

Friends of the Centre for English Local History

# NEWSLETTER

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The cover lithograph, which comes from the Fitch collection, is entitled 'Sunderland, the lighthouse on the south pier'. It was drawn by G. Balmer, engraved by E. Finden and published in 1836 by Charles Tilt, London.



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## EDITORIAL

The past year has been another interesting one for both the Centre and the Friends of the Centre for English Local History. Some activities have continued, some have been discontinued while others have been replaced by alternatives. Perhaps the most innovative activity was the History Day sponsored jointly by the Friends of the Centre and Kington Local History Group. The object of the day was to continue the series of study days that have been such a successful feature of our calendar and introduce the Leicester approach to an outside body of enthusiasts with the hope that interest might be created for the M.A. course or membership of the Friends. Because of the effort required to organise this event, it was decided not to arrange a weekend study visit this year.

Alan Tennant completed five years as Membership Secretary and, in accordance with the rules of the organization, handed over to Mandy deBelin at the AGM in November. We are grateful to Alan for the efficient way he has looked after this aspect of the committee's work.

Several years ago our chairman expressed her feeling that the number of Friends Papers had declined. As a result of her enthusiasm readers will find details of two new Papers that have been published during the last year, with more to follow at regular intervals.

Apart from organizing its own programme of activities, the Friends have continued to support the work of the Centre both by way of financial assistance to students and practical help with events run by the Centre.

Hoskins Day was very much a 'Leicester affair' with Professor Charles Phythian-Adams giving the annual lecture. The book sale raised £181, somewhat less than in recent years. It has been agreed we have too many books that are inappropriate for this occasion; these will be removed and more suitable alternatives sought.

## The Centre

### *The Hoskins-Duffield Fund*

Mrs Jean Duffield was a student of W.G. Hoskins at Oxford in 1961-2, when she wrote a B. Litt. thesis under his supervision. She was a great admirer of the founder of our Department/Centre, and was still in touch with him in 1991, just before he died. She was great benefactor of good causes, and regularly sent cheques to the Medieval Village Research Group in the 1970s and 1980s to buy aerial photographs.

She founded a Hoskins Lecture at St Anne's College Oxford. Maurice Beresford of Leeds University told Harold Fox of her enthusiasm for Hoskins and his work, and a lively correspondence followed about Hoskins' papers. She visited Leicester, and in 1992 decided to give some money to Leicester University to establish a fund in memory of Hoskins, which she called the 'Hoskins Studentship'. She sent cheques over a number of years, along with letters about Hoskins: she attended his funeral and reported on the event. She enjoyed the lectures at St Anne's College, and was delighted that the lecturers were well chosen. She approved very much of the young John Blair, who gave the first one.

When she died the sum of money that she had given in instalments had built up to a respectable total, but was not sufficient to provide a scholarship for a student over two or three years, as she had hoped. The fund sat in the University's coffers, and grew considerably by means of skilful investments and accumulated interest. Last year enquiries showed that there were no clear instructions from Mrs Duffield on spending the money, so I approached Mr John Duffield, her son, and we agreed a form of words to cover the granting of money to students, and he, with great generosity, increased the size of the fund substantially. The University approved the new fund in July 2004, so it is now available to help students. The initiatives taken by the Duffields means that we are now

able to make grants which could pay the fees for at least one full-time student each year, and can help students generally with the costs of their research, such as travel to archives or fieldwork, the purchase of microfilm, or attending conferences. As the Friends also have funds for grants to students, this means that anyone contemplating taking an MA, M Phil or PhD, and who is discouraged by the expense, can receive substantial help.

Although Mrs Duffield chose the name 'Hoskins Studentship' and wished to remain anonymous, we felt that it was appropriate to link her name with his in naming the fund. As she said in a letter to Harold Fox, 'he was such a good and kind friend of over 30 years'.

**Christopher Dyer**

### ***Seminar programme 2003-4.***

**Professor Sir Tony Wrigley** (University of Cambridge) gave the first lecture at this year's Seminar Programme under the heading 'The changing occupational structure of England, 1750-1850'. Professor Wrigley introduced his lecture by explaining his life-long interest in the Industrial Revolution; many of his publications are well known to current and past students of the Centre. In 1962 Dean and Cole, in their work, *The Growth of the British Economy*, showed that the period between 1780 and 1840 was the key period for the growth of industrial output and productivity. In 1982, Nick Crafts, using the same methods of measurement, concluded that productivity did not increase during the period while output increased by 25 percent. This differed from Dean and Cole's conclusion that output had virtually doubled. Most recent research supports Crafts and suggests that the size of the mid-eighteenth century economy was almost the same as in 1840. This suggests that the really interesting period of industrial development was much earlier, 1580-1750. England was different from most of its European neighbours in that it had a much smaller agricultural sector (25%) compared to France or Spain (65-

80%). The industrial structure of England was nearest to that of the Netherlands.

Professor Wrigley is now working on a study that is looking at the occupational structure of the country. There is plenty of occupational information that has not been fully used. A basic assumption is that occupational activity reflects demand. We know little of the manufacturing structure in the mid-eighteenth century. Urbanisation is one sign of rapid growth, and while England had a very low level of urbanisation in the late seventeenth century, only the Netherlands was ahead by the middle of the following century, and by the end of the century England accounted for the bulk of European urbanisation.

Professor Wrigley and his team are also working on various information sources, such as the Militia Lists and Parish Registers for the eighteenth century and census returns for later years. All information is unreliable to some extent and Professor Wrigley discussed different ways in which the information can be interpreted. The group have also done some work on the retail trade to see if levels of retailing followed the same pattern. Apart from the obvious importance of London as the retail centre of the country, they have found that other areas show great similarity. Their work is leading them to see that the main areas of growth in the nineteenth century were in the tertiary trades of transport, wholesale and retail distribution.

**Dr. Michael Costen** (Centre for the Historic Environment, University of Bristol) emphasised that his talk titled 'A Chronology of Wessex Place-names' should be recognised as an account of his ongoing investigation towards the establishment of a complete chronology of Wessex place-names, and is intended to stimulate further interest and debate. The area in question covers the counties of Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset, although the last-named differs from the others in significant respects.

The period from the fifth to seventh centuries saw a complex process of changing patterns of lordship leading to the

consolidation of Wessex as a distinct unit. Nevertheless it is clear that many people, not just the lower orders, were still speaking Old Welsh in the late seventh century. A Latin quotation refers to Creech Hill in both forms – *Cructan* and *Crycbeorh*.

The survival of Old Welsh place names for centuries could be explained by the long retention of estates, particularly monastic holdings, and thus be chance survivals. Portishead and Portbury show the persistence of Latin influence on organised ports while Cadbury and Congresbury are sites of high status monasteries located on hill forts, with evidence of possible reuse for Christian ritual.

In Dorset, the place-names embrace whole river valleys, notably the Iwerne, a series of estates. Iwerne Minster appears in the Domesday Survey and, in post-Norman times, parishes were distinguished by the addition of lordship names such as Iwerne Courtney and Iwerne Stapleton.

Wiltshire and Somerset have numerous place-names with the elements of 'wic' and 'wicham', elements that do not appear in Dorset. By plotting 'wic' and 'tun' on a map of Roman sites, it seems clear that there is a relationship between the 'wic' element and known Roman sites, which does not occur with the 'tun' element. A further step, of looking for Roman material close to 'wic' settlements, seems to be confirming this view.

English settlement of the area seems to have been a slow process. By the late fifth century, the newcomers were probably using hill forts – features which do not generally occur as parish names but which often became central to large estates with associated pagan burials. Apart from Cadbury, such hill forts are not found in Somerset. Dr. Costen went on to examine the development of royal and monastic centres such as Bruton, Malmesbury and Shaftesbury, with reference to the place-name elements, '-burh', '--tun', and '-ingtun'. The linking of a personal name with the element '-tun' appears in Domesday Book in all three

counties – in Somerset about fifteen, all listed as minor settlements, Wiltshire fifteen to sixteen and fewer in Dorset. From Anglo-Saxon charters the evidence would suggest that throughout England, such formations were appearing after 900 A.D. In the area under consideration, such names were given to modest settlements carved out of the great estates.

In conclusion, the place names of Wessex illustrate the political and economic processes, developing and changing over time from the fifth century to the late tenth century.

After questions, Professor Harold Fox thanked Dr. Costen for his stimulating talk with the *mot juste*, 'You have brought new light from old wics'.

**Dr Emma Griffin** (University of Cambridge) spoke on 'The village green: its use and fate in the early nineteenth century'. Introducing her subject, Dr Griffin explained that there is very little written information about the village green. What written information that is available tends to come from diaries and is very limited in its detail. We know little about the original use of greens or when they were first created. It may well be that the original use was for common grazing and stock control. Some may well have been established in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for fairs and markets, the village green thus being the rural equivalent of the market place. Whatever the origin, Dr Griffin is certain that, by the eighteenth century, which is the period in which she is interested, their main use was for various forms of recreation. By then they were used for communal celebrations such as May-day fairs and bonfire night celebrations as well as sports of various kinds, cricket, football, archery, bull-baiting. The village green, usually but not always, located in the centre of the community, was an area for socialising. Apart from the green, streets, commons and private fields were also recognised recreational places.

The enclosure records of a number of Cambridgeshire villages have been used to

build up a picture of the use and fate of greens. While Cambridgeshire was subjected to a sustained barrage of enclosure acts during the period 1790-1837, Dr Griffin has restricted her detailed research to the records of those villages that recorded the presence of one or more greens before enclosure. She has been able to build up a picture of what happened to these open spaces within the villages as a result of enclosure. In most cases the green was lost as surveyors usually considered the green to be common land and shared out among the commoners. Two-thirds of all greens were lost as a result of enclosure and only eight survived intact. The size of greens before enclosure varied between one acre and twenty acres. Where a green survived, it was reduced in size; typically a five-acre green would be reduced to one acre.

Another aspect of her research indicates that the size of many greens had reduced prior to enclosure, thus indicating that enclosure was an ongoing process. In several cases she has noted that the street pattern seems to show the open space had been much larger in former times. No attempt to restrict the loss of open spaces in villages was made till the 1830s, though it was not till the General Enclosure Act of 1845 that the enclosure of village greens was prohibited.

Was the loss of a green in a village mourned by the poor? We do not know how they reacted to the change. Certainly new recreation grounds were opened, often outside the boundary of the village. It also appears that landowners did not prevent the poor from using private fields for recreational purposes, so while the traditional open spaces were largely lost, alternative spaces were normally made available for use.

A lively discussion followed this most interesting talk. Summing up, Professor Dyer congratulated Dr Griffin in including all the requirements of the Leicester approach, namely reference to the landscape, a comparison of places and even a mention of W.G. Hoskins.

**Professor Mike Braddick** (University of Sheffield) introduced his lecture entitled 'Writing the social history of England in the 1640s' by explaining that the preliminary work now in hand will, when completed, hopefully be published. He considers the period has been ignored by historians for too long. This particular study is looking at the use of the written word by political and religious leaders of the day and the effect it had on the country at large. This was the first period in which there was a noted proliferation in the quantity of items that were printed as opposed to being handwritten, the reason for which was the reduced cost of printing. News sheets increased rapidly to sixty or seventy a month as censorship declined, though this reduced somewhat when censorship was reintroduced later in the decade. Many titles, such as *London's Intelligence* and *The Partizan*, were published three or four times a month. As was to be expected, London was the centre of all printing.

The Civil War period was one of great turmoil, both political and religious. Professor Braddick's objective is to obtain a greater understanding of the issues that were important to the pamphleteers. Pamphlets were the means by which public opinion could be moulded and changed. As he noted, the same information and argument was used by different writers to put forward varying conclusions, especially when discussing religious matters; both armies produced arguments that justified their position with a 'correct' interpretation of the scriptures. The explosion of news and its dissemination throughout the length and breadth of the country did not necessarily mean that truth was the most important consideration. Pamphlets were used to make claim and counter-claim. The whole range of political argument, from full-blooded royalist support for Charles to ardent republicanism, was displayed in the art of the pamphleteer. It was common to use examples of the impossible to prove an argument, which

meant that the real meaning of a pamphlet was sometimes hard to comprehend.

From the large number of pamphlets that have survived, Professor Braddick is building up a picture of how arguments developed over the course of time, how the battle for public opinion played on people's fears and hopes, and how the attitudes of political leaders evolved and changed; an example of the latter was how the Parliamentarians became doubtful of the wisdom of killing Charles. Another area of study is to understand to what extent pamphlets were believed by the population. This was an age when people both looked for fundamental truth while maintaining a considerable amount of scepticism.

From the number of questions it is clear that Professor Braddick's approach to understanding the social history of the 1640s appealed to the audience. It was comforting to learn that the general public in the seventeenth century was well aware one should not believe everything one reads in a newspaper or pamphlet.

**Dr Spencer Dimmock** (University of Swansea) gave us a mildly revisionist view of Welsh urbanization in his paper, 'A reassessment of towns in late medieval southern Wales'. Concentrating on Haverfordwest as an exemplar, and also drawing on the port records of Chepstow, he argued his case under four headings – Urbanization; Urban Autonomy; Urban Function and Trade Networks. Because of the influence of Marcher lordship, the more usual borough court records are largely non-existent and Dr Dimmock relied heavily on some 700 property deeds for his view of Haverfordwest between 1270 and 1599. He also used the record of Ministers' Accounts of decayed rents for his population estimates of the town between 1377 and 1501.

Although it might have been assumed that the Black Death, followed by the early fourteenth-century Glendower uprising, would have had a depressing effect on urban populations, Dr Dimmock suggested that the evidence indicated that this was not the case.

Moreover, he argued that towns were buoyant over this period and that populations were perhaps some twenty percent higher than conventionally perceived, being augmented in the case of Haverfordwest by significant numbers of monks, clerics and transient populations of sailors, traders and pilgrims.

Insofar as urban autonomy was concerned he pointed out that, although Haverfordwest did not receive its charter of incorporation until 1479, there was, in spite of protracted struggles with the oligarchy of lordship, considerable evidence of earlier borough status. This was evidenced by the existence of levies imposed on bread and ale by a guild merchant in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. The autonomy of the burgesses was however qualified by the need for the Crown's warranty for its laws and their subjection to itinerant royal justices.

Concerning urban function, Dr Dimmock concentrated upon the town's position as a centre of trade with a commercial hinterland extending to Kidwelly in the east and Cardigan to the north west. Around 1450 there were thirty-one different occupations and in 1499 the town boasted fourteen master shoemakers compared with only eighteen in Bristol. A reduction in the number of occupations evident after 1550 was perhaps partly due to the expansion of London and the growth of industrialization in England; phenomena accompanied by the increasing domination of the gentry and the growth of a more pastoral economy.

In relation to trade and trading networks, the focus of Dr Dimmock's paper turned towards Chepstow, where much lower port dues than those levied in Bristol favoured traders in the town. The records show that significant quantities of wine (it was suggested that Marian Kowaleski's estimates of wine imports between 1442 and 1449 at 2.3 to 5.6 percent of all wine imports were probably an underestimate), cloth, wool, and agricultural products were shipped into or from the port in a nexus stretching from the Azores and Gascony to the inland ports on the



Severn and the wool producing regions of England.

In conclusion, it was suggested that there was a flourishing urban population in southern Wales in the thirteenth century; that this continued in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in spite of the crises of the Black Death and Glendower uprising, and that small towns had institutions of a kind that belied their size and apparent importance.

**Dr Mark Freeman** (University of Glasgow) in his talk titled 'Social investigation in rural England, 1870-1914', looked at various aspects of the social surveys that were conducted during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. By way of introduction, he classified three main types of investigation; first came the investigative journalistic approach, such as espoused by the *Morning Chronicle*, Henry Mayhew and others; this was followed by the informed enquiry, which, in turn, was replaced by the respondent method, as used by Seebohm Rowntree, and which was subject to checking and analysis. There was an element of conflict between the various methods of collecting information. Dr Freeman has been interested in the attitude to the results of the survey by those being surveyed. While most social surveys reviewed the conditions in the newly industrialising cities, others dealt with the conditions endured by agricultural labourers. This was a subject of particular concern when rural depopulation became an issue during the 1870s. He then illustrated the different approaches by reviewing aspects from each period.

Most early social surveys were conducted by middle class people and little attempt was made to interview the actual subjects of the survey. Canon Edward Girdlestone was a clergyman in Devon during the 1860s and became a local contributor to the Royal Commission on Agricultural Employment. He was a strong supporter of the agricultural labourers' cause and of the Agricultural Workers' Union, which set him at odds with the farming community. Dr

Freeman noted that the computation of agricultural wages was always a matter of contention between the various parties. The essence of the problem with these surveys was to understand whether they represented the actual state of social conditions or reflected the political and social attitudes of correspondents.

The informed respondent method was exemplified by Rowntree's studies of poverty at the turn of the twentieth century. All such studies depend on the quality of the information received. Dr Freeman felt much work was done on wage levels but little on levels of need. Many surveys seemed to be an investigation into the veracity of information provided by the workers.

Final Reports generally painted a picture of mainly contented rural life, which, as Dr Freeman noted, often offended the local agricultural workers. There was little understanding of the needs of industrial or agricultural workers. More often, conclusions reflected the moral judgements of the middle-class investigators.

A heavy snowstorm the previous afternoon reduced the size of the audience for the first seminar of 2004 when **Dr Henry French** (University of Exeter) spoke on 'Urban fields and enclosure 1550-1800'. Dr French discussed in broad detail the role of common lands and fields throughout the country, while referring most often to his own particular interest in Clitheroe. Relatively little has been written about common lands lying adjacent to towns, though he acknowledged the work of Maitland, on Cambridge, Phythian-Adams, on Coventry and Dyer, on Worcester. Dr French is interested in questioning how the lands were used and what caused them to be enclosed. This questioning has enabled him to identify groups of towns with common features; one is a group of small towns in the north-west of the country, including Kendal, Ulverston, Wilmslow, Blackburn; another group, including Barnsley, Sheffield, Stoke-on-Trent, Doncaster became expanding northern industrial towns; yet another group includes

the East-Midland shire towns of Warwick, Nottingham, Leicester, Northampton and Bedford; in the southern part of the country he has identified a group of older small country centres which generally had a weak government, Chippenham, Bodmin, Basingstoke, Marlborough, and Malmesbury. All had common land that was enclosed for particular reasons at different times, an aspect of urban growth that has been somewhat ignored by urban historians.

The form of agrarian use of these lands changed over time. Changes often affected the Freeman and their rights. More pasture seems to have existed and is easier to identify than agricultural land though not all Freeman necessarily exercised their rights. The common lands were a source of employment and a necessity for pasturing animals. Pasture was required for animals prior to slaughter for food as well as grazing for the large number of horses used for coaching or general carriage duties. Land was also used to provide fresh fruit and vegetables. In many localities agriculture remained an important occupation for the Freeman. Town lands were farmed in the same way as their more rural counterparts, though population growth and the arrival of the railways had a more dramatic effect on the timing of the enclosure of Town lands. As populations expanded, the common lands were also used for leisure activities. A lively discussion, lasting almost an hour, followed Dr French's talk.

The subject of **Dr Beat Kümin's** (University of Warwick) lecture was 'Drink and debauchery; an economic profile of the early modern public house'. The lecture provided an insight into the work Dr Kümin is doing on public houses in Bavaria and the region of Berne, in his native Switzerland. Bavaria is a Catholic area while Berne in the sixteenth century, was a Puritan stronghold. The term 'public house' has been used to include both inns providing the full range of hospitality and those places that were solely drinking houses. Public houses were also used as sites for many unrelated activities

such as, solemnization of marriage, holding auctions and provision of credit. While most were properly licensed houses, a sizeable percentage were unlicensed, a situation that is as well recorded in England as in Bavaria.

He has tried to calculate the value of different businesses; there is a large variation between them, but he suggested that they vary between four and ten times the value of an average farm, making this a profitable way of earning a living. A large inn would be considered a medium-sized business, ranking in size with a woollen mill. Tax receipts are available in some districts making it possible to calculate the amount of alcohol sold. Regulations on the sale and measurement of alcohol would seem to have been formulated at a much earlier time in both Bavaria and Berne than in England. The scale of tax receipts meant that town, state and regional governments competed to receive these revenues; this, in turn, encouraged all receivers to create rules on all aspects of the location and management that would ensure continuation of those receipts. However, there was often a moral conflict between the need to maximise tax revenue and to uphold local morality.

Another area under investigation by Dr Kümin is the role of the public house within the community. In the early modern period, the public house is important as a place to sell produce. The publican himself was often part publican and part agriculturalist. The publican could also be an important landowner and brewer and therefore held a major position in the total food industry. The major public houses were large buildings, often displaying the latest ideas in architectural development.

This was an interesting digression from the normal view of English local history, for it demonstrated that local history is a subject of great interest in all countries. Perhaps the most important point raised in this lecture was that, though very little reference was made to England, there was sufficient to make one realise there is a whole area for comparative study.

Over seventy people crammed into the seminar room in no.1 Salisbury Road to hear **Dr Carenza Lewis** talk about Time Team's approach to the television programme 'The Big Dig' which was broadcast towards the end of last year. Unlike the usual Time Team format where they spend three days at one site and attempt a particular piece of archaeological research, this was an attempt to encourage as many people as possible to become involved in a hands-on activity in their own locality. Dr Lewis explained how the programme developed from an idea into a practical activity with many participants. She explained that, if hundreds of people without any experience were to get any real benefit from their effort, they must first be made aware of what was expected of them and how they should go about their work. Individual families or groups would be asked to dig a test pit and accurately record everything they found. To this end, it was decided to organise a preliminary day in one village which would act as an educational tool for those participating in the main day; they chose the village of Great Easton in Leicestershire for the initial day when some forty test pits were dug by families in their gardens. The main dig took place in sites all over the country, with Time Team personnel trying to visit as many as possible. This led to a final day's activity when three sites were chosen for further investigation.

Dr Lewis explained that, though none of the test pits produced anything of great significance, the object of the programme was achieved in that many people had the opportunity of gaining practical experience of archaeology. While the programme may appear superficial to some, it has introduced a large number of people to archaeology who would not normally have had the opportunity; it has widened the national interest in history and made people aware that most of our history lies underfoot. Her own enthusiasm for the educational aspects of this approach was clearly evident. All the members of the programme team are well aware of the potential dangers in allowing amateurs to dig

without adequate training or supervision, a fact that has to be weighed against the educational benefits gained by so many.

**Dr Paul Glennie** (School of Geographical Sciences, University of Bristol) spoke on 'Historical geographies of clock times in late medieval and early-modern England'. His interest in this subject originated from a remark made by E.P. Thompson in which he stated that 'no further revision of his earlier conclusion was necessary'. One of the first points made by Dr Glennie was how little we know of our forbears' understanding of time. His own work has been centred on the period up to the end of the seventeenth century, approximately when the pendulum and balance wheel were introduced; these innovations improved the accuracy of clocks from ten minutes to ten seconds in a day.

Dr Glennie explained that his project is centred on the development of the public clock, its role in the community and the development of time as a concept. Without exception, the public clock is to be found on the church tower. It should be noted that early clocks consisted of a mechanism and a bell to record the hours, clock faces, at first with hour hand only and later with minute hands, following in the eighteenth century. There are few written records providing detailed information on clocks; most of his information has been obtained from Church Warden's accounts. He has grouped clocks by size of community and concluded that, by 1500, most towns with a single parish church would most likely have had a clock and urban areas with more than one church would have one church with a clock. Perhaps it was no surprise to learn the incidence of clocks was greater in London, even when a clock might be within earshot of another clock. A considerable number of clocks in London had been fitted with faces by 1700 though they were rarely to be found on village clocks.

The other aspect of Dr Glennie's work concerns the understanding and use of time. This is not a subject that was widely written about, so such snippets of information as are

available, have been gleaned from diaries, comments in Church Warden's accounts, town records, court leets, etc. He cited an example from the Godalming Town Ordinance of 1620, 'the use of a clock is very necessary for the inhabitants of the town for the keeping of fit hours for their apprentices, servants and workmen'. Apart from the control aspects, instances appear from the 1470s of people referring to actual times for matters of social interaction, meeting friends, having dinner. There are examples of court witnesses referring to the exact time when an event took place. Dr Glennie has concluded that people of all classes had a rather greater understanding of time than has generally been thought the case.

The final lecture of the season was given by a former M.A. student and post-graduate researcher in the Centre, **Dr Kathy Burrell** (De Montfort University) who discussed the role of some of the smaller immigrant communities under the title 'Mediterranean migrations: Italians and Greek-Cypriots in post-war Leicester'. While the migration of Asians to Leicester outweighs all others, a number of smaller national groups have settled in the city at different times, among them Italians and Greek-Cypriots. The population of each of these latter groups never exceeded about six hundred persons, and to-day is considerably less. The Italians arrived first, some as a result of war-time internment and then followed by others in the post-war years coming in search of employment. Most came from the south. Greek-Cypriots arrived as a result of the civil war during the 1960s and 70s. Leicester was never a major destination of either of these groups. In virtually all cases migration was male led, with their families arriving when some form of base had been established.

Dr Burrell has conducted many oral interviews with members of the communities. The family has been very important to both groups and they have made great efforts to maintain their culture and pass it on to their children. She is not sure what will happen to

the next generation as they inevitably become more involved with British culture. In business, individual members of both groups have been supportive of other group members. Older members found this to be very important in the early days, and now look back with fond memories of those times. Religion was also important to both groups, having both a moral and cultural influence. The churches also provided the base for social relaxation, especially for the first migrants.



It has been pointed out that, in the report of Dr Julie Rugg's lecture, Newsletter 2003, p.6, it implies that Karl Marx was buried in Kensal Green cemetery. He is, of course, buried in Highgate cemetery. Thanks for clarifying this point – Ed.



Unfortunately Professor Harold Fox was unable to give his Inaugural Lecture in June. He hopes to do so during the coming academic year, on a date to be advised.



### **Staff distinctions**

Professor Chris Dyer has been elected as the next President of the British Agricultural History Society.



## Centre publications

### C. Dyer

*Making a Living in the Middle Ages. The People of Britain, 850-1520* (London, 2003), Penguin books, paperback edition, 403 pp.

'Public and private lives in the medieval household', in *Love, Marriage and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. I. Davies et al. (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 237-9.

'A new introduction', in R.H. Hilton, *Bondmen Made Free*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London, 2003), pp. ix-xv.

'The archaeology of medieval small towns', *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2003), pp.85-114. (with Phillipp Schofield), 'Estudios recientes sobre la historia agraria y rural medieval britanica', *Historia Agraria*, 31 (2003), pp. 13-33.

'Birmingham in the middle ages', in *Birmingham: Bibliography of a City*, ed. C. Chinn (Birmingham, 2003), pp. 1-14.

### Reviews of:

P. Spufford, 'Power and Profit. The Merchant, in Medieval Europe', in *History Today*, 53 (2003), p.57-8.

I. Greenfield, 'The Spirit of Capitalism', in *History Today*, 53 (2003), 57-8.

P. Slack, 'The Peopling of Britain', in *English Historical Review*, 118 (2003), pp. 467-8.

D. Levine, 'At the Dawn of Modernity', in *Speculum*, 78 (2003), pp. 94-5.

B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, 'Region and Place. A Study of English Rural Settlement', in *Landscape History*, 25 (2003), pp. 103-4.

### Graham Jones

Ed. *Saints of Europe, Studies towards a Survey of Cults and Culture* (Donnington, 2003).

### H. Fox

'Vissen in de middeleeuwen langs de kusten van Suid-Devon', in *Visserij, handel en piraartij in en rond Noordzeegebied* (2003), pp. 80-82.

'Farmworkers' accommodation in late medieval England: three case studies', in D.A. Postles, ed., *Names, Time and Place* (2003), pp. 129-64.

'Richard McKinley: an appreciation', in D.A. Postles ed., *Names, Time and Place* (2003), pp.xvii-xx.

### Review of

W.M.M. Picken, 'A Medieval Cornish Miscellany', in *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, 39 (2003), pp. 126-7.

### Mark Page

'The technology of medieval sheep farming: some evidence from Crawley, Hampshire, 1208-1349', in *Agricultural History Review*, 51 (2003), pp. 137-54.

'Prelates, peasants and profits: an introduction to the medieval bishops of Winchester, part 1', in *Farnham and District Museum Society Journal*, 13 (2003), pp. 146-53.

'Characterizing rural settlement and landscape: Whittlewood Forest in the Middle Ages', in *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2003), pp. 53-83 (with Richard Jones).

'Select bibliography of works on medieval rural settlement 2002', in *Medieval Settlement Research Group Annual Report*, 17 (2003 for 2002), pp. 72-3.

'The extent of Whittlewood Forest and the impact of disafforestation in the later Middle Ages', in *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 56 (2003), pp. 22-34.

'The peasant land market on the bishop of Winchester's manor of Farnham, 1263-1349', in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 90 (2003), pp. 163-79.

'The peasant land market on the estate of the bishopric of Winchester before the Black Death', in R. Britnell (ed.), *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 61-80.

### Reviews of:

P. R. Schofield, Peasant and Community in Medieval England, 1200-1500, in *Economic History Review*, 56 (2003), pp. 369-70.

I. Kershaw and D. M. Smith (eds), 'The Bolton Priory Comptus, 1286-1325, together with a Priory Account Roll for 1377-8', in *Economic History Review*, 56 (2003), p. 370.

#### **D.A. Postles**

*Names, Time and Place. Essays in Memory of Richard McKinley* ed. with Della Hooke (Oxford, 2003).

with S. Postles, 'Surnames and stability: a detailed case study' in Hooke and Postles, eds. *Names, Time and Place*, pp. 193-207 ed. *Naming, Society and Regional Identity* (Oxford, 2002)

'Pittances and pittancers' in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame, eds, *Thirteenth Century England IX. Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2001* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 175-86

*Talking balloos: nicknames and English medieval sociolinguistics* (Leicester, 2003), 66pp.

'Religious houses and the laity in eleventh- to thirteenth-century England: an overview', *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2003), pp. 1-13

'Penance and the Market Place: a Reformation Dialogue with the Medieval Church (c. 1250-c. 1600)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 54 (2003), pp. 441-68

#### **K.D.M. Snell**

ed. *Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture*, 14:1, April 2003, 118 pp.

ed. *Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture*, 14:2, October 2003, 125 pp.

'Parallels with the poor law', *Financial Times*, 17 February 2003, p. 20.

'The culture of local xenophobia', *Social History*, 28 (2003), pp. 1-30.

'Gravestones, belonging and local attachment in England, 1700-2000', *Past and Present*, 179 (2003), pp 97-134.

### ***Papers presented at conferences, seminars etc.***

#### **Staff**

##### **C. Dyer**

'The ineffectiveness of medieval lordship', Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages, University of Birmingham (September 2003).

'New light on peasant gardens in the middle ages', Diet Group seminar on horticulture, Somerville College Oxford (November 2003).

'The origins of medieval villages: the Whittlewood Project', Coventry Archaeological Society (January 2004).

'Small towns were important places – some examples from medieval Hampshire', Hampshire Field Club Local History Lecture (January 2004).

'A poet in a landscape : William Langland and west Worcestershire', University of Leicester Centre for Medieval Studies (January 2004).

'Why do landscape surveys?', and 'Summing up', Villages and Landscapes in the Middle Ages. Recent Surveys and Explorations, Rewley House, Oxford (February, 2004)

'Changes in consumption patterns in the later middle ages', Thoroton Society, Nottingham (February, 2004).

'The town of Kington and its rural surroundings', Kington Study Day by Kington Local History Society and the Friends of the Centre of English Local History (March 2004).

'Going to market in medieval Shropshire', Friends of Shropshire Archives Local History Conference, Shrewsbury (May 2004).

'Society and landscape in north Worcestershire', Wychbold Local History Group, Wychbold (May 2004).

'Landscape history and the VCH', VCH Annual Conference, University of London (June 2004).

'Agricultural place-names', conference on 'Names and the historian', University of Nottingham (June 2004).

'The construction of space and the countryside from late antiquity to the middle

ages', Istituto di Studi Umanistici, University of Florence (July 2004).

'The self contained village, 1250-1500', The Self-Contained Village?, University of Leicester (July 2004).

'How did the poor survive in late medieval England?', Wealth and Poverty. Anglo-American Conference, Institute of Historical Research, University of London (July 2004)

#### **H. Fox**

'The wealth of medieval Devon', Thirteenth-century England conference, Durham, Sept. 2003.

'W.G. Hoskins and Leicestershire', meeting to commemorate the unveiling of a plaque to W.G. Hoskins, Devon and Exeter Institution, Exeter, Oct. 2003.

'Medieval fisheries along the coast of South Devon, England', conference on 'Fishery, Trade and Piracy around the North Sea', Museum Walravensijde, Ostend, Nov. 2003.

'Transhumance to summer pastures on Dartmoor: sidelights from place-names', conference on 'Names and the historian', Institute of Medieval Studies, Nottingham, June 2004.

#### **D. Postles**

'Deep play' and the cockfight: not Balinese but British', Social History Society annual conference, Leicester, Jan. 2003.

'Penance, penitence and pilgrimage', Harlaxton Symposium, July 2003.

'Using ICT in learning palaeography', panel on new techniques in teaching and learning medieval history, IMC Kalamazoo, 2003.

'Translating the self: the alias, alas!' (VIII Leicester-Pisa Collaborative Research Colloquium, September 2003 – probably to be published in the proceedings).

#### **CONFERENCES ORGANIZED**

Social History Society annual conference (local organiser, University of Leicester, 2003).

The religious and the laity, c.1000-1300 (co-organiser, University of Leicester, July 2003).

The market place and the place of the market (co-organiser, University of Leicester, Friends of the Centre for ELH, March 2003).

#### **K.D.M.Snell**

'Nailed to the church door? Parish overseers and the new poor law'. Paper delivered to conference on 'The Self-contained Village', Centre for English Local History, 3 July, 2004.

#### **Students**

##### **Martin Ayres**

'Rural housing and ancient cottage tenures in Leicestershire and Dorset'. Paper delivered at the Institute of Historical Research, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2004.

#### ***Centre for English Local History Conferences.***

The first of what we hope to be a series of conferences was held on 3 July, 2004, with the title, 'The Self-Contained Village?' The speakers addressed the problem of whether villages can be regarded as 'self-contained' or 'self-sufficient', viewed from the perspective of migration, population, landholding, economy and government. The papers covered the period from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Chris Dyer and Keith Snell spoke, and we welcomed visitors from the Universities of Exeter (Jane Whittle and Henry French), Warwick (Steve Hindle) and Lancaster (Ian Whyte), and from Norwich College (David Brown). Harold Fox and Chris Lewis of the VCH acted as chairs.

We were rather hesitant about the number of people who would be interested in such a subject on a summer Saturday, and we imagined that there would be an audience of about fifty, meeting in the new seminar room in no.1, Salisbury Road. In the event we were overwhelmed with interest, and 101 people came. Late applicants were unfortunately turned away as we were running out of space. We had to move the main conference to the

Library Hall in the Education Building, though the lunch was still held in no.1, Salisbury Road. Friends supported the event by attending, and at the earlier, hesitant stage, the Friends committee agreed generously to cover our costs in case we lost money – a happily unnecessary precaution! We received generous support from the Economic History Society. Audrey Larrivé and Matt Tompkins gave a great deal of practical help.

The papers were well received, and connected together very coherently. The themes of migration and transience in land holding dominated the first two papers, on the period 1250-1600, and the emphasis shifted to parish government in the more modern papers, with Steve Hindle examining poverty in the seventeenth century, and Keith Snell discussing the roles of parish overseers after 1834. Industry, employment and social stratification in modern villages were discussed by David Brown, Henry French and Ian Whyte. It was a foregone conclusion that speakers would conclude that villages were not self-contained, but the rate of migration, and the openness of village society to outside influences, varied from one period to another. There was no progression from isolation to integration, as old-fashioned local historians have sometimes imagined, but the degree of self-sufficiency moved in cycles, with more movement and instability in the fifteenth century than in the seventeenth, for example. Village societies differed from region to region, of course. The papers fitted together, and were based on new research, and we hope to see them in print.

The next conference will be more ambitious, entitled 'W.G. Hoskins and the Making of the British Landscape'. It is marking the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the *Making of the English Landscape*. It is being organized by a committee, chaired by myself, and Harold Fox with representatives of the archaeology department and various sponsoring bodies, the Royal Historical Society and the Society for Landscape Studies. English Heritage has offered to be associated with the event. It will

be held on 7-10 July, 2005. Keynote lectures will be given by Christopher Taylor and Elisabeth Zadora Rio, and there will be an intense action-packed series of sessions with 60 speakers. The ten themes include some covered by Hoskins, such as rural settlement, towns and industry, and new ones such as spiritual landscapes and modern mapping techniques. The prehistoric period and the twentieth century will be covered, neither of which he covered in detail. The philosophy of the conference includes honouring the great man, but with more emphasis on the new developments in the field of landscape studies.

Again the Friends have given the venture some financial support, and we hope that Friends will wish to attend.

**Chris Dyer**

(See back cover for further details)



In the last two issues of the Newsletter we have mentioned the work of the East Midlands Oral History Archive that has been based in No. 1 Salisbury Road. This project was funded for three years and it was hoped further funding would be made available to continue their work. Unfortunately this did not materialize and the project has been wound down over the last six months.





### **John Nichols Prize**

The John Nichols Prize is awarded annually. The value of the prize is £100. Very briefly, the rules are as follows:

Essays must be submitted on or before 31<sup>st</sup> December. They must be typewritten, on one side of the paper only, with double spacing for the text, and single or double spacing for the footnotes. They must not exceed 20,000 words in length, excluding footnotes. References should be given at the foot of the page, and preferably in the forms adopted as standard in the publications of the Centre. Communications should be addressed to John Nichols Prize, Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester, Marc Fitch

Historical Institute, 5 Salisbury Road, Leicester, LE1 7QR. A stamped addressed envelope should accompany the typescript. More detail about the prize is available at [www.le.ac.uk/pot/nich.html](http://www.le.ac.uk/pot/nich.html).

Readers currently on the M.A. course or who have just completed their dissertations should note that unrevised dissertations may be submitted provided that they have achieved a distinction.

The most recent winner of the Prize is Pam Fisher for her M.A. dissertation on coroners with which everyone will be familiar since it has been published by the Friends. Anyone wishing to submit an unrevised dissertation might take her submission as a 'general' guide.



Devon field trip – a restful experience!

### ***Hic amor, haec patria est..., or prepare to Exit(er).***

Morphology, urban and rural, topography, ritual landscape, fossilized field systems, geology, etymology, seismology, cleavages, privies and their graffiti, vernacular bus shelters, acephalogy, transhumance, strands and cellars; in six days we covered them all and countless things besides, with Professor Harold Fox in his home county of Devon.

We spent Sunday, a typical day in South Hams country, studying different types of Devon settlement, with a whistle stop tour through Dartmouth, Torcross, Ugborough, Totnes and Ashburton. Mid afternoon saw confusion in the ranks about what exactly were the differences between burghs, burys, beorgs and Alfredian burhs. By later in the week, after another twenty settlements, all became clear, but what was nucleated, what was dispersed, what was decayed and what was deserted?

Then there were the 'specials' that Harold had up his sleeve: the chance to meet Freda Wilkinson and to be, probably, the last Leicester group to hear from her first hand about traditional Dartmoor farming and the ancient type of 'long house'; just as W.G. Hoskins heard it from her 50 years ago; and how many could have had the chance of a tour of tinning activity with Dr Tom Greaves, the foremost expert on that Dartmoor industry. Harold's own discoveries and special plates, followed by foreshores and fishing villages, huge churches in gigantic parishes of dispersed settlement, holy sites from Celtic times, as well as a walk across fields to a ruined chapel that even the locals did not seem to know existed..... always emphasizing the use of corroborative visual, place-name and documentary evidence, always keen to get us to look and work things out for ourselves.

The coastal day, we were told, was 'very good for the constitution' and, if we were not studying landscape through the coach window, we were busy studying architectural features. Was that a fifteenth-

century roof boss we missed or was it 'that great granite boss of Dartmoor in the centre of the Shire'? The tors of Dartmoor were not the 'blue remembered hills' of A.E. Houseman fame, but the 'enticing hills' of Harold Fox's youth; enticing not only to Harold in his early ornithological days, but enticing to the happiest sheep in England and to early nineteenth-century mineral hunters. Harold led an adventurous expedition through bog and burnt gorse and invited us to sit on a convenient stone. Several of the party did not notice that they were sitting on the grooves of a granite tramway which, we were assured, industrial archaeologists the world over, would die to see. It was one of the many occasions when we listened in the open air to Harold's succinct explanations, though there always seemed to be just another penultimate point.

Everybody had a much clearer idea of the distinctiveness of the many *pays* of Devon by the end of this week of intensive landscape study. Their distinctive characteristics seemed to vary from lopsided chimneys, huddled fishermen's cottages (the cottages were huddled, not the fishermen), sheep which walked sideways and were surprisingly happy; to villages, or were they towns after all, like Chittlehampton which had, said Harold, 'the bad luck to get stuck on the poor Culm measures of mid-Devon'. By the end of the week Harold – still in his scarf and green wellies – was waxing lyrical, quoting local Devon poetry or hymns to local Celtic saints. We somehow expected him to strike out with a chorus of Widecombe Fair or one of those sea shanties so beloved of Devonians like Drake and Grenville.

Seriously though, it was a privilege to have spent a week with the most eminent contemporary local historian of Devon and great fun too. *Hic amor haec patria est* - this is my love, this is my country. In short, this is where I belong, this is my own landscape. What W.G. Hoskins said 50 years ago was equally applicable to Harold.

## **Seminar Programme 2004-05**

All seminars, with the exception of the first, will be held on Thursdays at 2.15pm in the Seminar Room of Marc Fitch House, 5 Salisbury Road. Please phone our secretary, Audrey Larrivé, 0116-252-2762, to reserve a place. You are invited to tea in the Common Room afterwards.

### **2004**

- Wednesday 6 October**      **Prof. Pat Hudson** (University of Cardiff):  
'Everyday life in industrialising West Yorkshire'.
- Thursday 21 October**      **Dr Richard Cust** (University of Birmingham):  
'Lineage and gentry honour in Tudor and early Stuart England'.
- Thursday 4 November**      **Prof. Jim Sharpe** (University of York):  
' "Dust and curses": witches in the early modern Isle of Man'.
- Thursday 18 November**      **Dr Kate Tiller** (University of Oxford):  
'Religion and community: Dorchester-on-Thames, 1800-1920'.
- Thursday 2 December**      **Dr Jeremy Boulton** (University of Newcastle):  
'Landlords and tenants in early modern London or urban history's  
"strangely neglected topic"'.  
8.

### **2005**

- Thursday 20 January**      **Dr John Moreland** (University of Sheffield):  
'The Bradbourne Survey: landscape in Derbyshire from prehistory  
until the present'.
- Thursday 3 February**      **Mr Cyril Pearce** (University of Leeds):  
'Mapping 1914-18 War Resisters – revising the image using local  
studies'.
- Thursday 17 February**      **Mr Matt Tompkins** (University of Leicester):  
'Landscape and society in two Buckinghamshire villages'.
- Thursday 3 March**      **Mrs Avril Morris** (University of Leicester):  
'Wulfhere's Charter revisited: seventh-century boundaries of  
Peterborough Abbey'.
- Thursday 17 March**      **Dr Robert Peberdy** (VCH Oxfordshire):  
'W.G. Hoskins: the origins of a creative historian'.

## **Recently Completed Thesis**

**Anthony Upton**

'Parochial clergy of the Archdeaconry of Coventry, c. 1500-c. 1600'.

This thesis sets out to analyse the size, distribution and character of the clerical profession in the archdeaconry of Coventry between *circa* 1500 and the close of Elizabeth's reign. The focus of the thesis, therefore, is firmly on the parochial clergy, those priests with whom the laity were in closest day-to-day contact. Although a number of other historians have studied the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, this thesis aims to investigate in greater depth some of the unique characteristics of Coventry archdeaconry and its parochial clergy. Each chapter follows a partly chronological, partly thematic organisation. Throughout the thesis many points of similarity between old and new, in town and countryside are identified.

Chapter 2 delineates the physical extent of Coventry archdeaconry, describes its demographic characteristics and introduces authoritative figures, including the diocesan

bishop and the archdeacon. Arguments are also presented in respect of the practical implications of minor orders and of the vexed question of ordination titles.

In Chapter 3 the number and deployment of clergy both before and after the severance from Rome are explored. Special attention is paid to the changing fortunes of the unbeneficed. The chapter also examines the adequacy of pastoral care in the light of a re-alignment of ministerial goals.

In Chapter 4 the focus moves to patronage as exercised in parochial appointments. Different patronal categories are examined and conclusions drawn in respect of the effects of the monastic dissolutions and whether the re-distribution of advowsons to secular patronage affected the ministry of the parochial clergy.

Pluralism is a contentious subject, the extent and effects of which in Coventry archdeaconry are explored in Chapter 5. Benefice tenure is subjected to scrutiny and fresh terrain surveyed in tracing the geographical mobility of parochial clergy.



Dr Sylvia Pinches and Professor Charles Phythian-Adams at Hoskins Day celebration.



## **MA Dissertations 2003-4.**

### **Max Bailey**

'The effects of industry on the "close" village model'.

The study of the 'open' and 'close' village model has centred usually on the effects of agriculture on changes observed in the model between 1770 and 1900. This dissertation takes the view that industry also had a marked effect on 'close' estates, and it seeks to investigate how owners coped with industrialization and whether they took any positive steps to limit the effects of industrial encroachment. The villages studied are Strelley and Bilborough, which form the Edge estate, and Cossall and Trowell which are part of the estate of Lord Middleton: the estates are contiguous, and lie in the area to the west of Nottingham. The dissertation highlights the broad range of definitions of 'open' and 'close' villages by using the writings of both contemporary and modern observers in the field. The nineteenth-century census enumerators' books (CEBs) are used to track the movement and persistence of labour in the four 'close' villages being studied. The history and influence of the mining industry is discussed in some depth, and related to the varied uses made of labour. Finally, the available estate papers are used to assess whether positive measures were used by owners to effect and control the advance of industry, to integrate it into their estates effectively, and the consequences for their tenants. This section also includes a discussion on wages and the apparently small part they played in retaining agricultural labour. The over-all aim is to shed new light on the 'open-close' paradigm by introducing industry and its effects into the discussion.

### **John Cooper**

'A study of limestone quarrying in Ketton, Rutland: the influence of this industry during the middle of the late nineteenth century on the village and its community, taking in both the landscape and cultural aspects.'

Leaving the roundabout at the junction of the modern A47 and A43 towards the village of Collyweston, famous for its limestone slates, the traveller who glances northward may see a great edifice sitting in an otherwise picturesque landscape. What is this structure, a cathedral, a huge country house? Turn left at Collyweston towards Ketton and descend into the Welland valley, crossing the old stone bridge where this modern factory seems to dominate the landscape and eventually discover that it is the Ketton cement-works. Why, it might be asked, has the landscape been altered so graphically in this place?

This dissertation aims to explore the quarrying of Lincolnshire limestone in the parish of Ketton, Rutland. It examines briefly the Jurassic formation laid down 150-195 million years ago which, after subsequent geological changes, formed a band of outcrops from Dorset to Yorkshire. The Ketton stone industry peaked in the eighteenth century supplying high quality freestone to many Cambridge colleges, but here the focus is on the middle to late nineteenth century, taking into consideration the people who worked in the quarrying industry. Comparisons are made with the findings of Raphael Samuel and others. Consideration is also given to the wider Ketton community and whether the stone industry may have enabled the village to become successful at a time when many villages were feeling the negative effects of changes in agriculture and of the 1834 Poor Law. Ketton was able to exploit its limestone because it was an open village whose major landowner was absent, a fact which limited any attempt to repress the entrepreneurial activities of the population. The penultimate section identifies several places to which Ketton stone was transported, speculating on where it may have been used. In conclusion, it is clear that Ketton became a successful and fairly wealthy community through its open village status and the development of a lucrative stone industry, which eventually

developed into a centre for cement manufacture.

#### **Hilary Crowden**

'Boundaries and Borders; the battle for Rutland, the identity of an English rural community in the late twentieth century.'

The community identity of the county of Rutland is explored in the post-1945 era of extensive social and cultural change. Introductory chapters outline the historical background to the conservative independent tradition as it developed through the evolution of the County Council. A revisionist point of view is suggested, stating that this conservatism reflected feelings across the social spectrum of a largely agricultural, rural community. Local public opinion, reflected in the fights to retain the County Council within the national structure of Local government in 1945-50, 1958-63, 1970-74, 1991-97 and the fight against the construction of Rutland Water, are viewed as points at which to view the evolving sense of community identity. Conclusions are reached as to the part community opinion played in the success of these campaigns. Interwoven in the text is an exploration of the literature of identity written about Rutland in this period, and how it reinforced the mythology and perception of the county as a rural haven.

#### **Catherine Dack**

'The distinguishing features of a rural middling sort; a socio-economic and cultural study of Alstonfield, Staffordshire.'

Early modern history from a middling perspective has been a pre-occupation of some historians in the last decade, during which time there has been controversy regarding the criteria that define the elusive middling sorts. The stress they laid on the family, their working lives and their political co-operation with the state, which increasingly penetrated the parishes after the Civil War, are of particular interest. In this study of the middling sorts of an obscure north midlands parish, probate and manorial

records have been used to investigate similarities and differences with their counterparts elsewhere. A perhaps surprising degree of consonance emerged, as well as evidence of low geographical mobility at a time of demographic stagnation. This allowed the development of dynastic families, which tended to dominate the manorial courts and vestry and created multiple kinship links. The middling sorts were not monolithic but they were conscious of their status, interposed between the gentry and the labouring poor.

#### **Peter Davis**

'From poverty to mud, money and music: the industrialisation of a Northamptonshire village in the nineteenth century'.

The dissertation examines the nineteenth-century industrialisation of Long Buckby in the context of the failure of its woolcombing and weaving industry in the previous century. Factors, such as the 'open' nature of the village and the strong dissenting presence, which may have facilitated industrialisation and shaped its form and progress are considered. At the same time the impact of the growth of industry on the social, demographic and economic features of the village are examined. To assist the enquiry reference is made to two pieces of research on other industrial rural communities, Shepshed in Leicestershire and Nailsworth in Gloucestershire. Most of the detailed analysis has been carried out on census returns, records of land-holding and parish registers. However, other important sources have included poor law rate records, manorial records, vestry minutes, church and chapel records, national and local newspapers, commercial directories and the minutes of local political groups. My findings are that the extremely 'open' nature of the village, the presence of a large population trying to eke a living from the land and the presence of an expanding footwear industry in nearby towns, made some industrialisation almost inevitable. Nonetheless it needed people with the energy, vision and self-interest, to make it succeed and such people emerged both from

within and outside the village. Even so, the industrialisation was never really complete in the sense that the working population never became truly proletarian. The radical convictions of the villagers and their mode of life, combined with a continuing demand for handmade, quality footwear, meant that complete industrialisation, as seen in some textile communities and other footwear villages, was never fully achieved.

#### **Mandy deBelin**

‘The landscape of foxhunting: Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Rutland 1750-1900.’

Foxhunting in its modern form began in the 1750s and reached its peak of popularity in the nineteenth century. The modern sport was born in Leicestershire, and this county, together with Northamptonshire and part of Rutland, became the centre of English foxhunting. The area was collectively known as ‘the shires’. This work describes how the landscape of the shires shaped the sport, and the impact the sport, in turn, had upon the landscape. Using contemporary foxhunting sources, it investigates the countryside at the level of the field, the hedge and the ditch. It includes a survey of the fox coverts that sprang up around the area during the period. It also looks at the relationship between developments in road and rail and the growth of foxhunting. The effects of this growth on the towns, particularly Melton Mowbray, are described. Finally, the work considers the subject of ‘hunt countries’ - the territories of the different hunts - and to what degree these had significance and importance beyond the hunt itself.

#### **Patricia Grundy**

‘The impact of industrialization on the rural community of Barrow upon Soar, Leicestershire, 1700-2000.’

This dissertation looks at the impact of industrialisation on Barrow on Soar, a rural village in Leicestershire, concentrating mainly on the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries, and the change from an agrarian to industrial economy. The sources used include censuses and census statistics, trade directories, maps, parish registers and the enclosure award. A study was also made of the landscape around Barrow on Soar because it was felt that this too could have had an impact on the development of the village. Time was spent looking at the histories of the two main industries, hosiery and lime. Both made the successful transition from cottage to factory-based industry but industrial expansion slowed down in the twentieth century. Comparisons were made with the industrial villages of Shepshed and Wigston Magna in Leicestershire and, to a lesser extent, with the Stroudwater area of Gloucestershire. In the end there seemed to be no one reason why industry in Barrow on Soar should not have continued to develop. Landscape and location clearly played a major role because Barrow is between the flood plain of the River Soar and fields in which in the past lime extraction has left a potential subsidence problem; but there were other influences too. It is also situated close to the market town of Loughborough and is a short train journey from Leicester so that people can commute to work elsewhere. Barrow on Soar has not de-industrialised but it seems to have found a level beyond which its remaining industry will not expand.

#### **Pamela Jenkins**

‘What sort of people needed poor law relief in Cardington, in Bedfordshire, April 1817-March 1818? What help did they receive?’

Cardington is a Bedfordshire village with a population of 606 in 1821. Between April and March 1818 there were 116 recipients of relief, of whom 39 were inmates of the workhouse. Using parish registers, overseers' accounts for 1756-1782 and a list of inhabitants, drawn up in 1782, it was possible to trace forty families living in Cardington in the eighteenth century, from whom 76 of the paupers were descended. Four of these had been farming families, eight had had at least one member in the

husbandman/craftsman class and 28 had no traceable members above the class of labourer. Most of the families that had declined in fortune had done so in the eighteenth century, before the crisis years that followed the Napoleonic Wars.

Using, as the main source, the overseers' accounts of 1817-1820, it was possible to learn something about the people behind the statistics, for example, the many law-abiding villagers unable to escape the poverty trap and the two criminals who were able to leave their families to the care of the parish and begin a new life when transported to Australia.

The evidence from Cardington, 1817-1818, shows some advantages to the system operated under the Old Poor Law, replaced in 1834, that its critics did not acknowledge. The overseers of the poor were able to use their 'face to face' knowledge, not only to meet individual needs, but also to act against those trying to take advantage of the system. The treatment that the paupers received, although not generous, was conscientiously administered in a humane and flexible way.

### **Alison Laitner**

'Private and charity apprentices in Birmingham 1700-1816.'

In the eighteenth century Birmingham was a rapidly expanding town. Private apprenticeship was one device used to recruit cheap labour to the town, assisting the growth and development of metal processing and other trades. Private apprenticeship occupations and their premiums are used to trace changes in occupations from 1710 to 1760, urban hierarchies and the swift development of Birmingham into an important cultural and trading centre in Warwickshire. The occupations of female mistresses, using apprentices and girl apprentices, were mostly in needlework related trades, although the occupations of women in eighteenth-century Birmingham are many and varied. They rarely however, used apprenticeship to recruit labour. Apprenticeship records can be used to

examine migration to and emigration from Birmingham. Charity apprenticeships in Birmingham are compared with the privately arranged system to show evidence of a decline between 1790 and 1810.

### **Richard Southin**

'Whitwick: from woodland settlement to mining village, a change of character within eighty years, 1800-1880.'

The village of Whitwick is situated thirteen miles north west of Leicester and approximately five and a half miles east of Ashby-de-la-Zouch and lies on the edge of Charnwood Forest. This dissertation enquires whether Whitwick's character, religion, outlook and occupations changed as it developed from a woodland settlement in 1800 to a large industrial village by 1870 following the opening of large industrial coalmines in the parish and the influx of immigrants and the Irish influence. The current state of knowledge about Whitwick regarding secondary sources is limited to a few brief books, written mainly by members of the Whitwick Historical Society. Secondary sources, which do not specifically focus on the history of Whitwick, but mention Whitwick, abound. Included in these secondary sources are the many books dedicated to coalmining in the Midlands and the various publications looking solely at the formation and foundation of Mount Saint Bernard's Abbey, the first catholic abbey built in England after the Reformation. Similarly, many books have been published about Charnwood Forest that make fleeting references to Whitwick. However, there is no current or previous work looking specifically at Whitwick's dramatic change in size and character during the nineteenth century.

### **Eric Whelan**

'An examination of the continuity of Poor Relief between the Old Poor Law and the New Poor Law: a study of the Oundle and Thrapston unions of Northamptonshire.'

This study looks at poor relief in a small area of some 53 parishes in north-east



Northamptonshire covering the period between approximately 1800 and 1850. It examines the use of local primary sources to determine whether or not there is any evidence of continuity of relief between the Old Poor Law and the New Poor Law. It examines the literature of poor relief, which suggests a real and obvious division between the two systems, focused on the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. It seeks to determine whether there is evidence to confirm recent studies that there was a considerable transition period between the two systems. The study examines the detailed local evidence of the workings of the poor relief system and how this compares with regional and national studies. It considers the national context of poor relief changes, in particular the rapid population increase, and the changes in the economic structure of the country. It discusses the influence of new political ideas in determining the poor relief system. It explores the extent to which age, gender and unemployment were determinants of poor relief under both systems of poor relief. The study also discusses how the mythology of poor relief has affected investigations into its true operation.

### ***News of former students***

Dr Delia Garrett has been appointed curator of Smethwick Heritage Centre, in Birmingham.

Peter Edwards, Professor of Local and Early Modern British Social History at the University of Surrey, Roehampton, gave his inaugural lecture in May 2004. Professor Edwards started his career in Leicester in 1963 as a student, first gaining a B.A. in History, following this with an M.A. in English Local History.

## **EVENTS SPONSORED BY THE FRIENDS**

### ***Diary Dates***

#### **Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2004.**

The Annual General Meeting will be held after the Seminar, starting approximately 4.00 pm.

#### **Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> November 2004.**

Full day outing to Northampton. For the last three years the Friends' calendar has included both a full-day summer outing to a place outside Leicestershire and a more informal half-day guided walk and social gathering within Leicestershire during the autumn semester. As we were invited to Ashby Parva by Dr John Goodacre in July 2004, the committee decided to swap these two events over this year, and have our full-day outing in the autumn.

See leaflet for details.

#### **8-10 April 2005, Contrasting Cultures: A Weekend in King's Lynn.**

See leaflet for details

#### **Saturday 21<sup>st</sup> May 2005.**

Preliminary notice of the sixteenth Hoskins Day Lecture which is to be given by Dr Tom Williamson. The title of his lecture will be 'Midland Peasants: how farming made the medieval landscape'.

## **Fifteenth Hoskins Lecture**

This year's lecture was given by Professor Charles Phythian-Adams. We are grateful to him for providing the following abbreviated version of his lecture.

### **Differentiating the English: ethnicity and provincial association to c. 1750.**

The central question posed here is: how might local historians seek to account for variations on the theme of Englishness over a millennium and a quarter? One solution could lie through the isolation and characterization of evolving regional societies. These may be discovered where concentrations of population are simultaneously structured on the ground in recognizably interrelated patterns of settlement, and defined by particular cultural identities. On this basis, three stages of societal development may be proposed: (1) a period, through to c.900, in which the foundations were essentially ethnic; (2) a succeeding phase of transformation down to c.1225; and (3), the consequent emergence of a newly defined, intra-dependent form of regional society which lasted until the eighteenth century and, in some areas, even beyond.

How then, first, did people define their social space during the closing 300 years of the Celtic and Germanic tribal tradition? It is suggested that the answer lies in the broad complementarity between 'kindreds' and the territories they inhabited. The identities of named tribal peoples, based on imagined claims to kinship, may be seen to have been further crystallized, at both district and regional levels, through the spatial coincidence of political, religious, judicial, administrative and economic functions. Here the integration of royal and religious authority at the regional kingdom/diocesan level was especially significant, and was directly reflected in the skeleton nature of the interconnections between the few permanent, key centres of administration and trade by

land and water. Arterial rivers seem to have been the *foci* for central places, monastic settlements and lading points in emergent regional economies, water transport evidently reaching far further upstream than later, when mills and fish-weirs proliferated. The common association of regional ethnic kingdoms with major river basins, or their parts, may therefore be accepted, while the expansion of such peoples into similar polities, based on neighbouring drainage basins, helps to stress the contrasted ways in which different ethnicities were mixed in adjacent regions. The Scandinavians too can be shown to have been variously fitted into these already defined politico-geographical matrices.

The transformation of these patterns during the second phase, between c.875 and c.1225, began with the superseding of regional kingdoms and their wider hegemonies through the processes of national 'unification', and the reduction to irrelevance of the former functions of their component districts. Smaller tribal groups either shrank then or earlier, or their identities vanished altogether. At the same time there was an increasing tendency for new administrative districts, now defined by their central places, to be created. These developments marked significant adjustments to regional territorial patterns in certain respects. Chief amongst these was the extraordinary development, at the hearts of most existing territories, of major urban centres especially during the tenth century. Usually these were long-established central places in their regions, and around them, recognizable urban networks began to develop across their historically dependent territories.

A new slant on tenth/early eleventh-century administrative reform can therefore be suggested. Despite the disappearance of regional kingdoms, their ghostly outlines were nonetheless perpetuated informally by the new urban networks and their hinterlands, which broadly coincided geographically with preceding ethnic arenas. Because of administrative considerations, defence needs

by water, and continuing church interests, shiring was evidently conducted chronologically by county *groups* in relation to the more significant existing points in these new urban networks which now became the shire towns. This then involved the internal partitioning, rather than the overall distortion, of existing political and social contexts. Despite the theme of centralization that dominates most national historical interpretations, it is thus still possible to trace the survival of regional ethnic allegiances down to the thirteenth century and beyond: through associations remembered by name; the persistence of many ancient dioceses as entities embracing counties in the guise of arch-deaconries; the continued cooperation of particular county groups for political purposes especially at the national margins; and the spatial patterning of ethnic myths of origin. The eventual carriers of new *informal* modes of association at district level seem to have been the *nativi* and their successors who were identified as 'aborigenes' or 'indigens' in connection with the specialized *pays* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The third stage (covering the period c.1225-1750) needs to be traced back to its beginnings to re-emphasize how the new administrative arrangements were superimposed on the pre-existing shapes of societies on the ground. Simultaneously, however, these increasingly populous societies were becoming self-defining just as their residential patterns – rural as well as urban – stabilized into recognizable, generally enduring, settlement hierarchies around both old centres and newly emergent – and usually similarly sited – central places during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These arrangements directly reflected the contemporaneous evolution of structured regional economies in which interdependence between participating settlements was consolidated as farming sub-regions, industries and complex urban and marketing systems were developed. Here it is possible to point to the integration of road and water transport within the existing settings through

an estimated national total of 400 coastal and riverine lading points, and their close relationship regionally to the known trading hinterlands of major, medieval and early modern ports. Such patterns were greatly reinforced by the impact of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century river navigation schemes which extended the reach of water transport once again. In all these contexts the relevance of alternative arrangements along and across less densely settled, inland frontier zones between provinces, nevertheless needs to be stressed, not least in the land-locked region around Coventry.

Internally, in the minds of some, the identity of the single shire may have been often diluted by the persisting cultural influences exerted in a superstitious age through the long reach of many ancient dioceses. Within historically linked county groupings, moreover, contrasted examples of cooperation or solidarity further emphasized the ways in which *informal* perceptions of regional intra-dependence – whether economic, cultural, political or sociological – finally came to replace the more formal structures and identities of a previous ethnic age, but in much the same spatial contexts as before. In such ways earlier regional differences may be seen to have persisted, albeit in new guises.

### **Autumn outing - Melton Mowbray**

This year's outing took place on 1<sup>st</sup> November and consisted of a visit to Melton Mowbray and the nearby village of Kirby Bellars. Friends and those just starting the M.A. course, who were on a field trip, met in St Mary's Church for coffee before being taken on a tour of the town by local historian, John Plumb. Following lunch, the Friends travelled to Kirby Bellars (the M.A. students had already departed) where Dr Alan Fox led the tour of the village.

St Mary's, with its 100 foot tower, standing between the Market Place and the open Park, dominates the town. Its grandeur reflects the wool wealth of medieval Melton

and it is, arguably, the most magnificent church in Leicestershire with its lofty clerestory, double-aisled transepts, and beautiful Victorian stained glass. One window depicts Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester from 1533, who was born in Leicestershire. Another depicts Sir Malcolm Sargeant who was organist at St Mary's for a while and was active in the operatic shows held in the town's Corn Exchange during the 1920s.

Visitors today associate Melton with foxhunting. But John Plumb, our guide, explained that today's hunting is a recent sport. The rules and regulations of foxhunting were set down by London gentlemen early in the nineteenth century. Wealthy young men began to converge on Melton, with their hunters and servants. Grand lodging houses, with stables, were built around the town for the men and John Plumb later pointed out one of the few lodgings which remain, the Old Club House, near St Mary's, now converted into shops. Soon, ladies wanted to join in too, and so further lodges and town houses were built during the nineteenth century to house not only the ladies but also whole extended families. The huntsmen took their love of the town's pork pies and Stilton cheese back to London, and so demand for those delicacies quickly spread.

But the unseen gem of Melton is its Town Estate. This unusual and remarkable charity has flourished for 450 years because of its inbuilt flexibility. Medieval Melton boasted no fine monastery, only a house for chantry priests (now the Anne of Cleves restaurant), a cell of the Priory of Lewes. These priests served the chantries in St Mary's for the two gilds of Melton. The priests, and a school, were supported by income from gild lands. Local people also had rights to graze their animals on these lands. In 1549, following the abolition of the chantries, it seems that the Churchwardens sold the church plate to buy back land, which would otherwise have gone to the Church Commissioners, in order to maintain the

school and pay the teacher. Over the next fifty years townsmen prudently raised sufficient funds amongst themselves to buy land for rent and for poor people to maintain themselves. And so the tradition of townsmen maintaining their own gild lands, continued into the Town Estate charity.

In a short walk roughly centred on St Mary's and the Market place, John Plumb pointed out Melton's historical evolution. Just to the south of the church, facing onto Burton Street, is the old stone-built Chantry Priests' House, now called Anne of Cleve's House, because Henry gave it to her as part of their divorce settlement, together with other ex-abbey lands. Opposite is the entrance to what were the livery stables of the Old Club House in the days when Melton was a foxhunting resort. Further down Burton Street at 22 – 22A stands a brick Victorian building purpose-built as a pork pie factory, and the last in the town, closing in the 1970s. The remnants of medieval Melton survive around St Mary's and the Market Place, mostly as the street layout. None of the original four market crosses has survived, although a reconstructed butter cross now stands in the Market Place, and a plaque indicates the site of the sage cross, where herbs were sold, at the east end of the old Beast Market

From the beginning, the objective of the Town Estate was to benefit the community of Melton town. In effect, the twelve feoffees (trustees), who often included the churchwardens and constables, were able to act like a corporation. The Estate paid the wages of the schoolmaster and his usher (assistant) as well as maintaining the school building. In 1582 the Town Estate paid 8d to repair the thatch on the school roof. In the same year, the townspeople agreed that the land and property of the Town Estate should be so managed that the rents would pay for the upkeep of the church and churchyard, highways, pavements and bridges

By the late eighteenth century, the Town Estate had fallen into a state of sad neglect, but the town itself was becoming a

hunting resort, with gentlemen's lodges and clubs being built around the town. John Plumb pointed out Cadogen House to us, next to the Boat Inn. The lodge itself was modest, but the stables and Turkish baths for the horses, were extensive. Then Dr Ford, zealous Vicar of Melton for fifty years, galvanised the townspeople into regaining control of the Town Estate which, reverting to prudent management, continued once more to raise income for the good of the townspeople. The prime concern at this time was to maintain the school and, with Dr Ford's encouragement, a school for girls was built too, a radical decision for the 1790s. Then John Plumb pointed out how a bitter dispute in the 1840s resulted in the school, already occupying a narrow site, was literally divided down the middle to separate Church of England from dissenting, pupils. Overall the Town Estate has brought innovation, prosperity and recreation to the town.

After lunch Friends travelled the couple of miles to Kirby Bellars, where Alan Fox led a tour of the village, including the church and the medieval remains of the moat and priory. The church is very large for the population and Alan explained that, after the dissolution of the monasteries, the land had been sold to Erasmus de la Fontaine, a Huguenot. The village seems to have shrunk after this through a combination of neglect and enclosure. Then following a look at some of the village houses and a visit to a disused lock on the short-lived Wreake Valley Navigation, everyone repaired to the village hall for tea.



Friends visit to Melton Mowbray, with the tower of St Mary's church in the background.

## ***Study Day in Kineton.***

For the last few years the Friends have organised study days to a variety of towns, which have proved very popular. This year your committee felt it would like to continue the programme but try to expand awareness of the Friends and introduce the Centre's approach towards the study of English local history to a wider audience. Contact was made last autumn with the Kineton and District Local History Group who were receptive to our proposal and agreed to help with the organisation. It was with this background therefore, that some 70 people met in the village hall in Kineton, a small town situated eight miles south west of Southam on Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> March to consider 'Town or Village? Kineton in context'. Following registration and coffee, the day's proceedings were introduced by Jill Brazil and Sylvia Pinches, chairmen of the two organisations.

Professor Chris Dyer, the first speaker, explained that a considerable amount of information is available to researchers of the district since the archives of the Earls of Warwick were deposited in Warwickshire Record Office and showed how the town had been established in the thirteenth century with the specific purpose of becoming an agricultural and trading centre. No doubt it seemed to be an ideal position to establish a market, as the surrounding towns of Southam, Banbury, Stratford and Warwick were ten to fifteen miles away and outside the range for normal trading. The land was fertile and had supported a regular population since time immemorial. Many fragments of Roman and earlier pottery have been found, which together with surviving ridge and furrow are testament to the area's long term habitation. It was a prosperous area with many people farming twenty to fifty acres, which would have been sufficient to ensure they were able to produce more than the basic needs of the family unit and so would have had spare cash to buy goods from the market.

Professor Dyer then sought to look for clues as to why the town could act as a local

centre, but never managed to compete with the larger established towns. Several factors contributed towards its limitation; lordship holders were not resident and so brought no trade to the town; while villages in the immediate vicinity obviously looked to Kineton, those six or seven miles distant preferred to use the older markets that sold a wider range of goods. Kineton's market satisfied the better-off peasants, but it was not able to compete with the size and range of goods available in Warwick or Banbury. Following the Black Death some 60 villages in the area failed in the late fourteenth century and pastoral farming became the norm.

The next speaker, Dr Richard Goddard (University of Nottingham) has spent some years researching the origins of Kineton. Kineton was founded by Stephen de Seagrave at the beginning of the thirteenth century and had been granted a market charter by 1220. It survived as a market town until the seventeenth century. Many burgage plots survived till 1877 and three are still in evidence today, which we were to see later. In 1313 Kineton had become a borough. Dr Goddard has detailed the areas of infill near the market and now considers that the original founders approached the commercial development of the town on a step-by-step basis, ensuring the success of each stage before taking the next step. Such caution was probably justified for, in 1325, market tolls were only ten percent of those at Southam. Records show that only eight crafts were resident in the town, far less than were to be found in Stratford. The height of Kineton's development would appear to be in the period 1350-1400 when nine crafts, including four smiths, are recorded. There are no signs of any development in the fifteenth century; by 1492 there is no sign of commercial activity, the area being entirely agricultural. A completely new market was built in the seventeenth century but it does not seem to have generated any significant activity.

Hugh Jones then spoke on 'The building stones of Warwickshire'. Starting with a brief description of the geological

formations of Warwickshire, he explained that most of the older buildings in the county are constructed from three types of sandstone, Warwickshire, Arden and red, blue and white lias, with some examples of Haunton ironstone and oolitic limestone. The majority of buildings in Kineton are of lias and Arden sandstone. The talk was illustrated with some excellent photographs of many buildings throughout the county.

After a short break that allowed participants to stretch their legs and restore circulation, Gill Ashley-Smith provided an insight into the developments and changes that took place during the nineteenth century, a talk illustrated with slides. In 1841 the population of Kineton was 966, had reached 1276 in 1871 due to the coming of the railway, but had fallen to 1008 by 1901. As in all communities, the Victorian era brought many changes, only a few of which can be detailed here. The first school was opened at the early date of 1818 and followed by another in 1840. The Warwickshire Hunt kennels were established here in 1837 and still remains the home of the hunt. Lady Willoughby de Brooke provided some considerable patronage that created a library and reading room from early 1860s. The Kineton Literature Society was also established about the same time. A Workingmen's Club opened in 1866 and a Coffee Tavern in 1880. The opening of the East-West Junction Railway in 1871 provided rail contact to London via an interchange at Fenny Compton. The Vicar paid for the cost of restoring the church in the 1890s.

An excellent lunch was organised by Kineton and District Local History Group in the Methodist Church Hall that was much appreciated by all

After lunch, we assembled in the church for a brief introduction, before being divided into four groups for a tour of the town, each led by a guide. This was an opportunity to add meaning to some of the statements made during the morning session, especially in relation to the infilling and site of the burgage plots; for this we were



indebted to Dr Goddard who showed us the burgrave plots he had described earlier. If 'seeing is believing', the tour was an excellent way to help understand all that had been said in the morning.

After tea and (home-made) cakes, we settled down to listen to Glenn Foard, of the Battle Fields Trust, talk about the Battle of Edgehill, the site of which lies a couple of miles south-east of Kineton. He explained that his interest is in how to find out about the battle, not the details of its organisation. Many books have been written about the battle itself and how it fits into the longer term struggle between the King and Cromwell. Dr Foard is now building up a picture of the landscape as it was in 1642, using contemporary written evidence, the pre-enclosure map of 1756, aerial photographs taken in the 1940s, and matching that with visual evidence of the landscape today. Some features described at the time still exist today. It now becomes possible to reconstruct the battle site more accurately. He then looked for physical evidence of battlefield remains, such as scatter patterns for shot, to establish the exact position of the combatants. His general opinion is that most of the battle took place several fields away from the site usually considered to be the main site.

This was an interesting and different day in a number of ways that was enjoyed by all participants. Our thanks must go to all the speakers for giving so freely of their time, the providers of lunch and intervening refreshments, Gill Ashley-Smith and her team in Kineton and not forgetting Sylvia Pinches and Maggie Whalley.

### ***Summer outing to Ashby Parva.***

The field and garden gateway were clearly marked with bold signs: 'Car Park' and 'Entrance'. For those unfamiliar with the Leicestershire village of Ashby Parva, approaching from the south there was no possibility of missing the venue for the Friends' summer social. Our visit to The White House was at the kind invitation of the owner, our member and former treasurer Dr

John Goodacre, whose family have been substantial landowners in the village for many generations. On arrival we were met with a warm welcome, and directed to one of two marquees erected on his lawn, where drinks were being served. The Friends were joined by several members of John's family, some of whom had travelled many miles to join this reunion. Different events and different venues bring with them a different mix of people, and it was good to see a number of long-standing members present who had not been at earlier events this year, also to welcome new members to their first event and to have so many of the staff of the Centre join us. The dark rain clouds apparent earlier in the day had now given way to a clearer, brighter, sky and after drinks, talk, and a visit to the splendid buffet laid out in a second marquee, we were able to eat our lunches at the tables and chairs John had set out on his lawn and enjoy some bright sunshine as well as the good company.

After lunch we returned to the marquee, where John gave us a brief résumé of his family's association with the villages of Ashby Parva and Ullesthorpe, and spoke of his forebears, a late-eighteenth century John Goodacre having been High Sheriff of the county. He then took us on a guided tour of the village, past the almshouses, pub and old school, to the church, and told us a little about the history of the village from its enclosure in 1665. Other than the church and the pattern of the fields nothing remains from that date, although a couple of the farmhouses may date from the late seventeenth century. Other family members were able to add their memories of Ashby Parva in the twentieth century. Unfortunately so many people looking at the village architecture was just too much for one local four-legged resident – a girl riding through the village found herself unable to persuade her mount that it would be safe to walk past us – the 'horse whispering' skills of our membership secretary proved vital in calming a frightened animal, and Mandy was able to lead both the pony and its grateful rider to the clear road so they could

continue their journey home. By this time we had already been told of the close connections of earlier generations of Goodacres with the church; either the current generation also has some connection at the highest level, or John's planning skills are superb, for no sooner had we returned from our walk to his garden than the heavens opened – had it been just five minutes sooner we would all have been drenched. Tea and coffee awaited us, and we were able to view the album of photographs of the village while waiting for the rain to abate before dispersing homewards.

Many thanks, John and Stephanie, for your hospitality, and for showing many of us around a little-known but very attractive and peaceful Leicestershire village.

**Pam Fisher**

### ***Friends' publications***

#### **Deborah Hayter**

'Pasture and Profits: Sheep and enclosure in 16th century Kings Sutton and Chipping Warden Hundreds', Part 1 in *Cake & Cockhorse*, Journal of the Banbury Historical Society, Vol 15, No. 8 (2003), Part 2 in ditto, Vol 15, No 9 (2003);  
 "King's Sutton: An Early Anglo-Saxon Estate?" in *Northamptonshire Past & Present*, No 56 (2003).

#### **David Holmes**

Ed. *Friends of the Centre of English Local History Newsletter* (2003), 46 pp.

#### **Sybil Phillips**

*Glorious Hope: Women and Evangelical Religion in Kent and Northamptonshire, 1800-1850*, (Northampton, 2004). Available from Compton Towers Publishing, 102, Northampton Road, ROADE, Northampton NN7 2PF. Price £15.50, including postage.

### ***Bursaries***

The Friends will again provide student support grants to the amount of £2,000 for the coming year.

### ***Friends' Papers***

The following Papers are still in print and available for purchase from Mike Thompson

:

No.3, Amanda Flather *The Politics of Place: a study of Church Seating in Essex, 1580-1640*. £6.00 + p&p.

No.4, Marion Aldis and Pam Inder, *John Sneyd's Census of Ipstones*.

£6.00 + p&p.

No.5, Barrie Trinder, *The Market Town Lodging House*. £7.50 + p&p.

No.6, Mandy deBelin, *Mapping Skills Tutorial*. Price includes disk.

£6.00 + p&p.

No.7, Geoff Wolfe, *Keeping the Peace: Warwickshire, 1630-1700*, £6.00 + p&p.

No.8, Pam Fisher, *An object of Ambition? The Office and Role of the Coroner in Two Midland Counties, 1751-1888*. £6.00 + p&p.



Sybil Phillips held a party at the beginning of July in Highgate House, Creaton to launch her book, as detailed on this page.



### ***Research article***

The editor would like to thank all those who sent contributions for the Newsletter. It is intended to include another research article next year and I would be pleased to receive contributions for consideration. Articles can be on any subject and should not exceed 2,500 words.

## An adventure in Woad.

The following article is a much abridged version of, 'An adventure in Woad', a dissertation by **Freda Raphael** who has kindly agreed to its publication here. In her original paper Freda dealt in detail with the speculative enterprise of Sir Francis Willoughby in promoting a woad-growing project at Wollaton in Nottinghamshire in the late sixteenth century.

Few people today know what woad is or for what it was used, and yet in some parts of Europe during the Middle Ages woad growing was as economically important as wool. Woad is a plant, *Isatis tinctoria*, a biennial of the family *Cruciferae* and so related to mustard and cabbage. In Western Europe before the seventeenth century woad was the only source of the blue dye indigo. From woad, madder (*Rubia peregrina*) and weld (*Reseda luteola*), dyers obtained their primary colours - blue, red and yellow.

A commercially viable synthesis of indigo was not developed until 1897. The chemical synthesis of indigo was not discovered until 1897 and before that all indigo used in dyeing was of plant origin. The amount of indigo in woad is highest when the leaves are young, but the amount is only very small and so several acres had to be planted for a useful yield. Until late medieval times in Western Europe it came from woad then, during the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, increasingly from imported indigo from the tropical *Indigofera* plant. However, in England, homegrown woad was still employed in dyeing, albeit on a very small scale, until as late as 1932. Traditionally, indigo dye from woad is referred to as 'woad', but from the *Indigofera* plant as 'indigo'. In bygone times, clothing, especially outer woollen clothing, was exposed to rain, sun, dirt, even to washing, all of which will spoil most plant dyes. The double necessities of being able to store plant dyes until they were needed and have their colours as impervious to wear and weather as possible resulted in the three main dye plants

being grown. For red, madder roots were dug up after three years, cleaned and dried; for yellow, the whole top of the biennial weld plant in its second year was dried and chopped up. The dried material could then be simply heated in water, using a mordant to make the dye 'bite' and the wool would be dyed. For blue, only woad was available and although it quickly yielded plenty of leaves these could not be simply dried or the dye disappeared. Instead it had to go through a long, arduous, skilful but offensively smelly process, during which the precursor of indigo was converted into a stable and useable form. Even then, woad prepared for the dyer contained only around five per cent of indigo.

With the three primary dyes red, yellow and blue, it is possible to dye one over the other to obtain a whole rainbow of shades of greens, oranges, plums, pinks and browns. Our medieval ancestors were fond of colour as any medieval illuminated manuscript will show and there was a wide range of dyes at a wider range of prices. A poor peasant might simmer his woollen cloak every autumn in a pot of elderberries, which gave it an attractive plummy-purple colour for a few weeks before fading to a pleasing brown. It also made it cleaner and therefore more comfortable and warm to wear; and it advertised its wearer as being well down the social scale. Clear, fast colours were costly and some dyes were very costly indeed. The colours of your clothes therefore strikingly displayed the wealth and status of your person; but blue was in the middle. Blue was universally popular because, when properly dyed, a woaded cloth kept its colour through summer sun and winter rain, and it was affordable by many. With successive dyeings the wool cloth emerged inky-blue, almost black, and, moreover, all this treatment left the material soft and durable. With some traditional dye processes, when a deep shade is achieved the process itself has damaged the wool structure and the garment all too soon falls into holes. This did not happen with a woaded cloth. The complexities of woad dyeing have led some historians to doubt the abilities or

observations of people long ago. In 1917 R. H. Biffen wrote that these 'processes ... seem too complicated for a primitive people ever to have discovered' and that woad growing 'could hardly have been carried on a large scale in the days of open fields'. Professor Plowright developed an interest in woad from living in King's Lynn and in 1899 his initial enquiries about woad-dyeing prompted responses that 'the blueness of woad was more or less a myth, and even if it ever possessed this quality, it has long since been lost by continued cultivation'. However, it is useful to remember that many historians and writers lack experience of traditional skills, perhaps because these are backbreaking, poorly paid, repetitive, or make hands dirty.

And yet woad-dyeing has a long history. Although it can be found growing wild in Britain, near Tewkesbury, it was a prehistoric introduction originating in the eastern Mediterranean from whence people took it as they travelled and migrated, all over Europe. Tudor settlers took it to North America, but long before then the ancient Egyptians used indigo, although whether from woad or the tropical *Indigofera* plant is not known. The ancient Greeks dyed cloth blue with woad, as did Bronze Age people in Sweden and Denmark around 2,000 - 1,000 BC. The Romans used woad and reported that the Gauls were expert in weaving and dyeing. Julius Caesar in his account of his invasion of Britain, *De Bello Gallico*, records that the Britons stained themselves blue (*quod caeruleam efficit colorem*); consequently the Romans called them *Picti* or 'painted men' which they took from the Celtic name for these people. Excavations of Scandinavian sites in Dublin and York have found fragments of textiles dyed with a range of pigments including indigo, which is assumed to have come from woad. Other historic allusions to the importance of woad are found in place-names such as Glastonbury, in Celtic *glas* is 'blue' [or even, according to Ekwall, possibly from the Gaulish *glastum* = woad. Ed.]. Somerset, with its mild climate and rich

soil, continued to be a major woad-growing area in England throughout the Middle Ages.

Woad growing in Europe played an important part in the economies of European countries through the Middle Ages especially in parts of France, Germany, Italy and Spain, as well as in England. Merchant guilds ensured not only that cloth was dyed to the highest standards but also insisted that woad alone was used. This not only safeguarded the wearing quality of the cloth but also their own profits, especially when tropical indigo began to become obtainable from the *Indigofera* plant. This is chemically the same as indigo from woad, but there is a much higher concentration of the dye in *Indigofera*. After the sea passage to India had been discovered, in 1498, it became increasingly possible to obtain this indigo at competitive prices but European guilds and governments quickly prohibited the use of this exotic dye. In Frankfurt in 1577, severe penalties were imposed on anyone daring to use this "corrosive, diabolical substance" and in Nuremberg and many other European cities dyers had to take an oath each year that indigo from this source would not be used.

In England in 1622 tropical indigo remained a 'prohibited commoditie' and from the later 1500s there was a general feeling that the country should make more effort to be self-sufficient. Home production kept profits in the pockets of Englishmen and the increasing numbers of labouring people in gainful employment. It was realised that all sorts of ordinary and exotic goods from pins and fancy leather gloves to dye stuffs (and especially woad) could be perfectly well produced at home. Towards the end of the 1500s there was a rush to plough up pasture, grow woad for three or four years, take a quick profit, and move on. A woad-growing project at Wollaton, to the west of Nottingham, was just one of these projects and illustrates how then, as now, any risk-taking enterprise is as likely to make a loss.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a blossoming of learning; of questioning why and how things happened.

There were great mechanical advances in the textile industries of spinning and weaving throughout the eighteenth century, including John Kay's flying shuttle in 1733, James Hargreaves' multiple spinning machine, the Spinning Jenny in 1764 and Edmund Cartwright's first mechanical loom in 1784. These sorts of inventions made it possible for the first time to manufacture quantities of good, cheap cloth affordable by the masses and with a surplus for export. In turn, the increased production of cloth demanded more and more dyes, which increasingly had to be imported.

Dyeing technology was under pressure to catch up with steadily improving mechanisation in spinning and weaving. But dyeing required knowledge of chemistry if it was to progress beyond being mystical secrets and right through this time chemistry was still very much in the era of magic and alchemy. Some dye recipes were not only full of inexplicable mysteries but the processes could take a very long time. During the eighteenth century dyeing had not progressed since the Middle Ages. As is so often the case, it was war which finally dragged chemistry, and with it dyeing, away from these archaic methods. England's blockade of Napoleonic France and its allies in 1807 made it necessary for the French to find substitutes for imported dyes then unobtainable. Red, blue and bleached-white cloths were essential for military and naval uniforms. French chemists were already ahead of other Europeans, France had supplanted Venice in its superior dyeing skills, and Napoleon offered a large prize for finding a way of extracting more indigo from woad, which could be homegrown. In 1813 Professor Giobert of Turin proposed a simple method using fresh woad leaves and this is essentially the method craft dyers use today, but he could neither increase the yield of indigo nor synthesise it. Attitudes to chemical concepts and analysis were changing and developing but chemistry was still in its infancy and no actual synthesis of a dye was yet possible. Similarly, dyeing as an industry with its

recipes and boiling vats remained essentially medieval until well into the nineteenth century and it was not until 1880, by which time German scientists were spearheading the science, that von Baeyer finally elucidated the structure of indigo, and 1890 before Heumann demonstrated the first technically practical synthesis.

In medieval times woad was grown on some monastic estates but in general little woad was grown in England, unlike parts of Germany, France and Italy where dyers and growers concentrated on developing the skills needed to get the best yield of dye. During the thirteenth century at least, woad was one of Southampton's most important imports. In spite of this situation there is evidence from the Nottingham Borough Court Rolls of 1303-1455 of a tradition in Nottingham of dyeing with woad. Most of these Nottingham dyers were honest, peaceable men but, as with any trade or profession, there were some scoundrels and others who through misfortune or intent, fell into debt. For instance, in a dispute over the will of John de Amyas, a dyer who died circa 1312, the disputed goods include the dyestuffs archil (i.e. orchil, a lichen), brazil wood and woad; woven cloth, presumably for dyeing; alum mordant; and two woad vats. The woad-blues, purples from orchil, and bright reds from brazil wood, conjure up a vivid picture of John de Amyas' brightly coloured cloths. Between 1353 and 1428 there are ten records of complaints from (presumably) merchants, of dyers not paying their woad bills. William Aschewe was accused by two merchants in 1398 and 1404/5 of failing to honour his debts, and was therefore carrying on his trade for at least six years. The merchant John of Plumtree complained in 1376, 1389 and 1393 that he was owed money for woad supplied, so he was trading for nearly twenty years at least. A certain amount of rivalry or jealousy between competing dyers would seem to be indicated by the court proceedings recorded in 1393, 'Robert Selston, litster (i.e. a dyer) complains of Thomas Sargearde, litster, and Roger Thacker servant of Thomas Harbard,

litster, ... That Robert ... sent John of Thrumpton his servant with Robert's horse into Nottingham meadows; Thomas and Roger lay in wait in the Mill Holes and there with force and arms made an assault on John and dragged him off the horse's back and ... they held John for a long time against the peace by which detention Robert's woad vat was unworked by John's impediment'. The traditional woad vat required regular attention over several days or it was spoiled and worthless.

It would seem therefore that Nottingham had a well-established dyeing industry, even if on a small local scale, through the Middle Ages. It would not therefore have been unreasonable for Robert Payne to propose setting up a woad-growing project in Nottingham in the 1580s as the medieval woad-dyeing tradition could well have persisted there.

The author is indebted to Dr Trevor Foulds and *The Nottingham Borough Court Rolls Project 1303-1455* for access to transcriptions of, and permission to quote from, this source.



In the Michaelmas 2003 issue of *Oxford Today*, the novelist Penelope Lively provides an insight into how, having gained a first degree in history, she became fascinated with the range of subjects that are embraced under the heading of local history. Having read W.G. Hoskins' *The Making of the English Landscape*, she began to walk the local fields, which gave her an awareness of the presence of the past. This sense of history has affected her writing ever since.

Penelope Lively, *The Presence of the Past: an introduction to landscape history* (1976).



## WHITTLEWOOD PROJECT

Work on this multi-disciplinary research project entered its fifth year in Summer 2004. Our aim is to explain the origin, growth, survival and decline of the medieval villages, hamlets and farms in a group of parishes on the Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire border, which was once part of the royal forest of Whittlewood. The project is funded by the AHRB, directed by Chris Dyer, and researched by Richard Jones and Mark Page.

### Archaeological fieldwork

Excavation and geophysical survey in Whittlebury churchyard produced evidence of Iron Age round houses and grain storage pits with ritual deposits, proving the existence of the suspected hill fort. The hilltop continued to be occupied in the Roman and pre-Conquest periods, and was the nucleus from which the later village developed after c.1000.

Test-pitting at Silverstone failed to find physical evidence of the royal hunting lodge, although peculiar patterns in the distribution of pottery suggest that it was located close to the church. In the separate hamlet of West End, a pottery kiln dated c.1200 was located, producing a fabric found only in Silverstone and which may have supplied the royal residence.

In the parish of Wicken, test-pitting revealed the expansion c.1100 not only of the village but also of the nearby hamlet of Dagnall. This overturns earlier ideas that Dagnall was a later addition to the settlement pattern, and helps to explain why the inhabitants there were able to farm their own set of open fields. Another hamlet, at Elm Green, developed in the twelfth century.

### Documentary research

A study of medieval marketing demonstrated that the inhabitants of Whittlewood had trading links with a number of Midland towns, including Banbury, Coventry and Northampton. However, most economic activity probably took place in the immediate



vicinity, at local towns such as Brackley and Buckingham, at unofficial market places in villages, and at the farm gate. Migration to Northampton from the Whittlewood area seems to have been limited. Perhaps the opportunities available in the woodland discouraged movement to an urban environment.

Investigation of the village of Stowe revealed that previous suggestions that it supported a substantial population in the eighteenth century were false. The village was largely destroyed in the 1640s as a result of Peter Temple's decision to enlarge his deer park. Evidence from the later Middle Ages indicates a thriving agricultural community; for example, in 1469 the churchwardens were granted land to build a church house. However, in the sixteenth century the population appears to have stagnated, providing the opportunity for the Temple family to remove the remaining tenants.

### **Historic buildings survey**

English Heritage is funding a project to examine the vernacular architecture of the Whittlewood area. The number of surviving medieval buildings is larger than previously thought, and architectural evidence may prove valuable in understanding village development. For example, the Square at Akeley appears to be more significant than was supposed, with at least four timber-framed buildings facing on to it, suggesting that it may have been an early feature in the village plan.

### **Palaeoenvironmental research**

A number of cores have been taken from peat bogs in and around the project area. Radiocarbon dating reveals that some of these include samples from the historic period, raising hopes that pollen analysis will tell us about the types of crops grown and the extent of woodland regeneration in the post-Roman period. Unfortunately, progress in obtaining these results has been frustratingly slow, and we still await the final report.

### **Place-names study**

The University of Nottingham is funding a PhD student to research the place-names of the Whittlewood area. Although at an initial stage, the work has already produced some interesting results. For example, Lamport in Stowe parish means 'long market', although no archaeological or historical evidence of a market has so far been found. Nevertheless, comparison with other places called Lamport in England reveals that many of them lay in southern and eastern counties close to Roman roads. They may thus have been sites of transient trading activity in the early Middle Ages, comparable to the 'productive sites' revealed by metal detectors.

### **Conclusions**

Our understanding of landscape and settlement development in the Whittlewood area is much clearer than 12 months ago. A notable conclusion is that the project area does not conform to the 'Northamptonshire model', by which nucleated villages replaced a scatter of hamlets and farmsteads before c.850. Our villages grew from existing pre-village nuclei and were thus less compact than those in traditional champion countryside. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, expansion into the woodland led to the creation of dispersed settlement elements, such as the farmstead at Heybarne. These dispersed elements were more likely to be abandoned in the difficult economic conditions of the post-Black Death period, while the villages generally survived. Only Lillingstone Dayrell was deserted before 1500 and that was mainly due to the intervention of the lord who converted the open arable fields to enclosed sheep pasture. Elsewhere, the open fields survived until the era of parliamentary enclosure.

A number of papers based on the Whittlewood research will be published in 2004-5. Progress reports will be posted on the website:

[www.le.ac.uk/elh/whittlewood/index.htm](http://www.le.ac.uk/elh/whittlewood/index.htm).

**Mark Page**



Kineton day outing

## **USEFUL CONTACTS**

### **Reservations for seminars**

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Tel/Fax: 0116-279 6010, e-mail: holmes@bake-house.freemove.co.uk or dah22@le.ac.uk.

Alternatively leave message or contribution in Friends' pigeonhole at Marc Fitch House.

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### **Newsletter production:**

David Holmes (editor), Mike Thompson (editorial adviser), Joan Smith and Ken Smith (proofs), Michael Holmes (technical advice), Mandy deBelin (distribution), University AVS-Print (printing).



# W.G. HOSKINS AND THE MAKING OF THE BRITISH LANDSCAPE

A conference to be held at the University of Leicester, 7-10 July, 2005  
ADVANCED NOTICE AND CALL FOR PAPERS

W.G. Hoskins' book, *The Making of the English Landscape*, was published in 1955, and this conference marks the fiftieth anniversary of that event. This conference is designed to honour Hoskins by celebrating the achievements of the discipline of landscape history which he inspired. The conference includes themes of enduring importance which he included in his book (such as rural settlements, towns and buildings), and adds others which have emerged subsequently (for example perceptions, ritual and spiritual dimensions, and scientific analysis of the environment). Proper attention will be given to the twentieth century, and the period before 500AD, which he did not regard as very significant. The scope of the conference will include Britain, and comparison will be made with the continent.

The conference takes Hoskins' contribution as a starting point, but is not intended mainly to praise nor to criticise his work. Its focus is on recent developments and the future outlook in a dynamic interdisciplinary subject. Participants will include both established and younger scholars. It is to be held at Leicester, where Hoskins taught in three episodes of his life.

The conference is sponsored by the Historical Geography Research Group, the Royal Historical Society and the Society for Landscape Studies.

**The organising committee:**

Tony Brown, Christopher Dyer, Harold Fox, David Mattingly, David Palliser, Marilyn Palmer, Jeremy Taylor.

The publication of the conference proceedings is planned.

**Anyone interested in contributing should contact:**

Christopher Dyer, Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester, Marc Fitch House, 5 Salisbury Road, Leicester, LE1 7QR.

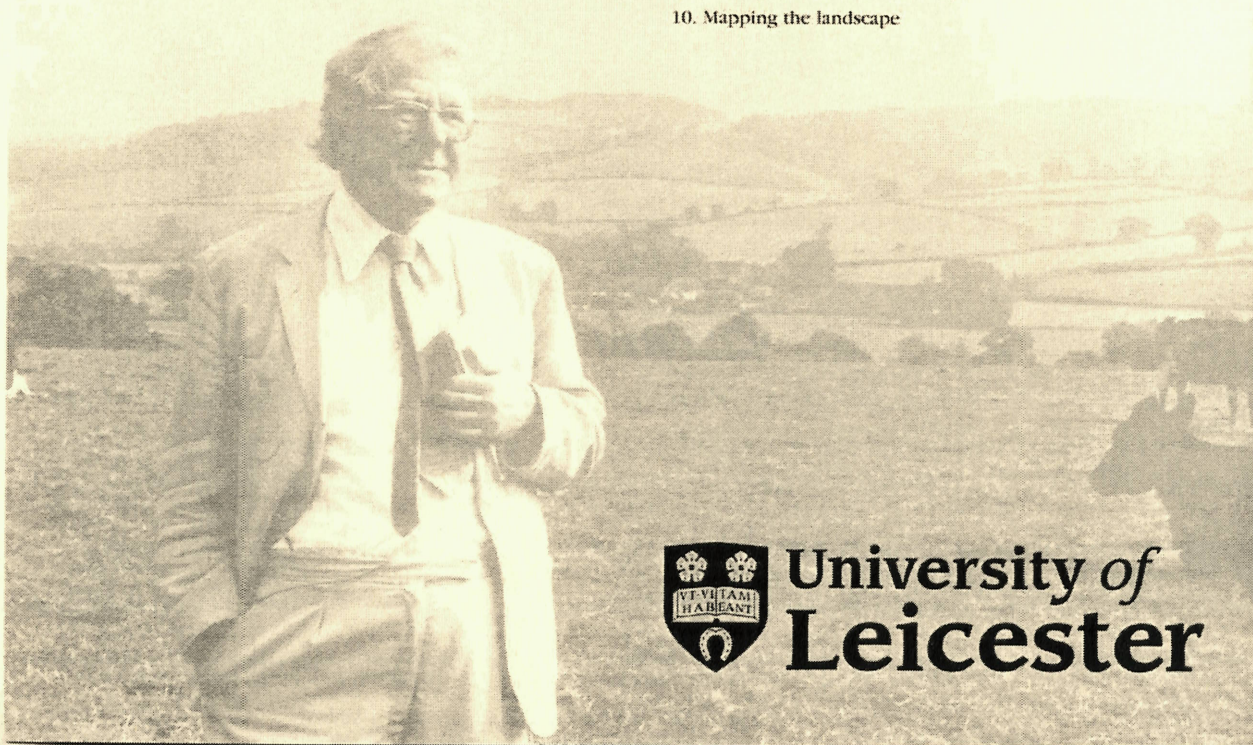
e-mail: [cd50@le.ac.uk](mailto:cd50@le.ac.uk) · phone: 0116-252-2765

Paper proposals should take the form of a title (maximum 12 words) and summary of contents (maximum 50 words). The slot allocated for papers will be 25 minutes maximum. Proposals should arrive by 1 September, 2004.

Please note that paper presenters will need to register for the conference and pay the registration fee and accommodation charges.

**Themes are as follows:**

1. Rural settlement
2. Towns and hinterlands
3. Industry and communications
4. Buildings in the landscape
5. Britain before the English
6. Status/designed landscapes
7. Perceptions of landscape
8. Ritual and spiritual landscapes
9. Environments and the landscape
10. Mapping the landscape



University of  
**Leicester**