

THE LOCAL HISTORIAN

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• EDITORIAL •

Last year's questionnaire sent to members of the British Association for Local History produced some challenging responses. From my point of view as editor, one of the most significant was the clear evidence of a strong demand for general articles dealing with sources, methods and overviews of key themes in local history. I had already been considering a rebalancing of the contents of the journal, to accommodate more material of this type, and the survey made it plain that such a move would be well-received. Readers also expressed support for the reviews section, some confirming that it was an essential way of keeping up to date with local history. As I hope you have noticed, Evelyn Lord (the Reviews Editor) and I have tried to make space for more reviews and this policy is bearing fruit. Now, in this issue, we have the first of what I intend will be a regular series of papers looking in detail at themes and sources. Angus Winchester and Ellie Straughton, of Lancaster University, are currently working on the online Manorial Documents Register, a resource which is already proving invaluable to those of us who work in the counties so far covered (I, in the North West, am among the lucky ones) and which, as it is extended, will become an essential tool for local historians everywhere. It is partly a database of the documents and their whereabouts, putting online the existing Manorial Documents Register which has been maintained since the mid-1920s when this category of material was placed under statutory protection. However, as the article by Angus and Ellie in this issue emphasises, it also includes extensive and essential material relating to the use, interpretation and technical content of manorial documents. This makes it a welcome teaching and learning, which capitalises on the special flexibility of online working. Online resources of this sort are of course ever more significant for researchers, though we must always be acutely aware of the need for caution and discrimination. Long ago my grandparents were wont to argue on the lines of 'it must be true because it was in the *Daily Express*', a view which my *Guardian*-reading father regarded with complete dismay. The modern equivalent is 'It must be true because it was on a website', which should be regarded with even greater scepticism. I'm planning to include regular articles about those websites and related online resources which, I hope, can be trusted and relied upon for accuracy. The online Manorial Documents Register is just such a website. The article in this issue introduces it and hints at its exciting potential for all local historians.

Another theme considered in this May issue is markets and fairs, which have long fascinated historians. In my case, a strong interest in landscapes and townscapes, and in medieval towns, means that market places and their associated streets, buildings, and economic and social history, have a special resonance. The chartering of markets in obscure and insignificant places in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is testimony to the enduring power of commercial and financial speculation, while the vibrant vigour of a successful urban market, recaptured in engravings, descriptions or the administrative record of market courts and clerks, testifies to the power of this dimension of trade as an engine of urban growth and expansion. But behind every market, successful or unsuccessful, were patterns or possibilities of trade which are often overlooked, or less closely studied, than the markets and fairs themselves. In 1886 Thomas Hardy, in a deservedly-famous passage in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, captured the faded and tawdry world of the English country fair, a venerable and time-honoured institution which had been condemned to a lingering death by the penetrating

influence of the railways. Weydon Fair was a thinly-disguised (as thinly as only Hardy can make it!) version of the celebrated Weyhill Fair, held outside Andover on the ancient high road from Exeter to London:

‘many hundreds of horses and sheep had been exhibited and sold in the forenoon ... but [now] little real business remained on hand, the chief being the sale by auction of a few inferior animals, that could not otherwise be disposed of ... Yet the crowd was denser now than during the morning hours, the frivolous contingent of visitors, including journeymen out for a holiday, a stray soldier or two come on furlough, village shopkeepers, and the like, having latterly flocked in; persons whose activities found a congenial field among the peep-shows, toy-stands, waxworks, inspired monsters, disinterested medical men who travelled for the public good, thimble-riggers, nick-nack vendors and readers of Fate’.

That brilliant evocation of the fair in all its variety serves to introduce an article published in this issue, in which Wendy Thwaites gives us a wide-ranging overview of the patterns and processes of the trade in agricultural produce during the seven centuries from 1200 to 1900. She covers the sources and the evidence, the nature of trade and its demand and supply patterns, the outlets and types of trade, and the influences which, over time, changed and reshaped those patterns. This is the first of the articles which will give background and context to key themes in local history, providing a framework within which we can place our own findings and also offering ideas and directions for research and analysis. I want to give special thanks for the hard work which Wendy has undertaken in preparing this article, and I feel sure that it will be welcomed by many of our readers. Though the sale of a wife at Weydon Fair, the dark event which sets off a long train of consequences in Hardy’s novel, can hardly be seen as characteristic of the trading patterns in pre-industrial England, Wendy Thwaites’s article draws attention to the personal, the individual and the idiosyncratic. Market trading was not about predetermined forces and fixed patterns. Every decision about when, where and how to sell, to whom and for how much, and conversely to how, when, where, from whom and for how much to buy, was based on a separate choice. As with so much else, we can view and assess markets and their trade at many different levels, from that individual decision and personal experience through to the way in which markets and fairs reflect the great economic trends which mould and shape European history. There are some universal characteristics. Two weeks on from when I write this, I will be sipping a beer in the Rynek Główny, the largest market place in medieval Europe and the heart of the city of Kraków. It was laid out following the grant of a charter to the city by Duke Boleslaw V in 1257 (a date exactly coinciding with the peak period of market-chartering in Britain). Perhaps I will buy a souvenir in the Sukiennice, the great medieval hall of the cloth merchants which stands in the centre of the square, or I may purchase some *oszczypek*, the smoked ewe’s milk cheese which is sold on the street corners by elderly ladies who come down from the Tatra mountains where it is made. Those patterns of trade are Europe-wide and hallowed by time, and Wendy’s article reminds us that we should think of the local experience in the context of far wider and longer frameworks.

ALAN CROSBY

Farmers, markets and trade in England 1200–1900

W E N D Y T H W A I T E S

Introduction

The development of agricultural marketing and trade over the seven centuries discussed in this article is a complex subject, about which our understanding constantly advances with the shifting perceptions and new contributions of successive historians. From the early twentieth century onwards, not only have important studies been made of varying aspects of marketing history, covering a range of historical periods, but historians have also visited and revisited the numerous influences bearing upon agricultural trade—for example, population trends, urban growth, and transport improvements. Moreover, research on such diverse themes as food riots, the role of women, the importance of credit, consumerism, and shops and shopping, has enabled the modern historian of agricultural marketing to place the subject within a more multi-dimensional context. Indeed, few areas of research in economic, social, intellectual and even political history have failed to influence our analysis of marketing and trade while, conversely, ‘the idea of the Market’ has itself become central to our understanding of social change and such concepts as freedom and justice.¹

While additional studies have helped to build a fuller picture, there have also been shifts in emphasis within the work of historians. First, as more developments in marketing and trade have been traced further back in time, and the extinction of older methods traced further forward, our conclusions have tended to focus more on the adaptation of existing institutions rather than on outright change, on *evolution* rather than *revolution*. Second, while earlier writers tended to focus upon London and the stimulus to developments provided by the demand of the London market, those more recently, by looking at such provincial centres as Bristol, Sheffield or Manchester, have shown that trade flows were more complex, subtle and branched. Third, and related to this (and reflecting the influence of historical geographers), a greater emphasis has been placed on how local, regional, national, and international market centres related to each other and the hinterlands that supplied them.

1. Sources

The image we gain of marketing is clearly shaped by the surviving source material. Different periods of history are associated with different types of evidence and, while the sources are a reflection of the conditions and priorities of the world which produced them, the availability of data also helps to determine the questions that historians are best able to examine.² Moreover, and perhaps inevitably, the larger-scale enterprises, and any activity or institution with a statutory, legal or formal basis, are always favoured in the historical record.

One major category of evidence lies within the records of estates and farms. The history of medieval marketing has been reconstructed principally from manorial accounts—frequently, though not exclusively, those of institutional landowners such as Merton College, Oxford, or Crowland Abbey, Lincolnshire. Thus, R.H. Britnell employed the account rolls from Langenhoe, Essex—unusual in being a small lay estate—to show that grain was sold to the lord's tenants and the landless of the village, and to the townfolk of Colchester, between 1324 and the Black Death.³ Two important published account books, those of Robert Loder of Harwell, Berkshire, and Henry Best of Elmswell, Yorkshire, show the trading horizons of the commercially-minded farmer of the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴ Estate correspondence can also be illuminating. The published letters between Lord Fitzwilliam of Milton in the Soke of Peterborough and his steward constantly highlight marketing. For example, in January 1698 Fitzwilliam demanded that a tenant sell his wool for the price offered because 'I cannot spare my rent any longer'.⁵ Unfortunately the peasant, small farmer or cottager is less likely to have left any records in his own right. Moreover, as John Brownbill points out in his introduction to the significant household accounts of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall, Lancashire, dating from the 1670s, the Fells' relationships with the outside world were unlikely to have been representative of those of the local yeomen or 'statesmen'.⁶

A second set of sources is associated with official marketing institutions. Markets and fairs, which were frequently founded or regularised by charter and were sources of profit to their owners and service to the local community, are readily visible. Their history lies in records of central government, from the charter rolls, detailing the granting of markets and fairs—for example at Felsted, Essex, to the abbess and nuns of Caen in 1292—through to the *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls of 1889*, which combines some historical information with evidence on the state of markets and fairs in the late nineteenth century.⁷ The charter rolls have been used in conjunction with other medieval records in the production of the *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*, a valuable starting place for research on individual locations.⁸

Additional information can be found in borough records and—in such towns as Manchester or Sheffield, whose markets were still in private ownership into the nineteenth century—in the records of manorial courts and estates.⁹ While much of the evidence in these sources concerns the governance of markets and fairs, the material can also highlight trading patterns. Thus, the hall books and papers of the borough of Leicester show the Corporation defending freemen from toll charges on pigs in Lincoln in 1741, beasts in Bedford in 1744, and flax in Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, in 1747.¹⁰ Moreover, occasional records survive of the 'piepowder' courts which dealt with disputes between merchants at fairs, and were particularly active in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Finally, the existence and functions of these official outlets can be traced in street-names and butter crosses; works of art; topographical, travel and farming books; almanacs and newspapers. The word-portrait of the market at Bideford, Devon, by the agricultural writer William Marshall, instantly evokes a respectable, if individual, country market of the late eighteenth century. He describes small numbers of sheep, colts and fat and store cattle; bags of corn, chiefly wheat; mutton in the shambles; salmon; cartloads of country bread; and a well-supplied 'women's market'.¹¹ The world of less public sales, whether between relatives, friends or neighbours in the village, or privately, and perhaps illegally, to a dealer at the farm gate or in the inn parlour, is less apparent.

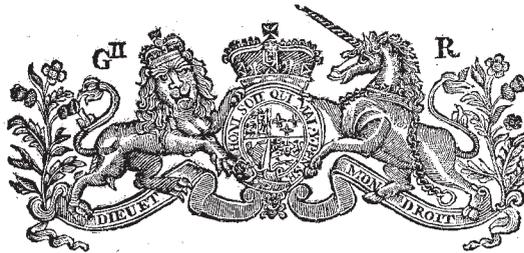
A third type of source material stems from the regulations governing individual areas of trade, or specific problems such as food shortages. Thus, while tollbook evidence for

Thursday July 6: 24th 1755
 Jn: Watts of Throp Mandeville Co: of North
 Sold to Jn: Dine of Boddicott Co: of Oxon
 a Mare & Colt, ⁱⁿ Chesutt mare Bald face
 a Colt of the Same Markes & Colour P: 6: 6: 0
 To: Jn: Pioner of Banbury Co: of Oxon

LAMMUS FAIR, holden & kept the 12th Day
 of Augth 1755 D^m Overton Esq^r Mayor
 And Benjⁿ Aplin Gentl^l Town Clerk
 An Entry of 6: Horses Sold for according to C^t Statute

Tho: Maunders of Long Hitchington Co: of Warwick
 Bought of D^r Hiatt of Solwell Co: of Oxon
 a 2 year Old gelding black P: 8: 7: 6
 To: D^r King of Great Rowlewright Co: of Oxon

Francis Bedwin of Stratton Harby Co: of Oxon
 Bought of Jn: Robinson of Nusthen Co: of Warwick
 a Black Mare 2 year Old Dark P: 5: 0: 0
 To: Jn: Watson of Ladbrook Co: of Warwick



Northamptonshire }
(to wit.)

A. Med

The 14th Day of May
in the 12th Year of the Reign
of our Sovereign Lord George the 3^d
by the Grace of God, King
of Great-Britain, and so forth. And in
the Year of our Lord 1772.

Wm. Wake

AT the General and open Quarter Sessions of the Peace held
at the Town of Northampton in and for the County
aforesaid, the Day and Year above-written *Joseph James*
of Rothersthorpe in the said County, is Licensed and
Allowed, in open Court by the Justices of the Peace of the said
County, to be a common *High Seller* *Buyer*
Carrier and Seller of Hens Chickens Pigeons
Eggs Butter Cheese Fish and other Dead Victuals

Will

in any open Market or Fair, within this Kingdom; so as he do
not use Regrating or Foretalling, but do demean himself in the
said Office and Doings according to the Tenour and true Meaning
of the Law and Statutes of this Realm, in that Case made and
provided; To USE AND OCCUPY the said Office and Doings,
by Virtue of this Licence, for the Space of One whole Year next
after the Date hereof, and no longer. IN WITNESS whereof
Three of the Justices of the Peace of the said County present at
the said Sessions, whereof one is of the Quorum, have Signed and
Sealed this present Licence in the said Sessions with their own
proper Hands and Seals, the Day and Year above-written.

2. Food dealer's licence to Joseph Harries of Rothersthorpe from the Northamptonshire Quarter Sessions 14 May 1772 (Northamptonshire Record Office LA1/box 95/3)

the sale of other commodities in markets and fairs is rare, Tudor legislation to prevent horse theft resulted in the widespread keeping of horse tollbooks, providing information on varied aspects of horse sales, including vendors, purchasers and prices.¹² Sixteenth-century statutes under which county quarter sessions regulated the ‘badgers’ and ‘drovers’, dealers in corn, small produce and livestock, sometimes resulted in the listing of these middlemen, occasionally with details of their trading activities. Thus, a Somerset licence holder in 1635 was permitted to buy butter in Somerset to sell in open fairs or markets in Hampshire and Berkshire, travelling with two horses only.¹³ The complex of regulations designed to control external trade and the collection of customs dues has ensured that records exist on the water-borne trade. For example, the port books have enabled historians to study the international and coastal traffic of the early modern period and show such flows of agricultural trade as the sixteenth-century movement of corn from King’s Lynn to Newcastle upon Tyne.¹⁴ Moreover, while normal harvests tended to pass unnoticed, dearth provoked an official response and the consequent recording of information, at least some of which exemplified normal practices. For example, the Acts of the Privy Council for October 1596 recorded that Bristol had little corn-growing in its vicinity and its supplies of bread-corn and malt came from, among other places, Worcestershire via the Severn.¹⁵ However, even when trade was covered by regulations our picture is incomplete. Thus, the port books tend to understate the volume of trade because merchants sought to evade the law, not infrequently aided by lax or corrupt officials, and smuggling—for example of corn from East Anglian ports to the continent—was rife.¹⁶ For other aspects of trade, such as road traffic, which were not contained within a regulatory framework, there is no single source of even unreliable evidence.¹⁷

Any attempt to analyse the small-scale, informal and illegal therefore requires the examination of a range of sources. Thus, personal records such as diaries and letters can illustrate petty trading. For example, the diary of a seventeenth-century apprentice shopkeeper, Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, illustrates the regular small-scale trading between neighbours when he reports going to the house of an acquaintance to buy an in-calf cow.¹⁸ Eighteenth-century newspaper advertisements can highlight the marketing functions of inns.¹⁹ Contemporary analysts of trade and industry, notably Daniel Defoe in the eighteenth century, provide observations on the unregulated, such as road traffic, while droveways have been traced on the ground and through place names.²⁰ Records arising from the legal system, at local, county and national level, can provide details both of such unlawful trading as came to the attention of the authorities and also of the private, and indeed public, trading that resulted in debts and disputes. Thus, the *Coventry Leet Book*, recording the city’s byelaws, provides evidence from as early as 1421 on attempts to evade the regulated world of the market place, with the mayor offering a reward to anyone reporting on corn hidden in inns or elsewhere around the town.²¹ Breaches of Tudor statutes designed to regulate economic activity might be brought before quarter sessions and—the favoured court of the informer—the court of exchequer.²² For example, at the Warwickshire quarter sessions of 1637, a husbandman from Ryton-on-Dunsmore was presented for engrossing corn (essentially, buying for resale) when he had a great store of his own.²³ In 1603 an information was laid in the court of exchequer against a yeoman from Studley, Wiltshire, for buying livestock at Lacock not in open market or fair.²⁴ Records of debt litigation have facilitated studies of Exeter market, and the trading links of Writtle, Essex, in the medieval period, while proceedings in the court of chancery concerning disputed contracts have been used to illuminate the development of private marketing under the Tudors.²⁵ However, there will always have been dealings that went unrecorded and it is important to remain alert to possible omissions.

Nevertheless, for the local historian, even one simple and readily accessible source can provide a wealth of information. For example, the diary kept by Elizabeth Corney, the daughter of a tenant farmer in the Lincolnshire fens in 1811, was published in 2005. The diarist recorded visits by the family to four markets, most notably Spalding, and fairs in ten towns, villages or open spaces. Not only does this evidence show the continuing importance of the open market and fair for a range of economic and social activities, but it also enables questions to be asked about distances travelled to market; the products dispersed through these outlets; seasonal peaks in markets and fairs, and in the sale of different commodities; and how marketing tasks were divided up within the family. Trading outside the market was also recorded, with the alternatives including dealing in wool and livestock on the farm and selling eggs, butter and goose quills to ‘the shop’. Moreover, the diary hints at the problems of fluctuating demand and the need for buyers to make a market. In November the farmer was compelled to bring his beasts home again from Folkingham fair, presumably because they could not be sold. Finally, the document could stimulate further research on the farmer’s network of contacts and on the extent to which his marketing activities were representative.²⁶

Thursday August 22 Washer sneaked into our field this morning to view the cow before I was up and then said she would not suit him. I gave him the offer since he is our butcher and he promised to meet me and view her yesterday like a man but he chose to break his promise and to sneak in by himself. A Somersetshire man never keeps his word and as to meanness they certainly cannot be exceeded in any county, I scarce ever met a liberal minded man amongst them. I showed the cow to Buller but he turned off tho’ he in particular thought her an uncommon beast. When we come to the point they all sneak off. The man at the Globe seems to have a great inclination to the cow in order to make her uncommonly fat but he, notwithstanding his prating keeps at an awful distance ...

Saturday August 24 The man of the Globe came to me and said he wished to purchase the fattening cow. We talked a good deal together but could not agree. I walked with him to Halsey Cross and there met Mr Rich and so we all set the bargaining and at last I let her go for Seventeen pounds and he is to keep my calf till Michaelmass next. My grass is grown low and not fit for fattening and the butchers were combining to beat me down so I nicked them at once. He is to fetch her on Monday and pay the money. Mr Rich thought I had done well.

3. **The private treaty sale of a cow in the Quantock Hills** (1805) from Jack Ayres (ed), *Paupers and Pig Killers: the diary of William Holland, a Somerset Parson, 1799-1818* (Sutton Publishing edition, 1994)

2. Marketing variables

How, where, and to whom goods were sold was the product of a combination of factors, and inevitably reflected changes in patterns of demand and transport facilities. However, a sale started with a product and a producer and the nature of these would often suggest the initial means of trading. Commodities ranged from the standard cereals, livestock and livestock products to timber and such specialist crops as hops and woad. Different products required different approaches to marketing and trade. Essential and widely produced crops, such as cereals, were likely to be marketed differently from the non-standard such as dye crops, while seasonal production peaks, mobility, bulkiness and perishability all influenced arrangements. So perishability was

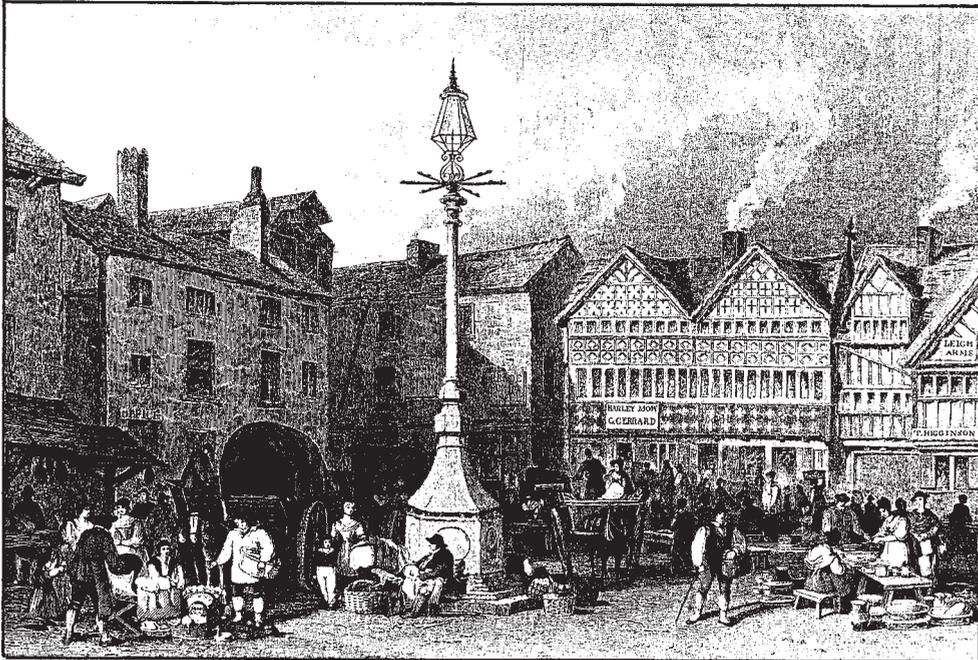
linked to local production and sales: milk for city consumption might come from urban cow sheds, as late as the mid-twentieth century in the case of Liverpool, or from the adjacent countryside, with distribution involving shops or itinerant trading. Seasonal patterns in livestock production, coupled with the ease with which cattle and sheep could be moved on the hoof, combined to favour trading at late spring and autumn fairs in such significant locations as areas of primary production in the north and west, or the grazing counties of the midlands and east. Anything with a peak in availability and an ability to walk might be marketed in this way: geese, for example, might go on foot to October goose fairs at Nottingham or Tavistock, Devon. Conversely, heavy items invited other arrangements: when Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Norfolk, was looking for timber in 1574 he was approached by the prebendary of Norwich Cathedral offering him a lease for 21 years of the oaks in the dean and chapter's Hindolveston Wood.²⁷

The nature of the product might also differ over time, with the parties to the marketing transaction reflecting the changing circumstances. For example, Bowden has traced how changes in the character of the wool clip determined its markets. As wool produced in the Midlands coarsened in quality, its principal outlet shifted from the broadcloth manufacture of the West of England towards (by the early seventeenth century) the East Anglian worsted industry, with dispersal perhaps through Stourbridge Fair rather than Cirencester wool mart.²⁸ In addition, the end-use and perceived value of commodities varied over time and from place to place, again helping to shape the nature of transactions. Thus, barley was commonly a drink-corn bought by maltster and brewer, while oats was a major source of fodder used by farmers and keepers of inns and livery stables. However, even in the mid-nineteenth century these spring-sown crops were widely used in bread or other staple foodstuffs in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire.²⁹ Again, since many of the raw materials of industry came from animals, the livestock farmer of the Middle Ages, and even of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, might well perceive the economic value of his stock in terms of such by-products as wool hides, horn and tallow, rather than carcasses.³⁰

A range of products was sold by a range of producers, differing not only in their circumstances, but in the emphasis of their farming. In 1813 Arthur Young, in his discussion of the agriculture of Suffolk, suggested that the rural economy sending the largest surplus to market would be found to be 'politically best' and pointed out that as well as such deductions from the marketable surpluses as corn for seed, there were also foodstuffs retained for the farmer's personal consumption.³¹ Between 1200 and 1900, the purely commercial aspect of farming (as opposed to subsistence) certainly increased, as did the size of farms, but marketing was never confined to a single group dedicated to farming for that maximum surplus. Vendors ranged from the self-reliant peasant or cottager with a small surplus—a cash-crop such as eggs or poultry, or a local speciality such as the strawberries supplied by cottagers to Hereford market in the early nineteenth century—to the commercial farmer, specialising in a particular branch of agriculture such as grazing.³² Attitudes varied as much as holdings, and not all sought the maximum profit or welcomed new opportunities. For example, in the early nineteenth century there were farmers in the Weald of Surrey who remained loyal to the traditional purchasers of their grain even though others offered more money. Producers might oppose river navigation schemes—for example on the Derwent in the seventeenth century—because they wished to remain dominant in their local markets, in that case Derby.³³ Moreover, marketing might be a household activity, involving the womenfolk and servants, each member being responsible for different commodities. John Norden, in his account of the farmers of Middlesex in the late sixteenth century, described how the wife went to London two or three times a week with the products of

the dairy and henhouse, and fruit, bacon and frumenty, while her husband was responsible for disposing of the corn which was surplus to household requirements.³⁴

It was perhaps inevitable that more complex trading methods and new departures in marketing should have been more associated with certain combinations of producer/vendor and product than with others. As we concentrate on the forces of



4. The market at Warrington, Lancashire, circa 1830: although in a major industrial town at the dawn of the railway age, the market still included many vendors who came from the surrounding countryside to sell small quantities of produce from baskets on the steps of the market cross, or on low benches and tables.

change, it is important to remember that enclaves of tradition survived. The Otmoor women who gathered with their wares round the ‘Market Elm’ in the Church Square at, Islip, Oxfordshire, in the eighteenth century and beyond might not have been out of place a thousand years earlier.³⁵

3. The thirteenth century

There was no age of pre-commercial innocence. From the start of the period, even for the peasantry, production for household use had to be accompanied by production for sale, to meet demands for rent, taxes, and other dues, and to purchase essentials such as salt. Moreover, while there was no absolute distinction between producer and consumer, rural and urban, there were sources of demand for agricultural surpluses, from those who had inadequate or marginal land, were engaged in crafts and trades, or were inhabitants of significant population centres, most notably London but including such towns as York, Norwich or Bristol. Features of marketing and trade which we can find into the nineteenth century had frequently emerged by 1200 or developed shortly

afterwards. Thus, even though certain regions were equally adaptable to pasture or arable, regional specialisation—whereby particular emphasis was placed on producing and trading in the commodities most suited to an area's soil, topography and climate—was certainly apparent in the 1200s. For example, evidence exists from the 1250s showing that cattle were being reared in Wales and driven to Gloucestershire for sale, and the North West also possessed areas noted for cattle-rearing and dairying.³⁶ By the early thirteenth century agricultural produce could be moved along roads by cart and pack-horse, via droveways, down rivers, or around the coast.³⁷ Farmer estimates that some 600 markets were in existence in 1200 with a marked increase over the period 1200-1350.³⁸ Many markets were small, of only local significance and often short-lived, but others, such as Henley-on-Thames in Oxfordshire and Ware in Hertfordshire for the corn trade, achieved a wider importance.³⁹ Fairs, held at longer intervals than markets, were seasonal in character and frequently attracted trade from a wider area. Many were well-established by 1200 and already noted for their role in the dispersal of livestock. Some of those held in the thirteenth century had a remarkable longevity. For example, the fair at Weyhill near Andover, Hampshire, which was old even in 1200, was reported by Defoe in the early eighteenth century to be the greatest fair for sheep.⁴⁰ However, the great international fairs, such as St Botolph's in Boston, Lincolnshire, or St Giles's, Winchester, which were significant in the wool trade of the 1200s, declined rapidly in the fourteenth century. This was reflected in part the growth of a more regular trade, centred on London, in many of the commodities offered at these fairs.⁴¹

The formal marketing institutions of the thirteenth century catered for retail and wholesale trades, with purchasers ranging from the small consumer, through such urban tradesman as butchers, to middlemen buying for distant cities and foreign markets. For example, in the reign of Henry III produce was bought at the village market of Hawkesbury in Gloucestershire for resale in Bristol market.⁴² Moreover, throughout the century, large-scale purchasers could bypass the open market in favour of private trading. Thus, wool merchants, or cornmongers buying grain for London, might buy directly from the manor, sometimes purchasing in advance of the production process.⁴³ There was increasing recognition of abuses in marketing, and of the need to protect the formal market. For example, forestalling (the interception of goods on their way to market) was already condemned by many local market regulations even before it was defined as a statutory offence in 1307. For example, the court leet at Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, reported a forestaller in 1294.⁴⁴ Moreover, Farmer suggests that sample selling, whereby only a small proportion of the produce to be sold was exhibited, and which was a notably contentious issue in the eighteenth century, was already to be found in the fourteenth century.⁴⁵ It is important to appreciate that for much of the period after the thirteenth century we see not the creation of something completely new, but rather changed emphases within a system that had already emerged.

4. Demand

The most significant stimulus to developments in production and marketing was demand, although its impact on individual producers might be constrained by such factors as the requirements of landlords, governmental control of trade, or poor communications. For example, medieval tenant farmers might be compelled to subordinate their agricultural aspirations to the 'necessities of the demesne'.⁴⁶ Even in the mid-eighteenth century, relative isolation and the rudimentary nature of business organisation prevented the Cornish home farms of James Buller from taking advantage

of the growing demand for corn in Plymouth and the mining districts. Although Keveral was only just over the Tamar from Plymouth, and turkeys and geese from the demesne were usually sold there, corn was sold, in very small quantities, not to Plymouth's growing population but to local tenant farmers or at nearby markets such as Looe. As Pounds puts it, 'it was as if a basically subsistence economy was beginning to generate small surpluses of corn, but was uncertain what to do with them'. A more market-centred farming and specialisation in dairying, for which the area was naturally suited, awaited the development of improved transport.⁴⁷

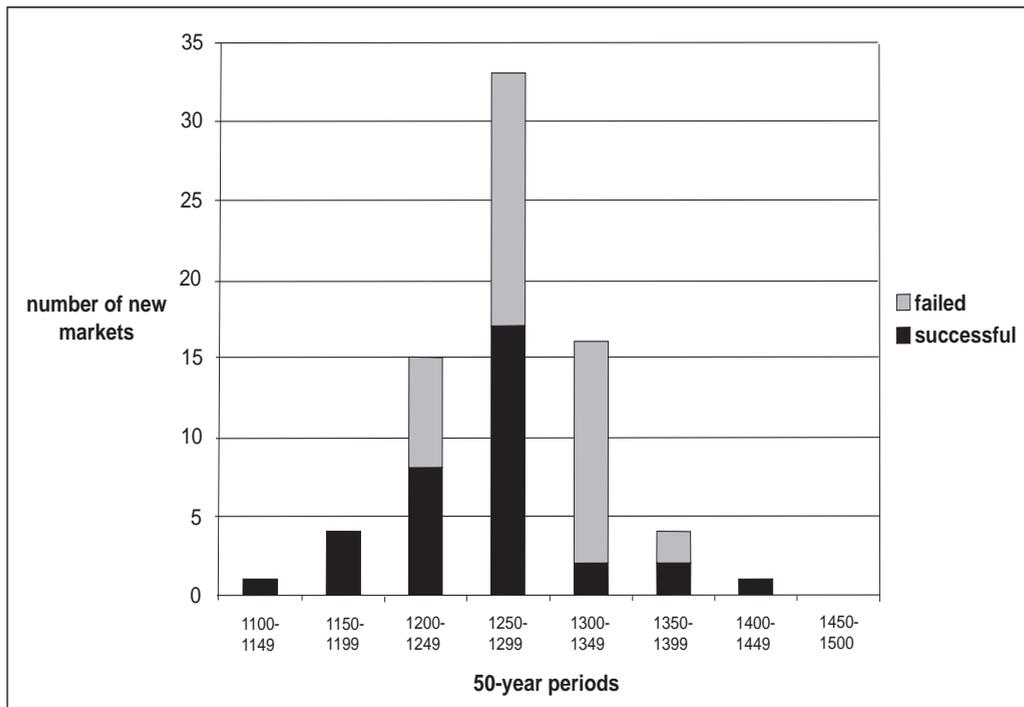
Demand was intimately connected with the size and market-dependence of the population, and its wealth and tastes, and was itself capable of growing significantly only if it could produce a response in terms of supply. In other words, if supply did not grow, demand would be stunted. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the demand from market-dependent populations outstripped the ability of agricultural production to respond. Economic, urban and population growth all faltered.⁴⁸ In the fourteenth century, as a result of epidemic disease, the population was perhaps halved (to between 2.5 and 3 million) and demand for cereals therefore fell, but higher standards of living, resulting from the reduced pressure on resources, stimulated the market for livestock and livestock products.⁴⁹ Joan Thirsk characterised the period from 1350 to 1500 as one of 'alternative agriculture', when cereals were produced in excess of human needs and profits were sought from non-staples such as rabbits (a source of meat and skins).⁵⁰ From the mid-sixteenth, century population growth was continuous, though not consistent. England's population almost doubled to 5.3 million between 1541 and 1657, stalled in the late-seventeenth century, grew slowly to six million by 1757, and then accelerated rapidly to reach 18 million in 1857.⁵¹ Regional patterns were, however, clearly different—in the North West, for example, there was continued growth in the years between 1660 and 1700.

In considering demand it is clear that, just as there was a point in village development when the acquisition of formal marketing institutions would seem justified, so in urban growth there was a similar critical threshold, after which the population could no longer be fed from the immediate vicinity. Not surprisingly, demand from concentrated populations of food purchasers was most likely to stimulate change in marketing and trade. London was always the most notable centre of consumption. In 1300 its population may have been as high as 80-100,000 and though in the early sixteenth century it was possibly as low as 55,000, by 1700 it was around half a million and a century later one million.⁵² The significance of other individual major towns, and their collective importance in relation to London, varied over time. By 1801 Bristol and Norwich had been replaced at the head of the urban hierarchy by Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham, and London's population was less than the total for all the other major urban centres.⁵³ However, varied types of town contained populations of conspicuous consumers: county social and political centres, ports, the university towns, or the spas of the eighteenth century—an early eighteenth century travel writer showed how the pleasure-seekers of Epsom, Surrey, drew supplies into the town.⁵⁴ Other concentrations of demand were in industrial and mining areas, such as the cloth-producing towns and villages of Gloucestershire and West Wiltshire, Essex and Suffolk from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or the Tyneside mining area from the fifteenth.⁵⁵ Fleets and armies needed food and drink and, until purveyance was abolished in 1660, the semi-peripatetic royal household could demand supplies from its current locality on unfavourable terms. Nascent industries depended on agriculture for their raw materials, such as wool and hides, and there was foreign demand—for example, from the Low Countries for East Anglian corn in the sixteenth century.⁵⁶

5. Developments in marketing

Demand encouraged farming for the market directly and indirectly. For instance, the provisioning requirements of the fleets and fishing stations involved in the development of the North Atlantic fisheries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stimulated grain production in the South West.⁵⁷ Demand also facilitated specialisation. As Defoe made clear in the early eighteenth century, London looked for its supplies in the areas of the kingdom best able to produce them, while Bristol was similarly selective in relation to the West Country.⁵⁸ Farmers could feel increasingly confident in specialising. For example, Foster shows how from 1650, when the first shipment of Cheshire cheese was sent to London, the agriculture of that county was rapidly reorganised to accommodate the growing demand for cheese.⁵⁹ Similarly, the North Shropshire plain became a very important dairy area in the seventeenth century, contributing to the flow of cheese from the North West.⁶⁰

A combination of factors enabled enterprising farmers to respond to new demand. From the late sixteenth century the transport system expanded—carrying services on the roads, the mileage of navigable rivers, and the routes of coastal shipping all grew significantly.⁶¹ From the late 1750s canals provided additional routes for moving bulky goods. Such improvements gave farmers more choice about markets. In the 1760s



5. The founding of markets in north-west England 1100-1500 (using date of charter or earliest written reference, for the counties of Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland). As well as the striking increase in numbers during the thirteenth century, and no less dramatic reduction in the fourteenth, the graph also highlights the likelihood of market failure (here defined as survival to 1600) in post-1300 foundations. Better sites were already taken, and later speculations tended to have more marginal locations or were thwarted by fierce competition from existing successful markets. The pattern shown here is typical of most of Great Britain.

Elizabeth Purefoy of Shalstone, Buckinghamshire, was able to sell butter locally but also to consign it (by carrier) to London.⁶² At the end of the century Warwickshire oats could be carried on the canal network to such markets as Birmingham, rather than simply being consumed on the farm.⁶³ The growing availability of commercial information, relating to roads, markets, fairs, and prices, also allowed more informed decision-making from the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ Baker shows how the cereal producers of North East Kent in the first half of the eighteenth century took a number of factors, including price, into account when deciding whether to dispatch some of their barley via the coastal hoys to London or to supply the crop to local maltsters or brewers.⁶⁵

And contrary wise thinhabitantes of Yaxley are for the moste parte husbandmen ... to which husbandmen the said market is little or nothing avaylable or beneficiall, and as unprofitable to a great number of the pore in all that countrey thereto adioyninge. For assoone as that market began, all kinde of grayne started to greater prices, butter, cheese and eggs becam dearer also, which is the gretieste parte of the pore peoples livinge. And whiche thinges after the saide market was the said ii dayes proclaymed downe began to be better cheape agayne

6. Competition between markets: part of a successful petition from the inhabitants of the City of Peterborough for the suppression of the competing market at Yaxley in Huntingdonshire (1561), in which it is claimed that the Yaxley market is of no benefit to the community and that competition actually increased prices: from W.T. Mellows and D.H. Gifford (eds), *Elizabethan Peterborough: the Dean and Chapter as Lords of the City* (Northamptonshire Record Society vol.18, 1944, pp.26-27)

Markets and fairs remained viable outlets for sales even though they were periodically reinvented in ways that reflected more exactly the requirements of each age—the farmers' markets of today suggest that the process continues. The fortunes of individual markets and fairs fluctuated. Many chartered markets were stillborn and the same market might be 'founded' more than once. A market might exist in legal terms but not function commercially. Inevitably, different individual markets contributed to the total figure for different periods, but clear basic trends are apparent. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many markets and fairs disappeared or contracted.⁶⁶ The decline halted during the sixteenth century and Alan Everitt's estimate for market towns in his study of 1500-1640 is approximately 760.⁶⁷ From the mid-seventeenth century the trend was again for market towns to decline although, as David Hey shows, in developing industrial areas, such as North Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, there remained scope for new foundations.⁶⁸ Indeed, the local historian should be aware of the many divergent local and regional patterns and trends within the overall national picture. For Derbyshire, Coates lists 28 places granted or claiming markets between 1200 and 1350. By 1673 the number of markets had dropped to nine, before rising to twelve in 1792, eighteen in 1857 and 23 in 1927.⁶⁹ In Lincolnshire, on the other hand, markets and fairs were licensed at 131 places from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, with numbers shrinking to between 30 and 40 by the sixteenth century; 'by 1792 there were 28 weekly markets, while those at Boston, Louth and Stamford were held twice weekly'.⁷⁰ A list of markets in 1979 gives eighteen in Derbyshire and fifteen in Lincolnshire.⁷¹

The pattern with fairs was somewhat different, as they continued growing at least in number, until in 1756 William Owen's first *Book of Fairs* recorded a total of 3,200.⁷²

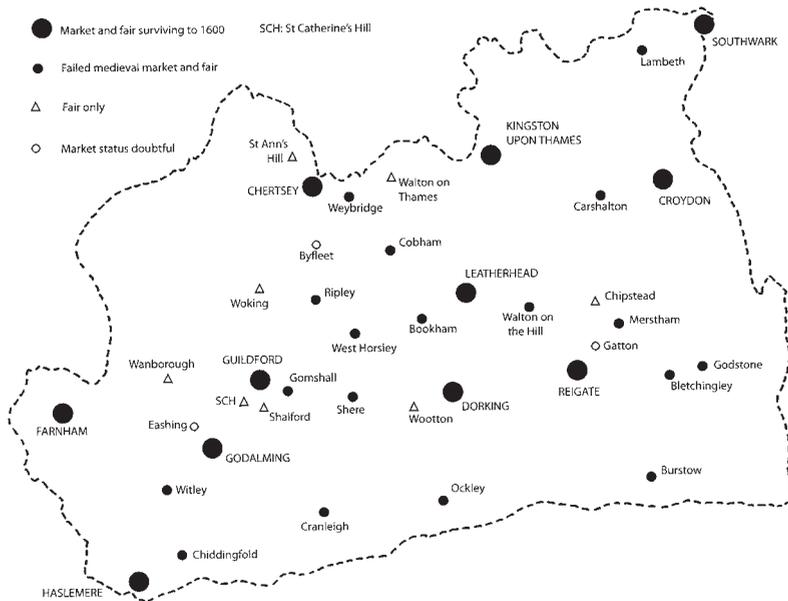
Mitchell has employed editions of Owen's work up until 1824 to show continued growth in numbers of fairs in several North Midland counties. In Staffordshire, for example, 62 fairs were held in 1756, but 104 in 1824.⁷³ Moreover, in spite of the trivialisation of many fairs, gatherings of agricultural significance were still being founded in the later eighteenth century—for example, the wool fair at Lewes, Sussex, in 1786.⁷⁴ The distinction between markets and fairs broke down increasingly towards the end of the period. Thus, the new cheese fairs established in the nineteenth century were more like markets because of the regularity with which they were held.

The importance of fairs and markets varied enormously. Specialisation was a key to attracting business for both. Notable fairs often specialised in cattle and sheep or, less commonly, in commodities such as horses or cheese. The famous Stourbridge fair, near Cambridge, was noted for hops: the Essex clergyman Ralph Josselin reported that a member of the local gentry made £790 from selling hops there in 1656.⁷⁵ Successful market centres usually had a significant local population of consumers, and perhaps also the means to develop as an *entrepôt*. Among the latter were those which Dyer terms 'gateway' towns, between districts with contrasting topographical and economic characteristics. Examples include Warminster, Wiltshire, where meadow and manufacturing met arable, or Preston, Lancashire, which straddled areas of intensive arable and pastoral specialisation.⁷⁶ Some *entrepôts* collected and dispatched goods for other population centres. A town strategically placed on the communications system might act as a stimulus to agriculture in the adjacent area. For example, expansion of East Anglian arable farming was encouraged by river transport links to King's Lynn, whence corn could be sent to Newcastle or Berwick, and corn-processing industries developed in the towns of the Thames Valley.⁷⁷

Much consideration has been given to the relationships between market towns. Even as late as the nineteenth century, a major question before a charter for market or fair was granted was whether the new institution would be prejudicial to existing local markets.⁷⁸ In the thirteenth century Bracton estimated the radius of a town's hinterland to be $6\frac{2}{3}$ miles, but accepted that if places closer than this held markets on different days, trade between them might be facilitated, thereby making their relationship complementary rather than competitive.⁷⁹ According to Dyer, even by the fourteenth century it is possible to think in terms of an urban hierarchy, with London and the major ports at the apex and other towns ranked below them and trade moving backwards and forwards between them.⁸⁰ As communications improved, smaller towns tended increasingly to lose their trade to better placed neighbours, as Deddington, Oxfordshire, did to Banbury. At the same time the concept of a national market also became increasingly meaningful. Willan, looking at the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, argued that the movements of goods 'as a whole by land, river and sea suggest that a national market was emerging and breaking down the frontiers of regional economies'.⁸¹ John Chartres, defining the national market as one in which price trends in different markets moved in harmony, suggests that as early as the 1690s an integrated national market was present for wheat.⁸² However, in the later eighteenth century, as the importance of other population centres grew relative to London, the flows of trade in the direction of the capital could increasingly be diverted—many Scottish cattle heading south were fattened in the Craven district of Yorkshire, or in Northumberland, for sale in West Riding towns such as Leeds.⁸³

Concurrent with these developments were changes within markets. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was increasing concern about congestion, hygiene, marketing costs and regulations, market ownership and, in relation to livestock, safety. In many places, from the late eighteenth century, efforts were made to

upgrade facilities for the sale of small produce. Thus, Oxford's covered market, to accommodate meat, fish, poultry, eggs, butter and garden produce, was established by Act of Parliament of 1771, while Sheffield's markets were transformed after an Act of 1784.⁸⁴ There was growing pressure to remove livestock trading and slaughtering from busy urban centres—following an 1852 Act, London's Smithfield livestock market was removed to Islington.⁸⁵ In the corn trade, overcrowding and toll charges combined with a desire for more privacy and comfort to encourage change. The sale of corn by sample was certainly known in seventeenth century markets, and became increasingly prevalent in the eighteenth, although pitched markets did survive into the nineteenth century if they remained convenient, as at Reading and Newbury in Berkshire.⁸⁶ Simultaneously, trade began to leach from the market place to more convenient locations, such as inns, with their shelter and storage facilities, or wharves. Everitt suggests that by 1770 much of Leicestershire's corn and malt trade was taking place in Loughborough inns. He also shows how inns were associated with other commodities such as agricultural seed.⁸⁷ *Jackson's Oxford Journal* records the founding of 'repositories' for the sale of horses by auction in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁸⁸ Corn exchanges, specific centres for the sale of corn, were a feature of the nineteenth century. Not all places were equally affected by these changes, but two significant points can be identified: first, that such developments facilitated the emergence of larger-scale and wholesale transactions, and a growing distinction between wholesale and retail trades;⁸⁹ and second, that the



7. Markets and fairs in Surrey before 1600: the pattern of markets and fairs reflects commercial realities—the dominating influence of London meant that, apart from the ancient market centres of Kingston, Croydon and Southwark, there were only two attempts (both unsuccessful) to found new markets within a twelve-mile radius of the capital, while in the agriculturally-impooverished heathlands of North West Surrey there were no markets at all. Commercial and demographic expansion in the seventeenth century led to new markets being chartered at, for example, Woking and Epsom.

market may have been ceasing to be at the heart of the community and was perhaps becoming, to respectable society at least, something of a nuisance.⁹⁰ Local historians can look at the morphology of their towns and chart the changes which took place in the location of market facilities.

From the perspective of the twenty-first century it may be difficult to credit the value that markets and fairs held for earlier generations, as sources of pleasure, news and gossip and as, theoretically at least, the embodiment of ideals of openness and fair dealing. According to Everitt, for four-fifths of the population in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries 'trade' signified the market town and local fair, and for many this situation continued.⁹¹ In 1698 Celia Fiennes commented on how the horizons of people in north-west Cornwall were bounded by their market towns.⁹² In the late eighteenth century John Lamb of Sibford Ferris, Oxfordshire, used nearby Banbury to sell oats and wheat and buy sheep. He also sold wheat at Chipping Norton fair, and this highlights that a farmer's local sale might be merely the initial stage in the process by which the product reached distant consumers, for the purchaser was a mealman who supplied the bakers of Birmingham and Coventry.⁹³ The more commercially-minded estates and farms were more discriminating in their choice of markets and fairs. Different outlets would be selected for different commodities, and at different times or for purchases and sales. Farmer shows how, in the fourteenth century, two manors of Glastonbury Abbey sent grain to a total of ten different markets.⁹⁴

There are three fairs here in the year, the first is the first Monday in June & was added by the last charter. This fair is for horses principally, which lasts for 3 dayes. The 2d fair begins the 15th of August and is a great beast fair, and holds also 3 or four dayes, the last is upon the tenth of September ... Saturday is the day when their market is holden, which is so well stored with all sorts of corne & grain that great numbers of Northumberland badgers, as well as our own countrey men, go loden home from thence. Here is also great plenty of butcher's meat, fish & fowl at the seasons of the year at very moderate rates, and the Sands are crooded [sic] every market day with horses & cattle there exposed to sale

8. The trade of Carlisle market in the reign of James II: from Angus Winchester and Mary Wane (eds), *Thomas Denton: A Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688* (Surtees Society/Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 2003, p.266)

Within the market, direct sales from producer to consumer survived longest in perishable commodities. Market gardeners, and those combining the occupations of farmer and butcher, were still found selling direct to the public in Manchester in the earlier nineteenth century and Sheffield in the mid-Victorian period.⁹⁵ Sales of corn or fatstock were frequently to food processors and tradesman, such as millers, mealmen, bakers, maltsters, brewers, innkeepers and butchers. Those businesses were themselves subject to change, as trades such as miller and mealman were combined, and retail and wholesale functions were separated, and the relative importance of different groups varied over time. Between the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries, dealers played a pivotal role in linking countryside and town, agricultural and industrial sectors, and arable and pastoral regions, furthering the development of an integrated marketing system. They were often unpopular with local consumers, as William Harrison's angry

diatribe against the iniquities of the middleman in the sixteenth century reveals, but their presence in the markets could provide a vital impetus to business.⁹⁶ Henry Best's 1642 memorandum book mentions that when his servants took corn to Malton market they set off from Elmswell early, because the badgers attending the market came from a distance and would wish to leave quickly for home.⁹⁷ And many farmers who sold goods might also be purchasers in the markets and fairs, of working horses, lean, breeding and replacement stock, and, no doubt increasingly as they came more to specialise, of foodstuffs. In addition, they might take advantage of back-carriage, to reduce the costs of marketing, or, most importantly for the market gardeners around urban centres, to transport the town dung and other wastes so essential to the fertility of their soils.⁹⁸

In supplying more distant markets, the farmer who was not directly involved in the marketing could maintain an interest by consigning his produce to someone else to sell, such as a relative, friend or professional marketing agent. The Kentish hoymen of the first half of the eighteenth century acted as factors for the farmers, transporting their corn to London's Bear Key market and also selling it for them.⁹⁹ In 1761 an Oxfordshire clergyman approached a salesman at London's Newgate market about sending up calves for the salesman to sell on his behalf.¹⁰⁰ The long-distance trade in livestock was complex, because stock might be bought and sold several times en route to their final destination. In the eighteenth century, Highland cattle sold at fairs at Crieff or Falkirk might move south to St Faith's fair near Norwich, where they were purchased by Norfolk graziers and fattened for local consumption or for selling on a third time at Barnet Fair or Smithfield.¹⁰¹ In such a case the breeder would not have been involved after the local sale, but Bonser suggests that the drovers in the Welsh cattle trade usually received cattle 'on trust' and paid for them on their return.¹⁰² Moreover, the graziers whose cattle supplied London might employ a Smithfield salesman.¹⁰³ Finally, one may note Defoe's comment that a group of farmers would send one of their number to purchase ewes on their behalf at Weyhill fair.¹⁰⁴

Although the open market and fair remained important throughout the period, alternatives had always existed. Taking produce to market cost time and money, and the presence of willing buyers was not certain, while many purchasers desired more continuity in, and control over, supplies. Some private sales might be casual and even illegal, on the road to market or at the barndoor. Some were petty, as when in 1703 the huckster women bought apples at Crosby Hall, Lancashire, for resale in Liverpool.¹⁰⁵ However, certain types of dealers, food processors, and wholesalers favoured tighter relationships, purchasing growing crops or entering into long-term agreements. As early as the mid-twelfth century Cistercian monks were entering contracts committing the wool production for a period of years to foreign merchants.¹⁰⁶ By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, maltsters and brewers were among those tempted to purchase before harvest, and between the seventeenth and nineteenth the London cheesemongers established factors or agents in such dairying areas as Cheshire, to make contracts to purchase cheese.¹⁰⁷ The powerful hold of major dealers, food processors and tradesmen was not always perceived to be in the best interests of the farmers, and this led to attempts to gain more independence in marketing. For example, in 1682 the Warwickshire justices of the peace, concerned at the influence of the London cheesemongers, licensed carriers to buy the county's cheese for resale in London.¹⁰⁸ The establishment of cheese fairs in such towns as Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire, in the nineteenth century, also reflected a desire to gain more control of marketing for the farmer.¹⁰⁹ It is important at least to raise the question of how well the marketing system served the farmer.

6. Short-term crises

While long-term trends can be discerned, they were punctuated by short-term crises. For almost the entire period, the quality of the harvest was of compelling significance: into the 1620s, and arguably beyond, crop failures produced subsistence crises.¹¹⁰ The years 1315-1318 witnessed the most severe famine in the recorded history of England, and Appleby uses the term 'famine' to describe the situation in Cumberland and Westmorland in 1587-1588, 1597 and 1623, when there is also evidence of starvation elsewhere.¹¹¹ High prices and food shortages remained a threat to public order and social harmony into the nineteenth century, the eighteenth century in particular being punctuated by bouts of food rioting, as in 1740, when, among other riots, there was a serious disturbance at Newcastle, and 1795, when disturbances were recorded from places as far apart as Exeter and Manchester.¹¹² Local and national authorities felt compelled to act and, while the exact nature of their response varied, their concern was to ensure that supplies were available at reasonable prices, that corn was not being exported or wasted, and that speculation was discouraged. All such aims involved interference in the market. For example, periods of scarcity in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led the Privy Council to issue the Book of Orders, detailing a range of measures including ones to ensure that farmers brought corn to the public markets.¹¹³ Low prices and faltering demand, while less immediate in their impact on the farmer and the food supply, might prove similarly troublesome. Again, there was intervention—for example, landlords might accept crops in lieu of rent, or at a national level, between the 1660s and 1760s, when production was in surplus, the export trade in corn was encouraged by the payment of export bounties.¹¹⁴

War also meant crisis, for it distorted normal patterns of supply and demand—for example, by producing a sudden demand for horses.¹¹⁵ In the 1640s civil war disrupted overland trade routes, markets and fairs, while coastal shipping and foreign markets were threatened by the many wars with continental Europe.¹¹⁶ Epidemics such as plague led to restrictions on movement and the closure and relocation of markets and fairs, while outbreaks of disease among livestock were also disruptive and, certainly from the cattle plague of 1745, led to clampdowns on the movement and sale of stock.¹¹⁷ Many of these problems were short-lived in effect but others fed into longer-term developments. Ian Kershaw has shown how a conjunction of problems in 1315-1322 (crop failure, sheep and cattle disease and Scottish raids) had both short and long-term effects on agrarian enterprise and therefore on marketing and trade.¹¹⁸ Peter Edwards, in his study of the horse trade in Tudor and Stuart England, has suggested that 'the problems of supply experienced during the course of the Civil War acted as a major factor' in the growth of private dealing.¹¹⁹

7. Unprecedented change

Between 1200 and the early nineteenth century the development of marketing and trade was essentially a story of adaptation and adjustment within a system that remained recognisable and in which agriculture retained pride of place. More radical change was reserved for the later decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1801 and 1851 the population of Great Britain doubled with growth concentrated in the urban, industrial sectors.¹²⁰ The domestic supply of staple foodstuffs failed to keep pace with demand.¹²¹ Free trade, increasingly advocated from the 1770s, finally prevailed. The last controls over internal trade were removed in 1844, with the repeal of the provisions against such marketing offences as forestalling.¹²² The Corn Laws had been designed to balance the protection of agriculture and encouragement of tillage with the need to ensure supplies

County of }
York }

Bridlington

Officer.
Mr. Steele

A Duplicate of the Returns of the Prices of Corn from this Market.

From Midsummer to Michaelmas 1790

		Price by the Standard Winchester Bushel of 8 Gallons.					
		Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Big.
<i>Saturday</i>		6 3			2 2 ¹ / ₂		
Ditto		6 4			2 1		
Ditto		6 11 ¹ / ₂			2 12 ³ / ₄	1 3 ¹ / ₂	
Ditto		6 1			2 5		
Ditto		6 4			2 3 3	1 3 ¹ / ₂	
Ditto		6 2			2 5		
Ditto		6 3 3 ¹ / ₄			2 5		
Ditto		6 2 2 ¹ / ₂			2 3 3	1 3 ¹ / ₂	
Ditto		6 4 3 ¹ / ₂			2 7 2	1 7 1 ¹ / ₂	
Ditto		6 3 3 ¹ / ₂			2 5		
Ditto		6 3			2 3 1		
Ditto		6 1			2 5		
Ditto		6 4			2 3 3	1 10 3 ¹ / ₂	
<i>9th</i>		5 10 2			2 3		

S I R,

I certify that *Mr. Steele* has made the above Returns, and is entitled to receive, for his Care and Trouble therein, a Sum not exceeding Two Shillings for each Return.

Treasury.

J. Calverley

9. Duplicate of returns of corn prices at Bridlington Market, Midsummer-Michaelmas 1790 [East Riding of Yorkshire Archives: QSF 329/E/2], made under legislation of 10 George III, which required the justices to order returns of corn prices from 2-6 market towns per county. These were sent to the Treasury, which published an abstract in the *London Gazette*. A Treasury official sent back a certificate that the returns had been made correctly and also duplicates of the returns. The question for the local historian is 'what do these prices represent'? Do they relate to genuine market transactions or private sales; are they retail or wholesale; are they genuine or were no real transactions taking place?

when harvest failed. They had existed in some form from the fourteenth century, but were repealed in 1846 as part of the dismantling of protectionism.¹²³ At the same time, railways and, to a lesser extent, steamship services shook up the patterns of internal trade. The centuries-old long-distance droving trade contracted and, in the 1860s, collapsed.¹²⁴ More areas could specialise to suit their natural advantages—as in eastern Scotland, which increasingly concentrated on fattening livestock.¹²⁵ The advantages of proximity to consumption centres, in trades such as market gardening or grazing, were undermined.¹²⁶ The importance of the annual livestock fair was reduced, replaced by markets held at more regular intervals often in locations connected to the railway network and employing the auction as the preferred method of sale.¹²⁷ In the new circumstances, crisis had an inevitable impact. Restrictions following an outbreak of rinderpest, brought in with imported cattle in 1865, coupled with the development of mechanical refrigeration from the 1870s opened the door to a new trade in imported frozen meat.¹²⁸ Harvest failures in the early 1870s led to an influx of foreign wheat, processed at the ports and distributed by the railway system.¹²⁹ In marketing and trade, as in so much else, the farmer faced a new world.

Bibliography

Secondary sources for the study of agricultural marketing and trade are wide-ranging. Perhaps surprisingly, works from the early-twentieth century, notably by Westerfield on middlemen and Gras on the corn trade, remain standard texts, though subject to critical analysis in the writings of later historians. Helpful, if not necessarily numerous, studies are available from all subsequent periods. For example, the 1930s saw the publication of a seminal article by Fisher on the impact of the London food market on the economy. Towards the end of the twentieth century interest in marketing, and trade in general, grew and the pace of research began to quicken. In 1998 the Centre for the History of Retailing and Distribution (CHORD) at the University of Wolverhampton was founded and its seminars and conferences have provided an added stimulus to new research.

While many books and articles are highly scholarly, there are also useful short introductions to topics of widespread popular appeal, such as fairs or droving. An example of the latter is Shirley Toulson's *The Drovers* (Shire Publications Ltd, 2005), attractively illustrated and with a section on further reading. It is inevitably impossible in a brief bibliographical note to do justice to the full range of studies, especially of individual fairs and markets. The books and articles listed here are significant because they provide a good introduction to the major themes and the state of the current debates, accompanied by informative footnotes and bibliographies, or because they illustrate the use of important primary sources. The endnotes to this article point the reader towards other useful texts.

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WENDY THWAITES' initial research was on the marketing of agricultural produce in eighteenth century Oxfordshire and she is now working on licensed agricultural produce dealers between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Twenty-five years of ‘The Godfrey Edition’

ALAN GODFREY

Editor’s introduction (Alan Crosby): Many, perhaps most, local historians will at some stage have come across in a bookshop or library a tempting display of folded paper maps in bright primary coloured covers, reproducing, with outstandingly clear and legible quality, a range of old Ordnance Survey sheets—most typically, from the first edition 25-inch series of the 1890s or 1900s, and with directory extracts and historical notes printed on the reverse. Some, I suspect, will have purchased many such maps. A few readers of *The Local Historian* may in fact have written the notes published with some of the maps (I have done so myself, for some 15 sheets). These now-familiar maps and plans are a quite remarkable resource: not least, they are so competitively priced that we can use them in the field and draw all over them, without guilt or shame. Then we can buy another. These are The Godfrey Editions, and in this article the mastermind of this invaluable and (dare I say it?) eccentrically English resource for local historians explains how and why the series came about.

It all began in September 1981, when I published a map of *Gateshead (East) 1895*, so beginning a series of reprints of early Ordnance Survey maps which became known as ‘The Godfrey Edition’. These specialised in the larger scale (25-inch or 1:2500) maps, although a range of ‘One Inch’ reprints was included later. In the autumn of 2006 we celebrated the 25th anniversary of the series, an occasion given added excitement by the publication of our 2000th title in November. The reprints did not emerge entirely out of the blue, however. For some years I had been running a small business dealing in second-hand OS maps and a chance remark by my bank manager—during one of several urgent meetings—that perhaps I should publish some reprints of the maps I was selling, helped to sow the seeds of the series. So “Thank you!” Mr Peacock. A trial map, of Chopwell (Gateshead), published in booklet form and photocopied, was issued in early 1981 to test the water, and met with approval from a Gateshead education adviser, who ordered half the print run. Orders from education departments would prove crucial over the first two years of the main series, although that market would drop away entirely when schools changed their buying policy in the mid-1980s.

The format of the first proper map was arrived at somewhat haphazardly. I was examining the fold-out poster/leaflet of Tyneside Cinema when it struck me that the format was quite similar to a map: A2 size, reasonable quality paper, folded with an integral cover. A chat with Sheila Whittaker, then director of the cinema, gave me an

insight into one or two basic production aspects and, crucially, the name of her printer—and we were away. The local studies librarian at Gateshead allowed me to borrow a 25-inch map for a few hours to get it photographed, I photocopied some directory extracts to go on the back, the Shipley Gallery dug out a possible cover illustration, and I penned a few hundred words of somewhat amateur local history. The original map was reduced in scale to approximately 14-inches to the mile—actually 57.5 per cent of the original—because that was the reduction needed to fit the map neatly onto an A2 sheet. Precise science this was not.

There was some fine tuning over the next couple of years (a suitable fold was especially difficult to perfect) but by late 1982 the maps were essentially as they are today. Looking back over the years, the wonder is that I have been able to retain that original concept while so much of the world has been moving around me—not just with computerisation and the internet, but with the upheavals that have taken place in libraries and the book trade. It has not always been plain sailing, but forecasts that I would be sabotaged by, first, the CD-Rom and, secondly, the Web, have been proved wrong. My survival has, I believe, vindicated my trust that at the end of the day most historians like a paper map.

On those early maps we included a very short historical introduction—perhaps 500 words—and a similar piece of carto-bibliography. The latter followed the tradition of earlier OS reprint series, notably those published by Harry Margary and David & Charles, where there was an emphasis on the history of the map, rather than of the area depicted. However, I quickly decided to follow my own interest and concentrate on the history of place, and what the map told us about it; I would rather spend my time walking around the streets, seeing how things have changed, than sit in a library comparing different editions.

Within a couple of years libraries in London and Rotherham, as well as the National Library of Scotland—a marvellous support to us through the years—were asking me to extend the series to their areas, and local history librarians in Burnley, Clackmannanshire and Sandwell were also quick to contact me. Disaster struck in early 1983 when a severe bout of ‘flu (real ‘flu!) effectively laid me up for six weeks, but this period of illness would prove a watershed. Unable to attend to my business, my finances began to shake. On 14 February I stumbled from my sickbed and went to the door to find no Valentine’s card but a handful of threatening bills. But then my publishing friends began to rally round. Gateshead promised more orders for the reprints, and put me in touch with other councils; librarians, then my principal authors, said they would get on with the notes; a copyright library waived its right to free copies and said it would pay; and a Newcastle bookshop promised to hold a launch party for me as soon as I recovered. By contrast, or so it seemed, my second-hand map business could be allowed to sink, with most customers merely saying—understandably—that they ‘looked forward to receiving a catalogue when I was well again’. The illness also gave me thinking space, and by the time I was fit again the decision had been made: the second-hand business would be wound down, and I would tie my fortune to the reprints.

Gradually the series grew. Sandwell began a full Black Country group of maps, Burnley led to other towns in Lancashire, and in South Yorkshire a group of librarians would meet with me ‘after hours’ in Sheffield’s Crucible Theatre to discuss further maps. A real bestseller was found, with a *Hartlepool* map going out of print within weeks, and a queue developing outside a shop that stocked it, so confirming that I was right not to concentrate on the so-called (and often self-proclaimed) ‘historic’ towns. There was nothing fashionable about Hartlepool in the mid-1980s, but it is towns like that which, so often, have been the mainstay of the series. The East End of London, Tameside, The Potteries, Liverpool, South Yorkshire, Portsmouth—these are the sort of places that

have enabled the series to grow. This does not mean that we ignore the market towns, for policy is now to cover (eventually!) all towns and urban areas, but there is an element of cross-subsidy, as in all publishing ventures—but here the industrial and 'working-class' towns subsidise the more genteel middle-class ones. The irony, of course, is that this is despite the book trade's tendency to congregate in those market towns, with independent booksellers far more likely to open in, say, Wantage, than Wallsend. Do booksellers really believe that books—and maps—are only for the 'chattering classes'?

With access to many towns barred through lack of any bookshop it was necessary to find other outlets, and without healthy sales through libraries I simply could not have progressed the series. My first map in London was *Kensington 1894*, back in 1983, and I recall a trip to London to sell it. Kensington & Chelsea Libraries immediately took 200 copies, with a promise of similar orders for other maps in the borough. The branch of W.H. Smith next door offered to take two, which they wanted 'sale or return'. History and genealogical societies have also given us good support, and one of our authors, Chris Makepeace, takes vast quantities of our maps to history fairs with an enthusiasm I could never hope to match. But sales through museums, oddly enough, have always been much patchier. Some have sold the maps in large quantities but occasionally we are defeated by officialdom. The commercial manager for one chain of museums was honest enough to tell me that he 'couldn't see the point' of old maps—even though several of his curators were writing the notes. You win some and lose some, of course, but the greatest frustration is with English Heritage, whose lack of response means it is no longer worthwhile even to send their shops a sample map. With outlets across the country, English Heritage could be a major shop window for local history, but it appears to have no interest at all.

The erratic nature of sales outlets means that it can be difficult finding local history material, and not just selling it. Researching a map for Woolwich recently, I tried to see what was available in the town. The local Heritage Centre was closed (though it was a weekday) and the only bookshop was a branch of W.H. Smith. They had not a single book about Woolwich, although you will be pleased to learn that they did stock one on Cricklade. It is difficult to think of a town with a richer history than Woolwich, with its dockyard, Royal Arsenal, garrisons, trams (various companies and gauges), riverside activity *et al*, and yet I couldn't find a single book. Thank goodness for the internet! Today about half our business is done by mail order, and two-thirds of that is ordered on-line through our website, www.alangodfreymaps.co.uk while many of our source books are also ordered on-line, through Amazon, Abe books or eBay. After all, in Consett, where we are based, we have no local bookshop to support.

One advantage of selling via the web is that it is quite neutral. In the old days if a map for Hull sold better than one for, say, Grimsby it might simply be because the bookseller or curator or librarian in Hull was keener on the 'product', and so more likely to buy in good quantities and put it on display. As the internet goes everywhere and has no bias, it is possible to discover which maps really are the most in demand. Over the years *Stepney & Limehouse 1870* is our definite bestseller. Others for East London do well, while our best selling map elsewhere is *Kirkdale 1906*, in Liverpool. We also do very well on-line for some areas that used to sell poorly, such as Glasgow, Belfast and especially Manchester, proving that there is real demand even if local shops didn't think so. By contrast, sales for the 'historic' towns—Tewkesbury, Ripon, Winchester and many others—remain poor. The web is now the cornerstone for our growth, and it remains exciting to come in on a Monday morning and find up to a hundred orders waiting to

be printed out. We remain a small operation (there are just four of us) and it is 'all hands to the pump' at such moments.

I hope our reprints are more than 'just a map'. The first titles had very short introductions—perhaps 500 words—but by 1983 several authors, notably Barbara Morris in Edinburgh and Judith Knight in Brent, were asking if they could write a little more. The space allowed for these notes moved up to two panels, about 1400 words, allowing a much better overview of the area. Other authors soon pushed the concept further, including Gordon Dickinson and Pamela Taylor, whose notes—we could now use the term essays—on the various parts of Leeds and Barnet respectively became models of the kind. Nowadays we allow up to four panels for the notes—essentially 3000 words, with a compact typeface, Heledd (which facilitates the use of certain Welsh accents)—and so a serious introduction to that map area can be included. Of course, not all authors (or maps) require that full allocation, and some readers may well prefer a shorter, pithier approach. Nor can even 3000 words do justice to a major city centre. But at their best I believe our map notes are a valuable contribution to local history. Where else, on one shelf or even in one room, could you find an introduction to the history of places as diverse as Aldershot, Brightlingsea, Colne, Dingwall, Eccles, Finchley, Grimethorpe or hundreds more. I do not think this aspect of our series is fully recognised and in libraries the maps tend to be flattened out, the notes hidden from view. I recall a local history librarian in Birmingham explaining why they didn't think our maps worth buying—'We have all the originals'—oblivious to the fact that his colleague, who was standing beside us, had written several of the introductory essays.

In earlier years many of these introductions were written by librarians but local government cuts, and a wave of 'early retirements', means this is no longer feasible. With over 120 maps a year planned, it would be madness to employ 120 different authors, and I like to use a nucleus of around twenty. Versatile historians are worth their weight in gold. Too often, in the past, writers have explained that they cannot cover all of the map because of a borough boundary ('I don't do across the river') while academics can be shockingly slow to deliver. But at a gathering of eight of our authors last November I was able to say, quite seriously, that I would trust each one of them to travel up to Lerwick, write something decent, and deliver on time. Perhaps it is heresy to mention it here, but I like the thought of a good author exploring a town off his patch: my heart sinks when a book's blurb states that the writer is 'uniquely qualified to write of Silverbridge because he has lived here all his life'. Why? My own interest in local history was inspired by Ian Nairn, travelling from town to town in his *Morris Minor*. I write around twenty of the introductions a year myself, and can think of few things more rewarding than to travel to a town I scarcely know—Bexhill, Goathland, Larne—and wander its streets, take some notes and return home (or to my hotel) and 'paint' its historical portrait.

We continue to work very closely with libraries, as we have for the past 25 years, and it was especially satisfying, for several years, to sponsor an award for 'a librarian who has encouraged the use, appreciation and understanding of maps'. I am less sanguine about the new breed of 'heritage centres', which too often greet one with £-signs. We don't all receive lottery grants, you know! One recent experience must serve as illustration. A regular author in London, a librarian, approached his colleagues at the heritage centre (to which he had personally donated many items) for a cover illustration—and was quoted £80 plus 70 copies of the map! For a low-cost, small print-run publication such figures are madness and although this example may be an extreme one, it represents a distinct trend. Nowadays we rely largely on postcard fairs or eBay for our cover illustrations.

Yet I would not want to end on a sour note, for publishing the maps of The Godfrey Edition gives me enormous pleasure and, at an age when most of my contemporaries are battling with retirement, I can genuinely look forward each Monday to another fifty-hour week. Books (and maps) should be enjoyable for both publisher and reader. One of my authors suggested, with some truth, that I give priority to towns where the librarians join me for coffee, for, as Noel Coward (I think) said, 'There's nowt such fun as work'. Much remains to be done. South Wales and the Valleys remain largely untouched, and we shall be working on that in 2007. More towns—Hull, Wigan, Glasgow and others—will be covered for two or more dates, a policy that has always proved popular in London and on Tyneside. And there are a host of towns along or near to the South Coast—Ramsgate, Eastbourne, Hastings, Brighton—that will promise their authors several enjoyable days out. I think I might visit some of them myself!

Some problems loom in the future. We try to keep the prices low—currently £2.20 a map—but some booksellers try unilaterally to increase this, with £19 (on eBay) the highest I have heard of. Are we becoming over-dependent on the internet? What happens if I fall under a bus? We also share one problem with other series, most famously the VCH or Pevsner's *Buildings of England*. Many of our earlier maps, published in the 1980s, have brief historical introductions that, through no fault of their authors, no longer sit comfortably with the series as a whole (and many slow-moving maps, of course, still bear old addresses and/or out-of-date index maps). Where possible we do commission fresh notes, but this can be only piecemeal. A revised edition can be almost as labour intensive as a new map and I suspect that most readers, especially the family historians who form a major part of our customer base, would prefer us to concentrate on the new. Unless a fairy godmother emerges—are you listening, Yale?—I suspect that this is a problem which will outlast my eventual retirement. But when you have survived as a publisher for 25 years, brought out 2000 maps in that period, and are still enjoying the task as much as at the beginning, then I think this is something that can be lived with.

Correction

My article in the last issue ('The British Association for Local History 1982-2007', *The Local Historian* vol.37 no. 1) can be improved by two clarifications, for which I am grateful to Michael Farrer whose memory goes back further than mine. David Haynes was appointed Field Officer before the move to Cromford in summer 1984, at least as early as the beginning of 1983. And Philip Snell was head teacher of a school in Wembley although he lived in Pinner. Michael recalls attending a meeting of the then Finance and General Purposes Committee at the school.

MICHEAL COWAN

Cholera and the struggle for clean water in Berwick-upon-Tweed Poor Law Union 1848-1871

DICK HUNTER

'I am getting very stiff and not so as able to work as I have been. I may have some difficulty in supporting myself in old age, but I hope through the blessing of god to be provided for in time of need' [*letter from William Lewins of Donaldson's Lodge, Cornhill, to his son Thomas Lewins in Hamilton, Canada, 26 April 1847*]

'it pleased God to take him away from amongst us ... your father and Jane took their trouble both on the Saturday night and our daughter Isabella took it on Monday and we had a lodger had it at the same time and I had to attend them all' [*letter dated 20 August 1848 from James Easton to Thomas Lewins in Hamilton, referring to the death of his father-in-law William Lewins from cholera at Donaldson's Lodge, 26 December 1848—the others recovered*]¹

Introduction

This article explores the experience of one Poor Law Union [PLU] in north-east England during the 1848-1849 cholera epidemic, assessing the impact of the epidemic on public health reform in the area. The sources used include the minutes of the Board of Guardians; correspondence between the Local Board of Health and the General Board of Health; a local newspaper, the *Berwick Advertiser*; and government reports about the epidemic. Attention is given to the tensions within society which were revealed by the epidemic, and how these were addressed. Historians have related the social and psychological impact of nineteenth century cholera to political upheavals, and to public health reform. For example, Evans has suggested that the politics of Hamburg, involving competing ideologies of liberalism and interventionism, were ignited by the search for effective strategies to deal with cholera.² This article explores how, and to what extent, cholera was a catalyst for change in one British locality, a question which has also been addressed by other local studies.³ Between 1831 and 1866 Britain suffered four serious epidemics of Asiatic cholera, a water-borne disease which originated in the Ganges delta and was spread by the effects of disorder (such as troop movements during the disruption of war) and by following trade routes to Europe. There were epidemics in Britain in 1831-1832, 1848-1849, 1853-1854, and 1865-1866. This article focuses on 1848-1849—the most serious epidemic in terms of deaths—when the disease entered Britain at the port of Leith, near Edinburgh. The first reported case in north-east England, on 4 October 1848, was a 56-year old mariner on board *The Valiant* at Sunderland. More cases soon appeared, mainly among mariners and coalminers, many at Monkwearmouth. From October 1848 to December 1849 County

Durham had 1,643 cholera deaths and Northumberland 1,410, contrasting with 420 in Cumberland and a single death in Westmorland.⁴

In Berwick-upon-Tweed PLU the first fatality, a labourer's widow at Norham, was on 7 December 1848. By the end of the year there had been more deaths, mostly among fishermen, labourers and quarrymen, including three at Berwick workhouse, six at Donaldson's Lodge, Cornhill, and four at Norham. Out of 65 cholera deaths in Northumberland in October-December 1848, 19 (29 per cent) were in Berwick PLU. In 1849 there were a further 76 deaths, substantially below the numbers in Tynemouth and Alnwick, though higher than most Northumberland Unions. The peak of the epidemic in Berwick town was September-October 1849: the Guardians' minutes recorded eleven deaths from 1 September to 14 October 14, and 13 between 20 October 20 and 3 November. The epidemic was soon over—the last case in Berwick was at Ness Gate on 6 December, and the last death in Northumberland on 20 November.⁵

Responsibility for public health

'We live in muck and filth ... we got no privy, no dust bins, no drains, no water splies, and no drain or suer in the hole place ... we all of us suffer, and numbers are ill, and if the cholera comes, Lord help us'⁶

During the eighteenth century the Privy Council Office acquired responsibility for dealing with quarantine, its powers being consolidated by the Quarantine Act of 1825. This led to its sponsorship of the early Boards of Health. In 1831, because of fears of a cholera epidemic, a consultative Board of Health was established and charged with the preparation of regulations to prevent the spread of the disease. Later that year a Central Board of Health was created, and local boards of health were established under its direction. In 1832 the Central Board was dissolved, and the local boards disappeared as the danger had apparently passed. Public health and sanitation were also a concern of the Poor Law Board, and of local Boards of Guardians. In 1843 a Royal Commission on the Health of Towns and Populous Places was appointed, and its reports of 1844 and 1845 resulted in the Public Health Act of 1848, which established a General Board of Health [GBH] for a five-year term (though it was reconstituted in 1854 with a president responsible to parliament). The GBH was empowered to create local boards of health in areas of high mortality (an annual death rate exceeding 23 per 1000) or where at least 10 per cent of local ratepayers petitioned for one. It could sanction the appointment and dismissal of local officials, approve loans for sanitary purposes, and hear appeals. Local boards were concerned with sanitation, sewerage, drainage, water supply, streets, burial grounds, and regulation of offensive trades. In 1858 the term of office of the GBH expired, and the Local Government Act (1858) transferred some of its powers to local health boards. The remaining administrative powers passed to a newly formed Local Government Act office, part of the Home Office, and its medical duties to the Privy Council.⁷

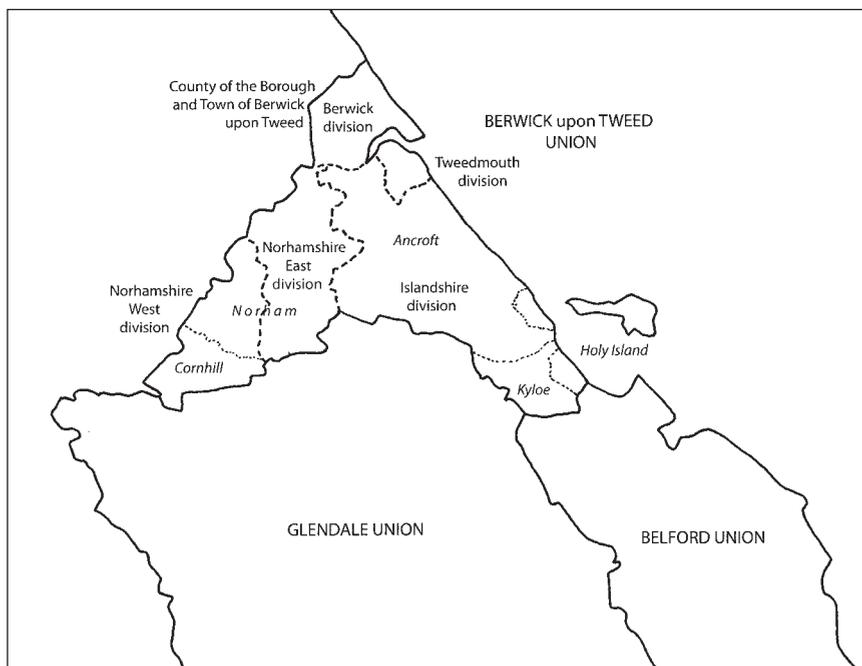
Attempts to deal with the 1848-1849 epidemic in Berwick were informed by experience of an outbreak of the disease only 16 years earlier, and some of the same personnel, including doctors, were involved. In 1831 the town prepared for cholera by setting up district committees to promote cleanliness, 'comfort for the poor', and to survey for signs of disease. These committees reported to a local Board of Health, comprising doctors, magistrates and clergy. When cholera did arrive in 1832 the Board met weekly to monitor its progress, and helped to start soup kitchens in Spittal and Tweedmouth for the indigent poor. There was a tendency to blame victims: as the disease abated the *Berwick Advertiser* urged people not to return to their former habits, 'as the sow to the

wallowing in the mire'. The Board of Health in nearby Dunse went further in its attempts to control the 1832 epidemic, establishing a *cordon sanitaire* around the town: 'no Hawker, Pedlar, Ginger-Bread Dealer, Fruit-Seller ... will be permitted to enter the Town, unless they bring with them a Certificate signed by a Gentleman, a Member of the Board of Health for which such person resides, certifying that he or she is not only free of every appearance of the Disease, but has not for 14 days previous been exposed to its infection, according to his knowledge ... Inhabitants of this District are earnestly requested to avoid frequenting those places where Cholera exists; keeping in mind their return may be prevented'. This approach was reinforced in the summer when leading Dunse citizens—surgeons, merchants, landlords and tenants—agreed to limit the customary influx into the district of Irish seasonal reapers.⁸

Shortly after the first outbreak of cholera in the Berwick area in 1848 the Town Council moved decisively. Alderman Alexander Cahill, a doctor who had treated 1832 cholera victims, proposed the appointment of a select committee under the provisions of the Nuisance Removal and Diseases Prevention Act 1848; and the mayor urged that sufficient signatures be obtained to petition the GBH to implement the Public Health Act. Both resolutions were unanimously agreed, and 158 ratepayers (more than the required 10 per cent of the electorate) petitioned that 'Berwick is extremely deficient [in] provisions, regulations, and restrictions in regard to health of its inhabitants, and in particular as to drainage and sewerage to be remedied by Act for Promoting Public Health'.⁹ In October-November 1849 Robert Rawlinson, the GBH superintendent inspector, conducted an inquiry into sewerage, drainage, and supply of water, and the sanitary conditions of Berwick town, Tweedmouth and Spittal. A 44-page report with recommendations was published the following year.¹⁰ However, the government strategy in relation to the cholera epidemic was based on the 630 Poor Law Unions for England and Wales, each of which was managed by an elected Board of Guardians. Berwick Poor Law Union, which covered a very extensive and thinly-populated rural area, was divided into five districts, each with its own medical officer (see table 1 and fig.1):

Table 1 Divisions of the Berwick-upon-Tweed Poor Law Union

division of union	area covered	1841 population
Berwick	parish of Berwick, including workhouse	8,484
Tweedmouth	townships of Tweedmouth and Spittal	6,096
Islandshire	parishes of Holy Island and Kyloe, with Ancroft	2,026
Norhamshire East	Loanend, Longridge, Norham Mains, Horncliff, Duddo, Thornton Steward and Falkington	1,553
Norhamshire West	Norham, Grindon, Twizel and Cornhill	2,204

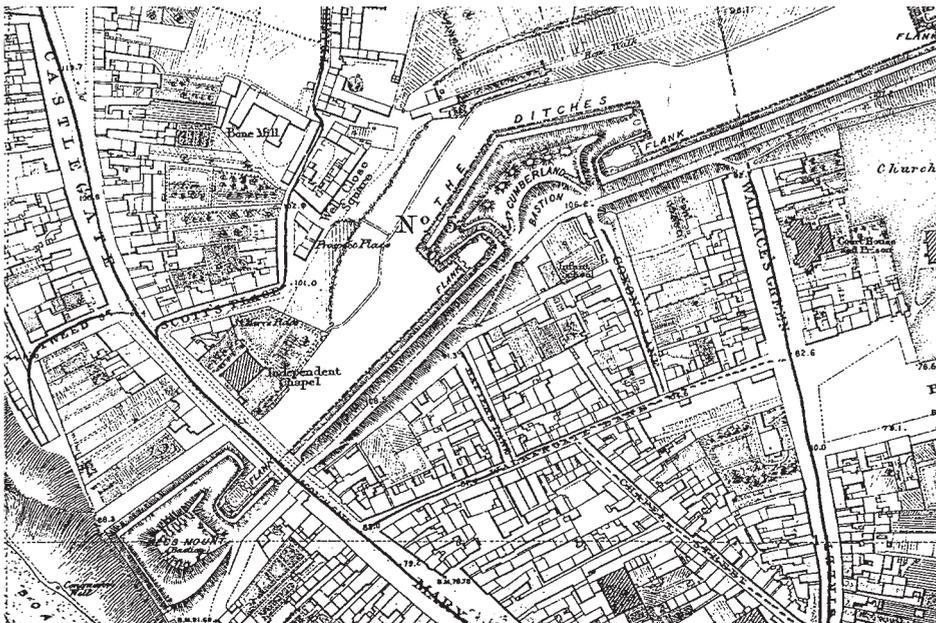


1. The Berwick-upon-Tweed Poor Law Union

The Berwick Guardians, like those elsewhere in the country, received directions and regulations from the GBH aimed at ‘the prevention (as far as possible) or mitigation of epidemic, endemic or contagious diseases’. The provisions of the Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act of 1848 were detailed and prescriptive, and created substantial additional work for the Guardians. Thus, streets and other public places, together with private homes, had to be surveyed, nuisances abated or removed, and homes cleansed and whitewashed. If occupiers were unable to do this work it was to be undertaken by the PLU. Accommodation had to be found for treating cases of cholera and for those who had to temporarily leave their homes when cleansing was required. All this placed considerable stress on medical officers, inspectors of nuisances, overseers of the poor, and relieving officers, a problem exacerbated by disputes between officers: for example, in December 1848 the inspector of nuisances reported that Davidson, assistant overseer of the poor, ‘had interfered with him in the discharge of his duties’ in Norham. The Guardians subsequently judged Davidson’s conduct to be ‘very reprehensible’ and warned him that he would be reported to the Poor Law Board if there were further complaints.¹¹

Managing the epidemic also had financial implications. By January 1849 there was overcrowding in the workhouse, which had been built to accommodate 140 people, and steps were taken to find additional accommodation.¹² Alterations and additions to the workhouse were not approved by the Poor Law Board until May, suggesting no sense of urgency at national level. Other costs included expenses of 4s a day for inspectors away from home; removing nuisances, sometimes accounted as common charges, and at other times debited to parishes (for example in April 1849, £5 16s 11d to Norham and £4 5s 1d to Twizel); and £5 paid to John Steel for renting a dwelling for use as Norham Cholera Hospital. More significantly, there were human costs: R.M. Foster, Norhamshire’s relieving officer, died from cholera in April 1849, the same month that William Lilly, Berwick’s medical officer, died from typhus ‘caught in attending an Irish vagrant’.

Lilly was succeeded by Alexander Kirkwood, at a salary of £35 per annum. After a lull in new cases during the summer, Kirkwood reported to the *Guardians* on 3 September that cholera had erupted again in Berwick town and at Cornhill. A fortnight later he reported that extraordinary medical aid was required for those threatened with cholera. He and other doctors were empowered to procure medicines from druggists for those 'attacked by cholera or by premonitory symptoms', and to decide how best prevent or ameliorate the disease. Further facilities might be needed, such as a dispensary with beds, clothing, warmth and attendants; a hospital for those attacked by cholera; and a refuge for those whose homes required cleansing, whitewashing and fumigation. Butchers were warned that the slaughter of cattle (except in approved slaughterhouses) would not be permitted, as the flow of blood in kennels, and deposit of offal, was 'certain to create and spread disease'. Non-compliance would render them liable to penalties imposed by the GBH. All pigsties were to be subject to the authority of the inspector of nuisances, and parish surgeon, and those judged prejudicial to public health removed. The GBH subsequently reported on resistance to its orders by some local authorities, because of ignorance, cost, and divided responsibilities. However, in Berwick at least some officers were pro-active. For example, in October 1849, the inspector of nuisances served notice on eight pig-owners who had refused to remove their animals. The *Guardians* also took action against John Campbell for keeping a donkey in a dwelling house at Spittal, and William Bell for 'suffering an accumulation of filth' at his premises in the High Street. Furthermore, Kirkwood certified the condition of Walkergate Lane, Chapel Street, Narrow Lane, Weatherly Square, Crawford's Alley, Hatters Lane, Ness, Foul Ford, and parts of the Greenses, as being prejudicial to health and requiring more frequent and effectual cleaning (fig.2).



2. Detail from the Ordnance Survey 1:500 map of Berwick, 1852, showing some of the streets condemned as insanitary in 1848-1849: note the contrast between the densely-packed housing within the walls and the open spaces of the Elizabethan ramparts

Tensions in responding to the crisis

As noted, in 1848 the GBH chose to use the Poor Law Board and the 630 Poor Law Unions to tackle the cholera epidemic. Because of costs to the Unions, tensions soon developed between the GBH and the PLB. The GBH noted in November 1848 that Norham was reported to be in a 'very bad and filthy condition', and requested to establish its actual state and consider action. However, the PLB had also been asked to visit Staithes in Yorkshire for a similar reason, and in its draft reply noted that Norham and Staithes were a long way apart, and expressed irritation at the request: 'the Poor Law inspector's duties are onerous ... it is quite impossible ... to devote themselves to the Board of Health by visiting every Parish in which any nuisance may be alleged to exist'. It stated that the Poor Law inspector would advise and assist Boards of Guardians 'whenever cholera actually breaks out'.¹³ In using the Poor Law apparatus as its public interface the Government unfortunately chose an institution from which many members of the working classes were alienated, and were thus reluctant to cooperate. Thompson has noted that 'working-class self-respect built on [an] anti-Poor Law foundation [that] inevitably contained attitudes of deep suspicion and distrust of governments and the authorities that administered the Poor Law'. This attitude undermined the aim of providing medical assistance for patients when they displayed premonitory signs. This process required patients to approach PLU officials, but they were often reluctant or hesitant because of perceived stigma or a fear of medical costs. The local press was aware of this weakness, and referred to dangers inherent in working solely through PLU officers to identify and treat cases. *The Berwick Advertiser* emphasised that victims sometimes refrained from sending for medical assistance until it was too late.¹⁴

At meetings of Berwick Town Council, doubts were expressed about the strategy. Alderman Cahill, himself a doctor, believed that the medical arrangements adopted for the 1832 epidemic, which had led to 100 deaths in Berwick (and had predated the new Poor Law structures) were preferable, a view with which the press concurred. This view was echoed at an inquiry in Newcastle, where a Dr Robinson commented that 'we should have done better if we had been left to ourselves—infinity so'. This implies tension between some in the medical profession and the PLU medical officers, highlighting 'uncertainty at the time about the scope of responsibility and authority'. Newcastle had had no arrangements to search for or treat diarrhoea cases promptly.¹⁵ Although the Berwick Guardians eventually chose to adopt the Town Council's plan, which secured the services of Berwick's entire medical profession to attend cholera patients and so made possible a greater chance of prompt medical attention, Cahill castigated the Guardians for failing to publish proceedings of a medical conference at which this approach was agreed to be most effective. He implied that his plans were sabotaged by the Dr Kirkwood:

'In consequence of a request made through Mr Willoby [clerk to the Board of Guardians] on 28 September, I called a meeting of medical practitioners of this Borough on the following day which was attended by all with the exception of Parish Surgeon Dr Kirkwood; and owing to his absence as well as any data from the Board to discuss, adjourned to 1 October, all again present with the exception of the Parish Surgeon, who on this occasion alleged a professional engagement as an excuse. After some discussion I proposed ... a resolution similar to what took place in 1832, granting to the labouring classes who might be attacked with cholera the liberty of sending for the nearest medical man, thereby affording early advice as well as putting it in the power to obtain it from those medical gentlemen who were fully acquainted from former experience with the disease, and thereby affording a better chance of recovery from that dreadful malady, the parish paying a

reasonable fee, but which for my own part I declined receiving, although willing to give my attendance etc. This was, I believe, passed by the Board, but owing to want of publicity has become a dead letter.

In a casual meeting with Dr Clarke (Mayor, and Chairman of the Board of Guardians), on 6th I brought to his notice that no report was made, he appeared astonished, and said it would be done in next week's paper, but was not done. P.S. The foregoing communication has been refused insertion by the editor of *The Warder*.¹⁶

The tone of Cahill's letter suggests anger at being repeatedly ignored, and his belief that the result had been wasted lives. The rift between doctors was perhaps due in part to differences in professional opinion over the opposing theories about the disease—the 'contagionist' and the 'miasmatisist'—and Briggs reminds us that when George Eliot was writing *Middlemarch* the causes of cholera were still hotly debated. General acceptance by the medical profession of Snow's theory of water-borne transmission, published in *On the Mode of Communication of Cholera* (1849) only emerged from 1883, with the discovery by Robert Koch of the bacillus for the disease and confirmation of its transmission by a faecal-oral route, especially in contaminated water.¹⁷ However, the rift among Berwick's doctors was also connected with resentment at the authority which had been enjoyed since 1834 by the centrally-imposed PLU system with its own doctors, mirrored by Kirkwood's defensive attitude towards those doctors, often experienced, who challenged his authority. Cahill, part of that nexus of civic leaders in Berwick, had been a medical attendant or doctor at the Berwick Dispensary and Infirmary since 1815, and was its secretary in 1818-1829. This charitable institution, at 18 Quay Walls, benefited the 'sick poor' and industrious sick within a twelve-mile radius, and treating around 140 persons a year between 1814 and 1854. Kirkwood may have been angered by the rejection of a request to use the uppermost floor of the dispensary as a refuge for those whose dwellings were being cleaned. Cahill argued that this storey could not be isolated from the rest of the building.¹⁸ An additional factor encouraging wariness was uncertainty as to Guardians' powers—rightly so, perhaps, given the subsequent decision by the auditor, Robert Usher, to disallow £215 2s to the medical officer for extra duties during the epidemic because the cost was not sanctioned by the PLB.¹⁹

The role of the press

The *Berwick Advertiser* chose to be direct with its readers, convinced 'that much exaggeration always prevails on such visitations when accurate details are withheld'. It acted as a channel for official public health guidance, which, with uncertainty as to the causes of cholera, was an attempt to scotch myths relating to the disease; for example, that those with dissolute lifestyles, such as vagrants, were most vulnerable to contracting it. The paper gave accounts of those who succumbed, illuminating the shocking nature of the disease—the sudden and surprise nature of its attack, its capacity to kill, and its speed in doing so. This might have resulted in readers noting official guidance, though it could also prompt fear and panic. In the early phase of the epidemic the paper did perpetuate some stereotypes—for example, the deaths of John Wilson of Weatherly Square, a former mariner (49) who peddled matches, and William Sanderson (61), former mariner and workhouse inmate, were characterised as those of men 'who lived dissipated lives ... in every way likely victims of the epidemic'.²⁰

It soon became clear that an individual's lifestyle could not always explain an attack. An old woman who died, although a workhouse inmate, was a 'very useful member of the establishment whose respectability and long residence in the town caused her death to be much regretted'.²¹ And Joseph Clarke (55), a commercial traveller in the lace

business, and a 'very respectable gentleman' who had visited Berwick for twenty years, arrived from Edinburgh by rail, appeared to be in his usual health at bedtime, but at four in the morning was seized with cholera. He waited for the druggist to open at eight o'clock, prescribed himself, and reported the illness at nine. Dr Johnston attended, diagnosed cholera and sought the assistance of Dr Cahill. Both men attended Clarke until he died at five in the afternoon. Another victim was Richard Knox (38), carpenter from Chapel Street, a man of 'robust health and manly vigour [who] might well have challenged comparisons with any of his townsmen'. He was working till six in the evening, but dead by two the following afternoon. Noting that he did not send for medical attention till three in the morning, the paper felt this was 'a lesson to our readers on the dangers of delaying to send for medical aid. Unless the disease be taken in the early stages recovery becomes exceedingly doubtful'.²²

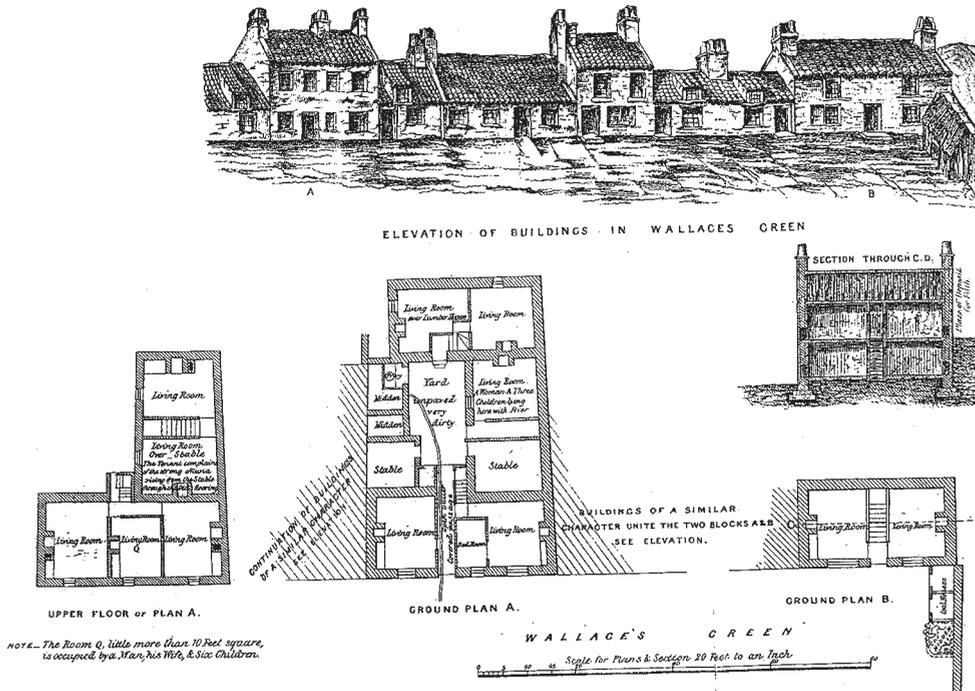
The *Advertiser* supported community initiatives, such as a committee appointed by Tweedmouth parishioners and empowered to inspect back premises, 'insisting they be cleaned'. It noted that the very creation of this committee motivated householders to do the necessary work. The extent of the epidemic in other areas, and the class background of victims, was also noted. For example, in West Hawick victims were not only numerous but from all classes, and it was reported on 6 October that there had been 107 deaths in Alnwick (out of a population of 5,900) in the previous 10 days—bodies were moved to a shed on the moors, pending burial, and a subscription opened to relieve destitution in the town.²³ Berwick did not suffer on the scale of Alnwick, but the response to a midweek Fast Day in early October indicates the community impact of the epidemic: 'In the church and several meeting houses were services forenoon and afternoon, all ... attended by large congregations. The shops were closed during the entire day, and all business was suspended. The day was observed with more ... solemnity and devotion than any recent occasions we can remember'. On 16 November there was another Fast Day, as a thanksgiving for the decrease in cholera cases. Again all shops were closed, and business 'generally suspended. Attendance was numerous and devout at religious services in church and several dissenting chapels'.²⁴

Kirkwood reported 24 cholera deaths between 1 September and 12 November, claiming that more were averted because of the system of visiting 'amongst the lower orders', a system commended as excellent by the Board of Health. In Berwick Poor Law Union there were 97 deaths, unevenly spread: 21 of the 93 deaths between 1 November 1848 and 30 November 1849 (22 per cent) were in Norham parish. Kirkwood claimed that directing druggists 'to dispense prescriptions by day or night at the expense of the Union' had resulted in fewer cases than in the neighbouring towns of Alnwick, Kelso, Coldstream and Eyemouth, and the GBH expressed satisfaction at steps taken to mitigate the severity of the disease.²⁵

The General Board of Health inquiry

The 1848-1849 cholera epidemic was followed by Robert Rawlinson's inquiry into sanitary conditions in Berwick town, Tweedmouth and Spittal. Rawlinson (1810-1898) was a government public health inspector, and later headed the commission that investigated the sanitary conditions of the British army at Sevastopol in the Crimea. He was subsequently appointed chief engineering inspector under the Local Government Board, and is regarded as one of the century's foremost civil engineers.²⁶ The inquiry started towards the end of the cholera epidemic, and Rawlinson inspected 'seats of epidemic, endemic and contagious diseases' with doctors and PLU officers. James

Atkinson, relieving officer, pointed out that parish spending on relief was mainly on families living in damp and badly-ventilated houses in Walkergate, Chapel Street, and Wallace's Green which presented 'neglect, wretchedness and misery, palpable to sight and smell ... the price to be paid for these small crowded ruinous tenements is most excessive' (fig.3). Dr Cahill drew attention to the problem of lodging houses: 'I have seen 12 or 14 persons occupying one room and perhaps ... no more than two beds. The rest huddle together in straw upon the floor. We have no control as a Corporation over these lodging houses. They are not licensed and we cannot take compulsory measures to prevent them from receiving so many persons at once ... We have no permanent or temporary hospital to which to remove patients when they are attacked'.



3. Plan and elevations of properties in Wallace's Green which were affected by cholera (from Rawlinson's report to the GBH: BRO E26/7)

Dr Fluker, the PLU assistant surgeon, noted a case of cholera where a few nights before there were 'as many as 21 persons in the same room. There was scarcely a drop of water among the whole, and almost no fire. When I saw a man in cholera there were three or four children lying in the same bed of straw beside him. There have been two deaths from cholera in that house'. In another house 'one room on the ground floor ... about 12 feet square, and some inches below the level of the yard, is inhabited by a poor Irish woman and 7 children, the youngest is one year old, and the oldest 14. The fluid from the midden in the adjoining yard oozes through the back wall and runs upon their miserable bed of dirty straw which is laid in the corner upon the floor. Their only covering is tattered rags upon their backs. There is no article of furniture in their room. The windows and doors are quite insufficient to keep out their cold, or what is more deleterious, the fumes from the abominations in the yard'.

Rawlinson reported that Berwick was not as healthy as it might be, due to 'undrained streets, imperfect privies, crowded courts, houses, room-tenements, and large exposed middens and cesspools; that excess disease was traced to undrained and crowded districts, to deficient ventilation, and the absence of a full water-supply, and of sewers and drains; and that a better water supply should be provided, and a perfect system of sewers and drains laid'. He costed the recommended improvements, showing how 'the outlay will not be burthensome or oppressive to any class of the community, as the capital required may be raised by loan, and the interest upon it reduced to an annual or weekly rent-charge'. However, twenty years would elapse before these recommendations were fully implemented.²⁷

Contesting change

The proposed improvements, and in particular their cost, were challenged in letters to the press and at irate meetings of ratepayers. There was vehement opposition from Tweedmouth and Spittal ratepayers who, combining parochialism with cost-consciousness, claimed that they already enjoyed a plentiful supply of good quality water and had an acceptable death rate. Meeting in Tweedmouth church in May 1850, they formed a committee with the power to employ a solicitor.²⁸ Their chairman, Thomas Crowther, wrote to the GBH urging that the provisions of the Health of Towns Act should not be applied to their parishes, as householders had made their own arrangements, and Berwick Council had displayed expensive mismanagement. Parochial antipathy towards Berwick is reflected in his criticism of the 'arbitrary manner in which preliminary proceedings have been forced upon us ... [a] petition signed exclusively by Berwick ratepayers without any reference to Tweedmouth and Spittal'. The protesters felt 'quite capable of originating and gradually carrying out other improvements especially sewerage and drainage without ... expensive machinery of the Health and Towns Act'. Petitions were sent to the GBH, including one signed by 155 people representing £3,772 of the £5,404 raised by rates for poor relief.²⁹ However there were those from Tweedmouth and Spittal who supported the proposals. In June 1850 some thirty residents, including William Whitehouse (minister of the Spittal United Presbyterian Church) and two other clergy, informed the GBH that the area was 'extremely deficient with respect to provisions, regulations and restrictions regarding the health of its inhabitants, in particular drainage and sewerage' and that 'the provisions of the Act [should] be implemented within Tweedmouth and Spittal as soon as possible'.

Improvements began to emerge in Berwick town. Lodging houses and slaughterhouses were regulated, although the Local Board of Health [LBH] was concerned about excessive strictness in the case of the latter, preferring to see private slaughtering ended by not renewing licenses and building a single slaughterhouse. The LBH had to take local sensibilities into account: for example, among the town councillors were butchers such as John Morton of the High Street, elected in 1851, and another butcher, Mark Mather, appealed successfully at the quarter sessions against his conviction on 16 May 1856 for using a building as a slaughterhouse without license and in contravention of bye-laws. There were also financial constraints: for example, the cost to the district of Rawlinson's enquiry was £154, which the LHB agreed to pay in instalments over five years to protect ratepayers. Not until 1853 did the LBH seek powers from the GBH to borrow £10,000 for the sewerage, drainage and water supply works recommended by Rawlinson three years before. A resolution was adopted that the town (but not Tweedmouth nor Spittal) 'be effectively drained and have a sufficient supply of water

provided under the direction of the LBH, and that Plans and Estimates for these works laid by Rawlinson be adopted'.

However, the GBH, while giving approval, noted Tweedmouth and Spittal as 'places under the jurisdiction of the LBH equally in want of improvement. It is to be hoped the LBH will turn their earliest attention to improvements of these portions of their District'.³⁰ The reluctance in Spittal and Tweedmouth to spend on sanitary improvement was comparable to majority ratepayer opinion in Newcastle, where neither the Council nor the press showed enthusiasm in the 1840s and 1850s. There, a pressure group forced a GBH enquiry but Rawlinson's subsequent report was not printed and published. He believed it to be a dead letter because of the City Council's apathy, if not outright opposition, to spending rates on sanitary measures.³¹

In 1853-1854 there were further individual cases of cholera in Berwick, with six, three of them fatal, in December 1853. All six victims were Irish living 'in the most abject state of poverty', in homes unfit for occupation. In 1854 Doctors Kirkwood and Fluker issued a notice under GBH orders that 'all streets and lanes in the town [are] in a filthy state, and they be instantly cleaned, and recommend people be immediately set to work to cleanse them'. The LBH queried whether they had the powers to 'close and keep closed any dwelling houses that may be certified ... as unfit for human habitation, or such dwelling houses as any fatal case of cholera has occurred in', to which the GBH responded that they had no powers to keep dwellings closed against the will of the owner, but had full powers to enforce cleaning. During a spate of cholera cases in autumn 1854 PLU medical officers made daily reports to the Guardians, and a convalescent home was acquired.³² By 1855 Weddell, the clerk to the Berwick LHB, suggested that powers be given to local health boards under the 1855 Public Health Bill to abolish privies and replace them with water closets which would be 'a great boon to the community'. There had been delays in carrying out sewerage and water works: a contractor had failed, and costs had risen by 50 per cent. Given the influence, and concerns, of ratepayers it was significant that the rates were in two parts: general district rates were levied on all properties in the district, but special district rates only on certain parts such as Berwick town, which alone was sewered and had water supplied by the LBH.³³

The LHB attempted to mollify the opposition by petitioning for the repayment period of its £14,440 loan to be extended to 50 years, thereby 'conferring a very great boon on ratepayers'. It also wanted to develop a new water supply for Berwick, in response to dissatisfaction from some ratepayers as to the inadequacy of existing arrangements. This scheme would take ten years to reach fruition, and led to conflict in the town, expressed in petitions and counter-petitions to the GBH. There were fears over the quality of possible water supplies ('the polluted stream of Whiteadder') and indignation at alleged waste—'sources of water are flooding the land, and rushing in torrents, washing the banks ... Water more than abundant. The land teems with springs, many abandoned'. In the summer of 1859 there was a water shortage, resulting in anger 'from all parts of the town'. Rawlinson was consulted and advised a scheme that would secure an unlimited supply of excellent water in all seasons. Earlier in the year he had made detailed proposals, and was now impatient: 'Avoid public meetings: wise government never yet came from a mob nor ever will. The ratepayers elect representatives and it is the duty of such representatives to decide honestly but independently. Despotism is bad but mob rule is far worse'. He had encountered similar obstruction in other localities, such as Wallasey, where Gill noted that 'exaggerated misconceptions and clear untruths [were] being perpetrated by professionals and politicians for their own ends'.³⁴

The Local Board of Health initially favoured a large storage reservoir at New East Farm, while its Edinburgh consultant, Leslie, recommended an increased water supply from the Whiteadder. The LBH sought sanction to borrow the money for the necessary works but the River Pollution Commissioners [RPC] held a Court of Inquiry in the Town Hall on 4-5 April 1870 and concluded that such was the opposition to the scheme that the LBH should abandon it. They reconvened on 20-21 September and examined potential sources. Dr Frankland objected to the New East Farm option, as it meant sourcing from highly cultivated (and thus potentially polluted) gathering grounds. Another option was the Tweedmouth spring, which found favour with the RPC because of its good quality and 'comparative freedom from organic matter'. This scheme, advocated by a small group of ratepayers including Rev James Millar and Rev James Forbes, was opposed by a larger group of ratepayers—led by George Curry of Ravensdowne—who ridiculed Dr Frankland for allegedly changing his position: 'seldom have two or more analysts agreed on the results of any water'. However S.J. Smith, secretary of the RPC, confirmed that laboratory tests had demonstrated the advantages of the Tweedmouth water over other sources. The opposition now had to confront scientific evidence. At its meeting on 14 December 1870 the LHB was sufficiently confident to request £8,000 to purchase the Tweedmouth site, which was approved the following month.

Conclusion

Berwick Town Council's response to the 1848-1849 cholera outbreak—petitioning for a sanitary inspection—was crucial in creating a mechanism whereby the necessary sanitary improvements could be identified, costed, planned and implemented. Rawlinson's detailed report in 1850, and the setting up of a Local Board of Health in the same year, gave momentum to the process. The cholera outbreak also provoked a vigorous response from some local doctors, and a supportive and responsible press (unlike that in, for example, Newcastle). While the fear of cholera, and the impact of the disease on particular households, was immense, the epidemic (and those subsequently in 1853-1854 and 1865-1866) was shortlived. Cholera provided a trigger for reform though, as in Hamburg, this was 'filtered through a net of vested interests, and often took years to be effective'. In Berwick the delay was partly the result of well-organised campaigns by ratepayers, and partly because of failure by many to realise the significance of a clean water supply. There was ignorance of the water-borne transmission route of the disease, as well as parochialism and shortsighted penny-pinching. As in Reading, Berwick society divided between 'economisers', expressing an ideology of laissez-faire and self-help, and 'improvers', encouraged by an increasingly interventionist central government. And, as in Wallasey, cholera instigated public health reform, and 'initiated change out of proportion to its effect on mortality'.³⁵ Future research might usefully focus on other localities, drawing comparisons with existing studies. Mapping the spatial distribution of cholera, together with analysis of its impact using criteria such as age, gender and occupation, may soon be facilitated by introduction of a new framework for accessing civil registration records, now under consideration by the General Register Office.³⁶

Acknowledgments

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Books in Tudor and Stuart wills and inventories: a comment

JEREMY GIBSON

In July 2006 I wrote to the editor, to congratulate him on the then current issue of *The Local Historian* (vol.36 no.2 May 2006) and in particular on Joan Dils's article, 'The books of the clergy in Elizabethan and early Stuart Berkshire'. That contribution showed an impressive extent of research which had enabled the author to throw much light on the literacy of some Berkshire clergy. I have a bee in my bonnet about the analysis of testators' possessions using surviving probate inventories. Since, effectively, no PCC [Prerogative Court of Canterbury] inventories survive before 1660, such analyses are of necessity based on the local courts and, in general, the relatively less well-off. Nevertheless, the references showed that Joan Dils had consulted PCC wills, and all praise to her. Precious books may well be mentioned in a will (mine assigns my *Oxford DNB* to Banbury Library), but inventory appraisers, particularly for local courts, may well have been less aware of their individual importance or less capable of assessing it. However, I was a little disappointed that there were no comparisons with nearby counties, even those for which published editions of probate records exist.

At first, I overlooked the fact that one was actually for an Oxfordshire clergyman, the rector of Henley-on-Thames in the diocese of Oxford, though his parish did border Berkshire. What is extraordinary is that this very important inventory was somehow overlooked and so does not appear in Michael Havinden's *Household and Farm Inventories in Oxfordshire, 1550-1590*.¹ This work is entirely based on local courts and, with the omission of the Henley cleric, William Barker, I can find no entries in the edition which name specific books, apart perhaps from bibles. In contrast, Weaver and Beardwood's *Some Oxfordshire wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1393-1510* lists in the subject index, in addition to four bibles and six breviaries, no fewer than 31 individual books.² I suggested as another possible source Jeanne Jones's two volumes of 346 Stratford-upon-Avon inventories covering the period 1538-1699, with copious notes from probate and parish records, which at the time I had not looked at in detail.³ There was also my own edition of *Banbury Wills and Inventories, 1591-1620 and 1621-1650*, with its lengthy introduction by G.H. Dannatt.⁴

The editor encouraged me to write a short follow-up article for publication later in 2006, but this intention was frustrated, and very nearly 'terminated with extreme prejudice', by a sudden major illness in August. This landed me in hospital for six weeks. I am sure readers who have spent any time in hospital will know how boring life is there, but how mental activity can only be sustained for relatively short periods. Let me recommend having a record society volume to browse in. Normally, when we receive these as subscribers, we glance at them, decide to look more closely when we have time, and put them away for possible future reference. But when one is stuck in a ward they

can provide hours of unstressful interest and, with a notebook to hand, may provide matter for later writing up and publishing in a local journal.

For me, this interest was provided by the previously-neglected Stratford inventories. The edition had arisen, I later learned, from research which Jeanne Jones had done for her *Family Life in Shakespeare's England: Stratford-upon-Avon, 1570-1630* (Sutton Publishing, 1996). Although it does include all inventories for the period, these of necessity were confined to the local Stratford Peculiar Court and (during periods of episcopal inhibition) the Worcester Consistory Court. Before 1660 there are no PCC inventories, and no indication is given of how many wills there are without inventories in that or the local courts.

I later found that between 1581 and 1650 there were 36 Stratford wills and at least 24 letters of administration proved or granted in the PCC. Among those of Stratford's elite whose inventories are thus lost is that of one William Shakespeare, gent., and what wouldn't we give for an inventory of his library! Sadly, the inventories of his neighbours and perhaps schoolmates provide no positive evidence of their literacy, let alone an interest in books. The 1572 list for Clement Swallowe of Shoterly, gentleman, with 'certayne lawe bookes and other bookes with other trifles of small valew, 6s' (from a total of £97 9s 4d) typifies the rare entries which do relate to books. In 1601 William Greenaway, a carrier, had 'In the shop ... bookes to sale [and other things], £3 6s 8d'. Anne Lloyd, widow, had '20 lyttle bookes' worth 5s in her 1617 inventory, and a bible was mentioned in her will. There are two particularly tantalising testators. In 1592 the inventory of Henry Field, a tanner, was taken by Mr John Shakespeare. No books are mentioned, but his brother Richard (born 1561) was the London printer who printed William Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis in 1593 and Rape of Lucrece in 1594*. He took on his nephew, Henry's son Jasper, as an apprentice. Twenty-five years later, in 1617, the inventory of Adrian Quiney, gentleman, included 'j parcell of lace with all bookes and other odd implementes, 10s'. He was brother-in-law to Shakespeare's daughter, Judith.

The one exception to the lack of interest in books shown by the local appraisers is a very lengthy inventory of John Marshall, clerk, of Bishopton (part of Stratford) dated 1608. This comes not from the official probate records, but from a nineteenth-century transcript now in the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office. The lost original is recorded as being seven feet in length and it takes up nearly eight pages in the published volume. Included are no fewer than 271 named books. The editor comments that 'He was a man of wide tastes although not surprisingly, theological works predominate. It includes books by both Catholic and Protestant authors. The rendition of their titles has presented many problems'. Not having Joan Dils's bibliographic knowledge, I won't attempt to comment on this impressive library, merely noting that *Aesopi fabulae* was worth 3d, but '*Aesop fables, englishe, old*' only 2d. Though the Stratford inventories, John Marshall's apart, provide no significant evidence of literacy there, I did enjoy showing my medical mentors that of John Milward, barber and chirurgeon, 1691: 'Item, two cases of lancets, one plaster boxe with instruments & one salvatory & other instruments belonging to chirurgery, £1 6s 8d'. Thank goodness advances have been made since then.

The evidence in Banbury is much easier to come by, as Miss Dannett's introduction includes a page-long section on 'books'. The coverage again is restricted merely to probate records from the Banbury Peculiar Court and for Banbury parish only. There are 403 testators, including those whose wills had no associated documents. Of these, 43 owned books, but those identified were nearly all bibles (some 51). It must be borne in mind that these were in general only the less well-off. Banbury had a disproportionately high number of testators whose wills were proved in the PCC, for whom no inventories

survive before 1660, and whose wills have not yet been transcribed and analysed. The appraisers of Isaiah Showell, a wealthy yeoman who died in 1622, were exceptions, but they were from the influential and well-educated Knight and Whately families who 'ruled' Banbury at this time. Showell had actually crossed the Atlantic and held land in Virginia. His will mentions a 'roule of Tabaccho' for which he is owed, and the inventory has '88li of tobacco at 2s 6d', worth £11. Also listed are '1 booke of marters, 10s', no doubt the famous work of Foxe, and '2 bibles, 1 statute booke with other bookes, £1'. However, the attitude of appraisers in general can be summed up by those of Herman van Otten, a surgeon who died in 1611. Along with 'instrumentes of surgerie' as gruesome-sounding as those quoted above, were 'Seaven of the bigger bookes, 13s 4d. Threescore and five smaller bookes, £1 13s 4d'.

My suggestion all through is the truism that those most likely to own books in quantity (and quality) were the nobility and gentry, the educated clergy, scholars and lawyers, whose wills would normally be proved in the PCC and whose other probate documents therefore survive only from 1660 onwards. Belatedly, I recalled an edition of such documents, Michael Reed's volume on Buckinghamshire PCC wills 1661-1714, in which all 159 inventories are from that source.⁵ At 317 pages I could not contemplate combing through it as I did for the Stratford records (though any bedridden reader who would like to do so is welcome to borrow my copy) but I have dipped into it, glancing at those for various gentlemen and clergy. Alas, even at this late period there was no bibliophile, or at least no appraisers who were such, so all I can offer is a more sophisticated version of the style of the Banbury appraisers of 1611: 'Item eight and forty Bookes in folio three and Forty in Quarto and Seaven and forty in Octavo, £5'.⁶

Joan Dils had the right idea in concentrating on clergy and, perforce, the right idea in looking at wills. These, made by the people who cared about their books, may occasionally yield the information sought (as shown by the 31 books listed in pre-1511 Oxfordshire PCC wills). So far as inventories go, even for the wealthy, books are unlikely to be individually itemised. My own extensive library is bequeathed to various societies and local libraries. I fear that my probate inventory will merely read: 'A large collection of miscellaneous books, some very large, some quite small, some series in mint condition, others with damaged binding from over-use, valueless. Generally obsolete, superseded by the internet'.

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JEREMY GIBSON is co-founder of the Banbury Historical Society and since 1959 has been general editor of its records series (28 volumes to date and four more in the pipeline). This includes the two volumes of Banbury Wills and Inventories, 1591-1650, mentioned in the article. His series of 'Gibson Guides', booklets listing different classes of records of use to family and local historians, is well-known. Among them is Probate Jurisdictions: Where to Look for Wills (and other probate records such as inventories) now in its fifth edition.

Sources in local history: finding and using manorial records

ANGUS J.L. WINCHESTER AND ELEANOR A. STRAUGHTON

Manorial records are unique among English archive sources in that they are governed by a set of rules established by statute, which require the whereabouts of all manorial documents to be registered with The National Archives. Under the heading 'manorial records' falls a wide range of documents, dating from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries, produced in connection with manorial administration. A manor was a landed estate in which the lord had the right to hold a manor court, through which he exercised jurisdiction over his tenants holding land in the manor. As defined by the Manorial Documents Rules, first drawn up in 1926, manorial records include 'court rolls, surveys, maps, terriers, documents and books of every description relating to the boundaries, franchises, wastes, customs or courts of a manor.'

The unique status of such records is a result of the Law of Property Act (1925), which abolished copyhold tenure and, with it, the principal reason for holding manor courts. Since title to former copyhold land was based on an entry in the record of a manor court, it was felt that manorial records required protection. Responsibility for them was placed with the Master of the Rolls, who drew up the Manorial Documents Rules and instigated the construction of a register to identify and locate all surviving manorial records in England and Wales. As a result, the Historical Manuscripts Commission established a card index of known manorial records, arranged alphabetically by manor, for each county. Since the merger of HMC and the Public Record Office these indexes, which form the Manorial Documents Register, are held in The National Archives at Kew. A programme is underway to check and update the card indexes and to replace them with an online, searchable database. Steady progress is being made and the Manorial Documents Register for eleven of the historic counties of England, together with all of Wales, can now be searched online.

Among the recent additions to the online Manorial Documents Register are the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands. The electronic database for these areas was compiled during 2005-2006 as part of the Cumbrian Manorial Records project, a partnership between The National Archives, Lancaster University and Cumbria Archive Service, funded largely by the Heritage Lottery Fund. The aim of the project was not only to compile the database but also to raise awareness of the potential of manorial records for family and local historians through a series of workshops held in Cumbria and by constructing a web guide to the use of these records. The Cumbrian Manorial Records web pages, which can be found at www.lancs.ac.uk/depts/history/cmr, provide guidance which will be relevant to local historians across the country (fig.1). The aim of this brief paper is to draw on our

experience from the Cumbrian Manorial Records project and to guide readers to the resources available to help them to use this rich and wide-ranging archival source.

Locating manorial records

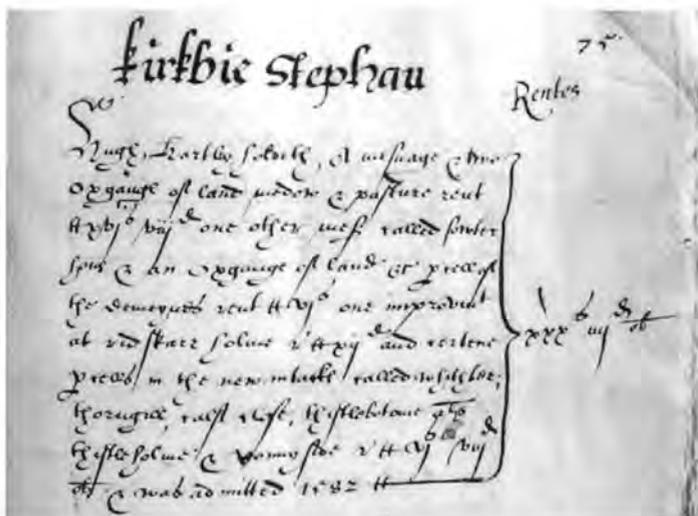
The main tool for locating manorial records is the Manorial Documents Register (MDR). The MDR gives information on the nature and location of all known surviving manorial records for England and Wales. MDR entries for certain areas have been computerised and can be searched online at www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/mdr. The online MDR currently covers Wales, the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, Norfolk, Surrey, Middlesex, the three Ridings of Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North of the Sands (part of Cumbria since 1974). For other counties, the searcher has to rely on the card index, which can be consulted in person at The National Archives or by written enquiry.

The online MDR is arranged by historic county and then by manor. If the name of the manor is known, the MDR search should be straightforward. In order to distinguish between manors of the same name (a fairly common occurrence!), the register links each manor to a relevant parish, which gives the user another search option on the online MDR. The parish search can be helpful if there is uncertainty as to the name of a manor in a given area, but the MDR only links each manor to a single parish, whereas the relationship between manorial and parish boundaries was often more complex on the ground, with manors straddling more than one parish. It is also important to be aware that an area might be covered by overlapping levels of manorial authority, from the more immediate local manor to a unit of higher lordship such as a barony. Users might find it necessary to search for records under the names of *both* the manor and the overlordship in order to have a more complete list of records. Determining the relevant units of lordship can require a little background research: a *Victoria County History* or other local reference work can be helpful, and staff of the county archives and local studies libraries should be able to give advice.

Once the required manor has been located on the MDR, the register provides a list of all the known records associated with it. Each record entry will note the type of record (in a concise description), its date range, its location (with a live link to the repository's website where applicable) and the archive reference. Often the majority of records will be concentrated in a single collection or archive—such as a county record office—but users might also find that records are spread over a number of repositories; having this information in advance allows them to plan their research trips more effectively. Researchers can also use repository information from the MDR to direct a search of online archive lists, accessed via the 'A2A' website (www.a2a.org.uk). Once at the relevant repository, researchers can consult the archive lists for more detailed information and then request the original documents. Users should bear in mind that many of the documents listed on the MDR are in private hands and not accessible to the public (the fact that a record is registered does not mean that a researcher has the right to view it). If a document is registered as 'private', The National Archives will be able to advise whether or not it is accessible to researchers.

Manor court records: an under-used source for local history

In order to give an idea of the range and breadth of manorial records as a source for local history, the rest of this paper focuses on one sub-set of manorial documents, the records of the proceedings of manor courts. As the central institution of the manor,



Source: Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, WD/Hoth, box 34: survey of lands of George, earl of Cumberland, 1604

Transcript:

Kirkbie Stephan	
	Rentes
Hugh Hartley holdeth a mesuage & two Oxxgangs of land medow & pasture rent xvi ^s viii ^d one other messuage called sowter hous & an Oxxgange of land & c ^o parcell of the demeynes rent vi ^s one improvement at red skarr holme xii ^d and certene parcells in the new intackes called withber, thorgill, calf close, thistlebotome alias thistleholme & Connyside vi ^s viii ^d ob' & was admitted 1582	xxx ^s iiiii ^d ob'

Quick glossary:

oxgang or 'bovate'	an ancient fiscal measure of land, which varied in acreage; 8 oxgangs = 1 ploughland or 'carucate'
improvement	land newly enclosed; an intake
ob'	abbreviation for Latin <i>obolus</i> = a halfpenny

Commentary:

An extract from the fine, detailed survey of the Clifford estates in Westmorland, made in 1604. Surveys of this period (others in Cumbria include the great Percy Survey of 1578 and Lord William Howard's survey of Gilsland in 1603) tend to be structured around the rents and services due from tenant land, rather than providing a topographical description of the land itself (but see terriers). Here, Hugh Hartley's holding is described in terms of the units which make up the 30s 4.5d rent he paid: a farm of two oxgangs of land (rent 16s 8d); a house called 'Sowter Hous' and one oxgang (6s 0d); an 'improvement' or intake (12d); and shares in 'the new intackes' (6s 8d). This survey also notes when tenants were admitted; in Hartley's case this was in 1582.

1. Part of a page from the Cumbrian Manorial Records website (a survey of the manor of Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, 1604)

these records are essential to understanding manorial administration. The sheer range of business transacted by many manor courts means that they shed light on many different aspects of local communities. Court rolls, court books and verdict sheets (the three main forms in which manor court business was recorded) survive in their hundreds but remain comparatively under-utilised by local historians.¹ The reasons for

this are not difficult to deduce: as legal records, manor court rolls and books continued to use Latin (for the formal sections of the record, at least) until 1732; the technical and legal terms encountered (estreats; affearors; presentments; amercements and the like) can appear daunting; on top of which there is a popular misconception that manor court records are essentially 'medieval' records, of considerable use for the period 1300-1500 but of little relevance thereafter. In fact, manor court records survive in large numbers for the post-medieval centuries and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in particular, may be considered the heyday of the courts on many manors.² Manor court records have, indeed, been used to great effect to reconstruct aspects of the demographic, agrarian and social history of late-medieval England,³ but there remains huge scope for local historians of later periods to exploit their riches. Despite being framed in Latin until 1732 (with the exception of the Interregnum years), the 'meat' of many manor court records was often recorded in English from the sixteenth century: the formal preamble and introductory sections may be in Latin but presentments and orders are often in the vernacular.

Manor courts were held in the name of the lord of the manor, their principal functions being the preservation of the rights of the lord, on the one hand, and the regulation of relations between tenants, on the other. There were two main types of manor court, the court baron and the court leet. A *court baron* was the basic manorial institution, dealing largely with internal matters on the estate, including infringements of the lord's rights and prerogatives, agrarian disputes between tenants and changes of tenancy. At the heart of the court baron's work lay the customs of the manor, which varied from manor to manor and governed the details of how tenants held their land (hence the term 'customary tenure'). Courts baron also had the power to hear civil pleas involving sums of up to 40s. A court leet had a wider remit as an arm of royal justice dealing with minor breaches of the peace and public order and administering the provisions of a series of Tudor statutes. Courts leet upheld the 'assize of bread and ale' by appointing ale-tasters to ensure that standards were maintained, and also had the right to appoint township constables. Some courts baron met every three weeks, particularly where pleas formed the core of their business, while courts leet, sometimes referred to as the 'head court' (*curia capitalis*), were held twice each year, in spring and autumn. The typical pattern of courts on many northern English manors is described in a note appended to a survey of Burgh by Sands, Cumberland, c.1589, which reads [spelling modernised]:

Also there hath been accustomed to be kept within the said manor, time out of mind, every three weeks in [the] year a Court baron, saving in the time of harvest, viz. from Lammas [1st August] to Michaelmas [29th September], and two Court leets, the one within a month after Michaelmas and the other within a month after Easter, by reason whereof the lord of the said manor was yearly answered of all such escheats, fines, amercements, casualties and other profits as were found to be due within the time of every of the said courts.⁴

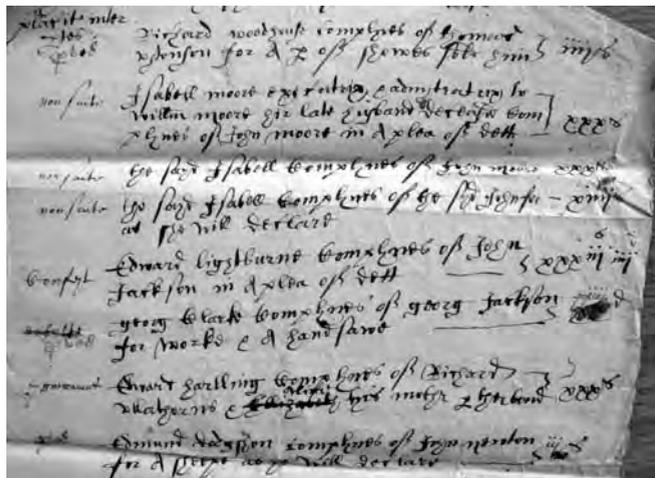
The combination of being a branch of the king's judiciary, an arm of the lord of the manor's estate administration, and a forum for the discussion of matters of concern to the community as a whole gave manor courts a multi-faceted role in local communities and it is this that makes their records such an important source for local historians. Three aspects of the work of manor courts illustrate the potential of manor court records. First was the court's role as a '*land registry*' for holdings on the manor. The customary or copyhold tenures by which many manorial tenants held their land required that a tenant taking over a holding was formally 'admitted' as tenant and the fact recorded in the manor court. As a result court records can provide comprehensive records of changes of tenancy over long periods, allowing the reconstruction of landholding patterns and the study of the peasant land market.⁵ Other classes of

manorial record were generated to assist the lord and his officials to keep track of who held what and (most importantly) what dues and services were owed to the lord. Rentals and surveys provide snapshots of landholding at particular points of time, while accounts record the payment of rent and of the entry fines (or 'gresssums') paid to the lord of the manor on changes of tenancy.

The manor court also functioned as a '*local parliament*', making and policing byelaws and orders, which aimed to uphold both the lord's privileges and 'good neighbourhood' (neighbourly relations) within the manorial community. Those offending against byelaws or committing breaches of the peace, which fell under the jurisdiction of a court leet, were required to pay a financial penalty or 'amercement.' Many byelaws concerned agrarian matters, particularly the management of common land, the maintenance of water courses and upkeep of hedges and walls, and rights of way. Byelaws and the 'presentments' of people infringing them shine a powerful light on social relations within local communities and how communities managed their everyday affairs.⁶

A third aspect was the role of the court baron as a '*small claims court*', hearing pleas between individuals, minor civil cases where the damages claimed were less than 40s. Many entries are laconic, simply recording a plea of debt or trespass, for example, but some provide details of the cause of the dispute (fig.2). These are a potentially rich source for studying financial relationships between members of the manorial community, including relations between employers and employees and credit networks. Pleas have received comparatively little attention from historians but they offer huge scope for recreating the economic bonds of community, particularly when used in conjunction with other sources.

Each of these functions of the manor court provides insights into the workings of local communities. Manor court records bring individuals alive, whether as offenders or those offended against. They enable us to look into the structures of power at local level, by identifying those in positions of authority, as members of the manor court jury or manorial officeholders,⁷ and they shed light on the everyday concerns of agrarian communities, as they negotiated conflicting demands on common resources and the ever-present tensions between individual and communal interests. It is good that modern finding aids are opening up these rich sources for the local history of the medieval and early-modern periods.



Resources

Online resources are revolutionising historical research, making record searches easier and more sophisticated and providing ready access to expert guidance on the use and interpretation of archive sources. Three of the most useful resources for studying manorial records are:

2. Civil pleas, Casterton (Westmorland)
c.1649 (Cumbria RO: WD/CW)

1. Manorial Documents Register (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/mdr) As described above, this is the essential tool for locating all known surviving manorial records for England and Wales; with the online version currently listing records for Wales, the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, Norfolk, Surrey, Middlesex, the three ridings of Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North of the Sands. The MDR website also supplies background information on the legal aspects of registration, a manorial glossary, and links to other useful sites. The main TNA website contains online tutorials in basic palaeography and Latin (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk).

2. Cumbrian Manorial Records Website (www.lancs.ac.uk/depts/history/cmr)

Created as part of the Cumbrian Manorial Records Project, this website is an online guide to using manorial records. It contains background information on manors and classes of manorial documents; a glossary of specialist terms; and suggestions of the classes of record most valuable for particular areas of local historical enquiry, including family, community, property and environmental history. It also includes an extensive gallery of images of different classes of record, drawn from Cumbrian collections, with transcriptions and commentaries on each as an aid to interpretation. Though the examples come from Cumbrian sources, the advice and commentaries will be of use to students of manorial records anywhere.

3. Christopher Harrison's Online Bibliography and Vocabulary which can be found at www.keele.ac.uk/depts/hi/resources/manor_courts/index.htm

Christopher Harrison's manorial bibliography and vocabulary are invaluable resources for students of manorial records. The bibliography lists printed editions of English manor court records and works relating to their study and interpretation. The vocabulary contains some 1700 words and phrases found in manorial records, making interpretation of these customary terms less troublesome.

Further reading

P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records*. (British Records Association: Archives and the User no. 5, revised edition, 1999) provides the best short introduction to medieval manorial records, with a chapter on early-modern manor court records.

Mark Bailey, *The English Manor c.1200-c1500* (Manchester University Press, 2002) contains excellent introductions to surveys, extents and rentals, manorial accounts and manor court records with selected examples of these sources translated and annotated.

Denis Stuart, *Manorial Records: an introduction to their transcription and translation* (Phillimore, 1992)

Zvi Razi and Richard M. Smith (eds), *Medieval Society and the Manor Court* (Clarendon Press, 1996).

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 - 6 Angus J.L. Winchester, *The Harvest of the Hills: rural life in northern England and the Scottish Borders 1400-1700* (Edinburgh University Press, 2000); Robert S. Dille, 'The Cumberland court leet and use of the common lands', *Transactions of Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society* [TCWAAS] new series vol.67 (1967) pp.125-151; Robert S. Dille, 'Rogues, raskells and turkie faced jades: malediction in the Cumbrian manorial courts', *TCWAAS new series* vol.97 (1997) pp.143-151; Walter J. King, 'Leet jurors and the search for law and order in seventeenth-century England: "galling persecution" or reasonable justice?', *Histoire Sociale—Social History* no.26 (1980) pp.305-323
 - 7 See, for example, the analyses of jury memberships in Winchester, *Harvest of Hills*, pp.40-42; Philip Holdsworth, 'Manorial administration in Westmorland 1589-1693', *TCWAAS 3rd series* vol.5 (2005) pp.137-164

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Heritage (3rd edition, 2003), which was used as the basis of a successful £1.5m HLF bid to restore 35 South Yorkshire ancient woodlands, *The Making of the South Yorkshire Landscape* (2000), and *The Making of Sheffield* (2004).

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John S. Lee works in local government and is also a Research Associate at the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York. He has published *Cambridge and its economic region 1450-1560* (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005), and his interests include the economic and social history of towns from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.

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• REVIEWS •

Murders most foul

THE DAGENHAM MURDER The Brutal Killing of George Clark 1846 by *L. Rhodes, L. Sheldon and K. Abnett* (London Borough of Barking and Dagenham: Department of Education, Arts & Libraries 2005 332pp) £9.99

This is a very readable narrative account of the murder of metropolitan police constable George Clark, who had moved to Dagenham only a short time before his death on the night of 29/30 June 1846. At this time Dagenham was on the very edge of the metropolitan police area, with much land laid down to arable production. Clark, like all his colleagues, went on his rounds at night alone and in almost total darkness. What happened that night, after Clark had set out on his rounds, is obscure. His body was found several days later in a cornfield—he had suffered a forceful and brutal attack with multiple injuries caused by several different weapons. Clark was apparently a well-regarded officer and there was little evidence that he had made any enemy during his short time at Dagenham. The motive could not be determined. Clark had strong religious convictions (he took advantage of doing his rounds to deliver Methodist tracts to neighbours) and was a very young man at the time of his murder—he was only 20 years old. The tragedy was followed by farce, as several of his police colleagues came quickly under suspicion. The sergeant at the Dagenham police station, William Parsons, had gone off duty early on 29 June, having indulged in a heavy drinking session. Lying under oath and persuading or coercing his fellow constables to do the same, he denied leaving early and maintained that he had met Clark as usual in the early hours of the morning of 30 June. Although the officers were found to have nothing to do with his killing, their actions and lies certainly muddied the investigative waters. There is real difficulty in placing the events at Dagenham in the context of early reactions to a professional uniformed police. This is beyond the evidence, and we do not know who killed George Clark. However, the murder itself, and the initial response of Clark's colleagues, provides a fascinating glimpse into the behaviour of some early police officers and the problems which their superiors faced in maintaining standards. As a narrative of events this is a cracker of a book, exhaustively researched and an easy read.

PAUL CARTER

HERTFORDSHIRE CASEBOOK A reinvestigation into murders and other crimes by *Paul Heslop* (Book Castle 2006 224pp ISBN 1 903747 70 8) £9.99

This collection of Hertfordshire crimes follows the format of the author's earlier *Bedfordshire Casebook*, with accounts of 25 Hertfordshire cases from 1817 to 2004 (although one chapter covers the murder of Elizabeth Currell at Potters Bar in 1955, a decade before that town became part of Hertfordshire). Most of the stories concern murder but the book also includes incidents of manslaughter, rape, kidnap and arson. A number of oft-told tales appear, such as the murders of PC Snow at Benington in 1871, PC Starkins at Stevenage in 1857, the 1899 Ansell poisoning case and the Bovingdon poisonings of Graham Young. The length of coverage each case receives varies greatly from a single page to sixteen pages. One weakness of the book is that according to the bibliography, the only sources used were newspapers and journals. In

consequence the accounts add little to what has already appeared in print before, though in some cases a 'verdict' section is appended, offering the views of the author, a retired police officer with over thirty years service. The book thus suffers from Heslop's neglect of primary sources. In the case of Mary Ansell, executed in 1899 for the poisoning of her asylum-bound sister, Heslop asks (p.27) 'did she murder her? Or was she insane? Was the entire plot the brainchild of someone else? Without answers to these questions she should not have hanged'. In fact, all these questions were asked at the time and the answers are contained in the Home Office file on the case held at The National Archives, together with copious files on several of the other cases contained in the book.

Somewhat unusually for such a book, many of the cases dealt with are very modern, culminating in the unsolved murder of Riley Workman at Furneux Pelham in 2004. Some of these have not appeared in any previous books and Heslop made use of his police contacts by speaking to retired colleagues who investigated the crimes. *Hertfordshire Casebook* is a fairly typical example of the 'county crimes book' that many local publishers have been producing for decades—famous crimes briefly recounted from a minimum of sources and without an index. The inclusion of a few forgotten cases is welcome, and the number of illustrations is above average, though they vary in quality.

NICHOLAS CONNELL

Midland villages

VILLAGES OF BANBURYSHIRE including Lark Rise to Candleford Green by *Martin Greenwood* (Wychwood Press 2006 174pp ISBN 1 902279-24-7) £9.99; **SHEINTON, SHROPSHIRE: geology, landscape, history and archaeology** by *Mike Rayner* (Naughty Mutt Ltd., 2006 ISBN 0-9545251-1-6 118pp) £10+£2 p&p from editor, 36 Severn Way, Cressage, Shrewsbury SY5 6DS

The area that in the mid-nineteenth century was dependent on the dynamic market town of Banbury was frequently described as Banburyshire. The region, which ignored the boundaries of counties, dioceses and poor law unions, was best defined as that from which country carriers travelled into the town for its Thursday markets. It included a rich variety of village communities, and was the home of several writers who described the countryside with feeling and perception. Martin Greenwood is an experienced leader of guided walks, and seven of his chapters are descriptions of villages with directions for exploratory walks. The volume concludes with a section on Juniper Hill, Cottisford and Fringford, the 'Lark Rise, Fordlow and Candleford Green' of Flora Thompson's books, which will be a useful *vade mecum* to admirers of her evocative writings.

Most of the villages selected are open rather than closed communities, some with long traditions of religious dissent, for which the author makes good use of the published editions of visitation returns and the 1851 ecclesiastical census. The exception is Great Tew, an archetypal closed village, which has a particularly interesting twentieth century history. The strength of the book is the wealth of information it provides, in the directions for walks, on many relatively obscure buildings, and its informative, if not especially well-reproduced, archive photographs. The historical sections of each chapter are less satisfactory. Attempts to explain house, field and street names are often fanciful, and the author's judgements on the value of 'legends' are sometimes questionable. It is worth repeating the belief of villagers in Fritwell that Frank Dew, owner of the enterprise said to be the largest village store in England in the late nineteenth century,

employed only Methodists. Whether or not this was true, the perception is important. But to write that ‘Others recall the start of the summer holidays for the Birmingham factories, when some twenty packed trains would come through in convey to the south coast—all on time to the minute!’ gives a false impression. Such a dense service of trains to the coast operated on summer Saturdays in a particular period (from the late 1940s to the early 1960s) and, as several well-documented railway histories show, they were rarely punctual.

The Sheinton Heritage Project extended over a two-year period from June 2004, funded by a grant from Local Heritage Initiative, and the book edited by Mike Rayner summarises its achievements, which were also shared with the local community through public meetings and exhibitions. Unlike its neighbours, Much Wenlock and Cressage, Sheinton (a parish of less than a thousand acres on the banks of the River Severn) is not described in the published volumes of the *Victoria County History*. Much of the book is occupied by summaries of geology, geomorphology and local history, which make competent use of the obvious sources, from Domesday through lay subsidy returns, parish registers and eighteenth century churchwardens’ accounts to the tithe apportionment and the logbooks of the village school. There was a finery-and-chafery forge in the parish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whose surviving accounts, deposited in the National Library of Wales, are analysed by Trevor Hill. The novelty of the heritage project was the organisation of popular participation in archaeology of a kind that recalls the 1950s and ‘60s. Field-walking, metal detection and even excavations were organised under the guidance of the Shropshire Archaeology Service, and the chapter on archaeology, a condensed version of a professional report, reveals the finding of traces of Roman pottery, 20 musket balls and a late eighteenth century trade token.

BARRIE TRINDER

Is the North-East a region?

NORTH-EAST ENGLAND 1850-1914 The dynamics of a maritime-industrial region by Graeme J. Milne (Boydell Press 2006 ix +230pp ISBN 1 84383 2402) £55.00

This is the fourth in a series of monographs exploring aspects of regions and regionalism in North East history. Its publication was made possible by funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Board under the auspices of NEEHI (the North East England History Institute). Despite its drab appearance and high price, which probably mean that it will not move far from library shelves, this could be a useful reference book for anyone researching the economic history of an area stretching from ‘the southern edge of urban Teesside to the northern edge of the Northumberland coalfield and from the North Sea coast to the western edge of the Durham coalfield’, in the late Victorian and Edwardian period. Although it may not be an authoritative overview of business, commercial and administrative developments in the North East in that crucial time, it offers interesting perspectives. It is based on material culled from a great many sources (mainly printed) viewed through the eyes of a maritime historian. But the author’s contention that linking the ports and rivers of the region to the products and needs of their hinterlands provides the best explanation of the diversity of economic and administrative patterns that emerged could be open to question, although it is an approach favoured by economic geographers, because it offers the possibility of comparative studies of the development of other port and river systems both nationally and internationally.

Underpinning the study is the central question of whether the North East, as it is defined geographically by the author, constituted a 'region'. From the outside, there are many ways in which it could. But working from the perception of the ports and rivers as key elements in the changes that took place, Milne concludes that the riverside districts of the Tyne, Wear and Tees and the ports that served them showed as much diversity as similarity in this period and could hardly be considered as part of a homogeneous whole. Although this conclusion comes as no great surprise to those of us who live and research in the area, the book is a salutary reminder to the outside world that 'the North East never was just a Greater Tyneside'. The volume has an extensive bibliography and 24 tables and figures, but unaccountably only one (poorly reproduced) map, which shows the electric power system in 1911. The rationale for its inclusion seems to be that this was one industry that pursued a regional strategy virtually from the outset, but what about the rest?

WINIFRED STOKES

Fenland focus

CAMBRIDGE AND ITS ECONOMIC REGION 1450-1560 by *John S. Lee* (University of Hertfordshire Press: Studies in Regional and Local History 3 2006 ISBN 1-902806-47-6 xviii+256pp) £35; **DECISION-MAKING IN MEDIEVAL AGRICULTURE** by *David Stone* (Oxford University Press 2006 ISBN 0-19-924776-6 ix+303pp) £55

These two books have the same regional focus. David Stone's work is based on a close study of the manor of Wisbech (Cambridgeshire), whose inhabitants also appear in John Lee's investigation of the economy of the Cambridge region in the late Middle Ages. More importantly, both contribute to developing areas of research. Recent work on the medieval English economy has begun to move towards an interest in consumption, as the counterpart to the previously-emphasised production. At the heart of Lee's study is the expenditure on goods and services which is revealed in the accounts of a group of Cambridge colleges, and the purchasing patterns that can be deduced from them. This shift of emphasis is the best route into an investigation of *regional* economies in this period, but it demands an exhaustive trawl of local and central sources. Almost everything can be grist to this particular mill. Lee has gone much further in this respect than Miranda Threlfall-Holmes in her recent study of the purchasing patterns of the monks of Durham cathedral priory. Her sources were very much fuller than those used by Lee but, in consequence, she was less inclined to look beyond them.

Inevitably the resulting picture remains fragmentary. Lee is aware of this, and works hard to draw general conclusions from his scraps of evidence. He cannot entirely avoid an impression of squirreling away facts, but much of the detail enlivens his survey rather than clogging its veins. Discussion of the university's regulation of local trade in its own interests is illustrated, along with more familiar cases, by the example of candles. The importance to scholars of high-quality lighting led the proctors to swoop on the attempted export of candles from the town. As this implies, an important strand in the analysis is the impact of the university on the economy of town and region. This is a valuable contribution to the long-running debate about whether the university's presence benefited or harmed the town, but it also has implications for how one might gauge the impact of less well-documented institutions. Lee's aim was to be as comprehensive as possible—one sees this not just in the range of issues raised, but in his efforts to make the book self-contained. The reader is introduced to the regional variations within the county, the economic context, and the methodologies deployed.

The price for this is a text which can be very dense, and some questions are begged. Thus, the attempt to arrive at population trends by comparing baptisms and burials ignores migration. But the approach does mean that the book can be read with profit by those primarily interested in the history of Cambridge as well as those for whom the town is of simply a case study informing broader economic debate.

David Stone's work could be seen as a reversion to an older model. He is concerned with production, and his study is based not even on a single estate but on a single manor. What emerges from that close focus, though, is both innovative and immensely important. He is able to demonstrate conclusively the sophistication with which medieval reeves could respond to market forces. There has been a general reaction in recent years against the (largely unstated) assumption that medieval peasants simply trundled along in a rut, never lifting their eyes beyond getting through the day and doing what they had always done. Political historians have become more willing to allow peasants a grasp of 'national' issues, and social historians to see them as critical of their superiors. But the supporting evidence is generally pretty thin. No medieval English village has the sort of documentation that allowed le Roy Ladurie to show the inhabitants of Montaillou puzzling about the nature of God. What they do have, of course, is massive quantities of manorial documentation, but in the past that has generally been deployed in ways that contributed to the sense of peasants as mere cogs in a seigneurially-operated machine.

Stone triumphantly uses the same material to subvert that reading. It was indeed the bishop of Ely who ultimately benefited from the efforts of his reeves to maximise income, but it is their skills we see—not just a detailed knowledge of the land under their care, and of farming practice, but the ability to use that knowledge flexibly in response to the market. One side-effect is that the reeves of Wisbech are reclaimed as individuals, not because we know anything about them but because we see one of them making a pig's ear of the job. Inevitably, the book is not always easy reading. The sheer amount of number-crunching that underpins the conclusions cannot (and should not) be disguised. Stone is, however, very good at explaining what all the data means and what is statistically significant. He also sets the context very well. This is another self-sufficient work, with current thinking on medieval economic trends expounded rather than being assumed. Both books reviewed here are notably user-friendly, and it is perhaps not coincidence that both authors have experience of adult education and of running their ideas past non-specialists. They share another feature. Both challenge the traditional boundaries of 'periods'. Lee deliberately spans the medieval/modern divide and concludes that the period should not be seen as transitional, let alone revolutionary, while Stone adopts the classic divisions of medieval agrarian history but does so partly to test whether they actually work in reality. His focus on one manor allows him to challenge other aspects of received wisdom, including the matter of soil 'exhaustion'. If the Cambridge study shows the value of ranging widely across apparently disparate sources, the Wisbech material shows how much can flow from detailed study of a single source. It does so because Stone asks his source the questions that it was designed to answer, which are not always the questions the historian wants it to answer. Historians have to be good at teasing out answers to the 'wrong' questions. When, as here, users six centuries apart are asking the same questions the answers can be transformatory.

ROSEMARY HORROX

Material evidence

THE MERCHANT TAYLORS OF YORK A history of the craft and company from the fourteenth to twentieth centuries *edited by R.B. Dobson and D.M. Smith* (Borthwick Texts and Studies 33 University of York 2006 210pp ISBN 1 904497 16 5) £25 from the Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD

The legacy of the crafts and fraternities of medieval York is preserved in four surviving guildhalls (the halls of the Merchant Taylors and Merchant Adventurers, the hall of the religious fraternity of St Anthony, and York Guildhall) and in the city's cycle of mystery plays, which involved over 50 different craft associations. While it is not known exactly when the tailors of York decided to create their own craft guild, in 1387 they added their earliest surviving ordinance to the city's official register. The Company of Merchant Taylors still flourishes, and its ninety members have commissioned this history to mark their 620th anniversary. Seven articles, complemented by illustrations, chart the Company's fortunes from 1387 to the present day, and its response to local and national events. All draw extensively on local sources, although the records of the York tailors survive only from the reign of Elizabeth I, and the earlier history has to be teased from scattered references in the city and national archives.

Heather Swanson outlines the early history of medieval York's numerous guilds, carefully explaining the distinction that existed in the medieval mind between fraternities and guilds on the one hand and crafts on the other. Using an extensive range of sources, Barrie Dobson traces the Company's origins from the ordinance of 1387 to the Reformation, detailing the relationship between the tailors' craft and the guild of St John the Baptist, which constructed the building that became the Company's hall. William Sheils charts the Company's fortunes through changing national and local politics between 1551 and 1662, using registers of apprentices and masters to trace the geographical and social origins of members. Simon Smith continues this analysis for the period to 1776, noting the contribution of female membership during the early eighteenth century. His evidence, together with other recent research, challenges traditional assumptions that the guilds contributed to the city's decline. Over two chapters, Edward Royle provides a detailed account of the decline of the Company during the mid-nineteenth century and the recovery of fortunes from the 1930s. John Baily reviews recent research on the construction of the Taylor's hall and identifies areas for future investigation. Tailors and other clothing producers must have been numerous in most medieval and early modern towns, and tailoring was always the largest profession among the citizens and freemen of York. Yet, the editors note, most studies of urban economies have failed to give sufficient prominence to tailoring, doubtless reflecting the fact that little material evidence survives from this trade. This work is therefore of wider interest, and as each contributor has carefully placed his or her account of the York tailors within the broader economic and social context, the book should be of considerable interest to urban and local historians.

JOHN S. LEE

Feet in ancient times

ABSTRACTS OF FEET OF FINES RELATING TO GLOUCESTERSHIRE 1300-1359 *edited by C.R. Elrington* (Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society; Gloucester Record Series 20 2006 xix + 228pp ISBN 0 900197 66 8) £30

Volumes of abstracts of feet of fines are among the more common publications of the county record societies, with around sixty in print for the medieval period alone.

Elrington's volume of Gloucestershire fines, the second in a series of three, is a welcome addition to this collection. The feet of fines prior to 1300 have already appeared as vol.16 in this series (see *The Local Historian* vol.34 p.56) and the third volume will conclude the medieval series and cover the period to 1509. The present volume has a very short introduction, and reference to the much longer introduction in the first volume is suggested for those new to this class of documents. This is particularly important, as the legal language used masks a fictional dispute over land ownership. At their simplest level the feet are records of the exchange of freehold land. Elrington charts the development of the fines between the latter part of the reign of Edward I and the middle of that of Edward III. The significance of the statute of 1360, which barred certain claims and led to a reduction in the usefulness of the process and so to the number of fines issued, is noted. The major change in the way in which fines were registered from 1306 onwards is not considered. From then on agreements of this type could only be transacted in the Court of Common Pleas. However, although Elrington acknowledges the increase the number of fines which ensued, the reason given is surprisingly stated to be 'not altogether apparent'. The 945 abstracts take the standard form, giving dates, parties to the transaction; the property at its centre and its value; and the court at which the fine was transacted is noted (unless is it Westminster). The attorneys (if used) are named. The abstracts thus provide a veritable mine for the students of personal and place-names. The volume includes a table collating call numbers for fines in The National Archives with the numbers used for this volume. It has a full index of people and places (with references to individual fines rather than to pages) and a selective subject index. A small number of corrections to the earlier volume conclude the work.

The fines in this volume are all from the period between 1300 and 1359. They therefore encompass the era of the Great Famine and that of the Black Death. There is a marked increase of land transfers during the famine as land was sold to raise money to buy food, pay taxes and settle debts. In the years of severest hardship the average number of fines transacted per year rose substantially. The sellers were often the poorer members of society and parcels traded were small (in October 1315 Walter and Katherine le Passer had just a messuage, 5 acres of arable and 1¹/₂ acres of meadow to sell to Richard de Apperley). The impact of the Black Death on the freehold land market has yet to be studied in detail. The Gloucestershire figures indicate a subdued land market, but there is no clear pattern in the nature of the transactions or parties to them. Perhaps the prevalence of the plague made it just too dangerous to travel to the courts to initiate the legal process? The potential of the feet of fines is slowly being recognised. They can no longer be ignored as pieces of legal fiction—the dispute which they appear to record is their only fictitious aspect. The lands described, their values, and the names of the sellers and buyers are all true; indeed, if this were not the case obtaining a fine would have been a waste of time, money and parchment. The sheer number of volumes of abstracts of feet of fines published makes them accessible in a way that few other classes of documents are. Herein lies their value: they are easy to obtain, gaining information from them is straightforward, and they are, so far, underutilised. Professor Elrington is to be thanked for bringing more of these documents from the archives to our bookshelves.

JONATHAN KISSOCK

A call to alms

THE HELLARD ALMSHOUSES and other Stevenage Charities 1482-2005 *edited by Margaret Ashby* (Hertfordshire Record Society Publications vol.21 2006 xvii+267pp ISBN 0 9537561 2 6) £20

Charity played an important role in the lives of many of our poorer ancestors, yet its significance is often overlooked. This volume provides a useful example of how charitable provisions were applied, looking at Stevenage over five centuries. It includes transcripts of a wide range of documents but its main focus is the Hellard almshouses, established under the will of Stephen Hellard (died 1506), rector of Stevenage. Under its terms, trustees or feoffees were appointed to manage the almshouses, which were financed from the rents of plots of land in the town. The volume provides details of the acquisition of these properties, both before and after Hellard's death, together with those relating to other charities in the town. Lists of recipients of doles in cash and kind are also included (for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) together with information on some of the occupants of almshouses, from the census returns for 1851 to 1901. The minute book of the Shephall United Charities for the period 1916 to 1947 is also transcribed, with information on the distribution of groceries and bread, donations to the Shephall Coal Club, and the occasional payment of medical bills for those in need.

Almost half the book, however, is devoted to the work of the Stevenage Consolidated Charities Trust. This was set up in 1909 and combined the Hellard Almshouse Trust with eight other small charities. In the 1940s it took over the management of the Shephall charities as well. The names of the trustees are listed and the minutes for 1910-1942 are transcribed in full. These not only show how the charity was administered but give interesting details on the way decisions were reached concerning the recipients of its weekly cash doles and the occupancy of almshouses. Account was taken of a candidate's age and means, as in the case of Mrs Searle (1921), an old age pensioner who did 'a little laundry work'—it was agreed to pay her 2s a week. On 5 January 1922 it was noted that there were '16 persons in receipt of a weekly payment from the Charities', and these, together with three inmates of the almshouses not in receipt of such a payment, were to be given an allowance of three cwt of coal each, 'the distribution to be made fortnightly'.

Those in receipt of poor relief were unable to take up the occupancy of an almshouse. This prohibition was confirmed by the Charity Commissioners in 1911, when the trustees wrote to ask whether 'the pauper disqualification might be removed'. As late as January 1933 one applicant for an almshouses was rejected 'on account of her receiving Poor Law Relief'. From time to time quarrels arose between some of the almshouse residents, as in July 1918 when complaint was received about the 'conduct' of a Miss Piggott. She behaved 'improperly' towards Mrs Wright, who shared the same almshouse, and she was warned that 'she would be required to leave if such improper behaviour continued'. Seemingly matters were smoothed over, for in 1924 when Miss Piggott died, it was as 'an occupier of an almshouse'. In a final, relatively brief, section the work of the Trust is brought up to date, with trustees in 2005 drawing up plans for the conversion and improvement of the almshouses in consultation with the Stevenage Haven Charity for homeless people and the Almshouse Association. The wide selection of documents included in this volume is a timely reminder of the importance of charity in offering an alternative to the official poor law system.

PAMELA HORN

The Whittlewood Project

MEDIEVAL VILLAGES IN AN ENGLISH LANDSCAPE *Beginnings and Ends* by Richard Jones and Mark Page (Windgather Press 2006 xviii+270pp ISBN 1 905119 09 7) £19.99

This ground-breaking book is the result of a five-year research project concerned with the evolution of rural settlement in twelve parishes in the Whittlewood area, which straddles the Northamptonshire-Buckinghamshire border. There, the pattern of settlement by the late medieval period was mixed, with nucleated and dispersed settlements (in the form of nucleated, polyfocal and 'dispersed' villages and hamlets and farmsteads) lying side by side. The project was concerned with the origins of settlement in the area, and with subsequent settlement change, whether leading to desertion or survival by the end of the medieval period. It was designed from its very beginning to be multi-disciplinary, embracing a range of archaeological techniques (field-walking, test-pitting, more extensive excavations, traditional and geophysical surveys), documentary research, studies of place-names, vernacular and church architecture, and palaeoenvironmental investigations (such as pollen analysis of peat cores). A veritable regiment of helpers was called upon to provide specialist information and expert advice to the two main researchers (the authors) and a whole army of university students and other volunteers helped with excavations and field surveys. The reader of this book is carefully guided through the investigation, thematically and chronologically, from the Mesolithic period onwards. The text is closely argued, the research evidence is clearly presented, and throughout the book the local findings are related to general theories and models. The findings of the study are many and various, and this review does not permit more than a cursory examination of them.

The fact that Whittlewood was designated a royal forest in the immediate post-Conquest period, a situation which simply formalised an existing royal tradition of retaining and exploiting its main assets of woodland, pasture and game, had a major impact on settlement evolution in the area. The royal forest formed a cultural and political (rather than economic) barrier to the spread of cultivation in the late medieval period, meaning that Whittlewood did not develop the characteristic features of the 'champion' countryside that lay beyond it: a countryside of nucleated villages surrounded by extensive open fields. Another important finding relates to the debate about the stability or otherwise of village locations and administrative structures. In the Whittlewood area, change was not the universal process that some writers have believed: it was found to be only partial. Continuity and stability were also important, with perhaps as much as half the early medieval settlement pattern being preserved by the later villages. Conclusions are reached about the role of local communities, manorial lords and the king in determining settlement change. There is evidence of local tensions and disputes, and of the local community, the local lord, and the king, in isolation, making or stifling changes to the settlement pattern and the wider landscape. However, the authors conclude that in view of the great amount of re-modelling that was accomplished, there must also have been a considerable degree of mutual cooperation.

Inevitably, the most important set of conclusions relate to the processes of nucleation and dispersal of settlement, the authors concluding that a number of currently held assumptions cannot be substantiated. For example, the study found little to support the theory that nucleation was simply the result of planning to create order in an overcrowded countryside in which access to resources was a major problem. Emulation of change elsewhere may have played a part. Neither did dispersion occur only where overcrowding and access problems were absent. Indeed, the authors conclude that

dispersed settlement in the Whittlewood area was not the result of the arresting of growth in a primitive state, but was the result of dynamic change. Moreover, the prolonged period of change was identical for both the nucleated and dispersed settlements, leading to the conclusion that they were different end-products of similar (though not identical) processes, with possibly only the slightest of advantages, real or perceived, leading to the preference of one form over another, and both being the result of positive choice. Professor Christopher Dyer, who conceived and directed the project, states in the preface that the book represents simply 'a stage in its progress'. This progress report is a triumph of research, writing and publication. There is no doubt that the evidence used and the comparative methodology employed will be critically evaluated and the representativeness of the findings hotly debated in the years to come. That the study has great significance beyond Whittlewood cannot be doubted.

MELVYN JONES

Fortunate and unfortunate gentry

'NO HISTORIE SO MEET': gentry culture and the development of local history in Elizabethan and early Stuart England by *Jan Broadway* (Manchester UP 2006 xii+252pp ISBN 0-7190-7294-8) £55; **SAVAGE FORTUNE: an aristocratic family in the early seventeenth century** edited by *Lyn Boothman and Sir Richard Hyde Parker* (Suffolk Record Society vol.49 2006 lxxxvii+248pp ISBN 1843831996) £12.50 to members.

What exactly did gentry families do? Judging from these two books, they spent an awful lot of time introspectively examining themselves, their families, their neighbourhoods, and their accounts. And, if they were Roman Catholics, as the Savages of Melford Hall in Suffolk were, and denied access to a wider political world, they were even more likely to spend time with their muniments and family trees dwelling upon the medieval past of religious uniformity, as Broadway puts it. Jan Broadway was previously known for her work on Sir William Dugdale, the Warwickshire antiquary, but here she has broadened her interests to unravel the fascination that the provincial gentry of Elizabethan and early Stuart England had with their localities and their families. Some published their material, some circulated it in manuscript to friends and family, and others just left it to gather dust in the archives: it was the doing which was important, not the quality of the finished product, and in that sense Dugdale and his ilk were untypical. Dugdale was also untypical in that he spent much of his life in London and travelling in the provinces, so despite his association with Warwickshire (continued today in the shape of the Dugdale Society) he actually spent relatively little time on his estate in the county.

Broadway argues that this fascination with the past among the gentry was largely to do with understanding their society, turned upside down first by the Reformation and later by the Civil War, and presumably it also had much to do with the search for Englishness which underpinned Camden's *Britannia* when first published in 1586. It was not necessarily a lonely business; rather, it was about the social cohesion of the gentry, as Lambard stressed of Kent in his *Perambulation* in 1576. They loved to gather and talk about their findings, and to read each others jottings, although like modern historians with large research grants, they happily used scribes and copyists to assist in their research—partly because the records were so scattered—with more or less subsequent acknowledgement. If they were sufficiently eminent, or perhaps wealthy, they gravitated towards the Society of Antiquaries, in its Elizabethan manifestation, where they rubbed shoulders with Camden and other luminaries. Broadway argues, however, that this was a diversion, since the real strength of local history among the gentry was in the regional contacts that they forged, a sort of sixteenth-century

precursor of the nineteenth-century county societies that survive today. It is an engaging story, told with some verve, and based on years of reading in manuscript and other sources. I particularly warmed to her comment that ‘it is a characteristic of early local historians that they were not willing to sacrifice substance in favour of style’ (p.112). Research was what often drove them, as it all too often seems to be today among some sections of the local history community (see *Local History News* no.80, 2006, p.31). And, of course, many of the gentry were anxious to make a statement about themselves and their families, so that their histories were frequently written with a purpose.

The Savages do not turn up in Broadway’s appendix of gentry local historians, but that certainly does not mean they lacked interest in their family history. Lyn Boothman and Sir Richard Hyde Parker, have brought together 83 documents which illustrate the eventful lives of Sir Richard and his wife Elizabeth, who married 1602. They had estates in Suffolk, Essex and Cheshire, and were prominent in their own circle of Roman Catholic families, playing important roles at court in the reigns of James I and Charles I. Thomas died in 1635 from ‘a universal gout’ (p.68), leaving Elizabeth with an estate worth £2,500 a year but with debts of £30,000 for which she and their son were liable. The grand funeral procession through London must have increased this total, and Elizabeth was left to try out a number of schemes for making money, before the outbreak of civil war weakened her position still further. Her houses at St Osyth and Melford were sacked. She struggled on, but with only limited success and she died in 1651 in a debtor’s prison.

The documents are not from a single source, but have been collected from various archives with the intention of demonstrating the lives and fortunes of the Savages, rather than the more usual record society style of presenting a selection of documents from the family archive. They include legal documents such as wills and settlements, petitions, letters and—perhaps most important—a substantial inventory of Thomas Savage’s three houses taken at his death in 1635, which the editors use skilfully in an appendix as a means of assessing and describing Melford Hall. The overall context is provided by a scholarly introduction, which offers a good deal of incidental information about the difficulties experienced by Roman Catholics in the early seventeenth century, however much they might have shared a common culture in the hunting parks. We do not know, because these documents are silent, whether Thomas and Elizabeth were interested in their family trees, but we can guess that Elizabeth might have swapped a little antiquarian study for the financial and other struggles she endured in the years after her husband’s death.

J.V. BECKETT

RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN LOCAL HISTORY

Only books and pamphlets of which copies are sent to the Reviews Editor are included in this list. Inclusion of a publication in this list does not preclude its being reviewed at length in a future issue. This list includes all publications received between 1 November 2006 and 1 February 2007. Publishers should ensure that prices of publications are notified. When addresses are quoted prices normally include postage and packing. Other books should be obtainable through normal book-selling channels and retail prices are quoted. The Reviews Editor is Dr Evelyn Lord, Institute for Continuing Education, University of Cambridge, Madingley Hall, Madingley, Cambridge CB3 8AQ.

LOCAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES

East

'BRINGING IT ALL BACK HOME' with a focus on the Eastern Region and Romsey Town, Changes in Housing and Society, 1966-2006 by *Allan Brigham and Colin Wiles* (CIH 2006, no ISBN) £6 inc.p&p from Allan Brigham, 17 Romsey Road, Cambridge CB1 3DD: *based on oral history, this book charts changes in an area of Cambridge*

England's Landscapes EAST ANGLIA by *Tom Williamson* (Collins/English Heritage 2006 ISBN 0 00 715571 9) £35: *how the framework of the region's topography has influenced the way in which its occupants made their living, where they lived, and how*

LANDSCAPES DECODED The origins and development of Cambridgeshire's medieval fields by *Susan Oosthuizen* (University of Hertfordshire Press 2006 ISBN 1 902806 58 1) £14.99: *development of the landscape of the Bourn Valley, west of Cambridge, has uncovered prehistoric field patterns in the medieval furlongs*

LEST WE FORGET Bridgham and Roudham in the Great War by *David O'Neale* (Taverner Publications 2006 ISBN 1 901470 10 5) £15 inc.p&p from David O'Neale, Mill House, Bridgham, Norfolk NR16 2RS: *life and death in two neighbouring Norfolk villages, which share a war memorial and memories*

TITHES AND OTHER RECORDS OF ESSEX AND BARKING (to the mid-19th century) A guide for local and family historians and teachers by *Herbert Hope Lockwood* (Essex Record Office 2006 ISBN 1 898529 24 8) £9.99 from ERO, Wharf Road, Chelmsford CM2 6YT: *new guide to an important source for the local historian, uses the large collection of tithe documents in the Essex Record Office as examples*

TREATMENT FOR TWO GUINEAS or how general hospitals developed in Norfolk's principal urban centres by *Brian E. Callan* (Breydon Books 2006 no ISBN) £17.95 from RPD Printers, High Street, Gorleston on Sea or call 07854 09179: *detailed account of the development of general hospitals in Norwich and Yarmouth*

London, East, South and South East

THE BERKSHIRE DUNCHES by *Peter Annells* (Peter Annells 2006 no ISBN) £17.50 inc.p&p from author, 34 Western Avenue, Cavendish Park, Didcot OX11 8DX: *account of one of the major families of Berkshire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*

THE CASE OF READING Urban governance in troubled times 1640-1690 by *Manfred Brod* (Upfront Publishing Ltd 2006 ISBN 978 184426 404 9) £8.50+p&p from Mostly Books, 36 Stert Street, Abingdon OX14 3JP and WordPlay, 18 Prospect Street, Caversham RG4 8JG: *Reading's problem started before the Civil War; then it became a front line town; but despite difficult conditions the town still needed governing*

ELSTREE AND BOREHAMWOOD PAST by *Robert Bard* (Phillimore 2006 ISBN 1 905286 11 2) £15.95 *Elstree is synonymous with films, but this book shows that it, and nearby Borehamwood, have a much longer and still visible history*

England's Landscape THE SOUTH EAST by *Brian Short* (Collins/English Heritage 2006 ISBN 0 00 715570 0) £35: *contrasting landscapes and the capital city have produced different settlement patterns, farming and industry, but this book shows that they form a recognisable region.*

HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB Arts and Crafts Utopia? by *Mervyn Miller* (Phillimore 2006 ISBN 1 86077 404 0) £30 *Hampstead Garden Suburb, brainchild of Dame Henrietta Barnett, was a response to the slums of London. It created an idyllic situation for those who could afford it.*

THE HOUSE OF BROKEN FORTUNES Hall Place in the twentieth century by *Oliver Woodall* (Bexley Council 2006 ISBN 0 902541 854) £7.50 from Bexley Local Studies and Archive Centre, Central Library, Townley Road, Bexleyheath DA6 7HJ: *in the twentieth century Hall Place was home to an Austrian baron, a future spy-master and a detachment of the United States Army*

CIVIC PRIDE IN HORNSEY by *Bridget Cherry* (Hornsey Historical Society 2006 ISBN 0 905794 38 9) £6.50 inc.p&p from The Old Schoolhouse, 136 Tottenham Lane, London N8 7EL: *civic buildings, including the town hall, of what was a predominantly middle class borough when these were built*

A HUNDRED YEAR HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, HORNSEY now St Mary's with St George, the parish church of Hornsey by *Thyrza Meacock* (Hornsey Historical Society 2006 ISBN 0 905794 38 9) £5.65 inc.p&p from above address: *expansion of population in Hornsey made this new church necessary; a loving account of its construction and its life in the twentieth century.*

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE BRUNSWICK, BLOOMSBURY by *Clare Melhuish* (Camden History Society 2006 ISBN 0 904491 676) £9.50 inc.p&p from CHS Publications Manager, Flat 13, 13 Tavistock Place, London WC1H 9SH: *Modernist Brunswick built in the 1960s is now a listed building. This book traces its history and occupation up to its redevelopment in 2006.*

STREETS OF GOSPEL OAK AND WEST KENTISH TOWN A Survey of streets, buildings and former residents in a part of Camden (Camden History Society 2006 ISBN 0 904491 65 X) £9 inc.p&p from above address: *six walks exploring an area where many notable people lived, including Karl Marx*

MUSWELL HILL REVISITED by *Ken Gay* (Tempus 2006 ISBN 0 7524 3835 2) £12.99: *photographs show the rural nature of Muswell Hill in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, before it was overtaken by urban sprawl*

ROMFORD A History by *Brian Evans* (Phillimore 2006 ISBN 13 978 1 86077 357 0) £15.99: *this book puts 'Romford on the Map' and traces its development from its prehistoric origins to new prosperity in the twentieth century.*

SO DRUNK HE MUST HAVE BEEN TO ROMSEY A history of Romsey's Pubs and Inns (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group 2006 ISBN 0 906921 23 6) £5.95 from Publications Officer, Ann Beggs, 8 Church Lane, Romsey SO15 8EP: *history and gazetteer of the many drinking places to be found in Romsey, although not all of them are still open for the consumption of alcohol.*

STAINES by *Pamela Mayfield* (Phillimore 2006 ISBN 1 86077 420 2) £15.99 *Staines has been an important Thames crossing from Roman times and its economy has always been connected with the river; this book shows how this role has remained important to the present*

THE WESTMINSTER CIRCLE The people who lived and worked in the early town of Westminster, 1066-1307 by *David Sullivan* (Phillimore 2006 ISBN 1 905286 15 5) £25: *portraying the people, families and workers of Westminster during the early medieval period.*

THEATRICAL LONDON by *Richard Tames* (Phillimore 2006 ISBN 1 905286 14 7) £17.95: *from Wooden O to the twentieth century Globe, an absorbing history of the theatre in the capital*

Midlands

DISCOVERING RUTLAND EPITAPHS by *Brian Waites* (Multum in Parvo Press 2006 ISBN 0 9524544 6 7) £5.99 from 6 Chater Lane, Oakham, Rutland LE15 6RY: *200 epitaphs from the fifty churches of this small county*

DUNSTABLE AT WAR from eye-witness accounts compiled by *Jean Yates and Sue King* (The Book Castle 2006 ISBN 1 903747 79 1) £9.99 from The Book Castle, Church Street, Dunstable LU5 4RU: *oral history of the town in the Second World War*

FROM COUNTRY BOY TO WEATHERMAN A Houghton and Dunstable youth by *George Jackson* (The Book Castle 2006 ISBN 1 903747 81 3) £9.99 from above address: *memoir of the author's childhood and teenage years in Bedfordshire, and his early years as a meteorological officer in Dunstable.*

FROM SAXONS TO SPEED A new history of old Bedford by *Ian Freeman* (The Book Castle 2006 ISBN 1 903747 723 2) £9.99 from above address: *early history of Bedford which starts with the Saxons and takes us up to Speed's map of 1610*

COMMON RIGHT AND PRIVATE INTEREST Rutland's Common Fields and their Enclosure by *Ian E. Ryder* (Rutland Local History and Record Society Occasional Publication 8 2006 ISBN 0 907464 36 X) £8.50 inc.p&p from Rutland County Museum, Catnose Street, Oakham, Rutland LE15 6HW: *history of Rutland's fields revealed by documents and field work, with case studies of Greetham, Lyddington, Caldecote, Uppingham and Thorpe by Water*

RUTLAND RECORD no.25 Rutland in print: a bibliography of England's smallest county compiled by *J.D. Bennett* (Rutland Local History & Record Society 2006 ISBN 13 978 0 907464 37 2) £3.50+80p.p&p from RLHRS, 5 Forth Close, Oakham, Rutland LE15 6JW

England's Landscape THE EAST MIDLANDS by *David Stocker* (Collins/English Heritage 2006 ISBN 0 00 715574 3) £35: *where and what are the East Midlands? This book explores the answers in detail through its landscape, towns and villages.*

England's Landscape THE WEST MIDLANDS by *Della Hooke* (Collins/English Heritage 2006 ISBN 0 00 715575 1) £35: *why does the landscape of the West Midlands look like it does? Its geology, archaeology and local and regional history are the framework for the landscape.*

FOR THE PEOPLE OF CHESTERFIELD FOR EVER A short history of Queen's Park edited by *Janet Murphy* (Friends of Queen's Park 2006 ISBN 1 898937 70 2) £6 inc.p&p from Merton Priory Press Ltd., 5 Oliver House, Wain Avenue, Chesterfield S41 0FE: *Queen's Park was opened to commemorate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, and despite problems over the years it has remained an important resource for the people of Chesterfield.*

RATBY no.2 in a series of books on the history of Ratby edited by *Doug Harwood* (Ratby Local History Group 2006 ISBN 0 9547994 1) £13 inc.p&p from the author, 8 Groby Road, Ratby, Leicester LE6 0LJ: *articles on Ratby in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including enclosure and the story of Geary's, champion bakers.*

North

England's Landscape THE NORTH EAST edited by *Fred Aalen* (Collins/English Heritage 2006 ISBN 0 00 715576 X) £35 *Northumbria and Yorkshire, isolated uplands, bustling towns and cities are described in this volume.*

BENJAMIN RUSHTON Handloom Weaver and Chartist by *John Hargreaves* (Friends of Lister Lane Cemetery 2006 ISBN 0955921 00X) proceeds to the Friends of Lister Lane Cemetery; from Harriet Dell, 1 Savile Row, Halifax HX1 2EJ: *Rushton's funeral has been described as the last major Chartist gathering in the West Riding. This book examines his making as a radical, and his campaigning, set in the context of the People's Charter.*

England's Landscape THE NORTH WEST by *Angus Winchester and Alan Crosby* (Collins/English Heritage 2006 ISBN 0 00 715577 8) £35 *A patchwork of landscapes make up this region; we move through it looking at its different aspects*

A HISTORY OF LITTLEBOROUGH PUBS

Littleborough Historical & Archaeological Society (Tempus 2006 ISBN 0 7524 4131 0) £12.99 *Beer has been brewed in Littleborough since the fourteenth century, this book traces its inns and taverns over the years, and includes a gazetteer*

THE PEOPLE ALONG THE SAND The Spurn

Peninsula and Kilnsea: A History, 1800-2000 by *Jan Crowther* (Phillimore 2006 ISBN 1 86077 419 9) £20 *Spurn Head and Kilnsea have suffered dramatic destruction by the sea, but this has created a unique landscape, now a nature reserve.*

THE STORY OF APPLEBY IN WESTMORLAND

by *Martin Holdgate* (Hayloft Publishing Ltd, 2006 revised edition ISBN 1 1 904524 35 4) £15.95 from *Hayloft Publishing Ltd, Kirkby Stephen CA17 4DJ: from a cluster of farmsteads built by Danish settlers, Appleby developed into a market town set in spectacular scenery*

South West and West

A CASE STUDY OF BURTON COURT in the

Parish of Eardisland edited by *Paul Selfe* (Saxon Press 2006 ISBN 978 0 9526472 3 2) £12 inc.p&p from Brambledown, Lower Burton, Monkland, Leominster HR6 9DJ: *detailed history of Burton Court, its architecture and owners, including an archaeological report on the site*

EARDISLAND Portrait of a Village A photographic

record of a historic heritage by *Eardisland Oral History Group* (Saxon Press, 2006, ISBN 0 9526472 1 4) £12 inc.p&p from above address: *fascinating insight into the patterns of continuity and change in this historic Herefordshire village.*

COWARD'S WAR An 'Old Contemptible's View of

the Great War: the diaries of Pvt George H. Coward, Somerset Light Infantry and the Royal Engineers edited by *Tim Machin* (Troubadour Publishing Ltd. 2007 ISBN 978 1 905886 13 5) £8.99: *these diaries which have a 'distinct West Country burr' start in 1906 and follow George Coward until he was demobbed in 1919.*

'CRUMBS FROM THE TABLE OF YOUR

LEARNING' Letters to the Ludlow historian Thomas Wright by *Christopher Train* (Ludlow Historical Research Group 2006 ISBN 0 9536113 1 0) £6 from www.ludlowhistory.co.uk or Christopher Potter, St Leonard's House, Upper Linney, Ludlow SY8 1EF: *a number of well known Victorian figures including Charles Dickens and Thomas Carlyle sent letters to Thomas Wright; the survival, provenance and contents of these are described*

England's Landscape THE SOUTH WEST

edited by **Roger Kain** (Collins/English Heritage 2006 ISBN 0 00 715572 7) £35: *land, people and landscape combine to give the south west its unique character, which is analysed in a series of essays in this book.*

England's Landscape THE WEST

edited by **Barry Cunliffe** (Collins/English Heritage 2006 ISBN 0 00 715573 5) £35: *the first chapter asks what manner of land is this, and the answer is explored through an examination of how people and land interact.*

THE HISTORY OF LECKHAMPTON CHURCH by *Eric Miller* (St Peter's Parish Church, Leckhampton 2006 new edition ISBN 0 9512008 1 X) £3 inc.p&p from author, 20 Collum Rise, Leckhampton, Cheltenham GL53 0PB: *now beautifully illustrated, this enlarged edition describes this church which is set in an area of outstanding natural beauty.*

MEDIEVAL DEVON AND CORNWALL Shaping an

ancient countryside edited by *Sam Turner* (Windgather Press 2006 ISBN 13 978 1 905119 07 3) £19.99: *collection of illustrated essays exploring the rich variety of the historic landscapes of Devon and Cornwall*

RECOLLECTED IN TRANQUILITY Fontmell

Magna Village Archive Society: a commemorative film to celebrate Fontmell 1988, now transferred to a DVD: further details from www.fontmellmagna.net

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF FONTMELL MAGNA

1876-1926 edited by *Ian Lawrence* (Fontmell Magna Village Archive Society, 2003, no ISBN) details from author, Brambledown, West Street, Fontmell Magna, Shaftesbury SP7 0PF: *poverty, education, religious and social life of this village is followed by the tragedy that faced its inhabitants during the First World War.*

FAMILY HISTORY

THE ANGLO-BOER WAR 1899-1902 Military

history sources for family historians by *Phil Tomaselli* (Federation of Family History Societies (Publications) Ltd. 2006 ISBN 1 86006 197 4) £4.95 from FFHS (Publications) Ltd., Units 15-16, Chesham Industrial Centre, Oram Street, Bury BL9 6EN: *it is often forgotten that the Boer War sent thousands of young men to South Africa. Was you ancestor one of them? This book will help you find out.*

FINDING OUT ABOUT YOUR FAMILY HISTORY

by *Kathy Chater and Simon Fowler* (Federation of Family History Societies (Publications) Limited 2006 ISBN 1 86006 202 4) £2.99 from above address: *a booklet explaining how to get started on your family tree*

NELSON'S NAVY 1793-1815 Military history sources

for family historians by *Keith Gregson* (Federation of Family History Societies (Publications) Ltd 2006 ISBN 1 86006 200 8) £3.95 from above address: *did your ancestor serve with Nelson? This is a basic guide to the subject.*

THE SECOND WORLD WAR Military history

sources for family historians by *Phil Tomaselli* (Federation of Family History Societies(Publications) Ltd 2006 ISBN 1 86006 201 6) £4.95 from above address: *looking for ancestors who took part in the Second World War can be challenging; this book will help you find them*

GENERAL

THE BENNETT LETTERS A 19th Century family in

St. Helena, England and the Cape by *Colin Fox* (Choir Press 2006 ISBN 10 0 9535913 8 7) £25 (£20 inc p&p from author at 20 Ormond Road, Wantage OX12 8EG): *unique series of letters which includes an account of Napoleon's exhumation*

THE EXPERIENCE OF URBAN POVERTY 1723-82

Parish, Charity and Credit by *Alannah Tompkins* (Manchester University Press 2006 ISBN 0 7190 7504 1) £55: *comparative study of urban poverty which shows the irregular contacts with authority.*

HOUSE HISTORIES FOR BEGINNERS by Colin and O'Ian Style (Phillimore 2006 ISBN 1 86077 405 9) £15.99: *guides the reader through researching the history of a house, using archives and field evidence*

HOW TO RESEARCH LOCAL HISTORY by Pamela Brooks (HowtoBooks 2006 ISBN 1 84528 129 2) £10.99: *aims to get the local historian started on interpreting documents, using archives and finding appropriate web sites*

MEDIAEVAL VILLAGES IN AN ENGLISH LANDSCAPE *Beginnings and Ends* by Richard Jones and Mark Page (Windgather Press 2006 ISBN 13 978 905119 90 7) £19.99: *one of the keystones of the rural landscape, the origin of the village and its development, is discussed in the context of the Whittlewood project based on five villages on the Buckinghamshire-Northamptonshire border*

MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES IN BRITAIN *Economic, social and creative impacts* by Tony Travers (London School of Economics 2006 ISBN 0 9536047 8 0) *comprehensive analysis of Britain's major museums and galleries*

PARISH AND BELONGING *Community, identity and welfare in England and Wales 1700-1950* by Keith Snell (Cambridge University Press 2006 ISBN 0521862922) £60: *stresses the importance of the parish in everyday life and its continuing vitality as a unit.*

THE PARISH IN LATE MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND edited by Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (Harlaxton Medieval Studies Volume XIV published by Shaun Tyas 2006 ISBN 1 900289 76 8) £49.50: *the papers given at the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium, with discussions on the parish and community, priests and services, lay activity, and the Reformation or the end of it all?*

THE WORKHOUSE by Simon Fowler (The National Archives 2006 ISBN 1 905615 03 5) £18.99: *covers all aspects of that grim institution from orphans to vagrants and the infirm*

MAPS

Biographical County Maps STAFFORDSHIRE copied from Ordnance Survey New Series six-inch to one mile 1875-1886 (2006 Malthouse Press, Grange Cottage, Malthouse Lane, Barlaston, Staffordshire ST12 9AQ)

RECORD SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

HOW BEDFORDSHIRE VOTED 1685-1735 *The Evidence of Poll Books vol.1 1685-1715* by James Collett-White (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society 2006 ISBN 1 085155 0711) £25 from Boydell Press, PO Box 9, Woodbridge IP12 3DF: *introductory commentary on the poll books as a source and the political trends in Bedfordshire illustrated by these, followed by transcripts of poll books for elections from 1685 to 1715*

JACOBITES AND JACOBINS *Two Eighteenth-Century Perspectives: The memoir of Walter Shairpe; the story of the Liverpool Regiment during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745* edited by Jonathan Oates and *The Writings of the Cragg Family of Wyresdale* edited by Katrina Navickas (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 2006 ISBN 0 902593 73 0) details from RSLC, c/o 7 Rosebank, Lostock, Bolton BL6 4PE: *Shairp and the Craggs inhabited very*

different worlds, albeit only fifty years and fifty miles apart: Cragg's writing could be openly treasonable while Shairp wanted to preserve the status quo.

LINCOLNSHIRE PARISH CORRESPONDENCE of John Kaye, *Bishop of Lincoln, 1827-53* edited by R.W. Ambler (Lincoln Record Society vol.94 2006 ISBN 1 090150 3797) £30 from Boydell Press, PO Box 9, Woodbridge IP12 3DF: *the bishop's correspondence covers the local parish community as well as church business*

ARCHBISHOP THOMSON'S VISITATION RETURNS for the diocese of York 1865 edited by Edward Royle and Ruth M. Larsen (Borthwick Institute for Archives, Borthwick Texts and Studies 34, 2006 ISBN 13 978 1 904497 17 2) £55 from Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD: *Thomson's visitation is extremely detailed and makes a useful comparison with eighteenth century visitations; essential for anyone working on nineteenth century religion.*

JOURNALS AND NEWSLETTERS RECEIVED

The more substantial articles in these journals are noted below, but we do not give a full contents list.

ABBOTS LANGLEY LHS Journal no.25 (Autumn/Winter 2006) 75p: for details contact ashbyaudrey@yahoo.co.uk: *memories of growing-up in Abbots Langley, The Leavesden Poisoning Case, Harris Taxis of Abbots Langley*

ACTON HISTORIAN no.42 (November 2006) £2 to non-members: details from David Knights, 30 Highlands Avenue, Acton W3 6EU: *the coming of the workhouse 1780-1850, The battles of Brentford and Turnham Green 1642*

ALTON PAPERS Local History Group of the **Friends of the Curtis Museum no.10** (2006) £3.50 inc.p&p from Mrs J. Hurst, 82 The Butts, Alton GU34 1RD: *life of an agricultural labourer in Chawton 1840-1924; who was William Emo?; Pechell family's connections with Alto; Father Bond, Alton's carpenter priest*

AYRSHIRE NOTES Ayrshire Archaeological & Natural History Society no.32 (Autumn 2006): details from Rob Close, 1 Craigbrae Cottages, Drongan, Ayr KA6 7EN: *Baltersan and Killochan: a glance at architectural quirks; Robert Jaffray (1747-1814); Charles Rennie Mackintosh—the real Ayr connection; Fergushill tileworks—a shortlived industrial concern*

BEDFORDSHIRE AND LUTON ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE NEWSLETTER no.72 (Autumn 2006) free from BLARS, County Hall, Bedford MK42 9AP: *slow left-handers from Bedfordshire*

BERKSHIRE OLD AND NEW Berkshire Local History Association no.23 (2006): £3 from Dr J. Brown, Museum of English Rural Life, Redlands Road, Reading RG1 5EX: *legend of Jack of Newbury; Dr John Lempriere kicks over the traces; Fitzharris Manor; Abingdon; listed churchyard monuments at Wokingham; Berkshire bibliography 2006*

BERKSHIRE LOCAL HISTORY ASSOCIATION NEWSLETTER no.87 (January 2007) from Mrs E. Simons, 80 Reeds Avenue, Earley, Reading RG6 6AH
BIRMINGHAM HISTORIAN no.29 (Winter 2006) £3.50 from Joan Davies, 112 Brandwood Road, Kings

Heath, Birmingham B14 6BX: *the Ladywood by-election of 1924; suffragettes in Birmingham, 1909; Christmas in 1950s Birmingham; Lady Luxborough's Letters to William Shenstone; a Brummie admiral?*

CAERNARVONSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS vol.67 (2006) details from Lynn Francis, Gwasanaeth Archifau Gwynedd, Swyddfeydd y Sir, Caernafon LL55 1SH: *ceneddigrwydd a chymdeithas: Dehongli Oes y Tawnywsgion; the built environment at Vaynol Park; Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Caernarfon 1877; Lloyd George and Dame Margaret 1921-1941*

CAKE AND COCKHORSE Banbury Historical Society vol.17 no.1 (Autumn/Winter 2006) £2.50 from Jeremy Gibson, Harts Cottage, Church Hanborough, Witney OX29 8AB: *Duke of Cumberland and the Mummies; a full relation of the siege of Banbury Castle; who were the younger sons?*

CAMDEN HISTORY REVIEW no.30 (2006) £5.95 from Dr F.P. Woodward, 1 Akenside Road, London NW3 5BS: *Robert Blincoe's St Pancras years; the man who lived in my house: Frederick Tatham (1805-1878); Regent's Park Manufactory and two steam pioneers; World War II: the salvation of a Metropolitan Borough?; Saville Theatre, Shaftesbury Avenue*

CAMBRIDGESHIRE ASSOCIATION FOR LOCAL HISTORY REVIEW new series no.15 (September 2006) annual subscription £8: details from F. Ashburner, 5 Bateman Street, Cambridge CB1 6DP: royal demesne issue: *Barnwell Priory and the men of Chesterton; Cambridge to Kings Lynn on the Yacht 'Freedom' 1915; the Heavenly Host at March; first schoolteacher at Quy School; memories of a Cambridge childhood*

CHH NEWS Newsletter of Chester Community History & Heritage (Winter 2006): free from CCHH St Michael's Church, Bridge Street Row East, Chester CH1 1NW

CHRISTCHURCH LHS JOURNAL no.5 (August 2006) £1 from chlseditor@homeuser.net: how the priory lost its avenue; *Lady Waterford exhibition; the Crippen connection; a new mode of killing salmon*

CLEVELAND HISTORY Bulletin of the Cleveland & Teesside LHS no.91 (Winter 2006): details from Julie Tweedy 14, Oldford Crescent, Acklam, Middlesbrough TS5 7EH: *Henry Bolckow and his collections; where was the northern boundary of Danelaw; records of the bailiff of Stockton manor or castle; Ralph Ward Jackson (1806-1880)*

CONSERVATION BULLETIN no.53 (Autumn 2006) English Heritage (mailinglist@english-heritage.org.uk): *education and skills; traditional building skills; parks and gardens skills; training the heritage sector*

CRANBROOK JOURNAL Cranbrook & District LHS no.17 (2006): £2.50 from Cranbrook Museum, Carriers Road, Cranbrook TN17 3JX: *Quaker burial grounds in Cranbrook; the 'Long Gap' at Swifts; rebuilding St Dunstan's; the Hickmotts of Fritenden; field-names in Cranbrook; early days of the museum; the Jenners and the Hill*

FOCAS Newsletter of Friends of Cumbria Archives no.61 (December 2006): membership £7 p.a. details from jcbaytsaig.fsnet.co.uk

DORKING HISTORY (2006): annual subscription £8 details from Dorking Local History Group, Dorking Museum, 62 West Street, Dorking RH4 1BS: *nurse-children and foundlings; early visitors to Dorking; wartime hazards on the railway; 'A Bit of Singing and Dancing' – The Esperance Girls' Club; Hubbard Family in Dorking; Dorking Provident Institution; Dorking chalk and lime; Nelson at Burford Bridge*

DROITWICH HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY SOCIETY NEWSLETTER no.44 (May 2006) diary of the Rev. W. Lea, vicar of St Peters, Droitwich for 1883: **no.45 (November 2006)** *The Romans come to town; Rosedene Chartist cottage, Dodford; diary of the Rev. W. Lea for 1884: from Ray Aspden, 6 Clee View, Droitwich WR9 8BU*

THE DUNNINGITE Dunning Parish Historical Society Newsletter no.58 (Winter 2006/2007) £1.50 from Dunning Parish Historical Society, The Old Schoolhouse, Newton of Pitcairns, Dunning, Perth PH2 0SL: *Dunning and its railway station; a tree in Castle Cottage garden; an old Dunning connection*

CENTRE OF EAST ANGLIAN STUDIES NEWSLETTER (September 2006): from CEAS, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ

EASTBOURNE LOCAL HISTORIAN no.141 (Autumn 2006) from Peter Longstaff-Tyrrell, 8 Chiltern Court, Albert Road, Polegate BN26 6BS: *Grand Parade bandstand; parish church vestry meetings; John Leem—a man of his times; Lewes-Eastbourne turnpike road; Eastbourne Grammar School no.142 (Winter 2006)* *The sinking of the SS Barnhill; a generous benefactor—Lady Victoria Long Wellesley; Dumbrill Family of Eastbourne; Anthony Hill, artist*

ESSEX JOURNAL A review of local history and archaeology: annual subscription £10 details from M. Beale, The Laurels, The Street, Great Waltham, Chelmsford CM2 0UE: *nuns at Barking Abbey; R. Miller Christy; Oliver Cromwell at Saffron Walden; the Erith Brothers*

FARNHAM AND DISTRICT MUSEUM SOCIETY JOURNAL vol.14 no 8 (December 2006) annual subscription £12 Mrs P. Heather, Tanglewood, Parkside, Upper Hale, Farnham GU9 0JP: *finds from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Alton; natural history notes; origins of Thor's boundary stone on Thursley Common, Elstead*

FRAM Journal of the Framlingham and District Local History & Preservation Society 5th ser. no.4 (August 2006): details from the editor, 43 College Road, Framlingham IP13 9ER: *Market Hill, Framlingham: its building and trades; Framlingham in the 1930s 5th series no.5 (December 2006)* *a butcher's boy in wartime; Glemham House; John Clarkson and the Suffolk connection; popular Legend': thanks to Doctor Beeching, Framlingham lost its passenger train service'*

FRIERN BARNET NEWSLETTER Friern Barnet & District LHS no.28 (January 2007), from friernbarnethistory@hotmail.co.uk *Whetstone & Highgate turnpike; what do you remember? house numbers; shop survey*

GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHIVES NEWSLETTER (January 2007) from Gloucestershire Archives, Clarence Row, Alvin Street, Gloucester GL1 3DW: *School Friends Reunited*

HACKNEY HISTORY vol.12 (2006) £4 from Friends of Hackney Archives, Hackney Archives Department, 43 De Beauvoir Road, London N1 5SQ: *195 Mare Street; local public-house tokens and their makers; theatre in Shoreditch in the 1870s; Norfolk Buildings: a story of sanitation in Shoreditch; the inter-war working class theatre movement*

HACKNEY TERRIER Newsletter of Friends of Hackney Archives no.72 (Summer 2006): annual subscription £10 details from above address

HALIFAX ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS new ser. vol.14 (2006) details from D. Bridge, 3 First Avenue, Manor Drive, Halifax HX3 0DL: *landscape history of Erringden Park; Cripplegate Park, 1725-2000; James Crossley 1800-1883; chapel culture: Methodists at King Cross 1803-2007; Joseph Horsfall 1818-1889; The People's Park 1857-2005, Halifax houses between the wars; twentieth century remembered*

HARPENDEN AND DISTRICT LHS NEWSLETTER no.99 (June 2006) *Commer Works at Luton and that V2*

HATFIELD LHS NEWSLETTER no.61 (June 2006) *Great Nast Hyde House*; **no. 62 (September 2006)** editor F.J. Cox, 23 Home Meadow, Welwyn Garden City AL7 3BA: *Hatfield Aerodrome navigation beacon; what happened to the Stonehouse?*

HERNE HILL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER no.97 (Winter 2006/7) 80p: for details, contact johsmallwood@btinternet.com

HINDSIGHT Northamptonshire's local history magazine no.11 (September 2006): £3.50 from HALH secretary, 6 Bakers Lane, Daventry NN4 6AP: *Finedon at war, 1916; wireless wonders in Bugbrooke; a prisoner at Fotheringhay; Overstone Park, Hall and Solarium*

HISTORY IN BEDFORDSHIRE vol.4 no.4 (Autumn 2006) free from Brian D. Lazelle, Springfield, 63 Amphill Road, Maulden, Bedford MK 45 2DH: *brief history of St. Leonard's Hospital, Bedford*

ILKESTON AND DISTRICT LHS NEWSLETTER vol.9 no.7 (August/September 2006) from P. Stevenson, 16 Rigley Avenue, Ilkeston DE7 5LW: *John Wombell in dispute with chapelgoers: vol.9 no.8 (October 2006) enfranchisement of copyhold lands: vol.9 no.9 (November/December 2006) Erewash Valley Railway*

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF REGIONAL AND LOCAL STUDIES ser.2 vol.2 no.2 (Autumn 2006) details from Dr P. Swan, Centre for Regional and Local History, Faculty of Media and Humanities, University of Lincoln, Brayford Pool, Lincoln LN6 7TS: *a series of articles on the interaction of medicine, health care and rural cultures in Spain, Norway and European Russia, 1860-1920*

KINGSTON UNIVERSITY Centre for Local History Studies, Kingston University Newsletter no.13 (Winter 2006/7): from the CLHS, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Holmwood House, Room 27, Penryhn Road, Kingston upon Thames KT1 2EE: *Sam Fay, Kingston Resident; lady nurses and the Hospital for Sick Children; local history and the suburbs*

LANCASHIRE HISTORY QUARTERLY vol.10 no.2 (Winter 2006) £12.50 p.a. from Lancashire History Quarterly, Procter House, Kirkgate, Settle BD24 9DZ: *West Derby, Liverpool and links with the Orrell coalfield, Wigan; John Wesley in Lancashire; nineteenth century nonconformity in Twiston; Evelyn Waugh and Stonyhurst College; Chadderton's claim to fame; horse-buses and horse-trams in Manchester*

LANCASHIRE LOCAL HISTORIAN no.19 (2006) £4 details from Simon Martin, 21 Petticoat Lane, Higher Ince, Wigan WN2 2LH: *Manchester Cathedral archives; Pilkington Park; the Jacobite incursion into Lancashire and Cheshire 1745; Waddington & Son: a local architectural practice; diary of Thomas Whittaker of Middleton*

THE LINK no.68 (December 2006) quarterly magazine of the Wessex Newfoundland Society: annual subscription £10 details from Ray Joyce, 23 Orchard Lane, Corfe Mullen, Wimborne BH21 3SU: *Cupers Cove Cupids; Newfoundland and Ireland*

LOCAL HISTORY MAGAZINE no.110 (Sept/Oct 2006) £3.50 from Local History Magazine, Doric House, 56 Alcester Road, Studley, Warwickshire B80 7LG: *William Hesketh Lever and the story of Sunlight Soap; long-gone cinemas of the Medway Towns; researching village life: Aston-upon-Trent; Essex and Stour Navigation*

LOCAL POPULATION STUDIES no.77 (Autumn 2006) annual subscription £12: details from LPS, Department of Humanities, University of Hertfordshire, College Lane, Hatfield AL10 9AB: *mortality in eighteenth-century London: a new look at the Bills; parish population reconstruction in Stonehouse, Gloucestershire; evaluation of the reliability of Anglican adult burial registration; out-patient maternity relief in late Georgian Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire; estimating local population sizes at fixed points in time*

THE RECORD London Colney LHS no.18 (Autumn 2006): free from Mr W. Vernon, 371 High Street, London Colney AL2 1EA: *street names; Cyril Dumbleton—St Albans's first Labour MP; childhood memories of the war years; Mills Family at Sheephouse Farm*

LOOSE THREADS Journal of the Loose Area History Society no.8 (2006): £3.50+£1p&p from P. Newton Taylor, 110 Loose Road, Maidstone ME15 7UB: *childhood in Loose; Boughton Lane to Downing Street; Leonard Gould Limited; up in arms over almshouses; families of wartime Loose; sermons on the mount: John Braddick's words of wisdom; from down the hill to down under: the Burgess family of Linton; 'Swan' Public House, Loose Road; Loose School in wartime; lost images of Loose Valley come to light*

THE NEW REGARD Journal of the Forest of Dean LHS no.21 (2006-2007): £7 details from Liz Berry, Albany House, Hangerberry, Lydbrook GL17 9PS: *Parkend House and Deakin family; Uvedale Price, superintendent of the Forest of Dean: management of woodland 1803-1810; Forest of Dean during the later Boer war; Charles Wesley and the Forest of Dean; Severn Tunnel revisited; Flaxery schoolroom; death at a Whitecroft Mill*

OCKBROOK AND BORROWASH HERITAGE SOCIETY NEWSLETTER vol.2 no.4 (July/August 2006) and no.5 (October 2006) from Ockbrook and Borrowash Heritage Society, c/o The Parish Hall, Church Street, Ockbrook, Derby DE72 3SL

OPEN HISTORY The Magazine of the Open University History Society no.100 (Spring 2007) £5 from OUHS c/o 77 Marford Crescent, Sale M33 4DN: *interpreting the role of modern technology in society; the barque Mary Hick; Dr John and the establishment of the Oxford University Press; has Britain become a secular society since the 1960s?*

OXFORDSHIRE LOCAL HISTORY vol.8 no.1 (Summer 2006) £9 annual subscription: details from Trevor Davies, 15 Hurst Close, Wallingford OX10 9BQ: *The Tuddingway, an ancient road; how large was your village in the seventeenth century?, Pevsner, Goldie and Pugin's protégé*

PAST UNCOVERED Newsletter of Chester Archaeology (October 2006) from Gillian Dunn, Chester Archaeology, 27 Grosvenor Street, Chester CH1 2DD: *Iron Age farm beneath the amphitheatre?*

PINNER LHS Newsletter no.100 (Summer 2006) from Sylvia Venis, 128 Canonbury Avenue, Pinner HA5 1TT: *From Hatch End to Pinner Green*

RICKMANSWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER no.74 (December 2006) *St Mary's Tower; Manor Cottages, The Swillett; Rickmansworth in late 1906*

SADDLEWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY BULLETIN vol.36 no.2 (Summer 2006) from Saddleworth Museum and Art Gallery, High Street, Uppermill, Oldham OL3 6HS: *a platerlayer's wife; the turnpike and tollbars of Saddleworth*

SCOTTISH LOCAL HISTORY no.68 (Winter 2006) £5 from Scottish Local History Forum, School of History and Classics, University of Edinburgh, 17 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN: *submerged Neolithic woodland found in Loch Tay; Lochmaben Primary School; Walter Berry, sufferer in the cause of press freedom; 'National Accountancy, Political Anatomy': The Intellectual background to Scotland's Statistical Accounts; Elgin's love-gift: Civil War and the burgh community*

JOURNAL OF THE SUNBURY AND SHEPPERTON LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY no.57 (Autumn 2006) from H.L. Brooking, 30 Lindsay Drive, Shepperton: *portrait of William Russell; memories of Sunbury; Major Peters: Polo at Sunbury*

TYNE AND TWEED Journal of the Association of Northumberland Local History Societies vol.60 (October 2006) £2.50 from the editor, Bridget Winstanley, The Old Post Office, Whittingham, Alnwick NE66 4RB: *show-people in Newcastle 1891; land organisation, ownership and enclosure—Murton village, North Tyneside; Great Flood at Hexham; quaymasters' house and office on the Fish Quay, North Shields; Shiremoor and District children's treat*

WADHURST HISTORY SOCIETY NEWSLETTER no.11 (July 2006) contact Michael Harte, Greenman Farm, Wadhurst TN5 6LE: *A happy day for the children of the Sunday School 1902; farmstead layout in the High Weald; our historic farmstead heritage; the last toll gate in Sussex*

WANDSWORTH HISTORIAN Journal of the Wandsworth Historical Society no.83 (Autumn 2006) £3 from Wandsworth Historical Society, 119 Heythorp Street, London SW18 5BT: *Old Battersea RC School for Girls; Wandsworth novel of May Sinclair; Tooting Bec Lido at 100; John Toland and Teakettle Court, Putney*

WARWICKSHIRE HISTORY Journal of the Warwickshire LHS vol.13 no.3 (Summer 2006) available from Mrs C. Woodland, 28 Littleington Road, Leamington Spa CV32 5YY: *Stratford-upon-Avon Convalescent Home; Louis N. Parker and the Warwick Pageant*

WEST SUSSEX HISTORY Journal of the West Sussex Archives Society (Autumn 2006) £5 from Dr P. MacDougall, 62 Maybush Drive, Chidham, Chichester PO18 8SS: *Rev. John Hurst, rector of Thakeham 1834-1881; Shoreham House 1806-2006; Sussex timber and the royal dockyards; Gideon Mantell and St Michael's Lewes; Colebrooke Estate 1743; local history in Lancing College archives*

WEST SUSSEX ARCHIVES SOCIETY NEWSLETTER no.59 (March 2006) and no.60 (September 2006) details from above address

WILLIAM BARNES SOCIETY NEWSLETTER no.53 (November 2006) editor Mr R. Burchill, Alberta Cottage, Higher Sea Lane, Charmouth DT6 6BB: *poetical pieces revived; William Barnes's dialect translation of the Song of Solomon*

WORCESTER LOCAL HISTORY FORUM NEWS no.30 (Autumn 2006) from Anne Bradford, Ashberry House, 66 Enfield Road, Hunt End, Redditch B97 5NH: *Lickey drinking fountain and horse trough; Evesham charter; 'We will remember them': Pershore evacuees; Knights Templar in Feckenham*

WORCESTER ARCHAEOLOGY NEWS (Historic Environment and Archaeology Service) no.15 (March 2006) free from archaeology@worcestershires.gov.uk

NOTES AND REFERENCES

