## Friends of the Centre for English Local History

# NEWSLETTER

#### UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER NUMBER 29 OCTOBER 2016



#### **REGISTERED CHARITY NO. 1073528**

#### Friends of the Centre for English Local History - Public Benefit Statement

Our objectives are to provide financial and other support to the Centre for English Local History at the University of Leicester, and to its students, and to support the study of local history more generally.

Membership of the Friends is open to anyone with an interest in local history – no qualifications are needed, and there is no need to have been a student of the Centre for English Local History, or of the University of Leicester. Members receive a number of benefits. These include an invitation to local history seminars and an annual lecture, which are free of charge, and free use of the research library at the Centre. The Friends of the Centre for English Local History also organises a programme of study days, weekends, conferences and outings, which are open to members and non-members alike. The annual lecture is also open to non-members, upon payment of a small entrance fee. These events aim to increase people's knowledge about local history.

The Centre for English Local History at the University of Leicester is widely respected because it helped to found local history as an academic discipline, and because it continues to be a source of high quality research and fresh ideas. It remains unique because it is devoted to the study of local history everywhere in England and Wales. The Friends of the Centre for English Local History provides bursaries and financial support to MA and PhD students who wish to pursue courses or research within the Centre, including payment of, or towards, course fees, the cost of field courses and research-related travel expenses. This helps students in financial need from any part of the world and all walks of life to pursue their interest in English and Welsh local history at the highest level.

The Friends of the Centre for English Local History also assists the Centre by providing volumes for its library, which students and members of the Friends may use for their research, and by assisting both financially and with practical help in the organisation of academic conferences, which further the spread of knowledge and are open to everyone with an interest in the subject. A small publication programme also makes high quality research available to anyone.

**The cover picture:** Flowerpot man in the walled garden at Hughenden, Buckinghamshire © Sylvia Pinches 2016.

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#### **EDITORIAL**

As you will see from the following pages, it has been another productive year for the Centre and for the Friends. I am very grateful to everyone who has written reports, sent photographs and submitted news items, not just for this issue but for the previous four, too. I can scarcely believe that this is my fifth edition, and therefore, under our constitution, my final one. I trust that you will all be as supportive to the new editor, who will be appointed at the AGM on 24th November.

I have been a member of the Friends for 22 years, and have spent 18 of them on the committee, wearing one hat or another. In that time, I have seen many changes. There has been a turn-over of staff (Keith Snell is the only one left from when I arrived in 1994), changes in accommodation, now shared with Urban History, Midland History Archive, and Leicestershire VCH, and a succession of administrative re-organisations of the Centre (it was a Department when I arrived). Throughout that time, though, the research and teaching undertaken by staff has been of the highest order. Students of all ages and backgrounds have been welcomed, encouraged and sent on their way some to apply their newly-honed skills in pursuing their own research, often involved with local history societies, and some to go on to an academic career. This edition's 'Talking to Friends' article (p. 21) focusses on one such person: Susan Kilby. I am also particularly pleased to see that one of the research seminars this coming year will be given by Dr Nicola Verdon (Sheffield Hallam), who did the MA at the same time as me.

And finally, a reminder from our Membership Secretary that subscriptions are due on 1st October. It makes her life (and yours) much easier if you pay by standing order. The current subscriptions are £12 for an individual and £15 for joint membership. Could you complete a Gift Aid form? She is also trying to compile a list of members' email addresses. For any queries on the foregoing, please email Ann Schmidt annschmidt1@hotmail.com or write to her care of the Friends, 5 Salisbury Road, Leicester, LE5 1QR

Sylvia Pinches

#### THE CENTRE REPORT

This is proving to be a highly productive and innovative period for staff. All are engaged in path-breaking new research, often crossing academic boundaries, which should generate wide academic and public impact. PhD numbers are high, including recently people from the USA, though most of our students are of course British. The recent cohort of MA students has been extraordinarily successful in obtaining studentships to pursue PhDs, and so the MA degree has clearly served them well for their future careers and research. It is now in its 50th Anniversary year, and a number of celebratory events mark this. We have about thirty PhD students registered here, studying a great range of stimulating topics, and about twelve MA students, while there is also interest in our modules from those doing the general History and Victorian Studies MA degrees. Staff are involved in a wide and attractive array of English Local History related undergraduate modules, including special subjects, 'People and Places' modules, and many other courses such as 'Great Britain: The State We're In'. Readers may have seen recent advertising by the Centre in major public history magazines, such as BBC History, and we are hoping that this will further expand our MA degree numbers in the near future. Public interest in Richard III has also augmented interest in degree studies here. And events such as the Friends of the Centre's Annual W.G. Hoskins Lecture - this year admirably delivered by Professor Charles Watkins – are well attended and a tribute to the wide repute of this famous Centre.

A recent very generous bequest to the Centre of £145,000 from the late Eleanor Vollans has been much welcomed, and has allowed us to expand our work in various important ways. This was on top of sustained support from Eleanor over many years, and her quiet generosity (usually not wishing it to be known) has been a remarkable and welcome feature. On many occasions she quietly wrote out a cheque for £1,000 or £2,000 to the Centre after one of our seminars, and this level sustained generosity and whole-hearted endorsement has been characteristic of this fine scholar (notably of the Kent-Sussex region) whose death during the past year we all regret. Other funds from the Friends of the Centre, Hoskins/Duffield, Marc Fitch, and the late Harold Fox, render the Centre remarkably buoyant financially, and thus able to offer very useful aid to our students while they pursue undergraduate, MA or PhD studies here. In addition, we have benefitted gratefully from others such as the late Professor Ed Miller who have recently and kindly donated their libraries to us, in his case much augmenting our holdings on Scottish and medically-related local history.

A sad event during the past few months has been the death of Professor David Hey - an important member of the Centre here before moving to his much-loved Sheffield region, and a firm supporter and fellow researcher over many years. David will be known, or his famed work on regional and family history will be, by all readers of this report. Indeed, in recent years he had been pioneering links to the Genetics Department of this University, co-authoring an innovative book with Turi King, and coexamining PhDs with Sir Alec Jeffreys of DNA fingerprinting and profiling fame. This has underscored just how important English Local History is for fuller understanding in the medical and genetic fields, encompassing as it does migration, demographic studies, cultural regions, historic trans-national movements of people and National obituaries have appeared, the like. including a lengthy one in the Guardian by Professor Christopher Dyer. It is good to report that a book by David Hey, The Grass Roots of English History: Local Societies in England before the Industrial Revolution, has just been published posthumously by Bloomsbury, showing his wide and engaging grasp of his subject. He will be much missed by our staff and students.

Let me turn to staff activities, which along with our students' work is a major component of the Centre's life. Kevin Schürer is on sabbatical, being a Visiting Scholar at the University of Cambridge where he is working with former colleagues at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. His work continues on the ESRC-funded Atlas of Fertility project led by Alice Reid. This project utilises the enormous I-CeM census database, covering the complete countries of England, Wales and Scotland for 1851-1861 and 1881-1911, and will produce an analysis of changing fertility patterns across England and Wales at the Registration Sub-District level applying the Own-Child Method of estimating age-specific fertility An additional novel aspect will be the

calculation of fertility rates according to where individuals were born rather than where they lived. which is how most conventional demographic rates are calculated. A paper on this will be given together with Alice Reid and Eilidh Garrett at the European Society for Historical Demography conference in Leuven, Belgium (September 2016). This will enable the effects of migration upon fertility to be measured directly for the first time in nineteenth-century England and Wales. Related to this project, further work is being undertaken with Simon Szreter on the special returns of the 1911 'fertility' census. With access now to the individual level records for the whole country it is possible to examine the data in more detail than previously, for example, analysing occupation-specific parity progression ratios. Lastly, work is also being undertaken on migration with Joe Day. Initial work focuses upon changing patterns of migration to London during the second half of the nineteenth century, looking at migration, for the first time, from the perspective of the place of departure rather than the place of reception. Such research fits in with wider agendas in other departments in this university looking at migration. A paper will also be given to the European Society for Historical Demography conference. Among recent publications are: K. Schürer, T. Penkova and Y. Shi, 'Standardising and coding birthplace strings and occupational titles in the British censuses of 1851 to 1911', Historical Methods, 48(4) (2015), pp. 195-213; K. Schürer, T. Penkova. 'Creating a typology of parishes in England and Wales: mining 1881 census data', Historical Life Course Studies, 2 (2015), pp. 38-57.

Andrew This year Hopper has consolidated English Local History's links with the National Civil War Centre at Newark Museum. Building on organising the Museum's inaugural conference in August 2015, he was guest curator of a temporary exhibition on the same theme, entitled 'Battle Scarred: Medicine, Surgery and Military Welfare during the British Civil Wars'. This was launched at the National Civil War Centre on 19 March 2016 with a video screening, and a piece of theatre. Centre Fellow, Eric Gruber von Arni, was co-curator, with additional support from Friends Maureen Harris and Mandy de Belin and AHRC-funded PhD students Stewart Beale and Hannah Worthen. The University have supported this with a grant of

£5,778 which has been used to fund 5,000 copies of a free exhibition brochure, and two Museum Studies MA student interns to collate feedback public engagement information for a proposed English Local History Impact Case Study for REF 2020 (the occasion on which the government collects and ranks statistics and activities of higher education in the UK with a view to on-going research funding). An article discussing the themes of the exhibition appeared in the July issue of History Today. Andrew is also preparing an edited volume of the Newark conference's proceedings to be co-edited by David Appleby of the University of Nottingham, with the same title as the exhibition above. There are ten contributors and the proposal is under consideration by Manchester University Press. This year Andrew has also prepared a large grant application for about £778,000 to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for a 4-year project entitled 'Welfare, conflict and memory during and after the Civil Wars, 1642-1700'. submitted in December 2015 and we await the result

This year has seen several publications by Richard Jones. These include a contribution on 'Names and archaeology' in The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming and 'Placenames in landscape archaeology' in Detecting and Understanding Historic Landscapes. Beyond these empirical and methodological discussions, he has offered an alternative theoretical approach to the interpretation of English place-names in 'Old English place-names as a repository for Traditional Ecological Knowledge', submitted to the Journal of Ecological Anthropology. This is, in part, the starting point of a major two-year research project, led by Richard and funded by the Leverhulme Trust, exploring the 'watery' placenames of England and Wales. The study seeks to understand how people perceived, understood, and mapped the presence, behaviour and characteristics of water in the early medieval landscape, but also has one eye firmly on the present day threat of flooding. Can we use placenames to create more resilient and sustainable communities in the modern context of climate change? Can we use place-names to enhance current efforts to mitigate the threat of floods? This is a project that has already attracted the attention of the Environment Agency and the National Flood Forum. and has received international attention through article an

published in the US science and culture magazine Nautilus (<a href="http://nautil.us/issue/30/identity/the-science-hidden-in-your-town-name">http://nautil.us/issue/30/identity/the-science-hidden-in-your-town-name</a>). Susan Kilby, who completed her PhD in English Local History a few years ago, will be welcomed back to the Centre as one of the four Research Associates employed on this project.

Beyond place-names, Richard has been working principally in two other areas. First, he has been exploring the utility of classical and theory elemental medieval in landscape archaeology, running a session at the Theoretical Conference in Bradford Archaeology December, which has resulted in a co-authored article due in Archaeological Dialogues entitled 'Is it time for an elemental (re)turn in archaeology?'. Secondly, there has been involvement in studying the historical genetics of Normandy, which saw Richard involved in an ethical, media and political debate over DNA studies in France. Richard reported provisional results to participants and an expectant media in Normandy this Easter. This work was part of his contribution to the Leicester-based 'Impact of Diasporas on the Making of Britain' project. Underpinning this research has been a desire to create a comparative genetic dataset against which we might measure the relative scale and impact of Scandinavian (Viking!) settlement in Britain and Normandy at the end of the first millennium AD, a legacy which we still live with today.

Keith Snell has published Spirits of Community: Belonging and Loss in England, 1750-2000 (Bloomsbury, June 2016), 345 pp., a book that considers past accounts of 'community decline' to put some of our modern issues into perspective. It assesses representations of the 'decline of community', ideas about 'spirits of community' in the past, the politicised forms of community nostalgia, the accompanying expressions of belonging and loss, artistic/literary forms of community nostalgia, and how current analyses of the 'decline of community' differ from those hitherto. The book will appear in paperback towards the end of 2016. He wrote an article entitled 'Agendas for the historical study of loneliness and lone living', The Open Psychology Journal, 2015, 8, (Suppl. 2-M2) pp. 61-70, and a chapter on 'Modern loneliness in historical perspective', in Ami Rokach (ed.), The Correlates of Loneliness (Bentham Science, 2016), pp. 3-33. Two other publications are forthcoming on this

theme and on the rise of single-person households. He also co-edits Rural History with Tom Williamson (UEA) and Carl Griffin (Sussex University. He is currently working on landscapes and loneliness, and the historical demography of living alone, which has seen such an extraordinary and regionally interesting rise in recent decades. A number of conference papers on this theme have also resulted, including one he delivered at the recent 50th Anniversary Conference of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. Further research by him covers aspects of memorialisation churchyard and cemetery (notably 'rustication', and the decline of the Gothic), with an eye to a book on churchyards and their history. As so many churchyards become 'redundant', and as many churches and Nonconformist chapels close, this is clearly going to be a significant heritage, social and economic issue into the future. He is pursuing grant sources (notably the European Research Council) for a major project on 'Loneliness in History', addressing historically the current so-called 'loneliness epidemic'. And he is involved in a detective hunt for the identity of 'Walter', the notoriously rampant author of the world's longest autobiography: My Secret Life (11 vols, c. 1890). Books, scholarly articles and TV programmes have puzzled over who 'Walter' really was. He is one of the key sources in the history of sexuality. The local history clues provided by that anonymous author look like being his undoing, perhaps only detectable through local history skills, and the social historical and psychological implications of his detection will be fascinating.

Rarely has such a range of interesting and inter-disciplinary work been conducted at the Centre! In addition, we have a large number of visiting and honorary fellows at the Centre, from as far afield as China, whose work and contributions are highly valued. English Local History, as founded by W.G. Hoskins in 1948 with Vice-Chancellor Frederick Attenborough, continues to thrive, to show its high relevance to modern issues, to be internationally emulated, to broach new boundaries and disciplinary liaisons, and to explore a great diversity of themes of major importance and interest to us today.

K.D.M. Snell, Director of the Centre.

## Seminar programme 2015-16

8 October 2015

**Christopher King** (Nottingham), *Houses and society in an English provincial city: domestic buildings in Norwich, 1350-1660.* 

Dr King is a specialist in late medieval and historical archaeology, with a particular emphasis on urban archaeology and the archaeology of standing buildings. His research interests include the study of domestic architecture and life within the household and the development of medieval and early modern urban landscapes. Having completed a PhD on late medieval and early modern urban houses in Norwich at the University of Reading (2006), he spent four years here at the University of Leicester as a Lecturer (2006-7) and as a British Academy Postdoctoral Research Fellow (2007-10). The research project at Leicester was entitled 'Voices of Dissent: The Cultural Landscapes of Urban Nonconformity 1580-1780'. His paper at CELH returned to his earlier work on medieval and early modern Norwich. Unfortunately, no report was submitted of this. Readers who want to learn more about the topic may like to look at two of Dr King's publications:

KING, C., 2009. 'The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants' houses, c. 1400-1660' *World Archaeology*. 41(3), 471-488

KING, C., 2015. Private lives and public power: Norwich merchants' houses between the 14th and 16th centuries. *In:* HESLOP, T. A. and LUNNON, H. E., eds., *Norwich: Medieval and Early Modern Art, Architecture and Archaeology:* The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XXXVIII Maney Publishing. 341-358

Sylvia Pinches

#### 29 October 2015

**Andrew Burn** (Durham), Surviving the 'hard and tedious winter': seasonal work and poverty in seventeenth-century Newcastle upon Tyne.

Andy Burn is the postdoctoral research assistant on the 'Social Relations in English Society, 1500-1640' project at the University of Durham. His PhD thesis examined the changing social context of work in 17th century Newcastle upon Tyne,

based on a relational database of tens of thousands of parish, tax and probate records. As with the previous seminar, no report was submitted. Readers can look forward to two publications by Dr Burn to shed light on the topic.

Forthcoming 'Wage labour, wealth and the power of a database: unlocking communities of work outside urban guilds in Newcastle upon Tyne', in Colson, Justin & van Steensel, Arie (eds.), Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe, Routledge.

Forthcoming 'Work before play: occupations in Newcastle upon Tyne, 1600-1720', in Green, Adrian & Crosbie, Barbara (eds.), *The economy and culture of North East England, c. 1500-1800*.

Sylvia Pinches

#### 5 November 2015

Mark Bailey (UEA), Patterns of migration in late-medieval England.

Before giving his paper, Professor Bailey confessed that he was still in the process of pulling the strands of his research together and warned us to expect 'something of a dog's What he gave us, however, was something of a feast. He began by summarising previous studies of late medieval migration. Little has been written on the subject, largely because sources tend to be poor, anecdotal, and partial. General findings have been that there were high levels of migration in the period particularly amongst males in their late teens and early adulthood, that migration was very local, and that mobility increased after the Black Death. The most reliable quantitative data has been geographical and provided by locative surnames in lay subsidies and documents relating to admission of freemen. Questions which remain difficult to answer include those on levels of female migration, the extent of rural to urban migration, and circular migration. Professor Bailey has addressed these issues by looking at records of flown serfs, chevage and presentments of absence, licences to educate, licences to pursue a trade and merchet. The frequency and distribution of chevage and presentments for absence both increase after 1350, possibly reflecting an increase in lordly sensitivity to absence. Chevage was a payment made for absence and represented a 'legal absence' whilst presentments for absence represented an illicit

Individuals who paid chevage were absence. likely to be doing so not because they were coerced to do so by their lord, but in order to maintain an interest in a holding with a view to Professor Bailey's research has allowed him to build up a textured sense of what individuals were doing. It has highlighted the significance of circular migration. It has also revealed that about a third of migrants went to towns, but to market towns or seigniorial boroughs rather than to royal boroughs. indicates that those individuals were motivated by the economic 'pull' of towns rather than by the 'push' of oppressive lordship. However, with a developing remunerative rural labour market and increased monetarisation of tenure, customary land became more attractive to outsiders and rural migration remained important.

Professor Bailey's paper was well received by the audience and generated a lot of discussion. Issues discussed included the amount of chevage paid and regional variations, family migration, intra-estate migration, occupational differences in migration patterns, the role of apprenticeships, and the coincidence of geographic precision in post Black Death migration data with the 'great naming revolution' and the conceptualisation of geography.

Anne Stones

19 November 2015

**Ian Atherton** (Keele), *The local commemoration of the English Civil War*.

The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion 1660 'obliterated' the offences committed during the Civil Wars, except the regicide. Or did it? Matthew Neufeld's recent book, The Civil Wars after 1660: Public Remembering in Late Stuart *England*, identified three stages in the memory of the Civil Wars: firstly, a deliberate 'forgetting', then a remembering, not to refight old battles but to justify or protest at the Restoration, gradually feeding into the discourse of 'The Nation'. Neufeld's work was largely based on published sources whereas other authors, including Atherton himself, have used more documentary sources. David Cressy explored rituals of remembrance emphasising the use of bell-ringing for national commemoration and the addition in 1660 of 29th January and 29th May as days to mark royal martyrdom and restoration. Mark Stoyle used the petitions of maimed soldiers to explore something of the experiences of the ordinary men caught up in the conflict.

Using the three paradigms of forgetting, the nation and the individual, Dr Atherton explored the function of place in these discourses. Medieval battlefields were seen as sites of memory and frequently a battlefield cross was erected. This was not the case with the 17thC battlefields in England. By the 18thC a number of places had associations with the Civil Wars and some of the main protagonists, including Wintour's Leap in the Forest of Dean – a feat which even the most expert of horsemen could not really have achieved. It seems that many of these associations, particularly with Oliver Cromwell and Prince Rupert, are of 18th and 19thC origin, in some cases obliterating earlier associations with lesser known individuals. The earlier, and therefore more nearly contemporary, associations tended to emphasise sacrifice, not only of the martyr king but of all those named in the lists of the war dead published by both sides. An inn in Addleton Moor, Yorkshire, in the 1650s was named after Lord Brooke, the Parliamentarian leader killed at the siege of Lichfield. The Loyal Sacrifice, published in 1648, described the battle of Colchester and said that grass would not grow on the site of it. This tradition was still being recorded in 1728.

Scars on buildings and ruins were regularly pointed out to travellers. The Boscobel oak was so much visited that in the late 17thC the owner had to put a fence around it to protect it from those wanting to snap off a twig. There is little evidence for visiting battlefields, however. handful of communities, including Nantwich, Lyme Regis, Barnstaple and Gloucester, set up their own commemorative ceremonies, some of which were sill performed in the 18thC. The emphasis of these ceremonies was on providence and divine intervention leading to deliverance. Gloucestrians celebrated 'our Gloucester Holiday for our great deliverance' from their enemies on 5th September 1643 and in the mid-18thC an antiquarian noted that 'as till of late' the people of Nantwich had marked the day of their relief by wearing holly ('holiday'). In Taunton they had special sermons, emphasising the community of godly people and exhorting all to even better living; the Taunton celebrations even spread into neighbouring parishes.

of inclusion The symbolism and community helped to obscure divisions, not only between royalists and parliamentarians but, in the later 1640s and 1650s, amongst parliamentarians themselves. There were shifts in the details of what was being commemorated. Group memory could become contentious. In Taunton they ended with two celebrations, commemorating different events. In 1661 Worcester tried to set up a ceremony on 3<sup>rd</sup> September, a date with very mixed messages, being the day of Cromwellian victories at Dunbar (1650) and Worcester (651), but also the day of Cromwell's death (1658).

A lively discussion followed this paper, a large part focussing on who instigated the various local celebrations and ceremonies. There is a lot of evidence from borough accounts of them being paid for out of the public purse, but no indication if the idea came from councillors or whether they were responding to public demand.

Sylvia Pinches

10 December 2015

**Joel Halcomb** (UEA), Religious radicalism and the parish in the English Revolution: the case of Norfolk.

Dr Halcomb did his PhD at Cambridge under Prof. John Morrill, looking at Congregationalism during the 20 years of revolution — when, where and how gathered churches were formed. A question raised by John Coffey at his *viva*, about the local context of the churches, sparked his present research, to try to understand the workings of these congregations on the ground.

A surprising number of congregations (250) existed within the local churches, i.e. they were led by ministers, and of them, 80% actually had a parish living. Tolmie in his book Triumph of the Saints, spoke of 'parochial congregationalism'. During the 1650s local churches were very much left to their own reformations. The problems faced by parishes during this time are still little understood. The work of Ann Hughes and others has shed light on 'triers and ejectors' and the framework of the church, but not how the parish operated on a weekly basis. Trustees were established for the maintenance of ministers. What was lacking was an agreed form of Hughes contends that the system worked fairly well, and Clare Cross (1972) saw it as a broadly tolerant church under Cromwell. However, in 1987 John Morrill suggested that many churches kept their books of Common Prayer and use and that puritans were less influential than the amount of historical interest has suggested.

Dr Halcomb has tried to understand what life was like in the 1650s under a congregational minister. He has taken three case studies, all in Norfolk: the market town of Wymondham, the port of Great Yarmouth and the parish of St George Tombland in Norwich. The main source for his research has been the parish registers (including looking at when and how retrospective entries were made after the Restoration) and some letters and other documents. The 1653 Marriage Act, instigated by the Hale Commission on Law Reform, closed loopholes in marriage law and meant that all marriages had to be civil, performed before Justices of the Peace. Clerks of registration were to be elected in the parishes and a register kept on vellum. There are no entries of any sort in the parish register of Wymondham for the period 1643-1653 – the pages may have been cut out. Great Yarmouth, in contrast, has two registers. The civil register records the date of birth and baptism and the parish register has a different date of baptism. The Great Yarmouth books also record the churchwardens, and Dr Halcomb suspects that each year one was Presbyterian and one Congregationalist. There seems to have been little apparent antagonism in the town. The parish of St George Tombland was run by Congregationalists, the living being vacant. There is no evidence that registers were kept, but there is a retrospective register. Public forms of worship - preaching, hymns, catechism continued but the exclusivity congregationalism 'unparished' people.

Questions elucidated the fact that the old form of registration was reintroduced 1660/62 and that many retrospective entries were made at this time. Keith Snell wondered whether many of these entries arose out of settlement disputes. He also referred to the 'rampant capitalism' of ministers who encouraged weddings and baptisms in their parishes for the fees. You often find these events recorded far from the home parish, posing problems for demographic [and family *Ed.*] historians.

Sylvia Pinches

#### 11 February 2016

**Simon Morgan** (Leeds Beckett), *Dr John Deakin Heaton and the "elusive civic pride" of the Victorian middle class*.

Dr Morgan has a particular interest in the fields of nineteenth-century public and political culture, with especial reference to the public role and experience of women, political pressure groups and Victorian celebrity culture. He has collaborated in the publication of the letters of Richard Cobden. His research into Cobden's emergence as a celebrity politician has led him to a wider interest in the history of celebrity. In some ways the subject of the seminar, John Heaton of Leeds contrasts with the prominence of Cobden both in Manchester and nationally as a Member of Parliament. Heaton aspired to influence rather than power as Dr Morgan explained, suggesting that his value to the historian of public culture lay in his nine volumes preserved by the iournals Yorkshire Archaeological Society person as much as the public record. The journals are autobiographical abstracts from his diaries which have not survived but which were used to complete the journals by his wife Fanny after his death in 1880. seminar centred on the material contained in the journals.

Heaton grew up in a well-to-do middle class family with a firm basis in aesthetics – his father was a bookseller and his sister Ellen became a noted art collector whose collection was donated to the Tate on the death of her nephew. His father took a practical view of John's future, however, and apprenticed him to a Leeds surgeon. He later studied medicine academically at University College, London where he graduated as an MD in 1843. With his career established, he became active in the group of merchants, professionals and industrialists who promoted public improvements to the city of Leeds through organisations like the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (he was a council member from 1845 and president from 1868 to 1872), the Leeds Conversation Club and the Leeds Improvement Society. Heaton had a private medical practice but also a number of public appointments including his election as physician to the public dispensary. This brought him in contact with the insanitary state of industrial Leeds. Dr Morgan presented several instances of the way in which Heaton intervened in the development of civic pride in Leeds. He supported the case for a new

town hall as a noble edifice erected among squalor. His campaign for an elegant clock tower was influenced by his experiences of such adornments in places like Bruges. The campaign for the town hall was successful and Dr Morgan explained how Heaton's connection with the Baines family who published the *Leeds Mercury* and with whom he had been connected since his youth were important to the way in which he conducted his campaigns. He frequently used letters to the paper to further his objectives. As an example Dr Morgan examined the way in which Heaton strove to reduce the smoke nuisance in the city. The campaign started with a meeting of the Conversation Club which led to the Town Clerk organising a public meeting in the Philosophical Hall. Newspaper coverage was followed by a deputation to the Town Council followed in turn further newspaper coverage and establishment of a monitoring committee. further example of Heaton's promotion of civic pride was his partisanship during the competition for academic priority between the Yorkshire College of Science, which ultimately became the University of Leeds, and Owen's College at Manchester.

Dr Morgan introduced the audience to a website (<a href="www.heatonmap.mobi">www.heatonmap.mobi</a>) which allows a smartphone user (or indeed a PC user anywhere) to explore the places in Leeds associated with Heaton – a novel and accessible way of presenting local history in the locality. As usual, Dr Morgan's fascinating exposition was followed by a lively debate.

#### Andrew Wager

#### 25 February 2016

**Stephanie Ward** (Cardiff), 'Friends and Fellow-Workers': Emotion, Gender and Class in Working-Class Women's Politics in the Later 1930s.

Stephanie Ward is Dr the author of Unemployment and the State in Britain: The Means Test and Protest in 1930s South Wales and North-East England (2013), and the talk lived up to expectations. It comprised a lively blending of the history of the emotions, women's history and political and labour history, brought together in original ways. The speaker stressed women's forms of organization in the Labour Party, political belonging, and their roles enfranchisement. The forms of women's political activism, especially in south Wales and some other mining regions, and the emotions of politics were highlighted. The history of emotions is a relatively new historical field, and this talk gave a focused account of 'emotional culture' in party campaigning and the Labour Party's local sections. Which emotions and related language were being played upon, and how? It drew upon impressive evidence from sources such as The Labour Woman of the 1930s, and it presented much documentation of the large extent of women's roles in political activism, for they often outnumbered men in such work. Many related issues were covered in the talk and in the stimulating discussion that followed, notably the languages of emotion, regional comparisons, the wider historical nature of Welsh popular protest going back to 'Rebecca' rioting in the 1840s, and the influences of religion.

#### Keith Snell

#### 3 March 2016

Emily Cockayne (UEA), Randle Holme's Erection. Chester Neighbours 1670-1730.

This paper concentrated on the building, and subsequent enlargement, of the Old Lamb Row in Lower Bridge Street, Chester, by a succession of family members all bearing the name Randle Holme, and focussed particularly on the role of Randle Holme III (1627 – 1700), author of the encyclopaedic *The Academie of Armorie*.

Dr Cockayne explained in detail, and with fine illustrations, the architecture of Old Lamb Row, which had covered walkways on the first floor, which was often under separate ownership from the ground floor properties. This, and the nearness of walkways on either side of the road, gave rise to residents having a high number of neighbours. She looked at how expansion was carried out often at the higher levels only, causing the premises on the ground floor to be literally overshadowed; She also examined the role of the stairways in this multi-neighbour environment and the position of the town assembly in policing neighbour problems.

In the 1670s, Randle Holme III extended the premises, and three neighbours petitioned for the removal of the building as it projected out too far. In 1672 he was fined for not taking down the extension, yet in 1677 he was a listed as being on a team investigating such encroachments. Despite this, his published work is unusually full of dedications to his neighbours, using epithets such as "esteemed friends", and one of the chapters of the encyclopaedia is dedicated entirely to his neighbours and "all others on Bridge Street". Although Randle Holme III did not hold public office, most of his neighbours, who have been identified by the Hearth Tax returns, did, and therefore held positions of influence within the town. Dr Cockayne has also studied the friendship networks operating in this part of Chester, and whilst many of the residents can be found in each other's wills, etc., it is clear that Holmes was not tightly connected with the residential elite of the street, even attending a different church.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the south side of the street became less commercial, and the "rows" were gradually enclosed and incorporated into the houses. This caused major problems for those as yet unenclosed rows, as residents and visitors were no longer able to just walk the length of the street along the rows, but had, instead, to repeatedly use the stairs to go back to change levels. Lamb Row, described as "the greatest blot and eyesore in the city", finally collapsed in 1821, due, no doubt, to its "topheavy" construction.

Dr Cockayne's paper covered a wide variety of topics relating to the buildings, the families, and the interaction between neighbours. Accompanying illustrations, both on screen and in handouts, covered both architecture, maps, and the network of individual residents.

Sylvia Pinches

#### 17 March 2016

**Samantha Williams** (Cambridge), *Did* unmarried parents feel shame, 1576-1900?

Dr Williams, a Fellow of Girton College, specialises in the old Poor Law, and is currently working on a book on unmarried mothers in London in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This paper concentrated on the concept of 'shame' in relation to illegitimacy. A variety of extremely disparate sources have had to be used in view of the long time-period of the study; and the idea of shame has been a very fluid concept. Dr Williams initially discussed the nature of shame: a painful emotion arising from the consciousness of something dishonouring, a situation which offends one's sense of modesty or decency.

Various issues impacting on the possible shame felt by unmarried mothers were examined: the introduction, in 1576, of affiliation orders under the Poor Law, the decline of church courts in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the rise of evangelicalism at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the criminalisation of fornication and bastardy in 1834. But what evidence is there for the *internal* feelings of shame which might be suffered in such cases?

The early modern period saw many 'accusations of bastardy' before the church courts, and this alone implies that bastardy was considered 'shameful'. The process of affiliation orders meant that men were affected, too, due to the financial implications of an order. Punishment in bastardy cases would usually be in the form of penance, but unmarried parents did not attend as required, resulting in their excommunication.

Following the decline of the church courts, cases were dealt with by secular means; chargeable bastardy, with the parish having to pay for an illegitimate child, was an offence against order. Examples of mothers and putative fathers being whipped were not uncommon. Under an act of 1609, unmarried mothers could be sentenced to one year's hard labour, though Dr Williams has only found one example of this occurring. Harbouring a pregnant woman was a criminal offence, but networks developed in London to keep such pregnancies secret.

Another area considered was whether cases of concealment of birth and infanticide can be regarded as manifestations of shame, or were they brought about more for financial reasons. The Foundling Hospital was established in 1739 to stop the shame of pregnancy turning into infanticide. Five lying-in hospitals were established in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and two of these accepted unmarried mothers (though they were segregated).

The attitude towards unmarried pregnancies certainly changed during the 1700s. By the end of the century, 7 per cent of all births were illegitimate (25 per cent of first-born children), and a further 25 per cent of brides were already pregnant. The rise in evangelicalism at the end of the century, and the "new philanthropy" of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century brought yet further changes in the attitude towards illegitimacy, though

throughout art and literature the subject was still seen through the eyes of 'noisy moralisers'. The 1834 Poor Law saw the end of affiliation orders, and women with illegitimate children were liable to the workhouse if they could not support themselves.

Dr Williams summarised the changes. The highest levels of shame were to be found in the early modern period, but there was a gradual decline in punishments and a downturn in shame. The late 18<sup>th</sup> century saw an upturn in the imposition of shame, and this culminated with the Poor Law Amendment Act which sought the total stigmatisation of bastardy.

This was a wide-reaching and well-received paper, and generated a lively discussion, including the suggestion that the subject could be followed through to the 1960s to show ongoing changes to attitude.

#### Robert Mee

#### 21 April 2016

**Bob Trubshaw**, What can we ask a gargoyle? Interrogating the first county-wide database of medieval carvings?

This lively and entertaining presentation was well-illustrated with many of the hundreds (if not thousands) of photographs that Bob Trubshaw and other participants in 'Project Gargoyle' have taken of gargoyles in Leicestershire and Rutland. Gargoyles, strictly speaking, are carvings designed to throw water from a roof. The project, funded initially by Leicestershire County Council, was established in 2009 with the aim of recording and photographing all figurative carvings inside and outside churches. Although the main period of interest is between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, Anglo-Saxon and Romanesque carvings are included, as are those in nineteenth-century restorations. Animal and human forms and faces abound, sometimes grotesquely embellished or contorted. As the data and images are amassed, Bob has been analysing them and grouping them thematically and by style.

Sylvia Pinches

## Centre publications 2015-16

#### Staff

#### **Keith Snell**

(Professor of Rural and Cultural History)

#### **Books**

Spirits of Community: Belonging and Loss in England, 1750-2000 (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 343 pp

#### Co-edited journal

Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture, 26:2 (2015), 140 pp.

Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture, 27:1 (2016). 127 pp.

#### Articles in edited volumes

'Modern loneliness in historical perspective', in Ami Rokach (ed.), *The Correlates of Loneliness* (Bentham Science, 2016), pp. 3-33.

#### Book Reviews

Review of: T.H. McK. Clough (ed.) Oakham Lordshold in 1787: a Map and Survey of Lord Winchelsea's Oakham Estate (2016), in Rural History, 27:2 (2016)

### Kevin Schürer (Professor of English Local History)

K. Schürer, T. Penkova and Y. Shi, 'Standardising and coding birthplace strings and occupational titles in the British censuses of 1851 to 1911', *Historical Methods*, **48**(4) (2015), 195-213

K. Schürer, T. Penkova. 'Creating a typology of parishes in England and Wales: mining 1881 census data', *Historical Life Course Studies*, **2** (2015) 38-57.

## Andrew Hopper (Senior Lecturer in English Local History)

#### Articles in journals

With Eric Gruber von Arni, 'Welfare for the Wounded', *History Today*, 66:7 (July, 2016), pp. 17-23.

#### Book Reviews

Peter Gaunt, *The English Civil War* (London: IB Tauris, 2014), in *English Historical Review*, 131:548 (2016)

David Asquith (ed.), *The Court Roll of the Manor of Wakefield from 15 October 1658 to 16 September 1659* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Court Roll Series, 18, 2015), in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 88:1 (2016).

#### Exhibition brochure

'Battle Scarred': Surgery, Medicine and Military Welfare during the British Civil Wars (Leicester, 2016), 24pp.

### Richard Jones (Senior Lecturer in Landscape History)

#### Articles in edited volumes

R. Jones, 'Place-names in landscape archaeology', in A. Chavarría Arnau and A. Reynolds (eds), *Detecting and Understanding Historic Landscapes* (SAP Società Archeologica: Mantova, 2015), pp. 209-224.

### Christopher Dyer (Emeritus Professor of Regional and Local History)

#### Articles in edited volumes

'Lords in a landscape: the Berkeley family and Northfield (Worcestershire)', in L. Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century*, 14 (2015), pp. 13-37

(with Paul Slack), 'Irene Joan Thirsk, 1922-2013', *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy*, XIV (2015), pp. 573-96

'Peasant farming in late medieval England: evidence from the tithe estimations by Worcester Cathedral Priory', in M. Kowaleski, J. Langdon and P. Schofield (eds.), *Peasants and Lords in the Medieval English Economy: Essays in Honour of Bruce M.S. Campbell* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 83-109

'David Hey', Guardian obituary, 23 March 2016

'Tawney and Postan: two pathways to understanding the pre-industrial economy', in J. P. Bowen and A.T. Brown (eds.), *Custom and Commercialisation in English Rural Society: Revisiting Postan and Tawney* (Hatfield, 2016), pp.23-35.

'The urbanization and de-urbanization of industrial production in England, 900-1500', in A. Molinari, R. Valenzani and L. Spera (eds.), *L'Archaeologia della Produzione a Roma (Secoli V-XV)* (Collection de L'Ecole Francaise de Rome, 516, 2016), pp. 571-81.

#### **Book reviews**

M. Bailey, *The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England*, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 68 (2015), pp. 311-13

S. Felgenhauer et al., *Hierarchies in Rural Settlement (Ruralia* vol. IX), in *Rural History*, 26 (2015), pp. 269-70.

D. Hall, The Open Fields of England, in Medieval Archaeology, 59 (2015), p.388.

D. Banham and R. Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* in *English Historical Review*, 131 (2016), pp. 135-6

## **Honorary Visiting Fellows**

#### Maureen Harris

#### Articles in edited volumes

'The "Captain of Oliver's Army' and the Wixford Catholics: Clerical/Lay Conflict in South Warwickshire, 1640-1674', *Warwickshire History*, 16:4 (2015/16), pp. 170-186

#### Mark Page

#### Articles in edited volumes

'Hampshire and the parish tax of 1428' in Linda Clark ed., *The Fifteenth Century XIV: essays presented to Michael Hicks* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.39-53.

#### **Sylvia Pinches**

#### Articles in edited volumes

'Anglesey Almshouses' in N. Goose, H. Caffrey, A. Langley eds, *The British Almshouse: new perspectives on philanthropy* ca 1400 – 1900 (Milton Keynes, FACHRS, 2016), pp. 169 – 189

Contributor to J. Cooper, ed., *Bosbury* London, University of London, 2016

#### Edited journals

Newsletter of the Friends of English Local History (2015), 42 pp.

Warwickshire History XVI, Number 5, Summer 2016, 40 pp

#### On-line publication

'David Garrick: the Life and Career of an English Actor', web content and transcript of the David Garrick Papers held at Hereford Museum. (Hereford Museum 2016)

www.davidgarrickhereford.org.uk

#### Kate Tiller

'How we remember: a review article', in *The Local Historian*, Vol. 45.4 (October 2015)

'Anniversaries, war and local history', in *History News* (American Association of State and Local History, Winter 2015)

Parsonages (Bloomsbury Shire Publications, 2016), 88 pp.

'Priests and people: changing relationships in south Oxfordshire, 1780-1920' (forthcoming, Berkshire Local History Association, 2016)

#### Eric Gruber von Arni

With Andy Hopper, 'Welfare for the Wounded', *History Today*, 66:7 (July, 2016), pp. 17-23.

#### Students

#### Hannah Worthen

'Supplicants and guardians: the petitions of royalist widows during the civil wars

and interregnum', Women's History Review, 25:4 (2016).

#### Stewart Beale

'John Leming and the High Court of Chivalry: urban ideas of social exclusivity in early Stuart Colchester', *The Local Historian*, 46:2 (2016).

#### Elizabeth Round

'Cursneh Hill: using antiquarian texts to explore local legends', The *Local Historian*, 46:1 (2016).

## Papers presented at seminars, conferences etc.

#### Staff

#### **Richard Jones**

'Water consciousness in the early medieval English landscape', European Association of Archaeologists' Conference, University of Glasgow, 3 September 2015

'Dedicatory place-names', *Church and Settlement: rural churches and the medieval landscape*, Society for Church Archaeology, University of Leicester, 3-6 September 2016

'Elemental theory: a dummies' guide for archaeologists', *Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference*, University of Bradford, 16 December 2015

'Bodiam Castle and Longthorpe Tower: elemental readings of later medieval building design', *Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference*, University of Bradford, 16 December 2015

'Early medieval settlements and place-names at the water's edge', *Place-Names and Medieval Settlement*, MSRG Winter Seminar, University of Nottingham, 12 December 2015

'Les génétiques historiques de la presqu'île du Cotentin', Valognes, 21 April 2016

'What's in a name?', Recent archaeological research in rural settlements in Eastern England, Medieval Settlement Research Group Spring

conference, University of Lincoln, 29 April-1 May 2016

'Viking DNA: attitudes to historical genetics in the Danelaw and Normandy, and the emergence of new national historiographies in the early twenty-first century', *Les historiographies des mondes normands*, *XVIIe-XXIe siècle: construction, influence, evolution*, Ariano Irpino 9-10 May 2016.

#### **Andrew Hopper**

'Did Cromwell's death signal the return of the monarchy?', **Gordon's School**, Woking, 4 May 2016

'Turncoats and Renegadoes: Changing Sides in the English Civil War', **The Historical Association: Lincoln**, 14 March 2016

"The Great Blow": Riot and Urban Governance

in Civil War Norwich', **Nottingham Trent University**, 21 January 2016

'Nostalgia during the Restoration', **University of Worcester**, 13 January 2016

'Remembering Black Tom Fairfax', **The Historical Association: Sheffield**, 12 November 2015

"The Great Blow": Riot and Urban Governance in Civil War Norwich', **Trinity College Dublin**, 12 October 2015

#### Consultancies

Guest Curator, with Dr Eric Gruber von Arni, of the temporary exhibition entitled 'Battle Scarred' at the National Civil War Centre, Newark Museum, launched on 19 March 2016 and closing on 2 October 2016.

Expert advisor to Richard Bean, playwright, Hull Truck and the Royal Shakespeare Company for a play about the Hothams and the Civil War to mark Hull's 2017 City of Culture.

#### Chris Dyer

'Magna Carta and the common people. Did peasants gain anything from the Great Charter?' Countesthorpe and Foston Heritage Group, September 2015

'Warwickshire history and the Warwickshire Local History Society', 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary meeting of the Warwickshire Local History Society, Stoneleigh Abbey, September 2015.

'Towns in medieval Buckinghamshire', Buckinghamshire Local History Network, Aylesbury, September 2015

'Themes in the history of diasporas', The Impact of Diasporas, at Royal Geographical Society, London, September 2015

'Did late medieval peasants emulate the gentry in their food culture?', International Medieval Congress, Leeds, July 2016

'Households great and small: aristocratic styles of life across the social spectrum in England, 1200-1500', Harlaxton Medieval Symposium, Harlaxton, Lincs., July 2016

'Houses and history: what do peasants' houses tell us about the people who lived in them?', Gloucestershire Building Recording Group, Thornbury, Glos., July 2016.

'Carpenters on the move in late medieval England', Vernacular Architecture Group, Leicester, January 2016

'Summing up', Workshop on Cold Politics, Birkbeck College, University of London, March 2016

'Economic history and other disciplines: why we need each other', Sowing the Seeds, Economic History Society, Cambridge, March 2016

'Farming the Forest: peasants in west Gloucestershire, 1200-1540', Forest of Dean Local History Society, Bream, April 2016 'The rise and fall of villages in the middle ages – recent research at Compton Scorpion', Chipping Campden History Society, October 2015

'John Heritage: the world of a Cotswold wool merchant', Banbury Historical Society, December 2015

'A new venture: the Leicestershire Record Series', Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, October 2015

### **Honorary Visiting Fellows**

#### Maureen Harris

'The "debauched" parson and the "wit-already-expired-rogue", Warwickshire parish politics 1660-1720, Warwickshire Local History Society, 15 March 2016

#### **Sylvia Pinches**

'Rebuilding Warwick after the Great Fire', Alcester Local History Society, 9 September 2015

'Compton Verney: the story of a great estate', Kenilworth Historical and Archaeological Society, 14 September 2015

'A Tale of Two Castles', North Cotswolds U3A, 1 March 2016

'Hodge: the life and hard times of the agricultural labourer', Leominster Local History Society, 20 April 2016

#### Conference organisation:

'Colwall and District Local History Fair', on behalf of the Victoria County History Trust, Colwall Village Hall, 18 June 2016

#### **Kate Tiller**

'Dorchester Abbey', Oxfordshire Record Society AGM, September 2015

'Hoskins and the Oxfordshire Landscape', The Making of the English Landscape day conference, Oxford University Department for Continuing Education, October 2015

'The Great War at Home', Banbury Historical Society, November 2015

'Contrasting Communities: open and closed revisited', Oxfordshire Architectural and Historical Society (January 2016) and Locality and Region Seminar, Institute of Historical Research (February 2016)

'Memorials and memories: 20<sup>th</sup>-century Suffolk histories and voices', British Association for Local History national conference, University Campus Suffolk, April 2016

'Memories and Memorials: some east coast English histories', Nantucket Historical Association, Massachusetts, April 2016

'Chapel and Community: Methodism in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Oxfordshire', Hook Norton Local History Group, April 2016

#### Conference organisation:

Community, Family and Kin: current themes and approaches (Joint conference for Friends of the Centre for English Local History, British Association for Local History and Local Population Studies Society), Leicester, November 2015

Growing Local History (National conference of BALH, in association with University Campus Suffolk), Ipswich, April 2016.

Chaired 'Precedents and legacies' session at 'The First World War: Commemoration and Memory', Imperial War Museum North, February 2016



Muareen Harris at Warwickshire Local History Society, 15 March 2016-09-22

### Prizes, Awards and Grants

#### **Grants**

#### Dr Andrew Hopper

AHRC Midlands 3 Cities PhD Studentship of £52,878 awarded to Elizabeth Round to undertake research on "Shiten Shepherde and a clene sheep"? Clergy-lay relationships in seventeenth-century Herefordshire'. Her co-supervisors will be two long-standing associates of the Centre, Dr David Appleby and Dr Christopher King, both of the University of Nottingham.

£5,878 from Research Impact Development Fund, University of Leicester, for 'Battle-Scarred' Exhibition at the National Civil War Centre, Newark Museum, Nottinghamshire

#### **Dr Richard Jones**

Leverhulme Trust RPG-2016-004 'Flood and Flow: Place-Names and the Changing Hydrology of River Systems', £375,816.

#### Harold Fox Award

The Harold Fox Award was granted to John Parker for his essay, 'What factors make a particular locality historically distinctive, and by what means might such local history now be studied?'

#### Awards

Prof. K. Snell was given a 'Superstar Award' by the Students' Union, complete with certificate and mug to prove it!



Dr Keith Snell with his mug and certificate



Drs Andy Hopper and Eric Gruber von Arni with Sir Thomas Fairfax's wheelchair National Civil War Centre, Newark Museum

## Recently completed PhD theses

**Joseph N. Harley,** 'Material lives of the English poor: a regional perspective, c.1670-1834'

The literature on consumption has grown rapidly over the past thirty years and we now have a detailed understanding of how the material lives of the middling sort and elite were transformed over the long eighteenth century. With the exception of the occasional case study and the research on clothing, the poor have largely been neglected in this literature. Consequently, we have very little understanding of whether the poor were also able to consume at a greater level over the period or of how their consumption patterns varied between men and women and across contrasting counties and urban-rural locations. This PhD addresses these gaps through the detailed analysis of over 350 pauper inventories from Dorset, Kent and Norfolk from c.1670 to 1834. This is the largest collection of pauper inventories ever assembled for historical analysis. These sources have been contextualised by analysis of other types of inventories of paupers, artefacts, pictorial sources, pawnbroking records, autobiographies, diaries and pauper letters. The sources suggest that the poor increasingly acquired a greater quantity and variety of household goods over the long eighteenth century and that the material lives of the poor were improving. This increased consumption, however, appears not to have been equal and uniform, as it was not until the late eighteenth century that significant numbers of paupers owned these goods in greater frequencies. Moreover, these items appear to have been consumed by greater numbers of the poor who lived in the Home Counties and urban areas, whilst fewer paupers generally owned these goods in more rural, remote and less commercial areas. Nevertheless, the changes in the poor's material lives appear to have been considerable and signified a number of people's important changes in domestic behaviours and everyday lives.

**Michael Heaton** (2015), 'English interwar farming: a study of the financial outcomes of individual farms, 1919-1939'

The interwar years were particularly harsh for the farming community. The big upsurge of prices

during the Great War was quickly reversed in 1920-1921. Government considered the plight of farming in 1923 but, when this improved, continued laissez-faire policies throughout the 1920s. However, they became interventionist in 1932-1933, first with subsidies for wheat and then later with cattle and other grain products.

There is scant research into the profitability of the different branches of farming. While there is reasonable historiography for the 1920s, there is very little detailed information about the fortunes of farming in the 1930s, a gap which this thesis has filled. This study is based on 35 studies of profitability of individual farming operations, and it uniquely offers an insight into the *minutiae* of farming in the interwar years. Apart from identifying individual trends of the components of arable and livestock farming, it also evidences benefits of specialisation or competitive edge where these were found.

After the price adjustment of 1920-1921, mixed farming was the first to become unprofitable due to increasing imports from major grain producing countries. Cattle were the next to come under pressure from the Meat Trusts of North America. Milk had its problems too, so no sector was immune during the study period. The 1930s were almost universally harsh for farming, with the exception of cattle grazing in the second half of that decade. Where in earlier times there may have been a greater degree of commonality of outcomes with mixed farming at the fore, this later period saw a divergence in farmers' fortunes, which this thesis articulates.

**Robert Love,** 'Policing and Police Reform in a Rural County; Somerset c.1830-1856'

This thesis examines the development of policing across the county of Somerset, from the appointment of parish constables to the establishment of a county police, circa 1830 to 1856. It will answer three core research questions. Firstly, what was the state of crime in the county through the first half of the nineteenth century, and how was it perceived by the Quarter Sessions and vestries? Secondly, what were the existing policing arrangements in the towns and rural areas of the county and how satisfactory were these felt to be? Thirdly, what was the political journey taken by Quarter Sessions, from initial outright

rejection of the *Rural Constabulary Act* [1839] to its ultimate acceptance in 1856?

thesis builds upon the existing historiography of criminal justice by providing insights into policing before its reform in 1856, and does so in the context of a rural county never studied before. Although ostensibly quiet and agricultural, the county was in fact a diverse mix of geographical environments and communities, each of which had its own needs and approached those needs in its own way. This thesis seeks to enhance our historical understanding of the men who filled the role of constable, and provide a detailed study of the ways in which rural areas interpreted changing national legislation to suit local circumstances. It will thus increase knowledge and understanding of the development of policing in English provincial towns and rural parishes before 1856. Finally, this thesis will test the validity of what may be termed the 'grand narrative' explanations of policing development in criminal justice histories of the period. It will conclude that, whilst these concepts may have applicability in particular socio-economic situations, they cannot be broadly applied to a culturally and economically diverse region such as the county of Somerset.

#### MA Dissertations omitted 2015

**Ann Spiers,** 'Bread supplied for London, 1750-1830'

The aim of this piece is to discover whether and how bread was supplied to London between 1750 and 1840, a period which encompasses several periods of acute shortage of wheat. Starting with the supply of wheat from the farm, I have chosen two areas which supplied London; Essex and the Fens area of Lincolnshire, as examples of production. Both these areas were fortunate with their transportation, being near water, and were able to transport grain by river or sea easily to London. This could be transported either as wheat or flour, the former travelling better over periods of time when flour was apt to stale.

The government of the day was anxious for bread supplies to be available in a large metropolis, partly out of paternalism but also – and maybe predominately – to avoid the

disruption so close at hand in France, so that efforts were made to control its price in relation to its weight. However, the bakers felt themselves so starved of profit that adulteration of the product became widespread. London had its bread but it was not pure bread.

I began the project with a spread of secondary sources and coupled study of these with visits to various archives. The main secondary sources were, for farming, T. Williamson's *The Transformation of Rural England, Farming and the Landscape* and, for bread generally, C. Petersen's *Bread and the British Economy.*, c. 1770–1870.

Because the subject matter is wide-ranging, I have consulted archives in Essex, Reading (Mills Archive and Reading Rural Archive), Lincoln, Boston and London. These visits have convinced me that there is much research still to be done on the supply of bread for London at the cusp of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but a revolution was avoided and most Londoners, for most of the time, had access to some bread.

**Heather Tonge,** 'Social Mobility in late medieval England: The Pouger family and their kinship and patronage networks'.

Social mobility of the nobility and the greater gentry classes in the late medieval period is well documented. The greater gentry are usually viewed through the constraints of their own county and generally for the period after the Black Death in local studies. This study considers the Pougers, an elite peasant family, who by the middle of the thirteenth century were involved in administration at wapentake level, on the southeast border of Derbyshire. It examines whether sources are available to assess their social mobility, and if so, whether it was constrained by administrative boundaries. Charter witness lists are analysed to assess the Pougers' position within the social hierarchy of their immediate locality and Certificates of Statute Merchant to obtain an insight into their commercial interests. Their kinship and patronage networks are assessed to seek to identify the channels used to advance their social position that resulted in their subsequent standing within the landed gentry of Lincolnshire, something that they had achieved by the 1330s.

The research revealed that there were sources available to identify the channels used to rise up through the social order to reach that of the landed gentry. The routes they took were through the land market, service in seigniorial and state administration, and via the church, military service, patronage and advantageous marriages. They had an awareness of new legal practices and employed these to take control of assets. Their kinship networks took precedence over others. Their horizontal and vertical networks identified that the pays, and not administrative boundaries defined their geographical area. They operated within the pays until the arrival of bastard feudalism provided new horizons and opportunities.

**Jamie Taylor,** 'A national phenomenon on local context: Victorian church restorations in Nottinghamshire'

The Victorian obsession of church restoration is a legacy still unavoidable today. This study aims to consider church restoration in national, regional and local contexts.

This study firstly seeks to assess the origins and development of the church restoration movement in a national context; considering the role of the Gothic Revival, Antiquarianism and Ecclesiology. Church restoration develops out of these areas, whilst newly established Field Clubs and Societies help to spread these new ideas. Finally, architects such as Pugin develop a dogma, which gives church restoration its own manifesto.

The second chapter identifies patterns of church restoration across Nottinghamshire. Factors such as the roles played by Priest, Patron and Architect are considered alongside patterns of Nonconformity and land ownership. Most importantly, Nottinghamshire is not at the forefront of the church restoration movement. However, restorations do become more common after the 1840s, peaking in the 1870s. The main centres of restoration are in rural parishes where property is divided among one or two hands.

Investigating certain parishes has revealed the variation in church restoration, as well as the way church restoration is often perceived at parochial level. It also shows the personal relationships between Patrons, Priests and Architects in shaping church restoration schemes. Often it is a few individuals which shape the history of church restoration in each parish.

#### MA Dissertations 2016

**Andy Butler,\*** 'Leicester's Cultural Catastrophe: An Investigation of the Complete Closure of Leicester's Professional Theatres'

This study investigates Leicester's closure and demolition of all three of its professional theatres at the end of the 1950s, by exploring archival material from national, regional and specialist newspapers and periodicals; the minutes of the Leicester Corporation (and later City Council); accessible records of the Arts Council of Great Britain; both primary and secondary sources of theatrical historian Richard Leacroft, ARIBA, and his written archive. It also uses oral history interviews (both of the East Midlands Oral History Archive and Professor Philip Collins, Secretary of Leicester Theatre Trust). Numerous secondary sources are used to explore both the situation in Leicester. nationally comparatively (where possible, the neighbouring cities of Nottingham and Coventry).

It depicts the establishment of dramatic performance, first as ritual procession, then as liturgical adjunct (for the benefit of the illiterate), describes its Interregnum cessation and the later establishment of dedicated venues. Concentrating upon the period of closures, it explores theatrical changes of the twentieth century including the advent of new and competing technologies (cinema and television) and the social changes occurring both locally and nationally.

operations and campaigns (both The successful and failures) of the Theatre Committee (later Trust) are examined alongside machinations of theatre owners, purchasers and local people. Leicester's later theatrical provision is also reviewed to test the assertion that failure happened simply because theatre had no local support. By using oral history, the study attempts to expose the perceptions of Leicester people to both theatre and society in the post-war period. Focusing upon Leicester, it analyses whether Leicester is symptomatic of a national paradigm or whether individual closures components were responsible.

This tightly-focussed study contributes to the oeuvres of both theatrical and local (Leicester)

history and addresses the lacunae of previous academic work on the subject.

\*It is with deep regret that we record that Andy Butler died soon after submitting his dissertation.

**Charles Howarth**, 'The Origin and Development of the Street Plan of Oakham in John Speed's Town Plan'

This dissertation traces the origin and development of that street plan of Oakham which was first depicted in Speed's map of 1610 and, generally speaking, is the one that we know today. A manorial survey of 1305 is examined to determine information about tenants and Information from Oakham's first holdings. mention in the Domesday Inquest is scrutinised for all available hints about what Oakham then Two phases are identified in the development of the main secular manorial complex of the Oakham Lordship. The notion that Oakham ever simultaneously had two baileys is rejected and Walkelin de Ferrers is identified as not only responsible for the construction of the present day Oakham Castle but also of the Market Place and commercial centre, which, it is suggested, were created on the vacated site of the first fortified manorial enclosure Oakham. Lastly, following the footsteps of a 1623 survey of the town, Oakham is examined on a street by street basis where anecdotes from multiple sources are used to illustrate the history of each location. In conclusion, the first inhabited streets of Oakham are identified with a series of maps which reconstruct the extent of Oakham in 1066, 1170 and 1305. Observations are made on the reliability of Speed's map of 1610.

**Peter J Leonard**, 'Poor Relief in Stow in Lindsey, 1750 to 1833'

This study examines poverty and its relief in the small Lincolnshire arable farming community of Stow-in-Lindsey in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Following a brief overview of the historiography the work summarises four studies of other parishes which are later used to provide benchmarks to compare evidence from the Stow research. A short commentary on the history of the parish adds context to aid the

readers' understanding of its administration in the hands of a vestry comprising the middling sort.

The aim of the study is to observe the nature of the relief provided to the poor and assess where this positions the parish in terms of the traditional perception of relief under the old poor laws. This holds that northern and western parishes were less generous than those in the east and south. Stow parish records, mainly the overseers' accounts, were the principal sources used in the research, which enabled some direct comparisons with the four reference studies. The methodology of micro histories, which individualises and encourages a view of history from below, influenced the thinking behind the study. A brief critical analysis of this approach confirms its value but identifies the limitations in using only parish records when trying to understand relief from the paupers' points of view.

The principal conclusion of this study is that poor relief in one Lincolnshire parish had more in common with northern than with eastern and southern parishes but that this did not make it puritanical rather than humanistic. The subject has been little studied and so it is not possible to say whether this result is consistent with other parishes in the county.

**Dave Robinson**, 'Charnwood Forest and its Visitors, 1500-1900'

A range of sources is examined to discover changing attitudes to visiting Charnwood Forest in the period 1500-1900, varying from the lack of freedom of movement of the general population early in the period, to the opening up of the Forest as a popular tourist attraction. "The great reference works 1500-1750" looks at mentions of the Forest in itineraries of writers such as Leland, Camden and Burton. "Charnwood becomes picturesque, 1750-1815" covers the area's place in the new national awareness of the beauty of rugged countryside. "Charnwood in the News, 1815-1900" examines references to the area in local and national newspapers, especially reports of societies' and workers' excursions by carriage and, later by train. Church outings were also well reported, with some emphasis on the new, controversially Roman Catholic Mount Bernard Monastery. An analysis the Monastery's guest book for 1882 reveals the geographical origins of its visitors.

newspapers also reported on royal visits, such as the Prince of Wales' shooting party in 1882.

**Kelsey Shea**, 'A Comparative Study of the Feminization of the Teaching Profession in the UK and the US from 1890-1930'

The study of the history of education has been largely neglected since the late 1970's. study uses a comparative lens to examine how and why there was a marked shift in teaching from being a male dominated profession to a female dominated profession. By comparing two countries who developed at similar rates and underwent this shift at nearly the same time, the study is able to pinpoint the key reasons for the feminization of the teaching profession, including sex ratio changes, the establishment or integration of teaching colleges for women, and the organization of teachers' unions. An assessment is made of the types of women first entering into the profession and their reasons for doing so, most due to the changing sex ratio and the overwhelming pressure not to become a burden on their family. Additionally, an attempt is made to gain further insight into how women expanded their foothold in education from Sunday School teachers to full time faculty members using primary source documents from teaching college archives as well as from union meetings. The study reveals that it is the societal and familial pressure that initially forces women into the already respectable profession, and the push to expand into secondary and higher education grows from the roots of the feminist and suffrage movements.

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If any graduates who have inadvertently been omitted would like to let the Editor have the details, they can be included in next year's *Newsletter*. Current students, once you have been told you have your MA, please send your title and abstract to the Editor.

#### The Scallenge

We all went quiet down the Scallenge, Lest Police Inspector Drew should challenge

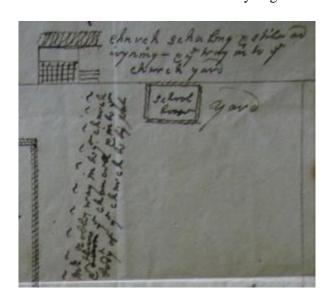
John Masefield, 'The Everlasting Mercy', (1911)

These lines from John Masefield's poem describe Saul Kane's return from his fight with Billy Myers over who should poach in the field by Dead Man's Thorn, [Ledbury, Herefordshire]. The fight took place in the old quarry on the Worcester Road, and afterwards the protagonists and spectators passed down 'Cabbage Walk' through the churchyard and down Church Lane. Following this route, it is clear that the 'Scallenge' must have been the name for the area at the top of Church Lane, just before entering the churchyard. The narrow lane at the entrance to Bromyard churchyard is also called Scallenge.

But what does it mean? The etymology of the word is disputed, but it is acknowledged to be a term used in the west country either for the way leading to a churchyard or, more particularly, to the lychgate at the entrance to the churchyard. G. Cornewall Lewis, in his A glossary of provincial words used in Herefordshire and some of the adjoining counties (1839) defines it thus: 'Scallage, or Scallenge, s. a detached covered porch at the entrance of a churchyard'. There he points out that 'Ducange in v. shows that scalus was sometimes used for stallus, in the sense of a Hence perhaps may have been derived seat. Others have followed this suggestion, though a correspondent to *Notes and* Oueries in 1856 suggested that the Scallenge in Bromyard was actually pronounced 'Kalends' or 'Calends' and might be connected to 'Calendar'. or to the beginning (i.e. entrance) of something. J. M. G., Worcester replied 'Might it not be derived from Calendae, rural chapters or conventions of the clergy, so called because formerly held on the calends of every month, as being the road to the church or place where these meetings were held? or can it derive its name from *calcea*, a paved or trodden path?', neither of which seem very likely. It has even been suggested (D. Edmondes Owen, 'Pre-Reformation survivals in Radnorshire', in Transactions of Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1910-12) that 'the old Welsh name for it in Radnorshire was "Porth-yscolion", the ladders' gate'. John Freeman, of the English

Place Name Society, says that it is 'an unsolved mystery for the moment'.

For now, a more fruitful line of enquiry is to identify occurrences of the word. The earliest use of the word so far identified is in the Ledbury churchwardens' accounts for 1686. The passage is quoted in E. Freeman, A Guide to Ledbury, Herefordshire (1892): 'May Ffor reparation of the Scallons, timber and sawing £00 18s. 06d.'. The Editor glosses 'the Scallons' as 'The Lych-gate or Scallenge'. Apart from Bromyard and Ledbury, other Herefordshire examples include: Moccas (possibly), Much Marcle and Woolhope. There are/were scallenges at Ludow and Clun in Shropshire and at Bredon in Worcestershire. The recent discovery of the drawing of the 'schaleng & stile' on the plan of Much Marcle churchyard in volume 3 of James Hill's 'Collections for Herefordshire' (early 18thC) seems to confirm that the word does indeed refer to the lych gate.



Plan of Much Marcle Church and churchyard showing, at the south-east corner, the 'schaleng & stile' (Herefordshire Archive Services, CF50/116 f. 144; in vol. 3 of James Hill's 'Collections for Herefordshire')

I am grateful to John Freeman for correspondence on this topic and his drawing my attention to many of these references. If anyone has any other references, please contact: Sylvia Pinches at <a href="mailto:smp38@le.ac.uk">smp38@le.ac.uk</a> or John Freeman at <a href="mailto:john\_freeman1@btinternet.com">john\_freeman1@btinternet.com</a>.

Sylvia Pinches

#### From Little Gidding, Four Quartets

What we call the beginning is often the end And to make an end is to make a beginning.

The end is where we start from. And every phrase And sentence that is right (where every word is at home'

Taking its place to support the others,

The word neither diffident nor ostentatious,

An easy commerce of the old and the new,

The common word exact without vulgarity.

The formal word not pedantic,

The complete consort dancing together)

Every phrase and every sentence is an end and a beginning.

Every poem is an epitaph. And any action Is a step to the block, to the fire, down the sea's throat

Or to an illegible stone: and that's where we start. We die with the dying:

See, they depart, and we go with them.

We are born with the dead:

See, they return, and bring us with them.

The moment of the rose and the moment of the yew-tree

Are of equal duration. A people without history
Is not redeemed from time, for history is a pattern
Of timeless moments. So, while the light fails
Ona a winter's afternoon, in a secluded chapel
Hitory is now and England

T.S. Eliot

# THE FRIENDS Publications by Friends

#### Robert Mee

Then and Now Part Two: The Changing Face of Langley Mill and Aldercar, Heanor and District Local History Society, 23/4/16, ISBN 978-0950843094.

#### **Rose-Marie Cossan**

Poverty and Welfare in Guernsey, 1560-2015, 332 pages, Boydell & Brewer Ltd in September 2015, ISBN 978 1 78327 040 8.

*The States and Secondary Education, 1560-1970*, 98 pp., self-published January 2016.

**Heather Flack** (under the name Fen Flack) *Ironside - The English King who fought the Danes.* 

#### Muriel Paterson

Aspects of the Parish of Broughton Astley in the late seventeenth century, revealed in unpublished abstracts and notes', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol 90, 2016,

Congratulations to member Terry Shepherd. He and two colleagues in the Rothley Heritage Trust have just been awarded £30,800 by the Heritage Lottery Fund for a Poor Law Project. They plan to recover the memory of those days when the Workhouse of the Barrow on Soar Poor Law Union was operational in Rothley, though it was called the Mountsorrel Workhouse (for postal convenience presumably). It has been demolished, and part of the project is to create a cutaway model of the Barrow Union Workhouse from surviving plans. This, and other display material will be housed at the Rothley Community Library, the former Rothley Cemetery Chapel.

The project will cost over £42,000, the shortfall being made up of other grants and the sale of the resultant book

## Friends' Occasional Papers

Enquiries to: Publications, Friends of ELH, 5 Salisbury Rd., Leicester, LE1 7QR.

Still in print: all at £4.00 inc. p&p.

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.

Derryan Paul, Why so Few? Rebuilding Country Churches in Herefordshire, 1662-1762.

No. 10, M. Tedd, Naming in Anstey 1850-1950: a Mirror of Social Structure, £6 inc. 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. £7 inc. p&p.



The Rothley Cemetery Chapel which will be the home of the Model and the Exhibition.

## Talking to Friends: Susan Kilby



Susan Kilby in the landscape

Susan has been a familiar figure around the Centre since she did the MA in 2009-10. She has gone from MA to PhD, to becoming an Honorary Research Fellow and Research Associate as well as teaching and working on a number of projects connected with the Centre. Here she tells us a bit about her background, her passion for medieval history, and how her career has developed.

#### Are you a Leicestershire lass?

No, I'm from the edge of the Fens (which sounds a lot more romantic than Peterborough), and I now live in rural Northamptonshire. Although, at home, I am frequently accused of having Leicester City sympathies (which, from a Nottingham Forest supporter is not a good thing, apparently).

Have you always been interested in history?

No, in fact, I didn't take history as an option at school because I thought it was dull, so I don't even have one of the old 'O' Levels in the subject. I used to joke with Chris Dyer that I was one of the least qualified students he'd ever taught! My interest began when I was away on a business trip, and arriving at the airport, I realised that I didn't have a book. Rapidly running out of time before the gate was closed, I grabbed the first interesting looking read, which happened to be Elizabeth the Queen by Alison Weir. It read like a novel (which, I suppose is why Weir's books are so popular), and that's where my interest began. I started collecting some of the more academic books that she recommended, and that was it -Iwas hooked. Although many don't see her as a

'proper' historian, to someone completely new to the subject, her books piqued my interest in a way that my history teacher had never been able to. As historians, we sometimes look down our noses at 'popular' versions of history, whether that might be a Hollywood interpretation, or something like the American-produced TV series *The Tudors*, but they can play an important part in getting people interested in the subject. Some years ago, I took my then sixteen-year-old niece to see the Greek-Persian epic 300 at the cinema. She was instantly taken with the ancient Greeks, and was so fascinated that she took my copy of Herodotus' The Histories home with her. When popular versions of history are that inspirational, I'm very much in favour.

Have there been any particular people who have influenced or encouraged you?

Two people immediately spring to mind, and I doubt that there will be any surprises here. I can still remember as a first-year undergraduate taking Richard Jones' 'People and Places' module on Cuxham. My degree (at that time) was joint honours History and Ancient History, and so I was only allowed to choose medieval modules. It sounded interesting, and at the time, it hadn't occurred to me to consider this kind of history. I'd arrived at Leicester expecting to be drawn towards political and military history, to be honest. The course was not only brilliant, but I had a real coup de foudre moment when Richard took us to Merton College, Oxford, to see some of the original documents that we'd been working on. I kind of knew that that was it for me, and I was determined that one day I'd be able to read what was on the parchment. It's odd (and a bit unsettling) to think that if there'd been a module on the Black Prince that year, I might never have discovered local history.

The other hugely influential figure is of course Chris Dyer. Chris has always been very supportive, not to mention extremely patient, as I suspect that I was sometimes a demanding student. Even when I was an undergraduate, both Chris and Richard were extremely generous with their time, and were really encouraging. I have to admit that at the time, I thought this was normal – I now realise that it isn't, and I've been very lucky to have been helped along the way by two such renowned scholars. I think that anyone who knows both Chris and Richard will see how great

their influence has been if they read any of my work, or hear me talk about it.

What brought you to Leicester and the MA?

I never thought about doing an MA, let alone a PhD! My parents hadn't wanted me to stay at school, so I reluctantly left at sixteen, and started work at Thomas Cook. When I was made redundant in 2006, the first thing I did was to phone the Admissions Tutor at Leicester, and was offered a conditional place. Basically, if I passed the Open University exams that I was sitting that summer, I was in. My plan was to then go on to do a PGCE and teach history at secondary level. Richard Jones obviously had other ideas, and suggested that I try for a studentship funded by the ESRC, and so it was that I stayed for another four years. I was also very lucky that Richard, my partner, was supportive and happy to carry on funding our mortgage while I studied.

Did the degree meet your expectations? Did it introduce you to new ideas or topics?

Oh, goodness me, yes! There were elements that I wasn't sure about initially —like the module on the landscape— but I needn't have worried, as I loved it. In fact, a version of the essay I wrote as part of my assessment has recently been published in *Landscape History*. I still see myself first and foremost as a documentary historian, but the landscape is now an integral part of how I think about local history. Chris Dyer's module was also fantastic, and our cohort were lucky to be the last group he taught before retiring. Overall, the MA was great fun, and I very much enjoyed being part of the Centre alongside a terrific bunch of fellow students.

Your MA dissertation was on 'A Different World? Reconstructing the Peasant Environment in Medieval Elton.' Have you always been interested in medieval history?

Not always, as I mentioned before, but of all the historical periods, it has always been the one that I was most drawn towards. During my BA, I took a fairly wide range of modules, extending from the early medieval period through to the twentieth century. But in the end, I think it was the documents that nailed it – I still can't believe how lucky I am to be able to saunter into a Record Office, and then get handed a roll of 700-year-old parchment to look at! I'm rarely happier than when I'm absorbed in a really good manorial

court or account roll, and don't even get me started on coroners' rolls!

You then went on to do a PhD with Dr Richard Jones. What was that experience like?

I loved doing my PhD (notwithstanding every PhD student's perennial nightmare – the dreaded viva). Richard was very laid back about the whole thing, whilst simultaneously being incredibly supportive. He wasn't fazed, even when presented with some of my more left-field ideas! I learned a great deal during the process, not just about my particular subject, but about myself too. If someone had told me ten years ago that I'd be able to do a PhD, I'm not sure that I'd have believed them, to be honest. Oh, and in the end, I actually enjoyed my viva, even though it was about four hours long – so long in fact, that we had to change venue half way through.

How did you choose the topic for your research? This is beginning to read like a paean to Richard Jones' teaching, but I started to think about it during his third year undergraduate module 'Medieval Society and the Natural World'. I wanted to combine some of the themes I'd explored at that point – such as medieval science, the idea of the Book of Nature, and medieval ideas about the natural and supernatural - and think about these from the perspective of the lower orders of society. This meant considering traditional sources, like manorial account rolls, in an entirely different way. I was also keen to take an interdisciplinary approach, and Richard's teaching is all about thinking beyond the confines of a single subject approach to history.

You have been involved with the Charnwood Roots project. Tell us a little about that.

That was a lovely experience, and a lot of fun. I was the Volunteer Support Manager, looking after around a hundred volunteers who were investigating the history of the villages and towns in Charnwood Forest. My role was to provide expert training, delivered either by myself, or recognised subject experts (of whom, the runaway favourite was our own Keith Snell!), and ongoing support to the volunteers. Some of the volunteers were already trained historians (a number from ELH, including Ann Stones, Pete Hammond, Carol Walton, Dave Robinson, Liz Round and Elaine Brown), whilst others were completely new, so it was wonderful to help people to develop their investigative skills. I learned a great

deal whilst on the project, and made some good friends – it was hard saying goodbye! It's exciting to think that this may provide a new model for the continued production of VCH volumes – such an important resource for local historians.

And now, I gather, you are about to start working on Richard Jones' project 'Flood and Flow: Place-Names and the Changing Hydrology of River-Systems'.

Yes, I started on the Leverhulme-funded 'Flood and Flow' project in August this year. I am both the Project Manager and the resident historian on what is a wide reaching interdisciplinary research project. We are aiming to examine river flooding events and water management more generally in the period between 700-1100AD. We'll be doing this by looking at archaeological evidence (overseen by Dr Ben Pears at the University of Southampton), place-name data for England and Wales (undertaken by Dr Sarah Beach at the University of Nottingham, and Dr Kelly Kilpatrick at the University of Wales), and documentary material, which is where I come in. Whilst we'll be analysing and mapping watery place-names at a national level for England and Wales, at a more detailed level, our three local case studies will be drawn from the Severn and Trent catchments.



St Kyneburgha, Castor Church, Northants © <a href="http://greatenglishchurches.co.uk/html/castor.html">http://greatenglishchurches.co.uk/html/castor.html</a>

## Joint Conference with BALH and LPSS

## Community, Family and Kin: Current themes and approaches

#### 7 November 2015.

This conference was a joint venture between the British Association for Local History, The Friends of the Centre for English Local History and the Local Population Studies Society held in the Fraser Noble Building on New Walk, Leicester. The Conference was the occasion for the presentation of the BALH Local History Award for research and publication (short article) 2014 to C. Cotton, 'Beating the bounds in Brentford', *Brentford and Chiswick Local History Journal*, 22 (2013), pp. 7-22.

The first presentation was by Brian Short entitled 'Class and Power in Edwardian England', which focussed on the Lloyd George Valuation Survey of 1910. In 1906 after a landslide victory by the Liberal Party, the Prime Minister David Lloyd George appointed Treasurer. In his budget of 1909, wanting to alleviate the great financial inequality of the time, Lloyd George proposed a land tax of 20% based on the value of any property owned. This tax was also designed to include 'empty' land in order to encourage development in towns and cities. Needless to say this legislation was popular especially with not landowners, some of whom resisted completing the registration forms. This unpopularity gave rise to some caustic comments and publications including a parody of Lewis Carroll's 'Alice in Wonderland'.

This survey of 1910 can, of course, be of great use to the local providing historian in information particularly on land use. The valuation process was very similar to the surveys carried out following the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836. In 1910 the first action was to divide the country into areas based on counties, districts and parishes to provide a detailed description of type and usage of property ranging from fields and moorlands to blocks of flats; in all 180 different types of land and buildings were listed. Plans were produced and sometimes photographs were used to describe the property. All this was completed by a total of 7000 officers recruited to carry out this thorough examination of England.

After a short break the session until lunch provided three speakers who explored population and kinship in quite different parts of the country. Anthea Jones presented her findings in 'Gloucestershire and the Lloyd George Valuation'. In this she recounted the difficulties for researchers in using the Valuation in local library archives. Volunteers had to sort through records which consisted of 6387 field books and 1608 other miscellaneous forms in which every type of property from the largest to the vary smallest including, it appeared, garden sheds. The county had been divided into two sections (1) North and East - including Gloucester and Moreton in Marsh and (2) South and West, being mainly the Forest of Dean. The total area, at that time, was 547,343 acres. Examples were given from both sections to describe some specific results from the survey. In section (1) there were a number of very large landowners. The largest identified were Lord Fitzhardinge with 19,530 acres valued at £69,316, Lord Sherborne with 17,770 acres valued at £37,771 and Lord Bathurst with 13,663 acres valued at £17,700

In section (2), the |Forest of Dean, a different pattern of ownership was found showing a predominance of smaller properties with East Dean having 5,623 in total with only 179 named houses and in West Dean there were 4,009 and 160 respectively. Altogether this was a good illustration of the usefulness of the Valuation to the researcher but also the difficulties that can be found.

This was followed by a study from Cornwall by Gary Crossley on 'Kinship Reconstituted; A Bodmin Moor Parish 1793 -1911. This was mainly within the parish of St Neots situated on the southern fringe of Dartmoor, approximately 8 miles east of the town of Bodmin. It is the largest parish in Cornwall enclosing 14000 acres although the moor itself includes 9000 acres of unenclosed land with grazing and rights of turbary. ownership on Bodmin Moor showed a comparatively large number of small owners with comparatively small holdings many of which were held on 'Life Tenancies' meaning that the tenancy could be passed three times to family members in succession. Although much of the land, in the wider area, was governed by the dynastic families by 1844 a number of 'island' enclosures were established mainly by miners for whom farming was a side-line. Usually the lease dictated that their tenancy depended on building a house or barn within 12 months of the commencement of the agreement.

Typical of this arrangement was the smallholding known as 'Boys' Howe' which is recorded as having grown in stages from 8.5 acres in 1844 to 30 acres in 1910. It is likely that such development was linked to the decline of the mining industry. The rise and fall of the tin mining industry is shown by a rise in population between 1851 and 1901 but a decline from 1901 to1911 when the figure reduced from 533 to 486; interestingly, the number of families grew from 80 to 97. The figures for those engaged in the mining industry show a dramatic change from 1851 when the number was 386 (72% of the population) to 111 in 1911 (22%).

The next speaker was Lyn Boothman who spoke on 'Stability Amidst Change: population and kinship in Long Melford, Suffolk' 1661-1861. The population of this East Anglian parish comprised largely of farmers in this period although previously in the mid 14<sup>th</sup>C to 16<sup>th</sup>C. the textile industry had been prominent as a result of the supremacy of British wool across Europe. Lyn went on outline her research into kinship among families in the same community and how this varied with status, place and changes

through time for the period studied. Tables were shown illustrating that in this time the number of couples who had kinship links in the parish grew from 60% to 70% with the higher social groups showed even higher results. Also it was clear that couples with at least one parent in the community remained the highest group even when compared with those who had only siblings.

Changes in kinship within the community also altered in later years e.g. between 1780 and 1860 because of a wider range of occupations available showing the side effects of the Industrial Revolution. A further effect of this change in British History was the rate of migration as the population tended to move from the agricultural areas into towns and cities.

The first speaker after lunch was Alison Light, with her fascinating paper, 'Adrift in time? Anchoring family history in the local and the national'. Alison is a Visiting Professor in Literary and Cultural Studies at the Universities of Newcastle and Sheffield Hallam and the subject of her talk began as a personal quest to investigate the history of her own 'truncated' family. Her research, initially focussing on her four grandparents, was also fuelled by an intellectual curiosity about the institution of the family and a political motive to bring undocumented people into the light, as individuals not just a lump. The result was her book, Common People: The History of an English Family, published in 2014.

Her talk (like her book) charted the stages of her search, interweaving the stories of families and individuals with the historical questions and psychological and philosophical insights that the research threw up. Once family history 'goes public' it becomes an argument about history and how you interpret it. As she travelled around the country from record office to record office, she realised that she was mimicking the journeys of her ancestors. One branch followed the cod trade from Poole in Dorset Newfoundland and back again,

introducing questions about international trade and migration. Once the branches proliferated families the became communities neighbourhoods; and national policies could be seen played out She said that the census enumerators' books are 'a still life', giving an illusion of stability, but give the lie to movement and changing circumstances. Family history is not social history, but a multiple biography which allows you to see synchronically. She concluded that it is unsettling and can say more about you than about your ancestors.

Then it was the turn of our own Phil Batman, with 'Sink or swim: families and the collapse of lead mining in Victorian Swaledale'. Phil began by describing the idyllic beauty of the valley – hay meadows on the valley floor, wooded sides and sheep upon the tops. But in the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was a maelstrom of industrial activity. There were a number of profitable lead mines, especially in Muker, Melbecks and Arkengarthdale, but they had all gone by 1906. The population had peaked in 1821, at around 7,500; by 1911 it was a mere 2,500.

Phil then described his research, based on census and burial records, into kinship families by using the new methodology of the Surname Index: SI = (number of surnames/number individuals) x100. The lower the surname index, the larger is the number of kinship families in a population. The method shows that in Swaledale, the brunt of the rural exodus was borne by the kinship families. He gave the example of the Alderson family, and a surviving letter dated 1843 from one of their number who had migrated to Wisconsin. A few kinship families that remained in the dale managed to thrive despite the collapse of the mining The Surname Index for the monumental inscriptions of the Primitive Methodist Church at New Diggings in Wisconsin suggests that kinship families had migrated en masse from their native Swaledale.

The final speaker was **Leigh Shaw-Taylor**, **'Occupation**, **population** 

and economy: integrating local, regional and national accounts'. His long and detailed paper was based upon his involvement, with Tony Wrigley, with the 'Occupational Structure of England 381-1911' project, which has been going for twelve years already. He stressed the importance of geography and the need to reconnect the national aggregate with local and regional detail and variation. project data, based on parishes, can be aggregated up to varying scales. The Cambridge Group could do with collaborating with local historians over the next ten years or so, to fill out the picture with information on local changes.

He rehearsed the old and new accounts of GDP per capita during the British Industrial Revolution. In 1962, Dean and Cole posited a low base, slow growth and a sudden 'take-off' from around 1775. Then in 1980, Crafts suggested (a view now widely accepted) that economic growth, although slow, could be traced to a much earlier period, continuing slowly through the 18th century, and agreeing with the picture for the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Cambridge Group project that more research on occupational structure would shed light on that. It is agreed that the population rose dramatically in the late 18th century and there was also increased urbanization. If urbanization had been increasing since the 16th century, that suggests that occupational structure would have been changing, too. The data gathered by the project suggests that in 1700 only 50 per cent of the male population was engaged in agriculture. The secondary and tertiary sectors rose slowly and then there was a sharper rise from c. 1820.

## Annual General Meeting 19 November 2015

The quorate meeting accepted the minutes of the previous AGM (27 November 2014). There were no matters arising.

### Chairman's Report

This year has been characterised by three rather special events. The first was our Spring Study Weekend from Friday 10th to Sunday 12th April, based at Askham Bryan College. The weekend was ably organised by Phil Batman, who knows his York inside out. The programme was stimulating and varied, involving talks, one including a lively presentation of the battle of Marston Moor following an excellent meal at the local hostelry. Other highlights were a tour of the Minster, followed either by a climb up the bell tower or a fascinating exploration of the Treasurer's House. After lunch, by road train to the National Railway Museum and a fascinating guided tour of the many exhibits. Our return journey featured the tale of Dick Turpin as we passed the Tyburn gallows and was pleasantly punctuated by a guided tour of Goddard House, the home of the Terry chocolate maker. Sunday morning brought a visit to Holgate windmill, followed by lunch at and the chance to explore Beningborough Hall. Perhaps I might be forgiven a little bias in calling it one of the best and friendliest yet!

Our second big event was Hoskins Day on 27th June, with guest speaker Dr Carenza Lewis. This was a 'tour de force' entitled 'The Power of the Pits', analysing data from test pits in eastern England. It was well received and we followed up with our usual tea and book sale.

Finally, on 7th November, the recent major joint conference with BALH and LPSS, 'Community, Family and Kin: current themes and approaches'. Focussing on reconstitution techniques, we were introduced to the various facets of the 1910 valuation records and what could be derived from these in a local context. Various fascinating studies were presented

including a masterly analysis of kinship in (see the report on p. 26.

All were well attended but with rather fewer Members of the Friends than I would like to see.

Financially, we are in good standing, able to award bursaries, 3 grants having been made this year, as well as the Harold Fox Award for an outstanding submission by Tracey Jones.

My thanks to all committee members for their hard work and support throughout the year.

#### Noel Tornbohm

#### Treasurer's Report

Ann Schmidt thanked the Independent Examiner, Dr Pam Fisher.

Once again the accounts show a net profit although slightly less than last year. Unfortunately, both subscriptions and donations are slightly down this year, though not by a great amount (<£100 & <£10)

Hoskins' Day, produced a profit of £130 and the Warwick outing £185. £406 was received as a refund of Gift Aid for the year 2013-14. The Local History of the Family conference yielded a profit of £301. The weekend in York made a profit of £189 for the Friends.

Second-hand book sales realised £178 and The Friends own publications realised just £100.00 from the sales of *Naming Anstey* (Michael Tedd)

This year we have received only one request for Student Support and £500 was awarded. The £1,000.00 Harold Fox Award was presented for the first time this year.

As usual, the committee aims to keep expenses as low as possible.

**Appointment of the Independent Examiner**: Dr Pam Fisher was appointed.

## ACCOUNTS for year ending 30 Sept. 2015

Receipts and Payments Account for the General Fund	he year to 30th September 2015	2014
Receipts		
Subscriptions	£2,192.00	£2,274.50
Donations	£277.00	£289.00
Book Sales	£178.05	£68.70
Family History Conference	£897.00	£0.00
Warwick Trip	£288.00	0.00
Publications	£100.00	0.00
Yorks, weekend	4,993.40	£232.58
Dividends/Interest	£368.96	£489.64
Refund of Gift Aid tax	£406.13	£393.44
Hoskins' Day 2015 current year	148.72	£5.00
Hoskins' Day previous year arrears	£363.50	£0.00
Total Receipts	$\overline{\mathfrak{t}10,21}2.76$	£3,968.72
Payments		
Student Support & Harold Fox Award	£1,500.00	£0.00
Hoskins Lecture current year	£50.00	£288.04
Hoskins' Lecture previous year	£40.49	£2.50
Newsletter (2014)	£318.18	£388.44
Subscription to BALH	£65.00	£65.00
Printing & Publications	£355.19	£302.92
Stationery & postage	£18.15	£11.33
Yorks. weekend	£4,809.01	£0.00
Warwick Outing	£185.40	£0.00
Family History Conference	£612.48	£0.00
Website	£56.00	£0.00
Crockery and cutlery	£12.84	£324.86
<b>Total Payments</b>	£8,022.74	£1,383.09
Surplus of income over expenditure	£2,190.02	£2,583.63
for the year		
Opening Funds at 1st October 2014	£27,520.33	£24,934.70
Excess of expenditure over income	£2,190.02	£2,58.63
Closing Funds 30 September 2015	£29,710.35	£27,520.33
Comprising		
Bank Balances  CAE Bank Cold Assessment	C1 220 01	<b>C</b> 000.07
CAF Bank - Gold Account	£1,239.01	£989.05
Natwest Bank	£4,895.05	£18,072.33
NatWest Investment Account	£0.00 615 117 24	£0.00
Cambridge & CountieSavings	£15,117.34	£0.00
Total Bank Balances	£21,251.40	£19,061.38
Investment Assets at cost FP CAF UK Equity Fund B Income	£4,278.61	£4,278.61
FP CAF Fixed Interest Fund B	£4,180.34	£4,278.01 £4,180.34
Income	24,160.34	24,100.34
	£29,710.35	£27,520.33
Market value of investments	0.7.700.00	
FP CAF UK Equity Fund B Income	£5,583.23	£5,604.81
FP CAF Fixed Interest Fund B Income	£4,194.40	£4,239.63
meone	£9,777.63	£9,844.44

# Spotlight on the Centre 28 February 2016

Noel Tornbohm welcomed about fifty people to 1 Salisbury Road, for the conference which highlights current research in the Centre by staff and students. Keith Snell repeated the welcome and gave a brief description of the state of the Centre (see Centre Report, pp. 1-3). He also told us that Southwestern University in China has made an approach to send a visiting academic; the university's approach to local history is to a degree modelled on the CELH approach. (Later in the spring Dr Yanli Gong arrived to take up a year's Visiting Fellowship). The rest of the day was taken up in the presentation of papers, punctuated by the devouring of the usual hearty buffet lunch provided by the committee.

## Susan Kilby, 'The Secret Life of the Fields: extraordinary ordinary fields'

Her current research focusses on 13<sup>th</sup>- and 14<sup>th</sup>-century peasant attitudes to the late Anglo-Saxon landscape. Ethnographers have long understood the landscape as a repository of memory, myth and story. Early modernists, like Alexandra Walsham, have begun to explore the topic, but little has so far been done on the middle ages – perhaps for paucity of sources.

That cannot be said of Castor, formerly in Northamptonshire and now in Cambridgeshire. This large and complex parish in the Nene valley was part of the Peterborough Abbey estate, explaining the survival of more than 600 charters dating from the 13th and 14th centuries. These have yielded 200 field names. A considerable amount of archaeological work has also been done in the parish, including studies of the church of St Cyneburg, completed in 1124. The legend of St Cyneburga may be depicted on one of the capitals in the church. She is believed to have been attacked while gathering flowers; an 18thC version of the tale suggests that she escaped by St Kinneburga's Way – a path still in existence through the fields, but in the legend being sometimes there and sometimes not. Susan has been gathering all versions of the tale, along with place-name and archaeological evidence. All versions give the place of the attack as Normangate Field - the way of the northman (i.e. Scandinavian). She suggests that the name records

Danish incursions into the area in the late 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## Ian Bailey, 'Unifiers and Dividers in a North Staffordshire Parish: Audley, 1840-1939'

Ian began his paper in a very lively way, asking the audience to stand and then, by asking auestions about their backgrounds affiliations, people self-identified with particular groups and then sat down, leaving only a few standing. This was to introduce his thought processes. When he began his research he had taken the standard paradigms of class, gender and community with which to analyse the parish of Audley. When asked by Keith Snell, 'what are you doing exactly?' he began to rethink. He realised all social events both unify and divide people, although not all are important. People make their lives out of the circumstances in which they find themselves.

His question then became, what was it like? rather than, how did it happen? He wanted to look at the individual agents and to concentrate on the process of their relationships. How did the 'people of the coal' and the 'people of the field' relate to each other in this 8,000-acre parish, rich with ironworks and coal mines in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but whose economy collapsed in the 20<sup>th</sup>. Just as spheres of work could unify and divide people, so too could religious affiliations, to church or chapel.

## Kevin Schürer, 'Investigating the 19th century censuses'

Kevin is currently on a year's study leave, based at the Centre for Population Studies at the University of Cambridge, where he is researching aspects of the late 19th century: the decline in fertility, entrepreneurship and migration into London. His work on analysing the census data is well known. Today he told us something about the men, the thinking and the processes behind each of the decennial censuses. He began by showing a picture of John Rickman, whose interest in population growth had prompted him to promote the first census bill; he then administered the censuses of 1801-1831. He was planning the 1841 census when he died suddenly, leaving the government with a quandary as to who should oversee it. The job was given to T.H. Lister, the Registrar-General. This gave rise to the move to a nominal census, not just a statistical one. (There are some survivals of earlier local censuses in

which names are retained; the Cambridge Group have undertaken a survey of these. 1851 saw the big change in the questions asked on the census forms.

Although there were successive alterations to the questions over the subsequent censuses, the actual process of gathering the data did not alter 1841-1901. Enumerators distributed and collected the census forms then entered the information into specially printed books. These were passed to the central office, where armies of clerks tabulated the data and produced the published reports. In the late 19th century an Austrian then living in the United States, Herman Hollerith, invented a tabulating machine. He came to London to try to convince the Registry that his machine would speed up the process. It took twenty years to persuade them, but the new system was introduced in 1911. Now the enumerators merely distributed and collected the forms. The clerks in the Registry now produced punched Hollerith cards to speed the data analysis.

Now that the data for the censuses 1841-1911 have been digitised, even subtler forms of analysis can be undertaken. Kevin has been able to produce maps of disability, for example showing a very high proportion of deafness in north-west Scotland. He has produced distribution maps of people living alone for Keith Snell's recent research and one for Roderick Floud who is working on 'gardeners, domestic'. Much more refined studies of migration can now be made, as it is possible to trace where people moved to, not just where they came from as well as the proportion of stayers in a population.

#### Hannah Worthen, 'Defending inheritance during the Civil War and Interregnum: the cases of Royalist War Widows'

It has been estimated that as many as 7 per cent of the population may have died as a consequence of the fighting or because of diseases spread by troop movement, meaning that many widows were faced with the consequences of the sequestration of their husbands' estates. The process began in 1643, with the promulgation of 'An ordinance for sequestering notorious delinquents' estate'. During the first few months they only sequestered the estates of those held in the Tower or elsewhere. Then the definition of delinquency was broadened to include going to join the king's army or hiding wealth or goods

from the assessors. The Sequestration Committee met at Haberdasher's Hall and their records are held by The National Archives at SP20/1 and are available online. Parliament soon found problems in administering the sequestered estates, so in 1645 the Committee for Compounding was set up; people could redeem their estates by paying a fine based on a proportion of two years' value. A lot of women, including widows, did petition.

Many of the widows pleaded poverty, being without husband or estate. Many of them deployed the rhetoric of loyalty, in contrast to the men, who tended to try to justify their actions. A few women hint that they did not share their husbands' views. Some of these women were also chasing inheritances through the Court of Chancery, the records of which are catalogued at TNA C5 down to the level of names and places. Hannah has compiled a database of royalist widows applying to the committee for compounding and cross checked it with the C5 records, and identified many 'hits'.

She then gave a case study of Mrs Mary Crompton of Shropshire. She is said to have kept a royalist garrison at Dawley Castle in the absence of the husband Fulke. In 1648 the castle was ordered to be demolished. Fulke's son by a previous marriage, Eyton Crompton, claimed the estate, despite the fact that his father had left it in his will to Mary and her children. He accused Mary of being a royalist and having set up the garrison while he and his father were away fighting for Parliament. Mary counter-claimed, saying that her legal title was good and that one of her step-daughter's had had married a royalist soldier without her consent and had set up the garrison. Hannah concluded by commenting on the tenacity and perseverance of these women.

# Matt Tompkins, 'Bondmen to husbandmen. The Romsley manor court rolls through three and a half centuries, 1279-1643'

Nine years ago, while working on a project on court rolls, Matt extracted data for the parish of Hales, Worcestershire, with its eleven townships or sub-manors. The rolls of Hales and Romsley both run from 1279 to 1643. He has now transcribed and translated all of them and the Worcestershire Historical Society is going to publish them. This will provide a valuable resource for historians seeking to understand the history of whose earlier history was so ably

examined by Zvi Razi in his Marriage, Life and Death in a Medieval Parish: Halesowen 1270-1400.

Romsley may have been the sub-manor held by Roger the Huntsman in Domesday. It was held by Hales Abbey in 1213 and subsequently by the Dudleys then the Littletons. Romsley was a chapelry of Hales, with a sacred spring dedicated to St Kenelm, a Mercian prince believed to have been murdered on that spot. It seems likely that the chapelry predates the manor. Kenelmstowe was a small hamlet, a typical medieval settlement amongst ancient enclosures and small open-field strips. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century there were thirteen open fields, by the 17<sup>th</sup> century only five. Many of the farms on the modern OS map appear in the medieval court rolls.

Despite lacunae in the record, especially in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and a run of courts in the 14<sup>th</sup> century which recorded nothing, Matt pointed out the value of such a long run. Such manor rolls can be used in the study of demography (including the turn-over of surnames), landscape history and farming, as well as looking at serfdom, tenure and landholding. Matt is to be congratulated for making this resource available to local historians lacking his palaeographical and Latin skills.

#### Katie Bridger, 'Fyve power men'

Katie's paper was based upon some of her research towards her PhD and looked at the efforts of the gentry to create and consolidate identities in their localities. She referred to recent work seeing the landscape as a place of memory and went on to examine the use of memorials in churches and the establishment of charities as a way of perpetuating a family name. She has been making a study of gentry wills in Leicestershire, noting particularly any directions for where and how the testator wanted to be buried and commemorated, including and endowments of permanent charities. Not that those were always successful; for example, Thomas Grey left money establish an almshouse at Astley in Warwickshire, but there is no evidence that it was ever built.

#### Carol Beardmore, 'The rural estate through the eyes of the land agent'

Carol's paper was based upon her research into the estate of the Marquis of Anglesey in the Dorset and Somerset in the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This estate had come into the Marquis' family in 1744 and by 1812 the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Uxbridge owned over 100,000 acres. Unfortunately, he then went through messy and costly divorce proceedings which were not finally resolved until 1854, leaving the estate indebted. There is a huge archive of estate papers at the Dorset History Centre, which has enabled Carol to look at just how an estate like this was managed.

She concentrated on the career of William Castleman, the Earl's land agent from 1810 until his death in 1844, when the agency was taken on by his two sons. Castleman was the son of a tenant farmer and became an attorney in Wimborne, background and training making him ideally equipped to be an estate steward, or land agent as they were increasingly called in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, reflecting a professionalization of the occupation. The social status of the land agent was ambivalent, part way between farmer and gentry. Unusually, Castleman was invited to Beaudesert, the Marquis' seat in Staffordshire, for Christmas 1820.

The estate papers include many copy letters, annotated by the Marquis, showing his close involvement with estate management. There are also many rentals, showing the impact on farmers of the economic difficulties of the 1820s and 1830s in mounting arrears of rent; Castleman offered a 10 per cent rebate on rent if it was paid in time – five per cent in cash and five per cent towards the cost of land drainage. In 1829/30 the estate suffered badly from flooding and liver fluke. Castleman was responsible for much of his lordship's political affairs, in manipulating the rotten borough of Milborne Port, which returned to members to Parliament. Carol concluded by saying that Castleman was a wily operator and played a pivotal role in maintaining the equilibrium in estate relationships. Even when the landlord was absent, an estate could be very well

Noel Tornbohm concluded the afternoon by thanking all the speakers for their professional and fascinating papers.

## Hoskins' Day 27 June 2016

Prof. Charles Watkins (Nottingham) 'Trees and Topography: Depictions of individual trees in the 18th and 19th centuries'

As a young geographer in 1973, Charles was given a copy of Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* by his tutor and was immediately bowled over. As his career and interests have progressed through geography to historical geography, *Making* remains influential. He also has a practical interest in woodland management, as he owns a wood in Herefordshire.

He began by apologising for beginning his lecture with pictures of Italian, rather than English, trees, but went on to explain the influence of Italian masters on British artists. From Roman times onwards some artists have depicted realistic trees whose species can be identified, while others have represented a more generic 'tree'. In many paintings the trees are used as framing or perspective devices, although some are studies of the trees themselves - or representations of their symbolic meaning (France and Germany, along with England, claim the oak as 'their' tree, reflecting the strength and vigour of their peoples). Some paintings give historic information about woodland albeit incidentally. management, He gave examples of a drawing of 1503 by Augustin Hirschvogel showing pollarded willows around a pond outside a town. A Painting by Pieter Brueghel the younger of c. 1620 shows two peasants binding faggots, while another small figure in the background is up a ladder, lopping branches from a tree. Although probably with an allegorical meaning, the painting accurately shows the work involved.

Then he showed two beautiful studies by Albrecht Dürer of a spruce and of pine trees, before going on to discuss work by Jacob van Ruisdael. One of his paintings shows a sloping tree, a willow, beside a plank fence. This motif of the sloping willow was commonly used. Many of Rusidael's works were widely circulated as etchings and Constable acknowledged the influence of his painting *Marsh with Travellers* on his own art. Gainsborough, too, said that he had been fascinated by trees since childhood. His *Landscape with a decayed willow over a pool* is a

good example of artists' fascination with decayed trees – perhaps as a symbol for the transitory nature of life, perhaps as it gave the opportunity to emphasise the structure without having to do the fiddly leaves!

He ended with a discussion of John Everett Millais's *The Woodman's Daughter* (1851), inspired by the poem by Coventry Patmore. It was painted at Marley Wood, Oxford, and is an immensely detailed and accurate depiction of people, clothing and plants – but what is the woodcutter doing in the wood in spring? Never take anything at face value!

Sylvia Pinches gave the vote of thanks and then everyone went back to Salisbury Road for the customary tea and book sale.

The committee request that future donations for the book sale are only of history, local history and topography books.



Black poplar with distant view of Ross-on-Wye

## Leicester Outing, 16 July 2016

10 o'clock on Saturday and a select band of Friends gather for an introductory talk by leader Colin Hyde of the Oral History Archive. also an expert on development and industrialisation of Leicester. We are taken on a whistle-stop journey of how the city expanded from its Roman grid-pattern centre. A catalyst was the purchase in 1811 by the 'Council' of the South Field, thus enabling both housing and industrial development. After 1875, by-law housing meant better sanitation and an explosion of building occured, both for the gentry and the workers. The industrial revolution came relatively late to Leicester, meaning that the factories were better built, safer and better fitted for purpose. So, towards the end of the 19th century, Leicester became the major textile and footwear production centre in England.

Time to venture forth and, after a short stroll down New Walk, taking in the wyverns on the gable-ends, symbol of the city, we crossed London Road and entered an area of quaint Victorian streets, built to be accessed on foot - a charming backwater and well-preserved. A typical example of artisan terrace housing, squeezed in between the larger, polite houses on London Road, Prebend Street and Saxby Street.



Re-crossing London Road, just above the railway station, we encountered Goddard's Art Deco silver polish factory, still an impressive sight. Back on New Walk, we passed the Neo-Classical portico of the museum, still boasting one of its original lampposts. Then into Museum Square, dating from 1821 and into King Street and the ill-fated Crescent, built with high hopes of exclusive 'des res' status but soon to find itself cheek-by-jowl with the new prison. The round-arched doorways still preserved in the area are testament to the age of the properties, as after 1850, these would be replaced by lintels. Not far away, the pressure to house factory workers led to very basic 'back-to-side' housing being squeezed into poky yards.

Next to the Castle area, with the Magazine forming the old gatehouse. Later this was to become the headquarters of the local militia. Behind we discovered the Newarke, including the C14 Trinity Hospital, Richmond House and the handsome 1512 Chantry House. Passing through the Turret known as 'Rupert's Gateway', we encountered the Great Hall, dating back to 1150, and standing close to the original motte of the castle, built in 1107 by Sir Robert de Beaumont. Nearby stands the historic St Mary de Castro church and the castle gardens, leading to Bow Bridge. From here, we viewed the newly-restored Friars Mill, built in 1739; Leicester's oldest factory, which was still spinning varn for the Ellis family into the 1980s. Then back up past the Jewry Wall, with its unique Roman remains and museum, formed part of the baths complex for this important settlement.

Fortified by lunch at The Orange Tree, we regrouped at The High Cross and wended our way back to base via the Guildhall, the Turkey Coffee House and the splendid Town Hall.

We were then regaled with a splendid talk by Philip French on the various notable clothing and footwear factories that, with their household names, made Leicester one of the wealthiest, diverse and productive cities in the country.

# The year in photos



Dr John Goodacre playing the Northumbrian pipes, 10th December 2015



Friends in Leicester, 16 July 2016

#### FRIENDS OF FRIENDS

### Leicestershire VCH - an update

Substantial progress has been made on the archival research front during the third year of the Charnwood Roots project. The archival research team has been gathering data for four sections of the VCH parish histories covering a diverse range of subjects from geology, demography, social structure, transport history, manorial history and estates, industry, rural crafts and trades, agriculture, poverty, charity, and education. Volunteers have received in early courses modern palaeography and have spent time honing their skills at a regular reading group held in the village of Thurcaston and at group research sessions at the Record Office. Thanks to the efforts of Dr Susan Kilby, Dr Matt Tompkins, Dr Joseph Harley and our dedicated team of around 50 archival research volunteers there are now more than 3,500 entries on our growing research databank. Each entry is tagged by parish and by research theme. As well as making the job of writing the parish histories simpler, the databank will also be a great resource for other groups organisations. It will be made publicly available online at the end of the project.



Volunteer Lizzie Grey transcribing inventories at Leicestershire Record Office

Archaeological work also continues. Our intrepid landscape investigators completed their survey of around 100 features in Martinshaw Wood near Ratby and further earthwork surveys are planned for the winter season near Charnwood Lodge and Beaumanor Hall. Our third and final community dig will take place in Rothley on 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> July and is expected to involve around 150 volunteers. Some very promising sites have been offered and we look forward to being able to report the results of this research next year.



Volunteer Robin Matthewman recording a woodbank.

Work also continues in the wider county. Our first book, a history of Castle Donington written by Pam Fisher and Michael Lee, is now with the publishers, and draft text is also nearing completion for our second book on Buckminster and Sewstern. Neither would have been possible without the substantial support and assistance of our teams of research volunteers and our donors, and we are very grateful to them. Fundraising is now underway to support further work on Lutterworth, where research is well advanced.

Julie Attard and Pam Fisher

#### VCH Leicestershire:

http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/co unties/leicestershire

### Charnwood Roots:

http://www.charnwoodroots.org

## The Nichols Archive Project

In 1818, when John Bowyer Nichols relocated his (1779-1863)family's printing business from the cramped alleyway of Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street to grander premises at 25 Parliament Westminster, Street. the world topographical research and publication with which the firm had been synonymous since the late eighteenth century was already changing. The informal networks of information exchange and scholarly printing for private authors so convivially overseen by his father, John Nichols (1745-1826), in collaboration with likeminded antiquaries such as Richard Gough (1735-1809), were giving way to the more formal channels of communication and professional standards of research seen in the correspondence of his son, John Gough (1806-1873) with **Nichols** county historians like John Hunter of Yorkshire and librarians like Sir Henry Ellis of the **British** Museum. The steady professionalization of topographical research and publication between the late Georgian period and the reign of Victoria can be followed in the surviving correspondence of these three generations of the Nichols printing dynasty, now scattered between over eighty repositories on both sides of the Atlantic and a number collections but becoming private accessible via the Nichols Archive Database. However, the Nicholses were simply printers; as antiquaries, genealogists, bibliophiles, autograph hunters, heralds, editors and collectors they were at the heart of the antiquarian community during a century of change and their papers, topographical collections and the sale catalogues of their libraries are a key resource for their achievements and contributions to the world of topographical scholarship. Earlier this year I was invited to contribute an essay about their role in the development of topographical research to a new website on this topic which is currently being prepared by a team at the Called 'Topography British Library. Transformed', it will go live in January 2017 and, in a series of essays drawing upon the library's extensive topographical collections of manuscripts, printed books and illustrations, will showcase the work of a very wide range of antiquaries, draughtsmen and explorers and engravers who laid the foundations of local historical scholarship.

Research for this project has given me the opportunity to explore the many ways in which John Nichols and his family not only contributed to, but actively encouraged and supported local historical research. The nearly 16,000 letters now calendared and searchable on the Nichols Archive Database have proved especially useful for this. Their role as editors of the monthly Gentleman's Magazine between 1778 and 1856 is well-known; throughout this period the magazine provided a forum of debate for a national network of on a wide range antiquaries topographical topics. Letters to the editor, describing in detail local churches and their monuments were often accompanied by engraved plates showing the church, its font, carvings, and archaeological finds discovered nearby. Local people wrote to Nichols asking for offprints of these plates their personal topographical for collections. Nichols was happy to help, and eagerly entered into a correspondence that engendered further local research. Working through the sale catalogues of the Nichols libraries at the British Library and in private collections, I have found that they also formed enormous topographical collections of their own – watercolours, engravings, sketches and brass rubbings, which they arranged by county in large portfolios and also used to extra-illustrate topographical books. They commissioned skilled draughtsmen, to travel around the country on their behalf, drawing churches, stained glass and monuments that they particularly wished to study. Two volumes of drawings of churches in Essex, Kent, Middlesex and Surrey made in the 1830s, at the express request of John Bowver Nichols, are held by the British Library as BL Add. MS. 25705-6 and the financial accounts in these volumes together with their correspondence, show just how proactive each generation of the Nichols family was in encouraging the recording of local antiquities. They also

took an active part in conservation campaigns and restoration projects. John Nichols made space available to John Carter in the Gentleman's Magazine for a series of articles attacking what he saw as ruinously insensitive 'restoration' of Bowyer cathedrals; John **Nichols** supported Maria Hackett (1783-1874) in the campaign to save Crosby Hall in the City of London from demolition in the 1830s and in the 1840s John Gough Nichols was closely involved with David Elisha Davy (1769-1851) in the repair and preservation of the monumental brasses at Cobham in Kent.

A significant part of the surviving Nichols archive is made up of letters and papers preserved by John Nichols's granddaughter, Mary Anne Illife Nichols (1812-1870),her collection in She based this collection autographs. upon the business and research papers of her family, so it includes many letters that were submitted to her grandfather, father and brother as editors of the Gentleman's Magazine or from correspondents who were involved in their many research projects; but she also collected autograph letters herself, by exchange with fellow collectors like William Upcott (1779-1845) and John Britton (1771-1857) but also in the salerooms and through dealers' catalogues. As I work through this large private collection a number of significant manuscripts are coming to light. This year I have identified three letters written in 1648-1650 to Constantijn Huygens (1608-1687), Dutch writer, bibliophile diplomat which. I have also come across a letter written in 1756 by John Cleland (1710-1789), novelist and author of Fanny Hill, or memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure, which will form part of a forthcoming edition of Cleland's letters planned by Dr Richard Terry at Dr Helen Williams at the University of Northumbria.

The breadth and scope of the Nichols papers attracts the attention of a wide range of scholars. This year I have received enquiries relating to the history of music and its performance in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the library of David Garrick, the work of the topographers John Britton and

Edward Wedlake Brayley (1773-1854) and the part played by John Nichols in encouraging the study of genealogy by the nobility and peerage in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Several of these enquiries have resulted in visits by scholars to consult the Nichols Archive Database by appointment with me at Surrey History Centre in Woking.

Julian Pooley

#### John Nichols Prize

The John Nichols Prize is awarded annually. The value of the prize is £100. The rules are:

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 adopted as standard in the forms publications of the Centre. Communications should be addressed to John Nichols Prize, Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester, Marc Fitch Historical Institute, Salisbury Road, Leicester, LE1 7OR. 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.

The 2016 Award went to Imogen Peck, of the University of Bristol, for her paper 'Popular Memories of the British Civil Wars in the Northern Counties of England, 1647-1660'.

#### **Obituaries:**

It is with regret that we record the deaths of the following Friends. Our sincerest condolences go to their families.

#### **Professor David Hey 1938-2016**

One of the best-known of British local historians, David Hey died in February 2016 after a few months of illness. He was closely associated with our Centre. The Leicester approach to local history influenced his work; he took the subject forward and had an influence on its development at Leicester.

He was rooted in south Yorkshire and north Derbyshire, having been born into a miner's family at Catshaw near Penistone, and educated at Penistone grammar school. He left the county in 1956 to take a degree at Keele, then the University College of North Staffordshire. His headmaster thought it necessary to write to Keele to explain that his pupil spoke with a strong Yorkshire accent. Hey took a degree in history and politics, and was always grateful for the broad education he received. In 1960 (Keele BA degrees took four years) he returned to Yorkshire and taught in schools, at which he excelled, and in 1967 he was appointed as a lecturer at Matlock College of Education. Meanwhile he had been taking a part-time MA in the then Department of English Local History at Leicester, which he completed in 1967. His thesis was about Ecclesfield, a village on the edge of Sheffield, from 1672 to 1851. He then embarked on a PhD on a subject that made his name in the historical world. He was advised at Leicester of the importance of Gough's history of the Shropshire village of Myddle (written in c.1700). particular Gough had written about each family in the village, beginning with their place on the pews of the parish church, which provided a perfect spring board for a study of the social structure and family life of a seventeenth-century community.

While still completing his thesis, David was appointed to a research fellowship in the Leicester. In his time in Leicester (1969-73) he turned his thesis into a book, which was published in 1974, and began work on industry and society in Sheffield, which was eventually published as the *Fiery Blades of Hallamshire*. When the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Sheffield University appointed a lecturer in 1973 David Hey was an obvious choice, and he stayed there as lecturer and eventually professor until his retirement in 2000. He had met his wife Pat when they were both at Matlock College in the late 1960s. They lived at while at Leicester, then at Dronfield Woodhouse.

In his time at Sheffield, and after his retirement he wrote fifteen books. including specialist monographs such as the Fiery Blades book and a study of the packmen and packhorse roads across Derbyshire and Yorkshire, but mainly books aimed at a general readership about Derbyshire, Yorkshire and Sheffield. They reflect the Leicester approach because they often cover long periods and take into account a wide range of themes and evidence, such as landscape and buildings. They are also clear and informative, and well-illustrated.

He developed an early enthusiasm for the study of surnames, and wrote a great deal about these, often using northern examples. He showed how an unusual name could be traced to a particular locality, and how people carrying the name in recent times often live quite near to their place of origin. In recent years he was collaborating with Turi King, the Leicester University geneticist, to show how advances in DNA research could connect with surname and family history. His interest in the history of the family in general led him to make with the contact Family community, and he wrote books such as the Oxford Guide to Family History with their needs in mind. Few historians took an interest in the surge of amateur research in family history, but David saw a group of enthusiasts who would appreciate contact with main-stream history, and sought to help them to explore and understand the societies and places in which their ancestors lived.

David was an excellent teacher, and had a large following in his native 'country' as he called Sheffield, south Yorkshire and north Derbyshire. He also made his mark on the national scene through the British Record Society and the British Association for Local History. The Leicester local historians are proud of our connections with him, and he did loval service to the Centre. He knew Charles Phythian-Adams well from his days as research fellow, and Charles gave an eloquent appreciation of him at the very well attended funeral at Dronfield. He was a cheerful, friendly, optimistic and quietly humorous man, and speaking to him was always a pleasure. He retired from his post in 2000, but was a very active researcher and writer until his illness. In the last year of his life he completed a book entitled The Grass Roots of English History, embracing a wide range of themes in local history, and extended over the whole country, published by Bloomsbury in June 2016.

Christopher Dyer

#### John Wallace (1961-2016)

It was with a mixture of shock and disbelief that I heard of the sudden and untimely death of my friend Ian at just 45.

I first met Ian on the MA in English Local History at Leicester University in 1992, and I quickly realised that here was a uniquely talented and interesting person. This quality came to the fore on the field course we did at Lazonby in Cumbria in 1993, when Ian demonstrated his instinctive knowledge of the area, something that can be attributed to his first degree in Geography from Sussex University, and he showed the rest of us on the field course that, with regard to the subject of local history, geography was an even more important concept than history itself. I shared a house with Ian he was great fun, and we had some amazing nights in the village pub! I also came to discover that local history was just

one of Ian's interests, with another important part of his life being music. He was an extremely talented and perceptive singer-songwriter, in the 'pop-folk' bracket. Ian's knowledge of people and places was reflected in his excellent songs. He recorded two CDs "Communication Overdue" (2006), and "Heartlands" (2009).

Ian had a successful career with Carphone Warehouse, working in a variety of locations across the Midlands. It was probably inevitable that Ian would want to return to education at some point, and it was his desire to help young people that led Ian to train as a geography teacher, working in colleges around Leicestershire. There can be no doubt that had Ian lived, he would have been very successful in his role teacher. Although Ian had only been teaching for a relatively short period of time, he made a big impression on both students and fellow teachers alike.

He was born and bred in the Black Country, whilst living in Leicestershire towards the end of his life. His extensive knowledge of the Midlands and his determination to enable other people to achieve their career goals gave me the confidence I required to start and finish my PhD, (on Independent Television (ITV) in the Midlands from the 1950s to 2000, which discussed the question of sense of region. I am convinced that if Ian had done this thesis, he would have done a far better job than I did, but I also now realise that Ian wanted me to do it instead, and to fulfil my potential as a result. My biggest regret is that I did not realise what Ian had done to help me, and I will now never be able to thank him for his efforts.

For everyone who knew him, Ian was an inspiration and a guiding light, as well as someone who set an example that the rest of us can only attempt to follow. Not only was Ian a jack-of-all-trades, he was also a master of them. In a world consisting of people with many skills and abilities, Ian was the best of all.

John Wallace

## Friends' Diary Dates 2015 - 16

The AGM of the Friends will take place on Thursday, 24th November at 12.30 p.m., to be followed by a buffet lunch for those attending

Outing: Visit to Castor, Northants, led by Dr Susan Kilby, 9th October 2016

Study Weekend April 2017 TBA

Hoskins' Lecture 2017: TBA.

## Seminar Programme 2016-17

All seminars are on Thursdays at 2.15pm in the Seminar Room of No 1 Salisbury Road. You are invited to tea in the Common Room, 5 Salisbury Road, afterwards.

#### 2016

29 September	Elizabeth Hurren (Leicester), Dissecting Jack-the-Ripper: an anatomy of murder in the metropolis
13 October	Stuart Brookes (UCL), Travel and communication in Anglo-Saxon England
27 October	Malcolm Dick (Birmingham), Making sense of an industrial town: Birmingham- 'the city of a thousand trades'
17 November	Caroline Nielsen (Northampton), 'He had no means of getting to towne': long-distance travel, discharged soldiers and charitable administration, c. 1682-1790
24 November	Carenza Lewis (Lincoln), New archaeological evidence for the Black Death: from local histories to global narrative
8 December	Fiona McCall (Portsmouth), The experience of Civil War in the Midlands from the records of Leicestershire clerical trials
2017	
<b>2017</b> 12 January	Neil MacDonald (Liverpool), Epigraphic flood marks: a valuable tool in understanding past flooding
12 January	understanding past flooding  Miriam Muller (Birmingham), Coastal communities and neighbourhoods in
12 January 26 January	understanding past flooding  Miriam Muller (Birmingham), Coastal communities and neighbourhoods in the later medieval manor of Heacham, Norfolk  Nicola Verdon (Sheffield Hallam), Gender, class and region in the operation

## **USEFUL CONTACTS**

#### **Contributions to Newsletter:**

Please address to The Editor, Marc Fitch House or leave messages or contributions in Friends' pigeonhole at Marc Fitch House.

For preference, please e-mail editor@englishlocalhistory.org

#### Membership enquiries

Please e-mail: treasurer@englishlocalhistory.org

#### Secretary:

Please e-mail: secretary@englishlocalhistory.org

#### Purchase of Friends' Papers:

Please e-mail: publications@englishlocalhistory.org

Or send order and cheque to: Publications Sales, Friends of English Local History,

5, Salisbury Road, Leicester, LE1 7QR.

#### Officers and Committee elected for 2015-16

Noel Tornbohm Chairman Secretary Robert Mee Treasurer Ann Schmidt Programme Secretary Philip Batman Membership Secretary Ann Schmidt Newsletter Editor Sylvia Pinches IT Coordinator Andrew Wager Committee Member Amanda de Belin Committee Member Sarah Gilpin Committee Member Frank Galbraith Committee Member Beryl Tracey

Student Representatives: Malcolm Millard

Centre Representative: Andy Hopper

