No 52 (2016)

Leicestershire Historian

Published by the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society

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Published by the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, The Guildhall, Guildhall Lane, Leicester. LE1 5FQ

ISSN 0024-0664

Printed by Central Print, Leicestershire County Council

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Cover picture: Basque refugee children arriving at Southampton, May 1937, fifty of whom were to stay at Evington Hall, Leicester. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Basque Children of '37 Association.) See page 3.

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Published by the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society,
The Guildhall, Leicester. LE1 5FQ
2016

Editorial

This edition of the Leicestershire Historian starts on a very topical theme with Richard Graves continuing his researches into Leicester's response to refugees, as he explores the part that Leicester played in the Expedición a Inglaterra of 1937, an event which remains to this day one of the least-known chapters of the Spanish Civil War. Contemporary images, newspaper reports and personal memoirs illustrate the impact of the arrival of refugee Basque children in Leicester at Evington Hall.

The value of being able to draw on living memory for personal accounts which capture the history of a place and its people is clearly evident in the wealth of material that Cynthia Brown has brought together in a lively account and insight into working class life and the operations of the shops, their shopkeepers and customers of Leicester's Charnwood Street from the 1920s to 1970.

Small businesses also feature prominently on the Leicestershire Business Maps of Stephens & Mackintosh. The production of printed maps is part of Leicester's distinguished publishing history, and map enthusiasts and researchers alike will find Derek Deadman's article of particular interest. Produced over a hundred years ago, these maps are delightfully illustrated, with advertisements for local businesses framing area and town plans.

When cartographic evidence is lacking, and surviving documentary records are sparse, analysis of the modern landscape using detailed ground surveys, air photography, LIDAR surveys, electro-magnetic and resistivity investigations, along with the Heritage and Environmental Record, can prove invaluable. This is the methodology used by Anthony Squires and Chris Peat who draw on the landscape of modern Bosworth as their chief source of information to locate the features of the Medieval Parks of Market Bosworth.

Fieldwork has also played a significant part in a project to rediscover Leicestershire's heritage apples. Nigel Deacon focuses on the research methods used to locate many of the 'missing' varieties using a combination of documentary sources, the internet and work on the ground. The results contribute to the history of apple growing in Leicestershire, and have also led to the establishment of the Leicestershire Heritage Apple Collection.

Food and fuel are the focus of John Martin and Robert King's exploration of why Hinckley was so successful in avoiding the worst of the problems caused by food and fuel rationing during World War I. The response of the town's hosiery and footwear industries to wartime needs, along with regular appeals for agricultural and other workers to be exempt from military call-up, are all part of this interesting story.

A standing stone in a field near Queniborough, known as the Moody Bush Stone, is the lead into Bob Trubshaw's article on the obscure tradition of turf rituals, in particular the taking of turves to sites where 'moots' or meetings once took place, the turves representing units of land.

Unexplained notes in a Lieutenancy Book for 1685 relating to the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion led Alan Betteridge to the discovery of the arrests of a number of Leicestershire nonconformist rebel suspects, and their little-known legacy to Leicestershire's present-day nonconformist churches.

Local events in Leicestershire hit the national press in 1860 with the trial of 16 year old Hannah Holmes who faced execution for murdering her employer Samuel Wells. Making considerable use of newspaper reports and the National Archives, Brian Cousins unearths contemporary feelings towards the accused and the victim, as well as providing an insight into changing attitudes towards the treatment of women prisoners in the 1860s.

Recently published research, recollections, society journals, guides and histories on topics ranging from Luddite activity, Leicestershire dialect and Conscientious Objectors, to King Richard III, Amazonian explorers and Leicester City Football Club, are just some of the works reviewed in this year's Recent Publications section. Cynthia Brown and her team of reviewers provide this extremely useful and invaluable section of the Leicestershire Historian, giving plenty of inspiration for further reading.

The Leicestershire Historian aims to promote the study of the county's history by providing a platform for established and new authors, and through encouraging the pursuit of research and project work. It also aims to publicise the work of local groups and organisations, and seeks to raise the awareness of research sources.

Contributions for future editions are welcome from individuals, local groups, museums and other organisations and should be sent to the Editor for consideration. Articles can be short items or longer in-depth pieces, and can be submitted at any time. If you would like to discuss an idea in advance, please contact the Editor.

Joyce Lee, Editor

Leicester's refuge for Basque children from the Spanish Civil War (Part 1)

Richard Graves

On Tuesday 6th July 1937 'a huge crowd of Leicester people waited outside the Leicester Central Station to welcome the Basque children refugees, who are to stay at Evington Hall'. (1) This was a group of 50 children out of the 3,826 who had arrived at Southampton on board the steamship *SS Habana* from Bilbao in northern Spain, in the largest single influx of unaccompanied young refugees ever to arrive in Britain. They were refugees of the Spanish Civil War. The *Expedición a Inglaterra*, as the evacuation was called, remains to this day one of the least-known chapters of the Civil War. Leicester played a part in this story.

Basque refugee children arriving at Leicester Central Station, Leicester Mercury*, 7th July 1937.*

Civil War in Spain

Although the background and legacy of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) has been well covered by historians from most political angles, the evacuation of young refugees from Bilbao to Britain and their subsequent lives hardly receives a mention in the literature. Even Professor Hugh Thomas in his seminal history of the conflict, *The Spanish Civil War*, first published 1961 and revised in 1977, covers the event in just eight lines.

By the spring of 1937, after the first winter of the Civil War, approximately half of Spain was in the hands of the Nationalist rebel forces under General Franco. The industrial and mining belt in northern Spain, including the Asturias and the Basque provinces, was staunchly loyal to the Republican Government, but was now isolated and cut off from the rest of Republican Spain. Franco vowed to terminate the war in the north quickly and by whatever means he had at his disposal. These means included a *Luftwaffe* detachment of Hitler's Condor Legion, which was serving with the Nationalist forces. For Hitler, Spain's internal fratricide presented an opportunity to test his aerial weaponry in support of sympathetic Fascist allies, a rehearsal for the wider European conflict just 30 months later. On 31st March Hitler's bombers targeted the small town of Durango killing 250 civilians, and then on Monday 26th April fighter planes and bombers attacked the market town of Guernica, the ancient seat of government and therefore of enormous symbolic importance for Basque culture and the aspirations of the nation for independence. The intention of the attack was to undermine morale by using aerial power for the first time to systematically kill and terrorise a civilian population and destroy their homes. After four hours of saturation bombing and aerial machine-gunning the town was razed to the ground, left in flames, and an unknown number of civilians were killed. Britain's Foreign Secretary at the time, Anthony Eden, later described this as 'the first blitz of the Second World War'. (2)

A Safe Haven in Britain

As refugees swelled the population of major urban centres such as Bilbao, the autonomous Basque Government appealed for other countries to relieve the pressure by taking in young refugees. In Britain, the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief (NJCSR) had been established at the end

Saying farewell before the SS Habana *sailed.*

Basque refugee children on board the SS Habana *about to depart Bilbao for Southampton, 21st May 1937.*

One of the ID tags worn by the children on board the SS Habana.

The children disembarking from the SS Habana *at Southampton, 23rd May 1937. Members of the Salvation Army wait in the foreground.*

(All four images reproduced by kind permission of the Basque Children of '37 Association.)

of 1936 to co-ordinate the activities of a multitude of voluntary relief agencies in Spain. The Chair of the Committee, the Conservative M.P. the Duchess of Atholl, and the Independent M.P. Eleanor Rathbone, had visited Madrid in April 1937 and had been deeply affected by the conditions they witnessed. As public pressure to act increased, the NJCSR set up a Basque Children's Committee. The Duchess eventually managed to persuade a reluctant Prime Minister Baldwin to allow up to 4,000 young refugees into Britain on the strict condition that the Government would not take any financial responsibility for the children. This would be the responsibility of the Basque Children's Committee, which would have to guarantee at least ten shillings per week for the care and education of each child. As children were signed up for evacuation, the Foreign Office insisted that the parents' political affiliation be recorded on their application form in an attempt to achieve a 'balance' in what has been described as 'a quixotically English notion of impartial humanitarianism'.(3)

A site for a tented reception camp for the refugees was identified in three fields owned by Mr G. A. Brown at Swaythling Lane Farm, North Stoneham, near Eastleigh, Southampton. A local committee enlisted many volunteers from the community, and the site was prepared in two weeks. The ship, the *SS Habana*, which normally carried around 800 passengers, left Bilbao on 21st May carrying the 3,826 children, accompanied by 96 *maestras* (female teachers), 118 *señoritas* (young women who had volunteered

to accompany the children), fifteen Catholic priests, two English doctors and five nurses. The *SS Habana* arrived in Southampton on 23rd May 1937.

The intention was to disperse the young refugees in smaller groups around the country as soon as practically possible. Local committees were hastily set up all over the country and temporary refuges were identified and prepared to receive the refugees. Practical support by a number of agencies produced a variety of material offers of help, including '1,037 pairs of youths and maids boots and shoes' from the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, the only major trade union with its national headquarters in Leicester at the time. (4) Guidance was issued to 'local committees desiring to assist the National Committee for the Care of Basque Children'. (5) It was suggested that a minimum of 40-50 children per centre was desirable 'to avoid a feeling of loneliness on the part of the children; simplifying repatriation when that is possible; preserving their Basque identity and permitting a teacher to be sent with the group in order that Basque education may be continued'. (6) Finance was to be raised locally to support as many of the children as possible. The local group homes and refuges became known as "colonies", in the sense of the Spanish word *colonia*, or *colonia escolar*, a summer camp for schoolchildren. In all around 100 "colonies" were established across the country. In total around 38,000 young people from the Basque region were evacuated abroad, mainly to France, Mexico, Russia and Belgium. This included the 3,800 who came to Britain. The story of the exile to other countries has been recorded in Spanish publications, but the British exile has been ignored until relatively recently. 'It was as if it hadn't happened.' (7)

In 2002 the "Basque Children of '37 Association UK" was formed by a small group of people, who had direct links to the events of 1937, perhaps as children themselves of the *niños vascos* or of the teachers and volunteer assistants, who had accompanied the evacuees. There was a realisation that the story of these events in Britain in 1937 was disappearing unrecorded, and there was a determination that those who had arrived on the *SS Habana* in May 1937, should not become *los olvidados*, the forgotten ones, of the Spanish Civil War. The aims and objectives of the Association are to support research, to inform and to educate, and to recover the history before it is too late. Although local committees were formed to establish and manage around 100 "colonies", formal minutes and records of proceedings are largely non-existent, and even the very existence of some of the colonies was not known about, or had been lost in memory, until recent research efforts. Although the Leicester "colony" was known about, the Association had virtually no information about the set-up in Leicester. The aim of this paper is to record what can be found about the colony from available sources.

Establishing the Leicester colony

As there was, initially at least, widespread public interest and sympathy for the young evacuees, there was often lively coverage for a time in local newspapers across the country. This has proved to be the most fruitful source of information regarding the Leicester colony. Media reports acted as a spur for local voluntary groups and committees to form in order to play their own role in ensuring the evacuees were quickly dispersed to smaller "colonies" around the country. Leicester was no exception.

Ten days after the arrival of the *SS Habana* it was reported that 'Fifty Spanish refugee children will be arriving in Leicester within a fortnight or three weeks' time, according to present plans, and the committee responsible for their reception and care has still to settle upon suitable quarters for them. The chairman of the committee is Councillor C. R. Keene and the secretary Mrs Attenborough. Some members of the committee have inspected five or six properties and a recommendation will be made to the main committee very soon'. (8) The afore-mentioned secretary was Mary Attenborough, wife of Fred Attenborough, then Principal of the University College of Leicester, and mother of Richard, David and John.

By 5th June it was confirmed that 'the 50 Basque children who are coming to Leicester will be housed at Evington Hall. This was settled at a meeting of members of the committee last evening, and the children will arrive by the end of the month. The Hall, which will be rented, is a big brick mansion with considerable park ground, and buildings that can be adapted as play houses'. (9) Evington Hall had been sold in 1930 to Thomas Henry Bowell following the death of the previous owner, local hosiery manufacturer, John Faire. It was a stuccoed mansion built around 1830 for Henry Freeman Coleman. It was described by auctioneers, Warner, Sheppard and Wade and P. L. Kirby, in the sale particulars dated May 1930, as an 'imposing County Mansion distinguished as Evington Hall, standing in its own spacious grounds adjoining the Spencefield Lane near the village of Evington. A residence of pleasing design and moderate dimension, it is provided with modern comforts and conveniences and commends itself as a Country Home of superior attraction'. (10) In early 1937 however, the Hall had been empty for some time. It had been inspected by members of the committee and found to be in very good structural condition with little overhaul work necessary. The initial expenditure on the Hall for furnishings and rent would be around £1,000.

At this point we learn more about the Leicester committee: 'The local committee, which has been in existence for some weeks, is representative of all religions and social activities

in the city. The Lord Mayor (Councillor A. H. Swain) is president, the Bishop of Leicester chairman, and Mrs Attenborough of University College House, the secretary. The Rev Glan Morgan is the chairman of the executive committee, and there is an appeals committee, of which the Deputy Lord Mayor, Councillor Richard Hallam, is chairman and Councillor Charles Keene secretary.' (11) On Tuesday 8th May 1937 the *Leicester Mercury* published a letter from the Lord Mayor, Councillor A. H. Swain, and the Bishop of Leicester, Dr Bardsley:

> We would commend to the people of Leicester the following appeal from the Leicester Committee for Basque Children. This committee is fully representative of all the interests and life of the city, and it confidently appeals for the help and support of Leicester citizens. The committee has undertaken to house and maintain 50 of the Basque refugee children, and Evington Hall has been taken for this purpose. A sum of £1,000 is needed immediately to meet the initial outlay for repairs and equipment, and then there is the provision for the maintenance of the children. Help may be offered in these ways: 1. Donations can be sent to the Treasurer, Mr G. C. Turner, 15, Churchgate, Leicester. 2. Individual firms or groups of people can provide for one child by subscribing 10s. a week. 3. Gifts may be offered in kind, e.g. bedding, furniture, linen etc. 4. Volunteers can help (a) to clean and prepare the house (b) to act as interpreters of the Basque language. Offers of help other than donations should be sent to the Hon. Sec. Mrs F. L. Attenborough, University College House, Leicester. (12)

Carrying a doll's house into Evington Hall, where 50 Basque children are to stay.

Preparations for the children's stay at Evington Hall, Leicester Mercury*, 6th July 1937.*

David Attenborough recalls his mother's involvement in preparing Evington Hall: 'My clearest memories of this are of seeing my mother on her hands and knees scrubbing the floors of this disused house to make it ready for them'. (13)

Settling in at Evington Hall

As the 50 young refugees arrived at Leicester's Central Station on Tuesday 6th July 1937, 'members of the committee, including Mrs F. Attenborough, and members of the Leicestershire A.A. waited for them and took them to Evington in their cars. Dr R. Ellis, who has been to Bilbao and also to the camp where the children have been staying, was on the platform. As soon as the train stopped one small child jumped out and into his arms with a very happy smile of recognition. With another small boy she clung to his hand and refused to leave him. The children were accompanied by several helpers, some of whom could not speak a word of English.' (14)

A happy party of Basque children, refugees from the Spanish war, who have arrived at Evington Hall, near Leicester.

Arrival at Evington Hall, Leicester Mercury*, 7th July 1937.*

David Attenborough recalls: 'The children, when they eventually arrived, seemed very exotic to my eyes with their black hair and dark complexions, and did not of course speak much English. I accompanied my mother on some of her regular visits and got to know some of the children slightly as their English improved.' (15)

During the summer of 1937, after the arrival of the refugees, the *Leicester Mercury* followed events at Evington Hall closely, eager to provide news and information to its readership and to local people, who responded in various ways to the appeal for assistance. On the day after their arrival, the *Leicester Mercury* explained how 'the children are being kept together in families as much as possible, and about seven families have come to Leicester. Dr Richard Ellis, who was on the platform to meet them, was

immediately in great demand by the children. He came over from Spain with them, and has often stayed at the camp (nr. Southampton) since. The English helpers were rather handicapped by their lack of Spanish when they started to show the children to their rooms, and of the three assistants who travelled with them, one teacher and two pupil teachers, only the teacher speaks English. This difficulty was quickly overcome when Miss McPhee, the matron, came on the scene. She has had a great deal of experience in Spanish Morocco and speaks Spanish fluently'.

Basque children peeling potatoes at Evington Hall, near Leicester, where a party of refugees are being accommodated.

HAVING THE TIME OF THEIR LIVES

Basque Children Think Everything's Lovely At Evington Hall

Sharing in the work, Leicester Mercury*, 7th July 1937.*

'The children are being quartered in several bedrooms, all containing three or four single beds. They will use one of the larger rooms in the house for the classroom, and lessons will begin almost at once.' (16) By Friday 9th July local interest and curiosity apparently reached a point where police had to be called to control crowds at Evington Hall, and the *Leicester Mercury* reported that:

> According to the matron, Miss McPhee, visitors sat on the railings surrounding the grounds after they were kept out by the police and plied the children with cigarettes. 'It is most undesirable that the children should be spoiled like this', said Miss McPhee. 'Of course we know that some of the older boys like to smoke occasionally, but we do not want them smoking a lot.' All the children are very well, but it is felt that the children must have some time to settle into their new surroundings ... Yesterday a contingent of 50 desks arrived, and the books and pencils are expected within a day or two. Although there is no definite routine in operation as yet, all the children do their share of the work in the home and the grounds. Boys peel the potatoes and help in the kitchen, girls tidy the rooms and scrub the floors. Some of the boys were busy cutting the long grass with sickles to make a football pitch ... One room in the home is being used as a church. Father Dunstan Sargent of Leicester is on the committee and will celebrate Mass every Sunday. (17)

By the middle of the second week formal education was underway at Evington Hall:

> Three hours classroom lessons in the morning. In the afternoons girls will do domestic science or some other practical subject while the boys are busy in the carpenter's shop. Several offers have been received from people eager to help in giving lessons or lending equipment and a course in English lessons started today. 'It is a great relief to have them out of the way for a few hours during the day as 50 children all over the house are rather apt to upset household arrangements', said Miss McPhee. (18)

On the following day, Thursday, 15th July 1937, came another stark reminder of how the civil war in Spain was having a direct impact on communities in Britain. News had been received that Fred Sykes (35 and single), a member of the Leicester Communist Party, and a well-known speaker in the Market Place, had been killed while fighting with the International Brigade on the Guadarama front near Madrid in February. There was no news of his friend, Jack Watson, but it was feared that he had also been killed. Mr James Hand of Gopsall Street, Leicester, with whom Sykes lived, said: 'He was an ardent worker for the Spanish people, and was the first person to work for them in Leicester'. (19) He had left for Spain with Watson on 20th December 1936.

At the end of July, ten of the boys from Evington Hall had been invited to be guests for two weeks of the St James the Greater (Leicester) Scouts at their summer camp at Salcombe, Devon. 'District Commissioner Pank said he expected no language difficulties. Some have been Scouts and can speak French. He can speak French and Spanish so they should cope.' (20) The report regarding the summer camp in Devon prompted a letter to the *Leicester Mercury* asking at whose expense the boys were enjoying the holiday and a subsequent response from Commissioner Pank himself: '… the major part of the money consisted of the

usual weekly amounts set aside for their keep, and the balance was donated by people interested in the welfare of these boys. It is a pity that Mr W.'s sense of humanity is so small that he apparently resents an inexpensive holiday for boys who have lost mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, and who spent last year, underfed, in towns subjected to daily bombarding ... .' (21)

At the end of July, after almost a month at Evington, the *Leicester Mercury* gave a brief update:

> Business as usual at Evington Hall although 14 older boys are away, 10 with the Scouts, 4 more with Dr Ellis in Devon. Miss McPhee said she was rather glad on the whole that so many boys are to be away for a fortnight. 'It will give me a chance to get the house cleaned up. There isn't much hope with 14 nearly grown-up boys all over the place.' The children enjoy going to Leicester to the shops. They do not like walking much. Most are town-bred and are much more at home in the busy streets of the city than on a country walk. Some have received letters from their mothers, who had fled to France.

Here for the long haul

As the internecine warfare in Spain entered its second year and the Basque country eventually fell to Franco's Nationalist rebels, initial thoughts of a temporary stay in England for the young refugees turned into the realisation of a much longer stay, particularly for many who did not know the whereabouts or fate of their own family members. Efforts were made to live alongside the local community and retain some semblance of 'normality'. In early September 1937, the *Leicester Mercury* reported how a team of Leicester Boys beat the Basques at football:

> At Evington Playing Fields last night ten English boys and one Italian boy from Melbourne Road School Senior Boys Team played the Basques from Evington Hall. Leicester won 4-2 in a closely-fought game. Practically all the Basques played without proper boots and some had only tennis shoes to wear. Their lack of equipment was a cause of two slight accidents. Francisco Cabrera, captain and centre-half, and Francisco Perez, goalkeeper, were both slightly injured by the other boys' boots ... Mr K. L. McKinnon, who is touring the Basque camps to pick a football team to tour the English public schools, refereed the match, and a very complicated job it was. His Spanish is very good ... but shouting out instructions in two languages while rushing up and down the field with a whistle, he found very tiring ... All the boys seemed to enjoy the game ... and managed to convey the impression that they were all good friends. (22)

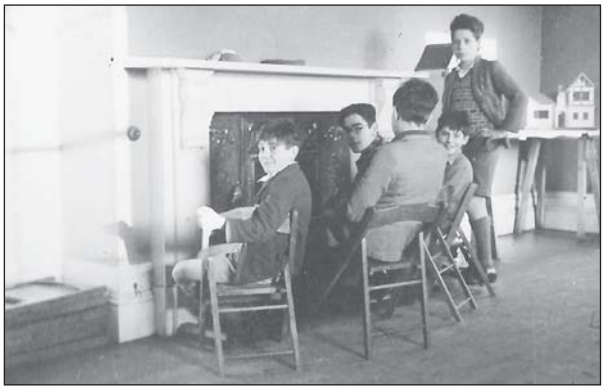
Interviewed in 1986, Leicester man, Ernest Hunt, recalled Basque boys at his school in Mantle Road when he was about 15. He remembered them 'having no shoes and playing football barefoot'. (23) Another interviewee, Ms D. M. Adams, a former teacher, recalled pupils at Wyggeston Girls School who mended shoes for the Basque children. (24)

In late October 1937, the *Leicester Mercury* again conveyed a sense of long-term normality at Evington Hall with another update:

> The 50 Basque refugees, who are living at Evington Hall, have settled into a very normal existence with lessons and games just like any ordinary boarding school. When I visited the Hall today I found a large class of children carrying on with their ordinary lessons in the schoolroom. There was none of the restlessness, which characterised them when they first arrived. They all looked extremely healthy and happy. Their English had improved enormously. In addition to their normal lessons, which they are given by their Spanish teachers, a number of English people are helping. Miss Catherine Peach visits the Hall twice a week to teach girls embroidery and handicrafts. While the girls are busy learning the gentler arts the boys have been working in the garden with Mr D. Lake, who has been living at the Hall for seven weeks teaching them woodwork, gardening, English and coaching their football. It is hoped to hold a bazaar and exhibition soon of the work done by the children. Some of the work is in London where it was sent to the national exhibition of work done in all the camps in England. They have been very successful with football, having won six out of seven games, and are hoping for fixtures with other Leicester schools. The happy atmosphere has been greatly helped by news from parents and relations. Most receive letters regularly from their relations. One family, who had not heard anything since they left Bilbao, had a letter from their grandmother last week. None of the letters has asked the children to return home. Relatives are happy to feel the children are in safety. (25)

Almost six months after their arrival at Evington Hall we hear of the first departures. On 14th December 1937 the *Leicester Mercury* reported that: 'Some of the Basque children living in Leicester for a few months are set to return to parents in Bilbao in the next few days. Three of the fifty children from Evington are all prepared to leave England, Anastasio Badiola, 13, Jose Luis Alonso, 10, and Rosalia Palacios, 7 years old'. (26) The following day the newspaper explained that the children leaving Evington were not sure how they felt about going back: 'They have been happy and safe, learned English ideas and customs and have almost forgotten the tragic circumstances which led to them coming to England. Although all have heard from their parents no mention has been made in any letters that they might be going back. The little girl is quite happy to go back to her home, but one of the boys is sorry to leave his new friends.

The children will sail to Bilbao on a Franco ship. Conditions in Bilbao, according to letters received, are quiet so far as fighting is concerned, but there is a lack of work, money and food. The other children are not envious.' One of the volunteers, Señorita Margarita Indart, told the reporter that her parents and sister were living in Bilbao, but both her brothers were prisoners of Franco. 'I don't want to go back to Spain yet. I have been as happy as the children in England'. (27)



Christmas 1937 at Evington Hall. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Basque Children of '37 Association.)

Into 1938

In early 1938, the Leicester Committee published a report on its first six months' work with the refugees. The report was summarised in the *Leicester Mercury* on 2nd February 1938 under the headline: '*50 Basques kept on £25 a week*'. According to the newspaper, the Basque children had:

> ... found many friends among Leicester people, who go to the Hall regularly at weekends and take them out. These friends, and the regular football matches, have done a great deal towards helping the children to feel at home. The 30 boys and 20 girls, whose ages range from 7 to 15, live in rather a Spartan atmosphere, but with limited resources it has been found impossible to do otherwise. The hall is run by the matron with a daily cook, and all the domestic work is done by the four Spanish señoritas and a few older girls. Owing to the differences in age the Spanish teacher who came over with the children found it difficult to teach the older boys, who disliked taking lessons with younger children. To overcome this difficulty 12 senior boys were placed in schools in Leicester. These boys are learning English from their school mates, while the English boys are picking up some Spanish. Six of the older girls come into Leicester during the week for lessons in English and typing, while Mrs Collinson and Miss C Peach teach all kinds of handicrafts at the hall once a week. (28)
>
> The £25 weekly for our 50 children provides for their food, and that of the six adults on the staff, for the matron's salary, the wages of the cook and part-time man, for heat and light, postage on the children's letters to Spain, some clothes and incidental expenses, and bus fares (which, now that the boys go to school, cost at least £1 a week). Many of those who have adopted a child by promising to subscribe 10s. weekly, have chosen a special child, and have taken a personal interest in him. Such a relationship is particularly valuable to these children, who have been suddenly cut off from their family and country; it gives them back confidence in themselves, and we should be glad if more of our subscribers would come to Evington to choose a child. (29)

We learn that seven children have gone back to Spain, but others will not return until their parents are living in better conditions. Mary Attenborough, author of the report, writes: 'Either both parents are refugees, living in appalling conditions, or the mother is a refugee and the father a prisoner in Franco territory. We cannot send these children back yet, and undo all that we did when they were rescued from Bilbao.' (30) We also learn from a letter written by Mary Attenborough to Father Pedro Atucha that the repatriated children were replaced by children whose parents were refugees. (31)

David Attenborough recalls: 'The organisers, including my mother, were of course anxious to engage local people in helping and making the children feel at home. One of the ways of doing that was to arrange parties at the Hall during which the Basque children dressed in an approximation of their traditional costumes, performed regional dances and sang Basque folk-songs.' (32)

Getting ready for the concert at the Edward Wood Hall, Leicester Mercury*, 12th February 1938. (Reproduced with acknowledgement to the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland.)*

In February 1938, the Leicester Committee organised an appeal and fund-raising concert performance by the local Basque children at the Edward Wood Hall, now the Fraser Noble Hall, on the corner of London Road and University

Road, Leicester. It was hoped to attract an audience of around 500. (33) Sourcing appropriate music proved difficult and unable to get any music '... all accompaniment of the dancing has to be voices only, which is a great shame for the singers'. (34) Eventually copies of some Basque songs were borrowed from Father Atucha. (35) The children made the costumes themselves with the help of their Spanish voluntary assistants. The concert was attended by the Duchess of Atholl, M.P. for Kinross, who was chairman of the national Committee for Basque Children, and who delivered an appeal to the audience. She explained the background to the Basques' presence and 'claimed that those who said that the children were rescued from imaginary dangers, either did not know the facts, or did not want to know them'. (36) We learn that 'adoption' of children by individuals or organisations raising and contributing 10s. per week (the weekly cost of keeping one child) was popular in Leicester and elsewhere. Subscribers to the 'adoption' scheme in Leicester included Wyggeston Boys School and Wyggeston Girls School, with two children each, the Newarke, Alderman Newton and Collegiate Girls Schools, the Western Park Open Air School (staff and friends), the Domestic Science College, the nursing staff at the Leicester Royal Infirmary, the Church of Christ (Evington Road) and the Society of Friends. (37) Also at this event were the two doctors, who had flown to Bilbao to make the necessary arrangements for the evacuation on the *SS Habana*, Dr Richard Ellis and Dr Audrey Russell. Councillor Richard Hallam proposed a vote of thanks to the Duchess of Atholl, and, referring to Dr Ellis, he said they felt proud of him as a Leicester man, who had worthily upheld the traditions of his family. (38)

The following month saw a significant group of the young refugees depart from Leicester London Road station on the first stage of the journey back to Spain. On 22nd March the *Leicester Mercury* reported how: '22 small travellers' set off, 'only those who will have parents or friends with homes in comparative safe parts are being sent back, although 'Mrs F. L. Attenborough, who saw them off, told a reporter that many of them wept because they hardly knew what they were returning to'. (39)

In May 1938, the "Mr Leicester" page of the *Leicester Mercury* referred to the impending first anniversary of the arrival of the Basque refugees in England. Mary Attenborough explained that there were now 45 children left at Evington Hall, who would remain there until the end of the Civil War. Their parents were either not traced or were prisoners, or were themselves refugees. 'She has heard from most of the children who recently went back to Spain in Franco territory. The reports are not encouraging, for many of the boys who were here doing so well in school are now running the streets, there being no school for them to attend. This is a real shock to those who, in Leicester, had put such hard work into making these children happy here and their days useful ... . (40)

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Acknowledgements:

My sincere thanks to the following people for their personal input and support: to Sir David Attenborough, and to Carmen Kilner, Treasurer and Education Co-ordinator of the Basque Children of '37 Association.

Part Two of this article will appear in the *Leicestershire Historian* 2017.

The Medieval Parks of Market Bosworth

Anthony Squires and Chris Peat

Introduction

Woodland has proved to be a particularly enduring feature of the English landscape and the park, most usually in the form of the hunting park, was a common feature of the medieval scene. Some present Leicestershire woods, in much modified forms, were present at the time of the Norman conquest and are first recorded, directly or indirectly, in Domesday book (1086). The earliest Norman parks were established in the twelfth century, but the heyday of park creation was the period c1200-c1350. Some of these parks can be recognised, again in modified forms, in parts of Leicestershire and beyond.

The Domesday manor at Market Bosworth (hereinafter 'Bosworth') was divided between two lords, The Count of Meulan and Hugh Grandmesnil. It had two woodlands and later three recorded parks, one of which was a 'hay' (a term discussed below). The purpose of this paper is to attempt to locate these features in the modern landscape and we have deferred to a later date any treatment of the development and growth of the settlement of Bosworth. We make no reference to the location of the battle of Bosworth Field (1485) which lies some distance to the south-west.

Documentary and other sources

The documentary records for the medieval lords of Bosworth, the Harcourts (c.1193-1509), have mostly not survived, at least not for our purposes. Supporting evidence from the archives of the sixteenth century lords: the Greys and the Hastings is similarly sparse. The archives of the 300 years of the Dixie family (1592-1883) were sold at auction in 1919 and we have been able to trace the buyers of only two of the many lots.

The lack of early cartographic evidence has proved a particular problem. The oldest recorded map of Bosworth, that of 1592, has also proved untraceable, if indeed it has survived. This leaves our earliest point of reference as the Tithe Map for Bosworth (1848). This is nicely detailed but we have reason to believe that in some instances it was inaccurately surveyed and/or drawn, and it may have been based on an earlier map. Thus, as regards accuracy and precision, we are left with the nineteenth century first editions of the Ordnance Survey Six Inch map of 1889. Finally, we have used, with caution, data from various nineteenth and twentieth century sale catalogues of the Dixie estates.

Our chief source of information has been the landscape of modern Bosworth. We have drawn upon our own detailed ground survey and that of Robert F. Hartley (1); early and our own later air photography; LIDAR survey; the results of electro-magnetic and resistivity investigations, and the records of the Heritage and Environmental Record (HER) of Leicestershire County Council at County Hall, Glenfield. There has been very little archaeological excavation at Bosworth.

Geology and topography

The small town of Market Bosworth is situated in the east of its large (civil) parish. It is located on a well defined cap of glacial sand and gravel that is surrounded by a sea of boulder clay and similar deposits which are naturally heavy to plough and slow to drain. In 1625 these were described by the rector of Bosworth as 'cold and spongey wild ground, unfit for corn and tillage' and the open fields produced 'rot of sheep and murrain of beasts'. (2) Nevertheless, ground surveys and air photographs demonstrate that almost the entire parish of Bosworth exhibits signs of the ridge and furrow of medieval or earlier ploughing.

This marked definition of the topographical relationship between village and parish at Bosworth reminds us that a location so intrinsically attractive and suitable for settlement must have been occupied by countless generations of local people. Their re-definition of the settlement pattern leads us to be mindful of the fact that the medieval landscape which we investigate here had its origins in Anglo-Saxon times and earlier.

Early woodlands and parks

Woodland was a vital resource in medieval England and the inhabitants of each settlement needed a regular and reliable supply of woodland products. Small woodlands were usually managed as coppices to supply wood for fires, agricultural implements and small structures. Large woods with their single, older trees (the standards) that were harvested only occasionally could also have areas fenced for coppice,

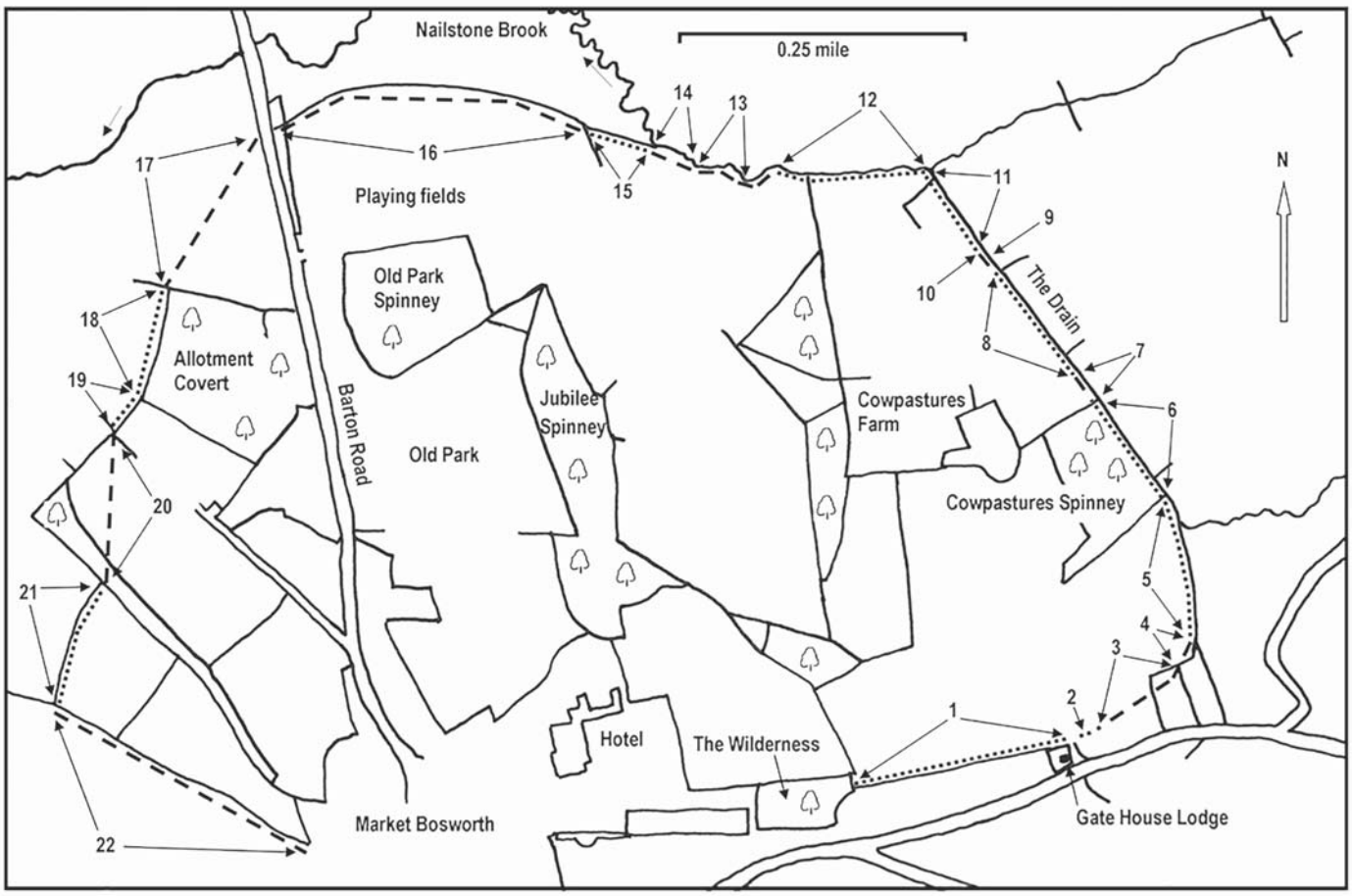

Figure 1: The North Park.

Key to figures

Physical evidence on ground

Line conjectural

although often their chief value was as wood-pasture. 'Assarting' was the reclamation of woodland for other purposes such as cultivation, but assarted land, suitably fenced, could be given over to grazing for domestic stock.

Prescribed hunting areas existed in England in late Anglo-Saxon times. After the Conquest, Norman lords developed the idea of the 'park' as a place primarily for hunting, but also to express their social status. In some areas of medieval England, particularly in the uplands of the north and west, parks without woodland were known, but in the lowlands there existed a vital connection between woodland and deer hunting. A typical park occupied an area of land, often on the parish or manorial boundary, and was delineated by a bank and internal ditch. A wooden fence atop the bank was an additional barrier to deer attempting to escape. The arrangement of the bank, ditch and fence was called the 'pale'. Such parks were usually distant from a lord's dwelling and, along with the deer, might contain additional income-generating features such as fishponds and stone pits; ideally a park would pay for its upkeep.

The early history of Bosworth's woodland and parks

At the time of Domesday book the manor of Bosworth contained two woods and understanding the nature of these must be seen against the problems of interpreting early woodland records, especially those of 1086. Rackham produced a formula for calculating the approximate area of a woodland when the size of the wood is recorded in Domesday book in the form of length times breadth. (3) The wood of Hugh de Grandmesmil was 1 furlong by ½ furlong which equates to a mere four acres, a very likely true total. The site is unknown but it probably lay to the north-east of the then settlement of Bosworth.

The second and larger wood, that of the Count of Meulan is described as being 1 ½ miles by ¾ mile. According to

Rackham's formula this produces a maximum figure of approximately 850 acres and a minimum one of approximately 380. Whatever its nature, this wood probably had a compact shape, not rectangular or straggling, which suggests the use of Rackham's middle form factor. On this assumption we arrive at a figure of approximately 600 acres. This wood, part of which was the later 'southwode' of 1293, extended eastwards to include the Domesday wood recorded for Cadeby to the east and possibly southwards to the manor of Sutton Cheney. The area has a strong and continuous history of woodland to the present day, though the present woods all appear to be relatively recent plantations.

By 1193 at the latest, the two lordships at Bosworth had combined and were under the control of the Harcourt family. (4) This enabled successive generations to develop the settlement and parish and to lay out the parks as they wished. The first reference to a park occurs in the details of a sixteenth century demesne terrier which records, incidentally, that in the time of Robert de Harcourt (1150-1202) i.e. in the late twelfth century (and no later than 1193) Robert's chapel at Bosworth had tithes of pasture in the park. (5) This was probably the north park i.e. 'le Holdparke' of 1293. The point here is that this park at least was up and running in some form a century earlier, making it one of Leicestershire's early park creations.

The North Park

Examination of the field names and boundaries on the Tithe Map and the Six Inch Ordnance Map taken with a consideration of the details of a survey of 1592 and the geology and topography suggest the North Park occupied, at least in part, the land to the north-east of the present Bosworth Hall Hotel complex (Figure 1). The results of field survey support this idea.

Topography

The park's ancient perimeter bank commences at the eastern end of the 'Wilderness' and continues eastward across the grass field, meets the parish boundary and follows it to the place where the nineteenth century Gatehouse Lodge stands at the start of the drive to Cowpastures Farm. The line now passes through gardens which have been extended northwards. We may perhaps project the former line of the pale westwards through the Wilderness which was created in the eighteenth century. At **2** there is an isolated short length of the pale's bank and ditch that is clearly an extension of line **1**. At **3** the bank is very muted and is not discernible on the ground near the present residential caravan, although a Google Earth view does confirm its former presence there.

At **4** there are no signs of the pale but one assumes the line continues along the line of the present parish boundary i.e. along line **5**. At the northern end of **5** the line continues to follow the same boundary. Thereafter along line **6** and indeed to the end of **11**, the pale follows a straight course to the Nailstone Brook. This feature is highly atypical of the perimeter of a medieval park pale and an explanation must be sought.

The geology and drainage are the keys here. Immediately to the east of line **5**, i.e. in the adjoining field in Osbaston parish the land falls abruptly to the west. Here is produced a year-round quagmire, very difficult to cross in high summer and impossible in winter. The drainage of the remaining fields adjoining lines **6** – **11** on the east is, or was, also a problem. Clearly, line **5** – **11** is a drainage ditch (hereafter 'the drain') dug to carry water north to the Nailstone Brook. As already noted, both the parish boundary and the park pale follow it. So which came first?

In 1228 Richard de Harcourt of Bosworth made a gift to Stephen de Segrave (died 1241) and his heirs of all his (Harcourt's) lands in Cadeby, ' being 10 virgates, 18 selions of land [a considerable total area] lying by the stewpond (fishpond) of the aforesaid Stephen as far as Halebroc (i.e. Nalebroc = the Nailstone brook) to the cut of Segrave' (6). We may conclude therefore that the drain was made no later than the early thirteenth century and we postulate that the perimeter of the park first noted in 1192 followed this already extant feature i.e. the drain came first.

North Park. Remains of the park pale at section 5 in Figure 1. The ranging pole is in the centre of the ditch.

Even allowing for accumulations of soil as a result of repeated scouring of the drain over the centuries, the authenticity of the line of the pale can be confirmed by the nature of the present earthworks. At **5** there remain a prominent and massive bank and ditch, 3-4 feet high and 10-12 feet broad at the base. In addition, there are definite suggestions of the original ditch to the west, where the ground is damp and where the grass is always greener than that in the adjacent part of the modern field. Such a ditch

would, of course, have been on the inside of the boundary, and, as we have noted, typical of a medieval park.

The bank at **6**, along the eastern edge of Cowpasture spinney, is even more pronounced, being 6 and more feet in height; but at **7** both bank and ditch cease abruptly. They resume after about 40 yards at **8** in muted form but are readily detectable, following the edge of the field and the drain. At **9** the pale bank ends abruptly but at **10** it resumes under the present hedge. Along **11** the detectable course appears in the field but it is very faint.

We have now reached line **12** where the bank and ditch follow the line of the brook. At **13** a modern fence separates a small section of land from the main field. Its line shows no bank and ditch but presumably at **14** the line of the pale followed the course of the south bank of the brook. At **15** there is a suggestion of a bank and ditch which leaves the brook and is very clear; the ditch of the pale contains water in wet weather.

Recent major earthmoving together with the planting of trees by the Dixie Grammar School to create a playing field have removed all signs of a bank and ditch, but there can be little doubt that the pale followed the line at **16** to meet the Barton Road, beyond which point all traces of ancient structures come to a halt.

Finally, the place name 'Old Park' has survived to the present in one close. This term rather than plain 'park' has proved to be a reliable indicator of the legacy of a medieval park across England, including Leicestershire.

A further line for the park?

We now meet the problem of determining whether or not the park so far described extended to the west of the Barton Road. The great majority of medieval parks, certainly those known for Leicestershire, had boundaries originally laid out to produce a distinctly rounded shape. A circle would enclose the maximum area for the minimum cost of erecting and maintaining a pale. The North Park, with a straight road for its western border; would hardly have contributed to the optimum shape. The nature and route of the Barton Road is also a major consideration. Was it laid out in Roman times to serve the one known villa located on a site to the north of the present Hall, or was it an eighteenth century turnpike? At present there is no certain answer. What can be said is that medieval parks carrying roads are known, but also that lords took opportunity to close and/or divert such an obstacle to their own interests.

It is possible that the line of the pale of the North Park crossed the road to extend the park to the west. Line **17** represents a hypothetical line for the course of the pale but there is no evidence from any source for this. The western boundary of Allotment Covert, line **18**, is defined by a bank which has a deep ditch to the east. This could be the remains of a park pale (where the ditch is always internal) yet the northern edge of the same covert has a similar ditch to the south. Line **19** is best described as a jumble of unidentified earthworks of unknown origin. Line **20** is a theoretical pale line but with no physical evidence. Line **21** shows a bank and a ditch which are substantial in places and where the ditch is once again 'internal', i.e. to the east. Line **22** runs along the top of a continuous steep slope, rising to the south, which would have made a very suitable line for a pale since only a stout fence would have been needed to keep in deer. A continuation eastwards beyond **22** cannot be proposed.

There are no 'park' place-names recorded for this possible western extension but if the land was emparked here it was probably disparked at an early date, leaving the eastern section with its western boundary as the Barton Road. The pattern of ridge and furrow in two adjacent fields parallels the line of the road here suggesting that the line of the road had been established before the land was ploughed. The date of disparking of the North Park is unknown but when Thomas Harcourt died in 1406 he had two parks at Bosworth. These were presumably the north and south parks (but see 'The Hay' below). In 1592 'The Old Park' was described as a 'several pasture of the [manor's] demesne' i.e. land worked directly by the lord and contained 56 acres, in the area of 'old park' on Figure 1. At the same time it was described as 'a several wood of the demesne'. (7) In the late sixteenth century local populations were rising, more land was being cultivated and hunting in the medieval manner no longer made economic sense. By about 1550 the nature of the North Park had changed to that of a place for aesthetic appreciation and display.

The South Park

Our study of the South Park has produced more questions than answers since few, and confusing, above-surface archaeological features remain. Also, the documentary record is very poor. However, since there is no evidence for early woodland elsewhere in Bosworth parish we have little doubt that the park was created to the south of the medieval settlement in the manor's large Domesday Book wood, the position and nature of which was considered above.

History

The second reference to a park at Bosworth comes in 1232 when the King (Henry III) gave a Robert de Harcourt six live fallow deer from the forest of Wychwood for his park [singular] at Bosworth. (8) Such gifts of deer were often made to stock new parks, and it is possible that the South Park was created around 1232. However, royal gifts were

also made for re-stocking and this grant might have referred to either of the parks. In 1279 Richard de Harcourt held Bosworth, Coton and Carlton with two parks. (9) This record at least established the existence of South Park and that it was operational at this date. The same Richard died in 1293, holding, as we have seen, 'le Southwode'. In 1300 Richard, son of John de Harcourt, complained that Peter de Greselay and others had broken into John's park [not specified] at Bosworth and had hunted without his leave and had taken away deer to the value of 40 shillings. (10) In 1382 Sir Thomas de Harcourt, 'lord of Bosworth', leased to Ralph Hurleman 'of Southwood' woodland [quantity unspecified] in Bosworth Park, certain timber trees excepted. (11) Again, fifteen years later, the same Sir Thomas leased to Ralph Hurleman for four years a quarter of the wood called 'Cadeby Quarter', once more with timber trees excepted. (12) The term 'quarter' may not necessarily have referred to one fourth part of a wood but more likely to a demarcated piece of woodland, perhaps on the Cadeby side of the present parish boundary with Bosworth. Nine years on in 1406 Sir Thomas granted his manor of Bosworth to his son [also Thomas] except two parks there with housebote (wood to repair houses) and Haybote (wood to repair fences) together with reasonable estovers (firewood) to be taken in the said parks. (13) The Old Park may have reverted to farmland by this date.

The date of the formal disparkment of South Park is not known but part of the better wooded area of this Southwood may have been maintained for woodland products. King Charles II, in 1665, granted to Sir Beaumont Dixie, lord of the manor of Bosworth, the right to enclose 'with pales, ditches and walls 400 acres of his land at Bosworth for pasturing of stags and other wild beasts'. (14) Persons who entered the park to capture or destroy the 'wild animals' there were to incur a fine of £10. A map of 1702, (Private Collection), indicates that most of the area was well wooded but at that time was suffering from years of lack of management. (15) The boundary of the 1702 Southwood park is shown on Figure 2 by a broken line.

Topography

The topographical features revealed by field survey are much less indicative of possible park boundaries than those for the North Park. Since the area is mostly flat, any rise or fall of the land that does occur means the possibilities for a pale line regarding ITP (Inherent Topographical Probability) can be assessed. The results are shown on Figure 2 and are described as follows.

Starting at **1** the ITP for the line of a pale is favourable. The ditch, now much eroded along the east side of the present tarmac road, (Sutton Lane) might well have belonged to a park boundary.

At **2** the ITP along the course of the road improves as the land falls away to the east. At **3** this advantage disappears.

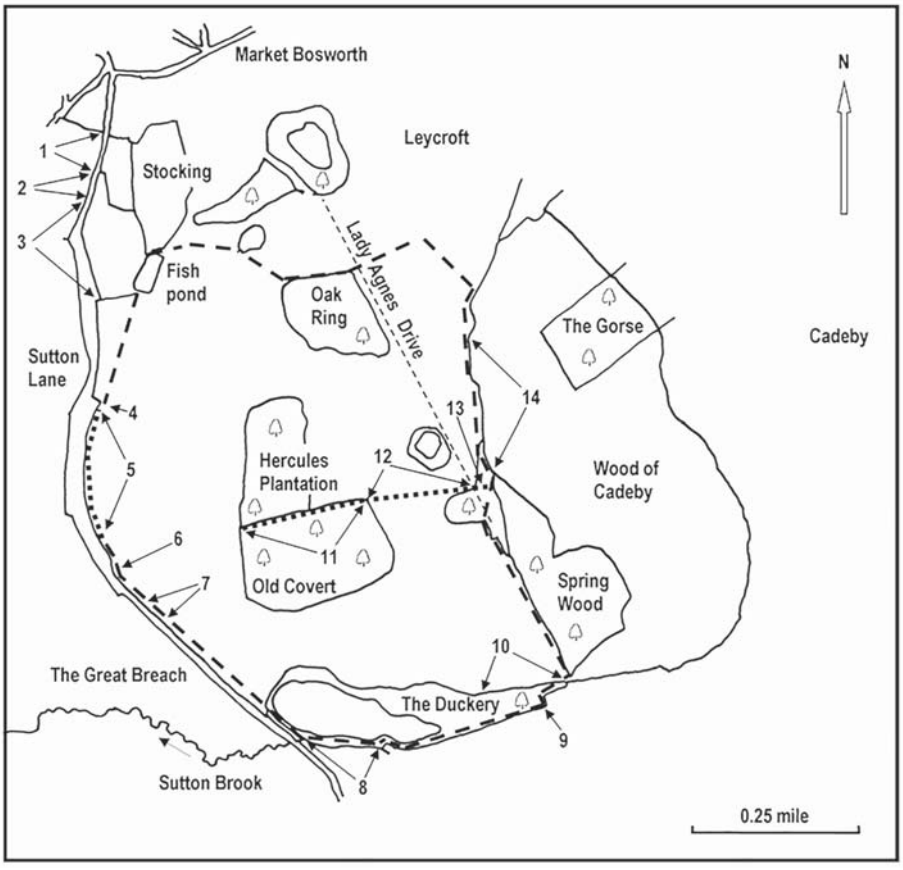

Figure 2: The South Park.

South Park. Bank on the east side of the Gated Road at point 6 in Figure 2. The ranging pole is in the centre of the bank.

At **4** an impressive bank on the west side of the stream could be seen as a suitable pale line. This continues south along **5**.

At **6** the valley of the stream becomes progressively shallower to the south and the water finally dries up at **7** where it crosses the Sutton Lane.

Around part of the Duckery we have identified banks and ditches that appear to be the remains of a park pale and a wood bank. However, these are overlain by later retaining earthworks and have been disrupted by later drainage works.

A very substantial bank of unknown origin lies to the north of the Sutton brook **8** and there is an unidentified earthwork along the course of the stream at **9**. To the north at **10** there is a long section of bank (with no detectable ditch) near to and parallel with the field edge. Is this the line of a former pale?

At **11** there is a very substantial ditch and bank. This continues eastwards across the field as a very pronounced crop mark at **12**, despite having been seriously damaged by ploughing. It terminates as a very well preserved and very short section of bank and ditch surviving in the spinney at **13**.

Finally, along line **14** there is an abrupt fall in the ground to the west which creates a strong measure of ITP for a pale line.

Other than the above we have found no further features of note.

Discussion

The observed physical remains are both inadequate and contradictory and those along the Sutton Lane must be seen against the establishment and layout of the open fields to the west, about which very little documentary evidence survives. Two place-names offer clues (Figure 2). The 'Great Breach' is first recorded in 1625 and means 'land brought into cultivation'. (16) The second is 'Stocking' which means 'a piece of ground cleared of stumps, a clearing of stumps'. (17) We suspect the Domesday Book woodland extended from the location of the present village and eastwards across what became common grazing later, to be known as Leycroft. However, based on our knowledge of other medieval parks in Leicestershire, it seems possible that the earliest form of South Park included the woodland of Cadeby. This addition would have produced the favourable rounded outline mentioned above. The later 'Southwode' seems to have contracted at a very early date by losing the woodland of Cadeby.

In effect this later park occupied an area which was adopted by its seventeenth century successor, but that the line **11**, **12** and **13**, together with the same line extended westwards to the Sutton Lane and caused the park to be divided into two parts. The northern part continued as a place for woodland and deer. The southern part however was released for grazing, possibly beneath the 'great timber trees' of the grants to Hurleman. Some time later in the seventeenth century when Beaumont Dixie received his licence to empark, this southern section was taken over once again to be developed, along with the northern section, to produce a grandiose and fashionable layout, with lawns and allees of a park of its time.

The Hay

The Inquisition Post Mortem 1293 of Richard Harcourt records that at Bosworth, along with two parks, he held a pasture called 'le Haye' worth 10 shillings yearly. (18) The term hay/hey/heye has traditionally been interpreted as a hedged enclosure (19) deriving from the Old English 'haga' meaning a hedge, a hedged enclosure or from the Old Norse 'hagi' meaning a grazing enclosure, a pasture. Rowley says it was a hunting park found normally in a wooded area, completely enclosed by a pale or wall designed for the retention of deer, i.e. it had the form of a medieval hunting park. (20) Winchester is inclined to agree and says 'the hay is now recognised as a term to describe a hunting enclosure pre-dating the formal enclosure of the park' (21), and by 1254 in Cumbria at least, a hay was valued solely as grazing for livestock. Hooke maintains that the hay is a feature of wooded land and appears to have been an enclosure into which deer could be encouraged and that the term is not just a reference to a hedge. (22) Rackham notes there are over 70 hays in Domesday, mostly along the Welsh border, and considers that the occasional explanatory notes indicate that these were not parks but corrals or other devices for catching wild deer. (23) Rackham adds that an Anglo-Saxon will of 1045 refers to a deerhay (derhage) at Ongar, that later became a *parcus*. Liddiard believes the haia (Hay) of Domesday Book was an enclosed wood for retaining deer in the later medieval period. (24) He also suggests that hays

were pre-medieval parks. Hoppitt working on the flat lands of Suffolk, agrees that hays were probably the pre-cursors of medieval parks. (25) She adds that the terms 'hagh', 'hegh' and 'haugh' originally meaning a hedge but later an enclosed wood, are used widely to name woods across the county'.

Others have also contributed to the discussion of the meaning of the term 'hay'. Sykes widens the definition by suggesting that hays were associated with woodland but 'were most probably intermittent structures rather than continuous enclosures'. (26) Mileson is inclined to agree, stating 'rather than being full enclosures the more permanent hays were probably linear or surviving earthworks used to help retain game in certain wooded areas'. (27) He also suggests that a minority of the earliest parks may have been adapted from surviving hays. Fletcher interestingly remarks that Julius Caesar found hedges in Britain 'impossible to see through, let alone penetrate' and adds that a well maintained hedge is 'a highly effective barrier against all sorts of animals' and that such a hedge was common to the feature known as a haga, hay or haia. (28) That said, it appears that a later and alternative and somewhat different meaning of the hay was a net for catching wild animals, including coneys (rabbits) and perhaps deer. (29)

History

In Domesday Book only one hay is noted by the commissioners for the circuit that included this county. Also, we have found no other specific reference to a hay in any IPM for persons holding manors in Leicestershire. Professor Cox has found no mention of a hay for the Bosworth area to include Cadeby, Osbaston, Naneby and Newbold Verdon. (30) The fact that Harcourt's hay is mentioned by name indicates its importance for grazing in his manor. As such and with or without deer, it was clearly an enclosed area in 1293 and, because it was not unstinted grazing, it would have been necessary to keep out unwanted animals. Finally, it was an asset, additional to the values of Old Park and Southwood.

Topography

We have prospected in detail the landscape of the whole of Market Bosworth parish and can find no evidence to suggest the hay was part of or adjoined the parks of Old Park and Southwood as described above. We conclude that the only possible site of the hay lies on the northern edge of the former settlement of Naneby, now part of Cadeby parish (Figure 3) where until recently a group of three adjacent fields bore the names Little, Middle and Big Park. (31)

Field survey has revealed the remains of a substantial bank and ditch along the line of the parish boundary (Figure 3). The bank is particularly impressive along **1** where it is more than 12 feet wide at base and 2 feet in height. The spinney concerned is called Botany Bay, but was known as Naneby Spinney on the first edition of the 1 inch OS map of 1835. It is currently used for rearing pheasants; the clearing of the bank for the installation of a stout fox-proof fence has caused some erosion, but its nature remains in no doubt. At **2** the bank is very much reduced but is still detectable as a continuation of **1**. Similarly, the line along **3** remains discernible as a continuation of **2**. All in all we are satisfied that **1**, **2** and **3** are sections of the same ancient feature. They are also referred to as 'buck leap'.

At the eastern end of **1** the bank ceases abruptly and presumably turned southwards to follow an earlier line of the parish boundary **4** of Cadeby and Newbold Verdon. The line remains as a soil mark, detectable on a Google Earth view, across what is now one very large arable field that includes the areas of the three 'park' fields. Line **5** is a probable boundary for the hay/park but the exact line has been lost in large scale twentieth century gravel extraction

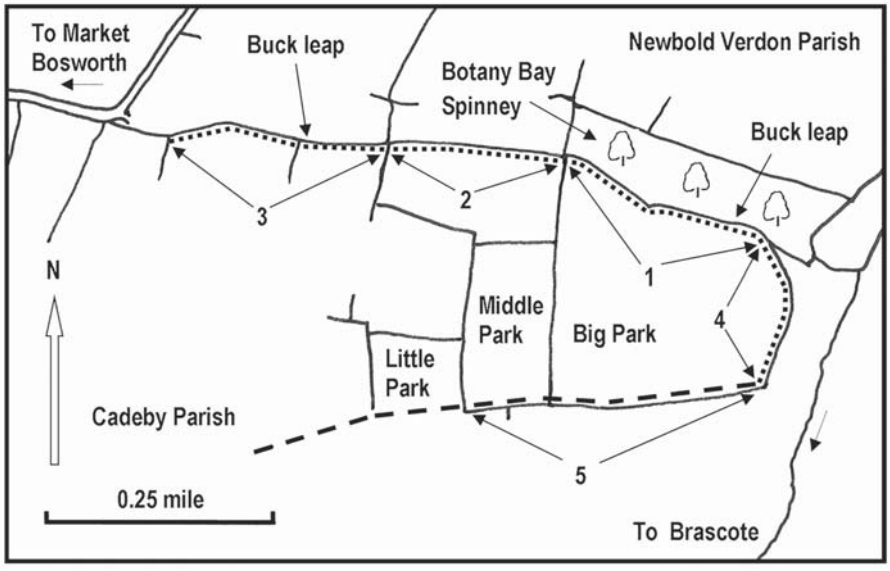

Figure 3: The Hay.

The Hay. Bank in centre of section 1 in Figure 3. The ranging pole is in the centre of the bank.

and landscape restoration. As regards a possible western boundary for the hay/park, we prefer not to speculate.

Discussion

We now recognise the hay as the third park of medieval Bosworth as noted as extant in the IPM of Robert de Harcourt in 1279. However, we have not taken into account its relationship with the former tiny village of Naneby, centred on the present Naneby Farm which was deserted at an unknown date. (32) Also, we are intrigued by the past and present course of the parish boundary between Cadeby and Newbold Verdon. We believe a study of this may open a new view of the history of the landscape of the two settlements. We wonder also if the establishment of the hay may provide an indicator of the possible presence of early woodland, which may have disappeared by the time of the Conquest or which may have been ignored by the compilers of Domesday Book.

Conclusion

In compiling the above we have been mindful that the medieval manor of Bosworth was probably not coterminous with the ecclesiastical and later civil parish of the same name. Where it concerned the grant to Stephen de Segrave, the manorial jurisdiction of Richard de Harcourt clearly extended at least into part of what is now Cadeby parish. The lack of surviving early records means that the true boundaries, physical, economic and political of medieval Bosworth remain to be discovered. Until such records do come to light that concern the medieval parks, we rest our case.

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Acknowledgements:
We would like to acknowledge the help and co-operation from all the local people who allowed us to survey their various properties.

Food and Fuel Rationing in Hinckley during World War I

John Martin and Robert King

The purpose of this article is to explore why the southwest Leicestershire town of Hinckley was so successful in escaping the worst of the problems caused by food and fuel rationing and the higher prices which were so evident in other regions during World War I.

In 1901 Hinckley was a market town of 9,600 people who along with those from its surrounding villages made up a population of some 22,000 inhabitants. Occupying a central position within England, the area was advantageous in being located in a region of mixed arable, livestock and nearby coalmines. It was a township with well-established political and commercial infrastructures, and due to the longevity of the local industries, a pool of skilled and semi-skilled workers, the latter comprising mainly women.

The Hinckley factories concentrated on the production of strong cloth and shoes suitable for workpeople. In the adjacent counties, the Nottingham area focussed on woven cloths suitable for men's quality suits and women's evening gowns, whilst Northampton maintained the production of high quality handmade boots and shoes. Although not realised at the time, Hinckley's early move to mass production was to be of great significance during the war. With the early expansion of the British Army, the demand was for strong hard-wearing material used in the manufacture of military uniforms and webbing belts.

The Hinckley area also benefited from a strong transport infrastructure. In 1805 the Ashby Canal had opened from Ashby Woulds to Bedworth in north Warwickshire where it connected with the Coventry Canal, providing transportation for Hinckley's industries such as wool and leather, and a cheap and easy way to transport coal from the Leicestershire and Warwickshire coalmines. With the coming of the railways in the mid-nineteenth century, Hinckley maintained its position at the centre of the national transport network, having rail and road links to the west coast main line at nearby Nuneaton, and further east to the east coast route at Peterborough. By the outbreak of World War I Hinckley's geographical position was vital to the transportation of raw materials, and for the finished goods produced by the primary manufacturing industries of hosiery and footwear.

Immediately following the outbreak of military hostilities in August 1914 the Liberal government promoted the concept of 'Business as Usual', the idea that the country would go about its commercial and domestic activities as it had done for the last one hundred years, relying on the system of *laissez-faire* or Free Trade with limited state control in the economic and industrial sectors. Since the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the commitment to free trade in agricultural produce, the government had largely allowed market forces to determine the fortunes of the farming community. In a similar way, with the exception of a limited number of efforts to deal with food adulteration, government intervention in food distribution had followed a similar path.

Thus the pre-war government planners had paid limited attention to the subject of food and fuel security. There still appeared little need, given the size of the Royal Navy and its merchant fleet, to believe that the conflict would seriously impinge on the country's ability to import sufficient food. This philosophy was assisted by the general feeling that the war would be 'over by Christmas' and therefore problems with food distribution would not arise. British planning was rooted firmly on an understanding that the war was for the armed forces to manage and win. They were to do this, not by the rapid expansion of the army, but rather by the premise that an immediate instigation of a distant naval blockade would throttle German trade and thus induce food shortages and raw materials, leading to an early surrender, with the purpose of Britain's small peacetime army being to support France in Europe.

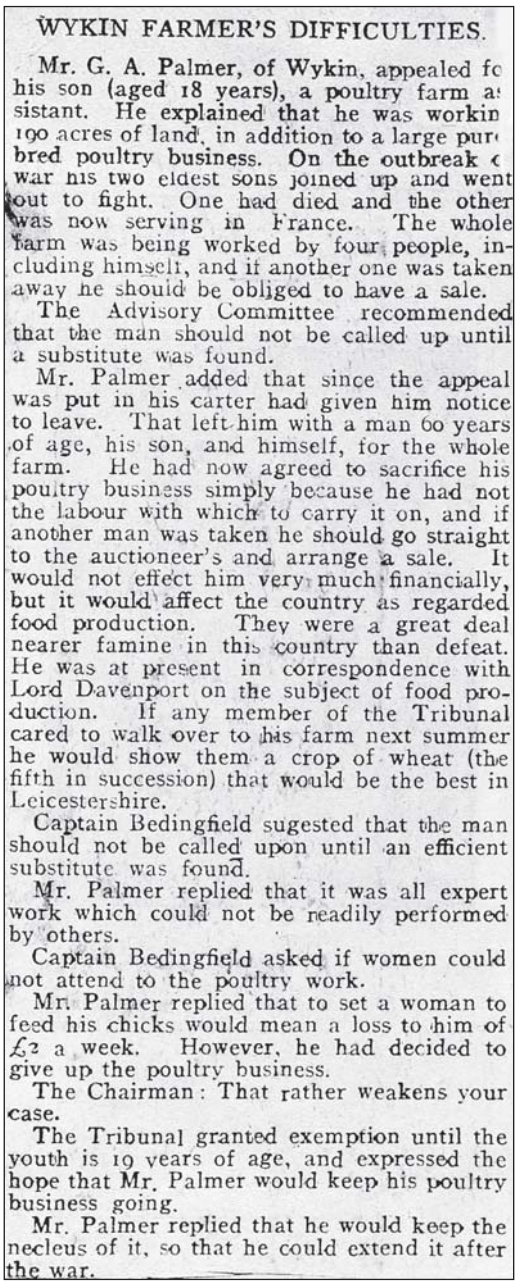
The majority of the British military budget was destined for the Royal Navy and enforcing a maritime blockade of Germany. Furthermore, Britain would reap a financial benefit by acting as both banker and arms supplier to their allies, which in turn would create an upturn in industrial activity to meet the growing need for military equipment. It was Britain's ally, France, who was expected to conduct the majority of mainland European warfare with its army of some two million men facing 1.7 million German troops. The British government rather naively expected that it would be able to run the country on a virtual peacetime basis. This plan, however, was fundamentally flawed in that it failed to anticipate the devastating effects of German submarines (U-Boats) on merchant shipping.

The outbreak of war also saw Hinckley hosiery owners in a very strong bargaining position with the government and military authorities, unlike Nottingham and Northampton, due to their factory machinery being eminently suitable for

the production of military uniforms and webbing belts. Footwear owners were in the same position having immediately adapted their factory machines to the manufacture of military boots. Hinckley was very proactive in prosecuting the war on the 'Home Front'. *The Hinckley Times* of 8th August 1914 carried the simple headline *'War!'* entreating its readers not to 'store up' large quantities of food. However, the paper quickly dismissed this fear by the end of September, as the town had put in an unofficial voluntary food rationing system from the first weeks of the war. This was implemented and coordinated by the rapid establishment of a Hinckley & District Relief Committee, (HDRC), a body which drew upon the expertise of local influential people such as industrial owners and politicians, many of whom also served on the elected town council. Elsewhere, many other local communities also helped to forestall central government control of food by introducing their own forms of controlled food distribution. When it later became obvious that the war would become a long drawn-out affair, the Government made efforts to persuade the population to practise careful food usage, and also intervened on the purchasing and provision of foodstuffs.

Between July 1914 and September 1916 the retail prices of principal foods increased by 65 per cent following deteriorating harvests after two initial years of good crops, and increasing shipping losses. In an attempt to improve food production and its distribution, the government, through the Board of Trade, formally announced the establishment of a new Food Department as a section of the Employment Department on 17th October 1916. This was placed under the supervision of William Beveridge (later to become famous as the architect of the welfare state). 15th November 1916 saw the appointment of a Food Controller, Lord Devonport, which foreshadowed the introduction of food rationing, but even then there was an element of haphazardness, as rationing was introduced on different dates for various commodities. It was Devonport's successor, Lord Rhondda, appointed in June 1917, who substantially solved the problem by establishing food rationing areas which had their own pre-determined quantities of foodstuffs and so finally achieved equality of distribution. The Board of Trade was granted wide powers to oversee production, usage and the elimination of food waste; and also used these powers to regulate the price of milk and the content of flour.

Even after the appointment of a national Food Controller, circumstantial evidence indicates that surplus food was available in Hinckley. Between 1916 and 1918, cattle, sheep and pigs were offered in abundance at the three Red Cross charity and normal fortnightly livestock sales. Lest it be thought that these were a special series of events that required a massive effort to gather together the animals to be sold, it is as well to examine the regularly timed auctions that were taking place at the time. In late 1917 the *Hinckley Times* carried the following announcement; Orchard & Joyce, Auctioneers, at their usual fortnightly at Market Bosworth sale would offer: 115 Beasts and calves; 155 Sheep and lambs; 123 fat and store pigs as well as poultry and cheeses and this sale was one of many that were advertised during this period. The obvious caveat was that this food was only available to those who could afford it, but Hinckley residents were in general more than able to afford higher prices.



WYKIN FARMER'S DIFFICULTIES.

Mr. G. A. Palmer, of Wykin, appealed fo his son (aged 18 years), a poultry farm a sistant. He explained that he was workin 190 acres of land, in addition to a large pur bred poultry business. On the outbreak c war his two eldest sons joined up and went out to fight. One had died and the other was now serving in France. The whole farm was being worked by four people, including himself, and if another one was taken away he should be obliged to have a sale.

The Advisory Committee recommended that the man should not be called up until a substitute was found.

Mr. Palmer added that since the appeal was put in his carter had given him notice to leave. That left him with a man 60 years of age, his son, and himself, for the whole farm. He had now agreed to sacrifice his poultry business simply because he had not the labour with which to carry it on, and if another man was taken he should go straight to the auctioneer's and arrange a sale. It would not effect him very much financially, but it would affect the country as regarded food production. They were a great deal nearer famine in this country than defeat. He was at present in correspondence with Lord Davenport on the subject of food production. If any member of the Tribunal cared to walk over to his farm next summer he would show them a crop of wheat (the fifth in succession) that would be the best in Leicestershire.

Captain Bedingfield sugested that the man should not be called upon until an efficient substitute was found.

Mr. Palmer replied that it was all expert work which could not be readily performed by others.

Captain Bedingfield asked if women could not attend to the poultry work.

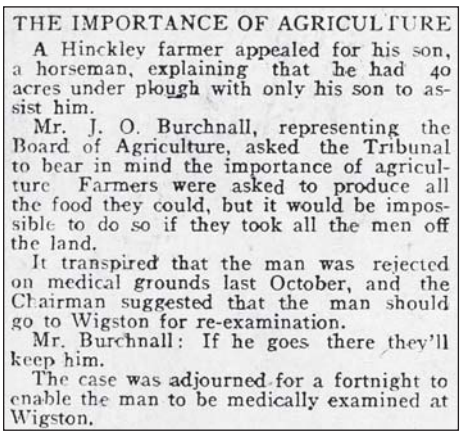
Mr. Palmer replied that to set a woman to feed his chicks would mean a loss to him of £2 a week. However, he had decided to give up the poultry business.

The Chairman: That rather weakens your case.

The Tribunal granted exemption until the youth is 19 years of age, and expressed the hope that Mr. Palmer would keep his poultry business going.

Mr. Palmer replied that he would keep the necleus of it, so that he could extend it after the war.

The Hinckley Urban Tribunal dealt with a great many cases of workers seeking exemption from military service, including those who considered their jobs were vital to the food industry. Here, a Wykin poultry farmer explains the difficulties of finding 'an efficient substitute' for his son to the Tribunal in February 1915. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark DE1961/50, p.159.)



THE IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE

A Hinckley farmer appealed for his son, a horseman, explaining that he had 40 acres under plough with only his son to assist him.

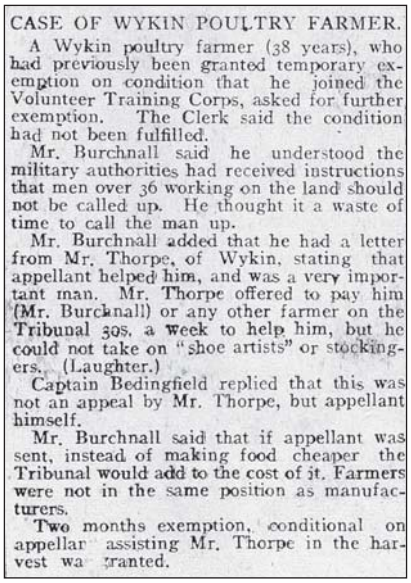
Mr. J. O. Burchnall, representing the Board of Agriculture, asked the Tribunal to bear in mind the importance of agriculture. Farmers were asked to produce all the food they could, but it would be impossible to do so if they took all the men off the land.

It transpired that the man was rejected on medical grounds last October, and the Chairman suggested that the man should go to Wigston for re-examination.

Mr. Burchnall: If he goes there they'll keep him.

The case was adjourned for a fortnight to enable the man to be medically examined at Wigston.

An appeal by another Hinckley farmer for his son to be exempted from call-up on the grounds of the Importance of his contribution to agriculture, May 1916. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark DE1961/50, p.80.)



CASE OF WYKIN POULTRY FARMER.

A Wykin poultry farmer (38 years), who had previously been granted temporary exemption on condition that he joined the Volunteer Training Corps, asked for further exemption. The Clerk said the condition had not been fulfilled.

Mr. Burchnall said he understood the military authorities had received instructions that men over 36 working on the land should not be called up. He thought it a waste of time to call the man up.

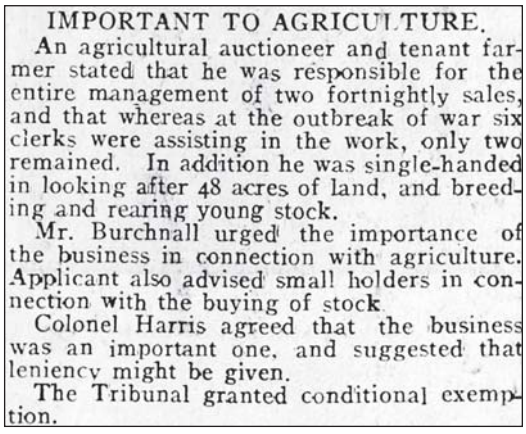
Mr. Burchnall added that he had a letter from Mr. Thorpe, of Wykin, stating that appellant helped him, and was a very important man. Mr. Thorpe offered to pay him (Mr. Burchnall) or any other farmer on the Tribunal 30s. a week to help him, but he could not take on "shoe artists" or stockingers. (Laughter.)

Captain Bedingfield replied that this was not an appeal by Mr. Thorpe, but appellant himself.

Mr. Burchnall said that if appellant was sent, instead of making food cheaper the Tribunal would add to the cost of it. Farmers were not in the same position as manufacturers.

Two months exemption, conditional on appellar assisting Mr. Thorpe in the harvest wa granted.

Claims were made to the Tribunal that the cost of food would be more expensive if exemptions were not accepted, August 1916. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark DE1961/50, p.122.)



IMPORTANT TO AGRICULTURE.

An agricultural auctioneer and tenant farmer stated that he was responsible for the entire management of two fortnightly sales, and that whereas at the outbreak of war six clerks were assisting in the work, only two remained. In addition he was single-handed in looking after 48 acres of land, and breeding and rearing young stock.

Mr. Burchnall urged the importance of the business in connection with agriculture. Applicant also advised small holders in connection with the buying of stock.

Colonel Harris agreed that the business was an important one, and suggested that leniency might be given.

The Tribunal granted conditional exemption.

A further appeal on the grounds of the importance of agriculture, September 1916. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark DE1961/50, p.127.)

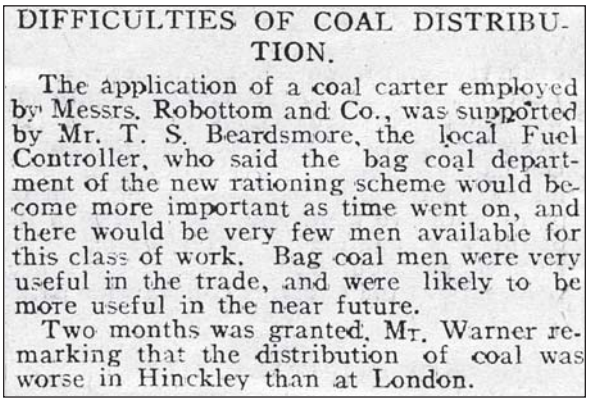
Hinckley's prosperity was further enhanced during the war by many jobs in the hosiery, footwear, and coalmining industries being declared reserved occupations. This saw the disposable incomes of many male and female workers not engaged in military service enjoying well-paid work, supplemented with substantial overtime earnings throughout the duration of the war. Nationally, in a rather belated attempt to deal with the wartime food crisis, a system of food rationing was eventually implemented. The introduction of rationing was, in the first instance, not nationwide nor imposed on a definite date, being instead phased over a period of four months. Sugar was rationed in January 1918 and by the end of April butter, cheese and margarine were also on ration. Meat was first rationed on 25th February in London and the Home Counties, and was extended to the whole of Britain on 7th April.

Similar shortages were evident in the case of coal which was vital to the national economy during the early twentieth century. It was the prime energy generator used to produce town gas, coke and electricity. Fuel shortages were to become one of the key problems of the war, leading to the rationing of coal, gas and electricity, whilst Government Coal Orders were used during the war to introduce the principles of balancing production, supply and demand. Coal rationing was introduced in October 1916 and gas and electricity rationing by the end of 1917.

Up to 1916, coal production, like the food supply chain, operated under the *laissez-faire* system but with increasing supply problems. Although coal mining was an indigenous industry, during the pre-war years it had been beset by industrial unrest centred on demands for a living wage and a national wage structure. By 1915 these problems had been resolved by seven out of the eight mining areas negotiating new wage agreements, and the question of a national rate was set aside until the conclusion of the war. But the coal industry had been burdened with a more immediate problem with the outbreak of the war, that of manpower. Following the declaration of war, the call to arms saw twenty per cent of the total mining workforce enlist, throwing a huge burden onto the remaining miners.

In Hinckley fuel supply administration was placed in the hands of a Local Fuel Overseer, Thomas Beardsmore (1), a serving town councillor who performed the work on a voluntary basis (2), and thus assumed responsibility for the rationing of coal, coke, gas and electricity to the households within the local council's jurisdiction. This form of rationing was not a straightforward distribution system based on a *per household* or *per capita* function. The formula included the size of the building, the number of rooms and the number of occupants contained therein. There was also a 'special needs' provision, for example, an occupant in ill health who

required extra warmth. Beardsmore made the significant point that there was always a shortage of coal in the Hinckley District with on occasions not enough to meet the various demands. (3) It is evident that his efforts made a significant contribution to alleviating some of the fuel shortages which characterised other regions.



DIFFICULTIES OF COAL DISTRIBUTION.

The application of a coal carter employed by Messrs. Robottom and Co., was supported by Mr. T. S. Beardsmore, the local Fuel Controller, who said the bag coal department of the new rationing scheme would become more important as time went on, and there would be very few men available for this class of work. Bag coal men were very useful in the trade, and were likely to be more useful in the near future.

Two months was granted. Mr. Warner remarking that the distribution of coal was worse in Hinckley than at London.

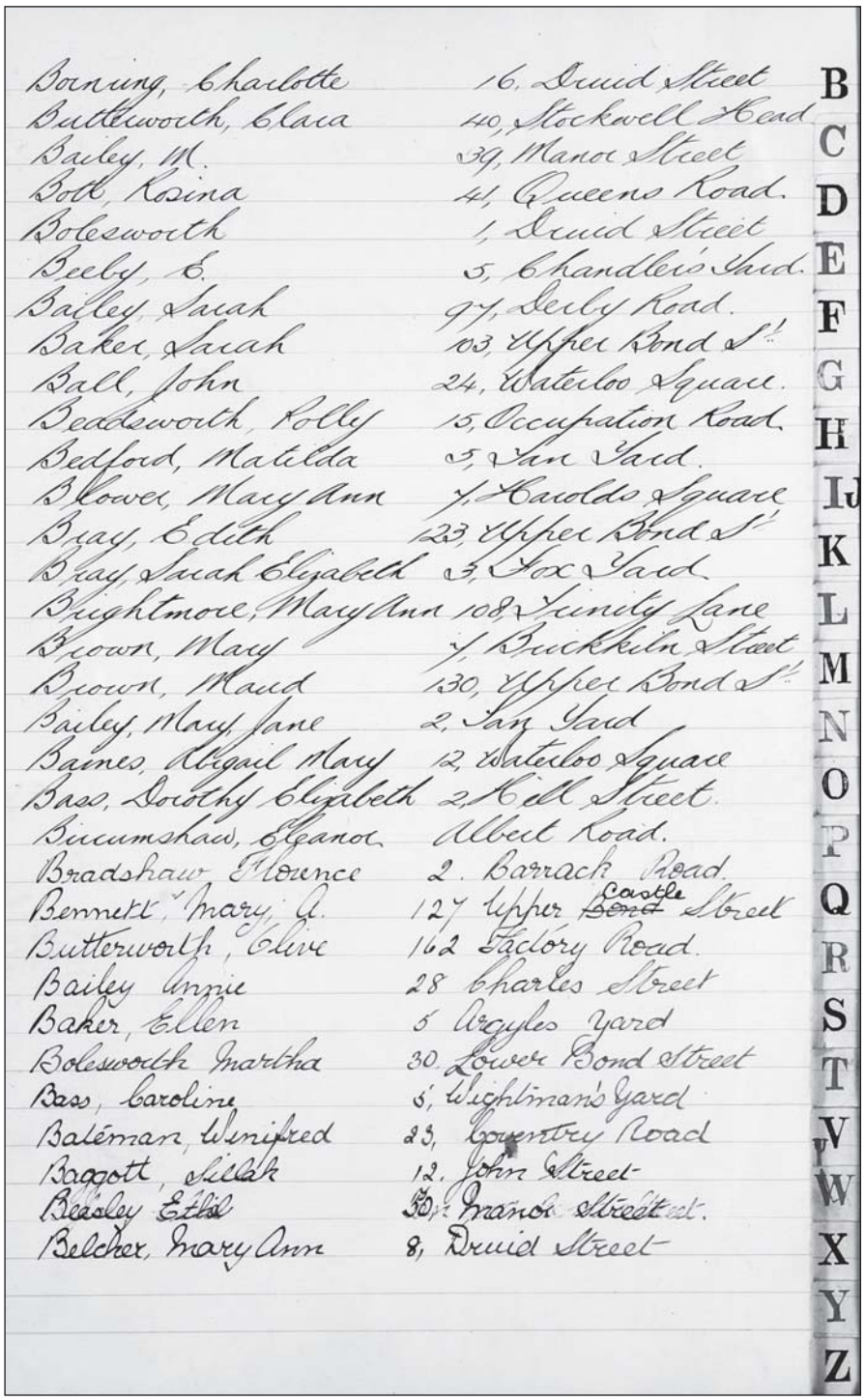
At this meeting of the Hinckley Urban Tribunal, it was considered that it was harder to distribute coal in Hinckley than in London. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark DE1961/51, p.39.)

In Hinckley, during the later years of the war, those households who could afford the surplus food on offer decreased as military conscription and bereavement increased. Demography also played a large part in the local food supply. The town cattle market was still very active with a good supply of livestock for sale, whilst urban areas more removed from farming areas were finding it difficult to obtain supplies. Bilton, writing from a national perspective, argues that luxurious foods seemed to be available for those still able to afford them. He states that in late 1916, 'there were still large joints of meat available, along with geese and turkeys at Christmas'. (4) Butter was in short supply, but was adequately replaced by the increased availability, in quantity if not quality, of margarine. The supply of meat was substantially reduced but was offset by the greater supply of bacon. Wilson comments that by late 1917 'commodities were available but not in sufficient quantities to meet normal demand'. (5) The evidence of the fortnightly cattle auctions and, to a more limited extent, the Red Cross auctions and reserved occupation status, demonstrate that this was less evident in Hinckley.

As the war progressed, and food rationing drew ever closer, a number of people in employment in Hinckley secured significant wage increases, but that still left a proportion of the local population requiring some form of charitable assistance. The plight of those requiring assistance were mainly women in financial difficulties, including those whose husbands or sons were in the military forces or prisoners-of-war, war widows, child-minders, the infirm and the elderly and those awaiting the payment of state pensions. The HDRC was still very active in charitable activities and none was more evident than the financial support it gave to the town's underprivileged and needy. This assistance given was determined by women of the HDRC Visiting Committee, and crucially was paid from the outbreak of the war in August 1914, and thereafter extended throughout the conflict. Arthur S. Atkins (1875-1974), a member of Hinckley's largest hosiery family, compiled a register of women needing support. This contains details of 316 females with their addresses. (6) War widows were not the only women on Atkins' list. The men killed were not necessarily husbands but could, for example, have been sons supporting previously widowed mothers. The details contained in the list only describe the subsidies given for groceries and fuel bills, with no account of other payments such as war pensions granted by either the state or the HDRC. The official census of 1901 denoted the number of females residing in Hinckley as 5,049 (7), thus indicating that approximately six per cent of townswomen were receiving some form of charitable relief during the war.

These surviving reports filed by members of the Visiting Committee contain information of a woman's employment details, family members including children and the regiment in which the man, or men, of the house were serving. (8) For example, Miss Hinks visited her case number 90, and the claimant was adjudged to be a, 'very deserving case', and accordingly was awarded 5s. 6d per week for groceries. (9) Mrs Herbert, case number 42, was reported as having a son who had been adopted in 1902 and was presently serving with the 5th Battalion D Company, the Leicestershire Regiment. The son had supported the home as the father was unable to work and the mother nursed her baby who was often ill. The mother also suffers from 'a very bad leg'. The family did not pay a rent but paid an unspecified mortgage. The decision taken by the HDRC was that she was a genuine case for financial assistance and she was awarded an initial payment of two shillings per week for groceries for two weeks followed by five shillings per week for the next eight weeks. (10) This particular register only gives up to the first ten weeks of payment but it does demonstrate a pattern of careful investigation and implementation. There are no surviving recorded instances of the rejection of a claimant, or of an appeal against such a rejection. The support that Hinckley's less well-off thus received from the more fortunate townspeople would have been of immense benefit during the war.

Records also reveal that bulk coal supplies entering the town, particularly by train, were immediately placed under the direction of the Local Fuel Overseer, Thomas Beardsmore. (11) Later, in his written evidence of Hinckley's wartime experiences, Beardsmore explained that due to his controllership being an honorary post he was able to retain his seat on the Urban District Council. (12) The



Borning, Charlotte	16, Druid Street	B
Butterworth, Clara	40, Stockwell Head	C
Bailey, M.	39, Manor Street	D
Bott, Rosina	41, Queens Road.	E
Boleswoorth	1, Druid Street	F
Beeby, E.	5, Chandlers Yard.	G
Bailey, Sarah	97, Derby Road.	H
Baker, Sarah	103, Upper Bond St.	I
Ball, John	24, Waterloo Square.	J
Beadsworth, Polly	15, Occupation Road.	K
Bedford, Matilda	5, Fan Yard.	L
Blower, Mary Ann	7, Harolds Square	M
Bray, Edith	123, Upper Bond St.	N
Bray, Sarah Elizabeth	3, Fox Yard	O
Brightmore, Mary Ann	108, Trinity Lane	P
Brown, Mary	7, Buckskin Street	Q
Brown, Maud	130, Upper Bond St.	R
Bailey, Mary Jane	2, Fan Yard	S
Baines, Abigail Mary	12, Waterloo Square	T
Bass, Dorothy Elizabeth	2, Hill Street.	V
Bucumshaw, Eleanor	Albert Road.	W
Bradshaw, Florence	2. Barrack Road.	X
Bennett, Mary A.	127 Upper ~~Bond~~ Castle Street	Y
Butterworth, Clive	162 Factory Road.	Z
Bailey Annie	28 Charles Street	
Baker, Ellen	5 Argyles Yard	
Boleswoorth Martha	30, Lower Bond Street	
Bass, Caroline	6, Wightman's Yard	
Baleman, Winifred	23, Coventry Road	
Baggott, Silas	12, John Street	
Beasley Ethel	30, Manor Street	
Belcher, Mary Ann	8, Druid Street	

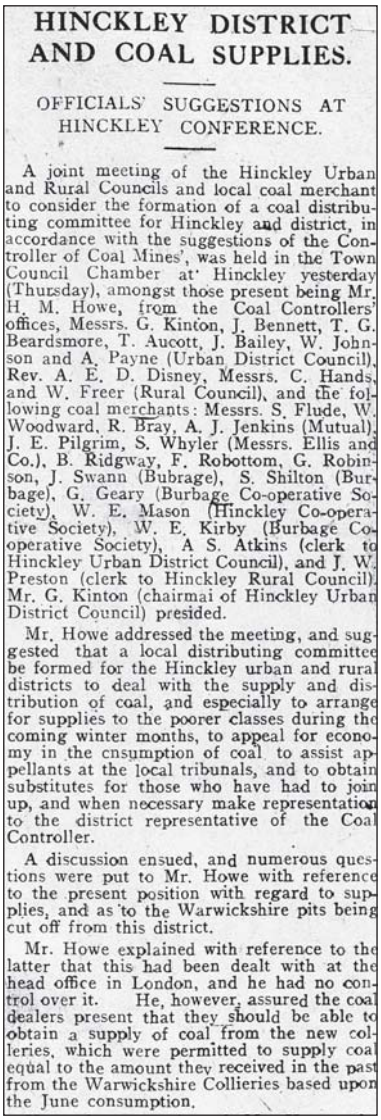
Entries from the Register of Relief Cases *which listed residents of the Hinckley area who were in need of support. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark DE1961/8, p.8.)*

overriding consideration of successive coal orders and the Household Fuel and Lighting order of 1918, was to reduce home consumption, thus allowing the export of coal to the country's allies, especially the French who had lost vital coalfields to the invading German Army. Additionally, the French railway system placed a heavy burden on the British fuel distribution network during the later years of the war. A further obligation on the British coal industry was the requirement to supply the entire Italian rail network with the fuel needed to sustain its motive power requirements. (13)

An indication of the difficulties Hinckley had experienced in obtaining regular deliveries of coal in 1915 was the decision to allow the town fuel manager to purchase and control additional supplies. (14) This was a sound commercial application in that it dispensed with the need for formal meetings which otherwise could have involved a lengthy process giving time for the fuel to have been sold elsewhere.

Traditionally, Hinckley had purchased a proportion of its coal directly from the Nuneaton coal pits thus fulfilling the requirement of short and inexpensive journeys. But, under the Coal Orders, the national planners divided Britain into twenty areas with the aim of ensuring that each region was self-sufficient in coal. They decreed that as the Nuneaton pits were deemed to be in another region, their coal must be delivered to London and southern consumers, leaving Hinckley to obtain coal from further afield. The immediate effect of this was increase the railway journey times that, in turn, led to a substantial increase in delivered prices. (15) No mention is made in the report why this apparent division was made by the London-based authority. However, to a local commentator there is an obvious answer and it involved the Watling Street. This old Roman road traces a straight line between Hinckley and the neighbouring mining town of Nuneaton, some five miles distant. The road, by forming a demarcation between the West Midlands containing Nuneaton and Warwickshire and the East Midlands containing Hinckley and Leicestershire, placed both towns in different geographical areas of the country. Marwick contends that the Coal Orders and their amendments were designed to allow communities to purchase locally mined coal and so prevent undue strains being placed on the railway system. (16) If that was the case then Hinckley could have considered itself a victim of long-distance administrative errors. The report makes it clear that the new regulations were a serious inconvenience to Hinckley and exacerbated an already difficult situation regarding shortages. The response by the town council was

for Beardsmore to make successive representations to the Leicester Divisional Office and the Board of Trade. The representations bore fruit in that an extra supply of coal, termed 'Emergency Coal', was made available to the local coal merchants in addition to their normal ration. Beardsmore agreed the distribution levels to the merchants' customers and the coal was then delivered, with any shortfalls made up from the emergency coal supplies. (17)



HINCKLEY DISTRICT AND COAL SUPPLIES.

OFFICIALS' SUGGESTIONS AT HINCKLEY CONFERENCE.

A joint meeting of the Hinckley Urban and Rural Councils and local coal merchant to consider the formation of a coal distributing committee for Hinckley and district, in accordance with the suggestions of the Controller of Coal Mines', was held in the Town Council Chamber at' Hinckley yesterday (Thursday), amongst those present being Mr. H. M. Howe, from the Coal Controllers' offices, Messrs. G. Kinton, J. Bennett, T. G. Beardsmore, T. Aucott, J. Bailey, W. Johnson and A. Payne (Urban District Council), Rev. A. E. D. Disney, Messrs. C. Hands, and W. Freer (Rural Council), and the following coal merchants: Messrs. S. Flude, W. Woodward, R. Bray, A. J. Jenkins (Mutual), J. E. Pilgrim, S. Whyler (Messrs. Ellis and Co.), B. Ridgway, F. Robottom, G. Robinson, J. Swann (Bubrage), S. Shilton (Burbage), G. Geary (Burbage Co-operative Society), W. E. Mason (Hinckley Co-operative Society), W. E. Kirby (Burbage Co-operative Society), A S. Atkins (clerk to Hinckley Urban District Council), and J. W. Preston (clerk to Hinckley Rural Council). Mr. G. Kinton (chairmai of Hinckley Urban District Council) presided.

Mr. Howe addressed the meeting, and suggested that a local distributing committee be formed for the Hinckley urban and rural districts to deal with the supply and distribution of coal, and especially to arrange for supplies to the poorer classes during the coming winter months, to appeal for economy in the cnsumption of coal to assist appellants at the local tribunals, and to obtain substitutes for those who have had to join up, and when necessary make representation to the district representative of the Coal Controller.

A discussion ensued, and numerous questions were put to Mr. Howe with reference to the present position with regard to supplies, and as to the Warwickshire pits being cut off from this district.

Mr. Howe explained with reference to the latter that this had been dealt with at the head office in London, and he had no control over it. He, however, assured the coal dealers present that they should be able to obtain a supply of coal from the new collieries, which were permitted to supply coal equal to the amount they received in the past from the Warwickshire Collieries based upon the June consumption.

The formation of a local coal distributing committee for the Hinckley urban and rural districts to deal with the supply and distribution of coal especially to the poorer classes during the winter months, to appeal for economy in the consumption of coal, and to obtain substitutes for those who had had to join up, September 1917. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark DE1961/50, p.189.)

Appearing before the Sankey Coal Commission in 1919, A. Lowes Dickinson, the Financial Advisor to the Coal Controller, gave evidence that the level of profit in 1916 was three times that of the preceding five years. (18) In Hinckley coal profiteering was not considered problematical, due to the stringent regime practiced by the Local Fuel Overseer. Beardsmore scrutinised the Emergency Coal purchases and authorised all payments for the extra fuel. For their part, the local Coal Merchants Association, under the chairmanship of W. Bailey Ridgeway, collected the money from the sale of the Emergency Coal and presented the cash to the Local Fuel Overseer, who paid the supplying collieries without delay. The result of this prompt payment system was that Beardsmore was able to obtain extra supplies of coal on an *ad hoc* basis. (19) Tribute is paid, in both the report and the Council minutes, to the public-spiritedness and integrity of the local coal merchants who delivered the available coal on a fair and equitable basis to their customers without seeking an unfair financial reward from the fuel shortage. Elsewhere unrest was caused by the haphazard delivery and distribution of coal: April 1917 saw chaotic scenes in Edmonton, London, which was the delivery point for some of the Nuneaton coal, with crowds gathering to obtain whatever was available from the 131 vehicles delivering to the depot.

Very little, if any, coal came into the Hinckley environs without Beardsmore being rapidly informed, and being 'commandeered by the Local Fuel Overseer for the public use'. (20) It was more carefully controlled than in other parts of the country as the scenes in Edmonton, London demonstrate. Hinckley, however, whilst not suffering from these problems, was still to experience coal shortages even after the signing of the Armistice, and Beardsmore found himself yet again attempting to obtain increased supplies for the town, only for his efforts to be met with failure. In desperation he tendered his resignation, both to the Hinckley Urban District Council and the Board of Trade. This action had an almost immediate effect in that supplies of coal to the town showed a marked increase.

On the 10th January 1919 a dinner was given by the Hinckley and District Prisoner of War Committee, of the Hinckley & District Relief Committee which was to continue until 1926 to welcome home the repatriated men of Hinckley, Burbage and Stoke Golding. In the immediate aftermath of the war the meats ranged from roast turkey to venison with a full range of vegetables; from plum pudding to mince pies; from stilton and cheddar cheeses; and from beer and lemonade to port. (21) In April 1919 the *Hinckley Times* carried instructions for those wishing to apply to the Hinckley Food Office for sugar for jam making, and the restrictions appertaining to the same. For example, the recipient had to pledge that the sugar would only be used for the preservation of fruit and would not be sold on to a third party. Although this was the heading of the piece, the first paragraph explained that the National Food Controller had relaxed the issuing of a fresh bread Order to allow bakers to take their normal Easter holiday between 17th and 22nd April 1919. (22) It then gave a listing of the controlled prices for various foodstuffs. These were for imported onions, canned salmon, bacon, hams and milk products. With due

regard to the Easter festival, the Food Controller was de-restricting sweetmeats, to allow for the manufacture of seasonal delicacies such as chocolate Easter eggs, and hot cross buns. However, whilst the Food Controller did not regard the latter as coming under the Bread Order of 1918, the instruction made it clear that they must be sold in quantities of less than a dozen at a time. (23) Food rationing did not cease in an arbitrary fashion and was actually imposed on milk after the Armistice. Meat, butter and sugar were de-rationed in October 1919 and all rationing did not cease until March 1921. (24)

Paradoxically, the end of the war did not see in an improvement in the coal supply to the civil population, due to the conscription of miners and the continuing need to supply Britain's allies. This on-going situation saw the honorary post of Hinckley Local Fuel Overseer which had been declared vacant on 29th September 1919, taken up by Miss U. H. Shepherd who had worked with Beardsmore from the beginning of the local Coal Orders. Shepherd continued as the Local Fuel Controller until the Cessation of the Coal Orders on 31st March 1921. (25)

One of the key lessons of the First World War was that the North Atlantic trade route constituted a vitally important life-line for Britain and any reduction in imports could have devastating consequences for the country's survival. This vulnerability was particularly evident in terms of imported foodstuffs which accounted for 80 per cent of wheat and 40 per cent of meat.

In conclusion, the impact of food and coal rationing in Hinckley during World War I was lessened by a combination of circumstances. Hinckley's geographical position placed it at the centre of a transport network. From the outset, the town's leading and influential citizens maintained a firm hold on the allocation of food. Meanwhile, the town's hosiery and footwear industries rapidly became essential to the national effort to equip the burgeoning armed forces, and, crucially, many jobs, including female labour, became reserved occupations, meaning that the wealth this created, remained primarily in the town. This advantageous position did not mean that that the town as a whole lacked compassion. Those that were in more unfortunate financial positions were shielded from rationing shortages by the activities of the District Relief Committee. It is evident that Hinckley was able to escape the worst excesses experienced by larger conurbations and cities due to a combination of circumstances; not least the early and strong guidance given by the town's leading citizens.

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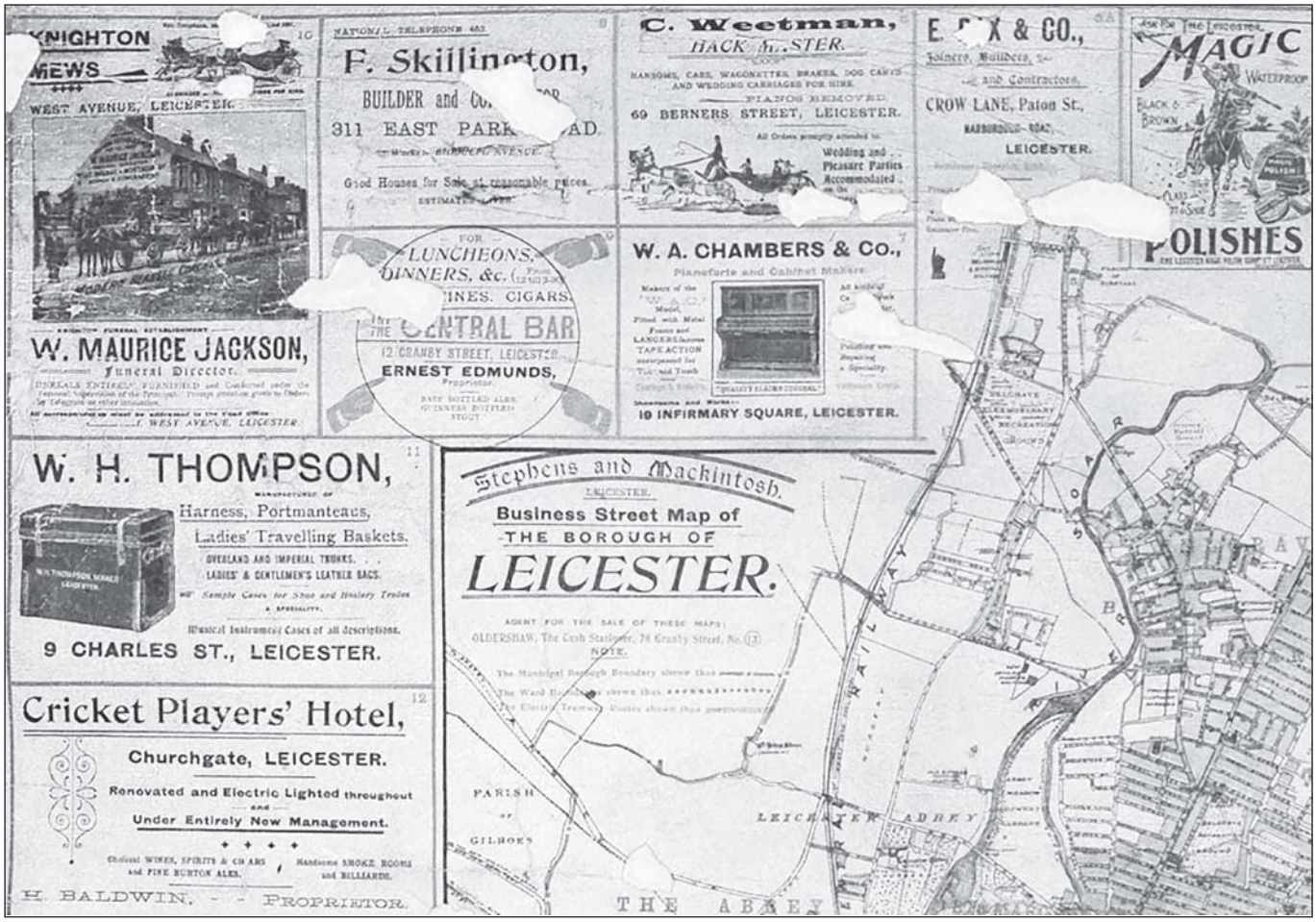
The Leicestershire Business Maps of Stephens & Mackintosh

Derek Deadman

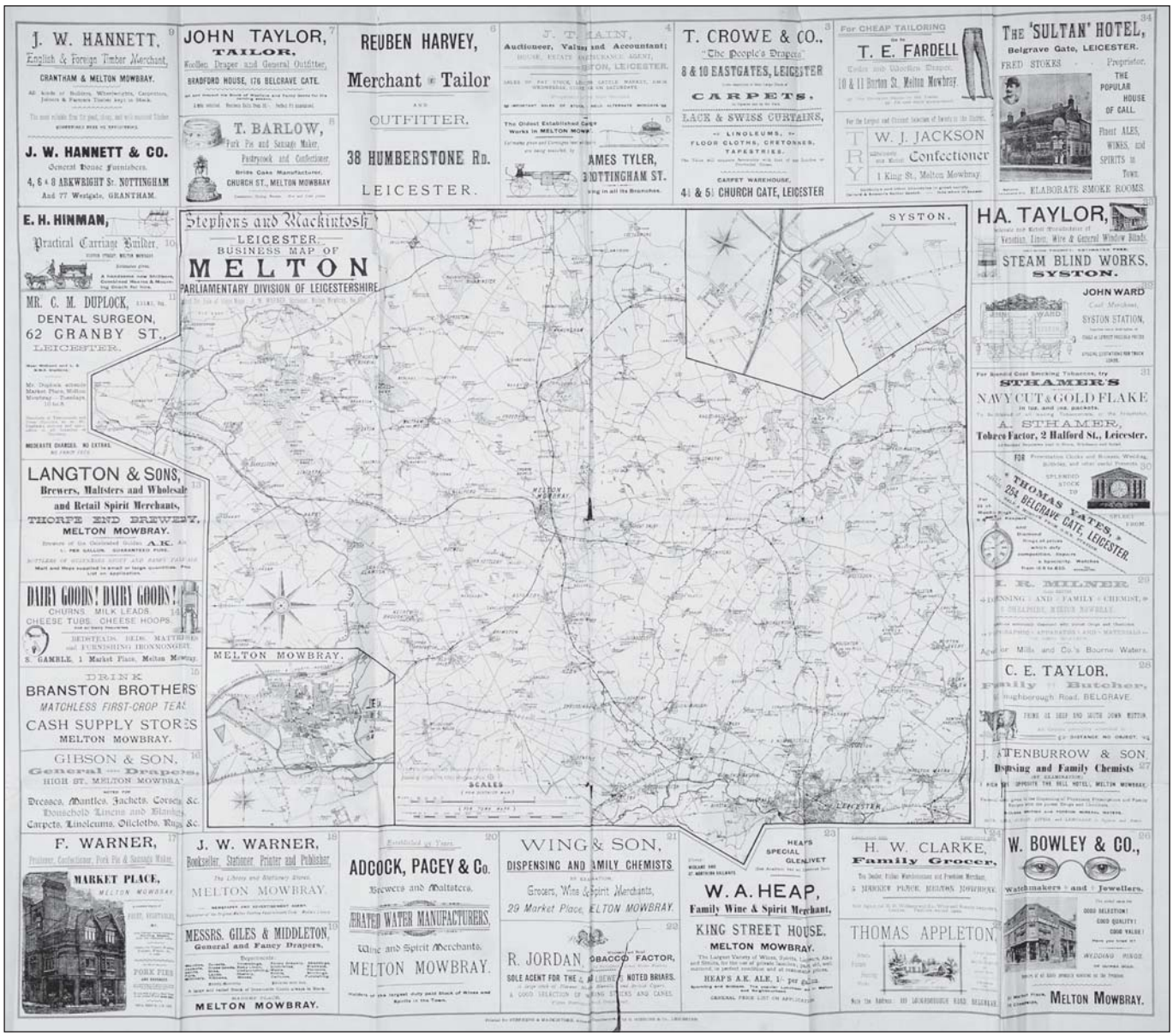
Leicester has a long and proud history of publishing, including the production of maps. The extensive map publications of Leicester and Leicestershire by the firm of J. & T. Spencer, for example, from the late 1850s to the early 1900s have been examined in Deadman and Brooks. (1) Much less well known are the *Business Maps* produced in Leicester in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century by the firm of Stephens & Mackintosh. These were anything but just of local interest however, with known examples of district and town maps published by the firm extending from Inverness to Penzance. A brief history of this firm and their unusual maps is covered here, along with specific attention paid to the three examples of Stephens & Mackintosh maps of Leicester and Melton held in the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland (ROLLR). (2)

Several years before Stephens & Mackintosh started publishing together, a map entitled *Map of Leicester. 1877* had already been produced by E. F. and R. J. Stephens. (3) Kain and Oliver refer to this map as the earliest example known of a map aimed at leading users to advertisers. (4) To this end, advertisers' premises were numbered both on the map and on the corresponding advertisements that surrounded the map. This was a defining feature of the later Stephens & Mackintosh maps. Full details of the Leicester map, including an illustration, are provided by Kain and Oliver. (5)

Edward Felix and Richard Joseph Stephens described themselves in 1881 as civil engineers and surveyors, and in 1882 as architects and surveyors, in both years operating from 34 Belvoir Street. Edward Felix Stephens was Board



Upper section of The Business Street Map of the Borough of Leicester *of c1904, Stephens & Mackintosh. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark DE3086.)*



Stephens & Mackintosh Leicester Business Map of Melton Parliamentary Division of Leicestershire with Syston inset*, 1893, also showing the location of the 1893 Polling Stations. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark Misc292.)*

Surveyor for Belgrave in Leicester and lived on the Melton Road. Richard Joseph Stephens lived on West Leigh Road. By 1888, only Richard Joseph Stephens of 34 Belvoir Street with a home address in Quorn has a Directory entry.

The first entries found for Charles Mackintosh in Leicester Directories have him living and working from 25 St. Albans Road, Leicester in 1891 and 1892. He is described then as an advertising contractor. ROLLR holds the signed agreement between Mackintosh and the Leicestershire County Cricket Club for the printing of Match Cards in 1892. (6) There are no entries at those dates of the firm of Stephens & Mackintosh, although Stephens is recorded as still living in Quorn in 1892. In 1894, however, there is a Directory entry for Richard Joseph Stephens of 34 Belvoir Street, Leicester (architect and surveyor) and, in the same entry, for the firm of Stephens & Mackintosh of 16 Princess Street (advertising contractors).

As both the Stephens & Mackintosh maps - *Business Map of Melton Parliamentary Division of Leicestershire* (7), and the *Business Map of the Loughborough Parliamentary Division of Leicestershire* (8) - show the locations of Polling Stations explicitly in 1893, it seems probable that this was the year in which the firm was established. Curiously, the Melton map has identifying numbers for the advertisers (some of whom are located off the map in Leicester) but not their positions on the map, rather negating the intended use of the map as an advertising vehicle.

Some published maps are known that give both the date of publication and the number of copies printed, for example,

Colchester 1899 – 1446 copies, and St Austell 1904 – 1790 copies. Often, however, the Stephens & Mackintosh Business Maps were undated, which means that some detective work must be applied either from information on the map, or from the advertisements. For example, an advertisement for the firm that appears on the *Business Map of the Eastern or Melton Parliamentary Division of Leicestershire* gives the address for the firm as 16 Princess Road rather than 16 Princess Street. (9) This alone identifies the map as a later production than the 1893 maps mentioned earlier. Both Princess Street and its continuation (including numbering) as Princess Road were separately listed in Directories and are shown as separate streets on maps before 1904. In 1904 and later, Directories and some maps show the two streets amalgamated into one, appearing as just Princess Road. On this basis, the map entitled *Business Street Map of the Borough of Leicester* (10), can also be identified as a relatively late production of c1904. The Melton map advertisement describes the firm as 'Publishers of Maps for Local Guides, Almanacks and Directories. Maps of Parliamentary Divisions showing Polling Stations etc. etc. Maps for Urban District Councils, Borough Surveyors, Engineers & etc.'

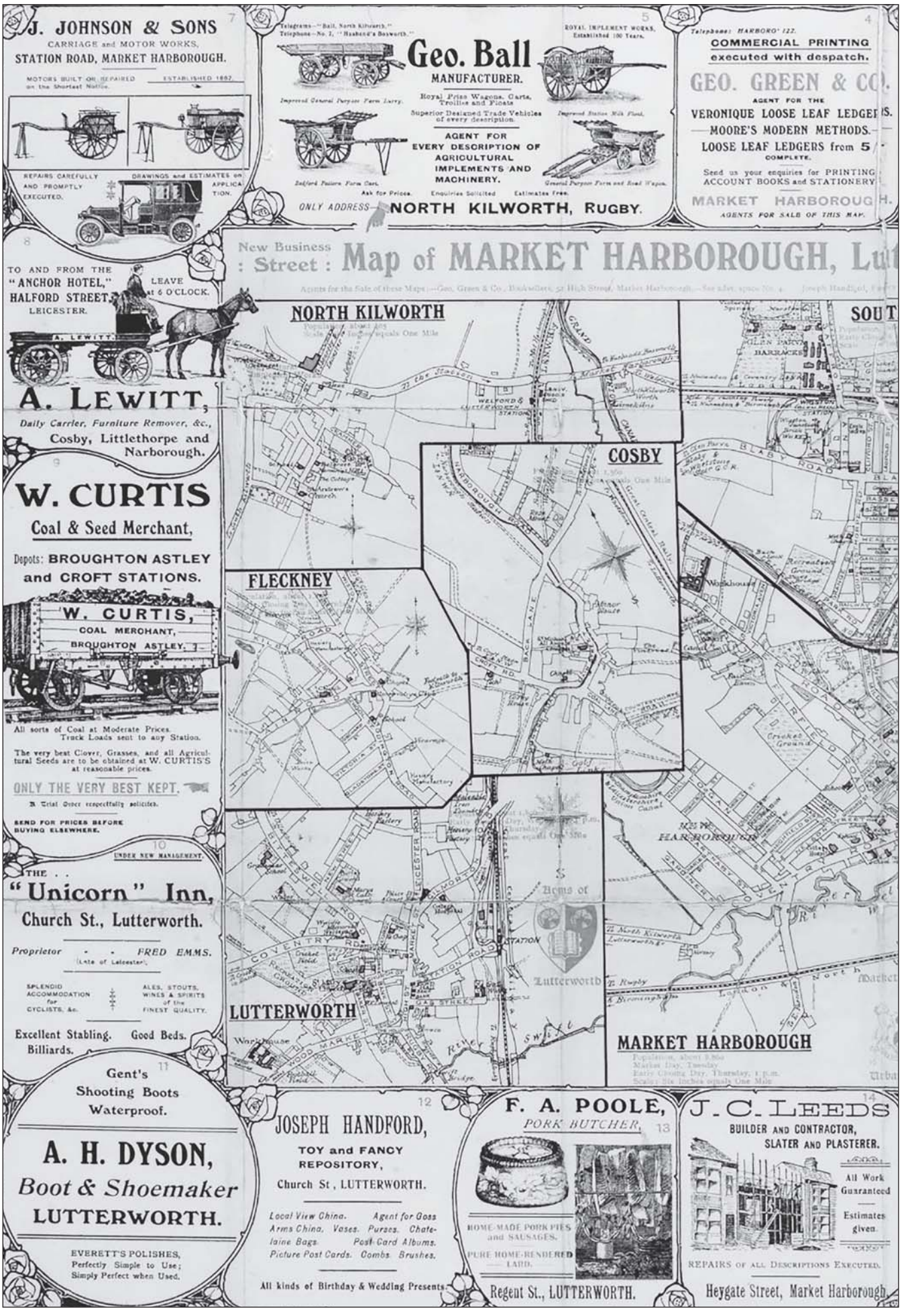
At present, no completely certain date can be established for the end of the firm of Stephens & Mackintosh. Wright's 1906 Directory gives the address of the firm as 20 Duke Street, Leicester. They were now described as Map Publishers with a telegraph address and a telephone number. They shared this address with a newly listed firm, The Leicester Printing and Publishing Co. Although Charles Mackintosh, now styling himself as Mackintosh & Co. Map publishers of Ingle Nook, Knighton Church Road, Leicester, is separately listed in the 1906 Directory, there is now no mention of R. J. Stephens outside that of the jointly named firm. The will of Charles Mackintosh is dated 4th March 1909 with probate granted on 15th April of the same year. A bequest to his two daughters of £1 a week each was to be paid from the profits of his share in the business of C. Mackintosh & Co. Advertising Contractors. This was for their support 'during the past four and a half years since closing my good business …'. The first witness to the will was R. J. Stephens. The will anticipates that members of the family would continue running C. Mackintosh & Co. in the future and that, presumably, it was Stephens & Mackintosh that was the 'good business' that had closed about September 1904, despite the entry in the 1906 Directory.

In 1908, the Duke Street address was occupied by The Leicester Printing and Publishing Co alone. A *New Business Street Map of Market Harborough, Lutterworth, Wigston, Cosby, Broughton Astley, Fleckney, North Kilworth and District* of c1910 published by the Leicester Printing and Publishing Company is held as a framed map at ROLLR. (11) This is a very similar map to those published by Stephens & Mackintosh, with a surround of numbered advertisements and plans of local areas (North Kilworth, Cosby, Fleckney, Lutterworth, Market Harborough, South Wigston, Wigston Magna and Broughton Astley), all at a scale of 6 inches to a mile. No numbers matching those on the advertisements appear on the face of the map, but in three cases, a small red finger on the advertisement points in the direction of the particular advertiser which is named on the map. Kain and Oliver describe a *New Business Map of Cardiganshire* of 1909, also published by The Leicester Printing and Publishing Co. (12), that seems very similar in presentation to the Market Harborough map at ROLLR, as is a *New Business Street Map of Tunbridge Wells* published in 1907 with a print run of 841 copies. The Leicester Printing and Publishing Co. operated from 49 King Street, Leicester in 1920, at that time sharing the address with the printing firm of George Gibbons & Co. This printing firm had produced street maps of Leicester from the early 1880s and their name appears as the printer on Stephens & Mackintosh maps. The Leicester Printing and Publishing Co. appear in a Leicester Directory for 1925 but have no entry in 1928.

In the 1908 Directory, Mackintosh continued to advertise himself as Mackintosh & Co. but there is no mention of R. J. Stephens at any address. As there are no references to the firm of Stephens & Mackintosh in Directories by this time, it seems that either there had been a simple amalgamation of the firm with The Leicester Printing and Publishing Co. that continued to publish Business maps from the Duke Street address, or, more likely, that Stephens had left the joint enterprise sometime around 1905. He probably left Leicestershire as well – in 1906, a 'fancy draper' occupied 34 Belvoir Street. This left Mackintosh to continue alone as a map publisher from a different address. No will has been traced for R. J. Stephens, though the death of a Richard J. Stephens (aged 55) of 28 St. Peter's Road was recorded in the period January to March 1911. This could (just) be the publisher of the *1877 Map of Leicester* (Stephens would only have been 21 in 1877) but there is no record in the Directories that has him living at the stated address and the matter remains conjectural.

Stephens & Mackintosh produced both district or area maps, as well as maps for particular towns. The general title of the district maps was *Stephens & Mackintosh. Leicester. Business Map of ....*'. Those for towns only were entitled

Page 29.
Part of a New Business Street Map of Market Harborough, Lutterworth, Wigston, Cosby, Broughton Astley, Fleckney, North Kilworth and District *of c1910, published by the Leicester Printing and Publishing Company, being a very similar map to those published by Stephens & Mackintosh. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark L912.)*


J. JOHNSON & SONS
CARRIAGE and MOTOR WORKS,
STATION ROAD, MARKET HARBOROUGH.
MOTORS BUILT OR REPAIRED on the Shortest Notice. ESTABLISHED 1862.
REPAIRS CAREFULLY AND PROMPTLY EXECUTED.
DRAWINGS and ESTIMATES on APPLICATION.
Geo. Ball
MANUFACTURER.
Royal Prize Wagons, Carts, Trollies and Floats
Superior Designed Trade Vehicles of every description.
AGENT FOR EVERY DESCRIPTION OF AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND MACHINERY.
Improved General Purpose Farm Lorry.
Bedford Pattern Farm Cart. Ask for Prices.
Improved Station Milk Float.
General Purpose Farm and Road Wagon.
Enquiries Solicited
Estimates Free.
ONLY ADDRESS— NORTH KILWORTH, RUGBY.
ROYAL IMPLEMENT WORKS, Established 100 Years.
COMMERCIAL PRINTING
executed with despatch.
GEO. GREEN & CO.
AGENT FOR THE
VERONIQUE LOOSE LEAF LEDGERS.
MOORE'S MODERN METHODS.
LOOSE LEAF LEDGERS from 5/- COMPLETE.
Send us your enquiries for PRINTING, ACCOUNT BOOKS and STATIONERY
MARKET HARBOROUGH.
AGENTS FOR SALE OF THIS MAP.
New Business Street : Map of MARKET HARBOROUGH, Lut
NORTH KILWORTH
COSBY
FLECKNEY
LUTTERWORTH
MARKET HARBOROUGH
TO AND FROM THE "ANCHOR HOTEL," HALFORD STREET, LEICESTER. LEAVE at 6 O'CLOCK.
A. LEWITT,
Daily Carrier, Furniture Remover, &c.,
Cosby, Littlethorpe and Narborough.
W. CURTIS
Coal & Seed Merchant,
Depots: BROUGHTON ASTLEY and CROFT STATIONS.
W. CURTIS, COAL MERCHANT, BROUGHTON ASTLEY.
All sorts of Coal at Moderate Prices. Truck Loads sent to any Station.
The very best Clover, Grasses, and all Agricultural Seeds are to be obtained at W. CURTIS'S at reasonable prices.
ONLY THE VERY BEST KEPT.
A Trial Order respectfully solicited.
SEND FOR PRICES BEFORE BUYING ELSEWHERE.
UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT.
THE . .
"Unicorn" Inn,
Church St., Lutterworth.
Proprietor - - FRED EMMS. (Late of Leicester).
SPLENDID ACCOMMODATION for CYCLISTS, &c.
ALES, STOUTS, WINES & SPIRITS of the FINEST QUALITY.
Excellent Stabling. Good Beds.
Billiards.
Gent's Shooting Boots Waterproof.
A. H. DYSON,
Boot & Shoemaker
LUTTERWORTH.
EVERETT'S POLISHES, Perfectly Simple to Use; Simply Perfect when Used.
JOSEPH HANDFORD,
TOY and FANCY REPOSITORY,
Church St, LUTTERWORTH.
Local View China. Agent for Goss Arms China. Vases. Purses. Chatelaine Bags. Post Card Albums. Picture Post Cards. Combs. Brushes.
All kinds of Birthday & Wedding Presents.
F. A. POOLE,
PORK BUTCHER,
HOME-MADE PORK PIES and SAUSAGES.
PURE HOME-RENDERED LARD.
Regent St., LUTTERWORTH.
J. C. LEEDS
BUILDER AND CONTRACTOR, SLATER AND PLASTERER.
All Work Guaranteed
Estimates given.
REPAIRS OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS EXECUTED.
Heygate Street, Market Harborough.

Business Street Maps. Apart from the titles, what defines the Stephens & Mackintosh maps as business maps are the advertisements from local traders that surround the maps. Wright's Directories of Leicester and Leicestershire dating from 1884 also had an *Environs of Leicester* map surrounded by advertisements of local retailers, but the advertisements were not numbered.

Often the *Business Maps* of districts that were centred on particular towns had inset plans of nearby localities, presumably to extend the range of advertisers that could be included, for example the *Business Map of Loughborough* 1893 has plans of Castle Donington, Shepshed and Kegworth; the map of Melton 1893 has plans of Syston and Melton Mowbray, and the map entitled Stamford 1898 that is actually a map of Rutland with parts of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, has maps of Oakham, Uppingham and Stamford.

An examination of the advertisements that surround the three ROLLR maps mentioned above strongly suggests that Stephens & Mackintosh targeted (or, at least, were more successful in getting advertisements from) the smaller wholesale and retail businesses in both Melton and Leicester. This also appears true for Stephens & Mackintosh maps examined for other towns.

As would be expected, the majority of advertisers were from the specific town concerned, though sometimes advertisers from outside the area covered by the map were also included. Banks, insurance companies, newspapers, the larger departmental stores and firms with a national rather than a local presence scarcely figure, at least compared to the advertisements of such firms that appear in the Kelly's and Wright's Directories of Leicester and Leicestershire at the time. Instead, it is small firms covering a wide range of activities – chemists, printers and stationers, tobacconists, plumbers, joiners, funeral directors, supply stores, wine and spirit merchants, furniture removers, tailors, bricklayers, dairy producers, timber merchants, grocers, picture framers, pork pie and sausage makers etc. – that dominate the advertisements. Some larger firms such as brewers, hotels and even a Turkish Bath do appear, but they are few and far between.

It is not known how Stephens & Mackintosh attracted their advertisers, nor how they marketed their maps once published. They certainly sold some of their maps to the public. A map of Greenwich had a cover price of sixpence, and the Leicester map (13) states 'Agent for the sale of these maps. Oldershaw. The Cash Stationer. 78 Granby Street'. They probably also distributed copies to their advertisers, but the precise details of the 'where and how' of their business methods remain a bit of a mystery.

The source of the district maps was probably the contemporary 1 inch and 6 inch maps of the Ordnance Survey, though with modifications, for example both the *Business Map of Melton Parliamentary Division of Leicestershire* 1893 and the *Business Map of the Eastern or Melton Parliamentary Division of Leicestershire* c1905 are orientated with East at the top of the map.

The maps were folded into a variety of covers with the back covers of the maps of Poole and of Gainsborough stating 'If you want a good Business Street Map of any Town apply Stephens & Mackintosh, 16 Princess Street, Leicester. Over 200 Maps to choose from.' The statement of the range and number of maps produced may well be accurate, as maps by Stephens & Mackintosh, apart from those mentioned above, are known including Ramsbottom (1897), High Peak (1898), Leek (1902), Mid Derbyshire (1902), Tottenham (1903) , West Ham (1903), Eastern or St. Augustines Parliamentary Division of Kent (1904), Inverness (date unknown) and Penzance (date unknown).

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Acknowledgements:

Thanks are given to Keith Ovenden (ROLLR), Tony Burgess and Sonia Deadman for their help, and to Colin Brooks for the photography. Acknowledgement is made for the use of The University of Leicester Special Collections Online (Historical Directories of England and Wales).

Hannah Holmes and Samuel Wells – Justice or Injustice?

Brian Cousins

This is an account of the unhappy events that occurred in 1860 in the Leicestershire village of Seagrave, and their aftermath. It concerns two people in particular: Samuel Wells, a farmer, aged 60, and Hannah Holmes, his domestic servant, aged 16. Seagrave was, and remains, a small village in the area of rolling hills known as the Leicestershire Wolds. It lies some six miles from the nearest market town of Loughborough. In 1860 its population was about 450, and it comprised some 100 dwellings.

Samuel Wells

It is clear from newspaper reports that Samuel Wells, whatever his virtues may have been, was a man of an irascible, mean and uncompromising nature.

As early as 1833, an employee had successfully brought a case against him for failure to pay his wages. A few years later Wells himself brought a successful charge against another villager for 'damage to a fence'. It was also reported that Wells had 'quarrelled with J. Hodgson Esq at Quorndon Hall' about incursions over his land by the Quorn Hunt. In 1838 he was charged at Quarter Sessions with assaulting two officers of the Court (bailiffs) who had come to enforce distress (to take possession of his goods) in discharge of a debt which he had been ordered to pay but was still resisting. He chased the bailiffs with a pitchfork 'in a violent passion' whereupon they surrendered; he then swore that he would have stabbed them if they had persisted. The jury found him guilty of the assault and the Chairman told him that he might have been charged with a more serious offence had he carried out his threat. He also appears to have been a leader in a movement within the parish at about the same time which was intent on opposing decisions being made by the rector. *The Leicester Chronicle* went as far as to say that 'a great deal of virulent personal abuse and ill-feeling have persisted ... in Seagrave ... for some months'.

In 1841 Wells was found guilty of another assault, and soon afterwards was ordered to pay a highway rate which he had resisted. In September 1849 he was being charged at Loughborough Petty Sessions with an assault on a neighbouring Seagrave farmer by laying hold of his coat and lifting his stick over the other's head. The *Leicestershire Mercury* reporter commented 'there appears to be a feud of longstanding between Mr Wells and several other farmers in Seagrave, and the result is a frequent attendance at the Loughborough Bench. This was just one of the cases arising out of previous ill feeling...'.

Of particular relevance, in the light of subsequent events, is the earlier charge brought by Wells in 1855 against a female domestic servant. She was alleged to have stolen a butter cloth and some other articles of linen or clothing from him. The parish constable testified that she had been discharged without any wages – which she was currently contesting in the County Court – and that he had 'found the [missing] articles in her box' at the farm. The defence solicitor referred to 'the irregular and suspicious manner' in which the case was 'got up', but she was nevertheless committed for trial at the Assizes, where she was however subsequently acquitted.

By 1860 Samuel had become 'a retired farmer and grazier', and had been a widower for seven years.

Hannah Holmes

Hannah Holmes' childhood was marked by poverty. Both of her parents had come from families engaged in framework knitting in Sileby. Her mother Anne had been just 18 and pregnant, when she married Frances Holmes of Cossington at Sileby in 1831.

The 1830s brought increasing insecurity for the framework knitters, with growing threats from the advent of steam power, fluctuating demand for their products, and the way in which the industry was organised. The petition to Parliament signed by 25,000 of them in 1843 led to the Muggeridge Commission of Inquiry whose report the following year gives harrowing details of their predicament. Evidence submitted showed that in 1844 Sileby (described in White's *Leicestershire Gazetteer* of 1846 as a 'manufacturing village') had 417 frames in active use, excluding those lying idle. Frames were leased to families whose members were generally living in squalid conditions, in poor health, and with inadequate furniture and clothing. The rector of Sileby, writing many years later, recorded the desperate conditions which still existed in his 'poor labouring village of the 1880s' with 'more than 500 frames ... the sound of their clattering ... to be heard in every part of the village'.

At some time in the late 1830s, the family moved from Sileby to the neighbouring village of Cossington. In sharp contrast to Sileby, Cossington had few frames in use, the

principal occupation being sheep farming. It is not known why they moved: evidence noted by Muggeridge suggests that there was little if any financial benefit to be gained from a switch to agricultural labouring work - if this is what they did.

Hannah, their sixth child, was born at Cossington in 1843, two of the earlier brothers having died in infancy. Hannah's birth was followed by a further four children up to the time when she was aged 9. Most likely, Hannah would have been kept busy helping her mother to maintain the home, look after her younger siblings, especially during her mother's recurrent periods of pregnancy and childbirth – and, if the family were still also engaged in framework knitting, probably assisting, as children did, in 'ekeing out a living' on the frame. By the autumn of 1859 the family comprised Hannah's parents, three younger sisters, and herself.

At the customary hiring time of Martinmas in November 1859, Hannah was hired as a domestic servant to Samuel Wells in his farmhouse in Seagrave village. In practice she was also servant to his son Thomas and his daughter-in-law, and their three children who also lived in the farmhouse, although 'keeping separate tables' from Samuel Wells. Meanwhile Samuel's other son Henry and his wife lived at another farm a mile or so away.

The Crime

Hannah and Samuel were not on good terms. He was said to be displeased with the quality of her work and the perceived excessive time that she took in running errands, allegedly through stopping to joke with men. As punishment he had several times refused to allow her to attend church. Thomas's wife later said that 'the girl Holmes had often been rebuked by her master', and that 'there was seldom a day without words between [Hannah and Samuel]'. Her sister, who was staying with them at the time, said that she had heard Hannah say that 'she hated Mr Wells and wished him dead'.

The full story of events that took place on 27th and 28th April 1860 is reported in harrowing detail in the newspapers. Hannah had been asked by Samuel on the morning of 27th April to collect some arsenic from his son Henry's farm, which Henry later said he understood was for use in poisoning some sparrows and rats. On the way back she was delayed apparently because of stopping to chat, 'whereby he [Samuel] had words with her which is by no means an unusual occurrence'.

The reports go on to say that during the evening, Hannah put poison into a gruel which Samuel had as usual told her to make for him. He ate only about half of it – enough however to cause him much pain, with vomiting during that night and into the following day. On the second evening, Hannah is reported as again having put arsenic into Samuel's gruel, noting that she tried unsuccessfully to deter Thomas's wife and one of their children from eating it and they too became ill, although recovered fairly soon afterwards. Samuel however, after a week's illness, died on 4th May aged 60, having made his will two days earlier. He was buried near the south porch of Seagrave church on 8th May.

Samuel Wells is commemorated by this large headstone, believed to have been erected by his sons, which can be found close to the south door of All Saints Church, Seagrave.

The following account of the inquest and criminal proceedings taken against Hannah Holmes is derived in the main from contemporary newspapers. These reports, which often ran to considerable length, appeared in newspapers throughout the country including Scotland and Ireland and perhaps most notably in The Times.

The Inquiry and Inquest

On 2nd May Hannah was remanded in custody by the magistrate at Loughborough charged with attempting to poison Samuel Wells, and kept in the 'House of Correction' there in the charge of a female warder. Three days later the Leicestershire coroner opened an inquest at the 'Swan with Two Necks' (now known as Abbotsbury Court) in Seagrave. The Chief Constable of the county was present; the inquest was adjourned pending medical reports. Meanwhile on 9th May the magistrate in Loughborough also further remanded Hannah in custody on a charge of 'having administered arsenic with intent to kill'.

The inquest was resumed on 15th May in the village school room (now a private residence), a large number of villagers being present. 'A great crowd' had witnessed Hannah's departure from the House of Correction in Loughborough. The coroner told Hannah that she was charged with causing the death of Samuel Wells. She said in response that she was

guilty of administering the poison but had not intended to kill her master. One reporter commented that the general impression from amongst them was that she was believed to have simply intended (in her own words) to 'give him a good working'.

Abbotsbury Court, Seagrave, formerly the Swan with Two Necks, where the inquest on Samuel Wells was opened.

Press reports describe Hannah as seeming older in appearance than her age of 'going on 17' – indeed some gave her age as 18 or even 20, describing her as 'stout', 'healthy', and 'of a sullen and stupid disposition'. Another reporter drew attention to her 'broad features', 'unprepossessing expression', and being 'of middle height'. Samuel Wells was found to be 'of an eccentric disposition and did not live on the most peaceable terms with the inhabitants of the village'.

While in the House of Correction in Loughborough, Hannah had written two letters before the death of Samuel Wells – one to her parents and one to Wells himself – in which she admitted the poisoning and hoped to be forgiven for it. Shortly afterwards when the Chairman of the Bench came to tell her of Samuel's death, she 'became very ill'. Her letters were intercepted and never delivered. Instead they found their way to the Police Superintendent and were later produced at the inquest and printed in full in the newspapers.

In these letters, written in the belief that Samuel was still living, Hannah said at several points that she had 'done it', and this was echoed both in her own evidence and in her reported statements to others.

At the conclusion of the detailed evidence, it was reported that the coroner told his jury that 'the poor woman who was charged with the offence had confessed her guilt, and would consequently remove any doubt from (their) consciences'. This direction, if accurately reported, overlooked the fact that Hannah's statement was not an admission of intent to kill; but an admission that the 'act' that she had 'done' was that of administering a poison, without an intent to kill.

Addressed to her parents

My dear Father and Mother

I now write these few lines to you, hopeing they will find you quite well, as it leaves me at this time. I hope you will excuse what I am goin to say, but it is no use to try to conceal it any longer. I have trewly repented it, and I shall plead for mercy; I did it, and shall never feel happy any more until the marster is better. I never once thought of sutch a thing until he sent me up to the lodge for the Arsenick, but I have trewly repented since I did it, but if you will go to him and ask him to forgive me and not press the case, never any more, as long as I live, will I do sutch a thing; so I trust he will be mercyfull to me, as I did it, and do repent, but there is unregarded moments for all; so no more from me at this time.

I remain, your affectionate daughter,
Hannah Holmes. ….Go to him, and then write me by return of post, and I shall get it before I am tryed.

(Transcribed from the National Archives.)

Addressed to Samuel Wells

Sir,

I now write these few lines to you, hopeing you are better; I must say I did it, and deserve to be punished for it, but I have truly repented doing it, and if you will pleas have mercy on me and not press the case, I shall take it as a sincere act of kindness - I will never act it any more as long as I live and I have bitterly repented of it, and I hope you will forgive me. I should be allowed to see you, if you please, before I go before the Bench.

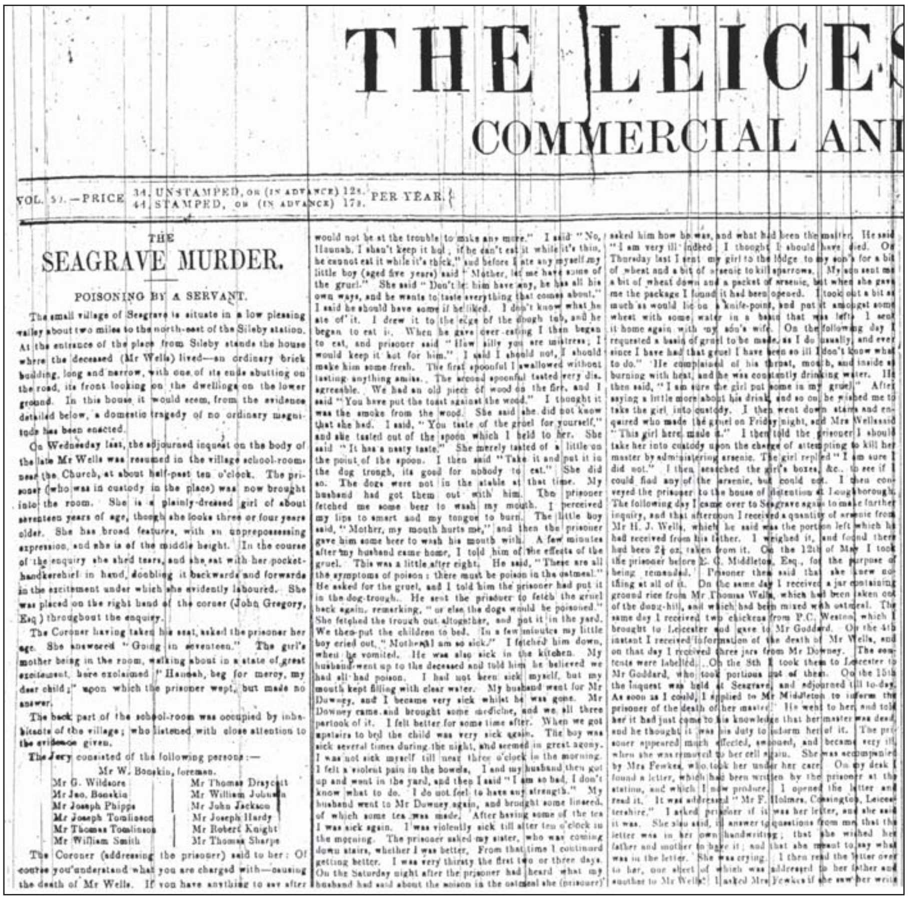
Hannah Holmes

(Transcribed from the National Archives.)

The coroner followed by reading to his jury from an unidentified text-book: '… it is not only such acts as obviously tend to cause death that constitute murder but also all such as may apparently endanger the life of another, and ultimately occasion the death, if wilfully and deliberately committed …'. He went on: 'It might be said that the girl's intentions were not to kill, but if she committed any dangerous or unlawful act, such as she had confessed, even if she did think that she could stop short at a certain point, if death occurred she was guilty of murder ...'. The coroner's jury of 12 men not unsurprisingly returned a verdict of 'wilful murder' and Hannah was committed on the coroner's warrant to appear at the next Assizes. Later that same day she was 'removed' to the Leicestershire County Gaol in Leicester.

The Trial

At the July Leicester Assizes, one of the witnesses was the guard who had had the task of 'keeping' Hannah in the



THE LEICES[TER] COMMERCIAL AN[D]

VOL. 51.—PRICE 3d. UNSTAMPED, OR (IN ADVANCE) 12s. / 4d. STAMPED, OR (IN ADVANCE) 17s. PER YEAR.

THE SEAGRAVE MURDER.

POISONING BY A SERVANT.

The small village of Seagrave is situate in a low pleasing valley about two miles to the north-east of the Sileby station. At the entrance of the place from Sileby stands the house where the deceased (Mr Wells) lived—an ordinary brick building, long and narrow, with one of its ends abutting on the road, its front looking on the dwellings on the lower ground. In this house it would seem, from the evidence detailed below, a domestic tragedy of no ordinary magnitude has been enacted.

On Wednesday last, the adjourned inquest on the body of the late Mr Wells was resumed in the village school-room near the Church, at about half-past ten o'clock. The prisoner (who was in custody in the place) was now brought into the room. She is a plainly-dressed girl of about seventeen years of age, though she looks three or four years older. She has broad features, with an unprepossessing expression, and she is of the middle height. In the course of the enquiry she shed tears, and she sat with her pocket-handkerchief in hand, doubling it backwards and forwards in the excitement under which she evidently laboured. She was placed on the right hand of the coroner (John Gregory, Esq.) throughout the enquiry.

The Coroner having taken his seat, asked the prisoner her age. She answered "Going in seventeen." The girl's mother being in the room, walking about in a state of great excitement, here exclaimed "Hannah, beg for mercy, my dear child;" upon which the prisoner wept, but made no answer.

The back part of the school-room was occupied by inhabitants of the village; who listened with close attention to the evidence given.

The Jury consisted of the following persons:—

Mr W. Boskin, foreman.

Mr G. Wildsore	Mr Thomas Draycott
Mr Jno. Boskin	Mr William Johnson
Mr Joseph Phipps	Mr John Jackson
Mr Joseph Tomlinson	Mr Joseph Hardy
Mr Thomas Tomlinson	Mr Robert Knight
Mr William Smith	Mr Thomas Sharpe

The Coroner (addressing the prisoner) said to her: Of course you understand what you are charged with—causing the death of Mr Wells. If you have anything to say after

would not be at the trouble to make any more." I said "No, Hannah, I shan't keep it hot; if he can't eat it while it's thin, he cannot eat it while it's thick," and before I ate any myself my little boy (aged five years) said "Mother, let me have some of the gruel." She said "Don't let him have any, he has all his own ways, and he wants to taste everything that comes about." I said he should have some if he liked. I don't know what he ate of it. I drew it to the edge of the dough tub, and he began to eat it. When he gave over eating I then began to eat, and prisoner said "How silly you are mistress; I would keep it hot for him." I said I should not, I should make him some fresh. The first spoonful I swallowed without tasting anything amiss. The second spoonful tasted very disagreeable. We had an old piece of wood on the fire, and I said "You have put the toast against the wood." I thought it was the smoke from the wood. She said she did not know that she had. I said, "You taste of the gruel for yourself," and she tasted out of the spoon which I held to her. She said "It has a nasty taste." She merely tasted of a little on the point of the spoon. I then said "Take it and put it in the dog trough, its good for nobody to eat." She did so. The dogs were not in the stable at that time. My husband had got them out with him. The prisoner fetched me some beer to wash my mouth. I perceived my lips to smart and my tongue to burn. The little boy said, "Mother, my mouth hurts me," and then the prisoner gave him some beer to wash his mouth with. A few minutes after my husband came home, I told him of the effects of the gruel. This was a little after eight. He said, "These are all the symptoms of poison: there must be poison in the oatmeal." He asked for the gruel, and I told him the prisoner had put it in the dog-trough. He sent the prisoner to fetch the gruel back again, remarking, "or else the dogs would be poisoned." She fetched the trough out altogether, and put it in the yard. We then put the children to bed. In a few minutes my little boy cried out, "Mother, I am so sick." I fetched him down, when he vomited. He was also sick in the kitchen. My husband went up to the deceased and told him he believed we had all had poison. I had not been sick myself, but my mouth kept filling with clear water. My husband went for Mr Downey, and I became very sick whilst he was gone. Mr Downey came and brought some medicine, and we all three partook of it. I felt better for some time after. When we got upstairs to bed the child was very sick again. The boy was sick several times during the night, and seemed in great agony. I was not sick myself till near three o'clock in the morning. I felt a violent pain in the bowels, I and my husband then got up and went in the yard, and then I said "I am so bad, I don't know what to do. I do not feel to have any strength." My husband went to Mr Downey again, and brought some linseed, of which some tea was made. After having some of the tea I was sick again. I was violently sick till after ten o'clock in the morning. The prisoner asked my sister, who was coming down stairs, whether I was better. From that time I continued getting better. I was very thirsty the first two or three days. On the Saturday night after the prisoner had heard what my husband had said about the poison in the oatmeal she (prisoner)

asked him how he was, and what had been the matter. He said "I am very ill indeed; I thought I should have died. On Thursday last I sent my girl to the lodge to my son's for a bit of wheat and a bit of arsenic to kill sparrows. My son sent me a bit of wheat down and a packet of arsenic, but when she gave me the package I found it had been opened. I took out a bit as much as would lie on a knife-point, and put it amongst some wheat with some water in a basin that was left. I sent it home again with my son's wife. On the following day I requested a basin of gruel to be made, as I do usually, and ever since I have had that gruel I have been so ill I don't know what to do." He complained of his throat, mouth, and inside as burning with heat, and he was constantly drinking water. He then said, "I am sure the girl put some in my gruel." After saying a little more about his drink, and so on, he wished me to take the girl into custody. I then went down stairs and enquired who made the gruel on Friday night, and Mrs Wells said "This girl here made it." I then told the prisoner I should take her into custody upon the charge of attempting to kill her master by administering arsenic. The girl replied "I am sure I did not." I then searched the girl's boxes, &c., to see if I could find any of the arsenic, but could not. I then conveyed the prisoner to the house of detention at Loughborough. The following day I came over to Seagrave again to make further inquiry, and that afternoon I received a quantity of arsenic from Mr H. J. Wells, which he said was the portion left which he had received from his father. I weighed it, and found there had been 2½ oz. taken from it. On the 12th of May I took the prisoner before E. C. Middleton, Esq., for the purpose of being remanded. Prisoner then said that she knew nothing at all of it. On the same day I received a jar containing ground rice from Mr Thomas Wells, which had been taken out of the dung-hill, and which had been mixed with oatmeal. The same day I received two chickens from P.C. Weston, which I brought to Leicester and gave to Mr Goddard. On the 4th instant I received information of the death of Mr Wells, and on that day I received three jars from Mr Downey. The contents were labelled. On the 8th I took them to Leicester to Mr Goddard, who took portions out of them. On the 15th the Inquest was held at Seagrave, and adjourned till to-day. As soon as I could, I applied to Mr Middleton to inform the prisoner of the death of her master. He went to her, and told her it had just come to his knowledge that her master was dead, and he thought it was his duty to inform her of it. The prisoner appeared much affected, swooned, and became very ill, when she was removed to her cell again. She was accompanied by Mrs Fewkes, who took her under her care. On my desk I found a letter, which had been written by the prisoner at the station, and which I now produce. I opened the letter and read it. It was addressed "Mr F. Holmes, Cossington, Leicestershire." I asked prisoner if it was her letter, and she said it was. She also said, in answer to questions from me, that the letter was in her own handwriting; that she wished her father and mother to have it; and that she meant to say what was in the letter. She was crying. I then read the letter over to her, one sheet of which was addressed to her father and another to Mr Wells. I asked Mrs Fewkes if she saw her write

Hannah's case was the headline news on the front page of the Leicester Chronicle *on 19th May 1860. The case was also widely reported and followed in the press further afield including the* Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, the* Cambridge Independent Press*, and* The Spectator*. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland.)*

House of Correction in Loughborough. She told the Court that Hannah had consistently denied any intention to cause Samuel's death, and had been greatly affected by it. She had also overheard Hannah say to a cellmate 'they do not know the bottom of it nor they ever will'.

After a 6-hour trial, the Judge's directions to the jury clearly offered them the option of returning a manslaughter verdict which had been urged on them by the defence counsel on the ground that 'her letters, written in the strictest confidence, and not knowing of Samuel Wells' death, showed that the dreadful thought of murder had never entered her mind'. The Judge, however, also told the jury that if the arsenic had been administered with an intent to do grievous bodily harm, as opposed to an intent merely to annoy or to slightly injure, she would be guilty of murder. In reaching their decision they must give her the benefit of any doubt. This direction to the jury was no doubt correct in law, but it made no concession to her youth, her naivety, or her upbringing in a labouring family in a poor village.

The jury took only a short time to reach a 'murder' verdict, but added a strong recommendation for mercy on the grounds of the prisoner's youth. The *Leicestershire Mercury* tells us that at this point 'the Clerk of Arraigns was so much affected by the painful circumstances that it was with difficulty that he went through the formal proceeding of informing Hannah of the verdict' and asking what she had to say.

The Judge, Mr Justice Wightman (Sir William Wightman) a well-respected Circuit Judge, told her that he would pass the jury's recommendation 'to the proper quarter' but nevertheless donned the black cap. After he had passed sentence 'at the conclusion (he) was visibly affected'.

After the trial

In a leading article on 21st July, the *Leicester Chronicle* commented 'such is the state of public feeling and opinion on this matter that we believe the execution of the girl would be revolting to the humanity of the entire community'. In another article, the same paper opened the whole question of the justification for any capital punishment. A few days after the trial the *Spectator* in London commented that 'after the young poisoner was in prison she made confessions of her guilt in terms remarkable for their almost idiotic simplicity ... it is obvious that she regarded her act as a trivial offence ... she was incapable of conceiving the real nature and scope of her act ... in all probability the girl contemplated no murder – no killing ...'.

A week later the High Sheriff of Leicestershire received a letter from the Home Office granting her a 'respite', reducing her sentence to one of life imprisonment. This decision would have been communicated to her eight days after the passing of her sentence of death. The document of respite, signed by the Secretary of State Sir George Cornewall Lewis, is now in the National Archives.

Penitentiary Life

On 16th August 1860 Hannah was taken to Millbank Female Prison in London. She remained there for a little over a year before being transferred to the then recently converted Brixton Female Prison on 29th October 1861. A list of the female prison inmates at Brixton shortly after her transfer includes only 5 other girls as young as her, all convicted of relatively minor offences.

In his *Criminal Prisons of London* (1862), Henry Mayhew relates his visits in the late 1850s to both Millbank and Brixton female prisons. These tell a great deal about conditions there at the time. Millbank's function was as a receiving centre for all new prisoners, from which they were in due course sent on to other establishments. Mayhew tells us that of 178 female prisoners in custody at the beginning of a recent year all but 20 had been sent on to Brixton by the end of the year. The matron told him that the convicts 'pick coir' for the first two months, and, 'if well-behaved for that time, they are then put to needlework'. 'Their door is bolted up for the first four months of their incarceration'. They were not allowed any visits for the first six months, and those in the 'penal class' had their cells bolted up at all times, not being allowed any visits or to read or write letters.

Mayhew had found that prisoners in Brixton were first placed in a 'probationary class' and confined in their cells for four months (a considerably shorter period than for male convicts) and only allowed a visit after a further two months, assuming good conduct. Thereafter there was a series of 'classes' through which they could progress, each with a small addition of privileges, including for example the ability to wear a badge, to have longer time allowed for exercise, to be permitted some limited association time, to have a better uniform, or to receive a small gratuity for work done. Bad behaviour would bring this to an end. A Brixton prison report in the mid-1860s showed Hannah's behaviour and her health to be 'good'.

In 1869 Hannah was one of 420 prisoners transferred from Brixton to a new female prison for 780 inmates which had been built by convict labour at Knaphill, near Woking in Surrey. The new prison's Medical Officer commented in his report for 1869 that 'the greater number of (prisoners from Brixton) were pale and delicate-looking'. Hannah appears in the 1871 census lists for Knaphill Female Prison as a 26-year-old former domestic servant. Later in that same year a regular prison quarterly return shows her as healthy and her conduct 'very good'. Of all the women held at that time in Knaphill on a murder conviction (including a number of whom had been found guilty of murdering their own children) she had been the youngest at the time of conviction.

Battery House Refuge

On 26th January 1872, Hannah was given a licence enabling her to leave prison on parole. Although the licence itself has not survived it was almost certainly a 'Conditional Licence', expiring on her death, requiring her to reside at the Battery House Refuge in Winchester, Hampshire. She was discharged from Knaphill on 7th February 1872, eleven and a half years after her conviction. Such a relatively short time in which to move from a sentence of death to a conditional release indicates a consistently good record of behaviour and responsibility and – possibly, given the penal system of the time – some sympathy for her position. Battery House was one of two refuges for female prisoners set up in the 1860s, largely on the initiative of Sir Walter Crofton, a noted prison reformer and penal expert. One – for Catholic women – was in Hammersmith, to the west of London, and the other, for Protestants, in St James' Lane, Winchester. Crofton, with his supporters, sought to reform convicts by rewarding their labour and good behaviour with 'marks' and progressing them through various stages leading up to a final preparation for release involving considerable liberty and responsibility. Hannah had clearly benefitted from the system of 'marks', which was already being employed at Knaphill (and at Brixton). The Superintendent of Knaphill Female Prison, writing to the Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons, Captain Du Cane, in 1872, said 'Prisoners evince a very eager desire to go to the refuges and when from some cause they are found to be ineligible considerable disappointment is felt ... tickets of licence (are given) to female convicts proving by good and industrious conduct in prison (to be) deserving of consideration and assistance'.

Crofton had acquired Battery House in 1868 (replacing an earlier property in Queen Square, Bloomsbury) to accommodate some 50 women who were serving the last six months of their sentence. Female ex-prisoners faced particular difficulty in finding employment since their main occupation was in domestic service – and few people would consider employing a recently-released woman for such a post. It provided 'an unlocked, elevated and caring environment', where training was given, where employment was sought for the women, and where there was a degree of informal aftercare. In his annual report for 1868, Crofton wrote 'every exertion is made to ascertain their conduct after liberation ... since its opening 290 prisoners have been received, only 1 of whom has been returned to prison'.

Release

Hannah was discharged from Battery House on 29th July, 1872, just a few days short of six months after her arrival. A notification from the Governor of Knaphill female prison to her counterpart in Horsemonger Lane Gaol in Newington,

South London, gives her 'destination' as '6, Hampshire Grove, Camden Road, (London)'. She was said to be 28 years old, of fresh complexion, with dark brown hair, hazel eyes, and 5 feet in height. A photograph of her was attached to this notification.

The Governor of Horsemonger Lane Gaol (the Surrey County prison) was, it seems, expected to exercise some continuing form of supervision of her, given that her sentence was still being shown as 'life'. So far as is known, this continued for the rest of her life. The house at 6, Hampshire Grove was occupied by a William Stewart, a 30 year old organ builder, with his wife and 4 children.

Prison photograph of Hannah Holmes. (©Galleries of Justice Museum, reproduced by kind permission.)

By September 1875 Hannah had been able to return to her family and home village of Cossington, putting whatever notoriety may have been awaiting her aside to marry a framework knitter from Sileby on 26th September in the local Baptist Chapel. They lived in Sileby where they had two daughters. He later became a shoemaker, and in time a jobbing gardener. Although Hannah's background must have become common knowledge, perhaps the perceived injustice, along with the memories held by some of Samuel Wells, helped her rehabilitation and acceptance in the community. Hannah died in Sileby at the age of 71 in January 1915 and was buried in the parish cemetery. There is no memorial.

Justice or Injustice?

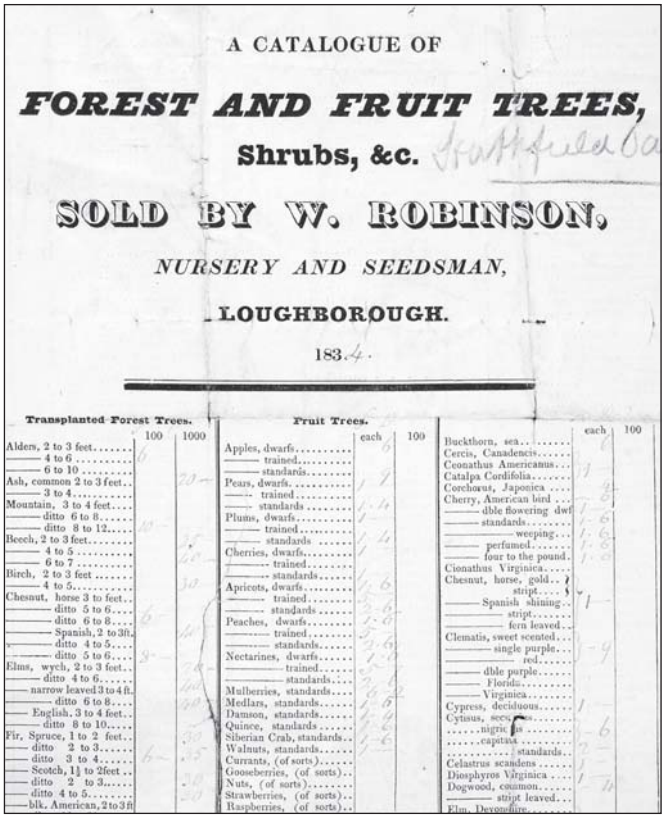
Seen in its mid-nineteenth century context, Hannah's sentence was what the law required at the time – she had deliberately tried to poison her employer, even though apparently not intending to cause his death. At 16, nearly 17 years of age, she was old enough to be 'grown up' in many matters. Was she aware of the likely affects of administering the arsenic? Was the idea, seriously or otherwise, put into her head by the company she stopped to talk to on the way back from Henry's farm? She must have been aware of the pain which the first dose of poisoning caused Samuel, and then went ahead with a second dose. Was Samuel Wells disliked so much that in death he was accorded so little sympathy? The *Leicester Chronicle* and *Spectator* both sympathised with Hannah, whilst public opinion during the nineteenth century had become increasingly opposed to the execution of children and teenagers, with very few girls publicly hanged between 1800 and 1860.

Seeing Hannah through twenty-first century eyes, neither her initial death sentence, nor her commuted prison sentence, appear humane, fair, nor good justice, and although the death sentence was routinely commuted for children and teenagers as in Hannah's case, she still had to spend fifteen years in prison. Her intention to kill was not 'beyond reasonable doubt'. She was not yet an adult; she came from what would be called a disadvantaged home; she lived in a predominantly poor village; and had little education, although that must have applied to many others too who did not go on to poison their employer. Her knowledge of the law would have been slight, if any, and her knowledge of the world would also have been very limited. She wished to attend church but was discouraged or even prevented from doing so. The press descriptions of her character are also revealing, whilst the letters she wrote shortly after being arrested highlight her naivety. Further, the fact she looked considerably older than she was may not have helped at her trial. What does seem unfortunate is that Hannah went into the service of the uncompromising Samuel Wells whom she, like many others, did not get on with. Was the trigger the fact he tried to stop her talking to other people, especially the young men of the area, at an age when her interest in the opposite sex was growing. She may have been both impressionable and keen to impress, which might be why she did what she did. Hannah did though benefit from contemporary reforms to the prison system, and through good behaviour was released while still young enough to live a family life.

Discovering Leicestershire's Heritage Apples

Nigel Deacon

Apples have been around for millennia. The sweet apple originated in the Middle East, and gradually spread westward towards Europe, along the ancient trade routes. Eventually it reached Rome, and from there it spread to all parts of the Roman Empire, including England. Apples have been prized for different reasons over the centuries: for eating raw, cooking and making cider. Whilst ordinary people would have used local varieties which could be relied upon to have a crop, hundreds of varieties were collected by the rich for their diversity of taste and colour. Apples enabled families in some of the grander houses to have fresh fruit on the table every day of the year by planting varieties which would ripen in June along with others which stayed on the tree until New Year and would store until April or May. By the early 1800s, there were thousands of known apple varieties in England but there was little consistency in naming them; many varieties had several names. The London Horticultural Society, later to become the Royal Horticultural Society, took it upon itself to produce a directory of apples. The National Apple Congress of 1883 showed 10,150 dishes of apples representing about 1500 varieties, many of which are still known today.



A CATALOGUE OF

FOREST AND FRUIT TREES,

Shrubs, &c.

SOLD BY W. ROBINSON,

NURSERY AND SEEDSMAN,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

183.4.

Transplanted Forest Trees. | 100 | 1000

Alders, 2 to 3 feet.....
——— 4 to 6 .....
——— 6 to 10 .....
Ash, common 2 to 3 feet..
——— 3 to 4.....
Mountain, 3 to 4 feet....
——— ditto 6 to 8.....
——— ditto 8 to 12.....
Beech, 2 to 3 feet.....
——— 4 to 5 .....
——— 6 to 7 .....
Birch, 2 to 3 feet .....
——— 4 to 5.....
Chesnut, horse 3 to feet..
——— ditto 5 to 6....
——— ditto 6 to 8....
——— Spanish, 2 to 3ft.
——— ditto 4 to 5....
——— ditto 5 to 6....
Elms, wych, 2 to 3 feet..
——— ditto 4 to 6.....
——— narrow leaved 3 to 4 ft.
——— ditto 6 to 8....
——— English, 3 to 4 feet..
——— ditto 8 to 10....
Fir, Spruce, 1 to 2 feet..
——— ditto 2 to 3.....
——— ditto 3 to 4.....
——— Scotch, 1½ to 2feet ..
——— ditto 2 to 3.....
——— ditto 4 to 5.....
——— blk. American, 2 to 3 ft

Fruit Trees. | each | 100

Apples, dwarfs.....
——— trained.....
——— standards.....
Pears, dwarfs. .....
——— trained.....
——— standards .....
Plums, dwarfs.....
——— trained.....
——— standards .....
Cherries, dwarfs.....
——— trained.....
——— standards.....
Apricots, dwarfs.....
——— trained.....
——— standards.....
Peaches, dwarfs.....
——— trained.....
——— standards.....
Nectarines, dwarfs.....
——— trained.....
——— standards....
Mulberries, standards....
Medlars, standards.....
Damson, standards.....
Quince, standards .....
Siberian Crab, standards..
Walnuts, standards.....
Currants, (of sorts).....
Gooseberries, (of sorts)..
Nuts, (of sorts).....
Strawberries, (of sorts)..
Raspberries, (of sorts)..

each | 100

Buckthorn, sea.....
Cercis, Canadencis.....
Ceonathus Americanus...
Catalpa Cordifolia.....
Corchorus, Japonica ....
Cherry, American bird ...
——— dble flowering dwf
——— standards.....
——— weeping...
——— perfumed.....
——— four to the pound.
Cionathus Virginica.....
Chesnut, horse, gold..
——— stript....
——— Spanish shining..
——— stript.....
——— fern leaved..
Clematis, sweet scented...
——— single purple...
——— red.....
——— dble purple.....
——— Florida.....
——— Virginica.....
Cypress, deciduous.....
Cytisus, scc...
.....nigric...
.....capitata .....
.....standards..
Celastrus scandens .....
Diosphyros Virginica ....
Dogwood, common.....
——— stript leaved...
Elm, Devonshire.....

1834 advertisement for Robinson's Nursery at Loughborough who sold dwarf, trained and standard apple trees. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark 27D62/U.)

This article is about work on the rediscovery of Leicestershire's lost 'Heritage Apples', focusing on how we researched these using a combination of documentary sources, the internet and fieldwork.

I have always been interested in growing apples, and in 2005 I met a fellow enthusiast, Mel Wilson, who suggested that we work together to find out more about Leicestershire's apples. For the last decade we have been researching, locating and re-introducing the apple varieties formerly well-known in Leicestershire and those which originated within the county. At the beginning of the project in 2005, the only Leicestershire varieties easily available as trees from small nurseries were *Annie Elizabeth* and *Dumelow's Seedling*. Specialist nurseries, if one was minded to search them out, could add *Barnack Orange* and a couple of others, but that was about it.

When we decided to look for the lost Leicestershire varieties, our first task was to compile a list of what had once been available in the county. We sorted the apples into three categories: 1) those still available as trees; 2) rare varieties which had been available a generation ago - some were still in the National Fruit Collection (N.F.C.) but were now removed from most catalogues; 3) other rare varieties mentioned in older sources which might still exist as ancient trees in gardens or in the remains of ancient orchards in and around the county.

We started by looking at two books which were compiled in the Victorian era: the dictionary of apple varieties by George and John Lindley from 1831 (1), and the more definitive dictionary by Robert Hogg, first published in 1845 (2) and periodically updated. This book contains amazingly detailed descriptions of each type of apple but has no illustrations apart from the one on the cover. We also searched horticultural journals and the listings of the N.F.C. as listed in *The Book of Apples* by Joan Morgan and Alison Richards for names of Leicestershire apple varieties (3), and we talked about the project with apple enthusiasts we met at apple events.

CHAP. XVI.

PYRUS MALUS, The APPLE TREE.

THE Apple and the Pear Tree are of the ſame family, and, like brothers of one common parent, are only diſtinct ſpecies one from another. The variety of Pears has been ſhewn to be numerous; that of Apples is no ways inferior; or rather, we may ſuppoſe the number of good uſeful Apples to be much greater than that of Pears, or any other fruit. And if we conſider the various uſes of this fruit; its alimentary and medicinal qualities; its pleaſing reliſh in the different ſorts to the different guſts and palates of its admirers; and its long continuance in ſeaſon, which is all the year; we ſhall not only find the Apple to be more valuable than any other ſpecies of fruit yet known, but we ſhall adjudge it to be worth all the others put together.

My catalogue conſiſts of an hundred ſorts of this fruit: And having examined the orchards of the neighbouring towns and villages, there were hardly any of them but what afforded different, diſtinct, and valuable ſorts; inſomuch that I had reckoned up near three hundred different ſorts of Apples, including thoſe in my own nurſery, and ſuch as I found growing in the orchards of the neighbourhood.

To deſcribe Apples, or aſcertain their real differences, would be an endleſs as well as difficult taſk. They are nearly of the ſame ſhape, though they may differ in ſize; the fleſh of all is more or leſs firm and juicy; their taſte is briſk, having an agreeable acid finely corrected by a ſweet delicious juice, all cooling and abating thirſt; and when the acid prevails, and is too powerful for the ſweet, the fruit is ſour, auſtere, or ill-reliſhed; but ſuch apples are admirable for culinary purpoſes, or making of cyder: So that there is no ſort of cultivated Apples but what is good either for pleaſing of the palate immediately from the tree, or to be employed for roaſting, baking, or for cyder.

Notwithſtanding the number of different ſorts of Apples is ſo great, they are not all found to be of equal value. And as about ſixty different ſorts may be thought ſufficient for an extenſive orchard, I ſhall preſent the reader with a catalogue conſiſting of that number, beginning with thoſe which come firſt into uſe in the ſummer.

A Catalogue conſiſting of ſixty-two of the beſt, the moſt uſeful, and valuable ſorts are,

Cambridge Codling, 1. Cambridge Codling is one of the beſt Codling kinds, and is chiefly employed for ſauces, baking, &c.

Kentiſh Fill Basket 2. Kentiſh Fill Baſket is another ſort of Codling, but comes in later than the former, and is employed for the ſame purpoſes.

June Apple, 3. June Apple. Of this there are two or three ſorts, which differ in ſhape, and the time of ripening. One is a little long Apple, and comes in the earlieſt; the other is round, and of admirable flavour; and, though it comes later than the former, may be ſaid to be the firſt beſt Apple for the table we have in England.

Margaret, 4. Margaret is an oblong, ſtriped Apple, of the middle ſize; it is of looſer texture than the former, but highly flavoured, and ripens about the ſame time.

Summer Pearmain, 5. Summer Pearmain Of this there are two or three ſorts, differing in ſize, colour, and time of ripening. The beſt is called the Summer Scarlet Pearmain; it is a middle-ſized, oblong fruit, of a deep red table and kitchen uſe.

6. Summer Ruſſet coloured on one ſide, It is an excellent Su keep long.

7. Summer Pippin the middle ſize, of a a briſk, agreeable juic time with the former, Apple for the table.

8. Summer Rem beautifully variegated the ſide next the ſun, poſite. The fleſh is te to render it a valuable

9. Summer Calville gantly ſtained with re It ripens ſoon after t requeſt for the table.

10. Summering is often ſtriped with red ture, but has an agr ripens the end of Aug and is well known by of them having it in

11. Loan's Pearmai main, elegantly ſtain ſide, and often finely is not an extraordinar mirable for ſauces, an

12. Holt's Tranſpare thin ſkin, and pellucic ations is more tranſpa people reliſh it as a generally in diſrepute.

13. Royal Pearmain of a fine red next the gantly ſtained with th ſide. It is much reli many, but is in moſt

14. Grey Leadingto Apple, of a greyiſh c juicy, and of ſuch deli puted among the beſt have.

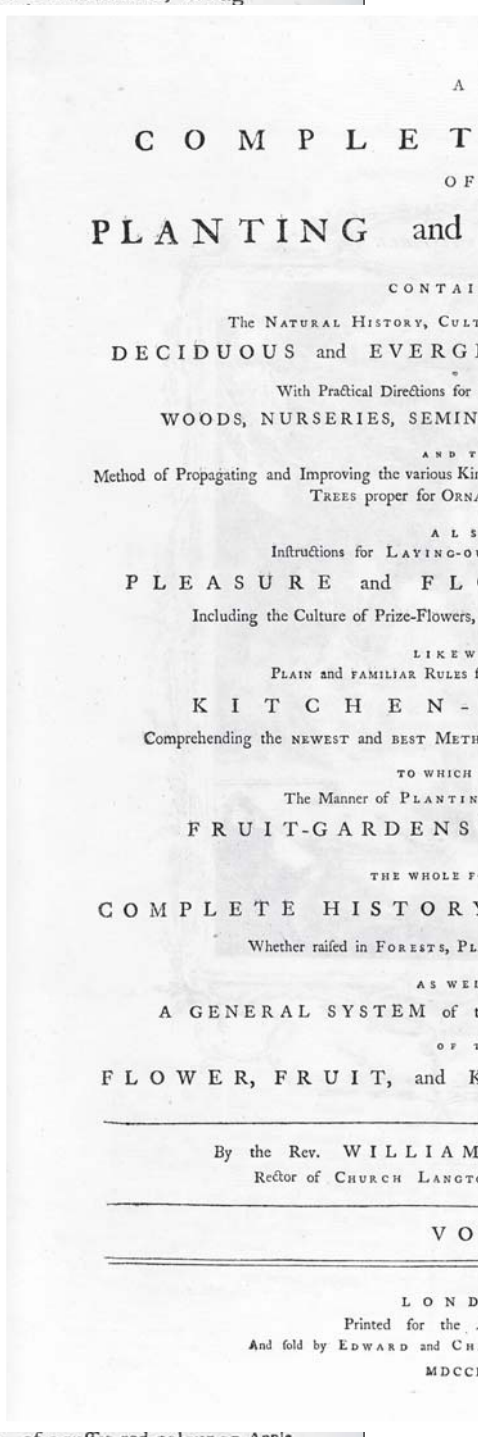
15. Red Autumn fruit, of a deep red c The fleſh is firm, of a vour, and the Apples

16. White Autum this ſort is white, wher but it is of a deliciou ferior to the former.

17. L'Api, or Api Apple of the ſmaller l of a bright red colour fleſh is ſoft, and full ſo that this Apple is i table.

18. Quince Apple is under the middle ſize, of a ruſſet-red colour on one ſide, and a yelloviſh-green on the other. The fleſh is tender, the juice briſk and agreeable; and the Apple is in univerſal eſteem during the time of

Apple,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Rector of CHURCH LANGT

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The Rev William Hanbury devoted five pages to apples in his remarkable Complete Body of Planting and Gardening, *published*

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KITCHEN GARDENS.

HANBURY, A. M.
ON, in LEICESTERSHIRE.

L. II.

O N:
AUTHOR;
ARLES DILLY, in the Poultry.
LXXI.

of its being in perfection, which is generally the month of September, and rarely continues good much later.

Langton None Such, 19. Langton None Such is a large, beautiful Apple, finely ſtained, or variegated with red and yellow next the ſun, and of a greeniſh-yellow colour on the oppoſite ſide. The fleſh is tender, and full of a juice, which, in dry, warm ſituations, is ſo rich as to render the fruit equal
neſs. In cold, deep, and
comes very large, the juice
ur overcomes the ſweet in
on as to edge the teeth, and
fruit: So that whoever is
r the table muſt allow the
, and the fruit will be ex-
of September. This Apple
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aps, as well worth propa-
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f this apple there are many
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is a beautiful red Apple,
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ender, juicy, and delicious;
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, and agreeable; and the
g in October.
is a beautiful little Apple,
otted with brown or reddiſh
n, and not very juicy; but
are ſo admirably blended,
ſuch a richneſs of flavour,
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It is in eating in October,
es good until the ſpring.
ſet is a middle-ſized fruit,
the ſunny ſide, but of a
ſide oppoſite. The fleſh is
an agreeable aromatic fla-
vour as to gain univerſal eſteem. It ripens in October, and continues good great part of the winter.

The Aniſe Apple, 28. The Aniſe Apple is a longiſh, middle-ſized fruit, of a greyiſh colour. The fleſh is tender, and poſſeſſed of the ſpicy taſte of aniſeed.

Margil, 29. Margil is a middle-ſized, irregular fruit, ſomewhat ridged, and finely variegated with red ſtripes. The fleſh is finely perfumed, and the Apple is in general eſteem.

The Violet Apple, 30. The Violet Apple is a beautiful, moderately large Apple, of a deep red colour next the ſun, and finely variegated on the other parts. The fleſh is firm, the juice ſweet, and poſſeſſed of the agreeable odour of Violets. This is often confounded with the Red Autumn Calville, that fruit being frequently underſtood to be the Violet Apple, by the fleſh being finely aromatic, and poſſeſſed in ſome meaſure of the flavour of Violets.

White Kentiſh Pippin, 31. White Kentiſh Pippin is a middle-ſized fruit, nearly round, and poſſeſſed of a thin, whitiſh ſkin. The fleſh is tender and juicy, and in ſome ſeaſons is of exquiſite delicious flavour; in others it is better adapted to kitchen uſes than to the table. It is ripe in October, and continues good all winter.

Kirton Pippin, 32. Kirton Pippin is a middle-ſized, roundiſh fruit, and ſo often cracked on the ſurface, as to gain it the appellation of the Cracked Pippin. The fleſh has a delicious flavour, and is univerſally admired.

Lemon Pippin, 33. Lemon Pippin is a ſmalliſh, round Apple, of a yellow colour, and full of a quick, agreeable juice. It is in eating in October, and continues good all winter; but as the juice is too ſharp for many palates, it is ranked among the kitchen-fruit.

July-Flower Apple, 34. July-Flower Apple is a beautiful, middle-ſized Apple, of a fine, ſoft, red colour on the ſunny ſide. The fleſh is tender, ſweet, and delicious, and the Apple is in general eſteem.

Ten Shillings Apple, 35. Ten Shillings Apple is a large, roundiſh fruit, beautifully variegated with a red and pale-yellow colour. The fleſh is firm, but juicy and agreeable, and is in eating from October until the ſpring following. From its ſuppoſed ſuper-excellence, the name Ten Shillings was quaintly given to this Apple.

Holland Pippin, 36. Holland Pippin is a very large, oblong fruit, having the eye much ſunk in at the top. It is of a greeniſh-yellow colour when ripe, and eſteemed by many as an eating Apple; but it is univerſally admired for kitchen uſes. Its ſeaſon commences in October, and continues throughout the winter, and the ſpring following.

Monſtrous Rennette, 37. Monſtrous Rennette is a monſtrous large, oblong Apple, of a deep red colour on the ſunny ſide, but a yellowiſh-green on the other. It is in little eſteem as an eating Apple, but is uſeful for pies, and other culinary purpoſes.

Salmon Apple, 38. Salmon Apple is a middle-ſized, longiſh Apple, of a bright red colour on one ſide, and yellowiſh on the other. The fleſh is tender, juicy, and agreeable; and the fruit is in eating all winter, and the ſpring following.

Royal Ruſſet, 39. Royal Ruſſet is a very large, oblong Apple, poſſeſſed of a deep ruſſet-coloured rough ſkin. The fleſh is firm, of a yellowiſh colour, and but ill-reliſhed to the taſte; ſo that it is chiefly employed for kitchen uſes; for which purpoſes it is ſaid by many to be exceeded by no other. It is in ſeaſon in October, and continues good all winter, and the ſpring and ſummer following.

Wheeler's Ruſſet, 40. Wheeler's Ruſſet is a roundiſh, ruſſet-coloured Apple, of the middle ſize. The fleſh is firm, briſk, and agreeable; and the Apple is in requeſt both for the table and kitchen uſes. It continues good throughout the winter, and the ſpring following.

41. Aclemy

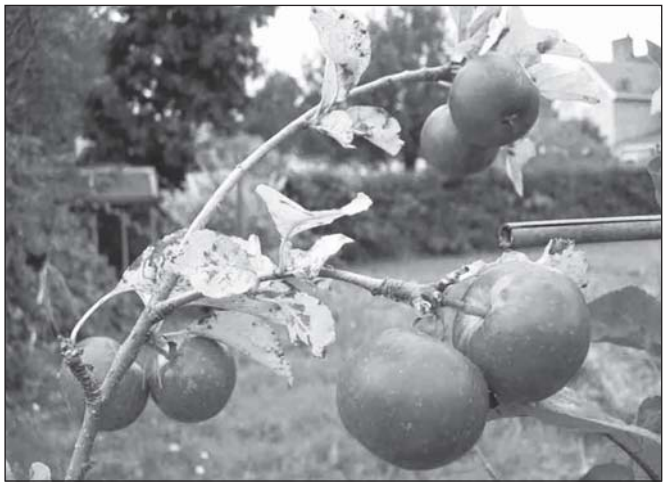
1770-1771. (Reproduced by permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark L.A.)

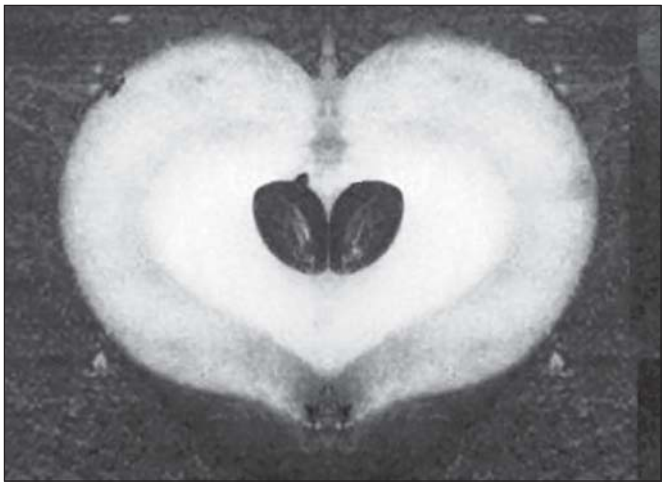
After a year we had constructed this list:
Available: *Annie Elizabeth, Dumelow's Seedling.*
Rare varieties: *Barnack Orange, Belvoir Seedling, Marriage Maker, Prince Charles, Queen Caroline, St Ailred.*
Very rare, possibly lost varieties: *Martin's Custard, Langton's Nonesuch* (last reported in England in 1920s), *Leicester-Burton Pippin* and *Leicestershire Sweetings.*

The next job was to locate what was available locally in people's gardens and to graft some young trees. Our website (4) and our network of personal contacts proved valuable in getting responses. By the end of 2005 we had found, relatively quickly, local people with trees of most of the 'rare varieties' which had been available thirty or forty years ago. The following February we collected scions (cuttings) and grafted two mother trees each of *Barnack Orange, Belvoir Seedling, Marriage Maker, Prince Charles, Queen Caroline and St Ailred.*

so both of us rapidly ended up with a hundred trees, and it can take a tree from three to ten years to fruit.

The next variety we located was *Martin's Custard*. Our friend Sally Cunningham was helping to restore a very old garden at Cotesbach, near Lutterworth, and noticed an ancient apple tree which the owner of the house told her had been planted about 150 years ago. It had collapsed a long while back, but had recovered and continued to grow in its bent-over position. It had unusual fruit. Sally spent many hours studying the apples with the help of Hogg's dictionary. She found a good match with *Martin's Custard*, a lost Leicestershire variety. We grafted some new trees and were surprised at the quality of the fruit we obtained; it was a cooking apple of similar size to *Bramley* but more brightly coloured, sweeter, and less acidic with much firmer flesh. It appears to crop regularly; a typical cold-county variety: sweet, hard and juicy.





The aptly named Marriage Maker - *tree and apple.*

Our list of missing apples was now a lot shorter: *Martin's Custard, Leicester-Burton Pippin, Langton's Nonesuch* and *Leicestershire Sweetings*. However in our searches we had found the names of some more possibly-lost Leicestershire varieties: *Cross's Pippin, Nineteen, the Foxton apple, Leicestershire Saint Cecilia, Lady Ashby* and *the Packington apple*. So we still had ten to find.

By this time we were starting to amass a lot of interesting trees. Some were trees suspected to be lost Leicestershire varieties in the 'rare, possibly lost' category. These had to be grafted and then grown until they fruited so we could carry out an identification. Others were oddities growing in Leicestershire hedgerows which, although they were not lost Leicestershire varieties, were worthwhile in their own right because of some special property: unusual flavour, late-ripening, highly scented, unusually prolific, and so on. Neither Mel nor I had much space; just two ordinary gardens, which meant that in the early days, many of our finds had to remain in large pots. We are talking of serious numbers here: trees have to be doubled up in case one dies,

Then we turned our attention to the variety *Annie Elizabeth*, which originated from an apple seed sown in Knighton, Leicester in the 1850s. This is a late-fruiting cooking apple with an excellent flavour and a very upright growth habit. The apples store extremely well; sometimes they will last in good condition until May. Most of the fruit books we consulted made special mention of its unusually pink blossom. We grafted trees from local *Annie Elizabeths* but when ours blossomed the flowers didn't seem particularly special; the maroon / deep pink blossom quoted in Joan Morgan's book (in her listing of the N.F.C.) was definitely absent. However, we had heard that the original tree still existed somewhere in Leicester, so Mel spent time looking through old newspaper reports in the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland to see if she could find the location. The variety was released commercially by Harrison's Seeds c1868. An address was eventually found, but when we called, the owner wasn't able to help, perhaps not surprisingly as unbeknown to us, the street had been renumbered! More time spent at the Record Office eventually gave the correct address, and when we arrived, by

appointment, the owner kindly allowed us into the garden to see her magnificent *Annie Elizabeth* tree. It was enormous and twisted; like something out of an ancient forest, 40ft high, past its best but still healthy and impressive, and capable of giving a good crop each year. We visited several times to see the fruit, photograph the blossom and we collected scionwood for grafting trees. The original planting records of the garden, including the *Annie Elizabeth* tree, were still at the house, neatly drawn; there was also a very large watercolour painting on the wall, showing the garden as it was in 1912, the *Annie Elizabeth* tree clearly visible. Many larger houses with old orchards still have their planting records.

It is not generally known that commercial orchards have to test-graft their trees repeatedly to make sure that what they are selling is true to the original. It they do not do this, they may end up with a tenth-generation copy having significant differences from the variety they started with. We decided our *Annie Elizabeths* would all be grafted from mother trees obtained from the original tree. As suspected, we found that the reputed maroon blossom was an inaccurate observation which had presumably jumped from book to book; the flowers were virtually identical to those of *Bramley*; pink fading to white; pretty but not exceptional.

We were led a merry dance by the *Foxton Apple*. It was the only Leicestershire variety for which we were unable to find any written record. It did not occur in journals, old N.F.C. listings, or nursery catalogues. All we knew was that a number of local people had talked to us about the *Foxton Apple* as a good cooking apple which could be propagated from cuttings and which could still be found in Foxton. We decided to do a thorough search of the village and the surrounding area: old orchards, waste land and the whole of the area around Foxton Locks. It took many days spread over a couple of years. We found a number of unusual apple trees as we searched, including an ancient tree with enormous unidentified yellow eating apples on the Foxton Locks peninsula. We found other old varieties on the slope where the old inclined plane (the boat-lift) was situated. But no *Foxton Apple*. Next we tried a postcard drop to every house in the village. Four people responded, each saying that they had a *Foxton Apple* tree, which was good news. We waited in anticipation until the autumn, and then collected fruit. It soon became obvious that we had a problem; the apples from the various trees did not resemble one another. There was a large red apple which looked like (and probably was) a *James Grieve*, and three other smaller apples of different colours. All our leads were going nowhere.

A couple of years later at a Plant Day at the University of Leicester Botanical Garden, a retired gentleman came to me and told me a story about the *Foxton Apple*; he said that about fifty years ago a young man of his acquaintance had wanted to make a commercial opportunity for himself so he started selling apple trees locally which he called *The Foxton Apple*; apparently he sold a large number. It was an interesting story; he knew names and places, and it was certainly a plausible tale; perhaps it was true. But by this time we had already decided, because of the complete absence of documentary evidence, to abandon the search. Perhaps the *Foxton Apple* was an invention of a local entrepreneur, or perhaps it was a rootstock apple; we shall probably never know.

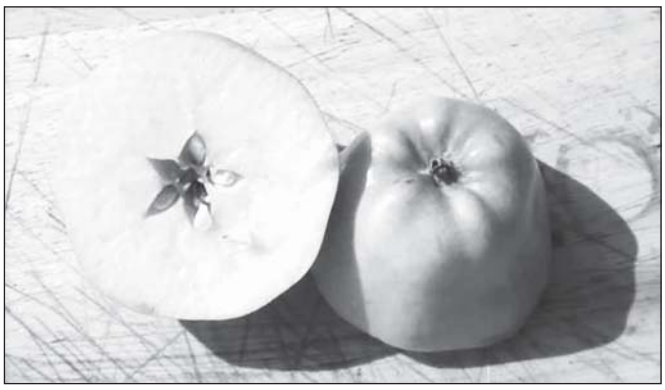
Our search for the *Langton Nonesuch* apple took several years and was more productive. This was a variety raised by William Hanbury, a well-known country vicar who lived for a while at Gumley and at Church Langton and who made vast sums of money through selling enormous numbers of trees, including apples. Some of the varieties he raised himself, and the *Langton Nonesuch* is one of these. Hanbury was a friend of George Frideric Handel and the first performance of 'The Messiah' in England is documented as being at the village church of Church Langton. Our appeal for a tree on the website produced nothing after two years, and we wondered what to do next.

We scoured the internet for information about the variety, and Mel found colour plates in two German fruit books dating from about 1830. The variety was described in one of them as *Langtons Sondergleichen* and also as *Sanspareil*, which means 'without peer'. Could this be the *Nonesuch* we were looking for? It was certainly a fine-looking apple. Eventually we received a message through our network of contacts, from an elderly man in Hamburg, West Germany, who told us he had a tree in his back yard, and that he would send photographs of the fruit. We waited until the autumn, and he sent pictures, which matched the ancient colour plates perfectly. The following February he posted us some scions in an envelope, and we grafted some trees. Four years later, we found that the fruit matched the 1830 pictures. It is curious that the variety was once popular in Germany.

It will be clear by now to readers that a project like this is very long-term. It seems to take forever; it becomes part of your life. Without a passion for the subject you would get nowhere; the searches would just fizzle out. Even if you find a lost variety, it may be unrecognizable; fruit from old trees can be almost impossible to identify. Diseases build up on the branches over the decades and this can cause a significant effect on fruit appearance, flavour and ripening time. If you find a tree which you think is a particular variety, you need to verify it by grafting it onto new rootstocks to form young trees to see if the disease-free unblemished fruit is what you expect it to be. If all goes well this takes about four years; it can take a decade. It can also

Saint-Ailred *apples.*

Packington *apple.*



Leicester-Burton Pippin *apples.*

Leicester-Burton Pippin *apple tree in situ.*

work the other way around; the book description of a rare variety may actually be based on blemished, shrunken fruit from the last surviving ancient tree. Graft a new tree and the fruit can look quite different. Endless fascination or continual frustration - it depends on your point of view.

The *Leicester-Burton Pippin* was one of our highlights of 2015. Hogg clearly didn't think very much of it; his book called it an early cooking apple popular in the area between Burton-on-Trent and Derby without much (or any) flavour. It had certain distinguishing features: a pronounced 'crown' at the end opposite the stalk, a 'waisted' shape, a straw colour when ripe and a faint blush on the sunny side. We guessed this description was probably detailed enough for us to find it. About six years ago Mel spent considerable amounts of time looking at old maps of the area to see where the ancient orchards had been located. Any surviving trees would be, by definition, at least a hundred years old; after that time they would be tall, probably spindly, and easily located. Mel looked on waste ground, and in people's gardens, and found the remains of some old orchards, and I assisted on one occasion, but we drew a blank. Then Mel had an idea - why not ask about the *Leicester-Burton Pippin* on Derby Freecycle? She posted a message and to her surprise a reply came back from a person who said he thought he had seen it. Mel subsequently met him on a road in Derby, and they went onto some deserted land where he pointed out a tree. It was too early for fruit so Mel marked it, and a few others. Returning later in the year to check, the fruit on one of them matched Hogg's description.

The land was part of a railway and bonded warehouse, now disused; the railway line was cut around 1878, and had cut through the end of an earlier Victorian street. The *Leicester-Burton Pippin* could have been in the garden of one of the houses demolished to make the railway, but before that the land was part of the market garden for Derby Prison, so it could even date back to that time.

We grafted some trees and waited... the first tree took four years to flower and five years to fruit. 2015 was our first decent crop. We found that the taste was mild and slightly astringent, but improved on cooking. However if you left the apples on the tree until they dropped, the astringency disappeared and we had a first-class, firm eating apple with very little acidity and a distinct hint of vanilla; very unusual. Hogg makes no mention of this; perhaps he only used it as a cooker. Strangely, the apple 'waist' present on the fruit from

the old tree in Derby was virtually absent on fruit from the new trees; perhaps the characteristic is only seen on very old wood.

Our searches for local apples are continuing. We made a certain amount of progress with *Cross's Pippin*; this was a seedling found by a Mr Cross in Hugglescote, Leicestershire in the 1930s. Again we did a postcard drop, and we put a note in the school magazine. We did an extensive investigation from the people who said they knew the apples, and the location of the original tree was established, but it was no longer there.

We are presently searching for *Leicestershire St Cecilia*, an eating apple with the same parentage as *St Ailred* (*James Grieve* x *Ellison's Orange*), bred in the Charnwood Forest area by Friar Ailred McPike at Mount St Bernard Abbey in the 1940s. We heard from one of the modern-day monks that the variety was still at the abbey about twenty years ago, but it was the last known tree, and it had died. Mel and I did a thorough search of the lands around the Abbey, known as St Joseph's parish. We don't have a detailed description of *St Cecilia*, but it will be an apple with similarities to *James Grieve* and *Ellison's Orange*. One of the distinguishing features of elderly *James Grieve* trees is that the fruit are often covered in black spots; the variety is susceptible to scab. We found a trio of extremely old trees in an old cottage garden about a quarter of a mile from the abbey, and underneath we found a lone apple, similar to *James Grieve*, covered in spots. We couldn't decide which tree it was from, so we grafted all three, and we are now waiting to see what fruit emerges. Two of the trees fruited after two years; a single apple on each, but this was not enough to make an identification.

Leicestershire Sweetings is an ancient apple which ripens extremely early; reputedly sometimes as early as mid-July. It was a popular variety a century ago, but it is now virtually forgotten. We managed to track down a tree after a couple of years of searching in the garden of a farmhouse in Queniborough and we now have a four-year old tree which has fruited once and a couple of younger trees. They are all slow growers; one of the problems of grafting from an ancient tree is that the graft has very little vigour. Graft wood from a young tree may grow a metre in a season; from an ancient tree it might grow only a few inches, so it takes a long time to build up a supply of scion wood to make more trees. One trick is to re-graft part of the piece of new wood onto a further rootstock, which accelerates the growth in the next season, but this doesn't always work.

Our latest find is the *Packington* apple. This apple was mentioned several times to us when we gave talks in the north of the county. Several of our audience said that they knew of people with trees, and this was evidently true because in late 2014, out of the blue, we received a phone call from a person who had heard us speak and who gave us a telephone number. We made the call and drove to Tonge, where a lady aged 92 let us in and showed us what she believed was probably the last known *Packington* tree. It had been grafted thirty years previously for her, from scionwood obtained from the N.F.C. at Brogdale. We contacted the N.F.C. and they confirmed that the *Packington* apple was once one of their varieties. We collected apples on 12th October (the lady was emphatic that this was the usual ripening date) and in the following February we collected scions and grafted several trees. The *Packington* is a regular cropper with very white flesh; dual purpose but with low acidity, veering more towards an eater which cooks rather than a cooker which becomes edible on storage.

This should give an idea of the methodology we have used to track down the lost Leicestershire apples. We are working on a lead for the *Lady Ashby* apple, and we are also making available some of the better unique seedlings which we have found around the county. *Chapman's Colossus* is a *Howgate Wonder* seedling found in south Leicestershire which has fruit similar to its parent but never misses a year; *Shepherd's Delight* is an early scented eater with an excellent flavour, and the *Calla Colossus*, found at Foxton Locks, is a large eating apple with a flavour reminiscent of *Wyken Pippin*. These are as good as some of the official Leicestershire varieties and we hope they will also become popular locally in the future. So far we have around 100 kinds of apple in the Leicestershire Heritage Apple collection, including all of the known Leicestershire apples. They have an astonishing variety, and most are not in the National Fruit Collection. For up to date information on the project, see the web site.

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Acknowledgements:

I am grateful to Mel Wilson for her assistance in writing this article, and for valuable suggestions from Alison Deacon.

Turf Rituals

Bob Trubshaw

In a field to the south of Queniborough is a five-sided stone standing about five feet above ground. It is situated on the course of the Ridgeway from Tilton and was the meeting place for the East Goscote hundred moot. It is known as the Mowde or Moody Bush Stone. 'Moody' is a corruption of 'moot' (the origin of the modern word 'meeting') so clearly the moot met at a bush. Presumably there was something distinctive about this particular bush but clearly it was either not distinctive enough or simply died. All we know for certain is that a stone was set up in its place. And, many years later – probably in the seventeenth century – someone went to the trouble to carve the words 'Moody Bush' on the sides.

An unknown man standing next to the Moody Bush Stone. (Reproduced with permission of the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, location mark LS2599, iBase ID: 7002.)

Quite when the original Goscote Hundred was split into separate east and west hundreds is not known, but probably around the eleventh century. When the last hundredal moot took place at this stone is pure speculation. But meetings still regularly took place there. In 1879 a Mr J. Plant stated:

> There is a tradition which says… a former owner of one of the large estates near Mountsorrel held a court at [the Moody Bush Stone]… this landowner and his stewards used to… cut a turf, which was brought into court. There is a general tradition also, that it was usual for persons from neighbouring districts to bring a turf and put on it. (1)

From information sent to me in the early 1990s by John Harrison (who. at that time, was living in a parish adjacent to the Moody Bush Stone), in 1790 there is a record of Sir John Danvers convening courts twice a year at the Moody Bush Stone, although those present then adjourned to Mountsorrel for the actual discussions. According to a report published in the 1950s, Danvers's lawyer and steward first went to Syston Hill and, after a ceremony, dug up a piece of turf, sprinkled it with water from the holy well of St John in Syston, and then took it back to the court in Mountsorrel. Older sources say the steward would bring to the court a turf cut from around the stone. Another tradition recorded in the nineteenth century said that persons from neighbouring districts would bring a turf to put on the Moody Bush Stone.

These customs struck me as most unusual. For over twenty years I have kept looking for similar examples, and also for

the sources of John Harrison's information. So far I have failed to find any published accounts of the customs at the Moody Bush Stone, apart from paraphrases of Plant's 1879 article. Charles Billson's comprehensive account of Leicestershire folklore published in 1895 makes no reference to this custom. (2)

Such absence of evidence is typical of traditional customs. If everyone knows what always happens then there is no reason to write about it. Only when somebody 'breaks the rules' or there is a deliberate attempt to change the rules is there likely to be a documented record.

Sing four masses over the turves

While examples from recent centuries are lacking, there are tantalising clues that taking turves to 'moots' and such like was once the norm. The clearest evidence is from a metrical text in Old English called *Ærcerbot* ('field remedy') and commonly referred to as the Land Ceremonies Charm and sometimes as the Unfruitful Land Charm.

The *Ærcerbot* is known from one surviving copy probably written between 1000 to 1025. (3) It sets out a ritual which combines Christian liturgy and liturgical phrases with some actions and words which imply a pre-conversion origin.

> How you can improve your fields if they will not flourish or if any harmful effect has been produced by magic or witchcraft. By night before it becomes dawn take four turves from the four sides of the land…

The rite then prescribes a poultice of yeast, honey, oil and milk mixed with parts of all the good herbs that grew, excluding buckwheat and woody plants which is applied to the roots.

> … and then carry the turves to church and let the priest sing four masses over the turves; and one should turn the green side of the turves towards the altar and one should replace the turves where they came from before the setting of the sun…

Once back in the field, the officiant faced sunrise, turned three times clockwise and called upon the 'holy guardian of the heavenly kingdom' to 'fill the earth' so that the crops would grow. This ambiguous wording accommodates the *potentia* ('potency') of Christ or even the *Sanctus Spiritus* being 'drawn down' by a priest, but at the same time implies a pre-conversion origin for the custom, when an unspecified 'spirit of life' (probably known as *leac* or *wod*) was envisaged as filling the earth.

The rite continues with the anointing of a plough with a 'hallowed' mix of oil, paste, frankincense, salt and fennel. This was followed with the chant *Erce, erce, erce eorthan modor*. *Erce* is often regarded by linguists as a nonce word. But most probably it is a corruption of Latin *ecce*, 'behold'. (4) 'Behold, behold, behold, mother of earth' is of course a parallel to *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth*, part of the Ordinary of the Latin Mass. Elsewhere the text also paraphrases the Benedicte and the Magnificat, and ends by specifying the saying of the *Crescite* (fertility blessing) and *Pater Noster* prayers. Yet much of the 'action' has no Biblical parallels.

Although the surviving version was seemingly written in the early eleventh century, it seems to have been recorded as an anachronism or 'curiosity'. We must assume that the text is a copy of older versions that have not survived. Much academic ink has flowed regarding the 'paganism' which apparently survives in this ostensibly Christian rite. This is not the place to consider those speculations; instead I am interested simply in turves acting as a synecdoche for a unit of land.

In conformity with ancient custom

Turves clearly acted as synecdoches for land units in seventeenth century Radnorshire:

> In 1664 Sir Henry Williams of Gwernyfed donated land for a new church at Glasbury… In conformity with ancient custom he had to demonstrate that he relinquished the land by cutting a turf which he placed in a fold of the bishop's gown and said: 'I resigne upp all my interest in this circuit of ground, to be a buringe-place for ever for the dead of this parishe'. (5)

Roy Palmer continues by saying that

> Such use of a turf may hark back to Saxon times, when a turf from land being granted to a monastery was sent along with the deeds to the archbishop for placing on the altar, as confirmation of the grant. (6)

Sadly he gives no source for this statement.

Boots and moots

If you visit Scone in Scotland there is a good chance that you will be told that a flat-topped mound in the grounds, now with a chapel on top, was built from the mud on the boots of the Scottish barons who came to visit the king. This is why it is known as Boot Hill.

A great example of how folklore mangles history! The name is a corruption of Moot Hill and comprises the turves brought (seemingly in leather scrips or 'satchels') so the barons could swear allegiance to the king while kneeling on their own ground. This custom is known from the thirteenth century and is presumably older. The barons would not have had much mud on their boots as there were almost no roads at the time so they would have travelled to Scone by boat.

Another example of a 'moot mound' which still acts as the ceremonial focus of kingship in northern Britain is known by the Scandinavian word 'Tynwald', *thing* being the Old Norse counterpart to 'moot'. The Tynwald is where Manx laws are authorised every midsummer. It too seems to be a turf-built mound, although there is no record of where the turves came from. Quite plausibly every landowner eligible to attend the Manx parliament once brought one.

Back to the Moody Bush Stone

Palmer's description of the Radnorshire land exchange and his background information suggestion that there was once a widespread custom for turves acting as a synecdoche for a unit of land. Such 'customary practices' rarely leave much record as they are unremarkable at the time. Based on the evidence from Scone and Tynwald such symbolic use of turves was also associated with hundredal moots and other administrative gatherings. We might imagine that there was some sort of turf-built mound at every hundred moot site up and down the land. Archaeological excavations have revealed several such non-sepuchral *hlaws*, although none in Leicestershire.

If it were not for the obscure references to Sir John Danvers in the seventeenth century maintaining the practice at the Moody Bush Stone we would not have been aware of this possibility.

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3. British Library: MS Cotton Caligula A VII.
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5. Roy Palmer, *The Folklore of Radnorshire*, (Logaston, 2001), pp.143–4.
6. *ibid*., p.144.

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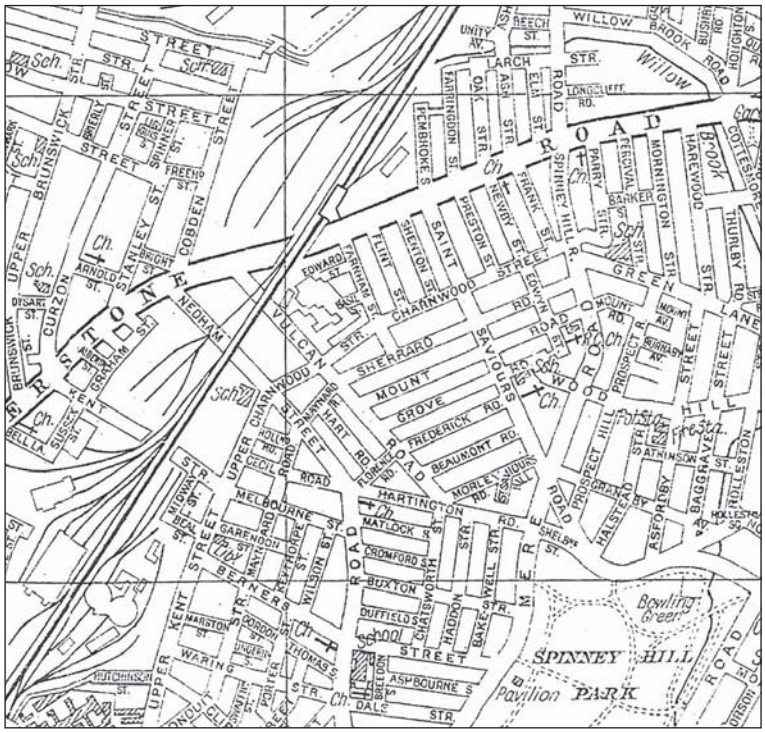
Roy Palmer, *Folklore of Leicestershire and Rutland*, (Sycamore Press, 1985; 2nd edn., Tempus, 2002).

The Moody Bush Stone is on private land and not visible from the road.

The Moody Bush Stone in 2007. The far horizon is Charnwood Forest, with the Soar valley in between.

Charnwood Street - from the 1920s to 1970

Cynthia Brown



Map of the Charnwood Street area from Kelly's Directory of Leicester, 1938. *Charnwood Street runs parallel to the Humberstone Road. Many more streets had been built on either side of Charnwood Street since it was built in the early 1870s.*

In the 2014 edition of the *Leicestershire Historian* I explored the history of the Charnwood Street area of Leicester from its origins in the 1870s as one of the estates developed by the Leicester Freehold Land Society, through to the early post-World War I period. (1) Intended primarily as a residential area, Charnwood Street itself gradually developed into a shopping street, catering for the mainly working class residents in streets running off from both sides, but later attracting custom from well beyond. Information about these first fifty years was drawn almost entirely from documentary sources including street directories, building plans, newspapers, and the records of local organisations. These continue to be invaluable, but from the 1920s onwards it is also possible to draw on living memory for personal accounts of the Charnwood Street area – popularly known as 'Charny' – up to its demolition in 1970.

These offer information and perspectives that are not easily available elsewhere, as I hope this article will demonstrate. Some are from recorded interviews deposited in the East Midlands Oral History Archive. Most were collected verbally or in writing in response to an appeal for memories of the area a few years ago when local photographer Michael Westmoreland and I hoped to collaborate on a book about Charnwood Street. These memories have so far remained unpublished, but the enthusiasm with which people responded and the wealth of material they provided deserve a wider audience. Their memories covered a wide range of topics including housing, schooldays, churches, chapels and other local organisations, Christmas celebrations, and leisure activities including visits to the cinema and the games they played – usually in the streets – as children. There are also memories of the 'bedding down' of elephants from the circus in a garage in Basil Street in the 1920s, after they were walked 'trunk to tail' from the nearby railway station on Humberstone Road; and of the bombs that fell in the Charnwood Street area during the 'Leicester Blitz' of 19th - 20th November 1940, causing serious damage to houses in Frank Street and Grove Road, and killing three people in each street. (2)

The strongest and most detailed memories were evoked by Charnwood Street's multitude of small shops – around 100 of them from one end to the other, selling a vast range of goods from food and confectionery to clothes, furniture, hardware and 'fancy goods', alongside hairdressers, newsagents, pawnbrokers, an undertaker, the local Post Office, and a Chinese laundry where 'collars were made white and stiff and came out like boards'. (3) For this reason – and for want of space to do justice to other aspects of 'Charny' – this article will focus on these shops, their shopkeepers and their customers, not simply because these memories are interesting and often entertaining in themselves, but because they offer valuable insights into working class life and the operation of small businesses across the fifty years from 1920 – 1970.

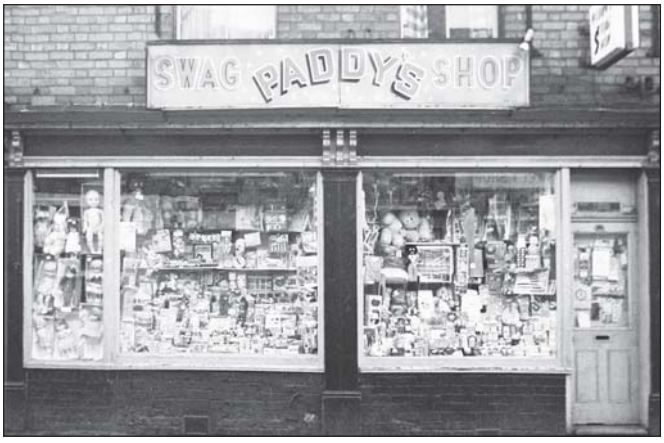
The Post Office on the corner of Charnwood Street and Farnham Street. (Reproduced by permission of Paul Dorrell.)

People came from all over Leicester to shop – or simply to 'window-shop' – in Charnwood Street. In *Post War Blues*, her memoir of Leicester in the 1950s, Valerie Tedder recalled that:

> Frequently on a lovely Sunday morning we would go for a walk along the street from Spinney Hill Road to Nedham Street, fascinated by the little shops and the wares for sale. The shops closed at 1 pm and all the crowds dispersed. Second-hand clothes and furniture shops were busy places. Second-hand jewellers and knick-knack shops held our attention. There was always something to catch the eye. Fruit and vegetable, sweet and newsagents, corner shop grocers, all did a roaring trade... (4)

Jack Moseley lived in Windermere Street in the Aylestone Road area as a child. His father would bring him a small present after work every Friday, but when he came home empty-handed:

> I knew it was a special treat. We would get into our motorbike and sidecar with my Mum and visit Wonderland which was Charnwood Street. I never knew where it was but it took us about 15 minutes… all the toys in the world could be bought there.



Paddy's Swag Shop at 248 - 250 Charnwood Street – remembered by all! (Reproduced by permission of Michael Westmoreland.)

Other people remember being taken 'in tow' with adults who liked to wander in and out of the Charnwood Street shops. It could be 'boring', but relief came in the form of Paddy's Swag Shop, perhaps the most memorable of all. This was located at 257 Charnwood Street in the early 1950s, and then moved across the road to 248 - 250. It was run by William 'Paddy' Rogers, who was born in 1909 and died in 1999. When he was 12 or 13 he started on Leicester Market:

> as a boy … We used to go up on Saturday to see if any market trader wanted a lad to unpack, to pack. And it was Jack Sills, the shoe man, who gave me a job, five shillings… and I thought now, if the customers, if the public won't come to you, you got to go to them. And I stood on the box and started telling a tale… the people were stopping to look, listen, and bought shoes... (5)

Paddy later had a stall of his own in the Market, where he became well known for pitching his wares and attracting the crowds. During the Second World War he served in the British Army and was among the forces that liberated Norway from German occupation – but what was so special about his Swag Shop? Its 'Aladdin's Cave' nature made it particularly popular with children with limited pocket money to spend, or a birthday present or Christmas treat to choose. Jill Richardson remembered its opening as 'a revelation… small and large items of toys, bric-a-brac and goods never seen since the war. All my pocket money was spent there'. Sarah Lissaman's grandparents kept Bird's second hand clothes shop in Charnwood Street. When visiting them at the weekend:

> The first thing I did when I arrived on Saturday afternoon, once given a few pennies, was run down to Paddy's Swag and buy a toy. Sometimes it was plastic spiders or flies, or finger nails painted red. Also I remember the kind of small ladybird or fly which you held a magnet behind to run over your jumper. It would move if you wiggled the magnet underneath. I would also buy joke items to scare or annoy my parents when they joined us for tea after work. (6)

'We used to look longingly at the toys on display', Arthur Beyless remembered:

> Every space was full, jam packed with toys for boys and girls. One item I clearly remember - I must have been around eight or nine years of age - was a microscope. This held my interest, as I am a person who is curious and this curiosity of 'things' must have gone back to at least that age. The microscope, its label said 'so many times' magnification. I ended up not buying it as I naively thought, what happens if I want to use it more times than it states!

'I spent a lot of my pocket money at this shop buying toy soldiers', Ray Bland remembered, while at Christmas 'many a parent could buy toys for a whole family of four children and still get change out of about £3'. (7) Paddy's was also popular with adults in search of a household bargain or reasonably priced gift; but a little pocket money also went a long way in Charnwood Street's sweet shops. These included Joblin's, recalled by John Immins as 'a small single fronted sweet shop full of jars of sweets of every kind – you could get lots of sweets for a few pennies'; and that of Mrs Lucy Burgess at 259 Charnwood Street from the 1920s through to the 1940s. Rowland Lord remembered her as 'a little old lady' who came out of her living room to the shop 'through a dark curtain, with an apron on'. The shop window had small partitions full of 'farthing sweets', to which children would point when spending their 'Friday penny' on

the way to school. A penny could also buy a slab of jelly cubes from a grocery shop, to be pulled apart and eaten while watching the children's film on a Saturday at the cinema in Mere Road. (8)

Sadie's sweetshop at 187, on the corner of St Saviour's Road, was owned by Albert and Connie Holloway, but 'the name stuck for ever!', their daughter Margaret Headland recalled: 'Even on holiday in Devon someone called across the beach "Hello Sadie"...'. Sweet rationing did not end until 1953, but living in a sweet shop always had its bonuses:

> I always remember when a new product was offered to Mum by one of the reps (especially if it was for the children) she would give my brother and me a sample to try. We would walk up and down the street eating it so people would be wanting to try it! I especially remember Mickey Lollipops – all the characters from Disney came in ice blocks, marshmallow in an ice-cream cone. They came in a huge box and we had to separate them all and put them on the stand on the counter. We always made sure the odd one got damaged… I remember the jars of sweets on the shelves, some upright and some that were on an angle especially shaped to show the goodies. The very large slabs of Thornton's toffee had the little hammer to break it up, and it was weighed into bags made out of one sheet of white paper shaped into a cone, filled with the sweets then twisted closed.

Margaret and her brother also 'had to help with counting the coupons after the war. It was a great way to learn maths'. Children were often involved in family shops in other ways, paid or unpaid, or followed a parent into the business. Kim Richardson, son of Maurice of the High Class Family Butcher's at 265 Charnwood Street, worked at the shop some evenings after school and on Saturdays, but left 'when I found out I could earn more at Safeway's (16 shillings) for a Saturday than Dad was paying me (10 shillings)! He would not give me a rise'. Derek Parnell followed his father Joe into the family bakery business, which was previously run by his grandfather William. He recalls working alongside his father on a table about six feet long, making cobs and rolls and puff pastry while his father made the shortcrust pastry and buns: 'He said you can work for twelve months and it'll either kill you or cure you, so I did that, and then he said, right, I want you to go to the bakery school at the Technical College'. Derek attended part-time for four years, but when he watched his father making lemon buns:

> everything I learned at the Tech went out the door. He put the fat in a bread tin in the oven, he put the yeast and sugar in the bowl, which you're not supposed to do because the sugar kills the yeast. He put water on that you could just about get your hand in, which was too hot for the yeast, and he'd put flour on it and mix it all up again, and then he'd put this boiling hot fat on, and lemon essence and a little tiny bit of colour, and mix it up again. It must have burnt his hands. And then he'd finally make it to the consistency he wanted with the flour.

They 'turned out perfectly every time'; but when his father was ill, Derek had to make the buns instead, and 'I couldn't make a bun like it, ever! I couldn't get the lift, I couldn't get the texture, I couldn't get anything!'. Joe Parnell would make Christmas cakes in late October or early November, wrap them in greaseproof paper and leave them to mature – 'to get the fire out', as he would say. Adding the marzipan and decorating them was done early in December, and they would then be displayed on glass shelves in the shop window lit by two spotlights. It was something that people 'came to expect as one of the treats' of the season, whether they were buying one or not. Parnell's chocolate logs, gateaux and mince pies were also very popular, so much so that by the last week before Christmas:

> you didn't ever want to see another mince pie! All the factories would come and say "Can I have two dozen mince pies, can I have three dozen… can I have half a dozen", because there were no canteens, it was a sort of treat for them. They never took anything to cut… they always wanted things they could just pick up and eat.

Children from shopkeeping families also have strong memories of visiting the shops of grandparents, parents or other relatives, and being allowed to sample the wares or enjoy other small pleasures. Sarah Lissaman used to 'climb into the window' of Bird's when staying with her grandparents, 'and sit there or try on the clothes. I used to be allowed to use the "reach-me-down", a pole with a brass hook on the end to pull down the canopy over the window'. Maurice Richardson's daughter Perrie Barratt recalls that: 'Dad allowed us to play with chicken's feet, pulling on the tendons to make them move. We also played with rabbits tails and feet, although why we found this fun I don't know!'. Dorothy Walker, the great niece of Thomas Watson Walker, was often taken to his wholesale grocery shop at 191 - 195 Charnwood Street as a small child in the late 1920s and early 1930s. For her:

> the most attractive feature… was the row of large cubical tins with clear lids which were ranged in front of part of the counter. They contained a wide variety of, mostly sweet, biscuits. I was allowed to choose one to eat; it was usually a "sandwich" biscuit with jam or cream in the middle and a smiling face cut into the top biscuit to reveal the jam.

Most Charnwood Street shops consisted basically of the front room of a house, but some were more substantial. Descriptions of their interiors are particularly valuable when they were altered by later occupants. Walker's premises had become Civil's supermarket by the 1960s, with very different arrangements from those that Dorothy recalled:

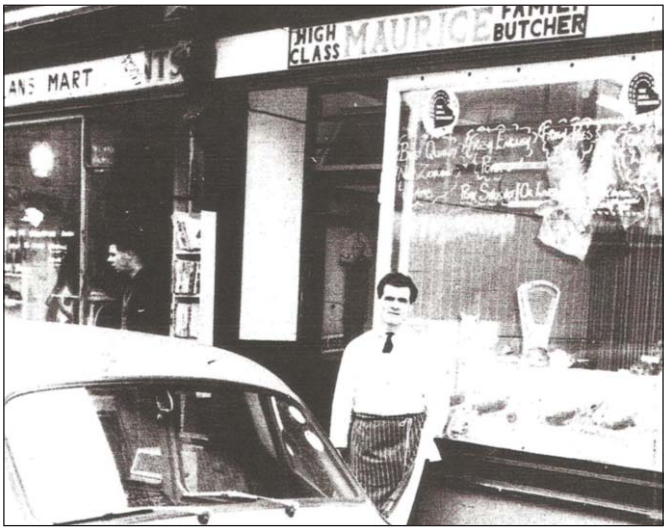
> To me the shop seemed very large and I was fascinated to see the flitches of bacon hanging up, the very large cheeses from which the required portions were cut, and sacks of rice, sago, flour etc. ready for weighing out. Dried fruits came in wooden boxes. Sugar also came in large bags and was weighed into thick blue paper bags ready to be sold. Butter and lard came in boxes from which they were carved with a large knife at the customer's request. The lard and bacon boxes were large and I remember Grandfather bringing home two for my mother, who scrubbed the fat and salt from them, turned them on end and fitted a small curtain at the front to make kitchen cupboards. Very few supplies came ready packaged in those days, though of course there were cartons and tins of cocoa, gravy salt, soap powders etc. as well as jars of jam and marmalade and packets of soup powder… The counter was polished wood with, I think, a chair in front of it for the customer. There were two sets of balances, one on the end of the counter for lighter goods and a heavier set of scales on the floor. I think there was also a marble slab on the counter on which the butter or lard was shaped and wrapped into white waxed paper. Orders were assembled and delivered in the basket of a delivery bicycle by a "boy".

Ray Massey's grandmother was widowed in the First World War. She later married Frederick Stone and served in his fishmonger's shop at 258 - 260 Charnwood Street. 'The shop never changed', Ray wrote of this:

> open sash windows, outside gas lighting, steel hooks to hang the game and rabbits, with a long pole to put them up and take them down. The shop was open early morning to late at night. Mr Stone would sit in the off sales of the Belgravia public house, which was opposite the shop, with one eye on the customers... The shop was around 12 feet wide by about 20 feet deep. It had a side door that led into the living room, with a window to look into the shop. There was a small kitchen with stairs to three bedrooms – no bath, and a small yard with a WC and a coal store.

Perrie Barratt recalls that there was' always a carcass of beef, pork and lamb hanging high from a big meat hook in the window' of Maurice's, 'and also at the back of the counter'. A chilled glass cabinet:

> formed part of the counter, displaying smaller cuts of meat, mince, cooked hams etc. The cabinet had green 'fake' grass dividers to separate the different displays of meats. There was a big old-fashioned till sitting on the counter, the one where you pressed the keys down and the money was displayed on the tabs that popped up at the top of the till, and the drawer also came out at the bottom. A rather large set of scales also sat on the counter with the old-fashioned brass circular and bell weights. At the back of the counter was a big old wooden butcher's block where Dad would cut and prepare the meat, rolling and stringing meat into joints, slicing steak and chops. His knives and meat cleavers were always extremely sharp, and as children we were never allowed to touch them. The chopping block was scrubbed down every evening with a wire brush and some sort of soapy liquid and I always hated the smell. Sawdust was sprinkled on the floor each day. Brown paper bags were hanging by string on a meat hook, all stamped with "Maurice's High Class Family Butcher's", and customers' orders were placed in these to carry out of the shop - good advertising even in those days! On the front window Dad used to write, with some sort of white paint and a brush, anything he considered worth advertising by way of drawing customers into the shop…



Maurice Richardson outside his High Class Family Butcher shop at 265 Charnwood Street in the 1960s. (Reproduced by permission of Perrie Barratt.)

Maurice's premises were previously occupied by another butcher, William Watson, who was trading there from at least 1925. (9) This was just one of several butchers in Charnwood Street. A 1954 directory also listed the pork butcher John Henry Smith at 141, James Hay at 149, George Amos at 163 (previously W. Titley), William Smith at 179 - 181, T. Kirby and Son at 213, and the British and Argentine Meat Co. Ltd. at 219. On the opposite side of the street were Fred Hutchins at 176 and Frank Lee at 246. (10) Frank Lee continued to trade there until the street was demolished, and the family still has a stall on Leicester Market. In the 1930s there was a tripe shop at 268, run by Thomas Cross, where 'people went with jugs for tripe to cook at home with onions'. (11) This has disappeared from the street directories by 1941, but there were also shops like Leslie Ball's at 244, selling cooked meat such as sausages and faggots, which were very popular as a family treat or during a midday break from work. One of Patricia Kirby's strongest memories is of 'the succulent smell of home-made faggots spread far and wide' from the shop of Abraham Coates, who traded at 196 from the 1920s to the 1940s.

The dog food shop at 225 Charnwood Street evoked rather different memories. This was run for many years by Mrs Elsie May Bates, described by her grandson John Immins as:

> a formidable woman who could put the fear of God into any man. .. [The shop] opened on Monday and Thursday of the week only. She undertook cleaning to supplement her income as a divorced woman. The meat was delivered from the supplier and later, when it had been stripped from the bones, the man with the bone truck arrived. This vehicle smelled appalling. The bones were then taken to the glue factory to be processed. Meat was packaged in greaseproof paper and then wrapped in newspaper.

Food for animals such as rabbits kept as family pets was sold at by William Foss, a straw and hay dealer at 185; but one thing that came to puzzle me as I was researching Charnwood Street was how so many shops providing similar goods managed to make a living. In the case of butchers, it was perhaps not so surprising. Some customers did travel from other parts of Leicester, but most lived locally and the distance from one end of Charnwood Street to the other was around a mile – so easy access to a butcher in the days before many people had a fridge or freezer or a nearby supermarket was a great convenience. Meat and other perishable goods were commonly bought day by day, and some real bargains might be had at weekends when butchers sold off their stock at reduced prices. On Saturday night Frank Lee would 'throw open the shop window and auction the joints off'; while the fishmonger Charlie Blackwell would similarly 'sell his fish, if he had any left on a Saturday night, by opening the shop window and… shouting the odds'. (12) Much depended for a bargain on the timing. As Mick Byrnes remembers:

> Going from Green Lane Road into Charnwood Street on the left was Lane's the butcher's, and on Saturday afternoon between four and five o'clock he used to sell the Saturday night grill. This contained all sorts of different meat, and all for five shillings. There were some very happy and contented faces in our house on a Saturday night after the feast, and some sad faces if he sold all his stock before 4 pm as the shop closed.

There were fewer bakers – they included Getliffe's at 153 and Brant's at 197, as well as Parnell's – but they also had their regular customers, sometimes across the generations. 'You'd be doing birthday cakes for the kids', Derek Parnell recalls: 'and then as they got older you'd be doing wedding cakes for the family and all that sort of thing. It just went on and on, which was lovely'. All three baked bread and other goods on the premises, but competition between them was not as fierce as might be imagined. There was more than enough custom for them all, and:

> no animosity amongst the shopkeepers. If we ran out of something, Dad would say "Go up to Gordon Brant's and get a box of margarine". We never wrote anything down, but as soon as our margarine came in, before it got into the property, Dad would say "there's a box of marg, take it back to Gordon's", or white shortening, or whatever we'd borrowed, and they were exactly the same.

Tony Towers recalls that bakers with ovens backing on to Occupation Road were also popular with local children for the heat given off through their walls, ideal to lean against to warm up in the winter; but oral histories also give some idea of the work involved in keeping even a small shop in Charnwood Street. Dorothy Walker's grandfather Alfred, the younger brother of Thomas Watson Walker, worked very long hours in the family business until he retired in the late 1940s or early 1950s:

> getting up at 5 am to go down to the Wholesale Market to order the bacon etc. to be delivered… Grandfather was, apparently, very skilled at boning and rolling the flitches, and was begged by one of the importers at the market to go and work for him at the meat market in Chicago, from where some of the bacon was exported, but he refused the job.

Mrs. M. Hall, whose father George Charles had a greengrocer's shop at 223 Charnwood Street, also remembers him working very hard: 'only when I was much older did I realise just how hard'. As well as walking a mile and back to the Wholesale Market in the early hours of the morning, the shop window had to be set out for opening at 8.30am: apples polished 'until the skins shone' and the bottom halves wrapped in tissue paper, along with pears, oranges and grapefruit. Baskets of other fruits and nuts were arranged between them, bananas hung from hooks at the back of the shop, and vegetables displayed around the inside walls. Like many other shops in the street it was open from early morning until 6.30 - 7 pm every day apart from half day closing on Thursday and Sunday afternoons.

The well-known Leicester store Wilkinsons ('Wilkos'), had its origins as Wilkinson's ironmongery store in Charnwood Street. Its premises at 159 Charnwood Street are shown here shortly before demolition around 1970.

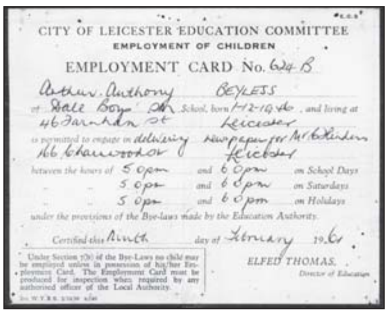
Tins and buckets hanging from the ceiling were a feature of Dalton's, one of Charnwood Street's hardware shops: described by Jalna Edwards as a 'tiny shop, floor to ceiling with boxes', and with such a strong smell of paraffin that she used to 'worry about someone striking a match'. Dalton's 'used to give you a cardboard ticket with your purchase' Derek Parnell recalls: 'so I'd go up and get, I don't know, soap or cloths or something, and when the tickets added up to £1 they could be taken back to the shop to get a shilling off the next purchase. Dalton's also had 'countless little drawers behind the counter. The brown-coated assistants knew what was inside each one'. (13) Service from a shop assistant was the norm, although Rowland Lord remembered an ironmonger's shop at 182 run by Mrs Elizabeth Woods in the 1920s and '30s where 'you would sort of help yourself from stock all on show, then take it to the till and pay'. The real pioneer of self-service in Leicester, Wilkinson's, also had its origins in Charnwood Street when James Kemsey Wilkinson and his fiancée Mary Cooper opened a small ironmongery store at 151 in 1930. A second store was opened in Wigston Magna in 1932, and few years later the original shop moved to 159 Charnwood Street, where it remained until just before the street was demolished. (14)

By then Wilkinson's had 28 stores around the country with an annual turnover of £2.4 million – but many people still remember the Charnwood Street shop with pots and pans hanging outside, along with the canes that children used for 'gratering' or 'pavement fishing', to pick up coins that had been dropped down the metal grates along the street. Arthur Beyless recalled that the shop always smelt of paraffin and firelighters. It had a wooden floor with a counter at the far end, and went right through to Occupation Road at the back. John Warner's father ran a wholesale business in Charnwood Street which 'created a long standing friendship and co-operation with Wilkinson's wholesale business, to the extent of sharing petrol coupons to fetch what pots and pans were available during or just after the war from Stoke on Trent'.

Charnwood Street was very close to the Humberstone Road tram and bus routes, but few local families owned a car and the street's cycle shops did a good trade. Two of the best known were Billy Bones on the corner of Mere Road and Occupation Road, and H. C. Vine's at 212 Charnwood Street. George Lay recalls that Billy had a shop near the cinema on Melbourne Road that recharged accumulators for wirelesses, and it was his son Reg Bones who ran the cycle shop. Rowland Lord remembers him as a small man always in overalls, 'always covered in oil and grease', while the shop was 'a favourite' of Jill Richardson, 'as I was in a cycle club from the age of 13, and the two fellows there were so helpful'. Mr Vine was an agent for Whitworth bicycles, but his granddaughter Carole Mobbs recalls that there were no favours in the family. She used to have 'a super new bike every other year': but 'my grandfather didn't give us the bikes, he was too astute a businessmen for that, and he charged my father the retail price!'. (15) Others like Roy Hallam had to wait a lot longer to acquire a bike. He used to help the Co-op milkman with his horse for 6d on Saturdays, 'which enabled me to go to the cinema in the afternoon', and later did a paper round for Flinders newsagents, located between Flint Street and Shenton Street:

> They paid me three shillings and six pence a week for six nights, which enabled me to purchase a brand new Elswick racing bike from Vine's cycle shop… But I learnt I could earn more if I became a butcher boy, so I went to work at Cyril Henshaw's (butcher) which was on the corner of Hutchinson Street and Upper Kent Street. Here I got the grand sum of one pound ten shillings plus tips from the ladies I delivered to.

At the other end of the scale, children could often earn a few pennies or some sweets by taking empty bottles back to the local off licences, running errands, knocking on doors to clear the snow – worth 3d, Tony Towers recalls – or doing small jobs for shopkeepers like the proprietor of a Charnwood Street wool shop, Miss Seward. Wool was commonly sold by the hank and had to be rolled into a ball before knitting: 'you had to sit with your hands held up' with the hank resting on them, as Ruth Wragg remembers: 'but if you volunteered to do it for the wool lady she would give you either an aniseed ball, a gobstopper or a stick of liquorice wood or a sherbert flying saucer, which was my favourite'.



CITY OF LEICESTER EDUCATION COMMITTEE
EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN
EMPLOYMENT CARD No. 624 B
Arthur Anthony BEYLESS
of [illegible] School, born 1-12-1946, and living at
46 [illegible] St Leicester
is permitted to engage in delivering newspapers for Mr Flinders
166 Charnwood St Leicester
between the hours of 5.0pm and 6.0pm on School Days
5.0pm and 6.0pm on Saturdays
5.0pm and 6.0pm on Holidays
under the provisions of the Bye-laws made by the Education Authority.
Certified this Ninth day of February 1961
Under Section 7(b) of the Bye-Laws no child may be employed unless in possession of his/her Employment Card. The Employment Card must be produced for inspection when required by any authorised officer of the Local Authority.
ELFED THOMAS.
Director of Education

Arthur Beyless' child employment card which allowed him to deliver newspapers as a teenager aged 14 in 1961. (Reproduced by permission of Arthur Beyless.)

Advertisement from a 1937 Coronation souvenir for Corrigan Footwear Ltd. who had premises at 220 - 222 Charnwood Street. This encouraged shoppers to 'Enjoy your Coronation festivities in our shoes'.

There were several second hand clothes shops in Charnwood Street as well as Bird's, along with drapers and outfitters like Walpole's, Bagnall's and Issitt's selling new clothes or household goods. An advertisement for Issitt's in 1920 lists sheets, blankets, overcoats, boys' 'strong cloth knickers', ladies' scarves and mechanics' overalls among the wares, which were displayed on hangers outside as well as in the shop itself. (16) Bagnall's 'general drapers' at 214 – 218 was recalled by several people as 'quite posh'. Its female assistants wore black and white clothes, and small change like a farthing would be given in kind – safety pins or a strip of paper with a few ordinary pins – rather than cash. Shops like Foster Bros. at 229 - 231 and Stabler's gents outfitters at 206 were 'very posh' or 'high class', the former with 'always a good display in the window and the latter selling 'trilby hats and caps, posh ties, hankies with your name on for the well-dressed "Charny" boys'. (17)

George Ager outside his hairdresser's shop at 275 Charnwood Street, decorated for the 1937 Coronation. (Reproduced by permission of Geoffrey Greatorex.)

Pawnbrokers were a part of Charnwood Street life as well. Frederick King was based at 172 - 174 in 1925 and later owned another pawnshop on Willow Bridge Street in the Wharf Street area. His Charnwood Street premises were taken over by G. & T. Ashwell in 1932 as an outfitter's, but were listed solely as a pawnbroker by 1960. The fifty years from 1920 also saw something of a transition in goods sold by electrical shops in Charnwood Street. In the earlier twentieth century people used to drop their radio batteries off to be charged at such shops, or in the case of Rowland Lord, at his uncle's furniture and bric-a-brac shop at 112 Charnwood Street. From the 1950s shops such as Jeffrey's, J. & S. electrical and wireless dealers at 177, and the Catherine Electrical Service shop run by Mr and Mrs Croxtall at 277 did a growing trade in television sales and repairs.

A number of establishments provided services rather than goods, or – like newsagents, hairdressers, chemists, and James Jelley, the local undertaker at 173 Charnwood Street, combined the two. (18) Mike Smith's uncle Eric Baker had a dispensing chemist's shop on Charnwood Street, known as Hill's. Mike writes that:

> The Hill was my grandfather, J.W. Hill, who lived in Newby Street and was – as he put it – a tailor to the gentry. He was a wealthy character and the principal shareholder in my uncle's business… During the 1939-45 war my uncle made a very comfortable income by manufacturing and selling Petaline. This was ladies' make up, the manufacture of which depended upon the availability of quantities of grease, oil and dye which – with the aid of pestles, mortars, and various mixing machines – he conjured into four staple lines in the cellar under the shop. They were: foundation cream in a toothpaste type tube which needed a special machine to fill; face cream put into what to me looked like fish paste jars; lipstick, very much in demand as red dye was difficult to obtain; and leg make-up to imitate nylon stockings. This was a two part kit. The main part was brown stain to paint the leg, the other part was a black marker to impersonate the seam down the back. During the war on Saturdays, I would travel to Charnwood Street with my father and help to pack the orders for the week's delivery which my father made, part in his car and part on his bike. I believe that the Earl of Stamford pub in Birstall was a local sales point. It is an interesting picture to conjure up: "Good evening landlord, two pints of best bitter and a jar of face cream"...

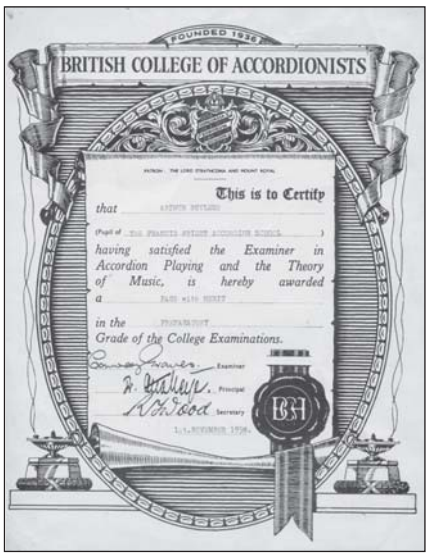
Barbers and hairdressers were also much in evidence. They included Tate's at 155 - 157 (later Eileen's ladies' hairdresser), which also sold cigarettes, snuff and toys; Ernest Toone at 224, popularly known as 'Lilting'; George Harry Buckby at 130; W. H. Bosworth at 126; and Eunice, another ladies' hairdresser, at 112. Rowland Lord remembers that Toone's also sold snuff in paper packets – loose and weighed on scales – and that hairdressers' shops in Charnwood Street were always full at dinner time (what we now call lunchtime) with boys from Gimson's engineering works in Vulcan Road. George Ager, who combined hairdressing with a tobacconist shop at 272 Charnwood Street, was particularly known for singeing the end of hair once it was cut. His grandson Geoff Greatorex wrote that:

> My Grandfather used to work six days a week and Sunday was his fishing day. My job on a Saturday was to go down Green Lane Road and fetch his maggots, calling at the wet fish shop for winkles which I ate on the back doorstep with bread and lard – no butter for us in those days. This was in Ocky Day [Occupation Road] as it was called, which ran parallel with Charnwood Street. I used to go to his shop on a Saturday and watch him cutting the hair. He used to have a tin box with a hole in the lid. This had a wick protruding out of it, which he kept alight – then when he had finished cutting the hair he would set light to a taper and run it round the edge of the hair. This would make it last longer between cuts.

Harvey Chaplin's music shop was located in Charnwood Street for many years. In the 1920s and '30s it occupied 210 - 212, on the corner of Preston Street. By 1954 Vine's cycle shop had taken over 212, but Chaplin's continued to trade next door in 1969, shortly before demolition, moving then onto Humberstone Road. Ray Massey's grandmother purchased a piano from Chaplin's 'as a wedding present for my mother and father… He [Harvey Chaplin] used to sit and play in the shop window on a Saturday afternoon when Charnwood Street was busy'. Expensive items like the piano bought for Mrs B. Bailey for 17 guineas by her older sisters and brothers could be paid for on the 'weekly': 'I took the money in every week; about 1/6d I believe'. The piano was 'delivered on a wooden barrow after the shop closed on Saturday night. I was beside myself with excitement!'. (19) As well as other musical instruments, Chaplin's sold sheet music and – in due course – vinyl records. 'I bought my first single record from there in 1963', Ray Bland remembers: 'I Want to Hold Your Hand by the Beatles, which I still have to this day'. Rod Spencer, whose grandfather had a men's outfitter's shop on Charnwood Street, recalls the family buying their first TV set from Chaplin's.

Ray also had accordion lessons from around the age of 12 from Francis Wright, who sold accordions from his shop at 143 Charnwood Street before moving to University Road. The shop was previously owned by his father Fergus, a boot repairer, and Francis took over the business before entering the music trade. Arthur Beyless was another of Francis Wright's pupils, achieving a Preparatory Pass with Merit from the British College of Accordionists in 1958 before the family moved away to Barrow-upon-Soar. Francis Wright himself became a prominent member of the British College of Accordionists, which awarded him an Honorary Fellowship in 1971. (20)

Perhaps the most unique premises in Charnwood Street – on the corner at 66 Flint Street, to be precise – were occupied by the artist Fred Weston. 'Before he started displaying his paintings', Irene Southwell (née Hall) recalls, 'he used to put



Francis Wright's Accordion School was above 143 Charnwood Street. It was here that Arthur Beyless learnt to play the accordion. (Reproduced by permission of Arthur Beyless.)

photos he had framed in the window. He did them so cheaply during the war that women from my factory, Thomas and Riley's down Green Lane, used to give me photos of their husbands and boyfriends, in their uniforms, to take to him to be framed'. Keith Crewe recalls from visits to his grandparents in the 1950s that:

> The property had obviously been a shop at one time with large plate glass windows on either side of the door allowing daylight to flood in. Although there wasn't a general theme to his paintings, many of them were religious in nature and were usually on very large canvases… My brothers and I would often stop and watch.

It was 'a nose to the glass' attraction for Rowland Lord and his school friends, but the attention was not always welcomed by the artist himself. He 'used to paint all sorts of wonderful pictures…', Ruth Wragg recalled: but 'us kids used to watch him to see how long it would be before he would shoo us off'.

Charnwood Street and most of the streets around it were demolished around 1970 as part of a wider redevelopment of the city. By then its housing conditions were widely acknowledged as poor. From his 'adult perspective', Brian Papworth wrote, they were 'primitive', with no inside toilet or bathroom, and open fires for heating:

> We did not know a lot better at the time, and so you accept it as the norm, but when we started seeing relatives re-housed in Council houses we the saw how poor ours were… When we left we moved to a new three bedroom terraced council house which had indoor plumbing and central heating – such luxury! (21)

David Angrave lived in Charnwood Street for over ten years from the mid-1940s, 'didn't want to leave', and used to go back to recapture some of his memories: 'Just being there brought it all back… [It was] one of the best parts of my life'.

So what was it about the area that inspired – and still inspires - such affection and strong memories? Why does it continue to have the sort of 'hold' that he describes for people who lived and worked and shopped there? Like other predominantly working class areas of Leicester, the sense of 'community' of which people often speak was based in part on the mutual help provided by neighbours and friends 'in the same boat' in times of need. In the case of Charnwood Street there is no doubt that the 'extended family of shops and shopkeepers' provided the distinctive character that made it so memorable. (22)

It was not only their great variety or the fact that 'you could get everything you needed without going into Leicester', though these were important, but the 'warm personal service' to customers in contrast to the supermarkets and chain stores that superseded them; the 'jolly banter' or 'chatter with customers over the slab front' that made shopping a pleasure rather than a chore; the 'colourful and vibrant' displays that were 'a bit like a wonderland' for a child (23); and the 'character, life and passion' that made it, in the words of Carl Lee:

> a fantastic place to live in. Even though I was a young boy at the time living in a small terrace house with ten of us, it left me with great memories that I often share with my young family now, and will continue to do so.

Charnwood Street has all but disappeared from the landscape of Leicester, but it is the author's hope that the memories shared here – and others that they may evoke in turn – will ensure it a lasting place in history.

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19. Leicester Mercury, 16th April 2011.
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21. For a detailed account of Brian Papworth's family house, see 'A Charnwood Street house' at http://cib2.wordpress.com/2013/10/22/a-charnwood-street-house/
22. Charnwood Street is often compared with the Wharf Street area, another very well-remembered shopping street in Leicester - but while there are similarities, Wharf Street had a greater number of large-to-medium shops including Marvin's department store and others regarded as more 'high class' than Charnwood Street. See C. Brown, *Wharf Street Revisited* (Leicester City Council, 1995) for a detailed account of the Wharf Street area.
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* Memories of other aspects of Charnwood Street including schools, churches and chapels, and leisure activities can be found on the author's blog 'Charnwood Street, Leicester' at http://cib2.wordpress.com/, along with accounts drawn from documents of its first fifty years.

Acknowledgements:
I am very grateful to all the people who responded to my appeal for memories of the Charnwood Street area, both those quoted directly in the text and everyone else who took the time to write or talk to me. They not only gave me valuable information but helped me to understand 'Charny' in its wider context. Particular thanks are due to those who have provided photographs and permission to reproduce them.

‘And Particularly All Nonconformist Ministers’: Leicestershire’s Rebel Suspects in 1685

Alan Betteridge

Studying religious Dissent in Leicestershire, I found unexplained notes in the Lieutenancy Book for 1685 which in fact relate to the Duke of Monmouth’s rebellion. These tell of James II directing certain Lords-Lieutenant to arrest ‘particularly Nonconformist ministers’. Leicestershire, Coventry and Warwickshire were the only Midland counties involved. Research into what lay behind the notes, led to the discovery that six existing Leicestershire churches derive from these 1685 ‘terrorist suspects’ without realising it: Arnesby Baptist, Bardon Park United Reformed, Earl Shilton Baptist, Friar Lane and Braunstone Baptist (Leicester), Kibworth Congregational and Lutterworth United Reformed.

Elias Goadby mercer of Ibstock was on the list for 1685 to be ‘fetched in’. His church went on to become today’s Bardon Park United Reformed Church. (Photograph by Margaret Betteridge.)

The Monmouth Rebellion

Charles II’s illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, was the Protestant rival to Charles’s Roman Catholic brother the Duke of York, who as heir to the throne succeeded his brother as James II of England and Ireland, and James VII of Scotland in February 1685.

Very early in the new reign, on 11th June 1685, Monmouth rebelled against his uncle and landed with a small army at Lyme Regis, Dorset. Although a surprising number of ordinary people in the southwest of England joined him, he did not get beyond Bristol, and in less than four weeks was defeated at Sedgemoor, Somerset, on July 5th. Monmouth was captured on July 9th and executed on the 15th.

Viewed from Leicestershire, this seems like an episode that took place entirely in another part of the country. It might, however, have turned out very differently.

Although in the event there were no effective uprisings in Whig centres across the country, such as London, Cheshire, etc., James was threatened by insurgencies elsewhere at the same time as Monmouth was moving from the southwest. Therefore on June 20th, he issued orders to the Lords-Lieutenant in several counties considered likely to rebel on the following lines:

> The King to [John Manners, 9th Earl of Rutland, later created 1st Duke of Rutland]. We authorise you to give order for seizing all disaffected and suspicious persons, and particularly all nonconformist ministers and such persons as served against our royal father and late royal brother, and to send them in safe custody to [the prison at Leicester] to be secured there till farther order.
> Postscript. You are also to give order for securing all the horses belonging to persons so seized. (1)

Leicestershire was the only Midland county considered risky enough to start with, but on June 25th, very similar letters went to the Deputy Lieutenants of Warwickshire and of Coventry. (2)

The day after Monmouth’s execution, some areas received the order to release some of the suspects, though the one for Leicestershire is not recorded:

> The Earl of Sunderland to the Deputy Lieutenants of Warwickshire. I have received his Majesty’s

Lieutenancy Book for Leicestershire 1685 - Summary of entries for Leicestershire's rebel suspects				
Bound over: M[r] John Palmer for £200 M[r] Beckett for £100 M[r] Cradock & others for £100				
	To be 'fetched in'		**Committed to prison**	
June 24th	[John] Goddard Madame Pheasant Jo[n]:Jennings	Syston [West Langton] [West Langton]		
June 25th			Rich: Marloe Mich: Poole Michael Hudson John Goddard John Beasley	Frolesworth Ullesthorpe Ullesthorpe Syston
June 26th	Alex Hurst Rich[d] Brown	Peckleton Stapleton	Humphrey Chavaney W[m] Bent Richard Farmer W[m] Burdett John Gilbert W[m] Inge	Quarndon Little Stretton Kilby Mowsley Saddington Knighton
June 27th	John Jones [Thomas] Paine Elias Godeby John Sheffeild John Flude Mathew Hubbert Tho. Bennett	Desford Thornton Ibstock Sibson 'Innton' Much Ashby Upton	Joseph Lee ---- Dilkes Jonath. Cooke Tho. Bates John Shuttlewood Tho. Fox Rob[t] Ault Richard Ireland [Robert] Johnson	Catthorpe Cold Newton Leicester Houghton Langley Castle Donington Ashby-de-la-Zouch Woodthorpe Saddington
June 29th			Robert Johnson (Author's comment: Presumably not found on June 27th.) Richard Brown	Saddington Stapleton

commands for discharging all persons taken up upon suspicion only, and for restoring their horses. But those particularly accused of having corresponded with or otherwise abetted the rebels his Majesty would have committed to custody, to be tried at the Assizes or elsewhere as shall be thought fit. (3)

The Response in Leicestershire

The relevant Lieutenancy Book for Leicestershire has the names of five people, arrested on June 25th, six more on the 26th, nine on the 27th and one on the 29th – twenty-one in all. (4) Eight different deputy lieutenants authorised eleven batches of arrests over those five days. The securing of the suspects was not completed until nine days after the original order had been issued. The deputy lieutenants came from across the county: Richard Lister of Thorpe Arnold near Melton Mowbray, Thomas Beaumont of Coleorton near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Thomas Boothby of Tooley Park on Leicester Forest, Charles Cockayne of nearby Elmesthorpe, William Halford of Wistow south of Leicester, Richard Roberts of Thorpe Langton near Market Harborough, and John Verney of Allexton on the border with Rutland.

The prisoners' release was much speedier. The order was sent from London on July 16th to the Earl of Rutland, who received it and passed it on during the morning of July 18th:

> To M[r] Jo[n] Passaway Keeper of His Maj[ties] Goale at Leicester
> I rec[d] this Morning his Maj[ties] Comande to release all y[e] Prison[rs] who were Comitted to y[r] Custody by mee or my deputie Lieu[tt] (5)

The People Arrested

Who were the twenty-one people in Leicestershire who were considered to be 'disaffected and suspicious'?

James's order included 'particularly all nonconformist ministers'. In Leicestershire only three such were imprisoned: '**Richard ffarmer** of Kilby Nonconformist minister' (June 26th), '**M^{r} Joseph Lee** of Catthorpe Nonconformist Minister' and '**M^{r} John Shuttlewood** of Langley a Nonconformist' (on June 27th).

The Farmers were well established at Kilby, where Richard's father and his son (both also called Richard) served as churchwardens in the parish church. The Richard imprisoned in 1685 had been leading a Calvinistic (or Particular) Baptist church since the 1662 Act of Uniformity. Farmer's danger to the authorities probably arose because his church was not just in Kilby and nearby Arnesby (where its successor still continues as a Baptist church), but by 1672 had spread to several other south Leicestershire places (Blaby, Countesthorpe, Fleckney, Knighton, Whetstone, and Wigston Magna). Farmer traded in silk, and that would cause him to travel, creating a wider network. This became apparent twelve years after Monmouth's rebellion, when the extant Arnesby Baptist records begin, showing a church with members and further meetings in Barkby, Oakthorpe (in Measham parish), Lutterworth, and Coventry, with more places as the eighteenth century began. Much of this spread must go back to Farmer's mix of commercial and evangelical activity. However, three years after the 1685 events he died and was buried in Kilby parish churchyard, in July 1688. (6)

Lee and Shuttlewood were Nonconformist ministers in the stricter sense, that, unlike Farmer, they had been Presbyterian parish ministers before 1660 who had been ejected from their livings for not conforming to the Restoration settlement which restored bishops and the Book of Common Prayer.

Joseph Lee (1620 - 1694) was the son of a rector of Catthorpe. He was rector of nearby Cotesbach, 1646-1660, and then continued to hold Presbyterian meetings in his house back at Catthorpe. He does not seem to have been troubled by the authorities before 1685, even though he was living only 3 miles from his former parish, illegal according to the 1665 Five Mile Act. So although he had not ranged over a wide area and was now 65, he was very well established in the southernmost tip of the county, ministering in 1690 at the Lutterworth Presbyterian (later called Independent, then Congregational, and now United Reformed) congregation, drawn from a wide area of south Leicestershire. (7)

John Shuttlewood (1632 - 1689) was parish minister of Ravenstone, 1654-1660. He was thereafter frequently harassed and fined for his nonconformity, and was living at Stoke Golding in 1669, in Lubenham in 1672, in nearby Sulby, Northamptonshire in 1678, and in Creaton, Northamptonshire when he died. He must have been back in Leicestershire in 1685, being arrested at Langley, adjacent to Diseworth in the northwest of the county. As Langley was extra-parochial he was out of the reach of churchwardens who wanted to take him to the church courts for not going to his parish church. He was one of the most active of the ejected ministers in the Midlands, being reported in 1669 at Ashby Magna, Barwell, Great Bowden, Ibstock and Theddingworth as well as Stoke Golding. Records describe how 'His constitution was greatly injured by the sufferings he met with, and the labours he went through in those rigorous and cruel times'. Although his son John also became a Nonconformist minister, he was only nineteen in 1685, so it seems likely the ailing father must have been the one imprisoned. (8)

Other long-standing leading Nonconformists arrested included **Michael Hudson** of Ullesthorpe whose house there had been licensed for Presbyterians during the Indulgence granted by Charles II in 1672 (9), and **Michael Poole** of the same place. The Pooles were a Puritan family, from whom came Ferdinando (c.1596 - 1676), a minister ejected in 1662, who continued to have property in his native village. It was said of him that he came 'of godly parents'. Michael was part of this family. The Ullesthorpe Nonconformists were connected to the nearby Lutterworth Presbyterians until they had their own chapel in 1806. (10)

Ferdinando Poole was licensed as a Presbyterian teacher at Loughborough in 1672, along with several others. However, the only person linked with Loughborough arrested in 1685 was **Richard Ireland** of nearby Woodthorpe whose house was also licensed for Presbyterians in 1672. (11)

Two others were what would later be called General Baptists, whose leadership went back to 1651 at least. **William Burdett** (died 1703) signed for his church, variously named Theddingworth in 1651 and Gumley in 1652, and licensed his own house in Mowsley in 1672. All three villages are within three miles of each other in south Leicestershire. (12) **William Inge** (died 1692) belonged to an influential family at Knighton, two miles outside Leicester. An Inge was mayor of Leicester in 1636-7; another was parish minister at Knighton in 1658. In 1664 William was taxed for six hearths at Knighton. 'Wm Inge Esqr' was the largest purchaser of fee farm and chief rents from Leicester Corporation in 1670-1. He represented the Leicester General Baptists in 1656, signed for them in 1659, and was teacher to one of the two (quite different) Baptist

meetings in Knighton in 1669. The current successor of Inge's church is today's Friar Lane and Braunstone Baptist Church. (13)

Not all of those arrested appear to have been Nonconformists, but belonged to important local families. At Quorn, the Chaveneys lived in a substantial house in what is now Meeting Street. The '**Humphrey Chavaney** of Quarndon gen[tleman]' gaoled on 26th June 1685 had been named after his grandfather who made the family prosperous through his service for Charles I. His father Peter died in 1670, and Humphrey junior himself died in May 1688, a few weeks after his heir, Henry, was born. Henry's 'gay and careless life' ended the Chaveney family's wealth. The imprisoned Chaveney must have been too explicit in his support for Monmouth, and more of a danger because of his wealth. (14) '**Robert Johnson** of Saddington gent' came from one of the chief landowning families in the village from at least the 1530s, who frequently gave their sons the name Robert. (15)

Others 'fetched in' before the Deputy Lieutenants

In a quite different part of the Lieutenancy Book there are four Orders 'for the seu'all psons here under named to be fetcht before the deputy Leiu^{ts}', or a similar entry. (16) These are for three people on June 24th, two on the 26th, and seven on the 27th, twelve in all. Two of them, **John Goddard** of Syston and **Richard Brown** of Stapleton, were later on the lists of those imprisoned.

Again, Nonconformist ministers were included. '**John Sheffield** of Sibson' was a younger associate of John Shuttlewood. His father William Sheffield (1619 - 1673) was ejected from Stoke Golding (near Sibson) in 1662. William then went to Kibworth so that his children could benefit from the school there, preaching in his own home until his death. John was ordained in 1682 by Shuttlewood and three others. He began as chaplain to Mrs Palmer at Temple Hall, Wellsborough (near Sibson) where a small meeting house was built for him, and another at Atherstone, Warwickshire, probably in 1689. Sheffield went as minister to Southwark in 1697, where his ministry earned him a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). He died in 1726, aged 72. (17)

One of the first people to be fetched in was the only woman involved, '**Madam Pheasant**' along with another minister, '**Jo^{n}: Jennings** to be fetched in at y^{e} same House'. In 1659 Mary Pheasant, widow, had purchased from the trustees of her late husband, Stephen, the manor and land of her late father, Arthur Staveley, in West and East Langton. In 1672 John Jennings (1634 - 1700), an ejected minister from Hampshire, was licensed as a Presbyterian teacher at Mrs Pheasant's house at West Langton. 'While he lived with her, he gathered a church out of that neighbourhood, and for some years after her death continued in her house, in which his congregation used to assemble.' She died early in 1689. Jennings had moved to Kibworth Harcourt by 1696, where the Congregational church derived from this seventeenth century activity still meets. (18)

Prominent non-ministerial Nonconformists were also brought in. One of the houses used by Presbyterians in Ibstock parish in 1669 was that of '**Elias Goadby** mercer', and he was on the list for 1685, still of Ibstock. His church went on to become today's Bardon Park United Reformed Church. (19)
Another was **Matthew Hubbard** ('Mathew Hubbert of Much Ashby') who provided one of the two homes in Ashby Magna for: 'A Conventicle of presbiterians or independents . . . usually kept & unlawfull assemblies . . . on Sundaies & other daies and nights in pticular at Edward Pratt Mathew Hubbard husbandman [taxed for 3 hearths] ____ houses the number about 100 of all sorts of psons, most ____ whose children and ____ are by them and not at the pish church baptized.' Hubbard's house alone was licensed in 1672. (20)

'___ **Paine** of Thorneton' was probably Michael Paine, licensed to be a Presbyterian teacher in his own house at Thornton in 1672. Like the Ibstock Presbyterians, Nonconformists from villages like Thornton became part of the Bardon Park Church. (21)

'**John Jones** of Desford' was probably 'John Jones [licensed] to be a Baptist Teacher' at a Barwell house not far away in 1672. He is probably to be linked with the church that became the Earl Shilton General Baptist Church. (22)

Bound Over

Immediately before the entries in the 1685 Lieutenancy Book for Leicestershire for those 'fetched in', are three names 'Bound for' various sums of money. The context suggests they had to provide these as sureties for good behaviour during the Monmouth crisis. (23) '**M^{r} John Palmer** is Bound for 200^{li}' [£200]; elsewhere is an entry 'June y^{e} 23 1685 Memorandum that John Palmer of Leicr: in ye Newarke . . . recognizance . . . 200^{li} . . . ' He was probably one of the Palmers who were substantial hosts for illegal meetings in 1669 at Wellsborough: 'Sibbeston. A Presbiterian Independent and Anabaptisticall Conventicle usually held together at the house of Mr. ___ Palmer [taxed for 11 hearths] uppon the Sundayes & weeke dayes 40 meeters at the least . . . ' (24) Their chaplain in 1685, John Sheffield, was one of those 'fetched in' three days later. The others 'Bound for' were '**M^{r} Beckett** [£]100' and '**M^{r} Cradock** & others [£]100'.

Omissions

Although the King's Order was for 'all Nonconformist ministers' to be kept 'in safe custody', some were simply fetched in and apparently immediately released. An even greater deviation from the original order was the complete ignoring of quite a few Nonconformist ministers. For instance, no minister or leading person connected with the Presbyterians at Hinckley, Wigston or Narborough was affected. Baptists were more likely to cause trouble, but no one leading the group of congregations around Sutton-in-the-Elms was arrested. Wymeswold, Mountsorrel and Sileby had substantial Protestant dissent but they were left alone as well.

In December 1668 Quakers in Smeeton Westerby and the nearby area (which included Kibworth and Saddington) were seen as dangerous and were to be suppressed by the authorities because they 'assemble and meete tegeather under y^{e}: pretence of joyninge in a religious worshipp'. (25) But in 1685 there were no Quakers among the suspects. Perhaps by now the Quaker rejection of violence had become common knowledge, and it would be recognised that they would not countenance armed rebellion any more. The Quakers would be aware of what was going on in the county, and so their Quarterly Meeting planned to take place in Leicester on 25th July 1685 did not happen. Representatives from Quaker meetings across Leicestershire and Rutland had met regularly since 1672; this was the first time they had failed to do so. (26)

The County Gaol

At this time, the County Gaol stood on the east side of High Street (now Highcross Street) at the southern corner with Free School Lane in Leicester. In December 1685 money was levied to put it in order; it was said that it had long been used as the County Gaol. Did one of the more prosperous prisoners held as rebel suspects earlier in the year let its condition be known to those who could have influence on improving it? Conditions must have been unhealthy and uncomfortable, with a reliance on friends to supply food and drink. However, a letter of complaint from Quaker prisoners in Warwick gaol in 1661 shows that the gaoler offered alternative accommodation and food in his own house – for a down payment of 7 shillings plus 4d. a night. There is no official record of such private arrangements, but the Warwick gaoler was probably not the only one to make such provision for his own profit as well as for the comfort of better-off prisoners in the later seventeenth century. (27) The Quaker founder, George Fox, gave a little insight into the County Gaol in Leicester in 1662, when he and six or seven other Quakers spent a month there: 'When the First-day came, I bid one of my fellow prisoners carry down a stool and set it in the yard, and give notice to the debtors and felons there would be a meeting in the yard and any that would hear the word of the Lord they might come there. So the debtors and prisoners and we went down into the court and had a very precious meeting, and he [the gaoler] never meddled.' (28) This implies a freedom of association on the initiative of prisoners, despite the grim conditions under which they would have been kept.

Warwickshire and Coventry

There are no surviving archives in the Warwick County or Coventry City Record Offices like Leicestershire's Lieutenancy Book. The only document with any relevance in the Warwick County Record Office is a letter of June 18th received (and kept) by one of the deputy lieutenants from the Warwickshire Lord-Lieutenant, requiring trained bands to turn out on the following Saturday. This does not seem to have been a regular occurrence, and looks as though they were getting ready for conflict with supporters of Monmouth.

The Coventry City records show why there was good reason to be concerned in the Midlands after Monmouth had landed. Less than three years earlier Monmouth had been encouraged by his supporters to make a tour of many parts of the country. On 7th September 1682, Monmouth had been enthusiastically welcomed by hundreds of Coventry citizens gathered on The Park just south of the town wall (around the area where Junctions 4 and 5 of Coventry's inner ring road now stand). Monmouth was where their hopes for the Stuart succession lay. (29)

Conclusion

Of the thirty-four people listed in the Lieutenancy Book for the period of the Monmouth Rebellion, fourteen were either reported for conventicles in 1669 or licensed for such in 1672 (and sometimes both). Another two had come onto the Nonconformist scene in more recent years. Two of them had been prominent since the 1650s.

How much of a threat were these Nonconformists? Many were now getting on in years – at least three died within four years of 1685, and two more within ten years. Their notoriety came from a long attachment to illegal religious meetings, sometimes called 'unlawful', as at Palmer's house at Wellsborough Lodge (Sibson). The most radical evidence against the 1685 suspects went back over twenty-five years and was probably quite unknown to the deputy lieutenants. William Inge and William Burdett had signed *A Further Testimony to Truth* in 1659, pleading for the 'Publick Good Old Cause' (a republic governed by parliament) as the way forward in the political crisis of that year. They petitioned

that it should be godly and honest men who held public office in the Commonwealth, and asked for an end to tithes that supported the national system of parish ministers. Their document did not even get into Thomason's collection of tracts (now in the British Library), that the authorities could have searched. In the event, Inge and Burdett did not get their republic but instead there came a restored monarchy, and thereafter they became quiescent politically. Were they now likely to shed blood and spend wealth simply for another version of the Stuart monarchy? (30)

However much we may think that the Leicestershire suspects of 1685 were unlikely to join in a military rebellion, Monmouth did have Nonconformists in his army in June 1685. The Taunton Baptist minister and two other Somerset Baptists were executed for this involvement. In any case, when a serious threat arises to the establishment, any government must be seen to be 'doing something about it'. A raft of older well-known Nonconformists or their offspring could be arrested quite quickly, giving a nervous public some reassurance, and giving those tempted to be hotheads cause to think again.

And to be on the safe side, Leicester Borough paid out five shillings for ale at 'Two Burne fires upon the newes of the late Duke of Monmouth's defeated and taken', and another 3s. 1½d. for the wood. (31) It was an enjoyable way for the citizens to put themselves on the right side politically – for the time being. All would soon change. Losing support in other quarters, in 1686 James II issued an Indulgence for all Protestant Dissenters, repeated in April 1687, taking away any question of them being suspect rebels. Presentments of Nonconformists to the courts for not attending parish churches ended in March 1687. (32) Then in late 1688 the arrival of William of Orange in the west country achieved what Monmouth had failed to do – to change the Stuart dynasty itself, and to bring in an Act of Toleration (1689) properly approved by Parliament.

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29. T. B. Burbidge, *Old Coventry and Lady Godiva* (Cornish Bros., 1952), p.257.
30. Betteridge, *op. cit*., XXV no.6 (April 1974), pp.279-281.
31. Stocks, *op. cit*., pp.584f.
32. ROLLR: 1D41/13/82 f.30.

The Richard Farmer imprisoned in 1685 had been leading a Calvinistic (or Particular) Baptist church since the 1662 Act of Uniformity. Arnesby Baptist Church is the successor to his church at Arnesby. (Photograph by Margaret Betteridge.)

Recent Publications
Edited by Cynthia Brown

LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND: GENERAL

THE LAST OF THE LUDDITES
Ian Porter
Panda Eyes, 2015, 134pp, illus., ISBN 9780957102798, £9.99

The Regency (the second decade of the nineteenth century) was a turbulent time which long continued to resonate within the economic, social and cultural history of England. It was also the setting for the machine-breaking Luddites. Active mainly in Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, the Luddites have long been recognised as key players in the Industrial Revolution. While some consider them in a positive light as part of a tradition of British radicalism or as forerunners of the trade union movement, others denigrate them as anarchic rioters – even revolutionaries – bent on violence and destruction. There is probably some truth in all of these views, so writing about the Luddites is always something of a challenge. Ian Porter's book is a refreshingly honest study, focusing on Luddite activity in Loughborough, but placing it quite rightly in the wider context of the East Midlands. The 'Loughborough job' of 1816, when Luddites smashed the hosiery frames of noted inventor and industrialist John Heathcoat and his partner John Boden, is discussed in particular detail. With a mixture of historical narrative and lengthy (mostly verbatim) extracts from contemporary documents, Porter provides a supportive, though balanced, account of Luddite activity in and beyond Loughborough. The narrative sections are clearly written and it is helpful to have the original source texts gathered together. The illustrations include reproductions of contemporary material and photographs of buildings with Luddite connections, plus some lively little sketches imagining how certain incidents might have appeared. Although the book's style and presentation is clearly aimed at a popular audience rather than an academic one, it is a readable and very entertaining study of an important topic.

John Hinks

LEICESTERSHIRE DIALECT
Diane Davies
Bradwell Books, 2015, 80pp, illus., ISBN 9781910551103, £3.99

This is the latest of the Bradwell Books series of dialect explorations, ranging from Scotland to Cornwall, from the Lake District to Norfolk. The author, an incomer to Leicestershire, developed an interest in the subject and started collecting examples of the local accents and expressions in her university teaching. As a result of working with one of the County Council's most successful heritage initiatives, the Heritage Wardens' 'Village Voices' project, she recorded the speech of different generations of people who had lived most of their lives in the same Leicestershire villages.

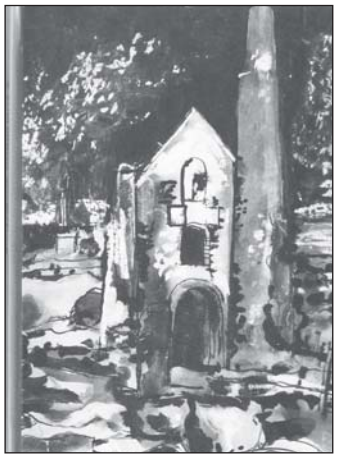
The book begins with a short overview of the subject, reminding us that the East Midlands form of Middle English gave us today's Standard English as an intermediate dialect between the north and south of the country which was understood by most people. Leicestershire – centre of the linguistic universe in the Middle Ages! A brief Glossary of words collected by the author follows, perhaps the most interesting part of the book. It is a mixture of words which seem to be quite unique to this area of the country, and others which crop up elsewhere. I look forward to replacing any talk of 'confusion' with the much more imaginative 'embranglement'. When a touch of palpitation overtakes me, I am going to be 'gloppen' in future, or even a bit 'queechy'. I will avoid those who gossip, the 'splatheradabs' of life. Other words in the Glossary strike me as quite common: the coming of autumn heralded the 'back-end' of the year; my grandmother, who rejoiced in bad health, often felt 'badly'; and we had many a 'jitty' where I came from up north. The author also includes modern dialect expressions, such as 'at the minute' which puzzled me when I first came to Leicestershire.

The longer section of the book devoted to what the author describes as 'an eclectic mix of information from a range of sources' works less well. This includes an excursion into place names, an up-to-date tour of Richard III, and many extracts from village customs, relying heavily on Roy Palmer's *Folklore of Leicestershire & Rutland* (1985). This part of the book is not really about dialect, but is more about Leicestershire's culture. Finally there are some extracts from the 'Village Voices' project to illustrate the value of oral history. The book contains some black and white illustrations and there is a short bibliography. In a book written by someone who taught at the University of Leicester, I was sorry not to see any reference to the study of surnames and their history which has been going on in its Centre for English Local History for many years, and in particular to the volume on Leicestershire's surnames by David Postles (1998) which is a rich source of information

on dialect as well. However, it is an entertaining read. If I have to pick a favourite, it would be the wet weather warning 'black over Bill's mother's' - which has a Les Dawson ring to it!

Margaret Bonney

A PUBLISHING ADVENTURE: "RIG" AND "TREV"
Trevor Hickman and Rigby Graham
Witmeha Press, 2015, 64pp, illus., ISBN 1870998138



This book, published as a limited edition of 30 copies, is a record of the 'personal thoughts' of Trevor Hickman on the death of the artist, illustrator and muralist Rigby Graham who died in May 2015 at the age of 84. They met in a bookbinding class in the 1950s at the Leicester College of Art, but 'Trev' first became aware of 'Rig' in 1949, when he mistook him for 'an apprentice in the Painting and Decorating Department' due to the large murals that he was painting on the College walls. It is their association through the world of publishing, in particular printing and bookbinding, that is at the heart of this memoir. In 1964 they formed the Brewhouse Private Press, aiming to publish 'books that were different, if possible, to any other type of publication in the book publishing world' – the first in 1966, based on a Japanese concertina structure.

There are also accounts of shared outings and visits during which Rigby Graham produced large numbers of paintings and drawings. One such outing involved walking the whole length of the derelict canal from Melton Mowbray to Oakham, passing without permission through the Petfoods complex, struggling against thorns and nettles on the overgrown towpath at Brentingby, and walking through the culvert under the canal near Wymondham - despite Rigby Graham's usual 'thin shoes, totally unsuitable for wading through two feet of water'. Descriptions of publications are interspersed with accounts of other expeditions, including the self-confessed 'stupidity' of wearing only Wellingtons when caught in heavy snow while climbing Scafell; and cooking their own breakfast in a five-star hotel in Ireland after failing to wake up the 'two bodies… lying across the floor' amid the debris of the previous night's food and drink. This is an unusual book, and Trevor Hickman is in no doubt that 'Rig' would have 'enjoyed giving the "Red Pen Treatment" to this text'; but both in terms of publishing history and the entertaining account of the friendship between the two, perhaps he would not have consigned too much of it to oblivion.

Cynthia Brown

RUTLAND RECORD: JOURNAL OF THE RUTLAND LOCAL HISTORY AND RECORD SOCIETY, NO. 35
Various authors
Rutland Local History and Record Society, 2015, illus., £4.50

This edition of the *Rutland Record* is as diverse and well presented as we have come to expect. It features a comprehensive survey by Nick Hill and Vanessa Doe of Preston Manor House, built c1631 and one of the largest seventeenth century houses in Rutland. It was previously thought to be constructed for the Sheild family, but documentary research suggests that it was built by the Rector of Preston, Richard Swanne, and later purchased from members of his family by William Sheild. A detailed description of the original house is accompanied by photographs, plans and a map. Shorter sections follow on the development of the house in the seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, along with biographies of Richard Swanne and William Sheild, and information about their wider families. One of the most unusual features of the house, a lunar eclipse painting discovered on the rear of a cupboard door in the closed well of a staircase, possibly the work of the local astronomer Vincent Wing, is also discussed in some depth. Kate Cooper contributes a substantial analysis of population trends in Rutland from 1851 – 1911, drawing on birthplace data from Census returns which make it possible to trace migration both to and from the county. The decision to move was always 'a very complex and personal one', but additional research identifies some of the factors that might have influenced it during this particular period - agricultural depression foremost among them. Others included the expanding railway network, increased working class literacy, greater access to information beyond the immediate neighbourhood, and widening urban opportunities for female employment. A sealed and concealed seventeenth century stoneware jar found in Exton is discussed by Alan Massey and Tim Clough - a detailed analysis of its contents demonstrating that it was a 'witch bottle' to ward off spells. Tim Clough and Robert Ovens also present images from the Jack Hart Collection of picture postcards at Rutland County Museum to illustrate some of Rutland's 'lost' public houses, among them the Pied Calf at Lyddington and the Three Horseshoes at Market Overton. The journal concludes with an extensive survey of Rutland history and archaeology, and historic building recording in 2014, along with a bibliography of Rutland books for 2013.

Cynthia Brown

Other recent publications

AGAINST THE GRAIN: THE LIFE AND ART OF RIGBY GRAHAM
Malcolm Yorke
Goldmark, 2015

LEICESTER

LEICESTER IN THE 1960s: TEN YEARS THAT CHANGED A CITY

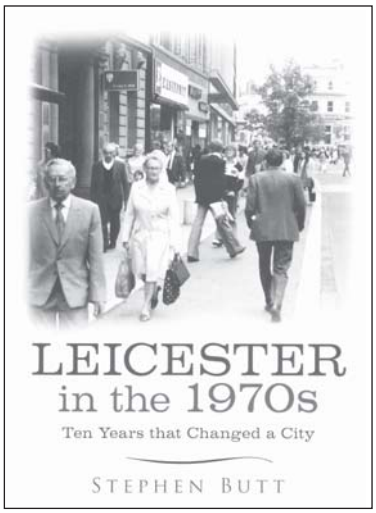
Stephen Butt
Amberley Publishing, 2015, 96pp, illus., ISBN 9781445640570, £14.99

Following on from his history of Leicester in the 1950s, Stephen Butt demonstrates that the 1960s were a decade of even greater social and economic change, both in relationships between parents and children, teachers and pupils, and in material prosperity. 'It is written that Leicester in the 1960s was a prosperous city and a place of opportunity', as he says: 'It must have been so because the statistics inform us that there were less than 3,000 people unemployed across the whole city, the big textile and hosiery manufacturers were running at full capacity, and the demand for labour meant decent wages, and money in the pocket to buy all you needed from a flourishing high street'. This was clearly true for many Leicester residents at this time. The chapter 'At school and work', for instance, notes the continuing prosperity of some of the city's leading companies, and the increasing contribution made to them by migrants from other parts of the world. Corah opened two new factories in Leicester in 1961, and the British United Shoe Machinery Company was exporting shoe machinery and technology to more than 50 countries. New buildings also reflected the expansion of further and higher education, including the towering Attenborough Building at Leicester University and the innovative design of the new Vaughan College alongside the Roman Jewry Wall site. At the same time the City Education Authority was stoutly resisting the adoption of another 1960s innovation, comprehensive education. Later chapters demonstrate that the choice of entertainment and leisure activities was also expanding. The Beatles appeared at De Montfort Hall, and nightclubs and coffee bars flourished alongside wider ownership of televisions and the advent of Radio Leicester, the first BBC local radio station in Britain. These and sporting activities are covered in some detail, among them the rather 'lean years' for speedway fans, the 'serious sport' of roller skating at Granby Halls, and for football fans, the 1966 World Cup sandwiched between Leicester City's three unsuccessful Cup Final appearances. This very readable and well illustrated book also documents changes in the urban landscape in the era of Konrad Smigielski as chief planning officer for the city. Many of these changes were directed towards traffic congestion and continuing pressure on housing stock, the latter leading to the appearance of Leicester's first 'tower blocks'. It also warns against accepting the customary rosy picture of the 'Swinging Sixties' at face value: not all citizens of Leicester shared in the general prosperity, and there were already signs that it would come under increasing pressure in the 1970s.

Cynthia Brown

LEICESTER IN THE 1970s: TEN YEARS THAT CHANGED A CITY

Stephen Butt
Amberley Publishing, 2015, 96pp, illus., ISBN 9781445640624, £14.99



This is the latest in the series by Stephen Butt looking at Leicester decade by decade. It takes the same format as previous volumes, being divided into eight short chapters covering topics such as leisure, sport, music, the urban landscape, politics and industry. The Introduction begins with the observation: 'The 1970s have been described in various ways. To some it was the decade of bad taste in respect of how we dressed, what we chose to eat and how we decorated our homes'. When writing about a decade that is within living memory for many people (including myself), the author always faces a challenge, as perceptions can vary considerably. Both the fun and the confrontational side of the decade are covered with equal weighting. How Leicester enjoyed its leisure time is illustrated with reference to local pop bands such as Showaddywaddy and Family as well as classical music and brass bands. The often turbulent politics of the era are covered, from the three day week during the coal miners' strike to the activities of the National Front, both on the streets of Leicester and in the notorious Imperial Typewriters strike of 1974. As is perhaps inevitable when a relatively short book covers a wide range of themes, some of the topics suffer by not being given more emphasis. However, the book is as always well researched and written in an attractive style. It is well illustrated with both colour and black and white photographs and will be of interest to both local historians and those just seeking a platform-shoed walk down Memory Lane.

Philip R. French

LEICESTER ORPHEAN YOUTH AND CONCERT ORCHESTRA

Pamela Ward

The Author, 2016, 104pp, illus., ISBN 9780954759117, £30.00

It is easy to be moved emotionally by this account of one woman's lifelong commitment to music education. This is, effectively, a biography of the orchestra's founder, the indefatigable Avis Fawcett, told lovingly by many of the musicians who have benefited from her work. When Stewart Mason, the Director of Education for Leicestershire in the 1950s, produced his influential 'tertiary plan', it was inevitable that there would be some local collateral damage. The music teacher at South Wigston Secondary Modern Girls School realised that her talented young musicians would be moving on, a year earlier than originally planned, to a higher school which had no tradition of music teaching. In response to her pupils' requests that they should stay and play together, Avis Fawcett founded the Leicester Orphean Youth and Concert Orchestra in 1957.

Although this account makes no reference to the relationship of the new orchestra to the county music structure, one surmises that Avis was viewed as something of a renegade. At this time, music education in Leicestershire was led by Eric Pinkett, the first County Music Advisor to be appointed in England outside London after the Second World War. He was energetic and charismatic, and a master of strategic publicity, enlisting, for instance, Sir Michael Tippett, then the country's leading contemporary composer, to conduct his Leicestershire Schools Symphony Orchestra (LSSO). As a result of his dynamism, the LSSO toured Europe and released recordings throughout the 1970s which showcased their mastery of contemporary English music. It all seemed a world apart from Avis and her young musicians in South Wigston. Yet the Leicester Orpheans prospered. Indeed, they also went overseas on no less than seventeen occasions, playing in Holland, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the United States. They even performed in the House of Commons. It is a success story, and as a testament to its value and success, this well-illustrated book contains eleven pages devoted to the hundreds of concerts at which the orchestra has played and the many young people who have been members over the years. One can see parallels locally in the work of Mary Royce, Clara Collet and other female independent teachers and thinkers of the nineteenth century who identified a need and worked selflessly to address it. The work of Avis Fawcett over more than half a century has changed and enrichened young lives in a similar way. Happily, this is a story which is continuing: Avis (born 1929) is still teaching and is inspiring a new generation of Leicestershire musicians.

Stephen Butt

THE LIFE STORY OF MR RAMANBHAI BARBER MBE DL: THE PRESIDENT OF THE SHREE SANATAN MANDIR IN LEICESTER

Kiyotaka Sato

Research Centre for the History of Religious and Cultural Diversity, Meiji University, Tokyo, 2015, 234pp, illus.

This is the eighth publication in the 'Memory and Narrative' series written by Professor Kiyotaka Sato of Meiji University in Tokyo, based on oral histories he has conducted with people from different religious and cultural communities in the city over a number of years. Mr Barber was born in the Surat district of Gujarat in India and moved to Kenya with his mother in 1952 to join his father and other members of the family. In 1964 he moved to Leicester, where he had relatives, to continue his education. He studied for clerical and accountancy qualifications in the evenings while working in an engineering factory and then as a bus driver, 'with a view to enhancing our standard of living and helping to support the family… Whatever I earned, £4 a week, I used to save that money and send it to my father. That was a tough time'. Much of Mr Barber's subsequent career was spent with Leicestershire County Council's Social Services Department as a 'Meals on Wheels' supervisor, while at the same time helping to establish the Shree Sanatan Mandir in a former Baptist chapel in Belgrave. He was also active in the Leicester Council of Faiths from its foundation in 1986, and in the Sabras and Sanskar radio stations. In 2010 he was awarded the MBE for services to the local community, and became a Deputy Lieutenant of Leicestershire in 2013. We also learn much about his family, changes in the Belgrave district of Leicester over the years, along with his thoughts on Leicester as a multi-ethnic, multi-faith city, and how its relatively 'harmonious relationships' have been forged and maintained. The booklet is as always generously illustrated with family photographs, those of Mr Barber's voluntary activities, newspaper reports and documents. Like others in the series this is a very interesting personal account as well as offering wider insights into the recent history of the city.

Cynthia Brown

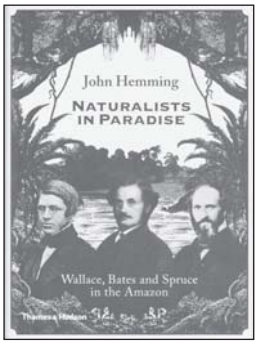
NATURALISTS IN PARADISE: WALLACE, BATES AND SPRUCE IN THE AMAZON

John Hemming

Thames and Hudson, 2015, 368pp, illus., ISBN 9790500252108, £19.95

Any new book which increases our knowledge of the life and work of these two often overlooked sons of Leicester, Alfred Russel Wallace and Henry Bates, is to be welcomed. Apart from the plaque on the frontage of the New Walk Museum, where else are these two distinguished

adventurers, explorers, anthropologists and philosophers celebrated? This substantial work, with many illustrations, is a detailed exposition of their scientific explorations and of their legacies.



Wallace and Bates first met in Leicester in 1844. Wallace was then aged 21 and Bates was just 19. The two young men from different backgrounds found a shared interest which became their lifelong passion. Wallace came to Leicester to teach drawing, mapmaking and surveying at the Collegiate School off London Road. He spent much time in the town library where the essays of Thomas Malthus made a considerable impression on his young mind. It was in this same library that he met Bates who had already published a paper on beetles in the journal *Zoologist*. Henry Bates later developed the first scientific account of mimicry in animals, and identified no less than 8000 new species. Wallace went on to conceive the theory of evolution through natural selection - ahead of Charles Darwin - and his paper on the subject led Darwin to publish his own ideas in *The Origin of Species*. The men's time in Leicester is covered briefly in this book, which is to be expected as their greatness lies in their overseas exploration - often in the company of botanist Richard Spruce - which is recounted in great detail. The author also gives his readers some insight into their personalities, and their stoic determination to go on exploring and discovering, despite hardships, shipwreck and an ongoing lack of financial backing. The book is to be commended for its wealth of references and extended bibliography, which together run to no less than 22 pages, as well as a comprehensive index. The author has also succeeded in producing a work which, as well as serving as an academic text, can be read as an entertaining biography of these two great characters from the world of Victorian science and exploration, who engaged with new communities in the Amazon and beyond with a spirit of respect, and who sought not to exploit but to learn.

Stephen Butt

Other recent publications

JOSEPH MAFFRE: MASTER OF THE BAND (MUSICIAN IN LEICESTER IN THE 1820s)
Mark Griep and Marjorie Mikasen
Keepers Cottage Press, 2015

LEICESTER WINDRUSH PROJECT: FROM 1948 – 2015 (AUDIOBOOK AND BOOKLET)
Leicester Windrush Project
The Authors, 2015

TOWNS AND VILLAGES

ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH PAST AND PRESENT: THE JOURNAL OF ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH MUSEUM, NO. 17
Various Authors
Ashby de la Zouch Museum, 2015, 74pp, illus., £4

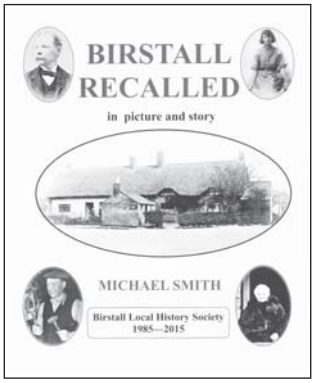
Several local families feature in this edition of *Ashby-de-la-Zouch Past and Present*. Anthony R. Yates writes of the de Kergrists, French connections of the Kirkland family of which he is a member. He gives details of the six children of Mary Ann Kirkland and Captain Louis-Francois le Normant de Kergrist of the French Navy, who married during the Napoleonic Wars in 1812 when he was a prisoner in Ashby. Their grandchildren included 'Maryan', a noted French romantic novelist who published over 100 books. The main focus of the second part of Pat Dixon's history of the Mammatt family is Edward Mammatt, born in 1776, his association with the banker and cotton mill owner Joseph Wilkes, and his later career as colliery agent and engineer to the Earl of Moira. He was also the author of a book on geology, based on data he collected from his own observations in the depths of mines. The Callis, a hamlet to the north of Ashby, also known at various times as Calais, Netherthorpe and Littlethorpe, features in an article by the Dickenson family, who traded in the area. The Callis was originally a stretch of road beyond the Ticknall tramway bridge, and the article is based on an analysis of the main transport routes as well as Census returns and directories. Wendy Freer contributes an account of the Ashby Harvest Camps in World War II, drawing on the log book of a girls' camp in 1944. This covers the general arrangements for the camp, including those for baths – each girl 'should empty her own bath, wipe it out and leave ready for the next girl' – and its day-to-day activities. Samuel T. Stewart brings together accounts of the trial of John Varnam of Coleorton, sentenced to hang in 1829 for stealing a horse and buried in the village after his execution. Around 28,000 people were said to have attended his hanging with two other convicted horse thieves outside the new County Gaol on Welford Road in Leicester. As a 'taster' for a planned book on the Burton and Ashby Light Railway, Keith Gilliver's article 'Fairy tale with a happy ending' outlines the history of Car 14, restored in the 1970s by the Gresley Model Railway Society and ending up in Detroit, from where it was bought at auction in 2014 by a 'fairy godfather' in the person of a local businessman. It is currently at a secure location near Tamworth awaiting another restoration. Other contributions include a 1940s childhood memoir of Ashby Baths by John Louch. These reopened in 1946 after being used as a static water tank during World War II, but his first 'eagerly awaited' trip to the baths was made in defiance of his parents, non-swimmers convinced that he would contact some 'vile disease'. He was given away by looking 'cleaner

than usual' on his return, and 'my hair was still wet'. Along with Colin Neale and Stuart Buck, John also contributes an account of the cinema in Ashby, firstly the Lyric Picture Palace that opened in 1912 in a former pub and closed in 1927, and the Derby Road Picture House that hastened its demise when it opened in the previous year.

Cynthia Brown

BIRSTALL RECALLED IN PICTURE AND STORY

Michael Smith
Birstall Local History Society, 2015, 200pp, illus., ISBN 9780957191525, £10



In this, his final volume on Birstall, Michael Smith brings together over 300 images and fourteen short articles to give a sense of some of the historical landmarks of the village as well as the relatively recent changes that he describes as 'enormous'. Some of these are illustrated in the comprehensive 'Then and Now' section that opens the book, and the later 'Farewell to the Old' chapter, featuring many buildings that have been demolished or converted from their original purpose. There are separate sections on schools, churches and transport, along with a chapter on sport and recreation including the Old English Fair, a regular feature of the inter-war years. The programmes for these events capture some of the changes along the way, the first in 1922 advertising a motor coach from the Belgrave tram terminus, and that for the last in 1939 promising a free car park.

World War II brought an end to the fairs and placed many demands on the villagers, as documented in 'Birstall at War'. 'Villagers and Royals' records the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1986 to open the new Fred Grove Wing of Abbeyfield House, along with celebrations of national events such as the Coronation in 1953. It also features local tradesmen and families, including Little Jack and his very tall brother Giant, who 'never worked but made a precarious living from selling thyme and sage which they grew in a small patch behind their cottage'. There is also a section on Birstall's four suffragettes, Eva Lines and her sister Annie, Ada Billington and 'Miss West' of New Birstall.

Local houses and the families who lived in Birstall are also covered: John Coupland and Thomas Fielding Johnson at Goscote Hall, for instance; the Pagets at The Lawn; the Whiles at The Netherhall and The Elms; and the 'forgotten' Giffords and Tuffleys. Earlier periods of Birstall's history are recalled through artefacts and inventories, and the useful maps and plans include one of the Perseverance Freehold Land Society estates at Birstall and Belgrave. Overall, this is a fascinating and very nicely produced collection of images and articles, with relevance beyond Birstall itself. It will be a pity if this really is Mike Smith's final volume on the village, but it certainly adds greatly to its historical record.

Cynthia Brown

CAPABILITY BROWN AND BELVOIR – DISCOVERING A LOST LANDSCAPE

The Duchess of Rutland with Jane Pruden
Nick McCann, 2015, 224pp, illus., ISBN 980951689165, £35

Lancelot 'Capability' Brown was commissioned by the 4th Duke of Rutland in the early 1780s to produce a plan to landscape the Belvoir Estate. The Duke was heavily in debt at the time, and Brown died soon afterwards – so the plan was shelved until the 5th Duke and Duchess picked it up in the early nineteenth century. It was thought to have been destroyed in the Belvoir Castle fire of 1816, but was in fact lying 'buried and generally unknown' in the estate archives. Its recent rediscovery has enabled Emma, the present Duchess, to restore areas of the Belvoir landscape in line with Brown's plan, as well as shedding new light on his artistic direction in his later years – not least the influence of his growing interest in the medieval period. The book, with a Foreword by Alan Titchmarsh, was published to coincide with the 300th anniversary of Capability Brown's birth. It takes the reader on a lavishly illustrated 'tour' of the Belvoir landscape, charting its restoration along the way. It begins with an overview of garden design in the eighteenth century and its move towards a more natural landscape: allowing nature to 'dictate its own surroundings'. From the front door of the Castle it then moves to the Formal Terraces, taking in the spiral walk around Castle Hill (retained by Capability Brown) and the subterranean passage he designed as a tradesmen's entrance, known (no one seems to know why) as the Dooms. The three Ancient Terraces, as their own names suggest, are the oldest part of the garden; while the 'Modern Terraces' reflect Brown's 'enthusiasm for earthmoving better than anywhere else on his plan for Belvoir', entailing as they did the digging out of a raised semi-circular Bowling Green built in the early eighteenth century. Among many other notable aspects of the landscape are the Rose Garden designed by the architect Harold Peto for Violet, the 8th Duchess, in the early twentieth century, and the Pet Cemetery where many of the family dogs and cats have been buried over the years. The Duchess's Garden, started in 1814, was rediscovered by Frances, Dowager Duchess of Rutland, in 1970 during a walk with her children. Adjacent to this is the Hermit's Garden, named for

the tufa grotto that served as a hermitage, itself rediscovered during the restoration work. At that time 'choked with undergrowth', this area was cleared in 2014 to establish a collection of over 700 'different and exciting plants that were rare and endangered in the wild'. Another curiosity is Frog Hollow, planned by Brown in a deep valley around a narrow stream. It was not built, but a number of ornamental sculptures are now located there. A long and detailed section covers the Belvoir parkland, which includes the Belvoir Hunt Kennels and the ruins of St James's church at Woolsthorpe: destroyed during the Civil War, and intended by Brown to form the focal point at the end of a long ride. The 'tour' concludes with Blackberry Hill, where there is evidence of human activity from the Roman period. Perhaps fortunately, as it would have towered into the middle of a 'very important pheasant drive', the obelisk planned here by Capability Brown was another feature that was never completed. Looking to the future, a plan of the estate in 2015 identifies the sustainable management of the woodlands and other resources, and habitats designed to encourage biodiversity. This and the wealth of other illustrations add immensely to the reader's understanding of the estate, its development and restoration, and include many portraits of people associated with the Castle, as well as of the Castle and landscape itself. Altogether they convey a vivid sense of the human 'interventions' that have shaped and cared for the Belvoir landscape over the centuries.

Cynthia Brown

PARISH GOVERNMENT IN A LEICESTERSHIRE VILLAGE: THE BUCKMINSTER TOWN BOOK 1665-1767 AND CONSTABLE'S BOOK 1753-1813 – LEICESTERSHIRE RECORD SERIES, VOL. 1

Alan Fox, ed.

Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 2015, 228pp, illus., ISBN 9780954238841, £15

How wonderful that there is a historical society willing to put money into the transcribing, editing and publication of historic documents in this cut-throat publishing world! This reviewer is full of admiration for this venture, which brings both greater accessibility and awareness of the value of these documents to the public. The quality of the publication itself is also to be applauded. A small book in page size but not in content, the text is clearly laid out and well edited. The helpful Introduction gives a brief overview of local government in the early modern period (no small achievement in itself), a description of the appearance and content of the documents, and an interesting Preface which indicates why these documents have not been better used in the past. Although there are microfilms of both books held at the Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland (ROLLR), these are of variable quality and no substitute for using the original documents themselves, which are retained in the Buckminster Estate Office. The page size of the printed book does not allow for a very large reproduction of what can be difficult handwriting, but the black-and-white images are clear and with the help of a magnifying glass for those of us now challenged by small-font print, it is possible to read and follow the text.

The Town Book itself consists mainly of lists of names of constables, churchwardens and overseers, and how much they owed or were owed at the end of their term of office. However, these names in themselves are of interest not just to family historians, but also to people who want to understand the social hierarchy of the community. There are many other things of interest. There was considerable work to be done on Buckminster church in 1721, although the steeple and the hanging of the bells were causing anxiety in 1738 -39. Perhaps other parish documents would yield more information about the church fabric and its problems at this date. The hiring out of the 'Church land', three closes, and the conditions attached to tenancy arrangements was a recurring theme. There is also some interesting material on apprenticeships for poor children. The Foster children, Anne, Sense and Jane, were apprenticed during 1736 and their brother Henry in 1743, with the financial support of the parish. Alan Fox has done a little digging around in the parish registers (the originals also retained in Buckminster) to find out more about the family. The father John had died as a pauper in 1733 and the mother, Eleanor, was obviously living a perilous life close to the breadline. An amusing additional insertion in the document is an example of bad archival practice. It was noted on 2nd April 1755 that 'several leaves and accounts have been defaced and cut out to the detriment of future officers as well as the damage done to the town by the erasing of the Books', and a fine was to be imposed on anyone daring to do this in future!

The Constable's Book forms the most substantial part of this volume, and contains much of value to historians of all kinds. Readers interested in the maintenance of local facilities within rural communities – roads, ditches, the well, the pinfold, the washing place for sheep (the Washdike), the stocks, the town wall – will find plenty to analyse, including methods and materials for repairs. The working out of law and order in this locality – the visits to Melton on legal business, the escorting of prisoners to Leicester, the warrants to remove poor people to other parishes, the disbursement of funds to people passing through the parish, including many soldiers and (how unlikely in this inland parish) sailors – are all here. The sociable occasions during the rural year, such as the annual feast where the poor were fed and watered, the Statute Fair in autumn where labour was hired for the year by local farmers, the celebrations on 5th November, all crop up in this document. The entries may look very 'parish pump', but lying behind many of them is a bigger story: for example, the enhanced military threat to the country, which

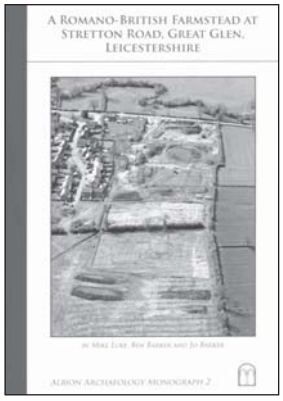
led to a flurry of business for constables drawing up militia lists, cavalry lists and making sure that the community raised whatever was necessary in time of war. Certainly the impact of the Napoleonic Wars can be traced through these accounts during the late 1790s and into the early years of the nineteenth century. Other 'one off' items which caught my eye include the following: during Thomas Barrow's time of office in 1755, he paid 6d. to three 'turkey slaves with a pass'. These were sailors captured by pirates from the Ottoman Empire and held hostage. Appearing in Buckminster - wow! In February 1807 the Constable went to Leicester for five days 'with gypsies', reminding us that this part of the county was a regular stopping place for gypsies *en route* between fairs.

Dr Fox came upon these documents as part of his research into 'cultural frontiers' and the question of whether an area near a county boundary was co-terminus with this in the early modern period. It is clear from the Constable's Book that the geographical hinterland for those who held office in Buckminster was considerable: these officers visited Melton frequently, but there was business to be done in Leicester and in Grantham, as well as in the small neighbouring villages such as Edmondthorpe, Colsterworth and Waltham. There is also a rare example of a constable attending the Lincoln assizes for five days in 1800 and going to Corby in 1777. What this tells me is that a county boundary was there to be crossed if business, or trade, or social occasions merited it. In this remote (from Leicester) region of the county, the local government boundary was fluid and the cultural boundary probably more important to local people. This excellent edition of two Buckminster documents ends with three very useful indices to Persons, Places and Subjects - and this reviewer awaits the next volume of the Leicestershire Record Series with eager anticipation!

Margaret Bonney

A ROMANO-BRITISH FARMSTEAD AT STRETTON ROAD, GREAT GLEN, LEICESTERSHIRE: ALBION ARCHAEOLOGY MONOGRAPH 2

Mike Luke, Ben Barker and Jo Barker, with contributions from other authors



Albion Archaeology, 2015, 94pp, illus., ISBN 9780955654664, £8

Leicestershire had many Romano-British farmsteads, but an opportunity to study and record them in the depth and detail of this volume is rare. It arose during the construction of a new housing estate in Great Glen by Miller Homes (East Midlands), which revealed the remains of an agricultural settlement founded in the mid-first century AD and occupied throughout the Roman period. The developers supported both the excavation in 2011 and a programme of engagement with local communities, including an open weekend, site tours for schoolchildren, and an opportunity for young archaeologists to develop their digging skills. This programme is described in an Appendix to the report, which otherwise consists of very detailed descriptions of the findings, fully supported by diagrams, tables, plans and other illustrations. The material on structures and enclosures is organised into different phases from the mid-first century through to the medieval period, with additional chapters on artefacts and 'ecofacts', the latter based on an analysis of animals carcass components in each phase. The Appendices include a coin catalogue, a petrology table, and an analysis of ceramic types and pottery, and there is also an extensive bibliography. This is a book for the specialist rather than the general reader – but in summary it suggests that the farmstead 'is likely to have been fairly typical of a Romano-British farmstead in Leicestershire. No great wealth is evident from the finds that were recovered… The practice of craft activities and mixed farming points towards a community that was largely self-sufficient, but which perhaps also produced a small agricultural surplus, particularly in the late Roman period'.

Cynthia Brown

HARBOROUGH HISTORIAN: HISTORICAL SOCIETY JOURNAL OF LOCAL HISTORY FOR MARKET HARBOROUGH AND DISTRICT, NO. 32

Various authors

Market Harborough Historical Society, 2015, 50pp, illus., £5.50

There is a rich mixture of articles in this edition of the *Harborough Historian*, ranging across the centuries. David Holmes places the refurbishment of the Grade 1 listed Old Grammar School in 2014 in the context of the building's history from its origins in 1614, before giving an account of the renovation itself. This is generously illustrated with photographs of different aspects of the work, which cost a total of £400,000. Leslie Hughes explores the (uncertain) origins of Thorpe Langton's Town Land, a charity whose original purpose included the provision of military equipment. It also purchased cottages for the benefit of disadvantaged villagers, and at the time of writing was engaged in a major project to purchase glebe land south of St Leonard's church and convert it into allotments for lease to parishioners. Bob Hakewill contributes a short article on the origins and leaders of the Market Harborough Liberal,

Industrial and Provident Freehold Land Society, while Douglas Wooldridge considers the development of Harborough's markets from the first record in 1203 to the twenty-first century. Edwardian Great Bowden is the focus of an article by Paul Bennett that explores some of the interesting characters to whom the horse breeder John Henry Stokes supplied hunters and hunting boxes, and who visited the village during this period. For instance, Friedrich (Fritz) Maximilian von Hochberg, a German count, was particularly remembered in Great Bowden for riding side-saddle – something normally reserved for ladies, but explained by treatment for tuberculosis of the bones which required a specially made saddle. Vicki Score's article on Marston Trussell is based on work carried out in advance of the recent conversion of the Sun Inn by the University of Leicester Archaeological Services (ULAS). This adds significantly to existing knowledge of the medieval village, and suggests similarities with that of Anstey. Inspired by research into fire marks, Janice and Phil Morris developed an interest in fire brigades, and cover that of Market Harborough here from the first record of fire-fighting equipment in 1679 to 1914. There are also brief biographies of two men from the brigade, John William Gore and Horace Palmer, who died during World War I and are named on the National Fire Brigades' Association Roll of Honour at the Museum of RAF Fire Fighting. Transcripts of two letters written by John Logan of East Langton Grange – a founder of competitive pigeon racing among other things – also feature, along with book reviews and reports on the Society's 2014 History Day, Harborough Museum and the activities of other local organisations.

Cynthia Brown

HINCKLEY HISTORIAN: MAGAZINE OF HINCKLEY AND DISTRICT MUSEUM, NO. 75 AND NO. 76

Various authors

Hinckley and District Museum, Summer and Winter 2015, 40pp, illus., £1.50 each

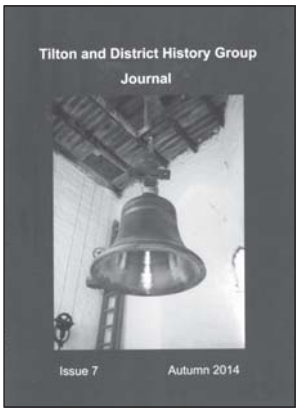
Ada, Countess of Lovelace, who has a memorial in the churchyard at Kirkby Mallory, is the subject of an article in the summer edition of the *Hinckley Historian* by Hugh Beavin. Perhaps best known as the only legitimate daughter of Lord Byron, her 'mechanical ingenuity' and mathematical ability led to her involvement in the work of Charles Babbage in developing a calculating machine, and her recognition as 'the first woman contributor to the computer age'. The first part of an article by John Grech, originally published in 1995, is also re-published here. This relates to Charles Parsons of Wykin Fields Farm, who was killed in March 1916 when his plane was brought down by the German ace Oberleutnant Max Immelmann. Part 2 follows in the winter edition of the magazine. There are shorter features by David Knight on the King's Bake House in Hinckley, Anglo-Saxon discoveries at Newhouse Grange at Sheepy Magna, and a new section on documents of local historical interest which analyses some from Hinckley Priory. Images of Sunday School treats and Hinckley Grammar School Speech Days complete this edition, while the winter edition features an article on the Bank House Auction of 1893 by David Harris, based on the auction catalogue, which is reproduced in full with some background information. David J. Knight contributes an account of the mills of Hinckley in the Tudor and Stuart periods, and there are also two photographs of Hinckley Grammar School students in May 1935, with a list of those who have been identified. Between them these two very readable magazines offer some interesting and unusual glimpses into the history of Hinckley and the area around it.

Cynthia Brown

TILTON AND DISTRICT HISTORY GROUP JOURNAL, ISSUE NO. 7

Various authors

Tilton and District History Group, Autumn 2014, 32pp, illus., £4.50



Documentary research and oral histories offer an entertaining and engaging range of articles in this edition of the journal. They include detailed biographies of the thirteen fallen of the First World War commemorated in Tilton churchyard - only one of whom is actually buried there – drawing 'a larger picture of these men than a simple list of their names'. Paul Herrington concludes the story of the Rev William Chippindall, Vicar of Tilton for over thirty years. Variously described as 'irascible', 'autocratic' and 'eccentric', this final chapter of his life story brings to light an 'apparent readiness to resort to physical violence' to settle disputes with his parishioners, leading to 'regular brushes with civil law' that featured in local and even national newspapers. Due credit is also given to his more positive contributions to village life, including his re-hanging of the church bells, which 'cost me weeks of unremittent [sic] toil' – but in the author's final words on his life, it is 'difficult to avoid the conclusion that he was simply in the wrong job'. Three articles based on interviews conducted by the Oral History Group amply demonstrate 'the rich mix of "remembered" experience of everyday life' in the village. Norma George recalls her role as a teacher of

English as a Second Language to children in Leicester in the 1970s, when thousands of Ugandan Asians expelled by Idi Amin came to the city. Squadron Leader Ivor E. Moss relates his experiences as a child in Tilton during World War II, while Betty Finnemore's account of growing up in Tilton between the wars, as told to Malcolm Green, evokes days when cars were few and far between, and her grandfather exercised his skills as a poacher while serving at the same time as a Special Constable. Malcolm Green also contributes an article on The Monument at Skeffington Wood, exploring its inscriptions in the context of Nelson's victory over the French fleet in 1798, and the reforestation of the wood in 1945 – 55 by its then owner C. Harry Walker. A history of Whatborough parish by Edward A. Davis analyses documentary evidence for this deserted medieval village, including the detailed map drawn in 1595 by Thomas Clerke that was commissioned by All Souls College, Oxford in relation to a dispute over land ownership.

Cynthia Brown

Other recent publications

HARBY IN THE VALE OF BELVOIR 1975 – 2014
Harby History Group
The Authors, 2015

UP, UP AND AWAY: POEMS FROM MELTON MOWBRAY
Phyllis Handley
Stockwell, 2015

BILLY'S BOOK OF SHEPSHED BOOZERS
Bill Wells
Panda Eyes Publishers, 2015

WIGSTON WITH TWO STEEPLES: A WALK THROUGH WIGSTON MAGNA ALONG LEICESTER ROAD, BELL STREET, THE BANK, BULL HEAD STREET, MOAT STREET AND LONG STREET - DVD
Mike Forryan
Greater Wigston Historical Society, 2015

INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORT

Recent Publications

BRUSH AND THE GREAT WAR
George Toms
Panda Eyes, 2016

FLYING AT HUSBANDS BOSWORTH
Melvyn Foreman
Husbands Bosworth Historical Society, 2015

KETTERING TO NOTTINGHAM, VIA CORBY AND MELTON MOWBRAY
Vic Mitchell and Keith Smith
Middleton Press, 2015

'JUBILEES' AND 'JUBBLYS': A TRAIN-SPOTTER'S STORY, 1959–64, PART 2
Stewart Warrington
Silver Link Publishing, 2015

MILITARY AND WAR

BISHOP STREET METHODIST CHURCH: WORLD WAR I CASUALTIES, 2014, 12pp

HUMBERSTONE ROAD METHODIST CHURCH, LEICESTER: WORLD WAR I CASUALTIES, 2015, 8pp, illus.

MANSFIELD STREET MISSION, LEICESTER: WORLD WAR I CASUALTIES, 2014, 8pp

THE TEMPERANCE HALL MISSION, LEICESTER: WORLD WAR I CASUALTIES, 2014, 8pp
Alison Skinner
Heritage Group of Bishop Street Methodist Church, 2014; 2015

Each of these booklets lists the casualties recorded on the World War I memorials of these places of worship in alphabetical order, with additional information where known on their pre-war life, service units, the circumstances of their deaths and their places of burial or memorial. The amount of information available from disparate sources is naturally variable, and those having a close association with a particular church often have fuller entries based on their own records. For example, Second Lieutenant William Kingsley Callard was baptised at Bishop Street Methodist Church and later taught in its Sunday School. He was a local Methodist preacher before the war and had intended to become an ordained minister, but died at the age of 19 in July 1916 on the first day of the Battle of the Somme. Other sources are not specifically identified in the booklets, but clearly include the 1911 Census and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission casualty lists. A brief indication of all the sources on which the research was based would perhaps be welcome for readers wanting to explore further. Nevertheless, all these churches except Bishop Street itself were closed or demolished some time ago, and these booklets are a valuable contribution to the wider history of Methodism in Leicester as well as a rich source for family historians.

Cynthia Brown

CONCHIES: THE UNCOMFORTABLE STORY OF THE PAYNE BROTHERS – CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR
Andy Ward
Matador, 2015, 459pp, illus., ISBN 9781784621384, £13.99

This is a book about people who refused to fight for their country in World War One. A hundred years on, we all think we have a broad idea of how Conscientious Objectors (COs) were treated, but destruction of the records of the Military Service Act tribunals during the 1920s means that hard evidence is difficult to come by. So this very human and fascinating story, based on the letters discovered in an attic of a Leicestershire family, is particularly appropriate reading for a century later when so many accounts of combat in World War One have been published. It contradicts the view that Conscientious Objectors were always treated brutally by the army. COs were indeed treated brutally, but not exclusively so, and this intimate story shows that some of the authorities involved could be compassionate, even friendly. Leonard and Roland Payne were two brothers who belonged to a modest but aspirational family of basket makers in Lutterworth. Their father was the Assistant County Council Bailiff, part of the establishment, but this was small-town Leicestershire and thus a non-conformist establishment. The book provides an excellent description of what Lutterworth must have been like early in the last century. This is the background for the story of Leonard and Roland who had a genuine Conscientious Objection to fighting and being part of military culture, based on their religious convictions. Leicestershire is the home of 'English Local History', and this is a thoughtful book and a classic case study, where a local story becomes an important part of national history. The brothers' applications for military exemption were turned down by the Lutterworth and Leicester tribunals because they made wicker baskets for explosive shells. The letters tell us what it was like when attempts were made to force them to accept military discipline, and what it was like to be in a civil prison. The subtleties of conscience are laid before us: not everyone was a CO for the same reason. Religious attitudes to the war varied, but were also surprisingly consistent. Even some Quakers were calling for abandonment of their traditional pacifist view, and the Congregationalist Payne brothers were not supported by their local church. The climax is at the end, after Roland and Leonard returned to 'normal' life. German successes in the spring of 1918 triggered a feeling of crisis, and in May there was a near riot in Leicester when Ramsay MacDonald was addressing people to mark May Day. In Lutterworth Roland Payne was attacked and thrown into the river. Then on 28th May the Payne's family home and properties were severely damaged and the family was driven into hiding. Roland and Leonard left Lutterworth under police escort. This is a complex story and it makes rewarding reading. With hindsight and historical perspective, think what stance you might have taken if people you knew were Conscientious Objectors. It is worth some thought in these centenary years.

Yolanda Courtney

Other recent publications

THE HARBOROUGH BOYS (WORLD WAR I)
Barry Summers
Market Harborough Historical Society, 2015

IDLE AND DISSOLUTE: THE HISTORY OF THE 160TH (WEARSIDE) BRIGADE, ROYAL FIELD ARTILLERY (INCLUDES 176TH LEICESTER (HOWITZER) BRIGADE, ROYAL ARTILLERY)
Philip W. Adams
The Author, 2015

LANGHAM REMEMBERS THEM (WORLD WAR I)
Brenda Burdett
Langham Village History Group, 2015

MUD, BLOOD AND DETERMINATION: THE HISTORY OF THE 46TH (NORTH MIDLAND) DIVISION IN THE GREAT WAR
Simon Peaple
Helion, 2015

TUGBY AND KEYTHORPE WWI
Maureen Bullows
The Author, 2015

RELIGION AND CHURCHES

A SHORT GUIDE TO LEICESTER CATHEDRAL
Leicester Cathedral
The Authors, 2015

WELCOME TO ST MARY DE CASTRO: A VISITOR'S GUIDE TO THE CHURCH
St Mary de Castro church, Leicester
The Authors, 2014, 28pp, illus, £2.50

The Leicester Cathedral guide has been updated to incorporate changes related to the reinterment of King Richard III in 2015. It includes sections on his tomb and ambulatory, the relocated Sanctuary and new Cathedra or seat of the Bishop, and the newly created chapel of Christ the King featuring the East Window installed in 1920 as a 'sign of hope' for those who died in the Great War. The pall covering Richard III's coffin at his reinterment is also featured, along with the crown representing his coronet and the modern Book of Hours with artwork from over eighty Leicestershire schools.

The guide to St Mary de Castro church was published before the removal of the spire for repair. This still features in the cover photograph, but it is otherwise fully up to date. Although intended primarily for children, it will be very useful for adult visitors in describing and dating the main features of the church from its origins in the twelfth century as the chapel of Leicester Castle. It is well illustrated, and the colour-coded floor plan is particularly useful in identifying the different stages of its building and rebuilding through to the Victorian period.

Cynthia Brown

CHURCH OF THE MARTYRS: 125 YEARS IN THE COMMUNITY OF WEST LEICESTER
Susan Barton
Church of the Martyrs, Leicester, 2015, 162 pp, illus., ISBN 9781782805830

This is the story of a church in Leicester's West End and how its history reflects the broader history happening around it. It was built after the sale of Westcotes country house and estate, not far from present-day Westcotes Drive off Narborough Road. The sale of Westcotes House opened up that part of Leicester for development, and the Church of the Martyrs served western Leicester when the houses were first being built. It opened in 1890, dedicated to the Protestant martyrs Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley who were burned as heretics during the reign of Mary Tudor. There have been many highlights in the Church's 125 year history. It had a scout troop from 1911, soon after large crowds had welcomed Baden Powell when he visited Leicester in 1910. During the First World War money was raised for the wounded and prisoners of war, and in September 1916 a former choir boy wrote in the *Parish Magazine* about conditions on the Western Front. In the 1920s, a war memorial, which can still be seen, was installed showing the names of the fallen. We learn about how church democracy worked, cake competitions, sales of work and similar activities within the wider context of social change. Instructions for helping the stranger – involving a 'discreetly' opened book – demonstrates the solemnity of worship in the 1950s, and in the 1960s a Monday night youth club for 'teddy boys' was started. The 1970s saw the introduction of new services. Particularly interesting are more recent changes. The period of the 'Modern Church 2009-2015' opens with the former vicarage being used for women asylum seekers, and continues to describe changes which many churches have been introducing, removing pews and re-ordering to make space for activities other than services and make the church more accessible. This account reads very happily and fluently: it is a fast read and an interesting one. It provides context where that is needed as background to the story of the church, and there are effortless links to relevant social history. The profuse illustrations, though small, are of good quality. As a final point, there is always a 'real' story behind the minutes of the Parochial Church Council, but it is one that is more suitable as a topic of fiction: Barbara Pym, or for those with more modern tastes, Mark Schweizer.

Yolanda Courtney

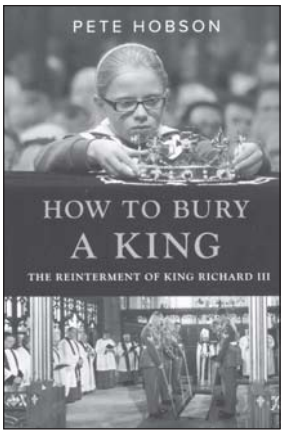
ALL SAINTS CHURCH SHAWELL: CHURCH GUIDE
Jan Zientek
All Saints Church Shawell, 2015, 23pp, illus.

The parish church of Shawell was largely reconstructed in the 1860s by the London architect William Smith, one of whose plans included a low spire. This was never built due to lack of funds, but as this guide amply demonstrates that there is a great deal of interest both outside and inside the church. The interior features include stained glass windows and choir stall carvings, and a memorial to the Smith family of Normanton Turville Hall, identical in design to that in Leire parish church, to other members of the family. There are also memorials to Private Archibald Edward Jones, the only son of the Rector, Edward Jones, who died in action near Bullecourt in 1917; and Private Frederick Gibbons, who died in hospital in Liverpool in 1919 and whose grave is in the churchyard. The guide is beautifully illustrated throughout, with a particularly striking image of the wrought iron ringing guides for the six bells designed by David Raven.

Cynthia Brown

RICHARD III

HOW TO BURY A KING
Pete Hobson
Zaccmedia, 2016, 115pp, illus., ISBN 9781911211174, £7.99



This is a very different perspective on the reinterment of Richard III in March 2015, by the person allotted the lead role in planning the event: in making sure that 'all the arrangements for this moment were right'. When the remains of the King were found in September 2012, Pete Hobson was Director of St Martin's House. His experience of managing the purchase and conversion of this former school building into a Cathedral and Diocesan Centre made him well-qualified for this new role. Nevertheless, he recalls that his first reaction on being asked to take it on was

'not excitement, nor even trepidation – but plain and simple annoyance… I was, to my mind, at a crucial stage in another project, and one which was more obviously focused on the Christian mission of the church…'. He describes his decision to accept the task as 'risky'. There was no precedent for such a project, and it was essentially determined by two questions. The first was the very practical one of the budget for the project and from where it would come. The second was 'more philosophical and in the end far more important: what exactly was it we were trying to do in this reinterment?'. The short answer was to bury the King with 'Dignity and Honour'; but as this very readable account demonstrates, it was a much more complex process than it may have appeared to the public, who had simply to turn up at the appropriate time to view the parades and ceremonies. Among the different aspects covered here are the management of partnerships with the University of Leicester, Leicester City Council and the Richard III Society; and alterations to the fabric of the Cathedral to accommodate the King's tomb which required extensive consultation and the approval of the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England. Working groups were formed to consider other elements of the process, including the reinterment services and the form they would take. Much of this work took place against the background of a legal challenge to the reinterment by the Plantagenet Alliance that was not resolved until May 2014. Less than a year later the King was reinterred with the promised dignity and honour, and his tomb and related points of interest continue to draw new visitors to the city in considerable numbers. Amid these ongoing effects of the 'Richard III phenomenon', it is well worth taking the time to read this 'inside' account of how it all became possible.

Cynthia Brown

THE MYTHOLOGY OF RICHARD III

John Ashdown-Hill

Amberley, 2015, 222pp, illus., ISBN 9781445644677, £16.99

John Ashdown-Hill is a leading member of the Richard III Society, and was recently awarded the MBE in recognition of his key role in the discovery and identification of the remains of the King. In this book he seeks to 'set the record straight' in terms of the mythology that has 'swirled around' Richard III for many years, and which the discovery of his skeleton has only served to multiply. Many of the aspects he covers will be familiar, albeit not in the detail in which they are analysed here: the alleged 'serial killing' of the princes in the tower and others in the path to the throne; the depiction of the 'monster king' who usurped the throne and ruled as a tyrant'; and the argument, described as 'ludicrous' that Richard spent the last few months of his life 'utterly preoccupied' with thoughts of his forthcoming defeat in battle. The author's reinterpretation of documentary sources underpins a scholarly and very readable analysis for so long as the focus remains on the 'myths' themselves. The evidence – or lack of it – is examined in depth, along with the question of how and why they arose or were perpetuated. A substantial part of the book, however, is devoted to the argument that the story of the rediscovery of the remains of Richard III in 2012 has been rewritten or edited in the same 'thoroughly slanted light' as Tudor propagandists rewrote the life story of the King himself. Some readers may feel that this sits awkwardly alongside the analysis of the historical 'mythology', but the debate about both will undoubtedly continue.

Cynthia Brown

THE REINTERMENT OF KING RICHARD III: A PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD

Various contributors

Leicester Cathedral Partnership Board, 2015, 78pp, illus., £12.99

The main focus of this very attractive publication is on the events surrounding the reinterment of Richard III in March 2015, introduced by sections on his life, the rediscovery of his remains and the science that established their identity, and the preparations for the reinterment itself. The images feature many of those who attended the different events, or lined the streets to watch the processions. They capture something of their reactions and emotions alongside a record of the more formal aspects of the proceedings, and the work that went on behind the scenes to ensure that the remains were laid to rest with the intended 'dignity and honour'. It is a very appropriate record and reminder of this extraordinary week for both city and county.

Cynthia Brown

RICHARD III: THE LEICESTER CONNECTION

David Baldwin

Pitkin Publishing, 2015, 16pp, illus., ISBN 9781841656212, £5.99

This is an updated edition of the book published in 2013 following the discovery of the remains of Richard III in the Grey Friars car park in Leicester (reviewed in the *Leicestershire Historian* in 2014). It provides a concise account of Richard's visits to Leicester, the Battle of Bosworth, and the local myths and legends surrounding the King, along with a description of Leicester itself in 1485. Details of the methods used to identify the remains, including DNA analysis, are now supplemented with accounts of his final journey through Leicestershire to his reinterment in Leicester Cathedral in March 2015. There is also a section on the Richard III Visitor Centre, along with a

useful list of contacts and suggestions for further reading. It is a very attractive publication, with many high quality images adding to the enjoyment of the author's authoritative and highly readable text.

Cynthia Brown

RICHARD III: DYNASTY, DEATH AND DISCOVERY
Richard III Visitor Centre, Leicester
The Authors, 2015, 35pp, illus., £4.50

Richard III: Dynasty, Death and Discovery is a handsome souvenir booklet that celebrates both the recent discovery of Richard's remains in Leicester and the new visitor centre opened in 2014 to showcase and provide information about the discovery. Produced on good quality paper, the booklet features many full colour, artistic photographs depicting aspects of the centre as well as the procession and ceremony which accompanied Richard III's reinterment. The title words reflect the three main areas of focus at the centre: Richard's reign and the Wars of the Roses; his death at the Battle of Bosworth Field; and the story of the discovery and identification of his remains by archaeologists from the University of Leicester. The written content of the booklet approaches this in a concise and informative way, including a wide range of topics enlivened throughout by text boxes highlighting key points of information that may particularly interest the reader. The history sections cover key details such Richard's role as Lord Protector, the story of the princes in the Tower and the claim to the throne of Henry Tudor. Richard's controversial reputation is discussed and the question of his responsibility for the murder of the young princes which has neither been proved nor disproved. Moreover, we are reminded that the Tudors had their own good reasons to blacken Richard's reputation. The section concerning the discovery of the remains gives equally satisfying coverage of key topics such as the archaeological dig, the condition of the skeleton and the scientific analysis involved in determining its true identity. All in all this is a high quality, attractive booklet that makes a fitting companion to the new centre in Leicester.

Siobhan Begley

Other recent publications

FLOWERS FOR A KING
Rosie Hughes
PUBLISHER, 2016

KING RICHARD III: THE DEATH OF A DYNASTY (E-BOOK)
Mark Wilson
Amazon Digital Services, Inc., 2015

RICHARD III: HIS STORY
Kirsteen Thomson
MadeGlobal Publishing, 2016

WITH DIGNITY AND HONOUR: THE REINTERMENT OF RICHARD III (DVD)
Leicester Cathedral, 2015

SPORT AND LEISURE

THE DEATH OF RUGBY: NEIL BACK'S STORY
Neil Back with Dean Eldredge
Pitch Publishing, 2015, 160pp, illus., ISBN 9781785310546, £15.90

The Leicester Tigers, England and British Lions legend Neil Back picks up here from his autobiography, *Size Doesn't Matter*, first published fourteen years ago. *The Death of Rugby* is co-written with local writer Dean Eldridge, and is an insightful look at a period of his life which brought triumphs, heartaches and broken promises, from the Leicester Tigers' European Cup triumph over Munster to Grand Slam glory and the 2003 World Cup with England. It takes the reader from the Lions' disastrous 2005 tour of New Zealand to the departure of his mentor Dean Richards from Leicester Tigers. It follows Back's career for three years in charge of Leeds before being recruited by the company formed to run the Lions, the Rugby Football Club (2011) Ltd. I interviewed Neil for BBC Radio Leicester just before last year's Rugby World Cup. He told me the title of the book refers both to the club – Rugby Lions - and why he fell out of love with the game at this stage of his career. Back turned down other opportunities when he was sold a 'Cinderella' vision of taking Rugby Lions to the Premiership from the fifth tier of the game in an impressive five year plan. But despite winning every game in his first season to achieve promotion, and a number of false promises, Back, his staff and players were not paid. Instead, they eventually walked away while the Rugby Football Club went into liquidation over mounting debts. The book reveals an emotional journey for him and his family through the financial difficulties suffered by the staff and players in an open and honest account. He hoped the revelations in the book might lead to an investigation and help to prevent anything like it happening in the future. Alongside all of this, Neil reveals how he also had to deal with the adjustment from world famous professional sportsman into family and regular working life, despite a critical illness in 2013 which also changed his perspective on life. Overall, *The Death of Rugby* is an enjoyable read with plenty of insight, not just from Back himself, but those close to him at memorable times in his career, including the infamous 'Hand of Back' moment against Munster. Even if the reader is not a Leicester Tigers or rugby union fan, the book is

engaging and features contributions from Sir Clive Woodward, Martin Johnson, Jonny Wilkinson, Lawrence Dallaglio and Richard Hill. It is a must-read for Tigers and England fans, but also a great read in general.

Martin Ballard

GOT, NOT GOT: THE LOST WORLD OF LEICESTER CITY

Derek Hammond and Gary Silke
Pitch Publishing Ltd, 2014, 144pp, illus., ISBN 9781909626591, £12.99

This is a book for football fans which should also be of interest to local historians. It is an entertaining reflection on the history of Leicester City Football Club, told through memorabilia and the comments and recollections of supporters. Rosettes, cigarette cards, programmes and branded merchandise may not seem obvious original source material for today's historians, but it is precisely this kind of ephemera from previous centuries which is so interesting and so important to historical research today, and which in this digital age may not survive. As it also demonstrates, the history of many English football teams is rooted in the Non-conformist chapels of our towns and cities where well-meaning congregations of the nineteenth century sought to find wholesome activities for their young people. Aston Villa FC, for example, began as a cricket team attached to the local Baptist Chapel. Football was a substitute activity for when the weather prevented cricket matches from taking place. One of the authors of this compilation is Gary Silke who currently reports on sport for the *Leicester Mercury*. Silke played for Portsmouth, Notts County, Mansfield Town and other clubs before gaining a qualification in sports massage at Loughborough College. He also worked for Sheffield Wednesday before being appointed first masseur at Leicester City in 2013. The book is designed to appeal to present fans and therefore the content relates to the matches, teams and personalities that they will remember. This means that the pre-war history of the club is not covered. It is still great fun, as any celebration of football should be; but it also reveals cultural and social attitudes and aspirations which are intriguing, and includes many fascinating archive photographs.

Stephen Butt

THE OVAL WORLD: A GLOBAL HISTORY OF RUGBY

Tony Collins
Bloomsbury, 2015, 551pp, illus., ISBN 9781408843703, £25

Dr Tony Collins of the International Centre for Sports History and Culture at De Montfort University is the author of several books on the history of rugby. This major work looks at the world history of rugby and was published to coincide with the Rugby Union World Cup played in England and Wales in 2015. It is very unusual in that Dr Collins covers the story of both codes of rugby, union and league, although he admits 'neither type of rugby (is) very much interested in the other at all'. This approach not only helps to explain the splits in the game, but also the development of different sporting cultures and overlapping influences. For the local historian there are some very interesting references throughout. In a chapter on traditional games of 'football' we find reference to a match being played in Ratby as early as 1790, as well as the Bottle Kicking game at Hallaton. Some might be surprised to see the name of Leicester Football Club linked to professionalism. In 1896 and 1907 Leicester were investigated for professionalism amid rumours (some justified) that the club broke or at least bent Rugby Union's strict rules. It is in the modern era of leagues and commercialism that Leicester has shown its dominance in domestic and European games as well as providing the core of the England team in its most successful periods. This is a well researched book, written in an accessible style, and gives a good insight into the history and culture of this popular sport.

Philip French

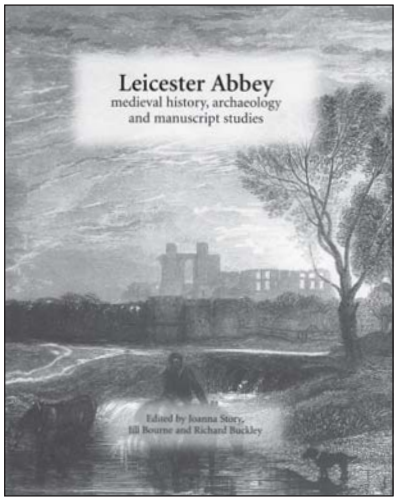
Other recent publications

GREAT RUNNING AND WALKING ROUTES IN LEICESTERSHIRE: VOLUME 1
Dave Palmer
Anchor Print, 2015

LEICESTER CITY CLASSIC SHIRTS 1949-2016
John Hutchinson, Neil Plumb and Rob O'Donnell
Leicester City FC, 2015

MUZZY: MY STORY
Muzzy Izzet with Lee Marlow
Trinity Mirror Sport Media, 2015

Publications for sale



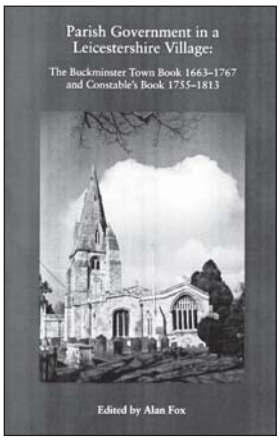
Leicester Abbey: medieval history, archaeology and manuscript studies
Ed by Joanna Story, Jill Bourne and Richard Buckley

Leicester Abbey was founded in 1138 and became one of the most important Augustinian monasteries in medieval England. But it is one of the least known of the Midland monasteries because of the almost total destruction of its buildings and archives after its Dissolution in 1538. This is the first volume on Leicester Abbey for more than 50 years, produced to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society.

The book presents eleven papers by leading scholars and local historians on the social, political and landscape history of the abbey as well as its archaeology, manuscripts, charters, urban rentals and library. Newly discovered charters are published here for the first time, as well as accounts of recent excavations in the abbey and gatehouse that formed the core of the post-Dissolution mansion known as Cavendish House.

2006 Hardback with dust jacket 314 pages Illustrations: many, some colour ISBN 0954238818 Price: £25 (plus £5 post and packing in the UK)

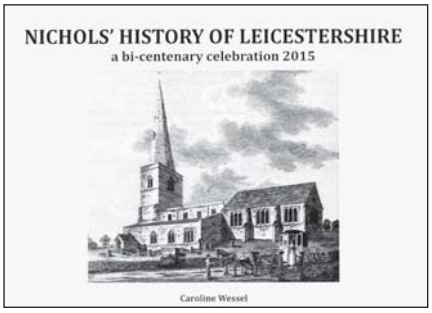
Parish Government in a Leicestershire Village: The Buckminster Town Book 1665-1767 and Constable's Book 1753-1813
Ed by Alan Fox



The first in a County Records series for Leicestershire.

2015 Hardback xxvi + 228 pages ISBN 9780954238841 Price: £15 (plus £3 postage and packing in the UK)

Nichols' History of Leicestershire: a bi-centenary celebration 2015
Caroline Wessel, with chapters by Julian Pooley and Robin Jenkins



There is every very good reason to celebrate the bi-centenary of John Nichols' remarkable History of Leicestershire (1795-1815); for its eight volumes of detailed and fascinating information have captivated historians of every type for two centuries. This publication explores the remarkable lives, talents and achievements of three generations of the Nichols family and the literary and antiquarian world of London and Leicestershire that they inhabited. Focussing on the extraordinary, extensive and varied contents of Nichols' History, a veritable treasure trove of information is uncovered. The book also utilises the Nichols Archive Project's huge collection of letters and journals to shed light upon late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century life. The 'User's Guide' and 'Who's Who' chapters are invaluable tools for the Nichols reader, whilst the contributions from present-day Leicestershire people with specialist expertise bring John Nichols' concept of enlisting the local populace right up to date.

2015 Paperback 82 pages. Illustrations: many in colour. ISBN 9780954238834 Price: £9.95 (plus £1.80 postage and packing in the UK)

The Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society 1855-2005
Robert A. Rutland

Produced to mark the 150th anniversary of the Society, this volume chronicles the Society since its foundation. It also tells a great deal about the movements in the intellectual and social history of Leicestershire.

2006 Paperback 227 pages 77 Illustrations ISBN 0954238826, 9780954238827
Price: Members £12, Non-members £18 (plus £3 post and packing in the UK)

Bringing them to their knees: church-building and restoration in Leicestershire and Rutland 1800-1914
Geoffrey K. Brandwood

Contains an extensive gazetteer of all churches in the region which had work carried out to them in the period 1800-1914.

2002 Paperback 154 pages 53 illustrations ISBN 095423880X
Price: Members £12, Non-members £15 (plus £3 post and packing in the UK)

Copies of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society's publications can be ordered through:
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For further information about the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society's publications see www.le.ac.uk/lahs

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