

Essex JOURNAL

A REVIEW OF LOCAL HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY

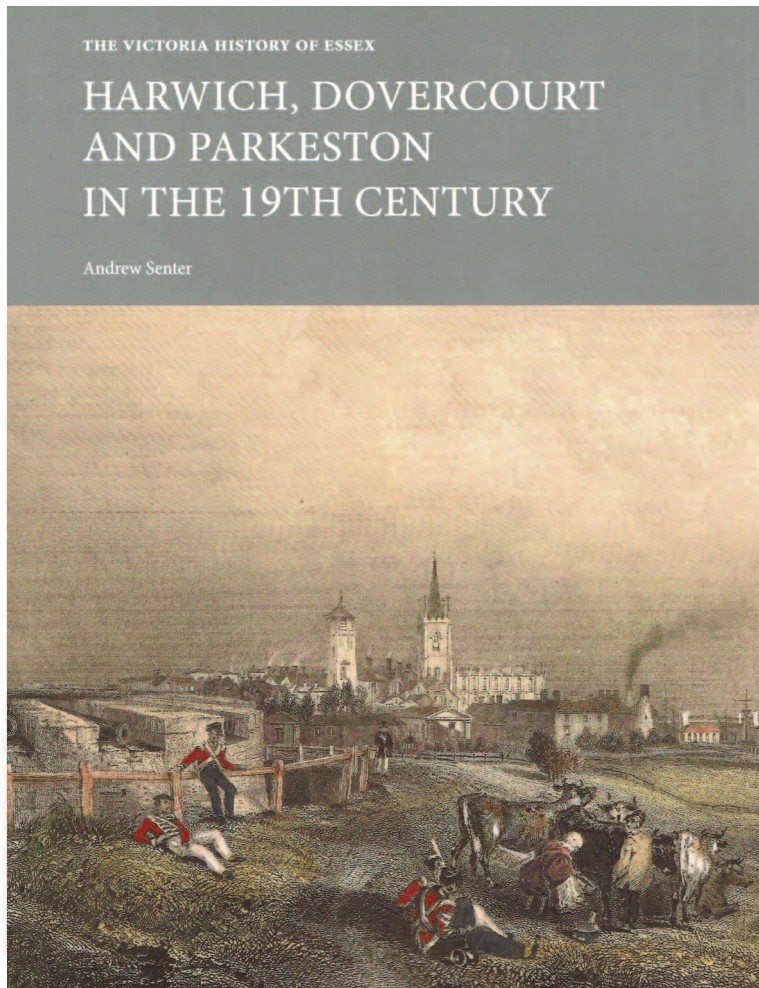
Autumn 2019

Paul Reyland remembers the Brentwood Radio Receiving Station

and so much more!

Michael Leach Special

EJ 20 Questions:
Maria Medlycott



The Victoria History of Essex

Harwich, Dovercourt and Parkeston in the 19th Century

ed. Andrew Senter | ISBN: 978-1-912702-11-4
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Published by the Institute of Historical Research, this book explores the changing character of Harwich, Dovercourt and Parkeston through the course of the 19th century. The themes studied encompass the economic, social and political history of the borough, with prominent topics including Harwich's military role and its maritime function. The book also provides an overview of the development of education, religion and public health.



Dr Andrew Senter is a local historian who has researched and written on the history of north-east Essex for twenty years. His PhD, awarded by the University of Essex, covered the seaside resorts of Essex in the 19th and early 20th centuries, including developments at Harwich and Dovercourt. He was also a contributor to Volume XI of the main VCH red book series concerning the neighbouring resorts of Clacton, Walton and Frinton.

Copies are available from the Victoria County History of Essex Trust,
Hon. Secretary at West Bowers Hall, Woodham Walter, Maldon, Essex CM9 6RZ
(email: patriciaherrmann@talk21.com)

or for collection in person from the VCH Essex County Editor at the
Essex Record Office, Wharf Road, Chelmsford, Essex CM2 6YT
(to arrange collection email: c.c.thornton@btinternet.com)



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Well the year rolls round again and here we are for the autumn 2019 issue (my 25th – where did that time go?) and I've been thinking about what the past means, when is something fit for historians to start their studying? Recent events focus the mind as Brexit goings-on all seem so. Thinking on these events I wonder what historians of the future will make of them. Just living through them I find it hard to try to understand what exactly is going on and how they might change the country. Imagine the lessons that history students of the future are going to have to endure to learn about what we're living through and we don't know what's yet to come!

That all makes the study of the past more 'comfortable' as we broadly know what happened at most times in history, although we are always uncovering more information and making sense of different facets of the past (as this very publication demonstrates). However, when does that 'past' become worthy of study? If you're a constitutional historian like Peter Hennessy, it could be that you're already studying yesterday's political machinations to try and update a history of the Brexit goings-on. An expert on human trafficking might be looking at the history of this trade to try and work out why 39 people were found dead at Purfleet. However, I suspect that most of us think of 'history' as being some further way off, the Second World War for sure, the Swinging Sixties as well, or 'big' history' as opposed to the stories of our everyday lives.

Recently I was on duty in the ERO Searchroom and an undergraduate came in to start researching for their dissertation. I asked what their topic was and the reply came back that it was to do with how the people of Essex celebrated the Queen's Silver Jubilee. I think this might possibly be the first time that I have experienced events that I had been a part of being ripe for study – perhaps I'm not as young as I think I am! Now, I expect many of you reading this will have already been through this but it's new to me and I found it quite unsettling. Perhaps we can put a minimum time limit on the past before it is studied to spare those of us who have lived through the events in question!

To this issue and it's a bumper one and quite rightly so as it is dedicated to Dr Michael Leach who has turned 80 this year. I'm sure many of you will be familiar with Michael's articles and book reviews in the *Essex Journal* along with all his snippets in the *Newsletter* of the Essex Society for Archaeology & History. There doesn't seem to be a subject that Michael doesn't know something about. So it was an enjoyable challenge putting together a cornucopia of different subjects for Michael delectation and delight.

Martin Stuchfield does a masterful job of summarising Michael's contribution to colleagues as well as to historical research in the county. I'm sure all of you who know Michael will be in agreement with Martin's sentiments.

Kicking off the articles is Dr James Kemble with a foray into his favourite subject of the origins of place-names. This was of particular interest to me as he mentions a name familiar in Broomfield – Patching Hall. Could the local Anglo-Saxon burial discovered at the end of the nineteenth



century have anything to do with a chap called Pæcci? I'm sure we'll never know. In the next article Maria Medlycott discusses the early history of Hatfield Forest and I suspect that there is much more to discover here in due course.

Tony Doe discusses what must be his favourite topic – Thomas Plume, who being an early-modern clergyman will be of considerable interest to Michael. Brenda and Elphin Watkin share with us the findings of one of their building surveys and the curious link with vaccination. A subject that as a retired GP I'm sure Michael will have much to contribute to.

Knowing how much Michael enjoys gardening and plants, I very much wanted to include something along those lines and ended up writing an article on apple and pear trees which is a subject very close to my own heart. Following on, Stephen Norris continues his epic task of researching the Chelmsford Union Workhouse by looking at education provision for children. This is just the latest piece of the jigsaw that he has put together – look out for further findings brought to us in the years to come.

A nice coincidence was that last year Paul Reyland got in contact to buy the issue of *EJ* that had in it Michael's history of the Ongar Radio Station, Paul having worked there. Before that Paul worked at the Brentwood Radio Receiving Station and, being inspired by Michael's article, took up the challenge of bringing that little known part of our past to life – his very first ever piece of research and writing to boot.

Vic Gray kindly contributes an obituary to Bill Liddell while a variety of book reviews follows – including one by Michael. Well, I didn't think I could really leave Michael out of harness for even just one issue! Maria then rounds off with her 20 Questions piece although I will take issue with her assertion that the 'Eccles Cake probably represents England's greatest contribution to world civilization.' Surely that's the chip butty!

Cheers,

Neil (A young feeling 47 year old!)

News from the Essex Record Office

The Essex Record Office benefits from, and to a large extent relies upon, support from a range of organisations and individuals. This support, in the form of partnerships and collaboration as well as funding, will form a theme in this update.

You may already be aware that searching for your Essex ancestors is easier than ever as the ERO has teamed up with Ancestry to offer a new way to access our parish registers. Ancestry have created a name index to the ERO's parish register images, and Ancestry users can click straight through from the index to Essex Archives Online in order to buy a copy of the indexed image.

Another resource helping us to reach a wider audience is Europeana Collections. This web portal (www.europeana.eu/portal/en) provides free access to thousands of digital cultural heritage items from archives, libraries, and museums across Europe. The cross-institutional search allows users to find relevant material from any collection. It is therefore an excellent opportunity to raise awareness of the significant heritage we hold in the Essex Sound and Video Archive.

To dip our toe in this water, as it were, we submitted 12 oral history interviews with elders from the Windrush generation, recorded by Essex artist Ewewright (Everton Wright). The stories are of great significance in telling the story of people who are too often under-represented in archival holdings. They also fit into Europeana's 'Migration' theme, which should lead to interested researchers finding

them more easily. We may share additional collections on Europeana in future, which could include digital images or video recordings as well as sound.

Closer to home, the ERO has received funding support from a number of local organisations. In July we were visited by Dr James Bettley in his capacity as a trustee of the Essex Heritage Trust. The Trust had provided funding, alongside that received from the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust, for our volunteer project to clean, flatten and repackage plans from the architectural practice of Fred Chancellor. It was wonderful to observe James sharing his knowledge of our architectural heritage with the volunteers as they shared their enthusiasm for the plans and the work they are doing to preserve them.

Similarly pleasing was a visit by members of the Essex Gardens Trust; another organisation which had provided some funding, in this case to pay for conservation work on a drawing of Rivenhall Place by Humphry Repton. We were delighted to be able to show them this beautiful drawing now skilfully restored, as well as other garden-related documents and a behind-the-scenes view of our Conservation workshop.

As ever, we have had consistent support from the Friends of Historic Essex. In particular with the purchase of important documents which may otherwise have been lost to the county, but also with the joint funding (alongside the University of Essex) of a student placement.

Dr James Bettley JP DL FSA, High Sheriff of Essex 2019-20 and architectural historian with Martin Astell on his recent visit to the Essex Record Office. (N. Wiffen, 18/07/19)





We are also pleased to have a University of Essex PhD student carrying out some research for us, this time funded by the British Society for the History of Science (BSHS). As the BSHS Engagement Fellow, Lewis Smith is delving into the enormous collection of photographs created by the Marconi Photographic Unit. The aim is to understand more about what the collection contains and consider how these images could be used to benefit researches into the history of science. Insights into both of these placements can be found on the ERO blog.

The ERO has further plans for the Marconi photographs as we move rapidly towards 2020, designated as Essex Year of Science and Creativity. We will be seeking external funding to digitise a proportion of the images alongside an oral history project to capture and preserve the intangible heritage of memories and experiences held by former employees of the company.

Having mentioned our volunteers working on Chancellor plans earlier, I would also like to give honourable mention to the sterling efforts of another set of volunteers who have been working on the ERO's reference library collection. Their work has meant that there are now entries for all of the books in the collection on our online catalogue, making them much more easy to find. Not resting on their laurels, they have now moved on to listing the pamphlets too.

The reference library materials are just one of the many and varied collections at the ERO. It takes a team of knowledgeable and skilled staff to look after them. I am very pleased to have been able to welcome a new member to the team in the position of Archive and Collections Lead. That is Richard Anderson who has joined us from Cambridgeshire Archives.

Finally, I want to look forward a few months. Unbelievably, next year will see the 20th anniversary of the ERO moving into what is still referred to by some as our 'new' building in Wharf Road, Chelmsford. We are starting to think how we might mark this occasion and celebrate not only the tremendous achievement of planning and building such an impressive home for the ERO, but also the great work to preserve, understand, share and enjoy the heritage of our diverse county – by staff, volunteers and researchers – which has been carried out within it during that time.

Martin Astell,
Essex Record Office Manager
www.essexrecordoffice.co.uk

Left. The watercolour of Rivenhall Place which was recently conserved with financial support from the Essex Gardens Trust. The three versions show the view that confronted Repton, top, with one, then two flaps raised to illustrate his vision. The last image is of the flaps removed during conservation work.
(ERO, D/DU 3138/1)

Dr Michael Leach: an appreciation

It is a pleasure and a privilege to contribute this appreciation in recognition of Michael Leach celebrating a notable milestone in his life.

Michael Leach is not a native of Essex but was born in East Sussex in 1939 and grew up in the Weald. Graduating with a degree in architecture he changed direction to qualify in medicine working in Essex from 1969 until retirement as a General Practitioner in 1997. He has long enjoyed Essex history possessing a considerable breadth of interest and knowledge. His contribution has been immense and yet he toils away quietly in the background prodigiously producing articles of interest and scholarship. He is an encourager, facilitator and has been a 'tower of strength' to many who owe him an enormous debt of gratitude.

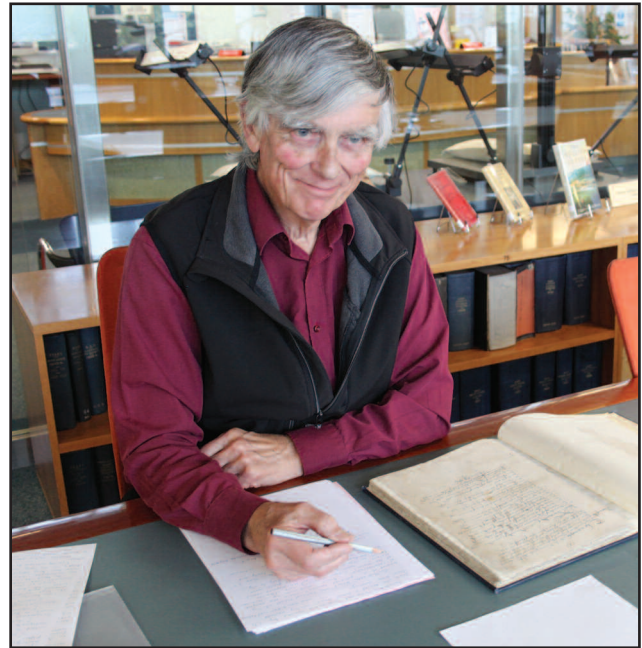
I had long come to admire and appreciate his work coming into close contact with Michael upon assuming the role as President of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History in 2008. We had both joined the Society in the 1980s with Michael succeeding Chris Thornton as Secretary in 1999 and serving in that capacity with distinction for a period of 13 years. I was most fortunate in being able to count on his unwavering support and sublime efficiency that greatly enhanced the enjoyment of my three-year period in office. I came to realize that I was the last in a long line of Presidents who had similarly benefitted. Chris Thornton echoed my sentiments in his final newsletter contribution as President in spring 2005 when he wrote that Michael Leach 'is as an efficient, energetic and charming a Secretary as any President could wish for'.¹

Michael had been contributing to the Society's *Newsletter* since the late 1990s and became Assistant Editor to Paul Gilman. He continues to perform this valuable role to the present time. The latest issue of the newsletter is typical for it bears testimony to his broad interests and easy writing style with contributions varying from a *Turkish Pirate Ship off Leigh-on-Sea*; *Setting up Libraries in the Long 17th century*; *Another Troublesome Essex Rector* [Hugh or Hugo Payne of Sutton]; and *Evangelical Religion in Chelmsford in 1538*.²

Michael's contribution in providing the introductions and assisting to produce three indexes for the third series of the Society's *Transactions* should not be overlooked.³

Essex garden and natural history is a particularly long-held interest.⁴ His involvement with the Essex Gardens Trust Research Group culminated in the publication of *The Living Landscape: Animals in Parks and Gardens of Essex* in 2010.

It is not in the least surprising that Michael should also be heavily involved on his own patch editing *Aspects of the History of Ongar* that appeared under the imprint of the Ongar Millennium History Project in 1999. The Group has a proud tradition of publishing with Michael serving as President of the now Ongar Millennium History Society.



Michael Leach undertaking research during a recent visit to the Essex Record Office. (N. Wiffen, 17/10/2019)

Michael's erudition has graced the pages of *Essex Journal*⁵ with a number of wide-ranging articles. This is not to mention his countless book reviews!

Long may we continue to enjoy his prodigious output.

Martin Stuchfield

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in Essex

by

James Kemble

Up till the first century AD in what became Essex, allegiance had been to the Trinovantian tribe, its leaders and customs. Sources reveal little of the organisation in the hinterland to the north of the lower Thames in the fifth/sixth centuries after the Roman withdrawal at the beginning of the fifth century. When the British monk Gildas was writing c.530–40, the battles of the native Romano-British peoples against Saxon invaders were in abeyance.¹ He regretted that so many shrines were inaccessible to the British because of *lugubri divortio barbarorum*, ‘the melancholy partition with the barbarians.’ The peace after the battle of Badon, possibly at Solsbury hillfort near Bath, had been bought by agreement that the incomers be allotted certain lands, probably, from archaeological evidence, in Kent, Sussex, East Anglia and Lincolnshire.²

The historian Procopius of Caesarea, c.530, wrote that ‘three populous nations inhabit the island of Britain, each ruled by a king. These nations are named the *Angiloi*, the *Frissones* [Frisians] and the *Brittones*.’ Essex and Colchester initially remained British. When Arthur and Medraut fell at the battle of *Camlann* 21 years after Badon, so died the fragile arrangements that had held the British territories. Local warlords took control until the discontented, following a series of plagues, again rebelled in the mid-late sixth century allowing East Saxon sub-kings to establish a larger kingdom initially under Kentish overlordship.³

Early Settlement

In the three centuries after Roman administration had collapsed, the incursion of Germanic peoples brought new customs and

allegiances, which, on a local level, was to a group leader, whose name, such as Hæfer of the *Hæferingas*, has sometimes survived. Native Britons did not share these new allegiances. They either became isolated or merged in to adopt, perhaps reluctantly, the new practices which eventually (AD 750–900 has been suggested⁴) included speaking a new Germanic language. In places such as the Penge, part of Surrey, and perhaps the Chatham district of Great Waltham, Ulting and Dovercourt, British Celtic place-names survived suggesting a resistant native population.⁵

In the late fourth century continental mercenaries had been employed by the Roman administration to defend the *Litus Saxonium* (of which the fort at Bradwell-on-Sea is the Essex representative) and their descendants may have remained in the coastal and estuarine settlements. Fifth and sixth century archaeological sites in South Essex are not extensive beyond the coast and rivers, but such evidence as there is affirms Germanic and Low Countries affinities. It seems likely that there was a population of continental *foederati* occupying coastal settlements in the late fourth century, of which Mucking, Shoebury, Tilbury and Prittlewell (Fossets Farm site) on the Thames are examples.⁶

For Wessex, some information about late fifth century kingdoms is contained in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and a twelfth century source.⁷ ‘In 495 [possibly 532] Cerdic, a German by nation, communicated his design to Cenric, his son, to extend his kingdom by the sword. He obtained supremacy in West Saxony, and, excepting the Isle of Wight which became subject to his nephew Withgar, his kingdom

descended to Cenric. After 26 years the kingdom descended to his son Cealwin.’ These names are Brittonic suggesting that line was of native Britons (despite the Anglo-Saxon Germanic accreditation). Information as to whether similar disruptions occurred in *East Seaxe* is not available. For the East Saxons, it is not until the beginning of the seventh century that the genealogies of the kings can be traced to Sabert (c.604–616), son of Sledd and Ricula, sister of Æthelbert of Kent.⁸

Sledd claimed descent from Germanic Geseg Seaxneting; Seaxnaet was still worshipped by continental Saxons in the eighth century.⁹ A parchment (BL Add 23211) traces Sledd’s genealogy back through Siefugl, Swæppa, Ansecgis, Gesecging to Gesecg Seaxneting for which there is little independent evidence and about whom we have few further details other than that his name is associated with Thunor and Woden.¹⁰ The scant documentary evidence of how what Bede calls the *provincia Orientalium Saxonum* came in to being is supplemented by archaeology and place-names.¹¹ In particular, communities (later to become parishes) which share a common name deserve attention.

Place-names ending in *-ingas*

Several place-names in Essex contain the word-ending *-ingas*, indicating the territory of a community. Without pre-Domesday spellings it is difficult to differentiate names ending in singular *-ing* from *-ingas*, but Gelling¹² suggests that Barking (*Berchingas*) and Havering (*Haueringas*) may be considered to be *-ingas* names. To these Dengie (*Deningei regio*), Barling (*Berlinga*), Wakering (*Wacheringa*) and Roding (*Rodinges*) may be added. (Tables 1 & 2).

Table 1. Probable *-ingas* name with a topographical/habitative element

Place-name	Hundred	Domesday owner(s)	Current name	Number of manors
Berecingas*	Becontree	Barking Abbey	Barking	1
Deningei regio	Wibertsherne	Bishop of London	Dengie	
Eppinga	Harlow	Count Alan	Epping	1
Epinga	Waltham	Waltham Holy Cross	Epping	1
Nasinga	Waltham	Waltham Holy Cross; Ranulf b. of Ilger	Nazeing	2
Nasinga et Epinga	Waltham	Ranulf b. of Ilger	Nazeing; Epping	1
Salinges	Hinckford	Richard s. of Gilbert; John s. of Waleran	Great Saling	2
Ultinga	Witham	Ralph Baynard	Ulting	1
Total: 9 Domesday manors (*May contain a personal name)				

Names with *-ingaham* have been considered to be earlier than *-ingas* names, for example Corringham, Bockingham in Copford, Tillingham and Goldingham in Bulmer, all of which lie near the coast or navigable rivers. John Dodgson believed that *-ingas* names did not relate to the earliest English land-holdings¹³ and noted the lack of early medieval burials close to sites of habitation. The Broomfield ‘princely’ cemetery has been known since the nineteenth century and, since then, archaeological excavation has found a large early Saxon cemetery at Springfield, settlement and cemetery at North Stifford, Mucking and Stanford le Hope.¹⁴ The disassociation between cemeteries and settlements therefore may not be as complete as Dodgson claimed. There are 20 or so Essex names which are probably or certainly *-ingas*. A.H. Smith.¹⁵ proposed that folk-names in *ingaz*, *ingas* denoted ‘a group of people brought together by dependence on a common [named] leader, and that this use was illustrated throughout

the continental German field.’ The inclusion of a group-leader name is held to be older than the less common habitative or topographical one.

The explanation for the concentration in Essex of *-ingas* place-names south of Chelmsford has been interpreted as representing a territory of one tribe or nation which had migrated to this region from the continent. It is over a century since Mrs A. Christie¹⁶ attempted an explanation for the long-recognised grouping of south Essex parishes in Chelmsford Hundred (plus Ingrave in Barstable) with the common Old English component ‘*-ingas*’. Immediate observation is that these *-ingas* names contain neither a folk-leader name nor a topographical/habitative association (Table 3).

If Ingrave, *Inga*, and Fouchers, *Ginga*, in Barstable Hundred are to be included in the same tribe’s sphere as the Chelmsford Hundred *Inga/Ginga* manors, then the Hundred names must post-date the manorial names, the boundary between Barstable and Chelmsford drawn at a time

when *Inga/Ginga* kinship was no longer significant. Barstable, which appears as *Beardstap[e]le* in 1085–9 in the Westminster Domesday Book, may have Old High German *barta*, ‘battle-axe’ as the first element, and *stapol*, ‘a post/pillar/meeting-place’ as the second;¹⁷ this suggests reference to a time when the brandishing of swords at the moot signified assent to a proposal, a practice derived from the Germanic assemblies, and there is no reason to believe such practices were not continued by the early Germanic settlers in Britain.¹⁸

In the instance of the *Ginga/Inga* manors (except Ingrave and Fouchers), the river Wid and the *Londinium-Colonia Camulodunum* road provided access. For the *Hrothingas*, it is the eponymous river Roding and the Roman Moreton-Great Dunmow road. For the *Hæferingas* it is the river Ingrebourne; for the *Feringas*, the Blackwater/Pant and the Kelvedon-Marks Tey road; for the *Wakeringas/Berlingas*, Potton Creek/River Crouch; for the *Eppingas*, Cobbins Brook/Lea.

Table 2. Probable *-ingas* names with a personal or folk name

Manor	Hundred	Domesday owner(s)	Current name	Number of manors
Berlinga	Rochford	St Pauls; Odo	Barling	2
Crepinges, -a	Lexden	Modwin; Richard s. of Gilbert	Crepping (in Wakes Colne)	2
Danengebiam	Chelmsford	Mandeville	Danbury	1
Pheringas	Lexden	Westminster	Feering	1
Festingas	Chelmsford	Barking	Fristling (Stock)	1
Phobinge?	Barstable	Eustace	Fobbing	1
Haveringas	Becontree	King William	Havering	1
Metcinga	Harlow	St Valery;Mandeville; Gernon; Edmund	Matching	4
Metcinges	Lexden	Baynard; Roger of Raimes	Messing	2
Pacingas,-es	Chelmsford	Odo; Mandeville; Gernon	Patching Hall (in Broomfield)	3
Phingheria	Chafford?	King William	Fingrith (in Blackmore)	1
Richelinga	Uttlesford	King William	Rickling	1
Rodinges	Ongar	Eudo; Ely; Warenne; Roger; Hamo	Roding	6
Rodinges	Ongar	Mandeville	Roding	4
Roinges	Ongar	Eudo; Alan; Mandeville; Richard	Roding	5
Rodingis	Ongar	King William	White Roding	1
Sceringa	Harlow	Peter de Valognes	Sheering	1
Stib-,Stabinga	Hinckford	Ferrers; Ranulf Peverel	Stebbing	2
Terlinga	Witham	Ranulf Peverel	Terling	1
Wacheringa	Rochford	Earl Swein	Wakering	2
Total: 42 Domesday manors				

Territorial boundaries between Saxon communities were watershed uplands. The Danbury Heights ridge from the

Hanningfields to the Woodhams provided the boundary between the *Gegingas* and *Dænningas*.¹⁹ There is a continuous line of field

boundaries traceable on the 6” Ordnance Survey Map c.1875 suggesting a long-landscape continuity (Fig. 1). The observation

Table 3. *Ingas/Gingas* with no qualifier

Manor	Hundred	Domesday owner(s)	Hides	Current name	Number of manors
Ginga	Chelmsford	King William	3½	Margaretting	1
Ginga	Chelmsford	Ranulf b. of Ilger	9	Mountnessing	1
Ginga	Chelmsford	Ranulf b. of Ilger	2, 26 acres	Mountnessing	1
Ginga	Chelmsford	Mathew of Mortagne	5	Margaretting	1
Inga	Chelmsford	Barking Abbey	3½, 10 acres	Ingatestone	1
Inga	Chelmsford	Robert Gernon	6½, 64 acres	Fryerning	3
Cinga	Chelmsford	Henry de Ferrers	5½	Buttsbury	1
Ginga	Barstable	Ranulf b. of Ilger	80 acres	Fouchers (in E. Horndon)	1
Inga	Barstable	Odo, bishop of Bayeux	2	Ingrave	1
Inga	Barstable	Ranulf Peverel	1, 20 acres	Ingrave	1
Inga	Barstable	Ranulf b. of Ilger	2	Ingrave	1
Total: 13 Domesday manors					

may be equally applied to the Chelmsford/Ongar Hundred boundary between Blackmore and Stondon (approximately the Paslow Common-Fingrith Hall-Peppers Green-Pleshey watershed) separating the *Gingas* from the *Hrothingas*, and between the Ongar and Epping Hundred boundary at Toot Hill separating the *Hrothingas* from the *Næsingas*.

Domesday Book accords to the 13 *Inga/Ginga* manors some 41 hides, perhaps 5,800 acres. It is reasonable to suppose that if the *Gingas* region was occupied by a people from one continental area, their territory would also have included intermediary later-named parishes such as Doddinghurst, Shenfield and Hutton. The origin of *Ingas/Gingas* is suggested as a personal name *Gawo*, or *Giga*, an otherwise unprovenanced name though perhaps found in Ginkhoven in Holland.²⁰ An

alternative is given as the tribal name *Gegingas*, cognate with Old High German *gewi* ‘people of the *ge* or district.’²¹ In Kent and elsewhere, *gaus* could become centres for royal villas, as instanced by Eastry (*Eastorege*).²² While the *ingas* place-names may indeed represent the ‘people of the district’ or ‘people of the man of the *gē* [district]’ as Reaney suggests,²³ the ‘district’ may not originally been an Essex one. Is ‘people of a district’ convincing as a region which an immigrant tribe would call itself or be known?

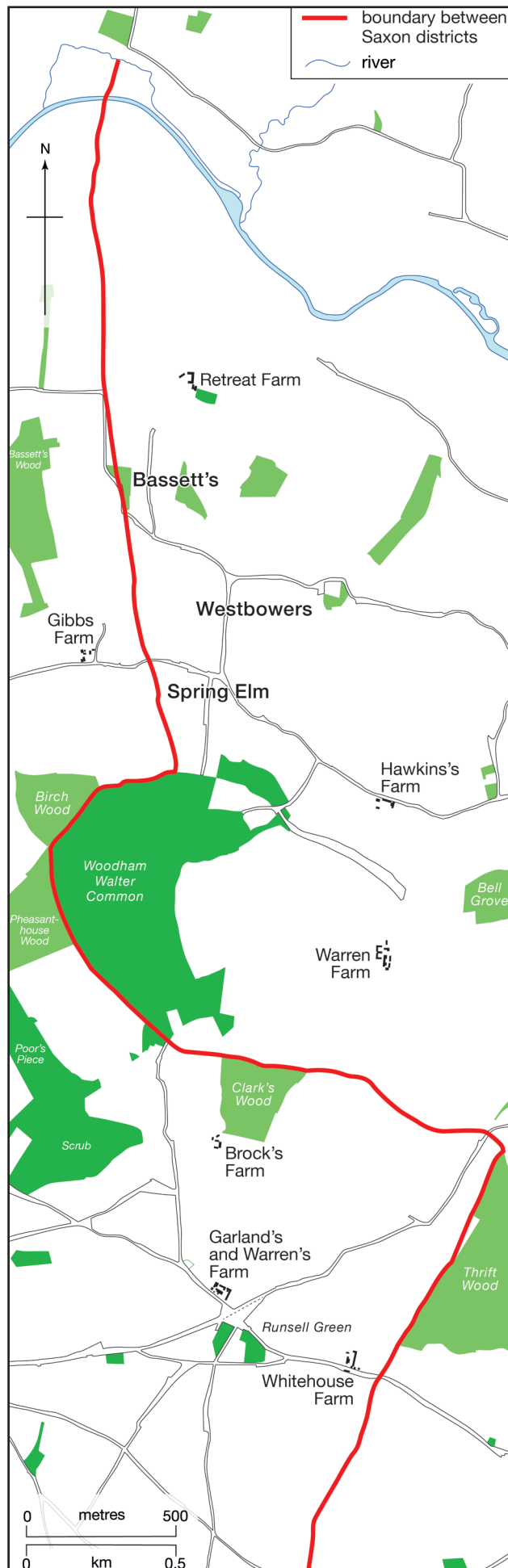
Continental Origins and British Survival

Roman sources provide some detail about the Germanic tribes. Tacitus (c.AD 56–120) and Pliny the Elder (c.AD 77) describe the continental tribes which occupied the coastal regions of the North Sea, Jutland, Frisia, the Danish

islands and Holstein, in the first century AD. Amongst these were the *Ingaevones*, who celebrated Tuisto, the earth-god, and his son Mannus. They included the Chauci, Cimbri and Teutones tribes. These are the *Ingvine*, ‘people of the Ing’ (of whom Hrothgar is Lord in the poem *Beowulf*). Ingui is equated with the Scandinavian god *Freyr*. Rather than assume the *Ingas/Gingas* region was populated by ‘people of the district’, a plausible alternative, reinforced by archaeology, is that these were ‘the *Ingaevones* people’ (Fig. 2). A similar reference to the incoming continental immigrant *Hrothingas* who occupied the Rodings may be referred to by Tacitus as the Germanic *Reudigni* tribe who worshipped Mother Earth.²⁴

It was in the zones further away from the coast, estuaries and navigable rivers which remained

1. Map of the boundary between the Gepingas and Denningas. (Based on 1st Ed 6" OS map, sheets, 44 & 53 (1875). (J. Kemble / C. D'Alton)



British until the Saxons pressed inland around the middle of the sixth century. In Caer Colun (Colchester) the British and the Roman veterans with their offspring initially maintained control, but from c.450 *grubenhauser*, Saxon pottery, spearheads and shield bosses have been excavated suggesting continental presence if not settlement.²⁵ The cemetery at Springfield Lyons near Chelmsford by the river Chelmer has mid-fifth to early seventh century inhumations with East Anglian grave-good types.²⁶ To the north, the *Gippingas* established themselves around Ipswich, the Orwell and Deben estuaries, their women wearing 'great squarehead' brooches of Scandinavian type, and their dead buried in cemeteries. The evidence of the incomers shows that they valued the cruciform brooch, its head decorated with three knobs at the top and sides. They are found also in Frisia and to the west of the River Elbe. The early saucer brooches are of mixed Anglian and Saxon cultures.

The finding of Saxon-style pottery does not necessarily mean that Saxons were using or making it. Excavations at Rivenhall have shown that a prosperous Romano-British villa complex continued to be used in to the early Saxon period. A shallow pit containing Anglo-Saxon pottery had been dug through the floor of the Romano-British barn. Early post-Roman pottery and glass were found in a pit. The style resembles vessels from Denmark of the first half of the fifth century. Close by was a late Roman military strap-end implying a military presence.²⁷ The evidence suggests a high-ranking Romano-British family continued to live on the villa site. Vessels and militaria of a similar early date have been found at Bulmer.²⁸ A late Romano-British cremation urn in typically Saxon form has been excavated from the long-used cemetery at Billericay, and a continental-style urn with Roman lettering at Chelmsford.

Early Saxon pottery and a sunken building have been found near Romford in close association with urned cremations carbon-dated to AD c.433 pointing to Romano-British and continental influences in close proximity in Essex.²⁹

Following Cynric's seizure of Salisbury c.550, King Æthelbert of Kent failed in his attempt to expand his kingdom westwards. It may be from then or earlier that the influence on Essex by Kentish overlordship was increasingly felt, for later in that century Ricola, daughter of Eormenric, king of Kent and sister of Æthelberht, was married to Sledd who ruled the *East Seaxe* kingdom until c.604. A dubious post-Conquest source places his accession to 587.³⁰

Evidence for Early Subkingdoms

East and West Kent were ruled by a senior and a junior king, usually, but not always, the junior succeeding the senior on the older's death. Kent had two dioceses, Canterbury and Rochester.³¹ Similar but a more fragmented subdivision of Essex is suggested by the groupings of continental settlers headed by a multiplicity of leaders. Amongst others, they came to be known as *Daenmingas*, *Festingas*, *Haeferingas* and *Hrothingas*, to be incorporated into the kingdom of the *East*

Seaxe in the late sixth century.³² Indeed even after the East Saxon kings are traceable by name after c.600, it is clear that joint kingship continued to be practised, for example by Sæward, Seaxred and Seaxbald, sons of Sabert. There is some evidence that the division was territorial. Lesser rulers are differentiated from *rex* by the terms *regulus*, *subregulus*, *princeps*, *dux*, *minister* and *comes*.

Continental Saxons of the Holstein region, Bede's 'Old Saxons', did not have kings until after the eighth century; they elected war-leaders, *duces*. It may well be that the later multiple kingships reflect the earlier sixth century leaders which had ruled even more subdivided territories.³³ Their names may survive in the *-ingas*, such as Pæcci (Patching), Fin (Fingrith Hall), Hæfer, Hrotha and Fyrstel (Fristling) (the last of these may derive from Old High German *fürstel*, 'prince'). It is these names which provide the evidence of Germanic and Scandinavian settlement under some type of communal family or tribal adhesion; the large numbers of them in Essex suggest that individual cohesive groups were initially small.

Origin of Provinciae, Regiones and Hundreds

According to Tacitus, during the first century AD in their

continental homelands, territories were termed *pagi* governed by *principes* who administered justice assisted by one hundred companions, *centini*.³⁴ In English sources the earliest mention of *Hyndmen* who directed the tithings at the monthly court is c.930 in the reign of Athelstan.³⁵ An anonymous Ordinance dating to before 975 indicates that it was of a long-established tradition.

We cannot be certain that the *centeni* of Tacitus translated in to the administrative 'Hundred' referred to in the English Laws of King Edgar in the tenth century; the system would certainly have evolved in the intervening 800 years. One hundred companions had become a defined region, the Hundred, where a monthly meeting of the people made decisions. Round³⁶ asserts, with some lack of clarity, that 'the Essex Hundreds, broadly speaking, do not suggest archaic divisions.' The equivalence of 100 hides to the Hundred holds good for parts of the Midlands, but certainly not for other parts of the country where the size of the Hundred varies significantly.³⁷

The evolved *pagi* or Hundreds became the Christian deaneries, of which we have detailed thirteenth century evidence in Essex in Bishop Fulk Basset's Register.³⁸ Here the individual deaneries list their constituent parishes whose names, by and large, correspond with the names of the Domesday manors and estates. Essex, Bede's *provincia Orientalium Saxonum*, became the archdeaconry. The sixth/seventh century Tribal Hidage allots 7,000 hides to *East Sexena* which also included Middlesex (which included the *Gillingas* and *Geddingas* of Ealing and Yeading) and part of Hertfordshire, a total area which later formed the diocese of London.³⁹ The Tribal Hidage also refers to small units such as the *South Gwyre* of Ely at 600 hides which was headed by a *princeps* rather than a *rex*. These smaller units may well represent more local groupings of which the *-ingas* were forerunners.

2. The continental tribes as documented from Latin sources such as Pliny, Tacitus and Caesar. (Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire Latin Français*, 1934).



Bede refers to subdivisions of *provinciae* as *regiones*. A parallel is provided in Godalming and Woking in Surrey, *regio Godhelmingas* and *regio Woccingas*. Surrey itself was a *provincia*, ruled by Frithewald sub-king of Wulfhere of Mercia in 672x4, but by c.780 called a *regio*.⁴⁰ It may be that the *Hrothingas* and *Gegingas* were *regiones*, as was Dengie, *regio Deningei* where St Cedd built his church c.654 on the site of the Roman fort.

Conclusion

Gradual withdrawal of Romano-British administration in the fifth century accompanied by continuing immigration from the continent saw a replacement by local enclaves which were denoted by a folk- or leader's name or became known from their topographical location. Evidence for this change is contained in the names of later Domesday manors and parishes. Identification of these tribal groups became associated with the land they occupied. Little or nothing is known about the leaders of these immigrant groups from the continent, but their legacy is their chiefs' or tribal names which have survived for fifteen hundred years.

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The Author

After studying at Cambridge and London, James Kemble took a degree in Archaeological Sciences and was tutor in Archaeology at Mid Essex College and Essex University. He is currently Coordinator of the Essex Place-names Project.

Hatfield Forest before the Forest

by

Maria Medlycott

One of the more intriguing questions when studying a historic landscape is 'What was here before?' Recent research by the author, working with the garden and landscape historian, Sarah Rutherford, and the National Trust, at the National Trust's Hatfield Forest, has shed some light on the origins of one of the great medieval Forests of Essex (Fig. 1).

Hatfield Forest is sited on the western edge of Essex, to the south of Stansted Airport and the Roman Road of Stane Street (the old A120). The Forest is an internationally significant site, both for its historic and natural environment. It is the only remaining intact Royal Hunting Forest in England, dating from the late eleventh century. Oliver Rackham, the botanist and expert on the countryside, stated that 'Hatfield is the only place where one can step back into the Middle Ages to see, with only a small effort of the imagination, what a Forest looked like in use.' It was a compartmented Forest, subdivided into areas of coppice and plains, and managed on a rotational system. The medieval and post-medieval history of Hatfield Forest were relatively well understood,¹ however the origins of the Forest were less clear.

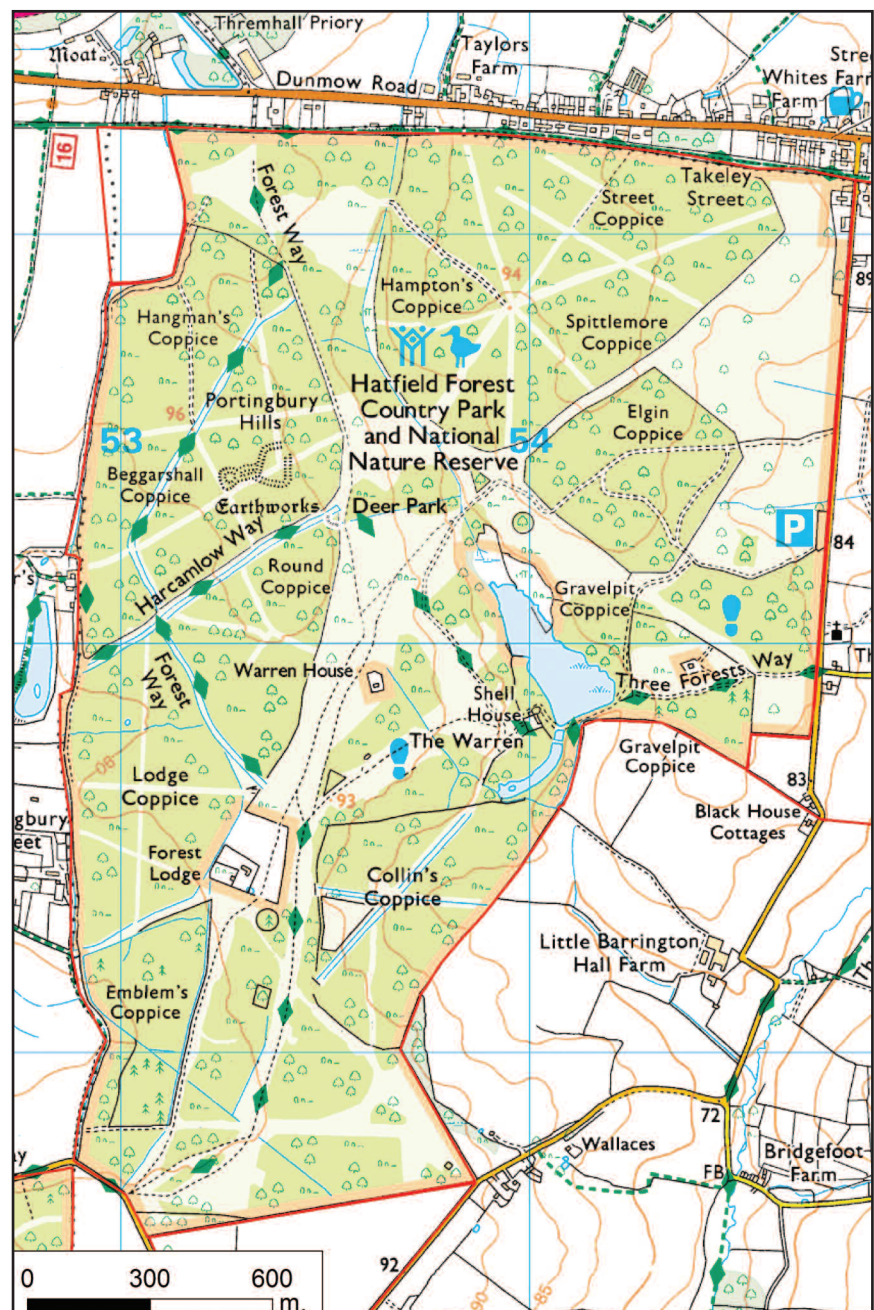
Mesolithic microliths and waste flakes have been recovered from the north-east of the ornamental lake. In the Mesolithic period (c.10,000 - 4,000 BC) this area probably formed an open marshy expanse within the woodland, a location favoured by Mesolithic people for the wide range of hunting and foraging possibilities presented. To date there is no evidence for Neolithic (4,000 - 2,200 BC) activity within the Forest, however tree-throw holes containing Neolithic artifacts have been identified at Stansted

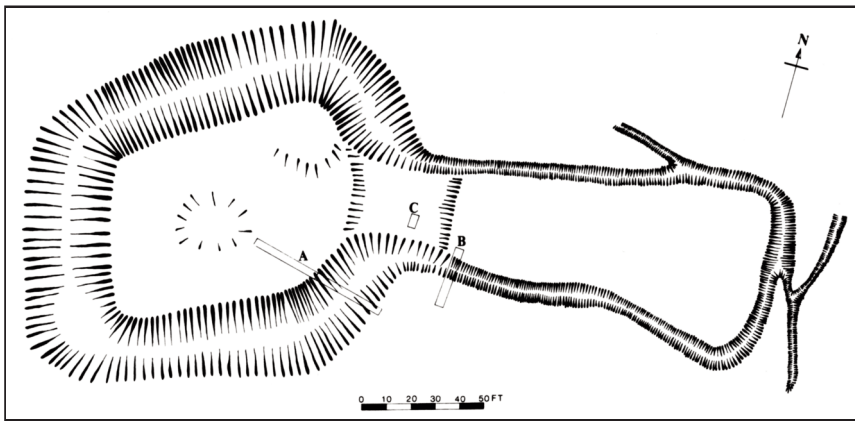
Airport; pottery and flint tools, including arrowheads and axes, have been recovered. Excavations on the A120 at Great Dunmow found evidence of flint-knapping (flint tool making) on two separate sites and trial-trenching immediately adjacent to the M11 identified Neolithic occupation with pottery and flint work present. A large glacial erratic

at the northern end of Newport has been interpreted as a standing stone and the excavations at Stansted uncovered a sizeable sarsen stone which had been ceremonially placed in a Middle Bronze Age feature (now at Takeley crossroads).

Evidence from pollen analysis to the east of Stansted Mountfitchet has established that

1. Plan of Hatfield Forest. (OS Licence Reproduced by permission of Ordnance Survey® on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright Licence Number: LA100019602)





2. The Portingbury Rings excavation (from Wilkinson, 1978).

during the Early Bronze Age (2,200 – 700 BC) the area was still well wooded. However, there is evidence that there Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age activity in the area in the form of henges and ring-ditches (barrows), whilst the discovery of barbed-and-tanged arrowheads and associated flintwork at Stansted attests to the activities of hunting parties in the area. A landscape of woods with clearings for settlement and monuments can therefore be envisaged for this date in the area of Hatfield Forest.

By the Middle Bronze Age (c.1600 BC) pollen analysis at Stansted Airport suggests that the clearance of woodland and the

extent of agricultural exploitation had increased significantly. The excavations at Stansted Airport have revealed a range of Middle to Late Bronze Age settlements. The most important settlement was on the Mid-Term Car Park site, which produced an enclosed settlement with a range of round-houses, water-holes, pits and other features. Pottery and radiocarbon dates suggest that the site was occupied for a period of approximately 300 years with a number of rebuilding phases. Other Bronze Age unenclosed settlement evidence has been excavated at Stansted and on other sites across Uttlesford, including on the A120, M11 and the Cambridge to Matching

3. View across the Portingbury Rings moat to the raised platform. The palaeoenvironmental samples were taken from the rush-filled moat. (Author photograph)



Green pipeline, though most of these comprise a single building or groups of pits and post-holes. The probability is that the Hatfield Forest area would have been utilised, in some form or other, although whether it contained either settlements or fields during this period is unknown.

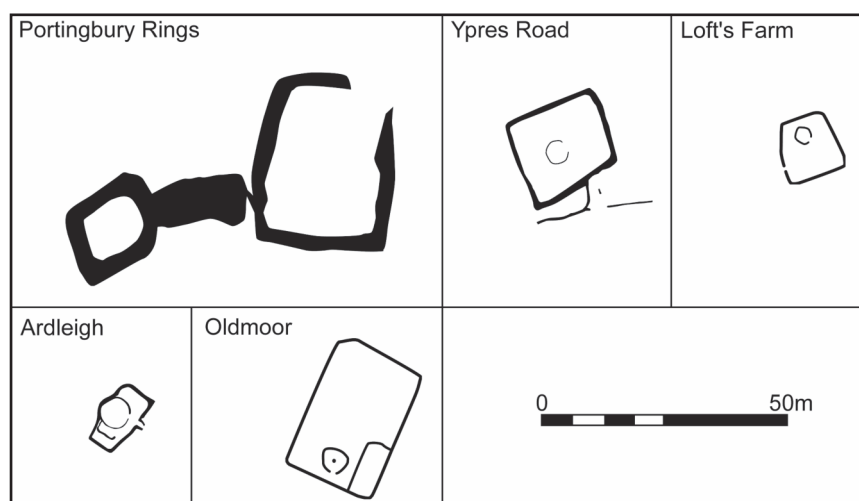
During the middle/late Iron Age (700 BC – 43 AD) Hatfield Forest was located close to the tribal boundary between the Trinovantes tribe, whose territory roughly approximated to Essex and the Catuvellauni, whose territory was centred on Hertfordshire. The hillfort located at Wallbury in Great Hallingbury to the south-west of the forest is probably related to this boundary. This monument still retains its substantial earthworks, which were originally constructed during the Middle Iron Age; however, it was probably occupied through to the end of the Iron Age. A wide range of enclosed and unenclosed settlement sites of this date have been identified. The enclosed settlements range from those that seem to have been occupied by a single family group, comprising a roundhouse and maybe a granary or store-building and fire pits, through to those that may have held a number of families with a range of buildings located within the enclosure, such as the excavated Airport Catering Site, Stansted Airport.²

The Scheduled earthwork of Portingbury Rings, in Beggar's Hall Coppice in the western half of Hatfield Forest comprises two conjoined ditched enclosures. The larger of which has a raised platform inside (Figs 2 & 3). It was trial-trenched in the 1960s by the West Essex Archaeology Group³ and a small number of possible Iron Age sherds were recovered from a buried soil beneath the bank.

In 2017 a programme of archaeological coring was undertaken to rediscover and analyse the organic deposits in the ditch⁴ which provide a *terminus ante*

quem for the cutting of the ditch, which must have occurred prior to 395 to 205 cal BC (2345 to 2155 cal BP). Assessment of the pollen and macrofossil remains recovered from the ditch suggest that these organic deposits represent *in situ* organic accumulation, and are thus indicative of waterlogged, boggy conditions within the ditch, supporting the growth of sedge fen type vegetation during the Middle Iron Age. Towards the base of the organic sequence a relatively open environment dominated by grasses and herbaceous taxa is indicative of a relatively open meadow-type environment, with evidence for cereal cultivation/crop processing and associated disturbed ground weed taxa. Scrub woodland dominated by hazel with sporadic oak, birch and ash is likely to have been growing in the vicinity of the site. In the overlying samples the pollen assemblage is similar, although the ratio of herbaceous to arboreal taxa is variable, with the herbaceous assemblage in some samples far outweighed by trees and shrubs, which tended to be dominated by oak and hazel. It is important to note that since the material infilling the feature may have accumulated after its primary use, it is possible that the periods of greater tree/shrub growth are representative of woodland regeneration, whilst the higher number of herbaceous taxa may be indicative of more intensive human activity in the area of the site.

It is thought that this site represents a Middle Iron Age settlement enclosure. It is smaller than most Iron Age enclosures, but there are a number of comparable examples (Fig. 4). At Ypres Road, Colchester a first century BC ditched enclosure with a central roundhouse has been excavated,⁵ and an even smaller rectangular enclosure containing a single roundhouse was excavated at Ardleigh, this dates to the Middle Iron Age.⁶ The Lofts Farm enclosure at Goldhanger is known as a



4. Portingbury Rings and comparative plans of small Iron Age enclosures (From Medlycott, 2017)

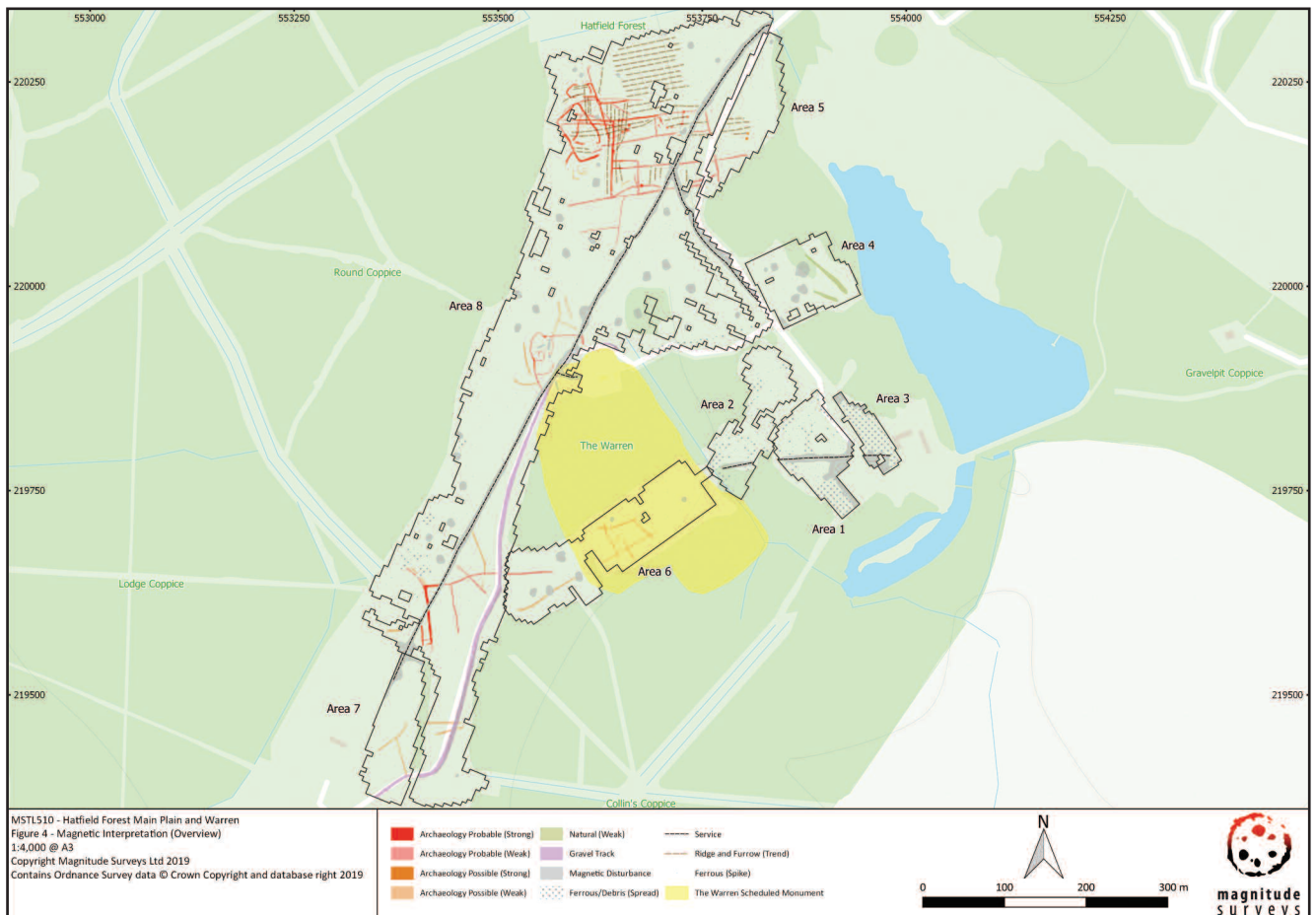
cropmark, the faint traces of a single roundhouse are visible within it.⁷ However the enclosing ditches for all of these examples are much narrower than that present at Portingbury Rings, which more closely resembles a medieval moat in its width. The date of the other earthworks at Portingbury Rings is unknown and they are not necessarily contemporaneous. Although conjoined enclosures are known from the Iron Age there are no known examples that match this configuration in Essex.

A single sherd of Iron Age pottery and a flint blade⁸ has also been recovered from the ground surface at the Warren, raising the possibility that there may be more than one Iron Age site within the Forest. The extensive excavations to the north of the Forest at Stansted Airport and the A120 have clearly demonstrated a relatively densely populated landscape in the immediate vicinity.

The Roman period is represented by a scatter of Roman pottery recovered from the south end of Collins Coppice in 1979. A second group of Roman pottery sherds have also been recovered from the gully beside the road in the centre of the Forest. The pottery is typical of earlier/mid Roman lower-status rural assemblages; it is late first to mid-second century in date and is dominated by local wares.⁹ Recent geophysical survey of the central plain by Magnitude

Surveys¹⁰ has identified a typical Roman farmstead plan, with a possible Late Iron Age predecessor at this site (Fig. 5). The pottery suggests that it was not of particularly high status. The survey clearly demonstrates that at least part of the Forest area was farmed during the Roman period. There is extensive evidence for comparative Roman settlement strung out along the Roman road from Braughing to Colchester which formed the northern boundary of the Forest, as well as across the wider area of Stansted Airport. Geophysical survey to the north-east at Station Road, Takeley recovered a sequence of later prehistoric and Roman enclosures, comparable to that at Hatfield Forest.¹¹ There are villas at Hallingbury and at Folly Farm, Great Dunmow and probably at Stansted Airport (associated with the rich burials that were excavated there).

It is not known whether Hatfield Forest was woodland during the early Saxon period. By the end of the Saxon period (1066) it formed part of the parish of Hatfield Broad Oak. The Saxon manor and settlement of Hatfield Broad Oak belonged to the Earls of Essex, the powerful Godwinson family, before becoming crown property as part of King Harold's estates. The Domesday Book records a large and thriving community, however the manor of Hatfield Broad Oak was extensive and it



5. Geophysics survey interpretative plot. The Roman site occupies the northern portion of the survey area. (© Magnitude Surveys)

is not possible to determine how many of the people recorded in the Domesday Book were clustered together on the site of the village and how many were scattered around the manor on rural settlements. The woodland for 800 pigs (the standard measurement for woodland) is recorded as belonging to King Harold as well as a further 40 acres of woodland held by King Edward the Confessor's reeve. Much of this woodland may well have been Hatfield Forest.

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The Author

Maria Medlycott has worked with the archaeology of Essex for over 30 years. She has a particular interest in the development of the Essex landscape, particularly in the Mesolithic, Roman and medieval periods. She is delighted to be able to present this report in honour of Michael Leach, who has been an unfailing source of information on an astonishingly wide range of topics.

‘was the editor of two bishops’ biographies’

by

Tony Doe

Thus Dr W.J. Petchey asserted¹ whilst drawing a thumbnail sketch of Dr Thomas Plume (1630–1704) towards the conclusion of his *A Prospect of Maldon*. In making this remark, Petchey was demonstrating just how far Dr Plume had travelled from his Presbyterian roots in his home town of Maldon. Who were these two bishops? Plume’s short biography of his friend and patron John Hacket (1592–1670), Bishop of Lichfield (Fig. 1), which he placed at the start of the collection of Hacket’s sermons which he edited and published is well known (Fig. 2),² but who was the other bishop?

I am not aware that anyone else has examined Petchey’s assertion and indeed it is not straightforward to do so because *A Prospect of Maldon* has no references. There is, however, a candidate for the other bishop: John Williams (1582–1650) Archbishop of York and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (Fig. 3). He was patron to Hacket who for many years had been working on a biography of him and who completed the manuscript on 17th February 1658.³ The work was not published, however, until 1693, more than 20 years after Hacket’s death.⁴ Did Plume edit it?

John Hacket is named as the author on the title page of *Scrinia Reserata* (Fig. 4) and this work is attributed to no-one else. Facing page 228 there is an unnumbered page containing the errata which are prefaced by two paragraphs, one in English and the other in Latin which I will discuss below:

This manuscript was written by the Rev. Author [i.e. Hacket] above 40 years

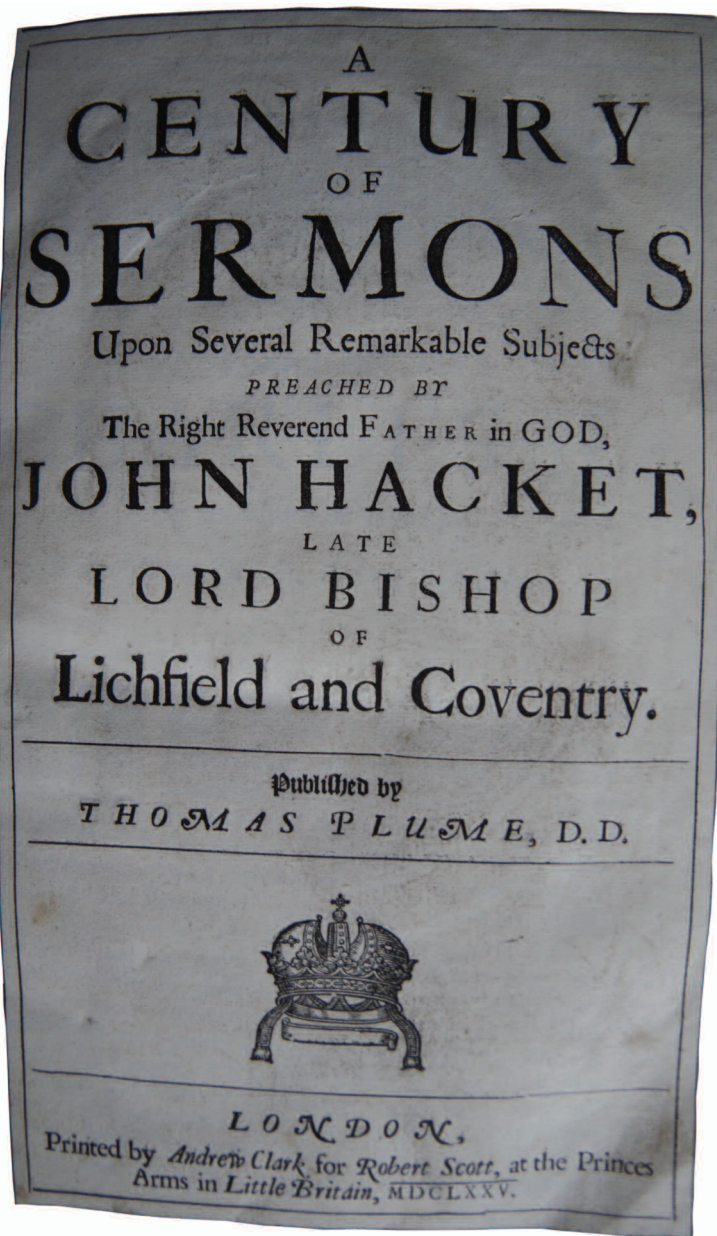
since in a small white letter; it was printed in haste, to prevent a surreptitious Copy and in the Absence of a Friend best acquainted with it; whereby the Greek quotations are often false accented, besides other Mistakes in English which the Reader is desired to excuse and amend.

In the memoir that Plume composed on Hacket in *A Century of Sermons*, he refers to himself as Friend or friend on three occasions. These are as follows:

1. pp.xlviii–xlix. ‘In bad times when he [Hacket] had lost his best Incomes, [sic] and, like the Widow of Sarepta, had but an handful of meal and a Cruze of Oyl left for himself and his family, yet he then thought Elias was worthy of one Cake out of it, and accordingly has given a distressed friend twenty pounds at a time, and would always argue, that Times of persecution were the most proper seasons of charity’
2. p.lii. ‘He [Hacket] abounded not barely with good learning, acute wit, excellent judgement and memory, but with an



1. John Hacket (1592–1670), Bishop of Lichfield. Thomas Plume’s patron. (Reproduced by kind permission of Lichfield Cathedral)



2. Title page of *A Century of Sermons upon several remarkable subjects* (London, 1675), published by Thomas Plume.
(Reproduced by kind permission of Lichfield Cathedral)

incomparable integrity, prudence, justice, charity, constancy to God and to his *Friend* [Plume's italics] in adversity and in his friendship was most industrious and painfull [painstaking] to fulfil it with good offices' p.liii. 'Within a fortnight before his [Hacket's] death [18.10.1670] he remitted nothing of his former studies; when he was first taken sick he did not conceive it to be mortal, and therefore sent the week before he died to a Friend in London to send him some new books from

abroad or at home:' (Plume had been buying books in London for Hacket and himself for many years.)

In this memoir Plume adopted two conventions regarding mention of himself. When he was giving an opinion, in a matter of theology for example, he referred to himself in the first person singular. However in matters directly concerning his dealings with Hacket he referred to himself as a 'Friend' or 'friend'. I think it can be argued, therefore, that this is what he did when he referred to himself as

a Friend when making the above personal comment in *Scrinia Reserata*. We know that he rarely used his name; for instance it was not to appear on his tombstone and the almshouses he left funds for in his will were to be the 'Archdeacon's Almshouses'.⁵

I will now turn to the paragraph in Latin: '*Praesul noster quidam laesae Matis insimulatus & de quibusdam interrogatus, noluit tamen scripto Commisis subscribere, quia nescivit quomodo postea interpungerent Gatak. Cinn Fol. Pag. 145.*'⁶ This passage has been translated as follows: 'Our Bishop, having been accused of a certain *lesé majesté* and having been questioned about certain matters, refused to [con?]sign the document to the Commissioners, because he did not know how it would later be punctuated.'⁷

The 'document' referred to seems to be the manuscript of *Scrinia Reserata* and it seems that in 1658 Hacket refused to submit his work to the 'Commissioners' for scrutiny because he feared that they would interfere with the punctuation. Possibly as a result of this initial delay, even if unintended, the book was not published until 1693, 23 years after his death.

On the other hand, Peter Foden, who translated the passage for me expressed the following view; 'I do not believe that the signing alluded to was of anything literary, but more likely litigious, perhaps in Chancery or before one of the Parliamentary Committees of the Commonwealth. And of course the idea that punctuation can alter meaning is still a moot point among lawyers.'⁸

Who were these 'commissioners'? If Peter Foden is correct they may be commissioners appointed by the court of Chancery in order to elucidate matters in the depositions before they came to court. (This was done to save the court's time.) It seems somewhat strange, however, for Hacket to be dealing with Chancery regarding the publishing of this book.

It seems to me that there is another possible explanation: Until 1695 the control of publishing all books in England was in the hands of the Stationers Company but the actual scrutiny of books, both pre- and post-publication and the dissemination of manuscripts was in fact delegated to a host of different bodies and individuals. 'All of those who had any legal or quasi-legal office, whether local or national, civil or military, were expected to take action against any unlicensed printed material or illegal presses they came across.'⁹ Might it not be the case that by 1658 a practice had arisen whereby material intended for the press went before 'commissioners' appointed by one of the many Parliamentary committees as Peter Foden suggests, possibly in this case the Westminster Assembly of Divines? On the other hand, Archbishop Williams had been a highly controversial figure and the matters at issue in Hacket's biography of him were still of great concern in 1658 and continued to have political significance for some years to come. In this case it is possible that Hacket may have considered that his manuscript might even attract the attention of the Council of State.

It now seems that Plume did not have the manuscript when the decision was taken to publish it but was well aware of its existence because he describes the hand in which it was written. It seems very likely that he read the first proof and then added the errata and the above comments before final publication (there is no evidence for an earlier edition of *Scrinia Reserata*).

The Interregnum is well known as a period when censorship legislation had (for the Interregnum only, as it happened) collapsed but the informal arrangements and expectations mentioned above were still very much alive and operative and in 1658 Hacket would have expected that his biography of Williams,

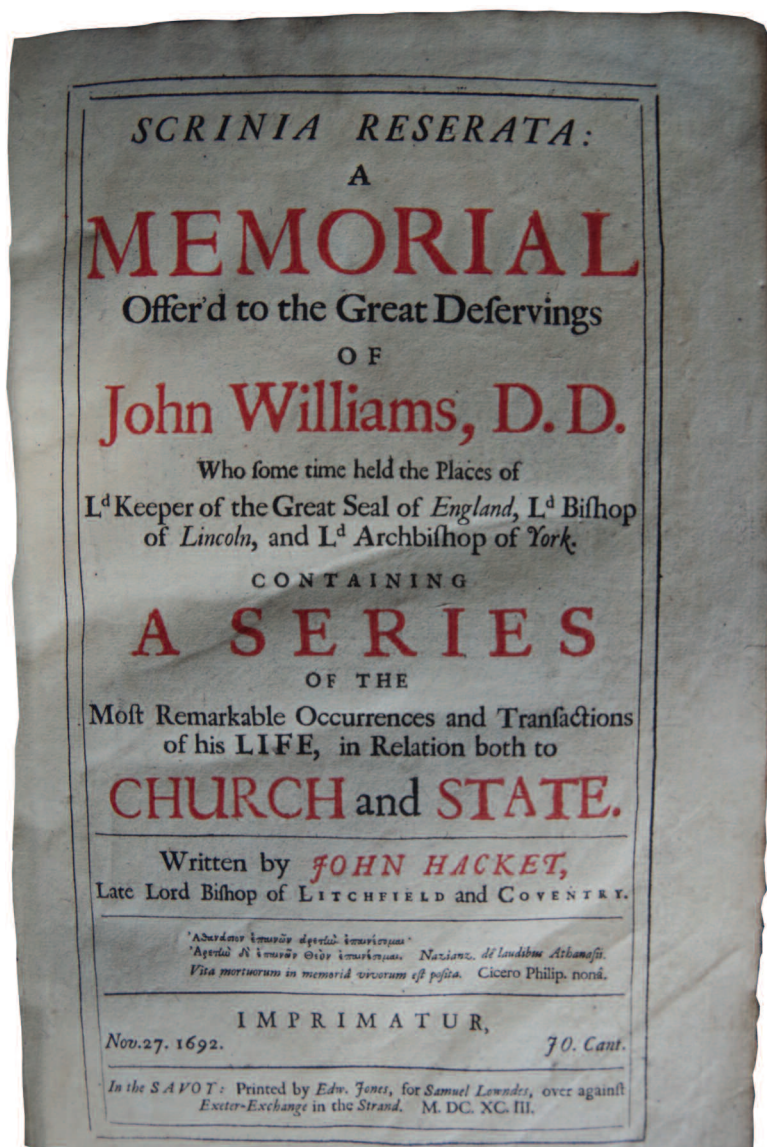


3. John Williams (1582-1650) Archbishop of York.
(Reproduced by kind permission of Lichfield Cathedral)

a highly controversial figure even eight years after his death, would have attracted unwanted (to him) attention. Censorship of deeply offensive and or seditious books led on some occasions to authors suffering extreme sanctions but there were many cases of religious books where censors sought not to prevent publication but to soften its message and make it more acceptable to those having authority in these matters. In other words the relationship between the censor and the author could be more of cooperation rather than sanction but nonetheless the author's precious

text was tampered with and it seems from this note that Hacket was not prepared to tolerate interference with his work.¹⁰

The evidence for Plume's involvement in the publishing of *Scrinia Reserata* lies in the writer of the page on the errata referring to himself (a) as a 'Friend' or 'friend' as he did in his memoir of Hacket and (b) the intimate knowledge he had of the nature of the manuscript. In my view this conclusion is also supported by the note in Latin. It refers to 'our' bishop and Hacket's objection to the possibility of his punctuation being tampered



Title page of John Hackett's, *Scrinia Reserata* (London, 1692).
(Reproduced by kind permission of Lichfield Cathedral)

with has an almost jocular ring to it when contrasted with the dire penalties that censorship could lead to. I feel that these two notes may well be the observations of a deeply trusted friend, as Plume had become over the many years of their close association and they show that Plume did not have the manuscript published but he seems to have read the proof of the book before the final printing which is when he listed the errata. I have therefore concluded on a balance of probabilities, and it is no more than that, that Plume had a hand in publishing *Scrinia Reserata* in the later stages but was not the sole editor as obliquely suggested by Petchey.

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The author

Following retirement from social work in 1995 Tony Doe studied local and regional history at the University of Essex, gaining his MA in 2006. He and Dr Christopher Thornton (better known as the editor of the Victoria County History of Essex) are leading a team who are writing the first definitive account of Thomas Plume. Tony is a trustee of both the Plume Library and of their supporters, the Friends.

Essex and Smallpox in the Eighteenth century

by

Elphin & Brenda Watkin

In the May 2013 edition of *The Local Historian* an article appeared on the smallpox inoculation campaigns in the eighteenth century.¹ As it covered Southampton, Salisbury and Winchester any connection with Essex seemed remote. The main methods of the first part of the eighteenth century used a process of inserting a small amount of human puss from an infected person deep into a small cut. Its main problem was that the person receiving it was infectious for sometime after so had to be isolated and it was not always successful as the patient sometimes developed full blown smallpox and died. But, by the 1760's the inoculation was developed by Robert Sutton a surgeon from Suffolk that only involved a very small cut and placed early pustules into the surface.² In September 1767 an advertisement in the *Salisbury Journal* stated that a Daniel Sutton together with locals Messrs Tatum and Wick had set up an inoculation house for the reception of patients.³ One assumes that Sutton had been invited and he continues to maintain a connection with the area training other people in the use of his serum. Daniel was the second son of Robert Sutton, surgeon.

In January 2016 Brentwood District Council approved a planning application for the replacement of buildings at a site called Masonettes in Fryerning close to Ingatestone. A condition was to provide a historic analysis of the existing buildings before replacement.⁴

On investigating the background of what was a very small estate very little information was found other than various spellings of the name and that in the middle of the eighteenth

century it was bought by a Daniel Sutton (1735–1819), a Suffolk surgeon.⁵ He perfected a simpler and safer technique against smallpox using lighter incisions, and serum from immature pustules.⁶ The immunisation at that time was called inoculation and it was late in the century that Edward Jenner developed a method that he called *vaccination* because it was derived from a virus affecting cows (Cowpox).⁷ Was Daniel Sutton using this small estate to breed cows to provide the basis for his inoculations way before Jenner? Jenner became very quickly the 'king' of vaccination. He published articles stating he had known of it for over 25 years and in 1801 said 'My enquiry into the nature of Cowpox commenced upwards of 25 years ago.' This could easily take him back to Sutton's time and he said he had known and met Sutton.

Daniel Sutton started an establishment for the cure in Ingatestone in 1763 and it has been recorded that 'Hither flocked thousands of people to him during the next few years, and he was possibly more successful than his father, for during this time he treated 20,000 people, of whom not one died'.⁸

In 1799 an advert was placed on 4th October for the sale of live and dead stock of a gentleman at 'La Maisonnette', Ingatestone who is 'leaving off' farming.⁹ One assumes this was Daniel Sutton.

He had finally published *The Inoculator* in 1796.¹⁰ He bought Masonettes in 1766 but it was let to a John Ratcliffe in June 1767,¹¹ was that to run the farm, as Sutton is noted as being back there in 1792. He finally died in 1819 and an obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* said 'he was credited with carrying out

inoculation to an immense extent, and with extraordinary success at Ingatestone...the benefits the world has derived from Mr Sutton's practice have been duly appreciated, and will cause his name and memory ever to be recollected with respect and honourable distinction.'¹² In the nineteenth century the discredit of inoculation caused it to be banned and thus ensuring that the name Daniel Sutton was not remembered.

This information was interesting as it tied in with the earlier published article. Was there any connection visible in the buildings to relate it to smallpox vaccination developments? The land area with the house was small, only some 40 acres. The initial investigation suggested no as there was little in the buildings to suggest a main farming background. The buildings on the site were very much the development of a 'gentleman's' residence that had been expanded and developed through the years. The proposed development consisted of the demolition of an existing garage/stable/cart lodge block and the construction of a replacement garage/store/cart lodge building nominally of similar outline and on the same footprint.

The early maps show more buildings in parts of the site that no longer existed and that the stabling range was extended at the end of the nineteenth century.¹³ The main house originally had an impressive brick coach-house/stabling area with hay loft above, all possibly being developed in the later eighteenth century (Sutton had become very prosperous). The area beyond had the run of buildings to be rebuilt with the present application.



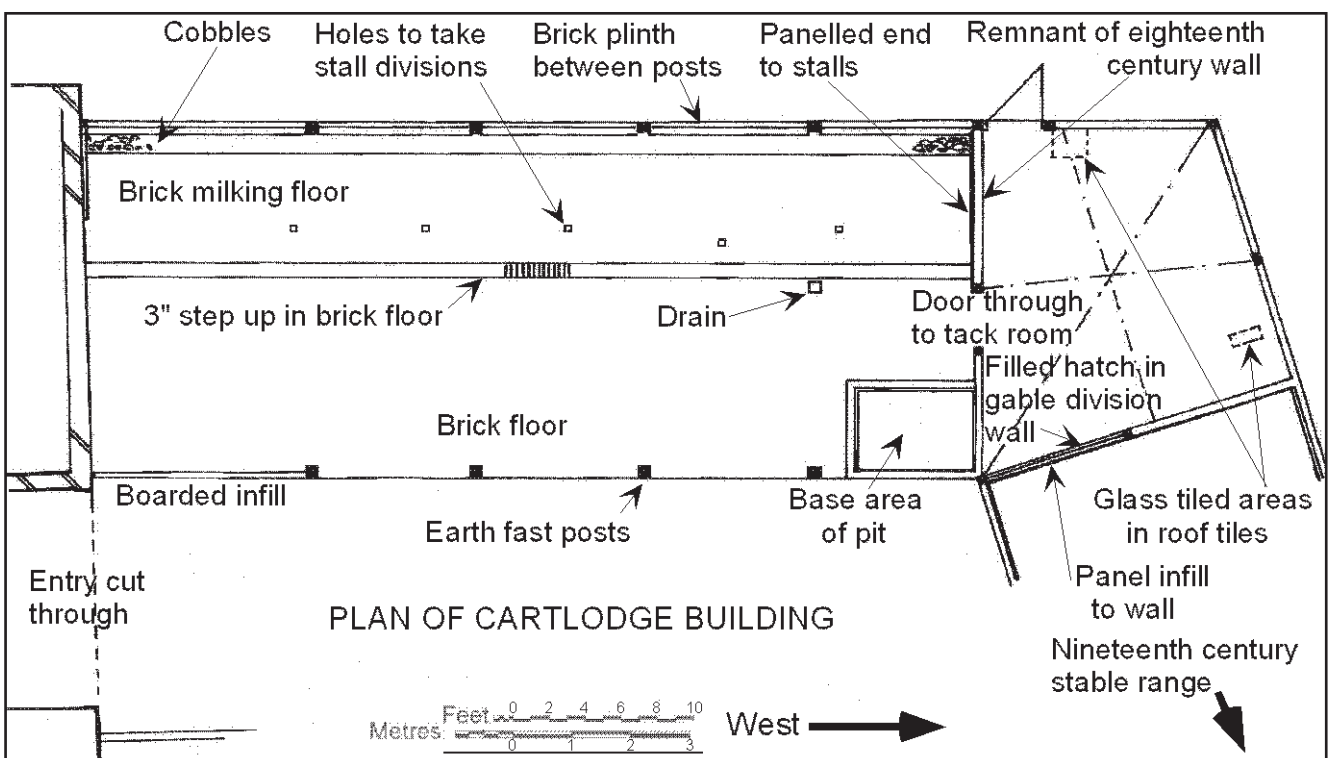
1. Cart lodge range with boarded front to two outer bays. Roofed in single Roman profile clay tiles. The existing build was totally twentieth century but left clues at each end and in the floor.
(Authors photograph)

The stable range was built in timber with all areas lined out with panelling, the roofing lined for insulation and with vent chimneys up through each to high roof cowls outside. With cast iron combination feed, hay and water units to each one it made for an impressive range but

must have been a nineteenth century development. Between them and the original coach-house, which now has a substantial access cut through the centre of the building, was an open fronted cart lodge initially appearing to have been rebuilt in the twentieth century to a

minimal specification (Fig 1). However, it was this late rebuild that provided all the clues for a cowhouse/milking parlour. From an end wall trapped by the various times of rebuilding it was suggested that this range was originally from the eighteenth century. It then appears to have

2. Floor plan of the cart lodge.



been modified into a cowhouse (Fig 2). When the first section of the stable range, trapping the end wall, was built this was possibly still a cow house within a converted eighteenth century building.

The evidence that remained for the cow house was the stepped brick floor with drains. This brickwork is relatively complete with the step of some 3" (75mm), 7' 10" (2,390mm) from the rear wall. Beyond the step the brick floor extends to the front of the building. The drain run (Fig 3) is in line with the edge of the opening into the stable tack room whilst an area of rectangular shape to the north east corner has no brickwork in the lowered level of the brick floor. This area is edged in brick and was originally lined with concrete render and appears to have been formed for some type of tank or structure with a base size 6' 2" (1880mm) x 4' 3" (1295mm). It could have been the water supply for drinking or a local feed supply area when the building was converted to a cowhouse.

To the western end the surviving eighteenth century end wall had part height wall panelling applied to the framing to provide a smooth surface for the end cow stall (Fig 4). Within this panelling can be seen the anchor end to support the low feed trough and the feed trough shape mirrored in the panel cut-out. At the opposite end a hole in the brickwork of the original service range matches the anchor point. The brick flooring stops short of the rear wall of the building and the area is filled with cobbles. This would be the area under the feed trough. Remains of stall divisions can be shown by the

3 (right, top).

Drain in brick flooring just beyond kerb edge.

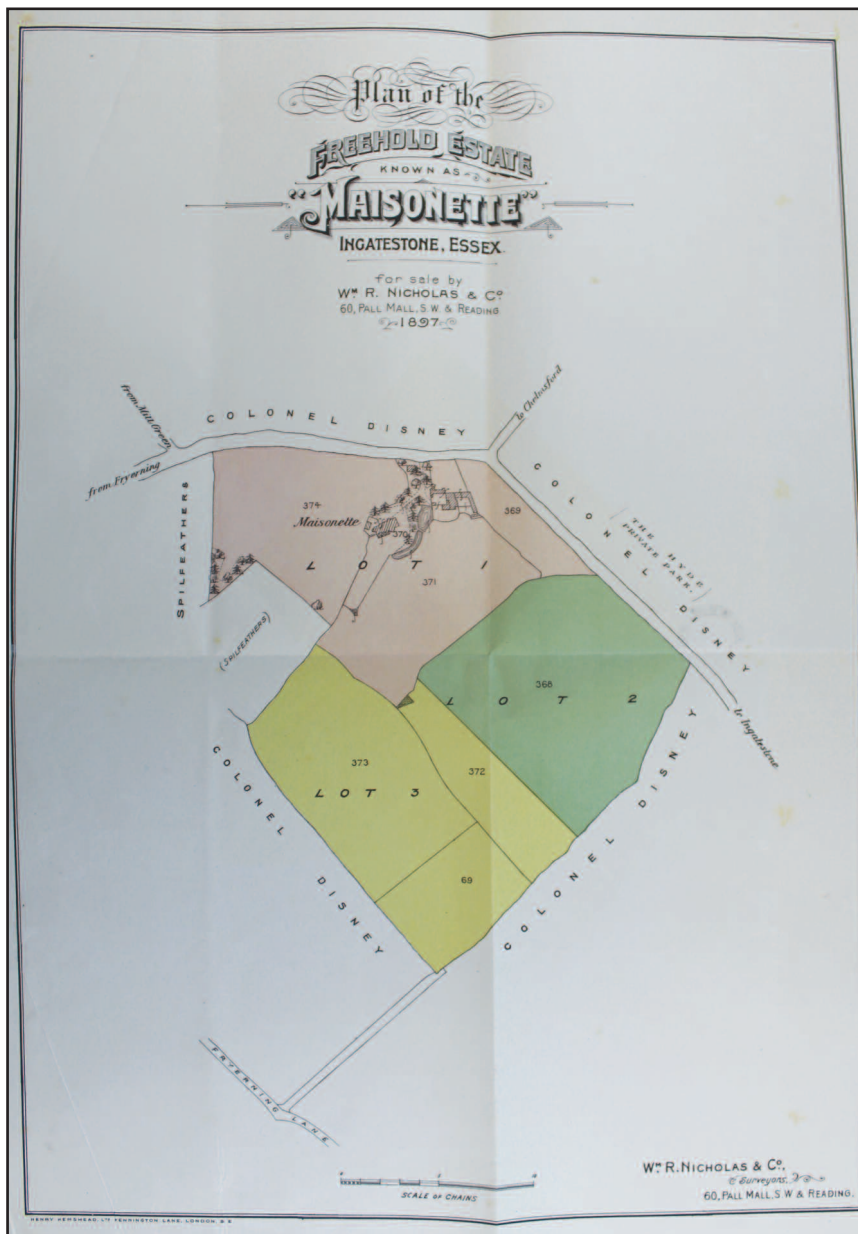
4 (middle).

Cut-outs for feed trough in end wall panelling

5 (bottom).

Holes for stall divisions.
(All authors photographs)





6. Map of the estate from a sale catalogue of 1897.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, SALE/B10)

post holes surviving in the brick floor (Fig 5). The hole positions do vary but average about seven feet apart which would allow for two cows. They are set at about five feet from the rear wall which would be sufficient to divide the cows. Most built milking areas would be set up for two cows with a division to enable the 'milker' to sit against the division and not be disturbed by the other cows.

The method of tying the cows had left no remains but could have been a framed timber structure within the length of the building and supporting the feed trough such as was found in a milking parlour of similar age

surviving at the Greys Mill site, Kelvedon.¹⁴ In the re-building of the cart lodge area in the twentieth century, the west wall of the old building had to remain as it had in the meantime become part of the new stable range. The twentieth century rebuild is just latched onto this wall as the rear wall plate was lower than that in the new build.

This building as evidenced would have held about ten cows that one has to assume would be sufficient to provide for the needs of Daniel Sutton if it was the cowpox he was experimenting with or using but not for a normal commercial output.

Discussion

This site contains no early buildings and has never owned much land. Maisonettes appears to be historically better known for its connections to people than to the buildings. The buildings have been developed and changed since the suggested period of sometime in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Then it was possibly only a small farm with dairying that may have been used for the study of and production of a smallpox vaccine. A map accompanying a sale catalogue of 1897 still shows only a small area of land.¹⁵ (Fig 6) It appears to have developed from the later part of the eighteenth century to be mainly a gentleman's country residence with the buildings following the owner's aspirations.

Clearly shown over one hundred and fifty years are the needs for changes to the transport of a gentleman. Initially there was the carriage shed with stabling. The requirement for more horses by the later years of the nineteenth century sees the stable block developed and possibly the final end to the cows. By the first quarter of the twentieth century the coming of the motor car produced further development of specialist buildings to the east with the farm area being opened up as part of the service buildings and the cartlodge area rebuilt.¹⁶ Some minor farm buildings beyond would provide a stock area suitable for the surgeon's developments. Was it actually when the cartlodge building was being changed that the stables were also further modified and the western entry blanked off? If so it was also when the rooms were panelled out and the hayloft over was lost. In the sales document it only states three stalls, three loose boxes, harness room, coach house and summering box. Was the summering box one of the present loose boxes? A rebuild of the timber buildings on the same footprint will keep the historic integrity of the area and also the character and appearance

by the use of similar materials.

The authors having no medical knowledge but based on what was found in the buildings at Masonettes have been led to speculate if it was in fact Daniel Sutton who found that the use of Cowpox, as used in later vaccination, was even more successful and didn't require infected people? The amazing numbers of people inoculated by Daniel Sutton both in Ingatestone¹⁷ and as above noted in the Southampton area does lead one to suggest that it may have been he who actually made the breakthrough in providing a safe vaccine.

What initially started as an analysis of buildings prior to development may have turned out to provide part of a major story in over-coming smallpox in Britain. So who was Daniel Sutton?

Daniel Sutton,¹⁸ who became well known as a smallpox inoculator, was born on 4 May 1735 in Kenton, Suffolk, the second of eight sons (there were also three daughters) of Robert Sutton (c.1708-88), and his wife, Sarah Barker of Debenham. His father was a surgeon, apothecary, and inoculator. He trained under and worked for his father until about 1760 when as mentioned before he moved to Ingatestone and then purchased Masonettes.

Daniel Sutton's experiments are probably without parallel for the time. Despite his lack of formal education, he was a true clinician scientist. In modern terms we would say that he formulated a hypothesis and tested it in experiments that could have falsified that hypothesis. He had convinced himself that whatever caused smallpox, it was contact with the skin that triggered the disease. The 1760s saw an explosion in the numbers of individuals inoculated for smallpox. This was largely due to the innovations of the Sutton family, which made the procedure almost painless, much safer, and much more convenient. While Robert Sutton Senior



7. Cartoon Caricature by James Gillray. This 1802 caricature shows patients being treated with Jenner's vaccine growing cow heads has appeared as an illustration in many articles. Many people of the time thought they may develop various features of a cow. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-USZC4-3147, (public domain))

had modified the inoculation technique so that it involved only a tiny stab just through the skin with a sharp lancet, it was the combination of skill and business genius of his son Daniel which really drove the expansion of inoculation. Daniel, with his brothers and several other partners, set up a chain of franchises across England and parts of Europe and North America which offered the now famous 'Suttonian Method'. Daniel himself inoculated 22,000 people between 1763 and 1766 with only 3 deaths and made a great deal of money from his practice. His contemporaries in the Royal College of Physicians struggled to emulate his approach and often condemned him and his family as 'men of confined abilities'. But Daniel Sutton was a great deal more than that.

In 1796, after retirement, Daniel Sutton published a collection of his observations and ideas concerning inoculated smallpox in his autobiography, *The Inoculator*. He intended it as an instruction manual for young practitioners and hoped that they

would benefit from his years of experience. He warned his readers that many of his practices appeared trifles but:

Despise not trifles, tho
they small appear:
Sands rise to mountains,
moments make the year;
and trifles life. Your time
to trifles give,
or you may die before
you learn to live.

Daniel Sutton's book is a remarkable account of a clinician scientist at work. His many detailed observations and experiments may be unique in eighteenth century medicine. His investigation of the role of the skin in inoculation is one of the very first systematic studies of the pathogenesis of a disease process. Yet no one remembers him. Sutton made a serious mistake by publishing his book too late.

His achievements were almost forgotten. But among all his accolades and financial rewards, the one thing that he valued above all was the fact that the

King had granted him a family crest. He had asked that this be made retroactive so that his father and brothers were allowed to claim the same distinction. This mark of gentlemanly status meant more to him than anything else that had happened during his career. It seems a small reward for a man whose efforts resulted in a discovery of world shattering importance. If he had been a 'member of the Faculty', not a 'mere empirick', a knighthood or a financial reward from parliament might have been forthcoming.' The main references found to smallpox quote Edward Jenner, a medical doctor who is given broad credit for developing the smallpox vaccine in 1796 (Fig 7).¹⁹

There is a suggestion that says a Benjamin Jesty (c.1736-1816), a farmer at Yetminster in Dorset, was notable for his early experiment in inducing immunity against smallpox using cowpox in 1774 but that he did not publish it.²⁰ The notion that those people infected with cowpox, a relatively mild disease, were subsequently protected against smallpox was not an uncommon observation with country folk in the late eighteenth century, but Jesty was one of the first to intentionally administer the less virulent virus. He was one of the six English, Danish and German people who reportedly administered cowpox to artificially induce immunity against smallpox from 1770 to 1791, only Jobst Bose of Göttingen, Germany with his 1769 inoculations pre-dated Jesty's work. But, was it actually Daniel Sutton in 1760 who did that initial work which would pre-date all published work?

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With thanks to the owner of Masonettes for allowing us completely free access to the site. It turned out to be a real exercise in serendipity and it gives us the greatest pleasure to dedicate the article to Dr Michael Leach who has brought to the notice of *Essex Journal* and ESAH readers so many fascinating and diverse nuggets of history.

The Authors

Elphin Watkin worked for nearly 40 years in engineering design, followed by over 25 years surveying and assessing the historic details of structures including a full measured survey of All Saints spire Maldon and a bell-frame survey in Essex both for English Heritage. He co-wrote, with Cecil Hewett, an article for the *Ancient Monument Society Journal* on church spires. He was the founding chairman of the Essex Historic Buildings Group in 1983 and oversaw the restoration of Great Dunmow Maltings including being a trustee for over 20 years.

Brenda Watkin worked with ECC and private architects before joining the county historic buildings team and obtaining the conservation diploma from the Architectural Association. She has carried out numerous historic assessments for planning and sits on the Chelmsford Diocesan Advisory Committee and was involved in the Discovering Coggeshall project. For 11 years she served as Hon. Sec. of the Vernacular Architecture Group. A group with world-wide membership that has held conferences in Britain, Europe and America.

‘An account of Dwarf apple trees Planted’:

a scheme from Kelvedon, 1831

by

Neil Wiffen

As we leave the summer behind, the melancholy of autumn is, for some, more than tempered by the prospect of the English grown apples to come. Whilst the early varieties will have been and gone, it is the quality and interest of mid- and late-season apples that we look forward to. However, in this age of 24/7 living and the global economy, we can easily eat an apple every day of the year and think nothing more of it. A quick look at the selection at a supermarket will yield modern apples such as Pink Lady, Jazz, Kanzi along with slightly older varieties like Braeburn, Royal Gala or Spartan. There are usually just two ‘old’ varieties – Cox’s (often without the ‘Orange Pippin’) and Bramley, occasionally Egremont Russett. They may well come from France, New Zealand or South Africa, depending on time of year. If there is a local farm or orchard shop to hand the choice might be more extensive and older, local varieties such as D’Arcy Spice or Chelmsford Wonder will be available in season. Taken altogether though, this is just a very small selection of the over 2,200 varieties of apple that are grown in the National Fruit Collection at Brogdale in Kent.¹ To our ancestors, without access to the produce of the world or the wonder of refrigeration, all crops had to be carefully grown, nurtured, harvested and stored so that a supply of foodstuffs would have been available for as long as possible through to the following harvest. Apples were no exception; in fact they would have been grown locally and highly prized. This article will discuss a planting scheme from Kelvedon in the early nineteenth century with reference to other Essex

examples of the planting of, mainly, apple trees within the county.

The Scheme

Over two pages, in a little notebook in the Essex Record Office, there is ‘An account of Dwarf apple trees Planted in Great Orchard Between the Standards & Land ditches by Hand by F U Pattison...1831 Nov 5 & 7th [sic].’² Underneath are then listed the trees (Table 1), 13 apple varieties (Table 2) and, despite the title, also five varieties of pear (Table 3), ‘in all 170 trees’. The first long row, next to ‘Mink Downs’, comprised five Norfolk Biffens and five Blenheim Orange apple trees along with four Winter Royal Pears, and so on. A surviving map of 1846, ‘Wood-House Estate in the parish of Kelvedon’³ supplies more detail stating that the farm belonged to Fisher Unwin Pattison and that ‘Mingdowns’ (plot 17) was a field next to the ‘Orchard’ (plot 2) (Fig 1) – presumably the ‘Great

Orchard’ mentioned in 1831.⁴ The farm is situated just under 2 ½ miles to the north-west of Kelvedon and about 1 mile to the north-east of Silver End.

Apple Varieties

Of the 13 apple varieties listed, 11 can be identified, nine of which are still so named. Two, Seck No Further and Wheelers Russett, are just straightforward synonyms, alternative names that they were once known as.⁵ The remaining two, Abram Fairheads and Sach’s Pearmain, are more problematic. Let us take them in order.

A search on-line returned information⁶ for an American apple called Abram but with other variations: Abraham, Father Abram, Father Abraham, Red Abram, Abram’s Pippin. It is said to have been first recorded in a Virginian newspaper in 1755, was once widely grown and was also highly favoured for making cider. The date is fine for it being grown in Kelvedon by the 1830s

1. Wood House Estate and site of the ‘Great Orchard’ (plot 2). (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, D/DBm P15)



Table 1. Fruit trees as listed, Wood House estate, November 1831

Long Row	Number and variety	Total
1	5 Norfolk Biffen, 5 Blenheim Orange, 4 Winter Royal Pears	14
2	10 Sachs Pearmain	10
3	10 Nonpariel, 3 Moorfowl, 1 Egg Pear	14
4	10 Court of Wycke Pippin, 4 Winter Royal Pears	14
5	10 Seck No Further	10
6	10 London Pippin	10
7	10 Keswick Codlin	10
8	5 Abram Fairheads, 5 Ribston Pippin	10
9	10 Wheelers Russetts, 1 Bergamot Pear	11
10	10 Ribston Pippin	10
11	10 Ribston Pippin	10
12	10 Winter Pearmain	10
13	10 Nonpareil	10
14	10 London Pippin	10
Short Row	Number and variety	
1	[No number given] Beurry Pears	?8
2	9 Hawthornden	9
(ERO, D/DBm E/18)	Total	170

but is it possible that an apple with an American origin would have made it across the Atlantic? Quite possibly so as the trade in plants across the globe was, even at this date, fairly extensive and can be seen in the career of the influential nurseryman James Lee (1715-95). From his London Vineyard nursery, Lee had plant and seed collectors in the

Americas and South Africa and is said to have introduced 135 plants to this country. His clientele even included Thomas Jefferson over in America who took a catalogue he published.⁷ We also have the evidence of other apples from America making their way across the Atlantic such as Boston or Roxbury Russett and Esopus

Spitzenburgh.⁸ So might Abram Fairhead be just one more synonym that Abram was known as? Perhaps further research will uncover additional references to confirm or deny this, but for the time being it is a suggested match.

As to Sach's Pearmain the nearest match might be the Devonshire Quarrenden, another old variety. Such is its antiquity that it is entirely feasible that it was known and grown in the county by the nineteenth century. As one of its, currently known, 36 synonyms is Sack Apple it is the nearest match so far identified.⁹ Perhaps it had 'Pearmain' added to it somewhere along the line. However, as with Abram Fairheads this has, for the time being, to remain conjecture.

Pear varieties

There are only five different types listed and of these three, Bergamot, Beurry and Egg, are possibly just generic names for unidentified/non-specific pears. The single Bergamot planted might have been a 'rounded conical to flat-round, rather like a spinning top or apple'¹⁰ type pear and was identified just by its appearance. Possibly whoever he purchased it from knew no more about its origin? The Beurry, or Beurré, pear might just have referred 'to the texture of the flesh, which is said to resemble butter'¹¹ while the Egg pear was just that shape.

Of the remaining two pears Winter Royal Pear could well be either Royale d'Hiver/Spina Carpi.¹² As for the Moorfowl pear, Hogg in 1860 lists a Galston Moorfowls Egg while it is mentioned slightly earlier for being suitable for growing in Scotland as Galston Muirfowl's Egg.¹³ Somewhere along the line, the name got slightly corrupted which was not unusual.

Number and Origin of varieties

The number of each variety planted is listed for all examples



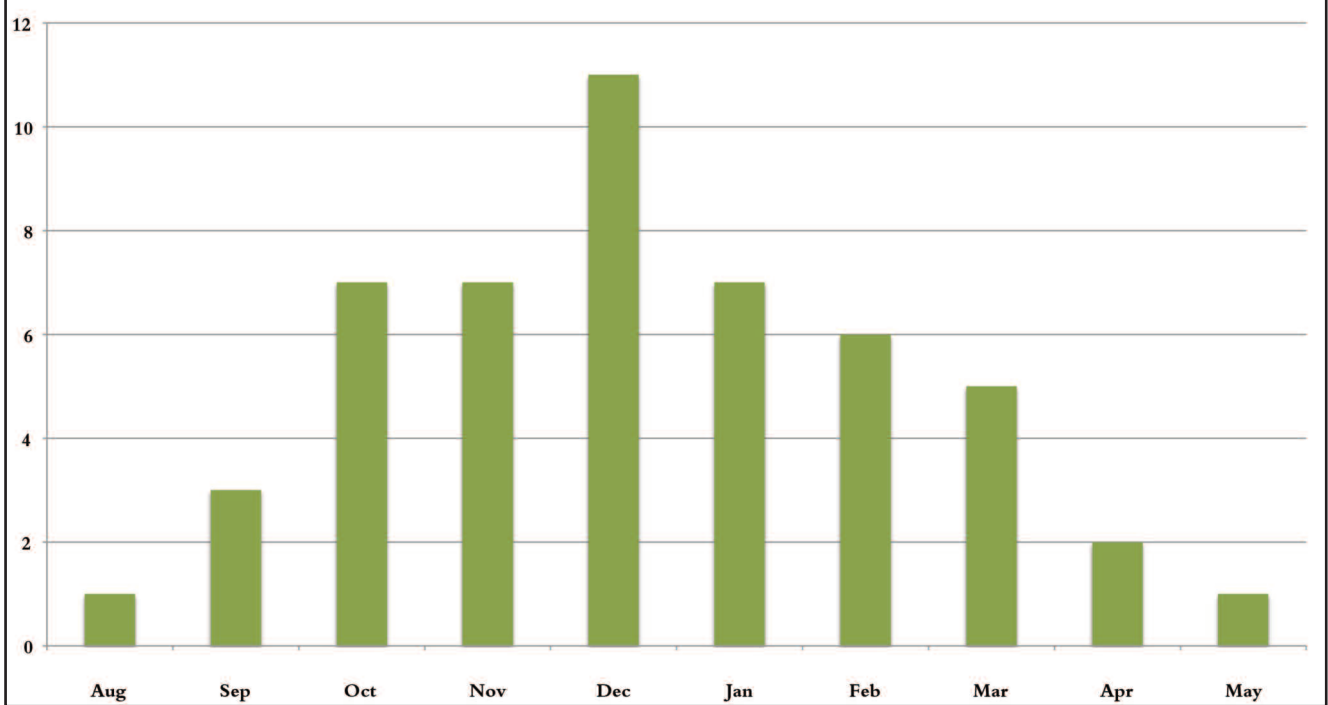
Table 2. Apple trees planted on the Wood House estate, November 1831

Name as planted	Current name	Number planted	Type: Culinary, Dessert	Season	First recorded	Place of origin
Abram Fairheads	?Abram	5	C, D	Dec-May	1755	USA
Blenheim Orange	Blenheim Orange	5	C, D	Sep-Jan	c.1740	Oxfordshire
Court of Wycke Pippin	Court of Wick	10	D	Oct-Dec	1790	Somerset
Hawthornden	Hawthornden	9	C	Sep-Dec	c.1780	Scotland
Keswick Codlin	Keswick Codlin	10	C	Sep-Oct	1793	Lancashire
London Pippin	London Pippin	20	C	Nov-Mar	c.16th cent	Essex/ Norfolk
Nonpariel	Nonpariel	20	D	Dec-Mar	1696	France via London?
Norfolk Biffen	Norfolk Beefing	5	C, D	Dec-Apr	1698	Norfolk
Ribston Pippin	Ribston Pippin	25	D	Oct-Jan	c.1707	Yorkshire
Sach's Pearmain	?Devonshire Quarrenden*	10	D	Aug	1676	France?/ Devon
Seck No Further	King of the Pippins	10	C, D	Oct-Dec	early 19th cent	France via London?
Whealers Russett	Acklam Russet	10	D	Dec-Feb	1768	Yorkshire
Winter Pearmain	Winter Pearmain	10	C, D	Oct-Mar	Very old	Kent?
Total number of apple trees		149	*syn Sack Apple. (ERO, D/DBm E/18)			

Table 3. Pear trees planted on the Wood House estate, November 1831

Name as planted	Current name	Number planted	Type: Culinary, Dessert	Season	First recorded	Place of origin
Bergamot Pear		1				
Beurry Pears		?8				
Egg pear		1				
Moorfowl	?Galston Muirfowl's Egg	3	D	Sep-Oct	1836	Scotland
Winter Royal Pear	?Royale d'Hiver	8	D	Oct	1736/1875	France
Total number of apple trees		21	(ERO, D/DBm E/18)			

Chart 1. Number of varieties of apples in season



bar one – the Beurre pear. A confident total of ‘in all 170 trees’ is written so by adding up those that are numbered these total 162 so it is assumed that eight Beurre pears were also planted. Of the apples Ribston Pippin was the most common variety planted, (25) while just five of Abram Fairhead, Blenheim Orange and Norfolk Biffen were planted. The average number of each apple type being 11.5. It is interesting that Patisson planted so many Ribston pippins for at the time it was ‘said to be one of the best, and certainly is one of the most popular dessert apples of the present day...and a [great] number of trees of it are sold by nurserymen throughout England.’¹⁴ Had he completed his research, was this what his supplier had in stock or were they cheap to purchase?

The data regarding the pears were planted is probably too scant to extrapolate any trends. However, it is interesting that only a limited number of pear varieties were grown and the maximum number of one type was eight. It is curious that no obvious cooking or Warden pear was planted, unless this Bergamot pear happened to be one. Also no

plums, damson or gages are included. Possibly they were already present or this planting scheme was carefully thought out to produce mainly apples?

Regarding the geographic origin of the apples, and even ignoring the possible American apple, the trees selected came from wide and far. France, as with so many types of fruit, was the home of at least three of the varieties planted. Of interest are the British varieties coming from as far afield as Scotland, Somerset, Lancashire and Yorkshire. We do not know if he sourced the trees from one nursery or several, but what it demonstrates is that the trade in fruit trees must have been wide-ranging and that suppliers could, and were, sourcing trees, or grafting stock for propagation, from afar. Having access to a wide range of different varieties also offered different qualities to be introduced into an orchard. The number of ‘northern’ varieties is interesting – could this be a positive choice by Patisson? If the apples could cope with harsher weather in their native climes, then finding a home in temperate Essex might have seen them crop more reliably. The Court of Wick apple

was said to be ‘very hardy, standing in some places the most severe blasts from the Welsh mountains.’¹⁵ A field in Kelvedon must have seemed very mild by comparison.

Looking at Table 2 it is striking that there is only one apple that might have an Essex connection, the London Pippin. Does this suggest that Essex varieties were not well thought of at the time or did Patisson wish to impress with apples that were uncommon in the county?

Season and Use

If all of the trees have been successfully identified, then the season of their picked crop would have gone from August to the following May, giving a wide-spread of fruit that were ‘coming on’ and ready to use.¹⁶ The potential for a substantial crop from 170 trees and the use of the fruit has to be considered. With apples and pears continually ripening, the stored crop would have had to be ‘worked’, picked over and examined so that fruit ready for human consumption could be taken while any rotting fruits could be removed and disposed of. Potentially there

Table 4. Number and percent of apple types as planted on the Wood House estate

Apple type	Number of trees	Percent
Culinary (C)	39	26.2%
Desert (D)	75	50.3%
Dual use (C, D)	35	23.5%
Total	149	100%
(ERO, D/DBm E/18)		

could well have been surplus fruit that the immediate household couldn't consume, either as 'fresh' fruit or cooked. For instance the 1851 census records that there was an immediate household of five with nine men and two boys being employed; surely not enough people to have consumed the complete harvest of at least 170 trees?¹⁷ One can imagine that in nearby Kelvedon, Patisson would have found a ready market for surplus fruit to bring in welcome additional income to the estate.

Further uses for the crop could have been to make cider for consumption by the immediate household and the wider body of farm employees. Cider can be made using any type of apple, not just dedicated varieties and this would have made use of fruit in quite large quantities, effectively preserving a proportion of the crop, as an alcoholic drink in barrels, for future use. However, specialised equipment for making cider; presses and scratters or mincing machines, would have been necessary for processing large quantities of apples. These might well have been fairly standard bits of kit of most farms. An angle for further research perhaps? A further use for fruit not fit for human consumption would be to have fed it to pigs, which most farms would have kept. Finally, any fruits too far gone would have found a home on the compost heap.

Chart 1 shows the total number of different varieties of apples, both culinary and dessert, which were in season at any one time. As can be seen the peak is during December when the greater number of apples would have been in season. Thereafter the numbers trail off. Whether this reflects a deliberate plan or just what trees were available at the time is not known. However, perhaps the advantage of having a smaller number of apples in store late in the season was that they got used up quickly and were not hanging around needing to be looked after. Perhaps December was a good month for selling apples for the Christmas market?

And what can we conclude from Table 4? It is striking that the number of trees for Culinary, Desert and Dual use is almost exactly 25-50-25%. This suggests that the majority were intended for eating but a significant proportion were for culinary use, but what we do not know is if this was a deliberate strategy by Patisson or rather arrived at by chance. If other examples of planting plans were examined then we may be able to come to a firmer conclusion.

Positioning

Firstly, the orchard was planted close by the house and outbuildings. This was quite usual, partly in order to keep a close watch on the trees and the fruit they would have carried, but also surely for

aesthetic reasons. As to the trees themselves, Patisson listed them in the order that they were, presumably, planted starting with the '1st long Row next Mink Downs, Norfolk Biffen x 5, 5 Blenheim Orange. 2nd Row towards House 10 Sach's Pearmain' and so on for a total of 14 rows, each with around ten trees. The last row contained ten London Pippin. Two short rows finished off the list, the first also next to Mink Downs (an un-specified number of Beurry Pears), and the second ('next to the 1st Long Row') comprised nine Hawthornden apples.

We know from Fig 1 the positioning of the field Mink/Ming Downs (plot 17 on Fig 1) but it is unclear if the planting of the fruit trees was in parallel with this field (almost East-West) advancing towards the northern end, where the field narrows? This could be the case for of the first four rows, three have 14 trees. The positioning of the 2nd row in relation to the house is puzzling –was it at right-angles to the first row? How then did the two short rows fit in, one of which as next to Mink/Ming Downs? A further complication is that Patisson states that the trees were planted 'Between the Standards & Land ditches'. This would seem to suggest that there are already 'standard', or larger trees, planted in the field/orchard. It is not known if these were fruit or other types of tree. It is probably safe to assume that they were fruit trees but even if this was the case, it is not stated how they were planted, how many there were or what varieties they comprised. Also were the 'Land Ditches' just the boundary ditches that surrounded the orchard or something else put in place to assist drainage?

It is probably wise not to attempt a planting plan without further evidence but it is possible to say that the trees were mixed up in their planting, possibly to ensure even pollination or reduce the threat from possible frost pockets across the field. Patisson

was obviously thinking about what to plant where – he didn't just plant them as they came. Perhaps further detailed study of the list, the order of planting and fruiting/usage might reveal refine thinking behind the scheme.

Dwarf Root Stocks

The use of dwarfing rootstocks, to control the vigour of the fruiting stock onto which it would have been grafted, might seem to be rather a modern thing to do but they have been known about from at least the sixteenth century. The paradise rootstock was first recorded in 1536 and was available in London nurseries from at least the early eighteenth century¹⁸ so Patisson's choice was entirely appropriate. Apart from restricting the final size of the grown tree, another advantage to grafting onto dwarfing rootstock was that fruiting could be brought on sooner, a distinct advantage for a producer. This is reflected in one of Patisson's choices, the Blenheim Orange, which while being recognised as 'A very valuable and highly esteemed apple' was 'a bad bearer' that could 'be made to produce much earlier, if grafted on the paradise stock'¹⁹ Two of his other apple choices, Court of Wick and Nonpareil, were also reported as succeeding well on paradise rootstock.²⁰

If nineteenth century dwarf rootstock was similar or equivalent to modern types then they would still have produced a fair crop. The author's Doyenne du Comice pear on Quince C dwarfing rootstock gave a crop of just over 40lb (18kg) of fruit this season, the equivalent of one bushel.²¹ Not every tree in an orchard necessarily crops every year so well but even if just a proportion did, then there would have been a substantial amount of fruit to harvest and store.

Other examples

So can we say how typical Patisson's scheme was? Firstly at over 3½ acres with 170 trees (and an unspecified number of existing

standards), this is a fair sized orchard. That said, the trees are described as being dwarf so they would never achieve the weight of cropping of standard trees, but as discussed above this could still have resulted in a substantial amount of fruit.

Might Patisson have planted the trees for aesthetic reasons? Quite possibly so for the joy of the blossom in the spring would surely have been appreciated along with final fruit. It is entirely possible that they were planted to add a value to what might have been before just an 'average' agricultural field. Because the trees were on dwarfing root stock this might suggest that they were planted for aesthetic rather than productive reasons – this wasn't going to be completely a full blown orchard with tall, standard trees. Perhaps the existing standard trees were tiring and this was a new planting to revitalise the orchard? However the sheer number of trees must surely point to it being more of a commercial operation than any other reason.

An example of a smaller, domestic planting scheme is illustrated at West Thurrock in 1825. The curate recorded in the marriage register a 'plan of the orchard with the names of the trees at the Parsonage' which comprised 12 trees planted on March 25th 1825 (Table 5).²² This is very much a 'garden' scale planting of someone who wished to include some apple trees to

add interest from form, flower and fruit. It is not stated what size the trees are but the varieties are named, some being the same as those planted by Patisson.

Orchards planted for James Christy in Broomfield²³ have left us few clues as to what was planted and why. With lands adjacent to the Broomfield Nursery and further Harris orchards in the vicinity, along with the overall size of Christy's orchards (around 11 acres), this does seem to suggest that a small fruit growing district was arising within a couple of miles of Chelmsford. Thus this local population would have provided a ready market for the fruit but an even more important market was London, easily reached via the railway, the station being just a mile or so distant. Over 17,000 tons of apples and over 9,000 tons of pears are recorded as having been sold through the main London markets in 1850²⁴ and perhaps some of that fruit came from mid-Essex? The influence of London only increased as the population continued to grow and after 1875 the depression in the price of agricultural produce further induced some landowners to diversify in to planting more orchards.²⁵

We can probably say that Patisson's orchard fulfilled at least two functions: the semi-commercial of an owner of a farm as well as the aesthetic of a gentleman land owner.

Table 5. 'A plan of the orchard with the names of the trees at the Parsonage West Thurrock Essex'

Hawthorn Dean	Ribstone Pippin	Nonpareil Russett
Golden Rennet	Paradise Apple	Golden Pippin
Winter Pearmain	Lemon Pippin	?Piles/Pikes Russett
Nonpareil Apple	Ribstone Pippin	Royal Russett
(ERO, D/P 374/1/5)		

Suppliers

So where might Patisson have got his trees from in 1831? In a pre-railway age, it might be thought that his choice of supplier was fairly limited but, as discussed, the trade in plants was truly global. There were nurserymen across the kingdom and London was not far away. Slightly earlier, in 1822, Rev Joseph Arkwright of Mark Hall, Harlow, and vicar of Latton, ordered trees and seeds from nurseryman James Lee (son of the James Lee mentioned above) of the Vineyard nursery, Hammersmith.²⁶ This comprised a selection of six trees: a dwarf nectarine, cherry, apricot and pear, along with two different plums, four figs, much vegetable seed and two dahlias, for the grand total of £6.1s.8d. What is of particular interest is that Lee wrote that 'I have forwarded the plants & seeds packed in 1 basket and 1 bag by the Harlow Carrier who left London on Tuesday'. Purchasing trees remotely was possible.

Patisson, or his supplier, would surely have been able to find a local carrier to bring back an order of trees from afar, as Lee had done for Arkwright. Just eight years later Smith's waggon departed the *Angel* in Kelvedon every Monday and Friday for London, while in Witham carriers were leaving Tuesday, Wednesday and twice on Fridays. They would, in due course, be returning from the capital and there were others as well for it was announced 'Carriers are also passing thro' Witham to and from London, Colchester and most parts of Suffolk daily.'²⁷

We know that catalogues were produced and circulated widely to advertise varieties for sale, so the process for selecting and purchasing trees was well established by the 1830s. Patisson would have been able to remotely choose and order the varieties he required. London, home to many prominent nurseries, seems an obvious place to source trees from. One of the varieties he planted, Hawthornden, was

introduced from Scotland by the Brompton Park nursery in 1790.²⁸ Alternatively he may have sourced his trees from local tradesmen. In Feering by 1839, for example, Thomas Church ('Gardener & Seedsman') was in operation while a little further off in Witham, Frederick Rale ('Gardener & Seedsman') might possibly have sold fruit trees. Meanwhile in Chelmsford, John and Joseph Saltmarsh were running extensive nursery grounds in Moulsham, while John Harris was just the latest in a line of nurserymen of the same name operating from the Broomfield Nursery, and famous in apple circles for introducing the Baddow Pippin, later known as D'Arcy Spice, in 1848. These three were all listed as 'Nursery and Seedsman and Gardeners.'²⁹

The site now?

A visit to West Thurrock is not required to find out if any of the trees planted in 1825 happen to survive. An undated note on the plan records 'All removed!'³⁰ Some of the fruit trees planted in 1854 on James Christy's lands survived through to the very early 1990s before the last were cleared for a small housing development. Possibly some suckers and other remnants may remain in the bosky margins there. And what of the orchard at Wood House Farm? It amazingly survived the building of RAF Rivenhall, literally around it during the Second World War, its landholding reduced from 270 acres to 50.³¹ The buildings, moat and orchard were shown as being still in existence in 1956 while it's wartime farmer only left in 1980.³² A quick check of the satellite view on Google Map (October 2019) shows the site outline still recognisable although it looks as if most of the buildings have gone while the orchard appears to be just a field of rough grass. Substantial looking hedges might hide surviving trees although possibly they would be a later generation of planting. Encroaching gravel workings

on the airfield might soon put paid, if they have not already done so, to any remaining echoes of the past.

Conclusion

Patisson was just one of a long line of orchard planters and it is a happy survival that his list of trees has come down to the present day. However, it comprises just a small cross section of the 1,400 varieties of apples that are recorded as having been planted in Chiswick by 1831.³³ Undoubtedly further research in surviving nursery catalogues and account books may well narrow down the most popular apple varieties that were being purchased in the early nineteenth century to see if Patisson's choices were common or not. Certainly there was plenty of choice for people interested in planting fruit trees and this was only to increase further through the following years of the century as interest in growing apples and pears continued unabated. Having the choice then of many varieties was commonplace so why not hunt out some interesting varieties from farm shops and independent suppliers rather than the same old choice confronting us in the supermarket – there's a world of apples out there.³⁴

References

1. www.brogdalecollections.org. Thirty-three varieties are listed as being of an Essex 'origin: www.applesandorchards.org.uk/images/040_Essex_apples.pdf (10/10/19).
2. Essex Record Office (ERO), D/DBm E18.
3. ERO, D/DBm P15, map of Kelvedon. Possibly the trees shown adjacent to the 'House & Offices' (plot 1) and partially enclosed by a moat, might have been a Little Orchard?
4. Two years later Patisson is again listed as the owner: W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Essex*, (Sheffield, 1848), p.175, although resident in Church Street, Coggeshall.
5. J. Morgan & A. Richards, *The Book of Apples* (London, 1993) contains a Directory of apples that does contain some synonyms.

A recent addition to finding-aids is the excellent FruitID website which contains a searchable database: www.fruitid.com/#main, (10/10/19). However, the various editions of Robert Hogg's *The Fruit Manual* (London, 1860, 1875 & 1884) are still incredibly useful in their PDF formats for searching for synonyms. Table 1 is based on the FruitID website except for Abram Fairhead.

6. bighorsecreekfarm.com/abram/ (10/10/19).
7. B.D. Jackson, 'Lee, James (1715-95)', rev. A.P. Baker, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), (10/10/29).
8. Hogg (1884), pp.27 & 73; Morgan & Richards, pp.256, 206.
9. www.fruitid.com/#view/544 (10/10/19)
10. J. Morgan, *The Book of Pears* (London, 2015), p.198. There are nine distinct pears listed that contain Bergamot in their name.
11. *Ibid.*, p.199. There are 43 pears listed that have Beurré in their name. The spelling, 'Beurry', in Patisson's list is amusing. One can imagine this was as a result of an Essex man trying to pronounce Beurré. The author recalls a very tall pear tree in the remnant orchard adjacent to the family market garden in (see below), which his father said was called Brown Berry. Surely this was also the echo of how once it was pronounced in Essex?
12. There appears to be two varieties of pear that might share the same name. Hogg (4th Ed (1875), p.501) has an entry for 'Royale d'Hiver (*Spina di Carpi*)' while Morgan has them as two distinct varieties, *Spinacarp* (p.252) in Paris as early as 1736, so entirely possible that it was available in Essex by the 1830s, and *Royale d'Hiver* (p.248) as a much more recent introduction. Just this example of trying to match up old references to named fruit trees with modern equivalents demonstrates what a dangerous business this can be!
13. R. Hogg, 1860, p.189; P. Lawson & Son, *The agriculturalist's manual* (Edinburgh, 1836), p.406.
14. G. Lindley; J Lindley (ed), *A Guide to the Orchard and Kitchen Garden* (London, 1831), p.80.
15. *Ibid.*, p.43.
16. The availability of fruit from store through the season is in

itself worth considering. The quality of the long-term storage of the fruit crop would have been vital as it would be pointless growing the fruit if vermin or the damp were allowed to spoil it before it was ready for human consumption. We do not know the infrastructure Patisson had to store what could well have been a considerable crop in a good year. Was it just stored at ambient temperature in a secure barn or did he have a specialized, insulated fruit room more akin to what the great landed estate might have had?

17. TNA, HO107/1782/1783, f.86, household 68. Extract from 1851 census for Wood House Farm. The acreage recorded appears to be 220 acres, which would tie in with that given in D/DBm P15.
18. F.A. Roach, *Cultivated Fruits of Britain: their origin and history* (Oxford, 1985), pp.90-1.
19. Hogg, 1875, p.19. However, trees on dwarfing rootstock may not be so long lived.
20. *Ibid.*, pp.39 & 102.
21. N.B. Bagenal, *Fruit Growing* (London, 1946), p.123. The weight of apples or pears in a bushel is variable, unlike wheat or barely, because of voids left between the fruits. This does not occur with grain. To make up for 40lb of Comice pears, the author's apple trees and remaining pears cropped very lightly.
22. ERO, D/P 374/1/5, West Thurrock, St Clement, marriage register.
23. ERO, D/DU 448/1, map of estate belonging to James Christy, Broomfield and Chelmsford, 1854. It is a shame that, at present, it is not known what trees were planted. The Brown Berry/Beurré mentioned above was in the Orchard (plot 6) and survived to about 1991. This variety is recorded as being in the 'top dozen of Victorian garden pears and produced for the London markets.' (Morgan, p.200) and would fit Christy's involvement and location.
24. G. Dodd, *The Food of London; a sketch* (London, 1856), p.388.
25. See ERO, T/Z 561/4/21, N. Wiffen, *Hard Slogging Work': How did the Agricultural Depression affect land use within the Parishes of the Chelmsford Union between c.1870 & 1901?* MA Thesis, 2005.

26. ERO, D/Dar C5/56, letters & bills, 1819-29. See: numberone.london.net/2010/07/mr-lee-of-hammersmith/ 10/10/19). The Brompton Nursery was another long established London nursery – see Morgan & Richards for many mentions.
27. *Pigot & Co.'s Royal National and Commercial Directory* (London, 1839). Carriers from Kelvedon p.49 and Witham p.89.
28. Hogg 1875, p.69.
29. *Ibid.* For Church see p.49, *Rale* p.88 and Harris and Saltmarsh p.19. It is difficult to tell if the classification of 'Gardener and Seedsman' would have seen them supplying trees, further research would be required. Possibly not as the Coggeshall/Kelvedon area was becoming a specialist seed growing area. See W, Page & J.H. Round (eds) *The Victoria History of the County of Essex*, 2 (London, 1907), pp.478-80. We are on safer ground with Harris and Saltmarsh who were definitely selling fruit trees. For D'arcy Spice see Morgan & Richards, p.199, although it's story is more complex.
30. ERO, D/P 374/1/5.
31. B. Stait, *Rivenhall: the history of an Essex Airfield* (Cheltenham, 1984), p.53.
32. 6" OS Map, TL 82 NW, 1956; *Ibid.*
33. Roach, p.95.
34. For a good selection of apples grown in Essex try Lathcoats Farm, (www.eapples.co.uk) or Crapes Fruit Farm, (crapes.wordpress.com).

Acknowledgements

It is with great pleasure to dedicate this article to Dr Michael Leach, historian and friend with whom I have had many stimulating chats on gardening, vicars and landscape history (to name but a few topics) and who I rely on for his very good sense and extensive knowledge of so many aspects of our past. The words for the text fair flowed out of me and I enjoyed the process immensely.

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The Author is the Hon Ed.

The Treatment of Children

in the Chelmsford Poor Law Union, 1835 – 1914

by

Stephen Norris

The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act was an attempt to relieve poverty through a centralised system of groups, or Unions, of parishes, rather than continuing to place the burden of poor relief on individual parishes, as had been the case since 1601. The Act was supposed to introduce a deterrent to able-bodied paupers who were seeking poor relief and by able-bodied we should read 'adults'. Pauper children were caught up in the system, certainly in the early years of the Poor Law, mainly by accident rather than design and in the early decades of the Act large numbers of pauper children were uprooted and placed in Union workhouses. The treatment of many pauper children was frequently unspeakable and often remained hidden even after the introduction of early child protection at the end of the century. While it is easy, however, to denigrate the quality of pauper care and education this ignores that fact that the majority of poor children would have received no education whatsoever. This article will examine the quality of education delivered to pauper children who were unlucky enough to find themselves in the Chelmsford Union Workhouse. It will examine the attitudes of some local poor law guardians and workhouse masters to determine the extent of improvement in education provision over the course of the nineteenth century.

The Chelmsford parish workhouse, which opened in 1718, was the largest of 14 in what became the Chelmsford Union area.¹ A Chelmsford parish poster showing outdoor and indoor relief for 1822–3, listed 52

inmates in a half-full workhouse, a quarter of which were under the age of 14. In parish workhouses, families were usually allowed to stay together. In the last contract of the governor of the Chelmsford workhouse it was specified that his wife had to give some education to children under the age of ten. Over the same year 285 people were listed as being on outdoor relief, 65 of which were children.²

When the 1834 Act was passed a number of the parishes in the area thought they could largely ignore the Act.³ The vestry minutes at Great Baddow show that the churchwardens and overseers thought that a larger workhouse, enabling them to reduce the numbers on outdoor relief in the parish, would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the act.⁴ Within a year however the very effective Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for the Eastern Counties, Alfred Power, had obtained the agreement of an initial 26 parishes plus eventually a further five, to form the Chelmsford Poor Law Union. It was a typical rural union based around Chelmsford, the market and county town, which was represented by four elected guardians on the Union's Board of Guardians. The three largest agricultural parishes, Writtle, Great Waltham and Springfield had two guardians. The remaining smaller parishes, such as Pleshey and Little Leighs, contributed one guardian (Table 1). After Thomas Chalk, editor of the *Chelmsford Chronicle*, all the succeeding chairmen of the Board of Guardians were farmers while until the end of the century nearly all the elected guardians were tenant farmers of moderate

means paying rent not much above the minimum £20 per annum required to stand as a guardian. Their principle motive in running the Union had to be to keep costs down for the ratepayers. In the early decades the conditions of pauper children in the workhouse were the least of their concerns. The elected guardians had, however, to be deferential to the gentry of mid Essex, such as Thomas Kemble, Henry Collings Wells and Archibald Impey Lovibond. These men were in control of the Union in many respects, even if they rarely if ever, with the exception of Wells, turned up to Board meetings. Nominations for elected guardians had to get their approval. These 'ex officio' guardians were magistrates at the Petty and Quarter sessions at the Shire Hall and through these courts played a vital role in the running of the local poor law.

The Act introduced a central body, the Poor Law Commission (PLC), which initially had to set up Unions of parishes in England and Wales. All workhouses were to give pauper children under the age of 14 three hours of formal education plus an unspecified amount of industrial training. The Act also included an important change in the approach to 'bastardy', effectively transferring the responsibility for illegitimate children from the father to the mother. This led to large numbers of unmarried mothers and their children entering the workhouse. Within two decades, for purely financial reasons rather than moral ones, contributions towards the maintenance of pauper children were once again being demanded from the fathers,

Table 1. The parishes of the Chelmsford Union and the number of Guardians to be elected

Parish	Number of Guardians	Parish	Number of guardians
Chelmsford	4	West Hanningfield	1
Writtle	2	South Hanningfield	1
Roxwell	1	Rettendon	1
Widford	1	Runwell	1
Springfield	2	Woodham Ferrers	1
Boreham	1	Great Waltham	2
Great Baddow	1	Little Waltham	1
Little Baddow	1	Broomfield	1
Danbury	1	Chignal St James	1
Sandon	1	Chignal Smealy	1
Ingatestone	1	Good Easter	1
Stock	1	Mashbury	1
Buttsbury	1	Pleshey	1
Fryerning	1	Great Leighs	1
Margaretting	1	Little Leighs	1
East Hanningfield	1	TOTAL	37

Based on report from *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 1835

with the magistrates imposing stiff sentences where necessary.

A committee, set up by the first guardians to identify workhouses that could take the seven different categories of pauper specified by the Commission, chose Buttsbury to take the pauper children aged 7 – 14 under the care of a Mr and Mrs Hines, who were not trained teachers.⁵ Children were separated from their parents. Before the

Union workhouse was opened in 1838 the guardians paid the Buttsbury parish £20 per annum to house the children in what they called an ‘asylum for children.’⁶ In 1836 there were 32 boys and 30 girls. In the time they were there they contracted head lice, which the guardians deemed was the fault of a neglectful medical officer, not considering that the Hines should have reported the matter earlier.

The children did four hours school work, an hour more than the minimum prescribed under the Act. After school the girls did several hours housework and the boys worked in the garden.⁷ By 1837 Buttsbury was full at capacity. The guardians felt at this stage that trained teachers were unnecessary. Certainly some of the early guardians thought that educating paupers conflicted with the principle of less eligibility that is that inmates should endure conditions that were at best only equal to those endured by the family of the least prosperous able bodied labourer in employment.

Understandably the families of the able bodied paupers resisted as much as they could, being separated. They wanted to avoid their children being sent to Buttsbury. A resulting fall in the numbers applying for relief was sufficient to bring about the support of local ratepayers for the legislation. Despite this, by the end of 1836, administrative difficulties led to only three workhouses being in operation. Even so the guardians were already discussing, with prompting from the Commission, the building of one large workhouse which would take all the categories of pauper, as set out by the PLC, segregated inside.

The workhouse, on the old barracks ground, now Wood Street, was designed to take 400 paupers, but the keenness of the guardians to keep to the letter of the act and restrict the giving of outdoor relief meant that by the ‘hungry 40s’ the workhouse was frequently holding 450 paupers (Figs 1-3).

Once inside the workhouse, the children were not allowed to see their parents except, according to the first chaplain, Rev Buswell, occasionally at mealtimes and on Sunday in the chapel. They were confined to the children’s ward, sleeping at least two to a bed with only space to exercise in the small school yard. Children were not allowed

out of the workhouse for walks until the turn of the century.

Little attention was given to the quality of education provided in the early decades. Some guardians certainly felt initially that any education was not needed. Nationally it was sometimes mooted that teaching paupers to write was unnecessary, reading would be sufficient. The 1844 Parish Pauper Apprentices Act, however, required such apprentices to be able to read and write their names unaided.

The teachers' frequent lack of control of their charges was commented on by Buswell, and frequently led to an excessive use of corporal punishment. It is worth noting that the only official corporal punishment allowed in the workhouse was on boys aged 13 and under. Birching was supposed to be carried out by the schoolmaster in the presence of the governor. As late as 1862 however, the schoolmaster, Donald Lee, whose predecessor, William Chapman, had himself had to leave after hitting a child, said he would ignore the governor and punish the boys any way he chose. Soon afterwards he was forced to resign but only after being accused of being 'too familiar' with the schoolmistress, a Miss Cole.⁸

The guardians insisted that all able-bodied paupers brought their children into the workhouse. The same rule was applied to widows. In 1839 one half of all those in the workhouse were under 14 and the number of children remained at about a 100 until the 1850s. These figures were inflated by the number of unmarried women who brought their 'bastard' children into the workhouse and those pregnant women who gave birth in the workhouse. There were usually 12 or more such women in the 'lying in' ward. There were also a considerable number of orphaned or abandoned children. By the middle of the century magistrates were regularly sentencing fathers who had abandoned their families or had failed to keep to agreed



1. The administration block of Chelmsford Union Workhouse, 1889. (Author's collection)

maintenance which had led them to become chargeable to the Union. By the 1880s the situation had become more complicated in that the guardians were regularly accepting children into the workhouse when the size of an able-bodied labourer's family was too large for him to support them all. Again children were separated from their parents without any thought being given to the child. This of course was in complete denial of the spirit of the 1834 Act.

Most of the teachers who arrived at the Chelmsford workhouse in the first few decades had previously been pupil teachers. The quality of teachers at Wood Street should have improved when the Committee of Council, the forerunner of the Board of Education, was given funds for pauper education. This was followed by the decision in 1848 to appoint inspectors specifically for workhouse schools. H.G. Bowyer inspected the School at Wood Street diligently for 20 years. For much of this time he concentrated on assessing the teachers rather than the progress of the pupils. He could award a Certificate of Competency or the Higher Certificate of Efficiency. Each could be given at a first second or third level. At Chelmsford most teachers were assessed at the lower levels of

Competency. Normally, as with most occupations, female teachers would be paid significantly less than their male counterparts. In 1872 Elizabeth Tonge was actually paid more than the schoolmaster at the time because she had been assessed at the second level of Efficiency.⁹

The small size of the workhouse school room, commented on by Bowyer, with a partition to divide the boys and girls, ensured only the most basic education was delivered. There was an almost complete emphasis on the 'three Rs', taught by rote with the addition of some religious instruction. It was 10 years before the first map of the British Isles was obtained. The large number of children often meant that the older ones had to look after the younger ones. This was child-minding rather than pupil teaching. Bowyer often commented on the lower attainment of the younger pupils. The markedly variable level of teaching was only one reason why very few children left the workhouse having achieved the target 5th standard. Although the Chelmsford Union had relatively few 'ins and outs', similar to Charlie Chaplin, whose mother regularly took him out of his South London workhouse to meet his brothers, there were certainly enough to hinder attain-



2. The renovated administration block of Chelmsford Union Workhouse, 2017. (Author's photograph)

ment. William Holgate, Bowyer's successor, thought that the boys were generally given too hard a level of work because so many of them were new to the workhouse school.¹⁰ This contrasted with the generally held national view that the level of work set in workhouse schools was too easy. Vagrant children with their parents, staying in the workhouse for only one or two nights, of course received no education whatsoever.

Another cause of the generally low standard of education in the workhouse school was the frequent changes in teaching staff. The departure of Mr and Mrs Hines in 1838 due to Mr Hines' unspecified 'bad behaviour' was followed by a rapid succession of teachers, some lasting less than a month. This was in part due to the payment of very low salaries. The Hines had been paid £30 and £20 per annum. Their immediate successors were usually paid £24 and £16. Also because the early guardians had no experience of running a large institution like the workhouse, this showed in their appointment of staff and teachers in particular. They had no idea what skills were required for a good teacher. They asked for testimonials but frequently didn't wait for them to arrive. If they did arrive on time they were often patently forgeries. The guardians usually appointed local candidates to

avoid significant travel expenses. In the first 10 years most of those who applied were pupil teachers with no proper qualifications. By 1841 the Commission was insisting that teachers once appointed completed a probationary period. In 1842 the schoolmaster, Mr Schneider, after initial doubts about his appointment from the PLC, was found drunk during prayers in the chapel and asked to resign.¹¹

Despite regular inspections problems with the teaching staff remained in later decades. In 1879 the schoolmistress, Emily Burden accused the schoolmaster, Mr Kendall, of making disparaging remarks about her in front of the pupils, inferring that she had committed acts of immorality.¹² In March 1881 the guardians appointed a William Slater. Within a few weeks he too had to resign. According to the Local Government Board he had had to leave three teaching posts recently.¹³ The Board emphasized that he would not be employed again under their regulations, especially where young people were involved! The introduction of compulsory elementary education after 1870 made it even more difficult to keep well qualified staff at the workhouse school.

The 1870 Act and the Acts that followed it, which made elementary education compulsory, put a heavy burden on the

families of pauper children and indeed poor families in general. The generally liberal Conservative MP for South Essex and later Chelmsford, Frederick Carne Rasch, opposed the raising of the school leaving age to 13 because he said poor families relied on obtaining income from their older children. In the Chelmsford Union the three Relieving Officers for outdoor relief were made Attendance Officers for their districts. Under the 1872 Pauper Education Act parents could find their outdoor relief stopped if they didn't send their children to school. The mother of Henry Glover of Good Easter was told by the guardians in 1875 her relief would be discontinued if he didn't attend school. Ex officio guardians, as magistrates, were soon issuing orders to parents for the non attendance of their children. This was reluctantly followed if necessary by fines and even a short prison sentence. Occasionally the magistrates fined employers who hired school age children. Despite elementary education being made free in 1891 attendance remained a problem in rural areas in the Chelmsford Union. Some parents said that their children could earn more than the amount of the fines.

Education provision in the Chelmsford Union Workhouse wasn't the first instance of poor

children being educated in the town. Chelmsford had a charity school from 1715 until the advent of compulsory education. The principle difference between the school and the local National and British schools was that it was free. Like those schools it had a pronounced religious element in its teaching. Bad conduct in church earned a flogging. After the advent of compulsory education the school was wound up in the 1880s.¹⁴ Moulsham had a 'Ragged School' until the 1890s. Such schools were for destitute children whose parents couldn't afford school charges. The Essex Industrial School founded in 1872 and based in Chelmsford, also took destitute children who magistrates and others deemed were likely to become criminals. The Union initially took an advantage of a loophole in the regulations regarding the Essex Industrial School, to send some of the more disruptive pauper boys in the workhouse there.

The involvement of the ex officio guardians in running the national school and the new board schools, in places like the Chignalls and Rettendon, led them to look at the quality of education provided in the workhouse school and brought about a consideration of the idea of a district school in the mid Essex area. The idea was to remove the children from the often pernicious influence of adult paupers.¹⁵ As early as the 1830s, an exchange of letters between Robert Bartlett, the Union's first clerk, reveals a concern about the corrupting influence of women on impressionable girls on the part of at least some guardians. The workhouse wasn't large enough to separate the two groups.

After not making much impression at first in the 1830s, district schools became much more popular in the 1870s. Archibald Impey Lovibond, JP and Deputy Lord Lieutenant, was convinced that such a district school in the mid Essex area would raise the level of pauper

education and industrial training. The fact that district schools cost as much as twice per head than workhouse schools didn't seem to have been much of an issue for the ex officio guardians, although it must have been for the elected guardians ever mindful of the poor rate. The school wasn't opened because the Witham workhouse, which had been earmarked for the site of the school, wasn't closed after a last minute vote against by the Witham guardians. The workhouse did close some years later but the momentum on the issue had evaporated.

In other Unions the fall in numbers of children in workhouses was accentuated by the rapid take-up of new rules from 1870 allowing the boarding out of children to foster parents. No child was allowed to be boarded out more than one and a half miles from a school and no more than five miles from a boarding out committee member. This was supposed to remove them from the adverse influence of many of the adult paupers. The Chelmsford guardians did advertise for foster parents but to begin with were very suspicious of many of those who responded, thinking they had pecuniary motives. It took 20 years for a sufficient number of guardians to recognize that a number of local people wanted to provide a caring family environment for those who hadn't experienced one before.¹⁶

When the guardians did finally start boarding out children in the 1890s, the boarded out committee had to visit the children and approve the foster parents. Non guardians had to be on the committee. In 1892, for example, Mr and Mrs Alfred Miller were allowed to bring up a Nettie McCracken as one of their own children.¹⁷

As elsewhere, the reduction of the property qualification for guardians to £5 in 1894 brought about a change in the composition of the Chelmsford guardians, with the election of tradesmen

like Alex Lunney and of a small number of very active women. During the next two decades Grace Bartlett, Mary Munnion and Mrs Conybeare were very effective in pushing for improvements in particular the treatment of children.

The late nineteenth century saw increasing middle class concern for the lives of poor children. The female guardians were indefatigable in trying to place children with disabilities in various homes and orphanages and then checking on their welfare. Mrs Conybeare found a 12 year old boy, Saville, a place in a Church of England home for Waifs and Strays in London, with the guardians committing five shillings a week towards his maintenance. The mother gave her approval at a board meeting. When a Clifford Rainbird couldn't cope with the work at the local Widford school, a place was found for him in a Home For the Feeble Minded.¹⁸ One should not overestimate the caring nature of these interventions. For 20 years after 1895 the Jersey Boys Home was the recipient of boys from the Chelmsford Union, even though there was no way in which the conditions under which they were kept could be checked. In 1896 for example a William Thomas and an Edward Martin were accepted by the home on a month's trial. The guardians then agreed to pay £10.10s each for the annual maintenance. Both boys went on to take jobs on the island when still at the home.¹⁹

The 1834 Act had largely ignored the issue of pauper apprenticeship. Under the old parish system the practice of indenture was merely used as a means of removing the long term financial burden of a pauper child. For the first two decades the Union sent few boys into apprenticeship or girls into service. Giving apprenticeships was again frequently regarded as contradicting the previously mentioned principle of less

eligibility. From the 1850s however there was a steady flow of both. Financial reasons were again at the forefront of the guardians thinking. Paying out for an indenture was in the long run cheaper than having to support an orphan for decades. After a Mr Henry, the owner of a boat in Barking Creek, took four boys in 1852 the guardians negotiated a series of indentures with a number of owners of smacks at Lowestoft, Yarmouth and Grimsby.²⁰ In 1856 for example, five boys were indentured to a Mr French of Yarmouth. Frequently the boat owners tried to return the boys because of alleged infirmity or laziness. The guardians were unflinching in their opposition to taking the boys back. The clerk, W.W. Duffield, usually wrote a letter back saying the boys were no longer the guardians' responsibility but their subsequent fates are unknown.

Towards the end of the century the guardians made increasing efforts to indenture children with severe disabilities. In 1898 for example a Union relieving officer managed to get a 'deaf and dumb' child, Clarke, apprenticed to a tailor at Kelvedon.²¹ Mrs Conybeare managed to arrange for Frederick Swallow to be sent to a Muller orphanage at Bristol, who then apprenticed him also, to a tailor. After two and a half years Swallow was judged to have been unable to grasp the trade and his indenture was actually cancelled. The guardians didn't want him returned to Chelmsford but an aunt agreed to look after him at no charge and adopted him.

In contrast, girls who had been placed in service did return to the workhouse quite regularly often in a pitiable state. The female guardians did their best to check on them and their treatment. Part of the problem was that the training boys and girls received in the Chelmsford Union did not usually prepare them for either apprenticeship or

service. This contrasted with the larger metropolitan workhouses where industrial training to a large extent replaced finding apprenticeships, so that the children could go to work directly from the workhouse. The large-scale laundry, particularly when it converted to steam at the end of the century, did not prepare a girl for a small Victorian middle class household. Similarly, drudgery in the workhouse garden failed to transform an often emaciated young workhouse boy into a robust, adult able-bodied labourer to make the very farmers, who were often the guardians themselves, consider taking them on. This was even though the workhouse school inspectors, Bowyer and Holgate, frequently complained about the long hours the boys spent working outside when they should have been in the school. Both Bowyer and Holgate reported on the high quality of the girls' needlework however. Holgate noted the success of the boys Drum and Fife band which played at a number of school fetes.²²

In 1871 the guardian's minutes first mentioned the possibility of placing orphan boys on training ships. Training ships provided rigorous training for boys from 11 to 16. Discipline was strict and often enforced by the birch. The Forest Gate Union offered the Chelmsford Union places on the *Goliath* stationed off Grays.²³ Nothing came of this but, after the 1880 Seaman Act made it more difficult to place boys with owners of small boats, the guardians responded more positively to the Local Government Board by offering them places on the training ship *Exmouth*. Initially several of the boys sent were deemed unfit to be put through the rigorous training. Others were much more successful. After two and a half years on the *Exmouth* Thomas Saville, for example, was accepted into the Royal Navy. Ernest Long was only on the *Exmouth* for a few months

before being accepted into the Navy. He served with the Navy during the first war, later joining the RAF.

By the late Victorian period the increasing concern about the treatment of children led finally to legislation. The Acts of 1889 and 1894, the 'children's charter', allowed the law to intervene between parents and children.²⁴ Towards the end of the century the Chelmsford guardians were beginning to take advantage of this early child protection legislation. The guardians didn't just become *in loco parentis* regarding orphaned and abandoned children, but also took under their legal control the children of those who they felt were unfit pauper mothers. The phrase frequently used by the clerk in the minutes of the Board's meetings was 'by reason of vicious habits and mode of life.' In some cases they undoubtedly made the right decision and saw to it that the mother's access to their children was either extremely restricted or prohibited altogether. Occasionally however the decision merely reflected the guardians' prejudice against the propensity of certain women to have illegitimate children. In 1895 the guardians took charge of the three Saville children aged 13, 9 and 7 until each were 16, under the 1889 Act.²⁵ Once the cottage homes had opened, one such unfit mother, an Elizabeth Coppin, appeared before the board and asked to be allowed to visit her child. The request was denied.²⁶ Occasionally relieving officers reported cases of ill treatment and neglect to the authorities regarding children whose families were receiving outdoor relief.

By the 1880s the number of children in the workhouse, particularly boys had fallen drastically. This was partly because widows and their children were increasingly allowed to stay out of the workhouse on outdoor relief. The guardians discussed merging the boys and girls classes several



3. Back of the renovated Chelmsford Union Workhouse, 2017 (Author's photograph)

times, but on each occasion voted firmly against such a course of action.²⁷

Immediately after the 1886 fire at the workhouse, children were removed to Maldon. The rebuilt workhouse, designed by Frederic Chancellor, included a new school house even though an increasing number of Unions in Essex were sending pauper children to their local National and British schools. There was no discussion about this course of action until two weeks before the new workhouse was due to open in 1889. Undoubtedly the late decision to close the school was influenced by the view of the local gentry that the level of workhouse education was lagging behind that of local schools, where they were governors. There followed a rush to get the children accepted by schools in the local area and get them uniforms.²⁸ Although the need for teachers in the workhouse was removed the guardians still had to appoint attendants to look after the children before and after school.

Cottage homes, like boarding out, provided an alternative to the physical conditions and 'malign influence' of the work-

house. They were designed to accommodate 15 to 30 children.²⁹ They proved increasingly popular nationally from the 1870s, with the Local Government Board increasingly pushing for children to be taken out of workhouses. The children still had to attend local schools.

The majority of guardians opposed what they saw as the unnecessary expense of providing cottage homes. The Chelmsford Union finally provided a girls home in Great Baddow in 1905 and a boys' home in Writtle in 1908. The shortage of space in the workhouse because of the increasing age and infirmity of most inmates forced the guardians hand.

The girls' home was designed by Chancellor at the Baddow Road end of Beehive Lane. Miss Babb was appointed foster mother but soon resigned saying she couldn't be a matron and a caretaker. She quickly withdrew her resignation after an assistant was appointed.³⁰ By November 1908 there were 19 girls in the home. When a girl was 13 a position in service was usually sought locally. They were usually paid a minimal wage of 2 shillings or so while still at the home.

One of the Saville family, Sarah, was placed with a Mrs Webb for example. A member of the cottage homes committee visited her after four months. The second foster mother, Miss Partridge, found the work too onerous. In March 1908, after a period of illness, a visiting committee member found that she did not get up early enough to supervise breakfast and she was asked to resign.³¹ Finding able staff to undertake the long hours and onerous work was evidently a problem. Within a year of the home opening a number of the girls contracted ringworm. The Medical officer for the home was criticized for treating the condition too late but this showed the problems of keeping groups of children together.³²

Two years after the opening of the girls' home the guardians began looking for an existing house for a boys' home. After alterations, Greenbourne House at Writtle opened. When the first foster parents were appointed, Mr and Mrs Cooke, there were from the start problems with the use of corporal punishment. In the specific case of a Cyril Yonker, excessive caning was alleged. The guardians investigat-

ed but took the view that 'no undue punishment was inflicted.'³³ The LGB Inspector, Hervey pronounced himself satisfied with the home. As with the girls, most of the boys were found local positions once they were 13 or 14. When Bertie Warricker had been employed for a year by G.W. Pascall in 1910, the guardians informed the latter that he would have to find lodgings for the boy.³⁴

In 1911 Mary Munnion organized a trip to Southend for the children in the homes. Trips for pauper children were by no means new in the Chelmsford Union. In 1864 a group of workhouse children were entertained at Hylands House for the first time. What must have they thought, to be eating strawberries and playing games on the manicured lawns, before going back to their monotonous diet of gruel etc.? In 1914, A.R.P. Hickley organized a trip out from the workhouse for the aged and children to his cinema, the first in Chelmsford.³⁵ For the best part of 30 years before the First World War pauper children, as well as adults, were invited to afternoon tea at the house of the Coplands, a well known nonconformist family.

Of course Christmas had always been a special day in the workhouse. At least in the early decades it was a chance for the guardians and their wives to be seen at an event, which took on significance in the local community beyond the mere consumption of roast beef and plum pudding by the children and the other inmates.³⁶ It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the children had bats and balls etc, to play rudimentary games. Members of the cottage homes committee made regular donations of pictures and books. For instance in 1912 J.G. Bond Limited gave a Union Jack and the Local Government Board Inspector, Hervey, gave scouts uniforms.

In the course of the 80 years I have covered, the conditions

of pauper children can be considered to have improved to some extent. As we have seen certain guardians took an increasing role in trying to protect pauper children. The numbers involved made it an impossible task, however, to check on their treatment. The full nature of the conditions in the homes that pauper children were often sent long distances to can only be imagined. Due to the relatively small number of female guardians often the conservative rump of the guardians thwarted their good intentions, especially when it came to spending ratepayer's money. An example of this was when Mrs Conybear suggested giving the well behaved children in the homes a small amount of pocket money. Her proposal was heavily defeated. Even after the 1908 Children's Act had officially stopped unions keeping children in workhouses, Wood Street still had a dozen who hadn't been boarded out or placed in the homes by 1914.

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My thanks to Dr Jane Pearson for commenting on a first draft of this article.

The Author

Stephen Norris was a teacher in Newham for 30 years. He is the author of *From a Borough to a City: The History of Chelmsford, 1888-2012*. He writes articles on Chelmsford's history in the *City Times* each month. Stephen is currently working on some research with his wife Christine on the Poor Law that they hope to publish in due course. The provisional title being *Society and the Poor: The Chelmsford Poor Law Union 1835-1930*.

Brentwood Radio Receiving Station,

1922 - 1967

by

Paul Reyland

The aerial masts of Brentwood Radio Receiving Station were a prominent feature of the Pilgrims Hatch skyline for over 45 years. The author of this article grew up in the shadow of these masts and as a child always wanted to know what they were for. His parents could not answer this question nor could any of their family or friends. It would be fair to say that most people living in Brentwood during the years the station was operational also had no idea. So it was an incredible chance that many years later, after leaving school, the author would apply for one of the last apprentice posts at the station. After successfully passing the interview and entry examination he was soon to discover the reason for the station's existence. Years after the station had closed he began to realise that it had played a very important role in telecommunications history but very little had been recorded or written about it. It is hoped that this article, based mainly on the memories and records of the author, will serve as a faithful account of the station's history and purpose.

Historical Background

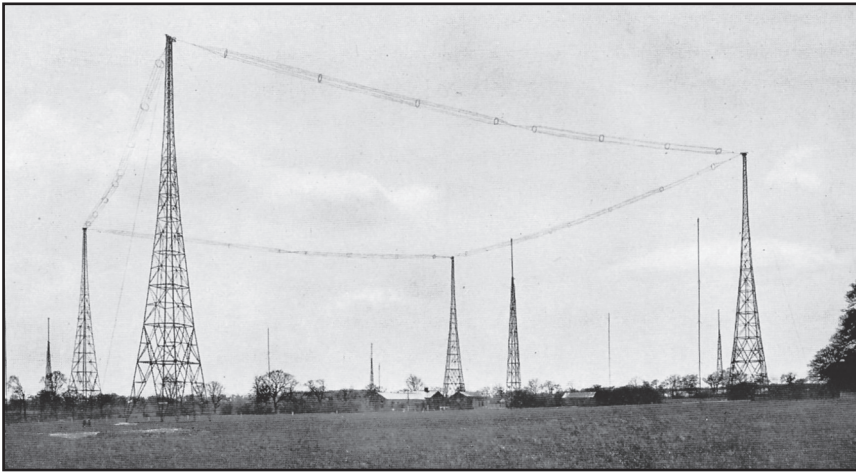
Brentwood Wireless Telegraph Receiving Station, as it would have originally been known, was built by Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company at Pilgrims Hatch, Brentwood, Essex¹ (Fig 1). Opened in March 1922 it was designed to operate in conjunction with Ongar transmitting station at North Weald, Essex.² Essentially these two stations, together with others around the country, provided two-way wireless telegraph links via a central control centre to many overseas destinations. The station

at Brentwood was originally built for the reception of telegraph services transmitted on long-wave, low frequency, from government administrations in Europe, initially Berne, Madrid, Paris and later Vienna.³ In 1923 the station took over the reception of transatlantic telegraph services from an earlier Marconi receiving station at Towyn in North Wales which was due for closure.⁴ A wooden building was constructed at Brentwood for the service from Glace Bay, Nova Scotia. This building was always known as the 'GB Hut' by staff throughout the lifetime of the station and was still being used for storage up to the day of closure. During 1926/27 services transmitted on short-wave, high

frequency, began and the station saw a rapid expansion of links to other parts of the world. By this time Marconi's services were in direct competition with established cable systems and in 1929 the Government decided to combine both radio and cable services under one body. The newly created organisation became the Imperial and International Communications Company Limited, which in 1934 became known as Cable and Wireless Limited. In 1950, as a result of the Commonwealth Telegraph Act 1949, the home service of Cable and Wireless was nationalised and the station became part of the Post Office telecommunications business.⁵

1. Location map of the site of the Brentwood Radio Receiving Station. (P. Reyland/C. D'Alton)





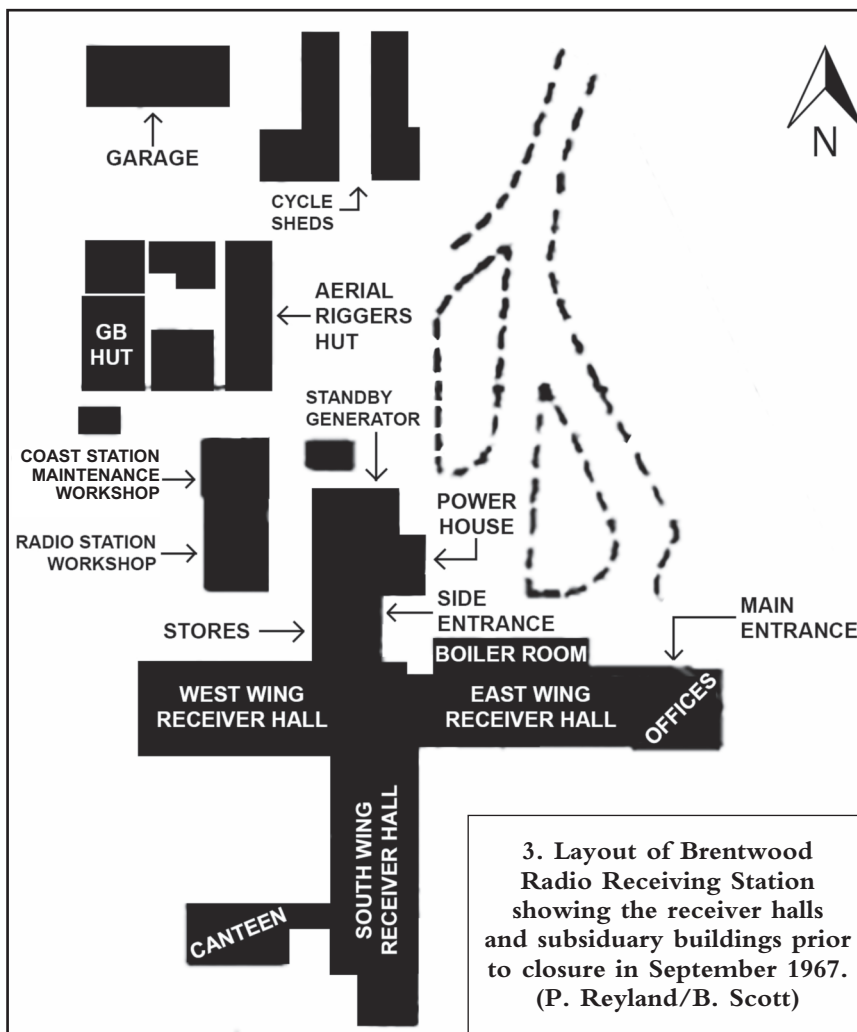
2. A view of the masts and aerials, probably taken from Doddinghurst road in the 1920s. (Author's collection).

Development and Expansion

Originally, the station buildings and long-wave aerials occupied an area of about 11 acres.⁶ Four lattice towers 200-feet in height supported the aerial system for reception from transatlantic stations and a number of smaller towers 96-feet in height supported the aerial system for reception from continental stations (Fig 2).

When short-wave services were introduced the main building was extended to accommodate more receivers and new aerial systems were constructed on surrounding farmland. The site eventually expanded to 284 acres and farming continued in the fields virtually unaffected by all the masts. The new short-wave aerials mainly consisted of

horizontal arrays of dipoles, but four highly directional aerials called Franklin Beam arrays, each one supported on five hammer-head masts nearly 300-feet in height, were also built to cater for the long distance services. In the early 1960s the Post Office started to replace the Franklin Beams with more efficient rhombic aerials and the hammer-head masts were demolished. Smaller 150-foot vertical masts were erected to support the rhombics. The receiving equipment was housed inside the building in three separate wings called receiver halls (Fig 3). The main hall was the south wing which, in the 1950s and 1960s, housed all the modern wireless telegraph (W/T) short-wave receivers together with the aerial and landline distribution boards (Fig. 4). The west wing housed mostly the older W/T receiver types but space was made available for the six radio telegraph (R/T) receivers when they arrived in the early sixties. The oldest part of the building was the east wing in which six remaining long-wave receivers were installed together with landline transmission equipment. At one stage during the lifetime of the station there were up to 70 radio receivers available for use, each service required at least one receiver. Throughout the years all the receivers installed at Brentwood utilised thermionic valves in their design.



3. Layout of Brentwood Radio Receiving Station showing the receiver halls and subsidiary buildings prior to closure in September 1967. (P. Reyland/B. Scott)

The Station During World War II

Throughout the Second World War the station played an important role in providing communications with London from overseas administrations. Additional services were received from the colonies of the French, Dutch and Belgian administrations when the Nazis invaded their mother countries. When landlines between Brentwood and London were disrupted by enemy action incoming messages were produced onto paper tape by the station and taken by



4. South Wing Marconi HR91 W/T receivers and central monitoring equipment. The wicker basket was used to collect discarded paper tape and teleprinter print-outs ready for collection and burning, c.1956. (Reproduced by courtesy of British Telecom Archives, TCB/473/P06486)

dispatch riders to the control centre in London. As an alternative arrangement an emergency terminal station was set up at the station so that operators could be brought from London to maintain communications in the event of interruption of landlines Brentwood and London. Charles Graves provides a written account in his book of the role played by Cable and Wireless during the war years and describes what was going on at Brentwood at the time.⁷ The station was considered to be a potential enemy target and in view of this a small army detachment

was posted on site. The area around the station was also guarded by 'pillboxes, road barriers and at least one spigot mortar.'⁸ No records have been found to indicate the station received a direct hit by German bombers during the war. However, there were several incidents of near misses during the war when bombs fell on land to the west of the radio station close to Bishops Hall Farm.⁹ In February 1945 a United States Army Air Force Dakota aircraft returning to its base suddenly lost height and crashed near the Ongar Road killing all the crew.¹⁰

Wireless Telegraph Services

In the beginning the wireless telegraph used Morse code for communications between home and overseas administrations. The messages were either sent and received by hand, at speeds of up to 30 words per minute (wpm), or by machine at speeds of around 180 wpm. These messages were generally sent and received via the central telegraph office in London as telegrams. With the introduction of the Baudot five-unit code and the invention of the Teleprinter direct printing of messages was made possible. Further developments in radio

transmission resulted in multi-channel systems using frequency division multiplex with automatic error correction. This enabled direct connection to the international Telex network. The outputs from the receivers at Brentwood were connected to banks of equipment called 'tone senders' which in turn were connected to the landlines from the station to the control centre in London. From the 1940s the control centre was at Electra House, Victoria Embankment, London. The reception of photographic pictures for press and news services from around the world was another service Brentwood provided. During the period 1929 to 1950, when the station was owned and operated by Cable and Wireless Limited, a frequency measurement and control facility was established.

This was used for checking transmissions from the company's transmitter stations. Listed below are some of the international telegraph links provided by Brentwood during its lifetime: Addis Ababa, Aden, Amman, Athens, Baghdad, Bahrain, Bangkok, Barcelona, Beirut, Belgrade, Berne, Bogota, Bombay, Bucharest, Damascus, Istanbul, Las Palmas, Lisbon, Madrid, Maracay, Melbourne, Moscow, Nairobi, New York, Paris, Port Stanley, Prague, Santiago, Salisbury, Sofia, Teheran, Tel Aviv, Tokyo, Vatican City and Vienna. The last services received at Brentwood were Berne, Bucharest, Prague and Vatican City. It was fitting that Berne was chosen to be one of these as it was also one of the first services received at the station.

Radio Telephone Services

In the early 1960s the station was equipped with six radio telephone receivers providing service for international telephone calls on four routes. These services, from the Middle East and India, were transferred to Brentwood when the receiving station at Cooling on the Kent Marshes closed down in 1963. The outputs from these receivers were connected directly to landlines to the Post Office Radio Telephone Terminal (RTT) at Brent, northwest London. RTT Brent, at this time, controlled all maritime and international radio telephone calls. It acted as a hub for the landlines to and from the transmitting and receiving stations as well as the lines to and from the international telephone exchanges at Faraday Building and Wren House in London. On one of the last days before its closure the station was called upon to provide a radio telephone service for twelve hours from the liner *Queen Mary* on her last voyage across the Atlantic. A fitting highlight in the 45-year history of the station. During 1960s the station provided international telephone links with, Bahrain, Calcutta, Kuwait and New Delhi. (Fig 5).

Radio Receiving Equipment

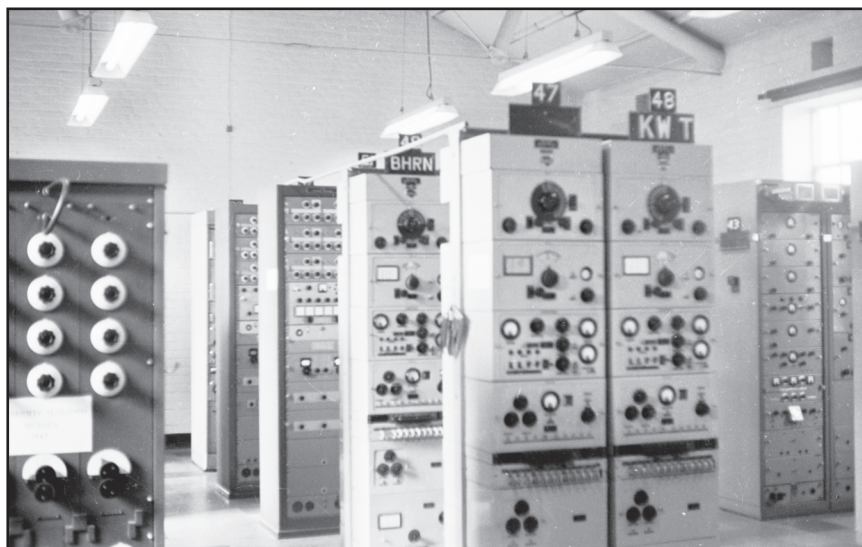
During the 1960s there was a total of 59 radio receivers installed at Brentwood and about 40 of these were providing service prior to closure. Table 1 shows the different types in use and category of service they catered for.

Power Generation

As an essential business, Brentwood Radio Station had to be able to provide a service 24 hours a day for every year of its life. To do this it needed a reliable source of electrical power. In the early years of the station electrical power for the receivers and building requirements would have been provided by on-site generation using motor

Table 1. Receivers installed at Brentwood Radio Station, January 1967

Manufacturer	Type	Service	Location	Number available
Marconi	RC82	W/T (long wave)	East Wing	4
Marconi	CR200	W/T (long wave)	East Wing	2
Marconi	HR11	W/T (short wave)	South Wing	17
Marconi	HR91	W/T (short wave)	South Wing	10
Marconi	CR150	W/T (short wave)	South Wing	3
Racal	RA17	Used for frequency checking	South Wing	1
Marconi	HSR1	W/T (short wave)	West Wing	5
Marconi	RC64	W/T (short wave)	West Wing	5
Mackay	PO-26B	W/T (short wave)	West Wing	6
Marconi	HR93	R/T (short wave)	West Wing	2
Mullard	PO-W22	R/T (short wave)	West Wing	4
W/T = Wireless Telegraphy, R/T = Radio Telegraphy				



5. West Wing Mullard PO-W22 R/T receivers. These sets were used for receiving the incoming side of international telephone calls, in this instance, from Kuwait (KWT) and Bahrain (BHRN). (Author photograph, 28/09/1967)

of engineers who maintained the radio equipment at the coast stations located around the British coastline (Anglesey, Cullercoats, Humber, Ifracombe, Lands End, Niton, North Foreland, Oban, Portpatrick, Stonehaven and Wick¹¹). The CSMU also had the responsibility of maintaining the radio equipment on board the fleet of Post Office cable ships, namely *CS Alert*, *CS Ariel*, *CS Iris* and *CS Monarch*. The workshop continued to operate from the Brentwood site for some time after the radio station had closed but eventually relocated to Bearley receiving station near Stratford upon Avon.

Staffing

Brentwood Radio Station was a self-contained unit employing people with diverse skills to keep the station running 24 hours a day. A number of operational shift staff were required to maintain services during the day and night. The station staff comprised the following people: the engineer in charge, assistant engineers, technical staff, apprentices, aerial rigging gang, workshop and power technician, kitchen staff, cleaners, clerical office staff, station driver, store-keeper and groundsman. During World War II a number of the male technical staff were transferred abroad with Cable and Wireless whilst others were called-up to join the services. To maintain operations during the war ladies were brought in to take over the roles vacated by the men. Their main work was in operations although they would have been expected to carry out maintenance and general office duties. As well as these skills the ladies would have also had to learn how to send and receive Morse code.

The End of an Era

When Brentwood Radio Station was earmarked for closure in the 1960s it was clear that the demand for high frequency point-to-point telegraph and telephone services had started

generators. It was not until a public electricity supply was established, believed to have been in the 1930s, that power was derived externally. However, there was no guarantee that this source would be available without interruption and so it would have been necessary to install a standby generator. When the Post Office took over the operation of the station in 1950 evidence suggests that a new standby generator was installed which was still in use up to the day the station closed. This comprised a McLaren MR4 diesel engine directly coupled to a 55kVA, 415 Volt, three-phase alternator manufactured by The Brush Engineering Company. The author well remembers how fast the person responsible for the engine had to act during a power cut to get it started as quickly as possible. The following is a summary of the procedure that had to be followed. To begin with the fuel, oil and water levels would have to be checked. Then the setting of two of the engine's pistons would need to be verified to see that they were in the correct starting position. Normally this would have already been done after the last time the engine had been used. This was carried out by inserting a long steel crowbar into slots in the

flywheel turning the engine over by hand to the correct position. It was also necessary with this engine to insert 'hot wicks' into two of the cylinders of the engine to aid ignition before starting. These wicks were essentially slow burning paper torches set alight in their holders before being screwed into the cylinder head. Once this had been done, air from the storage cylinder could be released into the two cylinders which had their pistons already set at top dead centre. Pressure from the incoming air forced the pistons down setting off the action of the engine. Once the engine was running smoothly the throttle could be adjusted and the output from the alternator checked before being switched to the station load. The standby generator was always left in a state of readiness and was regularly maintained and routinely run to ensure that in the event of a power cut the engine would start first time.

Coast Station Maintenance Unit

Brentwood Radio Station also provided a vital role to the maritime world as it played host to the Post Office Coast Station Maintenance Unit (CSMU) for many years. This was the central workshop and stores for the team



6. The closing ceremony taking place in the South Wing. One of the dignitaries attending, and seen here at the front, was Mr J.A. Smayle former engineering chief of Cable and Wireless Ltd (see *Brentwood Recorder/Review*, 06/10/1967, p.20.) (Author photograph, 28/09/1967)

to decline. Modern satellite and cable circuits capable of providing greater number of channels and greater bandwidths were now replacing radio services. However, this was not the first time Brentwood had been short-listed for closure. A number of other stations around the country had closed years earlier under a concentration programme drawn up by Cable and Wireless Limited in 1938 which included Brentwood. The decision to close Brentwood at this time may have been influenced by plans to build

a bypass around the town, part of it close to the radio station. However, the road did not get the go-ahead until much later and the station was given a reprieve and continued to provide service until 1967. With the eventual opening of the bypass in 1966 and development of more housing to the west of the station the Post Office decided to close Brentwood in 1967 transferring its services to the other remaining receiving stations. (Fig 6). Although these stations had taken over the services from

Brentwood these were soon to be under threat of closure as more countries became connected via new cable and satellite links. By the late 1980s very few countries were using point-to-point radio services and this marked the end of an era for a telecommunication system that had provided a satisfactory service with many overseas nations for more than 60 years. During the months leading up to closure on 28th September 1967 all services received by Brentwood were taken over by the remaining receiving stations at Baldock in Hertfordshire, Bearley in Warwickshire and Somerton in Somerset. After the station had closed most of the equipment was cleared from inside the building with some of the more modern receivers being moved to the other receiving stations. Outside, the lattice towers and masts supporting the aerials were dismantled leaving just the empty buildings. The buildings and the immediate area around them became a depot for the Post Office Telephone Area, which was privatised in the 1980s, and it was used as such until the mid 1990s. Following privatisation Post Office Telecommunications became British Telecom (BT) who were then responsible for the site.

7. A view of the main building looking south at the main entrance and boiler house. (Author photograph, July 1996)



The Site Today

In 1988, on part of the land where some of the aerial masts once stood, the Brentwood Centre was built. In 1995 BT closed the depot and put it up for sale for redevelopment. It was after this that the author approached Brentwood Council to see if any of the early parts of the building could be saved from demolition considering their historical value. It seemed the Council was unaware the station had originally been established by Guglielmo Marconi. In the end all the buildings were demolished to make way for a small housing development and in 2003 14 new houses were built. The new road, in which they were constructed, was called 'Marconi Gardens' and the author would like to think that his meeting with the Council might have at least resulted in the naming of the road.

References

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2. M. Leach, 'Ongar Radio Station', *Essex Journal*, 52, 2 (2017), pp.25-31.
3. Marconi Commercial Service Reception, booklet produced by Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, c.1920s, copy in Essex Record Office, A14352.
4. H. Williams, *Marconi and His Wireless Stations in Wales* (Llanrwst, 1999), p.11, 67.
5. For further information on the history of radio telecommunications see; P. Hawkins *Point to Point: A History of International Telecommunications During the Radio Years* (New Generation Publishing, 2017).
6. H. Beatson, 'Brentwood Radio Telegraph Receiving Station', *Post Office Telecommunications Journal*, 18 (Spring 1956), pp.112-17.
7. C. Graves, *The Thin Red Lines* (London, [1946]), pp.49-51.
8. F. Nash, 'World War II Defence Survey', *Transactions of the Essex Society for Archaeology & History*, 31 (2000), pp.206-9.
9. T.J. Ellis, *Bishops Hall & Estate*,



8. The remains of one of the Mullard PO-W22 R/T receivers. It had been removed from its original position in the West Wing and was found by the author in a room in the derelict station buildings when he visited the site. (Author photograph, July 1996)

Pilgrims Hatch, Brentwood (Brentwood, 1998), p.47

10. *Ibid*, p.35.

11. *Post Office Telecommunications Educational Pamphlet: Radio Communication Services*, (April 1969), p.20. Copy in author's collection.

Acknowledgements

I would like to dedicate this article to Michael Leach. It was after reading his article, in collaboration with Geoff Hunt, about Ongar Radio Station in the Spring 2017 edition of the *Essex Journal* that inspired me to write something about Ongar's sister station at Brentwood. I would like to thank my friend and author Paul Hawkins

for reading an early draft of this article and his suggestions.

The Author

Paul's interest in radio started while he was still at school and came about after building his first crystal set. It was fitting therefore that he should go on to work at Brentwood Radio Station when he left school in 1965. He then transferred to Ongar transmitting station at North Weald, Essex to complete his training. Paul was employed by the Post Office/British Telecom for nearly 30 years, working mainly in radio and satellite operations and finally ending his career in 2002 with the International Maritime Satellite Organisation (Inmarsat).

Obituary

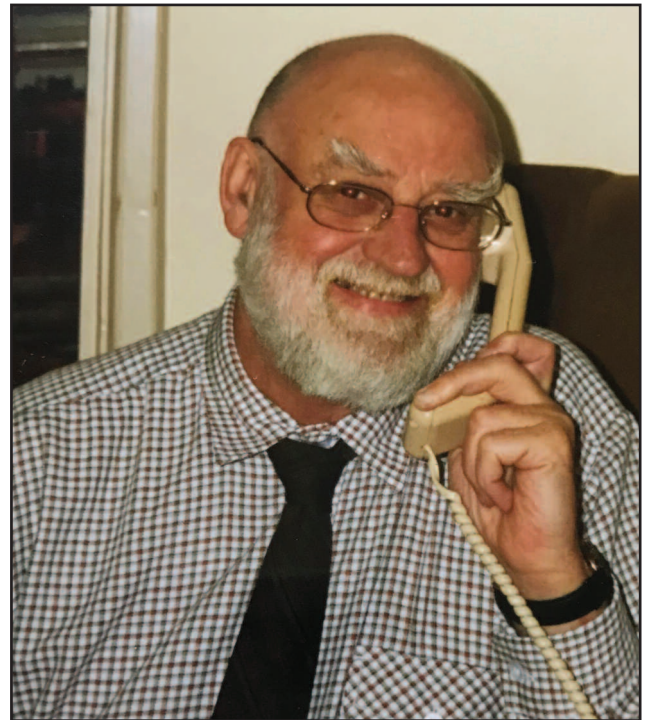
William H. Liddell (1937–2019)

W.H. (Bill) Liddell passed away peacefully at his home in Leiston, Suffolk, on 10 August. He had been an inspirational teacher of history and a prominent figure in the landscape of Essex historical studies for 30 years, between 1964 and 1994.

Born in 1937 in Castletown, a Durham mining village, he studied economic history at Nottingham University before taking an MA at the University of London. After a spell as a WEA tutor organiser in Cumbria he returned to London as Resident Staff Tutor for Essex in the Department of Extra Mural Studies and subsequently as Senior Lecturer responsible for the whole programme of tutorial classes in history. Specialising in mediaeval and local history, with a particular interest in forest law, he taught across Essex, building a loyal and devoted following, particularly for his weekend courses at Wansfell, the Essex Residential College for Adults. It is a tribute to his teaching that many of those who attended his classes went on to make significant contributions to the study of the county's history.

Meanwhile he played an active part in the county's historical associations, as Council member, Newsletter Editor and President (1981–3) of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History, as Honorary Secretary for many years to the Advisory Board of the Victoria County History of Essex and as long-standing President of the Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society.

A long association with the Essex Record Office enabled ERO to attract leading historians to many of its events and lectures. In 1982, this led to the staging of a conference to mark the 600th anniversary of the Peasant's Revolt and his subsequent editing, in collaboration with R.G.E. Wood, of *Essex and the Great Revolt of 1381*. Other publications included *Imagined Land: Essex in Prose and Poetry*, written in partnership with his wife Sue Liddell and published by the Record Office in 1996 and *From Bilbao to Becontree: The Previous History of the Papers of Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart. in Valence Museum*, the first close examination of the papers of the seventeenth



century poet and diplomat of Parsloes in Dagenham, produced with his friend and colleague, the scholar of Spanish literature, Roger Walker.

A significant feature of the historical landscape in Essex between 1984 and 2006 were the series of Essex History Fairs staged biennially in various locations from 1986 to 2006. Bill Liddell was a driving force behind the earliest of these events (indeed many would say their inventor). They brought local history to the attention of tens of thousands of people around the county. In 1989, the British Association for Local History invited him to write, with me, *Running a Local History Fair*, a guideline used subsequently in many counties across the country. All of us who took part in the organising and running of those events will testify to Bill's inspirational commitment to sharing the pleasures of local history and – importantly and invariably – of having fun along the way.

Vic Gray



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Book Reviews

Carole McEntee-Taylor (research by Martin Cliff),

A history of Coalhouse Fort,

pp.181, ISBN 978-1-52670-139-8.

Pen & Sword, 2018,

£19.99.

The defence of the Thames, and thus of our capital city, has been of prime concern to governments down the ages, and this well-produced book deals with the history of one of its main bastions, Coalhouse Fort. The site in East Tilbury lies on the Essex bank of a bend in the river, its position giving an almost 180-degree arc of fire. The book has ten chapters, with many excellent illustrations, a list of abbreviations and an index. Chapters one to four provide a history of the fort in its setting, moving rapidly from the Middle Ages through to 1914. A puzzling and unexplained feature is the book's sub-title, as I was unable to discover the origin of the '555 years' (as that should equate to 1463 – but this date does not appear anywhere in the text). A deeper historical analysis would probably have been possible by making greater use of our national archives, but overall the book is an interesting, if at times imbalanced, addition to the local history literature of the county.

Chapter one discusses a petition from the people of East Tilbury to the government in 1402 requesting permission to build a fortification against the French and other enemies, presumably to defend their village. The location, however, is unknown, one of the points in the book which would have been aided by the provision of a map showing local topography and settlement (no maps are provided other than military plans much later in the book). The text is also unreferenced, so while the majority of the contextual information provided appears reasonable, a few sections cause a raised eyebrow. I doubt whether most ships in the later Middle Ages were galleys equipped with rows of oars manned by Muslim prisoners, but that is what the text appears to claim (p.4).

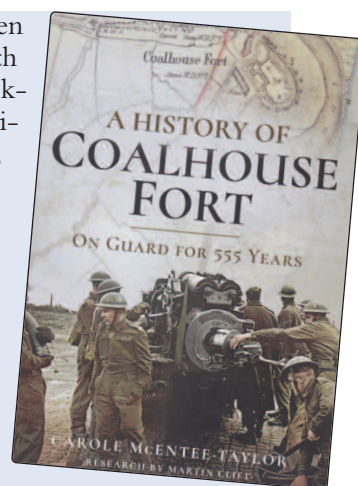
Chapter two covers the three centuries from Henry VIII to Napoleon, with much contextual information on political and military developments. The first blockhouse built on the site to dominate the Thames with artillery was constructed in 1539–40 opposite a similar one on the Kent coast. It was equipped with 15 cannon of various calibres and garrisoned with 27 men in 1547–8, but had already fallen into disuse by 1553. A long section then deals with the Dutch Wars of the seventeenth century, and in particular the Medway raid of 1667. Although a reasonable case is made for damage having then been done to the church and vicarage at East Tilbury, the role of any local fortifications in these events is not described. Indeed, the next stage of defences at Coalhouse, as recorded by the authors,

did not occur until 1799 when a battery was established north of the site of the former blockhouse. This comprised a semi-circular rampart for the guns, initially two 24pdr cannon on traversing platforms, with magazine and barracks behind. Despite the invasion fears, Napoleon never came and thus the guns were never fired in anger. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars the battery was abandoned until the 1840s

when renewed fears concerning our traditional enemy across the channel led to new works, this time consisting of 17 x 32pdr guns on traversing platforms. Problems with construction on the marshy ground delayed completion until 1855.

As is the way with military technology, no sooner than the fort had been finished than a Royal Commission (1860) determined that the works were already obsolete. Chapters three and four recount the site's history after Coalhouse was demolished and entirely rebuilt more or less as the fortress we see today. The new fortification completed in 1874 had a single tier of granite-faced gun casemates incorporating iron shields, with a thick concrete roof above and the magazines located underneath. The stone barracks to the rear, with steel shutters and loopholes, formed part of the defences against land assault alongside a broad water-filled ditch. Together with new forts on the Kentish bank it formed a 'triangle of fire' to dominate the river. Originally to be armed with 68pdr smoothbores, by 1875 new 11" armour-piercing guns were introduced, followed in 1877 by 4 x 12.5" guns weighing 38 tons each. On occasion, these very powerful armaments caused unintended consequences: in 1876 practice firing broke local inhabitants' windows up to half a mile away! Chapters three and four are both supported by excerpts from original sources, such as newspaper accounts, and biographies of members of the garrison. Chapter 4 is also accompanied by some very atmospheric photographs of the restored magazines and casemates, which the reviewer recalls 'exploring' as a teenager in the 1970s (unauthorised and dangerous!).

The remainder of the book recounts the life of the fort during the Great War, the Second World War, and a summary of the fort's post-war history and restoration. The Great War chapters give an outline of the changes to the fort and identify many of the units that served there, as well as benefitting from extensive extracts from *Searchlight* magazine, a publication produced by one of the engineering units based at Coalhouse. The biographies of men who served at the fortress are also greatly expanded over these chapters, although the amount of



Book Reviews

information relating to Coalhouse fort is often very limited. Tracing the wartime and post-war careers of men who passed through Coalhouse will be of interest to the families concerned and a fitting memorial to their ancestors, but the value to the general reader is more limited. For example, the account of 874/572044 Sapper William Douglas Peasgood (pp.142–4), chiefly concerns post-war court appearances for negligent driving, culminating in 1927 in damages of £1,071 being awarded to a Carshalton (Surrey) jobbing gardener and lamplighter for the loss of his leg crushed by Peasgood's speeding motor cycle combination. But the well-selected images are again evocative of the period, and some do show servicemen at Coalhouse. Chapter nine

follows the same pattern, and again has good illustrations. After the Second World War the fort briefly became an Admiralty training centre for sea cadets (*HMS Clement III*) and then a storage site for the British Bata Shoe Co. From 1962 it passed to Thurrock Urban District Council (later Borough Council), largely neglected within the borough's recreation ground. From the 1980s onwards the volunteers of the Coalhouse Fort Project have slowly restored the site and ensured its survival, and it can now be explored on open days. Visit www.coalhousefort.co.uk/ for more details.

Chris Thornton

Grenville Weltch,
Waltham Abbey Church Saved!
pp.204, Waltham Abbey Historical Society,
2019. £10.00 (plus £2.00 p&tp from the
Society).

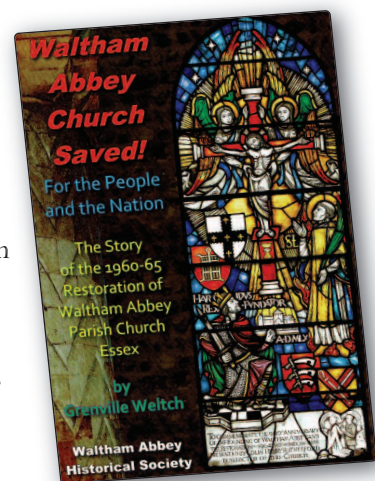
This is a remarkable book about the background to the 1960–5 restoration, the individuals and organisations involved, and the problems encountered during the five year project. By 1960 the interior of the church was very grimy as the result of generations of candlelight and solid fuel heating. The east end was in such a perilous state that the Ecclesiastical Insurance Company had refused to insure it. It was extremely fortunate that this coincided with the appointment of an energetic new vicar, the Rev Dick Darby, who – with an able team – tirelessly took on the huge challenges posed by a major restoration, as well as by the need to raise the large sums of money to fund it. It was also fortunate that he chose Lawrence King as his architect who adopted a very practical and sensitive approach to the repair of the ancient fabric. As James Bettley notes in his foreword to this book, it is now accepted that restoration should leave as little visible evidence as possible, though to the casual observer this may belie the true extent of both the repairs and the craftsmanship involved. This, perhaps, underlines the importance of this publication. It will leave the reader in no doubt whatsoever about the challenges faced by the architect, and the ingenuity required to solve the unexpected discoveries that were made as the repair work progressed.

The full extent of the problems at the east end was not apparent till the scaffolding was in place. A close-up view of the main Burne-Jones stained glass east window revealed an alarming bulge, so this had to be taken out for repair. Parts of the exposed rubble core of the wall had been loosened by rainwater penetration, and one pier required taking down and rebuilding (using as much of the original stone as possible). The lofty column which had once formed the northwest support of the

central tower required a similar rebuild. It was also necessary, in order to prevent future deterioration, to repair and weatherproof stumps of wall which had been left exposed to the elements since the demolition of the abbey church at the Dissolution. The south aisle roof and its east gable were found to be in a very parlous state and required extensive work. 'Before and after' photographs of the east end show how this was achieved, and how skilfully the new masonry was matched with the original – a tidy and weatherproof appearance, with very little obvious evidence of the extensive repair work which had been undertaken.

Scaffolding was also required inside the church in order to clean and inspect the interior, and to examine one of the glories of the church – the painted ceiling by Edward Poynter which formed part of William Burges 1860 restoration. The lozenge panels were in oil paint on canvas, and these were dirty but in good condition. However the decorated borders were in water-based distemper and in very poor condition requiring specialist restoration – another example of the unpredictable which inexorably added to the cost and complexity of the work.

There is much more of interest in this book, from the repair of the precinct walls to the repainting of the Denny tomb of 1600, and to the incidental discoveries that shed more light on the history of the building itself. It also usefully records the re-ordering which took place at the same time, and the probably wise decision to remove the substantial marble pulpit (designed by Burges for the 1860 restoration) and to replace it with the earlier seventeenth century one in oak which it had supplanted. The Burges pulpit was a challenge to dismantle, but it is good to know that, after serving three decades in a church in Hackney, it



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has now found a new home in the nearby Epping Forest District museum.

As well as recording the fund raising efforts (regularly overtaken by new discoveries requiring urgent remedy and further expenditure!) there are appendices giving thumb-nail accounts of some of the individuals, specialist firms and contractors involved in the restoration – it is good to see them given credit for their (normally unsung) contributions. The only cavil about this well produced and illustrated A4 book is its lack of an index, which would have made this largely chronological account more accessible as a reference

Alan Simpson,
Loughton Air Park – Abridge Aerodrome,
pp.100, ISBN 978-1-90526-925-9.
The Alderton Press, 2018, £6.

£
Henry Norman & Richard Norman
Transcribed with an introduction by
Catherine Rosevear,
**Loughton in Wartime Diaries for 1944
and 1945**,

pp.88, ISBN 978-1-90526-928-0.
Loughton and District Historical Society,
2018, £6.50.

Both books available from: Loughton and District Historical Society, Forest Villa, Staples Road, Loughton, IG10 1HP – email: Loughton_ponds@hotmail.com

These two books under the imprint of Loughton and District Historical Society are important additions to its increasing list publications, the majority of which have been reviewed in *Essex Journal* over the years. These are well illustrated and attractively produced publications in the same format as previous books in this growing series. With the current interest in aviation and the Second World War these books are topical and record important aspects of Loughton's history.

Alan Simpson's *Loughton Air Park – Abridge Aerodrome*, is the history of Abridge Aerodrome also known as Loughton Air Park, which existed for a short time during the 1930s. In November 1932 an application to the Air Ministry for a licence for an aerodrome was granted and in January 1933 Epping RDC approved an application for erection of a clubhouse and hangar. A small office and a gate-house, was erected near the entrance. Commercial Airways (Essex) Limited was incorporated and the aerodrome was opened on 17th June 1933 with an air display. Flying instruction was provided by qualified pilots of the East Anglian Aero Club.

Unfortunately, the company and club were not successful and both were wound up towards the end of 1935. Nevertheless the aerodrome was still active

book. But this reviewer must give full credit to the author, Grenville Weltch, who has accessed a vast amount of material – both from written and personal contacts – and formed it into a highly readable account of an extremely challenging and complex restoration project. His book can be highly commended to anyone interested in the built heritage, and should probably be mandatory reading for anyone or any official body contemplating the repair of an ancient structure such as Waltham Abbey church.

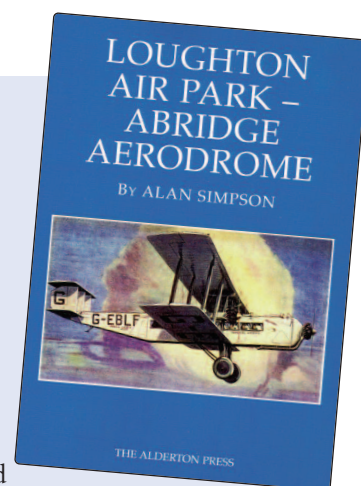
Michael Leach

during 1936 and later that year Abridge Flying Club was formed. The following year an attempt was made to smuggle an 'alien' into the country through the aerodrome resulting in a prosecution. Sadly, in May 1937 two young flyers died after leaving Abridge. By early August an Air Ministry inspection found the aerodrome in a neglected state, its licence was suspended and on 1st September was revoked. In 1938 it was decided that nearby Stapleford, in RAF use, was too near to permit the use of Abridge again and it therefore closed. Therefore the aerodrome was licenced for six years but only operational for four years, which is a very short duration. Nevertheless it is important to record this aspect of Essex aviation history, which this book has admirably achieved.

It includes accounts of the exploits of many pilots, some very young including a 15 year old girl going solo, before age restrictions were introduced. She was Joan Hughes who later served as a pilot in the ATA during the Second World War and was awarded the MBE in 1946 for her flying service. It would be interesting to know how many pilots, who were granted their aviators certificate at Abridge, between 1933 and 1937, went on to join the RAF.

The relevant background of civil aviation, legislation, the Air Ministry and its support to, 'approved' flying clubs and the cost of flying during the 1930s, is fully described. Three flying clubs operated from Abridge, including the Essex Gliding Club. The various types of aircraft and gliders; the records of accidents and court proceedings are detailed. The later uses of the site are described, which is now bisected by the M11 motorway. The appendix contains two tables: one of flying club statistics and the second of pilots who gained their aviators certificates. There are also very detailed and informative footnotes.

This is an excellent book, which is well researched and written, providing a complete history



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of this interesting pre-war aerodrome. It is well illustrated with 12 pages of colour and black and white photos including maps, which I enjoyed reading enormously.

Loughton in Wartime diaries for 1944 and 1945, were the diaries of Henry and Richard Norman, carefully transcribed by Catherine Rosevear, who is perhaps better known as an author of children's books. In 2016 she purchased a diary, but the identity of the writer was unknown. It recorded war-time Loughton and was clearly written by a member of the Home Guard and contained clues about the unidentified writer such as he ran a business in Stratford Market and had a brother Richard. Chris Pond of Loughton and District Historical Society, with clues provided by Catherine Rosevear, was able to establish that the diarist was Henry Norman. When the issue of copyright was explored it led to contact with Henry's close relations and as a result a diary written by his brother Richard Norman came to light. With the consent of relatives it was agreed that Catherine should transcribe both diaries for publication.

The two brothers, who served in different platoons of Loughton Home Guard, were members of a large family, many of whom are recorded in the book and included on some of the 16 pages of excellent and well-chosen photographs in the centre section.

The first diary by Henry Norman covers the whole of 1944 and contains records of the activities of the Home Guard before being stood down on 31st December 1944. I was amused that in 1944 there was a 31st April, which clearly should have been the 30th, but apart from this minor error Catherine Rosevear has carried out brilliant transcription work. One page from Richard and two pages from Henry's diary are included in the illustrations and some were not easy to read. I found the entry for 31st December 1944 of particular interest. Quite apart from the hope for peace in the New Year, Henry outlined the work being carried out by various relations in the services and home front, which ended with the words, 'so as a family, I think we are doing our share'.

Alice Goss,
St. Leonard-at-the-Hythe and the Siege of Colchester in 1648,
[pp.14, *The Friends of St. Leonard-at-the-Hythe*, 2018]

Alice Goss, a Colchester historian, has produced a very informative booklet on behalf of The Friends of St Leonard-at-the-Hythe. The church is now owned by The Churches Conservation Trust and there is an active group of local people, including Alice, called The Friends of St Leonard-

The diary for Richard Norman commences on 1st January and concludes on 15th August 1945 so it includes both, VE and VJ Days as well as the beginning of post war life. Entries for January 1945 include a concert for the newly formed Loughton Home Guard Association and later in the month a very successful dance at which former Home Guard members, following many practices, entertained with a sketch which was 'a roaring success'. In February, Richard, as former Platoon Commander, was presented with a testimonial at a platoon supper and in April another successful Home Guard sketch took place at Lopping Hall. During May he distributed certificates to the former members of 25 platoon.

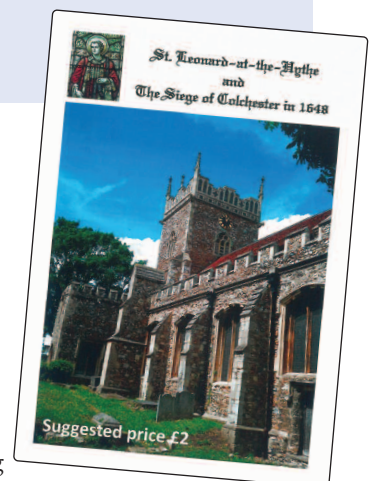
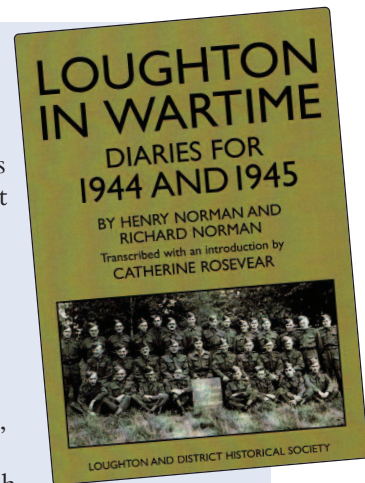
Both diaries contain considerable information about national and international events, particularly the progress of the war and the gradual release of news. The entry for 26th May 1945 records that Winston Churchill who was MP for Epping, which included Loughton, made a brief speech at Loughton War Memorial. Richard stated that, 'He looked older and very tired, but was very cheerful and got a splendid reception'.

Chris Pond has added an excellent Prologue, admirably outlining the background to the Home Guard and to Loughton during the Second World War. He has also added some very useful historical information towards the back of the book including a brief history of Stratford Market and details about other members of the Home Guard referred to in the diaries. Throughout the book there are very helpful footnotes and this is another valuable addition to the history of Loughton. I found the book absolutely fascinating and very readable and I was left wondering if earlier diaries by the brothers from 1939 exist?

Adrian Corder-Birch

at-the-Hythe who work with the Trust to preserve and maintain the church and to ensure it remains open to the public and available for use by the local community.

St Leonard-at-the-Hythe dates back to the fourteenth century and played a pivotal role during the Siege of Colchester in 1648, and indeed still bears the evidence of this today within the fabric of the building. The siege took



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place between 13th June and 29th August 1648 and St Leonard-at-the-Hythe was at the centre of this activity as the Royalists occupied the church. This was due to its useful position being situated between the town and the Hythe, Colchester's important port. The church was garrisoned by cavalry and used to store supplies and its tower also provided a useful view across the countryside to spot the Parliamentarian forces. The Royalists held out until 14th July when the church was attacked, some Royalists were taken prisoner but others managed to escape via the north door. The town then fell to the Parliamentarians on 29th August after an 11-week siege, the population of the town having suffered terribly. Evidence of the siege can be seen in the church from musket holes in the south door and from the stone columns inside of the church.

The author has written the booklet in a very informative and educational way that brings the church to life in the reader's mind. The photographs are her own with a colourful photograph of the exterior of the church on the cover and inside the booklet include close up photographs of the south door and the stone columns in the nave which show musket holes and indents from the time of the siege. This fascinating aspect of its history should inspire any reader to visit the church to see the evidence in person.

The author has subdivided the booklet to include

David C. Rayment,
Southend History Tour,
pp.96, 978-1-44567-989-1.
Amberley Publishing, 2018, £3.50.

This pocket-sized paperback book is, according to its Preface, a companion guide to the author's 'successful book' *Southend Through Time*. The purpose of this History Tour, the author proclaims, is to enhance the reader's experience, whether a day-tripper, long-term tourist, or a local resident. The 'tour' takes the visitor from Prittlewell Priory in the north, down Victoria Avenue to Southend High Street, and then to the Pier and sea front, and on to Shoebury and Leigh, in a total of 44 sections in mainly double-page spreads.

The photographs are accompanied by brief notes, and there are three very useful maps indicating the location of each of the photographs, thus allowing the reader to follow any chosen route. Unfortunately this little book promises much more than it delivers. The photographs are generally of very good quality and reproduction (mostly taken from those in the author's earlier work), but it is unfortunate that the text does not come up to the same standard.

There are several careless errors that should have been picked up in proofreading – 'Strachan'

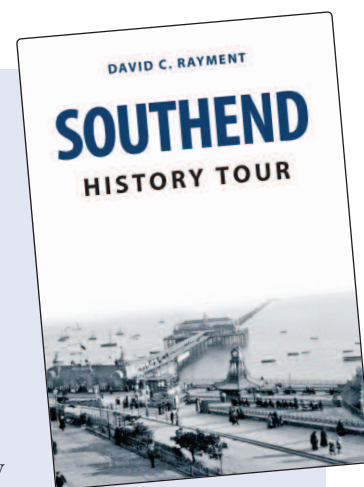
background information about the English Civil War and the specific part that St Leonard-at-the-Hythe played during the Siege. There are short chapters to set the scene of the church at the time of the English Civil War which include an 'Introduction', 'Background', 'St Leonard's and the siege', 'The end of the siege' and 'King Charles 1: 1600-1649'. The author has referenced her sources and published material at the back of the booklet, which is so useful if the reader wishes to then read more in depth about the siege of Colchester. Due to a lack of original sources much of what we can deduce from the impact of the siege on the church in particular can be found from physical evidence in the interior and exterior of the church.

I would recommend this booklet to anyone interested in learning more about this historic church in Colchester which played such an important role in the siege of Colchester and incidentally has many redeeming features including a hammer beam roof, a medieval font, a fourteenth century tower (rebuilt as it suffered damage caused by the Essex earthquake of 1884) and supposedly a crypt where many notables are said to be buried from information on the plaques on the wall. However, when I spoke to a guide on Heritage Open Day I was told that they are not about to investigate the evidence of a crypt anytime soon!

Jane Bass

(section 6) should be Scratton (spelled correctly elsewhere); 'Cliffdown Terrace' (section 26) does not exist, and should be Clifton Terrace, and Christopher Parson (29) should be Parsons – just three examples. There are several historical and other errors, e.g. Scratton acquired Prittlewell Priory in 1675, not 1678, and he was never lord of the manor of Prittlewell, but of Prittlewell Priory (and of Milton Hall). The heading for the image in section 5 'Prittlewell Village' is clearly not that; it is North Street, Prittlewell (and much of interest could have been written about that). There is much of interest in many of the images that could have been alluded to in the text in order to enhance the reader's 'history tour'. While this has been achieved with some of the images, the author seems in many instances to have been struggling to identify anything worth saying in the way of historical background, resorting instead to simply describing what can be clearly seen on the photograph.

It may have been the fault of the publishers that images 20 – 22 appear to be in the wrong



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order, but the author should have been able to alter the text to correct this.

The idea for this book is excellent, and certainly it should have been a very useful and much needed addition to the local history market, providing a handy walkabout guide to the principal – and lesser-known – features of interest in the Southend

area. Unfortunately the text is both rather light on ‘history’ and in many cases rather poorly written, giving the impression that it was rushed. It certainly would have benefitted from more research and careful proofreading and revision.

Ken Crowe

Sue Hirst & Christopher Scull
The Anglo-Saxon Princely Burial at Prittlewell, Southend-on-Sea,
pp.108, 978-1-90758-647-7. Museum of London Archaeology, 2019. £15.00.

This is a splendid book summarising a chance and amazing find, and it is the companion to the 514 page full report, *The Prittlewell princely burial*. Over the course of nine chapters, the authors tell the story of the Prittlewell princely burial in this concise, well-written and beautifully illustrated book.

It was way back in 2003 that the burial was discovered during archaeological excavation in advance of proposed road works. Within days of the dig starting it was realised that something very special had been found. Fast-forward 16 years and the post-excavation analysis has now been completed and is summarised in this book. One interesting aspect of the 2003 discovery and careful, professional uncovering of the burial, is that it provides a very detailed comparator for burials dug up at the end of the nineteenth century, when less care was taken. The results from Prittlewell help us to fill in the bits that are missing, those stains in the soil that were missed; those fragments that must have been squashed into the soil under hob-nailed boots. That the building of the railway in 1889 did not destroy the burial is just pure chance. This book tells of how experts have been able to un-pick the story of the burial and all the finds contained within.

There are overviews of Anglo-Saxon England and Essex as well as mention of other princely burials, such as those at Broomfield and Taplow (Bucks) and of course the world famous Sutton Hoo. The information about how the burial was studied is fascinating and the photographs and maps accompanying the text are superb. The finds are all illustrated and described. What is amazing are the remnants of textiles and wood that have been preserved in the corrosion of the iron artefacts and that these impressions of fibres can tell us so much about what was buried.

The section I found most interesting was the discussion of the burial chamber: how this was constructed out of timber, how much wood would

have been required and how many man-hours it might have taken to construct. All this effort for a dead man just goes to demonstrate how important he was in life. There is discussion of who ‘he’ might have been but apart from being able to narrow down a time frame for when the burial might have taken place (c.580-600AD), we are probably not going to get much closer to a positive identity.

If I have one small reservation it is that there is not an index, though this is just a minor quibble. I like an index but then this book is small and it is a pleasure to flick through it looking for what you want to find. Don’t let that put you off buying a copy.

While not all muddy holes are quite so awe inspiring as the one that was dug in Prittlewell, we need to share the wonder of what it is to dig up and discover the past. This is pertinent to the *Essex Journal* for with just two more issues to go before the Essex Society for Archaeology & History take over the running, the presentation of historical research and archaeological findings needs to be considered. There are only so many potsherd profiles that the non-specialist needs, although that information is crucial and needs to be available, but, as this publication shows, ‘light touch’, well written and presented history does not need to be dumbed down for a mass market.

If we can do this and communicate it as well as the authors and MOLA have done here (literally in spades with this book!) then I would like to think that we are half way to ensuring the survival of our historic houses, landscapes and, crucially and dare I say it, our precious archives, in the minds of the public. For unless we positively grow our future audience, and participating membership, to the extent that further cuts by central and local government to our sector are actively opposed and made difficult to make, then where will the archaeologists, historians and specialists come from who will disentangle the story of the next Anglo-Saxon princely burial to come along? Take inspiration from this book.

Neil Wiffen



Your Book Reviewers are: Jane Bass, ERO Archive Assistant and Colchester resident; **Adrian Corder-Birch**, Chairman of the Essex Journal Editorial Board and former President of the ESAH; **Ken Crowe**, historian and formerly Curator of Human History at Southend Museum; **Michael Leach**, a retired GP and former Hon Sec of ESAH; **Chris Thornton**, historian and Editor of Essex VCH & **Neil Wiffen**, historian and Hon Ed of *Essex Journal*.

Maria Medlycott

Maria Medlycott (b.1965) is Irish, but has actually lived in England longer than in Ireland. She studied Archaeology & Classical Civilization at University College Dublin. She came to Essex in 1986 for six weeks to dig on the Stansted Airport excavations, met Richard Havis the site supervisor, whom she later married, and stayed for a year before returning to Dublin to complete a MA in Archaeology. Maria returned full-time to Essex and Richard in 1989 and worked for the Field Archaeology Unit until 1995 when she moved to the Archaeology Section in County Hall, as Historic Towns Officer and then undertook archaeological projects. She is now the Senior Historic Environment Officer for Place Services, and is responsible for the archaeological advice for Maldon and Harlow Districts. Her interests are broad and eclectic, ranging from the history and archaeology of Essex landscapes to the location of dragon-lairs along the Stour valley.



1. What is your favourite historical period?

I like all of them, except possibly the modern period.

2. Tell us what Essex means to you? It's been home for 30 years and I am still astonished at the degree of tangible history that survives in the form of woods, villages and buildings.

3. What historical mystery would you most like to know? I published a book on the Roman town of Great Chesterford and I would love to know what happened to it when the Romans left. One puzzle is that there are over 170 dead Saxons and so far only two very small buildings for them all to live in.

4. My favourite history book is...

The Essex Landscape by John Hunter.

5. What is your favourite place in Essex?

Probably Hatfield Forest.

6. How do you relax? I like making things, chiefly dollshouses and miniature scenes, as well as embroideries and quilts. But I also garden, including volunteering at the Gardens of Easton Lodge.

7. What are you researching at the moment?

I am writing up the excavations at Whitehall Manor, a medieval moated site in Little Burstead, excavated in the 1960-70s.

8. My earliest memory is... A hen on the top of a car, I remember it as being absolutely hilarious, but I can no longer recall why.

9. What is your favourite song/piece of music and why? Practically anything sung by Luke Kelly of *The Dubliners* - it brings me back to my youth.

10. If you could travel back in time which event would you change? I have read enough fantasy to know that changing time is not a good idea, next thing you know is you are knee-deep in creatures from the *Dungeon Dimensions*.

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

Herodotus, Pliny the Elder, Sir John de Mandeville and Saint Brendan the Navigator. I think it would be an entertaining evening, full of marvels.

12. What is your favourite food? I am strongly of the opinion that the Eccles Cake probably represents England's greatest contribution to world civilization.

13. The history book I am currently reading is... It is only partially a history book, *Underland* by Robert Macfarlane.

14. What is your favourite quote from history?

'We learn from history that we learn nothing from history', George Bernard Shaw.

15. Favourite historical film? Not at all sure I have one, unless you count Disney's *Robin Hood*.

16. What is your favourite building in Essex? Paycockes in Coggeshall.

17. What past event would you like to have seen? The eruption of Vesuvius from a safe distance.

18. How would you like to be remembered?

As someone whose enthusiasms made other people smile.

19. Who inspires you to read or write or research history? All the nameless people who have left their farms, burials, houses or belongings as archaeological remains in the Essex landscape. Also my mother telling me tales of Cavemen and to the books of Rosemary Sutcliff.

20. Most memorable historical date? Battle of Clontarf 23rd April 1014 when legendary ancestor Brian Boru defeated the Dublin Vikings. Otherwise I am hopeless on dates, I have no recollection of what my wedding date is and have been known to forget birthdays of husband and son.



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