

THE LOCAL HISTORIAN

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• EDITORIAL •

The article in the November 2009 issue by George and Yanina Sheeran, ‘No longer the 1948 show’—local history in the 21st century’, has generated a substantial response. In any subject there is scope for debate and discussion about the purpose and aims of the research and writing which is being undertaken, and about the ways and means of activities and organisation. There are broader philosophical issues, and there are also pragmatic choices to be made in how we go about our work and what we hope to achieve as a result. The contributions which readers have put forward will be published in the next issue of *The Local Historian*.

Meanwhile, this issue highlights a diversity of approaches to local history, in terms of research agendas and the ways in which the findings are presented. Nigel Goose gave the 2009 lecture on Local History Day, and his authoritative and wide-ranging overview of almshouses, and their social and economic role, reminds us of the need to consider all aspects of a subject. Too often—and I am as guilty of this sin of omission as many others—we overlook the role of the ‘voluntary sector’ when considering the Poor Law and its operation in the centuries after 1601. Perhaps (this is certainly true of my own work) the opportunities presented by parish and township records and quarter sessions documents, so vivid in their depiction of the workings of the legislation in the official arena, and of ongoing interaction between paupers, communities and officials, tend to divert attention from the work of charitable institutions, and the importance of the bequests of philanthropically-minded individuals. Nigel’s eminently readable article draws our attention to the scale and significance of this aspect of provision for the poor, and is supported by numerous local examples and a wealth of accessible statistics.

Dick Hunter also looks at poverty from a different perspective, taking the household as the unit of his analysis and seeking to reveal the realities of budgets and the availability, or otherwise, of financial resources. That is more difficult and the results are necessarily more patchy and tentative, because the documentary evidence is scarce and its interpretation necessarily more uncertain. From the late eighteenth-century onwards, social investigators were presenting evidence for the household economies of the poor. Beginning with Sir Frederick Eden’s seminal work of the 1790s, and continuing through the reports of Royal Commissions in the 1830s, to the detailed accounts by local journalists and commentators in the mid-nineteenth century, the principle of looking at the available resources and how families made ends meet was well-established, but there is still so much that we do not know.

Poverty also looms large in Greg Finch’s fascinating analysis of the fate of one tiny community, the Northumberland hamlet of Dotland. Skilfully interweaving the evidence from a range of sources, and looking at different facets of the place (including landholding patterns, agricultural activity, demography, mortality, landscape and entrepreneurial ambition) he seeks not only to trace what happened but also to provide plausible and soundly-based interpretations and conclusions. In reading this paper I was particularly struck by the themes it raises for further investigation—child mortality in unindustrialised communities, the relationship between personal events in one dominant family and the experience of the dependent community, the power of ambition, and the ability to manipulate financial and legal processes for dynastic gain. It fully-deserved to be chosen as the winner of our 2009 Publications Awards.

ALAN CROSBY

British Association for Local History Annual Lecture
given at the Friends Meeting House, London, on 6 June 2009

The English almshouse and the mixed economy of welfare: medieval to modern

NIGEL GOOSE

Introduction

The origins of almshouses in medieval England is a story that is now well-known. Almshouses, in various forms, have existed for over 1000 years. They originated as places that provided care for the sick poor. Usually attached to a monastic establishment, their obligation to distribute alms was clearly established at the Synod of Aix in 816. Alms were often distributed at the monastery gates, but gradually the practice of providing board and lodging for travellers became more common, while aged and sick monks were also cared for on-site in a 'farmery'. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these two practices were often merged, as monasteries began to minister also to lay people who were sick or feeble, though most commonly this took place in separate establishments administered by the monks and lay brethren. Alongside these were the 'lazar houses', designed to isolate those afflicted with the range of diseases that came under the generic description 'leprosy'. Some 300 such establishments were founded in the early medieval period. Hospitals were also founded by non-monastic benefactors—the crown, senior clergymen, the aristocracy and gentry, and urban livery companies and guilds or individual wealthy merchants.¹ These diverse origins account for the confusing array of terminology in the medieval period, for they were described as lazarhouses, spitalhouses, bedehouses, Godshouses, and a range of other descriptions, as well as hospitals and almshouses. It is often difficult clearly to establish their function, for many of these institutions served a number of purposes, and had not yet evolved into the residences for the (usually) elderly poor that is their modern characteristic. This evolution took place from the later fifteenth century, when English parishes started to play a fuller role in the relief of the poor, and parish fraternities increasingly accumulated stocks of land or animals, gave doles to the poor, and sometimes (especially in market towns) established almshouses too.²

Just why these developments took place at this time is not entirely clear, but in a recent lecture Professor Richard Smith argued that there might have been a demographic imperative behind this growth in foundations. Research on the demography of late medieval monasteries has revealed a dramatic deterioration in life expectancy in the last third of the fifteenth century, and if this can be generalised to the population at large it suggests that the capacity of families to deliver care to their members was probably at rock bottom, with charitable or semi-public provision in the form of almshouses and parish houses beginning to fill the gap.³ Marjorie Macintosh has counted the number of almshouse foundations between 1400 and 1600, revealing an upsurge after 1465 of foundations in the eight more southern or midland counties of Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Middlesex, Nottinghamshire and Suffolk. That might reflect the growing wealth of this broad region identified by Roger Schofield and John Sheail from analysis of the lay subsidy

returns. Across the rest of the country, however, the trend was remarkably flat.⁴ Nevertheless, later medieval England witnessed an accumulating stock of almshouses, while after about 1450 the almshouse emerged in its modern form, specifically intended to provide accommodation for local elderly people who had fallen into poverty on account of age or ill-health. Lay provision gradually assumed greater importance, although monastic hospitals continued to function alongside the growing number of lay institutions, and the monasteries continued to provide sizeable sums to relieve the poor. Leper houses were changing into hospitals for the poor and infirm more generally, a trend that hastened in the fifteenth century as the disease declined.⁵ As we approach the early modern era, therefore, insofar as there was a mixed economy of welfare, that mix was one of religious, private and local community provision with as yet little direct intervention from the central state.

The sixteenth century

Two central events occurred in the sixteenth century to fundamentally alter this state of affairs. The first was the Reformation and the associated dissolution of the monasteries and chantries. The monasteries and their associated charitable



1. Church Street, Stratford-upon-Avon: the Hospital of the Holy Cross was founded by the Guild of the Holy Cross in 1269; the almshouses shown here were built in 1417 and taken over by Stratford Corporation in 1553. There were originally 10 dwellings, later increased to 24 and now back to 11.

Occupants must be residents of Stratford, the oldest candidates being preferred. The almshouses, a two-storey row with another at the rear, are probably the oldest domestic buildings surviving in the town

(photograph: Anne Langley).

institutions were swept away between 1536 and 1539, while in 1545 and 1547 the crown also confiscated the property of chantries, some hospitals and some parish religious fraternities.⁶ Between 1536 and 1549, Macintosh has estimated, some 260 hospitals and endowed almshouses were closed, representing at least half of the existing institutions.⁷ And while the old historiographical orthodoxy emphasised the failings of the pre-Reformation monastic system of welfare, recent research has significantly modified this view, to re-emphasise the gaping hole in welfare provision that the Dissolution produced.⁸ Into that breach stepped new private donors, and the Tudor state.

The establishment of the Elizabethan or 'Old' Poor Law was the second key event of the sixteenth century, and represents the construction of the first national framework for welfare policy. Legislation to deal with sturdy beggars and vagabonds in the 1530s was supplemented with concern for the impotent poor from 1547, while in 1572 provision was made for regular collections and the appointment of overseers of the poor. The codifying statutes of 1598 and 1601 brought previous legislation together, created a clearer administrative hierarchy, and gave greater powers of enforcement. Based upon the parish, the system centred upon the levying of a property-based poor rate, the provision of work to the impotent poor, the apprenticing of children, and punishment of the vagrant. Local churchwardens and overseers of the poor (two or four per parish) were to be responsible to two justices of the peace, who were to receive their accounts and to play a supervisory role, while local officers were given the power to distrain the goods of those refusing to pay.⁹

How quickly this legislation was put into practice is contentious. Paul Slack, in his classic study *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England*, estimated that as late as 1660 only one-third of all English parishes (and those probably the most densely populated) were accustomed to raising taxes for the poor. But while others, 'those best endowed with charitable resources, and those resistant to change, avoided them for as long as they could', by 1700 the practice was 'well-nigh universal'.¹⁰ More recently, Steve Hindle has offered a rather different view. From analysis of a comprehensive relief roll he discovered for 39 parishes in the southern part of Warwickshire (Kineton Hundred) in 1638-1639, he found that at this date 36 of those parishes were making either regular provision or regular collections for the poor, and of the 23 parishes for which evidence survives fully twenty were definitely raising money by levying a poor rate.¹¹ Expanding on this issue in his later book, *On the parish?*, he suggests that while 'formal rating long remained the exception rather than the rule in this part of the Midlands', this had changed fundamentally by the later 1630s, with the documentation for Warwickshire portraying 'the efficient and conscientious management of an extensive scheme of parish relief', providing 'plausible evidence that, even before the civil war, the rating and pension provision of the late Elizabethan poor laws were very effectively enforced in the Midlands, and *arguably across rural England as a whole*' (my italics).¹² This, of course, is a rather different, and more optimistic, conclusion to that reached by Slack. It is a view partly supported by Jon Healey, whose recent work on Lancashire suggests that the dearth of 1637-1638 was the turning point here, with a permanent establishment of rates during the late 1640s, even though the sums paid remained small throughout the seventeenth century.¹³

Towns tend to provide more evidence than do rural parishes, partly because their more sophisticated administrative and political structures generated more documentation, partly because they were more attuned to the intellectual currents and practices of other European cities, and partly because they often experienced more sharply the growing burden of poverty in the late sixteenth century while also

possessing the means to attempt to do something about it. But even in towns evidence can be extremely patchy. Early-modern Colchester, a well-established corporate town of some 10,000 people by the early seventeenth century, provides a case in point. For although there is a great deal of documentation in the extensive Colchester archive that touches upon aspects of poverty and its relief, detailed returns of poor relief assessments and payments survive for only a very short period, between 1582 and 1590. The Colchester 'Contributions to the Poor' Book reveals an average outlay of £120 per annum, and suggests that only about 2-3 per cent of the population were in receipt of weekly relief in these years, but what the situation was either before or after this period remains very difficult to determine.¹⁴

What *is* known, however, is that the levying of a poor rate was only one of many strategies adopted in the town. From the late-sixteenth century Colchester Corporation launched a veritable assault on poverty, instigating voluntary collections, formal poor rates and extraordinary levies, distraining goods, reviving hospital foundations, establishing a workhouse, providing materials to employ the poor at home, administering loan funds, apprenticing poor children, dedicating an ever-widening range of fines and levies to the use of the poor, siphoning off some of the profits of the expanding textile industry through a tax levied on the sealing of cloth, ensuring the corn supply and subsidising its price, licensing beggars, regulating abuses among clothiers, regulating alehouses, removing vagrants and punishing the idle in its house of correction. Apart from the tax on cloth, none of this can be quantified, but the clear evidence that all of this happened shows that the levying of a formal poor rate was only one of a range of mechanisms employed to tackle the problem of poverty. To write the history of poor relief solely from that perspective is simply wrong.¹⁵

When it comes to philanthropy, however, it is even less easy to determine what exactly was happening. Casual almsgiving, in the street or at the farm or manor gate, is usually impossible to measure; occasional attempts to do so through the use of household accounts have not met with much success. More formal charitable giving, often by will, is easier to trace. Sums were often left to be distributed to the poor, either as a one-off payment or on a regular basis through an endowment. It was this form of charity that formed the basis of W.K. Jordan's monumental study *Philanthropy in England*, published in 1959, which was based upon charitable bequests left in wills plus identifiable lifetime endowments in ten English counties, 1480-1660.¹⁶ It has often been argued that Jordan exaggerated the rise in philanthropy that he found in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, because he failed to take account of either inflation or the growth of population, both of which were substantial. Hence there is little doubt that he was wrong to conclude that the period witnessed a 'veritable revolution ... in which men's aspirations for their own generation and those to come had undergone an almost complete metamorphosis', to quote just one of a number of enthusiastic eulogies that can be found in his book.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it has also been pointed out that much charitable giving of this kind is cumulative, because endowments are not immediately used up but last as long as the trustees or other managers ensure the funds remain intact, and hence they accrete over time. Indeed, Jordan calculated that as much as 82 per cent of the total sum given for charitable uses in the period 1480-1660 took the form of capital, and would hence produce a long-term return.¹⁸ So when Jordan's figures are reworked to take account of this, as they have been by John Hadwin, the results show that there was a fourfold increase in the sum available for poor relief in the 1650s compared with the 1540s, and a twofold increase in per capita terms.¹⁹

Almshouse endowment undoubtedly formed part of this. The latest figures produced by Marjorie Macintosh, which come with a range of health warnings, indicate that a total of 1005 almshouses operated *at some point* between 1350 and 1599. After the mass closure of the 1530s and 1540s numbers started to recover once again, to peak in the late sixteenth century, with 479 institutions continuing in operation at the very end of that century—a number that still remains below the total achieved in the 1520s.²⁰ If we estimate that almshouses on average offered accommodation for 8-10 inhabitants, then at full capacity in the late sixteenth century there were places available for some 3,800-4,800 almspeople. According to the latest published estimates from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, the population in 1601 was 4,161,784, of which 7.56 per cent were aged 60 plus. If we assume that this was the group 'at risk' of needing almshouse accommodation, then at the end of the sixteenth century we can tentatively estimate that almshouses provided for between 1.21 per cent and 1.53 per cent of the relevant age group.

The seventeenth century

As we move into the seventeenth century, it becomes possible for the first time to estimate the relative contributions of philanthropy and formal poor relief, as Paul Slack has done by comparing a Board of Trade return dated 1696—which calculated a national sum of £400,000 per annum collected in poor rates in England and Wales—with a figure of about £100,000 from charity in the 1650s calculated from Jordan's data. If by the mid seventeenth century there may still have been a balance between philanthropy and public relief, by the end of the century, Slack argues, taxation may have been providing three times as much in relief as did private charity.²¹ Of course, such calculations place great faith in Jordan's data, faith that can be shaken when one fully appreciates the difficulties involved in using wills to establish totals of charitable bequests and the ends to which they were intended to be put. It is the intractability of the evidence and the time-consuming nature of such analysis data that explains why there have been very few concerted attempts to emulate Jordan's analysis at the local level. One of the few studies that has been made is Ian Archer's sample of Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills for London for 1528-1530, 1550-1553, 1570-1573, 1594-1597 and 1636-1638, as well as some of those proved in lesser courts for the 1570s, 1590s and 1630s—a total sample of 1281 wills—to determine the proportion who gave to the poor, and the broad character of the gift. That proportion increased to the 1570s, and declined thereafter, the seventeenth century downward trend being confirmed by Peter Earle's sample of 181 wills of Londoners for the years 1665-1720.²² However, the figures that we can extract from wills, Archer warns us, are only bare minima. The expenditure from endowed charities made by the Clothworkers, Grocers and Merchant Taylors companies, between the 1590s and 1630s, rose by factors of 3, 4 and 7 respectively, even if there is again evidence of late seventeenth century decline in the Livery Companies' charitable activities.²³

A further study of Colchester involved analysis of 2261 wills proved between 1500 and 1699 at every level of ecclesiastical court, and quantification of all bequests as well as a count of their number. Cash totals were calculated, distinguishing endowments from one-off doles, plausible returns on capital were estimated by reference to changing interest rates over time, and the totals were deflated to allow for rising prices. To these were added the evidence of endowed charities discovered in a range of other, non-testamentary, sources. This exercise revealed an upward surge of charitable giving from the 1570s, steady growth through to the 1640s, decline from the 1650s to 1670s, and recovery at the end of the century. Once inflation was allowed for, however, that

growth was less impressive, amounting to less than double in the seventeenth century compared to the later sixteenth, and merely keeping pace with population growth.

Furthermore, all the available evidence points to distinct economic growth in Colchester across this period, in the context of which the charitable instincts of Colchester testators looks decidedly unimpressive by the later seventeenth century. Indeed, when the wills of the ten wealthiest Colchester testators in the second half of the seventeenth century were examined, it was found that in cash alone they left a total of £21,000, in addition to property in Colchester, shares in Colchester ships, and lands and tenements scattered across the Essex and Suffolk countryside. Each of them left at least £1,000 in cash, enough to fulfil almost the entire total of £1096 left to the poor by all 939 testators in the half-century 1650-1699. The combined total of their legacies to the poor amounted to just £59. When compared with the means available, therefore, the behaviour of the wealthiest inhabitants of later seventeenth-century Colchester can be characterised as the unacceptable face of mercantilism.²⁴ The analysis of formal poor relief in the 1580s mentioned earlier indicates that even at this date private philanthropy was the junior partner of the two. By the late seventeenth century the evidence that survives—which is admittedly fragmentary apart from the fines for the sealing of cloth—suggest that in Colchester the relief of the poor had become largely the remit of corporation-sponsored relief rather than the province of private philanthropy.²⁵

This interpretation, based as it is upon detailed evidence for just one Essex cloth town, remains to be tested at a more general level. It is quite clear, however, that there was substantial local variation in the availability of charitable funds in general, and almshouses in particular. For Colchester itself its eighteenth-century local historian Philip Morant expressed astonishment that ‘in so ancient, large and considerable town as Colchester, there should appear so small, and so very few public Gifts and Benefactions’.²⁶ Almshouses, of course, were both a highly visible and an expensive form of charitable giving. In Colchester, if it were not for the endowment of six almshouses in St Giles parish by John Winnocke in 1679, endowed with £41 per annum from his property in St Peters, total charitable bequests in the late seventeenth century would have been far less impressive still.²⁷ The benefit to the poor of St Giles was substantial, to say the least. Jordan calculated that 13.45 per cent of the total charitable and social relief given 1480-1660 was spent on founding almshouses, ranging from a meagre 2.04 per cent in Lancashire to an impressive 25.24 per cent in Somerset. In his ten sample counties, containing 3033 parishes, he found that 309 permanently endowed almshouses had been established, and a further 71 without a stock for maintenance.²⁸ Even if we disregard these latter as unlikely to have survived for long, 10.19 per cent of English parishes benefited in this way, and may have accommodated between 1.40 per cent and 2.24 per cent of those aged 60 plus.

However, as they were very commonly dedicated to serving the needs of the poor of the parish in which they were situated, provision for the poor could vary remarkably from one parish to the next, regardless of the existence or otherwise of a formal poor rate. Further work on the seventeenth century by Ian Archer provides further indication of the local benefits that might accrue. From an estimate of the number of almshouse places available in a diverse range of English communities, seventeen in number, between 1589 and 1710, allied to estimates of their population sizes and the proportion aged over 60, he calculates that between 3 per cent and 23 per cent of their elderly populations could have been accommodated in almshouses.²⁹ Remembering that Jordan’s data suggests that 89.81 per cent of the 10,000 or so English parishes had *no* dedicated almshouse at all, the degree to which the early

modern poor could call upon the almshouse as a component of the mixed economy of welfare was variable in the extreme.

Although we might regard almshouse foundation as in some ways an archetypal form of private charity, ironically it is sometimes hard to distinguish from formal relief sponsored by local parish officers and town corporations. For the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, John Broad has recently questioned the dominance of the workhouse as the preferred solution to housing the poor, and argues that poor houses and church houses played a significant role in their support over much of England, at least before the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Indeed, in the five counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Dorset, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire in the early nineteenth century, he identified a total of 2291 parish houses, and 534 charity houses.³⁰ It is also evident that there was a blurring between public and private provision, parish authorities frequently adopting a management role in relation to endowments that were initially entirely private. In another article Broad shows how in Ashwell, Hertfordshire, a building initially designated as a workhouse was effectively transformed into an orphanage in the early-eighteenth century, while in Brill, Buckinghamshire, pasture lands initially designated in a disafforestation grant in the 1630s to provide direct access to the poor eventually formed part of an integrated parish provision, let to a single tenant and the proceeds used to provide cash payments to eligible cottagers.³¹



2. Doughty's Hospital, Norwich was founded by William Doughty, gentleman and merchant, in 1687, for 24 elderly men and 8 elderly women. After many enlargements and alterations it now provides 58 tenements. From the 18th century it was administered by Norwich Corporation, and from 1910 by Norwich Consolidated Charities. There was an enclosed courtyard, one side later removed; the second storey is a mid-Victorian addition (*photograph: Joyce Hopwood*).

Similar examples can be found in Colchester, where ailing charities were subsidised in the seventeenth century from corporation funds. John Hunwick, merchant and bailiff, left £300 in 1594 to the mayor and bailiffs to produce an annual return of £30 for the benefit of the Colchester poor. Every fifth year this sum was to be divided equally among the poor of the towns of Ipswich, Maldon and Sudbury, and within two years the money was being faithfully administered in accordance with the bequest.³² By 1637 the return had fallen to £24, and after 1643 difficulty in recovering the interest led the corporation regularly to use borough revenues to make up the arrears, by which means distributions to the poor appear to have continued into the mid-eighteenth century.³³ Changes in the use of institutions can also be found. The hospitals of St Mary Magdalene and St Catherine's in Lexden, Colchester, both survived the Reformation. Part of St Catherine's appears to have been converted to a private house and garden by 1545, but the major part survived into the seventeenth century as a hospital or almshouse until its conversion to a workhouse in the eighteenth century.³⁴ The Corporation of Colchester also often took a lead in investigating endowments that appear to have been 'lost', sometimes successfully, sometimes not. In 1687 in Norwich, William Doughty endowed the hospital that still bears his name, specifying that the Corporation was to take over its management within six years of his death. While the building of the hospital and its transfer took a little longer than that, the transfer was eventually made, and the Corporation managed not only Doughty's, but also the Great Hospital, the Boys' Hospital and the Girls' Hospital through to 1835, when the Municipal Corporations Act required the establishment of independent bodies of trustees.³⁵

Apart from the blurring of public and private provision, how we measure the benefits of almshouses is itself problematic. The method used by Hadwin when re-working Jordan's data was to assume all endowments continued to produce a return throughout the 180-year period covered and, furthermore, that they did so at 5 per cent per annum. A similar procedure was used in the Colchester study, assuming that 'lost' charities might be balanced by the fact that some of those endowed before 1500 might have been missed, though a variable rate of return on capital over time was applied. However, the rate of return on capital is not necessarily the same as the benefit that might accrue to the poor from the availability of almshouse accommodation, and nor—to complicate matters further—is it always clear that almshouses were used to benefit the poor. For example, the Whittington Almshouse in London, established in 1424, admitted roughly 500 men between 1511 and 1821, nearly all of whom were freemen of the City of London, and hence of some standing. Only a very few were of more humble origin: seven labourers, two serving men, a wheelwright and a shoemaker, all explicitly identified as non-freemen, and only admitted, Jean Imray argues, because no freemen were available to fill the places vacant.³⁶

Although many almshouses were far more open to those below the privileged freeman class of early-modern London, they regularly insisted that their inhabitants conform to certain levels of respectability and godliness, and not infrequently imposed a regime of religious observance that would prove wearisome to the most vigorous youth, let alone the elderly and wilting poor that they were designed to accommodate. A good example is the Ewelme Almshouse in Oxfordshire, founded by Alice Chaucer at a date between 1437 and 1450, where the 89 clauses of the statutes require the thirteen unfortunate bedesmen to say, *inter alia*, 177 Aves, 39 Pater Nosters and seven Creeds every single day of the year.³⁷ Furthermore, these men were to be drawn from the respectable poor, and could in fact keep half of any income they earned, in addition to the annual alms of £3, up to a total of £3 6s 8d. As Colin Richmond has written, 'The Ewelme bedesmen demonstrate not simply the acceptable poor of fifteenth-

century England; they might also be said to represent a poverty that has ceased by any definition to be poverty at all'.³⁸

Among the many Hertfordshire examples are the Baeshe almshouses at Stanstead Abbots, dedicated to 'widows of decayed tradesmen', those at Hadley Green confined to 'decayed housekeepers', and two flats in St Albans dating from 1943 reserved for disabled ex-servicemen.³⁹ More familiar, perhaps, is the accommodation made available by the Crown to ex-servicemen, most notably in the Royal Hospital at Chelsea and the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich, both founded around the turn of the seventeenth century.⁴⁰ It was not only social or occupational distinctions that were observed, for sometimes there could be ethnic or religious requirements too. The Huguenot Society, for example, still administers a group of almshouses in Rochester. Established as the French Hospital, 'La Providence', in 1718, the almshouse today comprises over sixty flats for 'older or needy people', all self-contained, with free heating and hot water, but requiring a 'contribution/rent' of £300-400 per month: and, of course, they are reserved for people of 'Huguenot or French Protestant descent'.⁴¹ Many more examples of almshouses dedicated to specific categories of people could be cited, with occupationally-specific almshouses perhaps finding their apogee in the Durham Aged Mineworkers' Homes Association and the Northumberland Mineworkers' Aged Homes Association, founded respectively in 1898 and 1900.⁴²

The eighteenth century

The eighteenth century witnessed an enormous rise in the amount of money devoted to formal, state-sponsored poor relief, total expenditure increasing by a factor of ten and per capita expenditure by a factor of six. Allowing for inflation reduces these increases considerably, though expenditure per head of the population expressed in terms of the price of wheat still quadrupled between 1696 and 1802-1803.⁴³ Every impression leads us to believe that the same century also witnessed a renewed growth of charitable giving, and a change in its form. Now the new associational charities raised funds by subscription, communally celebrating both the giver and the gift, and providing a more powerful mechanism to fund substantial projects. Religion, humanitarianism and perhaps also social aspiration fuelled these endeavours, with further impetus coming from the evangelical revival of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Endowed charities continued, typically involving the establishment of a trust to posthumously carry out the donor's wishes, but it has been suggested that during the eighteenth century these were overtaken in terms of both the number and the value of charitable gifts by subscription-based voluntary societies, which allowed for the active participation of those making the gift.⁴⁴ While such a judgement may well be premature, the development of this new form of philanthropy makes it even harder to quantify the total of charitable bequests. The Gilbert Returns of 1786-1788 showed that the annual income of charities for the poor amounted to almost £260,000, a figure little more than one-eighth of that paid annually in formal poor relief.⁴⁵ The return, however, has many omissions, includes only parochial charities, and completely ignores the associated charities that had become so much more important during the course of the century.⁴⁶ It would be little more than a guess to estimate the relative value of public over private provision at this date, but given the prominence of associated philanthropy in towns and the growing burden of poor relief in the English shires, it is at least possible that charitable provision had become once again the senior partner in many towns, while the poor law dominated in the countryside.



3. Nicholas Chamberlaine, who in 1715 founded the almshouse and hospital which still bears his name at Bedworth in Warwickshire, was rector of the town for 51 years. It originally accommodated 6 men and 12 women, later increased to 24 people and today there are 40 residents. It forms a square round a courtyard, with Gothic arches, battlements, tall clustered chimney stacks and a bell tower over the lodge (*photograph: Anne Langley*).

The nineteenth century

When we move into the mid-Victorian era, however, we can tentatively conclude that, overall, private charity had regained the upper hand. The Brougham Commission, which conducted a county by county enquiry published between 1819 and 1840, followed by an analytical digest compiled in 1840 and issued three years later, revealed endowments with a total annual yield of £1,209,397 for England and Wales, a figure almost five times that reported in the Gilbert Returns some fifty years earlier.⁴⁷ In 1840 total poor relief expenditure stood at just over £4.5 million, so if we allow for omissions from the Brougham reports, and also for the fact that associated philanthropy was probably by now producing a far higher annual income than were endowments, it is possible that philanthropy had overhauled formal poor relief by the start of Victoria's reign.⁴⁸ Thirty years later there can be little doubt that this was the case. A further survey of the value of charitable endowments in England and Wales—not published until 1877 but relating to enquires carried out between 1861 and 1876—recorded a total of £2,198,464, approaching double the total declared 33 years before, despite the fact that the mid-Victorian period undoubtedly saw the continued growth of associated philanthropy relative to charitable giving by endowment.⁴⁹ Expenditure on state provision by 1870 amounted to £7.7 million, compared with a contemporary estimate of charitable relief *in London alone* of between £5 million and £7.5 million. Even if the balance swung back the other way somewhat by the end of the century, it seems clear that charitable provision had, at the very least, regained its

status as an equal partner with the efforts of the state.⁵⁰ As Frank Prochaska has written, 'If the first half of the nineteenth century saw philanthropy ascendant, the second half witnessed its triumph'.⁵¹

This should come as no surprise when we consider the enormous weight placed by the Victorians upon the importance of charity, whether inspired by evangelical religion, utilitarianism, humanitarianism or the desire for social control, for the period witnessed a range and variety of charitable activity that dwarfs anything previously achieved. Within this range, historians have concentrated upon educational provision, organisations designed to promote self-help, those dedicated to the moral welfare of women and children and the ubiquitous visiting charities. Few have much at all to say about almshouses, the 44 pages devoted to 'Voluntary charity and the poor' in Alan Kidd's *State, society and the poor in nineteenth-century England* containing not a single reference to almshouses, while Frank Prochaska's *The Voluntary Impulse. Philanthropy in Modern Britain* includes just one passing reference.⁵²

The endowment and construction of almshouses was by no means a purely early-modern phenomenon, however, and some idea of their continuing importance can be gleaned from the *Digests of Endowed Charities* that were published among the parliamentary papers from 1867 forwards. These supplemented the Brougham Commission reports with evidence of those charities that had been omitted from the earlier survey, and those established since, and form a remarkable—and largely untapped—source for study of the purposes, geography and progress of charitable endowments in early and mid-Victorian England. Analysis of a sample of these returns provides the basis of Table 1, which presents information for selected counties on levels of endowed charitable provision in general, and expenditure on almshouses in particular, for the years 1861-1868. Before we consider these data, we must recall that the figures relate to endowed charities only: they generally do not include associated philanthropy. And while the figures are a snapshot at one point in time, they are also the result of an accumulation of charitable giving over many centuries, and thus tell us as much about the history of philanthropy in the respective counties as they do about the generosity of the Victorians themselves.

The counties analysed represent a widespread geographical range, are both industrial and agricultural, and have pastoral and arable agrarian economies. Clearly, enormous differences existed in the funds available for endowed charities in general, and for almshouses in particular. Cornwall, Lancashire and Pembrokeshire contrast spectacularly with most of the other counties, Bedfordshire providing fully eighteen times as much as Cornwall per capita, and nine times as much as Lancashire, a county that had also performed poorly in Jordan's early modern analysis. Proportions spent on almshouses also varied widely, from just 6 per cent in Pembroke to 45 per cent in Kent, while almshouse expenditure expressed per capita of the population aged 60 or over ranged from just twopence in Pembroke to 64 pence in Bedfordshire. Overall, however, 28 per cent of the annual income of endowed charities was dedicated to the support of almshouses and their inmates, while 9 per cent of localities benefited from such provision, though ranging from a mere 3 per cent in Pembroke and Westmorland to an impressive 18 per cent in Kent.

These figures make it all the more surprising that almshouses do not feature prominently in many academic accounts of nineteenth-century poverty and philanthropy. Data for Hertfordshire further underlines this oversight. Estimates indicate that 373 places were available in Hertfordshire almshouses towards mid-century. They provided accommodation for 101 men, which compares unfavourably with the 432 elderly men found in Hertfordshire workhouses in 1851. For women,

**Table 1 Expenditure on endowed charities and almshouses 1861-1868:
selected counties**

county	date	population 1861	% aged 60+	endowed charity per capita (£)	almshouses exp. per capita age 60+ (£)	% endowed charity per almshouses	no. localities supporting almshouses	%localities supporting almshouses
Bedfordshire	1861-3	135,287	7.7	0.18	0.64	27	15	15
Cornwall	1863-4	369,390	8.6	0.01	0.02	18	13	9
Kent	1861-3	733,887	7.6	0.09	0.53	45	58	18
Lancashire	1865-8	2,429,440	5.3	0.02	0.05	11	17	5
Leicestershire	1862-3	237,412	8.9	0.12	0.46	34	26	15
Norfolk	1862-4	434,798	10.3	0.12	0.33	29	22	5
Pembroke	1862-5	96,278	10.2	0.03	0.02	6	1	3
Westmorland	1864-5	60,817	9.0	0.12	0.15	11	3	3
Total		4,497,309	6.8	0.05	0.22	28	155	9

Sources: Census of Great Britain 1861: BPP 1863 Vol. LIII Pt. I *Population Tables. England and Wales. Vol. II pt. I, Summary Tables, pp. x-xiii. Digest of Endowed Charities:* BPP 1867-8 Vol. LII Pt. I (433); BPP 1867-68 Vol. LII Pt. II (433); BPP 1868-69 Vol. XLV (93).

however, there were 272 places available in almshouses and, as only 183 elderly women were found in the county's workhouses, they played a particularly significant role in the lives of the elderly, female poor.⁵³ One poignant example was found of an elderly woman relieved in an almshouse, while her husband was sent to the local workhouse. Further work on the Digests of Endowed Charities, and later more selective investigations into endowed charities conducted between 1896 and 1907, may reveal more about the trends in almshouse foundations across the Victorian period as a whole, although the author of one recent popular history has suggested that as many as 30 per cent of the roughly 2000 groups of almshouses currently occupied were the product of Victorian charity.⁵⁴

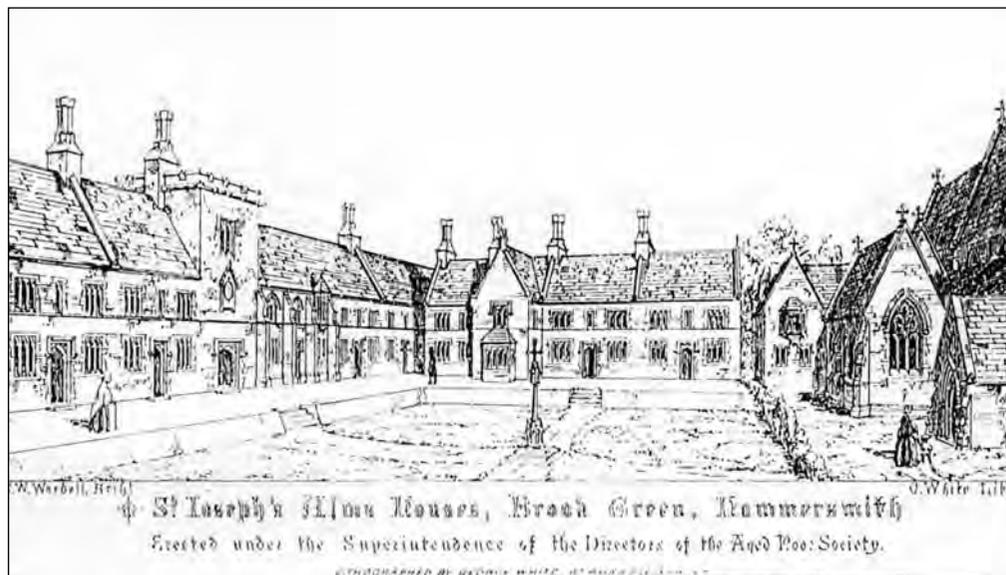
As to who they benefited, some preliminary information is available from a sample of census returns relating to almshouses between 1841 and 1901. From information supplied by volunteers from the Family and Community Historical Research Society, a database has been constructed of 7,655 census entries across nine counties for almshouse residents 1841-1901. The sample is emphatically *not* representative, and is heavily skewed towards south-east England, with strong representation from London parishes, but as a preliminary survey the results are interesting. They reveal a mean age of 64 years and a median of 70, with an indication that—if almshouses were indeed regarded as largely the resort of the elderly—60 marked the threshold of 'old age'. Fully three-quarters of almshouse residents were female, a stark contrast with the situation in later medieval and early modern England—in Marjorie Macintosh's database men predominated, 34 per cent of her almshouses being designated for men only, 24 per cent for women only and 42 per cent catering to both sexes. In the nineteenth century, however, while women predominated in almshouses everywhere, this was far more marked in London than in East Anglia, suggesting the possibility of a gendered geography of almshouse residency. A small age cluster in the teens and early twenties shows that the elderly did not invariably live alone in these institutions and, while some excluded those in receipt of formal poor relief, others operated no such policy. The 2804 almspeople in the census sample who are described by occupation reveal a diverse spectrum. While 'labourer' or 'agricultural' labourer is the most

common occupational description found among men, substantial numbers had followed skilled or semi-skilled trades, and eleven were retired farmers. For women there is a very heavy skew towards domestic service and the more lowly branches of the service sector in general—perhaps not surprising given that this is where most occupational opportunities for women in much of southern England lay. That said, the presence of 33 governesses and 23 schoolmistresses suggests that it was not merely the very poor who benefited from nineteenth-century almshouse accommodation, any more than was the case in early-modern England.⁵⁵

This long-term shift in the gender balance of residents in English almshouses is a particularly interesting phenomenon, but it remains to be established exactly when it occurred—before we even begin to ask the question ‘why’. There is local evidence that, in some places at least, the transition might have happened in the Victorian period. When William Doughty endowed his hospital in Norwich in 1687, he specified that accommodation should be provided for 24 poor aged men and eight poor aged women. Expansion of the hospital by six units in 1791 allowed an increase in these numbers, but on census night in 1841 the gender balance remained heavily weighted towards men, just as its founder had prescribed, with 28 male and eight female almspeople. During the course of the next seventy years that gender balance changed fundamentally, with—apart from an apparent blip in the year 1891—an ever-increasing proportion of female inmates. By the start of the twentieth century there were more women than men in the hospital, and by 1911 they outnumbered them by almost two to one.⁵⁶

The twentieth century

As we move into the twentieth century, charity remained central to welfare provision, though there were signs of a convergence between public and private provision. The introduction of old age pensions in 1908 marked a symbolic break which presaged the



4. **St Joseph's, Hammersmith:** the almshouses were founded in 1824 to provide accommodation for aged Catholic poor, and an annual pension of £30 each as far as funds would allow. It was run by the Aged Poor Society, now the St. Joseph's Society and, still operating, is the oldest registered Catholic charity in England.

eventual subordination of voluntarism to public welfare. The late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries saw some impressive new developments, such as the Durham and Northumberland Mineworkers Associations mentioned above, and the establishment of Whiteley Village in Surrey, which provided housing and a range of social and welfare facilities on a 230-acre estate for 350 pensioners, catering for the needs of the dependent elderly as well as for those in good health, as it does to this day.⁵⁷ As early as 1934 Elizabeth Macadam, a leading social worker, published a book called *The New Philanthropy*, accepting the subordination of the voluntary sector to the state.⁵⁸ While she may have been premature in this judgement, she did of course accurately predict the long-term direction of events. The subordination of voluntarism to state provision was emphatically underwritten by the chain of reforms that constituted the emergence of the welfare state in the aftermath of World War Two.

The voluntary sector did not, however, evaporate, as many commentators in 1948 had predicted.⁵⁹ Indeed, it has retained diversity and a tenacity in identifying new needs as well as in satisfying old ones that persists into the twenty-first century, and is reflected in the continued vitality of the almshouse movement today. In 1943 a study by the Nuffield Foundation discovered nearly 1500 almshouse charities accommodating over 22,000 people. Despite the predictions of the withering away of the voluntary sector, the number of charities registered by the Charity Commission continued to grow, a growth which accelerated from the 1970s. Almshouses shared in this trend: by 1999 the UK Almshouse Association represented the interests of 1748 member charities, managing 2599 groups of almshouses and providing accommodation for 31,421 residents—a growth of 43 per cent since 1943.⁶⁰ The latest figures on the Almshouse Association website indicate some 1800 separate almshouse charities, running 2600 groups of almshouses, constituting over 30,000 almshouse dwellings and providing accommodation for 36,000 individuals—a further growth of roughly 4500, or 15 per cent, since 1999.

The Almshouse Association proudly claims that ‘The support and help they provide is just as important today, in the 21st century, as it was over 1,000 years ago’.⁶¹ This might be a little on the bold side. The 2001 census recorded 8,312,381 people in England and Wales aged 65 plus—a slightly higher threshold than that used for earlier periods to allow for the later onset of old age. This would indicate that almshouses now serve 0.43 per cent of the relevant age group, a far smaller proportion than in earlier centuries, though certainly not an insignificant number.

Conclusion

What conclusions can we draw from this, admittedly discursive, examination of almshouses and the mixed economy of welfare? Insofar as there was a mixed economy in the later medieval period it was one of monastic, private and community provision, the precise balance of which is obscure. The mixed economy in the more conventional sense of a combination of public and private welfare arrives with the Elizabethan Poor Law, but the situation remained complex: Poor Law provision was highly irregular in most rural parishes well into the seventeenth century, while urban provision often extended well beyond its confines. Private charity stepped into the breach created by the dissolution of the monasteries, but there was an element of serendipity, and even some large towns failed to make substantial provision. The public and the private could merge where local authorities rescued failing charities, and while some parishes excluded those in receipt of formal poor relief from additional charitable help, others did not. From the eighteenth century the rise of associated philanthropy created a new mechanism for providing larger-scale relief

schemes through public subscription, though the example of cities such as Bristol demonstrates how closely moral reform associations worked with local authorities in the pursuit of common ends.⁶²

Charitable provision grew alongside formal poor relief, while local authorities provided a considerable amount of accommodation for the poor which clouds the identification of almshouses proper. Under the New Poor Law, while expenditure per head of the population remained roughly stable, as did the proportion of the population receiving relief in the workhouse, the percentage in receipt of outdoor relief fell considerably, at the same time as the voluntary impulse reached its apogee.⁶³ In terms of almshouse provision, however, enormous variation by region, county and locality—and also by gender—must be factored into the equation, its precise extent still unexplored. Coalescence between public and private can be identified from the very end of the nineteenth century, and while it is quite clear that the state is now the senior partner in this relationship, the later twentieth century has seen both the survival and further expansion of charitable provision, almshouses included, as well as the development of the public-private relationships through tax breaks, grants, increased regulation and the receipt of a variety of benefits that effectively creates a mixed economy of welfare within the walls of every ‘private’ almshouse.

Nor do the figures that can be calculated for almshouse provision relative to the number of elderly in the population properly take *need* into account. At no time in the past did almshouses provide for more than a small proportion of the elderly, and although in the twentieth century there has been a large increase in the proportion of elderly in the population, many of those over the age of 60 or 65 not only have better state support, but also far higher accumulated net assets, better health and fitness, and continue to benefit also from the support of friends and relatives.⁶⁴ It is possible, therefore, that almshouses fulfil a similar function within the mixed economy of welfare, as a safety net for those elderly poor who lack alternative accommodation and support, or as a benefit which accrues from dedication to a particular occupation, as they have done for several centuries.

The relationship between public and private provision, therefore, has never been simple and clear cut, and neither did it move inexorably in one direction over time. State provision and private philanthropy frequently interacted and overlapped in a complex variety of ways, and continue to do so today. In particular, we must avoid reading history backwards—adopting a teleological or ‘whiggish’ interpretation of history—for, as we have seen, there was no simple progression across the centuries from voluntarism to state welfare. We should also certainly talk in terms of mixed *economies* of welfare rather than a single mixed *economy*. Above all, we must appreciate one fundamental difference between the public and private sectors. For while state provision began to achieve at least a degree of national coherence from the late seventeenth century onwards—for the first time in both theory and in practice—charitable provision generally, and the provision of almshouses in particular, had and retains a distinct regional and, indeed, local aspect. This, of course, has important implications for social welfare policy and strategy, but also for our historical appreciation of the mixed economy of welfare. While we might happily extrapolate from local to national data in our attempts to gain a broad understanding of that mixed economy, as indeed we have here, our generalisations have little meaning to the actual experiences of, and opportunities available to, elderly individuals at particular places at particular times. In turn, of course, this means that almshouses requires the attention of historians working at the local level if we are ever fully to understand their place in the history of the mixed economy of welfare, medieval to modern.

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Making ends meet: household survival strategies in the East Riding in the mid-nineteenth century

DICK HUNTER

Introduction

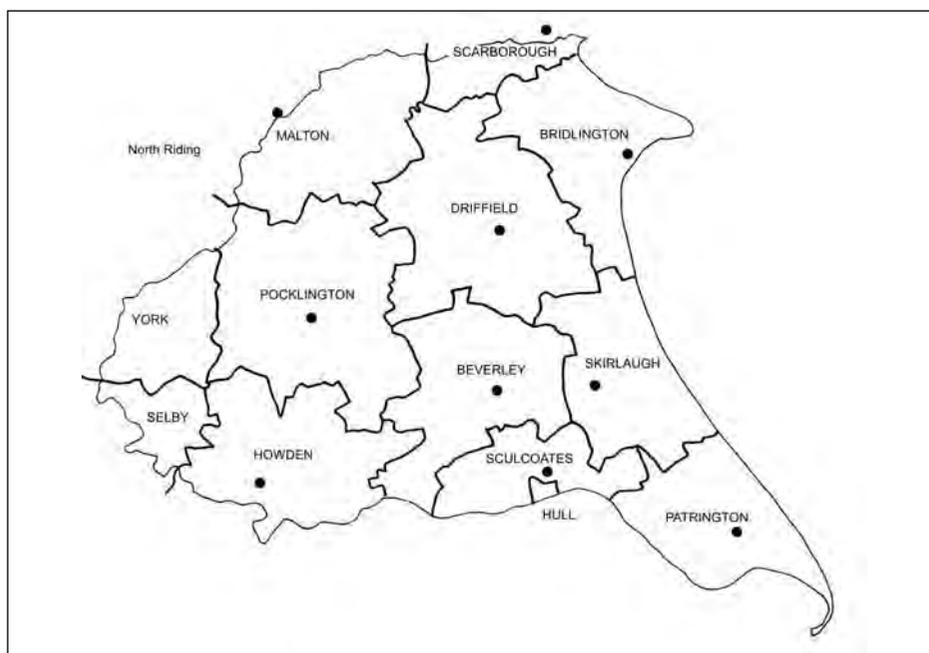
This article explores household survival strategies in rural East Yorkshire in the mid-nineteenth century, examining as a case-study the significance of outdoor poor law relief in Pocklington Poor Law Union, and drawing on an archive that includes outdoor relief lists, and overseers' receipt and payment books for several parishes. Other primary sources used include central poor law authority records, poor law union board of guardian minute books, parliamentary papers and census returns. The concept of survival strategies is based on the existence of a gap between what a household needs to subsist and the resources available to it. Strategies included, for example, adding the income of women and children to the household budget; keeping gardens, allotments, and pigs; poaching, and theft; the use of shop credit; savings and insurance schemes such as friendly societies and mutual aid clubs; migration and emigration from rural areas, sometimes assisted by public authorities; the contribution of kin and neighbourhood networks; and, of course, Poor Law relief.¹

While the attention of historians has mainly focused on the role of the workhouse in poor relief in the post-1834 period, research by Keith Snell showed that most relief continued to be delivered in the community with the parish retaining an important role. Those in receipt of out-relief accounted for over 80 per cent of all relief recipients in England and Wales from 1840 to the late 1870s and, while patterns of expenditure varied among the eleven Poor Law divisions of the country, only in the metropolis did indoor relief exceed out-relief in 1874-1875. In the Yorkshire region at this time the proportion was around 30 per cent indoor, and 70 outdoor, with over 95 per cent of out-relief paid in money, not in kind. Thus Steve King is surely right that historians need to engage with 'the sentiment of relief giving' and gain an understanding of the experiences of the poor, in particular the outdoor poor who 'dominated the pauper host' yet about whom relatively little is known.²

This case study examines the operation of the New Poor Law in a rural union. What strategy did its board of guardians adopt? To what extent, and for how long, was it successful in retaining this approach in the face of a central policy that favoured workhouse relief for the able-bodied? What was the role of the parish? How did the poor attempt to negotiate relief for themselves? And how did poor relief fit into that wider range of strategies, opportunities and constraints adopted by the poor in order to subsist? What can be learnt of strategies adopted *within* households, as well as the strategies of families and households?

The article focuses on that part of the Vale of York lying within Pocklington Poor Law Union where small farms of under fifty acres (often with four or five workers, including family members) were common. Tithe surveys indicate that the area was largely under arable cultivation, with wheat, beans and oats as staple crops in the southern vale; and potatoes on the 'rich loams and warplands' close to the Ouse.

Dairy cattle were kept on most farms, mainly to cater for household needs with a little spare milk for local sale. The small size of farms was accentuated by subdivision in the 1830s following the failure of many landlords to find sufficiently capitalised tenants, as Charles Howard reported in 1837: 'Howdenshire ... has been in cultivation from time immemorial ... rents have very greatly fallen and a very large quantity of that land has been entirely thrown out of cultivation and is absolutely now lying waste'. Some village populations decreased in the first half of the nineteenth century with movement to nearby towns, and emigration: for example from Aughton, Bubwith, Hemingbrough and Thornton between 1821 and 1831. But other villages, such as Seaton Ross, expanded (in that example, from 385 in 1811 to 477 in 1821), partly due to common pasture being brought into cultivation, with a need for more labourers, attracting younger people of child-bearing years. Small market towns continued to grow: the population of Market Weighton increased from 1,183 in 1801 to 2,001 in 1851, and of Pocklington from 1,502 to 2,546 over the same period.³



1. The East Riding: post-1834 Poor Law Unions

Wage rates for rural workers indicate pressure on household budgets. In 1848 the average male pay for agricultural workers in the area was 12s a week from Martinmas (11 November) to Candlemas (2 February) and 13s 6d to 14s a week from Candlemas to harvest time, when piece rates were paid and earnings could total several shillings a week more than the highest weekly rate. These rates compared well with the south of England, yet had increased by less than 20 per cent in real terms during the previous half-century and only sustained a low standard of living.⁴

Survival strategies were influenced by a variety of factors including the economic cycle, the seasonality of work, and weather fluctuations. There was a minority of 'constant men', but most were reliant on casual labour. Low wage households were disproportionately affected by uncertainties presented by the life cycle, such as the costs involved in having young children, illness, old age and widowhood. For large

sections of the labouring population the income of the household's principal male wage-earner was insufficient to support a family. Joseph Allen and his wife Jane lived with their five children in Bolton Percy, nine miles south-west of York, within the Vale though across the county boundary. Allen, in 1842 a 35-year-old gardener, kept weekly accounts from March 1841 to February 1842. These show that he, Jane and their ten year old son William each contributed to the annual household income of £41 12s 7d: Joseph earned £29 8s 4d, Jane £6 6s 10d and William £5 17s 7d. Joseph's work was largely regular, earning 2s 4d a day, while Jane and William worked seasonally, neither of them earning anything in January or February. Jane's daily rate was tenpence, William's sixpence. The combined income enabled them to meet their outgoings, and contribute four pence a week to a clothing club.⁵

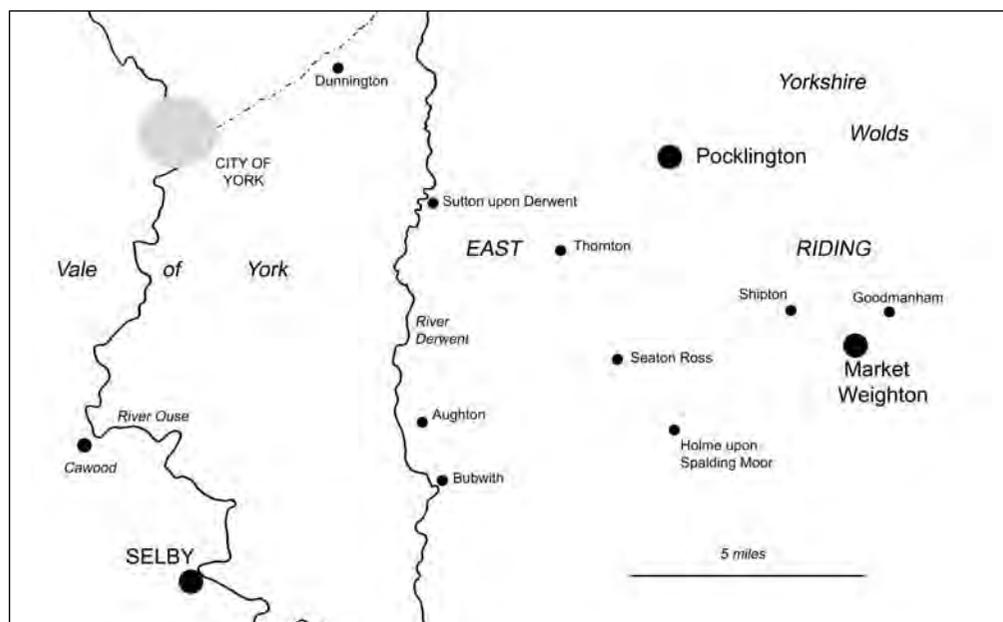
Around York in the 1840s the average wage of women was ninepence a day in spring. The rate for hoeing turnips and haymaking was tenpence to a shilling a day; and 1s 6d to 2s for harvesting. Charring could earn a shilling a day plus food. The seasonal agricultural pattern involved scanty employment in winter and early spring, with summer opportunities in some parishes for all who wanted work. Children—part-time from ten, regularly from thirteen—earned sixpence a day weeding, and helping the women. The Reverend William Lund of Dunnington claimed that two-thirds of women in 'the labouring class' in his parish were employed in outdoor work, from eight until six in summer, eight until four in winter. Boys were employed protecting corn from birds, and in gleaning, harvesting and gathering potatoes, while girls worked at home except for harvest gleaning. Variations in women's employment depended on topography and soil, Beverley's poor law union clerk noting that women dressed turnips and gathered stones from January to April, then weeded and deposited manure for turnips from May to June. Weeding and haymaking were the main activities in July and August; then harvesting and gleaning from August to October.⁶

Any assessment of the contribution of women to the household budget highlights the importance of the informal sector. Washing, sewing and taking in lodgers were commonplace; Anne Roberts charred, brewed ale and washed clothes at Skipwith Hall, thus earning £1 15s 4d between July and December 1849. Women also performed household labour for their own families, and were central to a network of mutual-aid arrangements in many villages, exchanging assistance, time and money between neighbours and kin: 'children were minded; clothes, linen and money were lent; births, deaths and illnesses were supervised; errands were run; shelter was offered in times of violence or crisis; collections were made and official intrusion blocked. Most services were based on reciprocal obligation and acted as an insurance policy against desperation'.⁷

Pocklington Poor Law Union: a case study

Prior to 1834 poor relief was the responsibility of the parish, but the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 created a Poor Law Commission, which operated between 1835 and 1847 and was succeeded by the Poor Law Board (1848-1871). The 1834 Act also set up a structure of Poor Law Unions in England and Wales, run by boards of guardians elected triennially by local landowners and ratepayers. In the East Riding nine unions were formed (see fig.1), and the York union also included some of the East Riding. The Pocklington Poor Law Union comprised 47 parishes covering 107,349 acres, and had a population of 15,332 in 1841. Meetings of the board of guardians were held weekly on Saturdays at the *Feathers Hotel*, Pocklington, from 1836.

Their responsibilities extended beyond poor relief to public health, for which with the union was divided into five districts (six from 1843), each with its own medical officer.



2. The Pocklington and Market Weighton area showing places mentioned in the text

Funding of poor relief was based on the annual value of property assessed for poor rates, which varied from parish to parish. For example, property assessed for the year ending Lady Day 1841 was £3271 for Sutton on Derwent (£138 levied), but only £1195 for Allerthorpe (£70 levied). Limited indoor relief places were provided in the old parish poorhouse in Market Weighton. In their desire to minimise the rates the guardians in 1840 reduced the weekly allowance for maintaining adult paupers there from 3s to 2s 9d (further reduced to 2s 6d from 1842), and for children under twelve from 2s 3d to 2s a head (and 1s 9d from 1842), exclusive of clothing. Weekly out-relief was reduced to 2s a head for adults, and 1s for children, subject to circumstances.⁸

Out-relief policy and practice

Securing out-relief was not easy, those capable of work being expected to do so. Decisions were sometimes challenged; for example in 1845 the Reverend J.F. Ellis, vicar of Pocklington and Yapham, raised the case of 79-year-old Robert Beckett. Ellis claimed that the relieving officer had stopped Beckett's 2s 6d relief, saying he must work or starve, despite a local doctor certifying his inability to work because of age. Ellis queried whether the guardians could compel Beckett to work, to which the union replied that relief ceased when he refused to care for cattle in the lanes, and thereby earn 3s a week. The guardians believed he was capable of this work, though the Poor Law Commission asked if he had been offered indoor relief as an alternative (they knew the answer—there was no adequate workhouse, which reinforced its demand for the union to construct one).⁹

In 1844 the Poor Law Commission issued an 'Outdoor Labour Test Order', tightening up the conditions under which able-bodied males would be eligible for out-relief. It was for those not in receipt of wages, and was conditional on accepting work set by the guardians. However, exclusions diluted the force of the order: for example, out-relief could be given for sudden and urgent necessity such as accident, sickness, or infirmity affecting the pauper or family member; or to defray burial expenses for a family member. Moreover, where the pauper did not live within the union, but his wife or children did, guardians had discretion to give relief to the dependents.¹⁰

Though under pressure from the government to minimise out-relief, the union could employ it in appropriate circumstances for able-bodied paupers. Thus, William Oxendale (25), his wife Jane and their two young children lived in Market Weighton where William was out of work and under a removal order. Temporary relief of 2s, and a stone of flour was granted. Unemployed William Pratt (60), living in Seaton Ross with his wife Mary (49) and their two children, was awarded two stones of flour and 2s 6d. The union claimed out-relief was granted due to its inability to provide work, as the outdoor labour test involved 'very great expense for no purpose [with] seldom any applications from an able-bodied pauper [this] being an agricultural district thinly populated'. For the quarter ending Lady Day 1844 there were 430 able-bodied paupers receiving poor relief, all outdoor. Of these, 195 were in receipt due to sickness or accident, and 235 due to other causes including vagrancy. A year later the total had fallen to 389, falling further to 92 in the period from June 1845 to December 1846.¹¹

The guardians remained under pressure to build a workhouse. In December 1847 Assistant Poor Law Commissioner Hawley paid his second visit that year to the ramshackle Market Weighton poorhouse. He found it inadequate, with only 38 places, no receiving or vagrant wards, and no sick provision. The guardians felt compelled to act, sought a building for vagrants, and secured a stoneyard next to Pocklington station to comply with the labour test order. A superintendent was appointed, 50 tons of stone bought, with three anvils to break it on. The hours of work were related to the distance which paupers had to tramp to the yard: those over 10 miles away started at 10.20am and finished at 1.40pm, but those living less than a mile away started at 7.20am and finished at 5pm. Action was taken against paupers who neglected work or disobeyed orders. Yet this regime appeared excessive to the Commission, particularly regarding the distances which paupers were expected to travel. Moreover, the guardians had insufficient powers to enforce their own rules, and their position was further undermined by refusal of the Poor Law Board to confirm these rules.

In the quarter ending Christmas 1848 some 1,034 paupers were in receipt of out-relief in Pocklington union, at a cost (excluding cholera-related expenditure) of £980. Only seven were able-bodied unemployed men, who receiving an average weekly sum of 8s 6d from which they would expect to pay sevenpence for 4lb of good quality bread, sixpence for 1lb of meat, and 1s 6d rent for a labourer's cottage. The guardians noted that paying out-relief in cash was illegal, and henceforth it must be in kind, but they did not implement that policy. The Poor Law Board, observing similar illegal practices elsewhere, conducted a national survey in 1851 to assess the relative proportions of cash and kind granted. East Riding unions reported that most relief was in cash, for the logistics of organising relief in kind were too complex and costly. Thus, a desire to minimise local spending overrode the approach required by the Board, illustrating that there were limits to government authority.¹²

Out-relief continued as the main form of relief: in the year ending Lady Day 1850 the income of Pocklington Union income totalled £6578, and expenditure on out-relief was £4240 (two-thirds of income). For the final quarter of 1849-1850 one parish,

Sutton on Derwent, had fifteen people in receipt of out-relief, some supporting family members. Sutton was an agricultural parish with 362 inhabitants and eleven farms employing 55 labourers. Those receiving out-relief included some no longer able to work in the fields because of age or infirmity: John Steel (75), William Thomas (69), Stephen West (65), supporting his wife Mary; and Christopher Dolphin (64), with his wife Ann, and daughter Jane. John Lister (56) had been a carrier, and had a wife, Phyllis, and three children and a granddaughter. Elizabeth Smith (36), was an unmarried woman with two daughters, Mary (8), and Ann (1). Another younger woman receiving relief was a widow, Jane Yeoman (29), with three children, Joseph (8), Ann (6) and Mary (4).

Irremovable paupers were also paid out-relief—that is, those who could not be removed because (from 1846) they could demonstrate five years' continuous residence in Pocklington union. This was reduced to three years from 1861, and one year from 1865. Out-relief expenditure also included the charges for lunatics in asylums, funeral expenses, and the costs incurred in apprenticing pauper children. However, the union was increasingly preoccupied by the failure of its outdoor stoneyard project, by continuing pressure from the central authority, and by the manifest inadequacies of the Market Weighton poorhouse. These factors added weight to the argument that the union needed to construct a workhouse to provide a more controlled environment for dispensing relief, and to comply with the government's principle that conditions inside the workhouse were to be 'less eligible' (or desirable) than those experienced by the lowest-paid day labourers. In 1851 the guardians narrowly agreed to build a workhouse for a hundred paupers, at a cost of £2000, to be paid off over 20 years. This opened in 1854.¹³

The parish and poor relief

The records of the Poor Law Union reveal the evolution of its relationships with constituent parishes. Since the late sixteenth century the parish overseers had served as unpaid officers, appointed annually to collect and distribute poor rates. After 1834 they were only empowered to give relief in cases of 'sudden and urgent necessity', and not in the form of money. They could give relief to the 'casual poor' and had powers to order a union medical officer to attend a case, but those cases viewed as non-urgent were to be referred to the union relieving officer—which inevitably involved delays in dispensing relief. Out-relief to the aged, infirm, and those unable to work could be ordered by two justices via an overseer, though union guardians would subsequently determine the amount and kind of relief given.¹⁴

Parish overseers also investigated claims for legal settlement. For example, in 1843 John Daddy, his wife and children, from Sutton on Derwent, were among 40,000 paupers removed in England and Wales. The duties of overseers included enforcing removal orders—as against Francis Whitaker, living in Sutton in 1847. Removal orders granted to the parish of Seaton Ross reveal circumstances such as those of Mary Hunter, a 23-year-old single pauper who, with a daughter Elizabeth, was living in Pocklington workhouse in 1856. Mary herself was the illegitimate daughter of the late Elizabeth Hunter of Seaton Ross. The parish of Holme on Spalding Moor was judged to be her place of settlement, as it also was for Ann Fowler, a pauper deserted by her husband George, allegedly labouring in America. That order was granted in 1856 when she had four children: Hannah (7), John (6), George (3) and William (9 months).¹⁵

Overseers had a responsibility to ensure that men supported their families. For example, the clerk to the union wrote to Sutton parish in 1845, requiring them to take 'such steps as they think proper against Robert Yeoman for neglecting his wife and family', and similar action was sought in relation to George Lazenby in 1849. In both cases the action was ineffective and further wrangling ensued, a process which echoes today when the authorities still face difficulty in enforcing maintenance payments. Financial support for illegitimate children was agreed by JPs, by means of bastardy bonds enforceable by the parish. At Seaton Ross between 1782 and 1843 there were 27 bastardy orders relating to illegitimate children in the parish, including cases in 1834, 1842 and 1843. One was against Richard Sayles, a farmer of Skipwith, ordered to support Elizabeth Chapman who had born him a son out of wedlock in Seaton Ross on 1 June 1842.¹⁶

Financial support for those wishing to emigrate was also dealt with by the parish: for example, Richard Nicholls of Sutton, with his wife and four children, was keen to travel to America in 1846. The parish authorities sought the approval of the Union. Pocklington parish advanced £25 towards the expenses of Veronica Cook (35), and her five children who had been deserted and were in receipt of 7s 6d weekly relief. Her husband Charles was in America and had 'requested them to be sent' so he could provide for them. However the Poor Law Board took the view that men deliberately deserted their families in order subsequently to subsequently secure free passage for them, and declined to sanction the use of public funds.

In another case Pocklington parish wanted to give £30 to William Robinson (35, and 'lame of hand'), his wife Grace (33) and their three children, who were in receipt of 6s a week relief and wanted to go to America where they had friends. Despite strong support from the union the central authority made financial assistance subject to the paupers emigrating to a British colony. Even then, approval was subject to caveats: when William Rook, an able-bodied pauper, wanted to emigrate to Canada with his wife and three children in 1849, Goodmanham parish was willing to pay £8 towards costs but the Poor Law Board required ratepayers and owners to use official forms to resolve to set up an emigration fund, commenting that the parish fund for the family was in any case 'much too small'.¹⁷ The parish also had responsibilities for binding apprentices. While poor children were bound by guardians and justices, the practical aspects were carried out by the parish, though their role was curtailed after 1844. An example was George Jackson of Seaton Ross who was apprenticed to Thomas Jackson, basket maker, of Market Weighton in 1837, as noted in parish records.¹⁸

Some parishes such as Shipton continued direct relief until the 1860s (see Table 1). The parish gave relief in a variety of forms including provision of flour, mutton, coal and boots, shoe-mending, expenses to Robert Stamp during his wife's confinement, nursing expenses, support to a destitute traveller, and conveying Mary Booth (27) and her family to Hull and shipping them to America, involving six weeks' expenses and an advance of £8 16s 7d for the fares. Analysis of the Shipton data reveals that despite the opening of the workhouse in 1854 an able-bodied man, Robert Thomas, was the following year in receipt of parish relief with two stone of flour, and again in 1862 with a further two stone of flour, and 6s cash. Thomas, a 37-year-old agricultural labourer living in Low Street in 1851, had at that time a wife Mary, 32, and six children: Elizabeth (12), Eliza (10), Mary (10), William (8), Charles (6), Robert (4) and Alice (1). There was further support to the family when the parish paid Mary Hessegraves 4s to attend Mary for six days after she had been burnt. Other examples of Shipton parish exercising local autonomy were its support for Sarah Richardson (48), a local pauper 'of weak mind', with shoes in 1860 and boots the following year; and for

Thomas Hesslegraves (63 in 1855), an agricultural labourer, who received flour and coal in 1855, and two further allocations of flour during the winter of 1856-1857. His wife Mary had earned money for nursing Mary Thomas in 1855, but was herself attended in 1861 by Mrs Oliver who was paid 6s by the parish. Those in receipt of parish relief extended beyond the unskilled or low skilled to craftsmen, such as the blacksmith Robert Smith, who fell on hard times and received 5s 6d in 1862.¹⁹

How typical was Shipton in its approach to parish relief? Parish overseer's accounts in the union for this period, though few, indicate differences in practice. In Thixendale parish the only records of parish relief between 1848 and 1859 involve £1 4s maintenance for a pauper during removal in 1848, and a similar case costing £1 6s the following year. In 1859 there are records of meeting the costs of removing paupers under court orders.²⁰

Table 1 Shipton overseer's receipt and payment book 1852-1862 (extracts)

12 Jan 1852	Robert Jackson shoe mending	4d
13 Jan 1852	Robert Thomas 4 stone flour	6s
	Robert Stamp mutton	1s
7 Feb 1852	Robert Thomas 1 stone flour	1s 8d
10 Jul 1852	relieved George Whittey	1s
23 Nov 1852	relieved George Whittey	4s
6 Apr 1854	George Falkingham for flour supplied to Mary Booth	5s 7d
15 Apr 1854	Robert Stamp during wife's confinemen	11s 6½d
	Robert Booth for 6 weeks	£1 12s 4½d
15 May 1854	Conveying Mary Booth & family to Hull & shipping them to America	£8 16s 7½d
9 Dec 1854	Expenses to destitute traveller	3s 6d
6 Jan 1855	Mary Hesslegraves for attending Mary Thomas when burnt: 6 days @ 8d a day	4s
15 Jan 1855	1 stone flour for Robert Thomas	2s 8d
23 Jan 1855	1 stone flour Robert Thomas	2s 8d
10 Feb/1 Mar 55	Flour & coals supplied to Thomas Hesslegraves	15s 2½d
11 Dec 1856	Thomas Hesslegraves 1½ stone flour	3s 9d
19 Feb 1857	Thomas Hesslegraves 1 stone flour	2s 3d
1 Jul 1859	Sarah Oliver for attending Mary Hesslegraves 9 weeks @ 7s a week	£3 3s
April 1860	Pr shoes for Sarah Richardson	8s 6d
	1 stone flour for Hopwood	2s 8d
11 Oct 1860	Catching moles in Shipton township	£4
6 Apr 1861	Order removal Eliza Hutchinson	£1 6s 6d
	Overseers expenses procuring Order	5s 7d
	Expenses removing Eliza Hutchinson	£1 4s
20 Nov 1861	Pr new boots Sarah Richardson	8s
	Mrs Oliver on attending Mary Hesslegraves	6s
12 Feb 1862	2 stone flour Robert Thomas	4s 10d
11 Oct 1862	Robert Thomas relief	6s
	Robert Smith (blacksmith) relief	5s 6d

Conclusion

Several household survival strategies can be identified among families in the East Riding between 1834 and 1871. The contribution of women and children to the household budget is clearly significant, with contributions—though uncertain—often being made for much of the year. Particular importance must be attached to poor relief within

Pocklington Poor Law Union, and to the significance of domiciliary out-relief within it. The union, which first elected a board of guardians in 1836, chose for reasons of economy, and lack of perceived need, to resist pressure from the central authorities to construct a workhouse. Adequate indoor relief only became available with the opening of the 113-place Pocklington workhouse in 1854, some twenty years after the Poor Law Amendment Act reframed the system with the introduction of a national structure of unions.

The continuing role of the parish is very apparent, especially in the context of the activities of parish overseers. In several parishes there is evidence that local autonomy and discretion in delivering poor relief persisted through the 1850s and 1860s, supporting Keith Snell's conclusions regarding the important continuing role of the parish. In instances parishes took the initiative in giving assistance to households—for example, with emigration expenses—when the central authorities were cautious or unlikely to authorise expenditure. Parishes were well-placed to make strategic decisions, sometimes judging one-off expenditure to be more economical than managing the continuing needs of pauper families. However, parish overseers were subject to increasing micro-management of their accounts and scope for independent decision-making diminished. There is a need for further local and regional studies to assess the extent to which Snell's conclusions hold true elsewhere. Furthermore, studies that incorporate linkage of sources—such as poor law union outdoor relief lists, parish overseer accounts, and census returns—would enhance our understanding of the lives of the outdoor poor, and the significance of outdoor relief within their range of survival strategies.

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Parish politics: London vestries 1780–1830 (part 2)

A. D. HARVEY

The role of the parish priest

The first part of this paper dealt with the background to the vestries of London in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, and considered the role of the magistrates who were prominent in vestry government.¹ Apart from the magistrates, the personage most likely to dominate a vestry was the priest. In many rural parishes the incumbent was the resident with the best education, greatest leisure, and largest property, and sometimes he was the only magistrate for miles around. That was never the case in suburban London. Even in the poorest areas there were attorneys and dissenting ministers who were at least as literate as the vicar. Moreover, the sheer numbers of people in suburban parishes meant that clergy had little leisure. Most were far too busy marrying, christening and burying the lower orders to have time for policing them as well. Though the reformist lords lieutenants of Sussex and Derbyshire made a point of excluding clergymen from the bench, in England as a whole about a third of JPs were Anglican clergymen, but in Middlesex only about one in ten: and most of these in the more rural parts of the county.² Edward Robson and Thomas Thirlwall, the two East End clerical magistrates mentioned in the first part of this article, were not local incumbents but unbeneficed lecturers; their appointment to the bench may have been because in these mainly working-class districts there was a shortage of qualified laymen.³

The one priest known to have dominated his parish in this period was at the very bottom of the ecclesiastical pile. The Reverend John Shepherd was assistant curate of Paddington, in 1800 a parish on the eve of exponential population growth but as yet with only about 1200 mainly impoverished inhabitants. The parish belonged to the most inferior category of ecclesiastical living, a perpetual curacy, the rector's and the vicar's tithes having long ago been appropriated by the bishop of London. They were given to Thomas Hayter, fellow of Kings College, Cambridge, early in his career, probably on the assumption that he would soon acquire a more remunerative parish to be held in tandem with it. Hayter's poor health obliged him to stay in residence at King's and in 1785 he appointed John Shepherd to run his parish. Since it was a perpetual curacy, Shepherd's title was merely 'assistant curate', and he was not too proud to assume the duties of parish clerk, vestry clerk, and sexton, as well as taking in private pupils.⁴ Even with all these different jobs Shepherd was very poor: his main income seems to have been from burying people, which brought him fees both as sexton responsible for the parochial burial grounds, and as the clergyman performing the burial services. Paddington benefited noticeably from the shortage of space in the churchyards in St George's Hanover Square and St Martin's in the Fields.

Shepherd had considerable ability, organising almost single-handedly the building of a new parish church, and publishing a twice-reprinted *Critical and Practical Elucidation of*

the Book of Common Prayer but, as a memoir by one of his daughters acknowledges, his career was characterised by ‘Habitual inattention to pecuniary concerns’, the result of ‘the defect of an education in which he had never learned to form an adequate idea of the value of money’.⁵ In September 1798 one of the churchwardens ‘Represented to the Vestry that he could not pay the salaries due to Persons in the Parish for want of the Means that he had frequently applied to Mr Shepherd to settle the Account of Funerals &c but could not procure any Settlement’. The vestry ordered Shepherd to deliver the accounts or ‘be dismissed from the Offices of Sexton and Vestry Clerk’.⁶ At this time there was an ongoing dispute about the amount of the burial fees and the share due to the bishop of London. In 1796 the latter had apparently ordered Shepherd to withhold payments to the vestry, but one suspects that the money had already been spent on family needs. Not having produced his accounts, Shepherd was dismissed as sexton and vestry clerk on 9 October 1798 and an attorney based in the smarter part of St Giles in the Fields was appointed to the clerkship in his stead: Shepherd simply ignored this arrangement and was still claiming to be vestry clerk in 1802, though by then holding a curacy in Essex.⁷ The confusion was to some extent resolved by his death in 1802: he was buried in Paddington, but ‘No monumental stone points out his grave; no tablet records his memory’.⁸

It is unlikely that Shepherd could have wielded as much influence, or accumulated as many offices, in a more populous parish, but he was probably more highly regarded by his parishioners than another assertive clergyman, Joshua King, rector of Bethnal Green. Because he was opposed to their arch-villain Joseph Merceron, the Webbs characterised King as ‘public-spirited’,⁹ but apart from his contest with Merceron—which many people in Bethnal Green thought not in the public interest—evidence of public spirit is notably lacking. At the end of December 1819, after ten years as parish priest, King appeared at a crowded vestry meeting and claimed the chair by right as rector. This provoked discussion but was eventually conceded, and he continued to chair meetings for the next few weeks. On 28 April 1820 the meeting was so well attended that King adjourned it to the church; after some business was transacted, the vestrymen ‘entering into desultory conversation’, King lost patience, dissolved the meeting and left.¹⁰ The meeting carried on without him. The magistrate Dr Lawrence Gwynne acted as chairman in some later meetings: at one this unusual arrangement turned out to be justified, for the meeting was so disorderly (‘many persons getting upon the tables even over the backs of others’) that after an hour of tumult Gwynne read the Riot Act.¹¹ In March 1823, at another very crowded meeting, King turned up half an hour late, demanded the chair, put the question of adopting resolutions regarding a new Local Act to establish a select vestry, then said that with ‘the vast numbers of persons present’ a show of hands was inconclusive, but refused to allow a poll because it would take too much time.¹² He was also accused of ‘breaking open the door of the vestry and taking away certain books’.¹³ When a Local Act was obtained, King fell out with Gwynne at the first meeting of the new select vestry.¹⁴ By now he had realised that he had very few friends in the parish and, having acquired the patronage of a rural living in his native Cheshire, he appointed himself to it and retired there. His main involvement with Bethnal Green thereafter was attempting to sabotage the organisation of a district for the new church built by the Commissioners for New Churches.¹⁵

The vestry clerk

The other permanency in the parish was the vestry clerk. Usually attorneys, the vestry clerks obtained a salary increase in all the suburban parishes in this period. At Stoke Newington in 1819 the salary was still just £40 plus a gratuity (‘to depend wholly on his

diligence and faithfulness’) but in St. Marylebone in 1824 no less than £1250 with free lodgings. At Bethnal Green, where the vestry clerk was paid £300 in 1819 and £400 in 1830, and Lambeth, where ‘in consequence of the great increase of Parochial Business’ the salary was raised to £420 in 1820, and to £472 10s in 1826, the remuneration in relation to parish population was probably below average.¹⁶ It is unclear how much time for other work was left, or how much parish money was pocketed by vestry clerks, officially or unofficially, beyond their official salaries. Though crippled with gout, John Parton, vestry clerk of St. Giles in the Fields, ‘was a leviathan in office, holding no less than fourteen at one time’.¹⁷ One of the joint vestry clerks at St. Pancras drew £400 a year as vestry clerk, £300 as clerk to the Church Commissioners, £620 as clerk to the Directors of the Poor, about £150 in fees for summons, more fees as clerk to the local magistrates, and in addition charged for his work as parish solicitor.¹⁸ An income of this order was worth fighting for. In 1820, when James May retired from the clerkship at Bethnal Green after participating in the overthrow of Joseph Merceron, a dispute over invalid votes in the election of a successor led to two rival vestry clerks—May’s son, James junior, and Merceron’s soon-to-be son-in-law, Robert Brutton. For the best part of a year each tried to read the minutes simultaneously at the outset of every meeting, though as often as not ‘the clamour that ensued rendered both inaudible’.¹⁹

In a couple of instances (John Wilks of St Luke’s and James Corder of St Paul’s Covent Garden) the ringleader of a successful movement to replace a closed vestry with an open one became vestry clerk under the new arrangement. Wilks continued as joint-secretary of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty even after becoming vestry clerk of St Luke’s in 1809, and after the assassination of Spencer Perceval told the earl of Liverpool, Perceval’s successor as prime minister, that he and his fellow secretary ‘by his [Perceval’s] invitation were privileged with several interviews’. In December 1819 the two secretaries asked if the Bill for Preventing Seditious Meetings could affect the annual general meeting of the Protestant Society: the draft of the government reply is in Liverpool’s own handwriting, a testimony to how seriously the Society was taken.²⁰ Running the Protestant Society cannot have been a significant moneymaking exercise, but there was some question of Wilks’s financial probity at St Luke’s. In April 1827 he resigned the vestry clerkship and in the election for a successor, Rowland Wilks—presumably a son—was defeated by 544 votes to 311. There was some dispute over a sum of £6000 that was not accounted for, and in a letter to the *Morning Herald* Wilks denied that the loss had ‘been occasioned by the misconduct of one of my clerks, and of some of the parish collectors ... On the contrary, I contend that my loss has originated in the heedlessness of the Public Boards, in their infringement of their own rules, and in their signing drafts privately, and improperly at their own houses, or leaving orders for money with servants, contrary to their own specific regulations’.²¹ The vestry’s response was that ‘all the defects existing in the construction of these bodies were exclusively attributable to his unremitting unwearied and successful exertions virtually to subvert and destroy the popular principle of Election provided for by the local acts of Parliament’.²²

What was not disputable was that the principle of election in the borough of Boston, Lincolnshire, involved paying at least five guineas to each voter, and that Wilks contrived to be elected MP for the borough in 1830.²³ And it may be no coincidence that Wilks, whose father was an eminently respectable Dissenting minister, had a son, John ‘Bubble’ Wilks, who was perhaps the most accomplished confidence trickster and promoter of fraudulent companies of the period.²⁴ There was indeed a popular perception that vestry clerks were key players in the game of Old Corruption. A skit published in 1832 has Thomas Murphy, leader of the movement to overthrow the

closed vestry in St Pancras, addressing ‘a company of Working Classes’, equipped with, inter alia, ‘Poles and Red Night Caps on em’:

Murphy : Look at the Church – I would have no Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Prebends, Canons, Deacons, Priests, Parish Clerk or Vestry Clerk.

Crowd : Hurrah! No Vestry Clerk! You’re the Boy for us; that’s real Church Reform, to get rid o’ the Vestry Clerk.²⁵

Vestries and national politics

The metropolitan parishes appeared on the national political stage in 1792, when John Reeves, the busybody absentee chief justice of Newfoundland, established an ‘Association of Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers’. Louis XVI was about to go on trial and in Britain ministers realised that war with the French was imminent. The inaugural meeting of the Association, at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, was written up in the daily papers and immediately caught the public imagination.²⁶ Similar associations were quickly formed by tradesmen’s bodies up and down the country, by the debtors in the King’s Bench Prison and, especially, by groups of inhabitants in towns and cities. In suburban London it was the parish vestries that provided the organisational framework. At St Saviour’s Southwark, Kensington, and Hampton Middlesex there were general meetings of inhabitants in the vestry room, while in Putney, St Margaret’s Westminster, and Clerkenwell a local association was actually formed at an official vestry meeting, and at Chelsea the proceedings of a meeting in the Cadogan Arms were recorded in the vestry minutes and ‘fairly entered in a Book [and] deposited in the parish Chest as a Record of the loyalty of this Parish’. In St Marylebone the meeting was in the chapel of the parish workhouse and the committee elected included ‘The Minister, Churchwarden, Vestrymen, and Overseers of the Poor for the Time being’.²⁷

The metropolitan parishes were equally active when, three years later, partly because wheat imports had been cut off by the war with France, the country faced famine. Following resolutions in the House of Commons the bishop of London circularised parishes in his diocese, recommending that they take measures to reduce the consumption of wheat by parishioners. Where vestry meetings were still infrequent no special arrangements were made to deal with this matter, but elsewhere local VIPs made a point of attending the vestry to lend their support—this was the occasion when the lord chancellor showed up at the vestry of St. George’s Bloomsbury and found that it was iniquorate. Most vestry meetings merely recommended a reduction in the wheat content of loaves, but at Fulham the thirty parishioners present decided to subsidise bread from the poor rate for a month—though the 85 present three weeks later determined to stop the subsidy at the end of the week.²⁸ Several vestries published their resolutions in *The Times* and other newspapers, or printed their recommendations of economy as broadsheets to be circulated within the parish. Rotherhithe in Surrey even sent a copy of their resolution to the government: it is preserved in the papers of the Board of Trade.²⁹

Parish administrators were already accustomed to applying to the national centres of power, because altering even quite minor legal arrangements usually involved a Local Act of Parliament, with a petition to the Commons and the employment of attorneys to meet the MPs appointed to handle the matter. Because of industrialisation there was an increase in the number of Local Acts in this period, and it is noteworthy that most of the attorneys involved in securing them were London-based, many of them

vestrymen or even, like John Wilks after 1809, vestry clerks. London parishes petitioned against changes on the Poor Law in 1795, 1797 and 1808. In 1808 Samuel Whitbread's bill to force parishes to establish schools for the poor provoked petitions in opposition from Clerkenwell, St Pancras, St Paul's Covent Garden, St Mary le Strand, St Anne's Soho, St Clement Dane, St Giles in the Fields, St Andrews Holborn, Whitechapel, Wapping, St Marylebone, Kensington, Islington, Shoreditch, Bermondsey, and St Saviour's Southwark, the main objection being the expense.³⁰

Even more London parishes petitioned in late 1814 and in 1815 against the Corn Laws, designed to exclude wheat imports till the price had risen to £4 a quarter; the price of bread was a major concern for metropolitan vestrymen, both as employers of labour and as ratepayers bearing the cost of feeding the poor. It was not only that the proposal would benefit only the landlords who 'enjoyed the exclusive benefit of the exorbitant prices ... at the expense of increasing the burdens which pressed so heavily on the rest of the community', and would 'throw away ... the invaluable benefits of that unfettered extension of Trade [and] intercourse with other Nations for the recovery of which Blood and Treasure of this Country have been liberally expended for more than twenty years', but also that the establishment of the tariff barrier would 'in the Article of Bread alone drain the Pockets of the Inhabitants ... of more Money than will be sufficient to pay all their present Poor Rates'.³¹ At Hampstead only one of ten parishioners who signed the requisition for a vestry meeting on the subject turned up: the meeting was adjourned on the grounds 'that such Thin Attendance may be occasioned by many of the Inhabitants having residence in London where they may have already signed Petitions to Parliament on the same Subject'. In neighbouring St. Pancras, though, an excited gathering voted unanimously that 'if the Lords and Commons of the United Kingdom refuse to listen to the voice of the people submitted to them in their dutiful petitions, this Parish will in that event proceed to lay their Remonstrance before the Throne'.³²

The texts of the various petitions were printed in *The Times* and other daily papers. The Corn Bill riots in St Marylebone, St James's, and St Giles in March 1815, and the Home Secretary's circular recommending adjacent parishes to swear in extra constables and to have the local magistrates on stand-by, provided Clerkenwell with a telling *tu quoque*: 'Resolved that notwithstanding the regret we feel at the negligent and contemptuous manner in which our opinions upon the proposed alterations in the Corn Laws (legally and constitutionally expressed) have been treated by the Legislature and however decidedly we are of an opinion that the recent disturbances in the Metropolis have been occasioned by this neglect and by the evident intention of forcing upon the people a most unjust impolitic and obnoxious measure still deprecating as we strongly do all riotous and illegal proceedings which tend rather to retard than advance this national Cause we would be amongst the foremost to assist in dispersing tumultuous Meetings and in preserving the peace of the Metropolis but from the uniform tranquillity of this parish ... We consider there exists no necessity for us to adopt the measures recommended'.³³

London parishes were also prominent in the campaign against the clause in the peace treaty with France that required the French government to take measures against the slave trade within five years (rather than immediately). This clause had been denounced by William Wilberforce in the House of Commons and the unprecedented number of petitions flooding in from all over the country—remarkable, for there was nothing comparable when Wilberforce fought to have the slave trade made illegal under British Law a few years previously—suggests that the end of the war created, as a reaction to the stress and apprehension of the previous decade, a sudden upsurge of

optimistic self-assertion among the English middle classes, with the London vestries participating in a nationwide mood. One notes that the wartime boom, in housebuilding, civil engineering projects and general accumulation of wealth, had been much more dramatic in London than elsewhere, and in suburban London one could hear the guns in Hyde Park and the Tower of London saluting, with increasing frequency, the victories won abroad by British arms and money.³⁴ One notes, too, that the mass-petitioning against the slave trade clause in the peace treaty, and against the Corn Laws, was during the period when the metropolitan parishes began advertising themselves by marking their territory with monogrammed bollards.³⁵ Yet whereas St. Luke's Middlesex, which seems to have taken the lead in erecting bollards, changed from a closed vestry to an open one, St Pancras (which invested notably in parish boundary markers in the 1820s) moved in the opposite direction, and Christ Church Spitalfields, whose bollards from this period have survived intact in the greatest numbers, had a closed vestry that was later accused of being particularly corrupt and out of touch. The precise structure of public consciousness within these communities is consequently not easy to deduce.

It is also unclear how far public opinion in the parishes aligned itself within the political parties in Parliament. Faction names were assumed in some parishes by groups such as the Guardian Society in Chelsea, but the labels Whig or Tory were never adopted. William Wilberforce, the parliamentary figure most esteemed by parish politicians because of his campaign against the slave trade, was generally a government supporter, and Henry Thornton, one of the MPs for Southwark in 1782–1815, was among his closest associates. The two Middlesex county seats continued to be shared between government supporters (William Mainwaring, and later William Mellish) and opponents, and when Westminster radicals contrived to oust both opposition Whig and pro-government candidates from the borough seats, the men brought in tended to strike an old-fashioned Tory rather than a liberal-progressive note, with their denunciations of parliamentary corruption and invasion of traditional rights.

A similarly old-fashioned, even romantic, hostility to current authority manifested itself in the furore over George IV's estranged wife, Queen Caroline. First, the death of George III prompted an updating of the liturgy with the new queen's name pointedly omitted. Next, the government, acting under pressure from the new king (though the public generally assumed the pressure was applied in the other direction) tried to have a Bill of Pains and Penalties, condemning the Queen for adultery, passed by parliament. It was then decided to exclude Caroline from her husband's coronation: 'We have contemplated with abhorrence an attempt to degrade a branch of the Illustrious House of Brunswick,' resolved the vestry of Hammersmith, the parish where Queen Caroline was living.³⁶ From the other side of the capital the vestry of St. George Middlesex resolved that 'this Meeting view with alarm and abhorrence the attempt which a contemptible and profligate Ministry are now making to inflict an additional wound on the Constitution'.³⁷ The Shoreditch vestry declared that 'it is the Duty of all Men to rally round an oppressed and persecuted woman', and later proclaimed that 'since the days of Edward 5th Public Meetings, Union and Perseverance have not been more necessary than at the present period ... we view with Regret, Surprise and Indignation the continuance of that system of persecution against her Majesty which has so long agitated and endangered the Security of the Country ... the Expunging of her Majesty's name from the Liturgy is an Outrage upon Christianity'.³⁸

The essayist William Hazlitt observed that ‘It was the only question I ever knew that excited a thorough popular feeling. It struck its roots into the heart of the nation; it took possession of every house or cottage in the kingdom; man, woman, and child took part in it, as if it had been their own concern ... It kept the town in a ferment for several weeks: it agitated the country to the remotest corner. It spread like wildfire over the kingdom; the public mind was electrical’.³⁹

In some parishes, however, there were attempts to oppose resolutions in support of the queen. The meeting of the Bethnal Green vestry that denounced the ‘unjust, unconstitutional and arbitrary measures’ against the lady was not well attended—‘between 30 & 40 Persons’, compared with over a hundred on numerous occasions of local interest.⁴⁰ In suburban London the Queen Caroline affair drew much of its energy from the unpopularity not of her husband but of the government. Shoreditch vestry, resolving on a loyal address to the queen, nevertheless rounded upon those who had tried to prevent the ringing of the church bells on coronation day as persons seeking to ‘establish themselves into a political Junto’, and affirmed its ‘Unshaken Loyalty’ to the King.⁴¹ The notice of a meeting of the vestry of St. John’s Southwark, called to discuss ‘the propriety of presenting a congratulatory address to Her Majesty’ and a petition to restore her name to the liturgy, also proposed discussion of the ‘dismissal of his Majesty’s Ministers and a Liberal extension of the Elective Franchise’.⁴²

Caroline died suddenly in August 1821. She had expressed the wish to be buried in her native Brunswick. This involved taking her body from her residence, Brandenburg House, Hammersmith, through London and on to Harwich. The funeral procession, headed on horseback by one of the churchwardens of Hammersmith, attracted a large and increasingly unruly crowd. At Cumberland Gate, Hyde Park, the level of violence reached such a pitch that Richard Birnie, the former St Martin’s churchwarden, now a Bow Street magistrate, read the Riot Act, and a little later the military escort, having been pelted with stones, opened fire on the crowd.⁴³ The Hammersmith vestry, recording the ‘general feeling of regret for the loss of our most illustrious and much injured Queen Caroline’, had already decided on a subscription ‘for the purpose of erecting some lasting Testimonial of the Respect and affection of the People for her Majesty’, and though no such memorial ever seems to have been erected, the parish provided a free grave plot for two of the rioters shot dead by the troops, even though they were not resident in the parish. Their gravestone, periodically renewed, can be seen today in what is left of the churchyard beneath Hammersmith flyover.⁴⁴

The other great excitement of the 1820s was ‘Catholic Relief’—repealing the penal laws and the ending of the exclusion of Catholics from public office. There were numerous petitions to the House of Commons for or against the proposal. The churchwardens, overseers and inhabitants of Shoreditch petitioned in favour, while Whitechapel, All Saints’ Poplar, Stratford le Bow, St John’s and St. Saviour’s Southwark, some of the City parishes and a minority group of Shoreditch inhabitants petitioned against. In St Stephen Coleman Street in the City there was an attempt to amend a resolution in favour of Relief: ‘That this parish having constantly avoided the agitation of public political questions in it’s [*sic*] Vestry – it is highly desirable that the Parishioners persevere, on the present occasion in the same peaceful plan’. This was voted down 44 to 36. Another amendment, suggesting that since the government ‘sanctioned by a large portion of the intellect of the Country’, had already decided on Relief, ‘it is unwise and impolitic for this parish to interfere’, was lost 45 to 39. A resolution denouncing Relief was adopted. However, the petition to the Commons from the ‘Inhabitants’ of the parish (rather than the vestry) was in favour, though

accompanied by a petition *against* Relief with just one signature, that of 'Thomas Jones, Vestry Clerk of Saint Stephen Coleman-Street'.⁴⁵

But in this particular campaign few of the metropolitan parishes were involved, compared with the agitation against the slave trade clause in the draft peace treaty of 1814 or the Corn Bill in 1814-1815. Some Protestant Dissenting congregations in London petitioned against Relief (though others were in favour), as did one purely ecclesiastical body within the Anglican Church, the Minister and Congregation of the Episcopal Jews Chapel in Bethnal Green, but most London vestries showed no interest in the issue. This contrasted with the situation in Bristol, where nearly all the parishes petitioned against Relief.⁴⁶ This was perhaps because in Bristol poor relief was the responsibility of a Corporation of the Poor, and most other local government functions were exercised by the corporation of the city, so parish vestries were concerned principally with church affairs, whereas in London the vestries had so much non-ecclesiastical business that they either saw themselves primarily as secular bodies or else eschewed sectarian issues to avoid conflict between vestrymen of different denominations. It does seem, however, that the agitation in support of Queen Caroline represented a peak in a short-lived interest in petitioning parliament on national issues.

The attack on closed vestries

The conversion of a closed vestry to an open one had been defeated at St Martin in the Fields in the 1790s, but succeeded, under the leadership of John Wilks, in St Luke's Middlesex in 1808. But in St Pancras in 1819 and Bethnal Green in 1823 open vestries had been replaced by closed vestries, which promised to operate with less disruption. In St Mary's Newington in the 1820s the question of rebuilding the parish church became, according to its opponents, 'a struggle against a faction, which has been endeavouring to impose upon the parishioners a *ruling aristocracy* to supersede the present method of having the parish affairs conducted by the parishioners themselves ... [an attempt] by the Vicar and his creature [at] erecting the one into a little King and the other into a mimic House of Lords'.⁴⁷ In Chelsea, during the same period, the contest for control of the parochial committee, to which most of the vestry's powers were devolved, resulted in 'quite a violent election, almost equal as far as the population goes, to any Westminster election'.⁴⁸

The whole question of vestry democracy became a significant public issue in the late 1820s. A campaign against closed vestries, coordinated by the Westminster radical Francis Place, spread across the metropolitan area. According to Place, 'Many persons came to me from different parishes and in some cases it became requisite for me to take much pains to reconcile differences which had arisen amongst those whose object was reformation of Parish Proceedings'.⁴⁹ By July 1829 a committee established to secure vestry reform in St Marylebone 'was affiliated with committees in St Martin's, Soho, St Giles, Bloomsbury and many other parishes in London, for the purpose of concerting the means for abolishing select vestries'.⁵⁰ The agitation was not merely a matter of speechifying and networking. In St Giles one would-be vestryman was thrown out of the vestry room by the rector, then sued and was awarded £2 damages. At St Martin in the Fields reformers tried to storm the vestry room while Sir Richard Birnie and another magistrate were hearing the vestry's nominations for churchwardens, and were repelled by constables.⁵¹ This campaign fed into the general movement that resulted in the reforming programme of legislation in the 1830s, and needs to be examined in that context. The radical journalist William Cobbett was

probably not alone in supposing that there could be no real reform in vestries till parliament itself was reformed, select vestries being merely ‘young ones, begotten and born from the great *old one*’.⁵² John Gale Jones, like Francis Place a veteran of the London Corresponding Society of the 1790s, was involved in St Pancras vestry politics in 1815, though he later dropped out.⁵³

John Cam Hobhouse, one of the two MPs for Westminster and Francis Place’s parliamentary mouthpiece—a very unsatisfactory one, according to Place—even apologised for bringing the question of vestry reform to the attention of fellow MPs: ‘He was perfectly aware that there existed a great number of important topics which hon. Members were in the habit of bringing before the House, and to which they might conceive they had more reason to claim the attention of the House’.⁵⁴ In the event his bill to establish committees elected directly by the ratepayers, to replace any existing vestry arrangement opposed by a majority of parishioners, was the first major piece of reform legislation passed by the Whig government which took office in 1830.

Though a regular complaint against select vestries was their financial maladministration, the cases of Bethnal Green under Joseph Merceron and St Luke’s Middlesex under John Wilks showed that the same might happen in open vestries. In fact the solidest ground of complaint in the 1820s related to only a few parishes.⁵⁵ In some parishes with open vestries the question of keeping the church in repair and providing additional space for a growing population was unpopular, but elsewhere this was certainly not the case. When the Commission for Building New Churches started work, the Lambeth vestry voted to provide sites for four churches *gratis* and to cover half the building costs.⁵⁶ Islington, which had recently built a new church (St. Mary Magdalene), accepted three more from the Commissioners. Similarly, most parishes with closed vestries managed to obtain new churches without significant controversy, but in Spitalfields, St Pancras and St Marylebone the question of church repair and new building became a major grievance.

At Spitalfields a local businessman offered to repair the fine Hawksmoor church for £1900, though a surveyor estimated the work would cost £2400. The vestry chose to contract the repairs to other firms, which charged £6993 19s, necessitating a loan of £5000 from the contractors’ cronies in the vestry. The bill for plastering alone was £607, compared with under £100 for similar work in the 1790s, and for fitting out the pulpit and cushioning reserved pews £563 14s: the recent bill for repairs and redecorations at St Paul’s Cathedral had been less than £1000.⁵⁷ St Marylebone and St Pancras were similarly lavish in planning new churches: at St Marylebone £800 was paid to the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Benjamin West, for a transparency to serve as an altar piece (but it was never used) and money was borrowed at 20 per cent discount.⁵⁸ The government, then about to provide finance for church-building, considered ‘that the religious and moral habits of the people are the most sure and firm foundation of national prosperity’, and though one may commend the desire to raise temples to God worthy of growing communities, the pressing question of providing space for the 60,000 or more people in each parish who had nowhere to worship might have been considered.⁵⁹ Several churches could have been built for the £72,000 spent on the new St Marylebone church or the £76,697 which the new St. Pancras church cost. Christ Church, Cosway Street, built a little later under the auspices of the Commissioners for New Churches, cost £18,804 and is almost equally imposing.⁶⁰ But perhaps, as in Bethnal Green and St Luke’s, a lot of people did not want to go to church anyway.

The activities of the mob in Bethnal Green in the earlier 1820s suggest that the apparent popular interest in vestry politics might have been artificially created. With

populations of 100,000, both St Pancras and St Marylebone had plenty of manpower from which to rent a mob. Thomas Murphy, who gained control of the St Pancras vestry when, following Hobhouse's Vestry Act of 1831, the closed vestry was abrogated, failed abysmally as a parliamentary candidate in the St. Pancras-St. Marylebone constituency established by the Reform Act of 1832. The obvious explanation is that the voting qualification in the parliamentary election was far higher than in vestry elections. In fact there were 14,644 eligible ratepayers in the two parishes in December 1831, and 8,901 parliamentary voters in the 1832 election, of whom only 913 voted for Murphy. Even if all the ratepayers who could not vote in national elections had supported him, he would have still lost.⁶¹ Murphy's success in the vestry was an example of what in the 1980s was called 'entryism': a small caucus of activists can take over an organisation as long as most other members are supine. Then, as now, people were more interested in national elections than in municipal politics—but, as this article has shown, the two levels of political life are in fact by no means unconnected.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 A.D. Harvey, 'The London vestries 1780-1830: part 1', *The Local Historian [TLH]* vol.39 no.3 (August 2009) pp.179-191
- 2 A.D. Harvey, *Britain in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Batsford, 1978) p.68; for registers of the oaths taken by Middlesex magistrates on assuming office in this period see London Metropolitan Archives [LMA] MJP/Q/4, MJP/Q/5 and MJP/Q/6.
- 3 Thirlwall was a lecturer at St. Dunstan's Stepney, Robson at St. Mary's Whitechapel. Thirlwall's father had been a clerical magistrate, and he himself was appointed to the Essex bench when he obtained a parish in that county; there was evidently money in the family, and according to *Gentleman's Magazine* [GM] vol.97 pt.1 p.568 he married 'the widow of an apothecary with a good fortune'. Robson went up to Cambridge as a sizar (a poor student with a nominal obligation to act as a college servant) and acquired a Nottinghamshire living so impoverished that the parsonage house unfit for habitation. When he became a Middlesex magistrate he had no property qualification in the county, but entered the Nottinghamshire vicarage as his qualification, whereas his colleagues customarily cited their property in Middlesex. He possibly had a much lower income than was usual among magistrates: see LMA MJP/Q/5 p.7.
- 4 *GM* vol.69 (July-Dec 1799) p.1187; *VCH Middlesex* vol. 9 p.242: the offices of parish clerk and vestry clerk had separated in most parishes during the seventeenth century, the latter, formerly a considerable figure in the community and at divine service, had become a minor functionary of the sort that held the inkwell when the parish register was being signed.
- 5 John Shepherd, *A Critical and Practical Elucidation of the Book of Common Prayer* (3rd edn 1817) pp.1-8; 'Memoir of the Author' by one of his daughters, p.3, 8
- 6 Westminster City Archives [WCA] I/183/2, Paddington Vestry Minutes Apr 1793 to Nov 1812, vestry meeting 24 Sep 1798
- 7 *ibid.*, vestry meeting 9 Oct 1798; William Robins, *Paddington: Past and Present* (Camden Town [1853]) p.137n; *VCH Middlesex* vol. 9 p.253; WCA I/183/2, vestry meeting 27 May 1802
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- 11 *ibid.* L/MBG/A/1/4 p.350, 6 Feb 1823
- 12 *ibid.* p.372, 23 Mar 1823
- 13 PP 1830 IV p.675 evidence of Robert Brutton before Select Committee on Vestries 16 Mar 1830
- 14 THLHLA L/MBG/A/1/5 vestry minutes of St Matthew Bethnal Green p.3, 21 May 1823 and p.5, 22 May 1823
- 15 *VCH Middlesex* vol.11 p.215
- 16 London Borough of Hackney Archives [LBHA] P/M/4 vestry minutes of St Mary Stoke Newington 1819-1838 p.10, 22 Sep 1819; F.H.W. Sheppard, *Local Government in St. Marylebone 1688-1835: A Study of the Vestry and Turnpike Trust* (London 1958) p.208; Lambeth Archives Department [LAD] P3/5 Lambeth Vestry Minutes Apr 1816-Nov 1826 p.130, 4 Apr 1820 and p.313, 28 Mar 1826; *VCH Middlesex* vol. 11 p.192
- 17 Rowland Dobie, *The History of the United Parishes of St. Giles in the Fields and St. George Bloomsbury* (London 1829) p.302
- 18 PP 1830 IV p.520-1 evidence of Edwin Ward Scadding before the Select Committee on Vestries 21 May 1829, cf p.531-532, evidence of John Tims 26 May 1829
- 19 THLHLA 2/MBG/A/1/3 vestry minutes of St Matthew Bethnal Green p.166v, 28 Jun 1820; p.168, 6 Jul 1820; p.172 17 Aug 1820; p.177-

- 177v, 27 Oct 1820; p.185v-186, 27 Dec 1820. The last minutes signed by James May jr were for the meeting of 27 Mar 1821 (p.196).
- 20 British Library [BL] Add. Ms 38248 f.37, John Wilks and Thomas Pellatt to Earl of Liverpool 11 Jun 1812; Add. Ms 38281 f.227-8 same to same 6 Dec 1819 and f.229 Liverpool's autograph draft reply 7 Dec 1819. In 1835 Wilks, by now an MP, thanked Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons 'on the part of the Protestant Dissenters' for bringing forward a bill for civil registration of marriage: PD 3rd series vol.26 col.1089, 17 Mar 1835
- 21 Islington Local History Centre [ILHC] St. Luke Vestry Minutes: March 1822-April 1831, p.203, 20 Apr 1827; *Morning Herald* 7 Dec 1827 p.2e
- 22 ILHC St Luke Vestry Minutes: March 1822-April 1831, p.235, John Wilks to vestry 1 Jan 1828
- 23 Electoral arrangements in Boston are described in Roland Thorne (ed). *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820* (5 vols. Secker and Warburg, 1986) vol.2 p.246.
- 24 ODNB vol. 59 p.1-2; this account states however that it was John Wilks junior who was the vestry clerk of the parish of St. Luke 'either at Finsbury or Chelsea'.
- 25 anon., *Queer Times, or Things Topsy Turvy* (London [1832]) pp.1,5
- 26 Robert R. Dozier, *For King, Constitution, and Country: the English Loyalists and the French Revolution* (Lexington, 1983) p.58-59
- 27 BL Add. Ms 16931 f. 69, 81, 128, 143; ILHC Clerkenwell St. James Vestry Minutes 1776-1802 pp.291-293 4 Dec 1792: Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Library Service [RBKCLS] Chelsea vestry 'Book of Orders' 1790-1809 p.35; BL Add. Ms 16931 f. 102-3. See also for the parish of St Margaret Westminster, WCA E2423, vestry minutes of St Margaret Westminster 1790-1798 p.57, 7 Dec 1792 and BL Add. Ms 16930 f 85 11 Dec 1792
- 28 Hammersmith and Fulham Archives and Local History Centre [HFALHC] PAF/1/4 vestry minutes of All Saints Fulham 10 Jan 1796 and 3 Feb 1796
- 29 The National Archives PC 1/32/81, and see e.g. LBHA P/L/2 vestry minutes of St Leonard Shoreditch 1771-1799, p.182, 21 Jan 1796
- 30 *JHC* vol.63, index; LBHA P/L/3 vestry minutes of St Leonard Shoreditch 1799-1820, p.89v-91v 7 Apr 1807; see also J.R. Poynter, *Society and Pauperism: English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795–1834* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969) pp.215-219
- 31 WCA A2205 St. Anne's Westminster Vestry Minutes 21 Dec 1804 to 2 Oct 1816, pp.476-477 7 Mar 1815 and, for latter part of sentence, ILHC Clerkenwell St. James Vestry Minutes 1803-1821 22 May 1814. The very long list of petitions against the Corn Bill may be found in the index of *Journal of the House of Commons* [*JHC*] vols 69 and 70; but whereas petitions from London parishes represented fewer than one in twelve of the total, the texts of the petitions published in the London papers (the ones MPs read) numbered about three from London parishes to one from further afield (see e.g. *Times and Morning Chronicle* March 1815); see also *JHC* vols.50 and 52.
- 32 Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre [CLSAC] P/HA 1/M/1/3 vestry minutes of St John Hampstead 14 Mar 1815 (vicar, two churchwardens, one overseer and three others present); CLSLAC P/PN1/M/1/3 vestry minutes of St Pancras, p.472, 6 Mar 1815 (vestry meeting held at Southampton Arms, Camden Town)
- 33 ILHC Clerkenwell St. James Vestry Minutes 1803-1821, 15 Mar 1815
- 34 See C.W. Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England* (Edward Arnold, 1974) pp.285-292 and A.D. Harvey, *Collision of Empires: Britain in Three World Wars 1792-1945* (Phoenix, 1994) pp.45, 191
- 35 See A.D. Harvey, 'Parish boundary markers and perambulations in London', *TLH* vol.38 no.3 (August 2008) pp.180-193
- 36 HFALHC AH/1/3 vestry minutes of St Paul Hammersmith 5 Jan 1821
- 37 THLHLA L/SGE/A/1/2 vestry minutes of St George Middlesex 1796-1832 vestry meeting 24 Sep 1820
- 38 LBHA P/L/3 vestry minutes of St. Leonard Shoreditch 1799-1820 p.267 10 Aug 1820; P/L/4 vestry minutes of St. Leonard Shoreditch 1820-1831 vestry meeting 2 Aug 1821; Edward V was of course one of the Princes in the Tower, which gives additional poignancy to the reference if the Shoreditch vestry really did know which King Edward was which.
- 39 P.P. Howe (ed) *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt* (Dent, 1930-1934) vol.20 p.136, essay originally published in *The Literary Examiner* 15 Nov 1823
- 40 THLHLA L/MBG/A/1/4 vestry minutes of St Matthew Bethnal Green pp.104, 107, 10 Jan 1821
- 41 LBHA P/L/4 vestry minutes of St Leonard Shoreditch 1820-1831 vestry meeting 2 Aug 1821
- 42 TNA HO 44/7 f 87
- 43 *Annual Register* 1821, p.*140-p.*143
- 44 HFALHC PAH/1/3 vestry minutes of St Paul's Hammersmith 13 Aug 1821; I.J. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in early Nineteenth Century London: John Gast and his times* (Dawson, 1981) pp.147-153
- 45 Guildhall Library, City of London, Ms 4456 (vestry minutes of St Stephen Coleman Street) vol.6 pp.135-136 27 Mar 1829; cf. *JHC* vol.84 p.182; see also LBHA P/L/4 vestry minutes of St Leonard Shoreditch 1820-1831 vestry meeting 18 Feb 1829
- 46 *JHC*, vols. 83 and 84 indexes
- 47 BL printed books 10350 b 5 (6), a handbill reprinted from *Wooler's British Gazette* 30 Mar

- 1823; see also 10350 b 5 (8-10), a series of burlesques, 'The Debates of St. Molly', by Scribo Scratchum
- 48 PP 1830 IV p.500 evidence of Captain George Acklom before Select Committee on Vestries 19 May 1829: Acklom's name is incorrectly spelt Acklam in this text but see e.g. A.N. Ryan (ed) *The Saumarez Papers: Selection from the Baltic Correspondence of Vice Admiral Sir James Saumarez: 1808-1812* (Navy Records Society publications vol. 110, 1968) pp.147, 149, 201. In fact the poll was 1120 to 213, which was much less evenly balanced than in Westminster elections, and the poll for a new organist ten months later 20 Jan 1825 was 1140 to 675—a 36 per cent greater turn out: RBKCLS Chelsea vestry minutes 1822-1833 pp.79-83, 142: Acklom was one of the leaders of the so-called Guardian Society in Chelsea.
- 49 BL Add. Ms 35146 (Francis Place Papers, 'Memorandum of Passing Events') f.99 [1829]
- 50 *St. Giles in the Fields and St George Bloomsbury: Refutation of Charges against the Select Vestry, made in Several Printed Papers Dated 30 April, 26 May, 23 Jun., 15 Dec., 1828: and a Statement of Proceedings up to July 22, 1829* (1829) p.47 fn.
- 51 Dobie, *St. Giles and St. George* p.431; Times 4 Apr 1828 p.3c
- 52 *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* vol.68 col.61, 11 Jul 1829
- 53 Roger Samuel Draper, 'Democracy in St. Pancras: Politics in a Metropolitan Parish, 1779-1844', Harvard PhD dissertation 1979, p.136
- 54 PD n.s. vol. 21 col. 890-91 28 Apr 1829; BL Add. Ms 35146 (Francis Place Papers, 'Memorandum of Passing Events') f.99, 102v, cf. Add. Ms 35148 f.49v-50 Hobhouse to Place, 23 Mar 1830
- 55 anon., *Consideration of Select Vestries, shewing ... the Necessity of their Abolition ... By One of the Non-Select* (1828) p.1
- 56 LAD P 3/5 Lambeth Vestry Minutes Apr 1816–Nov 1826 pp.76-77 5 Mar 1819
- 57 *Considerations on Select Vestries*, pp.29, 32, 61; Dobie, *St. Giles and St. George*, pp.348-349
- 58 PD n.s. vol.19 col.1118, Sir Thomas Baring, 6 Jun 1828
- 59 PD vol.37 col.4.speech by Prince Regent at the opening of the session 27 Jan 1818
- 60 Basil F.L. Clarke, *Parish Churches of London* (Batsford, 1966) pp.126, 128, 139
- 61 F.W.S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (2nd edit. Parliamentary Research Services, 1989) p.14; PP 1831-2 XLIV p.69. There were only slightly fewer ratepayers in St Pancras as compared to St Marylebone, but 3644 ratepayers were not paid up in the former parish as compared to 1379 in the latter. The exclusion of ratepayers who were in arrears from voting was standard procedure in open vestries.

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Dotland deserted: enclosure, economic change and personal ambition in early modern Northumberland

GREG FINCH

There are well over 160 deserted or shrunken villages in Northumberland. The remains of several are still visible on the ground, but many have disappeared or survive only in the cropmarks of aerial photographs—the faint traces of rural depopulation and economic and social change over several centuries. Some were shortlived industrial or mining ventures, many others the consequence of agricultural improvement.¹ While the broad patterns and timescales are generally well understood, we can rarely piece together more precisely the sequence of events for an individual settlement. However this can be achieved for the small settlement of Dotland, thanks to the survival of useful estate documents, and relevant parish and manorial records. Their story illustrates the economic pressures at work in Tynedale in South Northumberland in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a key period in the history of the local market town, Hexham, and surrounding district. They also remind us of the importance of individual people in effecting change.

Dotland lies three miles south of Hexham town in ‘the Shire’, the only part of the once much larger Regality of Hexhamshire to retain the name today. Earthworks on the 2½-inch OS map are labelled ‘medieval village (site of)’, the 1839 tithe map shows a single large farm, and contemporary directories referred to Dotland as ‘formerly a town’.² The surrounding upland hill country was relatively poor farmland but the first settlers at Dotland chose a site 750 feet above sea level in beautiful rolling country, commanding fine sweeping views to the north as far as the Cheviot hills, east across the woods of Corbridge Common towards Newcastle, and south to the open moorland above Blanchland. The ground rises gently to the west, giving some protection from the prevailing wind. A line of springs lay a few yards to the south. The settlement was probably first laid out, to a deliberate plan, by the archbishopric of York in the eleventh or early twelfth century and later developed by Hexham Priory.³ It had clearly suffered some depopulation by the time of the ‘Black Book’, a fourteenth or fifteenth century survey of the priory estates. This listed ten husbandlands (of fifteen acres each) and ten cottages (of 1-3 acres each) at Dotland, probably indicating the extent of the original settlement—around twenty households. However, it named only six tenants, reflecting the debilitating results of the long period of war, lawlessness and plague that ravaged this border county. A survey taken at the time of the Dissolution suggests a similar number of tenants at Dotland.⁴ Superficially this justifies the labelling of Dotland as a deserted *medieval* village, but a reconstruction of the community in the seventeenth century tells a different story.



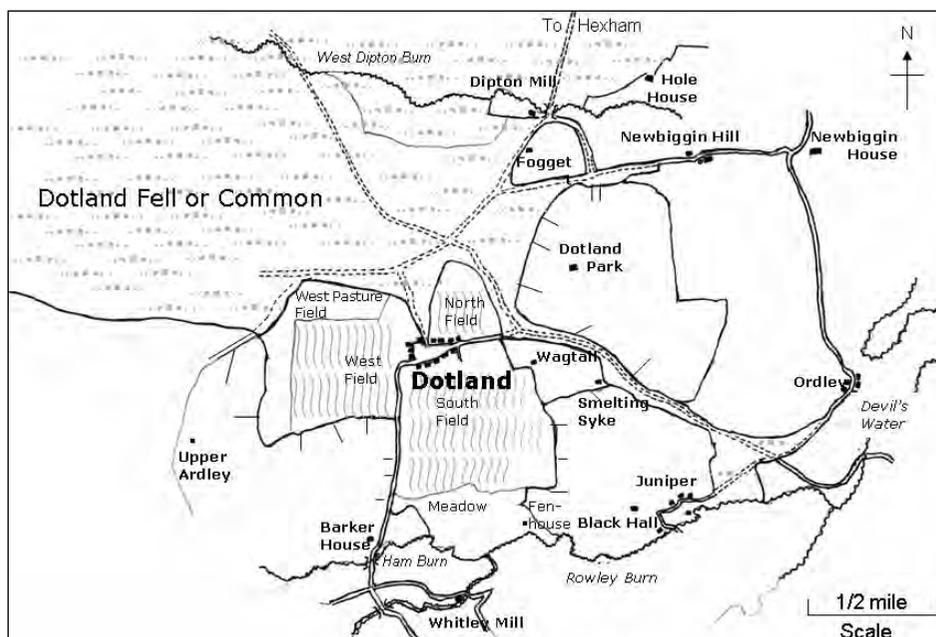
1. An aerial view of Dotland in 1986, showing the earthworks of part of the village site. South Field lies to the bottom left of the photograph, North Field to top right. The original medieval bank of the west field can be seen to the left of the road at the top. Part of the village lies under the nineteenth and twentieth century farm buildings shown here above the square farmhouse, built in 1807. Dotland Town Foot is at bottom right
(Crown copyright, National Monuments Record)

The landscape

The local landscape in the seventeenth century can be reconstructed using later maps. A valuable abstract of title to the ownership of Dotland from 1666 to 1755 has survived, summarising earlier wills, deeds and mortgages which have now largely disappeared.⁵ Figure 2 is a tentative reconstruction of the area in the late seventeenth century, drawn from these sources and from field-name evidence. This was predominantly a landscape of dispersed farms surrounded by their own enclosed fields, with the occasional larger settlement such as Dotland and Ordley.⁶ Dotland sat in the middle of four large open fields, parcels of which were described in 1686 as:

lye[ing] intermixt in the sev[era]l territories & Townfields of Dotland: One parcel containing 3 riggs in the south fields of Dotland ... one parcel containing 3 Riggs and 2 Butts in the West Pasture field of Dotland next to a certain Place called the Crook; One parcel in the West Field of Dotland containing 1 Yoaking with a Butt at the Head thereof & a Balke to the same belonging adjoining to a Parcel of Ground called Marys Headland; One parcel containing 1 Yoaking in the North Field of Dotland; the Balkes to the Parcels of Ground.

Here are the individual ridges (*riggs, yoakings*) of communal ploughing and the butts in which the ploughteams of oxen would turn at the end of the strips, with each



2. Seventeenth century Dotland

tenement's strips 'intermixt' with each other within a four-field system. The north and south fields are fairly easy to map, but the boundary between the west field and the west pasture field is speculative: the pasture field was perhaps a later enclosure where the land slopes away to the north, the best south-facing land having been enclosed early. The pattern on the ground points to an original two-field system at Dotland (the west and south fields) of perhaps 100 acres each, which would be consistent with the cultivated acreages listed in the Black Book. Elsewhere in Northumberland there is evidence that where common arable land was adjacent to wasteland, the waste was frequently ploughed up, creating new fields of unequal size.⁷ These new fields were often temporary, ploughed for a few years until the meagre fertility of the thin soils had been exhausted.⁸ Others became a permanent part of a three- or a four-field system, as appears to have been the case at Dotland, with the adoption of the west and north fields. The hay meadows must have been to the south, on the damper ground close to the Ham Burn. Up to 400 acres of arable, pasture and meadow were worked by Dotland's tenants, depending on how much woodland remained.

There was also a wide tract of unenclosed rough grazing on the fell, covering most of the land between Hexham and Dotland and up to the open moorlands to the west between the Shire and Allendale. The common land opened out in a widening strip down the north-facing slope beyond Dotland, allowing direct access from the village tenements to the fell. The 'in ground' of the farm at Dotland Park was separated from the land at Dotland and Wagtail by a thin strip of common land running south-eastwards to the Devil's Water. This carried a drover's route to the south from the old Hexham to Carlisle road, allowing cattle from the Borders to bypass the town itself. The district was not purely agricultural. There had long been a corn mill at Whitley Mill, and by the mid-seventeenth century the fast-flowing streams running to the Devil's Water and the Tyne had been tapped for water power to drive corn, fulling and

lead-smelting mills at Dipton, and at Dye House where a small industrial hamlet was emerging.

The village layout is open to conjecture but the earliest available detailed map of the area (see figure 3) is suggestive of a village tapering towards the house still named Dotland Town Foot to the east. The adjacent field marked 'No.33' was named 'Green Head'. This would be consistent with other regional villages with rows of cottages on either side of a wide green; by 1820 only a few cottages remained at the western end of the site



3. Estate map of 1820: Dotland Town Foot was incorrectly labelled Wagtail by the surveyor. (NRO G 309/3: reproduced with permission of Northumberland Collections Service)

The community

What of the people who lived at Dotland and worked the land? From the 1680s the Hexham parish registers contain details of residence and occupations alongside the bare facts of baptism, marriage and burial allowing Dotland's inhabitants to be identified. Other sources include the abstract of title, the 1663 ratebook, the 1664 and 1674 hearth tax returns for Hexhamshire Low Quarter, lists of churchwardens and, sporadically, the manor court records. A partial reconstruction of the community can therefore be attempted. There were at least twenty households at Dotland in the late-seventeenth century, when the community was as populous as it had been in the High Middle Ages. This implies a its population of between 75 and 100, perhaps one-seventh of that of the Shire in which it was the largest single settlement.⁹ Between eight and ten of these households farmed the open fields. It is probably coincidental that there were also ten medieval farm holdings, because the number had dwindled to six in the sixteenth century, but it is tempting to see significance in the number of the *other*, non-farming, half of the households in the 1680s. Were the ten or so heather-

thatched cottages around the green regularly patched up, or crudely rebuilt,¹⁰ to provide rudimentary housing for the transient and landless in country otherwise characterised by dispersed farmsteads?

After 1603 the determined efforts by local landowners to reduce the customary rights claimed by tenants were successfully resisted in Hexham.¹¹ Tenants with copyhold leases became, to all intents and purposes, owners—and were often referred to as such. They were able to sell their own land as long as they and the purchaser respected the customary ritual of surrendering at the manor court, which then admitted the new tenant for a nominal rent and entry fine. At Dotland this produced a two-tier structure of landholding. By the mid-1670s only Gilbert Dodd and his family worked their own copyhold land. The other occupiers were sub-tenants of the copyholding ‘owners’. The Dodds had around 100 acres of land, a quarter of the total, and half a dozen sub-tenants farmed holdings of around 40-45 acres, leaving three others farming 10-20 acres each. The original medieval cottage plots had evidently been absorbed into larger holdings. The Rowland family looms large in each category. One branch had several of the holdings under copyhold leases, while various brothers and sons within another branch, apparently only distantly related to the first, worked the land as their sub-tenants.

The sub-tenancies themselves took on a degree of formality, with fathers succeeded by sons. Richard Swindall, living at nearby Yarridge and Hole House in the 1690s, was ‘of Dotland’ within two years of his father’s death there in 1699. Part of the tenement of about 40 acres farmed by Joseph Bell in 1668 was occupied by his son Robert in 1690, nine years after his father’s death. John Errington farmed the other half, suggesting that holdings might still be fragmented rather than consolidated. This was farming on a small scale and on a traditional pattern: oats and bigg (barley) growing in the intermixed strips in the open fields, stock grazing the fallow field and fell, and hay cut down in the meadow.¹²

Dotland’s small farmers typically needed an additional source of income. In 1686 William Simpson, blacksmith, shared a tenement of some 40 acres with John Aynsley, a weaver. There were other weavers, joiners, tailors, coopers and labourers, and some classified simply as ‘poor’. Careful use of the baptism and burial registers indicate a high level of infant mortality at Dotland during this period, compared to the national average (see Table 1).¹³

Table 1 Infant mortality

deaths under the age of one year, per 1000 births		
England and Wales	1675-1724	192
Whickham	1650-1749	160
Dotland	1661-1716	190-230

In most rural areas infant death rates were typically much lower, and even in ‘semi-urban’ Whickham, growing rapidly with Tyneside’s coal industry, infant mortality was significantly below the national average over a broadly comparable period. Yet the small, breezy hilltop community of Dotland stands in stark and sombre contrast, registering rates of infant mortality at least as high and perhaps significantly greater. Until further research is undertaken on other communities in Tynedale it is unclear

if—measured by infant mortality—Dotland was worse than the district as a whole, but unhealthy and poor it certainly was.

Some families were hit particularly hard. Spare a thought for Thomas Rowland, a sub-tenant whose baby daughter Elizabeth was buried six weeks after her baptism in 1681. She was followed to the grave four years later by her mother Mary and her two-month old sister, also Mary. Nicholas Pearson, a tailor of Dotland lost three young daughters in the space of seven months in 1709. By 1713 he had moved—or perhaps escaped—down the hill to Dalton. We cannot know how much hardship and desperation went unrecorded in the poor backwoods of the Shire at this time, but there are occasional glimpses. In the summer of 1706, Margaret Lighton, a poor widow of Dotland, petitioned the quarter sessions in Hexham because she had obtained no relief from the parish overseers for her daughter Mary, who was 'lame from her infancy and very much troubled with Infirmity and being noe wayes able to help her selfe nay not soe much as putt on her owne Cloathes. Altho she is about sixteen years of age and ever since she was borne ye petitioner has endeavoured to keep her & maintaine her—yet in a mean condition and never was troublesome to the parish but is not able to doe itt longer'.¹⁴ Young Mary, 'a poor spinster', was buried four years later.

Our most vivid images of historical poverty are those which accompanied the industrial revolution: the grim and dark Victorian urban squalor described by Dickens, the pinched dirty faces and bare feet captured in early photographs. The general absence of such graphic imagery in the historical record of earlier times should not fool us into seeing the pre-industrial world as a happy sunlit meadow before it fell under the heavy shadow of those dark satanic mills. Dotland's families scratched a hard, thin living from their cold hilltop in the late seventeenth century. The 'little ice age' must have been keenly felt by the inhabitants of those draughty hovels. As we chart the course and causes of the decline of this small community, bear this in mind before deciding whether to lament it.

The Rowland family

On 28 November 1666 William Rowland of Dotland Park hastily made his will, being 'sicke in bodie but of whole sound and perfect remembrance,¹⁵ and was laid to rest in Hexham Abbey the very next day. He could only have been in his 40s, had a young family, and there were affairs to settle. He was the most prosperous of Dotland's copyholders, with five tenements—all let to sub-tenants, and accounting for just over half of the land. How they were accumulated over the previous century is unknown, but Dotland was apparently seen by the Rowlands as the foundation of the landed estate to which a prospering family could aspire.¹⁶ Any such long-term plan was set back by William's early death. Three tenements were bequeathed to his eldest son John, aged eight, and the other two were set aside to provide for his widow Eleanor, and younger sons and daughters.

Looking back from the 1680s, this probably seemed merely a temporary setback. We know nothing of John Rowland's upbringing and have no direct evidence of his character, but the zeal with which he resumed the acquisition of property at Dotland, at the age of 22, suggests a desire to achieve his family's destiny and indicates great energy. In November 1680 he acquired his mother's tenement. This was not straightforward, as within two years of her husband's death Eleanor had remarried, to Robert Jopling (one of the witnesses to William's will). He had plans to build his own estate in the area. Presumably young John and his siblings were brought up in the family home of Dotland Park, but the head of the house was not a Rowland. The land

acquired by Jopling at Dotland and nearby Newbiggin Hill, soon after his marriage to Eleanor, was evidently promised to his own two daughters, John's younger half-sisters, for John later had to buy it from them, long after his stepfather's death in 1675.

John Rowland was a young man in a hurry, buying three more of Dotland's tenements by 1685 to add to the three he had inherited. In 1681 he paid £160 for a tiny holding that had changed hands for £120 only eight years before. Buoyant as the local land market might have been, sellers saw an eager young man coming. Rowland, though, probably considered it a fair price to help bring half of Dotland back into the family's hands. He married Catherine Charlton around 1682, and when their first child, Eleanor, was baptised in August 1683 he was referred to as 'Mr John Rowland of Dotland Park'. At the manor court that year he was foreman of the jury and described as 'gentleman'. He was a minor public figure in Hexham for most of his adult life, variously serving as churchwarden, manor court jury foreman, and for many years as a governor of the grammar school, where perhaps he had been educated.¹⁷ Despite these responsibilities, Dotland remained the focus of his attention—and land acquisition was not undertaken for its own sake. We can be fairly certain that he sought the enclosure of Dotland's open fields, to increase the productivity and value of the estate.

Agricultural change and enclosure in Tynedale

The rapid growth of Newcastle and its coal industry drove the economic development of the region throughout this period. In contrast to the slight fall in the national population in the second half of the seventeenth century, the population of County Durham increased by about 60 per cent between 1666 and 1736, concentrated in the industrial area along the south bank of the Tyne, and it is reasonable to postulate a comparable trend across the river in Newcastle and its environs.¹⁸ Although contemporary travellers, especially those from the south, complained about the local roads, Hexham was not isolated—the leather trades, in particular, must have been stimulated by the rapid growth of the regional metropolis 25 miles away. Parish registers and the hearth tax returns of 1664 and 1674 suggest a town population of some 1,500-1,600 in the 1670s, growing to reach 2,000 in the 1690s.¹⁹ Periodic local concern over incoming 'foreigners' is unlikely to have been coincidental.²⁰ The established trade in grain between East Anglia and Newcastle could have accounted for only a small proportion of what was needed to feed a growing population.²¹

The development of Tyneside put great pressure on agricultural resources throughout the region, encouraging a greater concentration of arable farming on the better lands in the Tyne valley, and leaving the uplands to more extensive cattle- and sheep-rearing. But the prevalence of open field systems in Tynedale, in the hills as well as the valleys, was a hindrance, so enclosure became increasingly attractive, allowing greater freedom of action by individual farmers, improvement of drainage, and more advanced rotations of those crops best suited to the land. The later seventeenth century saw extensive enclosure of open field systems in Tynedale, with three different approaches: mutual agreement between the landholders; piecemeal fashion as neighbours exchanged and consolidated strips to create units large enough to enclose *within* fields which remained open; or a single enterprising owner acquiring the whole of the land. Thus, the copyhold tenants of Acomb enclosed their land by mutual agreement in 1694, and at Warden in the same year the manor court decreed that after 'the next harvest after the corne is of the ground they shall have all there land that is undivided measured by four or more judicial men and stob'd out by the s[ai]d

men, so every one may have there portion'.²² In contrast, at Corbridge in the 1720s the copyholders and vicar unsuccessfully petitioned the lord of the manor, the duke of Somerset, for leave to enclose. Not until 1776 were the fields of Corbridge enclosed.²³

There is much evidence of piecemeal enclosure in Hexham's open fields. To take but two examples, in 1669 there was '1 close containing 7 acres arable, meadow or pasture lying in Hexham East Field nigh by Halliwelldean called Broad Close', and in 1685 'an inclosure of ground ... lying in Gillygatfeilds in Hexham in a place there called Hellpool containing by estimation one and a half acres of arable ground'.²⁴ Piecemeal enclosure was a more viable option in Hexham than total enclosure by mutual agreement, given the number of copyholders and the large fields, but as late as 1754 some land was still open. The enclosure of a few strips at a time left a pattern of small narrow fields immediately around the built-up area of the town. Piecemeal enclosure also occurred in smaller settlements, such as at Slaley, where sixteenth and seventeenth century surveys show small enclosures within the great north and south fields, and today long narrow fields extend north and south from the linear village.²⁵

Enclosure by a single landowner is less easy to detect because no written agreement was necessary. We do not even know the full extent of the smaller open field systems, where land was brought easily and early into the hands of a single owner and then silently enclosed. In the Shire below Dotland the Black Book mentioned 'Dalton field', a term which typically meant open field but here probably amounted to no more than 100 acres.²⁶ The six holdings which the Black Book lists at Yarridge, now the site of Hexham racecourse, are likely to have been ploughed communally, an island of cultivation high on the ridge surrounded by the rough grazing of Hexham Common. A 1635 rental shows Yarridge to have been in the hands of a single copyholder, and the land was perhaps already enclosed.²⁷ In 1583 Fallowfield, above Acomb, was a small and shrunken village still surrounded by open fields, but in 1663 it was in single ownership and probably enclosed.²⁸ Careful study of early settlement patterns would reveal many more examples.

Enclosure by a single landowner might have devastating consequences for the local community. Sir Edward Radcliffe dealt briskly with Dilston in the 1630s by introducing new 21-year leases, enclosing the East Field and Town Field, and removing the old village from the land north of his new mansion.²⁹ This exemplifies the stereotype of enclosure, much criticised from Tudor times onwards. Excavation and documentary research into the deserted village of West Whelpington has shown that the village was finally depopulated between 1719 and 1722, a few decades after it was bought by a Newcastle merchant: 'The depopulation of this and other Northumberland villages needed no more than a landlord with spare capital and a tenant willing to take a lease with the expectation of making a profit'.³⁰

Dotland enclosed

The opportunities created by Newcastle's economic growth 25 miles to the east were surely clear to the young John Rowland. Those around him with long memories must have been aware of the increasing value of good land since the turn of the century. Thus, the rental value at Hole House, with well-sheltered meadows and grazing down near the Dipton Mill, showed a fourfold increase between 1608 and 1663, as did the Rowland tenements at Newbiggin Hill and other nearby farms in the Shire for which a comparison can be made.³¹ These were all separate farms, unconstrained by communal open field farming. Unfortunately Dotland was not included in the 1608 survey, so we cannot tell whether it was getting left behind, but a tentative calculation

of rental value suggests that it generated less than 3s per acre in 1663 compared with 4s at nearby Newbiggin, a difference that would have been noticeable enough.

Rowland might initially have tried to achieve the enclosure of Dotland by orchestrating an agreement with the other copyholders. In 1680 there were five, and two of those were his mother and his brother. The manor court offered a forum. He is first mentioned as juror at the Anick Grange manor court in 1680, and from 1683 was often its foreman.³² The office was usually seen as a chore, and many jurors were fined for non-attendance, but only Rowland sat for Dotland at those annual meetings between 1680 and 1694 for which records survive. He might have seen—and perhaps had heard from his stepfather, a jury foreman in the 1670s—that manor courts were not invariably a useless medieval relic. Surviving records show that an active and enterprising participant could wield substantial local influence, sitting in judgement over the minor byelaw infringements of his neighbours and confirming the exact entitlement or extent of copyholds brought for jury attention by the manor's steward. Nevertheless, if he sought enclosure by agreement he was unsuccessful, and so direct acquisition of land continued. By 1686 Gilbert Dodd was the only copyholder outside the Rowland family.

Enclosure was inevitably followed by high outlays on ditching, hedging and walling, and it is doubtful whether Gilbert Dodd had the resources to spare. In 1663 he had sold part of his copyhold, perhaps to cover an earlier debt, and in November 1686 this land, a 'parcel of Ground containing by Estimation three riggs ... being in the south fields of Dotland & bounding on the [said] John Rowland on the East and West', was in turn bought by Rowland from Robert Yarrow of Simonburn. The piecemeal enclosure of Rowland's land continued. He was still only 29, while Gilbert Dodd was much older. Perhaps the latter's eldest son William would in time prove more tractable.

But money was a problem. The abstract of title does not suggest that any of Rowland's purchases between 1680 and 1686 (some £450 in total) needed the support of mortgage borrowing, but from May 1687 this changed. Dotland purchases were offered as security for loans. In February 1686 his wife Catherine died, followed by their younger daughter Bridget almost exactly a year later. John's hopes for posterity rested upon the survival of his elder daughter Eleanor, to whom he bequeathed his Dotland property in a new will in July 1688.³³ He pushed on with his acquisitions, paying £500 to his Jopling half-sisters in 1690 to buy their Dotland tenement, together with the land at Newbiggin Hill and the Dipton Mill bought by their father (for only half that sum) twenty years earlier. But now everything had to be borrowed, including the full £500 of that purchase. The younger half-sister came back for more, selling her residual rights in that property for a further £298 in 1695. A few months earlier John had bought Wagtail and Smelting Syke, 50 acres of land immediately east of Dotland. By then he had seemingly given up trying to buy out either the Dodds or his own brother Thomas, who still held the tenement inherited from his father, although long since removed to Newcastle where he was a pewterer.

This purchase brought Rowland's Dotland holding to 320 acres, sufficient to allow reorganisation and improvement. He had already invested in a new and substantial house: a 'capital message' appears in the records for the first time in 1691. While this might have improved his rental income Rowland's financial position remained difficult. A sequence of notes from creditors during the late 1690s recorded the increasing size of his debt: from £1060 in 1696 to £1312 by April 1701. The evidence of his earlier borrowings shows that Rowland had barely kept abreast of interest

payments until 1696, and from then the annual interest charges must have amounted to far more than his gross rental income from Dotland. They remained unpaid.³⁴

His response was that of many in his predicament. He borrowed more. A further loan of £208 was obtained in 1701, and another £400 less than a year later. His Dotland collateral was still good, but he was now borrowing heavily against his original inheritance, as well as his later purchases. He intended to press on with ditching, walling, enclosing and reorganising, for a remortgaging deed of February 1704 referred to his tenements in Dotland as 'the whole into four parts to be equally divided'. But this still excluded his brother's land and that of the Dodds. Rowland still had a plan, but two years after borrowing more money he had yet to drive it through, and in fact he never would. In all likelihood, he simply could not afford it.

Some 300 acres of poor upland soil in a county with plenty more of the same might not seem a big prize, but John Rowland was not the only one to see its potential. By the turn of the century a great deal of money was being made in Newcastle, and in time-honoured fashion much of it found its way back to the land. As well as being the most secure asset, unenclosed and unimproved land had potential for dramatic growth in value. Rowland's main creditor in the 1690s was James Reay, 'gentleman' of Fawdon or Coxlodge. Within months of lending Rowland £600 in 1691 Reay bought up his two other outstanding Dotland debts at a premium, and lent more to him as the 1690s progressed. Often, by such processes, the creditor eventually acquired the land, and this may have been what Reay expected, but there were far bigger players in this game. One was the Newcastle lawyer John Ord.

John Ord

Ord was born a year earlier than John Rowland, to an apparently comfortable Newcastle family. His wealth and influential position on Tyneside were helped by his background and two judicious marriages, but also owed much to his business ability and political skill. His most important and enduring role was as agent and lawyer for the north-eastern estates and interests of the diplomat and landowner Edward Wortley Montagu of Yorkshire. Trusted with considerable independence of action by Wortley, Ord was one of the five colliers who in about 1708 formed 'the Regulation', a supplier monopoly largely orchestrated by the energetic Gateshead merchant and entrepreneur William Cotesworth and the patrician Henry Liddell of Ravensworth. While others in 'the Regulation' were wary of Ord, correctly believing that he saw Wortley's interest as superior to that of the cartel, his shrewd judgement, command of the law and wily political talent made him indispensable, especially in harness with Cotesworth. In 1717, for example, Ord took a deft and discreet lead in determining how to collude in a clandestine shipping monopoly of the Newcastle to London coal trade.³⁵

An effective operator, he remained within the circle of regional power and influence but without the additional visibility that comes from aspiring to be at the very centre. For nearly twenty years he was entrenched within Newcastle's civic community as under-sheriff of the city, but appears not to have pursued the spectacle and trappings of the highest positions of public leadership. He endowed a charity school in 1705 with the stipulation that his patronage was to be kept secret until after his death. Perceptive contemporaries realised that Ord's consummate subtlety of action was not to be confused with a lack of determination. The redoubtable Lady Bowes of Gibside railed in 1716 that 'Old Wortley ... and J[ohn] O[rd] are two of the greatest r[ogues] that ever a county was blest withal; they will by right or wrong come at any means to

purchase estates, but at last go to the D[evil]'.³⁶ Ord would have taken this as a compliment.

As early as 1686, in his determination to secure a lead mining lease at Blanchland, he urged his own London agent to offer cash and to 'break not for [the sake of] 20s, 40s or £3'. Later, as the owner of lead mines there and at Hunstanworth, he was not afraid to take on the London Lead Company, using his control of the water supply to their Shildon mine engine as leverage in a dispute. At first denying he had cut off the supply, he 'at last did remember that there was a Passage through his Ground for water. And that he would write to his Agent in the Country to set free the water that it might have free course to Shildon. And all the other grievances were referred to the Commissioners Agent'.³⁷

Amid his wide range of other activities, he set his sights on Dotland from 1704. Rowland's landlord at Dotland Park was Sir William Blackett, and it was probably he, in the course of his business dealings with Ord, who brought Dotland—and the perilous position of John Rowland—to Ord's attention. In February 1704, acting anonymously and using John Clutterbuck, a prosperous city neighbour, as his trustee, Ord advanced Rowland a new mortgage of £2300 secured on Dotland. This allowed Rowland to clear his outstanding debt of £1934. The balance must have been needed to pay other creditors, for none of the new principal had been paid off a year later. Rather, a further £141 of interest charges was added. Rowland hung on. Ord perhaps felt that if Rowland knew who he was dealing with he would be more inclined to succumb, and in May 1705 revealed that Clutterbuck was merely acting in trust for him. By the summer of 1706 Rowland owed Ord £2540, secured against his entire estate at Dotland, Newbiggin Hill and Dipton Mill. But it took another, more personal, tragedy to sway him. That same summer Rowland's unmarried daughter Eleanor died, aged 23. With her died any hope Rowland had of preserving Dotland for his descendants. Within two months, in October 1706, Ord had taken possession of Dotland, the deal sweetened by a further £200. Ord knew that money talked, but he also knew the importance of understanding the other needs and motives of those with whom he dealt.

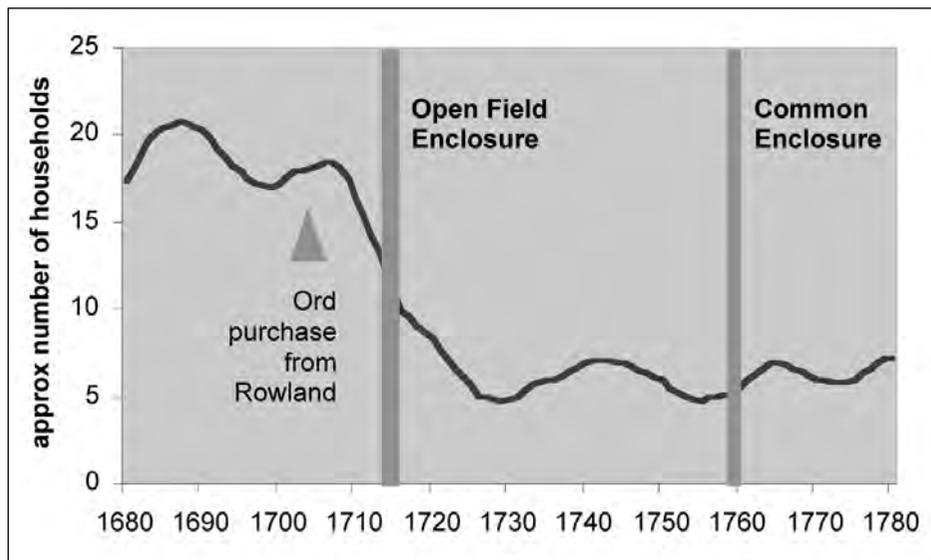
The eighteenth century

John Rowland saw out his days at Dotland Park, serving as a governor of the grammar school until at least 1718 and doing occasional duty as churchwarden. But his own inheritance, together with any dowry from his long-dead wife Catherine, and 35 years of purchase and investment, was reduced to Ord's final £200. He died in 1732, having seen Ord also buy out his brother's tenement (by then in the hands of his nephew, another John, of Newcastle) and that of the Dodds, within days of each other in May 1714. William Dodd, Dotland's last copyhold occupier, went quite cheaply. His ninety acres cost Ord just £200.³⁸ A 1721 rental of Ord's estate suggests that enclosure followed.

Dotland was split into four holdings, probably those foreseen by Rowland, and Ord kept the largest of these in hand.³⁹ The 1721 rental value, some 7s per acre, was more or less double that of 1714 (and in the case of Dodd's farm even higher). It is likely that the regular field pattern shown on the OS map was created between 1714 and 1721, perhaps immediately after the harvest of 1714. John Ord died in 1721 and the estate passed to one of his younger sons, James, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. His agent appears to have been unsatisfactory, for in the 1740s, when James Ord eventually tired of Dotland and sold it, the price obtained was less than its probable

1721 value. One can imagine his father turning in his grave.⁴⁰ The new owners, the Claverings of Axwell, were from the same small network of landed Tyneside coal proprietors as John Ord.

Under their ownership there was a further dramatic change to the local landscape: the enclosure of the common land on Dotland Fell in 1760. In 1754 the adjacent Hexham East and West Commons had been enclosed by private Act of Parliament on the initiative of Sir Walter Blackett MP, lord of the manor of Hexham and active local improver.⁴¹ His land at Dotland Park would have entitled him to a significant proportion of Dotland Fell, so it seems likely that he was also the instigator of this enclosure. Whereas in Hexham there were many small copyholders, the small number of interested parties at Dotland meant that its enclosure could be achieved more cheaply and efficiently by private agreement. The enclosure of Dotland Fell, from the Dipton Mill to Dotland village, from Juniper to the high open moors, extinguished the old grazing rights and replaced them with the new fields in proportion to the acreage belonging to the 'in ground' farms. The modern road pattern was laid down, and was shown on the accompanying map.⁴² In less than fifty years the local landscape changed far more than in long centuries before or since, but by then there were far fewer inhabitants for this to affect.



4. Estimated households at Dotland (nine year rolling average)

The consequences for Dotland

As figure 4 implies, references to separate Dotland families fall noticeably from 1710. In some cases the record of a burial provides the final mention of a long-standing family name, perhaps indicating the passing of the last impoverished occupant of a dilapidated cottage. Although the scrupulous detail with which the parish registers had hitherto been kept deteriorated from 1716, the decline in Dotland references predates this. The long-term picture is clear. A 1745 list of tenants, and parish register entries for that year, suggest that there were just seven households in Dotland; six can be deduced from entries on the 1762 militia roll.⁴³ The twenty or so households of the late seventeenth century were reduced to six by the 1760s, but this almost certainly

happened during the short period following Ord's purchase of the estate, as the open fields were enclosed and the estate reorganised.

It would be easy to characterise this as the traditional stereotype of enclosure, with John Ord, the wealthy city lawyer, cast in the role of heartless new owner without a personal attachment to the land, destroying the ancient village, evicting its occupants, and converting the communal ploughland to sheep pasture. The actual course of events was less dramatic. John Rowland had been making some changes for at least the previous 15 years, and some of his borrowings in the 1690s were probably directed towards equipping himself to farm the land directly, or reducing the number of sub-tenants, or both. There were four or five Rowland cousins at Dotland in the late 1680s, most of whom were his sub-tenants, but only the poor widow Margaret seems to have remained a decade later. New names appearing in the parish registers suggest that cottages vacated by long-standing residents were temporarily reoccupied, but many of these people also disappeared after a few years. Some described as 'yeomen' are later recorded as labourers, implying a move to a landless state. Yet it is likely that people were drawn away rather than pushed out. The last mention of Edmund Rowland at Dotland was in 1694, but by 1701 he was farming two miles away at Eshills and when he died in 1726 left over £40.⁴⁴

Though the population of Dotland was falling, it was rising in the Shire as a whole. Baptism entries indicate a rise from around 700 during the second half of the seventeenth century to around 750 in the first decades of the eighteenth, and in 1713 the parish priest estimated a figure of over 800.⁴⁵ Lead was mined locally at Hackford and Burntshieldhaugh, and much more was carried over the fell from Blanchland and Allendale for smelting at Dukesfield and Blackhall,⁴⁶ while woven cloth was fullled at Dye House, Lamb Shield and Dipton mills. Whatever the short term fluctuations, the eighteenth century was a time of expansion—from the 1760s onwards the Hexham and Whitley Chapel registers show that a by-product of the enclosure of Dotland Fell was the appearance of new cottages along the new roads. By 1801 the population of the Shire was over 1000.

Dotland was not completely deserted and neither was it completely changed. The remaining half-dozen or so eighteenth-century households included the Simpsons, blacksmiths since at least the 1660s who were still at their Dotland forge until at least 1745. The smithy itself is recorded on various occasions through to the 1850s, when there were still six households left. An 1828 county directory also records a cartwright, tailor and shoemaker at Dotland, conveniently placed astride the road from the Shire into Hexham.⁴⁷ The Robert Bell listed on Ord's rental of 1721 was almost certainly the same man, born at Dotland in 1658, who had learned husbandry from his father on the ancient open riggs. Enclosure did not necessarily even mean a wholesale conversion to pastoral farming and a consequent reduction in the labour force for ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing. Thus, a 1724 deed refers to 100 acres of 'land' at Dotland and Newbiggin, a term normally implying arable. In 1793, 35 per cent of the value of farm stock auctioned at Dotland Park was the 'value of corn sown'. The price of corn rose sharply with the onset of the Napoleonic Wars, but throughout the Shire so did the value of pasture and common grazing for the Galloway ponies that brought huge volumes of lead ore over the fells.⁴⁸ At Dotland 184 acres were still in arable use in 1854.⁴⁹

Patterns of land use and farm holdings changed slowly. The disappearance of longstanding sub-tenants by the 1690s suggests that at least some of the reduction took place before John Ord bought the estate, and an account book from the 1770s shows that there were still four tenants half a century later.⁵⁰ The names of the farmers listed

there, and in the 1762 militia roll, disappear only gradually from the records. It was the great wartime farming boom of the 1790s, and the subsequent depression, that brought the greatest changes. In about 1807 the estates were consolidated into two large farms, Dotland East and West, coinciding with the building of the large square farmhouse which dominates the landscape to this day.⁵¹ When the leases came up again in 1820 they were combined into the one large farm of 850 acres shown on the 1839 tithe map.⁵²

What remained of the old settlement was swept away in 1854, with a change of tenancy at the farm and the construction of new barns and byres.⁵³ The open space of the old village green was carved up by the drystone walls of the road to Hexham. The place where once people met by the well, exchanging rumours in the still evening about how much money young Mr. Rowland owed, was now a yard in front of solid Victorian outbuildings. The Rowlands and the Ords were forgotten. The world had moved on, leaving little but a few crude courses of roughly-worked sandstone in the paddock across the road and the gentle myth that Dotland had been 'formerly a town'.

Conclusion

Dotland was never much more than a hamlet, but it survived over several centuries, its population fluctuating between six and twenty households for much of that time. It suffered two significant falls in population, both quite rapid. The medieval decline, linked to plague and border violence, was suffered in common with the rest of the region and beyond. But the early-eighteenth century fall in population stands in contrast to expansion and growth elsewhere. Opportunities created by one of the nation's most important centres of economic development, just about visible on the eastern horizon, drew some people away from the marginal settlement on its cold hill. Yet money generated by that same growth engine came to Dotland to enclose its fields and improve its farming—not to rebuild its poorer cottages. Given the duration of Tyneside's impact on the region, enclosure and the fall in Dotland's population might have occurred at any point from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. It was the happenstance of interlocking personal histories which dictated the precise course and timing of events and, in this particular case, introduced delay. Such was surely always the case, but we are rarely able to pick out the individuals who made up the masses. Few are the glimpses of the multitude of characters, relationships, opportunities and the seizing of moments which, when added up, become the broad and anonymous sweep of economic and social change.

Acknowledgements

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

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| <p>1 R. Newton, <i>The Northumberland landscape</i> (Hodder & Stoughton, 1972) pp.105-112</p> <p>2 Northumberland Record Office [NRO] DT 244/M Hexhamshire Low Quarter tithe map and apportionment (1839); <i>Kelly's Directory of</i></p> | <p><i>Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland</i> (1858)</p> <p>3 A.B. Hinds, <i>A history of Northumberland</i> vol.3 Hexhamshire pt.1 (Andrew Reid, 1896) pp.130, 139</p> |
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- 4 J. Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* (Surtees Society vol.64, 1865) pp.10-11, 162
- 5 NRO ZGI DO Abstract of the title of Charles John Clavering Esq. to an estate at Dotland, 1666-1755: all references in this article to tenants, tenement descriptions, land transactions, deeds, mortgages and land valuations at Dotland are taken from this document unless otherwise stated.
- 6 R.A. Butlin, 'Northumberland field systems', *Agricultural History Review* vol.12 (1964) p.106
- 7 This practice, derided by the agricultural improver Arthur Young during his tour through Northumberland in the 1760s (*A six months tour through the North of England*, 1770) was certainly used to exploit the upland wastes within Hexhamshire until as late as the eighteenth century.
- 8 The original Hexham parish registers, and eighteenth-century copies, are at NRO (EP/184/1-5) but the transcription by Wood in the Newcastle City Library and the later copy by Mitchell in Hexham Library have been used here. The early lists of churchwardens were copied by George Ritschel in about 1700 (NRO EP/184/68). Dotland was within the manor of Anick Grange, whose surviving records are in the NRO (672/A/16/11-117). For hearth tax returns see D. Smith, *Northumberland Hearth Tax: Part IV* (Journal of the Northumberland and Durham Family History Society vol.9 no.4, 1984) pp.92-3
- 9 Based on the 4.3 multiplier of households to total population (T. Arkell, 'Multiplying factors for estimating population totals from the Hearth Tax', *Local Population Studies* vol.28, 1982). Caution is required in applying this to a small number of households, hence the use of a range of 75-100. The estimate of the Shire's population in the 1680s is derived from the average annual number of baptisms registered to families given a Shire location, using the generally accepted multiplier of 30 for the pre-industrial period.
- 10 They appear to have been at West Whelpington (D.H. Evans, M.G. Jarrett and S. Wrathmell 'The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland: Third report, Part two' (*Archaeologia Aeliana 5th Series* vol 16, 1988) pp.175-177). Dotland's remaining houses were still being rethatched with heather or ling at least as late as the 1770s (NRO 309/G4/6)
- 11 S.J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland 1586-1625* (Leicester UP, 1975) p.164
- 12 Few probate inventories for Hexhamshire survive among the records at the Borthwick Institute for Archives [BIA]. Those for the late-seventeenth century mention small herds of cattle and sheep and small amounts of oats and bigg.
- 13 Sources for table: England & Wales: E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen, and R.S. Schofield, *English population history from family reconstitution 1580-1837* (Cambridge UP, 1997) p.219; Whickham: derived from D. Levine and K. Wrightson, *The making of an industrial society: Whickham, 1560-1765* (Oxford UP, 1991) p.208; Dotland: a range is given in view of the relatively low baptismal total of 130 during the period analysed
- 14 NRO QSB/24 p.15: unfortunately we have no Hexham overseers' accounts for this period; a few listings of those in receipt of charity relief were made by Ritschel at Easter and Christmas between 1707 and 1712. They usually included the names of poor widows who lived at Dotland (NRO EP 184/5).
- 15 BIA Prerog Jun 1668 vol.49, f407
- 16 No Rowlands were Dotland copyholders in the 1536 survey (Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, p.162). By 1632 a William Rowland (presumably William Rowland snr, d.1651) appears on the Anick Grange manor suit roll among the Dotland copyholders (NRO 672/A/24/1).
- 17 NRO EP 184/68, 672/A/16/40-71; BIA Hex 4/1-3
- 18 R.A. Houston, *The population history of Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge UP, 1995) p.16; P. Brassley, *The agricultural economy of Northumberland and Durham in the period 1640-1750* (New York, 1984) pp.41-43
- 19 Comparing the hearth tax returns and the baptism registers suggests significant under-recording or exemption of houses for hearth tax purposes. However, on the assumption that this was roughly constant between town and 'Shire', the proportion of the households enumerated in the four wards of Hexham town in 1664 allows estimation of the share of baptisms which 'belonged' to the town alone. For the 1690s, the actual baptism locations given in the register have been used to isolate town baptisms from those of the Shire.
- 20 A. Rossiter, 'The government of Hexham in the 17th century' (*Hexham Historian* no.6, 1996) pp.31-34
- 21 Brassley, *Agricultural economy*, p.43
- 22 J.C. Hodgson, *A history of Northumberland vol.4* (Andrew Reid, 1897) pp.139-140; NRO 672/A/16/60
- 23 Given that the positive impact of enclosure on land values was well understood by landowners and their agents, the long delay at Corbridge is curious, and worth further investigation (W.R. Iley, *Corbridge: Border village*, Walter Raymond 1974, pp.89-91)
- 24 From presentments to the Hexham Manor Court grand jury: NRO 672/A/2A/121, 672/A/2A/158. Anna Rossiter (*Hexham Historian* no.6) provided an excellent summary of the organisation of Hexham manor and its voluminous records.
- 25 J.C. Hodgson, *A history of Northumberland* vol.6 (Andrew Reid, 1902) pp.354-358
- 26 Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, pp.10-11.
- 27 NRO 2762/E/X17
- 28 M.W. Beresford, 'Fallowfield, Northumberland: an early cartographic representation of a deserted village', in *Time and place: collected essays* (Continuum International, 1985)

- 29 H.H.E. Craster, *A History of Northumberland* vol.10 (Andrew Reid, 1914) p.276
- 30 Evans et al, *West Whelpington*, p.152
- 31 Nether Ardley and Cooks House: 3x increase; Nether Eshells and Winter House: 5x. increase (Hinds, *Northumberland vol.3*, pp.90-91)
- 32 NRO 672/A/16/40-71
- 33 This will is among the Allgood family papers: John Rowland entrusted the custody and tuition of Eleanor, should he die while she was a minor, to Thomas Allgood of Hexham. Two other members of Rowland's circle of minor local gentry were likewise appointed: Roger Wilson of Walwick and William Pearson of Hexham (NRO ZAL/20/8).
- 34 Perhaps £50-£65 gross rental value/year at 3-4s/acre from 320 acres; the annual interest charge in 1699 and 1700 was over £100.
- 35 E.T. Hughes, *North Country life in the 18th century* (Oxford UP, 1952) pp.174-175, 198, 208-215; A.W. Purdue, *Merchants and gentry in North-East England 1650-1830* (Sunderland UP, 1999) pp.34-35
- 36 E. Mackenzie, 'Institutions for education: charity schools', *Historical Account of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Eneas Mackenzie, 1827) pp.445-451; J.M. Ellis (ed), *The letters of Henry Liddell to William Cotesworth* (Surtees Society, 1987) p.231
- 37 NRO ZPA/7 [Item 3, 2nd list]; NRO 3410 vol 4 p.39; R.A. Fairbairn, Allendale, *Tyndale and Derwent lead mines* Northern Mine Research Society vol.65, 2000) p.85
- 38 C.G.A. Clay, 'Landlords and estate management', in J. Thirsk (ed), *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol 5, Pt 2, 1640-1750 (Cambridge UP, 1985) p.173
- 39 NRO 324/O.1/45
- 40 Had Dotland gone instead to James Ord's elder brother Robert in 1721, it might have remained in the family to this day, with the estate Robert's son William bought at Whitfield in 1748. 'The township of Dotland [and several] farms thereof & those adjoining' was advertised for sale in 1743 (*Newcastle Courant* [NC] 14 May 1743). It fetched £5,300 in 1745 (NRO ZGI Do). At a valuation of 26 years purchase the equivalent estate was worth over £5,600 in 1721.
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- 42 NRO ZGI XXXII/4
- 43 NRO ZGI Do: militia list [NRO microfilm of original at Alnwick Castle]
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- 50 NRO 309/G4/6
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Moving the industrial flywheel: the origins of Northampton's footwear industry

P. R. MOUNFIELD

Half a century ago, Roy Church advanced the notion of a 'flywheel' in the context of industrial growth, implying that such an instrument needed to be set in motion by a combination of necessary and sufficient conditions for a locality to become industrialised.¹ Although he did not specify the conditions, they might include a particular mix of the factors of production such as materials, available labour, capital, enterprise and innovation, chance, markets and demand. Among these it was often markets which were the key in determining scale of production or, indeed, whether production took place at all. At one end of the scale a product might be needed to satisfy the requirements of a family, or one or two families in a transhumant group, in a hamlet, in scattered farmsteads. At the other end were opportunities offered by accessible national and international markets. But what has been called proto-industrialisation might be based on regional or sub-regional markets lying between these extremes. The existence, prior to factory-based production, of a variety of industries in particular areas of Britain has been recognised and discussed in print.² This article presents and evaluates evidence for a proto-industrial phase in the emergence of Northampton's footwear industry and seeks to attach dates to its beginning and end.

Proto-industrialisation has proved an elusive concept to apply to regional research. One pioneering study defined it as 'any small scale production outside guild control intended for a distant market'.³ Another equated it with a process of rural industrialization or cottage industry associated with pastoral subsistence farming.⁴ These definitions encapsulate a theoretical concept rather than providing a clear operational model for empirical research. Part of the problem lies in identifying localities which achieved a proto-industrial state without subsequently moving forward to a recognisable modern industrial situation. A second issue concerns identification of the forces influencing localities which did become 'properly' industrial—which put the flywheel into strong and regular motion. This puzzle was noted by Scott: 'The question of the initiation and consolidation of growth centres in capitalism has never been satisfactorily ... resolved'.⁵

Yet there were important regional and local differences in pre-industrial England which helped to direct the trajectories of particular localities into industrial regimes before the Industrial Revolution.⁶ Northampton may have been one such place. For many decades footwear production there was, in all probability, a wholly indigenous craft occupation, quietly subsisting on a very local market. Then it suddenly advanced in response to a surge in demand. As such it would not have been unique in the economic history of Britain—other examples include the Witney blanket industry; lacemaking around Honiton in the sixteenth century; Donegal tweed-making in the later nineteenth century; and stocking knitting in Elizabethan times. Without any particular numerical threshold being stipulated, it has been suggested that an important signifier of a proto-industrial stage is the proportion of craftsmen in the

population of a place. From the latter part of the seventeenth century craftsmen of all kinds were numerous in England,⁷ and in 1768 they made up 48 per cent of the men recorded in a poll book of Northampton's electors. Everitt gave an evocative picture of the generic county town as it existed in later Hanoverian England: 'centres of organization, as inland entrepôts, as exchanges, as meeting places of traders, factors, drovers, middlemen, wholesalers and wayfaring merchants of all kinds ... a rapidly expanding network of stage coach routes and a vast nexus of local and long distance carriers services'. He maintained that although in the eighteenth century most of the county towns of England were neither centres of a staple trade nor industrial towns, a few were indeed foci for particular industries, and identified Northampton as one of these.⁸ None of these towns achieved such a role overnight.

Some international comparisons

In England, sustained population growth and rising standards of living, only briefly interrupted by events such as the Great Plague, characterised the period from 1650 onwards.⁹ This economic and demographic momentum provided a platform to sustain specialist craftsmen of all kinds and in many different places. Studies in a number of countries have identified comparable processes, though usually at a somewhat later period. Proto-industrial clusters of shoemaking, producing for a more-than-local market and evolving into modern factory-based manufacture, have been identified elsewhere. For example, almost 80 per cent of the former footwear industry in the Netherlands was situated in the Langstraat in Brabant. In Sweden footwear production became concentrated in the Orebo and Kumla districts, in the central province of Narke. There, a workshop phase has been identified from about 1820 to 1828.¹⁰ In the United States an embryonic capitalist system in the form of workshops making unordered shoes for stock happened from around 1760 to 1855. It first occurred in Massachusetts, before the industry followed population westward.¹¹ In Pirmasens, Germany, a workshop phase lasted until 1860,¹² while in France the town of Fougeres in Brittany became a factory-based footwear-manufacturing centre after a preceding phase of clog-making, which used the beechwood of the Forest of Fougeres.

In the light of these examples it would be strange if there had not been a proto-industrial phase in Northampton. In fact, as research has long emphasised, it both came earlier and lasted longer than in any of these other examples. The industrial 'flywheel' for footwear production in the town was energised in the mid-seventeenth century, when the prime propulsive force was the market provided by regular and large military orders. The English Civil War saw the beginning of an ordering system which continued through the Napoleonic Wars and until the end of the nineteenth century.¹³ In the mid-seventeenth century London, by reason of its population, was the country's biggest market for most goods. In 1647 the capital and its immediate vicinity had about 585,000 inhabitants, about 12 per cent of the national total.¹⁴ But it was the more immediate factor of orders from the parliamentary armies which provided a substantial *new* market opportunity for footwear production and supply. The industrial pendulum *might* have been trembling a little earlier. There survives a list of men pressed for the east division of Northamptonshire in May 1625 and among their occupations were numerous shoemakers.¹⁵ But it is unlikely that they served much more than the local market. Fisher has argued that in Tudor and Stuart England the bulk of the nation's population lived in scattered small communities with the result that most goods were made for local markets too small to encourage any high degree of specialisation. In most towns the business of small tradesman was conducted with fellow-townspople within highly localised markets rarely exceeding a radius of fifteen miles.¹⁶

Before the Civil War, England had no standing army. There was a home defence force in the form of the county militia, but when the Civil War began the methods by which any army was provisioned were virtually the same as those prevailing a century earlier. There were no government manufacturing establishments, army supplies either being bought by officials on the open market or supplied by contract. The army employed to suppress the Irish rebellion in the 1590s was mainly supplied by contract.¹⁷ In its early days, parliament's main army, commanded by the earl of Essex, was supplied by a similar system but a bureaucracy to control and organise supplies was soon created. Two permanent standing committees were given responsibility for the requirements of the army. One, the Committee to Reform the Lord General's Army, was chaired by Zouch Tate; the other, the Army Committee, was chaired by Robert Scawen, whose signature occurs on many of the orders for footwear.¹⁸ Most of the army supplies were raised and paid for in London with tax revenues. About two hundred suppliers, almost all in the London area, were given contracts. On 24 February 1646, for example, thirteen shoemakers signed contracts to deliver 8000 pairs of shoes 'of good neate leather'. They appear to have fulfilled their contracts, and quickly, because four weeks later they were issued warrants for payments in full.¹⁹ The London-based system of supply was new: well-organised, with agreed prices, a standardised product, good record-keeping, control of quality imposed, and a depot in the Tower of London with subsidiary stores in provincial towns such as Reading and Cambridge.

Before 1645: Alderman Estwick's order book

Historians have described in some detail the composition of parliament's forces in 1642.²⁰ Initially parliament depended upon the London trained bands but county forces were soon combined to form regional armies. The Eastern Association put together available forces in the counties of Cambridge, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk to produce an army of 14,000 men under the command of the Earl of Manchester. Payment and supply were centred on Cambridge. The Southeastern Association combined the forces of Hampshire, Kent, Surrey and Sussex to provide 4700 men under Sir William Waller. Parliament's national army, commanded by the Earl of Essex, had an establishment of 10,500 men and no local basis, though its manpower came largely from London. In addition to these three forces, by the opening of the 1644 campaign season there existed a 20,000 strong Scottish Army commanded by the Earl of Leven. There were further provincial armies, including 5000 men in Yorkshire under Lord Fairfax. So the potential market in 1642-1644, including equipping and re-equipping parliament's armies, may have exceeded 50,000 men. However, this is a figure to be treated with caution. On both sides of the conflict, army numbers waxed and waned. Men might go home with booty after a victory, or change sides after a defeat.²¹

The earliest recorded orders for uniform and footwear for the earl of Essex's army were made in August 1642. The first three infantry regiments were equipped with clothing and footwear which had been in store for the army in Ireland, but the remaining sixteen regiments had to be supplied by new purchases.²² Initially, these seem to have been ordered not as individual items in batches but as sets of clothing including footwear. Stephen Estwick, a London alderman, and Captain Thomas Player were contracted to provide a coat, shoes, shirt and knapsack for each man, at a price of 17s. The illustrations from Estwick's account book were generously provided by Alan Turton, one of the country's leading experts on Essex's Army. They show that most of this order had been supplied by the beginning of October 1642. Estwick's accounts do not make clear the source of supply for the shoes, which were destined

for infantry, but they find support in various warrants and receipts in State Papers 28 1/5. A further six regiments were raised and equipped in November–December 1642, again through Estwick's efforts. Subsequently the forces had to be re-equipped, more than once, after campaigns and for recruits.

In August 1643, 6000 pairs of shoes were issued to enable Essex's army to march to the relief of Gloucester but again no particular source of supply is stated. However, Essex's army was recruiting heavily in the summer of 1644, ready to begin a drive on Oxford. On 27 June the Northampton Commissioners were paid towards 2000 pairs of shoes to be conveyed thence to the Lord General's army.²³ At the same time Sir William Waller's army and the Scottish allies who had recently joined the war were being supplied by parliament: 'Supplied to the Scots army 1,000 pr of waxt bootes of size 11, 12, 13, 14 of each a like quantity at 12s per pair and 5,000 ... of the same size of each like quantity at 30s per doz. 1,000 pair of dry leather bootes of the same size at 10s per pair'.²⁴ In October 1644, following a disastrous defeat at Lostwithiel in September, Essex's army was again refitted and 6000 pairs of shoes ordered via Edward Harris, contractor. Some delivered to the New Model Army in April 1645 were the residue of that order.

1645 onwards: the New Model Army's order book

The New Model Army, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, was the forerunner of England's first standing army. It came into existence in April 1645. A document in the Museum of London's Tangye Collection covers orders for a wide range of military supplies, the frequency and size of those for footwear underlining their significance for shoemakers and associated merchants.²⁵ In the mid-seventeenth century the standardisation of military equipment was innovative. Mungeam records that it was necessary for the king, after he raised his standard at Nottingham on 22 August 1642, to proclaim that 'Musquets be all of a Bore, the Pikes of a length', although the proclamation states that the order need not be complied with until 'the Arms shall be decayed and must be renewed'.²⁶ From February 1646 [new style] substantial orders for footwear were placed, as the extracts in Table 1 indicate:

Table 1 Extracts from the New Model Army's Order Book

<i>front of fol. 36</i>	<i>At the Committee for the Army the 23rd of february 1645</i>	
	Contracted with:	
	Jenkins Ellis	for 3000 paires of shooes each 750 paire
	John Minnes	
	Francis Marriott	
	Benjamin Harris	
	Lawrence Stanley	for 2000 paires of shooes each 1000 paire
	Thomas Tayler	
	Edward Johnson	for 500 paires of shooes
	Robert Botley	for 1000 paires of shooes each 500 paires
	Jeffrey Badger	
	Wm. Blissett	for 200 paires of shooes
	John Jones	for 300 paires of shooes
	Edward Griffith	for 500 paires of shooes
	Edward Chipperfield	for 500 paires of shooes
	All the said shooes to be of good neate leather with severall sizes of Tensns size a like number	

reverse folio 36

[beginning illegible] marked on the soles with the several marks before mentioned at Two Shillings Three pence the pair to be brought into the Tower of London to be viewed within one fortnight next coming for which it is Contracted they shall be paid when they bring them in for performance whereof they have set their hands and Marks severally the Day and yeare before written

Att the Committee for the Army the Tenth of March 1645
This Committee doth approve of these Contracts and doe desire that the Officers of the Ordinance will take notice thereof and carefully see That the provisions bee answerable to the agreement. And for as many of the provisions as they shall receive in and allow to certifie the same unto this committee

Robert Scawen

back of folio 37

Contract 24 Febru[ary] 1645 for Shooes only
This Contract was delyvered unto the surveyor the 20th March 1645

front of folio 46

At the Committee for the Army the xth of July 1645 Contracted with Jenkins Ellis for Two Thousand paire of shoes at Two Shillings & Three pence a paire one with another at the sizes of 10, 11, 12, & 13. To the officers of the Ordinance.

Robert Scawen

Tho. Pury

front of folio 58

The 4th of October 1645
Contracted wth Jenkins Ellis for Mr. Merritt and John Mynes for 2000 paire of shoes att 2s 3d the paire all Neate Leather of 10, 11 12. Contracted with John Tayler for 500 paires of shooes all to be neate leather att 2s 3d paire of 10, 11, 12.

Robert Scawen

Tho. Pury

back of folio 71

January the 5th 1645
There Contracted with Jenkin Ellis of Katheren Tower for 4,500 payre of shooes of good neate leather with good soles of the severall sizes of Tennes, Eleavens, Twelves and thirteens of each size a like number all of them to be punched and each payre tacked together and marked on the soles ... to be brought into the Tower of London to be viewed within one moneth nowe next followeing ffor which it is contracted he shall be paid when he bringe them in ffor performance whereof he hast sett his hand.

Jan the 5th 1645

There contracted with Thomas Tayller of Coven Garden for 1000 payre of shoes according to the severall contract to be brought into the Tower of London at the tymes in the sevrall contract mentioned and to be paid for as aforesayd.

Wm. Botterell

front of folio 86

Dec 22th 1645

Then Contracted wth Edward Griffith of Carter Lane Edward Chipperfield of holburne and William Conyers of the ould Bayley & theyre partners ffrancis Smyth Ric. Hamond and Thomas Brasyer for two thousand payres of shooes of good neate leather wth good soles of the severall sizes of tenns elevens twelves & thirteens of each size a like number, of them to be punched and marked on the soles ... at 1s 11d a payre to be brought into the Tower of London within 4 weekes to be viewed by the officers, for which it is Contracted the wholl be payd when they bring them in. Then also Contracted with Richard Crafter of blackfriers William Smith and partners for 500 payre of shoes as above according to the former Contracts to be brought into the Tower of London at the tyme in the former Contracte mentioned for which they are to be paid as the bringe them in

Wm Botterell

back of folio 86

Att the Committee for the Army th xxth of ffebruary 1645

This Committee doth approve of these Contracts and doe desire the officers of the Ordinance will take notice thereof and carefully see that the Provisions bee answerable to the Agreements And for as many of the Provisions as they shall receive in and allow to certifie the same unto this Committee

Robt. Scawen

front of folio 103

Several Contracts including Contracted with Mr. Harris and Jenkin Ellis and his Company for ffoure Thousand paire of shooes according to the first contract, and wth Mr. Robert Botley one Thousand paire of shooes, as the first, and with Thomas Taylor for one Thousand paire of shooes

Robt. Scawen

back of folio 114

With several contracts including 4000 Jenkin Ellis and ffrancis Mariot Shooemakers of neate leather, 3 soles onely 2 in each 2 in each dozen of two soles att 2s 3d a pre of ye sizes 10, 11, 12, 13 by Saturday next fortnight

In total, these orders amounted to around 28,000 pairs of mainly infantry shoes provided during 1645, and the names of several suppliers occur more than once. Jenkin Ellis, either in his own name or with another, was responsible for over 13,000 pairs. Other recurring names were Thomas Taylor, Edward Griffin, Edward Chipperfield and John Minnes (Mynes), and the location of the suppliers is sometimes given (as in 'blackfriars', 'holburne', or 'auld bayley'). The shoemakers must have been reasonably well organised, for the times specified order for delivery were often quite short. In one of his orders Jenkin Ellis is specifically associated with 'a company' and others are mentioned as having partners. Robert Botley was a member of the Cordwainers' Company in 1651.²⁷ Edward Chipperfield lived in the parish of St. Andrew Holborn, and was described as 'Shoemaker out of Cursitor Ally'.²⁸ The shoemakers were not disadvantaged by the socio-economic networks which emerged during the period of parliamentary control. Colonel John Hewson rose from the

shoemaker's bench to membership of Cromwell's House of Lords. He recommended a mixture of tallow and beeswax to treat boots and shoes.²⁹ The famous, or notorious, Praise God Barebones (or Barbon) was a London leather-seller and an independent preacher, Cromwell himself had acquaintances among the shoemakers, and in 1656 the shoemaker Sir Thomas Tichbourne became Lord Mayor of London.³⁰

This evidence substantiates the view that the armies, and especially the New Model Army, offered a large new market. Colonels could still make *ad hoc* purchases when necessary, but for most supplies London was the source. Committees based in the capital placed the orders, and the Tower was the major storage depot. It was also the place where shoes were sampled and tested by government officials and chosen experts—the footwear supplied for Cromwell's army in 1649, for example, was examined by the Master and Wardens of the Cordwainers' College.

References to Northampton

How did Northampton fit into this fast-growing market? Useful evidence is provided by the records of the committees set up govern country and maintain the armed forces (such as the Committee for Sequestration of Delinquents Estates), and by accounts kept by military officials in the field or commanders of garrisons and then forwarded for examination by the Committee of Accounts. The list below refers to the Commonwealth Exchange Papers (TNA SP28) within which particular bundles are further identified by numbers. For example, bundles 1–119 deal with orders and warrants by the Army Committee and military commanders for payment to troops and contractors between 1642 and 1660.³¹ In addition, TNA SP 46 and SP 106 contain orders, receipts and other records relating to the supply of the Scots army in Ireland (1643–1647) and in England (1643–1648). Because it provides clear evidence that Northampton shoemakers were involved in providing shoes for the military, SP28/139 (accounts of George Wood, commissioner for clothing soldiers in Ireland) has special importance. It is in poor condition but the relevant legible entries are detailed in Table 2:

Table 2 References to Northampton shoemakers in SP28/139

April 1642	paid to William Capling cost of carriage of 7000 pairs of shoes from Northampton to West Chester (cost of carriage £44; £27 5s 8d to Ralph Capling)
June 1642	paid Ambrose Treene for 2043 pairs of shoes
[date unclear]	750 pairs to forces
[date obscure]	paid Robert Ryner for 143 pairs of shoes, a mixed order, payment for carriage only
[date obscure]	466 pairs: carriage costs to William Goram
29 June 1642	paid at Northampton for 434 pairs of boots and their carriage £137 17s 9d and 2000 pairs of shoes, carriage costs £26 7s 6d. Horses for their carriage brought from London to Northampton and returned again to London [troopers' boots were more demanding to make - they were thigh length, required more leather, needed very skilled craftsmanship, and often sold at six or seven times the price of infantry footwear]

May 1643	paid to Robert Hayes £9 14s 6d part-payment for carriage of 4000 pairs of shoes from Northampton to London at 3s a hundred carriage cost
[no date]	seven carts of dry flats to Northampton and make-up; stored in London

From these accounts, it is clear that in 1642 Northampton was becoming an integral part of the system created by parliament for supplying shoes to its armies. The town was acting as an entrepot on the route between London and Chester, the major port for trade with Ireland. The account of Wareing and Herring suggests that a large company was formed to supply the English and Scottish armies in Ireland: 'to payment to Francis Marriot and Company by like order dated 17th June 1646, for one moiety of their first payment for shoes according to their contract £197 10s 0d. More to them by like order of 14th August, 1646, being a second moiety of £187 10s 0d'.³² In 1648, 2500 pairs of boots were produced in Northampton for Cromwell's army and in 1689 a similar order was placed for William III's army in Ireland.³³

In the context of footwear supplies other questions remain unanswered. The Navy was a major responsibility of the Crown from the time of Henry VIII and by the mid-seventeenth century was the largest employer in the country, spending more than £400,000 annually.³⁴ Clearly the main items of expenditure were ships and spars, cannon, cordage and canvas. But someone, somewhere, must have been making seaboots and shoes for seamen. The answer may lie in Samuel Pepys's Navy White Book.³⁵ The provisioning of royalist forces during the Civil War is far less well-documented than that of their parliamentary opponents. The king's army in 1642-1643 was raised mainly through Commissions of Array, a medieval device which required landowners to raise forces, presumably with their own boots and shoes. When the Civil War began, in August 1642, the king had been absent from London for several months and could not make use of the capital's merchants for uniforms and footwear. Oxford, a river port, became a major royalist supply centre, with sizeable imports from the Low Countries. But the king lacked the financial resources to pay for his armies and their supplies, and paying for uniforms and footwear for his recruits was left to county authorities and private individuals.³⁶

Conclusion

Swedish, French and American evidence suggests that one criterion for the emergence of a specialised factory-based industrial district was the number of craftsmen in the local population—the existence of a proto-industrial community. A group of craftsmen has knowledge in common, and that created a 'social life' within the group which helped to perpetuate its coherence and encouraged its growth.³⁷ Group members might transfer craft skills within a family or, later, by apprenticeships, and try to contain technical knowledge within the group by means of guilds and similar organisations. Such concentration at particular locations allowed productive work to develop collaboratively, and to serve a more than purely local market. The stimulus to the development of such a system was the opportunity, in a capitalist or proto-capitalist economy, to sell the product, so knowledge and the size of the market determined the size and growth of the trade and many of its production traits.

Parliamentary military orders from 1642 onward provided a new market of sufficient size to require new systems of footwear production. Standardisation of product and control of its quality; specification of materials; the discipline required of shoemakers

by co-operative effort to meet delivery deadlines; assured sales of large quantities of shoes at guaranteed prices; systematic record-keeping by a centralised bureaucracy; and central storage facilities—all these characterised the new system. Such factors permeated and restructured significant parts of the shoemaking trade, in a dynamic process of innovation and improvement which encouraged agglomeration.

The impact was greatest, and felt first, in London. But Northampton, adjacent to the main route from London to the North West and Ireland, was drawn into the system. Parliamentary forces assembled in Northampton in the second week of September 1642. As a garrison town which remained loyal to the parliamentary cause, it was able to benefit from political patronage. It had the further advantage over other provincial towns, at a similar distance from the capital, of ready access to local leather supplies. In the late sixteenth century there was heavy pressure in east Northamptonshire on the common rights, as cottagers and others keeping large numbers of cattle grazed them without stint.³⁸ Drovers took many cattle to Islington, where they were rested and laid up for a few days before being handed over to London market drovers, but there were also enough to supply local people with meat and tanners with hides.³⁹

Northampton's shoemakers were not always well-treated by the London interests. In 1642 Thomas Pendleton, a trader of the town, obtained an order for 4000 pairs of shoes and 600 pairs of boots for the army serving in Ireland. The final account amounted to £1400 but several years later only £1200 had been paid.⁴⁰ In March 1645 the House of Commons Journal remarked upon the 'hapless' Northampton shoemakers having to wait years for payment for shoes provided for Essex's army.⁴¹ But their products were becoming known in a widening civilian market, including the West Indies. Richard Ligon, in his *History of Barbados*, published in 1657, urged emigrants who set up business in Barbados to 'buy boots and shoes in Northampton'.

It is difficult to suggest a precise starting date for the proto-industrial phase in the Northampton footwear industry, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the production 'flywheel' was set to work in the mid-seventeenth century. The catalyst was military orders, from the capital city to the provincial town. Therefore the year 1642 is proposed as significant. It is no easier to suggest a date for a change from workshop-handicraft based production to a factory-with-power phase—the end of proto-industrial production and the beginning of modern machine-based output.⁴² Indeed, the very notion of proto-industrialisation is imprecise, with no infallible diagnostic signifiers. The external appearance of a large workshop may often be similar to that of a small factory, so in most working definitions it is the presence of powered machinery which distinguishes the latter from the former. But in Northampton handicraft-workshop and factory-with-power existed side by side for many years, and agglomeration economies were available to both.⁴³ Such economies were characterised by 'dis-integrated production', with one establishment making items which provided the material for another, constituting a production chain which fostered geographical concentration.

Any date proposed for the end of proto-industrialisation will contain an arbitrary element. In Northampton there was a long drawn-out transition rather than a sudden change from one production system to the other. Machines powered by other than animals or humans came later to footwear production than to many other industries—as late as 1800 there were only two steam engines in the whole of Northamptonshire.⁴⁴ In the same year the town had only 7000 people, yet in the 1820s it was recognised as the first industrial town encountered on the route north from London.⁴⁵

However, improvements in the local infrastructure and economic environment in the first half of the nineteenth century enabled an enhanced scale of production by

providing vastly improved access to home and colonial markets—and war, of course, always provides business opportunities. In the 1820s the Holyhead road was improved under the supervision of Thomas Telford and by 1830 there were fourteen daily coaches to London and ten local firms engaged in the carriage of goods to the capital and Birmingham. In 1815 the town was linked to the Grand Union Canal. The London and North Western Railway arrived in 1838 and by 1851 the town, with 26,894 inhabitants, was about to undergo technological change in its basic industry. Chain-stitch sewing machines were introduced in 1857, followed by the Blake sole-sewer and riveting machines from America in the 1860s. These required power, so the modern factory system became dominant, using gas-engines and steam engines fed with coal brought by canal and rail. Master shoemakers employing traditional handicraft practices represented the proto-industrial phase for a few more years. However, the building of two sizeable factories in the late 1850s on the north-eastern edge of the town centre—one for Moses Philip Manfield and the other, back-to-back with it, for Isaac Campbell and Co., a London firm—gave physical and symbolic evidence for the new era.⁴⁶

Acknowledgments

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Keynote review: *Researching and writing history* by David Dymond

JOHN BECKETT

RESEARCHING AND WRITING HISTORY A guide for local historians *David Dymond*
(Carnegie in association with the British Association for Local History 2009 xvi+207pp
ISBN 978 1 85936 196 2) £12

David Dymond has been one of the pillars upon which English local history has been supported for many decades, and this, the third edition of a book that was first published in 1981, demonstrates once more his deep knowledge of the subject and his determination to do what he can to ensure that it is written accessibly. Local historians who have the second edition, which came out in 1999, should not be deterred from purchasing this one, because although it retains the same format and many of the chapter titles, the text has been fully revised and the appendices contain many new examples. Dymond has kept up both with the literature and with the methods and sources which need to be a part of the armoury of every local historian. The book is divided into a series of short chapters (although eleven and twelve are little more than collections of bullet points) and nineteen appendices which provide practical advice on writing for the local historian. A number of text boxes help to summarise the argument as it proceeds.

Dymond's primary purpose is 'to investigate how we discipline ourselves to write better. How do we find and interpret evidence and then convert our thoughts, through our pens or word-processors, into a reasoned yet imaginative reconstruction of the past?'. This is not a book about 'doing' local history. Few sources are mentioned in any detail. Dymond wants to teach us to *write* local history, and by that he means to compile and structure an argument, and to present our work in a coherent and comprehensive manner. Clarity and coherence are key drivers to our work, and Dymond's mission is to help us to achieve them. To guide us, Dymond provides a sound introduction to local history today in chapters 1-3, and then, in chapters 4-7, a series of essays offering advice on sources, transcription, analysis of evidence and creative interpretation. Chapters 8-11 provide rather more straightforward advice on how to write well, offered at a general level with no specific reference to any local history questions.

Both experienced and inexperienced historians will find some real vignettes throughout the text, perhaps no more so than in chapter 6 where Dymond addresses the problem of analysing and assembling evidence. But the passage of time since the book first appeared has seen some changes in the wider world of local history which have been problematic to incorporate into a single text. Two of these stand out. First, Dymond's approach to writing is quite traditional, particularly in the advice he offers on handling sources. He is writing about History, but his decision to interpret this through a lens focusing almost entirely on written documentary sources limits the scope of the book. He specifically avoids discussing particular manuscript or published sources but chapter 4, on 'the search for sources', has little to say on physical evidence, reading the landscape, non-documentary sources such as buildings, topography and so forth. Now of course Dymond knows about all of these (as is made clear on p. 38), but there is not even a sustained discussion of using maps, plans and other illustrations as part of the discourse. This means that new researchers, many of whom

will have experience of certificates and other routes which introduce them to local history in the round may find the approach rather limiting.

The second problem relates to the type of local history we are writing. Chapter 10 begins with the frank admission by Dymond that his main intention is to provide guidance for those local historians who are writing books. My experience is that many local historians start rather more modestly with brief articles, which they can only reluctantly be coaxed into completing. Dymond acknowledges this on p. 112 but says nothing more. For the great majority of the local historians I have known, the 'book' is a long way down their list of aspirations. Today's medium is the web, but although Dymond comments at some length on the problems of paper publishing, he has little to say about electronic means. A quick trawl of the internet reveals numerous pieces of local history posted by keen researchers but with no quality control at all.

Dymond sees such publication only as an adjunct to paper publishing, but surely it is rather more? Even local historians who want to publish have struggled to find outputs for decades—Hoskins wanted them to write parish histories for the VCH as a way of getting into print! Digital output will be important in the future for local historians, but writing for the web demands new ways of thinking about what we produce and how we produce it, and I was left wondering whether in the present climate the e-book (either on DVD or via the web) is not the way forward? If so, surely we needed a chapter on how to write effectively for the digital age? Then, of course, there is the whole question of writing good effective 'heritage' history for exhibitions and other outlets, which is another recent development within local history. These reflections are not meant to suggest that the local history book is dead, just to propose some additions for David Dymond to add when the fourth edition comes around (!).

Writing this book, even in its third edition, was not an easy task. Local history today has too many strands and practitioners, too many approaches and methods, for a single volume to be entirely satisfactory, but the key point of the book is to try to persuade local historians to research, and above all to write and then publish good history in a local context, rather than just to accumulate material and to offer it to the public in an unstructured and poorly thought out form. This is fine but what sort of local history? Are different skills involved when writing local history, parish history, history through time and space, regional history or what? Having introduced all of these different topics in chapter 1, it is not always easy to see how Dymond wants to relate to them in subsequent chapters on writing. Even so, if this book persuades only a handful of local historians to recognise the importance of structure and method in their work, as well as the value of writing it down rather than storing it in their heads and on their hard drives, it will have done its job. My guess is that any local historian will find something in its covers which will challenge them to think about what they are doing and to try to do it better—not more 'professionally' (i.e. what the professionals want!) but to achieve the personal satisfaction of knowing that their piece of published local history has been carefully constructed and will be read and respected by amateurs, professionals, and anyone else with an interest in the subject. David Dymond has spent a lifetime in local history, and every one of us, be we amateur or professional, newcomers or experienced can learn from him.

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A round-up review of local books 2009

EVELYN LORD

The Eastern Counties

The Archdeacon's doodles: imagining a Bronze Age village is about Furneux Pelham in Hertfordshire. The archdeacon in question was the Very Rev. George Henry Cameron, who rather eccentrically used woodcuts of the Uffington White Horse in Berkshire and the Long Man of Wilmington from Sussex to illustrate his *History of Furneux Pelham*, which was published in 1935. Although the images have nothing at all to do with Furneux Pelham, they do illustrate the archdeacon's real love—the ancient history of his parish, and from his notes on this Christopher Hadley reconstructs how the village might have been in the Bronze Age.

Over the last two decades King Street Publications of Norwich have produced several booklets on the city. These include *Medieval people of Norwich*, *The Greyfriars of Norwich*, *The churches of King Street*, *The river and staithes of Tudor Norwich*, *Keels and kilns: the story of two sixteenth century citizens of Norwich* and *Flate fysshe in the river and coalfisshe in the mud: fish and fishermen in 16th century Norwich*. These 40-50 page booklets are well-researched illustrated accounts which shed important light on the everyday life in the city in the past. Another book on Norwich, *The minutes, donation book and catalogue of Norwich City Library founded in 1608*, comes from the Norfolk Record Society. The minutes start in 1659 and show who attended the meetings, but little else, while the catalogue shows that sermons and religious commentaries were the main stay of the library. This is a book for those with a specialised interest in the history of early libraries. Thomas Coke is one of Norfolk's heroes, and his farming experiments at Holkham changed English agriculture. Susanna Wade Martins explores his life and times in great detail, giving an academic but accessible account which should be read by anyone working on the agricultural 'revolution'. From Suffolk comes the *New Aldeburgh Anthology*, a loving evocation of the spirit of Aldeburgh, its marshes and people and of course the music of Benjamin Britten, which is so evocative of the Suffolk landscape.

The Midlands

The planting of the National Forest has not only begun to change the Midland landscape, but has also provided enhanced opportunities for leisure pursuits. *Ratby Walks in the National Forest* capitalises on this, with an attractive publication that not only contains six walks (each with a description of historic and natural features to look for) but also sets the local landscape in its geological and historical context. Guides to enable the identification of trees and common flowers are included as appendices. Great Bowden near Market Harborough in Leicestershire has had a school since 1839. A new history, based on the school logbooks, memories and photographs, gives a detailed picture of school life and its changes over time. Leicestershire is famous for its cheeses, including Red Leicester, Stilton and Stichelton: *Historic Cheeses* describes their history, explaining how they are made and the development of these famous products.

Royal Leamington Spa: a history shows that Leamington Spa was a new town built around the village of Leamington Priors. This book traces the town's development, but as an account of urban history it is hampered by a lack of references, and there is only an abbreviated bibliography. This substantial book from a well-known local history publisher could have engaged with historiographical debates and considered the typology of towns, and comparisons

with other spa towns. Small airfields played an important part in aviation history. Tollerton in Nottingham was one—founded in 1929, planes flew from it throughout World War II. This is essential reading for anyone working on a local history of flying.

District Nursing Associations provided the backbone of medical care in the first half of the twentieth century. Bagley Wood District Nursing Association (near Oxford), the subject of a new book, was in existence by 1923 and by 1926 had 165 members, treated by a succession of nurses who travelled around the area by bicycle, motor bike and car. The book discusses the origin of the district nursing associations, and their foundation in Berkshire and Oxfordshire. It identifies where records of these local associations can be found, and is a useful addition to an under-explored topic. The author, Robert Sephton, then turned his attention to S.P. Grundy (1880-1942). Grundy was a Berkshire man who attended Balliol College, Oxford and entered the Bar in 1905, but only practised for two years before becoming warden of Manchester University's Settlement in Ancoats. There, university students lived among the poor and sought to help deprived members of the community. Grundy was a leading influence on the formation of the National Council of Social Services. This book is a description of his life.

The North and Scotland

Two books on north-west England and one on Scotland deal with personalities. *The Fastest Man* describes the life and times of a local celebrity known as Steeple Jack (really, James D. Wright of Ramsbottom), who in the Victorian period would slide on ropes down mill chimneys at up to 100 mph. *Twelve Good and Lawful Men ... and Miss Proctor* considers the founding of the public library system in north-west England. The booklet starts by refuting the view that Britain was the pioneer of public libraries, showing that the 1845 Select Committee on Public Libraries listed a large number already in existence in Europe and America. The 1850 Public Libraries Act laid the foundation locally, as Manchester, Bolton and Liverpool soon took advantage of the new powers. Their librarians, and others from the North West, helped to move librarianship towards professionalism. The third personality is George Taylor, a nurseryman and temperance campaigner who followed his brothers from Scotland to America, moving from Kelso to Kalamazoo. This book is an edited version of his memoirs. His experiences were mirrored by those of countless other Scotsmen—but, unlike many, Taylor did not emigrate because of poverty, but rather because he perceived better opportunities in America. This was betterment migration, and the book would have benefited from an introduction discussing migration patterns and emigration to America in general.

Helmshore Local History Society, which published the life of Steeple Jack, also produced *Musbury and Alden: seven hundred years of life and landscape*. The book begins with the creation of the earl of Lincoln's deer park in 1305 and, using primary sources such as a rental of 1507, it continues via enclosures and divisions, through industrialisation, to the threat that the area might be drowned under a reservoir. There is book has a comprehensive bibliography, excellent references, clear maps and relevant illustrations. The only false note is the inclusion of 'Musbury Miscellany' at the end of the book, which suggests a desire to include everything rather than being selective and keeping to the point.

Musbury's reservoir remained dry and unbuilt, but Cottingham in East Yorkshire was saturated in June 2007. A new book provides an account, by the villagers, of this natural disaster and its effect on their lives. Illustrated with a large number of colour photographs, it is a model of how contemporary local history can be presented. The contributions were collected while the floods were still fresh in the memory of the victims, and everyone had a personal tale to tell. The introductory section on past flooding shows that Cottingham has always been vulnerable to floods. Proposals are now afoot to reroute the surface water and improve drainage. This reviewer hopes that the residents of Cottingham are now back in dried out and refurbished homes, as the photographs on pages 42 and 43 show the terrible extent of the destruction in the houses.

The South East

Who's Buried in Kent? is a gazetteer of Kentish graveyards and the famous (or infamous people) buried in them—thus Thomas Crapper, inventor of the WC, and W.G. Grace, the cricketing legend, are both buried in Beckenham churchyard. An index of people would have been a valuable addition to this book. Speldhurst church in the Weald was rebuilt in the 1870s, and ten new windows were designed by William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones and installed by Morris & Co. A new book describes this important work, highlighting the remarkable workmanship of a great monument to the Arts and Crafts movement. The church deserves to be seen in the flesh as well as in this book.

Sussex tales of the unexpected: five centuries of country life is an illustrated miscellany on West Sussex, although it is not clear from the title that it is confined to that half of the county. Chapters 3 to 11 are 'tours' based on Budgen's 1724 map. The rest of the book is thematic and the whole is based on weekly articles first published in the West Sussex Gazette during 2003. The illustrations, which are mostly in colour, are well produced, but some have no captions! Although the book is moderately entertaining, the resources spent on it could have been put into a well-written history of the county.

The West and Wales

Gleanings from the records of Zephaniah Job of Polperro almost seems like a hoax by the nineteenth-century scientist Frank Perrycoste, who moved to Polperro with his artist wife in 1898, but it appears that the records used in this book were genuine. Perrycoste acquired a reputation as a local historian and in the 1920s was shown a collection of papers that had once belonged to Zephaniah Job, steward to Sir Henry Trevithick. Perrycoste published extracts from these records in the *Cornish Times* of 1929 and this book is a collection of these extracts. His catalogue of the records is included, but we are not told where they are located now. Although it is evident that there is a great deal of valuable material here for the local historian, without access to the complete documents the reader is likely to be frustrated by the gobbets contained in the extracts.

Avon Local History and Archaeology have started a new collection of publications, ALHA books. The first of these is by Joe Bettey, on the medieval friaries, hospitals and chaperies of Bristol. As might be expected from Professor Bettey, this is an exemplary booklet based on primary sources, tracing the history of the institutions through to the Reformation. The second publication in the series describes the Blue Maids Orphanage, which was founded in 1795 as an asylum for poor orphan girls, became the Blue Maids Orphanage in 1916, and closed its doors in 1927. This is a useful account which sets the plight of the orphan into its historical context.

Fortresses and Treasures of Roman Wales is a descriptive gazetteer of sites, which outlines the excavations on these sites, the artefacts found, and where these can now be seen. Anyone interested in Roman Wales can visit these easily, but unfortunately, the more discerning local historian with an interest in the Roman occupation will be disappointed that the book contains no references and bibliography, and only a sketch outline of the context of the Romans in Wales. Moving forward in time, *The Churches of Capel Curig* is a short but well researched guide to the three churches in this village which is in the Snowdonia national Park. There were two St Curigs who might have given their name to the village, while a church dedicated to St Julitta also features. The guide is well-written, beautifully-illustrated, and includes a full bibliography that shows both primary and secondary sources have been used. The map on the back cover should help to entice visitors to the area.

Books mentioned in order of appearance

The archdeacon's doodles: imagining a Bronze Age village *Christopher Hadley* (Furneux Pelham History Group 2008 68pp no ISBN) £5.99 from pelhamtales@christopherhadley.co.uk

Medieval people of Norwich: artists and artisans *Mary Wallace* (1992 44pp ISBN 0 9509253 2 2) £3.60; **Kilns and keels: the story of two sixteenth century Norwich citizens** *Shirley Harris* (1993 56pp ISBN 0 9509253 3 0) £5.25; **The Greyfriars of Norwich** *Richard Hale and Mary Rodgers* (1994 52pp ISBN 0 9509253 1 4) £4.10; **The**

churches of King Street, Norwich, in medieval and Victorian times *Richard Hale* (1999 52pp ISBN 0 9509253 7 3) £4.55; **Flat fysshe in the river, coalfyshe in the mud** *Shirley Harris* (2002 72pp ISBN 0 950 9253 6 5) £5.35; **Rivers and staithe of Tudor Norwich** *Mary Rodgers* (2007 72pp ISBN 0 9509253 5 7) £5.55; all from King Street Publications: for details contact The Secretary, King Street Research Group, c/o 72 Spinney Road, Thorpe St Andrew, Norwich NR7 0PJ

The minutes, donation book and catalogue of Norwich City Library founded in 1608 *edited Clive Wilkins-Jones* (Norfolk Record Society vol.72 2008 337pp ISBN 978 0 9556357 1 7) £18+£3.50 p&p from Hon. Secretary, NRS, 29 Cintra Road, Norwich NR1 4AE

Coke of Norfolk 1754-1842 *Susanna Wade Martins* (Boydell 2009 218pp ISBN 978 1 84383 426 7) £50

New Aldeburgh Anthology *compiled Ariane Bankes and Jonathan Reekie* (Boydell 2009 359pp ISBN 978 1 84383 439 7) £35

Ratby: walks in the National Forest *edited and compiled Doug Harwood* (Ratby Local History Group 2008 130pp ISBN 0 95479994 2 9) £5+£1.50 p&p from RLHG, 8 Groby Road, Ratby, Leicester LE6 0CJ

Great Bowden School 1839-2009 *Barbara Culmore* (Great Bowden Historical Society 2009 33pp no ISBN) £5 from GBHS, 14 Langton Road, Great Bowden, Market Harborough LE16 7EZ

Historic cheeses *Trevor Hickman* (Breedon 2009 ISBN 978 1 85983 736 8) £14.99

Royal Leamington Spa: a history *Lyndon F. Cave* (Phillimore 2009 216pp ISBN 978 1 86077 505 5) £18.99

Tollerton: an airfield for Nottingham 1929-2007 *Howard Fisher, Bob Hammond, Nigel Morley* (Keyworth and District LHS 2008 ISBN 0 9524602 3 8) £6+£3 p&p from K&DLH c/o Keyworth Library, Church Drive, Keyworth, Nottingham NG12 5FF

Bagley Wood District Nursing Association 1925-1948 *Robert S. Sephton* (author 2008 50pp no ISBN) from Robert@sephton58.freemove.co.uk

S.P. Grundy (1880-1942) a life of social service in Manchester and North Berkshire *Robert S. Sephton* (author 2009 38pp, no ISBN) as above

The fastest man: Steeple Jack's adventures in Lancashire *Chris Aspin* (Helmshore Local History Society 2008 55pp ISBN 978 0 906881 20 0) £4.95 from author, 4 East Street, Helmshore, Rossendale BB4 4JT

Twelve good and lawful men ... and Miss Proctor *John Tiernan* (Tameside Metropolitan Borough 2009 no ISBN) £1+30p p&p from Tameside Local Studies & Archive Centre, Central Library, Old Street, Ashton under Lyne OL6 7SG

From Kelso to Kalamazoo: the life and times of George Taylor 1803-1891 *edited Margaret Jeary and Mark A. Mulhearn* (National Museums of Scotland 2009 176pp ISBN 978 1 905267 27 9) £8.99 from www.nms.ac.uk/books

Musbury and Alden: seven hundred years of life and landscape *John Simpson* (Helmshore LHS 2008 80pp ISBN 978 0 906881 19 4) £13.50 from HLHS, The Cottage, Tor View Farm, Helmshore, Rossendale BB4 4AB

The Cottingham floods of June 2007: a portrait in words and pictures by Cottingham residents *edited Peter McClure and Tony Grundy* (Cottingham LHS 2008 ISBN 0 9544427 5 X) £12 inc. p&p from Cottingham LHS, c/o A. Burrow, 76 Millhouse Woods Lane, Cottingham, Hull HU16 4HB

Who's buried where in Kent? *Alan Major* (Tempus 2008 126pp ISBN 978 0 7524 4544 1) £12.99

Speldhurst Church: its story and its windows *Guy Hitchings* (Friends of Speldhurst Church 2009 48pp no ISBN) £3+76p p&p from Guy Hitchings, Spring Bank, Speldhurst, Tunbridge Wells TN3 0PD

Sussex tales of the unexpected: five centuries of country life *Kim Leslie* (West Sussex County Council 2008 241pp ISBN 978 0 86260 577 3) £25

Gleanings from the records of Zephaniah Job of Polperro *Frank H. Perrycoste* (Polperro Heritage Press 2009 248pp ISBN 978 0 9553648 2 2) £14.99 from Polperro Heritage Press, Clifton upon Tene, Worcester WR6 6EN

The medieval friaries, hospitals and chapelries of Bristol *Joseph Bethey* (Avon Local History and Archaeology Books 2009 40pp no ISBN) £3.95 from Jonathan Harlow, ALHA Books, Hardings Cottage, Swan Lane, Winterbourne, Bristol BS36 1RJ

The Blue Maids Orphanage *Mary Wright* (ALHA Books 2009 40pp no ISBN) £3.50 as above

Fortresses and treasures of Roman Wales *Sarah Symon* (Breedon 2009 192pp ISBN 978 1 85983 699 6) £14.99

The churches of Capel Curig: a history *Frances Richardson and Henry Lloyd* (Friends of St Julitta's church, 2009 no ISBN 24pp) £3.95 inc. p&p from Friends of St Julitta's Church, 37 Stockley Road, Headington, Oxford OX3 9RH

• REVIEWS •

MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING English craftsmen's methods and their later persistence (c.1200–1700) *Arnold Pacey* (History Press 2008 256pp ISBN 978 0 7524 4404 8) £25

This absorbing study often reads like a detective story. Just like the chalk that outlines the former presence of the body on the floor, so Arnold Pacey forensically recreates the working practices of medieval masons and carpenters by subtle analysis of the often barely detectable marks they left behind. He conclusively disproves the idea that medieval craftsmen created in their heads: drawing, based on a sophisticated grasp of geometry, was the essential first stage in planning a building. John Ruskin promulgated an idealised vision of happy craftsmen, free to design and decorate from scratch, which totally misunderstood the complex feats of calculation and measurement underpinning the construction of cathedrals, churches, halls and houses.

The book celebrates the skills of masons and carpenters (umbrella terms which cover many different functions and specialisations) through a meticulous analysis of their working drawings. These mainly took the form of marks on walls or floors, because parchment was a luxury and paper not really available until the sixteenth century. Such enigmatic or unprepossessing evidence has been a neglected area of research, but Pacey proves that there is a wealth of information to be gleaned. With the aid of compasses, set-squares and measuring sticks, masons drew directly on the stones they were about to shape, or created templates of wood or lead based on full-size drawings done in chalk, lampblack, charcoal or red ochre on successively replastered surfaces of a working floor. The more privileged were able to work in a dedicated space, such as the lofts at York Minster and Wells, where extraordinary palimpsests of ghostly drawings can still be recognised. In York, Pacey finds direct parallels between the mysterious outlines on the floor and actual masonry in the Minster and in nearby St Michael in the Belfry. In Wells, too, he relates the lines on the loft floor to the stonework in the cathedral. Masons without the luxury of a tracing floor might have had to draw directly on the floor of their building site. Sometimes they drew the plan on site with the aid of stakes, pegs and cord, ephemeral techniques which of course leave no trace.

A preparatory stage might be the graffiti engraved on church walls or pillars. Pacey believes that many are far from random, but served as preliminary sketches for an architectural element that would be fully worked out on the tracing floor. The evidence for carpenters' marks is rather more elusive, but again Pacey tracks them down and proves that it is possible to reconstruct the whole sequence of the assembly and installation of the most complex timber structures, such as the octagon of Ely Cathedral and the roof of Westminster Hall.

The term 'architect' was unknown in the Middle Ages. It is a modern desire to identify and name individuals, but the design of medieval buildings seems to have been the result of a complex dialogue between clerics and masons. From the late fifteenth century, there is more evidence of actual drawings, known as 'plattes', and Pacey suggests that the rise of the architect, as a separate gentlemanly profession, dates from this use of scale-drawings (rather than full-size ones) which made it possible to envisage the elevation as well as the floor-plan of a building.

The dissolution of the monasteries led to some decline in the employment of craftsmen, although under Henry VIII land-surveying began to develop as a separate activity. The sixteenth century also saw the first impact of renaissance architectural theory through the writings of Alberti and Serlio, and Pacey detects a radical change by 1600. There were more printed books on architecture, and there was even a late seventeenth-century part-work for budding architects entitled *Mechanick Exercises*. There were also new instruments: the marked measuring-stick joined the standard masonic implements of set-square and compasses, traditional attributes of the medieval personification of geometry. However, a final chapter traces the very long survival of some medieval techniques, proving their success. It is encouraging to realise that many such drawings remain to be discovered by applying Pacey's insights. These will be mainly marks on

walls or floors; sadly, drawings on parchment or paper were rarely thought worth keeping. This invaluable book is generously illustrated, with 16 colour and 18 black and white plates, and nearly 100 drawings in the text which illuminate and elucidate vital details.

CAROLA HICKS

POINTERS TO THE PAST *The historical landscape of Hebden Township, Upper Wharfedale* edited Heather Beaumont (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Papers 5 2006 vii+57pp ISBN 1 9035 6455 7) £10+£2 p&p.

Inspired by the pioneering work of W.G. Hoskins nationally, and his Dales-based contemporary, Arthur Raistrick regionally, this succinct ground-breaking microhistory of Hebden, a relatively small mid-Pennine township in Upper Wharfedale, is the first in-depth local exploration of one of the most characteristic features of the relatively undisturbed rural landscape of the Yorkshire Dales—its drystone-walled boundaries and enclosures. A combination of extensive fieldwork and detailed documentary analysis, particularly of tax returns and title deeds from the late seventeenth century and the mid-nineteenth century tithe map and enclosure award, has allowed a tentative reinterpretation of the evolution of the local landscape from the medieval period onwards. A range of factors shaped the development of the landscape, including the distinctive manorial history of upland Dales communities (where land management had passed from the mortgaged manor to Hebden freeholders in 1589). This gave a large measure of local control, but also explains the protracted nature of piecemeal enclosure, resulting from the necessity for agreement among a growing body of freeholders. The impact of transport networks, the development of lead-mining and textile manufacturing and the various phases of the enclosure movement were, this study concludes, characterised by different types of drystone walling.

Subsidised by grants from sponsors including the Countryside Agency, the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Workers' Educational Association and the Yorkshire Dales National Park, the Hebden History Group, which undertook the study, is to be congratulated in producing such an illuminating survey. Published in a laminated A4 softback format and lavishly illustrated by aerial and other photographs, detailed line drawings and a series of full page colour maps, this is the first piece of collaborative research of its kind on this scale. It explores the theoretical framework for interpreting the landscape, provides a succinct summary of the impact of the communities of Hebden on the landscape through time, and offers a provisional chronology and typology of drystone wall construction which will form a useful model for comparative studies of other Dales communities, and possibly suggest an approach to the study of other landscapes further afield.

JOHN HARGREAVES

MEDIEVAL YORK *Gareth Dean* (History Press 2008 192pp ISBN 978 0 7524 4116 0) £17.99

If 'the history of York is the history of England', as George VI once declared, it is not surprising that many books and articles have explored the city's buildings, archives and archaeology. On those crowded shelves this book occupies an important niche, integrating unpublished evidence from the excavations of the last 35 years with recent historical studies to provide a detailed picture of the medieval city. Bridges, city walls and gates, castles, parish churches, guildhalls, St Mary's Abbey, and the Minster are all examined. The book spans the centuries from the Norman Conquest to the aftermath of the dissolution of the monasteries, helpfully looking back to the Roman, Anglian and Viking city as well as forward to the early modern era to place the medieval period in a broader context. Dean draws on the major excavations at Coppergate, the Jewish cemetery of Jewbury, the Minster, and the Gilbertine monastery in Fishergate, as well as archaeological work elsewhere in the city. He explores the significance of such intriguing finds as a clockmaker's seal found in Petergate, the waste left by the city's horn-workers, and the chalice and paten buried with a clergyman at the Gilbertine priory.

Sometimes the archaeological evidence challenges previous assertions based solely on historical sources. Complaints about rubbish in the streets of York are well-documented, including one

grievance by Edward III who apparently detested 'the abominable smell abounding in the said city more than any other in the realm', but archaeology points to a change in rubbish disposal during the fourteenth century—from spreading or heaping refuse in yards, to its removal (and the construction of substantial cesspools that could be emptied more frequently). While some historians have identified urban decay and decline in later medieval York, archaeology indicates the rebuilding of residential and industrial buildings during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Dean suggests that the Civil War was a more significant turning point for the city. That period was marked by the loss of the administrative functions provided by the Council of the North and the Ecclesiastical Commission, and a shift in the economy towards trades driven by the needs of gentry, with areas of the former commercial waterfront becoming gardens.

Medieval York is well-illustrated with colour photographs and black and white pictures. There are no footnotes, but the select bibliography is divided by chapter titles. The author works at York Archaeological Trust and draws on its extensive archive for this work. Drawing together archaeological and historical evidence and providing useful comparisons with other medieval cities, this book describes how Viking *Jorvik* developed into the leading city of northern England.

JOHN S. LEE

INGLEBOROUGH: landscape and history *David Johnson* (Carnegie/Yorkshire Dales Millennium Trust 2008 xxii+266pp ISBN 978-1-85936-188-7) £14.95

A mountain may seem an odd subject for a book on local history, but Ingleborough in the Yorkshire Dales, which rises to 724m (2377ft) and has four modern parishes extending to its summit, has long attracted the attention of eminent artists, writers and scholars. It was painted by Turner and the Victorian Yorkshire-born artist Atkinson Grimshaw, and written about by Robert Southey, John Ruskin and the eighteenth century traveller Viscount Torrington. So a book about its history is appropriate, but this is much more than a study in local history. It is a complete biography of the mountain and the valleys that surround it, the Doe valley to the north-west, upper Ribblesdale to the east and the fringes of the Wenning valley to the south.

The author, a geographer, is as much interested in the geology and geomorphology as in the archaeology, evolution of the human landscape and modern land use. In the very first paragraph of the preface he points out that the physical environment and the human response cannot be separated. The first four chapters (80 pages) are devoted to geology and landform processes. Solid geology, dominated by limestones, sandstones, shales and Millstone Grit, weathered and eroded over millions of years and covered in many places by boulder clay, alluvium and peat, creates a very varied landscape of moors, mosses, edges, scars, karst landscapes and glacial landforms such as drumlins and terminal moraines. This physical variety has attracted human beings, for ritual purposes, defence and settlement, exploitation of resources such as building stone, lime, fuel and pasture, and latterly as a recreational and tourist destination.

Six chapters in the second part of the book are devoted to this attraction to humans. Two consider evidence for the presence of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers, Neolithic and Bronze Age settlement, cup carvings, the hillfort (if indeed it is a hillfort), medieval settlement sites, monastic influences and cave archaeology. Then, four chapters which take a broader view of human landscape development. The first is devoted to the development of routes across and around Ingleborough, from prehistoric routeways, Roman roads, and Anglo-Saxon and Viking invasion routes, to packhorse routes, drove roads, turnpikes and enclosure roads. Two chapters then analyse the developing landscape, with sections on common and turbary rights, enclosure, field barns, the impact of quarrying and lime-burning, and the building of the Ribblesdale railway viaduct. The last main chapter turns to the modern landscape, in particular to the rural settlement pattern, and the impact of modern upland farming practice, quarrying and limeworks, sporting interests, forestry and tourism.

The book, though long, is clearly organised and engagingly and lucidly written, well-referenced and illustrated with crisp maps and diagrams and a large number of colour photographs. The

full-page colour long shots of the mountain facing the opening pages of six of the chapters are mouth-watering. Once you have read the book and feasted your eyes on these photographs you will want to visit or re-visit this upland massif and to explore its historic landscapes.

MELVYN JONES

THE DIARY OF EDWIN WAUGH *Life in Victorian Manchester and Rochdale 1847–1851* edited and abridged Brian Hollingworth (privately published 2008 xvii+172pp ISBN 9781904244493) £12.50 from the author, 12 Lockwood Road, Allestree, Derby DE22 2JD

If diaries record change, then Edwin Waugh emerges as a palpably different person at the end of his diary. It begins with him in 1847, newly-married, with uncertain prospects and contacts, and repelled by the necessity of visiting Manchester. He is out of work and in debt. Yet it ends four years later with his marriage moribund (although arguably that didn't stand a chance), a frequent visitor to Manchester, and in regular work. The diary is one of several fragments edited and abridged by Brian Hollingworth and gives a wonderful insight into mid-nineteenth century Manchester. Waugh's initial horror at the thought of the town—the 'clangor and corruption of this great sooty city'—accords with other contemporary accounts, as does his conclusion that Manchester, 'the most infernal cluster of human habitation on earth ... would be a complete hell of soot and stench but that it is drenched by incessant rain'. Yet Waugh comes to see advantage in association with the town, moving to Hulme as his fraught domestic position allowed.

It wasn't all change, though. He remained in debt and noted how one creditor of many threatened him 'with law' (Waugh later itemised his debts, which amounted to over £30). On one occasion he stayed in on a Sunday because his clothes were not presentable, and his search for work involved, for example, uncomfortable interviews with Thomas Sowler, the editor of the *Manchester Courier*. When Waugh did find work, as assistant secretary for the Lancashire Public Schools' Association—eventually earning a pound a week—his fortunes slowly changed. This job gave him with the chance to make contacts amongst the literati of Manchester. Having recorded his doubts about the value of continuing his poetry (it had led to little success) he was finally among more fitting company. He reported to Francis Espinasse (who went on to publish *Lancashire Worthies*) and, through the publisher Alexander Ireland, attempted to introduce himself, when in London, to Thomas Carlyle. Waugh also related his meeting with the elderly Samuel Bamford. Although it is beyond the record of this diary, he did eventually find success and fame as a dialect writer and poet, as famous as Dickens.

Waugh's work for the Association was noteworthy for the footwork necessary in collecting subscriptions, but the casual way in which he used the railways is striking. It is the off-hand recording of travel by train, the normality, the routine, the frequency of services and wide network that surprises for a mode of transport barely ten years old. When not travelling by train he walked a lot, on one occasion returning overnight to the city through the villages south of Manchester. As he moves around we are treated to some delicious observations and anecdotes of South Lancashire society and dialect. Most noteworthy are the account of his day-trip on the train to Blackpool among a crowd of thousands; and of Knott Mill Fair, where the 'immense crowds' permit him free literary rein, describing them as 'fiddlers, fuddlers, squallers, brawlers, sprawlers, whores, soldiers, beggars'.

Brian Hollingworth has done a fine job in editing and abridging a tricky text. A general index would have been helpful, but the main players are described in a paragraph or so and there are helpful illustrations. This work will certainly help to colour in our understanding of life in so important a town.

CRAIG HORNER

MEDIEVAL PARKS OF HERTFORDSHIRE Anne Rowe (Hertfordshire Publications 2009 xiv+255pp ISBN 9781905313488) £18.99

Hertfordshire, Oliver Rackham wrote, is a 'parky county'. According to Anne Rowe, whose excellent and beautifully-produced new book on the subject has been published by the

enterprising University of Hertfordshire Press, there were at least 70 medieval parks. The work is a gazetteer nearly 200 pages long, each entry providing a detailed compendium of evidence about each park, supported by a map based on the first edition of the Ordinance Survey and, where relevant, photographs. The gazetteer is preceded by a long scholarly introduction drawing the various strands of the gazetteer together.

Rowe is one of the new generation of historians revising our understanding of the medieval park, both as a feature in the landscape and as a social and economic phenomenon. The introduction discusses the chronology of parks, their creators, physical context, ecology, use, management, costs and personnel. The scope of the evidence, meticulously analysed, is impressive. No physical feature has been unexamined, no document ignored: the bibliography identifies at least 350 manorial records. Every park, however small or short-lived, seems to have been tracked down (literally in many cases). For example, almost everything there is to know about the structure, materials and maintenance of medieval park fences would seem to be found in these pages.

What were parks for? What we see from manorial records is their use as larders, for the supply of timber and for the grazing of other animals, often on a commercial basis. In addition to providing the household needs of the owners, grazing was leased as agistment and wood was sold on the market. Manorial sources amply confirm that a park was not for profit. The most owners hoped to achieve was that controlled exploitation of the vert would offset the costs of maintaining the venison, especially the wages of the parkers and expenditure on the infrastructure.

For, as Dr Rowe convincingly demonstrates, parks were for pleasure, a luxury that only the better-off could afford and the influential acquire. Unfortunately the evidence is sparse about the actual pleasure they gave and the leisure activities they supported. While they were almost universally used for stocking deer, mainly fallow, which were culled for the lord's table, there is relatively little evidence, of the owners actually hunting in them. It would seem that many parks were too small to provide much pleasure in the chase, but one wonders, especially with the widespread practice whereby deer were driven towards standing shooters, whether there was more hunting than the surviving records reveal. Dr Rowe's sources rarely identify a day of hunting, but that does not mean that this did not happen. The park, no doubt, was a little arcadia, sealed off from the mundane world for the delight of the owners, but were the deer there just to look picturesque and provide food? Was not the medieval park the equivalent of the twentieth-century shoot, a costly indulgence of the very rich?

Perhaps the manorial records create a second distortion—that the history of the park is seen almost exclusively from the viewpoint of the owner. Rowe is not interested in the impact of these parks on the local population, except as a source of employment. Yet, the evidence she cites occasionally gives clues to another dimension altogether. In 1397 John of Gaunt took in 36 acres of arable land and over fifty of meadow and pasture to enlarge Hertingfordbury. This, Rowe comments, 'must have had a considerable impact'. Indeed so. It is a shame that she did not find room to discuss such issues as poaching and fence destruction, or the forcible eviction of tenants to clear land for emparkment. Possibly the reservation of land in parks for the pleasure of the idle rich did not cause resentment, even in 1381, but surely the question needs consideration?

It is a measure of the value of Rowe's painstaking anatomy of the Hertfordshire parks that these wider questions of interpretation and debate arise. This book is relevant not just to Hertfordshire but to the whole of lowland England in the medieval period where, as Saxton's maps reveal, parks were scattered like confetti on the landscape. Their economic and social significance, however, had an impact that reached further than the narrow world of their owners.

A.J. POLLARD

FLOODS IN NORTH WEST ENGLAND A history c.1600-2008 *Sarah Watkins and Ian Whyte* (Centre for North West Regional Studies, Lancaster University 2009 118pp ISBN 978 1 86220 217 7) £11.99

This book is concerned with the river catchment areas west of the Pennines, in Cumbria and historic Lancashire, aiming to 'reconstruct the history of flooding and its effects ... from the Mersey to the Solway'. It covers a wide range of topics with more general relevance and interest

than the title may suggest. The introduction begins with an account of the Carlisle flood of January 2005, the worst since 1822. Although flood defences protected many properties, three people died, 10,000 had to leave their homes, and at least 1700 properties were damaged including many businesses and the city's police station, fire station and ambulance depots, at an estimated cost of £300-£500 million. The figures given in the book vary, and may be based on different criteria, but there is no doubt that the overall cost was huge, as was the disruption for many hundreds of people, some of whom could not return to their homes for two years. The effect on the local economy was immense.

The book sets the flood history of the region in the context of other British and European flood events. Past floods and projected risks are covered, with consideration of the effects of changed land use and the cost of potential damage and defence work in the future. One chapter gives technical and scientific information about rivers, catchment areas, hydrology, and the effects of melting snow, thunderstorms and bog-bursts. The work of palaeohydrologists in their study of ancient rivers, weather patterns and deposits transported by rivers and floods and the work of the Environment Agency is discussed.

Later chapters consider sources of information about historical flood events, and the impact of floods on the landscape and communities. Relatively few human deaths in the region have been attributed to floods but countless livestock have drowned and many bridges and buildings have been damaged over the centuries. There are two detailed case-studies, of the rivers Eden and Irwell. The impact on urban areas is analysed, including the problem of building on floodplains—parts of Carlisle, Kendal, Appleby and several Lancashire towns are cited as examples in this category. Other seemingly safe towns, not on major watercourses, have also suffered. The centre of Penrith was often flooded by small culverted streams before remedial measures were implemented.

Coastal flooding, flood relief measures, the potential cost and likely shortfall in allocated funding and the need for recognising risk are the subjects of other chapters. Floods are part of the natural cycle. If flood plains and water meadows were still able to absorb or slow down the flow of an overloaded river urban flooding would be less serious. But not all floods are due to large rivers. A seemingly-innocuous stream can turn into a raging torrent and lead to major damage and loss of life after an abnormal rainfall event.

Although the book is about North West England, its relevance goes far beyond narrow regional considerations, with its wide range of topics and discussion of many types of events. The writers acknowledge that this represents only a partial account of a 'complex and often dramatic story', even in this single region. One can learn a great deal from this informative, thought-provoking and accessible book.

MARGARET SHEPHERD

A CALENDAR OF PROBATE AND ADMINISTRATION ACTS 1407-1550 in the Consistory Court of the Bishops of Hereford (with an appendix of will abstracts 1552-1581) edited Michael Faraday (privately published 2008 xxx+690pp no ISBN) £27+£8.30 p&p in UK, from M.A. Faraday, 47 York Gardens, Walton on Thames KT12 3EW; enquiries to f2594255@btinternet.com

This calendar contains details from about 13,500 probate and administration acts recorded in the surviving court books of the ancient diocese of Hereford during the period 1407 to 1550 inclusive. It also includes abstracts of wills from the published bishops' registers and, as an appendix, a calendar of abstracts of 378 wills copied into the court books during the period 1552 to 1581. An earlier edition of this material was published on microfiche by the British Record Society; this book not only corrects various errors that have since come to light but also reformats the text for the sake of clarity and incorporates a considerable amount of additional material.

The introduction explains the nature of the calendared material and describes the workings of the bishop's court and its officers, its legal year commencing at Michaelmas. The court was itinerant, sessions being held in the main towns of the various deaneries of the diocese. Probate

cases were usually heard in the deanery where the testator had died, but occasionally where the executor lived, if different. Testamentary cases might be brought before the court by the executor or next of kin who wished to prove the will or receive a grant of administration and so obtain protection against other claimants; alternatively, cases might be listed by the apparitor (court official) who had heard of the death of someone who was not a known pauper and then summoned likely executors. The interest of the apparitor and court was to obtain the applicable fines and fees. If the relevant will was copied into the court book, an abstract has been provided.

The absence of original wills in the diocese before 1539 makes such records invaluable; although the editorial policy of only abstracting personal names and relationships from wills, rather than including the actual bequests, renders the abstracts less useful than they might be (admittedly such details would have made this large volume even larger). The date on which a case was first heard gives an rough indication of when the testator had died, although the court's summer recess meant that more cases were recorded in October and November; however, as parish registers were not instituted until 1538, and few survive from then, for most of the period covered by the calendar these court books are virtually the only records of deaths in the diocese. Occasionally wills were contested and brief details of subsequent disputes have been added.

Many of the original court books, now held in the Herefordshire Record Office, are very fragile and unfit for production, and all are written in highly abbreviated ecclesiastical Latin, and therefore this calendar renders much of their content accessible to researchers; however, it should be noted that testamentary business formed about a third of the whole and that none of the other recorded cases—for example, sexual misdemeanour, blasphemy, defamation, usury—has been calendared. The volume has been comprehensively indexed, no mean feat since it includes some 18,000 references to place-names and 36,000 references to personal names (not only the deceased but also executor(s) or administrator(s), and, where applicable, beneficiaries, witnesses, feoffees and overseers in wills, and opponents in testamentary disputes). Furthermore as the diocese abutted Wales, many Welsh people appear in these records: given their more complicated naming practices, there is a separate index of Welsh personal names, organised by first name. It is an excellent tool for anyone researching people or places in the Hereford diocese between 1407 and 1581.

HEATHER FALVEY

MEDIEVAL SUFFOLK An economic and social history, 1200-1500 *Mark Bailey* (Boydell: History of Suffolk 1 2009 xiv+328pp ISBN 978-184383-315-4) £25

This is the first volume in a projected multi-volume history of Suffolk, underwritten—in a gesture of inspired generosity—by a bequest from Miss Ann Ashard Webb, a teacher and teacher of teachers. Her wish to see the history combine high standards of scholarship with readability is admirably achieved here, and Mark Bailey breaks new ground as well as offering an accessible synthesis for the general reader. The work rests on an impressive knowledge of the sources, yielding a rich collection of illustrative examples. The author is also good at identifying and trying to get behind deficiencies in the documentary evidence, as in his discussion of the economic contribution of women. The book's great triumph, however, and the thing that will make it invaluable to teachers and students of medieval society generally, is the balancing of the regional against the national. Textbook discussions of medieval economic and social history usually try to draw general conclusions from widely divergent regional or local case studies. Any assertion can be qualified, and it sometimes seems that one could argue any line about, for instance, medieval peasants by choosing one's examples carefully.

Bailey's treatment in effect inverts this approach. By placing Suffolk, and its own diverse regions, within the national context he lets us see why there are regional differences. What can in general surveys appear a confusing collection of contradictory data begins to make sense. Central to this project is an emphasis on the impact of the landscape not just on the agrarian economy but on the social and tenurial structures associated with the exploitation of the land. This, for instance, underpins his discussion of why the degree of manorialisation varies across the county, as well as across the country—and the result is a lucid survey of a notoriously knotty issue.

Although the approach is avowedly thematic rather than chronological, with chapters on the urban environment and on commerce and industry across the whole period, there is in other respects a marked division at 1349, with the arrival of the Black Death in the county. There are 'before and after' chapters on rural society, the agrarian economy and towns—the areas where the consequences of demographic collapse were most marked. The chapter on post-1350 rural society is entitled 'The World Turned Upside Down'. Had the phrase been given a question mark, the answer offered would seem to be 'no'. Contemporaries did indeed believe that the plague had brought profound (and, to commentators, unwelcome) social change, but in reality it created an enhanced possibility of shifts in individual wealth or autonomy within a social structure, and a set of social assumptions, that remained very largely unchanged. That social structure is well-delineated here, although the nobility appear only in their economic and jurisdictional role as rural landowners. Their political role is perhaps reserved for a companion volume, as, presumably, is discussion of the medieval church, the most obvious omission here. The enunciation of the aims of the series in the foreword and on the dust jacket gives no indication of what other volumes are planned, although a number of associated monographs are listed. It will be a great pity if the momentum gained by this first volume is lost—although it will be a hard act to follow.

ROSEMARY HORROX

WILLIAM DUGDALE, HISTORIAN 1605-1686 His life, his writings and his county *edited Christopher Dyer and Catherine Richardson* (Boydell 2009 xvi+248pp ISBN 978 1 84383 443 4) £50

Readers of *The Local Historian* may already be familiar with the name of William Dugdale. He is generally acknowledged to be one of the earliest practitioners of local history and is perhaps best known for his work *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, published to considerable acclaim in 1656. Dugdale is also a controversial figure, in the eyes of some commentators more of an opportunistic entrepreneur or fixer than a committed scholar—but that only adds to his appeal, so we want to get closer to the man and the milieu within which he operated. For anyone interested in doing that, this impressive collection of essays is strongly commended. Whether you are already an aficionado, or would like to familiarise yourself with his life and times, you will certainly find something to intrigue and inspire.

The book is the product of a conference sponsored by the Dugdale Society in 2006: all the contributors are distinguished scholars with an impressive knowledge and deep appreciation of his place in the pantheon of early modern local historians. There are two major categories of contribution. The first focuses on Dugdale himself and different aspects of his life during the turbulent years of the Civil War (or, as he described them in the title of one of his last works, the 'Late Troubles') and the Restoration. A moderate royalist, he managed to negotiate his way through the 1650s by immersing himself in his intellectual pursuits. From these contributions you will discover many of Dugdale's traits, such as his networking ability, his competence as an antiquarian and herald, and his great interest in pre-Reformation England. Emphasis is also placed on his skill at putting his findings into the 'public domain'. To paraphrase one of the contributors, Geoffrey Tyack, Dugdale was as good at publishing information as accumulating it.

A second category of contribution concerns various facets of the social, economic and administrative context within which he made his mark. Thus, there are essays on the honour politics, gentry culture, country houses, towns and material culture of seventeenth-century Warwickshire. There is also a fascinating piece by Steve Hindle on the survey undertaken by Sir Richard Newdigate of the Warwickshire parish of Chilvers Coton. While some of these contributions are case studies, others adopt a broader brush approach with, for example, an essay on the intellectual and leisure culture of the gentry by Vivienne Larminie highlighting the role that education and reading, travel, artistic taste and religion played in shaping the world view of the leading members of Warwickshire society.

For anyone new to William Dugdale, the introduction and conclusion by Christopher Dyer provide extremely helpful overviews and the basis for appreciating the book as a whole. However, individual chapters stand alone and serve as a spur to, and a model for, local

historians. While this means that there is a certain amount of repetition, it is more than justified. Although the cost of the book might appear prohibitive, it is profusely illustrated. This is entirely appropriate since, as Christopher Dyer points out, together with attention to detail and rigorous engagement with original source material, one of Dugdale's principal contributions to local history was his 'appreciation of the visual'.

ROGER OTTEWILL

JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN VICTORIAN LANCASHIRE W.J. Garnett and the Bleasdale Reformatory *Emmeline Garnett* (Centre for North West Regional Studies, Lancaster University 2009 vi+98pp ISBN 978-1-86220-214-6) £9.95

This conscientious study is forged out of an interest in family and local history: the author dedicates the book to her niece, Carol Johnson, 'for lending me the diaries of William James Garnett and William Garnett without which the book could not have been written'. The incomplete diaries of William James Garnett are in 'very factual form ... and rarely record his thinking' but because of his frequent absences from his estate, convalescing in France, there remain substantial exchanges of letters and reports about the Bleasdale Reformatory (near Preston). The father, William James, and son, William, were heavily involved in the criminal justice system, both serving as magistrates, while William James was a Conservative MP between 1857 and 1863. Originally inspired by Mary Carpenter's book (1851) and her work in Bristol 'for the care and reformation of juvenile offenders', and supported by John Clay, chaplain at the Preston House of Correction, Garnett became convinced of the need for religion in the lives of young criminals, and of the salutary impact of hard physical labour in the countryside. This generation of Victorian gentry, in this case with wealth originally secured in the 1780s Jamaican slave trade, began to see the need for 'volunteer benevolence rather than act of parliament philanthropy' at home. Indeed, one thread running through the book is a tension between private philanthropy and state finance, inspection and regulation.

With the help of substantial voluntary donations, the industrial school was designed and built on their own country estate, as the Garnetts engaged in policy debates and practical solutions to educate, train and reform of juvenile delinquents. However, the history and development of the Bleasdale regimen relied heavily on the work of another father and son dynasty—Grant King, the first superintendent and his successor, his own schoolmaster son, Alfred King. Emmeline Garnett teases out the ups and downs in their relationships as managers, as they dutifully wrote letters reporting on boys and the occasional waves of absconding and unrest. This study is strengthened and contextualised by a final chapter, informed by Sandra Jolly's PhD thesis about Lancashire reformatories, which offers a brief comparative overview of these, including two naval training ships in Liverpool with harsh regimes, the *Akbar* and *Clarence*.

There is much in this book that is familiar to us in the present day, including the moral panics about masculinity, resurgent juvenile delinquency, the search for a reward system that successfully guarantees reform of damaged and criminal youth, the rising costs of residential care, the explosion of numbers in care, problems of understaffing, worries about inadequate institutional diets, and the dark undercurrent of physical (and sexual?) abuse. One wonders how the death (by drowning) of a young boy, who had dirtied himself in the privies and was subsequently taken to be washed outdoors in a pond, unsupervised by staff, would be dealt with by today's media, child care agencies and subsequent official inquiries?

PETER BRAMHAM

RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN LOCAL HISTORY

Only books and pamphlets sent to the Reviews Editor are included in this list, which gives all publications received between 1 August and 1 November 2009. Most books are also reviewed in this or a future issue, or on the BALH website. Publishers should ensure that prices of publications are notified. When addresses are quoted prices usually 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, Book Reviews, PO Box 649, Cambridge CB1 0JW.** Please note that all opinions and comments expressed in reviews are those of the reviewer—they do not necessarily represent the views of the editors in the British Association for Local History

LOCAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES

East

COUNTRY REMEDIES The survival of East Anglia's traditional plant medicines *Gabrielle Hatfield* (Boydell 2009 ISBN 978 1 84383 505 9) £14.99

HUNTINGDON COUNTY GAOL AND HOUSE OF CORRECTION *Mary Eiloart* (Fern House 2009 ISBN 978 1 902702 20) £4.99 from Fern House, Haddenham, Cambridge CB6 3XA

THE KING'S LYNN PORT BOOKS 1610-1614 edited *G. Alan Metters* (Norfolk Record Society vol.73 2009 ISBN 978 0 9556357 2 4) £18.50+£3.50 p&p from NRS, 29 Cintra Road, Norwich NR1 4AR

THE TOLL-HOUSES OF SUFFOLK *Patrick Taylor* (Polystar Press 2009 ISBN 978 1 907154 00 3) £7.95 from Polystar Press, 277 Cavendish Street, Ipswich IP3 8BQ

WORKING TOWARDS FOULNESS *George and Brenda Jago* (Forehorse Press 2009 ISBN 978 0 9538593 4 4) sold in aid of Heritage Centre Foulness £15+£2 p&p from Dr B Cook, School House, St Lawrence, Southminster CM0 7NZ

London and South East

ALTON'S MOTOR TRADERS A century of service Pt.2 East and west of the town centre *Norman Pointing* (Friends of Curtis Museum and Allen Gallery LH Group 2009 No ISBN) £3+60p p&p cheques payable to Friends of Curtis Museum and Allen Gallery; from Mrs J. Hurst, 82, The Butts, Alton GU34 1RD

BEACONSFIELD A history *Julian Hunt and David Thorpe* (Phillimore 2009 ISBN 978 1 86077 497 3) £18.99

GOSPORT THEN AND NOW *Phil Hewitt* (Breedon 2009 ISBN 978 1 85983 769 6) £16.99

HERTFORDSHIRE OBITUARIES 1801-1837 as recorded in *The Gentleman's Magazine* edited *Alan Ruston* (Hertfordshire FHS special pubn 8 2009 ISBN 1 903245 57 5) £6 from HFHS Book Sales, 24 Ashurst Road, Barnet EN4 9LF

JANE AUSTEN AND CHAWTON *Jane Hurst* (author 2009 no ISBN) £2.50+60p from Mrs J. Hurst, 82 The Butts, Alton GU34 1RD

JOHN FARRER The man who changed Hornsey *Janet Owen* (Hornsey Historical Society 2009 ISBN 978 0 905794 40 2) £11.99+£1.10 p&p from HHS, The Old Schoolhouse, 136 Tottenham Lane, London N8 7EL

THE LONDON FRIENDS' MEETING *William Beck and T. Frederick Ball* (Pronoun Press 2009 reprint of 1869 ISBN 978 0 9556183 4 5) £36 details from www.pronounpress.co.uk

THE LONDON OF JACK THE RIPPER *Then and now* *Robert Clack and Philip Hutchinson* (Breedon 2009 rev. edn. ISBN 978 1 85983 764 1) £14.99

LOOKING BACK AT CRAWLEY *Karen Dunn* (Breedon 2009 ISBN 978 1 85983 743 6) £16.99

MILKWOOD ESTATE The story of a Lambeth community *Herne Hill Society Local History Group* (Herne Hill Society 2009, ISBN 978 1 87352074 1) from HHS, PO Box 27845, London SE24 9XA

RYE A history of a Sussex Cinque Port to 1660 *Gillian Draper* (Phillimore 2009 ISBN 978 1 86077 607 6) £25

RYE REBUILT Regeneration and decline within a Sussex port town 1350-1660 *David and Barbara Martin with Jane Clubb and Gillian Draper* (Romney Marsh Research Trust 2009 ISBN 978 1 906070 11 3) details from secretary@rmrt.org.uk

THE SEA AND THE MARSH The medieval Cinque Port of New Romney *Gillian Draper and Frank Meddens* (Pre-Construct Archaeology Limited Monograph 10 2009 ISBN 978 0 9542938 9 5) details from secretary@rmrt.org.uk

TO PARADISE BY WAY OF GOSPEL OAK A mansion flat estate and the forces that shaped it *Rosamund Bayley* (Camden History Society 2009 ISBN 978 0 904491 78 4) £8.50+£2.50 p&p from CHS Flat 13, 13 Tavistock Place WC1H 9SH

TUNBRIDGE WELLS IN 1909 *Chris Jones* (Royal Tunbridge Wells Civic Society 2008 ISBN 978 0 9560944 0 7) £8.95 from author, 52 St James Road, Tunbridge Wells TN1 2LB

WORKING THE LAND IN ROMSEY A history of farms and farming families in a Hampshire parish *Jean Brent and Pat Goodwin* (LTVAS Publications 2009 ISBN 978 0 906921 33 3) £7.50 from Lynda Hemsley, 87 Middlebridge Street, Romsey SO51 8HJ

Midlands

THE BIRTH, LIFE AND DEATH OF A VILLAGE SCHOOL *Rosemary Buchan* (Pickworth LH Group 2009 ISBN 978 0 9562022 1 5) £6 from Pickworth LHG, Crown Cottage, Village Street, Pickworth, Sleaford NG34 0TD

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY GOLF CLUB *Robert S. Sephton* (Radley History Club 2009 ISBN

978 0 9542761 7 1) £3+£1 p&p from author, 33 Colley Wood, Kennington, Oxford OX1 5N

BUILDING A RAILWAY Bourne to Saxby *edited Stewart Squires and Ken Hollamby* (Lincoln Record Society 2009 ISBN 1 978 0901503 862) £30 from Boydell Press, PO Box 9, Woodbridge IP12 3DF

CATHOLIC GENTRY IN ENGLISH SOCIETY The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation *edited Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott* (Ashgate 2009 ISBN 978 0 7546 6432 1) £60

THE 'Green': a journey through time *edited Stan Smith* (Basford & District LHS 2009 no ISBN) £4 inc. p&p from author, 44 Cherry Tree Close, Brinsley, Nottingham NG16 5BA

HARDWICK A great house and its estate *Philip Riden and Dudley Fowkes* (Phillimore/England's Past for Everyone 2009 ISBN 978 1 86077 544 4) £14.99

A HISTORY OF LINCOLN *Richard Gurnham* (Phillimore 2009 ISBN 978 1 869077 551 2) £17.99

IMAGES OF LOUGHBOROUGH AND DISTRICT *Trevor Hickman* (Breedon 2009 ISBN 978 1 85983 758 0) £16.99

A LOST FRONTIER REVEALED Regional separation in the East Midlands *Alan Fox* (University of Hertfordshire Press: Studies in regional and local history vol.7 2009 ISBN 978 1 902806 96 9) £18.99

NORWELL FARMS (Norwell Heritage Booklet 5: Norwell Parish Heritage Group 2009 ISSN 2040-2406) £4+p&p from Dr E. Jones, Parr's Cottage, Main Street, Norwell NG23 6JN

NORWELL SCHOOLS (Norwell Heritage Booklet 4: Norwell PHG 2009 ISSN 2040-2406) £4+p&p from above address

PUBLIC HOUSES OF CASTLE DONINGTON (Castle Donington LHS 2009 no ISBN) £4+£1 p&p from CDLHS, 7 Borough Street, Castle Donington DE74 2LA

THE SLUMS OF LEICESTER *edited Ned Newitt* (Breedon 2009 ISBN 978 1 85983 724 5) £12.99

WITHIN SIGHT OF THE GIBBET Murder, highway robbery and transportation in the Peak District *Ian Morgan* (Breedon 2009 ISBN 978 1 85983 744 3) £9

North

EAST OF YORK Photographic memories of Tang Hall, Heworth and Lawrence Street *compiled by Jane Burrows et al* (Tang Hall Local History Group 2009 ISBN 978 0 9552317 0 4) £7.99 from Jane Burrows, Stockton Lane, Heworth, York YO31 1BY

EXPLORING NORTH YORKSHIRE'S HISTORY *Nigel A. Ibbotson* (Breedon 2009 ISBN 978 1 85983 723 8) £16.99

HUDDERSFIELD IN THE 1820s *Edward J. Law* (Huddersfield LHS 2009 ISBN 978 0 9509134 5 2) £6 from HLHS, 24 Sunnybank Road, Huddersfield HD3 3DE

LEEDS IN THE FIFTIES, SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES (Breedon 2009 ISBN 978 1 85983 750 4) £16.99

ST LEONARD'S CHURCH At the heart of Molescroft *John Markham* (Beverley Minster 2009 no ISBN) £3.50 from Andrew Hancock, 1 Alpha Avenue, Beverley HU17 7JD

TWO AND TWO HALVES ... and a dog: a Blackburn childhood *Joan Potter* (Breedon 2009 ISBN 978 1 85983 722 1) £12.99

WARTON PARISH 1850-1900 *Mourholme Local History Society members* (Mourholme LHS 2009 ISBN 978 0 9534298 3 7) no price; from MLHS, 116 North Road, Carnforth LA5 9LX

South West and West

THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE LAY SUBSIDY OF 1523-1527 *edited M.A. Faraday* (Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society: Gloucestershire Record Series 23 2009 ISBN 978 0 900197 73 4) £30+£6 p&p from Miss P.C. Bush, 17 Estcourt Road, Gloucester GL1 3LU

EXETER CATHEDRAL The first thousand years 400-1500 *Nicholas Orme* (Impress 2009 ISBN 978 0 9556239 8 1) £14.99

HEREFORDSHIRE TAXES in the reign of Henry VIII *edited Michael Faraday* (Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club 2005 ISBN 0 950823 2 8) no price; details from WNFC, 60 Hafod Road, Hereford HR1 1SQ

A HISTORY OF OFFWELL CHURCH AND PARISH (Debrett Ancestry Research Ltd. 2009 no ISBN) £18.75 from publisher, PO Box 379, Winchester SO23 9YQ

MALMESBURY BOROUGH *Donald Box* (Warden and Freemen of Malmesbury 2007 ISBN 978 905592 130 0) from author, 73 Silverdale Road, Earley, Reading RG6 7NF

Scotland

REDCASTLE A place in Scotland's history *Graham Clark* (Athena Press 2009 ISBN 978 1 8478 563 2) £19.99 from publisher, Queen's House, 2 Holly Road, Twickenham TW1 4EG

Wales

THE CHURCHES OF CAPEL CURIG *Frances Richardson and Harvey Lloyd* (Friends of St Julitta's Chapel Curig 2009 no ISBN) £3+95p p&p from publisher c/o 37 Stockleys Road, Headington, Oxford OX3 9RH

Family History

TRACING YOUR CRIMINAL ANCESTORS *Stephen Wade* (ISBN 978 184884 405 77); **TRACING YOUR LABOUR MOVEMENT ANCESTORS** *Mark Craill* (ISBN 978 1 84884 059 1); **TRACING YOUR PAUPER ANCESTORS** *Robert Burlison* (ISBN 978 1 84415 985 7); **TRACING YOUR SCOTTISH ANCESTORS** *Ian Maxwell* (ISBN 978 1 84415 9918); each published by Pen & Sword Books 2009 and priced at £12.99

General

BRIGID Goddess, druidess and saint *Brian Wright* (History Press 2009 ISBN 978 0 7524 4865 7) £18.99

BRITISH MILITARY MEDALS A guide for the collector and the family historian *Peter Duckers* (Pen and Sword 2009 ISBN 978 1844 159604) £16.99

HOAX! The Domesday Hide *Arthur Wright* (Troubadour Publishing 2009 ISBN 978 1 84876 1 650) £12.95 from publishers, 5 Weir Road, Kibworth Beauchamp, Leicester LE8 0LQ

A MAN OF MANY PARTS Professor or Bishop? The life of Edward Nares 1762-1841 *M.J. Barber* (author 2009 ISBN 978 0 9563233 0 9) available from author, 29 Dale Close, Oxford OX1 1TU

RECORDING MEDIEVAL LIVES *edited Julia Boffey and Virginia Davis Harlaxton* Medieval Studies vol.17 (Shaun Tyas 2009 ISBN 978 1900289 955) £49.50

STITCHING FOR VICTORY *Suzanne Griffith* (History

UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICS OF HERITAGE
edited Rodney Harrison (Manchester UP 2009 ISBN 978 0 7190 8152 1) £24.99

CDs

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF LUDLOW 1540-1600 (2009: £10); **MANCHESTER CONSTABLES' ACCOUNTS 1612-1647 and 1743-1776** (2009: £17); **NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE QUARTER SESSIONS RECORDS of the 17th and 18th centuries** (2009: £20); **A SERIES OF DECISIONS OF THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH 1732-1776** (2009: £14); all from Anguline Research Archives, 51 Bank Street, Ossett, West Yorkshire, WF5 8PR enquiries@anguline.co.uk

HERTFORDSHIRE QUARTER SESSIONS 1588-1619 (Hertfordshire FHS 2009 CD6) £20 from HFHS Book Sales, 24 Ashurst Road, Barnet EN4 9LF

JOURNALS AND NEWSLETTERS RECEIVED

The more substantial articles in these journals are noted below, but we do not give a full contents list. Most journals are listed alphabetically by geographical location, not title of publication; general journals are at the end of the list.

Alton Papers (no.13 2009) £3+60p p&p cheques to 'Friends of Curtis Museum and Allan Gallery'; copies from Mrs J. Hurst, 82 The Butts, Alton GU34 1RD: *Mary Woodforde's Book; main roads around Alton; 1744 perambulation of Medstead; clockmakers of Alton; life in Alton in 1859*

Look Back at Andover [Andover History & Archaeology Society] (vol.2 no.10) £3+50p p&p from AHAS, Mill Pound Cottage, Monxton, Andover SP11 8AW: Fullerton Mars mosaic; Anthony Purver (1702-1777); Andover Institute 1862-1897; *Mist family in Abbots Ann, Monxton and Amport; Cobbet's Rural Rides near Andover; Andover bandstand*

Ayrshire Notes [Ayrshire Archaeological & Natural History Society] (no.38 Autumn 2009) £2 further details on www.aanhs.org.uk: *Ayrshire place-names; old fingerposts in Ayrshire; etymology of parish names in the OSA*

Cake and Cockhorse [Banbury Historical Society] (vol.17 no.9 Summer 2009) £2.50 from BHS, Banbury Museum, Spiceball Park Road, Banbury OX16 2PQ: *Sydenham Quarries; a Victorian childhood; Simmonds family in Banbury*; (vol.18 no.1 Autumn/Winter 2009) *A Banbury printer in the later 20th century; 'The Strangers' Guide to Banbury' c 1859; Banbury's outskirts 1895*

History in Bedfordshire [Bedfordshire LH Association] (vol.5 no.1 Autumn 2009) from Brian D. Lazelle, Springfield, 63 Amptill Road, Maulden, Bedford MK45 2DH: *Woad in Bedfordshire*

Bedfordshire & Luton Archives & Records Service Newsletter (no.81 Autumn 2009) from BLARS, Riverside Building, Borough Hall, Bedford MK42 9AP: *Bedfordshire's links with Henry VIII, 90 years of the Women's Institute in Bedfordshire*

Berkshire Old and New [Berkshire LH Association] (no.26 2009) £3 from Dr J. Brown, Museum of English Rural Life, Redlands Road, Reading RG1 5EX: *Leper hospitals in Berkshire; Abingdon Rural Sanitary Authorities 1872-1914; building control records of Slough; Berkshire Bibliography 2009*

Berkshire Local History Association Newsletter (no.95 September 2009) membership £9 p.a. details from

membership@blha.org.uk: *Caversham Court: a brief history*

The Bradford Antiquary [Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society] (3rd ser no.13 2009) £5+£1 p&p from Bob Duckett, 22 Holden Lane, Baildon, Shipley BD17 6HZ: *Bowling and Bowling Hall; Mechanics' Institute, Thornton; Beyond the subscription concerts; Walter Scott (1878-1947) and his photographic company; John Sprekley: Bradford coachman; motoring in Bradford 1896-1939; Wibsey datestones and their creators; Croughyill Park Bowling Club*

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Newsletter (no.64 February 2009; no.65 August 2009) details from Elaine North, 7 Parr Close, Churchdown, Gloucester GL3 1NH

Camden History Review [Camden History Society] (no.33) £5.95+£1.50 p&p from CHS Publications, Flat 13, 13 Tavistock Place, London, WC1H 9SH: *Southwood Smith: his extraordinary life and family; from Southwood Smith to Octavia Hill; Archibald Campbell Barclay and the Catholic Apostolic Church; Penrhyn Lodge and the 'Napoleon of Crime'; Highgate Men's Pond*

Centre for East Anglian Studies Newsletter (September 2009) from Centre for East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ: *the defence of Walberswick*

Cheltenham Local History Society Newsletter (no.65 November 2009) pdf from kbooth@dircon.co.uk: *a historical snippet from Minsterworth; St Monica's Home for Girls*

Longer Sen: a miscellany [Chipping Local History Society] (2009) £5.80 inc.p&p from John Pearson, Curwen House Farm, Curwen Lane, Goosnargh, Preston PR3 3LB: *Chipping Mill; our country churches and chapels; hot walls and hot beds in the Ribble Valley; jolly schooldays at Brabins; Chipping census review 1841-1881; Ellison family tree; Thornley-with-Wheatley; Berry's chairworks; Fresh from the farm in post-war Chipping; Wet, fine or foot and mouth: the show goes on; Brick House Farm, Walker Fold School and Chapel, Chagley*

Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society Newsletter (no.92 September 2009) from Jenny Braddy, 150 Oxford Road, Linthorpe, Middlesbrough TS5 5EL: *fading memories of a 1940s evacuee*

Cleveland History [Cleveland & Teesside LHS] (no.96 Spring 2009) from Julia Tweedy, 14 Oldford Crescent, Acklam, Middlesbrough TS5 7EH: *Guisborough and Cleveland 1557-1559; Middlesbrough to Redcar railway; the ironstone-mining community of the Charltons; more pages from a West Hartlepool diary*

Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society Proceedings (vol.19 pt.2) £3.50: *Cuthbert William Johnson: Croydon's Victorian agricultural writer and public health recorder*

Dorking History [Dorking LH Group] (no.11 2009) from DLHG, Dorking Museum, Old Foundry, 62 West Street, Dorking RH4 1BS: *history of Hoyle, Capel; local boy makes good in Ontario; William Tilt's Emigration; Holmwood's Huguenot connections; letters from Wootton emigrants; the past and future of Leith Hill Place; the lost villages: stories of the Holmwoods; diaries of Sarah Hurst 1759-1762*

Droitwich History and Archaeology Society Newsletter (no.51 November 2009) 75p from Chris Bowers, 9 Laurelwood Close, Droitwich Spa WR9 78F: *the Mercian hoard; Madresfield Court; on the trail of Edward Winslow; Wilco Chemical Company*

The Dunningite [Dunning Parish Historical Society] (Autumn 2009) £1.50 from DPHS, The Old Schoolhouse, Newton of Pitcairns, Dunning PH2 0SL: *the stone and the dagger; at the berries in the 90s; Dunning's water supply; three generations of Dunning joiners*

Eastbourne Local Historian (no.153 Autumn 2009) details from Michael Partridge, 2a Staveley Road, Eastbourne BN20 7LH: *building of the town hall; Wish Tower Restaurant; St Elizabeth's church, Victoria Drive; The Moorings before the flats; Meads during Second World War*

East Yorkshire Historian [East Yorkshire LHS] (vol.10 2009) details from Miss P. Aldabella, 5 John Gray Court, Main Street, Willerby, Hull HU10 6XZ: *the Goole Whale: cetacean visitors up the Ouse; school histories; Armstrong Patents Company and the fate of a friary gateway; Goole shipyards; William Coates of Hull, marine artist rediscovered; forgotten pleasure and strawberry gardens of Hull; evacuation of Hull and civilian casualties during the Blitz*

EYLHS Newsletter (East Yorkshire LHS) (Summer 2009) from rbarnarnard@googlemail.com: *Thomas Knowlton of Londesborough*

Essex Archaeological and Historical Congress Newsletter (no.99 Autumn 2009) details from Mrs W. Hibbitt, 2 Green Close, Writtle CM1 3DX: *Friends of Valentines Museum; archaeological dig in Writtle*

Eydon Historical Research Group Reports (vol.4 August 2008) *Big Marjorie and the rector's bull and other tales of old Eydon*; (vol.5 September 2009) *maidens, matches and more*; available from EHRG, 8 Partridge Lane, Eydon, Daventry NN11 3PN

Farnham and District Museum Society Journal (vol.15 no.7 September 2009) annual subscription £15 journal from Mrs P. Heather, Tanglewood, Parkside, Upper Hale, Farnham GU9 0JP: *1918 influenza pandemic in Farnham and Badshot Lea; amphibian conservation; archival ramblings*

The New Regard [Forest of Dean LHS] (no.24 2010) £7 from Mrs S. Gordon-Smith, FDLHS, Croft Cottage, Henry Street, Ross-on-Wye HR9 7AL: *Wood distillation works and munitions supply in the Great War; 200th anniversary of the Dean Forest (Timber) Act 1808; demise of the Crad Oak; Cannop, a troubled colliery; Lydney High Street; church bells of the Forest of Dean; Thomas Joseph, coachman of Clanna, and his family; Bideford Brook, Blakeney; Lydbrook viaduct; Benedict Hall, Lord of Staunton, and connections with Cambrai; Gage Gates at Tewkesbury Abbey and Firlle Place; milestones in West Gloucestershire*

Forest of Dean Local History Society News (October 2009) from barnage@supanet.com: *a modern history of the Forest of Dean*

FRAM [Framlingham & District LH & Preservation Society] (5th ser no.13 August 2009) from editor, 43 College Road, Framlingham IP13 9ER: *opening the tombs of the dukes of Richmond and Norfolk 1841; Lanman Museum, 30 years on; the Howard monument in the south aisle of Framlingham church*

Friern Barnet Newsletter [Friern Barnet & District LHS] (no.38 September 2009) *when the circus came to town; Friern Barnet in wartime; our first school (no.39 November 2009) goodbye to the Toc H hut; local dancing schools: details from www.friernbarnethistory.org.uk*

Gloucester Archives Newsletter (October 2009) details from archives@gloucestershire.gov.uk: *learning and outreach projects; volunteer news*

Goring and Streatley Local History Society Journal (no.11 2009) from jhurst@w-mark.demon.co.uk: *Sir*

George Robert Parkin: Canadian imperialist; cooking in Goring 1660-1700; drownings at Goring in the 1880s; a Victorian schoolteacher's tale

Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society Newsletter (no.52 autumn 2009) from www.fieldclub.hants.org: *9 Parchment Street, Winchester; Alresford Bridge; some possible royal portraits at St Cross Hospital, Winchester; 1934 survey of Hampshire's rural lanes; studying medieval settlement in Hampshire; Chilworth's missing manor houses; the Titchfield Canal*

Hedon History [Hedon Museum Society and Hedon and District LHS] information from Hedon Museum, Town Hall, St Augustine's Gate, Hedon HU12 8EX: *cottage life; marry in haste, repent at leisure; John Sharpe, chief constable of Hedon*

Herne Hill Society Newsletter (no.108 Autumn 2009) £1 from Herne Hill Society, PO Box 27845, London SE24 9XA: *Dulwich Road baker's shop; Clovis Salman; cantors and canticles: Jewish and Christian music (no.109 Winter 2009) wildlife in Herne Hill; sex and scandal in Sydenham; Octavia Hill*

Herts Past & Present [Hertfordshire Association for LH] (3rd ser no.14 Autumn 2009) *bastardy records; supporting the poor in Little Gaddesden 1780-1834; Hertfordshire and the General Strike 1926; Welwyn Workhouse; Ebenezer Sadler, receiver general to the Cecils; a history of the Herts Training School 1857-1982*

Hexham Historian [Hexham LHS] (no. 19 August 2009) £8 details from membership@hexhamhistorian.org: *diary of Elizabeth Gill; a century of two Hexham churches; early photographic career of J.P. Gibson; witherite mining in Tynedale; was Hexham fortified: the 'Watchtower' and town walls*

Hexham Local History Society Newsletter (no.59 Winter 2009) details from www.hexhamhistorian.org

The Honeslaw Chronicle [Hounslow and District HS] (Autumn 2009) £1 from Miss A. Cameron, 16 Orchard Avenue, Heston TW5 0DU: *Hounslow and District History Society 1990 to date; mysterious underground structures in St Margaret's and Brentford*

Journal of Kent History [Kent History Federation] (no.69 September 2009) £1.50 from Mrs J. Grebby, Gioles Farm, Pluckley, Ashford TN27 0SY: *Pembury: a Wealden village from its beginnings to the Reformation; G B O'Neill at Wilsely; Tilmanstone Colliery and the aerial ropeway system; Louis Bleriot, Canterbury stage by stage*

LTVAS Newsletter [Lower Test Valley Archaeological Society] (August 2009) from Mrs B. Langdon, Wolversdene, Whitenap Lane, Ramsey SO51 5RS: *the island at Cupernham; who was Hunger?*

Milford-on-Sea Historical Record Society Occasional Magazine (new ser vol.3 2009) from St Barbe Museum, New Street, Lyminster SO41 9BH: *brief history of the Society; Aelfric Small, and the foundation of Milford church; Utefel in Domesday Book; Rookcliffe, Milford-on-Sea; some rememberings of Milford*

Hindsight Northampton Local History Magazine (no.15 September 2009) £3.50 from Alan Clark, 16 Littlewood Close, Northampton NN5 7DT: *Northampton transportees; St Denys church, Faxton; the conquering of crippledom; the wheelwright's gates at Kings' Cliffe; The Rivals performed at Horton Hall; Northampton races.*

News Reviews Research Newsletter [Pinner LHS] (no.110 Autumn 2009) details from enquiries@pinner.org.uk: *Norman Wooland; proclamation of Charles II condemning Milton's books*

Recording Angels (a project to preserve Midlothian's memorials) Newsletter (no.2 Winter 2009) from Miss I. Roberts, 44/b Balcarres Streets, Edinburgh EH10 5SG

Rickmansworth Historical Society Newsletter (no.85) £1 from Geoff Saul, 20 West Way, Rickmansworth WD3 7EN: *Tony Walker of W.H. Walker Bros., copper mills of Harefield; Rickmansworth from the Watford Observer, Summer 1909*

Scottish Local History (no.77 Winter 2009) £6 from Doris Williamson, School of History, Archaeology and Classics, 17 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN: *Rt. Hon. William Anderson PC MP; a man of the people; East Flanders Moss; local history in church court records; 'Peebles for Pleasure': the advent of tourism; Crossraguel Abbey*

Send & Ripley History Society Journal (vol.6 no.207 July/Aug 2009) from kenbourne.novolovo@live.co.uk: *a Send blacksmith; Connaught cars; fishing lakes on Send Heath* (vol.6 no.209 Nov/Dec 200) *the Tices, a Send family of carpenters, builders and undertakers; Donald and Maurice Collins; Dunsborough Park; Thomas Eeles, a continuing mystery; Papercourt Meadows; Sanderson's Lake, Send*

Stapleford and District Local History Society Newsletter (no.27 Autumn 2009) £1 from Barbara M. Brooke, 57 Westerlands, Stapleford, Nottingham NG9 7JE: *Don Gregory, the life story of a local man; National Service*

History Alive Tameside (no.4 2009) available from HAT, 218 Newmarket Road, Ashton-under-Lyne OL7 9JW enclosing £1.50: *the rectory, St Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green; the Gorse Hall murder; Ashton parish church; winter diet for a child; Ashton Poor Law Union; Buckton Castle: recent archaeological investigations; Old Chapel (Unitarian) graveyard; Hollinwood Branch Canal; John Eaton and Sons, architects; railways and the growth of Stalybridge and Ashton-under-Lyne; Stalybridge and District Sunday School Billiards, Snooker and Whist League*

Wandsworth Historian [Wandsworth Historical Society] (no.88 Autumn 2009) £3 from WHS, 119 Heythorpe Street, London SW18 5BT: *the discarded war memorial; challenging perceptions of wartime Putney; when Wandsworth said farewell to its trams; Charles Haddon Spurgeon and 'Helensburgh House'*

Wanstead Historical Society Journal (no.68 Autumn 2009) £1 from Brian Page, Flat 82a, The Weavers'

House, New Wanstead, London E11 2SY: *infectious diseases in Wanstead during the reign of George V; local heritage watch; British Queen public house, New Wanstead*

The Link [Wessex Newfoundland Society] (no.79 September 2009) £10 p.a. details from ikda@ikda-demon.co.uk: *'Dear Britain: Please Buy All Our Fish'; Alfred Wallis (1855-1942); architecture in Newfoundland; Newfoundland lumberjacks in UK*

Wiltshire Local History Forum Newsletter (no.74 September 2009) available from jane@sarum-editorial.co.uk: *restoring a Moravian graveyard; John Collinson, antiquarian*

Woodsetts Local History Society Magazine (no.39 Michaelmas 2009) £2 details from www.woodsetts.com: *Woodsetts: the last 10 years; a trip down the Chesterfield Canal; Friends of Firbeck Hall; Barlborough Hall; my first car - a 1940s go-cart*

Conservation Bulletin [English Heritage] (no.62 Autumn 2009) details from English-Heritage.org.uk: *conservation areas at 40; understanding shared places; sustaining local value; catalysts for the future*

Friendly Societies Research Group Newsletter (no.17 November 2009) details from D.Weinbren@open.ac.uk

The Historian [Historical Association] (no.103 Autumn 2009) details from HA, 59a Kennington Park Road, London SE11 4JH: *the road to Dunkirk; the 'Penny Dreadful'; St Deiniol's Library; towards reform in 1809; Barton-upon-Humber*

Local History Magazine (no.125 July/August 2009) £3.50 or £25 p.a. from LHM, Doric House, 56 Alcester Road, Studley B80 7LG: *discovering St Plegmund; the international language of local history; Berwick-upon-Tweed; Primitive Methodism in Wallasey, Cheshire*

Open History [Open University History Society] (no.109 Autumn 2009) £5 from Jill Groves, 77 Marford Crescent, Sale M33 4DN: *are adult learning archaeology courses an endangered species; occupiers, Nazi robbery and a German restitution law; Neville Chamberlain and the policy of appeasement; the Victorians, charity and the education system; Birmingham: the cradle of dog shows* (no.110 Winter 2009/2010) *Sir Edward Boyle's appointment to the Ministry of Education; policing the Irish Revolution; the family sword*

Reviewers in this issue

Peter Bramham has a long-term interest in juvenile delinquency and residential care. His PhD was a comparative analysis of two community schools, published as *How Staff Rule* (Saxon House, 1980).

Heather Falvey teaches palaeography and local history for the University of Cambridge Institute of Continuing Education. She is secretary of the Hertfordshire Record Society and has recently co-edited a volume of fifteenth century wills for the Suffolk Records Society.

John Hargreaves is editor of the *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, and visiting research fellow at the University of Huddersfield. The second edition of his *Halifax* was published by Carnegie Press in 2003.

Carola Hicks is an art historian specialising in the Middle Ages, who has taught adult and undergraduate students at Cambridge University. Her books include *The King's Glass: a story of Tudor power and secret art* and *The Bayeux Tapestry: life story of a masterpiece*.

Craig Horner is based at Manchester Metropolitan University and edited *The Diary of Edmund Harrold: Wigmaker of Manchester (1712-5)* (Ashgate, 2008)

Rosemary Horrox is a Fellow and Director of Studies in History at Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge. She has written on medieval Hull and Beverley, and is currently working on medieval Cambridge

Melvyn Jones is visiting professor in landscape history at Sheffield Hallam University. His recent publications include *Sheffield's Woodland Heritage* (4th edition 2009) which was used as the basis of a successful £1.5m HLF bid to restore 35 South Yorkshire ancient woodlands; *Historic Parks and*

Gardens in and around South Yorkshire (with Joan Jones, 2005); and *Leeds: a Photographic Journey through Yorkshire's Largest City* (with Tony Quinn, 2008).

John S. Lee works in local government and is also a Research Associate at the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York. His publications include *Cambridge and its economic region, 1450-1560* (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2005) and 'The functions and fortunes of English small towns at the close of the Middle Ages: evidence from John Leland's *Itinerary*', *Urban History* (forthcoming).

Roger Ottewill retired in 2008 after 35 years in higher education. He completed an MRes in history at the University of Southampton in 2007 and is currently working towards a Ph.D. in Church History at the University of Birmingham. He has contributed a number of articles to *The Local Historian*.

A.J. Pollard is professor of history at the University of Teesside, based in the Centre for Regional and Local Historical Research. He has been researching and writing on his main field of interest, fifteenth-century England, for longer than he cares to remember. The main focus of this work is on the north of England and on the Wars of the Roses.

Margaret Shepherd is an historical geographer and an emeritus fellow and former tutor of Wolfson College, Cambridge. She has worked extensively on North West England. *From Hellgill to Bridge End: aspects of economic and social change in the Upper Eden Valley 1840-95* was published in 2003, and she is at present examining emigration from Cumbria.

ON-LINE REVIEWS on the BALH website: February 2010

In addition to the reviews published and printed in *The Local Historian*, other books are reviewed on-line on the BALH website. Please go to <http://www.balh.co.uk/on-line-reviews.php> to access this section. All printed reviews are also published on our website. The list below gives the titles and other details of the eight publications for which on-line reviews have been added in the last quarter.

THE KENNET AND AVON NAVIGATION A history *Warren Berry* (Phillimore 2009 144pp ISBN 978-1-86077-564-2) £18.99 [reviewed by Sean O'Dell]

FERRIES OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE *Joan Tucker* (Tempus 2008 160pp ISBN 978 0 7524 4238 9) £17.99 [reviewed by David Sanders]

EXPLORING HISTORY IN AND AROUND DERBYSHIRE *Richard Stone* (Breedon 2009 190pp ISBN 978 1 85983 705 4) £14.99 [reviewed by Dudley Fowkes]

A NEW LOOK AT KINGSON UPON HULL *Trevor Galvin* (Highgate of Beverley 2008 36 pp ISBN1-902645 52 9) £7.50 [reviewed by Roger Bellingham]

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF 17th CENTURY LANGHAM *edited Michael Frisby* (Langham Village History Group 2009 181pp ISBN 978 1 907097 00 3) £9.99 [reviewed by Ken Sneath]

THE RIVER HAMBLE A history *David Chun* (Phillimore 2009 118pp ISBN 978-1-86077-538-3) £16-99; **THE STORY OF SOUTHAMPTON DOCKS** *Mike Roussel* (Breedon 2009 208pp ISBN 978-1-85983-707-8) £16-99 [reviewed by Jan Shephard]

NORWELL SCHOOLS *edited Michael Jones* (Norwell Parish Heritage Group 2009 56pp ISSN 2040-2406) £4 from Dr. E. Jones, Norwell Parish Heritage Group, Parr's Cottage, Main Street, Norwell NG23 6JN [reviewed by Tim Lomas]