts, sail plan, bows right
N10	Two masts, sail plan, bows left, possible date under it of AUG 22 1876 Two masts, sail plan, bows left
N11	Two masts, sail plan, bows left Two masts, sail plan, bows right Two masts, sail plan, bows right
N12	One mast, sail plan, bows left
N14	Two masts, sail plan, bows right Two masts, sail plan, bows left Three masts, sail plan, hull detail, bows right
E3	Probable bare hull, bows right Two masts, sail plan, bows left
E4	Possible bare hull, bows right
E6	Two masts, sail plan, bows left Two masts, sail plan, bows left
E7	Two masts, sail plan, bows left, image under overlap of sheets Two masts, sail plan, bows left
E8	One mast, sail plan, bows left Three masts, no sail plan, bows left
E9	Two masts, sail plan, bows left Two masts, sail plan, bows left Two masts, no sail plan, bows left Possibly two further images, though very faint and appear to be of the tops of sails One mast, sail plan, bows ?right (in cartouche)
E10	Possible top of mast and sail
S3	One mast, sail plan, bows left One mast, sail plan, bows right – this one is shown in perspective Two masts, sail plan, bows right Three masts, sail plan, bows right
S4	One mast, sail plan, bows left – reversed EE on sail Two masts, sail plan, bows right One mast, sail plan, bows right – with inverted anchor on sail
S6	Three masts, sail plan, bows left Two masts, no sail plan, bows left
W3	Two masts, no sails, bows down
W5	One mast, no sails, bows left, possible medieval hulk
W10	One mast, no sail plan, bows left Three masts, sail plan, bows left Three masts, sail plan, bows left

No Masts	Number	No sail plan	Facing left	Facing right	Facing down
Bare Hull	3	3	1	2	-
1	10	2	7	3	-
2	25	3	19	6	1
2/3	2	1	2	-	-
3	8	1	4	4	-
Possible ships	2	-	-	-	-
Totals	50	10	33	14	1

What is striking about many of the images is that they have been created with a considerable amount of detail relating to the shape of the hull; the manner of sail construction; standing and running rigging; as well as constructional details of strakes; rudders; the shape of the stem and stern and, in one case, possible gun ports. This shows that they must have been created by someone with a good working knowledge of ships – either from first-hand experience on board or from long term observation of vessels. This level of detail can often allow for a reasonably accurate interpretation to be made of the type of vessel depicted which, in some cases, can provided a broad date to be placed upon the graffiti.

When attempting to interpret the images of ships, it should always be borne in mind the limitations of the graffiti, both in the ability of the creator and medium upon which it has been created. The nature of the graffiti will limit the ability of the creator to reproduce as many details as accurately as they would like and a degree of latitude needs to be used when trying to determine what was being portrayed. The majority of ship types is determined by the arrangement of the sails over a number of masts. The classification of a ship can be changed by simply re-arranging the sails in a different configuration – known as a sail plan. This can often mean that the definitions of what constitutes, for example, a brig rigged ship may not always be reflected in real life. In the interpretations below an attempt has been made to ‘best fit’ the ship graffiti into recognised types, based mainly on the various sail plans and as such there will always be a degree of ambiguity in the resulting interpretations.

Single Masted Vessels

The graffiti of single masted vessels show four different types of sailing ships. The commonest representation is of a topsail cutter (Panels N4, N12, E8 and W10) with three of the images having detailed sail plans. The best example on Panel N4 (Figure 34) not only shows the sail plan but also clearly depicts the reefing lines hanging down on the lower edge of the main sail along with the rudder. The image on Panel N12 also shows a rudder, whilst that on E8 shows a well define typical cutter stern.



Figure 34. Panel N4 with a topsail cutter

The second type of single masted vessel shown is markedly different from all the other ship images. The two strikingly similar images can be seen on Panels S3 and S4 (Figures 35 & 36) and if one was looking to compare it with regional ship types then a close match would be a Humber sloop. However, the Humber sloop is usually considered to be a vessel of large rivers or estuaries and it would seem unlikely that one would have ventured as far from the Humber Estuary as Filey Bay – assuming the image has been created as a result of seeing such a vessel locally. A much closer match in vessel type, with the distinctive forrard set mast, is a wherry or much more likely a sailing barge. As with the Humber sloop, the wherry is a riverine vessel and would not normally be seen on the open sea.

Both of the graffiti show a vessel with a very low freeboard (suggesting heavily laden), a mast set well forrard with a large square rigged sail. All of these characteristics are typical of sailing barges, although an aft mizzen mast, a common feature on sailing barges, seems to be lacking. However what appears to be shown as a flag staff at the rear of the vessel could well be a poorly represented mizzen mast. The occurrence of a sailing barge on the north-east coast would seem to be unusual as sailing barges are more commonly associated with the south coast and Thames Estuary area. A possible reason for its presence has been noted in the Rapid Coastal Zone Assessment of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (Brigham, 2014, 61). The survey records a small dock cut into the foreshore platform below Speeton Cliff at the southern end of Filey Bay. The dock was called Dulcey Dock and was apparently named after the coaster *Dulcey*, which used the site to collect mineral rich nodules from the beach and cliffs. It is possible that the vessel shown in the graffiti on the roof is a representation of the coaster working out of Dulcey Dock. If this is the case then it would seem to potentially date this image to the first half of the 19th century, as it is

known that the nodules were being collect from c.1830s onwards and Dulcey Dock is present before the OS first edition of 1854 (IBID)

Both of these graffiti show details of the sail construction with a series of parallel lines representing the individual strips of sail cloth that would have been sewn together to produce the required size of the sail. This detail shows a degree of familiarity with the sailing ships.



Figure 35. Panel S3 showing possible sailing barge



Figure 36. Panel S4 showing possible sailing barge

The single masted vessel is shown on Panel S4 and, although it has a rig reminiscent of a topsail cutter, it has what appears to be a spinnaker sail. This would seem to be unlikely however as this type of sail is a more recent development in sailing and the image is probably a more generic version of a sailing cutter.

The final image of a single masted vessel was noted on Panel W5. It is a very faint image which is partially in the roll joint between two sheets of lead (Figure 37). The image appears to show a hull formed from four strakes with a very unturned bow and stern giving it a very distinctive appearance. The narrowing of the image to the left would seem to show the bows, whilst approximately amidships there is a single mast with a crossed yard. The crescent shaped hull, single mast and yard are all considered to be very characteristic of a type of vessel known as a hulk (Hutchinson, 1994, 10 *et seq.* and Friel, 1995, 21 *et seq.*). This type of vessel is usually dated to the 13/14th centuries and, if this was the case, then this section of the roof, at least, is considerably older than had previously been assumed. However, as the image is faint and quite simplistic it is possible that it is either a more recent and naive representation of a ship (or even not of a ship at all).



Figure 37. Panel W5 with possible representation of a medieval hulk

Two Masted Vessels

Representations of two masted vessels were by far the commonest images of ships and showed a wide variety of detail in relation to the sail plans, rigging and hull forms. One of the images (panel E7) was overlain by a re-laid lead sheet, which meant that it was too obscured to be able to suggest a possible vessel type. Three of the images were of a simple hull with bare, stick like masts (panels N4, S6 & W3).

The commonest type of two masted vessel depicted shows a simple sail plan of two triangular sails, one on each mast (panels N4x2, N5, N9, N10x2, N14x2, E3, E7 (Figure 37), E9x3 and S4 – Figure 39). Some of the vessels also appear to also have a single foresail making it more akin to a lugger rig. This type of rig, with variations, is very similar to that of a 'Scarborough' yawl or Hull duster. Both of these would have been common fishing vessels operating in the area.



Figure 38. Panel E7–fishing yawl



Figure 39. Panel S4 –fishing yawl

Four of the graffiti show what can be considered to be variations on the basic plan of a brig (Panels E6, N5, N8 & N11 (Figure 40)). As with the other images they show varying degrees of detail of standing rigging, and hull form.



Figure 40. Panel N11 – sailing brig

Finally five of the vessels appear to have a straightforward square sailing rig (N8, N11, E6, E10 & S3), although some of these could just be a simple ‘generic’ rendition of a persons idea of what a sailing ship should look like. The most evocative image of a square rigged ship can be seen in Figure 41 from Panel E6. Here the multiple horizontal lines give a good impression of the towering mass of sails expected on this type of ship.



Figure 41. Panel E6 showing a square rigged sailing vessel

One very noticeable feature on several of the two masted vessels was that the masts were set well forrard and aft (Panels N4, N5, N10 – Figure 42, N14 & E7). The arrangement appears to be a deliberate portrayal and not simply artistic licence. This spacing of the masts shows that there has been a large area of deck space left clear for either working in (e.g. for working nets or processing fish) or to accommodate a feature such as a moon pool. The moon pool was either an opening in the bottom of the hull giving access to the water below or a large, sea water filled tank used to keep the catch live until return to port. In the latter case the base of the tank was often perforated to allow the sea to flow freely in and out of the tank to keep the catch live (Buglass, 1997, 50 *et seq*). A further possibility is that the central area was used to carry smaller fishing vessels which could be off-loaded once the main fishing grounds had been reached for example the Dogger Bank and Silver Pit in the southern North Sea in the 19th and early 20th century.



Figure 42. Panel N10 with two masted vessel with central working area

Three Masted Vessels

Of the eight representations of three masted vessels, four appear to show three different types of sail plan. The remaining four images do not show any detail of a sail plan as the images were mainly of masts only (Panels E8, S3 & S8). In the one example where there could have been sails, the lines in the image do not form a clear pattern (Panel W10). A second example what appears to be a very limited sail plan is seen on Panel S6 (Figure 43). The graffiti has considerable detail on the standing rigging including shrouds, ratlines, crossed sail yards and stays as well as the typical stem and stern of a schooner. The image appears to show two topsails and may well have been rigged as a topsail schooner or ketch. The graffiti on Panel N11 shows a simple outline of a ship with what is probably a lugger type rig.

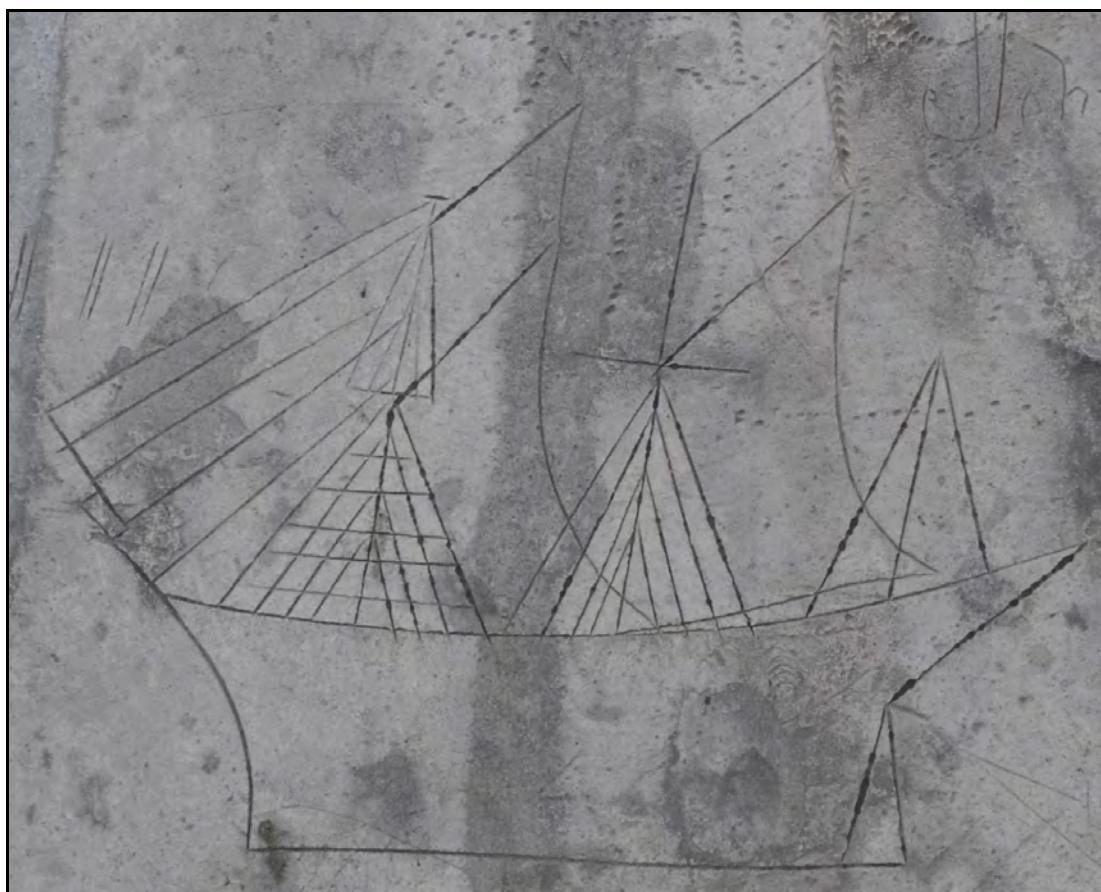


Figure 43. Panel S6 with a possible topsail

Whilst the image on Panel N7 (Figure 44) is one of the poorer representations of a ship, it is one of the more interesting ones. The graffiti shows a three masted vessel with what appears to a ship, or square, sailing rig. The image also includes details of some of the standing and running rigging. The running rigging can be seen in the partially furled sails hanging from three of the spars (two on the main mast and one on the foremast). Elements of the standing rigging can be seen in the shrouds that support the main and fore masts, along with the horizontal rat lines used to climb to the upper rigging. There are also what appear to be backstays running between the hull and the masts and from the foremast down to the bowsprit. The few sails that are shown have a minor amount of detail showing the seams on them.

Within the hull there is a suggestion of a raised quarter deck to the rear of the ship and under the bowsprit there is a possible beakhead depicted. Probably the most striking feature of this graffiti is the chequer-board pattern given to the hull with a central dot in many of them. It is possible that this is intended to represent guns in gun ports and that overall the image is supposed to be a warship. The lowermost row of guns would seem to be perilously close to the water line however. The square rig, possible quarter deck and beakhead could place this image in the later 17th to early 18th centuries.

Interestingly this is one of only two images which show the surface of the sea either as a line (Panel N12) or, as in the case here, as waves.

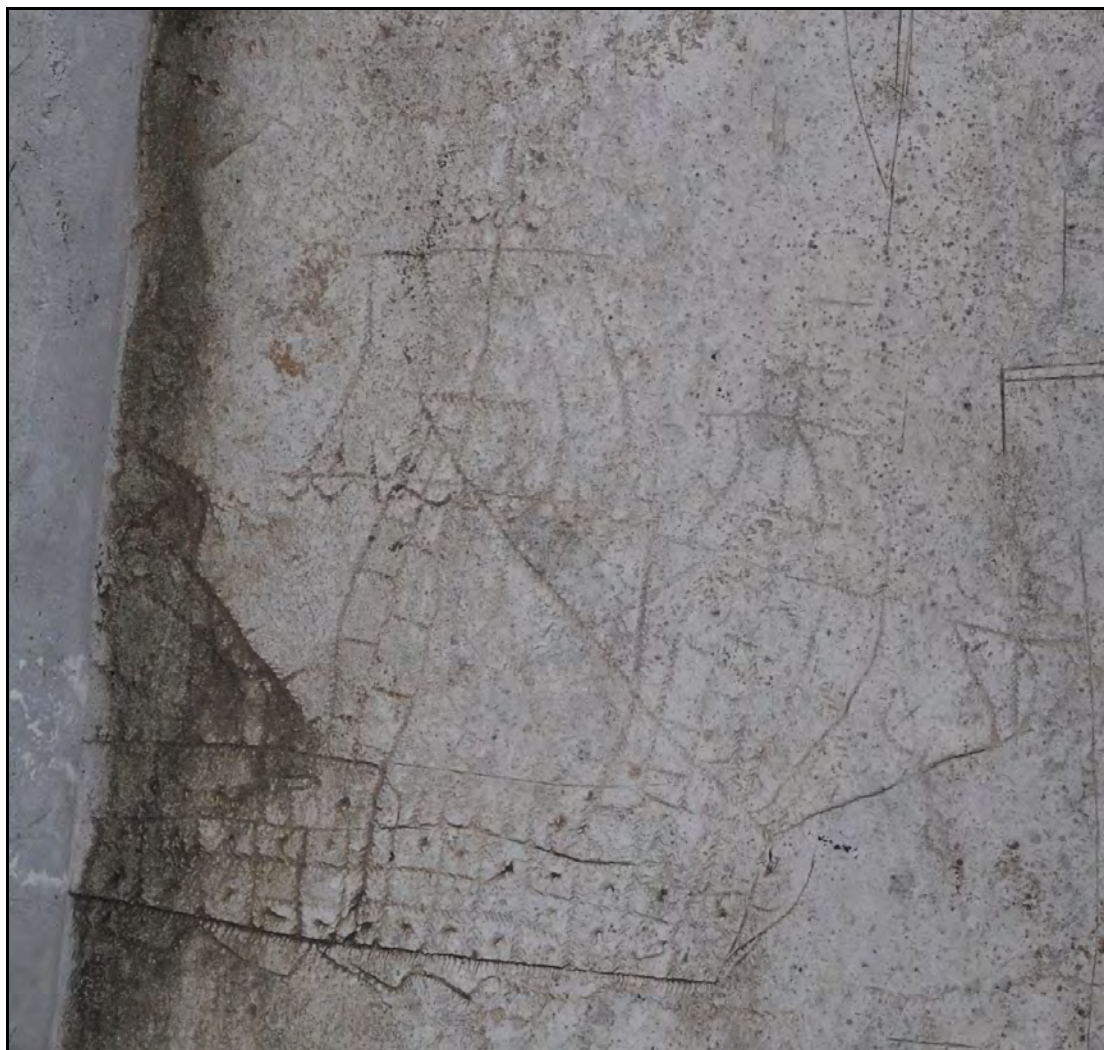


Figure 44. Panel N7 with possible armed sailing vessel

One of the most detailed representations of the hull of a vessel can be found on panel N14 (Figures 45 & 46). Here the hull of the vessel is shown in considerable detail whilst the masts and sail plan are more sketchy. This may suggest that whoever created this image was more familiar with the construction of the hull than the operation of the sails, as seen by the foremast apparently piercing the sail. Alternatively it could be possible that the graffiti was never finished and the details of the sails have simply not been added.

The constructional details of the hull that are shown include: the keel with stem and stern posts; the garboard strake followed by nine sets of strakes (the lines of the hull planking), all of which rise toward the stem and stern; a rudder with what would be iron straps holding the sections together; a bowsprit with a clamp to join the next section; the main mast is set in to the keelson whilst the fore and mizzen masts stopping at what would be the orlop deck; possibly netting over the quarter/poop deck area; a raised foredeck/forecastle (fo'csal) with a possible ladder at the front of it; a crows nest on main mast; backstays to support the masts but interestingly no shrouds.



Figure 45. Panel N14 showing considerable detail of hull construction

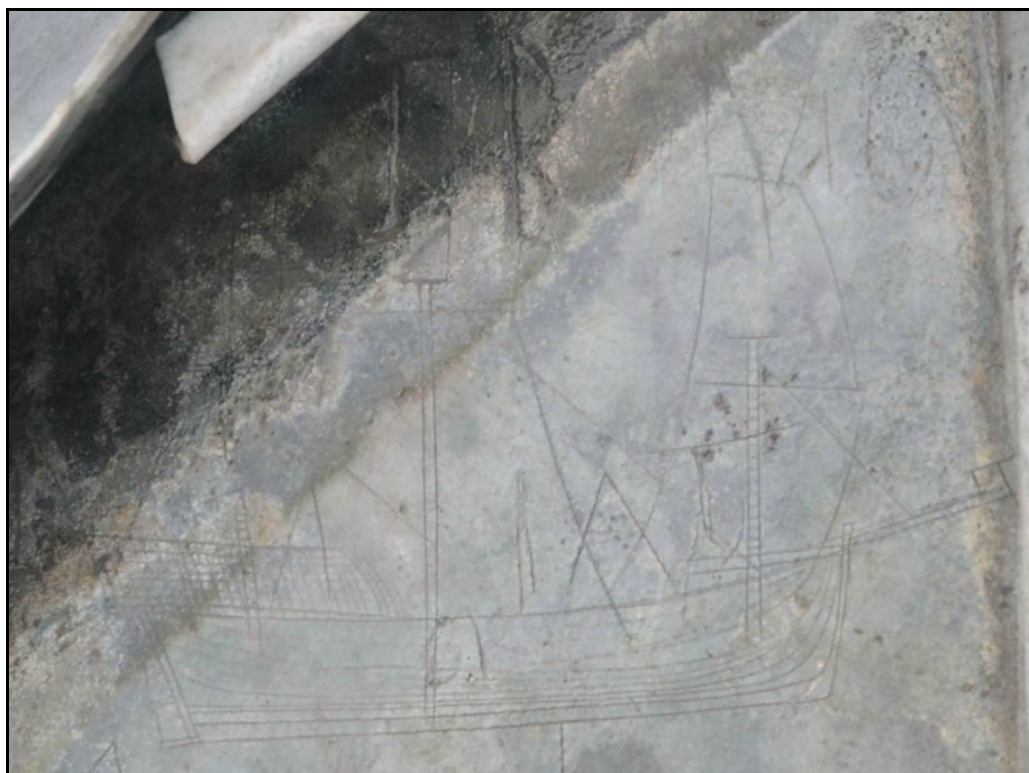


Figure 46. Panel N14 with join lifted to show crow's nest

Overall the graffiti shows a vessel with a very vertical stem (bow) and stern with the curves of the strakes showing a ship with a large cargo capacity. As such this may well be a representation of a 'Whitby cat' which was a very common type of merchantman that was usually brig rigged. Overall the various details in this graffiti would possibly date it to the later 18th or 19th century.

The last graffiti of a three masted vessel [W10] appears to have originally been created as a two masted ship with an extra section and mast added to the stern of the image (Figure 47). Whether this was an addition by the original person or by another hand cannot be determined. However, as there is very little difference between the two parts of the image it would seem to suggest it was all created by the same person.

The sail plan of the vessel is that of a brigantine with details of the sail construction being clearly shown although there is no sign of the standing rigging. The hull details include a rounded stern, the rudder and possible crow's nests. As with the image described above, the bow and stern are generally quite vertical suggesting a merchantman. The image is probably of 19th century date.



Figure 47. Panel W10 showing a two, later three, masted vessel

Within the collection of images there are several features of note in addition to the details of hull types and sail plans. One of these is that most of the graffiti they show the hull down to the keel. If the ship was being observed whilst underway then one would expect either a water line to be shown partway up the hull or only part of the hull to be visible (Panels S3 & S4 for example, Figure 44). However, if the ships were beached for loading/offload then it would be possible to see the whole of the hull and it is possible that many of these representations are of coastal traders off loading on the sands in Filey Bay.

A further feature of note is that all the vessels depicted are sailing ships and there are no steamships represented, unlike at St Mary's Church in Whitby where, amongst the collection of ship graffiti cut into the pews, there are at least two representations of steamships (White, 1994, pp31 & 34). The lack of images of steamers is probably due to the fact that Filey Bay would probably be too shallow for such ships to come inshore, coupled with no suitable harbour facilities to accommodate them.

Many images are generally very well executed and show a considerable, first hand knowledge of sailing ships. This in turn suggests that the people creating them were well acquainted with ships either from working on or around them or seeing them on a daily basis.

Other Images

As well as the popular images of shoes, hands and ships there were a small number of other images/inscriptions of interest. All bar one of these images appear as a 'one off' suggesting a significance particular to the person who created it.

Table 7. Location and description of other iconographic graffiti

<i>Panel Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
N3	Cross on single step Calvary base
N4	Left hand with long 'sleeve' or forearm with lettering or decoration along the 'elbow' edge
N4	Heart with arrow FB=BS 1953
N4	'Smiley face'
N5	Partial left hand, very faint
N6	Image of ?fish with inscription: JW BULMER FILEY 1872 (7 reversed)
N7	Inscription: JESUS LOVE YOU!
N7	Left hand/glove with inscription: IN
N7	Left hand with inscription: RW
N7	Left hand with inscription: IOHN GORG
N8	Left hand and wrist with inscription VF and with joints at base of fingers shown
N8	Left hand partially under roll joint
N8	Left hand with inscription: FS with the S reversed and partially on its back
N8	Left hand and whole of left arm to shoulder with joints at base of fingers shown
N9	Heart with ELSIE TOM inside
N11	Left hand with detail of nails
N12	Possible pre union with Scotland flag 'on end'
N13	Detailed profile view of shoe
E3	Left arm - whole arm up to shoulder with what appears to be 108
E4	Left hand with INT and detail of fingernails
E6	Left hand with a heart on the cuff
E7	Possible heart with ???M M?? 1882
E7	Right hand with GP, fingers under later sheet of lead
E8	Left hand
E8	Left hand, with IF and with joints at base of fingers marked
E9	Left hand
E9	Left hand with WH on it
E9	Left hand including forearm with 87?8, and joints at base of fingers marked
E10	One left hand with a with possible second
E11	Left hand
E12	Right hand with a possible second overlying it or two attempts of create image
S2	Left hand with 8 J
S3	Left hand

S4	Pointed toe shoe with 1701 ♥ IR
S5	Left hand with 1847 WR and double stitched edge to glove
S5	Left hand with RDP
S6	Left hand
S6	RW 1908 crown motif JWS AHG
S7	Outline of what appears to be a plague doctors 'birds head mask'
S9	Rounded toe shoe WI ♥ PV
S9	Left hand with heart on cuff 18??
S9	Two faint overlapping left hands
S9	Left hand
S9	Right hand with inscription: EF 1922 and possibly has only three fingers
S9	Heart apparently on its own
S10	Left hand
S12	Left hand with heart in it
W1	Triangle with cross in it - ?datum point
W4	Profile image of a shoe
W5	Two left hands
W6	Left hand
W8	Left hand with sleeve/forearm and inscription: IS MC Cunr
W10	Cross with crossed ends to arms
W10	Left hand
W10	Possible image of church or lighthouse
W11	Eight pointed star
W11	Left hand with inscription: IA
W12	Two left hands, one with inscription: 1818

Religious Connection

Three, possibly four, of the graffiti are related to a religious theme. The most obvious of these is the inscription '*Jesus Love You!*' on panel N7. The S on 'loves' has been omitted which may indicate that the graffiti was started too close to the roll joint of the panel.

Two crosses are depicted on the roof. The first of these is a simple crucifix on a single stepped Calvary base or plinth on panel N3 (Figure 48). Unfortunately there is no other graffiti associated with it to date it. A second cross is shown on panel W10; again this is not associated with any other graffiti and is in the form of a simple cross with bars on the end of each arm (Figure 49). There is a third cross on panel W1 set in a triangle but from its location and manner of execution this would appear to be a datum point rather than a casual graffiti. This suggestion is supported by the 1st edition 6" series Ordnance Survey mapping (published 1854, surveyed in 1849) which shows a triangulation point on the roof. If this is the case then this symbol is a potentially rare survival of the original network of points set out in the mid 19th century when the first systematic, accurate survey of the United Kingdom was undertaken.



Figure 48. Panel N3 with simple cross



Figure 49. Panel W10 cross

The last graffiti with a potential religious connection is what could be a depiction of a church. The graffiti is on panel W10 (Figure 50) and is a simple outline of a building. Although the lines used to create it are not particularly straight, the graffiti does show a central tower with an apex roof and potential flag staff with shorter, flanking structures on either side. These flanking structures could possibly be the north and south aisles of a church. If this is a representation of St Oswald's Church (albeit with an elongated tower) then it would be of the view that you would get from the sea.

This distinctive profile of St Oswald's can be seen from the sea from the end of The Spittals on the south side of Filey Brigg to about 1 km offshore. It is well known and is used as a sea mark (or *meet* in local dialect). Other depictions of sea marks in graffiti have previously been recorded from panelling removed from St Mary's Church on the headland at Whitby. Here on a single panel removed from one of the pillars there were two graffiti which appeared to represent a signal staff/sea mark. One is in the form of a small building with an exaggerated mast and flags, whilst the other is more akin to a conventional flag staff (Figure 51) modelled on the rigging of a ships mast, as would be expected in a coastal location. The latter example bears a close resemblance to the two signal staffs shown on Francis Gibson's maps of Whitby Harbour dated 1782 and 1794. The exaggeration of the flag pole in the Whitby example and tower in the Filey example may represent the importance of the features as navigation aides to mariners rather than as a realistic representation of what was there.



Figure 50. Panel W10, possible view of the church from the sea.

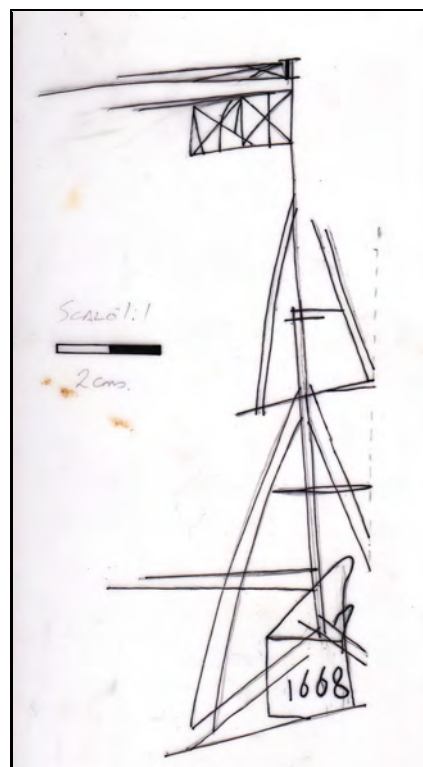


Figure 51. Signal mast from Whitby church

Buildings

In addition to the possible church described above a second, very faint and poorly executed outline of a building is visible on panel W12. This image appears to show a large rectangular building in profile with a separate, tower-like structure with a triangular apex, just to its right. The most obvious possible interpretation for this is a church with a separate tower or a lighthouse. Unfortunately none of the churches or lighthouses in the immediate area has a tower separate to the main building and as such it is hard to determine a reason for this image.

Animals

A single graffiti shows an image of an animal. This is a fish on panel N6 and is associated with the inscription *JW Bulmer Filey 1872* (Figure 52). The fact that there is only a single image of a fish in a fishing town could be seen as slightly surprising. This may reflect the likelihood that fish were such a common sight that it was not thought significant enough to comment upon. Anatomically the image is somewhat poorly executed, particularly when compared to some of the ship images. The arrangement of fins does not quite reflect any particular species, although the pointed 'nose' could represent the beak of a dolphin. If the image was intended to represent a specific species, then it would probably have been one of the species that was economically important locally and of these species it would appear to most closely resemble a cod (*Gadus morpha*).

Research by Trevor Brigham (see Appendix I) into some of the names from the roof established that a John Webster Bulmer (1813–90) was a fish merchant of King Street, Filey, in 1861, was in West Parade in 1871 and then Chapel Street in 1881. Although his son was also John W Bulmer (1856–1942) and is recorded as a servant

and still at home in 1871, it would seem less likely that he was responsible for the graffiti. It would seem possible therefore that the representation of the fish was an attempt to show his occupation as a fish merchant. The fact that the '7' in the date is reversed may show a degree of illiteracy and hence the use of a symbol for occupation as oppose to text.

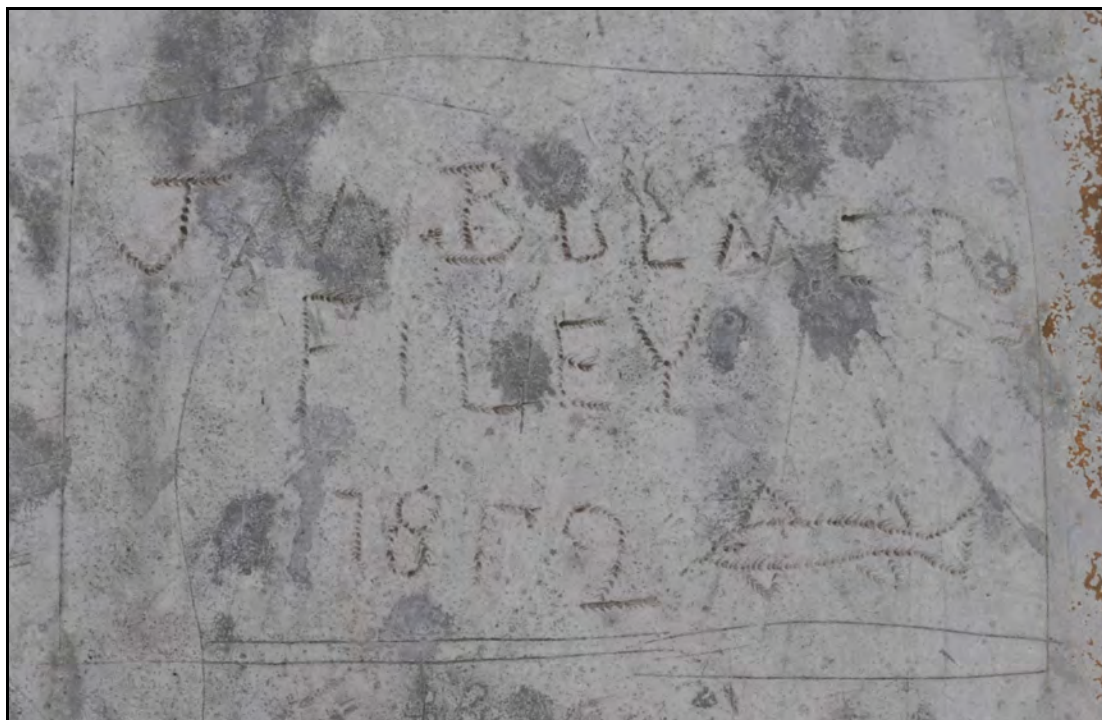


Figure 52. Panel N6 fish graffiti with fish merchant J Bulmer's name

Flag

A graffiti that may be a representation of a Union flag is shown on panel N12. It has been formed from a very simple set of poorly executed crossing lines in a rectangle. If it is an attempt at a Union flag, then it would seem to post-date the 1801 Act of Union. However, because of its simple execution, it may equally represent a simple 'doodle' rather than any deliberate attempt at an image..

Star

The eight pointed star on panel W11 does not appear to be related to any of the surrounding graffiti which makes it difficult to place any sort of meaning upon its appearance on the roof. The obvious reason is that it is the product of a simple geometric drawing. Alternatively there could be a deeper meaning in relation to religious symbolism, such as the Star of Redemption or Regeneration which has eight points.

Crown

A very elaborate graffiti comprising a date (1908), two sets of initials (JWS and AHG) and a crown was recorded on panel S6 (Figure 53). The significance of the crown is not clear and could represent a badge of rank such as a colour sergeant or the status of someone as a government official.



Figure 53. Panel S6 with 1908 crown



Figure 54. Panel N4 'smiley face'

Face

A single example of a face was noted on panel N4 (Figure 54). The image is formed from three simple lines as a 'smiley face' and is probably late 20th or early 21st century in origin.

Possible Plague Doctor

A faint graffiti on panel S7 shows a profile view of what appears to be a bird's head with a very pronounced curved beak (Figure 55). The beak has a line along its centre representing the upper and lower portions which makes this unlikely to be a caricature of someone with a large nose. It has a large, forward facing, inverted D shaped eye; what appears to be strands of feathers/hair on the top of the head along with a possible hat.

There are two possible interpretations for this image. The first is that it is of a bird and, as with the fish image described above, it is not obvious if this is supposed to represent a particular species. If it were a representation however it would seem to have a passing resemblance to either a flamingo or dodo from the shape of the beak. The appearance of what seems to be a hat and hair however would seem to discount this suggestion.



Figure 55. Panel S7 with possible plague doctor graffiti

The second possible interpretation is that it may represent a plague doctor. Plague doctors were individuals who were hired by a city/town (or even a borough) to take on the role of treating plague victims in times of epidemics. They were often not medically trained and have been considered to have been second-rate doctors or simply opportunists looking to exploit the situation financially. The practice of plague doctors has been noted from the advent of medieval plagues onwards but the wearing of a distinctive costume with the beak-like mask appears to have been restricted to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The clothing of this distinctive costume is thought to have been developed in Paris by Charles de L'Orme in 1619 and its use was to later spread throughout Europe. Typically the protective clothing consisted of a waxed, heavy fabric overcoat, hat and gloves with the most distinctive feature being a mask with glass eye openings and a beak shaped nose. The 'nose' was typically stuffed with straw and sweet smelling herbs in order to filter the air. Probably the best known image is an engraving of 1656 by Paul Furst (Boeckl, 2000, pp. 15, 27). The image on panel S7, whilst faint, does appear to record many of the features of the mask with the curved beak, large (?glass) eye and hat.

The last significant outbreak of plague in England was in 1665 and is well known from the many accounts centred on London, although other plague years were recorded throughout the 17th century in 1603, 1625 and 1636 (Roberts & Cox, 2003, 332). The 1665 outbreak was recorded as having spread into northern England (most famously at Eyham in Derbyshire) but was also recorded in Hull and across the North

Riding including Bradford and Newcastle upon Tyne in the period 1665-1667. In North Yorkshire there is a report of London ships at Whitby being quarantined for plague in 1665 (Barker, 2011, 80). Though earlier outbreaks were recorded in the Yorkshire coastal parishes of Hinderwell, Runswick, Staithes and Whitby in 1603 (IBID 28), which was a 'plague year' nationally.

From the occurrences of plague described above, it would seem quite possible that the disease was spread from port to port by shipping. Creighton (1891, 681 *et seq*) notes the earliest accounts of plague in the provinces as coming from Yarmouth in November 1664. It is said to been introduced from a ship from Rotterdam and then by the spring of 1666 it is recorded at Lynn, Norwich, Ipswich and Harwich – all significant ports with Harwich having particularly strong links to Whitby (Barker, 2011). He also notes the Tyne valley as having a minor epidemic in July 1665 said to have originated from the colliers returned from the Thames. This would appear to coincide with the quarantine of London ships in Whitby.

It would not be surprising therefore to find minor outbreaks locally derived from contact with passing shipping when in port, which was then spread via the movements of the fishing fleets on a much more local basis (IBID, 85). It would seem highly unlikely that a small, fishing village such as Filey would have been wealthy enough to hire a plague doctor. However, the relative proximity of Filey to Hull, Scarborough and Whitby, all of which were wealthy ports in the 17th century, could mean that a plague doctor had been seen in one of the larger ports. It is even possible that one may have passed by Filey when travelling between Hull and Scarborough/Whitby.

The presence of the possible plague doctor graffiti on the roof may have two explanations. Firstly the person may merely be recording an unusual occurrence that they had seen. Secondly it is possible that the image may have been put there as part of a 'devotional act', which would have been in order to extend the protection of the church to the plague doctor and their activities.

The graffiti is located at the lower edge of the panel and the very bottom part of the image is curved around the edge of the roof, which suggests that the panel has been re-positioned at some time. This re-positioning coupled with a date of 1696 further up the panel means that the panel is almost undoubtedly contemporary with the various outbreaks described above.

Cartouches

Out of all the many graffiti on the roof only 64 of them had been created using some form of cartouche to frame them. In all bar two of the cases the cartouche had simply been formed by cutting into the lead around the graffiti. The two exceptions were in both the cases of the bell ringers, where they had used a soldered on lead repair patch as the location for their graffiti (Figure 8).

Of the remaining cartouches the majority tended to be simple outlines – usually square or rectangular – created in the same way the graffiti had been, typically a simple incised or scratched line. The one notable exception can be seen in the cartouche on Panel N8 (Figure 56). Here the cartouche is more elaborate than the inset graffiti, which has decayed to the point where it is barely legible. The cartouche was

formed from a border with an X pattern surrounding a second cartouche with the graffiti inside that.



Figure 56. Panel N8 with elaborate cartouche framing the graffiti

Interestingly of all the ship images there was only a single case of one being in a cartouche. This was on Panel E9 where a simple irregular oval cartouche with the initials IB also appears to contain the image of a single masted sailing ship with the bows facing to the right (Figure 57).



Figure 57. Panel E9 with the only ship graffiti in a cartouche

The only other exceptions to the simple outline cartouche would seem to be where there is either a lack of planning in executing the graffiti or where there has been a later addition resulting in an extension to the cartouche. In Panels N4 and N9 both the cartouches have been added to. In the case of N5 the addition appears to be at the time the graffiti was originally created and an extra space has been created to contain the date to accompany the initials (Figure 58). However in the graffiti in N9, the D shaped addition to the bottom of the original cartouche to contain the additional set of initials (*WOJ*) appears to be at a later date. This can be seen in the subtle difference in the form of the wrigglework of the D shape, as well as in the probable date of 1865 running along the bottom edge of the extension (Figure 59). This later addition could be seen as an indication that a relationship had been formed subsequent to the original set of initials being cut into the lead.



Figure 58. Panel N5, two part cartouche

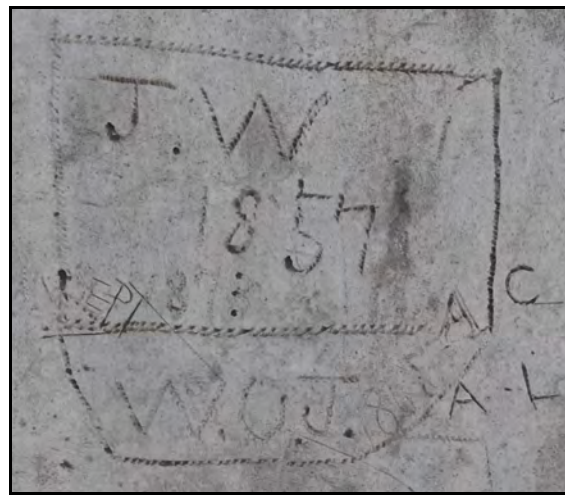


Figure 59. Panel N9, extended cartouche

Although the example of the two part cartouche seen in Panel N5 suggests a lack of planning in creating the graffiti, the problem of incorporating the additional text was solved reasonably elegantly, unlike the example on Panel S7 (Figure 60). Here the cartouche appears to have been created first with the text being added afterwards. This has resulted in the text for some of the names becoming cramped or extending beyond the limits set by the cartouche.

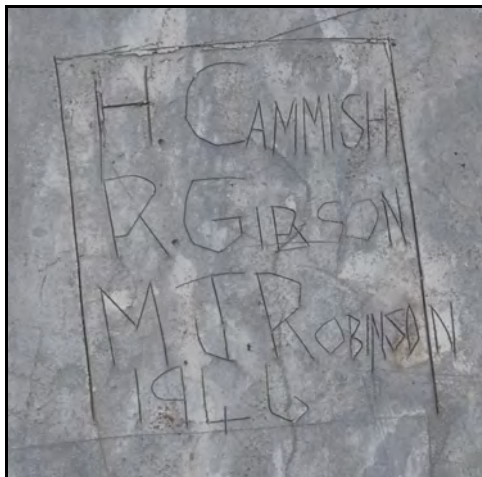


Figure 60. Panel S7, cramped graffiti



Figure 61. Panel S3, 'building' cartouche

Two other cartouches are worth noting as they are the only single examples of each style. The first of these is a house-like cartouche containing the name *A Pym* on Panel S13 (Figure 61). The second is a rectangular cartouche celebrating VJ Day on Panel S7, where the corners have been 'cut' to form an octagonal shape.

Style of lettering

Within the graffiti on the roof it is possible to identify two very broad styles of lettering i.e. those with or those without a serif. In general sans serif lettering is used in the simpler graffiti and the graffiti that has been created within the last 75 or so years. It is the older examples which tend to have the greater range of styles within the lettering including serifs, use of double lines to emphasise a particular letter, and decorative designs within the letter (Figure 62). In many of the examples of letters with serifs a close examination of the letters shows that considerable care has been taken to add the serifs to each letter. This could be seen as a reflection of formal classroom teaching using a 'copybook' where lettering would be practiced as part of the education system of the later part of the 19th and early 20th century. If this is the case then the use of serifs on lettering allows those undated graffiti with serifs to be dated to before approximately 1920.

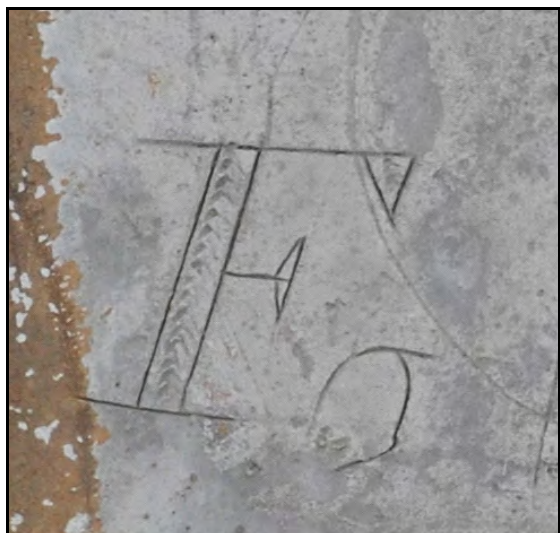


Figure 62. Panel E9 with elaborate letter F

Another distinctive form of lettering is the use of the letter 'I' with a cross bar which is often taken to represent the letter J (Figure 29), although there are other examples of its use on the tower roof where it is intended to be the letter I. As with the serifs, it may be possible to use this to place the graffiti within some form of broad time-span.

Although the majority of the lettering in the graffiti tends to be in capitals, probably for ease of creation in the lead, there are a significant number that use lower case letters. This is usually where there is a whole name or the abbreviation for a name – Wm for William for example. There were a small number of examples where copper plate script had been used for names and as such may have been created as a signature. There was one example where there was a short passage of text associated with a dated shoe outline. Unfortunately the text was too degraded to read. The creation of a neat copper plate script in the lead would not have been an easy task and as such suggests that a lot of time and care had been taken in the creation of the graffiti.

In addition to the various types of lettering there were a number of examples where the person has used their initials to create a distinctive cipher. This may be seen as a fore-runner of the 'tag' seen in modern graffiti (Figures 63 & 64).



Figure 63. Panel N3 with ciphers



Figure 64. Panel S11 with cipher

How was the graffiti created?

All of the graffiti recorded on the tower roof had been incised in some way into the lead and there were no examples of graffiti being created in any other manner (e.g. painted). This is hardly surprising given the soft nature of lead and the ease with which it can be marked. The commonest method of creating the graffiti was by simply cutting or scoring the lead with a suitably sharp/pointed object, such as the tip of a knife blade or an iron nail. This would create a simple line which could be prone to 'fading' over time as the exposed edges of the lead oxidise and decays. This may explain why some of the graffiti had been repeatedly scored to create an outline and the fact that some of the letters were created with double lines (Figure 62). In some of the examples it appears that an attempt has been made to cut a groove in the lead to enhance the line by scoring along either side of the cut at a slight angle.

After the simple scoring of a line, the commonest method of creating the graffiti was to use a zigzag line. This produced an effect known as wrigglework. Wrigglework is a technique where a suitably shaped tool was pushed over the surface at a 45° angle, whilst being rocked (wriggled) from side to side. In engraving a specialist tool known as a "flat scorer" or graver tool was used (Maryon, 1971, 153). A similar effect could also be achieved with an item such as a small woodworking chisel or a V racer used in leatherworking. This technique was commonly used in engraving in the late 17th and early 18th centuries (Internet reference 2) and as such helps to form a chronology for the creation of the graffiti. It is interesting to note how much of the graffiti has been created in wrigglework which indicates that those people creating the wrigglework graffiti are going to the roof suitably equipped with a specialist tool in order to do so.

This in turn suggests a high degree of preparedness and preplanning rather than the graffiti being created as a spur of the moment impulse. The idea of preplanning can be seen to be supported in several examples where clear 'setting out lines' have been lightly scored into the lead, prior to the more elaborate wrigglework being formed over it. A clear example of this can be seen in the bows of one the sailing ships on Panel S3 (Figure 65)



Figure 65. Panel S3 with setting out lines for the wriggle work to follow

As well as the methods described above, there was a single example of part of a graffiti being created by using a punch (Figure 66). In this modern example part of the name appears to have been made by scoring short lines (*NEIL EMBLET*) with the last part of the name and date (*ON 2004*) being made using a hammer and punch. The use of such tools suggests that it was created by a workman rather than a simple visitor to the roof.



Figure 66. Panel S3 with change between scoring short lines and a punch

Why is the graffiti there?

Almost undoubtedly the commonest reason for the creation of the graffiti is simply the desire of that person to record their presence at that particular location at that moment in time. This reason would seem to account for the format of the vast

majority of the graffiti being a simple set of initials or a name, sometimes accompanied by a date. The reasons for those people having the opportunity to be there will be varied and can include:

- Church duties – as part of the routine of church duties many people will potentially have access to the roof. These would include the church warden, the incumbent, bell ringers etc.
- Tourism – with the increase of tourism to the seaside in the 19th century the frequency of visits to interesting landmarks such as the church with its impressive views from the tower would have become more common, church authorities permitting.
- Repair and maintenance – the need for repair and maintenance of the fabric of the church will provide various trades (e.g. lead workers, steeplejacks and stone masons) with the opportunity to gain access to areas not normally visited and thus provide an opportunity to leave their mark.
- Special events – the commemoration of specific events (e.g. civic anniversaries) may be accompanied by the raising of a flag on the flagpole on the tower. Alternatively the roof may be used as a vantage point to watch celebrations such as fireworks or regattas.

As can be seen from the various discussions above, there is normally little indication as to why the person who left the graffiti was on the roof. The most obvious reason for being there would be to carry out repair work (e.g. J Hill in 1947). However, there may be other reasons, for example names accompanied by a place name that is not from the local area strongly suggest a visitor or tourist to Filey. The celebration of civic events can be clearly seen in the two VJ Day graffiti where the church roof may well have been used as vantage point to watch celebrations.

One intriguing possibility is that in conjunction with the creation of the triangulation datum in the corner of panel W1 the original Ordnance Survey surveyors may well have added their names/initials to the collection on the roof. Unfortunately however there are no obvious candidates nearby.

In addition to recording one's presence on the roof, it is obvious that some of the imagery has a particular significance to the individual who created it. In the case of the various sailing ships it could be that they worked on them in some capacity or that they were a common sight along the coast. One further suggestion that has been put forward relating to the creation of ship images is that it is a form of devotional act in order to hopefully extend the protection of the church to ships at sea. This concept is seen more readily in the numerous ship images in specific areas within, as opposed to on the roof, of medieval churches (<http://www.medieval-graffiti.co.uk/page14.html>).

However when it comes to the images such as that of the profiles of the shoes, it is probably not possible to provide a more conclusive interpretation than it was an image which appealed to the person creating it.

Discussion

Graffiti in one form or another has probably been around as long as mankind has, and the urge to leave a mark of one's presence can be seen from the earliest cave paintings onwards. Although graffiti comes in many forms and can be found on almost any

surface, it is probably most common as a scratched or incised line – as is the case at St Oswald's – and indeed the term graffiti originates in the mid 19th century from Italian meaning '*a scratch*'.

The collection of graffiti on the tower at St Oswald's is unusual as it covers some 400 years of people visiting the roof and leaving their mark. This is a long time span for a lead roof thus making it an unusual, well-dated assemblage. Contained within the 1,482 legible graffiti, there is a wide range of information ranging from simple names, dates and locations through to images which show the range of shipping types which were probably visible along the coastline. As seen in the analysis above, the more detailed investigation into the graffiti suggested possible reasons as to why the graffiti is there and when the graffiti is used as a starting point to examine the various census records - who created. This can be clearly seen in the research done by Trevor Brigham into the names found on the roof (see Appendix I for details). Here Brigham has managed to establish more detailed identities for many of the names along with some biographic background into where they were living and what occupations they were involved in. This has in some cases given reason to their presence on the roof – for example the Fox family supplying several parish clerks.

The graffiti also appears to record significant events such as the possible plague doctor, which may have been an image created by someone with poor literacy skills but felt the need to leave some form of record. Interestingly this creation of a record of a significant event is paralleled by the two VJ Day graffiti on the same panel.

Over two hundred individual names were recorded on the roof and this number coupled with the sets of initials can be seen to give a broad indication to the number of visitors to the roof. If the assumption is made that each visitor only records their name or initials once on the roof then the combined numbers of initials and names means that there has been *c.*1,000 visitors to the roof leaving this type of graffiti. That said, the actual number of visitors to the roof will be far higher as not everyone who visited will have left their mark. In addition there are many images, particularly of shoes and hands, which do not appear to be associated with names or initials and these will also represent visitors to the roof who didn't leave a name or initials.

Although there are nearly 1,500 legible graffiti on the roof there are many more, apparently random lines and letters which may well be part of other graffiti now unreadable. This shows the vulnerable nature of the graffiti which can be lost through the oxidisation of the lead sheets (exacerbated by sea gull droppings), obscuring by more modern graffiti and through repairs to and replacement of worn or damaged sheets.

Overall the varied assemblage of graffiti encountered on the tower at St Oswald's has given an insight into not only the lives of local people living and working in and around Filey but also reflects upon wider events and developments happening in the area at large. It is almost undoubtedly possible to add further details to the development of the tower roof and its graffiti through an examination of the church records for lists of officials and repairs etc.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Bob Briggs for obtaining the original access to the tower roof which started the whole investigation into the graffiti there. I would also like to thank Marcus Jecock of Historic England for suggesting a way that would result in the recording of the collection. I would particularly like to thank Ann Platt for opening up the church for me and Rev Andrew Allington for allowing me access to the roof.

Glossary

Beakhead - protruding part at the front of a ship to allow work on the bowsprit.

Coble – type of north-east fishing vessel particularly associated with North Yorkshire

Dogger Bank – a very productive fishing ground in the southern North Sea.

Fo'csal – a short deck in the front part of a ship, derived from forecastle in much older (medieval) warships.

Forrard - or forward is the fore part of ship, so forrard starboard quarter becomes front right portion of the bows of a ship when looking from the stern (back) straight ahead.

Garboard strake – is the strake immediately adjacent to the keel

Hulk – type of 13/14th century ship

Hull duster - common type of vernacular fishing vessel operating out of Hull.

Keelson – large longitudinal timber directly over the keel which clamps in place the lower end of the ships frames.

Mizzen mast – rear most mast on a sailing vessel

Moon pool – can be either an opening in the bottom of the hull giving access to the water below, or a large sea water filled tank used to keep the catch live until return to port.

Ratlines – name of the ropes that run horizontally between the shrouds that forms steps to climb the rigging

Reefing lines or ropes – short lengths of rope set in the sails used to partially roll up (furl) a sail to reduce the area of the sail in strong winds

Running rigging – those elements of the rigging which are used to hoist and trim the sails

Sail plan – the name for the shape, size and arrangement of sails on the masts, the arrangement is particular to the type of rig – e.g. brig rig is typically a two masted vessel with square sails

Scarborough yawl - common type of vernacular fishing vessel operating out of Hull

Serif – a small line attached to the end of a stroke in a letter or symbol; without is sans serif

Shrouds – part of the standing rigging that supports the masts

Silver Pit – a very productive fishing ground on the edge of the Dogger Bank in the southern North Sea, discovered in the 19th century

Standing rigging – the ropes which are used to support the masts and keep them in position

Starboard – right hand side of a ship when facing the bows

Stays – a strong rope running from the top of the mast to the stem to prevent excess movement in the mast, part of the standing rigging.

Stem – the foremost piece of wood uniting the bows

Strakes – a strake is a set of planks running longitudinally from bow to stern in a wooden vessel. Typically a strake will be made up of numerous planks running end to end.

Wrigglework – a wriggled or zigzag cut, made by a flat "scorper" or graver tool as it is moved quickly from side to side and at the same time pushed forward (Maryon, 1971, 153)

Yards – or sail yards, name for the spars or horizontal timbers which the sails hang from

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Appendix I

St Oswald's Church roof graffiti -Initial research into the names

Trevor Brigham

Biographical notes taken mainly from births, marriages and deaths (BMD) and census. Most of those identified either have unusual name/initial combinations or are dated which restricts the number of possibilities to one or a small number of individuals. More recent entries have been ignored as they belong to people still connected with the town. In some cases, there are several generations of people with a common Filey surname and the same initials. It is generally assumed that all of the names represented are those of men or boys until the post-WW1 period and this seems to be borne out by the appearance of women's first names mid-century – this assumption is largely based on the fact that until the introduction of less restrictive clothing (particularly dresses) it would have been almost impossible for a woman to gain access to the roof via the very narrow church stairs. Names fall into several categories: those connected with the church as church officials and parishioners; builders, carpenters, plumbers, masons etc who presumably worked on the church; possible birth/ christening records; visitors, including notables with local connections or tourists from further afield. Recent records appear to be for groups such as youth workers and bell ringers. As access to the roof was presumably always controlled via a locked door and supervised by a clergyman, churchwarden, tower captain or similar office holder, the graffiti must either have been done with official approval or a blind eye turned.

M AKAM 1894 – possibly the oddly named Major Akam (1882–1962) or Major Arnold Wakam (b 1881) of Bradford, a family first name of several generations standing combined with an unusual surname

WAKAM 8?.10.1894 – presumably W Akam, possibly William Akam (b 1870) of Bradford brother of Major Arnold Wakam (see above)

R ? APPLEMAN – possibly Richard Cappleman (1844–1912), son of fisherman William, boat builder (1871, 1881, 1891, 1901), 6 Undercliff, Beach Cottage/The Beach/Beachaven (next to the Coastguard Station), lodging house keeper (1911), Bay View Villa, Hon Agent for Shipwrecked Mariners Society with son William.

Descendants of same name in town

R BOYE - presumably 'R Boyes', possibly Richard Stonehouse Boyes, Hunmanby Road, Muston (1868–1957)

JW BULMER FILEY 1872 – see earlier entry. John Webster Bulmer (1813–90), fish merchant of King Street, Filey, in 1861, West Parade in 1871, Chapel Street in 1881, son John W Bulmer (1856–1942), a servant still at home in 1871, a fish buyer in North Place by 1891, lodging house keeper at Arndaleby 1901 and still there in 1911. His son (1886–1969) also JWB, but living in Chesterfield by 1911

JW BULMER – possibly John Webster Bulmer (1813–90), fish merchant, King Street, Filey in 1861, West Parade in 1871, Chapel Street in 1881, or his son John Webster Bulmer (1856–1942) at North Place Filey by 1891, a boarding house keeper at Arndale House, The Beach by 1901 and still there in 1911. His son (1886–1969) also JWB, but living in Chesterfield by 1911

F BURR 1852 – only known local candidate is later than this date, Frank Burr (1879–1925)

T BURR – possibly Thomas Barker Burr (1878–1949), son of William Burr, chimney sweep of West Parade in 1881, Reynolds Street in 1891, Thomas still at home as a carriage driver in 17 Hope Street 1901, chimney sweep at 13 Providence Place Filey 1911. His youngest son was also Thomas (b 1909). Also Thomas William Burr (b 1904) of Worlabby House, 12 Rutland Street in 1911, father James also chimney sweeps. James and William were sons of David Burr, chimney sweep of King Street, Filey in 1861, Brompton in 1851, originally from Huntingdonshire

JOHN COLLING 1859 – possibly John Colling, Filey (b c 1820), shoemaker in Moseys Yard in 1841, hairdresser of Queen Street in 1851, but a clerk in London docks by 1891, his son, also John (1846) had moved to Lewisham by 1881 and was a billiard marker. Another John Colling (b 1851) was in Queen Street in 1861, fisherman of Clifford Yard in 1871

TG COOK – possibly Thomas Garbutt Cook (1861–1915), at home in King Street Filey as tailor in 1881, at 12 Hope Street by 1891, at 50 Queen Street by 1901, still there 1911

ALFRED ?C RACCY – probably Alfred Bride Craggy (1851–1923) of Easington, apprentice joiner, 20 Scarborough Road, Filey, 1871, in Nafferton 1861, Hutton Cranswick by 1881, or less likely his son of same name (1881–1945), police constable in Scarborough 1911

J CRAGGY 1876 – John Craggy (1822–97), son of a coastguard from Norfolk of the same name, blacksmith in Skidby by 1851, farmer of 100 acres and blacksmith by 1871, retired by 1881. His son John (1849–1910) assisted his father in 1871 and farmed 250 acres at Low Field Farm, Skidby by 1881 but listed as a Relieving Officer, Railway Street Beverley in 1891 and in Eastgate 1901

E DAY 1827 – an Elizabeth Day was born in Filey in 1827, living possibly as a servant in Roe's Buildings, Church Street in 1841

RW DEWI – possibly Richard William Dewing (1864–1954), brewer, originally from Staffordshire, lodging in Doncaster by 1891, at 19 Peel Street, Sculcoates, Hull in 1901, 14 Hutt Street, Hull in 1911

J EDESON – John Edeson (1848–1907) and James Edeson (1851–1912) born York, were stone masons at Falsgrave, Scarborough from the 1870s, James back at York by 1901, John remained at Scarborough. Their father James was a Builder's Clerk/Clerk of Works in Scarborough by 1861. One of them may have worked on the church

T FENBY – possibly Thomas Johnson Fenby (1857–1929), Filey, in 1871 blacksmith's apprentice under his father William Fenby (blacksmith) of Suggit Yard South, but by 1881 joiner of Albion Cottage, Chapel Lane, in 1891 & 1901 at 2 East Parade, by 1911 at 12 West Parade, and also undertaker. Youngest son also Thomas Johnson Fenby (b1908)

FOX – presumably one of the Fox family supplying parish clerks

F. FOX 1850 or 60 – possibly Francis Fox of Filey, son of John Fox and sometime parish clerk (see other entries)

F FOX FILEY 1857 – Francis Fox (1830–1902), son of joiner John Fox, Church Street Filey, journeyman bricklayer at 4 Church Street in 1851, listed as builder by 1881 and 1892, still at Church St 1901 but died Bridlington. He was St Oswald's parish clerk in 1892, following at least four earlier generations of the family including his father John (1796–1856) – see relevant entry. 1857 may be the year Francis became clerk in place of his father

H FOX F (for Filey) – presumably a Henry Fox (see other entries), either the one born 1791 or his grandson Henry Haggitt Fox (1842–1893), a bricklayer who moved to Scarborough by 1861 and to Surrey and Sussex by 1871

H FOX 1808 – possibly Henry Fox (1791–1839), son of Francis Fox, may be brother of John Fox parish clerk (b 1797)

I FOX – possibly John Fox, one of the families supplying generations of parish clerks. One John Fox (1797–1856) was a joiner by 1828–9, listed in Church Street 1841, parish clerk by 1851, said to have rescued a medieval effigy in the church during restoration in 1839 by paying a workman one pint not to destroy it. A son Francis was also parish clerk by 1892 (see relevant entry)

I FOX – possibly John Fox, one of several generations of the family to be parish clerk (see other entries)

F HANSON WAS BORN DECEMBER 28 1862– Fred Hanson of Bradford is only one born in 4th quarter 1862 (d 1916 or 1920), father (also Fred) died 1863, mother Emma remarried

W. HARRIS 1875 – William Harris (1842–1914), leather dresser/maker of 28 Leopold Square, Leeds in 1881, boot and shoe dealer of 238 Dewsbury Road by 1891, cabinet maker of 33 Trentham Road Hunslet in 1901, retired in Sunny Hill, Halton Leeds in 1911, died Knaresborough

ADA HARRIS LEEDS 1875 – (1844–1913) wife of William Harris (above), died Knaresborough

DAVID HARRISON SHEFFIELD 1879 – two possible candidates, one a springmaker (b 1847), the other a boilermaker (b 1848)

LT HAXBY 41 – the only match is Leonard Thomas Haxby (1929–92) of Darlington. If 1941, could have been evacuated to Filey or on holiday?

J HILL PLUMBER HUNMANBY 20.8.1947 – says plumber but might be the same as the village blacksmith I knew (or perhaps his dad), presumably in the old sense of lead worker)

E JENKINSON – probably one of several 19th/20th-century Edmond Jenkinsons (see other entries)

T JENKINSON FILEY 1911 (on twice) – Thomas Jenkinson is a common Filey name

EDMUND I JENKINSON FILEY – father, son and grandson called Edmund Jenkinson in Filey, born 1839 (d 1910), 1879 (d 1944), 1891 (d 1965), an earlier one (spelled Edmond) b 1811, all fishermen. Edmond/Edmund originated as a maternal surname. Recently an Edmund J Jenkinson living in the town.

Samuel Johnson 187? – possibly Samuel Richardson Johnson (1858–1953) at Moseys Yard in 1871, fisherman at Spring Row in 1881, Providence Place 1891, 27 Church Street 1901, 2 Chapel Street 1911

W JOHNSON 1920 FILEY – possibly William Johnson (1873–1936), in King Street 1881, farm labourer at Field House Farm, Burton Fleming in 1891, bricklayer in 1901, 1911 at 10 Church Street, Filey

John Julinson Filey March 2 ?8 1889 – there are no Julinsons in the census or BMD for the entire period, it's possibly this is a visitor from the USA

W LEGARD – possibly one of the Legards of Ganton Hall (see CH Legard entry)



C LEGARD – possibly one of the Legards of Ganton Hall (see CH Legard entry)

CH LEGARD – either Charlotte Henrietta Legard (d 1844) nee Willoughby of Birdsall House, or more likely her son Rev Cecil Henry Legard (1843–1918) of the Legard baronetcy based at Ganton Hall, Ganton. The main family line was at Anlaby. Married Emily Elizabeth Hall of Scarborough Hall in 1873. Vicar of Boynton, East Yorkshire in 1869, and Scarborough, East Yorkshire, Rector of Healing, Lincolnshire in 1881, Rector of Cottesbrooke, Northamptonshire from 1887, where he was also a famous steeplechaser with the Ormond and King's County Hunts, died in Bedford Court Mansions, London

H M^CCINTYRE – Henry McIntyre (1821–95), labourer at 1 Scarborough Road Filey in 1861, fish curer in 1871, in Church Street in 1881, but as labourer in King Street in 1891. He was verger of St Oswald's in 1892. His son Henry (1855–1907) was an apprentice in 1871, but a carpenter in Stevenage by 1881, Ellesmere as clerk of works in 1891 and 1901. Another Henry McIntyre (1906–90), 16 Rutland Street, Filey in 1911, father George Henry McIntyre of Hull, a merchant seaman

WM^CGranth 1881 – possibly W McGrath as a R McGrath is recorded elsewhere – a W McGrath was born in Scarborough district in 1868, but no further trace

ALEXAND McPHERSON FILEY 1873 – Alexander McPherson (1859–1919) at King Street in 1871, working as a barman in Hope Street in 1881, moved to Bridlington by 1891

MINNIE MIDDLEMISS MORPETH 179?21 – either Minnie Middlemiss (1881–1940), born Hatlepool, tailoress in Gateshead, 1911, and died there, or Minnie Middlemiss (1893–1966), died in Sunderland

T:MOVNTAI, W Metcalffe, E Pullclit, 1735 – possibly Thomas Mountain. Members of the Mountain family were in Doncaster in the mid 18th–19th century, others from Catton (Topcliffe area), but the name is relatively widespread in the west/south-west of the county. Metcalfes are well known farmers in the Dales. Pullitt is also a West Riding surname, suggesting the group were visitors from that area

FJ PICKUP – probably either Francis John Pickup (1868–1948), monumental sculptor of Scarborough, 1891, 1901, 1911, could have worked on the church, or less likely Francis John Pickup (1854–1928) iron moulder of Scarborough, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911

G REVELL HULL 189?9 – possibly George Revell (1864–1923), a marine engineer of Eaton Street, Hull in 1901

TE RICKARD – Thomas Edward Rickard (1899–1993) son of chemist and druggist William Rickard of 53 Queen Street, Filey in 1901 and Langton House in 1911

C ROLLIN – Rollin/Rollins is common in the W Riding (Sheffield, Doncaster, Leeds)

JOHN SANDERSON HULL 1860 – a very common name, including ancestors of mine!

I SEDGWICK 1668 - the Sedg[e]wicks at this period included John Sedgwick of Brompton (d 1698), possibly a son of George Sedgwick (b 1622, d after 1663), though this John might have been born 1660, so possibly too young to inscribe his name

E SHARP FILEY – Edward Richard Sharp (1864), son of coastguard, born in Norfolk but of North Street, Filey in 1871, bricklayer in 1891, still in North Street, bricklayer in 1911

J SHIELDS 1896 – possibly James Shields (1874–1935), born Market Weighton, farm labourer at Watton Grange in 1891, but bricklayer/labourer, 4a Scarborough Road, Filey in 1901, 12 Providence Place in 1911. Married Henrietta Cammish (Filey) in 1897, so the date may be his arrival in Filey or engagement

M STROTHER 1871 - possibly Mark Strother, railway goods guard, born Gate Helmsley 1849, married Hull 1873

II Suggit 183? – if the I is for J and repeated, could be John Suggitt, coachbuilder of Scarborough in 1841 (born c 1802), but if an H with the bar missing, could be Henry Suggitt (also Scarborough in 1841), son of shoemaker Thomas, but only born c 1830 (could be a birth/baptism record?)

WINNIE TROUSDALE, NA ? ASHBY, ? COCKRIC – possibly Winifred Ethel Trousdale, born Scarborough 1901, married 1921, or Winifred Jane Trousdale, born York 1936, married 1955, or Winnie Hannah Trousdale (d 1938)

J WAGGITT FILEY 1908 JUNE 22 – possibly John Thomas Waggitt (b 1870), born Bishop Auckland, and he was hairdresser at 28 The Crescent, Filey, 1901, 1911, may have emigrated to Canada or USA, as left for New York on *Mauretania* in 1914. Or his brother Joseph Henry Atkinson Waggitt (1880–1957), also born Bishop Auckland, but a bricklayer at 36 Queen Street, Filey in 1901, builder at Cromwell Villa, The Crescent in 1911, died Gateshead. Parents moved to Filey after 1891

RJ WATKINSON FILEY – possibly Robert Jenkinson Watkinson (1891–1917), at his grandfather Jonah Rickaby and uncle Denton Rickaby with widowed mother, 31 Queen Street Filey in 1901 and there as a family of boot makers in 1911. He was verger of St John's Church and was killed in action with the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regt in 18th August 1917 by a bomb dropped by an enemy aircraft, buried at Bertencroft Military Cemetery. His father, an earlier Robert Jenkinson Watkinson (1865–91) of Filey, was lost at sea aged 25 on the vessel 'Bear' which collided with 'Britannia' 11th January 1891 and sank with 12 hands two miles off St Abb's Head

T WATKINSON – possibly Thomas Watkinson (1848–1927), a farm labourer and married by 1871, at Wenlock Place by 1881, NE Railway Out Porter at 2 Church Street Filey from 1891 to at least 1911. His youngest son Thomas (1890–1960) was also single, a labourer

? WATKINSON 1870 – several Watkinson's from Filey represented elsewhere

W WATKINSON 1839 – several William Watkinsons are recorded, but only two known before 1839. One (1807–84), a farm labourer at Lowmans Yard, Church Street, Filey in 1841, Wenlock Place in 1851, Mosey's Yard by 1861, Providence Place by 1881, his son, also William (1839–1911), a farm labourer in Rudston Road, Hunmanby in 1861, general labourer at Undercliff in 1871, Alma Terrace in 1881, at 3 Bellevue Street as a carter in 1901 and retired coal merchant in 1911

HV WEREN; - possibly HV Wren?

AW Wilde A I 1894 – possibly Albert William Wilde (1842–1914), file cutter of Sheffield in 1851 (at age of 9!), 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911

J WILSON – possibly one of two Joseph Wilsons (see below)

I WILSON 1875 – possibly Joseph Wilson (1815–87), farm labourer, Church Cliff Farm, Filey, 1841, farmer of 15 acres, Queen Street, 1851, farmer of 150 acres, King Street, 1861 farmer of 86 acres, King Street, Filey 1871, 1881, son Joseph (1855–97), farmer of 300 acres Moor Farm, Sands Road, Hunmanby 1881, 1891. Both buried in St Oswald's

RT YOUNG HUMANBY FEB 28 1873 – Robert T Young (1858), schoolmaster of Aston, Warwickshire in 1881, Beamsley near Skipton in 1891, 1901, 1911, but born in Bridlington Street, Hunmanby in 1871

Trevor Brigham comments:

'Many of the names are common locally – Fenby, Collings, Jenkinson, Cammish, Stockdale, Colley, Legard, Horner and Fox. Some of them are from well known

fishing families whilst others were shopkeepers – ?'appleman' is probably Cappleman, a local name, and 'ammis' is probably Cammish. J Hill (Hunmanby) says plumber but might be the same as the village blacksmith I knew (or perhaps his father), presumably in the old sense of lead worker.

Looking down the list of names I have tracked a few with varying degrees of certainty (mostly no more than 'possibles' or inspired guesses of course, as it's difficult if there's only one initial and no date unless the surname's unusual). A few are definitely visitors from Hull and the West Riding, probably working folk on holiday, a few seem to be gentry/yeoman farmers (the Fox's might be from Killerby Grange and the I Sedgwick is likely to be from either Dent or Brompton by Northallerton), but a surprising number are Filey residents, many of them tradesmen (fish merchants, sweeps, railway porters) perhaps with a connection to the church. What doesn't help is that the Filey lot keep the same names and hence initials for generations, like Edmund Jenkinson (at least five between the early 19th-late 20th centuries, with one of them still around). An interesting one though is RJ Watkinson - there are two generations of Robert Jenkinson Watkinsons - the father was lost on a ship called the '*Bear*' near St Abb's Head the same year his son of the same name was born (1891), while the son was verger at St John's Church and was killed in action with the Royal West Surreys in 1917.

There's all sorts of potential in the names, including a renowned hunting/steeple chasing parson Cecil Henry Legard, who was a scion of the Legard baronets of Ganton Hall (there are surviving drawings/photos of him and one of those weird paper silhouettes of him as a youth). He liked sucking up to the aristocracy (who called him 'His Oiliness'). Another chap, Alexander McPherson, seems to have spent his entire working life as a barman in Filey and Bridlington (now there's a career I can understand...). Others are stonemasons, builders, carpenters etc and may well have worked on the place, perhaps some of them during the 1885-6 rebuild, and I've tracked down a couple, Francis Fox, Henry McIntyre, who were church officials by the 1890s, probably earlier.

I'm sure the increasing number of day-trippers and boarding houses accounts for some of rise in number of dated names from the 1870s/80s (this is when Delius first came to stay, after all). A lot of the names though are yer local working class oiks/tradesmen - this might be a result of increased literacy as the Wesleyan school opens 1857 and the C of E School in 1873, so yer average thicko would at least have been able to scratch his initials after that. Old Rev Cooper or an enterprising warden might also have been letting people up the tower in return for a donation as the church was usually locked due to thefts'