

Friends of the Centre for English Local History

NEWSLETTER

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The cover picture shows Johnny Armstrong's Tower, a 'bastle-house' in the Anglo-Scottish borderlands.
Editor's collection.

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EDITORIAL

This 2008 edition of the Friends' Newsletter again has a strong focus on W.G. Hoskins and on Harold Fox, circumscribing the history of the Centre, which goes from strength to strength. I began this year's editing, anticipating an edition that would be 'lean and mean', after what may have seemed like a quiet year for the Friends but it soon became apparent that there was a rich harvest of news and publications. I hope you will find it informative and enjoyable and that many current students will be encouraged to join up with the Friends and thus stay in contact with the academic stimulus and good humour which marks out the Centre's courses and activities. As the new academic year gets under way, we can look forward to another series of interesting seminars and enjoyable outings and study days, which are in the planning stage.

On Saturday 6 December the Centre will be the venue for a day seminar in honour of Harold Fox, in collaboration with the Medieval Settlement Research Group and the Society for Landscape Studies. Registration forms are available from the Centre website or from Lucy Byrne.

It has been decided that deaths of Friends, notified to us, will be mentioned in the Newsletter.

My thanks to the dozens of Friends who have taken time and care to produce reports, photographs and help with lay-out and proof-reading, particularly to David and Rosalind Holmes.

THE CENTRE

The highlight of the year has been the award of a CBE to Professor Christopher Dyer, awarded for service to scholarship, as announced in the Queen's Birthday Honours. I know that all those associated with the Centre for English Local History will be pleased to join us in warmly congratulating Professor Christopher Dyer for this CBE. This is a fitting and much deserved tribute to his research and publications over many years, and an accolade to the Director of the Centre for English Local History that we are all proud of.

On hearing about the honour, Professor Dyer said 'I am sure that I was greatly helped in the activities which brought me this honour by the

opportunities provided by the University of Leicester. My colleagues, especially in the Centre for English Local History and the School of Historical Studies, but also in other parts of the University, have stimulated and supported my work. Awards are given to individuals, but they are earned by the efforts of communities of academic and support staff. Local history as a subject has also been recognised; it is not the most glamorous or flashy specialism in history, but it is constantly rewarding and gives us insights into the foundations of the contemporary world.'

A few highlights of the activities of Professor Christopher Dyer's recent work include the completion of the final stages of the publication of the Landscape History papers, from the 2005 conference 'W.G. Hoskins and the Making of the British Landscape'. These appeared in three volumes, covering three periods - Prehistoric and Roman, Medieval, and Post-Medieval. They were simultaneously published on 1 December 2007 and are reviewed in this Newsletter. Chris organised a series of workshops on 'Perceptions of Medieval Landscape and Settlement', funded by the AHRC, mentioned in last year's *Newsletter*, which came to a successful conclusion with a plenary conference held at Leicester on 1 December 2007. Recently, Chris has completed editing (with Catherine Richardson) a book of essays arising from a conference on William Dugdale and his Antiquities of Warwickshire, organised by the Dugdale Society. The book will be published by Boydell and Brewer. Chris is chairman of the Dugdale Society, and for that Society this has been an *annus mirabilis*, with the publication of a paper on medieval Birmingham, which reveals new discoveries of documents which give us a full picture of the medieval town for the first time. He also published this year an important new edition of the Stratford Guild Register.

The Centre held a weekend conference on 'Deserted Villages Revisited' on 21-22 June 2008, organised by Chris Dyer and Richard Jones, in collaboration with the Medieval Settlement Research Group, to mark the 60th anniversary of the gathering in Leicestershire of Hoskins, Beresford, Postan and Steensberg to visit deserted medieval village sites, in June 1948.

A conference is planned on 'Local history after Hoskins', for 9-12 July 2009, to be organised by Chris Dyer together with Andrew Hopper and in conjunction with the British Association for Local History.

Having completed work interpreting the landscape history of Hazleton, Gloucestershire, in the form of a paper for the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, Chris Dyer and his co-researcher and author, David Aldred, held a meeting to report their results to the villagers. This was attended by about 90 per cent of the population of the village, and they received a warm response.

Chris Dyer is involved in writing and preparing a new agricultural history of the countries around the North Sea, 400-2000, edited in Belgium and Holland. This is intended to replace Slicher van Bath's book, but whereas he covered the whole subject in one modest book, these will be 4 large volumes. He is also having discussions about the final interpretative volume of the Wharram Percy reports, into which he hopes to have an input. He has applied for research funding for a project on English Peasant Agriculture, and he awaits the results hopefully.

He has organised a contribution to Buckinghamshire County Council's survey of historic towns. This survey is primarily archaeological, but a group of recent graduates and current postgraduates is preparing information on the historical evidence.

Currently Chris is working flat out to write his book for OUP about John Heritage and his world – a study of the wool trade and local agriculture in north Gloucestershire, c. 1495-1520.

Preparations to revive the Victoria County History for Leicestershire are proceeding steadily. Pam Fisher has joined the committee and agreed to serve as treasurer. There is now a secretary, Julie Deeming. It was expected that the important stage this year would be setting up a Trust to raise funds for the VCH, but the legal experts have advised that the project would be best organised on the basis of a company limited by guarantee, and the formalities for founding this will hopefully be completed in August 2008. There will then be an appeal and we hope that Friends will come to the aid of the fund raising, above all by spreading the word that this is a worthwhile cause.

Very well attended memorial occasions continue for Professor Harold Fox, fine tributes to the esteem in which he was held, both in Leicestershire and in Devon. The Centre held its own celebration of his life and work on 19 July as is reported in this issue. A 'Harold Fox Dartmoor Day' was held on the 6 September 2008. A

conference in Exeter (in June) dedicated to Professor Fox was attended by 130 people, at which Professor Phythian-Adams gave a lecture. Work is progressing to prepare Harold's nearly completed book manuscript on Dartmoor for publication.

This year Andrew Hopper has been researching his second monograph *Turncoats and Renegades: Changing Sides in the English Civil War*, a project that has involved many research trips to archives in this country and the USA. He has recently been appointed to the editorial board of the academic journal, *Midland History*. He has also been appointed a Fellow of the Higher Education Academy. He has continued to lecture widely on civil war subjects.

The Naseby Day Conference at Kelmarsh Hall was held on 29 June 2008, organised by Andrew Hopper and Martin Marix Evans, with kind financial assistance from the Friends of the Centre for English Local History. It attracted 70 delegates from a wide range of backgrounds, including academic historians, archaeologists, archivists, librarians, education officers, re-enactors and amateur historians, and was considered highly successful and stimulating by all who attended. The venue was especially commended.

Richard Jones has been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He is currently external examiner at the Universities of Oxford and East Anglia. He is active on the committees of the Medieval Settlement Research Group and the Society for Landscape Studies. Richard has given papers during the past year as reported in this Newsletter. He also moderated two sessions sponsored by the Society for Medieval Archaeology at the International Medieval Congress (University of Leeds).

His current projects involve finishing a book entitled 'Thorps in a Changing Landscape', with co-authors D. Parsons and P. Cullen, for the Explorations in Local and Regional History Series. He has been commissioned to write two chapters for *Rural Medieval Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600: Settlements, Landscapes and Regions*, to be on 'Methods and Approaches to Studying Medieval Rural Settlements and Landscapes', and 'The Midlands'. Richard is co-editing the Deserted Villages Revisited volume with Chris Dyer, and editing a volume on manure: *Manure Matters: Historical, Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives*.

Richard's principal project is a monograph exploring aspects of usage and control in the medieval landscape, emphasising the subtle, everyday and local interplays between lord and tenant that have been rather neglected in recent years, as historians and archaeologists of the landscape have become increasingly obsessed with the extremes of power and revolts, and about small-scale shifts in landscape control. The monograph will demonstrate the extent to which peasants retained varying degrees of control over the soil through the naming, marking, and intelligent use of space. The book will argue that it was not only the medieval élite who were actively engaged in promoting themselves through the manipulation of the landscape, but that the peasantry were able to do this too, although the methods they used and the scale at which this was enacted might be very different. It is a book about the ebb and flow of social negotiation as enacted in the landscape, about how rural communities found ways to live and work off the land, about petty victories rather than resistance.

Keith Snell has been awarded an ESRC grant of £307,000 (with Dr Julie Rugg of the University of York), to study 'Death and community in rural settlements: changing burial culture in small towns and villages, c. 1850-2007'. The project is due to run for three and a half years, from April 2008, and involves research on Leicestershire, Rutland and Yorkshire. A few hundred parish clerks have already provided most helpful information on their parishes' burial provision. Keith is also working on changing senses of 'community', twentieth-century inter-war rural fiction, detective fiction and local history, disability and community, and various other projects relating to the history of welfare and local communities. In addition, he is working on a book entitled *Belonging in Modern Britain: an Oral History*, which involves interviewing a wide range of people in many regions. He continues to co-edit *Rural History*. He has recently been appointed to the editorial board of *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*. Among his lectures this year were 'Churchyard memorials: what can they tell us about our past', a well-attended public lecture for the University Open Day, and the plenary lecture to a conference on 'English Pauper Letters in Comparative Perspective', at The Arcadeon, Hagen (Germany), 4-7 October 2007.

The two external examiners' reports to the Vice Chancellor about our MA courses, and their coursework and organisation, were highly complimentary about the Centre and its students – in fact, they could not come up with a single criticism. As examiners' comments go, this must be almost unique in University life!

We currently have 50-60 postgraduate students working at the Centre, we run two MA programmes, and we are very actively involved in undergraduate teaching, marking, and dissertation supervision as well, within the larger School of Historical Studies and responsible, at that level, for about eight undergraduate modules. Our work is greatly assisted by Lucy Byrne, who has been a mainstay of our efforts and organisation in the Centre's Office: dealing with so many enquiries, publicity, financial accounting, student issues, administration and related matters, facilitating the smooth running of the Centre. I remain constantly amazed by the amount of work that our staff manage to perform each year. For a small Centre, this is fairly astonishing.

Keith Snell.

Acting Director

Receiving an honour

In mid-May a letter arrived on Cabinet Office notepaper reporting that the prime minister was recommending my appointment as Commander of the Order of the British Empire. 'If it was agreeable' I was to complete a form and send it by return of post. A quick piece of background research on the website of the Order revealed that it had been founded in the First World War to acknowledge the contribution made by civilians, and that it has its own chapel in St Paul's Cathedral. Then followed two days of indecision - the supposedly rapid reply was delayed. I am not a great admirer of the British Empire and did not want to be drawn into the whole Whitehall/Buckingham Palace/ St Paul's Establishment. It seemed only one step removed from becoming a Daily Telegraph reader and attending formal dinners. People I respected would think of me as betraying progressive causes. Other less principled people would resent it and mutter 'what has he done to deserve that?'. Two arguments persuaded me to accept. One was that a large number of people had gone to a lot of trouble to make a case and write letters. Members

of committees would have argued on my behalf. A refusal would disappoint them. The other line of reasoning was that the honour would be good for the Centre, the University, the historical profession, and the various branches of history and archaeology which I try to practise. Included in the award to the individual is recognition of a wide range of people and organisations. It would be dishonest not to admit a third more selfish sense of pleasure. Having last won a prize in 1963, it was gratifying to receive one now!

The many messages that came after the announcement made me more confident of the decision, as some of them came from my champions (I suppose), who were pleased that their efforts had succeeded. A much larger number were from people who believed that the award reflected well on the Centre, history, and the academic profession.

In the Birthday Honours List I was pleased to be in the company of Joan Bakewell, Wendy Davies, Gerald Scarfe and Marina Warner, who had reached the same decision.

Chris Dyer

The Marc Fitch Library

The Centre is rightly proud of its library. Generations of students and staff have found on its shelves, books whose contents have both aided on-going scholarly enquiry and prompted new avenues of research. It will never be a comprehensive collection; the strictures of our annual budget mean that we must be selective in our purchases, despite the gaps we all recognise that this leaves. However the collections continue to be boosted by donations from the Marc Fitch Fund and by generous individual benefactors.

The future of the library is currently under consideration. Critical to this has been to establish its true role and purpose. To this end we have been delighted by the comments, always positive, if sometimes critical, which we have received from the Friends. Currently we have no formal collections and disposals policy so this is clearly a priority. This will establish which books we might move to the main library collections or which we might sell, producing much needed space and income for new purchases, and help to establish in which areas we should be collecting.

We are particularly keen to see the library contain more primary printed sources, the

building blocks of research. If we cannot keep up with the ever-increasing number of secondary works being published year-on-year, we can improve our runs of national and county record society volumes. We want the library to become a premier research resource, an asset to current students and an attraction for future students. This includes the map room, where gaps in our holdings have just been filled.

Access to what the library already holds is improving as the cataloguing process continues. We plan a short guide to the library which we hope will help. We have also reclaimed Room 1 in 5, Salisbury Road. The microfiche and microfilm readers are now useable, the slide table is set up and there is space to work. Currently under review are the poor lighting levels and the fluctuating temperature of each room.. Do not expect changes overnight, but we hope that, having established a clear direction for the library, you will both see and appreciate the efforts that we are making as we build on one of the Centre's greatest resources.

Richard Jones

Bibliography

Mike Thompson advises that, although the work on the new Bibliography has slowed during the Summer months, the compilation for the period 1999 to 2008 is now almost complete. Friends are reminded that it is intended to include all work published up to September this year and it is not too late to advise Mike of any such not previously submitted. It has yet to be decided in what format(s) the Bibliography will be published but it is hoped that this invaluable record will be available to Friends and the wider public early in 2009.



Seminar programme 2007-8

Andy Wood (University of East Anglia), 'Custom, social memory and uses of the past'.

In a change to the advertised subject, Professor Wood introduced his current research into legal depositions. The first group of sources are Customals, written statements of local customary law and, in addition, legal evidence given before the Courts of Chancery, Exchequer and Duchy of Lancaster, arising from local conflicts and in the form of witness statements given from memory by elderly inhabitants with regard to land use and ancient boundaries.

One example, taken from Beresford's work on the Whatborough All Souls land deposition of 1586 and 1591, was given by Valentine Allen, aged 71. He remembered only one house in Whatborough, but had been told that there was a hamlet in the past occupied by a Prior or tenants up to the Dissolution of the Monasteries. This was corroborated by local landscape architecture which disclosed the site of an old mill dam. John Farry, aged 84, confirmed that and added information on the intercommoning shared with Halstead parish. Patterns of ridge and furrow and traces of interrupted link paths between the villages are indicative of enclosure, which disregarded the boundaries with Bringhurst and Launde Abbey. Such evidence suggests that changes following the break up of monastic lands included the abandoning of boundary walks and the loss of marker stones.

Numerous other examples have been collected in Derbyshire and Yorkshire to build up a body of knowledge based on popular wisdom and the knowledge gained by labouring folk in the pursuit of their daily toil. Being told of the boundaries was an important rite of passage. These boundaries marked common interests and mutual responsibilities and it was seen as an important duty to impart this knowledge to succeeding generations. In 1611, in the Forest of Knaresborough, Robert Buxton was able to state that the boundary stones had been shown to him 70 years previously by his grandfather, whose own knowledge could have dated from the late 15th century. Once this knowledge was lost, maps became necessary to fix boundaries.

The gentry were expected to settle boundary disputes with their neighbours but mediation and the drawing up of boundaries could

lead to conflict. When local gentry planned to ride through the area of Knaresborough, Cotgrave and Rawcliff Moor, they were opposed by a crowd of three hundred, claiming it as a right only for the King's tenants. Norden, writing in his 'Surveyor's Diary', was representative of the surveyors who enabled landlords to set up their own boundaries and maintain social order.

Richard Oliver (University of Exeter), 'British town maps before 1900: a local view of the scenery, or a national one?'

Dr Oliver is completing a project on the town maps of Britain, and began his paper by outlining his approach to the eternal question of what constitutes a town. He explained that his criteria are functional rather than administrative. His database of 1,700 towns includes everywhere with a market in the early modern period, those places that were shown as towns on Saxton's county maps of the late 16th century and those appearing in upper case on the first three editions of the Ordnance Survey 1 inch series. Medieval boroughs which failed to develop into towns have been excluded, as have those colliery villages that were given urban district status in the 19th century.

Maps were produced for a variety of purposes, on manuscript or in printed form, and inevitably some towns have been mapped more times than others. Major landowners wanted maps of their land holdings; other places were mapped for specific reasons, such as the development of new docks or a port. They might not be a true reflection of everything that existed at the time. We were shown a map of Hinckley in 1782, with the Anglican church appearing prominently, and one of King's Lynn, produced by a nonconformist, where the two churches of St Margaret and St Nicholas are not easily recognised, but the town's civic regalia took pride of place at the top. An early map of York (c. 1540) appears to have been drawn to show the extent of the area in which sanctuary could be claimed.

English town maps started to appear in the 14th century, but were bird's eye views rather than true plans, and the use of scale does not appear until about 1530. Printed maps began to appear from the 1550s, one of the first being of Norwich.

The insets of county towns included on John Speed's county maps of the early 17th century were produced to a uniform standard and

this pattern was followed by later publishers, perhaps as a way of boosting sales of the map in those featured towns. By the late 18th century, town maps were produced in larger numbers, either as insets to county maps, to accompany county histories, or to stand alone. Many do not appear to have been designed to help people find their way around a town, being at large scale on large sheets, apparently intended for display on the walls of local inns or the homes of the gentry. They differ widely in style, perhaps reflecting a patron, or a perceived market. Town guides also start to appear in the 18th century, initially for the most popular destinations, such as London, Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford and Cambridge. As war began to restrict continental travel, the number of such guide books began to expand, taking in towns as diverse as Sidmouth and Selby, and including books for the armchair traveller.

Whether they were produced as part of a series, or locally inspired, the overriding message was that town maps were dependent upon local patronage, which could influence content, scale and style.

Dr Elizabeth Hurren (Oxford Brookes University), 'John Charles Cox, c. 1848-1919: a Radical historian's contribution to local and rural history'.

The Reverend John Charles Cox is known to many local historians as an antiquary and local historian. He published over 50 books on many aspects of local history and was a founding member of many historical societies and of the Victoria County History.

Dr Hurren's paper also revealed Cox to be, in the words of a newspaper obituarist, a 'man of many compassions'. Educated at Repton, Bath and Oxford, Cox became a partner in Wingerworth Colliery, Derbyshire, and by 1868 was also a county magistrate, chairman of the Belper board of guardians and of Clay Cross school board. Those who shared his public duties probably had an uneasy relationship with him, for he was openly critical of their treatment of the labouring poor. Cox believed that the roots of many crimes lay in economic factors and not in moral weaknesses. He opposed the game laws, and in his role as magistrate, refused to punish starving men brought before him for poaching.

Cox met Sir Charles Dilke about 1870 and they soon began to co-ordinate their political activities, Dilke using his position as an MP to

raise issues in Parliament, while Cox campaigned at a local level. Following a riotous meeting in Derby, organised by Cox and attended by Dilke, pressure was applied to have Cox removed from the county bench. Cox also developed a friendship with Joseph Arch, president of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, joined Arch on his visits and sat on the executive committee. Cox fought for shorter hours and better pay for labourers, and against the working of the New Poor Law, believing that most boards of guardians were indifferent to the plight of the poor.

Dilke had been critical of the provisions of the 1870 Education Act in respect of the composition of school boards and, with Joseph Chamberlain, decided to put up so-called 'irreconcilable' candidates at the 1874 general election. Immediately before that election there was a by-election in Bath, and Dilke supported Cox's candidature. It was a bitter contest, with the Liberal vote split, as Cox refused to stand aside for the official candidate, and the Conservative candidate won. Cox also failed to be elected for Didsbury at the general election.

His parliamentary ambitions thwarted, Cox became an Anglican clergyman, and also began work as a local historian. In January 1894, Gladstone offered him the living at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, with an annual income of £500, a large rectory well suited for Cox's family of ten children and a flock of just eight parishioners. Holdenby was within Brixworth Union, which had been refusing outdoor relief to its paupers, but legislation of 1893, which reduced the property qualification for members of boards of guardians, provided an opening for change. An Out Relief Organisation was formed, which soon had 7500 members. Cox agreed to assist the campaign, and in 1894 Cox and the members won 45 per cent of the places on the board. Two years later they obtained a majority and, with Cox as chairman, outdoor relief was reintroduced.

Dr Hurren described Cox as 'Janus-like', looking back with nostalgia to the time of Cromwell, wishing to return to the local discretion available under the Old Poor Law, but understanding that the world had changed and it was necessary to adapt. Most historians have anchored the decline of the Liberal party in a later period, but it is clear that, in the 1870s, Cox found himself losing faith with the Liberal party which he saw as clinging to an old world that would not return. He retreated from politics into a career as

an historian, in which his achievements were impressive and lasting.

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’.

Although it was not until comparatively recently that the Bishops of Durham came to be called ‘Prince-Bishops’, the title – German in origin – signifies that the palatinate was a very unusual political formation in an English context. Historians used to think that the Palatinate developed as a useful defensive barrier for the North of England in order to give stability to a border region. In fact, this unusual semi-autonomous space emerged in an unplanned fashion. The region was remote and large, covering all the land between the upper reaches of the Tyne and the Tees to the sea. The rivers constituted economic barriers also; Bishop Thomas Langley defended the Tyne bridge against the ‘degradations’ of the burgesses of Newcastle.

Dr Liddy explored how the area, the Palatinate, came to have such strongly defined boundaries. His interest lay in how locality was defined in this large area, and he determined that it was derived more from a saint than from a mundane figurehead. The legend of St Cuthbert, together with the myths and traditions bound up with this legend, was a strong unifier of people and region and a potent definer of boundary (there were boundary markers on the bridge called ‘Cuthbert stones’). St Cuthbert became politically important in defining the collective identity of the people living in this region who became known as *Haliwerfolc* (roughly, people of the saint). St Cuthbert was a significant totemic symbol of protection and invoked particularly in matters martial. The banner was regularly carried into battle against the Scots until the Reformation. In fact, *folc* could mean an army. Dr Liddy said that Cuthbert had ‘spiritual muscle’, he could excommunicate. Through the medium of St Cuthbert, the people came to support the Palatinate.

Dr Liddy noted that the strong sense of identity derived more from the idea of *Haliwerfolc* than from the Bishop and his power. It was for this people that an origin myth, written down in the early 12th century and later developed in historical narrative and vernacular poetry, was

conceived. The Bishop of Durham himself did not excite their allegiance in the same way. His was a powerful position, but the power was exercised in more mundane, even secular spheres. His courts dealt with matters of land ownership, tenancy and, in one case in the 14th century, the Nevilles sought permission to crenellate from the Bishop, not from the King

Martin Marix Evans, ‘The Battle of Naseby: the local history of a national event’.

Martin Marix Evans, Chairman of the Naseby Battlefield Project, and author of two books on the subject, gave us a lively, entertaining and very knowledgeable account of the revised version of the Battle of Naseby, fought on 14 June 1645. The understanding of the battle has been transformed in the last ten years, largely through research carried out by members of the project.

The object of the Naseby Battlefield Project is to bring about an understanding of the revised view of the battle to those interested and provide better facilities for visitors. A new centre is to be built which will incorporate an Early Modern Warfare Centre; new information boards will be installed at a number of view points and disabled access provided. Other viewing points are planned at such a height as to give the view from a horseman’s perspective.

The speaker stressed the importance of understanding the landscape of the time, since this played an important part in the decisions made before a battle was fought. The probable route of the Royalist army, after successfully attacking Leicester, can be traced through the use of early maps showing medieval bridges, since cavalry troops need to use roads for their journeys while the infantry can take shortcuts. Similarly, Naseby windmill mound and East Farndon church tower would have been clearly visible in the open field system with far fewer trees than are to be seen at present. The commemorative obelisk is now placed on the site of the mill. Other landscape features that would have affected the battle plan and its execution were the presence of a rabbit warren and ridge and furrow cultivation; both factors making movement difficult, especially for horses.

Disciplined metal detecting across the site has shown areas of shot fall revising ideas of how the battle progressed. The new discipline of battlefield archaeology is becoming a useful tool in the interpretation of such sites. Other little

acknowledged facts about the Civil War have come to light, for example that the Parliamentary army was the first to use paid female nursing staff.

The troops of both sides were drawn up on high ground, Royalists to the north, east of Sibbertoft, and the Parliamentarians to the south. A study of present day topography and maps shows that, initially, neither side had a view of the other and this is explained in the battle report made after the event. When Fairfax moved his troops westwards they were in view of the Royalists who came to meet them. As we know, Prince Rupert's army was defeated and thus ended any hopes of the restoration of the monarchy at that time.

Dr Paul Cullen (University of Nottingham), 'Pebbles, beans and muck: the stuff of Nottinghamshire place-names'.

Dr Cullen apologised in advance for a paucity of pebbles, beans and muck in his lecture, but promised plenty of stuff. The principal past languages of England were British, Latin, Old English, Old Norse, Old French/Anglo-Norman and Medieval Latin. If there were other languages before the British period, they probably have had no influence on modern place-names in Nottinghamshire. Place-names of the British period survive in river names like the Trent ('the trespasser'), and possibly in the first elements of Carburton and Mansfield. Rather surprisingly, the Romans had little influence, simply converting existing names into a Latin equivalent. One exception may be Averham, from the Latin *augur*, meaning eagle or tidal bore.

Numerous place-names are derived from Old English in Anglo-Saxon times, often with *-ton* (estate) or *-ham* (homestead) suffixes. It is instructive to go back to the earliest known form, which is usually in the Domesday Book of 1086. Such an approach might have avoided the depiction of a badger on the coat of arms of Broxtowe Borough Council and the beekeeper statue in Beeston. Some place-names do, in fact, refer to animals, for example Arnold (*earn*=eagle), Oxton, Bevercotes and Calverton.

Margaret Gelling, who was present in the audience, pioneered the practice of visiting places whose names refer to the physical landscape. Examples of this type include Morton (marsh, wasteland), Clifton, Upton, Eaton (*ea*=river), Girton (gravel) and Papplewick (pebble). Some

names refer specifically to different hill outlines, as at Flawborough (*beorg*=rounded hill), Farndon and Headon (*dun*=large but not high hill). Valleys also feature in many place-names such as Saxondale (Saxenden in Domesday). *Feld* (open land) names, such as the Ashfields, tend to cluster in border areas of estates or county. *Ford* perhaps referred to any type of crossing point of a river. Many place-names relate to personal names as at Collingham.

Superimposed upon the Old English names are those of Scandinavian origin, whose distribution clearly shows the close relationship with Danelaw. Examples include Eastwood (Estweit 1165), East Leake, Eakring and Lound. Many are revealed through their *-by* (farmstead/village) suffixes, such as Linby. The *-thorp* ending, as at Caythorpe, is more problematical as it meant 'outlying farm' in both Old English and Old Norse. Several places are so-called Grimston hybrids combining an Old Scandinavian element and Old English *-ton*, as at Thurgarton and Gonalston. Another effect may have been the replacement of the softer Old English *ch* sound with a hard *c*, resulting in most Charltons lying outside Danelaw and most Carltons within it. The *Sk-* sound in South Scarle (possibly dung wood or clearing) shows a similar influence.

Finally in the Middle English Period there was some naming of new settlements, such as Newstead and Norwell Woodhouse (second word). Family names were added, particularly to distinguish between common parish names, as at Burton Joyce. There was also a tendency to attach Latin elements right up to the seventeenth century, for example, Barton in Fabis (beans).

Thus the beans of Barton, the pebbles of Papplewick, the muck of South Scarle and lots of stuff fulfilled the promise of the title.

Briony McDonagh (University of Hertfordshire), 'Subverting the ground: private property and public protest in the 16th-century Yorkshire Wolds'.

The area of the Yorkshire Wolds addressed in Dr McDonagh's paper extends from the Humber, south of Hull, to Flamborough Head to the north-east - a landscape of nucleated villages given over to sheep and arable. The concepts of land-ownership, law and power were examined, using the resource of the Star Chamber papers. This rarely used archive is a rich and exciting source

which throws light on the early modern landscape through structural depositions given orally in negotiations over private or common ownership

The Star Chamber was one of the central equity courts hearing disputes between private individuals or families which involved disorder or riot, usually in the form of hedge breaking, depasturing of animals and the ploughing up of closes. Riot was defined as the assembling of three or more persons in violent fashion, under their own authority, with mutual intent to commit a breach of the peace. Violence could be verbal if the instigator were carrying a weapon, or dispossession and theft if combined with violent attack.

The 16th century saw a rapid rise in litigation and Star Chamber records remain in significant numbers for the Yorkshire Wolds, although, only rarely, is it possible to ascertain the outcome of hearings. The complexity of the cataloguing system makes them difficult to use and cases can only be located using clues from other sources. There are 35000 documents from the reign of Elizabeth I, arranged in numbered stacks.

Dr McDonagh gave many interesting examples from her findings. In 1599 in Goodmanham, the men of the community persuaded their womenfolk to throw down fences at night, freeing up land which had previously been used as common grazing. In 1544, in North and South Newbald, rioters assembled on the green demanding 'thorns and turves' (hawthorn and gorse) from the West Ground, claimed by the prebend to be part of the prebendal estate. The dispute escalated into violence during which a man was killed. The widow claimed that the prebend had murdered her husband and the prebend, after denying the charge, fled the village. He was indicted by the coroner and jury but the outcome of the case is not known.

Generations of the Constable family were aggressive in their acquisition of land and accused of using violence, which, on occasions, led to depopulation of settlements. Sir Robert Constable was arraigned before the Star Chamber nine times between 1521 and 1537 for crimes including the abduction of his own niece from a nunnery and of a royal ward from the care of the bishop, both to be used as tools of negotiation. He earned the description of being 'of a dangerous disposition' and, in spite of taking part in the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536 to gain royal favour, he was executed in Hull the following year.

Although forcible eviction was relatively rare, landowners manipulated and often initiated riot and violence in their own interest as a means to bring claims to court and establish boundaries. Dr McDonagh concludes that such actions frequently demonstrated a genuine, underlying sense of injustice in the populace at the loss of their traditional rights.

Adrian Randall (University of Birmingham), 'Disorderly conduct: protesting repertoires in 18th century Gloucestershire'.

The repertoires referred to in the title of Professor Randall's paper were forms of protest that were specific to certain communities and shaped by the experiences of their forebears. The examples provided concerned three distinctive Gloucestershire communities: the free miners of the Forest of Dean, the Kingswood colliers, and the woollen weavers in the area between Stroud and Wotton-under-Edge.

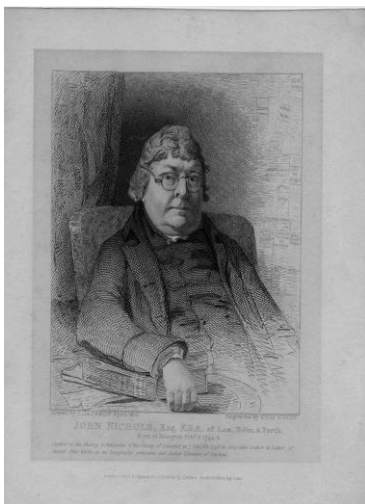
The weavers were working in a highly capitalised industry, where master clothiers controlled the process from the purchase of the wool to the sale of the cloth. When piecework rates came under pressure in 1726-7, Parliament endorsed the right of the magistrates to set the rates, who in turn took action against the clothiers. When a similar dispute erupted in 1755, the weavers chose to appeal in the first instance to the justices, seeking support for a petition to parliament. An Act of Parliament followed, but when it was not enforced by the bench, every weaver in the area stopped work. Similarly, when the shearmen were threatened by mechanisation, they appealed to the justices and to parliament. By contrast, the first response of the weavers and shearmen of Wiltshire when faced with similar threats was to riot; they had no precedent of a local Act.

The free miners of the Forest of Dean were a close-knit community, fiercely protective of their common rights. The miners were reliant on the sale or exchange of coal for grain, and during the dearth of 1740 they damaged the houses and mills of those millers and dealers in the area who were suspected of hoarding. In 1756, they turned their attention to the river traffic and unloaded barges of grain bound for Bristol, ensuring that their grievances received the attention of the city authorities. Kingswood was also an area of free chase and mining and, being on the doorstep of the rapidly growing city of

Bristol, there was a ready market for the Kingswood coal. The colliers, who had a reputation as an ‘ungovernable people’, were badly affected by the turnpikes into Bristol, as their coal no longer had free passage, and were also aggrieved that the roads were being repaired, not from the proceeds of the tolls, but using resources taken from their commons. In 1727 they destroyed the turnpike gates and marched into Bristol. They received some concessions on carriage, and this informed subsequent protests. Gates were broken down on many occasions. When grain was scarce in 1740, they also threatened to damage the property of millers, but, in addition, a large body of colliers attempted to enter Bristol. They were resisted by troops, but the mayor agreed to see a deputation and promised a reduction in the price of corn.

The examples demonstrate that patterns of protest within a community were consistent over time. Although actions may have been triggered by economic grievances, they were also shaped by a shared history, and the degree of unity achieved, with actions involving hundreds of people, suggests that these communities held a strong belief in the legitimacy of their actions.

Julian Pooley (Surrey History Centre),
 ‘Discovering an archive of local history: the papers of John Nichols, historian of Leicestershire’.



John Nichols (1745-1826) is well-known to Leicestershire’s historians. His *History and Antiquities of the Town and County of Leicester* (published in four volumes between 1795 and 1812 and running to some five million words) is

one of the great county histories of its time and remains a starting point for the county’s local historians today. But Nichols was equally busy in many other areas. His *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* and its continuation, the *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (17 volumes, 1812 - 1858) are a basic source for any study of the writing, printing, dissemination and sale of books and magazines throughout the long 18th century as well as the lives of those who wrote, published and collected them. Renaissance scholars are indebted to his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (1788-1823) for preserving in print a wide range of sources for Elizabethan court life and culture which the Centre for the Study of the Renaissance at the University of Warwick is now re-editing to celebrate his achievement and to provide modern scholars with new editions of the texts he printed. Nichols was also a pioneer of the study of royal and noble wills, one of the earliest biographers of Hogarth, an editor of Swift, a friend of Johnson and a skilled printer who designed the typeface for the first printed facsimile of Domesday Book. Amidst all of these interests, he was also, of course, ‘Sylvanus Urban’, editor and printer of the *Gentleman’s Magazine*.

In his paper, Julian Pooley outlined John Nichols’ career and demonstrated how his printing business, research interests and literary and antiquarian friendships led him to accumulate a large archive which his family cared for, augmented and plundered for their own research throughout the 19th century. He described how the chance discovery in a bookshop of a manuscript diary kept by John Nichols’ granddaughter led him to uncover thousands of hitherto unknown Nichols papers in attics and cupboards in houses across the country and how he is working to make this archive accessible to a wide range of scholars today. John Nichols’ correspondence with his many friends throughout Leicestershire allows us to chart the production of his county history and identify the ways in which he acquired the raw materials for his work; but it also contains a wealth of information on the county’s gentry, farmers, clerics and tradesmen that is of value to students of Leicestershire’s political, social and economic history today. Nichols’ letters and papers also help us to understand how one of London’s largest printers, with contracts to Parliament, learned societies, private authors and the monthly deadlines of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* was able to produce so

many other important antiquarian and literary studies of his own. For John Nichols, printing was itself a form of historical scholarship allowing him to track down archives and rare books across the country, preserve them in print and communicate their importance to a wide range of historians and biographers. The 8000 letters now calendared on the Nichols Archive Database are providing today's local historians with a vivid insight into the achievements of this important printer and local historian.

Dr Susanna Wade Martins, (University of East Anglia), 'The small holding movement in the 20th century – a social and farming experiment'.

Introducing her talk, Dr Wade Martins quoted several 'hopes' held out for the promotion of smallholding in Norfolk between 1890 and 1950. The establishment view was that smallholding would prevent social unrest by providing a sense of ownership of the land, start people on the farming ladder, reverse the trend of rural depopulation and be more productive than large farms. There was emphasis on co-operation and the forming of 'colonies'. The movement was given impetus by the desire to reward soldiers returning from the First World War and later as part of the solution to long-term unemployment during the depression of the 1930s.

The history of smallholding on acreages of 5 to 50 acres can be traced back to the early 19th century. There were modest private initiatives until the Smallholdings Act of 1892. This was a social rather than agrarian measure, and enabled County Councils to create smallholdings. However the requirement for occupiers to purchase the land, and demonstrate that they had capital to work it, put such holdings out of reach of the working class. The scale of the movement gradually increased over the period to 1914 with initiatives from private individuals and organisations like the Salvation Army supplementing the efforts of the County Councils. Further legislation allowed land to be compulsorily purchased and holdings to be rented as well as sold. By 1914 there were 14045 smallholders on 205,103 acres. Norfolk had most with 1300 tenants on 13000 acres. Expansion of smallholding ended in 1925 with the lapse of the Land Settlement Act, by which time 250000 acres had been acquired for 24000 ex-servicemen. The agricultural depression dramatically affected

smallholdings and county councils had difficulty in replacing tenants.

Unemployment after 1931 led to a renewal of interest in smallholding as part of the social solution. Central government and voluntary bodies provided money to acquire more land. Large farms were bought and divided into small units. One of the difficulties was the provision of adequate accommodation and appropriate agricultural buildings. Solutions varied from the communal use of existing buildings to the building of substantial houses. Lack of satisfactory accommodation remained a problem throughout the period of the smallholding movement, with poor quality bungalows still in use as late as 1957. After the Second World War there was a reversal of policy and part-time holdings were discouraged, with some of them being amalgamated. Except in a few instances co-operatives were not established, despite encouragement from central government

Various factors prevented the smallholding movement from fulfilling the hopes that had been held out at the beginning of the 19th century. Two world wars and the economic depression of the 1930s prevented long term consistency in the development of the movement, while the increasing commercialisation of agriculture doomed smallholdings along with other small farms. The holdings established in the 1920s did provide housing and employment for some returning servicemen, but the initiatives during the depression of the 1930s were less successful.

The seminar concluded with a discussion of many aspects of this episode in agricultural history, which combined social and agrarian experimentation and had significant physical and cultural effects on the rural scene.



Centre publications 2007-8

Staff

C. Dyer

Edited books

(with P. Coss and C. Wickham), *Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages* (Past and Present monograph, 2, Oxford, 2007).

The Self-Contained Village? The Social History of Rural Communities 1250-1900 (Hatfield, 2007).

Edited books (series editor)

A. Fleming and R. Hingley (eds), *Prehistoric and Roman Landscapes* (Macclesfield, 2007).

M. Gardiner and S. Rippon (eds), *Medieval Landscapes* (Macclesfield, 2007).

P.S. Barnwell and M. Palmer (eds), *Post-Medieval Landscapes* (Macclesfield, 2007).

Articles in journals

(with R. Jones and M. Page), 'Changing settlements and landscapes: medieval Whittlewood, its predecessors and successors', *Internet Archaeology*, 19 (2006),

'Conflict in the landscape : the enclosure movement in England, 1220-1349', *Landscape History*, 28 (2006), pp. 21-33.

'A Suffolk farmer in the fifteenth century', *Agricultural History Review*, 55, pt 1 (2007), pp. 1-22.

Obituary. Levi Fox, 1914-2006, *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 81 (2007), pp. 171-2.

Articles in edited volumes

'The language of oppression. The vocabulary of rents and services in England, 1000-1300', in M. Bourin and P. Martinez Sopena (eds), *Pour une anthropologie du prélèvement seigneurial dans les campagnes de l'Occident médiéval. Les mots, les temps, les lieux* (Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris, 2007), pp. 71-85.

'Economic history', in A. Deyermond (ed.), *A Century of Medieval Studies* (British Academy Centenary Monograph, Oxford, 2007), pp. 159-79.

'Introduction: Rodney Hilton, medieval historian'; 'The ineffectiveness of lordship in England, 1200-1400', in C. Dyer, P. Coss and C. Wickham (eds), *Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages* (Past and Present monograph, 2, Oxford, 2007), pp. 10-17; 69-86.

(with P. Schofield), 'Recent work on the agrarian history of medieval Britain', in I. Alfonso (ed.), *The Rural History of Medieval European Societies. Trends and Perspectives* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 21-55.

'Introduction'; 'Were late medieval villages "self-contained" ?'; 'Conclusion', in C. Dyer (ed.), *The Self-Contained Village? The Social History of Rural Communities 1250-1900* (Hatfield, 2007), pp. 1-5, 6-27, 138-41.

'Landscape and society at Bibury, Gloucestershire to 1540', in J. Bettey (ed.), *Archives and Local History in Bristol and Gloucestershire. Essays in Honour of David Smith* (Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Gloucester, 2007), pp. 62-77.

Book reviews

B. Lauriou, *Une Histoire Culinaire du Moyen Age*, in *English Historical Review*, 122 (2007), pp. 530-1.

P.H.W. Booth (ed.), *Accounts of the Manor and Hundred of Macclesfield*, in *English Historical Review*, 122 (2007), pp. 532-3.

M. Johnson, *Ideas of Landscape*, in *British Archaeology*, (July/August 2007), p. 54.

B. Campbell and K. Bartley, *England on the Eve of the Black Death*, in *Agricultural History Review*, 55 (2007), pp. 127-8.

A.R. and E.B. Dewindt, *Ramsey. The Lives of an English Fenland Town*, in *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), pp. 146-7.

A. J. Hopper

Articles

'The Clubmen of the West Riding of Yorkshire during the First Civil War,' in ed. S. Carpenter (ed.), *The English Civil War*, (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007), pp. 235-248.

'The Rebellion in Essex, 1648', 'The Siege of Colchester' and 'Colchester Surrenders to Parliament', in *The Literary Encyclopedia*.

'The Wortley Park Poachers and the Outbreak of the English Civil War,' in *Northern History*, 44.2 (September, 2007), pp. 93-114.

Reviews

J. Swann and B. Coward (eds), *Conspiracy and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution in European History Quarterly*, 38.3 (2008), pp. 470-1.

A. Cromartie, *The Constitutional Revolution: An Essay on the History of England, 1450-1642*, in *H-Net Reviews*.

J. Gurney, *Brave Community: The Digger Movement in the English Revolution* (Manchester, 2007) in *History*, 93.2 (2008), p.272.

P. Little (ed.), *The Cromwellian Protectorate* (Woodbridge, 2007), in *History*, 93, 310 (2008), pp. 274-5.

M. Wanklyn, *Decisive Battles of the English Civil Wars: Myth and Reality* (Barnsley, 2006), in *Midland History*, 32 (2007), pp. 177-8.

D. Farr, *Henry Ireton and the English Revolution* (Woodbridge, 2006), in *History*, 92.4 (2007), pp. 575-6.

L. Boothman and R. Hyde Parker (eds), *Savage Fortune: An Aristocratic Family in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Suffolk Records Society, 49, 2006), in *History*, 92.3 (2007), pp.396-7.

D. Cressy, *England on the edge. Crisis and Revolution 1640-1642* (Oxford, 2005), in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58.2 (2007), pp. 354-5.

K.D.M. Snell

Articles

‘1841 religion: a time to build and split’, *BBC Who Do You Think You Are? Magazine*, 1 (Oct. 2007), p. 65.

‘1851 religion: Nonconformists gain ground’, *BBC Who Do You Think You Are? Magazine*, 3 (Dec. 2007), p. 71.

‘1861 religion: renovation and reflection’, *BBC Who Do You Think You Are? Magazine*, 5 (Feb. 2008), p. 69.

‘The end of church rates’, *BBC Who Do You Think You Are? Magazine*, 7 (Spring, 2008), p. 67.

‘Disputes over burial rights’, *BBC Who Do You Think You Are? Magazine*, 9 (May, 2008), p. 69.

Edited Journal

Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture, 18:1 (April, 2007), 142 pp.

Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture, 18:2 (October, 2007), 134 pp.

Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture, 19:1 (April, 2008), 135 pp.

Honorary Visiting Fellows

Charles Phythian-Adams

Ritual constructions of society’, in Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (eds), *A Social History of England 1200-1500*, (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 369-82.

‘Differentiating provincial societies in English History: spatial contexts and cultural processes’, in Bill Lancaster, Diana Newton and Natasha Vall (eds), *An Agenda for Regional History* (Northumbria University, 2007), pp. 3-22.

‘The Northumbrian island’ in Robert Colls, *Northumbria: History and Identity 547-2000* (Chichester, 2007), pp. 334-59.

Graham Jones

Saints in the Landscape (Tempus, 2007).

with John Langton (eds), *Forests and Chases of England and Wales, c.1500-c.1850*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 2008).

Articles

‘The cult of St Michael in Britain’, in G. Otranto (ed.), *Transactions of the Conference on Sanctuaries of St Michael, Bari, 2005* (Bari, 2007).

‘St Nicholas, icon of mercantile virtues: transition and continuity of a European myth’, in R. Littlejohns and S. Soncici (eds), *Myths of Europe in Transition* (Amsterdam/New York, 2007).

Papers presented at conferences, seminars etc.

Staff

C. Dyer

‘Why we should remember the Peasants’ Revolt’, History Society of Chelmsford County High School for Girls, September 2007.

‘Comment on a paper by Andrew Reynolds’, Medieval Communities (in honour of Wendy Davies), University College London, September 2007.

‘The making of the Cotswold landscape’. 1000 years of the Landscape of Gloucestershire. Society for Landscape Studies, Cheltenham (University of Gloucestershire), October 2007.

‘A small town in Leicestershire - medieval Market Harborough’, Local History Day, Market Harborough Historical Society, November 2007.

‘John Heritage and his country: connecting a region with the international market’, *Pratique de Gestion des Acteurs Economiques: de l’Entreprise au Territoire (XIVe- XVIIe s.*, University of Paris 7 and the CNRS, November 2007.

(with Neil Christie) ‘New approaches to medieval landscape and settlement’, *Perceptions of Medieval Landscapes and Settlements*, Plenary Conference with the Medieval Settlement Research Group, Leicester, December 2007.

‘Economic and social changes and their impact on buildings’, *Inventing the Future. Buildings in a Changing Climate*, English Heritage, Royal Society, London, January 2008.

‘Diets of the poor in the later middle ages’, Late Medieval Seminar, Institute of Historical Research, University of London.

‘Crisis in English towns, 1350-1550’, *Deserted Medieval Towns*, Kellogg College, Oxford, February 2008.

‘Medieval villages: new approaches’, Victoria County History seminar series, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, February 2008.

‘Trading and farming at the end of the middle ages: John Heritage and Cotswold society’, London Society for Medieval Studies, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, March 2008.

‘A window into peasant England: the uses of manorial documents’, *Manorial Documents*, Kellogg College, Oxford, March 2008.

‘New thinking about medieval settlements, and how it applies to Leicestershire’, *The Archaeology of Medieval Leicestershire*, Shire Hall, Leicester, April 2008.

‘The diet of the poor in medieval England’, *Food and Drink*, Kellogg College, Oxford, April 2008.

‘Kings Norton: its place in its region, 1100-1540’, Restoration Lecture Series, in association with Newman College, Kings Norton (Worcs.) parish church, April 2008.

‘William Bradwey (d.1488), Campden’s richest inhabitant?’ *Campden and District Historical and Archaeological Society*, April 2008.

‘Landscape and settlement in medieval Shropshire’, *Shropshire Archaeological Society Annual Lecture*, April 2008.

‘How peasants made their own history in late medieval England’, Denys Hay Lecture, University of Edinburgh, April 2008.

‘Were medieval English peasants successful cultivators and managers?’ *Medieval Peasants Revisited*, Huntington Library, Los Angeles, May 2008.

‘Methods and problems for the study of social mobility, XIII-XIV centuries’, *La Mobilita Sociale nel Medioevo*, Ecole Française de Rome, Rome, May 2008.

‘Villages in crisis: social dislocation and desertion, 1300-1550’, *Medieval Villages Revisited*, Medieval Settlement Research Group and the Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester, June 2008.

Andrew Hopper

‘The Self-fashioning of gentry Turncoats during the First Civil War’, Early Modern Social and Economic History Seminar, University of Cambridge (October 2008).

‘General Fairfax and the Siege of Colchester’, Friends of Colchester Museums (June 2008).

‘General Fairfax and the Battle of Maidstone’, Maidstone Museum (March 2008).

‘Turncoats and Renegadoes: Changing Sides during the English Civil War’, Brasenose College, University of Oxford (February 2008).

‘The Role of General Fairfax in the Second Civil War’, Canterbury Christchurch University (December 2007).

‘The Wortley Park Poachers and the Outbreak of the English Civil War’, (University of Nottingham (October 2007).

Richard Jones

‘Anglo-Saxon North’, Theoretical Archaeology Group (University of York).

‘Definir l’espace: le fumier, les champs ouverts et la société rurale médiévale’. *Pratiques de l’espace. Archéologie et histoire des territoires médiévaux* (Université de Caen).

‘Interdisciplinarity’, Looking to the Future, Society for Medieval Archaeology (University College London).

‘Contrasting Patterns of Village and Hamlet Desertion in England’, ‘Deserted Villages Revisited’ (University of Leicester).

‘Landscape, New Approaches to the Study of the past’, (University of Nottingham).

Keith Snell

The plenary lecture, 'Voices of the poor: 'home' and belonging, 'friends' and community', to a conference on 'English Pauper Letters in Comparative Perspective', at The Arcadeon, Hagen (Germany), 4-7 October 2007.

'Churchyard memorials: what can they tell us about our past', for the University Open Day, 2008.

Honorary visiting fellows

C. Phythian-Adams

'Some notes on identifying and differentiating the persistence of English regional societies';
'Discussion points on the historical origins of 'informal' regional societies in England';
'History/myth and the transition from ethnic peoples to regions';
Contributions as invited discussant to international conference series on 'Regions and Regionalism': Colloquium I: 'What is a Region? Historical, Cultural and Mythical Constructs of Regional Identity'; University of Lancaster, November, 2006.

Graham Jones

'The power of Helen's name: heritages and legacy, myth and reality', (International Symposium, Niš and Byzantium).
'Mapping the Forests: problems and possibilities', (Leeds).
'Bartholomew entered a temple: churches, settlements and dedications', (Leicester).
'Church dedications in Leicestershire', (Leicester).
'Thomas, James, Mary and Luke: patronal saints of the South Yorkshire coalfield', (Worsbrough).
'Saints of Islwyn', (Cefn Fforest).

Prizes and Awards

John Nichols Prize

This year the Prize has been won by **Drew Campbell** for his essay 'The Politics of Improvement: debating the Ashby Canal, 1781-1794'.

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 20000 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.

John Hurst Dissertation Prize 2007

The Medieval Settlement Research Group awards this prize annually for 'the best Masters dissertation on any theme in the field of medieval settlement and landscape in Britain and Ireland (c. AD 400-1600)'. **Michael Busby**, one of the Centre's students, gained the award for 2007 for his dissertation 'Leicestershire settlements through the late 14th-century poll tax records – urban or rural?' He offers the following observations:

I was honoured to gain this prize, which was set up 'to encourage new and young scholars in the field'. I hasten to say that I qualified as 'new'; 'young' I am not, as my children will attest! Previous awards have recognised research focused on archaeological themes, so it is particularly pleasing to have been successful with work written from a local history perspective. Many 'Friends' will have grappled, late at night, with the challenge of reducing 30000 words of elegantly crafted prose down to the 20000 words required for their dissertations. Although its original magnificence is somewhat dimmed by being further condensed to three paragraphs, the argument of my dissertation was summarised in the Friends' Newsletter of 2007.

Michael Busby

Fellowship of the Society of Genealogists

Awarded to **Beryl Schumer**.

Mastering the MA by ISS

One encounters a number of questions regarding the MA by Individual Supervised Study. What are the advantages and disadvantages over the 'regular' course? How does one come to feel a part of a student group? Was it possible to build good, helpful relationships with tutors? How was the lecture material delivered? Questions such as these indicate need for a broader and deeper understanding of the learning methods employed in the program.

The Centre for English Local History does not entertain two MA programs. There is one program. However, MA candidates have the choice of two distinct learning methods each offering various advantages. The key word is 'learn.' The term 'learn' has a number of facets but the fitting one for the MA by ISS is 'a change in behavior.' Successful candidates undergo a number of changes in behavior, discipline being the first and foremost. The 35000-word dissertation requirement can be daunting and it requires considerable discipline of time and focus. One may be surprised to learn this route to the MA conforms to the traditional Classical model for pursuing a PhD where the focus throughout is upon writing accompanied by preliminary training and course work. It is a Socratic experience and the academic staff allied with the course is well equipped for maximizing this course benefit for the candidate. The individual members of the department are well known for being 'active, concerned, and accountable' within both the University and the larger academic communities in which they participate. All are approachable, prolific writers and mentors. The result is personalized tutorials aligned to the needs of the candidate. Moreover, students can dispense with the frivolous 'sucking up' exercises that have become so commonplace and annoying to both tutors and fellow students.

One must be cautious. The quality of the experience depends upon the candidate. The unknown element in the process is not the tutor. Not surprising, the art of framing relevant questions worthy of tutorial can be frustratingly painful for the candidate early in the course. Once mastered, this skill becomes the tool for engaging one's tutor in meaningful dialogue, which brings this conversation to another point of learning. Not everything discovered in the course relates directly to local history. One often learns valuable

personal lessons about matters that one might rather avoid, i.e., issues of judgment or handling personal criticism. Be assured, student patronization by tutors and staff common to some universities is unknown in and about the Marc Fitch House. The learning method employed is 'by individual supervised study' and the process is indeed individual *and* supervised. There is no place to hide. Candidates embracing the process emerge confident, possessing realistic assessments of their abilities often accompanied by notions of how to employ their skills going forward. It comes as no surprise that the percentage of PhD candidates emerging from the MA by ISS is significantly higher than for graduates of the 'taught' MA course.

Arguably, 'taught' graduate courses are more financially rewarding and academically efficient; instruction via individual supervision is costly and time-consuming. This may well be the case at other institutions but the School for Historical Studies does not suffer from a plethora of newly minted, 'taught' PhDs. The Marc Fitch House is filled with capable and experienced tutors possessing classically earned credentials. However, one should not conclude that the 'taught' MA course is inferior or at least not the course taught at Leicester. The generous amount of fieldwork in addition to the Devon Field Course is essentially individual supervised study. The 'taught' MA and the MA by ISS are two sides of the same coin each sharing elements in common. This blended delivery of the instruction running concurrently and shared at specific points between the two is quite clever. It negates the academically and financially inefficient elements of individual supervised instruction. Additionally, it provides introductions to a wider and diverse group of fellow students.

How I came to the MA by ISS course might be considered unusual. However, my experience was common to many prospective students. I spent several years standing in a sort of 'no man's' land wanting and not wanting to apply. Application deadlines came and went. I always found some excuse. In February 2006, without a clue as to why, I completed and submitted the application knowing that it was all but impossible for a university to process an application with only two weeks remaining before the deadline. I was wrong. I received an email on Monday, 6 March, announcing my acceptance. Furthermore, there was an important class meeting 11 March regarding the Devon Field Course. Three days

later, I was on a flight to Heathrow. I reasoned that I could still back out if I did not like the class. The same reasoning followed me to Devon and the field course there, Leicester and the summer course, and a visit following the three-day exam. I was hooked. There were nine flights to Heathrow and 40-days and 40-nights spent wandering the English countryside within the great bend of the River Thames. There were days lounging about the manuscript and map rooms of the Bodleian, local history libraries, record offices, walking fields, and sharing meals and stories with the several sons and grandsons of tenant farmers still ploughing the fields of the parish under research.

Finally, the best version of the MA course is a matter of personal choice. I would have chosen the MA by ISS even if my home were near to Leicester. The 35000-word dissertation provided a broad canvas upon which I could develop ideas, drilling deeply into the sources and creating at least a two-dimensional work sprinkled with an occasional 3-D moment. This MA dissertation will become the research model for a PhD when I can no longer find a suitable excuse to avoid the application.

Phillip Ramsey - U.S.A.

Devon Field-Course: April 2008

Fact, fiction and perception - reflections on our Devon field trip April 2008

Local history, we were told, has much in common with storytelling. Both combine experience, fact, perception and, in some cases, utter nonsense, to persuade the audience to accept the presenter's point of view.

We experienced the storyteller's approach to history, fantasy and the human condition on our first evening in Exeter when we gate-crashed the Society for Storytelling's annual conference. This friendly, eccentrically-dressed bunch of ageing hippies achieved the remarkable feat of making us local historians appear almost normal, and given that during the week we almost demolished a clapper bridge, set off a church alarm and were evicted from Exeter Cathedral, we must be very abnormal indeed.

But local history is firmly based on evidence. Not for us are the flights of fancy in which storytellers can indulge. Our task for the week was to gather evidence to satisfy the

course's requirement to explore two themes, two periods and two locations.

Our first theme was the brewing industry. At first sight, this might appear an odd choice in a county so well known for its cider, but our study was prompted by the sheer weight of place name evidence. Brewing industry-related names abound – Buckland Brewer, Beer, Beer Down, Beer Farm, Collybeer, Rockbeare, Wigbeare and many others. This compares with only one cider related place name – Appledore.

As our itinerary did not include a brewery we were obliged to pursue our research in the county's public houses and bars. Our early experiences were not encouraging. The campus offered little that resembled beer, let alone a local product. The pub down the road offered only national brands. The same was true in Toshspam, Hattelchampton, Tattisock, Bidefuddled and Topsy St. John. It wasn't until we discovered the Double Locks on Exeter's canal that we were able to declare the brewing industry in Devon to be in rude health (and ruder and ruder as the evening went on). Here, in this ramshackle pub, with its jumble of rooms (and more and more jumbled as the evening went on), we were offered a staggering range of locally brewed beers from the Otter and O'Hanlan's breweries. Oh, and a local cider, too. I think it was called Old Gnats. If you want to visit the Seeing Double Locks it would be best to do so by boat as it is almost impossible to find by road. And when was anyone ever arrested for being drunk in charge of a boat?

Still thinking of the local economy, we decided to research another major source of income – the cream tea industry. We did find physical evidence but unfortunately, the promised opportunities for quality assessment did not materialise. Nonetheless, we are pleased to report that the means of achieving excessive cholesterol consumption are as numerous in Devon as ever.

Having researched matters corporeal, we felt we should address the spiritual, so it was just as well that our itinerary included innumerable churches. A couple of these revealed an early trend towards the redevelopment of brownfield sites. No bother with planning regulations or public consultations – just pile some soil on top of an old Celtic place of worship and build your church. However, an elevated site is not the sole prerogative of the redeveloper. Visiting Brentor's aptly named St. Michael of the Rock is not for the faint-hearted. This tiny church perches precariously on the top of an enormous mountain,

accessible only with pickaxes and crampons. Had we not been roped together, I doubt that we would have made it to the top, and certainly, some would not have come safely home. St. Michael's serves several villages in this extensive parish, but is miles from any of them. Old Devonians must have been very devout. Nowadays, services are only held here in the summer. Clearly, present day worshippers are wimps by comparison with their ancestors.

Our week in Devon was jam-packed with interest and incident (no incidents really, but it alliterates nicely). I'd like to have been able to report that we had been incarcerated in Dartmoor prison or chased by the hound of the Baskervilles, but, I can't, not truthfully, at least, and I wouldn't want to undermine the credibility of this report by making things up. But then, I suppose, it might qualify us for entry to the Society for Storytelling.

Margaret Hawkins

Book reviews

Graham Jones, *Saints in the landscape* (Tempus, 2007), 256 pp.
ISBN 978 0 7524. 4108 5.

Many readers of the *Newsletter* are aware of Dr Graham Jones' enthusiasm and knowledge of the cult of Saints. This book, which continues his work on the subject, is closely bound up with his involvement with the TASC project. The book reviews a wide range of dedications from early Christian times to the 19th century but deals mainly with the period up to the Norman Conquest. Geographically, coverage is concentrated on England and Wales though there is regular reference to the cults of west European countries and even, on occasions, as far as Turkey and Syria.

The primary objective of TASC has been, and still is, to map the distribution of dedications, from which it is then possible to study and seek reasons for their distribution. It is not surprising that some 28 pages of the book are devoted to maps; a few, such as the one illustrating proliferation of dedications to David in the southern half of Wales have been relatively easy to explain because of their relationship to the cathedral at St Davids; in most cases, however, distribution is less defined and therefore raises a

greater level of speculation and discussion. It is discussion on the possibility of alternative answers that makes this book so interesting.

The book is divided into three main sections, the first of which provides much information on the popularity of names, how fashions changed over the centuries and how devotions came to play such an important part in medieval societies. The second part puts greater emphasis on the powers of the saints and the triumph of Christianity over earlier religions. The cycle of festivals is considered here from the aspect of their religious significance and again, in the final section, where the emphasis is on the association of cults to important occasions in the farming year as well as other more secular events, such as markets, fairs and hunting.

This is a wide-ranging study that adds to our knowledge of dedications. The author does not pretend to provide all the answers to those subjects that are discussed. On the contrary, he goes out of his way to point out the limitations of current knowledge and offers a warm welcome to anyone who would like to work on the project.

David Holmes

Christopher Dyer (ed.) *Landscape History after Hoskins* (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2007).

Andrew Fleming and Richard Hingley (eds)
Vol. I *Prehistoric and Roman Landscapes*.

This volume is the first of a series of three which contain a selection of the papers presented to a conference held at the University of Leicester in 2005 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *The Making of the English Landscape*, by W. G. Hoskins. As the editors of this volume explain in the Preface, Hoskins believed that the roots of the English landscapes were "in their Englishness", and he devoted only twenty-odd pages to prehistoric and Roman times: it was time to reflect the progress made by the studies of archaeologists and palaeo-environmentalists. This is the aim of the eleven contributions in this first volume, even if they take us a long way from Hoskins's first chapter.

Andrew Fleming explains Hoskins's choice: he had to believe in a wilderness for his pioneering Anglo-Saxons to clear. According to him, the "dark-haired, long-headed Celts" (were they really weeny, weedy and weak?) had not done much to "reclaim land", had an elusive role

in landscape history, and had mostly fled to Wales where they became natural cattle herders in the Middle Ages. It goes without saying that nowadays the interest in continuity, as shown in this book, is reviving from different perspectives.

Michael J. Allen and Rob Scaife show that the work by environmental archaeologists over the past twenty - five years has radically altered the earlier perception of the chalk downland as a beautiful open natural landscape created by clearing the oak forest, which supposedly succeeded the cold and open landscape left after the withdrawal of the ice-sheets. In reality, land snail analysis and pollen analysis in soil buried under archaeological monuments (which escaped the erosion process) have shown the existence of a dense post-glacial woodland cover (mostly pine and hazel) cleared in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age.

Richard Bradley's focus is on the cursuses, in the period between 4000 and 1500 BC. These earthworks, usually interpreted as processional ways, seem to have emphasised the importance of natural features (such as rivers), and to have stamped a new identity on their immediate surroundings.

Nick Card of the Orkney Archaeological Trust gives an example of the results of a geophysical survey embedded in a research strategy: many structures appear in places which were supposed to be empty.

David Yates presents studies of the "coaxial field systems", rectilinear land plots not so long ago referred to as *Celtic fields*, now recognised as a mainly Bronze Age phenomenon. Since the 1970s, as a result of developer-funded open area excavations, many were discovered in S.-E. England, south of a line between the Bristol Channel and the Wash, on the coast or beside major rivers or estuaries, suggesting a special affinity and exchange links with the continent.

Hoskins' 'Midland Plain' is Patrick Clay's subject, questioning whether Hoskins's picture of these inhospitable, lately penetrated lands, is accurate. Here again, surveys and rescue excavations suggest a different pattern: these lands are liable to waterlogging nowadays; however, after a covering of natural woodland, they gave a well drained natural humus, good for farming, but liable to degradation. So, they were neither avoided, nor consistently exploited, and, from the Early Neolithic, they show exploitation patterns which vary from area to area.

Toby Driver from the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales rediscovers, with the help of some impressive photographs, the complex hillfort architecture in North Ceridigion, on the Cardigan Bay. He shows that, more than their military capabilities, these Iron Age hillforts, with their 'monumental façades', were supposed to maximise visual impact to those approaching them. By emulating the physical appearance of hillforts existing in more advanced parts of the Iron Age world, they reinforced local chiefly power. Architectural symbolism had thus become a component in social control: an idea that we shall encounter in the four last chapters dealing with the Roman period.

Richard Hingley suggests that Hoskins's emphasis on post-Roman discontinuity supplemented his claim for the limited impact on the landscape of the pre-Roman and Roman peoples. By the mid-1970s, changing perceptions and the collection of new data created a 'quantitative explosion' of archaeological sites: a change of focus occurred, with a broadening-out of interest from a fixation on the military, the administration and the relatively "Romanised", to the population in general; and from the overall economic models to a focus on the symbolic and ritual significance of place and region.

In Adam Rogers' paper "Beyond the Economic in the Roman Fenland: Reconsidering Land, Water, Hoards and Religion", the evidence discussed suggests that a concentration upon the economic aspects has created a bias: for instance, Roman coin hoards placed within prehistoric monuments, considered to be savings hidden at recognisable markers during periods of war or invasion, may just as well have been involved in ritualised activity as a way of expressing power by a display of wealth, as in the pre-Roman era; engineering works, such as the still mysterious Car Dyke, may also have had the effect of alienating people from their land, in an attempt to create a new symbolic order.

Irene Schüfer-Kolb considered Roman iron production in the East Midlands and Forest of Dean and her meticulous description of three major Roman iron production districts, demonstrates that even if the archaeological evidence is not visible above ground (Hoskins's benchmark for landscape history), iron production had a lasting impact on the modern landscape, and provides testimony for the beginnings of an industrial landscape.

Steven Willis considers the perception of urban and rural. After recapitulating the classical view of the political and social role of Roman towns as a vehicle of the ideology of the empire, the author insists on the new perspectives opened up by the considerable new data given thanks the PPG 16 (Planning Policy Guideline) - as well as its equivalents in the Netherlands and France. We now have a better knowledge of the 'rural' aspects of the Roman towns *intra muros* (maybe a heritage of the Iron Age *oppida*), and of the suburbs and urban fringes. The claim of the necessity of a study of the 'underclass' in their suburbs is very persuasive indeed.

This first volume offers no general conclusion; however, the leading ideas appear clearly, as I have tried to show in this review.

Jean-Louis Cadoux (Université de Picardie-Jules-Verne).

Mark Gardiner and Stephen Rippon (eds)
Vol. II *Medieval Landscapes*

Volume 2 contains fourteen chapters, grouped broadly by theme into four parts, plus an introduction and a conclusion by the editors.

Notwithstanding their genesis as papers presented at a conference entitled 'W.G. Hoskins and the Making of the English Landscape', only one of the chapters devotes more than a brief introductory reference to the great man (and some not even that) before rushing on to concentrate, as their brief required, on recent research and issues of current importance. However the list of authors and their subjects is itself a telling comment on the ways in which landscape history has changed since Hoskins' day. The contributors are mostly archaeologists, with only one social and economic historian among them (our own Mark Page), and their preoccupations are sometimes more directed towards the currently fashionable cultural and anthropological approaches than Hoskins himself might have been comfortable with. Nevertheless there is much here for even an unreconstructed, stubbornly empiricist economic historian to enjoy.

Part I has an urban theme: Terry Slater investigates regional variety in town plans throughout the whole of western Europe; Keith Lilley and two colleagues from Queens University use GIS analysis of modern maps to produce impressively detailed plans of the Edwardian towns of north Wales in c.1330;

Oliver Creighton describes the variety of types of defensive works erected by medieval English and Welsh towns and considers their cultural significance, while Nick Higham explains the slow emergence of towns in Cheshire and Lancashire between 900 and 1500 as a consequence of the less commercialised rural societies of the hinterlands they served.

In Part 2 regional landscape variety is studied and explanations for it are proposed. Brian Roberts uses distribution maps of the sort produced by him and Stuart Wrathmell in their famous *Atlas of Rural Settlement* to illuminate a variety of issues relating to the origins of nucleated villages. Tom Williamson reprises his theory, about which he spoke to us in his 2005 Hoskins Day lecture, that nucleated villages and champion landscapes were responses to the difficulties of farming in areas of heavy, wet clays and extensive meadows. His evidence came from the south east Midlands and East Anglia: Steve Rippon looks at the South West and suggests that open field farming was less prevalent there because the region's system of convertible husbandry made it unnecessary. He also argues for greater landlord influence over the landscape, by studying the very different landscapes which were created in adjacent manors belonging to different lords, when the north Somerset Levels were drained in the eighth century. Edward Martin uses Historic Landscape Characterisation data produced by the Historic Field Systems of East Anglia project to propose Scandinavian settlement as a possible trigger for the creation of common fields in some parts of that region but not in others.

Part 3 continues the focus on regional landscape variety, but narrows it to the level of settlement morphology. Mark Page and Richard Jones warn that 18th- and 19th-century village plans do not necessarily provide a reliable guide to their original medieval layout, by integrating archaeological and historical investigations to show that many of the Whittlewood villages underwent dramatic changes in form between the late Anglo-Saxon and Modern periods. Piers Dixon describes the quite different settlement history of Strath Don, in Aberdeenshire, where comprehensive re-ordering of the landscape in the 18th and 19th centuries wiped the previous record clean. Again combining fieldwork and documentary research, he reveals a previous settlement pattern, which had been in a 'constant state of flux since the medieval period', with more

than one cycle of settlement planning and dispersion. Mark Gardiner narrows the focus still further by considering the origins of manor houses and the longevity of occupation of manorial sites. He finds that they were far more impermanent than is usually supposed, being established or improved, or abandoned or downgraded, whenever changing tenurial and economic conditions dictated.

Part 4 caters for the 'developing interest in the phenomenology, symbolism and design of landscapes'. Briony McDonagh investigates the spatial relationships between manor houses, churches and villages in the late medieval and early modern Yorkshire Wolds. She argues that the frequent co-location of manor-house with church, often away from the village centre, was a means by which lords asserted ownership of the church and distanced themselves from the people, and thus 'actively negotiated and maintained' their power and status. Robert Liddiard surveys the recent scholarship on 'medieval designed landscapes', broadly meaning the deliberate beautifying of a great building's surroundings. As a medieval phenomenon this was quite unsuspected in Hoskins' time, but it has now been discerned in the environs of many major medieval houses and castles. Finally, Paul Everson and David Stocker discuss the landscapes surrounding monastic precincts, specifically extra-mural chapels, through the exemplar of St Leonard's chapel outside Kirkstead Abbey in Lincolnshire.

Matt Tompkins

P. S. Barnwell & Marilyn Palmer (eds)
Vol. III *'Post-Medieval Landscapes'*

This volume covers the period after 1500, acknowledged to be the most relevant to the formation of the landscape archaeological record. Its three parts address respectively 'Rural', 'Urban' and 'Perceived' landscapes and contain thirteen papers, together with 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion'.

Following Marilyn Palmer's thoughtful and stimulating Introduction', in *'Hidden Boundaries/Hidden Landscapes'*, Martin Roe considers lead-mining in the Yorkshire Dales. Methods progressed from shaft mining, with horse gins to the driving of horse levels. Mining rights were initially licensed in *meers* of 30 or 32 yards, (27.5 or 29m) in length with a *quarter cord* on either side of the vein, later in larger blocks. Roe

challenges the assertion of Raistrick (1970), that mining destroys its own past. Both underground and surface features should be considered to obtain a true understanding of the mining landscape.

Adam Longcroft argues that specialists often overlook the close connection that once existed between 'building' and 'place'. The built environment is crucial in developing a sense of place, giving localities their unique character. Hearth tax returns show variations in wealth in different areas. The popularity of by-industries in pastoral areas had a significant influence on house design, also the proliferation of small farms in wood pasture areas.

Jonathan Finch selects seven country houses for use as a pilot. He asserts that the traditional approach to the study of estate models has been to emphasise the physical and cultural boundaries between lord and peasant, exemplified by the park pale; yet the economic and social links, whereby the estate and its workers sustained the big house can be shown to be more significant. Tiered, stratified social groups created variegated landscapes.

Robert Silvester shows that much of Wales reflects the 'Ancient Countryside' of western England. Parliamentary (and other) enclosure, the effects of extraction, and Victorian farming patterns, have all contributed to change followed by 'encroachment' of the landless and poor on to the commons and waste. The flow became considerable, often starting with 'overnight houses'. Settlements were typically cottages with around two acres of land, forming what were 'landscapes of the poor'.

David Hey focuses on the Grouse Moors of the Peak District. Pre-parliamentary enclosure wastes became carefully controlled landscapes. Major landowners could form compact moorland estates. Then came the Game Act of 1831, followed by the breech-loading shotgun and with the railway, the battle for 'the right to roam' began. Areas were set apart for rabbit breeding. The sport declined after the 1920s, when culinary tastes changed.

John Sheail's paper, *'Hoskins and Historical Ecology'*, shows the impact of a new discipline upon the study of landscape. Early pioneers are identified, together with the setting-up of the Nature Conservancy. The need for active management of dedicated areas was recognised. Leading figures in their respective disciplines began to meet. Rackham advised on coppicing,

Hoskins focussed on hedgebank maps. The importance of old grasslands was acknowledged.

The urban section begins with R. W. Hoyles' *'New Markets and Fairs in the Yorkshire Dales, 1550-1750'*. The 16th century saw new markets appear in the area, also cattle fairs, often prompted by an increasing population. New market places were provided by local initiative or wealthy landowners and led to the economic development of the area.

Jon Stobart considers Georgian Chester. In his thoughtful chapter, Stobart adopts Everitt's assertion of a causal link between town and hinterland. What defined the hinterland? Paasi's 'territorial' and 'conceptual' shape concepts are considered. Interestingly, transport links with North Wales were far stronger than those with east Cheshire and Lancashire, so county boundaries were often irrelevant in shaping the 'conceived region'. Links between town and country were fundamental in shaping the townscape.

Victorian Croydon is the subject of Nicholas Goddard's consideration of three issues: water supply, sewage disposal and preserving open space. The delicate balance between an urbanising society and its natural environment is examined, amongst conflicting interests, while the provision of improved amenities often had unforeseen consequences, including population growth.

Part 3 begins with *'Wilderness and Waste - The Weird and the Wonderful: Views of the Midland Region'*. The formidable Della Hooke begins with a synoptic view of past perceptions of wilderness. Often places of morbid suspicion and fear, steeped in legend and folklore, remote wastes came to be valued for their mineral and sporting wealth. Ownership was often contested, whilst poaching was rife in many areas. Nevertheless, wild landscapes came to be endowed with nostalgic loyalty and there was often strong resistance to attempts at enclosure. Such areas have often now become valued amenities.

Nicholas Watkins shows how, from the second half of the eighteenth century, the market towns of Melton Mowbray and Market Harborough were inundated by a hunting élite. In this scholarly chapter, the author examines the interaction of hunting, modernisation, landscape and national identity in the making and representation of the hunting landscape, with

numerous examples of the sport's treatment by leading artists of the day.

In a cameo of the life and identity of Francis Kilvert, the sensitive Victorian cleric and diarist, Philip Dunham depicts how, whether 'up the dingle' or striding purposefully through the borderland towards his New Jerusalem, Kilvert is portrayed as effecting 'an unfolding and interweaving of different narratives of self and landscape', in his unceasing quest for self-improvement.

In the last of the substantive chapters, Kate Tiller revisits the Northern Oxfordshire in which Hoskins wrote his seminal work, considering his 1953-54 interpretation of the area, that of his contemporaries and the subsequent changes of the last 50 years or so. Whilst Hoskins shied away from contemporary uses, others afforded a more realistic treatment, recognizing that, to quote Christopher Taylor, "Perhaps we have achieved in our landscape what we deserve."

In his Conclusion, P. S. Barnwell reviews the 13 substantive chapters but perhaps somewhat faintly praises the contribution made by Hoskins in stimulating, not just the mainstream of landscape studies but also the various facets of the subject, as exemplified by the wide-ranging topics of the authors, so that few who have become involved since his day can have failed to be motivated by his visionary approach.

Noel Tornbohm

Recently Completed Theses

Pamela J. Fisher

The Politics of Sudden Death: The Office and Role of the Coroner in England and Wales, 1726-1888.

The office of coroner has attracted little attention from academic historians. This thesis presents the first comprehensive study of the role across England and Wales between 1726 and 1888. It engages with, and throws new light on, some of the major themes that run through 18th- and 19th-century British history: popular politics, the rise of democracy, the growth of the state and the development of separate professional spheres. Petty rivalries were confronted, as the developing professions of law and medicine jostled to claim this office as their birthright, but the coroners were also minor players on a much larger stage.

They had to bear some of the pain of the many conflicts that emerged as society tried to define the level and nature of services to be funded from taxation, and to strike a balance between local and central control, and between lay and professional involvement.

This thesis explains how local structures of power and authority affected many aspects of the role, including the selection of the coroner, the types of death investigated and the nature and frequency of medical testimony admitted. It explores how a medieval system was adapted to suit changing needs, how it could be used to challenge the actions of those who had a duty of care to the community and how financial impositions could restrict the inquest's utility. It provides the first detailed geographic assessment of the role of county magistrates in defining when an inquest should be held, and identifies the startling possibility that some county magistrates may deliberately have sought to establish a system that would ensure that certain murders would never be discovered.

David A. Holmes

'Development of the East Midlands boot and shoe industry in a national perspective, 1815-1914'

In 1815, a number of wholesale boot and shoe manufacturers were active in Northampton, which was the most important centre outside London. Leicester, at that time, was the leading hosiery centre with only sufficient shoemakers to satisfy the needs of the local population. By the end of the century, half the national production facilities were located in the East Midlands along with the majority of large multiple retail firms. This thesis explores the development of the industry in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire and compares similarities and differences in approach that were exhibited by firms in the two counties, and in so doing, charts the transition of shoemaking from craft trade to mechanised industry, with all the problems that this entailed.

A completely new industry grew up in Leicester. Development was so successful that the shoe industry became the major employer during the 1870s, specialising in cheap children's and ladies footwear. Distribution developed alongside production in a way that created the major industry centre, attracting supply trades to the region.

Northampton was the centre of hand-sewn shoemaking up to the 1850s with

entrepreneurs sending work to villages for assembly. The growth of producers in Northamptonshire towns and villages was a feature of the industry's change after 1850. Much of this growth was dependent on sales to distribution firms in Leicester who required increasing quantities of affordable men's and youths' boots.

The thesis examines the interaction of many aspects of changing technology in a changing market, the role and limitations of mechanisation and growth of understanding in the importance of producing consistent products to satisfy an increasingly sophisticated mass market. All these problems were resolved within a framework of evolving industrial relations.

David Sheppard

'Techniques for Reconstructing Landscapes. A Study of Allesley, Coundon and Stoneleigh Parishes in the Warwickshire Arden'

This thesis demonstrates that private researchers with limited resources can use computer-based methods to reconstruct and understand old landscapes in the greatest detail and to the highest accuracy that the documentary evidence allows. The most important feature is the development of a new technique, which uses inexpensive computer-aided design software to transcribe, analyse and present maps that are accurate, detailed and informative.

The development of these methods was based on a study area in north Warwickshire, which comprises the historical parishes of Allesley and Coundon and the northern part of Stoneleigh parish, almost all of which now lies within the city of Coventry. The new technique was used to reconstruct a sequence of detailed maps which show the changing landscape of this area from about 1600 to the early twentieth century.

Several contemporary surveys were analysed and presented on these maps to illustrate some aspects of the local history. The sparseness of the documentary evidence did not allow a continuous narrative, but the new technique illuminated selected themes in ways that traditional methods have not. These themes included landholdings, land use and land value in the 1652 enclosure of the open field of Allesley, the 1626 and 1809 surveys of Allesley and the c.1840 tithe surveys of the study area. The thesis concludes by analysing the geographical

characteristics of Allesley and Coundon that may relate to a much earlier landscape, although a speculative reconstruction was not attempted because of the need for substantial extra research beyond the scope of this thesis.

M A Dissertations 2007

This year's Richard McKinley Prize for the best dissertation was won jointly by Peter Jennings and Hubertus Drobner.

Freda Raphael

'An Exploration of the Life and Opinions of John Smedley (1803-74), Inventor of the Mild System of Hydropathy, in Relation to the Development of Water Cures in Matlock Bank and Matlock Bath 1697-1874'.

An assessment of the background, attitudes and achievements of John Smedley (1803-74) woollen underwear manufacturer of Lea Bridge, Derbyshire, and an exploration into the reasons why, in middle age, he decided to concentrate his energies into developing his own system of the then fashionable water therapy known as hydropathy, rather than continue to exploit the market for well-designed underwear, in which he had become a market leader. This decision halted his plans to develop the hamlet of Lea Bridge in a manner which could have been similar to the development of the neighbouring Derwent valley settlements of Cromford and Belper. Lea Bridge has remained a hamlet, but Matlock Bank, where Smedley's hydropathic establishment developed, has become a small town.

Smedley learned about hydropathy through his own and his family's medical experiences, and so this study also explores some of the medical practices people believed and endured during the 18th and 19th centuries. Similarly, aspects of the water cure in England are explored, especially in Matlock Bath, from 1697 when the thermal springs began to be developed, but with reference also to Bath in Somerset, and Buxton in Derbyshire.

John Smedley seems to have left few personal records, apart from chance observations in his life's work *Practical Hydropathy. Including Plans of Baths and Remarks on Diet, Clothing and Habits of Life* which he published 1862-73. His observations have been compared with other

contemporary writings in diaries, travel accounts, appraisals of spas and watering places, popular household and medical books, and the novels of Jane Austen, Charles Dickens and Tobias Smollett.

Richard Stone

'Woodland in the East Staffordshire Landscape'.

Staffordshire was the second most wooded county of Domesday England. This rich resource provided preserves for hunting; timber for buildings; underwood for fencing and fuel; wood pasture, pannage and winter fodder for livestock. Medieval East Staffordshire was particularly well wooded. For over seven centuries forest law protected both venison and vert in Needwood Forest, a hunting chase created by Henry de Ferrers soon after the Conquest. The latest volume of the *Victoria County History of Staffordshire* (Volume 10) covers the administration of Needwood Forest in detail. Staffordshire Record Society's *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* series reproduces a wide range of relevant primary documentary sources including pipe rolls, close and patent rolls, and pleas of the forest. In 1993, English Nature published the results of a survey to identify ancient woodland in Staffordshire. Using this inventory as a baseline, the dissertation supplements published and unpublished documentary sources (for example: manorial accounts, inquisitions post mortem, estate surveys, enclosure awards, and tithe maps held in the County Record Office) with topography and fieldwork to compare surviving ancient woods with woodland recorded in the Domesday survey. It asks why medieval Staffordshire was so well wooded and why some ancient woodland survived. In exploring the factors influencing woodland clearance, a chronology emerges linked to the ebb and flow of population; tensions between the regulation and vigorous defence of common rights; the demands of agrarian economics and the pursuit of hunting. Relics of wood pasture and former coppice are identified. Settlement patterns and field boundaries, traceable in every parish, reveal how the present-day landscape of East Staffordshire evolved. Woodland is the natural climate vegetation of the British Isles. Its distribution, use, and clearance are particularly significant in understanding the

landscape, social, and economic history of Staffordshire.

Hubertus Drobner

‘St Willibrord’s Calendar and the mutual veneration of local saints in Britain and on the Continent’.

The veneration of saints is a particularly apt subject for local history, because all cults of saints originate from and relate to specific locations. On the basis of that conviction, the thesis investigates a double movement: how the veneration of local saints from the continent migrated to the British Isle, and, conversely, how the veneration of British saints travelled to the continent.

Both the private channels of transmission and the first official missions are examined: that of Augustine in Britain in 597, and that of Willibrord on the continent in 690. Four sample cases were selected accordingly. The first local saints whose veneration is known to have been spread by private means, are Martin of Tours and Alban of *Verulamium*; the first saints whose cults were transported by official missionaries are Pancras of Rome and Oswald of Northumbria.

In addition to the analysis of the documentary and monumental sources at a local level, the testimony of Willibrord’s Calendar is examined and, as a subsidiary document, Willibrord’s copy of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. Thus the study seeks to ascertain to what degree general liturgical books accurately reflect local reality.

The results demonstrate that general and local historical sources differ in most cases. Willibrord’s Calendar appears to be a limited local source insofar as it relates mostly to Willibrord himself. Therefore, as a general methodological consequence, historical sources such as liturgical books always require corroboration from local sources to establish their validity.

The verification of the local practice of saints’ cults is something like assembling a jigsaw puzzle. Direct contemporary evidence is often wanting, and one must rely on conclusions from later sources. In addition, the precise local means of propagation and veneration vary widely. Even so, official missionaries seem, in general, to play a minor role. Cults of saints are mostly supported and disseminated by individuals or by groups, whose interests are personal and restricted to their local sphere of influence (monks, bishops, nobility, and otherwise unknown private persons).

Andrew Wager

‘The Effect of Early Railways on Landscape and Communities in Derbyshire.’

The first main railway line in Derbyshire opened in 1840 connecting Derby to Leeds. A branch to Rowsley followed in 1849. They formed part of the first rail link to connect the north east of England with the Midlands and London. The part of the county through which they ran already had coal, iron, textile and quarrying industries served by a canal network. The objective of the dissertation is to examine the effect of these railways on communities, communications and economic activity in Derbyshire during the decade following their opening. The reaction to the new opportunity for travel and transport is examined using decennial census returns and parish registers for community and population change, and trade directories for communications and economic activities. Population changes in the census districts through which the railway ran are related to the rest of the county using maps comparing the periods before and after 1841. Occupations and businesses are classified using a standard scheme to allow graphical comparisons to be made between communities. The research shows that some communities were created, others were substantially affected, and some hardly changed at all. Heavy industries began to change, while agriculture and textiles altered little. Traffic on turnpikes, canals and rivers began to decline. The effect of the railways during their first decades of operation was far from uniform, and in some cases it is difficult to determine whether the presence of the railway or increasing industrialisation caused the change. The railway helped create in Matlock a major tourist industry that reflected the style of more famous spas like Bath and Brighton.

Alison Fearey

‘Nineteenth century Northamptonshire shoe-workers: where did they all come from?’.

In 1901 over 40000 people worked in shoemaking in Northamptonshire, which was double the number estimated to be working in the industry 30 years earlier in 1871. The aim of this dissertation is to investigate where the people who worked in the fast expanding footwear trade in Northamptonshire in the late nineteenth century came from. Using various criteria, four towns and three villages of differing size and location, but all affected by the changes in shoe-making in

the 19th century, were chosen for detailed study. A sampling process was undertaken in the two larger towns identified, where research of the total population was not feasible.

The primary source material is the 1891 census, which is used to establish the birth places of those with shoe-making occupations. The resultant data revealed the proportions of shoe-workers born in the community, born elsewhere in Northamptonshire or born outside the county. The principal finding is that in the late 19th century considerable numbers of people moved from their place of birth to work in the communities where shoe-making was important. However, most of these moved within Northamptonshire. In some of the communities the local birthplaces were recorded and plotted on maps. These reveal that shoe-workers moved in considerable numbers from local villages and established centres of shoe-making to Kettering and Rushden. Workers moved into Northampton, from across the county, but in small numbers from each town or village. In Rushden, which is located close to the county boundary, people also moved from villages in the adjacent counties. In the communities where the shoe-trade failed to expand there was low inward migration. There is limited evidence of the transfer of shoe-making skills between communities, but there are indications that the majority of those who moved to work in the shoe trade had no previous shoe-making skills.

Pam Buttrey

‘Quiet and orderly: the administration, placement and treatment of pauper lunatics in Croydon from 1875 to 1914’.

Croydon, in Surrey, almost trebled in size between 1875 and 1914, with a nearly fourfold increase in its pauper lunatics. This dissertation looks at the placement and treatment of pauper lunatics from the parish of Croydon during that period, the attitudes and involvement of those authorities responsible for their care, and the consequences of their actions for pauper lunatics.

During forty years, most patients were in three large asylums, with some in the workhouse and infirmary. Records from these institutions have been used, together with annual reports from the Commissioners in Lunacy. Local newspapers published detailed reports from the guardians’ board meetings, and expressed the views of ratepayers.

Increasing numbers of pauper lunatics, and local government changes, meant that patients were transferred between institutions. Delays in increasing beds locally meant they were often sent some distance away to other asylums, and to private licensed houses, including Gloucester and Salisbury. Standards varied, with some patients experiencing poor conditions, ill treatment and abuse. Local asylums attempted to maintain good standards although the need to economise, and difficulties in recruiting staff, affected care.

The guardians developed increasingly sophisticated methods of claiming for care and maintenance if patients or their immediate relatives had any money. Although there were sometimes differences in opinion between those running the asylums, guardians and local magistrates, all generally believed pauper lunatics should be in asylums. In 1914, 92.9 per cent of Croydon’s pauper lunatics were in asylums, 6.7 per cent in the workhouse infirmary, and only two people remained at home.

Carol Cambers

‘Water, Shelter and Centricity: were post-enclosure farmers persuaded?’

The aim of this dissertation is to examine the assumption that outlying farmhouses were built in the newly-enclosed fields of Leicestershire and Rutland in the late 18th, following enclosure by parliamentary act. The presence of such farmhouses is repeatedly referred to in enclosure literature. The starting points were the parish enclosure map drawn up for the Commissioners and the first editions of the Ordnance Survey that were published in the late 19th century. Outlying farmhouses on the later maps were assumed, if absent from the enclosure surveys, to have been built in the first or second decade after enclosure. By study of valuation surveys, land tax assessments, glebe terriers and many other sources, the first documented date for each farmhouse was identified.

A sample of nineteen parishes enclosed in fourteen awards across south Leicestershire and west Rutland was chosen. The requirement of an extant enclosure survey and the desirability of restricting the parishes to those enclosed during the main phases of parliamentary enclosure activity narrowed the choice available. The nineteen parishes yielded thirty-four potential farmhouses, which, after research, produced two probable and three possible examples of early

post-enclosure, outlying farmhouses. The other farmhouses were built in outlying fields, but they were not built until two or three generations after enclosure in the mid-19th century.

From this small sample the evidence suggests that farmers were cautious in moving out of the villages and the building of such farmhouses, where found, was not a direct result of enclosure.

Peter Jennings

‘Plan analysis and the development of Leicester’s medieval urban landscape’.

Through the use of plan analysis this dissertation attempts to provide new insights into the spatial development of Leicester’s medieval urban landscape. By isolating and tracing off three plan elements (streets, plots and buildings) from the first edition Ordnance Survey map, and by identifying areas of morphological homogeneity, this study sets out to identify chronologies of plan-development that provide new evidence relating to the origins and development of Leicester’s plan form. The study also makes use of burgage analysis, a form of metrological analysis of the burgage series based on the measurements of modern plot frontages, in order to demonstrate that elements of Leicester’s plan are in fact the result of medieval urban planning, with regular plots laid out using statute measurements.

Through the integration of historical and archaeological evidence, this study demonstrates the composite nature of Leicester’s town plan, the piecemeal development of which was dictated by the continuity in the alignment of the Roman and medieval defences, and the centrality and early establishment of the axial streets that connect the four gateways of the medieval town. It also provides new evidence for the existence of an embryonic form of town planning dating to the late-Saxon period, as well as the possible fossilisation within the town walls of an enclosure once surrounding a minster church that was later incorporated into the defences of the Norman castle. Ultimately this study demonstrates the effectiveness of plan analysis as a form of unwritten evidence, with the town plan providing crucial information about the historical development of what became a prosperous medieval town and an important regional and national trading centre that ranked consistently within the top 40 towns of the medieval urban hierarchy.

Phillip Ramsey

‘Cumnor Parish: a parochial perspective on the English Agricultural Revolution’.

The Age of Enlightenment spawned the notion that proper ‘modern’ English agriculture should be a rational process. The élitist and ever-present ‘agricultural establishment’ promoted a public agenda that relegated the ordinary tenant farmer and labourer to the uneducated entities of ‘peasant’ farmer and ‘hodge.’ In this view, these people were generally unfit for ‘modern’ agriculture, due in part to customarily cultivating the soil without scientific precepts or technologies. Moreover, various agricultural revolution arguments have evolved, each vying for the position as the definitive history of this top-down rational approach to agricultural improvement. The ensuing perspectives trivialize the value and contribution of a large portion of English agriculture most notably an army of tenant farmers upon whose backs a hungry nation was borne, the likes of which lived, worked, and thrived in Cumnor parish.

The questions raised by this inquiry are several: what were the changes to the structure and practice of agriculture observed in the parish during the late 18th and 19th centuries? What were the elements and dynamics working within the parish that placed it in the top-tier of agricultural production? Do the agricultural methods found in Cumnor conform to those of an agricultural revolution argument? What were the resulting gains and losses as compared to the argument?

This work assumes the position that agriculture, as a process, is communal. In the 19th century, farming practices remained essentially bound into localized communities, each of which shared some common characteristics and yet, when closely examined, was different. The analysis appreciates a parochial perspective and the unique communal aspects of individual agricultural communities by focusing upon the sources of a single 19th-century parish. The resulting narrative is a spatial readjustment to the hierarchal top-down perspective assumed by the various agricultural revolution arguments, carrying the reader beyond them for wider reflection. However, the work does not entirely embrace an opposing bottom up perspective. The evidence, gleaned from the Bertie family papers, parish, estate, and manorial court documents, census data, and historical weather data, set the agenda. Without going further than these sources

allow, the objective is that of writing a history from the inside out.

Mika Hirose

‘Avebury, World Heritage Site Management Planning Issues’.

This dissertation builds upon interests developed through personal experience of Avebury World Heritage Site Management Planning Issues. I will focus especially on visitor management. This dissertation will also review and revise current management planning and offer potential solutions, pointing the way for future development and critically evaluate the long-term 2011 version of the Avebury management plan.

Firstly, I will discuss the Avebury World Heritage Management Plan in general, then focus on one aspect, visitor management, from my perspective as a tourist visiting the site. I shall highlight the challenges facing Avebury with regard to visitor pressure and suggest ways forward. The second aim will then be to relate this to the Management Plan as an indicator of its effectiveness and suitability. Chapter 2 provides some background and context for the study. Chapter 3 describes and discusses the main issues confronting Avebury. Firstly, general information on the background of Avebury will be provided. This will include an account of the archaeological history of the site with a particular focus on management planning and the roles of the organisations which work in Avebury. It will outline first the range of cultural policy options and illustrate some of their historical origins, then consider current problems concerning Avebury’s management.

The methodology will consist of interviews with key personnel to develop both my understanding of the situation and my awareness of the site. Finally, in addition to the interviews, I will draw upon being aware of the need for objectivity. The dissertation will conclude by offering potential solutions to ongoing issues.

Rachael Jones

‘The Gregynog Estate, Montgomeryshire, 1880-1920’.

The aim of this research was to study the lives of the people of the Gregynog Estate, Montgomeryshire, Wales, during the last 40 years of the estate's existence, and to discover the reasons for the estate's demise and disposal. The period studied was 1880-1920 and the national

censuses from 1881, 1891 and 1901 were used as a basis for the research to find patterns, trends and statistics. Stories published in the local newspapers gave detailed information about life at the time and these stories are a major part of the dissertation. Other primary sources used were workhouse, local government and company records, churchyard memorials, old maps and the records of the estate's land agent. When used together, the sources provided a very detailed picture of the estate and of the times. The dissertation also contains a picture of life not directly connected to the estate to set the story in context and to give reasons for the motivations of the people of the estate. Party politics played a huge part in the life of the times, as did tensions between Anglicans and Nonconformists; religion and politics therefore form a significant part of the work.

The research revealed that the estate was initially a tightly-bound unit with agriculture being a major part of the life of the people. The agricultural decline of the late Victorian age therefore severely affected the fortunes of the estate, with major repercussions for the owner, the 4th Lord Sudeley. The estate was purchased by Sir James Joicey and political moves by the Liberal administration, particularly the input of David Lloyd George and his so-called 'People's Budget', led to the estate's eventual end.

Malcolm Muir

‘Independent and leisure travel, 1635 to 1850’.

This investigation into independent travel begins with the royal messenger service, which was effectively superseded by a national postal service from 1635. This is part of the story, largely ignored by writers, of the development of a system of relay post-horses, which allowed long distance public coach services from the 1650s, but was delayed for private carriages until the mid-18th century. Travel improvements brought by posting horses have been overshadowed by possibly undue credit given to the turnpiking of roads, which mostly came much later. The social hierarchy and conventions of different modes of travel are examined, together with the cost of keeping horses and carriages and independent journeying. Contemporary travel diaries are extensively referred to; they are generally the most reliable and available source of information.

Until the late 18th century, only small numbers of people travelled around England for

pleasure. The development of tourism on any scale came with posting for private vehicles, the partial closure of the Continent to Grand Tour travellers and, particularly, changes of taste. The Romantic Movement in art and literature and new aesthetic ideas led to tourists exploring remoter parts of what was a largely unknown country. It is argued that the great growth of tourism can be largely attributed to the writings of the Reverend William Gilpin on 'the search for the picturesque.' His unrecognised importance today contrasts with the fact that in his own time he was satirised as 'Dr Syntax', a contender for the first cartoon character and the earliest example of marketing tie-in merchandise.



News of a former student

Chris Matthews, MA in English Local History in 2005, and now a local historian and multi-media artist, based in the East Midlands, has brought out a short film on the town of Sneinton in Nottinghamshire. Details can be found on the Centre website.



All Saints, Brixworth
Photo. Anne Pegg

FRIENDS OF ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, BRIXWORTH
UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

26th Brixworth Lecture

THE PRE-VIKING PLACE-NAMES OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

DR DAVID PARSONS

SATURDAY, 1 NOVEMBER 2008 at 5 p.m.
Tea from 4 p.m. Heritage Centre

Tickets £5.00 (£3.00 students) on the door or in advance from:

Bev King
Tel.01604 880951
Email: brixworthfriends@btinternet.com

Jo Storey
Tel.0116 2522803
Email: js73@le.ac.uk

EVENTS SPONSORED BY THE FRIENDS

Diary Dates

The **2008/9 Seminar Programme** can be found at the back of this Newsletter.

The **Annual General Meeting** of the Friends will take place on **Thursday 20 November** following the seminar, with wine and chat to follow.

Hoskins Lecture 2009

The Speaker will be **Dr Rosamond Faith**.
Title and date to be announced.

Spring 2009 Study weekend.

To be announced.

9–12 July 2009 Leicester Conference: Local History in Britain after Hoskins.

Friends' Publications

Anne Pegg

Ed. *Friends of the Centre of English Local History Newsletter* (2007), 45pp.

Mike Thornton

'Local women after the Black Death. The evidence from three Northamptonshire villages', *The Harborough Historian*, 22 (2005), p. 5.

'Two village entrepreneurs in late-medieval Rockingham Forest', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 58 (2005), p. 17.

'Ale-brewing in Northamptonshire after the Black Death', *Northamptonshire Industrial Archaeology Group Newsletter*, 99 (2006), p.5.

'Village women in Northamptonshire, 1350-1500', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 60 (2007), pp. 24-43.

Papers presented

Pam Fisher

'Houses for the dead: the provision of mortuaries in London, 1866-1889,' (8th International Conference on the Social Context of Death, Dying and Disposal, University of Bath, September 2007).

'Thomas Wakley and the campaign for medically-qualified coroners – a new perspective.' (University of Birmingham, Centre for the History of Medicine, November 2007).

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*.

Bibliography

Margery Tranter, Ken Hawker, John Rowley and Mike Thompson (eds), *English Local History: The Leicester Approach. A Departmental Bibliography and History, 1948-1998*. £6.00 + £1.00 p&p (reduced from £11.50).

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.



Annual General Meeting 2007

The following officers and committee members were elected:

Chairman	Pam Fisher
Secretary	Alan Fox
Treasurer	Lydia Pye
Membership Secretary	Jan Cresswell
Newsletter Editor	Anne Pegg
Programme Secretary	Maggie Whalley
Committee Members	Frank Galbraith Noel Tornbohm

At that stage the Centre representative and student representatives had not been nominated. Later Richard Jones accepted the nomination as representative for the Centre staff and Ruth Barbour and Eleanor Davidson for the students.

ACCOUNTS

For year ending 30 Sept. 2007

INCOME

Subscription	£1,402.00
Donations	£267.00
Book sales	£432.54
Publications	£525.60
Dividends/Interest	£806.02
Events	<u>£54.00</u>
TOTAL	£3,487.16

Profits on the year -£1092.16

ASSETS

Balance at CAF Gold & Nat West a/c	£9,900.26
Investments at cost	<u>£15000</u>
TOTAL	£24,900.26

EXPENDITURE

Expenses	£536.05
Student support	£3450.00
Brit. Assoc. of LH	£52.00
Hoskins lecture	£157.99
Newsletter	<u>£383.28</u>
TOTAL	£4,579.32

RESTRICTED FUND

H. Fox Memorial Fund	£316.00
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Hoskins' Lecture 2008



**Dr. Trevor Rowley with Professor Emeritus
Charles Phythian-Adams.**

Photo. A. Pegg

Trevor Rowley, now Emeritus Fellow of Kellogg College, Oxford, had been a post-graduate student of W.G. Hoskins in Oxford, and he told a good story of W.G. H. coming face to face with the hunt as it careered across the bottom of his garden in Steeple Barton. We gathered he had not been pleased.

Hunting was the main focus of Dr. Rowley's lecture, though having recently published a book on modern landscapes (*Twentieth Century Landscapes*), he mentioned in passing some obvious sporting creations, still in use, such as Newmarket, Henley-on-Thames and Old Trafford in Manchester, as well the approximately 2000 golf-courses now in Great Britain.

Hunting has a long history, and though our early forebears hunted in order to eat, hunting has also been a sport for a very long time. Dr. Rowley showed a carved comb from Much Wenlock with on one side a game of football, and on the other a hunting scene, and then a Roman floor from Sicily of the 2nd century AD also showing huntsmen. The Bayeux tapestry has Harold riding to hunt with hawk on wrist and dogs at heel, and the Domesday Book includes enclosures called 'hays', which might be deer enclosures. The Normans introduced the Forest Law into areas set aside for hunting, the Royal Forests, where the deer could only be taken by the king, but Trevor Rowley pointed out that 'Forests' leave few archaeological relics, and the landscape is little altered by this usage.

The idea of a 'park', an enclosure where special animals were kept, developed from the 12th century onwards, and became the must-have accessory for anyone with aspirations. At first attached to grand manorial establishments, as time went on even small nunneries and minor gentry had parks, many quite small in extent: at their peak it is thought there were about 3500 in England, mainly concentrated in the Midlands and the South. Many were far too small to hunt in, and there was an illustration from a French MS showing deer being caught in nets: these parks were in fact outdoor larders.

Many of the larger parks also had other and varied uses: there are early estate maps showing parks divided up into compartments with coppicing at various stages. Deer would have to be kept out of the young coppices until the trees were sufficiently grown. Woodward's map of parks in Oxfordshire showed them to be concentrated in the Chiltern area and in Wychwood: there is a tendency for early parks to be in woody country. The largest number of Oxfordshire's parks was created in the 1200s.

Woodstock Park, like many others, was later incorporated into a landscape park for a grand house, and some reminders of a previous existence may survive: Moccas Park, for instance, in Herefordshire, has a ditch and park pale remaining. Linear earthworks such as these are tenacious, whereas many of the buildings of a park were ephemeral, like wooden kennels.

Deer were also 'coursed': Windsor Little Park has a map showing 'The Course', where deer were run down by hounds, the spectators laying bets on the outcome. But in the 17th century many places were being disemparked, and towards the end of the century fox-hunts were beginning to appear. The great landowners divided up the country between them, and each pack had a specific territory. Many packs were attached to great houses, with many private packs. The newly enclosed landscape which appeared after Parliamentary Enclosure was suitable for this kind of hunting, and could be controlled and enhanced with the deliberate planting of fox coverts, woodlands, hunt-jumps and so on.

Trevor Rowley's second big sport was football and its development, but in passing he mentioned the development of shooting as a gentry sport in the 18th century, the proliferation of race-courses in the 17th and 18th centuries, the influence of 'horsiculture' in the 20th century which created small fields for purchase by non-

farming people, and the official ban in 1835 of bear-baiting and cock-fighting.

Football had originally happened anywhere, but many traditional football matches were very territorial, with two adjacent villages fighting it out, and the whole male community involved: Dr. Rowley cited Hallaton v. Medbourne in Leicestershire, where ‘uppies’ fought ‘downies’ on Easter Monday. Football became more institutionalized and more controlled in the second half of the 19th century. Was this connected with industrialisation? Many early football grounds began as the grounds of ‘works’ teams’ – such as Woolwich Arsenal. (One of the lecture’s most surprising facts was that the Old Etonians won the FA cup three times in the 1880s – unthinkable today.)

The first specially designed football stadiums, for example Highbury and White Hart Lane, Trevor Rowley described as an ‘Engineering Archive’. Many of these were built in open country (the move to ‘exurbia’), as was the first Wembley stadium, which became the home of English football in 1923. It was only after the stadium was used for the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 (which welcomed 27 million visitors in 2 years) that housing developments grew up round it.

The new 2000 Wembley stadium ended a most entertaining journey around new and old sporting traditions and their settings.

Deborah Hayter

Stamford Study Day: April 2008

You cannot do Stamford in one day. The Friends could have spent most of the day in the Town Hall alone where Pauline, the Town Clerk, made us warmly welcome. Stamford today is known for its eighteenth century façades of mellow limestone, the perfect backdrop for film and TV costume dramas, but the town is older than that, as both the Town Clerk, and Professor Alan Rodgers quickly made clear.

Pauline ushered us up the elegant staircase of the Town Hall (1777) into the spacious upper room (used as the Magistrates Court until 2006) where she showed us a fascinating collection of town documents from early borough parchments to brightly printed circus and theatre posters of a century ago. She also proudly took us into an

adjacent room where the splendid civic plate and regalia were on display.

In a crisply delivered talk Professor Rogers discussed Stamford’s history. Later, he and John Hartley led us around the town, peeling back its layers of history. A traveller entering Stamford along the Old Great North Road might be puzzled as to why the ways to the north and south seem so much narrower and more awkward than the east to west roads. The reason is that Stamford was established when roads led to Boston, then a major port, to the east. Stamford was the stony ford where two converging limestone ridges allowed the Welland to be crossed, and marked the upper navigable point of the river, making Stamford a port in its own right. Additionally, Stamford was one of the five Danish boroughs, together with Nottingham, Lincoln, Derby and Leicester. But whilst the other boroughs evolved into county towns and major cities, Stamford fell into Plantagenet private ownership with the eventual result that modern Lincolnshire today includes what could have been the county of Stamfordshire.

The pre-Conquest borough of Stamford minted coins and exported some of the first glazed pottery made in England since Roman times. It gained wealth from the rich natural resources of its hinterland, with reeds, wildfowl and fish from the fenland to the east, barley and high quality wool from the higher land to the north, produce of mixed farming to the west, and timber and quarried stone from the south of the town. Professor Rogers suggested that the boundaries of the Danish borough can still be traced in Stamford’s streets today. The sharp bend between Broad Street and Star Lane is the north-eastern corner, whilst Silver Lane through to St Mary’s Street and St George’s Square traces the western and southern boundaries.

King William built a castle to the west of the borough in 1067, immediately after the Conquest. The bus station stands here now. The only surviving fragment of the castle’s Great Hall is the lone doorway into what would have been the cross passage, now marooned above the pavement of Castle Dyke, close to the River Welland. Traditionally, the mayors of Stamford are sworn in at this spot.

By the 12th century Stamford was a military centre, especially during King Stephen’s civil war. Defensive walls were built but little remains of this building phase except fragments of surviving churches founded or already existing

then. The best is St Paul's church, probably founded in 1152 and now the chapel of Stamford School.

Professor Rogers considers Stamford was at its peak during the 13th century with prosperity general throughout the town. Foreign merchants travelled to Stamford's fairs to buy cloth, metalwork and stone. Some of their lists of accounts are yet to be researched. Market arcading can still be seen built into the side of All Saints church. The typical 13th-century Stamford house comprised a hall and cross wing, to make best use of the confined town space. The medieval layout survives not only in the street plan but also within many of the town's houses, especially those along the north side of St Paul's Street. Behind the more fashionable façades (see photograph) added during later centuries, these houses retain 13th-century stone undercrofts, and medieval carvings and arches.



St. Paul's Street, Stamford

Photo. F. Raphael

With Stamford becoming a seigneurial town and no longer an administrative centre, the 14th century saw a decline in trade. On the other hand, religious and cultural interests thrived. The Luteran Psalter was made in Stamford whilst disaffected Oxford students attempted to establish a rival college here. They were aggressively suppressed, the name of Brasenose Lane being, perhaps, their only memorial.

Records showing the difficulty in letting market stalls illustrate Stamford's economic decline through the 15th century. Meanwhile, religious life thrived. Wealth was coming increasingly from the sale of wool but was enriching only two or three local families. At the height of religious fervour there were five or six parish churches in Stamford, four friaries, and a cell of Durham Abbey, St Leonard's Hospital. The accommodation these institutions offered

attracted the king to hold councils in the town, as in 1307, and a parliament in 1301. Wealthy townspeople also built almshouses. We passed St Peter's Callis on Sheep Market Hill, an almshouse for six poor widows. Callis is the local name for an almshouse, derived from Calais where the Stamford wool merchants traded.

The most famous of Stamford's wool merchants were William and John Browne. In 1475, William (died in 1489) built a fine hall on high ground on Broad Street. This is Browne's Hospital, originally divided into ten cells downstairs where ten poor men could be cared for by two poor women. Their duty was to pray for the soul of the departed founder. Browne's Hospital is Stamford's only medieval building to have survived, unharmed, the destruction wreaked on the town during the Reformation. Its upstairs audit room is more reminiscent of a guildhall and Professor Rogers suspects that the original use of Browne's Hospital was as a joint hospital and guildhall. We ended our tour of Stamford in Browne's Hospital where we were greeted with much needed tea and cakes. There was also plenty of time to explore the beautiful old building, and view a charter of Henry VII. The medieval glass in the Hospital chapel is probably Stamford 'jewelled' glass and is particularly fine and attractive. Many of the windows contain William Browne's merchant mark, a simple letter 'B' within a golden heart. The accommodation for the elderly people was modernised and enlarged in 1870 and again in 1963-4. The almshouses today are behind the medieval hall, around a beautiful, tranquil garden.

Our tour of Stamford took us to five of the town's seven surviving pre-Reformation churches. (There have been fourteen pre-Reformation churches in all.) We went inside four of these five surviving churches: St Mary's, St Martin's, All Saints and St John's. St John's is a redundant church. Founded in the 12th century it was rebuilt c. 1451, the quality of the work, including the beautiful angel roof, reflecting the wool wealth of the time. A plaque on the wall records that Sir Malcolm Sargent was a chorister here. All Saints is the burial place of the Brownes. Their great wealth is not apparent in their simple brass memorials, set up in a row on one wall, their hands together in pious supplication. Records show that St Mary's, close to the Town Hall, had been founded by 1146. Beneath its soaring spire is the star-spangled ceiling of the Philips chapel.

St Martin's could also have an earlier foundation than 1146. It is largely unchanged since its rebuilding c. 1480, with some of its surviving Tattershall glass casting a soft light on two remarkable tombs. The effigy of William Cecil, Baron of Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England and Privy Counsellor to the most serene Elizabeth, Queen of England, lies unpretentiously in battle armour, beneath a gilded canopy of red and black marble, awaiting the second coming of Christ. His great, great grandson, John Cecil, 5th Marquis of Exeter, commissioned his own white marble tomb whilst travelling in Italy. He died in the summer of 1700. His effigy shows a proud, self-centred man, reclining in Classical pose as at a Roman banquet, his empty eyes gazing into eternity. Meanwhile, in the churchyard outside, is the grave of the Leicester freak, 'that prodigy in nature', Daniel Lambert, who died in Stamford in 1809 whilst exhibiting his enormous fatness at the races. His head- and foot-stones, in Swithland slate, were 'erected by his friends in Leicester'.

These three tombs reflect changes in Stamford during the centuries following the Reformation. During the later 16th century the river silted up, trade declined and gentry families such as the Cecils, who made big financial gains from the Reformation's destructiveness, settled into their estates in Stamford's hinterland. The town declined into being their supply centre. Plague and Civil War during the 17th century saw a further decline in the town's prosperity reflected in low-ceilinged town houses with small windows and distinctive 'baby bays'. Towards the end of the century, however, people began building in the Classical pattern book style. As early as 1674 Daniel Wigmore, a local butcher, built a house in Classical style on St George's Square, heralding Stamford's role as an 18th-century social centre, the Assembly Rooms dating from 1725. John Hartley pointed out to us No. 3 All Saint's Place, a Classical style house designed for gracious living, with shallow steps leading up to a front door set into a pattern book door case. The photograph shows the iron railings guarding the steps. The people living here could avoid the dirt and mire of the street, indicated by the foot scraper at the bottom of the steps, by opening the gate cleverly set into the railings, and step straight from their elevated front door into their waiting carriage.



Photo. F. Raphael

Most citizens, rather than rebuild, simply remodelled the façades of their houses. We saw many examples around St George's Square, including a medieval gable end rebuilt as a façade in the Venetian style. The homely 17th-century houses lack the height necessary for Classical windows and so the new Classical façades on these houses are betrayed by their older, bulging walls and necessarily squat windows.

19th-century Stamford was noted for its political rivalry. The Radical faction built the Stamford Hotel (1815-20), an imposing coaching house to rival the famous George Hotel. It is fronted with Classical columns, its roof surmounted by the figure of Justice, but the early arrival of the railway destroyed its success as a business. Since then, it has been converted into shops.

Stamford suffered further loss of status in the 20th century. Its citizens are not easily reconciled to being reduced to parish council status with all the town's planning decisions now being made in Grantham. Their comfort is that, following the 1967 Town and Country Planning Act, Stamford became England's first Conservation Town, in recognition of its numerous buildings of historic and architectural interest.

Freda Raphael



Conferences

POMLAS (Perceptions of Medieval Landscapes and Settlements) at Leicester.

In the last Newsletter the early stages of this series of workshops were noted, and this AHRC-funded enterprise was completed with a plenary conference on 1 December at Leicester. The purpose of the workshops was to freshen and stimulate medieval settlement studies and encourage new approaches by focussing on the people who inhabited the medieval landscape, with the aim of understanding their experiences, decision-making and ideas. The subject has been dominated by archaeologists, geographers and historians, so other disciplines were encouraged to contribute. 85 people from all parts of Britain attended the plenary, which was open to everyone – the workshops were restricted to about 25 participants to encourage discussion. The meeting also served as the annual winter meeting of the Medieval Settlement Research Group.

A series of very professional presentations by the convenors of the four workshops, informed us of the themes that had emerged. In addition nominated discussants commented on the main papers. The audience contained some controversial figures and there were lively exchanges. Inevitably some traditionalists were rather sceptical of some novelties, but even they had to admit the value of neglected evidence such as literature, and accepted the need for more critical scrutiny of maps and other sources, which are often taken for granted. Issues that were discussed included the sense of belonging and identity, the cultural significance of settlement planning, the different uses of spaces in settlements and outside, and the regulation of property boundaries, together with the conflicts that could result. Some speakers borrowed concepts derived from prehistorians, such as ‘inculturation’.

The event was well attended by Friends and the domestic arrangements were effectively organised by Julie Deeming with support from students, notably from Urban History.

If readers want to know more, go to the Medieval Settlement Research Group website for a report on the whole series of workshops. A printed version will soon appear in the next MSRG Annual Report, which is issued to all members.

Chris Dyer

Deserted Villages Revisited: June 21-22, Centre for English Local History.

50 years ago a group of academics from Cambridge ‘discovered’ deserted village sites, visiting places in Leicestershire. The idea of ‘lost’ villages had held a romantic appeal for some time, and in 1948 claimed at last the notice of academics, although many, including W G Hoskins, had been examining these sites for some years.

However, as Christopher Taylor pointed out, today was not meant to be a trip down memory lane, but to pose the question: ‘Is there anything new to say?’ At first the main questions were ‘how, when and why?’ and this has led to increasing knowledge of not only lost but existing villages. Research into DVs has uncovered one fact most clearly: villages *change*: they move, contract, expand. We can see patterns and continuity of development, and accept a complexity that may defy simple models. At Wharram Percy, probably the classic deserted village site, Stuart Wrathmell noted that it was a complicated scenario, starting with shrinkage due to Tudor sheep enclosures and improvements in agriculture. Farmers lived on there, until final desertion between 1640-1741. Christopher Dyer said that ‘why’ had no single answer. He disagreed with Beresford that it was always ‘murder’ from above, it could also be ‘suicide’. Marginal land was not always a factor; there were often simple human and social causes. It was not a case of a desertion ‘gene’, and all open-field villages were vulnerable, but when essential services such as alehouses or chapels failed, inhabitants would lose morale; communal cohesion and the will for collective agriculture might falter.

Richard Jones used county-wide data from Rutland to look at contrasting patterns of village and hamlet desertion. Did hamlets develop from severely shrunken villages? He found a chronology, hamlets (dependent and small) were more likely to be deserted in later times. Place-names give a clue: almost half of *thorps* and *throps* failed. The earlier *ingham*s and *tun*s lived on. He stressed that one should look for local answers. David Hinton looked at assessing archaeological finds as a means of judging the viability of a community. The amount and type of finds can reveal economic activity and condition. For example, metal vessels that have been repeatedly mended, may indicate relative

prosperity or poverty and stress. Sally Smith also believed that DVs could not only give a snapshot of the domestic life of medieval villages but also answer all sorts of questions about peasant community and power. For instance, no earthworks were left in Anglo-Norman sites in Ireland, indicating desertion at an early point. Lack of lordly interest means there is a dearth of descriptions of layouts of villages; but peasants co-opted spaces, fold yards seem to have been shared and spaces between and among houses had a community value.

John Broad addressed the later period of enclosure, which often brought shrinkage or desertion in its wake, as a common service centre was needed. Areas were disafforested, and farms were sited in the fields. Earlier enclosures, usually by agreement, meant the traditional open-field system could not survive and villages were lost. Often only the 'big house' is left. Tom Williamson looked at the big house, 'polite desertion', where landowners emparked. Although they 'improved' by moving villages wholesale, these were usually small, and perhaps failing. 50 per cent of parks show settlement earthworks, but only 15-20 per cent were actually destroyed. Landowners were attracted to areas where there were no big villages, and smaller nearby villages would be encouraged to stagnate demographically, become 'close' and houses would be demolished. However, shifts in agriculture, from arable to pastoral, enclosures, and capitalist farming methods, play a large part in the complex and subtle transformation of the landscape. Bob Silvester examined the mystery of the visible archaeology of the Deserted Rural Settlements of the uplands of Wales, noting that there are serious problems of dating. Major depopulation occurred here in the 19th century, but there is evidence of a continuum since the 14th century. The settlements often appear to have been transient, and sometimes seasonal.

The conference concluded that the academics in 1948 began an era of new understanding, in which we are learning that desertion is a process, with a variety of causes and effects. There is often no simple date or dividing line, climatic or climacteric event, or single agent. Moreover, it is still a good story that invites continued investigation. The conference group went to see for themselves on the Sunday, visiting Hamilton, Ingarsby and Stretton Magna.

Maggie Whalley

Naseby Day Conference at Kelmarsh Hall, June 2008. Organised by Dr Andrew Hopper and Martin Marix Evans.

The critical importance of the battle of Naseby was underlined by a recent University of Leicester conference held at Kelmarsh Hall, Northamptonshire, just two miles from the battlefield. Proceedings were attended by 70 delegates from a wide range of backgrounds, including academic historians, archaeologists, archivists, librarians, education officers, re-enactors and amateur historians. There were three presentations in the morning reflecting a variety of new inter-disciplinary approaches to the battle, then luncheon, followed by a very successful battlefield coach tour, afternoon tea and closing lecture.

Professor Martyn Bennett of Nottingham Trent University opened proceedings with an insightful paper entitled '...None are to share with Him': Cromwell, Naseby and God'. This used Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches to demonstrate that Naseby was a key turning point for Cromwell's confidence in interpreting providence, assuring him of God's blessing, and committing him to the divisive cause of liberty of conscience. Dr Jason Peacey of University College London followed with an excellent paper entitled, 'Opening the King's Cabinet: Propaganda and Public Opinion after Naseby'. This paper discussed how Parliament's seizure of the King's correspondence during the battle and its selective publication thereafter raised the stakes in the propaganda war, making a negotiated peace less likely and contributing heavily to the ongoing process of desacralisation of Charles I's majesty that eventually made his execution possible.

Dr Glenn Foard of the Battlefields Trust then delivered a superbly illustrated talk, entitled 'Recent Advances in Battlefield Archaeology: the Implications for Naseby'. Dr Foard used his experience of new methodologies in Europe and America to explain the future studies needed for Naseby. He stressed that because Naseby is so comparatively unspoilt, piecing together evidence from documents, landscape and archaeology at Naseby would provide a model of how early modern battles were fought that could be applied elsewhere. Naseby is therefore vital. It is the key to unlock new evidence relevant across European battlefields, in explaining how the development of

firepower subsequently allowed Europe to dominate much of the world.

The battlefield tour was led by Martin Marix Evans, the Chairman of the Naseby Battlefield Project. The tour integrated the landscape into the evidence from the written sources and showcased the recent work of the Naseby Project in improving rights of way, installing platforms at Rupert, Fairfax and Cromwell's viewpoints, and planning a new visitors' centre.

The closing lecture was delivered by Professor Ian Gentles of Tyndale University College, Toronto, entitled 'The Legacy of Naseby'. Professor Gentles examined the short, medium and long-term political and military consequences of Naseby, concluding that it was a mighty blow for liberty of conscience, a milestone on the road to republicanism, and the foundation for the fiscal military state that emerged in the 1690s and made possible Britain's rise to world power status.



Left to right: Martin Marix Evans, Prof. Martyn Bennett, Prof. Ian Gentles, Dr. Andrew Hopper, Dr Jason Peacey, Dr Glenn Foard

Kelmarsh Hall was an excellent venue; its conference support and catering were absolutely first rate. Grateful thanks are due to the Friends of the Centre for English Local History for their financial support, and the trustees of the Naseby Battlefield Project for helping with the exhibitions, displays and tour. The generosity of Kelmarsh Hall and its staff, headed by Lesley Denton and Carole Jones, helped to make the whole event possible.

The conference was the next step in building a collaborative partnership between the University of Leicester, the Naseby Project and the Battlefields Trust, with a view to developing

future funding bids for the academic study of the battle and related issues.

Andrew Hopper

Harold Fox Memorial Day

Over 100 family members, friends, colleagues and former students gathered to remember and celebrate the life of Professor Harold Fox. It was fitting that the day had been organised by the Friends of the Centre for English Local History, a body that Harold had founded and long supported. Dr Pam Fisher, introducing the day, alluded to Harold's formation of the Friends in 1989 and his role in obtaining a written constitution in 1996 and charitable status in 1998. If I may be permitted a personal reminiscence, I will record one of my early memories of Harold and my first encounter with the Friends. It was after a Thursday seminar in my first term of the MA course. I was sitting quietly having a cup of coffee when Harold fixed me with those piercing blue eyes (with twinkle) and uttered in his usual staccato way 'You – Friends' Committee – upstairs – now', in a tone that brooked no argument. I have no regrets in having obeyed, for it was a privilege to serve on the committee for ten years and, through it, to work with Harold on an object close to his heart, the raising of funds to provide bursaries for students of English Local History.

But, to return to that morning on 19th July, which was a mixture of career résumé, academic assessment and personal anecdote. This was an appropriate tribute for such a many-faceted man as Harold was. All the speakers brought out some aspect of his work, his intelligence, his humour and his quirks, at the same time acknowledging that Harold was a very private man and difficult to get to know. I think that we all learnt something new about him as the morning unfolded.

The first speaker was **the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Bob Burgess**. When he arrived in Leicester in 1999, one of his first visits was to the Department of English Local History (it had not yet become a Centre), where Harold was acting as Head, following the retirement of Charles Phythian-Adams. Professor Burgess was aware of the standing of the Department before he came to

Leicester, but Harold's enthusiastic tour of Marc Fitch House, introducing the members of staff and students, confirmed that good impression. Touching briefly on Harold's early career, Professor Burgess concentrated on Harold's contribution to the academic life of Leicester University, which he joined in 1976. Professor Burgess alluded to Harold's high academic standing, signified by his being awarded a British Academy Research Readership and, unbeknownst to Harold, being in the top group selected that year. He also praised Harold's prodigious hard work and dedicated teaching. By 2003, when he was awarded a personal chair, he had supervised 69 MA dissertations and 21 PhD theses. Harold's inaugural lecture as Professor of Social and Landscape History was a typical *tour de force* of complex intellectual argument, interspersed with music, humorous asides and even a quiz with no answers. Professor Burgess concluded by regretting that there are no longer so many eccentrics in university life.

The next speaker was **Professor Bruce Campbell**, who first met Harold when he went to Cambridge to do his PhD. They later worked together at Queen's University where they saw much of each other. Professor Campbell said, though, that while Harold was easy to like, he was hard to know, a deeply private man. Professor Campbell praised his scholarship, amusingly exemplified in an episode after a dinner party, when Harold excused himself, saying 'I have to go now, I have a footnote to write'. This meticulous attention to detail underpinned his scholarship, but it was a scholarship lightly worn and generously shared. Professor Campbell emphasised Harold's early training in geography, which gave him the basis for his deep understanding of the interaction of human beings with their environment and his sensitivity to the essence of place. It also gave him a sense of scale and an awareness of the importance of maps and fieldwork. The influence of Darby and Hugh Prince encouraged Harold's studies in agriculture and his research and teaching at Leicester built on these early interests. About 80 per cent of his published output treated of subjects in the south-west of England, especially Devon. Professor Campbell stressed the importance of Harold's publishing much of that work in local journals, making high quality papers accessible to local people.

Professor Charles Phythian-Adams then spoke from the perspective of a colleague, although he had first met Harold, metaphorically, under a bramble-bush, eight years before Harold joined the Department. This meeting had taken place at a conference on hedge dating. In the evening, Charles and Harold shared a table with W.G. Hoskins and H.P.R. Finberg – what a collection of the Leicester school! Harold had received a copy of Hoskins' *Making of the English Landscape* as a school prize and the influence of Hoskins and Finberg, combined with his own love of Devon, shaped much of his work. He had an eye for the minutiae of life, producing papers on wheelbarrows, tree-climbing goats, *garciones*, and fishermen's huts (later expanded into his important book on *The Evolution of the Fishing Village*). When he began to teach at Leicester, including leading field courses, Harold had to get to know a new region, the East Midlands. Although this had an impact on his understanding of local societies, he published little on this area. Apart from his own research and teaching, Harold gave much to the Department. When Marc Fitch House was opened in 1989 Harold took on the running of the library, which was part of the Fitch bequest - though he did have a tendency to treat it as his own! Charles also praised his founding of the 'Friends', a perhaps unique body for a university department. Chivvying students to sit on the committee and presiding over the annual Hoskins' Memorial Day, Harold was 'a benign elder statesman' of the Friends. He also worked assiduously for a number of Devon organisations and had a wide following in that county. However, he always remained somewhat aloof from his colleagues in the Department, his private life hermetically sealed off. He was a massively talented colleague, funny but touching, charming but infuriating!

Dr Andrew Jackson spoke on 'Harold Fox, Devon and Leicester, a student's view'. He first got to know Harold when he took the MA course in 1991-2, recalling first impressions of a 'shifty-looking character on the doorstep of Marc Fitch House, cigarette in hand'. However, he soon realised that Harold as a teacher was someone 'in and of the past', who wove together the facts and figures of the past to convey them charmingly and clearly to the present. He met Harold again later through the committee of the Devon Local History Society. His last memories of him were of a chance meeting in Ilfracombe a few months

before Harold died. Giving him a lift back to Tiverton, they got lost – two Devon historians lost in Devon. Harold had eyes only for the landscape, not road signs, remarking excitedly at one point ‘Look, Andrew, that farmer has kept his small fields.’

The final speaker of the morning was **Dr Sam Turner**, who met Harold only in 2001. The young archaeologist was somewhat nervous of the reputation of the renowned historian when he first came into his Devon office to enquire about the research he was engaged upon. He soon realised that Harold was kindness itself, following up his searching questions by sending through many references and copies of papers. By this time Harold had been introduced to the joys of email and Dr Turner regaled us with a number of ‘howlers’ which were typical of Harold’s teasing, tongue-in-cheek, sometimes school-boyish, style. Dr Turner reiterated themes of earlier speakers – Harold’s love of and commitment to the west-country, especially Devon, his scholarly generosity, his willingness to engage with ‘amateur’ historians and to share his deep knowledge enthusiastically and infectiously.

As Dr Jackson had remarked earlier, Harold pointed out an historical road to his students – a road which many of us are still tramping.

Professor Christopher Dyer opened the afternoon session, introducing a series of papers given by Harold’s erstwhile research students, stressing how important this aspect of his work was to Harold. Professor Dyer identified the main areas of interest through Harold’s career: starting with field systems, moving on to settlement and then social history, finally concentrating on Dartmoor.

Harold made a habit of challenging accepted explanations. After studying the field systems of Devon, he came to the then radical conclusion that there had originally been open fields there but they had been enclosed in the late medieval period. When, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, he turned his attention to the field systems of Leicestershire, Harold produced a revisionist article in which he showed that the movement from two-field to three-field systems had been greatly exaggerated. His interests in settlement, both the dispersed ones of the south west and the nucleated ones of the Midlands led him to consider their seasonal nature, culminating in his book on fishing villages. Ultimately he

brought all of these themes together in his work on Dartmoor.

Dr Chris Thornton then presented his work on constructing population figures for Taunton manors in the 13th and 14th centuries. He is using the tithing penny payment records, from 1209 – 1320, to find evidence of famine and agricultural crisis in the early 14th century.

Dr Thornton speculated that a rapid rise in population in the half-century after 1209 might be due, in part, to the growth of Taunton and its associated industrialization, but concluded that the evidence indicated that the growth was largely rural. The rate of growth slowed after the 1280s. The impact of the great famine of 1316-1317 was clearly discernable and after that there was a steady downward drift, although the population did remain at a higher level than at the start of the records.

When examining individual sub-manors, a different pattern emerges. Those associated with industry or corn-production tended to do worse post-famine than the more pastoral ones. This trend was reversed, following the post-plague crisis, with the central sub-manors tending to do better than those more remote.

Dr Mike Thompson continued the Somerset theme by looking at the building of a barn, byre and carthouse in Street (just to the west of Glastonbury) in the 1340s. In the accounts of the building he finds evidence of Glastonbury Abbey’s control over its manorial possessions. The work, initiated by Abbott John, was accomplished with the resources of men, money and materials being contributed by other manors. Many of the contributors already had their own barns, and indeed Street had an existing one which was demolished. Three quarters of the expense was on labour. The Street barn, built of timber and stone, contrasts interestingly with the expenses of the Ivinghoe barn in the Chilterns, where 63 per cent of the costs went on the materials for its wooden construction. Dr Thompson concluded with a conjectural reconstruction of what the barn might have looked like.

Dr Penny Upton spoke on field systems - a theme close to Harold’s heart. Her study area was a number of paired villages in South Warwickshire, some with shared field systems, some not.

16th-century court rolls revealed that Chadshunt and Gaydon had separate ploughing arrangements and different sized virgates. Harold's suggestion was that Gaydon evolved after Chadshunt, in a form of secondary dispersal, where new farmsteads grew up after nucleation, giving rise to separate field systems. By contrast the villages of Upper and Lower Itchington had the same organisation as Gaydon and Chadshunt, but did share a field system.

Gaydon moved to a three-field system in the 1590s by agreement. Harold attributed such moves to a growing knowledge of clover. The Lordship of Chadshunt was sold to the Newsome family from Itchington and, after some court battles, the family succeeded in removing the villagers and replacing them with cattle. All that remains today is a manor house, a disused church and a few cottages.

Dr Peter Warner had the honour of being Harold's first PhD student, although they were nearly the same age. Sharing Harold's interest in coastal settlements, Dr Warner talked about his own work on Walberswick, on the Suffolk coast.

Walberswick fits Harold's pattern of late settlement, originally offering nothing more than a sandy beach and poor agricultural land. But when the river diverted to Dunwich in the late 14th century, Walberswick, with its harbour, became a thriving port. However, this prosperity was not to last. When the Lordship went to the Brooks family, they sought to exploit the settlement to fund an increasingly lavish lifestyle. This led to a series of increasingly bitter legal disputes over the commons and the proceeds from the Quay, which eventually tore the community apart. After this Walberswick returned to its original quiet obscurity.

Dr Mike Thornton

'Lord's man or community servant? The village hayward in 15th century Northamptonshire'

This paper explored the question of whether the hayward acted exclusively for the lord of the manor or jointly for lord and tenants alike, largely by analysing references in extracts from court rolls. His duties ranged from maintaining the temporary fences erected to stop cattle straying, to presentment to the court of those tenants whose cattle had trespassed or who had broken into the pound. Sometimes he was referred to as 'the Common Hayward', clearly acting for the people, for, as he was elected in the manor court from

amongst the unfree tenants, his fellow tenants were responsible to the lord for seeing that the hayward carried-out his duties. Whether or not he was responsible for protecting both the lord's and the tenants' crops may have depended upon whether the lord's land was intermingled with that of the tenants or self-contained. On those manors where he was clearly acting for the lord alone, it was left to the other tenants to take action against wrongdoers.

Dr Alan Fox

'Geographical variation in probate inventories of the East Midlands'

For this topic, research was confined to Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and the greater part of Northamptonshire. The focus was upon those specific words used by the farming community for possessions of (especially) livestock. Spellings and pronunciations varied from area to area but the main distinctions were that some terms used in one area were completely missing in another. For example, there were no 'kine' in Northamptonshire. Some terms were exclusively associated with arable farming, others with pastoral. Boundaries could be drawn beyond which terms were not used. These often coincided with county boundaries, which were also often economic frontiers.

Dr Jem Harrison.

'Landscape, work and people; the impact of the railway around Highbridge'

In this enthusiastic presentation, Harrison rounded-off the afternoon's proceedings with the story of the coming of the railways to this small Somerset town, (today located about 3 km south of J22 of the M5). Highbridge was the lowest crossing-point of the River Broome and the period from 1841 into the 20th century, saw its development as a railway centre, mostly as part of the Somerset and Dorset Railway. The gradual appearance of railway workshops was traced from contemporary maps, together with other influences, such as the spread of housing for the workforce. The skills employed were many and various, including sought-after general apprenticeships for the sons of well-to-do families.

Sylvia Pinches, Mandy de Belin, Noel Tornbohm

Harold Fox Day on Dartmoor



On 6 September, during what turned out to be one of the wettest weekends of a year with plenty of rain-sodden competition, the Dartmoor Society organised a day to commemorate Harold Fox. The medieval settlement at Houndtor was the focus of the day, a site where Harold brought countless MA students on the Devon field-course. Another field-course regular, Tom Greeves, masterminded proceedings with contributions from Guy Beresford, who knew Mrs Minter, the excavator of Houndtor, well and wrote up her findings for *Mediaeval Archaeology* (23, 1979); south-western pottery expert, John Allan; and the curator of the Royal Albert Memorial Museum Exeter, who brought along several examples of medieval finds from Dartmoor. Around a hundred people braved the conditions to pay tribute to Harold's scholarship and his enthusiasm for Dartmoor.

Richard Stone



New Publications

The friendly flâneur

During the last decade or so of my employment at the University, I was involved mostly in the delivery of early-modern content, not least to the MA Humanities (three sessions on gender and history, languages of gender, and masculinity/ies)

and for a module for second-year undergraduate historians. For the last, the two sessions were concerned again with languages of gender and also 'community'. In the final year of my time, however, I was asked to undertake another session for the undergraduate module. It occurred to me that one of the most pressing current issues at that time was the varied approach taken to social relations in early-modern England by Keith Wrightson ('sorts' of people), Henry French ('chief inhabitants' and local élites) and Andy Wood (pre-conditions of 'class'). Whilst the other sessions had been purposely highly participative ('student-centred' in the pedagogical language of the time), the new session was delivered as a 'lecture'. Familiarity with the other material allowed me to open discussion, but uncertainty about complete grasp of the new material made me more circumspect.

The venture was, nonetheless, rewarding and induced much reflection. The questions continued to circulate in my mind from time to time. Simultaneously, because of many restless nights, I was constantly reading English 'Renaissance' drama and, in particular, the City comedies, the works of Dekker, Middleton, Rowley, Ford and so on, and those of Ben Jonson. As is often the case in those wee hours, the imagination ran riot, and several lines of thought coalesced. (I'm actually composing this piece at midnight!). Yet other influences asserted themselves: for some reason I decided to revisit the work of Erving Goffman which I had not read for ages. The result was the publication in February 2006 of *Social Proprieties: Social Relations in Early-modern England (1500-1680)* (Washington, D.C.). It is a piece of work which evolved directly from teaching: teaching informing research! So much was that so, that I am inordinately grateful to those second-year undergraduate historians who bore with me on that day – and it was a big challenge for them.

During my retirement since July 2005, we (Suella and I) have had the opportunity to travel more extensively. Our destinations have included Sevilla, Cordoba, Granada, and a smaller place called Ronda, in Andalucia, and Carcassonne and Nîmes in southern France. Our leisurely approach to these urban places was probably reminiscent of Walter Benjamin's notion of the middle-class flâneur, meandering through 19th century Paris. Benjamin had in mind Baudelaire, but our urban ramblings were different from *Les Fleurs du Mal* and *Spleen de Paris*, not the foggy, rain-drenched

early mornings of Paris, but the more soporific sun-drenched wanderings in more romantic and romance places. (To idle away some time, I had, indeed, popped into *Carrefour* in Nîmes and bought another copy of *Les Fleurs*). We experienced the *frisson*, the sensation, of the urban (not the individual senses of the urban, but the total confrontation). Space was represented to us, but in that representation was part at least of its reality: the combination of the material and the imaginary. Those escapades led me to revisit the spatial. It was something with which I had toyed in some papers in 2003 and 2004. It now felt time to try to produce something more concrete. The result is *Social Geographies in England (1200-1640)* (Washington, D.C., 2007).

Marcel Mauss conceived the 'gift' as the *prestation totale*; perhaps that is life: *une prestation totale*, each part indivisible, inseparable. I reflect with some amazement, even wonderment, about how these notions arise, out of the quotidian, unintentionally, but subjectively, initially purposelessly, but then purposefully. Now it's time to take my tablet.

Dave Postles



Treasure-hunting at the Book Sale 2008
Photo. Anne Pegg

Church photographs for sale

Those members who knew Keith Davis will be saddened to learn that he passed away in July. His family has very generously donated his book collection to the Centre and to the Friends, for which we are very grateful, and the books we have received will be included in next year's book sale. The donation also includes a large collection of approximately 1,250 photographs of English churches plus a few postcards. These generally feature external architecture, interior stone and wood carvings and stained glass windows; Leicestershire, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire and Cheshire are particularly well represented, with a smaller number taken in Cambridgeshire, Wiltshire, Norfolk and elsewhere. If anyone would be interested in purchasing this collection (and any offer will be considered), please email me at pjf7@le.ac.uk to arrange to view. Given the size of this collection, postage would be expensive but the photographs could be collected from Salisbury Road at any convenient time. The friends are very grateful to the family of Keith Davis for their donation and I hope that these photographs will find a good home with another lover of church architecture.

Pam Fisher

Recent Deaths

Our sincere sympathy to the families of Friends:

Audrey Godfrey, Leicester
Keith Davis



Seminar Programme 2008-9

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.

2008

- Thurs 9 October** Dr Lloyd Bowen (University of Cardiff),
'Seditious words and popular royalism in mid-17th century England'.
- Thurs 29 October** Dr Nicola Verdon (University of Sussex),
'The contested nature of rural women's work in inter-war England and Wales'.
- Thurs 6 November** Prof. Steve Rigby (University of Manchester),
'Urban population in late medieval England'.
- Thurs 20 November** Dr Anne Winter (Vrije Universiteit Brussel),
'Policies on migration and settlement, 1700-1900: Comparing England and Wales with the Continent'. **Followed by AGM.**
- Thurs 4 December** Dr Samantha Shave (University of Southampton),
'(Re)constructing lives 'on the parish': individuals' experiences of poor relief in the early 19th-century English south west'.

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- Thurs 15 January** Dr Mark Gardiner (Queen's University of Belfast),
'The expansion of settlement and the possession of nature in high medieval England'.
- Thurs 29 January** Dr Alannah Tomkins (University of Keele),
'"We were all happy there"? The experience of workhouse life, c. 1770-1834'.
- Thurs 19 February** Dr Jason Peacey (University College London),
'Provincial news junkies: the circulation and consumption of civil war print culture'.
- Thurs 26 February** Prof. Huw Pryce (University of Bangor),
'Race, Geography and the Origins of the Welsh: New Perspectives on a Nation's Past, 1880-1930'.
- Thurs 12 March** Dr Stephen Joyce (University of Nottingham),
'The black economy of the Soar Valley, 1945-1971: an oral history'.

USEFUL CONTACTS

Reservations for seminars

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