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# Keeping the Home Fires burning: the Second World War through the eyes of a Sussex parish magazine<sup>1</sup>

IAIN TAYLOR

The tone in the January 1938 issue was unambiguously optimistic, the author telling his local audience that ‘We can justly look forward to a period of peace and prosperity’. But eight months is a long time in international diplomacy. That September he said ‘Christian people ... are praying without ceasing, that war may be averted in Europe, and that a peaceful settlement may be arrived at in connection with the Czechoslovak-German crisis’. A month later the rector was so unsure about the success of the Munich Agreement, which was signed by the four major European powers on 30 September and permitted Germany to annex the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia, that he informed his parishioners that ‘World peace hangs in the balance’.<sup>2</sup>

This article examines the significance of an unglamorous but ubiquitous source—parish magazines. It focuses particularly on how they may further our understanding of how international, national and local events resonated in specific places. To do this it considers how they were perceived by one (highly respected) community leader and mediated to others within the locality, to what purpose and with what effect. The case study is St Mary, Slaugham, a small parish in West Sussex just off the A23 south of Crawley, and how its rector, Francis Edward Shaw Jacomb-Hood (1879-1960), described and interpreted the entire course of the Second World War in the pages of St Mary’s monthly parish magazine, the modestly-entitled *Parish Notes*.

## The parish and its rector

The village of Slaugham extended over 5500 acres in 1940. It had a population of about 1600-1700 living in about 400 separate households (precise population figures are unavailable as the 1941 census was cancelled). Agriculture was the dominant local industry, mainly arable crops of oats and wheat.<sup>3</sup> Besides the main church, parts of which date to the twelfth century, the other three districts of the parish (Handcross, Peas Pottage and Warninglid) all had their own mission rooms. The rector’s living amounted to over £1000 a year in 1940; it also came with a generous rectory and 18 acres of glebe land. The parish also had Baptist, Methodist and Wesleyan chapels, but they feature rarely if ever in the Church of England publication.<sup>4</sup>

It is fair to say that the incumbent of St Mary’s was a typical Anglican establishment figure from a military background. He was a pupil at Radley public school from 1893-1897, rowing in the school eight in 1897, before graduating BA from Christ Church, Oxford in 1901, coxing the college eight in 1898.<sup>5</sup> He attended Wells Theological College (now Sarum College) from 1902, becoming a curate in 1903 and was appointed priest in 1904, the year he also received his MA.<sup>6</sup> He was the incumbent of several parishes before serving in the Army Chaplains Department from 1918-1920, being appointed vicar of Billingshurst in Sussex in 1923.<sup>7</sup> There he seems to have done little out of the ordinary, but local newspapers recorded him offering prayers at the Empire Day celebrations in the village in 1926; the same year he announced he had toured the

First World War graves over the summer and gave a 'description of some of the resting places of their glorious dead'.<sup>8</sup> And the *West Sussex Gazette* believed the construction of a new mission hall in Adversane, another small village within that parish, owed much 'to the energy of Rev Jacomb-Hood'.<sup>9</sup> The Billingshurst parish magazine, were one published, is not extant; nor are any relevant parish records from his time in office, apart from the extensive notes he made about the church building.<sup>10</sup> Unlike many other Anglican clergy of the period, he did not publish any of his sermons, nor did he produce any other literary works.

Jacomb-Hood was rector of Slaugham from 1929 to 1946. The patron of the parish was Colonel John Raymond Warren OBE MC JP (1889-1956), whose estate was The Hyde, Handcross. Commissioned in the Sussex County Regiment and wounded in the First World War, he seems to have been keen to appoint former military chaplains to the incumbency, for Jacomb-Hood's eventual successor, A.P. Cameron, was also from that branch of the services. By 1941 Jacomb-Hood had been appointed rural dean of Cuckfield; his non-church interests extended to him being appointed vice-chairman of Haywards Heath Senior Council School Managers and secretary of the local branch of the British Legion. In 1941, too, he was appointed local 'Food Organiser' and plans were made in case the Germans invaded, at which time the church bells would be rung.<sup>11</sup> One of Jacomb-Hood's twin sons, Captain John Kennedy, was killed in Burma in 1944, aged 24.<sup>12</sup> It is possible this tragedy played a part in his decision to step down from his role at Slaugham in February 1946, to become rector of Linch, a tiny parish near Midhurst in West Sussex.<sup>13</sup> Tragically his other son, Squadron Leader Anthony James, also died young when his new Venom night fighter crashed shortly after take-off from RAF Coltishall in 1954.<sup>14</sup>

## Parish magazines

Parish magazines are considered to date from the first edition of *The Parish Magazine*, which was produced by John Erskine Clarke, vicar of St Michael's, Derby, in 1859. The genre expanded hugely across the UK in the later nineteenth century, stimulated by cheaper paper and printing, and the nationwide rise in literacy after Forster's Education Act of 1870.<sup>15</sup> In the 1940s they still generally appeared as they had in the nineteenth century, a locally-produced wrapper featuring parish news but also incorporating, as an inset, one of the various central publications informing the national news produced for this purpose, such as the 'bright and breezy' *Outlook*, from a 'West End publishing office'.<sup>16</sup> Circulations depended on the size of the parish, ranging from just a few score to several hundreds or even thousands; that in Forest Gate parish, London, had a print run of about 500 copies a month between 1875 and 1885, for example.<sup>17</sup> A feature article in *The Times* devoted to the genre in 1963 said there were then 9500 Anglican parish magazines with a total print run of about 3.5m copies a month.<sup>18</sup>

This suggests 'wide household dissemination', with readerships including local labourers, perhaps because the publications cost only a penny or two to buy.<sup>19</sup> In addition to an editorial, contents included church service times; details of births, baptisms, marriages and funerals; obituaries; parish officer appointments; church-related, friendly and benefit-club meetings; Bible stories; missionary endeavours and so on. Comments on the weather and state of the harvest were especially frequent in rural magazines. Sometimes they accepted advertisements from local businesses. They were, in sum, an important expression of community life', even though most editorials were written by the incumbent himself; unsurprisingly they tended to reflect 'certain

local interests rather than others'.<sup>20</sup> This meant that the rector or vicar could employ the editorial, in particular, to place his own, almost always uncontested, interpretation of parish and other events before his readers.

Slaugham has a good series of extant parish records, with an almost complete series of parish magazines from 1932 to 1997. These magazines may be considered the Cinderella of parish documents, certainly in terms of the attention that has been paid to them by both local and other historians. Keith Snell notes that in 1946 there were estimated to be over 11,000 parish magazines published each month, with a total circulation of over 2.7 million.<sup>21</sup> The sheer scale of this source, according to Jane Platt, one of the few historians to have studied them in depth, demands serious scholarly attention because they firstly 'illuminate the place of religion and its concerns' across the period. Secondly, their high circulation among churchgoers and many other groups 'visibly demonstrated the continuing importance of Anglicanism at parish level'.<sup>22</sup> Hugh McLeod goes further, saying they also give a key insight into 'the kind of Christianity [the particular incumbent] was trying to put over to his parishioners'.<sup>23</sup> The source also provides 'a lot of useful information about parish organisations and statistics' and sheds further light on both the 'content, production and readership' of periodicals of the period.<sup>24</sup> Despite these advantages, 'many scholars have relegated them to footnotes supporting their main themes', including the poor, secularisation and ritualism; even Owen Chadwick in his magisterial two-volume study of the Victorian Church accords them only half a page.<sup>25</sup> His example illustrates the extent to which they have languished 'almost unnoticed by historians throughout the twentieth century' and beyond, we should add.<sup>26</sup> This article seeks in part to restore their fortunes, with or without the aid of the fabled glass slipper.

### ***Parish Notes, the Slaugham magazine in wartime***

Slaugham's *Parish Notes* was fairly typical of parish magazines generally, although it did not include an inset central publication until after Jacomb-Hood had stepped down, 'The Sign' being incorporated by his successor from June 1946. As with others up and down the nation, it regularly provided good copy for the local news columns of the county press. In January 1945, for example, the *Mid Sussex Times* printed the information from *Parish Notes* that organist Mrs Godsmark had retired, as well as a tribute to Mr W.H. Jackson of the British Legion.<sup>27</sup> In October 1939 its four pages comprised a title page with the names of the rector, churchwardens, PCC secretary and verger. Page 1 noted the organists and the five baptisms, two marriages and one burial that had taken place in September; this was followed by a relatively long editorial of about 600 words and then a series of shorter articles about, *inter alia*, the Sunday School, war weddings and 'Education and Recreation'. Finally, Jacomb-Hood presented a roll of honour of all the men of the parish who been called up thus far, a number that would rise from 74 in November 1939 to a maximum of 253, across the three services, in August 1945. By then the list also included 20 local women serving in the ATS, the NAAFI and the WAAF.<sup>28</sup> It was with huge satisfaction and relief that he could say, in June 1945, that all PoWs held by the Germans had been released, although one, Captain P. Lancaster was 'still in Japanese hands'.<sup>29</sup>

As early as February 1941 the rector wrote that 'All our young men have joined either the fighting forces or reserved occupations'. By September 1942 the roll took up an entire page in the magazine. As time went on the list also honoured those who had been killed on active service and prisoners of war, such as Percy Faulkner and George Luke; under the heading 'Congratulations', Jacomb-Hood also regularly paid tribute

to those Slaugham residents who received gallantry awards while on active service, such as fighter pilot Cedric Stone for his DFM and Petty Officer Harold Richardson, who was awarded the DSM for 'upholding the highest traditions of the Navy'.<sup>30</sup>

One of the first questions that arises is why parish magazines were published at all during wartime. The best quality raw material for paper production, esparto grass, had to be imported and, unsurprisingly, supplies fell from 272,000 tons in 1939 to zero three years later. British paper manufacturers had therefore to turn elsewhere, principally to straw and salvaged waste paper, rags and pulped books.<sup>31</sup> In June 1940 Jacomb-Hood noted that 'paper was being strictly controlled', a fact reflected in the magazine reducing in size from four pages to two, although it did revert to four pages that September.<sup>32</sup> The previous year he had informed readers that 'A new campaign has been started for saving waste paper. Most of our paper comes from the Baltic and Scandinavian countries and as its shipping is liable to enemy interference, it is most important to recover as raw material for the pulping mills as much waste paper as possible'.<sup>33</sup> By 1941 local salvage schemes had become compulsory in all towns of over 1000 inhabitants and the following year Jacomb-Hood remarked on the work 'strenuously' carried out in the parish such that 'many tons were collected'.<sup>34</sup> Despite such efforts, a few months later he commented on the 'poorer quality paper' used for the magazine.<sup>35</sup>

In May 1943 a smaller typeface was introduced, allowing more words in the publication, as it remained four pages in size. A new font was introduced in July 1943 and, for the first time, it was priced (at 2d) rather than being, one would assume, hitherto free of charge.<sup>36</sup> But the biggest change that took place to the magazine's print culture in that issue was the inclusion of St Mary Magdalen, Bolney. That parish, located immediately south of Slaugham, was given a page and a half of its own and the total publication was enlarged to six pages. The imperative for the change was the paper controller having 'quite rightly reduced every periodical'. Although 'some parish magazines have become extinct', presumably Bolney avoided that fate by merging with Slaugham. Jacomb-Hood could proudly point to the fact that he had ordered 370 copies from the printer that month, 'our record circulation'.<sup>37</sup> One might conclude that the paper controller and others had decided that those successful, popular parish magazines which (like Jacomb-Hood's) unequivocally backed the war effort, were so important to local morale that they needed to be given every inducement to publication.

In May 1944 *Parish News* published St Mary's financial statements for the first time, although those numbers, presented to parishioners at the annual vestry and parochial meeting, had previously been reported in the local press. That held in April 1941, for example, had only a 'Small attendance', but church finances seem to have held up well throughout the war.<sup>38</sup> In 1940 an income of £1137 16s 8d against expenditure of £1023 3s 8d allowed well over £100 to be transferred to reserves. This was even though, as new churchwarden Colonel Loader pointed out, 'with heavier taxation and rising prices they could not expect subscriptions to come in as freely as in the past. They would have to tighten their belts'. The church organist was first in the queue to do so, offering to reduce his salary from £50 to £40 a year 'owing to the economic position'.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, church membership also held up well, with the electoral roll rising from 603 in 1940 to 654 the following year.<sup>40</sup> By 1942 members' subscriptions totalled over £545, revealing 'a loyalty to the church which is most inspiring in view of the greatly increased calls on parishioners for war contributions'.<sup>41</sup> The following year at the vestry meeting 'the attendance was very good, and a keener interest was shown than for many years past', although the number on the electoral roll had edged down slightly, to 646.<sup>42</sup>

## The progress of the war and the future

The main focus of the monthly editorials was the progress of the war, which Jacomb-Hood tended to see in moral terms. In October 1939 he declared that 'we are going forth to fight and to overcome the forces of evil so rampant in a few of the leaders in Germany today', although he was careful to distinguish between them and the German people who 'are our friends and neighbours. We have no quarrel with them'.<sup>43</sup> He described 1940 (Dunkirk, the fall of Norway, France, the Low Countries and setbacks in North Africa) as 'a year of tragedy and misfortune' and celebrated the entry of the United States into the war by saying those 'two great peoples have been asked to find their deepest centre of unity in God for their hope and strength'.<sup>44</sup> In March 1943 he had the church bells rung to commemorate the expulsion of Axis forces from North Africa.<sup>45</sup> But in July 1944 his assessment that, on D Day and subsequently, 'everything has gone well' was tempered by his own family tragedy, as he thanked the village for their sympathy when they learned that his son John Kennedy, then second in command of a battalion of the 1st Gurka Rifles, 'had died of wounds received in Burma. The cost of victory is great, especially in the homes where sacrifices have been made'.<sup>46</sup> And after the Japanese surrender, *Parish Notes* for September 1945 insisted that post-war reconstruction 'can only be built on foundations laid on Christian principles'.<sup>47</sup>

Jacomb-Hood used the September (anniversary of the start of the war in Europe) and the January (New Year) editions in particular to assess how the military campaigns had gone over the previous twelve months and the prospects of success for the forthcoming year. Referring primarily to the victory at El Alamein the previous November, January 1943 dawned 'with far brighter hope for the future than we had dared to expect a year ago ... [as] the fortunes of war suddenly took a turn for the better in our favour'.<sup>48</sup> But achieving victory took rather longer than he desired or expected. In September 1943 he 'could look to the future hopefully ... that the World War is drawing to its close' and in January 1944 he looked 'forward to the future with prospects more favourable for Victory than they have been during the long-drawn out years of war that have passed'.<sup>49</sup> But in January 1945 he was still looking forward 'with renewed hope' after the victories in 1944, even though his hopes of 'an earlier termination' to the conflict had not been fulfilled.<sup>50</sup> Jacomb-Hood was also keen to pass onto his readers every tentative step along the way to peace, so in October 1944 he was able to celebrate that 'the inns are no longer only open at weekends, we do not have to use envelopes again or salvage every bone'.<sup>51</sup> Paper rationing was clearly not as stringent as previously and a few pre-war creature comforts were now permitted, apparently to the great satisfaction of the rector.

Two further points are worth making about how Jacomb-Hood depicted the events of the war. He eschewed triumphalism almost entirely, even after the war in Europe had been won, when he believed 'The one desire of British people will be to offer thanksgiving to God for a great deliverance'.<sup>52</sup> And even after the Japanese surrender in August he did not mention the atomic bombs that occasioned it, being careful merely to remind his readers that the world had to start 'rebuilding the wate places and restoring the wounds of war inflicted on many nations'.<sup>53</sup> In that issue too he mentioned by name the villagers who had been killed in action during the conflict.

Significantly, Jacomb-Hood was often prepared to lift his eyes from the war to consider some of the issues and consequences of the peace, two examples from 1943 being helpful. In April he reflected on the publication, the previous November, of the Beveridge Report, that milestone along the road to creating the post-1945 welfare state. A lecture about it in the village enabled him to consider 'this exhaustive Report on social progress after the war. Its aim is primarily to abolish want. When we return

to post-war times ... the government are wisely trying to put their house in order for future and happier times'.<sup>54</sup> And that August he wrote on future peace time housing need, as 'A post war programme for houses remains as acute as ever.'<sup>55</sup> Education was another major concern of his and we may trace how his views changed as proposals for its post-war provision developed. In October 1941 he asked parishioners, 'Do we or do we not care whether successive generations of children are taught to understand and accept the truth of God ... and the practical implications which follow? Nothing less than this is at stake'.<sup>56</sup> But by January 1945, perhaps prompted by the publication of the 1943 White Paper *Educational Reconstruction*, he had become a firm supporter of 'important new legislation'. 'Outstanding amongst them' was the 1944 Education Act, which (in 1947) raised the school-leaving age to 15 and reorganised educational provision into primary, secondary and further strands.<sup>57</sup>

### Parish life in wartime

But parish magazines mainly concentrated then, as they have always done, on parish life. Jacomb-Hood was always keen to see his parishioners make significant financial and other contributions to the war effort. So in April 1941, during War Weapons Week, he announced that well over £1000 of war savings certificates had been sold in the past year and the chairman of the parish council made a personal appeal to every householder for funds. On a more mundane (but still essential) level, it had previously been decided that wool should be purchased to knit socks; the balance in this Comfort Fund then stood at nearly £23.<sup>58</sup> In June 1944 the 'Salute the Soldier' week raised £7500 from within the parish and the Prisoner of War Flag Day in July 1943 raised over £43.<sup>59</sup> In December 1941 the general superintendent of the Mission to Seaman, who had just returned from Iceland, spoke at four services across the parish to appeal for funds and to report on its 'work in that far-off outpost of British occupation'.<sup>60</sup> But *Parish News* omitted to mention another rectorial initiative, house to house collections across the parish which raised over £80 for the Brighton and Hove Spitfire Fund in September 1940, at the height of the Battle of Britain.<sup>61</sup> These regular, often *ad hoc* but generally imaginative ways of fundraising reveal a parish, and its incumbent, both highly committed to getting behind the broader war effort at every possible opportunity.

Outsiders started arriving in the parish from the earliest weeks of the war. The parish received well over 200 pupils and staff from Buckingham Gate Central School, Westminster and a further 26 from St James the Less School, Pimlico, in October 1939. Just a month later the number of evacuees totalled 340.<sup>62</sup> At first the rector welcomed them, saying that parishioners had 'quickly made friends with our visitors', although he recognised 'the contrast must be great' with their former urban surroundings. Civic pride prompted him to commend evacuee billeting officer R.D. Tulley, on his resignation in March 1940, writing 'thanks to his efficiency and courtesy, the scheme has succeeded in this place, where in others the machinery has to a large extent failed'.<sup>63</sup> But eighteen months later the stresses and strains resulting from the new situation had become apparent, a problem Jacomb-Hood blamed squarely on the new arrivals, although he did not mention it in *Parish Notes*. It was left to the *Mid Sussex Times* to record his comment that 'Although the parish had been overflowing with evacuees, old and young, only a few had interested themselves in community life ... the residents ... had done everything for the spiritual and social welfare of the visitors'.<sup>64</sup> But when the Buckingham Gate school departed in July 1945 he was in a more forgiving mood, writing that it 'returns to London after six years exile in our midst. We must record our gratitude to our guests from whom we have learned so much'.<sup>65</sup>

Troops, initially two units of Royal Engineers, began to arrive in the village from September 1939. They were not the only ones: by May 1940 'over 500 Newfoundland volunteers are now billeted for military training in this area'.<sup>66</sup> Other new developments had a direct impact on church practice, for petrol rationing in June 1942 meant that services were 'reduced to a minimum, owing to a lack of transport ... when petrol is used for a church service, those who still have sufficient, usually remember to give lifts to those who have none'. It is hard to miss his note of exhilaration three years later, when 'The basic ration is being restored and once again cars may be used for church worship'.<sup>67</sup>

Other difficulties faced by the parish included the possibility of air raids, even on rural Slaugham, for in November 1940, at the height of the Blitz, the Sunday evening service had to be moved to 3.30pm 'owing to enemy activity over Sussex, and the rigid blackout regulations, with few cars out after dark'.<sup>68</sup> The previous month Jacomb-Hood told his readers that, across the parish 'All the churches, except the parish church', have been blacked out.<sup>69</sup> And heat as well as light was in short supply. In autumn 1942 the *Sussex Agricultural Express* reported a local debate about fuel rationing, some apparently suggesting that churches could set an example by adopting voluntary measures, such that 'some of the services could be held in large private houses'. Unsurprisingly the rector rejected this idea, saying 'People could wrap up well in the winter for the church services'.<sup>70</sup> A year later the heating problem was just as acute, as he had to inform parishioners that 'This month will be a testing time for loyal church worshippers. The Fuel Controller has decreed that no central heating will be permitted until November ... please come to church, if the weather becomes colder, in winter clothing'.<sup>71</sup> One piece of (apparent) good news was that 'Driver William Kember of the RASC is alive and is a PoW'. But just two months later the rector had to write that Kember had since succumbed to illness.<sup>72</sup> And tragedies could as easily take place on home as well as foreign fields. In October 1942 16-year-old local schoolboy Malcolm Scott died tragically at Winchester College after suffering, as Jacomb-Hood tersely called it, 'A fatal football [i.e. rugby] accident [which] removed this young man, so full of promise for the future'.<sup>73</sup> The subsequent coroner's inquest recorded a verdict of 'Accidental Death' following Scott's 'unprecedented' broken neck caused by a collapsed scrum.<sup>74</sup>

On the positive side, villagers enjoyed newsreels and 'up to date propaganda films'.<sup>75</sup> Home Guard Sunday was instigated, so the Ministry of Information said in May 1943, because 'it was about time the Home Guard got some praise, instead of the usual jokes, and some credit for "hard work put in on top of a long day's work", as "many are not so young as they used to be"', anticipating perhaps the membership of the fictional Warmington-on-Sea platoon, which was based on the Sussex coast.<sup>76</sup> Church parades were held in every parish on that day and Jacomb-Hood reported that, at Slaugham in April 1942, 'All uniformed services resident in this area are sharing in the Home Guard spirit ... men and women desire to do their best at whatever cost, to defend and keep this part of Sussex true to its highest traditions should any emergency arise'.<sup>77</sup> The Slaugham village archive contains a photograph (including Jacomb-Hood) entitled 'Pease Pottage Home Guard Celebrate 1946' which was probably a welcome home party for local demobbed servicemen.<sup>78</sup> Also good for morale was a plentiful supply of food. In September 1942 he could announce that 'A very fruitful harvest will be gathered this month as a direct result of the campaign for increased production of food' and exactly a year later he wrote 'the greater part of the harvest has now been carried in excellent condition'.<sup>79</sup>

Jacomb-Hood also reflected on the impact war had on the church life of the parish, remembering that 'one of the strongest features of parish magazines was the way they documented the role of the clergy in village life'.<sup>80</sup> Some traditional activities

continued, such as confirmation services, that in July 1943 featuring 26 candidates from Slaugham.<sup>81</sup> But other changes proved necessary. The arrival of so many evacuees prompted the start of a new Sunday School, but the announcement was coupled with a plea 'for others [to] kindly offer their services as teachers'. As men were being called up, 'A number of weddings at short notice prevailed last month'. Prayer meetings were held regularly and Jacomb-Hill enthusiastically supported the various Days of Prayer (beginning on 1 October 1939) that were called throughout war. He also introduced additional midweek prayer services, where 'the names of those serving will be specially remembered'.<sup>82</sup> But those Friday afternoon 'war time intercessions' did not always receive the backing from parishioners the rector anticipated. In June 1942 Jacomb-Hood complained, in print, 'Seldom, I am afraid, do more than three or four come. This hardly seems to be right'.<sup>83</sup> He saw campanology as a useful weapon of war too, for 'there is much to be said ... that church bells should ring out their joyful message ... in these days when all available spiritual forces must be brought in to play their rightful part, as a means to ending the war'.<sup>84</sup> By October 1944, with Paris liberated and Allied armies moving swiftly east towards Germany, the rector was able to join in enthusiastically with the archbishop of Canterbury's planned national service of thanksgiving for when Victory should arrive, setting 11am on the following Sunday morning as the time for the Slaugham celebration.<sup>85</sup>

The war also placed considerable pressure on clerical resources. Jacomb-Hood was pleased to have a new curate, Arthur Cole, who arrived in the parish via Eton, Chichester Theological College and 'four years in the City'.<sup>86</sup> After his departure two years later a great change ensued as a new 'Woman Worker', Agatha Newman, was appointed in Cole's place, 'to take services and hold meetings'. A few months later she stepped down, having 'proved her worth as a practical Christian'. Jacomb-Hood then called on his parishioners to give her replacement, Miss Veronica Hoare, 'a real welcome, and help her to know everyone'.<sup>87</sup> The *Mid Sussex Times* that December reported Jacomb-Hood's assessment, from *Parish Notes*, that there was little prospect of [a male] curate until war was over. But 'fortunately services have been maintained with little alteration ... thanks to outside clergy and lay help'.<sup>88</sup> When Hoare departed, in July 1945, the Rector paid her a fulsome tribute: 'After two years of devoted work, we are, with very great regret, saying farewell to Miss Hoare. She has made many friendships with old and young alike. When she arrived it was a new venture to have a Woman Worker in place of a Curate, and looked upon by some as an experiment. Within the space of two years Miss Hoare has established a firm position for herself and proved how valuable a female member of church staff can be'.<sup>89</sup> One suspects that Jacomb-Hood might have had a less favourable assessment of female assistants before the war intervened. She was replaced by new male curate Richard Poole, one of many former service chaplains to return to parish ministry at the cessation of hostilities.

### **The Church nationally**

But while Jacomb-Hood devoted much space to parish and village activities and issues, *Parish Notes* focused far less on national church and theological reflections. An exception was when William Temple succeeded Cosmo Gordon Lang as archbishop of Canterbury in Spring 1942. Then, the rector wrote 'The appointment of Dr Temple to be new Archbishop of Canterbury has met deservedly with unanimous approval. The Church of England needs leaders of outstanding force and ability'.<sup>90</sup> In May 1941 he noted 'a real turning to God in these days of sacrifice and uncertainty', although he recognised too that 'Many peoples' faith has gone, but works have survived'.<sup>91</sup> he

following month, in an extended article, he celebrated the ecumenical co-operation, ‘for religious ends’, between a Roman Catholic cardinal, an Anglican archbishop and a Free Church moderator, which he declared ‘unthinkable’ previously.<sup>92</sup> This was the Sword of the Spirit campaign, founded by Cardinal Arthur Hinsley in August 1940, which sought to promote Christian social teachings as an alternative to totalitarian ideologies. Lent and Easter prompted Jacomb-Hood to reflect on sin and repentance; in March 1941 he declared that ‘never has there been a greater need for penitence and prayer’. He saw the war as a divine judgment on the world and that ‘mankind may be braced to saner and more persistent effort to live ... so that the day may come when His [i.e. Christ’s] will is done on earth even as it is done in heaven’.<sup>93</sup> His use of the word ‘penitence’ (as opposed to ‘repentance’) and his privileging of works over grace would indicate that he subscribed to an Anglo-Catholic rather than an evangelical theological understanding. That suspicion is confirmed by his bracketing, in September 1941, of the doctrine of providence with the secondary cause of the Merchant Navy as it provided ‘constant and regular supplies of food’.<sup>94</sup> His unsurprising orthodoxy on the Trinity is confirmed by his Whitsun assertion (May 1942) that ‘Only God’s Holy Spirit can overcome the Evil spirits let loose in the world’.<sup>95</sup>

Just a few months later, in February 1946, Jacomb-Hood told his readers that ‘it I with very great regret that I have tendered my resignation’. Arguing that he was then then aged 67, and the large parish needed a younger man in charge, he also emphasised his great ‘sorrow of parting with so many dear friends’.<sup>96</sup> He was succeeded by the Rev A.P. Cameron who, as he had served as a senior chaplain with the 45th Division during the war, which had been based locally at Staplefield, no doubt impressed parish patron Colonel Warren.<sup>97</sup> Jacomb-Hood then took charge of the tiny parish of Linch, near Midhurst, which extended over just 850 acres and which had a population of barely 80 in the late 1940s, so the demands on his time and energy would have been far less than they were at Slaugham.<sup>98</sup> He died in 1960, aged 81. On his departure from Slaugham he received tributes calling him ‘an ideal parish priest ... and a genial and sympathetic rural dean, and his departure is greatly to be regretted’ and that he ‘had worked very hard for the welfare of the parish’.<sup>99</sup>

## Conclusion

How can the study of parish magazines improve our knowledge and understanding of local history? As this article hopefully shows, their ubiquity as a source means they are to be found in many county record offices. And their regular publication, within a fairly rigid format, generally gives a straightforward opportunity to examine change over time within a very specific location. Specifically—especially during major events such as a world war—they allow the close study of how the local community was impacted by such cataclysmic external events, and what it thought and felt about them. They are, as Snell points out, ‘evidently a source that historians concerned with the meaning of “community” must consider’.<sup>100</sup>

That said, parish magazines were always ‘the published voice of the clergy and they shed much light on the clergy’s importance’.<sup>101</sup> That voice was, however ‘always determinedly didactic’ and, particularly in small villages such as Slaugham where Anglican incumbents tended to wield even more influence than elsewhere, almost always offered a top-down view of parish life.<sup>102</sup> The main (but by no means the only) audience for many such magazines was ‘a closed circle of active churchgoers’.<sup>103</sup> So the information they provide tends to focus heavily on what members of the parish church are saying and doing, as Jacomb-Hood by and large reveals; but he failed to see ‘them

as a form of outreach', as other Anglican clergy did.<sup>104</sup> While this may shed extra light on the activities of local clergy and church establishment, it does mean that, by and large, non-churchgoers are ignored.

That partiality does not by any means obviate their value to the local historian, however, for they 'may be used in conjunction with other local records to illuminate parish life'.<sup>105</sup> So the wise local historian will use them alongside other documentary evidence such as poor law data, census records and newspapers among many others, to give a fuller picture of parish life. It should be one that also represents the views and concerns of both non-elite figures and those people who would rarely, if ever, darken the doors of their local Church of England building, including atheists and non-Anglican Christians, whether they be dissenters or Roman Catholics.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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# ‘Galloping Head’ and the New Poor Law

MIKE BOLTON

Following the publication of the report of the Royal Commission into ‘the administration and practical operation of the poor laws’ in February 1834, the government quickly introduced the Poor Law Amendment Bill. This passed through both houses of parliament with comfortable majorities and received the royal assent on 14 August. Within ten days a central authority, the Poor Law Commission, was appointed. They were sworn into office at noon on 23 August 1834 and began work in the afternoon. Two weeks later they moved into their headquarters in Somerset House. The three commissioners (George Nichols, John Shaw Lefevre and Thomas Frankland Lewis), with the help of Nassau Senior<sup>1</sup> and Edwin Chadwick,<sup>2</sup> began to sift through two thousand applications and then interview candidates who were to become assistant commissioners. Although patronage played a part, they were determined to appoint men with experience and ability. Initially they chose nine assistant commissioners (the number rose to 15 in 1835 and 21 a year later) whose job was to implement the New Poor Law in southern England.



**1 Sir Francis Bond Head** by Charles Turner (1837)  
*(reproduced by permission of the National Portrait Gallery)*

In Kent this responsibility was given to Sir Francis Bond Head.<sup>3</sup> He came from a well-established Kent family and had served in the Royal Engineers for thirteen years, fought at Waterloo, and was a future lieutenant governor of Upper Canada. After retiring from the army in 1825 he spent a year in Argentina working for the Rio Plata Mining Company, prospecting for possible gold and silver mines. He was an excellent horseman and his riding exploits across South America earned him the nickname ‘Galloping Head’ (he rode the 800 miles across South America in six days) and he was still riding sixteen miles every day at the age of 78. On returning to England, he wrote several popular books about his travels and adventures in South America.

In 1834 some of his friends had urged the lord chancellor, Lord Brougham, to make him a poor

law commissioner.<sup>4</sup> This was unsuccessful, but he was nevertheless appointed as one of the first assistant commissioners on 28 October 1834 with a salary of £700, plus a guinea a day subsistence allowance and travel expenses of 1s 6d per mile using a gig or coach. His appointment came as a surprise to some in the county and the *Kentish Gazette* felt that 'his writing of very agreeable books was hardly a qualification to be an Assistant Commissioner'.<sup>5</sup> However, his lack of political experience does not seem to have counted against him. In the eyes of the commissioners he came from a well-off landed family, had been knighted by William IV, could count on a number of influential friends and would be able to deal with wealthy local landowners on equal terms. He also had the advantage, not shared by all his fellow Commissioners, of being acquainted with the area for which he had responsibility. He had grown up in the village of Higham and had attended Rochester Grammar School. He trained for the army at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and this military experience probably counted most, marking him out as a suitable candidate for the post.

He arrived in Kent in November 1834 and, as might be expected of a former major in the army, he set about his work in a brisk fashion. He was expected to make a detailed inspection of the area, group parishes into unions, support the setting up of boards of guardians and encourage them to build new workhouses. He spent the winter months visiting nearly two hundred parishes, inspecting their existing workhouses as well as conferring with local landowners and magistrates. This was a significant undertaking, involving Head in extensive and arduous travel throughout the county, a task which was to prove too much for a number of his fellow commissioners who resigned suffering from exhaustion.<sup>6</sup> His visits confirmed his opinion that the 'pauper enjoys greater privileges and advantages than the honest and industrious labourer' but he was adamant that this was going to change. In future, when 'the idle resorted to a workhouse they would find that they must labour more and fair worse than those who maintain their families by their own exertions'.<sup>7</sup> Head was a scathing critic of the workhouses he visited, condemning them as 'small tottering hovels'.<sup>8</sup> He wrote to the Commission to say that in his opinion the workhouses are 'generally speaking in a most wretched tumble down state' and in many cases he felt that 'he could not be certain that the aged paupers would survive the hovels that shelter them'. In his report to the Commission he described the workhouse in the village of Hever as a 'small miserable mud thatched cottage', about 1½ miles from the village, which housed, 'three haggard families'. The workhouse at Edenbridge was a 'tumbledown building with many holes in the roof which was providing shelter for six elderly women and a chattering idiot'.<sup>9</sup>

Although the Poor Law Amendment Bill had a relatively easy passage through parliament, opposition began to emerge as the terms of the bill became known more widely. The *Kentish Gazette*, which was no friend of the New Poor Law, claimed that there was 'scarcely a parish in the country that does not condemn the injurious effect the Bill is calculated to entail upon society'. It felt that the law would give 'unconstitutional and overwhelming power' to the Poor Law Commission which threatened the 'ancient liberties' of the parish which traditionally had been responsible for looking after its own poor. The *Maidstone Journal* was equally critical, maintaining that it would be impossible to carry 'the law into operation without plunging the country into the horrors of civil warfare'.<sup>10</sup>

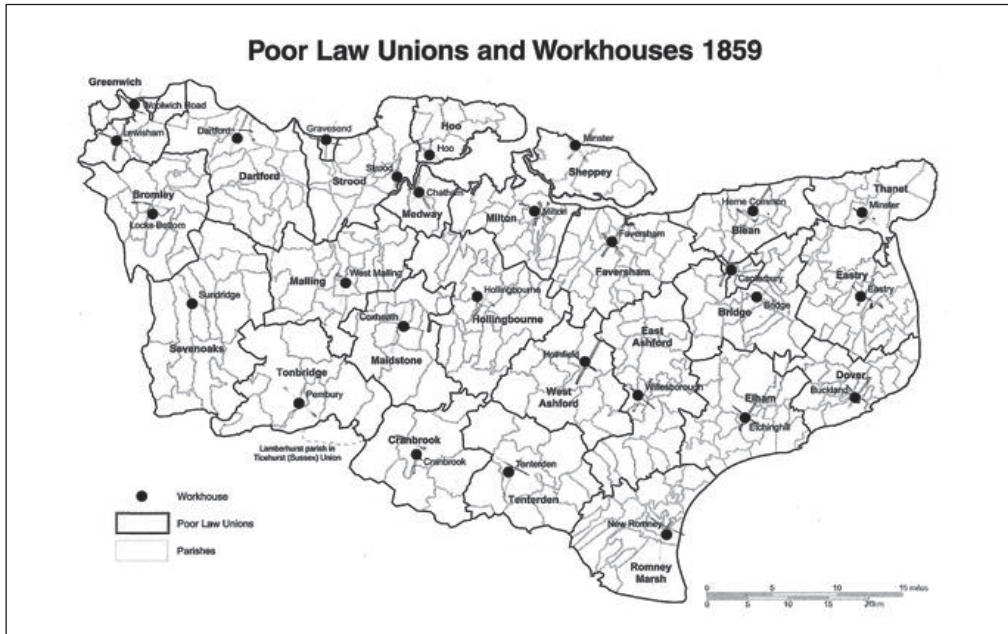
The same fears were expressed by the ratepayers at Sutton Valence, who sent a petition to parliament opposing the powers being given to the three commissioners, which they believed were 'a usurpation of their undoubted rights' and felt that if the Bill became law 'it would drive the agricultural labourers into open revolt'.<sup>11</sup> The Court of Guardians at Canterbury set up a committee to examine the bill in detail. At first, they decided to petition parliament expressing their objection to certain 'unjust

and obnoxious clauses'. They also discussed sending a delegation of three people to London to obtain an interview with the chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Althorp, who was about to introduce the second reading of the bill. Some at the meeting felt this would be an unnecessary expense, so they agreed instead to send their petition to their own city MP.<sup>12</sup> The *Maidstone Journal* reported that the parish meeting at East Malling 'excited much interest in the neighbourhood'. It also objected to the changes proposed in the Bill and decided to send a petition to the House of Lords.<sup>13</sup> In the opinion of the select vestry at Minster on the Isle of Sheppey the Poor Law Bill was highly objectionable, 'being unconstitutional in principle and unnecessary in practice'. They passed a resolution requesting that their two East Kent MPs (Sir Edward Knatchbull and J.P. Plumtree) should oppose its future progress through parliament.<sup>14</sup>

Not only was there deep resentment that central government was interfering in local affairs, but many parishes maintained that in recent years they had introduced measures to tighten up their administration of poor relief which had reduced their costs. Following the Sturges Bourne Act of 1819 many parishes had set up select vestries to oversee the operation of poor relief. In addition, almost half of Kent parishes had appointed full-time paid assistant overseers, to help the part-time and unpaid overseer collect the poor rate and relieve the poor.<sup>15</sup> Samuel Bligh, who had been appointed as assistant overseer by the select vestry at Sevenoaks, told the Poor Law Commission that since his employment 'our pension list has been considerably reduced'.<sup>16</sup> The vestry at Westerham maintained that they had reduced the money they spent on relief by using 'a piece of waste ground to provide spade husbandry' for their able-bodied poor. The vestry at Cowden considered that 'the greatest evils in the parish had been want of employment', but since they had adopted the labour rate<sup>17</sup> over the previous two years they had spent very little money on 'persons out of employment'.<sup>18</sup> By 1834 this practice had been adopted by nineteen parishes in Kent.<sup>19</sup> Given the steps that many parishes had taken to improve their administration, it is hardly surprising that there was deep resentment at the interference into local affairs by distant poor law commissioners based in London.

These concerns continued to grow following Francis Head's arrival in Kent, when he began to meet with parish officers and magistrates to outline his plans to group parishes into unions. Fearing that large open meetings might create difficulties, the assistant commissioners were encouraged by the Poor Law Commission to avoid genuinely public meetings yet, in practice, this was not always possible. Those who came to hear Francis Head's proposals were usually described in local papers as being 'numerous and respectable'. The vestry meeting at Sittingbourne had 'the biggest attendance ever known',<sup>20</sup> while at Cranbrook the large room was said to be 'crowded almost to suffocation'.<sup>21</sup> An even bigger meeting took place at the Star inn in Maidstone, attended by over 300 people.<sup>22</sup>

Generally, Francis Head was courteously received and usually praised for the clear way he explained the new law although despite his diplomacy he still met some resistance. He told a meeting in Aylesford that when he arrived in East Kent, 'he had met with considerable difficulty in forming Unions owing to the prejudices which had been raised against the measure'.<sup>23</sup> The work of the assistant commissioners was not made any easier because the new law was still 'imperfectly understood' by parish officials 'despite earlier directives' having been sent to overseers.<sup>24</sup> This was rectified by Edwin Chadwick, the Commission's secretary, who sent a letter in November 1834 to all overseers in the country, explaining their duties and reassuring them that they would remain responsible for the relief of the poor, as they had always been, but they should bear in mind 'the necessity of vigilance and strict economy in its distribution'.<sup>25</sup>



**2 The Poor Law Unions established in Kent in 1834-1837** (from Terence Lawson and David Killingray, *Historical Atlas of Kent*, by kind permission)

Despite the care Francis Head took to plan the new union boundaries some of his proposals proved contentious. At Sittingbourne 72 ratepayers wrote to the Commission objecting at being forced to join a union. They complained that ratepayers had not been given sufficient time to consider the proposals. Like many parishes they were concerned about the expense of implementing the new law. They complained that building a new workhouse would be 'very burdensome', especially since they had already spent a considerable amount of money on improving their old workhouse in which 'the poor are now comfortably provided for'. They also disapproved of a measure which would 'take away the control of their own affairs' and viewed with 'much apprehension the injury the inhabitants of Sittingbourne were likely to sustain'. They sent a petition but their complaints were dismissed by Edwin Chadwick, who replied that he felt that the ratepayers had had ample time to consider the proposals and the Commission was 'most firmly convinced of the necessity of the measure'.<sup>26</sup>

Ratepayers at Bridge were furious that they had been excluded from a meeting with the assistant commissioner to discuss proposals for a union and wished to express their 'total dissent' from the plans. They decided to go ahead and petition parliament.<sup>27</sup> The inhabitants and ratepayers of Tonbridge felt the same way and agreed that the provisions of the Act were 'injurious to the rights and interests of the poor'. They decided to send an address to the king.<sup>28</sup> Francis Head encountered even stiffer opposition when he met magistrates and many of the 'principal inhabitants' of Cranbrook. Although it was reported that he explained the purpose of the New Poor Law in a 'calm and deliberate manner' the meeting, which lasted an hour and a half, soon became heated. Head announced that he 'had not met with such opposition at any meeting before'. He was clearly becoming exasperated and informed them that, regardless of their objections, he had the authority to implement the law. The meeting broke up with some of those present protesting that had they known this they could have 'taken their dinner two hours earlier'.<sup>29</sup>

Although Head met opposition at some meetings, in most cases he was able to persuade parishes to fall into line. At his meeting at the *Bull* inn in Rochester he read out 'a well written paper' setting forth 'the evils and inconveniencies of the old system'. He explained that the new workhouses would provide 'a comfortable retreat for the aged and infirm, an opportunity for the instruction of the young and a mode of coercion for the idle and profligate'. He then read out letters from 'several gentlemen' from East Kent 'eulogising the beneficial workings' of the new system. When a vote was taken to set up a union only two people objected. The *Kentish Gazette* attributed this to Francis Head's 'very clear and judicious statement' which had overcome the opposition of those who had 'come into the room not friendly to his plan'.<sup>30</sup> Head's meeting at Maidstone was very 'numerously attended by farmers residing in the neighbourhood'. Once again, he maintained that the new unions in East Kent had seen a fall in poor rates. He also strongly hinted that the Commission had the power to form unions where it felt 'proper to do so' although he claimed that he had always chosen to consult 'the feelings and interests of the rate payers'. When a vote was taken at the end of the meeting only 14 out of 313 opposed his plan.

Much of Francis Head's success was due to the way he carefully planned every meeting. Given his experience as a former army officer it is not surprising that he prepared the ground with 'military precision'.<sup>31</sup> Following his meeting of magistrates and parish officials at the *Crown* inn at Sevenoaks on 28 November 1834 he informed the Commission that a group of people had attended with an 'avowed hostility to the new law' so that 'he did not feel at all confident as to the outcome of the meeting'. He added that 'the peasantry in this part of Kent has succeeded in intimidating the upper classes and their moral state is below anything I have almost ever witnessed in any part of the county'.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, he was able to report to them afterwards that, much to his surprise, the meeting was more successful than he had expected and a resolution had been passed in favour of forming a union.

Head was well aware that his success depended on gaining the support of the most influential landowners in a locality. Many of these men were magistrates who would serve as ex-officio members on boards of guardians, where their influence in many places continued into the late nineteenth century. Prior to this they often played a crucial role in establishing the new union boundaries.<sup>33</sup> Before his meeting on 28 November 1834 he wrote to Lord Templemore, at his mansion near Westerham, to say he proposed 'as early as profitable of doing myself the honour of waiting upon your Lordship'.<sup>34</sup> The meeting subsequently took place and enabled Head to explain in person his plans for the Sevenoaks Union to both Lord Templemore and Dr George Doyley, rector of Sundridge. He also tried to visit Earl Amherst and Lord Camden, who was lord lieutenant of the county at the time, but they were 'not at home'. He subsequently wrote to both men hoping they would be 'disposed to joining the meeting'. He wisely made no attempt to contact the ultra-Tory Earl Stanhope at nearby Chevening. He was well known as a fierce critic of the New Poor Law and had used his platform in the House of Lords to condemn 'the grievous cruelties, the flagrant injustice and the intolerable oppression of the amended system'.<sup>35</sup> Stanhope never recognised the authority of the three Poor Law Commissioners whom he regarded as 'illegal dictators'. His opposition continued for several years. In 1838 he was starting to work on plans for founding a National Anti-Poor Law Association which he hoped would coordinate the work of similar organisations throughout the country. This was launched in February but never came to anything.<sup>36</sup>

At the Sevenoaks meeting, Head spent over two hours explaining to the 36 parish officials, including fifteen magistrates, the 'immense advantages' of the new system, stressing in particular the likely reduction in the poor rates. He told them that he

strongly advocated the formation of a large union, because he felt it would be difficult for the poor to intimidate it. At the end of the meeting he was thanked for 'the trouble he had taken and for the lucid explanation' he had provided. One of those attending the meeting was Charles Warde, a Westerham magistrate and large landowner, whom Head described to the Commission as a 'man of immense wealth and someone the parish looked to for everything'.<sup>37</sup> At the end of the meeting Charles Warde surprised everyone by announcing that his opinion had changed since he had 'first entered the room'. A resolution was then passed saying that the meeting had 'no opposition' to Sir Francis Head's proposal to establish a union but, before doing so, they wanted to 'take the sense of the Vestries'. To help ensure a favourable response, Head asked his clerk to write immediately to each parish vestry to explain his proposals saying that not only would 'the management be infinitely cheaper' but also, in his view 'a great blessing to the industrious labourer'.<sup>38</sup> A further meeting took place on 15 December 1834. Although a number of vestries had reservations, the majority signalled their approval which meant that the formation of the Sevenoaks Union could go ahead.

Francis Head took the same trouble to carefully explain his proposals at all the meetings he attended. At a meeting in the *Halfway House* at Maidstone he won over any doubters by explaining that, although the Commission had the power to form a new union, he felt it was always important to consult 'the feelings and wishes of the ratepayers'.<sup>39</sup> He faced particularly strong opposition to his proposals for a union on the Isle of Sheppey, where the ratepayers had objected to his suggestion that the parish of Elmly be part of the new Milton Union. They felt strongly enough to set up a committee to correspond with the Poor Law Commission. Perhaps realising the strength of feeling the issue had generated, Head was prepared to admit 'an error' had been made and reversed the decision, claiming that as a stranger to this part of the country he had made the suggestion 'without sufficient scrutiny'.<sup>40</sup>

Despite objections from some parishes, Head forged ahead and succeeded in establishing a considerable number of unions. It was only later, when the guardians in the Milton and Faversham Unions began to put the new relief arrangements into practice, that serious opposition took place. In late April and early May anti-poor law rioting swept through the small Swale villages in East Kent. The Milton Union had been one of the first to be formed in March 1835, and encouraged by Francis Head had gone ahead and instructed its relieving officer to begin to offer relief partly in money and the rest in bread tickets redeemable at local shops. On 30 April 1835 a large crowd gathered outside Bapchild church, including labourers from three neighbouring villages. There was a strong feeling among the poor that outdoor relief, in money, was part of their birthright and this was being stolen from them. Feelings ran high and, when the relieving officer and an overseer arrived to distribute relief, they had their books and papers torn to pieces although they managed to escape without serious injury. The Rev Dr John Poore, who was a guardian as well as chairman of the local bench of magistrates, was sufficiently worried to write to the poor law commissioners telling them that 'the excitement in the neighbourhood is such that nothing but a strong military force will keep it down'.<sup>41</sup> Despite his concerns, he did not call for military assistance at this stage.

The guardians at Faversham followed suit and instructed their relieving officer to go ahead and issue relief, partly in cash. More trouble occurred when relief was distributed at Bredgar on 2 May. Fortunately, the presence of several constables prevented the situation getting out of control. Rumours then began circulating that trouble was expected at Doddington, a village in the Faversham Union. A crowd estimated to be 250 strong gathered, on 4 May, armed with sticks and 'formidable

bludgeons'. John Poore and another guardian were trapped in a workhouse for 1½ hours. The relieving officer then set off to the village of Newnham and was followed by an angry crowd. He capitulated and paid relief totally in money. Over the next couple of days further trouble took place at Hernhill, Lynsted and Throwley. The most serious breach of the peace occurred on 7 May at the village of Rodmersham, situated between Sittingbourne and Faversham. A crowd of 150 people assembled. There protestors were confiscating vouchers from those who had taken relief and forcing claimants back into the church to demand cash. Several labourers had blackened their faces to avoid detection and one wore a red cap. Another had a placard in his hat saying 'we will have money or blood'. Many of those waiting to obtain relief were women, who were searched for tickets in a 'most indecent and unbecoming manner'.<sup>42</sup> A relieving officer and a guardian were trapped inside the church for four hours. The situation was rapidly getting out of control until two sergeants from the Metropolitan Police arrived, having been summoned from Faversham. They were followed by 120 men of the 28 Foot. On discovering that the soldiers had fixed their bayonets and loaded their rifles, the demonstrators dispersed. Following a minor disturbance at Ospringe the next day resistance ended. Within a week or so the area had returned to normal.

A total of 53 labourers were tried at East Kent Sessions held at Canterbury on the 3 and 4 June. Some were charged with assault, ill treatment and falsely imprisoning officers in the execution of their duties, while several others were charged with riot and unlawful assembly. By the standards of the day the sentences they received were light, less severe than the punishment given to those who had participated in the Swing Riots five years earlier. Most men received sentences of between three and eighteen months. Only two of the most prominent protestors were destined to spend two years in Maidstone Gaol.

While the disturbances were taking place Francis Head was staying at the *George* at Sittingbourne. He wrote to the Commission on 7 May describing the disturbances and admitted that the events had caused considerable 'excitement and a great feeling of alarm throughout the district'. He was concerned that the disturbances would be 'exploited by the enemies of the Poor Law', and warned that the press would magnify events into 'a serious disturbance'. Nevertheless, he seems to have played down the seriousness of the unrest and believed in his 'humble judgment' that the protestors were 'misguided men who have risen to oppose they know not what'.<sup>43</sup> He informed the Commissioners that, in his opinion, the insurgents' demands 'were impossible to agree to and they were only insisting on money payments so that it could be spent in beer shops'. Head was against calling in the military and believed that he could appease the demonstrators by reasoning with them. He went so far as to print posters calling a meeting in the hamlet of Green Street at 12 o'clock on 12 May. Lord Camden deplored this initiative and brought pressure to bear on the Home Office and Somerset House. Head had no option but cancel his plans to confront the protestors: in 'consequence of the excited state of the people he was advised by the Commissioners not to appear'.

Despite these disturbances opposition to the New Poor Law in Kent was never strong enough to delay its implementation and this was accomplished remarkably swiftly. On 25 March 1835 the Faversham Union was one of the first to be formed.<sup>44</sup> Elections for guardians took place the next day and the new board met with Francis Head on 7 April. It quickly elected officers and established a committee to plan a new workhouse. A site was purchased and, at the time of the riots, its foundations were being dug. The first paupers moved in on 13 January 1836. This had all been achieved in less than a year despite the unrest in the area.

While Head was establishing the last union in East Kent at Romney Marsh in November 1835, he received an invitation from the government to become the lieutenant governor of Upper Canada. He was persuaded to accept the post even though he admitted that he was 'altogether at a loss to conceive why this appointment had been offered' since he was 'grossly ignorant of everything that in any way related to the government of our colonies'.<sup>45</sup> Once his appointment became known several boards of guardians wrote to congratulate him on his appointment. The clerk to the North Aylesford Union was asked to write and thank him 'for his mild and conciliatory deportment on all occasions and the valuable assistance they had received in the performance of their duties and for his able advice and assistance'.<sup>46</sup> The guardians at Hollingbourne hoped that he would 'enjoy health and satisfaction in the discharge of his new and weighty duties'.<sup>47</sup>

Well before Head sailed from Liverpool to Quebec on 8 December 1835, he had submitted his report to the commissioners. This appeared, with reports from all the other assistant commissioners, in the *First Annual Report of the Poor Law Commission* which was published on 8 August 1835. Describing the progress he had made in establishing new unions, he confidently boasted that 'the clerks and relieving officers are individuals of very great respectability and the newly appointed guardians are not only some of the largest farmers and proprietors in this part of the county but many are men of business, possessing besides zeal, great practical knowledge and experience'. He claimed that the poor rates in East Kent are 'now guarded by powers fully competent to control expenditure'.<sup>48</sup> There is no evidence to show that the Commission was pleased to see the back of him. He had set up 22 unions, leaving just five to be established by Edward Tufnell, his less colourful but efficient successor. Although there is a case for saying that he made too much of his achievements, there is no doubt that the Commission would have been pleased with his work. New workhouses were being built throughout the county and the number of able-bodied paupers seeking relief had fallen significantly. Kent's expenditure on poor relief fell from £343,878 in 1834 to £185,309 three years later even though it began to rise again after 1839.<sup>49</sup> Opposition to the New Poor Law in Kent may have been more widespread than has sometimes been assumed, but it was never strong enough to seriously derail the work of the Poor Law Commission. Francis Head was fortunate that protest was scattered and the piecemeal adoption of the changes prevented any concerted opposition from developing. There was no well organised anti-poor law movement like that which would develop later in parts of northern England. Even the most serious disturbances in East Kent lacked effective leadership and were suppressed with relative ease. The weather was kind too. Before Francis Head arrived to carry out his work the months of August and September had been fine and hot. The winter that followed was mild so there was more employment available for the agricultural labourer. With the backing of the gentry and farmers, and the possibility of calling upon military assistance, protest was doomed to failure.

Despite these favourable factors the role that Francis Head played should not be overlooked. He has been criticised as being 'too flamboyant, independent and eccentric to be an ideal Assistant Commissioner'.<sup>50</sup> He was certainly a colourful and restless character. He had only spent fourteen months implementing the New Poor Law in Kent before being appointed lieutenant general of Upper Canada. He stayed there for three years before he was recalled to England. From then until his death in 1875 he played no further part in public life, apart from successfully pressing to be made a privy councillor at the age of 74. He spent his most of his time writing books and articles. He was certainly unconventional but was very much a man of action so his powerful personality, energy and ability at speaking and writing, were considerable assets in his work as an assistant commissioner. His role in implementing the New Poor Law in Kent although short-lived should not be underestimated.

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# 'Name this child': Devon and Cornwall parish registers 1550-1750

ANDREW JONES

## Introduction

This article examines the use of Christian names in Devon and Cornwall and the nature of the society which produced them. Until the later nineteenth century, the diocese of Exeter, which comprised both counties, was large and remote. Most of north and west Devon, and much of Cornwall remained difficult to access by land until the railway branch lines were built after 1850. The diocese was predominantly rural—the growth of Plymouth as a centre of population came after 1750. The analysis uses parish registers, many of which are now available (if not always readable) on-line; there are many transcripts on open access in the Devon Heritage Centre. In looking at Christian names, my aim is not to quantify, nor to pretend to a completeness (many of the sixteenth-century registers are now lost), and I am aware that readers might quickly discover earlier or later examples of particular names. Rather, I wanted to suggest trends and identify fashions. Why did parents name their children as they did? What sources and resources did they draw on? We shall look at the various categories into which the majority of names fell, although these categories are both obvious and fluid, but a key change occurred in the middle years of the eighteenth century when many names that had been used by successive generations of parishioners disappeared.

## A social document

Parish registers reflect the society that produced them, or perhaps reveal how the clergy or the parish clerk viewed their parish and their world. This is particularly evident in two ways. First, with very few exceptions, clergy always recorded, disapprovingly, illegitimacy. The base-born child and the erring mother were routinely identified (the reputed father less frequently). Many clergy used a marginal 'B' or some other mark to draw attention to this sin. I have not encountered, in Exeter diocese, the equivalent of the Reverend Peter Skrimshire Wood of Middleton, Norfolk, who in the 1820s wrote 'whore and mantrap' against the name of every unmarried mother in his baptism register,<sup>1</sup> but I have no doubt he existed. The stigma of illegitimacy was enduring, if only in the minds of the clergy. When John Feley was buried at Branscombe (Devon) in 1799 at the age of 87, it was still recorded that he had been base-born. We shall return to the illegitimate when we consider the names given to these children.

Second, gentry families (and all of higher status) were routinely recognised as such: fathers were 'Mr' or esquire; mothers or wives, mistress or dame; knights, baronets and peers given their title. Often such entries were picked out in the register by larger writing or by a blacker ink (or both). If censorious of the errant, clergy were equal in their recognition of their social equals or superiors. There are occasional comments: 'eminent for strict honour and integrity, or 'universally lamented' (along with a Latin tag).<sup>2</sup> And when it came to their own place in society, the clergy often noted the baptisms of their own children in Latin, to emphasise their education, and they sometimes recorded the date of birth and the time of day or night when the birth occurred,<sup>3</sup> a detail seldom accorded to anyone else.

The society reflected in the registers nursed a mild paranoia or prejudice. This was directed towards the stranger, the vagrant, and the Irish (less so, the Welsh and the Scots). The unknown incomer was suspect. He or she might well become a burden on a parish's charity or (after 1601) on the parish poor rate. So, the registers recorded, where known, the parish from which an incomer came (or where he or she was born). This helped to identify and thus assimilate the stranger. We shall examine vagrancy and the Irish in more detail. The corollary of this paranoia was a degree of 'inclusion'. The register was conceived as a resource for the whole parish, regardless of where a child from the parish might be baptised or a person married or buried. With marriages, banns should have been read in the parishes concerned; and it is clear from the record, certainly prior to the eighteenth century, that clergy recorded a marriage that was solemnised elsewhere, simply because it involved 'their' parish. Thus, we find baptisms recorded despite children having been christened elsewhere. At Kilkhampton (Cornwall), the baptisms of the children of the earl of Bath were registered, despite their having taken place in London. At Brixham in 1695, the priest noted the baptism of Susanna, daughter of a Captain Francis Maynard. This had taken place in London, but Mr Thomas Maynard particularly requested that the baptism was entered in the Brixham register. It was duly done. At Breage (Cornwall), a note was made in December 1679 'for memory' of a baptism of a parishioner which actually took place at Sithney. And at Bishops Nympton (Devon), between 1703 and 1705, the clerk noted the baptisms of those 'not baptised in our church': they were still parishioners. This sense of inclusion might even extend to nonconformists. Baptisms at dissenting meetings were noted, as were burials in Quaker or Presbyterian burial grounds.<sup>4</sup> Again, the registers suggest that such people still 'belonged' to the parish despite their absence from the parish church.

### **The anatomy of society**

Social standing within the community, and the identity of the parish as a self-contained community, form the background to a whole range of topics which emerge from the registers. Clergy were, for example, fascinated by old age, although we must be cautious. The burial of 'old widow so-and-so' or 'old John such-and-such' need not indicate great age, only that the person was 'old' in contrast to another with the same name. But it was common for the age of anyone dying in their eighties to be noted; nineties, usually, and centenarians, always. The palm must go to John Padden, buried at Topsham in 1657, aged 111; and I have noted eight others aged 'about 100' or over.<sup>5</sup> Whether they actually were or not is another matter. On occasion, there is precision: Edward Williams was buried in the church of St Stephen-in-Brannel (Cornwall) in 1701, aged 93 years, 9 months and 24 days.

Clergy were equally arrested by the cause of death. Most deaths went unremarked, which in a society where death was ever-present was scarcely surprising. But sudden death, especially among the fit and well, was noted: In 1680, Thomas Whittle of Ugborough died aged 25, 'in the flower of his youth'. The coastal parishes recorded many drownings (often unidentified). There were falls from cliffs, falls into mines. Two people were killed in St Sidwell, Exeter, in 1674 by the collapse of a house. At Crantock (Cornwall) in 1706, a bellringer was caught up by a bell-rope; at Lamerton (Devon) in 1555, a woman was injured in the fields by a wain and died later that week from her injuries; at Camborne in 1545, three children were 'piteously burnt' and died in a house fire while their parents were at church. Between 1782 and 1786, the priest at Gerrans (Cornwall, on one of the Roseland peninsulas) recorded the causes of death of his parishioners. He noted child-death but not its cause (simply because it was ever-

present). Among adults, he reckoned that consumption was the commonest killer; then he listed indiscriminately childbirth (women), drownings, old age, natural decay, smallpox, dropsy and sudden death. No doubt, his list could be replicated in many parishes in the diocese and beyond.

The clergy noted certain characteristics, chief among which was nationality. We shall return to the Irish when considering vagrancy; the Welsh were less common and caused less interest. They were perceived as little threat to a parish. Contacts by sea between north Devon and South Wales were well-established. Black people, nearly all servants, were baptised and buried (see appendix). Presumably, most were brought back from the Caribbean. Physical characteristics included the blind, the deaf, and the dumb;<sup>6</sup> and also a ‘diddler’, someone who shakes or trembles, so a person with Parkinson’s disease or some similar complaint.<sup>7</sup>

Many registers contain occasional listings of occupations (usually at burial); these rarely last more than a year or two.<sup>8</sup> They provide us with what we might expect: labourers, miners, carpenters, thatchers and so forth. Some occupations were recorded because the person buried had played an important or useful role in the community and there was an instinctive, sub-conscious reaction (who will take on this role now?). Here we may note, for example, town crier, schoolmaster, midwife, gravedigger.<sup>9</sup> At the beginning of our period, we find a few instances of the occupation taking the place of the surname, a reminder that nomenclature underwent a fundamental shift towards universal surnames in the period 1400-1600. We may note ‘the herdsman’, and ‘the buttmaker’.<sup>10</sup> And there are occasional survivals of rare descriptions, such as ‘helliar’ (a slater or roofer) and ‘millard’ (the keeper or guardian of the mill).<sup>11</sup>

### **The base-born and the still-born**

The birth and the burial of children dominate the registers. The illegitimate presented the clergy with ongoing problems. Some children were abandoned at birth—usually children of vagrants (considered in the next section, on foundlings and fostering), and so neither parent was known. In many cases, a single woman would not reveal the father, or was uncertain who was the father.<sup>12</sup> Some women were considered incorrigible and the clergy recorded ‘a third such child’ and even ‘a sixth bastard’.<sup>13</sup> A few women were labelled ‘whore’, probably the only way in which a clergyman could express his displeasure. At St Austell, in 1706, Margaret Varne [probably either Vaughan or Warne] had obviously got up the nose of the vicar, Stephen Hugo. He turned both barrels on her when he baptised her base-son Edward, calling her ‘a notorious, impudent, brazen-faced whore’.<sup>14</sup> She did not care.

The still-born and the child dying just after birth presented the clergy with a particular problem. The *Book of Common Prayer* forbade burial in consecrated ground to any who died unbaptised. What was the priest to do when confronted with a child who, through no fault of its own or of the parents, was unbaptised? There are two kinds of evidence: clear, and ambiguous. In plenty of instances the burial took place without the formal liturgy of Christian burial—the child was simply ‘put into the ground’ or ‘put into the earth’, perhaps with some appropriate prayer.<sup>15</sup> But there are many more instances where it seems the clergy simply exercised a necessary and merciful discretion and the still-born or just-born were buried with the rite of burial read over the grave. Suicides presented a similar problem—they were not supposed to be buried in consecrated ground. In fact, recorded suicides were very rare. They appear to have been interred in land adjoining the churchyard.<sup>16</sup> Occasionally, children buried within a month of birth were recorded as chrisomers—the chrisom was the white cloth or robe worn at

baptism. Examples occur at Bishops Nympton (Devon) from 1590; at Berryarbor (Devon), 1607–1636, and in Exeter (St Kerrian, and All Hallows-on-the-Wall) 1597, 1638. Such children must have been baptised, probably *in extremis*.

The parish registers shed a weak but welcome light upon the care of abandoned children. Given the nature of society, its poverty and the amount of vagrancy and its associated begging, the abandonment of children was not uncommon. The newborn were left in obvious places in a parish, where they would be found. Some were left in baskets—one foundling at Hartland (north-west Devon) was baptised Moses (the classic Biblical foundling in a basket). In 1686, at St Kerrian, Exeter, a foundling, left 'on a stall in this parish', was baptised (appropriately enough) Charity Kerrian. How did such children survive? Such evidence as emerges from the registers suggests that the parishes adapted to the need: there would always be a wet-nurse available, given the infant death-rate. So, we find children 'brought to the parish to be nursed', a 'nurse-child', a foster-son, and so on.

### Plagues and work

Contagious diseases (especially small pox and the sweating sickness) were an ever-present threat to every parish. When such illnesses arrived they cut swathes through communities, killing whole families. Little recognised is the strain which contagion placed on the priest and the parish sexton, and those who helped out in emergencies. The priest found himself overrun: at Camborne (Cornwall) in September 1547, there were 49 burials; at Madron (near Penzance, Cornwall) in 1578, there were 33 burials in July, 53 in August, and 19 in September; at Honiton (Devon) in July 1724, there were 57 burials; and at Plymouth in just one week in May 1626, 62 burials were registered. At Mevagissey (Cornwall), forty children died of small pox between 7 August and 1 November 1753. And at Plympton St Mary (Devon) in 1643, there were twelve burials in January, 44 in both February and March, declining to twelve in April. All these pale before the contagion that broke out in Bodmin (Cornwall) in the summer and early autumn of 1576. In August, there were over 170 burials, including twenty on one day (22 August); this was followed by some ninety burials in September. Thereafter, the outbreak began to subside. All this placed an immense burden on clergy and those who assisted. At the height of a crisis, recourse was had to shared graves and burial without a coffin. A sexton had to call for help to keep up with the demand for grave-space. And all was dug by hand.

### Vagrancy and the Irish

Vagrancy was an ongoing problem; as many Irish people were vagrant, the Irish neatly rolled two problems into one. Throughout our period, immigration from Ireland into the western ports, such as Bristol and Liverpool, rippled out in all directions. The registers of Devon and Cornwall show us a constant Irish presence—wandering beggars, 'walking' men, women and children, all of them strangers, most of them nameless. In 1603 Plympton St Mary (Devon) recorded the burial of 'Denysh, a nerishman, stranger'. Occasionally, a child is baptised but for the vast majority of this underclass it was their burial that was recorded, their bodies found somewhere in the parish. Almost all would have been Roman Catholic, but the rites of the Church of England and its graveyards were the only ones available to them.

Alongside the Irish, there was a second stream encountered in the parishes, the 'ordinary' vagrant or vagrant family. They too are usually encountered in the registers when they died. Sometimes, we meet a little more detail. An 'old, vagrant beggar-

woman' died at North Tamerton (Cornwall) in 1699. Her 'patching place' was nearby Week St Mary: this means the place where she 'deceived' or 'acted knavishly'. In other words, her 'patch'. At the least, she was known: her name was Judith Baker. In 1630, the daughter of a vagrant woman was baptised at Topsham (Devon); the mother was described as a 'runnagate' woman (a vagabond). Two decades later, a 'poor, wandering ballad woman' was buried at Topsham (1693). Presumably she hawked ballad-sheets to eke out a living, and she probably sang too, as an accompaniment to her begging. We can feel something of hardship or destitution from an entry in the register of St Minver (Cornwall) in 1602: a child (unnamed) was buried, 'a poor wandering suckling at his mother's breast'.

### **Clerk or clergy?**

Who wrote the registers? We can usually distinguish parish clerk from priest by the style of handwriting and by the spelling. The literacy of most clerks was pretty basic. By our standards, their grammar and spelling was entirely inconsistent (the same name spelled differently in the same entry) and based on what they heard. The phonetics of the registers need not detain us here, but it remains a source of confusion to the reader and a subject of interest to the historian of literacy and of speech.<sup>17</sup> It is clear that most clerks wrote up the register perhaps yearly, perhaps at shorter intervals, and did so either from notes or from their own note-books.<sup>18</sup> But clergy also kept the register, sometimes sharing the task with the clerk and sometimes (especially in the smaller parishes) writing up the register themselves. Most clergy (but by no means all) had a better hand and a consistency of spelling. And it was they who were the source of most the comments which illuminate the society of which they were a vital part.

### **Christian names**

The registers provide us with the name of the child or children being baptised, and also the names of the father and, often, the mother; similarly with burials, we often have the name of a husband, a wife, a parent alongside that of the deceased. It is worth reminding ourselves that where we have just the names of the deceased we are not always privy to their sex—for example, 'Francis' could be male or female, as could a variety of other names, commented on below. Registers were not conceived as historical records as we now understand that concept. It is common to find burial entries such as 'old widow Brown'. At the time, everyone knew her identity, and it never occurred to the clergy or the parish clerk that a later generation might like to know more.

The great majority of parents chose names for their children from a core of some fourteen male names and some seventeen female names, listed in appendix. They are the Johns and Williams, and the Marys and the Elizabeths. As the eighteenth century progressed, so the core became ever more dominant. Many names, common before 1700, fell out of fashion. Alongside the core, there was a penumbra of less common but still widely used names, found across the diocese. Again, these are listed below—there are some thirty male names and about twenty female. Beyond the core and the penumbra, there were around fifteen other categories of names: the Biblical, those taken from the Church of England liturgy, ancient myth, ancient history, early Christian history, later history, contemporary, women's names, saints, 'puritan names', Christian virtues, places, male/female names, and two final groups which I label 'appropriate names' and 'wishful thinking'.

Once a name, particularly an unusual one, was used, two tendencies may be noted. First, other parents copied it, and so a name became established in a community for two, perhaps three generations. Second, a name was passed on in the family. A few names were clearly very localised. We may take the rare female name Simme (variously Simea, Symmye, Semme, Zemmeye, Seymey, Somay, Syme): I have found it solely at Plympton St Mary (Devon, 1603-1632) and at neighbouring Shaugh Prior (1585-1640). I have noted eight examples of the female name Clace: they were centred on Landkey (Devon, four occurrences, 1629-1691) with further examples within an eight-mile radius of Landkey (Atherington, High Bickington, and Frithelstock, 1610-1674). Lastly, we may note the female name Candace which occurred mainly in Cornwall, with a particular cluster in Sithney and Breage, neighbouring parishes (1678-1753). There are many such examples.

### **Biblical names**

The Bible was by far the biggest single influence on the choice of a Christian name. I exclude those Bible names that occur in the core and penumbra, assuming that they were part of the common stock on which parents drew. They probably convey no specific religious conviction. This still leaves us with approaching 160 names taken from scripture. I have included the traditional names of the 'three wise men' [Balthazar, Caspar and Melchior] though they are not named in Matthew's gospel; the names Angel and Seraphim; and Joachim, the legendary father of Mary, again not named. I have not included Biblical names given to twins and triplets—discussed below—nor those names listed under 'places'.

The Biblical names range from the completely obscure to the reasonably well-known. For example, Ittai was one of the 'Thirty', a sort of bodyguard to David (2 Samuel 23:29). The name occurs solely at St Erme (Cornwall, north of Truro) in 1704 and 1715-1716 in the same family, with father and son both having this name. Inevitably, I found one Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz (Isaiah 8:3-4, the son of the prophet; the name means 'speed-spoil-hasten-plunder'). The name occurs at Chaldon (Devon) in 1717 (a marriage). The names that attracted the attention of parents were such as Melchizedek (Genesis 14:18, Hebrews chs.5-7), Mephibosheth (2 Samuel 9:6, a son of Jonathan), and Methusaleh (Genesis 5:27, the 'oldest person'), then Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego (Daniel ch.1, considered below, under triplets). I sense it was the sound of these that satisfied. There was a sub-category of names given to the illegitimate, among them Hagar (Genesis 16, Abraham's concubine), Ishmael (Hagar's son), and Jephthah (Judges 11:1). We shall return to these. How were all these names chosen? Charlotte Yonge thought that parents opened the Bible at random and stuck in the proverbial pin.<sup>19</sup> She may be right, in a few instances. More likely, perhaps, is the local priest: his advice, help, may have been sought. This leaves us considering the degree of literacy and knowledge in the parish. Some parents must have read about the people whose name they used; some will have heard the names in church, as the Old and New Testament passages were read.

### **The liturgy**

The liturgy of the church had a minor part to play. Baptist occurs twice, one male, one female; Baptista is the female version, with three or four examples. John Baptist occurs twice. Christmas occurs twice, one a burial so indeterminate, and one female. We should place alongside Christmas, Noel/Nowell: there are sufficient examples of

Christmas baptisms of Nowells for us to recognise that it was a deliberate choice. Easter (female, and to be distinguished from Esther) occurs some half-dozen times (all Devon, 1598-1762). I have not included here the name Pascoe/Pascha; it is widespread in both counties, suggesting that it had moved away from its original meaning. Pentecost was a commoner name, found across the diocese from the 1550s well into the first half of the eighteenth century. At first it was a name given to both boys and girls, but became predominantly female. Epiphany (female) was another relatively common name, in Cornwall. Trinity as a name occurs at a burial at Cornwood (Devon) in 1673.

### **Ancient myth and ancient history**

There are some fourteen names taken from the ancient Greek myths. By far the biggest influence was Homer's epic—Achilles, Hector, Cassandra and Aeneas all feature—but the commonest name drawn from mythology was Hercules, found across the diocese until the 1770s. People liked the drama and the gore. The Arthurian mythology had a minor impact on names (whether the parents were aware or not). Lancelot is found in Cornwall between 1550 and the early eighteenth century. Jennifer, with many variations in spelling, was common in Cornwall but rare in Devon; the name is derived from Guinevere, the wife of king Arthur.

Roman emperors and Roman generals occur—Caesar and Julius Caesar, Augustus, Constantine, Diocletian, Tiberius, Vespasian. Of these, Constantine was prominent.<sup>20</sup> The most widely used name was Hannibal, the great Carthaginian general. Perhaps people liked the elephants.

### **Early Christian history, later history and contemporary events**

The church Fathers and the early saints and martyrs had a limited impact. We find the occasional Hippolitus, Polycarp and Eusebius. Augustine and Austin/Austen were used in both counties, dying out after the 1730s. Benedict and Benedictus were largely confined to Cornwall. Athanasius, known from his fearsome creed in the *Prayer Book*, was found in West Devon and Cornwall (1630-1750).

For later history, pride of place must go to William Conqueror, baptised at Mevagissey (Cornwall) in 1749, son of William and Grace Kohn. There are a handful of Melancthons (dying out in the seventeenth century), and some seven Calvins (all Devon, dying away after 1720). Erasmus was largely confined to Cornwall, occurring in Gerrans in 1553 where it remained common for two generations; it disappears after 1750. The impact of the Reformation is to be seen, not in the names of its heroes, but in the translation of the Bible into English.

Of contemporary names, we have two examples. The first is Sacheverell, used as a Christian name in 1711 at Exeter (two baptisms, at St Martin and at Holy Trinity). This was a direct response to the crisis provoked by the sermons of the high church Tory, Henry Sacheverell. His prosecution in 1711 led to widespread rioting. The second example is Offspring, used by the vicar of St Merryn in 1710 at the baptism of his son, and found too at Barnstaple in 1721. The name was a compliment to the bishop of the diocese, Offspring Blackall (bishop 1708-1716). The great political and religious upheaval of the years 1640-1660 seems to have little direct impact upon nomenclature. However, many registers show that record-keeping came under particular strain during the rebellion and its aftermath.

## Saints

Here, we are concerned with names such as Urith,<sup>21</sup> patron saint of Chittlehampton (Devon); Sidwell, patron saint of Exeter; and Petroc, patron saint of Padstow (in the registers he is usually found as Petherick). These names survived the Reformation and, indeed, flourished in the seventeenth century only dying away after 1740 (Urith), 1760 (Sidwell) and 1780 (Petherick). Oddly, St Piran, patron saint of Cornwall, is barely represented. Three Perrans were baptised at Perranuthnoe in 1701, 1742, and 1766: the name may simply be that of the place rather than the saint. A further Perran was baptised at Perranzabuloe in 1731, and an aptly named Perran Sand (female) was married at Truro in 1700—apt, because ‘zabuloe’ means ‘in the sands’. Frideswide, an English saint, is found occasionally in both counties, its use dying out by 1700. Enough children were christened Valentine on or just after Valentine’s day (14 February) for us to see that the day ‘registered’ with parents. It was a boy’s name, but there are one or two instances of girls being so named.

## Puritan names and Christian virtues

These are probably the most eye-catching. They were overwhelmingly female names: Admonition, Bountiful, Conscience, Deliverance, Election, Obedience, Prophecy, Silence, Sobriety, Sufferance, and Temperance (Constance and Prudence were common enough to be included in the penumbra). Pilgrim (one example, in Devon, in 1597) was a male name, as was Kingdom (two instances, one in each county).<sup>22</sup> By far the commonest of these names was Temperance, followed by Obedience; many of these names occur only once or twice. I have noted five Silences, four Sobriety, and two Bountifuls. The oddest is a girl christened Hate-evil at Bickleigh (near Plymouth, in 1734). Such a name is obviously a deliberate choice; we are left to wonder why. Did the ‘Puritan’ name indicate a genuine Christian conviction? At this distance, it is impossible to say. Such names sprang up in the seventeenth-century, only to disappear around 1750.

The names of Christian virtues are likewise female: Charity, Chastity, Faith, Gentle, Hope, Love, Loyalty, Mercy, Modesty, Peace, Pleasant, Sapience, Unity, Verity and Virtue. Faithful was a male name. Most of these were much commoner than the Puritan names; and some of them occur earlier, suggesting that names such as Faith, Hope, Love, Sapience, and Chastity pre-dated the Reformation.

There are some thirty relatively rare female names, listed in the appendix, which were across the diocese. They were common in the sense that over time they are found in many of the registers; but none of them was ever dominant enough to be a core name or to appear in the penumbra. Nearly all occur from the mid-sixteenth century and dwindle away by about 1750. They appear to have been pre-Reformation names. It is striking that there was no male equivalent. Male names were far more conservative, far more predictable.

## Places, appropriate names and wishful thinking

A small group of names are derived from places, often being ‘one-offs’. The Bible was the predominant source. We find Adullam, Arabia, Bashan, Bythinia, Beersheba (to be carefully distinguished from Bathsheba), Cappadocia, Ebenezer, Ephesus, Joppa, Lистра/Lystra, Laodicea, Nazareth, Shechem and Sion. There were also local names, such as Columb, Enoder, Gerrans, Kenwyn, Morva, Wendron. As with Perran, we cannot be sure if a person was named from the saint or the place.

Female names such as Russia and Siberia (both single occurrences) were perhaps chosen for their sound as much as for any intrinsic interest in their geography.

The registers are not the obvious place to seek out some humour. Across hundreds of registers, I offer four entries that make us smile—three at least were probably intended to do so. We start with Raines Down, a girl baptised at Topsham (Devon) in 1616. Then we meet Noah Flood, married at Ide (Devon) in 1719, and his son, Noah, baptised there eleven years later.<sup>23</sup> Honour Bound was buried at St Neot (Cornwall) in 1744 and the widow Eyre at Endellion (Cornwall) in 1749. Against this entry, someone has added the one word ‘thin’.

This leads us into a rag-bag of names, usually single occurrences, which suggest that the parents hoped for good things from and for their child. I am aware that this is probably not so, but we are still left to wonder why such names were chosen: Amiable, Archangel, Doctor, Fortune and Good Fortune, Hattie, Jocosia, Luck, Mirth, Paradise, Prosper, Seraphim, Talent, and Truelove.

### **Other categories**

We are left with five further groupings to consider: names that could be male or female (and female names derived from the male); twins and triplets; illegitimate children; two names; and surnames used as Christian names.

There were five male names that also occur widely as female names. They are Richard, Philip, Matthew, Douglas, and Isaac. Clerks and priests sought to differentiate by spelling. Richard was often rendered Richorde (with a number of variants); Philip as Phillip/Phillipe; Matthew often with one t (Mathew); Douglas as Dugles (again, with variants); and Isaac as Isacke or Izacke. Such written variations probably had no effect on pronunciation. Other names that were usually male sometimes appear as the name of a girl: Andrew, Angel, English, Eustace/Eustice, Israel, Pentecost, Thomas and (as we have seen) Valentine. So, occasionally, we find a Philip marrying a Philip or a Richard a Richard.<sup>24</sup> This fluidity in the use of names died out by about 1700. A few male names were rendered female: Abrahath, Adama, Benedicta, Josepha, Nathania, Regeria. With some, we may wonder if parents were hoping for a son and simply adjusted the name when a girl arrived.

It is not always clear whether children baptised at the same time were twins or (much rarer, of course) triplets. Some parents brought their children for baptism long after the arrival of their first-born. If such children died within a day or so of their baptism, the likelihood is that we are encountering twins or triplets. Such babies, of whom many would have been born prematurely, experienced a very high mortality rate. Certain names, nearly always Biblical pairings, were appropriated to twins and triplets. For twins, the commonest were Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38), with over thirty examples; followed by Joseph and Mary, and Joseph and Benjamin (sons of Jacob), both with over twenty noted. There were all sorts of other pairings: Abraham and Sarah, Abraham and Isaac, Isaac and Jacob, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Esau, Israel and Jacob (Israel being the name given to Jacob by God (Genesis 35:10), Moses and Aaron, Mary and Elizabeth, and Aquila and Priscilla (Acts 18:1-2). Away from these, we find a Thomas and Thomasina (Broadhempston, Devon, 1638). At Camborne (Cornwall) in 1655, John Oliver went one better. His twin son and daughter were both christened Thomas. At St Minver (Cornwall), in 1579, Thomas Stile hedged his bets: both sons were baptised (at the one time) John, but they may not have been twins (and this may have been a dittography).

With triplets, there were just two contenders: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Landkey, Devon, 1625; St Cleer, Cornwall, 1678; and Ashburton, Devon, 1735); and the commoner Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego (the three companions of Daniel). At St Just-in-Roseland (Cornwall) in 1686, three boys so named were baptised on 13 January and buried on the 15th, 17th and 18th. Similarly, at St Keverne (Cornwall), in 1692, the three were baptised on 31 July and the last surviving was buried on 10 August. Shadrach was fairly common as a Christian name, along with its derivative, Sidrach (with many variations). It is difficult to decide if Sidrach became a distinct name in its own right.

Many illegitimate children received conventional names. But there were two sub-categories: Biblical names; and then names which incorporated the reputed father. Of Biblical names, the commonest were Ishmael (Genesis 16:11) and Jephthah (Judges 11:1) for boys; and Hagar (Genesis 16:1). These names applied consistently to the illegitimate raise the question of choice: did the mother choose the name voluntarily, or was she guided to it by the parson, or coerced into using it? Did local society come to 'expect' such a name? Some mothers deliberately chose to include in their child's name the likely father. It was a way of sharing something of the stigma; it was a way of preserving in the parish the responsibility for childbirth should the mother and child need assistance from the poor-rate. There are names such as Marthanowls, Yeabsley-Hester (where Yeabsley is a surname), and Wilmet-Teag (where Teag is an Irish forename or surname); and Davyjob, Mason-Lane, and Paul-Rapsy. A few names convey the anger that many abandoned mothers must have felt. At Axminster (Devon) in 1687, a daughter was christened Naomi-Marah (Ruth 1:20: 'Do not call me Naomi ... call me Mara, for it is a bitter lot that the Almighty has sent me'). And at, Boyton (Cornwall), in 1690, a daughter was simply christened 'Wronge'.

A few names are definitely or apparently Cornish in origin. For girls there are Jennifer (and many variants, derived from Guinevere), Loveday and its diminutive, Lowdy (again, with variants), Thomasine (and its diminutive, Tamsin – many variants), and Cheston (the Cornish for Christine), and for boys, Denzil, Otes (with variants), Petherick, and Renfry (Remfry, which also occurs as a surname). To these can be added names which are solely or overwhelmingly found in Cornwall. These are usually female: Asdrubal, Blandina, Brightweed or Brightwight, Gaverigan, Ipsa, Jayes (and variously Geese, Gesse, Gease, Jease, Jeas, Jeze, Jeeze, and I think to be distinguished from Jesse, which is largely restricted to Devon. No doubt there are other Cornish names to be identified.

So far, we have been considering the names used by people whose status was non-gentry.<sup>25</sup> As the eighteenth century progressed, the use of a second name began to occur. This was in imitation of the trend among the clergy and gentry.<sup>26</sup> The use of a surname as a Christian name was another way in which people imitated the gentry. Such surnames are easy to pick out in the registers. For the gentry, the use of a surname in this way was a means of perpetuating a wife's maiden name. Such a name would then recur in succeeding generations. However, for the most part, the gentry of Devon and Cornwall used the same names as the great mass of society beneath them on the social ladder.

## Summing up

Lest we think that the quirks and foibles we meet in the registers were a west country aberration, we may take just two examples, the first from a later age. The Reverend Peter Skrimshire Wood, he of the 'whore and mantrap' register entries, 'was self-important enough, in 1815, to christen his own daughter Congress Vienna Amelia

in honour of events elsewhere in Europe'.<sup>27</sup> The second is solidly eighteenth-century and concerns the grandmother of Archibald Tait, future archbishop of Canterbury: she was christened Charles. Her parents were Jacobites.<sup>28</sup> We can add the nineteenth-century names endearingly captured by *Horrible Histories*.

There are hundreds of names we have not considered. They are all single instances, many of them obviously contrived, and many of them obscure. They can easily obstruct our view. The core names dominated the registers, supported by the penumbra. These were the names that were in constant and growing use. Charlotte Yonge recognised the sudden shock of the Reformation in its impact upon Christian names,<sup>29</sup> as it opened up the Bible to the laity. Many of the Biblical names originated thus. After 1700, there was a palpable long-term decline in the use of many of the names we have been considering. These were not replaced by new names but by a growing recourse to the core—the Marys, Elizabeths, Johns and Williams. Different names lay in the future, among the Victorians. How did this come about? Tastes change, fashions change. Many of the older names simply became self-consciously redundant.

There is one aspect of the Christian names that we have yet to consider. They provide us with an oblique insight into a basic, parish-level education, the sort of thing that a dame school or a school run by the parish clerk might impart. How was it that the names associated with Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with Hercules, the Roman emperors and Hannibal, William the Conqueror, and the likes of Jael and Sisera, and Samson from the Old Testament (Judges chs.4, 13)—in other words, the rollicking, the colourful and the bloodthirsty—came into local nomenclature? These were the sorts of stories to be told and re-told, whose imagery and names stayed in the mind and thus in the popular culture. It would be good to have similar surveys of different parts of the country. Only then can we discover how normal or otherwise the names found in Devon and Cornwall turn out to be.

## Appendices

### 1 Core names

Anthony	Richard	Agnes	Joan/Johana
Charles	Robert	Ann/Anne/An	Katherine/Catherine
David	Thomas	Charity	Margaret
Henry	Walter	Christian/Christine	Marjory
George	William	Cheston (Cornish = Christian)	Mary
James		Eleanor	Prudence
John		Elizabeth	Sarah
Joseph		Grace	Susanna/Susan
Peter		Honour	Thomasine/Tamsin

### 2 The Penumbra (there are plenty of names on the edge; this list is my own selection and could be expanded)

Aaron	Jeremy/Jeremiah/Jerome	Alice	Lydia
Abraham	Joshua	Anstis	Patience
Adam	Josiah	Avis	Philadelphia
Ambrose	Moses	Constance	Petronilla/Peternel
Benedict/Benedictus	Noah	Cordelia	Priscilla
Benjamin	Noel/Nowell	Damaris	Temperance
Caleb	Pasco	Dorcas	Ursula

Cornelius	Reuben	Esther	Wilmot
Edward	Samson	Faith	
Emmanuel	Sebastian	Hannah	
Enoch	Solomon	Jennifer	
Ezekiel	Theophilus	Leah	
Isaac	Zachariah/Zechariah	Loveday	
Jacob		Lucretia	

### *3 Female names now all but disappeared*

Arminell	Eulalia	Orange
Argent	Flower	Petronilla
Beaton	Frisset	Philadelphia
Blandina	Iset	Pertisia
Cheston	Jacket	Radigan
Christobel	Lore	Rabish/Rabidge
Duance	Melior	Silphine
Ebbet	Mellany	Tiffany
Emblem	Milson	Welthin
English	Mote	Zenobia

### *4 References to Black people:*

1597 burial at Manaccan (Cornwall)	John, negro servant to Mr Simon Killigrew
1598 baptism at Barnstaple (Devon)	Elizabeth, a neiger with Mistress Ayre
1601 burial at Plymouth (Devon)	a blackmore
1644 burial at Plympton St Mary (Devon)	Grace, a blackemore, servant to Mr Thomas Snelling
1698 baptism at Cornwood (Devon)	Thomas Thomson, a blackmore, was made a Christian
1699 baptism at Falmouth (Cornwall)	a negro woman called Katherine, age about 24 from Guinea
1703 burial at Landulph (Cornwall)	Parthenia Christmas, a negro woman
1705 baptism at St Michael Penkivel (Cornwall)	Gorg Cakkoo, a blackmore servant to Hon. Hugh Boscawen
1711 baptism at Falmouth (Cornwall)	Matthias, a negro
1715 baptism at Sheviock (Cornwall)	Josepk Kingson, a negro about 19
1728 baptism/burial at Exeter St Martin	Cezer, a negro
1743 baptism at Bideford (Devon)	William Chester, a negro servant to Capt. William Hopkins
1747 burial at Gluvias (Cornwall)	Samuel Birch, a free negro
1783 baptism at St Just-in-Roseland (Cornwall)	Jonathan Nevil, a negro

**5 *The same Christian and surnames*** (C = Cornwall, D = Devon)

Boden Boden	Martin-in-Meneage (C)	1679
Gregory Gregory	Broadwoodwidger (D)	1747
Jane Jane	Shaugh Prior (D)	1620
John son of John John	Gerrans (C)	1597
	Mevagissey (C)	1707
Marten Marten	Gulval (C)	1660
Michael Michael	Wendron (C)	1691
Pascho Pascho	Gerrans (C)	1654, 1700
Peerce Peerze	St Just-in-Roseland (C)	1628
Peter Peter	Chittlehampton (D)	1641
Thomas Thomas	Wendron (C)	1634
	St Keverne (C)	1649
	Lanlivery (C)	1694
	Landewednack (C)	1725
	Sennen (C)	1733

NOTES AND REFERENCES

The title comes from the order of baptism of children in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and is the prompt put to the godparents. I have made extensive use (but do not refer to) *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian names* (2nd ed. 1950). While dated, and although many of the names considered below do not appear in it, the Dictionary remains a useful starting-point.

- 1 Robert Lee, *Rural society and the Anglican clergy, 1815-1914: encountering and managing the poor* (Boydell, 2006) 7
- 2 'eminent ...' Hartland (Devon) 1742, Philip Docton esq; 'universally ...' Tywardreath (Cornwall) 1736, Philip Rashleigh esq (he was buried at Fowey)
- 3 As at Littleham (near Bideford, Devon) in the 1620s and 1630s; and at Rose Ash (Devon) in the 1680s.
- 4 A Presbyterian burial-ground at Falmouth (Cornwall) 1723, 1726; Quaker burial-ground at Stoke Climsland (Cornwall) 1747, at St Austell (Cornwall) 1681; baptisms recorded 'at a meeting', Holsworthy (Devon) 1672
- 5 At Churchstanton (then Devon, now Somerset) 1664; South Petherwin (Cornwall) 1707; St Agnes (Cornwall) 1708; Ashburton (Devon) 1740; Buryan (Cornwall) 1768; Dunchideock (Devon) 1624; Camborne (Cornwall) 103; Ugborough (Devon) 1686.
- 6 Blind: Madron (Cornwall) 1585, 'Teage the blind man'; Redruth (Cornwall) 1631, 'Margory the blind woman'; South Huish (Devon) 1642, 'a blind walking-man'. Deaf: St Just-in-Roseland (Cornwall) 1627, 'deaf Tom'. Dumb: Dowland (Devon) 1682, 'a wandering dumb man'.
- 7 Diddler: Stratton (Cornwall) 1697.
- 8 The priest at St Erme (Cornwall) maintained a note of occupations for some twenty years in the early eighteenth century.
- 9 Town crier, Crediton (Devon) 1676; schoolmaster, Crediton, 1675; midwife, South Brent (Devon) 1723; grave-digger, Beaford (Devon) 1736.
- 10 Herdsman, Gerrans (Cornwall) 1543; buttmaker, Sowton (Devon) 1586.
- 11 Helliar, Redruth (Cornwall) 1647; millard, St Just-in-Roseland (Cornwall) 1620.
- 12 At St Issey (Cornwall) in 1701, Anne Carter testified that the father of her son Moab was either Grenvill Payne or John Vivian junior.
- 13 A sixth bastard: Duloe (Cornwall) 1729.
- 14 Mary Hooper, 'An harlot of Ashreigney', at Beaford (Devon) 1741.
- 15 Out of many possible examples, 'Put into the earth without Christian burial', a still-born child, North Tamerton (Cornwall) 1700; 'without rites of the Church', Aveton Gifford (Devon) 1668.
- 16 As at Duloe (Cornwall) 1726; recorded murder was also extremely rare—I have noted just five instances, one of them 'supposed' (Lanlivery, Cornwall, 1684).
- 17 Spelling was, of course, idiosyncratic—and a reminder that spelling of many names did not really reach a fixed form until the early years of the twentieth century. People spelled what they heard. My favourite is St Tossle for St Austell (Cornwall), a good example of the dialect. The dialect of both counties tended to soften a 'd' sound to a 'th'; thus, we find 'Bytheford' for Bideford (Devon); and it softened a final 'a' or 'ah' to 'th'. So, Sarah became 'Sarath', Hannah became 'Hannath' and so on.
- 18 The notes the clerk made are referred to in the register of Mabe (Cornwall) 1690-1691 when writing up the register became entangled. I know of no surviving clerk's notebooks before the

- nineteenth century. When I was priest-in-charge of Rose Ash, someone turned up on the doorstep with the clerk's notebook from the first half of the nineteenth century. It tallied exactly with the registers.
- 19 Charlotte Yonge, *History of Christian names* (2 vols. 1863) ii.483. In *The hand of Ethelberta*, Thomas Hardy suggested that parents took turns to name their children (which might explain why a little-used name crops up in a family of Johns and Marys). Hardy had a deep knowledge and experience of country life, so we ought not to discard this.
- 20 The parish of Constantine (Devon) *might* have had some influence, but I think the fourth-century Roman emperor is a more likely source.
- 21 I have noted well over fifty Uriths between 1570 and 1740. These supplement the findings of Esther Chant, 'The cult of St Urith in pre-Reformation Devon', *The Devon Historian* vol.91 (2021) 1-11.
- 22 Kingdom may derive from the surname Kingdon which remains common today in north Devon and north Cornwall. But as there are so few Kingdom names, I suspect that it reflects a 'Puritan' influence.
- 23 The son's name was written as Noath: see note 17.
- 24 Philip marrying Philip: Brixham (Devon) 1690; Richard marrying Richard: Dean Prior (Devon) 1663; Topsham (Devon) 1663; Shaugh Prior (Devon) 1595, 1664.
- 25 'The old society had only one class – gentlemen' (J.C.D. Clark, *English society, 1688-1832* Cambridge UP, 1985). Everyone else was plebeian.
- 26 The appendix includes a list of people with the same Christian and surname.
- 27 See note 1.
- 28 John Witheridge, *In the shadow of death: a life of Archibald Campbell Tait, archbishop of Canterbury* (Cambridge UP, 2021) 2
- 29 Yonge, *History of Christian names*, ii. 483

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# Educating the poor in Victorian North London: Mother Emily and the Kilburn Sisters

MICHAEL BLOWER

Prominent in the struggle to assist the poor and to improve the education of children in north-west London towards the end of the nineteenth century was Emily Harriet Elizabeth Ayckbowm (1836-1900). The elder daughter of Frederick Ayckbowm,<sup>1</sup> rector of Holy Trinity Church in Chester, she was born on 14 November 1836 during a visit by her parents to Germany, after their marriage in Heidelberg. A younger sister, Gertrude, and a brother Albert<sup>2</sup> were born in 1838 and 1840 respectively (see figure 1 below). Soon after the death of his wife Mary Ann (nee Hutchinson) in 1841 her father remarried; and the three children were fortunate to have the care of a devoted stepmother, Charlotte, in a strict but happy home where both sisters were educated by a governess.



**1 Emily Ayckbowm** (front right)  
aged 16 with her father, brother, and sister

In 1856, having spent two years in Germany and Italy, and full of zeal, the sisters began work among the destitute in their father's parish. Having witnessed equality among church congregations abroad, they particularly disliked the inequality between the wealthy and those with lesser means. These circumstances were exemplified by the contrast seen in Chester, where the rich occupied the comfortable pews at the front of the church, while the poor sat on benches at the back. The sisters visited and tended the sick and dying, gathered children for some rudiments of instruction, and held evening classes for adults. They even attempted to overcome the problem of pew ownership by installing some of their protégées on empty cushioned seats in the church.<sup>3</sup> Gertrude Ayckbowm married in March 1862, but by the end of the year she had died of rapid consumption. But in August 1862, her father also died, which meant that the family had to

move from the rectory to a much smaller house. Shortly after this, the church building was pronounced unsafe, and a new one was erected on the foundations of the former building. However, facing much opposition to free and open seats, the new rector felt obliged to acquiesce and continue the system of pew ownership for the new church.<sup>4</sup>

In 1864, at the age of 28, Emily founded the Church Extension Association 'to extend Christ's Church by building 'free and open' places of worship and by helping poor parishes'.<sup>5</sup> Commonly known as the CEA, the name reflected the wide yet indefinite plans of the foundress, an indefiniteness far removed from vacillation or vagueness, but rather waiting upon God for His future guidance. The CEA drew its inspiration from the earlier Oxford Movement, evangelism and Anglo-Catholicism,<sup>6</sup> but the most important impulse for the revival of such church organisations and communities was given by the practical, social needs of the time, the great increase in urban population and the resulting changes in society. Having already been keen to spread the Christian gospel to the Empire, and give assistance to churches abroad, Victorian Britain accepted the need for equivalent changes at home, where they were backed by a growing and influential body of public opinion. Accordingly, Church of England authorities were now a little more willing to support the restoration of religious communities of women, who were often respectably born and well-educated, but left badly provided for by their families. Emily, with her strong personality and very determined will, was clearly one of this mould, and somewhat typical of an increasing number of contemporary women who came to the fore with a desire to increase their opportunities and combat the social evils of the time. As she wrote, 'It seemed to me that I must be put into this world for some good purpose, something a little beyond sitting still with smooth hair, and a bit of wool work in my hand'.<sup>7</sup>

An outbreak of cholera spread to Chester in 1866,<sup>8</sup> and during the autumn of that year some forty people died in the city, probably through pollution of the River Dee. An isolation hospital was set up a mile outside the city in an old farm building, and it was later reported at a meeting of the Board of Guardians that Emily and friends had given heroic assistance as volunteer nurses for the sick and dying.<sup>9</sup> A letter dated 10 January 1867 was received from John Walker, town clerk of Chester, relating a resolution by the council also thanking them for rendering such invaluable services without fee, gain or reward.<sup>10</sup> The medical officer for Chester made it known that recoveries in the town had far exceeded the proportion of those in other places.<sup>11</sup> Thereafter, Emily continued her charity work as secretary of the CEA, which by July 1867 had more than 200 members, mostly ladies living at home who wished to give up any time they could spare for the good of the church: for example, through needlework or embroidery. As 'subscribers' each gave 5s or as 'members' 2s 6d a year, and these as well as anyone else interested would be sent a hand-copied quarterly paper.<sup>12</sup>

To raise additional funds, items made by members were distributed around London from a CEA depot at 11A Duke Street, north of Marylebone Road. The charity carried out work similar to that of today: it collected second-hand clothing to send to depots, which mainly were set up in the poorer districts of London.<sup>13</sup> It sold donated items to make money for distribution to the poor; made and handed out altar linen or church needlework to needy parishes; and sold such items for cash. The sale of embroidery and needlework brought in quite large sums of money, and a committee was set up under C.L Wood (later Lord Halifax) to investigate all applications for financial help.<sup>14</sup> Arrangements were also made for volunteers to work in hospitals (as Emily did herself); and soup kitchens and housing shelters of various kinds were provided. By October 1868 Emily had arrived in London, and lived above the depot in Duke Street to be near to and obtain treatment for her terminally-ill stepmother, Charlotte, who died

in a Paddington nursing home in November. At the end of that year Emily began to make close contact with the poorer children of the district, and in 1869 her work in education began, when lofts over stables in St Cyprian's, Marylebone and at Christ Church in Lisson Grove were used for Sunday schools. A loft in Linton Place, Lisson Grove became the first of the CEAs 'bun schools', where poor children were invited to come to Sunday school to learn to read and write, preceded by a breakfast of 'hot, sweet tea and large currant buns' estimated to cost ten shillings a year for each child.<sup>15</sup>

On 1 April 1870 Emily moved with her elderly maid and her black cat to a new address at 20 Belgrave Road (now Gardens), Abbey Road, where she continued to issue a quarterly paper now called *Our Work*, for distribution to members and friends of the CEA.<sup>16</sup> This was intended to promote its charitable activities, and to appeal for help with both work and raising money. During this period Emily developed a long hoped-for idea, that a sisterhood or religious order for women could take shape from her work with the CEA. Thus, on 5 April 1870 Emily became the first novice of the Community of the Sisters of the Church [of England],<sup>17</sup> when she was clothed by the Reverend Richard Carr Kirkpatrick. He was locally engaged in the building of St Augustine's Church in Kilburn, and Emily had previously met him at her uncle's Staffordshire home. In a letter of April 1870 she wrote that 'The principal work of the Community after the growth in personal holiness will be to seek out poor and ignorant girls; to bring them under the influence of the Church; to prepare them to partake worthily of the sacraments; to watch over and guard them from the temptations by which they are surrounded, and to help them to do their duty in that state of life to which GOD has called them'.<sup>18</sup>

In September 1870 a second novice was clothed, followed by two more in July 1871, and this entitled Sister Emily to become Mother Emily (later Mother Foundress). She made her profession on 13 July 1871 to become the first Superior of the new Order.<sup>19</sup> (see figure 2 below). Two days after her profession, Emily went for an interview with Dr John Jackson (1811-1885), bishop of London from 1869 to 1885, during which he expressed his approval of the rules of the Community.<sup>20</sup> The Sisterhood, or Community of the Sisters of the Church, as it was now called, and the CEA, took up their headquarters at

31 Kilburn Park Road (see figure 3 above), and thereafter they became known locally as the 'Kilburn Sisters'. Their motto *Pro Ecclesia Dei* (for the Church of God) was adopted by the schools that they founded, and a cross patonce within a double vesica (a pointed oval) bearing this motto was incorporated into the brickwork. St Michael, associated with overcoming evil and establishing God's rule, was chosen as their patron.<sup>21</sup> Mother Emily's faith, drive and organising ability helped her to raise funds (though never enough) for founding seven schools in the area serving over five thousand children. She fully embraced the idea of educational excellence, particularly as a way of confronting the many secular critics of religiously based schooling.



**2 Mother Emily aged about 35**



**3 31 Kilburn Park Road (and also 15 Randolph Gardens):**

first home of the Kilburn Sisters and headquarters of the Church Extension Association

Thus just a few days after having received the habit of a novice, Mother Emily had started work to get the first of these 'voluntary' schools to be built.<sup>22</sup> She moved swiftly to establish St Augustine's School with seven junior girls as pupils at Belgrave Road (now Gardens), and by September of that year the roll had increased to 150. The foundation stone for a new building opposite St Augustine's Church in Kilburn Park Road was laid in 1873 by Bishop Thomas Claughton (1808-1892), bishop of Rochester,<sup>23</sup> by which time several Anglican sisters at the school became the first to obtain certificates as fully qualified teachers. There were Upper and Lower Grade Schools, each comprising departments and accommodation according to the government's current standards, for 1500 infants and girls. Although the Upper Grade School was intended for 'every social grade among her parents to the daughter of the small tradesman, who covets for his family the best education possible, and will make real sacrifices to secure it',<sup>24</sup> the Lower Grade School was attended only by very poor children.

But the Sisters needed to provide support for the children's material, as well as intellectual and spiritual needs. This was carried out through what became known as a 'Penny School', or 'Ragged School', for 'ragged, unkempt, neglected little folks ... who, on weekdays could not be prevailed upon to mix with tidier and more civilised children; or, possibly, whose parents could not afford the three-penny school fee'.<sup>25</sup> Halfpenny dinners, consisting of 'a bowl of hot soup with a slice of bread, followed by a piece of hot currant pudding cooked in long tin cylinders' were provided from 1885 (see figure 4 below), and these were continued until after the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>26</sup> In the same year, to combat raggedness and dirt, the Pinafore Society was founded.<sup>27</sup> The simple rules for members involved, first, paying one shilling

a year to the CEA to help towards the upkeep of the schools; and second, to send a pinafore or other garment every six months to a school, carriage paid: 'Membership was not limited to experts in needlework. Gentlemen were admitted, and could pay the subscription and buy a pinafore!'<sup>28</sup> The Pinafore Society was popular and by March 1886 there were some 300 members. As Mother Emily explained, 'It is found that the gift even of a print or Holland pinafore goes far to make school pleasant to a poor little creature ashamed to let its rags be seen. The clean pretty frock pinafore also serves a double purpose. It induces careless mothers to wash and mend the undergarments "to match it" so dirt and rags are first hidden, and then altogether banished'.<sup>29</sup> When necessary, children from this and other schools were sent on recuperative holidays to the Sisters' convalescent home, St Mary's in Broadstairs.<sup>30</sup>



**4 Halfpenny dinners for schoolchildren** (from *Our Work* (1885))

Apart from the donation of funds for pupils' personal needs and school buildings, the CEA depended upon readers of *Our Work* for gifts in cash and kind for classroom needs, ranging from an atlas to a piano; and it was very seldom that they remained unsupplied: 'gentlemen were asked to send all they could spare from amateur workshops or laboratories in the way of tools or apparatus to teach carpentry, carving, geometrical drawing, and elementary chemistry for boys to induce them to stay a little longer in school'.<sup>31</sup> Those who were fortunate to travel were asked for objects of every kind for the school 'museums': 'eggs, grasses, stones, minerals, specimens of wearing apparel, in fact anything the sight of which will enable young folks better to understand the marvels of nature and of art, which, for want of illustrations, are too often a sealed book to them'.<sup>32</sup>

The CEA regarded socialism as atheistic and revolutionary, but because they faced poverty head-on—for example, that which resulted from unemployment—the Sisters could speak out more clearly and readily about social injustice: 'Can we *wonder* at "modern socialism"? Can this state of things, I repeat, be a *Christian* one? Let the rich

answer this question for themselves, while yet there is time; for if they will not do so voluntarily, it will assuredly be answered for them before very long, with judgement'.<sup>33</sup> Always on the lookout for opportunities to expand services to the poor, in 1882 Mother Emily, accompanied by Sister Frances, went to Strasbourg and then on to Freiburg to further their knowledge about methods of nursing and looking after sick children.<sup>34</sup> They maybe contemplated taking on hospital work, but they began to realise that they already had more than enough on their hands. In a letter of March 1882 Mother Emily wrote: 'Everyone that we meet speaks with horror of the treatment our sick poor receive in English workhouses. It seems strange to us that it should be so universally acknowledged and known by foreigners, (who in all other respects have such a great admiration for English ways), while many good people at home refuse to believe it'.<sup>35</sup>

In March 1875, two orphan girls were received by the Sisters from the workhouse in Chester.<sup>36</sup> The number of children rose to sixteen by July 1875; and one year later 63 orphan girls, six Sisters and twelve novices were living in the cramped conditions of small private houses at 2 and 29 Kilburn Park Road. The orphanage accepted girls up to the age of 12, and undertook to care for them until they were 21 years old. At 14 they entered the 'senior branch', and once aged 18 were no longer treated as children. At this age they became paid employees of the CEA for three years and worked, for example, as servants, assistant matrons or assistants in the Community's bookstore or printing establishment. Included among the girls were older ones, often previously taken in from a workhouse by families who had then found them to be incapable of being useful in their homes. These girls received training for domestic service, a common adjunct to the work of orphanages, and were called the 'industrials'.<sup>37</sup> Like those who attended industrial schools, they would normally leave aged sixteen, and after further training perhaps return for work in family homes<sup>38</sup>, but among the older girls the most intelligent were trained as pupil teachers in art, domestic science, dressmaking or nursing, positions which had become a feature of some elementary schools, and some later went on to become qualified teachers or eventually entered Anglican communities.<sup>39</sup> Overall, there was a symbiotic relationship between the Community's desire to train girls for employment and its own needs for skilled labour.

It was made known in April 1876 that funds were to be raised for the CEA to erect a more permanent building in Randolph Gardens' next to St Augustine's Church as a large Orphanage of Mercy and Home for Sisters of the Church (see figure 5 below). Half of the money required was provided by the Sisters themselves for a wing to be allotted for their use (which was not described as a convent until 1920). On 1 May 1879 the foundation stone was laid by the earl of Devon,<sup>40</sup> and although not finished, it was officially opened on 3 June 1880.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the Orphanage was not completed until 1882, and by 1886 was able to house about 300 boys and girls (500 by 1892).<sup>42</sup> However, although able to accommodate these numbers, on the census night for 1891 the number living there barely reached 100, possibly falling short for lack of funding at this time.<sup>43</sup> They were usually taken as foundlings from the workhouses as ordinary orphaned children having lost both parents, or rescued from the danger of being sent there.<sup>44</sup>

In England the workhouse was closed to a foundling as long as the mother lived, unless she was willing to pauperise herself and live there with her child. Many a woman could have been saved from ruin if she had been allowed to leave her child in a workhouse and pay a weekly sum for maintenance.<sup>45</sup> But eventually, children who literally were without a friend in homes having lost both parents, or with no other relative capable of supporting them, together with those with just one living parent unwilling or unable to fund a child's stay at a fee-paying orphanage, were also admitted. The maintenance of children was normally through the system of 'Adoption', whereby a kind friend

paid £12 annually, ordinarily considered enough to keep a child in the Orphanage for a year. The adopter of the orphan often took great interest and was called the 'Lady' of the child, remembering birthdays and Christmas and making visits. One child declared, that '*My lady is a gentleman!*', And as time went on that was often the case.<sup>46</sup>



### 5 Orphanage of Mercy and home of the Sisters of the Church

It was announced in 1887 that another orphanage was to be built at 111 Shirland Road, initially to be called Wordsworth Memorial Orphanage as a tribute to the late Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885), bishop of Lincoln from 1869 to 1885, and nephew of the poet.<sup>47</sup> To harness loyal sentiment for the raising of funds, the name was quickly changed to the Queen Victoria Orphanage (see figure 6 below) in honour of the golden jubilee of that year.<sup>48</sup> In September 1890 it was reported that the Sisters had begun training orphans as pupil teachers,<sup>49</sup> and in the following November it was agreed a Wordsworth College, a training college for teachers, with model girls and infants, would be housed in temporary premises in Rudolph Road. Subsequently, the Wordsworth College was added as a wing of the new Queen Victoria Orphanage, where residential as well as day students were accepted at a fee of 15s a week for training as elementary teachers.<sup>50</sup> This included all expenses for board and tuition except for such books that were needed for private study;<sup>51</sup> and notices informed prospective students that: 'any lady desiring to train at the Wordsworth College may be assured of a happy home, experienced tuition, and every facility for rendering herself practically acquainted with details of her profession'.<sup>52</sup> Other orphanages managed by the Sisters included the Alexandra Home at 176 Alexandra Road, Brondesbury for up to twenty girls (acquired by the Waifs and Strays Society in 1906), and Lady Adelaide Home for fifty older boys at 73 Christchurch Avenue, Brondesbury, established in 1885 with a gift of £3000 from Reverend F.A. Law in memory of his wife.<sup>53</sup>



**6 Queen Victoria Orphanage, 111 Shirland Road**

Mother Emily's work was not confined to meeting the needs of children. She was a pioneer locally in bringing education and help to men who were poor or unemployed. This began during the winter of 1878-1879 when navvies were working on the Metropolitan Railway between Kilburn and Brondesbury. Whenever construction was interrupted by bad weather, men out of work without pay were left penniless, hungry



**7 Men's Sunday tea in the school hall**

and adrift to find shelter where they could. Initially, Mother Emily arranged for them to be brought into her own house at 15 Randolph Gardens, where they received hot tea or soup and bread and butter. Soon Sunday teas in the classrooms at the new St Augustine's School were arranged, followed by hymns and a short religious service (see figure 7 below). The former Linton Place Bun School was used as a night shelter, and a 60-foot long hut was erected near the railway line to provide a small paying restaurant for those employed on excavation work. Many took advantage of a 'navvies night school' where special evening classes in reading and writing for men held were twice a week, and when an attempt was made to bring them back to the Church from which they had become alienated.<sup>54</sup>

However, troubles within the Community prompted fierce attacks by rival organisations, such as the Protestant Alliance, and by former members, who were perhaps more inclined to support Roman Catholic practices. Some had been members for over twenty years and gave the reason for their secession as their dissatisfaction with the administration and leadership of the Community.<sup>55</sup> As long as the work of the Sisters remained fairly insignificant, they could avoid criticism, but eventually their activities were subject to the public gaze. During 1892 and 1893 the Sisters were shocked by stories of 'baby farming', whereby poor mothers facing great financial and social pressures gave up their illegitimate children and paid to have them looked after and fostered. Mother Emily decided to take children into the orphanage without proper enquiries into their origin, but subsequently accusations of cruelty towards them were made by fourteen former members of the Community (eleven professed and three novices), gaining wide publicity.<sup>56</sup>

Edward Benson (1829-1896), archbishop of Canterbury from 1883 to 1896, and patron of the CEA since 1892, wrote to Mother Emily on 12 January 1895 about the current adverse publicity in the press, seeking to conduct an enquiry of conditions at the orphanage and hoping that she would abide by any conclusions of the report. Having agreed and welcomed the inspection, but not committed to any advance conditions, Mother Emily met with the archbishop and Lord Nelson, president of the CEA, in March 1895. The archbishop pointed to four major concerns: the danger of receiving foundlings of dubious birth; the uncompleted annual accounts; the lack of a printed constitution; and the need for proper oversight of the CEA by an episcopal visitor.<sup>57</sup> However, nothing was settled, and it was reported in the press,<sup>58</sup> that the archbishop was no longer a patron of the CEA; not because he had resigned, but as men both he and the archbishop of York had been removed, as only ladies were now wanted as patrons. Later Lord Nelson was also asked to resign.<sup>59</sup> Both Archbishop Benson and Mother Emily were strong characters who deeply mistrusted one another: in his diary Benson called her 'the most comically and audacious Mother in the universe'.<sup>60</sup>

A strong attack followed from the Charity Organisation Society (also known as the Society for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity), which stood for a different concept of aiding those in need. They pointed to the dangers of giving to the undeserving poor, or selling food to unemployed workers at break-even prices for fear of encouraging pauperism, and thereby interfering with market forces. The Sisters believed that it was better to give to a few impostors than not to ameliorate suffering.<sup>61</sup> The COS asserted that the CEA had shown itself to be entirely unworthy of public confidence and that eminently unsuitable persons were entrusted with the care of friendless children. In December 1895 the Society's pamphlet entitled *The Ritualistic Kilburn Sisters* provided images of hair shirts, steel whips, knotted scourges, and crosses with sharp points to inflict pain, which were claimed to be used in the Orphanage. The Sisters were also accused of keeping children in 'spiked cages', and

of dismissing orphans without warning: yet at the same time as making these criticisms, the COS claimed that orphans were over-indulged by a refusal to give them corporal punishment, and by encouraging them to aspire to upward social mobility.<sup>62</sup> The Sisters were also denounced for not adequately accounting for public money amounting to £11,000, for taking in orphans and illegitimate children without payment, and for ill-treating them. The conventional attack was, as 'everyone acknowledged', ladies were no good at commerce, and no organisation entirely composed of and governed by women could be wholly successful in matters of policy, finance, and business.<sup>63</sup> The CEA was also criticised for excluding a lay element when, in particular, appeals were made to the public for money, and it was claimed that it should incur the same obligations as the male managers of other charities supported by voluntary contribution.<sup>64</sup>

An investigation into the charge relating to funds revealed an arithmetical clerical error in the published audit previously submitted to Lord Nelson, but this demonstrated that the finances of the Sisters were not always handled systematically. Following a visit by CEA representatives, the Sisters were defended in a religious paper called *Church Bells* which issued a pamphlet called *The Kilburn Sisters and their accusers* (1896), which praised their dedicated work and the conditions that had been witnessed at the Orphanage.<sup>65</sup> It refuted the claims of cruelty, and pointed out that despite attempts to undermine the Community of the Sisters of the Church, the variety of activities undertaken, and the practical character of their work—looking after orphans and the convalescence of children, and helping to relieve the distress of sick and unemployed adults—meant that it should continue to make a direct appeal to people's generosity as one of the best-supported of English charities. Indeed, the annual income of the CEA rose from £503 in 1871 to £17,000 in 1887 and £38,000 in 1895.<sup>66</sup> *Our Work* had over 50,000 members; and by the 1890s the Sisters had become a powerful body among London charitable organisations, the CEA and the Community being widely viewed as the same body.

In April 1885 the Religious Education Union, a second society associated with the CEA, was founded. Among other aims, it sought to influence a Royal Commission set up in 1886 to enquire into the working of the Education Act 1870, including the position of the church schools which still taught over half of England's children. Highly involved, too, were Mother Emily and the Kilburn Sisters, who in a national campaign obtained over 250,000 signatures (including those of bishops, clergy, laity, nobility and commoners) for a petition to secure parliamentary support for an exemption equal to the Board's rate for those who could furnish satisfactory evidence that they contributed the same to a church school. The first petition, on calico in a roll measuring nine feet in circumference, arranged in two columns each one mile in length, and subsequently three others, were however unsuccessful in receiving parliamentary support.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, aiming to help and improve church schools, the Union was able to make small grants—usually from £10 to £50—although in cases of dire need £100 was given. In 1896 grants were given to aid 143 schools amounting to £1375.<sup>68</sup>

The Kilburn Sisters were convinced that school education was the surest method to achieve upward mobility, even though they were criticised for over-educating working class children, and for assisting them in developing ambitions above their station. Notwithstanding this criticism, which continued during the lifetime of Mother Emily,<sup>69</sup> further progress in school building—one of the principal tasks of the CEA—was impressive throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century. It was regarded as a battle to preserve voluntary denominational education against the encroachment of the new 'heathen' board schools. In October 1884, there was an appeal to raise funds for the building of the CEA's first school for boys only, the Gordon Memorial School,

Cambridge Road, Kilburn, which opened in 1885.<sup>70</sup> There followed Wilberforce School, Herries Street, Queen's Park, in 1885; Princess Frederica School, College Road, Kensal Rise and Keble Memorial School, Crownhill Road, Harlesden (both in 1889); and Liddon Memorial School, Kentish Town in 1892.<sup>71</sup>

The least successful of the CEA schools built during Mother Emily's lifetime was Saltram Crescent School, a fee paying National High School for boys only in Saltram Crescent, Queen's Park, which was begun in 1891. The absence of girls was explained by the announcement of difficulty in finding funds for a second new school, which was finally completed in 1893. The boys developed a very good reputation locally, and in October 1891<sup>72</sup> they, together with some 4,000 other pupils from the CEA's schools in London, took part and competed in a 'public fete, exhibition of drill and athletic sports' at Paddington Recreation Grounds.<sup>73</sup> In July the following year, they were involved with those from Princess Frederica and Gordon Memorial Schools in 'spear and dumb-bell exercises much admired for their precision'.<sup>74</sup> In 1896, as part of a marketing exercise on behalf of the CEA, a series of annual exhibitions of their schools began at Wordsworth College; and a report of the fourth in 1899 gave great credit to Saltram Crescent School: 'St Augustine's Upper Grade, Saltram Crescent, and Princess Frederica Schools exhibited much excellent needlework, as well as paintings, maps, etc' and: 'A beautiful inlaid table, made by a boy from Saltram Crescent School, won a first prize. This school fully maintained the reputation gained in former years for inlaid work and carving' and: 'The Saltram Crescent children gained the first prize for singing'. In the infants' drill competition, the Saltram Crescent School children 'looked especially pretty in white frocks, their hoops decorated with yellow and violet ribbons'; and in the boys' competition in recitation in costume, 'Saltram did a very amusing scene from 'The Taming of the Shrew'.<sup>75</sup> In 1902, H.M. Inspector reported that 'The order and instruction were very good, and very creditable to the Head Mistress and her assistants. Physical exercises very good'. This was followed by a visit from the Diocesan Inspector, Reverend Bernard Reynolds, on 22 November 1902. He reported that 'the written exercises are highly creditable [and] the school is again excellent'.<sup>76</sup>

But despite these triumphs, the Boys' and Girls' Schools were among Mother Emily's very few failures in her drive to build church schools in the area: although the need for these fee-paying schools had been anticipated, it was never totally fulfilled. This was probably because through a misjudgement of the market the schools had been built in a neighbourhood that had been expected to be of a higher class than had proved to be the case, and thus they never attracted sufficient numbers to make them cost effective. Also, there was increasing competition from several Board schools which had gradually been established in the area: Queen's Park (1877); Amberley Road, Beethoven Street and Campbell Street (1881); Moberley, Kilburn Lane (1899); Essendine Road (1900); and St Luke's Church of England National School, Fernhead Road (1877). For these reasons in particular, the schools never filled, and latterly the top floor was used initially as a home for pupil teachers, and then for a division of little orphans.<sup>77</sup> Early in 1900 the Boys' School was closed entirely, and shortly thereafter the Girls' School moved to Wordsworth College where in May 1901 there were already 200 pupils on the roll.<sup>78</sup>

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, in particular, the controversies and often violent and ill-informed criticism levelled at Mother Emily meant that in later life her concern for social problems, especially with regard to education, continued to increase. She confronted these challenges head on rather than using any thought-out political or economic theory: she was perhaps more interested in people than parties. However, 'She was definitely a belligerent Churchwoman, whose unquenchable zeal and enthusiasm were far ahead of most of her contemporaries'.<sup>79</sup> The Community

of the Sisters of the Church had initially centred on Kilburn, but over time expanded with unparalleled rapidity and by 1893 numbered over one hundred, with about forty novices and postulants. Their work had spread not only across London and to other places in England, but branches had been established abroad in Canada (1890), India (1892), Australia (1892), Burma (1894), New Zealand (1895), and in South Africa for nursing during the Boer War (1899-1902).<sup>80</sup> However, after the turn of the century an illness and a leg infection forced Mother Emily to be confined to her bed at St Mary's convalescent home in Broadstairs. Suffering a combination of diabetes and gangrene she died on 5 June 1900, and was buried in the churchyard of St Peter's, Thanet. Following an election by secret ballot on 1 August 1900, Mother Emily was succeeded by Mother May, who was serving in South Africa and was installed on 24 September 1900.<sup>81</sup> It was left to her and the CEA to seek a fair offer for the sale of the former Saltram Crescent School building, and after negotiations with the Technical Education Board of the London County Council (LCC) it was sold for £15,000.<sup>82</sup> No doubt the CEA had qualms about selling the building to the LCC, but approval was given for their new secretary, Wallis Kingdom, to be accepted formally onto the Advisory Sub-Committee of the newly created Paddington Technical Institute a short while after it had opened for students in September 1903.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

All illustrations have been taken from *Some memories of Emily Harriet Elizabeth Ayckbown, Mother Foundress of the Community of the Sisters of the Church* (Church Extension Association, 1914), the author of which is anonymous.

- 1 Her father, from a German family originally named *Eichbaum*, was born in Dublin in 1783, and for a time was tutor to the future Duke of Westminster.
- 2 Her younger brother, Albert, became the Reverend Frederick A G Eichbaum, having reverted to the original spelling of the family name on account of property claims (anon., *A Valiant Victorian: The Life and Times of Emily Harriet Elizabeth Ayckbown, 1836 to 1900 of the Community of the Sisters of the Church* (A.R. Mowbray, 1964) [*ValV*] 2
- 3 *ibid.*, 5
- 4 *ibid.*, 7
- 5 *Our Work* vol.23 (August 1900) 269 (as was expressed in 1863).
- 6 A.M. Allchin, *The Silent Rebellion: Anglican Religious Communities 1845 to 1900* (SCM Press, 1958) 40. The Oxford Movement, which later became known as Anglo-Catholicism, was started by a group of devotees mostly associated with Oxford University who argued for the older traditions of Christianity to be included in theology and church liturgy. Their philosophy was known as Tractarianism following a series of articles, or tracts, published in *The Times* from 1833 to 1841.
- 7 *Our Work* vol.7 (July 1884) 70
- 8 *ValV*, 11
- 9 *Chester Record* 29 September 1866, 4
- 10 *ValV*, 13
- 11 *Chester Chronicle* 12 January 1867, 6
- 12 *ValV*, 9
- 13 *ibid.*, 60. Now considered a modern method and the forerunner of today's charity shops, during the 1880s 'Kilburn sacks' were devised as a way of supplying depots. The CEA depot's address was printed on the sack, which when filled was ready for dispatch by a carrier to its destination. Depots later included those in Edgware Road (1882), Kilburn Park Road (1885), 229 Maida Vale (1889), Glendower Place, Kensington and 66 Queen's Road, Bayswater (1890), and 83 New Oxford Street (1895).
- 14 *ibid.*, 16
- 15 *ibid.*, 25
- 16 *ibid.*, 54 and 55. The former quarterly paper was superseded by a community magazine entitled *Our Work*, and the first edition, vol.1 no.1 (January 1878) was sold for 1½d and reached over 50,000 members.
- 17 *ibid.*, 19
- 18 *ibid.*, 21; *Our Work* vol.26 (March 1901) 80 (quoted from the latter).
- 19 *ValV*, 248. On page 22 this date was given as 1872.
- 20 *ibid.*, 22. The year may have been 1872: see note 19.
- 21 On St Michael's Day, 29 September, a cream bun was given to children at CEA schools, orphanages, and convalescent homes around the country and abroad.
- 22 *ValV*, 74. Between 1870 and 1893 seven schools were built in London for nearly 6000 children: and several other schools were established in England, including one in Bromley and another in Liverpool, as well as adaptations to buildings in Croydon and York, and the opening of schools in Canada and Australia.

- 23 Thomas Claughton (1808-1892), then bishop of Rochester, and later St Alban's, was a close friend of Charles Wordsworth (1806-1892), bishop of St Andrews and nephew of the poet William Wordsworth; and Samuel Wilberforce (1805-1873), bishop of Oxford and then Winchester, third son of William Wilberforce (1759-1833), the famous politician and one of the leaders of the anti-slavery campaign.
- 24 *ValV*, 76
- 25 *Our Work*, vol.26 (June 1901) 191
- 26 *ValV*, 77
- 27 *ibid.*, 81 Here the date for the foundation of the Pinafore Society was given as 1886, but *Our Work* vol.9 (March 1886) described it as 'making steady progress during the last six months'.
- 28 *ibid.*
- 29 *Our Work* vol.9, 229
- 30 *ValV*, 105, 107-110. (The first of the CEA's convalescent homes was opened in 1872 in a small house in Broadstairs, but transferred in 1873 to a larger leased house there in Wrotham Crescent. The foundation stone of the much larger, purpose-built, St Mary's Home was laid on 8 August 1882 by Lord Nelson, and officially opened by Princess Frederica of Hanover on 21 July 1887. After severe damage by a flying bomb in 1944, the Home was transferred to its present premises in North Foreland Road. A second convalescent home called Ormerod House (after the local MP) at St Anne's on Sea, Lancashire was opened in 1890.
- 31 *ibid.*, 61
- 32) *Our Work* vol.15 (July 1892) 245
- 33 Allchin, *Silent Rebellion*, 211
- 34 At the time the beginnings of a criticism of the utilitarian view of society were apparent: The conception of a humanity bound together only by motives of self-interest, but in all else living separate and selfish lives, found no place in the designs of the Creator' (see *Our Work* vol.18 (November 1895) 378)
- 35 *ValV*, 115
- 36 *ibid.*, 95
- 37 *ibid.*, 96. See also S. Mumm, *Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers: Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain* (Leicester UP, 1999) 114
- 38 *ValV*, 98
- 39 Mumm, *Anglican Sisterhood*, 113
- 40 *ValV*, 100
- 41 *ibid.*, 101. The Orphanage, together with other properties in Carlton Vale, has since been demolished and replaced by residential flats: Strome House, Thurso House and Renfrew House.
- 42 *ibid.*
- 43 Mumm, *Anglican Sisterhood*, 113
- 44 *ValV*, 101
- 45 *ibid.*, 114
- 46 *ibid.*, 102
- 47 *Our Work* vol.10 (Christmas number) 14
- 48 *ibid.*, vol.10 (January 1887) 5
- 49 *ibid.*, vol.13 (September 1880) 266
- 50 *ibid.*, vol.20 (November 1890) 391
- 51 *ibid.*, vol.19 (January 1896) 29
- 52 *ibid.*, vol.21., (April 1898) 126. Although it achieved satisfactory results, the training college must also be regarded as a failure because the Education Department refused to recognise it, and examinations were held for the last time in 1901. In March 1905, St Augustine's Upper Grade Girls' School was removed to Wordsworth College which became known henceforth as St Hilda's School, and continued until 30 September 1936. The BBC acquired the lease of the premises which were adapted for office accommodation in 1939. In 1944 the building was equipped with studios, control rooms, a projection theatre and recording areas, but was vacated on 18 December 1964 when the lease was surrendered to the Church Commissioners.
- 53 *ValV*, 102
- 54 *ibid.*, 171-175. Free soup was discontinued when work on the railway line was resumed, but the Sunday teas continued almost up to the outbreak of the First World War.
- 55 *ValV*, 150 -153
- 56 Allchin, *Silent Rebellion*, 212
- 57 *ibid.*, 160. Not until 1903, after the death of the archbishop and the Mother Foundress, did the Community receive an episcopal visitor, the first being Arthur Winnington Ingram (1858-1946), bishop of London.
- 58 *The Times* 21 June 1895; *Church Times* vol.34 (June 1895) 352; (December 1895) 521
- 59 Allchin, *Silent Rebellion*, 214
- 60 A.C. Benson, *Life of E.W. Benson* vol.2 (Macmillan, 1900) 640, cited in Allchin, *Silent Rebellion*, 215.
- 61 *ibid.*, 212
- 62 *Charity Organisation Review* vol.12 no.132 (January 1896) 19
- 63 Mumm, *Anglican Sisterhoods*, 113
- 64 *Charity Organisation Review* vol.12 no.140 (September 1896) 406
- 65 *ValV*, 166
- 66 *ibid.*
- 67 *ibid.*, 85ff
- 68 *ibid.*, 84
- 69 *ibid.*, 170
- 70 *ibid.*, 80. Gordon Memorial School was named after General Charles Gordon (1833-1885). With a strong Christian faith, he became a national hero following his exploits in China; and especially after his death during the ill-fated defence of Khartoum against Sudanese rebels.
- 71 *ibid.*, 92. Wilberforce School was founded in memory of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce (1805-1873). In 1860, when bishop of Oxford and a leading evangelical Anglican, he famously opposed Thomas Huxley, a supporter of Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection, by asking him in a notorious debate whether he was descended from an ape on his grandfather's or grandmother's side of the family. Princess Frederica School was named after and opened by Princess Frederica of Hanover (1848-1926), a local benefactor and great-

- granddaughter of George III, and thereby cousin of Queen Victoria. John Keble School has served as a lasting monument, together with Keble College, Oxford, to John Keble (1792-1866), Anglican theologian, poet, and author among other works of *The Christian Year* (1827), whose sermon 'National Apostasy' was considered to be the beginning of the Oxford Movement in 1833.
- 72 *Our Work* vol.15 (June 1892) 215  
 73 *ibid.*, vol.14 (November 1891) 403-404  
 74 *ibid.*, vol.15 (August 1892) 282  
 75 *ibid.*, vol.22 (October 1899) 357  
 76 *ibid.*, vol.28 (January 1903) 8-9
- 77 *ValV*, 102. Divisions, or 'families', originally numbered about 30, but sometimes rose to about 60, and all were about the same age under the charge of one Sister.
- 78 *Our Work* vol.26 (May 1901) 154  
 79 P.F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister* (SPCK 2nd edition, 1964) 444  
 80 *ValV*, 212-225  
 81 London County Council, Minutes of the Technical Education Board, vol.11 no.2 (23 June 1902) Items 13, 321 and 322  
 82 London County Council, Minutes of the Education Committee, 28 November 1906.

*After years of employment in further education, following his retirement MICHAEL BLOWER moved from London to North Devon, resulting in post-graduate study and a keen interest in local history. This led to two Devon History Society projects now available on-line: 'Devon's Early Victorian Schools' on 'Marwood Schools', and 'Devon in the 1920s', which concentrates principally on the 'Elements of Tourism in Ilfracombe' during that period.*

# ‘Celebrating Hampshire Historians’: a study of the history of local history

BARRY SHURLOCK

Unlike most areas of history, local studies have received relatively little attention from historiographers, who study ‘the history of history’.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the number of publications and online sources for many places in most counties is now so great that an assessment of the work of others is more essential than ever, when embarking on a research project. Historiography has a long history: the post of Historiographer Royal to the English Crown was created in 1661 by Charles II and lasted until 1837.<sup>2</sup> Scotland still has an Historiographer Royal. Historiographers recognise various ‘schools’, including Whigs, Marxists, Annalists, Rankeans, positivists, postmodernists and so on. In line with the country’s imperial dominance in the nineteenth century, the so-called Whig historians regarded history as a story of constant progression. Others had different ideas: there were some who wanted more attention to ‘the ordinary person’ and some who emphasised new areas of enquiry, involving psychology, social science, economics, and other disciplines. With sufficient information, it was argued, scientific methods would lead to laws that predicted human behaviour. On the other hand, the German Leopold von Ranke claimed that history could only be validated by huge amounts of information—Big Data—though he dismissed grand designs.

Most of these trends have bypassed local history, which has generally focused on ‘what happened’ and less frequently on ‘why’. To explore the history of local history in Hampshire, a small group from the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society has been working on Celebrating Hampshire Historians (CHH)—essentially a study of regional historiography—in response to a universal request from the Institute of Historical Research for ideas to mark its centenary.<sup>3</sup> CHH has now profiled more than 200 historians, limited only by a *terminus ad quem* of death by the year 2000. For each, a short biography and select bibliography (technically called a biobibliography), together with other comments on their work, has been written and posted online.<sup>4</sup> The only significant previous work in the area is Michael Hick’s chapter on Hampshire and the Isle of Wight in *A Guide to English County Histories*.<sup>5</sup>

Hampshire is an extremely diverse county, ‘the rump of Anglo-Saxon Wessex’, with many aspects of national importance. Winchester was the first central place in an emerging united England and the seat of a diocese that extended from London to the Channel Islands. The New Forest is an ancient waste and woodland, beloved by the Normans, and part of the countywide attraction of country sports that over the years drew the elite to Hampshire. The commercial port of Southampton and the naval dockyard at Portsmouth played vital roles in the growth of the empire. The county has also been a theatre for aviation pioneers, both at sea—the Schneider Trophy, seaplanes and much else—and at Farnborough, with its associations with Samuel Cody, an international airshow, the Royal Aircraft Establishment, and today an international airport. Hampshire was at many times a staging post for troops on their way to fight in France, which has left it with the military hinterland of Aldershot and elsewhere. Throughout the county, a passionate interest in the past has been widely demonstrated, often by newcomers: to name a very few, in the late-eighteenth century Dr John



Latham (1740-1837) retired to Romsey and amassed notes not published for 200 years;<sup>6</sup> Anna Merritt (1844-1930), an American, was enchanted by Hurstbourne Tarrant; and Charles Cave (1871-1950) turned his professional telephotography skills from clouds to the roof bosses of churches and cathedrals.

This paper highlights these and other key features in the development of local history in the county as explored by CHH. This is probably the first time that the historiography of a small geographical area—based on the biobibliographies of local historians and their studies—has been explored in such detail. The hope is that it will encourage similar projects in other regions.

**1 American artist, Anna Massey Merritt, née Lea (1844-1930),**

whose memoir, *A Hamlet in Old Hampshire* (1902), recorded life in the village of Hurstbourne Tarrant, especially its poverty

## Before 1800

Very few places in Hampshire had a written history of any kind before the nineteenth century, even though John Milner (1752-1826), a Catholic priest, claimed in the preface to his two-volume history of Winchester published in 1798 that

We have now separate, histories, not only of most of the counties, cities and towns, of any note, in England, but also of innumerable parishes, villages, and hamlets, for most of which we are evidently more indebted to the partiality of the writers for the places of their nativity or residence, than to the celebrity or importance, either ancient or modern, of the places themselves.<sup>7</sup>

In fact, at the time, Hampshire had no well-founded county history, historians of Southampton had hardly started, Portsmouth had only Lake Taswell's *Guide*,<sup>8</sup> and the only recognisable 'local history' was of Selborne, by Gilbert White (1720-1793), who is usually pigeon-holed as a naturalist. However, many scholars of various kinds had made a start. The earliest historian who in any sense contributed to Hampshire history was the Venerable Bede. In his *Ecclesiastical History* published in 731 he recorded the beginnings of Winchester as a diocesan centre in about 660, 'networking', presumably by letter, with the bishop of the day, Daniel (Danhel). Also, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Domesday, both works of record, were compiled in Winchester, together with Liber de Hyda, which gives glimpses of the early history of the abbey suppressed by Thomas Cromwell. Medieval monks working in the *scriptorium* of St Swithun's Priory in Winchester also left manuscripts that help to tell the story of the monastery. In 1818, when William Upcott (1779-1845) the sub-librarian at the London Institute published his three-volume *A Bibliographical Account of the Principal Works Relating to English*

*Topography*, he only listed 27 works for Hampshire (with six more in a Supplement). The entries, which are very detailed, included Milner and other histories of Winchester, works by Richard Warner, White on Selborne and a few other items.<sup>9</sup>

Surviving early works focused on Winchester and its cathedral, including *Annales Monasterii Wintonia*, thought to be by Richard of Devizes (c.1150-c.1200), and *Historia Minor and Liber Historialis* by Thomas Rudborne (fl.1447-1454).<sup>10</sup> The travellers John Leland (c.1503-1552) and William Camden (1551-1623) are much-quoted sources, as are Fiennes and Defoe in the following centuries. However, the first attempt at a local history of anywhere in the county was probably in Winchester, by lawyer John Trussell (c.1575-1648). He had come to the city in 1605 attracted by his brother, the steward of Winchester College, and in due course wrote two curiously entitled manuscripts, 'The Origin of Cities', and 'The Touchstone of Tradition', written 'for the good and honour [of] much decayed' Winchester.<sup>11</sup> He claimed inspiration from no less than William Camden, 'my ever to bee revered and remembered Schoolmaster', but he failed to follow the topographer's advice on documenting historical sources. In fact, he ridiculed such a scholarly approach, writing 'to beleive nothing of Antiquitie, but what is perspicuous and unquestionable proved, is but the bare refuge of dulpated ignoraunt droanes, or mechanicke precise plebeyans'. He did, however, make use of many sources, including legal documents, published chronicles and materials in the cathedral library, but failed to interest the city's ruling body, the Twenty-Four, in his project. In the same period, cartographer and antiquarian John Norden (c.1547-1625) made what would now be called a 'directory' of the elite of the county. Many of these early historians fostered myths and had limited access to sources, leaving space for those who came after them.



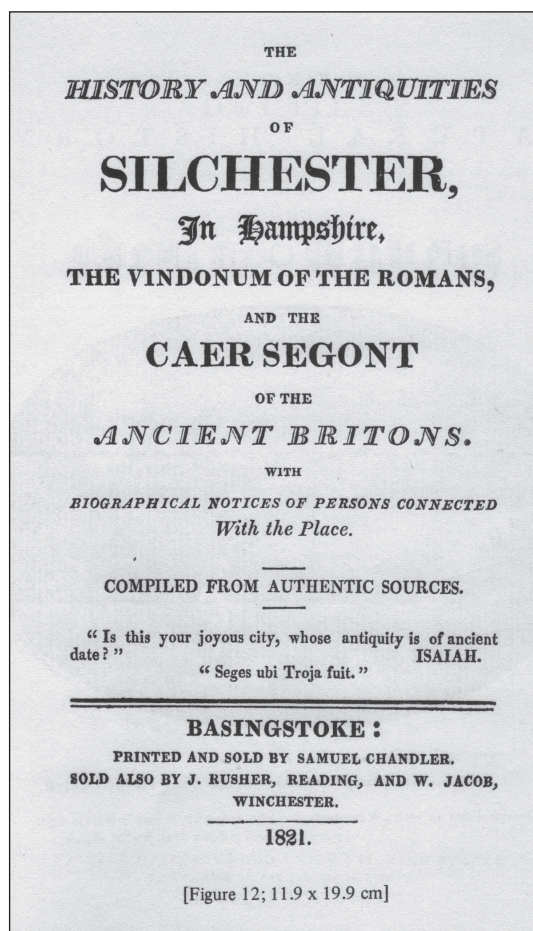
**2 Tom Atkinson (1893-1966), college lecturer and honorary Winchester City Archivist**, who rescued John Trussell from obscurity and published *Elizabethan Winchester* in 1963 (Faber and Faber). Photograph by E.A. Sollars, courtesy of Winchester City Council (Hampshire Record Office, W/K2/4/50)

A much more successful writer, who made great use of Bishop Morley's Library in the cathedral, was Joseph Bingham (c.1668-1723), rector of nearby Headbourne Worthy, who in the early 1700s demonstrated on a grand scale what careful scholarship could achieve when he published *The Antiquities of the Christian Church* in 10 volumes.<sup>12</sup> It was, however, not until the late eighteenth century that anything approaching local history was produced in the county. In manuscript, there were works on Southampton, by Dr John Speed (1703-1781) from a distinguished local family, only published in 1883,<sup>13</sup> and on Alresford by Robert Boyes (1723-1782), the local schoolmaster.<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere, Joseph Jefferson (1766-1824) wrote histories of the Royalist stronghold, Basing House, and the Roman town, Silchester, and other works. In the south of the county Richard Warner (1763-1857), who served as Gilpin's curate, wrote on a variety of local subjects, including the town of Lymington, the Roman port of Clausentum (Bitterne),

the Domesday Book for the county, and a history of the Isle of Wight. His name came to prominence in 1795, when a five-volume *Collections for the History of Hampshire* was published in London by a shady figure ‘D.Y.’<sup>15</sup> It was a poor effort, with material plagiarised from Warner and others. He later called it ‘barefaced piracy’, although in 1791 he had himself circulated proposals for a similar work.

This was also a time when Hampshire authors were finding fame on the national stage. In 1776 Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), who spent time at his father’s house at ‘rare and rustic’ Buriton near Petersfield,<sup>16</sup> published the first volume of *Decline and Fall*; in 1791 the Boldre rector, William Gilpin (1724-1804) *Remarks on [New] Forest Scenery*; and in 1789 Gilbert White *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*. The importance of this iconic work—arguably the first serious local history anywhere in the county—has been overwhelmed by its place as precursor of ‘ecology’, with the result that most of the several hundred later editions omit the section on antiquities. Yet this accounted for more than a hundred pages, in 26 Letters, with copious scholarly notes and lengthy appendices of primary Latin sources. Of the village square or Plestor, for example, White writes that it was given to the convent and prior of Selborne in 1271 by the

local squire, Sir Adam de Gurdon, when it was called ‘La Pleystow’. He traces the meaning from Saxon roots as ‘play-place’. In his research, which displays great erudition—well beyond the habits of swifts and other hirundines—he was assisted by Dr Richard Chandler, the incumbent at nearby Worldham and West Tisted, who consulted deeds for him at Magdalen College, Oxford, lords of Selborne (which held manorial courts well into the last century). White himself took the opportunity of a visit to London to buy the Selborne entry in the Domesday Book from its ‘keeper’ at the rate of ‘four pence a line’.<sup>17</sup> Even though his friend and fellow cleric John Mulso initially ridiculed his decision to include the section on antiquities, he changed his mind when he saw it in print, remarking that it ‘would give a Pleasure & a Hunger of reading to a Man not an Antiquarian’.<sup>18</sup> As might be expected for the limited resources of the day, the *Antiquities* is not free from error,<sup>19</sup> but it set in train studies that eventually led to an archaeological study.<sup>20</sup>



**3 An early telling of the story of the Roman town of Silchester** (anonymous, but attributed to Joseph Jefferson (1766-1824), a nonconformist minister in Basingstoke)

Other authors were at work as the century turned: Sir Henry Englefield (1752-1822) in Southampton and later Charles Ball (1766-1823) in Winchester were contemplating their

'historical walks'. More educated people with time on their hands were becoming aware that local history was an interesting, worthwhile and engaging activity. This trend came to a climax in 1798-1801, with the publication of the monumental, two-volume *History, Ecclesiastical and Civil, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester* by the above-mentioned John Milner. This resulted from a proposal made by James Robbins, 'a respectable Bookseller and Printer' in the city and later publisher of the *Hampshire Chronicle*. Milner obliged with alacrity and in 'LITTLE more than a twelvemonth' delivered the manuscript of a work that went to two volumes and more than 700 pages. Although a commercial bestseller, it was met—perhaps predictably for a Catholic author—by a hostile review from cathedral canon Dr John Sturges entitled *Reflections on the Principles and Institutions of Popery*. In a lengthy postscript in the second edition, Milner countered this and other reviews—with acknowledgement of some errors—and in 1800 hit back at Sturges in a full-scale book, *Letters to a Prebendary*, which went to at least seven editions. The publisher James Robbins profited from all three works.

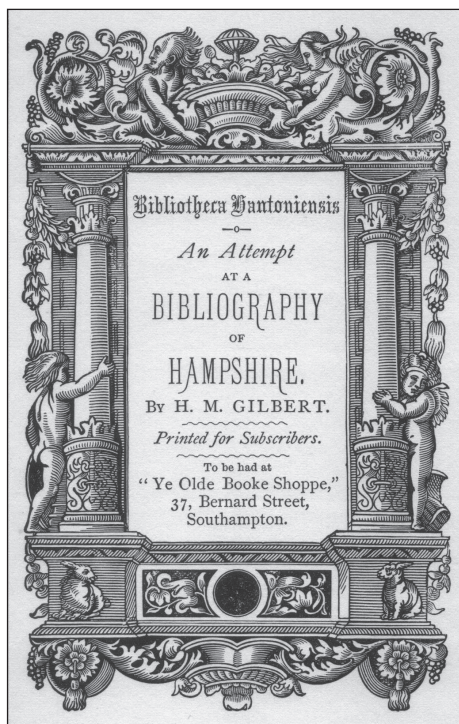
### The long nineteenth century, to 1918

For the most part, during the long nineteenth century local history remained a predominantly elitist pursuit with respect to both its practitioners and subject matter. Those engaged in local history tended to be either educated 'gentlemen' of independent means or clergymen. There were, however, exceptions, including Winchester printer and editor, William Warren (1839-1918), author and curator Henry Moody (1807-1871) and Charlotte Yonge (1823-1901), much better known for her fiction. Throughout the period a pervasive influence was antiquarianism, namely 'the study of old and rare objects and their history'.<sup>21</sup> Although this meant that the topics researched by local historians tended, by present-day standards, to be relatively narrow, nonetheless



**4 The Reverend Sir William Cope (1811-1892)**, book collector extraordinaire after whom the Cope Collection in Southampton University is named: owner of an estate at Bramshill in the parish of Eversley, where the author Charles Kingsley was rector

they performed a valuable service by laying foundations. Examples include the histories of various towns and villages, such as *A History of the Ancient Town and Manor of Basingstoke*, by Francis Joseph Baigent (1830-1918) and Dr James Elwin Millard (1823-1894) in 1889; *Crawley: Glimpses into the past of a Hampshire village*, by Frederick Pledge (1875-1942), in 1907; and *A History of Crondall and Yateley in the County of Hants: Chiefly taken from the Churchwardens' Accounts and other Records in the Parish Chests* by Charles Drummond Stooks (1851-1908) in 1905. Stooks was keen 'to show that it is possible for one like myself, with no special aptitude or qualifications, to write a readable account of the past history of his parish' and suggested that 'every Parish Priest should have a hobby, especially in the country'. His advice was: 'First, copy it all [BMD records] in a good fat ledger, and preferably in modern spelling'. There



**5 Second edition in 1891, by bookseller Henry Gilbert and George Godwin, vicar of East Boldre, of *Bibliotheca Hantoniensis*, based largely on the Cope Collection**

were also those who focussed on the history of a noteworthy property, such as Chaloner William Chute (1838-1892), who inherited the Vyne Estate, north of Basingstoke and in 1888 published *A History of the Vyne in Hampshire, being a short account of the building & antiquities of that house ... and of persons who have at some time lived there*.

Associated with antiquarianism was the acquisition of objects, from books to historical artefacts, including those unearthed during archaeological digs. The Cope Collection is a prime example of the Hampshire bibliophile, named after clergyman Sir William Cope (1811-1892). He bequeathed his entire collection of 1427 books, 50 bound volumes of pamphlets, seven massive albums of engravings, and a further collection of individual prints, to the Hartley Institution, forerunner of the University of Southampton. To complement the collection, in 1879 a Southampton bookseller, Henry March Gilbert (1846-1931) compiled and published a list, and in 1891 with the Rev George Nelson Godwin (1846-1907), vicar of East Boldre, a much-extended second edition, *Bibliotheca Hantoniensis*. Unfortunately, these were never followed up with later editions. The Cope Collection has been added to ever since and

today serves as an invaluable repository of secondary source material for local historians. Examples of the latter include an illustrated three-volume diary of James Joyce (1819-1878), who accepted an invitation from the Duke of Wellington to excavate at the Roman town of Silchester, meticulously recording the results of 20 years' work. Likewise, the account by Sir Charles Peers (1868-1952) of Basing House, where Lord Bolton instructed his gardeners to lay bare the fabric of the ruins of the Civil War.<sup>22</sup>

A related development in keeping with the antiquarian spirit was the establishment of local museums, an initiative with which local historians were closely associated. Henry Moody (1805-1871), for example, was the first curator of Winchester Museum which opened in 1847. At Alton in 1837, William Curtis (1803-1881) was instrumental in forming the Alton Mechanics and Apprentices' Library, which became a museum in 1856. He gifted his large collection of material on local history and geology to the institution, thereafter known as the Curtis Museum. Another was Herbert Druitt (1876-1943) whose collection of artefacts, including local flint implements, pottery, fossils, shells, coins, birds' eggs, prints, watercolours, books, pamphlets and nineteenth-century fashion plates was the basis of the Red House Museum in Christchurch.

Towards the end of the period, a development with long-term consequences was the desire to make archival material, which often lay hidden in vaults, cellars and parish chests, more readily accessible. A leading role in doing so was played by record societies. Although it was relatively short-lived the Hampshire Record Society led the

way. Inaugurated at a meeting held at the Deanery in Winchester on 18 July 1888, its intended objectives were: (1) to print and publish manuscript records concerning the county of Southampton; and (2) to give assistance in preserving and arranging collections of documents. The Society got off to a promising start under the leadership of the 'antiquarian and amiable Dean' of Winchester, the Very Reverend George William Kitchen (1827-1912). By September 1889 the first volume was forthcoming, 'a most welcome volume, throwing light on the sunset of St Swithun's priory and the birth of its offspring, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity'.<sup>23</sup> Another eleven volumes followed before the Society's demise in 1900, due to 'the withdrawal of members and the lack of new support'.<sup>24</sup> This did not deter a similar venture in Southampton, with a record society being established in the town in 1905, largely by Fossey John Cobb Hearnshaw (1869-1946). Although he was only in Southampton for the first decade of the last century, he achieved a great deal. Initially a lecturer in English history at the Hartley Institution, he gained a chair in 1902, when it became a University College. This was an early indication of the role that academic institutions were to play in promoting the cause of local history. The Southampton Record Society flourished, with 18 volumes in print by 1918.

A key event was the founding of the Hampshire Field Club in 1885 ('Archaeological Society' was added from 1891), with Thomas Shore (1840-1905) in the lead, epitomising what was later to become an important feature of local history, namely its appeal to a wider audience. A key early proponent was J.P. Williams-Freeman (1858-1943), who broadened the Society's horizons immeasurably. His seminal work *Field Archaeology as Illustrated by Hampshire*, published in 1915, literally broke new ground and went beyond the usual gazetteer of sites, encompassing local history, folklore and place-name studies. To the present day the Field Club has guided local history practitioners and encouraged supporters alike and since 1885 through its *Proceedings* (entitled *Hampshire Studies* since 1996)<sup>25</sup> has contributed to the dissemination of information and ideas covering many different aspects of Hampshire's history.

In many respects, the pivotal project of the long nineteenth century was, of course, the Victoria County History, especially as Hampshire was the first county to complete the exercise: five 'red books' were published by 1912, with an index volume two years later. A major contributor was William Page (1861-1934), who jointly edited volume 2 with W.H. Doubleday, and was sole editor for volumes 3 to 5. A key feature of the project was the participation of numerous university-educated female researchers denied graduate status. Thus, notwithstanding its elitist bias with respect to the topics it covered, such as manorial descent and parish churches, it was an early example of teamwork, accelerated by commercial publishers. Ever since it has been the first go-to source for tackling any unfamiliar corner of the county.

### **The interwar years, 1918-1945**

Although the interwar years were a period of relative quiescence in local history, interest was sustained by the record societies and academic institutions such as Hartley University College in Southampton, increased press coverage of historical topics, and an initiative of the Women's Institute. Moreover, the establishment of the Milford-on-Sea Historical Record Society as early as 1909 by William Ravenscroft (1848-1943) and colleagues, had set an example which many other towns and villages in the county enthusiastically followed after the Second World War. During this period the Southampton Record Society continued to prosper, publishing a volume every year, the last in 1940. Most volumes were edited by one of three academics: Wesley Horrocks

(1877-1930), an historian at Hartley College, 4 volumes; Harry Gidden (1866-1948), a teacher at King Edward VI School, 9 volumes; and Roger Anderson (1883-1976), a naval historian of independent means, 7 volumes.

Although the Southampton Record Series was targeted at a niche audience, the press played a valuable part in stimulating a wider interest in local history. Since the late nineteenth century, many local newspapers had included snippets from past issues. By 1920, the *Hampshire Independent*, for example, had its ‘Sixty Years Ago’ column. However, during the interwar years more substantial pieces were written by historians. In Southampton, for example, Wesley Horrocks not only contributed to the Southampton Record Series, but also wrote for the *Hampshire Advertiser*, with articles such as one on the birthplace of the famous hymn writer, Isaac Watts, which generated many follow-up letters.<sup>26</sup> Another venture, under the general heading of ‘Little Known Chapters in Southampton History’, was a series about the influential Taunton family.<sup>27</sup> In Winchester, newspaper correspondent W.H. Jacob (1829-1918) wrote many articles on local history for the *Hampshire Independent*, generally by-lined with his initials. Similarly, in the 1930s Edgar Mitchell (or ‘Townsmen’) (1877-1939), penned a popular column in the *Hampshire Advertiser*, prosaically named ‘Occasional Notes’. These began with observations about his own experiences, but later reflected his thoughts on, and researches into, the history of Southampton. Topics included ‘The history of Stoneham Park’;<sup>28</sup> ‘Southampton as a health and pleasure resort’;<sup>29</sup> and ‘the 100th anniversary of the floating bridge’.<sup>30</sup> Many of his articles were republished by subscription in 1938, which proved so successful that a popular edition soon followed.

Popularising local history at this time was also associated with the Women’s Institute. In the mid-1930s it oversaw a project which was to have a long-lasting influence on three important aspects of the subject—collective endeavour, oral testimony and a

broader range and scope of topics.<sup>31</sup> Leading the project in Hampshire, the purpose of which was ‘to collect and chronicle the life and customs of ... villages as observed and assembled by members of ... WIs’, was Winifred Beddington (1878-1952). By involving members throughout the county, it encouraged them and their acquaintances to reflect not only on the histories of their communities but also on their personal histories, now termed ‘oral history’. It was, in the words of the *Hampshire Advertiser*, ‘perhaps, the most remarkable example of all the county’s examples of co-operative work’.<sup>32</sup> The resulting publication, *It Happened in Hampshire*, proved to be a bestseller running to at least five editions. It attracted considerable attention in the local press and did much to stimulate interest in Hampshire’s past, with chapters on subjects such as village churches; industries past and present; legends; stories and sayings; and smuggling.<sup>33</sup>



**6 Osbert Crawford (1886-1957)**, a towering figure in Hampshire archaeology and nationally, photographer, Marxist, social critic and cat mimic

Between the wars, several important archaeological excavations took place, involving significant historical research. Principal among these was the work on St Catherine’s Hill, Winchester, by Christopher Hawkes

(1905-1992), J.N.L. Myers and C.G. Stevens, which began in 1925. These three Wykehamists (pupils at Winchester College, which owned the hill) unearthed the site of a medieval chapel and published a full report of their discoveries in 1930. Other key archaeologists active in Hampshire at this time were O.G.S. Crawford (1886-1957), founder in 1927 of the influential journal *Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of Archaeology*, Stuart Piggott (1910-1996) and Leslie Grinsell (1907-1995), whose wide-ranging survey of the county's burial mounds or barrows made use of evidence from place-names, field names and folklore. Alongside these developments additional local museums were founded. These included the Basingstoke Museum opened in 1931, with George Willis (1877-1970), the first curator, playing a leading role. In 1956, in recognition of his contribution it was renamed the Willis Museum.

### After the Second World War

One of the most significant developments during this period was the remarkable growth of urban archaeology, with all the attendant documentary research required to populate the story of what is found. In this, Winchester has led the way: Roger Quirk (1909-1964) was instrumental in instigating a programme of work directed by Martin Biddle between 1961 and 1971, which revolutionised the approach to the subject. Quirk was a member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and the Institute of Historical Research Committee, and also served on the council of the British Records Association. Many of the resulting Winchester Studies are now available online free of charge.<sup>34</sup>

Accompanying the growth of urban archaeology there has been an explosion of interest in local history. This is particularly shown by the proliferation of local history societies, some of which—such as Basingstoke and Andover—have both archaeology and history in their names.<sup>35</sup> These have played an important part in gathering and archiving material relating to their town or village, organising research projects and fuelling the increased recognition being given to the value of 'bottom up' history. There has also been a significant growth in the number of publications of all kinds, of which the 'tip



**7 Barbara Carpenter Turner**, née Bunyard (1915-1957), one of the most prominent Hampshire historians in the second half of the last century

of a very large iceberg' includes the Hampshire Papers and Portsmouth Papers; local journals (e.g. *Look Back at Andover*, *Fareham Past and Present and Worthy History*); and articles in newspapers and county magazines, such as the *Hampshire Magazine* and *Hampshire Life*. Prolific contributors who continued a tradition established during the interwar years included Katherine Kenyon (1887-1981), also a conservation activist, and Barbara Carpenter Turner (1915-1997), sometime mayor of Winchester. The Women's Institute also promoted popular publications, with *The New Hampshire Village Book* in 1990, *Hampshire Within Living Memory* in 1994 and *Hampshire: A Century in Photographs* in 1998. All of these were compiled by the Hampshire County Federation of WIs and included contributions from many branches in the county. Teamwork of this kind is also evident in the publishing ventures of many local history societies, including those of Buriton Heritage Bank, the Worthys Local History Group and the new Victoria County

History project, currently focusing on the parishes in north-east Hampshire.<sup>36</sup> Most of the historians involved with these initiatives were still alive in 2000 and are therefore beyond the scope of the CHH project.

In making archives more readily accessible, the establishment of the Hampshire Record Office in 1947 was a red-letter event. Overseeing the process was Eleanor Cottrill (1903-1991), a formidable organiser who occupied the new post of Hampshire County Archivist from 1947 to 1970 and has been dubbed ‘the founder of the county’s archives’. The current award-winning building was opened by the Queen Elizabeth II in 1993. Within Hampshire, Southampton and Portsmouth also have their own archives.

For forty years from the 1950s, academia had something of a ‘golden age’, with tutors in adult education at the University of Southampton guiding local historians and archaeologists, especially in association with the Hampshire Field Club, reorganised in 1979, and the Southampton University Industrial Archaeology Group, alongside tutors of the Workers’ Educational Association, and lecturers at Portsmouth Polytechnic for the Diploma of Local History. Many of their pupils featured prominently in the Portsmouth, Southampton, and Hampshire Record Series, the Portsmouth Papers and Hampshire Papers. A leading figure during the 1960s and 1970s in the Southampton Record Series was Temple Patterson (1902-1983), who had previously been at Leicester University, where his appetite for local history was whetted. Appointed a Reader in Regional History in 1960, he gained a chair in 1967 and retired a year later. His magisterial *History of Southampton*, published in three volumes between 1966 and 1975, is testimony to his scholarship and the move towards a multi-faceted view of local history.<sup>37</sup> He was a dedicated interrogator of primary sources before the internet, and often without microfilm: a newspaper report of 1963 noted that ‘Mr Temple Patterson is a familiar figure in this office, where he does research on the files of the “Hampshire Advertiser” and the “Hampshire Independent”’.<sup>38</sup> Today, he would undoubtedly be an avid user of the *British Newspaper Archive*. He was always fulsome in his praise of archivists, regarding them as far more than ‘mere keepers of records’.<sup>39</sup>

## Conclusions

CHH has provided a firm base for charting the development of local history in Hampshire. Almost all early sources were adjuncts to and products of the Church or the observations of topographers and travellers. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, aided by the greater availability and freedom of print, there was the start of what is recognisably local history, sometimes admixed with natural history. It was still mostly written by clerics, but with a cultural as well as an ecclesiastical function. At the end of the eighteenth century, local history gained momentum, largely through the enterprise of people like Winchester printer-cum-publisher James Robbins.<sup>40</sup> Milner’s *History* was not only a bestseller but spawned a train of publications derived from the main work. Robbins extended his list with other local books, including, in 1818, *An Historical Account of Winchester, with Descriptive Walks*, by another well-schooled cleric, Charles Ball.<sup>41</sup>

During the next century most towns and some country parishes in the county had some form of their history written, while in the 1880s there was a burst of activity, as scholars, country gentlemen and others teamed up in various ways: the Hampshire Field Club was founded—with parallels throughout the country—and archival sources were transcribed and printed. For almost the first time, people other than churchman were involved, including the Winchester ‘freelance antiquarian’ Francis Baigent and professional archivist Walter de Gray Birch from the British Museum. The enthusiasm of lawyer turned genealogist W.P.W. Phillimore (1853-1913) fuelled an extraordinary



**8** From a Catholic family, **Francis Baigent (1830-1918)**, artist, co-author of *History ... of Basingstoke* (1889, C.J. Jacob, Basingstoke), a 'freelance antiquarian' with high standards, seen here defending the Tichborne Claimant, who fooled him

upsurge interest in family history in Hampshire, as elsewhere. Now the preserve of the Hampshire Genealogical Society, founded in 1974, and empowered by the digital revolution, it has greatly enriched the pursuit of local history.

Historical studies in Winchester had always been led by the cathedral (and to a lesser extent by Winchester College), but in the late nineteenth century in Southampton — by which time it had outgrown the county town—it was the turn of academics. The Hartley Institution was the cradle of the Hampshire Field Club, and the university, when it came, spawned the long-running Southampton Record Series. The VCH, despite its narrow focus on manor, church and estate, provided a solid foundation for much that happened in the last century. After the Second World War, new research in Winchester was led by archaeologists, while in Portsmouth, which was slow to start (and choked by naval history), the city council launched a series of Portsmouth Papers in 1967 and a Record Series four years later. Starting with an account of Portchester Castle by Barry Cunliffe, more than 70 papers have now been published.

Because CHH only covers historians who had died by 2000, the digital revolution, and especially social media, hardly feature. Also, there are some sources that have only been touched on, including oral and audiovisual productions. The county has large holdings of recorded material, especially in the Wessex Film and Sound Archive of the Hampshire Record Office. The Broughton District History Group is an example of a local archive: it holds a large number of tapes and some published transcripts made by village GP, the late Robert Parr, who interviewed patients willing to talk about their lives.<sup>42</sup> Despite this wealth of material, film-makers, and sound recordists have rarely used their work to 'create history': much remains to be explored in all collections, to match the use of photographs in the many before-and-after photo books and 'Within Living Memory' series.

Overall, CHH clearly demonstrates the relevance of the historiography of local history and archaeology to the story of the county. From early studies of Winchester focused on the cathedral and priory to the minutiae of village history, from the elitism evident before World War One to the emerging populism of the last century, and from lone researchers to collective endeavours, all have featured. Any future extension of this study, beyond the inclusion of those who died after 2000, would undoubtedly need to chart the growing social expression of local history in exhibitions, guided visits, pop-up museums, tourist events, social media groups, and even Christmas parties. With the exception of community digs and events such as the Alfred Millenary of 1901 (albeit two years late),<sup>43</sup> these happenings only started to play a major role towards the end of the period covered here.

## Acknowledgements

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# Underwood management in the Pickworth and Casterton Woods, Rutland 1770–1900

PETER AUSTIN

The management of woodland throughout Great Britain was formalised during medieval times. Most became a mixture of coppiced and standard trees, within a system of management that came to be called ‘coppice-with-standards’. The renewable nature of coppice was central to this, but it also allowed selected standard timber trees to be felled each time an area of coppice was cut.<sup>1</sup> These standards grew up, mostly from self-seeded saplings, to form a scattered, thin canopy over the coppiced trees, which therefore formed an ‘underwood’. The scattering of standards were grown to provide large pieces of timber for making beams, planks and gate posts, but smaller saplings and poles had domestic uses, while their woody branches went to make faggots to fuel hearths and ovens.<sup>2</sup> The mature standards also provided seeds for the growing of future timber trees, but they had to be thinly-foliaged species which came into leaf late, such as oak (*Quercus*) or ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*), for a balance had to be struck between the value of their timber and the loss of wood through their shading of the coppiced underwood. Oak standard and coppiced trees were particularly valued, for their bark is rich in tannin and oak tan-bark was the primary source of vegetable tannin for leather tanners.<sup>3</sup>

In earlier times the underwood largely went as fuelwood, mostly in the form of faggots and charcoal. However, both sturdy poles from the coppice and slender thinned-out maiden poles were used for domestic purposes such as fencing, hurdle-making and basketry, and for the framework for wattle-and-daub walls and other building requirements. Underwood still widely served as fuel in the nineteenth century, ‘particularly in those inland counties where all kinds of fuel are scarce .... where neither coal nor turf can be easily got’.<sup>4</sup> However, in some places these branches and poles provided materials for a range of local crafts and industries, especially from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards.

This paper considers the management of underwood trees in north-east Rutland, where the Pickworth and Great (formerly Bridge) and Little Casterton woods formed just part of the woodlands within the estates of the Marquess of Exeter of Burghley House, Lincolnshire. The bulk of the evidence was drawn from account books held in the Exeter Collection. Sales of woodland produce made between 1778 and 1819 were recorded in annual ‘Wood Books’, in which each estate’s sales of underwood were followed by those of their timber and bark sales.<sup>5</sup> There was a change in accounting sometime before 1822, with underwood, timber, bark and faggots each being accounted for in separate ledgers, in sequential years. This is how it was until around 1864, after which we largely lose sight of records of timber and underwood sales from these woodlands.<sup>6</sup> Additional evidence was drawn from other Burghley accounts, especially those of the ‘Wood Labour’ accounts, as well as individual documents. The uneven survival of these estate records means that this is an episodic account of the management of, and in particular the sales from, Burghley’s Pickworth and Casterton woodlands during these times.

## Underwood

Coppicing involves cutting trees close to the ground which encourages the growth of epicormic buds beneath the bark of their roots and cut stumps, which were variously called *stools* or *stoles*, *stocks* or *stubs*. It was James Brown's advice (1861) that 'If the trees were all cut over in the months of February and March ... the stocks will, by the middle of June, have sent up a large supply of young shoots from the collar all round. These are termed coppice shoots, of whatever kind the tree may be'.<sup>7</sup> This new growth, commonly called *spring*, formed the beginning of the next crop of the woody poles which give coppice its characteristically clumped appearance. However, only certain broadleaved trees offer epicormic growth good enough to allow this regular cropping and regrowth.<sup>8</sup> Those that do are reinvigorated each time a crop is taken from them, and so individual coppiced trees can live for centuries.

Coppices were laid out within the woodlands to grow for several falls of the underwood, but the age of cutting depended upon a number of factors, including the land upon which it was grown, the quality of the wood, its mix of species, as well as the demands of the local markets.<sup>9</sup> Its self-renewing nature was central to the management of individual woods, which could be divided into as many sub-divisions, or *compartments*, as there were years in the rotational cropping of the underwood. It is difficult to determine the length of the cycle of coppicing that was operated within these Rutland woods from Burghley account books alone, but according to other estate documents, this was probably eighteen years.<sup>10</sup> It was usually the case, on large estates, that the different aged compartments were distributed between the woodlands within each district, so that together they provided a consistent supply of underwood of the required stage of growth each year.<sup>11</sup> This was the arrangement here, with Great Wood, Newell Wood and Turnpole Wood in Pickworth and Wood Head Wood, East Wood and Copy Wood in Casterton providing a regular supply of underwood to the inhabitants of this part of Rutland. However, the uses to which it could be put were localised since it was bulky in nature and so difficult to transport.

### 'Laying Out' the underwood

Underwood that was ready for sale was laid out in a regular way and it was Percival Maw's advice (1909) that 'When disposing of coppice the first steps to take are to mark out the area into portions likely to suit the buyers'. These portions, he said, were variously known as 'lands', 'drifts' or 'hags'.<sup>12</sup> They 'should all be of a given width, as, for instance, 1 chain wide and run parallel right through the compartment from ride to ride', each being marked with a numbered stake 'thus to avoid confusion amongst the purchasers'.<sup>13</sup> Arthur Forbes (1906) recommended that 'The wood is divided into drifts or narrow strips, and as the standing shoots or poles fall before the axe or bill-hook, they are piled up in the centre of each drift'. The various products coming from the felled underwood would then be dressed and sorted, the 'Long, fairly straight rods are trimmed and stacked up for hurdles, short but stouter lengths are cut out and tied into bundles as stakes for setting them, and the stoutest ash set aside for stems, or handles of spades, brooms and agricultural tools'. Similarly, A. D. Webster (1894) advised that 'The coppice wood is usually sorted out after being cut down, the best poles being laid aside for the use of the hop grower, next size ... for fencing as the demand may be, and so on until every pole has been arranged according to what it may be used for, the lop and branches being bound into faggots for fire or oven-lighting'. James Brown (1851) recommended that the branches of the felled trees 'as they are cut off, are to be assorted for different purposes, according to the local demand. These are in general, fence-wood, ton-wood, fuel, besom-spray, &c'. But he warned that the woodland owner should be 'taking care that the workpeople in the act of carrying out the wood

do not put their feet upon the stoles ... which would be injurious to them. The work of carrying out wood should therefore be carefully performed; and, in order to see this done, a careful man should superintend'.<sup>14</sup>

### The coppice keepers

The estate officers responsible for orchestrating the day-to-day management of the trees in the Burghley woodlands were the 'Coppice Keepers', a title that reflected the importance of underwood.<sup>15</sup> Each of the wooded districts had one: in 1770 Robert Frisby of Great Casterton was the Keeper of the Pickworth and Casterton woods, and he remained so until about 1808.<sup>16</sup> Among his main responsibilities was to see that the timber and underwood trees in these woodlands were kept in good order. For this he received a salary. The central importance of protecting the newly felled areas of underwood, here called 'The Sale', was recognised in this, for it was often said to be 'for repairing the wood fences', or sometimes more generally 'for looking after the woods'. He usually received half of this salary at Lady Day (25 March) and the remainder at Michaelmas (29 September),

Task	£	s	d
Robert Frisby a bill for cutting ridings and other work and a year's salary due Lady Day	3	9	0
Joseph Carpenter work done at the Sale	0	16	0
The woodmen for cutting bands [for 'kids' or faggots]	0	8	0
The Woodmen for hedging & ditching the Sale and other work	6	4	6
Mr Hunt for ironwork for the Sale gate	0	10	11
The woodmen for attending the Sale	0	3	0
Edward Sharp for carriage of Kidbands	0	18	0

**Table 1 Pickworth underwood outgoings in 1770**

He was responsible for managing the rotational felling of the underwoods in his care, and especially ensuring that the newly cut areas of coppice were properly fenced and gated to protect the emerging *spring* from damage by invading livestock. The felling of Pickworth and Casterton underwoods took place at the turn of the year, as recommended by Anthony Fitzherbert in 1534, John Evelyn in 1664, and many others, including John Worlidge (1675) who advised that 'After the Felling and removing of the Wood, shut up all the Gaps about the Copse, having received a sufficient Hedge about the same before the Spring, and so keep it fenced and defended from Cattle, till it be above their reach'. In 1827 James Mitchell said that 'The time for cutting [coppice] is from the first of October, to the first of April; and all should be cleared by May-day, shut up, and well fenced'.<sup>17</sup> Robert Frisby was responsible for keeping an account of all of the income and outgoings relating to the woods in his care. Sales of underwood in 1770, for instance, totalled £67 16s while outgoings amounted to £12 9s 5d, leaving £55 7s 7d as 'Clear Money to the Earl'. The outgoings hint at the variety of Robert's responsibilities (Table 1). Woodmen collectively received the most pay in 1770 for hedging and ditching the area of underwood that had been felled that year, and Mr Hunt, the blacksmith, repaired some ironwork on its gate. Joseph Carpenter assisted at the sale, which woodmen also attended. Woodmen also cut *bands* for tying faggots which, along with their subsequent transport, cost £1 6s. Robert himself presented a bill for his work in these woods, which he received along with his year's salary.<sup>18</sup>

Payments that Robert Frisby received often included those for additional work, as well as his salary and expenses. For example, he received £4 5s on 10 April 1785 'for looking after the woods, and for marking and attending [the] sale', but £10 19s 6d on 18 March 1791 for 'half a year's salary for looking after the woods due at Lady Day 1791, for hedging & ditching the Sale & other work done in the woods'. Some payments that he received were passed on to the woodmen for the work that they had done. For example, they were paid £7 5s on 8 June 1793 for hedging and ditching that year's sale, and £14 15s 6d on 7 July 1788 for hedging, ditching and other work. We are rarely told what this 'other work' involved, nor the mechanism by which the payments were engendered, although a payment to Robert on 25 October 1806 of £17 19s 10d was for his 'Bill for Hedging & Ditching the Sale and borders lately taken into the Woods & other Work. Also one year's Salary for repairing Wood Fences due at Michaelmas', and other payments were made at other times for work as diverse as cutting rides, planting acorns and cutting ivy.<sup>19</sup>

Robert Frisby's son John succeeded him as the Pickworth and Casterton Coppice Keeper.<sup>20</sup> John was paid £4 15s 6d on 3 December 1804 'for half a year's Salary for repairing Wood Fences due at Michaelmas [and] for marking and attending the Sale, and work in the Woods', and £45 10s 9d on 27 November 1815 for '3 half years Salary as Coppice Keeper due Michaelmas [and] for hedging and ditching the Sale. Also at Wood Head Wood & Coppice. Felling Underwood, Poles & Timber for use at Burghley and other places'. He received £21 19s on 13 March 1819 for a year's salary and for hedging the Sale and other work in the woods, with £15 'for Labour done to Stone Ridings [Rides] in [Pickworth] Great Wood by Order of his Lordship'.<sup>21</sup>

John Christian of Great Casterton was the Coppice Keeper by 1837.<sup>22</sup> He was paid £11 12s 6d on 8 February 1838, while the 'quarter year wage' that he was paid at Michaelmas 1839 was £6 10s, and so it remained, including that paid on 29 September 1860, when its rate was said to be 10s per week.<sup>23</sup> Other payments that he received included 9s on 5 November 1860 for having spent nine days, including expenses, distributing bills advertising that year's underwood sale. Another payment of 4s was made on 8 February 1862 for 'myself and T Foster hanging gates at the Great Wood'. Larger payments were made to him which were clearly for him to pass on to those in his charge, as on 23 January 1841 when he received £21 19s 1d, and another payment for £15 12s 8d on 30 September 1843, for the 'Labourer's Bills' as payment for work that had been done in the woods. A more unusual payment was made to him on 30 June 1854 to pay '18 woodmen 1 day each for loss of labour on the Fast Day'. The final payment of his wage was received on Lady Day 1866, but it was signed for by his daughter Elizabeth 'for the Executors of the late John Christian'.

William Dexter became Coppice Keeper, at the same wage. He received 3s on 4 December 1867 for riding out to post bills advertising underwood sales and £2 14s on 23 November for spending a day with his horse and cart carrying stone to Pickworth Great Wood. But we learn little more about him before we lose sight of the accounts in 1897.<sup>24</sup>

## The woodmen

Woodmen were tasked with the labouring jobs necessary for the good and profitable management of these woodlands. Those associated with the underwoods can best be recognised between 1778 and 1820 as outgoing payments were included in these accounts, although not usually with much detail. Afterwards, they were included among all of the other tasks within the 'Wood Labour' ledgers.

The earlier underwood accounts included regular payments to woodmen for hedging and ditching, such as that of £7 5s on 8 June 1786, or one of £15 11s 6d paid on 15 May 1789.<sup>25</sup> Attending the underwood sales was another regular annual task, which sometimes included assisting with the marking-up of the lots of underwood being made ready for sale. They were usually paid at the going day rate of the time: in 1815 two woodmen received 5s on 27 November for attending an underwood sale, and again on 16 April for both 'marking and attending the Sale Day'.<sup>26</sup> William Alexander was paid 1s on 14 January 1865 for half a day helping to number the lots of underwood for sale, and 2s 6d on 27 November 1867 for doing this for a full day. Other tasks were involved in setting out these lots, as when A. Alexander and William Bloodworth were paid 10s each on 18 October 1879 having spent four days trimming and straightening lots that were to be sold. James Bloodworth was paid 2s 4d on 5 January 1884 for a day spent 'painting' or marking poles and assisting in numbering the lots. Woodmen were paid throughout this period for preparing underwood lots for sale, and assisting at the sales. Robert Clark received 14s on 2 October 1897 having spent six days preparing lots for sale, and then helping to number them, while he and William Parker were paid 2s 4d each on 8 January 1896 for spending a day assisting at that year's underwood sale.

Sometimes woodmen were paid according to a piece-rate, for tasks which inevitably included the hedging and ditching of the year's Sale. Ditching was as an integral part of the hedging of woods, as was pointed out by Walter Nicol in 1799: 'It is now pretty generally understood, and the argument is supported by the most unequivocal proofs, that draining is not more necessary in the garden, or on the most improved, ornamented, and highly cultivated farm, than in the forest'.<sup>27</sup> These woodland hedges were generally set on a bank, which was sometimes called a *dike*, much in the way that Walter Nicol described in 1812: 'If, in view of protecting the hedge, or more completely fencing the enclosure, it is intended to build a dike ... on top of the ditch ... it is necessary to flatten the earth thrown from the ditch ... The height ... may be thirty inches; the foundation twenty inches broad, and the top fifteen'. John Worlidge had described how three rows of Hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*), usually called *Quicks* because of their fast growth, as well as other shrubs which were 'the bigness of your thumb' could then be set on these banks, but to him and the Pickworth's woodmen, a *dike* was a ditch.<sup>28</sup>

A payment was made on 13 November 1862 after 62 chains 50 links of hedgerow had been laid in Turnpole Wood, at 20d per chain (£5 4s 2d), and 34? chains of its dikes were cleaned out, at 6d per chain (17s 3d). Woodmen were paid £1 8s 9d on 18 February 1888 for making 11? chains of a new dike within Wood Head Wood, at 2s 6d per chain, while Robert Clarke was paid 8s 8d on 10 March, having spent four days here 'dyking', but at a day rate of 2s 2d.<sup>29</sup> Other tasks paid on a piece-rate included the making of faggots, which was 4s per hundred in 1860.

These accounts also tell us what woodmen were paid for felling underwood, for 29 of the years between 1850 and 1898 (Table 2).<sup>30</sup> Underwood felling could take place over several weeks, as when woodmen William Bloodworth and William Parker spent 23 days in 1860 'cutting underwood', at a joint rate of 4s per day. They received their payments at the end of each of the working weeks in December, earning an overall joint total of £4 12s.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, William Bloodworth and R. Clark spent between one and five days each week between 3 March and 13 April 1883 felling underwood in Pickworth Great Wood, Bloodworth being paid for 13½ and Clark for 11½ days, each at the standard rate of 2s 6d per day. However, most payments over this period were made to woodmen for each acre of underwood that they felled. Two woods were felled in 1881 at different rates, and the rates did vary from year to year, but generally

date	wood	woodmen	felled acres:roods:poles	days	rate	paid
17/01/1850			6:1:13		8s 0d	£6 10s 8d
16/11/1850			30:0:00		8s 0d	£12 0s 0d
01/12/1860		Wm Bloodworth & Wm Parker		23	4s 0d	£4 12s 0d
23/11/1861			25:0:00		5s 0d	£6 5s 0d
15/11/1862			30:1:20		7s 0d	£10 12s 7½d
25/11/1863			32:2:15		7s 0d	£11 8s 6d
29/10/1864			35:1:00		9s 0d	£15 17s 3d
03/02/1866			40:2:23		9s 0d	£18 5s 6d
15/12/1866			34:1:00		10s 0d	£17 0s 1d
12/12/1867			57:2:18		10s 0d	£28 16s 3d
06/01/1880			12:1:26		14s 6d	£8 19s 11d
01/1881	Great Wood		7:0:32		14s 0d	£5 0s 8d
	Newell Wood		7:0:00		6s 6d	£2 5s 6d
03/12/1881			24:1:33		10s 0d	£12 4s 6d
14/12/1882	Turnpole Wood		17:1:23		6s 6d	£5 12s 11d
03/03/1883 to 13/04/1883	Great Wood	William Bloodworth		13½	2s 6d	£1 11s 9d
		R. Clark		11½	2s 6d	£1 8s 9d
01/1884	Turnpole Wood		18:1:12		8s 0d	£7 6s 6d
31/12/1884	Wood Head		15:3:10	14s 0d		£11 1s 4d
	Wood					
01/1885	East Wood		7:1:00	12s 0d		£4 7s 0d
01/1886	Wood Head		16:3:05	12s 0d		£10 1s 4d
	Wood					
	East Wood		2:0:14	12s 0d		£1 5s 0d
11/1886	Wood Head & East Woods		16:0:18	10s 0d		£8 1s 3d
12/1887	Wood Head Wood		15:0:06	11s 0d		£8 5s 5d
	East Wood		3:0:15	11s 0d		£1 14s 1d
01/1889			10:0:29	14s 0d	£7 2s 6d	
01/1890			10:0:36	14s 6d	£7 8s 3d	
01/1891	Great Wood		14:3:20	13s 0d	£9 13s 4d	
01/1892	Great Wood		12:2:00	15s 0d	£9 7s 6d	
06/01/1894	Great Wood		13:2:16	10s 6d	£7 2s 9d	
30/12/1894	Great Wood		11:2:27	11s 0d	£6 8s 4d	
17/12/1895		+	14:0:04	12s 0d	£8 8s 3d	
07/01/1897			14:0:21	15s 6d	£10 19s 0d	
12/1897			11:3:14	16s 0d	£9 9s 4d	

**Table 2 Underwood felled by woodmen 1850-1867 and 1880-1897**

the woodmen saw them rise from 8s per acre in 1850 to double that by 1898. The smallest annual fall of underwood during these years was of 10 acres 0 roods 29 poles

in 1889 and the largest was 57 acres 2 roods 18 poles in 1868, but whereas an average of around 33½ acres per year was felled up to 1867, an average of only 14¼ acres per year was felled from 1880 onwards.

### **Selling the underwood**

James Brown (1861) advised that sales of woodland products ‘should be advertised and made known to the public; and this should always be done about two weeks previous to the day of sale, so that time may be given for its being properly made known’.<sup>32</sup> Burghley advertised its sales locally by posting bills and Mary Johnson and Son were paid £9 2s on 8 March 1843 for printing sales bills, and £11 11s 6d on 28 February 1846 for advertising wood sales. In August 1845 William Daniels received £7 13s 6d that he was owed for the three previous years that he had printed underwood and timber sales bills, and in January 1847 £6 16s for printing that year’s bills. Henry Johnson received £30 4s on 25 November 1854 for printing sales bills; he also advertised timber and underwood sales.

Just as distributing these bills in the locality of the sales was a regular annual task, so also was the placing of advertisements in leading Lincolnshire newspapers. For instance, the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* was paid £1 8s 6d on 23 December 1837 to advertise three of the Burghley underwood sales, and £2 6s 8d on 2 December 1839. These tell us something about how the underwoods were laid out. The advertisement in the *Chronicle* of Friday 3 January 1840, for a sale to be held on Thursday 9 January, referred to ‘30 acres of superior UNDERWOOD in 210 lots’. This was ‘now felled and lying in the present sale, in PICKWORTH GREAT WOOD ... the Underwood being of long growth, excellent quality, and full of superior Ash Poles’. Prospective buyers could contact ‘John Christian, woodman’ who would, ‘upon application, show the respective lots’, and purchasers were directed to meet the auctioneer on the sale day at lot 1 in the Great Wood at 10 o’clock, ‘where refreshments will be provided’. The sales were obviously well ordered and convivial affairs, and John Christian was paid £4 6s 2d on 8 February 1838 for the ‘eating and drinking’ at the Pickworth underwood sale, while between then and at least 1883 John Wilders usually provided ale, George Porter bread and cheese, and Charles Smith gin and other liquors, as well as dinners, and sometimes other necessaries, including woodmen, horses, corn and hay.

James Brown’s advice (1847) was that ‘All sales of wood should be conducted upon the principle of *public roup*, for ‘At public sales there is always a competition of purchasers, who generally set up the wood to its proper value’.<sup>33</sup> James Richardson, who in 1812 founded the auctioneers, then of Barn Hill, Stamford, presided over Burghley’s underwood and other wood sales.<sup>34</sup> He received £71 10s in November 1843 for four individual sales of underwood, and £19 5s on 10 June 1845 for seven sales at £2 15s per sale, which was the rate that these auctioneers received until at least 1861. It became part of their responsibility to advertise the sales. The *Lincolnshire Chronicle* of 27 January 1866 informed all that there would be a sale from Wood Head Wood at which ‘MESSRS. RICHARDSON will offer for SALE by AUCTION, on Thursday February 1st, 1866, 40 Acres of very superior UNDERWOOD well suited for Bobbin Wood Dealers and others’ and that the sale would commence at 10 o’clock. This became the usual form for these advertisements in all publications, including the *Stamford Mercury*, *Bedford Mercury* and *Northamptonshire Herald* until at least 1880. The proprietor of the *Stamford Mercury*, Richard Newcomb, was paid £25 7s 6d in February 1855 for having advertised timber and underwood sales from 1851. Similarly, Thomas Brogden of the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* received £1 8s 6d in December 1837 for advertising three underwood sales.<sup>35</sup> He received regular payments for advertising sales of Burghley

underwood, timber, faggots and fire wood from 1851 onwards. There were sometimes slight variations in wording, to fit individual sales, as in the *Chronicle* of 14 January 1881 when seven acres were for sale in Pickworth Great Wood and four in Newell Wood, ‘The whole well filled with Ash Poles, capital Bobbin Wood, and Wood suitable for farmers’ purposes’.

### Underwood sales 1778 – 1819

The underwood sold from the Pickworth and Casterton woods between 1778 and 1819 gives our first view of how it was laid out for sale. Altogether, 727 lots were

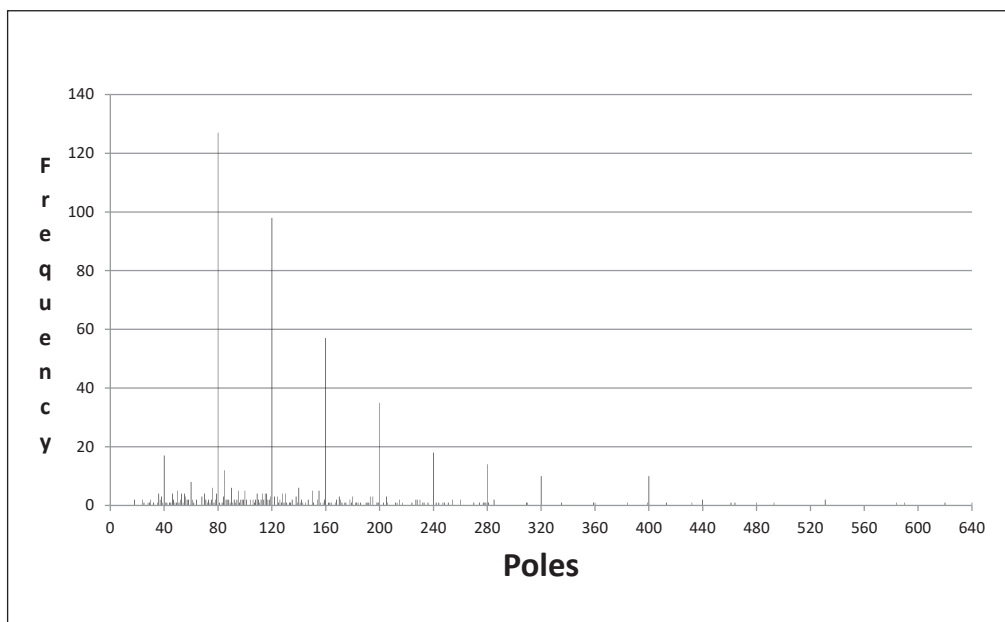
Year	Wood	Total lots	Square poles	Square Poles/Lot	Total cost	Average £/acre
1778		38	4454	117.2	£178 6s 0d	6.41
1782		31	3542	114.3	£95 9s 0d	4.31
1785		24	4582	190.9	£61 3s 0d	2.14
1786	Newell Wood	5	1384	276.8	£18 16s 0d	2.29
	Turnpole Wood	19	3088	162.5	£59 14s 0d	3.09
1788		39	6555	168.1	£182 7s 0d	4.45
1789	Woodhead Wood	7	901	128.7	£39 5s 0d	6.97
	East Wood	35	4839	138.3	£168 0s 0d	5.55
1790	East Wood	49	6524	133.1	£253 19s 0d	6.23
1791	East Wood	8	889	111.1	£23 13s 0d	4.26
	Pickworth Great Wood	30	4181	139.4	£140 1s 0d	5.36
1792		37	5323	143.9	£172 4s 0d	5.18
1794		33	4161	126.1	£183 17s 0d	7.07
1797	Pickworth Great Wood	12	2316	193.0	£57 13s 0d	3.98
	Casterton Copy Wood	8	850	106.3	£43 0s 0d	8.09
1803	Woodhead Wood	24	2407	100.3	£115 8s 0d	7.67
	East Wood	11	1640	149.1	£55 1s 0d	5.37
1804	East Wood	33	4692	142.2	£217 4s 0d	7.41
1805		37	4783	129.3	£304 9s 0d	10.18
1806		31	3943	127.2	£174 17s 0d	7.10
1808	31	4161	134.2	£235 13s 0d	9.06	
1814	32	2580	80.6	£217 10s 0d	13.49	
1815	26	1974	75.9	£115 0s 0d	9.32	
1816	Woodhead Coppice	13	808	62.2	£60 5s 0d	11.93
	Newell Wood	19	2888	152.0	£66 6s 0d	3.67
1817		24	4882	203.4	£114 8s 0d	3.75
1818	Newell Wood	22	4442	201.9	£104 7s 0d	3.76
	Turnpole Wood	14	2362	168.7	£49 3s 0d	3.33
1819	Turnpole Wood	36	6356	176.6	£175 17s 0d	4.43
	Annual Averages	33	4617	141.1	£167 10s 0d	6.14

**Table 3 Pickworth and Casterton annual underwood sales 1778-1819**

sold during those years, but 667 (92%) of these were shared between two purchasers, although very rarely with the same partner for subsequent purchases. Thus, Robert Allen bought 80 poles of underwood with Mr Clifford in 1778 for £3 10s 0d (£7 per acre), but then 62 poles in 1792 with B. Chamberlain for £3 (£7 15s per acre) and 114 poles in 1808 with John Frisby, for £7 (£9 17s per acre).<sup>36</sup> The smallest annual area sold during this period, for which we have details, was 1974 poles (12.3 acres) in 1815 and the greatest was 6804 (42.5 acres) in 1818, with an overall average of 4617 square poles (28.9 acres) per annum (Table 3). The numbers of lots sold each year were between twenty in 1797 and 49 in 1790, the overall average being 33 lots per year. The least number of square poles per individual sale was 76 (0.2 acres) in 1815 and the greatest was 203 (1.3 acres) in 1817, the average being 141 square poles per lot, or 0.9 acres. However, about 95% of all purchases were for 280 square poles ( $1\frac{3}{4}$  acres), or less.

It is reasonable to suppose that variations in the attractiveness of this Rutland underwood to those bidding for it, and therefore what they were willing to pay for their lots, might be reflected in the notional values of these, expressed in £/acre. The least valuable, according to this measure, was in 1785, when the average annual price was about £2 3s per acre and the most expensive was in 1814, when it was £13 10s per acre, the average for the whole period being £6 3s per acre. John Chambers bought the smallest amount during this period, making a lone purchase of just eighteen poles in 1814, which cost him £2 (£18 per acre), but Joseph Tomlinson bought this amount in 1819 for 15s (£7 per acre).

Revealingly, the most frequently sold lots were of forty square poles, or multiples thereof, the most popular being lots of eighty poles (Figure 1). Dividing these equally between their two purchasers points to these underwoods being set out for sale in divisions of forty square poles, or a quarter of an acre, with most of the pairs of purchasers buying two or more of them during this period.



**1** Frequencies of poles of underwood sold (1778-1819)

## Furlongs and lots 1822 - 1864

We see these woodlands divided into lots most clearly in the sales made from 1822 onwards. These were recorded within the separate 'Underwood Books', and the 7280 lots that were sold between then and 1864 were made to individual purchasers. Frustratingly, the buyers were mostly identified only by their surnames; and only those lots sold between 1822 and 1842 included the numbers of poles that they bought. However, of those, almost three quarters (2210) of the 2954 individual lots sold were of twenty square poles. Our most detailed insight into how these twenty-pole lots were laid out for sale is from those sold in 1822, 1824, 1825 and 1826, for these came from woodland compartments called *furlongs*.<sup>37</sup> These were then subdivided into the numbered twenty pole lots that formed each year's sale of underwood. That sold on 20 December 1822 was typical.<sup>38</sup> They came from 77 lots of underwood, totalling 1504 square poles (9.4 acres), in Wood Head Wood, Casterton, and sold for a total of £77 9s (Table 4). These lots ranged in size from ten to 43 poles, but 53 (69%) of them were of twenty square poles. The larger and smaller lots were presumably those that could not be accommodated within the regularity of the six furlongs that were set out within this irregularly-shaped woodland, and which were then sold according to their contents.<sup>i</sup> The first five of the furlongs provided an average of 294 square poles (1.84 acres) per furlong. Underwood also came from smaller woodlands, as in 1822 when another two sales of just nineteen lots came from a 'Holt'<sup>ii</sup> at Wood Head. The sizes of these lots were between ten and 28 square poles, their overall average being fifteen square poles per lot.

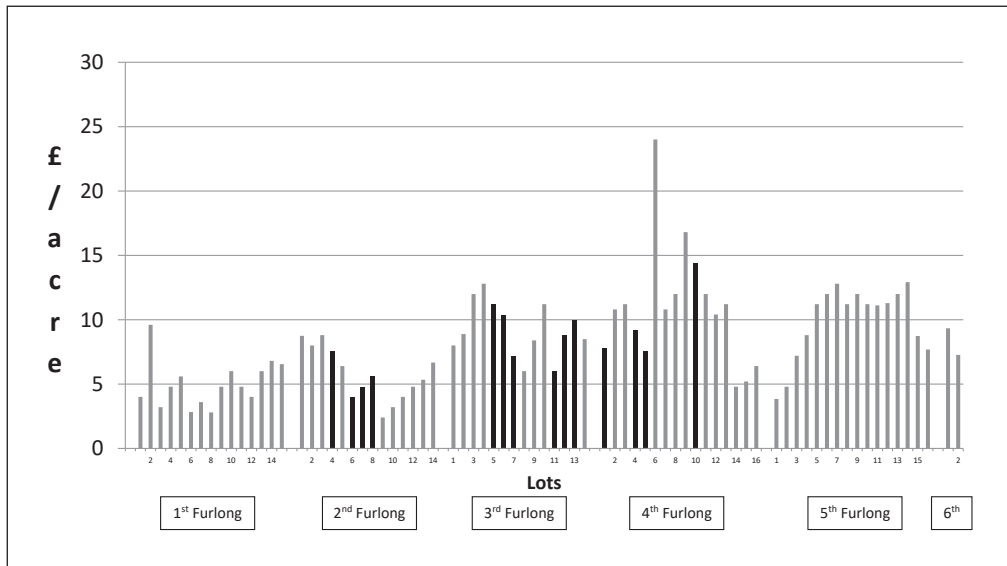
Furlong	Poles														Total	
	10	11	12	13	14	15	17	18	20	22	25	26	32	33	43	Poles
1st	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	284
2nd	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	273
3rd	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	1	0	271
4th	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	1	338
5th	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	9	0	1	1	0	0	0	304
6th	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	34
Total	4	1	1	1	1	3	2	4	53	2	1	1	1	1	1	77

**Table 4 Poles of underwood sold from the Woodhead Wood furlongs in 1822**

Overall, the larger Pickworth and Casterton woods were set out in furlongs of around 240 square poles (1.5 acres) of underwood, each of which was then subdivided into twelve numbered lots of twenty square poles. Larger and smaller sales appear to have been of bits and pieces of underwoods, which were sold according to their contents, as was the underwood that was sold from the smaller woods.

The amount of underwood that individuals bought in 1822 varied widely. Most bought twenty-pole lots, but seventeen individuals preferred only smaller and seven preferred only larger pieces. Sharpe bought just a small piece of 10 poles, from the 2nd furlong, for 6s (£4 16s/acre), but most buyers bought more lots and from different furlongs, except for Jopley who had his 73 poles from pieces within the 5th furlong that were smaller than 20 square poles. Carpenter bought the most, having thirteen lots of twenty poles and one piece of 43 poles, totalling 303 poles (1.9 acres). He mostly bought adjoining lots, within three furlongs and we can only guess what it was that attracted

Mr. Carpenter to them. The furlongs will have contained a mosaic of underwood, both good and bad, which will have been reflected in the attractiveness of the individual plots to buyers each of whom will have been looking to satisfy their particular needs. This would be reflected in the notional prices (£/acre) that they paid for their plots. Although these ranged from between about £5 and almost £11 per acre that year there was an overall continuity in the values of the lots from these six furlongs (Figure 2). This is just what we might expect if these sales progressed sequentially through contiguous areas of underwood. It might go some way to explain Carpenter's liking for neighbouring lots, for their similar values must surely reflect similarities in the mixes and qualities of those underwood products that particularly appealed to *his* needs.



**2 Values of lots from the Wood Head Wood Furlongs (1822)**  
highlighting M. Carpenter's lots

### Faggots and ash poles

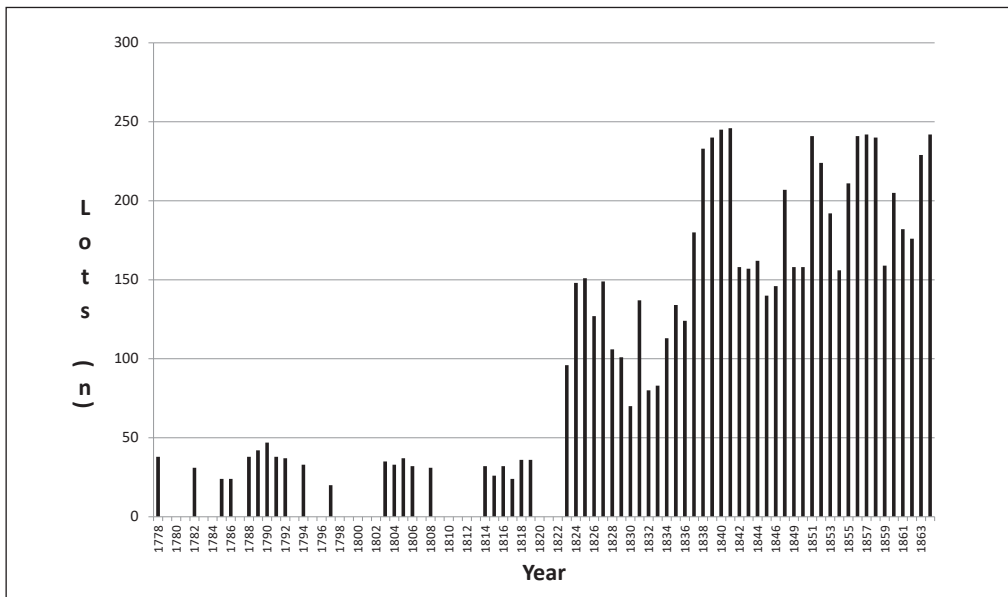
The sale of other woodland products was occasionally included in the underwood accounts. Faggots, called *kids* between 1827 and 1831, were bundles of woody sticks that were sold for fuelling hearths and stoves.<sup>41</sup> They appear to have been made only from the lots of underwood that did not sell. It was said in 1836 that 'Lot 84, 90, 91, 92, 107 & 108 were not sold at the Sale Day but were made into Fagots and sold to Mr. Geo. Porter for Four pounds in one Lot'. In 1827 faggots were made from just eight twenty-pole lots of the 157 lots of underwood that were sold from East Wood that year. Five of these faggoted lots were sold for between £1 6s and £1 8s, while the remaining three lots went for 18s or 19s, so two sizes of faggots were being made here. We can only speculate why this underwood failed to sell.

The advertisements for Pickworth and Casterton underwood sales make much of ash forming an important component of the underwood within these woods. The 'excellent UNDERWOOD' advertised for sale from the Great Wood on 9 January 1840 was 'full of superior Ash Poles'. The parcels that made up the 25 acres of

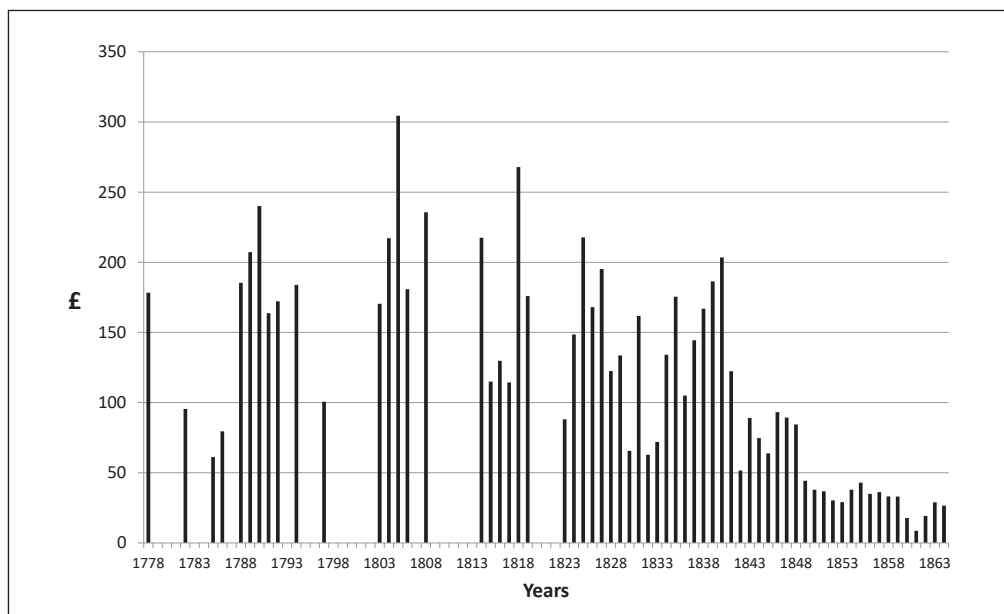
‘excellent UNDERWOOD’ that were to be sold from Newell Wood on 25 November 1851 were ‘well filled with Poles of long growth, and superior quality.’ The sale on 27 January 1873 was of ‘very superior UNDERWOOD, consisting of Ash Poles and Bobbin Wood’.

John Evelyn (1670) said that ‘The use of Ash is (next to that of the Oak itself) one of the most universal’. John Worlidge (1675) thought that ‘no Wood exceeds it, as for Ladders, Hop-poles, Palisade-hedges, and all manner of Utensils, for the Gardiner or Husbandman’. Thomas Cruickshank (1830) wrote that ash ‘possesses great elasticity, and will bear a considerable strain crosswise’ and that ‘Good ash is always in demand’. According to Prideaux Selby (1842), ash was ‘used almost exclusively for the handles of spades and shovels, as well as for axes, picks, &c’. James Brown (1851) said ‘There is none of our forest trees, the wood of which can be applied to so many different purposes as that of the ash’. Arthur Forbes (1906) wrote that ‘rods from ash or willow go for rake handles, and the larger poles are piled up for the turner, bobbin, or clog-maker, etc’.<sup>42</sup> However, while ash poles were so clearly an important part of the wider woodland structure and economy of Pickworth and Casterton, with many days labour being spent selecting, felling, trimming and gathering them, we see little mention of ash poles in the underwood accounts. The most extensive of these were eight sales made from the first fall of the Great Wood’s underwood in 1837 when Mr Fountain bought 100 ash poles for £1 16s, Mr Faulkner had 85 then 75, for £1 15s each, Mr Bird had 100 then 63 for £2 each, Mr Sapcote paid £1 15s for 86 then £2 10s for 130, and Mr R. Hunt had 100 for £2 and another 140 for £2 12s. The top branches of these ash poles were made into 231 faggots, which sold for 17s.<sup>43</sup>

Other minor sales which found their way into the underwood accounts were flexible poles or branches that had been cut from trees or hedges, called plash wood. Simon Porter paid £3 for some in 1788 and then, along with Mr Robinson, £1 13s for more in 1790. Other incidental sales included Charles Smith paying £1 for some faggots and 8s for the top wood of an ash tree in 1836. Saplings were sold to Mr Padget in 1839 for £6 6s and fifteen of them were bought by George Porter for 10s in 1840.<sup>44</sup>



**3 Numbers of lots sold annually 1778-1864**



**4 Annual income from the sales of underwood 1778-1864**

### The declining years.

The numbers of lots of underwood sold each year between 1778 and 1864 remained buoyant throughout (fig.3) although obviously fewer were sold between 1778 and 1819 when larger lots were sold to joint purchasers. When sales were recorded as individual purchases, an overall average of 172 lots were sold per year. However, a different story emerges when looking at the annual income coming from these sales (fig.4), for we see a gradual decline in income after around 1840. Underwood was selling, on average, for at about £1 per lot in 1834 but 10s by 1844, around 5s by 1854 and 2s per lot by 1864. Although the notional values of these underwood sales varied widely, the average annual values fell from around £10 10s per acre in 1835 to £2 7s in 1847, which is when we lose sight of the numbers of poles sold.

This decline in prices is mirrored in the sales of other products coming from Burghley's woodlands, including faggots and oak tan-bark.<sup>45</sup> While the expanding railway system allowed bulky woodland products to be transported more easily, it also allowed the easier distribution of imported products. William White's *Directory of Rutland* of 1868 describes the Rugby and Stamford Railway as traversing the south-eastern boundary of the county, and the Great Northern Railway crossing its eastern angle, with a station at Essendine, while that of 1877 also tells of a line from Rushton to Manton, via Seaton which 'is now in course of construction.'<sup>46</sup> Foreign competition was affecting not only the small local industries but also the factory, which was severely felt in parts of the bobbin trade.<sup>47</sup> The falling values of underwood and other woodland products encouraged a move away from the old ways of managing and exploiting underwoods, and these rapidly gave way to plantations as new forestry practices were adopted, centred on timber production. Writing in 1906, Arthur Forbes remembered a past when 'the cutting and working up of coppice-wood kept several small industries in existence ... and in this way forms of village industries were maintained which added largely to the prosperity and contentment of the community'. But now, he believed,

‘One cannot but come to the conclusion that the day of ordinary under-wood is past, and that the only sound policy for the coppice owner to adopt is that of converting it into ordinary plantation’, which is what happened to the Pickworth and Casterton, and the other Burghley woodlands.<sup>48</sup>

## Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks to Jon Culverhouse, curator at Burghley House, for facilitating my access to the Burghley collection; also to Rosemary Canadine, honorary archivist there, for her generous help and support over a number of years. Thanks, as ever, to Alan Crosby for his patience and his help with the preparation of this article, and for drawing the maps. However, all inadequacies are mine.

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- 3 T. Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie* (1580; English Dialect Society, 1878) 104; P. Austin, ‘Oak tan-bark sales from the Cecil estates in Hertfordshire and Rutland 1550-1914’, *The Local Historian* [TLH] vol.50 no.4 (2020) 291-306
- 4 J. Brown, *The Forester* (William Blackwood and Son, 2nd edition, 1851) 367
- 5 Burghley House (BH) Exeter (Ex) vols. 1673 to 1694
- 6 Underwood: BH Ex vols. 1695-1697 and 1705-1709
- 7 Brown, *Forester*, 3rd edition (1861) 520; earlier writers called the young shoots that erupt from coppice stools *Cions*, *Scions*, *Sciens* or *Cyons*; W. Blith, *The English Improver Improved* (London, 1652) 155; H. Plat, *The Garden of Eden* (London, 1653; 4th edition, 1654) 146-147; J. Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae; The Mystery of Husbandry Discovered* (London, 1668; 2nd edition, 1675) 109, 316; *ibid*, *Dictionarium Rusticum, Urbanicum & Botanicum*, Vol 1 (London, 3rd edition, 1726) ‘CION’. The term later referred to that part of a plant used for grafting onto another; N.D.G. James, *An Historical Dictionary of Forestry & Woodland Terms* (Blackwell, 1991) 152.
- 8 Troup, *Silvicultural Systems*, 129
- 9 *General Dictionary of Husbandry* (Bath, 1779) ‘Coppice’; J. Mitchell, *Dendrologia; or, A Treatise of Forest Trees* (Keighley, 1827) 84-85
- 10 BH Ex C. 57/68; 57/71; 57/72; 57/74
- 11 P. Austin, ‘Coppice management in South-East Hertfordshire 1550-1910’, *TLH* vol.44 no.3 (2014) 184-187
- 12 Woodman Geoff Osborne remembered his portions, called ‘furlongs’, being sub-divided into ‘placks’ of ‘forty-four yards long by sixteen yards wide’, which would therefore have an area of 704 square yards; R. Smart and R. Wellings (eds), *Worcestershire Woodin'* (Small Woods Association, 2009) 20: ‘Cants’ in Kent and other parts of England measured 605 square yards, which is an eighth of an acre; James, *Dictionary of Forestry*, 30.
- 13 Maw, *Forestry*, 284
- 14 Forbes, *Estate Forestry*, 186-187; Webster, *Forestry*, 2nd edition (1894) 104; Brown, *Forester*, 2nd edition, (1851) 375-376
- 15 These estate officers were, in other places, called ‘Woodwards’; Austin, ‘Coppice management’, 191-192.
- 16 BH Ex vols. 1673, 1683, 1684 and 1688
- 17 A. Fitzherbert, *The Book of Husbandry* (1534; English Dialect Society, 1882) 83; J. Evelyn, *Sylva, or, A Discourse of Forest Trees*, (London, 1664) 72; Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae*, 97; Mitchell, *Dendrologia*, 85
- 18 BH Ex vol. 1673
- 19 BH Ex vols. 1674 to 1694
- 20 Arthur Forbes wrote about the past importance of labour being inherited from father to son; Forbes, *Estate Forestry*, 186-187.
- 21 BH Ex vols. 1685, 1690, 1699
- 22 BH Ex vol. 1737; The National Archives [TNA] HO 107/895/1/14; John Christian was said to be 58 and his daughter Elizabeth 21 years old in 1861, and they occupied 13 acres; TNA RG 9/2311/62.
- 23 John Christian was paid at Lady Day (25 March), Midsummer (24 June), Michaelmas (29 September) and Christmas (25 December).
- 24 BH Ex vol. 1742
- 25 BH Ex vols. 1677 and 1678
- 26 BH Ex vols. 1676 and 1688
- 27 W. Nicol, *The Practical Planter, or, A Treatise on Forest Planting* (Edinburgh, 1799) 114
- 28 *ibid.*, *The Planter's Kalendar; or The Nurseryman's & Forester's Guide* (Edinburgh, 1812) 209; Worlidge,

- Agriculturae*, 89; *ibid.*, *Dictionarium Rusticum*; or, *The Significations of Several Rustic Terms in Agriculturae* (London, 1675) 316.
- 29 BH Ex vols. 1742 and 1776. There can be no doubt that these linear measurements were gained using Gunter's chains of 66 feet (4 x 16<sup>2</sup> feet), introduced by clergyman and mathematician Edmund Gunter in 1620.
- 30 BH Ex vols. 1742, 1762, and 1763, detailing the years 1850, 1851, 1860-1864, 1866-1868 and 1880-1898.
- 31 William Bloodworth and William Parker were jointly paid £1 4s on 1 December, 15 December and 22 December 1860 for 6 days of work, 16s on 8 December for 4 days and 4s on 24 December 1860 for 1 day.
- 32 Brown, *Forester*, 3rd edition (1861) 520
- 33 Brown, *Forester*, 1st edition (1847) 213
- 34 *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory for 1828-9* (J. Pigot & Co., 1829) 558; <https://www.richardsonsurveyors.co.uk/pages/our-heritage>
- 35 W. White, *History, Gazette, and Directory of Lincolnshire*, 2nd edition (Sheffield, 1856) 899
- 36 In other places coppice was commonly priced by the acre, whether its growth was poor or good. An effort was sometimes made at Burghley to express total sales in these terms, as in 1826 when 2566 poles were sold for a subsequently calculated price of £10 9s 7½d per acre; BH Ex vol. 1698; O. Rackham, *Ancient Woodland*, new edition (Castlepoint Press, 2003) 167; Austin, 'Coppice management', 180-200.
- 37 John Worlidge and others remind us that 'A PERCH, or PEARCH, a Rod or Pole with which Land is measur'd; of which 40 in Length and 4 in Breadth make an Acre: It contains 16 Foot and a half, and 18 Foot in Measuring Coppice-woods.' This adds an element of uncertainty here since we do not know which pole or perch was used to measure the extent of these Rutlandshire woodlands. A statute square pole, based upon the 16½ ft pole, is 272¼ square feet (30<sup>2</sup> square yards), but because a woodland or fen pole is 18 lineal feet in length, a square woodland pole contains 324 square feet (36 square yards). Therefore, an acre of Pickworth's underwood would have contained 5760 square yards had the woodland pole been used here, not 4840 had the statute pole been used; J. Evelyn, *Sylva*, 2nd edition (1670) 141; Worlidge, *Dictionarium Rusticum*, Vol. 2 (London, 1704; 3rd edition, 1726); E. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 1 (London, 1728; 6th edition, 1750) FURLONG; E. Hoppus, *Practical Measuring Made Easy* (London, 1736; 7th edition, 1765) lxxviii-lxix; A. Nesbit, *Treatise on Practical Mensuration* (York, 1833) 34-35; E. Dobson, *The Student's Guide to the Practice of Measuring and Valuing Artificers' Works* (Crosby Lockwood & Son, 1889), 24; J. Roberts, *Weights and Measures*, 3rd edition (Chas. Knight & Co. Ltd., 1908) 146; H. Corkhill, *A Glossary of Wood* (Nema Press Ltd., 1948) 419; R. E. Zupko, *British Weights & Measures* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1977) 11; *Ibid.*, *A Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles* (American Philosophical Society, 1985) 158-160.
- 38 BH Ex vol 1695
- 39 Geoff Osborne described his woods being set out in 'placks' which were forty-four yards long by sixteen yards wide. Anything that did not fit into this was called a 'pike'; Smart and Wellings, *Woodin'*, 20.
- 40 A 'holt' is variously described as 'a small wood or grove'; Worlidge, *Dictionarium*, vol 1 (London, 1704; 3rd edition, 1726) 'Holt'; 'a wood, grove, or plantation; a wooded hill or knoll', J. Wright (ed), *The English Dialect Dictionary*, vol.3 (Henry Frowde, 1902) 213; 'A grove or plantation. The word implies wood or timber'; Cockrill, *Glossary* (1948) 247.
- 41 There was no sense here that kids and faggots represented different sized bundles of sticks; James, *Dictionary of Forestry*, 95; However, Burghley's faggots mostly came from the top-wood of timber trees, and they were sold in two sizes; P. Austin, 'Faggot sales from the Cecil estates in South-East Hertfordshire and Rutland 1550-1914', *TLH* vol.52 no.3 (2022), 251.
- 42 Evelyn, *Sylva* (1670) 40; Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae*, 80; T. Cruickshank, *The Practical Planter* (William Blackwood, 1830) 388; P.J. Selby, *A History of British Forest-Trees* (John van Voorst, 1842) 95; Brown, *Forester* (1851) 160; Forbes, *Estate Forestry*, 187
- 43 BH Ex vol. 1680
- 44 BH Ex vols. 1678 to 1680, 1705 and 1706
- 45 Austin, 'Oak tan-bark', 302-303; 'Faggot sales', 254-255
- 46 W. White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Leicester and Rutland* (William White, 1868); 776; Rutland (William White, 1877) 648
- 47 H.E. FitzRandolph and M.D. Hay, *The Rural Industries of England & Wales, I. Timber and Underwood Industries and Some Village Workshops* (1926; E. P. Publishing Limited, 1977) 74-75
- 48 J. Simpson, *The New Forestry* (Pawson & Brailsford, 1900) 33-53; Forbes, *Estate Forestry*, 190-192

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## • REVIEWS •

**THE EXPERIENCE OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN HAMPSHIRE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR** by Alison Wilcox (Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society, Hampshire Papers [series 2] 2024) 32pp ISBN 978-0-907473-25-1) £8+£3 p&p

**HIDDEN FROM HISTORY Herefordshire's Conscientious Objectors** by Elinor Kelly (Quacks Books, Radius Publishing 2025 102pp ISBN 978-1-917562-02-7) £8

The centenary of the First World War gave historians of all kinds the incentive to revisit and revise its established stories and their interpretation. It was an opportunity seized with some enthusiasm by individual local historians and by groups working to find answers to their own questions and to bring to light new stories of the overlooked, the underestimated or the simply ignored. Over the years of the centenary, both a little before and continuing afterwards, the National Heritage Lottery fund has generously supported many of these projects and the BALH and *The Local Historian* have helped share that work with a wider community. One wartime story that has benefitted more than most from this activity has been that of the war's opponents. Their stories hitherto had been pitched at the national level in terms of the grand politics of war, peace pacifism and the experiences of determined individual resisters. Much of it was written against the background of preparation for the Second World War or that of the Cold War of the years after 1945. It largely ignored the role of women war resisters and paid little or no attention to how attitudes to the war were expressed and played out in the places where people lived. In other words, there were few, if any, local histories of the war's opponents or of the women who sustained the anti-war movement. Those omissions have now been vigorously and convincingly addressed, and we have local histories of war resister communities from Scotland to South Wales and from Bristol to London both North and South of the river.

In the last twelve months two new contributions have been added to that growing body of local studies, covering Hampshire and Herefordshire, neither of them counties are readily associated with radicalism. Nevertheless, both authors make a good case as to why they should not be overlooked even though the two studies, although both valuable, are very different in appearance and approach. Alison Wilcox's *The experience of conscientious objectors in Hampshire during the First World War* is published in A4 format which allows greater space for its clear and helpful tables of data and its numerous photographs. It sits well on the page and the writing is clear and accessible. It is noticeably academic in approach with an extensive bibliography and the use of footnotes. In comparison Elinor Kelly's *Hidden from History: Herefordshire's Conscientious Objectors* is in A5 format with fewer illustrations although with a similar number of tables. It is also well written and engaging, citing an impressive range of sources but its lack of footnotes or a detailed referencing system is a weakness.

Both studies establish the wider First World War context well and deal skilfully with the often complicated legal and military systems within which war resisters generally, and Conscientious Objectors (COs) in particular, had to function. They both use data from the Pearce Register of Conscientious Objectors together with local press and documentary evidence to describe the impact of the war on their respective counties and to detail the ways in which their local war resisters responded. Both use individual CO stories to illustrate their county's anti-war community.

Dr Wilcox draws on her PhD research on the role of women in the No-Conscription Fellowship to deal particularly well with the parts played by Hampshire women. She also makes good use of original source material which is particular to Winchester and to Hampshire as a whole. The records of the clerk to the local Tribunal are telling in their evidence of the challenges of dealing with COs. Those of Winchester prison, through whose doors passed 360 COs, and of its Visitors Committee help us to see more of the detail of how imprisoned COs were treated.

Elinor Kelly also makes use of source material unique to Herefordshire—in particular, the correspondence of two of the county's COs, Alfred Cracknell and Harold Watkins, who describe their experiences of arrest, court martial and CO work schemes quite graphically. She also charts in some detail the contribution of the teaching staff of the Downs Quaker school at Colwall. A particular strength of this work is the way in which the tension between the needs of the military for recruits and those of this largely agricultural county for farm workers is highlighted.

Both these studies make valuable factual and methodological contributions to the local history of opposition to the First World War and yet, despite the growing number of such studies, the whole of Britain is covered only patchily. Those with an eye to help fill these gaps would do well to take note of what Dr Wilcox and Elinor Kelly have done and how they have done it.

CYRIL PEARCE is a retired Leeds University lecturer and chair of Huddersfield Local History Society. He has researched and published on aspects of British 1914-1918 war resisters for many years and is the originator of the Pearce Register of Conscientious Objectors.

**OBSERVATIONS during a tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland** by Ann Radcliffe [1794] edited and introduced by Penny Bradshaw (Hobnob Press 2024 2nd edition vii+148pp ISBN 978-1-914407-65-9) £14.95

Dr Penny Bradshaw has shone a light on Ann Radcliffe, bringing this lady and her *Observations* to the fore and introducing her to a new audience in this excellent work. Ann Radcliffe has been largely overlooked as a nature writer and this book shows why she should be much more appreciated in this field. Quite simply this book was engrossing and hard to put down. In what is the first edition of the Lakes section of Ann Radcliffe's 1794 tour to be published separately (as opposed to earlier editions of the *Observations* which include parts of Europe) Dr Bradshaw has produced an immensely readable and important work highlighting the significance of Ann Radcliffe's contributions to early nature writing. The sea-change in attitude towards the landscape of the Lake District from the trepidation, abhorrence and instrumentalist views of the likes of Fiennes and Defoe, through Thomas West's *Guide to the Lakes*, to the lyrical Lakes poets is often presented as having happened rapidly, when in reality there was a time-lag between these events. Ann Radcliffe occupies that space with her writing offering, perhaps, an intermediate vision.

The lengthy introductory essay is essential reading to understand the context in which the *Observations* were written and the content of each of the individual entries. It provides historical and biographical background, outlines the rise of tourism in the Lakes referring to those who come both before and after Radcliffe, and importantly it clarifies the way in which Ann Radcliffe's *Observations* are an attempt to introduce her own new way of depicting the landscape. Ann Radcliffe chose not to follow a route through the Lake District which had been prescribed by others and what comes through from her comments, notwithstanding that she was not doing this on foot, is a more direct and genuine engagement with the environment than those who followed 'the sublime' from afar and went to predetermined viewpoints. The introduction is followed by a list of books for further reading, several of which point the interested reader towards the role of female travellers in the development of a landscape aesthetic.

Ann Radcliffe was an acclaimed novelist. Sales of her third novel funded her excursions abroad and to the northwest of England to write her *Observations*. It is mainly for these 'gothic' novels that she is remembered and there is an echo of the gothic in many of her travel and nature descriptions in the *Observations*, especially when she refers to dark glens, treacherous paths, ruinous buildings and the 'greatness and awful wildness of the Druids' Temple'. Her visit to Furness Abbey ruins in the Vale of Nightshade and her 'mind's eye' description of the procession of monks there would not be out of place in one of her novels. She drew inspiration from several landscape painters and a notable feature of the *Observations*, for this reviewer, is how often her description of landscape encompasses mention of shade, hue and vibrancy of colour. Sometimes the prose is like reading an artist's colour palette. It is a technique which is today used to very good effect by some leading nature writers.

Ann Radcliffe was interested in the area's human history as much as the quality of the landscape, frequently commenting on domestic life, blissful or otherwise, and suggesting that the 'civilised though simple life' was an admirable state. Her section relating to that part of her journey from Penrith to Keswick is particularly flattering regarding the 'kind and frank manners of the people' and she conveys much admiration of what she observes in the daily lives of ordinary people. She praises local guides for their skill in route-finding 'by many curvings' to reach the summits and clearly was appreciative of all and any assistance—down to 'a boy who opened four or five gates'—and remunerated those who helped her despite the fact that 'nothing was expected'. To the modern ear it all sounds somewhat condescending, but readers should bear in mind the date when it was written—England's social structure was hugely hierarchical. Original footnotes have been retained and presented within the main text and further expanded in the final four pages. Detailed, comprehensive and thorough, they are an excellent final addition. Radcliffe's use of phonetic

renderings of some of the villages and fells is interesting: it allows those unfamiliar with Cumbrian dialect to have some kind of ear for it! The editor chose to use the later notes to offer commentary on this aspect of the *Observations* and this was absolutely the right choice thus leaving the whole reading experience uninterrupted.

An interesting selection of several monochrome illustrations accompanies the text. Some are undated but the earliest, an engraving of Brougham Castle, has a date of 1774 whilst the latest one c.1850 depicts Derwentwater. They often show an exaggerated version of the topography or present an overly romanticised image of reality: given the time-span of these images that is perhaps unsurprising and they are useful reminders, if not entirely accurate, as to the nature of the landscape Ann Radcliffe was travelling through. Crossing, with a guide, the ‘wide desolation’ of the sands from Ulverston to Lancaster is the final section and Ann Radcliffe looks back on the view of the Westmorland mountains she has just visited noting the ‘infinite delight’ they had provided. It seems a very fitting end.

This book bringing Ann Radcliffe to the fore in what was a male dominated field has been a delight to read and anyone with an interest in the development of landscape aesthetics or, more widely, an interest in the Lake District will surely find it well-researched and informative.

CAROL DOUGHERTY *lives in a location described by Ann Radcliffe as ‘where the ridges...stretch their barren steeps ... to where they disappear among the Stainmore hills’ and is often involved in research and archaeological surveys in Cumbria and North Yorkshire.*

**THE ENCLOSURE OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE 1485-1901** *edited by David Hall and William Franklin* (Northamptonshire Record Society vol.55 2024 600pp ISBN 978-0-901-275-82-0) £20 from <https://www.northamptonshirerecordsociety.org.uk/>

This volume was started by David Hall as a book on ‘The Social Structure of Northamptonshire as revealed by landholding’. Chapters 1 and 2 were nearly ready when he passed away. When an assessment was made to see what could be published, it revealed that some of the material was already in print, so William Franklin was asked to rewrite the book as a Northamptonshire Record Society volume on enclosure. The result is a veritable encyclopaedia on enclosure, which creates a framework of the different types and processes of making enclosures. This will be useful for all future research on the topic, but at the same time illustrates the uniqueness of Northamptonshire. This work shows that, although embedded in the open field agriculture of its Midland neighbours, a large amount of enclosure had taken place in the north-east and south-west of the county before 1500, and argues that the landscape of Northamptonshire was managed rather than natural by that date.

The term ‘enclosure’ differs in meaning depending on time and place. It could be a farmer fencing his fields to keep his animals in, or a lord enclosing his park to keep trespassers out. It could be for private reasons, or a general economic response to price fluctuations by the whole township in order to increase productivity and profitability. The process by which enclosure was carried could be the piecemeal enclosure of small units, or large units by agreement, and eventually by a parliamentary act. The volume covers all these options in two chapters and three appendices.

Chapter 1 is about enclosure from 1485 to 1733 and indicates two trends in that period: enclosure to convert arable land to pasture for sheep, or for private reasons to enhance social status, such as John Spencer who enclosed land to form a park ‘for wild animals’. The first part of the chapter covers 1517-1607. Evidence for early enclosure is Cardinal Wolsey’s Inquiry of 1517, which records 108 entries for Northamptonshire. These show that three groups were responsible for enclosure: the lords of the manor, new landowners and religious and other institutions. The 1517 inquiry is tabulated in Table 1.1 which would benefit from an explanatory caption. 1607 is a pivotal date for the Midlands as it coincides with the ‘Midland Revolt’, which resulted in a Royal Commission into the uprising and eventually changed the way in which enclosure was undertaken. Agreement to enclose had to be enrolled in the Chancery rolls, which are discussed in this section, with appropriate other sources such as terriers, surveys and tithe documents.

Enclosure by legal agreement leads onto Chapter 2 on enclosure by Act of Parliament, which concludes a process started in the fifteenth century. Here the book comes into its own as a guide to the process of parliamentary enclosure. It details each stage of obtaining a parliamentary enclosure act from the first meeting. The process was codified in 1774 by a standing order in the House of Commons. Once the

bill was passed and became an act, enclosure could begin. There is a helpful list of the sources which detail how enclosure should proceed, with local examples of these sources. An unexpected result of the enclosure process was that some of the acts stated that the commissioners working on the enclosure could determine how local agriculture should continue during the enclosure process. Thus, in some townships arable was planted with grass and clover, and after enclosure remained as pasture. The chapter ends with a section on opposition to enclosure and the threat of enclosure to the poor as commons and small plots of land disappeared. Table 2.3 shows that in Northamptonshire parliamentary enclosures peaked between 1791 and 1820, the period of the Napoleonic wars, when an increase in productivity was needed. A similar easy-to-read table for the information in Chapter 1 would be useful, although a brief table covering 1486-1516 shows a peak in the 1490s.

Appendix 1 is a gazetteer of all enclosures made before 1733, each township or hamlet being listed with appropriate sources and references. Appendix 2 is the gazetteer of enclosures by Act of Parliament. These two appendices provide a quick reference to specific townships and hamlets. The authors suggest that Appendix 3, the enclosure commissioners' calculations, comprises some of the most important enclosure documents, including details of stints on commons, tithes and total acreage to be enclosed and allotted. Thirteen examples of this source survive for Northamptonshire.

Every possible source on enclosure in Northamptonshire has been discussed in this book, and there are many tables, some covering several pages, so it is possible for the reader to get lost in these, and more detailed captions of what the tables illustrate would have assisted in understanding them. The information about the process of enclosure in Chapter 2 will be invaluable for the general reader. However, if the aim of a Record Society is to publish a volume of transcripts of documents ready for others to work on, it would seem from this volume that all the research on Northamptonshire enclosure has already been done. Nevertheless, it does give an opening for more research on the people on the ground involved and the local conditions of the settlement before, during and after enclosure. A long-term examination matching enclosure to the price of wool and other economic criteria would also be possible from this volume.

The volume has a glossary, bibliography and an index. A map of the county naming the settlements, perhaps on the endpapers would have been useful. Also, it would have been helpful if the maps in the illustrations could have been placed closer to the relevant text, although I realise that logistically this was probably not possible. William Franklin has used David Hall's initial research and text to good effect, and this is an impressive addition to the historiography of enclosure in general and to the managed landscape of Northamptonshire.

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**THE DIARY OF THE REVD WILLIAM POOLE Perpetual curate of the parish of Hentland and Hoarwathy** edited by Frances Phillips (Logaston Press 2024 xii+97pp ISBN 978-1-910839-79-9) £10

This book is a valuable addition to the growing number of clerical diaries which provide contemporary insight into the personal lives and times of various members of the clergy and the societies in which they lived. The original manuscript of the diary of the Reverend William Poole was donated to a charity shop in York and returned to its parish of origin in Herefordshire. The diary covers the years between 1857 and 1862 and has been painstakingly transcribed and edited into this short volume of 92 pages. The text also includes a very helpful introduction setting out Poole's family and educational background and a description of the parish in which he served, as well as an afterword—he lived a long life and died a very wealthy man—and various supporting illustrations and copies of pages from the original manuscript which help to bring the text to life.

The volume presents a selection of entries chosen because the editor considered them to be of general interest, omitting many of Poole's repetitive expressions of self-recrimination relating to his perceived personal failures, although this theme remains clear. In many respects this is a very personal, reflective and philosophical journal rather than a concise and methodical recording of facts and events. Actual occurrences and situations are described, but they often lead to some wider observation about society, the world, politics, the church or the nature of life, both physical and current, and spiritual and eternal. The diarist's style of writing is eloquent, educated and contemplative, which makes the transcribed source engaging and accessible.

Poole often comes across as isolated and irritable and bemoans his lack of a marriage partner and the consequent absence of intimate family life and comforting discourse. While he appreciates the time he is able to spend with his mother, siblings, friends and relations, he believes they are no substitute for the companionship of holy matrimony and the frequent society of those he would regard as his intellectual and social equals. However, in his diary he always caveats his comments with acceptance that he trusts God to know what is best for him. Poole takes comfort in dedicating himself to fulfilling his Christian duty as an ordained priest with responsibility for the cure of souls of his parishioners. He is earnest and sincere in this endeavour, although always acknowledging that he falls well short of the standards that God expects of him. This recognition of perpetual and inevitable failure means that his reflections are often remorseful.

The diary sheds light on Poole's views on many contemporary national religious and political issues such as the nature of the Church of England's relationship with the state; the controversy around Church rates and their potential abolition; the struggles and disagreements between the Evangelical and Tractarian styles of churchmanship; the growing perceived threat from Nonconformity; and the nature and character of statesmen and political leaders. Poole also comments (approvingly) on the huge impact which railways had on the ease and speed of travel, as well as reflecting on the nature of a divinely ordained society and the related social hierarchy. Major overseas issues also get a mention occasionally, such as the background to the start of the American civil war and the unification of Italy.

It adds to the appeal and authenticity of the diary that such comments on significant national and international topics are interspersed with entries about more mundane domestic and everyday concerns. Poole frequently complains about delays in building his parsonage, and comments on the controversial organisation of the local Harvest Festival; the rapid turnover of curates; the changing weather and seasons; his inability to get up early and use his evenings productively; and the illness and demise of various parishioners which left a particular impression on him. His care and concern for the latter appears very genuine, although Poole always questions his own efforts at preparing those in his care to meet their maker.

The text includes many very helpful footnotes and comments explaining the background to names, terms and references which might not be immediately obvious to the general reader. There are also lots of more personal reflections, thoughts and suggestions from the editor, clearly identified as being distinct from the diary, to help the reader appreciate and understand the text. Apart from the usual note of caution with primary sources of this nature (i.e. that we are understandably dependent on the editor's choice of material to be included, and the accuracy of transcription, and cannot be certain of the diarist's motives) the addition of an index to easily locate topics and themes to assist historical research would have been very helpful. Nevertheless, this volume provides important contemporary perspectives on a wide range of religious and social issues of the period and will be welcomed by historians.

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**TOWERS, HALLS AND BASTLES The lesser defensible buildings of Cumbria** by Peter Ryder (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society 2025 102pp ISBN 978-1-873124-94-9) £30 inc p&p from [www.cumbriapast.com](http://www.cumbriapast.com)

For over 50 years buildings archaeologist Peter Ryder has been studying and recording buildings, grave slabs and sculpture in the North of England. For this publication he has researched almost 170 medieval and sub-medieval (sixteenth- and seventeenth-century) defensible buildings in Cumbria: the result is this well presented and informative book. It is the culmination of an in-depth survey which the author carried out for Cumbria County Council and English Heritage and the scope of study spans buildings throughout six centuries, from a unique defensible tower dated to the eleventh century to later structures, particularly in the North Pennines area, where the tradition of living on an upper floor persisted into the 1700s. This work concentrates on those buildings which are not 'castles proper' but have structural features which could offer some degree of resistance to attack. Distinctive characteristic aspects of defensive structures have allowed the definition of specific types and groups, or sub-groups, within the encompassing classification of 'lesser defensible' buildings. Peter Ryder acknowledges earlier contributions to this area of study by several writers and he clarifies how his own approach to the difficult issue of classifying these buildings is 'slightly different' from what has been attempted hitherto.

During the turbulent centuries in question there were numerous cross-border skirmishes over the 'debateable lands', and many inter-family reiving disputes, so people made efforts to construct defensive buildings or make alterations and additions to fortify their dwellings. Ryder very helpfully explains at the outset what constitutes a 'defensible building' and, further, the very thorough but readable introduction goes on to explain the criteria by which a building falls into a particular sub-category. Also made explicit is that this study is limited to those buildings which remain standing to a greater or lesser degree. Castles were excluded but 22 buildings with 'castle-like' features were included: the rationale for this is fully explained. They range from the varied forms of hall house, tower houses and courtyard manors through to defensible churches, stronghouses and bastles. The author provides the reader with a brief analysis of each building, with type and likely date, and, in some cases, a very detailed account of additional parts of the building which are less immediately visible. He is careful to point out that in classifying and analysing the buildings it is important to consider vernacular custom, perhaps the addition of a feature to indicate superiority over neighbours and also perhaps quite simply a degree of showing off—all of which makes resultant classifications even more impressive. The concept of a pele tower is discussed: and the term 'tower solar' is an interesting angle in respect of description of this feature. Pele towers are well-known features in Cumbria and this reviewer assumed she knew what a pele tower was, but there is clearly more than meets the eye with these features and their interpretation! The author says that 'there is room for further investigation into the vexed issue' and it will be interesting to see what transpires.

This book is comprehensively illustrated with photographs, plans, historical detail and interesting extracts from a wide range of early documents—one of the now rather ruinous bastle houses, for example, was referred to in 1618 as 'a lewd and disorderly ostler house', which shines an intriguing light on this particular building. Photographs are clear and add much to the portrayal of the wide range and variety of these buildings, showing exterior and interior detail, plus some close-ups of defensible features such as gunloops, extra thick walls, curtain walls, turrets and substantial towers. Attached to each photograph is a plan. They show now-demolished walls and new phases of construction and remodelling. A couple of plans are of larger and particularly complicated buildings and, given the scale available, are difficult to read easily. Muncaster (castle type house) and Levens Hall would have merited a full page each if space had been available but this is a minor criticism in what is an otherwise fascinating book.

Ryder has supplied a list of about twenty references for further reading for anyone persuaded by this excellent book to research more. This publication has been a thoroughly enjoyable read and has vividly placed the buildings within the historical, geographical and vernacular contexts of the region. The author suggests that those buildings in a more ruinous condition could be researched further—how wonderful if that could be undertaken so that they too can be more fully understood and appreciated.

CAROL DOUGHERTY *lives in Cumbria in a converted barn and carries on the tradition of having her living room on an upper floor. She is regularly involved in research and archaeological surveys in Cumbria and North Yorkshire.*

**HENRY WINSTANLEY, 1644-1703 The last Renaissance engineer** by Martin Rose (Cygnet Press 2024 xiv+436pp ISBN 978-0-907435-23-5) £25+p&p from martin.rose @magd.oxon.org.

Henry Winstanley, the subject of this biography, grew up and lived in north-west Essex and is best known (and periodically derided) for building the world's first lighthouse on an off-shore rock, constructed at great peril on the tide-swept Eddystone reef, a dozen miles out from Plymouth in the English Channel. The structure survived for only a few years before being torn off the rock in the infamous storm of November 1703, taking with it the lighthouse keepers and Winstanley himself. The latter knew that the storm was imminent and had insisted on being rowed out to the light so that he could see how his creation would withstand the weather. Though the building itself was lost without trace, it is known through two etchings made by Winstanley. Its fanciful appearance, described by Martin Rose as 'a splash of Baroque braggadocio', included projecting hoists, a gallery, an oriel window, chimneys, inscriptions in Latin and English, and 'a gallimaufry of repoussé decoration', making it an easy object for ridicule to the modern eye. It was, nevertheless, a truly pioneering achievement for the period, albeit one wearing a Renaissance skin. Not surprisingly, Winstanley and his lighthouse have been the subject of numerous accounts (including one, in 1791, from the pen of the designer of the third lighthouse built on Eddystone reef, someone who would have been all too aware of the severe challenges involved). Some of the accounts have been derivative, and have repeated the same errors and assumptions. This author sets out to separate myth from fact, to examine other aspects of the life of the remarkable polymath who built it, and to put him in the context of the period in which he lived.

In his introduction Martin Rose explains that the task has not been easy. Apart from Winstanley's annotated etchings of the Audley End mansion near Saffron Walden (Essex), the quarterly accounts that he filed at the Office of Works in connection with his responsibilities there, and a book sale catalogue for an ill-defined part of his depleted collection two decades after his death, there is little material to assist his biographer. Rose describes his book as a 'pseudomorph', an archaeological term for a plaster cast of an empty space whose form and shape was defined by the decay and loss of its original content. He achieves this objective very convincingly by seeking tangential information from wherever seventeenth century life impinged on his subject. He provides the appropriate cautions about the limitations of such an exercise, while extracting the utmost from the scanty residual archive evidence.

The first chapters set out Winstanley's family background and early life, and his link (through his father) with the impoverished earl of Suffolk, inheritor of the vast mansion at Audley End. Though the earl's debts forced him to sell the house and park to Charles II in 1668 for use as a royal palace, Winstanley was retained as the clerk of works, tasked with the arduous and discouraging job of trying to keep this huge building in repair on a steadily dwindling budget. The palace was little used by Charles II, and completely neglected by his successors, but Winstanley seems to have had an unshakeable attachment to the place. He made numerous etchings of the house—a rarity in English print-making at this period—and these provide an invaluable record of the building before the extensive demolitions and alterations which took place after the return of the semi-derelict palace to the earl in 1701. Suffolk had had a grace-and-favour foothold in the mansion under its royal ownership, and he probably commissioned the etchings in the late 1680s, but there is no evidence that they were marketed commercially, and no clues to show how or where Winstanley had acquired this skill. Subsequently he tried to promote himself as an illustrator of grand houses but, apart from a few clients, his success was very limited.

In 1677, the earl of Suffolk granted Winstanley four acres of land in the nearby village of Littlebury where he built a house for himself. This, and its surrounding gardens, were demolished a century later to provide Audley End with a distant view of Littlebury church, but was equipped by Winstanley with a number of ingenious mechanisms to surprise or discomfort paying visitors. Horace Walpole sneeringly described these as 'childish contrivances'. There was, for example, a chair that could be launched without warning into the garden and doubtless there would have been unexpected water jets to drench the unwary, a foretaste of Winstanley's mechanical inventiveness which was later given full rein at his London Water Theatre. Theatrical garden designs of this sort had been very popular in Italy, and a number of contemporary English gardens used piped water to create rainbows, to animate automata, and to generate mechanical bird song. What little that is known about Winstanley's house and garden comes from his own etching of the house, a garden survey made fifty years later, and a few brief contemporary accounts.

It is not possible to establish how Winstanley acquired his mechanical and hydraulic skills but doubtless his library would have been an important factor. In 1722, his collection of books (or, more probably, their depleted rump) was included in a sales catalogue, nearly two decades after his death. The catalogue includes a frustrating mix of unidentified gentlemen's libraries, and the author of this biography does his best to establish which may have belonged to Winstanley and inspired his work, as well as what insight they might provide into his wider interests, and his views on religious and political matters.

By 1693 Winstanley was leasing a piece of land at the western end of what is now Piccadilly, and had put up a house there, as well as 'a building for the performing of divers water works', later known as the Water Theatre. Only very scanty information about the performances can be gleaned from newspapers advertisements. Water, fireworks and automata (including a flying dragon which spouted fire) were used to animate scenes from classical legends, and the audiences were provided with refreshment from a 'travelling barrel' capable of dispensing a variety of beverages. Martin Rose has successfully identified the exact site (hitherto unknown) on the bank of the River Tyburn, long since culverted but the essential source of the considerable quantities of water required for each performance. After Winstanley's death in 1703, his widow successfully carried on the business for nearly two decades.

This brings us to the lighthouse, extensively written about and a remarkable pioneering achievement for someone with no prior experience of such challenging work. It was well out to sea in the English Channel and only accessible by rowing boat at low tide. Trinity House had refused to undertake or fund the project, and Winstanley paid the entire construction from his own pocket, with the prospect of receiving a very modest annual emolument after completion. The traditional story is that he was spurred on to this project by the loss of two cargo ships on the rocks, but the records provide no confirmation of this story. The more

feasible explanation is that, with England at war with France, English shipping avoiding the perils of the reef was forced to sail much further south when heading for the Plymouth dockyards. This exposed them to the risk of attack by French privateers, a danger underlined by the kidnapping of Winstanley himself during the temporary absence of the warship stationed near the Eddystone to protect the workforce. Among many challenges, the lack of an effective waterproof mortar on a tide-swept rock was serious problem, and within a year a second masonry skin had to be added to strengthen the tower.

Martin Rose is to be highly commended for the considerable amount of research that he has undertaken over two decades, not only about Winstanley but in the provision of a clear context of the period in which his subject lived. This approach included a visit to the Eddystone rock in a small sailing boat, assisted by an experienced sailor familiar with the local problems of tides and currents in the vicinity. The mass of information that he collected has been thoroughly and clearly organised, supplemented with numerous footnotes, several family trees, a detailed inventory of the books in the 1722 sale, a full descriptive list of Winstanley's etchings and a comprehensive index. Throughout the book he is scrupulously careful to indicate what is reliable fact, and what might be a reasonable presumption from the contextual evidence that he has uncovered. In addition to providing a rounded picture of his subject, and the tenor of seventeenth century life, this book is an exemplar of thorough and carefully qualified research.

MICHAEL LEACH is a retired GP with a strong interest in the seventeenth century, and a fascination with the Eddystone project since reading in his childhood the Samuel Smiles' 1852 account of its construction.

**HALLS FOR ALL A history of village halls** by David Clark and Louise Beaton (Amberley Publishing 2025 160pp ISBN 978-1-398120-71-6) £16.99

Organised by Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE), 'Village Halls Week' took place in March 2025. The annual campaign highlights the importance of village halls and the role they play in rural life. This year, the focus was on celebrating the work of 80,000 volunteers across the country, along with the launch of the first book to be written about England's village halls, *Halls for All; a history of village halls* by Louise Beaton and David Clark. This book, which brings to the fore the untold history of England's village halls, is an account of some 10,000 halls across the country and the people who dedicate their time to manage these community-owned assets.

The authors chronicle the vital role village halls play throughout rural England, arguing that these buildings are the lifeblood of rural communities; even more so today, given the closures of local pubs, shops and post offices. Community-owned and -managed, the halls serve a multitude of purposes and provide a multitude of services. They are social, cultural, and sporting hubs, with activities ranging from (but not limited to) adult education, entertainment, sports, arts and crafts, drama, film and so on. Run by local committees, they deliver a wide range of benefits that have the capacity to transform lives.

Clarifying the different types of halls, the book charts the history and the practical aspects of building, designing, and running a village hall. Across several chapters, a range of topics are explored in depth, including governance and finance, the dependence on fundraising and the benefits and challenges of relying on volunteers to sustain them. Drawing upon their professional experience, Louise Beaton OBE (National Halls Advisor and Trustee for ACRE) and Dr David Clark, historian and Rural Officer (1977-late 1980s) advising nationally on village halls, this well-researched book combines an impressive array of images, ACRE data and surveys. Social, cultural and economic trends are examined as a means of considering the factors that have impacted on the development of village halls during the last hundred years.

The unanticipated value of the book lies in the revelation that the heyday of village hall expansion took place during the 1920s, with the largest number being built between 1915 and 1929. Why this should be so is a question recently posed by a group of historians researching 'Devon in the 1920s—the Forgotten Decade'. While it was noted that there had been an unprecedented growth of halls across the county during the period, little research has been conducted as to why this should be so. From an architectural perspective, Paul Oliver MBE (1927-2017), architectural historian and editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, argues that the creation of buildings is not just about form and function. Built forms express a series of complex social and cultural relations that embody the human values and activities of the people who produce them. Village halls are no exception, with *Halls for All* demonstrating the ways in which community buildings are built to reflect the needs of rural populations. The authors

proffer insight into the factors that led to their growth during the 1920s. Driven by the need for a different type of common meeting space, many communities fostered a desire to dedicate new halls to commemorate those who had made the ultimate sacrifice during the First World War. Simultaneously, there was a move by the voluntary sector, in association with various interest groups, to improve the quality of life in rural areas by expanding educational and leisure opportunities.

This book offers a unique resource for anyone with an interest in village halls, including planners, architects, and historians. If there is anything lacking it is, perhaps, the voices of the volunteers themselves. Finally, the authors make a plea for hall committees and local history groups to document the stories of their hall before the information is lost. They insist on the need to capture not only the rich cultural heritage of rural village halls, but also the long, hard communal effort put in by groups of determined people up and down the country. For researchers in Devon, the book has not only answered several of our questions and raised many others, but has inspired us to carry on with our own research as we draw upon the authors' excellent range of sources and invaluable insights.

SALLY SUTTON *completed her PhD 'Re-Imagining the Vernacular: Dwelling at the Thames Edge' in 2022. Since then, she has been a Visiting Research Fellow within the department of architecture at the University of Plymouth*

**HINKSHAY ROWS A Shropshire industrial community** by Heather Duckett (YouCaxton Publications 2025 250pp ISBN 978-1-915972-54-5) £15, available from The Great British Bookshop <https://www.thegreatbritishbookshop.co.uk>

The term deserted settlement brings to mind the hundreds of abandoned medieval villages which are scattered across the English midlands. It must, however, be remembered that the process of abandonment has continued, albeit on a much reduced scale, into the present time. Hinkshay Rows, a small development of workers' housing in the East Shropshire coalfield, is a case in point. Built in the 1820s by the Botfield family of Shropshire ironmasters primarily to house employees of their nearby Stirchley ironworks, the community remained somewhat isolated and self-contained until its final obliteration in 1968 returned the site to a green field once more.

As the name suggests, the settlement consisted of three rows of houses: Double Row comprised 40 back-to-back houses intended for occupation by unskilled workers, the slightly larger terraced houses of Single Row provided dwellings for skilled workers, while New Row, with more commodious houses, housed foremen, self-employed workers and latterly small shopkeepers. This social distinction survived well into the twentieth century, but does not seem to have affected relations between different members of the community.

The story of Hinkshay mirrors the fortunes of industrial East Shropshire, and the book has been arranged in three chronological sections corresponding roughly with changes in the local industries. The first of these ends in 1870 when the iron industry had passed from its heyday in the 1820s into a period of gradual decline. The second period, from 1870 to 1901, saw an acceleration of this process, with a significant number of families emigrating to other industrial areas in the North. By 1901 only 35 of the original eighty houses were occupied, and the population had fallen to 172 compared with 457 forty years earlier. The aftermath of the First World War, in which members of the community had served, and in some cases died, brought about something of a renaissance in the settlement. The national shortage of houses resulted in the re-occupation of a number of empty houses. This did not, however, survive the Second World War.

The steady collapse of the mining and ironworking industries had left the Dawley area, of which Hinkshay was a part, as a post-industrial wasteland with large numbers of houses which were classified as substandard. 'Slum clearance' became the watchword of Dawley Urban District Council, and led ultimately to the establishment of Dawley New Town (later renamed Telford). Although the establishment of the Eveready battery factory adjacent to the Rows in 1956 injected much needed employment opportunities, at least for female workers, the Rows were under the threat of demolition, which took place in 1968. Thus, the Hinkshay community had survived for less than 150 years before disappearing for ever.

Heather Duckett has produced a fascinating and detailed study of this small corner of East Shropshire, which will be of interest to local historians in other industrial areas. Many points of wider importance emerge, some examples of which may be considered. Emigration is an example. When employment in

the iron trades began to decline, significant numbers of Hinkshay workers and their families began to seek employment elsewhere. While a handful went to America, the vast majority settled in other parts of Britain where metallurgical industries were still in need of workers. Sheffield, with its steelworks, was a major destination, as were Gateshead and Motherwell, where demand from the shipyards of the Tyne and Clyde respectively continued to require large amounts of material. It is interesting to note that in all three locations Hinkshay émigrés settled in close proximity to each other, and established small ‘colonies’ from which they maintained contact with those who had stayed at home. Some married Hinkshay girls who joined them in ‘exile’, and a number eventually returned to their native soil when they had accumulated sufficient savings or had become too old to work.

In addition to covering the careers of those who left Hinkshay, the author has made detailed investigations of those who chose to remain, and the reader is struck by the resilience of the community in the face of declining employment prospects. Many sought employment, often at some distance from their homes in other industries such as coal mining and brick and tile manufacture. Equally remarkable is the community life which flourished during this time of economic decline. Initially this was focused on the nearby Wesleyan Methodist church, but in 1872 the opening of a mission church in Hinkshay provided an equally vibrant Anglican centre of worship and social activity. A third centre of community life was the *White Hart* inn, which predated the Rows, and was in fact the last building to be demolished. An active footballing programme was a major contribution made by the *White Hart* well into the twentieth century.

The author is to be congratulated on an excellent and detailed piece of research, which she has drawn together into a very clear and readable study. The range of sources used is comprehensive and clearly referenced to enable the reader to follow up particular points. The index is particularly detailed and comprehensive in the matter of personal names, and will be very useful to family historians. This book will be of considerable interest to a wide range of readers who have an interest in industrial history in general, and in East Shropshire in particular, and I have no hesitation in recommending it.

MARTIN SPEIGHT *was until recently chairman of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society.*

**CHURCHGOING IN YORK The Statistical Record, 1743-2011** by Clive D. Field (Quacks Books 2025 48pp ISBN 978-1-917-562-119) £6 + p&p from Quacks Books on 01904 635967 or email design@quacks.info

Clive Field, one of our foremost historical statisticians, is currently working on a series of eight case studies of churchgoing in English and Scottish communities. This booklet presents the results of his study of York. The sources are handled critically and with care, and the conclusions are modestly reached within the confines of the possible. The measure used is the changing rate of church attendance expressed as a percentage of the population, the picture is one of inexorable decline, and the conclusion is that ‘York is now a secular society and city’ in the sense that ‘regular Christian worship has long ceased to be central to the lives of the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants’. Thus, the secularisation thesis is addressed not as an all-encompassing deduction from sociological theory but as a limited, evidence-based description of behaviour in a major English cathedral city at the start of the twenty-first century.

This evidence has been excavated from a variety of different sources of varying quality and completeness: church surveys, both official and unofficial, including visitation returns of the clergy; and censuses of attendance at worship, not least the widely-used official census of 1851. Unfortunately, unlike in many other places (for which, see Dr Field’s check-lists published in *The Local Historian* vol.54 no.2 (2024), and vol.55 nos.1 and 2 (2025)), the local press did not conduct its own survey of York in 1881-1882, but York does have the advantage of the published outcomes of Seeböhm Rowntree’s surveys in 1901, 1935 and 1948. Each local historian should follow the example set here of winking out such data as may survive for their local area and then treating it with the same caution, letting the evidence tell its own, limited story—not that which the historian would like it to tell.

The booklet is divided into three parts. The first is a commentary and survey of sources, arranged chronologically. The second contains 14 tables of data with brief notes. The tables are: 1) A survey (mainly of Essex, Kent, Lancashire and Yorkshire) published in the *Congregational Magazine* (1834); 2) Attendance figures for York, collected for the Manchester Statistical Society in 1837; 3-4) Data from the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, with and without Sunday scholars; 5) Published results from the Rowntree survey, 1901; 6-7) Rowntree survey 1935, all-age and adult; 8) survey by Ivor Coles for Rowntree (1947); 9)

Survey by Rowntree and Lavers (1948); 10) Surveys by P.W. Brierley (1979-2012); 11) Average adult church attendances, 1989-2011 from Robin Gill's published work; 12-13) Summary tables of church attendance in York, 1837-2011 expressed as a percentage of the total adult population and as a percentage of denominational market share; and 14) Religious profession, 2001-2021, taken from the census reports of 2001, 2011 and 2021. The final section of the booklet comprises endnotes which also constitute an excellent bibliography of relevant sources for future work. Here is both a research aid and a challenge to local historians who are keen to know what was happening in their own places of interest, compared with York and the more general national picture.

EDWARD ROYLE is *Emeritus Professor of History at the University of York*. Among his research interests is the history of Christianity in Britain since the eighteenth century, especially Methodism and especially in Yorkshire on which he has published extensively.

**DRAX OF DRAX HALL How one British family got rich (and stayed rich) from sugar and slavery** by Paul Lashmar (Pluto Press 2025 406pp ISBN 978-0-7453-5051-6) £25

Richard Grosvenor Plunkett-Ernlé-Drax is the current occupant of Charborough House, a stylish mansion from the 1650s which lies at the heart of a large estate in Dorset. He is the latest beneficiary of the land and wealth accumulated over almost five centuries by the four landed gentry families that give him his unusual surname. The land at Charborough House has been occupied by his ancestors since Tudor times when 'Walter the Musician' enchanted Henry VIII with his compositions and was rewarded appropriately. Since that time, this family has consolidated its wealth and power through innovation, entrepreneurial successes, useful marriages and an involvement in many of Britain's great, as well as its most shameful, episodes.

For most of this time, the family has kept a low profile, preferring to stay out of the public eye and not subject itself to scrutiny. Their house is rarely seen by the public and is surrounded by 'the Great Wall of Dorset', an exclusionary brick wall that extends for several miles around the estate, which anyone driving towards Dorchester on the A31 will have noticed. Lashmar's important new book challenges the viability of a low-profile approach as it exposes a deep involvement in the creation and exploitation of the chattel slavery system, the proceeds of which still benefit the Drax family, as they now prefer to be known. Lashmar makes clear that slavery was not the only source of the family's wealth—the extensive English estates built up in the same time frame forming the main income—but it certainly provided a significant part.

The connection to slavery began early when 18-year old James Drax settled in Barbados in 1627. This was a daring and risky adventure for a young man to undertake, and he endured harsh conditions when he first arrived, living in a cave, foraging for food, hunting turtles and clearing the land for cultivation. He was determined to make a fortune and gradually brought land into agricultural use (using indentured labour) and started growing tobacco on a site he called 'Drax Hall'. Tobacco proved to be a competitive and difficult business and as profits fell, James looked for other ways to make money. He lighted upon sugar, a commodity in growing demand as fashionable elites in Europe began to drink tea. Sugar was a labour- and capital-intensive product but by 1645 Drax had worked out how to make it profitably and was expanding his operations rapidly. Key to making this product such a valuable business was the use of enslaved labour and James Drax was a pioneer in the industrialisation of slave labour and the establishment of the triangular trade. He was not the first to transport Africans across the Atlantic, but he was among the first to recognise the economic potential of scaling the system to create efficient production and Lashmar identifies him as 'the instigator of chattel slavery'. Under James, the Drax Hall plantation became a thriving business with an elegant coral stone Jacobean manor house and up to 200 slaves working at any one time.

As Drax Hall passed from father to son over ensuing years, the practice of slavery intensified. It was not only the Drax family that were inheriting their parents' status in Barbados—so too were the descendants of Moncky Nocco, one of the earliest enslaved men on the Drax plantation, whose children and grandchildren were born into this barbarous system. The brutality is exposed by a 1679 document created by Henry Drax (son of James) containing a set of instructions for his overseer. This document contains instructions on how to maximise production through the efficient management of resources. It contains detailed analysis of rates of birth, death, sickness, laziness, the food required to feed the enslaved people,

the punishment regime required to boost productivity and the crop yields that could be achieved—inputs and outputs demonstrating clearly the inhumane and racially prejudiced way in which these means of productions were viewed. By 1700, there were 50,000 enslaved people on Barbados, although (due to low life expectancy) approximately 212,000 had been transported to the island. By this time, the Drax Hall plantation was producing £6000 a year for the Drax family.

Lashmar makes every effort to reflect the voice of the enslaved workers but there is very little contemporary trace to be found of their perspective, such was their total lack of agency. He does however give details of the gross inhumanity of the slave experience and the savagery with which they were treated. He highlights the horrifying anecdotes that are found in Thomas Thistlewood's mid-eighteenth-century diaries. Thistlewood records nearly 4000 acts of rape with 138 enslaved women over a period of 37 years and he details some of the appalling punishments he came up with for minor transgressions. These particular horrors took place in Jamaica but there is no reason to suppose them untypical of a barbaric, repressive practice.

When abolition finally came, abolitionists had to accept that the only way to make it happen was by compensating slave owners for the loss of 'property', unfair as that seemed both at the time and to modern eyes. The Drax family received £4293 for the 189 enslaved people they had working at Drax Hall. It is estimated that over 180 years, some 30,000 people worked on the Drax property. The plantation continues to be held by the Drax family and in 2024 it produced some 700 tonnes of sugar cane for refining, the work now being done almost entirely by specialist mechanical equipment.

Though Lashmar has researched the public records in the Caribbean and the UK thoroughly, the extent of the Drax family lands and business interests remains obscure. It is his estimate that for several centuries, the proceeds from the Drax Hall enterprise amounted to about a quarter of the Charborough Estate's income. The rest was derived from lands in England acquired over the centuries including 2500 acres in the Yorkshire Dales and 16,000 acres in Dorset (which includes 120 properties).

It is clear that in writing this book, Lashmar has had his own eyes opened. His narrative cannot fail to disturb the reader. This is the story of one family that was at the heart of the slave trade, but only one family. There are other families with similar stories as yet untold. Richard Drax has not engaged with this work publicly except to say that he recognises the regrettable role that his distant ancestor played but that no-one should be held responsible today for things which happened hundreds of years ago. That may be so, but many people worked at Drax Hall yet all the proceeds have passed to one family. Richard Drax is under pressure from the Barbados government to make some form of reparation. As Lashmar says, 'this story is not finished for the Plunkett-Ernle-Erle-Drax family'.

*Dr Paul Lashmar will be giving a talk to BALH on 15 October 2025 at 7pm (free to members) as part of our online webinar programme. Please see the BALH website for details and to book your place.*

*LISBET SHERLOCK is a trustee at the British Association for Local History and at Dorset Wildlife Trust. Her current research projects are focused on Woodoaks Farm in Hertfordshire and on the Tolson sister suffragettes in Manchester.*

# RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN LOCAL HISTORY

Only books and pamphlets sent to the Reviews Editor are included in this list, which gives all publications received between 1 April 2025 and 1 July 2025. Most books are reviewed in this or a future issue, or on the BALH website. Publishers should ensure that prices of publications are notified and, if appropriate, give details of how to obtain copies. Please note that all opinions and comments expressed in reviews are those of the reviewer—they do not necessarily represent the views of the editors or of the British Association for Local History. **The Reviews Editor, to whom all publications for review and listing should be sent, is Dr Heather Falvey, 119 Winton Drive, Croxley Green, RICKMANSWORTH WD3 3QS.**

## London and the South East

**BASINGSTOKE REINVENTED, 1800–1925: From agricultural town to manufacturing centre** edited by *Jean Morrin* (Hobnob Press for Victoria County History Hampshire 2025 x+184pp ISBN 978-1-914407-92-5) £15.99

**IT'S NOT NOTTING HILL, IT'S LADBROKE GROVE** by *Joan Grant* (the author 2024 70pp ISBN 978-1-0369-0113-4) £7.50

**MEMORIES OF THE NEW MERTON BOARD MILLS 1964-1976** by *Robert Parkin* (Merton Historical Society 2024 26pp ISBN 978-1-903899-86-1) £2 + £1p&p

**OXFORD LIBRARIES ARCHITECTURE** by *Geoffrey Tyack with photography by Dan Paton* (Bodleian Library Publishing 2025 336pp ISBN 978-1-851246-05-2) £50.00

**THE PHYSIC GARDENS OF MITCHAM: Mitcham's medicinal plant heritage** by *Irene Burroughs* (Merton Historical Society 2024 47pp ISBN 978-1-903899-87-8) £5 + £1p&p

**THE POOR, THE SICK AND THE STRANGER IN HERTFORDSHIRE: A selection of settlement examinations and removal orders, 1697-1898** edited and introduction by *Anne-Marie Ford* (Hertfordshire Record Society 2025 vol.XL xiv+262pp ISBN 978-0-950174-1-74) £22+£4p&p [www.hrsociety.org.uk](http://www.hrsociety.org.uk)

**WILLIAM SEVENOKE AND HIS ALMSHOUSES** by *Mike Bolton* (the author 2025 40pp ISBN 978-1-0369-1343-4) £9.99 from [enquiries@sevenoaksbookshop.co.uk](mailto:enquiries@sevenoaksbookshop.co.uk) 01732 452055

## South West

**DRAX OF DRAX HALL How one British family got rich (and stayed rich) from sugar and slavery** by *Paul Lashmar* (Pluto Press 2025 406pp ISBN 978-0-7453-5051-6) £25

**GILBERT WHITE'S DISCIPLINE: A biography of John Leonard Knapp (1767-1845) together with his *The Journal of a Naturalist*, 5th edition (previously unpublished)** by *George S.J. White, Bt* (Hobnob Press 2025 viii +160, xviii + 340 pages (526pp in all) ISBN 978-1-914407-89-5) £35

**MADE IN SWINDON A social history, 1840s–1940s** edited by *Philip Garrahan* (Hobnob Press 2025 vii+164pp ISBN 978-1-914407-88-8) £16.95

**SALISBURY DOMESDAY BOOKS, 1413-1478** edited by *John Handler and Douglas Crowley* (Hobnob Press for the Wiltshire Record Society vol.77 xiii+296pp ISBN: 978-0-901333-54-4) £20

**THE COSTS OF PLEASURE Visiting Georgian Bath and other Spas: the family & excursions of Jacob and Priscilla Franks** by *Colin Fisher* (Hobnob Press 2025 vii+154pp ISBN: 978-1-914407-91-8) £14.95

**TRADITIONAL FARM BUILDINGS OF WILTSHIRE** by *Pamela M. Slocombe* (Hobnob Press 2025 vii+119pp ISBN 978-1-914407-90-1) £12.50

**'YOUR CHURCH NEWLY BUILT ...' A history of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire** by *Chiz Harward, with Jon Cannon, Dan Humphries, Gaynor Western and James Wright* (Hobnob Press for Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club 2025 xi+242pp ISBN 978-1-914407-87-1) £20

## East Anglia

**BROOMFIELD IN WORLD WAR TWO** by *Catherine Pearson and Neil Wiffen* (PCC of St Mary with St Leonard parish church Broomfield [Chelmsford] 2025 44pp ISBN 978-1-8383831-5-2) £10+£3p&p from [rosalindmercero309@gmail.com](mailto:rosalindmercero309@gmail.com)

**MANORIAL ACCOUNT ROLLS AND RENTALS OF WALSHAM LE WILLOWS, 1327-1559** edited by *the late Audrey McLaughlin, revised with an Introduction by Mark Bailey* (Suffolk Records Society vol.68 2025 xxxv+236pp ISBN 978-1-73980-963-8) £35 from <https://suffolkrecordsociety.com/>

**THE BUILDING STONES OF SUFFOLK AND THE PEOPLE WHO WORKED THEM** by *Tony Redman* (Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History 2025 219pp ISBN 978-1-8381223-3-1) £25+£5p&p

**THE FULLING MYLL COMMONLY CALLED BRADFORD MYLL** by *David Marsden on behalf of the Friends of Bradford Street* (Friends of Bradford Street 2024 68pp no ISBN) £10+£3p&p from dmarsden.cyclopse@btinternet.com

#### Midlands

**ACKY, ACKY 1, 2, 3! Playground games and rhymes in Herefordshire and Worcestershire, 1880–2010** by *John Turrell* (Logaston Press 2025 288pp ISBN 978-1-910839-81-2) £12.99

**BUSES, BULLETS and BOMBS The Transport Ground War Memorial, Second World War Dead** by *Douglas H. Smith* (Brewin Books 2025 126pp ISBN 978-1-85858-783-7) £12.95

**LENCH'S TRUST: 500 years of charitable contribution to Birmingham** by *Carl Chinn and Dominic Bradley* (Brewin Books 2025 136pp ISBN 978-1-85858-781-3) £13.95

**THE TWO MANORS OF FRANKTON: 800 years of village history** by *Peter Mason* (the author 2025 165pp ISBN 978-1-836904-81-6) £10 from www.thegreatbritishbookshop

**A WEDGWOOD DIARY 1897-1903 A story of real life in Arnold Bennett's 'Bursley'** edited by *Paul Anderton* (Clayhanger Press 2025 126pp ISBN 978-1-91701-710-7) £12.95 available from clayhangerpress.co.uk or <https://www.barewall.co.uk/collections/art-books-media-and-posters>

#### Northern England

**BOOK OF ORDERS AND ACCOUNTS FOR THE BOROUGH OF STOCKTON-ON-TEES** edited by *John Little* (Boydell Press for Surtees Society vol.228 2024 xi+340pp ISBN 978-0-8544-408-56) hardback £50 e-book £19.99

**CHURCHGOING IN YORK The Statistical Record, 1743-2011** by *Clive D. Field* (Quacks Books 2025 48pp ISBN 978-1-917-562-119) £6 + p&p from design@quacks.info

**HEPSTONSTALL COURT RECORDS 1570-1626. Entries from the draft court rolls of the manor of Halifax cum Heptonstall** edited by *Nigel Smith and Neville Ingrej* (Hebden Bridge Local History Society 2025 occasional publication no.14 xlvii+428pp ISBN 978-0-9933920-9-2) £20+£3.50p&p

**JOHN WARD (1798-1849) MASTER PAINTER Marine Artist of Hull** by *Arthur G. Credland* (East Yorkshire Local History Society no.68 2025 88pp ISBN 978-0-900349-68-3) £9+£3p&p

**LIFE IN GEORGIAN BEVERLEY The later diaries of John Courtney 1788-1805** edited by *Susan Neave* (Georgian Society for East Yorkshire 2024 viii+323pp ISBN 978-0-9513966-5-0) £15+£5p&p

**TOWERS, HALLS AND BASTLES The lesser defensible buildings of Cumbria** by *Peter Ryder* (Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society extra series no.53 2025 92pp ISBN 978-1-873124-94-9) £30 inc p&p from www.cumbriapast.com

#### Wales

**A WELSH ODYSSEY Childhood, exile and the search for the hiraeth inside** by *Jos Simon* (Y Lolfa 2025 ISBN 978-1-80099-641-0) £11.99

**COSHESTON REMEMBERED A series of illustrated essays compiled on life in Cosheston Village, Nash and Upton, Pembrokeshire** by *Cosheston Community History Project* (Cosheston Community History Project 2023 186pp no ISBN) £10 plus p&p from www.cosheston.net

**CYFARTHFA CASTLE AND PARK 1825-2025 A people's history** by *Merthyr Tydfil and District Historical Society* (MT&DHS 2025 261pp ISBN 978-1-739-16273-3) £15+£3.80p&p

**MYTHICAL WALES Myths, legends and folk tales in the land of dragons** by *Sander Blom* (Y Lolfa 2025 ISBN 978-1-80099-690-8) £14.99

**THE POWELLS OF NANTEOS** by *Gerald Morgan* (Y Lolfa 2025 160pp ISBN 978-1-800996-91-5) £12.99

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#### GENERAL

**BATTLES AT THE BALLOT The politicians, idealists and cranks of Britain's First World War by-elections** by *John Leston* (Haythorp Books 2025 352pp ISBN 978-1-914-487-51-4) £20

**ENGLAND'S SUBURBS 1820-2020** by *Joanna Smith and Matthew Whitfield* (English Heritage/Liverpool UP 2025 316pp ISBN 978-1-836244-35-6) £40

**FROM THE MARGINS TO THE CENTRE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND Essays in honour of Bernard Capp** edited by *Tim Reinke-Williams and Angela McShane* (Boydell Press 2025 xiv+233pp ISBN 978-1-83765-166-5) £85

**JOHN WALKER'S COMMONPLACE BOOK A Traveller in the 1670s** edited by *Anthea Jones* (Hobnob Press 2025 viii+150pp ISBN 978-1-914407-86-4) £14.95

**MAKING DOMESDAY Intelligent power in conquered England** by *Stephen Baxter, Julia Crick, and C. P. Lewis* (Oxford UP 2025 1072pp ISBN 978-0-198850-12-0) £143

**NICHOLAS OWEN Layman, martyr and builder of priest holes** by *Fr Gerard Skinner* (Catholic Truth Society 2025 86pp ISBN 978-1-78469-774-7) £7.95

The more substantial articles in these journals are noted below, but we do not give a full contents list. Most journals are **listed alphabetically by geographical location**, not title of publication; general journals are at the end of the list. Newsletters generally include details of forthcoming events, society business and administrative matters not noted in these summaries

**Abbots Langley Local History Society Journal**

(no.62 Spring/Summer 2025) [www.allhs.org.uk](http://www.allhs.org.uk)  
*Chairman's report; How the V80 Project came about; It's that brick wall again! (family history research); St Lawrence churchyard; HALH Annual Spring Meeting (report); The Grand Union Canal from Paddington to Birmingham passing through Abbots Langley on its way; Pierce Brosnan: 'Earplugs' (painting); 80 years ... [newspaper reports from 80 years ago]; Parliament visit [report]; Where is it? [photographs]*

**Acton Historian** (no.79 May 2025)

[www.actonhistory.co.uk](http://www.actonhistory.co.uk) *Postcards of Hayes and environs; Woolsey's Bike Shop closes after 70 years; Some pubs in Acton*

**Avon Local History & Archaeology Newsletter**

(no.182/1 e-update 30 April 2025)  
<http://www.alha.org.uk/> *ALHA news, including Local History Day 2025, ALHA summer walk 2025; Groups and societies news including Whitchurch LHS, ALHA directory of presenters, Weston Clevedon & Portishead Railway Group; Events and sources, including Glosdocs, Susanna Morgan commemorated, digitised BRS works, Yate Heritage Centre; Books and other publications noticed; Commentary: licensed midwives; Can you help: original suppliers to Bath Assembly Rooms; (no.182/2 e-update 31 May 2025) ALHA news, including appreciation of Prof Peter Fleming; Report of ALHA summer walk; Groups and societies news; Events and sources, including Bath Fashion Museum Books and other publications noticed; Commentary: Avon Gorge origins, tariffs; (no.183 30 June 2025) ALHA news, including report on Local History Day 2025 about transport, report on ALHA summer walk at Westbury on Trym; Groups and societies news, including how membership can be increased; Events and sources, including Heritage Open days in south Gloucestershire 2025; Book reviews; Books and other publications noticed; Responses: tariffs and the politics of free trade, downsizing; Local WW2 memories*

**Aylsham Local History Society Journal and Newsletter** (vol.13 no.3 April 2025)

[www.aylshamhistory.org/](http://www.aylshamhistory.org/) *From the editor; The Dales of Red Lion Street, pt.3 - A widow's peak; Learning for Life?; Collectable books for sale; James Bloomfield Rush: should have stayed in Aylsham?; 'Parameters' revisited: the story of three houses on Cromer Road and some of those who lived there over four centuries; Myths, monsters and the origins of Norwich [summary of talk]*

**Barnes and Mortlake History Society**

**Newsletter** (no.253 June 2025)  
[www.barnes-history.org.uk](http://www.barnes-history.org.uk) *The cost of Victory in Europe; BALH newsletter award for 2025; Barnes Fair; Local History walks; VE Day celebrations; the Indian Army at Hampton Court Palace (exhibition); A tale of two parishes: the title maps for Barnes and Mortlake (summary of talk); The diary of an ARP Warden; Bishop Juxon and the English Civil War (summary of talk); Pet Revolution - Animals in British life (report of talk)*

**Local History Records: Journal of**

**The Bourne Society** (vol.116 Summer 2025)  
[www.bournesoc.org.uk](http://www.bournesoc.org.uk) *Chairman's report; the Pilgrims Way through Chaldon and Caterham: a study of the Ordnance Survey maps; An Afro-Caribbean slave hiding in 18th-century Coulsdon; School photograph, Coulsdon, 1891; Gangsters of Kenley, late 1940s; Notes for a history of Old Park, Caterham; The Little Warlingham girl and the Yorkshire tiger; Dr Simon Davis, a Coulsdon GP; The Caterham Waterworks pt.3 1880-1907; Spring outing to Blechley Park (report of visit)*

**Friends of the Centre for English Local History e-newsletter** (May 2025)

<https://www.englishlocalhistory.org/> *FCELH Hoskins Day 2025; The rise and fall of the de Beaumont Earls of Leicester; Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society dissertation prizes 2026; Phythian-Adams Award grant applications; (June 2025) Report of FCELH Hoskins Day 2025; The rise and fall of the de Beaumont Earls of Leicester, pts.6, 7, 8 - YouTube; (July 2025) New Leicestershire History Magazine; forthcoming Festival of Archaeology; Oxford Lifelong Learning*

**Friends of the Centre for Midlands History and Cultures Newsletter** (no.6 May 2025)

<https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/cwmh/friends/friends-of-centre.aspx> *When do we celebrate 200 years of Birmingham Medical school? (report of talk); Birmingham buttons (report of talk); James Groce & Sons, button manufacturers; Chamberlain's shadow (report of talk); History of Parliament: resources for researchers (report of webinar); Walsall Leather Museum; Nipping crime in the bud (summary of PhD); The Chance Glass Works Collection; Improved access to digital archives at the Library of Birmingham; Birmingham Heritage Week 2025; Exploring the landscape of English medieval towns*

**The Griffin (Newsletter of the Chadderton Historical Society)** (no.112 February 2025)

[www.chadderton-historical-society.org.uk](http://www.chadderton-historical-society.org.uk) *Comment: 50 golden years anniversary of the Society; Broadway centenary: unveiling of commemorative plaque; New mayor: Chadderton councillor and resident; Celebration dinner; Townships that never developed, (6) within the parish of Deane (ii); Adverts of Yesteryear: a variety of adverts in local sources (7) cotton mills; It's a fact (19), Chadderton railway line was the steepest in Britain*

**Chadwell Heath Historical Society Newsletter**

(Spring 2025) no website, [www.facebook.com/chhistorical](http://www.facebook.com/chhistorical) *Railway notes from the Great Eastern Railway Magazine 1911-1926; The Haw Bush at Little Heath through time (photos); Hillman Airways' unwitting involvement in a tragedy; Chadwell Heath in 1865; News from Historic England; The evolution of Chadwell Heath station; The Arterial Road (A12) 100 years old; The life and death of a local baker (1901)*

**Chilterns National Landscape e-newsletter**

(April 2025) [www.chilterns.org.uk](http://www.chilterns.org.uk) *The team behind Not Bourne yesterday; 'Farming insects' in the central Chilterns; Behind the scenes with the Chilterns team: building berms; Wildlife recording with Mend the Gap; What's in our water?; Coming soon: nature recovery plan; Chilterns Walking Festival events; (May 2025) Boundary review cancelled; Luton Henge gets the green light; New accessible boardwalk at Wiltymead Nature Reserve; Tracking the impact: butterfly identification; New chalk streams planning guidance; Nature recovery plan; Citizen science on the River Chess*

**Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society Newsletter** (no.136 May 2025) [www.ctlhs.co.uk](http://www.ctlhs.co.uk)  
*Railway book news; CTLHS annual report for 2024; Celebrating 200 years of the Stockton & Darlington Railway (S&DR); S&DR 200th anniversary research prize and rules; Perseverance works (identifying a small piece of pottery)*

**Clish-Clash e-newsletter of the Scottish Local History Forum** (no.69 April 2025) [www.slhf.org](http://www.slhf.org)  
*SLHF news including forthcoming conference; Libraries, Archives and Museums news, including National Library of Scotland guide to Gaelic manuscripts, OS 1900 Text search; Recent publications; forthcoming talks and exhibitions including history of glass-making in Perth & Kinross; History News, including hoard of 15th century coins; Watch & Listen: including Loch Ness monster, House of Lords podcast, Fife Flyers ice hockey club*

**Cosby Heritage Society Newsletter**  
(April/May 2025) no website  
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/cosbyheritagesociety>  
*Details for forthcoming meetings; AGM notice (May/June 2025) visit to Wigston Framework Knitters Museum*

**Georgian East Yorkshire** (journal of the Georgian Society for East Yorkshire) (no.3 2025)  
<https://gsey.org.uk/> *Musgrave, Lord Burlington and the building of Maister House, Hull; Wallis of Hull, gunmaker, and Squire Constable of Burton Constable Hall pt.2; Georgian monuments (3), Sir Michael Warton, monument by Peter Scheemakers, Beverley Minster*

**Essex Journal: A Review of Local History & Archaeology** (vol.60 no.1 Spring 2025)  
[www.essexjournal.co.uk](http://www.essexjournal.co.uk) *Frinton Wireless Telegraphy School: the world's first wireless school; A late witch persecution in Essex; The medieval Bouchier family of Stanstead Hall; Daniel Scratton and the making of modern Southend; In brief (Prittlewell Prince - adventures in the East?, Medieval seal matrix, Very late Roman brooch, Roman military strap mount, Potin)*

**Forest of Dean Local History Society News**  
(May 2025) [www.forestofdeanhistory.org.uk](http://www.forestofdeanhistory.org.uk)  
*Editor's notes; Notes from the Chair; The draw of the Holly Wood; Meetings in review (report of talks); Where red poppies grow*

**Frogmore Paper Mill Newsletter** (April 2025)  
<https://frogmorepapermill.org.uk> *Easter storyboats; VE80 celebrations; Heritage Stories - wartime fundraising events at Apsley Mill; (May 2025) VE Day 80 celebrations report; A word on reopening; Heritage Stories - The Dickinson's Fire Brigade prepares for war*

**Hackney Heritage News (e-newsletter of Hackney Museum & Hackney Archives)**  
(May 2025) *Windrush Style; Hackney Museum is changing - grant award; Celebrating 40 years of Hackney City Farm; (June 2025) Belgian refugees in Hackney; exhibitions and talks, including Abney unearthed - remapping Abney Park cemetery; the Turkish diaspora in Hackney's garment trade; Windrush Generations Festival; (July 2025) Shoreditch Lascars; new Hackney U3A family history group; grants available*

**Friends of Herefordshire Archives Newsletter** (no.120 April 2025) [www.fhas.org.uk](http://www.fhas.org.uk) *New historic postcard collection, Local History Festival; Libraries and Archives Manager's report, including new Hereford library and museum; Senior Archivist's report, including events in Herefordshire Histories Festival, archive researcher's retirement; the Good town centre maps (1979-2001); recent additions to the library; Workhouses and their records; WW2 discovery in the Cathedral and WW2 roof-watchers; Accessions in Oct-Dec 2024*

**HALH Newsletter (e-newsletter of Hertfordshire Association for Local History)**  
(April 2025) [www.halh.org.uk](http://www.halh.org.uk)  
[general topic of spring & renewal] *The Beds and Herts Historic Churches Trust; St Leonard's Flamstead; the Hertfordshire Record Society; research notes including memories of Lionel Munby; (June 2025) Regal June anniversaries; Crouchfield: a history of the Herts Training School, 1857-1982; Francis Bacon and agricultural innovation [summary of an article]; focus on a local society - Sawbridgegworth LHS*

**Harpenden and District Local History Society Newsletter** (no.155 April 2025)  
<https://www.harpenden-history.org.uk/>  
*Harpenden mayor asks for supporters; The history and work of the Harpenden Trust (report of talk); The Shavens in Hertfordshire (1904-1950) (report of talk); The 'Lady in Red' - portrait of Elizabeth 'Lily' Brayton*

**Hatfield Local History Society Newsletter**  
(no.137 June 2025) <https://www.hatfieldhistory.uk/>  
*(devoted to the Second World War and Hatfield) Sapper Sidney Thomas Payton; A Land girl at Hatfield House; Brocket babies; Society news (future of the society in jeopardy)*

**Heanor & District Local History Society Newsletter** (no.452 April 2025)  
[www.HeanorHistory.org.uk](http://www.HeanorHistory.org.uk) *Chairman's welcome; Between the canals and the edges of Langley Mill: memories of Harold Wood; Walter Williams changed my life (an influential teacher); A Shipley man finds a Roman patera (1988); Shopping in Nottingham (report of talk); (no.453 May 2025) A journey through bygone Langley - memories of Harold Wood [recorded in 1984]; Heanor men executed (1785); The Picture House: Langley Mill's forgotten cinema; The 'Wheels of Time' event in 2010; forthcoming 'Yesterday once more' event; Two acclaimed railway photographers with local connections; Thomas Mayfield: more than a factory manager; Derby Road, Heanor, in the 1950s and 60s; Road safety*

**Herne Hill (magazine of Herne Hill Society)**  
(no.162 Spring 2025) [hernehillsociety.org.uk](http://hernehillsociety.org.uk)  
[including] *A new future for the Stable Block?; Jim Dickson MP bid farewell; Carnegie Library Hub sees a positive future; Shop and business news; Bengeworth Road - Power infrastructure old and new; Transport notes; Herta Lobenstein; Protecting Brockwell Park; Celebrating local artists; Herne Hill's Bovril - Liebig's Extract of Meat and the OXO cube*

**Huddersfield Local History Society Journal**  
(no.36 2025/26) [www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk](http://www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk)  
*Discover Huddersfield; Kirklees Heritage Forum; Sabra and George: physical culture and the new life; Cracking the identity of the mystery diarist; A souvenir from Lockud' - Smith Carter, comic postcards and placenames; 200 years ago: Our first Mechanics' Institute; 'The little English woman with the big message' - Madame Ada Ward of Lindley; 'The whole town was on fete' - Edwardian nurse fetes and district nurses*

**Huddersfield Local History Society Members Newsletter** (April 2025)

[www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk](http://www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk) *Secondhand book sale; Summer outing; other forthcoming events; Woven Festival: innovation in textiles; Windrush Wise Words project: funding success; (May 2025) Summer outing to Oldham; volunteers needed for 'Discover Huddersfield' walks; 200 years of technical education celebrations*

**Lancashire Local History Federation Newsletter** (no.51 May 2025)

[www.lancashirehistory.org](http://www.lancashirehistory.org) *View from the chair: Frank Hind's Lancashire Stories; News from Archives including Lancashire Archives & Local History (Preston Caribbean Festival 1974-2024, Lancashire History Magazine, Clarets Collected, LA's digitisation service, Improving storage facilities); Speakers' Corner; News roundup, including major exhibition at Science & Industry Museum; Publications of interest; Research survey on users of archives and special collections*

**Leicestershire Archaeological & Historical Societies Newsletter** (no.127 Summer 2025)

[www.lahs.org.uk](http://www.lahs.org.uk) *Lecture programme for 2024-25; LAHS Public Heritage Fund: grant to Leicestershire Football Archive website; LAHS History Fair; LAHS dissertation prizes; other news (including Jevrey Wall Museum; Grimston pendant; Leicester Cathedral Heritage and Learning Centre; Bosworth Park water tower; East Midlands Oral History Archive; Saffron Lane exhibition; Taylor, Taylor & Hobson, lens makers; World War II Audio, 1939-1945, online access; archaeology of Leicester's WW2 civil defences); A historical footnote - science and invention in 1921*

**Lewes History Group Bulletin** (no.178 May 2025)

<https://leweshistory.org.uk/> *Lewes Conservation Area Advisory Group; Volunteer archivist needed for Chailey Heritage Foundation; Mystery house identified; Did the arrival of the railway benefit Lewes?; Drowned in the Ouse (1801); Postcards of Landport; Ladies' hockey (1904); Lewes tennis club at the Priory (postcard); Paintings by Robert Taverner (d.2004); Lewes Borough Council's response to the new NHS (1944); (no.179 June 2025) Heritage Open Weekend Committee; Dr Richard Russell [d.1759]; The monastic diet at Lewes Priory; A parish boundary marker on Malling Street; The burial of Henry Pelham MP [1797]; A sale at Malling House [1824]; Joseph Rickman's obituary [1810]; Lewes Prisoner of War Depot, 1917 [postcard]; 1930s advert for the Phoenix Iron & Steel Works; Eulogy for a Tin Hut, Lewes, 1902-2003; (no.180 July 2025) new museum in Bull House, Lewes, about Thomas Paine; two old prints of St Nicholas's hospital, Lewes; Rev Dr John Delap, vicar of Iford and Kingston; Rev Israel May Soule; The penalty for homelessness (1866); Lewes petition to the Home Office (1841); Holloway's restaurant (1936 press cutting); Theft from a butcher's (December 1869); Morris Road, Cliffe (postcard)*

**Lincolnshire Past & Present** (no.139 Spring 2025)

[www.slha.org.uk](http://www.slha.org.uk) *Charles Mainwaring of Coleby Hall pt.2; speculative explorations in 'Gilbert Country', 2; The madness of Rochester Carre; Objects of life: a holiday in Mablethorpe in Victorian times; Batemans 'ghost sign' is restored; Growing up, living and working in Lincoln; memorial in Gedney and Nettleham churches; A Sharp(e) retort - an election poster from 1880; Petticoat Police*

**The Clock Tower (The Friends of Medway Archives)** (no.78 May 2025) <http://foma-lsc.org/>

*FOMA AGM report; The story of a Medway street: the Rochester High Street Project; A fascinating discovery: a silver football medal; Aliens and the Strood Workhouse, the Blesch family, part 2; A property dispute in Chatham (1839); Where did they go? [poem about shops that have gone]*

**Meldreth Local History Group Newsletter** (May 2025) <http://www.meldrethhistory.org.uk/>

*our websites; Family history afternoon; Published pages on the main website with links; Twenty years ago - the Group started*

**Merton Historical Society Bulletin** (no.233

March 2025) <https://mertonhistoricalsociety.org.uk/> *Ceramic finds from St Lawrence's - more details; The Labour Movement and the 1919 local elections in Mitcham; is anything known? - mystery photographs; summaries of talks: 'History of dogs in London, West Barnes and Motspur Park 1920-1940'; report of visit to St Bartholomew's churches and hospital; the Burn Bullock pub, Mitcham (report of talk); The rubber industries of Mitcham 1845-1963; (no.234 June 2025) Did Merton Priory look like this?; Researcher wanted for a history of the society; reports of talks (Paper conservancy; Local railways and transport around Merton Park); Two Merton mill sites (and some upholstery memories); the construction of Vestry Hall in 1887; Workshop extras - notes and news; Deep shelters at Clapham South Station*

**North Craven Heritage Trust Journal** (2025)

<https://www.northcravenheritage.org/> *Domestic medicine in the Yorkshire Dales (1620-1850); A recent detectorist find from Austwick; The gallows in Settle; 'Great Awakeners' - the Batty family of Newby Cote, near Clapham; Finding Fault - an exhibition at the Museum of North Craven Life; From Settle, Yorkshire, to Settle, Pennsylvania - the story of Richard Bache (and his brother Theophylact); Armitstead Hall, Giggleswick; T.R. Clapham and his lost taxidermy collection; Reginald Farrer and the Rhododendrons of the Angleborough estate; John Stuart Mill and his tour through Yorkshire, 1831; Acquisitions at the Museum of North Craven Life in 2024; A Cumbrian Journey (report of summer outing)*

**Northamptonshire Industrial Archaeology Group Newsletter** (no.174 April 2025)

[www.niag.org.uk](http://www.niag.org.uk) *News, reviews & information (including Ritz Cinema, Rushden, The Milestone Society, Basingstoke Canal's Inglis Pyramid Bridge, Rebuilding Notre Dame and a British carpenter); My tinplate file; Evolution of Castle Ashby Station [report of talk]; York Coaches of Northampton [report of talk]; Two historic boundary markers in Weston Favell; Origins of the Dolcis shoe factories in Kettering; NIAG's Newspaper Study Group records; Signal box or Sunday school? (part 1); Irthlingborough station and around [photos]*

**Ogmore Valley Local History & Heritage**

**Society Journal** (2024) <https://ovlhs.co.uk/> *2023 Pany-y-Wal Wind Farm grant; Annie's Story; Lewis George Bourton (George 'The Milk'); 1958 Freedom of Margate; A few boyhood memories; Mogg William, the people's and miners' poet; The Gibby Trust; 'Just another colliery lad': the tragic death of David Brooks, aged 13; The British and Welsh contributions to the atomic bomb; Nantymoel Athletic Football Club; Where there's a will; Poached salmon and tickled trout; Railway Cottage and the Evans family; The end of an era - The Nantymoel Hotel (The Inn); Memorial awards - school pupils' favourite places*

**Ogmore Valley Local History & Heritage Society Quarterly Newsletter** (April 2025)

<https://ovlhs.co.uk/> *Welcome from the editor; Projects update, including 50<sup>th</sup> digital touchscreen 2 in Ogmore Vale Life Centre & various memorials; Can you help - a cinema not a roller-skating rink; Ogmore Valley Digital Archive; (July 2025) Projects update, Heritage Hub bookcase and map drawers, Nantymoel memorial clock tower and memorial name plaque; News including additions to OV archive; Can you help - a National Coal Board medal for First Aid at Aberfan disaster; Ogmore Valley Digital Archive - two maps*

**Oxfordshire Local History Association**

**e-bulletin** (May 2025) <https://www.olha.org.uk/>  
*Museum of Oxford (MoX) celebrates 50 years; Oxford Festival of the Arts; Life in Wartime Henley event; Celebrating 200 years of Jericho suburb (walk); OLHA study day; Alyce Chaucer festival; Didcot Railway Centre NLHF award; Oxford Preservation Trust: tours of oldest house in Abingdon; Exhibitions at Burford Tolsey Museum; National Mills Weekend; New book on Summertown; Meet a local speaker; Slade Camp event; North Leigh Roman villa open days; Oxfordshire Museum exhibition on Michael Black, sculptor; North Hinksey Conduit House - tours; Soldiers of Oxfordshire Museum - exhibition on VE and VJ Days; (June 2025) Soldiers of Oxfordshire Museum; MoX lunchtime talks; Combe Mill Society 50th anniversary; Our River Thames exhibition; Friends of Abingdon Abbey Buildings Trust - grant award; Prisons and punishment blog; Nine sites added to Oxford Heritage Asset Register; Oxford Festival of the Arts programme; Oxford Preservation Trust: do you remember Charles Street?; Oxfordshire Past event; Burford Tolsey Museum - new exhibitions; (July 2025) MoX walks; Welcome to OLHA's new secretary; Commonwealth War Graves at Botley cemetery; Steeple Aston Village Archive; Cole Baptist Chapel near Witney; Alice's Day in Oxford; Oxford Festival of the Arts programme; Two new blue plaques: Councillor; Science and Innovation Campus new war memorial; North Leigh Roman villa; Oxford Prison - blog post; Oxfordshire Past event; Burford Tolsey Museum exhibitions on Helen Bryce and on Burford in WW2*

**Radley History Club Newsletter** (May 2025)

<https://www.radleyhistoryclub.org.uk/>  
*History viewed through Radley News - from May 1975 (including referendum re staying in the Common Market); (June 2025) History viewed through Radley News - from June 1975 (looking back at summer fetes); Radley Millennium map (2000);*

**Redditch History Society Newsletter**

(vol.7 no.1 April 2025)  
<http://www.redditchhistorysociety.org.uk/>; *report of WW2 film evening; AGM reports (vol. 7, no.2 May 2025) Exhibition at Forge Mill Needle Museum; Hewell Grange [report of talk]; report of the 1940s weekend at Needle Museum; Headless Cross; Rookery Boy at the shops; (vol.7 no.3 June 2025) Event at Forge Mill Needle Museum; Surgery in the nineteenth century [report of talk]; Reminiscences - Saturday delivery lad at Webbs; BALH summary; Redditch Local History Museum*

**Rickmansworth Historical Review**

(no.36 June 2025) [www.rickmansworthhistory.org.uk](http://www.rickmansworthhistory.org.uk)  
*The first residents of Money Hill Road, Rickmansworth; The GI brides of Rickmansworth; All Saints' church in the Second World War - A vicar's point of view (pt.1); The Second World War in Chorleywood (a request for information); Rickmansworth Church Lads' Bridge (report from 1904)*

**Rutland Local History & Record Society Newsletter** (no.1/25 April 2025)

[www.rutlandhistory.org](http://www.rutlandhistory.org) *Royal events in Rutland; 2024 Heritage Open Evening; Parish Boundary Project update for 2024; With BBC Countryfile at Rutland Water; Historic letter boxes in Rutland; The Rev William Graham, a user of hair powder; Vincent Sladen Wing; The history of Uppingham railway; Travelling to school by steam train in Rutland; End of term special; Highway robbery at Belton in 1861; Pterosaur bone found in Rutland*

**Saddleworth Historical Society Bulletin**

(vol.54 no.4 2024)  
[www.saddleworth-historical-society.org.uk](http://www.saddleworth-historical-society.org.uk)  
*Chairman's address to 2025 AGM; Marjorie Short's Memories of Saddleworth, 1925-1948; A National War Savings Association book; Death from want and starvation, 1842 (newspaper report); An interesting ramble (reprint from 1911/12); index to vol. 54*

**Saffron Walden Historical Journal** (no.49 Spring 2025)

[www.saffronwaldenhistoricaljournal.org.uk](http://www.saffronwaldenhistoricaljournal.org.uk) *A short history of Saffron Walden hospitals; Claw25 - new project to excavate Clavering Castle; The history of Saffron Walden Museum, 1975-2025; Praise for the Saffron Walden Historical Journal*

**Scottish Local History** (no.120 Spring 2025)

[www.slhf.org](http://www.slhf.org) *The first bicycles in Scotland; Ebenezer Erskine - Stirling's Original Seceder; The Ferguslie Mills of J. and P. Coats; Chatelherault and the 'Sad, Sad Story' of the Duke's Dog Kennels; The Earl and the Shirra; Alexander Murray and Robert Thom; 'The Garden of Eden' in Carrick; Dr Robert Renwick LL.D. (1841-1920); AGM 2024 report; news features including Carrick Place-name Database, Red Wheel for the Glencoe Highway, The Kylesha Ferry, Victoria Swing Bridge, Leith, Edinburgh Transport Depots, Memorials to Women in Scotland*

**Scottish Local History** (no.121 Summer 2025)

[www.slhf.org](http://www.slhf.org) *The Dragon and the Johnstones; The Oswald & Kirk Session School, Kirkintilloch; The Crums of Thornliebank - the rise and fall of a family textile firm; A marriage at Gretna Green; One of the first Americans to own a Scottish estate; Notes & Queries, including 'The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society', 'The city of Glasgow's pioneering Asylum for the Blind', 'The Scottish Women's Rural Institute'*

**Send & Ripley History Society** (no.302 May 2025)

[www.sendandripleyhistorysociety.co.uk](http://www.sendandripleyhistorysociety.co.uk)  
*Editorial, including book publishing costs; The Saxons in Send; 40 years ago (reissued article 'Cobham Cottages, Ripley High Street'); The remarkable archive of Corporal Charles Victor [aka Pete] Shoemith; Guildford mayor's awards for service to the community; The Society's first bookkeeping records; Surrey whiteware; Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens [summary of talk]; Where is it?; What is it?; Newark Mill model; Ghosts along the Wey - a rural childhood in Send, pt.4*

**Sittingbourne Heritage Museum Newsletter**

(May 2025) [www.sittingbourne-museum.co.uk](http://www.sittingbourne-museum.co.uk)  
*Explore the local studies resources at the Library; Report of Barrow Charity talk; forthcoming events; Study Group report; Museum displays; (June 2025) New donations to the Museum, including clock by G Forster; Study Group report - Second World War memories*

### **Sittingbourne Heritage Museum Quarterly**

**Journal** (no.109 June 2025)

[www.sittingbourne-museum.co.uk](http://www.sittingbourne-museum.co.uk) *Mystery locations and lost places in Sittingbourne (A-B); Fair notice [1859]*

### **Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society e-bulletin**

(May 2025) <https://sanhs.org/>  
*Volunteers wanted; SANHS 175 exhibition (Great Beginnings, Sir Walter Trevelyan, first president of SANHS; The first museum); Mick Aston's Young Archaeologists - Japanese archaeology session report (June 2025) ANHS 175 exhibition (Great Beginnings, Andrew Crosse's experiments with electricity; William Buckland's interests in fossils); Mick Aston's Young Archaeologists - visit to Norton Fitzwarren hillfort (July 2025) Volunteers wanted; SANHS 175 exhibition (Victorian Women, Florence St George Gray, Isabella Gifford)*

### **Staffordshire Archaeological & Historical Society Newsletter**

(no.149 May 2025)  
<https://www.sahs.uk.net/> *The Glascote torc; New venue for in-person talks; Exhibition at Lichfield Cathedral - Book of Books (story of the English Bible); Lost Merlin MS found in binding of book at Cambridge UL; The Great Viking Survey; New book on the Black Country; Cannock Chase Museum closes; Earliest known English book on cheese; Online lectures from the Bodleian Library; Forthcoming talk on Fitzherbert's Book of Husbandry; Lambeth Palace Library exhibition 'Unfolding time'*

### **Sunbury and Shepperton Local History Society Journal**

(no.94 Spring 2025) [www.sshs.org.uk](http://www.sshs.org.uk)  
*Fire brigades - a short history of their development; Littleton buildings lost to the Queen Mary reservoir; The Ivy House, French Street; A historic link between royalty and Sunbury; Sunbury Cricket Club war memorial; Gas comes to Sunbury; Sunbury Fuel Trust; A tale of 2 cousins - Winston Churchill and Freddie Guest of Ivy House; School Walk; Sunbury Fuel Trust; School dinners - how times have changed; Littleton House in the late nineteenth century*

### **The Uxbridge Record (Uxbridge Local History and Archive Society)**

(no.123 Spring 2025)  
<http://www.eddiethecomputer.co.uk/history/Street>  
*Parties in Cowley 1945; The story of the parish pump adjacent to St Margaret's church; A lady from Italy - Mrs Ottavia Finch; From coaching inn to headquarters for cyclists; Did you know that ...?; 60 years ago - the formation of Greater London*

### **Friends of Watford Museum Newsletter**

(no.98 May 2025)  
<https://www.watfordmuseum.org.uk/friends>  
*New permanent staff at the Museum introduce themselves; FA Cup final player's medal, 1984; Watford Childhood display for new museum; Model of Watford's 1838 station found; new volunteering opportunities*

### **Wells Local History Group Newsletter**

(no.89 Spring 2025) <https://www.wellsnorfolkhistory.co.uk/>  
*Wells houses 1600-1800; Wells burial grounds; Press gangs of the Norfolk and Suffolk coasts [reprint]; Wells Church Room - opening (1914); The Warham Snowdrop - part 2*

### **The Researcher: Newsletter of the West Sussex Archives Society**

(no.129 April 2025)  
[www.wsas.co.uk](http://www.wsas.co.uk) *County Archivist's report - including staffing changes, culmination of several grant-funded projects, conservation of consistory court papers, summary of accessions in 2024; New WSRO members of staff; Chairman's report, including look back over the past year's activities; Old Atherington and the washed away medieval villages of West Sussex (report of talk); Lives in a Sussex landscape (report of talk); Report on volunteers activities at WSRO; Journals on the history of West Sussex at the WSRO*

### **Whitechapel Society Journal**

(Spring edition, April 2025) <https://www.whitechapelsociety.com/>  
*The tragic story of Tower Bridge high diver Benjamin Fuller; Mrs Maybrick; WS shop; WS around the world; Bloodhounds in the search for Jack the Ripper; cryptic crossword clue; Jack the Ripper on the silver screen, or is it?; Victorian street furniture; Has Sherlock Holmes had the answer all along?; Was your grandmother an East London suffragette?; Ghostly happenings in a Norwich house (1990s); Commercial Tavern, 142 Commercial Street, Spitalfields; Under the floorboards, part 2; Vengeance comes to Whitechapel 1945 style - the V2 explosion at Vallance Road; (Summer edition, part 1, June 2025) Murder in Dan Mendoza's old pub; WS around the world; Criminous CDVS - the French mass murderer Troppmann; Jolly bonnet; 'Room to Let' aka 'The Lodger'; WS shop; Emanuel Delbert Violina - What happened next?; Stick in the mud? Stranger on the shore mudlarking, part 2; Nice to see you Mr Bond; The Ten Bells; Fashion alert; Sherlock Holmes in Whitechapel - Chief Constable Frederick Porter Wensley; had the answer all along?; Jack the Ripper - Written Blood [review of Sky History Channel programme]; Historyaholics Anonymous; Review of April's meeting; Victorian street furniture - answer*

### **The Patriot: Newsletter of the John Hampden Society**

(no.115 May 2025) [www.johnhampden.org](http://www.johnhampden.org)  
*Hampden-Sydney College (Virginia); Lady Fenwick Memorial Garden (Saybrook); A new ballad of John Hampden; John Hampden and cherry pies; Restoration of Powick Bridge near Worcester; Update on the Ship Money monument*

### **Local Population Studies Society News-Sheet**

(31 March 2025)  
<http://www.localpopulationstudies.org.uk/>  
*Forthcoming LPS journal; BALH news; News from the Institute of Historical Research; News from CAMPOP - latest blogs*

### **Mortimer Matters, journal of the Mortimer History Society**

(no.60 April 2025)  
<https://mortimerhistorysociety.org.uk/>  
*The last Mortimer: Edmund, 5th earl of March and 7th earl of Ulster; Queen Eleanor of Caernarfon Castle and Overton-on-Dee; Decolonisation and counter-colonisation within the 'capitals' of Wales; A Prince of Wales executes a Marcher lord; Mortimer History Society bursaries; Winners of the 2024 essay prize; Wars of the Roses Memorial database*