Friends of the Department of English Local History

NEWSLETTER

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The cover illustration is of the water-mill at Enderby in Leicestershire as it was in 1909. The original photograph is from the Attenborough slide collection, owned by the Centre, but was taken by a Dr Stewart. The nineteenth-century building, which no longer exists, was on the site of a Domesday mill and stood just yards away from the fifteenth-century packhorse bridge, which still spans an arm of the River Soar.

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EDITORIAL

It was with huge relief and great pleasure that members of the Centre learned, at the beginning of May, that Professor Chris Dyer had accepted the appointment as Professor of Regional and Local History and Head of the Centre for English Local History. In this capacity Professor Dyer will alternate with the Head of the Centre for Urban History as the Director of the Marc Fitch Historical Institute. Professor Dyer is a Fellow of the British Academy; President of the Society for Medieval Archaeology; and Chairman of the Victoria County History Committee. During the last academic year he has held the Ford Lectureship in Medieval History at Oxford. His many publications include *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society* (1980), *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (1989), and *Everyday Life in the Middle Ages* (1994). Dr Dyer's appointment means that the line of distinguished historians who have occupied this Chair will be perpetuated by one exceptionally well fitted to the task.

As he tells us in his following 'Message to Friends', Professor Dyer is, amongst many other research interests, a director of the Whittlewood Project, of which he was the prime mover. This major interdisciplinary investigation of early settlement patterns in contiguous parts of south-east Northamptonshire and north-west Buckinghamshire is clearly identifiable with one of the Centre's main interests. Given this welcome addition to the range of work already based in Marc Fitch House (the Centre for Urban History's Oral History Project is now well under way) it is just as well that our accommodation is to be significantly extended by the addition of No. 1, Salisbury Road (next door) which has until now provided student accommodation. It is likely, that after some re-jigging, this will be ready for occupation by the Institute in time for the start of the academic year 2002-03. In spite of earlier anxieties the future of the Centre is, therefore, now assured and it is well placed to continue its long ground-breaking tradition in the field of local and landscape history.

The Friends will continue to be an important advocate for, and supporter of, the Centre in many ways. In addition, as the following pages illustrate, the organisation continues to provide a varied programme of events which serve to keep old friends and former students in touch with each other and with the staff of the Centre.

THE CENTRE

MESSAGE FROM PROFESSOR DYER

I am writing this piece, at the request of Mike Thompson, in the August before I take up my new post in September 2001. I confess to being somewhat apprehensive, rather as I remember the summer before starting a new school! Readers must remember that I have been on the staff at Birmingham since 1970, so changing my job is not a regular experience for me.

I was attracted towards the post of Professor of Regional and Local History because it is a unique position. The Leicester Department (or Centre as we must learn to call it) is the only institution of its kind. It has a remarkable tradition, has a distinctive style of scholarship, and inspires remarkable loyalty among those associated with it. Very few other departments put such a special stamp on those who have taken its courses, and I know of no other department, certainly in the historical field, which has an organisation of 'Friends'. Even the physical setting of the Centre, in a house set apart from the main University campus, helps to give it a special character, and of course the Centre has a close and much valued relationship with the Marc Fitch trustees.

Applying for the post was not exactly a leap in the dark, as I have been a regular visitor to Leicester for twenty years, and have been in touch with individuals for even longer. I encountered Herbert Finberg once, and value the friendly conversations I have had with Alan Everitt. I first met Charles Phythian-Adams in 1974, when we had a conversation about the size of the family in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the top deck of a bus in Leeds. My contacts with Harold Fox and David Postles go back also to the 1970s, though in Harold's case he did not know at the time that I was the anonymous referee of his first article. I have given two seminars to the Department, which I gather is an unusual privilege, and it arose out of one of those, on Hanbury in Worcestershire, that I was asked to write the last in the Occasional Papers series. I was in contact with Keith Snell, though I did not meet him at the time, ten years ago when I contributed an article reviewing work on the middle ages for the first issue of *Rural History*. My collaborations with graduates of the Leicester MA course, include one with Jane Laughton on urban themes and with David Aldred on Cotswold villages. I have encountered many Leicester

postgraduates, as an examiner, or as contributors to journals I have edited, or simply through our common interests – I value my conversations and correspondence with Penny Upton for example, and I enjoy the friendship of Ros Faith and David Hey. I should add that I know the Centre for Urban History well, having collaborated on a research project in the late 1990s, and I have also had contacts with archaeologists, art historians, economic historians and historians at Leicester, and look forward to knowing more of them and their work.

Moving to Leicester is therefore a natural transition for me, and to some extent I work in the Leicester style, and am influenced by those who have undergone the Leicester training. I do not, however, carry the hallmark of the Leicester experience, and indeed emerged from a school of history with an equally distinctive character, that of Rodney Hilton at Birmingham. People have asked me in the last few months if I have a blueprint for change in the Centre at Leicester, and the answer is that I do not, though I have ideas for the future. It would be foolish to arrive in a new institution with precise and detailed plans, as one needs to live and work in a department/centre for some time to find out more about it, before putting forward firm schemes for future development. My initial reactions are to feel confident that its excellent staff and firmly founded traditions do not need to be shaken to the roots, but that there is potential for development – to give the Centre an even higher profile in the outside world, for example, and to attract more research projects and more students. My appointment means that the medieval period is well represented among the staff of the Centre, and the main priority must be to appoint an early modernist. The University has a very positive attitude towards Local History, and the Centre has a wide reputation, but we must not be complacent or live on a reputation gained in the past.

So I am not going to provide a five-year development plan, but my style will obviously influence the future of the Centre, and I will indicate some aspects of my general approach and priorities. It will be a pleasure to be part of a centre in a social science department, as so much of my work has been involved with defining social hierarchies and attempting to understand social relationships. I hope that my hands-on interest in archaeology, which is part of my approach to landscape and settlement history, will make a contribution to the Centre.

I will be bringing to Leicester the Whittlewood Project, a study of settlements and landscapes on the Northants/Bucks border, funded by the AHRB, which is staffed by two excellent scholars, Richard Jones and Mark Page, who will be joining the Centre. I hope that a new grant will enable their work to continue after June 2002, when their present pilot project ends, and I will no doubt be applying for funding for other research programmes, and encouraging others in the Centre to continue with funded projects in their own fields.

We earn money and the approval of the University by attracting research projects, but there are good academic reasons for applying for research funds. We can employ bright young people, who bring their energy and expertise to a piece of research, and their full time, concentrated work can make real progress in solving problems.

I hope that I will have the time to catch up with my own research and writing. My Penguin Economic History of Britain, volume 1, entitled *Making a Living in the Middle Ages*, will appear in 2002, and my next task will be to produce the published version of the Ford lectures, which I gave in Oxford in the Spring of 2001, on the transition from the medieval to modern economies.

I look forward to attending future meetings of the Friends, and meeting you all.

SEMINAR PROGRAMME 2000-01

Dr Paul Cullen (School of Cognitive and Computing Sciences, University of Sussex) made for a colourful start to the seminar season with an interesting topographical excursion around some problematical 'Place-names of Kent'. In an introductory bibliography he drew attention to the recent publication by Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole of *The Landscape of Place-Names* (2000), which amongst other things made clear the 'amazing precision of Anglo-Saxon topographical terms'. After emphasising the importance of field and other minor place-names in perpetuating otherwise lost Anglo-Saxon names, he went on to discuss some eight names which have been the subject of debate since J.K. Wallenberg's attributions in the 1930s.

Indicating that he was something of an apologist for Wallenberg ('an unfair scapegoat') he started with Warehorne (*Werahorna*, 830) in Romney Marsh, where he concurred with the earlier scholar's half-formed view that this referred to a look-out post of the 'toot hill' variety, derived

from OE *werian* 'to guard/defend' + OE *horna* 'a horn/projection, rather than OE *wer* 'a weir'. Dr Cullen went on to draw upon the often subtle local topography to support his conclusions in a further half dozen cases. These included Lydden (*Hleodaena, c.* 1090), which, because of similarities with Lydd, and more particularly Lydden Farm in an area 'as flat as pancake', he attributed to OE *hlid* ' a lid, cover, gate', giving the dative plural *hlidum* , meaning 'at the gate', rather than to *hleow* 'sheltered/warm' + OE *denu* 'a long, gently curving valley'; Midley (*Midelea*, 1086) meaning 'middle island'; and Chislet (*Cistelet*, 605) which (agreeing with Wallenberg again) he believed was from OE *cist* meaning 'a chest/container' + OE *(ge)laet* 'a conduit' rather than the conventionally accepted *cisel* meaning gravel. Other interesting observations on the likely derivations of the lost *Childrynwode* (c. 1453), Dymchurch (*Deman* 1090, *Demechurch*, 1240), and the mystery name of *Bedesham* (1066), brought us to his final discursion which concerned the association of a variety of 'court-' place-names sited by Roman roads, which he argued stemmed from an OE loan word from Latin *cohors* meaning 'farm-yard or court-yard/enclosure'

A fascinating discourse ended with a number of questions and observations from the audience, some distinguished members of which displayed an intimate, but unsurprising, knowledge of the Kentish countryside.

Dr Rob Liddiard (Department of History and Welsh History, University of Wales) described the motives and attitudes of the Norman elite in 'Castle Rising: a landscape of lordship'. Dealing with what he described as the neglected factors governing the siting of castles in the unsophisticated but violent twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he questioned whether Norman lords would have been any less preoccupied with status, as well as defence and defensibility, than their successors of later centuries. Certainly in the case of the D'Albini family, builders of the castles of New Buckenham and Castle Rising in Norfolk, this seems to have been, especially in the latter case, a principal motivation. The archaeological evidence suggests, that when built in the mid-twelfth century, the low-lying site of Castle Rising, overlooked by higher ground, was surrounded by a ring-work which, although extensive, was of only modest height. This was later raised but the question remained as to why William D'Albini II (married to the widow of Henry I and numbered amongst the highest ranks of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy) chose Rising for his castle. Close to Lynn but upon acidic, marginal soil, the area's lack of relative importance in prosperous Norfolk may have been a factor. The potential for the development of a virgin site in a countryside of open heathland and wood-pasture, ideal for the keeping of deer, would also have been attractive and suggests that such considerations weighed at least as heavily as defensive capability.

Dr Liddiard went on to make the point that, although the castle keep was the quintessential signifier of lordly power, this was underscored by other features at Castle Rising. These included the castle's centrality to a chase measuring some 15 miles in circumference, a planned town at the gates, deer park, warren, dovecote, and a new church, dedicated to St Lawrence, built within the ringwork and succeeding one more ancient. Much of this opulence would have been on display to the noble visitors (and others of a commoner kind) who sailed, or were rowed, up the cut from the little river Babingley to the Haven Gate of the castle. Given all of these features Dr Liddiard concluded that Castle Rising epitomised an elite landscape of Norman lordship.

Dr Margaret Yates (Department of Medieval History, University of Birmingham) began her seminar by slightly changing the advertised title of her paper to 'Medieval or Modern? Two Berkshire communities'. She initially placed these two places – Buckland and Kintbury - in an historiographical context and in questioning the conventional use of the terms 'Medieval' and 'Modern' also doubted the relevance of dividing history into such compartments. However, she went on to ask how very real social, demographic and economic changes in, for example, the transition from feudalism to capitalism could be gauged. With the distinctive 'Leicester approach' very much in mind she admitted the potential for strong regional differences, as for instance between East Anglia and the Midlands in terms of types of production, while other aspects, for example the coinage, would be common to many.

Moving from macro to micro history she then proffered her two Berkshire communities to test her hypothesis against regional experience in the context of land-holding and society. Taking Buckland first, she described it as a large parish of 4,500 acres in 'the fruitful vale of the White Horse'. In this lowland area, where open common-field strip farming was the norm and

there was no fifteenth-century shift from arable to pastoral farming because of the relative proximity of the London market, Dr Yates charted several indices of change on two estates. These included a reduction in servile tenures by 1430, a decline in land transfers between 1470 and 1520, and vacant properties, peaking between 1430 and 1470 with lords being prepared to let them on less stringent terms, although there was a return to more formal arrangements by the end of the fifteenth century. Engrossment of holdings continued throughout the period of study and a reduction in the generally high level of entry fines in the mid-fifteenth century was noted, as was a marked decline in chevage fines, payable by those living away from the manor, by 1440. The second Buckland estate was that of the St John's Hospitallers where engrossed tenements had been a feature since the 1420s. The estate was dissolved in 1540 when, like the other manor, it was purchased by John Yates a member of an increasingly powerful local oligarchy.

Kintbury was quite unlike Buckland in many respects. Nearer to the Thames in an area of woodland pasture and dispersed (as opposed to nucleated) settlement, it occupied some 7,800 acres. Again Dr Yates looked at two estates, one belonging to the abbess of Coventry the other to her counterpart at Amesbury. Still using court. rolls as her source material, she tracked changes in land transfers; the numbers of vacant properties; and rents. She noted examples of early enclosure not found in Buckland and also found evidence of inward migration to the parish and a relatively late emergence of farming 'gentry'. These were seen as characteristics of a community that appeared to have enjoyed somewhat greater freedom from overlordship at an earlier date than its comparators. This contrast between the two communities nicely illustrated Dr Yates' point about the problems attendant upon defining historical periods in terms such as 'medieval' or 'modern', an issue which was further illuminated by the questions and debate which followed her paper.

The last seminar of the Autumn term was given by **Mrs Penny Upton** (Research Student, Department of English Local History, University of Leicester) who drew upon her research, in 'A fishy tale: the depopulation of Bishops Itchington, Warwickshire, in the sixteenth century'. Penny began by quoting Harold Fox quoting Maitland apropos court rolls, 'an abundant harvest – not easily reaped' and went on to report how she had trimmed her original research horizons from a study of all of Warwickshire's deserted medieval villages to one of just eight. Focussing on one of these she set out to question the once widely held view that greedy landlords and greedy sheep gave rise to such decayed settlements.

Prior to the seventeenth century, Bishops Itchington (once a manor of the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield) in the Feldon region of Warwickshire had within its bounds the settlement of Nether Itchington. According to William Dugdale, this township had been depopulated at the whim of its post-Reformation owner, Thomas Fisher M.P., a holder of high office under Protector Somerset. However, Penny set out to describe its history and eventual decline in terms of inherent weaknesses to be found in its topography, economy and social structure.

She pointed out that although nominally in the Feldon, Nether Itchington was in fact a settlement on the wold and as such an area susceptible to depopulation in the late middle ages. One aspect of such a location was that harvest yields, in the common field system it shared with Upper Itchington, were poor with wheat giving way to the economically less viable crop of oats/barley dredge. Moreover, although sheep flocks had once grazed the land they had gone by 1315 and with them, their essential manure. Analysis of the tenemental and social structure of Nether Itchington revealed numerous villein holdings still vacant ten years after the Black Death. In consequence the lord bishops had gone so far as to let tenancies free of the most onerous labour services; entry fines had been waived and rents were kept at the same level in the early 1400s as they had been in 1298. There was also manorial investment in property repairs. In spite of these easements there were signs of further decay by the 1420s, worsening by 1440.

Unfortunately, as Penny explained, court records then became scarce until the early sixteenth century by which time renewed population growth had brought about a buoyant property market and rents were much increased. In 1547 Thomas Fisher thus acquired a viable community and one that then increased in value from £20 to £47 in ten years, during which time he first lost and then regained his ownership of the manor. Also during this time he was alleged to have ransacked the chapel at Upper, and to have demolished the parish church at Nether Itchington. Further evidence for the final stages of desertion are found in the decline of manorial court presentments, of licences to brew ale, and in the

number of tithingmen from four to two. By this time (*c.*1560) engrossment and enclosure had led to the emergence of one or two dominant families and although there is little further evidence for the causes of decline the final act was to take place with the abandonment of the church at Nether Itchington by 1622 and the establishment of the erstwhile chapel of Upper Itchington as the parish church.

Dr Will Coster (Institute for the Study of War and Society, De Montfort University at Bedford) was introduced by Dave Postles who referred to his forthcoming book *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship* on which his paper 'Gossips and Godmothers: women's networks of spiritual kinship in early modern England' was based. Dr Coster began by explaining that he intended to examine a transactional web involving women (generally elusive in the records) as godparents and detailed his main sources as parish registers and wills. In particular he drew upon the records of three Yorkshire communities (the urban parish of St Margaret's in York, Bilton a parish containing three townships, and Almondbury in the Pennines a large parish with a low population density). These parishes had good runs of registers in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period with named godparents of whom there were, almost always, two of the infant's own sex and one other. The main question to be addressed was whether the sacrament of baptism maintained and intensified existing relationships or, alternatively, served to extend them. Perhaps not surprisingly the conclusion reached was that it did both, but with extension being the dominant aspect.

It was clear that the area where (on surname evidence) family kinship was most in evidence was in Almondbury, while in York extension of relationship was more important. Such extension was predominantly upward in terms of social status (i.e. parents almost always chose godparents of higher social rank than themselves). Dr Coster suggested that this was indicative, not of a cosy community in which simple friendship operated between the classes but of one accustomed to hierarchical relationships. Pointing out that parents were invariably absent from the proceedings in the early part of the period (the mother because she was still to be 'churched') he went on to describe the male view of such proceedings, which were largely female affairs, often attended by such as the birth-helpers. He quoted John Aubrey who spoke of the 'gossiping feast that followed' baptism and pointed out that 'godsib' is the etymological root of the word 'gossip', a term that eventually became pejorative and was almost only applied to women.

Moving on to the evidence of wills of which he had examined some 5,900 dating from between 1508 and 1671, Dr Coster suggested that Barbara Hanawalt was not quite correct in asserting that parents never left bequests to godparents, but agreed that such instances were rare and always men to men. Concluding from this that there was little evidence of a spiritual network of female co-parenthood, he went on to state (this time on the evidence of Christian names) that godmotherhood (and godfatherhood) was often inter-generational. He instanced the fact that in York 85% of male names given were shared with a godparent, the figure for females being even higher at 94.4%. Although this practice declined in the later period (and the relatively small stock of men's names made the analysis a little suspect) it was nevertheless clear that the higher orders 'seeped' names down the social ladder in a process of acculturation. This was the case with the name Bridget, not known in Bilton before 1480, but from one Bridget Gascoin, proliferating from 1556 in three successive generations. Bridget Gascoin was one of those women of a gentry background who regularly accepted the role of godparent - one such taking on the responsibilities 32 times.

One other fact established by the research into wills was that while bequests from godparents of both sexes to godchildren increased after the Reformation, in the seventeenth century male bequests declined while those from women burgeoned. Dr Coster attributed this to a differentiation in the social life of a period when women were expected to be good Christians while men concentrated on being good citizens. Godsibhood therefore became a female characteristic evidencing a change in gender roles.

Dr Susanna Wade-Martins gave us a lavishly illustrated paper in 'Beauty, utility and profit: model farms and improvement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries'. Based upon research carried out for English Heritage, Dr Wade-Martins dealt with the development of model farms over a 250 year time-span. She began by commenting on the 'tricky' word 'improvement' and explained that she would not be dealing with environmental aspects but rather with perceived improvements in methods of agricultural production.

Her first illustration was of a mid eighteenth-century farm in the Solway Firth

region. This was a building typical of a time marked by the decline of the small peasant farmer and the incipient growth of capitalist agriculture. This was the beginning of a period when improving landlords (divided by Arthur Young into two groups – those who needed to make a profit and those who didn't and could therefore afford to experiment), provided fixed capital to tenants who themselves needed to be well-breached in order to provide working capital sufficient to keep the land in good heart. 'Model farms' (with origins stretching back through seventeenth – century manor houses to monastic granges) were defined as those consciously planned as complete units. These were often designed by well-known architects chosen to emphasise the status and taste of landowners, particularly when it came to building their 'Home Farms'. 'Planned farms' on the other hand, were for tenants rather than landlords and although often eye-catchingly pretentious in front, were functional behind, being built on square lines in an enclosed landscape of rectangular fields.

Such developments were mainly to be found in eastern Britain, from Caithness to Norfolk, from which swathe of country Dr Wade-Martins called up numerous examples to illustrate changes in farm building and the motivations that lay behind them. In the period from 1760 to 1890 there appeared to be two peaks of farm building activity, the first from 1790-1813 when the Napoleonic wars meant that high grain prices obtained and the second from 1850–59, this being the major period. Over the whole period she traced changes in taste and style ranging from the Palladian, through Victorian whimsy, to process oriented factory-like utilitarian forms utilising new materials such as iron, laminated wood and concrete, and with provision for waterwheels and steam engines. Along the way we were treated to many images including buildings on the great estates of the Cokes at Holkham and the Dukes of Bedford at Woburn. Royal involvement was illustrated by reference to Nathaniel Kent's work in reorganising farming in Windsor Great Park. The dairy farm at Frogmore, rebuilt by Prince Albert, strongly contrasted with Express Dairies' magnificent establishment of 1880 built to impress customers rather than friends. We also saw manifestations of the improving zeal of such as the notorious Duke of Sutherland and his equally enthusiastic agent, James Locke, forever vilified as the authors of the Highland clearances, but convinced of the rightness of their programmes of improvement.

'Metaphors of death: commemorative practice in Orkney and beyond' was the paper given by **Dr Sarah Tarlow** (Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester). Drawing upon material from her PhD thesis (based upon a study of over 3,000 Orcadian graves) and her recent book *Bereavement and Commemoration: an Archaeology of Mortality* (1999), Dr Tarlow charted changing commemorative practice from the immediate post-Reformation period to the nineteenth century. The Reformation had an immense effect upon the relationship between the living and the dead. In particular the denial of the purgatorial state meant that the dead now stood on their own before God and this brought about consequential changes in the use of images and iconography. A memorial of 1564 illustrated the move from prayer and supplication for the survival of the soul, to a concern for the perpetuation of earthly fame from which immortality was perceived to be derived. Quoting the line from Shakespeare's sonnet 'So long lives this and this gives life to thee' in relation to other sixteenth and early seventeenth-century memorials she also pointed out that these often featured heraldic devices used to legitimise new power relationships – particularly important in Orkney at the time where newcomers had usurped an older order. In the seventeenth century (during which as a rule only the social elite were memorialised) such heraldic devices were gradually replaced by emblems of mortality – skulls and crossbones, hour-glasses, gravediggers tools, bells and coffins. *Memento mori* tags encouraging inward thought, contrition and penitence in the living, were ubiquitous. As the end of the century approached other symbols such as pilasters and lintels suggestive of an ultimately upward passage through doorways to a higher existence, were often depicted. It was not until the eighteenth century that a 'gravestone boom' saw the lower social orders erecting, often crude, memorials to their dead. These were indicative, not of status, but of the wish to mark the place of the grave – an attitude that was associated with a growth of familial feeling and the inception of a new range of symbols; sleep was used as a metaphor for death, and such phrases as 'not lost but gone before' became popular. The sentiments expressed were not so much concerned with transition to a higher plane but related to a journey - the crossing of the bar – rather like emigration to another land with the prospect of a future reunion.

A surge in the number of gravestones occurred from around 1770 with all classes

assuming rights to graveyard plots in perpetuity, rather than being heaped with others in a bulging churchyard. Such memorials were very much concerned with affective family relationships and this remained the case throughout the nineteenth century, which saw a marked increase in euphemistic metaphors of death in marked contrast to those emphasising bodily corruption. In short the worm-riddled corpse gave way to the idea of loved ones enjoying a 'blessed sleep'. Such attitudes were characteristic of a society conditioned by notions of romantic love in which emotions were deeply felt, whereas, it was suggested that in the earlier periods the pain of loss may have been felt less keenly because of the social code of the times.

Dr David Matless (Department of Geography, University of Nottingham) gave the final paper of the seminar season in, 'Digging a strange pool: Marietta Pallis and the landscape history of the Norfolk Broads'. He began by showing an aerial photograph of the 'strange pool' situated in a well-wooded area between Hickling and Sea Palling in Norfolk. This intricate excavation had been dug in the peat fen at the behest of Marietta Pallis in 1953, to a pattern including a double-headed eagle, and three forms of Christian cross. These symbols of the Byzantine Empire, the Greek Orthodox, Roman, and presumably later Christian churches, provided the clue to the strange life and beliefs of their architect, who, together with her friend of 30 years, Phyllis Clarke, is buried on an island in the pool.

Marietta Pallis was of Greek parentage and independent means, who spent much of her life travelling, particularly in the eastern Mediterranean and Balkan states. Born in 1883 in Bombay she pursued botanical studies at Liverpool University going on to Newnham College, Cambridge in 1910. As early as 1911 she was writing on the Norfolk Broads from an ecological perspective. Following a trip to the Danube delta region in 1912/13 she published further scientific botanical papers and at the same time, having a strong sense of Greek identity, was becoming increasingly passionate about the Grecian and Byzantine heritage. By the mid-1930s she had a home in London and was renting a cottage in Long Gore Marsh in Norfolk, the eventual site of 'the pool'.

From this biographical background Dr Matless went on to describe Marietta's seemingly increasing taste for the metaphysical in relation to her extreme attachment to Greek Orthodox belief fused with regret about the lost world of Byzantium. This she saw as having been a melting pot of the best of east and west, a theocratic, traditional and hierarchical society, now destroyed by the market and the modern nation state. Although she continued to produce scientific papers (alongside a penchant for staging tableaux recalling the Grecian past) her prose 'teetered into an extraordinary style ... a ranting lament for a world lost'. One product of this seems to have been her attempt to recreate Byzantium in Norfolk, where in her cottage she entertained an exclusively female circle of friends, sporadically inhabiting 'an almost monastic community'.

Notwithstanding her eccentricities Marietta Pallis made a real scientific contribution to Broads ecology, not least with the digging of her pool at the time of the newly advanced theory of the man-made origin of the Broads, to which she was a convert. Unfortunately her writing was not accepted by scientific journals because of its metaphysical content and she had to resort to private publication. She died in 1963 and was buried on her island according to the rites of the Greek Orthodox Church, conducted by a Greek Cypriot priest from Camden Town - a fitting close to a singular life. In a postscript Dr Matless explained that her great-nephew has inherited Long Gore Marsh and, while anxious to perpetuate the name of his aunt, is, paradoxically, clearing the site of the scrub woodland that has grown since her death – hardly, it was felt, the consummation she would have wished for her landscape, at once symbolic of the glory of Greece yet destined to reflect its decay.

DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS 2000

Staff

H.S.A. Fox (with O.J. Padel)
The Cornish Lands of the Arundells of Lanherne, Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new ser., 41, 2000), clvi + 279 pp.
'The wolds before c. 1500' in Joan Thirsk, ed., *The English Rural Landscape* (2000), pp. 50-61.
G.R. Jones'Ghostly mentor, teacher of mysteries: Bartholomew, Guthlac, and the Apostle's cult in early medieval England', in G. Ferzoco and C. Muessig, eds, *Medieval Monastic Education* (2000), pp. 136-152.
'Patrozinien in Deutschland: Towards a pilot project', *Concilium medii aevi* 3 (2000), pp. 215-221.
'Trans-national studies about Saint Magí', in *Quaderns Barri de Sant Magí* 9 (1999), pp. 27-31.

ed., *Trans-national Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults Newsletter* 4-7 (2000), 32 pp.

C.V. Phythian-Adams

'Frontier valleys' in Joan Thirsk, ed., *The English Rural Landscape* (2000), pp. 236-62.

D. Postles

'Country *clerici* and the composition of English twelfth- and thirteenth-century charters', in Karl Heidecker, ed., *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, (Brepols, 2000), pp. 27-42.

'Migration and mobility in a less mature economy: English internal migration *c.* 1200-1350', in *Social History*, 25 (2000), pp. 285-99.

'Estimates of harvest on Oseney Abbey manors', *Oxoniensia* LXIV (2000 for 1999), pp. 301-5.

'Augustinian Canons' and 'England: history' in W.M. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism* (2000), pp. 101-3 and 443-5.

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K.D.M. Snell

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`An appreciation of Adrian Bell's *Corduroy*, 70 years on', *The Adrian Bell Society Journal*, 6 (October 2000), pp. 16-20.

Ed. with Liz Bellamy and T. Williamson: *Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture*, 11:1 (April 2000), 144 pp.

Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture, 11:2 (October 2000), 138 pp.

Reviews of,

Gertrude Jekyll, *Old West Surrey: Some Notes and Memories* (1904; 1999 edn), in *Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture*, 11:1 (April 2000), pp. 138-139.

Christine Hallas, *Rural Responses to Industrialization: the North Yorkshire Pennines, 1790-1914*, in *Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture*, 11:2 (October 2000), pp. 253-4.

M.G. Thompson

ed., *Friends of the Department of English Local History Newsletter* (2000), 41 pp.

REVIEW EXTRACTS

The following extracts have been culled from recent reviews of the departmental publications listed above.

On *The Cornish Lands of the Arundells*, Mark Page writes in *The Agricultural History Review* , 49:1 (2001), 'The editors deserve praise both for their clear presentation of the texts and for their comprehensive introduction to them. ... Padel outlines the history of the various branches of the Arundell family, the growth of their Cornish estate between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and explains the operation of the manorial system in the county. The complexities of the different types of tenure and the geographical spread of tenements ... are described with exemplary clarity. He also discusses the nature of the documents printed and examines the different types of surnames found in the texts. Meanwhile Fox provides a masterly analysis of the sixteenth-century Cornish landscape as revealed by these surveys. He demonstrates how the small closes of the county, surrounded by their characteristically 'mighty great hedges', were well adapted both to arable and pastoral farming practices. Furthermore, he establishes the very considerable extent of strip-field farming in the west of the county, which has been underestimated by historians in the past, and explains that the small size of strips enabled a more equitable distribution of land and rent among the tenants. Finally, he contrasts manors on which tenements were prone to decline and decay with those on which they were more resilient, concluding that this was largely the result of varying demand for foodstuffs by tinners and cloth workers ... This volume contains much to recommend it to the agricultural historian ... and offers a context and framework for the further exploration of an archive that is only now beginning to yield up its treasures.'

Geoffrey Rowell, the Bishop of Basingstoke, writing in the *Church Times* of 16th February, 2001, says of *Rival Jerusalems* ' [this] takes the census data as one of its major starting points, and, employing far more sophisticated techniques of analysis than have to date been used, plots the geography of Victorian religion in England and Wales. Old Dissent (Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers and Unitarians) and New Dissent (mostly the many variants of Methodism) are shown in their different regional densities – the strong dominance of Calvinistic Methodism in Wales being particularly notable.' The review concludes, 'Snell and Ell have provided historians and sociologists of religion with a valuable quarry of detailed regional information about the pattern of Victorian religion, and some of its shaping character. Those concerned with the adjustment, collection and use of contemporary religious statistics might well find there are valuable lessons to be learned.'

ELH PAPERS

G. R. Jones

'TASC-ing the saints: a fresh look at religious dedications', Wales and the Welsh 2000 Conference, Aberystwyth (April, 2000).

'Woden, Bartholomew, Astaroth: onomastic coincidence or glimpses of public policy?', Society for Name-Studies of Britain and Ireland, annual conference, Bangor (April, 2000).

'Sacred landscapes', and 'The cult of saints', University of Cluj-Napoca (May, 2000)

'Mapping saints' cults in GIS', Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative Conference, London (June, 2000).

'Trans-national database and atlas of saints' cults: the Irish dimension', Pilgrimage: Jerusalem - Rome - Santiago - Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Conference, Cork (July, 2000).

'Saints' dedications in Wales: A new electronic resource', Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults Conference, Lampeter (September, 2000).

'Saints and the Welsh: New approaches to a cherished theme', University of Wales, Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies seminar series, Aberystwyth (November, 2000).

'Place-names of the Leadon Valley', Friends of the Department of English Local History Study Day, Kempley (May 2001)

'Roman Leicester and its Anglo-Saxon Cathedral', Diocese of Leicester, 'Stories from Leicester Churches' series, Leicester (June, 2001).

'St Denis, St Mary, St Edith: New thoughts on the origins of Market Harborough and its churches', Diocese of Leicester, 'Stories from Leicester Churches' series, Market Harborough (June, 2001).

'Bottle-kicking and pilgrimage: families at play and prayer in an English parish', Victoria County History sponsored session, '*Domus, Ecclesia et Familia*: I, Cult sites', International Medieval Congress, Leeds (July, 2001).

D. Postles

'The performance of penance, *c.* 1250-1600', Mid West Conference on British Studies, Cincinnati, USA (October, 2000)

'Country *clerici* and the composition of English twelfth- and thirteenth-century charters', Leeds International Medieval Congress (July, 2000).

FORMER STUDENTS' PUBLICATIONS

Teresa A. Hall

Minster Churches in the Dorset Landscape (2000). Teresa was awarded her M.Phil in 1997 for her thesis carrying the same title as her book.

Peter G. Scott

'Railways and suburbia: the rise of Wealdstone and the decline of Greenhill', in M.E. Bird, ed., *Two Thousand Years: the Long Journey* (2000), pp. 69-72. Peter has donated a copy of this publication to the Marc Fitch Library; he was awarded his M.Phil in 1995 for his thesis on 'The influence of railway station names on place-names' .

Peter Warner

Bloody Marsh: a Seventeenth Century Village in Crisis (2000), 146 pp. Peter completed his Ph.D in the Department in 1982 and is currently Dean of Homerton College, Cambridge.

RECENTLY COMPLETED THESES

Sylvia Pinches

'Charities in Warwickshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries'

Recent decades have seen proliferating debate about charity and welfare provision. Passing beyond a satisfaction with the welfare state in its mid twentieth-century form, such discussion has been associated with the contested revision of state welfare, with the ways in which public sympathies were drawn to third-world famine and related crises, and with the possible effects of national lotteries upon charitable giving. Historians need to set such modern concerns into perspective, and this thesis is a historically focused contribution towards that. It explores the changing legal, structural and social aspects of charity in Warwickshire. Warwickshire was chosen partly to redress the generalised or metropolitan bias of many previous studies. The county comprised the ancient city of Coventry, the burgeoning conurbation of Birmingham and a varied rural hinterland. It thus provides three very different socio-economic contexts within which to examine the operation of charitable institutions and organisations.

The thesis takes a long perspective on charity – bearing in mind the ancient origins and legal forms of charity – although the main focus is on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The period under closest consideration straddles the pivotal decades in English history from the mid-1780s to the mid-1830s, during which there was a major reassessment of social responsibility. This was manifested by much debate on the role of public welfare and private charity, with the poor law enquiries resulting in important legal revisions. At the same time, there was a shift in

the foundation of new charities from the endowed to the voluntary form. This transitional period has been little studied by historians of charity, and the present work goes some way towards filling this lacuna.

The first chapter reviews the historiography of charity and of the theoretical writing on the subject, both historical and modern. Chapter 2 explores the development of the law governing endowed charities, which itself reflected changing attitudes towards charity and its recipients. The next two chapters are detailed analyses of the structures of endowed and voluntary charities, and of the incidence of the two types in Warwickshire. Having drawn out the distinctiveness of these forms of charity, the following two chapters examine their similar objectives. An investigation is made of the ways in which these objectives were pursued by endowed and voluntary charities, organised under the headings of the promotion of religion, the advancement of education, the relief of poverty, and other objects of public utility. Among the concerns here are whether certain objects were more likely to be supported by one form of charity than another, and whether there were any changes over time in the kind of support given. The way in which voluntary and endowed charities interacted with each other and with agencies of the state, sometimes in co-operation and sometimes in competition, emerges from this examination. The final chapter examines the motivations for and meanings of the charitable impulse, and discusses patterns of localism and tradition which informed charitable acts even at the end of the nineteenth century.

Philip Masters

'Church, land and lordship in West Sussex 680-1200'

This thesis contributes to the debate on the nature of Anglo-Saxon minsters and regional variation in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Church by relating form, setting and endowment of churches to origin and function, examining the relationship between minster *parochiae* and estates in contrasting landscapes, and assessing the effects of the Norman Conquest at a local level. Extensive survival of Saxo-Norman churches in western Sussex allows a classification and chronology to be developed, while a systematic approach to topography and records of glebes defines settings, enclosures and endowments. Anglo-Saxon charters, Episcopal, capitular and monastic records, manorial documents and state papers are the basis for analysing rights and dues between churches.

High-status churches were frequent, but, except in two cases, probably dating from the ninth or tenth centuries, *parochiae* were ill-defined. They were smaller than the estates which differed in form between the coastal plain, Downs and Weald and differed from the extensive estates of eastern Sussex and Kent. It is likely that ecclesiastical and lay institutions failed to develop fully, at least in part, as a result of exploitation by Wessex. There were probably few churches outside estate centres in 1066, but the types of church built in the period *c.* 1070 – 1120 reflect the pre-Conquest pattern. Two-cell churches were at small manors on poor land around the compact estates. Centrally-sited unicellular churches on the estates and in large Wealden parishes may be an indication of systematic pastoral provision. Larger churches at known or possible minster sites may be late Anglo-Saxon but are more likely to reflect the post-Conquest importance of collegiate churches.

The form and siting of churches is found to be a helpful method of interpreting the institutional development of the Church, but rights and dues can be traced mainly to c. 1070 – 1120. The study points to a contrast between marginal areas like western Sussex and the heartlands of the major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

MA DISSERTATIONS FOR 2000-01

Martin Ayres

'Beyond the rural idyll: housing Dorset's labouring poor in the early nineteenth century'

This dissertation sets out to discover the reality behind one of the most deeply ingrained stereotypes in English culture – the idyllic country cottage. The study not only discusses the appalling conditions that were in fact experienced by many of the labouring poor in early nineteenth-century Dorset but also examines why this was the case.

The principal source material used is the archive of the Poor Law Commissioners, which contains hundreds of letters and reports from each Poor law union. A sample of these was studied alongside parliamentary papers, records of the Old Poor Law, newspaper reports and letters. These sources were used to examine how poverty and population growth affected the ability of the labouring classes to access housing. The continued erosion of common rights, low incomes and the decline of service all played a part. The role of landowners and small proprietors in providing

housing is examined and the 'close' parish model evaluated with reference to the housing shortage. Landownership alone is, however, found to be an inadequate indicator of the quality and quantity of housing. The source material also enabled a study of the provision of housing relief under the Poor law which is found to show a high level of continuity after the introduction of the Poor Law Amendment Act.

In conclusion it is clear that rural housing conditions deserve more attention from historians. The growth of local government's regulatory powers after 1834 and the power over the labouring classes by the threat of eviction illustrates that a knowledge of rural housing is key to a better understanding of the balance of power in rural England. The factors that influenced the provision of housing should not be hidden behind the adoption of any stereotype, whether it be the idyll or the slum.

Andrew G.G. Bowes

'A study of four villages and their Historic Landscape Characterisation'

This work aims to introduce, in a simple and straightforward way, the ideas and principles Of Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC). This is a concept created in the early 1990s, arising out of recognition by national organisations that there was a need for a modern approach that identified historic elements of the landscape. Once these had been picked out, they could be treated and managed in the appropriate way during future landscape developments. The process relies on understanding how the landscape is produced. It assigns a characteristic to each parcel of land, based on its principal historic character, expressed by shape, location and form.

A series of case studies of four Nottinghamshire villages (East Bridgford, Colston Bassett, Woodborough and Calverton) is used to test the validity of the criteria used for characterisation in a county-based project, and to identify potential strengths and weaknesses of the process. These studies were completed by using the HLC process, and checking the results against those produced by traditional methods of researching landscape history. Maps, enclosure awards, glebe terriers, field and place-name evidence, parish and county histories were all consulted. A series of transparent overlays, showing parish landscape development, have been produced, and the uses of HLC for the local historian have been discussed.

The conclusions from the study attempt to describe how successful the process of HLC in Nottinghamshire has proved to be. It has been demonstrated that HLC is merely a tool, and not the final word, in trying to identify the past landscapes of England. The development of the landscape in the respective parishes has also been described, and aspects of Nottinghamshire's landscape have been highlighted. Further questions, concerning other aspects of landscape history, with and beyond the four parishes, have also been raised.

Mary Brewin

'The eighteenth-century English urban renaissance and its effects on three market towns of Leicestershire'

Improving foreign and internal trade, economic growth, elegant classical building, sporting activities and cultural pursuits were some of the hallmarks of urban progress during the eighteenth century. Spearheading this renaissance was London.

Gradually these improvements began to permeate in a pyramid fashion from the capital to the larger cities, through regional areas and provincial towns to the smallest market towns. Many smaller communities, unable to compete with larger towns, became backwaters or ceased to exist as viable trading centres. This dissertation presents three small market towns within Leicestershire. It argues that due to certain geographical and historical factors these towns not only progressed but, in time, showed signs of their own renaissance, albeit in a small and less dramatic way than London.

Ashby de la Zouch, despite the effects of the Civil War, grew into an attractive spa town at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Similarly, Melton Mowbray became the unrivalled Mecca for foxhunting, and the planned town of Market Harborough survived and made progress as a commercial centre, being in a strategic position on the main road from London to the North.

Growing population, topography, tax assessments, comparisons of trade lists (1790-1870), give clear evidence that all three towns had sufficient resources to attract the gentry and to provide services, and consumer and luxury goods, which improved the economy. Because of their geographical position in the centre of the Midlands' rolling grassland, foxhunting further contributed to the wealth of the area. The trading of inns and hotels on the main roads brought prosperity to the towns. But it was the improvements in the road system, the building of canals and the coming of the railways that made this trade possible and facilitated the towns' future survival.

Michael Cullen

'The churches and chapels of Leamington Priors'

Better known today as Leamington Spa, Leamington Priors was for many centuries a small unremarkable village until in the late eighteenth century its saline springs, long known of but hitherto unexploited, began to attract hosts of fashionable visitors and settlers. The aim of the dissertation was to see if the large number of redundant churches and chapels together with its commodious Victorian houses and ornate cemetery memorials, relics of this boom time, could help to elucidate the period of expansion.

The first step was to find all the chapels and churches and to trace their history and present status. This was followed by a search for the people connected with them through graveyards, church memorials, written records from around 1851 in order to check these against the 1851 Census returns. This should have allowed the identification of birthplace and an occupation for named individuals thus enabling the construction of a profile of Leamington's immigrants. In this endeavour a main snag was the number of people found to be missing from the Census although they lay buried in the cemeteries – the methodology not having allowed for the fact that the growing town had a large floating population. Such 'visitors' presented a problem as they often stayed for extended periods, but did not appear to put down roots or have any family ties in the town. There is no modern word that effectively describes this way of life – an arrangement placed somewhere between a 'royal progress' and transhumance! Another problem was the time span between the 1851 Census and written records, which emphasised the changeability of the population, but made tracing people less successful.

Paradoxically, the methodology in not coping with a floating population highlighted the fact that such a population existed. What emerged was a picture of a rapidly expanding Victorian town with its fair share of the nineteenth-century problems of class, religion and poverty. Leamington was, however, untypical because of its additional layer of upper class visitors and short-term residents who were its 'industry'. Many of these seemed to have spent their time moving from one social scene to another without ever putting down roots. It would seem that Jane Austen's heroes, forever arriving and departing, were not just a plot device, but an accurate description of how certain classes spent their time.

A.C.W. Fenn

'Settlement patterns in early medieval Rhwng Gwy a Hafren'

This dissertation is an exploratory investigation into the various forms and patterns of settlement in early medieval *Rhwng Gwy a Hafren*, the middle march of Wales 'between Wye and Severn'. This was a frontier zone, which covered the whole of Radnorshire, along with parts of Breconshire and Montgomeryshire and possibly parts of western Herefordshire. It will be shown that the landscape of Rhwng Gwy a Hafren is a palimpsest and that to the east of the region, beneath an overlay of English settlement, the faint ghostly outline of earlier Welsh territories can just be discerned. Watersheds, soil types, place-name evidence and church dedications all appear to support the supposition that the eastern frontier coincides to a remarkable degree with the boundary between the dioceses of St David's and Hereford and thus supports the view that ecclesiastical divisions were often based upon former secular territorial units.

At the heart of the dissertation is an investigation into a possible *maenor*, or multiple estate, at Glasgym in the *cantref* of Elfael. It is suggested that the multiple estate may be regarded as a 'mental map' in an attempt to visualise the landscape so as to enable a secular or ecclesiastical lord to most effectively exploit it. It is also suggested that Glasgym was originally a transhumance site based around two iron age hill forts which later developed into a *clas* church. Finally, the notion of seasonal settlement, throughout the Rhwng Gwy a Hafren, is further developed by investigating place-name elements, linked sites, trackways, and a possible connection between transhumance and St Michael dedications.

Frank Galbraith

'Changes in upland parishes in Derbyshire'

The two upland parishes chosen for this dissertation – Edale and Litton - are in north Derbyshire and although both are situated between 800 and 1000 feet O.D. they exhibit quite different characteristics geologically and in settlement form. Edale is a parish of scattered settlements and isolated farmsteads on gritstone bordered by some of the highest land in Derbyshire, in contrast Litton stands on the limestone plateau with a nucleated settlement at its centre.

The study sets out to examine the changes that have taken place since 1750 to the present day in terms of landscape, agricultural

practices, landowning patterns and population. The sources used in the research were the enclosure and tithe awards together with their respective maps, estate records, contemporary writers, census returns, field walking and interviews with local farmers. In the case of both parishes the change in the physical landscape is minimal with the exception of the arrival of the railway in Edale. Field patterns can be traced back to the tithe award in the mid nineteenth century, and in some instances in Litton to the enclosure award of 1764. There have been some minor additions to farm structures by way of additional barns in modern materials. Although methods have changed, for example by the introduction of farm machinery, the agricultural economy remains based on sheep rearing and dairy farming as it must have been in the nineteenth century.

In Litton lead mining and some quarrying were formerly undertaken but time has healed the scars to leave no more than small mounds in some of the fields. The Industrial Revolution brought about employment in factories for spinning cotton, influenced by the entrepreneurial spirit of Richard Arkwright and the availability of waterpower. These enterprises flourished into the twentieth century before eventual closure and alternative uses have now been found for two of the mills. The population, after peaking as a result of the introduction of these mills, has fallen to levels similar to those of the early nineteenth century. The large landowners have disappeared except in Edale where the National Trust now owns large tracts of the moorland and some parts of the valley. In Litton most of the land is in the hands of the local farmers, although some is owned by small landowners living outside the parish. Families which could be traced through estate records or enclosure awards through to the commutation of tithes lists, are no longer to be found. In the parishes a sizeable proportion of the population has moved in over the last 30 years. For them private transport means that most can work at some distance away with very few now employed in the parish.

Philippa Jessop

'Medieval Framland: the spatial development of churches in north-east Leicestershire'

The medieval church played a vital role in the lives of individuals and was central to the parochial community. The development of the congregational area, which became the responsibility of the laity in the thirteenth century, was affected by liturgical, social and economic factors. The aim of this dissertation was to attempt to assess the comparative significance of some of these influences in a group of 37 parish churches and parochial chapels in north-east Leicestershire.

Statistical methods were employed to compare the area of medieval naves and aisle (these dimensions being obtained by taking physical measurements) with estimates of population calculated from the 1377 Poll Tax returns, and secondly with comparative wealth statistics taken from the 1334 Lay Subsidy returns. The results of both tests showed a positive association, the area/population test being within the range of statistical significance. However, the wide range in the results of both tests suggested that there were other important reasons for church expansions and development.

Documentary sources, including *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, *Leicestershire Medieval Village Notes*, and the printed records of the medieval diocese of Lincoln were used to study a number of churches and parishes in greater detail. Although it was not possible to assess the effect of communal parochial involvement, it was concluded that, within this area, there were some strong links between the medieval development of the church and the chronology of manorial holding. Additionally, that the inheritance of medieval churches is the result of the particular social and economic conditions of this area, which pertained in the centuries that preceded the Reformation.

John O. Lewis

'At the sign of the Hop Leaf: the rise of H and G Simonds Ltd, a Berkshire brewer'

The aim of this dissertation is to trace the development of Simonds, brewers of Reading, Berkshire's county town, from the firm's beginnings in the late eighteenth century to its merger with Barclay Courage in 1960. Of all the industries in Britain, brewing and retailing of beer have been the most highly regulated by the State for centuries (for the purposes of taxation and the control of inebriation). The development of Simonds is considered with this background in mind over the period in question, notably the control of licences for retail outlets, and with the structural developments in the industry of acquisition of competitors, rationalisation and concentration of production throughout the twentieth century. Emphasis has been on Reading and Berkshire but many other areas have been considered also as Simonds expanded outside its

home area from 1919 onwards. As a result of enterprising management, sound financial policies and with well regarded products, Simonds had developed as a strong regional brewer by 1960 and it is an unanswered question as to why merger occurred as this was from strength not weakness.

Apart from a wide range of secondary sources and an oral source, much use has been made of archival documentation (regrettably the vast bulk of which is split between Bristol and London), which is particularly comprehensive post 1885 when Simonds became a company. Archival material before that date is scanty. Inter alia the minutes of board meetings and the annual accounts, with the accompanying chairmen's reports, have proved the most valuable sources.

There are several published brewery histories but not one for Simonds and, whilst there are very extensive gaps in material, particularly for the earlier period, it is hoped that this study goes some way to the provision of a comprehensive picture of the firm's growth, and accompanying changes in the industry.

Jacqueline Salter

'Witches and devils: a comparative study of the experience of witchcraft in Suffolk and Flintshire, 1670-1700'

Witchcraft in England has a long and fascinating history, producing a wide range of literature, from contemporary pamphlet accounts of the trials, and learned writing on the subject, to recent scholarly appraisals and many different interpretations of source material. In recent years it has become clear that the experience of witchcraft is deeply rooted in the local social context, and is subject to many regional variations.

This dissertation sets out to assess and compare the experience of withcraft in two diverse regions, concentrating on the large number of trials in Suffolk in 1645, and a sample of cases from Wales. It is based upon a range of published academic work, manuscripts from the British Library and source material from the Suffolk Records Office at Ipswich, and the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth.

The extensive material available for Suffolk reveals a society riven with tensions and insecurities, which might easily have found expression in accusations of witchcraft. The role of Matthew Hopkins is examined in some detail. It is suggested that the Puritan's highly developed perception of the devil and the infiltration and acceptance of this concept in the minds of the populace contributed to the widespread outbreak of accusations in the county in 1645.

On the basis of the source material examined, it can be concluded that the experience of witchcraft in Wales was profoundly different to that of Suffolk, although the dynamics of an accusation of witchcraft may have followed a similar pattern. The social and economic development of the Principality differed from that of Suffolk and a greater level of social cohesion existed in Welsh communities. It may be argued that these factors, along with a later Reformation, a widespread belief in witchcraft and sorcery, and continued acceptance of the efficacy of blessings and charms, combined to ensure that Wales did not suffer the trauma of a 'witch hunt' like that of her East Anglian counterpart.

Penelope J. Smart

'The influence of the hosiery trade on the growth and development of Leicester's satellite villages, 1700-1851'

The aim of this dissertation is to examine those factors which influenced the establishment and development of the hosiery trade in Leicester's satellite villages, and the degree to which this trade contributed to early suburban development. It was noted that, despite their proximity to the city, the histories of these parishes were very different during the early industrial period and some villages, which were apparently involved in framework knitting during the eighteenth century, had no frames remaining by the time of Felkin's account in 1846.

The study was based on a sample of three villages with very different histories: Aylestone, Belgrave and Evington, and began with an analysis of the 1851 census. This was supported by early maps and apprenticeship, settlement and removal records from the century and a half preceding the census, and the background history of the hosiery trade in Leicestershire. By differentiating between the social and age groups in the three populations it was possible to examine patterns of migration over time and for different elements of the communities. These patterns were related to changes in the local economy including land ownership; the impoverishment of the framework knitters; variation in the application of the poor laws; and suburban development.

The influence of the city on the growth of Belgrave was found to be an important factor. The differences between Aylestone and Evington seem to have been more to do with the influence

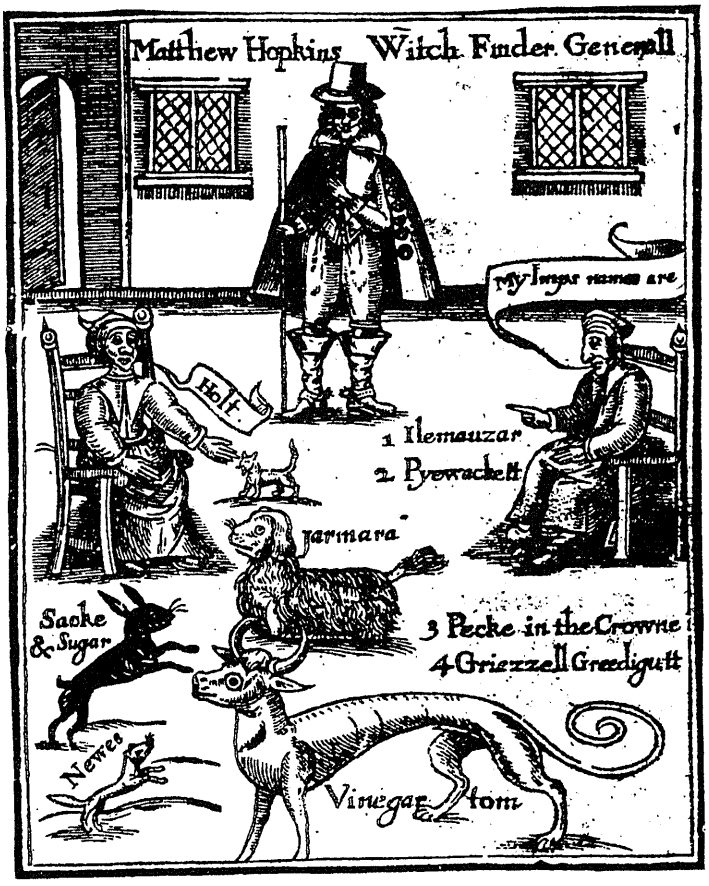
exerted by the local landowners. The wealthy resident families of Evington, through the poor law guardians, used pauper apprenticeship to limit the poorest class in the parish, while Aylestone's absentee landlord did not involve himself in the growth of local industry until the 1840s, when, it would seem, he started to clear it out.

Thomas Owen York

'Church and churchyard memorials of the lower Soar Valley 1540-1850'

This dissertation is concerned with the memorials to be found in the churches and churchyards of 20 villages from Birstall in the south to Ratcliffe – on – Soar, close to the Soar's confluence with the Trent, in the north. It begins with a brief discussion of church and churchyard origins and proceeds to consider early memorials to be found within the church including what is reputed to be the earliest known inscription on a ledger brass in England – that to Thomas Walsch, knight of Wanlip who died in 1393. After such generally grand memorials, many of which were the product of relatively local craftsmen working Nottinghamshire alabaster, the study (which drew upon a wide variety of source material including records in the Leicester County Record Office, John Nichols' *Leicestershire* and Pevsner, as well as oral evidence) goes on to consider chest and table tombs in churchyards; early, relatively crude headstones; the later flowering of the fine work of craftsmen working Swithland slate (Swithland church itself falls within the ambit of the dissertation); imagery and sentiments expressed in memorial stones; and the individuals and families, of varying social status, whose lives, works and deaths are recorded.

The study concludes that it is possible to trace family histories through monuments and memorials, which, in their varying wealth of detail, style and location, provide positive evidence of village hierarchies in which wealth and land-ownership were dominant factors. In addition the growing prosperity of the region in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be discerned with growing numbers of entrepreneurs, artisans and service trades people affording the tangible evidence of their mortality in the form of a headstone, although a large proportion of the labouring classes continued to be buried in unmarked graves.



An illustration from Jacqueline Salter's dissertation, which forms the frontispiece to Matthew Hopkins' pamphlet, *The Discovery of Witches* (1647)

STAFF DISTINCTIONS

Harold Fox has been elected as a Vice-President of The English Place-Name Society.

STAFF CHANGES

Pauline Whitmore

After 15 years of organising and humouring idiosyncratic staff and students and most efficiently dealing with the administration of a resource starved department, Pauline finally retired in December 2000. Characteristically generous, she treated all members of the department to a farewell lunch and was later, in turn, feted at the home of Charles and Judy Phythian-Adams by many former colleagues and friends (including her predecessor, Muriel Phillips) in January. Indicative of her popularity, and the respect in which she was held by all who knew her, was the large number of those who subscribed to her farewell gift, presented in the form of a substantial cheque, in respect of which, and again characteristically, she wrote a personal letter of thanks to each and every contributor. Pauline has joined the Friends and it was good to see her back in the Centre on the occasion of the Hoskins Lecture.

Audrey Larrivé

Audrey joined the Centre in March 2001 as the new secretary. Originally from Troyes in the Champagne region of France, Audrey studied English Literature, Language and History, at the Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne, for her B.A., with her final year at the University of Leicester on the ERASMUS exchange programme. Before joining the Centre she worked as a secretary in the Centre for Mechanisms of Human Toxicity and before that had brief careers as a French Assistant in Guthlaxton and Countesthorpe Community Colleges, and as a customer adviser at the Leicester Tourist Centre. Her interest in England and English culture developed after a school trip in 1993 leading to her moving permanently to England – though she wishes to return home when she retires!

Audrey, who speaks and writes impeccable English, has very quickly accustomed herself to the vagaries of the Centre and to her duties, which include clerical and secretarial support to the Academic Staff, and administrative support to the Centre.

GIFTS TO THE MAP ROOM AND LIBRARY

As always our grateful thanks go to all those who have given books or other material to the department's library and map-room collections in the last twelve months. They include:
M. Bennett, W. Brock, J. Morison, M. Rothschild, P. Scott, M. Sibbit, P. Stokes, R. Taylor, C. Thornton, M. Tranter, Uffculme Archive Group.

JOHN NICHOLS PRIZE

The John Nichols Prize for 2000 was awarded to Alex Shepard, of the University of Sussex, for her essay 'Litigation and locality: the Cambridge courts, 1560-1640'.

The prize of £100 is available each year for a scholarly essay, not exceeding 20,000 words, which considers some theme or aspect of English local history sympathetic to the Centre's approaches. The closing date for submissions is 31st December. MA course participants may, if they receive a distinction for their dissertation, simply send a note indicating their wish to enter to Dave Postles, from whom other potential applicants may obtain further particulars.

SEMINAR PROGRAMME 2001-02

If you would like to come to any of the following seminars, you will be very welcome. They are all held in the Seminar Room at Marc Fitch House, 5 Salisbury Road. **We regret that it is essential that you notify the Departmental Secretary on Leicester (0116) 252 2762 THE DAY BEFORE as there may be limits on the number of spaces available. It is hoped that it will not be necessary to turn away visitors who have not telephoned.**

All seminars take place on Thursdays at 2.15 to 4.00 p.m. (approx), followed by tea.

11 October	**Professor John Koch** (University of Wales, Centre for Advanced Celtic Studies, formerly Harvard University) 'Social identity in Early Medieval Britain'
25 October	**Nancy Cox** (University of Wolverhampton) 'Shopping: the seventeenth-century experience'
8 November	**David Lambert** (English Heritage) 'Guinea Gardens: leisure and landscape in nineteenth-century cities'
22 November	**Professor James Stokes** (University of Wisconsin) 'Performance and posturing: records of drama in early Lincolnshire, Rutland, and Leicestershire'
6 December	**John Knight** (University of Bristol, Centre for the Study of the Historic Environment) 'Woodland archaeology: lessons from Wansdyke parishes'
24 January	**Dr David Marcombe** (University of Nottingham) 'The power of the place: a Lincolnshire sacred site and its continuity'
7 February	**Catherine Richardson** (University of Birmingham, The Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon -Avon) 'Changing clothes and changing status: the bequest of clothing in sixteenth-century Kent'
21 February	**Rob Lee** (University of Leicester, Centre for English Local History) 'Rural society and the Anglican clergy in Norfolk, 1815-1914'
7 March	**Dr Tom Williamson** (University of East Anglia) '"Woodland" and " Champion" revisited: explaining variations'
21 March	**Dr Peter Musgrave** (University of Leicester) 'Valpolicella in its region'

EVENTS SPONSORED BY FRIENDS

MARC FITCH HOUSE COLLOQUIUM

More than 30 Friends enjoyed a very full day of stimulating papers and discussion on November eleventh 2000. It was unplanned serendipity, that found the Reverend William Bates, the first of our speakers and in the middle of his paper 'Ecclesiastical involvement in memorialisation – 1915 to 1925', when it fell to him to call for two minutes silence, at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month, in memory of the very people (and countless others) whose foreshortened histories he was recalling. Identifying two types of memorial – the utilitarian, such as clocks, seats and organs, and those of a more conventional kind such as obelisks, tablets and the like – he traced changing attitudes to the war dead over the years, and a corresponding variety of memorial forms in a thought-provoking and moving visual presentation. William also brought along a collection of images and documentary material, which he displayed in the Map Room, and which attracted much interest.

William was followed by Professor Alan Rogers, well-known for his publications on local history as well as the histories of Nottingham and Stamford. It was indeed data culled from 'The Medieval wills of Stamford' that provided the basis for his contribution. This ranged over conventions for dating wills, often indicative of the ritual year when saints' days were the means; rates of change in property transactions; the wording of deeds which did not simply follow common-form; the unexpected incidence of dealers in leather, Stamford being more particularly noted for its wool trade; the increasing use of trustees who were often foreign merchants; the names of parties and their witnesses; the location of cellars, mills and ovens; local topography; and much more besides.

After an excellent lunch (organised as ever but not for evermore) by Christine Draycott there was an opportunity to purchase some of the best books left over from previous booksales, or donated on the day, and this raised some £64 for the Friends, boosting mere pecuniary profit from the day to a figure well in excess of £350.

The first of the afternoon speakers was David Fox whose engaging account of 'The stone crosses of the North Yorkshire moors' was based upon extremely thorough research and full of visual delight. After bemoaning modern vandalism that had seen many crosses defaced or removed he dealt firstly with churchyard crosses, not all of which were preaching crosses but had sometimes been rescued from sites on the open moor. David went on to give examples of the very few memorial crosses, including the Lilla Cross, perhaps a seventh-century memorial erected by Edwin, King of Northumbria. Crosses marking parochial and estate boundaries, often erected by monastic foundations in the Middle Ages, were next considered. Some of these, of which 80 examples stand on ancient routeways, were used as simple waymarkers. He also touched upon market crosses and two of special interest, marking the sites of a putative holy well and a place of sanctuary.

Lilla Cross on Fylingdales Moor, one of many illustrations in David Fox's MA dissertation. The cross reputedly was erected by Edwin, King of Northumbria, to commemorate his faithful counsellor. The cross is a well-known landmark and is the only one marked on John Speed's 1610 map of Yorkshire

The next speaker was Denis Stuart, a distinguished historian and now, in retirement, researching for a PhD student in the Centre. Denis engaged his audience in a palaeographic exercise in the course of his paper entitled, '"The first publishers of truth": early Quaker itinerant preachers in Staffordshire'. This was an account of the independently minded men, followers of George Fox, who travelled through Staffordshire between 1651 and 1661. Many of these had set out from distant places, mainly in the north of England, to

preach their gospel of mankind's potential for direct communion with God without the intermediacy of the churches. Some were to lose their families and even their lives, so zealous were they in their belief. Denis spoke of the Staffordshire families that sheltered them; of their converts, many of whom were from Baptist congregations; and, in spite of persecution and prohibitive legislation the growth, by a process of 'familial osmosis', in their numbers. This growth was eventually followed by increasing toleration of their views and their eventual transmutation from a radical sect ('a band of naked and vagrant preachers') to 'a sober and decorous' grouping by the mid-eighteenth century.

By this time the day was running behind schedule and several Friends had to leave before the final paper of the day given by Jenny Burt, who is, like William Bates and David Fox, a former MA student in the Department of English Local History. This was unfortunate for them as they missed another visually and intellectually stimulating talk. In 'Researches of the Northamptonshire Gardens Trust' of which she is the current Chairman, as she also is of the National Association of Garden Trusts. Jenny described how the Trust (one of 32 in England) was launched in 1992 and was involved in research and recording designed to promote interest, protect and restore gardens, or their relict sites, for the enjoyment of the public.

Jenny described the sources used to identify such places, many of which she had become familiar with during her MA research in the 1980s when she had studied some 150 gardens dating from 1660-1836. Touching also on deer parks of which over 100 had now been identified in the county, she described and displayed a succession of images of five great gardens: Holdenby, surveyed by Christopher Halton in the 1590s, with its water supply described by John Norden; Harlestone, the work of Humphrey Repton, with his images of the 'before' and 'after' treatment; Rushton Hall (visited by the Friends under Jenny's guidance three years ago); Cottesbrooke dating from the early eighteenth century and still lovely today with its landscaping, lake and bridge of the later century; and finally seventeenth- and eighteenth-century plans of Horton, home of the Parr family and the Earls of Halifax, where there had been a gothic underground grotto and a menagerie housing tigers and bears adjacent to a banqueting room.

This splendid day was thus happily concluded, sometime after 5.00 pm, with tea for all and grateful thanks to all those who had contributed to its success

STUDY DAY IN THE LEADON VALLEY

Blackthorn Winter turned to Spring for the thirty-nine Friends who spent an absorbing day in Gloucestershire on April 21st. From start to finish, at the Beauchamp Arms at Dymock (literally a village pub in every sense because it is owned by the villagers), the day was full of delight and interest. After coffee at the inn we visited St Mary's church where our Secretary, Derek Shorthouse, gave us a short account of the fabric and then drew our attention to the church's own poets' corner dedicated to the memory of Robert Frost, Wilfrid Gibson, Rupert Brooke, Lascelles Abercrombie, Edward Thomas and others. These 'Dymock poets' found much of their early inspiration in the area and indeed one of the best-loved poems of the age - Rupert Brooke's 'The Soldier' - was published from here. It was not difficult to see why such nostalgia for rural England was evoked in them as we emerged from the cool of the church, through its Norman doorway with its Tree of Life tympanum, to see buzzards wheeling and diving playfully overhead against a blue sky.

From Dymock we made our way by coach to Kempley where in the Norman church (entered only after we had paddled over a disinfected mat as a precaution against foot-and-mouth disease), we were treated to the learned, but always clear and compelling, description of the series of medieval wall paintings by Miriam Gill. These paintings are unique in the whole of England both for their completeness, and their chronological range. The scheme in the chancel dating from *c.* 1130-40, with Christ of the Apocalypse surrounded by the apostles, angels and saints in glory on the vaulted ceiling and surrounding walls, is remarkable indeed, while the large areas of painting in the nave range from thirteenth- to fifteenth-century work. They include memorable representations of the Wheel of Life on the north wall, and the figures of saints Anthony and Michael weighing souls, while the merciful Virgin intercedes on behalf of the potentially damned. After leaving this church, under another Tree of Life tympanum and through a half-timbered porch, we made a survey of its exterior (shrouded in scaffolding as it was undergoing restoration) and made the short bus trip to Kempley's other and much newer church, St Edward the Confessor, built in 1903 and redolent of the Arts and Crafts movement with its heavy scissor-beam roof trusses, bold west window, and plain solid pews from the workshop of Leicester's Ernest Gimson. Here we learned from Graham Jones about the place-names of the Leadon Valley

and the evidence he had found from these and church dedications for the likely existence of an ancient territorial entity in this borderland between Anglo-Saxon and British kingdoms and peoples.

By this time everyone was ready for the welcome hospitality and excellent lunch, washed down for most with local cider, provided by the ladies of Kempley in the adjacent village hall. It was here that a slippage (perhaps cider induced as, it was noted, were a number of reddened faces) occurred in the hitherto fastidiously adhered to time-table of the day, so meticulously and thoughtfully arranged and orchestrated by Derek. It was 2 o'clock before we set off for Newent after taking in the lovely views of the nearby Malvern Hills which have also evoked so much artistic creation – from Langland's vision of 'A faire felde ful of folke', to the music of Elgar. We travelled through woodland (with the daffodils fading but wood anemones sprinkling the floor) orchards with plum blossom fully out and wild birdcherry likewise in the hedgerows, and so beyond the Three Choirs vineyard to the recently beautifully restored Market House at Newent. Here we were introduced to the members of the Newent Local History Society and learned from Mrs Edna Riley about the Market Hall, its restoration, the local treasures it contained and the good uses to which it is now put. Pausing briefly outside for a group photograph for the local newspaper – *The Citizen* - which had already heralded our excursion under the headline 'HISTORY BUFFS TO TOUR TOWN AND CHURCHES', we were taken on a town tour by Mr David Bick, FSA. He reiterated Derek's earlier advice that the Gloucestershire *Pevsner* had been written by David Verey but then went on to point out that his appraisal of Newent was, very literally, superficial in that he had described it as having mainly eighteenth-century houses whereas in fact the 'neat brick frontages' of this period covered the half-timbered walls of an earlier time. Mr Bick pointed out many other interesting features of the town and spoke of the very effective lobbying and good effects of the town's Civic Society which had fought off inappropriate development to create open spaces and a fine new balustraded parapet on the dam above the lake, from which there are fine views of the church (yet another St Mary) and its elegant spire.

It was to the church that we were then led, to be split into two groups which in turn were treated to accounts of the headstones in the closed churchyard by Mrs Frances Penney and the church interior by Dr K.M. Tomlinson. Mrs Penney lovingly described the process of recording the details of the memorials (many now badly eroded) and gave accounts of the lives and family histories of the most interesting. These included those of the local carpenter, Edward Taylor, who, having worked with Sir Christopher Wren in London returned to construct the amazing roof of the church in 1675-9 after the collapse of the earlier nave. This single span roof measures 75 by 50 feet and along with the fenestration of the nave dating from the same period gives the impression of a large city church rather than that of a small market town. The last memorial that Mrs Penney showed us was that of a black African servant, Thomas Bloomsbury, lovingly remembered by, and buried with, members of the Richardson family he had served, during the early nineteenth century, for 55 years.

Inside the church Dr Tomlinson detailed its history and its seventeenth-century restoration before pointing out some particular details. These included the fine eighteenth-century organ built by a local carpenter (whose tomb we had also seen in the churchyard); a fine alabaster tomb with two reclining figures of an unknown knight and his lady dating from the fourteenth century; the so-called Newent stone dating from the eleventh century; and some enigmatic stone carvings which had been dated (disputably) to the seventh century, and were perceived by some to have been the work of Celtic monks.

As if all the richness of the day thus far was not enough to savour, we were then pointed to the remarkable Shambles Museum – the creation of Jim and Holly Chapman. This is an almost overwhelming collection of bygones from the Victorian period housed in a variety of authentic buildings so fortuitously arranged as to create the environment and feel of the heart of a small Victorian town. Jim Chapman himself described the process by which he and his wife had acquired the various properties and artefacts. These included a small mission chapel - 'the tin tabernacle' - lifted whole into the precincts of 'the town' by a crane. I am sure that many of us left this array of Victoriana with regret but determined to return to take in more of the wealth of material that it contains.

And so, running only a little behind schedule the party returned to the Beauchamp Arms for much desired tea, coffee or, as Derek coyly put it, 'something a little stronger'. Thus ended a very full and most enjoyable day for which huge credit and thanks are due, mainly to Derek, but also to those (not forgetting Mary McGhee his principal accomplice) whom he recruited to guide and explain to us the various treasures we saw on an unforgettable occasion.

TWELFTH HOSKINS LECTURE

Dr John Blair, Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford always seems to have something new to say, and treated his audience to a wide-ranging account of his current view of the Anglo-Saxon church and its relationship to society and popular religion in his paper 'The Church in the Early English Landscape: Old Problems and New Approaches'. Those hoping for controversial comments related to attacks made on the 'minster hypothesis' a few years ago may have been disappointed since, though perhaps contributing to the refinement of the theory, the arguments put forward by Rollason and Cambridge in the mid 90s did not, in the event, lead to long-lasting academic debate.

However, the historiography of the subject, with reference to Dr Blair's first theme, the territorial role of the church in pre-Viking society, was a starting point, and he pointed out that, although churches were not a major interest for Hoskins an article on parishes was amongst his earliest publications and that his approach to "the unpicking of the landscape" was of importance in developing the context of investigating churches in the context of developments in landscape and society. Dr Blair then briefly outlined his defence of the minster system which he acknowledged would have been subject to variation between regions and over time, but noted the correspondence between minsters for which early documentation survives and mother churches of the eleventh century onwards, found frequently enough to indicate continuity in the sites of locally important churches. North Gloucestershire, where good documentation shows the stable structure of ecclesiastical geography, provides an illustration. At Beckford, for example, where churchscot payments are recorded early in the period, they are found to have survived tenurial changes of the late ninth century.

A layout of mother parishes, then, was an organisational model, moulding itself to various local conditions including land use and settlement. In fact the mother churches or minsters were the *centres* of settlement and administration as well as religion, and their importance in these roles was actually enhanced even as their wealth and ecclesiastical role declined and to illustrate the kinds of places he meant we were reminded of Everitt's Banburys and his own work on Bampton (Oxon) where the minsters were the principal foci for urbanisation.

This view contrasts with the older theory that royal centres were the initial and significant focal places. In fact, Dr Blair argued, it is dangerous to extrapolate too far back in time from Domesday Book, since earlier diplomas show that royal vills were transient features, relatively undeveloped, unlike the minsters which, endowed with lands, were stable, central, market places. The identification in Alfred's day between minsters and urban sites was such that the translation of the time used the term "minster places" to render Bede's "urban places". Domesday Book's royal vills at minster sites show how royal power had recognised the potential of such places and attached itself accordingly.

With these developments came increasing enforcement of the laity's obligations, although it is unclear what influenced their behaviour before these new controls were applied. Probably there had been much less regulation, with custom playing an important role. With the payment of churchscot included in Ine's laws, it is likely that most people knew where their local minster was, and felt some obligation towards it, by the ninth century. It is simply unknown, however, how baptism had been regulated - a 'continental' system of baptismal churches is not in evidence in England, except in "abnormally Frankish" Kent, and the lack of evidence for such may reflect the relative lack of importance of bishops in England. Burial at the minster, meanwhile, was perhaps not a common right or obligation but a privilege, explaining why outlying cemeteries seem to continue in use well beyond the adoption of Christianity, but had then fallen out of use from the ninth or early tenth century, as the laity were brought more and more into connection with the church. Another apparent difference between England and the continent, and the Celtic areas, was the lack of widespread small churches, seen elsewhere from the sixth century, reflecting again variation in circumstances, with England's conversion comparatively late and beginning at the upper levels of society - the levels from which church foundations were first funded and endowed.

Until a layer of manorial churches was established, there were, nevertheless, ritual foci: a variety of sites in the landscape - granges, retreats and hermitages among them - linking the minsters and the peasantry. The 'ritual landscape' was complex and extended and lay participation in religious activities such as processions to these sites may have been enthusiastic, with the record of the Council of *Clofesho* in 747 showing the incorporation of pre-Christian ceremony while Christian ceremonies were in danger of becoming

too 'indigenised' as suggested by Alcuin's concern over drinking bouts at hilly places on religious occasions: the *coniurationes* were not pagan brotherhoods but symptoms of aberrant popular Christianity, leading in turn to a desire among ecclesiastical reformers for greater control and supervision. Popular beliefs, whatever Alcuin and Boniface might think of them, had the new religion at their core, rather than survivals of paganism, and were served by the incorporation into the religious landscape of a range of undeveloped ritual foci.

In due course, though, small local churches were founded, with the first written reference, in the laws of Edgar, distinguishing those with a public function, having graveyards, from private chapels. This picture is mirrored in the archaeological evidence,as at Raunds (Northants) where a manorial chapel graduated from the latter to the former, and in other examples whose relationship to manorial complexes shows their ambiguous status as both lords' possessions and the ritual foci of their communities. In time many of the little churches acquired land and were rebuilt in stone. They, too, show regional variation, with many more evidenced in eastern England than in the west, and consequently mother church rights were more likely to survive in the west.

But until the eleventh century, it was taken for granted that parish churches were minsters, although it is hard to know what the term for parish was: it should, John thinks, have been 'church soke', carrying meanings of both obligation, towards a particular church, and jurisdiction, with the concept of a parish-community deriving from a fusion of the two. With greater use of the churches including for baptism and burial, the local parish gradually became the main religious focus from the mid-tenth century and particularly between 1040-1080, and the minsters' monopoly declined and was largely lost by the time of Domesday Book, a process compounded by the new Norman lords who, not too concerned about the minsters' rights, alienated tithes to Norman houses. Lay ritual behaviour, then, had been refocused onto the churches, whether surviving minsters or new local churches, as reflected by the sudden increase in the occurrence of fonts from the late eleventh century, whereas very few survive from the preceding period when use of portable vessels seem to have been usual practice.

This is not to say that ritual activity in the landscape ceased. Many 'holy' or 'magical' sites - wells, trees, stones - had been inherited from the past and continued to be regarded as such, not in specifically Christian or pagan, but rather folkloric ways. With increasing Christianisation, regularisation and definition, from the tenth century, such sites were either ruled out of approved religious activity, or conversely adopted with Christian dedications, the institution of processions to them or even the building of churches. Such adoptions might lead to objections from stricter religious figures, such as Wulfstan of Worcester who, according to William of Malmesbury, objected to a nut tree standing by a church, the implication being that the tree held some religious significance for the locals of which Wulfstan disapproved. Exactly this kind of site has been excavated, at Ketton (Rutland), where a very large tree, apparently a focus for burial, was developed by the building of a small church, which then fulfilled the religious function. A polytheistic background remained close in these 'access points', in the landscape, to the other world, and the fragmentary evidence allows a glimpse of an inclusive religious culture, a continuum, between the sacred as seen by clerics, and as seen by the laity.

With little having been said about the well-known debate of the mid-90s, the ensuing discussion was comparatively short, although Dr Blair had challenged some traditional views about the survival of paganism, the role of early royal centres and the value of the well-documented ecclesiastical system in Kent as a model for the rest of the country, and drawn new attention to the importance of the laity of numerous early sites across the landscape: he had given his large appreciative audience too much to think about for extensive thought-out discussion to ensue immediately. Afterwards the speaker and many of his listeners made their way to Marc Fitch House for tea, cake and the famous booksale, which, thanks to the generosity of many Friends in donating books as well as buying them, raised a record £422.

Jonathan Pitt

FRIENDS SUMMER OUTING

Some twenty Friends gathered in a car park on Saturday 7th July at the start of a most interesting tour of the two Nottinghamshire towns of Worksop and Retford. Our guides for the day were Malcolm Dolby who is chairman of both the Worksop and Retford Historical Societies, as well as being the curator of their respective museums, and Michael Jackson, Secretary of the Worksop Historical

Society and a long time resident of Worksop, who unfortunately had to leave us early due to indisposition.

The town of Worksop we see today was formed from the two original manors of Worksop and Radford, Worksop having the castle and the park and Radford the priory. The Furnivals and Talbots (Earls of Shrewsbury) were lords of the manor from the early thirteenth century until it was sold to the Duke of Newcastle in 1840. He, already owning Clumber Park, had no need to support a second house nearby, so demolished the main house leaving only a small part of the service building. The castle mound occupies a commanding position overlooking the two communities. Though modern Worksop has suffered the blight of the modern town planner, as witnessed by the new District Council offices that now take the place of of a row of eighteenth-century town houses that were demolished to make room, there are still sufficient vestiges of the past to show that this was a community of some standing.

How many towns can boast of having street name paques made up of ceramic tiles from the Minton works? We saw several houses that had been slotted into a gap, thus acting as reminders of the width of a burgage plot. There are still some columns, built into the front of shops at the top of Bridge Street, that provide evidence of an elegant eighteenth-century arcade. On the way down to the Radford half of the town we passed the French Horn Hotel of 1906, exuberantly clad in green tiles and untouched by improvers.

The priory gatehouse, still virtually complete, was used as one of the main entrances to the town until the nineteenth century, but has now been bypassed. The priory church of St Cuthbert, founded in 1103, is an impressive building. Other than Southwell Minster, it is the only Nottinghamshire church with twin west towers. An interesting central tower was built in the 1980s to join the south transept to the main body of the church. And , although of twentieth-century design, this addition is in sympathy with the ancient fabric.

The party of Friends approaching the Norman priory of Radford in Worksop founded in 1103

Worksop is clearly still recovering from the loss of the coal-mining industry in the neighbourhood, so members were interested to learn that the town was famous for liquorice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was a centre of furniture manufacture in the nineteenth century, specialising in the production of Windsor chairs.

After a brief visit to the town's library we then travelled the eight miles to Retford for lunch and some free time looking around the busy Saturday town before reassembling at the museum. Retford is another town of two parts, the older on the west bank of the river Idle and the newer on its eastern bank. East Retford was a planned new town of the early twefth century and was granted its market in the thirteenth century. Development of the town was limited by several factors, the old route of the Great North Road lay two miles to the west of the town and the Idle was not navigable as far as Retford. In the eighteenth century the old horse market was redeveloped into the market square of today. The Great North Road was rerouted and coaches stopped in the town en route between London and the north. Later in the century James Brindley was commissioned to construct the Chesterfield canal, which opened in 1776. The canal crosses the river in the middle of the town by means of a simple aqueduct. We started by looking at the parish church of St Swithun, which appears at first sight to be a complete perpendicular building, but was, as our guide explained, very largely rebuilt in the mid nineteenth century. After examining the brickwork of the Vine Inn , raincoats and umbrellas became the order of the day for the rest of the tour. We then viewed the exterior of St Michael's church (according to Pevsner of much greater interest than St Swithun's) from the bridge over the Idle by the 'red ford',that gave the town its name, and noted that the Victorian town hall is capped with the cupola and clock from the previous building. The day finished with a slide show in the library with the aid of which Malcolm Dolby recapitulated the main points which he had so knowledgeably and amusingly made during the course of our visit.

Our thanks go to David Ross-Ellis for arranging a fascinating day which illustrated how closely neighbouring towns could, nevertheless, develop in such different ways.

David Holmes

BURSARIES

Two Bursaries, to a total value of £750, were awarded to two Students in September 2000.

The name of the Bursaries Sub-Committee has been changed to the Student Support Sub-Committee, and has revised terms of reference. Bursaries will continue to be awarded as they have been hitherto, but the Friends now intend to assist Ph.D., M.Phil., or MA Students at the dissertation stage, by contributing modestly (between £50 and £200) towards expenses exceptionally incurred in high quality research which might lead to publication. The Committee may attach conditions to any grant. All applications must be submitted on a form, which is readily available from the Secretary of the Friends, in time for consideration by either 30 September or 31 March each year.

DIARY DATES

Formal notice is hereby given that the **Friends AGM** for 2001 will be held after the Thursday afternoon seminar on **Thursday 22 November** at 4.15 p.m. Please do your best to attend.

October 13 2001 Autumn Outing to Ulverscroft Priory, followed by pub lunch

November 10 2001, Seminar Day at Marc Fitch House: Five papers on a wide variety of local history themes.

The **Annual Hoskins Lecture** and **Summer Outing** have yet to be arranged and will be individually notified, as will other possible events including a weekend in historic Gloucestershire currently being planned for 26 – 28th April 2002.

W.G. HOSKINS' COMMONPLACE BOOK: 1926 to 1932

On returning some slides to the Archive Room in Marc Fitch House I fell into conversation with Andrew Hann, a researcher with Urban History, its then occupant. We talked about the voluminous archive, so neatly boxed and catalogued, which derives from the work of Francis Steer, Herbert Finberg and W.G. Hoskins. I referred to their meticulous approach to note taking and how this seemed to be epitomised by their handwriting (amongst other things Finberg was a fine calligrapher). Opening a box at random to illustrate this, I recognised Hoskin's

Commonplace Book which I had first come across two or three years before. This stiff-covered exercise book (catalogued as HO/4/D /19) contains over 300 beautifully transcribed quotations from an impressive assembly – a veritable pantheon – of writers, philosophers and poets ranging from Shakespeare to Santayana and Schopenhauer, from Aristotle and Allingham to Voltaire and Weber.

Inside the front cover Hoskins recorded that he kept the book in Exeter (1926-30), Bradford (1930-31), Guiseley, Yorkshire (1931 after July), 24 Upper King Street, Leicester, between October and December 1931), and finally 53 Queen's Road, Leicester (January and February, 1932). The treasured entries of the young scholar (he was between 18 and 23 years old at this time) tell us much of that which appealed to the undergraduate at University College, Exeter and later researcher and teacher at Bradford Technical College and University College, Leicester. A second volume, not otherwise referred to in this article, was kept from 1932-35 and is also in the Archive.

The following extracts reveal the tremendous breadth of Hoskins' early reading and those sympathies which all who know his work will readily recognise. The first extract is from J.C. Squire (a fellow Devonian, Sir John Collings Squire 1864-1958 was a poet and man of letters who is little regarded today), headed 'Epitaph on a Dead Friendship' it reads:

" Look yet once more upon her where she lies
So straight and still, never again to rise,
Her golden skin, her eyelids and her hair:
She was so fair, this stranger was so fair".

This short sentimental piece, redolent perhaps of the aftermath of a youthful love affair, is followed by the terse, very unsentimental, view of Metternich (1773-1859, the Austrian chancellor) that,

" Asia begins on the Landstrasse".

The third entry is also from Metternich, and in it we can see something of the yearning for an earlier age that typifies so much of Hoskins' writing, but also, in contrast, more of Metternich's regret for a future that he will never know,

" I have come into the world either too soon or too late. Earlier, I should have enjoyed the age; later I should have helped to reconstruct it; today I have to give my life to propping up the mouldering edifice. I should have been born in 1900, with the twentieth century ahead of me."

It is difficult to stop quoting, so evocative of the man who wrote them down are the entries. The last quotation on the first page is from Max Weber,

"The civilised savage is the worst of all savages".

And so the collation goes on. Such is the *embarrass de richesses* that what follows is chosen from every 30th quotation in order that the selection does not suffer from the present writer's predilections.

30

" Not that they starve, but starve so dreamlessly,
Not that they sow, but that they seldom reap,
Not that they serve, but have no gods to serve,
Not that they die, but that they die like sheep."

Vachell Lindsay, *Lament for the Multitude.*

60

"Pessimism leads us to the settled conviction that all life for self is worthless. ... Labour to cast self aside, and to live in the universal life, having only this one object, that the best and highest should be attained, no matter who attains it."

Josiah Royce, *The Practical Significance of Pessimism.*

90

"Action is transitory – a step, a blow
The motion of a muscle – this way or that –
'Tis done, and in the after vacancy
We wonder at ourselves like men betrayed:
Suffering is permanent, obscure and dark,
And shares the nature of infinity"

Wordsworth, *The Borderers.*

120

Experience

"The world was made when a man was born,
He must taste for himself the forbidden springs:
He can never take warning from old-fashioned things;
He must fight as a boy, he must drink as a youth,
He must kiss, he must love, he must swear to the truth
Of the friend of his soul; he must laugh to scorn
The hints of deceit in a woman's eyes-
They are as clear as the wells of Paradise.
And so he goes on till the world grows old,
Till his tongue has grown cautious, his heart has grown cold,
Till the smile leaves his mouth, till the ring leaves his laugh,
And he shirks the bright headache you ask him to quaff.
He grows formal with men, and with women polite,
And distrustful of both when they're out of his sight.
Then he eats for his palate and drinks for his head,
And loves for his pleasure – and 'tis time he was dead."

O'Reilly

150

"The young are only allowed to be taught by hypocrites, because of the moral contamination to be feared from contact with honesty."
Bertrand Russell, *Prospects*

180

"He [Anatole France] is a great analyst of illusions ... His lucid thought is not beguiled into false pity or into the common weakness of affection. He feels that men born in ignorance ... and condemned to struggle with error and passions through endless centuries should be spared the supreme cruelty of hope for ever deferred. He knows that our best hopes are irrealisable; that it is the almost incredible misfortune of mankind, but also its highest privilege, to aspire towards the impossible; that men have never failed to defeat their highest aims by the very strength of their humanity, which can conceive the most gigantic tasks, but leaves them disarmed before their irremediable littleness."
Joseph Conrad

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Epitaph on Colbert

"Here lies the father of taxation:
May Heaven, his faults forgiving,
Grant him repose; which he, while living,
Would never grant the nation"

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"I doubt whether anyone who had learnt modern psychology in youth could be quite like the late Lord Curzon or the present Bishop of London"
Bertrand Russell, *Psychology and Politics*
[The Bishop of London from 1901 to 1939 was the Right Reverend and Right Honourable, Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram, K.C.V.O, D.D., LL.D – just what particular aspect of his approach to life had prompted the philosopher's castigation is not clear, but in an otherwise fulsome account of the bishop's life in the DNB it is said that '... [his] intellectual equipment is solid, but dated. He gave the same answers to doubters in 1944 as he had given in 1884' - surely enough in itself to earn the scorn of a humanist such as Russell].

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"The most unending ass in Christendom"
Carlyle on Herbert Spencer
[Herbert Spencer had a wide following amongst late nineteenth-century scientists and thinkers as the proponent of the theory of evolution as it might be applied to the development of belief, morality and ethics]

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"We find that the tendency of all but a small minority of our modern critics is to accept their values ready-made from the historians, the anthropologists, the psychologists, and the industrialists by whom they have been given currency. They are standing on exactly the same level as those people whose productions they are endeavouring to evaluate, permitting themselves to be dictated to in just that one province in which they should normally speak with authority. Although in the course of their criticism they are expert enough in placing the object against the background of modern thought, it does not occur to them to submit that background itself to serious examination. They possess no points of reference beyond the sphere of the immediate and contemporary in respect to which they can orientate themselves. They are overpowered by actuality and can, therefore, throw no light upon the deeper nature of our experience."
Lawrence Hyde, *Prospects of Humanism*

One theme running through the pieces that Hoskins found memorable is a kind of generalised humanism which several of the above extracts exhibit. This is exemplified by the last quotation dating from July 1932 when he was 23 years old,

"The Church came easily to acquiesce in all the major inequalities, injustices, and oppressions of the economic system. ... It did not merely acquiesce in serfdom as practised under the custom of most feudal societies. It expressly endorsed and upheld the ownership of man by man, slavery, as a legitimate form of property."
J. A. Hobson, *God and Mammon*

This feeling may also be read into the rhetorical question posed by Robert Louis Stevenson (entry 65)

"What if the striving were a final aim in itself? What if there were no goal to be attained ... a goal set at an infinite distance? What if the goal were there for the sake of the race, not the race for the sake of the goal?"

There are more pessimistic views of the human condition than this, which find their place in the collection. Nietzsche was a favourite of the young Hoskins and is quoted twenty times or so. From entry number 137,

"The visionary denies the truth only to himself, the liar only to others", to 144,

"It is the farce of many industrious persons that by an excess of effort they win leisure for themselves, and then can do nothing with it but count the hours until the tale is ended", it is Nietzsche's cynicism unalloyed.

In spite of this bleak strain there is much more in the chosen *dicta*: of beauty,

"See where the stars still keep their ancient peace" (Boethius); of lyricism,

"Little things were they, Lord, too small to be denied,
The green of roadstead waters, where the tired ships ride" (author unknown, but alongside Allingham's

kindred and famous lines beginning "Two ducks on a pond ...); of wit and *bon mots*, "I have found you an argument, I am not obliged to find you an understanding." (Dr Johnson).

Finally a short quote from the nineteen-year old student from the writing of De Gourmont will, for many, typify Hoskins' lifelong view of history, Evolution is not progress. Evolution is a fact, and progress is a sentiment".

MikeThompson

TALKING TO FRIENDS: KEITH SNELL

Keith Snell, Reader in English Regional Cultures, is so well known to most of us as to need no introduction. A member of ELH since 1985, he was Chairman of the Friends' Committee for two years and remains the staff representative on that body. However, it is sometimes the lives of those we think we know best which, perhaps, contain the greatest surprises, as the following interview demonstrates.

Dr Keith Snell

Friend Tell me about your background

KS I was born in what was Tanganyika, now Tanzania. My parents had lived in China and the Far East and married in Hong Kong. My father was an engineer and then a tropical forestry expert and used to travel a great deal. We moved persistently from one country to another, so the first eighteen or so years of my life involved moving house frequently across about fifteen African countries, travelling widely through Europe as well, so I had an unusual background.

Friend Am I right that you didn't go to school?

KS Well, I went to school late, my mother taught me up until about the age of nine or ten; she taught me to read, write and everything basic. My mother was a teacher. She is Welsh and my father is English. My mother is from the Gower Peninsular and my father from Lincoln; she left south Wales partly to get away from the rather claustrophobic Welsh atmosphere in which she had been brought up. She became a teacher in China – which was one way of getting away from south Wales. Both I and my younger brother were taught by her. It wasn't quite as simple as that, because she also went out to work, my father was often away on contracts, and I was partially brought up in my early years by a young black Bugandan woman who looked after me and lived with us. She taught me, with my mother, up to the age of about five. When my mother brought me back to south Wales, English was my FOURTH language! Before that I had spoken mostly Swahili, but two other African languages as well. My parents were trying to learn Swahili so they didn't stop me speaking it but when I went to Gower, at about the age of four, the elders of the Presbyterian Methodist Church, to which my mother belonged, took her aside and said: "Look this boy doesn't speak English or Welsh, for heavens sake stop working away from home and start teaching him yourself. From that point my English improved considerably!

Friend Were you and your brother more or less alone while you were growing up?

KS Well no, not really - my childhood friends tended to be African, I was completely fluent in their languages and used to play with them. They were mostly very poor people.

Friend Were they all transitory friendships?

KS We had a fairly traumatic time because first of all we lived in Tanganyika and then the Belgian Congo. We were evacuated from a war in the Congo, we then moved to Kenya. We had to leave Kenya as well because of the Mau Mau, we were in effect evacuees from the Mau Mau.

Friend Was that frightening?

KS It was frightening, yes and particularly for my parents because they weren't colonialists, they were on short-term contracts, my father being engaged in engineering projects and so on. For someone like my mother, coming from quite a gentle Welsh background to go into an atmosphere like that was scaring. We were mainly living out in the bush and there were many

atrocities going on - on both sides. A lot of these were directed at white children (I was nearly killed once) so it did upset my mother, mixing with people who were carrying guns. We left Kenya in the late '50s because of those problems and lived in Uganda, which we again had to leave, with about 40 minutes notice. A politician who was a friend of my father was assassinated and we thought the soldiers were coming to our house – there was pandemonium on the streets of Kampala and we left the country in very difficult circumstances. When I was eight we moved to Nigeria and lived there and elsewhere in west Africa. Things didn't get much better there because I was then evacuated from the Biafran war. We had about 30 minutes to board a timber ship and get down river towards the sea, and then to Lagos.

Friend Who was your father working for then and who actually got you out?

KS He was working in tropical forestry by then, for the United Africa Company.

Friend So no company had responsibility for you?

KS Not with the war; my father was in charge of a large industrial complex employing about 5,000 people on the site and about 5,000 in the jungle. He just came home from work and said "The Biafrans are about 30 minutes up the road, their army is invading and we don't know what will happen." He stayed, but a lot of Nigerian soldiers, nuns, children and others were put on two timber ships and evacuated to Lagos. The ships were attacked by Russian mercenary jets, and we were attacked again by Lagos docks. It was quite harrowing. But one thing was quite amusing, because my relatives in England and Wales said that they had seen a picture of me, this little white boy, coming down the ship's gangplank in the national newspapers documenting the Biafran war.

Friend Have you been back?

KS I stayed in parts of Africa until I was about 18, I had my schooling in England and went back for about four months every year. After the Biafran invasion we went back just after the Nigerian federal army retook the areas in the mid-west and towards Biafra where we had been living. My father was more or less imprisoned during the period; many of our friends had been shot, the house had been shot up and very many 'westernised' Ibos lost their lives at the hands of General Gowen's troops. A lot of people we knew were dead – many bodies were in the river.

Friend Did you lose your pets?

KS I don't remember that. I remember the people killed, their bodies and the smell, Mig fighters attacking on two occasions, the lack of food, and the army road blocks, and drunken soldiers firing into the back of cars. I did have lots of pets, yes, I had an aviary full of birds, the Nigerian kids used to bring me birds with damaged wings and things like that and I would try and heal them. One of them, an African dove, used to fly back regularly from the jungle and perch by me on our verandah. The war was quite traumatic; my father's hair turned from bright ginger to totally white. He did his best to save the lives of Ibos who were working in the factory and nearly got himself killed in the process. We lived in West Africa for some time afterwards and then I came back and worked in a Welsh sawmill for a year when I was 17 or 18. Then I went to Cambridge.

Friend Did you have a good time there?

KS I had a wonderful time – I loved Cambridge. I lived there for 10 years, it was the first place I had ever lived for more than a year or so.

Friend Did the fact that you were so rootless in your early years affect your choice of research topics?

KS Yes, I think so, in a variety of ways. First of all, I was mixing with very, very poor people in many African countries and that affected my sympathies as an historian – I find it hard to work on the aristocracy or gentry, my sympathies lie very much with poorer people as subjects for historical study. It also affected the sorts of sources I work on. When I was a kid, for example, I used to write letters home for the factory workers in Nigeria, as many were illiterate, trying to get a wife or arrange for money or other things. Then when I discovered in record offices some of the historical sources of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England and Wales, particularly settlement examinations and the correspondence which went with them, they seemed to be similar sorts of letters to those I wrote for others in a third-world context, with an economic structure that was essentially early-modern in English terms. So I felt that I understood that kind of economy. It seemed very natural to research eighteenth- or nineteenth-century rural society. The other aspect of this was that many in my mother's family were small farmers, mainly on the north side of the Gower Peninsula and in the Vale of Glamorgan, and we used to come back for one or two months each

year to stay with my mother's relatives. In the 1950s and '60s, some of these farms were really quite primitive, particularly in Gower - they were essentially Victorian. Many of the features and much of the technology, particularly the women's work, struck me as very out-of-date, even at the time. It was coming back to this country, and seeing the similarities or dissimilarities between Welsh agriculture and the sorts of rural communities I knew in Africa, that influenced the sort of work I did later as an academic.

The other thing of course, which affects the subjects I pick, is the contrasting backgrounds of my parents. My father is English – high Anglican, soloist in Lincoln cathedral, his father was awarded the OBE having run Rustons' large engineering works in Lincoln for 30 or so years - and yet my mother was Welsh, Presbyterian Methodist from a very different sort of background. She was culturally miles apart from my father – the Welsh/English contrast between my parents has always been a very interesting one. The contrast between these cultural inheritances embodied in my parents has always intrigued me; it is part of my own make up – I find myself constantly oscillating between the two personality types and the two social orders. This has affected a lot of my work, for example, in looking at English – Welsh religious contrasts, and between pastoral and arable areas. I am interested in the contrasting societies across these two extremes. This is essentially for biographical reasons; there are no academic influences behind these interests; the contrast is so deeply rooted in my own life and make-up that it becomes important for personal reasons to try and understand it.

By the way, it may amuse you to know that my mother's maiden name was Hoskins. Her farming family (surnames like John and Ellis) also used to trade in lime from Gower (where limestone abounds) across the water with the farming family of Hoskins in Devon. The farms needed lime for fertilizer. Eventually, they intermarried, and some from the Hoskins family bought land in Gower; hence my mother's name. My Gower relations tell me this story from the nineteenth century, and so I suppose I must be distantly related to W.G. H. who came from the Devon Hoskins family. I only found this out recently, and thought it an odd coincidence that I ended up in this department.

Friend What about the international aspects of your work?

KS I think this department has become much more internationalised over the past few years. I think that much owes to the initiatives of Graham Jones. I have done a book on the Irish Famine – my sympathies there were much influenced by what I saw in Africa and especially Biafra - but I would not describe myself as an international historian, perhaps largely because, coming back to England and particularly going to Cambridge, I really began to discover *this* country. In many ways I am much more a foreigner in this country than most white people are. When I dream, I often hear African voices and African languages. I joke with one of my present Asian neighbours with a Ugandan background, and we worked out that I was far more of an immigrant to this country than he is. So for me it is more a matter of discovering this country for itself, and looking at its contrasts. My early childhood is completely lost to me and I can't really go back to the places where I grew up. For those reasons I am particularly interested in this country and I am not that international in my scholarly interests.

Friend Do you feel you belong here?

KS Yes, but in a way I am reacting against the extreme internationalism of my upbringing. I think a lot of children do react against that sort of experience or vice versa. Take someone like the Suffolk writer Adrian Bell of the interwar period, who produced a son like Martin Bell. The father wrote in a very microscopic, closely observed way about Suffolk life and justified the study of one village by saying there is as much interest in a couple of acres as there is in a whole country writ large - which is true from certain perspectives. Yet that person can produce a son who reacts against this localism and becomes very, very international. With me the reaction was the opposite; by the time I was 18 I was thoroughly fed up with travelling and with the traumas I had put up with because of my father's occupation. I once got interviewed for a job in Oxford and the panel told me I ought to be working on African history, and that I was wasting my time on English and Welsh history. No, I am quite happy looking at the history of this country, taking in wider comparative reading. I take an anthropological approach to the history of this country very much for granted, and I think like that the whole time.

Friend So you had a good time at Cambridge?

KS 'Had a good time' isn't the right phrasing. I worked extremely hard in Cambridge.

My mother wanted me to have a higher education, but I don't think my father was very keen.

Friend What did he want you to do?

KS He wanted me to go into business or industry and I had to work as a gardener to pay my way at Cambridge.

Friend Tell me about the work there.

KS I went to Trinity Hall as an undergraduate and stayed there as a research student for a further three years. I then got a research fellowship at King's College, Cambridge so I became a fellow there for four years. I then got a lectureship at York in the Department of Economics and Related Studies, I was in the Related Studies' part, and I was there for two years before I got the job here.

Friend Is it true you wrote your PhD in a fortnight?

KS Three weeks two days. My supervisor was Tony Wrigley. I don't know if he was joking or not but he said he wanted a draft PhD at the end of my first year and I took this seriously. I thought that was expected of me – in retrospect I don't think he was serious, actually. Then I found I had to apply for the Oxbridge research fellowships to have any chance of staying on and becoming an academic. I bumped into a friend of mine in the Cambridge market one day and he said "You know the deadlines are such and such for these research fellowships." I only then had three weeks two days to go – I simply wrote the thing from then because you had to submit a PhD or very large manuscript to stand any chance of getting a fellowship. I slept one night in two and lost a stone.

Friend On a typewriter?

KS I had a little Olivetti portable, but I wasn't very fast on it, so I wrote it out longhand and gave it to an elderly lady I knew who offered to type it. She actually became ill while she was typing it and passed it on to her husband and he made a dreadful mess of it! I had to retype a lot of it. But it got me a research fellowship at King's College against heavy competition, so I thought that if it was good enough for that it was probably good enough for a PhD, so I wrote a preface and submitted it, and that got my PhD. I was lucky to obtain it so quickly.

Friend You were teaching in about six faculties at that time weren't you?

KS Well the system at Cambridge was, and still is mainly, that you teach on a one-to-one basis. I was desperately short of money at that time. I was living on a negligible grant, my father had retired, I never lived in college, jointly rented a house outside and was working as a gardener one or two days a week. To get undergraduate teaching at Cambridge was very easy and you were paid something like £11 an hour which was quite good money. I urgently needed the money so I did much teaching. I could teach in the Economics and History Faculties, I then started teaching in the Anthropology Faculty and also a Thomas Hardy paper in the English Faculty, and also in the Social and Political Science Faculty.

Friend Was it unusual to teach in so many faculties?

KS It was, but I was able to do that because I had been much enthused by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population as an undergraduate. I had covered subjects like demography, and family and kinship, which were being taught in anthropology or social and political science, so I could teach those papers as options. I just found myself in a position where I could teach quite widely.

Friend Who was especially influential to your development?

KS I specialised quite heavily in American history and political philosophy and I was extremely interested in the latter. Then I discovered Peter Laslett's book *The World We Have Lost* and that was the book that triggered off my interest in social history and historical demography. I found it a remarkable book, even though there were a few hostile reviews of it and some left wing historians were very much against it. I vividly remember one incident with Peter Laslett. I had to write an undergraduate essay – you had to write an essay every week and I would write mine through the night until about 6.00 in the morning and take it in to my supervisor in time for a supervision. One evening I was busily writing an essay which had some connection with Laslett's book, and I was looking at one chapter which I couldn't figure out - there were a number of problems with the way the argument had been expressed. Without looking at my watch I thought I would ring him up – I had never met him - and find out what he was really arguing out of what seemed to be two separate interpretations. So I found the name in the phone book – I didn't look at the time – the 'phone rang for a very long time indeed, and finally he answered. I explained my situation and what I saw as the problems with his chapter. There was a long silence. Finally he said: "Well this is probably because of an infelicity of expression on the part of the author and I had better explain what I really meant." We had about a half- hour conversation, after which I thanked him and went back to my essay. I looked at the

clock then and it was after 1.00 am and I realised I had woken up Peter Laslett at about 12.30 with this undergraduate query. I was very impressed indeed with his reaction, with his patience and the way he had explained things. I really rather took to him after that! He was a very famous person in Cambridge at the time and not the sort of man you would normally ring up. I was also very impressed by Tony Wrigley, who was my supervisor, someone who I think has quite supreme personal and intellectual qualities.

Friend Was there anyone else at Cambridge who influenced you?

KS I was in Kings College with John Barrell who was writing *The Dark Side of the Landscape,* and we used to meet up almost every evening for a chat about things relating to that and about social history. I was much taken with him and his literary approaches.

Friend Then you moved to York?

KS Yes, I was teaching only post-1870 economic and social history there. That was much extra work for me because I did my research on an earlier period, so I spent a lot of time learning about the twentieth century.

Friend Did you ever regret not going to art college?

KS Well, really art was far and away my favourite subject when I was in my mid-teens and most of my friends were heading for art college. I was convinced that was where I would go and I did Art, English and History 'A' levels. I was accepted by two art colleges and I was set to go. But in the early '70s people began saying that an art degree wasn't worth the paper it was written on and I began to wonder if it was sensible, so I thought I had better try and get in to Cambridge. I got a scholarship and everyone said I would be mad to turn it down, so I thought I would compromise and go to Cambridge to read history, and in due course change to anthropology or art history. Then perhaps I would study art later. But after the first two years of the Tripos they wouldn't let me change from history, so I was more or less caught as an historian.

Friend This interest in art hasn't been so much in evidence.

KS I do some lectures on landscape painting, and some drawing almost every day, and quite a lot of photography.

Friend Tell me about coming to Leicester as part of the 'new blood' initiative.

KS These 'new blood' lectureships were set up by Keith Joseph and Mrs Thatcher in a period of higher education cuts when things were really incredibly depressing. The very large majority of my contemporaries as research students never got academic jobs because there simply weren't any for about 12 years. To remedy this situation the Conservative government introduced these 'new blood' lectureships. They were particularly designed to promote subjects like computing which had some obvious utility to the national economy. History generally speaking wasn't considered one of these, and there were only four or five history lectureships, one in Oxford, one in UEA (that my friend Tom Williamson was appointed to), and a couple of others. Charles Phythian-Adams obtained one of these in the Department of English Local History, and through his initiative and good ideas the new post was created. It was very difficult at the time to find any sort of academic post.

Friend That was in the Attenborough Tower?

KS Yes, we were on the 18th floor. The department was still very small, Charles, Harold, Margaret Camsell, Sue Wright and Margery. There were far fewer students and they were all full-time so, in a good year for MA students, there were about ten students and small numbers of research students.

Friend Did you consider going anywhere else?

KS I was offered and accepted a job at Birkbeck College. Then I started to look at the housing situation in London and after a week I was in despair. I was also offered a job at the LSE. I liked York, especially the local people, but I was mainly teaching the twentieth century there. I wanted to teach my own research interests, so the job here was ideal for that. I have been happy here, I've been more research active than I was in York and I like the research atmosphere here. Postgraduate students allow one to teach one's own research – one learns a lot from such students. There are some things lost in not teaching undergraduates, for instance, there is much more sense of helping young people solve their problems and seeing them develop. But their personalities are less developed, they are less expressive, they don't intervene much in lectures, whereas our students are often quite conversational in lectures – I like that very much indeed.

Friend You seem a very driven person – what drives you?

KS I don't really see myself like that, but I think I am a very creative person. I come from a most creative family, from very creative origins. I have other academics in the family, and for me academic work and the research side of academic

work is essentially a creative exercise. I would like it to feel more like say, drawing or painting. However it's a different kind of creativity, it is more conscious and in some ways more intelligent and less instinctive than artistic work. But I think if you are a creative person like that it doesn't really feel like hard work; one may work horrendously long hours, often until one or two in the morning, but one is simply expressing or enjoying the creative aspect of what one is doing. I would be the same if I was a wood-turner or a professional artist. In that sense I don't rate it as hard work, although my family are fairly horrified at the sort of hours I put in, but it doesn't feel like it.

Friend Do you enjoy the writing?

KS Yes, but it is a very different creativity to landscape painting. There is more argument and more skill in presentation, one is using a different kind of intelligence, and the organizational and lateral skills differ. You get great excitement from developing an original idea that only you have had - that is what I find fulfilling. I could never write text-books where I was just summarising other people's arguments. I would lose interest if I was not writing something I felt to be original. It is expressing ideas as an argument, and understanding what has happened to this country historically in a way which you know is original, that I find interesting. I am a very independently minded person, I'm not much interested in following other people's arguments.

Friend Is *Annals of the Labouring Poor* the book that gives you the most satisfaction?

KS No, I'm not particularly satisfied with that book. You see I wrote it as a very young man; it was written by 1982 when I was only 27 years old and it was written quite quickly. I can see faults in it; I wouldn't write it the same way now. One's interests change, but it has been quite successful. I rather lose interest in it once a book is published. I suppose I have about three days of pleasure in seeing it on my desk. I didn't read all the reviews. I was working on something else. You can't go back on a piece of academic work unless there is a revised edition, and revising doesn't interest me very much. There are so many new subjects I am interested in, you just put the old things behind you.

Friend You have done quite a lot of collaborative work. Is that something you enjoy?

KS I have done this with various people here, with Paul Ell and Alasdair Crockett in particular. We were taking on the 1851 Religious Census; there was an enormous amount of data involved. In addition we were computing a huge number of variables to understand the contexts of religion. Inevitably it required teamwork and indeed many years of data preparation and analysis. It was an exhausting project, very large scale indeed. I am not sure that I want to take on such a massive project again, although I probably will!

Friend Do you look about ten years ahead when you are planning research?

KS I look about 30 years ahead. Three of my grandparents lived well into their 90s, so I plan very far ahead. I take notes and gather material for books I might write in the future. At the moment I am writing a book on parish and belonging in England and Wales from the late seventeenth century into the twentieth century, which is about de-localisation and how ideas of belonging were manifested. People talk about globalisation as a process of growing expansionism and connectivity, and one can see all the ways in which its history could be written. But the other side of this is de-localisation, the decline of the local, the decline of localised senses of place, the changes in administrative frameworks, the move towards more centralised government - a whole range of themes relating to that interest me. After that, I am due to write a book on northern agriculture and rural societies during industrialisation. I did some of the research for that at York, but for the time being it is sitting on the shelf, although I think it is a book that needs writing. The third book is a modern economic and social history of the Church of England, because that seems to me to be a huge gap. There is very little written on it and yet the Church of England was very important economically as well as in cultural and political terms. Something like one-eighth of all land upon enclosure went to it. The clergy were significant farmers in their own right. There is a whole range of dimensions relating to that which interest me. I may try to get a very large grant and a group of people together to do that. It would include charities, church building, church restoration, the economics of the nineteenth-century Anglican revival, the decline of the church. I would be interested in putting a large project together. It would probably be larger than the one on the geography of religion.

Friend Are you happy with the proposed changes in the department?

KS We are now a very strong medieval department, probably one of the strongest in Great Britain, and I am hoping that that will bring us more students studying medieval history. We are perhaps a little weak on the modern side, but of course we are now a Centre within Economic and Social History and they are very strong on the modern front. So we should be excellent in both areas. It has been difficult recently, but I am very optimistic especially under the new Vice Chancellor.

Friend Why is history important?

KS I think of all subjects it provides the best education overall, and I also think it explains a great deal about where we are now. As you can tell from the way I talk about my own personal background, it is enormously important in one's own self-understanding. It is also extremely important in the self-understanding of any society or local community in any country. It supplies a sense of momentum and progress, showing a direction as to where one is going. It allows us to compare the trajectory, or experience of any country with others. I also regard it as extremely important from a moral point of view. It is one of the most morally enlightening disciplines one can study. It encourages the study and sympathetic understanding of other people. It helps one realise how other people see themselves. It encourages empathy in the person studying. There are definitely major lessons to be learned from history.

Friend Thank you

BOOK REVIEW

The Changing Face of English Local History, edited and introduced by R.C. Richardson, published in 2000 by Ashgate Publishing Ltd (ISBN 184014 620 6) viii + 218 pp.

Each of the thirteen chapters of this slim volume is devoted to a separate essay, but of this number only three, each written by the editor, are published for the first time. It would be superfluous, and certainly late in the day, to add to the numerous observations that have been made on H.P.R. Finberg's *The Local Historian and his Theme* which was the very first Occasional Paper published by the volume Department of English Local History in 1965 and dates back to Finberg's inaugural lecture in 1952. The same reserve applies to W.G. Hoskins' *English Local History: The Past and the Future* which was his inaugural lecture of 1966, and to equally well-known pieces by Stuart Piggott on William Camden, Joan Thirsk on Hasted, and, to complete a trio of Heads of the Department of English Local History, Alan Everitt's *New Avenues in English Local History* which first appeared in 1970.

However, this is not to deny the usefulness of having such distinguished and seminal contributions to the subject, and its historiography, brought together in a single volume, and one which is especially useful to those (such as prospective post-graduate students) embarking upon research in local history or related fields

In his introductory essay, 'The changing face of English local history', the editor gives a highly condensed account of the historiography of the subject from Bede to Charles Phythian-Adams, touching upon the early itineraries of William of Worcester and Leland; sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquarian studies including those of county historians and cartographers; the development of antiquarianism in the nineteenth century and the 'monumental' conception of the *Victoria County History*.

When it comes to the later twentieth century, Richardson makes plain 'the major role' played by the Department of English Local History at Leicester, describing this 'as a power house of ideas and pioneering practice'. He names virtually all of the stars in our firmament from Hoskins to Snell while drawing a particular contrast between the homely pragmatism of Hoskins' approach to the subject and Phythian-Adams 'foregrounded theorising'. Views of the subject other than those propounded by 'the Leicester school' are also instanced, and in particular those of J.D. Marshall who is instanced as being highly critical of an approach which has idealised the past and 'damagingly shunned debate and controversy', an allegation which would, of course, be hotly denied.

Of the other two 'new' essays contributed by the editor one, 'Writing urban history in the eighteenth century: Milner's *Winchester*', is an account of a revisionary, somewhat polemical, and very successful history of Winchester, first published in 1798 by the Roman Catholic John Milner, which 'boldly correlates Winchester's past greatness in the Middle Ages with the ascendancy of the old religion'.

The third piece, 'English Local History and American Local History: some comparisons', remarks upon a relatively recent convergence of approach towards the study of the subject but also draws out some 'real differences' in terms of its historiography. The (understandably) late flowering of antiquarian studies in the States and their early emphasis on the puritan colonists' 'errand into the wilderness', which had something of religious

fervour about it, is contrasted with the more secular memorialising of someone like Dugdale. The lack of a sense of particular place in American writing is noted as are assertions of right to 'a proper place in the British Empire' and, later, the documentation of the role each colony played in the War of Independence. The twentieth-century American academic historian's unpatronising acceptance of the value of amateur studies is contrasted with J.D. Marshall's contempt for the 'bread and circuses' of the 'world of Heritage', which (while at pains to absolve amateurs *per se*) he associates with antiquarianism as the enemy of 'true local history'.

There is again much reference in this essay to the 'Leicester school' and, more particularly, to Charles Phythian-Adams ('Certainly there is no theorist [in America] to place alongside Phythian-Adams in England'). There is also particular reference to the lack of an American equivalent to the Leicester school and to the absence of any work on the scale of the *VCH*. The point is made that for the most part local history in the States is 'inseparably connected with urban history' and this is contrasted with the rural-cum-agrarian-cum-topographical emphasis of such as Thirsk and Finberg. Although dissenting voices are instanced, this essay taken together with those of former distinguished members of the Department in Leicester resurrected for this collation, is (one might argue unavoidably) indicative of the huge contribution to local history of those Leicester-based historians who have prepared the still forward-looking path for future generations of students and researchers, whether amateur or professional.

Mike Thompson

FRIENDS PAPERS

Tania McIntosh's *The Decline of Stourbridge Fair* (£4 inc. p&p); Amanda Flather's *Politics of Place* (£6 inc. p&p); Marion Aldis and Pam Inder's, *John Sneyd's Census of Ipstones in 1839* (£6 inc. p&p) remain in print and have now been joined by Dr Barrie Trinder's, *The Market Town Lodging House in Victorian England,* 100 pp., 12 plates (see enclosed 'flyer') as Paper No. 5, in a series which, among other things, could provide an ideal first publishing opportunity for our emergent scholars. All are available from the Friends' secretary.

Our chairwoman, Dr Sylvia Pinches, on Degree Day in July. Sylvia is beginning her post-doctoral career on a freelance contract at Compton Verney where she is to research the history of the house in order to give visitors a glimpse into the lives of those who lived and worked there . Much of her time will be spent working on the Verney family papers at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office

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The MA class of 2000-01 before setting off for a study day in Derbyshire led by Dr Penny Lane who took the photograph.