

*English Local History:
The Leicester Approach
a Departmental Bibliography
and History 1948-1998*

Compiled and edited by
Margery Tranter, Ken Hawker, John Rowley,
and Mike Thompson

Introduced by
Charles Phythian-Adams

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PREFACE

Founded in 1989, publishing its own annual *Newsletter* ever since, and now numbering some 300 members, in 1997 The Friends of the Department of English Local History set up a Jubilee Committee to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the department with both a day of events (5 December 1998) and the publication of this work. Any profits from the sale of this book, therefore, will be used towards the creation of student bursaries or to make other special provision in support of the work of the department.

Apart from the brief history of the department and its concerns that introduces the body of this work, the bibliography of writings which the latter represents comprises a considerable expansion of, and in the light of the developing historiography of the subject, some inevitable adaptation of, the content and organization of an earlier similar publication which was produced to mark the department's thirtieth anniversary in 1978. Compiled largely by Margery Tranter, for many years the department's Honorary Research Associate, and introduced and shaped by Alan Everitt, *English Local History at Leicester 1948-1978: A Bibliography of Writings by Members of the Department of English Local History, University of Leicester*, 1981, listed 1,217 items. This represented a prodigious research effort by Margery Tranter in particular, and it has been she who has continued to update our records almost ever since. On her relinquishment of this onerous task, and spurred on by the Secretary of the Friends, Derek Shorthouse, the good work was then taken over by Ken Hawker with help from Alan Tennant, who circulated past and present members of the department in order to maximise coverage of their publications. With some small input from the present writer on subject classification, sequencing, and conventions, the most burdensome task, that of entering onto a database all material additional to that on Margery Tranter's disk, fell on the capable shoulders of John Rowley. Subsequent editing and proof-reading were undertaken by Mike Thompson and Ken Hawker. The credits to be apportioned, therefore, should be shared primarily by Margery Tranter in company with Ken Hawker, John Rowley and Mike Thompson.

Even with all the care that has been taken, where either error or omission still cries out for remedy, it is hoped that readers will assist us by pointing out how the record should be corrected. Experience shows, however, that accuracy is best achieved where authors themselves keep the department updated from time to time, as we hope they will continue to do in the future.

In the meantime all those involved in this project would like to thank everyone who has responded so readily to their enquiries. The present writer also wishes to record here his widely-shared appreciation both of all the work done by Harold Fox in connection with the evolution of The Friends since its inception, and of Pauline Whitmore, whose keyboard skills have triumphed over the hand-written versions of this preface and what immediately follows, is also to be thanked most warmly.

Charles Phythian-Adams

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A-S.Eng.</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>A.H.</i>	<i>Amateur Historian</i>
<i>A.H.R.</i>	<i>Agricultural History Review</i>
<i>A.J.</i>	<i>Ampleforth Journal</i>
<i>Ag.H.</i>	<i>Agricultural History</i>
<i>Ant.Jnl.</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>Arch.</i>	<i>Archives</i>
<i>Arch.Camb.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i>
<i>Arch.Cant.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cantiana</i>
<i>Arch.Jnl.</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>B.A.R.</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>B.H.S.</i>	<i>University of Birmingham Historical Journal</i>
<i>B.T.R.</i>	<i>British Transport Review</i>
<i>CAMPOP</i>	<i>Cambridge Group for the Study of Population and Social Structure</i>
<i>C.&C.</i>	<i>Cake and Cockhorse</i>
<i>Carm.Ant.</i>	<i>Carmarthenshire Antiquity</i>
<i>Carm.H.</i>	<i>Carmarthen Historian</i>
<i>C.C.T.</i>	<i>The Churches Conservation Trust</i>
<i>Cer.</i>	<i>Ceredigion</i>
<i>C.N.H.S.S.</i>	<i>Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society</i>
<i>C.N.H.S.S.Arch.</i>	<i>Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society - Archaeology</i>
<i>C.O.R.A.L.</i>	<i>The Conference of Regional and Local Historians</i>
<i>C.U.H.U.L.</i>	<i>Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester</i>
<i>D.C.N.Q.</i>	<i>Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries</i>
<i>DEL.H.</i>	<i>Department of English Local History, University of Leicester</i>
<i>D.H.</i>	<i>Devon Historian</i>
<i>D.R.</i>	<i>Downside Review</i>
<i>E.H.R.</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Ec.H.R.</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>E.S.R.C.</i>	<i>Economic and Social Research Council</i>
<i>Ess.R.</i>	<i>Essex Review</i>
<i>G.A.L.</i>	<i>Gloucestershire and Avon Life</i>
<i>Gen.Mag.</i>	<i>Genealogists' Magazine</i>
<i>Geog.Jnl.</i>	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
<i>Geog.Mag..</i>	<i>Geographical Magazine</i>
<i>GIMMS</i>	<i>Geographic Information Mapping and Management System</i>
<i>Glam.C.M.</i>	<i>Glamorgan County Magazine</i>
<i>Glam.H.</i>	<i>Glamorgan Historian</i>
<i>H.</i>	<i>History</i>
<i>H.M.S.O.</i>	<i>Her Majesty's Stationery Office</i>
<i>H.S.</i>	<i>History Studies</i>
<i>H.T.</i>	<i>History Today</i>
<i>H.W.</i>	<i>History Workshop</i>
<i>I.A.</i>	<i>Industrial Archaeology</i>
<i>I.A.R.</i>	<i>Industrial Archaeology Review</i>
<i>J.E.L.</i>	<i>Journal of Education for Librarianship</i>

<i>J.E.P.N.S.</i>	<i>Journal of the English Place-Name Society</i>
<i>J.Hist.Geog.</i>	<i>Journal of Historical Geography</i>
<i>J.L.</i>	<i>Journal of Librarianship</i>
<i>J.Mod.H.</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
<i>J.P.S.</i>	<i>Journal of Peasant Studies</i>
<i>J.Soc.Arch.</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Archivists</i>
<i>J.T.H.</i>	<i>Journal of Transport History</i>
<i>L.</i>	<i>Libri</i>
<i>L.A.B.</i>	<i>Lancashire Archaeological Bulletin</i>
<i>L.H.</i>	<i>The Local Historian</i>
<i>L.P.S.</i>	<i>Local Population Studies</i>
<i>Leics.H.</i>	<i>Leicestershire Historian</i>
<i>Lincs.H.</i>	<i>Lincolnshire Historian</i>
<i>Lincs.H.A.</i>	<i>Lincolnshire History and Archaeology</i>
<i>Lit.Hist.</i>	<i>Literature and History</i>
<i>M.D.A.</i>	<i>Museum Documentation Association</i>
<i>M.S.R.G.</i>	<i>Medieval Settlement Research Group</i>
<i>M.H.</i>	<i>Midland History</i>
<i>Med.Aev.</i>	<i>Medium Aevum</i>
<i>Med.Arch.</i>	<i>Medieval Archaeology</i>
<i>N.A.</i>	<i>Norfolk Archaeology</i>
<i>N.A.L.S.H.N.</i>	<i>Newark Archaeological and Local History Society Newsletter</i>
<i>N.H.</i>	<i>Northern History</i>
<i>N.L.W.J.</i>	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>
<i>N.P.P.</i>	<i>Northamptonshire Past and Present</i>
<i>N.S.</i>	<i>New Society</i>
<i>n.s.</i>	<i>New series</i>
<i>N.S.J.F.S.</i>	<i>North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies</i>
<i>O.D.&C.</i>	<i>Out of Doors and Countrygoer</i>
<i>O.G.S.</i>	<i>Ontario Genealogical Society</i>
<i>O.W.R.</i>	<i>Old West Riding</i>
<i>Ox.</i>	<i>Oxoniensia</i>
<i>P.&P.</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>P.-Med.Arch.</i>	<i>Post-Medieval Archaeology</i>
<i>P.Camb.A.S.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society</i>
<i>P.D.A.S.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society</i>
<i>P.D.N.H.A.S.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society</i>
<i>P.S.I.A.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology</i>
<i>R.C.H.M.</i>	<i>Royal Commission on Historical Monuments</i>
<i>R.H.E.S.C.</i>	<i>Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture</i>
<i>R.M.</i>	<i>Railway Modeller</i>
<i>R.W.</i>	<i>Record of Witney</i>
<i>S.A.C.</i>	<i>Surrey Archaeological Collections</i>
<i>S.A.N.H.</i>	<i>Somerset Archaeology and Natural History</i>
<i>S.C.H.</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
<i>S.C.M. Press</i>	<i>Student Christian Movement Press</i>
<i>S.H.A.</i>	<i>Society for Historical Archaeology</i>
<i>S.H.C.G.</i>	<i>Social History Curators' Group Journal</i>
<i>S.O.A.S.</i>	<i>School of Oriental and African Studies</i>

S.P.M.A.	<i>Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology</i>
S.Y.H.	<i>South Yorkshire Historian</i>
T.B.G.A.S.	<i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</i>
T.B.W.A.S.	<i>Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society</i>
T.D.A.	<i>Transactions of the Devon Association</i>
T.E.S.	<i>Times Educational Supplement</i>
T.H.	<i>Textile History</i>
T.H.A.S.	<i>Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society</i>
T.H.E.S.	<i>Times Higher Educational Supplement</i>
T.H.L.C.	<i>Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire</i>
T.L.A.S.	<i>Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society</i>
T.L.M.A.S.	<i>Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society</i>
T.L.S.	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
T.R.H.S.	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
T.S.A.S.	<i>Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society</i>
T.T.S.	<i>Transactions of the Thoroton Society</i>
U.H.N.L.	<i>Urban History Newsletter</i>
U.H.Y.B.	<i>Urban History Yearbook</i>
V&A	<i>Victoria and Albert Museum</i>
V.S.	<i>Victorian Studies</i>
W.H.R.	<i>Welsh History Review</i>
Y.A.J.	<i>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</i>

PART I
THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LOCAL HISTORY (1948-1998):
CONTEXTS AND EVOLUTION¹

I

When in 1948 the then University College of Leicester saw fit to invest W.G. Hoskins with what became known as the Department of English Local History, the College could not claim to be the first institution of higher education formally to recognise local history as an academic activity. Designated posts in the subject had long been earmarked by other centres of learning like Reading, Exeter, London, or Hull; whilst the VCH had been edited from the Institute of Historical Research since 1933. The novelty of the Leicester decision lay rather in the establishment of a specifically independent *department* and in a definition of its concerns so as to embrace all England. It is a little known fact, indeed, that, despite H.P.R. Finberg's creation as the first-ever Professor of English Local History in 1963, when W.G. Hoskins returned to Leicester as Professor in 1965, the title of his chair did not even include the words 'local history'. As Head of the *Department* of English Local History, his was in fact the Hatton Chair of *English* History. While his distinguished successor, Alan Everitt, resumed the former title, a point had been emphasised. The stance of the department was not to be regionally based (though practically all members of the department have sought in different ways to further the study of both Leicestershire and Rutland). Its concerns were to be nationwide and, given the variety of its provincial perspectives, therefore comparative.

Leicester caught a wave. The thirties and forties, in which William Hoskins had developed his approach, whilst in fact lecturing mainly on economics at the University College, were a time when, not least during the war, nostalgia for England, its landscapes, and its historic buildings of all kinds had been increasingly expressed. Over those decades, such sentiments were perhaps best encapsulated in the long-running Batsford British Heritage Series to which, in 1949, Hoskins himself contributed his *Midland England*.

¹ See endnotes to Part I.

This was a volume that included anticipations of much of his later local historical output and, like others of his publications at that time, contained superb photographs of the English countryside taken by F.L. Attenborough, the Principal of the University College. Hoskins was not alone in his concerns nor in the fluency and passion with which he communicated them: this was a time when people so different as Geoffrey Grigson, John Betjeman, John Summerson and others were also achieving reputations in their various ways. Especially relevant to the specifically historical aspects of this process was the appearance in 1941 of a modern local-historical classic, *Tudor Cornwall: Portrait of a Society*, by A.L. Rowse, the text and proofs for which were checked by an Oxford protégé of his, a remarkable young scholar, Jack Simmons.

Both Hoskins - by birth and upbringing - and Simmons - through his mother's family - were Devonians; both were regular contributors to *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, Hoskins since 1929, Simmons from 1940 (and, incidentally, H.P.R. Finberg from 1942). Both Hoskins and Simmons were therefore obvious choices to join a glittering team of historians and others named above under the Cornish leadership of A.L. Rowse, to broadcast in 1947 or 1948 on 'The West in English History' (a book of which title followed in 1949). Above all both Hoskins and Simmons shared a zest for the visual exploration and analysis of England's past. It was a remarkable conjunction of circumstances in 1947, therefore, that found Jack Simmons appointed to the first Chair of History at a University College which was headed by Principal Attenborough, and distinguished by a scholar of such fast-growing reputation as William Hoskins. It was in addition an institution that, thanks to the generosity of a Leicester businessman, Thomas Hatton, had long before been gifted a valuable library collection of some 2,000 volumes of local histories, including many of the classics in original editions, from across the country. The creation of the department - as an entity separate from Simmons' own Department of History - was the direct outcome in the following year.

In 1948 it was possible for an historian of vision, like Jack Simmons, to entitle his Inaugural Lecture 'Local, National and Imperial History', having himself worked at all three levels. The growing appreciation of an academically acceptable interconnection between nation and locality in particular also strongly marked the concerns of other scholars of general reputation who exerted a direct influence on the work of the department or on appointments to it

in the first decade or so of its existence: not only A.L. Rowse but also, and especially, F.M. Stenton (whose *Anglo-Saxon England* had appeared in 1943) who supported the appointment of H.P.R. Finberg; and R.H. Tawney, who also sponsored Finberg, advised Hoskins on the content and title of *The Midland Peasant* (1957), supervised Joan Thirsk's Ph.D. thesis, introduced her 1953 Occasional Paper on *Fenland Farming* and supported Alan Everitt. The long benign shadow cast on the early intellectual development of the department by the interests of these last two great men can now be readily appreciated in retrospect.

The first phase of the new department's existence (1948-1965), when research and publishing (with some light teaching and supervising duties) were its primary concerns, needs to be understood against a time when the intelligent lay reader was prone to evince a closer interest in the history of his country than is the case today, as the current popularity of such readable authors as Sir Arthur Bryant and Sir Winston Churchill then demonstrated. Moreover, with the coronation in 1953 of Elizabeth II (for which, incidentally, H.P.R. Finberg in another, typographical, guise designed the printing of the *Coronation Service*), deep historical resonances were sounded. A new Elizabethan age was then said to be dawning, a view that had been much buttressed by the republication in 1952 of John Neale's immensely popular *Elizabeth I*; by the appearance in 1950 (with two further impressions in 1951) of A.L. Rowse's superb *England of Elizabeth* (for which Simmons and Hoskins both furnished material on the provinces); and the year before that by the publication, with its wealth of local illustration, of *The Elizabethan House of Commons*, also by J.E. Neale, for whose *festschrift* in 1961 (as an 'associate') Hoskins later contributed an essay on 'The Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter'.

The enthusiasm for national history was echoed at local levels. A revived sense of English identification with the countryside was a distinct feature of the period of post-war austerity. For the Festival of Britain in 1951, indeed, a series of 13 'About Britain Guides' (ten of which were devoted to England) specifically sponsored by the Festival Office and under the general editorship of Geoffrey Grigson, included two slim Midland volumes by Hoskins. Three years later there appeared the immensely readable *Lost Villages of England* by Maurice Beresford of the University of Leeds, thus signalling the emergence of a new major figure onto the local historical scene. In August 1955 Hoskins's own evocative study of the continuous evolution of the countryside, *The Making of the English Landscape* was published,

accompanied around then by companion studies of Cornwall, Lancashire and Gloucestershire, the last by Hoskins's successor as Reader in charge of the department, H.P.R. Finberg. By 1963 *Lost Villages* was reaching its fourth impression, and *The Making* its fifth. Today it is easy to forget the degree to which academics were then communicating directly and in a popular way with the general public, and not only through writing, not only through the great growth in the number of Adult Education classes, but also through radio broadcasting and the subsequent wide circulation of the printed version in *The Listener*, or later through the writing of handbooks to National Parks or Shell Guides. Hoskins's path-breaking essay on 'The Rebuilding of Rural England 1570-1640', which first appeared in *Past and Present* in 1953, was re-vamped for *History Today* in 1955.

In every respect the time was ripe for the academic development of English Local History. Coincidentally but appropriately, perhaps, in the context of the royal succession, it was Hoskins's (largely republished) *Essays in Leicestershire History* of 1950, with their heavy slant towards the *sixteenth* century, that heralded his arrival as a pioneer on the wider academic stage.

A year later, when Joan Thirsk was appointed Senior Research Fellow in Agrarian History in the department to work at Hoskins's suggestion on Lincolnshire farming, she too began by concentrating on the Tudor period. Before that she had been engaged to write the section on agrarian history between 1540 and 1950 for the *Victoria History of the County of Leicester*, now newly resurrected from oblivion through the combined efforts of, amongst others, Jack Simmons and W.G. Hoskins (the latter becoming editor for volume II, 1954), but sharing that responsibility with Richard McKinley for vols III, IV) with some supportive funding from the University College. With Rodney Hilton from Birmingham University supplying the chapter on medieval agrarian history this became a landmark volume in the modern analytical development of the VCH.

But if in these ways, the new department was beginning to signal the application of new techniques to the understanding of the Midlands, simultaneously those associated with it were also making an equally innovative mark on the study of Devon. 1951 saw the publication of Finberg's *Tavistock Abbey*, significantly subtitled 'A Study in the Social and Economic History of Devon', on the merits of which he succeeded Hoskins as Reader and Head of the Department when Hoskins moved to Oxford. A year later a volume of complementary and

methodologically pioneering essays by each man appeared under the title *Devonshire Studies*. To cap it all, in 1954 Hoskins then published what has rightly become the classic county history of the twentieth century, *Devon*, this being the second volume in an ambitious, but sadly never fully realised, *New Survey of England* conceived by none other than Jack Simmons.

By then, of course, Hoskins had been replaced by Finberg in the department and Joan Thirsk had also joined it. At this time too a sequence of highly gifted postgraduate students began to pass through it like Margaret Spufford, Cyril R. Hart, Rosamund Faith, C.E. Hart, Esther Moir and Moelwyn Williams, whose subsequent influential publications grace this bibliography. Above all, it was a time for major initiatives that would have long-standing repercussions for the nature and direction of the department's future.

The first two of these innovations were not unconnected. In 1952 Finberg, very appropriately, took the opportunity to publicise his introductory lecture on the nature of local history as he saw it - *The Local Historian and his Theme* - by using it to launch a series of Department of English Local History Occasional Papers. These were to be published by the then newly-formed Leicester University Press until its eventual sale. Four series in all, and a total of 36 papers with one volume of three Collected Papers and a substantial introduction, were the outcome down to 1991. The Papers represented not only a vehicle for the department's own thinking (since its inception each Head, for example, has contributed two or three, and a number of staff members and students one), but also an outlet for academics unconnected with the department whose interests chimed in with its own. Such distinguished scholars have included Claire Cross; G.H. Martin; C.F. Slade; Thomas Gordon Barnes; K.J. Allison together with M.W. Beresford and J.G. Hurst; J.S. Morrill; and Christopher Dyer.

The second Occasional Paper in the first series was also by Finberg and this time on the field that he was beginning to make his own, *The Early Charters of Devon and Cornwall* (1953). This was clearly the spring-board for his later full-length *Studies in Early English History* series which opened with Eric John's *Land Tenure in Early England* (1960). The following volume by Finberg on *The Early Charters of the Midlands*, ushered in a sequence of regional volumes, a number by his pupil, Cyril R. Hart (who had also contributed several Occasional Papers on the same documentary theme), which sought initially to gazetteer and,

where relevant, highlight the evidence of charter boundaries, for example, in the corpus of surviving Anglo-Saxon charters. The series was completed, appropriately, by one of Britain's leading place-name scholars, Dr Margaret Gelling, whose edition of *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* appeared in 1979. The series as a whole has since been resurrected under the wider label, *Studies in the Early History of Britain*, under the general editorship of Professor Nicholas Brooks of the University of Birmingham.

A third Finbergian initiative followed from the formation of *The British Agricultural History Society* in 1953 and the accompanying launch of *The Agricultural History Review* which was edited from the start by him through to 1964 when he was succeeded for eight years by Joan Thirsk. This further scheme comprised nothing less than the projected compilation of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* through from pre-history to the eve of the Second World War (eventually, in ten volumes). In 1956 an Advisory Committee was established under the chairmanship of R.H. Tawney, including such figures as Stuart Piggott, M.M. Postan, H.C. Darby, and J.D. Chambers, as well as Beresford, Finberg, Hilton, Hoskins, Thirsk and many others. As a result Finberg became the general editor and Joan Thirsk - who had completed her book on *English Peasant Farming* - was given the responsibility of editing the first volume to appear, volume IV, to cover the period 1500-1640. On his death she also succeeded Finberg as general editor. To help the contributors to this daunting project Margaret Midgley was attached until 1965 to the department as Research Assistant in Agrarian History (with funding from the Nuffield Foundation) to collect materials from record offices throughout the land. In 1957 Alan Everitt too was appointed as Research Assistant, having won the John Nichols prize the previous year (with his essay on *The County Committee of Kent in the Civil War* being published as an Occasional Paper). Three years later he was made Research Fellow in Urban History in order to research his chapter in the *Agrarian History* on 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce'. The appearance in 1967 of volume IV as a 920 page tome was thus very much a departmental achievement, two-fifths of it being written, and all of it edited, in-house. It is not too much to say that this particular volume (and especially the chapters within it by Thirsk on 'Farming Regions' and Everitt on 'Farm Labourers' and marketing) comprised the single most seminal contribution to English local history this century (yet the *History* as a whole would take another 33 years to complete largely under the general editorship of Joan Thirsk). For the

department, however, the finalization of volume IV signalled the close of a twenty-year Golden Age of unhampered and astonishingly productive research.

II

In 1965 H.P.R. Finberg retired, and the tireless Jack Simmons took on the task of identifying possible successors to the Chair to which the former had at last been elected a year earlier. And so it was that in 1965 Hoskins returned to a very different Leicester to the one he had left, and Joan Thirsk in turn departed to take up his vacated Readership at Oxford. Alan Everitt alone survived from the former dispensation.

Hoskins was given the chance to remodel the department as a research *and* teaching department to which end he would be able to increase the staffing to six in order to create the first M.A. course of its kind in the country (he subsequently envisaged raising the total to twelve so as to be able to teach a full undergraduate degree). There would be four research staff, the professor and three research fellows with limited teaching duties, and two lecturers. Between them they would cover the entire syllabus of the new course. The topographical element Hoskins split between himself and the new Senior Lecturer, Peter Eden, who came from writing most of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments volume on *The County of Cambridge, II, North-East Cambridgeshire* (1972), where he had pioneered the inclusion of a topographical discussion for each settlement. Peter would do the general lecture course and some of the field trips. William Hoskins would take others and both teach a selected region (Devon originally) and lead the field course to which others would also contribute. Peter was also expected to share the teaching of Vernacular Architecture with the new Senior Research Fellow in that subject, Michael Laithwaite who had been working on buildings for the Oxfordshire VCH. Alan Everitt was now promoted to Lecturer and he and William shared between them much of the two courses on 'Urban and Rural Communities' (essentially current areas of staff research interest post 1500) and 'The Methods and Materials' of English Local History (similarly post 1500). Alan also taught an examinable course on Early Modern palaeography, and Richard McKinley, fresh from editing volume V of the Leicestershire VCH (1964) and now the first Marc Fitch Research Fellow, taught the compulsory course on medieval palaeography. In 1966, the first year of the M.A. course (which was tried out on but one student!), an Oxford

postgraduate student of Hoskins, the present writer, was also appointed Junior Research Fellow in Urban History for three years partly to contribute to the document-led elements of the course.

At the same time three major new departmental research projects were initiated. The first, which was never completed because of Hoskins's retirement, makes fleeting and unprovenanced appearances in his *Fieldwork in Local History* and, more extensively, in one of his later television programmes. The aim was a group, multi-disciplinary project which would have exploited the skills of the geographer, the topographer, the buildings expert and the local historian in investigating a stretch of the northern and north-eastern littoral of Norfolk. It involved not only William Hoskins and Peter Eden (whose home was at Salthouse) but also Adrian Robinson from Leicester's Department of Geography (who, under another hat, was a frequent collaborator with his colleague Roy Millward, the author of the Lancashire volume in Hoskins's county series of the *Making of the English Landscape*).

The second initiative resulted from the lucky chance that the University of Southampton had turned down the opportunity of mutually funding a new research fellowship with the Marc Fitch Fund. Marc Fitch, antiquary and genealogist, had set up a Fund with family money to help the study and publication of subjects in the Humanities. Its board of highly influential advisers included, *inter alia*, Francis Steer (erstwhile archivist of the Essex and Sussex Record Offices and of New College, Oxford) and Sir Anthony Wagner (author of many works on heraldry and, in 1960, of *English Genealogy*, and subsequently Garter King of Arms). Their interests overlapped with those of Hoskins who had written a prescient article in 1947 on 'Leicestershire yeoman families and their pedigrees'. It was out of these shared concerns, therefore, that the Surnames Survey was established at Leicester in 1965 - with funding split between the university and the Fund. As is well known, under Richard McKinley coverage included Norfolk and Suffolk, the West Riding of Yorkshire (by George Redmonds), Oxfordshire, Lancashire and Sussex; and since 1988, under David Postles, it has already comprehended Devon and Leicestershire and Rutland.

The third project was passed on to Peter Eden from Francis Steer. This huge task involved the compilation of a *Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Local Cartographers of Great Britain and Ireland 1550-1850* and it took Peter Eden until 1976 to finalize it with help from

Avril Thomas (and others). So important were the foundations laid, albeit incomplete, that more recently Dr Sarah Bendall of Merton College, Oxford, has revised and immensely enlarged the original *Dictionary* for publication in 1997 by the British Library as a tool not only for investigations into topography but also for the historical understanding of the rise of a whole new profession.

In the meantime the department was moving - physically. In 1965 it had temporarily shared some of the space in the Geography department in the Bennett Building; in 1966 it was removed to Princess Road, and in 1967 to 7 Salisbury Road. Moreover, the new Attenborough Tower was already being envisaged, to the eighteenth floor of which - as far from the Leicestershire mud as it would be possible to get - the department would eventually be shifted in 1970. It was too much for Hoskins. A battle for even the most elementary equipment or furnishing had to be fought on each occasion and at the precise stage in which, thanks to one-off capital funding, the department was both beginning to build up its own considerable collection of maps whether new, old, or photostats, and to advise on increasing the university's main library holding in the subject (to an extent unparalleled outside Oxford, Cambridge and London) in addition to launching its new course. As is well known, his *Who's Who* entry recorded that he 'retired in despair'.

Once again the department was reorganized. In 1968 Alan Everitt took the Hatton Chair of English Local History, I was appointed lecturer, and David Hey became the Junior Research Fellow in Agrarian History. Peter Eden, Michael Laithwaite and Richard McKinley remained in their former posts. The selected region now taught by Peter was changed to East Anglia (and subsequently to Kent under Alan Everitt); 'Methods and Materials' together with 'Urban and Rural Communities' were now largely divided between Alan Everitt and myself (with help from David Hey), a condition of my appointment being that the department's teaching in both these respects should be immediately pushed back from 1500 as far as the Anglo-Saxon period. For the first time, therefore, the department's course could be said to be chronologically comprehensive (at least down to the era of the Victorian city). It was still a very intensively taught course, but in those days so little research had been done, that teaching had to be based largely on case-study work by the lecturers. Then as now there was no general textbook on the

continuous development of local society and reading lists comprehending up-to-date approaches were inevitably skimpy.

With the move to the Attenborough Building, however, a large modern new map room (with an inner sanctuary for the collections of antiquarian maps and topographical prints dating back to Finberg's day) and a very small reference library meant that many of the basic tools of the trade were now instantly to hand. The map collection itself had been largely built up by Peter Eden but, following her completion of the M.A. course in 1975, when she embarked on her long career in the department as honorary research assistant, cartographer, proof-reader, bibliographer, scholar and sage counsellor, it was the indefatigable Margery Tranter who reduced the map collection to order, catalogued it, and, with Muriel Phillips (who acted as departmental secretary from 1966 to 1987), regularly stock-checked it. Margery was the first, and for some 15 years the only, unpaid volunteer out of several more recently who have helped ('saved' might be a more accurate word) a department which, despite both its resources and its role, has never had the advantage of either a full-time technician or a draughtsman.

As early as 1974 the Hoskins staffing edifice began to crumble when the first of many financial squeezes started to bite. David Hey moved to a permanent post at Sheffield University and was replaced for three years as Research Fellow in Agrarian History by Cicely Howell before that post was lost. Michael Laithwaite's senior fellowship in Vernacular Architecture came to an end, also in 1974, just as some of his major long-term research projects were reaching fruition, and, although Peter Eden perpetuated the teaching of this subject, he too retired in 1976 so the much-prized Vernacular Architecture course (one of the department's major attractions) was lost permanently. Peter was replaced as lecturer in topography by Harold Fox - an erstwhile pupil of H.C. Darby and one who had already corrected one of Cyril Hart's charter boundary interpretations and helped Finberg in mapping saltways - but only on a three year, conditionally renewable, basis. By then Alan Everitt had had to take over the Selected Region which was now taught more systematically than ever before - over two terms plus the week's fieldcourse - to make up for the gap left by the loss of Vernacular Architecture. Alan naturally taught Kent and the prodigious amount of original research and fieldwork he put into this was of course also to provide him with a mass of material for future publication. When I started to alternate Cumberland with Kent from 1978 I discovered how right he was when he

said that preparing the selected region in the department - with full chronological coverage along Leicester lines - was one of the most valuable, albeit demanding, learning experiences a Leicester local historian could expect to get. (Harold, who subsequently introduced Devon, would confirm this.) In the meantime we had had to cease servicing an undergraduate Special Subject taught over five terms for, and with a few staff of, the History department. As one member of English Local History after another left, the writer had found himself for a time teaching an additional 120 hours a year for another department. And worse was to follow. Plagued by repeated bouts of ill health and an excruciating back problem, Alan Everitt took early retirement in 1982 just as Harold Fox's second three-year cycle as lecturer was coming up for renewal. With great self-sacrifice, Alan negotiated a deal whereby Harold's post would be made permanent in place of his. Without that, the loss of the established Chair (let alone the withdrawal of its holder's brilliant and original mind from our academic debates) would have spelled the end of the department. Even so, numbers now comprised but a Senior Lecturer, a Lecturer, the Marc Fitch Fellow (whose teaching and administrative contributions were very strictly rationed) and, for three years, an associate teacher (Alan) who continued to help with parts of 'Methods and Materials' and 'Urban and Rural Communities' but who had had to surrender up the supervision of all his research students to the rest of us. For most day-to-day purposes the core staffing had sunk effectively to two: Harold and myself. It was an impossible situation, alleviated only in part by the presence of Sue Wright as ESRC Post-Doctoral Research Fellow (1984-1988). When, finally, Richard McKinley was on the eve of retirement, the Marc Fitch Fund with extraordinary generosity agreed for training purposes to overlap him with his successor, Margaret Camsell (1984-1988). As it happened the part of her post that was funded by the university was now required to be split between us and the Department of History!

Eventually the tide began to turn. With David Postles' appointment to head the Surname Survey, the Marc Fitch Fund helpfully increased their proportion of the funding of his post very considerably, thus largely emancipating the fellowship from further division with outside bodies. After two fruitless efforts, moreover, application for a 'New Blood' post extra to the university's own established UGC funding bore fruit. All attempts to reinstate Vernacular Architecture having failed, a bid for a post in Regional Popular Culture now succeeded against very considerable national competition. The result was one of Tony Wrigley's outstanding Cambridge pupils, Keith Snell, whose prize-winning *Annals of the Labouring Poor* had just

appeared. In 1987-8, moreover, Dr Marc Fitch, founder of the Marc Fitch Fund, being still concerned about the department's continuing need for support and wishing to find a place for the safeguarding of the Fund's extensive library (which also included Francis Steer's personal library) on the sale of its headquarters, agreed to an ingenious plan with the then Vice-Chancellor, Maurice Shock. The university would provide two contiguous semi-detached Victorian villas in Salisbury Road to which the department could be moved and the library relocated, whilst the Fund would pay both for the structural alterations necessary to knock the houses into one and for the total refurbishment and furnishing of this new property. For its adornment, Marc Fitch personally provided several family treasures. In 1989, accordingly, Marc Fitch House was formally opened by Major General His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Chairman of the Fund. Now resident at numbers 3 and 5 Salisbury Road it meant in fact that the department had returned to the house next door to no.7, the one it had vacated when it moved to the Attenborough Tower some 20 years earlier.

New initiatives became possible. First, the M.A. course could now be taught on both a one-year twice-a-week basis, plus field-trips and a fieldcourse, and also on a once-a-week part-time basis over two years on either Monday mornings or Thursday evenings plus the same extras. A very successful and wholly restructured course based on taking two out of four chronological options (including therefore the possibility of taking either medieval or early modern palaeography) which thus gave a chance of greater depth of study had, however, to be completely redesigned when modular-based teaching was adopted by Leicester. Even this course is due to be changed with forthcoming staff changes; at present, however, it involves two core courses - Regional Societies: pre-Modern and Modern (with Skills and Approaches); and two out of three optional modules: Landscape History, and pre-Modern or Modern Regional Cultures; *plus* regular field trips and the field-course. These last two features, indeed, together with the regular seminar programme, represent all that remains of the original M.A. structure. (This is not to mention other teaching provision made for students largely from Archaeology). In a second major initiative, Keith Snell with co-editors Tom Williamson and Liz Bellamy from UEA launched *Rural History*, the second successful international journal to be substantially edited from the department. Then, third, there were the major research grant applications which were lent weight by the nature of the department's new facilities: from ESRC for Harold Fox's work on the medieval estates of Winchester and Glastonbury (in which Chris Thornton

assisted); from the British Academy for Keith Snell's bibliography of the regional novel (which added Linda McKenna as research assistant to our number); and from Leverhulme and ESRC for his project on the geography of religious allegiance (which led to the addition successively of Paul Ell, a former M.A. student, and Alasdair Crockett as Research Fellow, but now of Nuffield College, Oxford). Most recent of all has been the Special Leverhulme Fellowship (in conjunction with the Aurelius Charitable Trust) held by Graham Jones for his work on medieval cults of saints.

Even with a changing constellation of research assistants and honorary research assistants - including Lydia Pye who is voluntarily cataloguing the library; Ken Smith who helps in the library and draws many of our maps; Mike Thompson who, as successor to Rosie Keep, now edits the *Friends' Newsletter* (founded, like the 'Friends' themselves, by Harold Fox) amidst other help, not least in the later production stages of this bibliography; and Celia Swainson who is steadily cataloguing a growing collection of local guide books dating back to the nineteenth century - even with all this largely voluntary help, the department still lacks technical back-up for its map room and nowadays, of course, computers, whilst the library has to be run by a member of staff, and very successfully too, by Harold Fox. And inevitably, the department is still continuing to augment its holdings by purchase or gift. The Marc Fitch Library, now comprising over 14,000 items, for example, has been generously kept 'alive' by The Aurelius Charitable Trust (and it now also includes John Hurst's unique collection of offprints *etc.* concerning Medieval Villages across Europe); the map collection has grown to 10,350 maps both old and new. We also hold 2000 topographical prints; nearly 8,000 pamphlets, church and other local guides including the collections of Jack Simmons, Gordon Forster, Francis Steer and Eleanor Vollans; a collection of 1,728 plate photographs taken by Principal F.L. Attenborough; 3,500 colour and black and white slides donated by W.G. Hoskins, G.H. Martin and Maurice Beresford; and nearly 900 photographic prints. Above all the archive, now stored in 130 archive boxes, has hugely grown with the addition of papers emanating from Finberg, Hoskins, Everitt, McKinley, Cyril Hart, Francis Steer, and Susan Wright, together with papers surrounding the establishment of the *Journal of Historical Geography*, and those connected with W.E. Tate or Anthony Walsh (1913-1993) of Cumbria (kindly donated by Professor Chris Wrigley).

In all these circumstances, since we moved into Marc Fitch House, Pauline Whitmore, our faithful departmental secretary, has had to act effectively as house-supervisor, in addition to all her numerous other duties. Margery Tranter still assists in countless ways and not least with regard to organizing the re-photographing of the Attenborough photographs (now available for scrutiny on the Internet along with those taken by Hoskins) and the electronic cataloguing of the map room, and archive. Thanks to her we were able to apply successfully for substantial funding for a cataloguer first from the British Academy and, second from the British Library, with matching support from the Aurelius Charitable Trust on each occasion. With her personally-designed database and with the in-putting (and archiving) by Bruce McGarva who joined us in this capacity in 1994, most of the department's holdings, apart from the Library, have now been catalogued electronically, and should become available for consultation publicly through JANET before long.

It is clear that the department would not have come through without the support of its assistants both paid and unpaid. The former, however, are inevitably bound by their short-term contracts of usually no more than three years maximum. By 1997, increasing bureaucracy and administrative chores imposed from above, moreover, consumed, on my estimation, the time equivalent of 1.25 permanent staff member's workload per year out of current staff total of four, a total that has since dropped to three. When consulting the bibliography of writings by those who have passed through the department, over the last fifty years, it will be appropriate to remember that the total of staff 'stayers', those who have remained for *more* than three years, amounts to only twelve.

III

The second phase in the department's existence has therefore to be set against what Alan Everitt has described as the accompanying 'explosion' of local (and, indeed, general) historical activity in general. Local and agrarian history had not emerged in isolation. Increasingly evident was the 'new' social history practised most influentially, so far as academic local historians were then concerned, by Asa Briggs, by Peter Laslett and Tony Wrigley of the Cambridge Group for the (quantitative) Study of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP); by Keith Thomas of Oxford with his exhortation to historians to adopt anthropological approaches; by E.P. Thompson and the Warwick social history school; and by Raphael Samuel

and the History Workshop with its emphasis on working-class oral history. Alternatively there was the cool, dispassionate approach of historical geographers, many of them the intellectual heirs of H.C. Darby.

Above all, this was a time of ever-increasing specialisation and subject fissiparation. Areas that a generalist local historian of Hoskins's calibre might have hoped to have encompassed were now becoming technical fields in their own rights. As with Agrarian History, Urban History (many aspects of which Hoskins himself had pioneered before his retirement), for example, was already emerging strongly as an independent area of study before 1970. By then, in the Department of History at Leicester itself, Geoffrey Martin had already earned himself a reputation as an historian of the medieval borough and Jack Simmons had evolved a visual approach to the understanding of Victorian Leicester. Well before 1960 when it was published, indeed, Jim Dyos's path-breaking *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell*, had originally been intended to become one of this department's Occasional Papers. Out of his work, with its emphasis on the nineteenth-century urbanising process and its physical impact, and his organizing abilities, developed the far-flung Urban History group (but always focused on the then Department of Economic History) with its own annual conference, twice-yearly *Newsletter* and eventually *Yearbook*. An early-modern dimension was added both by the publication in 1972 of *Crisis and Order in English Towns*, edited by Peter Clark and Paul Slack, with contributors, like the present writer, who were either pupils of Hoskins (who wrote a generous foreword acknowledging the new sophistication of the subject) or those who had been influenced by his work; and in 1973 by *Perspectives in Urban History* edited by Alan Everitt which also signalled numerous fresh avenues many of them pioneered by him or others in this department. With the creation of the Centre for Urban History at Leicester and its subsequent development in the hands of Peter Clark into an international forum for the subject, friendly complementarity rather than rivalry between the Department and the Centre has been the logical outcome.

Other areas of interest directly relevant to local history have also been refined into specialist fields often with their own journals and frequently focused on local case-studies of their subjects. The heady days of university expansion witnessed the flowering of medieval and post-medieval archaeology, field-archaeology, landscape studies, industrial archaeology,

transport history (another specifically Leicester speciality), vernacular architecture, folk-life studies, historical ecology, a more topographical approach to place-name analysis, historical demography, dialect studies, oral history and gender studies, not to mention increasing signs of chronological specialisation in more conventional areas of academic history, and the opening up of ever more thematic approaches (to topics like crime), together with a growing sophistication with regard to the possibilities and limitations of old and new classes of document.

Against these exciting and challenging developments must also be set the astonishing proliferation of what might be described as institutionalised local history. With the opening up of local record offices, with the greater provision of local history sections in local libraries, and with the dynamic expansion in the numbers of museums and heritage sites since the mid-sixties, a huge well of public interest had been tapped not least within the related area of family history.

The points of contact between the layman and the academic have also multiplied. Communication has been sustained above all by the British Association for Local History (which since 1982 has perpetuated the work of the Standing Conference for Local History in which both Finberg and Thirsk were active) and by the continuing success of its journal, *The Local Historian*. Another widely-read periodical has been *Local Population Studies* (published since 1968 in association with the Nottingham University Department of Adult Education) which arose out of the policy of CAMPOP to engage amateurs across the country in the collection of data from parish registers. Not only have Adult Education classes in the subject proliferated across the country, but two centres in particular have fielded regular, well-attended and influential conferences; at Cambridge (Maddingley Hall) and at Oxford (Rewley House, since known as Kellogg College), both also now providing qualifications in the subject. Since 1978, moreover, under the inspiration of Dr John Marshall, and through its *Journal of Local and Regional Studies*, teachers of regional and local history in higher and further education have been serviced by the Conference of Regional and Local Historians (CORAL). At regional levels, the most significant journals in the field have been: *Northern History*, published since 1965 by the History Department of the University of Leeds; *Midland History*, published from the University of Birmingham since 1971; and *Southern History* founded in 1979 with particularly significant in-put from the Universities of Kent and Sussex. Other universities have fostered their own *foci* or centres, like Nottingham under the inspiration of Alan Rodgers with its *Bulletin for Local History Tutors: East Midlands Region* or the Local History Centre at

Keele. More specific in their regional approach have been the newer centres: for North-Western Studies at Lancaster University; for East Anglian Studies at the University of East Anglia(Norwich); for South-Western Historical Studies at Exeter University; and now, even a North-East England History Institute sustained by the six north-eastern universities. All this is not to mention the Borthwick Institute at York; the Rural History Centre at Reading University; the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield; and the Centre for Metropolitan History at the Institute of Historical Research.

Over some 35 years, therefore, local and regional history has become a major academic industry into which numerous amateurs are also drawn together with their own original insights. There can be barely a university in the country which does not now furnish some sort of course in the subject. That this has been the case can be ascribed at least in part to the influence of Hoskins and the early work of the Leicester department, including the standard set by its innovatory M.A. course as conceived by him. It is only by appreciating this accompanying radical shift in the academic environment, however, that the second phase in the intellectual evolution of the department itself may sensibly be understood.

The implication of these developments was that the days in which the department had interacted (then almost uniquely) *both* with the world of historical scholarship in general *and* with the informed public (a connection which Joan Thirsk has successfully sustained) were being displaced by an increasingly complex and formalised world of local history in which distinct levels of activity were emerging: a growing popular audience which liked to participate; an expanding adult education service equipped to meet much of that demand through both teaching and popular publication; an explosion of regionalised historical publications by fellow academics especially in other provincial universities; and the department itself with its now established national, and therefore inter-provincially comparative, remit. Regrettably, even for the eight years in which its staff numbers rose to and stayed at six, it rapidly became impracticable for its members to involve themselves any longer at the more popular end of this activity. To that extent a degree of polarisation within the overall field inexorably developed. Rather than acting, as it once had, as a kind of filter between the world of academic history and the general public, in company with many of those working in the newly emergent centres of regional activity in other universities, the department came to operate more as a filter between

ever-more specialised fields of academic history and the whole range of people or institutions actually *teaching* or *communicating* local history to the general public (including museums).

As this situation gradually developed the department's own interests became both broader in terms of thematic coverage (as a direct result of more staff and a steady output of newly qualified local historians), and also increasingly concerned with relating localities to wider trends or contexts. In doing so the department sought only to fulfil its peculiar remit as a body devoted to the comparative understanding of the local histories of England and its subdivisions, rather than to the multiplication of specific local histories. It is important to stress *that such work has never been intended to be prescriptive in what it indicates*. Always it has been hoped that it might simply be both suggestive and helpful to those working in more restricted spatial ways who might wish to locate their studies thematically or contextually at sub-national levels.

IV

This is not the place to do more than touch on the various ways in which the department's thinking has broadly developed since its earlier days. The bibliography, which embraces some 3,000 items in all by those once, or still, attached to the department, speaks for itself. Some observations are called for, nevertheless.

Perhaps an initial point might be that since the Hoskins days of *Local History in England* (1959) and *Fieldwork in Local History* (1967), the Leicester tradition has not in fact set its face against novices or non-academics. For guidance to such an audience, on the subject itself, on sources and approaches and techniques, it is only necessary to recall here Iredale's *Local History Research and Writing*, Ravensdale's *History on Your Doorstep*, Peter Edward's *Farming: Sources for the Local Historian*, or Hey's influential full-length works on family and local history in general which culminated in his edited *Oxford Companion to Local and Family History* (to which the department contributed) and its offshoot, his own *Oxford Dictionary*. A related and highly significant development over the last two decades in particular has been the way in which the subject has also been communicated, often brilliantly, by the Museum world. It is no accident that local history in museums now earns a separate entry in this Jubilee

bibliography - a connection that reaches back to the days before 1980 when part of the M.A. course was taken by students from Museum Studies.

But it has been on analysis that the department has built its reputation for being what John Whyman has recently described in the *Agricultural History Review* as 'the great think tank' of the subject; and in that regard a number of interrelated general directions emerge in the writings of the last fifty years. Appropriately the first and most fundamental has been the continued local historical pursuit of what H.P.R. Finberg originally and famously described as the re-enactment of 'the Origin, Growth, Decline, and Fall of a Local Community' or of what W.G. Hoskins also thought of in similar terms, as a local 'society'. Certainly we forget at our peril the latter's enjoiner in his Inaugural that 'in the last resort the local historian should be trying to restore the fundamental unity of human history which the ever-increasing mountain of available records has caused to be fragmented into a score of specialisms' (even if few of us now feel so bold as to pursue such histories through from origins to extinction). On that basis mention should be made here of studies - whether books or theses - of particular places as well as of districts (whether rural or urban-focused) that have sought both to re-fabricate the past and to tease out wider problems or developments which are more subtle than undifferentiated national trends. Of rural community studies, for example, there have been not only Hoskins's own classic investigation into the long history of Wigston Magna itself, but also early-modern studies - some of them highly influential - of Wrangle in the Lincolnshire fenland (West), of the Shropshire woodland community of Myddle (Hey), of the contrasted societies occupying the chalk lands, claylands and fenlands of Spufford's Cambridgeshire, as well as an exploration of medieval Kibworth Harcourt in common-field Leicestershire between 1280 and 1700 by Howell. Coastal communities too have been exceptionally well analysed by Pawley at Skidbrooke-with-Saltfleetaven, Lincolnshire, between 1300 and 1600, and by Storm at early-modern Robin Hood's Bay. Equally innovative was James Moir's outstanding, and sadly still unpublished, thesis, on a Herefordshire squatter community as part of a wider local social process in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. More recently there has been a remarkable group of technically accomplished studies of medieval Somerset communities under the direction of Harold Fox: Rimpton (Thornton), Polden Hill manors (Thompson), and Brent (Harrison); and, more briefly, on Ditchat and Pilton by Fox himself.

At wider levels a number of Leicester scholars have made the multi-faceted study of an entire district or region very much their own as Hoskins did Devon and Leicestershire in particular. For medieval Devon, however, his - and Finberg's - views are now being fundamentally revised in the light of detailed study into an ever-increasing range of agrarian (and urban) matters by Fox, especially in his major contributions to the *Agrarian History, Volume III, 1348-1500*. Kent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the seventeenth, and for the Anglo-Saxon period, has been stamped with the imprint of Alan Everitt; Buckinghamshire by Michael Reed; and over many years (even before he became associated with the department) Shropshire by Barrie Trinder. The Forest of Dean will long be associated with the name of C.E. Hart, Glamorgan with Moelwyn Williams, and above all perhaps, Yorkshire, and more particularly Hallamshire, with David Hey. These last two scholars represent the outstanding examples of *regional* historians (with interests that are spatially directed and thematically and chronologically multi-dimensional) to have emerged from the evolving Leicester tradition.

Urban communities too have received full-length, all-round attention. Especially to be remarked in a department where the agrarian context of the pre-industrialized world is strongly emphasised, is that more has been done here than elsewhere in the study of different market towns. For the middle ages there have been, for example, Newton's pioneering study of Thaxted; Peberdy's recent long view of Henley-on-Thames and its relation to the London food-market in particular; and David Postles's short but suggestive analysis of Loughborough. Also for Leicestershire there have been two fine early-modern studies: of Melton Mowbray as part of a local market system (Fleming), and of Lutterworth in a more immediate agricultural context (Goodacre). Carter has illuminated seventeenth-century St Ives, Trinder Victorian Banbury, and Cox nineteenth- and twentieth-century Croydon. Far from last is Nix's study of the ports of Barnstaple and Bideford in the later eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries. At a higher urban level, medieval and early modern Stamford has received close attention from Teall, and two theses have in turn covered Maldon through from 1500 to the later eighteenth century (Petchey and J.R. Smith). Major centres as geographically diverse as Exeter (Hoskins), Coventry (Phythian-Adams), Carlisle (Stedman), Norwich (Pound), Ipswich (Reed), Sheffield (Hey), and Gloucester (Christmas), have received perhaps the most detailed and systematic coverage of all for periods reaching from the later middle ages through to the nineteenth century. The department's urban concerns have thus been more considerable than is sometimes supposed.

If 'communities' and 'regions' have been treated in some 35 considerable studies, the stances adopted in these have been increasingly informed by an unceasing curiosity about, and revision of, the basic syntax of the subject which is most easily dealt with here from three marginally different (but in terms of authors, frequently overlapping) angles: the sophistication of existing concerns; innovatory approaches; and the overall search for the most appropriate spatial dimensions to the subject. It is these aspects of our shared pursuit which continue to make the intellectual life of the department so stimulating. First, then, are the ways in which the presumptions that underlie the so-called 'Leicester approach' are being moved on. Most fundamental here is the landscape, the object of increasing scrutiny by our archaeologically-focused associates like Clive Hart, Paul Courtney and Jonathan Kissock. Especially noteworthy, perhaps, have been those highly suggestive investigations that have integrated such fieldwork with detailed documentary work as in Ravensdale's fenland study, Schumer's Wychwood and Warner's Suffolk greens. The chronology of settlement, of course, has concerned the department ever since Hallam's work on the new lands of Elloe, but it has been Everitt's systematic disentangling of the early settlement patterns of Kent that have helped profoundly to improve our early knowledge, and Fox is now in the process of illuminating the later appearance of fishing villages. The problems of continuity from Roman Britain have concerned not only Finberg but also Phythian-Adams and, more widely, Everitt whose identification of 'seminal places' in his book on early Kent is especially suggestive. The question of origins has even wider implications: the early origins of the common fields being questioned by Thirsk and closely analysed by Fox; the origins of the village being discussed in Fox, ed.; the origins of the manor by Faith and, for its development in different terrains, Everitt; the origins of minster territories by Hall; and the origins of towns whether regionally (Finberg) or as 'primary' towns (Everitt) or kings *tuns* (Phythian-Adams and Bourne); all these questions reach to the roots of our subject. Then there are the *processes* that need elucidation: inheritance and the transmission of land (Thirsk, Faith, Spufford, Howell); the early beginnings of service in husbandry (Fox); the processes of seasonal settlement (Fox); fluctuations in urban fortunes (Phythian-Adams; Reed) including Alan Everitt's 'lost markets'; marketing and trade patterns and outlets (Everitt, Bone, Peter Edwards); *intra-* and *inter-*regional communications and transport: on horseback (Thirsk); by packhorse (Hey), carrier's cart (Everitt), coastal shipping as well as by land (Trevor Hill), or railway (Jenkins); agricultural improvement and specialisation

since the later Middle Ages (Thirsk); proto-industrialization, ever since Joan Thirsk's path-breaking essay on 'Industries in the countryside' (Hey; Snell); and both craft-specialisation from the late seventeenth-century onwards and the extent of craft survival into the later nineteenth (Everitt). And finally there are those provincially significant categories of people who were first 're-instated' by Alan Everitt in particular: the farm labourers, the innholders, the country carriers, the evangelicals and, above all perhaps (because of their role in what Peter Borsay elsewhere subsequently dubbed 'the English Urban Renaissance'), the so-called 'pseudo-gentry'. To these could be added Fox's medieval *garçiones*, Hey's packmen, Spufford's chapmen and 'village scribes', while attention has been drawn by Phythian-Adams to the conciliators, or 'redders', in situations of late-medieval violent confrontation. Gender studies have been encouraged by Snell. These are but some of their own concerns which Leicester local historians have often brought anew to the attention of national historians.

In addition to extending as it were the existing vocabulary and grammar of the subject have been those methodological innovations that have added wholly new dimensions to our understanding of it, albeit in the sense of formerly unperceived fresh challenges now to be undertaken rather than as finally accepted resolutions. Foremost here was the use of buildings as evidence of society and social and cultural change. The breakthrough had been Hoskins's *Past and Present* article in 1953 on 'the great rebuilding' and his 'Excursus on Peasant Houses and Interiors, 1400-1800' in *The Midland Peasant*, but the exploitation of this kind of evidence in conjunction with careful documentary research subsequently has owed most to Michael Laithwaite's seminal essays on the buildings of the two towns of Burford and Totnes. More recent has been Colum Giles's exemplary analysis of the social significances of West Yorkshire houses.

Another innovation was the unprecedented light that ever since 1965 has been shone on the significance of personal names when these are studied regionally for what they can tell us about the family, cultural change, physical mobility and regional variations. Thanks most recently to David Postles's continuation of Richard McKinley's pioneering work, the results of analysis by the Surname Survey for earlier periods are now beginning to interest an international audience, while David Hey is currently systematically researching the population of twentieth-century Sheffield in this respect.

A third innovation was the introduction of sub-anthropological approaches to the elucidation of community social structures through the evidence of ritual, its calendrical patterns, and body language (Phythian-Adams, Hufford), which also has attracted some European attention. Fourth has been the widening of Leicester's concerns to encompass religious as well as 'economic' man, and in doing so to suggest different patterns of religious loyalties both conformist and nonconformist on the ground. Pioneering work here owes most to Everitt, Hey and Spufford for the early modern period onwards and Postles for the medieval, whilst highly sophisticated new statistical tools and mapping methods mark the recent work of Snell, Ell and Crockett for the period 1676 to 1851. Another cultural aspect, fifthly, has been a growing appreciation that folkloric evidence may properly be used by local historians in their pursuit of *mentalité* down to quite recent times (Phythian-Adams; Snell) as it has been by James Moir and David Hey. For earlier periods, sixthly, the department has long been interested in the evidence of church dedications (Lloyd, Kay, Everitt), but more recently much more ambitious attempts have been made to exploit *all* known medieval dedications over the west and east Midlands. The resulting reconstruction of a systematic chronology bids fair to change our ideas on regional cultural loyalties in the Middle Ages (G. Jones) and in other cases - in Cumbria - even to suggest cultural 'edges' (Phythian-Adams). Seventh is the attention that has been drawn by Margaret Spufford to both the reading matter and the clothing of the seventeenth-century rural poor. Eighth, are the new ways in which regional novel-writing may be used as a form of cultural index (Everitt, unpublished; Snell) not least in changing perceptions of regionalism itself. Closely related, lastly, are the attempts now being made to construct cognitive maps of definable areas using less sophisticated traditions of story-telling reaching back even to quite early times (Phythian-Adams).

Such a list by no means exhausts the range of innovatory work that has marked the last few decades: one thinks, for example, of Susan Wright's success in opening up the use of *Easter Books* as a hitherto untapped source for household structure, or of the new work on immigrant minorities whether Asian (Davis) or Caribbean (Garrison), or Gypsy (Snell unpublished). And that is not to mention Susan Wright's work on women in early-modern Salisbury or Joan Thirsk's resurrection of so many female local historians who, until now, have - as it were - been buried historiographically. One remembers too the unveiling of what look, at first sight, like

predictable areas of study for more modern times, but which turn out on closer examination to contain much that is unexpected: Joyce Miles's work on fashions of house- and street-naming, and Peter Scott's analysis, with its resonances for understanding modern suburban identities, of the interesting reasons behind the naming of Middlesex railway stations. How could anyone be bored midst this ferment of ideas?

The final 'direction' to be discussed here leads to the very heart of local historical concerns: the identification of the spatial arenas in which social, economic and cultural interactions should be most meaningfully understood. The debate on these matters is likely always to be inconclusive, but in the meantime, whatever their ultimate limitations, certain frames of reference have furnished at least intermediate findings of great value especially when these have been set in comparative contexts. Thus Hoskins placed his 'community' studies in county contexts that were then taken to be representative of the Highland/Lowland zone dichotomy. While he never realised the ambition, moreover, he was also hoping in 1965 to set 'communities' in the contexts of local ecosystems, though how these were to be defined was unfortunately never worked out before his retirement. Alternatively, Joan Thirsk and Alan Everitt sought initially to locate local 'communities' in the contexts of specific agricultural regions (largely defined by geology and inventory evidence) that frequently straddled county boundaries, the shire nevertheless being allowed to comprise some sort of outer limit to the market area of the chief town when that was measured by carrier connections. Out of the agricultural region, and especially the perceived differences between forest and 'felden', of course, Alan Everitt sophisticated the idea of the *pays*, taking it as an indicator of the presence of a form of local 'society' (as opposed to community) with a predominant working culture and a variety of other social characteristics peculiar to it. This has probably represented the single most fertile idea yet to emerge from the department, to the extent indeed that its current members are sometimes perceived - somewhat misleadingly - as primarily concerned with the practice of a form of historical ecology. The concept of the *pays*, however, has undoubtedly helped our understanding of both the early chronology of settlement and the incidence of lordship in the landscape, the strength or weakness of the latter being regarded as significant factors in explaining highly variable later patterns of adherence to either the established church or to some form of religious dissent. The *pays* has been used both to characterise and to investigate differently located communities (Hey, Spufford) and it has also been studied in its

own right - especially the wolds (Everitt and Fox) and common heathlands (Everitt forthcoming).

More formal arrangements on the ground, however, still exert a pull. One of the earlier attempts to reconstruct a pre-Scandinavian territory, for example, was a reconsideration of Rutland's beginnings as a territorial entity by the present writer, while over many years the territories and shires of the Danelaw have received extended treatment by Cyril R. Hart. Alan Everitt has studied the early organization of Kent and in one of his early pioneering works galvanised seventeenth-century studies with his brilliant portrayal of the gentry of Kent as possessing a sense of county identity or 'community'. He has also seen the county town as a form of focus. It is no accident too that David Hey, now the great cause of regional studies in others (in consequence of his Longmans series), regards the most instructive form of region as being composed usually of county groups.

At the other extreme, society has also been seen as arranging itself informally so that different patterns of relationship result *between* settlements locally. Fox, for example, has identified the significant social distance separating the central cottager village of late medieval Sidbury in Devon from the dispersed farmsteads of the principal tenants. In Goodacre's innovative study of Lutterworth after 1500, by contrast, the interaction between unenclosed rural settlements and enclosed (sometimes deserted) settlements in its general vicinity was also studied in relation to the town itself, so indicating remarkable shifting patterns of economic interdependence over an entire local area. Building considerably on earlier suggestions made by the writer, Mary Carter has shown how St Ives, Huntingdonshire between 1630 and 1740 can only be understood for most purposes as the core of a whole 'urban society' that embraces numerous rural settlements nearby. Over much the same period, David Hey's Sheffield with its adjacent metal-working dependencies in the surrounding countryside comprises an even larger example of the same interlocking of a formally-defined urban focus within a rural penumbra that cannot be divorced in social terms from its core. In the countryside itself it may be that kinship interconnections between core families set up patterns of 'dynastic' neighbourhood as in early modern Nottinghamshire (Mitson) - interconnecting many parishes - that may become increasingly restricted occupationally in later times as in nineteenth-century south-east Surrey (Lord).

Attention has also been directed to the possibility that it might sometimes be possible to identify social 'edges' across which little intermarriage takes place and especially across the watershed rims of the greater drainage basins into which England is divided. The spatial coincidence within such physical contexts of groupings of counties sharing regionalised urban networks looking towards navigable river outlets has led this writer to propose the concept of the 'cultural province', sometimes separated from its neighbour by a 'frontier valley', as the widest sensible setting for more localised studies. In doing so he has also sought to suggest that local historians should perhaps be paying more attention to the influences on such 'provinces' of their nearer cultural neighbours whether within the British archipelago or in Europe. The origins of later Cumbria have been examined in such a context and attention has also been drawn to the sense of provincial identity preserved in the continuing relationship of twelfth-century Lincolnshire to Scandinavia.

Leicester local historians have not been daunted by wider spatial contexts still. Indeed it has seemed quite natural to take their interests even to national levels in some cases. Both Finberg (*The Formation of England*) and Hoskins (*The Age of Plunder*) explored their prime areas of chronological interest as periods of English history. In addition to her crucial contributions to *The Agrarian History* and numerous essays on a range of agrarian matters, especially innovation of various kinds, Joan Thirsk has also now applied her accumulated wisdom to the subject of *Alternative Agriculture* in England since the mid-fourteenth century. In her Oxford Ford lectures by contrast, *Economic Policy and Projects*, she had introduced the idea of a much earlier period for the emergence of consumerism in this country than had previously been thought. Reference has already been made to the nationwide treatment of horse-trading by Peter Edwards, and to Margaret Spufford's reconstructions of the spread of cheap fiction and of 'the great reclothing' throughout rural England. Michael Reed has written about *The Georgian Triumph* and *The Age of Exuberance* and has gone on to examine nothing less than *The Landscape of Britain*.

Such coverage also marks some of the present department's widening interests in the local histories of England as a whole. While comparative regional studies still thrive, especially in connection with the West Country (Fox), the present emphasis in the department illustrates

how its concerns have developed nationally since its creation. Today the Surnames Survey is expanding its attack on early naming patterns, from county units of investigation to whole onomastic regions, in order that the survey should be finalised across the whole country by the time of David Postles's retirement many years ahead. Graham Jones is well advanced in his ambitious project of producing a nationwide electronic atlas of medieval saints' cults which should furnish us with the most intimate spatial measure yet possible of local cultural attachments at that period. In addition comparative work being conducted by him in Catalonia is probably leading to an even more ambitious attempt to extend the project into Europe on a team basis. His work, moreover, should in some ways complement the now completed survey of religious allegiance in both England and Wales, between 1676 and 1851, which has been computer-mapped in a highly sophisticated way, by registration district, across the entire country by Keith Snell, Paul Ell and Alasdair Crockett. Even more extensive geographically is Keith Snell's exhaustive bibliography of the regional novel in Britain and Ireland, the appearance of which early in the new millennium has been heralded by a volume of essays on the subject. Finally, a concise history of provincial England in its British and European contexts, from 410 to 2000, by the present writer is also now under way, an exercise that may link in with current concerns for the nature of English identity.

V

It is perhaps reasonable to claim that 50 years of focused activity by a tiny band of scholars and a growing body of pupils has opened up unsuspected vistas into the variegated history of the English and the countrysides which they have shaped. Of course there are themes not yet explored (but a glance at the bibliography should indicate the full range of topics so far covered); of course there are dimensions of the provincial past that students of the nation state would rather have seen emphasised; and of course those associated with Leicester are far from being the only contributors to this ever-expanding field.

But whether or not the 'Leicester approach' (which is now discussed and compared with the work of the *Annales* school as part of the set curricula in M.A. courses both in England and the Republic of Ireland) is the right one, English Local History may at last be seen to have gradually developed over the last half century into a fully-fledged academic subject in its own right *and* within its own terms of reference. As such it has also become the object of increasing

interest abroad. It has been no coincidence that staff have been invited to contribute to conferences and to publish widely at international levels in the U.S.A., Russia, France, Italy, Denmark, Sweden and Japan. Recent visiting Fellows have come from Japan, Australia and Venezuela.

For the department it is a matter of pride that two of its staff (W.G. Hoskins and Joan Thirsk) have received the CBE for services to local history or to agricultural history and local history; that three have been elected Fellows of the British Academy (W.G. Hoskins, Joan Thirsk and Alan Everitt, not to mention one erstwhile student, Margaret Spufford); that four of its ex-students have become professors in their own rights: three in England (Michael Reed, David Hey, Margaret Spufford), and one (Bruce Elliott) in Canada; and that in both the last two Research Selectivity Exercises it was rated with Economic and Social History as 5a. Above all, despite ever-increasing bureaucratic pressures, the department itself has remained faithful to at least the ideal of a university as a centre for the acquisition and propagation of learning and for the ceaseless pursuit of truth unfettered by commercially motivated funding. We can only hope that such aspirations will not be dashed as the department enters the predictably turbulent financial waters of the new millennium.

Charles Phythian-Adams
November 1998

Postscript. In the 1999 New Year's Honours lists, Professor Emeritus Jack Simmons was awarded the OBE for services to railway history and local history.

Endnotes:

This essay concentrates exclusively on the history of the *department* and its developing approach to local history *per se*. For the work and thought of some of its outstanding figures, interested readers are referred as follows.

(a) Hoskins: Joan Thirsk, 'William George Hoskins 1908-1992', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 87, 1994, 339-354; Roy Millward, 'William George Hoskins, landscape historian 1908-1992', *Landscape History*, 14, 1993, 65-70; Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Hoskins's England: a local historian of genius and the realisation of his theme', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, LXVI, 1992, 143-159; also published in *The Local Historian*, 22, 1992, 170-183.

(b) Finberg: M.W. Beresford, 'Herbert Finberg: An appreciation', in Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agricultural History Review*, 18, 1970, Supplement, *Land, Church, and People: Essays Presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg*, vii-xii.

(c) Thirsk: A.M. Everitt, 'Joan Thirsk: a personal appreciation' in J. Chartres and D. Hey, ed. *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk*, 1990, 17-26.

PART II
INTRODUCTION TO
The Bibliography of Writings

This new bibliography of published writings or unpublished theses and dissertations, by past and present members of the Department of English Local History, has been compiled in the main according to the same principles as those enunciated in 1981 by Alan Everitt in the case of *English Local History at Leicester 1948-1978*. In order to illustrate work or interests developed at Leicester, with few exceptions, publications are included only from the date at which staff or students joined the department. The earlier writings of W.G. Hoskins, H.P.R. Finberg and Peter Eden, however, have been incorporated because of their formative influence on the beginnings of the 'Leicester approach' to the subject. Equally the first edition of such a work as Keith Snell's *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, for which there have been subsequent editions during membership of the department, has also been included. The writings of distinguished visitors from other institutions (often abroad) and of temporarily resident Honorary Fellows have not, however, been claimed for the department, nor has the work of historians in other departments of History at the University of Leicester.

The continuing expansion of thematic concerns in English Local History over the last 20 years has necessitated some mild adjustment to the method of categorising and ordering this new bibliography, though readers who wish to, may still make broad comparisons between the state of the art in 1978 and 1998 respectively. The introductory section on 'The Discipline', for example, has been slightly re-arranged and re-ordered; 'Landscape and Building' (enlarged by the transfer to it of cartography) has been given second pride of place because of its fundamental significance for the Leicester approach; the poor and social problems have been introduced to the section on 'Society and Economy'; and new sections on 'Population' and 'Culture' (which include some subsections included under 'Society and the Economy' in the earlier volume), give some indication of the directions in which the emphasis of the field is shifting. As previously, however, it is most noticeable that the steady focus of the subject remains on the reconstruction of local and regional societies and economies and, where possible, their comparison.

PART II

I THE DISCIPLINE: SCOPE, METHODOLOGIES and PUBLISHING

A Scope

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