

Essex JOURNAL

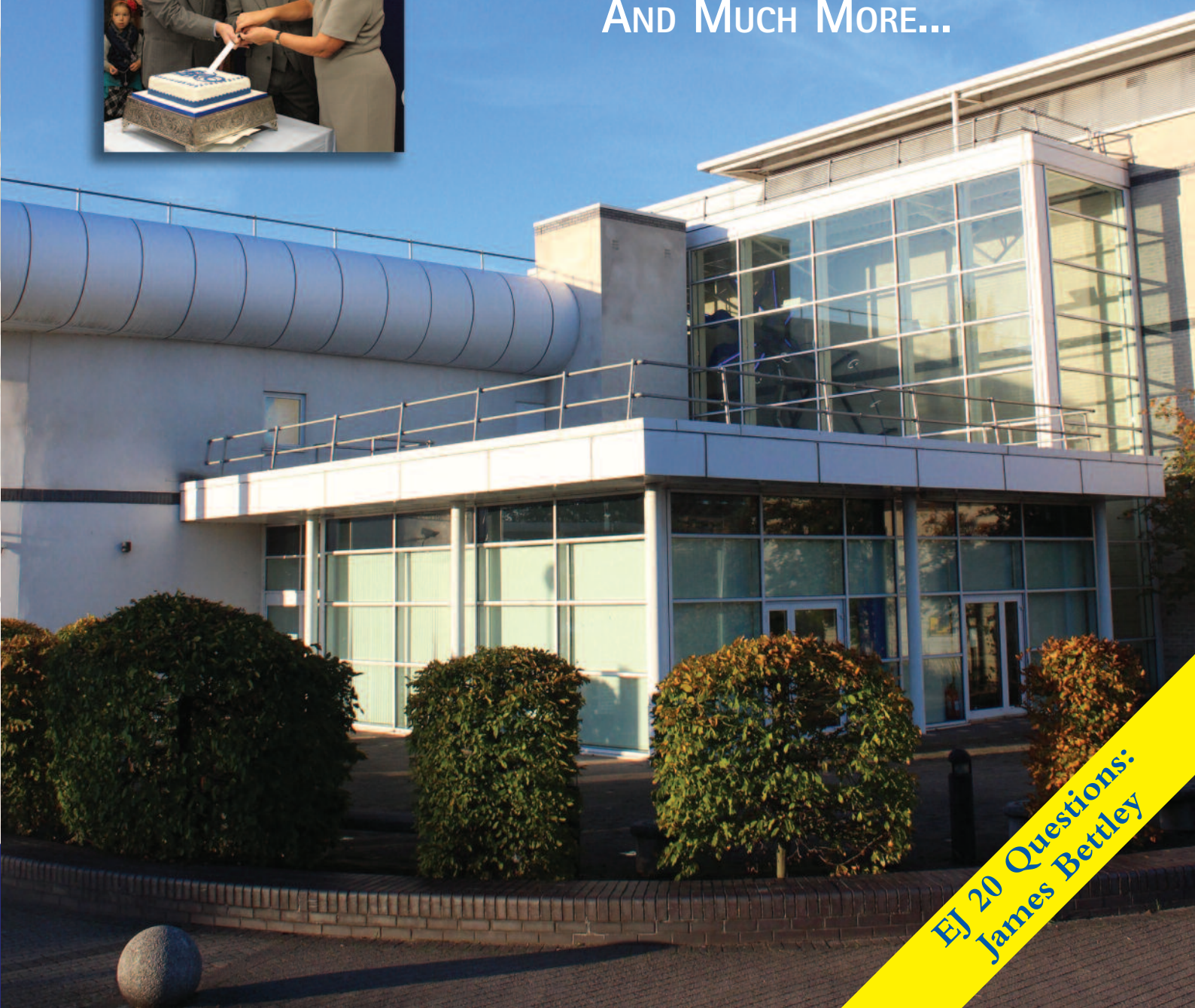
A REVIEW OF LOCAL HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY

Autumn 2013

75 YEARS OF THE ESSEX RECORD OFFICE



AND MUCH MORE...



EJ 20 Questions:
James Bettley

The Fighting Essex Soldier:

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During the fourteenth century, successive English kings sent their armies to do battle in Scotland, France and Ireland. As a result, the number of men involved in warfare increased dramatically. What's more, these soldiers are well documented, enabling us to find out more about the men who served in these campaigns than any earlier ones, especially those drawn from the gentry and nobility. This conference will take a look at the impact these many conflicts had on Essex society, and how soldiers were remembered after their deaths.

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Essex County Council

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I have previously written about the perspective that historians enjoy when it comes to judging some of the short-term policies that elected representatives make. Being able to gather evidence, critically evaluate source material and offer up a coherent and well-referenced assessment of the longer view is our game. This appears to be in contrast to some policy that emanates from government.

Maybe looking at the long view is a luxury afforded the historian rather than the politician. But surely if only historical evidence were taken into account perhaps sounder judgements might be made. Take school dinners. There was a time when most schools had their own kitchens in which fresh food was prepared and cooked daily. Over the last four decades there was a relaxation of nutritional standards and the axing of school kitchens etc. People were then surprised with declining health and fitness levels of youngsters and appalled when the turkey twizzler was unmasked. Jamie Oliver made a great start to revamping the importance of school dinners and now Henry Dimbleby has joined the fray with the School Food Plan: 'This plan is about good food and happiness. It is about the pleasures of growing, cooking and eating proper food. It is also about improving the academic performance of our children and the health of our nation.' To this could be added:

'The social and educational advantages of well-conducted school canteens are almost as important as the benefits which they bring to the health and physique of school children...A canteen meal which is well planned, well cooked and well served has much to contribute to the child's general education, for it promotes good health, leads to the formation of good habits and gives many forms of useful knowledge which will have much practical value in later life.'

So wrote Herwald Ramsbotham in 1940 in the introduction to the *School Canteen Handbook*. The date here is important – 1940. The nation was coping with the evacuation of children and trying to ensure that they were well fed. This was seen as important 73 years ago and it was important before this, as seen in the many editions of the *The Essex Cookery Book* ('May this book...add to the health and happiness of the households of Essex.' 1935 ed). Yet something went awry despite all the evidence that had accumulated. Still there is a cost to choosing the right way;

there are no easy options but, to paraphrase JFK, 'we choose...[to] do the[se]...things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard'. Enough said!

The booklets quoted above, can be found in the Essex Record Office library. These, and the other resources of the ERO

have now been available for public consultation for 75 years and in this issue there is much about what has been going on to mark this occasion. Hannah Salisbury outlines some of the celebratory events while Jenny Butler discusses the history of record keeping in Essex. Along with the text, there are some wonderful images from the ERO's own photographic collections – perhaps you'll recognise a face or two?

Also in this issue Tony Crosby introduces a new Industrial Archaeological group to readers while David Neame talks about the history of the Jaywick Martello Tower, somewhere I have not visited and must make a point of doing so. Tony King discusses the important work that is being carried out on the Fred Chancellor collection of architectural plans thanks to two grants that are funding the cost of materials. Meanwhile Erica Fudge looks at the importance that livestock had on our Essex ancestors. Evered the cow must have played a much more important part in the household economy than the fleeting mention in a will does justice to. Christine Jones looks at the fate of Daniel Brown who was, like so many of our ancestors, transported to Tasmania. Was being split apart from his family awful? Christine's not sure.

A selection of book reviews follows including James Bettley's review of Warwick Rodwell's important *The Archaeology of Churches*. Another book to put on the ever-growing list to read – if only there were more time. Talking of James, he very gamely finishes off this issue with his responses to the *EJ 20 Questions* feature. As ever, it is fascinating to find out more about the historians of Essex. Oh, and congratulations to Andrew Phillips on his BEM.

Cheers, Neil



STOP PRESS

The Lord Petre, the Lord Lieutenant of Essex, has recently appointed five new Deputy Lieutenants for the County of Essex, which include Dr James Bettley and Mr Adrian Corder-Birch, who have both been regular contributors to *Essex Journal* over the years.

James is well known as an architectural historian who revised the Essex volume of *The Buildings of England* by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner in 2007 and is Chairman of the Chelmsford Diocesan Advisory Committee for the Care of Churches. He is currently revising the Suffolk volume of *The Buildings of England*.

Adrian is Chairman of the Editorial Board of *Essex Journal* and a Past President of Essex Archaeological and Historical Congress. He is currently involved with the formation of the new Essex Industrial Archaeology Group.

The authorship of

The Gentleman's History of Essex: a postscript

In my article on this subject in the Spring 2013 *Essex Journal*, I suggested that the author was Rev. Henry Bate Dudley. I am extremely grateful to Kevin Bruce who has been in touch with me since its publication. He had independently come to the conclusion that Bate Dudley had been involved.

However he has drawn my attention to an advertisement, in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* of 9th June 1769, which apologised for the late issue of part 6 of volume 1 of the *History*. The note continued:

'The Gentleman who has conducted the Numbers already printed, finding the Work requires much more of his Time and Attention than he can possibly spare from his other Concerns, has put it into the Hands of a Gentleman well acquainted with the Natural History of this County, and every Way qualified for the Undertaking.'

This suggests that two different gentlemen may have been involved as authors – one (presumably Bate Dudley) who completed the first volume, and a second who compiled the remainder. This conclusion might be verified by a close study of the style in which the volumes were written, and could explain why the later volumes of the *History* give rather sparser coverage of the individual parishes.

Since corresponding with Kevin Bruce, I have acquired copies of the first two volumes of the *History*. On the title page of volume one, the name of Peter Muilman Esq is written in an italic hand. Above

this inscription a later hand added 'Sir of B Dudley' (*sic*), so Bate Dudley's involvement has been proposed in the past. Unfortunately the volume has been rebound, so any owner's name or bookplate has been lost and it is impossible to know who made the attribution.

Though the evidence still points to Bate Dudley's authorship, it seems that he may have been responsible for the first volume only and that a second author, who still remains to be identified, undertook the remaining volumes.

Michael Leach



Rev. Henry Bate Dudley.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the
Essex Record Office, I/Pb 4/17.)



Jaywick
Martello
Tower

Jaywick Martello Tower

Jaywick Martello Tower was built in 1809 and was originally one of twenty-nine Martello towers situated on the east coast of England. It is now an arts, heritage and community space which plays host to a varied programme of heritage and art exhibitions, events, talks and workshops throughout the year.

Opening times:

April to September

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Admission:

Adults £1.00

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A short history of Jaywick Martello Tower

by
David Neame

Jaywick Martello Tower is one of 29 towers built on the Essex and Suffolk coasts, the first at Point Clear in Brightlingsea Harbour and the last at Aldeburgh. They are lettered 'A' to 'Z' and then 'AA', 'BB' and 'CC', Jaywick being Tower 'C'. All of the Towers were finished and armed by 1812 except Jaywick because of trouble with subsidence, it was one of the last to have its guns mounted.

The foundations of Jaywick Martello Tower were excavated in the August of 1808. This consisted of digging down five feet and then filling with two feet of gravel. A grating was then laid on top and the building was built upon this. Work started on the building in July 1809. Stone foundations were laid and the brickwork continued up to the parapet, which took about eight months. A master bricklayer and eight work gangs laid about 750,000 bricks supervised by Captain Whitmore of the Royal Engineers. Captain Whitmore whose father and grandfather were also Royal engineers of great esteem, supervised all Military construction in Essex and Suffolk.

On September 6th 1810 the brickwork was finished and the masons started laying the stone parapet but soon realised that the Tower was not level; it had subsided on one side by six inches. Work was suspended and Captain Whitmore and Mr Hobson the contractor who supplied all of the materials and workmen, were sent for. However, before they arrived the tower went over another five feet and pushed up a wall of mud from beneath the foundations. Mr Hobson wrote to General Morse:

'In obedience to your commandment I was at Tower 'C', near the signal station at St Osyth on the coast of Essex and there met Captain Whitmore - This Tower presents a very extraordinary appearance bring so out of level and upright. It is a very extraordinary circumstance that so large a body of brickwork and so recently erected, sinking in less than

half an hour full five feet out of level should remain sound ,and not have broken or burst to pieces.'

After many consultations wells were dug on the high side of the Tower and as the water and mud were pumped out, it slowly inch by inch came back. On the 29th November Captain Whitmore wrote to General Morse:

'I beg also to state that I have judged it necessary to remove sergeant L Peake whom I had stationed at the Tower to watch on developments, for not only the greater part of the roof of his hut was blown off during the late high winds, but the sea broke into it, and the station itself is almost under water lasting the whole of the winter storm.'

The exceptionally wet winter and a blocked land drain next to the Tower was thought to be the cause of the subsidence. The Tower was level after eighteen months but this resulted in it being five feet lower than the other Towers. If you visit the Tower you will notice how low the headroom is in the basement.

The basement was used for storage of water in a cistern, oil for the lamps, ammunition for the Cannons, gunpowder and food for the troops, and accessed by a trapdoor from the second floor. The gunpowder was stored in the Magazine built into the thickness of the walls in case of explosion. The food consisted of salt beef or pork in barrels and biscuit. There was enough for a month for thirty men and one Officer if under siege.

The second floor was the living quarters for the troops and the Officer, who had a separate room for his own use. The original entrance is on this floor, which had an iron ladder to the outside, also the two sets of stairs to the gun platform, built into the thickness of the walls are located on this floor. There were two fire places, one for the troops and



The Tower and the remains of the battery, early twentieth century. (St Osyth Archive.)



**Inside the Tower before the renovation, above, and after renovation, below.
(Jaywick Martello Tower.)**

one for the Officer for cooking and warmth, and four windows which could be used for musket fire.

The gun platform on the open roof was equipped with one 24 pounder cannon which could fire a 5.8 inch iron ball one and a half miles out to sea, and two 5 1/2 inch howitzers which fired case shot or exploding iron shells to stop enemy troops surrounding the Tower. The original cannon barrel pivots for the traversing carriages can still be seen on the roof, along with a replica 24 pounder cannon. The tower also had a battery of three 24 pounders on traversing carriages in front of the Tower, facing out to sea. This was the main armament and was supported by the Tower.

Although the Tower was designed to house 30 to 40 men and a commissioned officer, because of the unhealthy state of the coast at that time, the troops were stationed at Weeley barracks about eight miles away, and three privates and a sergeant were on lookout at all times.

All of the Towers were damp and cold places to be stationed in and not popular with the troops. Ventilation shafts and galleries were built into the brickwork in both the ground and first floors to circulate the air, and the troops were forbidden to block the windows even in the winter. After the wars,



army pensioners with their families lived in some of the Towers usually one pensioner to look after two towers. They had orders to paint the under side of the wooden floors with quicklime to stop dry rot, and to keep the windows and the doors open as much as possible.

By the 1820s most of the Towers were used by the coastguards, and as many as four families lived in each Tower and associated buildings. In the intervening years the Tower has had many uses; it has been a holiday home, a gentleman's drinking club, and a café for the holiday park nearby. In the First World War it was used by the Essex cycle battalion and in the Second World War the home guard used it as a lookout. Today the Tower is owned and run by Essex County Council and as an arts, heritage and community venue with four exhibitions a year, regular events and a series of talks in spring and autumn.

References

1. The National Archives (TNA), WO55/734, Engineer Papers, Eastern District. Mr Hobson, letter to General Morse. 22/10/1810.
2. Ibid. Captain Whitmore, letter to General Morse. 29/11/1810.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank St Osyth Archive, National Archive, Essex Record Office, Capt Charles Trollope and Kerith Ririe.

The Author

David Neame managed his own engineering business for 30 years. Upon retirement David became a member of several local history societies and was project manager for the restoration of the Clacton Queen steamroller and has been heavily involved in the restoration of the world's oldest motor lifeboat James Stevens No.14. The Friends of Jaywick Martello Tower were set up in 2007, David was a founder member and became the Tower historian.

Essex Industrial Archaeology Group

On Saturday 6th July 2013 the Essex Record Office (ERO), in partnership with The Essex Society for Archaeology and History (ESAH), hosted a conference on Essex's Industrial Archaeology. During the morning session, Lord Petre, the Patron of ESAH, launched a new sub-group of the Society, the Essex Industrial Archaeology Group (EIAG).

The genesis of the EIAG

For long there has been an assumption that agricultural Essex had little to offer the industrial archaeologist, and hence, unlike most other Counties, Essex has never had a society focused primarily on industrial archaeology. The County Council, however, has done much to further the study of the County's industrial past through the 1971 *Industrial Survey* by John Booker based at ERO (which is still used as a reference point for later research), followed by his book, *Essex and the Industrial Revolution*, and, since 1996, the Comparative Surveys of Modern / Industrial Sites and Monuments established by Shane Gould in the Historic Environment Branch of the County Council. The County Council was also a founding partner of the industrial heritage tourism organisation, the European Route of Industrial Heritage.

These initiatives have all shown that the County had a wealth of traditional industry such as milling, malting, brewing, agricultural engineering, brick making etc, as well as more modern industries such as silk and artificial fibres, electrical engineering, radio communications, metal window manufacturing and shoe making; plus the transport infrastructure to support these industries.

Meeting at the Association for Industrial Archaeology Annual Conference held in Essex in 2012, a number of like-minded individuals discussed the possibility and potential of setting up a local industrial archaeology society for Essex. Consultations were initiated in the County, including with Essex

1. Down draught brick kiln in operation at Bulmer Brick and Tile Works in 2012.

(All images via the author.)



2. Former Bata shoe factory buildings at East Tilbury, an example of 20th century industrial archaeology.

Congress, following which, rather than create an entirely new organisation, discussions were held with ESAH to agree the most feasible way forward. Subsequently the proposers of an EIAG and ESAH officers reached agreement on setting up EIAG as a specialist sub-group within ESAH and this was endorsed by ESAH Council on 16th March 2013.

The aims of the EIAG

The principal aim of the Group is to engage in industrial archaeology in the County of Essex and therefore to:

1. Research and record industries in Essex and their sites, in order to assist research by others and to help the general public to understand and appreciate Essex's industrial past.
2. Publish reports on the work of the Group in ESAH's Transactions and Newsletters, other relevant journals, such as Essex Journal, and its own publications.
3. Initiate and support the preservation of important industrial sites, buildings, artefacts and records, co-operating with other groups as appropriate.
4. Organise a regular programme of speakers, inviting guests to speak on subjects relating to the industrial past in Essex.
5. Organise a regular programme of visits to sites, museums etc. so members can gain a greater understanding of the history and preservation of Essex industry.
6. Work in partnership with other Societies and Groups, in Essex and nationally, with an interest in Essex's industrial past.

The scope of industrial archaeology in Essex

The scope of industrial archaeology covered by EIAG would be at its widest and include all industries which operated historically within Essex:

1. Primary and extractive industries, including quarrying;
2. Secondary processing and manufacturing industries, e.g. milling, malting, brewing, brick-making, textiles, foundries, engineering etc.;
3. Construction industry, including timber and cement manufacturers;
4. Public utilities – gas, electricity, water supply and sewage, communications;
5. Fishing and model farms;
6. Transport infrastructure – roads, inland waterways, ports and railways;
7. Industrial housing and company villages, including social facilities;
8. Documentary, photographic and film archives;
9. Oral, local and family history;
10. Archaeology and standing building surveys;
11. Industrial technology, architecture, engineers, entrepreneurs, workers and other people;
12. Industrial heritage, including museums and promotion of industrial culture to the public.

3. Former water and steam mills at Beeleigh, Maldon, which is undergoing conservation work by volunteers.



**The Essex Society
for Archaeology & History**



4. Former gas works buildings in Saffron Walden, one of the earliest gas works in Essex built in 1836.

The benefits of membership of EIAG

As EIAG is a sub-group of ESAH, members of the Group will enjoy all the benefits of ESAH membership, which include a programme of social events and talks, excursions to historic sites, access to the Society's library, the Society's *Newsletter* and annual *Transactions*. EIAG members will also benefit from talks, visits and publications, in both the main ESAH publications and a special series specifically on industrial archaeology.

How to join EIAG

Membership will be open to anyone with an interest in industrial archaeology and heritage, as defined above, whether resident within Essex or elsewhere. All ESAH members can become members of the EIAG, at no extra cost, while non-ESAH members wishing to join the EIAG would join ESAH either as a full single member (£20 pa), family membership (£22 pa), an associate member (£9 pa), or a student member (£9 pa). For general enquiries about the Society contact the secretary John Hayward:

essexarchaeology@hotmail.com;

to become a member of ESAH or EIAG see the ESAH website:

<http://www.essex.ac.uk/history/esah/default.asp>,

or contact the membership secretary:

esahmembership@gmail.com.

Next steps

The inaugural meeting of EIAG will take place at Chelmsford Museum on Saturday 23rd November, 2:30-4:30pm, at which officers of the new group will be appointed and ideas for talks and visits will be discussed. This business part of the agenda will be followed by a number of short talks introducing Industries of Essex. The officers will then begin to plan a programme of talks and visits for 2014 and onwards.

Tony Crosby

News from the Essex Record Office

Since last writing, the major focus at the Record Office has been our 75th anniversary celebrations. The main public celebration was our open day on 14th September (complete with a cake cut by Lord Petre, Cllr Kay Twitchen, Chairman of ECC, and Stephen Dixon, Archive Service Manager, photo below), which was a fantastic occasion with over 500 visitors. Every tour was full with people finding out about how we care for our county's past, the Searchroom was packed with people enjoying displays and ERO's treasures and finding out how to begin their own research, and the lecture theatre hosted archive films and author Pete May's talk on *The Joy of Essex*. Seeing the ERO so full of people enjoying our collections was really wonderful, and we hope to welcome lots of them back in the future. You can read more about ERO's work over the last 75 years on page 55.

We also shared a celebration with the Friends of Historic Essex (to mark their 60th anniversary along with our 75th) at Ingatestone Hall, and we're very grateful to the Petre family for allowing us use of the Hall for the afternoon. It was a lovely occasion and a chance to catch up with former colleagues, and a tree has been planted in the Hall's garden to commemorate the anniversaries.

The Friends are invaluable to the ERO; they volunteer at our events and raise money to buy documents to add to the collection, keeping historic documents in the public domain rather than private collections. If you would like to help support the work of ERO by becoming a member of the Friends, take a look at the back cover of the *Journal* to find out how you can join.

In the last News from the ERO we mentioned that as part of our 75th anniversary celebrations we were collecting nominations from searchers for their favourite documents, and publishing them on our

blog at www.essexrecordofficeblog.co.uk. We have now published several of them, and we've enjoyed reading them so much we're going to carry on accepting nominations for the rest of the year. So, if you've come across a hidden gem you'd like to highlight, do let us know. You can pick up a nomination form in the Searchroom, download one from the blog, or e-mail me, address below.

Our Sound Archivist Martin Astell has been fortunate to secure a grant of £53,700 from the Heritage Lottery Fund for the initial stages of the *You Are Hear: sound and a sense of place* project. The grant will fund the development phase of the project, to progress plans to apply for a full grant at a later date. The project aims to digitise and catalogue historically valuable recordings held in the Essex Sound and Video Archive, focussing on collections of oral history interviews. Look out for future updates.

Our next major event is *The Fighting Essex Soldier: Recruitment, War and Remembrance in the Fourteenth Century* on Saturday 8th March 2014, which will explore the impact of the wars of that period on Essex. We have some great speakers lined up who will be covering a range of fascinating topics – see the inside front cover of the *Journal* for more details.

As well as the conference we have plenty of workshops and lectures coming up over the rest of the year. You can find details of all of them at www.essex.gov.uk/EROevents.

You can keep up with the ERO by joining the e-bulletin to receive monthly updates. To be added to the mailing list, e-mail me, hannahjane.salisbury@essex.gov.uk, with 'e-bulletin' as the subject.

We hope to see you at the ERO soon!

Hannah Salisbury, Audience Development Officer



Conservation of the Fred Chancellor plans

The Essex Record Office (ERO) is fortunate to look after the large collection of architectural plans from the firm of the architect Fred Chancellor (1825–1918). Chancellor was a prolific architect with offices in Chelmsford and London. He worked on most churches in Essex and designed many public buildings, including schools and hospitals.

His collection of architectural plans and drawings, around 10,000 individual items, was deposited at the ERO with a brief but, by modern standards, inadequate catalogue (D/F 8). This means the collection is underused and difficult to access. The current condition and storage arrangements make the plans unsuitable for production to researchers. They are stored in rolls, very much as they first came to us, which are awkward to handle and make it difficult to look at individual plans. The plans are also dirty which can lead to dirt being transferred to other documents that researchers are looking at. A proportion (estimated at 5%) are damaged to such an extent that makes it impossible to produce them for consultation.

An initial pilot project saw around 300 plans processed which allowed the work plan to be amended in the light of practical experience. Those plans in need of conservation work were treated by ERO's in-house Conservation team and, following repackaging, all then received a detailed individual catalogue entry in ERO's online catalogue, Seax, to further improve accessibility and awareness about the availability of this important collection.

With 300 plans completed there only remained the small issue of another 9,700 to go. While the initial pilot was carried out in-house, the next hurdle to overcome was the funding of the special materials needed to repackage the plans. Acid free manilla and specially commissioned boxes are used to ensure that, stored in the ERO's climate-controlled strong rooms, the plans would be given the best possible chance of surviving for centuries to come. Such materials from specialist companies, however, do not come cheap and it meant that external funding had to be sought. Luckily for the project two successful bids were made to cover the costs of the materials.

The National Manuscripts Conservation Trust (NMCT) was approached with a bid to help with the funding towards the cost of materials. Established in January 1990 by the British Library and the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, with funding from the Office of Arts and Libraries and from private donors, the NMCT gives grants to support the conservation of important manuscripts and archives. NMCT Trustees benefit from specialist advice provided by The National Archives; this advice covers the significance of the material, its status, and the appropriateness of the proposed conservation treatment. This advice informs the Trustees' decisions about which projects should be awarded grants. With support from The National Archives they can also advise applicants on issues relating to preservation and conservation best practice. With advice from the NMCT the ERO

A pile of plans from just one bundle.

On a recent visit to the Essex Record Office, Neil Wiffen, EJ Honorary Editor and ERO PST Manager, shows Lord Petre, Trustee of the Essex Heritage Trust, one of the Chancellor plans before it is cleaned and re-packaged. (All images ERO.)

Ideally, in order to make the plans more accessible they would all have to be cleaned, flattened, re-packaged and re-catalogued. Because there are so many plans there are just not sufficient staff on hand to be dedicated to processing them all. Therefore it was decided that it would be an ideal project with which to recruit volunteers to assist with the mammoth task ahead. Not only does the ERO get the assistance of the volunteers' hours but the volunteers are taught some simple conservation techniques.





The volunteers at work on cleaning the plans, above, with detail below.

was able to modify its plans for repackaging to make it more efficient both in terms of time taken and cost of materials. In the light of these amendments a total of £9,500 was awarded to the ERO towards the costs of materials.

While this was a great contribution towards the total estimated cost of the materials for the project there was still a shortfall. Fortunately the ERO was able to make a bid to the Essex Heritage Trust (EHT) for a further contribution. The EHT was formed in the Essex Heritage Year of 1989 when the Lord Lieutenant of Essex felt the need to find a permanent and ongoing way in which the people of Essex could play a part in the protection of the county's heritage. The EHT was established to help safeguard or preserve for the benefit of the public such land, buildings, objects, or records that may be illustrative of, or significant to, the history of the County, or which enhance an understanding of the characteristics and traditions of the County. In order to do this the EHT provides funds to individuals or bodies who are helping to preserve the heritage of Essex in a worthwhile way. Over the past 23 years the EHT has supported 399 projects with a total of

£858,202 in grant aid. The ERO has been lucky to be awarded £5,000 which will be used to purchase materials required for the project.

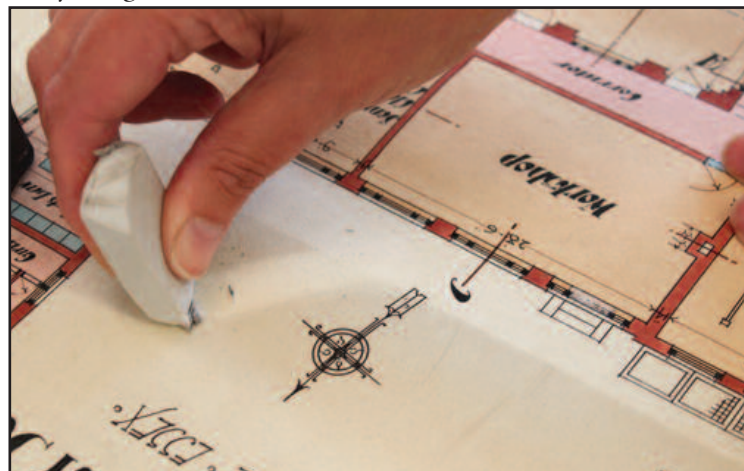
So, with the funding in place and volunteers recruited, the Chancellor project can move ahead at full steam. Luckily for ERO, the volunteers' spirits are high as they get to grips with the collection: 'It's mucky – at the moment, but not for much longer!' says Anne Hornett. It's very satisfying work she says, 'I love it...some of them are just incredible, gobsmacking. I've never seen anything like them'. Like Anne, volunteer Sam Foley says 'I enjoy it...working with these documents is awesome, you'd never get a chance to see them otherwise'.

If you are interested in joining the current volunteers on a Thursday to help clean and repack the Chancellor plans, please contact me via email: tony.king@essex.gov.uk.

The ERO is very grateful to both the NMCT and the EHT for their very generous grants which will allow the work outlined above to be carried out. Look out for further news on the project via the ERO Blog:

<http://www.essexrecordofficeblog.co.uk/>

Tony King, Senior Conservator



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Looking for Livestock in Wills, 1620–1635

by
Erica Fudge

It may seem strange, but one of the most significant relationships that many people had in pre-industrial English society has until recently received very little attention from historians. Sexual relations, gender relations, interactions within and between social groups have all been studied, but relationships between people and the animals they lived alongside, worked with, and relied upon have so far been dealt with in very limited detail.¹ Agricultural histories often offer vital insights into changes across time in specific locations, or on a national scale, yet in this work livestock is frequently only analysed in relation to broad issues such as increases in the size of animals, their productivity, and changing production techniques.² These are certainly important and can tell us much about life in pre-industrial England, but such analyses do not attend to the fact that, as anyone who works with animals nowadays knows, animals are more than simply stock; they are *livestock*: that is, they are living, sentient beings with whom interaction is required. Indeed, in research on contemporary culture a picture of human-livestock interactions is emerging that reveals just how complicated the relationship can be: these animals are commodities, but they are also – and simultaneously – fellow beings. In a recent article, for example, the sociologist Rhoda Wilkie interviewed a young commercial stockman who stated that the 140 cows he was in charge of were ‘work colleagues’.³ And in a study of a reindeer herd in the Cairngorm mountains in Scotland, the geographer Hayden Lorimer outlined a relationship of ‘interdependency’ between reindeers and herders that would be familiar to the stockman: it is based on ‘reciprocity and understanding’ between the species.⁴ In

such contexts animals should be recognised as participants in relationships with humans who regard them as both having a use value and as responding individuals. They are more than objects.

In the seventeenth century many more people worked closely with animals every day than do in the twenty-first century, and the number of animals most people worked with was much smaller, something that would have allowed for increased knowledge of individual creatures. Alan Everitt calculated, for example, that in eastern England in the first half of the seventeenth century peasant labourers (a group who made up almost one-third of the population) had very small herds: 84% had only one or two cows, while only 6% had six or more.⁵ Architecture also underlines this conception of closeness. Longhouses in which animals lived on one side and humans on the other in a shared, or simply partitioned, space were no longer being built by the end of the sixteenth century, but in his classic study M.W. Barley proposed that the partition in the longhouse became a wall in later buildings and so, while the separation between the species was greater, in the early seventeenth century humans would still have lived in close proximity to their animals, especially those that were overwintered indoors.⁶ In such a context animals would be known by their human keepers. Indeed, Virginia De John Anderson proposes that in the early modern period ‘farmers could identify each beast by its face...much as they might recognize members of their extended family.’⁷ Relations between humans and livestock were also, you might say, social relations.

Tracing the relationships that existed between humans and live-

stock is of real historical value, however, not only because of their affective nature but also for two perhaps more historically orthodox reasons. First, working with animals took up a lot of time – Anderson estimates that the ‘ideal husbandman spent far more time each day with his livestock than with his wife and children – as much as 14 of 17 waking hours’.⁸ For this reason alone it is strange that so important a part of so many people’s lives has gone without detailed analysis. Second, the economic and nutritional value of the animals (pulling the plough, providing milk) would have meant that these creatures would have been attended to with care, and that illness or injury would have been a real threat to both human and animal well-being.⁹ To ignore this aspect of life in the past, therefore, is to ignore something that the people back then would have thought of as vital. But where changes in size of a particular kind of animal might be traced across time through archaeological remains,¹⁰ and where financial value and shifts in farming methods (growing herd sizes, for example) might be evidenced in inventories,¹¹ what the people who worked with them thought and felt about animals is more difficult to trace, especially when many of those people were illiterate; and I am interested in what people thought and felt about animals.

For all their limitations – in relation to the social groups who made them, what was excluded from them and what prioritised – wills are, as Mary Prior has noted, ‘amongst the most useful sources for the study of ordinary people in the early modern period’.¹² In these documents people define themselves (in relation to their social status), reveal their social and familial networks, as well as

some of the things – property, objects, money – they possess and value. And it is to these documents I have turned in an attempt to build a preliminary understanding of human-livestock relations in early modern England. I have looked at wills held in the Essex Record Office which were made probate between 1620 and 1635. Ignoring all those from places outside of Essex, and those that were damaged, illegible or incomplete, I have constructed a dataset of 3720 wills. The quantitative findings which are a focus of the first section of this essay offer insight into the lives of only a limited group of people in Essex – those who wrote wills – and cannot be taken as offering an overview of the population of Essex as a whole.¹³ Having said that, however, the data does afford some interesting insights. The qualitative findings which form the basis of the second section offer some glimpses of human-animal relationships that are not recorded in other kinds of documentation such as husbandry manuals. This essay is a preliminary survey, but I hope it will begin to open up an aspect of life in the past that has been widely neglected.

I: Will Making in Essex

My first decision in undertaking this research focussed on three issues: what time period to select, how long that period should be, and whether to sample or to read all documents from the selected period. My decisions were pragmatic. The period of 1620–1635 was selected as this was a time of relative political stability and so would offer, I hoped, a solid dataset. A 15 year period was selected as it offered the possibility of a detailed snapshot, and also because it reflected what the early seventeenth-century agricultural writer Leonard Mascall suggested was the working lifespan of a dairy cow.¹⁴ I recognised early in my research that a low proportion of wills contained animals (ultimately I found that only 9.68% of the documents specified

livestock in bequests) and this meant that sampling – reading every tenth will, for example – could have skewed my findings. Thus, while time-consuming, reading a large number of documents was necessary and, I hope, productive.

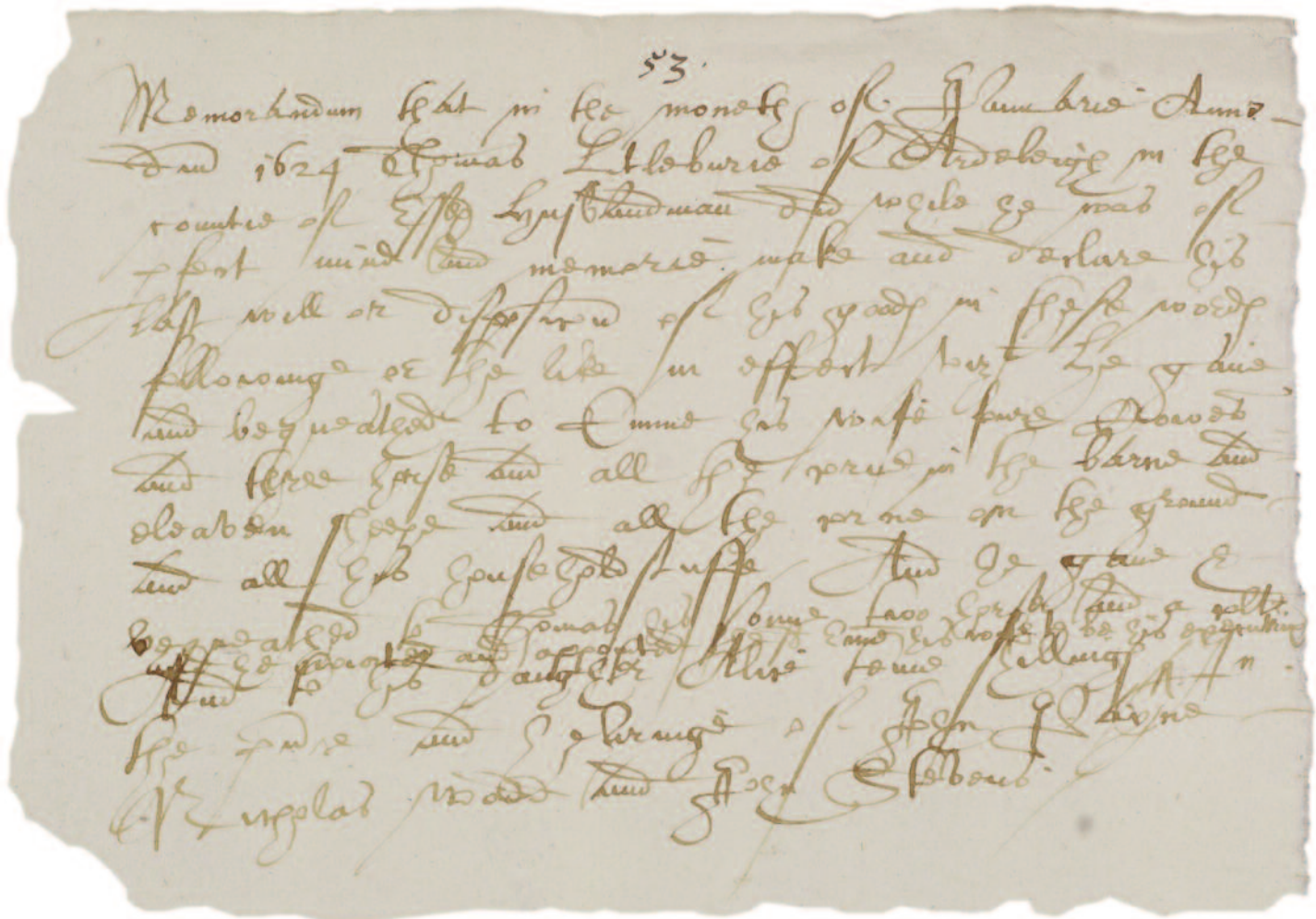
Of the 3720 wills in the data set, 2958 (79.52%) were by men and 762 (20.48%) by women. 3215 (86.42%) were formal wills and 505 (13.58%) nuncupative wills – that is wills that are a record of an oral declaration made by the testator, often on his or her deathbed, written down after the event and attested by witnesses. Of the formal wills, 819 (25.47%) were signed by the testator, and 2396 (74.53%) authorised with a mark, reflecting, perhaps, the spread of literacy in Essex in the period.¹⁵ Educational inequality is also underlined by the fact that 778 (94.99%) of the signed wills were those of men, and only 41 (5.01%) those of women.

The largest social group represented in the wills are yeomen, with 937 wills (25.19%). The next most numerous group, with 626 wills, are widows (16.83%); then follow 614 husbandmen (16.51%), 89 gentlemen (2.4%), 67 carpenters (1.8%), 65 tailors (1.75%), 62 weavers (1.67%), and 56 labourers (1.51%). Also represented among the occupational groups are two 'chirurgeons' (surgeons), one fletcher, one minister, one painter, two schoolmasters, and three shepherds (one of whom signed his will). It is worth acknowledging, however, that these occupational and status labels should not be taken at face value. First, numerous people define themselves as having non-agricultural professions but by their possessions they are clearly also involved in some agricultural labour. This might be in relation to the upkeep of a few animals for the family table, as the will of Edmund Turner seems to show. He is listed as a minister of Chappel and as well as leaving his books to his son, among his other bequests are two cows, 'butter

cheeses and my hogges'.¹⁶ Likewise, Samuel Sparrowe a blacksmith from Chrishall, left his son John 'mye black cowe' and 'One swarme and hyve of bees together wth cobiornes fyre shovel and tongges'.¹⁷

Another problem in relation to occupation and status as it is presented in wills, as Margaret Spufford has noted, is that how one views oneself, or chooses to represent oneself in an official document, may not be the same as how one is viewed by one's neighbours.¹⁸ This is made visible in the formal will and appended nuncupative will of William Pease of Great Baddow: in his formal will Pease defines himself as a yeoman, whereas the nuncupative will records a statement 'spoken in the p'nce & hearing of Agnes Arthure & others' and describes him as a saddler.¹⁹ A desire for a heightened status might be visible in Pease's self-presentation.

As well as these concerns about the value of the occupational labels used in wills, sometimes no occupation is listed – 473 documents (12.72%) of my dataset fall into this category. Occasionally, in the absence of an occupation the testator is termed 'the elder', which might signify that this is the will of someone who has retired. But the profession they have left behind remains difficult to trace – especially if, in retirement, they have already handed on the tools of their trade. Thus the bequests in the will of Raph Dixson 'the elder' of Woodham Ferrers are all monetary apart from the 'tooe drie sheepe being one year ould a peece'.²⁰ Whether he was a husbandman is not clear from this document. It is interesting to note that 22.62% of all wills in which the testator's occupation is not given are nuncupative, which represents a much higher proportion than the number of nuncupative wills overall (13.58%). This may signal, perhaps, that witnesses to such documents, who were likely to be friends or neighbours of the deceased, did not place the same emphasis on status or occupation



1. The nuncupative will of Thomas Litleburie of Ardleigh.

His bequest to his wife of livestock starts from the seventh line down.

(This and subsequent documents reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, D/ACW 9/231.)

as the scribes who wrote down the formal wills.

II: Dead Folk and Livestock

Turning to think about the how the wills might be read to shed light on human relationships with animals, I made a distinction between those which contained clear representations of specific creatures and those which only utilised general terms for them. In the former group are wills such as that of the husbandman Robert Freeman of Beaumont in which he bequeathed to his wife Margaret, 'one gelt ~~one~~ sowe hogge and an ewe lambe'; and Henry Abell of South Hanningfield's bequests of a 'blacke bullocke' to his wife's daughter, and a 'browne Northren Cowe' to his wife.²¹ Among those using general terms only are documents which include phrases such as 'stock of cattle', 'all my

corne and hay and cattell' and refer to no animals specifically.²² Such wills reflect the testator's possession of animals, but offer no sense of how many or, indeed, what kind. The word 'cattle' in this period did not only mean cows: it was also a general term for animals. For example, Robert Parker of Marks Tey bequeaths to his wife Joane, among other things, 'my Cattle being two Cowes & one Mare'.²³ Indeed, the lack of clarity about who owned animals in this period may be even greater than I am proposing when we recognise that the word 'chattel' (now taken to mean simply 'an article of property'²⁴) could also be an alternate spelling for cattle: for example, the yeoman Thomas Petchey of Buttsbury bequeaths his wife Elizabeth 'all Chattell as Horse, Cowes, Bullockes, Coltes, sheepe Hoggs or whatsoeuer else'.²⁵ To

add further to the confusion, cattle could be plural – 'cattles'. This sometimes referred to more than one cow: David Tarner from Great Oakley bequeathed 'too letell catles', for example.²⁶ But it might also be an alternative spelling for chattels: John Ball of Great Horkesley leaves 'All the Rest of my goods & Catteltes' to his brother, while John Toole of Langford gives 'All the rest of my goods cattells & readie money of what nature of kind soeuer (not before giuen)' to his wife Anne.²⁷ Things and animals are often very difficult to separate in these documents.

Formal wills are slightly more likely to include specific animals (9.8%) than nuncupative wills (8.91%) but lack of clarity is notably more frequent in formal than in nuncupative wills: 9.36% of the former include only general reference to cattle, stock

etc. and to no other animals, as opposed to only 1.39% of nuncupative wills. This may be because the references to cattle in formal wills are often part of the conventional gathering in of the residue of possessions that is typical of the conclusion of a formal will. Phrases used to perform this function range from the simple ‘all my goods cattell and chattells’, to the more ornate lists such as ‘All my goods Cattells Chattles howshold stuffe and implemnts of howshold Jewells plate and ready money what soever’ of the Colchester blacksmith James Benson’s will, and Thomas Armiger of Canewdon’s lengthy

All the rest of my goods, cattles, chattles, householde stuffe, readie money, moeueables & immoveables wth any other estate or estates due or dues, thinge or things, any waie or by any maner of right or interest belonging to vnto mee or which by right I ought or might haue of any person or persons whatsoever whersoever.²⁸

In this context, *everything* is gathered in one place; and animals are simply part of everything, not a distinct group. Indeed, a nuncupative will with just one bequest is not untypical: Andrew Brockly of Birchanger’s reads, ‘I giue all that I haue to Mary my wife to bringe vp my Childeren’, and Thomas Dynes of Cressing left to his wife ‘all his goods & Chattells whatoeuer he had’.²⁹

But there are nuncupative wills which, like formal wills, contain specific animal bequests. For example, the husbandman Thomas Litleburie of Ardleigh’s 1624 nuncupative will (Fig. 1) includes the following:

He gaue and bequeathed to Emme his wife foure Cowes and three horse and all the corne in the barne and eleaven sheepe and all the corne on the ground and all his household stuffe. And he gaue & bequeathed to Thomas his sonne two horse and a colte. And to his daughter Alice tenne shillings.³⁰

Inprimis I bequeathe to abiegall my wife three heffeaes and parte of fower sters [steers?] and a Coke of hay wch is between are beetwen John Foster and myself goeing in Church lands, and tow Coultres theiarten shep.³¹

Sometimes the wills go further than simply giving numbers of animals, and we get physical descriptions. These range from their colour to more detailed representations. John Lewis a gentleman from Ulting, for example, bequeathed his daughter his ‘ambling brown mare’, while William More of Henham, a yeoman, bequeathed ‘vnto the said Margerett my wife Twoe Cows Beasts one coloured reed and one browne young Cowe’.³² John Thayer a yeoman from Woodham Ferrers describes his animals in even more detail giving his kinsman Edward Thayer ‘one thre yeare oulde browne coult wth a white star on his forehead’.³³ Other wills describe animals in terms of familial and social relationships: so Elizabeth Abbott, a singlewoman from Great Wigborough,

2. Extract from the will of John Fillbrigg of Great Wigborough, (ERO, D/ACW 9/150.)

The fact that few such lists are found in nuncupative wills might signal that when bequests were made outside of the formal constraints of the written will generalities had a different status. In nuncupative documents, these are not the conventional lists repeated by numerous testators, rather they are rushed attempts to organise the world of the living at the point of death.

While the tense of the verbs is different, and the bequests are narrated from the perspective of the third person rather than the first, Litleburie’s nuncupative will resembles closely in its content many formal wills. For example, the yeoman John Fillbrigg of Great Wigborough’s (Fig. 2) from the same year includes the following:

bequeaths to the daughter of her cousin ‘a sheepe given me by my grandfather Burton’.³⁴ The yeoman Nicholas Clarke of Aldham bequeaths to his son Nathaniell ‘my twoe black milch cowes that I bought of Mr Balle’, and to his daughter Hellen, ‘my white face Cowe that came from Clacton’.³⁵ John Nysum of West Mersea, a yeoman, traces a family lineage for both humans and cattle in his will. He bequeaths his sister Rose ‘the Redd Cowe wth the white face’, and to another sister Margaret ‘the bullock which

Item I give to my said wife all my lowland stuffe, and all my lyme
except two yeomen called Evered and the other called the Bullock
now come,

came
of Roses

Cowe'.³⁶ Finally, Roger Hull, a miller from Great Maplestead bequeaths an 'ould Cowe' to his daughter Margaret, and 'my Cowe wth the one eye' to another daughter, Suzanne.³⁷ The descriptions are brief, but they give us information about relationships: these are animals which have been in the family for a while, and have been cared for.

On occasion animal names are given, but these occasions are rare, occurring in only seven wills out of 3720 – 0.19% of the whole set, and only 1.94% of all wills with specific animals in them. In these seven wills, too, some of the names are more like descriptions. We find horses called Clubb and Jack (owned, like the one-eyed cow, by Hull the miller); a heifer called Nan owned by a Roydon weaver; a yeoman's nag called Lock; two cows, 'one named Evered and the other called the Bullock New Come' from Cold Norton (Fig. 3); two cows bequeathed by a Tollesbury husbandman, 'one of them called the black byge cow and the other called the waker bollock' (Fig. 4); another husbandman from Great Birch specified two cows, 'the one called Darbshire, and the other the little Brown Cow'; and a Thorrington blacksmith left a horse called Buck.³⁸ In all the wills, excluding those that are unclear about numbers of animals (using phrases like 'all my horses', or 'the rest of my horses', for example), there are 160 specifically bequeathed horses, which means that only 2.5% of them are named in the wills. With cows the percentage is even lower: there are 588 cows, bullocks and calves specified in the 3720

3. Extract from the will of William Walforde senior of Cold norton. (ERO, D/ABW 46/107.)

wills, with seven of these animals given names: that is 1.19% of all bequeathed bovines. Even if only cows and bullocks are included (for there are no named calves) the percentage remains low: seven out of 569 animals (1.23%).

In *Man and the Natural World* Keith Thomas proposed that in this period 'Sheep or pigs were not usually given individual names, but cows always were'. He also noted that horses were not only named but were perceived, according to one seventeenth-century commentator, to 'understand carter's language'.³⁹ Thomas' claim about sheep and pigs can be supported by the evidence from Essex wills as these always get bequeathed namelessly (and there are 68 pigs and over 1350 sheep and lambs in the wills). But the lack of horses' and cows' names in these documents is worth pausing over. The close relationship that people had with these animals would inevitably, I suggest, have led to naming, even if the names were based on appearance – like William Walforde's cow 'Evered', or the minister of Earls Colne Ralph Josselin's cows Redbacke, Brownbacke and Stowen which were recorded in his diary.⁴⁰ This then raises a question as to why animals were not more often named in wills. Perhaps the names of the cows and horses were felt to be fittingly used only within a small circle, or in certain contexts. Maybe it was felt that putting animals' names in legal documents like wills was inappropriate – just as inappropriate as, perhaps, using the name when selling an animal. This might reflect the complex nature of human-livestock

relations in the period. The animals were for use – for milk, meat, pulling the plough, and so on. But they were also individuals with whom people interacted on a daily basis. In this sense, Nan was a particular heifer, but she was also, as the inventory on the reverse side of the Roydon weaver's nuncupative will shows, worth somewhere in the region of £2.⁴²

The lack of animals' names might also reflect in a new way the limitations attendant on using wills as evidence for early modern life. It is unquestionable that in these documents we get glimpses of ties to friends and family (evidenced in bequests) and to animals (the old cow is carefully given a new home). But, as we encounter these glimpses of the private lives of ordinary people we should have in mind that maybe what wills do not, and cannot present fully is that world in which some animals were also like members of the family. In these documents there is care, but there is also utility, and Nan the heifer, the bullock that was calved by Rose's cow, Clubb the miller's horse, and his possible stable-mate the one-eyed cow all attest to relationships that should also be part of historical research.

References

1. Exceptions to this include V. De John Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*, (Oxford, 2004); and L.H. Curth, *The Care of Brute Beasts: A Social and Cultural History of Veterinary Medicine in Early Modern England*, (Leiden, 2010).

I gave to my daughter Robert
maldon two beasts one of them called the black byge cow and the other
called the waker bollock and all so & gave her two horses of the name

4. Extract from the will of Thomas Maldon of Tollesbury. (ERO, D/ABW 49/9.)

2. See, for example, B.M.S. Campbell & M. Overton, 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming c.1250–c.1850,' *Past and Present*, 141, (November 1993), pp.38–105, and M. Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy 1500–1850*, (Cambridge, 1996).
3. Quoted in R. Wilkie, 'Sentient Commodities and Productive Paradoxes: the Ambiguous Nature of Human-Livestock Relations in Northeast Scotland,' *Journal of Rural Studies*, 21, (2005), p.224.
4. H. Lorimer, 'Herding Memories of Humans and Animals,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, (2006), p.498.
5. A. Everitt, 'Farm Labourers,' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume IV 1500–1640*, J. Thirsk ed, (Cambridge, 1967), p.398.
6. M.W. Barley, *The English Farmhouse and Cottage*, (Norfolk, 1976 edition), pp.75–76.
7. Anderson, p.90.
8. Anderson, p.85.
9. See E. Fudge & R. Thomas, 'Visiting Your Troops of Cattle,' *History Today*, 62:12 (December 2012), pp.39–43.
10. See, for example, R. Thomas, 'Zooarchaeology, Improvement and the British Agricultural Revolution,' *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 9:2, (June 2005), pp.71–88.
11. M. Overton, J. Whittle, D. Dean & A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750*, (Abingdon, 2004), p.44.
12. M. Prior, 'Wives and Wills 1558–1700,' in *English Rural Society, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk*, J. Chartres & D. Hey, eds, (Cambridge, 1990), p.201.
13. Indeed, as Ralph Houlbrooke has noted, writing wills was not the only way of making bequests, some would have been only oral statements which were never written down. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480–1750*, (Oxford, 1998), p.84.
14. L. Mascal, *The Government of Cattell*, (London, 1627), p.53.
15. Assuming a simple link between signing a will and literacy might be misleading, however. The ability to read was not always linked with the ability to write: in her 1625 will the widow Joan Wood of Great Baddow, for example, bequeathed a Bible but signed with a mark. Essex Record Office (ERO), D/ABW 47/209, 1625.
16. ERO, D/ACW 10/148, 1626.
17. ERO, D/ABW 43/191, 1620. Indeed, we might also reverse this problem of the absence of agricultural occupation labels in wills too: those listed as husbandmen might also have been involved in the production of 'handicraft commodities' for, as Overton notes, this might have been the norm for dairymen who 'were tied to a morning and an evening milking, but had little or no field work outside the hay harvest, and thus had more time on their hands during the day than did arable farmers.' Overton, *Ag Rev*, p.18.
18. M. Spufford, 'The Limitations of the Probate Inventory,' in *English Rural Society, 1500–1800: essays in honour of Joan Thirsk*, J. Chartres & D. Hey, eds, (Cambridge, 1990), p.144.
19. ERO, D/ABW 45/92, 1623.
20. ERO, D/ABW 46/233, 1624; other examples include: D/ACW 9/211, 1625; D/ACW 11/101, 1630; D/ACW 12/115, 1635. More frequently, as in D/ACW 12/20, 1633 and D/ACW 13/38, 1635 the testator is both termed 'the elder' and given a profession – here yeoman and clothier respectively.
21. ERO, D/ACW 9/37, 1623; D/ABW 47/208, 1626.
22. ERO, D/ACW 9/30, 1622; D/ABW 50/19, 1630.
23. ERO, D/ACW 12/35, 1633.
24. 'Chattel', <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/30963?redirectedFrom=chattel#eid>, accessed 26/07/13.
25. ERO, D/ABW 49/205, 1629.
26. ERO, D/ACW 9/232, 1624.
27. ERO, D/ACW 10/103, 1625; D/ABW 43/219, 1620.
28. ERO, D/ACW 10/199, 1626 – and frequently repeated; D/ACW 10/94, 1625; D/AEW 16/299, 1620.
29. ERO, D/ACW 9/95, 1622; D/ACW 10/42, 1625. Similarly brief nuncupative wills are common: e.g. D/AMW 1/182, 1629; D/AMW, 1/218, 1625; D/ACW 11/50, 1629; D/ACW 11/76, 1629.
30. ERO, D/ACW 9/231, 1624.
31. ERO, D/ACW 9/150, 1624.
32. ERO, D/ACW 10/85, 1625; D/ACW 10/107, 1625. Beast is a common word for bovines – cows, oxen, steers, bulls and bullocks.
33. ERO, D/ABW 49/291, 1628.
34. ERO, D/ACW 11/175, 1630.
35. ERO, D/ABW 52/174, 1634.
36. ERO, D/ABW 52/267, 1635.
37. ERO, D/AMW 1/273, 1625.
38. ERO, D/AMW 2/125, 1628; D/ABW 43/178, 1620; D/ABW 46/107, 1625; D/ABW 49/9, 1629; D/ABW 49/100, 1628; D/ABW 51/171, 1633.
39. K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800*, (London, 1984), p.96.
40. A. Macfarlane ed, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616–1683*, (London, 1976), pp.247 & 275.
41. This limited use of animal names is still visible in the second half of the nineteenth century when, in her novel *Black Beauty* (1877) Anna Sewall has the eponymous horse hero given different names as he passes through the hands of numerous owners.
42. ERO, D/AMW 2/125, 1628; the inventory lists '3 bease & one bullock' as being worth £8 10s.

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Erica Fudge is Professor of English Studies at the University of Strathclyde. She has written a number of works on intellectual debates about animals in early modern, including *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture*, (Basingstoke, 2000), and *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality and Humanity in Early Modern England*, (Ithaca, NY, 2006). She is the director of The British Animal Studies Network, a meeting point for academics in the humanities and social sciences who work on human-animal relations.

The Development of Record Keeping

in Essex and the 75th anniversary of the Essex Record Office¹

by

Jenny Butler

The history of the Essex Record Office really begins in 1785, the date of the earliest list of Essex county records. Amongst the Essex Quarter Sessions records there is a list of books received from the Clerk of the Peace Samuel Ennew when he left office in April 1785.² The list includes Sessions files from 1689, Sessions bundles from 1694, Great Order books from 1651, records relating to the gaol and houses of correction (Fig. 1). Many researchers will recognise these as the records preserved and catalogued as Q/SR, Q/SBb, Q/SO etc.

The records were probably kept in the old Shire House, but

1. The first list of county records compiled in 1785.

(This and subsequent images Essex Record Office, Q/Cl 1.)

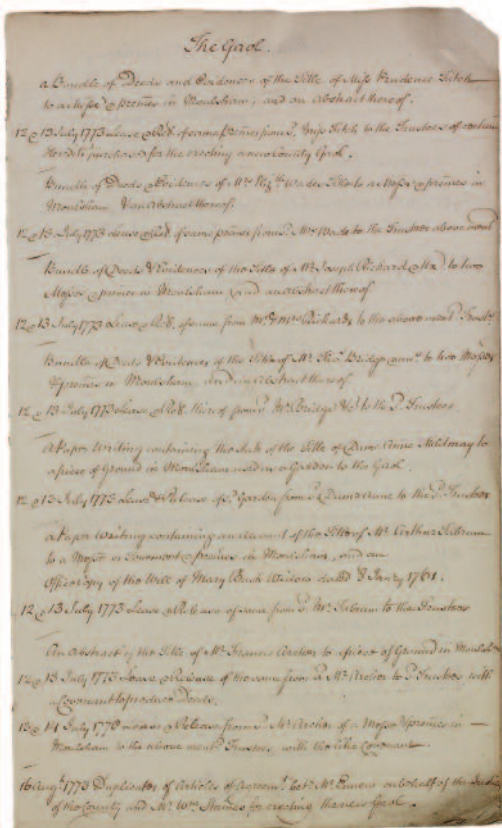
then for a few years they were stored in a house acquired for the widening of Moulsham bridge. In 1788 Quarter Sessions decided that a new Shire Hall should be built to replace the old Shire House. The County Surveyor, John Johnson, designed the new Shire Hall which was built 1789–91.³ Early in 1792 an order was made for removing the county records to the new Shire Hall.⁴ The move took place in the spring of 1794. The Clerk of the Peace submitted a bill for £3.3s. in respect of 'trouble and time and expenses in removing the records from the Clerk of the Peace's office to the Record Room at the Shire House...and arranging them there and which took more than two whole days'.⁵

Even 200 years ago conservation and the physical well-being of records was a concern. The Clerk of the Peace submitted a bill in the autumn of 1797 for £2 13s. 4d. for 'attendance at the Shire House many different times and particularly in the course of last summer taking out and cleaning all the county records and making new arrangement thereof and placing them to better advantage in respect of the dampness in some part of the repositories made for their reception there in all at least 4 days'.⁶ In April 1809 the County Surveyor, reported on the condition of the Clerk of the Peace's office, recommending 'a repository may be added over the yard so as to secure the records of the County from Fire which at present they are liable to'.⁷ The need for good environmental conditions for records storage was clearly understood, even in those early days of record-keeping.

Self- assessment for local authority archive services was introduced by The National Archives a few years ago, and there is evidence of a much earlier version. The Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Records in 1800 circulated a questionnaire to all Clerks of the Peace inquiring about the kinds of public records held, where they were stored, the conditions and security of the building, the state of preservation of the records, whether they were catalogued and indexed, and what clerks were employed to arrange and look after the records. Drafts of the replies sent by William Bullock, Clerk of the Peace for Essex, have survived.⁸

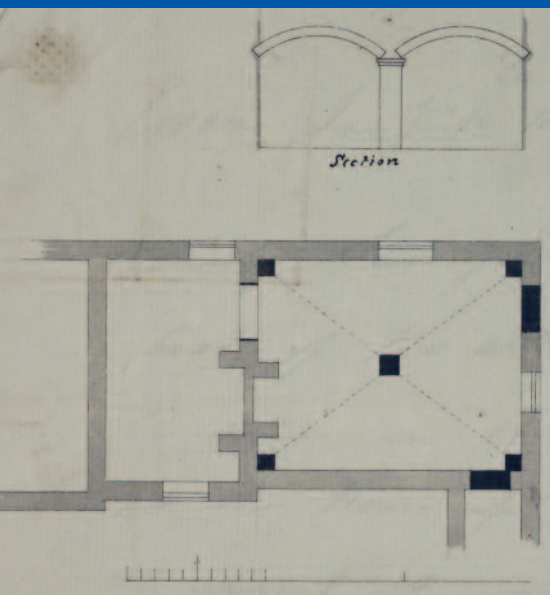
1814 is the date of the first catalogue and storage index to the county records, a worthy predecessor to Seax. A green leather-bound volume entitled 'Repertory of the county records first made in 1814 and to be continued'.⁹ It was an account of the county records at the Shire Hall, and includes Files from 1560, Session bundles from 1694, Great Order books from 1651. The storage locations include 'in the Press by the side of the Fireplace nearest to the Window' and 'in the attic nearest the church'. With Seax of course storage locations can be much more precise!

Prompted possibly by the questionnaire from the House of Commons Select Committee in 1800, Quarter Sessions appointed a Committee to look into the county records. In January 1824 the Committee reported that the house, which had been built for the keeper of the House of









2. Plan of the proposed new 'Record Room'. (ERO, Q/SBb 482/7.)

Correction, 'would afford a proper place for the custody, security and preservation of the records of the county'.¹⁰ The County Surveyor made his report in 1825, drew a small plan (Fig. 2) of the proposed alterations and estimated that the cost would be £530.¹¹ The Committee reported in 1826 that they had chosen a room 'hitherto used as a scullery (15 feet by 15 feet 6 inches) on the ground floor which by being lined well with brick, covered with groined arches, furnished with stone shelves and iron door, may be rendered every way secure from fire or depredation. The entrance to this 'Record Room will be immediately from the apartment occupied by Mr Parker himself, under his own eye, making it at the same time accessible and safe. It will be easy also to keep up with perfect safety a perpetual supply of warm and dry air in the room, from the fire place now existing in the Clerk of the Peace's room, which together with the circumstance of placing the floor upon arches, and drains, will materially lend to preserve the parchments and papers from decay by damp'.¹²

Great care was taken to ensure the conditions were appropriate for the storage of the county records. George Unwin and John Martin Leake, who had been

appointed to visit the rooms in which the records were then kept, reported in January 1827 that

'the rooms, with the exception of a slight appearance of damp on the ceiling and on one of the walls of the room over the Grand Jury room [are] in a state of repair sufficient to preserve the records from the effects of the weather. That the accumulation of records and other documents of importance increases the inconvenience and the danger of allowing them to remain in the rooms now appropriated to the reception of them.

That we have visited the new record room; and finding on enquiry that six months are elapsed since the completion of the work by the bricklayer and the mason, and having carefully observed the appearance of the walls and the shelves, we are of opinion that the records may safely be removed to it as soon as the adjoining apartments can be fitted up and prepared for the occupation of the Clerk of the Peace. We therefore submit to the court the propriety of issuing the necessary orders for fitting up and preparing the apartments without delay'.¹³

A four page list of county records dated 29th March 1825, included Great Order books 1779-1825, Sessions books 1819-25, Process books 1782-1825, County Rate books, Bridge books, Files 1560-1799, and title deeds.¹⁴ However an inventory of records taken on the same day also lists 'a box containing some loose and detached old records, broken files and promiscuous parchments and papers' found in 'the great room in the attic'.¹⁵ It was apparent that the arrangement and classification of the records needed to be improved as well as the storage. In 1826 the committee recommended dividing the records into two periods chronologically, pre George II (1727) and after 1727:

'Each of these two periods should be subdivided into three classes according to the nature of the documents
1) 'records' properly called
2) 'matters of accounts'
3) all information, papers etc not belonging to either of the other classes. These classes should be distinguished by the letters A, B, C... Each class will further branch itself into minor parts'.¹⁶

There followed lists of the county records according to the suggested classification system.

The Records Committee ordered an inspection of the county records in 1882.¹⁷ In 1885 Mr A.T. Watson was employed by Quarter Sessions to arrange and label the records to the end of the reign of George III (1820).¹⁸ He compiled an inventory of Essex county records, with an index and charged £94 1s.5d. for his work.¹⁹

Public access to the records was first considered by ECC in 1908. A sub-committee was appointed to investigate whether arrangements could be made for 'qualified persons to inspect the county records for archaeological or historical purposes, what classification of such records would be necessary in order to render such inspection of any use, and what expense might be incurred should such arrangement be carried out'. Herbert Gibson, Clerk of the Peace, considered that records should be open for public inspection and reported that

'the records as arranged by Mr Watson and indexed are deposited in a fire-proof room in the Shire Hall and are I think now safely and satisfactorily housed. The two new Record Rooms are under my office, and may be said to contain the later records which are deposited with me under Act of Parliament or otherwise for inspection, are inspected on the payment of certain fees and are chiefly used for business purposes'.²⁰

Rules for the inspection of the county records for antiquarian and historical purposes were therefore drawn up (Fig. 3).²¹

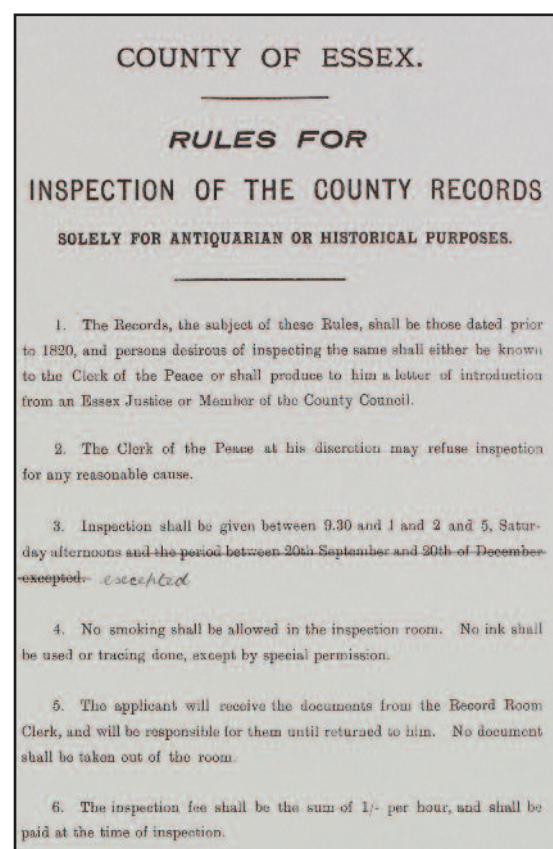
In May 1926 ECC employed Messrs Hardy & Page, record agents of Lincoln's Inn, to begin compiling an index and calendar of the county records for a payment of 100 guineas. One or two volumes of the calendars were compiled by Le Hardy each year.²² The county records were transferred from the strong room in Shire Hall to the strong room in County Hall in 1934-35, and a catalogue and index were compiled.²³ A Records Committee was formed in October 1937 and the first County Archivist, F.G. Emmison, was appointed the following year at an annual salary of £425. The formal opening of the Essex Record Office by the Master of the Rolls took place on 25th May 1939.²⁴

The original accommodation was very small (Fig. 4) and in 1965 the Record Office moved into the newly built 'A' block of County Hall. This provided a larger Searchroom and staff offices. In 1985 'A' block was extended sideways, which provided a larger Searchroom, and an annex was built onto the basement muniment room. However by the late 1990s the enlarged Searchroom had again reached capacity with over 50 visitors a day and an appointments system, and it was impossible to expand further on the County Hall site. Storage capacity was always a problem. Records for the south-east and north-east of the county were mostly stored at the Southend-on-Sea and Colchester Branches respectively. Records were also stored in a number of County Council buildings in Chelmsford, in addition to County Hall. In the late 1980s, when Vic Gray was County Archivist, ERO took over part of a large warehouse built for the County Supplies department in Montrose Road in Springfield. This housed two large repositories and the conservation section. However this situation was not

ideal as documents were only brought back for searchers in County Hall once a week.

During an inspection by the Public Record Office in 1993 there was some concern about the quality of ERO's accommodation. It was also recognised that by 1997 all storage to British Standard BS 5454 would be full. The then County Archivist, Ken Hall, began to think seriously about plans for a new building, which would bring all records and services under one roof, and so benefit public and staff and of course the collections. A new building for ERO was first included in ECC's capital programme in 1994/95, having been approved by the Library, Museums and Records Committee. The Chelmer Waterside site was chosen. Discussions between the County Council and Chelmsford Borough Council resulted in plans for an ambitious £30 million Essex Centre, a regional heritage, scientific and cultural area with theatre, museum, art gallery and technology discovery centre. When Heritage Lottery funding was refused, these plans did not proceed. However plans for a new Record Office went ahead and the scheme was authorised in the 1996/97 capital programme. The project cost £10.4 million and was entirely funded by the County Council.

The Wharf Road building was designed by W.S. Atkins Consultants of Epsom in partnership with ERO and ECC Property Services. The turf-cutting ceremony was performed by Ron Kennedy, Chairman of ECC on 23rd October 1997, and the topping-out ceremony took place almost a year later on 14th October 1998. The records began to be transferred to the new repositories in the autumn of 1999, and staff moved into the new building in late December 1999. The next three months were spent preparing for the opening on 6th March 2000. There was plenty to do!



3. Rules for the Inspection of County Records. Note the inspection fee. (ERO, Q/CI 11.)

The project to move from manual finding aids (catalogues and card indexes) to a computerised system began in 1992. Seax, the Essex Record Office's electronic catalogue, was designed by Essex County Council's IT Services. IT professionals worked closely with archivists to design Seax, which has separate staff modules for accessioning, cataloguing, storage, and document production, and a public access module. Before the move to the Wharf Road building the existing paper catalogues were retrospectively input into Seax. When the new Searchroom opened users were able to search all the collections and order documents using Seax. On 1st December 2000 Seax went live on the internet, and since then has been improved and redesigned. Many thousands of digital images of ERO documents have been loaded onto Seax, including images of Essex parish registers for the Essex Ancestors project.



4. The early small Searchroom in County Hall c.1955. Some of the slip and card indexes in evidence are still occasionally used. (ERO, A11195, Box 49.)

The new building in Wharf Road was officially opened in December 2000 by the Chairman of Essex County Council, Councillor Joe Pike. ERO was honoured to receive a visit from HRH Princess Anne at the end of February 2001. An article in an architectural journal described the new ERO as 'incredible in a number of ways...it is a stunning looking structure...certainly the most complex interior that Mix has studied...and it is a council building- not many council buildings are this dynamic- and certainly not this forward-looking both in terms of design and functionality'.²⁵

As the Essex Record Office celebrates its 75th anniversary Essex County Council can be proud of the long tradition of record-keeping and guardianship of the historical records of Essex.

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25. *Mix Interiors*, May 2000.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the late Ken Newton who appointed me as assistant archivist. It was a pleasure to work in the ERO for so many years, with professional and dedicated colleagues, friendly searchers, and fascinating records.

The Author

Jenny Butler retired as Principal Archivist in the Essex Record Office in June 2011. After studying French Jenny qualified as an archivist at University College London, and started her career in ERO at the Southend Branch in October 1974. She compiled the entry for Southend novelist Warwick Deeping for the New ODNB.

Finding Daniel Brown

by
Christine Jones

Daniel Brown[e] married Sarah Kittle at Myland parish church on 13th February 1827¹ (Fig. 1). In April 1828 Daniel and Sarah had a son, Daniel, baptised at Myland parish church, but a month later he was buried. In August 1829 their daughter Sarah Anne was baptised and in August 1831 their daughter Diana was baptised. In July 1845 three more children of Sarah Browne were baptised: William born May 1840, Susannah born May 1842, Henry born December 1844. There was no mention of a father. What had become of Daniel Brown?

In 1830 there was considerable unrest among farm labourers who were poorly paid. Conditions were exacerbated by the introduction of threshing machinery, depriving them of work during the winter months. Riots began in Kent and spread throughout southern and eastern England.² Daniel Brown took a minor role in one of these riots. He was part of a mob of between 300 and 400 men who gathered at Mile End on the morning of Monday 6th December to demand an increase in wages. All they wanted was two shillings a day and beer until Lady Day (less

than £6 a day in today's money). However, they used threats and intimidation to obtain the signatures of five farmers to an agreement to raise their wages. In the afternoon Sir Henry Smyth and 15 other gentlemen on horseback dispersed the rioters, ten of whom, including Daniel, were arrested. They were tried on Friday 10th December, found guilty and sentenced to hard labour for periods ranging from 12 to three months. Daniel, aged 25, was only sentenced to three months.³ A year later Daniel was in trouble again. On 13th March 1832 Daniel stole a peck (2 gallons, metric equivalent 13 litres) of wheat valued at one shilling and a hempen sack valued at six pence from John Turner, his employer. He was tried at the Colchester Quarter Session on 9th April.⁴ He confessed and pleaded guilty. *The Essex County Standard* and *Chelmsford Chronicle* each reported the case and that, when asked whether he had anything to say in his defence, Daniel replied, 'I have nothing to say'. The prosecutor recommended him to the merciful consideration of the court, but Daniel was sentenced 'to be transported for seven years to such parts beyond

the seas as His Majesty with the advice of his privy council shall direct and appoint'. (Fig. 2). The *Chelmsford Chronicle* reported that on 4th May 1832 he was taken from Springfield Gaol to the hulk *Leviathan* off Portsmouth. Daniel appears as number 11333 in the quarterly returns of prisoners. In June 1832 aged 26 his bodily state was said to be good and his behaviour orderly.⁵ The entry for September 1832 is the same but with the addition of the words 'to Hobart Town 6 August 1832 on the York'.⁶ The *York* sailed from Portsmouth on 11th August and called in at Plymouth to pick up more convicts, sailing from there on 1st September with a full complement of 200 convicts and about 27 crew. The master was Richard Spratley and the surgeon was James McTernan. Unfortunately neither of their logbooks are at The National Archives, Kew. It is known that there were no deaths on the voyage, which took 119 days, about the average.⁷ Daniel appears in the Convict Transportation Register for 1832.⁸ He also appears in the Nominal Return of Convicts for 1833 having been given a new number, 1757 and been assigned to Mr D Price.⁹ In the Nominal Return for 1835 he had been assigned to Captain Friend.¹⁰ By the return for 1841 he had been granted a Ticket of Leave.¹¹ Daniel does not appear in the return for 1846 or the return for 1849.¹² Once a man had served his sentence the British authorities were no longer interested in him and he disappeared from their records.

To find out what happened to Daniel Brown it is necessary to turn to Tasmanian records. The Archives Office of Tasmania has a website which includes several searchable name indexes.¹³ There is extensive information on convicts. To find what documents

1. Ruins of Mile End old parish church. (Author's image.)



To be transported for seven years to such parts beyond the seas as His Majesty with the advice of his Privy Council shall direct and appoint - Confessed, Guilty -

The Jurors for our Lord the King upon their Oath present that Daniel Brown late of the said Borough on the thirteenth day of March in the second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord William the fourth by the Grace of God of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King defender of the faith with force and Arm at Colchester aforesaid at the parish of Saint Michael mile End in the North ward of the said Borough and within the Jurisdiction of this Court one peck of Wheat of the value of one shilling and one Kempen Sack of the value of sixpence of the Goods and Chattels of John Turner then and there being found then and there feloniously did - steal take and carry away against the peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.

2. Sentenced to be transported. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, D/B 5 Sr471.)

are available it is necessary to know the name of the convict, the ship and the year in which he arrived. Searching for 'Daniel Brown', 'York', '1832', produced a list of four documents. Not merely is the catalogue available online, but many of the documents have been digitised and three of the documents concerning Daniel are available to view.

CON31 are conduct records of convicts arriving under the assignment system. They are arranged by the first letter of the surname, within this letter by the date of arrival of the ship on which the convict was transported. In addition to the name of the convict, the name of the ship and date of arrival, they record the place and date of trial, the length of sentence, any previous convictions, behaviour in prison, marital status and number of children, and the convict's own statement of his offences. It goes on to record the convict's conduct while serving his sentence, the areas to which the convict was assigned, his place of employment or employer, the dates of any further offences and sentences with the magistrate's initials. There are three entries per page. The conduct record for

Daniel reads:

'Brown Daniel York [2]
29 Dec 1832, Essex 9 April
1832, 7 years, transported
for stealing a peck of wheat,
Gaol report - convicted
before, Chr etc [abbreviation
for Character] Bad, Hulk
report Orderly, married,
Stated this offence - stealing
wheat from my master, once
for a riot 3 months, married
2 children, wife Sarah at
Mile End, Surgeon Supt's
report - Very Good man'.¹⁴

Comparing this with other conduct records, it is not unusual for the Gaol report to describe the man as a bad character and the Hulk report to describe him as orderly. What is unusual is to find the Surgeon's report describing Daniel as a 'very good man'. The next convict's entry reads 'audacious and insolent', others 'tolerable', 'not good', 'very worthless', 'exceedingly bad', 'worthless character', 'a saucy cub'; though there are others reported as 'excellent', 'very quiet respectable man', 'a good quiet man', 'very good', 'quiet and good', 'a good young man educated'. Daniel continued to

behave and there are no further entries against his name. He was never sent to the infamous Port Arthur.

Before the convicts were disembarked a form was completed giving a description of their physical features. This was to aid identification in the event of the convict absconding. The forms are have been bound in books as CON18. The entry for Daniel reads as follows:

Trade - Ploughman
Height without shoes - 5/5
Age - 27
Complexion - Fresh
Head - Long
Hair and Whiskers - D[ark]
Brown
Visage - Long
Forehead - M[edium] Height
Eyebrows - Brown
Eyes - Blue
Nose - M[edium] L[ength]
Mouth - Small
Chin - Large
Remarks - Stout made

There is no mention of any scars, tattoos, deformities, birthmarks, speech impediment or other distinctive features, which would have been recorded if present. Before the days of photography

this is the nearest we have to a picture of Daniel.

On arrival in the colony, many convicts were assigned to work for free settlers who provided accommodation, food and clothing. Others were assigned into government service, making bricks, constructing roads, building bridges and erecting civic buildings. CON27 are the Appropriation Lists. The purpose of these documents was to record the trade of the convict and how their skill was used. The basic details given therefore are name, trade and employer, which may include the settler to whom the convict was assigned, or the road gang or other government departments taking the convict. The lists are alphabetical by ship and by first letter of surname. The entry for Daniel reads as follows: 1757 Brown Daniel, ploughman, Mr Neville.¹⁶ This was a name that had not appeared in the Muster records at The National Archives. The last record relating to Daniel was not available to view online. It was part of the CSO1 series of general correspondence.

On widening the search it was discovered that there were four men named Daniel Brown who were transported to Van Diemen's Land. The first arrived on the *Hibernia* in May 1819 and was executed for murder on 2nd March 1829.¹⁷ The second arrived on the *Bussorah Merchant* in January 1830, and the fourth on the *Isabella* in November 1833. This meant that three convicts named Daniel Brown were serving their sentences at the same time, which was going to make it difficult to determine what subsequently happened to each of them.

In Britain a searcher would turn automatically to the census returns to trace someone alive between 1841 and 1911, but in Tasmania the situation is not so straightforward. Censuses were undertaken in Van Diemen's Land in 1837, 1838, 1842, 1843, 1848, 1851, and 1857. Most of the individual returns (the forms

recording details of each household) have not survived. Those that have survived have been indexed by the name of the head of the household. Returns for many areas are incomplete. They include place of residence, the names of the householder, employer of servants, person in charge, head of the house or establishment, and its proprietor. They do not include the names of all the other persons in the household, as British census returns do. On the other hand they do give information not included in British returns: whether the house was built of stone, brick, or wood; whether it was complete or unfinished; whether it was inhabited or not when the proprietor was present; number of persons generally residing there and the number of these persons who were free. The return also contains a statistical form showing the age (within ranges), sex, religion, occupation, civil condition and trade or calling of all the persons residing in the house. There are four returns for a Daniel Brown: 1842 at Spring Bay, 1843 at George Town, 1848 at George Town, and 1851 at George Town. All of these are a long way from Hobart and without more information it is impossible to tell which if any of them refer to the Daniel Brown from Essex. Tasmanian census returns, unlike British census returns from 1851, do not give place of birth.

It seemed that the only way to find out what happened to Daniel Brown from Mile End was to physically follow him to Hobart Town. Maybe there it would be possible to find out more about Mr Neville, Mr Price and Captain Friend; to find out when Daniel got his Ticket of Leave and what happened after that. What became of this 'bad character' from Springfield Gaol who, by the time he arrived in Hobart, was 'a very good man'? Did he remain in Hobart or did he return to England after he had served his sentence? Did he marry again and start another

family? When and where did he die?

At the Archives Office of Tasmania the remaining record relating to Daniel that had not been available to view online was located on microfilm.¹⁸ It consisted of a large bundle of correspondence concerning the arrival of the *York* off Hobart, her cleaning and disinfection after the voyage from England, and her provisioning for the return voyage. The list of convicts to be disembarked merely repeated what was already known. Several days were spent using the various indexes and finding aids in an unsuccessful attempt to disentangle the three convicts named Daniel Brown.

A member of staff suggested using Tasmanian newspapers. These always reported a convict by the name and date of arrival of his ship. The scanned newspapers are available online in a fully searchable form via the Trove website and by definition are available worldwide.¹⁹ Limiting the search to newspapers and using the advanced search facility it was possible to search for keywords or a phrase anywhere in an article or limited to headings and captions, for a chosen range of publication dates, and for a selection of newspaper titles, in various article categories and lengths, with illustrations and sorted by relevance or by date.

Searching for the phrase 'Daniel Brown' in only Tasmanian newspapers, without any limits, produced a list of 715 hits. Many of these turned out to be the same news item reported in different newspapers, while others were the same event published in different editions of the same newspaper. The earliest references concern the crimes, trial and execution of Daniel Brown of the *Hibernia* in 1824 to 1829. References to Daniel Brown start again in 1833 and continue through to 1953, though anything after 1900 (the first 646 items) was unlikely to refer to any of the convicts. Starting in 1833 each item was checked and



Brown of the *Isabella* (1833) this was his second transportation. He had previously been transported for 14 years in 1826 but stowed away and returned to England via St Helena. He continued to offend after his second arrival and in 1838 was placed in a road gang on probation for 12 months. By 1841 he was assigned to Captain Thomas Ritchie, who owned flour mills and lime kilns at Scone, near Perth, south of Launceston.²⁰ Daniel absconded from his service and in April 1842 was sentenced to 12 months hard labour during which time he again offended and was sent to Port Arthur for five years. He was eventually granted his Ticket of Leave in September 1850, but there is no mention of him receiving his freedom.

Meanwhile Daniel Brown of the *York* (1832) had been assigned to Mr Neville. He turned out to be a greater rogue than Daniel. In June 1833 he left for England aboard the *Dukenfield* and in March 1834 it was reported that he had never paid for his passage and had swindled various other people in the Colony.²¹ Daniel would have been taken to the Hobart Town Gaol or Penitentiary, not because he had done anything wrong but because it was used as barracks for those awaiting re-assignment. Parts of the complex of buildings survive, though much altered. They are in the care of the National Trust of Tasmania and the public are given conducted tours of the chapel, courtrooms and cells.²² Very little is known of Mr D. Price. He may have been the overseer of a government farm.²³ In which case this may have been a temporary assignment for Daniel until something permanent could be arranged.

There was a Captain Charles Friend, but as he was a mercantile marine officer probably never had convicts assigned to him.²⁴ However, his uncle, Lieutenant Matthew Curling Friend, was often referred to as Captain Friend and it was to him that 'our' Daniel was assigned.²⁵

profiles of the three convicts were built up.

Daniel Brown of the *Bussorah Merchant* (1830) was assigned as shepherd to John Cassidy, an Irish settler who had arrived in the colony around 1820. By 1830 Cassidy owned extensive lands centred on Richmond, but

stretching as far north as Oatlands and as far west as Brighton, at that time the lowest bridging point on the River Derwent. Daniel obtained his Ticket of Leave in June 1838, was offered a Conditional Pardon in 1841, and remission of sentence in November 1842. For Daniel

Matthew Curling Friend had been appointed Port Officer at Launceston in August 1832 and obtained a grant of land adjacent to the Launceston/George Town road.²⁶ He initially lived in a cottage near the river, now known as Newnham Lodge, while Newnham Hall was being built.²⁷ In about 1835 the Port Officer's headquarters were transferred to George Town and he also became Police Magistrate. His official residence was Government Cottage. He had The Grove built for his personal use.²⁸ Among his responsibilities were the lighthouse at Low Head, built 1832-38, and the Pilot Station at Low Head, whose oldest surviving buildings date from 1834.²⁹ Matthew established the semaphore signalling system along the Tamar Valley with signal stations at Low Head, Mount George, Mount Direction and Windmill Hill, Launceston.³⁰

Daniel would have been in his service at this time until he obtained his Ticket of Leave in November 1836.³¹ Since the Certificate of Freedom had to be obtained from the local Police Magistrate, it was to Matthew that Daniel would have applied in April 1839 for his certificate.³² Once a convict has been awarded his freedom or been granted a pardon the slate was literally wiped clean. There was no further mention of how he had come to be in the colony or even where he had come from. Distinguishing Daniel Brown of Mile End from the other two convicts of the same name after 1839 would be impossible were it not for the Ticket of Leave system. This was a form of parole that gave certain freedoms but imposed certain restrictions during the final years of a man's sentence. He was able to work for wages, seek his own employer or become self-employed. He could marry or could bring his family over from Britain. He could acquire property but not own land. He could not carry firearms or board a ship and had to attend muster and church services. Most

significant from the point of view of tracing his subsequent movements, he had to remain within the local police district. No great hardship, when the area of the George Town police district covered some 800,000 acres, from west of the Tamar river, including Beaconsfield and Exeter, a line due east from Mount Direction to the coast at Georges Bay.³³ South of that lay the Launceston district and much further south lay the Brighton district. Daniel from George Town could not live in those districts until 1839 without special permission. Similarly Daniel who had served John Cassidy could not leave the Brighton district until 1842, and the third Daniel was confined in Port Arthur until 1847 and his movements were still limited in 1850.

While in theory by 1842 the two free Daniel Browns could have moved from George Town to Brighton and vice versa, in practice each would have obtained work and somewhere to live in his own district during the period of restriction and would be unlikely to move again. The newspaper references to a free Daniel Brown of Brighton, and subsequently of Green Ponds (now called Kempton) about 10 miles north, start in 1843 and continue very frequently until the notice of his funeral in 1886.

From various sources it has been possible to piece together the subsequent history of Daniel Brown of George Town. As a free inhabitant of George Town, he was one of 47 signatories of a loyal address to Sir John Franklin, the Lieutenant Governor, following a meeting at the police office on 30th May 1842, printed in the *Launceston Examiner*.³⁴ Daniel was already taking his place at public meetings along with the other worthies of the town, such as Matthew Friend, Joseph Cordell and Josh Allen.

At the census taken at the beginning of 1843 Daniel was enumerated as in charge of a stone built house at Low Head

owned by Joseph Cordell. He was living there alone, working in agriculture and declared his religion to be Church of England. He claimed to be single, aged under 45 and was free, although not born in the colony or arriving free (in other words he was an ex-convict).³⁵ Joseph Cordell was a pilot, whose house, still standing and known as Bermondsey Cottage, may date from before 1848. It is believed that Daniel farmed Joseph's land for him.³⁶

At the census taken at the beginning of 1848 Daniel was enumerated as the householder of a wooden house at George Town owned by Josh Allan. He was living there alone, working as a gardener or stockman and this time declared his religion as 'Other Protestant Dissenter' (as opposed to Wesleyan Methodist). He claimed to be single and still aged under 45.³⁷

At the census taken on 1st March 1851 Daniel was enumerated as the householder of a wooden house in George Town (the name of the owner was no longer requested) in which four people normally resided and no extra persons were there on census night. Daniel still claimed to be aged under 45, to be single and to be working as a gardener or stockman. He gave his religion as Church of England. With him was a married woman aged between 45 and 60, who had arrived in the colony free, was probably Roman Catholic but may have been Jewish (the mark is not clear). There were also a girl aged between 2 and 7 and a boy aged between 7 and 14, both of whom were born in the colony and were listed as Church of England. Only the householder's name is given so it is impossible to trace who they were.³⁸

In September 1856 Daniel was one of 65 signatories on a petition to Charles Henty inviting him to stand for election to the House of Assembly.³⁹ The remarkable thing is that Daniel was an elector. At the time Daniel left England only about 247,000



3. Grave of Daniel Brown – furthest from camera. (Author's image.)]

men in England and Wales had the right to vote in county elections by virtue of owning freehold land worth £2. This was out of an adult male population of over three million.⁴⁰ Daniel would not have been eligible. The 1832 Reform Act extended the franchise to copyholders and leaseholders of property worth £10 a year. Daniel would still not have been eligible. Not until the Reform Act of 1867 increased the size of the electorate to 32 per cent of the adult male population would Daniel have been eligible to vote in Essex.⁴¹ In November 1862 Daniel was again one of 33 electors from George Town who signed a petition to Thomas Knight inviting him to stand for election to the House of Assembly.⁴² Thomas Knight having been elected as an Independent, his constituents felt free to criticise him when he did not vote in accordance with their wishes on the construction of a railway from Launceston. Daniel was one of 49 constituents from George Town who signed the letter of censure in July 1864.⁴³

In 1858 Daniel was occupying a house and farm at Low Head Road. The owner of the 200 acre plot was Adye Douglas. A survey map dated 1859 shows the Low Head peninsular with the road from George Town running along its spine. To the south west of the

road, the Tamar River side, the land is a Government Reserve for the lighthouse, the telegraph station and the pilot station. To the north east of the road, the Bass Strait side, the land is divided into three private grants. The northern and southern ones had been granted to Joseph Cordell and the central one to Adye Douglas. Cordell subsequently bought Douglas's 20 acres, consolidating his own holdings of 80 and 20 acres. Three buildings are shown, two on the plot belonging to Douglas and one on the southern of the plots belonging to Cordell. One of these houses was occupied by Daniel. He appears in the 1860 Valuation Roll at the same address, and in the Valuation Rolls from 1864 to 1868. In 1867-68 Daniel appears in the George Town District Directory as of Low Head Road.⁴⁴

In January 1863 the George Town Road Trust published its account for the year 1862. Out of a total expenditure of nearly £90 they had paid £2-10-0 to Daniel Brown for work on a bridge at Low Head.⁴⁵ In the 1830s, 1840s and early 1850s work on roads and bridges was carried out, unpaid, by gangs of convicts. Transportation to Van Diemen's Land ceased in 1853. By 1860 the supply of free labour was drying up and Road Trusts

were having to raise money and pay individuals or contractors to maintain and improve the infrastructure. Daniel was one of many to benefit from this. In September 1865 the George Town Board of Works accepted Daniel's tender of £30, though it is not clear from the newspaper report what work was being put out to tender. A total of seven individuals had tenders accepted for nine different items between £18 and £94 each.⁴⁶ In December 1867 Daniel secured a government tender to supply firewood to the Telegraph Station at Low Head at a rate of ten shillings per ton.⁴⁷ The amount supplied per year is not specified, but it represented a steady income.⁴⁸ The semaphore system had been replaced with an electric telegraph system in 1858.⁴⁹ The contract was renewed annually until 1870 and again in 1874.⁵⁰

In 1871 Daniel appears in the Assessment Roll as the resident and occupier, but not owner, of a house and land at Low Head Road totalling 40 acres. This entry appears again in the Assessment Rolls for 1872, 1874 and 1875. The owner of the plot was William Dawson Grubb, a Launceston businessman.⁵¹ There is no evidence of Daniel having married, though he may have had a common-law wife; nor is there any evidence that he fathered children.

On 21st May 1875 Daniel died. His death was certified by James Richardson, surgeon of George Town.⁵² The entry in the death register gives his age as 76 years, his occupation as labourer and his cause of death as heart disease and congestion of the lungs.⁵³ For most deaths in the George Town District at this period the information was given by a member of the deceased's family. That it was the surgeon who gave the information in the case of Daniel would seem to confirm that he had no family present. Daniel is buried in plot A11 of the municipal cemetery (Fig. 3). There is no headstone,

again suggesting that there were no family members to commemorate him. There is no record in the parish register of Daniel's burial, suggesting that the ceremony was carried out by a non-conformist clergyman whose registers are now lost.

Some convicts returned to England once their sentence was completed or they were pardoned, but of these some failed to settle back in the Old Country and emigrated as free settlers.⁵⁴ Daniel opted to stay in his adopted country. His life in Tasmania was very different from what it would have been had he remained in Essex. We will never know if he remembered the wife and daughter he left behind, thought fondly of them and regretted the action that had parted him from them; or whether he put them out of his mind, determined to make a fresh start and the most of the new life that awaited him in the colony. This shows that with persistence, and the help of several individuals and organisations, it has been possible to trace the subsequent history of a father who disappeared from his daughter's life before she had the chance to know him and whose very existence was unknown to her descendants in Essex.

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Acknowledgements

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The Author

Christine Jones completed a PhD in history at Essex University in 2004. She has recently been working in the history department as a research support officer on the Integrated Census Micro-data project. She has previously published in the *Essex Journal*, *Essex Family Historian*, *Local Population Studies* and *Radical Statistics*.

Warwick Rodwell,
The Archaeology of Churches,
pp.384. ISBN 978-1-84868-943-5,
Amberley Publishing, 2012, £25.00.

Warwick Rodwell's name will be known to many readers of this journal. He was born in Essex and educated at Southend High School, and it was at Sutton, one day in 1963, that this sixth-former first saw the possibility of combining the separate disciplines of archaeology, architecture and topography to look at churches in a new way. He made his name with the close study of a number of Essex churches, notably Rivenhall and Hadstock, and one of his earliest seminal publications was *Historic Churches: a wasting asset* (1977), based on a survey of churches built before 1750 in the diocese of Chelmsford. In this work he introduced the reader to 'church archaeology', 'a term which may be unfamiliar to many historians, architects, and ecclesiastics' (never mind the general reader), and the following year he was commissioned to write *The Archaeology of the English Church*, which appeared in 1981. The book under review is, in effect, the fourth edition of that original work, which has done much to confirm Professor Rodwell's reputation. His many appointments include that of Consulting Archaeologist to Westminster Abbey, and for him a stall was set aside for the first time in the abbey's quire, labelled Archaeologus.

'Church archaeology' remains a concept that is unfamiliar to those who are not closely concerned with church buildings. Archaeology is generally considered to refer to the investigation of what lies below the ground and has to be excavated before it can be examined, recorded, and interpreted. For Professor Rodwell, it means applying the same methods and techniques to all parts of a building, above and below ground, in order to understand its history. There are many ways of approaching a church building, of which Nikolaus Pevsner's dominated the second half of the twentieth century. This was the approach of the art historian, who came to the building with no preconceptions, examined the tracery of its windows and the mouldings of its arches, and on that basis assigned dates or simply stylistic periods ('Dec', 'Perp', etc.). The problem with this approach is that it made little allowance for, say, 'Perp' windows inserted into a Norman wall, and it is not always easy to distinguish between genuine work and good 19th-century restoration, nor to say whether 19th-century restorers were reproducing what was there already, or what they thought would look better – or be more authentic – than what they had found.

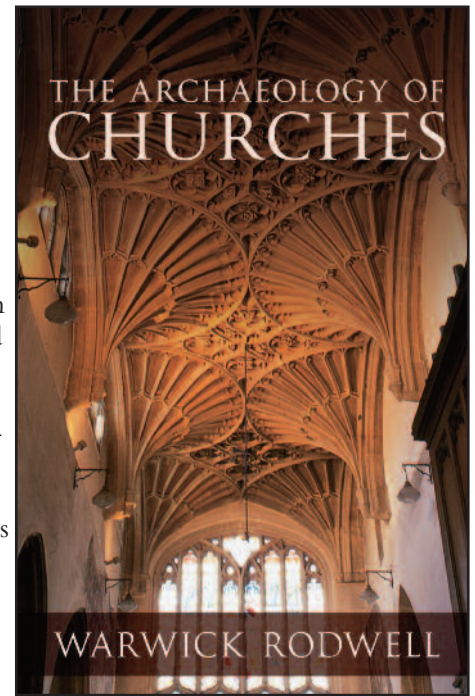
The other approach, which usefully supplements Pevsner's, was that of the general historian who relied more upon documents that recorded actual work done or proposed, including faculties and wills. The problem with this is that work proposed was not always carried out, or not for a number of years, or

was not carried out in accordance with the original proposal; and even for work done in the last two hundred years, the plans that have survived may well be the presentation drawings produced to win over the client, rather than the working drawings used on site that relate more closely to what was carried out. Most dates, however authoritatively presented, are open to as much qualification and hedging as space allows.

The church archaeologist does not turn his back on these approaches, but combines them with a meticulous examination of the fabric, looking for clues that will throw light on the history of the building. This requires not just time and patience, but also a good deal of experience (to know what one is looking at: changes in the colour of mortar, for example, or the 'shadow' left by a corpse that has completely rotted away) and presupposes a degree of access that may not always be possible. There are relatively few occasions when archaeologists are able to examine churches as thoroughly as they would like; the opportunity to dig up the entire floor of a church, that Rodwell had at Hadstock and, to cite another example, Barton-upon-Humber (Lincs), is not something that arises very often. One sometimes feels that Rodwell would like nothing so much as to be able to dismantle an entire church in order to work out exactly how it was put together – an even rarer opportunity.

This book is first and foremost a textbook, especially its second half, which covers surveying churches, recording the fabric, and analysing the development of individual buildings. But even the general reader, who may not be too well up in such technical arcana as photogrammetry and laser scanning, will be interested to see examples of the results that these methods can achieve, and the chapter on 'Bones, Burials and Monuments' has something for everyone. But the first half of the book can be read simply as a first-rate introduction to church buildings, explaining their component parts, how they were built, and how they were fitted out and decorated, that will illuminate anyone's visit to churches great or small.

Most visitors to a church do not stop to think how it was actually built, and although many will be able to recognise a putlog hole when they see one,



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few will be able to extrapolate from that what the scaffolding must have looked like (Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall is one of the prime instances where this has been worked out). Rodwell ruthlessly sweeps aside some of the favourite legends to be found in church guidebooks, such as the notion that chancels that are out of alignment with the nave (so-called 'weeping chancels') represent the head of Christ on the Cross, rather than being the result of the practical difficulties of adding to an existing building with rather primitive surveying equipment. Doors covered with the skin of flayed Danes (e.g. at Hadstock, Elmstead and Copford) are similarly demythologised, the prosaic truth being that doors were covered with animal hide to conceal the joints and provide a smooth finish that could be decorated. He is also firm about the folly of exposing rubblework rather than renewing old render, a trap into which many parishes fall because they think the walling, which was never intended to be seen by its original builders, looks more picturesque.

Along the way, Rodwell tosses the reader fascinating titbits of information: about barrow doors, for example (temporary doorways used by workmen during alterations to existing buildings, filled in and leaving a blocked doorway that might otherwise be puzzling). Your reviewer was not aware that some churches had galleries set aside for pipe-smokers – most churches in the Channel Islands, apparently – nor that at least one belfry was fitted with a urinal for the convenience of male bell-ringers (at Barton-upon-Humber; it is in fact a reused medieval stoup).

In short, life as a church archaeologist sounds like a lot of fun, tempered only by the frustration of not being able to take buildings apart to the

extent that they would really like, and slightly soured, to judge from some of Professor Rodwell's asides, by the thought of how much information has been destroyed by past restorers and less careful investigators. Swipes are taken at the 'archaeologically destructive reordering of Chelmsford Cathedral in 1983', in particular the unforgivable removal and destruction of the 17th-century Flemish altar rails, and at the indiscriminate mechanical excavation of the churchyard of St Nicholas, Colchester.

These Essex examples have not been mentioned simply to please readers of this journal. Because Professor Rodwell cut his teeth in this county, there are a great many references to Essex churches, and it is pleasing also to find mention of the 'outstanding' Chancellor Collection of architectural drawings, survey notes, sketches and correspondence, currently undergoing conservation in the Essex Record Office. But there is nothing provincial about this book. Professor Rodwell's experience covers the whole of England, and mention has already been made of the Channel Islands. His knowledge is encyclopaedic, and his ability to recall examples enviable. The book is very well illustrated, with almost as many illustrations as there are pages, with colour photographs, plans, and other technical drawings. The bibliography seems exhaustive. I defy anyone with an interest in churches not to find quite a long list of things in this book that they didn't know already, and will be glad to have learnt. Hands up who knew that many arcade piers were painted bright red in the Middle Ages, so that the graffiti we now struggle to decipher would originally have stood out as bright white lines?

James Bettley

The church archaeologist's dream, which became reality at Barton-upon-Humber (Lincs): the redundant church was the subject of full-scale archaeological investigation by Warwick Rodwell and English Heritage in 1978-81. Discoveries included the skeletal remains of 2,800 burials. (Photograph © of Warwick Rodwell.)



Stan Bishop & John Hey,
**Losses of the US 8th & 9th Air Forces:
Aircraft and Men, Vol 4,
1st July 1944 – 30th September 1944,**
pp.717. ISBN 978-0-95476-854-6,
Bishop Book Productions, 2013,
£69.00.

As reference books go this must truly be a labour of love by the authors Stan Bishop and the late John (Jan) Hey. In the three month period covered by this volume (excluding some losses for Operation Market Garden which will feature in volume 5) a total of 3,613 aircraft lost to combat or accidents or salvaged are listed. I'll write that figure out again just in case you think I've made a typo – 3,613 aircraft losses. That's a staggering number for just a three month period – a staggering amount of materiel loss and, more importantly, human injury, tragedy and loss of life. To research these losses the authors have consulted Missing Aircrew Reports, Reports of Aircraft Accidents (Form 14) individual Squadron, Group and Wing records in various archives and museums in the United States. Also consulted were cemetery records Station Record Books, the ominous sounding 'U.S. Dead List A-Z', veterans, historians and published works. What isn't stated is how much time this has taken, which I can only imagine must be a vast numbers of hours of diligent research, note taking and writing.

Volume 4, in a predicted series of at least 7, follows the same format as its predecessors. The first, and most substantial part of the book, covers the losses of the 8th Air Force (pp.15–428) as would be expected from such a large combat organisation. The second part deals with the Ninth Air Force (pp.429–615) while three pages cover the losses of the US Navy while engaged in minor operations in the North Sea. Appendix 1 is concerned with 8th and 9th Air Force fatalities caused by illness or accident or from aircraft that were not lost on a mission but returned to the UK with casualties. The second appendix outlines the Congressional Medal of Honor winner Capt Darrell R. Lindsey, a B-26 pilot of the 394th Bomb Group (BG), while Appendix 3 lists aircraft type lost by each Group during the period of the present volume as well as cumulatively from their start of operations to the end of September 1944. Appendix 4 lists the bases used by the formations of the 8th and 9th while the last appendix lists other losses and transfers of aircraft before several pages of corrections and additions to the previous three volumes.

Looking at just the main body of the text concerned with the losses of the 8th and 9th between July 1st and September 30th, very useful introductory overviews of the following month's major events precede each of that month's losses. The entries that follow are listed chronologically by organisation, dealing with combat losses first and then salvaged

aircraft. Crew members are listed, as well as their fate and place of burial or commemoration. Some entries have more detail than others, some a surprising amount, which obviously depends on the detail recorded in the original records.

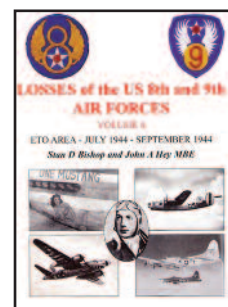
Locations mentioned in Essex are many. It is obvious that those airfields used by the Americans, such as Debden, Rivenhall, Boreham, Wormingford to name but a few, have a concentration of entries as aircraft crashed on take-off or landing, or ground looped. However, plenty of aircraft fell from the sky all over Essex.

A surprising number of aircraft were lost due to mechanical failure such as the B17G Flying Fortress of the 381st BG which had just taken off, one of 38, from Ridgewell on 13th July (p.75). Two engines quit (the loss of power on take off was particularly dangerous when an aircraft would be fat with fuel and full of bombs) so the pilot decided to return to base. Unable to complete this a crash landing was attempted in a field at Dearer Hill Bridge, Barley's Farm in Great Yeldham. The pilot did not see the railway cutting running through the field which the aircraft slid into and exploded killing seven of the nine crew.

Fate did not respect rank as four days later Colonel Seymour, commander of the 387th BG, was returning to Chipping Ongar, on a local flight, in a B-26F Marauder. A few minutes from base he radioed to say that he had lost an engine, subsequently flying over the airfield before turning into the landing pattern. Two miles south of the airfield his aircraft lost altitude and crashed in a field near to Stondon Massey, Seymour being killed (p.462).

More often than not fatalities were inflicted as a result of enemy action. On 18th September Lt Elwood D Raymond took off from Boxted in his P-47D Thunderbolt, along with 38 other aircraft of the 56th Fighter Group. His aircraft was hit by flak over Belgium and he lost the use of his rudder. He almost made it back to base before his aircraft 'crashed at 17:30 hrs on the mud flats at Southminster Marshes, 800 yards from the sea wall of Court Farm, Southminster (p.373). He is commemorated, along with so many who have no known grave, on the Wall of the Missing at the Cambridge American Cemetery, Madingley.

General accidents also took their toll. On the night of 2nd July 1st Lt Julian Burgess, of the 344th BG stationed at Stansted, was killed when he was hit by a US truck as he walked along a road near the railway station at Bishop's Stortford (p.646). Two months later on 2nd September, Capt Edwards was killed when he fell from an unfamiliar building [his English girlfriend's house?] when he got up in the night to use the bathroom (p.639). At Wethersfield on the 5th August Albert Winship committed suicide, 'probably due to a troubled home life' (p.649) – he rests at Madingley.



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Weather was also responsible for many accidents. On 23rd August a B-24 Liberator was on a local test flight from Warton, Lancashire. With a storm approaching the aircraft was ordered to land. A decision was taken to fly from the fast approaching weather but before the B-24 could get away lightning hit it and it crashed on to a nursery classroom in the village of Frecklington. Along with the three crew members, 38 five year old children and their two teachers were killed along with another nine adults, four RAF and seven American servicemen (p.255).

Flicking through the book, the entry for 27th September 1944 is particularly stark. For seven pages (pp.339-406) in succession there are listed 25 B-24 Liberators of the 445 Bomb Group, flying from Tibenham, Norfolk, that were lost in a few minutes, from a total of 37 dispatched, on this day during a raid to Kassel in Germany. Of the remaining 12 B-24s to survive the fleeting attack by German fighters, two made emergency landings at RAF Manston, two crash landed in France and a fifth came down near Tibenham (Roger Freeman, *The Mighty Eighth*, (London, 1987), p.179). Totting up the list of those killed and made prisoner from each B-24 lost (115 and 121 respectively) took some time – it makes you think. Roger Freeman states that this was 'the highest loss for a single group in any 8th Air Force operation' (*The Mighty Eighth War Diary*, (London, 1990), p.355).

Only another seven aircraft were lost to enemy action on the same day by the 8th, the 9th losing just eight.

The book is illustrated throughout with pictures from a variety of sources. Many are of twisted and burnt pieces of metal while others depict aircraft before they were lost. The incident described above at Great Yeldham has two accompanying images while there are two of Layer Road, Colchester, following the crash on 26th September of a P-51B Mustang, the pilot, Joseph Litherland Jr, being killed (p.609). Pictures on pages 427 and 711 depict dead crew members which are shocking but which do bring a necessary focus on the human cost; we all need to be reminded of the futility of any war.

It is difficult to criticise this book. There is so much content and detail and it covers such a big topic that it surely cannot be surpassed. One small wish, as a researcher, would be to have had examples of the original records that were consulted, perhaps illustrating those documents that were looked at to build up one entry (partly undertaken in Vol 2). While it is not a light read (it weighs in at over 6lb), it is a comprehensive reference work to dip into, and one that will be invaluable to all sorts of historians. Finally it reminds us of the ultimate sacrifice that so many made.

Neil Wiffen

Jeremy Collingwood,
Sir Thomas Smith: Scholar, Statesman
and Son of Saffron Walden,
pp.72. ISBN 978-1-87369-908-2,
Saffron Walden History Society
Publications, 2012, £7-50.

This is the sixth SWHS publication and it maintains the excellent standards of its predecessors. There are no recent biographies of this Essex polymath and this well illustrated publication (well indexed and referenced) is timely. The author divides Sir Thomas's career into a number of themed episodes, and gives a brief but useful historical context for each phase of his varied life, starting with the uncertain details of his relatively humble parentage and birth in Saffron Walden in 1513 or 1514. His childhood was dogged by loneliness and poor health, the result of an unidentified illness in his fourth year, but this allowed his active mind uninterrupted opportunity for study. By the age of 11, he had outstripped his local teachers in literature and languages. After two years at school in Cambridge, he was admitted to Queens' College, becoming a fellow at the tender age of 18. Though penurious and in poor health, his academic and administrative talents were quickly recognised and, by the age of 26, he was vice-president of his college, and Regius professor of civil law. His first two published works proposed a new method of

Greek pronunciation, and a revised English alphabet of 29 consonants and ten vowels. In 1543 he was appointed vice-chancellor of the university and, in successfully opposing Henry VIII's attempts to divert university income into the royal coffers, he proved his skills as a diplomatist and negotiator. Even the king, in spite of being personally thwarted, referred to him as a 'discreet and learned advocate'.

It is not clear why Sir Thomas left academia – for which he seemed eminently suited – for the uncertain and dangerous world of national politics in the service of Edward Seymour, the future duke of Somerset and Lord Protector in the reign of Edward VI. Later, as secretary of state, he faced a wide range of challenges, from a trade mission in Antwerp to the drafting of the new Prayer Book, and the interrogation of political dissidents and religious heretics. Inevitably he made dangerous enemies, such as Bishop Bonner (who described him as 'an incompetent, unmeet and suspect judge' after he was imprisoned by Sir Thomas in the Marshalsea). Somerset's rule became increasingly unpopular. In spite of Sir Thomas's warnings of the risks, Somerset's debasement of the currency aggravated inflation and contributed to his downfall in October 1549. Sir Thomas, who had remained loyal to his master, paid the price with four month's

SIR THOMAS SMITH
Scholar, Statesman and Son of
Saffron Walden



Jeremy Collingwood

imprisonment in the Tower. He spent his time translating psalms into English, and writing poetry.

On his release he took up a new life as provost of Eton College and directed his administrative talents to improving the school's income. His brief return to public duties over the negotiations with the French court for a bride for Edward VI was pre-empted by the king's death in 1553, and the accession of Queen Mary. His undoubted protestantism, and his enmity with the queen's inquisitor, Bishop Bonner, placed him in a perilous position and he discretely retired to his Essex property at Theydon Mount, recently acquired through his second marriage. For a few years, the very young Edward de Vere (alleged by some to have written much of Shakespeare's work) was a member of his household.

The accession of Elizabeth in 1558 did not see an immediate return to public life, apart from service on a commission to examine irregularities imperilling the new religious settlement. In 1561, probably unwisely, he entered the controversy over the queen's marriage by circulating a polemic in the form of a dialogue between individuals, each of whom advocated different solutions.

A year later he was appointed joint ambassador to the French court. The appointment was a deeply unhappy one, as his partner, Nicholas Throckmorton (a close friend of the Earl of Leicester), regarded him as a parvenu who had 'come to court yesterday as a beggarly scholar'. The two men had diametrically opposed views on many aspects of policy and, the following year, when France declared war on England, both were briefly imprisoned. Sir Thomas hoped to be recalled to England after the Treaty of Troyes in April 1564 but spent another two years reluctantly following the French court round France, complaining 'neither my body or my spirit can endure travel.'

Reluctant he may have been, but his mental energy was undimmed. While in France, he began his major work, *De Republica Anglorum*, which provided a complete account of Elizabethan government, the judiciary, and parliamentary powers and procedures. This was written almost entirely from memory without access to reference books. He also developed a keen interest in French renaissance architecture, which strongly influenced his later rebuilding of Hill Hall in Essex. Finally, after impassioned pleas to Cecil, he was recalled home in April 1566, only to be sent back to France the following year for unsuccessful negotiations to return Calais to English sovereignty. It was another four years before he was appointed to the Privy Council. From 1572 he carried the heavy load of first secretary, involving some of the more difficult aspects of Elizabeth's reign – the Irish problem, the St Bartholemew's day massacre, and Mary, Queen of Scots. Generally intolerant of women, he did not conceal his frustration with Elizabeth's procrastination in making decisions, and frequently reported his irritation to her ministers when denied clear instructions. Such open criticisms might well have had fatal consequences for an individual less respected for his intelligence and integrity.

Apart from public records, some 700 letters have survived revealing other interesting aspects to his life, such as his backing for a scheme to transmute iron into copper, an early attempt to establish a protestant 'plantation' near Belfast, his innovative and ambitious building project at Hill Hall, his interest in horticulture, and a range of benefactions to the town of his birth, Saffron Walden. A short biography can only touch on these, but the author leaves the reader wanting to know much more about such a talented and versatile individual.

Michael Leach

A.R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King & D. Simpkin, **The Soldier in Late Medieval England**, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp.xiv & 318. ISBN 9780199680825, £65.00.

Two *Essex Journal 20 Questions* respondents have said their favourite film is Olivier's *Henry V*. Shakespeare's tale of Agincourt remains popular, maybe due to the outnumbered but victorious English. But Agincourt was just one of a series of events and battles of the Hundred Years War (1337–1453). There were English victories at Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356) and Verneuil (1424) and defeats at Formigny (1450) and Castillon (1453). Also France was just one theatre of operations in a wider series of campaigns; English troops served in Scotland, Ireland and the Iberian Peninsular. More regular were the naval forces, dispatched to secure the seas, and permanent garrisons (such as Roxburgh's in 1418 which contained William Payn, chaplain, from Brentwood). All of these required constant inputs of

manpower and in order to measure, control and pay all those who served, a vast audit trail of muster rolls was created. It is these surviving documents that, between 2006 and 2009, an Arts and Humanities Research Council funded project examined and listed every soldier known to have served between 1369 and 1453 (1369 because the survival of muster rolls from this date is particularly rich). The basic research (250,000 entries from around 2,500 rolls covering armies dispatched from England and garrisons outside of Normandy), building on much of the pioneering work of Anne Curry, has been made available on the Medieval Soldier Database. This book is a discussion of the mechanics of service and other findings to date.

The sequence of chapters mirrors the social status of a muster roll, starting with the peerage, followed by knights, men-at-arms and archers. Other kinds of troops, hobelars (a kind of light cavalry), 'armed men', crossbowmen, gunners and other supporting personnel and occupations are looked at in their own chapter with a final one looking at where the troops came from, including those from overseas.

Book Reviews

The overall picture is one of a decline in peerage and knightly participation as the war continued. Once Henry V had settled upon a war of conquest in France after 1417 there was less incentive for the established peerage and gentry, with estates to manage in England, to serve more than they had to. The exceptions were those expeditions that were led in person by the King. However, the opportunities for men of sub-knightly status to serve for year after year was greatly enhanced. It is possible that the reduction in the number of those serving was because the size of the pool of the peerage and knights had declined following various outbreaks of plague, whereas there were always men of a lower social standing who were happy to serve overseas for a wage. One result of this decline of peerage and gentry service was a change in the composition of the armies. At the beginning of the study period a ratio of one man-at-arms to one archer was the norm, but by the end it had increased to 1:19 (1440) or 1:28 (1442-43) or even 0:1,000 (1448) as war weariness and the hopelessness of the situation all contributed to fewer men of standing wishing to serve. However, not only was it easier to recruit archers, it was also cheaper.

When it comes to the analysis of some of the data, the participation of Essex men generally appears to be high in comparison with other counties. It is suggested this was due to the lower population density of the county as well as the proximity to London,

Peter Higginbotham,
Voices from the Workhouse,
pp. 224. ISBN 978-0-75246-749-8,
The History Press, 2012, £12.99.

Workhouse records which survive tend to give a one sided view; they were after all created by those responsible for administering poor relief rather than receiving it. From dietary tables one can find how much food inmates were given and details of their clothing; but not how this food tasted or what these clothes felt like when worn.

Peter Higginbotham's new book offers an alternative view as around half the material consists of first person accounts from those who had been admitted to the workhouse. Most of these entered out of necessity, although Higginbotham includes a number of reports from 'social explorers'. These were people who wished to examine conditions in the workhouses for themselves without revealing their true purpose to the authorities. Other material is structured under the headings 'workhouse staff and administrators', 'reports and enquiries' and 'visitors'.

The author acknowledges that the book is not intended to be a detailed history of the workhouse; there is a brief introduction with a timeline of significant dates, but the extracts are largely left to speak for themselves, which they do eloquently. Anyone seeking additional further information

which allowed easier access to letters of protection (another way of tracking men who served overseas). But then why not Middlesex or Hertfordshire, and was Essex lacking in population? These are questions that might be answered with further regional studies.

This book illustrates the breadth of its findings in 68 tables which look at, for example, the service by notable individuals, the turnover of captains, minimum lengths of careers etc. It contains a wonderful bibliography and is fully referenced.

This review can only scratch the surface of the book but I hope it conveys some of its importance. It, and the Medieval Soldier Database, are there to be mined further. So a challenge to you researchers of Essex history – 'once more unto the archives, dear Historians, once more, and fill up your desks with rolls and deeds...summon up the accounts... now sharpen the pencil and stretch your fingers loose...And you good Historians show us the mettle of your research.' Go find these men who served overseas in their Essex estates and manors.

If this has whetted your appetite come along to the ERO Conference *The Fighting Essex Soldier: Recruitment, War and Remembrance in the Fourteenth Century* on March 8th 2014 (See inside front cover for more details) – there's no excuse! (With apologies to W. Shakespeare).

Neil Wiffen

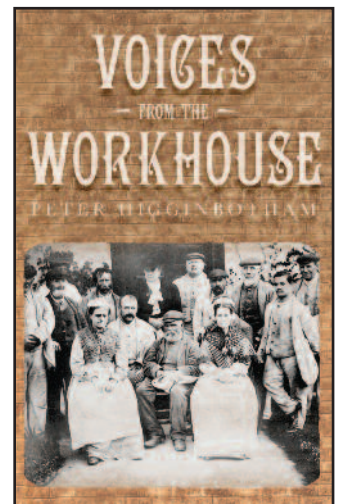
on aspects of the poor laws can find this elsewhere, not least on the author's excellent website, www.workhouses.org.uk/.

With a few exceptions, most of the material relates to the post 1834 workhouse system. Familiar extracts – the childhood memories of Charlie Chaplin and Henry Morton Stanley – are interspersed with less well known passages such as Bella Aronovitch's memories of her time as a patient in a London workhouse infirmary.

Others are transcripts of interviews whose subjects recalled conditions in union run children's homes in the 1920s and 1930s. One of these is Charles Burgess who was admitted to the Shoreditch Union's cottage homes in Hornchurch. Confusingly for researchers, this was one of a number of institutions in Essex and elsewhere in the Home Counties situated in Essex, but run by a London authority.

Although some of the material appears in various formats on the author's website, this publication gives the reader the chance to compare the sources. Strikingly illustrated, this is a welcome addition to the history of the poor laws.

Ruth Costello



Book Reviews

Jacqueline Cooper,
Clavering at War 1939–1945,
pp.173 [£t 5]. ISBN 978-1-87366-907-5.
Published by the author, 2013, £10.00.

Available from the author: jacqueline.cooper@virgin.net, plus £2 p&tp.

This is a superb book by a very experienced writer, and it deserves to be read not just by students of World War Two or by those interested in the history of modern Essex, but by anyone who wants to know how to construct a history book with some skill.

As a lifelong student of the war I found the book fascinating. There is hardly an area of the war in Clavering that is not touched upon, and the depth of detail that is included will be of particular interest to local people.

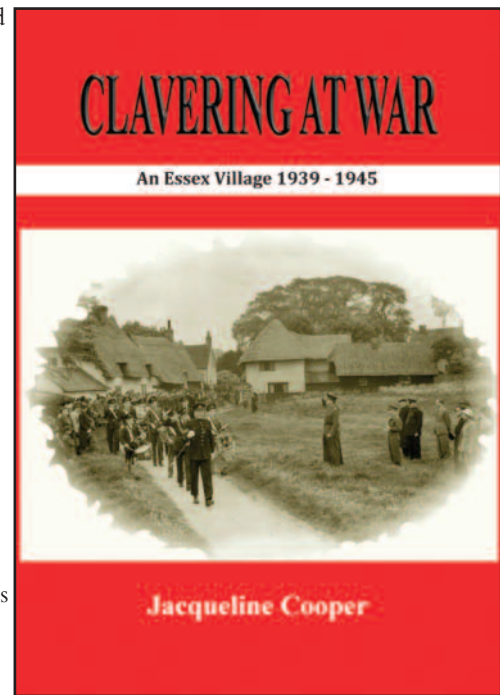
For me there are many aspects of the book which I was impressed with. The chronological structure of the book, often done month by month, is done in such a way as to avoid unnecessary repetition, which is always a danger of such an approach. The inclusion of quotations from the parish magazine, written by the Rev. Ernest Stone, did, as Jacqueline Cooper intended, act as a really effective link between the years covered in each chapter. Equally importantly she never loses sight of the idea that this was a people's war and she has made great use of the material obtained in her interviews with local people. The book also contains a great deal of information about the local men and women who served in the Forces or civilian services, and there are poignant tributes to some of those who made the supreme sacrifice. She also weaves the

national background into the local material in her text so the reader never loses sight of this wider picture.

What this book shows is the enormous range of activities that occurred in English villages throughout the war involving people of all ages. It is copiously illustrated, includes many photocopies of newspaper articles and adverts, and the index is good.

There is a list of sources, but my only complaint, and it seems a little churlish to make one given the merits of this book, is the lack of footnotes, although not everyone may share my enthusiasm for such scholarly apparatus. Make no mistake though – this a scholarly, well researched and highly readable book. It should be in every library in Essex.

Paul Rusiecki



Michael Cuddeford,
**Coin Finds in Britain:
a Collector's Guide**,
pp. 64. ISBN 978-0-74781-244-9,
Shire Publications, 2013, £6.99.

This book, produced as part of the excellent Shire Library series, has been written like many of the author's books, to help metal detectorists and archaeologists identify and interpret their finds. In this case, he has written a basic primer to the most common coins and other numismatic items recovered from fields in Britain and, unlike some other publications, he does mean Britain and not just England.

The narrative starts by explaining the archaeological context of finds and looks at the methods by which the coins came to be in the ground: representing either casual losses, hoards or votive deposits.

This is followed by a basic overview of the development of British coins starting with Iron Age, followed by Roman, Medieval, post-Medieval, before briefly looking at tokens, counters and medals. The book ends with a chapter on the importance of recording coin finds and a useful section for further reading.

Each chapter is, by necessity, a short and succinct overview of established chronological development that also introduces some rather more hypothetical ideas. Its main strengths are the clear colour photographs of many of the common coin types found in Britain. The size of each coin is indicated, but it is a shame that the images are not life size.

Overall, this is a very good book for the novice wanting to gain a basic understanding of British numismatic history, the most commonly found coins and their interpretation. The further reading section will help those hoping to find out more.

Mark Curteis

Your Book Reviewers are: James Bettley, Chairman of the Friends of Essex Churches Trust, and author of the revised Pevsner *Architectural Guide to Essex*; Ruth Costello, an archivist at the Essex Record Office with a particular interest in the Poor Law; Mark Curteis, is a numismatist and Curator of Social History and Art at Chelmsford Museum; Michael Leach, a retired GP and local historian; Paul Rusiecki, a retired history teacher and author of *Impact of Catastrophe*; Neil Wiffen, Hon. Ed. of the *Essex Journal*.

EJ 20 Questions? James Bettley

James Bettley was born in London, although his parents were living at the time in Kent. He moved to Great Totham with his wife Lucy and the first of their three children in 1991. He has worked for the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Design Museum, and the Victoria & Albert Museum, and received his PhD from the Courtauld Institute of Art in 1999. Since 2000 James has been a freelance architectural historian. His new edition of the Pevsner Architectural Guide to Essex was published in 2007, and Suffolk is due in 2015; Hertfordshire beckons. He is chairman of the Chelmsford Diocesan Advisory Committee for the Care of Churches, of the Friends of Essex Churches Trust, and of Thomas Plume's Library, Maldon; a member of the Fabric Advisory Committee for Chelmsford Cathedral and the Colchester Historic Buildings Forum; and a trustee of the Essex Heritage Trust. He has sat as a magistrate in Witham and Chelmsford since 1996.

1. What is your favourite historical period?

The nineteenth century. A new discovery or invention every day in every field of human endeavour, great literature, stupendous buildings.

2. Tell us what Essex means to you?

The contrast between its different parts: rolling countryside, saltmarsh and mudflats, and the frankly grotty bits that still contain gems if you can be bothered to look for them.

3. What historical mystery would you most like to know? Who wrote Shakespeare's plays?

4. My favourite history book is...

Mark Girouard's *The Victorian Country House*. I asked for it for Christmas when I was 13, and still use it

5. What is your favourite place in Essex?

Great Totham churchyard.

6. How do you relax?

My definition of relaxation is looking at a complicated building and realising that I don't have to describe it.

7. What are you researching at the moment?

As well as the day job (Suffolk), I have an on-going obsession with clergy-architects (e.g. Revd Ernest Geldart), and am expanding this into a study of the overlap between The Church and The Arts, mainly in the nineteenth century.

8. My earliest memory is... Going on holiday to Ireland and watching our Morris Traveller being lifted on to the ferry by crane.

9. What is your favourite song/piece of music and why?

Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. It's completely absorbing, emotionally shattering, goes on and on seemingly for ever, but is still over too quickly.



(Photograph, J. Bettley)

10. If you could travel back in time which event would you change? Whatever was the ultimate cause of the Great War – Princess Victoria's marriage to Prince Frederick of Prussia, perhaps.

11. Which four people from the past would you invite to dinner?

Sir Thomas Graham Jackson and the Revd Ernest Geldart, whose careers I have been studying on and off for most of my own; Anthony Trollope, who would surely have been convivial; and Charles Clark, 'the Bard of Totham' and amateur printer, who really did dine in our house 170 years ago and had a hangover the next morning.

12. What is your favourite food?

Kippers for breakfast, Dover sole for lunch, duck for dinner – although probably not all on the same day.

13. The history book I am currently reading is... *Men from the Ministry: how Britain saved its heritage* by Simon Thurley (Yale, 2013).

14. What is your favourite quote from history? 'History came to a .' (Sellar & Yeatman).

15. Favourite historical film? None. I don't enjoy historical films (and especially not historical TV dramas) because I'm always worrying about how inaccurate they are.

16. What is your favourite building in Essex?

St Nicholas' Church, Little Braxted, largely because of the contrast between the modest exterior and the gloriously colourful interior.

17. What past event would you like to have seen? The final service in Waltham Abbey before it was dissolved.

18. How would you like to be remembered?

Like Isaac Watts: zealous without fury; studious without gloom or stiffness; learned without pride; polite without dissimulation; and pure and temperate without the least shadow of the contrary vices.

19. Who inspires you to read or write or research history? At the moment, I suppose I would have to say Nikolaus Pevsner, who seems to be constantly looking over my shoulder, urging me to look more and write less.

20. Most memorable historical date?

30th January 1649. I'm bad at remembering dates, but that one seems to stick – it was quite a momentous day.



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