Friends of the Department of English Local History

NEWSLETTER

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DEPARTMENTAL GOLDEN JUBILEE

This year's cover shows W.G. Hoskins against a backdrop of Devon hills.

CONTENTS

	page
EDITORIAL	1
THE DEPARTMENT	1
SEMINAR PROGRAMME 1997-8	1
DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS FOR 1997	5
INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL CONGRESS, LEEDS 1998	5
OTHER DEPARTMENTAL PAPERS	6
LEVERHULME RESEARCH PROGRAMME	7
RECENTLY COMPLETED THESES	8
M.A. DISSERTATIONS FOR 1997-8	10
STAFF CHANGES	14
VISITORS TO THE DEPARTMENT	15
DEVON FIELD TRIP	16
DATA-SET - MEDIEVAL LAY SUBSIDIES	16
LETTERS FROM ABROAD	17
HELIX PROJECT- ATTENBOROUGH AND HOSKINS ON WWW	17
STEER GUIDE COLLECTION	18
GIFTS TO THE MAP ROOM AND LIBRARY	18
SEMINAR PROGRAMME 1998-9	19
OBITUARY	20
EVENTS SPONSORED BY FRIENDS	21
NINTH W.G. HOSKINS LECTURE	21
FRIENDS SUMMER OUTING	22
BURSARIES	22
LOGO COMPETITION	22
JUBILEE DIARY DATES	22
EDWARDIAN EXCURSIONS	23
TALKING TO FRIENDS: MICK ASTON	24
A VALEDICTORY EPISTLE	28
JOHN NICHOLS PRIZE-WINNING ESSAY	29
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY - LOCAL HISTORY PROJECT	30
THE ELH DISCUSSION LIST	30
USEFUL ADDRESSES	30
THE FRIENDS COMMITTEE and EDITORIAL TEAM	30

EDITORIAL

Seeking inspiration and conscious of the need to balance celebration with realistic stocktaking in this jubilee editorial, I turned at random to the 1993 edition of the Newsletter and was strangely comforted by the first words I read, 'These are stressful times for universities; finances are stretched further each year and much time is constantly eroded by administrative matters, etc, etc...'. How then, could one take comfort at the end of an academic year which has seen Marc Fitch House surrounded by scaffolding, besieged by builders and roofers, inundated by flood (the repairs themselves precipitating the crisis) and, above all, pervaded by an atmosphere of uncertainty consequent upon the continuing failure to appoint a successor to Charles?

The fact is that I have only known the department for the last five years - one-tenth of its distinguished existence - but it seems to me that there has been no let-up in terms of its continuing excellence and influence. So much has been accomplished in the straitened circumstances that are at such a remove from the early expansive days when farsighted men, untrammelled by bureaucracy (state or otherwise), acting on their own estimable judgement created an entity that has influenced the teaching and understanding of history throughout the world and produced so many distinguished *alumni*.

What then, you may ask, has been achieved since 1993? Well, consider the following facts culled from our own annals: around 100 publications - books, journals edited and influential articles - have been authored in the department, to say nothing of numerous papers delivered to academic and lay audiences; ten Ph.Ds, four M.Phils and no less than 86 M.As have been completed, many with distinction auguring well for future research and publication; prestigious ESRC and Leverhulme funded research programmes have been, and are being, conducted; the splendid library and map-room collections continued to grow with numerous acquisitions over the period, many of them gifted by Friends. Quite apart from the in-house seminar programme (50 seminars - many delivered by household names amongst local historians) the department has hosted several important conferences, and attracted guest lecturers and visitors from all corners of the globe, including visiting fellows from Australia and Venezuela, who have returned home full of goodwill and enthusiasm for the approaches of the Leicester School. To crown all this a second Grade 5 award has resulted from HEFC's Research Assesment Exercise (enough you might think to ensure the future of the department). These accomplishments have been achieved despite the need to manage continuing change, and development of course programmes, against a growing uncertainty about what the future holds.

What of the Friends? We now have a properly constituted committee and will shortly become a registered charity; we have fulfilled our objective of funding student bursaries and with funds in hand, and plans to raise more, have every expectation of continuing to do so. Our membership, of around 250 (exclusive of current M.A. students), is higher than ever and growing; attendance at the ninth W.G. Hoskins lecture was the highest recorded and we have already had bookings for the Jubilee Lecture, to be given by Mick Aston on Open Day (Saturday December 5th - book now to avoid disappointment) which exceed this number. Further it is hoped that the updated *Bibliography of Local History at Leicester 1978-98* will be completed in final celebration of the jubilee.

So, in spite of transient periods of depression centred over Salisbury Road, let us hope that, in spite of continuing adverse conditions, we continue to thrive for another five, or even fifty, years.

THE DEPARTMENT

SEMINAR PROGRAMME 1997-8

Teresa Hall (English Local History, University of Leicester), who gained her M.Phil. in 1997 and was well known to many of her audience, opened the seminar season with a fascinating account of 'Aspects of the minster church system in Dorset'. Starting with the hypothesis that the minster system originated in the seventh century, Teresa dealt in turn with the methodology adopted to identify a minster church, the comparison of their *parochiae* with hundreds, and the physical characteristics of minster environs. She explained her four-pronged system of identification based upon documentary, economic, physical, and place-name factors and gave a number of examples of the hierarchy of status, and attendant *parochiae,* thus established. Churches clearly identified as minsters tended to be at the centre of royal estates and took their names from topographical features, while other high-status churches tended to be central to ecclesiastical estates or were found in burh settlements. Insofar as physical characteristics were concerned Teresa noted a high degree of rectilinear planning, although there were exceptions, as at Yetminster.

In conclusion she expressed the conviction that minsters in Dorset were founded in more than one phase, royal, ecclesiastic, Alfredian; that British characteristics (for example, curvilinear features) were suppressed by the Saxons; that there are no surviving Celtic dedications in Dorset; and that the twentieth-century move towards team ministry in the Church of England has echoes of the Saxon minster system.

Miriam Gill (Courtauld Institute, University of London) was another familiar figure to stimulate and engage us with her masterly exposition in 'Articulating sacred space: the evidence from late medieval wall paintings'. In demonstrating how wall paintings were used, she pointed out that paintings of the type found in English

churches had an active, as well as a passive, theological rôle. Some had a strict doctrinal significance, suggesting a future event like the coming of Christ, whereas others were more didactic. As well as providing glimpses of heaven, wall paintings were also used to bring home the consequences of the deadly sins.

Miriam also explained that the placing of paintings in a church was important to our understanding of religious space, in particular, the distinction between the chancel and the nave - the east and west ends of the church. The chancel and altar were the focus for worship, lay access to this area was limited and it was regarded as more sacred than the nave where most people stood. This fact is reflected in the type of images found there. Altars were often accompanied by crucifixion and resurrection images which suggested hope of personal salvation and provided a conduit between the church and heaven. Miriam illustrated this with a slide of the crucifixion painting on the altar reredos at Brent Eleigh, Suffolk - a high quality painting in a high status location. Conversely, another slide (one of many fascinating images shown) taken in the nave of Slapton church, Northamptonshire, showed a demon sitting on the shoulders of two gossiping women and clearly applied more to the 'here and now' rather than the hereafter, the failings of flesh rather than the spiritual realm. Similar distinctions were drawn between North and South with the north wall sometimes more closely related to heaven than the south and also associated with the Virgin Mary and women in general. Although the location of paintings is therefore important in the interpretation of the use of sacred space, Miriam was quick to point out that no absolute rules can be discerned.

The threefold sequence of architectural development as presented by **Dr Nat Alcock** (Department of Chemistry, University of Warwick) in 'Innovation and conservatism in seventeenth-and eighteenth-century Warwickshire houses', resulted from some 20 years of research. The first phase of building was represented by timber-framed houses. Beginning as single range rooms with direct entry, houses of this type evolved by gaining casement windows and additional rooms. By the late seventeenth century some houses had exterior walls of brick, cloaking an interior wooden frame.

As the use of materials changed and brick built houses became the norm, their plans also changed. The new arrangement was typically one of three rooms with a lobby entrance up against the chimney-stack. The design was symmetrical and double pile which was developed as designs became more and more elegant. The predominant changes related to the positioning of the entrance and access to the stairs. The lobby entrance to stairs was continued but was enlarged, leading to more elaborate, decorated staircases. This arrangement eventually gave way to entry into a hall in which two walls, parallel to the stair access, created a passage, while the overall shape of the house remained symmetrical and double pile. By the early eighteenth century some houses had gained extensions to each side creating a U-shaped plan.

Amongst many other illustrated examples Dr Alcock chose New House Farm at Stoneleigh, built in 1716, to illustrate the third phase of building. This symmetrical plan house had a passage which led to substantial stairs. Its plan also included a brew-house, a kitchen, cellar, dairy and bakehouse. It was, however, most notable for its four-square, flat-hipped, vernacular design, which remained in vogue to such an extent that in 1862 this style of country house was adopted by architects in towns like Leamington Spa - the Georgian country house had become a Victorian town house.

In 'The prince and the parker: Tudor propaganda and the Evans chantry chapel in Coldridge, Devon' **Dr Chris Brooks** (School of American Studies, University of Exeter) gave us an intriguing account of his detective work in linking the stained glass image of the uncrowned boy-prince, Edward V, in the Evans chantry chapel at Coldridge in Devon, to John Evans, the wealthy parker of the deer park there and the lessee of the manor. The representation of Edward at Coldridge is one of only five such in England and it was suggested that it was a work of propaganda by Evans arising from his probable Welsh origins and strong Tudor sympathies. Edward was one of the princes reputedly murdered in the Tower of London by Richard III's agents, but before this had been served by Evans' patron, Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset. In a sub-plot supportive of his thesis, Dr Brooks drew on Grey's support for Henry VII, and in particular his (and probably Evans') involvement in the force marshalled in Brittany to challenge Richard, to make a fascinating connection between an unusual parclose screen in Coldridge church and others in the area which have Breton characteristics. As a final piece in the jigsaw of evidence he showed us another picture of a fragment of glass from the east window of the chapel which many of his audience were prepared to believe might be of Richard portrayed as a usurper - if this is the case then it is an almost unique example of political iconography.

The seminar given by **Professor David Eastwood** (University of Wales, Swansea), 'The changing contours of English local government: themes and variations' was on a subject rarely discussed in the department and provided a notable synopsis of local government in England from 1601 until the middle of the nineteenth century. In a stimulating lecture he briefly reviewed the subject matter and the relation between centre and locality, arguing that local government had depended on the governing classes (even at parish level) of provincial England, and that consequently power had flowed from personal authority. Local government therefore had considerable autonomy in the early period: but by the middle of the nineteenth century many old political communities - the parish, the

hundred, the quarter sessions - were being replaced and local government was reduced mainly to administrative responsibilities as Parliament asserted more and more dominance. The Poor Law guardians and their paid servants took over from the vestry. Parliament, and not the parish, was supreme.

Those who hitherto have not found local government an absorbing topic should have been converted, while those who have, should have been encouraged in their interest by the scope and erudition of Professor Eastwood's lecture.

At the start of his paper 'Popular politics in the early sixteenth century: some leaps in the dark' **Professor Richard Hoyle** (University of Central Lancashire) asked whether popular politics could be said to have existed during the period in question. In answer he argued that, while the more obvious manifestations of popular protest such as the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) and Kett's Rebellion (1549) could not be ignored, a more truly popular basis was to be found in other movements designed to get the State, and then entrenched elites, both urban and rural, to serve the public need.

He instanced York and Lyme Regis amongst many urban communities which had sought state action in their own corporate interest. Such petitions usually had one of three principal objectives, namely: the incorporation of towns with attendant privileges; gift of land (often former monastic property) that sometimes followed incorporation; trading concessions in the form of markets, fairs, and other privileges which could be granted either by letters patent or act of Parliament. However, because such initiatives were principally designed to advantage town elites, they could not be seen as truly popular movements. In order to find such, we had to look for tensions within local societies inspired by those closer to the base of the social pyramid.

York again provided an example for Dr Hoyle. There, in 1529, junior members of the council persuaded 27 of the 28 city guilds to support a protest against the payment of certain fees to the mayor. Although this had resulted in their defeat (and the imprisonment of ringleaders) the affair rumbled on and in 1533 partial success was achieved when 'the commonality' of the city cut the mayor's entertainment allowance. Such groups of dissidents had helped to swell the ranks of the Pilgrimage of Grace during which the crowd had sometimes momentarily dominated proceedings. This had occured in Beverley, Halifax and Louth between which places there was some reciprocal communication, support and encouragement exhibited by their respective commons.

Dr Hoyle also instanced several examples of less well known disputes between elites and occupational groups which had led to petitions to officers of State. These included the cases of the fishermen of Norfolk and Suffolk against the town of Hull, and the 'disenfranchised and dispossessed' weavers of East Anglia against their clothier employers, a petition which eventually led to legislation in their favour in 1555. East Anglia was fertile ground for such movements for, quite apart from these instances and Kett's rebellion, it also saw a remarkable instance of grassroots protest in 1563 when Queen Mary was petitioned by her 'poor, loving and obedient' but needy subjects in the county of Norfolk about their oppression by the gentry. The five main points of their petition, signed by some 30 representatives from the lower orders of rural society, were concerned with relics of feudal practice: the eviction of copy-holders by lords, restrictions on the sale of timber from copyhold tenements, lords' abuse of the foldcourse system, the restriction of tenant grazing rights on the commons, and the age-old complaint about engrossment and enclosure. Dr Hoyle saw this protest as being symptomatic of true class warfare - the real stuff of popular politics indicative of representative organisation by non-elite groups of a kind which he believed there was more evidence yet to be found.

Professor Seny Hernández (Universidad Central de Venezuela), Honorary Visiting Fellow in the department during 1997-8, gave us an account of the research she had carried out during her sabbatical year in 'Local interests in modern English urban societies'. This was based on surveys of readers and editors of English regional newspapers. Hoping to elicit something of the nature of English society, Professor Hernandez explained that she had selected her regions on the basis of Charles Phythian-Adams' definition of cultural provinces. After giving a brief account of the history of local newspapers in England she explained how 16 urban centres had been targeted for her initial study. Describing the distinguishing features of these areas, she noted that their local newspapers provided a meaningful and binding cement in their respective spheres of influence. Although many features of the newspapers surveyed were common to all in the interests they served, she considered that they enabled comparisons to be made, and parallels drawn, with other communities and societies.

More detailed research had focussed on five urban localities - Manchester, Leicester, Norwich, Basildon and Carlisle - selected on the basis of socio-economic differences as revealed by census data, and thus providing a heterogeneous mix of urban types and populations. In spite of this variation, Dr Hernandez found that responses to detailed questionnaires, addressed to readers on the one hand and editors on the other, exhibited an almost complete consensus of opinion about the use, value and purpose of provincial newspapers. News of local issues, human interest stories, entertainment, job opportunities, advertisements (including those for the sale of second-hand goods), all featured as important elements in the rather small reader response. The editors questioned agreed on desirable features of newspaper style, content, and mission in supporting, and giving voice to, the views and grievances of local communities. It probably came as no

surprise to Seny's audience - familiar as they are with the kind of overly sentimental 'human interest' type story, of which she gave several examples - that most of the readers questioned indicated a preference for national, rather than local, newspapers on grounds of news quality. In spite of this, local media were clearly valued by many (both resident and expatriate) because of emotional and nostalgic attachments to their home localities.

'The end of a great estate: the Honor of Grafton in the twentieth century' was the subject of the seminar given by **Dr Philip Riden** (Nene College of Higher Education and editor VCH, Northamptonshire). He began by commenting that, although oral history often supplemented by photographs, provided a fairly common approach to twentieth-century history, it was not one which he had much favoured in his rôle as a VCH editor when faced with the problem of how to tackle recent history. This in spite of the fact that, whilst researching the Honor of Grafton between 1541 and 1920, he had found the record full of the minutest of detail, but thereafter a very much narrower range of sources.

By means of a potted history, Dr Riden related how the Honor had been created by act of Parliament in 1541 when its essential function was that of a hunting ground. From the mid-seventeenth century, through the 1700s and 1800s, the estate followed a textbook pattern of progress. For example, rent rises during the Napoleonic Wars and riots in the 1830s. However, its problems began before, rather than after, the First World War, when the estate began to be broken up. The seventh Duke of Grafton died aged 97 in 1917 and, perhaps because of death duties, half the estate was sold in 1919, with the rest being disposed of in 1920. Unfortunately for the historian, the sale of the estate meant the ending of centuries of regular and detailed documentation and succeeding owner-occupier farmers were naturally reluctant to discuss the more recent financial and agricultural history of their properties; nor did they keep anything resembling the archive of a great estate.

Dr Riden moved on to discuss the fate of the local community following the break-up of the estate. He detected that a certain vitality drained away following the death of the seventh Duke who had been very involved in parish council and school managers' meetings and there is a clear impression of life being not quite the same without his paternalistic presence. To a certain extent the middle tier of local government, in the form of the Rural District Council, had attempted to fill this gap, for instance, by building new homes. However, Dr Riden concluded that whilst the First World War made an enormous impact on society, the sale and inevitable break-up of large estates also had a major effect on local society and economy.

Dr Audrey Meaney (Cambridge) began her seminar, entitled 'Some aspects of Anglo-Saxon paganism', by stating that much of the material of her seminar was well-known and in print. Nevertheless, she gave her large audience - standing room only! - much food for thought.

Dr Meaney discussed, firstly, the topographical evidence of Anglo-Saxon paganism. She described the well-known sites at Yeavering and Shoreham, raising questions about both the construction and continuity of the burial sites there. Square-shaped graves were an enigma, since there is no evidence of such in the Germanic homeland, and she suggested that such a pattern might have been of British origin.

Moving on to place-names, Dr Meaney quoted the OE *hearg* (a heathen place of worship) as being often found in the name of settlements on hills. The pagan gods *Woden* and *Tiw* were likewise found in loftily sited settlements such as Wednesbury, Staffordshire, and Tysoe, Warwickshire. One difficult problem was highlighted in the fact that some counties, such as Gloucestershire, have very few heathen place-names, even in charters. Dr Meaney gave further examples of Anglo-Saxon paganism in the names of hundredal meeting points as at Wedneslow, Bedfordshire.

In the ensuing discussion a whole range of related issues were discussed, including the spatial aspect of hundredal meeting places - be they centrally placed or markedly peripheral; the very noticeable distribution pattern of surviving instances of Anglo-Saxon place-names; and the legacy of Celtic saints in the Anglo-Saxon landscape.

The final seminar of the 1997/8 season was 'The West Country and England's network of fisheries, 1500-1650' given by **Dr Todd Gray** (Department of History, University of Exeter). Dr Gray began with the observation that there seemed to be a general reluctance amongst historians to study maritime history. In arguing for the existence of a network of fisheries, he quoted evidence of some south-western fishermen migrating to Ireland, Iceland and Newfoundland in the sixteenth century. In the same connection he also noted the existence of an island off New England called Appledore. Ships are also known to have sailed from Kent, Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft to Newfoundland and New England during the mid-sixteenth century. In answer to the perplexing question as to why men sailed such long distances in unknown waters (and weathers), Dr Gray proffered three reasons. Firstly, fisheries had their particular seasons which varied from year to year. Secondly, analysis of household accounts has demonstrated steady consumption of fish, therefore there was a demand to be satisfied. Thirdly, certainly within Devon, much of the population was engaged in more than one occupation and fishing was an economic activity which could be relied upon in times, for example, of harvest failure.

Dr Gray further demonstrated ways in which communities were involved in the fishing industry. Merchants in the South Hams owned land on which crops

were raised with the grain being exported on ships which brought back fish on the return journey. Shipowners, the crews and suppliers of grain, all had a share in vessels. In times of depression in the cloth trade, weavers temporarily became involved in the fishing industry. There is evidence of poor boys in Newton Ferrers being apprenticed to go overseas, so they were no longer a burden on the parish.

In conclusion, Dr Gray wondered whether the West Country was unique in its fishing activity, stating that more evidence was needed from the records of other counties for comparative purposes.

Mike Smith, Derek Shorthouse, Mike Thompson, Penny Upton.

DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS FOR 1997

Staff

A. Crockett

(with I.R. Bowler, D.G. Clark, B. Ilbery and A. Shaw), 'Rural re-regulation and institutional sustainability: a case study of alternative farming systems in England' in B. Ilbery, Q. Chiotti and T. Rickard, eds, *Agricultural Restructuring and Sustainability: a Geographical Perspective* (1997), pp. 117-134.

(with K.D.M. Snell) 'From the 1676 Compton census to the 1851 Census of Religious Worship: religious continuity or discontinuity?', *Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture* 8:1 (1997), pp. 55-89.

H.S.A. Fox

Review of C.M. Woolgar, *Household Accounts from Medieval England* (1992-3), *Agricultural History Review* 45 (1997), pp. 101-2.

Review of K. Batten and F. Bennett, *The Printed Maps of Devon* (1996), *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 49 (1997), pp. 166-7

D.A. Postles

'Cultures of peasant naming in twelfth-century England', *Medieval Prosopography* 18 (1997), pp. 25-54.

Review of E. Mornet, ed., *Campagnes Médiévales. L'Homme et son Espace. Etudes Offertes à Robert Fossier* (1995), *English Historical Review* 112 (1997), pp. 706-7.

Review of G. Garnett and J. Hudson, eds, *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy. Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt* (1994) in *Law and History Review* 15 (1997), pp. 162-4.

Review of D. Sweeney, ed., *Agriculture in the Middle Ages. Technology, Practice and Representation* (1995) in *Continuity and Change* 12 (1997), pp. 314-5.

K.D.M. Snell

ed. (with L. Bellamy and T. Williamson), *Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture* 8:1 (1997), 148 pp.

ed. (with L. Bellamy and T. Williamson), *Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture* 8:2 (1997), 107 pp.

Review of S.J.D. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920* (1996), in *The Local Historian* 27:4 (1997), pp. 251-2.

(with A. Crockett) 'From the 1676 Compton census to the 1851 Census of Religious Worship: religious continuity or discontinuity?', *Rural History: Economy, Society, Culture* 8:1 (1997), pp. 55-89.

M.G. Thompson

ed. *Friends of the Department of English Local History Newsletter* (1997), 33 pp.

Students

C. Cordle

'Nineteenth-century hop farming at Little Combourne Farm, near Goudhurst', *Cranbrook Local History Society Journal* (1997).

E. Haydon

ed. (with J. Harrop), *Widworthy Manorial Court Rolls 1453-1617* (1997), 72 pp.

Secular and Divine, a History of Widworthy Parish in East Devon (1997), 154 pp.

INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL CONGRESS, LEEDS, JULY 1998

At the Leeds International Medieval Congress a special session was dedicated to 'The Leicester School in the South-West'. The term 'Leicester School' (referring to the distinctive approaches pioneered in Leicester to the comparative, topographical and cultural studies of localities) was first coined in the *New Statesman* in 1958. Three papers (résumés of which are given below) were presented in the session sponsored by the Medieval Settlement Research Group, organised by Chris Dyer (University of Birmingham) and moderated by Bob Higham (University of Exeter).

Harold Fox

'Small medieval seigneurial towns in Devon: terminology and reality'

Was Devon the most urbanised part of medieval England? Harold offered three main justifications for the question in his paper, which discussed the county's seventy-plus medieval boroughs. One was the absence of great estates, particularly ecclesiastical ones, for where lordship was dispersed, many niches existed for the establishment of towns. Another was the physical nature of Devon: estuaries slowed down movement and the hilly nature of the terrain meant that, to use Maurice Beresford's turn of phrase, 'more resting places were needed than on the Midland plain'. The third, relating particularly to the thirteenth century and perhaps earlier, was the county's high level of commercialisation. This was stimulated by the numbers of non-producers of food in the population - principally the tin and silver-miners, fishermen and mariners generally, and cloth workers. It was also a function of the extent of overseas and coastal trade. Fish, tin and slate were among Devon's exports; wine and salt

among its imports.

In 1300, town-dwellers made up 26 per cent of the county's population. Yet with the exception of Exeter and Plymouth, Devon's boroughs had fewer than 2,000 inhabitants apiece, and most fewer than 1,000. Harold criticised the terms 'village borough' and 'taxation borough' and showed how even a town with nine burgage plots on each side of a single street might have 'all the qualities of urbanity we should expect'. These, in the case of Axminster, included by 1300 a charter, burgesses, a chartered market, tradespeople, and two-storey houses.

Chris Thornton

'The origin of the nucleated village: Rimpton in Somerset'

Rimpton's nucleated village and common-field system can be studied from topographical, place-name and documentary evidence. Tenth-century charters reveal a well defined estate, comprising a five-hide core south of the stream by which the village stands, and two 'huish' or one-hide additions to the north. Medieval furlong-names incorporating habitative elements indicate a formerly dispersed settlement pattern. The place-name 'Rimpton' (recorded 938 AD) perhaps refers to the most important of these dispersed sites, the lord's farm, on the boundary between the five-hide core and a 'huish' holding. That site may have been accompanied at an early date by seven adjacent curtilages lying between the High Street and Back Lane, farms later occupied by tenants who provided service as *famuli* (full-time estate workers). Their tenures may link them to former slaves who perhaps worked on the lord's adjacent 'Wheat-Garston'. The village expanded with regular plots on West Street inhabited by tenants holding virgates, perhaps representing the gathering of previously dispersed peasant farmers into a newly enlarged nucleated settlement. Common fields may have been laid out contemporaneously, each tenant holding a standardized unit for money and labour rent. Full nucleation may have occurred by 1086, for the large demesne required substantial labour, but a further phase of expansion for both village and field-system may have occurred in the twelfth century with the creation of half-virgates. The initial reorganization and planning is most likely to have been carried out by Winchester estate after *circa* 980, but the booking of the estate to an earlier lay lord couls also have initiated the changes described.

Teresa Hall

'Minster settlements in the Dorset landscape: case studies'

Within Dorset there are just under forty high-status churches which display a significant number of minster church characteristics. We can be fairly confident of the minster status of fifteen of these and examination of the landscape in which these definite minsters are located shows that they possess certain distinctive features not present in the remaining high-status churches - which are associated with burhs or large ecclesiastical estates.

Wareham, Bridport and Shaftesbury are burhs with high-status churches, although only Wareham appears to have had a minster pre-dating the burh construction. Bridport and Shaftesbury are both sited at the interface of *parochiae*/royal estates, whilst the *parochia* of Wareham can be shown to have been substantially reorganised with the construction of the burh there. Churches founded on large ecclesiastical estates show some minster characteristics but lack riverine place-names and have few, if any, chapelries.

The primary minster churches in Dorset have left quite a distinctive pattern on the landscape. The churches themselves are large and impressive; most are situated in rectilinear graveyards, within areas of town where the planning is orientated north-south, east-west, possibly indicating the precinct of the minster. The churches usually sit next to streams or rivers from which the majority take their names. Virtually all possess very large parishes, and their original *parochiae*, most of which were royal or ecclesiatical estates, can be reconstructed from the chapels and detached areas of land once dependent upon them. The primary minster settlements and their *parochiae* stand in contrast

to the other high-status churches present in Dorset, which are a mixture of later churches associated with Alfredian burhs, and large ecclesiastical estates.

OTHER DEPARTMENTAL PRESENTATIONS

In addition to those in Leeds the following presentations have been given by members of the department since January 1997:

C.V. Phythian-Adams

'Origin myths and the nature of provincial and national identities: medieval Lincolnshire', to the joint symposium of the universities of Pisa and Leicester, Leicester (July 1997).

'The eleventh-century partition of Cumbria and the making of Cumberland', Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Carlisle (December 1997).

'Environments and identities: landscape and cultural projection in the English provincial past', Linacre Lecture, University of Oxford (February 1998).

'A local history of the mind? Mental maps and the social memory', Wolfson Lecture in Local History, University of Cambridge (March 1998).

A. Crockett

'Religious continuity and change in England and Wales 1676-1851', conference of the Institute of British Geographers, University of Exeter (January 1997).

H.S.A. Fox

'From seasonal use to permanent settlement: fishing sites

along the south Devon coast from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth', conference of the Association for the History of the Northern Seas, Esbjerg (August 1997).
'Highlights from the Taunton rolls', Winchester Pipe Rolls Project Steering Group, Somerville College, Oxford (October 1997).
'Devonshire fishing villages: origins', A.G.M. of the Friends of the Department of English Local History, Marc Fitch House (November 1997).
'The Arundell estate, fourteenth to seventeenth centuries', A.G.M. of Devon and Cornwall Record Society, Trerice Manor, Cornwall (May 1998).
'Fisheries, fisher folk and fishing villages along the South Devon coast, 1000-1600', seminar on the social and economic history of the British Isles, 1000-1600, All Souls College, Oxford (June 1998).
'Small medieval seigneurial towns in Devon: terminology and reality', International Medieval Conference, Leeds (July 1998).

G.J. Jones
'The stench of burned bones: hagiography and ritual in the adoption and commemoration of John the Baptist as titular of medieval rural churches', conference of the International Hagiography Society, Ammerdown, Bath (July 1998).

M.G. Thompson
'Glastonbury Abbey's Polden Hill manors, 1260-1350', University of Bristol (April 1997).
'Local labour markets as determinants of village populations: some examples from fourteenth-century Somerset', Medieval Economic and Social History Seminar, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (March 1998).

M. Tranter
'South Derbyshire - Heartland of Mercia?', Derbyshire Archaeological Society, Derby (November 1997).

LEVERHULME RESEARCH PROGRAMME

Saints' Cults: Towards a National Electronic Atlas

As part of his Leverhulme Special Research Fellowship out of which a parish-by-parish survey of medieval devotion in the pre-Reformation diocese of Lincoln is under way, to form the first part of a national electronic atlas of saints' cults, Graham Jones undertook a short programme of fieldwork in April. This was to visit all 40 sites in Lincolnshire associated with St Helen, to record them by mapping, photography and descriptive note-taking, and to analyse their characteristics with a view to identifying possible reasons for Helen's intense historical popularity in the region. Lincolnshire has the greatest concentration of churches dedicated in honour of St Helen of any county in England - although the number of such churches in a single county is exceeded by Yorkshire. This phenomenon has been long noted but never systematically explored.

An 11,000-word report resulted, with accompanying maps and photographs. The report includes discussions on the overall geographical distribution of the sites; the relationship between locations and landscape; the sites relative to elevation and land-form or *pays*; the relationship between locations and settlement in terms of sites which may predate regular village plans, churches which appear to be built on mounds, and sites closely associated with springs; the relationship between locations and chronology in terms of churches with late tenth- or eleventh-century high-status burials, and sites relative to place-names; and clustering of sites in association, respectively, with the river Bain and its drainage basin, the eleventh-century *soc* of Waltham, and the episcopal liberty of Stow-by-Lincoln. A comprehensive gazetteer deals in turn with the characteristics of each site's yard, rectory, and church; relationship to settlement morphology and to the wider landscape; and historical, place-name, and other details.

Three main observations are summarised. First, twenty sites, half the total, lie at the junction between one land-form and/or *pays* and another. Further, all but two are in North or South Lindsey. Graham points out that 'liminality is a fraught and not highly regarded concept in historical inquiry, generally speaking, and the possibility of allowing for it in the interpretation of groups of places such as those being discussed here should not be entertained without the most careful consideration'.

Second, a relatively small but potentially significant group of sites feature yards whose shape and/or location suggest that they predate their settlements', otherwise regular, core layouts. The period in which regularly and rectilinearly planned settlements, generally linked with the processes of nucleation and the organisation of open fields, came to be pervasive in Midland England is still under scholarly discussion. One suggestion is that their introduction is to be assigned to the tenth century, before which the landscape was largely one of dispersed settlement. If these seven, possibly twelve sites are to be interpreted, after further, careful examination, as predating this period, then it is also possible that they predate the introduction of the parish system based on churches provided and owned by local landholders. The question then arises as to whether such sites may have originated as cemeteries, with churches added only at a later date.

Third, at eleven sites springs were intimately associated with the physical layout of the churchyard or in close proximity to the church. Three 'holy wells', and a possible fourth, were also visited. These tie in the Lindsey sites associated with Helen with those in Yorkshire, and provide a further indication, alongside such matters as linguistic boundaries and historical claims to jurisdiction by the see of York, that Lindsey may more properly belong, culturally and historically, to 'Northumbria' and northern

England than, with the rest of Lincolnshire, to 'Mercia' and Midland England.

RECENTLY COMPLETED THESES

Alasdair Crockett

'A secularising geography? Religious change in England and Wales, 1676 - 1851' (Ph.D., 1998)

This thesis aims to address the most important questions raised by the 1851 census of religious worship, which was the only comprehensive census of religion in the history of the modern United Kingdom. The relationship between religion and society is clearly of general interest in all contexts, but perhaps attains a special importance in England and Wales between 1676 and 1851, a cradle of 'modernity'.

Secularisation theory proposes that the social significance of religion necessarily declines under conditions of modernity, yet sociologists have seldom investigated such claims with empirical rigour. Furthermore, historians have only paid limited attention to secularisation theory, and geographers have been altogether silent on the issue. This thesis aims to address these deficiencies in two stages. First, certain core propositions of secularisation theory are investigated using detailed empirical data. Secondly, secularisation theory is used as a basis for comprehending religious change in England and Wales. In this way context is used to evaluate theory, and then theory is used to illuminate context.

To realise these aims, extensive use is made of a very large historical dataset and geographical information system (compiled at both registration-district and parish level). The religious census data of 1851 - when combined with earlier religious sources, decennial census data, and other sources - provide a uniquely comprehensive and geographically sensitive basis with which to examine the connections between religion, society, culture and economy.

The result of considerable analysis is to argue that certain of the core propositions of secularisation theory were indeed manifest in England and Wales. The analysis highlights the fundamental importance of religious pluralism: over and above the more usually considered religious practice. It is shown that to pay conceptual and methodological attention to religious pluralism is to help explain the geography of religious practice, and what is usually described as a paradox of Victorian religion - revival and decline.

Jem Harrison

'The composite manor of Brent: a study of a large wetland-edge estate up to 1350' (Ph.D., 1998)

This thesis was inspired by the fascinating alluvial landscape dominated by Brent Knoll in Somerset. The survival of a remarkable amount of documentary evidence relevant to this landscape makes Glastonbury Abbey's ancient estate of Brent, with its component manors of East Brent, Lympsham, Berrow and South Brent, worthy of investigation into its medieval landscape, demesne economy and people up to 1350.

The perspective is widened to consider the implications of archaeological evidence for the exploitation of the landscape prior to *circa* 500 AD, while charter evidence, place-names and Domesday are used to illumine the integrity of the estate prior to 1189. The nature of the medieval landscape and the implications of its wetland is then explored, giving a context for the analysis of demesne and people.

An analysis of demesne inputs such as expenditure, labour and land, and outputs such as rents, perquisites and sales, forms a foundation for an evaluation of productivity that enables the diminishing significance of demesne cultivation to be measured against the increase in overall income, especially from rents. Among the factors behind this economic shift are poor yields, population growth and the demand for land. The ability to raise income from rents gave the lord a strong interest in enhancing his tenants' ability to produce that income.

An examination of landholdings indicates an increase in land supply in excess of population growth. Models of income based on the size of a ferdel are considered, leading to investigations into the significance of pastoral income for these and smaller holdings as well as the real size of tenancies. The demand for land is reflected by levels of entry fines and also in the large number of landless males, whose presence in the court rolls assists in a short demographic study, followed by a consideration of the opportunities for employment. A favourable impression is gained of the economy of the people of Brent, based, *inter alia*, on lay subsidies, the availability of land, minimal evidence for hardship and the significance of Brent's place in the wider economy of the Glastonbury barony.

The concluding chapter deals with the nature of the partnership between lord and tenant, both of whom had a mutual interest in the sustainability of the estate, and who by working in tandem enhanced their potency to improve their prosperity.

Trevor G. Hill

'From packhorse to railway: changing transport systems from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and their impact upon trade and industry in the Shropshire area' (Ph.D., 1998)

This thesis considers the development of transport networks from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries with particular reference to the county of Shropshire and its wider hinterland, which has been designated 'The Shropshire Area'. It examines how road-transport networks evolved in the Shropshire area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and how links were formed with other areas of Britain. It questions historical assumptions which

have been made about the viability of road transport systems, and explores the difficulties which can be experienced by scholars who attempt to measure the growth of carrier systems.

The development of transport on navigable rivers and canals is explored and how, with links to coastal shipping and road-transport, an integrated transport system was formed. Consideration is then given as to how these integrated networks were a factor in the development of specialized areas of production and manufacture. The impact of the railways on the existing road and waterway systems in nineteenth century Shropshire is studied and, in particular, how the evolution of new networks affected the economy, industry, culture and the population of towns and their hinterlands.

Overall this thesis takes a holistic view of local history, by placing the particular within the general and by using the study of transport systems as a unifying theme around which other socio-economic topics are explored.

Anthony Rollings

'Aspects of Anglo-Saxon history in the East Midlands with special reference to the lower Soar valley' (Ph.D., 1998)

This thesis illustrates features of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the valley of the river Soar, Leicestershire, between the northern limit of Leicester and the river Trent, herein called 'the lower Soar valley'. It is a poorly attested area in documentary and archaeological evidence, and the place-name evidence presents difficulties of interpretation. These circumstances determine the methods employed and the structure of the thesis, which is in three parts.

The pre-Conquest evidence for the area is first examined: an appropriate regional context is sought, firstly by examining the Anglo-Saxon history of the purely conceptual region of the east midlands, and secondly by examining the Iron Age and Romano-British history of the area. Thus, it is hoped, an appropriate regional context is established, geographically and historically. The archaeological evidence for the early Anglo-Saxon settlement of the lower Soar valley is next considered, its value assessed, and some tentative conclusions formed about the organisation of settlement in the area. Documentation of the lower Soar valley during the Anglo-Saxon period is minimal, and the attempt is made to illuminate its history from developments in the neighbouring, better documented valley of the rivers Tame and Mease.

The post-Conquest evidence is examined in the second part which employs retrospective analysis to illustrate the history of the lower Soar valley from a later, better documented period. Domesday Book, the Leicestershire Survey of 1129-30, the Rothley custumal of *circa* 1245 and the Hospitallers' Extent of 1338, are adduced. The Norman magnates' holdings in the lower Soar valley appear to have been arranged transversely, and to have included land in the forest to the west, in the valley itself, and in the wolds to the east. This practice was also followed by the Anglo-Saxon lords. The 'mixed bag' of lands, vills and private jurisdictions presented by the Domesday survey of Leicestershire contrasts with the accounts of Nottinghampshire and Lincolnshire, where a hundredal system distinct from the Danish system of wapentakes can be traced. In Leicestershire, instead of a recognisable jurisdictional, administrative and economic system controlled by royal officers, a patchwork of private jurisdictions existed, its organisation and economy determined by unregulated entrepreneurism.

The findings of the earlier parts are synthesized in the conclusion. The relationship between Rothley, Barrow-on-Soar and Loughborough is seen to be significant in the Anglo-Saxon history of the area. An account is given of the origins of these places, and the function performed by each in a territorial and political unit of the Anglo-Saxon period located in the lower Soar valley.

Julie Dexter

'Custom, protest and self-help in the mining communities of North-East Somerset, 1750-1930' (M.Phil., 1998)

This social history of the Somerset coalfield concentrates on developments within the mining communities over nearly two centuries. The period studied is largely one of expansion that began in the mid-eighteenth century and culminated with the industry's peak in the early years of the twentieth century.

A general history of the coalfield against which these developments took place is followed by an examination of the regional economy and the impact of economic change on popular culture. The rôle of Methodism is investigated by consideration of its effect on other denominations and education, and its part in social improvement is questioned. The fourth chapter concentrates on the development of friendly societies, investigates the extent of the cover they provided, and the failure to establish a permanent relief fund, while the rôle of the societies in delaying the emergence of trade unionism is discussed in Chapter Five, which also looks at the erosion of community-based protest and the first miners' union in the coalfield. Chapter Six examines the transition from embryonic local federation to full membership and explores the constant struggle for recognition of the miners' representatives. These developments, through to the late nineteen-twenties, are traced in Chapter Seven.

The study concludes that strong cultural and community roots delayed the breakdown of traditional community networks and contributed to the delay in unionisation. The continual failure to understand the needs of Somerset miners, coupled with the destruction of community networks, resulted in the marginalisation of miners within their own communities and the withdrawal

of active support in times of crisis.

Dorothy E. Fox
'Families, farming and faith: a study of two parishes in North Yorkshire *circa* 1300-1750' (M.Phil., 1998)

This thesis considers whether the extensive parishes of Danby and Lythe (including Egton chapelry) in the North York Moors comprised a single neighbourhood from 1300 to 1750 and especially after the Reformation. The area is seen as an entity different from many neighbourhoods studied. It is located in the highland region of England in a countryside of dispersed settlement, which nevertheless included a small market village, where religious dissidence manifested itself in Roman Catholicism rather than in Protestant nonconformity. Among the sources used the main reliance was on parish registers, quarter sessions records and recusant records, but wills, estate papers and maps were also important.

A remote, difficult terrain, and long continuities of land ownership and families, affected the economy and the patterns of kinship and mobility. Although predominantly agricultural some inhabitants found employment or augmented their earnings in maritime, industrial or craft work. Population growth was slow and in this area of stability and conservatism, religion played an important rôle. The predominance of recusancy in some parts of the area persisted, despite a lack of wealthy, aristocratic support, while the more Protestant part, where there were some Quakers, otherwise showed a great deal of superstition.

Although the area formed a single neighbourhood it was possible to differentiate two overlapping entities within it, with Lythe and Egton showing cohesion of land ownership and religion in contrast to Danby, and landscape and agriculture binding Danby and Egton together compared with Lythe, which was less remote, less pastoral, and influenced by both the sea and the town of Whitby.

M.A. DISSERTATIONS FOR 1997-8

Jayne Alderson
'A study of the landscape and population of the parish of Coleorton in North-West Leicestershire.'

Using information from the tithe map and census this study aims to discuss the landscape and population change in the parish of Coleorton during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Distribution of land, both by tenant and by land use, is explored utilising information provided by the tithe map and award. Evidence for the enclosure of the fields within the parish is also provided with reference to glebe terriers and secondary sources. The families of tenant farmers are considered, based on information from the 1841 census. Population change is explored in great depth and much use is made of the data from the 1841, 1861 and 1891 censuses, with particular insights being gained in relation to the birthplace, age, household size, and occupation of respondents. Areas of special attention include the effects of coal-mining activity on the population levels, and the number of farmers and publicans in the parish. The seasonality of marriage is examined and related to the predominant type of land use in the parish.

Kay Andrews
'World War II: its effect on the work of working-class women in Boston, Lincolnshire.'

This dissertation analyses the working lives of women from the mid-1930s until after World War II, with a view to finding what influence the war had on their lives and whether it brought any immediate and noticeable changes. The area chosen for study, Boston in Lincolnshire, was basically reliant on its agriculture for work and had no heavy industry. Although important in previous times, by the twentieth century the town was of relatively lowly status. The study has been largely based on the testimonials of women and Boston newspapers in order to understand the local picture, while other contemporary publications have been used to provide the wider picture, as have later historians' interpretations of the effects of the war on women's lives.

The research has demonstrated that there were many similarities between the war and pre-war periods with women moving some distance to work; albeit that the coming of the war encouraged greater movement of people generally. Also it seems that married women were working in Boston in the pre-war period in a variety of different posts; this continued throughout, and after, the war. The impact of the war on Boston women varied greatly, with some seeing it as changing their life perceptions whilst others saw it as an annoying interference with marriage plans.

Silvanna Farrell
'The chaining of the countryside: an evaluation of parliamentary enclosure with reference to three Northamptonshire parishes.'

Since the publication of *The Village Labourer 1760-1832* by J.L. and B. Hammond in 1911, the history of parliamentary enclosure has been the subject of historical debate. In 1953, the Hammonds' classic interpretation and scathing condemnation of the social and economic consequences of enclosure, was discarded by the optimistic revisionism of economic historians, principally, J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay. By the mid-1980s, however, a new era of pessimistic counter-revisionism emerged in the work of K.D.M. Snell and J.M. Neeson, and the historiography of enclosure was propelled into its third and current phase.

This study considers the physical, social and economic impact of enclosure, and tests a selection of the major historical debates against the evidence available for

three Northamptonshire parishes. The study was prompted, in the first instance, by the writings of the Reverend James Tyley, rector and patron of Great Addington from 1799 until his death in 1856. Tyley's work provides an invaluable insight into how people felt about the physical, as well as the social and economic changes wrought by enclosure. His account of the aesthetic benefits of enclosure provides an interesting contrast to the work of Northamptonshire poet John Clare.

The scope of the study was determined by the historiography of enclosure, the work of James Tyley and the poet John Clare, and the availability of relevant primary source material. The study highlights the complex nature of enclosure and the difficulties inherent in trying to make definitive statements about its impact on rural society. The study also attempts to consider how people felt about the physical changes to the landscape, and considers the implications this had for the relationship between a 'sense of place' and the development of a meaningful 'sense of self'.

Adrian Hadley

'Hill-tops, *cyninges-tuns* and *wics*: central-places and trade in the south west from Roman to Saxon times.'

This essay seeks to identify the types of settlement in the sub-Roman and early Saxon periods within the South West. The relationship between central-places and possible networks of exchange is subsequently explored.

Investigation focuses upon the Dorset evidence, as the region lies on the periphery of Dumnonia (sub-Roman Devon and Cornwall). In this respect, Dorset (like Somerset) seems to have formed a border zone between the Saxons and Britons during the sixth century. An attempt is made to deduce the social aspects which lie behind the distribution pattern of artefacts, burials and settlements. The cultural influences arising from this evidence are also analysed in order to ascribe them to the east or west. It is hoped that the results may further an understanding of the Saxon advance into Celtic Britain.

Colin Hammond

'Aspects of the occupational structures of four villages in south Nottinghamshire 1851-1871.'

The third quarter of the nineteenth century was one of increased prosperity for the framework knitting and agricultural industries, whose members formed the two largest occupational sectors in south Nottinghamshire. At the same time, the flow of population from rural to urban occupations continued to grow.

This dissertation examines some of the effects engendered by these changes in four selected villages, mainly by comparative analysis of the census enumerators' returns for 1851 and 1871 and use of parliamentary papers.

At the beginning of the period, framework knitting was found to extend from its main centre, Ruddington, to adjoining agricultural villages such as Bradmore, where it occupied as many people as did agriculture. Even in Bunny, a closed village, a few people worked as seamers or winders. By 1871, the industry had become concentrated to a large extent on Ruddington and the numbers it employed began to fall. In Ruddington, this appeared to result in a more stable population as more people remained in the parish of their birth, whereas the reverse was the case in Bradmore and Bunny. Here, a sharp fall in the numbers employed in agriculture was accompanied by an even greater decline of cottagers and local craftsmen.

Growing prosperity during the period was accompanied by a fall in the proportion of wives claiming an occupation and a reduction in household sizes. In Ruddington, there was also a clear trend towards children remaining in school longer and a sharp decline in the number of very young children in employment.

Trends in the agricultural villages were more complex, with no detectable rise in school leaving ages and marked changes in the relative proportions of household sizes and types. It is suggested that these might be symptoms of family dislocation which appeared as a result of the changes of the previous two decades, but a clearer picture would need to be obtained by extending this aspect of the research over a wider area.

Kenelm Hawker

'"Instructed in the art and mystery"': Leicestershire apprentices in Hanoverian and early Victorian times.'

This study aims to present evidence from local sources on trades which took in apprentices in the chosen period, and on the changing patterns of apprenticeship as an institution during the period commonly characterised as that of the 'decline of English apprenticeship'. A single main source is sampled: the Leicester Freemen's Register, which enrolled apprentices for future eligibility for the freedom of the borough. Other sources are used to complement this: parish indentures, settlement examinations, stamp duty registers and a sample from a similar civic register for Coventry.

The method used was to analyse a complete apprentice registration list for every tenth year from 1720 to 1860 inclusive, using a variety of parameters. Attention has been given to the cultural, rather than the economic, features of apprenticeship, and this required a wider than local search into autobiography, artistic representation, and some contemporary legal case notes. The results show that, as a process of voluntary enrolment, the Freemen's Register seriously understates the prevalence of apprenticeship in Leicestershire, particularly in the hinterland, and during the prosperous years from the 1750s. Also followed up was unexpected information on the growing influence of charity schools on nineteenth-century apprenticeship.

The conclusion is that apprenticeship as a cultural institution proved surprisingly resilient in the face of attacks upon it for social and economic reasons. This study is of more than antiquarian interest, since the modern period has not satisfactorily solved the question, raised by the demise of apprenticeship, of how to invest in young people as human resources to the lasting benefit of national economic life.

John Heathcote Ball

'An attempt to analyse the development of the alabaster effigy tombs of Leicestershire 1350-1605.'

Leicestershire, England's most central county and historically not the most accessible region, has nevertheless accumulated historic artefacts and treasures; not in the great houses and castles, in which the county is poorly represented, but in its towns and parish churches. In particular in this county it means monuments. Owing to geological fact, north Leicestershire, south Nottinghampshire and parts of Derbyshire and Staffordshire have lying beneath them extensive deposits of gypsum, a sulphate of lime, better known as alabaster. In early medieval times it was found that this material, reasonably easy to quarry in certain places, had the excellent quality of being a fine medium for carving and decorating. Its fine white consistency was perfect for sculptural effigies, tombs and other church fittings. Leicestershire is particularly well supplied with a wide variety of such monuments from simple grave slabs to the fine group of Rutland tombs at Bottesford.

Before discussing the Leicestershire alabaster in detail this essay first considers the reasons for the effigied altar or chest tomb. Why and how they developed, the families for whom they were made and the location of the lives and deaths which they represent. Who made them and where is a question also addressed, as is what we know of their changing formats, the influence of local and national fashions, the representations in carved effigies, decorations and heraldry, the original appearance and decoration after carving, and the status of the families represented and their influence in the country.

Catherine Jones

'Aspects of society in the Vale of Belvoir in the first half of the nineteenth century, looking particularly at the relationship between the Nonconformist and Established sectors of society.'

This study sets out to describe the communities of a small rural neighbourhood comprising three villages lying astride the Leicestershire/Nottinghamshire boundary at the south-western end of the Vale of Belvoir. It uses parish registers and the censuses of 1841 and 1851 to examine the movement of families within and around the area, the occupations followed and the family types represented within these communities. The particular focus is on the Nonconformist minority resident in all three villages and the way in which its members related to the community as a whole. The study reveals a neighbourhood rooted in agriculture but becoming more open to a wider range of occupation. The three villages represent a variety of land-holding patterns and the influences of these on the development of the individual settlements is noticeable. The structure and extent of the Nonconformist sector is seen to echo that of the community as a whole, the only significant differences lying in a tendency to live and work in independent and often extended family groups. The day-to-day relationship of this sector to the larger society is however unclear, allowing the possibility of similar but parallel groups. The families from which the dissenting group came comprised some of those who had been resident in the area for at least four generations - a significant proportion of the population. However, even the more transient families seem to have been traversing a circular course around a larger or smaller district which brought them back to the neighbourhood over a longer or shorter period.

D. P. Oliver

'First duties, truest pleasures: an examination of cottage building on the Russell Estates in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Cambridgeshire between 1802-1914.'

This dissertation examines a hundred years of building homes for the labouring class in a particular locality. It confines itself to examining the housing on the Russell Estates in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, although references will be made, in passing, to the estates in Devon, Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire.

The cottages were built largely for agricultural and estate workers between 1802 and 1914 by successive Dukes of Bedford. Secondary sources indicated that the landed aristocracy were a minor force in philanthropy in the period and much of the evidence focuses on urban sources and housing renewal in towns.

The principal primary sources used in the dissertation were the Russell Estate papers housed in the Bedfordshire Record Office, although a vital further primary record was the extant housing stock of the Estate. Comparisons of materials, dimensions, plot size and housing style have been facilitated by this stock. Further primary material came from pamphlets published as part of the International Health Exhibition of 1884, housed in the Radcliffe Science Library at Oxford; particular use was made of *Health in the Village* written by Sir Henry Acland and published in the same year.

A number of questions were addressed, for example, how typical were the actions of the Russell family, what was the scale and scope of their philanthropy, how did economic conditions affect their resolve? The evidence suggests that the building programme started in 1840 and concluded in 1914 was a contribution to social housing on a scale which set the Russells apart from their contemporaries; further the pioneering nature of their

contribution predated the major improvements brought about by government legislation by 40 years. The scale and nature of their achievement shows them to have been a genuinely creative force on a national scale in the provision of good low-cost housing for the working class.

Frances M. Redpath
'A Northamptonshire gentry family in the age of watering places.'

This dissertation examines eighteenth-century spa culture as the background to the lifestyle of a Northamptonshire gentry family. It is based on the study of documents - letters, two diaries and an account book- written by the Isham family of Lamport Hall during the first half of the eighteenth century, a time when there was a proliferation of minor spas and the main ones were expanding. These documents provide an insight into a way of life, tracing the marriage between Justinian, the eldest son, and Mary Hackett and the numerous visits to spas made by the couple, and other members of the family. Medicine was still in a primitive state and spas were the universal panacea, as advised by the many doctors, apothecaries and surgeons who feature in these documents.

The study first examines a sample of the many eighteenth- and twentieth-century books on the subject of spas, looking at their history, social implications and eighteenth-century expansion, then turns to the relevant Isham documents. The letters and diaries revealed little of the ritual and customs considered important by other writers. The Ishams' emphasis was placed on their journies, the weather, time spent with friends from the home area and the contemporary preoccupation with health. The picture thus drawn is supplemented by cross-reference to their account book. In a conclusion the study looks at the fate of the spa in the twentiethth century.

C. Richard Redpath
'The Ishams of Lamport and their rôle as Justices of the Peace (1660-1737).'

An examination has been made into the respective rôles as Justices of the Peace of three consecutive generations of a Northamptonshire gentry family, based on primary data derived from personal letters, correspondence and diaries. The findings have been analysed with reference to some standard works on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century magistracy and a chronology of events over the substantive period of time, in respect of monarchical succession, religion and politics, three determinants that had a significant impact on the office of JP. In 1660 Sir Justinian Isham, the second baronet, an Anglican squire and scholar, was re-establishing himself in the county, and as a JP. He deeply involved himself in matters of local administration and the dispensation of summary justice within the community, often from Lamport Hall, his home. However, when his son was appointed to the Northamptonshire bench on succeeding to the baronetcy in 1681, he made an equally significant contribution, but with a very different *modus operandi*, in that he only appeared to have sat locally on the more important cases, proffering advice and counsel to other members of the bench from London, where he resided for almost half the year. With the concurrent development of a two party system, the office of JP became susceptible to political influence and Justinian, as an identifiable Tory and Anglican, was dismissed from the bench for his beliefs in 1688, but re-instated the following year. He remained there until his death in 1730. Although personally involved heavily in politics as an MP, when adjudicating on the bench, he does appear to have put politics aside, particularly in cases where an individual's liberty was under threat from the State. Although the third member of the family had less involvement with the magistracy, both because of personal inclination and the longevity of his father, the Isham's collective 70 years of service to the bench was something of an achievement in such a politically turbulent age.

Paul Wilcox
'Enclosure in Leicestershire : the case of three villages enclosed between 1652 and 1780.'

This study seeks to investigate the effects of enclosure on the landscape and society of three Leicestershire villages: Little Bowden, enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1780; Quorn, enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1763, but which witnessed a great deal of piecemeal enclosure throughout the eighteenth century; and Gaddesby, where the enclosure was ratified by a decree in Chancery in 1652.

An enclosure commissioner's working map of Little Bowden has survived, showing all of the old furlongs and their strips with the new, planted landscape, superimposed onto it. This document has allowed the precise relationship between the features of the pre- and post-enclosure landscapes to be determined. It shows that the parliamentary enclosure created a distinctive landscape but did not completely obliterate the landscape of the open field village. The socio-economic impact is assessed through the aggregative analysis of sample runs of the accounts of the overseers of the poor, revealing that there was an overall increase in expenditure and that this expenditure, and male unemployment, both appear to have become more seasonal in nature.

The existence of a long document that includes the articles of agreement and details of the subsequent law suits and Chancery decrees has allowed the impacts of the enclosure of Gaddesby to be assessed and compared with the effects of parliamentary enclosure. It is shown that this enclosure produced its own distinctive landscape. The enclosure did not bring about the ruin of the smaller owner. It did, however, lead to a protracted legal battle that was to last 15 years after the first decree ratified the

enclosure: the potential problems of this method of enclosure are clearly illustrated.

The investigation into the extent and effects of pre-parliamentary enclosure is made possible by the survival of a complete terrier of Quorn taken just 10 years before parliamentary enclosure. It has been possible to calculate that 25.3% of the parish at this time lay in small closes, and that 28.7% lay in consolidated blocks not yet described as closes. The parliamentary award allowed for the retention of all existing closes and hence this piecemeal enclosure was not only extensive but had a lasting impact upon what had been supposed to be a landscape of parliamentary enclosure.

Suzanne Wright

'Kingsthorpe, village or suburb: a study of a Northamptonshire parish 1700-1931.'

Comparatively little has been written about the parish of Kingsthorpe, Northampton. Geographically placed next door to the county town, its history has been overlooked. The research in this dissertation is an attempt to remedy this neglect. A broad time span was selected, 1700-1931, to enable a study of the parish's growth from a village into a suburb of its neighbouring town. The fundamental argument of this research is that to some extent Kingsthorpe has always been regarded as a suburb of Northampton probably since at least the seventeenth century by certain social classes, and earlier by the Crown. To support this argument the following areas have been considered: 1) church, chapel and parish business - Kingsthorpe as a chapel-of-ease to St Peter's, Northampton; a footpath dispute; nonconformity; the creation of new parishes out of the old parish of Kingsthorpe from 1877 (following parochial independence in 1850); 2) local buildings and living conditions - a summary of some of the village's principal landed families their living conditions and those of the poor; examples of how the use of certain buildings changed over time; 3) occupations and the local population - data was taken from the 1777 militia list, the 1831 draft census returns and a sample extracted from the 1891 census; apprenticeship indentures, two settlement examinations and specific local occupation, were all discussed in this chapter.

A variety of primary, secondary, and visual sources have been used, apart from standard documents, such as census returns and local newspapers, estate records and an early nineteenth century footpath dispute have been examined. It was found that as Kingsthorpe experienced a large rate of growth between 1881 and 1891 with the settlement of newly created parishes, amalgamation with Northampton borough in two stages, 1900 and 1931, was inevitable.

STAFF CHANGES

Alasdair Crockett

This summer has seen the departure of our colleague Alasdair Crockett, to a well-earned Research Fellowship at Nuffield College Oxford. Alasdair has been in the department for nearly four years, as an ESRC Research Fellow working on secularisation and the geography of religious pluralism in England and Wales. In that time he has written a very large Ph.D., which will become a pathbreaking book on secularisation - already described by one of the world's leading authorities, Professor Steve Bruce, as "stunningly successful".

In addition to his scholarly work, Alasdair has been our computer officer, lectured on quantitative and research methods, and helped staff and students in countless other ways with his expertise in computing and social science methodology. His contribution to the University has been wider still, with for example his teaching for the Geography department. Alasdair even served in the Geography cricket team, his bat and pads lodging behind his office door, perhaps eyed longingly during the extended hours at his computer. I am not sure what W.G. Hoskins would have thought - about either the cricket or computer - but I like to imagine the spirit of our departmental founder sitting in the long boundary grass, thinking of historical landscapes rather than Schools of History, nodding his approval at the batting dexterity of this young man whose skills and methods have so advanced those of his own.

Beyond the high technical expertise, the originality and the theoretical rigour of Alasdair's academic approaches, we may miss the strange notices that appeared during his time here. There was the memorable inauguration of post-modern local history, in the form of Jacques Lacan's algebraic speech, entitled 'Come to Cerne Abbas, the place of jouissance'. Seven-foot archaeologists have cause to be grateful for elevated warnings not to bang their heads on kitchen beams. We received the extended epistle of Professor Uri Knall 'to all academic, related and clerical staff', on 'Budget cuts and lavatory provision'. Then there were the poster-like book reviews by John Wesley and other luminaries - the founder of Methodism enthusing that a forthcoming book on religion was 'ahead of its time, a tour de force ... Avoid disappointment - book your copy now'. Our minds were distracted from unpaid coffee bills by whimsical 'FOX' press cuttings: 'Auction fever hits the Fox - the auction of the old rectory caused high tension in the bar of the Fox', and the like. The origins of these remain unresolved. Suspicions persist. Oxford Colleges are also riddled with mystery. There are a number of Foxes at Nuffield. When we visit Alasdair there, some among us will carefully peruse College notice boards and coffee score-books, looking for certain tell-tale clues.

The harder one works the more one needs some light relief. My most enduring memories will be of

Alasdair's long, completely ingenious and creative endeavours with huge computerised datasets, the extraordinary results that emanated from complex packages like SPSS and ARC/INFO, his confrontation with theories of 'secularisation', and the theoretical and empirical work that will now take over the academic study of 'secularisation' in Britain, and probably in America too. Work on this empirical scale, with his statistical and geographical skills, focussed on such issues of current public concern, was a new departure for this department. Nobody could ever read Alasdair's work without being aware of its modernity, and its engagement with some of the most important and relevant of all historical and social questions. Alasdair has a brilliant career ahead of him, rightly appointed by Nuffield College over hundreds of other applicants. When he makes his full academic impact we can all feel gratified that we were associated with him. We wish him well in his future work. We will all miss him very much indeed.
Keith Snell

VISITORS TO THE DEPARTMENT

Mr and Mrs John T. Fitch

Mr Fitch of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shares common ancestry with our chief benefactor and his researches into the Fitch family history led him, and his wife, to Marc Fitch House in October 1997. He was specifically interested in the paintings of Elizabeth and Thomas Fytche in which he hoped to find evidence of family resemblance in order to validate the attribution of other family portraits in his possession.

Professor Patrick Bryan

Professor Bryan from the Department of History, University of the West Indies, Jamaica, paid a brief visit to the department in May. Dr Bryan is the author of *The Jamaican People, 1880-1902: race, class and social control* (1991).

Marjorie McIntosh

In June the department, in association with Economic and Social History, was delighted to welcome the distinguished North American scholar Marjorie McIntosh (Centre for British Studies, University of Colorado). Best known for her two major studies of the royal manor of Havering in Essex, and author of *Controlling Misbehavior in England 1370-1600* (1998), Professor McIntosh aroused much interest, and not a little contention, with her seminar on 'Social capital and gender in England 1300-1600', an expanded version of which will be published in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* for December 1998. She defined 'social capital' in a broad sense and contrasted that which was derived by villagers and townsmen of the middling sort (those who held office or participated in formal, male dominated, institutions such as local and higher courts, the church and charitable bodies), with that accruing from informal mutual aid networks that operated within female friendship and neighbourhood groups.

She maintained that both internal (i.e. accruing to the individual) and external (accruing to the community at large) credits were derived from the operation of the formal male networks which she saw as easing tensions between fractious communities and facilitating both vertical and lateral integration within the State. Professor McIntosh suggested that men tended to be troubled by the manifestations of female networking, an attitude which led in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the development of a model of the 'good and respectable' woman. Such a one was expected to refrain from gossip and attendance at markets, or at ale-houses which were seen to be hotbeds of sexual misbehaviour. The obsession with witches and witchcraft was also seen as being symptomatic of these attitudes. While wealthier women of this period were able to acquire individual capital, for instance by giving presents, aiding petitions and negotiating marriage settlements through dynastic and personal networks, such opportunity was denied to poorer women.

In spite of these constraints Professor McIntosh surmised that within the family household even these women were able to accrue capital by moderating the social attitudes of their husbands, particularly in relation to the returns that could be derived from a cooperative relationship with their neighbours. She also agreed that men, as well as women, of lower rank also had similar means of capital accumulation.

Drawing an analogy with modern non-industrialised societies she acknowledged that the acquisition of 'symbolic capital', in contrast to 'social capital', often had an economic motive cloaked by an altruistic veneer. Nevertheless, she argued that much useful social capital was produced by formal groupings (by definition male dominated) as well as by the informal.

It was in relation to this last point that her views drew some criticism from some of her audience. Dr Paul Griffiths (Economic and Social History) argued strongly that, far from such groups acting as lubricators of society, they were in fact dominated by individuals hungry for power, and were thus disruptive of harmonious social relations and that we should be looking more closely for evidence of 'resistance' and different social values. Other questioners asked about the absence of 'the community of the vill' from Professor McIntosh's account, the effect of life-cycle changes on women's role in society, the concept of Purgatory in relation to accumulated capital, and the effect of inter-familial relationships. In her responses to these questions Professor McIntosh proved herself well able to maintain her own capital stock and was happy to continue the debate over the tea that followed.

British Council

The Director General of the British Council, Dr David Drewry, visited the department in July and viewed an exhibition of its research activity, with an introduction to their work by a number of its research staff. Harold Fox described his investigations into Devon's medieval fisheries, with maps showing the coastal seasonal settlements pertaining to inland towns and villages, historical views of one such settlement, Starcross, and to end, a picture of a sign warning the public to boil shellfish from the shore 'for three minutes at least'. Dave Postles illustrated the *English Surnames Survey* with maps and graphs demonstrating a probable linguistic boundary across the north of England (evidenced, for example, by the distributions of the synonymous names Fox and Todhunter), and the relatively late general adoption of permanent family surnames. Keith Snell introduced our visitor to the department's project on the geography of religious pluralism. He showed how closely the regional variations in religious affiliation, disclosed by analysis of the 1851 Census of England and Wales, prefigured voting patterns in late twentieth century general elections. Graham Jones compared the pattern of medieval saints' cults in Dr Drewry's home town, Grimsby, with that in another Lincolnshire town, Horncastle. He then showed how the concentration in the north-east of that county of the cult of St Helen was part of that saint's general concentration in the north of England as against the south, and in turn how that evidence for Helen in regional culture was echoed at the other end of Europe in a similar non-random pattern of Helen's cult in the Balkans.

DEVON FIELD TRIP 1998

'Welcome to sunny Devon where it rains six days out of seven', said Mike our coach-driver, as we sped through the countryside, from one location to the next, our drying clothes turning the coach into a mobile sauna, the steam and rain obliterating distant vistas. The rain did not curtail our programme however. We perambulated towns and smaller settlements, route notes encased in plastic, only occasionally taking refuge in a teashop, when such luxuries were available to us. As the days progressed we became quite resilient, slipping and sliding down to the hidden chapel at Lidwell, to become ankle-deep in mud, or huddled together on a roadside bank, contemplating distant field patterns in driving rain (although passing motorists might have doubted our sanity). We did experience periods of dry and even sunny weather, of which we took full and grateful advantage.

We studied three regions, the South Hams, Mid and North Devon and Dartmoor. Our first encounter with 'the moor' was Haytor, where we were unwittingly directed into an almost impenetrable tract of gorse by our intrepid leader, from which a number of the party finally emerged scathed and sore. Our goal was the granite tramway, from where a stunning panorama revealed gathering storm clouds, the resulting icy-cold hail shower having the unexpected advantage of anaesthetising our painfully scratched legs.

An examination of the excavated remains of the deserted medieval village at Hound Tor, and in particular the site of a longhouse, was followed by a visit to Mrs Freda Wilkinson's farm at Poundsgate, where she interpreted a model of a similar building - Lake Farmhouse - as it might have been in the eighteenth century. A subsequent inspection of the existing farmhouse and outbuildings allowed a far deeper understanding of this unique type of building through time.

During the course of the week similar patterns, connections and comparisons emerged, enabling attempts to grasp the distinctive nature of Devon and its contrasting *pays*; to consider why, for example certain settlements had thrived while others decayed, to ponder on the location of churches with Celtic dedications and raised circular churchyards, to question the antiquity of the primrose-decked, deeply banked lanes of South Devon, or to contemplate earthworks surrounding ancient buildings, indicating prolonged occupation.

It is said that every cloud has a silver lining. The heavy rainfall had filled the leats and dams of former tin workings, enabling an appreciation of their extent across the moor, something that was not possible in dry weather, explained guest lecturer Dr Tom Greeves. The ascent and descent to remains of a blowing-house at Merrivale and Saint Michael's church on the top of Brentor, provided the final physical challenges of the week, which we tackled like seasoned campaigners.

The group co-operated well together, provided a mixture of individual talents and remained good-humoured despite the weather. It was certainly appreciative of the knowledge and enthusiasm of its leader. Being immersed in Devon's landscape and cultures, its past and present, provided a unique learning experience.

Marilyn Lindley

DATA-SET - MEDIEVAL LAY SUBSIDIES

The lay subsidies for Lincolnshire 1332 and Rutland 1296, made available on the World Wide Web by Dave Postles through the university's webserver and reported in last year's Newsletter, are nearer to completion, although a number of Lindsey's 100 or so parishes are yet to be entered. Still in need of some proof-reading the sets, ultimately to contain over 20,000 taxpayers, provide a rich resource for researchers. Each taxable unit (township/parish) has a separate page linked to the contents page. To access, point your web browser to **http://www.le.ac.uk/elh/pot/intro.html** It is best to use a graphical browser as the data are set up in tables.

Devon field trip participants with their intrepid leader

LETTERS FROM ABROAD

Bruce S. Elliott, who gained his M.A. in the department in 1978 with a dissertation entitled 'The building of a provincial town: Newcastle under Lyme, 1780-1840', wrote to Charles Phythian-Adams in May thanking him for supporting his successful application for a professorial chair in the Department of History at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. Amongst other kind words he noted that 'The Leicester School continues to be very highly regarded internationally, thanks in no small part to your able direction over so many years, and what I learned there twenty years ago continues to inform my own research, writing and teaching.'

Seny Hernández, whose sabbatical year as an Honorary Visiting Fellow in the department ended in February (see last year's Newsletter), has kept in touch since her return to Venezuela and called in at the department during a fortnight's return to England in September. Prior to this brief visit she had written to say that she had joined the Asociación Venezolana de Amigos del Reino Unido - AVAREU for short - devoted to the promulgation of Anglo-Venezuelan ties and had been appointed to edit their newspaper, 'which is called Newsletter as the newspaper or magazine from our Department in Leicester'.

HELIX PROJECT - ATTENBOROUGH AND HOSKINS ON WWW

Through the good offices of De Montfort University, who spearheaded the Helix project which is jointly funded by the Joint Information Systems Committee of the Higher Education Funding Council as part of its Electronic Libraries Programme (eLib), virtually the whole of the slide collections of F.L. Attenborough, Principal of Leicester University College from 1931 to 1951, and of his friend and protégé, W.G. Hoskins, are now available on the World Wide Web to academic users in higher education institutions. They are to be found, alongside some 30,000 other images of importance to historians (including the Hulton Getty Picture Collection and the Valentine Postcard Collection held by St Andrews University, the Henton Collection from the Leicestershire Record Office, and the National Arts Slide Library held by De Montfort University), through the department's web browser on **http://www.helix.dmu.ac.uk**. When into the first screen the search facility can be used to access the National Arts Slide Library from where searches, on 'Attenborough' or

'Hoskins', enable viewing of some 2,500 images. Alternatively search by place-name, in the hope that your chosen location was favoured by our founders.

The digitising and captioning of these images was a painstaking task which would have been all but impossible had it not have been for the earlier data-recording and inputting by Bruce McGarva working under Margery Tranter's direction.

Mike Thompson

STEER GUIDE COLLECTION

The Steer collection of guides and pamphlets was given to the department by the Marc Fitch Fund in 1988 and stored, after the move to Salisbury Road, in many boxes and files in the Steer Room. In 1993 Margery Tranter suggested that her friend, Celia Swainson, might sort and file the collection which, in the event, she was not able to commence until the Spring of 1995. Since then she has been a regular Tuesday incumbent - sharing Margery's room (Margery says taking it over!) - and the following is Celia's account of the task, and the content of the collection.

'The sorting, cataloguing and filing of the guides has gradually become more complicated. When I first started it was just a simple card file, one classification under 'County' (pre-1974 boundaries are used) and another under 'Subject', i.e. Religious Building - church/abbey/cathedral/etc. However it was not long before we came across anomalies, guides which covered more than one town or village, or town guides which also described the local parish church and castle. This necessitated a complete rethink of the catalogue and eventually, after discussion with Margery and Bruce McGarva, it was decided to follow the same lines as the pamphlet and slide catalogues on which Bruce was working. I therefore went back over all the guides and re-wrote the file cards, then continued going systematically through the boxes. At last, in the final week of June this year, I got to the end of the boxes and spent some time counting and collecting the following statistics.

Amongst the church, town and village names, those beginning with the letters A - D amount to almost half the number. Religious Buildings comprise the largest category of guides and break down as follows - general 7, almshouses and hospitals 19, cathedrals 77, churches 607, schools, colleges and universities 22, fabrics 2, furnishing and fittings 85, abbeys, chapels, priories and shrines 122, minsters 13, sculpture 7, treasures 7. In the 'Secular Buildings and miscellaneous' categories we have: county 17, town 125, village 63, general 5, bridges 2, castles 75, country houses 122, fabrics 1, furniture and fittings 21, industrial buildings 32, public buildings 31, schools, colleges and universities 11, vernacular buildings 32, sites and monuments (general 3, Anglo-Saxon onwards 14, prehistoric 11, Romano-British or Roman 30), material objects/treasures 6, museums and art galleries 117, gardens and parks 5, markets, fairs and guilds 2, environs 51, wells 5, supernatural 2, records and bibliographies 48, transport 10, folklore and popular culture 17, agriculture 9, statues and monuments 3.

The guides, as classified under 'County' vary in number from 302 for Sussex and 239 for Essex, to one each for Shropshire and Monmouth (to some extent this reflects Steer's main areas of work since he was the County Archivist for Essex). Of the pamphlets, 56 are classified under heraldry and genealogy (again reflecting Steer's interests), 22 are foreign, 12 are rare (i.e. pre-1840), 31 regional (Wales, Scotland and Ireland), 47 London museums, and 94 London general.

All in all it has been a fascinating job and I now have at least three more collections to do. These are from Professor Jack Simmons, Professor Maurice Beresford and Dr John Hurst. Luckily none of these are as large as the Steer collection, or I might never finish'.

GIFTS TO THE MAP ROOM AND LIBRARY

Once again we tender warm thanks to all those who have helped to augment the department's collections. Those who have made gifts include L. Allan, R. Ambler, D. Armitage, S. Ball, J. Bateman, S. Bendall*, W. Brock, E. Christmas*, C. Cordle, G. Forster, A. Fox*, K. Gouland, E. Haydon*, J. Heathcote-Ball, N. Housley, D. Husband, S. Joyce*, H. and R. Keep, P. Richards, K. Snell, R. Stephens, J. Thawley*, C. Vialls, E. Vollans, R. Weedon.

* indicates author.

SEMINAR PROGRAMME 1998-9

If you would like to come to any of the following seminars, you will be very welcome. They are held in the Seminar Room at Marc Fitch House, 5 Salisbury Road. **We regret that it is essential that you notify the Departmental Secretary (Mrs Pauline Whitmore on Leicester (0116) 252 2762) THE DAY BEFORE as there may be limits on the number of spaces available. It is hoped that it will not be necessary to turn away visitors who have not telephoned.**

All seminars take place from 2.15 to 4.00 p.m. (approx), followed by tea.

1998

Dr R. Colls (Department of Adult Education, University of Leicester)	Thursday 22 October	'The Englishness of Hoskins'
Mrs Sylvia Pinches (Department of English Local History, University of Leicester)	Thursday 5 November	'Doles and Donations: the changing structures and purposes of charity in Warwickshire, 1760-1918'
Mrs Anne Reeves (Landscape Historian, Romney Marsh, Kent)	Thursday 12 November	'Marshland landscapes: fieldwork and study from the Romney Marsh region of Bilsington, Kent'
Dr Tom Greeves (Cultural environmentalist)	Thursday 3 December	'Tinners in their place: landscapes and records of the Devon stannaries'
Dr Alasdair Crockett (Nuffield College, Oxford)	Thursday 10 December	'Geography of religious pluralism in the nineteenth century' (provisional title)

1999

Mr P.J. Masters (Department of English Local History, University of Leicester)	Thursday 4 February	'The Saxon and Early Norman Church in West Sussex'
Dr Marie Rowlands (University of Wolverhampton)	Thursday 18 February	'A New People: the social and geographical mobility of English Catholics in the eighteenth century'
Mr Christopher Starr (Department of English Local History, University of Leicester)	Thursday 11 February	'The Essex gentry 1381-1450: county community or county of communities?'
Dr Caroline Barron (University of London)	Thursday 11 March	'Grass-roots democracy? Wards in medieval London'
Professor B.S. Capp (Department of History, University of Warwick)	Thursday 25 March	'The English Montaillou? The social and cultural world of Sileby, Leicestershire, in the 1630s'

OBITUARY

A student is sometimes called upon to compose his supervisor's obituary. Here the rôle is reversed and it is the supervisor's sad task to summarize the distinguished life of his research student, Edwin Scott Haydon (1921-1998). Haydon's first academic career culminated in a 1st class honours degree in Classics from the University College of Reading in 1942. He was immediately called up, serving with the Suffolk Regiment in the Middle East and the Mediterranean; he saw active service and was also a liaison officer between the British and American commands. After the war he joined the Provincial Administration of the Uganda Protectorate; while serving in that country he married, raising funds for this by selling three elephants which he had taken in the bush. He was called to the Bar (Gray's Inn) in 1958 and between 1960 and 1971 he served in the Hong Kong Judiciary, latterly as Registrar of the Supreme Court. He returned to England in 1971, ending his full-time legal career (1981) as a judge on the Western Circuit. After retirement he continued to work part-time as a consultant in litigation to a firm of Devon solicitors. His academic turn of mind led him to publish on aspects of law in the colonies: *Law and Justice in Buganda* (1960) and several papers in legal periodicals on customary law in Hong Kong. For his services to his country and the Commonwealth he was awarded the O.B.E.

Edwin Haydon's last home was a small farm in East Devon and once settled there he applied his precise, investigative, legal mind and powers of argument to the study of the locality's history. He realized that to do this properly a strict training was required and so he set about attending summer schools and conferences at, for example, the universities of Exeter, Cambridge (Madingley Hall), Oxford (Kellogg College), Liverpool and Keele. A flood of papers followed (*Devon Historian*, *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*), largely on Widworthy, a parish adjacent to his home, and this research culminated in two books: *Secular and Divine* (1997, a comprehensive parish history) and *Widworthy Manorial Court Rolls 1453-1617* (also 1997, with John Harrop). The latter is especially notable because it prints Latin, English translation and facsimile together and is thus an ideal reference work for the novice trying to come to grips with this most difficult type of document. It has been widely praised.

While Edwin Haydon's work on Widworthy was in its final stages he decided upon a second academic career and so began post-graduate studies in the Department of English Local History (in January 1995) to gain the training which he saw he needed in order to investigate the medieval social and economic history of small towns in East Devon. Thus was the Higher Degrees Office slightly bemused when it received an application form in which a treatise on Bugandan law was submitted as a qualification by an intending student of English medieval urban history. He realized that no progress would be made until he could increase the speed with which he read medieval documents so he set about mastering palaeography. This done, interpreting the sources came quite naturally: the Latin was no problem to the classical scholar of 1942 while the contents of the documents, court rolls for the most part, fascinated the expert in litigation. No effort was spared as he energetically travelled to record repositories in Exeter and London. Neither was cost: when I told him that the microfilms which he needed from the Public Record Office would come to several hundred pounds, he replied by saying that he would have to sell off a few steers (not elephants this time) from his farm.

Alongside all of this academic activity, Edwin Haydon contributed much to the running of local history in Devon. He was a most efficient Hon. Treasurer of the Devon History Society, nurturing its finances professionally and very succesfully, and for a time he was Honorary Administrator of Allhallows Museum in Honiton.

Edwin had a natural, old-fashioned charm which delighted all who knew him and is said to have worked well with a certain archivist known for lack of cooperation. His energy and vigour were remarkable: he popped up almost everywhere and the last time I saw him was at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in July where he joined in a punishing programme of attending up to nine papers each day. Over the course of his life he had many hobbies, including rowing, rugby, Greek vase painting, oriental ceramics, cruising, farming and, of course, local history. A widely educated man with a broad experience of life and, above all, an impish sense of humour, he was always excellent company. He will be sadly missed in the many circles in which he moved.

His service took place in the parish church of St Cuthbert, Widworthy, a tiny aisle-less structure which could only just contain the large congregation. The committal, outside, was in a very private spot, in view of no habitation (for this is an isolated church, except for the barton), under the murmuring of late summer trees, and surrounded by the farmland of the parish whose history he had made his own.

Harold Fox

EVENTS SPONSORED BY FRIENDS

NINTH W.G. HOSKINS LECTURE

The ninth W.G. Hoskins lecture on the 30th May 1998 was given by Dr. Joan Thirsk C.B.E. and entitled 'Learning to see'. Dr Thirsk was warmly welcomed back to the department to which, in 1951, she had applied for and won a Senior Research Fellowship to study agrarian history in Lincolnshire. Although initially her appointment was for three years, she was to remain in the department for fourteen years, during which time she was the general editor of, and major contributor to, that invaluable work -*The Agrarian History of England and Wales* - which occupies 27 inches of shelving in so many libraries.

During her career Dr Thirsk has also been involved in the establishment of *The Agricultural History Review*, whose first issue was in 1953. Next year will see the publication of her next book the *Oxford Illustrated History of the English Landscape*, which will contain contributions from Alan Everitt, Charles Phythian-Adams, Harold Fox, Christopher Taylor, Christopher Dyer and Margaret Spufford, amongst others. Her most recent publication is *Alternative Agriculture* and she used the content of this to illustrate the theme of her lecture. Dr Thirsk spoke of the establishment of local history as a university subject in its own right. When she joined the English Local History Department at Leicester University College it had only recently been set up by the Principal, F.L. Attenborough, with W.G. Hoskins as the only member. From 1931 to 1941 Hoskins had been a member of the Department of Geography and Commerce teaching economics - local history was his 'academic hobby' during evenings and weekends! Fortunately Attenborough realised that here was a new and distinctive approach which it was very worthwhile to promote.

Some thoughts on the possible influences that had helped Hoskins to 'learn to see' and guided him towards a new area of knowledge, a subject that 'fires the imagination of ordinary people and can transform their lives', were volunteered. She mentioned the School Histories of the counties, aimed at 12 to 14 year olds, the first volume on Berkshire appearing in 1908 the year of Hoskins' birth. In this book C.R.L. Fletcher had advocated learning history by actually going out on foot, or by bicycle, and observing the local environment with imagination. Other volumes alerted readers to parish boundaries, the importance of well-known families within those parishes, and the destruction of the traditional landscape, all themes which were to appear later in Hoskins' work.

Whatever the influences that were brought to bear on Hoskins, Dr Thirsk stressed our indebtedness to him for establishing a subject that spans a vast field of learning, that expands the mind in a most exhilarating way, where one linkage can open up a whole new world. There are no rules of learning in Local History and serendipity is the key that unlocks the door. One can work for years on specific projects and fail to make connections that are staring one in the face, and it is important for us to look for them as we burrow into what may be tedious detail.

Much of Dr Thirsk's lecture was taken up with an example of an important connection that she had made after many years of research in her specialist field of agrarian history. Volume 5 of her *Agrarian History of England and Wales* deals with the period 1640 to 1750, a time of depression in agriculture due to decline, even reversal, of population growth. This followed a period of agricultural boom from about 1500 during a period of high population growth leading to eventual over-production and subsequent decline. During the depression years farmers sought alternatives as the demand for mainstream produce diminished. There was a tendency to change arable to pasture and to experiment with new crops like hops, oil-seed rape, madder, flax and herbs. It was many years before she realised that there were similarities between the periods 1640-1750 and post-1980, both depression periods when alternatives were being introduced or rather re-introduced. The gaudy yellow of oil-seed rape is not in fact a new feature destroying the traditional landscape, for the crop was commonly produced in the past in eastern England.

Having seen the connection between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and today, Dr Thirsk realised that there were other agrarian depressions in history, for example after the Black Death and from 1879 to 1939, when alternative land use was tried. There is in fact a cyclical pattern and the lessons of the past can help us to plan future strategies. The most important lesson is the need for diversity during a time of agricultural recession, whereas present government subsidies may encourage a too narrow range of alternatives. Diversity is also what is needed in our approaches to Local History, and we were encouraged to celebrate our differences, giving more chances for all to 'learn and see'.

Following the warm applause of a rapt audience and the vote of thanks by Vernon Davis, the assembled throng went to Marc Fitch House for another memorable tea and the opportunity to purchase items in the book sale which raised the sum of £365 for the Friends. All in all a most successful and enjoyable event to mark the start of our Jubilee year.

Alan Fox

FRIENDS SUMMER OUTING

On Saturday 20th June a party of 35 Friends were guided along the trail of remarkable buildings and landscape features left by Sir Thomas Tresham (1545-1605) of Rushton in Northamptonshire. The first to be visited, by only a few of the party who travelled by car rather than coach, was the four-square market hall in Rushton where the Latin inscription running around the building was (roughly) translated. The two contingents met at the geometrically contrasting Triangular Lodge (1593-7), so loaded with trinitarian symbolism proclaiming Tresham's brave adherence to the Roman Catholic faith that, were it not for the excellence of its construction, it should surely have buckled under the strain.

From the Lodge the party processed to Rushton Hall, Tresham's principal residence. This had been much extended and altered during the nineteenth century and is now a boarding school owned by the Royal National Institute for the Blind. Its largely overgrown, but still magnificent, surrounding gardens and lakes are being slowly restored, with the help of the Countryside Commission, by David Pain, our guide and the farmer of 600 of its broad acres. Here, after a welcome coffee break and introductory talk, the party necessarily split into two groups and visited in turn the sixteenth-century dovecote, the poet Dryden's Walk, the boating canal and lakes, as well as the Hall itself which, in spite of its later extensions, still bears much evidence of Tresham and his times.

After a picnic lunch and a navigation around Corby we spent an afternoon at the spectacularly unfinished, yet pristine, cruciform construction of Lyveden New Bield (Lyveden to be pronounced with a short 'y' as we learned from our very informative guide) and its associated moated garden enclosure, massive terracing and helical snail mounds.

We wondered at the commitment and imagination of the man who had planned and built these monuments to his family and faith, the more so since for many years he was imprisoned, or under surveillance, because of his recusancy. Many of us also speculated about the lives of those who had laboured at his behest, for the guide book tells us that 'he was a hard landlord, who enclosed common land without compunction, replaced labour-intensive arable by pasture for his large flocks of sheep, and was frequently at loggerheads with his tenants'.

The day, which had begun in warm but wet conditions, ended in sunshine with tea and cakes in the cottage garden overlooking Tresham's last unfinished work and with Rockingham Forest in view from the airy tableland of the site. A splendid day out, full of interest for which our thanks must go to Jenny Burt of the Northamptonshire Gardens Trust, a former student and Friend, through whose good offices we had privileged access with excellent guides, and to Sylvia Pinches whose organisational arrangements held up well in spite of the size of the party, the idiosyncrasies of those who chose to travel by car, and the weather.

Mike Thompson

BURSARIES

By the time this Newsletter appears it is most probable that three 'Friends' bursaries will have been awarded to students commencing, or continuing, their studies in September 1998. These will consist of an award of £1250 to a full-time student and awards of £300 to each of two part-timers.

LOGO COMPETITION

For some time now the Friends Committee has been trying to identify a suitable logo for its letterheads, publications, etc., but so far without success. Suggestions are therefore invited from our readers. A £10 prize will be awarded to the originator of any suggestion adopted.

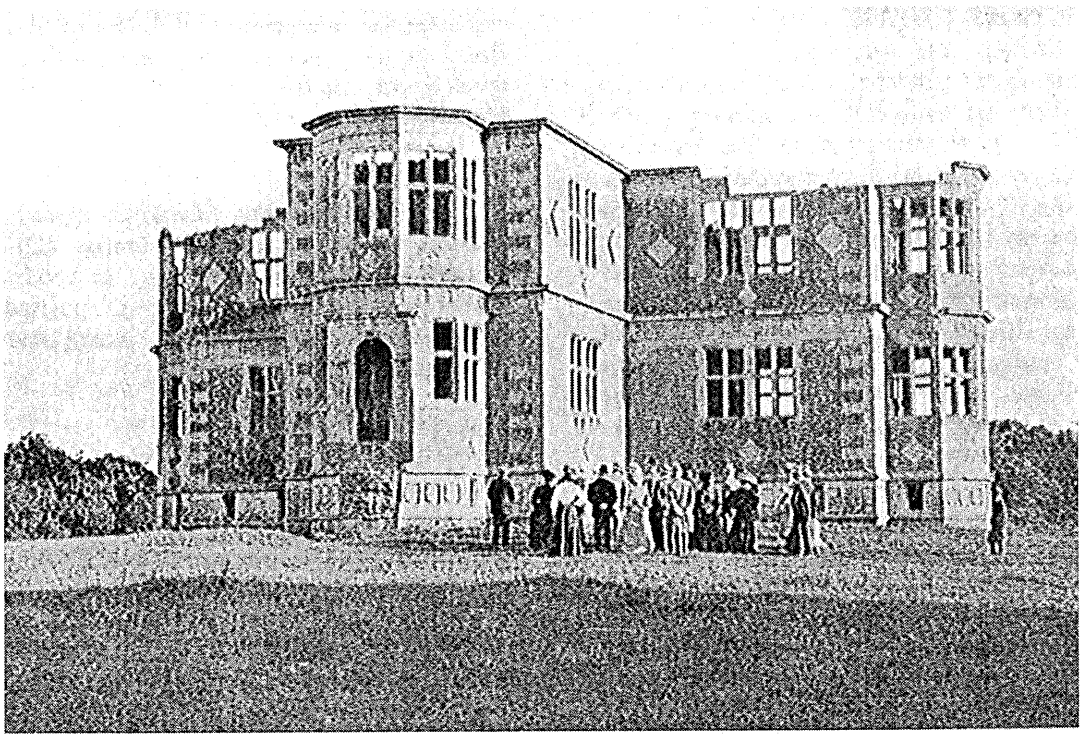
JUBILEE DIARY DATES

Formal notice is hereby given that the **Friends Annual General Meeting** for 1998 will be held after the Thursday afternoon seminar on 12th November (see Seminar Programme above) at 4.00 p.m. Please do your best to attend.

The **Jubilee Open Day and Public Lecture** by Mick Aston of Bristol University and Channel 4's Time Team takes place on Saturday 5th December with Marc Fitch House open from 10.30 to 3.30 p.m. Tea and coffee will be available. The lecture will start at 4.00 p.m. (doors of the Rattray lecture theatre on the main campus will be open from 3.00 p.m.). The Jubilee Prize Raffle draw (have you sold your tickets and asked for more?) will follow the lecture prior to dispersal. Tickets for the lecture have been selling very well and we expect a capacity audience, so do book early to avoid disappointment.

The **Tenth W.G. Hoskins Lecture** will be on Saturday 5th June when Alan Everitt, Emeritus Professor of English Local History, University of Leicester, will be the speaker on a topic to be announced.

The **Annual Summer Outing** will take place on Saturday 10th July, when Miriam Gill will conduct a tour, to include Longthorpe Tower and St Pega's church in Peakirk (both near to Peterborough), to view medieval wall paintings, with a possible visit to the Bronze Age site of Flag Fen in the afternoon.



Lyveden New Bield from a photograph by S. Squire published in *Transactions of the Leicestershire and Rutland Architectural and Archaeological Society* (1907-8).

EDWARDIAN EXCURSIONS

Thumbing through some old and dusty copies of the *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society* waiting to be accessioned in the hidey-hole of the Steer Room at Marc Fitch House, I came across an account of the Annual Excursion of the Society of 1908 and was struck by its visit to Lyveden New Bield - one of the venues for our own outing this summer 90 years on (see above). The comparison between the two events led me to reflect on how much things had changed. Then, looking at accounts of similar outings before, during, and after the First World War, I realised that the greatest changes were probably experienced by those who, in 1908, took a leisurely train from Leicester to Kettering and then, in horse-drawn brakes, visited the churches of Weekly, Geddington (not forgetting Eleanor's Cross), Stanion, Brigstock, then Lyveden before repairing to Oundle for dinner and a night at the Talbot Hotel. The next morning by brake again they went on to Warmington and Tansor, from where they returned to the Talbot for luncheon, before going on to Lowick and Drayton House where Colonel Stopford Sackville entertained them to tea. From there they returned to Kettering and thence by train back to Leicester.

Just how many of the 260 members of the Society went on this outing, which, like the others described, took place on weekdays when lesser mortals would have been at work, is not specified in the detailed report written by their guide, one A. Hamilton Thompson M.A., later to become a Fellow of the British Academy, Professor of History in the University of Leeds, and President of The Leicestershire Archaeological Society itself. The lists of patrons, presidents (in 1907-8 there were 27), honorary and ordinary members are largely composed of members of the aristocratic, clerical, gentle, professional and entrepreneurial classes. They are redolent of Leicester's history (and historians) - Bennion, Billson, Corah, Everard, Farnham, Freer, Gainsborough (Earl of), Gimson, Goodacre, Hazlerigg, Herrick, Lanesborough (Earl of), Leicester (RR Bishop of), Levy and Martin, jostle each other in the first half of the list.

Hamilton Thompson had also led the two-day excursion in 1907. This was to Newark where luncheon was taken at The Ram Hotel before the churches of Beckingham, Stragglethorpe, Brant Broughton, Navenby and Coleby were visited, *en route* for Lincoln where the party stayed at The White Hart Hotel. The next day the party explored the ancient town and attended the annual commemoration service of the *Scholae Cancellarii* in the cathedral at which the preacher was the Bishop of London.

In 1909 the party was led by a Major Freer on a one-day trip by train to Banbury. The town was described as 'a grief and despair to the antiquary' having 'In the

eighteenth century ... replaced its glorious church, rather than repair it, by the existing frightful structure [and] in the twentieth century ... been willing to treat for the removal to America of the famous Globe Room of the Reindeer Inn' so that 'Banbury is now rather a good centre for excursions than a place of interest in itself, thanks to the triumph of vandalism.'

In 1910, still by train and horse-drawn brake, it was another two-day affair. This time to the Cotswolds around Chipping Norton and Burford where 'Through lack of time and a mistake on the part of a driver, Widford church, the most interesting ... was omitted' from the planned itinerary which took in Swinbrook and Shipton-under-Wychwood on the second day. Also in 1910 a party of 50 members went on a more local half-day foray 'by brakes' via Houghton-on-the-Hill to Ingarsby 'not a good road', and Quenby Hall where Mrs Greaves entertained the party to tea and was herself congratulated upon 'an unusually effective and conservative piece of restoration.'

The growing confidence of the Society in venturing further afield, now propelled by the internal combustion engine, is amply demonstrated in the immediate pre-war years of 1913 and 1914. Whereas in 1863 following 'a public breakfast' held at The Rose and Crown at Kibworth 'a large party' had left in 'carriages' to visit the Langtons, Nosely (sic), Tugby, Keythorpe, East Norton and Allexton, 50 years later two days were spent in the West Country when, after train to Bath - one can sense the excitement - the party was 'motored ... in motor char-a-bancs' to Bradford-on-Avon and then via Cheddar Gorge to Wells.

So successful was this trip, and so ebullient the mood in spite of the proximity and shadow of war, that in the following year 'the attendance was larger than usual, and amply justified the action of those members of the Society who had been agitating for years past in favour of an outing which should extend over two nights'. This enthusiastic party, once more guided by Hamilton Thompson, returned to the base of the previous year - the Pulteney Hotel in Bath - but took in Malmesbury on the first day, extended their trip to spend three hours in Glastonbury on the second, and on the third visited Lacock Abbey, where it was noted they were not allowed to take photographs as they were accustomed to do on these jaunts (see the photograph of Lyveden New Bield taken from the *Transactions* of 1907-8). This was probably due to the fact that the abbey was the ancestral home of W.H. Fox Talbot the early pioneer of photography and related to proprietorial interest in his still novel images. From Lacock they took cars again to Chippenham and so by train to Leicester's Great Central Station, whence they had embarked on their first and, as far as one can tell, their last three-day event.

War had indeed cast its shadow. In June 1915 the excursion 'by motor-brake' was confined to a single day spent wholly in Leicesterhire, with Lockington, Castle Donington, Breedon-on-the-Hill and Ashby-de-la-Zouch being visited. In 1916 the constraints were really showing and 'in place of the usual excursion, the Society... paid a visit to the older churches and various other antiquities of the county town'. These included the Old Guildhall, Wigston's (sic, i.e. Wyggeston's) Hospital, the Jewry Wall and the Roman pavement below Great Central Station in the morning and Leicester Castle and the Newark in the afternoon. In spite of the straitened circumstances, enthusiasm for some form of outing appears to have been undimmed for, on both occasions, the parties were said to consist of goodly numbers.

It is probable that the Society's outings never regained their former exuberance or ranged so far afield. In 1922 the outing was on a single day to Clifton Campville, Lichfield and Tamworth just beyond the county border. In the 1930s, before the next war put an end to the last remnants of high Edwardian life-styles for good, there were often two excursions a year, although these were to places either within Leicestershire or occasionally its neighbouring counties.

Reading the earlier accounts one is struck, not only by the excitement (in spite of the leisured pace) of it all, but with the immense effort and erudition that went into the annual reports of these excursions and, in particular, the care with which architectural details and historic backgrounds were researched and expounded upon. An immense concern for the historic heritage and opposition to Victorian, as well as latter-day, vandalism, is also most apparent. While we may be envious of the lifestyles that enabled so many to enjoy these extended summer outings, we must also be grateful for the record they left behind and the interest they engendered in conservation before our time.

Mike Thompson

TALKING TO FRIENDS

Mick Aston, Professor of Landscape Archaeology in the Department for Continuing Education at Bristol University, is an informal friend of the Department of English Local History rather than a Friend in the conventional sense. But then nothing Mick does is conventional. He is that flamboyant, charismatic archaeologist known to thousands as the leader of Channel Four's Time Team. Mick is positively evangelical in his desire to share his own love of local history, sometimes laid bare by archaeology, with the world and has much in common with many people in the department. He will deliver the department's Jubilee Lecture in the Rattray Lecture Theatre at Leicester on December 5th when we are assured of a stimulating account of his Time Team experiences.

Mick (third from left) with his Time Team colleagues, Tony Robinson, Phil Harding and Carenza Lewis.

Friend: How did your interest in archaeology begin?

MA: It started when I was about 15, my parents, particularly my father, were always interested in anything old. We used to get taken round sites, not so much castles and abbeys but anything else. He would read Arthur Mee's county books and we would struggle to find some obscure standing stone or burial chamber. I don't think he could actually read a map so it was difficult finding things, but I learned to read a map quite early. We were coming back from Cornwall once and we camped near Stonehenge which was shut. The sun was going down behind it, and it looked very dramatic. My father had just read Atkinson's book on Stonehenge. I read it too and it was interesting stuff. I was then given Collins' *Field Guide to Archaeology* and a list of scheduled ancient monuments produced by HMSO for Christmas. I soon latched onto the CBA's list of excavations and started to go out to sites like Halesowen Abbey and Wychbury Hill Fort and just wandered round. I have always been a terrible trespasser; I think I was too shy to go and get permission, I would go and just wander round and that is how I started.

Friend: So what about university?

MA: I put down to read archaeology at various universities. Basically, at that time, I was very interested in Cornwall and I used to go down on the train and camp in West Penwith and walk around for 6 or 8 weeks. The universities I put down were Exeter and Bristol because they were the closest you could get to Cornwall. I was rejected out of hand by all of them so I was going to teacher training college in Ormskirk in Lancashire because I wanted to be a teacher. My opinion of the universities was sod 'em, I'll go to Ormskirk, they were so nice when I went up there. I was away in Cornwall doing field work when the 'A' level results came out and I had a telegram from my parents saying 'You've got three 'A' levels and have been offered a place at Birmingham'. But I was in the middle of field work, I wrote back and said tell them to get lost! I was like that for about a week, but in the end I was persuaded to go to university and I went to Birmingham which was the nearest one and the only one that had offered me a place, which meant that I lived at home.

You see I was always very ill with asthma, constantly out of action with both asthma and bronchitis, but I went to Birmingham for a week, then I didn't go any

more. I had gone off looking at sites. Then I think what happened was that I went to the library and there was all the things I had only read about - complete runs of journals, complete VCH sets and so on.

The other thing that encouraged me to stay at university, was that Philip Rahtz, in the history department, put little notices up on the board which said: 'If you want to come digging, be at my house at such and such'. I realised then that I was amongst people who were interested in the same things that I was. Because, you see, I had no encouragement at school; if you weren't in the school football team or didn't play in the orchestra, they didn't want to know. Somebody as crazy as me was very eccentric, I was interested in all these strange things. I was a very law abiding, keen kid, but because I had long hair and didn't like wearing school uniform I was constantly in trouble. But it only needed one teacher to see that actually if I had only been given the right books and started off I'd have been into it. They didn't do that, they were very pseudo public school, they had no way of tapping my enthusiasms.

I read geography at Birmingham, but I soon discovered that you could do archaeology as a subsidiary subject, so I did that. In the final year I did a special subject called historical geography which was landscape archaeology by another name. The professor was Harry Thorpe and he introduced me to one of his research students, one James Bond. The three of us used to spend every Friday out in the Land Rover, driving around Warwickshire looking at moats and deserted village sites, field banks and park boundaries, monastic sites and motte and baileys. I had had three or four years when I had saturated myself in sites, I had just visited everything I could go and see.

Friend: Who else influenced your development?

MA: Around Birmingham at that time there was Philip Barker, Graham Webster, Philip Rahtz, Trevor Rowley at Bordesley College down the road, and there was Brian Hobley at Coventry. It was a really vibrant sort of place with people who were incredibly helpful to me. We focused on Worcestershire and Warwickshire. After I graduated I stayed on to do research but it was the mid to late 60s and no one ever thought of getting a job. We just dug every summer and every weekend.

Most of the work I had gathered for a Ph.D. was stolen from a van. I was at a T Rex concert at the time, with a girlfriend of the time and for various complicated reasons I had all my notes with me. Someone just broke into the van and emptied it. Cameras, anoraks, wellies, the lot, including this couple of holdalls, of notes and plans; although we put out appeals, I never got it back. I just never re-gathered that material. At that date we had only just got a photo-copier in the department and nothing was copied. In any case I think the three years of my research was a tremendous educational time; we never actually did what we were supposed to be doing. As a consequence none of us finished, none of us got it done, but we became incredibly good at doing fieldwork, at documentary search and teaching, because we were all teaching. I started very early on in 1968 teaching extramural classes.

Friend: Where was your first job?

MA: My first job was as Assistant Field Officer at the Oxford City and County Museum in Woodstock. I got that because Trevor Rowley had gone to Oxford as the first extramural tutor in 1969, and he basically rang up and said 'Hey there is a job going down here, you should come over and see if you like it' - those were the days! I went down, they interviewed other people but I got the job. I lived in a tent in Middleton Stoney Park; when I joined the county council and they asked where I lived I replied 'in a tent' they said, 'we can't put that down on your pay slip', I said 'I'm sorry but that's where I live'. That was great because I was dropped into the middle of another group of highly dynamic, highly motivated, good contacts. Trevor ran a very open house and I met everyone in the archaeology world.

In 1974 I got the first County Archaeologist job in Somerset. That was the first time it was discovered how bad my health was because I had to have a medical. It was very interesting because no one had done a county archaeologist's job in Somerset before so no one knew what to do with me or what I was there for. So I had basically four and a half years of doing exactly what I liked, which I saw as compiling the sites and monuments record and visiting every site in the county. They were great times, we had a lot of heavy parties. What you have to know is that I was very ill with asthma and bronchitis until I was about 25. When I went to Oxford they discovered what was wrong with me, which was that I had farmers' lung, and I spent time in the isolation hospital. I was sorted out and put on the right drugs. For the first time in my life I could go to somebody's house, or to a party and not be ill. I just went mad. I was like a teenager, though I was in my mid to late 20s. I have always felt bitter that healthwise I had a very poor childhood and teenage years, so I did go potty.

Friend: So what happened next?

MA: In Somerset I got married and it was a nice life but one day I woke up and panicked, I thought: 'My God, I could be here for the rest of my life, this is a secure, pensionable, superannuable job, I have got to get out'. I heard that there was another job in Oxford as a local studies tutor, under Trevor in the Continuing Education Department. It was a lot less money, my wife lost her job and we quadrupled our mortgage by moving to Oxford. It

was mad, but it was the best move I ever made because I would never have broken out of local government and into universities without doing that.

Next I moved to Bristol and I have been here for 19 years. I am in a very strange position now because of Time Team, which we started making in 1992. In 1993 we made four programmes which we could comfortably do in weekends. The following year we made five, the next two years we made six each, then last year we made eight, but they turned into ten because we did a live one over the Bank Holiday weekend and we made a Christmas special; they want to make thirteen this year! After long negotiations the arrangement is that I am paid by the university, and Channel Four provide the university with the money for a full salary for someone to do my extramural work - Mark Corney. I teach when I can and I have still got eight Ph.D. students who keep me in real contact with what is going on.

Friend: Is the film work merely an extension of your adult education work?

MA: Be under no illusion why I do the film work. It is to get as many members of the general public interested in the whole area of history and archaeology as possible; if someone gives me three and a half to four million people instead of thirty - I'm listening! I have spent all my life doing that - I have worked in a museum, I worked in a planning department, where I spent most of my time trying to educate councillors and other officers, and here, at Bristol, I am still trying to get more and more people interested in it. So that is why I got into it and why I am still in it, because it's bloody uncomfortable. Last year I was pretty confident that that would be the end of it. By the end of last year we had made five series but then, damn it, if they don't come back and say they want even more. But it won't last. Television is very capricious - they have butterfly minds - and so I suppose I am just hanging in there really.

Friend: What do you think about the future of Continuing Education?

MA: I am a mixture of very very optimistic and very very pessimistic about it. What has happened here is that about 18 months ago the vice-chancellor took the decision that Continuing Education would not have its own department but that individuals would be hived off to their nearest home department. We are going to become a self-contained Centre for the Historic Environment within Archaeology. So our money is ring-fenced inside archaeology's ring-fenced money.

Friend: Are you disappointed with the new government's commitment to education?

MA: So far I am bitterly disappointed. The Thatcher years were what they called the Philistine Revolution and we are not yet out of it. We have to get away from the idea that everything has to be cost effective. We are an incredibly rich country - look at the lottery money - yet we don't seem to be able to provide the absolute basics for poor buggers sitting on the pavement. That is my barometer - when those young kids cease to be on the pavement.

Friend: How important to you is your collaborative and interdisciplinary approach ?

MA: You have to remember that I am not a conventional archaeologist - I am a terrible con. I discovered fairly early on that digging gives you a myopic view. It is merely one way of gathering evidence for a wider view and I am a generalist. All the stuff I have written is general stuff, it's about what it all means and why it is interesting and why you can get a buzz out of it. Differences in soil colour or pottery don't interest me, they are too specific. On Time Team you see me trying to make things work on the big scale, and Phil looks after what is going on in the trenches. I am as likely to get more excited about what the environmentalists or the geophysics people are doing. It seems to me that geophysics and environmental archaeology are what it is all about and where it is going, because they give you a much wider picture.

Friend: What excited you most about Time Team?

MA: Going home at the end of the day! They are three incredibly long fraught days, when we are not working on the filming we are working on the next stage, and where the crews are going. You get back to the hotel in the evening, shower, have a meal and then spend the next two or three hours working out the next day, perhaps until the early hours. It is a bit like bomber crews, pushing us to the limit every time. It is a hellish complicated thing but you get a real buzz, which takes you three or four days to come down from.

Friend: How does the Shapwick Project fit in with other major landscape projects like Wharram Percy and Raunds?

MA: Shapwick is a logical follow-on from Wharram Percy. The background is that in 1985 I threw up my hands in horror here and thought: 'If I don't get back out into the field I'll go mad'. I wanted something half an hour away from my house, in the opposite direction from the office, where I would be unobtainable. It seemed to me that the key academic problem was how and when did nucleation occur. Somerset was a good area to study it because it is only partly nucleated. It had a dispersed settlement pattern on Exmoor to show that it went back a long way. We have done a lot of work with place-names to show that it is an ancient dispersed settlement pattern and

therefore we were looking for somewhere which wasn't dispersed but which might have been once. Bless his cotton socks, it was Nick Corcos, who has a habit of dropping complete bombshells, whose work we built on. The key to making the project work was having a single landowner and agent - single consent because you have to be free to go anywhere and do anything. Before I started the project I didn't ask anyone's permission, didn't write any documents, none of this assessment or quality assurance rubbish - nothing like that. We just got on and did it on the basis that if it got far enough down the road, the university would be committed and wouldn't be able to back out. I subsequently heard that if they had known what I was doing they would have stopped me. I have always taken a cynical view about institutions - all this business about feasibility studies and things is an excuse to say no. If you present them with a *fait accompli* which is already successful they can't back out of it. By the time they found out how much money and time I was spending, how many students and how many continuing ed. students were plugged into it doing fieldwork projects and so on, it was too late. So they had to go with it and the more successful it has become the more they have supported it. The best piece of advice I ever had from Trevor Rowley was 'Never ask permission -just do it - never ask whether you can do something - do it until they stop you. The chances are that they won't stop you because they will assume that you are supposed to be doing it or have always done it'. I do it with both money and projects.

Friend: What happens after Shapwick?

MA: We finish next summer. Then life after Shapwick will be a dispersed parish which is well documented, with one landowner. Lots of active farms with medieval or late medieval buildings, which we can dig round and under. Probably it will be in Devon or Dorset. Really we need about six projects like that; if we had the sort of society I would like to live in, this money would be flowing through proper academic institutions with big teams of 50 people working on each one. We are complete Philistines - you so often see all the worst aspects in society being applauded.

Friend: Is it too soon to evaluate the importance of the Shapwick Project?

MA: No. The ultimate reason why the Shapwick Project is so fantastic and will probably go down in the annals is that we have had to wrestle with the problem of how to recognise human activity when there isn't any archaeology. We have adopted the strategy of combining field and place-name evidence with massive geophysics applications and equally massive geochemical techniques plus field work, aerial photography and excavation. If fieldwork and aerial photography or archaeology produce no results the only way you can recognise human activity is through the changes made to the soil. We have studied phosphates, heavy metals, the pH of the soil and its carbon content. If you can see hot spots, put in the geophysics, especially over habitative field names, and get some radio carbon dates, then you can recognise human activity.

The implications are enormous because where new roads or houses are being built, unless this work is done they will miss the whole of the Dark Ages. I have talked to planners about this - they are amazed. The implications are important for the future because the logic of our methods seems flawless. Conventional archaeology is not the way that we are going to solve the problem of the Dark Ages. If you rely on finding things, there are few things to find for this period. The same problem of absence of finds exists in other areas of Europe for other periods.

Friend: What keeps you going, why are you still so driven?

MA: I know I am an obsessive - I am an enthusiast. I couldn't be the sort of person that did their job between 9.00 a.m. and 5.00 p.m. and then went and did what they really wanted to do in the evenings and weekends. Unless I am doing it all the time, I can't do it. I can't do things I am not interested in. I can't understand people who don't put 250% into what they are doing - I am driven. Of course I have had very poor health most of my life, I have to take steroids every day, I have terrible bouts of winter illness, I have three doctors looking after me most of the time! This life is not a rehearsal, this is for real and so I throw 250% into it and into everything I do - we don't get a second bite of the cherry as far as we know. I would not like to go to my grave without knowing how Shapwick developed - I said that to someone once and they said: 'Don't worry Mick when you get to Heaven you can ask the people that planned it!'.

Friend: Thank you very much.
Rosie Keep

A VALEDICTORY EPISTLE FROM MARC FITCH HOUSE

As reported in the last Newsletter, Charles Phythian-Adams retired from his post as Head of Department on October 1st 1997 and on the 24th of that month his many friends and colleagues within the university presented him with a magnificent bound volume of *Bartholomew's Half-Inch Maps of Great Britain*. The following is part of the response he made on that occasion when, in contrast to the irony of these remarks on the current culture of the university system as a whole, he was warm in praise of those with whom he had been most closely associated academically and educationally, during

his thirty years in the department and in the university.

'Dear All,

Whatever Harold may say - and as usual he says it very deftly - I feel less like someone now with a career behind them than in some sense a beginner again. Only the other day, for example, I learned a new word ...

To appreciate the appropriately commercial context of that discovery, I need first to recall a crucial conversation of over a year ago - ominously enough around the time of my 59th birthday - when I received a special visit at the company's branch on Salisbury Road from an extremely kind lady from the firm's middle management. One couldn't help but feel rather touched. Normally in our firm, middle management gets those of us on the assembly- line at the satellite campus, to call on them. More than that, never before had management at any level shown such extraordinary concern for my well-being, especially my state of health and, by implication only, of course, my future - well, not exactly my future in the company, you understand, but some sort of related existence, one that could be generously funded in part from my very own superannuation contributions with, naturally, an attractive, silver-plated clock thrown in as an irresistable inducement. How things have changed for the better, I mused: in the old days, they actually expected you to lay down your life for your country; at least today, they simply ask you to lay down your salary for the good of the business.

Well, if money is the problem, I thought, why don't I first make one last convulsive effort to aspire to the dizzying status of academic entrepreneur? Do my bit for the company; manage change; activate income-generation; even pay for the day-job myself by going out into the real world during what little there now is left of my nights. Perhaps I might end up with an Honorary Degree as a result. On second thoughts, why not think yet again about distance learning? So I took an hour off from my prime research time, which must mean - as with the rest of you -that it was then either a week-end or a Bank Holiday, and concentrated on something really distant: nothing less than the possibilities of life on Mars care of an Open University television broadcast. And so it was that first I heard this new word, "extremophile": a class of minute organism, we were told, which has the capacity to survive conditions that all other organisms find completely intolerable - from boiling mud to the total absence of light midst deep oceanic slime.

I cannot think why, but an unworthy thought crossed my mind. My own experience of both boiling mud and deep oceanic slime - each invariably viewed from underneath - is now so considerable that, in company with many other academics, I feel that we too could claim to have evolved into extremophiliacs. It is with this sentiment, and especially now that we are all so happily in business together, joyfully striving to be efficient in matching up to our performance indicators, raising sales, pleasing the customers, and doing so much to keep Coopers and Lybrand profitable with public money presumably intended for academic purposes originally, that I'm sure you would like to join me in sending a vote of thanks both for HEFC's exemplary skills in caring personnel management, and for their sedulous concern for the preservation of rare subject-areas, to Corporation headquarters at Bristol which, I note (purely out of historical interest, of course), has had a long career as England's centre for the slave-trade. For myself, I shall simply emulate the actions of one of my favourite characters from the past whom I resurrected out of a law-suit in Yorkshire of about 1540. Quite disgracefully, since it was in the presence of worshipful dignitaries of so significant a town as Pontefract - I quote verbatim - "he made certain signs with his fingers" and vanished forthwith from the record.'

JOHN NICHOLS PRIZE-WINNING ESSAY

After several fallow years the John Nichols Prize was in 1998 awarded, against stiff home opposition in the form of six M.A. dissertations, to Amanda Flather (University of Essex) for her paper on 'The politics of place: a history of church seating in Essex c. 1580-1640'. Mrs Flather has herself provided the following abstract.

'This paper explores the extent to which disputes over seats in church reflected tensions between ideology and reality in early modern local society. It shows that the parish church, the arena which defined and displayed a supposedly static hierarchical order, was in fact the site of fiercely fought symbolic battles over status. Battles between neighbours and presentments by churchwardens provide proof of the reality of a society in which social and demographic structural transformation, and short term political and religious disruption, meant that order was always changing. The hierarchy of rank and degree in early modern society was in fact an area of constant contest and negotiation as neighbours struggled to define and redefine perpetually shifting boundaries of social identity.

The study also shows some of the operational realities behind the supposedly inclusive, consensual and reciprocal 'politics of neighbourhood'. New power was given to parish elites after the Reformation to place parishioners orderly in their pews. This gave them control over the symbolic, social boundaries of belonging to local society. Evidence shows that in certain places, at certain times, this power was used selectively but effectively to exclude as much as to include, to differentiate, separate and to disassociate the poor and reprobate from their 'honest neighbours'.

The paper argues that post-Reformation Calvinist culture transformed the local parish church from the social and sacred centre of a society of effective equals before

God into a school of social, political and cultural subordination. As E.P. Thompson suggests, 'The segregated pews, the late entries and early departures at church ... were all designed to exhibit authority to the plebs and exact from them deference'. The weekly Sunday service became a lesson in which the poor and the powerless were taught in a new and significant sense to know their place'.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY - LOCAL HISTORY PROJECT

In the last Newsletter we reported the cataloguing of the 10,000th item in the library's English Local History collection, which is hugely additional to our own substantial Marc Fitch Library. The work of cataloguing and conservation continues, but users will aready find that the English counties sequence - BEDS to YOR - is complete, as is the English general topography range under H942. Still waiting to be sorted are the general topographical works relating to Scotland, Wales and Ireland and items in the locked store.

THE ELH DISCUSSION LIST

Despite a few problems, the facility has already proved of some use in maintaining links between present and former course participants, postgraduate researchers and members of the department, and in channelling information about current news, jobs, publications, conferences, etc. It has also seen one stimulating debate (dialogue might be a better word) about the rôles and perceptions of historians. If you are on the internet all you need to do to subscribe is to send a one-line e-mail message, with the subject header blank, to listserver@le.ac.uk **SUB elh-l yourfirstname yoursecondname**, when you should receive a welcome file. For technical reasons only the listowner is Dave Postles, but the list is unmoderated.

USEFUL ADDRESSES

Reservations for Seminars:
Mrs Pauline Whitmore, Marc Fitch House, 5 Salisbury Road, Leicester, LE1 7QR. Tel: 0116 2552762; FAX 0016 2525769.

Contributions to Newsletters and Books for the Booksale:
marked 'Newsletter' or 'Booksale', to Marc Fitch House.

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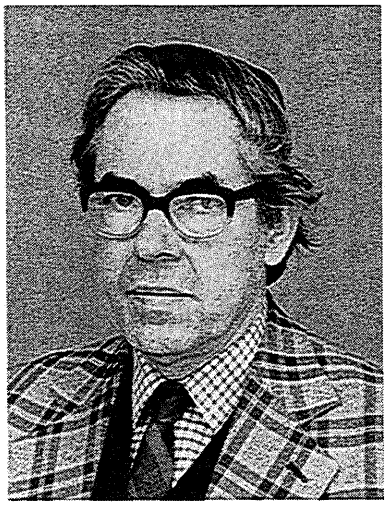

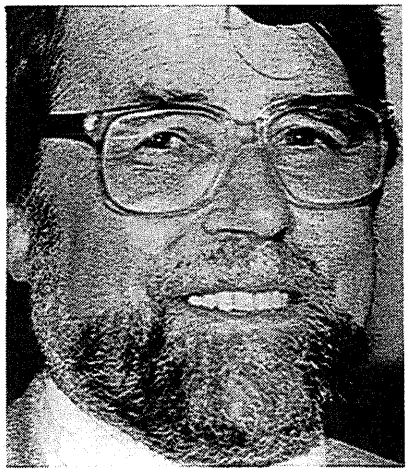

English Local History's departmental heads 1948 to 1997:
W.G. Hoskins, 1948-51 and 1965-68 (top left); H.P.R. Finberg, 1951-65 (top right); A.M. Everitt, 1968-82 (bottom left); C.V. Phythian-Adams, 1982-97 (bottom right).

Harold-on-the-Hill, Head of Department 1997-?