Friends of the Centre for English Local History

NEWSLETTER

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER NUMBER 34 OCTOBER 2021

Philharmonic Dining Rooms, Liverpool

Newsletter

Number 34 October 2021

EDITORIAL

Phil Batman

'*To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die*.'

This quotation is attributed to the poet Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), and we see it from time to time chiselled into a tombstone. It was one of my father's favourite aphorisms – he was prone to nostalgia – and he would reiterate it when fondly remembering his grandfather, Alf Hornby. A person is truly dead, my dad would tell me, only when they have passed from living memory.

Nostalgia gets a bad press. It has been considered a disorder, a sign of depression, ever since the term was coined by a seventeenth-century Swiss physician, Johannes Hoffer, who attributed soldiers' mental and physical maladies to their longing to return home — *nostos* in Greek, and the accompanying pain, *algos.* However, I don't think nostalgia is all bad. A bittersweet emotion, acute on occasion, it has also been shown to counteract loneliness and boredom. And anxiety induced by hearing about disasters (plenty of those these days) can be alleviated by nostalgia. In short, it's good for us in small doses.

More of nostalgia later. But onto the contents of this my last Newsletter as editor – you will be subjected to my hackneyed quotations and cliches no more. The sociable aspect of the Friends has lapsed over the past year or so for obvious reasons, and we have no events or historical outings to report. We made up for those with Zooming, plus Friends have contributed articles ranging from Antiquity to Victorian boozers, with everything between and beyond. There are summaries of all the seminars and lectures, but regrettably the Centre is struggling to put together a seminar series for 2021/2 in the current circumstances. Andrew Hopper has provided a parting report on the Centre, Richard Jones an enlightening biography, and our Chairman Michael Gilbert an uplifting message on our future. And as ever, the people who make up our community are dripping with academic achievements and successes, which we list. Happily our enthusiasm shows no sign of waning.

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I don't know much more about Alf Hornby. He was a pattern maker journeyman, lived in a terraced house towards the centre of York, was called upon to keep the peace when rows erupted between neighbours, and drank halves (lots of them) in the Phoenix Working Men's Club. He took his last breath years before I took my first. And that he is now truly dead. Or is he? Perhaps not, because I

have a photograph of Alf and I remember with fondness for my own dad that he was nostalgic about his grandad.

I would like to finish my term with a final quotation in the same vein as Thomas Campbell. This one was penned by William Faulkner (1897-1962), an American novelist: '*The past is never dead. In fact, it's not even past*.' Only if we forget history and move on, is it past. We can never do that. Nostalgia is one cornerstone in the study of local history. We need it. A gentle stroll down memory lane may make life seem more bearable and worthwhile.

Talking of which, I'll end with some nostalgic thoughts on my tenure in office. I've enjoyed enormously reading and pulling together all the contributions made by the Staff and Friends. The previous retiring editor told me I'd get to talk with everybody and find out what they're up to – she was right - and the real pleasure has undoubtedly been the conversations with all of you like-minded people. Thank you for all your efforts, generosity of spirit, and goodwill.

Enjoy your Newsletter.

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COVER

The central core of the Philharmonic Dining Rooms, Liverpool (c. 1898-1900), which in February 2020 became the first Victorian pub to receive a Grade I listing (Geoff Brandwood).

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CHAIR'S REPORT

Michael Gilbert

In September the Centre for English Local History finally moved from our old home at Marc Fitch House in Salisbury Road onto the main campus. It will now be based on the eighth floor of the Attenborough Building with the library, collections and other facilities in the conference area. Although it is very sad to be leaving our base of many years it may yet present new opportunities for the Centre and for the Friends. Discussions are well advanced with Leicester City for a potential new site in the city centre for a 'Heritage Hub'. This would provide a home for the Centre as well as space for meetings, lectures and exhibitions.

Although this is still at the early stages of planning if successful it would give a chance to revitalise the Centre and to provide new opportunities for the Friends.

We have recently held an online meeting for members to discuss the future of the Friends with over 30 people joining the session. The new Director of the Centre for English Local History, Dr Angela Muir, outlined her vision for the future and how the Centre and the Friends could work more closely together to promote the teaching of local history at Leicester. There were three very clear messages that came out of the session.

- There is total support that the Friends should continue as long as the Centre is in existence.
- That we should expand our activities in support of the Centre and to increase our engagement with local history groups in Leicester and across the country.
- We should expand our range of social activities and the services we provide to members of the Friends.

Sadly during the year we have seen two members of the Centre's academic staff leave with the retirement of Professor Kevin Shurer and the appointment of Professor Andy Hopper to Oxford University. We wish them both well, thank them for their work with the Centre and hope they will continue to keep in touch with and be involved in the work of the Friends. Hopefully the University will soon be in the position to recruit new academics to work alongside Angela and Richard delivering teaching and research.

The next few years have the potential for transforming both the role of the Centre and the Friends but as always this will depend on the active involvement and commitment of the members. The opportunities presented by the 'Heritage Hub' can only be realised with the support of volunteers to help organise events and activities and for members to come along. The past two years have been a challenge but we have endeavoured to continue to deliver activities online throughout the pandemic with the Spotlight Conference as well as the programme of evening talks during the summer. As we (hopefully) move out of the pandemic we will be able to begin to return to face-to-face events to support the online activities.

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THE CENTRE

CENTRE REPORT

Andrew Hopper

Greetings to you all. I hope you have all come through the past twelve months having been able to find some things to celebrate in these difficult times. The Centre has faced another challenging year owing to the pandemic and the ongoing bitterness wrought by the sale of Marc Fitch House. On top of this came the UCU strike action and marking boycott over the redundancy of so many of our esteemed colleagues in other departments. Then the global academic boycott of the University announced in the summer forced us to postpone an online symposium focused on the future of English Local History that we had planned in collaboration with the Institute of Historical Research and the University of Oxford for September 2021.

In spite of this bleak environment, I am very happy to report on the continued strengths and successes of the Centre, which, with the help of its Friends, continues to show itself to be resilient and adaptable. We continue to attract outstanding MA students, although in smaller numbers and on the slimmed down History MA (Local History) Pathway rather than the full MA we used to offer. Our doctoral students continue to win awards and pass their viva examinations with flying colours, making important contributions to historical knowledge with their theses. The recent pleasing appointments of Dr Susan Kilby by the National Forest and Dr Katie Bridger by the Revitalising Redesdale Project are an indication that our alumni are sought after by environmental organisations.

A review held earlier this week of the Centre's activities since 2018, conducted by the Dean of Research for the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, praised the outstanding contribution the Centre continues to make to the School, College and University. The Centre was at the heart of History's strong submission to the Research Excellence Framework for 2021, providing highly rated publications and two of History's three impact case studies (focused on Richard III and the National Civil War Centre), with a third based on the Charnwood Roots Project in reserve. The Victoria County History for Leicestershire continues to make steady progress in its research, publication and fundraising through these challenging times. All three current Centre staff were nominated for teaching awards by Leicester University Students'

Union. Other happy news to report this year has been the birth of William 'Billy' Broadhurst to Ismini Pells and her husband Tom Broadhurst on 18 April 2021. A local historian of the future perhaps? We send our joyful congratulations to the proud new mother and father, and 'Uncle Skippon', Ismini's black Labrador which many of you will have met since 2017.

The upset caused by the sale of Marc Fitch House has been mitigated by the good spirits, grace and collegiality of our friends. I would especially like to thank colleagues Richard Jones, Simon Gunn and Roey Sweet for having striven so hard to mitigate the damage done to the teaching and research environment of ELH and our colleagues in Urban History by this move, that has been unwelcome to so many of us. September will see the transfer of the Centre to its own newly allotted space on the 8th floor of the Attenborough Tower, and the bulk of the Marc Fitch Library into a large room in the seminar block at the base of the Tower. We very much hope that the Centre's stay in the Attenborough Tower will be temporary, and that the discussions between our Vice Chancellor and the Mayor of Leicester about a Heritage Hub for the University located in the city centre will bear fruit as a new physical home for ELH and Urban History in years to come.

In the meantime, we hope that our seminar series will be able to meet in person once again in the second semester after Christmas, in an attractive setting on campus that the Friends will enjoy visiting. Before then, we plan to hold the series online as we did last year. One positive development from the pandemic has been the high attendance at the online seminar series, and the initiative taken by the Friends to procure speakers for their own series out of term time to keep the events calendar active.

The Centre is very grateful for the enthusiasm of its students, alumni and Friends, without whom so much less would be accomplished. The work of volunteers this year has been especially evident. I am pleased to report that there are plans to make the ELH Topographical Prints Collection available as part of the University of Leicester Library's Special Collections Online. These prints were previously contained in the chest of drawers by the entrance to our first floor seminar room in Marc Fitch House. We owe an enormous debt of gratitude to former ELH student Dr Juliet Bailey for her herculean effort as a volunteer over the last twelve months in listing and photographing several thousand of these prints in preparation for their publication. We are also grateful to our outgoing newsletter editor, Professor Phil Batman, for the work he is undertaking to update the Bibliography of the Centre from where the last edition concluded,

in 2008. We should also all thank Phil for his excellent efforts with the Friends newsletter, which has gone from strength to strength during his period of good-humoured editorship. Dr Trixie Gadd and Dr Sally Hargreaves have also contributed many hours of voluntary transcribing work for the Civil War Petitions project, while Dr Stewart Beale has made excellent progress in his transcription of the household accounts of Lord and Lady Brooke of Warwick Castle during the 1640s for a future Camden Society volume. Dr Pamela Fisher continues to go above and beyond her paid hours and the call of duty in driving forward the Victoria County History for Leicestershire.

In line with recommendations from a consultative exercise we performed back in 2018, and with the advice of our External Advisory Board chaired by Professor Brian Short, we have decided to change the name of the Centre to the Centre for Regional and Local History. We have done this after careful reflection. *English* Local History has long been a powerful, internationally recognised 'brand' for the University of Leicester, but in recent years there has been a general move away from using the term in academic circles. This name change will empower the Centre to engage better with regional and local historians internationally. It will signal the Centre's intention to modernise, to widen its target audience and constituency, and to be less introspective about only focusing on English topics. For example Dr Angela Muir's research is on Welsh Local History which we need to encompass in the more general new title too. Our core principles of methodology in comparative local history, and our grounding in landscape history, both hallmarks of the internationally recognised 'Leicester approach' since 1948 remain our bedrock but can also be applicable beyond England.

There are a number of arrivals and departures to mark this year in the History of Centre. In April, Professor Kevin Schurer took voluntary severance from the University. We would like to thank Kevin for all his hard efforts in support of the Centre in his time with us. He remains attached to the Centre as a Professor Emeritus and we hope that he will continue to involve himself with our activities. On 31 August 2021 I will be leaving the Centre after fifteen happy and prosperous years with you all. I would like to congratulate Dr Angela Muir on her appointment as my successor. Angela will make a terrific and trailblazing new Director for the Centre and I am pleased to be leaving you all in her capable care. We also have a new Head for the School of History, Politics and International Relations; Professor Krista Cowman joined us on 1 August from the University of Lincoln. We think this is another positive development for

the Centre. Krista's research has a background in local and urban history, and she recognises the need for Leicester to build on their strengths in these areas for the future.

My new appointment is as Professor of Local and Social History in the Department of Continuing Education at Rewley House, Oxford, with which many of you are already familiar. Rewley House was incorporated into the Collegiate University of Oxford in 1990, a year after Marc Fitch House was opened by the Duke of Norfolk. One of our Honorary Visiting Fellows in ELH at Leicester, Dr Kate Tiller, established the MSc in English Local History at Rewley House in 1993 as Oxford University's first graduate degree course specifically designed for part-time students. Over the last three decades a considerable number of ELH's students at Leicester came to us with qualifications from Rewley House. As soon as times allow the Friends to resume their pre-pandemic activities, I would be delighted to host a Friends' study weekend in Oxford. The Civil War Petitions project will be moving with me to Rewley House for its final year, along with Dr Ismini Pells as project manager and research assistants Dr Trixie Gadd and Dr Charlotte Young, although Trixie and Charlotte will remain part of the Centre as Honorary Visiting Fellows.

I have many happy memories and owe you all, and other History colleagues at Leicester, a great debt of gratitude for how I have developed as a historian. I am enormously grateful to the staff, students, Friends and colleagues in the Centre for making my time at Leicester such an enjoyable one. Having a tendency to get nostalgic about my former universities, I will remember my time at Leicester fondly and would like to continue my association as a Friend of the Centre. It has been a pleasure to work alongside and learn from you. I will miss you all, but hope to remain in touch with many of you through building joint English Local History special events, and collaborations between Rewley House and Leicester, well into the future.

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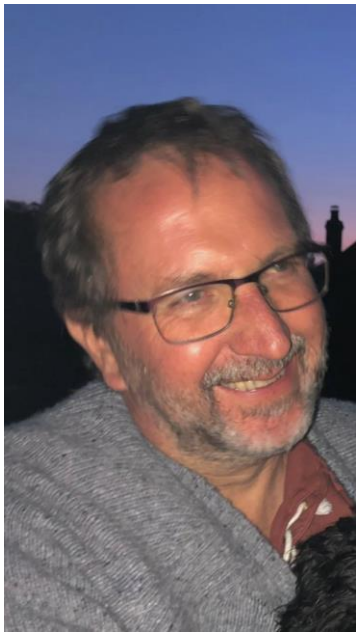
IN CONVERSATION WITH RICHARD JONES …



Where were you educated? What and who had the most influence on you at school?

I was educated at Nottingham High School for Boys, although I spent as much time as I could at the Girls High down the road as soon as rules allowed (and rules can always be bent). My A-Level history masters were brutal. Dr Peters, known as 'Slob', still wore a gown and his teaching methods came straight from the 1950s. I cannot say they brought the subject to life. Still, at least they taught medieval history. Far more inspirational was 'Tricky Dickie' Willan my geography teacher (and cross-country master). I fancy the sixth-form field trip to Devon, including visits to Slapton and Dartmoor, was probably formative. Certainly I enjoyed revisiting these same places during our own Devon field course. A few months back I got out the report I had to write and enjoyed photos of sixteen-year-old me waist deep in a freezing Dart measuring its flow rate, and my notes on fluvial geomorphological processes. So apt given that last year I published an article in the journal *Geomorphology.*

Did you always want to be a Historian?

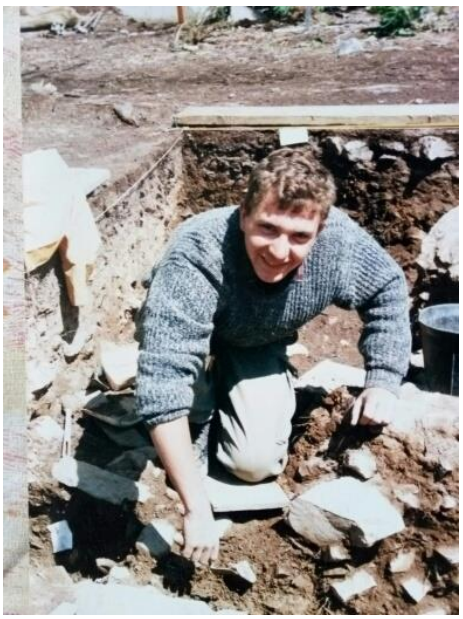
I'm not sure that I am a historian! Certainly at times I still feel something of a fraud. It might be said that I am an archaeologist who has washed up on a historical shore. But on reflection, I am probably a historical geographer. Still, if you want attention at parties (and over the years I have tested this theory) call yourself an archaeologist not a historian or geographer.

What has been your career pathway? What brought you to Leicester?

After completing my DPhil (on castles and town defences in Normandy during the second half of the Hundred Years' War), I joined the Sussex Archaeological Society as their first Research Officer. During five happy years, I directed the excavation of what was thought to be a Norman ringwork but turned out to be probably an archiepiscopal hunting lodge; and I supervised excavations at Fishbourne Roman Palace. In 2000, I was appointed to the Whittlewood Project, led by Chris Dyer, exploring the origins and development of villages and other forms of medieval rural settlement. Initially based at the University of Birmingham, the project followed Chris to Leicester on his appointment as Director of the Centre in 2001. Apart from a year at the University of Cardiff (2005-2006) as Lecturer in Archaeology, I have been at Leicester ever since. I was appointed permanently to my current post in 2007.

What or who sparked your interest in history?

I have grown up with history. My father is a medieval historian. Family holidays were always taken in Brittany where he worked in the archives during the week, and my mother and I entertained ourselves on the beach or on long walks. Then, as a family, we would go on weekend trips to places of cultural and historical significance. It has taken me quite a long time to get over my early teenage 'Not another bloody church' syndrome. My mother is a botanist by training and biologist by profession. With a love of history and the natural world encoded in my DNA, it was almost inevitable that I would become a Landscape Historian!



What is your particular area of historical interest?

It has always been the medieval period for me. And always rural. (I detest cities but just about cope with market towns. As a rule of thumb I am only happy in places where the church remains the tallest building.) Within those broad parameters I am drawn in all sorts of directions: what place-names tell us about people and place in the past; how communities operated and cooperated; how the land was understood and worked; and how people dealt with natural threats such as flooding to build resilient and sustainable communities. I guess I am more of a fox than a hedgehog (although those who know me well tell me I snore like the latter).

What would you ideally like to have been if not a historian?

Cricket was an obsession when young. Indeed I sat some of my A-Levels in isolation at 7am, two hours in advance of their scheduled time, in order to be able to be on the ground at 11am! I've played to a pretty decent standard over the years (county colts; university club captain; Bassetlaw and Sussex Leagues; MCC; 40 Club; and various Gentlemen's XIs). But ultimately I was just a half decent club player. Others were good—two of our county championship winning Notts Under-16s side went on to forge professional careers in the game. Back in 2007, I briefly contemplated buying a mini-digger and offering my services as a field-ditch cleaner. I still think that that would have been a good option—out in the elements all day and making a contribution to the management of the countryside. I would love to be a professional cartographer. There is nothing better than a good map.

Who do you most admire as a historian?

I've always been drawn to historians of the Annales school. Marc Bloch is an inspiration. You can't beat Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou,* especially when you read it in the village itself. Closer to home, Hoskins featured early. I read *The Making of the English Landscape* at eighteen before going up to university so the die was cast early. And Chris Dyer of course: not just because I owe him my career (Chris has appointed me three times!), but for his mastery of interdisciplinary history; for the elegance of his simple prose (big and complex ideas expressed with enviable clarity); and his generosity of spirit in sharing his profound knowledge of all things medieval (and much more besides—including how to get into National Trust properties without paying).

What part of your job do you most enjoy? Least enjoy?

I do like teaching. MA teaching, of course, is always a pleasure and the Devon field course was always a highlight. But I do get a kick out of first-year undergraduate teaching and watching students

transition from dependent to independent learners; and I like the extended engagement in a topic, and opportunity to really get to know students, provided by the third-year Special Subject. It goes without saying that it is research that delivers the greatest delights. Fieldwork is always special and I am eternally grateful that my 'archive' is the English countryside. There is no better place to work. Its variety and hidden history (some of it, it turns out, hidden in plain sight) remains a source of wonderment and inspiration. In terms of my dislikes: I hate writing committee minutes; I'm very bad at managing research project finances; and I can't stand watching myself back when captioning pre-recorded lectures.

Who do you most admire in other walks of life?

This is a difficult question to answer. I'm not a hero worshipper, nor really what you might call a fan. I can tell you who I envy: those who write well, those who draw beautifully, and those who can play a musical instrument. But undoubtedly my greatest admiration and respect goes to all the strong, immensely intelligent, fiercely independent, generous, and witty women who have enriched my life since birth and who continue to challenge me and make me laugh. I am fortunate indeed that I can count so many as former and current partners, friends, and colleagues. But I'm really at a loss to know what they get from my company.

Do you have any other passions outside history?

In another context, I was recently required to list my interests. They included in no particular order: playing cricket; playing dominoes; keeping hens; map-making; hat-making and wearing (I make a mean Phrygian Cap); bread-making and cooking in general; duck-racing; utilitarian carpentry; music (especially Gypsy Punk); type faces (I am a font fetishist); and the use of the Oxford comma. Remarkably, this list did the trick!

What are your ambitions?

More al fresco eating after buying that run down property in Tuscany (or Umbria or the south of France) and doing it up in retirement.

What has been the highlight of your career so far? Any low points?

Highlights must be the big projects I have been involved in: intellectually stimulating with the benefit of the camaraderie of working in interdisciplinary teams towards a common goal. The Whittlewood Project, which really got my career going, stands out; so too my more recent work on the history of flooding.

As for low points, I am responding to these questions at perhaps the lowest of them all. I have to be careful what I say here. It will suffice simply to note that the recent actions of senior management team at the university and its treatment of the Centre I find unsanctionable, and the future direction of the university they are hell bent on taking I find immensely depressing and destructive. Some of you may know that this is all rather personal. My Great Uncle was the first Professor of Physics at the university and helped to build its foundations. He was well-liked by colleagues across the board. His second *Times* obituary was written by professors in Maths, Biochemistry, English, French, and History. They wrote of him:

> 'He was a fine linguist, was blessed with an almost encyclopedic memory for history and literature, and was knowledgeable about old books and antiques. Above all, on the side of humanities, he was a man of musical gifts; he played well, and encouraged playing in others, presiding over the university's music club from its inception. In years when a department's social life depended much on the hospitable propensities of its head, he and his wife [my Great Aunt Win] were cordial host and hostess to many staff and student gatherings.'

I hate seeing his university, and the one I have proudly called my intellectual home since 2001, dismantled.

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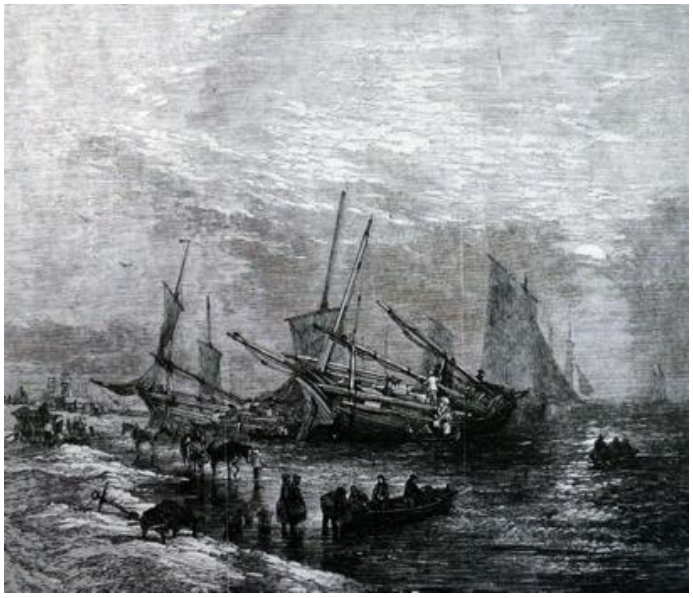
RESEARCH SEMINAR PROGRAMME 2020-21

‘The pre-industrial Lowestoft Fish Office: another red herring?’

Matt Bristow (Institute of Historical Research)

8 October 2020



'The Lowestoft Herring Fishery'

[drawn be E. Duncan and published in the Illustrated London News on 30th September 1854]

Matthew Bristow presented the local history of one building associated with the landing and smoking of herring in Lowestoft, where the absence of a harbour focussed landing fish on the beach. The fish were landed, salted and cured for up to a month in ‘Fish Offices’ whose size and position were dictated by the width of the High Street plots on the cliff above the beach.

Whapload Road, on the eastern edge of the town in northern Suffolk, contains the remains of a block of late 17th and early 18th-century fishing buildings associated with the east coast’s lucrative herring fishery. Although much altered and scantly documented, these Fish Offices are the last physical vestiges of the herring fishing and fish curing industries entirely rebuilt following a catastrophic fire which swept through Lowestoft on 10th March 1645. The road to recovery for the Lowestoft fishermen and merchants was a long one, further complicated by the centuries old dispute with the

Burgesses of neighbouring Great Yarmouth who sought to suppress the Lowestoft fishing industry to ensure the supremacy of their own. Following the final settlement of this dispute in 1663, Lowestoft's fishermen were free to recommence and expand their herring fishery, further aided in January 1679 by the grant of a port licence, allowing the landing of salt and other essential fishing materials at Lowestoft and ending the requirement to land goods at Yarmouth and transport them along the coast road. These resolutions allowed the major Lowestoft merchant families to invest in their fishing premises, rebuilding the lost timber fish houses and stores in brick and beach stone to mitigate the risk of fire.

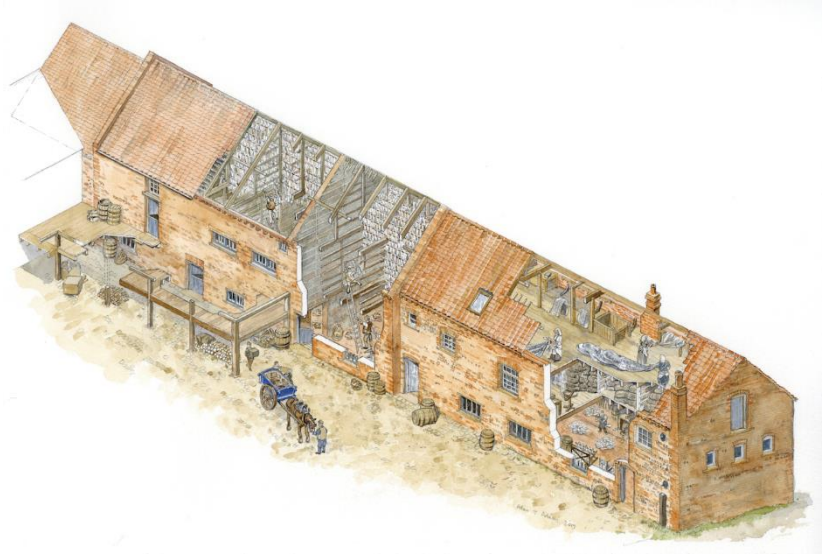
Reconstruction painting of the North Denes, Whapload Road Fish Offices and the cliff as it may have looked prior to the rebuilding of the High Lighthouse in 1874.

[© Historic England, Allan T. Adams]

One beachfront building, known locally as 'The Old Fish House', may have originally been built as a dwelling but was remodelled to a 'salt house' after the fire. A date stone of 1676 with the owners' initials is fashioned into its wall, connecting it to number 329 Whapload Road where the same family similarly built a new salt house after the fire.

The 'fish house' comprised several contiguous buildings under a single roof following the flow of the process. The Roaring or Rousing House was where the herring were sprinkled with salt, then washed, spitted, hung up and fired. In the adjacent Smoke House, herrings were hung on rods by

mouth or gills. In the Net Stores and Net Lofts women found ‘spunks’ or tears and repaired them, and Tanning Coppers were placed for tanning the nets and Sail Stores for storage.



A cutaway reconstruction of 329 Whapload Road as it may have looked around 1850.

[© Historic England, Allan T. Adams]

In December 2019, number 329 Whapload Road, an unassuming brick, flint and cobble building facing the North Sea across Lowestoft’s former beach area, was added to the National Heritage List for England and afforded Grade II statutory protection. Previously believed to be a nineteenth-century net store, a ubiquitous structure along Whapload Road, detailed multi-disciplinary research and investigation challenged the existing interpretation of these buildings, revealing 329 Whapload Road to be a multi-function, multi-phase fish-processing building known locally as a ‘fish office’. The talk argued that the extant and lost buildings at the northern end of Whapload Road represent a specific and previously uncategorised building type: the pre-industrial Lowestoft fish office, of which 329 is the sole complete survivor. The talk also demonstrated how this building type represents a specific local response to the significant regional, national and international socio-political and economic events of the mid to late seventeenth century which preceded two centuries of unchecked expansion by the British herring fishery. The detailed analysis of a complete pre-industrial fish office, set within its historical and landscape context, serves as a case study, broadening our understanding of the evolution of buildings associated with the eighteenth-century east coast herring fishery and how those

buildings were shaped by dramatic local events, by local vernacular traditions and by the development of processes associated with the production of red herring.

Biography

Matthew is based at the University of London's Institute of Historical Research where he is Architectural Editor for the Victoria County History and lectures in Landscape Studies for the Institute's Masters and PhD programmes. He combines this with his role as a Senior Archaeological Investigator for Historic England working within their Policy and Evidence Group.

The paper stems from a lengthy research report which is freely available to download:

https://research.historicengland.org.uk/Report.aspx?i=16387&ru=%2fResults.aspx%3fp%3d1%26n%3d10%26t%3dlowestoft%26ns%3d1

The paper itself will appear at the end of the year in *Vernacular Architecture*, vol 51, 2020.

Further Reading

William Hodgson, *The Herring and its Fishery*, (1957)

John Dyson, *Business in Great Waters,* (1977)

David Butcher, *The Ocean's Gift: Fishing in Lowestoft During the Pre-Industrial Era,* (1995)

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'New Light on the Medieval Gough Map of Britain'

Dr Bill Shannon

22 October 2020

Bill Shannon reported on work in progress on the Gough (or Bodleian) map, begun in 2012. This is a research project co-ordinated by the Bodleian Library and the Institute of Historical Research, concerning the Gough Map of Great Britain of c.1400. Previous descriptions of the map were published by Parsons in 1936, with a reissue in 1958 including some incorrect identifications, and by Birkholz in 2004 who suggested that propaganda was the real motive of the map. While it was almost certainly made in London, there seems to have been a particular interest on the part of the maker(s) in York, Lincoln and Carlisle.

Named after Richard Gough, who bought it in 1774 and first published it, the Gough map has puzzled scholars ever since. Until recently, the consensus was that it was made c.1360, and was our earliest road map. However, recent study has shown that it was made c.1400, although copied in part from a predecessor which had been completed by around 1360 – but whatever it was for, it certainly wasn't for way-finding. Two styles or hands can be identified in the map, dating from the late 14C and early 15C. The map was coloured in using vermilion red, and two greens, verdigris and indigo, plus two blacks, carbon black initially, with the later use of iron gall ink. In addition, gold was used on the vignettes of London and York.

Gough made an attempt to identify all places. The map, which is more than a metre across, was copied in part by laying the predecessor down on top of new parchment, and pricking-though all the places on the old map, to provide an outline for drawing in those places on the new one. The pin-holes thereby signify places on the earlier map. The surface is covered with indentations and some areas are devoid of pin-holes, for example Leicester and Loughborough. The map wasn't a direct copy, as various amendments and additions were made, based on new data which had been sent in from the regions. It consists of two pieces of parchment (lamb and sheep-skin) joined together. The parchment is not of the highest quality. The map in its history has been pinned on a horizontal surface and frequently rolled.

Leicester at the centre of three red routes – ten 'Gough miles' from Melton Mowbray to the left (north), twelve 'Gough miles' from Market Harborough and sixteen from the walled town of Coventry to the south. The castle of Nottingham is also visible to the left (north).

[Bodleian Library Ms Gough Gen. Top. 16. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford]

There are about 650 place signs. Settlements, spires, towers, castles and walled settlements are depicted. No two signs are quite alike, and their density varies. Scotland is empty. London has St Paul's, but no Westminster. There are few lakes, notably Windermere and Tarn Wadling, a tiny tarn included purely out of local interest. Mountains are common, and there are many islands. Wonders, myths and legends appear, eg fish without intestines!

The southern half of the island has what appears to be a network of red lines joining places and showing the distances between them. Six routes fan out from London, and there are several routes to Carlisle and York. There are branches and local routes, and some places where 4 or 5 routes meet. There are red rivers, and some over-sands routes, eg Morecambe Bay. Fords or ferries are identified.

These routes appear to have been largely taken from written itineraries. The mileages shown between stations were well known before the Gough map and are based upon local estimates. They do not refer to travel by a particular road; indeed some involve river transport, or fords across estuaries. They seem generally to refer to a day's journey, averaging around ten Gough miles, which are somewhat larger than statute miles, and few distances are over 24 miles.

Far from its being a guide to travellers, the probability is that the map served a strategic purpose for the Royal Household or King's Council, helping administrators in the early years of the reign of Henry IV in their 'visualisation' of the country.

A cartographer (supposed to be Strabo).

Further reading

For the most recent account of the map, see Catherine Delano Smith et al 'New Light on the Medieval Gough Map' *Imago Mundi*, 69:1 (2017), 1-36.

The map may be viewed in detail at *www.goughmap.org*. Note that some of the place identifications on that site are no longer thought to be correct.

William D. (Bill) Shannon is an independent researcher in history. Following retirement from the commercial sector in 2002, he graduated MA in Local and Regional History from Lancaster University in 2004, and PhD in July 2009, with a thesis on *Enclosure in the Lowland Wastes of Lancashire c.1500-1700.*

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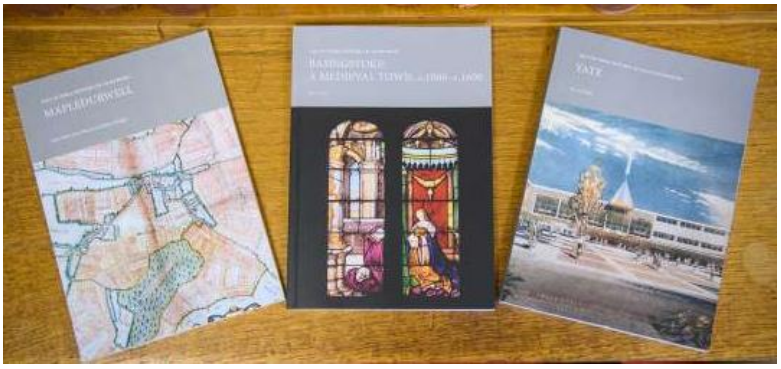
‘Where next for the Victoria County History?’

Dr Adam Chapman, Lecturer in Medieval History & Victoria County History Editor

5 November 2020

‘Everywhere has an interesting history!’



Adam Chapman gave us an outline of the history and future of this much-loved institution, beginning with its four stages, the commercial project at its outset from 1898, the academic project, the ‘Wiltshire Model’ based on partnerships with local authorities, and the collaborative venture from 2000. The style and scope of the VCH is continuously changing, while maintaining its consistent structure, comprehensive coverage, full referencing, and its unique feature of an ‘ever-moving present’.

Starting off with an antiquarian structure, it now serves the academic community, the local residents (although it has not always served them well), and other groups such as architectural students and social historians. Changing approaches to ‘Writing the Seaside’ demonstrate these changes. In the series’ treatment of Blackpool for example (published in Lancashire in 1912), the largest seaside resort in Europe is treated across six townships in the parish of Poulton-le-Fylde in a way that disguises the scale of the place. In the series’ more recent treatment of Clacton-on-Sea (Essex vol. XI, 2011), however, we see the resort, and its neighbours on the north east Essex coast, treated as an entity in itself from the origins of the resort through its growth and development through the 20th century. The VCH appears now in printed and digital formats, branching out into research projects, an App, and community engagement.

The VCH today is a national project, active in 17 counties, and used as a primary historical document in its own right. Connections between local, regional and national settings are explored, for example the origins and destinations of immigrants and the history of landownership. The study of Ibstock (edited by Pam Fisher) is an example of the series' collaborative approach. While modest in scale but not in ambition, detailed and scholarly, it is attractive and affordable!

The VCH now sits among a range of new place-based resources. Some, such as the UCL project, 'Legacies of British Slave ownership' hightlight areas that the VCH has not treated as critically as it might (some are controversial, e.g. the description of Bristolian slave owner and landowner Edward Colston).[1] Further back in time, England's Immigrants, 1330-1550 provides a database based on taxation data demonstrating the reality of immigrant communities across England in the later middle ages.[2] Together with the increasing availability of census material there are also many digital mapping projects, such as Know your Place West (centred on Bristol, but including Somerset, Devon, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire),[3] and Layers of London which brings together cartographic resources and allies them with archive collections and archaeological datasets.[4] This proliferation of material in new and innovative ways poses challenges for the VCH as an encyclopaedic work, however. Do the citations stand the test of time, or do they change or become obsolete? How able are volunteer authors able to interpret many of the questions this myriad of sources raise about the origin of individual places?

The VCH is more than just a publication. It offers events, projects, and online training on place-based themes for the wider historical community. One such project was the VCHRed Boxes, aimed at celebrating 120 years of the VCH. The boxes – red boxfiles – reflect the VCH's 'Big Red Books' and contain some obvious and some new historical items and reflections of historical memory.[5] The VCH App, 'A History of England's Places' (the basic version of which is free) makes the history of nearly 14,000 English places fully accessible, linking these places with OS mapping, breaking the boundaries imposed by the printed publication.[6] Finally, the presence of VH texts on British History

[1] https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/
[2] https://www.englandsimmigrants.com/
[3] http://www.kypwest.org.uk/
[4] https://www.layersoflondon.org/
[5] A gallery showing some of the objects is available here: https://www.history.ac.uk/research/centre-history-people-place-and-community/chppc-red-boxes-gallery; Catherine larke, the VCH Director, introduces more of the objects here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WzejMhb0OCo
[6] https://www.history.ac.uk/a-history-english-places-vch-smartphone-app

Online, the Institute of Historical Research's collection of historical sources, gives the VCH worldwide reach.[7]

Biography

Adam is principal editor for the VCH, based at the Institute of Historical Research, and also teaches on the Institute's MRes and PhD programmes.

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'The Provincial-Provincial Public Sphere: Scotland, New Zealand and the Newspaper Press in the Age of Telegraph and Steam'

Dr Melodee Beals, Lecturer in Digital History, Loughborough University

19 November 2020

"The Provincial-Provincial Public Sphere" discusses the role the provincial press may play in understanding overlapping local, national and imperial identities within the nineteenth-century British Empire. Studies of Anglophone periodicals have long struggled with competing, and implicit, notions of local, national and imperial voices within an ambiguously defined "press". It is not always clear whether this sprawling, decentralised information network can itself be considered the public sphere or whether particular regions, such as London or England so heavily dominated the median perspective that they serve as figures for the whole. In the end, questions as to the extent to which the metropole dictated, reflected or worked in the concert with colonial and provincial newspapers in developing a Victorian imperial identity are often raised but remain far from settled. The scholarly debate, therefore, often fragments into studies of particular branches or subsystems within the imperial public sphere, by regionality, political sentiment or medium. Yet, while cohesive case studies and illustrative examples abound, these sampling and soundings cannot provide true insight into the imperial public sphere as something *other* than the sum of its parts.

This current research approaches historical newspaper discourse using methodologies developed to understand a similar—if temporally disconnected—system, modern social media networks. Like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, nineteenth-century newspapers were largely decentralised and relied upon participatory journalism and viral dissemination of unprovenanced news content. Recent concerns about the tensions between information-overload on the one hand and filter bubbles and echo chambers on the other, have resulted in a flurry of essays on identifying shared infoscapes and

[7] https://www.british-history.ac.uk/

the effect these have upon political awareness and identity. However, these studies—by their own admission—often suffer from a lack of integration with the much wider range of information users have access to (including offline communication) as well as the true tone—whether earnest or ironic—and rationale for the spread of information through sharing, retweeting and other forms of interaction. In many ways, studies of the nineteenth-century press suffer from these same difficulties, with uneven survivability and an effectively silent readership occluding the true shape and impact of the historical infoscape.

By exploring the shared public sphere of two geographically disconnected but linguistically integrated sub-systems, Scotland and New Zealand—regions with extremely limited oral (read: offline) communication pathways, we find many avenues for applying recent work on social media networks to both refine these methodologies as well as improve our understanding of the imperial public sphere as something distinct, if related, to those of its constituent parts. This study focuses on three main areas of research. The first builds upon previous research into Scottish practices for representing colonial subjects (whether migrant, creole or indigenous) through endogenous and exogenous texts—that is to say, by reprinting news from those regions directly, thus using their own voices to represent them, or by remediating texts before printing them. By examining depictions of Scotland and the Scots within New Zealand newspapers, and the reverse, and mapping the provenance of these depictions, I have thus far found that both parties largely relied upon endogenous

voices (however filtered) in order to depict the other. This suggests a preference for direct, bilateral textual communication rather than metropolitan or local mediation.

A second approach is the cataloguing of reprinted material within these two regions. By delineating which topics and perspectives, and more importantly which specific witnesses, appeared within both Scotland and New Zealand, we can begin to understand those topics which either appealed or were deemed important to both populations. These texts must, of course, be compared not only internally in order to tease out common tropes and characteristics, but also with similar pieces that appeared singly in one region or the other. Preliminary results from the 1840s suggest that several subsets of common news categories belong to this shared infoscape, such as the abolition of the slave trade (a subset of commentaries into diplomatic affairs), depictions of historical or cultural sites (a subset of both society news and miscellany), and affecting rather than lurid criminality (a subset of crime reporting). As yet, none of these subtopics appear to be the wider preference of either region and instead suggest a subtle overlapping of trans-imperial interest—one that evokes inspiration (morality, curiosity and pathos) more than sensationalism.

The final area of focus, yet to be undertaken, is that of the role of London or England as a mediating or dominant voice within the imperial public sphere. The direct communication (whether by steam or telegraph) between these two provinces was rare in the nineteenth century, as many mediating voices (England, Europe, Cape Colony, India and Australia) stood between them. Comparing the degree to which identical endogenous and exogenous representations of these regions also appeared in the London press, and the relative percentage of those representations in the provincial destinations, may suggest the indirect mediation or filtering role of London periodicals and news agencies. Likewise, the degree to which the subtopics shared by Scottish and New Zealand newspapers were proportional subtopics within the English press may suggest the degree to which England did or did not dominate or direct the tenor of this shared imperial worldview.

This project, currently ongoing, represents a new attempt to understand the provincial and imperial public spheres not as subsets of each other, but as one of many mediascapes that imperial subjects engaged with, contributing to the formation of overlapping identities which more closely adhere to the idea of "imagined communities" than the exportation of English or British identity throughout the empire.

Further reading

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Beals, M. H. "Transnational Exchanges" In *Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Newspaper Press*, edited by David Finkelstein. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020.

Beals, M. H. "The Role of the *Sydney Gazette* in Scottish Perceptions of Australia, 1803-1842" In *Historical Networks in the Book Trade*, edited by Catherine Feely and John Hinks, 148–70. The History of the Book. Basingstoke: Routledge, 2016.

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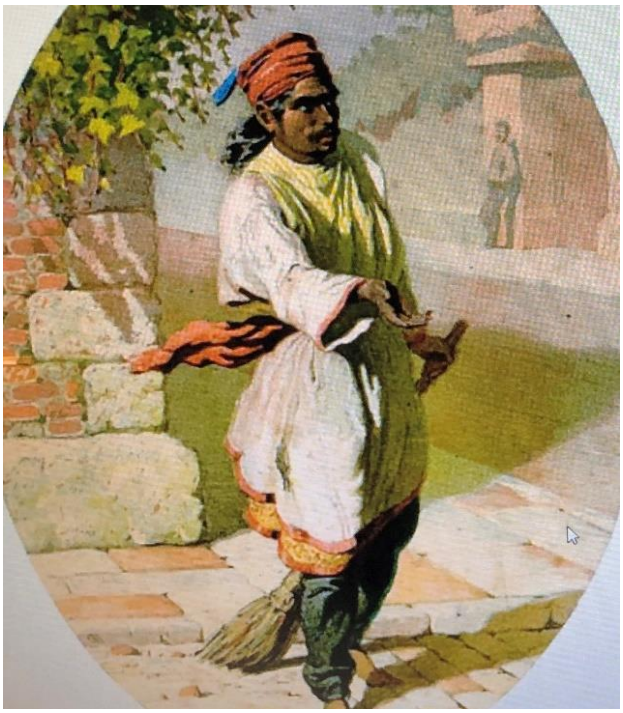
'Humbug and a Welsh Hindu: A Small History of Race, Language and Begging in 19th Century Liverpool'

Professor Martin Johnes (Swansea University)

3 December 2020

'A story about a man who walks into a pub … !'



The Liverpool Mercury reported on 15 May 1849 that …

> 'A Lascar, who perambulates the town with tracts, and endeavours to make the public believe that he is a converted Hindoo, was brought up yesterday, charged with being drunk and disorderly. The would-be saint was ordered to pay 5s for the unrighteous act, or be imprisoned for three days.'

The same newspaper followed this on 18 May with an anonymous letter:

> 'As your paper is the most powerful opponent of imposture and fraud in this town, I send you the following case.
>
> The other night I was in an inn near Clayton Square, when an apparent Lascar entered the room, offering for sale sheets of doggerel hymns. Having seen a paragraph in Tuesday's *Mercury* that one of the same cloth, who pretended to be a converted Hindoo, had lately been found drunk and fined five shillings, I, in a freak, pointing to the door, said in Welsh, 'Get out; no one wants you here.'
>
> Judge my surprise when he answered me, in a mixture of broken Welsh and gibberish, the purport of which I could not catch; but I suspected that he was 'not born at home,' and wishing to know more of him I said 'Come, sit down, and take a glass of ale with me.' …

Prof Johnes presented this example of a Welshman travelling to Liverpool purporting to be Hindu to sell religious material as a piece of'microhistory', showing the intersection of different lives and emphasising humanist perspectives. And he attempted in his talk to answer some questions: Who was the Hindu? What motivated him? And, indeed, did this event really happen?

Begging in Victorian Liverpool pricked the conscience of Christians, but hostility towards them intensified in the 1840s, when they were feared. Beggars dressed up to make the practice more acceptable, as did selling religious tracts. Reigious bodies could look on the practice as a way of helping the poor. However, imposters unsettled the population; anxieties about fraudulent begging were genuine in an age when Heaven and Hell were real concerns. This Liverpool incident highlights the distrust of the poor, and the expression of class prejudices highlights condemnatory attitudes.

Welsh merchants were drawn into this city. By 1813 around 10% of Liverpool's residents were Welsh. The first Welsh chapel was built in Pall Mall in 1787. The Welsh population grew so large that Pall Mall became known as 'Little Wales'. Most migrants were able to speak Welsh but

intermarriage undermined their Welshness. Learning the host language was beneficial. Anti-Irishness at the time of the famine was very real and there was also general anti-Welsh feeling. Migrants were encouraged to reject their identity. Religion was the key to emphasising identity. The language used in the pub was a sign of identity.

Black men were not unusual in Liverpool. Black African American beggars did exist and with the abolition of the slave trade, deception was common. Lascars were foreign sailors who were employed on European ships from the 16C up until the middle of the 20C. On landing they lived in atrocious conditions and could be made homeless. They could gravitate to lodging houses and be put out to die. They could sell religious tracts and came up against prejudices of race and class. There were suspicions that they were not genuine beggars and looked upon as indolent and immoral. Their hands were inspected for their real identity. They were accused of giving out religious tracts to attract the sympathy of elderly women. The dress of Lascars was a subject of fascination. The condemnation of Lascars was exacerbated by race. They used ethnicity as a means of stirring sympathy.

The Hindoo depicted in this incident was a clever deceiver, taking control of his own future and earning a living. Possibly the beggar was foreign, possibly not. The reader's letter was anonymous, hiding the reaction of readers. The incident shows how power and identity were embodied in Victorian society. It also illustrates the interaction of multiple languages. Linguistic diversity is nothing new! But it may not have actually happened; we have no certainty the story may not have been made up in a newspaper of public opinion with a taste for melodrama. However, whether it happened is beside the point. The report reflects the world at the time, mirroring class, ethnicity and race. The past is a deception, Prof Johnes concluded – every single historical interpretation is open to question.

> '… When I proceeded 'You understand Welsh; tell me the truth, where were you born? He replied, in good Welsh, 'I was born in Bombay!' 'No nonsense with a countryman,' said I, 'I know better; you and I are countrymen. I admire a clever man whatever colour he may assume, and you are the cleverest Welshman that ever I met with; give me your hand, and tell me the real truth.'

Further reference: 'Hindoo Tract-Seller', Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, vol 1 (London: Griffin, Bohn and Co, 1861), p. 241.

'*He used to come and sit in the kitchen'*: Farmers and advisors sharing and making local knowledge in post-war British farming'.

Sally Horrocks, Paul Merchant and John Martin

***National Life Stories*, The British Library**

21 January 2021

'You can't con farmers! If you want to persuade a farmer, give him the facts.'

Senior Scientific Officer Nigel Young addressing local farmers on recent research of the Grassland Research Institute, south Devon, 1980s
Courtesy of Nigel Young

This talk outlined the project 'An oral history of farming, land management and conservation in post-war Britain' led by *National Life Stories* at the British Library (funded by Arcadia), before focusing on one aspect of these new oral histories: how scientific and technical knowledge was communicated to farmers in the period 1950-1984 (a period when productivity doubled). The talk included clips from interviews with farmers and agricultural advisors (some employed by the government's National Agricultural Advisory Service [NAAS] and some by the company ICI) remembering conversations in fields and farm kitchens, nights out at farming discussion groups or meetings of the local Young Farmers' Club, and open days and demonstrations on experimental farms.

Paul Christensen assembling milking machine parts in a Young Farmers' Club Competition
Courtesy of Paul Christensen

Among clips from interviews we heard a former NAAS District Officer, recalling trials involving farmers (using their own fields and combines) in the Tendring Hundred area of Essex in the 1970s; dairy farmer Paul Christensen [pictured above] speaking very positively of attending meetings of his local Young Farmers' Club group in Sussex in the 1950s and 60s (for the talks on plant breeding and metallurgy as much for the dances!) and Nigel Young describing the role of his talks and demonstrations on grassland science as entertainment for groups of farmers. Personal and social interaction was revealed as an important aspect of the communication and development of scientific knowledge in the period. Sociability and local entertainment were perhaps more important for some farmers than the technical information on offer, with implications for recent attention to issues of mental health in farming.

'An oral history of farming, land management and conservation in post-war Britain' has so far recorded 24 of its target of 50 interviews, with over 200 hours recorded. The interviews, transcripts (and in many cases related images) will be archived in the British Library and made available to researchers and the public, initially through the Listening and Viewing Service and later a new version of the Library's Sounds website. For enquiries, please contact Paul.Merchant@bl.uk.

Links to project outputs:

'Climate change: why farmers are among our best guides for making sense of topsy-turvy weather', *The Conversation*, July *2020*

‘The Grassland Revolution’ in the British Agricultural History Society’s *Rural History Today*, July 2020

‘Land Values’ in NLS Annual Review 2019-2020

Further information on National Life Stories projects, can be found here (https://www.bl.uk/projects/national-life-stories) Past projects include work on horticulture and the food industry.

Biography

Sally Horrocks is an Associate Professor in Contemporary British History, the University of Leicester. John Martin is Professor of Agrarian History, an Honorary Research Fellow of the University of Leicester. Paul Merchant is Researcher and Oral Historian at the British Library.

Further reading

Alun Howkins (2003) *The Death of Rural England: A Social History of the Countryside Since 1900* London: Routledge

John Martin (2000) *The Development of Modern Agriculture: British Farming since 1931* Basingstoke: Macmillan

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'Female entrepreneurship: business, marriage and motherhood in England and Wales, 1851-1911'

Dr Carry van Lieshout (Lecturer in Geography, Open University)

4 February 2021

The second half of the nineteenth century is often seen as the period where the division of spheres solidified, with women withdrawing from waged work as well as businesses to become home makers. Recent research shows that in North America as well as in several Western European countries there is no evidence of women withdrawing from the world of business until the early twentieth century. In Great Britain as well, several case studies on female entrepreneurship have shown that women continued to conduct business throughout the nineteenth century, in similar numbers as they did during the eighteenth century. However, these studies have been limited in scope to certain urban areas covering a few decades.

Dr van Lieshout's work extends from a previous study in Cambridge and draws on a newly created business census to examine the population of female entrepreneurs in more detail, on a national level and over the course of 60 years. Based on the integrated census microdata (I-CeM), this new database forms a 'British Business Census of entrepreneurs'. Other business records used are wills, insurance records and trade directories. Wills may include details of wealth transferred before death, insurance records may reveal information particularly about certain businesses such as chandlers, and trade directories may omit dual owners of businesses and significant numbers of women.

I-CeM allows census data to be captured at the household level and a full analysis of the demographics of female business owners, including their age, marital status, number and age of their children, as well as the role of any spouses. The data reveals the variety of the female entrepreneurial experience. Alongside this diversity, however, there were some distinct patterns in the population of female business owners. Certain demographics clustered in specific trades and there was a distinct gendering towards the types of businesses men and women owned. While small firms were most common for both sexes, larger firms were more likely to have male proprietors. Personal services were dominated by women. Dressmaking was dominated by younger single female employees, while laundresses and lodging house keepers tended to be older married women working on their own account. Older women farmers tended to be employers, grocers run as family businesses, and teachers mainly single. More than was the case for men, a woman's life cycle events such as marriage, motherhood and widowhood played an important role in her choice whether to work, the work available to her, and the entrepreneurial choices she could make. The proportion of women who were economically active tended to peak at around 75% in their late teens, but thereafter fell to a plateau of around 25% until the age of 65 years. Widows often ran businesses, possibly taking over from their husband or leaving it for a son.

The census data confirm many of the conclusions reached by recent case studies in female entrepreneurship, such as those by Alison Kay, Joyce Burnette, and Jennifer Aston. However, it also shows that these studies significantly underestimated the size of the female business-owning population in proportion to the male one. Almost 30% of business proprietors have been found to be women. In addition, while marriage and motherhood may have had a great impact on women's participation in the labour market, neither event negatively affected their entrepreneurial prowess, whether on her own or as a joint partner with her spouse. While they may have induced women to leave the labour market, those who remained economically active were more likely to run their own business.

Biography

Carry van Lieshout is an historical geographer interested in questions of power, access, and agency, which she has studied in the context of natural resources and ownership over water and land, as well as through the lens of women's economic agency in finance and business in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain She completed her PhD in Geography at King's College London in 2013, and held postdocs at the University of Nottingham and the University of Cambridge.

Further Reading

Bennett, RJ, et al., *The Age of Entrepreneurship: Business proprietors, self-employment and corporations since 1851* (Routledge 2020).

Van Lieshout, C, et al., Female entrepreneurship: business, marriage and motherhood in England and Wales, 1851–1911, *Social History*, 44(4), 2019: 440-468

Bishop, C, *Female Entrepreneurs in the Long Nineteenth Century : A Global Perspective*. / Aston, Jennifer (Ed.).

https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/businessreview/2019/05/17/portrait-of-a-lady-the-female-entrepreneur-in-england-and-wales-1851-1911/

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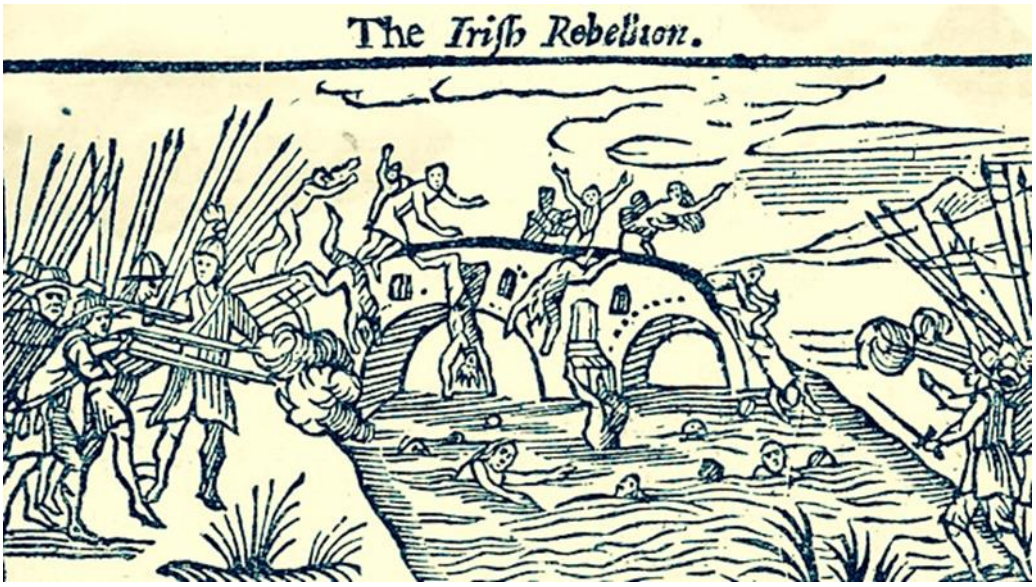
"Overfrighted and feared" - Feelings, attitudes and responses to fear during the 1641 Irish rebellion

Dr Bethany Marsh

18 February 2021



(Woodcut) James Cranford, Teares of Ireland (London, 1642).

Over the past two decades interest in the emotional dimension of the British Civil Wars (1642-1651) has increased significantly, with historians offering new insights into the memories of conflict and the psychological impact of violence. Bethany Marsh's paper added to this body of work by seeking to understand what it meant to be afraid during the 1641 Irish rebellion. In her talk she explored the complex tapestry of feelings, attitudes and responses to fear during the rebellion, as revealed by refugee accounts of the conflict.

For many contemporaries, the outbreak of the Irish rebellion on the evening of 22 October 1641 was highly unexpected. Deep-seated economic, religious and political grievances, however, had been fuelling resentment towards the English administration in Ireland over the course of many generations. In response to the loss of land and erosion of the rights of Catholics, members of the Irish Catholic gentry plotted a conspiracy to overthrow English power in Ireland. Between the 22 and 24 October, numerous towns and strongholds were captured by the rebels. By the end of November

1641, however, what was designed to be a single united Irish rebellion conducted by the Irish gentry had spread amongst the rest of the Irish Catholic population.

Following the outbreak of the rebellion, thousands of people became displaced resulting in a refugee crisis across Ireland. In December 1641 a commission was set up to collect witness testimonies from these refugees. The depositions were taken to gather evidence against the rebels, provide a historical record of the rebellion, and facilitate the relief of the victims.

Trinity College Dublin, MS 836, ff. 058r-059v, Deposition of Ellen Matchett (03/09/1642).

Bethany utilised these accounts to explore responses to fear during the rebellion. Feelings of fear were a central part of the refugee experience. Through the process of giving depositions and articulating their trauma, refugees recognised retrospectively, if not at the moment of decision-making, that fear had a significant influence on their actions. One of the most overt responses to fear evident in the depositions was movement. John Winder noted in his deposition how, after being despoiled by the rebels in county Leitrim "this deponent being putt in great feare forthwith repayred towards Dublyn with his wife and children". Catherine Edwards from Queens County similarly related how "forr feare of her Life", having been stript by the rebels, fled from her home in Kilrush to the garrison at Ballinykill where her sister was residing. In such cases feelings of fear caused refugees to flee towards places of perceived safety in moments of immediate danger.

Fear of potential future threats elicited a similar response as, over the course of the winter and spring of 1641/2, many refugees moved to safety before violence had been committed against them. In Munster and Leinster, as news of the rebellion in Ulster moved southwards, great numbers of people fled to the coast in the hope of escaping to England. A letter from the mayor of Youghal, James

Gallhan, to Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, dated 25 November 1641 related how, "divers women both married and widowes of good note…are resolved to imbarque themselves together with the best part of theire goods and chattels and theire children also for the Kingdom of England". The fact that these women still possessed much of their property shows that they had left their homes in anticipation of the rebels' arrival, rather than in response to attacks.

Fear also had an impact on the physical body, indeed the depositions highlight the awareness in the seventeenth century of the psychological impact of violence and how this could manifest itself in the physical body. Ellen Matchett of Kilmore in county Armagh, recounted how the experience of abandoning her injured mother left her "overfrighted and feared" and she "therewith grew almost insensible". Lawrence O'Cullen, an examinant from county Derry, meanwhile, related how the soldiers of Neill oge O' Quinn beat and stripped his six year old son which "soe frightened him that he dyed within 8 or 9 daies afterwards of the said beateing & frightening as he this Examinante & his wife did verily believe".

This research is a work in progress and Bethany is hoping to develop this paper into an article which will explore feelings of fear in more depth, offering a greater understanding of how people in the seventeenth century experienced emotion.

Biography

Dr Bethany Marsh completed her PhD at the University of Nottingham in 2019. She completed a postdoctoral placement at the National Civil War Centre, Newark-upon-Trent, where she worked on the "The World Turned Upside Down" and "Fake News" exhibitions. Most recently, she was awarded the Roy Foster Irish Government Senior Scholarship at the University of Oxford (October 2019 - October 2020). Dr Marsh is currently an independent scholar and is working on her monograph entitled "Poore distressed Creatures": Irish refugees in England, 1641-1651".

Further reading:

Erin Peters, 'Trauma narratives of the English Civil War', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 16/1 (2016), pp. 78-94.

N. McAreavey, 'Re(-)membering women: Protestant women's victim testimonies during the Irish Rising of 1641', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 2 (2010).

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‘Migration from Swaledale during collapse of the nineteenth-century lead mines’

Professor Phil Batman

4 March 2021

‘ … *mount the rolling waves …’*

Phil Batman presented the impact of the decline of mining in Swaledale on the population and the culture of the dale. Swaledale today is a peaceful place with more sheep than people, but the valley was a turmoil of heavy industry at the start of the nineteenth century. The main focus of his talk was ‘chain migration’, or the migration of family members in the footsteps of those who had gone before.

Swaledale includes several townships within four districts, namely sparsely populated Muker in the uppermost westerly part of the dale, Melbecks, Arkengarthdale, and Reeth, the eastern lower part of the dale. Extensive exploration of the mineral resources of the dale before the Victorian era had uncovered a rich lead-mining field by the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of the potentially lucrative veins lay in an east-west complex on the north side of the River Swale. The mines were worked before mechanisation by a system of washing out, or ‘hushing’, the ore down the valley sides by the positioning of dams. Mining was arduous, dangerous and unhealthy work, which generated a degree of enthusiasm, optimism and endurance in the workforce.

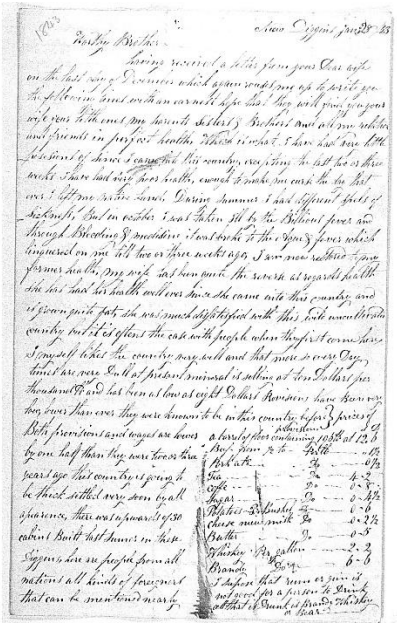
The expansion and prosperity in mining which marked the latter half of the 18C was already showing signs of decline in the 19th. A major cause of the decline was competition in the market from lead exported from Spain. However, the terminal collapse of the industry set in when the main seams of lead in the major mines became exhausted in the late 1870s. The demise was a slow process, picking off districts and townships selectively. The mines in Muker failed early, the Old Gang mine in Melbecks between 1871 and 1891, and the Arkengarthdale mines between 1881 and 1901. The mines were finally abandoned at the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. The population trends in Swaledale reflect the dale's reliance upon the lead mining industry. The entire dale suffered severe difficulties following the near total collapse of its lead industry towards the end of the nineteenth century, when a large proportion of the population left the dale.

Ernst Georg Ravenstein (1834-1913) published his ‘laws’ of migration in the late nineteenth century. The movement of individual families can be scrutinised in the light of these laws, and in particular

his second law which states that individuals or families did not travel directly to their ultimate destination, but by a series of steps of 'intervening' opportunities. In the dale as the mining collapsed, the rate of decline of the population was faster than the rate of decline in number of surnames, such that the average size of groups of people with the same surname was smaller at the end of the period than at the beginning. In other words, progressively larger groups of people with the same surname left the dale in the second half of the century. Had family members followed each other in steps of chain migration?

Ernst Georg Ravenstein
1834-1913

The talk looked in particular at the decline in the household head numbers of the largest family, the Aldersons, whose numbers fell by 44% over the half century. The descendants of one large branch of the Aldersons, Thomas Alderson of Muker, either weathered the economic decline remaining in Swaledale or settled and had families in Burnley, and nowhere else. Another favoured destination of Swaledale emigrants was the lead mining area of the Upper Mississippi. Letters home from Edmond and Jonathon Alderson encouraged their kin back home to follow them out in chain migration, one such letter goading his brother to '*be not cowardly but mount the rolling waves without fear or dread'*.



Further reading

E. Bogg, *Richmondshire: An Account of its History and Antiquities, Characters and Customs, Legendary Lore, and Natural History* (Leeds, 1908).

A. Raistrick, *Mines and Miners of Swaledale* (Clapham, 1955).

C.S. Hallas, 'Yeomen and peasants? Landownership patterns in the North Yorkshire Pennines, c. 1770 – 1900', *Rural History*, 9 (1998), p. 169.

D.B. Grigg, 'Ravenstein and the "laws of migration"', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 3 (1977), p. 41.

Biography

Phil Batman is an independent researcher in history. Following retirement from the medical profession, he graduated MA in English Local History from Leicester University in 2011, and PhD in April 2020, with a thesis on 'A Comparison of Kinship Family Survival in York and Swaledale in the Nineteenth Century'.

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Hallmarks of Slave Trade and Imperial Legacies: African Immigrants at the Periphery of Post-War Black British Immigration

Dr Christopher Zembe, Lecturer, History Dept, De Montfort University, Leicester

18 March 2021

We All Black, Innit?

Chris' talk challenged the simplistic narrative of post-war Black British immigration that tends to trivialise the reasons behind the overwhelming dominance of Caribbean immigrants over those from Africa. Black British immigration discourse in the immediate years following the end of World War Two has often been conflated with Afro-Caribbean immigrants. This skewed narrative of Black British history trivialises the legacy of difference between Africans and West Indians that influenced Black immigration trends in the immediate years following the end of World War Two.

Labour Party's Post-War Policy (1943) for the African and Pacific Colonies:
British Caribbean Islands *labelled as Dependencies with a*
European Culture whose inhabitants had been Europeanised
in culture, language, religion and industry.
The British colonies on the African continent *labelled as*
Dependencies of People of Primitive Culture whose
populations were still backward and uneducated that needed
training in European highly organised and industrial systems

Drawing heavily from primary sources (Cabinet Meeting Minutes, Colonial Office Documents) complemented by secondary sources, it analysed subtle but obvious reasons behind the preference of West Indians over those from the African content in post-war labour recruitment of Blacks. The talk also argued that West Indian immigrants' prevalence over those from the African continent was an illusion of racial tolerance by Britain to safeguard the existence of the Commonwealth by presenting itself as a racial tolerant progressive imperialist power.

Labour Party Members letter to Attlee June 1948 …
The British enjoy a profound unity without uniformity in their way of life
and are blessed by the absence of colour racial problem.
An influx of coloured people domiciled here is likely to impair
the harmony strength and cohesion of our people and social life
and cause discord and unhappiness among all concerned.

*

Labour Ministry spokesperson discouraging use of Black colonial workers in 1948:

'My personal view is that these people would be far more trouble than they are worth.'

*

Using a thematic approach, the talk demonstrated how and why the influx of post-war Afro-Caribbeans over Africans was not based on an irrational or random immigration process. Instead, the talk unveiled how it was entrenched in racial rhetoric, and historically developed prejudices or stereotypes that should be traced back to transatlantic slave trade and nineteenth century colonisation of Africa.

Further Reading

Black and British: A forgotten History, by David Olusoga

'West African Students in Britain 1900-60: The politics of Exile', by Hakim Adi

'Africans in the United Kingdom: An Introduction', by Daivid Killingray

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FRIENDS

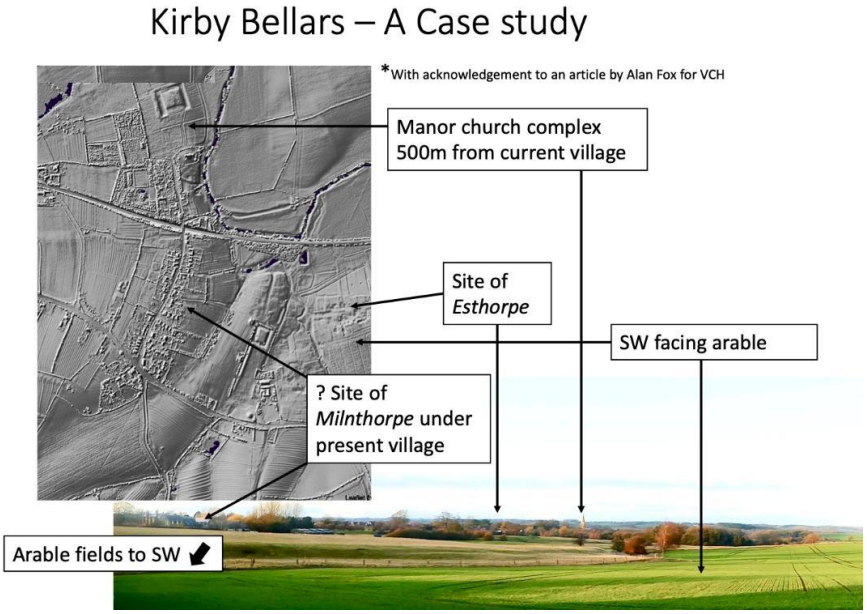
Spotlight online

A Conference Organised by the Friends of the Centre for English Local History

Saturday 13th February, 2021

From swords to ploughshares: a new narrative for Scandinavian settlement in the Wreake valley

Dr Paul Shaw



This paper stems from a dissatisfaction with established accounts of the Scandinavian settlement of eastern England, in particular that Scandinavian colonisation of 'inferior' soils was due to passive exclusion. I will argue instead that it was conscious decision, based on the incomers' agrarian experience and their wish to prioritise pastoral farming over arable, that lay behind their choice of settlement location. Subsequently, a further choice to prioritise wheat arable, led to the formation of new settlements and change in existing ones.

A generalised model of farming choice was constructed and applied to the midlands in the ninth century. In this context the two main factors influencing farming choice were the local environment and tradition, the farmers' accumulated experience. Together they

generated *terroir*, a unique combination of environment and the farmer's response to it, which formed the basis for analysis.

The model was tested in the Wreake valley, Leicestershire, an area with a high concentration of Scandinavian settlement-names and soil which can be successfully farmed by either pastoral or arable methods. Ninety-five townships were visited, and the *terroir* of each settlement and its associated farmed area determined from environmental data and current and historic land use.

It has been previously been proposed that place-names in *-þorp* were associated with arable-based economies and *-bȳ* names with livestock husbandry. This study strongly supports that hypothesis linking *-bȳ* s to valley-bottom settlement close to running water and probably with dairy farming. More surprisingly, the *terroir* of Old English *tūn*s also emerged as distinctive in that most were set on hilltop sites and associated with arable soils.

In contrast *-þorps* were later settlements, with a variable location, but a consistent *terroir* favouring wheat arable. These and other settlements were probably created as a response to population growth and cerealisation. The same process of expansion and change, mediated through farming choice of where to live, also caused settlement shift and the development of characteristic polyfocal settlements.

Taking the evidence as a whole allows the construction, based on farming choice, of a revised narrative for initial Scandinavian settlement; and how these and other settlements subsequently evolved as farming priorities changed.

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From Leicestershire to Northumberland: The Revitalising Redesdale Project

Dr Katie Bridger

Redesdale is a remote upland valley in west Northumberland adjoining the Anglo-Scottish border at Carter Bar. It is a landscape of sweeping moorlands and coniferous forests, with extensive views and dark skies. The upland farmed landscape is of scattered farmsteads, mainly enclosed by wire fences and drystone walls with small copses of broadleaved woodland.

Catcleugh reservoir, Redesdale

Throughout the Redesdale catchment is a network of small streams and burns flowing through narrow gorges and crags, forming enclosed and often hidden valleys. Its topography creates a natural corridor, where evidence of military strategic advantage can be found in the remains of Roman temporary camps, roads and forts; surviving twentieth-century trenches and pillboxes and the active military training camp at Otterburn. This is Border Reiver country, where fierce territoriality is evident in the remnants of late medieval and early modern bastles.

The nature of Redesdale's topography and soils has meant that the land has not been farmed intensively, to the benefit of biodiversity. A key habitat feature of Redesdale are its blanket bogs and mires of national significance, containing key species such as cotton grass, sphagnums and bog asphodel. There are also areas of ancient semi-natural woodland, home to oaks, birch and alder; remnants of the ancient Royal hunting forest of Redesdale. The conifer plantations in Redesdale provide one of the last areas in England for red squirrels. The River Rede, together with the River North Tyne, is one of the only places in England supporting a significant population of freshwater pearl mussel, some of which are over a hundred years old.

The Revitalising Redesdale project (2018-2022) is a £2.8 million programme comprising 12 inter-linking projects supported by the National Lottery Heritage Fund. It aspires to create and deliver a legacy which will reinforce the special character and identity of Redesdale and its communities. The project aims to conserve and enhance the distinctive landscape character of Redesdale embodied in

its natural environment, heritage and cultural traditions whilst adopting approaches which are relevant to the changing values and needs of the twenty-first century. River enhancement works, peatland recovery, wildlife recording, battlefield archaeology, building restoration, documentary research, footpath improvements, community engagement, creative interpretation, waymarking and signage installation are just a handful of projects involved in the programme.

The focus of the Revitalising Redesdale project on the interaction between society and landscape is arguably English Local History in action. This paper is not simply an example of post-doctoral professional development, or the story of a move from the Midlands to the North East. It seeks to highlight the essential role that English Local History plays in connecting people and places, within and between the past and present.

*

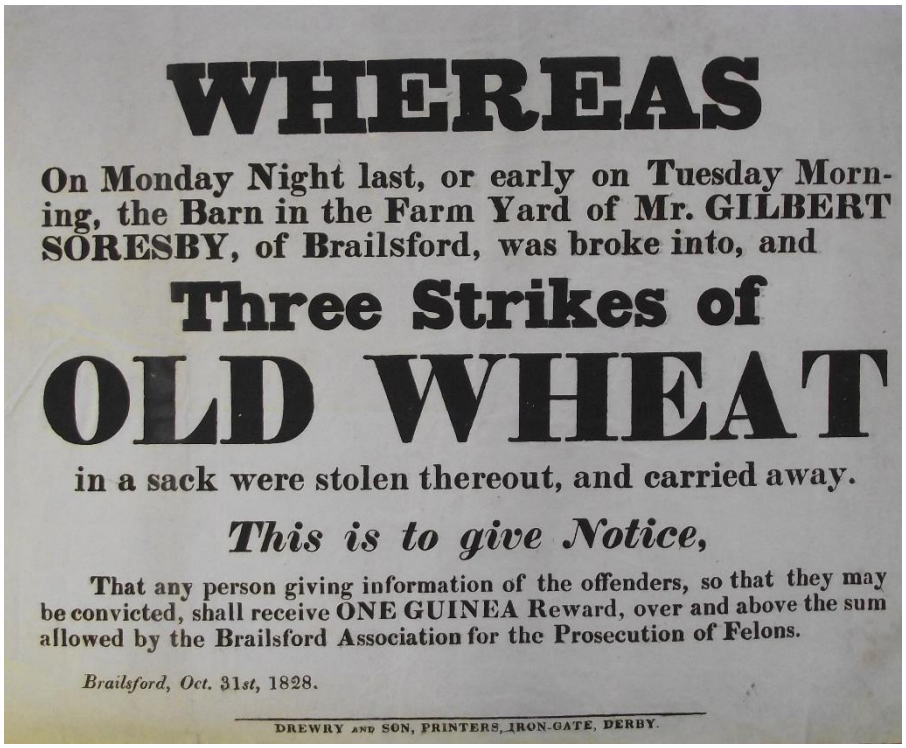
Derbyshire Associations for the Prosecution of Felons – 1700 to 2020

Robert Mee

'Associations for the prosecution of felons' were widespread during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; collectives of mainly 'middling sorts' who helped track down and prosecute certain offenders. This system effectively provided an insurance-based approach to the high expenses involved in private prosecutions. Crime historians mention prosecution associations as a form of 'self-help' in the days before the modern police force, but there has been little systematic investigation of them.

This paper, the result of his M.A. dissertation in 2013/14, will give a brief summary of the nature of role of prosecution associations, showing that practically the entire county was covered by at least one association. The paper also emphasises the period after the creation of the county police force, a period not previously examined by crime historians, examining a complex and quasi-judicial role which developed for the handful of associations which survived to the end of the nineteenth century.

Digital technology was widely used in this research, revealing a much wider coverage by associations, and a greater longevity of these groups than was previously thought to be the case. Six associations within the historic county still exist, as purely social societies, and access to their privately-held archives has also been utilised throughout.



WHEREAS

On Monday Night last, or early on Tuesday Morning, the Barn in the Farm Yard of Mr. GILBERT SORESBY, of Brailsford, was broke into, and

Three Strikes of

OLD WHEAT

in a sack were stolen thereout, and carried away.

This is to give Notice,

That any person giving information of the offenders, so that they may be convicted, shall receive ONE GUINEA Reward, over and above the sum allowed by the Brailsford Association for the Prosecution of Felons.

Brailsford, Oct. 31st, 1828.

DREWRY AND SON, PRINTERS, IRON-GATE, DERBY.

*

Dr Trixie Gadd

How easy was it for clergymen in a largely rural county in the seventeenth century to get around their parishes, travel further afield, and progress in their careers? To what extent were they able to move onwards and upwards?

Focusing on the county of Dorset, this paper draws on doctoral research into the lives of around 2,500 clergymen who ministered in Dorset's parishes during the course of the seventeenth century. It explores how the county's topography and landscape affected these men's local and broader geographical mobility; how social mobility through familial ties and enhanced education affected local parochial relationships and career prospects; and how the turmoil of civil wars and increased religious diversity impacted on their social and spatial mobility. The paper draws on a range of sources, including university matriculation records, a 1650 parliamentary survey of church livings, churchwardens' presentments and glebe terriers, to present a picture of these individuals' movements to, from and within the county.

With regard to physical mobility, the paper reveals the impact of different terrains on clergymen's engagement with parishioners and with their ecclesiastical superiors, and touches on their modes of transport. Their social mobility is explored in relation to familial status and education. The majority were of middling status, and a sizeable proportion were the sons of clergymen. However, in comparison with other counties, surprisingly few succeeded their fathers in the same parish. The arrival of many more university-educated ministers into Dorset parishes early in the century attracted mixed responses from parishioners, but by the end of the century relationships appear to have been generally more harmonious, perhaps because those who disliked their clergymen, personally or professionally, had more latitude to worship outside the established Church. Both physical and social mobility were affected by political and liturgical changes during the middle decades of the century. This paper reveals some factors underlying geographical patterns of sequestration and ejection between 1642 and 1662, and clergymen's ensuing involuntary mobility.

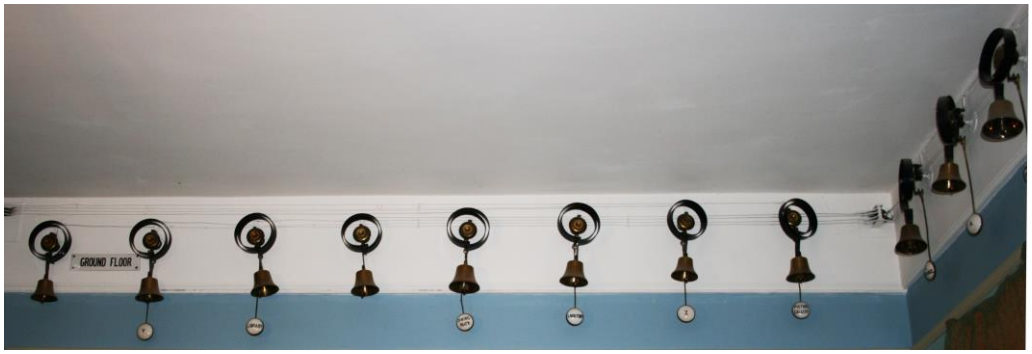
So was seventeenth-century Dorset a rural backwater? Overall, some factors tended to engender isolation and hamper mobility, and the overall proportion of native ministers was relatively high in the county. Aspects of the physical landscape impacted on local mobility, and the political and religious landscape impacted on social mobility. Levels of education and familial links both facilitated and impeded clergymen's social mobility and propensity to move locations. Clergymen's career aspirations to move onwards and upwards tended to be thwarted as much by geographical, social and administrative factors as by their preaching and pastoral performance.

Evening Zoom Talks

‘Like a well-oiled machine? How technology transformed the country house’

Ian West

Wednesday 14th April 2021



Ian West gave an overview of the work of the Country House Technology project, based at the University of Leicester. This project was established by Professor Marilyn Palmer in 2008 with the support of the National Trust, and with some initial funding from the Leverhulme Trust. It built on the work of numerous previous historical researchers into the development of domestic services in country houses, and applied an archaeological approach to understanding the impact of new technologies on country houses and on the people who lived and worked in them.

Technology played an increasingly important role in enabling owners of country houses to achieve their ambition of a comfortable house which functioned efficiently and, as far as the owners and their guests were concerned, largely invisibly. Mechanical and then electrical bells were used by the household to summon servants from their distant quarters, whilst lifts and sometimes even railways conveyed fuel, food or luggage unseen to where they were needed. The project has explored the role that many country house owners had in the improvement and acceptance of many of the home comforts which we, in the developed world at least, take for granted, such as central heating, sanitation, running water and electric lighting.

Britain’s country houses and their estates are a potent legacy of a time when the country’s rural landscape, and the lives of almost everyone in it, were dominated by wealthy private landowners. It is fortunate that so many of these properties not only survive but can be visited by the general public, affording an insight into this lost world. However, whereas previous generations of visitors generally went to marvel at the taste and refinement of their owners, and to enjoy the works of art and fine

furniture which they collected, today's visitors are often equally interested in how these curious institutions operated, and in gaining an understanding of the parallel lives of the owning families and the vast armies of staff who served them.

More and more houses are opening up new areas to the public – basements, cellars, bathrooms, service corridors and tunnels, estate yards and stables – with the result that visitors are now able to enjoy much more enlightening visits to country houses and their estates than in the past. The work of the Country House Technology project is proving invaluable in the interpretation and presentation of these areas which were largely neglected – and sometimes destroyed – by previous generations of custodians.

Further reading:

The key findings of the project are presented in the book *Technology in the Country House*, by Marilyn Palmer and Ian West, published jointly by Historic England and the National Trust in 2016. More information about this work can be found on the project web site:

https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/arthistory/research/projects/the-country-house-technology-project.

*

'Thorney, its History and Museum'

Dot Halfide

Tuesday 25 May 2021

Dorothy Halfhide talked about her voluntary work for Thorney Museum since moving from London to a fenland village not far from Peterborough. Dorothy went to work as an Intelligence Coordinator for NHS Commissioners in 1992, and has been involved with the Thorney Society, a registered charity, since then.

The first documented settlement of Thorney, a gravel island which reaches the dizzy heights of 7 meters above sea level, was by anchorites or hermits who chose to move into the fens to get away from the world and honour God, according to tradition in 662. After an interruption by Viking action, a monastic house was refounded with the support and resources of Bishop Aethelwold around 972, who played leading roles in both the royal household and the Church. Particular care was taken to supply the lands and the relics which a successful abbey needed, and Aethelwold was said to appreciate Thorney so much that he spent Lent on the island.

Compared with the other Fenland monasteries of Peterborough, Ely, Ramsey and Crowland, Thorney seems to have peaked early. By the time of Henry VIII, the Abbot happily gave up his rights in return for a pension of £200 per year, and Thorney passed ten years later into the hands of the Russell family and became a centre for exploiting the fen resources. Thorney was, and remains, central to the drainage work of the North Level of the Fens. This was promoted by the Russells and led to the production of thousands of acres of of productive land, dry all year. Thorney Museum has a room which looks at the drainage of the fens, and also the settlement of Thorney and its surrounding area by a variety of French, Walloon and Fleming migrants. In the 1670s, around 80% of children baptised

in the parish were actually described (inaccurately) as “French” but this reflects the importance of the incomers to the local agricultural economy. The Abbey, ruined by Henry VII’s destruction, was rewalled and the church came back into use.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the Russells, now Dukes of Bedford, invested and worked to develop Thorney. This included rebuilding around 80% of the cottages in the village, many houses in the rest of the parish, and schools, the Post Office, the Relieving Office and a useful range of shops. A firm stand on building conservation by Peterborough City Council means that the village still stands as a rural and industrial model village with a wide range of estate cottages (though these weren’t almshouses as many travellers on the A47 to Norfolk believed until 2005, when the bypass changed the nature of the village).

The Museum at Thorney is currently still closed despite revised Covid rules, because long-overdue building works are currently being started by our freeholders. We hope to reopen soon and be able to share the story of our parish with those who live locally and also travel from afar. We are also about to publish, with Cambridgeshire Geological Society, a new Fen Edge Trail with a walk through typical fen country next to a managed “river”.

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‘Boston and the Hanseatic League’

Alison Fairman

Thursday 24th June 2021

Boston today is a thriving market town and a port mainly trading with the Continent; it also has a small inshore fishing fleet. The town is still based around the medieval market place and its surrounding network of connecting lanes. It has a remarkable history of trade with the Hanseatic merchants and Baltic States.

Boston is probably named after St. Botolph, who has many churches named after him, several in eastern England where he originated. It is said he came to the area in the 7th century and built a monastery and church next to an existing settlement which was renamed Botolph's tun. Boston grew in the late 11th century and early 12th century and being well-situated to trade with Europe it soon became an important port and market town.

By the 13th century the port of Boston was second only to London in trade and was the leading wool exporter when wool was England's major export. Merchant houses were set up in the town, with links to leading abbeys such as Fountains Abbey. Construction of the magnificent church of St Botolph began in 1309 and by 1317 there were four different Friaries in the town. These had links with the Hanseatic merchants, such as Wisselus Smalenburg Munster, whose 1340 tombstone was moved from the Franciscan Friary to St Botolph's. The Wool Staple moved from Lincoln to Boston in 1369, which meant that Boston merchants were granted by royal authority the right to purchase goods destined for export so enhancing the town's status and increasing its wealth. By 1377 Boston was the tenth largest town and second richest port in the country. In 1380s the cloth trade in Boston was dominated by the Hanseatic merchants who accounted for 89% of cloth exports through Boston and Lynn. As well as wool Boston traded significantly in wax, dried fish and fish oil, furs and goatskins. Boston's annual fair attracted merchants from all over Europe. In 1545 Henry VIII created the Borough of Boston with a Mayor and a Council and his daughter Elizabeth 1st in 1568 granted a Court of Admiralty. Although the latter no longer exists the Mayor still has the title the 'Admiral of The Wash'.

Visitors can follow a "Hanseatic merchants trail" which highlights what remains of this successful period in Boston's history doorway, which was built in 1725, and which is one of the oldest Custom Houses in the country. The only surviving remains of the four friaries are also a little further down South Street near Boston's Guildhall. St Mary's Guild was founded in 1260, thirty years after the first Hanse merchants were recorded in Boston. The building we see today was recently dated to 1390 during its restoration. On display is one of the few pieces of Boston's Hanseatic history, the seal of 'Heinrich Kneival', a Hanse merchant of Lubeck.

Dominating Boston's market place is the church of St Botolph. Its magnificent lantern tower stands 272ft (83m) high, a landmark which is visible for miles around the town. Building started in the 14th Century. The parish church is one of the largest in England and its tower the highest of any, befitting the town's Hanseatic medieval prosperity and said to be built on wool. John Cotton Vicar decided that he would do more good in Massachusetts than being the minister at St Botolph's church. He, together with the Separatists of 1633, founded the city of Boston, Massachusetts. Four of these Boston Pilgrims became the first Governors of Boston and founded Harvard University.

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‘Newark in the Fourteenth Century: A Religious Settlement?’

Anne Coyne

Thursday 29th July 2021

The presentation investigated the contribution made by the religious community towards the settlement of Newark during the fourteenth century and formed part of an MA dissertation that also examined the mercantile community and its connections.

Newark was situated in the Diocese of York of the medieval Catholic Church, however the Archbishop, was not the only spiritual over-lord with influence over the town. The Lord of the Manor was the Bishop of Lincoln and the third influencer was St Katherine’s Priory without Lincoln who held the advowson of the Parish Church. There were several important religious guilds in Newark however most of the extant information relates to the Trinity Guild who became the first town corporation in the sixteenth century. The deeds of the guild contain details of property exchanges of both religious and other persons and the relevant street locations. St Mary Magdelene Parish Church contained many chantries, sixteen of which were founded in the fourteenth century and the details of the foundations and their founders provide an appropriate vehicle to study the religious community. In the absence of wills for the fourteenth century the final source covering property transactions are the feet of fines.

The key areas of study included the identification of the local hinterland through chantry patronage and founder connectivity, and the importance of the Newark chantries was also assessed in comparison to other towns and cities. The physical distribution of tenements held by the religious community were also studied to understand what they reveal about the development of Newark and its townscape. All the sources contain many references to various surnames derived from place names, or toponyms, the survey conducted reviews the migration of the religious community versus that of the mercantile and other burgesses. The study also reviews the impact of the Black Death in relation to the religious community.

The study was set in the background of the changing times of the fourteenth century and the historiography of the decline following the end of the thirteenth century and the presumed age of transition that followed on the heels of the Great Famine and the Black Death. In some ways the study confirmed these trends, however in other ways it contradicted these theories.

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Friends' Contributions

Variations on a Theme: Regional Differences in our Pubs

Geoff Brandwood

When I became involved with CAMRA's project to create a National Inventory of Historic Pub Interiors, it was an eye-opener. Hitherto, I'd done my bit for the brewing and pub industries by drinking all over the UK but it had never really occurred to me that there were definite regional differences.

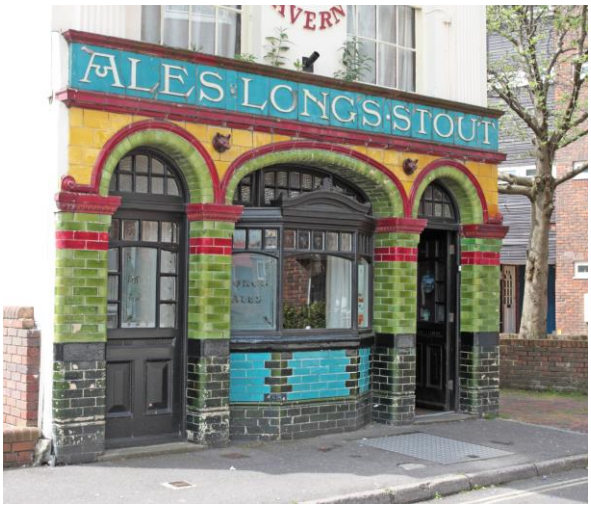
Let's start in Birmingham where I began my under-age drinking career in the early 1960s when multi-room pubs were still the norm. A feature of many street corners in Brum are glowingly red pubs faced with brick and terracotta, such as the Anchor in the Digbeth area. They were put up in the late Victorian pub-building boom around 1900 and this distinctive architecture was adopted by both the city's now long-lost big brewers, Ansells and Mitchells & Butlers. This 'me-too' approach among brewers is something we'll meet again, in a different form, on the south coast.

Another great feature around Birmingham is the roadhouse. From the start of the twentieth century the licensing magistrates were keen to have 'fewer and better' pubs (as the phrase was). Brewers surrendered multiple licences from the prolific inner-city pubs to be allowed to build grand new ones in the burgeoning suburbs. The scale and stylistic range in Birmingham seems unsurpassed. One of the greatest is the astounding Black Horse, Northfield, of 1929.

Black Horse, Northfield

And so to Portsmouth. Various pubs throughout the country from around 1900 have distinctive ceramic frontages but nowhere is there such a concentration as around

Portsmouth. If it was red brick and terracotta for a statement in Birmingham, here it was remarkable displays of ceramics as can be seen at the Fountain in Portsmouth and the gloriously lurid Fox Tavern in Gosport.



Fox Tavern, Gosport

In the north, on both sides of the Pennines, there are pubs with very distinctive plans. One of these is what we may call a drinking lobby, that is you go in and find yourself in an area mainly used by stand-up drinkers in front of the servery. This is effectively the public bar whilst there are separate rooms leading off in various directions for more sedate and sedentary customers. A good example is the Alexandra in Stockport dating from 1911 where a short corridor leads from the entrance to the lobby/servery area which is surrounded by other rooms. The supreme example of this is Liverpool's stupendous Philharmonic Dining Rooms of about 1900 where the main entrance leads into what is really a drinking lobby/servery area. Unmissable (Front cover).

This idea of a stand-up drinking area also finds expression in what we might call the 'side-corridor plan', something associated with narrow urban sites. Down one side there's a corridor from the entrance which expands in the middle to provide a drinking lobby in front of the servery as seen at the Swan with Two Necks in Stockport.

Staying in the North West a number of pubs have a layout of a public bar on the street corner, surrounded by an L-shaped corridor off which the other spaces lead. Examples are the Stork, Birkenhead, Lion Tavern in central Liverpool, and the Britons Protection in Manchester. All these pubs have a distinctive feature that is pretty well absent in the south, namely full-height counter screens, the lower parts of which can be raised or lowered.

Needless to say there is a lot of diversity amongst London's many pubs but a theme that emerges is Victorian Londoners' enthusiasm for small drinking spaces. At that time, all over the country, pubs consisted of multiple spaces but here drinkers seemed to expect an extra touch of cosiness in small snugs. This was often achieved by screens radiating round the servery. The greatest surviving example of this is the Prince Alfred, Maida Vale, a perfectly ordinary-sized pub but with the now extraordinary spectacle of no fewer than five compartments created by timber screens.

Prince Alfred, Maida Vale

For the most extreme surviving example of really tiny drinking compartments the pub to visit is the Barley Mow, near Baker Street Underground. Here there are a couple of boxes, each accommodating not more than four or five people, and looking like a pair of over-height box-pews from a Georgian church. No social distancing here!

In many a Victorian or early twentieth pub in the Midlands and north, you will find bell-pushes which we used to summon table service. Strangely they are virtually absent in London. Mark Girouard in his great book *Victorian Pubs* suggests that table service was dying out in London by the end of the nineteenth century (although this fails to explain their great rarity throughout the south generally). Yet table service remained alive and well in the north: at a handful of pubs on Merseyside it actually remained a continuous tradition to this day. It made a comeback, of course, albeit temporary, in recent Covid-ridden days!

Finally, the matter of dispensing beer. A fair minority of traditional pubs in the south still serve beer direct from the cask but this is almost unknown in the north. Why this should be so is a puzzle, at least to the present writer. Related to this, it's worth mentioning that a fundamental change affecting the internal appearance and character of pubs since the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has been the rise of the hand pump and the introduction of bar counters. It is thought that

throughout the entire UK there are now only a dozen traditional pubs that do not have a bar counter and these are mostly in the south.

Geoff Brandwood, a longstanding member of the Friends, became involved with identifying and campaigning for historic pub interiors some twenty years ago in a project initiated by the Campaign for Real Ale and supported by English Heritage. Both organisations were acutely concerned about the massive destruction of traditional pub interiors in the late twentieth century.

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Ancient Local History

Glimpses of Religious Life in Carthage in the 4th and 5th Centuries

Hubertus Drobner

For thirteen years of his life (370 to 383), with a brief interlude in his home town Thagaste in 374/75, Augustine spent in Carthage as student and teacher of rhetoric. In books III and IV of his *Confessions*, he remembers this period with remorse for all the missed opportunities to draw closer to God: "I came to Carthage, and everywhere the frying-pan of dissolute loves crackled around me". "I went astray and led others astray. I was deceived and deceived others, in varied lustful projects". All the same, it laid the basis for a lifelong close personal relationship to the city, which is evident from his frequent visits to, and the numerous sermons he preached in, Carthage as priest and bishop. The frequency of Augustine's public appearances in the city was so extraordinarily conspicuous that Julian of Eclanum mocked him as "Carthaginian disputant" (*Poenus disputator*). Up to 126 of Augustine's 584 "*Sermons to the People*" which are presently recognized as authentic, and thirty-two of his 123 "*Sermons on the Psalms*" (*Enarrationes in Psalmos*) are supposed to have been preached in Carthage.

Augustine did not only frequently travel to Carthage; the tone of the sermons he preached there betrays his close personal and amicable relationship both to the bishop of the city, Aurelius, and to the faithful. Augustine's personal involvement is especially noticeable when he mentions his younger years which he spent in Carthage as a student and teacher of rhetoric. Certainly, since the publication of his *Confessiones* (*c.* 400) his less-than-holy conduct there was public knowledge. Yet the city of Carthage remained a special case. One may confidently assume that there the memory of Augustine's behaviour was not only much more vivid and detailed than anywhere else, but that fellow-students of his and other members of the Christian community of that

past were still alive and even present in church when he was preaching.

In *Sermon* 359B he is by no means obliged to talk about his own not-so-laudable past, but does so on his own accord in order to win over his Carthaginian audience. Following the most urgent invitation of the bishop of Carthage, Augustine began to give a series of sermons in the middle of winter, commencing 18th January. For four subsequent days he had chosen a place close to the railings of the altar, which stood in or towards the centre of the basilica. Normally, he would have sat on the bishop's cathedra in the centre of the rear wall of the apse, from where the bishop usually preached. As Augustine had a comparatively weak voice and, especially in wintertime, suffered from colds and chronic hoarseness, one may assume that he took up this unusual place in order to be better understood by all.

Consequently, on the next day, people had again taken care to secure the best places close to the altar railings. On this day, however, bishop Aurelius of Carthage had asked Augustine to remain sitting on the cathedra, much to the chagrin of the people waiting expectantly close to the altar railings. Shouting and general unrest ensued. People refused to move closer to the apse though there was still enough room available, and required Augustine to come down to them. When he refused to do so they kept shouting "*missa est*, *missa est*", "it is time for dismissals" (of the catechumens), and made such a row that it was impossible for Augustine to preach.

Augustine was not just offended by this rude and rowdy behaviour; he perceived it as a fundamental flaw in the religious life of the people of Carthage. Consequently, he chose the subject of "obedience" as the topic of his next day's sermon (*Sermon* 359B) from which we are informed about the happenings of the previous day. Nevertheless, the sermon does not just exhibit reproach, but affectionate personal care for improving his audience's religious life.

He candidly recalls that he himself once took part in the impudent behaviour displayed by the Carthaginian community long ago when he was young:

> "We all know, after all, what dissolute and disorderly goings-on there used to be here between males and females in days gone by, because I myself was part of that blot on the escutcheon. ... I as lad used to attend vigils when I was a student in this city, and I kept vigil like that, all mixed up together with women, who were subjected to the impudent advances of men, which no doubt on many occasions put the virtue of even chaste people at risk."

> However, Bishop Aurelius, who acceded to the see of Carthage between 390 and 393, put a definite stop to this blatant misbehaviour by instituting separate walkways, entrances and places in church, in order "to prevent those cheeky, impudent slaves ... from making remarks with which they are in the habit of embarrassing the ladies as they pass".

Allowing for rhetorical exaggeration Augustine presents the Christian congregation in the melting-pot of Carthage as, indeed, a wild bunch that, nevertheless, had the will to improve their character in order to live a good religious life. Once in a while, their conversion proved to be only "skin-deep", and they did not succeed in restraining their hot-headed, irritable and stubborn nature. Though Augustine cannot approve of their misbehaviour, he can sympathize with them, because he himself was once part of it, and thus can win them over to follow in the footsteps of his own conversion.

In general, for Augustine there are basically only two kinds of people: good ones and bad ones. He very frequently repeats this assertion, in and outside Carthage. This is also true for the Church, including the bishops, including Augustine himself. The essential way to attain salvation is by remaining a faithful member of the one true Church of Christ: "If we are good, we are the wheat in Christ's Church; if we are bad, we are the chaff in Christ's Church; but either way we have not left the threshing floor". Augustine loves this biblically inspired metaphor. One more basic human characteristic one has to understand in order to lead a proper religious life: all people, Christians or not, good and bad, strive for a good and happy life (*vita beata*). Why, then, are people not intrinsically good? Because they confound the notion of the moral good with their pleasure. For instance, a thief thinks that stealing is good for him because it satisfies his desire for acquiring something he likes to have and thus gives him pleasure. Yet it remains a crime. "So where does he go wrong? By seeking something good doing something bad". One needs to understand that "the happy life is the reward of the good ... Our happiness will consist in possessing God. ... He possesses us, and he is possessed by us ... to no end other than our happiness". In other words, the fundamental aim of religious life consists in becoming a saint.

However, the Christians in Carthage – but not only they – had a fundamental problem with living a good Christian life in order to become saints like those they celebrated in church. Thus far, all saints venerated by the Church were martyrs who had won the crown of

eternal life by shedding their blood for Christ's sake in persecution. Since the end of the persecutions under Emperor Constantine almost a century before, the faithful in Carthage seemed to complain with good reason: "I cannot be a martyr, because Christians are no longer being persecuted".

Augustine needs to answer this crucial objection convincingly, because failing to do so would strip Christian religious life in Carthage – and everywhere else, for that matter – of its principal goal. In order to do so, he chooses the example of John the Baptist. What makes John the Baptist the appropriate example is that he presents a similar case: the church venerates him as a saint though he did not die in a persecution. In fact, he was not even a Christian. Therefore: "Why do we say John was a martyr? ... What makes this man a martyr?"

The answer takes several steps, (re-)defining exactly what martyrdom means. First of all: "It is not the punishment that makes the martyr, but the cause". Not the fact that someone is put to death makes him a martyr, but that he dies for Christ. Consequently, there is no more time limit: "All times are open season for martyrs", even now.

Second step: "'How,' you ask, 'did he die for Christ, seeing that he was not interrogated about Christ or forced to deny Christ?'" Answer: "Listen to Christ himself saying, *I am the way and the truth and the life* (John 14:6)." The logical conclusion is: "If Christ is the truth, anyone who is condemned to death for the truth suffers for Christ, and is correctly awarded the prize."

Third step: practical application for religious life in Carthage by choosing an example which people there apparently experienced all too frequently:

> "If someone compels you – for instance, some aristocrat who holds your life in his grasp compels you to give false evidence (and he does not say to you 'deny Christ') – what do you think of doing: choosing the falsehood or dying for the truth? ... What was your enemy going to do to you, forcing you to perjure yourself with false evidence? There he was, threatening you with slaughter, thirsting for your blood, puffed up in his power like billowing smoke – what was he going to do? Feebleness answers: 'He would have killed me'".

Of course, these are only a few glimpses of the multifaceted and colourful religious life in Carthage that could and will be supplemented in the fuller version of this article which is going to be published in a collective volume on religious life in the city of Carthage in antiquity (with Brill publishers: Leiden). And, maybe, it is also whetting the literary appetite to peruse Augustine's highly instructive and in many ways entertaining and eye-opening corpus of sermons.

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Three African Princes Visit Enderby

Stewart Fergusson

The three African princes who visited Enderby. Khama III is seated on the right. Their advisor William Willoughby is standing on the right.

On Wednesday September 25th 1895 at 11.30am a crowd of people gathered on platform 1 of Leicester Midland Station to greet three African chieftains described by the Leicester Daily Post as 'three princes'. They were King Khama III, Bathoen I and Sebele I from what was the Bechuanaland Protectorate, now Botswana. From Leicester they drove in style to a welcome from the villagers of Enderby. So why did this small Leicestershire village warrant such an unusual royal visit. It is an event that shines an interesting local spotlight on the British Empire's interaction with Africa and the prominent and traditionally unheralded role that Black activists played in the colonial and racial history of the United Kingdom. In order to understand the purpose of the visit, the context needs to be explained.

1895 was the high point of what history books like to call 'the Scramble for Africa' - a race by Europeans to exploit and settle the continent for national gain and prestige and a race in which Britain was the dominant and most successful participant. Recently historians, notably David Olusoga in his *Black and British: A Forgotten History,* have considered British history from the perspective of black Britons, the former slave colonies and the indigenous people of colonial Africa. He has demonstrated that we have had a long and complex interaction with Africa and black Africans on three continents whether it is African soldiers of the Roman Empire stationed on Hadrian's Wall, Tudor royal servants, sailors in Nelson's navy, the horrors of the slave trade and the plantation economy or the abolitionist movement of the late 18th and early 19th century. The British industrialised the slave trade and it was the basis of the mercantile wealth of Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow and the industrial wealth of the 'Cottonopolis' of Manchester and its neighbouring towns. A combination of guilt and moral outrage also made the British pioneers in the abolition of the slave trade and slavery within the British Empire.

By 1895 however, Britain's abolitionist agenda had lost momentum and had been replaced by a cultural racism fuelled by pseudo scientific racial theories. In the USA these theories underpinned the notorious and organised repression and political disenfranchisement of the Jim Crow laws that dominated the southern states from the 1890s to the 1960s. In Britain influential writers such as the essayist, historian and critic Thomas Carlyle and the popular author Anthony Trollope, popularised the racial stereotypes that underpinned racism. It was an attitude reinforced in popular culture by black-faced minstrelsy and colonial exhibitions such as the 'Savage South Africa Show' with Africans as human exhibits

A key figure in the 'Scramble for Africa' was Cecil Rhodes. Rhodes was an avowed imperialist and what we would now describe as a white supremacist. He said of Africa, 'Africa is still lying ready for us. It is our duty to take it ... We should keep this one idea steadily before our eyes: that more territory simply means more of the Anglo Saxon race, more of the best, the most human, most honourable the world possesses'. Rhodes had made a fortune in the diamond trade of Kimberly and in the 1890s, through his British South Africa Company, was seeking to control vast swathes of southern Africa. His company was modelled on the notoriously corrupt East India Company that mixed trade with the enforcement of diplomatic and military power, so it was essentially a rapacious economic entity with its own paramilitary forces and a gloss of respectability provided by a royal warrant. One of its projects was to incorporate within it the Bechuanaland Protectorate that had important gold reserves and straddled the routes from South Africa to Rhodes's fiefdom of Rhodesia. It was also the home of the three princes who came to Enderby and who were intent on preventing this takeover by the British South Africa Company.

Rhodes had the backing of the then Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain. The three princes came to visit Chamberlain to argue their case but Chamberlain tried to dodge them and their issue to give Rhodes a chance to establish his plan. While Chamberlain took a political holiday to the Mediterranean, the three princes, guided by their wily adviser and interpreter, William Willoughby of the London Missionary Society, decided their best strategy was to tour the country and make their case to the people of Britain and then to appeal directly to Queen Victoria. It turned out to be a clever public relations campaign that beat Rhodes at his own game. They criss-crossed England, Wales and Scotland appealing to the vocal members of temperance societies and anti-slavery humanitarian groups in packed meetings in town halls and churches. .

Enderby was on their itinerary because of Alice Youngs. She was a local schoolteacher and, like many middle class Victorians, active in the local church and temperance circles. She had gone out to Bechuanaland to set up a local school in Khama's 'capital' of Palapye and Khama was a great admirer of what she had achieved, so he promised to visit her parents on the tour. When the party arrived at Enderby the local vicar, the Reverend Aylward, the local squire Captain Drummond, the local Congregational minister the Reverend Dickenson, and, oddly, the Bishop of Trinidad who happened to be visiting, welcomed them. They had lunch with the Youngs at the Congregational chapel and Khama was presented with an illuminated address in

purple and gold from the local temperance group, a characteristically evangelical gift. The local squire and Anglican vicar then entertained them and they were shown round the squire's stable of horses where Khama was presented with a riding whip, a characteristic gift of the Anglican squirearchy. Photographs were taken, there was an organ recital and the local schoolchildren sang for the royal party. The three princes then returned to Leicester for the serious business of promoting their cause. Khama gave a passionate speech at a packed meeting in the Belvoir Street Baptist Chapel and a shorter speech at the nearby Wesleyan Chapel in Bishop Street. He attacked Rhodes' plans and his British South Africa Company as little more than a vehicle for the accumulation of wealth and not one for good government or the assistance of mankind. The meetings enthusiastically adopted a loyal petition to be sent to Chamberlain demanding Bechuanaland remain a Protectorate and not be surrendered to Rhodes' Chartered Company. They then went onto Birmingham, Chamberlain's political base, to repeat their impassioned plea.

The tour turned out to be a great success. It was not just the crowds of sympathisers that warmed to the plea, but the tour was widely reported in over 100 different London and provincial newspapers. The Leicester Daily Post reported in full Khama's speech at the Baptist Chapel with an editorial in support of him and his fellow princes. But most reports displayed how subliminal racism had become by expressing surprise at the formal European dress of the 'trinity of dusky kings' perhaps expecting them to be dressed as the savage tribesmen of popular culture. It was commented that had Sebele been a white man 'he would have been a lawyer as surely as Khama would have been a clergyman...' Whatever the language and attitude of the reporting it brought a groundswell of sympathy from a wide audience of which the government had to take note. The princes met with Queen Victoria - Sibele later noting 'I had no idea she was so short and so stout' - and obtained an interim agreement that allowed them to keep their tribal lands out of the grasp of Rhodes' Royal Africa Company in exchange for a 'railway strip'. The intention of Rhodes and Chamberlain was still to annexe Bechuanaland in small bite sized chunks once the three had left Britain and their cause had been forgotten. But Rhodes' ill-starred Jameson Raid, a mercenary-led invasion of the Boer Transvaal Republic, ruined his reputation and the British Government felt it was now politic to retain control of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

It remained a protectorate until 1966 when the independent nation of Botswana was established. Its first president was Seretse Khama, grandson of the Enderby visitor. His

controversial marriage to an English woman has recently been dramatised in the film '*A United Kingdom'*. Seretse Khama also had to overcome racial prejudice and the UK government's concern not to upset apartheid South Africa, an important source of gold and uranium, which had banned inter-racial marriage and was vehemently hostile to having Khama as the local ruler of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Taking a leaf out of his grandfather's book he used a tour of Britain to gather support for his successful campaign for independence for Botswana.

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Keeping up with Local History

Heather Flack

Things change, sometimes when you aren't looking. Our local scene is not static. In 2017, I published "Walking Bewdley's History", a potted history and twelve walks of the town and area where I live. Barely a year later, a statue of Stanley Baldwin was erected in the centre of the town. Baldwin was one of the 20th century's greatest Prime Ministers and he was born in Bewdley in 1867. When elevated to the House of Lords, he took the title Lord Baldwin of Bewdley. When I published the 2nd edition, I made sure the statue featured!

I followed up the book on Bewdley with ones on its urban neighbours – Stourport and Kidderminster. I found surprises in both places. One landscape feature (of which I was aware but had not studied) was a great concrete wall running alongside Kidderminster's ring road. It is 320m long and up to 11 m high, and was erected in 1972. It was only when I walked past it that I appreciated its intricate and unusual design. The sculptor was William Mitchell, who died last year. The wall duly went in the book which was published in 2019, but on 23rd March this year, as part of the Day of Reflection, a cascade was reactivated and now flows in memory of all those who have died as a result of Covid

19. Local history is constantly changing. It is not just something from the past, but something that is happening in the present. We need to keep up!

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The Calm before the Storm?

Philip French

During my time as a historian I have often been asked which is your favourite historical period. This may appear to be a fairly easy question but it is not quite as straightforward as it seems. My work covered the whole period from the Tudors to present day which required one needed to be a bit of a generalist without the luxury of a period specialism. Secondly, the questioner often had their own favourite period topic and hoped that you shared that preference.

But if I have a free choice I would have to say the 'Edwardian era'. 1901 sees the passing of Queen Victoria and the reign of King Edward VII, but it is not the change in monarch which is key, although 'Bertie' with his 'cosmopolitanism' certainly has a different outlook. The period from 1900 to 1914 (not strictly all Edwardian) sees a clash of the centuries, a conflict between the old values of the Victorian era and the new or progressive or modern ideas of the 20th century. The period before the outbreak of World War One is often viewed through the prism of nostalgia, a calm

golden age of peace and harmony. The reality was far different and far more interesting. A vivid portrayal of this time can be found in the work 'The Strange Death of Liberal England' by George Dangerfield. Written in 1935 Dangerfield was a contemporary of Evelyn Waugh at Oxford, and in many ways has a similar literary style. Dangerfield said of historical writing it should be a

'combination of taste, imagination, science and scholarship, it reconciles incompatibles, it balances probabilities and at last attains *the reality of fiction*' .

If you find political and social conflict interesting the Edwardian period has it all. The Liberal party of 1906 wins the election with a huge majority but is soon beset by a whirlwind of strife. Major strikes take place on the railways, in mines and at the docks throughout Britain and Ireland as trade unions flex their muscles following the passing of the Trade Disputes Bill 1906. Attempts at gaining the vote by peaceful campaigning were met with indifference at best so the Suffragettes turned to direct and violent action against property followed often by hunger strikes. A constitutional crisis occurred as the Lords threatened to block the passage of the budget. Ireland was on the verge of civil war, the passage of the Home Rule bill was opposed by Unionists in Ulster prepared to use violence as were Irish Volunteers who supported it. British officers at the Curragh military camp were ironically opposed to the use of arms to coerce Ulstermen.

One can be forgiven for thinking the Prime Minister might have been relieved when the outbreak of war against Germany brought some respite to internal conflict.

Pitchford Hall

Richard Stone

In 1940, secret plans were drawn up to evacuate the royal family should Germany invade. A unit to handle the tactical detail was set up under Major James Coats (later Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James Coats. Known as the 'Coats' Mission', it involved five officers and 124 Coldstream Guards, with support from the 12th Lancers under Major 'Tim' Morris, and the Northamptonshire Yeomanry. They were equipped with 10 vehicles, including armoured cars, and set up headquarters in the royal park at Bushy, next to Hampton Court Palace. In the event of a German invasion this unit would move the royal family to one of four (it may have been five - records are sketchy on the detail) designated 'safe houses', and possibly from house to house if the situation demanded. There was a precedent for this sort of strategic planning. Croome Court, near Pershore was identified as a hideaway for George III in the 1790s should Napoleon's army invade.

All the houses chosen in 1940 were in remote rural locations. Among them, little known but stunning 40-room, Pitchford Hall, at the centre of 1,000 acres of parkland, six miles south-east of Shrewsbury.

Pitchford Hall is built on an E-plan and is timber-framed with diagonal struts forming decorative lozenges within lozenges. The name originates from a crossing of Row Brook

near which an ancient pitch well produced natural bitumen which was used to preserve building timbers. Old Watling Street ran through the grounds and remains of a bath house have been discovered. The oldest part of the current hall dates from 1549, but there has been a house on the site from the late-13th century. There is a tradition that Royalist commander Prince Rupert was concealed in a priest hole at Pitchford Hall after Shrewsbury fell to a Parliamentarian army in 1644.

Geoffrey de Pykeford is responsible for the building of St Michael and All Angels Church alongside the hall. He joined the ninth crusade under the future Edward I and is commemorated in the church by an oak effigy, hand on sword.

In the grounds, a claimant to be the oldest treehouse in the world is cradled in the forks of a venerable lime. Built in a similar timber-framed style as the hall it dates from 1692.

Pitchford had entertained royalty before. Princess Victoria, aged 13, visited for a week with her mother (the Duchess of Kent, Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld) in 1832. The future George VI and Elizabeth (Bowes-Lyon) stayed here in 1935. Pitchford was a family home until 1993, when owners Caroline Colthurst and her husband Oliver, were among the big losers in the Lloyds Names scandal of 1992. As an 18-year-old debutante in 1953, Caroline (née Combe), caused a stir when she smuggled two white mice into Queen Charlotte's Ball. Caroline went on to have a career as a model, then as a fashion journalist at *Harper's Bazaar* & *Vogue*, before opening a boutique off Sloane Square selling clothes for women of 'fuller figure'! She was a founder member of Annabel's night club and went gambling occasionally with Lord Lucan.

With support from English Heritage and Prince Charles, the hall and 75 acres were offered to the nation for £1.75 million. John Major, then Prime Minister, declared Pitchford

of ‘insufficient national importance’. Heritage Secretary David Mellor, rejected the offer without even visiting. In a last-ditch effort to keep their home, the hall was opened to a paying public. Caroline conducted tours herself, usually in slippers. The tour included showing visitors the priest hole where Prince Rupert allegedly hid. It was not enough, and the Colthurst’s were forced to sell both house and contents. After major restoration by new owners, the west wing is now a holiday rental (sleeping 14) and further work is underway. There are other properties available to rent in the grounds. Towards the end of 1942, the threat of invasion had largely vanished. Major Coats’ unit was stood down and responsibility passed to the Household Cavalry.

Why was Pitchford considered a potential bolt-hole for the royal family? It was all about location. Distant from any potential invasion point or strategic target, and importantly, ready access to a route out of England via the port at Holyhead to Canada if required. Evacuation of the royal family was never necessary, but in 1940 such a desperate measure was a possibility. Pitchford Hall stood ready.

Richard Stone

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1920s Edwinstowe

Molly Wright

One hundred years ago, when people witnessed the unveiling of the War Memorial at the Crossroads, little did the residents of Edwinstowe, a quiet agricultural village, realise how their way of life was to change when a coal mine was sunk on the outskirts of the village. In 1925 work began to sink Thoresby Colliery. The building of 500 colliery houses started in 1926 and was completed by 1931, attracting many new families. Edwinstowe Hall was purchased by the Bolsover Colliery Company for use as a Welfare Centre for its employees, and was visited by the Prince of Wales who congratulated the Company on the Welfare Scheme.

Spectators would watch Edwinstowe St Michael’s football team, and the village cricketers whose matches were played in idyllic surroundings on Forest Corner. The Edwinstowe Allotment and Garden Holders’ Association held their annual shows and the annual fair was a welcome attraction, so too were the Garden Fetes, Whist Drives and Concerts in the church. St Mary’s Church, the Primitive and Wesleyan Methodist chapels were meeting grounds, as were the Edwinstowe Women’s Institute, the

Edwinstowe Mothers' Union and the British Legion. When walking down the High Street one would see Dowse's Drapery Store; tea room; shoe shop; Staley Lowe's garage; bakers; the Co-op; Freeman's and Newton's butchers' shops; Mr Lowe's barber's business conducted in a hut which was reached by wooden steps behind one of the cottages; the Institute which was a men's meeting place with a billiard room; Telephone Exchange; Jack Lacey's, cobbler; Tudsbury's China Shop; Kisby's and Fenton's sweet Shops; a Motor Mechanic's Workshop; Parnell's grocer; Newsagents; the Methodists' chapel; the Royal Oak; Jug and Glass; and Black Swan. A little further on there were the Dukeries Hotel and the Robin Hood Inn. The village Lock-up provided overnight accommodation for any miscreant who fell foul of the law, e.g. being drunk and disorderly in charge of a horse and trap! (Prisoners' chains remain on outside wall of building.). The Fire Service was called into action in 1929 when the Dukeries Hotel caught fire and suffered extensive damage. Education was provided by St Mary's School, and in 1926 a temporary building was erected for the "new village children", with the first portion of a permanent Council School in use by 1928. During the course of 10 years a new sewage and water works had been opened and Mansfield Road as far as Warsop Windmill was widened to accommodate the increase in traffic. Although travel by train and carrier to Mansfield was the only method of public transport, the 1930's would see the introduction of omnibus services to nearby market towns. A cinema would be built, the colliery would provide electricity to the village, tennis courts, putting and bowling greens, and a sports' ground.

British Legion members. The Old Vicarage. 1929

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BOOK REVIEW

Thames Mudlarking: Searching for London's Lost Treasures

Jason Sandy and Nick Stevens, Shire, 2021, 96pp, £9-99. ISBN 9781784424329.

For two hours every day low tide exposes what this book calls 'the 'longest archaeological site in Britain'. Erosion and riverboat activity regularly reveal new artefacts. Henry Mayhew, in *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) described mudlarks scouring the foreshore for items of value as 'These poor creatures … the most despicable in their appearance of any I have met with'. Today's incarnations are rather different from the destitute scavengers of Victorian times. The Society of Thames Mudlarks and Antiquarians, founded in 1976, helped to make the practice more organised. Modern mudlarks require a permit from the Port of London Authority, work closely with the Museum of London and the Portable Antiquities Scheme, and operate within strict guidelines. Only hand tools can be used to excavate and depth is limited to 1.2 metres.

In a series of well-illustrated and snappily titled chapters ('Vanity and Sex'; 'Pilgrims, Knights and Betrayal'; 'Death and Decadence', 'Empire and Invention' are examples) the authors lead us chronologically through the centuries covering a wide range of finds from 12,000-year-old fossils to children's plastic toys. Not all the objects result from mudlarking. Two of the most spectacular and best known, the Battersea Shield (350-50 BC) and Waterloo Helmet (150-50 BC) were uncovered by dredging in the 19th century. Both are thought to be ceremonial rather than practical and ritual deposits.

How items ended up in the river, whether accidentally lost, deliberately discarded, or deposited as votive offerings, involves an element of informed speculation. Each of the objects described, which includes weapons, coins, jewellery, pottery, toys, even leather items preserved in the anaerobic conditions, has a story to tell about the age in which it was made and the type of person who may have owned it. The authors offer considered insights. Bone and ivory pins, some ornately carved, tell of Roman ladies' hairstyles. A shoe buckle decorated with paste gems leads us into a world of Georgian fashion and flamboyance. Among many eye-catching items thoughtfully interpreted is a gadling, a pyramidal knuckle guard from an elite medieval knight's gauntlet, similar to those on Edward the Black Prince's tomb effigy in Canterbury Cathedral. The finder of a French coin, hand-engraved to make a First World War dog tag, went on to identify its owner, research details of his service role in the Royal Flying Corps and return the tag to the man's family.

Our collective knowledge of the past, especially London, owes a significant debt to the mudlarks as evidenced by the many examples catalogued in this book and on display at the Museum of London. The enthusiasm of the authors makes for an enjoyable read and conveys something of the excitement of making a discovery and importantly what we may subsequently learn as a result. Recommended.

Richard Stone

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LEICESTERSHIRE VCH NEWS

Copies of our Ibstock parish history, researched and written by Pam Fisher with assistance from a large number of volunteers, were received from the publishers in October 2020, and we are very grateful for the financial support of David Wilson CBE DL, without whom this paperback could not have been produced. Although ongoing COVID restrictions prevented a launch event, with the help of Ibstock Historical Society and social media posts we achieved strong sales in the run up to Christmas. Ibstock is far more than 'just a mining village', and we hope to be able to hold an event to celebrate all aspects of its history during 2022.

Our next paperback will be a history of Lutterworth, by Pam Fisher and Andrew Watkins, with the help of many volunteers. This explores the development of the town from early beginnings before the Norman Conquest through to its modern position at the heart of the logistics industry. The medieval wool trade, the seamless evolution of the town guild into the Town Estate during the 16th century and Lutterworth's connections with both the dissident theologian John Wyclif and the brilliant engineer Sir Frank Whittle also feature. This book is due for publication during the first half of 2022, thanks to the financial support received from Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society and LVCHT supporters.

Running a community history project during a pandemic poses certain challenges, and our plans at Coston had to be completely redrawn. Group archive visits and indoor meetings were cancelled, but fieldwalking is a naturally socially-distanced activity which can be arranged in groups of no more than six people, and Melton Fieldworkers were keen to help. With the addition of a couple of focused record office visits by Pam Fisher when restrictions allowed, we were able to hold a public event in July 2021, just days after restrictions were lifted, including a talk and tour round St Andrew's church, a guided walk round the earthworks of earlier house platforms peeping through later pasture, and displays of archaeology and document photographs.

Pam Fisher delivers the talk in Coston church

Finally, we have been able to conclude our volunteer project on public health in Loughborough with a talk to Lougborough U3A and an exhibition in Loughborough Library, Local Studies which ran from 5 July to 24 September 2021. We hope to continue work in Loughborough in 2021/22 with some volunteers already signed up to help with research into the town's diverse social, cultural and religious history from 1750 to 2021, but we are reliant on attracting grant funding and/or donations to enable this to proceed.

Pam Fisher

FRIENDS PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Peter Austin

Publications

'Oak tan-bark sales from the Cecil estates in Hertfordshire and Rutland 1550-1914', *The Local Historian,* Vol 50, No 4, (October 2020), pp.291-306.

Phil Batman

Presentations

'Migration from Swaledale during collapse of the nineteenth-century lead mines', presented to Seminar at the Centre for English Local History on 4 March 2021.

'Migration from Swaledale during collapse of the nineteenth-century lead mines: Chain migration', Ten-minute talk for British Association for Local History, May 2021.

Yvonne Cresswell

Publications

Second World War Internment on the Isle of Man, Manx National Heritage (www.imuseum.im/archives), September 2020.

Presentations

Hidden Treasures: World War Two Internment Archives on the Isle of Man, Insider/ Outsider Festival online lecture series, November 2020.

Ruth Borchard Collection, Inside Art, Sky Arts, December 2020

The Deer's Cry - Archibald Knox, 'At Your Service' radio programme, Manx Radio, November 2020

Rose-Marie Crossan

Publications

Criminal Justice in Guernsey, 1680-1929 (to be published by Mòr Media, Benderloch in November 2021).

Trixie Gadd

Publications

'The impact of the landscape on the clergy of seventeenth-century Dorset', in F. McCall (ed.), Church and People in Interregnum Britain (London, 2021), pp. 87-109.

Presentations

'Onwards and upwards? Social and spatial mobility in seventeenth-century clergy lives', Online Spotlight conference, Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester, 13 February 2021.

Marion Hardy

Publications

'The seasonality of marriages and baptisms in some Devon seafaring parishes', Local Population Studies, 106 (2021).

Maureen Harris

Publications

' 'A crack'd mirror': reflections on 'godly' rule' in Warwickshire in 1662' in F. McCall (ed.) *Church and People in Interregnum Britain* (University of London Press, 2021).

‘Living Through the English Civil Wars: The Warwickshire “Loss Accounts”’ Project; https://doi.org/10.1080/0047729X.2021.1975235

Margaret Hawkins

Publications

A sense of place: South Northamptonshire District 1974-2021. Towcester, South Northamptonshire Council, 2021.

Steve Lewitt

Publications

Book review: 'Phil Sidebottom. *Pecsaetna: People of the Anglo-Saxon Peak District*', *Transactions of the Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. LII (2020), pp. 144-5.

Jeremy Lodge

Publications

Collingham and East of the Trent: Ice Age to the Romans (2021), 254 pp.

Robert Peberdy

Publications

Robert Peberdy and Philip Waller (eds), *A Dictionary of British and Irish History* (Wiley Blackwell, 2020), 720 pp.

Richard Stone

Publications

'Eyam: the plague village 1665 - 66', in *The Historian,* 149 (Spring 2021) pp. 22-25.

Book review: J. Sandy and N Stevens, *Thames Mudlarking: searching for London's lost treasures,* in *The Historian,* 149 (Spring 2021) p. 44.

Book review: Richard Hayman, *Chinoiserie,* in *The Historian*, 150 (Summer 2021), p.4.

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OBITUARY

Kate Tranter has provided the following obituary for her mother, Margery Tranter, who died on 13 August 2021. Margery was a former MA student and then for many years Honorary Research Associate at the then department of Local History in Leicester. That was at the time of Alan Everitt and later Charles Phythian Adams and Harold Fox. She was a former geographer but decided to move to local history in her 50s and so was able to apply her geographical skills to her local history research, and to the department, which included supervising a complete restructuring of the map room. She continued to do research in various aspects of local history, with several publications, but also founding and supporting the local history society in her village, Weston-on-Trent, and encouraging exhibitions and publications there. In 2005 she received a BALH award for personal achievement. She retained her mental faculties and her interest in local history right up until her death at the age of 98.

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Annual General Meeting and Accounts

Friends of the Centre for English Local History

(Registered Charity no. 1073528)

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Friends

held on Thursday 19 November 2020 at 12.30pm by Zoom

Present: Michael Gilbert, Robert Mee, Andrew Wager, Freda Raphael, Margaret Hawkins, Philip Ramsey, Ann Schmidt, Mary Bryceland, John Parker, Noel Tornbohm, Paul Shipman, Heather Flack, Graham Jones, Jeremy Lodge, Mandy de Belin. Anne Coyne, Carol Cambers, John Goodacre, Phil Batman

1. Apologies for absence: Peter Diplock

2. Minutes of the AGM held on 21 November 2019: The minutes were agreed without dissent.

3. Matters arising: None

4. Chairman's Report: This had previously been included in the November 2020 Newsletter, so had been widely read. A copy is attached. In summary it had been a disrupted year with the announcement by the University of the proposed sale of Marc Fitch House, followed by the outbreak of Covid-19. The Friends obtained a commitment from the Vice-Chancellor that the move would provide equal or better facilities for the Centre. The committee and Friends have kept going without face-to-face events and there is an intention to return to an active programme as soon as

possible. Phil Batman produced an excellent Newsletter which provided a welcome focus.The Friends will support the Centre and its students, grow the membership and engage members in both on-line and live events.

5. Treasurer's Report, with the Annual Accounts and the Independent Examiner's Report

The draft accounts and reports are available on the website, and copies are appended to these minutes. They were adopted without dissent.

6. Appointment of Independent Examiner: Paul Shipman was re-appointed as Independent Examiner without dissent.

7. Election of Officers and Committee: The Secretary reported that the number of nominations received was such that no election was necessary. The following officers and committee members have been proposed and seconded by Michael Gilbert, Andrew Wager and Robert Mee

Chairman Michael Gilbert

Secretary Andrew Wager

Treasurer/Membership Secretary Robert Mee

Newsletter Editor Phil Batman

I.T. Coordinator John Parker

Programme Secretary Vacant

Committee Members: Jeremy Lodge

Mandy de Belin

Mary Bryceland

Anne Coyne

Noel Tornbohm

Linda Harrison

Student representative. Sam Thompson

Student representative. Vacant

Kevin Schürer remains the Centre’s representative.

The nominations were accepted without dissent.

Ann Schmidt has retired from the Committee after many years and received the thanks and best wishes of those attending.

The next committee meeting is scheduled for 4 January at 2:00pm.

8. Any other Business:

Noel Tornbohm publicized the planned local history based quiz arranged by Richard Jones. This will be online on 15 December at 7:00 pm. Mandy de Belin has prepared a poster to go out by email and social media. MG will liaise with RJ about the link to the session and pass it to Mandy.

MG reported that AH is supportive of the proposed online Spotlight. This is to go on the agenda for the next Management Committee meeting.

Phil Batman was thanked for producing an excellent newsletter.

Andrew Wager 24 November 2020

Treasurer's Report

A summary of the Friends' accounts for the last year are shown overleaf. The current total assets of the Friends stand at £29,726.60 a decrease of £890.20 over the starting balance.

Of course, it has been a very strange year. The only income received this year has, effectively, been through annual membership subscriptions, as there was no Spotlight Conference, Hoskins Day, or study trips. All of the deficit has been due to the fall in value of our investments, due to the pandemic. We have made two student support grants during the course of the year, but other than that expenditure has also been negligible.

I will make no predictions as to likely budgeting for the year ahead.

Our financial position remains sound, and we can meet any financial obligations for the coming year. Whilst we are not in control of requests made for student support, we do decide which applications are accepted, and the amounts given. In view of our lack of contractual commitments, we do not have a reserves policy at the present time.

Robert Mee; 2 November 2020

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Friends of the Centre for English Local History

(Registered Charity no.1073528)

Receipts and Payments Account for the year to 30 September 2020

		2020	2019
Receipts			
	Subscriptions and donations	£1,898.00	£2,382.00
	Day Visit	£0.00	£525.00
	Book Sales	£5.00	£67.45
	Study Weekend	£0.00	£3,000.00
	Conference Income	£0.00	£0.00
	Dividends/Interest (C&C, CAF)	£463.41	£483.94
	Hoskins Day	£0.00	£118.00
	Total Receipts	£2,366.41	£6,576.39
Payments			
	Student Support & Harold Fox Award	£1,200.00	£2,000.00
	Day Visits costs	£412.50	£50.00
	Study Weekend costs	£0.00	£2,647.00
	Hoskins Day	£0.00	£180.54
	Newsletter	£404.83	£389.32
	Conference Expenditure	£0.00	£0.00
	Student Amenities	£0.00	£0.00
	Administrative Costs	£157.37	£199.58
	AGM Expenses	£74.75	£39.50
	Total Payments	£2,249.45	£5,505.94
Excess of income over expenditure		£116.96	£1,070.45
Opening Funds at 1st October		£28,317.41	£27,246.96
Deficit/surplus		£116.96	£1,070.45
Closing Funds at 30th September 2019		**£28,434.37**	**£28,317.41**
Comprising			
Bank Balances	Cash	£0.00	£0.00
	CAF Bank - Gold Account	£2,637.14	£2,348.32
	Natwest Bank	£3,232.58	£3,579.03
	Cambridge & Counties savings	£14,105.70	£13,931.11
		£19,975.42	£19,858.46
Investment Assets at cost			
	FP CAF UK Equity Fund B Income	£4,278.61	£4,278.61
	FP CAF Fixed Interest Fund B Income	£4,180.34	£4,180.34
		£28,434.37	**£28,317.41**
Market value of investments			
	FP CAF UK Equity Fund B Income	£5,483.05	£6,434.82
	FP CAF Fixed Interest Fund B Income	£4,268.13	£4,323.52
		£9,751.18	£10,758.34
Total assets (including current investment value)		**£29,726.60**	**£30,616.80**

Robert M Mee (Treasurer)

21 October 2020

STUDENTS

MA DISSERTATIONS

'Gamekeepers in Victorian and Edwardian England: An Exploration'

Juliet Bailey

The role of the gamekeeper evolved, particularly during the nineteenth century, driven by developments in game laws, changes in bird-rearing and shooting technology, and increased interest from the landed elite. Although several authors have explored the game laws and the landed-elite and poaching in society, the gamekeeper has primarily been present via biographies and anecdotes with little numerical analysis. The study aimed to fill this gap by examining gamekeeper numbers over time, at multiple levels, and exploring the impact of poaching, the interests of the landed elite and economic factors.

Census returns provided data to compare gamekeeper numbers in England and Wales and seven English counties (1851-1921), as well as districts, parishes and estates in Norfolk (1851-1911). Supporting data came from estate surveys and Government returns on poaching prosecutions. The study also investigated the role of the gamekeeper in Norfolk (1825-1880) using estate accounts and records of one gamekeeping family.

The data revealed a variable picture, with multiple local drivers. Counties did not necessarily follow the national trend, although all showed increased numbers of gamekeepers by 1911, over 1851, and a sharp decline in 1921. Ease of access, the preferred quarry and the suitability of land for agriculture were more important drivers than poaching or the number and area of large estates. Growth also occurred at subcounty level, although smaller units were more variable and the influence of the interests of the incumbent landowner was more visible. There was no link between the number of gamekeepers and the level of poaching or proximity to a town. The introduction of new techniques for bird rearing and shooting were visible in estate records, while the experiences of the average gamekeeper were highlighted by newspaper and other records.

"Brutality Replaced by Brains": Lowdham Grange Boarstall, 1930 to 1939: Rediscovering a Forgotten Regime'

Jeremy Lodge

The origins of the regime at the Lowdham Grange Borstal Institution in Nottinghamshire are often dismissed as being based on the English public-school model. However, the unacknowledged pedigree of thought that led to this development is more complex than that. Similarly, some 'new thinking' on the proper response to offenders ignore their earlier example and practical application when applied to juveniles in Borstals and at Lowdham Grange in particular. This dissertation goes some way towards redressing the historical balance on both accounts.

The Borstal system (1902 to 1982) was a product of the previous half-century. Some thirty-five years after being envisioned in an 1895 Home Office report and twenty-eight years after tentative first steps in the Borstal story, a high-risk experiment was undertaken at Lowdham. In 1902 the Borstal experiment was launched when a group of boys were marched from London to Borstal Prison in chains and under armed guard. In 1930, 42 boys and 9 officers marched 160 miles in 10 days from Middlesex to a tented camp in the Nottinghamshire countryside. During their journey they slept in unsecured village halls and on arrival would build Lowdham Grange Borstal. The result was an 'open' establishment with no fences, walls, locked windows or doors that was visited by dignitaries, practitioners and academics from around the world. However today, having been demolished it languishes in the memory of a dwindling few, its lessons seemingly long forgotten.

The complex origins and detail of the Lowdham Grange regime have not been fully examined or acknowledged. This dissertation goes some way towards this by reviewing some of the antecedent elements such as the regime within Victorian Prisons and Reformatories, the Communitarian Movement and the 1895 Home Office or 'Gladstone' enquiry. The pioneering Lowdham Grange regime of the 1930s is then examined, particularly how it emphasised and manipulated the sense of community. The important contribution of the building to the success of this regime and community is then examined.

"Born on the Shire Hall Stairs": The Irish in Pembrokeshire, 1533-1650'

Verne Walker

This study examines the nature and extent of the Irish community in Pembrokeshire between 1530 to 1650. By addressing this hitherto neglected aspect of British history it establishes an important context to the events of the civil war in Wales. Moreover, it extends the understanding of migrant Irish communities on the British mainland. A significant Irish community existed in Pembrokeshire; a county referred to as 'little England beyond Wales', prior to the Irish rebellion of 1641 and the civil wars. However, these were not the first Irish migrants: the county had longstanding links with Ireland through previous trade and migration. This study shows that the Irish formed a significant, and economically viable, segment of the community that was integrated with society at large and was part of a wider maritime community centred on Bristol.

This study has drawn upon several sources. The main analysis of the community in Pembrokeshire utilised an extensive surname analysis of the existing parish records for the county to establish the Irish presence in the county. This is supplemented by a set of smaller but important sources that add detail to the economic condition of the Irish community and include port records, churchwarden accounts and apprentice records. State papers and the borough records of Haverfordwest are utilised to examine local response to two significant waves of migration: the subsistence crisis of 1628-30 and the 1641 rebellion in Ireland.

This study shows for the first time that the Irish were an established part of the Pembrokeshire community but that in response to the involvement of the English parliament the response to the Irish changed over the early part of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, it shows that there was ambiguity and tension between the response of local administrators and the parliamentary elites.

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PhD THESES

‘I do belong to Mattishall’: Obtaining poor relief from Mattishall, Norfolk, c. 1750-1834

Priscilla Greenhow

The essential gaps in our knowledge of the Old Poor Law in Norfolk are; a lack of detailed work on the mechanics of poor relief in Eastern England in general after the first flush of enthusiasm with Christine Hampson and Tim Wales; a still relatively thin understanding of the migration stories of the dependent poor; a chronic lack of work on the nature of pauper life cycles and the place of the Old Poor Law in those life cycles; a surprising lack of work on the final decades of the Old Poor Law leading to the perpetuation of models such as the crisis of the Old Poor Law; little has been written about the way in which the poor understood and experienced the Old Poor Law; in addition to this, although there have been a number of studies analysing the rhetoric and agency used by pauper letter-writers in their attempts to obtain relief, the reciprocal attitude of the parish officers has largely escaped attention. The study of Norfolk, an area that is itself neglected, is a vehicle to address these gaps

Using a range of poor relief material produced by the overseers and other parish officials, records from the parish registers and letters written by or on behalf of pauper claimants, this thesis set out to examine these neglected aspects by undertaking a microhistory of the parish of Mattishall, Norfolk. The parish is important as it has a reasonably good set of poor law records that have survived. Watton is the only other parish in Norfolk to have a similar range of poor law records, though a lesser quantity. The thesis compares the nature, experience and meaning of poor relief in Mattishall, not only with other Norfolk parishes, but also with parishes in Huntingdonshire as well as with a wider suite of parishes in other parts of the country. In doing this, the unusual way its officials made decisions over to whom to grant relief and who not, is discovered.

The parish administration of relief was compared with that of other parishes in different part of England and established that Mattishall, unlike most other ‘lowland’ parishes as identified by Steven King, kept the payment of poor relief under very strict control. Patterns of migration were analysed to assess if the settlement hindered the movement of paupers. The categories of migrants were also examined to establish whether any particular group were prevented from migrating. Letters written for and on behalf of migrant paupers in their attempts to gain poor

relief were analyses, not only for the agency and rhetoric used to persuade the poor relief officials to look favourably on their requests, but also to establish the reason for the overseers' decisions. The creation of pauper biographies has illuminated the policies behind the decisions of the officials in a way that was not apparent without such detailed information of the paupers' lives.

Analysis of the overseers' accounts and the outcome of requests for assistance in the pauper letters received by the parish reveal a very unusual attitude of the parish officials. In order to receive a favourable response to the request for relief, the overseers of the parish of Mattishall required the claimant to not only be 'deserving' but also to 'belong' to the parish. The notion of 'belonging' established by this thesis goes beyond that suggested by Snell who stressed how important parochial belonging once was in terms of its effect upon people's local attachments. This thesis found a marked difference in the granting of poor relief to those who truly belonged because they were born in the parish and those who only belonged in so far as the parish was their last place of settlement.

'Because thereon, in a great measure, depend the success and belief of their office: clergy-lay relationships in Herefordshire, 1640–1700'

Elizabeth van Wessem

Academic conversations concerning Keith Wrightson's 'Politics of the Parish' have most recently included examinations of the clerical-lay relationship in order to better understand parochial networks: rarely have clergymen been considered holistically. Here, an exploration of that takes place. Examinations of clergymen as husbands, heads of households, and flawed individuals is undertaken as well as more conventional observations of religious and financial matters. Clerical relationships are examined in depth: in households, within and without the parish, between ordinary people and gentry, to highlight how important it was that ministers negotiate political settlements with their parishioners. The use of Wrightson's parochial 'spheres' has allowed for an analysis of cases from the court of Instance in the Consistory Court of Hereford, and has enabled the incorporation of topics such as clerical ejection, tithes, officeholding, and pew disputes.

In doing so, the thesis explores the way that clerical success depended on parochial belief in the effectiveness of his role. Such belief could be undermined — by the clergyman or his parishioners. Much depended on the denominational balance in the parish. Where Protestant Nonconformists were more

prevalent, parishioners were more assertive in seeking redress in the courts. Clerical personality also dictated how disputes were resolved. Ministerial reputation could be affected by a failure to adhere to conventions of manly conduct, but also by an inability to meet parochial expectations of clerical conduct and success. Parochial quietude was such an expectation: best achieved by ministerial mediation, the parson would also have been aware that failure could negatively affect parochial perception of him.

Individual clerical behaviour could critically influence a parish's confidence in their minister, and from there, affect his success in his relationships with them. Clergymen were lynchpins in parochial networks: without a functioning parson in that role, continued parochial government would be that much more difficult.

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PRIZES

The Batman Family History Prize for 2021 was awarded to Georgia Briggs, University of York, for her dissertation: 'Birth Control, Gender Politics and Women's Liberation in the Black Panther Party'.

M4C funded PhD Student, Diane Strange, was awarded the *Gordon Forster Northern History* Essay Prize 2021 for her entry 'Fighting for Hugh: the wardship of 'younge Calueley' of Lea Hall, Cheshire, 1620'.

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STAFF

PUBLICATIONS and PRESENTATIONS

Prof Christopher Dyer (emeritus)

Publications

'Migration in rural England in the later middle ages', in W.M.Ormrod, J. Story and E. Tyler (eds), *Migration in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 238-64

'Recovering from catastrophe; how medieval society in England coped with disasters', in C. Gerrard, P. Forlin and P. Brown (eds), *Waiting for the End of the World? New Perspectives on*

Natural Disasters in Medieval Europe (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, 43, 2021), pp.218-38.

'The historical background of the pre-conquest site', in D. Hinton and D Peacock, *Impinging on the Past: a Rescue Excavation at Fladbury, Worcestershire, 1967* (Southampton, 2020), pp.54-9.

'Derek Keene', obituary in the *Guardian*, 23 June, 2021.

'Christopher Taylor', obituary in the *Guardian*, 15 July, 2021.

'The economy' in I Lazzarini (ed.), *The Later Middle Ages (Short Oxford History of Europe* (Oxford, 2021), pp. 43-75, 230-3. [most of this chapter was written by S. Epstein shortly before he died, but C. Dyer added a short updating section, and a bibliography].

Book reviews

J. Everard et al., *The Victoria County History of Shropshire: Wem* , in *Landscape History*, 41 (2020), pp. 128-9.

L. Butler and C. Gerrard, *Faxton* , in *Current Archaeology* 374 (2021),p.56.

M. Spence, *The Late Medieval Monastery of Fountains Abbey*, in *Northern History*, 58 (2021), pp. 155-6.

S. Townley (ed.), *History of the County of Oxford* in *Agricultural History Review*, 69 (2021), pp. 156-7.

Presentations

'The breakdown in neighbourly relations in late medieval English villages', Winter conference of the British Agricultural History Society on 'Neighbourliness in Farming', December 2020.

'Immigrants in Warwickshire: a mobile population 1200-1525', Warwickshire Local History Society, April, 2021.

'Why should studies of early towns also include the countryside?' Part of a series of talks on town and country, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, and the Royal Irish Academy (May, 2021)

'Introduction' and 'Summing up', Warwickshire's Changing Past, Dugdale Society Centenary Conference (May, 2021)

Prof Andrew Hopper

Publications

Matthew Jenkinson, *Charles I's Killers in America: The Lives and Afterlives of Edward Whalley and William Goffe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), *English Historical Review*, 136:578 (2021), pp. 197-8.

E. Lord and N. Amor (eds), *Shaping the Past: Theme, Time and Place in Local History: Essays in Honour of David Dymond* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2020), *Midland History*, 45:3 (2020), pp. 381-2.

A. Hopper, 'The Farnley Wood plot and the memory of the Civil Wars in Yorkshire', in L. Bowen and M. Stoyle (eds), *Remembering the English Civil Wars* (London: Routledge, October 2021).

https://www.routledge.com/Remembering-the-English-Civil-Wars/Bowen-Stoyle/p/book/9780367467111

Presentations

'The Human Costs of the British Civil Wars', Norfolk Record Office, 17 March 2021.

'The Human Costs of the British Civil Wars', Christopher Durston Memorial Lecture, Plymouth University, 9 March 2021.

'The Wounded of Naseby', Naseby Exhibition Launch, Daventry Museum, 7 February 2020.

Prof Keith Snell (emeritus)

'Ronald Blythe: 'Just a voice for his time'', *Rural History* (2021).

(With R. Jones), 'Angels in English and Welsh churchyard and cemetery memorials, 1660-2020', *Family and Community History*, 24:2 (2021), pp. 85-113.

(With S. Conroy), 'Developing a programme theory for loneliness interventions', *Age and Ageing* (forthcoming).

Dr Richard Jones

Publications

R. Jones and S. Kilby, 'Mitigating Riverine Flood Risk in Medieval England', in C. Gerrard, P. Forlin and P. Brown (eds), *Waiting for the End of the World? New Perspectives on Natural Disasters in Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 162-185.

B. Pears, A.G. Brown, P. Toms, J. Wood, D. Sanderson and R. Jones, 'A sub-centennial-scale OSL chronostratigraphy and Late-Holocene flood history from a temperate river confluence', *Geology*, 48.8 (2020), pp. 819-825 https://doi.org/10.1130/g47079.1

B. Pears, A.G. Brown, J. Carroll, P. Toms, J. Wood and R. Jones, 'Early medieval place-names and riverine flood histories: a new approach and new chronostratigraphic records for three English rivers', *European Journal of Archaeology* 23.3 (2020), pp. 381-405 https://doi.org/10.1017/eaa.2019.72

At press

R. Jones, 'A landscape transformed: the English countryside in the long thirteenth century', in M. Muller (ed.), *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Rural Life ca. 1100 – 1550*

R. Jones, 'The Viking diaspora: historical genetics and the perpetuation of national historiographical traditions', in P. Bauduin and E. d'Angelo (eds), *Les Historiographies des Mondes Normands, XVIIe-XXIe Siècle: Construction, Influence, Evolution*

Presentations

'Reading the room: the painted chamber in Longthorpe Tower', Peterborough Museums Society, 13 October 2020.

'Reading the room: the painted chamber in Longthorpe Tower', St Kyneburga Church Trust, 29 April 2020.

Dr Ismini Pells

Publications

'From revolutionary bulwark to loyalist bastion: The Restoration refashioning of the London Artillery Company, 1660-85', in L. and M. Stoyle (eds), *Remembering the English Civil Wars* (London: Routledge, October 2021).

Philip Skippon and the British Civil Wars: the 'Christian Centurion' (London: Routledge, 2020).

Dr Angela Muir

Publications

'Sex Work and Economies of Makeshift in Eighteenth-Century Wales' in B. Jenkins, P. O'Leary and S. Ward (eds), *Gender in Modern Welsh History* (University of Wales Press, forthcoming).

Blog post with Women's History Network, relating to *Deviant Maternity (*February 2020*),* (forthcoming).

Awarded a BA/Leverhulme small research grant for a project entitled 'Diversity, Identity and Social Change in South Wales, 1730-1830'.

Honorary Visiting Fellows

Dr Paul Stamper

Publications

(with Stuart Wrathmell), 'Wharram Percy: An Important New Photographic Archive', *Medieval Settlement* 35 (2020), 77-9.

Reviews

Rhiannon Comeau and Andy Seaman (eds.), *Living off the Land: Agriculture in Wales c 400-1600 AD* (2019), in *Shropshire History and Archaeology* 95 (2020), 162-3.

K.E. Walker, Sharon Clough and Jenny Clutterbuck, *A Medieval Punishment Cemetery at Weyhill Road, Andover, Hampshire* (2020), *in British Archaeology* (September/October 2020), 46.

John Blair, Stephen Rippon and Christopher Smart , *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape* (2020), in *British Archaeology* (November/December 2020), 63.

Simon Townley (ed.), *A History of the County of Oxford. Volume XIX: Wychwood Forest and Environs* (2019), in *Medieval Settlement Research* 35 (2020), 108.

David A. Hinton and D.P.S. Peacock, *Impinging on the Past: A Rescue Excavation at Fladbury, Worcestershire, 1967* (2020), in *British Archaeology* (January/February 2021).

Alexander Langlands, *The Ancient Ways of Wessex: Travel and Communication in an Early Medieval Landscape* (2019), in *Landscape History* 41 (2020), 131-2.

John Barnatt, *Reading the Peak District Landscape: Snapshots in Time* (2019), in *Landscape History* 41 (2020), 139.

Lizzie Sanders, *Audley End: Landscape Histories* (2019), in *Landscape History* 41 (2020),

Roderick Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden* (2019), in *Landscape History* 41 (2020).

Dr Susan Kilby

Presentations

November 2020 'The Secret Life of the Fields: Normangate, a Medieval Mystery', Castor Church Trust.

February 2021 'Humanities Research, Impact and Public Engagement', Leicester De Montfort University.

March 2021 'Living with Water in the Medieval Rural Midlands', British Agricultural History Society.

April 2021 'Learning the Landscape through Language: Shropshire Place-Names and Childhood Education', Society for Name Studies of Britain and Ireland.

July 2021, 'Living with Water on the River Trent', International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds.

Dr Pam Fisher

Presentations

19 November 2020, The History of Ibstock, Twinterview (online interview on Twitter).

23 November 2020, ‘Penny wise but pound foolish? The Loughborough water controversy, 1848–1870’, Loughborough U3A, on Zoom.

12 January 2021, ‘Leisure and shopping in Lutterworth, 1500–1720’, Claybrooke Local History Society, on Zoom.

24 July 2021, ‘St Andrew’s Church: 1000 years of history’, at St Andrew’s church, Coston.

5 July – 24 Sept. 2021, Exhibition: ‘Fresh water for Loughborough: the battle for a water supply, 1848–1906’, Loughborough Library, Local Studies.

Dr Kate Tiller

Publications

'Communities of Dissent. Methodist People, Places and Environments, 1850-1914', forthcoming in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* (2021).

Dr Charlotte Young

Publications

Join Loyalty and Liberty: A History of the Worshipful Company of Joiners and Ceilers (Amberley, 2021).

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Chairman	Michael Gilbert
Secretary	Andrew Wager
Treasurer/Membership secretary	Robert Mee
Editor of the Newsletter	Phil Batman
IT Coordinator	John Parker
Committee	Jeremy Lodge
Committee	Mandy deBelin
Committee	Mary Bryceland
Committee	Anne Coyne
Committee	Noel Tornbohm
Committee	Linda Harrison
Student representative	Sam Thompson

Any correspondence for the Friends of English Local History may be addressed to:
committee@englishlocalhistory.org

REGISTERED CHARITY NO. 1073528

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

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

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

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

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