

Essex JOURNAL

A REVIEW OF LOCAL HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY

Spring 2016

Dr Jennifer Ward discusses Essex and the Hundred Years War

EJ 20 Questions:
Erica Wylie



Norman Essex: What did the Normans do for us?

Join us to mark 950 years since the Battle of Hastings with talks from experts on how the Normans shaped life in Essex. The long term effects of the Norman Conquest can still be identified today, from the language we speak to the castles which punctuate our landscape. Find out more with talks from:

- Prof David Bates, University of East Anglia - 1066 in 2016
- Dr Jennifer Ward - Religious Life in Norman Essex
- Peter Berridge - The Norman construction of Colchester Castle
- Katharine Schofield, Essex Record Office - Essex in Little Domesday Book

Saturday 1 October 2016, 10.30am-3.20pm

Essex Record Office, Wharf Road, Chelmsford, CM2 6YT

Tickets: £20.00 including refreshments and lunch, please book in advance on **033301 32500**

www.essexrecordoffice.co.uk

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Well, when future historians come to try and make sense of the recent referendum, and political shenanigans that followed, I wonder if they will wonder what we were all up to? Certainly there will be plenty to discuss and chew over and, I expect for the next decade or so, still fall-out from our exit from the EU. It is far too early to even begin to see any conclusion to the disruption and uncertainty that are being unleashed upon us, but what events we have lived through! I never expected to feel sad to see a Tory Prime Minister resign (what was I thinking!) As I watched Cameron's statement that Friday morning I wondered if those who listened to Neville Chamberlain declare that 'this country is at war with Germany' felt the same gravity of events and sickness that I was feeling (not that I compare the beginning of a World War with our exit from the EU but such a decision might be as near as we can get in the modern world to such a pivotal moment in history). Will historians conclude we were bold or foolish, brave or stupid – I suspect there will be views from all sides of the debate – but we can't know yet if our exit will be a success for the country/economy, a disaster for Europe or a blessed relief for them not to have 'perfidious Albion' on board? It's an interesting thought that as contemporary historians we will probably never live to see the full extent of what has been voted for – such a shame though for those youngsters who couldn't vote, haven't yet been born, who will have to live with the decision and write the history of these events – I can only hope they will forgive us! (Or thank us even?)

So, to this issue and what a lot I've had to squeeze in. With work progressing well on indexing the first 50 volumes of *EJ*, it is a delight to hear about the work of the Essex Heritage Trust, one of our significant donors to the project. I'm very pleased that we have an article from the wonderful Jenny Ward on how Essex contributed to the Hundred Years War. I asked Jenny to write this article after working with her on the display of documents that accompanied the 2014 ERO conference *The Fighting Essex Soldier*.

A New World contributor, Margo Miller, discusses her Essex ancestor and his early life in New England. I had the great pleasure of meeting Margo last year in Boston where we had a great

time talking about Essex/US connections. Following on from this, Carrie Griffin and Mary O'Connell look at the life of Charles Clark of Great Totham. Who'd have thought that such a man existed so close to home – what an interesting chap! Andrew Phillips completes the articles

with a look at how German bombing in World War One was portrayed in the press. I hope that there is something in this selection of articles that is of interest!

Stan Newens and Adrian Corder-Birch remember the late Ken Neale, a wonderful supporter of all things to do with the history of the county. Ken was always very kind and generous to me in my role as Hon. Ed. and he is sadly missed.

Finally, Erica Wiley, Plume Librarian, rounds off this issue with her very interesting 20 answers. What more could we all want? And as you may have noticed, I've added an extra four pages (at no extra cost!) to this issue as some recompense to the late production of this issue – life's just too busy but please accept my apology. Here's to the timely appearance of the autumn issue for which I have a ton of material!

Cheers,

Neil

PS To all future historians, just in case you hadn't realised, I voted remain!



The Lord Petre, KCVO

The Editorial Board of *Essex Journal* would like to congratulate Lord Petre, Lord-Lieutenant of Essex, upon his appointment as a Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order by HM The Queen in her birthday honours.

This appointment, which is in the personal gift of The Queen, is a well-deserved honour to recognise Lord Petre's long and loyal service over many years.

THE PLUME LECTURE 2016

Saturday 12th November

The Trustees of Thomas Plume's Library are pleased to announce that this year's Lecture will be given by Dr Richard Serjeantson, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge University.

Dr Serjeantson specialises in the history of human knowledge between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. He has conducted some of his research at Thomas Plume's Library and the title of his talk will be

The Idea of a University in the Age of Thomas Plume.

The lecture will take place on Saturday 12th November 2016 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.

For further information about Thomas Plume's Library please visit the Library's website:

www.thomasplumeslibrary.co.uk

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News from the Essex Record Office

Life at the Essex Record Office (ERO) is perhaps more varied than ever. Alongside continuing all of our traditional functions, we are now responsible for storing the civil registration records of births, marriages and deaths for Essex dating back to 1837, and issuing copies of birth, marriage and death certificates. This has previously been done by Register Offices around the county, but a reorganisation of the Essex Registration Service has included a consolidation of their historic records at ERO. The new service has been extremely busy, with about 1,000 orders a month for copies of certificates. Certificates can be ordered online at www.essexrecordoffice.co.uk.

The Essex Sound and Video Archive, meanwhile, has been putting its efforts into the delivery of its project, *You Are Hear: sound and a sense of place*. This involves not only digitising many of our recordings, but placing listening benches and audio-video kiosks loaded with local recordings in locations around the county. You can find out more at www.essexsounds.org.uk.

Our latest outreach event took place in Halstead on 2 July, when 150 people came to enjoy our pop-up display of maps and historic photographs of the town. As part of this work, we also created a series of images like the one you can see below,

blurring past and present, to see what has changed and what has stayed the same. You can see more of these images on our Historypin page – just go to www.historypin.org, go to 'Meet our Members' and search for Essex Record Office. The next of our pop-up local history displays will be on Chelmsford (at the ERO) on Saturday 29th November, and in Colchester on Tuesday 15th September – details can be found at www.essexrecordoffice.co.uk/events.

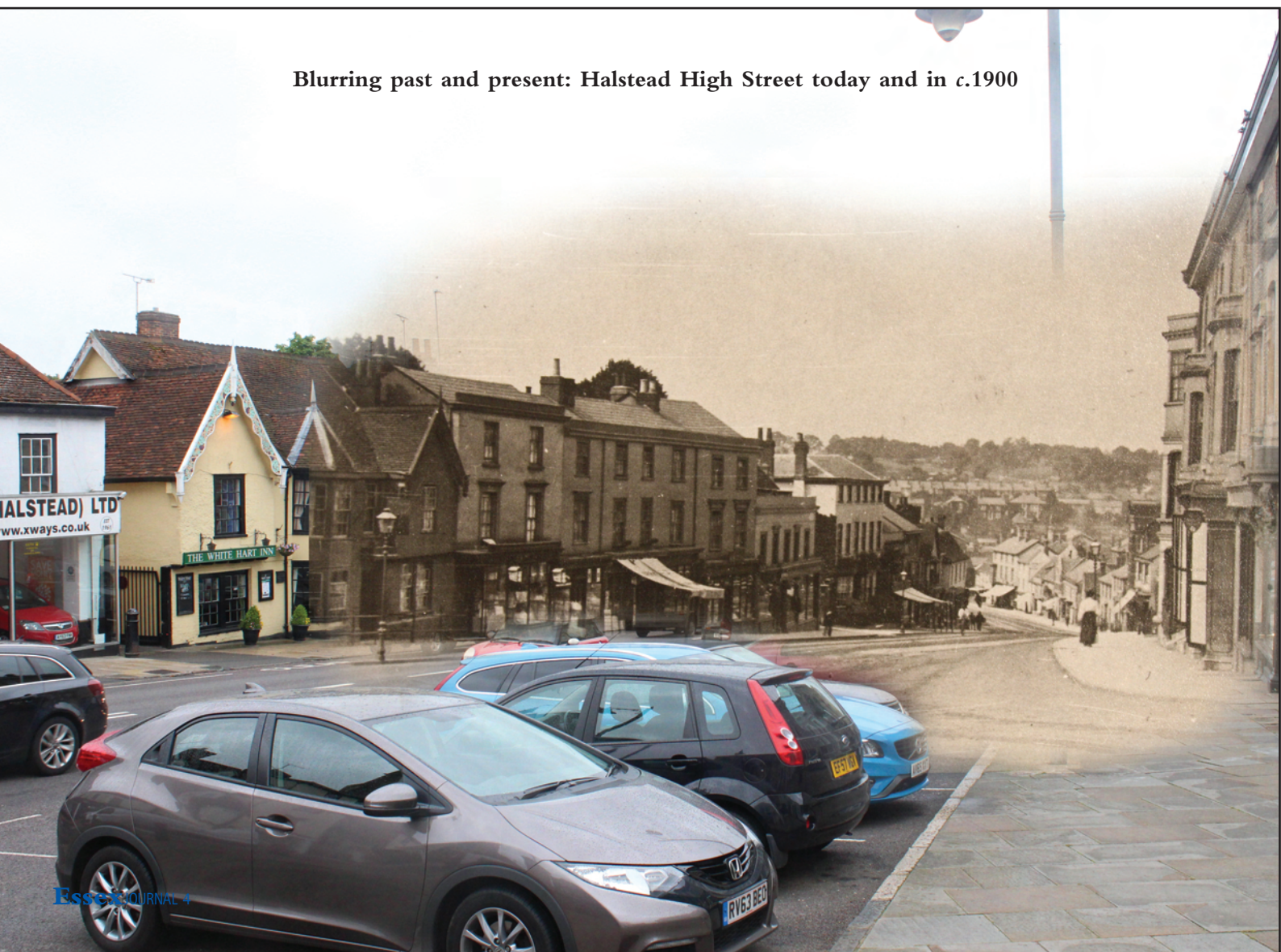
We are also looking ahead at this time to our Heritage Open Day on Saturday 10th September, which this year will focus on creativity in the archives, and our conference on Norman Essex on Saturday 1st October. Again, details can be found on our website or on the inside cover of this issue.

We hope to see you at ERO soon,

Hannah Salisbury,

Engagement and Events Manager

Blurring past and present: Halstead High Street today and in c.1900



Essex Heritage Trust - our mission

“The Trust is established to help safeguard or preserve for the benefit of the public such land, buildings, objects, or records that may be illustrative of, or significant to, the history of the County or which enhance an understanding of the characteristics and traditions of the County”

Our heritage in Essex has been passed down to us from those who have lived and worked in the county before us; people who built houses, barns, workshops; who worked on our rivers, cultivated gardens, made carvings, painted pictures and drew up documents. That heritage is constantly under threat, not only from the natural ravages of time but also from ignorance, neglect, demolition and vandalism.

Essex Heritage Trust's purpose is to help safeguard and preserve this unique heritage and make it accessible for the people of Essex to learn from and enjoy.

We began our work with the Trust's launch in 1990, formed after the success of the Essex Heritage Year in 1989. Since then we have awarded over £1 million in grants to over 440 projects throughout the county, including the restoration of buildings and heritage objects, research projects, landscape conservation, publication of books and purchase of items for public galleries and museums.

The Trust has fired the enthusiasm of people from all parts of the county and from all walks of life to embark on heritage projects. We can help provide the funds to match the time and dedication spent by local individuals, communities, and curators.

The main project categories we fund are:

- Buildings, structures, monuments and maritime projects
- Church contents (but not fabric repairs)
- Historic and listed public buildings
- Museums
- Works of Art – purchase and restoration
- Publications, historical research and archaeology
- Landscape and gardens

Our grants range from £100 to £10,000. We help to reach fundraising targets or provide part funds as pump-priming to attract other financial support. A condition of our grants is that the projects must be wholly within Essex and provide accessibility for the public.

Essex Heritage Trust is an independent Charity funded by private and corporate donations. At its heart are its Trustees, responsible for the overall direction of the Trust and the approval of grants. They are a small group, drawn from industry, the arts and public life and include the Lord Lieutenant of Essex and the Chairman of Essex County Council. The Trustees meet three times a year to consider applications for grants.

If you or your organisation is considering a project that may qualify for a grant please contact our administrator (see below) who can give advice on how to make an application.

Also it is important that the Trust continues to raise funds to enable us to support more projects in future. Donations are welcome and you are invited to join our Friends membership scheme. As a Friend you will receive regular newsletters and invitations to our Annual meeting at an interesting venue connected with one of our grants.

If you would like further information about the Trust please see our website:

www.essexheritagetrust.co.uk, or contact:

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Cressing Temple,

Braintree,

Essex. CM77 8PD

Telephone: 01376 585794

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When ships came to Holland Haven:

Researching the former Gunfleet Estuary

by

Roger Kennell

The Clacton Victoria County History Group (CVCHG) decided to research the former and little known estuary of the Holland River, known as the Gunfleet and located between Holland Haven and Frinton on Sea, as this once busy trading port is little known in the local community. The group decided it could make a considerable contribution to local history knowledge by trying to uncover the story of the people, the river and estuary up to the twentieth century. Funding to enable a two-year project to take place, under the guidance of a professional historian, was successfully applied for from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF), the VCH Essex Trust and the Hervey Benham Trust.

With funding in place, volunteers were then recruited to join the existing CVCHG members and to commence the research. An illustrated leaflet detailing the project and its outcomes was produced and this, together with a report in the local newspaper, produced a varied range of enthusiastic people keen to be part of this aspect of local history and thus the project began during May 2013, the group being led by Dr Chris Thornton, Editor of the Essex VCH.

Between the entrances to the River Colne, and the Walton Backwaters there was once a considerable estuary. Mariners made use of this natural feature to seek shelter and to trade. From Roman times and probably in pre-historic times and into the seventeenth century vessels made use this estuary located between the parishes of Little Holland, Great Holland, and Frinton on Sea. In 1577, Holinshed noted the Gunfleet in his listing as 'such ports and creeks as our seafaring men doo note for their benefit upon the coasts of England'.¹ Produce of all sorts was conveyed to London, while manure from the capital was brought back to enrich the land and complete the cycle.

This movement of cargoes along the coast was hazardous. There were sandbanks, gales and storms and minimal means of navigation. Vessels running aground, and foundering are recorded. There was loss of life, yet the sea was the preferred means of trading. The name of the estuary was the Gunfleet, or earlier, the Gonfleete which also became attached to a long sandbank lying offshore. This provided sheltered waters to the estuary entrance, but passages around the sandbank and the adjoining sandbanks had to be found. Storms often shifted sand and shingle so landmarks became unreliable as a means of navigation. Church towers were used, and at Walton on the Naze; Waghenauer's the *Mariners Mirror* records the two trees which stood upon a high hill at the Naze which were widely known to seafarers.²

Holland Brook, previously known as Holland River was once much wider than the current brook and as shown by the flood plains of today. Numerous tracks have been identified leading to the edge of these flood plains and it is concluded that these were once used to bring the farm produce to basic loading, or lading, places. The vessels then proceeded into the estuary itself and loaded onto larger vessels, or sailed direct.

It was the storms and climate change which eventually began to affect the entrance to the estuary, and began to make its regular use difficult. There is a record from the year 1677 of a 'Monster from the Deep' being a whale, becoming stranded in the estuary, the creature thrashing about trying to escape into deeper waters, but eventually succumbing to exhaustion and expired.³ This event is evidence that the estuary entrance was silting up, and its effects were to change the economic viability of the adjacent parishes. By the end of the eighteenth century a report states how the old river exit to the sea had become blocked in earlier times by the accumulation of shingle.⁴

When the Gunfleet estuary silted up and shingle accumulated at its entrance, a body of men who became known as the Tendring Level Commissioners, and comprising of the local landowners was constituted.⁵ The Jury, as the commissioners representatives were known, agreed to build a wall across the estuary and reclaim the land, allowing the river water to discharge through a sluice located towards the Frinton end in the new sea wall. The loss of trading opportunities affected the local economy, and Little Holland Church was abandoned in 1650 when the church benefice was united with the neighbouring parish of St John at Great Clacton.

As the land reclamation progressed it became necessary to define the new parish boundaries over the former estuary. In 1748 the Lords of the Manors of Frinton, Little and Great Holland met on the shore to agree these boundaries and marked them with posts.⁶ By 1765 the former estuary had become drained sufficiently to allow a road to be constructed from Little Holland Hall to Great Holland now the present B1032.⁷

The commissioners faced a continual struggle to maintain the sea wall. A new cut was dug in 1736 with a sluice at the Little Holland end to ease the draining of Holland Brook which carries most of the surface water from North East Essex.⁸ The isolated nature hereabouts made it a notorious place for smuggling activities especially during the

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with James Bushell of Little Holland and later Frinton, an early diver on shipwrecks, who was also involved in illegal smuggling activities but was caught and apprehended.⁹

The gathering and treatment of Copperas nodules was carried out along the shores of the Thames Estuary during the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Copperas Houses locally were at Walton on the Naze and at Brightlingsea. There are a series of regular pits existing behind the sea wall and these are shown on various maps and plans of the former estuary. One plan of 1783 has the name of Bartons Pans where the pits are located.¹⁰ Copperas, after treatment was converted to Green Vitriol, and was used as a dye fixative for woollens, the manufacture of gunpowder, and for ink.

The threat of invasion during the Napoleonic War years from the late eighteenth century focused the Board of Ordnance attention on the Tendring coastline as being vulnerable to any invasion attempt. A series of defence measures were implemented. The first was a series of signal stations, one being on the cliff opposite Little Holland Hall. Two, four cannon batteries, were built on the rising ground on either side of the former estuary. Following further surveys of the coast, a series of Martello Towers was proposed and these were built in the early nineteenth century but in much reduced numbers than originally proposed. A *Chevaux de Frise*, an underwater defence obstruction, was constructed by the old river exit to the sea, and this name is still applied to this point.¹¹

There are many recorded storms, and the storm surge of January 1953, the East Coast Floods, saw a major test for the wall, but fortunately it held, as it did in the major surge in December 2013 when the sea actually rose higher at Holland Haven than in 1953, but the sea wall had also been made higher.

The estuary of the Gunfleet was once a well known and used feature along the Essex coastline, and was also known much wider afield to the mariners of the busy trading routes of the East Coast, and indeed much further away. A Phoenician coin

recovered at Holland Marshes in the first half of the twentieth century, and displayed in a Clacton Museum in the 1930s may be the evidence for this. The earlier history of the actual trading use of the estuary has been difficult to determine due to the lack of meaningful contemporary documents, however much associated circumstantial evidence has been found, notably at the Essex Record Office and The National Archives. This has provided an enhanced insight into this part of the North East Essex coastline by the members of the Clacton VCH Group.

Roger Kennell
Clacton VCH Group

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5. Essex Record Office (ERO), D/ST 1-20, Tendring Levels, Commissioners of Sewers records.
6. ERO D/UFW C9/22, Frinton and Walton Urban District Council claim to foreshore at Frinton, 04/10/1748.
7. See Chapman & André map (Sheet XV) of 1777 for an almost contemporaneous depiction of this.
8. ERO, D/ST 1 Court & Order book, 1727-1733.
9. R. Kennell, 'Captain' James Bushell of Little Holland and Frinton: some initial research', *Essex Journal*, 48 (II) 2013, pp.29-30.
10. ERO D/ST 17. Map of the Tendring Level by W. Cole, 1783.
11. TNA, WO 55/1548/1. A Chevaux de Frise was 'A defensive appliance of war [a portable frame/log/baulk of timber, covered with many projecting long iron or wooden spikes or spears] employed chiefly to check cavalry charges, and stop breaches'. www.oed.com, (08/06/2016). That at Little Holland was to check invasion barges, not cavalry!



**View from
Holland Haven
looking towards
Frinton on Sea
showing the sea wall
and the reclaimed
former estuary.
(Author photo, 1998)**

The Eighth in the East

The Eighth in the East is a three-year Heritage Lottery Fund programme of community archaeology and social history that explores the legacy of the 8th USAAF and their time in the East of England during World War Two.

The story of the 8th United States Army Air Force (USAAF) in the East of England is one of the most remarkable in history. Now, more than 70 years on, witnesses to this social and landscape revolution are passing and with them a living connection to those years that helped shape our world.

We work with a host of local organizations to help them keep this history alive, through fun and informative events at which you can participate in preserving your local history.

Essex was home to as number of 8th USAAF bases between 1942-45, including those at Boxted, Ridgewell, Great Dunmow and Chipping Ongar. And what's grown into Stansted International Airport was once an important air depot supporting these bases.

What's more, the American GI's were often out and about in the local towns and villages. And so their story is one that reaches ever part of our own local footpaths, pubs and village halls.

We're always looking for new volunteers to help with our oral history recordings and archaeology

surveys, and there are loads more of ways you can get involved. Right now we are looking to support local people in Essex to learn about oral history recording techniques and to enable them to make new recordings about this great part of local history.

The recording of memories of the 8th USAAF and their time in the East of England during World War Two is a vital part of our work. Personal eye witness testimonies tell us so much about the lives, loves and losses of local people and their relationships with US service person-nel during wartime.

And if you, a family member or friend has a story to tell about the 8th USAAF and their time in England between 1942-45, please get in touch – all stories are important and we'd love to hear from you!

We'll be holding a special festival weekend in Ipswich between 18-19 June 2016 – and a touring exhibition visiting a number of sites in Essex between July and October 2016. For infor-mation on these events and other ways you can get involved please visit our website.

The Eighth in the East is a three year Heritage Lottery Fund project delivered by New Heritage Solutions CIC in partnership with local organizations, including Eastern Angles.

www.8theast.org : info@8theast.org

Hollywood actress Vivien Leigh speaks to personnel of the 381st Bomb Group in front of B-17

Flying Fortress, Stage Door Canteen during a visit to Ridgewell on 21st April 1944.

To Leigh's left are Colonel Harry Lebar, commanding officer of the 381st, Lieutenant Mary Churchill, youngest daughter of the Prime Minister (partly obscured), and the actors Alfred Lunt and Lawrence Olivier, Leigh's second husband. On this visit Mary Churchill christened this B-17 with a bottle of Coca-Cola.

(Reproduced by courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, American Air Museum, Duxford, FRE 4822)



THE EIGHTH IN THE EAST

Essex and the Hundred Years War

by
Jennifer Ward

War has been the dominant theme in Essex local history over the past two years, with commemorations of the first and second World Wars, the battle of Waterloo, and the Hundred Years War, with the celebrations last October of the English victory at Agincourt. Local historians, however, like to go beyond the celebrations, to disentangle the facts from the myths, and to discover how complete a picture can be built up from the records. With this in mind, the article looks at the involvement of Essex in the Hundred Years War, making use of the Essex Record Office (ERO) documents which were on display in the Search Room in the early months of 2014.

Many records for the Hundred Years War are available in print and online. Chronicles give a vivid picture of battles and sieges and of the great leadership of Edward III and Henry V. England was one of the few centralised countries in Europe in the Middle Ages and royal letters provide details of commissions to military commanders, the raising of troops and war supplies, and fleets to transport them, the collection of taxes and the measures designed to secure peaceful government while the king was abroad. These letters are included in the *Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls* which provide translated summaries of the letters, and they contain much miscellaneous local material.¹ Muster rolls of the troops, dating from 1369–1453, are available online at www.medievalsoldier.org. Some of the taxation rolls have been published, such as the 1327 roll for Essex, and details of the poll taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1380–1 are also available.² This government material is also available in

manuscript at The National Archives (TNA) at Kew.

The local historian aims to combine this material with the sources which were generated locally and which throw light on county society, the economy of Essex, and the county's response to royal orders. Some of this material has been published or is available online, but most remains in manuscript, in private collections and local record offices, as well as at TNA and British Library and elsewhere. On the whole, local records have a much more patchy survival pattern than the government records, remaining often until recently in the custody of local families and passing from one family to another as estates changed hands. Much must have decayed or been thrown away, both during the late Middle Ages or later. What survives is a body of miscellaneous and varied material and it is fortunate that the collections at the ERO throw light on many aspects of the war.

Kings needed troops and money for the war and they had to ensure that law and order would be maintained during their absences. The muster rolls and information in royal letters can be supplemented by documents surviving locally. The king relied on lords and their retainers to supply cavalry for his army. Until the 1370s, infantry, including archers, were recruited in the county by commissioners of array, appointed by the king from noble and leading gentry families; later, retinue leaders became responsible for recruiting mounted archers, while the commission of array's main responsibility was the defence of the coast.

Retainers have got a bad reputation for being violent and disorderly in late medieval

English history, a reputation which did not apply to all. They were recruited as peacetime councillors, officials and servants, as well as soldiers, and the relationship represented support and friendship between lord and retainer, with the retainer receiving livery and a fee from his lord. For instance, in 1315 the village of Tilbury-juxta-Clare was the subject of a lease between Thomas de Vere, son and heir of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, and Sir John de Northtoft. Thomas took the lease of Tilbury for ten years, while John became Thomas's retainer for the same time, receiving for ten years one robe at Christmas and one at Whitsun, a saddle to match those of Thomas's other knights, and a fee of six marks (£4) at Easter. The deed was witnessed by nine men, five of them knights, including William FitzRalph of Pebmarsh (Fig. 1).³

A splendid example of a Hundred Years War indenture survives in the ERO dated 8th February, 1417, when Henry V was planning the conquest of Normandy. It was drawn up between the king and Sir Roger Fiennes. Roger's estates lay mainly in Sussex, where he built his brick mansion at Herstmonceux, but he also held a manor in High Ongar. He agreed to serve for one year, dating from the time of his embarkation for France, with ten men-at-arms and 30 archers, two-thirds of whom were mounted. This retinue was to join the muster at Southampton on 1st May. The soldiers were paid by the king at the daily rate of two shillings for Roger, one shilling for each man-at-arms and six-pence for each archer. The whole group was to appear at the muster suitably armed; each man-at-arms was to bring four horses, and each mounted archer one. The

This indenture was drawn up in 1315 between Thomas de Vere, son and heir of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, and Sir John de Northtoft. It was written in Latin. Two copies were drawn up on the sheet of parchment and cut along the wavy line at the top of the document; each party had a copy which he had to produce in the event of a dispute. The indenture was authenticated by the seal at the bottom which is now missing. According to the terms of the indenture, Thomas leased Tilbury-juxta-Clare from John for ten years, while John became Thomas's retainer for the same time, receiving livery and an annual fee. The deed was witnessed by five knights and four other men.

[illegible]

king was responsible for the cost of victuals. Further provisions concerned the ransoms paid for prisoners, and any land that Roger gained was to be 'reasonable' in amount; he is known to have acquired land during the conquest of Normandy. The king provided transport to and from Normandy; it was laid down that Roger had to return with the king or with his permission to have a free voyage.⁴

The ERO also holds an indenture between Richard II and Sir Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, the king's half-brother, dated 20th November, 1384, concerning his appointment as governor of the castle and town of Cherbourg, one the ports then held by England on the Atlantic coast of France. Sir Thomas was not an Essex landowner, and the presence of the indenture in the ERO is due to the accidental survival of documents. This indenture is less precise in detail than that of Sir Roger Fiennes. Sir Thomas was to have as many men-at-arms, crossbowmen and archers as he thought necessary for the defence of the town, and to receive all ransoms and profits of war. He was to receive £4,000 a year, payable quarterly, and the king was to pay for any purchases of artillery. Provision was made for victuals and for transport to and from Cherbourg (Fig. 2).⁵ Cherbourg was relinquished by the English in 1394, five years after a long truce had been agreed with France.

The prospect of ransoms from prisoners and other war-profits attracted lords, knights, archers and others to join the royal army and campaign in France. Not all grew rich from the war, and not all survived. Some died in battle or from disease, such as Sir John de Wauton who died during the siege of Calais in 1346-7 and was buried at Wimbish.⁶ Some were taken prisoner, such as John Lord Bouchier, who was captured in 1370 and only freed eight years later; during his imprisonment his wife was in charge of his estates and raised money for his ransom.⁷

Presumably, letters informed Essex people of what was happening in France, but few have survived. This is hardly surprising, as they were written on scraps of parchment, were usually short, formal and undated, and the carrier was entrusted with information that the writer did not wish to put in the letter.

The ERO holds a letter written by Queen Isabella, widow of Edward II, to Dame Alys de la Rokele, giving news about 1345 of a great battle (possibly the battle of Crécy of 1346) and of naval operations against the Scots in which Ralph Lord Stafford was involved.⁸ It survives because it was later used as part of a custumal or bailiff's account which was written on the back of the letter. On the whole, it is likely that Essex people were well informed of the progress of the war, not just by letters, but orally by returning sailors and soldiers, fishermen and merchants, all of whose news was presumably spread further by gossip.

Lords, knights and gentry were not only involved in fighting, but in county government, the administration of justice, the raising of money, soldiers and supplies for the war, and attendance at parliament and royal councils, as well as running their estates and enjoying a comfortable and ostentatious lifestyle with their families. Occasionally, the survival of a roll of household expenses throws light on these activities. The account-roll of Giles Lucas, steward of the household of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, for 1431-2 includes a paragraph entitled *Expenses of the Lord and Lady*, and covers the earl's life both nationally and locally. John was active in the defence of Normandy at a time when the English were losing ground in the war. According to the account, in 1431-2, he attended on Henry VI at Canterbury, was present at a judicial session of the peace at Colchester, conducted a law-case of his own and went on pilgrimage.⁹ The account of Robert

Power, Earl John's receiver, for 1442-3, includes payments to Thomas Goldwyn, a London skinner, presumably for furs, and to a draper and a London goldsmith.¹⁰

The raising of taxes was crucial for success in war, and the taxation records give information of the peasants and townspeople who made up the majority of the population. In the thirteenth century and the fourteenth down to 1332, taxes were levied on a fraction of a household's movable goods. Each tax was separately assessed by local men under the supervision of commissioners appointed by the crown and chosen from the county gentry. The rolls for each county, arranged by hundreds and vills, with their lists of taxpayers and their assessments, were sent to the Exchequer and are now in the National Archives. The poor, with less than ten shillings' worth of goods, were not taxed, and there appears to have been under-assessment at the top of the social scale. What we have in the rolls are lists of the better-off inhabitants, and the range of payments throws light on the comparative wealth of different parts of the county. At Boxted, for instance, 33 taxpayers paid £2 16s. 0½d. in 1327. The list was headed by the lords of the two manors; Richard de la Ryvere of Rivers Hall, Peter de Boxstede and Margaret de Boxstede of Boxted Hall paid 7s. 8d., 5s. 6d. and 6s. 4d. respectively. Fourteen tenants paid between 2s. and 3s.; 16 paid one shilling or less.¹¹

In 1334, the system changed, and a lump sum, based on the tax of 1332, was imposed on each village and town. This tax, known as the fifteenth and tenth, was levied until the early seventeenth century, although the sums demanded were reduced over time.¹² The poll taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1380-1 were a short-lived experiment by the government when the war was going badly and more money was desperately needed. The third poll tax, which many

evaded, triggered the Great Revolt of 1381. In Essex, the records for 1377 and 1380-1 have been published; no returns survive for Essex for the graduated poll tax of 1379. All these taxation records are to be found at TNA.¹³

It is rare to find details of how the fifteenth and tenth was assessed in the village or town. However, a list of taxpayers survives for the village of Boxted, possibly dating from about 1334, and surviving in a copy of about 1450, and containing 112 entries for the two manors of Rivers Hall and Boxted Hall (Fig. 3).¹⁴ The tax was no longer assessed on movable goods but on land, usually on tenements, but woodland and meadow were mentioned occasionally. Each entry gives the name of the present holder and/or the name of the holding; sometimes the name of the previous holder is given as well. To take four assessments from the list for Boxted Hall:

'From John Culpack for the tenement called Strantons, 12d.

From the same John Culpack for a grove sometime of William Culpack 2d.

From the tenement called Herdes late of William Barri now of John Culpack 4d.

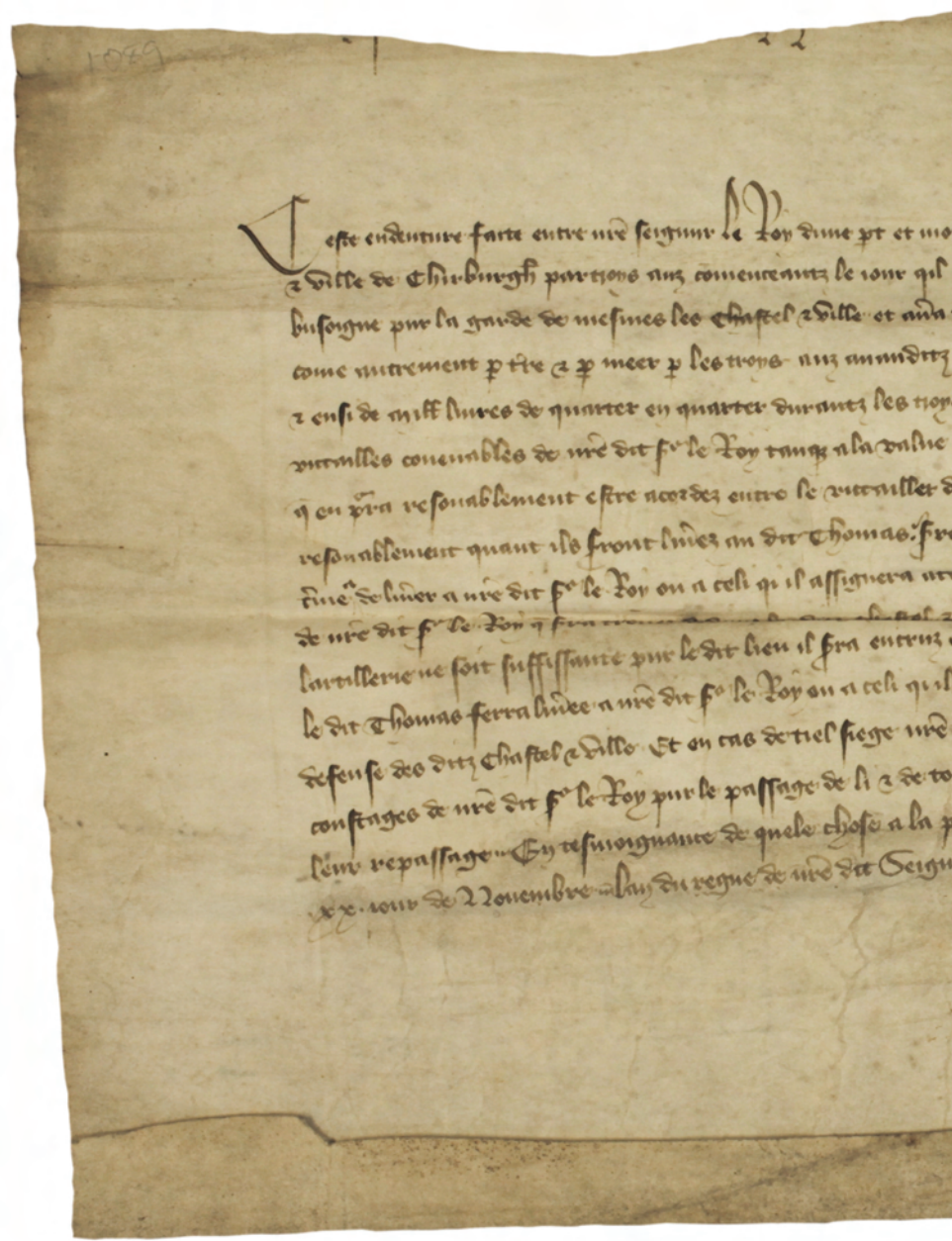
From the same John Culpack for one acre of meadow late of Henry Warner 3d.'

Where the name of the previous holder is given, there is no indication as to whether the present tenant had acquired the land by

inheritance, marriage or purchase. Most of the tenants were men, but a few women are found, and their holdings might come from inheritance, or, if they were widows, from dower. Some men like John Culpack had built up a holding of several pieces of land, indicating a social hierarchy among the villagers. It is likely that most of the villagers were peasants, but Robert Cumberton, who held six pieces of property in the two manors and owed 4s. 2d. in tax, was described as *generosus* or gentleman. The value of pieces of property varied, the tax due ranging from 21d. to 1d.

The assessment points to the co-operation essential between central government and the localities in raising taxes for the successful prosecution of the war. The everyday processes of local government had to be maintained

during the war, and increasingly the county gentry were responsible for this. The leading official in each county was the sheriff who was appointed by the crown from the county elite, in most cases from the knights. The man appointed usually served in other capacities at various times, in addition to involvement in fighting abroad; he was generally familiar with the work of a commissioner of array, a commissioner for taxation, an escheator responsible for estates which came into the hands of the crown, and as a knight of the shire representing the county in parliament. The sheriff was normally appointed for one year, but some men, notably Sir John de Coggeshale, held office for considerably longer.¹⁵ The sheriff was responsible for paying the money due from the county to



the royal Exchequer, and presided over the county court which, in addition to its judicial business, was responsible for returning members to parliament. He also received orders from the crown to sort out many miscellaneous local matters. For instance, in 1358 he was demanding £8 in gold from the prior of Thoby priory which had been found on a man killed by thieves at Mountnessing.¹⁶

During the fourteenth century, much local judicial work was taken over by justices of the peace; after a considerable period of judicial experiment, they were permitted to hear and determine

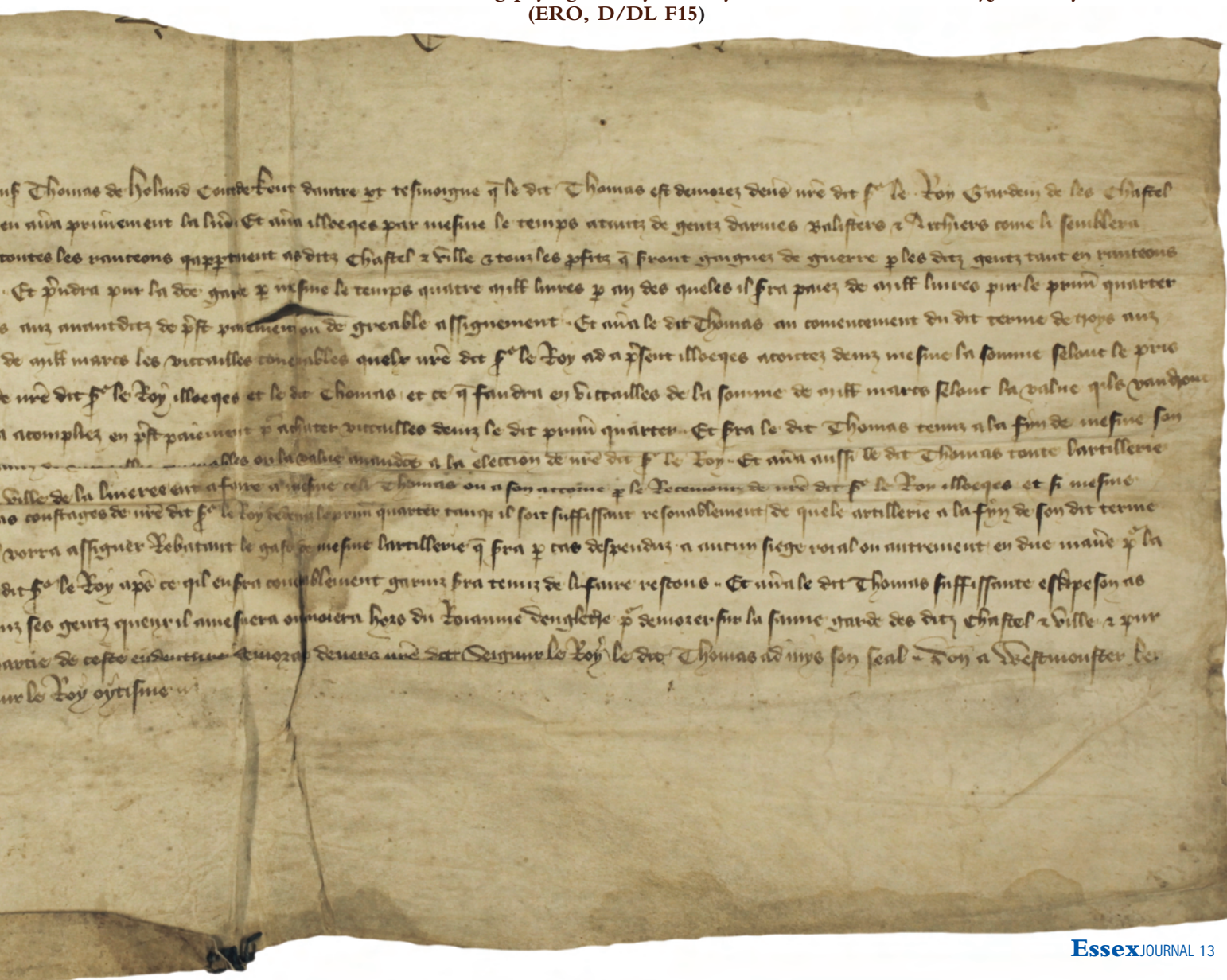
cases of felony and trespass from 1361, and for enforcing a growing body of statute law, notably the labour legislation brought in after the Black Death to enforce price and wage rates. It is fortunate that for Essex some early records of Sessions of the Peace survive, for 1351 and 1377-9, and have been edited and published in the original Latin with an English translation.¹⁷

The sheriff was also responsible for law and order at the manorial level, but by the fourteenth century much of this jurisdiction was in the lands of the lord of the manor. In places where the sheriff retained this

jurisdiction he held his tourn in each hundred twice a year when the tithings in each vill were checked and crimes reported; serious crimes were passed on to the royal justices, while minor crimes were dealt with at the tourn. In manors where the lord exercised the sheriff's jurisdiction, he held a court leet to deal with petty crime and to hold the view of frankpledge where the tithings were checked. Every man over the age of 12 had to belong to a tithing which was responsible for its members' good behaviour. The tithing comprised a group of ten or 12 men, or a group of men from a particular part of the

2. Indenture between Sir Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and Richard II, 1384.

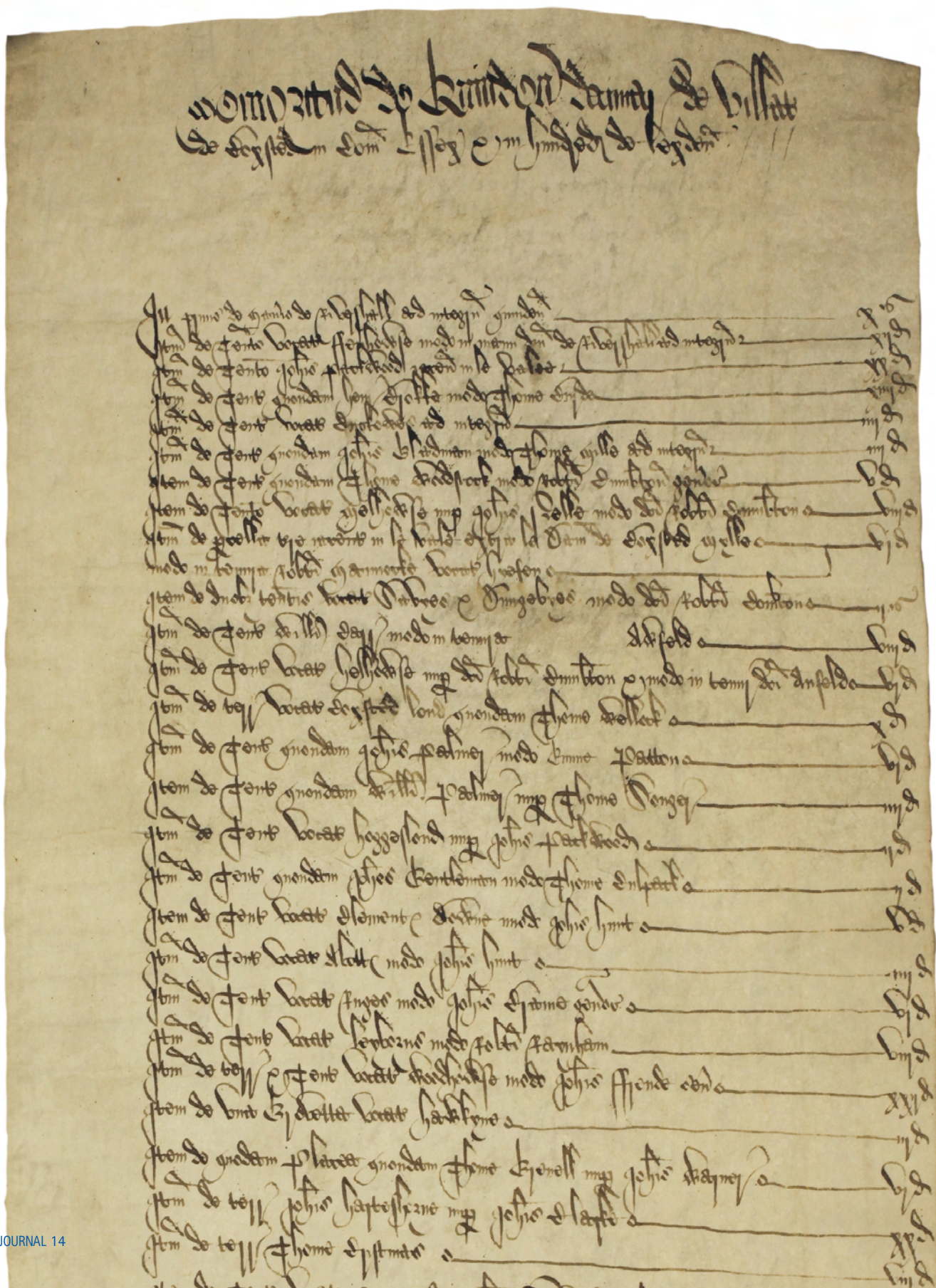
This indenture was written in French, dated at the end and issued at Westminster. Its fine seal (lower left), depicts a hind couchant regardant, wearing a crown as a collar from which hangs a chain with the shield of arms. It concerned the defence of Cherbourg which was then in English hands and the appointment of Sir Thomas Holland as governor of the castle and town. Provision was made to raise men-at-arms, crossbowmen and archers, with the king paying for any artillery. Thomas was to receive £4,000 a year. (ERO, D/DL F15)



3. Tax assessment for Boxted, c.1334.

Documents recording individual tax assessments for the period after 1334, when a lump sum was imposed by the royal government on each village and town, are rare. This example shows that in Boxted the assessment was based on each peasant's landholding, and gives the name of the present holder and sometimes his predecessor. Some men held several pieces of land and would have been better off than others. The list would have included free and unfree peasants, but this detail was not recorded. The document is not dated and survives in a copy of c.1450.

(ERO, D/DRg 1/35)



manor. The head men, or capital pledges reported on any criminal offences. The court also enforced the assize of bread and ale; ale-tasters reported on the quality of the ale brewed and fined offenders, often women. In some manors the fines in fact represented licences to brew.¹⁸

At the court of the manor of Stisted Hall held in Whitsun week, 1385, the view of frankpledge was held and the tithings checked; two women were fined for selling bread contrary to the assize, two for brewing and selling ale, again contrary to the assize, two ale-tasters were fined for not carrying out their office, and two new ale-tasters were elected by the capital pledges. Minor offences mainly concerned the maintenance of roads and ditches.¹⁹ The lord of the manor was fined for not scouring a ditch ten perches long and another 20 perches long; he was ordered to clean them out. Three men had dug pits in the 'common way' and another in the 'royal way', and were ordered to restore the roads. The rector of Stisted church was ordered to remove the blockage he had placed at *Berkksteyle*. Cases concerning hue and cry were heard as well. Here, as elsewhere, the community was regulating its own affairs; profits went to the lord, but this did not prevent the capital pledges from presenting his offences.

The most shattering event of the mid-fourteenth century was undoubtedly the Black Death, the plague which killed up to half the population, with further deaths occurring during the subsequent outbreaks down to 1665. It was not until the 1520s that the population again began to rise. Plague had long-term effects on all social groups as well as on the Hundred Years War. There does not seem to have been a fall in recruitment to armies, but, with the renewal of war in 1369, the drop in population and the frequency of campaigns entailed higher taxation which was increasingly resented in view

of England's lack of success in France. The evasion of the third poll tax and the outbreak of the Great Revolt marked the culmination of the discontent, and it is significant that no further poll taxes were levied after the revolt's suppression.

Deaths from plague were recorded in many manorial court rolls since the lord was entitled to receive heriot, comprising the best beast, on the death of a serf (an unfree peasant), and details were sometimes also entered of the widow's dower and the guardianship of an heir who was under age; if there was no heir, the holding reverted to the lord. It has to be remembered when looking at the court rolls' record of deaths of serfs that the deaths of wives, children, servants, and free tenants and their families usually went unrecorded. The situation can for instance be seen on the court rolls of Fingrith manor in Blackmore where at least 70 tenants died between January and June, 1349;²⁰ the real death toll would have been considerably higher. It says much for the high population levels in Essex villages before the plague that heirs were found for most of the vacant Fingrith holdings. The situation was less dramatic on the manor in Margaretting held by Joan, widow of Philip de Firstling; the court roll for 11th August, 1349, shows that the holdings of 13 men and one woman were in Joan's hands.²¹ No reference was made to the plague, but this was the most likely reason for the holdings to have come into her hands.

The drastic fall in population led directly to the imposition of a freeze of prices and wages in the Ordinance of Labourers of 1349 and the Statute of Labourers of 1351. Peasants, however, found that lords were willing to pay higher wages in order to get the harvest in and keep agricultural routines going. Over the next 30 years, discontent increased over unfree tenure which prevented serfs from moving away from the manor and tied him to labour

services and other obligations, such as heriot, at a time when he could earn higher wages elsewhere and secure his freedom. Court rolls reflect growing restiveness, with references to the departure of serfs, damage to the lord's crops, and refusal to perform services. Serfs living outside the manor posed a problem at the manor of Berden, and at the court held in November, 1360, four men were to be distrained to perform homage to the lord. At the same court, numerous trespasses were recorded of peasants' livestock in the lord's crops and in his park; one man was accused of carrying away the lord's oats and five of cutting timber in the lord's wood.²²

Discontent was one of the principal causes of the outbreak of the Great Revolt at Brentwood at the end of May, 1381. Many manorial court rolls were destroyed during the Revolt and this explains why many manors only have rolls starting in the 1380s. These reflect a clamp-down by lords in the immediate aftermath of the rising. At a court of the manor of Hutton Hall towards the end of 1381, it was recorded that the serf, John Hose had recently committed trespasses against the lord and acted in contempt 'after the time of rumour in the country', and his holding of one messuage and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land had been taken into the lord's hands. At the court, he appealed to the lord's mercy and paid a fine of 3s. 4d. to recover his holding.²³ At least 80 tenants recovered their holdings at the court of Benfleet Hall manor, in South Benfleet, on 26th July, 1382. Here the court rolls had been burned by the rebels. A typical entry reads, 'At this court, the lord made a new grant to William Lok and Joan his wife of one cottage with appurtenances called Bollescote, to hold to them and William's heirs at the will of the lord by services and customs [of the manor]. William and Joan did fealty to the lord and paid a fine of 12d' (Fig. 4).²⁴

4. Peasant readmissions at Benfleet Hall, 1382.

The illustration shows part of the manorial court roll of Benfleet Hall in South Benfleet, meeting on '26 July in the sixth year of the reign of Richard II' (1382), as is set out in the heading at the top of the document. In the aftermath of the Great Revolt of 1381 when the court rolls had been burnt, the court arranged for at least 80 tenants to recover their holdings in return for the payment of a fine to the lord and the performance of fealty (an oath to be loyal to the lord). The fines vary and probably reflect the size and value of the holdings. The roll was written in Latin; the fines and fealty were recorded in the margin using Roman numerals, as was medieval practice. 'William Lok & Joan' (his wife), their cottage called 'Bollescote', and the '12d' (xii^d) they paid to the lord of the manor are highlighted. (ERO, D/DGs M204)

(ERO, D/DGs M204)

Southdown
 Flore
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 An. 22. d.
 An. 23. d.
 An. 24. d.
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 An. 26. d.
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 An. 97. d.
 An. 98. d.
 An. 99. d.
 An. 100. d.

The peasants at South Benfleet did not better their terms of tenure. At manors such as Great Canfield in 1390, trespasses by tenants' livestock on the lord's grain and pasture were frequent.²⁵ However, during the fifteenth century, lords found that they could no longer enforce servile obligations and these gradually lapsed. They found, moreover, that farming no longer brought in the profits which they had enjoyed before the Black Death. Although grain prices had held up in the 1350s, they fell dramatically in and after 1375, and lords faced a difficult time as a result of low prices and declining incomes. They therefore decided to cease farming their lands themselves, and leased them out. At Messing Baynard in 1400-1, the lord's demesne still produced some grain and stock was reared, but much of the arable land and the parks had been leased.²⁶ It became increasingly difficult to collect money due from the manors, as seen in John Lord Bouchier's estreat roll of 1395 which recorded the debts owed by bailiffs and estate officials administering his lands. The clerk drawing up the estreat roll extracted the dates from other estate documents, so that his lord's officials could be pressed for payment (Fig. 5).²⁷

In building up a picture of Essex involvement in the Hundred Years War, the historian embarks on what is essentially a treasure hunt, searching the records of central government as well as the local material which by chance and good luck has survived. Many of the government records have been printed and online publication is adding to their number, but much local material remains in manuscript and may be found in The National Archives, British Library, Essex Record Office or other county libraries and record offices. Even when we have all the sources surviving, they will not necessarily answer all our questions. However, with a readiness to question a miscellaneous range of sources and the

use of historical imagination in putting the picture together, we can discover how Essex people played their part in fighting the war, raising taxes and running the county at a time of demographic and social upheaval and change.

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3. Essex Record Office (ERO), D/DCw T46/2, lease and deed of retainer. Thomas died in 1329, two years before his father.
4. ERO, D/DL F15, indenture between Henry V and Sir Roger Fiennes. The document is illustrated in Essex Archives Online; its seal is missing.
5. ERO, D/DRg 1/62, indenture between Richard II and Thomas Holland, earl of Kent. The document has retained its seal depicting a hind couchant regardant, wearing a crown as a collar from which hangs a chain with the shield of arms.
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Acknowledgments

I should like to thank Katharine Schofield for her advice on documents, and Hannah Salisbury for organising the display in the Search Room in advance of the ERO *Fighting Essex Soldier* conference, held on Saturday 8th March 2014.

The Author

Jennifer Ward spent most of her career teaching and researching medieval English and European history at Goldsmiths College, University of London. In addition to her publications on Essex history, she has published books on the history of medieval women, including *Elizabeth de Burgh Lady of Clare (1295-1360): Household and Other Records* (Suffolk Records Society, vol. 57, Woodbridge, 2014), and *Women in Medieval Europe 1200-1500* (London, 2002; 2nd edition 2016).

5. Estreat roll of John Lord Bouchier, 1395.

An estreat roll recorded the debts owed by bailiffs and estate officials to the lord of the estate and was used to put pressure on officials to secure payment after the audit of accounts at the end of the financial year which ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas (29 September). It was written in Latin with the name of each manor in the left-hand margin and the amount owed on the right. These debts concerned the manor of Stanstead Hall in Halstead where John Lord Bouchier had his principal residence.
(ERO, D/DVz 302)

Exiit apud Vinorum Symon ballioz ppositoz
alioz omniumpz dni Johis dñi de Conspicuo
sup auditu compotoz suoz in vigilia scti Michaelis
Anno dñi mccc lxxv odo post tringigesim
xx

Stansted	Debitu sup dampn dñonit ite	xxxli s
	Willm piggils cu xij s de pro ena	
	vate a lumen p ipm de se ut patet in	xxij s
	pote ampt annu pcedent	iii s
	Guboz Schephe	
	Robertus Galtred p amputat ena copio	vi s
	Willm Galtred p amputat ena	viii s
	in feto dñi stoz p d oq post dat	
	istmo dñe xx s et exat in oq annu	
	p d sequent qñt anno xx s ad rōs pñt	
	a oñ gñtis equalit quousq pñt oñ ma	
	vixit dñm pñt pñt	
	Adam Galtred plana oñ vend huc anno	iii s
	Galtred in feto oñ annu a pñt dñi	xxij s
	Willm Galtred de pro vend gñtū s vend	xxij s
	Johem Pogg de Galtred de pro vend	vi s
	gñtū s vend	
	Robertus Galtred de Galtred p gñtū	viii s
	Galtred vend huc anno	
	Et Johem Wyllby computatur dñi s	viii s
	quos Willm Galtred dñi de pñt in	
	dñi s vend	

Robert Bedell (1624 - c.1700)

of Fairstead, Essex, and New England

by

Margo Miller

By the end of the Great Migration to America in the 1640s, the county of Essex had sent its share of families to plant English values in New England's thin soil. Those from Fairstead and Terling would produce an American President, the first American dictionary maker, and the world's first professional landscape architect.¹ There were also men like Fairstead's Robert Bedell who was the common coin of immigration, the itinerant youth, and this is his story.

Of yeoman farming stock, he must have made his way slowly and sometimes painfully in the new land. If the Essex families already settled in New England helped his progress, giving him shelter, sending him on to the next household, he left no trace. He was unlettered, scrawling his mark as a free-form letter B, but the mundane but durable identifier of his cattle – 'The marke of Robert Bedell under each yeare a hafpeny'² – allows us to follow in his peregrinations in the New World from 1648 to his death about 1703 (Fig. 1).

The reasons for his emigration are matters for conjecture. The religious turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries affected several Bedell lives, one even in Ireland. In 1574, Thomas Bedell of Writtle was sentenced to have his ears cut off for his seditious statement that Queen Elizabeth was a 'secret papist'.³ Indeed, religious differences accounted

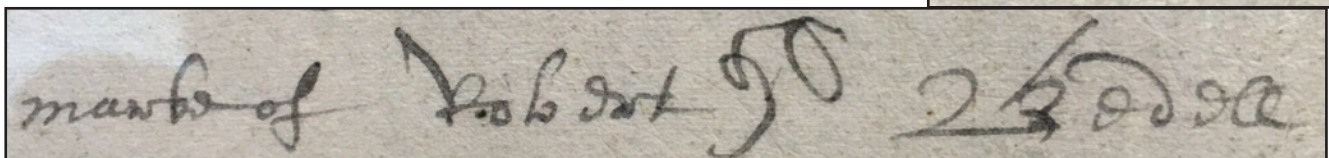
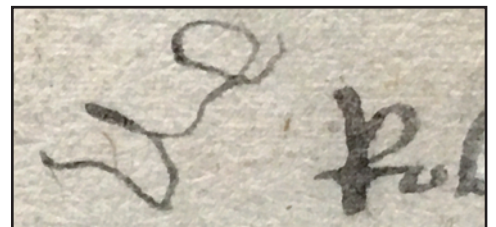
for the greater part of the Great Migration, as historians call the Puritan diaspora of parishioners following their ministers' journeys to New England pulpits. There were also the 'planters', encouraged by the Crown to exploit New England for old England.⁴ In Robert Bedell's case primogeniture may have been a factor. He was a second son, born to John Bedell of Fairstead, and baptized there on 1st September 1624. Had he been the heir, he might have ended his days farming the Bedell family holdings in Essex. He might have added a trade, like his Bedell cousins who were tanners. But his father died young, in 1632⁵ and off went Robert. In 1644, at Connecticut in faraway New England, he was sentenced to be whipped and 'branded in the hand' for theft?⁶

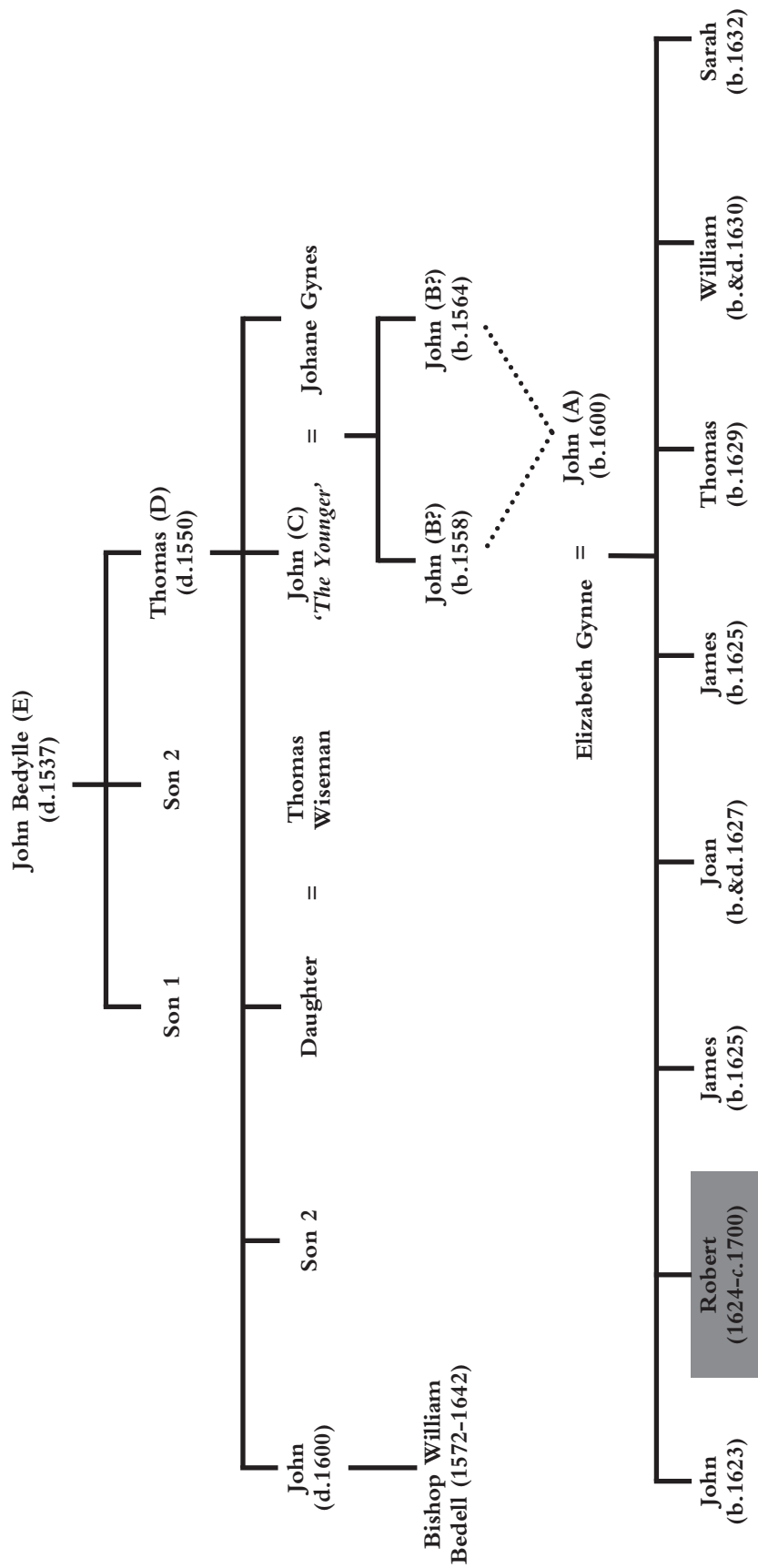
But for this bumpy start, Robert's manhood was uneventful. The new life must have been especially gruelling even when compared to the settled agricultural life he left behind. England had been farmed well before Domesday but New England farmers could spend a year hacking a single acre from heavy woods, and often left tree stumps to rot before finishing pasture into arable land.⁷ Robert was only a sometime 'Yankee',⁸ as the cosmopolitan Dutch of Manhattan dismissed New Englanders, for he spent the rest of his years on New York's Long Island. His descendants would migrate well up the Hudson River.⁹

Although his immediate family lived in Fairstead or Terling, there were earlier Bedells in surrounding villages. Some leased land in the Manor of Writtle from 1431 to 1472. William Bedell was a partner in a land lease, 1431-32. He also leased land 1442-49. Thomas atte Lee was described as of 'Beadles End' in a 1450 land dispute. John Bedell's leased lands of 1460-68 passed to his widow Alice, and she leased the same in 1471-72.¹⁰ In the Writtle church is a brass showing eight little Bedells and their parents in fifteenth-century ruffs. Because so many subsequent Bedells were named John, I will letter the line of descent generation by generation from E for 1537 down to A for Robert's father who died in 1632 (Fig. 2). Here, too, must be noted the Tudor custom of giving the same name to two living sons in the same generation, and designating them as 'The Elder' and 'The Younger'.

Robert's great, great, great, grandfather, John (E) Bedyll, was of Much (Great) Waltham when he made his will in 1537.¹¹ Third-named son in John (E)'s will was Thomas (D), who, by the time of his death in 1550, had settled at Black Notley, leasing Black Notley Hall from the Right Worshipful Mistress Denys Lewson of London. One of Thomas's daughters

1. Two versions of Robert Bedell's 'scrawling' mark from *The Antientest Book for 1648, 1649, 1650*. (Reproduced by courtesy of the City of New London, City Clerks Office, Connecticut)





2. Bedell family tree.

would marry a Wiseman of Great Waltham, and Thomas (D) would leave his own youngest child, yet another John (C), money for education by the Wiseman family. John was to have 10 pounds and he was to 'abide and dwell' with Thomas Wiseman, who, also for 10 pounds, was to see the boy was taught to write and to read within the space of one year.¹²

It is not known if John (C) The Younger went to Wiseman to school, for he was married that year, at Fairstead¹³ to Johane Gynes. In any case, he was well set up for marriage, his father Thomas (D) having left him three parcels of land in Black Notley, including customary land called Wisemans, as well as the remaining years

in the lease of Beauchamps. As a starter kit for farming, the younger John was given his father's oxen, geldings and mares 'with all harnesses and irons belonging to the plow.'¹⁴ He also got bullocks, 21 sheep, sow and 6 young hogs, quantities of barley, peas, corn, and wheat, all of which were to remain on the 'Beauchamps ferme for the use of John Bedyll the Younger.' Should, however, he die within the year, Beauchamps was to go to John Bedyll the Elder, and the livestock, grain and money equally to siblings, Thomas, Margery, and Alice.¹⁵ Beauchamps would remain in the Bedell family till at least 1706, when Robert's younger brother Thomas brother died there.¹⁶

John (C) the Younger of Beauchamps would beget John (B), the grandfather of Robert. As his parents named two sons John, he is either the boy baptized on 12th January 1558 or another baptized on 12th December 1564, both at Fairstead.¹⁷ He seems not to have married in or near Fairstead, nor is his wife's name known, but they had eight children, all baptized at Fairstead. Of the six sons, John (A) Bedell The Younger was the last child, baptized on 16th September

1600.¹⁸ Although five generations of Bedells are mentioned in the Fairstead parish record, on 12th December 1622, John (A) The Younger was married at Terling. That parish register gives her name as Elizabeth Gynne, but although Gynnes were long recorded in Terling, there is no record of her baptism there (or at Fairstead where John the Younger (C) had married Johane Gynes in 1550. Fig. 3).

John (A) and Elizabeth had seven children, of whom five lived to be named in their father's 1632 will. John was baptized on 3rd July 1623 at Fairstead, either born two months premature or conceived before his parents married. Then came Robert on 1st September 1624, James on 2nd October 1625, Joan on 8th March and buried 10th May 1627, another James on 2nd May 1628, Thomas on 12th May 1629, William on 14th October and buried 3rd November 1630, and Sarah on 9th January 1632. Most were buried there.¹⁹

The Bedells were certainly a rural family, largely supported by land holdings, but in Robert's generation, they had started to supplement farming with tanning. In 20 October 1648, Robert's elder brother John was described as 'tanner of Fairstead', co-trustee of land at North Weald, Essex, in connection with the marriage of William Thurrowgood of Roxwell to Martha Skelton, widow, of Steeple.²⁰ A cousin, John (b.1645), was a tanner at Fuller Street, Fairstead, having received the property in the 1665 will of his father, Francis Bedell of Fairstead.²¹ Public records show the family was law-abiding. When Bedell names do appear, it is generally as solid citizens making or witnessing wills, acting as overseers and guardians, serving as jurors for the Hundred of Witham, standing surety for accused persons or giving testimony as the victims of theft. Several Bedells did succumb to common sins of omission: keeping unlicensed alehouses, making bricks without an appren-

ticeship or failing to help keep the roads in repair.

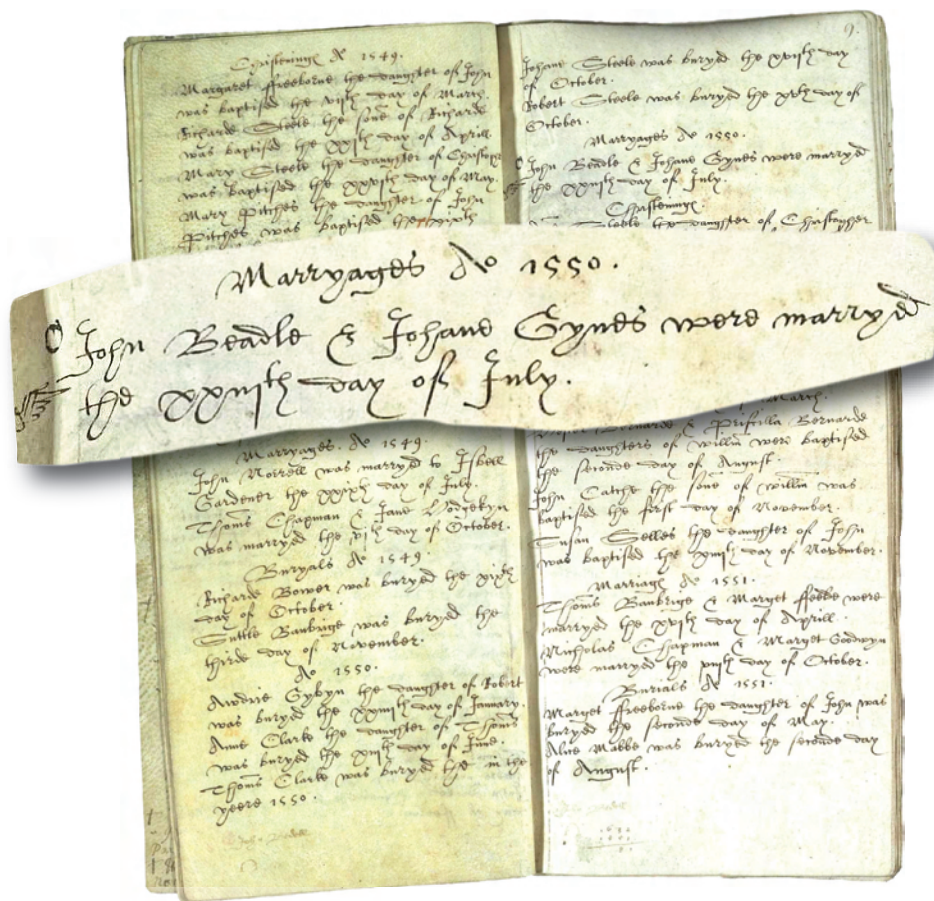
If the Essex Bedells were Puritan, they also seemed to have attended the usual Church of England services, for I can find no record that they were presented at the Quarter Sessions to answer for the crime of attending the Bible-driven 'lectures' instead of participating in the full Anglican liturgy. In contrast, several of the ladies of the Mildmay household at Terling Place were cited almost monthly for failure to attend church.²² What caused Thomas Bedell's statement about his Queen is unknown. He kept his ears but was fined a ruinous 100 pounds. Described as 'gentleman of Kelvedon', in his 1591 will, he averred he tried to repay all that he owed, and hoped his executor William Bedell would help. William declined, asking to be removed as executor.²³

When Robert's father, John (A) Bedell the Younger died in 1632, he bequeathed no land to his widow. He was only 32, and it may be that he and his family lived at Beauchamps²⁴ - and he farmed with his father. On 14th October 1632, a few days before he died, he drew up his will:

'I John Bedell the younger of Fairstead in the county of Essex, yeoman, being sick in body but in good and perfect remembrance praise God,' bequeath unto 'my five children...unto every one of them three score pounds of good and lawful money of England to be paid to them at their several ages of one and twenty-one.'

Sara was not yet a year old. Should any of the five die, the others would divide that portion. The poor of Fairstead were left 20 shillings. His widow was his executor but:

'provided always that if my said wife shall happen to marry that my will and meaning is that Mr Robert



3. Pages from the earliest surviving parish register for Fairstead, St Mary the Virgin, with the marriage entry for John (C) Beadle to Johane Gynes, July 1550. Presumably it was Beadle who marked the entry with the pointing hand, or manicule, in his role as clerk or churchwarden to highlight it. His signature, at the bottom of both pages, is accompanied by his mark or symbol which appears to be an upturned horseshoe. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, D/P 310/1/1, image 6. I am grateful to Mrs Glynis Morris for drawing my attention to this entry.)

Mildmay of Terling, Esq., and Mr John Bedell my father shall enter upon so much of my goods and chattels as shall amount unto the sum of three hundred pounds for the payment of my [five] children's legacies aforesaid.²⁵

The inclusion of local grandee, Robert Mildmay, as an overseer of the will benefitting Robert is interesting. He was the third son of John Mildmay of Cretingham, Suffolk, and was in residence at Terling in the year of Robert's birth. The manor had been settled on him by his father, who had it from his father, Thomas Mildmay, Esq., of Moulsham, a part of Chelmsford.²⁶ It was Thomas Mildmay who had presented the Puritan minister, Rev Thomas Weld to the

vicarage of Terling; Robert Mildmay and his nephew and heir, another Robert, and the latter's son, a third Robert, would appoint the next three vicars, the last in 1687.²⁷ Yet in 1637, Robert Mildmay was involved (with Thomas Bedell and others) in the granting of a tavern licence, which was opposed by his own minister. By March 1639/40, he was 'old Father Mildmay in Sir Humphrey Mildmay's diary entry about a visit to his cousin at Terling in March 1639/40.²⁸ Were he and the elder Bedell friends? Was the childless Mildmay a man to be cultivated? Was Robert named for him? He is the only Robert in the five generations of this little Bedell history.

There was a strong Mildmay contingent already settled at

Boston and Cambridge, and impeccably Puritan. A young kinsman, Sir William Mildmay of Chelmsford, whose grandmother was a Winthrop of Suffolk, was at Harvard, Class of 1647. Terling's Rev Weld, was ministering to Boston's First Parish, Roxbury.

Remarry Robert's mother did, in August 1634, to John Elletson of Fairstead Hall, down the hill from Beauchamps. She bore him two children, and died in 1639, leaving him with a brood of seven minors, and he would remarry.²⁹ The orphaned Robert was now 15. Perhaps his grandfather made the case he should try his luck in America. Fare for a boy was five pounds. He may have travelled with an Essex family – some of them kin by marriage – acting in *loco parentis*, or worked as a servant.

If Robert's immediate family stayed pretty much put in central Essex, his own journey abroad is quite typical of the 'second wave' of the Great Migration to America. It is not known how or when young Robert Bedell crossed the Atlantic. It is believed that fewer than half the passenger lists survive. Some lists were never made, ships slipping out lest the captain be prosecuted for conveying passengers without a permit, and understandably the Puritans lay low or sailed under Anglican colours.³⁰ After the Mayflower in 1620, the most studied voyages are two made in 1630, the *Mary & John* from England's West Country, and the 12 ship Winthrop Fleet of 1630, with the *Arbella* carrying Puritans from Groton in Suffolk (with Winthrop writing of the shining city America should be). If Robert Bedell had sailed in those decades, he might well have spent his days in or around Boston. By the 1640s, though, parishes had filled and newcomers urged to move on.

Geography will help explain his footholds in rapidly growing New England. By the 1640s, towns around Boston – where so many ships dropped off Essex and other immigrants – had filled

to bursting, and newcomers were briskly told to move on to greener pastures. The natural way out was overland to the west. Massachusetts, as will be familiar from a map (Fig. 4), stretches the breadth of New England, from Boston on the Atlantic to my native Berkshires on the New York state line. About midway is the broad Connecticut River, and here the outer migration turned sharp left and followed the water banks south into Connecticut, making new towns as they went along. With the exception of young Mildmay and Rev Weld, every Fairstead or Terling family so far mentioned settled in a Connecticut town. Robert was arrested at one (Wethersfield) and owned land in another (New London). Also cultivating Connecticut was a Bedell benefactor named John Winthrop Jr. His father was the famed Puritan cleric, John Winthrop, first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony,

for whom Boston should be as 'a city upon a hill'.

Once on land, young Robert would hope to find names familiar from home to take him in. Already well settled were the Stebbing brothers, Martin of Roxbury, baptized 5th November 1592 at Bocking, and Rowland on the Connecticut River at Springfield, baptized at Bocking on 28th April 1594.³¹ A Margaret Bedell had already married a Thomas Stebbing at Maldon All Saints in 1583.

Sometime in 1633, Terling received happy news from its Puritan minister, the Rev Thomas Weld, now at Boston. In danger of being removed by the Anglican establishment for non-conformity, he and his family had travelled to New England on the *William & Francis*, arriving in Boston on 5th June 1632. 'I know of no other place on the whole globe of the earth where I would rather be than here,' he wrote to his 'people at Tarling' about 1633.³²

Word may also have reached home of the Connecticut settlers, several with links to the Bedells. By intermarriage with the Shache/Sache family, they were related to the Olmsteds and the Burchards, and by propinquity to the Steeles, all of Fairstead, all of whom had sailed in the 1630s to America. The first sight of Robert there is an unhappy one.

He was twenty when accused of stealing and was jailed at Wethersfield, Connecticut:

'Dec. the XIth, 1644. Robert Bedle is adjudged to restore double for the seuerall thefts acknowledged by him, and to be seuerly whipped and branded in the hand vppo Wensday next...Bedle stole fro Mr Blakman, of gun-powder, ij pouwd; Fro wydowe Foote, of Rye; iij bush; Fro Tho: Welles, 2 sacks; Fro Rich: Mylls, 1 blanked; Fro Tho: Tracy, 1 sacke.'³³

4. Location map of places mentioned in the text. Outline of Essex to same scale for comparison. (C. D'Alton)



Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors CC BY-SA

Map shows modern state boundaries

The court's reaction was certainly heated. Was it simple theft, and the court's sentence a warning to others? A breach of trust? Had Robert worked for Blackman, Tracy and Wells, or the widow Foote. Was he the bad, itinerant stranger: none his victims bear Fairstead or Terling names. Was he equipping himself for moving on and living rough, the gunpowder, blanket and sacks for survival and the rye a commodity for barter? The very date specified for his whipping carries not only civic disapproval but religious justification. By New England custom, 'lecture day' was Thursday, and included edification through discourse on the Bible that supplemented the Sunday sermon.

'A Prticular Court, March the 5th, 1644/45. Robert Bedle, for his loathsu and beastly demeanor, is adiudged to be brought forth the next lecture day, to be seuerely scourdged, and to be kept in the howse of correction a fortnight longer, and then brought forth againe to be publiquely whipped, and then to be bownd to appeare at euery quarter Court to be whipped, vntill the Court see some reformation in him, & shall see cause to release him.'

One of the 12 jurors this day was 'Tho: Tracy' and one of the six deputies was 'Mr. Welles'.³⁴

The matter was resolved when one John Robins arranged for Robert to be taken by boat to Fishers Island, off the future town of New London. The unpaid fare was recorded in an inventory taken the day after the boatman died intestate: 'Lotham, William. 20th March, 1644/45. A prticular of all debts oweing by him oweing. Impr. Debts to him oweing, first from Mr. Robins for deliuring Robert Bedle at Fishers Iland, according to Mr. Robins desire 1-14-0'.³⁵

On Fishers, now a posh summer watering place, Robert

may have worked as a cattle keeper either for Robins or for Winthrop. Among the Winthrop Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society is the draft of a contract, c.1645, in which a coastal mariner named William Bartlett agrees to provide a herdsman for the island, uninhabited then, and furnish him 'with meat, drinke, lodging and washing' and 'also pay him his wages.' Robins too pastured livestock on the island. In 1645 and 1650, he wrote testy letters to Winthrop demanding he recompense him for a cow shot on Fishers and other irregularities.³⁶ Wolves were the likely predators; they can swim about eight miles and Fishers was just that distance from the Connecticut shore.

Some three years later, Robert Bedell was a landowner at Nameaug, as the local Pequot Indians called what would become New London. Now about 23 years old, he was granted various parcels of land. On 17th January 1648, eleventh in the draw, he received 30 acres 'lying next to the common hyway.' Later that month, he received another 30 when the town divided land on the plains. Another distribution made him a neighbor of John Winthrop Jr.'s son Deane:

'Robert Bedell is granted by a geneurall voate & joint consent of the Townesmen of Nameeug to have 2 ackers for an house lot liing on the est side of Thomas Skidmors shop be it more or less & 2 plots of salt meadow which lies within Mr Deane wintroups lot which the said Robert Bedell mowed the last yeare,' as well as another six acres. In March 1648, the earmarks for cattle were published: 'The marke of Robert Bedell under each yeare a hafpeny'.³⁷

But a few years later, Robert Bedell sold up and after 1650 his name no longer appeared in Connecticut records. His half-

penny cattle mark, sometimes with an ear slit or ear crop added, then appeared at Hempstead, New York, a vast town that stretched 20 miles across Long Island from the Connecticut Sound to the Atlantic Ocean. The likeliest reason was that Bedell answered the call of Hempstead, an English settlement which needed to increase its population by another 50 proprietors or be seized by the Dutch to add to lands they controlled westward to Manhattan and north along the Hudson River.³⁸

Hempstead elected Robert Bedell a townsman in March 1654. Town records, including the 'mouse-eaten book' that would tell us much, are lost, and his cattle mark is not registered, or more likely reregistered, until 14th June 1665. He served as the town's cowkeeper at least twice. In 1659, he or his unnamed 'Eldest Sonn', but Daniel born probably in 1647, was 'to Attend the herd'. Only Robert signed the contract (with his mark). He was to be paid 14 shillings a week, or the equivalent in butter and 'good' wampum, perhaps the valuable purple shell often used as currency. As was the custom, cattle were pastured by fertility and age. One pasture was for milk cows, another for dry cows, with perhaps a bull in attendance. Calves roamed in brush and bushes. Daniel would continue on as a farmer. At the town meeting on 2nd April 1668, 'danel bedle. hired the Toun lot for 01.06.00' for summer grass.³⁹

Bedell's America, more than England with its established markets and fairs, was a cow economy. Butter was used as currency or barter; and from a dead cow came the makings for milk paint, and from other cattle, tallow for candles, hair for paint brushes, glue, grease, leather for footwear and harnesses, horn for spoons and as early window panes, and bone for hand tools.

As good as the parish records are for Bedells in Fairstead and Terling, they are missing for

Robert and his wife and children in America. One assumption is that he married Blanch(e), surname as yet unknown, by the time of Daniel's birth about 1647, the year before he got the house lot in New London. Working on the theory that baptismal names can act as family identifiers like cattle marks, I read the entire microfiche of Essex parish records for women named Blanch, Blaunche, Blanchia, and found more than 30. By the latter seventeenth century, her unusual name had also passed from fashion. But from 1539 to 1659, Robert Bedell's grandparents would have known Blanches surnamed Chapman, Champe, Kinge and Freeman in Fairstead, and Bowsie and Norrell in Terling.

A Blanche Smith of Chelmsford, three years younger than Robert, was a possibility. Three years his junior and raised about ten miles away, she was Blanche Smyth, baptized 19th September 1627 at Chelmsford, the daughter of Walter Smyth and his second wife, Elizabeth Rowe or Rose. There is a gap in the Chelmsford parish register from 1638 to 1649, just when Blanche might have married Robert; but her parents are fully described. When the widower Smyth married the widow Rowe at Chelmsford on 13th August 1621, the parish register called them both 'of Moulsham', and described him as 'cobbler'. Did he buy hides from Bedell tanners? Walter Smythe would survive the plague after a month's quarantine but not his 20-year-old son Robert who was buried on 7th May 1637.⁴⁰ Moulsham, an ancient hamlet lying within Chelmsford, sent at least one emigrant to America, shoemaker John Rogers who arrived in 1636 and settled at Dedham.⁴¹ Blanche remained a popular name in Cornwall and Devon, and she may have come over with West Country people. Whoever Blanche was, hers and Robert's sons introduced new names to the family: Matthew followed

Daniel. Except for cowkeeper, Robert had no other recorded job or trade in Hempstead. Like most of his generation the first American Bedell Robert lived on what he farmed and improved his family's condition by acquiring land for his heirs. The father of seven known children, he died intestate sometime between the 1698 Hempstead census and 20 March 1701/2 when an inventory of his estate was taken; his eldest son Daniel (2) was appointed administrator on 28th May 1701.⁴² By the start of the American Revolution in 1776, Hempstead was Tory and Anglican. The parish of St. George's (Episcopal) Church dates from 1702 but no Bedell was listed among the 34 men and the rector, the Rev Robert Jenney, when they petitioned George II (successfully) in 1735 for a charter. At the Battle of Long Island,⁴³ the British used the church as headquarters when they attempted to occupy the town. Loyalists paid dearly. Robert's great-grandson Jeremiah (?1720-c.1789) was ruined. Arrested as a 'disaffected person' with several others in Hempstead Swamp, on 29th June 1776, he was sent to jail in New York, and his property was seized.⁴⁴

And what of Robert's descendants in the twenty-first century? In an old potato field on the North Fork of Long Island, John Clifford (Kip) Bedell founded a winery called Bedell Cellars where one may taste and buy his excellent merlot free of Puritan frown. That the Bedells were Loyalists must have so rankled my Miller family that we were told we had only Dutch blood, that we had settled along the Hudson River in the 1640s, and three of our Dutch helped defeat General Bourgogne at the Battle of Saratoga in 1777. Not until the proverbial shoebox of documents appeared during the settlement of an estate did the full and more interesting story emerge. There's another trait: Bedells (except for Robert and his cousin, the Rev William Bedell of Black Notley,

who was sent by Archbishop Laud to convert the Irish) never strayed far from the family tree. My Bedells remained in New York State and Massachusetts. This story was written to acquaint them with the people who lived on the rolling hills of Fairstead and Essex, which, had they mountains on the horizon, would look just like home.

References

1. The 19th, Rutherford Burchard Hayes (1822-1893), a Burchard descendant; the Steele descendant, lexicographer Noah Webster, 1758-1843; Frederick Law Olmsted, 1822-1903, who, from his study of great English estates, brought green space to American urban life by creating New York's Central Park, and among many others, Boston's Emerald Necklace.
- ii *The Antientest Book for 1648, 1649, 1650*, manuscript records of New London, Connecticut (Antientest NL); on 5th May 1994, I was able, thanks to the city's registrar Clark van der Lyke, to photocopy the description of the ear mark, the manuscript page preserved under silk, and to see Robert's mark.
3. F.G Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Disorder* (Chelmsford, 1970), p.45.
4. See the various volumes of *The Great Migration: Immigrants to New England* (Boston, New England, 1996, 1999-2011). Volume A-B for Bedell.
5. Typewritten transcript of the Fairstead parish register, which like that for Terling, were both in the possession of the late Hon. G.R. Strutt of Terling, who had collaborated on the transcription with his older brother, the late Hon. C. R. Strutt. See Essex Record Office (ERO), D/P 310/1/1, Fairstead St Mary the Virgin, register of Baptisms, Marriages & Burials, image 41.
6. J.Hammon Trumbell, ed., *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Prior to the Union with New Haven Colony, May 1665*, I (Hartford, 1850), p.124.
7. J.R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845* (New Haven & London, 1982), p.181.
8. Yankee, 'A nickname for a native or inhabitant of New England, or, more widely, of the northern

- States generally', www.oed.com (03/03/2016).
9. This family eventually produced my grandfather, Kelton Bedell Miller, in 1860, at New Baltimore, New York, near Albany; in the American way, his middle name was taken from his mother's maiden name. The American pronunciation is generally BeDELL, and the English, Bed-del.
 10. K.C. Newton, *The Manor of Writtle: The Development of a Royal Manor in Essex, c.1086-c.1500* (London & Chichester, 1970), pp.73,75,89.
 11. ERO, D/AER 6/105, 1537.
 12. ERO, D/ABW 3/185.
 13. ERO, D/P 310/1/1, image 6.
 14. ERO, D/ABW 3/185.
 15. Ibid. The son named Thomas was left his father Thomas (D)'s property in Bocking that once belonged to William Hall. He may have 'all such kyne as he hath of mine,' all debts owed to his father, and 40 shillings one month after his father's death. Another son, James, received the Black Notley property called Hitchcokes, and forgiveness of a debt, the '20 pounds which he doth owe me as it appeareth by two bills of his hand. As overseer of the will, he was to receive 20 shillings. Daughter Margery got the Black Notley property called Sundays, money (40 marks), 10 ewe sheep, a feather bed, pair of sheets, pair of blankets and a silver spoon. Thomas (D)'s godson John Rumbold was left 20 shillings, and every covenant servant, two shillings at the end of the year's service over and above their annual wages.
 16. ERO, D/P 310/1/3, image 4.
 17. ERO, D/P 310/1/1, images 9 & 11.
 18. Ibid, image 23.
 19. Ibid, images 37, 39 & 40.
 20. Document I635 listed for sale, *Palaeography, Genealogy and Topography, 1930 catalogue of historical documents...of H.R. Moulton*, p.142.
 21. ERO, D/P 310/1/3, image 4; D/ACW 23/141.
 22. See various ERO, Q/SR Session Rolls & T/A 418 Calendars of Essex Assize Records.
 23. The National Archives, PROB 11/78/274, will of Thomas Bedell, 09/11/1591.
 24. Then a sizeable house with two gabled bays, one later lost by fire. Conversation with Mercia Langstone, Terling, 1994.
 25. ERO, D/ACW 11/269.
 26. W.C. Metcalfe, ed, *The Visitations of Essex* by Hawley, 1552; Hervey, 1558; Cooke, 1570; Raven, 1612; Owen & Lilly, 1634 (London, 1878); P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of Essex*, II (London, 1760-68), p.4.
 27. R. Newcourt, *Reportorium: An Ecclesiastical Parochial History of the Diocese of London* (London, 1710), pp.576-8.
 28. P.L. Ralph, *Sir Humphrey Milmay: Royalist Gentleman: Glimpses of the English Scene, 1633-1652* (New York, 1947), p.97.
 29. D/P 310/1/1, images 42, 43, 44 & 46.
 30. See P.W. Coldham *The Complete Book of Emigrants, 1607-1660* (Baltimore,1987).
 31. *The American Genealogist*, 131, pp.194-201.
 32. British Library, Sloane, 922, p.167, quoted Coldham, p.106.
 33. J. Hammond Trumbell, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Prior to the Union with New Haven Colony, May 1665* (Hartford, 1850), p.115.
 34. Ibid, p.124.
 35. C.W. Manwaring, *A Digest of Early Connecticut Probate Records: Hartford District 1635-1700*, I (Hartford, 1904) p.473. This was likely the John Robins of Wetherfield whose estate was valued at almost 580 pounds on 02/07/1660.
 36. A.B. Forbes, *Winthrop Papers, 1645-49*, V (Boston, Mass., 1947), pp. 170, 371-2.
 37. B.D. Hicks, ed. *Records of the Towns of North and South Hempstead*, (Long Island, New York, 1896) eight volumes, which include the Hempstead Town Records.
 38. The source for Bedell's arrival on Long Island is a list of early Hempstead proprietors in Liber A of the Hempstead Town Records; Analyzing the list, George D.A. Combes was able to sort out the first 50 proprietors from the 62 who followed; Combes's 1654 list was posthumously published in 1957 and reprinted in N.A. Naylor, ed., *The Roots and Heritage of Hempstead Town* (Interlaken, New York, 1994). See Appendix 3; the names do not appear in Naylor's general index. By Combes's reckoning, Robert Bedell stood 74th in the list of 113 names.
 39. Hicks.
 40. H. Grieve, *The Sleepers and the Shadows*, II (Chelmsford, 1995), p.50.
 41. H.F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, I (Baltimore, 1967), pp.216 & 232.
 42. H.A. Tredwell, 'The Bedell family in America', *New York Genealogical and Biographical Society Record*, 71 & 72 (1940-41).
 43. The Battle of Long Island (27/08/1776), was a defeat for General George Washington and the beginning of a successful campaign that gave the British control of the strategically important city of New York. It was the first major battle of the American Revolutionary War to take place after the United States declared independence. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Long_Island, (03/03/16).
 44. Hicks.

The Author

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The Dynamics of Collecting:

The Literary Relationship of Charles Clark and John Russell Smith¹

by

Carrie Griffin & Mary O'Connell

Far and wide it is known that in LONDON's a dweller,
Named JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, a most famous Bookseller.
But, as you of the Post might inclined be to rail,
To add his address I'll take care not to fail.
To be "square" with you, then, Sirs, - at OLD COMPTON STREET,
SOHO - No. 4. - with this "lion" you'll meet.
Lest my friend, too, should out of a postage be "done,"
To the right, see her phiz who seems aught but a nun!
The placing it there, by-the-bye - (like Jack Horner) -
Proves that some things, at least, must be - "done in a Corner!"
Such the charge now for postage, the burden none feel,
But we gain'd not e'en this from an *unfruitful PEEL* !!!
*Charles Clark*²

Charles Clark (1806–80) of Great Totham and Heybridge, was a figure of some significance in the literary and cultural life of Victorian Essex, a member of a circle of like-minded people that included G.W. Johnson and the Rev Thomas Foote Gower, and a keen correspondent with major literary figures of the time. Until now, however, he has received notice only as a relatively minor figure in the mid- to late-nineteenth century community of poets and printers whereas in fact, he achieved a certain notoriety in his time as an active participant in the book-trade and in publishing and book-collecting circles. He was best-known in Victorian Essex and London for his production of numerous broadsides and satirical ballads;³ his reprints of older texts; and for the invention of a portable printing press.⁴ Contemporary opinion was divided regarding the quality of

Clark's printing: he merited a positive mention by C.H. Timperley who, in his *Dictionary of Printers and Printing*, claimed that '[t]he reprints of Mr Clark are very well executed, and do great credit to his typographical skill, as well as to his judgement and learning'.⁵ Clark was disappointed that the notice of his work was so brief although he professed to be 'satisfied' with his inclusion in the *Dictionary* (despite being rather less enthusiastic about the production quality of the *Dictionary* itself, expressing a belief that there were 'too many typographical & other errors, besides bad arrangement, in the work').⁶ Henry Plomer was less complimentary about Clark's printing efforts, claiming his work could only be considered 'creditable to an amateur'.⁷ A survey of the numerous examples of Clark's work which have survived reveal the overall quality of printing to be high, particularly after 1846

when he acquired a larger press and began to work with improved materials.

As an amateur printer (mainly, it must be noted, of his own literary compositions but also of arcane tracts such as sermons, and work by contemporary poets such as William Cowper, John Clare and John Hollamby), Clark received some notice, and his private press, which produced simple pamphlets and broadsides, can be regarded as 'a link in the chain which joined Walpole's Strawberry Hill press to its great successors at the end of the century'.⁸ Clark was, however, notable also for his keen interest in the acquisition and exchange of printed material and manuscripts: the materials that fed his self-invented small press. He was a self-styled 'bibliomaniac' and an avid collector, chiefly of rare books and manuscripts but also of contemporary publications, newspapers, periodicals and different types of ephemera.⁹ There is a

wealth of information to be found about Clark's bookish activities in his papers, which are held at the Essex Record Office (ERO) in Chelmsford, among which are preserved at least 350 letters written by him to the well-known London bookseller and bibliographer John Russell Smith (1810–94).¹⁰ Smith had a keen interest in topography and philology; among other works that he authored or collaborated on was the successful *Bibliotheca Cantiana; or a Bibliographical Account of what has been published on the History, Antiquities, Customs, and Family History of the County of Kent*, issued in 1837. Indeed the catalogues published by Smith that relate to his own trade in books reveal a large custom in antiquarian volumes. The bookseller also specialised in works which were concerned with local English dialect. His first collaboration with Clark was towards the publication of *John Noakes and Mary Styles*, a lengthy poem written in the Essex dialect and describing a trip made to the races by a pair of country lovers, in 1839, and this initial collaboration marked the beginning of a period of business between printer and bookseller which is testified to, with varying intensity, in the correspondence that passed between them in the years 1837–53.¹¹ The relationship between Clark and Smith was initially, and indeed continued to be, speculative and financial, but it had different dimensions and aspects, each of which augmented and developed over time and in which both men had various roles: it was variously a relationship between author/printer and publisher; borrower and lender; supplier and bookseller; and customer and bookseller. Predominantly, however, it was a friendship between two antiquarians who were committed to the reprinting and distribution of rare books, tracts, manuscripts and other literature, and their years of collaboration are marked in particular by the exchange of vast quantities of books and texts

between Clark's home in Great Totham, and Smith's shop at 4 Old Compton Street in Soho, and, later, his premises at 36 Soho Square, London. Clark's letters mention, often in great detail, hundreds of titles which he sent to and received from Smith. As well as frequently borrowing books, Clark clearly resold books to Smith. He also rented valuable texts from which to copy and print extracts, and often just so he could get 'a sight' of a work he was interested in, asking Smith to 'beg, or borrow, (not steal, for fear of the Old Bailey!)'¹²

Following their initial collaboration on the publication of *John Noakes and Mary Styles* in 1838, Clark and Smith embarked on a literary friendship and speculative arrangement that was to last for almost 16 years. That the association was of mutual benefit is without question: Clark was almost certainly one of Smith's best customers, ordering over 100 books, for example, in 1841; there is also evidence to suggest that, in return (or in part return) he sourced rare books and manuscripts to enhance Smith's catalogues. Clark's letters to the bookseller are habitually frenetic, displaying an excitable nature and enthusiasm about anything related to reading, printing, or bookselling. Our main source for the nature of the relationship between the two men, as we have mentioned, is the extant body of letters written by Clark to Smith, and a consistent feature of those letters is Clark's sense that he is on the purlieu of literary life and activity, registered in his frequently-articulated impatience: for news of literary life in London, for Smith's latest catalogue, or for an expected delivery of books. Clark often confesses that he is 'a sad impatient personage who dislikes being kept waiting.'¹³ The letters also contain vivid descriptions of his daily life and minutiae about people, politics and society, both in London and in Essex, or information that Clark himself

perhaps considers slightly frivolous, as evidenced in one epistle which contains 'as good a dish of gossip as any old lady of 90 could devise while sip-ing her tea'.¹⁴ Local gossip was the subject of many of Clark's compositions (he was especially interested in marriage) and his intense interest in the history of Great Totham often dictated the texts he reprinted. One of his main projects in 1841, our case-study year for the purposes of the present work, was the copying of a map of the locality that measured eight feet square, as well as the accompanying index, which ran to over 22 folio pages.¹⁵ As mentioned above, the rate of correspondence between Clark and Smith varies in frequency and intensity. Ten letters survive from the beginning of their collaboration in 1838, but only one letter from 1853 is preserved, by which time the association between the two men was coming to an end. The period of most intensive communication was between 1841 and 1849, from which 215 letters survive. In order to give a representative account of the activities of Clark and Smith, particularly the financial arrangement and the exchange of books between the two, this article aims to describe the literary association between the men with particular focus on their activities and transactions in 1841.

1841: A Case Study

For Clark, 1841 was a period of intense book-sourcing and book-collection. There are 29 extant letters written by him to his bookseller, John Smith, in 1841; these letters record only five responses, but judging by the content of the letters the rate of correspondence must have been much greater.¹⁶ The pair were not just exchanging letters, however: epistles often indicate that a parcel of books had been sent from Maldon to Old Compton Street. The letters also prefaced the promised arrival of (sometimes very large) parcels of books

48
Dec^r 1841

Books sent to Mr J. R. Smith:—

Gent's Mag. July to Dec. 1840, and Jan. to June, 1841,
inclusive, with Indexes, &c. complete — 12

Abbey de-la-Trappe, not printed for sale — scarce — 1

Brumker Barnaby — modern ed. — 3

Picture of Flodden — 1.6

Testamenta Vetusta, 2 vols. — a valuable work — 18

Essex Charities — Commissioners' Report — 10.6

Hunt's Three Catalogues, a scarce & valuable book — 7.6

Cat.^e of Heber's MSS. — 1

Hallivell's Cambridge MSS. — 5

Correspondence of Sir Tho^s Hanmer, &c. scarce — 5

Andrew Symson's "Tripartite Archicon" — a very rare &
curious piece, pr^d by the Author, ^{to} whom there is an
account in Scott's "Bride of Lamnamoor" — Preface
dated "from my printing room, &c. never met with a
copy of this book before — see the name "Charles
Clark" in an old hand on the title page & in the
Preface — cost me 9/- and not from a high price.

1. Book List from December 1841.

(All images reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office,
D/DU 668/5)

at Great Totham Hall. In 1841 Clark records taking delivery of parcels on 6th November and again on 12th December, also indicating in his letter of 10th August that a parcel is expected: 'Bye the bye, there must be another parcel for me from O[ld] C[ompton] S[treet] ... I don't mind the carriage of an extra parcel'.¹⁷ And although we do not have the letters that Smith sent to Clark with these parcels, nor unfortunately do the book-lists that Smith most probably

sent survive, we can reconstruct the likely contents of the book-parcels by examining the details of the book-requests from Clark to Smith that are in part preserved in the letters.

In the 29 letters that survive from the year 1841 there are 115 book-requests made by Clark. The formal book orders generally consist of lists amalgamated into the letters; these lists are often numbered, corresponding to books and other items advertised in Smith's latest catalogue, and

they frequently also list the price of the advertised book. The less-formal requests are made by Clark in a more prosaic fashion within letters, and these requests are usually for books that are required or desired by Clark but not listed in Smith's catalogues. For instance, his letter of 12th December contains not a book order *per se* but a plea to the recipient to look out for Thorpe's *Catalogue of Books for 1841*:

I was disappointed when I rec[ieved] my usual parcel from Youngman's this morning [...] on finding that it did not contain an article I ordered at Maldon last week, & which [...] I am very anxious to get a sight of — the "thing" is "Thorpe's Catalogue of Books for 1841", the first intelligence of which I derived from the last page of the last "Archae[ologis]t" ...¹⁸

Further book orders, then, are indicated in this letter. Clark asks Smith to source Thorpe's Catalogue, since his local bookseller at Maldon, Philip Youngman, has unsuccessfully attempted to order on his behalf from Longman's of Paternoster Row. As a result Clark can barely conceal his disdain for Longman's: 'What do you think their answer to Youngman's, in reply to his order for the said Cat., which, of course, is but just published — why, their answer "out of print"!!!'. This exchange is typical, one in which is expressed some of the frustration discernible from time to time in Clark's surviving corpus of letters when he has difficulty sourcing or locating items that for him hold particular interest. The complaint also reveals something of Clark's exacting methods when it came to placing orders for books and tracing particular copies or editions: though he is essentially a liminal figure, he immerses himself in the London book trade through his voracious perusal and consumption of periodicals, newspapers, book-lists and

catalogues. An early surviving letter of 14th March 1837 expresses his enthusiasm for catalogues of books:

‘If you have any lately-published Catalogues of Books by you, that you do not want, perhaps you will be so good as to enclose them in my parcel – as you may have some that I have not seen [...] in collecting Catalogues, I am quite a horse-leech – it is always “give-give-give!”’

The formal book-orders of 1841 demonstrate that Clark’s tastes were at once constant and changing, and that his attitude to his books was not uniform. One particular volume that is mentioned in several of the letters from 1841 is the so-called Wilton Priory Book. In his letter of 10th August, Clark mentions his enthusiasm for this item, expressing thanks that Smith had offered the loan of it and asking him to ‘state the price’ since he may ‘fall in love with it!’ Presumably, Clark would be allowed a loan, and had the option of paying full price if he did indeed become enamoured with the book; however, Clark adds: ‘Don’t mind paying a few shillings for the use of valuable books like these – so charge me a trifle to this Wilton Priory book if I don’t buy it’. His letter of 5th October suggests, however, that he now wants to own the book: ‘I intend to keep the Wilton Priory book [...] would have sent [it] back before now had I not so intended’. A subsequent letter that month, however, indicates that Clark wishes to return the Wilton Priory book to the Old Compton Street shop because of the apparently now-inflated price. This uncertainty is prompted by his receipt of Smith’s new catalogue (which contains 32 pages of ‘interesting’ articles), but which also lists the Wilton Priory book at a higher price: ‘I see you price the Wilton Book 1/11/6 instead of 1/5/0 – the

price you named to me – new price will make me consider whether I shall not return it! But perhaps you now have a second copy?’¹⁹

Clark, unsure as to whether Smith is advertising a second, more expensive copy, or intending to charge him at the higher rate for a book that he believed to be much cheaper, is clearly mindful of his escalating account with the bookseller.²⁰

This type of exchange is quite representative of the speculative relationship that existed between the two men. The literary relationship – the exchange of books both ways, permanently and on loan, between Essex and London – has at its heart an interest in books (both new and old), newspapers, reproduction and ephemera, but it is framed by the very practical matter of the ongoing account between the two men, described in part above. The delicate nature of this matter can perhaps be discerned from the care taken by Clark when ordering books: he frequently supplies in his lists not only the catalogue number and a short book-title, but the price stated in the catalogue, so as to avoid any future conflict or confusion regarding the account and what is owed to Smith or indeed to Clark. The letter sent to Smith by Clark on 5th June 1841 contains a comparatively short formal book-order for five books from Smith’s catalogue, including a request for the two-volume *The One-Pound Note and Other Tales*, by Francis Lathom,²¹ as well a copy of *A Disputation in Logic, arguing the Moral and Religious Uses of a Devil. Book he First*, by George Hanmer Leycester.²² The informal order has Clark ask Smith to ‘look out for’ a copy of the poetical work on Broomehole Priory, which was sold out when he requested it formerly, as well as a work which he calls ‘Clive’s Orations’, and a ‘book entitled Fitzherberts Husbandry’ which Clark evidently wants in a hurry.²³ Fitzherbert’s *Booke of Husbandry* is precisely

the type of work in which Clark exhibits great interest throughout his lifetime. His letters show evidence of his engagement with and investment in similar works, most notably the sixteenth-century tract entitled *Five Hundred Good Points of Husbandry* by Thomas Tusser, a work that was reprinted by Clark on his own private press at Great Totham in 1846. At times he sources different works, sometimes selling them on to Smith, as on 12th February 1842 when he sends in a parcel a work called *Markham’s Husbandry*, describing it as ‘scarce’. Clark appears to have had especial interest, however, in Fitzherbert, an interest that, like his relationship with Tusser, extends across a good few of the years in which he corresponds with Smith. If Clark was anxious to obtain Fitzherbert (contained in a work called *Certain Ancient Tracts Concerning the Management of Landed Property*) in 1841, by 1847 he was again keen to procure it: ‘When you can obtain the reprint of Fitzherbert’s Husbandry (included in “Certain Ancient Tracts”) reserve it for me, if you please, as I again want a copy’ (15th June 1847).²⁴ By 2nd July, Clark had sourced the ‘wanted reprint’ in Rodd’s catalogue at the price of two shillings, and he asks Smith to let him have it ‘in a day or two’.²⁵ Clark’s curiosity is evidently been satisfied in November 1847, when he returns the volume to Smith in a parcel; the bookseller’s hand on the booklist reveals that he is prepared to accept the volume back at full price: two shillings. Clark’s interest in different editions of certain works, in particular those that survive in older printed books, obviously motivates him to request, in 1851, ‘an old edition’ of both Fitzherbert and Tusser (22nd September). He continually seeks out different, older and unseen editions; indeed as early as 1st August 1838 he mentions that he is in possession of an early edition:

I have Fitzherbert's *Husbandry* in a script Gothic type of the date 1534 – I find the common reprint is from a much later edition, as it varies very considerably – the first edition did not appear till 1532 as probably you are aware. I have thoughts of reprinting this some day – such a work reprinted by a practical farmer will be a curiosity for your customers. Do you think it would “go off”?

Although to our knowledge Clark never realised his intention to reprint Fitzherbert, it seems that he was ambitious in this regard even after his relocation back to Heybridge following his father's death in 1850 and the establishment of his new printing arrangements there. His identification with Fitzherbert is very real: he is a gentleman farmer, in charge of managing a large estate, but his literary leanings draw him towards men who, like him, were polymaths, and he wishes to stand out in a saturated market as a ‘curiosity’ – a ‘practical farmer’ engaged in the reprinting of a work that is linked to him and his life in various ways. He is also, as an avid book collector, very much aware of the potential for slippage and conflict between what are editions of essentially the same works; he expresses this directly in a letter of 28th August 1838:

If you have not sold it, send me, too your copy of ‘Certain Tracts concerning the Management of Landed Property’ – I do not know if this is exactly the title, but I mean the book that is common enough containing reprints of [...] Fitzherbert's *Husbandry* ... I want to see how much my old Fitz[erbert] & the reprint vary – I recollect they do considerably. If I reprint my old edition (and I have now almost fully resolved to do) I intend to add a copious

Glossary, an Appendix of short old poems relating to Husbandry [...] and [I intend to] take care to let the good people know that my reprint is quite a literary curiosity from its being the first English work on Husbandry, & reprinted at the private Press of a practical Farmer (psha! Agriculturalist, I mean!) – which latter will make it a novelty at any rate – for us clodpoles,¹⁶ in general, are anything but men of letters!

The movement of the different editions of the *Husbandry* into and out of Clark's library, and also between Clark and Smith, at various stages in their relationship, indicates not only that Clark wanted to recover arcane information that might be in danger of being lost, in order to collate this with other versions of texts that he intended for his press, but also that Smith would certainly benefit from Clark's near-obsessive collating and collecting activities. Had Clark chosen to reprint Fitzherbert he would almost certainly have offered them for exclusive sale at Old Compton Street. It is unclear from their letters to what extent (re)prints by Clark were used to clear or balance his account with his bookseller, since what survives are just book prices and not any record of the fees paid by Smith to Clark for his ‘little go-ers’.

It seems extremely likely that there was a definite financial arrangement of some description in place and that Clark was happy either to sell his prints to Smith outright or, at the very least, to pay him a share of the profits. Clark's letter of 9th March 1841 mentions that the books that he sends in a parcel to Smith should offset his debt but his various mentions of printing activities in that year do not discuss finances. On 8th May Clark sends to London a copy of a work by his fellow farmer-poet John Hollamby which he describes as ‘wet from “the Totham Private!”’;²⁷ he also refers, on 2nd

June, to the expected printing of *The Cock and the Bull* which ‘stands next’ in his ‘list of jobs’, and we read on 5th June that he has set the type for this work. 1841 is a busy year for Clark and the ‘Totham Private’ and the fact of his frequent mentioning of printing jobs and deadlines in letters to Smith points to an interest in the work on the part of the correspondent that is more than just passing. The letter of 23rd October records that Clark intends to reprint the suppressed *Don Juan* stanzas, which first rolled off his private press in 1838. He sends, enclosed in this letter, a ‘proof’ of *Witham in Uproar*, the bulk of which will be worked off when Clark has time, and he intends to print the poem *A Trip to Tiptree* within the week. In fact he does not finish the setting of this poem until 6th November and, on 7th December, he writes to John Smith to apologise for the delay, saying that his materials are ‘out of order’ with the ‘wet and damp weather’; he promises the work to his bookseller in some form in due course.

The frequency with which Clark promises printed works to Smith, and his care with updates, progress reports and the sending of proofs, would certainly indicate that Smith's part in this aspect of the relationship was indisputably speculative. Clark printed at least 14 broadsides throughout 1841, some of which were his own works, others reprints of older texts, and others again that were apparently intended for private circulation amongst friends. The poem mentioned in the 1841 letters, *The Cock and the Bull*, is dated June 1841 and was most probably sold on his behalf by Smith. Equally *Witham in an Uproar*, which was written in 1819 and is concerned with a gunpowder plot, was sent to Smith in November, but it is not the work of Clark, who must have reprinted it for sale. Works that were most likely occasional prints or intended for distribution

amongst a coterie audience include *An Acrostic Addressed to Miss Mary Anne Browne*, which was originally printed in 1830, and reissued by Clark from Great Totham in 1841.

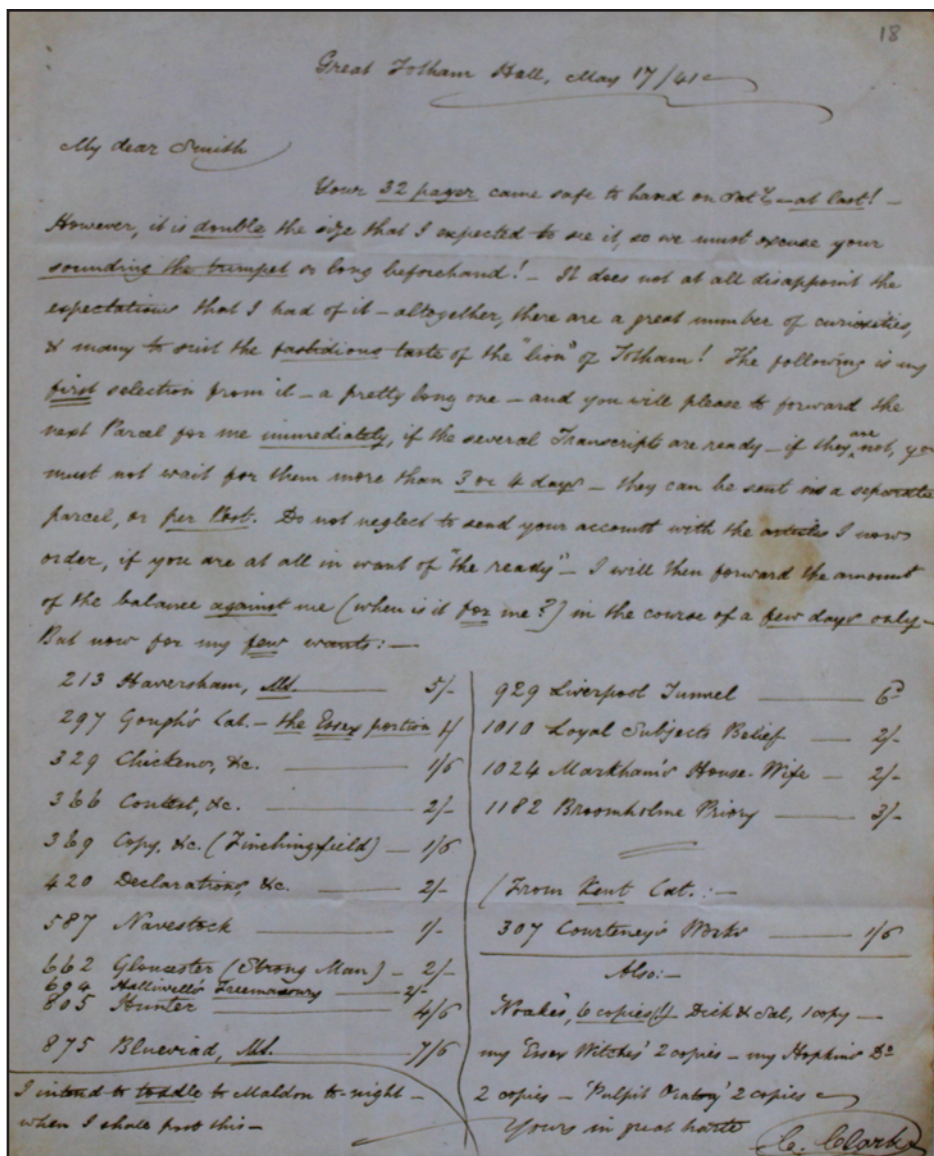
Based on the surviving letters, Clark ordered over 100 books from Smith in 1841 and himself sent over 60 back to Old Compton Street. Clark sent large parcels of books to London on 27th January, in late March, on 21st June, in late July, and on 24th November. Several more letters promise parcels, and there are allusions to lists of contents that have not survived.²⁸ In existing lists Clark uses shortened or abbreviated titles which make the exact book-titles difficult to trace. Frequently, books sent to

Smith are those which have been previously ordered by Clark. For example, in a letter dated 14th November 1840, among the 'trifles' Clark requests is '291 Duke's Halle of John Halle - 12/'. As noted above, Clark is always careful to use the catalogue number and advertised price to avoid confusion. In this case, the full title is *Prolusiones Historicae; Or, Essays Illustrative of The Halle of John Halle, Citizen and Merchant, of Salisbury, in the Reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV, with Notes, Illustrative and Explanatory* (London, 1837). On 27th January, Clark lists the same title in a contents list of a parcel to Smith; this time the price is listed as eight shillings.

Although Clark regularly ordered books and wrote to hurry Smith in sending them, he was often less than prompt in sending books himself. We can perhaps forgive this, since Clark's primary occupation as a farmer placed great demands on his time and, unsurprisingly, his activities were dictated by the weather. In the 1841 letters he mentions the weather 25 times; never being one to pass up an opportunity for a pun; he writes in one that 'the weather is still the reign-ing topic!!!'.²⁹ However, poor weather gives him valuable time to devote to his books: he complains in November that wet weather gives him more leisure for his books, but the current fine weather means that he has 'little time for literary pursuits – save but by the "midnight oil"!'.³⁰ Clark would walk to Maldon to send (and receive) parcels and he often cites poor weather as a reason for delaying sending books to Smith: 'I intended to have sent something like this last week, but was again prevented by the rain- the rain'.³¹ In fact, it was usually the case that Clark wanted to keep the books for himself as long as he could. He humorously alludes to this in a letter dated 12th July 1841: 'Have been so 'bothered' for time of late that I find I must put off making up the promised parcel of Books till "a more convenient reason!" – till another fortnight or so'. Clark is candid about his reasons for keeping the books as long as possible; in letters of 10th April and 12th July he apologises to Smith, claiming that 'there are some extracts to make from some of them yet'. Indeed preserved among Clark's papers at ERO is a large commonplace book, full of extracts that he compiled from a wide variety of publications.

The exchange of books between Clark and Smith, which lasted well over a decade, saw hundreds of titles pass between Old Compton Street and Great Totham Hall. Following Clark's death in 1880, his personal library consisted of approximately

2. Letter from Charles Clark to John Smith, 17th May 1841. (D/DU 668/5)



2,500 books, and judging by his correspondence, he had relatively easy access to far more.³² Clark often laments that he is unable to order books from Smith's new circulars since he is too familiar with most of the titles. In a letter of 9th March 1841 he writes: 'Your present is the best "Circular" you have sent out for some time – but so many of the things are old friends of mine'. Clark regularly describes his books as 'old friends', and his acquisitive nature and reluctance to part with books is evidenced by the fact that he often bought books and sent them to Smith, only to request them back at a later stage.³³ A work entitled *The History and Antiquities of Horsham* by Howard Dudley (London, 1836) was sent to Smith as part of a large parcel on 27th January 1841. Clark had originally ordered this book in November of the previous year, he orders it again in the months following, and returns it to Smith in April 1842.

As we have already noted, is it difficult to determine the precise arrangement between Clark and Smith regarding the exchange of books, and whether or not an official partnership existed. The benefits to Smith are immediately obvious; although Clark regularly buys books from him, the fact that he inevitably sends a large proportion of them back means that the bookseller makes money on a title which he can sell again. Clark was routinely in debt to the bookseller which he would regularly attempt to 'liquidate' by sending large parcels of books, occasionally supplemented by 'round shiners'.³⁴ Clark is constantly wary of being in debt, finding that 'patronising' booksellers leads to evils 'too numerous to mention!', and says of his account with Smith that it 'run[s] on & on till it becomes as difficult to unravel...as it would the Gordian knot'.³⁵ Because Clark's parents disapproved of his literary activities it was often difficult for him to send cash directly to his London friend,

and in such cases he attempted to clear his debt by instead sending books. Clark entices Smith with promises of more books to come, writing on 27th January: 'I am enabled to send you a little parcel of Books once more but not more than half those I have condemned for you'. Clark evidently also appraises books for Smith. Most of the book lists feature Clark's opinion as to the interest and value of particular work. Words and phrases such as 'Scarce', 'Scarce & curious', 'Scarce & valuable', and 'never met with another copy' are commonly repeated throughout the letters to his bookseller.³⁶ He clearly relished his status as 'the celebrated Bibliomaniac of Totham' and particularly enjoyed sourcing rare books for Smith. For example on 10th April he reports on finally finding of a book he has been searching for and advising on its value:

'Among the books, I now send is what, if I mistake not, none of your fraternity have been able to boast of in their Cats. – nothing less than 'The Book of Mormon'!!! – I have accompanied it with a tract in its defence. Pray, before you price it, observe that the book is not published – look at the index, to see what an extraordinary book it is – look again at the Declarations at the beginning [...] Remember – the book is not to be had anywhere in London.'³⁷

Clark's correspondence with Smith displays his attempts to engage with the literary marketplace while managing the competing demands of working on his farm with the composition and printing of his poetry. Occasionally the letters display this struggle in humorous and vivid detail: 'Oh! dear! how I am doomed to be interrupted just now – a number of hens have set up 'cackling' around my – anything, it seems, but sacred-retreat!! – Well,

perhaps, the lays of hens, after all, are quite as useful as those of the poet.'³⁸

There are records of letters written by Clark to various literary figures and to fellow book-collectors, but it is certain that Smith was one of his principal correspondents.³⁹ Clark describes his longing for books in pathological terms; aside from constantly referring to his bibliomania, he writes of his 'itching' for works, and claims to have 'still got a sort of Mss.-mania(!)'.⁴⁰ The energetic correspondence with Smith was evidently important to Clark in this regard, and in addition to supplying him with works and selling his poetry, the bookseller also obliged him in several other requests such as receiving parcels for him, arranging for the transcription of manuscripts, and locating back issues of journals and newspapers.⁴¹ On one occasion Clark expresses his dismay at offending Smith by sending reprints to other booksellers:

'The perusal of your last gave me some uneasiness – the fact is, my dear Sir, I am such a thoughtless being occasionally that at the time it did not occur to me that by sending a few copies of [my] little Reprint, &c. to other booksellers I was at all injuring you, but what you say is altogether quite plausible. Believe me, I am heartily sorry that I have thus unintentionally been guilty of such questionable conduct towards one to whom I am indebted for so many little acts of kindness. However, I beg to say that I have never had any dealings with any others of your 'calling' but Messers Lanley & Potter – so you have checked in the bud my career of vice! and, like a true penitent, I assure you that I will not so transgress again.'⁴²

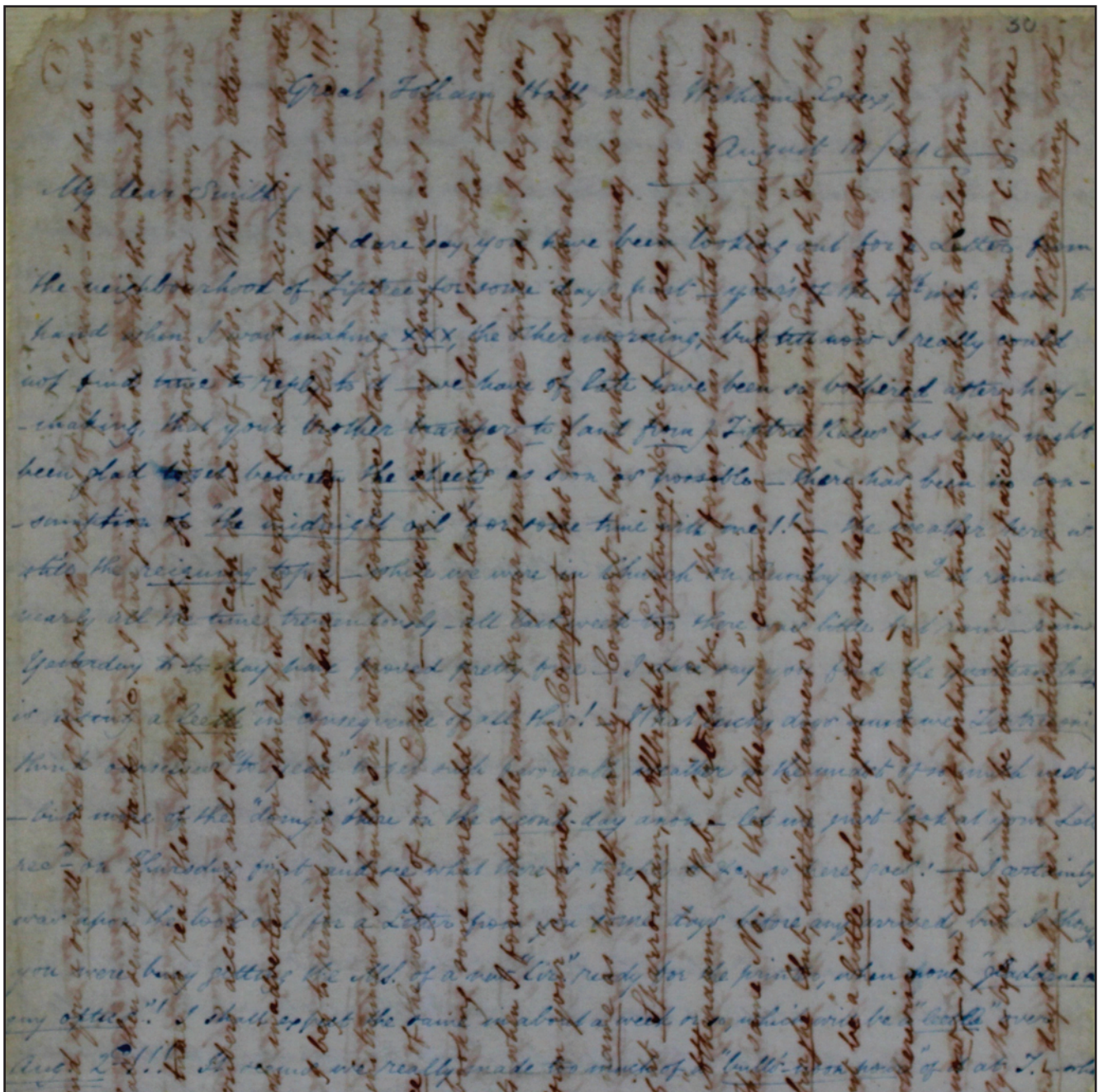
While this extract illustrates Clark's unwillingness to disappoint Smith it also gestures towards an official understanding between them. Smith's letters do not survive but we can easily infer that he considered himself as the exclusive vendor of Clark's reprints.

Charles Clark occupies an interesting space in the landscape of the Victorian book-trade. Some work has been conducted on provincial English book trades, many of which were characterised by activity that

remained largely peripheral and local. Moreover Northern book-activity tended to focus on Edinburgh and on its vibrant book-scene, in particular in the production of reviews and periodicals. Clark both participates in and remains tangential to the London trade, and arguably his location in is key to understanding his unique position: he is very much a regional book-collector, often with local tastes, but his relative proximity to London allows him to remain fully apprised of the

trade and to acquire and supply books with relative ease. In addition, despite recording only one meeting with Smith, Clark seems to have cultivated quite a profitable relationship with him.⁴³ At its height the relationship was a fond friendship, and the letters indicate a strong affection on Clark's part, at least. The fondness is also discernible in Clark's compositions, notably in the poem to John Smith, reproduced above. The poem principally lauds Smith as being known 'Far and wide', but it

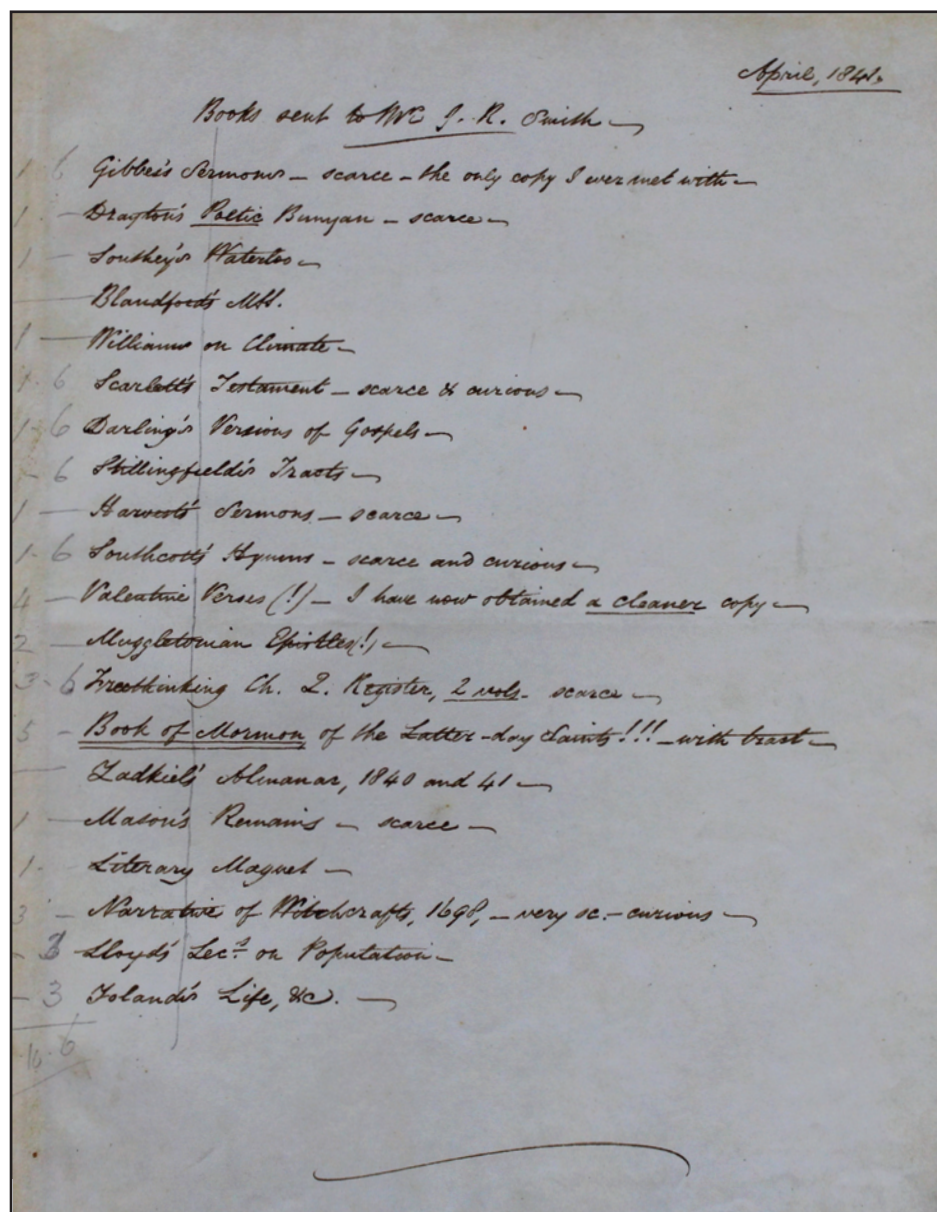
3. Extract from a letter from Clark to Smith, 10th August 1841. (ERO, D/DU 668/5)



also extols the postal reforms of 1840.⁴⁴ Clark's poem may lack literary merit, but it is overwhelmingly invested in the unique relationship that has come to fruition with the help of the ever-improving postal system. Clark often dwells on the very act of letter writing and particularly on the sending and receiving of letters. As he writes to Smith he describes how and when he will send the letter, whether it is too wet to walk to Maldon, whether or not he will send it via express, or if he will wait to send it with a parcel. It is no surprise that in the poem Clark writes to celebrate his friend he also celebrates a system that facilitated the exchange of hundreds of letters between a farmer in Great Totham and his friend, 'a most famous Bookseller'.

References

1. The authors were the recipients of the Bibliographical Society's Antiquarian Booksellers Award in 2009, which enabled them to carry out the research for this paper. For further information on Clark's life, see James Bettley, 'Clark, Charles (1806–1880)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB), (Oxford, 2004), [www.oxforddnb.com/library.ucc.ie/view/article/5457, \(03/06/2015\).](http://www.oxforddnb.com/library.ucc.ie/view/article/5457, (03/06/2015).)
2. D/DU 668/7. Clark used a printed version of this poem as an address label in a letter to Smith of 16/08/1843. All document references Essex Record Office.
3. See C. Griffin & M. O'Connell, 'Writing Textual Materiality: Charles Clark, His Books and His Bookplate Poem,' in *Readings on Audience and Textual Materiality*, G. Allen, C. Griffin & M O'Connell, ed, (London, 2011), pp.75–88.
4. Clark's self-invented press was mentioned in *The Mechanic's Magazine* of 22/11/1828, for which see Griffin & O'Connell, 2011, p.75. Harris notes that the large number of items produced by Clark between the years 1830 and 1862, including broadsides, parodies and satirical songs, 'were



4. Book List included in Letter from Clark to Smith, April 1841. (ERO, D/DU 668/5)

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| <p>rather free and were considered very indelicate' (Harris, Wally, 'Great Totham Press', <i>The Bookdealer</i>, 841 (1988): 6–8 (6). Clark's imprints were noticed by Bertram Dobell in his <i>Catalogue of Books Published for Private Circulation</i> (London, 1906), pp.23–27; we are grateful to James Burmester for this reference. See also D. Chambers, 'Clark's Bookplates' and 'Clark's Broadside', <i>The Private Library</i>, 7.2 (2014), pp. 62–68, 69–91.</p> <p>5. C.H. Timperley, <i>A Dictionary of Printers and Printing</i> (London, 1839), p.541. Clark's first printing project was a work by his neighbour George W. Johnson entitled <i>The History, Antiquarian and Statistical, of the Parish of Great Totham</i> (1831).</p> | <p>6. D/DU 668/2, Charles Clark to Smith, 28/08/1838.</p> <p>7. H.R. Plomer, 'Some Private Presses of the Nineteenth Century,' <i>The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society</i>, 4: 2–1, (1899), p.418.</p> <p>8. R. Adams, 'Charles Clark and the Great Totham Press', <i>The Essex Review</i>, 63 (1954), p.137.</p> <p>9. D/DU 668/3, Charles Clark to Smith, 26/03/1839.</p> <p>10. R.J. Goulden, 'Smith, John Russell (1810–1894),' ODNB, (Oxford, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/library.ucc.ie/view/article/25864, (07/03/2014).</p> <p>11. To the best of our knowledge the papers and correspondence of John Russell Smith have not survived.</p> |
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12. D/DU 668/3, Clark to Smith, 27/05/1839 & D/DU 668/3, 19/11/1839.
13. D/DU 668/5, Clark to Smith, 10/08/1841 & Undated Letter, 1842.
14. D/DU 668/5, Clark to Smith, 05/06/1841.
15. D/DU 668/5, Clark to Smith, 13/02/1841.
16. Clark records letters received from Smith on the following dates: 13th February, 24th July, 10th August, 6th November and 12th December 1841. On 18th September 1841 Clark indicated that he expected to receive the next letter from Old Compton Street within a few days, and that he would wait to send a 'good gossiping epistle till I have to reply to that', while on 6th November Clark records having had a 'laconic epistle' from Smith (D/DU 668/5).
17. D/DU 668/5. Clark also writes to Smith on 5th June asking him to forward the 'queer looking parcel' that the bookseller had received on his behalf from the poet John Hollamby.
18. D/DU 668/5. The catalogues issued by the bookseller Thomas Thorpe (1791–1851) were firm favourites with Clark. One of the main London booksellers from the 1820s until his death, Thorpe 'went far to cornering the market in historical, genealogical and topographical manuscripts, and issued a number of catalogues devoted entirely to such material'; A.L.N. Munby, *Phillips Studies*, (Cambridge, 1951–60), III, 46.
19. 05/10/1841
20. The following year, 1842, in a parcel dated 12th February, Clark returns the Wilton Priory 'poem' to Smith, stating: 'you know the value of this' (D/DU 668/6).
21. London: Published at the Minerva Press for A.K. Newman and Co., Leadenhall-Street, 1820.
22. G.H. Leycester, A.M., of Merton College, Oxford. 8vo. 46 pages (Egerton, 1787).
23. John Fitzherbert, *The Booke of Husbandry* (imprinted at London in Fletestrete in the house of Thomas Berthlet, nere to the condite at the sygne of Lucrece); STC 1848. This publication went through several editions between 1523 and 1598.
24. London: C. Bathurst, 1767.
25. D/DU 668/5. The booksellers Thomas Rodd Sr and Jr had a shop at Great Newport Street, London.
26. 'Clodpoles' was the term most commonly used by Clark to refer to Essex-dwellers; "clod-poll | clod-pole, n." www.oed.com, (16/07/2014); DD/U 668/2. See Clark to Smith, 04/06/1839 for just one of numerous examples.
27. John Hollamby, author of *The Unlettered Muse* (Hailsham: Printed by G. Breads, and sold by him for the author, 1828), was farmer-poet from Sussex. Clark corresponded with both John and later with his son Edward.
28. See the letters of 10/08 & 06/11/1841 (D/DU 668/5).
29. 12/07/1841 (D/DU 668/5).
30. 06/11/1841 (D/DU 668/5).
31. 24/07/1841 (D/DU 668/5). Clark frequently sent parcels from Maldon, and also received them there at the premises of the printer, stationer, bookseller and stamp agent, Philip H. Youngman. Great Totham is approximately four miles from Maldon, and Clark regularly walked between the two places.
32. Clark died at Heybridge on 21st March 1880. His last surviving letter to Smith is dated 1853 and we have been unable to find much information from then until his death. Clark died intestate, and administration of his estate (letters of administration granted the Probate Registry, 28/04/1880) was undertaken by his cousin John Wiltshire Pond of Kent. The estate was worth less than £500. There was a sale of some of his possessions, which took place over two days at the end of June, 1880. Among the items for sale were his books and his printing press and type. Our thanks to Neil Wiffen for details about Clark's estate.
33. Clark's engagement with his books as material objects is described in his bookplate poem 'A Pleader to the Needer When a Reader'. On this poem see Griffin & O'Connell 'Writing Textual Materiality', in particular pp.82–8.
34. On 10/04/1841 Clark writes: 'let me see how money matters stand between us – if I am of opinion that the value of my next parcel of Books will not liquidate your account against me I will take care to enclose a "round shiner" or two!!!' We can't be absolutely certain as he never confirms exactly what he means, but we are almost certain that he means shillings – we think guineas would be a bit much for him! (D/DU 668/5).
35. 27/01 & 23/10/1841 (D/DU 668/5).
36. See "Books sent to Mr J.R. Smith", December 1841. Fig.1.
37. 27/06/1842 (D/DU 668/6).
38. 11/06/1842 (D/DU 668/6).
39. Clark corresponded with the Maldon bookseller Philip Youngman and, as mentioned, the poet John Hollamby. He also wrote to the bibliographer Thomas Frognall Dibdin and to John Clare and his wife.
40. See letters of 23/10/1841 & 29/05/1838 (D/DU 668/5, 2).
41. In a letter dated 08/05/1841 Clark describes himself as 'full of wants' and makes no less than eight requests of Smith, including asking him to find a copyist, send him back issues of the *Morning Chronicle* and (if he had any artistic friends) to enquire about the practicality of a portable sketching case (D/DU 668/5).
42. 28/08/1838 (D/DU 668/2).
43. The two met at Tiptree Fair, Essex, in July 1842.
44. For which see C. Golden, *Posting It: The Victorian Revolution in Letter Writing*, (Gainesville, Florida, 2009).

Acknowledgments

We are indebted to many people in our research on Charles Clark; with respect to this article we thank James Bettley, James Burmester, Alan Brignull and the staff of Essex Record Office and the Bibliographical Society. We also acknowledge the support for this project of the Irish Research Council.

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The fourth bomb:

Essex and UK Propaganda in the First World War

by

Andrew Phillips

At 8.50 p.m. on Sunday February 21st 1915, a civilian bombing reached Essex. Up in the sky a German pilot, Oberleutnant Prondzynski, last seen over England on Christmas Day 1914 in an unsuccessful raid on Sheerness, looked down on central Colchester, electric light visible from its restaurants, electric trams rumbling down its High Street, as the last worshippers made their way home from evening service. Carefully lifting a small bomb from his open cockpit, the pilot dropped it over the side. Whether Colchester or its garrison was his real target we do not know, for he had already dropped three bombs that moonlit night from his primitive-looking Taube monoplane.

Having crossed the channel to near Brightlingsea he had flown west to Braintree, where he dropped the first two incendiary bombs ever to fall on Britain. Both landed in fields. One didn't go off; one was found embedded in the ground by a group of soldiers who took it by its handle on a pole and extinguished it in the river. By now the Taube had turned round, following the road back to Coggeshall. Here it dropped a high explosive bomb which landed noisily on open land breaking some panes of glass in Mr Surridge's greenhouse, as the plane flew on towards densely populated Colchester. Despite some restrictions on night-time illumination, its street lights would have been visible to Prondzynski and his observer/gunner Heym, as they approached the western suburbs. Just shy of Colchester's well-lit Artillery Barracks, their fourth bomb spun unerringly down,

landing 'by Providence' not on the roof, but in the tiny back garden of 41, Butt Road, home of Quartermaster Sergeant Rabjohn of the 20th Hussars, his wife and their 13-month old daughter.

With the baby in bed, the Rabjohns were in their sitting room preparing to eat supper when there was 'a terrific explosion' from the high explosive bomb. Behind them the kitchen was wrecked, as crockery smashed, blast hit the walls, furniture leapt, and dust filled the air. The back door blew in. Bomb shrapnel peppered the back wall of the house and shot clean through the back door, embedding itself in the sitting room wall opposite, even cutting right through a nine inch thick wall to the room where the Robjohns stood. Here the gas mantle shattered, plunging the room into darkness. Blinded by dust, Sergeant Rabjohn realised what had happened and turned off the gas main. Having reassured his wife who was dazed, they stumbled upstairs to find their daughter, Mary, still asleep.

Outside, two outhouses and a shed with an iron roof were shattered by shrapnel and blast (Fig. 1). The bomb had left a crater five foot across. Two adjacent houses had their back doors blown in. Windows and window frames were smashed, as were the windows of houses up to 75 yards away, some of whose residents had narrow escapes from flying glass. One bomb fragment was found the next day 250 yards away. In Mrs Dickens's corner shop the goods on the shelves flew everywhere. Telephone wires came down. Branches were sliced off a neigh-

bour's tree. Despite the mayor's instructions to hide in a cupboard or cellar in the event of a bomb, people had rushed into the streets on hearing the explosion. Crowds gathered in Butt Road; police arrived. Between 10 o'clock and midnight hundreds of volunteer troops returning from weekend leave came to have a look. The only casualty, found the next morning, was a dead thrush.

This was not Britain's first air raid. Zeppelin airships had raided East Anglia in January, attacking both Great Yarmouth and Kings Lynn, creating a sharp public awareness. Damage calculated at £7,740 (equivalent to £4,700,000 in economic value now) had been suffered, and four people had been killed. The enterprising *Daily News* had launched a special insurance scheme for houses against 'damage by aerial bombs' and the Rabjohn's neighbour, Mrs Whitehead of 43 Butt Road, had thoughtfully purchased a policy. Zeppelins were thus well known, but they were enormous, slow moving and invariably visible; this plane was flying at great speed – 'at least 60 mph' and unannounced. Though a similar Taube had adventured across the Channel on Christmas Eve 1914 and dropped a bomb on a kitchen garden in Dover, this was the first such bomb to hit a significant urban target in Britain. Colchester became national news.

Next morning the Robjohns and their tiny garden were photographed for the local papers as QMS Robjohn described – several times – his family's lucky escape. Extensive accounts, 120 column inches long in the *Essex County Standard* and



1. The Rabjohn's back garden the following morning with the pram centre foreground and the bomb 'crater' in front of it. (Author's collection)

illustrated by seven photographs, appeared in Colchester's three papers. One enterprising photographer, Oscar Way, rushed out a postcard which was soon selling like hot cakes to both locals and the thousands of soldiers then billeted in the town. The same morning both Pathé News and the national dailies arrived by train from London and descended on No 41. Enterprising neighbours overlooking the Rabjohns' back garden made 'a few bob' charging the curious 1d. a view. An adjacent builder's yard donated their takings to the Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund for serving men's families.

One hundred years later to the day Colchester's MP, Sir Bob Russell, unveiled a memorial plaque where No 41 Butt Road had once stood, a site now covered by the Colchester Police Station car park. And there this story might end were it not for the baby's pram.

No. 41 was a small house. The baby's pram was stored in the garden shed near the back door and had in consequence suffered with the collapsing iron roof. By the time the photographers arrived Sergeant Rabjohn, probably helped by

soldiers who had come to guard the site, had cleared some of the items from inside this shed, including the pram. The series of photographs taken and the subsequent Pathé film all include the pram, though in a different position on each occasion. It had clearly been moved around to 'get it in the picture'. In one photo it sits on end at the edge of the bomb crater, carefully cleared for the photo, while the Pathé film opens by dramatically panning to a more battered pram, lying on end, suddenly reunited with its folding hood.

It had not taken journalists long to spot a storyline. One press account claimed the pram was 'smashed to atoms'. Before long the story went round that moments before the bomb fell the baby had been in it. A suitably ambiguous cartoon (Fig. 2) appeared in the *London Evening News* that same evening. The *Daily Mirror*, of course, was more direct. Its headline announced, 'Sky pirates fail to kill a single baby'. Reading the story in the *Daily Mail*, Lady Colebrook telephoned them to say that, as the baby looked charming, she would present a new perambulator. She ordered one

from Harrods (where else?) and it arrived by train, along with an *Essex County Standard* reporter, at Mrs Rabjohn's door, which she opened, holding her baby:

'All smiles and breathless she said, "It is kind of the lady now – Lady Colebrook did you say? It's more than kind isn't it, babs. Please say how pleased we are...." and 'babs' smiled and seemed to understand.'

Such modern journalism was pretty advanced for the rather staid *Essex County Standard*.

For by 1915 babies and bombs had a media history. Having found itself at war with Germany in 1914 the British public, helped on its way by the press, had found justification in the moral high ground – Germany was the aggressor, bent on a war of aggrandisement. Evidence of atrocities in the invasion of Belgium, the more extreme of which were apocryphal, helped make this a war to defend the values of civilisation. This was more than reinforced by German naval shelling of Scarborough, Hartlepool and Whitby on

December 16th 1914. Combined this resulted in 137 deaths and nearly 600 injured, the vast majority of whom were civilians. Deaths at Scarborough included two children and a 12-month old baby. In an open letter to the mayor, the First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, had condemned the Germans as 'baby-killers'. The phrase had echoed round the Western World in what was for the UK a propaganda coup, boosting recruitment and demonising the German armed forces for the depth of their barbarity.¹

The detailed account of the Robjohn's drama in the *Essex County Standard* was accompanied by a *Daily Mail* advertisement about their own insurance policy against bombing. The headline ran 'EAST ANGLIA AND THE BABY KILLERS', a label also taken up by the Chelmsford-based *Essex County Chronicle*. That phrase would now become the standard description of Zeppelin Raids, the latest example of German barbarity, proclaimed in newspaper headlines, propaganda posters and the inevitable picture postcards. Historians who claim the expression stems for the first successful Zeppelin Raid on

London on 30th May 1915, as some do, should look instead at 41 Butt Road, Colchester, and consider the role of Oberleutnant Prondzynski's Taube (ironically the German word for dove) and Mary Rabjohn's pram.²

Neither item would be seen again. The next day a local dealer brought the pram with an eye to a sale, but Sergeant Robjohn successfully demanded it back. Thus it never joined other Great War mementos which were collected by Colchester's Museum. Prondzynski's Taube developed engine trouble on its way back to Germany and sat on the sea for 30 hours before a British trawler arrived to take its pilot and observer into captivity.

Accounts of Zeppelin and aeroplane raids appearing in such detail in the local press increasingly persuaded central government that news of where Zeppelins got lost and what they failed to bomb (like Colchester's Artillery Barracks) were helping the enemy and their network of spies. Following the Zeppelin raid on London of May 30th 1915 the government placed 'D' Notices on all subsequent press coverage of German air activity beyond official communiqués. Thus when a second bomb

dropped near Colchester's Hythe in March 1916 no mention of it appeared in the Colchester press, let alone any human interest details. Censorship is not the historian's best friend.

References

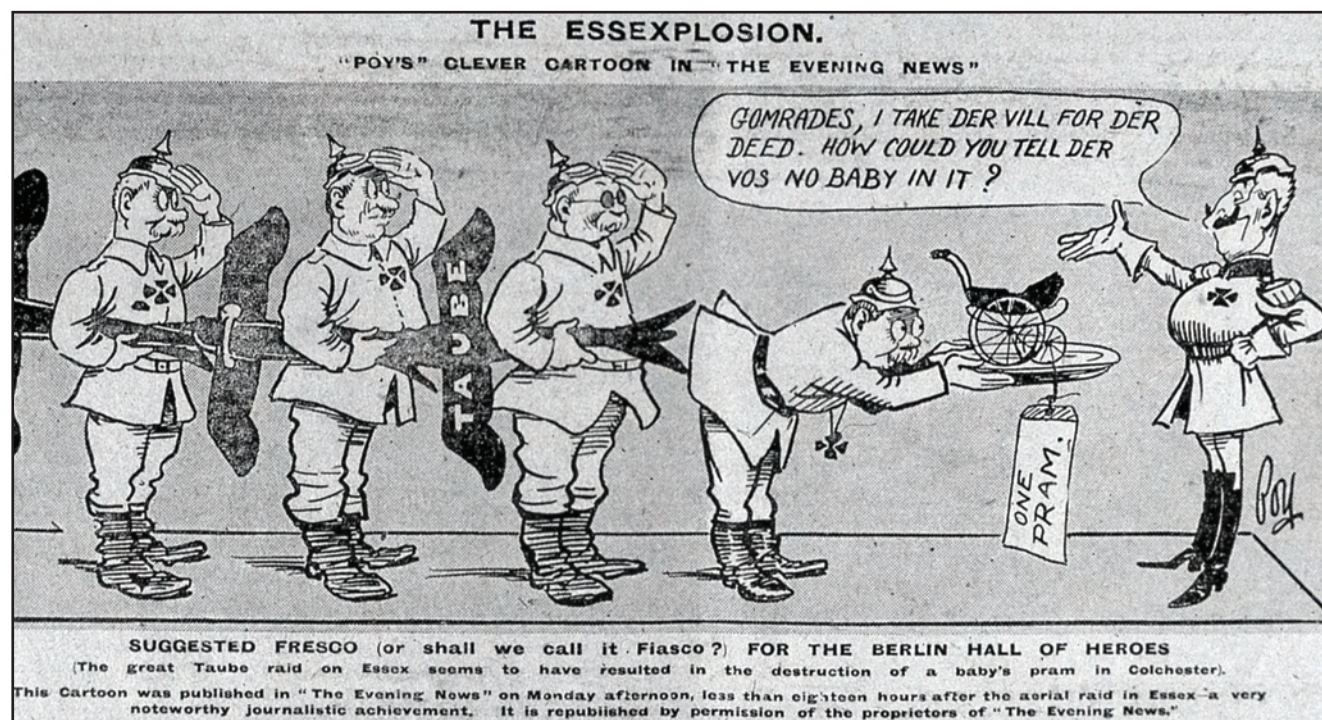
This article is based on the relevant editions of the *Essex County Standard*, *Essex County Telegraph*, *Essex County Chronicle*, *Daily Mail*, and *Daily Mirror*, variously dated 21st to 27th March 1915.

1. The raids are well covered by Wikipedia, 'Raid on Scarborough, Hartlepool and Whitby'. See also B. Clarke, *Remember Scarborough. A result of the First Arms Race in the Twentieth Century* (Stroud 2010) pp.12-56; G.J. DeGroot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (London 1996), pp.174-90.
2. T. Fergan, *The Baby Killers: German Air Raids on Britain in the First World War* (Barnsley 2002), 12ff.

The Author

Andrew Phillips was formerly Head of Humanities at the Colchester Institute. He has published many articles and eight books on Colchester and Essex topics.

2. The *Evening News* cartoon, as reproduced in the *Essex County Standard*. (Author's collection)



Kenneth James Neale (1922-2016)

Kenneth James Neale, an outstanding Essex historian, died on 18th April, 2016. Born in Hackney on 9th July, 1922, to James Edward and Elsie Neale, he won a scholarship to Hackney Downs Grocers School and joined the Civil Service upon leaving.

After serving in the Royal Navy and becoming a commissioned officer during World War Two he returned to the Civil Service and had a distinguished career in the Colonial, Foreign & Commonwealth and Home Offices. He travelled widely and was awarded the OBE for his service to Cyprus. He also worked in Borneo and Africa. He chaired European Committees on crime and penology, on which he was an expert, and was later a consultant to the Council of Europe and the Open University.

While living in Chingford he joined Chingford Historical Society, of which he became President. He wrote a series of pamphlets: *Queen Elizabeth's Hunting Lodge* (1965); *Chingford Historical Society – the first 25 years* (1966); *Sir Thomas Smith and Hill Hall* (1970); *Chingford Enumerated* (1975); plus articles for the *Essex Journal*, including 'Arise Sir Loin' which was also published as a pamphlet.

He moved to Sussex for a period and produced a book, *Victorian Horsham* (1975), while living there. In 1972 he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

When Ken returned to Essex to live at Great Sampford he founded the Sampford Society, of which he became Chairman, and in later years he co-ordinated the Heritage Sampfords project based almost entirely on field walking, revealing for the first time the Sampfords' rich Iron Age and Roman heritage.

He also became Vice-Chairman (1984-87) and Chairman (1987-90) of the Essex Archaeological and

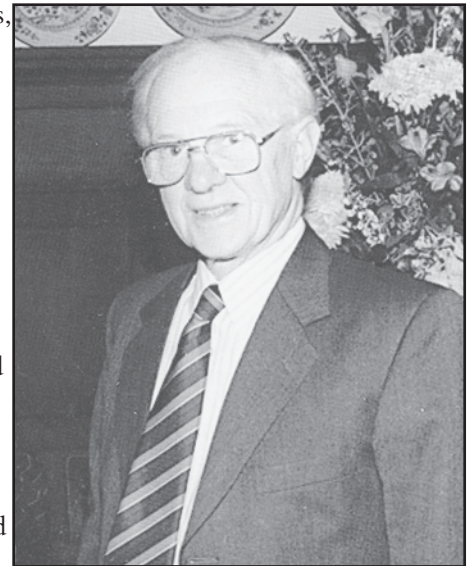
Historical Congress, and served as the Vice-Chairman (1983-86) and Chairman (1985-2004) of the Friends of Historic Essex. He was a member of the *Essex Journal* Editorial Board for some years, and a great supporter.

Apart from this, Ken helped edit *Essex Wills 1558-1603* and produced a series of books

of permanent value to historians: *Discovering Essex in London* (1969); *Essex in History* (1977); *Her Majesty's Commissioners 1878-1978* (1978). He also edited *An Essex Tribute to Frederick G. Emmison* (1987); *Essex Heritage* (1992) presented to Sir William Addison; *Essex full of profitable things* (1996) presented to Sir John Ruggles-Brise; and *Imprisonment: European Perspectives* (Open University, 1991).

Ken was a dedicated family man and gave his wife, Dorothy (née Willett), whom he married in 1943, devoted care when she suffered ill-health in later years. His funeral took place at St. Mary's Church, Little Sampford, on 4th May, 2016. He is survived by Dorothy, their three sons and one daughter, nine grandchildren and 19 great grandchildren.

Stan Newens,
May 2016.



Kenneth James Neale: an appreciation

Ken Neale was a good friend to everyone involved in local history and archaeology in Essex. He was kind, courteous and generously gave his time to support numerous county, local history and archaeological societies. I had the privilege and pleasure of working closely with him, when he was the hardworking chairman of the Friends of Historic Essex (FHE) and later, when he was a member of the Editorial Board of *Essex Journal*. He was one of the first members of the Board when its management was rearranged in 1990. He represented the FHE in the new consortium and worked hard to ensure the continued success of *EJ*. He promoted some good ideas and his advice was always very sound.

During his association with *EJ* he was a major contributor of articles, reports, book reviews and sadly numerous obituaries. His research and writing was carefully and meticulously carried out to a very high standard. His contribution was so great that a major part of the Spring 2004 edition (Vol. 39 No. 1) was devoted to his life and work. This included a kind message from Lord Petre, Lord-Lieutenant of Essex and articles by historians in Ken's honour. This significant and rare tribute illustrates the high esteem in which Ken was held in the numerous county and local organizations with which he was associated in Essex.

Adrian Corder-Birch
Chairman of the Editorial Board of *Essex Journal*

Book Reviews

Peter Walker,
Printed Maps of Essex from 1576,
pp.xiv & 88. ISBN 978-0-95021-002-5,
Friends of Historic Essex, 2016.

Available from the Essex Record Office, Wharf Road, Chelmsford, Essex, CM2 6YT, by post £15.00 inc. p&tp (cheques made payable to 'The Friends of Historic Essex'), or in-person £12.50.

Peter Walker's new volume, published by the Friends of Historic Essex provides both an interesting and lavishly illustrated account of the history of maps of Essex, and a very welcome new catalogue to the map holdings of the Essex Record Office. The prolific late county archivist, F.G. Emmison produced a catalogue or handlist of the map holdings of the Essex Record Office back in 1955, but in the ensuing 60 years the holdings of the archive have grown, been re-catalogued, and have been subject to further study and analysis. Walker is able to present no fewer than 149 printed maps of the whole county published between 1576 and 1972, along with numerous maps of the significant towns, areas such as Epping Forest, as well as specialist maps such as maritime charts of the coastline and Thames estuary.

The introduction sets out one of the key distinctions between maps in the collection: the importance of surveyors of the county, as opposed to those who published derivative maps. While many hundreds of county atlases and popular maps were published across the centuries, the vast majority of these were actually copies, of varying quality, of the much smaller number of maps produced from original surveys. Essex was actually very well covered by professional surveyors prior to the establishment of the Ordnance Survey. While Cambridgeshire was only surveyed once prior to the first OS map, Essex received the attentions of surveyors and their scientific instruments no less than six times prior to 1805, making it one of the most intensely surveyed countries in England. Walker provides detailed biographies of each of the surveyors: Christopher Saxton, John Norden, John Ogilby, John Oliver, John Warburton and the double-act of John Chapman and Peter André. The actual practice of surveying using early modern instruments is also very helpfully described, including counting the rotation of large coach wheels to measure distance, and the use of a plane table to record angles. This process, known as triangulation, allowed accurate surveying using only one accurately measured baseline, and many angles measured between known points.

The bulk of the volume contains brief entries detailing the published maps of the county. Each entry begins with a short table detailing the publication date, principal mapmaker, scale, size and Essex Record Office reference number. A unique reference number is also used within the volume to categorise the county maps ('C'),

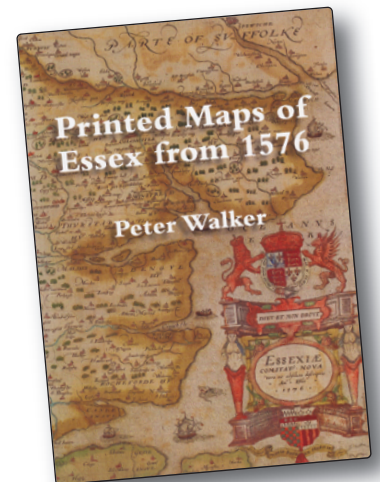
Colchester ('Col') and other maps in their own chronological sequence. The description that follows details the provenance of both the surveying and engraving of each map, interesting or particular features, and details of the particular copy that features as part of the ERO collection (some are photocopies, for example).

Many of the most significant or visually interesting maps are also reproduced in full colour.

The double page reproductions of Deane's 1740 plan of Colchester, and Bowen and Kitchin's 1749 county map are particularly impressive. Full page reproductions are also offered of almost all of the most important maps, starting with Saxton. Enlarged details of some features are also included, such as Saxton's plan of Colchester, and Warburton's 1725 prospect, or panorama, of Colchester. Ogilby and Morgan's 1678 map, significant for being the first map with accurately surveyed (rather than simply schematic) roads, is reproduced both as a full page image, but also in the form of an enlargement of the area around Chelmsford (p.12), revealing the addition of 'Newlands', albeit on the wrong side of the Roxwell Road, by the hand of one of the maps early owners. Amongst the later maps several are especially interesting in portraying, for example, railways that were never built.

This volume is unquestionably of great significance to all who are interested in the early modern and modern history of Essex. By combining comprehensive detail with copious illustration and a clear narrative of development of mapping, together with the details needed to understand the details of surveying, it is a very readable and interesting collection for non-specialists as well as specialists. It will also rightly serve as the definitive catalogue to the Essex Record Office's printed map collections for many years to come. As the volume focuses exclusively upon printed maps of Essex, however, it must be remembered that this is only half the story of Essex mapping. There are also numerous manuscript maps of the county at the Essex Record Office, some of which have been catalogued and printed, for example in A.C. Edwards' *The Walkers of Hanningfield: Surveyors and Mapmakers Extraordinary* (1985), but many more remain unpublished. The cartographic history of Essex is especially rich, so it is wonderful to see it being explored and published so fully.

Justin Colson



Book Reviews

Mark Stevens,
**Life in the Victorian Asylum:
the World of Nineteenth Century
Mental Health Care,**
pp.176, ISBN 978-1-78159-3730- 8,
Pen & Sword, 2014, £19.99.

Mark Stevens' first book *Broadmoor Revealed: Victorian Crime and the Lunatic Asylum* was an excellent introduction to that institution, largely described through the experience of selected individual patients.

This new book has a different structure with two distinct sections. The first and more lengthy part, *The Victorian Asylum Patient's Handbook*, outlines life in a typical late nineteenth century asylum, presented in the form of a handbook for new patients in the language of the time. The second part, *The History of the Victorian Asylums*, gives a brief history of what was the County Lunatic Asylum for Berkshire (the author is the County Archivist for Berkshire) and the closure of such organisations in the late twentieth century as attitudes changed.

The information he uses is taken from records of both Broadmoor and the Moultsford Asylum in Berkshire. On the whole, he successfully recreates the tone used in asylum reports for this first section, with a very rare anachronism i.e. *mission statement*, *respite care*. To my regret, I found this style distracting; if such a guide for patients had existed, then some of the information he gives would never have been included. References to suicide attempts, the ways in which some patients tried to escape and accidental deaths of patients would not have been suitable for inclusion for a variety of reasons.

There are other disadvantages to this format; while the nineteenth century terminology is explained sympathetically in this first section, it isn't possible to describe mental illness from a twenty-first century perspective at the same time, so that there is some repetition. General Paralysis of the Insane (GPI) is mentioned in the *Handbook*, but it is only in the latter part that he can explain that this was later known to be as a result of syphilis.

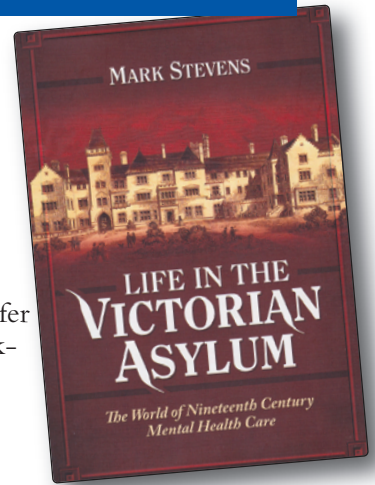
The surviving reports for the Essex County Lunatic Asylum (later known as Warley Hospital) show that female patients gradually outnumbered

male patients. This fits with the pattern found elsewhere in other asylums. Other writers have suggested that this may be due to longer life expectancy for women, especially in view of the number of male patients affected by GPI, or the transfer of female patients from work-houses to asylums, following changes to the system of paying for patients. In this new publication, the writer mentions this gender imbalance in the *Handbook* section, noting 'it is sometimes suggested that the female of the species is more physically predisposed to insanity', although a man faced greater pressures; from his career and from the need to provide for his family. The second part of the volume doesn't expand on this; it would have been interesting to know what the author thinks may have accounted for the higher proportion of female patients, in his own voice, rather than that of a nineteenth century medical official.

It is interesting to see other similarities between the Essex County Lunatic Asylum and the Moultsford Asylum; the minute books for the former mention the dismissal of attendants for drunkenness and other misbehaviour (one male attendant was found under the bed of a female member of staff), while at Moultsford, one chaplain eloped for a while with the schoolmistress from the village, deserting his wife and seven children, and then fled to Montevideo to escape his gambling debts.

I can understand the need for a different approach with this publication; a straightforward history of the Moultsford Asylum would not have had the appeal to the general reader that the author's previous introduction to Broadmoor Hospital does. In fairness, it is a very good introduction to the treatment of mental illness in the late nineteenth century; it explains how and why people were admitted and daily life in an asylum for both patients and staff, but I do feel that the concept got in the way of presenting the information.

Ruth Costello



Stephen Wade,
The Justice Women,
pp.xvi & 160, ISBN 978-1-47384-365-3,
Pen & Sword Books, 2015, £12.99.

The publishers of this book have an interesting history of their own, being part of *Barnsley Chronicle*, one of the UK's oldest provincial newspapers. The *Chronicle* began to publish books after a lot of readers were captivated by a series of articles

the newspaper had printed on aspects of military history; that is still one of the core subjects in Pen and Sword's publishing list. But, the list is now much broader. In the catalogue under 'social history' comes books about different aspects of the role of women, ranging from those in the Navy to females who acted as servants, criminals, and wearers of unusual clothing in the eighteenth century. More recently one book deals with *Women in the 1960s*, and is largely based on the autobiography of a school teacher.

Book Reviews

The Justice Women has a sub-title proclaiming that it covers the presence of females in the criminal justice system between 1800-1970. One imagines from the cover picture of a uniformed policewoman c.1930 that the contents of the book are mainly concerned with the police, but this is not the case; there are also various stories and quotations about women very much later than 1970!

Nine chapters of the book follow a preface and introduction. Chapter 1 is called *Charity, Education and Good Works*, and the final chapter is entitled *Sheriffs, Lord Lieutenants and Coroners*. Policewomen appear in Chapters 3 and 6, while Chapter 8 is called *The Lady Detectives*, and is mainly taken up by examples from Norman Lucas's book on women detectives published in 1986. After five pages of conclusions, there are acknowledgements and sources, both printed and internet references, and eight pages of sometimes tiny black and grey illustrations.

It is clear from the bibliography that the author has carried

out a lot of research, which perhaps does not always relate to the stated objectives of the book's title. While discussions in the first chapter about Victorian changes in the relationship between religion and service are relevant to some aspects of later chapters, some do not seem to 'follow on' either chronologically or ideologically. One wonders, for example, why he chose to treat women detectives and women police in separate chapters as if they were totally different roles, although perhaps mixing American and British legal and policing systems made this seem more logical.

There is some interesting material in this book, but footnotes are not generally used, and it was sometimes awkward to find the source of a quotation without having to trawl through the bibliography. In the author's conclusion he says that he was researching and writing the book aware that he was 'charting a truly significant thread in the great rich fabric of British history' with significant events and achievements which kept arriving and claiming a place in the story. It would have made the whole book much more readable if he had – perhaps – been more selective about the material which he chose for his final edition.

Maureen Scollan

Dee Gordon
Essex Land Girls,
pp.192, ISBN 978-0-7509-6152-3
The History Press, 2015, £9.99.

A number of anniversaries, associated with both world wars, are currently being commemorated resulting in various publications. One of these is *Essex Land Girls*, which as the title accurately reflects is specifically about Land Girls in Essex during the two World Wars. This is an important publication because it is the first known book about this particular aspect of Essex history. It is a paperback and contains a good number of relevant black and white illustrations.

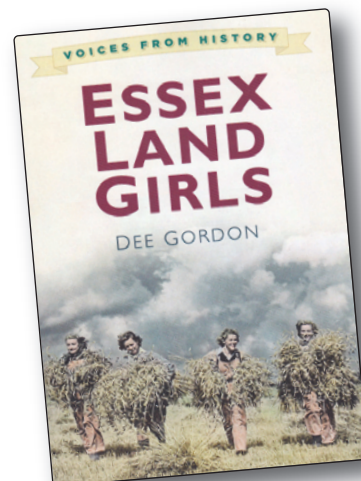
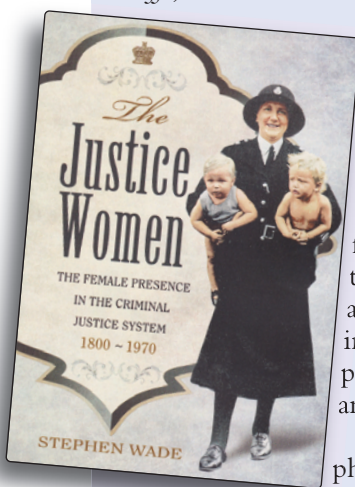
The names of Essex Land Girls very helpfully appear in bold type throughout the book. There were about 50 contributors from all parts of the county who shared with the author a wide variety of experiences. Fortunately the author was able to personally interview a few survivors and the remaining recollections came from written sources and sound recordings. This book certainly highlights the value of oral history including that held by the Essex Sound Archive at the Essex Record Office.

The book is divided into six chapters in chronological order plus a select bibliography. The work of the Women's Land Army during the First World War is detailed but inevitably a larger chapter is devoted to the Second World War. However the most substantial chapter is titled

The Working Day and comprises individual accounts from over 30 former Land Girls and reported stories from many more. This is followed by a shorter chapter about how their leisure time was spent and finally the continuation of work in the post war years because the Women's Land Army was not wound up until 1950.

On a personal note I was delighted to see a number of references to one former Land Girl namely Mary Page (née Nichols). She lived latterly in Sible Hedingham, where I met her and she was very enthusiastic with sharing her memories of being a Land Girl. She left Romford to work on a farm in Pebmarsh, where she met her future husband who worked on a neighbouring farm and served in the Home Guard. She was a lovely lady who has recently passed away but her experiences, which were typical of many former Land Girls, have fortunately been saved. The author should be thanked for recording not only Mary's recollections, but those from all the other contributors, resulting in a significant addition to the history of our county during both World Wars.

Adrian Corder-Birch



Book Reviews

Richard Morris,
**A History of St. Nicholas Church,
Loughton, Essex,**
pp.118 ISBN 978-1-90526-920-4,
Loughton & District Historical Society,
2015. £6.

Richard Morris, former Secretary of LDHS and an Epping Forest Verderer, has in recent years produced a steady stream of books on Epping Forest, Loughton and its environs, adding greatly to our knowledge of the area and its past. His latest publication, on the history of Loughton's parish church, St. Nicholas, is another enlightening account of a relatively obscure corner of Loughton history.

St Nicholas Church, first mentioned in 1177 and possibly built on the site of an earlier church, was, by the early nineteenth century, no longer near the main centre of population, which was to the south, on the main London to Newmarket road. It was therefore decided to build a new church – St John's – in the main centre, and this was consecrated in November 1846. St Nicholas, despite its antiquity, was largely demolished in 1847 to raise the paltry sum of £89.6s.6d. towards the cost of the new building.

However, the chancel was left standing and, with new northern and western walls, served as a memorial chapel until demolished and replaced in 1877 with funds provided by Mrs Whitaker Maitland, the mother of the Loughton rector.

In his book, Richard Morris has reproduced four historic accounts of St Nicholas: by an anonymous

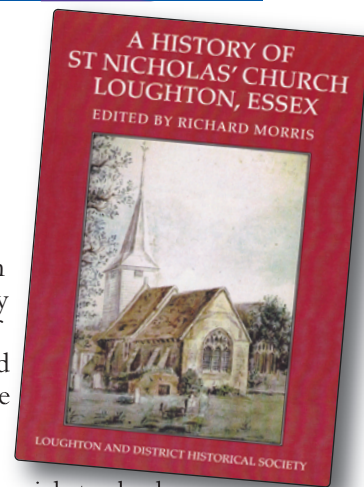
author, EEW, and by Essex historians, Elizabeth Ogbourne, William Chapman Waller and J. Perry. In addition, he has undertaken his own research and produced a chapter on the Memorial Chapel which is still standing, a chapter on brasses in the church and the families they commemorate, and accounts of the numerous individuals buried in the churchyard, including the members of notable Loughton families.

Although an estimated 800 burials took place in the churchyard between 1674 and 1854 and a survey of November 2014 identified 74 graves still marked by headstones and other memorials, which are listed in full detail in the book, it appears that developers were investigating the possibility of acquiring the site for housebuilding.

In producing this book and drawing public attention to the significance of the Church of St Nicholas and its churchyard, the author has underlined the need to preserve the site as one of historic importance in the Loughton locality.

This book is a fascinating account. It fills a gap in the history of Loughton which needed to be filled and is an example of how an historic study can contribute to the preservation of features of historic significance.

Stan Newens,



Panorama – The Journal of the Thurrock Local History Society, 54

December 2015, pp.ii & 62,

ISBN 978-0-99345-760-9:

ISSN 1465-1440, £3.50, plus £1.50 p&tp.

Available to order from: publications@thurrock-history.org.uk, or
by post: Norma Leach, 197 Long Lane, Grays, Essex, RM16 2PT

If you're not aware of the *Panorama*, then I hope that you'll look it out as with issue 54 recently published, I'm sure you'll find much useful material. This thick A5 card covered journal is full of good things. With the 100th anniversary of the First World War there are mentions of local connections, including the unveiling of a Blue Plaque to Gunther Plüschow, the only German prisoner of war to escape from Britain in either World War.

Fuller articles appear on observations made at St Catherine's Church, East Tilbury, during building work, along with further information on the church; that on a prize fight in Thurrock between James 'Jem' Mace and Tom King, is eye watering for the reader but for Mace the bout ended with him 'bleeding profusely from his mouth, nose and eyes'. He lived to fight another day which is recorded in a further article; Alfred Russell Wallace's new garden

feature at his home in Grays, 'a splendid imitation of a Welsh valley in little' is fascinating; the life of Robert H. Williams (1831-1904), rancher, soldier and Texas Ranger, of Thurrock and Tilbury, and his grandson Robert H. Blair Williams (1915-75) and his interest in Jainism is intriguing – especially the twist in the marriage of his parents!

Book Reviews, Notes & Queries and *Media Watch* round off this great publication. It's well worth a look, there's a set in the ERO Library, as it deserves a wider readership than just the Thurrock area. As supporters of *EJ* I know you're all aware of how important it is to support local history organisations and publications, with all the work that goes into keeping them going. It's good then to see that the role of John Webb, the retiring editor of this issue and the previous 23, is celebrated: 'Arranging the material to fit coherently on the page, organising the printing. Liaising with the contributors...along with a myriad of other functions...to take on these duties...to iron out all the little problems...is a major commitment, requiring much stamina'. Sounds familiar, sounds like a very good reason to support the Thurrock Local History Society and seek out *Panorama*!

Neil Wiffen

Erica Wylie was born in London in 1955 and moved to Essex when she was three. She trained to be a nurse at Orsett Hospital and went on to work at St Andrew's hospital in Billericay. After working as a nurse for a number of years she changed direction and decided to pursue her interest in history which led her to study for A-level History at evening classes. In 1990 she gained a place at the University of Essex graduating with a BA Hons in History and MA in Local and Regional History. In 1995 she joined the Essex Record Office and in 2004 she left there to become the Librarian at Thomas Plume's Library in Maldon. She lives with her husband in Tolleshunt D'Arcy.

1. What is your favourite historical period?

The early modern period, especially the seventeenth century.

2. Tell us what Essex means to you? Farmland, big skies, the marshes.

3. What historical mystery would you most like to know? A biography about Thomas Plume, which is in the early stages of research, has uncovered new material including an attempt to poison him. I'm looking forward to learning more about this.

4. My favourite history book is... I'm not sure if favourite is the right word, but Primo Levi's *If this is a Man* and *The Truce* are, to quote Philip Roth, "One of the century's truly necessary books." Sadly this also applies to the twenty first century.

5. What is your favourite place in Essex? The Essex coast especially around the Blackwater estuary, Mersea Island and Maldon.

6. How do you relax? I like walking, photography and gardening, but most relaxing is pottering in my greenhouse with the radio on.

7. What are you researching at the moment? I am not doing any of my own research at the moment, but at the Library we are currently working on the collection of records it has produced over the last 311 years.

8. My earliest memory is... Kicking and jumping in heaps of autumn leaves when I was 2 or 3, I still find this hard to resist!

9. What is your favourite song/piece of music and why? This is really difficult and if asked again in a few weeks I would probably give a different answer. I have recently rediscovered Pink Floyd so *Wish you were here* or *Comfortably Numb*. Also *Everybody's Changing* by Keane for happy memories of a road trip to the USA or *Life on Mars*, as a Bowie fan from the 70s.

10. If you could travel back in time which event would you change? I would not like to risk the possibility of making things worse, as many science fiction books and films have warned!



11. Which four people from the past would you invite to dinner? Thomas Plume, of course, Charles Darwin, the nineteenth century horticulturalist Gertrude Jekyll and Hannah Woolley the seventeenth century Essex born writer of books on household management such as *The queen-like closet*.

12. What is your favourite food? Home grown cherry tomatoes picked and eaten straight from the plant, the taste of summer!

13. The history book I am currently reading is... *The Church of England and the Home Front, 1914-1918: Civilians, Soldiers and Religion in Wartime Colchester* by R. Beaken and *The Borough of Maldon, 1688-1800: a Golden Age*, by J.R. Smith.

14. What is your favourite quote from history? 'The love for all living creatures is the most noble attribute of man', Charles Darwin.

15. Favourite historical film? *Apollo 13*. I remember watching the drama unfold on television and being allowed to watch at school while we waited to see if the capsule would reappear from behind the moon.

16. What is your favourite building in Essex? I have got to say Thomas Plume's Library in Maldon! If not then the Chapel of St Peter-on-the-Wall.

17. What past event would you like to have seen? On 25th November 1641 Charles I made a spectacular entry into London on his return from Scotland and attended a lavish banquet at Guildhall.

18. How would you like to be remembered? For my gardening and my sense of humour, hopefully, and professionally as someone who contributed to the preservation of the Plume Library for future generations.

19. Who inspires you to read or write or research history? Margaret Graham, who taught me for A-level and made me believe that I could get to University. Lecturers at the University of Essex History department, especially Joan Davies, John Walter and Philip Hills who got me through it and Harry Lubasz for his kindness, encouragement and inspiration.

20. Most memorable historical date? For some reason 14th July, Bastille Day.



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*Supporting the Essex Record Office
and historical research in Essex*

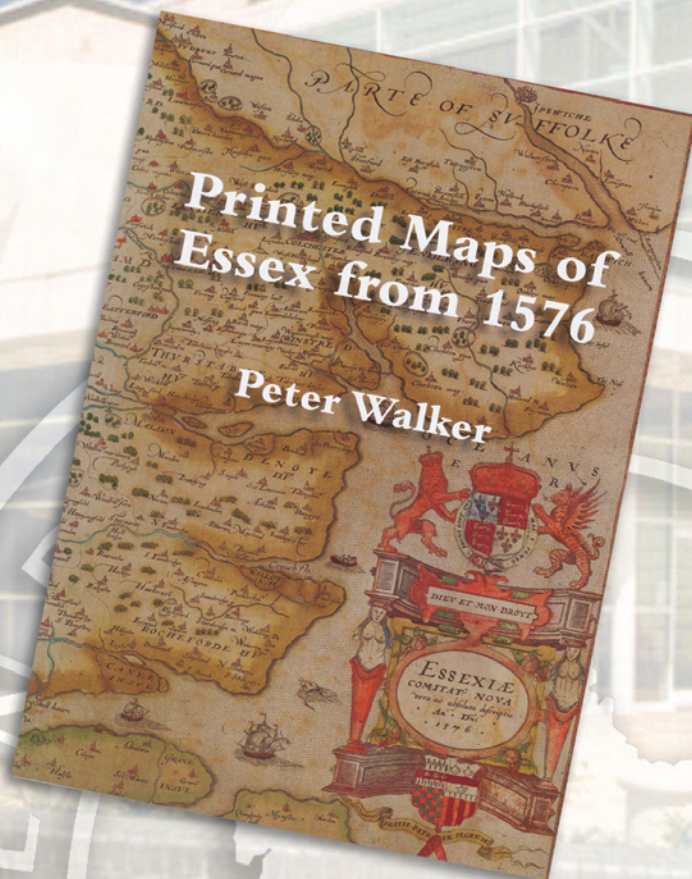
New publication from
the Friends of Historic Essex:

Printed Maps of Essex from 1576

by Peter Walker

An illustrated guide to the historic
county maps at the Essex Record Office.
Available from the Essex Record Office
by post (£15 inc. P&P, cheques payable
to 'The Friends of Historic Essex') or
£12.50 in person.

Book review by Dr Justin Colson
of the University of Essex on p.41.



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