



THE LOCAL HISTORIAN

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- The Prosecution Associations of Hammersmith and Clapham 1811 to 1840
- A private school in wartime: Harrogate College at Swinton, Yorkshire
 - Educating eighteenth-century Hampshire landowners
 - East Coast Notes: local history research
- 'Cold in Religion' part 2 Catholic gentry in Tudor Southampton
- Review article: recent Victoria County History publications

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FRONT COVER: Miss Rhoda Jacob, headmistress of Harrogate College from 1935 to 1952. Portrait by Edward Halliday, presented by the Harrogate College Union in 1950 to mark fifteen years of her headship. The school crest shows the motto *Industria, Fide, Pietate*: Work, Faith and Piety [see paper by Paul Jennings on pp.16-26] **BACK COVER:** Anthony Henley (1667-1711) of The Grange, Northington, Hampshire [see paper by Albert Gallon on pp.27-42]

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Articles for possible inclusion in *The Local Historian* should be sent to the editor, Dr Alan Crosby, 77 Wellington Street, PRESTON PR1 8TQ or dralancrosby@gmail.com. A style-sheet, 'Notes for contributors', is available on request. We welcome articles on any subject in the field of local history, and the editor is always pleased to discuss ideas for contributions and to advise on their preparation.

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West Sussex History: Journal of the West Sussex Archives Society (no.93 Autumn 2025)

www.wsas.co.uk From the Editor; From the County Archivist; Religion in Edward VI's Chichester: the evidence of wills; The chequered life of a farmhouse and its inhabitants - an exploration of the history of Graylingwell Farmhouse, Chichester; Barnham - how the railway changed village life; The West Sussex captains who sailed with Drake; In uncertain times - defending the coast of Western Sussex; People and paper- stories from Iping paper mills; obituary; The story of Hurst Mill, Harting, West Sussex; Hunky panky in the warehouse; book reviews; Notable accessions at the WSRO

Whitechapel Society Journal (Autumn 2025)

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Forest Clearing: newsletter of Wyre Forest Historical Research Group (vol.19 no.2 November 2025)

www.wfhr.org.uk Chairman's chatter; Diary dates; Snippets from the Town Hall; 27 November 1542, Chinese concubines attempt to murder the emperor [summary of published article]; The Battle of Worcester, 3 Sept 1651; Jane Austen's brother's memoir [report from newspaper]; Closure of Museum of Carpet; Ireland's first Olympic medal; 85 years ago this month; Swine fever

The Patriot: Newsletter of the John Hampden Society (no.118 December 2025)

www.johnhampden.org Welcome; Information wanted about JH's mother; Hampden-at-Oxford endowment; The society's activities Oct./Nov 2025; Prince Rupert of the Rhine (report of talk); George Fenwick - lawyer turned adventurer; Fond memories of Grampound

Local Population Studies Society News-Sheet (31 October 2025)

<http://www.localpopulationstudies.org.uk/> Closure of LPSS; Forthcoming LPS journal(s); British Agricultural History Society Conference 2026; LPSS conference on Migration and Mobility; News from BALH; VCH News

Monumental Brass Society Transactions (vol. XXVI, 2025)

www.mbs-brasses.co.uk 'The Brass Ceiling' - Fru Remborg Israelsdotter of Vik; The Beauchamps and their allies - space and commemoration in St Mary's church, Warwick, in the late Middle Ages; The monumental brass of Jacques II de Baudrenghien (d.1553); The memorial brasses in the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary and St Dominic, Southampton Road, Haverstock Hill, London; book reviews; index

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The Prosecution Associations of Hammersmith and Clapham 1811 to 1840

TOM MCKEOWN

Between 1811 and 1821, four Prosecution Associations were founded in a relatively small area on the south-west fringe of the metropolis, at Hammersmith and Clapham. Such associations were established in great numbers across England and Wales in the late-eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, as a means of reducing disincentives to the prosecution of offenders.¹ During this period the pursuit and prosecution of offences against individuals was largely left to the initiative of victims, until Robert Peel's 'new' police gradually assumed the role of prosecutor from the mid-1830s. For most victims this was a daunting prospect. The criminal trial process could be complex and time-consuming, and unless prosecutors paid for legal assistance, they had to navigate the system on their own. To make matters worse, they were personally responsible for all court fees and other expenses incurred with little chance of obtaining more than partial reimbursement through costs awarded by the court at the conclusion of the trial.²



1 Hammersmith and the surrounding area
(from OS 1-inch map 1st edition sheet 7 published 1822)

Prosecution associations offered their members some protection against the hazards of this system. They were voluntary institutions whose activities were usually confined to a limited area such as a parish, and their founders ranged from parish vestries and groups of businessmen and property owners to local individuals. They were funded by members' subscriptions and, in respect of specified crimes, they provided members with practical, legal, and financial assistance in the pursuit and prosecution of offenders. This included publicising offers of rewards payable on conviction, a practice which fostered a belief that membership of an association helped to deter crime.³ Motives for founding associations varied, and their founders could adopt whatever rules and regulations they wished. This meant that associations could be used to pursue objectives beyond their central purpose of facilitating prosecutions, including the establishment of local, subscription-funded night watches and patrols.⁴

This article outlines the motives that prompted the formation of the four Hammersmith and Clapham associations. Their histories, leaderships and memberships are outlined, as are the strengths and weaknesses of their constitutions. The success (or lack of it) of their operations is considered and the reasons for their demise are examined. The principal primary sources for the article are the surviving minutes of the associations and of the Hammersmith, Fulham and Clapham parish vestries. Other sources include the minutes of the trustees and committee of the Clapham Watch, parliamentary select committee reports, and contemporary press reports.

Hammersmith and its Prosecution Associations

Hammersmith parish extended north from the town, which lay on the Middlesex bank of the Thames, to include Shepherds Bush and Wormwood Scrubs.⁵ Its population increased from 7393 to around 10,000 between 1811 and 1827, and it remained relatively undeveloped compared with Paddington and Kensington to the east.⁶ There was easy road access to central London, but until 1827 there was no bridge over the Thames at Hammersmith.⁷ Writing in 1813, Thomas Faulkner recorded that part of the river frontage was occupied by 'gentlemen's houses' and that the main activity of the parish was the production of vegetables and fruit for the metropolis. While describing the parish as 'of no great importance as a manufacturing place', he mentioned its extensive brickfields and a substantial iron foundry.⁸

The Hammersmith Association for Prosecuting Thieves and Felons ('the 1811 association') was established by the Hammersmith Vestry in mid-1811. It is not known who proposed the idea, but there was acute anxiety about crime across the metropolis at the time and the initiative may have been prompted by the formation of a prosecution association by the neighbouring Fulham Vestry in late 1810.⁹ On 25 May 1811 the Hammersmith Vestry appointed an eleven-man committee that included the churchwarden Richard Howells, two county magistrates, John Girdler and Richard Radford, a surgeon, John Bowling, and Thomas Kennard, a member of the local gentry, to draft rules and regulations for the proposed association.¹⁰ These were approved on 7 June 1811 but, unfortunately, no copy has survived. Richard Radford was named as the association's treasurer; a committee was established to manage its affairs (the full membership of which is unknown); and a secretary was appointed.¹¹ The minute book of the 1811 association contains a list of rewards payable to those providing information leading to the conviction of offenders committing specified offences. This tariff focused largely on property crime, including burglary; stealing from stables, outhouses, gardens, market gardens or orchards; and the receipt of stolen property.¹²

The minute book records the recruitment of 189 members in the period after June 1811. Subscribers paid one-off joining fees ranging from five shillings to one pound, raising a total of just under one hundred pounds to fund the association's operations.¹³ The subscribers included property owners of all types; local gentry and clergy; magistrates, professionals and businessmen; market gardeners, manufacturers, builders, tradesmen and shopkeepers.¹⁴ On the basis of Faulkner's 1813 description of the parish, this represents a fair cross-section of its property-owning inhabitants. The 1811 association began its work at committee meetings held on 29 October and 4 November 1811. Each dealt with a reported burglary at premises of an association member and in each case the committee directed that reward posters be printed and that the parish beadle should 'cry' news of the rewards around the parish.¹⁵

Matters then took a curious turn when, at its next meeting on 12 December 1811, the committee abruptly decided to involve the association with the policing of the parish. The minute of this meeting is headed, 'Special Committee summoned to meet at the Committee Room Workhouse on Thursday morning 12 December'. Six committee members attended, including magistrates John Girdler and John Hanson, the churchwarden Richard Howells, and John Bowling.¹⁶ The minute records that the committee considered it advisable that 'respectable inhabitants' should be sworn in as special constables to patrol the town nightly 'as they may think proper', and the association's secretary was instructed to 'wait upon the Magistrates begging them to appoint an early day for the purpose. The grounds for this initiative were said to be that 'Depredations' in the parish generally and more particularly' upon the property of 'many of the members of the association', had 'arrived at an alarming extent' and the offer of rewards had had no effect. This resolution was quickly followed up, and subsequent minutes record that by 6 January 1812, some 35 special constables, the great majority of whom were association subscribers, had been sworn in by magistrate members of the committee.¹⁷

As only two offences against members had been recorded by 12 December 1811, it is doubtful that the minute of that date provides the full explanation for this dramatic initiative. Two recent extraneous events were probably important factors in the decision. The first was a speech by William Mainwaring, chairman of the Middlesex Bench, to the Middlesex Grand Jury on 2 December 1811, in which he had lamented the increase in 'street-robberies and house-breaking' in London, and urged his audience to promote measures in their parishes for the protection of property during the night.¹⁸ As Middlesex county magistrates, Hanson and Girdler would almost certainly have known of the speech, particularly as it was reported in the press.¹⁹ Further, public alarm about crime was then mounting to the level of a panic as news spread of the unprecedented and brutal murder of seven members of two families by a serial killer in East London.²⁰ The first murders occurred on 7 December 1811, with further killings following on 19 December. Many London parishes set up volunteer patrols in reaction to these 'Ratcliffe murders' but it is curious that in Hammersmith this was done by a prosecution association rather than the vestry.²¹ One possible explanation may be that those who attended the 'Special' meeting, infected by the prevailing moral panic, framed the initiative as an association venture to speed the process of establishing a patrol.

This burst of action appears to have exhausted the energies of the committee. After 6 January 1812 the patrol scheme is not mentioned again, and prior to 18 August 1814 the only recorded activity is the offer of rewards in December 1813 and August 1814 respectively.²² This lassitude clearly concerned some, and on 18 August 1814 there was a meeting between 'Inhabitants' of Hammersmith and members of the association's

committee, including Bowling, Kennard and Howells. The minute of this meeting reveals dissatisfaction with the management of the association; the principal complaint being the total absence of information about its finances. Radford, the treasurer, not being present, the meeting resolved that accounts be prepared promptly and circulated to members, together with a request for further subscriptions to the association's funds. The meeting was also unhappy with the policing of the parish and recommended that the committee employ 'police officers', a step which, even if within the competence of the association, would have required new funding arrangement.²³ In the event Radford reported on the association's finances at a public meeting on 8 September 1814 and it was disclosed that of the fund collected in 1811, just over £40 had been spent, leaving a balance of some £59. Neither the suggestion of raising further funds nor the possibility of employing 'police' was discussed.²⁴ Radford produced no further accounts for the 1811 association until it merged with the second Hammersmith association in 1818, at which time its fund stood at just over £17.²⁵

These two meetings failed to re-invigorate the association. Apart from short notes dated between April 1815 and December 1816, recording the printing of reward posters relating to five offences, and a minute of July 1816 concerning the distribution of a reward (see below), there are no further records of activity until a minute of 28 April 1818, recording the merger of the 1811 association with the second Hammersmith association.²⁶ In terms of the apprehension and prosecution of 'Thieves and Felons' the 1811 association was by far the least successful of the four considered here. Its minutes note ten offences reported between 1811 and 1818. In nine of these, multiple reward posters were issued but there is no suggestion that any offenders were apprehended. The tenth case, which produced a successful prosecution in 1816, and the payment of the reward mentioned above, involved a theft from the premises of John Bowling, the committee member, but the offender was apprehended within hours without any action by the association.²⁷

Weaknesses in its rules and regulations, the vestry's inaction, dwindling public support, and poor leadership were probably important factors in the failure of the 1811 association. Although the rules and regulations have not survived, there is no indication that they provided for regular general meetings of subscribers or for periodic committee elections, thus making it difficult, if not impossible, for subscribers to hold the leadership to account. Having set up the 1811 association, the Hammersmith Vestry could have intervened in its affairs, but did nothing until resolving in April 1818 that it should unite with the second Hammersmith association.²⁸ This inaction suggests that interest in the affairs of the 1811 association waned as the moral panic eased; and as subscribers had no further obligation to the association following payment of their subscriptions in 1811, many may over time have become indifferent to its success or failure. The sparse records of the 1811 association offer few clues as to who, if anyone, managed its affairs after 6 January 1812. At this period the magistracy had an acknowledged role in law enforcement within their communities and the magistrate members of the committee, and particularly Radford as Treasurer, might have been expected to offer leadership, but clearly did not.²⁹

The Hammersmith association for the more effectually preventing robberies and for the prosecution of Thieves and Felons ('the 1818 association') had wider ambitions than the 1811 association. It was founded by Hammersmith Vestry on 27 April 1818 at the instance of a group consisting largely of local professionals, businessmen and gentry.³⁰ Some, including Bowling, George Pring, a fellow surgeon, William Bird, a builder, and Kennard, had long favoured supplementing the existing parish watch with a private, subscription-funded, night watch and patrol.³¹ In December 1811 the

committee of the 1811 association had condemned the existing parish watch as of 'little or no avail', and while the vestry could have taken action to improve it, funding an enhanced watch through the parish rate was legally questionable unless authorised by a local Act of Parliament. Some metropolitan parishes (and Clapham) had obtained such Acts, but the Hammersmith Vestry had not chosen to do so.³²

The idea of an association-operated watch and patrol did not come out of the blue in 1818. It had been proposed at the meeting on 18 August 1814, that the 1811 association should employ 'police officers'. Then in late 1816, a vestry committee, of which Bowling, Pring, and Bird were prominent members, drew up a plan to fund two four-man, armed night patrols through voluntary subscriptions.³³ No magistrates appear to have been involved in the production of this plan, although a number, including Radford and Hanson, subsequently approved it and helped to recruit members of the patrol.³⁴ In the event, for reasons unknown, the project came to nothing and was abandoned without the committee bringing it before the vestry for approval.

It was against this background that on 27 April 1818 the vestry resolved unanimously to found a new association to facilitate the apprehension and prosecution of offenders, 'unite' with the 1811 association, and invite residents to contribute weekly subscriptions 'for the purpose of Watching and Patrolling' the parish. A committee was nominated and the vestry appointed Pring as the association's treasurer.³⁵ Its 'unanimous' approval of the resolution is curious given its previous lack of engagement with the 1811 association and the subsequent lack of public support for the 1818 association. The probable explanation is that supporters of the project stage-managed the meeting. This was held on only one day's notice, and of the 26 attendees listed in the minute, thirteen were subscribers to the 1811 association, three were involved with the abandoned vestry committee plan of 1816, and five became members of the committee of the 1818 association. The two remaining names are illegible.³⁶ The association's committee was over fifty strong, but few attended meetings.³⁷ Of the six magistrate members of the committee, only Hanson attended with any regularity³⁸, and in the period to 1827 the association's affairs were in the hands of professionals, businessmen and gentry, including Pring, Bowling and Kennard.³⁹

The 1818 association: 27 April 1818 to March 1827

The committee proceeded swiftly, arrangements for soliciting subscriptions being agreed at its first meeting on 29 April.⁴⁰ There were to be two subscriber funds. The first ('the policing fund') was to pay for the patrol and watch. As these would require regular payment subscribers were to be asked to commit to periodic contributions. One-off contributions were to be sought for the second fund which was to finance rewards and prosecutions. Members of the general committee took responsibility for different districts of the parish and canvassed residents for subscriptions.⁴¹

It is not clear how much was pledged for the policing fund in 1818, and there is no surviving record of subscribers. However, by 20 May a two-man patrol and five watchmen were at work.⁴² Unfortunately, despite the enthusiasm of its supporters, this 'policing' venture was short-lived. Although a collector was employed to pursue promised periodic subscriptions, payments quickly fell off and the patrol had to be discontinued in September and the Watch terminated in January 1819.⁴³ There are few association records for the period from early 1819 to March 1827, but it is apparent that the committee continued to harbour policing ambitions. On 18 June 1824, it authorised Bird (who had succeeded Pring as treasurer in April that year) to employ police to patrol the parish. A new committee (which included Pring, Bowling

and Kennard) was to arrange the collection of funds, and notices were to be printed informing residents that committee members would call to solicit subscriptions.⁴⁴ Nothing came of this proposal and no more is heard of policing by the association until 1827.

Just over £95 had been raised for the association's prosecution fund by early September 1818.⁴⁵ Between May 1818 and May 1819, six reports of offences against association members were recorded. In three instances rewards were offered, but there is no indication that any suspect was apprehended. In a fourth case there is no mention of a reward and no indication that the offender was apprehended.⁴⁶ However, the association did fund a successful prosecution for theft at the Old Bailey in May 1818. No offer of reward had been publicised as the victim immediately suspected the identity of the culprit, a suspicion confirmed by the discovery of imprints of his wooden leg at the scene of the crime.⁴⁷ In the sixth case in May 1819, the association offered a reward following a burglary, but this was not instrumental in the apprehension of three members of the 'Hammersmith Monsters' gang, suspected of this and other crimes. The association was prepared to fund a prosecution, but the examining magistrate released all the suspects for want of evidence.⁴⁸ Between May 1819 and March 1827 the association's scanty records contain no reference to further offences against members.

The 1818 association (March to June 1827)

The 1818 association was briefly resuscitated in March 1827, as a result of 'repeated Robberies' that were plaguing the parish. On 6 March 1827 the vestry appointed a new committee for the association, charged with collecting subscriptions and taking 'the most effectual steps' to deal with the robberies. This new committee included several clergymen, local professionals, businessmen and gentry including Bowling, Kennard and Bird.⁴⁹ At its first meeting, it decided that the most effectual step it could take would be to establish a patrol, and committee members were nominated to solicit one-off subscriptions in different areas of the parish. These were to be paid into a common fund to finance both a patrol and the payment of rewards and prosecution expenses. Probably anticipating limited support, the committee also requested the chief magistrate at Bow Street to provide four night patrols. Only after this request was refused and the home secretary declined to intervene, did the association launch a five-man patrol in early April 1827.⁵⁰

The committee's fears about public support were realised. Strenuous fundraising raised approximately £109 from 153 subscribers between March and 11 June.⁵¹ However, the cost of operating the patrol and financing its prosecution work (see below) meant that the association was in dire financial straits by mid-June 1827.⁵² An appeal through the vestry for additional subscriptions proved fruitless and the 1818 association was dissolved at the end of June 1827.⁵³

Two offences, both burglaries, were reported in the period. In the first case the minutes do not refer to the offer of a reward, but two suspects apprehended by the association's patrol were taken to Bow Street for examination. The association paid expenses to the witnesses who gave evidence at that examination, but there is no reference to the case being committed for trial.⁵⁴ In the second case no reward posters were required. Two suspects were stopped in possession of some of the stolen goods shortly after the crime and were convicted at the Old Bailey on 31 May 1827.⁵⁵ This led to the association paying out a reward, prosecution costs and witness expenses totalling over £15 in June 1827; an outlay that exacerbated its financial plight.⁵⁶

Subject to one caveat the 1818 association was a failure. Its policing initiative of 1818-1819 collapsed after eight months and its second attempt in 1827, after only three. Its practice of issuing reward posters was largely ineffective, and from mid-1819 to March 1827, it appears to have taken no steps to apprehend and prosecute offenders. Nonetheless, its overall record in that respect was markedly better than that of the 1811 association. During the seventeen months it was active between May 1818-May 1819 and March-June 1827, eight offences were reported. Of these, two cases resulted in successful prosecutions at the Old Bailey, and two were disposed of by examining magistrates. In the period it was active, the 1818 association therefore took between two and three cases to court per annum and its 'clear up rate', calculated as the ratio of cases taken to court (irrespective of the result) to offences reported, was one in two, figures that compare favourably with those of other prosecution associations.⁵⁷

While other factors may possibly have played a part, there is no doubt that the 1818 association failed because it did not attract sufficient support. This was not for want of effort. The association's records attest to its vigorous fundraising efforts. However, the concept of subscription-funded policing had been doggedly and unsuccessfully pursued for years by the same group of people. If, as appears, they only managed to establish the association by manipulating the vestry meeting on 27 April 1818, obtaining widespread public support was clearly a formidable challenge. The root cause of the failure of the 1818 association was therefore likely to have been the unrealistic ambitions of its founders.



2 Clapham and the surrounding area

(from OS 1-inch map 1st edition sheet 7 published 1822)

Clapham and its Prosecution Associations

The parish of Clapham was in Surrey, about six miles from both the City of London and Hammersmith. Its boundaries ran just north of the Battersea Rise road, turned south through the middle of Clapham Common to Balham Hill and from there to Bleak Hall before turning north to Stockwell. It was a well-known evangelical centre and home to the Clapham Sect.⁵⁸ Its semi-rural situation and ease of access to the centre of London made it an attractive residential area for successful London merchants and businessmen, and the local economy was largely concerned with catering to their needs.⁵⁹ Between 1811 and 1831 its population rose from 5083 to 9958.⁶⁰

In the period prior to 1830, when it became part of the Metropolitan Police District, Clapham, unlike Hammersmith, operated a professionalised night watch funded through the parish rate pursuant to a local Act of Parliament of 1785.⁶¹ By 1822, the watch was 23 strong, and a further twelve men were employed to patrol 'the road from Clapham Common to certain roads leading therefrom'.⁶² This was a much larger force than that briefly provided by the second Hammersmith association and explains why neither Clapham prosecution association attempted to undertake policing.

The Clapham Association for the Prosecution of Felons ('the Terry association') was founded in 1817 and differed markedly from the Hammersmith associations and from the second Clapham association in terms of leadership, structure and membership. The first record of it is an entry in its minute book recording its 'General half yearly Meeting held October 9, 1817' under the chairmanship of William Terry.⁶³ Terry (1781-1840) chaired almost every association meeting over the 23 years and was clearly the association's moving spirit. Unlike the founders of the Hammersmith associations, he was not a magistrate, or a member of the gentry or a professional man. He was a butcher with premises in Clapham Old Town and, judging by the extent of the estate left by his will, a successful businessman.⁶⁴ He was also in good standing with the Clapham Vestry. He served as a parish constable in 1819, was frequently awarded contracts to supply meat to the workhouse, and in October 1830 he was appointed to a vestry committee charged with drafting a petition to parliament requesting that Clapham be exempted from the 'operations' of the Metropolitan Police.⁶⁵

Terry's motives for founding an association are unknown, but its minute book suggests that in contrast to the other associations, it was intended to have a strong social dimension and to appeal to farmers and businessmen like Terry himself, rather than to householders. Possibly because Clapham was a small parish, membership was open to inhabitants of the neighbouring parishes of Battersea, Wandsworth and Brixton. In contrast to the other associations, the Terry association did not charge a joining fee or operate a prosecution fund. Instead, every member was liable to pay an equal share of rewards and prosecution costs upon the conviction of individual offenders, with payments and expenses incurred over the previous six months being recorded in the minutes of its bi-annual general meetings.⁶⁶ These were held alternately at the *Plough Inn* at Clapham and the *Red House* in Battersea, and members who were late or failed to appear were liable to a ten shilling fine.⁶⁷

The reward tariff set out in the association's minute book relates mainly to crimes likely to afflict owners of agricultural property and livestock, such as thefts from barns and outhouses, breaking hedges, the theft or maiming of farm animals and horses, and the stealing of agricultural implements and produce.⁶⁸ However, the association attracted a broader membership than suggested by this concentration on 'agricultural offences'. New members signed the minute book, and the minute of each meeting includes a list of attendees. The association's membership was much smaller than that of the

Hammersmith associations. Attendance at the bi-annual meetings varied from nine to 29 between 1817 and 1840 and tended to increase over the period, until falling off slightly in 1839/40.⁶⁹ Of the 79 individuals who put in appearances, 31 have been identified. All were involved in business, and they included a farmer, a market gardener, two fishmongers and several butchers, bakers and publicans. The building trades were also well represented: they included 'T&L Cubitt', a partnership between Thomas Cubitt, the developer of Belgravia and Pimlico, and his brother Lewis, operating between 1827 and 1831.⁷⁰ In 1825 Thomas had acquired 229 acres at Bleak Hall Farm for development into a residential estate known as Clapham Park, and from 1826 he lived in the parish.⁷¹ Thomas Cubitt had substantial business interests beyond Clapham and the fact that the 'Cubitt' name appears frequently in the lists of attendees at association meetings between 1828 and 1840, suggests that he may have regarded his membership as a worthwhile means of fostering relations with local tradesmen and artisans as well as deterring offences affecting his investment at Clapham Park.⁷²

The leadership of the Terry association differed fundamentally from that of the other three. Terry appears to have been in sole charge. There are no indications of a committee or elections and, as mentioned, he chaired almost all its meetings.⁷³ His conduct of affairs was clearly appreciated. The subscribers commissioned his portrait and presented it to him in October 1830, and in October 1839 he was presented with a silver snuff box. His central importance is underlined by the fact that the association met only once after he attended his last meeting in May 1840. He died in November that year.⁷⁴

The minutes show that, like the other associations, it issued handbills and posters offering rewards but did not advertise in newspapers. Unfortunately, the minutes do not record how many offenders were apprehended and taken to court; only successful prosecutions are noted. This makes it impossible to calculate its 'clear up' rate, but it obtained 28 convictions, meaning that at a minimum it took more than one case to court per annum, suggesting that the association was at least averagely successful.⁷⁵

There seems little doubt that Terry's departure was the immediate cause of the association's demise in 1840, although changes to the handling of prosecutions after 1830 may have been a contributing factor. The arrival of the 'New Police' in Clapham in 1830 was initially unpopular, but the association appears subsequently to have established good relations with individual policemen. A minute of 12 October 1837 mentions the payment of a £2 gratuity to John Ebling, a police constable, and later entries show payments of £3 rewards to individual policemen when convictions were obtained.⁷⁶ By 1837 it was becoming common for the police rather than the victim to act as prosecutor in the metropolis, and these payments may indicate that this process was under way in Clapham.⁷⁷ By 1840, therefore, members may have felt that the association had lost an important part of its *raison d'être*.

Its longevity, success with prosecutions and ability to attract and retain members meant that compared with the other three associations the Terry association was highly successful. The main contributors to that success seem to have been Terry's leadership, and the association's social aspect that brought together businessmen and tradesmen with common interests and concerns.

The Association of Clapham and its Vicinity for preventing Burglaries, Robberies and Felonies and for Prosecuting Offenders ('the Elliott association') was established in Clapham in February/May 1821. Its principal founder was an evangelical magistrate, Charles Elliott (1752-1832), who had earned a fortune and a royal appointment through his London cabinet-making business.⁷⁸ He was the son-in-law of the prominent

evangelical the Reverend Henry Venn and a member of the Clapham Sect, in which his brother-in-law John Venn, rector of Clapham from 1792 to 1813, was a central figure.⁷⁹

In 1787 William Wilberforce, a fellow member of the Clapham Sect, had founded the Proclamation Society, which campaigned for the moral reform of the country through the suppression of dissolute, disorderly or immoral activities, and advocated strict enforcement of the criminal law in respect of minor as well as serious offences.⁸⁰ Elliott's involvement in local affairs demonstrates his support for the Proclamation Society, and there is little doubt that he founded his association as part of his endeavours to implement its programme in Clapham. In addition to his position as a local magistrate, he was a trustee of the Clapham Watch from 1797 to about 1824, acted as its treasurer for several years, and frequently chaired its meetings.⁸¹ In July 1818, he was a member of a vestry committee appointed to prepare a plan to check 'the progress of Vice and Immorality, and [repress] those disorderly habits which have of late prevailed in this parish'. This recommended the appointment of an additional full-time constable, but the vestry rejected the proposal on the grounds of expense.⁸² In April-May 1821, Elliott chaired a further vestry committee that produced a job description for a 'Street Keeper', who was to be charged with suppression of criminality and the prevention of any 'Nuisance or Offences against good manners, such as public indecent bathing in the ponds'. The vestry also rejected this proposal.⁸³

In February 1821, shortly before his involvement in the 'Street Keeper' initiative, Elliott chaired a public meeting which approved the creation of a prosecution association in response to the 'increase of Burglaries, Robberies and Felonies in the parish'.⁸⁴ He chaired a further meeting in March, attended by 22 Clapham residents, to finalise the association's rules. The attendees complained of the inadequacy of the local night watch and patrols, and were concerned that the association's objectives might not be achieved unless these were strengthened and possessed sufficient local knowledge to identify those committing 'depredations'. The minute continues, 'it will almost invariably be found that such persons are not engaged in any regular employment ... and that all persons who have no ... means [of gaining a living] are fair objects of suspicion'.⁸⁵ This probably sums up Elliott's view of the moral state of the Clapham poor and the need for stricter enforcement of the law.

The rules of the association placed its management in the hands of a treasurer and committee, to be elected at the annual general meetings. Rewards were to be paid to those who assisted in apprehending offenders convicted of burglary or highway robbery (no doubt a concern of travellers between Clapham and London) or stealing from stables, outhouses, orchards, or gardens. Membership was to be open to anyone living within a two-mile radius of Holy Trinity Church in Clapham, which permitted inhabitants from parts of neighbouring parishes to subscribe. An entry fee of one guinea was payable, and members agreed to accept equal liability for the association's running costs as required from time to time. Further levies of seven shillings per member were agreed at annual general meetings in 1822 and 1824.⁸⁶ Unsurprisingly, given Elliott's evangelical views, there is no indication that the association organised subscriber dinners or other social gatherings.

The association was operative by early February 1822, with Elliott as treasurer. He was reappointed each year until at least 1825, around which time he retired to Brighton and the association's records end.⁸⁷ It was originally provided that the association should have a committee of six, but the number was doubled in 1823. The most active committee members, William Greaves, Henry Dobbs and John Hatchard, were professionals or, like Elliott, wealthy businessmen.⁸⁸ In January 1822 the association had a membership

of 67.⁸⁹ The original list of these members has not survived, but the minute of the 1824 annual general meeting names 67 subscribers.⁹⁰ Of these it has been possible to identify thirty, of whom at least twenty were gentry or clergy. The remainder include the parish clerk, three professionals, a firm of brewers, a few builders and a linen draper.⁹¹ Ten of those identified were, like Elliott, trustees of the Clapham Watch, while at least two, the Reverend William Dealtry and John Hatchard, were prominent evangelicals.⁹² The lack of tradesmen is apparent. While some may have preferred membership of the Terry association (although this stood at only nineteen in 1821 rising to 25 in 1824) it is possible that others were put off by the association's evangelical connections, or did not regard the joining fee as offering value for money.

Between May 1821 and October 1825, the association recorded five offences committed against its members: one burglary and four thefts from orchards and market gardens. Of these, three cases, all relating to thefts of fruit, resulted in summary convictions by magistrates.⁹³ The association therefore took an average of just under one case per annum to court and its clear up rate of three in five was better than that of the 1818 Hammersmith association.

The last surviving record of the Elliott association is a minute of its Annual General Meeting in October 1825.⁹⁴ This does not suggest that its demise was imminent. Although the association's membership had dropped from sixty-seven to sixty-three during the year, this was a result of deaths and members leaving the area, and the Minute records that sixty-six of sixty-seven members had paid the levy of seven shillings agreed in 1824. There is no suggestion that members were disappointed that only three summary convictions had been obtained in over four years, and it seems likely that the association continued after October 1825. However, given Elliott's withdrawal from his central role, how long it survived is questionable.

Conclusion

In some ways, these four associations were similar and unremarkable. Whatever their deterrent value, the handbills and posters they used to advertise rewards were not effective in securing the apprehension of offenders, and their 'clear up' and conviction records were (at best) modest. In other respects, such as the motives for their foundation, there were clear differences. The vestry founded the 1811 Hammersmith association in reaction to growing alarm about crime, while the 1818 association was founded through manipulation of the vestry by a group pursuing a policing initiative. Both Clapham associations were established by individuals, but while Terry sought to bring together local tradesmen and businessmen, Elliott was pursuing the moral reform of the parish.

The histories of the four associations suggest that two factors were of considerable importance in determining their fates. As voluntary associations, attracting and retaining members was essential. The Terry association achieved this through regular members meetings and by promoting socialising and networking between members. The Elliott association did not organise social events, but most of its members seem to have come from the same stratum of parish society, and evangelicalism and support for the Proclamation Society may have strengthened common bonds amongst them and with the association. In contrast, the 1811 association made no attempt to establish a continuing connection with members and that undoubtedly contributed to its failure. Effective management was likewise indispensable. Both Clapham associations had the benefit of committed leadership that kept their associations operating efficiently; and personal respect for Terry and Elliott probably helped to attract and retain members.

The failure of the 1811 Hammersmith association demonstrates the consequences of ineffective leadership. Despite the initial commitment of the leaders of 1818 Hammersmith association in 1818-1819 and in 1827, their 'policing' ambitions were unrealistic rendering their efforts ineffective.

Many Prosecution associations were ephemeral, but numerous records survive in local archives and reward investigation.⁹⁵ In addition to information on attitudes to local crime and the operation of local associations, such records may well provide insights into the motives of the vestries and the local personalities who founded the associations.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- For overviews of prosecution associations see: David Philips, 'Good Men to Associate and Bad Men to Conspire: Associations for the Prosecution of Felons in England 1760-1860' in Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder (eds) *Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750-1850* (Clarendon Press, 1989) 113-170; P.J.R. King, 'Prosecution Associations and their impact in eighteenth-century Essex' in *Policing and Prosecution*, 171-207; and Jim Sutton, 'Protecting privilege and property: Associations for the Prosecution of Felons', *The Local Historian* vol.34 no.2 (May 2004) 89-103.
- Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder, 'Using the Criminal Law, 1750-1850: Policing, Private Prosecution, and the State', in *Policing and Prosecution*, 21-27 and 40
- The Hammersmith and Clapham associations publicised rewards by posters and handbills only. In areas further from the Metropolis they were usually also advertised in local newspapers: see Philips, 138; John Styles, 'Print and Policing: crime advertising in eighteenth-century provincial England' in *Policing and Prosecution*, 68-72; King, 173 and 203-204
- Philips, 'Good men', 145-147
- Although referred to here as a 'parish', Hammersmith was formally a 'Hamlet' within the Parish of Fulham until 1834, but managed its affairs through an independent vestry
- GB Historical GIS/University of Portsmouth, Hammersmith Vest/Ch/CP through time | Statistics | (*A Vision of Britain through Time*)
- Philip D. Whiting (ed), *A History of Hammersmith based upon that of Thomas Faulkner in 1839* (Hammersmith Local History Group, 1965) 103
- Thomas Faulkner, *An Historical and Topographical Account of Fulham, Including the Hamlet of Hammersmith*, (J. Tilling, 1813; repr. Forgotten Books, [n.d.]) 394-401
- Elaine A Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies: the Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1720-1830* (MacMillan, 1998) 96; Hammersmith & Fulham Local Studies and Archives [HFLSA] PAF/1 Records of the First Vestry of the Parish of Fulham (to 1885) 28 October to 21 November 1810. The latter suggests that other local parishes were taking similar steps.
- HFLSA PAH/1 Records of the First Vestry of the Hamlet, later Parish, of Hammersmith (to 1885) 25 May 1811; for Radford's status as a magistrate see: 'Deaths', *The Gentleman's Magazine: and historical chronicle [GMag]* (April 1822) 379; for Girdler see The London Archives [TLA] St Paul Hammersmith: Queen Caroline Street, Hammersmith and Fulham P80/PAU/011 Minutes of Committee and General Meetings of Association for Prosecuting Thieves and Felons', 14 December 1811; for Bowling, see 'Robson's Members of the Royal College of Surgeons Residing within four miles of London 1820', available on *Ancestry.co.uk*; for Kennard see 'Hammersmith', Pigot's Directory of Middlesex 1826 *Ancestry*
- HFLSA PAH/1, 7 June 1811. Although there is no complete list of committee members, some committee minutes list the attendees.
- TLA P80/PAU/011 see Reward Tariff at front of the book (n.d.)
- TLA P80/PAU/011 'List of Subscribers to the Hammersmith Association, commenced in 1811', (n.d)
- About a quarter of the subscribers were identified by cross referencing Hammersmith parish registers, land tax records, jury lists, wills and Pigot's Directory of Hammersmith 1826; Faulkner, 338-401
- TLA P80/PAU/011 29 October and 4 November 1811
- For Hanson's status as a magistrate see: TLA P80/PAU/011 18 December 1811
- TLA P80/PAU/011 12, 14, 18 Dec 1811 and 6 Jan 1812
- 'An address to the Grand Jury, at the opening of the General Session', *GMag* January 1812, 85-86
- See 'Middlesex Sessions' *Times* 3 December 1811, 3
- See e.g. 'Horrid and Unparalleled Murders!' *Morning Chronicle*, 9 December 1811, 3
- Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies*, 95-97
- TLA P80/PAU/011 31 December 1813 and August (n.d.) 1814
- TLA P80/PAU/011 18 August 1814
- TLA P80/PAU/011 8 September 1814
- TLA P80/PAU/011 28 April 1818
- TLA P80/PAU/011 26 April 1815-9 December 1816, 31 July 1816, 28 April 1818
- There is no note of the offence being reported, presumably because the offender was swiftly apprehended; for the trial see R. v *Holloway* (1816) t.18160529-72, www.oldbaileyonline.org

- 28 HFLSA PAH/1 27 April 1818
- 29 For the role of local magistrates in law enforcement see Hay and Snyder, 16-17. One explanation for the magistrates' neglect of the association may have been their pursuit of private business interests. Radford was an apothecary: see 'Poll Book for City of London 1796' in *UK Poll Books and Electoral Registers 1538-1893 (Ancestry)* and 'Deaths', *GMag* (April 1822) 379. John Hanson operated an ironmongery and braziers business in Bruton Street: see 'London, England, City Directories 1801 & 1815' (*Ancestry*). It is not clear whether John Girdler had business interests but Harry Stoe, another magistrate committee member, was the secretary of the South Sea Company: see 'Marriages and Deaths of Remarkable Persons', *GMag* (September 1807) 887.
- 30 HFLSA PAH/1 27 April 1818
- 31 For George Pring see Whiting, 245 and, 'Deaths - London and its Environs', *GMag* (November 1824) 476; for William Bird see 'Hammersmith', Pigot's Directory of Middlesex 1826 (*Ancestry*)
- 32 TLA P80/PAU/011 12 December 1811; Reynolds, 16-19 and 44; Hammersmith vestry minutes do not mention the possibility of obtaining a Local Act until 1827, when the vestry ignored two proposals to do so and attention was drawn to the unlawfulness of proceeding without one: HFALS PAH/1 28 March, 21 October and 1 November 1827.
- 33 TLA P80/PAU/011, 18 August 1814, 27 November to 4 December 1816 (these vestry committee minutes appear at the back of the Association's minute book)
- 34 TLA P80/PAU/011, 1 and 4 December 1816
- 35 HFALS PAH/1 27 April 1818
- 36 *ibid.*
- 37 TLA P80/PAU/011 General Committee 1818 (n.d.).
- 38 Kennard had been a member of the committee of the 1811 association: TLA P80/PAU/011 4 November 1811 and 31 July 1816
- 39 TLA P80/PAU/011 29 April 1818
- 40 TLA P80/PAU/011 6 and 13 May 1818
- 41 TLA P80/PAU/011 20 May 1818
- 42 TLA P80/PAU/011 13 May and 9 September 1818, 21 January 1819
- 43 TLA P80/PAU/011 12 April and 18 June 1824
- 44 TLA P80/PAU/011 9 September 1818
- 45 TLA P80/PAU/011 13 and 27 May, 3 June and 25 November 1818,
- 46 TLA P80/PAU/011 20 and 27 May 1818; for the trial see *R. v Parker* (1818) t.18180506-137 www.oldbaileyonline.org
- 47 TLA P80/PAU/011 7 May 1819; 'Queen Square', *General Evening Post*, 1 May 1819, 2 and 11 May 1819, 2
- 48 HFALS PAH/1 6 March 1827
- 49 TLA P80/PAU/011 9 and 19 March and 6 to 14 April 1827
- 50 TLA P80/PAU/011 'A List of Subscribers to the Hammersmith Association for the Prosecution of Thieves and Felons, Commencing 9 March 1827'
- 51 TLA P80/PAU/011 15 - 29 June 1827
- 52 HFALS PAH/1 21 June 1827
- 53 TLA P80/PAU/011 2, 6, and 14 April 1827
- 54 For the trial see *R v Haines and Backstay* (1827) t.18270531-69 www.oldbaileyonline.org
- 55 TLA P80/PAU/011 'Treasurer's account', 29 June 1827
- 56 Philips, 143-145 and Appendix 3, 167-169
- 57 Gillian Clegg, *Clapham Past* (Historical Publications, 1998) 42-49
- 58 'Clapham (Surrey)', Pigot's *Directory of Middlesex* 1826, 414; 'Clapham' Pigot's *Directory of Surrey* 1839, 598 (*Ancestry*)
- 59 'Clapham Surrey', *Vision of Britain*
- 60 Schedule to Metropolitan Police Act 1829 c.44; Reynolds, 77-78
- 61 House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1822 (440) *Select Committee Report on State of Police of Metropolis, Appendix 4*, 135
- 62 TLA P95/TR11/047 Holy Trinity Clapham, Minutes of the Clapham Association for Prosecution of Felons ('Terry Mins.') 9 October 1817 and 7 May 1818
- 63 'Clapham (Surrey)', Pigot's *Directory of Middlesex* 1826, 415; Will of William Terry of Clapham, 29 August 1840, 'England and Wales, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, 1384-1858' (*Ancestry*)
- 64 TLA P95/TR11/008 Holy Trinity Clapham vestry minutes Book 8 (Constable) 13 April 1819, (meat contracts) e.g. 22 September 1820 and 22 September 1823 (petition committee) 21 October 1830
- 65 TLA P95/TR11/047 Terry Minutes: see 'Rewards' section at front of minute book and minutes 1819-1840
- 66 TLA P95/TR11/047 'General Half Yearly Meeting held Oct. 9, 1817'. A note (of uncertain authorship and date) next to this minute reads, 'and many a convivial evening they spent with the fines'. The research of Philips and King shows that subscriber dinners were often a feature of English associations, and Philips considers that they may have been important to the survival of some (Philips, 137 and King, 204-205)
- 67 See TLA P95/TR11/047 'Rewards'
- 68 *ibid.*, 9 October 1817-8 October 1840.
- 69 Information about members was obtained from the minute book and via *Ancestry*, through a cross-referencing exercise similar to that mentioned at endnote 14; Hermione Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubbitt Master Builder* (Management Books 2000 Ltd, 1995) 95-99
- 70 *ibid.*, 235-259
- 71 See TLA P95/TR11/047 9 May 1833. Two men were convicted of damaging Cubitt's fences.
- 72 TLA P95/TR11/047 9 October 1817-8 October 1840
- 73 TLA P95/TR11/047 14 October 1830, 10 October 1839 and 8 October 1840; Clapham parish register of burials 17 November 1840 (*Ancestry*)
- 74 See endnote 56
- 75 TLA P95/TR11/047 12 October 1837-14 May 1840

- 76 Hay and Snyder, 'Using the criminal law', 40
- 77 'Elliott, Charles', in 'Dictionary of English Furniture Makers', *British History Online* (n.d.) (The suggestion that he retired to Brighton as early as 1820 is incorrect); Surrey History Centre QS 1/3/1, Manuscript List of Justices 1808-1819
- 78 Leonard W. Cowie, 'Venn, Henry (1725-1797)', ODNB; William Hague, *William Wilberforce: the life of the great anti-slave trade campaigner* (Harper Collins, 2007) 217-219
- 79 Hague, 104-111
- 80 Lambeth Archives P/C/12, Minutes of the Trustees of the Clapham Watch 1786-1802 and P/C/14 1802-1829
- 81 TLA P95/TRI1/008 7 July and 14 July 1818; TLA P95/TRI1/140 Minute book of the committees of vestry 10 July 1818
- 82 TLA P95/TRI1/008 8, 24 April, 8 May and 30 July 1821
- 83 TLA P95/TRI1/140 21 February 1821
- 84 TLA P95/TRI1/140 7 March 1821
- 85 TLA P95/TRI1/140 6 April 1821, 6 Feb 1822 and 23 August 1824
- 86 The date of this move was c.1826 when he purchased the Chapel of St Mary in Brighton (see 77 above). His name does not appear among those magistrates thanked by the Clapham Vestry for their services in 1826/27: TLA P95/TRI1/008 8, 17 April 1827
- 87 TLA P95/TRI1/140 3 March 1823
- 88 Greaves was a schoolmaster: see will dated 18 May 1842, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (*Ancestry*); Dobbs occupied a substantial house in Clapham until 1835, see auction advertisement, *Morning Herald*, 14 October 1835, 5 and probably owned a stationer's business in Fleet Street: see will 13 December 1841, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (*Ancestry*), Hatchard was a successful publisher and bookseller: Mark Pottle, 'Hatchard, John (1768-1849)', ODNB
- 89 TLA P95/TRI1/140 6 February 1822
- 90 TLA P95/TRI1/140 23 August 1824
- 91 Information about members was obtained by a cross-referencing exercise similar to that mentioned at footnote 14. All information was obtained via *Ancestry*
- 92 See Lambeth Archives P/C/14 1815- 1823; M.C. Curthoys, Dealtry, William (1775-1847)', ODNB; for Hatchard see endnote 88
- 93 TLA P95/TRI1/140 18 November 1822, 7 August 1823 and 23 August 1824. The latter minute states that the case was heard at Union Hall police office
- 94 TLA P95/TRI1/140 21 October 1825
- 95 Philips, Appendix One, 152-160, lists over 180 associations; Sutton p.89 records that he identified 262 associations in Lancashire, Cheshire and Staffordshire alone.

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A private school in wartime: Harrogate College at Swinton, Wensleydale, Yorkshire

PAUL JENNINGS

In the 1930s it was assumed that a new war would bring immediate, massive assault from the air. The first, terrible blow was anticipated to kill 600,000 people in Britain and injure twice that number. In fact, the British death toll from air raids through the whole war was a tenth of that figure. At the time, however, from September 1935, with Hitler's Germany now in mind, the government began preparations. Of these, the mass evacuation of children from the vulnerable cities to safer areas is well-known. Less often noticed is the equally dramatic and, in the event more lasting, requisitioning of buildings for military and governmental use. Some 2000 state elementary and secondary schools were taken over wholly or in part, mostly by the Civil Defence services, including two-thirds of all those in London and six out of ten in Manchester. Alongside this was the removal of government departments to safer locations. Under plan 'Yellow', as many as 25,000 civil servants were to be relocated.¹ For this purpose the large hotels of inland and seaside resorts were ideal. As a nationally and internationally renowned spa, Harrogate was an obvious choice. In addition, like many resorts, it was a congenial location for private schools, whose buildings offered further suitable premises. This article examines the experience of one such private school, Harrogate College, caught up in those wartime upheavals when it was relocated to Swinton Castle in Wensleydale, Yorkshire.² While for the majority of children, evacuation was a short-lived experience,³ private schools like Harrogate College gave up their buildings for the duration.

This study has used a variety of sources. First-hand testimony from a teacher is provided by science mistress Dorothy Hewlett in her published history of the school, while the memories of girls were used by one of them, Elizabeth Sharp, in a short study devoted to the war years.⁴ The school magazine was a particularly rich source. Most private schools had one, both to provide a record of the life of the school and to create a sense of a school community, embracing pupils present and past, staff and parents. They provide a huge amount of evidence of the life of a private school, from exam results, sports, the activities of clubs and societies, the later lives and careers of the girls, and in their reporting of speeches and the deliberations of the debating society, for example, have much to tell us about the ethos of these schools.⁵ A further source was the estate papers of Swinton, which contain in particular the legal agreements governing the school's occupation of the house and documentation, including inventories of contents and listings of damage arising from their stay, and day-to-day notes relating to routine maintenance.⁶ Finally, at the beginning of the school's occupation of Swinton, in December 1939, *The Illustrated London News* ran a photographic profile.⁷

I begin with a brief history of the school, go on to look at the particular circumstances of the relocation to Swinton and then examine aspects of life there until the return to Harrogate in 1946, by which time not one girl had experience of the old building. I conclude with some reflections on class and the People's War.



1 Harrogate Ladies' College, 1904

The school was founded in 1893 as an offshoot of a boys' school, Harrogate College, by headmaster George Savery in response to parental demand for education for their daughters. It was known at its inception as Harrogate Ladies' College—a common description for such schools, which indicates clearly the class of girl for whom they were intended. As a surviving admission register shows, the Ladies' College catered for the daughters of the industrial, commercial and professional middle classes, primarily from the north of England.⁸ Its first home was in the Junior Department of the College, further along Ripon Road from the main school, then in temporary premises, before a purpose-built school was completed in 1904 in Clarence Drive on land to the rear of the boys' school (fig.1) This was in a developing area of superior middle-class housing known as the Duchy Estate, after the Duchy of Lancaster on whose land it was built. Savery died shortly thereafter and the boys' school closed, whereupon the girls' school was renamed Harrogate College, the name which it retained until a much later reversion to Harrogate Ladies' College.⁹ The girls' school prospered under the headship of Elizabeth Jones from 1898, with additional buildings and a separate Junior Department at Oakdale Manor, a mansion on that same Duchy Estate, quickly becoming the largest and most academically prestigious of the girls' private schools in the town. The one hundred or so pupils of 1911 had trebled by the eve of the Second World War.¹⁰

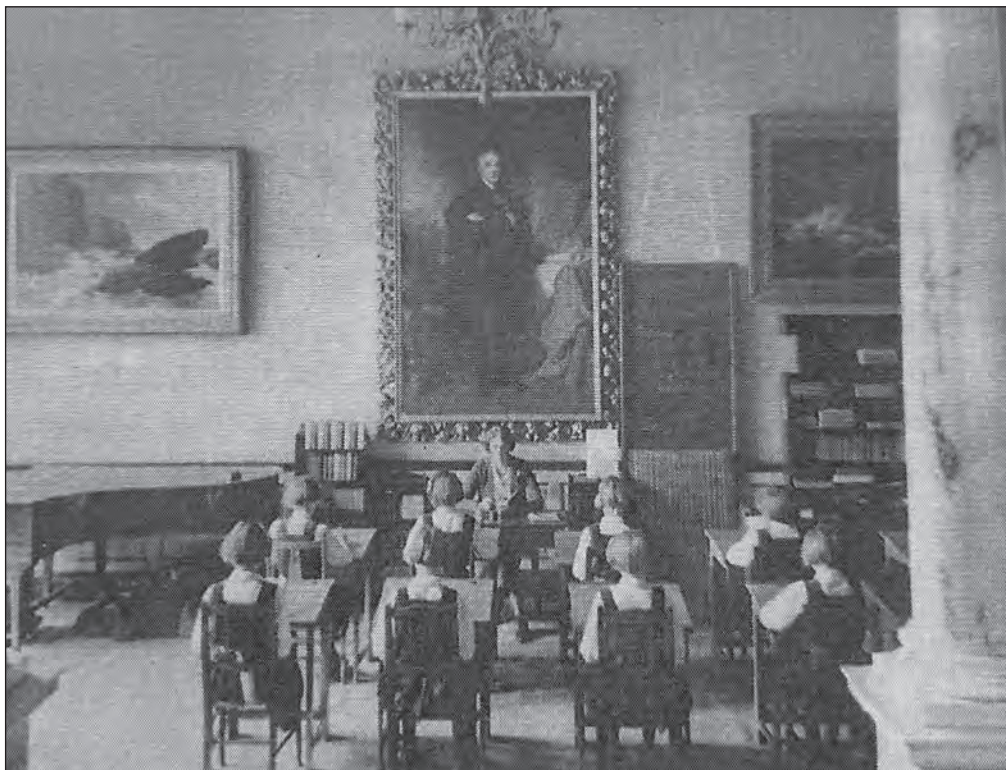
With over one hundred rooms, as recorded in the 1911 census, the school building was eminently suitable for the government's purposes. This was in addition to the extensive use of Harrogate hotels. The Crown, Harlow Manor, Old Swan and Prospect Hotels were occupied by the Air Ministry; the Cairn Hydro, Granby, Prince of Wales, St George, Southlands (in the building which had formerly been Harrogate College) and Stray Hotels by the Post Office; the Grand and Queen Hotels by the Empire Pilots Receiving Scheme; and with other branches of government in smaller premises. The town's biggest hotel, the Majestic, became Personnel Reception Centre

No. 7.¹¹ Of the private schools, in addition to the College, Ashville College, a boy's school, was relocated to the Hydro Hotel overlooking Windermere to make way for the Women's Auxiliary Air Force; another boys' school, Pannal Ash College, moved to Newburgh Priory, near Byland Abbey to make way for the RAF; and a third, Oatlands Preparatory, was relocated to Goldsborough Hall in the countryside near Knaresborough. Another girls' school, Queen Ethelburga's, was evacuated to Studley Royal, near Ripon.¹² In the same way, Harrogate College was told that in the event of war it was to be requisitioned for the use of a section of the Air Ministry. The minister responsible was Viscount Swinton and he offered the College the use of his home, Swinton, for their use. This was presumably a better alternative to its being given over to occupation by the services. The house, together with an estate of some 23,000 acres in Wensleydale and including historic Jervaulx Abbey, had been purchased in 1888 by Samuel Cunliffe-Lister. He had made a fortune from his gigantic silk mill at Bradford, which in the following year was converted into a public company with a capital of just under £2 million, and on his elevation to the peerage in 1891 took the title of Baron Masham after the village some two miles from Swinton. He died at Swinton in 1906.¹³ The Viscount had married Samuel's granddaughter (fig.2).



2 Swinton Castle, photographed 2025 (*Paul Jennings*)

Preparations for the move had already begun when the lease was signed, in October 1939, between Lady Swinton and Harrogate College Ltd, whose registered office was in Horseferry House, Westminster, 'in view of the present state of national emergency'. The College paid a peppercorn rent but was required to cover the cost of any necessary alterations, ongoing maintenance, damage done during its stay, electricity and water supplies from Swinton's own power plant (later supplemented by the National Grid) and waterworks, and a contribution towards the cost of the Swinton Estate Office. The School was accommodated in the main section of the house, while Lady Swinton occupied rooms in the West Wing, her husband's ministerial duties requiring



4 Classroom under the gaze of the Duke of Wellington by Sir Thomas Lawrence



him to remain in London.¹⁴ Preparations included covering the floors with linoleum, as the headmistress Miss Rhoda Jacob (*see portrait on front cover*) put it in her first report from Swinton in the school magazine, 'to protect them from the onslaught of vigorous young feet' and providing extra support for the main staircase after it shivered 'visibly and alarmingly as that same youthful company pranced down in high spirits' (fig.3). The main reception rooms became classrooms, where lessons were taught in the company of works of art by the likes of Canaletto, Gainsborough, Romney and Sir Thomas Lawrence (fig.4).

3 Girls descending staircase at Swinton

Outbuildings were converted into arts and crafts and cookery rooms, and a garage became a chemistry laboratory. While there was not sufficient space for the usual common rooms, the long ground floor corridor was arranged with chairs, settees and occasional tables, as Jacob put it, 'so as to provide accommodation for small groups of letter-writers, solitary readers, or animated conversationalists'. Two upstairs corridors were made into dormitories (fig.5).¹⁵ Each girl shared a small wardrobe but had her own dressing table.¹⁶ The stables were converted to accommodate additional baths and showers to those in the main house, retaining the old, flagged floors. Each girl was allotted two baths, no more than five inches deep following government regulations, and a shower each week. A covered way was erected from the back entrance of the main house to the stable block to offer some shelter to girls making their way in cloak and dressing gown with sponge bag and towel. One girl once encountered a deer on the way, which gave her a start.¹⁷



5 Classroom under the gaze of the Duke of Wellington by Sir Thomas Lawrence

School dinners were eaten either in the magnificent dining room or the former servants' hall and, despite or perhaps because of rationing, good, healthy, if rather dull meals were served, but including local rabbits and occasionally venison. Usually, breakfast consisted of porridge and then a cooked dish with either a small rasher of bacon or scrambled eggs or butter beans on toast, followed by more toast. There was a mid-morning snack of a freshly baked currant bun and lunch was usually stew with fresh vegetables and baked potatoes, occasionally sausages or mince but rarely fish, and a pudding. There was afternoon tea of bread and cake, which could be sent from home. Supper was baked beans on toast or a cheese dish or similar. Sunday supper was regarded as the 'most abysmal meal', usually cold brawn, known as 'rubber' or,

as one teacher suggested, 'dead donkey', with beetroot and bread. As befitted a school of its kind, the proprieties were observed, with napkins and admonitions to eat soup in the correct way, from the side of the spoon with the plate turned away, and to peel the occasional orange with a knife and fork rather than digging into it with a thumb.¹⁸

Staff were at first accommodated in Masham, including at the *King's Head*, where one teacher, Miss Williams, was fined for contravening blackout regulations when she was observed standing on her bed practising conducting for a forthcoming concert. They walked or cycled the two miles to Swinton.¹⁹ Thereafter they were accommodated at the house.

When war broke out, Miss Jacob and a group of girls and staff were actually in Canada, the cricket team, along with those from two other girls' schools, having gone there in August for an exhibition tour, the game not being played by girls and women there other than university students. Nevertheless, an exhibition match at McGill University in Montreal attracted 1000 spectators in temperatures of nearly 90 degrees in the shade. The tour was completed and after some delay the party sailed back to England in October, in convoy as a precaution against the threat of U-boat attack, and docked on the 28th after 'an uneventful and very pleasant journey'.²⁰

The school moved to Swinton in mid-October; the Junior School at Oakdale remained in Harrogate. At that point, the parents of 44 girls removed them but the great majority opted to allow their daughters to make the move to Swinton. The end of the so-called phoney war in the spring of 1940 and, as Jacob put it, 'the threatened onslaught on our own territory', revived the question of evacuation overseas. Jacob was strongly against this, perhaps with an eye to the school's future, but as she expressed it to parents, the need for the 'coming generation to acquire the necessary moral fibre to ensure the country's survival required them to face up to problems and dangers and 'personal discomforts or inconvenience'. In the event, at the end of term, only six girls had left to go overseas and a further 25 had gone home early, leaving 254 who, according to Jacob, stayed 'to set an example of quiet confidence and respect for the wishes of the Government'.²¹ Girls were able to go home for the holidays, although if that were not possible they could remain at Swinton. Miss Jacob travelled weekly to the Junior School in Harrogate, as it was deemed an essential journey, for which petrol was allowed. As the war went on, some parents were able to save sufficient petrol to visit.²²

As far as possible in the circumstances, school life continued as before. Lessons were taught and exams were sat, university and college places gained. In 1941, for example, in addition to the school's exams, girls took the Higher School Certificate and School Certificate exams, as well as those of the National Council for Domestic Studies, the Associated Board of the Royal School of Music and the St. John Ambulance Society. The progress of girls who had gone to university was recorded, including degrees for Catherine Jenkins in Economics at Girton, Vivian Tunbridge and Jean Asquith in Mathematics and Economics and Social Science respectively at Somerville and through the Society of Home Students, Aileen Dickins at University College Hospital, London and Joan Jackson at Royal Holloway in French, German and History, Marguerite Annett at Durham and Elspeth Macfarlane and Lorna Macleod at St. Andrews.²³

Sport was important. Miss Jacob had been a hockey blue at Cambridge and now had several front teeth knocked out in a match between staff and pupils. The inter-house, inter-form and individual trophies continued to be awarded, as recorded in the school magazine. There were netball, rounders, tennis, riding, gymnastics, lacrosse, although there was trouble obtaining the 'gear', and cricket. Cricket matches were played between girls and estate workers and a team of Masham 'boys', although it was

noted that some of them actually looked about twenty. Occasionally it was possible to hire transport to continue games against other schools, like Queen Ethelburga's at Studley Royal. Cycling was popular and swimming in a nearby reservoir, despite the cold. Harsh winters meant that skating was possible on the Home Lake; tobogganing was apparently not permitted but girls enjoyed it anyway using sheets of aluminium purloined from roadside ammunition dumps, according to one girl, Jane Taylor. More usual were long walks in the beautiful Wensleydale countryside.²⁴

A wide range of music, entertainment, and interest groups also flourished. Piano practice rooms were in the dog kennels but for lessons bedrooms in the main house were used. There was panic on one occasion when the piano tuner arrived, and some girls had hidden contraband food behind a panel in one for a midnight feast; fortunately for them the tuner did not get to that particular piano that day. There were concerts, like the one of Mozart in June 1941 as Germany prepared to attack the Soviet Union, by the senior pupils, preceded by a paper on his life and work. A musical highlight was the carol service, held in the well of the west staircase, the focal point being the tree from the estate decorated with fairy lights. There were guest speakers, like Monsieur Inébnit on Rousseau or a Mr Beard on 'The coal miner and his life'. Plays were produced and performed, such as the history plays by the fourth form and Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, both in 1941. The school cinema included screenings of films like *The Lady Vanishes* and *The Return of the Scarlet Pimpernel*. There were history expeditions to places like Middleham, Fountains Abbey and Bedale; the Literary and Debating Society held debates and readings, in 1942, for example, events included a paper on 'Music in Poetry' and readings illustrating the theme of 'The Sea in Poetry'.²⁵

Alongside those lofty pursuits, Jacob had to deal with endless day-to-day problems, as evidenced by the pile of her notes to Mr Bradford, Lady Swinton's agent. An early one in October 1939 described the 'Complete chaos when they have assemblies, because the windows in the lower lounge do not open at the top – girls are fainting like flies, soon the women will be passing out ... something must be done'. More routine were sinks and baths stopped up, toilet roll holders needing to be fixed and blackboards to be painted.²⁶

The girls' health was a key concern; it was one of the reasons why private schools were established in resorts like Harrogate in the first place. A health certificate was enclosed with the termly report to parents, which had to be completed and returned, confirming that the girl had not been in contact with anyone with an infectious disease, nor indeed in any public space, like a cinema, where such contact might have occurred, although the latter restriction was widely ignored. There were occasional epidemics, however, including measles in spring 1945, which reduced the school population to sixty. Matron held a surgery every morning, including checking for nits and monitoring the girls' menstrual cycle. The Old Vicarage in Masham was rented for use as a sanatorium. Matron was also responsible for laundry. Only one blouse and one change of underwear could be sent each week, while pyjamas had to last three weeks between washes. Clothing was inspected and, where necessary, had to be mended. Hair was washed every three weeks and, if reaching the collar, was to be tied back.²⁷

Despite this continuation of school life, inevitably the war was always present. An air raid shelter was constructed in the ha-ha between the park and the garden and girls had to huddle there when the siren sounded. As the threat of air attack receded, any siren led instead to them sitting in the Long Corridor. Identity cards and ration books were issued and secrecy enjoined on the girls: never to mention in letters home, for example, any visit from Lord Swinton. Gas masks were at first carried everywhere.²⁸

The girls also heard talks on the progress of the war, like that of former pupil Adza Hodgkins on 'The Far Eastern War Zone', and from serving members of the forces, including Captain Tilg  of the Free French.²⁹

Girls and members of staff had fathers and brothers serving, some of whom were killed or taken prisoner. The Swintons' elder son died after being severely wounded and their younger son was reported missing after an air raid, but later reported to be a prisoner of war. A number of girls had relatives still in Germany and other occupied countries, including some Jewish girls whose parents had sought refuge in England in 1938 or 1939.³⁰ The girls undertook a variety of work in support of the war effort through the Victory Service Clubs, formed from 1941, including making camouflage netting, gardening (lifting potatoes, hoeing and weeding), knitting for the troops as well as cot blankets and clothing for 'bombed babies' and refugees from Guernsey, and collecting salvage.³¹ Due to the call-up of domestic staff, girls performed tasks like laying and clearing the tables at mealtimes, mending their clothes, making jams and, as Jacob put it, that 'noisy occupation known as "hoovering"' and, before changing in the evenings, removing and folding their own counterpanes.³²

Many old girls were actively involved in the war effort. In 1941, for example, of the 90 members of the Harrogate branch of the College Union, Brenda Wales was a telephonist in the W.R.N.S. in Northern Ireland, while Peggy Ferguson drove a mobile canteen to isolated camps and searchlight stations around Scarborough. The world-wide nature of the war consequent upon Britain's Empire, led to some old girls having grim experiences. Jenny Salmond, of the Edinburgh and North of Scotland Branch, and her sons were sailing to India to be with her husband when their ship was torpedoed and sunk only a couple of days out; they were rescued but lost all their belongings. Several old girls spent the war in Japanese internment camps, while others had to live under German occupation. There were fatalities: Janet Wates, at the school between 1913 and 1916, was honorary secretary of the North Leicestershire Battalion of the Home Guard and was killed in an air raid on Leicester in 1940.³³

Once the immediate threat of invasion had receded by 1941 and, especially from late 1942 and early 1943 after the German disaster at Stalingrad, it was clear that the war was going to be won. The Victory Service Clubs from 1941 had already included senior and junior discussion groups on subjects such as town planning, economic and international reconstruction, colonial development, parliamentary reform and post-war education. Now a Post-War Reconstruction Group was set up in the sixth form and met fortnightly to discuss issues such as democracy, fascism and communism, international relationships with America, whether there should be a new League of Nations and, on the domestic front, the future position of women and the introduction of a state medical service.³⁴ A mock election in March of 1945 produced a comfortable victory for the Conservatives.³⁵

The war's end did not bring an immediate return to Harrogate, which was delayed until 1946 for the start of a new school year due to the need to prepare the premises. The College very much bore the marks of its wartime service, 'dereliction and dirt' having greeted Jacob on a visit, while the playground was 'cracked and fissured' from being used as a coal dump and a car and lorry park.³⁶ Conversely, the College had to foot the bill for repairs arising from their occupation of Swinton, in total  4157 18s 7d (well over  200,000 in 2025). The list runs to sixty pages, from minor items like fixing squares of glass or repairing and cleaning curtains to the more substantial two long mahogany shelves missing from the library.³⁷

The first Speech Day since hostilities began was held at the College on 26 July 1947. None of the returning girls had ever known the Harrogate school. Lord Swinton attended to present the prizes and trophies. In his speech he paid tribute to the morale and discipline of the girls, saying: 'You maintained an extraordinarily high standard of behaviour in our home, and adding: 'You never threw darts at my ancestors!' For her part, Miss Jacob noted the seven years that the school had spent at Swinton, finding there 'a sanctuary amid the danger and anxiety of war and a home of great beauty and happiness.' In a lengthy address, she praised the staff for their 'ungrudging devotion to duty ... their good humour and their readiness for unaccustomed tasks', like moving furniture. Having quoted Viscount Montgomery on the importance of a nation's character, she went on to lament the 'terrible decline in moral standards', and how Influence and Discipline had become unfashionable; it was the duty of adults to beware 'cheap, passing popularity' but rather insist on nothing less than 'the highest and the best'. The College did not aim to turn every girl into a 'brilliant scholar' but that all should learn the 'main essentials'—the 'great Ideals' of honour, service, kindness, courtesy, true humility and strength of purpose. The College was granted the Freedom of Swinton, the whole school, however, it was stressed, not just any individual dropping in, and thereafter school 'holidays' were enjoyed there. Lady Swinton became a school governor.³⁸ Finally, staff and girls commissioned a painting to commemorate their seven years of school life at Swinton during the occupation of the College buildings by HM Government, by John A. A. Berrie, who lived in Harrogate and is better known for his portraits, including of Churchill; it still hangs in the College reception.

As Miss Jacob said, the school's wartime home was one of great beauty, as anyone who visits will see; it became a country hotel in 2001, still owned by the Cunliffe-Lister family. In 1946, upper-sixth girl Barbara Pickworth wrote a poem eulogising the wartime years.³⁹ It begins:

We shall recall the grey east-looking Tower,
 The Stable clock with golden single hand
 And continues with lines like:
 The greeting of the sunshine as we wake.
 We shall remember long hot afternoons ...
 The peaceful grounds through which we love to stroll ...
 The skating on the Home Lake, when the days
 Were crystal clear with skies translucent blue ...
 We shall remember you when we are gone ...

As historians of the war have pointed out, in many ways the class differences of the inter-war years persisted. Angus Calder noted in his classic study *The People's War*, that at its outbreak about two million people privately evacuated themselves 'to Wales, Devon, Scotland and other quiet spots'; five thousand left Southampton for America in forty-eight hours. As Calder put it, 'In the hills of the west and north, rich ladies settled down to a quiet war'. Of one boys' public school, Eton, he quoted one visitor in April 1940 that 'the principal sign of change is that the boys go into school bare-headed so that they may repair to the dug-outs without a preliminary fight over their top hats'. Throughout the conflict there were reported instances of the good life continuing for some, as by novelist and journalist J. L. Hodson of hotel life in Torquay, with evening clothes and dancing every night and plentiful good food, despite rationing.⁴⁰ As A.J.P. Taylor also noted, citing the official historian of social policy in wartime, Richard Titmuss: 'The wealthier classes ... evaded their responsibilities throughout the war'.⁴¹

In many ways, the girls of Harrogate College continued to enjoy the relatively privileged existence of their class, as I have shown, safe in a beautiful, tranquil, rural setting. But, as I have also illustrated, their wartime experience did serve to broaden their outlook, as they were obliged to perform domestic duties and do without their accepted conveniences of such as regular baths, frequent changes of clothes and plentiful meals. Just as the evacuation of poor city children to middle-class suburbs and villages had exposed their inhabitants to lives with which they were not familiar, so the girls learned something of the hard work of servants and the more basic lives of the great majority of the population.⁴² And, as I have also sought to make clear, despite class difference, which was real, all in the end shared a common humanity which experienced constant anxiety for loved ones and sometimes the pain of loss.

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I should like to thank Harrogate Ladies' College for permission to examine records held at the school and for hospitality during my visits for research; North Yorkshire Archives for alerting me to the details of the Swinton estate papers; and Mark Cunliffe-Lister for pointing out the existence of those papers and the member of his staff at Swinton Castle who gave myself and my wife a guided tour. I also thank the College for permission to reproduce the photograph of the school and the portrait of Miss Jacob. The photographs of the school at Swinton are from *The Illustrated London News* of 2 December 1939.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 A. Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939-1945* (Pimlico, 1992, first pub. 1969) 21-22, 35 and 49
- 2 Swinton is variously named as Swinton, Swinton Castle, Swinton House or Swinton Park. I have generally usually used simply Swinton as this is how the school usually referred to it.
- 3 Calder, *People's War*, 45-47
- 4 D. Hewlett, *Harrogate College, 1893-1973* (Harrogate College, 1973) and E. Sharp, *The Swinton Years: Harrogate College, 1939-1946* (Harrogate College Union, 2015)
- 5 *The Chronicle of the Harrogate College (CHG)*, vols.46-57 (1938-1949)
- 6 North Yorkshire Archives (NYA) ZS Swinton Papers
- 7 *The Illustrated London News*, 2 December 1939
- 8 Harrogate Ladies' College, Admission Register,
- 9 In September 2026 the school again changed its name, to Duchy College, Harrogate as it moved towards co-education.
- 10 For the early history see Hewlett, *Harrogate College*, 11-54
- 11 M. Neesam, *History & Guide Harrogate: A History of the English Spa from earliest times to the present* (Tempus, 2001) 90-91
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- 14 NYA ZS 161/2/2 Lease dated 17 October 1939
- 15 Viscountess Swinton to Harrogate College
- 15 *CHG* vol.47 (1939) 3-4
- 16 Sharp, *Swinton Years*, 24
- 17 *ibid.*, 21-22
- 18 *ibid.*, 39-45
- 19 Hewlett, *Harrogate College*, 61
- 20 *CHG* vol.47 (1939) 29-32 and 47-49
- 21 *ibid.* vol.48 (1940) 37-39
- 22 Hewlett, *Harrogate College*, 61 and 66+
- 23 *CHG* vol.49 (41) 29-33
- 24 Sharp, *Swinton Years*, 59-65
- 25 *ibid.*, 67-71; for 1941 and 1942 specifically see *CHG* vol.48, 4 and 13-18 and vol.50, 3-4, but they are detailed in all the magazines.
- 26 NYA ZS 162/1 Vouchers relating to Harrogate College
- 27 Sharp, *Swinton Years*, 35-38. Sharp speculates whether the period check was for a pregnancy, but this seems unlikely; from experience, my wife suggests that it was done to expose girls using it as an excuse to avoid games.
- 28 *ibid.*, 11-12
- 29 *CHG* vol.50 (1942) 3
- 30 Sharp, *Swinton Years*, 11-13; *CHG* vol.51 (1943) 2
- 31 *ibid.*, vol.49 (1941) 22-24

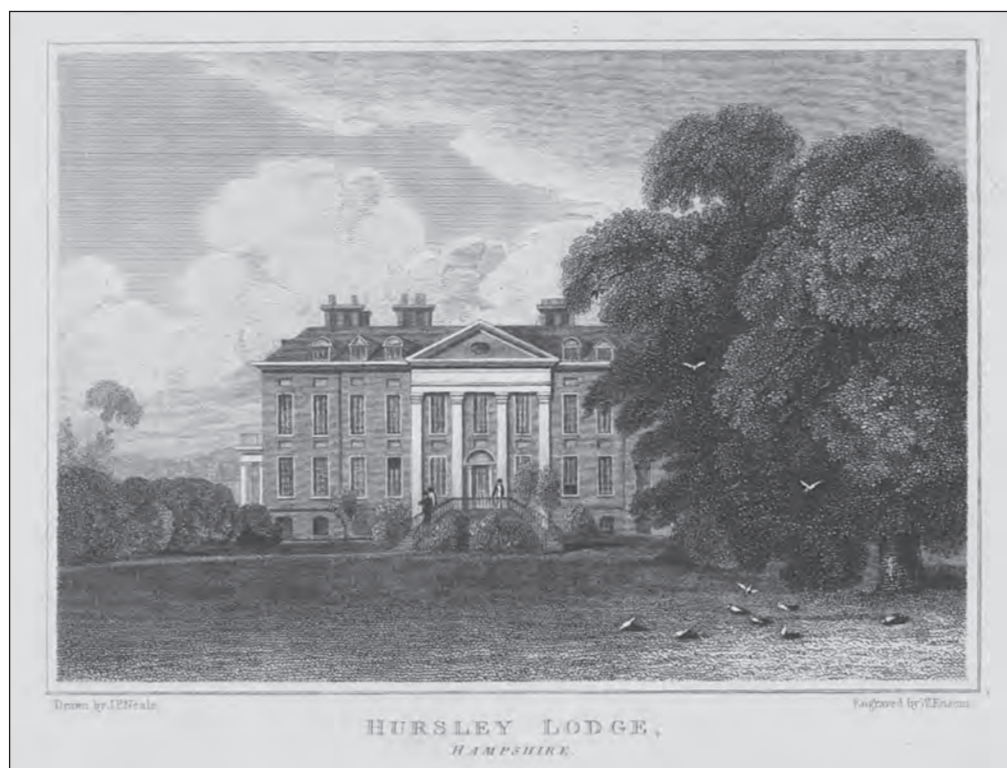
- 32 Sharp, *Swinton Years*, 45
- 33 *CHG* vol.49 (1941) 38 and 41; vol.53 (1945) 29; vol.48 (1940) 87
- 34 *ibid.*, 23 and *CHG* vol.52 (1944) 15
- 35 *ibid.*, vol.53 (1945) 13
- 36 *ibid.*, vol.56 (1948) 2-3
- 37 NYA ZS 164 4/5 Swinton, Completed Schedule of Dilapidations Claim October 1946
- 38 *CHG* vol.55 (1947) 24-29; Sharp, *Swinton Years*, 76
- 39 *ibid.*, 77
- 40 Calder, *People's War*, 36, 50 and 254
- 41 A.J.P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945* (Oxford UP reprint with rev. bibliography, 1976) 455
- 42 *ibid.*

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Educating eighteenth-century Hampshire landowners

ALBERT GALLON

This paper considers the education available to wealthier Hampshire landowners during the eighteenth century. Clearly, equipping the eldest son to run the estate and the younger sons to obtain suitable occupations was a paramount consideration but, in addition educational provision might also enable them to develop particular talents and interests. A significant proportion of them were, as a result, able to enjoy life beyond the running of their country estate and performing their public duties. They included historians, writers, biographers, collectors, architects, musicians, actors and playwrights, and although none of them, except the historian Edward Gibbon, is well known today, many were acknowledged in elite circles during their lifetimes. Some developed scientific interests: 26 members of these families have been identified as Fellows of the Royal Society during the eighteenth century, although only one—John Conduit of Cranbury Park (1688-1737)—contributed a learned paper. For the majority, involvement in the activities of the Royal Society amounted to observation and the development of their particular interest, rather than to hands-on participation and contribution.



- Hursley Lodge, seat of the Heathcote family**, built between 1720 and 1724. The engraving shows the house before twentieth century remodelling (by kind permission of the Hampshire Record Office, ref.TOP172-2-2).

By national standards, Hampshire did not have great landowners or great estates. The largest property scarcely exceeded 18,000 acres, and the majority of estates were between 1000 and 3000 acres. The type of education described in this paper would not have been expected in many of the families who owned the smaller estates, and there were often differences in the education provided for elder and younger brothers and certainly for their sisters. Although, even in wealthier families, the education of younger children may have been less extensive, it had to be sufficient for them to make their way in the world, a point emphasised by Sir John Oglander (1585-1655) of Nunwell, Isle of Wight, in his advice to his descendants. He proposed that 'For good husbandry in thy children, be sure to bring them all up in a vocation, so that they have no cause to complain against their father as not being in a way when they may walk and do themselves good. Send some of them as scholars to Winchester College, some to London to be merchants: Let none be idle. Make them but scholars and they are fitted for any employment, Divines, Civil or Common Lawyers, Physicians or secretary to some great man, etc. Let them not curse thee and say that they were no more beholden to thee for education than beasts to their dams'.¹

At home with a tutor, followed by attendance at an academy, and university

Although not followed by all of Sir John's contemporaries, the advice was certainly heeded by Sir William Heathcote of Hursley. He had five sons who survived into adulthood, and in 1729, when the two older sons, Thomas (1721-1787) and William (1723-1748), were aged eight and six, he decided that they should spend time in London 'to learn writing, dancing, and drawing'. They were to be assisted in their education by the Reverend Richard Newcome, who had accepted (as a condition of being granted the living of Hursley and Otterbourne) that he would accompany the Heathcote children during their stay in London, and act as their tutor. Newcome was to receive an additional £40 a year for this responsibility, out of which he had to pay a curate to cover his absence. Heathcote stated that 'A little greek and latin is not my chief aim; but to have them brought up in honest and virtuous principals, etc., which cannot be done without the person who has the care of their education be in the house with them & be much in their company to install right notions into them: otherwise they will be apt to keep their servant's company which has been the ruin of many a child'.² Newcome found difficulty combining his diverse duties, and in October 1730 Edward Wright, a full-time tutor, was appointed for the two older Heathcote sons. He was required to 'not only teach them civility, virtue, and morality, but also recommend those things to them by his own example'. They were to be instructed 'in all parts of learning proper for a gentleman, and a man of business' although the principal aim was 'good temper, gentle behaviour, virtue, and wisdom'. The tutor was to 'use his utmost endeavours to keep them from the company of servants, & ride & walk with them', and provide appropriate exercises that 'may install such sound notions of virtue and true honour as may abide with them during their lives'. His salary was to be £50 a year, and he was allowed the 'use of a saddle horse whenever he has a mind to ride out'.³

The Heathcote sons moved on in due course to Dr Henry Newcome's Academy in Hackney, run by the brother of 'their' Richard Newcome, an institution attended by the sons of other Hampshire Whig families, including Hans Sloane (1739-1827) of South Stoneham, and Hans Stanley (1721-1780) of Paultons. Sir Wyndham Knatchbull, later Knatchbull-Wyndham (1737-1763), 6th Baronet, was another pupil. He was the nephew and ward of James Harris (1709-1780), the classical scholar, writer on philology and philosophy, and MP for Christchurch from 1761 to 1780, whose

acquaintance with Henry Newcome possibly derived from their shared interests in literature and grammar.⁴ After Hackney the Heathcote sons went to university—Thomas to Hart Hall (later Hertford College) Oxford, in 1736, and William in 1738. They both spent two years at Oxford, leaving before graduating. Their younger brothers, Samuel (1725-1797), Gilbert (1732/3-1800), and Henry (1735/6-1803), also attended Mr. Newcome's Academy in Hackney, but only Henry went on to university, to Exeter College, Oxford. He matriculated in May 1752, was awarded his BA in 1756 and his MA in 1759, and followed his older brother William into the Church.⁵ Samuel was destined for a career as a merchant in Portugal, following the purchase by his father of a form of partnership, but despite the best efforts of his father in providing guidance, and arranging lessons in Portuguese, the venture failed. Samuel lived the rest of his life at the Red House on the Hursley estate, pursuing his interests in mechanical engineering, and living off a reduced allowance from his disappointed father and the generosity of his eldest brother, Thomas.

The latter's education and training beyond university, in common with other older sons and heirs, had been directed towards ensuring that he would succeed his father as a learned responsible gentleman, able to perform his civic duties to his country and religious duties to God, and secure the long-term prosperity of his estate and family. His father was influenced by his own upbringing in a wealthy London merchant family, much of his education being directed towards what was expected to be his life as a merchant. From a relatively early age he spent a great deal of time with his uncle, William Dawsonne, a partner in the family business, learning about trade and investments, and gaining practical experience. He was also introduced to the social life of London, and in 1708, at the age of 15, made his first visit to Bath in the company of his merchant uncles. In a letter to his brothers and sisters, he described 'taking the waters everyday', and 'visiting the pump every other day', which he hoped 'will improve my health'. He enjoyed playing billiards with his uncle John, but he also indicated that breaks from London did not include complete breaks from business. It occupied a significant part of his uncle's and his own time.⁶

This pattern of education, beginning at home with a tutor, followed by attendance at an academy, and then university, was one of several models adopted by landowning families in Hampshire during the eighteenth century. A sample of just over one hundred individuals has indicated that 10 per cent attended a grammar school or academy, 31 per cent a public school, 70 per cent went to university, 30 per cent spent time at one of the inns of court, 13 per cent received the major part of their education from the army or the navy, and nine per cent attributed their principal form of education to travel abroad. Attendance at more than one institution was usually involved. Reynolds Calthorpe (1655-1720) of Elvetham, for example, was educated at Bury St. Edmund's Grammar School, Caius College Cambridge, and the Middle Temple. Hans Sloane (1739-1827) of South Stoneham followed a similar pattern: Mr. Newcome's Academy in Hackney, Trinity College Cambridge, and the Inner Temple. The early education of Charles Shaw Lefevre (1759-1823) of Heckfield was provided by Mr. Brooke of Leeds, and this was followed by Trinity College Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn.

A variation of this was public school, university, and inns of court, the experience of William Chamberlayne (1760-1829) of Weston Grove, Robert Henley (1708-72) of The Grange, Northington, Robert Sawyer (1633-92) of Highclere, and William Stephens (1671-1753) of Bowcombe, Isle of Wight. The most popular arrangement, however (22 per cent of the sample) involved public school and university. Examples of those following this pattern included William John Chute (1757-1824) of The Vyne, Thomas Lee Dummer (1712-65) of Cranbury Park, Joseph Hinxman (1701-40) of

North Hinton, George Pitt (1721-1803) of Stratfield Saye, Lord James Russell (1647-1712) of Laverstoke, Sir Henry Paulet St. John-Mildmay (b. 1764) of Dogmersfield, Henry Temple (1673-1757) of Broadlands, and Charles Wallop (1722-71) of Farleigh Wallop.⁷

Education and the law

Time spent at one of the inns of court was essential for those who intended a career in law. George Burrard (1646-1698), a member of the Lymington family whose main estate was at Walhampton, was educated at the Inner Temple, and at Lyon's Inn, one of the associated inns of chancery. He subsequently became an attorney of Lyon's Inn. John Pollen (1702-75), who came from a merchant family, and who built up an estate in and around Andover, was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn. Called to the bar in 1726, he later became a Welsh judge and the chief justice of his circuit, his legal career having taken precedence over his estate. Robert Henley (1708-1772) of The Grange, Northington, the second son of Anthony Henley (1667-1711), also continued his career in the law after inheriting the family estate following the death of his elder brother in 1745, and his was a particularly successful career. This was also the year when he was admitted as a member of Lincoln's Inn and able to hold chambers. Educated at Westminster School, St. John's College, and All Souls College Oxford, Henley became a student at the Inner Temple on 1 February 1728, and having been called to the bar some four years later, he joined the western circuit. His legal career culminated with his appointment as lord chancellor (1761-1766), and he was created as Baron Henley in 1760 and Earl of Northington in 1766. In contrast, Richard Fleming (1682-1740) of North Stoneham, who was educated at Lincoln's Inn,



42011. BosingsLohes; Hackwood Park. FF 3. C2.

2 Hackwood Park, seat of the dukes of Bolton, built in the late seventeenth century
(by kind permission of the Hampshire Record Office, reference 4M94/8/2)

and also destined, as the second son of the family, for a career in the law, abandoned that career when his elder brother unexpectedly died, and he succeeded to the family estate. Charles Shaw Lefevre (1759-1823) was another who gave up his legal career on inheriting a family estate, in his case the inheritance was through his wife, and he then devoted his time to the estate at Heckfield, and to his late father-in-law's business interests.

Legal training could, of course, also be useful to a landowner, and a number of families elected to have their elder sons educated at the inns of court as well as or instead of university, although there was no intention of them pursuing a legal career. A good understanding of the law could be advantageous both in negotiations, and in minimising expenditure on lawyers to resolve disputes arising out of the acquisition and disposal of land, tenancy agreements, boundary disputes, mineral rights, and rights to assets such as chalk pits, which were particularly valuable in parts of eighteenth-century Hampshire. Richard Holt (d.1710) of Nurstead House, near Petersfield, Edward Hooper (d.1795) of Heron Court, Hurn, John Leigh (d.1743) of North Court, Isle of Wight, Edward Lisle (1692-1753) of Moyles Court, Sir John St Barbe (d.1723) of Broadlands, and John Smith (d.1723) of South Tidworth, who was twice chancellor of the exchequer, were among those who attended university and were also admitted to one of the inns of court, while Charles Paulet (1685-1722) of Hackwood Park, and William Tulse (1680-1727) of Hinton Admiral, were among those also admitted to one of the inns of court but who did not spend time at university. None went on to a long-term career in the law.⁸

Education and the Army and Navy

The army and the navy provided educational facilities for those who joined at an early age. George Carpenter (1657-1732) of Longwood House near Warnford, was a private in the Life Guards at the age of 14, having spent the previous year as a page to Ralph Montagu, then ambassador to France,⁹ Harry Burrard (1765-1840), who was later second baronet of Lymington, was 13 when he embarked upon his naval career,¹⁰ and Harry Paulet (1720-1794), a younger son of the fourth duke of Bolton, was also 13 when his naval career began. He entered the Royal Naval Academy at Portsmouth dockyard as a scholar, having previously spent at least one year at Winchester College. His unexpected elevation, when he succeeded his brother in 1765 as the sixth and last duke of Bolton, did not curtail his naval career. He was appointed an admiral in 1770.¹¹

The Royal Naval Academy attended by Harry Paulet in Portsmouth dockyard was established in 1728 with the purpose of regulating the training and promotion of naval officers, which had previously been fairly lax. Candidates, who were exclusively drawn from the aristocracy and wealthy gentry, were examined by the Navy Board, instead of by three naval officers, and nobody could become a lieutenant without previous qualifying service. In practice, these provisions could be by-passed by becoming a 'servant' of an admiral or captain. Only in 1794 were further restrictions introduced.¹² Sir Charles Ogle (1775-1858), 2nd baronet, of Worthy Park House, Martyr Worthy, would not have encountered serious difficulties when he sought to join the navy by this means, given the position of his father, Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle (1727-1816). Charles Ogle, who was educated at Hyde Abbey School, Winchester, joined the navy at the age of 12 in 1787, as a 'servant' to Captain Nicholson Inglefield, on board the *Adventure*. This less than academic entry into the navy did not prevent Sir Charles from going on to enjoy a highly successful naval career, eventually becoming admiral of the fleet.¹³

Sir William Heathcote was also able to make use of family connections in assisting two of his nephews, the sons of his widowed sister Ann Drake, to enter the navy. Heathcote's wife, Lady Elizabeth, was a cousin of Commodore, later Admiral, Lord George Anson (1697-1762), who placed young Samuel Drake with Captain Swanton, commander of the galley *Mary*. Samuel was apparently happy with the prospect of a career at sea, but his younger brother, William, was not. William moved to London rather than Portsmouth, having been advised by his uncle that he was 'sure that it is for your interest to be at sea', and as 'you will have but a small fortune, the income of which will not maintain you as a gentleman', it was essential that he should work hard at a career 'to advance yourself in the world'. His apparent reluctance to join his ship, and his reported attachment to a lady, deemed by the family to be entirely unsuitable, prompted more drastic action on the part of his uncle and aunt. William's elder brother, Sir Henry Drake, who had inherited the family estate from their father, was dispatched to London to find him and return him to Portsmouth and, following Lady Elizabeth's request, Commodore Anson arranged for William to be 'press'd into a ship that will be absent two or three years', which was 'the only way to prevent his marriage if not too late'.¹⁴

In contrast, William Knollis, Lord Wallingford, son of Thomas Woods Knollis (1727-1793), the supposed seventh earl of Banbury, whose family home was in Winchester although their main estate was in Yorkshire, was full of enthusiasm at the prospect of a career in the army. In a letter to his aunt, Lady Wallingford, in which he thanked her 'for her kind offices in trying to get me into the Woolwich Academy', he stated that he 'should be very glad to venture my Life in Defence of King and Country and if I escape the common Fate of War, I hope it may please his Majesty to give me some Honorable promotion'. In the meantime, he would 'continue to go to school at Mr. Mant's in Southampton', and he wished 'to remain there till such time as I am called away by the honorable Profession of the Army'.¹⁵ He duly entered the Royal Woolwich Academy. Letters from his father, and from Lady Wallingford suggest that they went to a good deal of trouble in persuading the Academy to accept him.¹⁶ Competition was obviously strong. Before being accepted as cadets, boys had to join a waiting list, but this had grown so long that Lord Chatham was 'determined not to admit any more' and declared that he 'could not in twenty years provide for one quarter of them'.¹⁷ Acceptance of William Knollis at the Royal Woolwich Academy was later justified. He went on to enjoy a very successful career in the army, and subsequently became General Knolly(i)s. He was less successful in his attempt to legitimise the family's claim to the title earl of Banbury, however, and the peerage case was rejected in 1813.¹⁸

Another example of a successful army career was that of the previously mentioned George Carpenter (1657-1732) of Longwood House, Owslebury. Carpenter was the seventh child of an old-established Herefordshire landed family. Educated at a private grammar school, he must have decided or been persuaded that, having acted as page to the earl of Montagu, ambassador to Paris, a career in the army was his best option. He joined as an ordinary soldier at the age of 14, served in Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, distinguished himself at the battle of Almanza, and commanded all forces in the north of England during the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715. From 1715 to 1722, he was MP for Whitchurch, from 1722 to 1727 for Westminster, and from 1716 until his death in 1732, was Governor of Minorca. In 1719 he was created Baron Carpenter of Killaghy. He had purchased two estates at Kilkenny in Ireland in 1703, together with the colonelcy of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons,¹⁹ having three years earlier bought his Hampshire property at Owslebury, which became his English base, and where he, his wife, and son, also a career soldier, were buried.²⁰



3 Sir Richard Worsley 1751-1805 of Appledurcombe, in about 1775

In addition to the significant differences in the institutions attended by individuals, there were also wide variations in the ages at which they started and completed their education, and in the time that they spent at the various establishments. Those attending university did not always emerge with a degree, and those admitted to the inns of court were not necessarily called to the bar. An analysis of members of Hampshire landowning families who attended the University of Oxford during the years 1689-1800, for example, has revealed that less than 40 per cent left with a degree. Matriculation was sufficient for the majority, but this could occur at a variety of ages ranging from that of Henry Bishop of South Warnborough and Edward Gibbon of Buriton, who both matriculated at the age of fourteen, to Sir Henry Worsley Holmes, Baronet, of Pidford, Isle of Wight, who was 21. A number of others, including Anthony Henley of The Grange, Northington, Edward Chute of The Vyne, Richard Norton of Southwick Park, and Thomas Brocas of Beaurepaire, matriculated at the age of 15, but 17 and 18 were the more typical ages for matriculation.²¹

This reflects the conclusions drawn from earlier research on the state, standards, and value of eighteenth-century education. It was 'neither organised by the state or compulsory,' and 'it was not geared to precise age groups. Examinations or paper qualifications counted

little for most people. Rather, 'finding a good patron and being able to pen begging letters was far more useful', as 'few jobs were won by open competition'. In general, 'education was learning for living, in particular for earning a living',²² but education was surely also important, irrespective of how it was provided and organised, in helping to shape a shared gentry culture and outlook. Fragments of information on what was expected of tutors instructing children, such as those quoted from the letters of Sir William Heathcote, indicate the importance of cultural life and the distinct requirement for children to absorb this from an early age in preference to academic learning.²³

Education and travel

Overseas travel was an important element of education for those families who could afford it, and the eldest sons of such families might complete or round off their education with an overseas tour. For Peter Bettesworth of Brockenhurst (1676-1738), overseas travel appears to have played a major role, as he did not attend public school or university, and was not admitted to one of the inns of court, although he no doubt had a tutor. Bettesworth spent time travelling through Holland in 1693, in the company of Richard Holt (c.1635-1710) of Nurstead House, near Petersfield, a friend of his father. Bettesworth was MP for Petersfield in 1698-1700 but later ran into financial difficulties and became a soldier.²⁴ George Brydges (1678-1751) of Avington Park also travelled in Holland but had previously attended Winchester College.²⁵ Members of the Worsley family of Appuldurcombe, Isle of Wight, also viewed travel as important. Sir Robert Worsley (b.1670) the fourth baronet, returned from his grand tour in 1690, impressed by the architecture of the ancient civilisations he had witnessed, and determined to replace the 'gothic' mansion at Appuldurcombe, by something more 'civilised'.²⁶ He had not completed the house when he died and was succeeded by his cousin, Sir James Worsley (d. 1756) of Pylewell, and neither he, or his son, Sir Thomas Worsley, who did travel overseas, taking his family to Sicily during the 1760s, spent any time or money on Sir Robert's creation. That was left to Sir Thomas's son, Sir Richard Worsley (1751-1805), the seventh baronet, and work began soon after he returned from his grand tour in 1772. Influenced, as his great-grandfather had been, by what he had seen on the continent, Worsley added to and remodelled the original design of the house and gardens at Appuldurcombe, involving the architect, James Wyatt, and the landscape gardener, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. When Sir Richard Worsley returned from a later five-year tour of the Mediterranean, the Levant, and the Near East, which had been instigated in the wake of the disastrous publicity that accompanied the collapse of his marriage and the related loss of office, he did not return with ideas, but with an important collection of Greek marbles, and reliefs. These were displayed in a special area at Appuldurcombe House, together with the collection of antique gems which had been acquired from Sir William Hamilton.²⁷

For others, the overseas experience was travel on a lesser scale. John Wallop (1690-1762) of Farleigh House, Farleigh Wallop, and Hans Stanley (1720-81) of Paultons, completed their education in Switzerland. Wallop followed this with an educational tour of Italy and Germany, and Stanley spent time in Paris on his return journey.²⁸ Edward Austen (1768-1852), later Knight, of Chawton, was another who went overseas to 'finish off' his education, in his case at Dresden, which he later described as 'long been considered as one of the happiest years of my life'.²⁹ Austen, the second son of the Rev George Austen, rector of Steventon, and an elder brother of the novelist Jane, had been 'adopted' by Thomas Knight (1735-1794) of Chawton, and Godmersham, Kent, and his wife Catherine Knatchbull, who had no children of their own. They treated Austen generously and subsequently devised their estate to him.³⁰ Unlike Sir

Richard Worsley, Edward Austen Knight did not have the time or money to make a return visit, although 'Few things would give me more pleasure', he noted, 'than an opportunity of re-visiting Dresden'.³¹

Education and culture

The value of an overseas tour or extended stay in a particular location, and, more particularly, the value of the more formal arrangements at grammar schools, public schools, the inns of court, and the universities, has been questioned by various historians, as has the education provided by the army and the navy. Such critics have pointed to outdated methods of instruction and to the limitations of the curriculum, which remained in force because of the conditions of deeds of bequest, charters, and statutes. They have referred to the marked variations in the abilities and commitment of the heads of academies and public schools and to the decline suffered by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge during the eighteenth century. Comments of contemporaries, such as Horace Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, and the historian, Edward Gibbon, were often unflattering. It has, nevertheless, been suggested that high standards were achieved by some institutions, notably those led by men of ability and drive.³² It has also been argued that Hertford, the Oxford college attended by the elder Heathcote sons, 'was equipped with statutes that made it a byword for a more serious approach to university education, with consequent appeal even to aristocratic parents'.³³ In practice, of course, the education, in whatever form it took, formal and informal, was clearly adequate for the heirs to landed estates in eighteenth-century Hampshire. It would have imbued them with the values and culture of the gentry, equipped them with the necessary social skills for mixing in society, made them aware of their role as leaders within their communities, emphasised their status within their own county, and their future roles as justices of the peace, as deputy lieutenants of the county, and, possibly, as members of parliament.

Education would have done rather more, of course, for those members of the gentry who had the talent, interest, and wealth to go beyond the role of local squire. It might awaken interests which were later developed to the level of practitioners in the worlds of architecture, history, literature, music, and drama. The historian Edward Gibbon, who spent his early years at the family estate at Buriton, and whose education included Magdalen College, Oxford, where he matriculated at the age of 14, followed by private study in Lausanne, is the prime example, but there were other, now lesser-known figures, who were nationally acknowledged during their lifetimes. Three generations of the Worsley family of Appuldurcombe, for example (a particularly well educated and well-travelled family) were contributors to the production of *The History of the Isle of Wight*, published in 1781 under the authorship of Sir Richard Worsley (1751-1805). His grandfather, Sir James (d.1757) began the work and had undertaken a considerable amount of research before his death. The work was carried on by his son, Sir Thomas (d.1768), and was completed by Sir Richard, eldest son of Sir Thomas, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Horace Walpole was critical of the work, complaining that 'I see no reason for him [Sir Richard Worsley] writing it, but to call himself right honourable and to celebrate his family'.³⁴ In another letter he complained that 'I have gone through Sir Richard Worsley's *Isle of Wight*, which is in my own way, and yet alas! I did not find one diamond in that dunghill'.³⁵ In contrast, *The London Monthly Review* recorded that the book was 'so well written and so respectably authenticated', as the book 'was well received'.³⁶ A present-day view is that 'It was well researched, organised, and written, and handsomely produced'.³⁷ Worsley later published, in 1794 and 1802,

the highly praised *The Museum Worsleianum; or Collection of antique Baso-relievos, Bustos, Statues, and Gems*, which included a description of his remarkable collection brought back from his tour of the Mediterranean countries, Levant and Near East, when he was accompanied by the architect Willey Reveley, who made the architectural and archaeological drawings for the publication. In 1804 Worsley published the *Catalogue Raisonne of the Principal Paintings of Appuldurcombe*, which described the collection of paintings he acquired in 1794 to 1797, when he was Minister at Venice. He has been described as ‘a sensitive informed man of taste, as much interested in the history and provenance of a work as in its aesthetic qualities’.³⁸



4 Southwick in the County of Southampton, the seat of Richard Norton, esq.

Drawn by L. Knyff, engraved by Jan Kip, with garden layout, late 17th/early 18th centuries
(by kind permission of the Hampshire Record Office (reference 15M84/P3/666))

Other ventures into literary fields included those of George Pitt (1722-1803), later 1st Baron Rivers of Stratfield Saye, Sir Thomas Gatehouse of Compton Monceux, Little Somborne, and John Conduit of Cranbury Park. George Pitt was well educated, having an MA from Magdalen College, Oxford (1739) and a DCL (1745). He was interested in the constitution and in issues such as civil liberty and the organisation of government. His thoughts on these subjects were outlined in such publications as *Letters to a Young Nobleman* (1784), and *The Present State of the Dorsetshire Militia* (1797).³⁹ Sir Thomas Gatehouse produced a manuscript ‘Hampshire or A Short Survey of the County of Southampton’, dated 31 December 1778, which provided descriptions of Winchester, other boroughs and market towns, the seats of noblemen and gentlemen, together with ‘many remarkable Anecdotes from the best authoritye and other particulars worthy of Notice’. Dedicated to James, Duke of Chandos, it was never published. Gatehouse was, by this time, experiencing financial difficulties and had disposed of property to pay his debts.⁴⁰ Another book which might have suffered the same fate was that

written by Edward Lisle of Crux Easton, who devoted much of his life to the study of agriculture, growing a wide range of crops and experimenting with fertilisers. He collected his experiences and findings in readiness for publication, but his book was not published until 1757, more than 30 years after his death.⁴¹ John Conduit (1688-1737) of Cranbury Park became interested in ancient Carteia when serving in Gibraltar with the army and subsequently published a paper on the subject, which was received by the Royal Society. In later life he made it his mission to collect and catalogue the work of his wife's uncle, Sir Isaac Newton, and collected a great deal of information, including letters and records of conversations. He began writing a biography, of which only a memoir was completed, but this, together with the correspondence and information, was retained by the Wallop family, earls of Portsmouth (Conduit's daughter was the mother of the second earl) until 1936, when it was purchased for Cambridge University by John Maynard Keynes. It has been the principal source of material for all subsequent biographies of Newton.⁴²

The main interest of John Chute (1701-76) of The Vyne was architecture. He was the youngest of the ten children of Edward Chute and Katherine Keck, and the great-grandson of Chaloner Chute (c.1595-1659), who had purchased The Vyne in 1653. Frequently in poor health, Chute was a far cry from the sports loving, hard-drinking, and hard-riding squire of eighteenth-century fiction. His preferred activity was to immerse himself in music, painting, and sculpture, as well as architecture, and these interests were furthered during a prolonged visit to Italy, during the early 1740s, when he accompanied his wealthy, much younger cousin, Francis Whithed (1719-1751), formerly Thistlethwayte. Whithed came of age in 1740 and inherited two large estates—Norman's Court and at Southwick Park—and was thus able to fund the visit for himself and his impoverished cousin. During their time in Italy, Chute and Whithed became friends with Horace Walpole, Thomas Gray, and Horace Mann, and Chute's friendship with Walpole continued after their return to England.⁴³ In the summer of 1750 Chute became a member of the 'Committee' established by Walpole for 'gothicising Strawberry Hill', together with Richard Bentley, the architect, and Walpole himself.

Chute's sketches and designs indicate that he made a significant contribution to the design for transforming Walpole's late-seventeenth century cottage into the Strawberry Hill castle.⁴⁴ This experience was clearly reflected in the remodelling of The Vyne, which John Chute inherited following the death of his elder brother, Anthony, in 1754, most notably in the chapel, and ante-chapel, and the central staircase and landing, created in the old Great Hall of the original Tudor house. The latter has been described as the 'spatially most fascinating staircase composition of the second half of the eighteenth century in England',⁴⁵ and as The Vyne's 'masterpiece'.⁴⁶ Horace Walpole was also impressed, and he later described John Chute as 'an able geometrician', and 'an exquisite architect, and of the purest taste both in Grecian and Gothic styles'.⁴⁷

Two other colourful examples of artistic talent among eighteenth-century Hampshire landowners were Anthony Henley (1667-1711) of The Grange, Northington, and his neighbour and friend, Richard Norton (1666-1732) of Southwick Park. Henley, the eldest son of Sir Robert Henley (1631-92), was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where, his biographer claimed, he 'distinguish'd himself by an early Relish of Polite Learning', and 'made a great Proficiency in the Study of the Classicks, and particularly the Ancient Poets, by whom he form'd a good *Goust* of Poetry, and performed it with Success'. After Oxford he moved to London, and became an associate of Jonathan Swift, a member of the Whig Rose Club and the Kit-Cat Club, and one of the foremost wits among the Whigs. He was reputed to be worth £3000 a year

following his inheritance in 1692 of the family estate in Hampshire, together with property in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.⁴⁸ Henley was a generous patron of authors and composers, an acknowledged musician in his own right, a writer of songs, and of poetry,⁴⁹ and a contributor of satirical articles to periodicals such as *The Tatler* and *The Medley*.⁵⁰ Richard Norton was the only son of Daniel Norton (d. 1666), and Isabella (c. 1644-1709), daughter and co-heiress of Admiral Sir John Lawson. He was born on 4 May 1666, educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, and succeeded to the estate at Southwick Park in 1691, on the death of his grandfather, Richard Norton I (1605-91), a former colonel in the Parliamentary army. The younger Richard began his parliamentary career in 1693 and through his friendship with Anthony Henley became part of London's literary and theatre scenes. Like Henley, Norton was wealthy, moved easily between town and country, became a collector of paintings (including works by Titian, Van Dyke, and Lely),⁵¹ a dramatist, an actor, a presenter of plays, and a wit. He became a generous supporter of the arts, and was joint patron, with Henley, of Daniel Purcell's opera *Brutus of Alba*, and he later staged plays at a specially provided theatre in his house at Southwick during the summer months using London actors and including himself in the cast.⁵²

The Royal Society

The members of the eighteenth-century Hampshire landowning families who became Fellows of the Royal Society were not practitioners in the manner of the musician and writer Anthony Henley, the dramatist and actor Richard Norton, and the amateur architect John Chute. They were, with the possible exception of John Conduit, principally observers of experiments and discussions at the Royal Society in subjects that included astronomy, literature, mathematics, medicine, philosophy and science, a process that enabled them to enhance their knowledge—in effect, extending their education. The Royal Society was founded in 1660, to promote 'Physico-Experimentall Learning', by meeting weekly and witnessing experiments in the various fields of science, although 'science' had a much wider interpretation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than it does today. A royal charter was granted in 1661 and early presidents of the Society included Sir Christopher Wren, Samuel Pepys, and Sir Isaac Newton. The Isle of Wight had a very early connection with the Royal Society through Robert Hooke (1635-1703), the son of a curate, who was born and brought up at Freshwater. Orphaned at 13, Hooke used his father's inheritance to obtain an education at Westminster School, and then a scholarship to Oxford, where he made himself useful assisting a group of scientists in their experiments. He became a paid assistant to Robert Boyle, the inventor of the air pump, and also to Thomas Willis. His contribution to such developments, together with his own invention of the pendulum watch, and the part he played in turning the microscope into a scientific instrument, led to his appointment in 1664, at the age of 29, as professor of geometry at Gresham College. This was the year in which his greatest work, *Micrographia*, was published. Two years earlier, he had been appointed curator of experiments at the Royal Society, a role in which he conducted the experiments scheduled at the weekly meetings of the Society—his own as well as those of other Fellows. He was also a secretary of the Society for much of the time between 1677 and 1699.⁵³

One of the Fellows of the Royal Society who emerged from the Hampshire landowning families during the eighteenth century remotely matched the contribution made by Robert Hooke to the world of science. The Society was self-funding and so welcomed the subscriptions of what had earlier been described as 'gentlemen, free and unconfin'd', and who 'by the freedom of their education, the plenty of their

estates and the usual generosity of noble blood, may well be supposed to be averse from sordid considerations'.⁵⁴ Scientific enquiry embraced a number of subjects, and recommendations for election lacked the precision that we would expect today. Thomas Lee Dummer (d.1765) of Cranbury Park was recommended, for example, because, 'as a Gentleman, he was well versed in Natural Philosophy, and most parts of polite learning'.⁵⁵ His son Thomas Dummer (c.1739-1781) was described as 'being a lover of the studies for which the Royal Society was instituted, and desirous of promoting them'.⁵⁶ Francis Chute (d.1745) of The Vyne was a 'Gentleman well versed in all Branches of Polite Literature';⁵⁷ Edward Hooper (d. 1795) of Hurn Court, 'a gentleman of great merit, and well versed in various branches of useful learning';⁵⁸ Joshua Iremonger (c.1716-1804) of Wherwell, near Andover, 'a Gentleman of Distinction, merit and Learning, well versed in Philosophical and Natural knowledge';⁵⁹ and John Merrill of Lainston, 'A Gentleman well skilled in Mathematical and Philosophical Learning'.⁶⁰ The citations of other members who were elected as Fellows of the Society, including Sir John Mordaunt Cope (1731-1793) of Bramshill,⁶¹ Henry Dage (b.1715) of Somerford,⁶² James Dawkins (1722-1757) of Laverstoke,⁶³ Charles Shaw Lefevre (d.1823) of Heckfield,⁶⁴ Henry Penton (c.1737-1812) of Winchester,⁶⁵ Alexander Thistlethwayte (c.1718-1771) of Southwick,⁶⁶ and James Venables (d.1737) of Woodcote,⁶⁷ followed a similar pattern. These Fellows were primarily interested observers rather than active participants.

However, John Conduit (1688-1737) of Cranbury Park submitted a paper that was accepted and read at one of the Society's meetings. Born in London, educated at Westminster, and Trinity College, Cambridge, he served in the army for a number of years, latterly in Gibraltar, when he developed his interest in the archaeology and history of the area which prompted his first contact with the Royal Society. The Society's minutes of 14 March 1717 record receiving a letter from him, which referred to 'the antiquities of the country thereabouts', primarily giving an account of a coin he had found.⁶⁸ John Conduit's paper was similar to many of the other papers that were submitted and read during this period. They were observations rather than scientific investigations as, for example, George Heathcote's account of a stone being taken from the bladder of a dog,⁶⁹ and the paper read by Lord Thomas Parker, the future third earl of Macclesfield, describing the effects of an earthquake on water at Shirburn Castle.⁷⁰ A good many were experiences of travel. Conduit's paper was, nevertheless, useful in determining his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society six months later, on 11 December 1718.⁷¹

Conduit's paper on ancient Carteia was also useful in that it was of specific interest to Isaac Newton, given his project on charting the ancient chronology. They became close friends, and Conduit married Newton's niece, Catherine Barton. Apart from reporting his observations of the eclipse of 21 May 1724 from his estate at Cranbury Park, John Conduit did not undertake any further research of his own following the publication of his paper on Carteia. He was appointed Master of the Mint in 1727.⁷² All the Hampshire Fellows of the Royal Society were able to spend a reasonable portion of the year in London. Those who were MPs necessarily spent time in the capital, while those who were not, combined attendance at Society meetings with business, and social visits. The latter group included Sir Thomas Heathcote, George Stanley of Paultons, Joshua Iremonger (c. 1716-1804) of Wherwell, and John Smith deBurgh (1720-1782), 11th Earl of Clanricarde, who was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1753. Although at least 26 eighteenth-century Hampshire landowners became Fellows of the Royal Society, none is recorded in the proceedings of the Society after their election, apart from Conduit and deBurgh—the latter being for the less than distinguished reason of failing to pay his subscriptions, an issue only resolved after his death, by his son.⁷³

Conclusions

The education of the members of Hampshire's landowning families did not follow a clear pattern. There were variations in the type and standards of educational institutions attended, and in the time spent at them. For some, education at such institutions ended relatively early, at 12 or 13, for others it was 18 or 19. Children of wealthier families sometimes completed their education with a grand tour, travelling through Europe, usually in the company of a tutor. Tutors played an important part in the education of children during the early part of their lives, but there is less evidence of their involvement in the education of older children, or in private education in general. Records of private tuition were not kept in the manner of those of schools, colleges, and universities and many that were kept have simply not survived. The regular appearance in local eighteenth-century newspapers, such as *The Salisbury Journal* and *The Hampshire Chronicle*, of advertisements, usually from clergymen, offering the services of a tutor suggests that there was a considerable demand for their services.

The scarcity of records relating to private education makes an overall assessment of the education of the gentry difficult. Contemporary views of the standard of formal education provided by the grammar schools, academies, public schools, universities, and the inns of court, as well as by the army and the navy, tend to be less than complimentary, but educational provision does appear to have been adequate for the needs of the son and heir who would one day inherit the family estate, be required to run it efficiently, and play his part in administration, politics and county society. Younger sons were perhaps less well served. With no prospect of inheriting the family estate, and an inferior education, they had to forge a career for themselves in the army, the navy, the Church, or embark upon a career in the professions or trade. The study shows the difficulties that might be encountered in obtaining an entry into the army or the navy as an officer, and younger sons, such as George Carpenter of Longwood House, often had little option to starting their career as he did, as a boy soldier with the rank of private. Obtaining a living in the Church was highly dependent upon an influential father or relative having the necessary contacts; ordination did not guarantee this. The two sons of Sir William Heathcote who entered the Church were fortunate in having a father and a brother able to provide or arrange livings for them. This was particularly so in the case of William (1723-1748), who left Oxford without a degree and whose ordination followed the personal recommendation provided by Dr Newton, principal of Hertford College, to Benjamin Hoadley, bishop of Winchester.⁷⁴ Similar difficulties could be expected for younger sons seeking to enter the professions or trade without the backing of wealth and parental influence, although this became increasingly less so as the century progressed, given the opportunities arising from an expanding economy and population.

The other side of the coin is that the members of Hampshire landowning families included a sprinkling of historians, biographers, writers, art collectors, architects, musicians, and dramatists, and a further group who, while not actively contributing to science, were sufficiently interested and involved to merit election as Fellows of the Royal Society. The educational provisions of the eighteenth century at least provided a foundation for these interests and helped to develop them, allowing some to enjoy a rather different life beyond the running of their country estate, their public duties, and rural sports. They present a rather different portrait of the squire of popular fiction, a countryman for whom the town is anathema, although the majority of these more 'intellectual' squires were equally at home on the hunting field as they were at the theatre, concert hall, or observing experiments at the Royal Society. Using the term in its broadest sense, education would have equipped them for engaging in the cultural

life of the county and being part of the county community, participating in rural sports and events, and enjoying the musical, theatrical, and social events that increasingly became available as the century progressed.

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East Coast Notes: part 2 (local history research)

GEORGE REDMONDS AND
ALAN G. CROSBY

The first part of this paper was published in the previous issue of *The Local Historian* (vol.55 no.4 November 2025). George Redmonds had spent much of his working life researching and interpreting the place-names and dialect in his home county of Yorkshire. Among his papers, when he died in 2018 were drafts of a proposed book on aspects of the local history and place-names of the Yorkshire coast, from beyond Whitby in the north to Holderness in the south. These essays were based on original research in a very wide range of archival and cartographic sources, published and unpublished. Even in their unpolished form, they brought together the study of the names themselves and the local history that they reflected. George's methodologies for his research and his writing are very clearly reflected in this work, and this I believe will be of interest and value to other readers, including those beyond Yorkshire. George believed wholeheartedly, and demonstrated in his writing, that the study of place-names is very important, but should not be undertaken in isolation. Place-names are integral to the historical development of communities, and give us unique and valuable historical evidence. He knew that the same source material can inform both the name studies and the local history research, and this is very much apparent from the essays reproduced here and in the previous issue. There, the focus was on place-names themselves, with interpretation of early modern and mediaeval sources. In this paper, based on what would have been a fascinating book, we look more at the local history, but again using the same type of source material.

How did George manage the enormous amount of information that he acquired? As for so many of us who predate the computer age, he relied on low-key technology. George maintained an extensive card index system, so that every name, in every book, document, article which he read, would be recorded on a card. When the time came to write up a name, for example, he would write the story from the appropriate card. Simple ... we would now use computer files, but the principles are not that different.

As we can see from the range of its contents, George was interested and intrigued by a great diversity of local history topics. Some are generally unfamiliar: who in the wider world has heard of the lost village of Hornsea Beck, washed away by the sea like so many others on the Yorkshire coast? Others are better known: the unique industry based on Whitby, involving the polishing of jet to make jewellery and ornaments, has lasted from pre-Roman times to the present day. George shows us that it developed particular specialised terminologies and surnames. Another specialised trade or occupation was that of the pannierman, who carried fish from the coast inland to the urban markets. Such people must have been present in all coastal areas but in Yorkshire the occupation gave rise to its own terminology. And finally, we have the Bushell family, merchant traders from Hull and elsewhere on the coast, with international trading links teased out by George's research. These are only four items from what would have been a more substantial publication. They remind us of what might have been, what has been lost by George's untimely death.

Those essays are a model for others to follow. They are quietly authoritative, fully researched, innovative in their thinking. They take subjects which are close to home and analyse them in new ways. George, when necessary, discarded received wisdom and replaced it by new research. That is something of which we should all be aware. He was well aware of the work of eighteenth and nineteenth century antiquaries, but he didn't necessarily accept their judgement. He was also very aware of the crucial importance of people in local history. Sometimes we read local history which seems to be unpopulated by human beings. But George knew that everything was the consequence of human decision making. The documents lead us into speculation about what happened, but speculation based on good evidence and plausible interpretation is not invalid. George did not compartmentalise. He didn't put things in boxes, but rather saw the interaction between different processes and the complementary nature of the evidence. His work on Yorkshire is often definitive, particularly in the context of dialect and place names, but his methods can be applied anywhere if we are careful, thorough, and restrained in our interpretation. For me the essays on Hornsea Beck and the jet industry are of particular interest. They fascinate me and make me wonder if I could do the same for Lancashire? I only once had the privilege of working with him, sharing a platform at a day school on dialect, language and local history at Lancaster University. It was a rare treat.

In editing George's work, I have kept my own interventions to a minimum, only clarifying certain ambiguities because this was a draft text, but otherwise not interfering with what he wrote. The original had no illustrations but I've included some which highlight features he describes. I hope I have done him justice.

Hornsea Beck

Old maps show the village of Hornsea Beck to the east of what is now the town of Hornsea, right on the coast, with its houses clustered close to the beck (or stream) that flows from Hornsea Mere into the sea. In 1377 it had a tax-paying population of 264 compared with Hornsea's 271 and clearly rivalled the parent community, in size if not in status. If Hornsea's growth reflected the importance of Hornsea Mere as a source of freshwater fish it is fair to say that Hornsea Beck faced the open sea and thus built up its reputation as a port and sea-fishing community. It was almost certainly one of the most important fishing villages on Yorkshire's east coast from the later Middle Ages into the late-sixteenth century.

One measure of that is the number of wills that have survived for fishermen from the village during that period—more, in fact, than for such famous ports as Bridlington, Filey and Whitby. Of course, that is not an entirely reliable guide but if Hornsea Beck had rivals they were more probably Redcar in the far north and Scarborough. Places such as Staithes and Robin Hood's Bay may have a long history as 'fishing villages' but the place-names are poorly documented and Staithes is not referred to before the sixteenth century. The will of John Thompson of Hornsey Becke, fisherman, was proved in April 1600 (YRS24/103) after which the port was in terminal decline. Curiously, Peter Frank makes no mention at all of Hornsea Beck in his *Yorkshire Fisherfolk* (2002).

The first fisherman to come to our attention is Robert Titlot who died in 1390 and whose family had paid tax in 1377. Although he had some land in Hornsey's open fields it is obvious from the main part of his will that he was a wealthy fisherman. Prominent bequests included boats named *Farcost* and *Mawdeleyn*, left to members of his family, and the *Garland* which he passed to John de Skelton: smaller craft included a 'cok' which was a small boat, possibly carried on board the *Farcost*. '*Farcost*' itself is a

horse purchased in Boston and a gold ring that had belonged to the Archdeacon of Scotland. Of particular interest is his gift of ‘*pilches*’ to ‘*v men that goys in my bote*’. The ‘*pilch*’ was a coarse garment, possibly made of cowhide or sheepskin, and presumably suitable for hard work at sea. His mention of five fishermen is likely to be an early reference to the five-men boat or ‘*farming boat*’, mentioned by Peter Frank, which was suitable for off-shore fishing (PFY228).

Another important will is that of John Gerves, written in January 1527-1528. To his son Edmund he left among other things a *coble called the Margarete*, and his *galbadyne*, probably a working over-garment. A later bequest implies that some fishing was done by line from smaller boats, for Thomas Esburn was granted a *nett, ij ores* and a *smale lyne of the best in the house*. The testator requested that *ijd alms* be distributed to *every house in Hornese beke* and that masses be said in his parish church *by the auctoritie of our Ladie gilde of Boston* in Lincolnshire: on his saint day *ij barils of bere were to be delt in the kirke of Hornese* (SS79/237-8).

A tithe case of 1555 throws light on the fishing community at Hornsea Beck in the early sixteenth century although the only files that have survived are those in defence of the vicar John Rogers. The issue touched on the former ownership of Hornsea Key [quay] by St Mary’s Abbey in York and on the *Key dolles* paid by the fishermen for its repair. It was claimed that the payments had started thirty or forty years previously when the quay once again fell into ‘*great ruin*’. The abbey delayed repairing it because of the enormous cost involved and the fishermen gave the doles ‘*of their own free will*’, as a solution to the inconvenience they were suffering. They argued that the money they paid gave them the right of *resortinge to the sayd Key* every time that the ships of the parish went *furthe a fysshing* (YRS114/69-71).



2 ‘Site of the Village of Hornsea Beck’ is written in the sea
off Hornsea, on this extract from the Ordnance Survey 6-inch
map first edition sheet Yorkshire 197, published 1854

Hornsea Beck is one more of those east-coast villages that have been lost to the sea. Stephen Harrison's account of its history shows that it was already considered to be a port with safe anchorage as early as 1228: a spit of land which served as a breakwater is shown on early maps. However, coastal erosion meant that the village's days were numbered: a report in 1609 spoke of the loss of numerous houses, damage to the pier or key and the increasing threat of the sea. A few cottages remained through the seventeenth century but there was to be no reprieve. In 1787 a Hornsea curate wrote: 'Hornsea Beck has now altogether disappeared', a statement confirmed by John Tuke's map of 1786 which bears the words 'Site of the Town of Hornsea Beck' (SH101-5).

Jet and jettors

Jet is a hard black variety of lignite, found on a short stretch of Yorkshire's east coast. It derives from decaying wood which was deposited about 180 million years ago in a saltwater swamp and compacted under extreme pressure. The Chile pine or Monkey Puzzle tree is a species close to the type of tree from which it is formed. Its uniform texture and toughness mean that it can be carved or cut into a variety of shapes and can be polished to a very bright lustre. It was much used formerly for making precious objects, jewellery and buttons, and archaeologists have identified artefacts which prove that it was worked in the Bronze Age and the Roman period, notably in York. However, the great days of the trade were undoubtedly in the nineteenth century, especially when mourning jewellery came into fashion after the death of Albert, Queen Victoria's consort. At its height hundreds of miners and craftsmen found employment in Whitby and it is that phase of its history which has attracted most attention.

There is one earlier period though about which little appears to have been written, that is during the centuries when England was a Catholic kingdom, with references from as early as c.1300. Various spellings of 'jetter' as an occupational term are on record along the east coast, with the earliest in Guisborough. In 1301 *Gilbert Getour* was one of eighty-five tax-paying residents, in an area that included Guisborough, Lowcross and Tocketts: he paid 2s 9d, a rate that placed him among the town's wealthier inhabitants (YRS21/32). Shortly afterwards, in 1321-1324, *William le Getour* was living in Hull and the use here of 'le' is part confirmation that his by-name was an occupational term (YRS141/57). That is not the only example recorded in Hull in that century for the poll tax returns of 1377 include both the by-name and the occupation: 1377 *John Coke, getour*; *William Jetour*, Hull (PTER189,192). More important perhaps are 'jettors' noted in York, for example, 1386 *John Getour* (no trade given) and 1404 *Thomas Bysshop, getour* (SS96/84). The earliest and most significant example links York with the coast: 1362 *Johannes Jetour de Gyseburn*, York (SS96/57). This man took up his freedom to trade in the city but he probably continued to live and work in Guisborough: the spelling *Gyseburn* is characteristic of that period (PNNR150). There is no evidence, though, that the jettors were an organised group in York: it seems more likely that the city provided trading opportunities for a small number of non-resident craftsmen from the east coast.

At this point it should be said that 'jetter' as an occupational term is not listed in reference works until much later, in 1618 in the case of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), but there is no reason to doubt the direct link with 'jet' as a mineral in these east Yorkshire examples. What remains uncertain is exactly how the word 'jetter' should be interpreted. It is probable that the 'jetter' was a craftsman, working the jet, but we can only speculate about how it came into his hands. The most likely explanation is that these men worked the jet which may have been mined or collected along the sea shore, but the only evidence we have which touches on their products is in the earliest wills and inventories that have survived.

Indeed the wealth of references in such documents is clear evidence in itself of how significant jet was from the mid-1300s at least. In 1349, for example, Henry Lord Percy of Spofforth bequeathed to his wife *unum ciphum calcidoniae cum uno coopertorio de gete*. This precious bowl was of chalcedony and it had a cover made of jet, a word which the clerk rendered in English (SS4/58). Henry Percy's affinity with Yorkshire is explicit in the will: he desired to be buried at Sawley, made bequests to Fountains, Beverley, Hull, Pontefract and Scarborough among others and gave ten marks to the abbot of Whitby. The jet cover of the bowl will almost certainly have come from the Whitby area and been worked by a Yorkshire craftsman.

At intervals in the century that followed it is also in wills that we come across other precious objects fashioned with jet. In 1404 Walter Berghel left to the Guild of St George in York *unum superaltare de blakegete*, that is, a portable altar (SS4/334); in 1415 Isabel de Wyleby of Wollaton in Nottinghamshire conveyed to a chaplain called John Wyles, *unum par cultellorum cum manubriis de gete deauratis per latera et in capite* (SS4/381), referring to gilded knives with handles made of jet; in 1450, Avise Aske of York made a gift to Alinora Moubray of *unum coffer de jete ligatum cum argento*, a jet coffer bound with silver (SS30/144). Again, the English word 'jet' was used in the Latin texts, although the spellings varied.

In scores of wills that were drawn up from the late fourteenth century, written in Latin by the clerks, there is mention of jet beads. In 1392, for example, Matilda Benetson, a widow, bequeathed to Alice de Lokyngton *j par beddes de get majors cum gawdes argenti*, York (SS4/181). I have no doubt this was a rosary, used as prayers were being recited, and that the jet beads had silver 'gauds' at intervals. These were not simply a decoration but served as an aid to the user, making it easier for the sequences of ten Ave Marias to be counted. A typical rosary was divided into fifteen sets, each with ten matching beads and one larger 'gaud'. Occasionally the gauds were of jet: 1446 *I will that Agnes Amyas have a pare of bedes of corall with gaudes of gete*, Turnham Hall (SS30/124). Among the treasures of the chantry chapel in Wakefield, in 1497-8, was: *a paire of geyet bedez price xijd ... a litell paier of geiet bedez gaudied with peierle price iiijd* (YAJ15/93). The word 'bead' originally meant prayer but it came to be used of the small objects used to count those prayers because of rosaries.

Jet beads with coral or red gauds was a popular combination: 1400 *lego uxori Johannis predicti unum par bedis de gete et corall*, Haltemprice (SS4/268); 1559 *one paire of geate beads with lyttill beads of currell xvjd*. Gaterley (SS26/143). The testator in this latter case was Anne Lademan, a nun before the Dissolution, who had evidently taken her treasured rosary with her into retirement (SS26/143). Many of the rosaries were more ornate, decorated with pendants and crosses, the jet enhanced with silver and gold: 1433 *unum par preclarium de geet cum gaudeis argenteis et deauratis cum uno broche de auro pendente ad easdem*, York: this was a gift to Margaret Saltmarsh by Adam Wigan the rector of St Saviours (SS30/26). In 1439, Beatrice Lascy of Hedon remembered Beatrice Benyngton in her will, doubtless her god-daughter, leaving her *unum par preclarium de gete cum annulis per eas pendentibus* (SS30/69). The contrast with gold and silver is emphasised in several references to 'black' jet, the earliest noted above in 1404. In 1432 Isabel Hamerton of York, another widow, left to Agnes Munkegate her very best beads *de nigro gete et tria flammeola de filo* (SS30/23). The term 'jet black' is first recorded in English about forty years later.

Just a few wills in this period were in English: 1444 *And to the vicar of Mitton a pare of get beds for to myn [commemorate] my saule and mynde me in his prayers and William of Bradley prest a nother pare of get beds* (SS30/106). Here again the testator was a woman, Agnes Shirburn of Mitton, and the beneficiaries were priests. Similarly, in 1459, Ellen Gillitt

bequeathed to her son John, *the chanon of Newsom j payre of bedes gete with gawdes of silver and j crucifix and j Saynt James shell hangyng at the same bedes*, Hull (SS30/237). The shell was almost certainly a scallop, evoking the pilgrims' route to Santiago. She was the widow of a Hull ropemaker.

The examples quoted illustrate the wide range of spellings before 'jet' became the standard form but they are all recognisable. The origin lies in Old French and by 1300 'jet' was far more popular than the word 'gagate' which was the Old English term. Nevertheless, 'gagate' survived into the fifteenth century at least, notably in Whitby: 1395-1396 *Item pro vij an(n)ulis Rob. Car de gagate vijd*, Whitby Abbey (SS72/607). In 1436, William Salvayne left to his brother John one *par magnum preclarium de gagate* and a second to their sister Constance. She also received one with jet gauds: *unum par preclarium de corall cum gaudiis de gagate* (SS30/77). In 1447, a gentleman named Robert de Hoton left to Catherine Welles a rosary with the reverse combination: *unum par precum longevarum de gegate gaudettum cum curallo*, Newton on Derwent (SS30/125). An inventory of articles in the treasury of York Minster c.1500 included *Unum par preclarium de gagat cum sex de le gaudeys argenti*, York (SS35/226).

	Wear John, St. Ann's staith
	JET ORNAMENT MANUFACTURERS.
	Azar George, Church st
	Andrew Thomas, St. Ann's staith (See advertisement.)
te	Bate Isaac, Church street
	Braithwaite Samuel, Marine parade
	Brown John, Church st
	Bye Henry, Skinners st
to	Clegg Thomas & Son, Baxter gate
	Dale and Co. St. Ann's staith—(See advertisement)
il.	Flintoft Samuel, Church st—(See advertisement)
	Greenbury Isaac, Baxter gate—(See advertisement)
th	Greenbury Robert, Paddock
	Kingston Benjamin, Church st
	Slater David, Church st
	Turnbull Thomas, Church st
ce	Turnbull Thomas S. Bridge st
	Wright William, St. Ann's staith—(See advertisement.)
	JOINERS.
	Adamson Richard, Sandsea

3 The jet trade of Whitby underwent a major revival in the mid-nineteenth century,

greatly assisted by the fashion for black mourning jewellery, as worn by the queen following the death of Prince Albert in 1861.

Kelly's *Directory of the North and East Ridings Yorkshire, with the city of York* (1893 Part 1) lists the town's producers.

It is not yet clear how badly the working of jet in Yorkshire suffered as a result of the Dissolution but we can be certain that the craftsmen who made the rosaries had suddenly lost their market. However, there is evidence that in the early 1600s jet was being mined and worked in and around Whitby. In 1616 *Richard Tipladie of East Raw* and *William Cook of Whitby* were both described as *jeat worker* (NRQS2/154). It should be noted also that 'jet-worker' interchanged with 'jeter', the occupational term first noted in 1301. The evidence for that lies in two almost contemporary references in the Quarter Sessions rolls: 1614 *Francis Trewett, jeater, of Skinygrave in Brotton*; 1616 *Francis Trewhitt, jeat worker, Brotton Chapelry* (NRQS2/67,144). Perhaps some craftsmen continued to make a living by making buttons and other small accessories from jet: in 1618, a Wensleydale farmer bequeathed to Fraunces Parkin his *jerkin with jete buttons*, doubtless a treasured piece of clothing since it is contrasted with his *workday doublet & jerkin* (YRS130/42).

Panniermen

In the English Dialect Dictionary the words 'pannyman' and 'pennyman' are noted in north and east Yorkshire as corruptions of pannierman; that is the tradesman who carried his wares in panniers. In theory the word might refer to any kind of carrier but for much of its history, certainly in Yorkshire, it was used principally of the men who transported fish across the county. They were small merchants who met incoming fishermen and purchased their catch: they loaded the fish into panniers on the backs of horses and then made their way inland to the major market towns.

The evidence takes the tradition back to the Middle Ages, for panniers were said in *c.*1300 to be baskets made ‘to beren fish inne’ (OED) and the by-name is on record from the same period: Thomas *le Paynerman*, was taxed in Skelton in 1301 (YRS21/37). In fact some tradesmen retained the by-name alongside their hereditary surname, and this custom persisted into the sixteenth century: 1439 *Robert Thomson otherwise Panyerman of Middelburgh* (YAJ18/70). In 1468 *Ricardus Pannyerman, fisher* was granted the right to trade in York (SS96/188) and in 1486-1487 *Elizabeth Ricardby* was the wife of *Thomas Panyerman* of Filey (YRS103/3). Robert Skyrley was a prosperous ship-owner and merchant who died in 1522 and in his will he wrote that he forgave *Robert Panyerman al rekennyngs betwix hym and me* (SS79/154). I have found no evidence which confirms that ‘pannierman’ was ever a hereditary surname in east Yorkshire, so the likelihood is that the ‘reckonings’ referred to money owed to Robert for fish that this pannierman had purchased. His surname remains unknown.

Direct references to the occupational term can be found in town records from the fifteenth century. In 1467, for example, the town officers in Beverley came to an agreement with tradesmen who were referred to as *piscarii viz. panzarenen*; that is fishermen or panniermen (BTD58). The link with east-coast fishing towns was often specific: 1476 *de Thoma Webster de Sywardby* [Sewerby], *Fisher alias panyerman*, York (YHB24); 1553 *William Storie, Skardburge, panyerman* (YRS11/169); 1558 *John Storrie, Bridlington, panyer man* (YRS14/155).

Some of the panniermen in these earliest references, certainly into the fifteenth century, were actually described as ‘fishermen’ which implies that the men who were selling the fish had probably caught them. At some stage therefore the pannierman as a middleman came into being and that may be implicit in the relationship between Robert Skyrley and Robert Panyerman described earlier. It is more explicit in a case in 1583 which touched on fishing rights in the Honor of Pickering. Reference was made there to licences improperly granted to panniermen *to buy and Carye fish from the sea syde contrary to the Custome* (NRR1/251). It may not be clear what the ‘custom’ had been but the panniermen referred to were certainly not fishermen.

It is also important in the earlier period to draw a distinction between panniermen and fishmongers. In 1534, in a case brought before the court of Star Chamber, the plaintiff Robert Goldsborough stated ‘that he was a fishmonger as well for the ... town of Pontefract’ as for other market towns and ‘Commonly every market day he conveyed fresh fish from the sea to Pontefract and brought it into the market place to sell’ (YRS41/140). The context suggests that he was a merchant not a carrier and that he bought the fish for resale. In 1540-1547 John Smith of Wakefield paid rent on a *Herynge House* in Robin Hood’s Bay (SS72/742) and when he died in 1551 he was described as a *Fishmonger* (Th19/285). Nevertheless his will makes it clear that he was a considerable merchant and certainly not a pannierman. It is likely therefore that fisherman, pannierman and fishmonger had emerged by then as three distinct occupations.

Nevertheless, those occupations could have strong family links, and it is likely that being a successful small merchant was seen as a rise in status. The saying ‘Mock no panyermen your father was a fisher’ dates to before 1678 (EDD) and a study of family names along the coast points to such connections much earlier. John Skirley of Hornsea Beck *fischerman* died in 1512 (YRS6/151) and William Skirley of Hornsea Beck, *fyschmonger* in 1503 (YRS6/152): these men seem certain to have belonged to the same family as the merchant Robert Skyrley, mentioned earlier, who had extensive commercial interests in Doncaster and Scarborough but left property at the fishing port of Hornsea Beck to his son. In the parish register of St Crux in York John Cowper was described as a pannierman from 1716 to 1723 but as a fishmonger in 1725.



4 ‘Panniermen’s Causeway’ crosses the expanse of Danby Low moor,
north of Castleton (7 miles west of Whitby), on this extract from the Ordnance
Survey 6-inch first edition sheet Yorkshire 30, published in 1856

The Panniermen’s Causeway is a minor place-name which has survived to remind us of one route used by the carriers, in this case running from the coast through Loftus and Castleton, but many similar highways must have been in regular use. In general though, little seems to be known about the traders’ way of life, even though it survived into the nineteenth century at least, and we are dependent therefore on a few stray references that have found their way into documentary material. In 1656, for example, the jurymen of Bridlington manor court fined Thomas Pratt one shilling *for tethering panyermens horses on the Common Moore* (BCP269) which is a reminder that men and horses had to be fed en route. A dispute over tolls in 1756 also throws light on the trade. In the unpublished quarter sessions rolls, Francis Scholey was at that time the *bar keeper* at Ferrybridge and he expected to receive *One Penny for every Horse Pack, or Horse fully loaden’d with Fish* that crossed the bridge. A York fishmonger called William Nicholson claimed exemption ‘pretending to be a ... Freeman’ of the city, and his two loaded horses were impounded. The York register of Freeman shows that William Nicholson, *fishmonger* was granted his freeman status in 1755 (SS102/275) and the records indicate that he had Nicholson ancestors who were ‘fishers’ or fishmongers from the 1590s. The varied testimonies in the Ferrybridge case seem to say that the loads of fish did not come from the coast but from Cawood, caught in fish garths on the Wharfe.

The parish register of St Crux in York records the sad death in 1791 of Robert Head of Nafferton, *pannierman*, who *died suddenly on the road betwixt Malton and York – in a fish cart* (PR). This reference may imply that panniers were by then falling out of use and that panniermen were carters. However, when the diarist Charles Fothergill visited Flamborough in June 1805, he wrote of the fishermen’s wives who were waiting on the beach to welcome the incoming boats and *also boys with asses and panniers to carry off the fish*. There were he said an *extraordinary number of Asses* tethered in the lanes ... *entirely for the purpose of carrying panniers of fish* (YRS142/40,55).

An alternative term for a pannierman was ‘ripper’, noted in Sussex from c.1513, and occasionally in Yorkshire from the early seventeenth century. For example, Robert Harrison of Scarborough was described as a ‘ripper’ in 1625 but with no further details about his occupation (NYRO47/156). Fortunately another Scarborough document makes the meaning clear. In 1623 Marmaduke Potter of York, *ripper*, was arrested and bound over in the sum of £20, to appear before the borough court on 23 July. Two letters clarify the case against him, the first from the mayor of York, which asked that he be released from prison since he was a freeman of the city and a licensed *purveyor for seafish*, entitled to buy fish in all ports and places in the kingdom. The mayor expressed his surprise that Marmaduke had been imprisoned *for the buyinge of fower turbutts of a strainger* and requested more information about *the causes of his imprisonment*.

In reply the bailiffs conceded that people might *merveile att the matter, being so small*, but claimed that there had been complaints made against the trader and saying that he must be brought before the burgesses *for his sutch foarstalling of our market*. He was, they said, a persistent offender, given to using *contemptuous words*, and his case merited the court’s attention. Nevertheless they agreed to set him free, promising to comment further on the issue when next they visited York. Part of their objection to his practices was that he had bought the fish *aboord of a ship*, when presumably he should have done so once the boat had landed its catch (NYRO47/105-11).

The case is interesting in itself, as an example of the ways in which towns and cities defended their tradesmen and trading rights, but the York records of their ‘free citizens’ are so detailed that we can discover more information about Marmaduke Potter’s background. In fact he had been granted freeman status in 1603-1604 when his occupation was given as *panyerman* and there can be no doubt that his family was engaged in the trade for several generations. In 1703, for example, freedom was granted to a second Marmaduke, the son of Leonard Potter *panyerman*, and in 1736 Leonard Potter *fishmonger* was also enrolled (SS102).

The term ‘ripper’ has not yet been noted elsewhere in Yorkshire although it may of course turn up eventually in other parts of the county. If its use remains confined to Scarborough, or even to the east coast ports, it seems likely that it came from Sussex, another example of the influence that the east-coast ports had on one another. It is thought to derive ultimately from the Latin word *ripa*, more usually the word for a river bank but used in this case for ‘shore’ or ‘strand’.

Bushell family (YRS1359-11) Henry I 1114-11 29.

The history of Bushell as a surname in Yorkshire goes back to the twelfth century when Alan the son of Reginald Buscel granted the church of Hutton in Pickering Lythe to Whitby Abbey (YRS130/9-11). In c.1220 a certain Nicholas Bussel was the owner of a toft in Whitby held by Nicholas de Cardoile (SS69/18). The family gave its name to the village, now known as Hutton Bushell or Hutton Buscel, which is sited on a hillside five miles south-west of Scarborough and they had an estate there as late as 1284. In that year an inquisition found that a messuage and nine bovates of land belonging to Ralph Buscel had been forfeited to the king because he was outlawed for felony (YRS23/16-7).

That is not to say that the surname died out locally. The genealogical links may not have been established but prior to 1272 Robert Buscel witnessed a deed relating to lands in Skelton in Cleveland (YRS102/116) and a tax roll of 1301 confirms the presence

there of the surname: De Roberto Bussel Skelton xjd (YRS21/37). Elsewhere, in 1279 William Buscelle held half a fee in Bollebi in the parish of Easington (YRS12/203) (YAJ22/81) and Robert Busshell was the holder in 1285 (SS49/127)?

It is tempting to connect this Norman family directly with individuals named Bushell who became prominent on Yorkshire's east coast in subsequent centuries, but no evidence for that has yet been found and the absence of the surname in major records may point to an origin elsewhere, possibly in a county further down the east coast or across the Pennines. Kent and Lancashire were its main home later and McKinley noted its presence over many centuries in the Liverpool area. The first individual with the name to be prominent in Yorkshire's history was Roger Bushell, a Hull merchant, and I have found nothing to suggest that his ancestors were Hull men. Indeed, rentals and accounts for Hull which cover the period 1293 to 1465 include no references to the surname (YRS141).

Nevertheless, between 1453 and 1483 Roger Bussell or Busshell was a prominent burgess in the city and he regularly used Hull ships, among them the *Anthony*, *Christopher*, *Mary*, *Peter* and *Trinity*. He had trading links with Newcastle upon Tyne and Yarmouth and also with the Low Countries, in ports such as Amsterdam, Edam, Middelburg, Veere, Westenschouwen and Ziericksee. The cargoes of ships that he used are evidence of the wide variety of goods that he traded in, including cloth, dyestuff, fish, grain, household items, iron, lead, wine, and wool. A single item from the Hull customs accounts is evidence of that variety. In 1460 for example the *Trinity* sailed from Hull with Peter Long as the master, and the eight entries credited to Roger Bushell were linen and woollen cloths, malt, wheat, a barrel of osmunds [pieces of iron], horse shoes, butter and sets of caldrons or 'kettles' (YRS144/19). The last cargo of which we have any record was on the *Hilda* of Hull in August 1473 and we know that he died in 1483. In his will he is described as Roger Busshell, merchant, and that spelling was usual thereafter.

‘Cold in Religion’: part 2: Catholic gentry in Tudor Southampton

CHERYL BUTLER

The first part of this article was published in the November 2025 issue of *The Local Historian* (vol.55 no.4). Subtitled ‘a micro-study of the mercantile community of Tudor Southampton’, it was focused on the rapidly emerging Protestant community, and the extensive upheavals which accompanied it. The paper highlighted some of the leading families in the town, and the problems faced in mixed marriages and by Catholics in largely Protestant households. This present paper (part 2) looks at the other part of the religious equation—the survival of Catholicism in the town, and in particular the role of families of higher social status and enjoying wide networks of connections—social, political and religious—beyond the walls of the town.

The Reformation

During the prelude to the cataclysmic events of the 1530s Southampton, though relatively small, with a population of around 2000 souls, was commercially among the most important ports in the country.¹ It was a town built on trade and governed by a mercantile elite—there was no great church or cathedral within its precincts. The mother church of St Mary lay some distance outside the walls, while the senior prelate was the bishop of Winchester, a day’s travel away. Some way to the west was the abbey of Beaulieu, and its sister Cistercian house, Netley, was to the east. The appointment of the town’s clerics was in the gift of the priory of St Denys, a few miles to the north. The abbots, prior and the bishop of Winchester were important and influential figures, with whom the town carried favour, sending them New Year gifts of exotic fare—wine, oranges, lemons, pomegranates—and appointing them honorary burgesses.² Within the walls there was a small friary, which had been reformed by Henry VII and was now under the rule of the Friars Observant; adjacent to the friary was the twelfth century Maison Dieu or God’s House which, since the fourteenth century, had been in the control of Queen’s College, Oxford. There were five churches within the walls: All Saints, St Lawrence and Holy Rood stood alongside the main highway of English Street; St Michael, within the Norman market square, and St John were situated on the parallel highway of French Street.

When the Reformation came, local men such as Henry Huttoft, client of Thomas Cromwell and Sir Richard Lyster, lord chief justice of England, did well out of the dissolution of the monasteries, acquiring land and assets. Huttoft was put in charge of the appropriation of local church lands and went on to obtain the estate of the Augustine canons at Mottisfont. Lyster’s stepson Francis Dawtrey ended up in possession of the lands of St Denys priory.³ The newly ennobled Wriothlesley family found themselves not only honorary burgesses of the town, but also titled the earls of Southampton. They took over the abbey and lands of Beaulieu as well as those of Titchfield. Netley Abbey came into the possession of the Paulet family, later Marquesses of Winchester. The Southampton burgess Thomas Welles worked hand

in glove with Thomas Wriothesley to extract money from Hyde Abbey in Winchester. John Mille, long-time town clerk, took over the lease of the Beaulieu Abbey properties in the town; in his will he hinted that he was the illegitimate son of the former abbot.⁴ The Maison Dieu was protected as it was owned by a college, but moved its focus away from religion to the maintenance of almshouses. Its governors appointed stewards such as the radical Protestant Francis Mylle to oversee their large property portfolio in the town. Only Friar Gilbert Peacock took a stand about the reforms and found himself transported to imprisonment in Lincoln, never to be heard of again.⁵ Cromwell's commissioners were disappointed by their haul from the friary, the most interesting item being a treatise on the Philosopher's Stone. The friary itself went through several owners, including Edward Seymour, and eventually ended up in the hands of William Herbert, husband of Anne Parr, the sister of Katherine Parr. The Kemer family, who had a small estate on the outskirts of Southampton, welcomed home a sister, Edith, who had been in the wealthy Benedictine monastery at Shaftesbury, which was dissolved in 1539. Edith did not survive long—she died in 1540, leaving her profession ring and gown to another former nun, Dame Maye. She also left two altar cloths to her local church at Chilworth. Her will was witnessed by one of her brothers, Harry, who himself was a priest.⁶

The mother church of St Mary, as part of the religious changes, lost its chantry which was rented out as a farm and manor house at one point in the possession of Thomas Cromwell. Later it passed to the Renegar family and then to the Lambert family. Robert Renegar was a member of the 1553 commission for the sale of church property with the merchant John Capelyn. The loss of the chantry led its last precentor, William Capon, to leave £100 in his will in 1550 to establish a school in the town. Stephen Omedeux, in his will of 1547, left legacies to the former servants and clerics of Dr Capon, presumably the last clerics trained by Capon at St Mary's chantry.⁷ It took a number of years for Capon's wish for a school to be fulfilled but eventually the wealthy merchant John Capelyn contributed to the project and the King Edward VI School was set up above a stable in Winkle Street.⁸ John Hurlock was appointed to the school in 1569, at an annual wage of £20 plus £5 13s 4d for reading a lecture of divinity every week.⁹ The records also show that from the late 1560s and through the 1570s and 80s money was paid out to visiting clerics who gave 'guest' sermons in the town.¹⁰ When Hurlock died in 1574, he left a library of 82 books as part of his estate. These included a bible, seven theological texts, fourteen commentaries, three handbooks, and two sermons, eleven religious and ethical texts. Three books were Calvinist, and three were Protestant martyrology but there were also two Catholic works. The rest of the library included six books of language and rhetoric, six of classical literature, and five of classical history. These books were printed abroad in Antwerp, Basle, Geneva, Strasburg and Zurich, with a few being printed in Paris, Rome and Venice.¹¹

Sir Richard Lyster

The wealthiest and most prominent resident of Southampton during the reign of Henry VIII was Sir Richard Lyster, who had married the widow Isabel Dawtrey, owner of the building now known as Tudor House Museum. Lyster was at the centre of affairs at court, involved in trying to extract Henry VIII from his marriage to Catherine of Aragon and later taking part in the coronation of Anne Boleyn. His legal position saw him involved in the trials of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More as a member of the special grand jury.¹² However, like Henry VIII, Lyster was still Catholic in his leanings and religious practice. This led to him being verbally abused

from the pulpit of St Michaels by the vicar John Griffith in 1548. The story is given in the autobiography of the iconoclastic preacher Thomas Hancock.¹³ Hancock had been suspended from his curacy at Ampport, near Andover, by Bishop Gardiner of Winchester in 1546 for breaches of the Six Articles, but in 1547 Archbishop Cranmer had given him permission to preach. Hancock, undaunted by his previous suspension, had preached an inflammatory sermon at Salisbury and found himself bound over for his good behaviour. He moved on to Southampton in 1548, having with him a letter from the Duke of Somerset to Lord Chief Justice Lyster, begging the discharge of the bonds. While in Lyster's home, which was across the square from St Michael's church, he heard the bells ringing summoning people to the service where Hancock had been asked to preach. Lyster forbade Hancock from speaking as he felt that, given his record at Salisbury, it was likely to be inflammatory and provoke a public disturbance. Hancock argued his case and Lyster sent for the mayor and burgesses to back him up and they supported his decision. They had not reckoned on the involvement of the substitute preacher John Griffith, the vicar of Holy Rood church, an equally zealous radical protestant. Griffith had been given the living of Holy Rood by John Capelyn, who acquired that privilege with the dissolved St Denys Priory. From the pulpit Griffith challenged Lyster, who was in the congregation, that in his position as 'Chief Justice of the law, did suffer the images in the church, the idol hanging on a string over the altar, candlesticks and tapers on them upon the altar and the people honouring the idol, contrary to the law'.¹⁴ Hancock's memoir does not record Lyster's response to this attack. In contrast in 1549 the former friar Parson Wigg, when speaking in the town spoke of the 'limitation of the kinges majesties reigne nothing unlikely a traytour'. He escaped arrest following warnings from his friends.¹⁵

Lyster, with Margaret Welles, wife of Thomas Welles, collector of customs in the port, voiced their support for Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, when he was imprisoned in the Tower.¹⁶ They were out of step with the further reforms taking place under Edward VI. Margaret, it was reported, said in 1550 that 'a sturre that shuld be in thes Realme before Mighlemas next greater then the sturre of the last yeares'.¹⁷ Lyster outlived Henry VIII and served his son Edward VI before retiring to Southampton in 1552, dying in March 1553 and being buried in St Michael's church. His memorial, erected in 1567, was medieval in its design. Likewise in 1554 another religious conservative Henry Huttoft died and his brother Thomas directed that his tomb should be traditional in its construct within the chapel of St Barbara at St Michael's church and be celebrated with memorial masses.

Chantry priests and chaplains

The mayoral accounts, which begin in 1488, show the mayor providing a wage and sometimes livery for a variety of chantry priests and guild priests, while the stewards' accounts record the administration of the bequests left for the annual minds of past merchants and their families.¹⁸ Chantries were suppressed in 1548 as a more radical Protestantism swept the country during the brief reign of Edward VI. The chantry chapels in the parish churches were dismantled and the celebration of obits and the accompanying feasts ended. As well as that physical symbol, it took away a spiritual experience, for mass and perpetual prayers and the intercession of the saints had been a way to remember the dead and to help their passage through purgatory and into heaven. The steward's book of 1492-3 provides an example of the number of minds and dirges that were being kept:¹⁹

Deceased commemorated	church	beginning of commemoration	date
John Seld	All Saints	1454	24 January
Robert Florens	Saint Michael	1443	22 February
Thomas Smales	St Mary	1441	9 April
William Nicoll	Holy Rood	1454	25 April
Nicolas Homage	St Mary	1461	28 June
Adam Marshe	St Lawrence	1439	10 August
William Mauncell	St Michael	1428	2 September
John Mascall	Holy Rood	1428	10 November

Typical of the costs of the Mind was that for William Mauncell which involved the vicar of St Michael: wax 3s 6d, four curates 12s, their five clerks 2s 6d, the mayor 2s, the steward 2s, the bedeman 2d, 300 white buns 4s, 150 spiced buns 18d, spices and butter 6d, dozen of good ale 18d, nine gallons of penny ale 9d, cheese 7d and a gallon of wine 8d.

The mayor's chaplain from at least 1537 was a French priest, Hector de la Mare, who did not become denizen until 1544, when he stated he had been resident in England since 1504. He presumably continued in the Catholic faith and was still in civic service in 1555 when he received 13s 4d for his livery gown. In his later years he had joined the household of the Favor family as a personal priest to Jane Riggs, widow to two former mayors John Favor and Thomas Riggs. John Favor had an unnamed priest in his household in 1503. Thomas Riggs was mayor during a French attack on the town in 1542-3 when de la Mare, in his position as chaplain, said mass for men injured in the attack. In the same year he was paid 4d for keeping the mind of John Selder and that of William Mauncell. Jane Riggs, in whose house de la Mare lived, asked to be buried in the friary, which had been briefly restored by Mary I.²⁰ The process of religious change was briefly reversed when Mary I ascended the throne in 1553. In the summer of 1554 Philip of Spain landed at Southampton en route to his wedding to Mary in Winchester Cathedral. The restoration of the Catholic faith was not yet complete—when Philip went to Holy Rood church to hear mass, a suitable bible had to be hastily purchased for the church.²¹ In 1558, with the accession of Elizabeth, the religious situation changed again, with the restoration of the Church of England—and during her reign resistance from the local Catholic gentry grew.

Counter Reformation

By the end of the 1570s Hampshire was being particularly targeted by seminary priests from Douai. Cardinal William Allen, leader of the English Catholics, singled out Winchester as a town where priests could do the 'most good' as it was a centre for Catholicism in southern England.²² This was followed in the 1580s by Jesuit missions arriving in the country. The government were of course concerned with priests coming in through ports like Southampton, which had admiralty jurisdiction for an area from Lymington to Portsmouth and across to the Isle of Wight.²³ As the country moved towards war with Spain in the mid-1580s, more proclamations and instructions arrived for the mayors and justices to watch out for suspicious travellers. One such, dated 28 May 1585, was copied into Southampton's mayoral Remembrance Book:²⁴

After our hartey Comendations forasmuch as yt ys understood that sundrie wicked persons in sundrey partes on the other sides the seas have intention to Continewe there develishe malice against her majestie and this Realme and meane to Come secretley into this Realme in Covert sorte with some pourpose to attempte some great mischeffe which neverthelesse we hope god will of his goodnes withstand

The town was ordered to appoint men to watch for any vessel arriving in their jurisdiction, to search ships and interrogate crew and passengers. Suspect persons were to be taken into custody, and those appointed for the task should be 'known to be well affected in the matter of Religion'.²⁵

Researchers such as Caroline Adams²⁶ have shown the importance of religious politics and kinship networks. Questier has highlighted the difference between Jesuit and non-Jesuit Catholics, including the Browne and the Petre families in southern England, who were in the secular cause.²⁷ Walsham's recent work on generations resonates in the stories of these families.²⁸ Well-known recusants, often from the priesthood, followed the directives of the papacy or even plotted rebellion, and generally belonged to gentry and aristocratic families. Southampton was not without these radicals, including Swithun Welles and the Babington plotter Chidioc Tichborne, but their suspect exploits took place outside the town. There were family tensions even within Catholic marriages—the second earl of Southampton and his wife, Mary, daughter of Viscount Montague, were both Catholics but at opposite ends of the spectrum.

The Earls of Southampton

The earldom of Southampton was created by Henry VIII in 1537, and in its second creation in 1547 the title was given to Thomas Wriothesley, who had risen through the ranks during the turbulent years of the Henrician Reformation, and was notorious for allegedly personally torturing the Protestant martyr Anne Askew in 1546.²⁹ He was a member of Thomas Cromwell's clique but was malleable enough in his religious views to become a supporter of Bishop Gardiner and the Duke of Norfolk after Cromwell's fall. On the death of Henry VIII, he was a member of the Regency Council, but he died in 1550. Thomas was succeeded by his son Henry, who was linked by marriage to the family of Sir Richard Lyster. His mother was a Catholic and raised her son in that religion. Henry Wriothesley was implicated in the Northern Rebellion against Elizabeth and, although he escaped the consequences of that, was later imprisoned for conspiring with the Bishop of Ross. Again, he escaped any serious repercussions and was released from the tower in 1573. One of his key servants was Thomas Dymok, a member of a prominent Southampton family. Dymok also had Catholic sympathies and acted as a conduit between the earl and the Jesuit priest Edmund Campion. This time the earl only escaped the consequences of this intrigue because he died in 1581. Dymok was an executor of his will, which would have given him influence over his son and heir, but he was ousted by the earl's widow.³⁰ The third earl also flirted with disaster, being implicated in the Essex Rebellion. He was lucky to escape execution, but his house in Southampton, Bull Hall, was seized by the crown.³¹ Although imprisoned in the tower he was released on the accession of James I. Edward Chaney has made a strong case for the third earl having Catholic leanings, particularly in reference to the iconography of Wriothesley memorial in the parish church of St Peter in Titchfield.³²

The Welles and Tichborne families

Among the most prominent Catholic gentry families in the town were the Welles, who also had a country estate at Brambridge, south of Winchester. Thomas Welles senior married Anne, the widow of the Italian merchant Nicholas d'Egra de Marini, and in 1562 Anne's daughter from her first marriage married Gilbert Welles, her step-brother, at St Michael's church in Southampton. Gilbert was cousin to Swithun Welles, another grandson of Thomas Welles senior. Swithun Welles of Brambridge appears in

documents in Southampton with his large sprawling signature on a deposition about a stolen horse.³³ He was at one time a tutor in the household of the Earl of Southampton and then worked as a schoolmaster in Wiltshire. He gave up the school in 1582 after he came under suspicion of having popish sympathies, but after a short period when he attended Protestant services he became heavily involved in transporting Catholic priests around the country. He was arrested in 1586 and suspected of being involved in the Babington Plot, which aimed to assassinate Elizabeth I and replace her with Mary Queen of Scots, but was released. He also acted as an emissary for the earl of Southampton on a mission to Rome. He was examined again in 1587 about the activities of his cousin George Cotton of Warblington in Hampshire. Finally, in 1591 a priest was discovered saying Mass in his house. Swithun Welles was not there at the time, but he was executed in December 1591. In 1970 he was canonised.

Chidioc Tichborne was born in Southampton in about 1562, his parents Peter and Elizabeth being Catholic. In 1583 Chidioc and his father were questioned about using 'popish relics' that he had brought back after an unauthorised visit to the continent. In 1586 Chidioc was involved in the Babington Plot. He was arrested, and while in the Tower of London he wrote the poem 'Tichborne's Elegy'. He was hung, drawn and quartered as a traitor in September 1586.³⁴

Holy Relics: the family of Francis Mylle

Francis Mylle was a fervent Protestant, and spent most of his life in the service of Francis Walsingham. In that role, he was deeply concerned about the Catholic threat to Elizabeth I and was employed interviewing suspects and trying to root out priests hiding in private houses. Mylle's work was particularly crucial during the time of the Babington Plot,³⁵ as he reported on the twists and turns in the plotters' plans. The plot, which was manipulated by Walsingham and his agents, brought down Mary Queen of Scots. Mylle for some time held her secretaries in custody in his London house and he was at Fotheringhay when Mary was executed. After Walsingham's death in 1590 Mylle went into semi-retirement at his property in Southampton, though he also seems to have been in the service of Lord Burghley and he maintained a presence in London, being appointed Clerk of the Signet (although by 1606 his son usually acted for him).³⁶

Mylle was born in about 1540 and studied at Queen's College Oxford, and had been influenced by Andrew Kingsmill (1538-1569), the early Puritan, describing him as 'a rare example of godliness among gentlemen'.³⁷ Mylle made a good marriage to Alice James, from a prominent family on the Isle of Wight, and he had connections with the most important families in Southampton such as the Flemings and Edes.³⁸ Francis also worked for the bishop of Winchester, which gave him the opportunity to acquire Bitterne Farm on the outskirts of Southampton, which became his country residence. He was also appointed steward of God's House, the property owned by Queen's College Oxford, and that role gained him another property, the warden's house on Winkle Street.³⁹ Mylle was in an ideal position to observe and shape religious matters in Southampton.⁴⁰

Through ownership of God's House, Queen's College acquired the property in Southampton and surrounding districts which Mylle administered, including the chapel of St Julien, which since 1567 had been used by French speaking Protestants. During Elizabeth's reign there were attempts to regulate the exploitation of college lands and strike a fair balance between the interests of the college and their tenants. Walsingham and Mylle helped Queen's College to secure a new incorporation. Kaye believed that the preservation of Francis Mylle's letters in college archives was due to the part he played in securing the estate and that they had 'acquired almost the status of holy relics'

which prevented them from being thrown away.⁴¹ Until his death in 1618 Mylle acted as steward, sorting out the College's property portfolio, making sure rents were paid and land was not encroached on.⁴² In return he was granted the stewardship of God's House for the period of three lives, his own and those of his sons Henry and James:⁴³ 'principallie through your paines & credit' and because 'of that honor you have brought to this obscure place by procuring him to be placed amonge us, who for godliness and all good knowledge is the great light of our Universitie'.

In 1583, during this period of heightened religious tensions, the merchants of Southampton invested heavily in the voyage of Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, anticipating that the port would benefit most from the proposed colonial enterprise. Gilbert had been granted a patent in 1578 and, in a letter to Francis Walsingham about passengers on the voyage, it was noted that the licence said: 'That recusants of ability may have liberty to travel there, upon discharge of the penalties due to her Majesty; also, those not able to discharge the same, provided they pay when able to do so. That none under colour of this license go to any other foreign Christian realm, or do anything tending to the breach of any league between the Queen and any other Prince'.⁴⁴ The head of the list of investors was Walsingham himself putting in the largest single amount (£50); Francis Mylle invested £10.⁴⁵

An insight into Mylle's personal religious beliefs can be found in a letter he wrote in 1586 to the radical puritans Thomas Randolph and William Davison:⁴⁶ 'I trust sir, as it hath pleased God and her Majesty to change your estate by calling you to a place of honour, so it shall not be offensive to you sometimes upon honest occasions to be troubled with suits and letters of the godly and poor men, in which sort I do account myself, for choosing sincerely as you have long done the gospel of Christ, I hope He hath advanced you now for the furtherance thereof and for the comfort of all the charges of the same. And in this hope, rejoicing [at] your preferment to honour, so I most heartily pray God to increase all His good graces and gifts in you, especially His spirit of wisdom and zeal, whereby His Church, her Majesty and her realm may reap profit of the place you now hold'.

Mylle believed that port officials were particularly corrupt and unreliable and deplored any priest or other suspect persons who were released from custody.⁴⁷ He was, however, active in Southampton affairs, being made a burgess in 1582 and he was involved with the mercantile trade to Spain and Portugal.⁴⁸ His daughter Frances married the captain of Calshot Castle, Richard Smith, brother of the privy councillor Sir Thomas Smith. Mylle used stone from his Bitterne Farm property to build them a house on Peartree Green. When Frances Smith died in around 1612, leaving behind three young children, her widower Richard Smith chose to quickly remarry and his choice fell on Sarah Palmer. Francis Mylle was still alive when his son-in-law remarried and Sarah took over the Peartree House household. Given the concern over the influence of mothers on young children, the background of Sarah Palmer must have been of interest to their grandfather. Sarah was the posthumous daughter of William Palmer and his wife Elizabeth Verney, a goddaughter of Queen Elizabeth. Her mother died when Sarah was only five and she, her sister Katherine and brother Thomas were left in the care of a family who were unashamedly recusants. Her father had left John and Alexander Popham, Sir Thomas Palmer, John and Edward Caryll and his brother-in-law John Leedes as overseers of his will. He may have been trying to attain some religious balance. John Popham was attorney general and had sent the Jesuit Robert Southwell to his death and was also involved with the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. The Carylls were Catholic and John Leedes and his wife Elizabeth Palmer had been religious exiles in Spain. Elizabeth returned in 1577 and her father, Thomas Palmer the elder, reported her return:

his daughter, wiefe unto Mr. Leedes, fugitive beyonde the seas, whome the said Sir Thomas refuse then to deale withal unless it maie stande with their Lordships' good favour and liking, they are required to call Mistress Leedes before them, and to examyn her of the cause of her returne into this realm, where and with whome she hath remained during her absence, and whether she canne be contented upon her abode here to lyve as a dutifull and an obedient subject towards her Majestie and the lawes of this realm, and therof to advertise their Lordships⁴⁹

When John Leedes returned to England, he spent a good amount of time under house arrest with the bishop of Ely between 1589 and 1592. Sarah's brother was the soldier and adventurer Thomas Palmer who, when only eighteen, married Dorothy Malett. He had three young children and was in the process of moving his family to Spain when he died in 1605 of smallpox contracted at Valladolid, which was a centre for the training of English Jesuits and secular priests. He had converted to Catholicism on his deathbed.⁵⁰ Sir Thomas came to Spain both for the purpose of learning the language and seeing the country: 'Visiting the English College, he treated familiarly with the Fathers, and began to entertain thoughts in his heart of the Catholic religion'. While cogitating, he was 'overtaken by a sudden and mortal sickness. Therefore, perceiving himself to be in danger of death, he set to work to reconcile himself with the Catholic Church. Having received all the last Sacraments he died, and was honourably interred with Catholic rites, to the great amazement also of the English Protestants, who in great numbers were in the city, and attended the funeral'.

Sarah's marriage to Richard Smith seems to have taken place before 1613, by which time all her siblings and her unfortunate uncle were long in their graves. It is likely that Sarah's inheritance of £500, due on her marriage, had disappeared. She and her husband made a claim for the money against the heir of her uncle John Leedes, another John Leedes. He was also a recusant and was in financial difficulties, and his affairs were being handled by yet another recusant, Edward Fraunceys.⁵¹ Given the level of fines inflicted on prosperous Catholic families it seems likely that Sarah's marriage portion was no longer available, having been used to pay the Leedes family fines. Sarah's husband, meanwhile, was concerned about the spiritual care of the villagers of Weston, Woolston, Ridgeway and Bitterne Manor who could only get to church by crossing the river Itchen. Their minister could not visit them if the water was too rough. This led to children being baptised in private houses and people dying without the benefit of clerical support. Some were even buried in surrounding fields. Smith petitioned the Bishop of Winchester for a chapel:⁵²

The people go not over at all, or if any do, yet they both go and return back in great danger, and sometimes not the same day. Besides, in the fairest weather, at their return from church, they press so thick into the boat for haste home, that often it proves dangerous and ever fearful, especially to women with child, old, impotent sickly people and to young children.

Permission was given in 1617 for a small chapel to be built near the Mylle/Smith family home and Smith put up £500 for its construction.⁵³ The foundation stone was laid in 1618, the year Francis Mylle died, but the chapel was not dedicated until 1620 with a service specially written by the bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes.⁵⁴ The special service was needed as Pear Tree was the among first new Anglican churches built since the Reformation and this service became the template for all succeeding Anglican consecrations. At the service it was said that 'the unhappy negligence and contempt for divine service have conquered the minds of the profane multitude, and even excellent and virtuous men have been delayed in crossing and this has been

impossible to avoid without mortal peril'. There was praise for Captain Smith, 'who inspired by Heaven and embued with a mind almost heroic... wiped out this disgrace to religion by expending five hundred pounds or more of his own money and on the other side of the river he erected a noble chapel which he vowed to dedicate to God and His divine service'.

Sarah Palmer might have sought some refuge with the Smith/Mylle family to separate herself from her suspect relations. She later welcomed into her household Katherine, her brother's only daughter, and Katherine's half-sister Martha Cony.⁵⁵ All the women were buried in the Jesus Chapel at Pear Tree. Captain Smith died in 1630, passing on the advowson for Pear Tree Church to his son from his first marriage, another Richard. Sarah Palmer had raised the boy and he was devoted to her. He wrote a poem to praise her when she died and it was hung in Pear Tree Church.⁵⁶ In about 1640, when Sarah died, Richard Smith junior moved to Otterbourne.⁵⁷ part of Hampshire was a pocket of Catholicism led by the local gentry family, that of Thomas Welles of Brambridge.⁵⁸ There seems to be no obvious reason for the move by Richard Smith junior other than his possible conversion to Catholicism.

Conclusion

Hampshire was known to be a conservative county, with important families such as the Tichbornes, Carylls, and Wriothesleys remaining staunchly Catholic. As its title suggests, one of the last records for Hampshire in Elizabeth's reign, the *Processus contra Recusantes 1598-1603*, deals almost entirely with recusants.⁵⁹ There are also references in State Papers and the Acts of the Privy Council about Hampshire recusants. The Act Book of the bishop of Winchester's Consistory Court is the chief source of information as there are no surviving quarter session records to follow the fate of those sent to court by local justices. As the Reformation progressed in the town of Southampton, courtiers and statesmen made the most of the closures of the dissolution, and leading burgesses gained control of the livings of local churches. However, by the time Sir Richard Lyster's canopied memorial was built in St Michael's church in 1567, the routine religious services would still have felt very familiar, even though the churches had lost much of their colour and decoration. However, change was under way. The French Church was established in the town in 1567, and its members were also involved in the town's parish churches. In 1570 Elizabeth was excommunicated and in 1572 a new wave of French Protestant refugees arrived in the town following the St Bartholomew's day massacres. As the town became more outwardly Protestant the hard-line Catholic families, many of whom had made their money merchants, withdrew to their estates in the countryside around Southampton.

The scribe of the 1582 document who accused the town of being cold in religion and full of atheists and papists obviously still felt that the new Protestant order had not been fully embedded in Southampton, even though one of its leading citizens was Francis Mylle, the arch-protestant at the centre of Walsingham's spy ring. His main obsession was rooting out Catholics and Catholic plots but he was happy to protect the religious establishment of God's House and the interests of Queen's College. He also accepted his son-in-law's remarriage into the Palmer family of Parham House. It appears for him that religion was about politics and suppressing the activities of Jesuit supporting Catholics who supported acts of rebellion and civil treason. The privy council's concern about the influence of mothers, however, might have been justified with regard to Sarah Palmer's influence over her stepson, who sold his advowson of Peartree after his move to the Catholic enclave around Otterbourne.

In 1591 Elizabeth I made her last visit to Southampton as part of her progress through Hampshire and Sussex. On previous visits it was noteworthy that she stayed with both Catholic and Protestant families, but this 1591 progress, Mary Hill Cole has argued, was a turning point in the queen’s policy, and thereafter she avoided staying with Catholics.⁶⁰ The town of Southampton spent a great deal on her visit, £98 9s 2d, from items such as gilding the mace, to a purse full of money, and a quart of rose water.⁶¹ The alderman and merchants had to lend the town the money to cover the costs of her visit on 1 September 1591. The harbinger’s accounts suggest that she chose to stay in a house for the weekend of her visit rather than the draughty and neglected castle she owned in the town. It has been suggested this house was the building now known as Tudor House Museum, but this was being sublet to French immigrant families at the time. The other candidate is Bull Hall, the townhouse of the earl of Southampton.⁶² It is also suggested that she dined at the home of the Caplan family at South Stoneham. The house was then in the ownership of Margery Croke, the widow of John Capelyn, who had remarried to John Croke, the former mayor of Southampton. She had retained control of the property left to her by her first husband. Croke had masterminded Elizabeth’s previous visit to the town but had recently fallen into debt, which would see him ending up in prison. It was unlikely therefore that he was acting as host.⁶³ Three of Margery’s daughters had married men with Catholic sympathies, but Margery was related by marriage to John James, the government archivist, the lawyer and MP Sir Thomas Fleming and to Francis Mylle. These families were all noted Protestants.⁶⁴ The town was securely Protestant by the seventeenth century; it was a port that also facilitated the migration of more puritan sects to the New World, but there were still accusations in the books of examinations against some of the residents for being papists.

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Reviews of recent Victoria County History (VCH) publications

The Victoria History of the Counties of England (or Victoria County Histories, or VCH) was founded in 1899, its object being to produce a multi-volume history of every English county, arranged by hundred (or its local equivalent) and within that, by parish. The monumentally ambitious project had originally been conceived as a way of commemorating and celebrating the queen's diamond jubilee, by producing a definitive historical survey and account of her realm of England. It is highly unlikely that any of the creators of the project could have imagined that 127 years later, in the reign of Victoria's great-great-great grandson, it would still be in progress. With the benefit of hindsight, we can surely see that the idea was wildly unrealistic, but nevertheless the Victoria County History volumes have continued to appear. Its slow progress has been marked by the irregular publication of the characteristic 'Big Red Books' which are the defining visual legacy of the scheme and the cornerstone of its academic output.

Work continues, largely on the geographical basis of the original concept, using the ancient counties and the no less ancient parishes. Even in the early days, it was recognised that in some ways this was unrealistic, because the industrial and demographic changes of the nineteenth century had rendered those old divisions obsolete. But once set in train it was not really feasible to change this, so the conventional structure has been maintained. The world has changed greatly—almost beyond recognition—in the intervening century and a quarter, and so in terms of content the Victoria County History has had to make concessions to the modern age. These include changing the emphasis within the volumes, which originally focused on the descent of manors, the place of elite families, and the church. Today's publications are much more likely to include substantial sections about economic and social matters, the history of the community as a whole rather than just the elite, and the vernacular architecture as well as the polite high-status buildings. This makes them more accessible, more rounded in their approach, and whereas the Red Books are almost unmanageably large and are expensive, in recent years there has been a welcome development of smaller volumes, looking at individual towns and parishes and specific time-periods. These self-contained local histories have a more marketable quality and can be illustrated in colour. They are known as BCH shorts. Some years ago they were produced under the banner 'England's Past for Everyone.' As part of a lottery-funded initiative, and these days they may be published in conjunction with other organisations.

The VCH is based at the Institute of Historical Research in London, but at a local level it is now often operated by a charitable VCH Trust. This brings in more people at the grassroots, as volunteers, including research and drafting text, and is exemplified by the work currently being undertaken in Cumbria. In this present paper we include reviews of shorts of Southend on Sea and Basingstoke, collaborative accounts of two Wiltshire parishes; and a Big Red Book from Westmorland. There is still much to do—if output continues at its present modest level, it will be another century before coverage is complete and by that time or (even now) many of the early counties will need total revision. So, we can be sure that the Victoria County History, subject to the availability of funding, is destined to continue throughout the twenty-first century as well ... by which time King George 7th might be on the throne (*Alan Crosby*).

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF ESSEX Southend, Victorian Town and Resort edited by *Ken Crowe* (VCH University of London Press 2025 164pp ISBN 978-1-915249-87-6) £14.99

This is another of the Victoria County History of Essex (VCH) short paperbacks to be published in a series of concise parish and urban histories that continue to bring the research that is underway at local level to publication as quickly as possible. Such publications should, it is hoped, inspire interested parties to involve themselves where possible with VCH activities in their own localities and provide local historians and general readers with specific, readily accessible historical reference material. The series was developed some time ago as a result of the success of the 2012 experimental publication *The Victoria County History 1899-2012: A Diamond Jubilee Celebration*, which has been made available in both print and digital formats.

Southend has traditionally been seen as essentially a seaside resort town close to the capital and, as such, the natural summertime holiday or day-trip destination for large numbers of London-based working- and lower middle-class families and individuals. While this is broadly an accurate observation, it is only part

of the story. Nonetheless, Southend's resort credentials are considerable: at the 1911 census, England and Wales had just over 100 substantial seaside resort towns with resident populations above 2000. Walton informs us that despite some inexactitude as to how such towns with mixed economies were categorised in the census (in that some resort areas were close to, or suburbs of, larger towns; or indeed smaller resorts were being assessed as part of larger districts), this statistic in part illustrates the wider fact that Britain had an unrivalled system of coastal resorts at the beginning of the twentieth century. Southend was one of the top eight locations with out-of-season populations in excess of 50,000 inhabitants. (J. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century*). Southend also undoubtedly followed the familiar patterns of growth and inward migration so typical of many regional and provincial towns in mid- to late-nineteenth century Britain and while tourism was (and still is) a major factor in its social and economic character, other industries and activities have had a significant impact in the life of this key south-Essex coastal town.

Aside from tourism, other industries that flourished in Southend from the early- to mid-nineteenth century included brickmaking and quarrying cement stones. These activities were important to the local economy, and employed significant numbers of people, although the latter activity was on a lesser scale to that at Harwich, in the north of the county. The barge trade (dominated by two local families) was similarly significant: transporting agricultural produce, bricks and even passengers from south-east Essex to London from the mid-1800s, as well as cargoes of chalk to local farms, with ash and cinders for the brickmaking industry and household rubbish for landfill making up cargoes for the return journey. The brewery of Luker & Co became a successful business in the town, having on its books 26 freehold, 4 copyhold and 18 leasehold hotels, public houses and beer houses around the beginning of the twentieth century. Mineral water manufacture was also successful at this time, as were printing, publishing and bicycle manufacture. Boat building and repair naturally flourished, given the success of the barge trade. The retail sector similarly grew substantially from the mid-nineteenth century, including a significant growth in seasonal occupations, such as pleasure boat operations, bathing machine provision, entertainment and street vending in a manner very similar to other seaside resorts around Britain. Alongside all of this, more all-year-round businesses such as the post office, banks and usual high street shops and traders established successfully at this time. From the 1870s a significant proportion of the population were involved in public services and professions such as land agency, land development, building, estate agency, architecture, surveying and auctioneering.

This publication takes a fresh and comprehensive view of Southend, using primary sources to inform areas and themes that have thus far remained largely unexplored. After the contents pages and list of illustrations, a preface sets up the aims, format and scope of the book clearly and concisely. The introduction then gives an overview of the origins of Southend as a resort, from a medieval settlement in the south of the manor of Prittlewell Priory in the parish of Prittlewell, which was occupied with farming and fishing, to an expanding and vibrant community following the discovery that oysters could be successfully farmed there. In addition, with the rapidly developing fashion for sea-bathing and seaside leisure, the settlement was well-placed to receive day-trippers and longer-stay visitors to its long and safe coastline. From the late eighteenth century, a pattern of growth and development had begun. The transition of governance from Prittlewell vestry to a local board of health and eventually to the grant of a charter of incorporation under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882 is detailed. The estates of the principal landowners, the Scratton family, are analysed as are landscape developments in the locality, communications and the growth of the population. Thenceforward, key subject areas are organised into chapters which analyse in depth the town's historic parishes, landownership, the building of Cliff Town, the Victorian resort, the expansion of Southend from 1860 to 1914, the agricultural depression and the building of Leigh, local occupations both retail and seasonal, accommodation and catering, brickmaking, unemployment, education and clubs and societies. At the end of the main text a comprehensive list of abbreviations is given. The text is appropriately referenced and notes detailing all primary and secondary sources are included. The alphabetical index combines places, persons and subjects. High quality maps, tables, monochrome and colour plates illustrate the work throughout.

This publication will prove to be a useful resource for students, academic historians and indeed anyone interested in the history of the locality. Comparisons and distinctions are drawn with other key English seaside resort towns such as Clacton-on-Sea in the north of the county and Blackpool, further afield. This is a text, therefore, that presents a detailed local history which in turn allows analysis of the impacts of particular themes and wider, more general nineteenth-century historical phenomena as they were

manifested in Southend—a complex and vibrant resort—compared with the experience of other resorts, towns and communities both regionally and nationally.

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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

This volume is the sixth in the new Victoria County History series for Hampshire which focuses on the social, economic and religious history of ordinary people and communities. The study considers the emergence of Basingstoke as a southern industrial town in the second half of the nineteenth century; the project has been undertaken entirely by volunteer historians drawing on extensive primary material as well as previous research and publications relating to the town.

The book follows a very logical structure which is clearly set out in the table of contents. The study comprises some 170 pages with the text supported by a large number of maps, charts, graphs, tables and photographs. Some of the maps are particularly helpful—I repeatedly referred back to map 3 on page 9 for street names, buildings and landmarks—although others are more difficult to decipher and interpret. The photographs powerfully bring much of the text to life and help create a deeper connection with the town's story. In general, the volume is well produced and well organised and the preface, list of figures and index are all helpful aids in navigating around the material.

In terms of structure, there is an extensive introduction covering the geography, landscape, connectivity and demographics of the town and surrounding area. This important background is followed by comprehensive sections addressing the economic, social, political and religious history of the place and community. The result is a very thorough and painstakingly assembled account of the development of the town from 1800 to 1925.

The central theme emerging from the study is of manufacturing industry and commerce developing under the leadership of talented and entrepreneurial individuals and families to take advantage of the town's geographical position, which enabled it to benefit from excellent road (initially for coach and later for motorised transport), canal and rail links to increasingly service, and be supplied by, national and international markets as well as neighbouring towns and villages. Circumstances, opportunities, finance, vision and talent came together to create growing, thriving businesses driving the broader development of the town which, in turn, underpinned the further success of those companies. Much attention is focused on the three main examples of such successful businesses: Burberry, Wallis and Stevens, and Thornycroft, although there were many others. The location of such businesses in Basingstoke created employment opportunities for many, both townspeople and those from surrounding areas, together with demand for all the related service, utility, recreational and consumer needs which followed. The development of these industrial and commercial enterprises served to counter the effects of the late-nineteenth century agricultural depression, as the working population increasingly shifted from agriculture and domestic service to new technical, production and service industries. Some businesses thrived and others faded, but all had to adapt. This was the driving force for the 'reinvention' of Basingstoke described in the book's title, from agricultural town to manufacturing centre. The social, political and religious change described in later chapters all effectively flow as a consequence of this economic growth and expansion.

An impressive array of primary sources has been consulted across various record offices, museums, archives and libraries, including parliamentary papers, censuses, directories, newspapers and school and church records alongside much local secondary literature. As such there is real depth to the research. Much of the narrative is very engaging, especially for those familiar with the location. Given my research interests, I particularly enjoyed the sections on the impact of the First World War, the riots and disorder which occurred, and the chapter on religious history which drew out the substantial number of Nonconformist denominations which had a presence in the town.

As might be expected for a contribution to the VCH series, the study has potentially most value as a broad reference work, being more descriptive than analytical. Lots of detailed and important facts, data and information are offered, largely to good effect, but the overall text would perhaps have benefited from a

little more interpretation, analysis and comparison, as well as some more engagement with the broader secondary literature relating to the issues for which this case study provides evidence. The preface states that the study contributes to the historiography around the industrialisation of southern towns in the nineteenth century, which it undoubtedly does, but the text does not really engage much further with this secondary literature and hence it is difficult to fully appreciate the scholarly importance of the work and the significance of the development of Basingstoke in this story. However, it is an excellent base from which other scholars can build.

Given the large number of contributors required for such a substantial study there is understandably a range of written styles on display and, in places, a more developed style of prose might have been more effective and engaging. However, overall, the coherence and clarity are well retained. The names of individual contributors are all appropriately acknowledged at the front of the book but, for possible future reference and consultation, it would have been good to know who contributed which sections. A full bibliography would also have been very helpful for any researcher using the text in future as a reference tool, avoiding the need to track back through footnotes.

This wide-ranging and engaging book will be of immediate interest to historians of the town, the surrounding area and Hampshire in general. However, it also has the potential to contribute more generally to historical enquiry and deepen our understanding of religious, political, social and economic history as part of the broader processes of social change and industrial development in southern England. The epilogue is perceptive; the late twentieth century physical development of this supposedly ‘modern’ town masks the roots of a history of a very different community. This book shines a bright light on that community and, as such, should be widely welcomed by local historians.

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THE KINGTONS A history of the ancient parish of Kington St Michael with Kington Langley by Louise Ryland-Epton (Hobnob Press in association with the Victoria County History (VCH) and Kington St Michael Parish Council 2024 xi+163pp ISBN 978-1-914407-69-7) £14.95

LANGLEY BURRELL AND KELLAWAYS A history by Louise Ryland-Epton (Hobnob Press in association with the Victoria County History and Langley Burrell Parish Council 2025 xli+138pp ISBN 978-1-914407-95-6) £14.95

These books, about two closely linked parishes in North Wiltshire, are based on the research undertaken by the author and her colleagues for the forthcoming VCH volume covering the Chippenham area. They are the result of a partnership between the VCH and the respective parish councils to produce instructive and engaging histories aimed at the general reader. They are arranged in a series of thematic chapters, covering location and landscape, agriculture and industry, local governance by parish and manor, social life and education, and church and chapel. Interwoven within these are case studies: in-depth examinations of events, parishioners and buildings. The blurb for the volume on the Kingtons promises that the reader will gain ‘insights into the lives of the villagers, their livelihoods, social interactions, and religious practices, alongside some of the most critical events and histories of significant buildings’. This could equally apply to the Langley Burrell volume. The books fulfil their objective most successfully. The style is clear and concise while remaining informative and engaging. Words and terms, such as cruck, quern and quarter sessions, are explained with a light touch that does not intrude or interrupt the flow of the writing.

By an extraordinary coincidence **Kington St Michael** was the birthplace of scholars of antiquarian research John Aubrey and John Britton. Canon John Jackson, the most significant Wiltshire historian of the nineteenth century, wrote a history of the parish and also published and enlarged Aubrey’s topographical manuscript. Aubrey’s coverage of history, customs and nature are an exceptional resource. Britton’s autobiography provided several anecdotes and the material that he collected for an unpublished history was significant. Extensive use has been made of the archives of Aubrey and Jackson, held in the Bodleian Library and by the Society of Antiquaries of London respectively. Britton’s archive is held by Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society in Devizes. They are a rich source of written and visual material to draw on; Aubrey’s illustrations and photographs prepared for Jackson enhance the work considerably.

The parish of Kington St Michael included Kington Langley until 1866. It was an ancient territory whose bounds are described in a charter of 940. Soon after it passed to Glastonbury Abbey. Small detached outliers of land were added to ensure that the community had sufficient meadowland. Kington ('king's farm') was part of the royal estate of Chippenham. Langley was an area of woodland cleared for cultivation, probably out the forests of Chippenham or Bradon. The parish comprised several scattered farms and three centres of settlement represented by the tithings of Kington St Michael, Kington Langley and Easton Piercy. The latter was a separate territory that remained outside the Glastonbury abbey estate. An attempt to develop the nucleated village of Kington St Michael into a town was made in the thirteenth century: a charter establishing a weekly market and an annual fair was granted in 1266. The ambition failed largely due to its proximity to the established market town of Chippenham. Ownership by Glastonbury Abbey meant that the medieval history of Kington is recorded in surveys and an extensive series of manorial records. A survey of 1189 enables a detailed analysis of the manor. A local poll tax on landless males over 13 recorded in the manor court roll for 1349/50 lists the names of young men and boys who succumbed to the Black Death.

The soil was rich in lime but heavy and poorly drained in places, and agriculture adapted accordingly. Cheese making figured prominently. This was supplemented by woollen cloth manufacture, mainly centred on Kington Langley. In 1189 a weaver was recorded among the tenants, indicating a long association with the industry. Both activities are illustrated by the excellent use of probate inventories from the seventeenth century. The small manor of Langley Fitzurse, lay within Kington Langley. The most renowned member of the Fitzurse family was Reginald, one of the four assassins of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1170.

Located in Kington St Michael was St Mary's priory, a convent of Benedictine nuns, founded by 1155. When the priory was dissolved in 1536, four nuns were resident and it had a net annual income of £25. Originally belonging to Glastonbury Abbey and associated with its grange at Kington, the advowson of St Michael's church was held by the priory from the thirteenth century to sixteenth. It left its mark on the building. Windows in the chancel and a chapel at the east end of the south aisle and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary were added by the nuns. Stained-glass windows depicting two of the prioresses and one, purportedly of King Aethelred, from the time of Glastonbury Abbey's control, were sketched by Aubrey. He also made drawings of the exterior of the church and of the tower which collapsed during the great storm of 1703. These provide a unique source for the church. Three of his illustrations are reproduced in the book. Although primarily renowned as an antiquarian, Aubrey had a keen interest in nature and recorded the flora and fauna around his childhood home of Easton Piercy. He attributed the disappearance of pine martins to the loss of habitat resulting from woodland clearance, although his comment that their 'fur is much esteemed' suggests another reason for their decline.

In 1189 one in ten of the holders of property were women and in 1840 several women ran farms. Edith Brown, alehouse keeper in Kington St Michael, is the subject of a case study. In 1574, together with her daughters, she was accused of witchcraft. The report did not appear to have been taken seriously and she continued to run a successful business as a widow for more than 20 years. The parish register gives for example, an intriguing glimpse of Elizabeth Taylor, described as a fortune teller when she was buried in 1593. There is a good run of seventeenth century manor court records which have been mined for details of petty misdemeanours and the regulation of the communal agriculture.

First mentioned in a Saxon charter, **Langley Burrell** acquired the patronymic element of its name from the Burel family, lords of the manor from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Its boundary with Chippenham did not follow physical features in the landscape, but boundaries of existing large open fields, so the lands of both parishes appear to be intermingled. The profusion of detached portions of land caused complications that were subsequently ironed out. Peckinggell was purchased by Glastonbury Abbey as meadow land to serve its estate of Langley Fitzurse, remaining part of it until 1882. Tytherton Kellaways was a separate parish only absorbed in 1934. References to 'de Kaileway' suggest that the Kellaways family took its name from the place. It has geological significance as Kellaways sandstone, which extends from Dorset to Yorkshire, takes its name from the hamlet. Barrow was an outlier to the parish of Slaughterford until 1882. Recent archaeological evidence suggests that a medieval settlement existed there.

One of the outstanding features in the landscape of Langley Burrell is Maud Heath's Causeway, a 4¹/₂ mile track across the floodplain of the river Avon from Bremhill to Chippenham. The traditional belief was

that Maud, an unmarried 'peasant trader' of Langley Burrell, paid for its construction to allow access to Chippenham market, and this is how she is represented in a statue overlooking the route. In fact, she lived in Tytherton Kellaways, was the widow of a Bristol merchant, and left money for the repair of an existing road. Although primarily an important local route, it may have been used and maintained for traffic between Bristol and London. Maud's background suggested that she understood trade and the importance of good transport routes.

Seventeenth century probate inventories are used to illustrate not only farming, but also woollen cloth manufacture. The mills at Kellaways comprised one grain and two fulling mills in the mid-seventeenth century. Fulling racks, to stretch and dry cloth, near Peckingell mill indicate that it might also have had fulling stocks. The inventory of John Read (1699) is particularly informative as it itemises the raw material and cloth in various stages of production: worsted (combed wool), linen on the loom (used for the warp), drawn wool, yarn, and pinions (flock used for stuffing mattresses).

Some documentary sources, such as maps, deeds and leases, give an impression of order and neatness thus obscuring the loose ends and tensions of ordinary lives. There are several correctives to this in the histories of the villages covered in both books, which allow for a more balanced and nuanced approach, while revealing an energy and vitality which enliven the accounts. A few examples will suffice. The amoral behaviour of Thomas Webbe, a radical minister of Langley Burrell from 1647, and his libertine sect shocked the neighbourhood. He is believed to have defaced the memorial to the wife of his predecessor, Henry Norborne, who was presumably ejected due to Royalist sympathies. His title Revd has been scratched out and his degree, abbreviated to 'BAT [bachelor] IN DIVINITIE', altered to BAD. This is a fascinating and present reminder of the religious turmoil of the mid-seventeenth century. In 1822 several young men from Langley Burrell and Kington Langley set upon a group in Chippenham. Two were killed and in the ensuing court case two men accused of their murders were acquitted. The ferocity of the attack is an indication of underlying tensions which had fermented over several decades. The lukewarm reaction of the rector of Kington St Michael to the relief of Ladysmith during the South African war in 1900 (he refused to allow the bells to be rung) was considered unpatriotic and pro-Boer and led to a revival of the old folk custom of rough music (a mocking procession to shame an individual, at which an effigy was burned).

Insights into life in the mid-nineteenth century are provided by the diaries of John Jeremiah Daniell, the first vicar of Kington Langley, covering the years 1858-1868, and of Francis Kilvert, spanning his time as curate of Langley Burrell from 1872 to 1876. Daniel was closely involved with the school in his village and provides much detail about it. Kilvert's diaries are described by the author as a 'classic work of English literature and a valuable primary source for local history', and several anecdotes from them enliven the account. The artist Robin Tanner, a resident of Kington Langley, illustrated *Wiltshire Village* (published in 1939), which was written by his wife Heather and was an imagined village based on the Kingtons and Langley Burrell. Several of his etchings are reproduced in both books to great effect. His diaries together with the village's war book, school log books, newspapers and published sources provide a detailed portrayal of life in the villages covered by both books during the Second World War. As well as an accomplished artist, Tanner was a school inspector and was aware of the impact of children evacuated from urban areas.

The books are not footnoted but each has an extensive note on published and original sources consulted and a detailed index and are worthy tasters to the forthcoming VCH volume. They are profusely illustrated with outstanding local illustrations and sources from further afield, which together provide an impressive visual impact. A photograph from a village in Kent in 1976, of a rider on horseback attempting to strike a quintain, a custom observed locally by Aubrey, seems at first something of a stretch. Perhaps its inclusion serves as encouragement for participation in similar historical themed events by the inhabitants of the Wiltshire villages, whose histories have been presented in such an engaging and engrossing way.

Louise Ryland-Epton has set a high standard and deserves considerable praise for producing such attractive and readable books, which set a high standard for similar volumes in the future. Her achievement was recognised in May 2025 when she earned an Outstanding Contribution Award in recognition of her role in developing VCH Partnership Publications to connect VCH scholarship with local communities, through training and mentorship. This was richly deserved.

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VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY OF WESTMORLAND vol. I Lonsdale Ward edited by *Emmeline Garnett and Sarah Rose, with contributions by Christopher Donaldson, Fiona Edmonds and Angus J.L. Winchester* (Boydell & Brewer for VCH 2025 42pp ISBN 978-1-904356-58-5) £95

This volume has a double significance, beyond that normally accorded to a new VCH publication. It is the 250th 'big red book' to be published since the Victoria County History's first volume (Hampshire vol.1), appeared in 1900 or 1901 (opinions differ, but the book itself has the imprint 1900, which would make it the only volume to appear in the lifetime of Queen Victoria herself). During the decade and a half before the First World War the output was considerable, and several counties were completed, but between the wars and into the 1950s the project was semi-moribund and few 'big red books' appeared. A modest revival which began in the 1960s and 1970s has continued, with a relatively low level of publishing but a steady pace. Inevitably, funding is the main determinant of progress, particularly since local authority support, which forty years ago seemed a way forward, is now almost non-existent. So, reaching the 250th volume is a major achievement, and the VCH website currently lists 15 more volumes in progress, with the project active in more than twenty counties.

At the beginning of the present century, there were a number of counties where the VCH had been started almost a century before or more, but had then ground to a halt with only the initial volumes published—those which covered, for example, religious houses or Domesday entries, but nothing for the individual parish histories. These counties included Durham, Cumberland, Devon and Dorset. No work had been undertaken for Northumberland, which had its own county history series not under the auspices of the VCH. And in one other county, no work had been done—Westmorland. For neighbouring Cumberland, two volumes had appeared, in 1901 and 1905, but then a century had elapsed with no activity. The absence of the VCH for these two counties was keenly felt, particularly as the third major component of the post-1974 county of Cumbria—the area of Furness and Cartmel, or Lonsdale North of the Sands—had been comprehensively covered as part of Lancashire before the First World War.

The wish to initiate or revive the work in Cumbria was long frustrated by a lack of funds and the absence of a suitable organisational structure, difficulties which were eventually resolved by setting up the Cumbria County History Trust as a charitable body to produce the volumes, under the benevolent guardianship of the Regional Heritage Centre at Lancaster University. This present volume is among the first fruits of that initiative, ironically appearing just as the 'new' county of Cumbria was abolished and divided into two unitary authorities, their names resurrecting memories of the 'old' counties—Cumberland and Westmorland & Furness. So, this 250th 'big red book' is the very first volume for Westmorland to be published.

It is largely the work of volunteers and a very small professional staff, and in particular it is a monument to the research carried out by Miss Emmeline Garnett, who died in July 2022 aged 98 and to whom the volume is dedicated. Emmeline was a formidable and entirely wonderful lady, whose research and writing skills were exemplary. During her very long retirement she pursued several fascinating local history themes, including an invaluable sub-regional survey of datestones; a highly contentious Victorian inheritance case; and the history of a boys' reformatory school founded by her great-grandfather. But she also, over many years, steeped herself in the history of the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, in the southern part of Westmorland, and her findings have contributed hugely to the new book. She is credited as co-author of the volume and of nine of the 14 chapters. It covers Lonsdale Ward ('ward' is the local equivalent to 'hundred'), which included 13 townships, of which two (Kirkby Lonsdale itself, and Burton in Kendal) were urban—albeit at the lowest level of the hierarchy—and the rest entirely rural. Emmeline was a tireless researcher in the record offices at Kendal, Carlisle and Preston, and her work was checked and supplemented by other researchers, led by Dr Sarah Rose (our former Reviews Editor) in archives such as those in London.

The resulting volume conforms to the long-established principles of the VCH in terms of its layout and organisation and the way that the contents are presented but, as with other volumes published in the last 40 years, its thematic scope is much broader than in the traditional volumes. Characteristically, for example, it covers such topics as local organisations, sport and commercial retailing. While not leaving out the manor, the church or the leading families, it very much considers the community in a wider sense. As with most VCH volumes, there is a distinctive style—not a lot of narrative text, and some sections which are almost telegraphic in the brevity with which information is set out. The text is complemented by a set of 17 very fine maps drawn by Cath d'Alton. They are beautiful in their clarity and simplicity, and

it is possible to see fine detail in the information given but at the same time to gain a more generalised overview. The index is outstandingly thorough, and traditionalists will be pleased by the retention of that most celebrated feature of the VCH, the multitude of footnotes which are the lead into further research on the subject.

The individual chapters for the separate townships highlight a typical circumstance familiar to local historians in North West England. There is a paucity of archival sources for the medieval period if compared with southern and midland England (for example, there are almost no probate records for Cumbria before the 1540s, and sources such as churchwardens' accounts are similarly rare). This comparative lack of documentary sources means that, of necessity, the accounts of the earlier history of parishes and townships tend to be rather limited, and indeed township records generally are frequently absent or restricted to a few chance survivals. In contrast, the descriptions include more extensive coverage of landscape and environment, and the detailed attention paid to vernacular architecture is a particularly welcome aspect of the new approach. Despite its rural and relatively 'remote' character, transport is a major theme in Lonsdale Ward by virtue of its topography, lying between the Lake District and Yorkshire Dales National Parks, with the Lune Gorge at its northern end channelling routeways. The VCH volume has (quite rightly) given extensive coverage to the railways and the M6, recognising the importance of both to the economic and landscape development of the area. The small and attractive market town of Kirkby Lonsdale, the central place of the Lonsdale Ward, had not previously been the subject of a published history, but this volume more than compensates for that, with a splendid 75-page account which deserves to be the basis of a separate volume of the 'VCH shorts' variety. Covering in detail such themes as the social history of the community, its place as a tourist attraction since the eighteenth century, its architecture, commerce and religious life, it is the very model of a modern local history.

The Cumbria County History Trust is actively working on further VCH volumes for parts of the erstwhile county of Cumbria, including the total revision and updating of the area which had been included in the Lancashire volume 8, published in 1914. It is a great pleasure to have observed this volume coming to completion and publication, knowing as I do not only all the contributors, but also something of the trials and tribulations attendant on its gestation and development. Westmorland waited a century and a quarter for its first Victoria County History volume, but it was worth the wait.

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• REVIEWS •

TEMPLE FAMILY PAPERS volume 1 (1555-1603) edited by Rosemary O'Day (Buckinghamshire Record Society 2024 vol.43 xxiv+420pp ISBN 978-0-901198-48-8) £30 + £5 p&p

The voluminous collection of Temple family papers held in the Henry E. Huntington Library (HEHL), San Marino, California, in the Stowe Temple Family Papers archive, comprises all manner of documents, including legal case notes, books of memoranda, financial papers, deeds and letters; the smaller Temple Addenda collection consists mainly of letters to and from Lady Hester Temple, in the later 1620s and early 1630s. Professor Rosemary O'Day has been working on the archive for more than 22 years. In 2018 she published *An Elite Family in early modern England*, which discusses the Temple family of Stowe (Buckinghamshire) and Burton Dassett (Warwickshire) from about 1570 to 1656 and draws heavily on the papers in the HEHL. She is now editing a series of volumes for the Buckinghamshire Record Society which includes documents generated by the Temple family and their associates during the period from 1555 to 1637. This present volume is an edited selection of papers covering 1555-1603. For the whole series, given the vast quantity of surviving papers, O'Day decided to use a 'thematic and topical approach as the basis of selection'. She has chosen twelve themes which cover various aspects of the lives of many of members of the extended Temple family, as well as county families and people of lesser social status. As she explains, 'thematic and topical essays are planned to indicate how the manuscripts help to tell the stories from the archive, enabling the reader to understand the individual items and to get the most from the edition'. These essays refer to documents from the whole period 1555-1637, not only those in the volume in which the essay is published.

This present volume contains a selection of documents covering the lives of Peter Temple of Burton Dassett (1516-1577) and his heir John Temple of Stowe (1542-1603). The thematic essays published here are Essay 1, 'John Temple and Buckinghamshire politics' and Essay 2, 'Marriage matters'. Regarding Buckinghamshire politics, the editor has drawn together 35 letters to and from John Temple of Stowe regarding his appointment as a justice of the peace, his role in the business of parliamentary elections when JP and also when sheriff; in particular the disputed 1604 election of the Buckinghamshire knights of the shire is highlighted. Some of the correspondence demonstrates his relationships with the lord lieutenant and various county and court notables involved in county business and representation. His connections within the county are outlined, many of which were reinforced by kinship. John Temple and his wife Susan (or Susanna) Spencer brought up eleven children—five sons and six daughters—leading to more kinship ties. Much of the material in the archive relates to marriage in one way or another, so for the 'Marriage matters' essay O'Day selected several topics, including the arrangement of marriages of Temple family heirs (both proposed and actual marriages) and marriage procedures among the elite and the middling sort. Interestingly the Temples, although Protestant, appear to have been 'religion blind' when it came to considering marriages into families with influential Catholic members. The published documents include some so-called marriage agreements and letters disclosing the ways in which families became aware of potential matches or the negotiation of particular marriages.

As in many families, the same Christian names were used in succeeding generations so in the headings to the documents, where possible, O'Day has chosen to use the final title by which an individual was known; thus, Thomas Temple, John's heir, is always referred to as Sir Thomas Temple, 1st Baronet, even before he held any title. Women are referred to using all their known surnames during their lifetime, admittedly cumbersome but it avoids confusion; for example, Elizabeth Horley Freeman and Elizabeth Temple Horley. As well as the writer's name, the date of writing and the HEHL call number, each document is referenced by year and its place in that year's sequence; for example, 1590.7.

Rather than discussing politics and marriage, here it is worth highlighting a handful of documents that give a flavour of what else can be found in the Temple family archive. 1585.1 comprises the 'Precepts' of John Temple to his son Thomas, which the latter endorsed 'My fathers good instructions'. His advice included regular but short daily prayers, practising 'horsemanship & vaulting espetically of all bodily exercises', and preventing 'hurte' that may come to him by his tongue, his pen or his actions. 1597.1 are accounts, dated 5 May 1597, of Raphe Handes, the leading domestic official of the household. Some of the expenses paid were his—such as 'my charges iii meales at Thassises (the assizes) at Stony Stratforde, ii s viii d'; others were John Temple's—such as 'your botehire (boat hire) to the Lord Graies & backagain viii d'. 1600.4 are extracts from Handes' accounts for May 1600 to April 1601, and include 'my bote hire from Master Farringtons & about - 8 Feb: when the tumult was made by the Earle of Essex - vi d'. Further to

that entry, 1601.2 is a letter from Sir Arthur Throckmorton to John Temple with details of the execution of the Earl of Essex. 1603.3, the last but three of the documents, which fills nearly 11 pages, is the probate inventory of John Temple's goods and chattels at both Stowe and Burton Dassett, many of which are itemised in the numerous rooms and outhouses. The total value is more than £2600, but despite the wide variety of chairs, curtains, pieces of armour etc. identified, frustratingly the appraisers simply valued at £10 'the books in his studie'.

Following the documents, pages 265 to 365 comprise a 'Dramatis Personae', applying to this and future volumes, which includes details of the authors and recipients of all the published documents, as well as testators, issuers of receipts/acquittances, clergymen, and parties in court cases. There is also a comprehensive glossary.

Professor O'Day's work testifies to her exhaustive knowledge of the Temple family archive. This volume sheds light on numerous aspects of the lives not only of the members of one particular gentry/baronial family, but also of many of the people from various levels of society who were in contact with them during (more or less) the second half of the sixteenth century. As the thematic essays indicate, the succeeding volumes will be equally fascinating.

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THE LEDGER OF THOMAS HOWELL 1522–1528 Draper of London and Merchant of Bristol and Seville edited by Heather Dalton from the transcript made by John H. Brierley (Bristol Record Society vol.79 2024 xx+301pp ISBN 978-0-901538-52-9) £20 inc p&p

This welcome edition of the draper Thomas Howell's 'greate book' (The Worshipful Company of Drapers, MS 404) demonstrates clearly—through the mercantile practices of one man in the early decades of the sixteenth century—how local, regional, and international histories might interact in complex and mutually reciprocating ways. Howell got his start in Bristol before moving to London to seek increased financial opportunities in the cloth trade. After gaining freedom of the Drapers' Company by redemption (the payment of a fee), he expanded his trading network to include not just London, Bristol, and England's wool-producing centres, but also further afield: Iberia, the Baltic, and Hispaniola. He settled, for several years of his life, in Seville, in order that he might better oversee his financial interests, dying there in c.1537. As revealed in the edited accounts, he was a merchant of his time, capitalising on the new opportunities presented by the expansion of global trade and colonialism (including a reliance on slave labour) and utilising dense entangled regional and international networks, all set against the backdrop of the European Reformations and the constant realigning of global politics. The ledger, transcribed and edited in this volume, covers the period 1522–29, the latter date representing Howell's final move to Seville. It is the only surviving example of several such books that Howell kept during his life in both England and Spain and is likewise a rare instance of a document that would have once been ubiquitous among the mercantile and artisanal classes in sixteenth-century England. It is, therefore, at once atypical and more broadly representative, full of important themes and incidental details, and its publication will be of enduring utility to a wide range of scholars.

The volume has its origins in the doctoral work of John H. Brierley (d.2008), who for various reasons did not complete his degree but nevertheless continued working on and refining his transcription of the ledger for several decades. After Brierley's death, his daughter approached Dr Felicity Heal at the University of Oxford, and eventually the project found its way into the hands of Dr Heather Dalton, whose expertise on early modern merchants and international trade placed her in good stead to edit the transcription, assisted by additional research by Margaret Condon. This makes for an edition with its own interesting history and the book's preface foregrounds the processes by which the original manuscript (which itself was subject to historical contingencies specific to the circumstances of its creation and subsequent preservation) was edited and the editorial decision-making that facilitated its production: facts all too easily forgotten when reading an authoritative published primary source text. In her introduction, Dalton acknowledges Howell's 'idiosyncratic and inconsistent' spelling and 'particularly difficult' handwriting, as well as the mistakes and errors present in the original text; all of which have affected the editorial process. Similarly transparent are the challenges in reproducing a large and complex volume in a printed edition of much smaller dimensions and in working from a transcript that was originally created as typed and handwritten sheets in a pre-digital age. In order to 'preserve the integrity of the double page layout', which stemmed

from Howell's practice of double accounting (the earliest known English example, as the introduction takes pains to remind us), the text is presented not as folios in *recto* and *verso*, but as L[eft] and R[ight] pages, with debits on the left and credits on the right.

This is a clever answer to a tricky problem and is no doubt a product of Dalton's stated aim to 'provide a data-rich source for further study and interrogation'. While a useful and noble objective, it perhaps opens up the volume for criticism as Dalton's introduction does not offer a thorough account or analysis of Howell's business practices as revealed in his ledger; and, indeed, does not define the fundamental guiding principle of the manuscript, the novel system of double accounting. But this lacuna is easy enough for readers to rectify of their own volition by following the references in Dalton's footnotes and does not detract materially from the excellent introductory essay. The text of the manuscript itself is transcribed faithfully from the original orthography and page layout which—although presenting a somewhat daunting prospect for the casual reader—gives a good impression of the nature of a late medieval or early modern book of accounts: this is further supplemented by 28 good quality images of pages from the manuscript. To aid researchers interested in the accounting values, these numbers have been rendered in Arabic numerals and standardised in columns of pounds, shillings, and pence, and extensive editorial apparatuses including maps, a glossary, and an index have been supplied.

Consciously keeping the intricacies of Howell's business at arm's length, the focus of Dalton's introduction is instead on Howell the man, the broad sweep of his career, the mercantile culture in which he operated, and the circumstances of the manuscript's creation and history. Included are details of his personal and business disputes, his absconding apprentice, the presence of friends, associates, and factors in his business, and the convoluted process involved in implementing the bequests of an English merchant who died abroad in a Catholic kingdom in the years following Henry VIII's split from the Church of Rome. In doing so, Dalton teases out the fascinating context of the manuscript and—as intended—invites readers to assess his accounts from an informed perspective. In sum, this is an invaluable edition that opens the door for further research, and which represents the best of collaborative and long-term academic endeavours, making available and accessible a source of great interest and profound importance.

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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

In 1692, when he was 50, John Walker married Cecil Heneage, daughter and heiress of Sir Michael Heneage. In his will, made just prior to his marriage, Walker gave details of his properties in Barnet, South Mymms, (Monken) Hadley and Ridge in Hertfordshire and Middlesex, but stated that his principal residence was at the Inner Temple, London, and gave himself the title of esquire. He held the 'office and offices' of Chief Usher of the Court of Exchequer and 'Marshall Proclamator and Barrier of the Court of Common Pleas and Justices in Eyre'. With these offices came various rights, perquisites and fees, and while the duties were discharged by deputies, Walker still profited greatly, providing him with time and money for his travels. Probably born in 1641, he would have been too young to have much knowledge of the Civil Wars, but as Chief Usher of the Exchequer he would have been surrounded by lawyers and politicians and so immersed in the politics of the time. Anthea Jones observes that he had 'a moderately royalist viewpoint at the same time being a strong supporter of the rights of parliament'. He was neither a Roman Catholic nor a nonconformist.

During the 1670s John Walker travelled to various places in the British Isles, including Scotland and Wales, and he also ventured across the sea to the Channel Islands, France and the Netherlands. In her introduction Jones discusses the value of Walker's book as he travelled in Europe, visiting France prior to William of Orange's successful replacement of James II, which deterred travellers from England to France. Furthermore, he visited parts of Britain not often mentioned by other English travellers. His classical education is evident in his interest in the Roman antiquities and Latin inscriptions that he encountered (rather oddly the latter are translated in an appendix rather than in the main text). Jones notes that although Walker travelled in the 1670s, he probably wrote up his journeys in the 1690s after his marriage.

Sometimes he wrote as if preparing a guide book, but he also made political observations and commented on the economy of various places that he visited. He travelled with his ‘man’, who, never named, was probably Richard Crew, the servant who received a large bequest in Walker’s will. Although he recorded the towns where they dined or ‘baited’ (stopped at an inn, to feed the horses, and also to rest and refresh themselves), frustratingly for local historians, Walker rarely recorded the name of the establishment. Rare exceptions are the ‘Three Kings’ at Bury St Edmunds and the ‘RainDeere’ at Bishop’s Stortford.

Rather than go through each journey, I have picked out some highlights. Thus, regarding the waterworks at Versailles, Walker noted: ‘the king had been at vast charges to bring water to supply this place, being seated upon a dry sandy hill, so that the water is forc’t up by windmills and horses to bee conveyed into all parts of the garden’. Arriving at York in August 1674 ‘we found a large city but poore and despicable, having litle trade belonging to it’; although regarding the ‘cathedrall’, ‘I conceive it to bee the largest and fairest in England’ and the windows were ‘pretty entire and well painted, having been preserv’d by Fairfax at his taking the towne’. He commented on the coal around Durham and also noted the religious complexion of the area: ‘By their copes the churchmen here seem’d to bee somewhat spiced with popery. The last bishop Dr Cosin founded here a neate and elegant library for publick use’. That journey crossed Scotland and went down through north west England: Preston was ‘a good towne lying upon the River Ribble’, Wigan ‘a towne of execlent accommodation’.

His ‘Grand Tour’ of France in 1675, which fills 34 pages, would be of interest to anyone studying late seventeenth century France, for example the procession in Orleans celebrating Joan of Arc’s liberation of the city in 1429. While travelling in Wales, he noted the continuation of pilgrimages to St Winifred’s well at Holywell, where ‘some come for remission of sins, others to be eas’d of aches, and paines, and distempers just as the spirit moved them’. One political comment relates to celebrations of the Restoration at Wrexham, where ‘the frantick rable being transported with joy made a bonfire on top of the tower [of the church] which melted the leads thereof’; providentially the wind prevented further damage. Walker’s observations regarding Guernsey and Jersey are largely economic and political. On Guernsey ‘[t]he principall manufacture of the place is knitting insomuch that in every corner you see nothing but schools of young women a knitting’; and he noted the Channel Islands’ special privileges regarding immunity from any national taxes. He went out to Elizabeth Castle in the bay at St Helier, which had been severely damaged by parliamentary troops; there the castle’s captain permitted Walker and his companion to ‘discourse with Colonel [James] Temple one of the Regicides who for many years had been kept prisoner here’.

Walker’s original manuscript is held in the Somerset Heritage Centre, part of a deposit, accepted in lieu of inheritance tax, called the *Button-Walker-Heneage Muniments*. Thus, stored with it are letters written in the 1930s between Mrs (Dorothy) Walker Heneage, Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville West about the possibility of publishing Walker’s travel writings through the Hogarth Press. They decided not to, as Virginia Wolff considered them ‘of too little general interest to appeal to the ordinary public’. Fortunately, Anthea Jones thought otherwise.

HEATHER FALVEY

It is with regret that I must conclude this review by reporting the death of Dr Anthea Jones on 20 September 2025, aged 89. She had a formidable intellect, a strong character and a delightful personality, and she was a gifted local historian, her particular specialism being aspects of the history of Gloucestershire (Alan Crosby)

THE 18TH CENTURY ENSLAVING INDUSTRY Lancaster Quakers’ Involvement by Ann Morgan (UK Book Publishing 2025 146pp ISBN 978-1-805586-85-2) £24.99

In 2023 Lancaster Quakers erected a large stone plaque in their porch that admitted to a century of involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade and three centuries of denial about that involvement. Many Quaker merchants from the most distinguished families spent their working lives contributing to a slavery business that enriched them and contributed to the misery of thousands of enslaved Africans, then on Sunday worshipped in a religious community which nationally prided itself on being among the earliest and most rigorous Abolitionists. Many of these merchants were disowned in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries but none for the crime of enslaving others—instead, for privateering, gun ownership, militia involvement, adultery and marrying out of the community. Ann Morgan’s meticulously researched study examines these merchant families, their networks and multiple involvements as slave ship captains, merchants in the trade, plantation owners, traders in slave-produced goods and dealers in the inter-island

slave trade in the Caribbean. Many made significant fortunes which were then invested in industries that powered the industrial revolution such as cotton mills, or in canals, large landed estates and significant banking enterprises that laid the foundation for Barclays and the Royal Bank of Scotland. Some of their descendants are named in the British Government's compensation records because of their holdings in West Indies plantations, with fortunes amounting to millions if measured in today's values.

Morgan's study is more of a detailed sourcebook than a narrative study, making it very valuable as a record of the different Quaker families involved in the 'slavery business'. Her study is chronological, starting with the Lawsons including John Lawson (1615-1689), merchant and sugar importer who built the first Sugar House in the 1650s to take advantage of the increasing amounts of the commodity produced by enslaved Africans in Barbados. Part of the Ur-narrative of Quaker lore, he is famous for sheltering founder George Fox from a mob that was stoning him for the sin of preaching outside St Mary's church in 1652. He became a follower and was imprisoned himself later that year, and had the indignity of being placed in the stocks for his own preaching. His memorial stone is now in the porch of the Lancaster Meeting House, ironically opposite the stone plaque that decries Lancaster Quakers' involvement in all aspects of the slavery business. His various descendants were involved in the colonial trade including Robert Lawson (1652-1735) who also invested in the South Sea Company, notorious for trafficking 41,000 enslaved Africans to the Americas. As Morgan discusses, the definitive history, *The Slave Trade and Economic Development of Eighteenth Century Lancaster* (1992) by Melinda Elder describes how 'the Lawson name is notably absent from the records relating to the Lancaster Slave Trade', this, however, should not absolve them of involvement in a wider 'slavery business' that enabled the trade in enslaved Africans. Morgan's study is an important addendum to Elder's seminal study, as it looks more holistically at an 'enslaving industry' in which the trading of African bodies is only one part. It is not that Elder leaves this out of her study, it is more that she concentrates on the trade in bodies, whereas Morgan sees the importance of not allowing merchants in goods and investors in far off companies to be spared the same forensic investigation as those who invested in or captained the slave ships.

Lancaster's involvement in the slavery business reached its zenith in the middle years of the eighteenth century and Lancaster Quaker families were prominent. Morgan outlines the way the extended Foster, Satterthwaite, Dillworth, and Rawlinson families accumulated great fortunes over the century, enabling their movement to privileged positions in the Lancaster elite and often making marriage and business alliances across these family groups. She uses Quaker records, local and national, to delineate these families' involvement at the exact time the Quaker movement was warning against 'reaping the unrighteous profits arising from the iniquitous practice of dealing in negroes'. This 1758 statement from the London Yearly meeting was followed by a 1761 decree that anyone owning slaves should be disowned by their local meeting. As calls for abolition rose in the late-eighteenth century, often led by Quakers in the rest of the country, Lancaster Quakers remained silent. In fact, when in 1785 they were forced to conduct an investigation into links to slavery from the local meeting, they appointed as investigator the slave merchant Dodshon Foster (1730-1793) who had been a prominent trader in the 1750s, sending the Barborough on voyages from the city and responsible for over 500 enslaved Africans transported. Unsurprisingly, nothing that led to consequences for local Quakers involved in slavery was reported back to the London meeting.

Among these Quaker families involved in the slavery business, probably the most notorious were the Rawlinsons. The brothers Abraham (1709-1780) and Thomas Hutton (1712-1769) were responsible for the trafficking of 2106 enslaved Africans as well as owning ten plantations between them and their extended families. Thomas's wife Mary (1714-1786) (nee Dilworth) became a very rich widow when he died (and was buried without question in the Quaker Meeting House burial ground). This is attested to by her portrait by the famous George Romney and by her purchase of an ornate mahogany bookcase (worth over £2500 at today's value) made by Gillows of Lancaster. This conspicuous consumption seems rather out of keeping with Quaker values and the enslaved African-produced mahogany wood remains a testament to the ugly and disreputable way her family made their money. Their eldest son Abraham Rawlinson, Jr. (1738-1803), when he took over the West Indies trading company in 1756, gave one-sixth shares to his mother and sister Lydia (1745-1798) making them directly involved in the trafficking and ownership of enslaved Africans. Abraham married as a Quaker and had Ellel Hall just outside Lancaster built to a Robert Adams design, showing again this family's taste for conspicuous consumption. Disowned by the Lancaster Quakers in 1779 not for these heinous crimes against humanity but for 'being concerned in an armed vessel', he was baptised in the Anglican church in 1780 and, now free to stand for parliament, he was elected as MP for Lancaster later that year and served until 1790. A 'Negro adult' baptised in 1783, Isaac Rawlinson, could

well have been his slave/servant and attests to the presence of over 70 Africans baptised in Lancaster priory church in the eighteenth century, an early Black presence in the city which is only now being properly investigated. As MP the former Quaker, Abraham Jr. organised a petition to keep the slave trade as its abolition would be injurious to Lancaster's economy. Though he was no longer a Quaker member and had not been for over twenty years, in 1803 he was buried in the Quaker burial ground in Lancaster. In fact, there are probably as many slave merchants buried there as there are in the Anglican priory grounds.

Ann Morgan's book is groundbreaking in revealing the paradox of Quakers in this small northern city being as active in the trade as Anglican merchants such as the Lindow, Bond and Hinde families and, in fact, as she details there are important trading relationships between many of these families who contested over religion. Her book builds on the *Lancaster Black History Group Slave Families Project* (2020-22) to which she contributed and which brought together over 30 community historians. These findings have enhanced a *Lancaster Slave Trade, Abolition and Fair Trade Trail* which, through the Lancaster Priory and Lancaster museum at the Judges' Lodgings Facing the Past Projects, has enabled thousands of local schoolchildren to begin to learn the paradoxes of the Lancaster Quakers and discover the long history of their involvement in the trade and of the African presence in the city. Ann Morgan's book is an essential guide to the paradox that in most British locations a visit to the Quaker Meeting House would enable the discovery of Abolitionists, but in Lancaster where the Quakers did not initiate an Anti-Slavery Committee until after British Abolition in 1845, you would find a host of Quaker slave merchants.

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MENDLESHAM ARMOURY REVISITED Revelations from the Parish Archives by the *Mendlesham Armoury Research Group* (St Mary's Parochial Church Council Mendlesham 2025 60pp no ISBN) £11.50 inc p&p; **TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE MENDLESHAM ARMOURY ARCHIVES** by *Shona Rutherford-Edge and the Mendlesham Armoury Research Group* (St Mary's Parochial Church Council Mendlesham 2025 239pp ISBN 978-1-0369-3038-7) £20 inc p&p [both from <https://www.stmarysmendlesham.org.uk/armoury-project.html>]

The village of Mendlesham is in the middle of rural Suffolk. Contained in the parvise (small room) above the north porch of its parish church of St Mary the Virgin is a unique Tudor armoury. Assembled at a time when churchwardens were responsible for civil as well as religious matters, the contents of the room comprise arms and armour purchased by the parish for able-bodied men to take to obligatory musters summoned by the authorities, and to be used by those chosen to form the township's 'trained band' as part of the county militia for the defence of the realm. Whereas several churchwardens' accounts from the sixteenth century have entries relating to arms and armour, in no other parish have these items survived in situ. They were last used in Mendlesham in 1695, but rather than being discarded, the equipment was seemingly hung up in its store, left to rust, and ignored (the armoury was also used to store the parish's plate). It was mentioned (or 'discovered') several times in the following centuries, and in 1909 was fully restored. Since then, some pieces have received further preservation treatment, and it is now on display where it always hung. In 2024 a National Lottery Heritage Fund grant enabled a small group of local volunteers (the Mendlesham Armoury Research Group, MARG) to research and transcribe manuscripts held in the Suffolk Archives, Ipswich, relating to the parish in general and to the Mendlesham Armoury (MA) in particular. The two publications reviewed here are products of that work. There is some overlap, but they also complement each other.

Mendlesham Armoury Revealed provides the background history of the MA and its contents. Also within the room was a chest of manuscripts, which were recorded in 1874 by a commissioner of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, who noted the presence of various deeds, parish registers, and constables' records as well as an incomplete set of churchwardens' accounts from the reign of Henry VIII to the beginning of the eighteenth century. These accounts include a page from 1553 which indicates that men of Mendlesham were mustered in 1553 to join Mary Tudor at Framlingham castle during the coup in the name of Lady Jane Grey. Not until the early 1960s were the contents of the chest lodged in the Suffolk Archives. Having outlined the origins of the research project and the funding received, the rest of the booklet 'revisits' the armoury, its arms and armour, and the trained band using extracts from parish manuscripts, thus providing a local perspective.

The text comprises photographs of these extracts with a transcript underneath, picking up dialect words within the idiosyncratic spelling, and there are photographs of the relevant items in the armoury. The first extracts relate to ‘Mendlesham arms and armour – purchase, maintenance and repair’. There is a useful chart showing the correlation of entries in the churchwardens’ accounts relating to the armour with significant events in England and Europe by year: unsurprisingly 1588 sees the highest number of entries. ‘Powder’ comprises extracts relating to gunpowder, matchline (used to ignite it) and powder flasks: three powder flasks from about 1600 remain in the armoury. ‘Archery’ provides extracts relating to maintaining the public archery butts (targets) in the parish: part of an Elizabethan longbow is in the armoury. ‘Musters’ includes the (mapped) locations of various musters over the years and payments made for those attending. The parish/township was expected to display its arms and armour at the muster but the men did not carry them there as ‘Transporting Arms and Armour’ reveals payments for carting the items. The documents also record those who served as ‘town soldiers’ at the musters and provision made for them in terms of clothing, food and drink. The churchwardens’ accounts for 1588 include some payments for items of uniform: red caps (made of ‘boiled wool, fulled, felted and virtually waterproof’) and coloured silk scarves (sashes) used to distinguish the county’s militia. A table sets out the 1588 payments for arms and armour (£4 0s 5d) and uniform and ‘trimmings’ (£5 16s 2d).

When the armoury was created, and by whom, has been disputed. Some have credited it to Bartholomew Knightes, who was paid for various tasks in 1593 including ‘for the well hanging up of the town armour’, but the porch had been built over 100 years previously. Several alternative theories are advanced. As well as photos of the armoury’s contents, there are excellent photos of reenactors at the Mendlesham Heritage Fair in May 2024 recreating Tudor rural life (and musters).

Mendlesham Armoury Archives provides transcripts of some of the documents and details of numerous families named therein. The aim of the project was to extend knowledge of the men of the local trained band and the origins of the surviving armour. The work of the MARG is described: photographing all relevant documents at Suffolk Archives and constructing a database of the transcripts, with notes, comments and links. A timeline relating to the Mendlesham armoury is set out. ‘Early modern Mendlesham’ puts the armoury in context and a GoogleEarth image of present-day Mendlesham has Grade I and II listed buildings highlighted. An undated sixteenth century muster list for the township of Mendlesham (transcribed on p.173) names 25 men, the second-named being William Dunkcon, who died in 1558. It is suggested that he and others named in that muster list, and who are also named in the churchwardens’ accounts of 1544-45, began to build up the town armoury in the 1550s.

‘The Mendlesham armoury archive in context’ opens with William Harrison’s (1587) description of the English militia system and township armouries. The armour at Mendlesham has been dated mostly to the early to mid-sixteenth century, and some to the late fifteenth century, preceding the 1558 Militia Acts and demonstrating that those Acts confirmed a system that had been developing over earlier centuries. The trained men of Mendlesham would muster with other townships on Mellis Green—such events were described in 1591 by William Garrard—and carry out drill. As well as involvement in Elizabeth’s wars with Spain and in Ireland, Suffolk trained bands were mustered during the Bishops’ Wars (1638-40), local men fought in the Civil Wars and against the Netherlands later in the century. ‘Arms and armour in the Mendlesham armoury archives’ discusses the contents of the armoury in detail and depicts many of the items. As the surviving inventory of the town armoury, dated 1588, is hard to read, and possibly incomplete, a pictorial diagram of the contents has been compiled using entries in the churchwardens’ accounts for 1588, the inventory manuscript and the surviving items.

Chapter 6 is the most substantial. ‘Names in the Mendlesham armoury archive’ discusses nearly 100 families whose surnames appear in the undated muster list, churchwardens’ accounts entries that refer to the armoury, and the petition of grievance. The latter is undated (but probably c.1584) and signed by, or on behalf of, twelve ‘poore’ Mendlesham men. Addressed to the churchwardens and claimed ‘compensation’ for harvest wages lost while attending the muster, it is transcribed in full. These family histories highlight the huge amount of research done by the MARG in tracking down wills and going through churchwardens’ accounts, parish registers and other documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Chapter 7 is a map of places mentioned in the archive. Chapter 8 comprises transcripts of many of the relevant documents, in both the Suffolk Archives and The National Archives, that have been drawn on throughout this book (and also *Mendlesham Armoury Revealed*).

Some of the documents reproduced here have been published before, particularly in *Mendlesham and the Armada Crisis*, by Jane Jones and David Dymond, published by the Mendlesham History Group in 1988. However, these two publications provide a much more detailed study of the manuscripts. And as well as funding the documentary research project, the National Lottery Heritage award is part of the 'major project to conserve the artefacts in the armoury and create an education centre in part of the church's north aisle'. The metallurgy of the armour will be examined and the dendrochronology of the oak panelling in the armoury. Of course, the money from the NHLF has been crucial to this project, but so has the work of the dedicated volunteers of the MARG. They express the hope that *Mendlesham Armoury Revealed* 'might help and inspire others to investigate other aspects of parish life at the time'. Both books would indeed be of use to local historians investigating sixteenth and seventeenth century life in other parishes, albeit without a parish armoury.

HEATHER FALVEY

THE QUEEN'S ATLAS Saxton's Elizabethan Masterpiece by David Fletcher (Bodleian Library Publishing 2025 224pp ISBN: 978-1-85124-620-5) £35

There can be few, if any, readers of *The Local Historian* who have not looked at Christopher Saxton's map of their county, and marvelled at the detail, including as it does even the tiniest hamlet. Perhaps too they have been amused at the way relief is shown by unrealistic giant 'mole-hills'; while they may also have noted, with some surprise, that no roads are shown on the map. Maybe they have asked the big questions: who made the map, and how? And above all, why? These and other questions are asked and answered in David Fletcher's highly recommended, magnificent new book, published by the Bodleian Library.

Starting with 'who?', although the atlas of 1579 was sometimes referred to as 'The Queen's Atlas', Elizabeth, unlike her father Henry VIII, is not known to have taken any interest in maps. Instead, the person behind the project was William Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary of state, an avid collector of maps, whose big idea (answering the 'why?' question) was for a scale map of each county, produced to a consistent standard and collected into an atlas, so that they could be used by him and his fellows to help plan national security and other government functions, while also being available individually to the lords lieutenant, their deputies and the sheriffs, for use in county administration. The main emphasis was to be on the hierarchy of settlement, located with reference to the network of rivers. One particular feature which is noticeable on the county maps is the attention given to parks, identified by their pales. Did Cecil perhaps specifically ask for this so that he knew the locations of the landed gentry of each county?

Cecil appointed a colleague, Thomas Seckford, to oversee the project, and probably suggested to him a Yorkshire clergyman, John Rudd, who had carried out a number of county surveys at his own expense during the 1560s. Rudd (born in 1498) seems to have recommended instead Saxton, who had been his apprentice since at least 1570. And so it was that in about 1574, Saxton, aged about 30, took up employment with Seckford. In that year he surveyed Norfolk, and made a combined map of the three counties of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire. In 1575 he mainly surveyed counties along the south coast and in 1576 took on the four northern counties, while in the following year he worked through the Midlands as well as Yorkshire and Lancashire. Finally, in 1578 he finished off by surveying the counties of Wales.

As to 'how' he went about it, this remains controversial. Fletcher provides transcriptions of the two 'passes' issued to Saxton which have come down to us. These instructed county authorities to assist Saxton, by arranging for him to visit 'any towre, castle, highe place or hill' from which to view the countryside, accompanied by 'ii or iii honest men such as do best know the cuntrey'. One assumes Saxton pointed to a village, asked what it was called and how far away it was, then marked it up, perhaps using a plane table, on which he fixed its location with a pair of dividers, using the scale. Fletcher, though, leans more heavily towards a more 'mathematical' approach, seeing Saxton as 'emphatically the new kind of surveyor' and, in discussing the theodolite, stating that 'it is likely, though not certain, that he used one'.

The problem is the very short time Saxton allowed himself in each county. The three weeks he spent in Lancashire, for example, would not have been enough for a full triangulation survey, involving accurately measured base lines, and angles measured from the ends to a third point. However, regardless of how he got there, by the end of the surveying season of 1577 Saxton had that year completed an impressive twelve counties. On his return to London for the winter, he turned his working papers into finished draft maps,

which were then sent off to one of a number of different engravers, both Dutch and English. On receiving back the copper-plates Saxton, acting as his own publisher, had proofs made, which he sent off to Cecil for his approval (Cecil kept the set, which are heavily annotated, thus revealing his use of the maps). Then in the spring it was off to the next county.

How the project was funded is unclear. Saxton, described as a 'yeoman', was not wealthy, so would have been unable to self-fund. Elizabeth was far too parsimonious to pay for it, although she did grant him the manor of Grigston, Suffolk, in 1574. It is doubtful whether Cecil put his hand in his pocket, but Seckford may have stood the initial costs, paying Saxton's wages and expenses. But the situation changed in 1577, when Saxton was granted a ten-year exclusive licence to sell his maps to the general public, the wealthier sections of which were becoming ever more 'cartographically conscious'. By 1579, Saxton was himself styled a 'gentleman', and was granted armorial bearings. In 1584 he was appointed bailiff for some Duchy of Lancaster lands in Yorkshire. Then in 1587, when his licence ran out, Saxton, now in his early- to mid-forties, began a new career as an estate surveyor, which continued until his death, 'probably around 1610'. Some three dozen of his estate plans and 'dispute maps' survive, about two-thirds of them relating to estates in Yorkshire.

Fletcher's account covers more than just Saxton's life and work, placing him firmly in the context of the revolution in map making—and map appreciation—that was then occurring, and going on to discuss his legacy, which saw many plagiarising his work, but none improving upon it, for the best part of two hundred years. To say the book is copiously illustrated is to understate it: there is scarcely a page that does not have an illustration, mainly in colour. However, possibly the most striking thing about the book is the fact that seventy pages out of a total of 224 are given over to reproducing the atlas contents. Thirty-five maps are each given a double-page spread, reproduced at roughly a quarter of their original size. This is big enough to allow the reader to contrast the different engravers' styles, for example; but it is a little more difficult to do a close examination of some of the detail, at the margins of legibility. I would recommend a strong light and a good magnifying glass: you will find it worth the effort!

WILLIAM D. SHANNON *is a landscape and cartographic historian, with an interest in antiquarianism. His published papers include 'Christopher Saxton's Last Maps: Nichol Forest and the Debatable Land, 1607: Imago Mundi 68:1 (2016). 1-15.*

THE LITTLE HILL FARM: Calder Valley by *W.B. Crump revised edition* (Hebden Bridge Local History Society occasional publication 13 2025 xiv+91pp ISBN 978-0-9933920-8-5) £11.99+£2:80 p&p

This rather remarkable book began life as a lecture delivered in 1913 at Hebden Bridge in West Yorkshire. It was expanded and updated by the author as an article published by the Halifax Antiquarian Society in 1938, and appeared posthumously as a book under the present title in 1951. It had been out of print for many years when the Hebden Bridge Local History Society has had the foresight to bring out the present reprint. The title, which might possibly suggest a nostalgic history of an individual farm, should not deter the potential reader, for it is in fact a detailed analysis of a highly individual type of agriculture which was still being practised in the Calder Valley in the early years of the last century.

W.B. Crump was a local man who, after a distinguished undergraduate career at Oxford, taught science in a number of schools in the Halifax area, until forced to cease teaching because of his deafness. As a scientist, he first began to study the flora of the Calder and its tributaries, but became increasingly interested in the agricultural history of the area, and in particular the small upland holdings which occupied the ground between 500 and 1000 feet above sea level. Unlike in some other upland areas, such as the Cambrian mountains of mid-western Wales, these were not summer pastures serving farms at a lower altitude, but had been permanently occupied, in some cases for several centuries. Crump became fascinated by the way these farms had functioned and adapted to changed economic circumstances, and by the fact that the agricultural practices employed on them had changed little for centuries.

Prior to the mechanisation of cloth production in factories in the valley bottoms, the hill farms had been farmed by families who also produced woollen cloth which was then sold in the Piece Hall in Halifax. When production moved into factories in the valley-bottom towns, the upland farmers began to supply these urban areas with eggs, butter and milk. This reviewer has long been curious as to how tiny upland farms could have made a living. For example, W.G. Hoskins noted that in 1944 as many as 2005, or one in eight, Devon holdings comprised between 1 and 5 acres. (Devon (2003 edn) p.303). Crump provided

some startling answers to the question, quoting one farmer's wife who sold 24 to 30 lbs of butter a week at 1s 4d per pound, and sold some 8000 eggs in season. In addition, pigs were the most profitable source of income for this farm.

The type of farming practised on the Little Hill Farms when visited by Crump varied little from what had existed three centuries earlier. The book contains fascinating descriptions (and illustrations) of methods and implements used in harvesting, some of which, like the flail, were already passing into history, although others like the hay sled were still in common use. Some techniques were peculiar to the area, such as the reclaiming of steep ground by hand rather than by ploughing, using a technique known as graving. This involved digging parallel trenches along the contour, somewhat reminiscent of the much earlier lynchets found all over the chalk downlands.

There is, however, much more to this book than discussion of agrarian methods and economics. What is unusual, bearing in mind its date, is the breadth of subject matter which is contained within its 80 pages of text. The author has taken an integrated approach to a local study which predates by decades the methodology which was to become more general in the 1960s and 70s. Oral history, documentary evidence, vernacular architecture (a term not even coined in the interwar years), population study, the use of artefacts and fieldwork are all blended into the overall picture. As might be expected, underlying the work is a consciousness that it is a disappearing world which the author was recording: by 1937, censuses which he had instituted depicted the extent of this decline. Of 31 small farmsteads existing in 1855, by 1905 ten stood empty and in 1937 only 15 remained. Holdings were amalgamated, and the vacated houses soon fell into ruin. Cottagers had virtually disappeared by 1905. This phenomenon was not, of course, peculiar to the West Riding and may be found in many other upland areas, for example in Wales. Interestingly, apart from the rapid development of motor transport after the First World War, which effectively killed the local trade in eggs and dairy produce, the author notes the building of reservoirs as a cause of depopulation. The exclusion of grazing from the hinterland of reservoirs for reasons of hygiene was another blow to upland farmers, not only in Calderdale.

The Hebden Bridge Local History Society are to be congratulated on undertaking the reprinting of this most interesting book, and also for providing an introduction outlining the life and work of W.B. Crump, which it is hoped will make his work available to local historians far outside his native Yorkshire. It is a truly pioneering work, which should be on the shelves of all students of rural history.

MARTIN SPEIGHT *is a past chairman of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society, and lives in a former upland farmhouse in the Shropshire hills.*

MY LIFE UNDERGROUND 1917-1968 by *Evan Roberts* (Ogmore Valley Local History Society and Ogmore Valley Community Council 2025 16pp ISBN 978-1-912723-09-6) £3+p&p contact ovlhs@ovlhs.co.uk; **THE WALLS INTERVIEWS: A workers' history of the Leeds & Liverpool Canal** recorded by *Norman Walls* (Leeds & Liverpool Canal Society 2025 100pp no ISBN) £12 inc p&p contact secretary@leedsandliverpoolcanalsociety.co.uk

Coincidentally I recently received these two oral histories about two very different occupations that are no longer carried out in Britain. Both publications are transcripts of interviews recorded on cassette tapes (remember them?). In *My Life Underground* Evan Roberts (1903-1994) recalls various aspects of his working life in the Ocean Western and Wyndham collieries in the Ogmore Valley in mid-Glamorgan. He recorded his memories in 1993 so that his grandson Gareth could hear about his experiences. Evan starts with his 'first day down the pit', at the age of 14, going with his father on a Monday in 1917, having left school the previous Friday. He describes vividly his first scary ride in the cage down into the darkness of the mine, and how the only lighting below was provided by their oil lamps, tested to check that they were 'in order, safe, and secure'. Towards the end he explains that before going down in the cage miners were always searched (for safety's sake) for cigarettes, tobacco, matches and lighters and would be 'summoned' by the manager if they had any of them (only chewing tobacco was permitted). Evan outlines the various stages of winning the coal, filling the drams (trucks), putting up posts to hold up the roof of the seam, and how over time machines eventually took over the tasks. He describes in detail 'working with the pit horses'. These animals, who worked hard hauling the drams, remained in the mine, having underground stables. At Ocean Western colliery Evan remembered about 1000 men worked there and about 200 horses, but when in 1930 he went to Wyndham colliery, there were very few horses, mostly men and machinery. The

feed for the horses attracted vast quantities of rats but, as Evan commented, no feed eventually meant no rats, 'So that was one Godsend about machinery'. When he was 19, he began training as a first aider, joining the St John's Ambulance Brigade, and was an underground medic for 46 years. Doctors were rarely called down into the mines, so Evan attended many serious accidents and recalls administering 'Morphia' (morphine) and then four men carrying the injured man on a stretcher for anything from 2 to 4 miles underground to the lift shaft, at the top of which the doctor was waiting. He also recalls his role keeping the airways in and out of the mines clear and working properly. Having been offered Evan's memories by Gareth, the OVLHS decided to publish them and give a copy to every pupil and member of staff at Ogmere Vale and Nant-y-Moel Primary Schools (about 550 copies) so that 'they can have a better understanding of the vital roles which coal and miners like Evan played in shaping the communities and valley in which they now live'. The text is illustrated with numerous photographs of different aspects of work in the mines and of Evan himself.

Whereas most of Evan Roberts' working life was spent underground, the people who contributed *The Walls Interviews* worked in the open air on or around the Leeds & Liverpool Canal (L&LC). Norman Walls (d.1973) conducted these interviews in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In the introduction he explains how in 1921 his father Benjamin had set himself up as a by-trader carrying goods on the Yorkshire sections of the Leeds & Liverpool Canal, forming the company Benjamin C. Walls Ltd, with his three sons. They were handling cargo on the canal until nationalisation in 1948, and had also formed a road transport business based in Keighley at the end of the Second World War carrying wool, both in Britain and internationally, closing in the 1970s. Norman therefore knew the interviewees and would have understood what they were describing. As well as seven former boatmen, they include other workers on the canal system and relatives of former canal company employees. On p.22 there is a useful map of the Leeds & Liverpool Canal and connecting waterways, so it is (mostly) possible to place where the interviewees were based and the locations travelled to, from and through. Goods being transported included wool inland from Liverpool's port, coal outwards to Liverpool and various gas works along the way. Refuse was also being transported out and manure carried to farms alongside the canal. Other cargoes included sugar and grain; for the former boats had to be cleaned vigorously if carrying coal previously and for the latter they had to be completely dry inside. Clearly huge volumes of goods were being transported in both directions in the first half of the twentieth century. At that time canal boats were being pulled by horses, which had to be fed, watered and rested. John Broadbent, who worked in the L&LC's offices, remembers (or had to hand) facts and figures. Horses used to travel 20 to 30 miles and were then changed; their shoulders were inspected, and 'if they had sore shoulders then the boatmen had something to answer for, because there was a steady pull', so horses' shoulders would only be damaged if they were driven quicker than normal.

Among other activities, Tom Draper of Foulridge explains how the tug boat operated through the Foulridge tunnel because horses could not enter it; but neither the tug boat nor horses were needed when motor boats began to be used. All interviewees comment on the changes both in 1921, when the L&LC Company folded and was replaced by independent carriers, and in 1948, when canals were nationalised. They are passionate about the usefulness of the canals and how much could be moved compared with rail and road transport, although most concede that there were difficulties with water-borne transport. For example, as Tom Draper of Burscough Bridge explains, work was irregular in the winter if the canal froze over, and when they had to wait around for their return load. Tom Robinson of Burscough Bridge worked on a boat shipping wool from Manchester to Keighley, and from Leeds to Keighley, and then machinery from Blackburn to Bootle warehouse (Liverpool). He mentions being paid £18, but whether per week, or for that whole job is unclear; however, he also recalls that when the Gand National was on that year, their boat was on the canal opposite Aintree and they ferried people across, making £10 in half an hour. John Cheetham of Burscough and Leeds recalls being paid about £8 a trip moving corn. There are some descriptions of the boats themselves, and many photographs. During the First World War reinforced canal boats were used by the Navy, which, if they needed to travel from the Mersey to the North Sea, went through the canal.

Perhaps the unsung heroes of the canals were the carpenters who maintained the lock gates, such as Jim Pemberton at Apperley Bridge: thousands of gallons of water could be lost if gates were not closed properly or not repaired. And men such as Dan Turner of Apperley Bridge, who was the Yorkshire Length Engineer, in charge of maintenance work for some 40 miles of the canal. He recalls maintaining the Bingley Five Rise Locks (still in operation today) and calculating how much water to send from the reservoir down the feeders for both the Lancashire and Yorkshire sides. A full lock contained about 80,000 gallons. Calculations from 1891 show that the Five-Rise might use 9 million gallons a day. These interviews vividly

convey the various occupations carried out on the canals and the sheer volume of goods conveyed by them—as John Broadbent recalls, it took a week to get from Liverpool to Leeds. The occupations and ways of life of coal miners and canal boatmen have now gone, so these two sets of memories are invaluable local histories. Both societies are to be congratulated for making those cassette recordings more easily accessible.

HEATHER FALVEY

‘YET’. A Story of Triumph over Childhood Separation, Trauma, and Disability by Helen Parker-Drabble (Animi Press 2025 310pp ISBN: 978-1-9162466-8-3) £22 pbk, other formats available, see www.helenparkerdrabble.com.

This is a well-illustrated and fully referenced account of the childhood and early adult life of Harry Drabble, the author’s father, a victim of the now largely forgotten depredations of bovine tuberculosis. Caused by a different (but closely related) organism to pulmonary TB, it was transmitted through unpasteurised milk and caused extensive and permanent damage to bones and joints in children in the years before effective antibacterial treatments were available. Although on the surface this is a work of genealogy, the author has undertaken and clearly presented her extensive research into the history of this unpleasant disease, the prolonged attempts to deal with its source in infected cows, and the reluctance of farmers and veterinary surgeons to cooperate, or the public to understand the vital importance of pasteurising milk. On these grounds alone, it is a salutary reminder of the vital role of preventative medicine.

The first section of the book is important in another way too. This reviewer still remembers the hostility of paediatric ward sisters to parental visits, long after the research of John Bowlby and James Robertson revealed the profound damage caused to hospitalised children by what came to be called separation anxiety. There was a long-established belief that parental visits upset the child, and made work more difficult for nursing staff. In due course, this deprivation reduced the young patient to a state of withdrawn apathy, misread by the establishment as the child ‘settling down’ under a regime of harsh discipline. In practice, this inflicted considerable psychological damage, exacerbated by the deliberate and regular rotation of nurses to discourage the development of any affection or attachment—even bed-bound patients were frequently shuffled around to prevent them from forming attachments to their peers in adjoining beds. The results of this profound level of emotional deprivation often left the child scarred for life.

For Harry Drabble, matters were considerably worse. There was no useful treatment for his infected and damaged joints other than prolonged immobilisation in a frame or plaster cast. Fresh air was believed to be beneficial, so the wards and outdoor verandas were unheated in winter and summer. No toys or books were allowed due to concerns about the spread of infection. No education was provided on the assumption that it would be of little use to ‘cripples’, who were never likely to make a useful contribution to society. The input from voluntary societies was at best condescending, and the strongly negative stigma of being a ‘cripple’ persisted well into the 1950s. This may sound a depressing account, but it is lightened by Harry’s astonishing resilience. He was clearly a very observant child, and the prolonged months of enforced bed rest enabled him to understand the hospital rules, and to find ingenious undercover ways of defying them. One ploy was to sleep most of the day, so that he could be awake at night in order to fraternise with the night nurses who were much less busy than the day staff. Also, being free from the watchful eye of the ward sister, they took their meals on the ward, and had more freedom to socialise with him, as well as share some of their food. Another hospital edict forbade hair cutting, but he persuaded his parents to bring in a pair of clippers which he managed to keep concealed. These would be passed round to his fellow inmates when the coast was clear. It must have been this ingenuity, as well as his refusal to be crushed, that ensured his emotional survival under such a grim regime.

Harry’s treatment was not successful, and was aggravated by several failed attempts to fuse his hip joint. His return home at intervals was also very difficult for him, as well as for his parents, to whom he was cold, withdrawn and angry, the typical (but at that time unrecognised) consequences of the emotional deprivation that he had suffered. The second section of the book deals with his early adult life, and is a more conventional genealogical account which will be useful to Sheffield’s local historians. It is again enlivened by his irrepressible spirit, honed during those long years of hospital incarceration, which regularly broke through. He reached a very competent level on the violin, in spite of a fixed flexion deformity in his bowing elbow. As a ‘cripple’ he withstood endless derision and bullying. In spite of his deficiencies of formal education, Harry succeeded in obtaining a place on a three-year building technology course. On turning up at the beginning of term on crutches, he was told that there must have been a mistake as

they did not accept ‘cripples’ and he should go home and not return. He refused to do so, summoned his supportive mother and (after very reluctant agreement by the college) successfully completed the course in all subjects. It seems quite shocking now that there was so much rejection and so little support at the time for those with serious disabilities.

The third section of the book deals with the clinical and public health aspects of bovine tuberculosis. This is well researched and meticulously referenced. Although the distinction between bovine and pulmonary TB was well established by the 1920s, the mode of transmission of the former was ill-understood. Even when its link to infected milk had been established, the necessary measures to prevent this were surprisingly slow to be accepted, as they required public funding for inspection of herds, and compensation to farmers for the slaughter of infected animals. One bitter irony in this struggle was that infected animals seem to have been particularly good milk producers, so there was a strong resistance from farmers to culling. It took over two decades to sort out these intractable difficulties, and to achieve acceptance of all the necessary public health measures.

This book is admirably researched, referenced and indexed, and is written in a very clear and readable style. It is also a vital reminder of the emotional needs of children, and of the ease with which these can be neglected or overlooked by well-intended ignorance or prejudice. It underlines the importance of never compromising the necessary public health measures to control infectious disease. There is a strong case for doctors to have some familiarity with medical history in order to be alert to unfamiliar symptoms. Finally, it is a remarkable testament to the resilience of one individual in overcoming such huge disadvantages in the face of deprivation and prejudice. The word ‘Yet’ in the book’s title refers to what Helen Parker-Drabble refers to as a simple but transformative mantra that defined Harry’s life: ‘I can’t... yet.’. She is to be congratulated on her achievement of putting his resilience on record.

MICHAEL LEACH is a retired GP. Although trained when the scourge of TB had been much diminished by effective triple chemotherapy, he recalls as a student a missed case of hip TB, even though the symptoms would have been familiar to the senior doctors.

ENGLAND’S SUBURBS 1820-2020 by Joanna Smith and Matthew Whitfield (Liverpool UP for Historic England 2025 vii+308pp ISBN 978-1-83624-435-6) £40

Among local historians, interest in suburbs can be traced back to the 1950s, following the wave of interwar development which had covered much of Middlesex and which had its origins in the late Victorian and Edwardian expansion of London as transport networks—mostly but not exclusively railways—extended out from the older core of the city. Suburbanisation as a large-scale social and geographical phenomenon is particularly associated with the period from the late 1870s onwards, although suburban development of sorts is a very much older feature of British towns and cities. The interest from local historians is exemplified by two remarkable books. In 1961 James Dyos (1921-1978) of Leicester University published *Victorian Suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell*, which looked in detail at that area of south London, elucidating the processes whereby the suburb developed—landowners and land sales, builders and building finance, marketing and housing quality, migration and movement, amenities and character—and thereby highlighting the rich historical interest of such areas, which had hitherto been almost totally ignored. In 1973 the transport historian Alan A. Jackson published his seminal work, *Semi-Detached London: suburban development, life and transport 1900-1939* which, as its title suggests, links transport and suburbanisation in often vivid detail, but crucially integrates that with consideration of suburban lifestyles and attitudes—the suburban ethos which at the same time was being affectionately mocked and immortalised by John Betjeman.

In the ensuing half-century much work has been undertaken to chart suburban development not only in London and the South East, but also in other major urban areas. However, coverage has been patchy, and my subjective impression is that there has been a significantly greater interest in local authority housing than in the private sector, despite the dominance of the latter in many areas. Furthermore, there has not been a satisfactory overview of suburbanisation as a general theme. Numerous case-studies have contributed to a better understanding, but we had no definitive broad-ranging history and assessment of the phenomenon itself, even though suburbs are so ubiquitous and house such a large proportion of the population. Now, this limitation has been resolved by the publication of *England’s Suburbs 1820-2020*, a very fine book which will surely become the essential survey and description, as well as analytical overview, of this key dimension to the history of any urban community during the past two centuries. The authors

are architectural investigators with Historic England, an expertise reflected in the contents of the volume. The book is weighty (1.5kg) and has a generous size (22x28cm), allowing plenty of scope for the excellent illustrations. The opportunity to take advantage of the unrivalled photographic resources of Historic England has been fully exploited, for the book is beautifully illustrated with full colour images of maps, plans and a wealth of photographs of suburban housing and streets from all corners of England. Fifteen pages of references are followed by a three-page bibliography and an adequate index.

The content of the book is similarly impressive. It is important to note that it does not, in a direct sense, address the social issues of suburban lifestyles and suburban values, although there are indirect references to these aspects in, for example, discussion of housing plans and designs. There are seven main sections: the first ('Suburbs in England') gives a historical overview of the past two centuries, placing such themes as garden suburbs, the outward growth of cities, postwar suburban growth, and industrial suburbs in their proper chronological context. The second section ('Creating suburbs') looks at the founding agencies in their development, covering issues such as finance, building societies, speculators, model communities and municipal housing. This section is particularly important, because the builders and developers of suburbs have received comparatively little attention, even though this aspect formed a major element in Dyos' work over sixty years ago. The third contextual section, 'Controlling suburban development', considers the emergence of a framework of town and country planning practice and legislation from the beginning of the twentieth century, its relatively loose application between the wars, and the post-1945 enforcement of this regime. It is a truism that largely uncontrolled suburban development in the 1920s and 1930s was a key factor in the drive for an enforceable national planning policy that came to fruition between 1945 and 1950, so the significance of this theme is evident. This section also looks at formal developments such as new towns and expanded towns, and traces the changes in the planning system into the twenty-first century.

Sections 4-6 are about the practical aspects of suburban building, the physical implementation of plans, designs and policies. They deal in sequence with the design of suburbs, suburban buildings, and suburban landscapes, the three interlocking components of the process on the ground. 'Design' embraces topics ranging from 'the early picturesque' to 'high rise and high-density suburbia' and includes the vital topic of traffic management, the importance of the question of formality versus irregularity, and the role of municipal building. In 'Buildings' we see the full range of housing types—bungalows, 'semis', villas, terraces, flats—as well as non-residential buildings such as churches and public houses. 'Landscapes' discusses not only green spaces, gardens, parkways and green girdles, but also amenities such as sports facilities, the provision of waste and water infrastructure, market gardens and nurseries. These three sections together give an unparalleled overview of the physical reality of a long-term process which has changed the face of swathes of England in the past 200 years, shaping much of modern society as it did so. And the process continues: the final section is titled 'Change in the suburbs' and focuses on contemporary issues—decline and redevelopment, rehabilitation and renewal, perceptions of the suburbs and pressures for change. There is more that is yet to be told.

This is a splendid book. In the past I have occasionally felt that a publication from English Heritage or Historic England has not been quite up to scratch, but this book is one that I can unhesitatingly recommend. At £40 it is a bargain and anybody interested in the local history of housing, planning, or the twentieth century England should read (or buy) it.

ALAN CROSBY is the editor of *The Local Historian*. He has researched, written and taught extensively on the local history of housing, and his work on *Woking* is among the sources for the book under review (but he is not in any way biased).

ONLINE REVIEWS ON THE BALH WEBSITE

In addition to the many reviews which appear in every issue of *The Local Historian*, many other books and publications are reviewed online on the BALH website. There simply is not enough space in the journal to include everything in the hard copy version. Please go to <http://www.balh.org.uk/publications/reviews> to access these reviews. The list below gives the titles and other details of the publications for which online reviews have been added in the last three months.

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF A STUDENT NURSE Broadgreen Hospital School of Nursing 1979-1981 by *Chris Jones* (the author 2025 134pp ISBN 979-8-291-382-530) £7.99 via Amazon [reviewed by *Heather Falvey*]

'A NOTORIETY SO UNENVIABLE FOR DISEASE' Liverpool and health 1830 to 1951 by *Chris Jones* (the author 2025 173pp ISBN 979-8-264586-87-3) £8.99 via Amazon [reviewed by *Heather Falvey*]

THE BISHOPS' CASTLE Waytemore and Bishop's Stortford by *Michael F James and Ruth Halliwell* (Bishop's Stortford History Society 2025 208pp ISBN 978-1-7385289-2-9) £25 [reviewed by *Heather Falvey*]

THE ENDURING LEGACY OF REGINALD GROVE A gifted amateur stereoscopic photographer by *Peter Brown* (Brown Dog Books 2025 152pp ISBN 978-1-83952-921-4) £24.99 [reviewed by *Evelyn Lord and Edward Lord*]

LIGHTCLIFFE CRICKET CLUB – 150 years by *Bob Horne* (Lightcliffe & District Local History Society 2025 xviii +296pp ISBN 978-1-916-9836-18) £15+£4p&p from <https://www.lightcliffecricket.com/history/> [reviewed by *Sarah Keates*]

CHAPEL LAWN AND THE REDLAKE VALLEY A social history as told by extracts from the Clun Valley Parochial Magazine edited by *Patrick Cosgrove* (the author 2025 xvi+117pp ISBN 978-1-915972-82-8) £10+p&p from <https://www.thegreatbritish-bookshop.co.uk/> [reviewed by *Martin Speight*]

THE STORY OF THE HEREFORDSHIRE POMONA by *Bill Laws* (Logaston Press 2025 192pp ISBN 978-1-910839-78-2) £20 [reviewed by *John Eisel*]

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+£5 p&p [reviewed by *Michael Coles*]

THE ESSEX RECORD OFFICE IN 70 DOCUMENTS edited by *Neil Wiffen* (Friends of Historic Essex with the Essex Record Office 2025 x+82pp ISBN 978-0-950210-04-9) £15 + p&p or in person from ERO Searchroom [reviewed by *Heather Falvey*]

BOOZE, BRAWLS AND BAWDS A Social History of Weymouth Inns c 1700-1939 by *Mick Davis* (Hobnob Press 2025 277pp ISBN 978-1-914407-97-0) £19.95 [reviewed by *Ian Davison*]

WICK HALL The story of a house and a family by *Richard Dudding* (Independent Publishing Network 2025 xi+108pp ISBN 978-1-83688-349-4) £15+£3.50 p&p (all proceeds to Radley History Club) [reviewed by *Heather Falvey*]

BATH BETWEEN THE WARS by *David G. Williamson* (Hobnob Press 2024 xv+353pp ISBN 978-1-914407-67-3) £18.95 [reviewed by *Alistair Beecher*]

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 October 2025 and 1 January 2026. Most books are reviewed in this or a future issue, or on the BALH website (see page 88 for the list of the latest books reviewed on the 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

A FOREST FARM The History of Tickeridge Farm, Kingscote, West Sussex by *Kim Bayne*
(Unicorn Publishing Group 2026 184pp
ISBN 978-1-917458-55-9) £20

CHURCH NOTES OF BERKSHIRE 1665-6, made by Elias Ashmole, Windsor Herald
edited by Adrian Ailes (Harleian Society new series XXIII
2024 xviii+400pp ISBN 978-0-9540443-7-4) £45

EARLY QUAKER CONTROVERSY IN READING The Minute Books of the two Reading Monthly Meetings, 1668-1716
edited by Chris Skidmore (Berkshire Record Society vol.32
2025) £25

FIRST LINE OF DEFENCE Hessian troops in Hampshire 1756 by *Bill Hoade and Tom Watson*
(Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society
Hampshire Papers series 2 no.14 2025 28pp
ISBN 978-0-907473-27-5) £8+£3p&p

HERTFORDSHIRE MISCELLANY *general editor Susan Flood and with an Introduction by Heather Falvey*
(Hertfordshire Record Society additional volume 2025
xix+295pp ISBN 978-0-9501741-8-1) £22+£4p&p

TEMPLE FAMILY PAPERS volume 2 1604-1624
edited by Rosemary O'Day (Buckinghamshire Record
Society no.44 2025 xi+649pp ISBN 978-0-901198-49-5)
£22 BRS members £30 non-members + p&p

THE ACCOUNTS OF TWO WESTMINSTER FRATERNITIES 1474-1540 *edited by Lisa Jefferson*
(Boydell and Brewer for the Westminster Abbey Record
Series 2025 384pp ISBN 978-1-837653-08-9) £25

THE INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE OF THE CHILTERNs by *Hugh Howes* (Chiltern Society 2025
232pp ISBN 978-0-904148-64-0) £30

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN STURDY OF THE SOUTH HAMPSHIRE YEOMANRY by *Cheryl Butler* (Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological
Society Hampshire Papers series 2 no.13 2025 24pp
ISBN 978-0-907473-28-2) £8+£3p&p

THE JOURNALS OF HENRY SHARPE, City Merchant and Hampstead Worthy, 1830, 1840-1847 *edited by Helen Lawrence* (London Record
Society vol.60 [Boydell and Brewer, with the support
of the Camden History Society and the Heath
and Hampstead Society] 2025 432pp
ISBN 978-0-900952-10-4) £70 also ebook and pdf

THE VISITATION OF HERTFORDSHIRE 1669
transcribed and edited by Alan R. Dickins (Harleian Society
2019 new series XXII xviii+150pp
ISBN 978-0-9540443-6-7) £40

South West

BOOZE, BRAWLS AND BAWDS A Social History of Weymouth Inns by *Mick Davis* (Hobnob
Press 2025 277pp ISBN 978-1-914407-97-0) £19.95

HISTORIES FROM THE COTSWOLD EDGE
by David H. Aldred (Hobnob Press 2025 157pp
ISBN 978-1-914407-99-4) £14.95

MR SWANTON'S ORCHARD Bruton 1651
by Adrian Webb (Harry Galloway Publishing Studies in
Somerset's History vol.4 2025 x+136pp
ISBN 978-1-86241-054-1) £20

PENRUDDOCK'S REBELS AND WEST COUNTRY ROYALISTS, 1655-1657
by Sue Berry and Adrian Webb (Harry Galloway Publishing
Studies in Somerset's History vol.5 2025 1+324pp
ISBN 978-1-86241-053-4) £30

THESE HUMBLE, UNREMEMBERED LIVES Stories of Families passing through Compton Chamberlayne by *Elise Langdon-Neuner* (Hobnob Press
2025 388pp ISBN 978-1-914407-98-7) £25

East Anglia

MENDLESHAM ARMOURY REVISITED Revelations from the parish archives
by the Mendlesham Armoury Research Group (St Mary's
Parochial Church Council Mendlesham 2025 60pp
no ISBN) £11.50 inc p&p from <https://www.stmarysmendlesham.org.uk/armoury-project.html>

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE MENDLESHAM ARMOURY ARCHIVES by *Shona Rutherford-Edge and the Mendlesham Armoury Research Group* (St Mary's Parochial Church Council Mendlesham 2025 239pp ISBN: 978-1-0369-3038-7) £20 inc p&p from <https://www.stmarysmendlesham.org.uk/armoury-project.html>

THE DARK BLACK DAYS OF WAR
The Great War Diary of Honor Elwes transcribed by *Juliet Walker* (Poppyland Publishing 2025 708pp ISBN 978-1-869831-48-6) £42.95

THE ESSEX RECORD OFFICE IN 70 DOCUMENTS edited by *Neil Wiffen* (Friends of Historic Essex with the Essex Record Office 2025 x+82pp ISBN 978-0-950210-04-9) £15 + p&p or in person from ERO Searchroom

THE LIBRARY BOOK A history of the Gibson Library and its collection by *Clare Mulley* (Gibson Library Society 2025 117pp ISBN: 978-1-036915-74-2) £19 [Saffron Walden]

Midlands

FORGING FRATERNITY IN LATE MEDIEVAL SOCIETY The Palmers' Guild of Ludlow by *Rachael Harkes* (University of London Press 2025 254pp ISBN 978-1-908590-67-1) £29.99 pbk, also available via Open Access

LIEUTENANT JOSHUA GREGORY 1790-1838 His life in context by *Philip H. Marsh* (the author for Farnsfield Local History Society 2025 xx+154pp no ISBN) £9+p&p

THE LOUTH ST JAMES CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS 1527-1570 edited by *Brian Hodgkinson* (Boydell and Brewer for Lincoln Record Society vol 113 xvi+421pp ISBN 978-1-910653-16-6) £40

TOP SECRET WEST MIDLANDS by *Michael Layton QPM and Androulla Christou-Layton* (Brewin Books 2025 298pp ISBN 978-1-85858-789-9) £15.95

Northern England

'A NOTORIETY SO UNENVIABLE FOR DISEASE' Liverpool and health 1830 to 1951 by *Chris Jones* (the author 2025 173pp ISBN 979-8-264586-87-3) £8.99 via Amazon

DEATH IN ADDINGHAM by *Chris Cobby* (Addingham Civic Society 2025 46pp ISBN 979-8-294032-66-1) £6 via Amazon or see <https://www.addinghamcivicsociety.org.uk/acs/>

GAINFORD, Queen of Durham Villages edited by *A.J. Pollard* (Victoria History of County Durham 2025 xvi+149pp ISBN 978-1-911-385493) £25

HUDDERSFIELD'S ARTS and CRAFTS HOUSES From Edgar Wood to the 1930s by *David Griffiths, with photography by Alan Stopher* (Huddersfield Local History Society 2025 viii+124pp ISBN 978-0-9929841-9-9) £12.95

MICKLEGATE The Great Street of York by *Clements Hall Local History Group* (Clements Hall Local History Group 2025 iv+184pp ISBN 978-1-999-665555) £15

SOME COMMERCIAL ASPECTS OF THE WORK OF A LATE 19TH CENTURY HUMBER KEEL SKIPPER by *Michael A. Smale and Henry S. Wolegde* (East Yorkshire Local History Society 2025 115pp ISBN 978-0-900349-69-0) £9+£3 p&p from EYLHS, 825 Anlaby Road, Hull HU4 6DJ

THE SHEFFIELD HEAVY SPRING TRADE 1829-2025 by *John Austin* (the author 2025 192pp ISBN 978-1-036932-70-1) £14.99

Ireland

IRELAND Mapping the Island by *Joseph Brady and Paul Ferguson* (Birlinn 2025 272pp ISBN 978-1-780279-64-0) £30

Remnants OF OUR PAST The stories of our ancestors hidden in the Irish landscape by *Deirdre O'Neill* (Gill Books 2025 256pp ISBN: 978-1-804582-47-3) £26.99

Wales

CARMARTHENSHIRE IN 100 OBJECTS edited by *Eurig Davies, Heather James and Dylan Rees* (Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society 2025 224pp ISBN 978-1-0369-3531-3) £20

DENBIGHSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY A history 1950-2025 by *Christopher Keefer Roberts* (the author 2025 xii+180pp ISBN 978-1-0369-1281-9) donation to DHS plus p&p from p.topping1936@gmail.com

GENERAL

ENGLAND'S SUBURBS 1820-2020 by *Joanna Smith and Matthew Whitfield* (Liverpool UP for Historic England 2025 vii+308pp ISBN 978-1-83624-435-6) £40

LANDSCAPES AND PRODUCERS IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND Essays presented to Rosamond Faith edited by *Richard Parkiss and Hannah Boston* (Hertfordshire UP 2025 296pp ISBN 978-1-912260-73-7) £35

NALBINDING Heritage techniques for the contemporary textile crafter by *Sally Pointer* (Herbert Press 2026 160pp ISBN 978-1-789943-06-1) £30

ORAL HISTORY A Very Short Introduction by *Douglas A. Boyd* (Oxford UP 2026 160pp ISBN 978-0-190067-62-5) £9.99

SERFDOM IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND Theory and practice 1200 to 1500 by *Mark Bailey* (Manchester UP 2025 xiii+439pp ISBN 978-1-5261-7297-6) £90

THE DISCOVERY OF BRITAIN An Accidental History by *Graham Robb* (Picador 2025 464pp ISBN 978-1-035026-11-1) £22

WORDS FROM WILLS AND OTHER

PROBATE RECORDS A Glossary by *Stuart A. Raymond* (British Association for Local History second edition 2025 130pp ISBN 978-0-948140-07-5) £8
BALH members; £10 non-members plus p&p

JOURNALS AND NEWSLETTERS RECEIVED

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.63 Autumn/Winter 2025) www.allhs.org.uk
Chairman's report; WW2 Archive Exhibition and the 80th anniversary of VE and VJ Day; Memories of the 'Mile Field', Leavesden; WW2 history walk [report]; Tomb of Edmund de Langley, All Saints Church, Kings Langley (investigation ongoing); Gadebridge Roman villa; The tragic tale of William King; 100 years ... [newspaper reports from 100 years ago]; Where is it? [photos];

Acton Historian (no.80 November 2025)
www.actonhistory.co.uk *The girls and women of the South Acton laundry trade 1891-1911; Margaret Isabel Dovaston (artist) blue plaque; Acton Stations: the seven (more or less) stations of Acton; 1763 Acton - a parish of convenience; Acton farms and farming; Memories of Acton, part 1*

Avon Local History and Archaeology Newsletter (no.184/1 e-update 31 October 2025)
<http://www.alha.org.uk/> *ALHA news; Groups and societies news including brief history of Underfills Yard, Bristol; Books and other publications noticed; Response: Museums under attack; Malls and markets; Commentary - Bristol and the East India Company; Reviving St Paul's carnival in Bristol; (no.184/2 e-update 30 November 2025) ALHA news; Groups and societies news including Yate Heritage Centre; Books and other publications noticed; Commentary - Dundas; Shopping streets; Bricks from Cattybrook; (no.185 31 December 2025) ALHA news, including call for papers - William Tyndale, 2025 AGM report; new ALHA booklet, 2026 summer walks; Groups and societies news; Events and sources [including Bristol old city walks]; Reviews; books and other publications noted; Commentary [including St Lambert's chapel; potholes; inventors]*

Barnes and Mortlake History Society Newsletter (no.255 December 2025)
www.barnes-history.org.uk *How it all began - 70 years of the Society; A message from the Chairman; What was happening in the Borough of Barnes in 1955; News and forthcoming events (including Barnes rail crash memorial plaque; LAMAS local history conference 2025); Childhood memories of Barnes - Mary Atwell (1859-1933); Christmas day weddings; Balloons at Roehampton; The rise and fall of Richmond Palace (report of talk); 18thC African residents of Chiswick House (report of talk); Charles Booth's London poverty maps (report of talk); Resurrectionists in Mortlake; Lecture programme for 2026*

The Bradford Antiquary (journal of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society) (no.84 2023) www.bradfordhistorical.org.uk
The 150th anniversary of Bradford City Hall; Bradford's Wool Barons and the abiding allure of land; The legend of Emma Sharp revisited; Rabies in Bradford; The origins of North Bradford field names; Royds Hall, Heaton Royds; Cholera and public health in the Bradford area during the nineteenth century; How Bradford and district has celebrated coronations; Book reviews; 2023 annual report; (no.86 2025) Editorial; St Barnabas church, Heaton, and the glass of Charles Kempe; A heritage of innovation and record-breaking; Edward Leedes of Royds Hall; Bradford in poetry; The Reverend John Booth; Titus Salt's church at Saltaire - 'Italianate splendour in Bradford'; The heart of Germanic Bradford - the Schiller-Verein Club 1862-1914; A Bradford book hunt; Antiquarians School Competition 2025; Book reviews; obituaries; 2025 annual report

The Carmarthenshire Antiquary (Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society) (vol.61 2025) www.carmants.org.uk *An interpretation of the prehistoric landscape associated with Mynydd Llangyndeyrn, Carmarthenshire; The tombs of Edmund Tudor; The blind man vs. the widowed innkeeper - a tale of deceit, duplicity and disability; Glimpses of punishments and prisons in Carmarthen in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries; Thomas Lewis - the most productive surveyor/mapmaker in Wales; Early Carmarthenshire steamships; The SV Alice Williams figurehead, 1854; The Llanstephan cloth trade, 1840-1940; John James, Red Roses, carpenter, wheelwright and coach-builder in the early 20th century; AGM 2025 report; Executive Council's report, 2025; programme 2025*

The Griffin (Newsletter of the Chadderton Historical Society) no.115 November 2025)
www.chadderton-historical-society.org.uk *Comment - Chadderton town centre history - opportunities for renewal?; And in God's House ..., no. 2, Emmanuel parish church; It's a fact, no.21, Chadderton Wartime Weapon - a closely guarded secret; Townships that never developed, (7) Within the parish of Manchester (i) Seven northern townships; New venue for monthly meetings; Before the courts, no.2 Excessive speeding; Financial figures 1900--1901, Chadderton's Treasurer's Department, (1) Inspecting the roads; Article on Lancaster Park and Farm reproduced in 'The Lancastrian'; archive material received*

Chadwell Heath Historical Society Newsletter (Autumn 2025) [no website, but a Facebook page www.facebook.com/chhistorical] *Barking Abbey Festival July 2025 (report); Prilove family papers at the Essex Record Office, part 1, From wagon wheels to Waterloo; Update on Facebook page; Memories of the Second World War (by Peter Butt); Dinner at the Mansion House; London Borough of Barking and Dagenham selected as NLHF 'Heritage Place'; Bentry Heath Lane; News round-up; Bath Road's two BBC connections; Marks Gate then and now (photos)*

Cheltenham Local History Society Newsletter (no.113 November 2025) www.chelthlocalhistory.org.uk
Editorial; Lecture programme; review of Local History Afternoon July 2025; Obituary - Dr Anthea Jones; report of visit to Chipping Campden; The Thomas Phillipps Collection at Thirsteaine House (report of talk); The untold story of funeral trains (report of talk); Roger Fenton, mid-19th century photographer (report of talk); The Cheltenham poisoning case 14 Sept 1849; Dr John Moore Walker's prescription book - an update; Next Journal issue - looking at metal utility covers and bollards; How badminton, Indian-style, was launched in Cheltenham in 1873 [part 1]; Ron Summerfield, antiques collector and dealer; New book on Gloucester

Chilterns National Landscape e-newsletter

(November 2025) www.chilterns.org.uk
Mend the Gap launches new interactive map; Farming in Protected Landscapes supports new venison business; Tracking the Impact (birds, butterflies and plants); CNL team visits Luton; Chilterns produce for Christmas; (December 2025) 2024 Annual Review; Chesham pumping station to close; Staff update; The Next Generation Project; Big Chalk network; Luton Henge film; Mend the Gap update; Chilterns Heritage and Archaeology Partnership lecture series

Clavering Chronicle (newsletter of the Clavering Landscape History Group) (no.3 2025) *History Group news March-December 2024; CLHG constitution; Future programme; Past events January-August 2025; Summary of reports of Bury Hills dig 2021 and Res Survey 2020; Churchyard project; Charity donations; Clav25 - Clavering Castle Excavation, June 2025; The historic significance of Clavering Castle; Notes and queries including online resources; Family history researches; House history; CLHG programme 2026*

Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society Newsletter (no.137 September 2025)

www.ctlhs.co.uk 10 'world firsts' for the Stockton and Darlington Railway (SandDR); Railway book news; The Elgee Memorial Lecture, a history; A trip to the seaside (July 1850) (newspaper report); TLHS annual report for 2024; SandDR 200 - a comment from 150 years ago; Norman Moorsom - Freeman of the Borough; Book news

Cleveland History: bulletin of the Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society

(no.128 2025) www.ctlhs.co.uk *Foreword from the editor; Thomas Wayne (1727-1806) and the 'Mystery of Angrove Hall'; John Wrightson, the wise man of Stokesley*

Cosby Heritage Society Newsletter (Oct/Nov 2025)

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/cosbyheritagesociety/> *Forthcoming talks; subscriptions details; (Nov/Dec 2025) Forthcoming talks; subscriptions details [Leicester]*

The Cranbrook Journal (Cranbrook Museum and Local History Society) (no.36 2025)

www.cranbrookmuseum.org/history-society.html
Public houses in Hartley; Lloyds Bank, Cranbrook -two buildings; Robbery at Lloyds Bank (1958); Some lesser known Cranbrook Tooths; The Cornwallis estate brickworks at Frittenden; Hoppers beware (1848); The Levett family at Barehilt Farm; Passive resistance at Biddenden (1903); Fraud at Hartley workhouse; Funeral arrangements (Dr Robert Watts, 1835); Cranbrook war memorial 80 years ago; Seventy years ago at Sissinghurst Castle farm; Skating accident (1865); The mystery chest (museum donation); Cranbrook majorettes and youth band; book review; Cranbrook Museum and Archives (report);

The Devon Historian: journal of the Devon History Society (vol.96 2025)

www.devonhistorysociety.org.uk
The social standing of escheatorship in the 14th and 15th centuries; Empty vessels? The cultural and spiritual contribution of the collegiate churches in Ottery St Mary and Crediton prior to the Reformation; Digory Wheare's Dumonian Friends: a literary circle in 1590s Oxford; The farms of Broadwoodwidger 1700-1850; Waterborne diseases in nineteenth-century Devon; The battle for birth control in North Devon; book reviews

Essex Journal: a review of local history and archaeology (vol.60 no.2 Autumn 2025)

www.essexjournal.co.uk *Editorial; Henry Ham, the lost vicar of Great Waltham; Middle Bronze Age to Romano British settlement at Tooley's Farm, Little Dunmow; In brief (medieval seal matrix, post-Roman coin, gold quarter stater, Iron Age toggle); A scroll through medieval Essex; Slavery in Anglo-Saxon Essex; Sir Henry Bate Dudley at Bradwell-on-Sea (part 1); book reviews*

Essex Society for Archaeology and History (vol.14 (4th series), 2023 published in 2025)

www.ESAH1852.org.uk *Middle to Late Bronze Age and early Saxon remains at London Road, Newport; A Roman rural settlement at Rawreth; The hinterland of Roman and medieval Great Dunmow; An enclosed medieval settlement at Elsenham; Medieval enclosures and a tile kiln at Finchingham; Rochford marketplace and Horner's Corner; The evolution of a medieval town house in Maldon; The attempted murder of Dr Thomas Plume in 1695; The diaries of Joseph Bufton (1650-1718) revisited; Archaeological fieldwork summaries 2023; book reviews; Essex bibliography*

Friends of Historic Essex Newsletter

(Spring 2025) <https://friendsofhistoricessex.org/>
From the Chair, including document purchase grants, placement grant, talks and events; New document purchases supported by FHE grants; Memories of the Essex RO; The boy soldiers from Napoleonic Colchester; New members of staff at ERO; VE-Day commemorations

Forest of Dean Local History Society News

(November 2025) www.forestofdeanhistory.org.uk
Editor's notes; Notes from the Chair; award winners at the AGM; Lydney Park estate workers; Children's local history books; Bark of the Oak [part 2]; Celebration of schools' history competition 2025; Dean Heritage Centre news; Richard Read Transport Ltd;

The New Regard: Journal of the Forest of Dean Local History Society (no.41 2026)

www.forestofdeanhistory.org.uk *Editorial; Alf Purcell, Forest of Dean MP and the General Strike; Saving for death; The Lloyd family tombs and graves, Abenhall; Upleadon Protestants; The Black ghost of Littledean Hall; Lydney Baptist Church; Mary Pope; Forest Commissioners; Empty pews and sacred places*

Friends of the Centre for English Local History Newsletter (no.38 October 2025)

<https://www.englishlocalhistory.org/> *Editorial; Chair's report: History at Leicester University under review; Centre report - including studentship in Black British local history; Hoskins Day 2025 - report including 'Looking at medieval houses'; results of Prof Phil Bateman Family History Prize; Reports on Centre Seminars; obituaries; Centre news - publications by and activities of fellows; Report of visit to Thornby Hall and Naseby; Round up of history podcasts; Wildlife unfriendly [discussion of photo]; Johan Zoffany (c.1733-1810); John Taylor of Barton under Needwood; News of 'Friends' now elsewhere; Report of visit to Grace Dieu Priory; News from the VCH; Tales of Student Funding; Book reviews; AGM report*

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

www.englishlocalhistory.org/ 2025 AGM notice; *Friends Newsletter for 2025 available; forthcoming talks; new book on Civil War; Surrey Poor Law Union minute books; Old English place-names as a repository of traditional ecological knowledge; forthcoming events and talks; Records at risk—British Records Association symposium; (December 2025) 2025 AGM report; VCH Spalding: editor needed; CLIP annual awards; Thoroton Society research awards; Bloomberg Connects interactive tour of National Civil War Centre; forthcoming talks and events; (January 2026) call for volunteers for Leicestershire VCH Trust new books; Call for papers (New Voices in Midland History conference; Pugin and Wymeswold conference); Rutland Record 45 now available; Leicester Guildhall - free guided tours; interactive tour of National Civil War Centre; forthcoming events*

Frogmore Paper Mill Newsletter (November 2025)

<https://frogmorepapermill.org.uk> *New trainee papermaker; New website; Celebrating Remembrance Day; Paper strength-tester donated; Santa Storyboats; Heritage Stories - More trees needed; (December 2025) Review of 2025; Online exhibitions - Step into the light (Watermarks); Paper goes to War; Recycling, nothing new!; Heritage Stories: Edward Holmes, 1728-1796, an early paper maker at Frogmore Mills, Hertfordshire*

Hackney Heritage News (e-newsletter of Hackney Museum and Hackney Archives) (November 2025)

Eastern African communities in Hackney; Hackney Museum is changing; Display - Stories woven in strands and Hackney Peace Mural at 40; Around the borough: events; (December 2025) Hackney and the 1984-5 miners' strike; Hackney Museum closed for refurbishment; Display at Hackney Archives - Hackney Peace Mural at 40

The Harborough Historian (journal of local history for Market Harborough and district)

(no. 42 October 2025)

www.marketharboroughhistoricalsociety.org *Chairman's view; Harborough Museum report; Sir Alexander Stainer; The Braybrooke Morris Dancers; A short history of St Mary's Lands charity; Two iconic Leicester libraries: St Barnabas (1937) and Southfields (1939); Hallaton and District WI - from foundation to the present day; The battle of Naseby - its effect on Market Harborough and surrounding villages; Lesser-known gems of St Michael and All Angels, Hallaton; How the Second World War changed my life and my family; Railway crash in Kilworth in 1889; Protest marches in Leicestershire, October 1936; The Market Harborough Hoard - 16th and 17th century children's toys [published elsewhere in 2013]; Serendipity; Chris Carter in Galby; Bowden witches [1671]; Changes in the legal profession; visits reports; MH in 1925; obituary; lecture programme*

Harpenden and District Local History Society e-Newsletter (November 2025)

<https://www.harpenden-history.org.uk/> *Forthcoming talk; Lecture recordings; Mayor's charity carol concert; Christmas market; Lecture programme for 2026; Museum opening hours*

Harpenden and District Local History Society Newsletter (no.157 December 2025)

<https://www.harpenden-history.org.uk/> *Programme for 2026; Exhibitions at the Museum; Publications received; obituary; Tax on male servants, 1780 - Harpenden and Wheathampstead entries; Award of a Harpenden Society plaque for 2024; An anecdotal twist on the George Alyvin Hogg story; Recordings of talks available to members; Honorary president and vice-president of the society; The town mayor gives an appreciation of the society's year; Harpenden parish magazine in the time of Queen Victoria (report of talk)*

Hatfield Local History Society Newsletter

(no.139 December 2025)

<https://www.hatfieldhistory.org.uk/> *Hertfordshire schools building programme; Starting at The Ryde School; Corrigenda re Peter Dunham; Hatfield's population; Balloon Corner, Welham Green [postcard]; The history of the Great North Road [brief]; Society news, diary dates, news from the Committee*

Heanor and District Local History Society

Newsletter (no.455 October 2025)

www.HeanorHistory.org.uk *Chairman's welcome; (Bryan) Holmes: Home on the Range; The birth of television; Virtual walk round Shipley, part 2 [report of talk]; Grammar school reopening; (no.456 November 2025) chairman's welcome; Local heroes - remembering two local men; A change of life; A reel aficionado; Sir Thomas Bludworth; Pat's Memories (reminscences of Heanor resident Patricia Clara Shipley, nee Plumb); Ravenswood (a Victorian town house); Postcards [report of talk]; (no.457 December 2025) Chairman's welcome; It's Pantomime in Heanor; A Christmas quiz; The story of Matthew Walker's Puddings; The Christmas Present (from the memoirs of Terence Sisson); Christmas at Heanor hospital (1952); The laughing policeman; Lest we forget (report of talk)*

In Our Age. Herefordshire Lore: Living Local History (issue 78 Spring 2025)

www.herefordshirelore.org.uk *Welcome; Plucking turkeys; Turkeys on the move; Christmas shopping memories; Reminiscences of RAF service and life in Hereford; Launch of V80 commemorative supplement; What's going on here?; Leominster motoring memories; Down the rabbit hole - a new dance craze; A dip into Herefordshire Lore's archives (Barbour clothing helped submariners); Readers' letters; The history of Holmer Court; Cinema memories in Ross-on-Wye; Christmas post deadline; damaged beyond repair - Wye bridge demolished*

Huddersfield Local History Society Members Newsletter (November 2025)

www.huddersfieldhistory.org.uk *Welcome; Forthcoming meetings; New committee: 'cabinet reshuffle'; Book launch; forthcoming events elsewhere; Calderdale Heritage Walks*

Isle of Man Victorian Society Newsletter

(no.123 February 2025)

<https://iomvictoriansociety.org/> *Wreck of the Mona's Isle (1892); Walking treasure hunt of Douglas (report); Members' News; Wreck and rescue on the Manx coast (report of talk); obituaries; new books by members; Jonathon Green Trophy [for schools]; Willie Holden and the Holden family of musicians; Your newsletter - changes over the years; Moving with The Times [report of talk]; A tribute to Archibald Knox (report of talk); Looking after your Victorian house [report of talk]; Changes following the AGM; Alterations to The Times Office; (no.124 September 2025) Joseph William Swinerton; Members' News; The story of Collinson House, Port Erin (report of talk); Snaefell Mountain Railway (report of talk and visit); obituaries; Liverpool Regional Group of the VS celebrates 60 years; Bringing the past alive through animation (report of talk); The hotel that never was; 175th anniversary of Ballakilpheric Chapel [report of visit]; new books by members; A family of architects (William Clement Williams); Ascension - the making of a parish and St Peter's Kirk Onchan [report of talk]; Stephen Lewin - jack of all trades*

Lancashire Local History Federation

Newsletter (issue 53 November 2025)

www.lancashirehistory.org *Notes from the Editor*; *View from the chair - The wonder of maps (OS maps from 1950s to 1970s)*; *News from Archives, including dates for the diary, new exhibition 'Journeys to the match', Lancashire Local History publication; Friends of Lancashire Archives newsletter; Speakers' Corner; News from member societies including forthcoming meetings and events, and a celebration of 40 years of Horwich Heritage; Lancashire Place Name Survey - report; News roundup, including a manuscript find in a holiday let; Historic England funding for Buildings at Risk; Remembering Mary Higham; Publications of interest; Request for information on schools and local history*

Lewes History Group Bulletin (no.184 November 2025)

<https://leweshistory.org.uk/> *Views of Lewes from the River (photos 1868, 1898); A New Year gathering in the Lewes Union workhouse (1891); Carvill's Eucalyptus (1895); Lewes YMCA (postcard 1927); A soldier's daughter (1745 Quarter Sessions); Bonfire at Cliffe Corner (5 Nov 1783); Edwardian postcard view of Cullfail; Miss Maude Devonshire's reference (May 1912); Peter Messer's view of Lewes Bonfire Night; A grand organophonic concert (1859); Historic Lewes for sale - Dial House; (no.185 December 2025) 2025 AGM agenda; Grown in Lewes; A postcard views of Paddock Road; Lewes as a public transport hub in 1828; The theft of an egg [in 1864]; The 1857 Lewes railway station; The tallest Lewes chimney [in 1877]; The blind preacher, Rev William Wedlock; Rebuilding the Crown Inn [1812]; Gateway House, 18 East Street; The Lewes skating rink [1877]; AGM reports; (no.186 January 2026) 2025 AGM report; A great fall of chalk (in 1805); Steer's charity (1661); A well-travelled postcard of Southover church (1905); Ouse abuse - a new sewerage system in the late 19thC; Merging the Lewes and Chailley Poor Law Unions (1898); Treasurer's financial report for 2024/5*

Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology Newsletter (Autumn 2025)

www.slha.org.uk *Note from the Chair; new book on water supply in Lincs; Steep Hill Bookshop; AGM notice; Projects to be considered for 2026 Flora Murray Award invited; submissions to Lincolnshire Past and Present invited; Autumn 2025 diary dates; Visit to Museum of Lincolnshire Life; Seasonal celebration; AGM papers*

Lincolnshire Past and Present (no.141 Autumn 2025)

www.slha.org.uk *From Liricoock to Lollycock- the story of a meadow; The strange career of the Reverend von Sturmer; Sporting composers and politicians [note]; Objects of life - Travels with a sheep; Speculative explorations in 'Gilbert Country', 4; reports of events; The Royal Observer Corps in Lincolnshire and the Reepham Diary; Some aspects of Lincolnshire public transport from 1799; Traffic on Lincoln's High Bridge [note]; book and CD reviews; annual report*

Loughton History (no.245 November 2025 to

January 2026) <https://loughtonhistoricalsociety.org.uk/> *From the Editor; Loughton Operatic Society; Edward Cuthbert Nunn. ARAM, FRCO and German Reed; Whipps Cross Lido; Fern Bak, Buckhurst Hill and a feckless cleric [part 1]; An accident blackspot - in Markyate, Herts; An Essex writer (Victor Bridges); Buses in Loughton; The couple who built Loughton's Cinema; The history of the Historical Society; Books and snippets; Coal posts given listed status; The journal of a country curate - John William Lockwood at Stapleford Abbots 1831-2; Members' evening and AGM [report]; Palmerston Road, Buckhurst Hill. buses and street furniture; Another twinning opportunity*

The Clock Tower (The Friends of Medway

Archives) (no.80 November 2025)

<http://foma-lsc.org/> *New FOMA committee; Obituary - Sir Robert Worcester; Medway Archives Centre (MAC) Report; Come and view the Percy Fitzgerald Collection; Percy Fitzgerald and the study of Charles Dickens (reprint from 2007); The Battle of Trafalgar - an account by Robert Sands; The birth of FOMA; Medway Remembers - The launch of a major new WW2 project at the MAC; Agriculture in Gillingham in 1833- William Taylor of East Court Farm; a poem of Remembrance; A step up (The Library); readers' Letters; forthcoming events; news from other societies*

Merton Historical Society Bulletin

(no.236 December 2025)

<https://mertonhistoricalsociety.org.uk/> *Questionnaire to help with 75th anniversary publication; Chairperson's report; forthcoming meetings and events; An audience with Scott McCracken; Variety artistes memorial in Streatham Park Cemetery; Devonshire Dining rooms conclusion; MHS 75th anniversary - student researcher (appointed); Have you got a tale to tell?; Mitcham's new elected parish council in the 1890s; Photos of Christmas at the Morden sorting office in 1962; North Mitcham allotments; Pubs of Kingston [report of guided walk]; The Trafalgar Freehouse; A forgotten part of local history (model of the SS Wandle); new publication*

Newdigate Local History Society Magazine

(no.121 November 2025) www.nlhs.org.uk

News from the Society; Editorial; Future events; Harefield and the Newdigate family; St Peter's church, Newdigate - reflections; Book review; The Goldbergs of the Red House; Loampits; A newspaper cutting from about 1943; Re-shingling of Newdigate church in 1911; Marion Martha Mary Leighfield

The Annual: bulletin of the Norfolk Archaeological and Historical Research Group

(no.26 Autumn 2025) www.nahrg.org.uk

Message from the Editor and the Chairman; Welcome Stranger! [presidential address]; Decoding Sir John Fastolf's badge and motto; For a time lost - the Tye family and music in Gressenhall church; Overend Gurney, the Gurney Norwich Bank and Black Friday, 10 May 1866; The haven port of Eccles juxta Mare; Community archaeology in King's Lynn: 'Hidden heritage of the Gaywood River'; book review

Norfolk Historic Buildings Group Newsletter

(no.52 Autumn 2025) www.nhbg.org.uk

From the Chair; forthcoming lecture programme; Norfolk hearts (decorative brickwork); summaries of talks [Prince of Wales Road, Norwich; Early history of Norfolk Archaeological Trust; The church lithographs of Robert and John Berney Ladbrooke]; College Farm, Thompson, and St Martin's church [visit report]; Bishop Bonner's cottage and Dereham St Nicholas [visit report]; Holly Farmhouse, Winfarthing [visit report]; Re-use of Roman material in churches [visit report]; Paston monuments at Oxnead; Oby Manor House; Norwich-over-the-water [visit report]; self-guided tour of Loddon; A digest of buildings visited since May 2025

Northamptonshire Industrial Archaeology

Group Newsletter (issue 176 October 2025)

www.niag.org.uk *News, reviews and information (including steam era loss in Northampton; Coventry Very Light Rail; Wind and oil powered bulk carriers (ships); Northampton Gateway rail terminal; Newspaper hawkers in terminal decline); The quarrying process in the 1970s and beyond; reports of walks (Northampton including former Midland Railway engine shed; Railtour to Stroud; Kettering industry); Workhouses (report of talk in 2001); Living on the cut; Prefabs; Street furniture in Settle; Northamptonshire in the West End*

Oxfordshire Local History (vol.13 2025)

<https://www.olha.org.uk/> *Editorial; Vignettes: Changes in local government (Wallingford 1836, Banbury 1888-9, Oxfordshire 1970); The Badgemore German POW camps and the inmates who elected to stay in Oxfordshire after the Second World War; Some Oxfordshire men at Waterloo; Changes in land tenure in the Corpus Christi College manor in West Hendred in the nineteenth century; book reviews; On the spot: interview with a local historian; Lesser known archives (Historic England's USAAF collection);*

Oxfordshire Local History Association

e-bulletin (November 2025)

<https://www.olha.org.uk/> *Who makes history? events; Marlborough exhibition commemorating South Oxford men who died in WW2; South Oxon Archaeological Group feature; Museum of Oxford (MoX) lunchtime talks; Oxfordshire Museum purchases Iron Age hoard from near Henley; Oxfordshire Preservation Trust tours in Abingdon and Oxford; Hill End Charitable Trust; Church of St John the Evangelist, New Hinksey; Royal Berkshire Archives: Oxfordshire documents; forthcoming events; Saxon walls found in Oxford; Conservation project at St James the Great, Fulbrook; meet a speaker; forthcoming talks in the county; (December 2025) New exhibition at Magdalen College; Jericho Living Heritage Trust gets NHL Funding to restore Kilsby, a canal boat; Two new books about Jericho; Faringdon and District Archaeological and Historical Society; Oxford Bottle Collectors' Fair; Introduction of controversial entry charge to Museum of Oxford; Forthcoming talks; Oxford History website - weather vanes around the city; New exhibition at Soldiers of Oxfordshire Museum; Cumnor Hurst SSSI under threat; Oxford Preservation Trust tours in Abingdon; Royal Berkshire Archives blog; Oxon buildings on Heritage at Risk register; Oxfordshire local history small grants available; Adderbury Morris Men; meet a speaker; forthcoming talks in the county*

Redditch History Society Newsletter

(vol.7 no.6 October 2025)

<http://www.redditchhistorysociety.org.uk/> *Welcome; forthcoming events; Early postcards of Redditch town [illustrated report of talk]; Redditch Carnival 50 years anniversary in 1978; Three early postcards; (vol.7 no.7 November 2025) Welcome; forthcoming events; Needle making in Worcestershire and Warwickshire 1640-1940 [illustrated report of talk]; William Purser, Rookery Boy goes to school; Three paintings based on early postcards; (vol.7 no.8 December 2025) December meeting report; From the editor; Forge Mill Needle Museum; forthcoming February meeting; Richard III - hero, murderer or loyal brother? [report of talk]; provisional programme for 2026; The way we were [reprint from 2020]; Three postcards of Redditch in winter*

Rickmansworth Historical Review (no.37

October 2025) www.rickmansworthhistory.org.uk *Editorial; All Saints' church in the Second World War: a vicar's point of view (part 2); Dame Jessie Wildon Phipps; Rickmansworth men in Hertford Gaol in the early 1840s, part 1, Henry Thompson; Searching for Romans at Sarratt?; Forthcoming meetings*

Ruislip, Northwood and Eastcote Local History Society Journal (2025) www.rnelhs.org.uk

Lecture programme; Opening words; Ruislip village pump; Tribute to Colin Bowlt; BALH award in 2025; The Orchard hotel and pub; Sir Frank Minshull Elgood, Ruislip-Northwood's town-planning pioneer; The London Charterhouse [visit report]; New street lighting [1892]; Across the wires: telegraph and telephone in Northwood, Eastcote and Ruislip; Museum of Brands and Packaging [visit report]; VE Day 1945: Children's party in Coniston Gardens; Photographing and recording local news; Local history journal archive; 'Vague memories of Ruislip Northwood [reprint from 1967]; Eastcote Lodge - a house through time; [overall theme of the importance of pictures, collections and archives to the recording of local and personal history]

Rutland Record (journal of the Rutland Local

History and Record Society) (no.45 2025)

www.rutlandhistory.org *Obituary: Maurice Edward Baines, president of RLHRS; 'The whole country on a flame': the civil war fighting at North Luffenham, 1643; Public gain, private purpose: the Association for the Prosecution of Felons in Rutland; The rise and fall of the Hopkins family, tailors and drapers of Uppingham; Rutland history and archaeology in 2024 (round up of reports of archaeological fieldwork and discoveries, historic building recording, archives, museums and societies' meetings etc, Rutland bibliography 2023-24)*

Saffron Walden Historical Journal

(no.50 Autumn 2025) www.saffronwaldenhistory.org.uk

Editorial; Shelley Fausset and the Linden Press - art and literature against war; Ashdon Village Museum: bygone village life on display; Inquiring minds: a brief history of the Newport Local History Group; The Library Book: a history of the Gibson Library and its collections; Clavering Castle archaeological evaluation, June 2025; The 1647 Project; An Anglo-Saxon stone fragment; New exhibition at SW Museum; Jabez Brinkworth comes to Saffron Walden

Sarum Chronicle: historical research on

Salisbury and district (no.25 2025)

www.sarumchronicle.wordpress.com

Frances Lovibond - a life in colour; John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury: the man who gave Anglicanism its Creed; The Tobin family - beneficiaries and opponents of slavery; Fanny Nelson - the forgotten wife; St Mary's chapel, Old Sarum: new evidence for the continued presence of Salisbury Cathedral clergy at Old Sarum 1245-1550; The Victoria Hall - Salisbury's forgotten entertainment venue; 'A refractory pauper' - a life in Victorian institutions; Civic ritual and great public celebrations in Salisbury marketplace, 1760-1914; A sober steady man - Robert Michael Hall, 1864-1948; The Annunciation panel in St Thomas's church; Miss Wickens - artist and antiquarian; Salisbury Museum's Past Forward Project; The 800th anniversary of Salisbury Cathedral's east end; book review; obituaries; list of articles in SC 2001-2024

Send and Ripley History Society

(no.305 November 2025)

www.sendandripleyhistorysociety.co.uk

Editorial, including the installation of toad tunnels; 40 years ago (reissued article on The vicarage, High Street, Ripley); Reverend Morgan Evan Thomas; The history of osteopathy [report of talk]; Guileshill Brook; The Send horse bus; The Lovelace Cottages in Ockham; Memories of a farmer's daughter; revised book - A Walk about Ripley village; The new website; where is it?; What is it?; Museum news; Forthcoming events; Publications

Sittingbourne Heritage Museum Newsletter

(October 2025) www.sittingbourne-museum.co.uk

Seeking information on S.H. Brett and Son; Study Group report - more work on Milton Regis in the East Kent Gazette in the 1930s; 2012 Olympics volunteer's memories; (November 2025) The Museum is closing (in The Forum); Last day and many packing days; Development on Seeking S.H. Brett; (December 2025) Museum exhibition now closed (in The Forum); subscriptions; Study group report; International Day of Volunteering; Memories of Tony and Norma Bottel

Sittingbourne Heritage Museum Quarterly Journal (no.111 December 2025)

www.sittingbourne-museum.co.uk *Vilem Goth and Adolf Zeleny; Growing up in Borden, working in Sittingbourne shops and living in Milton; The development of Lord Snooty/Snooty's hairdressers; Mystery locations and lost places 3, Clapp's Orchards, The Clock House at Milton, The Club House, Cockell's Balcony*

Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society e-bulletin (November 2025)

<https://sanhs.org/> *Forthcoming webinar; Geological Walk at Ham Hill; forthcoming talks; SANHS Library Book Club: new venture; Website shop; associated societies news and events; (December 2025) SANH Proceedings now available; Membership drive planned; Forthcoming emergency response training; SANHS Library Book Club - first meeting's report; Further discoveries relating to church armorials; forthcoming events; Mick Aston's Young Archaeologists - meeting report; recent publications; associated societies news and events; (January 2026) SANH Proceedings distribution delayed; Membership review planned; Forthcoming emergency response training; SANHS Library Book Club to continue; Further discoveries relating to church armorials - firebacks; forthcoming events; Mick Aston's Young Archaeologists - meeting report; recent publications; associated societies news and events*

St Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Newsletter

(no.238 November 2025) www.stalbanshistory.org

President's remarks; 2025 AGM minutes; Clock Tower report; Publications report; New book about St Albans hatmakers; New book on King's Road; Book launch; Sir Francis Bacon commemorations in 2026; Community archaeology dig at the Rose and Crown; Heritage and Blue Plaques update; Signage and banners; reports on outings; Events at St Albans cathedral; Tales of Saints and Teachers, Monks and Pirates [new booklet]; An eighteenth century St Albans florist; building links with Sixth forms; News from Potters Bar Museum; forthcoming lectures and events

The Sunbury and Shepperton Local History Society Journal (no.95 Autumn 2025)

www.sshs.org.uk *A glimpse of Littleton in the 1880s; The Harcourt Skrine family at 'Northolt', Thames Street; A tale of 2 cousins - Winston Churchill and Freddie Guest [part 2]*

Tewkesbury Historical Society Bulletin (no.34

2025) tewkesburyhistory.org *From the editor; From the chairman; Anti-slavery activism in Tewkesbury; George Fouch senior and his Tewkesbury roots; One of the 'heroes with grimy faces'; Sea Cadet Corps motto - 'Ready, aye, ready'; The Raggatt family of aspirational artisans; 41 Oldbury Road after the Raggatts; obituaries; index*

Towcester and District Local History Society Newsletter (November 2025)

<https://www.mkheritage.org.uk/tdlhs/index.html>

plus Facebook page *The Great Fire of Northampton [report of talk]; Edgar Mobbs - a rugby icon in the First World War [report of talk]; Victoria County History - Towcester parish and hundred; 10 years ago and 20 years ago - items from TDLHS Newsletter, November 2015 and 2005; A new approach to scanning books; Northamptonshire Licensed Trades Association (part 2); Changes to the committee*

Borough of Twickenham Local History Society Newsletter (no.200 December 2025)

www.boths.co.uk *The chairman writes; The editor writes; Editors of the 200 issues and extracts from the last 50; Sir Godfrey Kneller RIP (d.1723), part 2; report of recent talk; Pope's Villa, Henry Balfour and Charles Aird, part 1; Publications news; Hampton around 200 years ago - a visualisation, part 2, An amazing coincidence; Then and now - photographs; Teddington - venue for the first ever National Olympian Games (1866); Hampton Wick's travelling theatre; Waste matters - St George's Place, Twickenham; Two chickens, a horse and cart, and some carcasses (old photo); The 'Maria Wood - the last of the state barges; Syon Abbey, Twickenham - where was the first home of the English Bridgettines?*

The Uxbridge Record (Uxbridge Local History and Archive Society) (no.124 Autumn 2025)

<http://www.eddiethecomputer.co.uk/history> *Summary of recent talks; The enigma of Dagmar House; Postmasters of Uxbridge; From here and there - about Uxbridge*

Friends of Watford Museum Newsletter (no.100 November 2025)

<https://www.watfordmuseum.org.uk/friends> *forthcoming events; 100 years of the Metropolitan Watford Branch [report of talk]; Watford Borough Council's digital heritage trails; Museum team members move on*

Museum of Watford Monthly (November 2025)

<https://www.watfordmuseum.org.uk/> *Your new museum - virtual tour available; Review of MoW in 2025; Museum on tour - celebrating 100 years of the Metropolitan line to Watford; Watford's Trail Tale; (October 2025) Your new museum - help bring Watford's entertainment history to life; Behind the scenes - report on Museum Association's conference at St Fagans National Museum of History (Cardiff); Museum on tour - Watford's Diwali celebrations; 100 years since the Metropolitan line came to Watford*

Wells Local History Group Newsletter

(no.91 New Year 2026)

<https://www.wellsnorfolkhistory.co.uk/>

From the editor; John Tuck reaches a century; Farewell to Rose Cottage; New Inn, Staithe Street; Wells souvenirs update; Fatal accident at Holkham, 24 Sept 1900; Robert Starkins, unable seaman; forthcoming talks