

Friends of the Centre for English Local History

NEWSLETTER

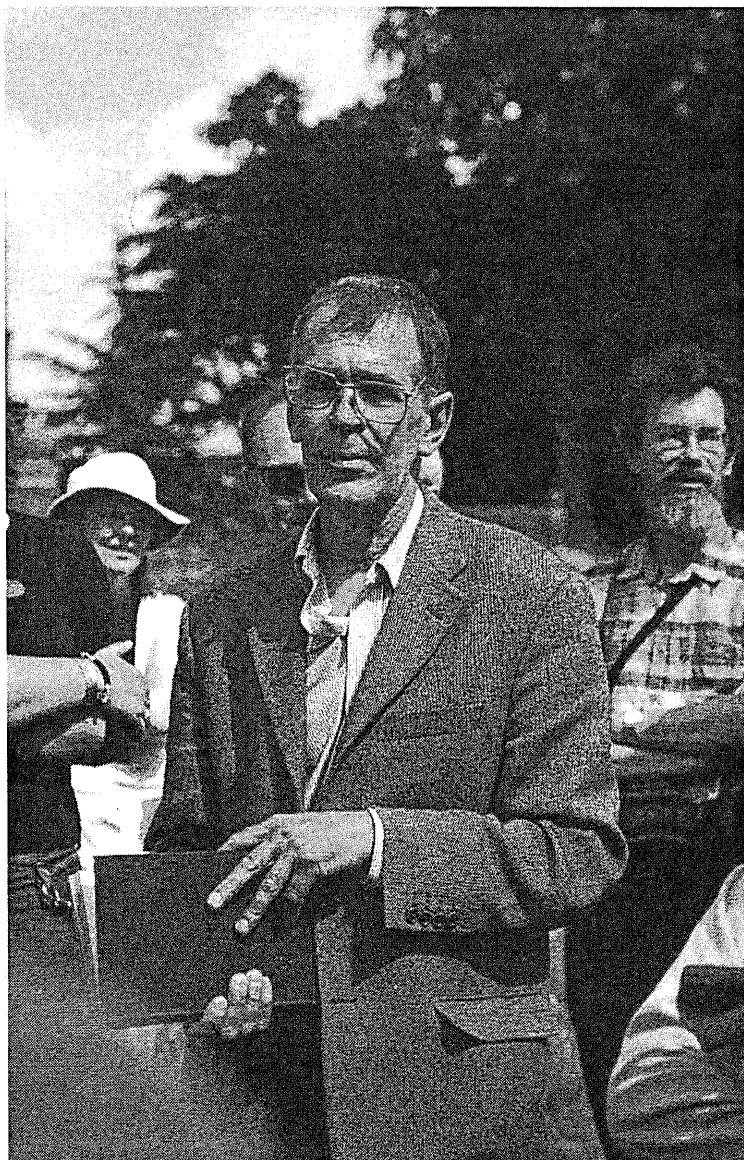
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The cover photograph shows 13th-century vaccary walls of early enclosure above Wycollar in the Forest of Trawden, N.E. Lancashire. © E. M. Pegg 2007

Professor Harold Fox



1945 - 2007

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EDITORIAL

Much of the *Newsletter* was written before we heard the sad news of Harold Fox's death. The tributes written to mark his retirement, have been altered or expanded according to the wishes of the contributors.

This edition of the *Newsletter* reflects a year of 'Hail and farewell' and as I take over the reins as novice Editor, I must pay tribute to my predecessor, David Holmes, for his work on the *Newsletter* since 2002. With the initial help of David, and his wife, Rosalind, I will endeavour to maintain the standard and take it forward. The founding editor, Professor Harold Fox has been encouraging and supportive. My thanks must also go to Mike Thompson for proof-reading.

I embarked on the MA course in 2000, mindful of the impression made on me by attending a lecture given by W. G. Hoskins in 1974. Being a 'Lancashire lass', in exile in the Midlands for 40 years, I appreciated being able to work on assignments covering my 'home' area, such is the breadth of the Leicester approach to local history. You may detect some Northern tendencies emerging, beginning with the front cover photograph.

A newcomer to the Centre is Dr Andrew Hopper who has written an introductory profile. We wish him well as he begins to add teaching to his research rôle.

We bid a sad 'Farewell' to Professor Harold Fox. His contribution to the Centre and, particularly to The Friends of the Centre, is marked, however inadequately, in this edition. His immense and far-reaching academic influence in the field of local and regional history is reported in the following pages.

During this past year Friends have enjoyed a full programme of activities: illuminating seminars; a weekend in Oxford, full of intellectual stimulation and good fellowship; happy days of discovery. The annual Hoskins Lecture had a good attendance to hear an address by Dr Della Hooke, followed by the book sale which raised £432 towards student bursaries.

To all those who willingly and cheerfully wrote reports and supplied information and photographs for this newsletter, I thank you. If you (yes, you!) would like to help in any way, please contact me and don't be shy – the *Newsletter* is by and for us all.

THE CENTRE

I wrote in late July my annual report on the Centre's activities using my usual (I hope) cheerful and optimistic spirit but of course a few weeks later we were all shocked and upset by the death of Harold Fox. I was tempted to rewrite my whole report to reflect the prevailing mood, but I have decided instead to move the section about Harold's retirement ('after much agony of indecision, and in difficult personal circumstances', I had written) and to substitute in this opening paragraph an expression of my sense of loss at the death of an old friend (we first met in about 1977). I will always remember his capacity for wit and charm, and I learned to value his fierce loyalty to the Centre and the Friends. He made an original academic contribution to the history of the landscape, economy and society, mainly in the middle ages, and often in the south-west. He did not follow conventional interpretations and that meant that he could explode some myths and develop new lines of approach of his own – his work on early enclosure, the origin and development of field systems, the wolds, the fishing village, transhumance, servants, towns and much else allowed us to see the past in a new light. In conversation he would produce wonderful insights: I always treasure his scorn for the phrase 'pre-industrial' – there was much more industry in 1400 than in 1800!

Others are writing in this *Newsletter* about Harold at Leicester on the basis of much more first-hand knowledge than I can provide. The rest of this report is as it was written before the sad news and recounts some of the good things that have happened during the year.

My report in last year's *Newsletter* was able to give news of a number of beneficial new developments and the first part of this report on the academic year of 2006-7 is taken up with an account of the consequences of initiatives begun in the previous year. Andrew Hopper has joined us and occupies a room on the second floor of no. 5 Salisbury Road. He has visited us regularly, but his attention and energies have been taken up with the research which his New Blood post enables

him to pursue. We look forward very much to seeing the results in a few years' time. He will begin teaching next year.

We saw much more of Richard Jones, who as reported last year was appointed to fill the gap left by Harold Fox's departure on study leave. Richard had to work hard, as the School of Historical Studies expected him to teach on its undergraduate courses in addition to his modules on landscape history for MA students. He also embarked on the time consuming training course in teaching that university lecturers are expected to take and pass before being regarded as fully qualified. He demonstrated the benefits of a younger member of staff, for example by using the university's internal teaching aid, Blackboard, to provide students with text, illustrations and bibliographies on line. We will all have to learn this method, lest we seem old fashioned.

We said farewell during the year to our modern external examiner, Ted Royle of the University of York, who gave good service in making decisive judgements at moments of uncertainty. He also kept us on our toes, as externals should, and we had to make sure that all our procedures were consistent and well executed. He is being replaced by Professor Richard Wilson of the University of East Anglia. The very helpful and conscientious Joe Bettey of Bristol, who looks after the earlier historical periods and landscape history, is still in mid term.

We were also sorry to lose the services at the end of the academic year of Peter Foden, whose palaeography course was very much appreciated by two cohorts of students. Now that Andrew Hopper has joined us, he will take over this course and Peter, we hope, will continue to develop his rôle as a consultant and teacher.

The MA by Individual Supervised Study which began in the spring and summer of last year, as was reported in the last *Newsletter*, continues to recruit and a new cohort of students has begun the course this summer. Our first student to complete the full-time variant of the course, Sylvia Ray, is graduating this summer.

This was a year in which books were published representing different aspects of our activities. Keith Snell's *Parish and Belonging* reflects the research of a member of the permanent staff, while the book of the Whittlewood project, *Medieval Villages* by Richard Jones and Mark Page, and Andrew Hopper's edition (with Richard Cust) of the

records of the Court of Chivalry represent work done as the result of special funding for a specific project. This year also sees the publication of Andrew's biography of 'Black Tom' Fairfax, which began life as a PhD thesis. The first two books in the Explorations series, founded and edited by Harold Fox, on Cambridgeshire fields and the 'self-contained village' show the Centre enabling worthwhile work to be published, in the first case by a talented local historian based elsewhere, and in the second arising from a conference that we organized.

The Centre continues to work with a group of local people, with the help of the County Council, towards a revival of the *Victoria County History of Leicestershire*. The planning has been much helped by the General Editor of the VCH, John Beckett, and by Kate Tiller, one of our honorary visiting fellows, who is also chair of the trust which helps to fund the VCH in Oxfordshire. We are moving cautiously, but deliberately, and we hope very much that, when the time comes for the launch of the Appeal, readers of this *Newsletter* will rally round with practical help.

An entirely new development during the year has been Keith Snell's planning of a new module on 'Family History'. This is designed partly for our own MA students but also for those taking other MAs. It is also planned to allow those who do not wish to work for an MA to gain a certificate: this should appeal to the very large numbers of enthusiastic family historians. The module will run for the first time next year, and Keith is optimistic that it will attract a good number and variety of students.

We have not organized any large conferences this year, partly because I have been preoccupied with a series of workshops funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council as part of their initiative on 'landscape and environment'. The series of workshops (really large seminars) has been sponsored by the Medieval Settlement Research Group and they have taken as their theme 'perceptions of medieval landscape and settlement' (POMLAS for short). The workshops have been held in Belfast, Edinburgh, Exeter and York, and will end in a grand plenary on 1 December in Leicester. If anyone wishes to attend this conference, look out for the leaflets or get in touch with the Centre.

We are planning conferences for 21-22 June 2008 (on deserted medieval villages – an idea of Richard Jones) and on 9-12 July 2009 we hope to join forces with the British

Association for Local History to celebrate the 50th anniversary of W.G. Hoskins's *Local History in England*. The Friends are planning a conference in 2008.

The Centre, unlike the former Department of English Local History, is located in the School of Historical Studies. This year the University proposed that schools and departments should be amalgamated into much larger schools, in which we feared that we might disappear without trace. These great University reform schemes normally move forward like steamrollers regardless of the views of the hapless staff, but to its credit, the University, after taking soundings, realised that this was meeting with a hostile response, and abandoned the plan. So we remain part of a School with about 30 staff, rather than a huge impersonal School with 200 staff. The RAE looms, which indirectly brought us the benefit of Andrew Hopper's appointment. Elsewhere in the School several senior staff are leaving to take up posts in institutions anxious to increase their score in the RAE, and a constant succession of bright young people are replacing them.

These reports tend to be filled with information about appointments, modules and administration, so I will use the last paragraph to recall some discoveries this year, to remind readers (and myself!) of the excitement of our subject. The first took place in the archives of St George's Chapel, Windsor at the end of September. After obtaining a security pass to enter the Castle and walking nervously past a policeman with the now inevitable machine gun, I saw the accounts of the London hospital of St Anthony of the 1490s. For years I have pursued records of almshouses or hospitals which would reveal the food and drink that the pauper inmates received. These accounts, unlike the others I have seen, provide that information, with implications for reconstructing the diet of the poor in general. For each day we learn about the diet of the master, the clergy, the school boys, and of the paupers, with each category of meals carefully distinguished in a well-defined hierarchy. A quite different revelation came this spring in the garden of a farmhouse in Gloucestershire. For some years I and a former Leicester MA student, David Aldred, have been surveying the landscape and village of Hazleton, in the high Cotswolds, and we are now near to publishing the results. We knew that there were carved stones in a garden in the village, but did not gain access until this year. There was much masonry which had been

removed from the parish church when it was restored in the 19th century, but the lady of the house was puzzled by a large block of Cotswold stone, with a socket cut into its top. It was of course the base of the village cross, which we knew from 14th-century documents had stood in the road a few yards from her house. We were able, in one of those 'eureka moments', to make that rare direct connection between the written records and the material remains.

Chris Dyer

New appointment

After Harold Fox had announced his retirement, the University was quick to agree the appointment of a successor and on 16 August, three candidates for the post went through the gruelling ordeal of making presentations before an audience of 20 staff and students from English Local History and the wider School of Historical Studies. In the afternoon the more formal interviews were held. All three candidates demonstrated their knowledge of the subject and their various approaches to it, which reassured us of the subject's vigour. Richard Jones was appointed. He had already been acting as a temporary substitute for Harold during the latter's study leave, so his appointment was popular among our present students, four of whom made a welcome contribution to the occasion. He had worked on the Whittlewood Project and is developing new research avenues, about which we will hear more in future issues of the *Newsletter*.

Chris Dyer



Dr Richard Jones

Professor Harold Fox 1945-2007

The development and achievement of an English Local Historian.

(The body of this piece had already been written when the sudden, numbing news of Harold's death became public. The writer is hoping to refer to more personal matters in his funeral address.)

To all who met him long before his sad decline in health, his devastation at the death of his mother to whom he was devoted, and his own tragically early demise at 62, Harold came across as a debonair, hugely engaging, and colourful figure. He combined in himself a degree of personal eccentricity (that could border deliberately on the outrageous) with wit, warmth, great good humour, and much generosity and kindness to others. Behind this exterior lay a man whose deep sensitivity and insecurity led him to guard his privacy to the point of secrecy; a high intellect handicapped only by aspirations to almost unachievable levels of cautious scholarly perfectionism; and one whose heart was committed unswervingly to both the academic local history we do here and what was for him its West Country inspiration.

Harold contributed mightily to what was the Department, and now is the Centre, and in doing so effectively made Marc Fitch House his surrogate home. Within it, and on his legendary field-courses, he was a charismatic teacher of both his research and MA students; a conscientious and utterly loyal administrator (I pay heartfelt tribute to his unfailing support over some of the most difficult years in the Department's history); the first and so far only librarian of the Marc Fitch Library; the inspiration of the Friends when its prime function was to act as a channel of communication with the Head of Department; founder and first editor of this *Newsletter*; and sometime Head himself. In the world outside, he brought distinction to us as member, leading officer, or scrupulous editor, of or in a range of learned or publishing bodies whether national, regional, or university. Above all he developed his own themes as a scholar of English Local History on an increasingly international stage and sought everywhere to infect others with his own excitement in them.

In the space available then it is this, the most lasting of his contributions, which is best celebrated here, albeit highly selectively. For that purpose, indeed, he had discussed the personal details of this piece with me less than two months before his death when it was still intended simply to mark his retirement with an article in these pages. I shall long treasure that conversation over four hours or so in which he spoke at greater length, and more openly, about the development of his thinking than at any previous point in the 30 years of our friendly cooperation. Normally he preferred to stick to minutiae. Now he seemed to want to put a broader, albeit still bounded, view on the record.

His boyhood interests, Harold told me, were in the scenery and ornithology of the countryside around Dartmouth – and eventually its geomorphology – through which he walked using a six-inch OS map that was issued to the children by his stepfather, and marked in concentric circles denoting distances in miles from home. It was not until the VI form, however, that his historical imagination was fired by writing two long, well-received extra-curricular essays on 'The Agricultural Revolution' and 'Landscape gardens'. From there it seems to have been a logical progression to find himself at University College, London, attending H.C. Darby's undergraduate lecture-course on the making of the English landscape – from the Anglo-Saxons to the Industrial Revolution – the preliminary reading for which included W.G. Hoskins's masterpiece on that very theme. Around then too Harold spotted, and devoured, Hoskins's and Finberg's pioneering *Devonshire Studies*. His Damascene experience, however, took place when researching his undergraduate dissertation over the summers of 1964 and 1965 on 'The field-patterns of Ringmore manor on the Teign' (not far from Newton Abbot where the family then lived). Now for the first time he needed to explore the riches of the Devon Record Office at first hand in order to compare the fossilized strip-pattern of his landscape with surviving field maps of different periods down to the OS. He was hooked.

From this revelation, and with a first-class degree in his pocket, it was an obvious step to undertake postgraduate research. Accordingly, it was through the advice of Darby (now back in Cambridge), who was then dividing up the country for such purposes between the young lions of historical geography in those days, that

Harold found himself studying the field-systems not only of Devon but also of Cornwall. Here he had to get to grips with two very different landscapes on his own (there being no formal fieldwork training then) and many kinds of sources - especially the medieval ones and all the tithe maps for both counties - over a time-span covering the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries. At the same time he was attending the great M.M. Postan's postgraduate seminars, having been much influenced by the latter's medieval agrarian contributions to *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. The thesis was thus to some extent a marriage between the map, medieval surveys, and the Postan interpretation, part of which was reflected in Harold's first major article - in the *Economic History Review* of 1975 - on 'The chronology of enclosure and economic development in medieval Devon'.

As Harold himself pointed out, nevertheless, this and his extensive - and widely cited - subsequent work on the Midland field-system (not least his uncovering of direct evidence for the transition from a two to three-field system at Podimore, Somerset) did lack the human or social dimension. The 'eye-opener' here was his early discovery of Rodney Hilton's 1966 regional study of *A Medieval Society* in the thirteenth-century West Midlands which reoriented Harold's thinking towards the links between the economic and the social. (This would lead later, though indirectly, to his path-breaking and still locally related social-historical work: on *garçones*, on farm labourers, and - partly influenced by Keith Snell - on tied cottages). In the meantime, however, he had also become aware in the Geography Library collection at Cambridge of this department's *Occasional Papers* series, and so of the stimulating work of scholars like Alan Everitt, Joan Thirsk and David Hey with their emphases on societies in specific spatial contexts. From these and from the publication in 1967 of Vol. IV of the *Agrarian History of England and Wales* with the exemplary contributions of both Joan Thirsk and again Alan, Harold gained a strong sense of pioneering activity at Leicester. In 1976, therefore, he eagerly exchanged a full-time lectureship in Historical Geography at Belfast for a short-term post in the Department which, thanks to Alan Everitt - and to our lasting benefit - was eventually made permanent. As he generously wrote recently: 'Coming as an outsider to the Department of English Local History, it truly

seemed to me an intellectual court of Rome, so glittering was it with new ideas, approaches and possibilities in my first years.'

Soon it was the interplay between society and the landscape - even back into the Anglo-Saxon period (which was now beginning to interest us here again) - that came increasingly to dominate his thinking. Harold began to revel in shedding light on 'dark landscapes' by painstakingly reconstructing and explaining from exhaustive documentary research and place-name study the particularity and the fortunes of their rural settlement patterns, especially those complex dispersed patterns, and more recently including even towns. Conversely he sought also to understand the impact of location on social activities, from the storage of fishing nets to the collection of taxes. In each case - most originally, on a seasonal basis - he traced detailed human processes at work in different contexts: whether these last were wold countrysides; coastal or estuarine edges; or of late, through transhumance and the supply of building stone, in terms of the spatial links between the Dartmoor massif *and* its surrounds. For him a medieval region could thus be rather wider than the *pays* at its core. It was held only to have had contemporary existence as such, however, if it had a documented name, and if it was expressed through the demonstrably shared nature of its everyday life: work-cycle, food, or building-type. In such ways Harold not only amplified the chronological background to the general insights of others into rather later periods in these spatial respects. He was also, I suspect, beginning to envisage the subtle task of integrating the localized social-histories of medieval Devon and Cornwall within the differentiated 'regions' of their common 'hamlet country', with its appropriately secret and labyrinthine lanes, as that stretches even into parts of Somerset. We must fervently hope, therefore, that what now turns out to have been the life-time culmination of his thinking, which will be found expressed in the almost completed MS on his beloved Dartmoor region, can eventually be brought to publication. We simply cannot afford to lose the last extended work of a scholar of Harold's distinction.

His writing indeed invariably reminds me of the precise, jewel-like artistry of another man of Devon: the Elizabethan limner, Nicholas Hilliard. In his own meticulously documented, detailed studies Harold too developed the ability both to crystallize features of the particular and,

through these, to refract a measure of luminosity over the yet wider contemporary world in question. The range and quality of his insights will long be seen to represent a highly significant contribution towards our understanding, not only of the West Country - for which he was the outstanding medieval historian - but also indirectly of the regional genius of England itself. Within the Department he bridged a major chronological gap in the characteristic repertoire for which it had become known: between the Anglo-Saxon centuries of Finberg and the Early Modern landmarks set by Hoskins, Thirsk, Hey and, especially, Alan Everitt. In their company Harold's originality and scholarship look far from out of place. His work will thus surely continue to be respected because it recognizably exemplifies the very best of what the 'Leicester School of English Local History' has achieved. He himself would have wished for no more fitting memorial.

Charles Phythian-Adams (Head of Department 1982-1997)

Harold – an appreciation by one of his many friends.

Mike Thompson wrote the following tribute to mark Harold's retirement. Only three weeks later, while on holiday in France, he learned of Harold's death. Shocked and immensely saddened, he wishes this to appear as the obituary he never expected to write.

I met Harold for the first time in June 1993. The occasion was my interview for the Glastonbury Scholarship and afterwards I wrote in my diary, "Good hour with Harold Fox and Charles Phythian-Adams – the one a typical academic and the other younger and more vigorous than I imagined and a 'with-it' professor." Well I was right about Charles, whose work on Claybrooke had been known to me for some years, but how wrong I was about Harold. There is of course no such thing as a typical academic and the banal cliché has never been more misused.

Three days after the interview it was Harold who telephoned to offer me the scholarship which opened up a whole new world for me and led to the most intellectually satisfying years of my life. Although as my supervisor to be I met with him several times during the summer,

it was not until October that I started work on my thesis and began to appreciate the very special talents of my mentor. Over time I learned (and still learn) much of the background to his career in the department of English Local History which began some 17 years before I arrived on the scene – just one of the many post-graduate students who have been inspired and guided by his vision of the medieval and early modern world.

Increasingly I became aware of the seminal rôle Harold had occupied as a founder of the Friends of the Department and our first chairman until the Department's Golden Jubilee year of 1998. He was the originator of this *Newsletter*, first published in 1989 and annually ever since. After he gave up the editorship in 1996 his continuing advice and guidance did much to ensure that his successors maintained its essential quality. He should also be given much credit for the inception of the Friends' Bursaries which, after years of aspiration, were awarded for the first time in 1997. Both before and after this time, Harold was a significant fund-raiser for research projects and other departmental activities – not only through grants from the more usually recognised bodies but also through his friendly and influential contacts with various benefactors who often remained anonymous.

I shall remember much about the last fourteen years of our close acquaintance. His mercurial temperament and a waspish wit; sparkling lectures, sprinkled with anecdote and occasional brain-teasers; silver-tongued and erudite introductions of visiting speakers; a phenomenal memory, not only for things historical but for literary allusion and personal reminiscence. His love of books (and by-gones) is evidenced by his stewardship of the Marc Fitch library and his personal collections that until recently occupied much of his Rectory home.

Above all I am grateful to him for his part in giving me the opportunity to share in the fellowship of Marc Fitch House and the excitement of historical research; for the long and discursive supervisory sessions that never cloyed.

Mike Thompson

EXTERNAL RECOGNITION

As Harold approached his retirement from the Centre, he impressed upon me, as Editor of the *Newsletter*, his wish that the Friends should know about the wider scope of his teaching and influence, as recorded in his *curriculum vitae*:

Official positions

Chairman, Society for Landscape Studies.
Consultant, Permanent European Conference for the Study of the Rural Landscape.
Research Reader, British Academy, 2001-2.
President, Medieval Settlement Research Group, 1998-2001.
Vice-President, English Place-Name Society, 2001- .
President, Devon History Society, 1996-9.
Victoria County History Central Committee, 1996-2006.
Victoria County History, Northamptonshire Advisory Board (representing University of London), 1996-2001.
Chairman, Friends of the Department of English Local History, 1996-8.
Leicestershire and Rutland Gardens Trust Steering Committee, 1996-8.
Devon and Cornwall Record Society Council, 1994- .
Director, Arundell Archive Research Project (Cornwall County Council and Leverhulme Trust), 1993-6.
Medieval Settlement Research Group Committee, 1989-91.
Acting Chairman and Secretary, Friends of the Department of English Local History, 1988-96.
Leicestershire Local History Council, 1982-6.
Medieval Village Research Group Committee, 1982-6.

Introducing Dr Andrew Hopper

I am the New Blood Lecturer in the Centre for English Local History. I took up this post on 1 October 2006, returning to Leicester after an absence of 26 years! I grew up in Oadby before moving to Solihull at the age of 8. From 1990 I read History at the University of York, and stayed on thereafter, taking an MA and D.Phil. in History under the supervision of Professor James Sharpe.

British Agricultural Society Executive Committee, 1983-91.

Editorial Board, *Midland History* (University of Birmingham), 1982- .

Reviews Editor, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 1975-81 (also founder, 1975; editorial board, 1981-97; hon. archivist 1981-).

Hon. Life Member, Institute of British Geographers, Historical Geography Research Group, 1976- .

Hon. Secretary, Institute of British Geographers, Historical Geography Research Group, 1972-76 (also committee member, 1971-2).

Official Advisorships

Medieval settlement and the waste (University of Durham and ESRC, 2000-).

Seignorial land-ownership and land-use (University of Belfast and Leverhulme Trust, 1991-4).

Feeding the city II (Centre for Metropolitan History and ESRC, 1991-4).

Feeding the city (Centre for Metropolitan History and Leverhulme Trust, 1988-91).

External Examining

PH.D/M.Phil. theses: Universities of Cambridge, Wales (Newport), Exeter, Leeds, Birmingham, Bristol, Wales (Cardiff).

MA/Diploma programmes: Universities of Exeter, Bristol, Manchester, Keele, London, Wales (Newport).

My doctoral thesis investigated the nature and extent of support for Parliament in Yorkshire during the first civil war, and was passed in 1999.

From 2000 to 2003, I was project researcher on the Virtual Norfolk Project in the School of History at the University of East Anglia. This entailed the design and production of a pioneering teaching and learning website, including 2,500 transcribed primary source documents in themed

pathways exploring the links between local and national history. The project explored topics such as Medieval Heresy and Piety, Kett's Rebellion, The English Reformation, The Strangers of Norwich, Plague and Pestilence, The Civil Wars, Political Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century, The Impact of Print, The Atlantic World, and Poverty and Charity.

<http://test.virtualnorfolk.uea.ac.uk/>



I returned to Birmingham in October 2003 when I was appointed an Arts and Humanities Research Council Research Fellow on Dr Richard Cust's project 'The High Court of Chivalry, 1634-1640' at the University of Birmingham. During this project I calendared and transcribed documents from 738 surviving cases in this court between these years. These cases concern defamation, duels, and the reparation of wounded gentry honour in England and Wales. The documents survive in the archives of the College of Arms, London, and the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel Castle. Our summaries of these cases have recently been published by the Harleian Society, and for those who require more detail, a website:

<http://www.court-of-chivalry.bham.ac.uk/>



My current projects include an edition of

the autobiography of the Quaker mariner, John Secker (1716-1795) for the Norfolk Record Society, and an edition of the Yorkshire puritan minister, John Shaw's set of manuscript advices to his son from Yale University Library. I am also researching a second monograph entitled 'Traitors and Turncoats', examining the representation of military officers who changed sides during the English Civil War.

I started teaching undergraduates in 1997 as a part-time graduate tutor at the University of York, and taught adult education A-Level History at York College. I have taught a variety of undergraduate modules in British and European History nearly every year thereafter, in the History Departments of the Universities of York, East Anglia and Birmingham. I can offer supervision on religion and political culture in seventeenth-century England, with particular expertise on the civil wars, and in Yorkshire, East Anglia and the West Midlands.

I am very honoured and happy to be part of Leicester's Centre for Local History and look forward to meeting many of its Friends in the future. I married my wife, Vicky Hall in 2003, and on 21 October 2006 we had our first child, 'Bertie', Gilbert William Hopper. Born on Trafalgar Day, he was lucky not to be named Horatio or Nelson!



Select Publications

'Black Tom': *Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Revolution* (Manchester University Press, 2007).

With R. P. Cust (eds.), *The High Court of Chivalry, 1633-41* (Publications of the Harleian Society, 2007).

With R. P. Cust, 'Duelling and the Court of Chivalry in Early Stuart England', in S. Carroll (ed.), *Cultures of Violence: Interpersonal Violence in Historical Perspective* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

41 entries of seventeenth-century figures for *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

'The Civil Wars', in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Norwich since 1550* (2004), pp.89-116.

'The Farnley Wood Plot and the Memory of the Civil Wars in Yorkshire', *Historical Journal*, 45, 2 (2002), pp. 281-303.

'"Fitted for Desperation": Honour and Treachery in Parliament's Yorkshire Command, 1642-3', *History*, 86, 2 (2001), pp.138-54.

Chapters 2 and 6 of W.M. Ormrod (ed.), *The Lord Lieutenants and High Sheriffs of Yorkshire, 1066-2000* (Wharncliffe Press, 2000).

'The Clubmen of the West Riding of Yorkshire during the First Civil War: "Bradford club-law"', *Northern History*, 36, 1 (2000), pp.59-72.

' "The Popish Army of the North": Anti-Catholicism and Parliamentary Allegiance in Yorkshire, 1642-6', *Recusant History*, 25, 1 (2000), pp.12-28.

' "Tinker" Fox and The Politics of Garrison Warfare in the West Midlands, 1643-50', *Midland History*, 24 (1999), pp.98-113.

'The Readiness of the People: The Formation and Emergence of the Army of the Fairfaxes, 1642-3' (University of York: Borthwick Papers, 92, 1997).



Dr Andrew Hopper

Editor's Request

Is there a Friend with an unwanted copy of Occasional Paper No. 15 – 'Blackburnshire: a study in early Lancashire history' by R.B. Smith, pub. Leicester University Press 1961? I would like to purchase.

Anne Pegg

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Seminar programme 2006-7

Dr David Hey (University of Sheffield), 'The landscape history of the grouse moors of the Peak District'.

In his lecture, David Hey outlined the changes which had taken place in the agricultural practices and the appearance of the moorland area of the Peak District, with particular reference to the moors above the main reservoirs of Howden, Derwent and Ladybower. Until the 18th century, these moors were regarded simply as waste but, although grazing of cattle and sheep was practised, the appearance of the landscape did not change greatly until the 19th century when the sport of shooting became immensely popular and the vegetation needed to be managed for grouse, by burning in selected patterns, and shooting cabins and butts were built. On the edges of the moors large shooting lodges were built with the most well known being Longshaw Lodge, built by the Duke of Rutland in 1827 and now owned by the National Trust.

The first reference to any hunting or shooting is in 1637 when moor game is mentioned and hunting was carried out with dogs. In 1686 there is a reference to shooting and somewhat later the laws of the manors laid down strict rules of conduct, for example, penalties for indiscriminate burning. Seasons for shooting were defined in 1772 and then the Game Act 1831 conferred rights and responsibilities on landowners. The heyday of the sporting estate came in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras on the back of the affluence produced by the Industrial Revolution.

The vegetation of the moors tended to change since grazing, particularly by sheep, had been the source of meagre income from moorland. Shooting rights produced a far greater income and grouse needed heather at different stages of growth for their survival (hence the need for burning) so that the farming of sheep had to be restricted either by severely reducing their numbers or by imposing strict seasons for turning them out. Grouse butts, now seen on most areas of moorland throughout the country, became popular after the introduction of breech loading sporting guns with the beaters driving grouse to the 'guns' behind the butts. On the moors nearer to Sheffield are to be found grouse drinking troughs. These are hollows, not unlike shallow pie dishes, carved into the flat rocks fed by narrow channels cut into

the same rock and numbered. Two or three sequences of numbers are known. There is a record of a landowner paying 7s 3d to a stonemason, George Broomhead, to have these cut in between 1907 and 1911. This feature may be unique to the British Isles. Records of game shot were kept by the estates and today these seem to represent a barbaric emphasis on unnecessary killing with the numbers reaching thousands in one day.

The advent of World War II saw the cessation of shooting and after 1945 the management of the moors became less intense and the numbers of sheep increased. Grouse shooting is still practised but not to the same extent as in the years prior to 1939. A prolonged struggle to achieve public access to the land was won in 2000 with the passing of the Countryside and Rights of Way Act. Management of the moorland is still necessary since it provides a habitat for much wildlife including comparative rarities such as the Mountain (or White) Hare and the Golden Plover.

The changes in the landscape are subtle but are there to be seen if one understands and appreciates the activities undertaken in furthering sporting activities.

Craig Taylor of the *Guardian*: 'Oral history fieldwork in an English village; approaches and tips'.

The speaker was introduced by Professor Keith Snell as the author of a recent book, '*Return to Akenfield*', in which he set out to discern the changes which had taken place over the past forty years since Ronald Blythe published his classic village study, '*Akenfield*'.

The inspiration for the project came from Murakami's '*Underground*'. Craig approached the subject as a Canadian and a journalist and spent four months, rather than years, living in Charlesfield and the neighbouring villages of the original study, which were fictionalised as Akenfield. Blythe knew the villages' inhabitants very well and so chose to fictionalise his findings and change names, which allowed him to push further with his questioning. He presented a harsh view of rural life. Much of the text was claimed to be verbatim, but, some was written on the basis of what he had heard over the years. This was an honest and effective way of working. Craig Taylor, approaching the task as an 'outsider', had to use a different approach and, as a journalist, a

different style. He believed that the strength of an interviewer from outside the community lay in the fact that he could ask questions that a local person would not like, or need, to ask, such as questions about types of soil and straightforward information such as 'What is a Suffolk Punch?' Also he was not hampered by embarrassing knowledge as to what personal questions he could ask. The interviewer needs the ability to ask honest questions which necessitates the building of trust; he has to take stock of himself and find common ground with those he wants to interview.

The methodology. The researcher needs to invest in documentary work and bury himself in the subject, whereas journalism is essentially a fast and messy process always against the clock; oral history cannot be hurried. Time is needed to build trust in order to get the story right. Recording equipment inevitably provides a barrier between the interviewer and subject so its introduction should be delayed for as long as possible. Craig took care to integrate himself into village society by meeting with the villagers on every occasion – at the local pubs, church services (two Anglican and two Baptist, every Sunday), harvest suppers and in people's homes.

Craig recommends that the researcher should be able to shut up because a story often emerges from a silence, although it is vital to maintain eye contact, keep engaged with the subject and help people to verbalise. The best interviews can be ruined by the ringing of a telephone. There is a danger that the interviewer can crowd his subject whereas he should have respect for the ideas being expressed. Recording equipment should be placed and adjusted as unobtrusively as possible.

The interviews for the study amounted to thirty-five tapes and the challenge lies in the final selection of material. A combination of flourish and truthfulness is recommended. It is essential to include jokes, description, some passages which might be considered sentimental as well as the facts of dates and places. An in-depth interview, describing the birth of a calf, reveals a former 'punk' having a passionate attachment to and knowledge of his land and makes for a compelling story.

To sum up, Craig stressed the need for respect for the real people, time to ensure that the facts are correct and the people well represented. Before publication, drafts of the book were sent to those involved. Most requested changes but only two withdrew.

Dr Angela McShane-Jones, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, presented her paper, 'Political and material cultures of drinking in the West Country'. Dr McShane-Jones set the scene for her paper with a vignette taken from a court case of 1661 in which one Philip Leigh, who had called with a friend at the *Three Cups* in Castle Cary, was forcibly detained at the table by others, who insisted that he drank to the King's health. Drinking the health of the monarch was one of a number of social drinking rituals which had an ancient pedigree. In the Jewish and Classical traditions there were customs of drinking to Jupiter, Mercury or Fortune, and the wassail was probably of Saxon origin. There was also a courtly practice of drinking from a communal cup at the end of a meal, accompanied by prayers, in a manner that seems to echo partaking of holy communion. Leigh reminded those who had joined him that drinking the king's health had been forbidden by a royal proclamation of August 1660, but he had one drink with them before apparently refusing to partake in a second round.

The petition is unusual in that it is set out as a full broadside. What lay behind this court case? The date, 16 January, was not a notable festival or anniversary. Leigh was a broadweaver, who was probably on his way home from market when he simply called at a tavern for a drink. There is no indication that the confrontation and subsequent legal case formed part of a trade dispute, nor that it was a question either of money or of religious differences. A father and his son were involved, so it does not appear to be a case of youthful exuberance. The events were possibly an expression of political differences and, perhaps, an act of revenge on Leigh, who may have supported a different side during the Civil War.

At the higher levels of society, the drinking of a toast to the health of the King and the confusion of his enemies was surrounded by form and ceremony. In a replication of the eucharistic ritual, heads would be uncovered, an audience craved, the communal cup would be filled and each person in turn would drink its entire contents, when it would be refilled and passed on to the next person. The drinking of loyal toasts increased during the early seventeenth century, at a time in which attendance at communion was declining. The custom seems to have migrated down the social scale, perhaps becoming a plebeian ritual of communal bonding.

The widespread drinking of loyal toasts in this period is evident from the vast numbers of

political ballads and songs that were printed. Many of these appear to have come from the West Country and, perhaps of relevance to the court case mentioned, some of these suggest that violence would be meted out to those who refused to drink to the health of the monarch. Silver and pottery drinking cups also survive in significant numbers from this period, some bearing royal iconography. Again there are links with the Eucharist, and, in particular, with changing communion practices following the break with Rome, including taking communion in two kinds, and the need for different vessels and plate within the churches. The degree of religious toleration permitted during and after the Civil War had broken the universal bonds that joined local people, and perhaps some chose to replace these at the Restoration by appropriating a traditional test of loyalty, which could provide an opportunity to exact revenge on those who had supported an earlier regime.

The seminar on 16 November 2006 was addressed by **James Patterson**, founder and curator of the Media Archive for Central England (MACE), which is now housed in the Centre's Salisbury Road premises. Mr. Patterson's aim was to illustrate the range of the resource at our disposal.

As a resource for academic research, film is of real potential value to the academic community, yet few academics engage with it. In 2001 a small survey was conducted to assess the reasons for this neglect and half a dozen reservations were cited:

- 50% were unaware of the existence of the archive, although it was part of the National Film Archive.
- It was perceived as 'popular culture' therefore not academically respectable.
- Barriers of technology were cited whereas, in fact, only a disk is required. Access was seen to be difficult as compared with a conventional library where books and other media can be browsed. It is necessary to explore the means to address this.
- As text, film would not bear the weight of criticism – an objection not yet tested.
- One response, that special skill is needed to read and understand film evidence, was dismissed as 'nonsense'.

- It was felt that the lack of work done in this field and paucity of written background make it difficult to introduce film evidence into undergraduate studies.

The conclusion from this survey was that there is much work to be done to encourage significant use of these regional collections, such as the one at Leicester which comprises 25,000 items.

The remainder of the seminar was devoted to a presentation of representative items from the archive, many illustrating life in and around Leicester, beginning with a 1944 government film 'Midland Shires', which was very much in the tradition of documentaries of the 1930s, contrasting with 'Leicestershire: Heritage at Risk', made by the CPRE in 1970. Further contrasting examples included film of the Quorn Hunt of 1912, attended by 5,000 people and 'Death in the Morning' – a 'Tonight' Special introduced by Alan Whicker in 1964. Family and other donated collections illustrated Hinckley Carnival in colour from 1939, cricket and football matches of note and a fund-raising film from 1919, featuring the Leicester Poor Boys' and Girls' Summer Camp at Mablethorpe, patronised by the mayor and mayoress and other prominent citizens of the time. 'Libertyland' was a promotional film made to illustrate the modern working conditions in the Symington's Factory in Market Harborough in 1929. Current local history studies were represented by an excellent film made by the Longstone (Derbyshire) Local History Group in 2005.

This seminar was well received as an encouragement for local historians to make use of this rich historical resource.

In a seminar entitled 'Hunting and poaching in the medieval landscape: evidence from animal bones', **Dr Naomi Sykes** (University of Nottingham) set out to describe what could be learnt by examining the subject of hunting from a zooarchaeological perspective.

Dr Sykes started by setting hunting in its anthropological context. Hunting cannot be categorized simply as a form of amusement for aristocrats. In a farming society hunting was a ritualized social performance involving the assertion of power, authority, and identity and extended beyond the élite groups because, where

there was hunting, there was also poaching. So far as source material is concerned, the surviving books on the subject are late medieval and aimed at an aristocratic audience. As such they can only give part of the picture. The story told by animal bones, on the other hand, has no such regard for social position.

In her research, Dr Sykes has used data from assemblages of animal bones found in excavations around the country and dating from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries. By looking at the location of finds and examining the number of wild, as opposed to domesticated, animals, as well as the species and the particular body parts represented, Dr Sykes has set out to find answers to questions such as if, how and why hunting landscapes and techniques changed across the time span, if there is evidence that hunting was not a purely masculine activity, and whether the bone record supported, or disproved, the belief that hunting was an élitist activity.

The assemblages dating from the early Saxon period suggest that there was not much hunting taking place, although hunting artefacts were often associated with high status burials. By the late Saxon era, a general increase in hunting activity was particularly marked in an urban context. At that time the élite were mostly hunting roe deer, by driving them into nets and killing them with spears. Roe deer, solitary by nature, were not suitable for keeping in parks.

After the Norman Conquest there was a sudden and dramatic shift from roe deer to red deer, demonstrated in the representation at high-status sites. The way in which deer was butchered – ‘unmaking’ the carcass – was very specific and had its own language. Knowledge of the ritual and the language was the mark of a nobleman. In pre-Conquest sites, all parts of the prey are represented. Post-Conquest assemblages tend to lack shoulders and pelvis (body parts that were bestowed elsewhere), findings which tend to confirm that they were following the ritual described in the literature.

Another feature of the post-Conquest era was the appearance of fallow deer, usually kept in parks, and Dr Sykes has been able to trace a correlation between increasing number of deer parks and greater representations of fallow deer in animal remains. The taking of fallow deer in a park is more akin to the harvesting of a farmed animal than ‘hunting’. The parkers were involved in this process and, in the animal remains, Dr

Sykes finds confirmation that they were getting a good share of the venison taken in this way.

Dr Sykes went on to consider a possible new interpretation of parks as providing an essentially female space: an enclosure where women could pursue activities such as rabbiting and hawking, and other ‘suitable’ feminine pastimes. Parks were also notable for being socially contested spaces, which led Dr Sykes to consider poaching and the evidence for it as presented by animal bones. Other research on the relation between hunting and poaching has suggested that the stealing of deer was a common activity, but that it was not necessarily a low status activity. There is evidence that lords and peasants poached together and that poaching had its own codes of conduct and could narrow social divisions rather than widen them. Dr Sykes’ finds provide collaborative evidence for this argument. Yeomen assisted in legitimate hunting activities and peasants account for approximately a third of venison consumption, more than could be accounted for by a purely élite sport. Venison was probably of more value in the diet of tenant and peasant than in that of the traditional lordly hunters.

The seminar concluded with a lively discussion on many of the issues raised by Dr Sykes’s fascinating paper.

Professor Nick Higham of the University of Manchester braved a January day of high winds and transport disruption to speak to a full house about ‘The search for Northumbria’s frontier’. The frontier in question was the boundary between the Northumbrians and the Mercians in the pre-Danish period. Scholars such as Peter Hunter Blair have accepted the early 20th century position that this boundary ran from east to west along the Humber and Don before turning northwards to meet the Ribble in the west. Thus south Lancashire has been regarded as Mercian and the diocesan boundary between Lichfield and York is seen as perpetuating the frontier. Our speaker offered a challenge to this established view, suggesting that at the head of the Humber estuary the boundary took a line to the south of the Don, crossing the uplands to the north of the Hope valley and meeting the Mersey in the west. With this revision, south Lancashire was Northumbrian and the Domesday boundaries of Derbyshire and Cheshire perpetuated the frontier.

In developing his argument, Professor Higham began by discussing the origins of the term 'Northumbria', noting its southern perspective and concluding that Bede's use of the term was relatively new. The importance of the Humber as a boundary in the Roman period and of south-east Yorkshire as an early Anglian focus, supports the traditional view of the Humber as the frontier in the east. Westwards the boundary must have run to the south of the Don since several places south of the river (Austerfield, Dore and Whitewell) are recorded as places where the Northumbrians and the Mercians met. The Domesday boundary of Derbyshire would offer an appropriate line. The difficulty of determining the course of the boundary over the central upland areas was illustrated by slides and Professor Higham considered and rejected the rôle of various surviving landscape features, such as ditches and dykes, in deciding the issue. His suggested line, determined by the argument that the Mersey followed the frontier in the west, follows the northern county boundary of Cheshire.

Professor Higham pointed out that the name 'Mersey' is English – an unusual feature in Northern England – and means 'boundary'. Chester was clearly a major Mercian port and administrative centre close to the frontier and there are Mercian fortifications along the Mersey. The place-names of south Lancashire differ considerably from those of Cheshire. For example, 'eccles' names are relatively common in the former but do not occur at all in the latter, whilst names in 'burgh' and 'bury' are common in Cheshire but rare across the Mersey. He believes that this frontier held until the reign of Edward the Elder who seized south Lancashire in the early 920s, and that the diocesan boundary along the Ribble postdates this.

A number of questioners had clearly given detailed consideration to some of the evidence and Professor Higham was required to defend his position. He ended by stressing the 'mixed' nature of south Lancashire and west Yorkshire with significant British survival reflected in the place-names.

Ian Waites of the University of Lincoln gave an illustrated address entitled, 'Stretched far away in every direction: artistic depictions of open fields and commons, c. 1730-1850'.

Mr. Waites, coming from a base in Art History, is now pursuing his interest in the rare depictions of the open landscape prior to parliamentary enclosure. Usually art historians have considered the main focus of a painting, be it a house, a park or a portrait and ignored the depiction of open country which may occupy the background. It has been claimed by Tom Williamson that depictions of open country are poorly represented in art but the speaker has found it not so uncommon and, to date, has collected over 200 examples, with the open country either as the main component or as background. The introductory slide was 'View of a Common' by J. M. W. Turner. The three steps taken for each example are identification of the location, examination of local records to verify the view and examination of the agricultural detail such as organisation and use of land. Practices depicted in one locality may illuminate or subvert the national picture.

To illustrate his theme, Mr Waites showed a selection of slides in a loosely chronological order, beginning with Jan Siberecht's 'View of Wollaton Hall', which demonstrates how the background landscape loses definition and detail. This contrasted with a depiction from 1720 by van der Hagen of Milton Park, which shows clearly the contours of land shared between two adjacent parishes with haymakers working close to the river and evidence of woodland clearance. The depiction of common fields was obviously not offensive to the viewer or patron in the early 18th century, as it would be later, and the common field appears to be a feature worth celebrating.

A valuable resource for 18th-century views is the collection of volumes of town prospects, produced by Nathaniel Buck, as was illustrated by examples of Stamford, Colchester and Coventry. The 'South Prospect of Leicester' of 1743 was of particular interest, showing the six hundred acres of common grazing land, now partially retained as Victoria Park, which was to see serious revolt when the Corporation tried to enclose. Buck's depiction places the common ground in the foreground, taking precedence over the developing city.

Sporting prints are usually valued only in respect to the sport itself but can be studied for the landscape. John Wootton's 'Newmarket 1717' shows a landscape fit for horse racing but, as open heath with poor soil and no shelter from trees, unsuited to agriculture. The late 18th century saw the prospect fall out of fashion as ideals of the

picturesque led to a lower perspective, focussing on the close details.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries saw another shift as William Turner of Oxford and Peter de Wint and others deliberately chose to depict open landscape in a natural style and, with nostalgia, attempted to capture the countryside which was disappearing with the spread of Parliamentary Enclosure. Constable, in his sketchbooks, together with Gainsborough and John Crome, began to make a sentimental recognition of the loss of the historic landscape, while Peter de Wint and others chose to illustrate the actual process of enclosure. Artists realised that they were observing the loss of the most recent layer of a long landscape history. William Blake, in 1820, produced 17 woodcuts illustrating ridge and furrow to illustrate an edition of Virgil's Pastorals recalling the open fields of London in his boyhood.

Angie Negrine (University of Leicester) read a paper on 'Practitioners and paupers: Leicester's Poor Law medical services 1867-1914'.

The impetus for her study was to redress a previous report that was highly critical of the standards of care shown by Leicester's Poor Law medical officers during this period. The Poor Law made no specific provision for medical relief. Appointments were in the hands of the Guardians and, while the district medical officers providing outdoor relief were not inspected, those appointed to serve the workhouse had to be qualified in both medicine and surgery.

In the 1860s, a critical report in *The Lancet*, prompted improvements for the workhouse sick. A workhouse in Swain Street, close to the railway, had been rebuilt in 1851 to house a thousand paupers. A geriatric hospital followed in 1874 which remained until 1987.

The medical officers were appointed as part time posts at a very modest remuneration with extra fees being paid for surgery and obstetrics while they were expected to supply dressings and medication at their own expense. Among early appointments, the two Drs Clarke were notable. Thomas Clarke, born in Leicester, trained at Guy's Hospital where he won medals. As well as carrying out his medical duties, he served the city as a councillor and magistrate. He died in 1864 as a result of being shot by a patient in the asylum. Bryan Clarke also trained at Guy's Hospital and served for 34 years until 1914. He too was

involved in public duties but made daily visits to the workhouse and attended the asylum three times a week. He directed the diet and treatment of patients and his reports drew attention to matters such as poor drainage and ventilation. By 1890 he was being paid £150 per annum. The medical officers often had supplementary posts; one acted as public analyst while another specialised in vaccination. In spite of difficult conditions, Dr Clarke gave the best care he could. He operated successfully on eye conditions, such as squints and cataracts, as well as hernias. Very soon after *The Lancet* reported on the successful technique of skin grafting in 1870, Dr Clarke was using it on ulcer patients and the recovery rate accelerated.

Until 1897, nursing was carried out by pauper patients, with childbirth being the responsibility of midwives. Formal nurse training was established in 1901 and taken over in 1905 by the new Leicester Infirmary.

Measles, scarlet fever and scrofula were common diseases among child paupers and they had separate accommodation. Indoor facilities were very bad; the children's ward was extremely cold. Eighty boys shared one urinal and children without shoes suffered from ulcers and chilblains. There was provision of a large open-air playground and children were taken to Margate to benefit from sea air. In 1884 the Countesthorpe Cottage Homes were opened where the children had a medical examination every fortnight.

Conditions for those described as imbeciles and lunatics were inadequate and unsafe until the 1890s when a new institution became available in Northampton and treatment began to improve. Workhouse hospitals were also required to admit those with venereal diseases. In 1895 it was proposed to build a new workhouse away from the city centre and in 1905 North Evington Poor Law Infirmary opened, staffed by resident doctors and nurses but the punitive attitude persisted.

Finally, Ms Legrine concluded that the Guardians acted in the interests of the tax-paying citizens of Leicester but that the medical officers did, in fact, show commitment to the medical services even though they were not required to devote all their time to the job and were poorly paid for their professional services.

Judith Spicksley (University of Cambridge) presented 'The "curious old diary of an elderly

lady”: Joyce Jeffreys, celibacy and money lending in 17th-century Hereford’.

Dr Judith Spicksley found considerably more than simple laundry or shopping lists in the account books of a spinster of Hereford, living in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Joyce Jeffreys had inherited land, farms and money from her father. She not only managed this property, but had cash reserves that she used in an entrepreneurial way: money lending. Money lending was an economic pursuit often practised by the gentry and even the clergy, but not often by women. So she wielded a power that was usually the province of a wealthy and propertied male.

Jeffreys wrote these books between 1638 and 1648, when she was a mature woman and they show her as being heavily involved in business affairs, as well as money lending. It is interesting to speculate how she got into this: she may have been following a family tradition. But it shows that Jeffreys had capital that was not tied up in property or trade, and that she was numerate. As a money-lender she was community-minded, less profit-driven and forgiving of lateness (83% of payments were late). Local or not, in 1640 she had £4,000 out on loan, and made £600 in interest. In effect, she functioned as a small banker in a local domestic market with 123 debtors between 1638-47, nine of whom were women. Dr Spicksley notes that, on the whole, it was not a particularly lucrative pursuit for her as repayments were problematical, and during the Civil War she showed a considerable decline in activity from which she never really recovered, although she held on to her property.

She was quite a good book-keeper, her account books being neatly divided into receipts and disbursements, recording rents and income from the produce of her farms and livestock. She diligently noted one shilling to pay for a Valentine visit! She managed a total staff of 30, some of whom appear to be relatives and, although she lived independently, she had a young female companion, probably a relative.

Her social life appears to have been set firmly in a vibrant local community, involving all strata, especially a broad and interconnected network of relatives. She was not a marginalised spinster. Owning money and property provided freedom to attend such masculine events as the assizes, the Bishop’s feast and the Mayor’s inaugural dinner. She also went to customary celebration, such as fairs and waits. She ventured

further afield in a carriage she owned, and we can assume that she visited London as she had expensive metropolitan clothes, Venetian mirrors, silver jewels and window curtains.

Her books reveal something of her home life. An active housekeeper, she, or her servants made preserves, and gardened. She kept ducks, two cats and two dogs and thrushes in a cage. She enjoyed reading and the books purchased reveal a catholic taste: Ben Jonson jostled with the Bishop of Exeter and Archbishop Laud on her shelves. Religion and astronomy still could harmonise apparently and Joyce kept an almanac, for folk wisdom and weather predictions.

As she aged, her health preoccupied her. She smoked tobacco, regarded by this time as medical and therapeutic. Medical science, such as it was, was still based on the humours: life was heat and moisture, and as one aged, one got colder and drier. So warmth and pomatum for the skin were important, as was moderation in diet and probably in all things. We get a vivid picture of her aging: she purchased a wooden staff and a magnifying glass, her gowns were enlarged and altered so as to fasten at the front and she ordered a set of curls from her London tailor.

Adam Longcroft, of the University of East Anglia introduced ‘The New Buckenham Project, Norfolk: new light on urban housing’.

Our speaker began by outlining the genesis and development of this award-winning project. It was a partnership between the National Historic Buildings Group, established in 2000, and community groups, inaugurated by the University of East Anglia as a long-term study involving about 150 community volunteers. New Buckenham was selected because of its central location and compact size. A pilot study, published as a pamphlet by Paul Routledge, outlined a feasible 4-5 year project and gained funding from the National Lottery.

New Buckenham was founded by William d’Aubenay as an 11th-12th-century ‘bastide’ style new town, created on 400-500 acres of land appropriated from three adjacent parishes. It lies outside a Norman bailey and was laid out in a grid pattern.

It was anticipated that the dendrochronological dating of the buildings would be imprecise because the microclimate of Norfolk causes irregularities in the growth of tree rings and only one or two secure dates have been

established in the county. In the event, dendrochronology of pre-1800 samples at New Buckenham was verified by documentation and local dated events to be accurate within two to three years.

Dr Longcroft's presentation illustrated in great detail many of the houses investigated. Nineteenth-century 'improvements' often amounted to the removal of thatch and the construction of a brick skin, enclosing an original medieval building. Such improvements were identified at 'The Pleasaunce' which was built 1500-1530, parallel to the road. The north end of the building, shop and warehouse space, was separated from the south end parlour by a short hall. There is a 17th-century inventory listing a huge number of items. The timber frame of this building is a very good example of undecorated but high-quality Norfolk carpentry. By contrast the typical Suffolk timber frames are highly decorated but of poor construction. 'Pinchpot Cottage', once owned by an innkeeper, could, at first glance, be mistaken for a William Morris design but actually dates from 1622-24. Its central lobby was at the cutting edge of contemporary architecture as such a feature first appeared in England in 1570 and was first noted in Norfolk in 1610. Another jettied property with an oriel window, appearing to be a medieval shop unit, was identified as a 15th-century gatehouse fronting a one acre plot. It is conjectured that it may have been the entrance to a courtyard, housing weavers' workshops, such as those found in Needham Market, Suffolk.

The project led to the conclusion that the inhabitants of New Buckenham were engaged in trade rather than farming. The 'golden age' of construction was 1450-1560, the earliest extant property dating from 1451. Preservation happened because of a severe decline in prosperity in the 16th and 17th centuries, linked to the fortunes of the Knyvett family, and to the collapse of the local cloth industry in the 1530s. Today there are 100 properties and 350 people in the village.

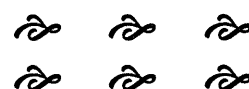
Publication of this exciting study earned a national architecture award for the best voluntary archaeological project.

Jessica Dijkman (Utrecht University), in a late addition to the seminar programme, presented a fascinating paper 'Village scales and beach markets: the rise of rural trade venues in medieval

Holland, c. 1350-1440', on rural markets in medieval Holland.

As background she explained that the low-lying central peat district was reclaimed from the marsh by free farmers between the 11th and 13th centuries, who claimed it as their own. Unlike England, in Holland there were few markets or fairs before 1350, but, with no licensing system and with most places free of manorial or feudal control, markets were able to develop rapidly. Two types of specialist market developed: beach markets along the sandy west coast and dairy markets in the extreme north of the country, identifiable from records of the village scales, with which they weighed the butter and cheese that was sold. In the 1340s fishermen from many villages in Holland are recorded landing and selling herring in Great Yarmouth, which would probably have involved sea voyages of several weeks, and by about 1400 on-board curing of the catch took place. There was also coastal fishing for plaice, oysters and shellfish. As well as the English market, fish were landed in Holland and sent to town and villages in the German Rhineland. These fishing villages were able to prosper as they were largely free from seigniorial control and urban domination, their communities were strong enough to negotiate favourable conditions, and the sheer numbers of them drove down rents, making their produce cheap and popular.

The dairy markets grew from about 1370. The peat had died out and shrunk back in the reclaimed lands, and they became suitable only for pastoral farming. Unfortunately there are no records of the location of markets in that period, but an inventory of all village weighing houses in 1597 shows they were all then in the north of the country, and some of these can be traced back to around 1400. Vast quantities of butter and cheese were produced and sold, and as the area was not urbanised, around one-third of cheese production came from small villages. As with the beach markets, this trade prospered due to strong demand, a lack of competition from urban merchants and direct links to wider European markets, in this case across the sea to Kampen and then along the river Issel.



Centre publications 2006

Staff

C. Dyer

Chapters in books.

'Gardens and garden produce in the later middle ages', and 'Seasonal patterns in food consumption in the later middle ages', in *Food in Medieval England. Diet and Nutrition*, eds. C. M. Woolgar, D Serjeantson and T Waldron (Oxford, 2006), pp. 27-40, 201-14.

Articles in journals.

'Founders: Maurice Beresford', *Landscapes*, 7 (2006), pp. 95-6.

'Maurice Beresford and local history', *The Local Historian*, 36.2 (May, 2006), pp. 128-30.

'Vernacular architecture and landscape history: the legacy of "The rebuilding of rural England", and "The making of the English landscape"', *Vernacular Architecture*, 37 (2006), pp. 24-32.

Reviews.

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R. Jones

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Sylvia Pinches

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Staff

C. Dyer

'Hunger in the middle ages', *Alimentation et hierarchies sociales et culturelles, Institut Europeen d'Histoire et des Cultures de l'Alimentation*, Tours (September, 2006).

'Introduction' and 'Conclusion', Dugdale and his Warwickshire, Dugdale Society conference,

Shakespeare Centre, Stratford-upon-Avon (September, 2006).

'Lust for liberty : an appreciation of a new book by Sam Cohn', Dept of Medieval History, University of Glasgow (October, 2006).

'Poet in a landscape: William Langland and west Worcestershire', Worcestershire Archaeological Society, Worcester (October, 2006).

'The early history of Pendock', lecture in Pendock village hall (November, 2006).

'Diets of the poor in late medieval England', Nottingham University Centre for Medieval Studies (November, 2006).

'The importance of gardens in the middle ages', Belper Local History Society (December, 2006).

'The Whittlewood Project: researching landscapes and settlements in the middle ages', Chester Landscape History Society, Chester (September, 2006).

'Documentary evidence for building with earth', Houses of Mud and Earth, Vernacular Architecture Group, Leicester (December, 2006).

'Poor relief before the poor law', Social History Seminar, Magdalen College Oxford (January, 2007).

'Diets in English hospitals and almshouses, 1200-1540', Midland Food Group, University of Leicester (February, 2007).

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'Medieval gardens', University of Leicester Women's Club (May, 2007).

'Changes in the market for fish, 1000-1500', Diet Group, Somerville College, Oxford (May, 2007).

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'Peasants and agriculture: technical change in late medieval England', 9th Anglo-American Seminar on the Medieval Economy and Society, Lincoln (July, 2007).

H. S. A. Fox

'Concluding comments and thanks', Devon History Society conference on 'Ports and resorts', Exeter, (March, 2007).

R. Jones

R. Jones 'Selective manuring in the early medieval open fields of England', 14th International Economic History Congress (Helsinki, 2006).

R. Jones, D. Parsons, and P. Cullen, 'Settlements in *-torp* and the open fields: a new hypothesis regarding Anglo-Scandinavian settlement and agricultural practice ', Second International *Torp* Conference (Malmö, 2007).

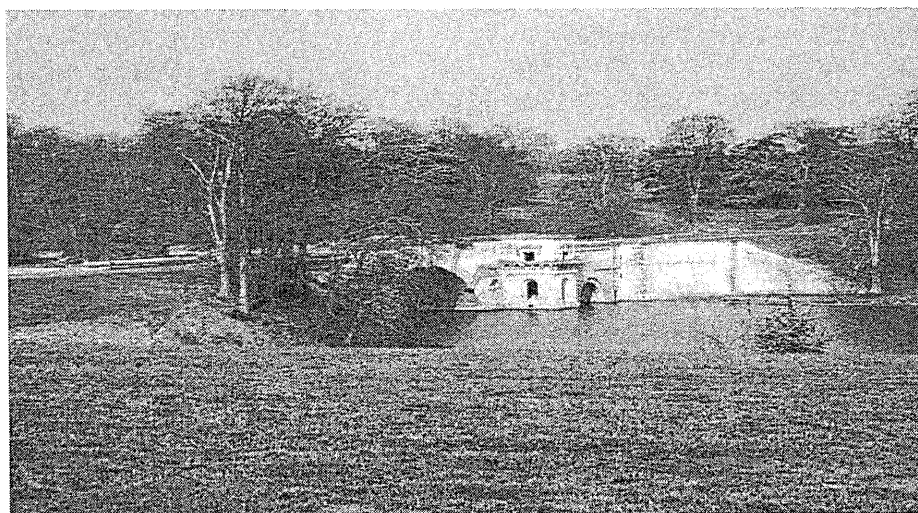
John Nichols Prize

This year the Prize has been won by Matthew Greenhall of Durham University for his paper entitled 'The use of community space as a sphere for social relations in County Durham, 1600-1700'.

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

Essays must be submitted on or before 31 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.

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



Blenheim Park, Wychwood Forest

Devon Field-Course: April 2007

If there is one thing that makes the Leicester MA course different from other such courses, it must be the week's field-course in Devon. This epitomises the Leicester approach to local history – not just studying dusty documents, but, also, going out to 'experience' the landscape and therefore better understand the interaction between land and people. Many reading this article will have their own special memories of their week in Devon and will remember fondly those places we discovered during a lovely dry and sunny week.

One thing was very different – Harold Fox was not our leader, due to being in the middle of a sabbatical year. Richard Jones was a very capable 'locum'. Though he could not rival Harold's knowledge of Devon, he did provide us with an archaeologist's viewpoint. Most of us had already enjoyed a trip with him to see the Whittlewood area and hear first hand the conclusions subsequently published as *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends*.

He displayed another of his talents on this trip – mini-bus driver. Aided by the frequently changing 'sat nav' voice, he managed to drive us several hundred miles without getting lost. In another life, he could be an excellent holiday tour guide! Together with comfortable accommodation and excellent catering at the University of Exeter hall of residence, this made for a trouble free week. At the end of the six days, the nine of us were full of praise for the excellent organisation.

However, as any one who has been on the course before will know, it is not an easy, relaxing holiday trip. In fact, it was a very strenuous experience; both mentally and, at times, for those of us who could be a little fitter, physically. We visited north and south Devon; coast and moorland and all those towns starting with the letter 'T' – Tavistock, Tiverton and Totnes. Sometimes, it was a little hard to remember which church had that particular rood screen or those ceiling bosses.

One of our number, who is taking the Individual Supervised Study option lives in neighbouring Somerset and knew a number of the places we visited. For the rest of us, it was a largely unknown area. None of us had realised how varied the Devon landscape was and, even

more surprising, how man had shaped all the landscape – even on isolated Dartmoor

Each of us had different favourite places, reflecting our different interests. Nine people are unlikely to agree on one favourite place. But most of us found Brentor particularly stunning. Perhaps we would not have enjoyed the steep climb if it had been raining! Instead, beautiful weather allowed us to see a wonderful view. And the access appears to have been improved since the early modern period when it was written, 'the worthy pastor is frequently obliged to humble himself on all fours, preparatory to his being exulted in the pulpit'. A notice at the bottom of the path does give notice that if it is wet the 6.30 p.m. service will be in the village. The setting of this church on a volcanic spur, at a height of about one thousand feet and within an Iron Age fort is most impressive. The presence of gravestones challenges the imagination of what funerals would be like in the winter months! Above all, this site made us think of possible continuity of religious use since pre-Christian times.

We saw a very different image of society when we tracked the shorelines of those seaside villages that in recent centuries gained commercial success as resorts. In some, the strand is now considerably inland – showing just how much man can alter the landscape. Some of these erstwhile centres of stylish society appear now to have lost some of their appeal. Dawlish, in



particular, seemed rather dingy – especially in the area close to the sea-front railway station.

Other towns were impressive. Tavistock seen on our last day impressed one of our number. It reminded her of the buildings on the Duke of Bedford's estate in her native county – a standard design, including pig sties, for workers' cottages used both on the edge of Dartmoor and in Bedfordshire. Tavistock church was one of the

few that we could not go into it. There was good reason – it was Good Friday and the church was full of worshippers.

Churches, certainly, provided much evidence of the past wealth of a number of towns arising from trade such as shipping, wool or tin. Some of the most impressive were those in Dartmouth, Tiverton and, even, Ugborough set in its *lann* above the unexpectedly large village square. We were all impressed with the exuberance of decoration seen in many rood screens and ceiling bosses. The size of many of these churches was also impressive.

Probably, Haytor Down on Dartmoor provided us with the best example of man making use of nature and thus changing the landscape. The huge holes, now filled with water, left where granite was quarried to provide building material not just for the Bedford estates but also for major buildings in London, such as the British Museum, are impressive. Even more impressive is the human effort required to extract and then transport the stone down to Tavistock on the granite trackway. Also, on Dartmoor we saw the scars left by tin mining and again were left to reflect on the difficult life that those miners must have led.

There were lighter moments! We did persuade one of our colleagues into the stocks at Ashburton. Fortunately, we could not lock him into them! Gravestones can often provide a lighter moment. We found the headstone of Mary Christmas but efforts to find that of her father proved fruitless.

As well as the formal parts of the course – including the excellent briefing notes and the introductory day school we gained much from each other. Discussion was lively. Our experiences and backgrounds are varied. We learned about Japan and about agriculture in modern-day Bosnia and how transhumance is still practised there. We also had a preview of Richard's next publication on the social aspects of the content of the manure used on medieval fields.

This was a most stimulating, if exhausting week. We have all gained much from it. We now see our local areas in a different light. Our remaining challenge is to write up the required project! All of us appreciate the opportunity to undertake such an intensive period of study and are very grateful to all those who made it possible.

Ruth Barbour

Book reviews

Susan Oosthuizen, *Landscapes Decoded: The Origins and Development of Cambridgeshire's Medieval Fields* (University of Hertfordshire Press, Hatfield, 2006), ISBN 1-902806-58-1.

The focus of this book is a relatively small part of Cambridgeshire, some eight miles by ten, which lies a few miles to the west of Cambridge. The Bourn brook, a small tributary of the River Cam, cuts through this land from west to east. The valley lay in an early medieval buffer zone, close to the border between Mercia and East Anglia, where a number of political or ethnic groupings remained undisturbed and unconquered for long enough to have left their mark on local place-names – the *Gifle*, *Hyrstingas*, *Willa*, *Gyrwc* and, within the valley itself, the *Hæslingas*. The landscape forms part of, and appears typical of, the 'Champion' region of central England: the villages are nucleated and surrounded by their former medieval open fields, still containing traces of ridge and furrow, which were enclosed by Acts of Parliament.

Much of the soil in this valley is heavy clay, which is difficult to work and prone to water-logging. The most marginal ground, although containing ridge and furrow, was described as 'newly-broken' in documents of the early fourteenth century, and was probably farmed as arable for only a short period. There were also large areas of common pasture, and their encroachment by the medieval churches at Haslingfield and Harlton suggests that these large commons were in place by the eleventh century. Documents reveal that these areas were known as 'Offal' or 'Offil', names which derive from *ald* + *feld*, and the combination of the *feld* element with *Hæslingas* in the settlement name Haslingfield suggests that this *feld* was in place in the sixth and seventh centuries. This is therefore not a *feld* in the sense of a stretch of arable land, a usage which does not appear until the tenth century, but draws on an older meaning of the word, defined by Margaret Gelling as open land used to pasture stock. Susan Oosthuizen suggests that these 'Offals' were the relics of a large area of open grazing, and were a distinctive feature of the territory of the *Hæslingas*.

Late parliamentary enclosure in these parishes (1811-54) allows the medieval landscape to be reconstructed relatively easily from pre-enclosure maps, terriers, aerial photographs and

field observations. This analysis has then been extended backwards, to explore the extent to which pre-medieval field patterns can be identified within the reconstituted medieval landscape. The good fortune of having two Roman roads which cross the area, Ermine Street to the west and the present A603 in the east, assists in dating features. Two distinct phases of land management predating the medieval open fields are revealed. Firstly, fossilised within the later landscape as boundaries between fields and furlongs, numerous alignments run north-south across the valley. These, Oosthuizen argues, are the remnants of a pre-Roman field system, perhaps laid out in the Iron Age to ensure an equitable distribution of land types between different family groupings.

Close examination of the selions of the medieval field system which overlie and post-date these features has revealed the unexpected discovery of several furlong boundaries running west-east that extend in an apparently unbroken line across four parishes, traversing not just these parish boundaries but also the boundary between Wetherley and Longstowe hundreds. They have led the author to the conclusion that these parishes once shared a common field system that was laid out in a single phase. Hundred boundaries are generally believed to have been established in the early tenth century. While Toft and Hardwick were in common ownership in 975, they, along with Comberton, Barton and Granchester, had different manorial lords in 1066, which leads her to the conclusion that this 'proto-common field' had been laid out by the end of the ninth century, and builds a case for assigning its establishment to the period between about 700 and 870. It appears to have been laid out for arable, rather than pastoral farming, with the place name Barton (*bere* + *tūn*) suggesting a farm producing a food render. In contrast to the area immediately to the north, there is also an absence of field names referring to pasture within the area covered by this 'proto-common field'. This is both fascinating and potentially important. Recent scholarship has uncovered evidence from some parts of the country of the gradual extension of common fields to feed an expanding population and, from other areas, for the laying out of large open fields in a single phase. However, little evidence has been found elsewhere within the central 'Champion' zone either of the continuity of field systems or boundaries from the Roman or pre-Roman periods, or for the establishment of

major new field systems as early as the eighth century.

A landscape cannot be adequately explained without maps and photographs, and the publishers have generously allowed 30 maps and 20 photographs within this slim volume of 150 pages. It is unfortunate that the few maps that extend across two pages have lost their central detail within the binding, but that is just a minor quibble. The slightly misleading title of the book is also forgivable. Cambridgeshire contains several different soil-types, including chalk, clay and fen, each with their own landscape and settlement history, and this volume is concerned with only a very small part of the county, but the title should deliver the wider audience it deserves. By limiting the area of study, the author has been able to develop a close familiarity with, and depth of knowledge of, this landscape, through detailed fieldwork complemented by a study of surviving maps and archives. The Bourn valley is unlikely to be unique, and these findings therefore offer a new insight into the development of open fields, and make a valuable contribution to landscape history. They also have implications for our understanding of population levels in the Iron Age and of lordly involvement in landscape development. The volume is therefore recommended to anyone interested in the evolution of the medieval landscape.

Pam Fisher

The Self-Contained Village? The Social History of Rural Communities 1250-1900.

Edited by Christopher Dyer

Explorations in English Local and Regional History, volume 2 (2007).

In this book are published six of the seven papers delivered at the conference of the same name held by the Centre in July 2004, to which have been added an introduction and conclusion written by Chris Dyer. Together they constitute a wide-ranging investigation into the remarkably persistent belief that until very recently English villages were self-sufficient, inward-looking communities whose inhabitants 'were born in a village, lived in it all their lives, and died there without ever going farther, if as far, as the neighbouring village a couple of miles or so away.' Of course, over the last forty years a number of studies, starting with Laslett's famous analysis of population turnover in seventeenth-century Clayworth and Cogenhoe, have shown

how wrong this belief is, so it is not surprising that the papers all accept as a premise that villages and their populations were never self-contained. However the value of this book is that it not only provides much new evidence from detailed case studies for population mobility and the integration of village communities into the wider world, but also takes a long historical perspective, revealing variations in the degree of self-containment over time and between regions.

The chapters are arranged chronologically, two covering the late medieval and early modern periods up to c.1600, two the later early modern period, and two the modern period after c.1750. In chapter one Chris Dyer provides much evidence, primarily from the West Midlands, of population mobility in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. This was especially high in the fifteenth century, when the shrunken population and consequent greater availability of land and loosening of the bonds of serfdom made it easier for peasants to migrate in search of opportunities. In chapter two, Jane Whittle draws on her recent study of landholding and class structure in north-east Norfolk between 1440 and 1600, not just to confirm that the region experienced high population mobility (though over short distances, and weakening during the sixteenth century), but also to delve deeper and correlate that mobility with social rank. By using church court witness depositions to counter the bias towards landholders in the manorial records usually used to investigate late medieval society, she discovers an inverse relationship between migration and landholding; it was the landless who were most mobile.

During the early modern period, as the population recovered and land became once again scarce, mobility slackened and it became more common for families to persist in the same village for lengthy periods, perhaps resulting in a greater sense of local identity and belonging. In chapter 3 Steve Hindle argues that the Elizabethan and Stuart poor law also contributed to this strengthened parochial identity, describing the hostility shown by parish officers to destitutes and vagrants without a local settlement, often forcing them to camp in the porch of the parish church. In chapter 4 Henry French shows how, notwithstanding the still substantial levels of population turnover, the importance attached by late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century society to longevity of residence in the community led, in three Essex and Dorset

parishes, to a monopoly of parochial power by the 'antientest inhabitants'.

In chapter 5 Ian Whyte analyses the social structure of the village communities of the Cumbrian uplands in the late eighteenth century – where small farmers survived in much greater numbers than in the southern lowlands – and the effect on them of parliamentary enclosure between 1750 and 1850. He finds that, in contrast to the social polarisation enclosure is usually believed to have caused in the south, the Cumbrian villages emerged relatively unscathed. In chapter 6 David Brown investigates the consequences for traditional village society of the increasing industrialisation of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, arguing that administratively, culturally and economically villages were drawn inexorably into larger social units, many of them even absorbed into urban society.

In his conclusion Chris Dyer draws together the themes common to the six chapters, emphasizing in particular how the propensity of villagers to leave their native place and move to another village, or even to a town, varied over time, between regions and between social ranks and ages. So also did the range of their social and economic contacts and their mental horizons, though high levels of population turnover nevertheless did not prevent the development of strong local identities. The final point is that throughout the long period covered by the book the degree of village autonomy rose and fell more than once; it was not a case of a steady unvarying decline from a mythical medieval state of self-sufficient isolation.

Matt Tompkins

[The following review by Neil Howlett is reprinted, with permission, from the *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 54, Part II (2006), pp. 346-347.]

Sylvia Pinches, Maggie Whalley and Dave Postles (eds), *The Market Place and the Place of the Market* (Friends of the Centre for English Local History, Friends' Paper 9, 2004). iv + 102 pp. £6 incl. p&p from Publications Sales, Friends of the Centre for English Local History, Marc Fitch Institute, 5 Salisbury Road, Leicester LE1 7QR.

This is a collection of articles presented at a conference organized in March 2003 by the Friends of the Centre for English Local History at

the University of Leicester. The editors claim to have exercised a very light touch and kept editorial intervention to a minimum. The articles cover a wide range of subjects in widely differing styles. Their wide-ranging nature reminds us that the market is a multifaceted construction. It is not possible to do full justice to each of the articles in a short review.

Graham Jones examines the forms and locations of medieval market-places, with particular reference to the relationship between churches and market-places in Norwich and Stamford. He also examines Sunday markets (he includes a list), wool markets in Leicestershire, and the possibility that the sites of some fairs have pre-Christian religious origins. Christopher Dyer reminds us that even in the medieval period markets were not simply places for the exchange of essential foodstuffs, or the only place where they were exchanged. Although the households of the gentry may have increased demand when they were present, markets were maintained by a local population of consumers. His paper is illuminated by numerous examples and reinforced by Jane Laughton's paper on Catesby Priory as a consumer in the first half of the fifteenth century. Using the account rolls, she shows how the priory used a variety of local markets and different personnel to purchase regular and occasional goods. She demonstrates not only that there was a hierarchy of markets, but that significant resources would be put into accessing the right market for a specific product. More illuminating is the use of local traders for substantial purchases, showing their flexibility, and the multiple roles of the Priory's cloth carrier as a trader on his own account and provider of fish and meat.

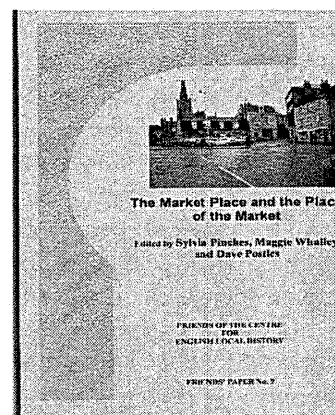
Dave Postles examines the market place as a social and cultural site that exhibited 'multiple spatiality'. Here different groups came into contact, power was demonstrated and resisted, and civic pride was exhibited, especially in the control of the space within the market and the development of new market-places. He argues that the special temporary context that was essential to the functioning of the market provided a focus and cultural resource in which to play out conflicts. The significance of the personal experience of the market-place is amply demonstrated by the contributions from Alan Everitt, recording his personal experience of markets, with particular reference to the modern market in Leicester. He reminds us that although

the market-place may have been the main focus of trade, it was not the only place where deals were done. He also reminds us of the importance people attached to their local markets and fairs, something few can now experience. This reviewer remembers that less than twenty years ago his town was transformed on a Wednesday by an influx of animals and country people, and in September children were given the day off from local schools to walk to the Cheese Show. Since then both the market and the fair have moved to sites out of town, and the intimate relationship between the activities, their traditional location and the population has been broken after more than five hundred years.

Andrew Hann explores the modernization of the market-places in the eighteenth century, using a cultural and associated economic approach to look at the commodification of market rights, and the introduction of bourgeois civic values into the public sphere of the market. The last two papers examine horse trading. Anne Pegg gives an introduction to Rothwell (Rowell) Horse Fair and includes transcriptions from the toll books for 1686 and 1743-44. Mandy DeBelin provides an examination of the terms used to describe the horses, taken from the records of Banbury, Oxford and Hallaton (Leicestershire).

The value of collections such as this is the opportunity to be informed about areas outside one's normal range of interests. The reviewer wonders whether such books might be more widely read if they could be made available on the internet, but until they are would encourage anyone with more than a passing interest in the market to write to Leicester for a copy.

Neil Howlett *Frome, Somerset*



New Publication

Saints in the Landscape by Graham Jones
(Tempus, 2007) 236 pp. £16.99.

Every church has a dedication -- but what is the significance of the chosen dedication, what it did it mean to the local people when the church was built? Dr Jones shows how much of the history of Britain's homesteads, villages, towns and regions is bound up in the identities of the patron saints chosen for chapels, altars, festivals, fairs and features of the landscape.

We learn that even the most popular cults, beginning with devotion to Mary, have geographical patterns, which can only be explained as deliberate choices made by local people. Case studies show how the choice of patrons helped individuals and communities to make sense of themselves, their surroundings and the circling seasons of the agrarian year.

This original and engagingly written book is aimed at anyone interested in the history of their town or village.

Readers can obtain a copy of *Saints in the Landscape* (£16.99) at the special reduced price of £13.99, post and packing FREE, by simply calling Customer Services of NPI media (the publisher) on 01453 883300 and quoting the reference NFCELH/Saints. Credit card and direct debit transactions only. Alternatively send a cheque for £13.99, made payable to NPI Media to: Customer services, NPI Media, Brimscombe Port, Stroud, Glos. GL5 2QG. Please include a covering letter stating the title of the book, the reference above and your address and telephone number.



News of the Cartwright Archive Appeal



At the time of the last newsletter the Cartwright Archive, a huge body of documents originating from Aynho Park in South Northamptonshire, was at risk of being lost to local and national historians as its owner had agreed a price of £300,000 with an American institution. A Charitable Trust was set up to raise the money to keep the archive in the Northamptonshire Record Office, where it had been for the previous forty years.

In September 2006 the appeal was launched in the Soane Museum in London (there is a connection as Aynho Park was remodelled by Soane and the work is beautifully documented in the archive), with a brilliant speech from Dr David Starkey which emphasized the importance of this archive to all of us. Professors Chris Dyer and Harold Fox were kind enough to attend to lend academic weight to the proceedings.

Grants had already been promised from the V & A Purchase Grant Fund and the Friends of British Libraries, and the Trust raised over £50,000, ensuring that when the Heritage Lottery Fund agreed to the application for £200,000, the purchase price could be met and that the archive was safe. We believe that the Heritage Lottery Fund was heavily influenced in their decision-making by the level of support and concern shown by local historians, who donated individually and through local societies.

Having raised more than was needed to make up the shortfall on the purchase price, the Trust is putting funds towards the cataloguing of the collection, including providing on-line access to the catalogue and making digital copies of some items.

Deborah Hayter

Recently Completed Theses

Kota Ito

'The making of the civic community: Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1850-1900'.

This thesis explores a cultural history of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the second half of the nineteenth century. Particularly, I focus on a group of provincial liberal citizens, who dealt with the problems of growing urban society and in that process developed a forceful notion of 'civic community'. Their civic mission revolved around a new intellectual strand of liberalism, which reconsidered the ideas of the individual and contemplated active citizenship. In Victorian cities, voluntary institutions and the popular press served to prepare the ground for liberal urban government. As the centre of an industrial district, Newcastle enjoyed a strong, progressive sense of community deriving from its achievements in science and technology. To express the sense of urban modernity, the practitioners of urban liberalism sought to design a free-flowing, transparent, clean and supposedly 'neutral' environment as a governable sphere of the city. Exhaustive, active constructions went hand in hand with the advancement of engineering technologies. Furthermore, urban elites were concerned with producing a 'public culture' as the essential agency of self-governing citizenship. Civic ritual and new urban institutions such as free libraries, art galleries and public parks acted to encourage a civic mentality, linking the anonymous individual with a virtuous, patriotic awareness of collective public life. In Newcastle, urban intellectuals explored an inclusive social imagery of 'the people' by turning to extra-urban traditional idioms of 'native' folk society and culture. History was also employed in service of various civic principles and practices, where urban inhabitants increasingly enjoyed the past as part of the public culture in order to make sense of progress and modernity. Even though what the provincial liberal intelligentsia produced did not fully discipline the masses, we may see that the public culture vitalized the norms of the civic community and endured well during the Victorian period.

Matt Tompkins

'Peasant society in two contrasting communities in Buckinghamshire, 1400-1600'.

This thesis investigates peasant society during the transition from the medieval to the modern period, through a detailed study of a south Midlands village, Great Horwood in north Buckinghamshire, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (with frequent reference to conditions in the fourteenth and late thirteenth centuries). The focus is on the internal stratification of the peasantry, particularly the distribution of land.

The main source used is the court rolls of the manor of Great Horwood, and the primary aim is to determine how accurate a picture of a community and its land distribution pattern can be obtained from manorial records. The two principal methods employed to extract information from the court rolls are: first, the creation from the tenancy-related entries in the court rolls of ownership histories for every landholding unit in the manor between 1400 and 1600, and the derivation from them of comprehensive land distribution data, and second, the creation of life histories for every person mentioned in the rolls, comprising all references to that person in the rolls and other sources, and the derivation from them of data relating to residence outside the manor, landholding in more than one manor, subtenancy, landlessness and occupational structure.

It is demonstrated that it is possible to extract quantitative landholding and tenancy data from manor court rolls at least as good as that found in a series of manorial surveys or rentals, and that court roll data can be taken further, to investigate aspects of peasant landholding and society not normally revealed by those sources. It is shown that in Great Horwood widespread inter-manorial landholding and subtenancy, combined with a substantial landless element within the manor's population, produced a very different and more complex social structure than that disclosed by the pattern of land distribution among the manor's direct tenants.

Vanessa McLoughlin

'Medieval Rothley, Leicestershire: manor, soke and parish'.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the origins and function of medieval Rothley, Leicestershire,

its manorial holdings, its soke and its parish. Later maps and both later and earlier written sources were examined to elucidate these elements and answer the questions posed. Documents from a number of sources have been used, primarily from the Rothley Temple Manuscripts held in the Leicestershire Record Office, but also from printed volumes of documents from national archives. Evidence contained within these sources has been used to elucidate some of the anomalies found within the landscape, and to give an indication of the sequence of events which helped to form the fields and townships within the soke. Parochial documents have been used to attempt to establish the origins of Rothley parish, and the nature of the ministry of Rothley church as a hundredal minster has been postulated and examined. The documentary evidence suggests that Rothley was a parish of some importance in the 10th century, and that this parish may have arisen in association with the formation of the Hundred of Goscote. The settlement of Rothley offers some insights into these postulated origins, and the chapels serve to exemplify the extent of the parochial, manorial and soke jurisdiction. Further evidence of the nature of Rothley soke as a royal jurisdiction are examined through the rights which the tenants negotiated with their superior lords. The special privileges which the tenants of the ancient demesne enjoyed were strengthened by their ability to work co-operatively to achieve favourable outcomes in manorial disputes.

MA Dissertations 2005-6

Michael Busby

'Leicestershire settlements through the late 14th-century poll tax records - urban or rural?'

Medieval Leicestershire had a few small market towns, but many nucleated settlements which were totally dependent on agriculture. Between these were a range of vill types, some of which offered limited 'urban' services. Can the position of individual settlements on this urban-rural spectrum be determined? If so, then can their status be attributed to factors other than chance?

The published poll tax returns for Leicestershire for 1377-81 give an exceptional opportunity to investigate these questions. They provide details of settlement size (1377) and individual taxpayer names (1379 and 1381). The 1381 records for eastern Leicestershire also record

occupations, allowing the relative importance of agricultural and non-agricultural occupations to be established. The rest of the county was investigated using occupational surnames from the 1379 records. These analyses of occupational-mix patterns allowed each settlement to be categorised into one of five vill-types.

Spatial distributions were mapped; of vill size (1377), vill-type (1379/81), and wealth (Lay Subsidies of 1334 and 1524/5). Possible factors influencing urbanisation were investigated: castles and religious houses; markets and fairs; and the *pays*. In spatial terms all of the 'urbanised' settlements lay on significant through-routes. Most of them also lay on *pays* boundaries, indicating the importance of these places in funnelling trade between *pays*.

Using the idea of 'central places' a model of the Leicestershire urban hierarchy was constructed. The hinterlands of the market towns were found to have covered the whole county. The second layer, the urbanised places, with their smaller hinterlands, covered much of it. The gaps in this second layer were *pays*-related and were serviced through the 'occasional' urbanisation provided by market villages, the third layer.

The large number of records necessitated extensive computer-based spreadsheet analysis; the investigation of spatial patterns made the use of a sophisticated computer mapping system essential.

Sheila Jones

'A lasting revolution? Outworking practices in the boot and shoe trade'.

The boot and shoe industry has left a lasting footprint on Leicestershire and one which is visible in many footwear centres across the country. Leicester is all too easily thought of as a town of warehouses and factories. However in the 19th and into the 20th centuries Leicester was a plethora of small-scale workshops, back street and court-yard houses where outworkers lived and worked. Who were these people and why did the system of industrial production in which they chose to engage, persist? This study seeks to explore the reasons for the survival of outworking. Material relating to Leicestershire in particular is used but records have provided an important regional and national context. The transition to complete factory production was slow and incomplete. A symbiotic relationship existed between outworking and factories. The

influences which exerted themselves as industry underwent several revolutions during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are explored. Outworking has a long tradition particularly in Leicestershire. Cultural practices and the sturdy independence displayed by stockingers and shoemakers ran deep. A tried and trusted system with illusory benefits for the workers – cost not culture, was the motivator of the manufacturer.

Records of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, parliamentary papers, census material, trade directories, journals and artefacts, together with the evidence on the ground in boot and shoe centres, constitute the main primary sources. Literature, art and oral history, together with many secondary sources have been consulted in order to construct and deconstruct a picture of outworking in the period 1850-1914.

Drew Campbell

‘The local politics of improvement: debating the Ashby Canal, 1781-1794.’

The complex decision-making processes involved in the negotiations before the introduction of improvement schemes such as canals are usually elided over by historians. Therefore, this dissertation provides a micro-study of one such debate, concerning the proposals to construct the Ashby Canal, using evidence provided mostly from contemporary newspapers, canal minute books, a parliamentary act, and the diary of a local constable.

This work examines the considerations affecting participation in the process, the workings and internal structures of the collectives involved, and the exchanges of opinions within and between supporters and opponents of the canal. Its findings establish how even before its construction, the Ashby Canal had a significant effect not only on the residents of the parishes the waterway was proposed to cut through, but also on people who were considered outsiders, such as shareholders and Members of Parliament from different localities who were drawn into the debate.

Today this twenty-two miles of waterway provides permanent moorings for an expanding boating community and employment to local residents, due to its transformation from an almost abandoned mode of transport to a tourist attraction and holiday destination. Yet, if the dissenting voices of the Honourable Penn

Assherton Curzon and Willoughby Dixie Esq. had won the day, construction of the canal would not have taken place. This study examines the debates and processes which led to the historical outcome we have today.

Jennie Pegram

‘The Derby cemeteries from Victorian distinction to ethnic pluralism’.

Derby was in a state of environmental crisis in 1840. Public health had been neglected, and one of the main contributory causes was the appalling state of the town’s churchyards. It was realised that the problems of disposing of the dead were going to rise together with the town’s population. New solutions were urgently needed. Evidence for this comes from newspapers and reports to the Derby Board of Public Health located at Derby Local Studies Library.

The provision of an answer was severely handicapped by conflict between Anglicans and dissenters. This is revealed in newspaper reports, parish registers and vestry minute books. A documentary study also reveals that within 7 years of building the Uttoxeter Road Cemetery, it was imperative to build another burial ground, and the New Cemetery at Nottingham Road was opened in 1855. To illustrate the second crisis, the precise amount of burial ground in the town in 1850 is investigated.

Throughout the study the input of national and local personalities, professionals and craftsmen is considered, together with contemporary historiography. Both cemeteries are described as they appear today. The final chapter discusses the new developments in commemoration. After the excesses of the 19th-century cemetery, monuments became more restrained, tempered partly by the deaths of World War I, and both cemeteries became more reminiscent of a peaceful country churchyard. In the last twelve years this has begun to change, with dramatic visual differences, and these have much to do with ethnic pluralism. These developments are just as dramatic as those imposed on Uttoxeter Road by the dissenters. Areas of ethnic differences are illustrated, together with their new designs and colours. The changes in approach to the memorials to children, the fate of paupers and the use of cremation are considered and described.

Sylvia Ray

'A study of Atcham Union Workhouse at Cross-houses, Shropshire 1794 – 1894'.

Over recent years, with an ever increasing interest in family history, many family historians have explored the documentation associated with the workhouse; but their interests have been specifically concerned with regard to tracing their ancestors rather than the building, its administration and the events that happened within its walls.

This study examines the Atcham Union workhouse, which represents one of the earliest purpose-built workhouses in Britain, from its construction in 1792-3 at the request of the newly formed Atcham Incorporation, its development under the new Poor Law Act 1834, through to the 1890s, including its resented merger with the Shrewsbury House of Incorporation in 1871, a union that had been investigated for fraudulent practices. The local act had led the way for Shropshire workhouses to be incorporated and, following the example set by Shrewsbury in 1782, Atcham Rural Incorporation was set up in 1792. Drawing on building records, admission and discharge registers, directors' minutes, overseers accounts, parliamentary papers, newspaper reports, letters and literary sources, this study examines the role of the workhouse, its transition from its Gilbert Union influenced policies, the treatment of inmates, its course of action regarding out relief, apprentices, treatment of single pregnant women and their bastards, the operation of settlement and removal, as well as the reasons for admission to the workhouse, whether through sickness, infirmity or shortage of work and the types of occupations of persons admitted.

It concludes that Atcham Union workhouse under the new Poor Law was run on stricter lines than the old Incorporation. Despite expanding its parishes over five times its original size, relief was more firmly controlled by a disciplinarian board of directors who gained for it the reputation of being the best run workhouse in England, with a most strictly enforced hard-line attitude to the poor underclasses.

Rosemary Ruck

'The Common, Custom, Conflict and Control: a study of Defford Common, Worcestershire'.

The origins of Defford common can be found in Horewell wood, a remnant of the royal forest of Horewell, from the thirteenth century. This study traces its evolution and development, examines the topography of the area, discusses the variety of use made of the woodland and waste resources, and aims to determine how the common survived as 450 acres of stunted pasture into the twentieth century until it was converted into a military airfield. The customary rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of Defford are examined, along with those of surrounding parishes, who intercommoned this extensive tract of land as late as the seventeenth century. Based on research at Westminster abbey, an account is given of the inevitable conflicts over common rights and possession in the sixteenth century, when the woodland was in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. The control and management of the common is examined through manorial court records from the archives of Croome estate, the present owners, through to the eighteenth century, and after enclosure of the open fields in 1774, through the minute books of the meetings of the pasture owners up to around the mid nineteenth century. The study concludes that the common's preservation was ensured by careful regulation, albeit for the few, as restrictions on use probably excluded the majority of the poor. The common escaped parliamentary enclosure because keeping it intact was a cheaper option than fencing, and since, as low lying waste it had always been marshy and suitable only for summer grazing, it was in the interests of the major pasture owners to retain it and work cooperatively to improve the land's condition.

Noel Tornbohm

'Facets of enclosure in a mid-Derbyshire manor (1760 – 1860)'.

This essay examines the history of a farming community in mid-Derbyshire, situated just north of Derby but until towards the end of the period of study, surprisingly untouched by its proximity to the county town. Beginning with a description of its topographical and geological features, it is observed that the location is a typical *dûn*, a terminal moraine, rising to 147 metres and marking the beginning of the transition to ancient countryside and upland Britain. The history of the

vill and its immediate area is reviewed, noting in particular that at the time of the Norman Conquest, it was king's land, held with the royal borough of Derby, then gifted by Henry I to the Bishop of Lincoln. The origins of the name 'Quarndon' are considered, remarking the singular absence of the grit-stone from which to fashion the querns that the appellation demands. By the beginning of the Early Modern period, the greater part of the manor had, together with 15 others nearby, been acquired by the Curzon family, of Kedleston, the adjoining manor to the north-west. In 1763, Sir Nathaniel Curzon commissioned a detailed survey of all his manors, with accompanying terriers listing the holdings, their respective enclosures and tenants. Surprisingly, all 16 manors had already been enclosed, either piecemeal or by agreement. A second survey was made in 1858, this time showing land use. There follows a detailed study of the two surveys, considering what can be gleaned of the farmers, their holdings, the fields and their names, comparing and contrasting the insights gained and the changes that occurred over the 100-year period, which embraced parliamentary enclosure in 1816. The results of the 1851 census are considered, along with the impact of the Industrial Revolution, much of which had its birth in the nearby Derwent valley. The principal conclusion is that Quarndon appeared to retain its integrity as an independent farming community to a surprising extent.

Zoe Dyndor

'Capital punishment and the press in Northamptonshire 1780 – 1834'.

The aim of this dissertation is to extend the hitherto limited research on crime and punishment in Northamptonshire. This is done by an examination of capital punishment in the county between 1780 and 1834. This is an important period in the history of the criminal justice system as major changes were taking place, through reforms of England's bloody code, and methods of punishment. The primary aim of the study is to examine the way executions were reported in the press: the local newspaper, penny broadsides, booklets and verses. The study also provides a quantitative analysis of all the capital convictions at the assize courts, to determine patterns of capital convictions and punishments. The principle sources used are the *Northampton Mercury*, any available assize records, and any

sources printed about executions for public consumption. The bulk of the sources are from the Northampton Record Office and Northampton Library. The research has produced several conclusions about crime and punishment in the county. From a statistical analysis it has been determined that Northamptonshire followed broadly the same patterns of convictions and executions as other parts of the nation. Capital convictions rose dramatically as the 18th century progressed, while executions decreased. Convictions rose in periods of dearth and after war, especially for property crime. Although the county followed the same patterns, actual numbers of convictions and executions were very low. When examining the reports from the various sources it was discovered that the newspapers reported robbery to a greater degree than other crime. There were not many variations in the reports in the newspapers, making small differences especially interesting. Reports were usually dry and unemotional. The broadsides focused on the more interesting and sensational details, and were far more emotive. All crimes received the same space in each broadside, although some crimes that captured the imagination of the public had several publications about them. The difference in sources is due to the differing readership; the newspapers were for the wealthy while the broadsides were aimed at the poor.

Ozan Fitton-Brown

'Conflict over church ritualism: Thorpe, Surrey, 1910'.

One of the most fascinating things about the study of English local history is its ability to take a great national movement or event, and to display its effects on individual localities. This can develop a sense of substantiality that may have previously seemed far removed. The Oxford Movement marks an example that allows this type of examination. Initially it was very much displaced from the ordinary people, confined to Oxford scholars, academics, politicians and the highest members of the Church of England. As the movement evolved, its practices spread to localities and were met with resistance in many places. The task for local historians is to locate cases of its adoption and resistance in order to develop this context. My account is one such case, in 1910 Thorpe, Surrey. In this year Protestant agitators attempted to depose the vicar,

who was a follower of the Oxford Movement's ideals, through a series of demonstrations. To adequately examine these happenings, I have used newspapers, magazines, minute books, court records, oral and academic history as well as local historians' works. These sources will allow the

contextualisation of the Oxford Movement and cultivate a comprehension of the characters and parties involved on both sides, as well as the village inhabitants who were caught in between.

News of a Former Student

Professor Margaret Spufford, OBE., Litt.D., FBA.

Professor Peter Spufford writes.....

It occurs to me that you may not have heard what my wife Margaret (née Clark) has been doing lately. She was one of Herbert Finberg's pupils in English Local History in the 1960s. She retired from the chair of social and local history at the University of Roehampton in 2001. Has she ever reported to you that she has now two Honorary Doctorates, DU, *honoris causa*, from the Open University in 2002, and Litt.D., *honoris causa*, from the University of Keele in 2005? Did she tell you that she has been guest of the Rector (Senior Research Fellow) at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (an institute of the Netherlands Academy) in 2005, and, before that, a Visiting Fellow for the Japan Academy in 2003? In Japan she is advising a group of academics from four different universities on an early modern local history project which focuses on an unusual village in the silk producing area of Japan (it concentrated on providing silk worm eggs for other villages). The Leicester tradition of Local History even spreads to Japan! Last year, 2006, she gave up the Directorship of the British Academy Hearth Tax Research Project, which she had founded in 1996 and directed for ten years. She remains General Editor for Hearth Tax volumes for the British Record Society and is currently seeing through the press the volume for the West Riding for Lady Day 1674, which should come out in the autumn. With Dr Susan Mee she is currently writing a book on 17th-century English clothing, which they hope to send to the press in September. In 2004 the Cambridge University press put her thirty-year-old *Contrasting Communities*, which grew out of her Leicester Ph.D., back in print.



‘Sweet Thames, run softly, till I end my song.’
Edmund Spenser, *Prothalamium*, 1596

EVENTS SPONSORED BY THE FRIENDS

Diary Dates

Thursday 15 November 2007

The Annual General Meeting of the Friends will follow the seminar, concluding with wine and chat in the Common Room. Please try to attend.

Hoskins Lecture 2008

Saturday, 7 June

Dr Trevor Rowley will speak on, 'Sporting Landscapes'.

Spring Outing

A Saturday outing is to be arranged in March/April. Details will be announced at a later date.

Friends' publications

Pam Fisher

'Getting away with murder: the suppression of coroners' inquests in early Victorian England and Wales', *Local Population Studies*, no. 78, (Spring 2007), pp. 47-62.

David Holmes

Ed. *Friends of the Centre of English Local History Newsletter* (2006) 39pp.

Nathan W. Murphy

'Devon's supply of North American and Caribbean indentured servants: 1655-1660', *Genealogists' Magazine*, vol. 29, I (2007), pp. 3-12.

Friends' Papers

The following Papers are still in print and available for purchase. Please send enquiries to: 'Publications Sales, Friends of ELH, 5 Salisbury Rd., Leicester, LE1 7QR. All priced at £6.00 + £1.00 p&p.

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

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

No. 7, Geoff Wolfe, *Keeping the Peace: Warwickshire, 1630-1700*.

No. 8, Pam Fisher, *An Object of Ambition? The Office and Role of the Coroner in Two Midland Counties, 1751-1888*.

No. 9, S. Pinches, M. Whalley & D. Postles (eds), *The Market Place and the Place of the Market*.

No. 10, Derryan Paul, *Why so Few? Rebuilding Country Churches in Herefordshire, 1662-1762*.

Explorations

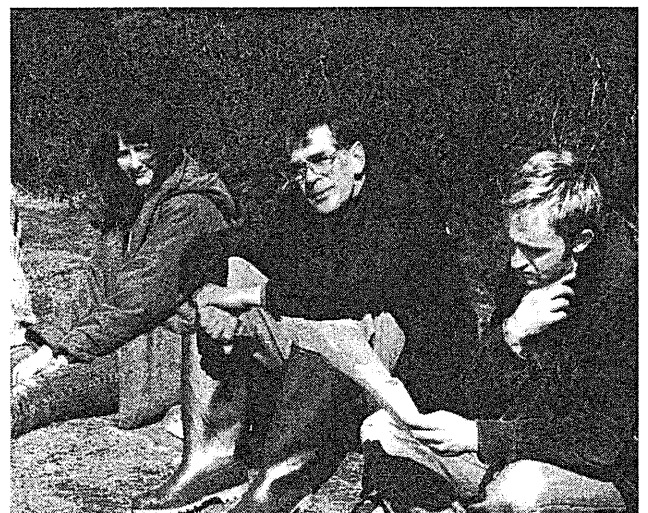
Local and Regional History Series
(Hertfordshire Press)

Vol. 1 Susan Oosthuizen, *Landscapes Decoded: the Origins and Development of Cambridgeshire's Medieval Fields*. £14.99 + p&p

Vol. 2 Ed. C. Dyer, *The Self-contained Village: the Social History of Rural Communities 1250-1900*. £14.99 + p&p.

Explorations in Local History Series

Vol. 1 H. Fox, *The Evolution of the Fishing Village: landscape and society along the South Devon coast, 1086-1550*. £13.50 + p&p..



Harold in Devon

Annual General Meeting 2006

The twenty one members of 'Friends' who attended the AGM heard the Chairman report that there had been a modest, but welcome, increase in membership numbers together with an increase in members using the Gift Aid scheme for paying subscriptions which makes a useful addition to our funds. All members are encouraged to use the scheme and forms are available from the Treasurer.

Maggie Whalley and others had organised a number of successful events which succeeded in being academically useful, socially entertaining and financially profitable. Visits were made to Bakewell and Lichfield; the spring conference 'Travelling through Time' had proved very popular, while the Hoskins Lecture 2006, addressed by Dr Margaret Gelling, was well supported and followed by a profitable sale of second-hand books.

Publications had continued to maintain steady sales and the most recent publication was selling well.

No applications for financial support had been received during the financial year but grants had been made subsequently and will be reflected in next year's accounts.

In 2006 the Centre had welcomed the first students on the Individual Supervised Study Course.

The Chairman thanked all members of the Committee for their efforts but special mention was made of Alan Fox, Treasurer and David Holmes, Newsletter Editor, who retired at the AGM, having completed their terms of office.

The Treasurer was able to report a healthy financial situation with a surplus of income over expenditure of £2751 and capital assets of £25,676. Our ongoing activities, such as those reported above, tend to fund our everyday running costs while the dividends from our capital is used towards financing grants, one of the main functions of 'Friends'.

The following officers and committee members were elected:

Chairman	Pam Fisher
Secretary	Frank Galbraith
Treasurer	Lydia Pye
Membership Secretary	Mandy de Belin
Newsletter Editor	Anne Pegg
Programme Secretary	Maggie Whalley
Committee Members	Freda Raphael
	Noel Tornbohm

At that stage the Centre representative and student representative had not been nominated. Later Keith Snell accepted the nomination for the Centre and Mika Hirose for the students.

Frank Galbraith

ACCOUNTS

For year ending 30 Sept. 2006

INCOME

Subscription	£1476.00
Donations	£ 346.00
Book sales	£ 601.00
Publications	£ -137.23
Dividends/Interest	£696.43
Events	£1027.93
Inland revenue	<u>£ 315.05</u>
TOTAL	<u>£4325.18</u>

Profits on the year £2751.49

ASSETS

Balance at CAF Gold & Nat West a/c	£10676.42
Investments at cost	<u>£15000</u>
TOTAL	<u>£25676.42</u>

EXPENDITURE

Expenses	£ 357.40
Student support	£ 595.00
Brit. Assoc. of LH	£ 52.00
Hoskins lecture	£ 173.73
Newsletter	<u>£ 395.56</u>
TOTAL	<u>£1573.69</u>

Hoskins' Lecture 2007

This year the 18th Hoskins' Lecture took place on the 30 June and coincided with the University of Leicester's 'Homecoming Weekend'. A good number of Friends were present and their eagerness to buy meant that our annual book sale raised over £400.

The guest lecturer was Dr Della Hooke. Dr Hooke is a familiar name to all students and graduates of the Centre for her many publications. She was introduced by our Chairman, Pam Fisher. Dr Hooke is an Honorary Fellow of the University of Birmingham, Institute of Advanced Research and Editor for the Society of Landscape Studies. She has published widely on the Anglo-Saxon landscape and charter boundaries, particularly across Wessex and Mercia, including the present counties of Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Devon and Cornwall. Her most recent publication (2006) is *'The English Landscape: the West Midlands'*, in the English Heritage series.



Dr Della Hooke with Chairman, Pam Fisher

Woodlands in Myth and Legend

The first myth that Dr Della Hooke explored was that England had been covered by 'wild wood' at any period in historical time. The clearing of forest and the management of surviving woodland was well advanced by the Bronze Age. Dr Hooke then gave an overview of the uses of woodland in the medieval and modern periods, well illustrated with a series of slides. Woodlands were used for seasonal grazing, which encouraged regeneration of trees. It resulted in a landscape of open woodland, with stands of mature trees interspersed with glades and clearings. She felt that the Anglo-Saxon *leāh* originally meant an

extensive area of wood pasture, not just a clearing. Likewise *haga* boundaries suggested some form of game reserve, long before Domesday and the Norman Forest Law. Woodland was exploited not just for pasture and for game preservation, but for timber too. Trees were felled, pollarded and coppiced for a wide variety of purposes, including building and fuel. Ironically, industrialisation preserved the forests through its increasing demand for charcoal for smelting.

Then Dr Hooke turned to the cultural meaning of woodland. It was seen as a wilderness; not necessarily a place of desolation, but somewhere remote from daily experience, only periodically approached and then with some trepidation. Forests were liminal places. For early European Christians the woods, wastes and fens were the equivalent of the biblical desert, places of separation and trial. Men such as St Guthlac withdrew to such places and many abbeys, like Great and Little Malvern, claimed to have been founded on the sites of hermitages. Symbols of the forest were brought into abbeys, churches and cathedrals in the profusion of naturalistic carving of leaves and trees. The well-known figure of the Green Man, his open mouth giving access to the soul, was used as a Christian symbol, even if borrowed from earlier times.

Many other mythical characters were associated with woods, especially in their guise as hunting grounds. This is true of Welsh legends, such as the tale of *Pwyll* and the *Cwn Annwn* [hounds of Annwn, Lord of Winter] and in Saxon legends such as Herne the Hunter. Not all creatures connected with forests were entirely mythical, for wolves did exist, but also attracted many legends and supernatural aspects to themselves. They were associated with the devil and represented violence and force. Many 'wolf' place names occur in Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries and later, though Professor Phythian-Adams, during questions, suggested that some of these may refer to human outlaws, bearing the mask of the wolf, rather than to the animals themselves. There were more pleasurable associations with hunting and the 'merry greenwood' in the tales of Robin Hood and many songs celebrating spring and summer in the wood.

The iconography of individual trees is very rich in many cultures. Not just the woodland, but individual trees are seen to have spirits. Where early Christians were able to appropriate sacred springs and wells, trees could not be seen to

compete with the one true 'tree' or cross. The one tree that does seem to have taken on some Christian symbolism is the yew, which was given connotations of resurrection. In some early charters there are references to 'holy ash' and 'holy oak' trees, though it is not clear what was meant by this. Trees, being large and long-lived, were often used as boundary markers in charters and as hundredal meeting places. Over three hundred thorn trees are so used in surviving charters, three times as many as oaks. Oaks were sacred in many traditions and associated with strength. The ash was regarded as almost as powerful as the oak, connected with rebirth, new life and having healing powers. Hawthorn, or 'magic may' was more ambivalent and had to be approached carefully. In Ireland it was believed to be able to cause death or loss of money. The elder was the tree most associated with witches. It was a tree of doom or death but could also have healing powers. The rowan, or quicken tree, was planted as a defence against witches and in the 17th century the wood was used for the yokes of plough oxen.

After a fascinating metaphorical ramble through the wood, we were all ready to repair to No 1 Salisbury Road for tea and cakes and the usual book sale.

Sylvia Pinches

Friends' Tour of Victoria Park, Leicester and Foston Church, November 2006.

A group of Friends met Dr Helen Boynton, our guide to the history of the area, familiar and, at the same time unknown, to those of us who have walked so many times between Salisbury Road and the University Main Campus. Dr Boynton, the author of several books on the local history of Leicester, gave a stimulating introduction to the area before leading us on a walking tour of the park.

The area of the South Field, 614 acres, was open pasture land providing grazing for the stock of the freemen and burgesses of Leicester. The enclosure of the South Field was completed by 1811 and Leicester Corporation bought 6 acres in 1867. Horse racing took place from 1806, after earlier sites were deemed unsafe. The only depiction of early horse racing is in a painting in Leicester Museum by E.B. Herbert. The races

took place in September after the corn had been harvested and the animals moved. It was an event of great popular celebration with many booths and gypsies, an event which brought together the townspeople and the aristocracy. The horses ran a one mile course around the perimeter of the field. The course had four very sharp corners but no jumps. The final event was held in 1883 after which it moved to the new racecourse as required by the Jockey Club. This meant that only those with private transport could attend which altered the character of the event.

In 1866 John Biggs began to lay out the area as a public park, naming it after the sovereign. He is commemorated by a statue. The old stood adjacent to Granville Rd and the ladies' toilets block survived until recent times. The itself was critically damaged in 1940 when an enemy bomber failed to reach its target - a transmitter located in the University College. The resulting crater, the size of a bus, was made into an emergency water storage facility for the rest of the war. The was replaced in 1958. The clock tower with its face towards London Road, was donated by a Leicester man who wanted to check the time as he drove to work.

Most of Leicester's sports clubs began life in Victoria Park and there are records of W.G. Grace playing here. About 1864, Leicester pioneered roller skating, shortly after the invention of the roller skate in the USA, by building a rink which later moved to the Floral Hall. The Park also hosted a balloon race, notable for the fact that the balloon was cut to shreds by the local drunks. The Royal Agricultural Show in 1863 was attended by VIPs including the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To provide transport for this prestigious event, the Midland Railway Company built a connecting railway station where the Physics building now stands and traces are still visible. Horse-drawn trams were introduced in 1873, coming from the city centre as far as the London Road tollgate outside the Marquis of Wellington. They were replaced by electric trams in 1904. The handsome wrought iron gates, donated by Sir Jonathan North in 1935, were spared destruction in WW2. The lodges were designed by Lutyens, as was the War Memorial.

Looking across London Road, Dr Boynton pointed out the corner house, made infamous by the Green Bicycle Murder. This crime was committed by a known sex pervert who lived in this house but he was acquitted. The young man's father had committed suicide by

throwing himself out of an upper window because of his shame at an earlier incident perpetrated by his son. In a neighbouring house Ernest Gee, a friend of Boulton and Sargent, hosted concerts in his conservatory. Turning back to the Park, we viewed the drinking fountain of Ethelflo(e)da, dedicated to Edith Gittins, artist and women's suffrage activist, which perhaps commemorated the routing of Danish invaders but which has itself been twice mutilated by the theft of its statue.

At the beginning of the 19th century it was realised that Leicester needed a public hall to accommodate large events and the De Montfort Hall was commissioned. Designed by Leicester architect Shirley Harrison, it was built in 1913 with an adjacent amphitheatre which burned down about ten years ago. The original Hall, built as a temporary structure, continues to function and hosts the university degree ceremonies.

Lutyens' War Memorial Arch and the associated Peace Walk were opened in 1925 and the ceremony was attended by Lutyens and the Duke of Rutland and unveiled by two Leicester ladies who had lost nine sons in the Great War. Hoskins noted that this is the most northerly of Lutyens' war memorials.

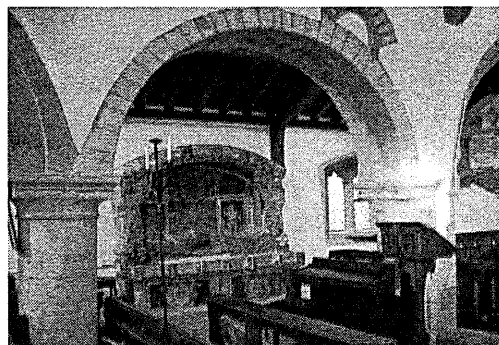


Photo: A. Fox

As we looked towards the main university site, bought by Thomas Fielding Johnson in 1920, we were reminded of the problems of drainage with the underlying boulder clay – problems to be resolved by architects James Stirling and Ove Arup when designing the Engineering Building (1963) and the Attenborough Building (1967). Our walk continued along the edge of the park adjacent to Victoria Park Road which was originally a footpath leading to Knighton. St Mary's Gardens, on the south side of the road, was originally used to house cattle going to market. This was incorporated into the city in

1896. The property 'Montello' is one of several imposing Victorian villas along the road, occupied by eminent Leicester families such as the Skillingtons, cigar merchants. On the corner where the old toll house once stood, a fine art-deco style house was built in 1931. St James' Church on London Road, built in the 1890s is notable for a curious Italianate arch. Orchards extended down the east side and The Old Horse Inn, originally serving racegoers, dates from the 1850s and nearby stood the Midland Hydropathic Sanatorium. Returning to the , Dr Boynton reminded us that New Walk was laid out in 1785. Originally called Queen Charlotte's Ladies' Walk, it was a genteel alternative to the dirty conditions of London Road. Our tour ended at the café where thanks were expressed to Dr Boynton for her fascinating and erudite tour and her dedication in carrying it out despite an injured ankle.

After a warming lunch at the Old Horse the group drove to Foston where we were joined by more friends and by David Holmes who gave us a guided tour of the church of St Bartholomew. Although its village is all but deserted, the church continues to be well supported and lovingly maintained by its congregation and group of Friends. The Domesday Book records a population of about 25 families and the remaining Norman arcade dates from 1081. The Friends, typically, spent considerable time observing and trying to identify the small arched feature, cut through by one of the Norman pillars, possibly evidence of an earlier building. There is an elaborate mid-17th-century tomb of the Faunt family and some handsome medieval floor tiles. The church fabric was restored in the 19th century but it retains features which illustrate the evolution of the English Parish church throughout a thousand years.



St Bartholomew's Church, Foston, Leics..

Oxford Study Weekend

Lectures.....

There was to be no slacking during our weekend in Oxford, in traditional Friends style. The weekend got off to a tremendous start on the Friday afternoon with a visit to Christ Church and then evensong in the Cathedral. We scarcely had time to draw breath over dinner in St Hilda's before we had our first lecture. Mr Chris Day, Director of Academic Programmes in the Department of Continuing Education, gave us an excellent introduction to 'Oxford Town and Gown'. Having remarked that, as we were all historians, he would take it chronologically, he told us how the university 'emerged' about 1000 and by the late twelfth century had a recognisable structure of masters, scholars and students. He explained the development of the college system and how they were permanent bodies, unlike the halls in which many of the earlier students resided. The colleges received many endowments and some became very wealthy, unlike the university itself, which owns little property. Commenting on the long-standing uneasy relationship between 'town and gown', citizens and students, he told us about a fifteenth century regulation which ordered students not to wear their hoods up so that they could not be identified. *Plus ça change!* In those days more than half the students did not proceed to a degree; not something that modern universities would hope to emulate. Mr Day gave a great deal of interesting information about the buildings of the various colleges, noting that even in the nineteenth century Oxford colleges were still building as if they were the Middle Ages. More recently, though, some fine pieces of modern architecture have been erected. One of Mr Day's favourites, and mine too, being the Garden Quadrangle at St John's College designed by MacCormac, Jamieson and Prichard, in 1990-94. Whilst providing a thoroughly modern conference venue, it reflects the work of earlier architects in particular Sir John Soane.

The architectural theme was taken up again by the Saturday evening speaker, Dr Malcolm Graham. Dr Graham, Head of the Centre for Oxfordshire Studies with Oxfordshire County Council, concentrated on the town rather than the gown. His talk, entitled 'Graceless Growth? The building of Oxford's suburbs' introduced us to the

very different world of working Oxford. The population of the city more than doubled between 1841 and 1901, owing a great deal to increased employment opportunities. Although the university was a major employer, both of academic and service staff (in 1901 the census recorded 601 college servants), there were a host of other major employers. The Clarendon Press, 'the factory in the fields', employed about 300 people in the 1880s; there were a number of breweries, one of the largest of which was Morrell's; the railway and various public utilities had many employees; there was a variety of manufacturing, including Hyde's clothing factory; a thriving commercial centre provided for the growing population. All these people needed to be housed. There was little room for expansion in the centre; indeed, a number of old town houses were demolished by the university to build the new Examination Schools. Streets of small terrace houses sprawled out in the direction of St Ebbe's, south-west of Carfax, a teeming area which housed some 10,000 people. This low-lying area was prone to flooding and people wanted to move to the drier gravel terrace to the north of St Giles, towards the Woodstock Road. This area was developed as middle-class housing, especially once dons were allowed to marry and they wanted to move out of college and set up home.

On Sunday morning we turned our minds to a more rural theme. Our own Beryl Schumer told us about 'Medieval Wychwood and beyond', before we embarked on a coach tour to explore that area. Beryl explained the origins of medieval royal forests – all you needed was a king and some deer! She described the forests as an early form of conservation, in a way. The land was carefully managed to promote the well being of the deer to be hunted, and protected by law from intrusion and exploitation by others. The Domesday return for Oxfordshire showed forest around Wychwood, Woodstock and some other areas. In 1217 the forest area was extended, and it stretched from the Thames northwards to a stream near Great Tew. The boundaries ebbed and flowed over the years and although they were supposed to have been fixed by 1327 bits 'withered away'. James I reintroduced rents for assarts and Charles I tried to reintroduce the forest courts, fixing the boundaries of the forest as they were in 1622. Beryl then addressed the vexed question of how much wood there was in the forest. She explained that often the woodland

mentioned in Domesday manors was in detached parts of the manor. Vast areas of the forest were open land, with concentrations of coppices and woodland, over which quite wide-flung communities might have rights. The complex web of common rights, as well as royal and demesne lord control, inhibited assarting. The woodland of forest of Wychwood is not primeval 'wild wood'. Underneath it there are round and long barrows, a Roman road and other signs of human activity. Leaving us with the question, why did the wood grow back, Beryl led us out to see this fascinating landscape for ourselves.

Sylvia Pinches

.....and excursions.

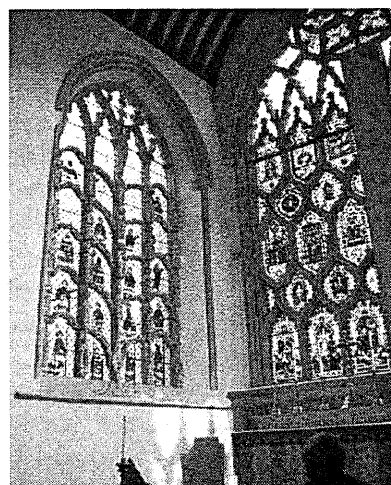
The three excursions of the weekend, to Merton College, Dorchester Abbey and Ewelme and to Wychwood Forest were varied but equally stimulating with an underlying theme of continuity: academic, spiritual and landscape. Fortunately the weather for all three was bright, if occasionally chilly.

Dr Robert Peberdy of Merton College was our first guide. Merton College dates its origin to 1264, its foundation by Thomas Merton confirmed in 1274. It contains some of the oldest buildings in the University, having the distinction of four quads, one of which, Mob Quad, contains the ancient library, dating from 1373, and the Muniments Room of similar age, which, until recently, held the college records, among the most complete sets of archives of any Oxford college. The college chapel has several notable features including 14th-century stained glass and a wooden quire screen designed by Sir Christopher Wren. Among a host of famous *alumni*, particular mention was made of Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian Library, and John Henry Newman (later Cardinal Newman).

From Merton a short walk via Christ Church meadows, the river, and St Aldate's led us to 'The High' and the ancient church of St Mary the Virgin, the University church. Originally all the teaching and examinations of the University took place there while, in later centuries, it was the setting for major events in English history: the trial and sentencing of Cranmer; the preaching of John Wesley, when he felt his 'heart strangely warmed; John Keble's Assize Sermon of July 1833, setting out the ideas for the reformation of

the Anglican church which led to the Oxford Movement. The involvement of Newman, then Vicar of St Mary's, led eventually to his conversion to Roman Catholicism. In the 20th century, St Mary's was the venue for the inaugural meeting of Oxfam.

The second outing, led by Dr Kate Tiller, illustrated the impact of the spiritual on the landscape in visits to the abbey church of Dorchester-on-Thames and to Ewelme. The monk Birinus, later canonised, was despatched to England by Pope Honorius I. Whilst in Wessex, he oversaw the conversion to Christianity of the daughter of the King of Wessex and officiated at her marriage to the Christian King of Northumbria. The two kings granted to Birinus land to establish an episcopal see, extending from the south coast as far north as Towcester and Bedford, with a cathedral church at Dorchester. The body of Birinus was later, in more troubled times, transferred to Winchester. The form and function of his original church changed over time and in 1140 became a stone-built Augustinian Abbey. Dorchester was an important pilgrimage site in the 13th and 14th centuries after the relics of Birinus were supposedly discovered there. The wealth brought to the Abbey resulted in the addition of the north and south choir aisles, the tower and a shrine of St Birinus. Another notable feature from the 14th century is the Jesse window whose sinuous tracery depicts the trunk and branches of the tree of Jesse.



Jesse window, Dorchester Abbey

Later a People's Chapel was added to house large numbers of pilgrims as they waited to approach the shrine. The shrine was destroyed and the Abbey dissolved by order of Henry VIII, the

church itself escaping destruction because a local man paid the price of the lead in the chancel roof to prevent its removal.

The village of Ewelme was famous in the late 19th and early 20th centuries for the watercress which was in great demand in the markets of Birmingham and London. However its fascination lies in an ensemble of three buildings – church, almshouses and school- all built by the de la Pole family between 1430 and 1450. The school, founded as a grammar school, has survived to the 21st century, now used as a primary school.

The church was built in the style of the East Anglian church of Wingfield, where the de la Pole family held the manor. They were connected by marriage to the Chaucer family and in the church is the elaborate tomb of Alice Chaucer. During the Civil War, the local Parliamentary commander stood at the church door, drawn sword in hand, to prevent damage to his local church. The churchyard has the grave of writer Jerome K. Jerome, who lived for some years in Ewelme.

The almshouse, connected to the church by a steep flight of stairs, is also known as ‘God’s House in Ewelme’. It was founded in 1430 ‘for 13 old bachelors in reduced circumstances but not of the lowest class’. Today, with its accommodation modernised, it houses only seven residents while the other six occupy modern almshouses nearby.

Our final outing to Wychwood Forest was led by Beryl Schumer. During the Saxon period, a royal palace was built at Woodstock and we saw, in the grounds of Blenheim Palace, the monument marking the site. The 18th century brought about emparkment of large areas of the forest and fashionable landscaping associated with Blenheim, Ditchley Park and Cornbury Park. The Disafforestation Act of 1857 led, within two years, to the clearance of most of the forest land and the establishment of new farms. The road between Charlbury and Leafield is a boundary between the ancient woodland of Wychwood to the east and the transformed landscape of the mid 19th century to the west. The impact of this legislation on the lives of the local people can be traced in the censuses of 1851 and 1861. In the first, one third of the population of the village of Leafield were engaged in some aspect of woodland management but, by 1861, most of the woodland had disappeared, leaving the men having to try to find employment on the new farms.

Many Wychwood villages, including Leafield, Finstock and Ramsden, had been created by assarting in the 12th and 13th centuries. The 1857 Act led to the appearance of new villages, such as Fordwells, created in the 1860s to accommodate farm labourers.

For centuries Wychwood forest has dominated and shaped the landscape of western Oxfordshire. Little now remains but, with Beryl Schumer’s guidance, its historical evidence is still visible in the landscape.

Eric Whelan



A reflective moment ‘God’s House in Ewelme’.

Friends’ Summer Outing to Rutland Churches

On the 28 July, probably the first sunny day of that month, a group of Friends met up at St Mary’s Church Ashwell, where the organiser, Maggie Whalley, introduced our guide for the day, former Centre student, Roger Willson. He outlined his aim for the day which was to consider the interior spaces of each of five churches and to learn how they reflected the changes in Anglican liturgy and practice from the Reformation to the mid 20th century.

From the exterior, the different rooflines delineate these spaces and at Ashwell church we could see eight separate spaces. Some external features suggested a 14th-century building but there was also clear evidence of Victorian restoration. Once inside, Roger gave us an introductory talk which set the basis for the rest of the day. Most of us were familiar with Anglican church lay-out and furnishings as they were before the changes made since the 1960s. We would expect to find the communion table at the

east end of the chancel on a raised platform within a railed-off sanctuary area, a screen to separate chancel and nave, stained-glass windows to produce a dim light, choir stalls within the chancel, a pulpit to the right of the chancel arch and a lectern at the left. Furnishings would also include cross, frontals and flowers. In fact, this use of liturgical space is due to the influence of the Campden Society, linked to the Oxford Movement of the 1840s. Ashwell is an example of one of the earliest restoration projects of William Butterfield, under the patronage of Viscount Downe, and would have been seen as groundbreaking at the time. The Oxford Movement wanted to place the sacrament of Holy Communion at the centre of church life rather than an occasional celebration. The priest was to celebrate it at an elevated position at the east end, the chancel, the most lavishly decorated area, being demarcated as a sacred space. This approach coincided with the period of Pugin and the Gothic revival. Butterfield, who also was working in London, made Ashwell church a leader in the new church design and his restoration was an almost complete rebuilding. The subsequent church visits would allow us to see how radical these changes were.

St Mary Magdalen, Stapleford, is an estate church and a fine example of 18th-century Gothic, built in 1783 by George Richardson for the Earl of Harborough. An existing medieval church was completely demolished and only a few items were incorporated into the new church. The family crests all around the exterior leave one in no doubt that this is a family church. A large blank window space indicates the presence inside of a monument placed against the south wall at the east end. From the outside there is only a single space to be seen – no evidence in the roofline of a chancel, aisles or chapels. Sherard, Earl of Harborough was also vicar and had spent his life in school and college chapels and as one enters the church that pattern is exactly what one sees. The pews are set along the walls with a large central space having a slot to hold a baptismal bowl when required. At the west end, the family pew is in the form of a gallery complete with fireplace and the Royal Coat of Arms. There is no separate chancel and the only stepped elevation at the east end is to accommodate the family vault. The windows are clear and the decoration at the east end restrained and symbolic.

After an agreeable pub lunch in Oakham, we met together at St Peter's Church, Brooke,

where the exterior had features from the 12th century with Elizabethan rebuilding. A double east end could not indicate a chantry chapel as the doctrine of Purgatory had been declared null and void by King Edward VI. We entered through a Norman doorway but the interior was an almost unique example of a complete re-ordering of 1579-81, showing the arrangement of space to fit the liturgy of the immediate post-Reformation period – as revolutionary in its time as Ashwell was 400 years later. By placing the original table in the centre of the space beyond the screen, it could be understood that the pews in that area were not for choristers (another 19th-century addition) but for the congregation who would sit or kneel around the four sides to receive, as at a meal, not as a Mass, a crucial theological difference from the Roman rite. The side chapel was a family space to house the tombs and monuments of the founding family. The body of the church was fitted with box pews and benches, which remain, as the stress on the preaching of the word meant that listening required sitting.

Our next church, St Andrew's, Lyddington, is a good example of layers of church history. Medieval features were the rood screen with just discernible figures of saints and flowers, scrubbed out in Puritan times. Beyond the rood screen is a table toward the east end with a rail of 1635, unusual in being around the four sides. Archbishop Laud, in the time of Charles II, imposed discipline on the parish churches through regular visitations. The regulation in 1641 that tables and rails should be removed and chancels levelled provoked the differences between Puritan and Romish practice and belief that were root causes of the Civil War. Stapleford church, being a peculiar of the Lincoln diocese, compromised only as far as obeying the letter of the law.

St Andrew's, Stoke Dry, is a complete contrast in scale and style. The ironstone exterior, with its 13th-century window tracery, reveals several obvious internal spaces, indicating its pre-Reformation history. Inside it has an abundance of interesting features. There is a rood loft of the early 16th century with places for the insertion of statues of the Virgin and St John. This was probably brought in from another church. Directly behind are two Norman pillars with the columns decorated with a rich array of animals, plants and what is probably the earliest representation of a bellringer. There are medieval wall paintings depicting St Christopher, St Margaret and the martyrdom of St Edmund, by Vikings who

resemble North American Indians. Other wall paintings, dating from the Reformation, are texts which demonstrate the Protestant emphasis on the Word. A further post-Reformation feature is that a large family monument has been placed within the sanctuary area, blocking the medieval piscina and aumbry. The side chapel is divided from the nave by a screen as a family chapel where it is thought that the Digby family continued to celebrate the Mass. The church has two fonts, the Norman one set aside in favour of the elaborate Victorian one.

In his closing comments, Roger reminded us of the theme of the visit – ‘The tradition of the Church is change’. We went our separate ways with a new understanding of the way that our treasured parish churches preserve and reflect the important changes in religion and politics through the centuries.



Friends in a Rutland churchyard

Photo. F. Raphael

Seminar Programme 2007-8

Seminars take place at 2.15 on Thursday afternoons in the Seminar Room of No. 1 Salisbury Road. Please phone 0116-252-2762 to reserve a place. You are invited to tea in the Common Room at No. 5 afterwards.

2007

- 4 October** **Andy Wood** (University of East Anglia) 'Remembering and forgetting Kett's rebellion of 1549'.
- 18 October** **Richard Oliver** (University of Exeter) 'British town maps before 1900: a local view of the scenery or a national one?'.
- 1 November** **Elizabeth Hurren** (Oxford Brooks) 'John Charles Cox, c. 1848-1919: a radical historian's contribution to local and rural history'.
- 15 November** **Christian Liddy** (University of Durham) 'The land of the prince bishops: history, myth and identity in the palatinate of Durham in the late middle ages'. Followed by the A.G.M..
- 29 November** **Martin Marix Evans** (Blakesley, Northants.) 'The Battle of Naseby: the local history of a national event'.

2008

- 17 January** **Paul Cullen** (University of Nottingham) 'Pebbles, beans and muck: the stuff of Nottinghamshire place-names'.
- 31 January** **Briony McDonagh**, (University of Hertfordshire) 'Subverting the ground: private property and public protest in the sixteenth-century Yorkshire Wolds'.
- 14 February** **Adrian Randall** (University of Birmingham) 'Disorderly conduct: protesting repertoires in eighteenth-century Gloucestershire'.
- 28 February** **Julian Pooley** (Surrey History Centre) 'Discovering an archive of local history: the papers of John Nichols, historian of Leicestershire'.
- 13 March** **Susanna Wade-Martins** (University of East Anglia) 'The small holding movement in the twentieth century – a social and farming experiment'.

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To Mandy deBelin, e-mail: Debelin@uk.ibm.com

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