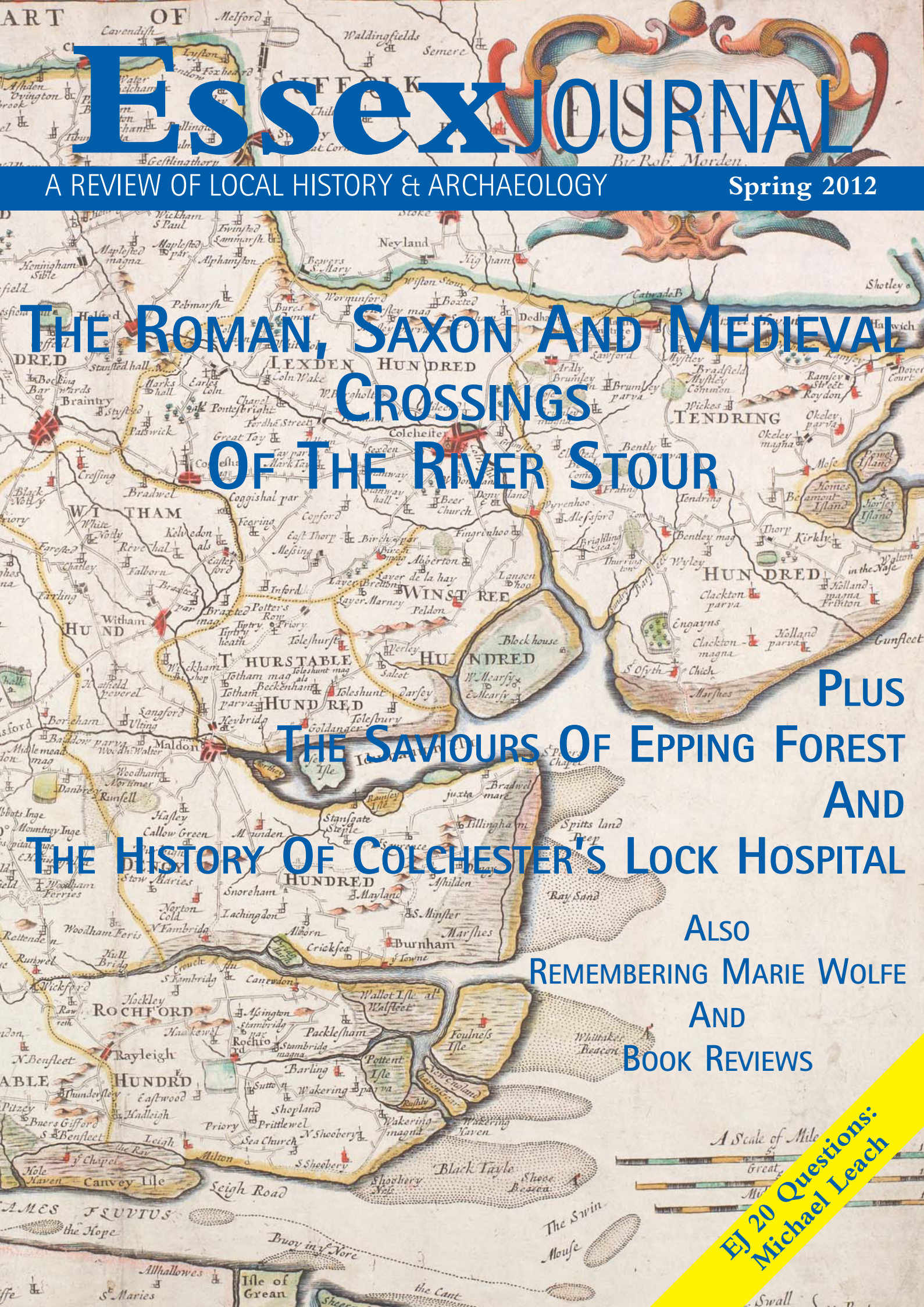
Essex JOURNAL
A REVIEW OF LOCAL HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY
Spring 2012



The Roman, Saxon And Medieval Crossings Of The River Stour

Plus

The Saviours Of Epping Forest And The History Of Colchester's Lock Hospital

Also

Remembering Marie Wolfe And Book Reviews

EJ 20 Questions: Michael Leach

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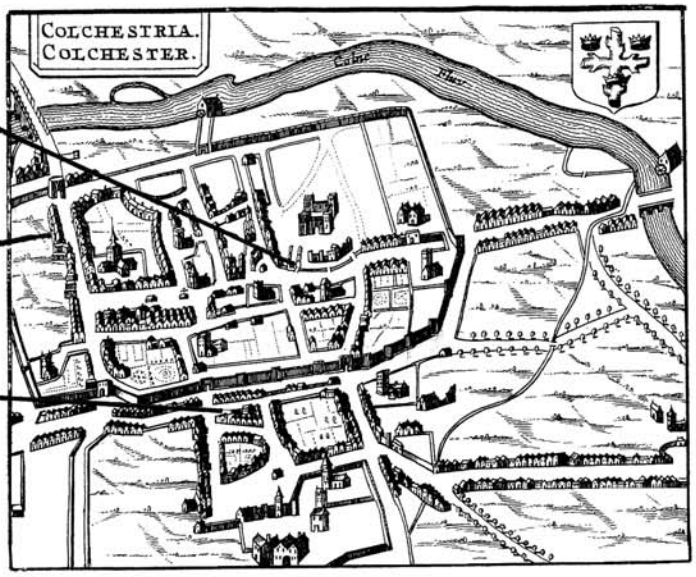

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EssexJOURNAL

Incorporating Essex Review

Spring 2012
Vol.47 No.1
ISSN-0014-0961

The ESSEX JOURNAL is published twice a year, in May and October, under the management of an Editorial Board consisting of representatives of the Essex Archaeological and Historical Congress, the Friends of Historic Essex, the Essex Record Office (on behalf of the Essex County Council), and the Honorary Editor. It is recognised that the statutory duties of the County Council preclude the ERO from sharing in the financial commitments of the consortium.

The annual subscription of £10.00 should be sent to:
The Hon. Membership Secretary,
13 South Primrose Hill, Chelmsford,
Essex, CM1 2RF.

Notes to contributors

Contributions are welcome and should be sent in a Word format to the Honorary Editor at the email listed above. General correspondence can either be emailed or posted to: 30 Main Road, Broomfield, Chelmsford, Essex CM1 7EF. The Editor is more than happy to discuss any proposed articles as he does not guarantee that unsolicited material will be published. Contributors are requested to limit their articles to 2,500/4,000 words, other than by prior agreement with the Editor. Style notes are available.

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Main cover illustration: Extract from Robert Morden's County map of Essex, 1695.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, Searchroom County Map Drawer 2, Map 2 (A).)

EJ Editorial

There are so many significant anniversaries to mark this year that I'm worried that we may all soon start suffering from some sort of fatigue (and that's before we take into consideration any personal milestones we may have reached!). However, I think that this will relate more to the incessant coverage by the media who cannot resist a band wagon than to our own interest in these anniversaries. That said, despite the media frenzy that can be whipped up it's amazing how quickly each anniversary recedes from the memory. It was only a few weeks ago that I was beginning to think that the common thread linking them was one of icy, watery death garnished with a scattering of heroic failure, but coverage of the Scott expedition and the sinking of the Titanic now seems a world away. Mind you, icy, wateriness must have be on the minds of many of those taking part in the Thames pageant, staged to mark the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. The scenes broadcast on television were truly remarkable with the hundreds of small boats being paddled down the river being so wonderfully British. So to was the stoic nature of all those braving the weather to take part.

One common theme appears to be the weather. Perhaps we should always bear this in mind when planning an event. Every year my Dad says at the beginning of May that he is expecting thundery showers. He remembers when in May 1943 a very heavy bombing raid on Chelmsford was dispersed by a violent thunderstorm and, lo and behold, we get thundery weather at around the same time every year. When we get to the beginning of June we normally get very changeable weather, just as occurred 68 years ago during the run-up to and during the invasion of Europe. I call it D-Day weather.

Another topic of interest that has been taking up much media time is the Leveson Enquiry into the culture, practice and ethics of the press. It feels as if the *Essex Journal* is the only organisation that is not going to be called to give evidence. Still, I think we're safe. Any tittle-tattle that historians are interested in generally happened decades, if not centuries ago. Also as professionals and amateurs we must make sure that our research is fully referenced. Endnotes might take up valuable space in any publication but it is essential to make sure that our research is transparent and can be replicated or worked upon by those who are also interested in our areas of interest. This is crucial and should run through all research whether it be the seminal volumes of the Victoria County History (congratulations to Chris Thornton and Herbert Eiden on the Essex Vol XI – a review to appear in the autumn issue) or our own *Essex Journal*.

In this issue there is an update on the work of the VCH Clacton group which has seen some wonderful research undertaken and great publications as a result. Surely inspiration, if it were needed, for other local history groups throughout the county? We have news from the Essex Record Office which is forging ahead with its *Essex Ancestors* service as well as working on an exciting new blog which is well worth looking at. Make a note of the ERO open day in your diaries. More information about this will appear over the next few weeks – especially about the key-note speaker. In the meantime if you have a chance, do pop by to undertake some research – there are many interesting documents for you to discover there. If you've never visited before then make a point of it; experienced staff are on hand to get you started. Perhaps you could publish your findings in these pages?

In our first article James Kemble discusses the crossings of the River Stour. It is interesting what information place-names can furnish us with and when combined with other historic sources the world of pre-medieval Essex really comes alive.

One of our county's most wonderful landscapes was very nearly lost in the nineteenth century. Richard Morris tells us the story of those pioneers who recognised the value of Epping Forest and campaigned to save it for the nation.

Jane Pearson and Maria Rayner have undertaken research into a little known and particularly unglamorous institution, the Lock Hospital in Colchester. This is a fascinating story on so many levels and one that I am glad to bring to a wider audience.

Adding my contribution to the anniversary theme I discuss the Salamanca eagle which is on display in the Essex Regiment Museum. Captured in 1812 it is an amazing exhibit and seeing it in its present peaceful situation it is difficult to think of it mixed up in the middle of a big battle. Make a point of going to visit it this year.

Martin Stuchfield remembers Marie Wolfe who died earlier on this year and was a stalwart of the *Essex Journal*.

If you are looking for something to read over the summer there are book reviews aplenty so hopefully you will find a book to interest you – perhaps you'll even have a go at the competition? Rounding off this issue are the 20 answers from Michael Leach -as ever a fascinating read.

Well, the summer is upon us and I hope we see some sun soon. Make the most of our wonderful county and all the good things that are in it.

Cheers,

Neil

The Hearth Tax in Essex
Conference and book launch
Saturday 14th July 2012
at the
Essex Record Office

Hearth Tax returns are invaluable for family, house and local history research on the 17th century. This conference, hosted by The Friends of Historic Essex, coincides with the publication of an edition of the Essex 1670 Hearth Tax Return by the British Records Society, in association with the Essex Society for Archaeology and History and the British Academy Hearth Tax project at the University of Roehampton. Copies of the edition will be available for purchase on the day.

Programme

10.00 am	Registration and coffee.
10.30 am	Welcome: Dr C. Thornton.
10.45 am	"The Hearth Tax and Essex history" Professor H. French.
11.45 am	"Using the hearth tax for the study of local history" Dr C. Ferguson, Dr J. Price & Dr A. Wareham.
12.45 pm	Lunch.
1.45 pm	Book Launch: *Essex Michaelmas 1670 Hearth Tax Return,* (2012)
2.15 pm	"Surnames and the Hearth Tax", Professor D. Hey.
3.15 pm	Close

Registration

Space is limited and so it is essential for you to book your place to attend this conference. To reserve places, at £20 each (lunch included), at the Hearth Tax conference on Saturday 14th July please send a cheque, made payable to 'The Friends of Historic Essex', to:

Dr C. Thornton, Hearth Tax Conference,
75 Victoria Road, Maldon, Essex, CM9 5HE,
to arrive by Friday 6th July 2012 at the latest.

Please include a contact phone number and email. If special dietary requirements are required please advise at time of booking.

Reservations will be recorded, but if you require a ticket please enclose a SAE.

Clacton VCH Group 10th Anniversary

From its beginnings as a pilot project designed to encourage local people to write their own history under guidance by Essex VCH, the volunteers of the Clacton VCH Group are now well into their tenth year! The achievements of the first decade are entirely down to the group members, who themselves wished to continue the research work beyond the initial project. This first project was to find out how the major pre-war holiday resort of Clacton-on-Sea, whose economy principally relied on the seaside business, was affected by the coming of the Second World War. The results revealed that from 1940, and for most of the duration, the holiday business ceased, the town became about 85% evacuated. It was said to be the most evacuated seaside town in the country, and as a consequence the income to the local authority dropped dramatically. The military moved in, billeted in the empty properties, and the Butlin's Holiday Camp. The Victoria Road German aircraft crash of the 30th April 1940 resulted in the first civilian casualties in England and then there was all the subsequent enemy action.

From this research, the Group published a popular history titled *Clacton at War*, and additionally produced a fully referenced more detailed version which was deposited at local libraries and at the Essex Record Office. This was followed by public events and the creation of a web-site especially aimed at schools. The educational aspect of the Groups researches has always been seen as being of prime importance.

The reputation of the Group grew, and soon they were approached by Fred Nash, Military Archaeologist, with the Essex County Council, to help survey and record the anti-invasion defences of Clacton, Holland-on-Sea and Jaywick and which resulted in a comprehensive report published by the ECC and another popular history by the Group titled *Defending the Coast*. The work has revealed that there was a huge scheme of implementing a wide range of anti-invasion defence works to repeal any attempted invasion, far exceeding their scope as previously understood by historians.

While this work continues, the Group are widening their research into identifying and researching the former numerous quays, wharfs and landing places of the Tendring District. The focus of this research is the former Gunfleet Estuary. An important part of this work is that the results will be used towards the content of the next Essex VCH Volume XII.

As will be seen from the above account, the Group sees itself striding into its second decade, but will pause to celebrate its first decade with an exhibition titled 'The Sunshine Coast at War.' This free event will be held on Saturday 6th October 2012, at St. James's Church Hall, Tower Road, Clacton-on-Sea, 10.30am until 3.30pm. There will be much to see, including a Clacton family in their home, as presented by a Living History Group.

For further information contact the Chairman at:
RogerBKennell@aol.com

Roger Kennell
Chairman Clacton VCH Group

The results of just one air-raid on Clacton at Station Road, and which took place on the 8th May 1941. Although there were some injuries, there were no fatalities on this occasion. (Clacton VCH.)

2012 Plume Lecture

Saturday 10th November 2012

The Libraries of the National Trust

The Trustees of Thomas Plume's Library are pleased to announce that this year's lecture will be given by Mark Purcell, Libraries Curator of the National Trust,
It will take place on Saturday 10th November 2012 at 7.30 pm in the United Reformed Church, Market Hill, Maldon, CM9 4PZ.

There is no entry charge and advance booking is not necessary.

News from the Essex Record Office

It has been a very busy, technology-focused few months here at the ERO. Autumn 2011 saw the launch of our Essex Ancestors service, which allows subscribers to view digital images of parish registers and wills on Seax. We have digitised all registers we hold for parishes beginning with letters A-F, and registers up to *c.*1837 for all other parishes. Our digitisers are currently hard at work completing the digitisation of our parish registers, which will be published in due course. About 20,000 wills have so far been digitised – just another 50,000 or so to go! The images are free to view in the Searchroom, and available to subscribers at home. Essex Ancestors can be found at www.essexancestors.co.uk.

This spring has seen the launch of our new blog, www.essexrecordofficeblog.co.uk. It will be updated with news, highlights from our extensive collection, and behind-the-scenes peeks at our conservation work. The blog joins our Twitter account (@essexarchive) our Facebook page and our YouTube account to help you make the most of the ERO.

Back in the physical world of archives, we have recently had two new display cases installed in the Searchroom. These specially-made, conservation quality cases allow us to display fragile documents – including parchment – for the first time. Our first display focuses on a recent conservation project, which has repaired, cleaned and re-stored rare medieval deeds from St John's Abbey in Colchester (D/DRu T1/1-42).

We have several groups of busy volunteers all performing valuable work, in the Sound and Video Archive, in Conservation, in the ERO Library, and working with our newspaper collection. A new project has also just begun to catalogue our extensive collection of post-war Ordnance Survey maps, which will eventually make them truly accessible for the first time.

We have a busy events programme planned for the year ahead, including the return of favourite events as well as some new ones, such as our Conservation Surgeries, which will give you the chance to talk to a professional archive conservator about how best to take care of your own documents and photographs (Friday 22nd June at Saffron Walden Archive Access Point, and Thursday 28th June at Chelmsford). We are also very excited to be taking part in Heritage Open Days for the first time with a special ERO Discovery Day on Saturday 8th September. The day will include behind-the-scenes tours, talks, and archival film showings, with other events to be confirmed.

The ERO is also hosting no fewer than four conferences this year. On 14th June, experts will be discussing the Hearth Tax in Essex, a unique record of seventeenth-century householders. On 22nd September, we will be exploring the part that the sea has played in Essex's history in our *Essex-on-Sea* conference. As part of Black History Month, on 13th October *Workers of the World Unite* will examine the contribution and type of work undertaken by people from other countries and cultures in Essex. Finally, on 24th November, *A Night at the Opera and a Matinee at the Flicks* will explore the heritage of theatre and cinema in Essex. Events programmes can be picked up in the Searchroom, or can be requested by telephoning 01245 244 620. You can also now keep up to date with our upcoming events by checking the Events page on our blog.

Hannah Salisbury, Acting Publicity Officer

Crossings of the River Stour

by

James Kemble

Before road systems were developed, the River Stour, slowly flowing with few physical obstructions, provided a convenient east-west transport waterway inland from the North Sea. The earliest evidence for road-crossings of the river dates from the Roman era, a development of Iron Age tracks or new military constructions. By using evidence from landscape and field archaeology, medieval and later documents and Old English place-names, this article will attempt to trace the development of the crossings of the Essex-Suffolk Stour, to ascertain to what extent there was contact across the river between the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and more uncertainly, whether it is possible to date more securely the separate identity of the counties of Essex from Suffolk using this evidence.

Two Old English name elements, *ford* and *(ge)wæde*, represent river crossing points. *Ford* is an early element in the Old English corpus, documented as occuring before AD 730.[1] Of course not all *ford* names can be ascribed to an origin in the early Saxon period, and evidence is needed to establish a date. Gelling suggests *(ge)wæde* went out of use early being replaced by '*ford*',[2] but at least one example survives on the Stour where the river meets the estuary at Cattawade ('cats' crossing. For the Anglo-Saxons, there must have been a distinction between *ford* and *wæde*, though it is not easy to detect one from a study of the uses. *Wæde* seems to imply deeper water, or perhaps tidal water. In Essex and Suffolk, it is found also at *Wadeflet* at the mouth of the Ingrebourne river to the Thames,[3] *The Wade* between Hedge-end Island and Walton le Soken, and *Wade* in North Cove by the river Waveney.[4] The word survives in modern English 'to wade'.

The River Stour between Essex and Suffolk has apparently formed a significant territorial boundary only since Saxon times. Iron Age coin distribution suggests that the Trinovantes tribe occupied part of Essex and south Suffolk, while the Iceni, the tribe of Boudica, occupied northern Suffolk and Norfolk.[5] There is little evidence that the early centuries in the Roman era differentiated what is now Essex from Suffolk, and there are clear examples of cross-river contacts in the Roman road systems.

Evidence of pre-Saxon Cross-river Routes.

There are four alignments of Roman routes which indicate crossings of the Stour.[6] These are discussed starting from the west in the parishes of Kedington and Sturmer, from what Chapman & André's map surveyed in 1774 shows as Stour Meer, and the modern Ordnance Survey maps as a roughly circular wood (at Grid Reference TL 710442) which represents the silted or drained mere.

1. From Long Melford, a Roman route ran westwards along the north bank of the Stour to Wixoe (Map 1) where there was a Roman settlement, excavated in 1952.[7] The road continued westwards to join up with the main road (in the eighteenth century named Via Devana) which ran northwest between Sible Hedingham and Cambridge.[8] This would have involved a river crossing west of Wixoe,[9] now by a bridge taken by a minor road at TL707433. In *c.*1875, this was Ains Ford, the road continuing westwards along a farm track to Walton's Farm in Steeple Bumpstead.[10] This track was by fields called *Great Ford Meadow* and *Stulps*, (Middle English = post) which may indicate that the position of the ford was marked by a stake.[11] Here a Roman cemetery was discovered. Here also has been found an urn containing Roman silver coins of the second to fourth centuries.[12] The ford lies immediately north of the site of a probable Roman encampment which may have guarded it (OS map 1875). Ains Ford marks the boundary between the parishes of Sturmer and Steeple Bumpstead, suggesting some antiquity.

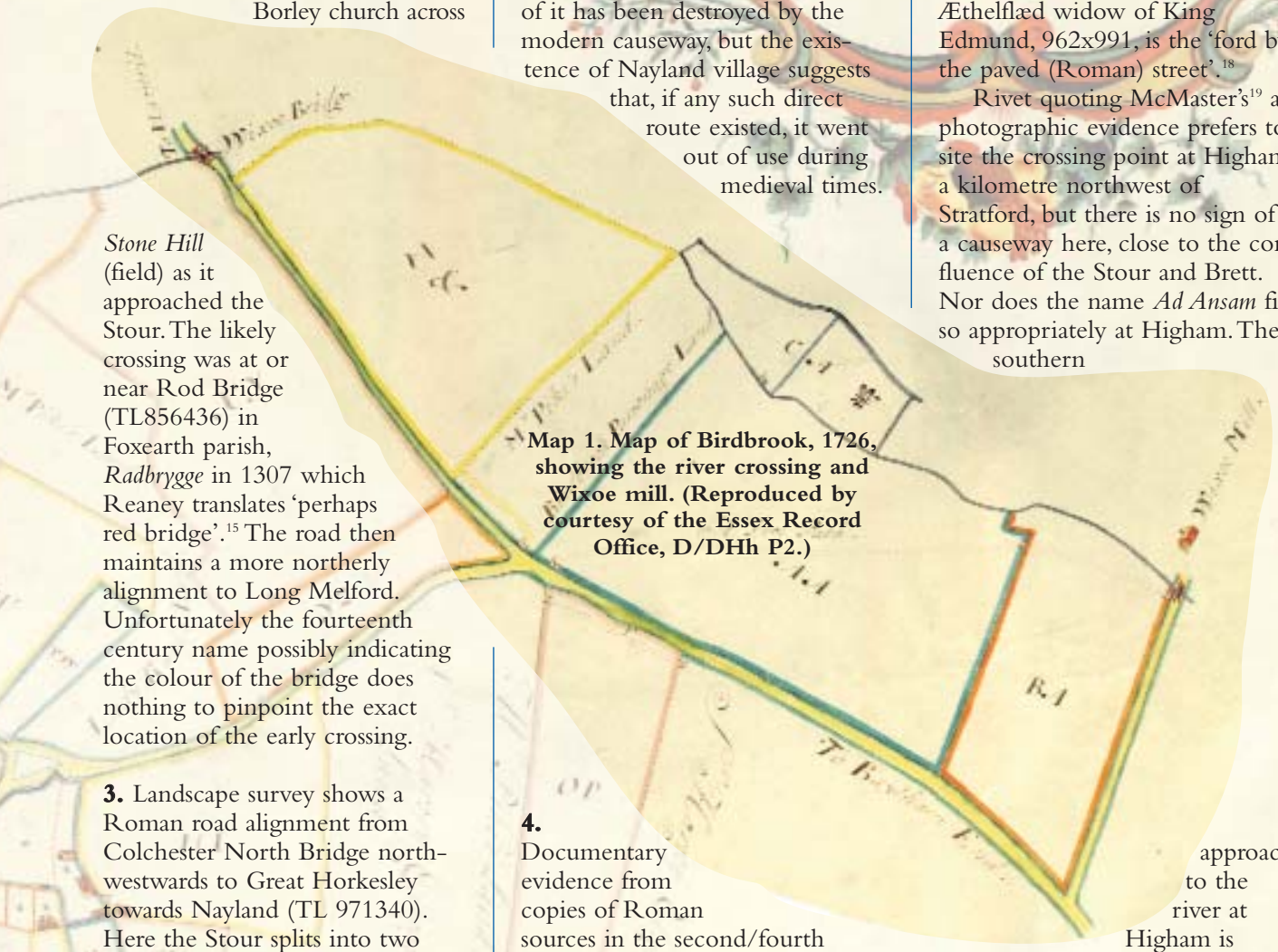
On the Suffolk side in Wixoe parish is *Ensford Field* where a large Roman building has been reported.[13] John Norden's map of 1594 shows a river-crossing here joining to a southeast-northwest road representing Via Devana. Morgan's map of 1693 shows a truncated road leading eastwards from Via Devana towards Ains Ford. It is probable that Ains Ford was the Roman river-crossing point and the Walton's Farm track a Roman road. A crossing here would have entailed a shallower ford than one further downstream since a tributary from Steeple Bumpstead joins the Stour just below Ains Ford. Sturmer, its church of the eleventh century, was a place of some significance in the tenth century; it was the place of origin of the warrior Leofsunu, probably a thegn, who came to defend his fallen lord ealdorman Brihtnoth against the Danes at the Battle of Maldon in 991.

The lack of early documentation for Ains Ford makes its interpretation difficult. An origin from a personal name *Ægen-* is possible as is suggested for the lost Ainsworth in Arkesden and Eynsford in Kent. Ainstable (in

Cumberland) was *Ainstapelid* in 1178, 'slope with braken' but this is topographically not appropriate for the Stour Ainsford. Ainsty (West Yorkshire), 'path wide enough for one person' is of Scandinavian origin incorporating Old Norse *einn*, 'one' but this fails to account for the 's' before -ford.[14] The spelling *Ensford* (field) on the Suffolk side raises the possibility of 'duck's ford'.

2. The Roman road from Gosfield to Whiteash Green west of Halstead (TL795307) continued northeast to Belchamp Brook, then along a track past Borley church across *Stone Hill* (field) as it approached the Stour. The likely crossing was at or near Rod Bridge (TL856436) in Foxearth parish, *Radbrygge* in 1307 which Reaney translates 'perhaps red bridge'.[15] The road then maintains a more northerly alignment to Long Melford. Unfortunately the fourteenth century name possibly indicating the colour of the bridge does nothing to pinpoint the exact location of the early crossing.

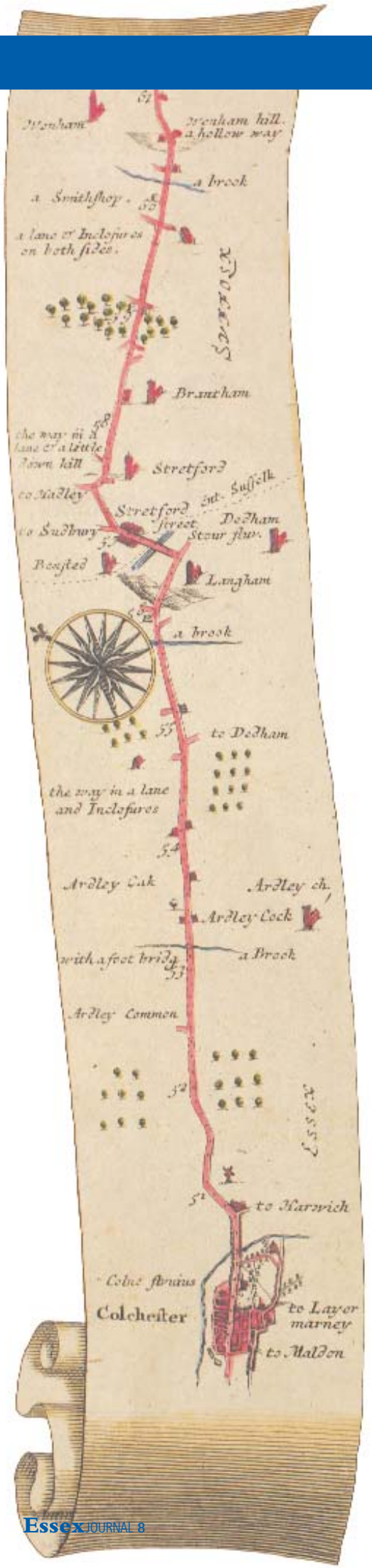
3. Landscape survey shows a Roman road alignment from Colchester North Bridge northwestwards to Great Horkesley towards Nayland (TL 971340). Here the Stour splits into two arms creating a marshy island west of Nayland village (Domesday Book *eilanda*, from *atten eilande*, 'at the low-lying land'). Pop's Bridge crossed the southern meander (Ordnance Survey map 1836) (TL 970339). Only since 1963 has the main road crossed directly over this marshy ground on a causeway. Previously the route deviated sharply eastwards north of the southern river arm into Nayland, then westwards to resume its north-westerly direction towards Long Melford. The crossing in Nayland village (TL 975320) immediately west of The Anchor inn is now by a red brick bridge which bears on its arch an escutcheon of a letter 'A' over a bell, a reference to the clothier John Abell who made a legacy in 1523 for upkeep of the bridge, then a wooden one.[16] Here the river is some five metres wide and could have been forded. If an earlier road had taken the direct route across the island, evidence of it has been destroyed by the modern causeway, but the existence of Nayland village suggests that, if any such direct route existed, it went out of use during medieval times.



Map 1. Map of Birdbrook, 1726, showing the river crossing and Wixoe mill. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, D/DHh P2.)

4. Documentary evidence from copies of Roman sources in the second/fourth century Antonine Itinerary, *Iter IX*, and the third century Peutinger Table detail a route between Colchester and *Conbretovio* (Baylham House, TM112528) crossing the Stour at *Ad Ansam*.[17] Just upstream from Stratford St Mary, the river takes a sharp double bend from an easterly direction then south then again east, as *Ad Ansam* describes. Alternatively *Ad Ansam* may refer to the double bend of the Roman road (TM 043335). From the south, the road approaches the river from Gun Hill down a steep scarp taking a sharp left turn 100 metres before the crossing, passing Le Talbooth, a sixteenth century timber-framed and jettied toll house (Plate 1). North of the river, the road is elevated above the floodplain on a 300 metre-long causeway to enter Stratford St Mary street where it takes a sharp right towards Baylham House (Map 2). The later name Stratford, *Strætforda* in the will of Æthelflæd widow of King Edmund, 962x991, is the 'ford by the paved (Roman) street'.[18]

Rivet quoting McMaster's[19] air photographic evidence prefers to site the crossing point at Higham, a kilometre northwest of Stratford, but there is no sign of a causeway here, close to the confluence of the Stour and Brett. Nor does the name *Ad Ansam* fit so appropriately at Higham. The approach to the river at Higham is marshy and the Stour is about 10 metres wide and deep enough at this point making a ford unlikely. A road to Higham might have been later diverted to a more approachable crossing by causeway and bridge at Stratford when this route between the *colonia* at Colchester and the regional capital *Venta Icenorum*,



Caister-by-Norwich, became a major much-used road. But the road aligment on the Essex side is certainly in favour of the original crossing at Stratford rather than Higham. It is likely that a Roman bridge (where now the present old bridge stands by Le Talbooth) had decayed by the time the Old English name *Strætford* was introduced. Future excavation or a drop in the water level may reveal the footings.

The Saxon-East Anglian Boundary Question.

Bede differentiates the Angles from the Saxons. Writing *c.*730, he documents that the province of *Eastengle* was the destination of the Irish holy man Fursey in *c.*630, and Ingwald was bishop to *prouincia Orientalium Saxonum*.[20] The king of *East Saxonorum* is referred to in the charter of 690x693 granting land to Æthelburh, abbess of Barking.[21] In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under year 823, the men of *East Seaxe* submitted to Egbert, king of Wessex. Suffolk is earliest documented as *pagus Suthfolchi* in.895 in a charter of spurious authenticity of Alfred, king of the Saxons, granting land at Freckenham to Burhic, bishop of Rochester.[22] 150 years later, the Will of Thurstan, 1043x1045, bequeathed Kedington and Pentlow (on either side of the Stour), with witnesses *innon Suffolke* and *innen Essexe*. Though these provide evidence that the Stour was a boundary between estates, that it was the shire boundary is implied from the description of the witnesses from both *Suffolke* and *Essexe*.

If the River Stour was a boundary between the East Saxons and the East Angles, to what extent was it a barrier and to what extent was it regularly crossed? For much of the early Saxon period, rivers were uniting rather than dividing highways. In so far as can be determined, rivers ran through rather than at the edges of early territories (e.g. the Rodings, the Walthams and the Easters). On the Stour, there is evidence of cross-river territorial holdings between Suffolk and Essex (e.g. Ballingdon with Sudbury, and Nayland with Horkesley), but the documented evidence for these is late in the eleventh century.

Separate kingdoms of the East Saxons and the East Angles emerge about 600.[23] Sabert was ruling the East Saxon territory in 604, and Rædwald, who was dead by 627, the East Angle. But exactly what territory these kings ruled is ill-defined.[24] There is no evidence for shires in English territory north of the Thames before the reign of Edward the Elder (901-925). Thereafter, perhaps as a result of there having been two episcopal sees at Elmham and Dunwich, East Anglia was subdivided into Norfolk and Suffolk sometime before the eleventh century. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under year 1075 records that William I gave the son of Ralph the earldoms of Norfolk and *Suthfolc,*[25] but their boundaries are uncertain.

The river Stour is referred to in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (year 885) when King Alfred sent a naval force to *Eastengle* and fought the Danes at *Stufe muthan*. Historians have generally accepted this to mean the mouth of the Essex/Suffolk Stour near Harwich where the Danish army had a mooring, *here-wic*. If, however, we accept Grainge's postulate[26] that *Eastengle* means Eastern England and not East Anglia, and *Stufe muthan* refers to Stourmouth in the Wantsum Channel by Thanet in Kent, then we have to look to the will, dated *c.*1002, of Ælfflæd, younger daughter of Ealdorman Brihtnoth who was killed at the Battle of Maldon, for documentation of the Essex/Suffolk Stour. Describing the bequest, she grants land, citing bounds, in

Map 2. John Ogilby's map of the road from London to Yarmouth, 1675, showing the crossing at Stretford. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, Searchroom County Map drawer 1, Map 1 (q).)

Withermarsh and Polstead (in Suffolk) bounded by the *Sture* on the south and the river Brett on the east around Gifford's Hall.[27]

Was the Stour a Viking Boundary?

By the much-debated treaty, *c.*886, between King Alfred and the Viking leader Guthrum, the country was divided along the River Lea and Watling Street towards Chester into the south-western kingdom under Alfred and the north-eastern under Guthrum. Nominally Essex was therefore under Guthrum's control. Place-names showing a Scandinavian origin in Essex are confined to a handfull in the extreme north-east of the county such as Kirby le Soken, Frowick, and possibly Thorrington and Clacton.[28] By comparison, north of the Stour, Danish names become increasingly frequent. In Suffolk, Bildeston, Eyke, Flixton, Hemingstone, Ilketshall, Kettlebaston, Kettleburgh, Kirton, Nacton, Risby, Thwaite and Wickham Skeith show Scandinavian influence.

In 896, a man Beorhtwulf, one of King Alfred's servants who later died of plague, was named as ealdorman of Essex.[29] At first sight, this is odd since Essex was nominally within Danish jurisdiction at this time. Notwithstanding the Alfred/Guthrum treaty, it seems likely that southern Essex was still within West Saxon influence in the 30 or so years up to 912 when Edward the Elder, while stockading his fortification at Witham, encamped at Maldon. The river Blackwater, or perhaps the Roman river, seem a more likely *de facto* boundary between the Saxon and Dane than the rivers Lea or Stour, but those who had been under Danish domination who submitted to Edward still remembered they had once been men of Essex. By 917 when Edward recovered Colchester, all those who had been enslaved by the Danes joyfully submitted to him,[30] and three years later the whole of East Anglia and Cambridge swore him allegiance. The border between Essex and East Anglia probably reverted to that pertaining before the Danish invasion, but we are still uncertain that it was the Stour. Colchester has produced little archaeological evidence of Danish occupation, and it seems that the Danes certainly did not regard this settlement as a major one in its Essex domain, whereas at Ipswich, the Thingstead, Old Norse *thing*, near to St Margaret's church in the north of the town, was the Danish place of meeting.

South of the Stour, St Pauls in London held Wickham and Belchamp St Pauls in the second half of the tenth century. The bishop's diocese of London included the whole of the county of Essex until the nineteenth century, but it requires an act of confidence beyond the available evidence that it did so also in the ninth century. No doubt its boundaries fluctuated with the political spheres of influence. By implication of his will dates 942x951 which refers to his 'episcopal demense' at Hoxne, Theodred bishop of London was also bishop of Suffolk.[31] Marten suggests East Anglia was shired during the reign of Cnut (1016-35);[32] a definitive Suffolk-Essex boundary could have been established at that time, though an earlier date seems more likely. Indeed the south-western boundary of Suffolk on the Stour may be the extent of the territory held by King Sigbert (acceded *c.*630) represented by the 8 1/2 Hundreds of Thingoe (which later included the Hundreds of Risebridge and Babergh) confirmed to the monastery at Bury *c.*1043.[33]

The division of East Anglia from Essex can be identified *c.*942 when Athelstan 'Half-king' controlled East Anglia, while his younger brother Æthelwold held Essex.[34] By *c.*956 Byrhtnoth was named as ealdorman of Essex,[35] but the administrative areas controlled by ealdormen often extended far beyond their nominated titles. Byrhtnoth controlled extensive estates also in Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk. The Essex ealdordom established before *c.*946, separate from the ealdordom of East Anglia, still leaves the problem of defining how much of present Essex was included in the ealdordom, even if Colchester was under English control after 918.

For the purposes of jurisdiction the local court was based on the Hundred, first documented *c.*940, and we shall look with great difficulty to define tightly the Hundred boundaries at this period. Only if we assume that their boundaries were little altered by Domesday can we conclude that the Stour was the shire boundary in the mid-tenth century. If Viking East Anglia was ever divided into 'wapentakes' as were the more northerly Danish territories, they have scarcely left a mark, for the Hundredal system

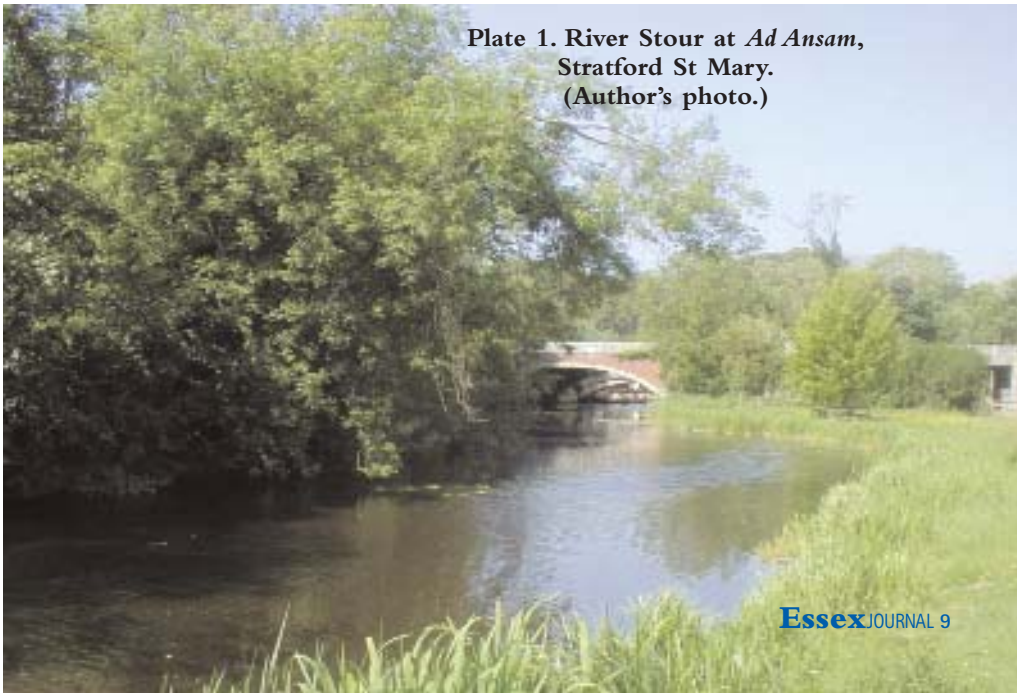


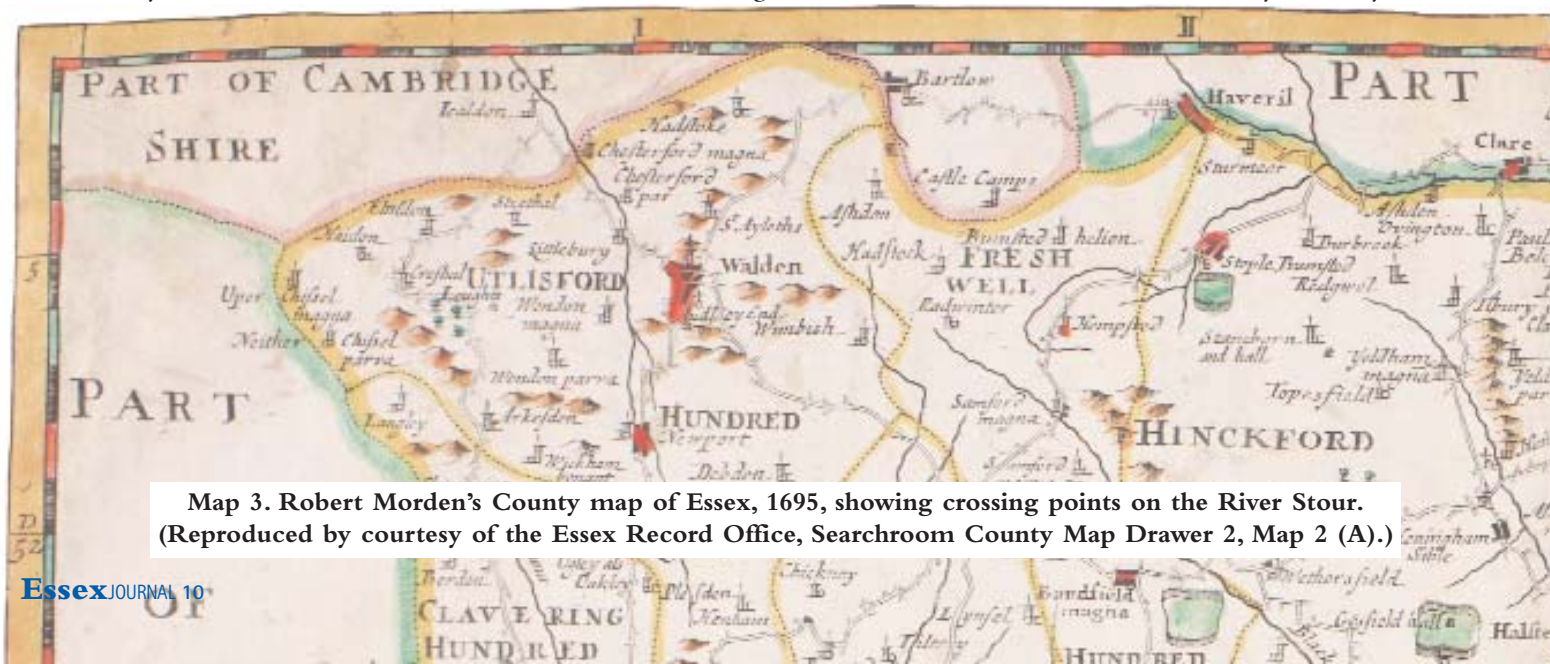
Plate 1. River Stour at *Ad Ansam*, Stratford St Mary. (Author's photo.)

was imposed on territory newly retaken by Edward after 917. (But the pagan name *Thunderlow*, 'Thunor's hill', in Domesday a Half-Hundred which included Ballingdon, is unlikely to date from much later than *c.*700, nor the Danish *Thingoe* much later than *c.*915. Were these once wapentakes?). Before *c.*1044 East Anglian hides were apparently not subdivided into quarter-hides or virgates as was the case in Essex. East Anglian Hundreds were subdivided into 'letes' rather than hides some time after *c.*1044 but before 1086. Measurements (for land measurement or, less likely for tax), possibly introduced by the Danes before *c.*917, did leave their mark as 'carucates' in East Anglia. In Essex, and, less certainly in East Anglia, both one hide and one carucate contained 120 geld or ware acres.[36] But, sadly for our pursuit, the early documentary record of carucates and of virgates is too sparse to identify the boundary as the Stour.

The close inter-connection of estates across the Stour is demonstrated by the Will of Ælfgar, 946x951. It shows that he held extensive estates in both Suffolk and Essex near the Stour, including Baythorn (near Wixoe), Stoke-by-Nayland, Colne, Tey, Mersea and Greenstead-by-Colchester.[37] The estates to the south of the Stour approximately correspond to the land formerly under Danish influence, and it may be that these estates came to Ælfgar because they had once been a unified Viking holding. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle calls him 'ealdorman' without location, but, since he cannot have been ealdorman of East Anglia because that was Athelstan from 932 to 956, of Essex is the most likely. If these northern estates of Ælfgar are added to what was the previous territory of the East Saxons, this perhaps provides evidence that the Stour was, around the mid-tenth century, beginning to emerge as the defined boundary between the ealdordoms of East Anglia and Essex, the precursor to the counties.

The Influence of the Mills.
How the subsequent post-Roman road system developed across the river between Essex and Suffolk has been influenced by the mills. By a study of their siting, it is apparent that both major and minor roads approaching the Stour have developed as a result of the mill bridges and fords. At Baythorn End the mill crossings have now become the A604 Halstead to Clare main road, now carried on a three-arch eighteenth century brick bridge. The Ashen to Stoke-by-Clare road crosses the Stour at the Stoke mill bridge, and the B1064 Foxearth to Cavendish road crosses the river at Pentlow mill, the latest of the eighteenth century, timber-framed with an intact lucam. Liston mill, now only the eighteenth century mill-house remaining, determined the road crossing from Liston to Long Melford whose name ford-by-the-mill is self-explanatory. Its two mills belonged to St Edmunds Abbey in Bury before 1066. Dedham mill determined the crossing of the B1029 between Dedham and Stratford St Mary; the mill painted by Constable in 1820 was demolished and rebuilt after 1850. Although there was a mill at Clare held by Richard fitz Gilbert, bastard son of Richard Duke of Normandy in 1086, the crossing here was perhaps influenced by the Augustinian priory (founded in 1248) which lies immediately east of the bridge.

Some of these mills were present at Domesday, 1086. Before 1066, Ingvar held a mill at Baythorn End which Ranulf held in 1086. Its successor is of the eighteenth century with two attic storeys, its wheel in situ.[38] This mill may account for the development of a main crossing here in preference to Ains Ford (Sturmer), the more direct Roman road westwards. In 1086, Ralph Baynard held Pentlow mill. The present red brick bridge with two round-headed arches and a stone plaque with three Saxon seaxes was built *c.*1886. Liston mill was jointly held in 1086 by Ilbod and Geoffrey Talbot in 1086. Dedham mill was held by Aelfric Kemp before 1066 and, in 1086, Roger de Rames held two mills here. It is likely that these, and others such as at Ashen and Boxted, were already crossings in the eleventh century. Sudbury



Map 3. Robert Morden's County map of Essex, 1695, showing crossing points on the River Stour. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, Searchroom County Map Drawer 2, Map 2 (A).)

mill (converted into an hotel in 1971, its mill wheel extant) was held by Aelfeva, the mother of Morcar, earl of Northumbria, before 1066. It was a fulling mill in the fifteenth century opposite Fulling Pit Meadow, contributing to the wealth of this part of Suffolk from the cloth industry. Sudbury, the Saxon 'southern fortified settlement' (south of Bury St. Edmunds) was the place Bishop Alfhun of Dunwich's death in 797, and a river crossing is likely here then.

A hospital and a bridge at Ballingdon (by Sudbury) were built by Amica, countess of Clare daughter of William de Clare, earl of Gloucester, after 1150. This was a route used by pilgrims to St. Edmund's shrine at Bury. Beside the bridge the Knights of St John built a hospital and financed it by tolls to cross the bridge. Since at least the eleventh century when Richard fitz Gilbert held *Bura* (in Essex) and *Bure* (St Mary, in Suffolk), Bures Hamlet on the Essex side of the river, has been closely associated with Bures St Mary. There was a Saxon church here, and an early river crossing. Presumably this more northerly crossing by the church made another significant road-crossing by ford or bridge downstream at Roger de Poitou's mill at Mount Bures unnecessary.

A pre-eleventh century crossing now carrying a minor road at Wormingford (*Widemondefort*, Withermund's ford), held by Godwin before 1066, developed from a mill mentioned in Domesday Book. The mill still existed in 1774, but burned down in 1929. Before 1836 the ford had been replaced by a bridge to Smallbridge Farm. The Roman burials found north of the bridge may be those of the legionaries of the Ninth Legion slaughtered by Boudica's forces in 60/61 AD. The field-name *Oxeforde* north-west of Bowdens by the river (at TL 938336) adjacent to what appears to be an old drove road suggests a cattle ford crossing here before *c.*1610.

Since Great and Little Horkesley were part of Nayland, in Domesday Book both held by Earl Swein, an early river crossing joining these manors was probably an imperative despite the difficult marshy land between them. Domesday Book records three mills in Nayland, probably representing the mills at Wiston and Nayland. The former site of the third may by the Mill Field in Little Horkesley (Tithe Award, TL 965333).

A count of the mills in Domeday Book suggests that there was an average of one mill every mile along the Stour between Kedington in the west and Cattawade just above the estuary. Many of the mills which were not already present at Domesday were probably built to service the cloth industry from the twelfth century. While most of the mills recorded on the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps were corn mills, mills at Sudbury and on the Shir Burn are known to have been fulling mills, one such recorded at Dedham in 1774.

The Stour Navigation and the Great Eastern Railway.

The deepening of the river and bypassing of meanders and the construction of locks for river traffic resulting from the Navigation Acts of 1628, 1705 and 1780 has altered some of the main river flow, but probably not drastically. The county boundary still often follows a meander rather than the navigation stream indicating the former river course.[39]

The construction of the single track railway from Cambridge through Haverhill to join the Colchester-London system at Marks Tey involved frequent crossings of the Stour river. The line from Haverhill to Sudbury opened in 1865. Stour river crossings were made at Sturmer, Clare, twice between Clare and Cavendish, twice east of Glemsford, at Rodbridge (Borley), at Ballingdon, and at Daws Hall (Lamarsh). After Glemsford the track had to negotiate especially marshy ground in a loop of the river. Sharp curves were necessary around the south of Sudbury. After Haverhill, the halts were at Sturmer, Stoke-by-Clare, Clare, Cavendish (Pentlow), Glemsford, Long Melford, Sudbury, Bures Hamlet and Wakes Colne. A junction was made with the Bury-Melford-Sudbury line

south of Long Melford, but that line had been discontinued by 1953. The Stour Valley line north of Sudbury was closed in 1967, and now forms part of The Valley Walk recreational trail.[40]

Conclusion.

The infrequency of pertinent earlier documentation which defined the boundaries of estates in Essex and Suffolk does not allow a conclusion that the county boundary along the Stour became firmly established before the second half of the tenth century. From the Roman period onwards there is evidence of crossings of the Stour. In the seventh century, wheel-thrown Ipswich ware was being produced and distributed in large quantities in East Anglia but only limited evidence has been found in Essex suggesting longer-distance trade in this ware into the county was then not extensive.[41] Cross-river communications had increased by the eleventh century when burgesses of Sudbury also held land in Essex, as at Castle Hedingham and Henny.

Watermills identified in Domesday Book provided the sites for road crossings. More developed as a result of the trade of cloth from the twelth century. The addition of locks and weirs to improve navigation from the eighteenth century provided further crossings but most of these were of a minor nature allowing ferrymen and their barge-horses to transfer from one towing path to the other bank. Latterly, the construction of the railway in the middle of the nineteenth century required the building of new bridges. The demise and derelict-tion of the mills has left the river crossings as ghosts of the mills former presence, and the closure of the railway has allowed long-distance leisure paths to be opened by local authorities.

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Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Mr Philip Wise and the staff of the Essex Record Office and the Essex Library service at Ingatestone and Chelmsford for their readiness to provide access to documents.

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Who Actually Saved Epping Forest?

by

Richard Morris

The story of how Epping Forest was saved from enclosure by the lords of the manors in the middle of the nineteenth century is well known, but during the last 130 years the parts played by the individuals and organisations leading the fight against enclosure, has in some cases become distorted and exaggerated. The purpose of this article is to try to redress this and to provide a balance to the debate.

Shortly after the arrival of William the Conqueror in England in 1066, he and his immediate successors in the twelfth century created over 60 Royal Forests in England. These were areas of woodland (Plate 1), heathland and grassland in which the monarch had the exclusive right to hunt deer and to hold forest courts. In most cases the King did not own the land, this was held by the local lord of the manor, and the physical forest was the unenclosed manorial waste. The legal limits of a Royal Forest within which the forest laws applied, covered a much wider area than the physical forest.

Associated with this exclusive right to hunt deer, laws were introduced which severely limited the rights of the local inhabitants to graze their cattle on the forest waste, to fell and lop trees (Plate 2) and to hunt other animals, unless they had a licence to do so. These laws were enforced by an administrative system of forest keepers, woodwards and regarders, at the head of which was a Lord Warden for each forest. In parallel with this, was a judicial system of special forest courts before which offenders against the forest laws were brought. The lowest court was the Court of Attachments, which was equivalent to a magistrates' court for civil offences, presided over by the forest Verderers. The next level of court was the Swainmote and this had a jury, but the Verderers still presided. The most senior court was the Court of the Justice Seat at which a peer of the realm presided.

A Forest Charter was passed 1217, but in contrast to Magna Carta, which dealt with the rights of the barons, the Forest Charter provided some real rights, privileges and protections for the common man. These rights were of crucial importance over 600 years later in the fight to save Epping Forest. Michael Portillo has argued that in some respects the Forest Charter was of greater significance as it affected the lives of the common people.[1] The Forest Charter was not formally replaced until 1971 with the passing of the Wild Creatures and Forest Laws Act.

The Royal Forest of Essex

There had been a Royal Forest in Essex since at least 1130, of which Epping Forest is the remaining fragment although of course since 1878 no longer a Royal Forest. Some 400 years after Royal Forests were created, an Essex man, John Manwood (d.1610), wrote a comprehensive book on the forest laws which is still a seminal work on the subject, and which ran to several editions.[2]

Royal Forests were at their height from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries and the building known as Queen Elizabeth's Hunting Lodge, built in 1543, is an example of the Monarch's interest in hunting. Thereafter the royal forests went into decline so that by the end of the eighteenth century the Hanoverian kings of England confined their hunting to Deer Parks, and in 1805, the Commissioners for Woods and Forests started to offer for sale the forestal rights held by the Crown, that is, the exclusive right to hunt deer in the forest. The local lords of the manor who in most cases owned the manorial rights to the forest waste, which included ownership of the soil and trees, were keen to purchase these rights from the Crown in the belief that this would allow them to enclose the forest within their manors and to sell off pieces for development.

Plate 1. Oak Tree in Lincoln's Lane, Epping Forest. (Author's photo, 2010.)

Plate 2. Old Pollard near Loughton Camp, 1896. (Author's collection.)

In 1851 most of Hainault Forest, in which the Crown held both the manorial and the forestal rights, was ploughed up and sold as agricultural land. At that time there were 5,928 acres of unenclosed waste forming Epping Forest, but by 1871 half of this area had been illegally enclosed.[3] However, public opinion against enclosure started to be heard by 1860. Commissions of Enquiry into the state of the Forest and how it should be managed were set up, but matters dragged on, and by 1865 John Whitaker Maitland (1831-1909) (Plate 3), lord of the manor of Loughton had purchased the forestal rights from the Crown, and had begun to put a fence around the forest contained in his manor which amounted to nearly 1,000 acres. Lords of the manor in other forest parishes did likewise.

The protest against enclosure begins

During the following 13 years several individuals and organisations led the protest against enclosure of the forest, and this achieved ultimate success in 1878 with the passing of the Epping Forest Act, although it took another four years for the Arbitrator to issue his final report on land that was to be thrown back into the Forest. Epping Forest was not unique in facing the threat of enclosure and by the beginning of the 1860s memorials were being submitted to the Queen and Parliament seeking their support against enclosure. There were three principal reasons why people fought against enclosure. First the Commoners held for centuries the right to graze their cattle across the length and breadth of the Forest unimpeded by fences. The local villagers in Loughton and other parishes had since at least Tudor times exercised a right to lop trees and take wood out of the Forest between November and April each year, and thirdly, Epping Forest was used by the people of east London, and south-west Essex, as a place for recreation and enjoyment.

Lt. Col. George Palmer junior

One of the first people to complain about the way in which the Crown was selling off its forestal rights, and against the unlawful enclosures, was George Palmer junior (1799-1883), of Nazeing, who was elected a Verderer in 1842. Palmer gave evidence to a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1863, in which he argued that the people of east London had used the forest for recreational purposes for 800 years. He wrote letters to the Freeholders of the County of Essex who had elected him Verderer, and had printed an address to the Citizens of London encouraging them to protest against enclosures, and to write to the Lord Mayor. Palmer also presided when the final two meetings of the Court of Attachments were held at the Castle Hotel at Woodford in September and October 1871, at which the City Solicitor produced evidence of the serious unlawful encroachment on the Forest by the lords of the manor. Other people and organisations, as we shall see, became involved in the fight to save the Forest, but George Palmer junior had already been fighting the battle, sometimes almost alone, for a quarter of a century before the others joined the cause.[4]

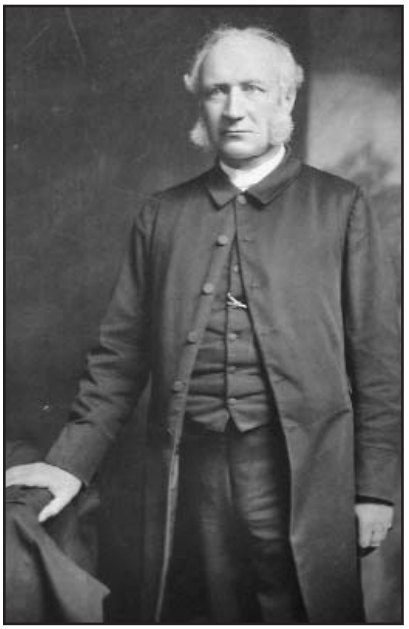


Plate 3. Rev John Whitaker Maitland, Lord of the manor of Loughton. (Author's collection.)

The Willingales

A Loughton family closely associated with the forest throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries were the Willingales. However, time and possibly rivalry between members of the family have led to many inaccurate versions of the roles played by each member of the family in saving Epping Forest.[5]

Thomas Willingale (1799-1870) (Plate 4) was summoned, in December 1865, before the Epping bench for injury to forest trees, but the case was dismissed. In 1866, Willingdale, with financial support from Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton who lived at Warlies, initiated legal proceedings in Chancery against the lord of the manor of Loughton who had enclosed the forest waste in his manor, thus preventing the villagers from exercising their ancient right of 'lopping' trees in the forest in the winter months.

In due course Willingale's case came on for hearing before the Master of the Rolls on a preliminary point of law, the defendants arguing that under English law the inhabitants of a parish, not being incorporated, were too vague a body to enjoy the right of lopping as claimed. Lord Romilly found in favour of

Willingale, saying that the right was claimed as having been granted by Queen Elizabeth and that such grant alone would be sufficient incorporation of the inhabitants to satisfy the rule of law.

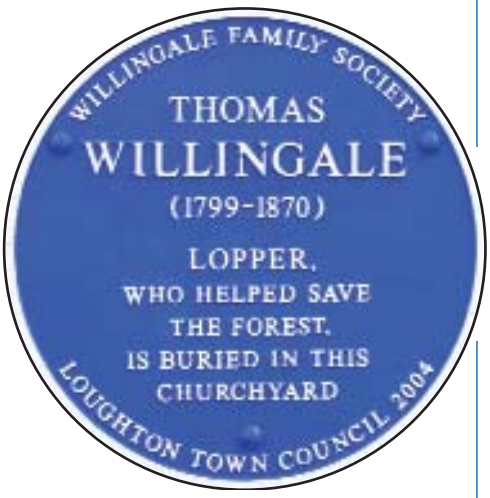


Plate 4. The blue plaque commemorating Thomas Willingale. (Author's photo 2010.)

This important technicality having been decided, the case was relegated to its further proceedings. It was not destined, however, to be concluded. Thomas Willingale died and his suit terminated with his death, but the case did give a breathing space during which time others could marshal the forces of those interested in saving the forest. We do not have a photo of old Tom, who is buried in the churchyard at St John's, Loughton, even his grave is unidentified. All we have is a plaque on the churchyard wall, together with a road and a school named after him.

Thomas Willingale never went to prison. Of his three sons, only Samuel, together with his two cousins Alfred Willingale and William Higgins, all of Loughton, were summoned to appear at Waltham Abbey police-court in March 1866, where they were charged with doing damage by cutting some hornbeam and beech trees on enclosed land. They were found guilty and were fined 2s. 6d. each, with 11s. costs, or in default of payment seven days imprisonment. The defendants refused to pay, preferring to go to gaol. They were conveyed to Ilford gaol, but it is not true that any of the men died as the result of imprisonment, although one is alleged to have caught a chill!

The conclusion that I draw is that Thomas Willingale's action in trying to establish the right of the villagers of Loughton to continue their practice of lopping, formed part of the campaign for the preservation of Epping Forest, but important as it was, his role has been exaggerated as myth has entered into the legend and corrupted the facts. However, he was not the rogue that some have made him out to be. It should be noted that the right of lopping ceased with the Epping Forest Act, although compensation was paid to the villagers and Lopping Hall in Loughton was built with part of the money.

The Commons Preservation Society

In the same year, 1865, that Thomas Willingale had been summoned before the bench at Epping, the Commons Preservation Society had been founded. Under the leadership of George Shaw le Fevre (1831-1928) (Plate 5), MP, (later Lord Eversley), the Society soon established contacts with Members of Parliament who were sympathetic to the cause of preserving Epping Forest, and was instrumental in having the matter debated in Parliament, and promoted the establishment of Select Committees and Royal Commissions to enquire into the abuse of enclosures. Prominent members of the Society who became involved in the fight to save Epping Forest were William Cowper-Temple, MP, Henry Fawcett, MP (the first blind MP) and John Stuart Mill.[6]

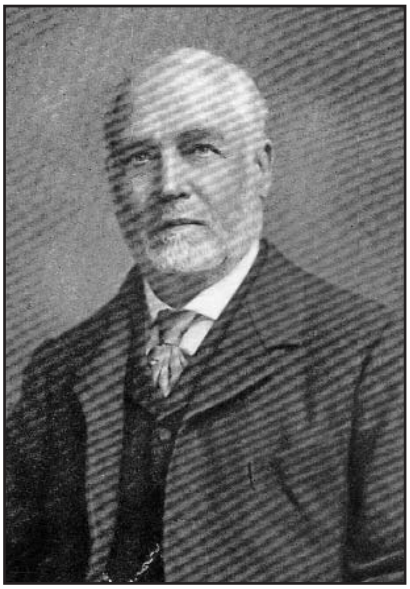


Plate 5. Lord Eversley, founder of the Commons Preservation Society. (Author's collection.)

One of the first protest meetings was convened by the East London Committee of the Commons Preservation Society on 22nd April 1867, at High Beach. A report in *The Times* said:

> Yesterday afternoon at 3 o'clock, an open air meeting, convened by the East London Committee of the Commons Preservation Society, was held opposite the King's Oak Tavern, High Beach, Loughton, to protest against the enclosure of a considerable portion of Epping Forest. It being Easter Monday, when the annual stag hunt takes place, many thousands of pleasure-seekers had assembled in the forest. The chair was occupied by Mr Duffield of Mile End, who briefly explained the objects of the association, and called upon the inhabitants of that district to support it. If they suffered the encroachment which had commenced to go on, it would not be long before the whole of Epping Forest would be enclosed, and the crowded population of the eastern district of the metropolis deprived of the valuable means of recreation which they now enjoyed. Mr Burney, of Bow, in moving a resolution pledging the meeting to co-operate in resisting the enclosure of the forest, said it was a fact that upwards of 6,000 children had been brought down from London in one day to enjoy themselves in the forest.[7]

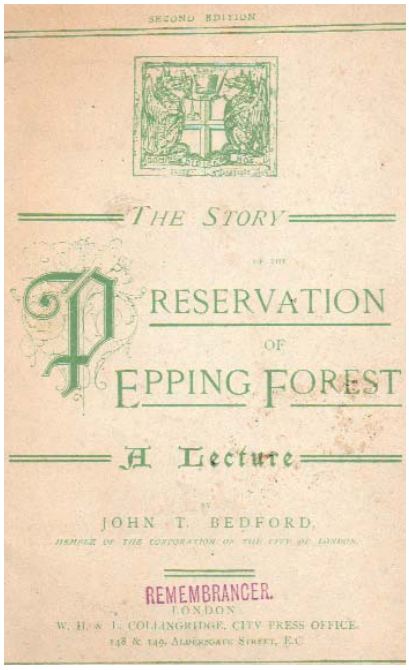


Plate 6. The title page of the pamphlet written by John Bedford in 1882, explaining the City's role in saving Epping Forest (Author's collection)

Eversley was later to write a book about the saving of other Commons and Forests with which the Society became involved.[8]

In February 1870, on a motion from Henry Fawcett, the House of Commons presented an address to Queen Victoria praying that she would take measures to preserve Epping Forest as an open space for the recreation and enjoyment of the public, and in April 1871, William Cowper-Temple moved a resolution in the Commons: 'That it is the duty of the Government to preserve Epping Forest for the recreation and enjoyment of the people' (Plate 6).[9] This led to the passing of the Epping Forest Act of August 1871, which established the Epping Forest Commissioners who were to report to Parliament on the enclosures and encroachments and to propose a scheme for disafforestation of the Forest, that is, it would cease to be a royal forest, and how it would be managed in the future.[10]

The influence of the Commons Preservation Society and its members in Parliament, from 1865-1878, was crucial to the saving of Epping Forest.

The Epping Forest Fund

The year 1871 was a very significant year in the fight to save the Forest. On 8th July a meeting was held on Wanstead Flats, under the Chairmanship of Sir Antonio Brady (1811-1881), who lived at Maryland Point, Stratford. Reports of the meeting appeared in all the local newspapers, and a leader in the *Woodford Times* began:

> On Saturday last the monster meeting convened in the interests of Epping Forest preservation took place. The fact that such an assemblage for such an object would be held, having been largely advertised by posters, ensured a leviathan collection of public protesters. Whenever there are questions of public rights involved in any social matter, their discussion and vindication are certain to command a large and enthusiastic audience.[11]

A week later a meeting was held at Sir Antonio Brady's house at which it was decided to set up the 'Forest Fund' to promote the preservation of the forest for its people, and W.G. Smith, who lived at Forest Gate, became its Secretary.

A memorial address was submitted to Queen Victoria seeking her assistance as the 'Guardian and Trustee of the rights and liberties of your faithful subjects now infringed by the enclosures that have been made in Epping Forest'. Further protest meetings, organised by the Forest Fund, were held in the open air at Woodford Green and Loughton, and in the Town Halls of Stratford, Walthamstow, Poplar, Shoreditch and Hackney; at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, in the Central Hall, Bishopsgate, and at St James's Hall, Piccadilly.

A newspaper report of the meeting held at Stratford Town Hall in October 1871 stated that 'the hall was crowded in every part, and the most intense feelings were exhibited on behalf of the objects of the Fund'. In January 1874 W.G. Smith organised a public meeting in the Central Hall, Bishopsgate, at which the Lord Mayor took the Chair.

The Forest Fund was extremely well organised and supported by people of influence. Two among many names should be mentioned. First Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (1837-1915), and secondly his brother Edward North Buxton (1840-1924); both became Verderers, Edward North Buxton serving in that office for 44 years.

When the battle had been won, the Forest Fund was consulted by the Government in the drafting of the recommendations for the Final Report of the Epping Forest Commissioners, and the subsequent Epping Forest Act.

A detailed record of the activities of the Forest Fund was kept by Septimus Morris of Walthamstow. He was a member of the Committee of the Fund and a tireless worker in raising funds for its work. His

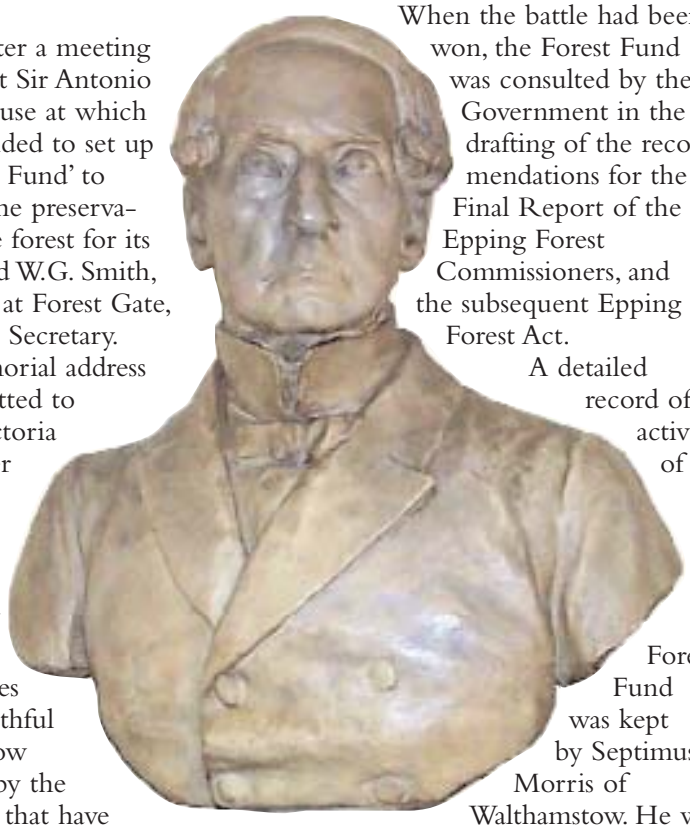


Plate 7. Bust of John Bedford. (By permission of the Conservators of Epping Forest.)

scrapbook of letters, press cuttings, pamphlets and reports of the Fund is held in the Archives Department of the London Borough of Waltham Forest, at the Vestry House Museum.[12]

Sir Antonio Brady was first elected a Verderer of Epping Forest in 1871 and he was one of the first four Verderers appointed under the Epping Forest Act of 1878. When he died in 1881, the Epping Forest Committee of the Corporation of London passed a resolution at its meeting in January 1882 placing on record 'its appreciation of the services rendered by Antonio Brady to the cause of the preservation of Epping Forest, and his sincere desire that the toilers of the East End of London should not be deprived of so noble a recreation ground'. The names of Antonio Brady and W.G. Smith must be joined to the Epping Forest Fund in any list of organisations and people who were at the forefront in saving Epping Forest.

The City of London Corporation

On 25th May 1871, John Thomas Bedford (1812-1900) (Plate 7), a member of the Court of Common Council of the City of London Corporation proposed a Resolution at the monthly meeting of the Court: 'That a Committee be appointed to seek a conference with her Majesty's ministers, to ascertain on what terms and conditions the Corporation can secure to the people, for purposes of public health and recreation, those parts of Epping Forest which have not been enclosed with the assent of the Crown or by legal means'. The motion was seconded by Mr Pedler, the Chief Commoner, and was carried unanimously.[13]

The City Corporation moved quickly to establish contact with the newly formed Epping Forest Fund and in July a deputation from the Finance Committee of the Corporation met members of the Fund at the Coach and Horses in Stratford Broadway.

Bedford's first meeting with a member of the Government was not encouraging, and it was decided that the City Corporation would initiate a suit in Chancery against 16 of the 19 lords of the manors adjoining the forest, claiming the right of common of pasture over the whole of the waste lands of the forest. The Corporation was able to do this as, in 1854, they had purchased Aldersbrook Farm, which was to become the City of London Cemetery, and this gave them Commoners' rights. The City was fortunate that in preparing papers for the action they had the skill and untiring energy of Sir Thomas Nelson (1826-1885) (Plate 8), the City Solicitor, who as we shall see played a vital role in the legal negotiations over the following seven years.

A further Act of Parliament in 1872 suspended all other legal actions that were pending, until the outcome of the City Corporation's action was known, and also gave the Epping Forest Commissioners the right to make orders prohibiting any further inclosures of any land within the Forest.[14]

It was not until 1874 that the suit in Chancery brought by the Corporation of London was settled, when the Master of the Rolls, Sir George Jessel, gave judgement in favour of the plaintiff, as a result of which the fences had to come down and any forest waste enclosed since 1851, had to be returned to the unenclosed forest (Fig.1) Jessel's name is remembered in Jessel Drive in Debden.

While the suit in Chancery was proceeding, the Epping Forest Commissioners continued to take evidence and in July 1872 spent five days perambulating the Forest in the company of John Bedford and the City Solicitor, and the Committee of the Epping Forest Fund. Bedford was later to comment that the sherry provided by HM's Government to accompany the Commissioners alfresco lunch was 'the greatest rubbish I had ever tasted, and very different to what we were

Plate 8. Sir Thomas Nelson, City Solicitor. (Author's collection.)

accustomed to drink at the Mansion House'. Bedford added that he had a hereditary interest in Epping Forest, as his great-grandfather kept an inn at Epping in about 1730.

A couple of weeks after the publication of the formal judgement by the Master of the Rolls in November 1874, the Coal, Corn and Finance Committee of the City Corporation paid a formal visit to the Forest, and spent the greater part of the day in going over some of the principal portions of it. In the evening the Corporation Committee gave a dinner at the Castle Hotel, Woodford, to which Sir Antonio Brady, Mr Edward North Buxton and many members of the Committee of the Forest Fund were invited.[15]

In October 1875 another visit was paid to the Forest by the Corporation. The purpose of the visit was to give Members of the Corporation, the House of Commons and House of Lords, an opportunity to see the beauty of the Forest and to get to know it better. The Lord Mayor led the visit, and the procession was made up of 149 carriages. A special train took guests from Liverpool Street to Snaresbrook, where they were met by carriages, and proceeded via Woodford, Buckhurst Hill, Loughton and the Wake

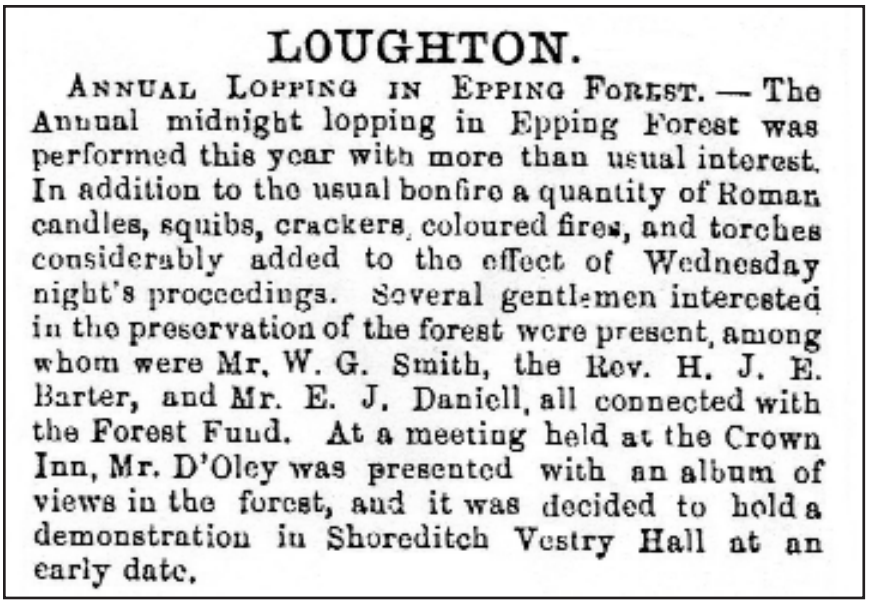
Arms, to Fairmead Lodge, where lunch was taken 'in an immense marquee'. The Forest Fund presented the Lord Mayor, David Stone, with a handsome album of photographic views of the Forest.[16]

The number of witnesses appearing before the Commissioners and the evidence given are all recorded and run to several thousands of pages. Sir Thomas Nelson, the City Solicitor gave evidence over four days in 1876, and his speech was subsequently published in a 94 page booklet, including a large map.[17] The names of Robert Hunter, assistant City Solicitor, and William Richard Fisher, junior counsel, should be added to that of Nelson, as they contributed to the Corporation's evidence to the Epping Forest Commission and the suit in Chancery. In 1887 Fisher's seminal work on the history of the Forest of Essex was published.[18]

The Corporation of London had spent several hundred thousand pounds in legal fees, and in purchasing the manorial rights of the forest waste from the lords of the manors so that by the time the Epping Forest Act of 1878 came into force, the City were both conservators and owners of the Forest. The City of London Corporation, coupled with John Bedford must therefore be included in the nominations for saviour of Epping Forest.

Other Protesters

The newspaper report of the Commons Preservation Society meeting at High Beach in 1867 mentioned a man named Burney. This was George Burney (1819-1885), a tank maker from Millwall, who purchased a property in Loughton to give him commoners' rights. He was very active in the cause, and was instrumental in breaking down some of the fences that had been 'illegally' erected by the lords of the manor. Later he was compensated by the City of London for the legal costs he incurred in defending the forest as an unenclosed open space.



LOUGHTON.

ANNUAL LOPPING IN EPPING FOREST. — The Annual midnight lopping in Epping Forest was performed this year with more than usual interest. In addition to the usual bonfire a quantity of Roman candles, squibs, crackers, coloured fires, and torches considerably added to the effect of Wednesday night's proceedings. Several gentlemen interested in the preservation of the forest were present, among whom were Mr. W. G. Smith, the Rev. H. J. E. Barter, and Mr. E. J. Daniell, all connected with the Forest Fund. At a meeting held at the Crown Inn, Mr. D'Oley was presented with an album of views in the forest, and it was decided to hold a demonstration in Shoreditch Vestry Hall at an early date.

Fig. 1. The Notice for the commencement of Lopping in 1874, following the judgement of the Master of the Rolls in favour of the plaintiff - the City of London. (Author's collection.)

Another person who was vociferous in his opposition to enclosures was John Maynard (1802-1871), a schoolmaster, who lived at Theydon Bois. In 1860 he published his *Concise History of Epping Forest*. In fact this was a polemic against the enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, rather than a history of the forest.

Henry Selwin-Ibbetson (1826-1902) was an Essex MP who lived at Down Hall near Hatfield Broad Oak.[19] He took an interest in Epping Forest and was the government minister who successfully piloted the Epping Forest Bill through the House of Commons in 1878.

Recognition

In 1880 a testimonial Fund was raised in appreciation of the work done by representatives of the Corporation of London, the old Verderers Court, and the Forest Fund, in saving the forest. At a lunch held in a pavilion erected in the grounds of the Forest Hotel at Chingford in June 1880, W.G. Smith, Secretary of the Epping Forest Fund received an engraved coffee and tea service and tray and a gold watch. George Palmer representing the Verderers received a silver tea tray engraved and chased in the highest style of the art of the early Italian period. John Bedford representing the Corporation of London was presented with a large silver epergne (centre piece for table decoration to hold flowers or fruit) from the base of which sprang an oak tree with three modelled stags. It was left by Bedford in his will to the Corporation of London and is in the collection today at Mansion House. George Burney also received a silver epergne from a separate testimonial fund. Others, including Sir Thomas Nelson, the City Solicitor, received an illuminated address thanking them for their services.

In 1882 Queen Victoria visited the Forest and dedicated it to the public. This was slightly inaccurate as she had never owned Epping Forest; she only had the right to hunt deer in it, which she never did! A mural of the visit can be seen today in County Hall at Chelmsford, recording the event.

In conclusion I have only given an outline of the parts played by five major and a few minor individuals and organisations in saving Epping Forest in the nineteenth century. They all had the one common interest in seeing the preservation of an ancient woodland for the recreation and enjoyment of the

people. It must be added that without the judgment of Sir George Jessel in 1874, confirming the right of intercommonage across the length and breadth of the forest, their efforts might have been in vain. Today Epping Forest has been restored to over 6,000 acres of woodland, heathland and grasslands, with a further 1,800 acres of mainly farmland surrounding the forest.[20]

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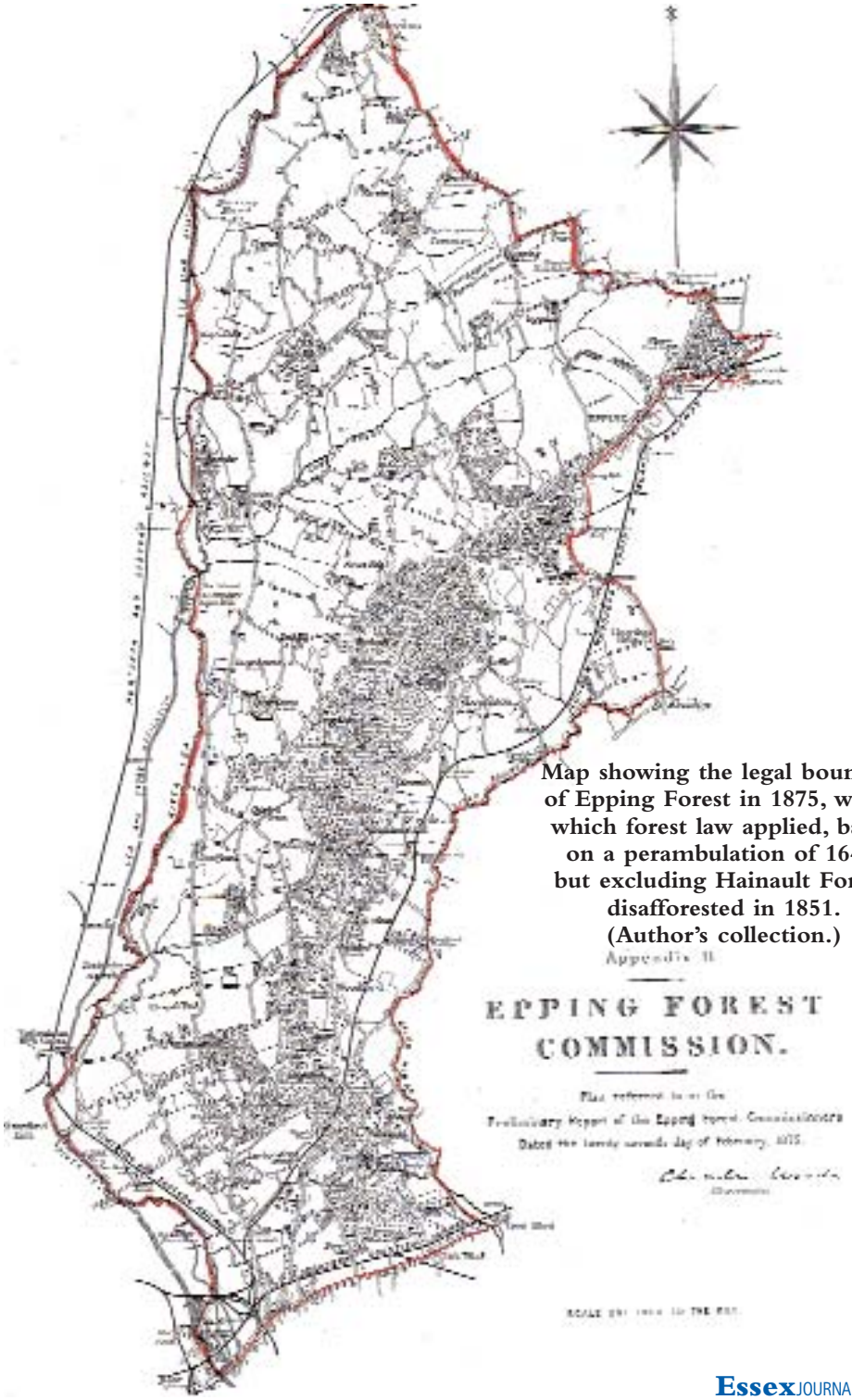
20. For further information about Epping Forest see: http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/eppingforest.

The Author

Since retiring twelve years ago from a career in the City, Richard Morris has devoted much time to researching and writing about the history of south-west Essex. He holds the ancient office of Verderer of Epping Forest, and has written a history of the verderers from 1250-2000. His biographies of the Harvey and Lloyd families of Rolls Park, Chigwell, have also been published.



Map showing the legal boundary of Epping Forest in 1875, within which forest law applied, based on a perambulation of 1641, but excluding Hainault Forest, disafforested in 1851. (Author's collection.)

Colchester's Lock Hospital, 1869-86

by

Jane Pearson and Maria Rayner[1]

The 1851 census shows Colchester had a population of 19,443. Five years later, approximately 1,700 soldiers arrived in the town. After a period of over 40 years, Colchester was once more a garrison town.[2] The arrival of the military encouraged newcomers into the locality – entrepreneurs looking for new business opportunities including, as suggested in the minutes of the Colchester Watch Committee, 'camp followers of the worst kind.'[3] The garrison offered new opportunities for service providers but it was also responsible for a significant and increasing health problem (venereal disease) which resulted in a new institution for the town – the Lock Hospital in Port Lane, completed in 1869 and operative until 1886. This was an institution that kept a low profile while it was a hospital and whose original purpose was soon forgotten once venereal disease (VD)could be properly diagnosed and treated from early in the twentieth century. This article explains why the Lock Hospital was built and the contribution it made to soldiers' health and female suffrage.

Life for the common soldier in the nineteenth century was often brutish and violent. One among the many reasons for this was the army's reluctance to allow soldiers the right to marry. Army regulations stated that only 7% of lower ranking service men were allowed permission to marry, the decision being at the discretion of the commanding officer. The Secretary of State for War commented in 1857 that there was 'no reason why soldiers should marry during their period of service in the army'.[4] Married men were not enlisted, supporters of this regulation maintaining that the army was an institution for young unmarried men (to allow for an easy amassment of troops). However, the army in this period was disinclined to insist that unmarried soldiers were celibate.

The garrison provided only limited recreational facilities for off-duty soldiers and many chose to look for alternative leisure opportunities in the town. Public houses in the St Botolph area rose to the challenge of entertaining soldiers. Some of the saloons, drinking establishments and theatres also served as facilities for prostitution and there were a number of brothels in that part of town, some identifiable on census returns although not named as such. The thriving soldier-prostitute business acted as an effective conduit for the spread of VD.[5]

Pearsall argues that the army authorities tended to regard service men infected with VD with indifference and that army officers assumed that the common soldier would sooner or later contract venereal infection.[6] Despite this attitude, the 1857 Royal Commission Report on the health of the army considered the effect of VD on service men.[7] It collected information on its prevalence among troops, highlighting how frequently soldiers and sailors concealed their affliction, making treatment severe and a cure more difficult. In 1862 an Army medical report provided more worrying statistics on the occurrence and effect of this disease among soldiers. It said that the ratio per 1,000 of mean strength of service men suffering from VD in Colchester was particularly high at 464. In comparison,

> 'the number (elsewhere) constantly sick in hospital with venereal disease was 1,739, or 22.24 per 1,000 per mean strength. The admissions into hospital by these diseases were…330 per 1,000. From these data we deduce the average duration of cases to have been 24.61 days, and the total inefficiency from these cases to have been equal to the loss of the services of every man in the Home force for 8.12 days or the constant loss

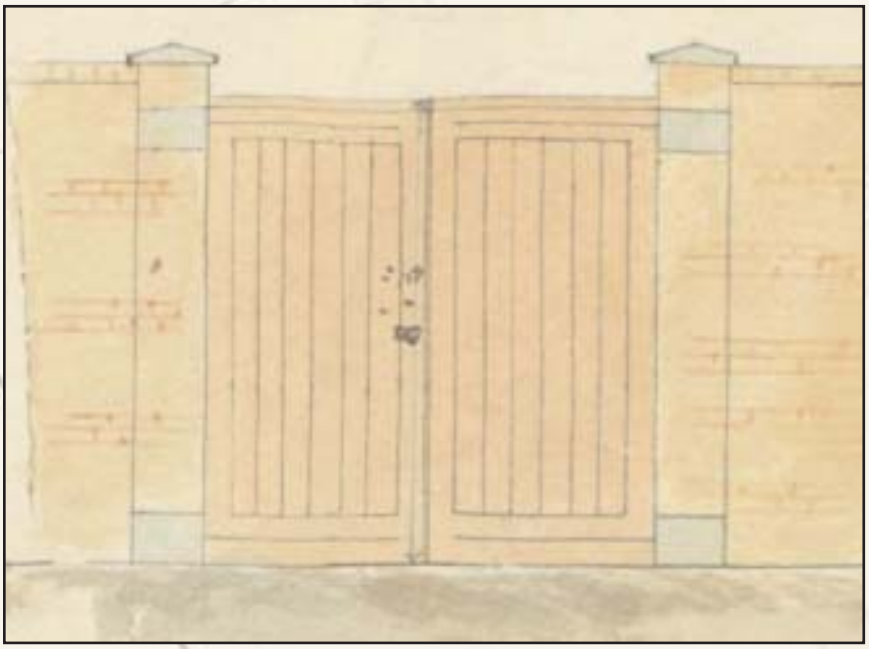


Plate 1. Detail of the main gate from the plan of the Lock Hospital, 1867. (Reproduced by courtesy of The National Archives, WO 78/2881.)

of upwards of two regiments for the whole year'.

Colchester garrison had the worst record in this report, with almost half of its servicemen at any time debilitated by VD.[8] The army could not ignore such evidence.

The first of three Contagious Diseases Acts (CDAs), passed in 1864, was a desperate attempt to reduce VD among soldiers and sailors – a disease for which there was as yet no diagnostic test and no safe medical remedy.[9] The CDAs empowered police to arrest women whom they thought were prostitutes in selected ports or army towns (such as Colchester) and to compel them to undergo a medical examination. If they were found to have symptoms of VD they were to be placed in a locked hospital until cured.[10] The aim of the Act was to protect soldiers and sailors from infected women; it made no reference to protecting women from infected men.[11]

As a garrison town, Colchester was obliged to respond to the Act which identified the parishes of St. Botolph, St Giles, St Mary at the Wall, Holy Trinity, St Runwalds and St Peter's in its schedule. The assumption was that the voluntary Essex and Colchester Hospital in Lexden Road (which had opened its doors in 1820) would accept patients under the Act, but the Hospital Board refused outright to take venereal patients. The Parliamentary Committee was told 'there was a clause in the regulations of the hospital that no contagious disease should be admitted'. The Infirmary attached to St Mary's Union Workhouse already had a foul ward at the back of its site but, under the New Poor Law of 1834, it drew the line at accepting prostitutes as patients unless they were paupers.[12] So in Colchester the only option was to lease or build a Lock Hospital to comply with the Act.

In accordance with the CDAs, the Lock Hospital was funded by the War Department and policed by officers from the Metropolitan Police. The War Office plans of the building, drawn up in July and September 1867 (Plate 3, over leaf) by a military officer from the Royal Engineers show the drill field site in Port Lane, subdivided into four unequally sized quarters surrounded for at least some of its perimeter by a wall nine feet high. The two larger quarters were where the patients lived and worked, the two smaller quarters were where the staff lived and where a small number of patients were segregated and all were admitted. All the buildings were single storey built of brick in plain military style. There was no entrance hall, just a solid wooden gate (Plate 1) leading into a yard. An open corridor allowing staff to oversee the whole campus ran through the middle of the site. It cost £6,719 to erect and provided beds for 24 patients.[13] The prison aspect of the hospital is clear to see in the high perimeter wall, the postern gate, the admission block where porter, policeman, doctor and nurse all had reception rooms, the small 'isolation' block where disruptive patients could be segregated, the central open-sided corridor, the airing yards and the laundry block where the recovering patients worked. Its first patient inmates arrived in late January 1869.

There are no surviving nursing or admission records for the Lock Hospital. Nevertheless it is possible to discover some information about its staff and patients and its standing in the town from the records that remain – the plans, photographs and magistrate records and some opinions and reports written by the medics and clergy.

Imprisoning the patients – the role of the Metropolitan police officers

In the 1860s hospital care in England was financed either by fees paid by patients, by charitable subscriptions or, as Union infirmaries and asylums, through the Poor Law. But the Lock Hospital system was financed by the state, specifically the War Office, (who also provided the military surgeon, the nursing staff and the chaplain), and the Metropolitan Police. Colchester's medical men and police officers, with their local knowledge of the town, were not involved.[14] The Metropolitan Police provided two men to patrol prostitution in the town and a third to oversee the daily management of the prison hospital. William Jones was Colchester's Metropolitan Police inspector for the Lock Hospital in 1871. His assistants were John Knott, stationed at the Barrack Ground, and Benjamin Rake, resident gatekeeper of the Lock Hospital.

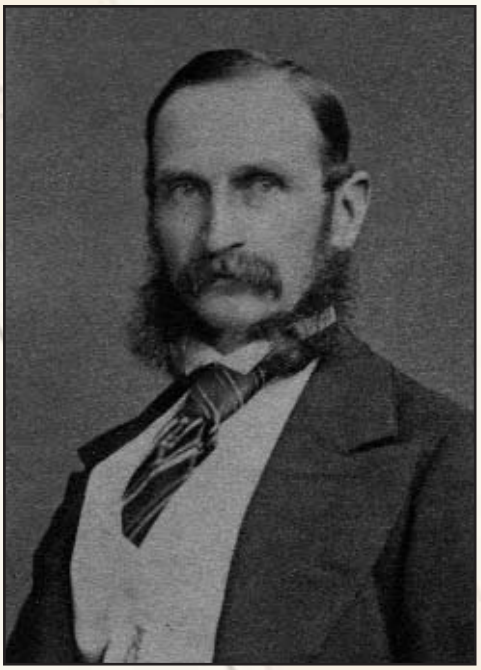


Plate 2. Mr Edward Waylen, medical officer at Colchester's Lock Hospital, 1869- 1881. (Photograph by courtesy of the Colchester Medical Society.)

PC Rake and his family lived in two rooms in the examination block. His windows looked into yards on either side of the building. In one yard was the dead house (mortuary building) and a WC marked 'patients'.[15] Rake's task was to open the gate to prostitutes brought in by his colleagues from the pubs and brothels of the town, to keep order in the admissions block waiting room, and to ensure against escapes by patients.[16]

Medical and nursing care of the patients

A survey of medical literature of the 1850s and 60s reveals that VD was a recurrent topic and that doctors were discussing the progression of symptoms, the effects of heredity, military aspects and effective treatments. The unlucky patient passed directly from primary to secondary forms of the disease, suffering and dying from the symptoms of acute syphilis in a short period of time. But most survived the primary symptoms and waited years before the disease reappeared in its final form. They were considered to have been cured and were released from treatment in a matter of weeks. Some doctors experimented with new ideas such as inoculation and mercury administered through steam; others discussed ways of dealing with the side effects of mercury poisoning. Most practitioners put their trust in mercury applied orally or directly to a lesion, its poisonous effects reduced with sarsaparilla and chlorate of potash.[17]

Edward Waylen (Plate 2), the medical superintendant of Colchester's Lock Hospital from January 1869, reported his work in confident tones.[18] He claimed that the prostitutes learned to submit to the medical inspections that the law required and that, in addition to improving their health, the hospital also had a beneficial effect on their morals and behaviour. They became 'cleaner' and more 'chaste' in their language. In the first five months of the hospital's existence, Mr Waylen selected 124 of the women he examined for his informal register of Colchester's prostitutes. This number soon reduced to 98, only 77 of whom were diseased. The hospital had 25 beds (one more than in the plans) and the committee to whom he reported did not press him to explain these numbers in any more detail. Presumably prostitutes who were diseased but not in the hospital were living in the town and subjected to the fortnightly

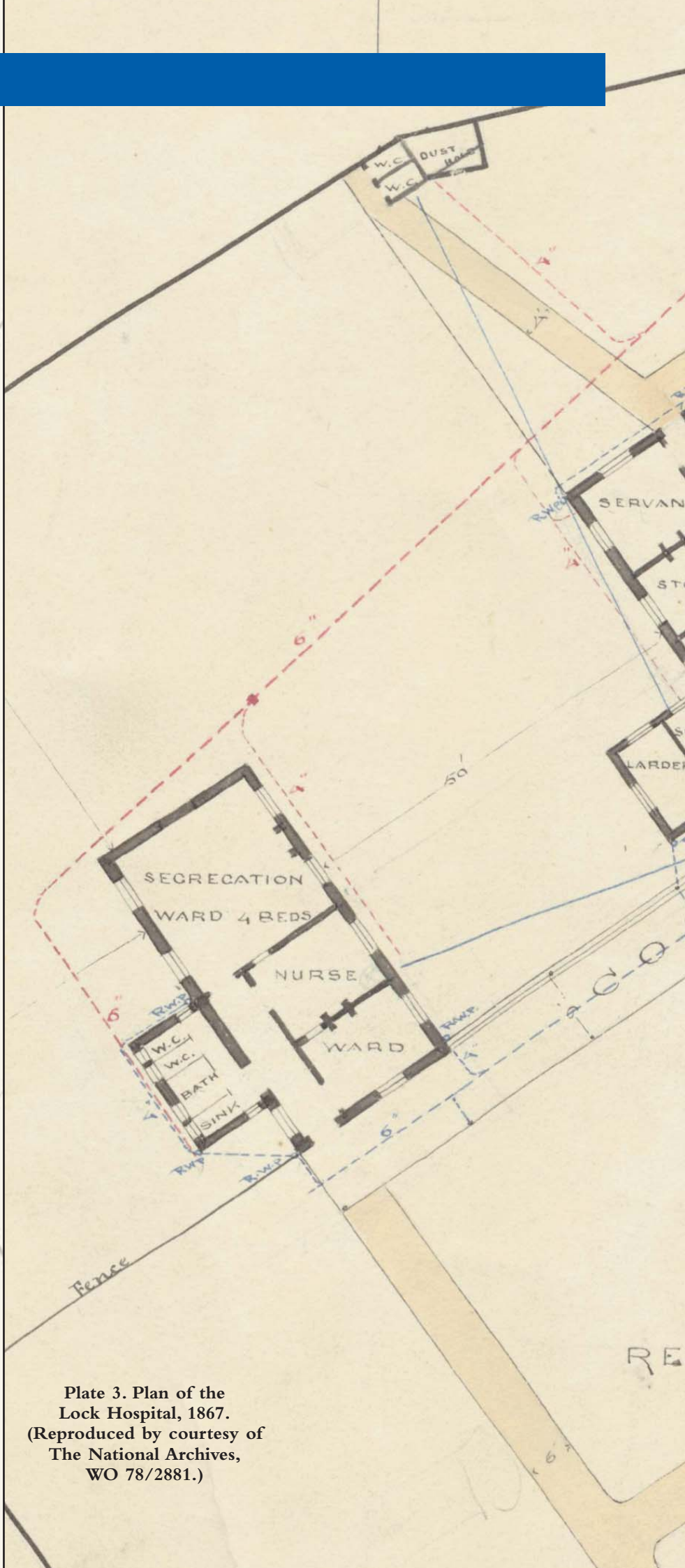


Plate 3. Plan of the Lock Hospital, 1867. (Reproduced by courtesy of The National Archives, WO 78/2881.)


PORTERS QRS.
WOMEN'S
POLICE ROOM
ROOM
BATH
STORE
EXAMINING
ROOM
LOBBY.
DEAD H°
SERVANT
OFFICE
MATRON'S
QUARTER
STORE
KITCHEN.
DISPENSARY
SCULLERY
SURGERY
NURSE
WARD
20 BEDS
BATH
W.C
W.C
S.
R.W.P.

medical examinations until symptoms reappeared.[19]

The point of the CDAs was, according to Dr Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, to prevent diseased prostitutes from plying their trade. But the Lock Hospital was only successful if it reduced the numbers of soldiers suffering from venereal disease. Mr Waylen tried to claim this initially by saying that cases were becoming 'milder' by which he presumably meant they needed less time in hospital. But he found non-medical reasons to explain how it was that Colchester garrison's record of the incidence of venereal disease did not initially improve. He suggested it was due to 'camp followers of fresh regiments' and to prostitutes commuting to Colchester from Ipswich. He also identified some clandestine prostitution among 'young women who work at the factories and machine works' in the town. Pregnant prostitutes were a problem too since the Lock Hospital could not cater for them at all - 'it would alter the arrangements of the hospital very much – there is no hospital accommodation for them, we should require extra nurses and separate wards'.[20]

Mr Waylen treated an average of 23 patients in the Lock Hospital at any one time – at least in the first year. The censuses of 1871 and 1881 show numbers had by then fallen to 10 and 15 patients respectively. He also subjected his registered prostitutes to fortnightly medical examinations and he cared for the soldiers' health by inspecting them each week for venereal symptoms and dealing with their other health problems in the garrison medical quarters.[21] In the Lock Hospital he worked in the large medical room in the examining block and the surgery and dispensary rooms in the main ward.

As for the nursing staff, in the initial plan, Matron had two rooms for herself plus an office and a kitchen, scullery and larder over the corridor from the ward block but there were also two servant rooms in her little house. However, by the time the detailed plans were prepared two months later, one of the servant rooms had become a 'bedroom' and the other a 'living room', both under the rubric 'quarters' suggesting perhaps that Matron shared her house with another nurse or a cook-housekeeper. Presumably the July plan envisaged two servants for the whole hospital ensuring, with the help of some of the patients, that the premises were kept clean and the meals prepared and cleared away. But maybe by September's more detailed plans it had been decided that all the domestic work in the hospital including the laundry could be done by the patients rather than by servants. This would suggest that matron and whoever shared her house must have extended their role to supervision of domestic work in addition to nursing, attending the doctors, ordering supplies and so on. Again, this was usual in hospitals of the time, and it supports the Matron's subsequent comment that the hospital was hard work.

Food preparation was done in the large kitchen, scullery and storage areas in Matron's quarters opposite the main ward, but where the nurses ate is not clear. Perhaps the 'living room' in matron's quarters was used as a staff room for eating and socialising. There is no dining hall or day room for the patients either. Perhaps there was a table in the main ward although this is not suggested on the plan.

Another staff duty was ordering, storing and distributing hospital stores – linen, clothing, soap, food, medical supplies and fuel. There were several storerooms on the site. The examination block's small storeroom was equipped with shelves. Matron's house had a 'medical comforts and utensil' store and a 'bedding and clean linen' store. The former room had shelves and a press cupboard while the other had slatted shelves marked 'racks for beds' and 'racks for bolsters'. There was a 'larder and provision' store with shelving on three walls in a lean-to behind the hospital scullery (equipped with plate rack) in matron's house. Perhaps surprisingly, the dispensary room had no built in storage facilities. It is unclear whether medicines were prepared on site or bought in.

Other members of staff appear in the census records. In1871 the hospital housed a matron – Maria Langridge - and two nurses, Martha Croaker and Martha Barnes. There was also a cook, Ellen Eagle, and her husband William, the hospital porter. In 1881 there were three nursing staff – Matron Emily Roche and nurses Martha Tarnes and Elizabeth Blow - but no ancillary staff. Both censuses showed a reduction in patient numbers suggesting that there was less need for ancillary staff and also more room for staff. Of the six nurses named above, four had been recruited from some distance. This suggests either the hospital's desire for privacy or the difficulty of finding staff with the special abilities needed for a prison hospital. Miss Mackey was the last matron to work at the Lock Hospital (1883-87). In an interview in the nursing press she said it had been 'very hard training, but terribly hard work'. She left Colchester in 1887 for the position of night sister at the Royal London Hospital.[22]

The prostitute patients

The women who were forcibly admitted to the Lock Hospital, because they were displaying symptoms of VD, stayed there for at least three months under lock and key. They were either arrested by a policeman while they were working, or they were admitted after a routine medical inspection. The hospital had an examination block where the women waited to be seen by Mr Waylen. They were admitted to the hospital from Matron's waiting room in the same block. Each incoming patient was stripped of her clothes before being bathed and hospital regulation garments provided.

The prison face of the hospital was plain to see. The examination block was connected to the ward by an iron-roofed passageway, which was otherwise open to the elements, forming a vantage point to scan the whole site. All the staff had some private space but the patients had none beyond a WC cubicle. If the attitude of the staff was benign, this surveillance might be part of a cosy domesticity but if the staff authority was officious then this constant low level of surveillance could have raised antagonism on site.[23]

The hospital buildings as drawn on the plan have a cheap and flimsy appearance similar to the remaining single storey buildings on Colchester's garrison site. The only buildings with cavity wall construction[24] were the main ward and the segregation ward. In the 20 bed main ward there were five windows on each side and about a bed's width between each bed. The passage down the middle of the ward would have been a little more than eight feet wide.[25] At the entrance end of the ward was the door with a glass pane above and two observation windows from the nurse's room and the scullery. At the other end of the ward was a door leading into a lean-to containing bath, three washbasins, two WCs and a slop sink. Everything was no doubt kept clean and the level of comfort was comparable to the Union infirmary.

The patients would have received the routine mercury-based treatments and some may have shown symptoms of mercury poisoning for which they would have received medical and nursing care. No doubt Mr Waylen would also have considered their general state of health, perhaps ordering a better diet than they were used to or addressing additional health problems arising from poor living conditions. In addition to health care they would also have been persuaded – probably by a system of privileges - to modify their behaviour and language and to cease prostitution.

Given that the early plans of the hospital make room for two servants who were not accommodated in later plans it is likely that the patients were expected to fill this role, no doubt assisting with the cleaning, cooking and laundry work just as they did in the Union workhouse. There is some suggestion that attempts were made to separate some women 'as far as possible from those yet lower than herself'.[26] The separate four-bedded unit in the hospital grounds may have been used for this purpose. Perhaps for some women, several weeks' imprisonment in the Lock Hospital, being housed and fed at public expense, was preferable to life as a common prostitute. Conservative medical opinion certainly expressed this view. But for others the lack of male company and alcohol may well have been an additional punishment. It was always hoped that some patients would be turned from their immoral lives and be rescued in a local reformatory.

The local newspaper reported that two patients – Sophia Bacon (19) and Lucy Clark (17) of Nevill Yard, Colchester, had been charged with escaping from the Lock Hospital. Both women had been patients for less than two weeks and both had been patients there before. They had simply climbed over the nine foot wall and got away. Shortly afterwards they were found in a drunken state in Butt Road still wearing their hospital clothes in the company of soldiers. The Borough Court magistrates were inclined to be merciful for which they were thanked by Sophia and Lucy 'in an impudent manner'. The women escaped a prison sentence and were returned to the hospital to complete their cure.[27] Colchester's authorities could afford to be lenient about an institution for which they were not in any way responsible. In returning the errant women to the Lock Hospital, rather than sending them for a spell of hard labour in the local gaol, the town authorities were both protecting men and also subjecting the young and friendless women to boredom, humiliation and 'ultimate coarsening' in the hospital.[28]

The Lock Hospital chaplain, the Rev George Dacre, made a quarterly return to the War Office in 1869 on the 43 women who had been discharged from the hospital since it opened. Twenty three had gone back to work in the streets; three went to gaol, two to the Union workhouse, three were sent to reformatories and 12 to friends. Only one - Rebecca Gorman (23) - was given refuge locally, being sent to the town's Home for Fallen Women probably because she was pregnant.[29] Although census records give the names of patients and staff in the Lock Hospital in 1871 and 1881, it is difficult to trace the women subsequently as they lived precarious and rootless lives. Emily Brown (29) was a patient in 1871. In 1881 she is recorded as head of a household in Lottery Alley, Vineyard Street. Her occupation is not given. She was sharing her household with a male labourer (34) and a female (22). Since this was an area of Colchester where prostitutes operated it suggests that Emily, then 40, may have returned to her former trade.[30]

The Politics of the Lock Hospital

Army health statistics quoted earlier showed the high rates of VD among the soldiers at Colchester garrison in the 1860s so it is clear to see why action was taken although less clear perhaps is the rationale for imprisoning only women with the disease.

Elizabeth Garrett Anderson was reported by a local newspaper to be 'decidedly in favour' of the CDAs. In her view, not only was it an effective way of saving some faithful wives from venereal diseases, but it could also assist 'fallen' women to regain a better way of life. However, feminists, such as Josephine Butler and

Elizabeth Wolstenholme, disagreed fundamentally with an Act that they felt unfairly targeted women. They formed the Association for the Repeal of the CDA and began a tireless campaign of awareness raising through public speaking tours and lobbying for repeal of the Act. They also vigorously supported Parliamentary election candidates who wanted the Act repealed.[31]

Some were also doubtful about the CDAs on other grounds. Robert Stainton Ellis, a Methodist minister living in Colchester, who had occupied a ministry in Portsmouth in 1854-57, wrote of the 'scandalous, pestiferous and miserable operation of these Acts', observing that any sanitary advantages were destroyed by their 'demoralising operations'.[32] His comments show evidence of local resistance if not outright opposition to the Lock Hospital even among medical and military men who might be assumed to support the idea of controlling prostitution.[33] It is possible that the 'demoralising operations' referred to soldiers as much as to prostitutes since there was a widespread acceptance in the military that it was not conducive to health for unmarried soldiers to live celibate lives.

Some felt that this was a negative approach to the problem and that sexual promiscuity should be under attack rather than the sick prostitute. Given the outrage expressed by some at the CDAs, and the local aggravation paraded in Colchester as a result, it is interesting to note that the Lock Hospital closed in 1886, the year that the CDAs were repealed. Myland Hospital for infectious diseases, which included a ward for venereal patients, opened in 1884.[34] The opening of Myland Hospital placed the cost of caring for such patients firmly into the remit of Colchester town's budget although the military hospital no doubt retained responsibility for its venereal soldiers.

What became of the Lock Hospital after it closed its doors to prostitutes in 1886? The 1891 census shows it as a hospital for Soldiers' Wives and Children, a facility which Matron Mackey no doubt helped to organise before she left Colchester. In 1911, perhaps just for the duration of the First World War, it was an army recruiting office and in 1928 it was sold and renovated as a social club for the local engineering works. Most of the site has now been demolished and redeveloped. All that now remains of this special institution is two sides of the enclosing wall (Plates 4 & 5).

Plate 4. A surviving portion of the nine foot perimiter wall. (Author's photograph, 2011.)

References

1. This paper is based on a prize-winning undergraduate dissertation; Maria J Rayner, 'How did the Contagious Diseases Act affect the garrison town of Colchester?' (unpublished dissertation, University of Essex, 2010).
2. A.F.F.H. Robertson, 'The Army in Colchester and it Influence on the Social, Economic and Political Development of the Town 1854-1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Essex, 1991), pp.52, 114-116.
3. Essex Record Office (ERO), D/B 6 M27/3, Colchester Borough, Minutes of Watch Committee (signed), 03/06/1840-22/06/1857
4. Robertson, p.67.
5. Ibid., pp.77-79, 104.
6. R. Pearsall, *Night's Black Angel: The forms and faces of Victorian cruelty*, (London, 1975), p.195.
7. P. Cox, 'Compulsion, Voluntarism, and Venereal Disease: Governing Sexual Health in England after the Contagious Diseases Acts', *Journal of British Studies*, 46, (January, 2007), pp.91–115.
8. Army Medical Department Statistical, Sanitary and Medical Reports for the year 1862. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1864, XXXVI: 89, p.12.
9. In the nineteenth century mercury was the commonest remedy. Two more CDAs were passed in 1866 & 1869.
10. The bacterium causing syphilis was discovered in the 1870s and the Wassermann test to identify its presence in the body was produced in 1905. The first anti bacterial drug against syphilis – Salvarsan – was marketed from 1910. Colney Hatch Asylum in Essex first used the test in 1912 and discovered that 10% of its male patients were suffering from tertiary syphilis.
11. The CDAs were suspended in 1883 and repealed in 1886.
12. In 1860 a lock ward was established in the Colchester Union Workhouse with a grant of £50 from the government 'for the fallen women who always congregate in the vicinity of the camp.' Robertson, p.131.

Plate 5. The Lock Hospital when it was a social club, *c.*1960. (Photo in the possession of M. Rayner.)

13. The National Archives, WO 78/2881, Colchester Plans, elevations and sections of Lock Hospital, 1867.
14. In October 1860, the former and notably corrupt Old Dockyard Force was taken over by the Metropolitan Police to police such major ports as Woolwich, Portsmouth, Devonport, Sheerness and Chatham. It was considered practical to add the other towns included in the CDAs to this portfolio. We are grateful to Mr Chris Forester for sharing his unpublished researches into the Aldershot Lock Hospital.
15. A search of St Botolph and Colchester Crematorium burial records has not provided evidence of the burial of a Lock Hospital patient.
16. Mrs Brown of Old Heath Road, Colchester who had lived in this block whilst she and her husband were caretakers of the building during its time as a local engineering company's social club, remembered it as a cold dwelling with a high ceiling, perhaps open to the rafters. Interview conducted by the authors in 2010.
17. For an account of 'calomel fumigation see *British Medical Journal* (*BMJ*), 24/04/1858, p.327; for inoculation *BMJ*, 27/08/1859; for mercury poisoning *BMJ*, 22/12/1860.
18. Edward Waylen had an older brother William who was a general practitioner in Colchester in the 1850s. Edward was recorded living with him at the 1851 census and, at the 1871 census, was described as a 'surgeon of militia'. He was a student at St Bartholomew's Hospital 1844-47. (Colchester Medical Society's archive, currently in private hands.)
19. *Report*, the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases Acts, (1869).
20. In the 1869 Select Committee, Mr Waylen referred to a further case, where after one month's imprisonment, a prostitute was found to be pregnant. In this instance, the woman was discharged back to her mother in a severely diseased state without being offered any further treatment. Mr Waylen stated that he was not aware that she was being offered any medical treatment elsewhere. However, the 1881 Census return for Aldershot Lock Hospital, shows one Sarah Bedford as a patient, her occupation prostitute. Her two year old daughter Alice was with her.
21. Select Committee, (1869).
22. *The Nursing Record*, 10, (02/03/1893), p.114.
23. Some evidence of surveillance and antagonism in other lock hospitals can be found in case studies appended to Select Committee Reports.
24. Probably a damp proofing detail rather than to improve insulation; airbricks are let into the cavity at eaves level to improve ventilation of the cavity.
25. The beds of soldiers in the garrison were less than a foot apart. Robertson, p.53.
26. Elizabeth Garrett, 'An Enquiry into the Character of the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1866-1869', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1870, p.11.
27. *Essex County Standard*, 18/11/1870.
28. A.F.J. Brown, *Colchester, 1815-1914*, (Chelmsford, 1980), p.168.
29. Goody identifies a 'Refuge for Unfortunate Females' in Ipswich Road opened in 1860 by Mrs Margaret Round, a local philanthropist who lived in East Hill House. H.W. Goody, *Goody's Colchester Almanac*, (Colchester, 1876), p.35.
30. Emily was several years older than the average Lock Hospital patient. The 1851 census return for Elizabeth Bennett, a householder in Queen Street, describes her as 'governess of a seminary for young ladies' but the enumerator added three exclamation marks to express his scepticism.
31. The disruption caused to the 1870 election in Colchester is recorded at length in the *Essex and West Suffolk Gazette* (*E&W.S.G.*), 04/11/1870.
32. *E&W.S.G.*, 11/11/1870.
33. 'In a number of places…clergy, outraged by the Acts, chaired early suffrage societies and their views of woman's mission and superior moral function helped shape…(a) cautious approach to women's suffrage'. A.V. John & C. Eustace, eds, *The Men's Share? masculinities, male support and women's suffrage in Britain, 1890-1920*, (London, 1997), p.7.
34. Between 1877 and 1921 Colchester Borough also used a hospital ship, moored at the Hythe, for isolating infectious cases: J. Cooper, ed, *A History of the County of Essex*, IX, (Oxford, 1994), pp.284-290.

The Authors

Dr Jane Pearson teaches local history at the University of Essex. She taught Maria Rayner who graduated in 2010. They are currently researching Colchester's response to the CDAs and the lives of the women caught up in this legislation in the mid-nineteenth century.

News From Spain

by

Neil Wiffen

For Chelmsford's residents who read their *Chronicle* on Friday 7th August 1812, some may have noticed news of the arrival of a dispatch from Spain regarding a victory against the French gained on the 22nd July.[1] The following week further news was still awaited.[2] Another week passed before a full dispatch entitled 'Glorious Victory' was printed, almost a month after the battle was fought.[3] Finally all could read about the Battle of Salamanca when an army under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852), Lord Wellington,[4] routed the French army of Marshal Marmont (1774-1852). Wellington's dispatch, reproduced in the *Chelmsford Chronicle*, which had been printed in London six days earlier, listed the capture of much French equipment and many prisoners along with two eagle standards. One of these eagles resides in Chelmsford.

The Napoleonic war with France had many impacts on the population of Essex. As well as providing victuals and recruits to the military, the threat of invasion had created a chain of fortifications to the south of Chelmsford as well as a series of Martello towers along the coast[5] (see book review on page 31). The residents of Chelmsford would have been familiar with the movement of troops about the country, indeed perhaps in wartime they were exposed to those from much further afield than normal: William Surtees took a month in 1799 to march from Corbridge, Northumberland, to Chelmsford, around 300 miles, to join his regiment,[6] while in October 1804, 13 solders from Hanover were killed when the stables they were billeted in, to the rear of the Spotted Dog pub, caught fire.[7]

Although the naval victory at Trafalgar in October 1805 had reduced the threat of invasion the French still controlled much of Europe. How to strike back? When the peoples of Spain and Portugal rose up against the French it was decided to send troops to assist and British soldiers started arriving in the Iberian Peninsula in 1808. One of the units reinforcing the British army was the 2nd Battalion of the the 44th (East Essex) Regiment (2/44th), which reached Lisbon in October 1810 with around 550 officers and men.[8] The battalion took part in many of the operations undertaken by the army over the course of the next 18 months and by September 1811 its strength had decreased to 392.[9] By the end of 1811 the army was ready to leave its winter quarters in Portugal and take the war to the French in Spain.

Wellington's initial plan was to capture the important border fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, both of which guarded routes into Spain.[10] The former fell by storming after an 11 day siege in January 1812 while Badajoz was taken in April. The 2/44th played a major part in this operation, along with its sister battalions in Brigadier-General Walker's Brigade.[11] Having sustained heavy losses while trying to scale 30 foot high walls with 20 foot ladders, a lower 20 foot scarp was discovered which was climbed and the wall taken. Along with other attacks Badajoz was taken but at the cost to the 2/44th of 134 casualties (39 killed and 95 wounded).[12]

Following this operation Wellington moved to liberate Madrid from the French. He had just over 60,000 men (mainly British and Portuguese but also some Spanish) as opposed to the 230,000 French troops spread across the whole of Spain, although he also had the crucial support of the Portuguese and Spanish populations. With the use of diversions and and assistance from guerillas, Wellington was able to advance into Spain with 48,000 men in June 1812.[13] The city of Salamanca, along with a French army, was reached shortly thereafter and following this the French and allies spent time manoeuvring for position. Despite much marching the men of the 2/44th sometimes enjoyed a quieter life such as when bivouacked for a couple of weeks at the beginning of July: 'the weather being fine, the country rich, rations regularly supplied, and wine abundant, the soldiers fared luxuriously'.[14] This could not last and both armies set out to gain position on the other. Wellington, concerned that his line of retreat back to Ciudad Rodrigo might be cut, pulled his army back to positions on the 21st July facing the French to the south of Salamanca.[15]

Attempts by the French to outflank the allied positions began to go awry and Wellington was quick to exploit this. The 2/44th, in the 5th Division, attacked the enemy division opposite it vigorously, assisted by a timely cavalry charge.[16] It was during the final stages of this action that, with the French surrendering, Lieutenant W. Pearce of the 2/44th saw a French officer of the 62nd Regiment 'endeavouring to conceal [its eagle standard] under the grey great-coat he wore over his uniform; Private (afterwards Sergeant) Finley aided in the capture, and the French officer making resistance, was assisted by one of his men, who attacking Pearce with his fixed bayonet, was shot dead by Private Bill Murray, of the 44th light company. Privates Blackburn and Devine, of the same company, had also a hand in the affair'.[17] Battle won, the captured eagle was sent back to Britain, being housed in Whitehall Chapel before being passed to Chelsea College, the Royal Hospital, where it resided

until 1949, when all Napoleonic trophies were returned to the units which had captured them.[18] The Essex Regiment was permitted to add 'Salamanca' to their regimental colour[19] for their part in the great victory and they also adopted the eagle as one of their badges, a tradition which their successor unit, the 1st Battalion the Royal Anglian Regiment, continues.[20]

As the two hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Salamanca approaches go and see the eagle that was captured that day. It is on display at the Essex Regiment Museum which is part of Chelmsford Museum at Oaklands Park and admission is free. Opening times are as follows:

Mondays to Thursdays: 10am to 5pm
Fridays (during school holidays/half terms): 10am to 5pm
Fridays (during term time): Closed
Saturdays: 10am to 5pm
Sundays: 1pm to 4pm
Good Friday, Christmas Day & Boxing Day Closed

T: 01245 605700
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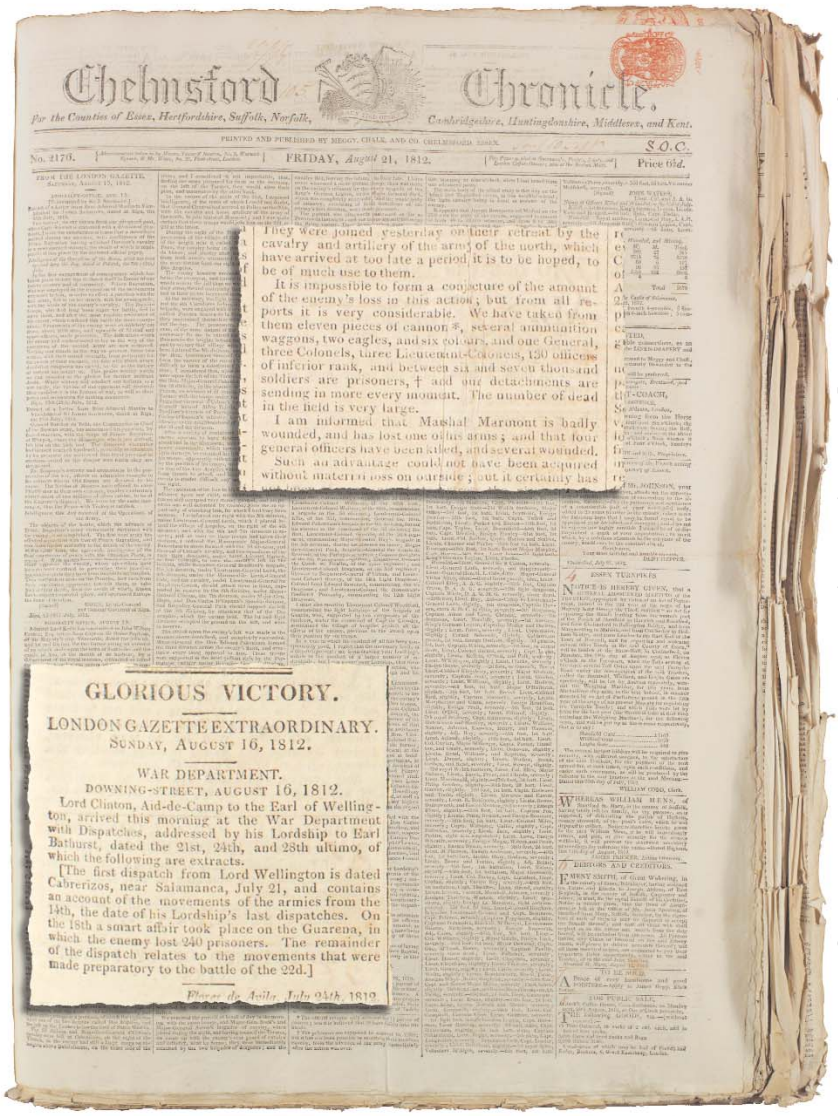
http://www.chelmsford.gov.uk



Chelmsford Chronicle

For the Counties of Essex, Hertfordshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Middlesex, and Kent.

No. 2170. FRIDAY, August 21, 1812. Price 6½d.

They were joined yesterday on their retreat by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the north, which have arrived at too late a period, it is to be hoped, to be of much use to them.

It is impossible to form a conjecture of the amount of the enemy's loss in this action; but from all reports it is very considerable. We have taken from them eleven pieces of cannon *, several ammunition waggons, two eagles, and six colours, and one General, three Colonels, three Lieutenant-Colonels, 130 officers of inferior rank, and between six and seven thousand soldiers are prisoners, † and our detachments are sending in more every moment. The number of dead in the field is very large.

I am informed that Marshal Marmont is badly wounded, and has lost one of his arms; and that four general officers have been killed, and several wounded.

Such an advantage could not have been acquired without material loss on our side; but it certainly has

GLORIOUS VICTORY.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.
SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1812.

WAR DEPARTMENT.
DOWNING-STREET, AUGUST 16, 1812.

Lord Clinton, Aid-de-Camp to the Earl of Wellington, arrived this morning at the War Department with Dispatches, addressed by his Lordship to Earl Bathurst, dated the 21st, 24th, and 28th ultimo, of which the following are extracts.

[The first dispatch from Lord Wellington is dated Cabrerizos, near Salamanca, July 21, and contains an account of the movements of the armies from the 14th, the date of his Lordship's last dispatches. On the 18th a smart affair took place on the Guarena, in which the enemy lost 240 prisoners. The remainder of the dispatch relates to the movements that were made preparatory to the battle of the 22d.]

Chelmsford Chronicle, 21/08/1812. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, D/DGg 15/3.)

The eagle captured by Lt Pearce at Salamanca.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Regiment Museum, ER1597.)

References

1. *Chelmsford Chronicle* (*C.Ch.*), 07/08/1812, p.2.c.2
2. *C.Ch.*, 14/08/1812, p.2.c.2.
3. *C.Ch.*, 21/08/1812, p1.c.1.
4. He was created Earl of Wellington on 28th February 1812 for taking of Ciudad Rodrigo. This followed his elevation to the peerage in 1809 when he had been created Baron Douro of Wellesley and Viscount Wellington of Talevera. The name Wellington was chosen because it was near the town of Welleslie in Somerset. Following his victory at Salamanca he was created a Marquis. See C. Hibbert, *Wellington; a personal history*, (London, 1997), pp.91, 117&125.
5. P. Kent, *Fortifications of East Anglia* (Lavenham, 1988), pp.59-61.
6. W. Surtees, *Twenty-five Years in the Rifle Brigade*, (London, 1996), pp.2-3. Surtees initially joined the Northumbrian Militia but soon opted for the 56th (West Essex) Regiment, ibid., p.vi.
7. H. Grieve, *Sleepers in the Shadows*, vol.2, (Chelmsford, 1994), pp.240.
8. J.W. Burrows, *The Essex Regiment 1st Battalion (44th), 1741-1919*, (Southend-on-Sea, 1923), p.31. Second battalions of regiments were generally weaker than the first. See P.J. Haythornthwaite, *The Armies of Wellington*, (London, 1996), p.77.
9. Burrows, p.34.
10. I. Fletcher, *Salamanca 1812: Wellington crushes Marmont*, (London, 1997), pp.7-17.
11. Along with the 2/44th were the 1/4th, 2/30th and 5th Portuguese. Burrow, p.35.
12. Ibid., pp.35-37.
13. Fletcher, pp.18-21.
14. T. Carter, *Historical Record of the Forty-Fourth or the East Essex Regiment*, (Chatham, 1887), pp.63-64.
15. Fletcher, pp.29-33.
16. Burrows, p.39.
17. Carter, p.66. There is a fine graphic reproduction of this incident in Fletcher, pp.62-63.
18. Burrows, pp.40-41; Carter, pp.65-66; I am grateful to Mr Ian Hook of the Essex Regiment Museum for the post 1949 information. The second eagle captured at Salamanca was by a Portuguese battalion. Carter, p.67.
19. Carter, p.67.
20. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/44th_%28East_Essex%29_Regiment_of_Foot. (04/06/12). It was suggested to Wellington that a French eagle could form part of his coat of arms but Wellington thought it would be ostentatious. Hibbert, p.125.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Hannah Salisbury, for her technical assistance with the images, and to Ian Hook, Keeper of the Essex Regiment Museum.

Obituary

Marie Elizabeth Wolfe

(1924–2011)

With the passing of Marie Wolfe on 21st December 2011 the *Essex Journal* lost one of its most loyal servants.

Marie, through her association with the Friends of Historic Essex, was recruited in 1990 to serve as Secretary to the Editorial Board by the late Michael Beale early during his long and distinguished editorship. Marie peformed this important role in a typically quiet and efficient manner until her well deserved retirement was marked at a presentation by Lord Petre, our Lord Lieutenant, in October 2007.

Marie Elizabeth Wolfe was born on 9th July 1924 at St Bartholomew's (Bart's) Hospital, London, the eldest daughter of Frank Tarring, a calligrapher with the British and Foreign Bible Society, and Elizabeth Foskett. Marie grew up and was educated in Surrey before obtaining a place at Bangor University to study electrical engineering. Recruitment as a systems analyst at The Marconi Company in 1964 resulted in a move to Bouverie Road, Chelmsford. This gave rise to a passionate interest for the history of her adopted county.

Marie's interests were many and varied. These included an involvement in politics culminating in service as a parish councillor for Great Baddow during the late 1970s and early 80s.

In 1949 she married Max Wolfe who passed away in 1997. His Jewish background, particularly the barbaric treatment in Nazi concentration camps, had a profound and lifelong effect on Marie. Firstly, she devoloped a keen interest in family history becoming a prominent member of the Society of Geneaologists. An abiding interest in Jewish history rapidly followed coupled with her extensive charitable activities many of which were orientated towards the welfare of the young – not least, spending considerable periods of time knitting children's toys.

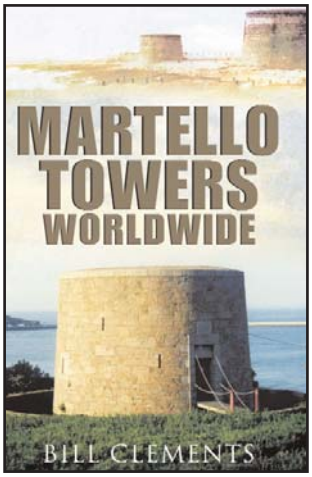
In later life she obtained an Open University degree in architecture.

Marie was an intensively private person who must have taken significant comfort from the fact that her legacy lives on in the form of one son, one daughter, three grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Martin Stuchfield

Book Reviews

Bill Clements,
Martello Towers Worldwide,
pp.270, ISBN 978-1-84884-535-0,
Pen & Sword, 2011, £19.99.



The vulnerability of Britain's coastline to sea-borne invasion has long encouraged its rulers to consider fixed defences, as testified by Saxon Shore forts and Tudor block-houses. Continuing threats from Continental adversaries led to successive investments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This new book by Bill Clements provides a comprehensive treatment of one particular element in that long story, the construction of a line of 103 Martello towers along the south and east coasts of England to defend against Napoleon. It is both a revision and a supplement to the same author's earlier book, *Towers of Strength* (1999), and recounts not only the background to their adoption and design, but also their spread throughout the British empire and beyond.

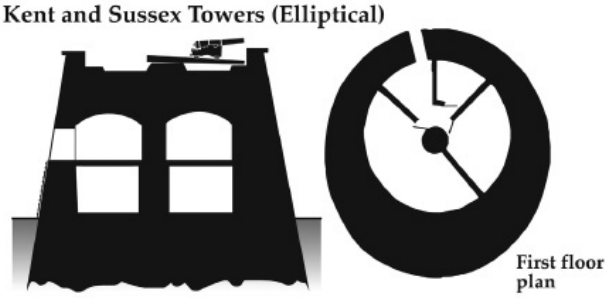
The book is engagingly written and produced to a high standard. It is well illustrated with a wide variety of historic and contemporary photographs, drawings, maps and plans, and has endnotes, bibliography, glossary and index. The arrangement is logical. Chapter 1 deals with the historical background, and Chapter 2 the circumstances under which they were adopted for defending the English coast. Chapter 3 explores the design of the towers in more detail, and Chapter 4 surveys their later fate. The following section of the book (Chapters 5 to 9) surveys Martello towers worldwide, the author having personally visited most (except those in the Caribbean). The later chapters are perhaps less interesting. Chapter 10 notes the extension of the design to meet changing circumstances in the period 1848-60, with the construction of more modern gun towers to defend key sites including Milford Haven and the Medway estuary. Chapter 11 is based on the author's new research that has revealed many towers that were initially authorised but never built due to financial stringencies. Chapter 12 describes twentieth century gun towers, developed to defend key areas such as the Humber and the Medway, and Chapter 13 concludes with a series of American towers, apparently loosely modelled on British designs in Canada. Two Appendices list surviving Martello towers in (A) Great Britain, Ireland and the Channel Islands and (B) British Towers overseas, giving the location, date of construction, height, slope, original armament and later usages.

The direct antecedents of the Martello tower were to be found in the Mediterranean and Adriatic as defensive works against the Turks and Barbary Corsairs between the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In Corsica, for example, 85 towers were built around the coast including one at Mortella Bay. Their substantial construction made them difficult to silence or capture. The one at Mortella Bay, which probably gave its name to the later type, temporarily defied the British fleet in 1794, and probably influenced the construction of 11 similar towers on Minorca when that island was used as a Royal Navy base from 1798 to 1802.

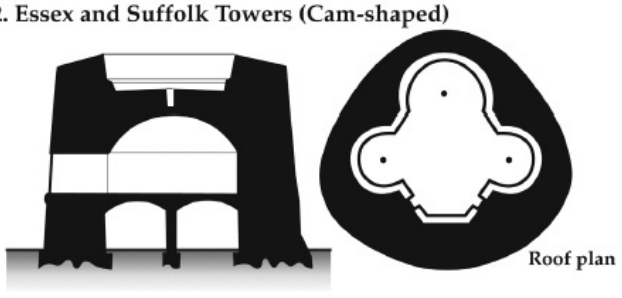
Reports as early as 1798 also recommended defending the south and east costs of England with gun towers, but it was not until the renewal of hostilities with France in 1803 that the need became more pressing. As Clements makes clear, belief in their efficacy was not universal among the British military, and it is possible that they would never have been built if not for the public panic induced by Napoleon's preparations at Bologne in 1803, and again in 1805. Although the threat passed soon after the Board or Ordnance started work, between 1805 and 1810 the south coast was defended by a line of 74 towers, joined by a second scheme of 29 towers covering the Essex and Suffolk coast from Brightlingsea to Aldeburgh (accompanied by a redoubt at Harwich). The south coast towers were identified by numerals, and the east coast ones by letters.

Types of Martello Towers

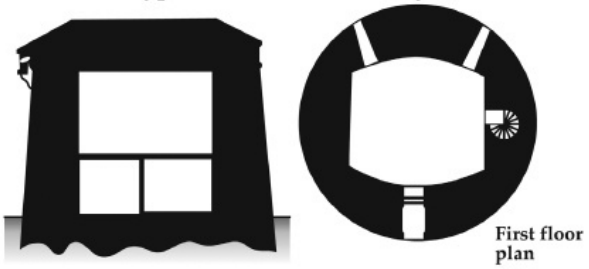
1. Kent and Sussex Towers (Elliptical)



2. Essex and Suffolk Towers (Cam-shaped)



3. Irish Towers (Typical circular Dublin Bay tower)



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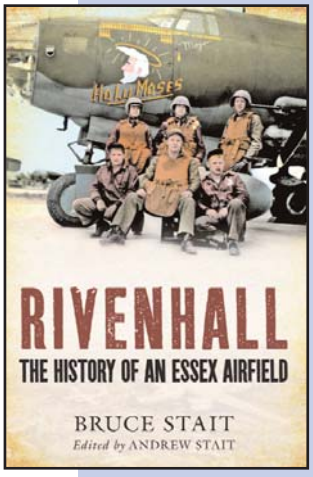
Although we may doubt the cover jacket's hyperbole that the towers 'were the nineteenth century equivalent of the nuclear deterrent', they certainly involved enormous expenditure and construction effort in the name of national security. Clements ably describes their essential features as a circular masonry or brick structure with one or more traversable guns on the upper gun platform (tower roof). These were supported by a bomb-proof arch, under which lay a first floor occupied by the garrison and a ground floor for the magazine. The only entry was at first floor level, while the tower surface was rendered with stucco for weatherproofing and to prevent escalation, and some were also surrounded by a dry ditch. Their construction was massive (the east coast towers required half a million bricks each), and it later only proved possible to demolish them with massive explosive charges. Two distinct designs were used, one in Kent and Sussex and the other in Essex and Suffolk, but Clements details the variations in construction and armament to minute degree, more than enough for the armchair general to be wholly satisfied.

The decommissioning and dismantling of the towers, or their conversion to other purposes, started soon after the end of the Napoleonic wars. Losses have been greater on the south coast (only 25 survive) than on the east coast (17 survive). Six of the latter lie on the coast of Tendring in Essex: Towers A (St Osyth), C (Seawick), D (Jaywick), E (Clacton), F (Clacton), and K (Walton). Among the fates recounted by Clements are conversion to bases for HM coastguard, sale and demolition for building materials, use for artillery trials (leading to destruction), some conversions to private houses, and a few that succumbed to coastal erosion. Some of the Essex towers are in everyday use: Tower A at St Osyth is the home of the East Essex Aviation Musuem, Tower C at Jaywick a venue for the visual and digital arts, and Tower F at Clacton a restaurant. None seem to have had as dramatic a fate as one American tower, built in Louisiana in 1829-30 to defend the approach to New Orleans, which survived until destroyed by a hurricane in 2005!

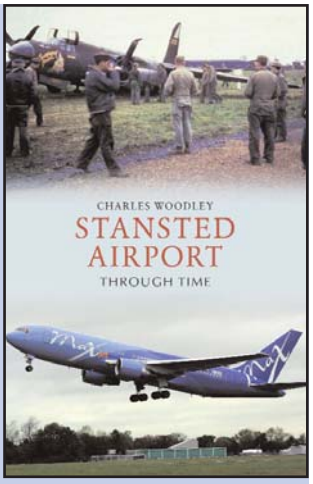
Chris Thornton

Bruce Stait, edited by Andrew Stait,
Rivenhall: The History of an Essex Airfield,
pp.126. ISBN 978-1-4456-0403-9,
Amberley Books, 2011, £14.99.
&
Charles Woodley,
Stansted Airport Through Time,
pp.126. ISBN 978-1-4456-0091-8,
Amberley Books, 2011, £14.99.



For those with an interest in aviation, both military and civilian, there is a seemingly never-ending supply of titles being published and here are another two.

Rivenhall: The History of an Essex Airfield is a reprint of a book first published in 1984. My first contact with the original edition came in June 1987 when, as 15 year old with a tireless passion for all things relating to Martin Marauders, I had spied a small advert in *Flypast* magazine set there by the author to sell his book. A cheque was duly dispatched and I received my signed and dated copy shortly thereafter and which I have consulted many times over the subsequent years. The 2011 edition appears just to be a straight reprint of the original although the typeset and pagination has changed and some of the maps and tables have been laid out differently. I assume that this was the only editing that took place as I could discern no difference in the text. To be fair though, the original, and by supposition this reprint, is a fine example of a well researched and written history of a typical Second World War Essex airfield and probably needed very little revision.



The book follows the airfield as it was built, occupied by units and finally abandoned post-war. Rivenhall's wartime service covered fighters, medium bomber and transport aircraft, each of which are covered in turn. To begin with (January to April 1944) the P-51 Mustangs of the 363rd Fighter Group occupied the base and were involved in flying long range fighter escort missions deep into Germany. Following on from these were the B-26 Marauders of the 397th Bomb Group (April-August), heavily involved in bombing tactical targets in France and Belgium in preparation for the invasion of Europe (the 397th was one of eight Marauder groups in Essex along with three groups flying the A-20 Havoc). Once the Americans had left the airfield was vacant until October 1944 when the RAF's 295 and 570 Squadrons arrived with around 60 Short Stirlings and a similar number of Airspeed Horsa gliders. These units took part in supply drops and training exercises before participating in Operation Varsity, the crossing of the River Rhine in March 1945. Rivenhall ceased to be an operational airfield in January 1946 with the departure of the RAF.

Book Reviews

A final chapter charts the airfield post war when part of it was turned into 'The Polish Camp' for those of that country who could not return to their homeland. This phase lasted until the mid 1950s. Essex County Council also used some of the buildings to set up a Wayfarers' Hostel, a semi-permanent base for itinerant traveller. Stait writes that 'Not much is known or written about concerning these years, but no doubt a future chronicler would find it an interesting subject for further research' (p.62) – has anyone researched this since the book was first written? If not surely the gauntlet must be down! Marconi also used many of the airfield's buildings for their business while the land returned to agriculture. Scattered throughout the book are little tit-bits of information and stories concerning the immediate locality which are interesting and informative. Following on from the text there is a separate section of photographs charting all phases of occupation of the airfield while six appendices cover such useful topics as a list of missions flown by the 397th and loads carried by the Stirlings in Operation Varsity.

So how does the book stand up after 28 years? Very well – it is well written and if you were to buy just one book on a typical Second World War Essex airfield then this should be it. It is a shame that the opportunity was not taken to add a new 'afterword' as this would have been the ideal opportunity, especially as the author is now deceased.

Stansted Airport started out life in much the same way as Rivenhall, built for fighting aircraft in 1943 and occupied by Marauders, the 344th bomb group in this instance, before being transformed over the following 60 odd years into the busy international airport we know today. Woodley in *Stansted Through Time* deals briefly with the wartime service of the airfield. This is good as the history of Stansted's bombers can be told through the history of Rivenhall's or any of the other American bases that were in operation. A second chapter discusses early civil operations with others following on various aspects of its history up to the present day. The bulk of the book contains a selection of photographs of the aircraft operating from Stansted. The piston engined aircraft are my particular favourites with Dakotas, Halifaxs and the massive Avro Tudor depicted being particularly interesting - modern jet liners just don't have it!!! It is interesting to see how primitive airports were until fairly recently.

One picture in particular brings back memories for me of a very exiting hot, sunny afternoon (June 1983 so the caption tells me) when I returned home from school to be told that we were going to Stansted to see the American Space Shuttle, which was visiting on the back of a Jumbo Jet. I believe our neighbours, Mr & Mrs Lakin, drove my mum and I over to Stansted. I can recall the immense size of the Shuttle and the crowds milling around. For many years after I had a, now missing, photo we had taken of it in my bedroom. Happily the book and this picture has captured the memory for me again, all the more timely as I saw the Space Shuttle *Discovery* on the television news flying over Washington to retirement only yesterday. Altogether a useful and interesting book which, when paired with *Rivenhall*, makes for a valuable contribution to the aviation history of our county.

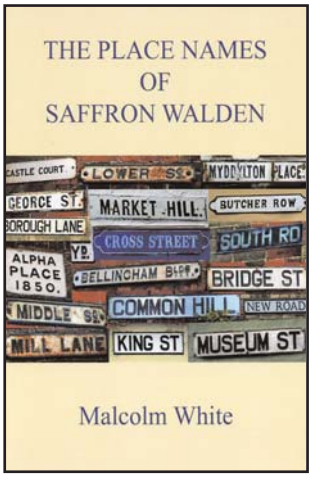
Neil Wiffen

Malcolm White, **The Place-names of Saffron Walden**, pp.99. ISBN 9-781-873-669-044, SWHS Publications, 2011, £8-50.

The second in a series of local history books published by Saffron Walden Historical Society is a welcome addition to the corpus of Essex place-name literature. The place-names have been culled by the former Town Clerk chiefly from Dorothy Monteith's MA thesis, from a map of the town of 1758 and the Tithe Map of 1843. He has been able to use his former position to access the Town Council's records of naming new streets and post-war developments. It is clear that the Council has been mindful to preserve former field-names such as Loompits Way after Loompits Shot recorded in 1605, the source of loam.

The place-names are arranged alphabetically starting with Abbey Lane, probably beginning as a track in Romano-British times but referred to in 1331 running to the Benedictine monastery approximately where is now Audley End mansion.

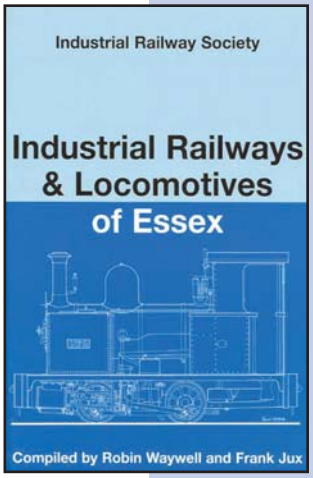
It is inevitable that many street names take their origin from surnames of town dignitaries, thus Edward Bawden Court after the Second World War artist who came to live in the town. These are of interest to the local historian preserving the names of those who have contributed to the town's history. Perhaps of more interest to the general reader are those names which reflect the former topography, a subject much explored by the late Dr Margaret Gelling for the English Place-names Society. Fulfen Way marks the former 'foul marsh' near the River Cam. Freshwell Street, in the fourteenth century *Fullerestret*, may originate from water springs which were used by the town's cloth workers. Sedop Close takes its name from a field-name from Old English *setcopp*, possibly 'a flat-topped summitt'; the field name is also recorded in Nazeing and Matching.



James Kemble

Book Reviews

Robin Waywell & Frank Jux, **Industrial Railways & Locomotives of Essex,**
pp.372 plus 80 pp of photographs.
ISBN 978-1-90155-6-667,
The Industrial Railway Society, 2011,
£23.95 + £3.65 p&p.
Available from the Society at 24 Dulverton Road, Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire, LE13 0SF.
Cheques made payable to the 'Industrial Railway Society'.



Essex readers will be pleased to know that this work covers the historic county, including areas now in Greater London. Its authors aim to list every location where rail transport was, or still is, used for industrial purposes, which they define very broadly. They exclude only main line and branch railways and their associated yards and sidings, street passenger tramways, preserved and pleasure railways of 15 inch gauge or less, and some very minor non-locomotive-worked lines. This leads to some strange omissions and inclusions. The Corringham Light Railway appears only in passing, although its intended passengers were workers at a specific industrial site. On the other hand, the line at the Mangapps Farm railway museum, and the Southend Pier Railway are given full entries.

Readers new to the subject will be surprised at how many separate industrial railways there have been in the county; about 350 are listed. They ranged from major standard gauge systems serving industries like Fords of Dagenham, Romford Brewery or Beckton Gasworks, to temporary narrow gauge lines used by road and housing estate constructors, and the purely internal systems found in many brickworks. The authors single out two Essex specialities, the extensive chalk pit railways, and those serving the landfill sites that used to take huge amounts of London's rubbish. The majority of the major systems were, as is to be expected, on or near the Thames estuary, where the industries they served have left huge, and enduring, marks on the landscape. Some installations were exceedingly short-lived or unusual: one that was both was the temporary track laid in Buckhurst Hill in 1872 to test locomotives built for the Lisbon steam tramway (a kind of monorail).

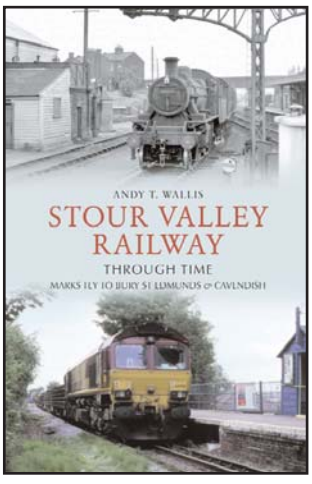
The second element of the book comprises details of all locomotives known to have run on any of these lines. A large number of these are depicted in the 160 excellent photographs. Even non-specialist readers would find it fascinating to browse through them; but they might also have welcomed a proportion of wider views showing the railways in the context of the industries that they served and the landscapes through which they ran. If these appear at all, they are very much in the background.

This is a work of reference, not a book to be read through from beginning to end. There is little narrative, apart from the brief introduction. The general reader is most likely to use it to discover the basic facts about railways and tramways that now exist only as fragmentary remains, as depictions on old Ordnance Survey maps, or in local memory. (This reviewer was pleased to find details of the narrow gauge system at Rochford's Nurseries in Stanstead, which he had previously only known from the 1920's 25 inch map.) From this perspective, it is exhaustive in the number of railways covered (within its declared parameters), but sparse (and inconsistent) in details of the nature of the lines and their operation. However, the layout of the book, and the way in which the maps are annotated, do not make it particularly easy to find particular lines and systems, if only their location is known. They tend to be indexed only under the titles of the companies or other organisations that ran them, which may or may not incorporate a relevant place name.

This is, to sum up, a very useful reference work for industrial and railway historians, and a mine of fascinating photographs.

Richard Harris

Andy T. Wallis,
Stour Valley Railway Through Time, Marks Tey to Bury St Edmunds & Cavendish,
pp.96. ISBN 978-1-44560-472-5
Amberley Publishing, 2011, £14.99.
&
Andy T. Wallis,
Stour Valley Railway Part 2 Through Time, Clare to Shalford & Audley End,
pp.96. ISBN 978-1-44560-473-2
Amberley Publishing, 2011, £14.99.



These two volumes form, in effect, a single book, and the work shows signs of having once been intended as such. (The first part has a contents page, but the second part does not.) The point at which the split comes is logical only in so far as it makes both parts the same size and price. They are therefore reviewed together.

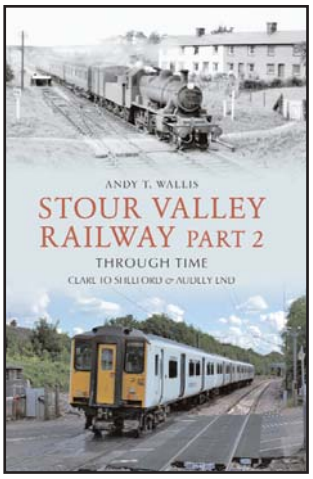
The Stour Valley line (actually three connecting lines) once joined Marks Tey to Bury St Edmunds, and to Audley End and Shelford on the London to Cambridge line. Except for the section from Marks Tey to Sudbury, which still

thrives, all was closed in the 1960's. Only about a quarter of the stations or their sites are in Essex; but these are divided between the two volumes.

The books are essentially pictorial. Apart from short introductions, each page contains two photographs, almost all in 'then and now' pairs (which is what the *Through Time* of the titles signifies). Historic shots of station buildings and infrastructure are matched with very recent ones showing the same buildings or track, or (more often) what has replaced them, from as nearly as possible the same vantage points. A chapter is devoted to each station. (Part 1 also contains a separate chapter, out of sequence at the end, on the East Anglian Railway Museum, at Chappel & Wakes Colne Station, in addition to the one on the station itself.) The text of these chapters consists solely of captions to the photographs.

Most of the historic photographs are not that old, having been taken just before the lines closed, or just after, when the rails were still there. Some are earlier. Only a proportion show trains. Most are monochrome, but all of these are reproduced in a warm sepia tone, which is probably not how the original photographers would have visualised them being printed. This tends to make the shots from the 1950's and 60's look, at first glance, very similar to the relatively small proportion of early twentieth century ones. The reason is presumably aesthetic, so that the monochrome reproductions do not clash too drastically with the colour ones on the same pages.

A few of the historic shots are in colour, as are all the recent ones. In some locations station buildings still exist to be photographed. Where the accompanying historic shot is in colour, there is often surprisingly little difference. An example is the pair of shots of Clare station building, which, readers may know, is now preserved in a country park. In some locations there is now no evidence on the ground that would indicate to the non-expert that a railway had ever existed. In such cases, views are given of the modern housing, industrial or commercial buildings, or open fields, that occupy the sites.



The arrangement of the books follows the line of the railways. Part one starts at Marks Tey and follows the still-surviving line to Sudbury and the now-closed remainder from there, via Lavenham, to Bury. It then returns to the junction just beyond Long Melford and traces the former branch as far as Cavendish. Part 2 picks this line up at Clare and takes it on to Shelford, via Haverhill. It then returns to Bartlow to follow the Saffron Walden branch to Audley End.

Except where stations are still in use, the main value of the books will be to enable readers to visualise surviving buildings in the context of the railway infrastructure that once surrounded them, or to learn what once existed in places where almost all trace of the railway has now gone. They are also a useful pictorial contribution to the study of the present age's liking for 'brownfield' developments, and for the transformation to domestic use of buildings designed for other purposes. Several former stations show the same pattern of conversion, with the main building turned into a house, but little altered on the outside, and the space between the platforms filled in and turned to lawn.

The specialist railway historian will probably be able to find the historic photographs, or very similar ones, elsewhere. He or she will also need to be aware that the books do not contain any extensive narrative on the history of the lines, or any of the track plans of stations that monographs on individual branch lines usually have.

In short, this is a work probably more for the general reader than the specialist, and that it only relates in part to Essex.

Richard Harris

Helen Walker, **The Hedingham Medieval Pottery Industry**, pp.10, 978-0-9537-9367-9, ECC & Braintree Museum, 2010.

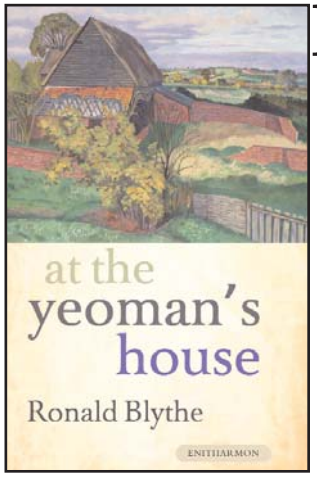
This booklet, clearly written and beautifully illustrated, is an excellent introduction for the non-specialist. The industry, sited where suitable clay and sand were to be found in the Sible Hedingham, Gosfield and Halstead areas, produced two kinds of pottery in the medieval period - plain coarse wares, used for cooking, and decorated fine wares, principally jugs for table use or as ornaments. Virtually no documentary evidence has survived, so all that is known has been gleaned from the excavation of kiln sites, examination of the rejected pottery dumped nearby, and experiments by modern potters to recreate these medieval wares. The decoration of the fine wares evolved over time, and is useful for dating associated finds and strata. The industry flourished for about 200 years from the mid twelfth century and its products were distributed all over East Anglia.

Techniques of pot making, glazing, kiln construction, firing and distribution are described. Though the industry largely died out in the later medieval period, some potters seem to have turned to brick and tile making, and some kitchen wares and decorated pottery were being made again in Sible Hedingham in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The pleasure of reading this excellent booklet is only tempered by the knowledge that it will be the last from the Essex Field Archaeology Unit.

Michael Leach

Book Reviews

Ronald Blythe, **At the yeoman's house,** pp.127. 978-1-904-63488-1, Enitharmon Press, 2011, £15.00.



Ronald Blythe will be known to many as a chronicler of traditional farm life when the endless toil of horse and man provided the only motive power, as well as a timeless rhythm which survived well into the twentieth century but is now almost forgotten. His latest book needs to be read and savoured slowly, and I have read it several times for this review, with increasing enjoyment and appreciation of its quiet, simple, meditative style. It is focussed around his home, Bottengoms Farm, in the Stour valley on the Essex/Suffolk border, a former yeoman's farmhouse. The book starts with a stanza from Thomas Hardy which sets the tone of the whole book:

> Here is the ancient floor,
> Footworn and hollowed and thin,
> Here was the former door
> Where the dead feet walked in.

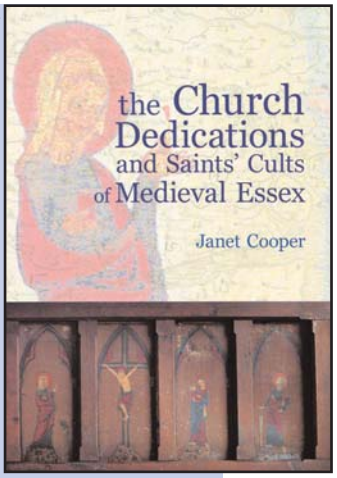
The chapters that follow centre on various aspects of the farm's past, both the imagined and nameless occupants of long ago, and its more recent connections with John Nash and other members of the local artistic community in the post-war years. As in Hardy's poem, there is a worn undulating brick kitchen floor over which, until recently, a small stream ran on its way to the Stour. Once there were many such floors, now most have been torn up and replaced by concrete and carpet. On the edge of the horsepond, an ancient ash pollard stands, more dead than alive, cropped for generations to provide wood for running repairs and the fire. At the end of each working day, this ravaged tree would have been a welcome sight to horse and man, returning from their arduous toil in the fields. This book is threaded with similar sympathetic connections with the lost past, and a deep appreciation of the farmers' lifelong struggle to make a poor living from the unproductive land attached to this farm. He also looks as the wider landscape around the village and imaginatively chronicles Queen Elizabeth's visit to Smallbridge Hall, his interest aroused by the recent excavations on the site of the hunting lodge. Bottengoms itself gradually declined in the twentieth century, its poor fields assimilated into those of the surrounding farms until, by 1944 only the derelict rat-infested house, its outhouses and a couple of acres survived. Much else is touched on, from the Neolithic and Bronze Age settlements along the Stour to the petition of the distressed weavers of the area to Charles I, suffering from the seventeenth century equivalent of the collapse of the Eurozone.

It gives great pleasure to read this beautifully written book, elegantly illustrated with the paintings, drawings and woodcuts of John and Paul Nash, as well as with photographs of its more modern denizens.

Michael Leach

Janet Cooper, **The Church Dedications and Saints' Cults of Medieval Essex,** pp.xii & 188. 978-1-904-24467-7, Scotforth Books, 2011, £15.99.

Available from the author (cheques made payable to J. Cooper): 16 Merrivale Crescent, Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire, HR9 5JU.



If you are a lover of detective stories and can suspend your unbelief in the ultimate significance of the subject matter of this fascinating survey, then this is the book for you!

Ten pages of introduction which set out clearly the scope, source's, and complexities of judgment about their competing veracity, are followed by 80 pages of text, 16 pages of notes and 70 pages of gazetteer.

As one would expect from the former editor of the VCH for Essex, it is a masterpiece of clear, concise and judicious judgment. It is also fascinating in its insights into some of the more obscure medieval dedications and how they came to be changed by the twentieth century and the reasons behind the changes.

Many of the histories traced are eye-opening to one who thinks he knows a little of these matters as a result of his working role. I had, however, never heard of St Ailet for example and the way the author finds her way through the conflicting evidence leaves me full of admiration

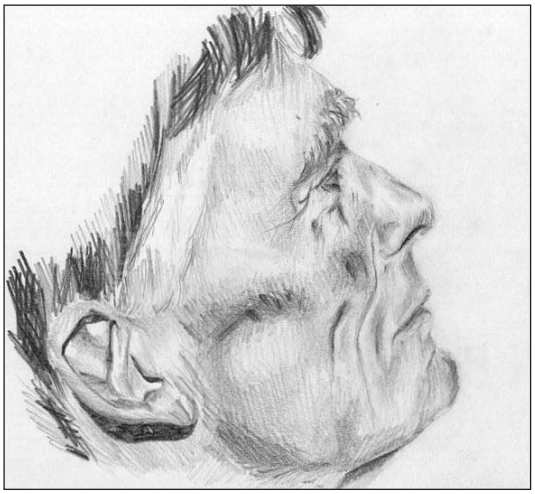
Turning to the gazetteer, the author gives the lie to the assumption made by some that the last century saw a ruination of much of our medieval heritage. Of the 400 plus churches listed less than 5% were lost to demolition or sale for other purposes. Of that small proportion almost half were in the Colchester rationalisation of the 50's. In general the century saw better care for the churches and fewer lost than in previous generations. This guide should help in making sure that even better care is taken of our inheritance.

Michael Fox

Your Book Reviewers are:
Michael Fox, a retired Church of England Archdeacon of West Ham; **Richard Harris**, former Archive Services Manager of the ERO; **James Kemble**, is Coordinator of the Essex Place-names Project; **Michael Leach**, a retired GP and currently the Hon. Sec. of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History; **Chris Thornton,** is Editor of VCH of Essex; **Neil Wiffen,** is the Honorary Editor of *Essex Journal*.

EJ 20 Questions? Michael Leach

Michael Leach was born in East Sussex and grew up on the Kent/Sussex border. After a degree in architecture, he qualified in medicine and worked in Essex from 1969, first in hospital, then in general practice till retirement in 1997. He helped to collect material which was eventually incorporated into an award-winning history of Chipping Ongar, but it was the Essex University certificate course in local history that lead him to a more disciplined approach to historical research. He has been honorary secretary of the Essex Society for Archaeology & History since 1999, and a contributor to the newsletters of various county historical societies.



(Portrait: Emma Leach)

1. What is your favourite historical period? The seventeenth century has always fascinated me, a period of intense political and intellectual upheaval which threw up many intriguing possibilities.

2. Tell us what Essex means to you? A county of extraordinarily varied landscape, from the grim post-industrial wastelands along the A13 to the surviving hermit's assart in Writtle Forest.

3. What historical mystery would you most like to know? What exactly happened when Richard II arrived at Pleshey on a dark night in 1397 to abduct his uncle, Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester.

4. My favourite history book is… Oliver Rackham's books on ancient woodland, written with a combination of a deep love for his subject, keen-eyed observation and deduction.

5. What is your favourite place in Essex? Saffron Walden because, unlike so many towns, it has largely escaped the ravages of the twentieth century.

6. How do you relax? Gardening, and walking in South Weald park to enjoy the seasonal changes in its landscape, as well as to seek the faint traces of its past.

7. What are you researching at the moment? The long dispersed library of a seventeenth century antiquary, now known only from sales catalogue and a few manuscripts with his unmistakeable signature.

8. My earliest memory is… Parts of a Spitfire plummeting into the garden of the house where I lived, and the spectacle of the pilot caught by his parachute at the top of a tall pine tree.

9. What is your favourite song/piece of music and why? J.S.Bach's 48 Preludes and Fugues, music of tantalizing complexity and beauty.

10. If you could travel back in time which event would you change? I'm not sure I would dare – meddling with history could have a great many unintended consequences, mostly far worse than the wrong I was hoping to correct!

11. Which four people from the past would you invite to dinner? The early historians of Essex would be excellent company. I would choose Thomas Cox, William Holman, Nicolas Tindal and (of course) Philip Morant.

12. What is your favourite food? So many delights! It is be much easier to list the few things I don't enjoy, such as melon, chocolate and turnips!

13. The history book I am currently reading is… *Essays on Dawson Turner*, a nineteenth century banker, book collector, and botanist.

14. What is your favourite quote from history? Thomas Rainborowe at the Putney Debates of 1647: 'For really I think that the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live, as the greatest he; and therefore truly, sir, I think it is clear that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under a government; and I do think that the poorest man in England is not at all bound in a strict sense to that government that he hath not had a voice to put himself under.'

15. Favourite historical film? *The Name of the Rose.*

16. What is your favourite building in Essex? The Essex Record Office where I have had so much pleasure in discovering the county's past.

17. What past event would you like to have seen? The search for weapons at Leez Priory in 1648, when the Royalist troops were double crossed by Arthur Wilson, a member Warwick's household.

18. How would you like to be remembered? In any way that those who wish to remember me might choose.

19. Who inspires you to read or write or research history? Four who come to mind are Kent archaeologist Frank Elliston-Erwood, Nikolaus Pevsner, Ken Hall, the former county archivist and Ray Powell.

20. Most memorable historical date? The Epping Forest Act of 1878, a major landmark which established the principle of nature and environmental conservation in Essex.

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