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Contents

The Medieval Wall Paintings of St Mary and All Saints, Willingham

Julie Chittock

The village of Willingham lies eight miles to the northwest of Cambridge. Its church, dedicated to St Mary and All Saints, dates mainly from the fourteenth century, although some Early English work remains, including the lancet window at the west end of the south aisle. The wall paintings which are now to be seen in the nave of the church were exposed when Willingham's rector, the Reverend J. Watkins, undertook the restoration of the church in the last decade of the nineteenth century. These paintings, which include a number of post-Reformation paintings (see Appendix), were subsequently the subject of a paper given by M.R. James to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1895. The following year, C.E. Keyser discussed Willingham at greater length in the *Archaeological Journal*.[1] These nineteenth-century sources, although inaccurate in some respects, do contain invaluable descriptions of the way the paintings appeared a century ago, and I have referred to them where they record details which have since been lost. It should be remembered that the series of paintings which is to be seen in the church today is a palimpsest and that at no time prior to their exposure were all the paintings visible contemporaneously. In recent years, conservation work has been carried out on a number of the medieval paintings, including the two thirteenth-century female saints, the St Christopher and the Last Judgement, as part of an continuing programme of restoration (see Appendix).

The Paintings

Two Female Saints

Representations of saints were painted in the nave during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The earliest are two female saints painted on the splays of a thirteenth-century lancet window set into the west wall of the south aisle (Plate 1). The lancet window was blocked when the south aisle was extended in the fourteenth century and both window and paintings were only rediscovered as a result of the late nineteenth-century restoration programme.[2]

Both of the female saints are thirteenth-century in date, and are superimposed on a masonry pattern incorporating stem-encircled roses, which was painted earlier in the century. The saint on the north splay is dressed in a red cloak with yellow lining, white dress and black shoes. Her head is veiled. She carries two martyr palms and a book, open with its cover uppermost, the cover being decorated with intersecting red lines. On the south splay is depicted another female saint, a slender and graceful figure in contrast to the solid figure of the north splay. The feet are especially elegant in their positioning. The saint sways her weight onto her right foot and the left is pointed in the opposite direction. Her red dress and yellow cloak with white lining follow her form closely and, like her counterpart, she carries a book. The

1 J. Watkins, 'On the history of Willingham Church', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 9 (1894) pp.12–20; M.R. James, 'On the wall paintings in Willingham Church', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 9 (1895) pp.96–101; C.E. Keyser, 'On recently discovered mural paintings at Willingham Church', *Archaeological Journal* 53 (1896) pp.160–91.

2 James, 'Wall paintings', p.101.

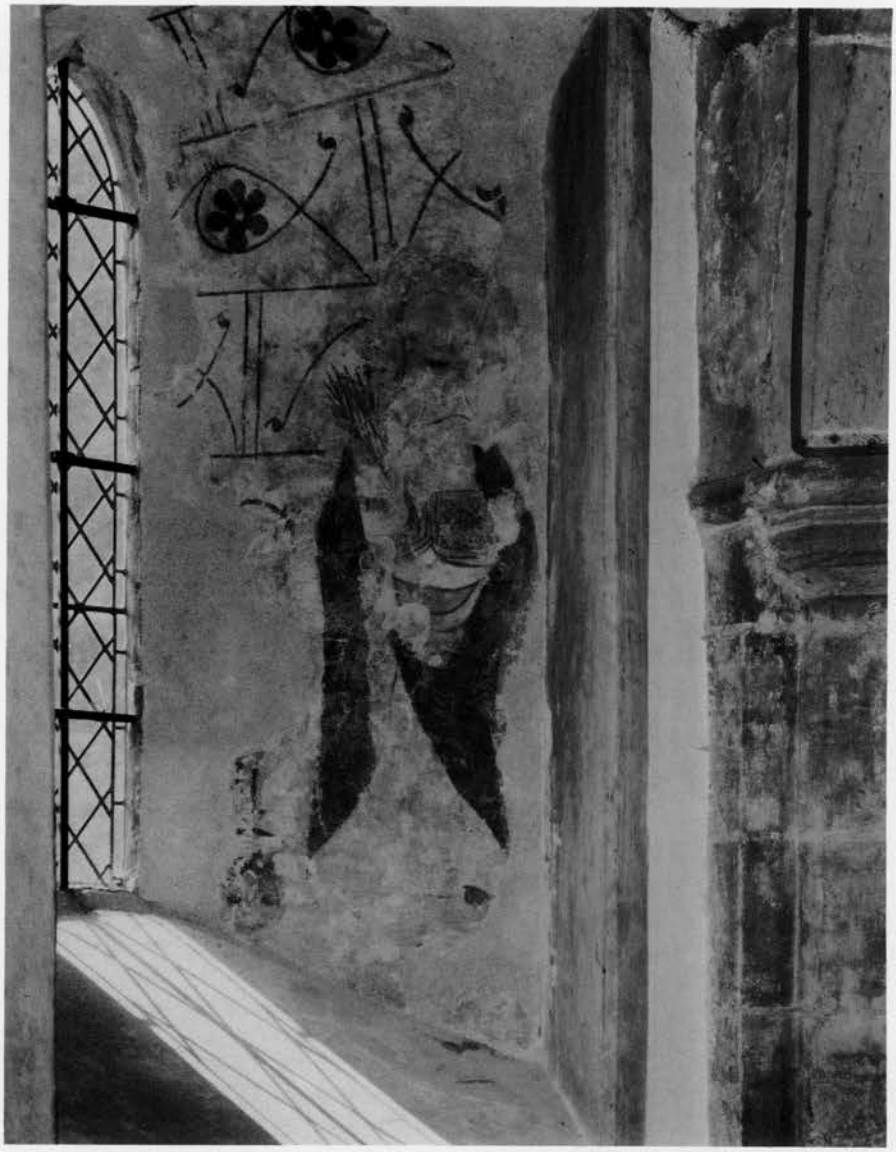

Plate 1. Female Saint, window splay (north), west wall.
(photo: RCHME, Crown Copyright)

right hand, and any attribute it may have held, have been lost.

St Christopher

The figure of St Christopher is depicted in the spandrel between the second and third arch from the east end of the north wall (Plate 2). This situation is unusual, as the vast majority of wall paintings of St Christopher were sited directly opposite the main entrance to the church, where they could be readily viewed by passers-by. This practice grew from the belief that to look on St Christopher's image was to ask for protection against sudden (and thus unshriven) death. At Wood Eaton (Oxfordshire), the fourteenth-century St Christopher is accompanied by a scroll which reads: '*ki cest image verra le jur de mace mort ne murra* ' (who sees this image shall not die an ill death this day). Although the Willingham St Christopher is situated too far to the east on the north wall to face the south doorway directly, it can still be seen from the threshold of the church.

The saint stands in water populated with fish. In his right hand he holds a staff, with his left he supports the Christ Child against his left shoulder. There is direct eye contact between saint and Child. The Christ Child raises his right hand in blessing and holds an orb in his left. The almost stationary pose of

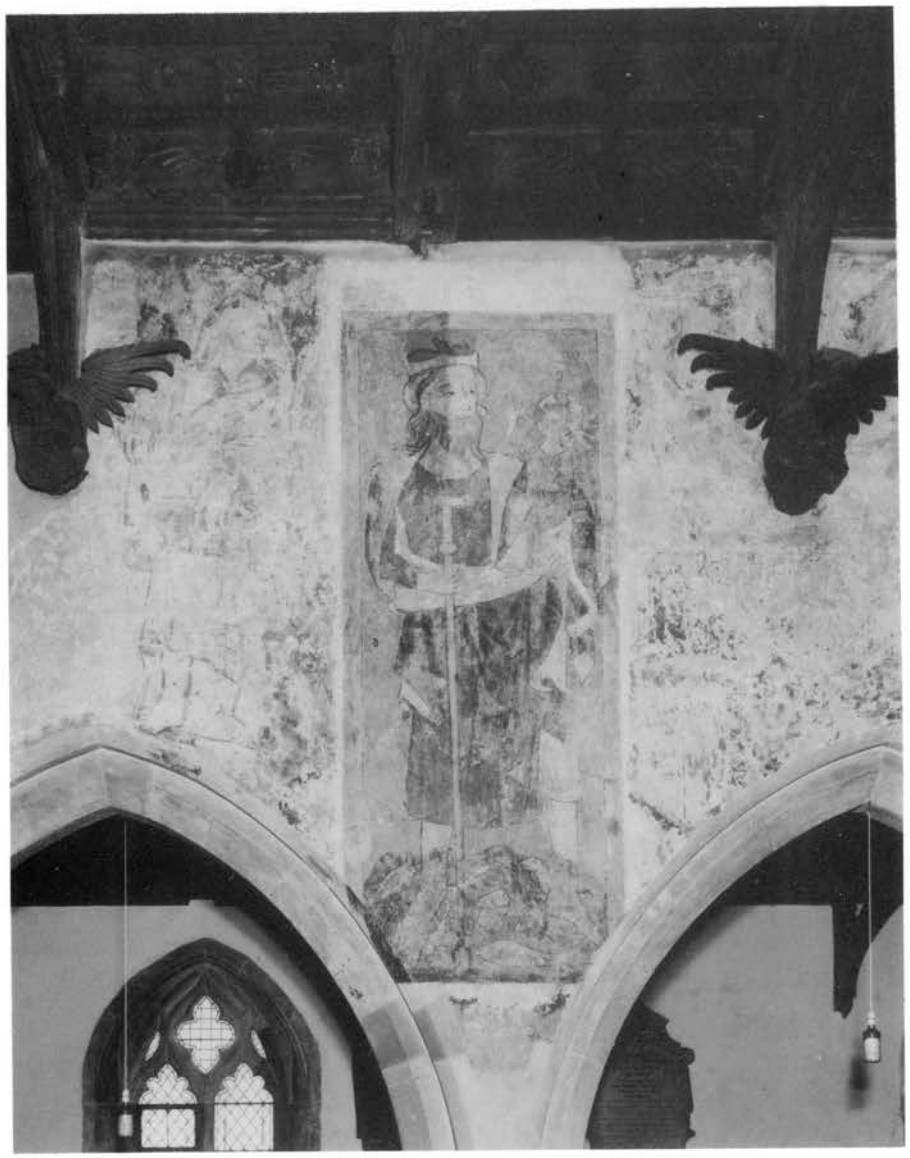

Plate 2. Saint Christopher, north wall of nave.
(photo: RCHME, Crown Copyright)

this saint, and the position in which Christ is held, are typical of fourteenth-century representations of the saint. Within the fourteenth century, the painting is typical of the 'Paston Group' St Christophers which derive many elements of their composition from a thirteenth-century miniature in the Lambeth Apocalypse.[3] Such elements include the breeches tied at the knee, the bearded St Christopher, the 'heaped' water and the fish within it.

The saint's headwear affords an unusual degree of precision in dating the painting. He wears a soft red cap edged with fur. This style of cap appears in a number of early fourteenth-century illuminated psalters, notably the 'Fenland Group' of manuscripts — the Gough, Ramsey, Barlow and Peterborough Psalters — produced for the Benedictine Abbeys of the Fenland.[4] Of these, the most striking comparison between psalter illumination and wall painting is to be found in the Barlow Psalter, dated 1321–38. In the Beatus Vir initial of the Barlow Psalter (f.15), the sleeping Jesse wears a cap which shares all

3 H.C. Whaite, *St Christopher in English Medieval Wall Painting* (London 1929) p.21.

4 L.F. Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts* (London 1974) pp.108–26.

the details of the Willingham cap, including the indented crown, and the small fold of cloth protruding from its centre. The painting of the Miracle of Joseph's Rod on the wooden altar frontal from Odda's Chapel (near Deerhurst, Gloucestershire), *c.*1350, also includes a cap of the same type. Such comparisons point to a date of 1320–50 for the Willingham St Christopher.

St George

On the same wall as the St Christopher is a painting of St George. Much of the painting has been lost, but still visible are the legs and tail of St George's horse, the wings, tail and scaly skin of the dragon trampled by the saint's mount and, at the top of the painting, St George's raised sword. A cable border forms a frame. Although it is possible that St George was painted to form a pair with St Christopher, the former was painted half a century or more later — perhaps over a earlier image which was contemporaneous with St Christopher. The later date of St George is indicated by the compositional elements which were still visible to Keyser: 'In the left hand corner are the King and Queen looking out from their castle; the Princess and the lamb can also be made out, and there is said to be a demon discernable on the east side of the picture.'[5] The compositional elements of princess and lamb, the King and Queen, and the castle (or city of Silene), all indicate a fifteenth-century date. These features show without doubt that the Willingham St George was based upon the events in the saint's life as presented in Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend.* Although written *c.*1275, this text did not become well known in England until the fourteenth century, when a French translation by Jean Bilet de Vigny began to circulate.[6] It was only in the fifteenth century that a knowledge of the legend as recounted by Voragine became evident in wall paintings of St George.

Further indication that several decades separate the paintings of St George and St Christopher is found in the manner in which St George kills the dragon. St George was typically shown driving an intact lance between the beast's jaws. In this painting 'his spear is broken, and he is brandishing his sword in the act of dealing the finishing stroke to his vanquished foe'.[7] Comparison with Willingham can be found in the fifteenth-century stained glass of North Tuddenham (Norfolk), where broken lance and raised sword are again to be found.

The Blessed Virgin Mary

In addition to the single figures of saints to be seen in the nave, a short series celebrating the Blessed Virgin Mary was painted in the first half of the fifteenth century. This comprised an Annunciation above the second arch from the east end of the north wall, and scenes of the Visitation and Assumption above the first and third arches from the eastern end of the south wall.

Of the Annunciation little now remains and one has to rely on the nineteenth-century accounts for an indication of its original appearance. James was able to make out the figure of the Archangel Gabriel holding a sceptre, and above a scroll reading '*Ave gracia plena dominus [tecum]*', and a little to the east of this the fragments of the Virgin's scroll which originally read, '*Ecce ancilla domini fiat [mihi secundum verbum tuum]* '.[8] According to Keyser, Mary was painted kneeling on a faldstool.[9]

In contrast to the Annunciation, the Visitation (Plate 3) is one of the most complete paintings in the church, the only serious lacunae being in the area of the Virgin's head. Mary and Elizabeth stand side by side on a grassy hillock, the hooded figure of Elizabeth to the west. They mirror each other both in dress — pale gowns beneath blue cloaks lined with ermine — and in pose. They are not clasped in the close embrace seen in earlier representations of the Visitation. Instead they are turned towards each other, each raising a hand in salutation, with the inscriptions '*Magnificat anima mea Dominum*' and '*Benedicta tu est in mulieribus*' on scrolls curved about their respective heads. This restrained form of greeting enables the pregnant condition of both women to be displayed to the full. In fact, the pronounced swelling of their wombs is the most striking feature of the painting. As if to provide further emphasis, the dresses have been converted into 'maternity dresses' through the insertion of laced openings at the front. The same laced opening (and general composition) can be seen in the Visitations at Hexham Abbey (Northumberland) and in the stained glass of

5 Keyser, *op. cit.* p.188.
6 Jacobus de Voraigne, *The Golden Legend*, translated and ed. by G. Ryan and H. Ripperger (New York 1948) pp.232–8.
7 Keyser, *op. cit.* p.188.
8 James, 'Wall paintings', p.99.
9 Keyser, *op. cit.* p.188.

Plate 3. Visitation, south wall of nave.
(photo: Alan Fawcitt)

St Peter Mancroft, Norwich and East Harling (Norfolk).

Fragmentary traces remain of the Assumption of the Virgin: the lower part of the Virgin in ermine robe and surrounded by rays, a cloud to the right, and an archangel below her feet. The iconography of the Willingham Assumption differs from that seen in the wall paintings at Chalgrove and Broughton (Oxfordshire), and Croughton (Northamptonshire). These paintings show St Thomas receiving the girdle cast down by the ascending Virgin, a version of the apocryphal event derived from the Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea.[10] The cloud and archangel in the Willingham Assumption show this painting to be based on a different tradition, one originating from the text of the Pseudo-Melito, in which the Archangel Michael rolls the stone away from the Virgin's sepulchre, enabling her to ascend in a cloud.[11]

10 M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford 1986) p.217.

11 James, *New Testament* p.216.

Emblems of the Passion

On the south wall of the nave, above the two eastern arches and below the level of the Visitation and Assumption of the Virgin, are three painted shields. The easternmost shield is charged with a Crown of Thorns, still clearly visible. In the centre of the space within the crown there is painted a spurt of drops of red blood and a trace of black paint, all that remains of 'the Five Wounds of Christ' noted by James as accompanying the Crown.[12] On the next shield to the west can clearly be seen the single subject of the Five Wounds. On the third shield are a Tau-cross and Scourges of the Flagellation. Of the scourges only the handles remain to view. It is probable that these images were painted in the 1400s as a surge in popular devotion to the Five Wounds occured in that century.

The Last Judgement

The painting of the Last Judgement was also executed in the fifteenth century. The restricted colour range suggests an early fifteenth-century date.[13] It is situated over the chancel arch (the expected position for this subject) and continues for three feet onto the south clerestory wall. It originally extended onto the north clerestory, although nothing of this can be seen today due to paint loss and later over-painting. A single-light window has been inserted into the east wall of the nave, above the centre of the chancel arch. This has destroyed the figure of Christ and any others which may have comprised the Judgement Group. The base of the rainbow upon which Christ would have been seated is still visible; the two ends rest on clouds on either side of the window.

To the north of the window an angel, originally paired with one on the south side, sounds the last trumpet. Below the window, to the north and south, at least seven naked figures rise from their graves, some in shroud cloths, all raising their hands in attitudes of prayer and supplication towards the area originally occupied by Christ in Judgement. Below the rising souls, on the north side of the Doom, is a procession of saved souls including one bishop, distinguishable from the other naked figures by his mitre. This group approach the Heavenly City where they are met by an imposingly large St Peter who bears keys of a similar scale. It is probable that the celestial city was the subject visible to James on the north clerestory.[14]

Below the rising souls on the south side of the Doom, the side of the Damned, there is a demon facing southward. Below this is a group of souls, encircled by a chain and accompanied by a fiend. Lower still there is a Hell's Mouth inside of which is a cauldron in which more souls are being tormented. On the south clerestory wall are a further three demons. The lowermost of these faces eastward holding the end of the chain (painted 'red-hot') which ensnares the Damned on the east wall. Following its conservation in 1988, this demon can be clearly seen immediately to the east of the Visitation. It has a winged, speckled body and grotesque features — a flattened nose, drooping ears, and teeth which protrude from the lower jaw. These details have been rendered in an almost comical fashion, in the same spirit as the demon of the Wymington Judgement (Bedfordshire) which vainly preens itself as it balances on the nose of the Hell's Mouth.

Decorative Schemes

In addition to the figurative paintings at Willingham, several areas of medieval decorative schemes can be seen. Yellow and black chevrons and a marble pattern in black and grey can be distinguished on the soffits of the arcades. A fifteenth-century diaper pattern — deep red, with stylised leaves or flowers on a light red ground — decorates the eastern ends of the north and south walls of the nave. On the south wall, above the second arch from the east, is another diaper of white flowers on a dark green ground.

The most significant of the decorative schemes is seen on the wooden screen of the Ely Chapel. Its south side is decorated with a pattern of Popinjays arranged lozenge-wise in groups of four (Plate 4). In the centre of each group of birds is a five-petalled flower design, surrounded by a diamond-shaped pattern of dots. The popinjays are green against a red ground.

Assessment

The large number of medieval paintings surviving at Willingham, and the range of their dates spanning three centuries, provide within this one church examples of the main subject areas to be found in medieval

12 James, 'Wall paintings', p.97.

13 J.E. Ashby, 'English medieval murals of the doom: a descriptive catalogue and introduction' (unpubl. M.Phil. thesis, Department of Medieval Studies, University of York, 1980) p.380 n.4.

14 James, 'Wall paintings', p.97.

Plate 4. Popinjay Design, screen, Ely Chapel.
(photo: RCHME, Crown Copyright)

wall painting. The categories of individual saints, biblical scenes (the Virgin series), the Doom, devotional images (the shields bearing emblems of the Passion) and decorative motifs are all represented. The only main type of medieval wall painting not found at Willingham is the Morality, a non-biblical subject preaching a moral, such as the Seven Deadly Sins or the Wheel of Fortune, subjects to be seen in the nearby Cambridgeshire churches of Hardwick and Kingston respectively.

The identification of the subjects of the paintings is generally unproblematic with the exception of the pair of thirteenth-century saints. An identity has been suggested for the saint on the north splay of the lancet window. This is based upon the short, thick red line high on the figure's neck (Plate 1). The Anglo-Saxon St Etheldreda developed a tumour on her neck which she viewed as the price to be paid for wearing jewels about her neck when young. The tumour was treated, leaving a wound which was miraculously healed after her death.[15] A neck wound would therefore not be inappropriate in a representation of this particular saint, and in the guides available in the church the painting is described as an image of St Etheldreda. As Etheldreda was foundress of Ely Abbey, it would certainly have been fitting to have had an image of this saint in a church which was not only in the see of Ely, but which belonged to a manor granted to the Convent of Ely ('to God and St Etheldreda') in the late tenth or early eleventh century.[16]

There are, however, a number of reasons why a St Etheldreda identification is problematic. To begin with, members of the conservation team who worked on the painting in 1979 interpreted the 'wound' as simply the mouth. Even if the line is accepted as a neck wound, this iconography would be highly uncommon for a St Etheldreda. The usual representation of the Anglo-Saxon saint shows her with the habit and pastoral staff of an abbess, holding a book, and sometimes wearing a crown in reference to her royal birth. The Willingham saint bears a book but is shown neither as an abbess nor with any emblem of royalty, and thus stands in marked contrast to the images of St Etheldreda such as those on the roodscreens at Westhall (Suffolk), and Upton and Gately (Norfolk). Finally, the two martyr palms do not accord

15 Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English Church and People. Book 4 Chapter 19*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1969) p.394.

16 Watkins, *op. cit.* p.13.

well with a saint who died a virgin but not a martyr. Unfortunately, the attributes of book and palms are too ubiquitous to suggest an alternative identity for the saint on the north splay. For the same reason no identity can be hazarded for the south splay saint.

The identity of St Christopher is beyond doubt. There are, however, elements within the painting which further suggest how the image would have been understood by its original audience. It is interesting to note that the fish are not generalised representations: the artist has taken the trouble to depict recognisable species of fish. On the far left is a burbot, distinguished by its anal fin. The perch, between the saint's legs, is identifiable by the shape of its dorsal fin and the roach, immediately below, by its strong dorsal line. Finally, an eel is visible behind St Christopher's left leg. In the twelfth century, a monk of Ely listed the varieties of local fish in the *Liber Eliensis*: '... innumerable eels, large pike, even pickerel, perch, roach, burbots and lampreys'.[17] The burbot is comparatively rare beyond the fens, and medieval East Anglia was renowned for the quantities of eels found there. It is thus evident that just as the artist at Longthorpe Tower decorated the Great Chamber with bittern and curlew, birds that are a feature of the East Anglian fens, so the artist at Willingham painted the varieties of fish which characterised the local waters. This St Christopher therefore fords a river which is marked out by its fauna as being a fenland waterway.

Moving to another detail of the painting, the lower end of the saint's staff terminates in what appears to be two metal prongs. At Peakirk (Cambridgeshire), East Wellow (Hampshire) and Aldermaston (Berkshire) the terminus of St Christopher's staff has been identified as a type of eel-spear known as an 'eel-glaive'. The staff at Willingham is, however, very different from the eel-glaives seen in the above paintings. These consisted of flat blunt tines, between which the eel was wedged rather than impaled upon, and thus had a distinctive rounded shape.[18] The other type of eel-spear had many tines set close together.[19] The implement depicted at Willingham is therefore not the more commonly represented eel-spear, its two narrow prongs showing it to be a medieval fish spear.[20] That St Christopher is shown holding such a tool may have implications for the way its audience responded to the image. At Willingham, as in numerous other churches, St Christopher appears on the same wall as St George. One suggested explanation for this recurring phenomenon has been that St Christopher 'in some degree typified the Third Estate or the Common Man',[21] whilst chivalrous St George spoke to those of more elevated status within the parish. This theory finds some support in the painting at Willingham in which St Christopher carries a fish-spear. Fisheries formed a vitally important part of the medieval fenland economy. (Record exists of an open water fishery on Willingham Mere in 1277.)[22] To take fish in any number, baited hooks would have been used or nets employed, either from a small boat or hung from weirs. The fish-spear was not an implement which was used in catching quantities of fish: it was rather the instrument of the man looking to take a handful of fish from the water (possibly illicitly) to supply the next meal. A saint who forded the waters of a fen and steadied himself with a fish-spear would have been one with whom the ordinary men and women of the parish could have identified more readily.

The general decline in quality which is apparent in wall painting after 1400 is well illustrated at Willingham. The fourteenth-century St Christopher is without doubt the artistic high point of the paintings which survive. The folds of the saint's draperies are carefully delineated and most gracefully arranged. Moreover, the directness of the shared gaze and the gentle demeanour of St Christopher lend a certain intimacy to the portrayed interaction between Christ and saint.

17 H.C. Darby, *The Medieval Fenland* (Newton Abbot 1974) p.28.

18 J.G. Dent, 'Fish spears and eel glaives: some notes on development and design', *Folk Life* 23 (1985) p.112.

19 *Ibid.* p.111.

20 J.M. Steane and M. Foreman, 'Medieval fishing tackle', in M. Aston (ed.), *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England* (B.A.R. British Series 182 1988) p.140. An insight into the use of a long-shafted fish spear of this type is provided by the continuing practice of taking fish from the fens by this method. J. Wentworth Day recorded his memories of turf-diggers and sedge-cutters, who could stand in the bows of a turf-boat 'with a fourteen foot long dart in one hand and watch the lode waters for the glancing shadow of a jack [pike] ... Then came the sudden swift shoot of the shaft through the palm of the hand, and the dart was out with a five-pound jack ... quivering on its tines' (*The Modern Fowler* [London 1934] p.269).

21 E.W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London 1955) p.140.

22 Victoria History of the Counties of England, *Cambridge and the Isle of Ely. Vol.2*, ed. by L.F. Salzman (London 1948) p.69.

The fifteenth-century paintings in the church are notably coarser in both design and execution. The sense of rapport between St Christopher and the Christ Child is no longer to be found in the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth in the scene of the Visitation. The attention which is drawn to their exaggerated pregnancies can be seen as an example of the tendency to caricature which occurred in the fifteenth century. In the 1400s, emphasis in wall painting was increasingly placed on conveying the identity of figures or scenes at the expense of artistry. In this painting, the wombs of the two women are used as keys to identification, thus making the depicted scene immediately recognisable as the Visitation.

The Last Judgement, from the same century, is again generally cruder in execution than the earlier St Christopher. For example, the figures of the Blessed approach St Peter with a very stiff-legged gait. The various compositional components of this painting are highly typical of a later medieval Doom with no surprises in the choice of scenes and figures included in the arrangement. Perhaps less imagination has been displayed by the artist at Willingham than is to be found in other contemporary Dooms. At South Leigh (Oxfordshire) many of the Blessed are joyfully coming face to face with those they had known in life. At Lutterworth (Leicestershire) some souls help others to escape the grave. At Willingham, however, the souls rising from the dead are uniform in pose, all hands raised in adoration toward Christ.

The fourteenth-century Popinjay motif is notable not for its quality but for the source of the design, which is an unusual one in English wall painting. Keyser observed, 'No similar scheme of decoration appears to have been noticed in England'.[23] There is, in fact, a parallel provided by the decorative painting on and around a tomb recess in the north transept of Rochester Cathedral, Kent.[24] Here, popinjays are also arranged to form a lozenge pattern on a red ground. The designs differ in that the Rochester birds are surrounded by green vinescroll and face ahead, whereas at Willingham the heads are turned back towards the tail. However, details such as the long, divided tails mark out both sets of popinjays as being unmistakeably the same bird and, regardless of head position, in both designs the birds forming the upper half of the lozenge face inwards, those in the lower half face outwards.

Steven Rickerby has dated the Rochester pattern to the first half of the fourteenth century and the Willingham popinjays to *c.*1340. He cites the wall paintings in the Byward Tower, Tower of London, thought to have been executed for Richard II in the 1390s, as a more sumptuous version of the Rochester and Willingham designs. 'Here gilt popinjays, together with royal lions and fleur-de-lys, form an overall lozenge pattern against an emerald ground.'[25]

Rickerby has suggested that Italian textile hangings may have been the inspiration for this type of painted decoration.[26] He notes that a brocade with similarities to the Rochester design is depicted in a Florentine altarpiece of *c.*1365 by Nardo di Cione (National Gallery, London). However, a yet closer comparison to the Willingham popinjays can be found in a fourteenth-century wall painting in the Palazzo Davanzati, Florence. This mural in the 'Sala dei Pappagalli' is in fact a painted imitation of hanging wall-coverings. The design consists of green popinjays arranged lozenge-wise within parallel lines, exactly as at Willingham in the direction of their bodies and heads. Again, in similarity to Willingham, petalled flower motifs are also incorporated into the design.[27] This unexpected parallel supports the theory that Italian textile design or painting was the source of the English decorative schemes. Thus, Italianate influence is to be found not only in a cathedral church and the royal Byward Tower but also in a provincial parish church.

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23 Keyser, *op. cit.* p.190.

24 S. Rickerby, 'Conservation of medieval wall paintings in Rochester Cathedral', *Friends of Rochester Cathedral Report* (1988) pp.9–12.

25 *Ibid.* p.10.

26 *Ibid.* p.10.

27 Personal observation.

Appendix 1
Catalogue of Wall Paintings, St Mary and All Saints, Willingham

Subject	Date	Recent Conservation	Conservation Team
Pair of female saints	13th century (*c.*1250–75)	1979	The Eve Baker Trust
St Christopher	14th century (*c.*1320–50)	1983	The Eve Baker Trust
Popinjay decorative motif	14th century (*c.*1340)		
Last Judgement	15th century (first half)	1988 (Demon with chain)	Hirst Conservation
		1990–1 (North /South sides)	The Perry-Lithgow Partnership
Virgin Series (Annunciation, Visitation, Assumption)	15th century (first half)	1988 (Visitation)	Hirst Conservation
St George	15th century		
Diaper decorative motif	15th century?	1988 (South wall)	Hirst Conservation
Three Shields bearing emblems of Passion	15th century?	1988 (Shield with Crown of Thorns)	Hirst Conservation
Post-Reformation Paintings			
Series of 5 Virtues	17th century	____	
Series of 9 (Surviving) Apostles	17th century	____	
Series of texts from Ten Commandments	17th century	____	

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Chapters in books: John Patten, 'Changing occupational structures in the East Anglian countryside, 1500–1700', in H.S.A. Fox and R.A. Butlin (eds), *Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England, 1500–1900* (London 1979) pp.103–21.

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